

*A grammatical description of Golpa,
a dying Yolŋu language*

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CONTENTS

<i>Acknowledgement</i>	9
<i>Abbreviations and conventions</i>	13
1. Introduction	16
2. Golpa	19
2. Golpa	20
2.1 Golpa people, land and language	20
2.2 Genetic and areal relationships of Golpa	26
2.3 Previous linguistic research	37
2.4 Fieldwork: Socio-political negotiations and data collection	38
2.5 Data analysis and data presentation	45
3. Phonetics, phonology and orthography	50
3.1 Consonants	50
3.2 Vowels	53
3.3 Phonotactics	54
3.3.1 Syllable structure	54
3.3.2 Consonant clusters	56
3.4 Stress	58
3.5 Morphophonemic processes	59
3.6 Some remarks on orthographic conventions	60
4. Lexical classes and morphosyntax	62
4.1 Word classes/parts of speech	62
4.1.1 Verbal forms	63
4.1.1.1 Fully inflecting verbs	64
4.1.1.2 “Bare verbal forms”	67
4.1.1.3 “Adjectival verbs”	68
4.1.1.4 Lack of auxiliaries	71

4.1.2 Nominal forms	74
4.1.2.1 Nouns	74
4.1.2.2 Pronouns	76
4.1.2.3 Adjectives	90
4.1.2.4 Numerals and other quantifiers	92
4.1.2.5 Locational qualifiers	93
4.1.2.6 Temporal qualifiers	95
4.1.3 Particles	97
4.1.3.1 Adverbial particles	97
4.1.3.2 TMA particles interacting with verb inflection	108
4.1.3.3 “Bare verbal forms”	109
4.1.3.4 Conversational particles	109
4.1.3.5 “Propositional particles”	111
4.1.3.6 Connective particles	112
4.1.3.7 Interjections	117
4.1.4 Some remarks on clitic forms	118
4.2 The noun phrase, case values and case markings	122
4.2.1 Core cases	126
4.2.2 Peripheral cases	135
4.2.3 Summary of Golpa case markings	155
4.3 The verb phrase	157
4.3.1 Verb classes and verb forms	157
4.3.2 Tense, mood, modality and aspect	171
4.3.3 The functions of the verb forms	184
4.3.4 The use of TMA particles and modal clitic forms	192
4.3.5 Negation	213
4.3.6 Differences between Golpa and other Yolju languages	214
5. Lexical morphology	217
5.1 Derivational suffixes	217
5.1.1 Verbalisers	217
5.1.1.1 The inchoative suffix <i>-(y/’i/-tji/-dji-</i>	218
5.1.1.2 The causative suffixes <i>-yu/-gu/-ku-</i> and <i>-gumiya(n??)</i>	220
5.1.1.3 The verbalising suffix <i>-yu-(-thu/-tju-</i>	221
5.1.2 Nominalisers	223
5.1.3 Adjectivisers	224
5.2 Compounding and reduplication	227

6. Clauses	231
6.1 Identification of clause boundaries	231
6.2 Main clause types	236
6.2.1 Declarative clauses with non-verbal predicates	238
6.2.2 Declarative clauses with verbal predicates	246
6.2.3 Verbal and non-verbal interrogative clauses	259
6.2.4 Imperative clauses	262
6.2.5 Reciprocal/reflexive clauses	266
6.3 Subordinate clause types	268
6.3.1 Finite subordinate clauses	276
6.3.2 Non-finite subordinate clauses	277
7. Complex sentences	283
7.1 The parametric approach of clause linkage and its application to Golpa	291
7.1.1 Autonomy vs. integration	292
7.1.2 Expansion vs. reduction	303
7.1.3 Isolation vs. linkage	317
7.1.4 Summary	336
7.2 Serial verb constructions	341
7.3 Coordinate clauses	362
7.3.1 Coordinate clauses linked by a coordinating particle	362
7.3.2 Coordinate clauses lacking a coordinating particle	370
7.3.3 Summary of coordinate clause structures	373
7.4 “Appositional adjuncts”	374
7.5 Complex sentences with an adverbial clause	382
7.5.1 Sentences with a conditional clause (conditional sentences)	384
7.5.1.1 Structure of the protasis (conditional clause)	385
7.5.1.2 Structure of the apodosis	394
7.5.1.3 Conditional sentences with a counterfactual reading	400
7.5.2 Sentences with an adverbial clause indicating time	407
7.5.3 Sentences with an adverbial clause indicating contrast	422
7.5.4 Sentences with an adverbial clause indicating reason	426
7.5.5 Sentences with an adverbial clause indicating purpose	429
7.5.6 Sentences with an adverbial clause indicating place	435
7.5.7 Sentences with an adverbial clause indicating manner	437
7.5.8 Summary of adverbial clause structures	439

7.6 Complex sentences with a relative clause	439
7.6.1 Adjoined and juxtaposed relative clauses	441
7.6.2 Relative clauses signalled by verbal morphology	464
7.6.3 Relative clauses which share a main clause constituent	473
7.6.4 Other types of relative clauses	482
7.6.5 Summary of relative clause structures	485
7.7 Complex sentences with a complement clause	486
7.7.1 Complements of “adjectival verbs”	487
7.7.2 Complements of other verbs	497
7.7.3 Complements of <i>garama</i>	504
7.7.4 Summary of complement clause structures	506
7.8 Multifunctional clauses and the functions of <i>biḡu</i>	507
7.9 Indirect questions	518
7.10 Direct and indirect speech	519
<i>References according to topics</i>	523
Studies on Yolḡu languages	523
Studies on other Australian languages	525
General linguistics	526
Australian cultural studies	530
Socio-linguistic studies	530
Studies on language documentation and description	532
All references	533

MAPS

Map 1	North East Arnhem Land Region	19
Map 2	Yolŋu languages and their neighbours	27

TABLES

Table 1	Yolŋu language classification	30
Table 2	Golpa consonant sounds and phonemes	52
Table 3	Golpa vowel sounds and phonemes	53
Table 4	Orthographic representation of Golpa consonants	61
Table 5	Orthographic representation of Golpa vowels	61
Table 6	Golpa pronouns (NOM, ERG)	77
Table 7	Golpa pronouns (ACC)	78
Table 8	Golpa pronominal stem forms	78
Table 9	Golpa pronouns with peripheral cases	79
Table 10	Golpa emphatic pronouns	80
Table 11	Golpa demonstrative stems	84
Table 12	Golpa adjectives and their semantic types	91
Table 13	Analysis of Golpa core cases	130
Table 14	Golpa and Yan-nhaŋu case markings	156
Table 15	Inflectional pattern of conjugation class 1	158
Table 16	Inflectional pattern of conjugation class 2	160
Table 17	Inflectional pattern of conjugation class 3	161
Table 18	Inflectional pattern of conjugation class 4	162
Table 19	Inflectional pattern of conjugation class 5	163
Table 20	Inflectional pattern of conjugation class 6	163
Table 21	Golpa verbs with an irregular inflection	166
Table 22	Golpa conjugation classes according to Schebeck	169
Table 23	Yan-nhaŋu conjugation classes and inflectional patterns	170
Table 24	Wangurri conjugation classes and inflectional patterns	170
Table 25	Functions of Golpa inflectional forms	190
Table 26	The interplay of Golpa inflectional forms with TMA markers	209

Table 27	Functions of Yan-nhanju verb forms and their interplay with TMA particles__	211
Table 28	Differences between verb systems of Dhuwal, Dhuwala, Dhanju and Nhanju languages_____	215
Table 29	Apectual and modal marking in linked finite clauses in Golpa_____	307
Table 30	Case markings in non-finite constructions in Golpa_____	314
Table 31	Parallelism of clause linkage continua and features of Golpa constructions____	339
Table 32	Features of serial verb constructions in Golpa_____	362
Table 33	Features of Golpa coordinate clause types_____	373
Table 34	Features of appositional adjunct constructions in Golpa_____	381
Table 35	Features of Golpa adverbial clause types_____	439
Table 36	Features of Golpa relative clause types_____	486
Table 37	Feature of Golpa complement clause types_____	506

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¹ ELDP is hosted at the *School of African and Asian Studies* (SOAS) at the *University of London*.

² Note that Yolŋu always have an English name along with a number of given Yolŋu names. (Their surnames indicate membership to a certain clan.) The English name of a person is also used when s/he had passed away. The Golpa have allowed me to refer to their father with his Yolŋu name.

³ The term *language worker* was preferred by Garrutju and Nyomba and is therefore used throughout the thesis (instead of *(language) consultant*).

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⁴ John Rudder is an anthropologist who has lived on Elcho Island when Djingulul was still around. Neville and Diane Bergmeier have spent several years in Galiwin'ku in the 1970s. Djingulul's oldest daughter Rose used to work for them as a maid.

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⁵ *Charles Darwin University*

⁶ *Aboriginal Resource and Development Service*

⁷ *Australian Society for Indigenous Languages*

Abbreviations and conventions

A	syntactic context of the subject of a transitive verb
ABL	ablative (places)
ABLhum	ablative (human)
ACC	accusative
ALL	allative (places)
ALLan	allative (animate)
alt.form	alternative form of a linguistic entity (required for suffixation)
ASSOC	associative
BEN	benefactive
C	consonant
COMMIT	committative
DU	dual
CAUS	causative
CE	contrastive emphasis
GEN/DAT	genitive/dative
ERG	ergative
IMP	imperative inflection (or: imperative form of the verb), indicates imperative mood
INCH/VERB	verbalising inchoative suffix
incl	inclusive 2nd person
intr	intransitive
IO	indirect object
IRR	irrealis inflection (or: irrealis form of the verb), indicates irrealis situations (with a potential meaning)
excl	exclusive 2nd person
LOC	locative
LOCan	locative (animate)
MOD	modality (unspecified)
NEU	neutral inflection (or: neutral form of the verb), indicates present time reference or, if involving <i>wurruku</i> , irrealis (including future time reference)
NOML	nominaliser

NOML/INF	nominalised/infinitive inflection (or: nominalised/infinitive form of the verb); required before non-verbal suffixes; structurally consisting of the PST inflection and the form <i>-ra</i>
O	syntactic context of the direct object of a transitive verb
ORIG	originative
PST	past inflection (or: past form of the verb), indicates past time reference; the PST inflection of the INCH/VERB suffix usually indicates present/imperfective states
PSThab	past habitual inflection (or: past habitual form of the verb), indicates reference to situations in the distant past, usually also implies habitual aspect
PERL/TRANS	perlative/transgressive
PL	plural
PRIV	privative
PROG/CONT	progressive/continuous
PROM	prominence
REC	reciprocal relationship
S	syntactic context of the subject of an intransitive verb
SG	singular
tr	transitive
VERB	verbaliser
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
∅	unmarked
.	separates several metalanguage elements that correspond to one object language element
–	separates several object language elements that correspond to one metalanguage element
/	separates several meanings/grammatical properties
\	separates distinguishable meanings/grammatical properties of formally unsegmentable object language elements
-	separates two morphemes
=	separates a clitic from the preceding morpheme

~	indicates an alternative construction or segment
()	in the gloss line the brackets contain inherent meanings/categories; translated elements given in brackets do not have a corresponding element in the object language; brackets including object language elements are optional and can be omitted
[]	contain entities which were not part of the original text; are also used to mark individual clauses/clause boundaries in complex sentences
◇	contain the orthographic representation of an element
*	markes ungrammatical expressions; in tables it indicates that a certain value or marking does not exist
*Golpa	indicates that an item is not part of the Golpa vocabulary but was taken from a different Yolŋu language (although there is a Golpa equivalent); shared Yolŋu vocabulary items (i.e. lexemes which are commonly used by several Yolŋu languages) do not bear this marking
***	used in the gloss line to indicate that the meaning of a morpheme is unclear or yet unknown
??	used in the gloss line to indicate that I am not sure about the analysis of a morpheme
#	indicates an intonation break (pause)
##	indicates a longer intonation break

1. Introduction

This thesis is the first detailed description of Golpa, a dying Yolŋu language which is still proudly spoken by very few people on Elcho Island, in the north eastern corner of Arnhem Land, Northern Territory, Australia. I feel very privileged that I have been given the opportunity to get to know the extended Golpa family (including many non-Golpa family members), to study the Golpa language and to support the Golpa people and their descendants in their attempt to document as much of the Golpa's linguistic and cultural heritage as possible before it is lost.

My interest in Yolŋu languages began in 2001 during my semester abroad at the *Charles Darwin University* (formerly *Northern Territory University*) in Darwin. Ever since then I felt the desire to return in order to work with Yolŋu people and to contribute to Yolŋu research. I was particularly interested in serving a speech community with a severely endangered language. Seven years and many efforts later I found myself talking to Jane Garrutju Gandaŋu, a Golpa clan member. We were introduced to each other by John Greatorex who was working as a linguist teacher at the *Charles Darwin University* at the time, also being responsible for the coordination of the *Yolŋu Studies Programme* at the *School of Australian Indigenous Knowledge Systems* at the university. John was not only familiar with Yolŋu languages and education in Arnhem Land but has also been a trusted and highly respected friend of the Golpa since the 1970s. When I first contacted Garrutju (via the phone) in August 2008 I was thrilled to find out that the Golpa have been praying to get in touch with a linguist who would like to help them to “write the language down”. From the very beginning we have had a blessed relationship. During our second phone conversation Garrutju adopted me as her sister into her family and into the Golpa clan. (My husband and our children were adopted by Garrutju's husband Gäli Yalkarriwuy Gurruwiwi and belong to the Gälpu clan.)

Apart from Garrutju I have been working with her/our older brother Barripaŋ (out of respect, henceforth referred to as *wäwa* ‘older brother’) and her/our sister Nyomba who is few years younger than Garrutju. Wäwa is considered to be the last fluent speaker of Golpa.

Wäwa, Garrutju and Nyomba have been committed to maintaining their language by teaching it to a number of grandchildren. In regard to our project, they were particularly interested in the creation of a dictionary and in processing at least some of the numerous recordings made of their father Djingulul in 1965/1966 by the linguist Bernhard Schebeck. Most of the time during my fieldtrips (in 2009, 2011, 2012 and 2016) was devoted to make

these goals become reality. The remaining time we invested in the recording of other texts, the development of teaching material as well as in the elicitation/notation of grammatical and socio-linguistic data.

I am very grateful for our faithful cooperation which has been very fruitful and valuable in outcome.

The focus of this thesis is the description of the grammatical structure of Golpa.

I now briefly summarise the contents of the individual chapters.

The subsequent chapter 2 is to illustrate the importance and the urgency to document (and describe) the Golpa language as long as this is still possible. I introduce the Golpa people and describe their relationship to their land and their language. I also portray Golpa's genetic and areal relationships to other Yolŋu languages. This chapter also contains a description of previous research activities and my own fieldwork experience, including notes on the socio-political negotiations between me and the Golpa as well as an outline of the procedures concerning data collection, data analysis and data presentation.

All following chapters are concerned with the structural description of the language. Where appropriate I compare Golpa data with data from other Yolŋu languages. I refer to Djambarrpuyŋu (Wilkinson 1991), Wangurri (McLellan 1992), Gupapuyŋu (Christie 2001a, b), Djinanŋ and Djinba (Waters 1989), Ritharŋu (Heath 1980), Gälpu (Wood 1978 and n.d.), Dhanŋu (Schebeck 1976b), Djapu (Morphy 1983) and Yan-nhanŋu (Bower et al. 2006).

In chapter 3 I discuss Golpa's phonetic and phonological inventory. Like other Yolŋu languages, Golpa also has a fortis-lenis stop contrast and a glottal stop. (These two features are uncharacteristic for other Australian languages.) This chapter also includes notes on phonotactics, stress and morphophonemic processes in Golpa. It ends with remarks on orthographic conventions used in this thesis.

Chapter 4 gives an overview of Golpa's morphology and morphosyntactic characteristics. The centre of attention is the verb system.

In chapter 5 I attend to word formation processes. Compounding and reduplication are only briefly discussed, as these operations appear to be much less productive than suffixation.

In chapter 6 I first address the problem of identifying clause boundaries in texts. This discussion is followed by the description of features of main and subordinate clause types. (A few are already discussed to some degree in some sections of chapter 4.)

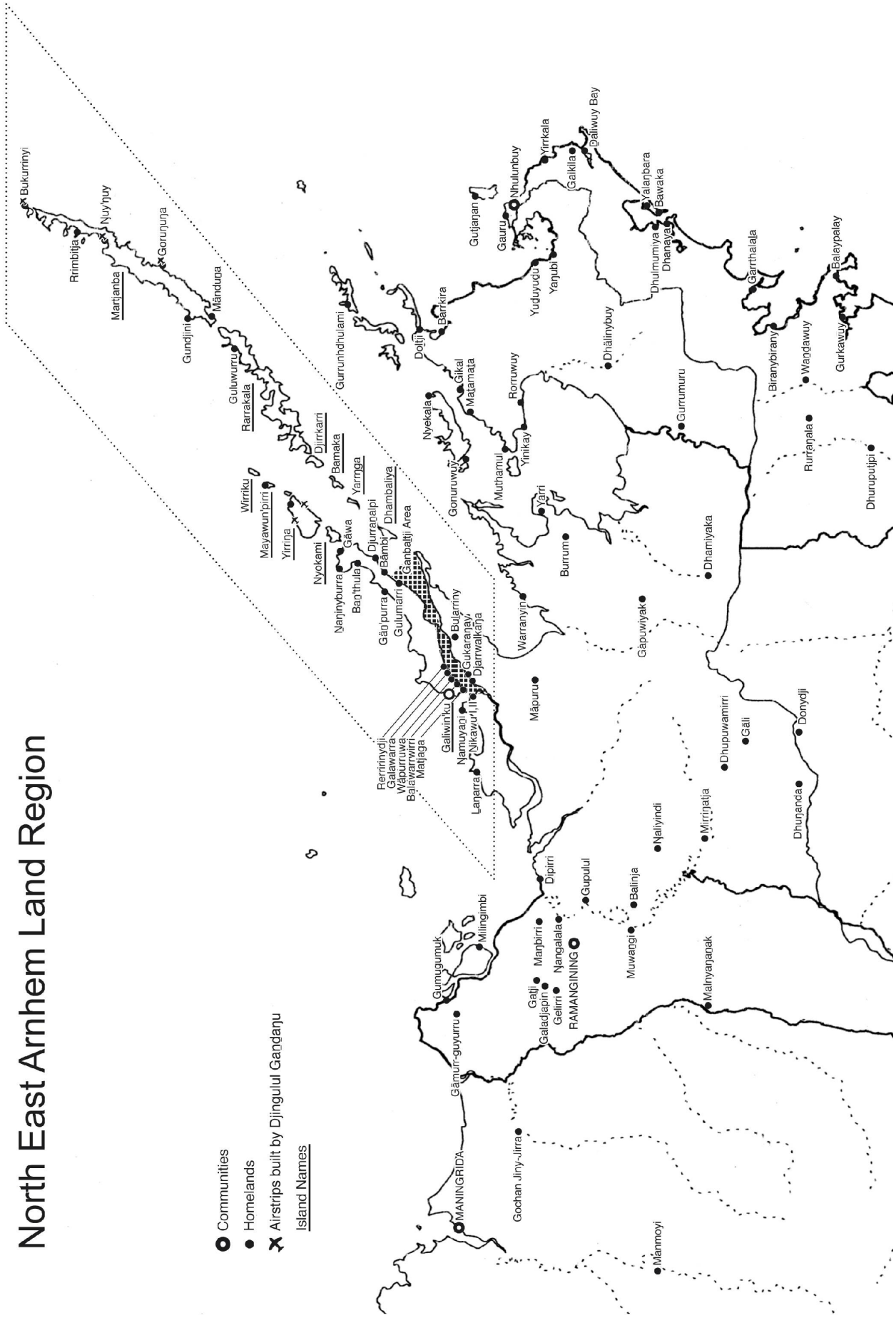
Chapter 7 is the largest chapter. It deals with complex sentence structures. Only few other descriptions of Yolŋu languages include a discussion of complex sentences: Where appropriate I refer to comparable constructions in Dhaŋu (Schebeck 1976b), Djapu (Morphy 1983), Ritharŋu (Heath 1976b, 1980) and Djambarrpuyŋu (Wilkinson 1991). The description of complex constructions in Golpa is based on the approach that subordination is a gradual feature. Consequently, coordinate and subordinate constructions can be viewed as ranging on a continuum of which the endpoles are defined as prototypical coordination and prototypical subordination. I follow Christian Lehmann's (1988) *parametric approach*.

The attached CD provides two audio recordings and their transcriptions.⁸ These sample texts are to illustrate the organisation of Golpa texts, and to allow the reader to discover structural features for himself/herself.

⁸ In the thesis, examples from these texts are referenced by HDG001 and JBG001.

North East Arnhem Land Region

- Communities
 - Homelands
 - ✂ Airstrips built by Djingulul Gaḏaḏu
- Island Names



Map 1 North East Arnhem Land Region

2. Golpa

Golpa is a Yolŋu⁹ language (belonging to the Yirritja moiety). The clan and its individual members are also referred to as *Golpa*. Particular reference to the language may be indicated by the addition of *yän* ‘language, word’, i.e. *yän Golpa/Golpa yän*.

In the literature, the following names also appear: Korlpa/Külppa (Schebeck 2001, FN 299, p. 85), Kolpa (Warner 1937, 39-51), Gulba (Bernhard Schebeck’s labels on his AIAS¹⁰ recordings), Golba (Capell 1942), Gorlba (used by AIATSIS (N130)) or Gurrŋlpa (Wood 1978).

2.1 Golpa people, land and language

Each Yolŋu individual and clan “has a primary affiliation to particular territory with which is also allied a particular linguistic variety” (Wilkinson 1991, 1).

The Golpa clan is closely tied to the Wessel Islands and to Elcho Island (area encircled by the dotted line in map 1 above; cf. also map 2), located in the north eastern corner of Arnhem Land.¹¹ **Golpa land** on the Wessels is Martjanba. On Elcho Island¹² it is Matjaga and the Ganbaŋtji area, comprising the east part of Galiwin’ku, Galawarra, Balawarrwirri, Rerririnydji and Wäpurruwa (barge landing) and the land all the way up to Gulumarri and Bäm̄bi (except for Djonydju which belongs to the Dhuwa moiety), as well as Damuyani and N̄ikawu (I and II) on L̄ajara (Howard Island) and the coastal area on the mainland, including the places Djarrwalkaŋa, Gukaraŋay and Buŋarriny.¹³

⁹ In the literature the Yolŋu group has also been called *Murngin*, *Wulamba*, *Miwoit* or *Miwatj* (cf. Schebeck 1976a, 352, Schebeck 2001, 52f., Heath 1978, 2, Morphy 1983, 4 or Wilkinson 1991, 1). However, people belonging to this group (i.e. Aboriginal people of North East Arnhem Land) prefer the word *yolŋu* (‘person’). According to Wood (1978, 55), this term was probably first used by the missionary Wilbur Chaseling (1957). (Although *yolŋu* generally means ‘person’, it is increasingly used to specifically refer to indigenous people (cf. also Wilkinson 1991, 1), as opposed to *balanda*, *ŋapagi* or *munaja* ‘white person’.)

¹⁰ AIAS (*Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies*) now is AIATSIS (*Australian Institute for Australian and Torres Strait Islander Studies*).

¹¹ Arnhem Land is an Aboriginal reserve. Under the *Aboriginal Land Rights Act* (NT) in 1976 all of Arnhem Land was designated Aboriginal-owned land. (For more information on the history of Arnhem Land, cf., for instance, <http://www.yolngu.com/history.html>.)

¹² Note that *Galiwin’ku* is the Yolŋu name for Elcho Island. Since Europeans settled in this area, the term has been used to refer to the major settlement on the island. (According to Google Earth the exact geographic location of this town is: longitude: 135°34'13.99"E, latitude: 12° 1'25.20"S.)

¹³ This information was provided by Garrutju in 2016.

On the Wessels the Golpa were also known as the *Dharriwa*, *Dutjirrini* or *Marapuyŋu*. They are also referred to by the names *Gandaŋu*, *Gurilka*, *Durruwalmanha* and *Buyarrwiyarr*. *Gandaŋu* is used as surname.

Due to the clan's rich connections it plays a role in a number of ceremonies throughout Arnhem Land: The Golpa people represent the Wessel Islands and, together with other *mandjikay/riŋgitj*¹⁴ clans, the Ganbałtji area.

The Golpa clan is one of approximately 48 patrilineal Yolŋu clans.¹⁵ Accordingly, a woman's children take on the clan membership and cultural (and linguistic) identity of their father. In this regard it is unfortunate that the Golpa line includes more female than male descendants. (The traditional marriage partners of the Golpa were usually members of the Bararrŋu and Bararrpararr clans. After their extinction Golpa people have often married into the Gälpu clan.)¹⁶

Presently, there are 17 Golpa **tribal members** left on Elcho Island and some more in Katherine. They are the offspring of Djingulul and Muykuyurru. Djingulul's father (Wanhanyambi) and Muykuyurru's father (Wurrthunbuy) were brothers, and sons of Djama'wu, a central figure in Golpa clan history.

Djingulul (1905-1975) is also known as the "King of the Wessels", as he was a very knowledgeable man and the last person to live there. His six children left are wäwa James Barripan (*1951), Joyce Gumbarrawuy (*1955), Jane Garrutju (*1958), Helen Nyomba (*1960), Meagan Yiŋi (*1962) and Peter Dhokuŋ (*1966). Unfortunately, Dhokuŋ does not have any children and wäwa's only (own) child to take Golpa clan membership is Anthea Waraliny Gandaŋu, a female. The Golpa line on Djingulul's side therefore ends with her.

Muykuyurru's son Dick Monuŋgu has two sons and one daughter: Frank Bedinybuy, Matthew Gayŋadaŋbuy and Rosemary Rräpuŋ. Frank and Matthew will pass on Golpa clan membership to their children. Frank already has three boys and one girl. Only the children of his sons will then also belong to the Golpa clan. Dick's brother Bobulka (long gone) also has

¹⁴ *Riŋgitj* (or *mandjikay*) is an alliance of clans belonging to the same moiety. Land and people are connected through creation. The Golpa form a *riŋgitj* with the Warramiri, Guyamirrilil, Wolkarra (or Wobulkarra), Wangurri, Dhałwaŋu, Ritharŋu, Monugiritj, Gupapuyŋu, Maŋgalili, Madarra, Lamami, Mildjiŋi, Yalukal and the Ganalbiŋu (wäwa August 2016).

¹⁵ Wilkinson (1991, 1) speaks of some 40-60 clans. The above number is based on Wood's (1978, 59) classification, my understanding of the Yolŋu language-variety grouping and on my knowledge concerning the existence/extinction of certain clans/tongues.

¹⁶ The Bararrŋu, Bararrpararr and Gälpu clans belong to the Dhuwa moiety. Bararrŋu and Bararrpararr people used to speak Nhaŋu (on the Wessel Islands), while Gälpu is a Dhaŋu variety (cf. section 2.2).

some children but they live in Katherine and supposedly do not know any Golpa. (It is unknown to the rest of the clan how many are living there.) Unfortunately, Golpa is only spoken on Djingulul's side of the family. Dick grew up at Raminginiŋ with his mother. He understands only little Golpa and cannot speak it. His descendants do not know the language at all.

Djingulul's children differ in regard to their **language ability**. Wäwa is the last fluent speaker of Golpa.¹⁷ However, it is to be noted that some construction types (IRR-verb form and some complex constructions) were not produced spontaneously (anymore) but had to be thought about.¹⁸ Garrutju and Nyomba consider themselves as semi-speakers of the language but do have a good (productive) command of Golpa and can also write the language. Gumbarrawuy may have been fluent at some point but has been living in Darwin for many years now (due to renal treatment). She understands and can also talk back. The proficiency of Dhokuŋ and Yiŋi is more limited. However, Dhokuŋ is said to be as strong in Golpa as wäwa in songlines.¹⁹ I also had a number of Golpa (small talk) conversations with him. Yiŋi had spent a longer time in Darwin when she was younger and hardly speaks her father's language. The oldest of Djingulul's children, Rose²⁰, was also fluent in Golpa. Unfortunately I did not have the chance to learn from her, as she had suffered a severe stroke when I first met her in 2009. She passed away in 2011, some months before I was to return to Elcho Island. (There was also their sister Layipu. However, she already died as a young child.)

The children of the siblings (mostly Gälpu and Djambarrpuyŋu clan members) understand the language to varying degrees and some of their grandchildren also know some Golpa. Those with some knowledge of the language are about 20. The youngest Golpa clan member with some knowledge of Golpa is wäwa's daughter Waraliny. Unfortunately, she does not actively use the language. However, during my last fieldtrip in 2016 I was impressed by the amount of her passive knowledge of Golpa.

¹⁷ In his highly interesting article, Evans (2001) discusses difficulties concerning the definition and identification of "last speakers" in Australian language contexts. In the Golpa case this did not appear to be problematic. Given that the Golpa people wish to increase the number of speakers (independent of clan membership or even nationality (cf. also section 2.4 below)) I doubt that there are any secret/hidden speakers of the language who will only dare to come forward after the death of current (semi-)speakers.

¹⁸ Wäwa COULD therefore also be called a *semi-speaker*. (According to Menn (1989), he would be a "rusty speaker").

¹⁹ It was only in 2016 when I finally had the chance to make a songline recording (approximately three hours long) involving wäwa and Dhokuŋ. (This data is not represented in this thesis.)

²⁰ Her Yolŋu name must not be mentioned, as she recently passed away (in 2011).

Apart from these immediate Golpa family members there are a number of Yolŋu who also have some knowledge of the language. They are the descendants of a Golpa grandmother or grandfather or of some other Golpa relative up the family line. This mainly includes descendants of the Bararrŋu and Bararrpararr. (Note that Bararrŋu and Bararrpararr are no longer spoken. However, some descendants can still fluently perform in these languages in songlines.)

In sum, the linguistic competence/performance of Golpa semi-speakers (i.e. all but wäwa) ranges from knowing only few words to being able to follow or even engage in a Golpa conversation.

Except for the three youngest children Nyomba, Yiŋi and Dhokuŋ all of Djingulul's children were born at the Wessels. The family lived and travelled there together, as *gunhu* ('father') was building and looking after several airstrips in the region (cf. map 1). At that time there were also still a number of people from other clans on the Wessels. Djingulul used to spend much time with the Warramiri there. He was the last person to leave the Wessels in the 1960s. The family moved to Galiwin'ku (where the mission was established in 1942) for the sake of his children's education. Nyomba, Yiŋi and Dhokuŋ were born there.

Although the family has lived together (on the Wessels as well as in Galiwin'ku on Elcho Island), it seems that every sibling has been through an individual Golpa **language acquisition process**. Wäwa and his older (deceased) sister Rose were/are considered to be the only fluent speakers of the language. They were certainly old enough to fully acquire Golpa (which only became wäwa's priority language after his father had passed away).

I do not know whether Gumbarrawuy ever was a fluent Golpa speaker.

Garrutju's proficiency is a result of her interest in her father's language. As a little girl she spent more time with him and his relatives than with her Gälpu speaking mother. Garrutju says that she was speaking Golpa fluently in the late 1960s and early 1970s. However, considering her reactions to certain linguistic constructions (as compared to wäwa's), she may not have FULLY acquired the language. Garrutju more or less stopped speaking her father's language after she had gotten married (as nobody on her husband's side understood any Golpa). She then switched to Gälpu (and Djambarrpuyŋu).

Nyomba seemed closer to her mother and thus heard more Gälpu than Golpa when she was growing up. She picked up more later.

Yiŋi and Dhokuŋ were very young when their father Djingulul passed away (in 1975). It can be assumed that these two also acquired Golpa incompletely.

Due to more reduced use of the language after their father's death²¹ they all have lost some of their gained proficiency. (According to Andersen (1982, 85) this weakened competence would be called "language attrition" in wāwa's case, as he had fully acquired the language).²² Gumbarrawuy and Yiŋi lost more of their initial linguistic competence, as they had/have been away for a longer period of time to take care of other matters.

Due to extensive contact with other (Yolŋu) clans (also from other islands and the mainland) and an exogamous marriage pattern (the marriage partner always belongs to the opposite moiety and therefore to a different clan with a different linguistic variety) Yolŋu people are (and have supposedly always been) multilingual.

Here, I list the languages/language varieties spoken by the four main Golpa (semi-)speakers relevant to this thesis: Djingulul spoke the Nhaŋu varieties Golpa, Bararrŋu, Bararrpararr, Murrŋun²³ and Mälarra as well as Warramiri, Gumatj, Gupapuyŋu and English. Wāwa speaks Golpa, Djambarrpuyŋu, Gälpu, Gumatj, Warramiri, Dhałwaŋu, Gupapuyŋu, Rirratjŋu and English (if necessary). He mainly uses Golpa, Djambarrpuyŋu, Gälpu and Warramiri. The others are used less often, usually only when he goes to ceremonies held at the places where the languages are spoken. Garrutju speaks English, Gälpu, Djambarrpuyŋu, Gumatj, Gupapuyŋu and Warramiri fluently. Nyomba is fluent in Djambarrpuyŋu, Gälpu, Gupapuyŋu, Wangurri, Gumatj and English. She also knows some Dhałwaŋu. Garrutju and Nyomba also speak Golpa but are still "learning to get better" in it.²⁴

²¹ Although there were still few other older people around who were able to speak Golpa, the use of this language ceased after Djingulul had died.

²² When it comes to grouping semi-speakers, it is necessary to distinguish between language attrition and language acquisition failure (cf. Andersen 1982, 85 or Sasse 1992, 61-64, for example). Individual language attrition is only the case when one was once a competent/fluent speaker of the language concerned. If one never acquired a language fully and was thus never competent in it, this person's language attrition then is rather a sign of community language attrition. However, even incompetent speakers may exhibit weakening competence (cf. Andersen 1982, 85).

²³ Note that Waters (1989) counts Murrŋun among the Djinaŋ varieties (see Table 1 below).

²⁴ This information was collected from wāwa, Garrutju and Nyomba during the fieldtrips in 2011 and 2012.

In regard to the severe degree of endangerment of the language, it is noteworthy that Golpa was already reported to be “virtually extinct” in the 1960s (cf. Schebeck 1976a, 373, footnote 6). The surprising fact that **Golpa still lives on** is owed to a number of factors:

- Dying Yolŋu languages, their use and their speakers are generally associated with positive attitudes.²⁵ This is probably due to the very close connection of land, language and (individual/clan) identity: According to Yolŋu traditional belief distinct languages and pieces of land were assigned to distinct groups of people by creational spirits (cf. also section 2.2). Many Yolŋu (including the Golpa people and a number of their relatives) are Christians and have found this traditional view re-affirmed, now regarding land and language as valuable and God-given “possessions” that they need to take care of. Golpa people are respected members of the community on Elcho Island. (Garrutju and Nyomba are involved in a number of community-related projects.) They all are proud of their linguistic and cultural identity and heritage. Like other Yolŋu clans whose language is still spoken, the Golpa clan has prestige, as there are still clan members left using the language. Other Yolŋu people appreciate their ancestral ties to the Golpa clan, even if they do not speak the language. Yolŋu who speak Golpa but do not belong to the clan take pride in their linguistic ability.
- The Golpa people have not given up speaking their language because their conversation partners use different languages, even in cases when the others did/do not understand a word. Despite the very small number of people who know Golpa, the language is still used in songlines, public announcements, community meetings, speeches and prayers at ceremonies (by wäwa, Garrutju and Nyomba). (This is in line with Evans’ (2007, 353) note and his observation that “compared to cases reported in some other parts of the world, the ‘last speakers’ of Australian languages have had an excellent command of their morphosyntactic intricacies” (ibid).) The Golpa use their language to identify themselves. In a number of occasions Golpa is also used as means of communication between Djingulul’s children.²⁶
- Members of the Golpa clan live close to and can access ancestral land.
- The traditional society structure in all of North East Arnhem Land is intact and strong.
- The degree of cultural interference from the white civilisation there (as compared to the living circumstances of other Aboriginal groups in Australian communities) is

²⁵ Note that in many other cases the languages of terminal speech communities are associated with negative attitudes (cf. Dorian 1986, 560f.).

²⁶ When others take part in a conversation Gälpu or Djambarrpuynŋu are usually used. (The choice of the language seems to mainly depend on the linguistic ability of the interlocutor(s).)

relatively low. This point apparently correlates with the previous one, and the two of them probably also have to do with the remoteness of the area where Golpa is spoken.

2.2 Genetic and areal relationships of Golpa

Before attending to Golpa's relationships to other Yolŋu clans and languages, some general notes about the **Australian language situation** shall be made.

It first needs to be pointed out that there are no genetic ties connecting Australian languages with languages of any other family (cf. Dixon 1980, 467).

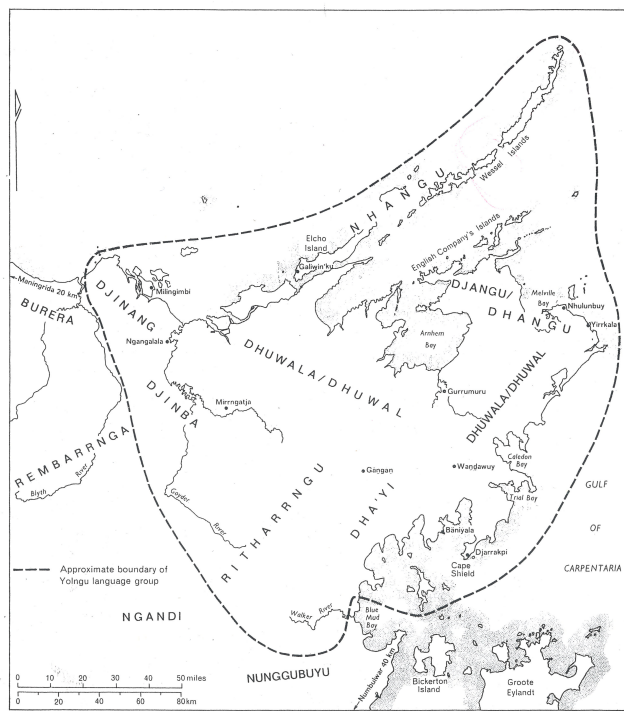
The languages of the Australian mainland can be divided into two linguistic groups, Pama-Nyungan and non Pama-Nyungan.²⁷ About three quarters of the Australian languages belong to the former group, including Yolŋu languages and Yanyuwa, spoken in two (non-contiguous) areas in North East Arnhem Land. They are surrounded by (genetically unrelated) prefixing non Pama-Nyungan languages and are thus geographically separated from the rest of the Pama-Nyungan languages (cf. Heath 1978, 12 or Waters 1989, 275, for instance). A particular affinity has been found between the Yolŋu family and the Western Dessert group in Central Australia (cf. Heath 1978, 12 or Capell 1942, 44). (However, more research is needed to say more about the relation between Yolŋu languages and other Pama-Nyungan languages.)

Some Yolŋu languages/language varieties with neighbouring prefixing languages are grammatically influenced by them. The pronominal systems in Ritharŋu²⁸ (due to Ŋandi and Nhunŋubuyu influence in the south) and Djinba (due to Rembarrnga influence in the west), for instance, show the development of free pronouns into pronominal enclitics (cf. Dixon, 2002, 662). Golpa has had no contact with prefixing languages.

²⁷ The term *Pama-Nyungan* is coined from *pama* and *ñungar*, both meaning 'person'. While *pama* is used in many languages of Cape York Peninsula, *ñungar* is found in many languages of the far Southwest (cf. Alpher 2004, 5).

²⁸ I adopted the spelling of this Yolŋu variety from Jeffrey Heath (1980).

The following map 2 (taken from Schebeck 2001, 2)²⁹ shows the **Yolŋu language groups and their neighbours**:



Map 2 Yolŋu language groups and their neighbours

According to Yolŋu native theory, (i) every Yolŋu language variety either belongs to the Dhuwa moiety or the Yirritja moiety, (ii) each group (clan) is associated with a different linguistic variety and (iii) linguistic varieties are grouped (as belonging to one language) according to their respective proximal demonstrative pronoun ‘this’ (cf. Schebeck 2001, 12).³⁰

In order to facilitate a better understanding of the relationships that hold between Yolŋu languages, clans and individuals, I first briefly outline the underlying **moiety system**.

It is important to understand that everything in the natural world belongs to one of the two “exogamous patri-moieties” Dhuwa or Yirritja (Morphy 1977, 54). This system was established during creation time and is the foundation of Yolŋu culture and social organisation. “In mythological terms the clans of the two moiety have completely separate origins: there are no cases where mythological beings are connected with clans of both moiety. Clans of the same moiety are linked by the journeys of creator beings, clans of opposite moiety never are. Creator beings never even touched land belonging to the opposite moiety: they avoided it by tunnelling under it, flying over it or swimming round it. The

²⁹ A similar map was already presented by Capell (1942, 41). Note that in the above map the velar nasal is orthographically represented by <ng>.

³⁰ It is to be pointed out that these three theories do not contradict each other but “are concerned with different levels of reference” (Schebeck 2001, 80f.).

territorial division is absolute. A person may have rights of use in land belonging to the opposite moiety, particularly in his mother's clan territory, but he can never own it. Transfer of ownership, when, for example, a clan becomes extinct, is always to a clan of the same moiety" (Morphy 1977, 54f.).³¹ Individuals belonging to the same moiety share much of their cultural business, such as stories, songs, land and ceremonies.

The moiety system also determines the two Yolŋu political systems of *yothu-yindi* and *märi-gutharra*. *Yothu-yindi* is a care-taking relationship linking two entities (individuals, clans, songs, totems, pieces of land) of which one is always Dhuwa and the other Yirritja. One is mother, the other is child. When the system concerns people, the *yothu* ('child') is to manage/take care of its *yindi*'s ('big') business (land, ceremonies etc.). Contrary to this, *märi* ('mother's mother') and *gutharra* ('daughter's daughter') have a fellowship relation where an entity (individual, totem etc.) is connected to its mother's mother. When concerning people, *märi* also refers to mother's mother's brother(s), her land, totems etc. *Märi* and *gutharra* belong to the same moiety and therefore have much of their cultural business in common (cf. Christie 2001a, 33-52).³²

The moiety division also affects the linguistic reality: Every Yolŋu language (group) has a number of varieties/dialects of which each is classified as either belonging to the Dhuwa or Yirritja moiety (cf. Schebeck 2001, 12). However, (except for the final vowel deletion rule)³³ the moiety model fails to explain the distribution of linguistic features in Yolŋu language varieties. Instead, varieties/dialects spoken in contiguous areas tend to be "more similar to one another than they are to more distant dialects, including those dialects spoken by distant members of the same moiety"³⁴ (Morphy 1977, 56). Nevertheless, geographic closeness does not guarantee linguistic closeness (cf. McLellan 1992, 7 and Wilkinson 1991,

³¹ (If I am not mistaken) in the Golpa case, the Dhaŋwaŋu clan would take over the responsibility. (The two clans are in a *märi-gutharra* relationship.)

³² Note that when a man refers to his *yothu* in the sense of the *yothu-yindi* relationship, he refers to the children of his sister(s). Likewise, when he talks about his *gutharra* in the *märi-gutharra* relation context, he talks about his sister(s)'s daughter(s)'s children (cf. Christie 2001a, 42).

³³ This rule applies to (almost all) grammatical morphemes in Dhuwa languages (cf. Morphy 1977, 53). Since Golpa is a Yirritja language, final vowels are not deleted.

³⁴ There are examples where varieties of two (linguistically closer) language groups show a great number of similarities even if they are not of the same moiety, like Gupapuyŋu (a Dhuwala variety, Yirritja moiety) and Djambarrpuyŋu (a Dhuwal variety, Dhuwa moiety), for instance. Apart from the final vowel deletion rule which applies in Djambarrpuyŋu there is only little change to the morphology. However, there are differences in the vocabulary of the two language varieties.

14). It can be concluded that the moiety model “is therefore a social one, not a linguistic one” (Morphy 1977, 56).

The following table presents the Yolŋu languages, their varieties/dialects and moiety affiliations. This classification is based on Wood’s (1978, 59) work.³⁵ His figure has been presented (with some modifications) in various papers of other linguists (cf., for instance, McLellan 1992, 5 and Christie 2001a, 5). Table 1 below is yet another presentation of Wood’s classification. It mainly represents McLellan’s language-dialect (variety)-moiety arrangement but includes (more) data on Djinaŋ (taken from Waters 1989, 249)³⁶, Djiniŋ (taken from Christie 2001a, 5) and Nhaŋu (own data).³⁷ Similar to Wood (1978, 57f.) and McLellan (1992, 4f.), the tongues spoken by the individual clans are referred to as *varieties*, while the larger groupings are called *languages* (in the table below and the remainder of this section).

³⁵ A similar but less detailed classification is presented in Heath (1978, 3) where Nhaŋu, Dhaŋu and Djaŋu are referred to as *northern group*, and Dhuwala, Dhuwal, Dhay’yi and Ritharŋu as *southern group* (ibid, 2).

³⁶ Note that Waters (1989, 175f.) classifies Nhaŋu, Djinaŋ and Djinba as belonging to the northern Yolŋu language branch. According to Schebeck (2001, 87), an affinity between these languages was also put forward by Ray Wood and David Zorc. Schebeck himself confirms an affinity of Djinang and Djinba with Nhaŋu but rejects their incorporation into the Nhaŋu group. Since I have not done any research in that area I cannot contribute any thoughts to this discussion here.

³⁷ Extinct Nhaŋu varieties are not listed here.

Language		variety	moiety		
proto-Yolŋu		Djinanŋ	Wulaki	Y ³⁸	
			Djaḍiwitjibi	Y	
			Mildjiŋi	Y	
			Balmbi	Y	
			Marraŋu ³⁹	D	
			Murruŋun ⁴⁰	D	
			Manyarriŋ	D	
			Djiniŋ	Djinba	D
				Ganalbiŋu	D
				and others	??
			Nhaŋu	Golpa	Y
				Walamaŋu	Y
				Gamalaŋga	D
				Gurrindi ⁴¹	D
				Yan-nhaŋu ⁴²	D
				Dhābitjin	D
				Mālarra	D
			Dhaŋu	Gālpu	D
				Golumala	D
				Ḍaymil	D
				Rirratjiŋu	D
				Wangurri	Y
				Lamami	Y
			Djaŋu	Warramiri	Y
				Maḍatja	Y
			Dhay'yi	Dhaḷwaŋu	Y
				Djarwark	D
			Dhuwal ⁴³	Djambarrpuyŋu	D
				Djapu	D
				and others	D
	Dhuwala	Gupapuyŋu	Y		
		Gumatj	Y		
		and others	Y		
	Ritharŋu (Dhiyakuy/Yakuy)	Ritharŋu	Y		
		Wagilak	D		
		and others	??		

Table 1 Yolŋu language classification

³⁸ Djinanŋ people refer to the two moieties as *Djuwing* and *Yirritjing* (cf. Waters 1989, 249).

³⁹ Note that Marraŋu is listed under Dhuwal in Christie (2001a, 5).

⁴⁰ Wāwa counts Murruŋun among the Nhaŋu varieties (see below).

⁴¹ This language name is often spelled <Gorryindi>. The above spelling was given to me by Garrutju (in 2016).

⁴² I adopted the spelling of this Yolŋu variety from Claire Bower et al. (2006).

⁴³ For information about the Dhay'yi-Dhuwal-Dhuwala affiliation I refer the reader to Wilkinson (1991, ch. 1).

In regard to **languages spoken on Elcho Island**, Schebeck (2001, 78)⁴⁴ states that this place is “[...] dominated by four dialect groups (Dhuwala, Dhuwal, Dhaṅu, Djaṅu); however, there are also Dhay’yi, Nhaṅu, Dhiyakuy⁴⁵ and even Djinaṅ and Djinba minorities there. Nonetheless, there seems to exist a strong Dhaṅu tendency, led by the Gälpu dialect, submerging the virtually extinct Lamami⁴⁶ and, it would seem to me, also affecting the Djaṅu.”

This picture has changed only a little. According to wäwa⁴⁷, the following languages are (now) used on Elcho Island: Djambarrpuyṅu (Dhuwal variety, Dhuwa moiety), Gupapuyṅu (Dhuwala variety, Yirritja moiety), Gumatj (Dhuwala variety, Yirritja moiety), Gälpu (the sibling’s mother’s language; Dhaṅu variety, Dhuwa moiety), Wangurri (Dhaṅu variety, Yirritja moiety), Warramiri (Djaṅu variety, Yirritja moiety), Djaṅu (Dhuwal variety, Dhuwa moiety), Dhaḷwaṅu (Dhay’yi variety, Yirritja moiety), Golumala (Dhaṅu variety, Dhuwa moiety), Garrawura (Dhuwal variety, Dhuwa moiety), Ḍaymil (Dhaṅu variety, Dhuwa moiety), Dätiwuy (Dhaṅu variety, Dhuwa moiety). There are also few Yolṅu here speaking (some) Mälarra (Nhaṅu variety, Dhuwa moiety), Murrunṅu (Nhaṅu variety, Dhuwa moiety), Gamalaṅga (Nhaṅu variety, Dhuwa moiety) and Golpa (Nhaṅu variety, Yirritja moiety). Djinaṅ and Djinba are spoken at Raminginiṅ (on the mainland).

The Golpa clan is one of only few groups traditionally connected to Elcho Island whose language is still spoken.

As already mentioned in section 2.1 above, Yolṅu know several indigenous languages/language varieties. The choice of a language/variety used in a certain situation appears to mainly depend on what language/variety the communication partner(s) is/are fluent in. Everybody on the island can speak Djambarrpuyṅu which is used as *lingua franca* throughout Arnhem Land. It became a *lingua franca* on Elcho Island after many different clans had gone to live in the mission’s settlement in Galiwin’ku which was established by the missionary Harold Shepherdson in 1942. Now, Galiwin’ku is the largest Aboriginal community on Elcho Island, and in overall North East Arnhem Land (with around 1890 indigenous inhabitants). In Galiwin’ku, Djambarrpuyṅu is used as the usual means of

⁴⁴ Please note that Bernhard Schebeck’s article was written in 1968 (as an essay to define dialects and languages in North East Arnhem Land) and was “only“ published in 2001.

⁴⁵ *Dhiyakuy* (*Thiyakuy*) is also occasionally referred to as *Yakuy* or *Bidjinal* (cf., for instance, Schebeck 1976a, b and 2011). However, the speakers have been using the term *Ritharṅu* (cf. also Heath 1978, 2) which is therefore also used in this thesis. Note that *Ritharṅu* is the name of a specific clan but also designates the language of a group of clans.

⁴⁶ Lamami, also a Dhaṅu variety, is now extinct.

⁴⁷ This information was collected in 2016.

communication. (It is also used in the bilingual education programme at the school, *Shepherdson College*.) Apart from this main settlement, there are a number of homelands along the island (with a total of approximately 400 indigenous people living there).⁴⁸ It is mainly at these homelands where other Yolŋu language varieties are spoken. The closest Golpa homeland with permanent residents is Galawarra. It is only a five minute drive away from Galiwin'ku. (Garrutju has been living there since 2011. Wäwa and Nyomba live in Galiwin'ku.)

The extensive use of Djambarrpuyŋu has resulted in the reduced use of the traditional languages of clan groups. Nowadays, a number of children acquire Djambarrpuyŋu before or even instead of their mother's or father's language. Gälpu is also spoken by a great number of people on the island but does not have the same importance and reach like Djambarrpuyŋu.

Only few Yolŋu have a good command of English. They are usually above 55 years and have received education in the mission school where English was the only language used from Monday through Thursday (according to Garrutju's memories). Yolŋu children are still shy when it comes to using English and are much more open when they are addressed in a Yolŋu variety. Since the Golpa have also valued the "white man's education system", a number of their younger relatives also have a (very) good command of English.

I have not heard English being used among Yolŋu. However, Yolŋu (with some knowledge of English) occasionally use English words in their speech (especially when there is no Yolŋu equivalent as in the case of *government* or *agreement*, for instance). They also make use of English loans, i.e. lexemes that are phonologically and grammatically (and orthographically) integrated into their own language(s), such as *djoka* 'sugar', *bitja* 'picture' or *bäyim* 'buy', for example. Note that their English is also influenced by Yolŋu languages. For instance, there is no gender distinction for the third person singular pronoun (i.e. 'he' = 'she').

Yolŋu vocabulary also includes a number of Austronesian⁴⁹ loanwords (usually nouns), such as *rrupiya* 'money', *marriyaj* 'gun, rifle', *buthulu* 'bottle' or *lipalipa* 'canoe'

⁴⁸ The numbers are taken from the census 2011 (by the *Australian Bureau of Statistics*). According to my observation, a very high percentage of the island's population is younger than 30 years, only few are much older than 65. (For information about the population in Galiwin'ku in the 1980s I refer the reader to Wilkinson (1991, 16-19).)

⁴⁹ Note that most linguistic elements of what I here refer to as *Austronesian loanwords* stem from the Macassans. However, Yolŋu languages also show influences from Bajau, Buginese, Malay and a number of other languages, as some crew members of the trade ships apparently (also) spoke these languages (cf. Walker and Zorc 1981, 111f.).

(cf. Evans 1992, 70-88).⁵⁰ This is a result of an extensive trade relation with the Macassans whose visits probably began at the end of the 17th century (cf. Evans 1992, 46) but were ended in 1906 by the South Australian government (cf. Trudgen 2000, 27).

(For further notes on loanwords please see section 3.4, section 4.1.2.1 and section 4.3.1.)

Note that apart from spoken languages Yolŋu make extensive use of the Yolŋu sign language which is used by deaf AND hearing people as a “silent *lingua franca*” (Elwell 1982, 89) throughout North East Arnhem Land. (The use of Yolŋu sign language has only recently been examined more closely (cf. Bauer 2014, 35ff.))

As illustrated in Table 1 above, Golpa is counted among the **Nhaŋu language varieties** (cf., for instance Schebeck 2001, 15). Nhaŋu (also referred to as *Gutji*) used to be spoken by a number of clans all along the Wessels: Bararrpararr (Dhuwa), Bararrŋu (Dhuwa), Golpa⁵¹ (Yirritja), Wuytjara⁵² (Dhuwa), Murru (Dhuwa), Woray’ (Yirritja) and Warrambil (Yirritja). According to wäwa and Garrutju they could understand each other well. (However, the two could not agree on whether they all spoke the same variety.)⁵³ The Golpa clan is the only one left from the Nhaŋu speaking Wessel clans.

Mälarra (Dhuwa), Dhäbitjin (Dhuwa), Walamaŋu (Yirritja), Gamalaŋga⁵⁴ (Dhuwa), Gurrindi (Dhuwa) and Yan-nhaŋu (Dhuwa) are Nhaŋu varieties spoken westwards towards Milingimbi and Maningrida. These are said to differ more from Golpa (than the Nhaŋu varieties that were spoken by the Wessel clans), as the Golpa cannot fully understand these language varieties, and vice versa. (I do not know HOW close these varieties are to each other.) According to wäwa there are still people around speaking these Nhaŋu varieties. (There are, for instance, also some Gamalaŋga and Mälarra speakers on Elcho Island. More speakers of these Nhaŋu varieties live at Raminginiŋ and Milingimbi, respectively.)

This above information was collected from wäwa and Garrutju during my fieldtrip in 2016 and is partially represented in Schebeck (2001, 15f., 1976a, 373, footnote 6), Wood

⁵⁰ Note that these words are spelled differently in Evans (1992).

⁵¹ Recall that other names referring to the Golpa are *Dharriwa*, *Dutjirriŋi*, *Marapuyŋu*, *Gandaŋu*, *Gurilka*, *Durruwalmanha* and *Buyarrwiyyarr* (cf. section 2.1).

⁵² This clan is also referred to as *Gayamburr* or *Murruŋun*.

⁵³ Wäwa also explained to me that the Golpa and the Warrambil spoke Nhaŋu and Djaŋu (more precisely: Warramiri) while all the other Wessel clans spoke only Nhaŋu.

⁵⁴ Schebeck (1976a, 373, footnote 6) calls Walamaŋu and Gamalaŋga south-eastern Nhaŋu dialects.

(1978, 59), Wilkinson (1991, ch. 1) and Christie (2001a, 5). John Greatorex and Bernhard Schebeck also confirmed some of the information in personal/email communication. Note that the above mentioned varieties Mälarra, Walamaṅu, Gamalaṅga, Gurrindi, as well as Durruwula (Yirritja) and Bindararr (Yirritja) are classified as *Yan-nhaṅu varieties* by Baymarrwaṅa and James (2014, 532-538) and Bower and James (2006). (Similar to “my” description above, in these papers, these (“Yan-nhaṅu”) varieties are also distinguished from the Wessel Island Nhaṅu varieties which are there referred to as *Nhaṅu(mi) varieties*.)

As far as I know, Yan-nhaṅu is the only other Nhaṅu language which has ever received linguistic attention. For this reason, it plays a special role in this thesis, particularly in section 4.3. Yan-nhaṅu is the traditional language of the Crocodile Islands. Most of its speakers now live at Maningrida and Milingimbi (cf. Bower et al. 2006) and the surrounding homelands. Some also stay at the island of Murrunga (cf. Bower and James 2006, 61).

All still existing Nhaṅu varieties can be considered endangered.

Before I conclude this section I shall make some notes on **typological features** of the language. Golpa and “other Yolṅu languages are typologically agglutinative, synthetic and predominantly dependent marking”, showing “no required order for S A V or O” (Wilkinson 2004, 1). Golpa is a typical Yolṅu language:

- It has an identical phonemic inventory including a fortis-lenis stop contrast (constrained to word-medial position) and a glottal stop.
- Stress patterns are similar to those found in other Yolṅu languages/varieties.
- It is an agglutinative language. (Only suffixes are used.)
- Grammatical relations are predominantly expressed on the noun phrase (dependent-marking).
- There are no gender distinctions.
- With one exception, Golpa has the same word classes.
- Verb forms are combined with TMA lexemes.
- Golpa also has free pronouns⁵⁵, conjugation classes, the grammatical category of ‘case’⁵⁶ and free word order.⁵⁷
- Golpa has verbal and non-verbal clauses.

⁵⁵ Djinaṅ, Djinba and Ritharṅu are exceptional in this regard in that they have bound pronouns.

⁵⁶ Note that most Australian languages lack articles and prepositions, as such meanings are expressed by case marking (cf. Dixon 1980, 271).

⁵⁷ Free word order is also typical for most Australian languages (cf. Dixon 1980, 473).

- Speakers also use shared Yolŋu vocabulary items (including English and Austronesian loanwords) and make use of the same word formation processes (suffixation, compounding, reduplication).

However, Golpa shows some distinct grammatical phenomena:

- Today's speakers only frequently use four out of seemingly six existing verbal inflections. One of the two rarely occurring inflections has only been found in few sentences in texts, and the other inflection is already lost, as it is not used at all anymore.
- In some elicited constructions linguistic entities either lack a required inflectional form or involve an incorrect one (although similar forms would also be required in other Yolŋu varieties spoken by wäwa, Garuŋju and Nyomba). This may have to do with the unnatural context of data collection. (Schmidt (1985, 7), for instance, reports that one of her Djirbal language workers used the ergative case affix only in natural/informal conversations.)
- Demonstrative forms are not case-marked in accordance to their syntactic function (as is the case in other Yolŋu languages).
- There are only two examples (in the present corpus) which involve multiple case markings. (This phenomenon is found far more often in other Yolŋu languages/varieties.)
- Compared to a number of other Yolŋu languages/varieties, a smaller set of Golpa case suffixes appears on the infinitive form in non-finite constructions.
- Golpa (semi-)speakers prefer finite expressions. Non-finite counterpart constructions are only rarely used, mostly by wäwa.
- Unlike other Yolŋu languages, Golpa lacks the verbal class of auxiliaries which are mainly used to express aspectual notions in other Yolŋu languages/varieties. Instead, Golpa (semi-)speakers use an aspectual particle.
- Non-inflecting "bare verbal forms" hardly occur in the present Golpa corpus. (They are relatively frequent in a number of other Yolŋu languages/varieties.)
- The word formation processes of compounding and reduplication seem to be used less frequently in Golpa than in other Yolŋu languages/varieties.

(These features are discussed and/or referred to in several sections of chapter 4 and chapter 7.)

The above list contains three characteristics that can DEFINITELY be attributed to the language obsolescence process of Golpa: The reduction within the verbal inflection system (point 1), occasional mistakes in elicited sentences (point 2) and the hesitant use of non-finite constructions (point 6). These developments took place within one generation, as Djingulul was still using all six inflectional forms and transmitted all types of non-finite constructions to wäwa, Garrutju and Nyomba. Missing or incorrect inflectional markings were not detected in Djingulul's recordings. These findings are evident from comparative studies of Djingulul's, wäwa's and Garrutju's speech performances.

Although the remaining characteristics in the above list probably also represent features of language attrition, we cannot be ABSOLUTELY certain. Djingulul, wäwa and Garrutju do not show any differences in these regards. Since there are no descriptions of other Wessel Island Nhaŋu varieties and no earlier records of Golpa, there is a slight chance that some of them were features of the Wessel Island Nhaŋu varieties of which only Golpa is left.

Of course, some findings may also have been (partially) induced or reinforced by the limitations of the corpus and/or the very small number of (semi-)speakers it was collected from.

An intense comparative study of other (yet unprocessed) texts of Djingulul with further recordings of current (semi-)speakers may reveal features of language attrition that I have not yet come across.

It is to be noted, however, that despite the very small number of (semi-)speakers and the limited use of the language over the past decades, Golpa still is a **fully functional language** with no pathological signs. It still shows a great amount of complexity and a large number of categories.

Yolŋu languages have a relatively big pool of shared vocabulary.⁵⁸ Lexemes may be shared by some or many language varieties. In some cases words have different meanings in different varieties. Sometimes, speakers also use words from other varieties although there are equivalents in their own tongue. (In this thesis such lexemes are marked **Golpa* in the gloss line to identify them as “non-Golpa” words.)⁵⁹ In regard to the speech of wäwa, Garrutju and Nyomba, the use of non-Golpa items was observed when they could not think of the Golpa equivalent. However, it is possible that Djingulul purposely used some non-Golpa lexemes in

⁵⁸ This type of information was either provided by one of the Golpa (semi-)speakers or taken from the Yolŋu Matha Dictionary (cf. Zorc 1986) or a description of another Yolŋu variety.

⁵⁹ This is also indicated in the abbreviation list.

his recordings, resulting from the Yolŋu custom that words which are phonologically similar to the name of a recently deceased person are to be avoided.

According to Melanie Wilkinson (personal communication in June 2016), the linguistic identity of a Yolŋu group is more clearly indicated by the use of certain morphemes rather than by vocabulary items. However, there are also varieties (of one language (group)) which only differ in regard to few lexemes. In such cases, these little linguistic differences are of great social importance (cf. McLellan 1992, 8).

In the following I refer to Yolŋu varieties as *languages* unless the differentiation between ‘(language) variety’ and ‘language (group)’ (as presented in Table 1) is relevant for the current discussion. This is to acknowledge the importance felt by the various indigenous groups to have a distinct linguistic identity.

2.3 Previous linguistic research

Yolŋu languages and their relations were first more intensively investigated by Bernhard Schebeck (2001) (cf. Dixon’s foreword therein). Of these languages, the Nhaŋu and Dhay’yi varieties have received the least attention (cf. McLellan 1992, 5).⁶⁰

So far, Golpa (Nhaŋu variety) has hardly been studied. Apart from the outcomes of our project (collection of grammatical and socio-linguistic data, creation of an analysed text corpus including some of Djingulul’s recordings, production of a dictionary) only little information on Golpa is available. Some data and notes on the language (mostly concerning inflectional forms) can be found in Schebeck’s (1976a, 2001) works.⁶¹ Capell (1942, 40-43) lists some pronominal forms (in nominative/ergative case) and few nouns of the language. Linda de Veer has done some work on Golpa in the 1980s but all I could access is a 30 minute recording of wāwa translating single words and simple sentences from English into Golpa.⁶² David Zorc’s Yolŋu Matha Dictionary (1986) contains 250 Golpa entries. A much more intense study seems to have been undertaken by Fiona McClaren who has worked on Golpa in the early 2000s. Unfortunately she has neither published any of her research results nor left copies of them with the Golpa. It is even more unfortunate that all efforts to get in touch with her have failed.

⁶⁰ Please see McLellan (1992, 8ff.) or Wilkinson (1991, 32ff.) for detailed information about previous studies on Yolŋu languages.

⁶¹ Note that he means *Golpa* when he refers to *Nhaŋu*, as all his information on Nhaŋu is taken from Golpa (cf. Schebeck 1976a, 373, footnote 6).

⁶² This recording was made in 1983 and is stored at AIATSIS.

Thanks to Djingulul and Bernhard Schebeck, the Golpa people and I were left with numerous Golpa recordings (made in 1965 and 1966).⁶³ Unfortunately, due to hindering circumstances the two men never got to work on the transcription of any of these texts. Nevertheless, the value of Djingulul's recordings is beyond measure. They also left a big impression on his grandchildren who understand the language to a considerable extent, as these texts reveal that he was a man of great cultural knowledge. When the Golpa and I first began our work on the language, it was clear to all of us that these recordings would be our starting point and one of the main areas of interest.

2.4 Fieldwork: Socio-political negotiations and data collection

Before outlining fieldwork procedures, I discuss the major socio-political negotiations and decision making processes between the Golpa and me, as these present the foundations of our cooperation. This section was written together with the Golpa and thus also mirrors their ideas and understandings in regard to our relationship and our work.

Ever since our first (phone) contact in 2008 I have been continuously in touch with the Golpa, mainly with Garrutju and wäwa, exchanging social, cultural and linguistic information as well as ideas about our future cooperation.

During my stays on Elcho Island in 2011 and 2016 we thoroughly discussed **ethical matters** and exchanged ideas about how to go about publications, conference papers, the use of pictures, etc. This helped all of us to (better) understand our responsibilities both for the data and for each other. Our major agreements shall be stated here briefly:

- The Golpa own the language raw material while the academic works are mine.
- I am allowed to use all raw and analysed data (including photos) for scientific purposes, i.e. I may publish research results in form of articles, books (including this thesis) or conferences papers UNLESS stated otherwise by the speaker who provided the data, e.g., in case of secret material.
- The Golpa wish that their language lives on, even if this takes place in a different part of the world. Therefore, they have authorised me to teach the language to non-indigenous people interested in learning it.
- The Golpa received (soft and/or hard) copies of all research outcomes (photos, recordings, conference papers, published works and data files⁶⁴) so they can access the (raw and analysed) data at all times and are in the position to share whatever they wish

⁶³ All of their recordings are stored at AIATSIS. However, a number of them is not accessible, as they contain sensitive data.

with whoever they wish. I will also send them copies of all future language material that I may produce.

- None of us will use our corporate works (dictionary and processed text material) for commercial purposes unless we decide upon it together.

The freedom to use and present (unrestricted) Golpa material meets the Golpa's wish to tell the world that they exist.

Since all fieldtrips were (at least partially) funded, we also spoke about the funding organisations and their interests. With respect to the ELDP grants it also became necessary to discuss **archiving matters**, including data access policies. Although the Golpa wish the world to know about their existence and want to share about their linguistic and cultural heritage, it was very important to them to fully understand the motivation of the archive, the way the data would be made accessible and to know about their rights (for instance, that they are able to restrict the access to a certain recording at a later time). It is for the benefit of future generations and other researchers that all data will be archived with ELAR (*Endangered Languages Archive* hosted at the *School of Oriental and Asian Studies* at the *University of London*) according to professional standards.

During the fieldtrips we tried to gather as much linguistic and cultural data as possible, as I may be the last linguist/researcher to work on Golpa. The data collection also includes numerous work session recordings. These may be particularly helpful for other researchers.

Another crucial point that needed to be communicated was that I did not receive any payment from the funding organisation (or anyone else). It was also very helpful to outline the relation I had with ELDP and what ELDP had to do with the archive (ELAR) and how come that a German linguist working on an Australian language receives **funding** from a university in Great Britain. (Please see section 2.5 for more information about the archiving of Golpa data.)

We also had to talk about more **practical issues**. A major point, for instance, was to discuss the appropriate payment for the language workers and how the money should be paid. (Two ELDP grants allowed me to pay wāwa, Garrutju and Nyomba acknowledging their time and commitment to our project during the fieldtrips in 2011, 2012 and 2016.)

⁶⁴ These include TRANSCRIBER files (used for transcriptions of audio recordings), TOOLBOX files (used for text analyses of audio recordings and for the dictionary), ELAN files (used for transcriptions and analyses of video recordings) and several WORD documents containing sociolinguistic information.

As for funding applications, I mainly relied on help from Garrutju and John Greatorex in that they would provide the data asked for in the application forms. They have also taught me how to properly behave within the community.

Our negotiations and discussions also allowed me to gain more insights into the life of Yolŋu people. Having been able to share thoughts and problems with Garrutju did not only help to find answers and solutions but has also been very encouraging to me. The negotiation process had certainly laid the foundation for a good and faithful co-operation and had made us see clearly that we are partners joint in the interest of documenting the Golpa language.

Accordingly, the procedures and **goals of our project** were developed together. Our focus during my fieldtrips was on the production of a dictionary as well as on the processing of text material in order to create a corpus. It was a very fortunate circumstance that Bernhard Schebeck and Djingulul had left us with numerous audio recordings. Although none of them had ever been transcribed they were true treasures and a good starting point for our work. They have not only preserved cultural knowledge but are also rich sources of both grammatical and lexical information and thus helped build a solid foundation for further linguistic research. A number of these texts became part of the “Golpa story book”, the first printed material in the Golpa language. The Golpa and their relatives also appreciated the fact that this piece of work was available after only a relatively short period of time. During my last fieldtrip in 2016 I was very pleased to hear that some of the Golpa’s children and grandchildren have been using this book as language learning material.

Throughout the years we have added several own text recordings and their analyses to this collection.

The dictionary is trilingual, providing English and Djambarrpuyŋu meaning equivalents to the Golpa lexemes. As English is not the language of a Yolŋu’s heart, we decided to translate the lexical items into Djambarrpuyŋu, a widely used local language. However, for researchers (and possibly also for future generations down the Golpa line) the data is easiest accessible through English.

Besides transcriptions and dictionary work, I also collected phonological, grammatical and socio-linguistic data (through elicitation/interviewing and/or observation).

The documentation and description of Golpa is most valuable for the Golpa people, as they have realised that the loss of their language also threatens the distinct identity of their descendants. According to my own observations and to what I was told, our project (which this thesis is a result of) has decelerated the process of the disappearance of this language:

Golpa has been used more frequently since the beginning of the documentation of the language, my fieldtrips marking the high points. The descendants of the Golpa (semi-)speakers now encourage them to use Golpa more often. Some of them show great interest in learning the language, or want to improve their competence in it.

Wäwa, Garrutju and Nyomba enjoyed working on Golpa and gained insights into how to document a language. They take pride in the fact that they have been actively involved in the documentation of their language, including the production of Golpa language material that they can now hand down to their descendants. It was important to them to leave something for future generations.⁶⁵

Our project has also awoken the interest of members of other Yolŋu clans on Elcho Island in regard to the documentation of their own languages.

Linguistics also benefits from the outcomes of this project. Given that only a relatively small percentage of the around 6000 languages worldwide are likely to survive the next 150 years (cf. Tsunoda 2004, 17 referring to Krauss 1998, 5), the documentation of endangered languages is urgent and should be understood as the “priority task for linguistics” (Lehmann 1999). The Golpa project (including this thesis) has thus contributed to the preservation of the linguistic and cultural diversity of humankind. Hoping that this thesis will also be read by some (young) linguists and other researchers, I want to encourage them here to get involved in the documentation of an endangered language even if this appears to be an impossible task at first sight. The preservation of an (endangered) language (and culture) is certainly worth all efforts and will be much appreciated by the surviving speakers!

In regard to Yolŋu research, this thesis presents a description of another Nhaŋu variety. Also, more is now known about the linguistic variation within the Nhaŋu language group.

To study the Golpa language, the following **data collection techniques** were applied:

1. The funding agency mainly supported the compilation of the “Golpa story book” and the dictionary, so that the collection of grammatical and socio-linguistic data did not feature as a main research subject in our documentation project. The majority of

⁶⁵ Unfortunately, it was not possible to arrange a workshop to show interested Golpa learners how to (properly) use the “Golpa story book” and the dictionary. I only got to introduce my thoughts about this matter to Garrutju in 2016. It is up to the Golpa (semi-)speakers to individually teach those interested in learning the language, using the produced material. It is also unfortunate that we have not found anyone in the community who would have the time AND the capability of making recordings and/or helping with text transcriptions. (Everybody within the extended Golpa family who can read and write Yolŋu (and English) already has at least one job and/or children to take care of.)

grammatical data was gained from the text corpus that was yet to be created. I obtained most information when transcribing recorded texts. They were grammatically analysed after they had been transcribed together with wäwa and/or Garrutju. Some of the texts stem from the rich text collection of Djingulul and Bernhard Schebeck, others are recordings of the current (semi-)speakers and were made by myself. Work sessions were most fruitful when more than one speaker participated. Unfortunately, such occasions were limited to the fieldtrip in 2011 when many members of the Golpa (extended) family stayed at the Golpa homeland Galawarra where Djingulul's oldest child Rose had been buried shortly before. Wäwa, Garrutju, her son Trevor Burrundjuwuy⁶⁶ and I spent many hours there transcribing some of Djingulul's recordings. However, in most other cases, I ended up working with only one speaker at a time. For this reason, I was not able to gain much data by observing (or even recording) Golpa conversations.

2. Grammatical information was elicited by using stimuli sentences for translation into Golpa. Usually these stimuli sentences were English but I also used some from other Yolŋu language varieties (found in the literature), especially when working with wäwa. Another elicitation technique was to offer Golpa constructions and then wait for the reactions of the (semi-)speaker(s).
3. I also considered all Golpa language data that I could find in the literature (cf. section 2.3 for this information).
4. In order to gain a better understanding of features commonly found in Yolŋu varieties I also studied the grammatical descriptions of surrounding languages (cf. chapter 1).
5. Some data was also obtained by observing actual language use between the Golpa (semi-)speakers and by engaging in Golpa conversations. Golpa was used frequently as a means of communication between me and wäwa, Garrutju and Nyomba towards the end of the fieldtrips in 2011, 2012 and during my last stay in 2016. Since wäwa hardly used English and my competence and performance in Yolŋu languages other than Golpa is restricted to a functional command of Gupapuyŋu and some Djambarrpuyŋu lexemes and phrases, he and I communicated in Golpa most often. (However, only some of these conversations could be (audio) recorded, as they were parts of work sessions.)

⁶⁶ Due to his great cultural knowledge and good English it was at all possible for me to understand the rich texts and to assist him, wäwa and Garrutju in composing adequate English translations which would transport at least some of the cultural information carried by the linguistic substance of the Golpa originals.

6. By making daily field notes I documented social actions as well as my own learning process concerning language and culture.⁶⁷
7. I interviewed Golpa people and their relatives (belonging to other clans) in order to learn about their individual language acquisition processes and their habits in regard to the use of these languages. I also collected more general data concerning the socio-linguistic situation of the people on Elcho Island. Some papers found in the *Yolŋu Matha Library* (at *Shepherdson College*) were very helpful in this regard. These papers were produced in the 1980s and express peoples' concerns in regard to the increasing use of Djambarrpuyŋu at the expense of other Yolŋu varieties on the island. They were written in various Yolŋu varieties. A number of Yolŋu (from other clans) kindly translated them for me into English. (However, due to the different focus of this thesis, only little socio-linguistic data is included here.)
8. In order to be able to examine differences in the speech/language ability of wäwa and Garrutju, I recorded them separately narrating the same story (by describing the plot "told" by pictures of a children's book). I also elicited a number of constructions from both of them for the sake of comparison.

(My language workers were informed about the various working methods and that these would vary according to the data sought.)

In between the fieldtrips I have maintained contact with my language workers through phone calls and postal mail. A number of our phone conversations were long and very profitable. Wäwa and I even managed to transcribe three of his texts this way.

Wäwa, Garrutju and Nyomba (and their siblings) are known as speakers AND owners of the language. Other Golpa-speaking Yolŋu were named and, where possible, also introduced to me by them. (I was also referred to these semi-speakers by other community members.)

However, apart from wäwa, Garrutju and Nyomba I have only had the chance to do some language work with an old Warramiri lady in 2011 and 2012.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ A number of very helpful suggestions concerning the planning and carrying out of fieldwork I have found in Blommaert and Jie (2010). For the Australian fieldwork context, I also recommend Evans (2001), Wilkins (1992) and Eades (1982).

⁶⁸ She passed away in 2012 and was considered to know Nhaŋu well. Her linguistic contributions are identified with *RRU* in this thesis.

Since the situation in the field has a great impact on the success of a fieldtrip and also shapes its outcomes, I shall sketch my **fieldwork situations** in 2009, 2011, 2012 and 2016 (cf. also Kabisch-Lindenlaub 2009, 2011 and 2012).

Due to personal circumstances I undertook none of my four fieldtrips alone. When I first met my Golpa family in 2009 (four weeks), I was accompanied by my husband Sven and our 1½ year old son Jewe. Our living circumstances during this fieldtrip were very challenging, as we had not been prepared to stay in a tent at Galawarra (with everybody else living in Galiwin'ku). Since we had a car we ended up doing a lot of driving, and we were regulars at the clinic. (Unfortunately, mosquitos and sandflies seemed to have just waited for us.) We spent much of our days with satisfying our basic needs and the organisation of fuel for the generator. Working time was further reduced by the fact that many funerals were held during the time of our stay. However, despite all these unfortunate circumstances, this trip was of great importance for the Golpa project, as it allowed us to get to know each other and to exchange ideas about our future cooperation.

The second fieldtrip in 2011 (three months) was much more comfortable (so that we hardly needed medical attention). Jewe and I stayed with a teacher's family in a house close to the school (*Shepherdson College*) in Galiwin'ku. They also allowed us to use their car. We spent most of our time at Galawarra where the majority of Golpa clan members (and close relatives) lived at the time. Due to this very fortunate circumstance the transcriptions of some of Djingulul's texts (for the "Golpa story book") was most successful, as I could work with more than one (semi-)speaker at a time. I also gained much insight into cultural and socio-linguistic matters and, maybe even more importantly, grew closer to the Golpa people.

In 2012 (six weeks) Jewe and I stayed at the school bunk house. Due to its architecture and the fact that the wet season continued on, Jewe suffered severe injuries which required quite intensive care. However, all other circumstances were very supportive. Since wäwa had moved back to town (Galiwin'ku), the fact that a car was not available to us this time was not a problem. Both his house and the clinic were in walking distance. I almost exclusively worked with wäwa. The few times we needed a lift to Galawarra (where Garrutju was still staying) we received help from a number of kind people we had met the year before. During this stay, the focus was on the texts to be included in the "Golpa story book". This involved the collection of additional grammatical data required to solve open questions in already processed recordings. I also collected a number of complex sentences and recorded several texts from wäwa.

During my last fieldtrip in 2016 (two months) I was accompanied by my son and my little daughter Beeke (three years old at the time). We enjoyed the hospitality of my adopted son Paul, his wife and four children and stayed in Buthan, the new subdivision of Galiwin'ku.⁶⁹ I was also very pleased that wäwa had moved into our neighbourhood for the time of our stay to make it easier for us. (His own place would have been about 40 minutes away by foot, when walking with children.) For the same reason Garrutju and her husband Gäli had left their home at Galawarra. (These kind actions were even more appreciated when sores started developing on our feet and legs again). Wäwa, Garrutju and I mainly concentrated on the dictionary, and on the collection of further socio-linguistic data. Unfortunately, it was not possible to bring them together for work sessions.

Of course, carrying out fieldwork with children is a more challenging and busy mission. However, their presence also has a number of advantages that are worth mentioning: Instead of appearing like an odd landmark within the community one fits in, as there are always many other children around. It is also very easy to get in touch with local people and to be accepted by them. I was also surprised by how many people in Galiwin'ku remembered Jewe from previous trips. This led to a number of lively conversations about the Golpa project and its progress. It is to be pointed out here that a number of people from various other clans show(ed) great interest in our Golpa documentation efforts.

Beeke and Jewe have felt very comfortable both within the (extended) Golpa family and the entire (Yolŋu) community on Elcho Island. It was wonderful for me to see them enjoy this adventure.

2.5 Data analysis and data presentation

The grammatical description is based on the analysis of the morphological and syntactic constructions exhibited in the text corpus and on data obtained in the course of (the unnatural context of) elicitation. Some data was collected by observing actual conversations in Golpa. Such data usually resulted from conversations in which I was involved as a speaker. I have also checked all Golpa data found in the literature.

The text corpus used for this thesis consists of 21 transcribed and analysed texts. Four of them (about 70 minutes of recording time) are taken from the audio collection created by Djingulul and Bernhard Schebeck in 1965/1966. The remaining texts were recorded by me and mainly stem from wäwa who was reasonably free in regard to the choice of the subject

⁶⁹ As an answer to two cyclones which had destroyed a number of houses in Galiwin'ku earlier in 2015, this settlement was added to the township of Galiwin'ku (along the airstrip).

matters. Two are from Garrutju and one was collected from Nyomba. (These texts have a total length of approximately 80 minutes.)

Note that most grammatical data included in this thesis (from text corpus or elicitation) was obtained during the fieldtrips in 2011 and 2012. Information presented here from the fieldtrip in 2016 mainly concerns the socio-linguistic area.

In order to capture as much as possible of the inventory and potential of a language a range of text types/text genres should be represented in the documentation. However, due to the minimal number of (semi-)speakers and our focus on the transcription of Djingulul's recordings many of the Golpa texts are narrations. Djingulul's texts are about Yolŋu clans, their land and languages, the shape and location of waterholes or the creation of land. The fourth text is a conversation of Djingulul with his oldest child Rose. Eight of the 17 recently recorded texts are descriptions of pictures, maps and video sequences.⁷⁰ (Hoping to be able to collect different constructions and lexemes I recorded three of them twice.) There is also a song (of Garrutju) and a prayer (of wāwa). The remaining seven texts are narrations. For two of them no audio recordings exist. Wāwa's speech was only documented on paper. The texts were produced in the 1980s during the "Aboriginal Language Fortnight" at *Batchelor College* (Northern Territory). One of them was transcribed by Nyomba and concerns the connection of the Golpa clan to the Wessel Islands and to Elcho Island. The other text is a hunting story. It was written down by a (now deceased) Wangurri lady.

About 750 sample sentences were obtained through elicitation and/or observation. (Some of them were collected via the phone.) Please recall (from section 2.2) that elicited constructions occasionally lack appropriate grammatical marking.

Most of the obtained data (texts, dictionary items, sample sentences and field notes) was managed in various TOOLBOX databases. Sociolinguistic information was organised in specific WORD documents. For the transcription of the recordings I used TRANSCRIBER or ELAN.

⁷⁰ However, they all have a narrative style.

Except for the treatment of complex sentences (chapter 7), the analysis and description of Golpa is “framework-free” (Haspelmath 2010) in the sense that the language is analysed and described in its own terms and not according to a particular linguistic theory. (However, the consultation of various framework-based works has proved valuable for sharpening insights into Golpa.) In order to discuss the data in an accessible format, familiar terminology is used for the majority of concepts. In some cases, less familiar or innovative terms are applied to adequately describe or refer to a linguistic feature or phenomenon.

The description of complex sentences is based on Lehmann’s (1988) *parametric approach*.

Although I have attempted to provide as comprehensive a description as possible, for a number of subjects I am left with too little data to make definite statements. In such cases, I can only point out that further research is required in these areas.⁷¹

Please bear in mind that my description basically rests upon data obtained from two fluent speakers (wäwa and Djingulul) and two semi-speakers (Garrutju and Nyomba). This grammatical account is therefore not suitable for the comparison with descriptions based on data from many speakers in a lively speech community (as is the case for Djambarrpuyju, for instance).⁷²

In regard to the reliability of the collected data, it must be pointed out that not all information (although most of it) could be double-checked with a second (semi-)speaker. Sometimes I also checked constructions with the same speaker again after a period of time in order to find out about the correctness of the gathered material. In a number of cases the procedure of double-checking led to the discovery of alternative constructions.

I have not noticed any rivalries or competitions in regard to the linguistic performance among the remaining (semi-)speakers. By following Dorian (1986, 563), the fact that no negative prestige is associated with Golpa, it does not appear to be likely that language speakers understate their linguistic ability. Despite the pride they take in the fact that they speak the language, I did neither have the impression that wäwa, Garrutju or Nyomba misinterpret their personal linguistic ability by overstating it. Wäwa, Garrutju and Nyomba

⁷¹ A description of features characterising myths, song cycles, story cycles, avoidance and secret styles is not part of this thesis, as these matters still require an enormous amount of research.

⁷² This does not only concern the reliability of the data but also the way the data is presented and discussed: In some cases, my “discussion” of a phenomenon is limited to the citation of similar constructions, as certain functions and forms are yet unclear.

always let me know when they did not know or were not sure about a word or construction. When Garrutju and Nyomba did not know they always referred me to wäwa.

The competence and performance of their father Djingulul is considered to be very good by his children. Since, however, no other Golpa data is available from earlier times I am not able to say much about his linguistic skills.

The great majority of data is presented in the form of sample sentences. These consist of a text line (in bold print), a morpheme segmentation line, a gloss line, a translation line and in some cases also a comment line.⁷³ Each example is followed by a reference. The presentation of complex sentences usually involves the use of square brackets in the morpheme line in order to indicate clause boundaries. (Please also see the list of abbreviations for information on the various signs used in the intermorphemic glosses.) All sample sentences are numbered.

Since the examples presented here are taken from different sources I use different types of references for their identification. Sentences from lexicon entries are indicated by the abbreviation *s.v.*⁷⁴ followed by the lexeme entry name (in italics) and the name of the speaker, e.g., *s.v. badak* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa. The references of examples taken from the (TOOLBOX) sample sentence database are composed of the initials of the speaker and the sentence number, e.g., JBG173. The following initials are used:

HDG	Harry Djingulul G <u>anda</u> ṅu
HNG	Helen Nyomba G <u>anda</u> ṅu
JBG	James Barripaṅ G <u>anda</u> ṅu (wäwa)
JGG	Jane Garrutju G <u>anda</u> ṅu
MYG	Meagan Yiṅi G <u>anda</u> ṅu
RLG	Rose L. ⁷⁵ G <u>anda</u> ṅu (passed away in 2011)
RRU	old Warramiri lady (passed away in 2012)

⁷³ Of course, longer examples require several sets of these lines.

⁷⁴ i.e. *sub vocal*

⁷⁵ The Yolṅu name of a (recently) deceased person is to be avoided. Garrutju told me (in July 2016) that in cases where the deceased was an important clan/community member, it is possible that his/her name may not be used for a longer period of time. It is usually the family who decides when the name of the loved one may be used again (to refer to the person or to use it for naming children). This “naming taboo rule” has relevance across Yolṅu clans. I am not aware of any other present linguistic taboos to do with the content of this thesis. (For some notes on tabooed lexemes in Australian languages, cf. Dixon (1980, 151).)

If an example is taken from the text corpus (as described above), this is indicated in the reference. The identifier of such a sample sentence is in accordance with the ID used in the \ref field of the corresponding TOOLBOX text entry. Such a text reference ID consists of the initials of the (main) speaker (of the text) and the text number. This expression is followed by an underscore and the TOOLBOX entry number, e.g., text HDG003_0466. (The name of the speaker is specified in cases where the text (from which the sentence is taken) was composed by more than one speaker.)

Unless otherwise indicated, sample sentences are presented in the Golpa language.

All (raw and analysed) Golpa data is archived with ELAR (*Endangered Languages Archive* hosted at the *School of Oriental and Asian Studies* at the University of London). The majority of it is freely accessible and is therefore also available to other researchers. The “Golpa story book” and the major deposit of the text corpus (including the two texts on the attached CD) can be found at <http://elar.soas.ac.uk/deposit/0139>. (These are the results from the fieldwork trips in 2011 and 2012.) The printable version of the dictionary, other analysed texts and the collection of sociolinguistic information will soon be presented at <http://elar.soas.ac.uk/deposit/0425>. (These are the results from the fieldwork trip in 2016.) Note that the purpose of the “Golpa story book” and the dictionary is to meet the interests of the community. The dictionary consists of around 700 entries and a sketch grammar (written for the layperson). It mainly contains lexemes occurring in the “Golpa story book”, but also includes other frequently occurring lexical items as well as grammatical forms (function words, suffixes and clitics).⁷⁶

⁷⁶ The entire Golpa dictionary currently comprises about 1800 entries. A number of them still require some work.

3. Phonetics, phonology and orthography

In this chapter I give an overview of Golpa's phonemic inventory, phonotactics, stress pattern and its (major) morphophonemic phenomena. The description is based on the examination of recorded text material and single words.

Despite their differences, languages all over Australia have much of their phonetic systems in common: All Australian languages have the two glides /w/ and /j/, usually two rhotics (Dixon 1980, 470), and generally lack fricative sounds (cf. Schebeck 2001, 66 or Capell 1945, 146). However, Yolŋu languages have two major features not typical of most other Australian languages: They have a fortis-lenis stop contrast (usually constrained to word medial position) and a glottal stop (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 37, Wood 1978, 54 or Schebeck 2001, 18).

Golpa's phonemic inventory is characteristic for Yolŋu languages. All its phonemes also occur in other Yolŋu languages, such as Gupapuyŋu (cf. Christie 2001a, 11), Djambarrpuyŋu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 41, 44), Djapu (cf. Morphy 1983, 13), Djinaŋ (cf. Waters 1989, 1), Gälpu (cf. Wood 1978, 61) or Yan-nhaŋu (cf. Bower et al. 2006, 26).

(In the following subsections, syllabic boundaries are indicated in the examples by a period.)

3.1 Consonants

Like in other Yolŋu varieties, in Golpa, stops and nasals are articulated at six points: They can be bilabial [b], [p], [m], (apico-) dental [t̪], [d̪], [n̪], (apico-) alveolar [t], [d], [n], (apico-) retroflex [ɬ], [ɮ], [ɳ], (lamino-) palatal [c], [j], [ɲ] and velar [k], [g], [ŋ]. My findings also show the typical Yolŋu two-way distinction for laterals ((apico-) alveolar [l] and (apico-) retroflex [ɭ]), glides (bilabial [w] and palatal [j]), and rhotics ((apico-) alveolar [r] and (apico-) retroflex [ɽ]). However, there are slight differences in the classification of the sounds and/or in the use of terminology. For example, Waters (1989, 1) uses the term *post-alveolar* instead of *retroflex*. What I call *apico-dental* ([t̪], [d̪], [n̪]) is labelled *interdental* by Christie (2001a, 11). Approximants are referred to as *semivowels* by Christie (2001a, 11) and Wilkinson (1991, 41). Both authors only distinguish the bilabial [w] and the lamino-palatal [j].⁷⁷ Following Bower et al.'s (2006, 26) analysis of Yan-nhaŋu, I also count the (apico-) retroflex [ɽ] as a glide/approximant. What Wilkinson labels *continuant rhotic* Bower and I call (*apico-*) *alveolar trill* ([r]). (Christie (2001a, 10) lists this sound under *liquids*.) The classification of

⁷⁷ This sound is labelled *alveodental* in Christie (2001a, 11).

the lenis (apico-) retroflex [d] is not a simple one, as its articulation manner varies: Word initially [d] is articulated as a stop while it is reduced to a flap in word medial position. This has also been reported for Djambarrpuyŋu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 42) and Yan-nhaŋu (cf. Bowern et al. 2006, 25f.). Schebeck (2001, 18) mentions a retroflex flap [d] occurring in all Yolŋu languages.

With respect to the stop series, it should be mentioned that the terms *fortis-lenis* (as used in Wilkinson 1991 or Wood 1978) or *tense-lax* (as used by Schebeck 2001) have been found to capture the distinctive feature of stops more precisely than the notions *voiceless-voiced*: In order to produce a sound of the “voiceless” stop series ([p, k, t, t̪, t̪̥, c]) the subglottal pressure behind the place of articulation is more intense than when producing a member of the “voiced” stop series ([b, g, d, d̪, d̪̥, j]). Thus, when the air is released those sounds are more tense/fortis. (Because the time until a fortis sound is released seems longer than the release of a lenis sound, the stop contrast has occasionally also been described as being one of length, as, for example, by Bowern et al. (2006, 29) for Yan-nhaŋu, Waters (1989, 2) for Djinaŋ and Djinba.) The onset of voice does not seem to play as much a role in regard to the contrast found in the two stop series (cf. also Wilkinson 1991, 39). In this thesis I follow the example of most linguists who have worked on Yolŋu languages and use the *fortis-lenis* terminology.

Like in other Yolŋu languages, the phonemic fortis-lenis distinction in Golpa is constrained to word medial position and neutralised word initially (only lenis stops) and word finally (only fortis stops) (cf. Waters 1989, 2 for Djinaŋ and Djinba, for instance). Note also that stop sounds are not aspirated.

As was also already indicated, another shared Yolŋu feature is the existence of a glottal stop. However, it does not form a natural class with the other stops but behaves somewhat differently (more below). For convenience, it is included in the following consonant chart.

In order to make phonetic transcriptions easier to read, fortis and lenis stops are represented with voiceless and voiced symbols, respectively, both in the examples and the tables. Note further that for the same reason the glottal stop is generally represented by the apostrophe in Golpa examples, independent of the type of notational representation.

articulation place		bilabial	apico-dental	apico-alveolar	apico-retroflex	lamino-palatal	velar	glottal
manner								
stops	[fortis]	p	t̪	t	ʈ	c	k	ʔ (')
	[lenis]	b	d̪	d	ɖ	ɟ	g	
nasals		m	ɱ	n	ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	
flaps					(d)			
trills				r				
laterals				l	ɭ			
approximants/ glides		w			ɽ	j		

Table 2 Golpa consonant sounds and phonemes

The phonologically uncertain or doubtful status of the glottal stop in Yolŋu varieties is discussed in a number of works (e.g. Wood 1978 or Wilkinson 1991). The authors more or less agree that the glottal stop is phonemically relevant but, due to its distribution and behaviour, cannot be treated as a phonological segment. In Djambarrpuyŋu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 89) the glottal stop is analysed as a syllable feature. Wood (1978, 97) has refined this analysis for his phonological description of Gälpu, defining the glottal stop as a “prosodic syllable feature”. Based on his findings regarding the distinct distribution of the glottal stop (for instance, that it follows and thus extends CC sequences) (cf. Wood 1978, 96) he, too, argues that the glottal stop has a contrastive but not a segmental status.⁷⁸

This analysis can probably also be adopted for Golpa. However, in order to arrive at a conclusive statement, the distribution of the glottal stop (including its co-occurrence with other stops) needs to be studied in more detail. Since the classification of the glottal stop is of minor relevance to the contents of this thesis, the current lack of such information does not affect the description presented here.

⁷⁸ An insightful discussion concerning the glottal stop is also provided by Harvey (1991).

3.2 Vowels

Yolŋu languages (such as Djambarpuyŋu, Gupapuyŋu, Gälpu, Wangurri or Yan-nhaŋu, for instance) are reported to have a six vowel system, the vowels contrasting in height, backness and length (cf., for instance, Wilkinson 1991, 44, or McLellan 1992, 61f.): /i/ - /i:/, /a/ - /a:/, /u/ - /u:/.

The contrast between long and short vowels is constrained to the first syllable of a word, including compounds and reduplications (cf. also Zorc 1986, I-4f., or Wilkinson 1991, 39, 44).⁷⁹ Mistakes concerning vowel length are always corrected by Golpa (semi-)speakers.

There are some allophonic variations for /i/, /a/ and /u/:

backness		front		central		back	
length		short	long			short	long
height	high	i (/i/)	i: (/i:/)			u (/u/)	u: (/u:/)
				i (/i/)	ɯ (/u/)		
	low			a (/a/)	a: (/a:/)	ʌ (/a/)	

Table 3 Golpa vowel sounds and phonemes

The allophones of /i/, the front [i] and the more centralised [ɪ], are generally found to vary freely. However, [i] is likely to be found in the following contexts: (1) word finally: [gal.ki] ‘near’, [ɟɔl.ŋi] ‘good’, [ba:.pi] ‘snake’, (2) after the glides /j/ and /w/: [ji:.maŋ.dʒi] ‘turtle’, [wi:jɪn] ‘long’, and (3) after nasals: [ɟɔl.ŋi] ‘good’, [dʒa.dʒuk.mi.ja.ma] ‘throw’. /i/ is also usually realised as [i] when it is lengthened (as in [ji:.maŋ.dʒi] ‘turtle’). In other contexts it tends to be centralised towards [ɪ], e.g., [bi.li] ‘because’, [dʒi.wirk.ja.ma] ‘broke’, [mi.ri.bu.lu] ‘two’. Since (primary) stress always occurs syllable initially (cf. section 3.4), these examples also show that /i/ may even be realised as [ɪ] in stressed syllables.

/a/ may be realised as [a] or [ʌ]. The open-mid back [ʌ] is rare but occurs in both stressed (e.g., [mʌɾ.mʊ.kʊ] ‘mother’s mother’, [ŋaj.ka.ŋʌ]⁸⁰ ‘name’, [ŋʌ.mʊ] ‘mother, mother’s sister’, [ŋʌɾ.kʊ.la] ‘water’) and unstressed syllables (e.g., [ga.ɾʌ.ma] ‘go, come’, [ju.ɾʌ.ma] ‘agree’). [a] is much more frequent than [ʌ] and has been found in any type of syllable (i.e. regardless of the syllable’s position within the word; stressed or unstressed, open or close), e.g., [wa.ra.kan] ‘bird’, [ga.ta.pa.ŋa] ‘buffalo’, [ja.nan] ‘honey’, [ŋu.ca.ca] ‘fish’, [ba.la] ‘and (then)’, [dʒa.wal] ‘far, distant’, [ba.lam] ‘this’ or [wa:.wa] ‘older brother’. The

⁷⁹ The length contrast in the initial syllable has also been found for proto-Australian (cf. Dixon 1980, 469) and seems to have been retained by Yolŋu languages.

⁸⁰ Here, [ʌ] occurs in a syllable with secondary stress (cf. section 3.4 below for more information).

two allophones of /a/ are in free variation. However, /a/ tends to be realised as [ʌ] before and after the retroflex glide [ɾ] and after the velar or retroflex nasals [ŋ, ŋ].

The phoneme /u/ is most often realised by the more centralised sound [ʊ]. Like the allophones of /i/ and /a/, [u] and [ʊ] vary freely. The two sounds occur in identical contexts. The following examples are only given with the more common allophone: [ɡaɖɪwaŋʊ] ‘crooked’, [ɾʊlkʌŋʊ] ‘none, nothing’, [ɾʊlkʌ] ‘no, not’, [ba:ɾʊ] ‘crocodile’, [ɾʊnʊɾ] ‘full, lots’, [ɖʊnʊpa] ‘straight’, [ŋʊcaca] ‘fish’, [boɾʊm] ‘ripe’, [mʊɖʊŋaj] ‘food’, [waɾʊ] ‘dog’, [marŋʊ] ‘possum’, [ɖʊm'ɾʊm] ‘wallaby’. Although [ʊ] is found in word initial, word medial and word final syllables it tends to be less centralised in word final syllables, as in [ɾʊl.kʌ.ŋʊ] ‘not’ or [ɾʊ.nur] ‘full, lots’. Also, /u/ tends to be realised as [u] when following the interdental [ɳ], [ɽ], [ɖ] or the fortis bilabial stop [p]: [ɡapu] ‘water’, [ɖɽ ukar] ‘road, path’, [ɳunana] ‘you (ACC)’, [ɟʊɽɳun] ‘hit, fight, catch, kill’. I have come across two words where /u/ is most often realised as [ɣ]: [ɖɣcʊn] ‘return’ and [ɟɣcɣcɳa] ‘goodbye’. (It is likely that the latter is a German loan.)

Long vowels have been found in both open syllables (e.g., [ja:.ɾɪ] ‘rainbow’, [ga:.ci.ja.mʊ] ‘child (of a man)’, [ɳi:.na] ‘sit, stay, live/exist’, [gʊ:.ɳa] ‘maybe’) and closed syllables (e.g., [ɖɽ a:l] ‘want’, [ɳa:ɫ.ka] ‘bag’).

The preference of a particular realisation of /i/, /a/ or /u/ in certain contexts appears to be the result of a vowel assimilation process.

(In order to enable the reader to recognise previously cited words (represented by IPA symbols), the phonemes are represented phonetically in the subsequent sections.)

3.3 Phonotactics

3.3.1 Syllable structure

The onset of a syllable is always a consonant. Like in other Yolŋu languages, only word initial syllables may have a lengthened nucleus in Golpa. The coda may consist of one to two consonants. Golpa has the following three syllabic patterns: CV, CVC and CVCC. The minimal syllable form occurs with the highest frequency, i.e. open syllables are found more often than closed syllables.

All syllable patterns are found word initially, word medially and word finally. (Syllables are separated by periods.)

CV, CVC and CVCC word initially:

/ji.ŋu/ ‘always’

/gaŋ.ga/ ‘a little’

/maŋ.gi/ ‘know’

CV, CVC and CVCC word medially:

/bar.ŋa.ra/ ‘hear’

/gu.mur.ku.ma/ ‘adopt someone into one’s family’

/d̪i.wirk.jun/ ‘break’

CV, CVC and CVCC word finally:

/ga.ta.pa.ŋa/ ‘buffalo’

/d̪̥ a.wal/ ‘far, distant’

/ba|.kurk/ ‘rain’

With the exception of the fortis stop series, all consonants may stand syllable initially. Syllable finally, all consonants can occur except for the lenis stop series. The opposition of fortis-lenis stops is thus only found word medially.

Golpa has only few monosyllabic words.⁸¹ They usually show the syllable patterns CV (as in /ga/ ‘and’, /m̥ a:/ ‘what’, /ma/ ‘CONT/PROG’ or /ma/ ‘go ahead, do it’) or CVC (as in /jow/ ‘yes’, /jol/ ‘who’, /d̪̥ a:l/ ‘want, feel’, /bir/ ‘very far away’ or /ja:n/ ‘word, language’). They usually have a lengthened nucleus (as in /m̥ a:/), a syllable closing consonant (as in /jow/, /jol/ and /bir/’) or both (as in /ja:n/ and /d̪̥ :l/).

⁸¹ Dixon (1980, 470) states that proto-Australian had many monosyllabic words while many modern languages have at least two syllables for words and roots; the basic disyllabic pattern is C1 V1 (C2) C3 V (C4).

3.3.2 Consonant clusters

There are no syllable initial/word initial consonant clusters and only few syllable final clusters (including word final clusters). Those detected so far are /rk/ as in /dʒi.wirk.jun/ ‘break’ or /baɭ.kurk/ ‘rain’, and /lk/ as in /milk.milk/ ‘mosquito’.

Note that syllable final consonants may also combine with the glottal stop, e.g., /wʔ/ as in /wa.rawʔ/ ‘shade’, /rrʔ/ as in /ɖa.karʔ/ ‘woomera’, /ŋʔ/ as in /ɖa.mu.ruŋʔ/ ‘salty’, /mʔ/ as in /ɖamʔ.tʃun/ ‘dry out’, /nʔ/ as in /wa.ra.kanʔ/ ‘bird’ or /lʔ/ as in /lu.waɭʔ.mi.ya.ma/ ‘lift up’.

There is a wide range of word medial consonant clusters: Since syllables always start with a consonant, these arise whenever a syllable follows a closed syllable (as in /ŋaɭ.ku.la/ ‘water’, for instance). This also concerns the combination of a verb root with an inflectional suffix (such as in /ɖiɭ.tʃun/ ‘scoop (up)’, /git.kit.tʃun/ ‘laugh’ or /ŋarʔ.ŋar.jun/ ‘be thirsty’), as well as words involving reduplicated forms (like /jark.jark.cun/ ‘move further’).

Consonant sequences have an average number of two consonants. More complex consonant clusters usually include the glottal stop. However, there are few words with a three-consonant cluster that do not involve the glottal stop: /maɳ.gi/ ‘know’, /ŋarŋ.ga/ ‘hole’, /ma:r ɖuwaɭkcun/ ‘believe’. Thus, the maximum number of consonants following each other is three. The following word medial clusters have been found:

stop initial clusters:

/tʔtʃ/ as in /ɖu.waɭʔ.tʃun/ ‘go uphill’

/tʃ/ as in /gu.ru.maɭ.ci/ ‘magpie goose’

/cb/ and /cj/ as in /bac.bac.jun/ ‘sick’

/km/ as in /ɖa.ɖuk.mi.ja.ma/ ‘throw’

The above examples show that the glottal stop is not the only stop sound that may occur together with another stop.

nasal initial clusters:

/ŋʔk/ as in /m̩ ŋʔ.ku/ ‘yours’

/ng/ as in /ja.wun.gu/ ‘yesterday’

/nk/ as in /ban.ku.ɖi/ ‘hunter’

/n'k/ as in /m̩ an'.ka.ra/ 'to(wards) someone/someone's place'

/m̩ d̩ / as in /ji:.mam̩. d̩ i/ 'turtle (generic)'

/ŋŋ/ as in /ʃaŋ.ŋa/ 'hungry, hunger'

/ŋb/ as in /buŋ.bu/ 'house'

/ŋd/ as in /baŋ.dəŋ/ 'shallow'

/ŋj/ as in /ŋjŋ.jak/ 'nose'

/m't̩/ as in /d̩um'.t̩um/ 'wallaby'

rhotic initial clusters:

/rk/ as in /d̩i.wirk.jun/ 'break'

/rw/ as in /gar.waɾ/ 'above'

/rŋ/ as in /bar.ŋa.ra/ 'hear'

/rc/ as in /jir.ca/ 'downhill'

/ɾp/ as in /d̩ aɾ.pa/ 'tree (generic), stick'

/ɾŋg/ as in /maɾŋ.gi/ 'know'

/ɾ'j/ as in /d̩ uŋ.guɾ'.ja/ 'lighted'

/ŋ'k/ as in /baŋ'ka/ 'sandy'

lateral initial clusters:

/lk/ as in /ɾul.ka/ 'not, no', /milk.milk/ 'mosquito'

/lp/ as in /bul.pu.ju/ 'alone'

/lm̩ / as in /bul.m̩ a/ 'slowly'

/lŋ/ as in /jal.ŋu.wa/ 'later (today), soon'

/lk/ as in /ja:l̩.ka/ 'bag'

/lc/ as in /maɫ.ca.ŋa/ 'two'

/lm/ as in /waɫ.mu.d̩a/ 'month, moon'

(Note that there is no case where the glottal separates two identical stops.)

3.4 Stress

Like in other Yolŋu languages, stress is found on the first syllable of a word.⁸² I refer to this as *primary stress* (marked by '). In polysyllabic words there also seems to be a *secondary* (or *minor*) *stress* on the third or fourth syllable (marked by ,). Words with primary stress may have the following syllable (s) patterns⁸³:

's, e.g. /'d̪a:l/ 'want'

'ss, e.g. /'ba.l.ko.rk/ 'rain'

'sss, e.g. /'ŋo.ca.ca/ 'fish'

Words with three syllables have also been found with secondary stress:

'sss, e.g. /'wa.l.mu.ɖa/ 'moon, month', /'bu.ku.wɛj/ 'five', /'ga.ŋo.la/ 'eye, seed',

/'ma.l.ca.ŋa/ 'two'

Words with four syllables or more all bear both primary and secondary stress. The latter is either placed on the third or fourth syllable⁸⁴:

'ssss, e.g. /'ga.ɾa.ŋa.ɾa/ '(in order) to go/to come', /'gan.dar.ɾin.di/ 'fat (of a person)'

'sssss, /'d̪o.mɔn.gɔ.ru.ŋo/ 'son-in-law's child'

'ssss, e.g. /'bak.mi.ja.ɾa/ 'break', /'gɔ.ru.maɾ.ci/ 'magpie goose'

'sssss, e.g. /'d̪ar'.ja.na.ŋa.jo/ 'damaged.PROM'

'ssssss, e.g. /'ga.ja.wak.ŋa.ra.ŋo/ 'four'

For English loans, Schebeck (2001, 68) found the following two processes applied in Yolŋu languages: (i) the stress pattern is changed toward the native rule, e.g. /ba'nana/ → /'binana/ (with vowel change), or (ii) the English stress pattern is copied which may lead to the dropping of the initial unstressed syllable after some time, e.g. /'na:p/ 'enough'.⁸⁵

⁸² This stress pattern has also been found in proto-Australian (cf. Dixon 1980, 469).

⁸³ The notation for the syllable patterns are adopted from Wood (1978).

⁸⁴ Similar stress patterns are reported for Gälpu: Words with one, two or three syllables are shown to have only primary stress while four to six syllable words have been found to also have secondary stress either on their third or fourth syllable (cf. Wood 1978, 85f.).

⁸⁵ For information on phonological changes in English loans I refer the reader to Schebeck (2001, 66f.).

Most English loans found in Golpa already show primary stress on the first syllable in the source language, e.g.,

English /'spu:n/	→	Golpa /'bu:n/ 'spoon'
English /'medisn/	→	Golpa /'mi:dikin/ or /'mi:ditjin/ 'medicine'
English /'laithaus/	→	Golpa /'latawic/ 'lighthouse'
English /'nambə/	→	Golpa /'namba/ 'number'
English /'ʃugə/	→	Golpa /'ʃu:ka/ 'sugar'
English /'bai/	→	Golpa /'ba:jim/ 'buy, pay'
English /'pikcə/	→	Golpa /'bica/ 'picture'.

The stress patterns in compounds and reduplications are yet to be researched.

3.5 Morphophonemic processes

It is to be noted here too that this area also requires further investigation. So far I have found cases of vowel assimilation and initial syllable deletion. These morphophonemic processes shall only be indicated here:

Vowel assimilations have been discussed in section 3.2 above. It can generally be stated that the allophonic realisations of the vowel phonemes /i/, /a/ and /u/ are in free variation. However, there is evidence that the distribution of some allophonic variants tends to be led by the phonological environment.

A process resulting in the loss of an element can be observed for initial syllables in fast speech, e.g., /ŋa.ra/ → /ra/ 'I' or /wɔ.ru.ku/ → /ru.ku/ 'will, would'. This reduction is optional.

Following Bernhard Schebeck's (2001, 18) notes on the phonological system of Yolŋu languages, Golpa would be classified as a "soft dialect", as it shows an opposition between fortis and lenis stops in word medial position⁸⁶, whereas so called "hard dialects" only have fortis stops in word medial position, as lenis stops are replaced by glides⁸⁷: [b], [g] → [w], and [d], [j] → [j]), e.g., *djogu* → *djowu* 'concert sing song'.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ In Djambarrpuyŋu, this contrast is reduced in that peripheral intramorphemic stops are frequently lenited to [w] and laminal intramorphemic stops to [j] (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 42).

⁸⁷ Waters (1989, 286) notes that Gumatj is a famous example for this type of lenition.

⁸⁸ He also mentions the change from English [h] to Yolŋu [b] as in *Hollander* (the first Europeans to have contact with the Yolŋu) which has become *balanda* 'white person' (ibid, 66).

Unlike other Yolŋu languages⁸⁹, such lenition processes do not (clearly) show in Golpa. However, the irrealis particle *wurruku* seems to have resulted from the lenition process: The Yan-nhaŋu equivalent is *gurrku* (cf. Bowern et al. 2006).⁹⁰

We will see in various sections below that the distribution of allomorphs for several nominal and verbal suffixes does not appear to follow clear rules.

3.6 Some remarks on orthographic conventions

In all following chapters I use the standardised Yolŋu orthography which was introduced by Beulah Lowe (1975). Although it was originally developed for Gupapuyŋu (Dhuwala variety) it has since commonly been used throughout North East Arnhem Land, by Yolŋu speakers, linguists, bible translators and schools offering a bilingual education programme (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 39 or McLellan 1992, 62).

The major spelling conventions are the following: An underlined letter stands for the corresponding retroflex sound, the umlaut on <a> lengthens the vowel; consonant letters followed by <h> are interdental.

The two tables below list the symbols used for the orthographic representation of consonants and vowels in Golpa. Each orthographic symbol is followed by the corresponding IPA symbol (in square brackets).

⁸⁹ See, for instance, McLellan's (1992, 68f.) account for Wangurri or Wilkinson's (1991, 70-80) description of Djambarrpuyŋu.

⁹⁰ However, it is to be noted that the particle *wurruku* appears in a number of Yan-nhaŋu sentences that were recorded by Wood (1977).

articulation place		bila-bial	apico-dental	apico-alveolar	apico-retroflex	lamino-palatal	velar	glottal
manner								
stops	fortis	p ([p])	th ([t̪])	t ([t])	ṭ ([ṭ])	tj ([tɕ])	k ([k])	ʻ
	lenis	b ([b])	dh ([d̪])	d ([d])	ḍ ([ḍ])	dj ([dʒ])	g ([g])	
nasals		m ([m])	nh ([ɲ])	n ([n])	ɳ ([ɳ])	ny ([ɲ])	ŋ ([ŋ])	
flaps					ḍ ([ḍ])			
trills				rr ([r])				
laterals				l ([l])	ɭ ([ɭ])			
approximants/ glides		w ([w])			r ([ɻ])	y ([j])		

Table 4 Orthographic representation of Golpa consonants

backness		front		central		back	
length		short	long			short	long
height	high	i ([i])	e ([i:])			u ([u])	o ([u:])
				i ([ɪ])	u ([ʊ])		
	low			a ([a])	ä ([a:])	a ([ʌ])	

Table 5 Orthographic representation of Golpa vowels

Some further major orthographic conventions (which are based on phonology) are as follows:

- No double consonants are written (e.g. *wolguman-nha* woman-ACC → *wolgumanha* but **wolgumannha*).
- Long vowels are only notationally indicated in the first syllable.
- Vowel length is lost in the second part of reduplicative forms (e.g. *nhäma-nhama* ‘search’, but **nhäma-nhäma*).
- A fortis stop symbol is not followed by a glottal stop.
- A hyphen is used to join compound words (with an overall new meaning), and full reduplications (cf. section 5.2).
- After a hyphen lenis stop symbols are used.

4. Lexical classes and morphosyntax

The aim of this chapter is to give an overview of the major morphosyntactic characteristics and operations in Golpa.

In section 4.1, I outline the Golpa word classes and their features. The use of individual members is illustrated in examples.

In section 4.2, I attend to noun phrase structures and discuss case.

Verbal forms receive particular attention, as the grammatical differences between Yolŋu languages are most obvious in the inflectional system (cf. Schebeck 2001, 27) and in regard to the use of TMA markers. The verb phrase is treated in section 4.3 and to a great extent also in section 5.1. I follow the common practice in Yolŋu language description and use the NEU form of the verb as citation form. (This form is also referred to as *verb form I* (cf. Schebeck 2001), *Primary form of the verb* (cf. Lowe 1975, Buchanan 1986 or Bower et al. 2006) or *FIRST form* (cf. Wilkinson 1991).)

The descriptive account presented in this chapter is needed in order to follow the examples and discussions in chapter 6 and chapter 7, where syntactically more complex formations are considered.

4.1 Word classes/parts of speech

The data which the following discussion rests upon is mostly drawn from texts, but also from elicited constructions (that were mainly collected to provide specific information for lexicon entries or to double-check expressions found in the texts).

Golpa words can be grouped into the following major word classes:

- verbals
- nominals, including
 - o nouns
 - o adjectives
 - o numerals and quantifiers
 - o pronouns (including interrogatives and demonstratives)
 - o locational qualifiers
 - o time qualifiers
- particles (also including conjunctions/connective particles, adverbs and interjections)

The class membership of a lexeme is revealed by the types of suffixes it may take: While particles are non-inflecting, verbal forms typically bear suffixes expressing tense-mood-modality-aspect distinctions and nominals inflect for case.

However, there are exceptions: Golpa has two non-inflecting verbal subclasses and a small set of nominal-like verbal forms (which are referred to as *adjectival verbs*). Note also that not all nominal entities may take on the same range of case inflections.

Most lexemes are members of only one class. However, few words are multifunctional. “Adjectival verbs” and some members of the verbal subclass of “unchanging verbs” (e.g., *djäma* ‘work, make’; ‘work’, or *wukirri* ‘write’; ‘school, book, writing’) are between the nominal and verbal class (cf. section 4.1.1.3). (More information concerning this is provided in subsequent sections). Some lexemes may function as nominals and as adverbial particles, e.g., *galki* ‘next (to)’ (or ‘soon’), *godarr* ‘(in the) morning’, *dhunupa* ‘right (hand side), correct’; do straight away’ (cf. section 4.1.2.5 and section 4.1.2.6 for some further notes).⁹¹ Cross-class memberships are taken to be “diachronic developments rather than synchronically productive relationships” (Wilkinson 1991, 120).

Although verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs are reported to usually be open classes (cf. Shopen 1985, 5), in Yolŋu languages, including Golpa, adverbs make up a closed class. They cannot be derived from members of any other word class.

Clitic forms are also discussed in this chapter.

4.1.1 Verbal forms

Verbs typically function as predicates (cf. Schachter 1985, 9). In Golpa, infinitive forms (having nominal properties) may occur as clausal complements.

Golpa has four verbal subclasses: regularly inflecting verbs, “unchanging verbs”, non-inflecting bare verb forms and the so-called “adjectival verbs”. Other Yolŋu languages (such as Gupapuyŋu (cf. Christie 2001a, b), Djambarrupuyŋu (cf. Wilkinson 1991) and Wangurri (cf. McLellan 1992)) additionally distinguish aspectual auxiliary verbs. Such forms have not been found in Golpa. (Yolŋu languages seem to lack a copula verb altogether.)

⁹¹ More instances of such cross-class memberships are reported for Djambarrupuyŋu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 119f.).

4.1.1.1 Fully inflecting verbs

Fully inflecting verbs occur most frequently and appear in six verb forms. These forms correspond with six inflections, expressing temporal, modal⁹² and aspectual notions as well as (imperative) mood. The forms of the six inflections vary to some degree in the different conjugation classes. The inflections usually interact with various TMA particles. Person is only expressed by free pronouns.

The following examples illustrate the use of the six verb forms/inflections:

(1) Nhonu wurruku nha_luma ŋutjatja wo dhum'thum?

nhonu	wurruku	nha _l u- ma	ŋutjatja	wo	dhum'thum
2SG	will	eat/drink-NEU	fish	or	wallaby

'Are you going to eat fish or wallaby?'

(HNG015)

(2) Ba_dak nha_luŋa!

ba _d ak	nha _l u- ŋa
still	eat/drink-IMP

'Keep eating!'

(s.v. *ba_dak* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(3) [...] rulka nha_lunha gapu gonhaba.

rulka	nha _l u- nha	gapu	gonha=ba
not	eat/drink-PST	water(*Golpa)	maybe=MOD

'[...] (and they) may not have drunk the water.'

(text HDG003_0466)

(4) Di_ltjiŋa[wa] [wala]la yiŋu nha_lu[wa].⁹³

di _l tji-ŋa=wa	walala	yiŋu	nha _l u- wa
bush-LOC=MOD	3PL	usually/always	eat/drink-PSThab

'They used to drink inland/in the bush (when the Dhondula stream had dried up).'

(text HDG003_1422)

⁹² Note that the term *modal* is used for elements in the category of 'modality', not 'mood' (cf. section 4.3.2 for the discussion of these terms). In order to avoid a misunderstanding in this regard, modal elements are also occasionally referred to as *modal(it)y elements*.

⁹³ The elements given in square brackets were not uttered by the speaker (Djingulul) but were added by wäwa and Garrutju when we were transcribing the text.

Note that verb roots of regularly and irregularly inflecting verbs are bound (in that they require the attachment of inflectional suffixes in order to form complete words), while the roots of adjectival verbs and bare verbal forms (see below) are free (and may occur on their own).

Like regularly inflecting verbs, irregularly inflecting verbs, and verbs which do not change their form (also referred to as *unchanging (non-inflecting) verbs*) may co-occur with any TMA element and thus fully express temporal, modal and aspectual notions as well as imperative mood. (The glosses of unchanging verbs purposely lack the indication of the inflectional form.) Recall that some unchanging verbs have also been found to be used as nouns (cf. section 4.1 above).

There is a fixed transitivity value for each verb root (cf. Dixon 1980, 278). (This value can be changed by derivational processes.) Verbs have been found with the following core case arrays: intransitive sentence S_1 with a nominative-marked subject, intransitive sentence S_2 with a nominative-marked subject and a genitive/dative-marked indirect object, transitive sentence A_1 with an ergative-marked subject and an accusative-marked direct object and transitive sentence A_2 with an ergative-marked subject, an accusative-marked direct object and a genitive/dative-marked indirect object.⁹⁵ (I attend to these different clause types in section 6.2.2.) Only few verbs may occur with more than one of these arrays. The verbs *waya* ‘say, speak; tell’⁹⁶, *ɲuthan* ‘grow up; grow something’ and *birrka’yun* ‘try; try something, taste’, for example, may either behave like transitive or intransitive verbs. (Section 7.2 also contains a note on verbs with such a “fluid transitivity”.)

Golpa’s verb system receives detailed attention in section 4.3 (and its subsections). Its description involves the investigation of the forms and functions of the inflections and their interaction with TMA particles and the modal(ity) clitic forms =wa/=ba/=pa.

4.1.1.2 “Bare verbal forms”

Golpa also possesses what in other Yolŋu descriptions is referred to as *discourse verbs* or *ideophones* (cf. Zorc’s 1986, I-8), *bare verb roots* (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 117), *root forms* (cf.

⁹⁵ These observations are identical to those noted for Djambarrpuyŋu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 116).

⁹⁶ In Golpa, the verb *waya* occurs in the same range of “case frames” like in Djambarrpuyŋu: “The transitive is associated with contexts when the passage of the message to someone is important, as in a command or a request. The intransitive in contrast would be used when the imparting of a message is what matters” (Wilkinson 2004, 19).

Heath 1980, 75), *non-inflecting verb roots* (cf. Morphy 1983, 92f.) or *non-thematic verb roots* (cf. Waters 1989, 22). These monosyllabic words may not inflect and do not occur with TMA markers (cf. Wilkinson 1991 for Djambarrpuyŋu, or Heath 1980 for Ritharŋu, for example).⁹⁷ They have been found to either co-occur with regular (i.e. inflecting) verbs or to replace them, e.g., Djambarrpuyŋu *dhut* for *nhina* ‘sit’, *dhuwat̪* for *dhuwat̪thun* ‘go up(hill)’ or *rur*’ for *dhärra* ‘stand’ (Melanie Wilkinson in a personal conversation in 2011; cf. Wilkinson 1991, 302 for more examples). According to Wilkinson, Yolŋu speakers often use a single word of this type several times in a row when intending to describe the repeated action of it. These forms are also used to indicate an order of activities. Unlike other Yolŋu languages, such bare verbal forms are hardly used in Golpa.⁹⁸ I have only come across four such elements in the Golpa corpus (as described in section 2.5): *dumba* and *dum*, seemingly meaning ‘splash’, *dhit̪* ‘dip, scoop (water)’ and *dhawat̪* ‘emerge’. The words *dum*, *dhit̪* and *dhawat̪* are short forms of the corresponding regular verbs *dum’thun*, *dhit̪thun* and *dhawat̪thun*, i.e they lack the verbal inflection carried by verbs belonging to conjugation class 1a (cf. section 4.3.1 for the classification of Golpa verbs). Two examples illustrating the use of bare verbal forms are presented in section 7.2. Since these bare forms do not inflect they are to be classified as particles (as noted also in Wilkinson 1991, 116), although they behave like verbs semantically.

⁹⁷ However, in Djambarrpuyŋu, many of the bare verbal forms may be used as predicates in non-verbal clauses/equational clauses (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 377).

⁹⁸ Note also that in Djambarrpuyŋu, for instance, verb roots are potentially all bare verbal forms (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 302).

4.1.1.3 “Adjectival verbs”

Another common Yolŋu feature is the existence of adjectival verbs. This notion is also used in other Yolŋu grammars. In Golpa, the term *adjectival verb* subsumes the two “predicates of knowledge” *marŋgi* ‘know’ and *wawupuy* ‘do not know’, and the two “desiderative predicates” *dhäl(mirriyi-)* ‘want, feel, need, like’ and *duktuk* ‘want, like, need’.⁹⁹

Although the term *adjectival verb* sounds confusing at first, it actually says what it means: Unlike other (“full”) verbs, they are “neutral“ in terms of inflection and appear in their bare forms, i.e. they do not change according to the functions encoded by the six forms of the verb (NEU, IMP, PST, PSThab, IRR, NOML/INF). Morphologically, the members of this closed verbal set act like adjectives, as they do not inflect, unless they take on certain derivational/verbalising suffixes which are only found on adjectives: *Dhäl* and *duktuk* may be marked by the inchoative suffix *-yi-*, *marŋgi* may carry *-yi-* as well as the causative suffix *-yu-*. (*Wawupuy* has not been found with any of these derivational forms.) The adjectival verbs are then verbalised and inflect according to members of the conjugation classes 1a or 4a (cf. section 4.3.1 for the verb classification). A number of sentences involving these structures occur throughout the thesis. Further examples are presented in section 7.7.1, where their use is discussed in connection with finite and non-finite complement constructions.

Note that since adjectival verbs do not show any inflection (unless they are derived/verbalised), their glosses purposely lack the indication of the inflectional form.

Semantically and syntactically, adjectival verbs behave like verbs, i.e. they convey verbal meanings, may take complements and have been found to co-occur with TMA markers (whether or not they bear a verbalising suffix). In simple sentences, the object argument is required to carry a GEN/DAT case marking, cf. (7), (8) and (9):

(7) Darra dhäl bulu mudhuŋaywu.

ŋarra	dhäl	bulu	mudhuŋay- wu
1SG	want/feel	again/also	food-GEN/DAT

‘I also want(ed) food.’ (HNG003b; Nyomba and Garrutju)

(Although *dhäl* and *duktuk* are used synonymously, the former occurs much more frequently than the latter.)

⁹⁹ The terms in quotation marks are taken from Noonan’s (1985, 110-131) complement predicate classification.

(8) Runurrwu yolŋuwu ŋarra rulka marŋgi.

runurr-wu yolŋu-wu ŋarra rulka **marŋgi**
a.lot-GEN/DAT person-GEN/DAT 1SG not know

‘Some of them I don’t/didn’t know.’

(JBG315)

(9) Darra wawupuy djiniku rathawu.

ŋarra **wawupuy** djini-ku ratha-wu
1SG not.know this/here-GEN/DAT child-GEN/DAT

‘I don’t/didn’t know this child.’

(s.v. *wawupuy* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

In this regard it is to be noted that adjectival verbs are not to be confused with inflecting verbs that require GEN/DAT marking on the object argument (introduced as *S*₂ in section 4.1.1.1 above). These forms receive some more attention in section 6.2.2.

Adjectival verbs may also govern finite and non-finite complement constructions (cf. section 7.7.1 for more information on this matter). In the following example, *dhäl* takes a non-finite complement clause:

(10) Darra ma dhäl garanhara nhänhara nhuŋ’ku.

[ŋarra **ma** **dhäl**]
1SG PROG/CONT want/feel

[gara-nhara nhä-nhara nhuŋ’-ku]
come/go-NOML/INF see-NOML/INF 2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT

‘I’m looking forward to seeing you (again).’

(JBG323)

This example also illustrates that the desiderative form *dhäl* may be accompanied by the aspectual particle *ma*. (However, note that I did not have the chance to double-check this sentence with Garrutju or Nyomba.)

Dhäl has also been found to occur with the irrealis particle *wurruku*:

(11) Biḡu ḡarraku wurruku dhäl ḡarra wurruku malthun nhuḡ'ku.

biḡu	ḡarra-ku	wurruku	dhäl
if	1SG-GEN/DAT	will	want/feel

[ḡarra wurruku malth-un nhuḡ'-ku]
1SG will go.with-NEU 2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT

‘If it will feel for me, I will/would come with you.’ (JBG161)

The modal(ity) clitic form =*wa* may also co-occur with the uninflected forms of adjectival verbs (as in (281) in section 4.3.4, for instance).

The forms *dhäl* and *duktuk* can also function as nouns:

(12) Darraku dhäl djulḡi'inya ḡarra wurruku girriyun nhuḡ'ku.

[ḡarra-ku	dhäl	djulḡi-'i-nya]
1SG-GEN/DAT	feeling	good-INCH/VERB-PST

[ḡarra wurruku girriy-un nhuḡ'-ku]
1SG will get.here-NEU 2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT

‘I’m looking forward to meeting you.’ (JBG308)

(lit.: ‘My feeling is good, I will get to you.’ or ‘The feeling is good for me, I will get to you.’)

(13) Nhan'ku duktuk garamaḡayu.

nhan'-ku	duktuk	gara-ma=ḡayu
3SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT	feeling	come/go-NEU=PROM

‘He wants to go (there).’ (JBG094c)

(lit.: ‘His feeling is going.’ or ‘The feeling for him is going.’)

(In regard to the nominal function of these words, it seems possible that *dhäl* in (11) above is a noun. The sentence would then translate to ‘if it will be MY FEELING, I will/would come with you’. However, this analysis seems unlikely, as no other example has been found in which a non-verbal clause involves the irrealis particle *wurruku*.)

It remains to be noted that the few members of this verbal subclass are frequently used. (Further notes concerning adjectival verbs are made in section 6.2.2.)

4.1.1.4 Lack of auxiliaries

Unlike Golpa, other Yolŋu languages also make use of aspectual auxiliaries. Two types have been noted: (i) short purely continuous aspectual auxiliaries that agree in form with the form of the co-occurring verb, and (ii) some motion and/or posture verbs when co-occurring with other verbs.¹⁰⁰ Before commenting on Golpa, I want to make some notes regarding the use of such elements in other Yolŋu languages:

(i) Each aspectual auxiliary form only co-occurs with verbs carrying a certain inflection. The number of such auxiliaries is usually identical with the number of verb forms/inflections. In Gupapuyŋu, for example, the short continuous aspectual auxiliary form *ga* only occurs in verb phrases involving verbs in form I, *gi* only occurs with verb form II, *gana* only with verb form III and *ganha* only with verb form IV (cf. Christie 2001a, 69f.).¹⁰¹ Like Gupapuyŋu, Djambarrpuyŋu also distinguishes four verb forms and also has four aspectual auxiliaries (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 363f., examples 264-267). The behaviour of the Nhaŋu variety Yan-nhaŋu is interesting in this regard, as this language has four verb forms but only makes use of two aspectual auxiliaries: *mana* (only occurring with the Primary form labelled “present”) and *manhanha* (only occurring with the Tertiary form labelled “past”) (cf. Bowen et al. 2006, 58, 62).¹⁰²

Auxiliaries of this type have generally not been found in the Golpa corpus. Instead, the aspectual notion of ‘duration’ or ‘continuity’ is expressed by the particle *ma*, which may basically co-occur with all possible verb forms (cf. section 4.3.4 for more information). Based on phonological and functional similarities between the Golpa particle *ma* and the Yan-nhaŋu aspectual auxiliaries *mana* and *mananha*, I conclude that *ma* is the equivalent of the auxiliaries in Yan-nhaŋu AND the other Yolŋu languages, as the Yan-nhaŋu auxiliaries exhibit the same morphological pattern found with this auxiliary type in the other languages.

(ii) According to Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006, 30), motion and posture verbs have been discovered to show the tendency “to develop into markers of tense-aspect and mood; these may further grammaticalize [...] and become affixes [...] or particles with the same meanings [...]”. Such a general development has not been noted for motion or posture verbs in Golpa.

¹⁰⁰ In some Yolŋu descriptions (cf., for instance, Wilkinson 1991, 369 for Djambarrpuyŋu), posture verbs are referred to as *stance verbs*.

¹⁰¹ The forms and functions of the Gupapuyŋu inflections I, II, III and IV are illustrated and discussed in section 4.3.2.

¹⁰² Yan-nhaŋu inflectional forms receive attention in section 4.3.4 (cf. Table 27).

There are only few examples in which the motion/posture verbs *garama* ‘come, go’, *ɲorra* ‘exist, stay’, *dhärra* ‘stand’ and *nyena* ‘sit, stay, live/exist’ can be interpreted to be used as **existence verbs** (functioning as main verbs, cf.), (15), (16) and (17):

(14) Nhaṅu ɲurru-ɲu dhäwu gämurru’ɲu dhäwu nhaṅu garama yiṅu gulkmiyama gulkmiyama nhäyiṅu dharpa [...].

nhaṅu	ɲurru-ɲu	dhäwu
this/here	front/nose/point-NOML	story

gämurru’-ɲu	dhäwu	nhaṅu	gara-ma	yiṅu
point-NOML	story	this/here	come/go-NEU	usually/always

gulkmiya-ma	gulkmiya-ma	gulkmiya-ma	nhäyiṅu	dharpa
cut-NEU	cut-NEU(HESIT)	cut-NEU(HESIT)	HESIT	tree/wood/stick

‘This first story is about cut(ting) wood [...].’

(text JBG009_0004-0008)

(15) Darraku rulkaṅu gäthuraṅuru mudhuṅay ma ɲorra.

ɲarra-ku	rulkaṅu	gäthura-ɲuru	mudhuṅay
1SG-GEN/DAT	none/nothing	today-ABL	food

ma	ɲorra
PROG/CONT	exist/stay(NEU)

‘I don’t have food after today.’

(s.v. *gäthura* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(lit.: ‘(There is) no food for me from today (on).’)

(16) Nhaṅ’ku ɲunhu ma dhärra do’ɲayu.

nhaṅ’ku_ɲunhu	ma	dhärra	do’=ɲayu
over.there	PROG/CONT	stand(NEU)	shop=PROM

‘There is the shop.’/ ‘The shop is there.’

(JBG329)

(lit.: ‘There the shop is standing.’)

(17) Go gunhu'-waṅarr, nyiniya ṅanapiliwara bukmakara ga biyambawanha ga biyambawanha! Yow Yow.

go	gunhu'_waṅarr	nyini-ya	ṅanapili-wara	bukmak-kara
come	Holy.Spirit	sit(alt.form)-IMP	1PLexcl(alt.form)-ALLan	all-ALLan

ga	biyambawanha	ga	biyambawanha	yow_yow
and	all.along	and	all.along	Amen

‘Come Holy Spirit, be with all of us all along! Amen.’ (JBG135)

(The verb for ‘sit’ is also reported to be used as ‘verb of existence’ in Dhaṅu (cf. Schebeck 1976a, 375, footnote 18).)

Unlike in Golpa, motion and/or posture verbs in other Yolṅu languages have been found to be used as auxiliaries (conveying aspectual notions) when co-occurring with other verbs. Most often the verb for ‘come, go’ is used to express temporal duration. This is typical of many Australian languages lacking a copula verb (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 369): In Gupapuyṅu (cf. Christie 2001a, 79, 2001b, example 417), Djambarrpuyṅu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 117, 298) and Djapu (cf. Morphy 1983, 89), for instance, this is *marrtji*, in Wangurri it is *ṅarra*.¹⁰³ In Djapu, the verbs for ‘sit’, ‘stand’ and ‘lie’ are also used as auxiliaries expressing duration (cf. Morphy 1983, 89f.). Djinang even has eight auxiliaries of this type with an even wider range of aspectual functions (cf. Waters 1989, 282).

I do not regard the verbs *garama* ‘come, go’, *ṅorra* ‘exist, stay’, *dhärra* ‘stand’ and *nyena* ‘sit, stay, live/exist’ as having an auxiliary status in Golpa, as they do not play any special (grammatical or semantic) role in the formation of complex predicates (as compared to other verbs). Neither do they co-occur with other verbs extraordinarily frequently (as is the case in Djinang and Djinba, for instance).

However, it is to be pointed out here that the verb *ṅupan* ‘chase, pursue, explore’ COULD POSSIBLY be regarded as functioning as an aspectual auxiliary in Golpa when following temporal qualifiers. This use of the form is described in section 4.1.2.6.

Before concluding this section, the word *nyininyṅu* should be mentioned, as it explicitly expresses existence. This form is apparently related to *nyena* ‘sit, stay, live/exist’. It is used as

¹⁰³ McLellan refers to *ṅarra* as an “aspectual auxiliary of persistence“ meaning to ‘keep on, to persist’ (McLellan 1992, 137).

an adjective and occurs relatively frequently in a text told by Djingulul in which he describes the waterholes of various Yolŋu clans. For an illustration, cf. (18) below:

(18) Darra yiŋu munhathaŋa nyiniyala ga biŋurumgu nhaŋuwa nyininyŋu gapu biŋu, [...].

[ŋarra_yiŋu munhatha-ŋa nyini-yala ga biŋurum-gu]
 you(generic) earth-LOC sit(alt.form)-PSThab and that(alt.form)-GEN/DAT

[nhaŋu-wa **nyininyŋu**¹⁰⁴ gapu biŋu]
 eat/drink-PSThab existing water that

‘You/one used to sit on the ground for that, drinking that existing water, [...].’

(text HDG003_0106-0108)

4.1.2 Nominal forms

The nominal word class comprises a number of subclasses. As indicated in section 4.1 above, it includes nouns, pronominal forms, adjectives, numerals and other quantifiers, locational and temporal qualifiers. Remember that only nouns and adjectives are open classes.

All subclasses are considered in turn below.

4.1.2.1 Nouns

The class of nouns is an open class which includes words denoting entities, human and non-human referents, body part terms, kin names, subsection names¹⁰⁵, moiety terms, proper names, the human interrogative/indefinite pronoun *yol* ‘who, someone’ and the hesitation elements *nhäyiŋu* and *ŋumiyän* ‘whatchamacallit’.

Few nouns expressing abstract concepts were also found: *gormmur* ‘heat’, *yakara* ‘sleep’, *rerri* ‘sickness’, *dhalutha* ‘presence’ and *wetj* ‘gift’ (cf. Dixon 1980, 272 for a list of typical items).

Like in other Yolŋu languages, there is no formal noun class marking in Golpa (cf. Waters 1989, 277).

Nouns typically function as arguments or heads of arguments (cf. Schachter 1985, 7). They may be derived into adjectives (cf. section 5.1.3 for a discussion).

¹⁰⁴ Schebeck noted for *nyininyŋu* (in an email in June 2013) that it means something like ‘native’. The translation ‘existing’ stems from the Golpa (semi-)speakers.

¹⁰⁵ Yolŋu make use of a set of sixteen sub-section names, four male and four female names in each of the two moieties (cf. Christie 2001a, 48).

Like most Australian languages, Golpa does not have a fixed word order so that syntactic features are coded morphologically. Contrary to pronouns, they take overt ergative marking when occurring in “A context”¹⁰⁶, cf. (19) for an example:

(19) Nhäyiquri djuthana ḡarranha.

nhäyiquri-ri djuth-ana ḡarra-nha
 HESIT-ERG fight-PST 1SG-ACC

‘X hit me.’

(s.v. *nhäyiquri* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

Case and possible noun phrase formations are discussed in section 4.2 and its subsections. There, I also attend to the distinct case marking patterns of [+human] and [-human] referents.

Personal names may take the suffix *-galaja/-kalaḡa/-walaja*. As far as I could find out, such constructions are used when the speaker cannot think or must not mention the name of a person’s parent.

(20) Nhaḡuḡayu Trevorgalaḡa.

nhaḡu=ḡayu Trevor-**galaja**
 this/here=PROM Trevor-parent??

‘This is Trevor’s mother/father.’

(s.v. *-galaja* (Golpa dictionary); Garrutju)

To express reciprocal relationships, Golpa (semi-)speakers use the shared Yolḡu suffix – *manydji*.¹⁰⁷ This form is added to kin terms (cf. also Schebeck 2001, 21):

(21) ḡalinyu yapa’manydji.

ḡalinyu yapa’-**manydji**
 1DUexcl sister/Miss-REC

‘We (two) are sisters.’

(s.v. *-manydji* (Golpa dictionary); Garrutju)

¹⁰⁶ Elements in A context are subject arguments of transitive verbs, cf. section 4.2.1 for a discussion of syntactic contexts (and case).

¹⁰⁷ There does not seem to exist a distinct Golpa item expressing this meaning.

(The corpus (as described in section 2.5) does not contain enough data to make any further statements about the behaviour of kin names. The same holds for body part terms, subsection names and moiety terms.)

Like other Yolŋu languages, Golpa (semi-)speakers also make use of English loanwords. Such items are most often nouns and are shared Yolŋu vocabulary. The following list of examples was already presented in section 3.4 (with phonetic symbols):

English	Golpa
spoon	bon
medicine	meditjin, medikin
lighthouse	latawitj
number	namba
sugar	djoka ¹⁰⁸
picture	bitja

4.1.2.2 Pronouns

Pronouns can substitute a noun or noun phrase. In the following I distinguish between personal pronouns, interrogative/indefinite pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. All elements are formally independent.

Personal pronouns stand for nouns or noun phrases referring to the speaker, the hearer/addressee or to referents that can be contextually inferred (cf. Schachter 1985, 25).

Most Golpa pronouns are identical to the forms found in Yan-nhaŋu, the only other Nhaŋu variety which has received linguistic attention (cf. Bower et al. 2006, 121ff.). Like in other Yolŋu languages, in Golpa, the pronominal system distinguishes three person categories and three number categories. For the 1st person, the dual and plural is further differentiated into forms including and excluding the 2nd person. These findings are summarised in the following table.

¹⁰⁸ The words *guku* (shared Yolŋu lexeme) or *yanan* (Golpa) ‘wild honey’, ‘sugarbag’ are also used by Golpa (semi-)speakers for ‘sugar’.

number person	SG	DU		PL	
		incl.	excl.	incl.	excl.
1 st	ɲarra	ɲali	ɲalinyu	ɲalima	ɲanapu ¹⁰⁹
2 nd	nhonu	nhuma		nhurruli	
3 rd	ɲayi	balay		walala, yāna ¹¹⁰	

Table 6 Golpa pronouns (NOM, ERG)

It is to be noted that the first person singular pronoun *ɲarra* is apparently also used to refer to a group, replacing *ɲalima* or *ɲanapu*. Consider the following example:

(22) Walala waɲayala biɲuyi walala “ah nham ɲarra matha bandanydjinya gapuwu ranganha, rulka”.

walala	waɲa-yala	biɲu=yi	walala	ah	nham	ɲarra
3PL	say-PSThab	that=EMPH	3PL	ah	this.is	1SG

matha	bandany-dji-nya	gapu-wu	ranga-nha	rulka
tongue	dry-INCH/VERB-PST	water(*Golpa)-GEN/DAT	look.for-PST	not

‘They (i.e. the thirsty ones) used to say “ah, it’s me (i.e. us), (my (i.e. our)) dried up tongue (i.e. tongues) was (i.e. were) looking for water, but nothing.”’ (text HDG003_0418-0422)

When *ɲarra* is followed by the habitual particle *yɲu*, this expression MAY have an impersonal pronominal interpretation, as illustrated in (18) above. (Note that the expression does not have this reading in (191), (286), (287), (523), (708) and (811)).

With respect to case marking, personal pronouns pattern with [+human] referents, i.e. they are unmarked in S and A context but show overt (accusative case) marking when in “O context”.¹¹¹ 3rd person pronouns behave like the 1st and 2nd person pronouns. (More detailed information about the case marking behaviour of pronouns (as opposed to nouns) is provided in section 4.2.1.)

¹⁰⁹ Alternatively, *ɲarra ga walala* may be used.

¹¹⁰ So far, the form *yāna* ‘they’ has only been found in Djingulul’s texts. Wāwa, Garrutju and Nyomba use *walala*. Since *yāna* only occurs in S or A context, I cannot say anything about its behaviour with overt case markings. Therefore, this pronominal form will not be considered here any further.

¹¹¹ Elements in O context are direct object arguments of transitive verbs.

Table 6 above presents the unmarked NOMinative/ERGative forms, while Table 7 below contains the ACCusative-marked pronouns. (Segmentable case markings are highlighted.)

number person	SG	DU		PL	
		incl.	excl.	incl.	excl.
1 st	ɲarran ha	ɲalit janha	ɲalinyal anha	ɲalimalan ha	ɲanapil inha
2 nd	nhunan ha ¹¹²	nhumalan ha		nhurrulin ha	
3 rd	ɲanya	balay nya		walalan ha	

Table 7 Golpa pronouns (ACC)

Note that the 3rd person singular pronoun (*ɲayi*) appears in a suppletive form (*ɲanya*). The above table also shows that in some cases overt case marking is attached to an alternative form of a pronoun. These alternative pronominal stems are given below (cf. Schebeck 2001, 23f.):

number person	SG	DU		PL	
		incl.	excl.	incl.	excl.
1 st	ɲarra-	ɲalitja-	ɲalinyala-	ɲalima(la)-	ɲanapili-
2 nd	nhuŋʔ-	nhumala-		nhurruli-	
3 rd	nhanʔ-	balay-		walala-	

Table 8 Golpa pronominal stem forms

Note that the alternative stem forms of the 2nd and 3rd person singular include a glottal stop.

Alternative forms are indicated in the gloss line by (*alt.form*).

The following table cites the pronominal forms with peripheral cases:

¹¹² The 2nd person singular pronoun appears in this exceptional form only when it is used with the accusative.

number person	SG	DU		PL	
		incl.	excl.	incl.	excl.
GENitive/DATive					
1 st	ɲarraku	ɲalitjawu	ɲalinyalama	ɲalimalama	ɲanapilima
2 nd	nhuɲ'ku	nhumalama		nhurrulima	
3 rd	nhan'ku	balaykuruma		walalama	
LOCative animate					
1 st	ɲarrakuli	ɲalitjawuli	ɲalinyalawuli	ɲalimalawuli	ɲanapiliwuli
2 nd	nhuɲ'kuli	nhumalawuli		nhurruliwuli	
3 rd	nhan'kuli	balaykuli		walalawuli	
ALLative animate					
1 st	ɲarrakara	ɲalitjawara	ɲalinyalawara	ɲalimalawara	ɲanapiliwara
2 nd	nhuɲ'kara	nhumalawara		nhurruliwara	
3 rd	nhan'kara	balaykara		walalawara/walalaŋgara	
ABLative human					
1 st	ɲarrakuru	ɲalitjawuru	ɲalinyalawuru	ɲalimalawuru	ɲanapiliwuru
2 nd	nhuɲ'kuru	nhumalawuru		nhurruliwuru	
3 rd	nhan'kuru	balaykuru		walalawuru	
ORIGInative					
1 st	ɲarrakuɲu	ɲalitjawuɲu	ɲalinyala-wuɲu	ɲalimalawuɲu	ɲanapili-wuɲu
2 nd	nhuɲ'kuɲu	nhumalawuɲu		nhurruliwuɲu	
3 rd	nhan'kuɲu	balaykuɲu		walalawuɲu	

Table 9 Golpa pronouns with peripheral cases

(A number of these forms are also cited for Golpa in the Yolŋu Matha Dictionary (Zorc 1986).)

Pronouns with NOM/ERG, ACC and GEN/DAT case markings occur frequently in this thesis. The following examples therefore only illustrate the use of pronominal forms with the rarely occurring LOC_{an} (locative animate), ALL_{an} (allative animate), ABL_{hum} (ablative human) and ORIG_{inative} case suffixes, cf. (23), (24), (25) and (26), respectively:

(23) ɲayi wurruku girriyun ɲarrakuli ɲarriŋa.

ɲayi wurruku girriy-un ɲarra-kuli ɲarri-ŋa
 3SG will get.here-NEU 1SG-LOC_{an} place-LOC
 ‘He will come to/be at my place.’ (s.v. *-kuli* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(Note that LOC_{an} may be substituted by ALL_{an}.)

(24) ɲarraɲayu wurruku gara ma nhurruliwara ɲarri-dili.

ɲarra=ɲayu wurruku gara-ma nhurruli-wara ɲarri-dili
 1SG=PROM will come/go-NEU 2PLincl-ALL_{an} place-ALL
 ‘I will go to your place/camp.’ (s.v. *nhurruli* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(25) Darrakuru ɲarriɲuru gali djalataɲ'ɲa midikuwu ɲarri.

ɲarra-**kuru** ɲarri-ɲuru gali djalataɲ'-ɲa midiku-wu ɲarri
 1SG-ABLhum place-ABL side south-LOC sister.of.man-GEN/DAT place
 'My sister's place is south from my place.' (a man talking)

(s.v. *djalathaɲ'* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(26) Biɲu ɲarra nhänha bäru nhan'kuɲu djuthanarabuy.

biɲu ɲarra nhä-nha bäru
 that 1SG see-PST crocodile

[nhan'-**kuɲu** djuth-anara-buy]
 3SG(alt.form)-ORIG fight-NOML/INF-ASSOC

'I saw that crocodile (that was) being killed by him.' (JBG312c)

The present corpus does not contain any example with ASSOCIative-marked or PERLative/TRANSgressive-marked pronouns. However, given that such pronominal forms have been found in Djambarrpuyɲu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 113), for instance, they can be assumed to also exist in Golpa. (For the discussion of case suffixes I refer the reader to section 4.2 and its subsections.)

Personal pronouns in Golpa also have **emphatic forms**, involving the clitic markers =*pi*, =*bi*, =*wi* and =*yi*:

number person	SG	DU		PL	
		incl.	excl.	incl.	excl.
1 st	ɲarr api	ɲal ipi	ɲalinyuy i	ɲalimay i	ɲanapuy i
2 nd	nhoniy i	nhumap i		nhurruliy i	
3 rd	ɲayip i	balayp i		walalab i /walalaw i	

Table 10 **Golpa emphatic pronouns**

The emphatic pronouns as cited in the above table were elicited as single words. Only few forms occur in the corpus:

(27) Walalawi djuthanayini.

walala=**wi** djuth-ana-yini
 3PL=EMPH fight-PST-RCP/REFL

'They killed themselves.' (s.v. –*wi* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(28) Rulka ṅayi gapu nhaḷunha ṅarrapi nhaṅu gapu nhaḷunha.

[rulka ṅayi gapu nhaḷu-nha]
not 3SG water(*Golpa) eat/drink-PST

[ṅarra=**pi** nhaṅu gapu nhaḷu-nha]
1SG=EMPH this/here water(*Golpa) eat/drink-PST

‘He didn’t drink the water, I did.’

(s.v. =*pi* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

Apparently, the emphasis markers may not only be attached to the NOM/ERG forms (as in (27) and (28) above) but also to pronominal forms involving overt case marking. In (29) below, =*yi* is added to an ACC-marked pronoun:

(29) Dayi mābuga’inya ṅanyayi wowuli ṅayi warrakandjinya.

ṅayi mābuga’i-nya **ṅanya=yi** wowuli ṅayi warrakan-dji-nya
3SG dream/imagine-PST 3SG\ACC=EMPH shadow 3SG bird-INCH/VERB-PST

‘S/he dreamt (a shadow to herself/himself that) s/he was/is a bird.’

(JBG336)

An emphasis marker has also been found on a BEN-marked third person singular pronoun, i.e. *nhan’-kuruma=bi* 3SG(alt.form)-BEN=EMPH ‘for her/him’. (However, this example is structurally unclear and thus not cited here.)

Emphasis markers do not only occur on pronouns: They could also be detected on verbs, the demonstratives *nhaṅu* ‘this, here’ (*nhaṅubi*) and *biṅu* ‘that’ (*biṅuyi*), on the negation particle *rulka* ‘not’ (*rulkayi*) as well as on the adverbial particles *yāna* ‘just, only’ (*yānabi*) and *bin* ‘like this’ (*binbi*). It is because of this distributional behaviour that the emphatic markers are cited as clitic forms in this thesis.

In the following example), an emphatic clitic form is attached to an alternative pronominal form and to a verb:

(32) Balamŋa nhä walu?

balam-ŋa **nhä** walu
that/there-LOC what day/time/sun
'What's the time at this (place)?' (s.v. *nhä* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(33) Nhäliyu nhonu djuthana bäruŋayu?

nhäli-yu nhonu djuth-ana bäru=ŋayu
what(alt.form)-INSTR 2SG fight-PST crocodile=PROM
'With what did you kill the crocodile?' (JGG080)

(34) Yolthu ŋarraku dhaw'yanha mutika [...].¹¹³

yol-thu ŋarra-ku dhaw'y-anha mutika
who/someone-ERG 1SG-GEN/DAT steal-PST car
'Someone stole my car [...].' (JBG199a)

(35) Rulka nhänha biŋu, biŋu ma nhä ŋorra guḷunŋa ŋarkulaŋa.

[rulka nhä-nha biŋu]
not see-PST that

[biŋu ma **nhä** ŋorra guḷun-ŋa ŋarkula-ŋa]
that PROG/CONT that/something sleep(NEU) billabong-LOC water-LOC
'(He) didn't see that, that what was staying in the billabong, in the water.'
(text JBG005_0126-0130)

The interrogative forms *nhaku* 'why', *nhätha* 'when', *nhäway* 'how', *nhala* 'where', *nhalaŋuru/nhalaŋul* 'which way, where from', *nhäkurru/nhalaŋurumurru* 'which way' and *nhämunhaway* 'how many times' are used adverbially and will therefore be treated in section 4.1.3.1. They have also been found to function as predicates in non-verbal clauses (cf. section 6.2.1). The form *nhämunha* 'how much/how many' is analysed as a quantifier (cf. section 4.1.2.4).

¹¹³ This sentence is a reduced version of a more complex one which is cited in section 7.6.4. (The complexity of the entire sample sentence is irrelevant for the current discussion.)

The words *babala* and *babalaway* ‘anyone, everyone; anything, everything’ are also used as indefinite pronouns:

(36) Darra wangapununha babala [...].

ɲarra wangapunu-nha **babala**
 1SG cook-PST any

‘I cooked something [...].’

(JBG184)¹¹⁴

(37) Babalaway(w)u rulka ɲarra marŋgi.

babalaway-wu rulka ɲarra marŋgi
 any-GEN/DAT not 1SG know

‘Some (people) I don’t/didn’t know.’ (s.v. *babalaway* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

(Similar constructions are cited in (136) in section 4.2.1 and (520) in section 7.1.3.)

However, the exact distribution of the two forms is not clear yet.

Analogously to other Yolŋu languages, Golpa distinguishes four major **demonstrative stems**:

PROXimal	MEDial	DISal	TEXD (text deictic)
<i>nhaŋu</i>	<i>nhaŋ’ku</i>	<i>ɲunhu</i>	<i>biŋu</i>
‘this/here (close to/near speaker)’	‘that/there (close to/near hearer, not far from speaker)’	‘yonder, over there (far or in some distance to speaker)’	‘that/there’

Table 11 **Golpa demonstrative stems**

(For a cross Yolŋu comparison of demonstrative stems, cf. Wilkinson (1991, 233f.). The terms *PROX*, *MED*, *DIS* and *TEXD* are taken from that study.)

Biŋu may function as a pronoun and as a determiner and it is used for tracking referents. *Biŋu* also introduces subordinate clauses. Its uses are discussed in various sections of chapter 7. *Nhaŋu*, *nhaŋ’ku* and *ɲunhu* have been found to be used adverbially (as spatial deictics), pronominally and as determiners when co-occurring with a noun. The functions of these forms are similar to those of their equivalents in other Yolŋu languages, like Wangurri (cf. McLellan 1992, 86) or Djambarrpuyŋu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 222).

¹¹⁴ This sentence is a reduced version of a more complex one which is cited in section 7.5.5. (The complexity of the entire sample sentence is irrelevant for the current discussion.)

nhaŋu as a deictic:

(38) Nhaŋu ŋarra.

nhaŋu ŋarra

this/here 1SG

‘I am HERE.’

(JGG032a)

nhaŋu as a pronoun:

(39) Nhaŋ’ku walala wurruku nhaluma mudhuŋay rulka nhaŋu.

nhaŋ’ku walala wurruku nhalu-ma mudhuŋay rulka **nhaŋu**
that/there 3PL will eat/drink-NEU food not this/here

‘They will/should eat that food, not THIS ONE.’ (s.v. *nhaŋu* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa))

nhaŋu as a determiner:

(40) Nhaku nhonu djuthana nhaŋu rathanha?

nhä-ku nhonu djuth-ana **nhaŋu** ratha-nha
what-GEN/DAT 2SG fight-PST this/here child-ACC

‘Why did you hit THIS child?’

(HNG019)

nhaŋ’ku as a deictic:

(41) Waluŋayu nhaŋ’ku djulŋi?

walu=ŋayu **nhaŋ’ku** djulŋi
day/time/sun that/there good

‘Is it (e.g., the weather) good THERE (further away)?’

(JGG162b)

nhaŋ’ku as a pronoun:

(42) Yol nhaŋ’kuŋayu?

yol **nhaŋ’ku**=ŋayu

who that/there=PROM

‘Who is THAT (ONE)?’

(JGG088)

nhaŋ'ku as a determiner:

(43) Djini darramuyu wurruku ŋabatthun nhaŋ'ku miyalknha.

djini	darramu-yu	wurruku	ŋabatth-un	nhaŋ'ku	miyalk-nha
this/here	man-ERG	will	get-NEU	that/there	woman-ACC

‘This boy will marry THAT woman.’ (JGG102)

(Cf. also (39) above for a similar use of *nhaŋ'ku*.)

ŋunhu as a deictic:

(44) [...] ga wakir'yala ŋunhu ga ŋurriyala nhaŋ'kum gapu berra Mäwa [...].

ga	wakir'y-ala	ŋunhu	ga	ŋurri-yala
and	hunt&camp-PSThab	that/over.there	and	sleep(alt.form)-PSThab

nhaŋ'ku-m	gapu	berra	Mäwa
that/there-DEM.SUFF	water(*Golpa)	like.this	Mäwa

‘[...] and (they) used to hunt and camp THERE and sleep (by) the water there (at) Mäwa [...].’
(text HDG003_0604)

ŋunhu as a pronoun:

(45) Djini dhal ŋunhu ŋarra ma ŋayathama.

djini dhal	ŋunhu	ŋarra	ma	ŋayatha-ma
now	that/over.there	1SG	PROG/CONT	have-NEU

‘I am looking after THAT now.’ (text HDG001_0098)
(lit.: ‘I am having that now (to take care of).’)

ŋunhu as a determiner:

(46) Dayi dhartjana nhaŋ'ku ŋunhu bärunha.

ŋayi	dhartj-ana	nhaŋ'ku	ŋunhu	bäru-nha
3SG	kill-PST	that/there	that/over.there	crocodile-ACC

‘He killed THAT crocodile over there.’/‘He killed the crocodile over there.’ (JBG089a)

As indicated by the translations, the above example may have two interpretations: The form *ɲunhu* may be taken to function as a determiner (to the ACC-marked direct object argument *bäru*), or as indicating spatial deixis together with *nhaŋ'ku* in the composed form *nhaŋ'ku ɲunhu* ‘over there (visible and invisible)’. Both possibilities exist, as demonstratives have not been found to inflect according to the syntactic function of their head nouns.¹¹⁵

The form *ɲunhu* has also been found with (other) spatial or directional adverbs, like in *bäyku ɲunhu* ‘over there’ or *baŋ'ku ɲunhu* ‘out there’, *biyawa ɲunhu* ‘over there’ or *baŋu ɲunhu* ‘here’. Note that the co-occurrence of *ɲunhu* and *ɟjini* ‘this/here’ in *ɟjini ɲunhu* results in a temporal meaning: ‘now’.

There are also the demonstrative forms *ɲunha* ‘over there’, *balam* ‘that, there’ and *ɟjini* ‘this/here’. The use of *ɲunha* is not clear, as the corpus only contains very few examples involving this form. It has only been found in pronominal function conveying a similar meaning to *ɲunhu*, cf. (47):

(47) ɲunha nhä?

ɲunha nhä
that.one what

‘What’s THAT (ONE)?’

(text

JGG001_0087)

Balam ‘this’ occurs as spatial deictic, pronoun and determiner, as illustrated in (48), (49) and (50), respectively:

(48) Gurrunana ɲarra balam.

gurruna-nha ɲarra balam
put-PST 1SG that/there

‘I put it THERE.’

(JBG013)

¹¹⁵ In constructions like *Rulka balamɲayu, nhaŋ'ku ɲunhu* ‘Not that one, that one there’ (HNG020), it is unclear whether *nhaŋ'ku* or *ɲunhu* functions as the pronoun. (Note that it is also possible to delete one of the two forms in this example, i.e. *Rulka balamɲayu, nhaŋ'ku ɲunhu* = *Rulka balamɲayu, nhaŋ'ku* = *Rulka balamɲayu, ɲunhu*.)

(49) Balamṅayu ṅarraku!

balam=ṅayu ṅarra-ku
that/there=PROM 1SG-GEN/DAT

‘THAT (ONE) is mine (not having it with me)!’

(s.v. *balam* (Golpa dictionary); Garrujtu and Nyomba)

(50) Baṭ awuṅa balam mutika balaykara!

baṭawu-ṅa **balam** mutika balay-kara
give-IMP that/there car 3DU-ALLan

‘Give THAT car to them!’

(JGG108)

It seems that *ḍjini* is used as a suppletive form of *nhaṅu* when suffixes are to be attached to it, like in *ḍjiniḱu* this/here-GEN/DAT ‘of/for this’ or *ḍjiniṅul* this/here-ABL ‘from here’.

Initially, I thought it replaces *nhaṅu* ‘this/here’ when encoding ERG (or INSTR). However, the following example pair contradicts this analysis:

(51) Ḍjini darramulu ḍjuthana nhaṅu rathanha.

ḍjini ḍdarramu-lu ḍjuth-ana **nhaṅu** ratha-nha
this/here man-ERG fight-PST this/here child-ACC

‘This man hit this child.’

(52) Nhaṅu ḍdarramulu ḍjuthana ḍjini rathanha.

nhaṅu ḍdarramu-lu ḍjuth-ana **ḍjini** ratha-nha
this/here man-ERG fight-PST this/here child-ACC

‘This man hit this child.’

(HNG017b; Garrutju and wāwa)

Note that except for *nhaṅu*, *ḍjini* and *biṅu*, demonstratives occur with a relatively low frequency in the present corpus.

Demonstratives may not only co-occur with a noun (as in (51) and (52), for example) but also with a pronoun (cf. (53)), or with a noun AND a pronoun (cf. (54) and (55)):

(53) [...] nhaḡu ḡayi wurruku miriḡuyirri.

nhaḡu	ḡayi	wurruku	miriḡu-yi-rrri
this/here	3SG	will	bad-INCH/VERB-NEU

‘[...] this will spoil.’

(JBG170)

(54) Nhalagurubuy ḡayi nhaḡu yolḡu?

nhalaguru-buy	ḡayi	nhaḡu	yolḡu
where-ABL-ASSOC	3SG	this/here	person

‘Where’s s/he from?’

(JBG333)

(55) Yol biḡu yolḡu dḡinikuli ma nyininya?

yol	biḡu	yolḡu	dḡinikuli	ma	nyini-nya
who	that	person	here	PROG/CONT	sit(alt.form)-PST

‘Who was sitting here yesterday?’

(JBG148)

(Cf. section 4.2 for a list of possible noun phrase formations.)

Except for *biḡu* and *dḡini*, the above listed (simple) demonstrative forms have also been found to occur as predicates in non-verbal clauses (cf., for instance, (38) above or (56) below).¹¹⁶

Unlike other Yolḡu languages, Golpa demonstratives (in pronoun and determiner function) do not seem to inflect for case.¹¹⁷ The following example is the only one in which a demonstrative occurs with a case marker:

(56) Runurr milkmilk nhaḡ’kuyḡa.

runurr	milkmilk	nhaḡ’ku-y-ḡa
a.lot	mosquito	that/there-0-LOC

‘Lots of mosquitos are there.’

(JBG009a)

¹¹⁶ Demonstratives are also reported to occur as predicates in non-verbal clauses in Djambarrpuyḡu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 222).

¹¹⁷ In Wangurri (cf. McLellan 1992, 87) and Djambarrpuyḡu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 113), for instance, demonstratives take on case inflections according to the humanness of the referent (like adjectives). (For lists of case-marked demonstrative forms in Wangurri, Djambarrpuyḡu or Gupapuyḡu, for example, cf. McLellan (1992, 87), Wilkinson (1991, 236f.) and Christie (2001b, 40f.), respectively.)

The demonstrative system of present Golpa thus is not as rich as those of other Yolŋu languages. However, I am not sure whether this picture is only due to data limitations. It seems reasonable to assume that the absence of case distinctions on these forms may have, at least to some degree, resulted from the immense reduction of language use over the past decades.

Before I finish the discussion on demonstratives, it shall be pointed out that the suffix *-m* has been found to attach to such forms (cf., for instance, *nhaŋ'kum* in (44) above). Since the function of this element is not entirely transparent I use the rather unspecific gloss *DEM.SUFF* to identify this element in the gloss lines of examples (cf. section 4.1.4 for some further notes).

Golpa does not have **relative pronouns** (cf. section 7.6.1 and section 7.8).

Reflexive and reciprocal meanings are coded by the suffix *-yini* (cf. section 4.3.1 and section 6.2.5 for details).

Quantifiers (like *bukmak* ‘all’) may also be used pronominally (as in (123), for example).

4.1.2.3 Adjectives

Adjectives can generally be defined as words modifying nouns (cf. Schachter 1985, 13). In Golpa, they may also function as predicates (in non-verbal clauses). Members of this class may co-occur with the degree qualifiers *gorrku* ‘very’, *yindi* ‘big’ and *ganŋa* ‘a little (bit), carefully, gradually, slowly, slightly, not hard’ (cf. section 4.1.3.1 for examples).

Like in most other Australian languages (cf. Dixon 1980, 282), in Golpa, adjectives do not have adverbial function and adverbs are not derived from adjectives. These functions are marked distinctly by adverbs and adjectives. (Adverbs/adverbial particles are attended to in section 4.1.3.1.)

Adjectives can be derived INTO intransitive and transitive verbs (cf. section 5.1.1 and its subsections), and be formed FROM nouns by adding *-way*, *-nharraŋu* or *-wuy/-buy/-puy* (as described in section 5.1.3).

They inflect according to the humanness of the referent they modify. They may precede or follow the modified noun. However, noun phrase constituents do not have to be contiguous.

Adjectives do not occur with the ASSOC-suffix.¹¹⁸

The following semantic types (cf. Dixon 1980, 274) can be distinguished in Golpa:

semantic type	examples
dimension	<i>gulkuruṅu</i> ‘small’ <i>murrukay</i> ¹¹⁹ ‘big, large’ <i>gudīṅu</i> ‘short’ <i>weyin</i> ‘long’
characteristics of people and things	<i>djaṅṅar</i> ‘hungry’ <i>djurruk</i> ‘wet, sticky’ <i>borum</i> ‘ripe’ <i>ḍalpam</i> ‘dead’ <i>gumiriny</i> ‘raw (meat, fish)’ <i>yutama</i> ‘new, young’ <i>dhulmu</i> ‘deep (water, grass, bush)’ <i>rarrkarrṅu</i> ‘shallow’ <i>dhunupa</i> ‘straight’ <i>garriwaṅu</i> ¹²⁰ ‘crooked’
colour	<i>milkuminy</i> ‘green’ <i>gulaṅ-gulaṅ</i> ‘red’ <i>miku</i> ‘dark red’ <i>gaywaraṅu</i> ‘white’ <i>gurrṅan</i> ‘black, dark’
value	<i>djulji</i> ‘good’ <i>miriṅu</i> ‘bad’
mental attitudes and states	<i>gaḍaman</i> ‘clever’ <i>ṅaramurr</i> ‘angry’
similarity ¹²¹	<i>burrk</i> ‘similar’ <i>walima</i> ‘other, different’
taste/sensation	<i>guyiṅarr</i> ‘cold, icy’ <i>gorrmur</i> ‘hot’ <i>ḍamurrṅ</i> ‘salty, bitter, sour’
other	<i>nyininyṅu</i> ‘existing’ <i>waiṅarr</i> ‘holy, great’

Table 12 Golpa adjectives and their semantic types

Since adjectives take the same suffixes as nouns (except for the ASSOC) some forms are hard to define as either noun or adjective (cf. Dixon 1980, 274f.). Such borderline examples are *guyiṅarr* ‘cold, icy; cold, ice’, *gorrmur* ‘hot; heat’ and *djaṅṅar* ‘hungry; hunger’.¹²² However, semantically, they are more adjectives than nouns.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Wilkinson (1991, 114) for a similar statement concerning Djambarrpuyṅu

¹¹⁹ I am not certain about the orthographic representation of this word.

¹²⁰ I am not certain about the orthographic representation of this word.

¹²¹ It is not perfectly clear that these items are indeed adjectives (and not adverbs).

¹²² I do not know whether these forms may take the causative suffixes *-yu/-ku/-gu-*, *-miya-* and *-gumiyan* which have not been found to attach to nouns but only to adjectives (and adjectival verbs).

Except for the co-occurrence of adjectives with degree modifiers, there appear to be no distributional differences between adjectives and nouns.

4.1.2.4 Numerals and other quantifiers

Like adjectives, numerals and other quantifiers also “typically form phrasal constituents with nouns” (Schachter 1985, 35).¹²³ However, they are taken to be distinct from adjectives, as they constitute a CLOSED nominal subclass. Also, unlike adjectives, they have not been found to co-occur with degree modifiers (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 115 for a similar note regarding Djambarrpuyŋu).

Like other Yolŋu languages, Golpa only has few numeral lexemes:

<i>walip</i>	‘one’ (occasionally <i>wanḡany</i> (shared Yolŋu lexeme) is used instead)
<i>maltjana</i>	‘two’ (occasionally <i>märrma</i> (shared Yolŋu lexeme) is used instead)
<i>gūlpurr</i> ’	‘three’
<i>gūlpurr</i> ’ <i>mittji</i>	‘few’
<i>gorraŋ</i>	‘few’
<i>dämbunharraru</i>	‘four (lit.: ‘without head’)
<i>gayawaknharraru</i>	‘four (lit.: ‘without head’)
<i>bukuway</i>	‘five’ (lit.: ‘with head’)
<i>gayawakway</i>	‘five’ (lit.: ‘with head’)
<i>dämbuway</i>	‘five’ (lit.: ‘with head’)
<i>bäyp</i>	‘five’ (English loan, only rarely used)
<i>rulu</i>	‘five; hand; group; bundle; roll; pile; heap’
<i>maltjana rulu</i>	‘ten’
<i>gūlpurr</i> ’ <i>rulu</i>	‘fifteen’
<i>maltjana maltjana rulu</i>	‘twenty’

¹²³ He discusses quantifiers together with role markers, classifiers and articles as *noun adjuncts*. (Note that the last two categories do not exist in Golpa. With respect to role markers, Golpa has case markers (cf. section 4.2 and its subsections) and discourse markers (cf. section 4.1.4).)

The following other quantifiers have been found:

<i>bukmak</i>	‘all’ (shared Yolŋu lexeme)
<i>warrpam</i>	‘all’ (shared Yolŋu lexeme)
<i>runurr</i>	‘lots and lots, lots (of), many’
<i>rulkaŋu</i>	‘none’ (or ‘nothing’)

The interrogative form *nhämunha* ‘how many’ is also interpreted as a quantifier:

(57) Nhämunha waṭuŋayu djinikuli ma nyena?

nhämunha	waṭu=ŋayu	djinikuli	ma	nyena	
how.many	dog=PROM	here	PROG/CONT	sit(NEU)	
‘How many dogs are living/sitting here?’					(JGG130)

Quantifiers may also be used pronominally (cf., for instance, (123) below).

4.1.2.5 Locational qualifiers

Locational qualifiers constitute a distinct word class, as they do not take the full range of case inflections found on nouns. Instead, locational qualifiers “usually take three local cases: locative (‘at’), allative (motion ‘to’) and ablative (motion ‘from’) [...], [and] typically cover the meanings ‘up’, ‘down’; ‘north’, ‘south’, ‘east’ and ‘west’; ‘on top’, ‘underneath’, ‘behind’, ‘inside’, ‘across the river’, ‘near’, ‘far’ and so on” (Dixon 1980, 282f.).

In accordance with Dixon’s description of other Australian languages, Golpa locationals have been found with the allative, ablative and locative case:

(58) Garanha walala bala djalathaŋ’ d̲ili.

gara-nha	walala	bala	djalathaŋ’- d̲ili
come/go-PST	3PL	away.from.speaker(*Golpa)	south-ALL
‘They went south.		(s.v. <i>djalataŋ</i> ’ (Golpa dictionary); Garrutju and wäwa)	

(59) Darra d̲uy’tjun munhamurru, Martjanbaŋuru d̲uy’tjun munhamurru.

ŋarra	d̲uy’tj-un	munhamurru	Martjanba- ŋuru	d̲uy’tj-un	munhamurru
1SG	return-NEU	tomorrow	Martjanba-ABL	return-NEU	tomorrow
‘I’ll come back tomorrow from Martjanba.’					(JBG033)

(60) Yirrkala bulunu’ña gali’ña (ñaarri).

Yirrkala bulunu’-ña gali’-ña ñaarri

Yirrkala east-LOC side-LOC place

‘Yirrkala is in the east.’

(s.v. *bulunu*’ (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

I also count place names (like *Martjanba*, *Galawarra* or *Galiwin’ku*) among the locational qualifiers. However, note that these forms are normally not marked with the locative (-ña):

(61) Runurr milkmilk Galawarrañayu.

runurr milkmilk Galawarra=ñayu

a.lot mosquito Galawarra=PROM

‘Lots of mosquitos are at Galawarra.’

(JBG009b)

(62) *Runurr milkmilk Galawarra-ña=ñayu.

Following Wilkinson’s (1991, 115) observations in Djambarrpuyñu (and Dixon’s notes above), other Golpa items apparently belonging to this class are, for instance, *galki* ‘next to’ (or ‘soon’, as in (537) in section 7.2), *djinawa* ‘inside’, *banarra* ‘outside’ *ñuyña* or *ñundhurrk* (the latter being a shared Yolñu lexeme) ‘under(neath)’ and *giwitj* ‘other side’. However, they only rarely occur in the present Golpa corpus and none of these items has been found with the full range of possible cases. In fact, only *giwitj* and *ñundhurrk* have been detected with case markings. These examples are cited below:

(63) Nhañ’ku giwitjña.

nhañ’ku giwitj-ña

that/there other.side-LOC

‘That (one) is behind there (on the other side).’

(JGG013b)

(64) Ñarra ðađukmiyanha gađanuk nhañ’ku giwitjđili manidili.

ñarra ðađukmiya-nha gađanuk nhañ’ku giwitj-đili mani-đili

1SG throw-PST spear that/there other.side-ALL river-ALL

‘I threw the spear over to the other side of the river.’

(JBG118d)

(65) Milk₁milk₂ɲayu ma nyininya ɲundhurrkɲa tableɲa.

milk₁milk₂=ɲayu ma nyini-nya
mosquito=PROM PROG/CONT sit(alt.form)-PST

ɲundhurrk-ɲa table-ɲa
under-LOC table-LOC

‘The mosquitos are sitting under the table.’ (JBG030a)

Local/spatial adverbial particles are listed in section 4.1.3.1. (The lexemes *galki*, *djinawa*, *banarra* and *ɲuyɲa* are also cited there.)

The interrogative form *nhala* ‘where’ can also be counted among the locational qualifiers. However, it has been found with a somewhat different case array: It may be marked with the ALL case (*nhäḍili* ‘where to’, cf. (72)), the PERL case (*nhäkurru* ‘where to, which way’, cf. (174)) and the ABL (and ASSOC) case (*nhalaɲuru(wuy/-buy)* ‘where from’, cf. (201) and (283)).

(In Djambarrpuyɲu, locationals occur with the LOC, ABL, ALL, PERL, DAT/GEN and ASSOC (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 115).)

4.1.2.6 Temporal qualifiers

Golpa lexemes belonging to this class are, for instance, *wolmaya* ‘thunder season, build-up season’, *rarranhdharr* ‘dry season’, *repurru* ‘afternoon’, *walḡmuda* ‘moon, month’ or *gämuk* ‘night’. (The shared Yolɲu words *milmijpa* ‘afternoon’ and *munha* ‘night’ are also occasionally used by Golpa (semi-)speakers.)

These qualifiers bear TEMP case markers (identical to ERG and INSTR forms), expressing the meaning of ‘at’ or ‘during’ (cf. section 4.2.2 for more information):

(66) Botji girriyanha gämuktju.

botji girriy-anha gämuk-tju
rain get.here-PST night-TEMP

‘The rain came at night.’ (s.v. *gämuk* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(67) Gatjiṅayu wurruku borumdjirriwa rarranhdharryu.

gatji=ṅayu wurruku borum-dji-rri=wa rarranhdharr-yu
mango=PROM will ripe-INCH/VERB-NEU=MOD dry.season-TEMP
‘The mangos become ripe during dry season.’ (s.v. –yu (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(In Djambarrpuyṅu, temporals have been found to take on ABL, DAT and ASSOC case inflections (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 115).)

The Golpa corpus (as described in section 2.5) contains two examples in which temporal qualifiers are followed by an element which appears to be an inflected form of the verb *ṅupan*. While it is glossed *chase* in other examples, here it seems best translated with ‘pursue’ or ‘explore’. The “*ṅupan*-construction” apparently expresses duration. However, the form, function and distribution of this element need further clarification. (I initially noted this form as a suffix: –*ṅupana*).

(68) Darra ma nyininya dhawadaṅa gämuk ṅupanha.

ṅarra ma nyini-nya dhawada-ṅa gämuk ??ṅupa-nha
1SG PROG/CONT sit(alt.form)-PST beach-LOC night pursue/explore-PST
‘I stayed at the beach all night.’ (s.v. *gämuk* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)
(lit.: ‘I stayed at the beach exploring the night.’)

(69) Walala ma nyininya djaṅṅarr walu ṅupanha.

walala ma nyini-nya djaṅṅarr walu ??ṅupa-nha
3PL PROG/CONT sit(alt.form)-PST hungry day/time/sun pursue/explore-PST
‘They were hungry all day yesterday.’ (JBG094f)

A similar formation is noted in the Djambarrpuyṅu description. There, the construction is analysed as involving the verb *ṅupan* ‘chase, pursue, explore’ (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 162). In the presented example, this form precedes the temporal qualifier.

If it is indeed the verb *ṅupan* which is used in the above constructions, Golpa would have an aspectual auxiliary (cf. section 4.1.1.4 for a discussion of auxiliary forms).

Note that some temporal qualifiers are multifunctional in Yolŋu languages: The word *barpuru*, for instance, was not only found to be used as a time adverb/particle meaning ‘yesterday’ but also as a nominal with a related meaning. McLellan (1992, 109) presents a Wangurri sentence in which *barpuru* carries the ASSOC case (i.e. *barpuruwuy* ‘last night’). Another example of this type is *godarr*. It can be translated with ‘morning, tomorrow morning, soon but not today’. In Golpa, this (otherwise adverbial) element may take the adjectiviser suffix *-way* and can thus be regarded to also function as a nominal. (One such example is provided in section 5.1.3.)

Golpa also has a number of time adverbs. These (including *godarr*) are considered in section 4.1.3.1 below.

4.1.3 Particles

Melanie Wilkinson (1991, ch. 13) has presented a well-organised classification of non-inflecting lexemes in Djambarrpuyŋu. Given the structural similarities among Yolŋu languages, the discussion of Golpa particles below will predominantly follow her categorisation. *Particles* also subsume conjunctions/connective particles, adverbs and interjections, as these elements do not inflect either.

In the following, I list and briefly discuss all particles that have been found to occur in the present corpus with some frequency. Note that a number of them are shared Yolŋu lexemes, i.e. they are used in several Yolŋu languages (cf. section 2.2 for more information).

4.1.3.1 Adverbial particles

Adverbs can generally be understood as words that “modify constituents other than nouns” (Schachter 1985, 20). The notion they express varies with the constituent they modify.

In Golpa, the following (semantic) subclasses of adverbs can be distinguished: manner adverbs, time adverbs, local/spatial adverbs, directional adverbs, interrogative adverbs and degree qualifiers.

Many adverbs modify the verb and thus add information to how a situation/action/event took place:

Manner adverbs

bulnha ‘slowly, carefully’ (used in languages belonging to either one of the two moieties, cf. Yolŋu Matha Dictionary (Zorc 1986))

(70) *Bulnha garaka!*

bulnha gara-ka

slowly come/go-IMP

‘Walk slowly!’

(s.v. *bulnha* (1) (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

bondi ‘quickly, in a hurry’ (same in Djambarrpuyŋu)

(71) *Ratha, waw’ya bondi!*

ratha waw’y-a **bondi**

child get.up-IMP quickly

‘Child(ren), wake up fast!’

(s.v. *bondi* (1) (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

Bulnha and *bondi* are also used as interjections (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 680 for Djambarrpuyŋu; cf. also section 4.1.3.7 below).

wawu ‘unaware, not noticing something going on’ (same in Djambarrpuyŋu)

(72) *Darra ma nyininya wawu rulka barrŋarra nhänha Jewenha nhädili ŋayi garanha.*

[ŋarra ma nyini-nya **wawu**]

1SG PROG/CONT sit(alt.form)-PST unaware

[rulka nhä-nha Jewe-nha [nhä-dili ŋayi gara-nha]]

not see-PST Jewe-ACC what-ALL 3SG come/go-PST

‘I’m sitting without notice, not seeing where Jewe went.’

(s.v. *wawu* (Golpa dictionary); Garrutju)

Time adverbs

yawungu, barpuru ‘yesterday’ (shared Yolŋu lexemes)

(77) *Yawungu ŋarra bathana.*

yawungu ŋarra bath-ana
yesterday 1SG cook-PST
‘Yesterday I cooked.’

(JBG023)

(78) *Darraŋayu ma ŋurrunha djulŋiyunha barpuru.*

ŋarra=ŋayu ma ŋurru-nha djulŋi-yu-nha **barpuru**
1SG=PROM PROG/CONT sleep(alt.form)-PST good-VERB-PST yesterday
‘I was sleeping well yesterday.’ (HNG009; Nyomba and Garrutju)

godarr ‘(tomorrow) morning, soon but not today’ (shared Yolŋu lexeme)

(79) *Darra godarr’ dāmbumirriyunha gunhu’wara.*

ŋarra **godarr’** dāmbu-mirri-yu-nha gunhu’-wara
1SG morning head-with/COMMIT-VERB-PST Father-ALLan
‘I prayed this morning to the Father.’ (s.v. *dāmbumirriyuma* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

munhamurru ‘tomorrow’

(80) *Munhamurru ŋarra wurruku gurul’yun nhunanha.*

munhamurru ŋarra wurruku gurul’y-un nhuna-nha
tomorrow 1SG will visit-NEU 2SG(alt.form)-ACC
‘I will visit you tomorrow.’ (JGG075)

djinimana ‘now, today’; *djini(wa) ṅunhu, djinidhal* ‘now’

(81) Nhaṅu ṅarraṅayu wurruku djinidhal garama ga baṅuṅayu duy’tjun munhamurru godarr’

nhaṅu	ṅarra=ṅayu	wurruku	djinidhal	gara-ma
this/here	1SG=PROM	will	now	come/go-NEU

ga	baṅu=ṅayu	<u>duy</u> ’tj-un	munhamurru	godarr’
and	here/this.way=PROM	return-NEU	tomorrow	morning

‘I’ll go/leave now and come back tomorrow morning.’

(s.v. *djinidhal* (Golpa dictionary); RRU¹²⁵)

yalṅuwa ‘later (today)’ (shared Yolṅu lexeme)

(82) Darra wurruku nhäma nhunanha yalṅuwa.

ṅarra	wurruku	nhä-ma	nhuna-nha	yalṅuwa
1SG	will	see-NEU	2SG(alt.form)-ACC	later.today

‘I will see you later.’

(JGG036)

dhuritj ‘late’

(83) Gonayi ṅarra dhuritj garanha.

gona=yi	ṅarra	dhuritj	gara-nha
maybe=EMPH	1SG	late	come/go-PST

‘Sorry I’m late.’

(s.v. *dhuritj(pa)* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

benamwanha/binmunumana/biyambawanha ‘all the time, lots of times’

(84) Dayi ma nhaḷuma benamwanha mudhuṅay.

ṅayi	ma	nhaḷu-ma	benamwanha	mudhuṅay
3SG	PROG/CONT	eat/drink-NEU	lots.of.times	food

‘He’s eating all the time.’

(s.v. *benamwanha* (Golpa dictionary); Garrutju)

¹²⁵ The name of this person is to be avoided, cf. section 2.5.

Local/spatial adverbs

The most frequently occurring spatial adverb is *djinikuli* ‘here’:

(85) *Darraŋayu wurruku gurrunan’ nhaŋu nyälka djinikuli.*

<i>ŋarra=ŋayu</i>	<i>wurruku</i>	<i>gurruna-n’</i>	<i>nhaŋu</i>	<i>nyälka</i>	<i>djinikuli</i>
1SG=PROM	will	put-NEU	this/here	bag/basket	here
‘I’ll put this bag here.’					(HNG011a)

bäyku ‘over there’

(86) *Yow ŋarra ma djäma badak bäyku djenter linkŋa.*

<i>yow</i>	<i>ŋarra</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>djäma</i> ¹²⁶	<i>badak</i>	<i>bäyku</i>	<i>djenter_link-ŋa</i>
yes	1SG	PROG/CONT	work	still	over.there	Centre.Link-LOC
‘Yes, I’m still working at <i>Centre Link</i> .’				(s.v. <i>bäyku</i> (Golpa dictionary); Nyomba)		

baykumba ‘here, yonder, way over there’

bij’ku ‘further away’

dhawal ‘far (away)’

galki ‘next to’ (An example is cited in (373).)

djinawa ‘inside’

banarra ‘outside’

ŋuyŋa ‘under(neath)’

¹²⁶ Recall that *djäma* belongs to a small verbal set whose members do not change their form according to the coded inflectional value.

Due to a lack of data it is uncertain whether *galki* ‘next to’, *djinawa* ‘inside’, *banarra* ‘outside’ and *nyyn̄a* ‘under(neath)’ are adverbial or nominal forms, or both (cf. section 4.1.2.5).

Most demonstrative forms have also been found to indicate spatial deixis (cf. section 4.1.2.2).

Directional adverbs

baŋu ‘here, this way’

(87) Barge wurruku garama baŋu yalŋuwa repurru [...].¹²⁷

[barge wurruku	gara-ma	baŋu	yalŋuwa	repurru]	
barge will	come/go-NEU	here/this.way	later.today	afternoon	
‘The barge will come this way later this afternoon [...].’					(JGG131a)

baŋ’ku ‘there, that way’

(88) Dali baŋ’ku garama.

ŋali	baŋ’ku	gara-ma	
1DUincl	there/that.way	go/come-NEU	
‘Let’s go there/that way.’			(JBG036)

djunama ‘towards there’

(89) Nhätha nhonuŋayu ma garama djunhama Gän’purradiliŋayu?

nhätha	nhonu=ŋayu	ma	gara-ma
when	2SG=PROM	PROG/CONT	come/go-NEU

djunama	Gän’purra-dili=ŋayu	
towards.there	Gän’purra-ALL=PROM	
‘When are you going to Gän’purra?’		(JGG074)

¹²⁷ This sentence is a reduced version of a more complex one which is cited in section 7.8. (The complexity of the entire sample sentence is irrelevant for the current discussion.)

Interrogative adverbs also usually modify verbs:

nhaku ‘why’

(90) Nhaku nhonu djuthana nhaṅu rathanha?

nhä-ku	nhonu	djuth-ana	nhaṅu	ratha-nha
what-GEN/DAT	2SG	fight-PST	this/here	child-ACC
‘Why did you hit that child?’				

(HNG019)

nhätha ‘when’

(91) Rulka ṅarra nhunanha nhänha nhätha nhonu garanha ṅarridili.

[rulka ṅarra	nhuna-nha	nhä-nha]	
not	1SG	2SG(alt.form)-ACC	see-PST

[nhätha	nhonu	gara-nha	ṅarri-dili]
when	2SG	come/go-PST	place-ALL

‘I did not see you when you went home.’

(JBG314a)

Note that *nhätha* may also be used as a time adverb meaning ‘then’ (cf.) above).

nhäway ‘how’

(92) Nhäway ṅalimalama balam gukulṅuṅayu ma nyena, djulṅi?

nhä-way	ṅalimala-ma	balam
what-with/COMMIT	1DUincl(alt.form)-GEN/DAT	that/there

gukulṅu=ṅayu	ma	nyena	djulṅi
child.of.opposite.moiety=PROM	PROG/CONT	sit(NEU)	good

‘How is/are our child(ren) doing, good?’

(s.v. *nhäway* (Golpa dictionary); Garrujtu)

(See also section 4.1.3.4 for a note.)

nhala ‘where’

(93) Darra ma nyena nhala ḡarra malḡ’tjanawa.

ḡarra ma nyena **nhala** ḡarra malḡ’tj-ana=wa
1SG PROG/CONT sit(NEU) where 1SG turn.up/appear-PST=MOD
‘I live where I was born.’ (JBG322c)

nhalaḡuru, nhalaḡul ‘which way, where from’

(94) Nhalagaḡuru nhurruli girriyanha?

nhala-ḡuru nhurruli girriy-anha
where-ABL 2PLincl get.here-PST
‘Where are you (all of you) from?’ (JGG040b)

nhäkurru, nhalagaḡurumurru ‘which way’

(95) Nhäkurru nhonuḡayu ma garama?

nhä-kurru nhonu=ḡayu ma gara-ma
what-PERL/TRANS 2SG=PROM PROG/CONT come/go-NEU
‘Where/which way are you going?’ (JGG047)

(96) Nhalagaḡurumurru ḡarra wurruku garama ḡutjatḡawu(ḡayu)?

nhala-ḡuru-murru ḡarra wurruku gara-ma ḡutjatḡa-wu=ḡayu
where-ABL-PERL/TRANS 1SG will come/go-NEU fish-GEN/DAT=PROM
‘Which way should I go for fish?’ (JGG062)

nhämunhaway ‘how many times’

(97) Nhämunhaway nhonu wurruku garamaṇayu räṇidili?

nhämunha-way nhonu wurruku gara-ma=ṇayu
how.many-with/COMMIT 2SG will come/go-NEU=PROM

räṇi-dili

beach(*Golpa)-ALL

‘How many times will you go to the beach?’

(JGG073a)

The above interrogatives also occur as predicates in non-verbal clauses, cf. section 6.2.1 for such examples.

The interrogative forms *yol* ‘who, someone’, *nhä* ‘what, something’ and *nhämunha* ‘how many’ behave somewhat differently. *Yol* and *nhä* have been discussed in section 4.1.2.2, for *nhämunha* see section 4.1.2.4.

The following adverbial particles typically modify members of word classes other than verbs:

bulu, *biyapul* ‘again, also’ (shared Yolṇu lexemes)

(98) Darra dhäl bulu mudhuṇaywu.

ṇarra dhäl **bulu** mudhuṇay-wu
1SG want again/also food-GEN/DAT

‘I also want food.’

(HNG003b)

(99) Darra bulu!

ṇarra **bulu**
1SG again/also

‘Mee too!’

(JBG002, also Garrutju and Nyomba)

(100) Dayi biyapul watjpildili duy’tjana.

ṇayi **biyapul** watjpil-dili duy’tj-ana
3SG again/also hospital-ALL return-PST

‘He is back at the hospital.’

(s.v. *biyapul* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

birr ‘far away’

In Djambarrpuyŋu *birr*’ is used to indicate length of time and space. The present Golpa corpus only holds examples in which *birr*’ is part of a spatial expression, cf. (101):

(101) Wirrimuŋayu garramat birr’.

wirrimu=ŋayu garramat **birr’**

moon=PROM above far

‘The moon is high up above.’

(JGG096)

yāna ‘just, only’ (also used in Gupapuyŋu and Djambarrpuyŋu)

Since *yāna* occurs frequently in examples presented in this thesis, its use will not be illustrated by a further example here.

Three **degree qualifiers** have been found: the amplifiers *gorrku*’ ‘very’ (apparently Golpa) and *yindi* (shared Yolŋu lexeme) ‘big’, and the downtoner *gan̄ga* ‘a little (bit), carefully, gradually, slowly, slightly, not hard’ (shared Yolŋu lexeme). *Gorrku*’ and *yindi* attach a high degree of intensity to the modified element:

(102) Duktuk̄k̄ ŋayi yindi ŋayi ma bul’yun djamarrkūliwara.

[duktuk̄ ŋayi yindi]

want/need 3SG big

[ŋayi ma bul’y-un djamarrkūli-wara]

3SG PROG/CONT play-NEU child/grandchild(*Golpa)-ALLan

‘He likes playing with the child(ren) a lot.’

(JGG131b)

(103) Nhaṅu dhukarr gorrku' miriṅu.

nhaṅu	dhukarr	gorrku'	miriṅu
this/here	road	very	bad

‘This road is very bad.’

(s.v. *gorrku'* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

Both items have been found in verbal and non-verbal clauses.

Contrary to these amplifiers, (the rarely occurring lexeme) *gaṅga* is used to downtone the degree of intensity:

(104) Nhäway nhonuṅayu? Djulḅi gaṅga.

nhäway	nhonu=ṅayu	djulḅi	gaṅga
how	2SG=PROM	good	carefully

‘How are you? Not so good/a little bit good.’

(JGG002)

4.1.3.2 TMA particles interacting with verb inflection

Since the following elements and their functional ranges receive detailed consideration in section 4.3.4 and section 4.3.5, they are only listed here.

Temporal reference is mainly expressed by the NEU inflection, PST inflection and PSThab inflection. The NEU inflection may co-occur with the irrealis particle *wurruku* ‘will, would’ to denote irrealis notions¹²⁸, including future time reference. Such constructions are referred to as *irrealis constructions* in this thesis. (Note that they may also be used to express polite commands.) Time may further be specified by the use of temporal qualifiers (cf. section 4.1.2.6) or time adverbs (cf. section 4.1.3.1).

Aspectual particles expressing duration/continuity are *ma* (PROG/CONT) and *baḅak* (‘still, continue doing/being’). Habituality is conveyed by *yihu* ‘usually, always’. (For more information on *ma*, cf. section 4.1.1.4.

¹²⁸ For Djambarrpuyṅu, Wilkinson (1991) also lists the particle *balay* ‘would, might, could (IRREALIS)’. (According to the Yolḅu Matha Dictionary, this item is said to occur in the “final vowel dropping patrulects”, i.e. those Yolḅu languages Golpa does NOT belong to.) However, there is one sentence in one of the old texts (i.e. those recorded of Djingulul in 1965/1966) where the word *balay'ku* is used (cf. text HDG003_646), seemingly having the same meaning as *balay*. Unfortunately, the interpretation and analysis of this sentence is complicated by the fact that *balay'ku* co-occurs with the irrealis particle *wurruku* ‘will, would’. In addition to this, the sentence is structurally unclear.

Wurruku and the particles *(nhä)bika* ‘maybe’, *gona* ‘maybe’ and *wanha* ‘surely’ are used to express modal(ity) notions. (*(Nhä)bika* and *gona* may also have a coordinating function, cf. section 4.1.3.6 below.) Note that Golpa also has the three modal(ity) clitic forms =*wa*/=*ba*/=*pa*.

The negation particle *rulka(ŋu)* ‘no, not, (none, nothing)’ is counted among TMA particles, as it is part of the predication and can also be understood to convey an “irrealis” notion: It negates an otherwise “realis” situation, i.e. it expresses that a situation has not happened.

4.1.3.3 “Bare verbal forms”

As mentioned in section 4.1.1.2, like other Yolŋu languages, Golpa also has non-inflecting bare verbal forms. As will be shown in section 7.2, these forms are used for stylistic purposes.

4.1.3.4 Conversational particles

As far as I know, conversational matters such as turn taking have not yet received detailed attention in any Yolŋu description. However, the following particles seemingly play a role in this domain:

way ‘hey’ (shared Yolŋu lexeme)

This particle is used to get the attention of the hearer.

ma ‘okay’, ‘let’s do that/get on’ (shared Yolŋu lexeme)

Like in Djambarrpuyŋu, in Golpa this form is used to indicate that the speaker “is ready to participate again following a delay or an interruption, and/or a query whether the addressee is ready” (Wilkinson 1991, 702). In the Djambarrpuyŋu grammar, this element is also said to be used by the hearer to signal the speaker that s/he is following what is being said (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 702). Due to a lack of data I do not know whether *ma* also has this second use in Golpa.

gam ' (shared Yolŋu lexeme)

This element only rarely occurs in the corpus. However, it appears to be used like in other Yolŋu languages, i.e. to point to how something is done or to draw the hearer's attention to what is to follow (as Wilkinson (1991, 706) describes its use in Djambarrpuyŋu). In Golpa, this form has also been found to co-occurs with the hesitation words *nhäyiŋu* and *ŋumiyan* 'whatchamacallit'.

muka 'right' (shared Yolŋu lexeme)

In questions, this particle usually stands clause finally and is marked by a rising intonation. The speaker seemingly uses it to partner with the addressee (as in (105)), or to affirm the truth of her/his own utterance (as in (106)):

(105) Waŋaya nhonu ŋarrakuŋayu [ŋali]¹²⁹ yarrupthun muka maypalwu.

waŋa-ya	nhonu	ŋarra-ku=ŋayu
say-IMP	2SG	1SG-GEN/DAT=PROM

ŋali	yarrupth-un	muka	maypal-wu
1DUincl	go.down-NEU	QU/AFFIRM	shell.seafood-GEN/DAT

'Talk to me, we go down, right, for seafood with shells.' (text DHA001_007)

(106) Mowaŋpala nhaŋu ŋayi muka ŋaykana djinikuli ŋarranha watha ganan ŋayi Bararrŋu.

Mowaŋpala	nhaŋu	ŋayi	muka	ŋaykana
Mowaŋpala	this/here	3SG	QU/AFFIRM	name

djinikuli	ŋarra-nha	watha	ganan	ŋayi	Bararrŋu
here	1SG-ACC	for.example	leave(NEU)	3SG	Bararrŋu

'Mowaŋpala is the name, right, where the Bararrŋu person left me behind (i.e. died).'

(text HDG003_0790-0792)

¹²⁹ This pronoun was added to the sentence when the text was transcribed.

ŋe ‘yes’ (shared Yolŋu lexeme)

A hearer may use it to signal that s/he is listening.

ŋatjili ‘hang on, wait (I want to say more)’

nhāway ‘how’

The interrogative form *nhāway* is often used when a speaker cannot think of a word, or when s/he is thinking of how to go on with a story or so. (See Heath (1980, 59) for similar remarks for Ritharŋu.)¹³⁰

yinpulu ‘Oh, I mistakenly thought ...’ (shared Yolŋu lexeme)

This particle seemingly indicates that the speaker had a wrong thought concerning what s/he was about to say and is now going to say something else.¹³¹

berra/bena ‘(speaking) thus’

The elements *berra* and *bena* indicate direct speech. They are considered in more detail in section 7.10.

Note that a number of the above listed particles are also used as interjections (cf. section 4.1.3.7 below).

4.1.3.5 “Propositional particles”

Some particles may have scope over the entire clause and are thus referred to as *propositional particles* here. (This term is adopted from Wilkinson (1991).) Such elements indicate the truth of a proposition, or its possibility.

¹³⁰ Recall from section 4.1.2.1 that Golpa (semi-)speakers also make use of the hesitation elements *nhāyiŋu* and *ŋumiyan* ‘whatchamacallit’ when they cannot think of the proper word.

¹³¹ The Djambarrpuyŋu equivalent *yanbi* is classified as a counterfactual element which indicates the speaker’s belief that a proposition is false (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 686).

yuwalk ‘true(ly)’ (shared Yolŋu lexeme)

(107) Yuwalk ŋayi ŋarraku dhinganhaŋayu.

yuwalk ŋayi ŋarra-ku dhinga-nha=ŋayu

true 3SG 1SG-GEN/DAT die-PST=PROM

‘Truely, he died for me.’

(text JGG003_004a)

(*Yuwalk* is also used as an interjection, cf. section 4.1.3.7.)

(*nhä*)*bika*, *gona* ‘maybe’

These forms code a lack of certainty on the side of the speaker towards the uttered proposition. They normally stand clause initially and often function as disjunctive coordinating particles. (Relevant examples can be found in section 4.1.3.6, section 7.3.1 and in various other sections of chapter 7.)

4.1.3.6 Connective particles

Golpa has coordinating particles and subordinating particles.

Following Wilkinson’s (1991, 690-696) classification in Djambarrpuyŋu, **coordinating particles** in Golpa comprise the conjunctive coordinators *ga* ‘and’ and *bala* ‘and then’, and the disjunctive coordinators *wo* ‘or’, (*nhä*)*bika* ‘maybe’ and *gona* ‘maybe’.¹³²

The form *ga* may link single constituents, noun phrases and clauses. *Bala*, (*nhä*)*bika* and *gona* have only been found to function as clause linking devices. The particle *wo* typically connects entities smaller than a clause.

It can generally be stated that disjunctive connectives do not occur nearly as often as conjunctive coordinators.

In this section, I neglect the clause linking function of conjunctive and disjunctive coordinators, as this matter is discussed in section 7.3.1. The following examples therefore only illustrate the use of *ga* and *wo* connecting single nominal constituents or noun phrases.

There are numerous examples involving *ga*, linking elements of various word classes:

(108) Darra wurruku dhäwu rakarama waŋupuy ga garkmanpuy.

¹³² The lexemes *ga*, *bala* and *wo* also occur in Djambarrpuyŋu. Instead of (*nhä*)*bika* ‘maybe’, *mak* is used in that language.

ŋarra wurruku dhäwu rakara-ma watu-puy **ga** garkman-puy
 1SG will story tell-NEU dog-ASSOC and frog-ASSOC
 ‘I will tell the story about the dog(s) and the frog(s).’ (JGG145b)

(109) Nhaṅu ṅunhu ga djinikuli nhaṅ’kum larrunha ṅarra, rulka maṅ’miyanha, wadi’yanhawa.

[nhaṅu_ṅunhu **ga** djinikuli nhaṅ’ku-m larru-nha ṅarra]
 over.there and here that/there-DEM.SUFF look.for-PST 1SG

[rulka maṅ’miya-nha wadi’y-anha=wa]
 not find-PST go.away/get.lost-PST=MOD

‘I searched for it here and there (but) didn’t find (it), (it’s) gone.’

(s.v. *maṅ’miyama* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(110) Nhaṅuṅayu balay maltjana ma djämaṅayu djinhikuli wupitja, walimaṅayu ṅalitjawu gutjirriyamu, yow, gutjirriyamu ṅalitjawu nhuṅ’ku ga ṅarraku.

1 nhaṅu=ṅayu balay maltjana ma djäma¹³³=ṅayu
 this/here=PROM 3DU two PROG/CONT work=PROM

2 djinhikuli wupitj-ṅa
 here office-LOC

3 walima=ṅayu ṅalitja-wu gutjirriyamu
 other.one=PROM 1DUincl(alt.form)-GEN/DAT grandchild.of.same.moiety

4 yow gutjirriyamu ṅalitja-wu #
 yes grandchild.of.same.moiety 1DUincl(alt.form)-GEN/DAT

5 nhuṅ’-ku **ga** ṅarra-ku
 2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT and 1SG-GEN/DAT

‘This is two working here in the office, another grandchild of ours, yes, our grandchild, yours and mine.’ (HNG028)¹³⁴

¹³³ Note that *djäma* belongs to the restricted class of “unchanging verbs” (cf. section 4.1.1.1 and section 4.3.1).

¹³⁴ Nyomba used this sentence in a phone conversation with me.

In most examples only two nominals are coordinated. If more than two are linked, *ga* ‘and’ may only stand before the last nominal. However, in a number of cases it precedes all conjuncts:

(111) Gunhu’(ŋu)lu nhaḷunha mudhuṅay ga ŋamu’(ŋu)lu ga rathayu ga gaminyarryu ga marmukulu ga midikulu.¹³⁵

gunhu’-ŋu-lu nhaḷu-nha mudhuṅay ga ŋamu’-ŋu-lu
 father-NOML-ERG eat/drink-PST food and(HESIT) mother-NOML-ERG

ga ratha-yu **ga** gaminyarr-yu
 and child-ERG and grandchild.opposite.moiety-ERG

ga marmuku-lu **ga** midiku-lu
 and mother’s.mother-ERG and sister.of.man-ERG

‘Father ate and mother and the child(ren) and the grandchild(ren of opposite moiety) and mother’s mother and sister (of a man).’ (JBG146b)

(112) Nhaṅu yänṅayu Golpa ga Bararrṅu ga Mälarra ga Murrūṅun.

nhaṅu yän=ṅayu Golpa **ga** Bararrṅu
 this/here language=PROM Golpa and Bararrṅu

ga Mälarra **ga** Murrūṅun
 and Mälarra and Murrūṅun

‘This language is Golpa, Bararrṅu, and Mälarra and Murrūṅun.’ (RRU001b)

In the following sentence, *ga* links the noun phrases *nhaṅu ṅarri Lanjara* and *nhaṅu Mapuru*:

¹³⁵ Note that the ERG marking on all participants in this sentence is untypical, as they all function as arguments of an INTRANSITIVE verb. The nominaliser suffix *-ŋu* (here occurring on the nouns *gunhu’* and *ŋamu’*) is commented on in section 5.1.2.

(113) Darru nhaṅu ṅarra rruku rakarama ṅayi ma dhāwu nhaṅu ṅarri Laṅara ga nhaṅu Mapuru.

ṅarru	nhaṅu	ṅarra	wurruku	rakara-ma	ṅayi	ma	dhāwu
but	this/here	1SG	will	tell-NEU	3SG	PROG/CONT	story

nhaṅu	ṅarri	Laṅara	ga	nhaṅu	Mapuru
this/here	place	Howard.Island	and	this/here	Mapuru

‘But I will be telling the story (about) Howard Island and Mapuru.’ (text JBG002_0030-0034)

I shall also mention where *ga* never occurs. Similar to a great number of Yolṅu languages and other Australian languages (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 691), it cannot be found to link a dual or plural pronominal (which includes the first person) with a nominal (which refers to the other referent of the dual or plural pronominal). In such contexts, the nominal is simply juxtaposed to the pronominal form. In (114) below, this concerns the first dual inclusive pronoun *ṅalinyu* and the male name *Gelurru*:

(114) Darru ṅalinyu, Gelurru, Gelurru nhaṅu, ṅurru-dalwalaṅu yāna ṅurru-dalwalaṅu ṅayi ṅarrapi.

ṅarru	ṅalinyu	Gelurru	Gelurru	nhaṅu
but	1DUexcl	Gelurru	Gelurru	this/here

ṅurru_dalwalaṅu	yāna	ṅurru_dalwalaṅu	ṅayi	ṅarra=pi
leader	just/only	leader	3SG	1SG=EMPH

‘But (there is) us two (i.e. me and him), Gelurru, just him and I are the care takers.’

(text HDG004_0118-0124)

Ga is used when the single participants referred to by the pronominal form are made explicit, like *waṭu* and *ratha* in (115):

(115) Buḷ’yanha balay ma waṭu ga ratha.

buḷ’y-anha	balay	ma	waṭu	ga	ratha
play-PST	3DU	PROG/CONT	dog	and	child

‘The two were playing, the dog and the child.’

(JBG149b)

The following examples illustrate the use of the particle *wo* ‘or’. In (116) it connects the single nominal constituents *ɲutjatja* and *dhum’thum*, and in) the noun phrases *mikuwu miny’tjiwu* and *milkuminyku miny’tjiwu mutikawu*:

(116) Nhonu wurruku nha_luma ɲutjatja wo dhum’thum?

nhonu	wurruku	nha _l u-ma	ɲutjatja	wo	dhum’thum	
2SG	will	eat/drink-NEU	fish	or	wallaby	

‘Are you going to eat fish or wallaby?’ (HNG015)

(117) Nhä nhonuɲayu duktuk mikuwu miny’tjiwu wo milkuminyku miny’tjiwu mutikawu?

nhä		nhonu=ɲayu	<u>duktuk</u>	miku-wu		miny’tji-wu
what/something		2SG=PROM	want/need	red-GEN/DAT		color-GEN/DAT

wo	milkuminy-ku	miny’tji-wu	mutika-wu ¹³⁶
or	green-GEN/DAT	color-GEN/DAT	car-GEN/DAT

‘Do you like the red or the green car?’ (JGG134)

Golpa also has various **subordinating particles** introducing adverbial clauses: *ɲarruwa* ~ *ɲarruba* ‘before’, *ɲarru* ‘but’, *gama* or *bili* (*Golpa) ‘because’, *nhaku* ‘(that’s) why’, *märr* ‘so that’ and *bili* ‘when, and then’.¹³⁷ The demonstrative *biɲu* is used to indicate conditional or temporal clauses, meaning ‘if/when’.¹³⁸ Clauses involving such forms are discussed in detail in various sections of chapter 7.

¹³⁶ The GEN/DAT case marking identifies the single constituents as being part of the complement clause of *duktuk* (cf. section 7.7.2 for more details on this type of construction).

¹³⁷ The subordinating particles for Djambarrpuyŋu are similar to those in Golpa (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 655). However, that language also has *bäy* ‘until’ for which I have not found a corresponding Golpa element.

¹³⁸ Note that *biɲu* is used as a multifunctional subordinator and also introduces finite relative clauses (‘that/who’) and finite complement clauses (‘that’).

4.1.3.7 Interjections

Interjections typically are exclamatory words “that can constitute utterances in themselves, and that usually have no syntactic connection to any other words that may occur with them” (Schachter 1985, 58). The following interjections have been found to be used in Golpa:¹³⁹

Rulka! ‘No!’, ‘Don’t!’

Rulkaŋu! ‘Nothing!’

Maḍapway! ‘Thank you!’

ŋunhu biya! ‘Get away (from there)!’

Baŋu biya! ‘Come here!’

*Wanhawa!*¹⁴⁰ ‘Finished!’, ‘(It’s) done!’

All following elements are commonly used in a number of Yolŋu languages, including Golpa:

Yow! ‘Yes!’

*Yuwalk!/?*¹⁴¹ ‘True(ly)!/?’

Bulnha! ‘Wait (a moment)!’

Bondi! ‘Hurry!’

Way! ‘Hey!’

Ma’! ‘Okay!’, ‘Let’s do that!’

Gatjuy! ‘Go away!’, ‘Off you go!’

Buku-djulŋi ‘Please!’

Djutjutj(nha)! ‘Good-bye!’

¹³⁹ According to Dixon (1980, 284), the following interjections are typically found in Australian languages: ‘yes, no, I don’t know, good job, wait a bit’.

¹⁴⁰ It is often used to indicate the end of a story.

¹⁴¹ *Yuwalk* may be used for both the affirmation of a statement and the expression of doubt.

4.1.4 Some remarks on clitic forms

The elements treated in this section are cited and referred to as *clitics*, as they attach to members of various word classes.¹⁴²

The clitic =*ɲayu* is analysed as PROMinence marker. This form frequently occurs in examples in this thesis. The Djambarrpuyŋu equivalent –*nydja* is analysed as a discourse suffix (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 121), and has been found to be “added to words of any class except TMA particles and conjunctions” (Wilkinson 1991, 103).¹⁴³ The Golpa form =*ɲayu* has an emphatic/focus function and shows a similar distribution.

The following examples illustrate the occurrence of =*ɲayu* on verbal forms (cf. (118)) and (119)), nouns (cf. (120) and (121)), adjectives (cf. (122): *bu_langitj*), pronominal forms (cf. (122): *ɲarraku* and (123)¹⁴⁴), demonstratives (cf. (124)), including *biŋu* in subordinating function (cf. (125)), and on adverbial particles (cf. (126)). Note that =*ɲayu* is optional and, if present, always follows the final inflection (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 122 and 103 for similar observations concerning Djambarrpuyŋu).

(118) Nhäpiyan ɲarra wurruku rakaramaɲayu biŋu ɲayi ɲarraku dhälɲayu?

nhäpiya-n	ɲarra	wurruku	rakara-ma= ɲayu
do.what/how-NEU	1SG	will	tell-NEU=PROM

[biŋu	ɲayi	ɲarra-ku	dhäl ¹⁴⁵ = ɲayu]
that	3SG	1SG-GEN/DAT	want/feel=PROM

‘How will I tell that he (Jesus) loved me?’

(text JGG003_003a+b)

¹⁴² Spencer (1991, 375) points out that there is great variety amongst what is traditionally called “clitics”. The behaviour of these forms may vary across languages: “They may or may not have a corresponding, phonologically similar, full form with similar meaning or function; they may or may not be restricted to a particular position in the sentence or to a particular lexical category; and they may or may not undergo/trigger phonologically irregular allomorphy.”

¹⁴³ Wilkinson adopted the PROM label from Morphy’s (1983) paper on Djapu.

¹⁴⁴ Here, the quantifier *bukmak* has pronominal function.

¹⁴⁵ Recall from section 4.1.1.3 that *dhäl* is an “adjectival verb” and therefore does not inflect when it occurs in its bare form.

(123) Ga bukmakṅayu maṅ'thana nhaṅ'kuwa Golpayinya [...].

ga bukmak=**ṅayu** [maṅ'th-ana nhaṅ'ku=wa]
and all=PROM turn.up/appear-PST that/there=MOD

[Golpa-yi-nya]

Golpa-INCH/VERB-PST

‘And all (that are) born there were/became Golpa.’/‘And all (that are) Golpa were born there.’

(text JBG003_005a)

(124) Nhonu rruku ṅarraku raka nhaṅṅayu?

nhonu wurruku ṅarra-ku rakara-ma nhaṅṅ=**ṅayu**
2SG will 1SG-GEN/DAT tell-NEU this/here=PROM

‘What do you have to tell me?’

(HNG024)

(125) Biṅṅayu wuṅgan ṅayi djawaryanha ṅayi ṅupannha nhunanha ga bunhawa.

1 [biṅṅ=**ṅayu** wuṅgan ṅayi djawary-anha]
if=PROM dog(*Golpa) 3SG be.tired-PST

2 [ṅayi ṅupa-nha nhuna-nha [ga bu-nha=wa]]
3SG chase-PST 2SG(alt.form)-ACC and bite-PST=MOD

‘Had that dog been tired he would have chased you and bitten (you).’

(JBG194)

(126) Djinikuli ṅayi ṅätjiliṅayu nyininya [...].¹⁴⁷

djinikuli ṅayi ṅätjili=**ṅayu** nyini-nya
here 3SG a.while.ago=PROM sit(alt.form)-PST

‘S/he was here a while ago [...].’

(JBG180)

As demonstrated in some of the above examples, the clitic also occurs in interrogative clauses (cf. (124)) and may be attached to more than one clausal entity (cf. (122)).

Unlike its equivalents in the Dhuwal/Dhuwala languages Djambarrpuyṅu, Djapu and Gupapuyṅu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 103), the Golpa form does not have any allomorphs.

¹⁴⁷ This sentence is a reduced version of a more complex one which is cited in section 7.5.2. (The complexity of the entire sample sentence is irrelevant for the current discussion.)

Other possible discourse markers in Golpa COULD be the forms *-m* (glossed *DEM.SUFF*, as in (121), cf. also section 4.1.2.2 above) and *-n* (glossed *****, as in (279)). As these elements have not yet received any attention, their grammatical status and function are presently unclear.

In this regard it should be pointed out that Djambarrpuyŋu (a Dhuwal language) and Wangurri (a Dhanu language) are reported to have three discourse markers:

	PROMinence	SEQence	ANaphor
Djambarrpuyŋu	<i>-nydja</i> (see above)	<i>-nha</i>	<i>-thi</i>
Wangurri	<i>-ma/-m</i>	<i>-nha/-n/-a</i>	<i>-ya</i>

(cf. Wilkinson 1991, 121 for Djambarrpuyŋu and McLellan 1992, 105 for Wangurri).

Note that in the Wangurri grammar the PROM and the SEQ markers (which show similarities with the above mentioned Golpa forms) are referred to as *clitics*.

Another Golpa clitic is *=wa*, also occurring as *=ba* or *=pa*. These forms seemingly express the modality notion of ‘certainty’. However, given that their exact meanings are presently unclear they are only roughly glossed *MOD* in this thesis. (These forms are considered in detail in section 4.3.4.)

Nevertheless, since this modality analysis does not firmly rest on perfectly clear and unshakable evidence, it should not be regarded as being definite. In fact, it cannot be ruled out that *=wa/=ba/=pa* may function as discourse markers, analogous to the Djambarrpuyŋu SEQential form *-nha* (as proposed by Melanie Wilkinson in an email). This idea seems to be supported, for instance, by the observation that the Djambarrpuyŋu particle *yurr* ‘but, furthermore’ takes this sequential form resulting in *yurrnha* ‘and then, before’ (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 655), just like the Golpa particle *ŋarru* ‘but’ takes on *=wa* or *=ba* resulting in *ŋarruwa/ŋarruba* ‘before’. A more detailed examination of the phenomenon is needed to confirm this however.

The emphasis markers *=pi*, *=bi*, *=wi* and *=yi* have been discussed in section 4.1.2.2.

The clitic *=dhal* usually conveys the meaning ‘towards’ and is treated in section 4.2.2 together with the ablative case.

4.2 The noun phrase, case values and case markings

Before attending to case, I shall first portray the sets of permitted noun phrase constituents: In Golpa, a noun phrase consists of at least one nominal constituent (which can be a noun, a pronoun or a demonstrative) and a case inflection (which does not have to involve OVERT marking). The distinct nominal constituents may also combine with each other in any way. The following combinations have been found¹⁴⁸:

- pronoun and noun (e.g., *ηalitjawu gokulju* 1Duincl.GEN/DAT child.of.opposite.moiety, ‘our child’; including constructions expressing possession)
- indefinite pronoun and pronoun (e.g., *ηayi babalaway* 3SG any ‘anyone/everyone’, cf. (136))
- dual or plural pronominal (which includes the first person) and a personal name (e.g., *ηalinyu Gelurru* 1DUexcl Gelurru ‘me and Gelurru’, cf. (114) in section 4.1.3.6)
- dual pronominal and nouns (e.g., *balay watu ga ratha* 2DU dog child, ‘the two, the dog and the child’)
- noun and adjective (e.g., *raki gudiju* rope short, ‘short rope’)
- modifying nominal/determiner and noun (e.g., *biurumdhu ganari* that.INSTR spear.INSTR ‘with that spear’)
- numeral and noun (e.g., *maljana ηutjatja* two fish, ‘two fish’)
- pronoun and numeral (e.g., *nhuma gulpurr*’ 2DU three/few, ‘you three’)
- noun and dual modifier (e.g., *darramu mirribulu* man DU, ‘two men’)
- noun and plural modifier (e.g., *wolguman mittji* woman group/PL, ‘the women, the group of women’ (Both human and non-human referents have been found to be accompanied by the plural marking word *mittji* ‘group/PL’.)
- pronoun and dual modifier (e.g., *ηali mirribulu* 1Duincl DU, ‘we two’)
- demonstrative and dual modifier (e.g., *nhaη’ku mirribulu* that/there DU, ‘those two’)
- quantifier and noun (e.g., (*ηarraku*) *bukmak ηarri* (1SG.GEN/DAT) all place ‘all (my) places/houses’)
- locational qualifier and noun (e.g., *ηuyηa ηarkulana* under water-LOC, ‘under(neath) the water’)
- pronoun and numeral and noun (e.g., *ηayi wanganyηayu garkman* 3SG one(*Golpa)=PROM frog ‘the/this one frog’)

¹⁴⁸ Further research may show that this list is not complete, or that more complex combinations of constituents are possible.

- pronoun and demonstrative and noun (e.g., *ɲayi nɦaŋu yolŋu* 3SG this/here person ‘this person’ or *djini b̄arulu ɲayi* this/here crocodile-ERG 3SG ‘this crocodile’)
- interrogative/indefinite pronoun and demonstrative and noun (e.g., *yol biŋu yolŋu* who/someone that person ‘who/what person’) (cf. Waters 1989, 197 for a similar record taken from Morphy 1983).

Noun phrase constituents do not have to be contiguous. If occurring together, there seem to be no constraints in regard to the order of the constituents either. However, the dual and plural modifiers (*mirribulu* and *mittji*, respectively) normally follow the other constituent of the noun phrase.

The relations that can be expressed between co-occurring nominals within nominal expressions can also be coded within non-verbal clauses (cf. section 6.2.1).¹⁴⁹

Noun phrases may also be coordinated. Such examples are presented and discussed in section 4.1.3.6 above (under the heading of coordinating particles).

Like in most other Yolŋu languages, the constituents of a noun phrase carry the same case (value) (cf. Schebeck 1976, 379, footnote 42).¹⁵⁰

This section does not contain a comprehensive description but just gives an overview of the cases and their functions. This is to facilitate the reading of the Golpa examples in the following discussions of this thesis. The subsequent description is based on Dixon’s (1980, 292-301) three-fold distinction of case functions:

- **cases marking core functions:** NOMinative, ERGative and ACCusative,
- **cases marking local peripheral functions:** LOCative, ALLative, ABLative and PERLative/TRANSgressive and
- **cases marking syntactic peripheral functions:** GENitive/DATive and INSTRumental, but also TEMPoral, ASSOCIative and ORIGinative.

¹⁴⁹ For similar information in regard to Djambarrpuyŋu, cf. Wilkinson (1991, 479f.).

¹⁵⁰ This is, for instance, unlike Western Desert languages which are reported to be most similar to the languages of the Yolŋu group (cf. Heath 1978, 12 or Capell 1942, 44). In those languages, it is usually only the last constituent of a noun phrase that is case-marked (if all constituents of the noun phrase stand next to each other) (cf. Dixon 1980, 270). However, note that this type of case marking partially also shows in some Yolŋu languages. In Djinaŋ, for instance, only local peripheral case markers (as defined here) are likely to be repeated in a noun phrase while all other cases tend to be marked on only one constituent (cf. Waters 1989, 196).

Core case markers are only monosyllabic, whereas markers of peripheral cases may also be disyllabic. (Note that the distribution of case allomorphs does not follow clear rules.)

Case is understood as a grammatical category reflecting the function of an entity in a clause. It can further be defined as a “class of nominal forms which are mutual substitutable in certain syntactic or semantic environments given that any two cases, case_i and case_j, are formally distinguished by at least one subclass of nominals” (Goddard 1982, 169). A case system thus is a set of morphosyntactic categories of which each constitutes a substitutional class of nominals (cf. Goddard 1982, 167).

With respect to the core cases nominative, ergative and accusative, nouns and pronouns show a distinct marking pattern.

It is a wide-spread feature amongst Yolŋu languages that the marking of a number of cases coding peripheral functions (at least locative, allative and ablative) is sensitive to humanness (cf., for example, Wilkinson (1991, 630-655) on Djambarrpuyŋu and Dhanu, Christie (2001a, 62) on Gupapuyŋu, or McLellan (1992, 82) on Wangurri). However, in Golpa, an [+/-animate] distinction is expressed in the marking of the locative and the allative case. (The other two local peripheral cases ablative and perlativ/transgressive reveal a [+/-human] marking pattern (in currently available examples).)

A subset of the cases coding peripheral functions also occur in subordinate non-finite clauses. Their use is discussed in section 6.3.2, section 7.1.2 and in various other sections of chapter 7.

It is to be pointed out that Melanie Wilkinson’s (1991) comprehensive description of the Djambarrpuyŋu language also includes a beneficial and thus convincing account of the case suffixes and their functions in terms of the typology proposed by Dench and Evans (1988). Based on the observation that the same case morphemes (having related functions), are at work at different levels in many Australian languages, these scholars distinguish the following major functional case categories: relational cases (indicating the role of a nominal in a clause), adnominal cases (indicating relations between nominals within a noun phrase), referential cases (indicating agreement of a noun phrase or adverbial with a core noun phrase), complementiser cases (indicating a coreferential relation between clauses, or that a clause is an argument of another clause or of a speech act) and associating cases (linking noun phrases

to nominalised verbs) (cf. Dench and Evans 1988, 1-33). Given these different levels, it can be explained why languages may show multiple case markings on an entity.¹⁵¹

Such an approach would go beyond the purpose of this section. Also, with the exception of two examples, multiple case markings have not been observed in Golpa. One of these exceptional constructions is given in (127) below. However, it needs to be taken with caution, as the use of the ALLan case suffix is not clear here:

(127) ?? Darra djiniku ma (bukumurruwara djinikuwara) duwatthanha.

ɲarra	djini-ku	ma
1SG	this/here-GEN/DAT(SLIP??)	PROG/CONT

buku-murru-wara	djini-ku-wara	<u>duwatth</u> -anha
hill-PERL/TRANS-ALLan	this/here-GEN/DAT-ALLan	go.up-PST
‘I went up this hill.’		(s.v. <i>duwatthun</i> (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

The other example is cited in (201), involving the ablative and the associative case.

Given that multiple case sequences may occur in other Yolŋu languages (such as Dhaŋu (cf. Schebeck 1976a, b) or Djambarrpuyŋu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, ch. 12)), the lack of such examples in Golpa could have to do with the advanced language obsolescence process which, amongst other things, mainly shows in the dramatically reduced number of speakers (who have not been using the language regularly): Three speakers of a close-to-death language simply cannot offer the linguistic variety which can be recorded of numerous speakers of a vital speech community.

¹⁵¹ Blake (1987, 31) notes that in a number of Australian languages the possessor suffix (GEN/DAT in Golpa), for instance, is followed by a relational case suffix (marking the relation of the nominal within the clause).

4.2.1 Core cases

Before going into some detail here a few definitions should be given first.

In the remainder of the thesis, the terms *S*, *A* and *O* are used to refer to the syntactic contexts of the following functions: subject of an intransitive sentence (S), the subject of a transitive sentence (A)¹⁵² and the direct object of a transitive sentence (O). An entity in S context is in nominative case, in A context in ergative case and in O context in accusative case. The nominative is unmarked. Nominals in A or O context may or may not be marked. Zero or non-zero marking depends on the type of nominal subclass an entity belongs to.

This account is explained in the following discussion.¹⁵³

In a number of Australian languages, including Yolŋu languages, nouns and pronouns show distinct case marking patterns. This phenomenon is often referred to as *split-case system* within which nouns inflect in a so-called **absolutive-ergative pattern**, and pronouns in a **nominative-accusative pattern** (cf. Dixon 1980, 285-291, for instance).¹⁵⁴

In such descriptions, the term *absolutive* is used to refer to the homogeneous zero-marking of nouns in S and O context and is opposed to the non-zero realisation of case on nouns in A context where they receive overt ergative case marking. This distinction creates an analogy to the opposition between the unmarked nominative case appearing on pronouns in A and S context and the marked accusative case appearing on pronouns in O context (Dixon 1980, 286).

Absolutive and nominative thus “mark” the same phenomenon which is that nominal entities occurring in their expected or typical context(s) are unmarked: Nouns are unmarked in S and O context, as most of them have a [-human] referent and are thus most likely to appear as the subject of an intransitive sentence or as the direct object of a transitive sentence. Since it is not typical for them to occur in A context they are overtly (ergative) marked when functioning as the subject of a transitive sentence. On the contrary, pronouns are unmarked in S and A context, as referents are most likely to be [+human]. Therefore, their occurrence as the subject of a transitive or intransitive sentence can be expected and does not require morphosyntactic marking. However, their occurrence in O context is semantically unusual

¹⁵² According to Dixon (1980, 440) a subject is an entity in S or A context.

¹⁵³ A similar discussion of the following terms can also be found in Lindenlaub (2001).

¹⁵⁴ However, note that there are also some purely ergative Australian languages (nominals in O and S contexts are unmarked) and purely accusative Australian languages (nominals in A and S contexts are unmarked) (cf. Goddard 1982, p. 183).

and thus overtly marked (accusative) (cf. Blake 1987, 164, also Silverstein 1976, 113). In sum, nominal entities inflect according to their prototypical semantic nature.

Famous in this regard is Silverstein’s (1976) article “hierarchy of features and ergativity”, according to which more natural subjects (such as first and second person pronouns) can be expected to show overt marking when occurring in O context, whereas natural objects (such as inanimate referents) are most likely to receive overt marking when occurring in A context (cf. Blake 1976, 492). This is illustrated in the following hierarchy. (Nominal referents are ordered according to the likelihood with which they may function as subjects of transitive sentences (A context).)

referents	marking	
	ERG	ACC
first person pronouns		
second person pronouns		
third person pronouns		↑
proper nouns		
common nouns		
human	↓	
animate		
inanimate (cf. Dixon 1979, 85) ¹⁵⁵		

The closer a linguistic element is to the bottom of the hierarchy, the more likely it is to be marked overtly ergative (in A context). Inversely, the higher up the scale a nominal is, the higher the probability that it is overtly marked accusative (in O context). It follows that if nominals closer to the bottom of the hierarchy show accusative marking, nominals positioned above them will also be marked accusative. Inversely, if nominals in a higher position are marked ergative the ones beneath them will also be marked ergative (cf. Silverstein 1976, 159).¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ A similar presentation of the hierarchy is cited in Blake (1987, 20, 164).

¹⁵⁶ This hierarchy also includes information about the notions of ‘control’ and ‘topicalisation’: The entities listed higher on the scale not only tend to control those that are closer to the bottom but are also more likely to be the topic of a clause (cf. Blake 1987, p. 21, 50).

The absolutive-ergative and nominative-accusative distinction is based on case marking and not on case value. In this sense, what is commonly called a *split-case system* seems to be better referred to as a *split-case marking* (cf. Goddard 1982, 172).

Note that the absolutive neither encodes semantic nor syntactic information. This term is only used to refer to the zero MARKING of nouns in S and O context. However, unmarked entities in S and O context are actually associated with nominative and accusative case value, respectively. Thus, the zero marking in these contexts is best interpreted as one possible marking pattern for the nominative and the accusative case. The use of the term *absolutive* thus becomes unnecessary for languages with nominative, ergative and accusative case.

Instead of interpreting the core cases in Golpa in terms of the above split-case system, I describe them in favour of Cliff Goddard's (1982) three-case analysis which relies on the distinction between CASE MARKING and CASE VALUE (cf. also Blake 1985, 80, 1987, 13 and Silverstein 1976, 112f.). This tripartite system includes the **core case categories 'ergative', 'accusative' and 'nominative'**, and excludes the 'absolutive' (cf. Goddard 1982, 167). This interpretation is more straightforward, as the core case system is described by matching the "language independent syntactic contexts" S - A - O with (the) case values nominative - ergative - accusative (cf. Goddard 1982, 182). This analysis still recognises the distinct behaviour of the two nominal subclasses (nouns and pronouns), and also accounts for case agreement between constituents.

To follow Goddard's interpretation, it has to be accepted that homonymy in marking does not necessarily indicate homogeneous case value and vice versa (cf. Goddard 1982, 172 f.). In this regard, he emphasises the principle of 'mutual substitutability' as it allows us to determine case value even if (i) two distinct cases show homogenous marking or (ii) one case value is expressed by means of distinct case markings: Nominals lacking "typical" case marking have the same case value as those that show this characteristic if the former can be substituted by the latter (cf. Goddard 1982, 168, 180). The type of marking depends on the type of nominal.

In order to talk about a tripartite core case system in a language, at least one nominal subclass has to show the three distinct case categories (cf. Goddard 1982, 178, 180). The following examples demonstrate this for the nominal class of nouns in Golpa:

(128) Yothulu guwatjmanha wolgumanha [...].

yothu-**lu** guwatj-manha wolguman-**nha**
child(*Golpa)-ERG visit-PST woman-ACC

‘The child visited the woman [...].’ (JBG206c)

(129) Darra guwatjmanha ṅarrakuruma ḷundunha [...].

ṅarra guwatj-manha ṅarra-kuruma ḷundu-**nha**
1SG(ERG) visit-PST 1SG-BEN friend-ACC

‘I visited my friend [...].’ (JGG079)

The above examples show that although the noun *yothu* in (128) and the sentence initial pronoun *ṅarra* in (129) have distinct markings (*-lu* and *-Ø*, respectively) both of them function as the subject of the transitive verb *guwatjman* ‘visit’. Both entities are in the ergative case/have ergative case value. The difference in marking is due to the fact that they belong to distinct nominal subclasses.

Overt accusative marking is obligatory on [+human] nouns (like *wolguman* in (128) and *ḷundu* in (129)) as well as on pronouns (cf. (130)). In all other cases, accusative marking is optional, as the syntactic function (and semantic role) of the constituent/noun phrase is clear, as illustrated by *warrakan* ‘bird’ in (131). (Note that the subject arguments of the transitive sentences in (130) and (131) are unmarked, as pronouns typically occur in A context.)

(130) Dayi gu(murr)watjmanha ṅarranha.

ṅayi gu(murr)watjman-nha ṅarra-**nha**
3SG(ERG) visit-PST 1SG-ACC

‘He visited me.’ (s.v. *gumurrwatjman* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

(131) Nhonu dharr’yanha warrakan?

nhonu dharr’y-anha warrakan
2SG(ERG) damage/hit/kill-PST bird(ACC)

‘Did you hit the bird?’ (JBG090b)

The following examples show that nouns and pronouns have nominative case value (unmarked) when functioning as subjects of intransitive sentences:

(132) Nhaŋu wolguman dhinganha [...].

nhaŋu wolguman dhing-anha
this/here(NOM) woman(NOM) die-PST

‘This woman died [...].’

(JBG137d)

(133) [...] gagagaga rulkayinya ŋayi [...].¹⁵⁷

gagagaga rulka-yi-nya ŋayi
and.RDP not-INCH/VERB-PST 3SG(NOM)

‘[...] and he is no more/he died [...].’

(text HDG001_0018)

We have seen that nouns show overt ergative and accusative marking, and are zero-marked in the nominative case. Pronouns, on the contrary, are only overtly marked accusative. Without overt marking, pronouns thus have an either ergative or nominative case value, depending on whether they are in A or S context, respectively.

The above discussion can be summarised as follows:

Syntactic function	S _{intr}	S _{tr}	O
Syntactic context	S	A	O
case value	NOM	ERG	ACC
overt case marking		nouns	pronouns [+human] nouns ([-human] nouns)

Table 13 **Analysis of Golpa core cases**

Note that the interrogative/indefinite pronominal form *yol* ‘who, someone’ has been observed to behave like [+human] nouns. (Following Wilkinson’s (1991, 114) description of Djambarrpuyŋu interrogative/indefinite pronouns, it is possible that the interrogative/indefinite pronominal form *nhä* ‘what, something’ behaves like [-human] nouns in Golpa. However, due to a lack of data I cannot readily confirm this.)

In order to not complicate the gloss lines of the examples in this thesis any further, unmarked case values will only be indicated in the subsequent discussion of case and in examples where this information helps to understand a certain construction.

¹⁵⁷ This sentence is a reduced version of a more complex one which is cited in section 7.3.1. (The complexity of the entire sample sentence is irrelevant for the current discussion.)

Having provided the background for the analysis of the core cases in Golpa, they are now described individually.

Subjects of intransitive verbs and non-verbal sentences appear in the **nominative**. As already shown above, this case value is unmarked:

(134) Yolŋu dhiŋganhaba.

yolŋu	dhiŋga-nha=ba	
person(NOM)	die-PST=MOD	
‘The person died.’		(JBG058d)

(135) Nhan’ku waŋu dhiŋganha(wa).¹⁵⁸

nhan’-ku	waŋu	dhiŋga-nha=wa
3SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT	dog(NOM)	die-PST=MOD
‘His dog died.’		(JBG214b)

(136) Dayi babalaway dhiŋguŋuwa.

ŋayi	babalaway	dhiŋguŋu=wa	
3SG(NOM)	any(NOM)	die-IRR=MOD	
‘Everybody might die.’		(s.v. <i>-(u)ŋu</i> (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)	

Contrary to (134) and (135), example (136) involves a pronominal subject referent. Remember that without overt marking, pronouns may have an either ergative or nominative case value. Given that the sentence in (136) is intransitive, *ŋayi* occurs in S context and therefore bears a nominative case value.

Note that the nominative is used as the citation form.

The **ergative** case marks the subject of a transitive sentence (as the actor/agent) and involves the suffix forms *-dhu* (found after nasals), *-thu ~ -tju* (found after laterals and (fortis) stops), *-yu* (found after /i/, /a/ and /u/)¹⁵⁹, *-lu* (found after /u/) and *-ri* (found after /a/ and /u/). Consider the following examples:

¹⁵⁸ Note that =*wa* is optional in (135) and is therefore given in brackets. The two sentences in (134) and (135) also illustrate that the clitic forms =*wa* and =*ba* are interchangeable. These elements are discussed in more detail in section 4.3.4.

(140) [...] b̄arulu garanha bunha darramunha.¹⁶¹

b̄aru-lu	gara-nha	bu-nha	d̄arramu-nha]
crocodile-ERG	come/go-PST	hit-PST	man-ACC

‘[...] the crocodile came and killed the man.’

Although *-yu* and *-lu* have been found to be interchangeable in some instances (like on *b̄aru* in ((139) and (140))¹⁶², the following nouns only occur with *-lu* in the present corpus: *gapu* ‘water’ (*Golpa), *buku* ‘head’, *d̄arramu* ‘man’, *ɲamu*’(*ɲu*) ‘mother’, *gunhu*’(*ɲu*) ‘father’, *marmuku* ‘mother’s mother’ and *goku* ‘hand’. (Note that *-lu* only follows /u/¹⁶³, while *-yu* also stands after other vowels.)

The allomorph *-ri* is only rarely used. In the following sentence it occurs on the hesitation element *nh̄äȳiɲu* ‘whatchamalcallit’¹⁶⁴:

(141) Nh̄äȳiɲuri djuthana ɲarranha.

nh̄äȳiɲu-ri	djuth-ana	ɲarra-nha
HESIT-ERG	fight-PST	1SG-ACC

‘X hit me.’

(s.v. *nh̄äȳiɲu* (Golpa dictionary); w̄awa)

(Other examples illustrating *-ri* in its function as an ergative marker are given in (197) and (352).)

The following sentence consists of two clauses, each involving a pronoun in A context: *ɲayi* in clause 1 and *ɲarra* in clause 2. As indicated above, they do not show an overt ergative marking:

¹⁶¹ This sentence is a reduced version of a more complex one which is cited in section 7.2. (The complexity of the entire sample sentence is irrelevant for the current discussion.)

¹⁶² Other examples are *watu* ‘dog’, *yothu* ‘child’ (*Golpa) and *walu* ‘day, time, sun’.

¹⁶³ This observation is noted also by Schebeck (1976a, 353).

¹⁶⁴ Note that *nh̄äȳiɲu* does not take the ACC-suffix *-nha*: The sentence **ɲaȳiɲayu djuthana nh̄äȳiɲunha*. was changed to *ɲaȳiɲayu djuthana ɲumiyanha*. ‘He hit/killed X.’ by w̄awa (s.v. *nh̄äȳiɲu* (Golpa dictionary); w̄awa). (Like *nh̄äȳiɲu*, *ɲumiyan* marks hesitation.)

(142) Dayi djuthana ḡarranha ḡarruba ḡarra ḡanya djuthana.

1 [ḡayi djuth-ana ḡarra-nha]

3SG(ERG) fight-PST 1SG-ACC

2 [ḡarruba ḡarra ḡanya djuth-ana]

before 1SG(ERG) 3SG\ACC fight-PST

‘He hit me before I hit him.’

(JBG181)

Contrary to pronouns, nouns are always marked ergative when they are in A context.

Note that not all nouns are overtly marked **accusative** when they occur in O context. Compare the following examples:

(143) ḡarramulu djuy’yanha [...] ḡulkuruḡunha yothunha.

ḡarramu-lu djuy’y-anha ḡulkuruḡu-**nha** yothu-**nha**

man-ERG send-PST small-ACC child(*Golpa)-ACC

‘The man sent the little child [...].’

(s.v. *djuy’yun* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

(144) Nhonu dharr’yanha warrakan?

nhonu dharr’y-anha warrakan

2SG(ERG) damage/hit/kill-PST bird(ACC)

‘Did you hit the bird?’

(JBG090b)

The accusative case suffix is *-nha*. It is overtly marked on the [+human] noun phrase *ḡulkuruḡunha yothunha* in (144), while it is absent on the [-human] noun *warrakan* in (143). (For more information on core case marking strategies, see above). However, both noun phrases function as direct objects and have an accusative case value.

4.2.2 Peripheral cases

Local peripheral functions are expressed by the locative case, the allative case, the ablative case and the perlativ/transgressive case. In Yolŋu languages, the markings of the first three cases are reported to be sensitive to humanness. However, in Golpa, the markings of the locative and the allative actually show sensitivity towards animacy (cf. (152) and (161)). The ablative only occurs on pronouns in relevant examples so that I cannot say anything definite for this case in regard to a human OR animate sensitivity marking. Perlativ/transgressive case marking only occurs on [-human] nominal elements.

The **locative** expresses “a stative ‘in, at, on’” (Schebeck 1976a, 355). For [-animate] nouns the LOC morpheme is *-ŋa*, cf. (145) and (146):

(145) Dayi yapthanha gulkuruŋuŋa guḷunŋa.

ŋayi	yapth-anha	gulkuruŋu-ŋa	guḷun- ŋa
3SG	jump.down-PST	small-LOC	billabong-LOC
‘He jumped down into a small billabong.’			(s.v. <i>gulkuruŋu</i> (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

(146) Darra ŋarriŋawa.

ŋarra	ŋarri- ŋa =wa
1SG	place-LOC=MOD
‘I’m already (at) home.’	
	(s.v. <i>-ŋa</i> (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

The locative is not used on place names, as illustrated by the following example:

(147) Warrpam ŋarraku djamarrkuḷiŋayu Murruruŋa.

warrpam	ŋarra-ku	djamarrkuḷi=ŋayu	Murruruŋa
all	1SG-GEN/DAT	child/grandchild(*Golpa)=PROM	Darwin
‘All my sons are in Darwin.’			(JGG015g)

There are also few examples illustrating that the locative case is also used to indicate abstract space (as also found in Wangurri, for instance (cf. McLellan 1992, 98)), cf. (148):

(148) [...] rulka ŋayi wurruku gandarrŋa=wa dhingamawa, mani daphun.¹⁶⁵

rulka	ŋayi	wurruku	gandarr-ŋa=wa	dhinga-ma=wa
not	3SG	will	half.way-LOC=MOD	die-NEU=MOD

mani daph-un
throat dry.out-NEU

‘[...] he (i.e. the tribe) wouldn’t get half way and die, the throat(s) dry(ing) out.’

(text HDG003_0646-0648)

(The locative also occurs in nominalised/infinitive constructions, cf. section 7.1.2 and section 7.6.2.)

To [+animate] nouns *-kuli*¹⁶⁶ (found after the vowels /i/ and /a/ and once after nasals (followed by the glottal stop)), *-guli* (found after nasals) or *-wuli* (found after the vowels /u/ and /a/) is attached. However, it is to be pointed out that there are not enough examples to be sure about the distribution of these allomorphs.

The following example shows such a LOC_{an}-marked nominal element:

(149) Darraku dhalkirriwuy momuwuli.

ŋarra-ku	dhalkirriwuy	momu- wuli ¹⁶⁷
1SG-GEN/DAT	shoe	father’s.mother-LOC _{an}

‘My shoes are at momu’s (place).’ (s.v. *-wuli* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

The noun phrases *walalawuli dhaluthaŋa* in (150) and *ŋarrakuli ŋarriŋa* in (151) clearly illustrate the above mentioned sensitivity in the marking of the locative case. In these two examples LOC_{an} appears on [+human] pronominal forms. However, the sentence in (152) shows that LOC_{an} is also attached to nominals denoting [-human], but [+animate] referents.

¹⁶⁵ This sentence is a reduced version of a more complex one. The structure of the sentence is discussed in section 7.5.1.1. (The complexity of the entire sample sentence is irrelevant for the current discussion.)

¹⁶⁶ Schebeck (1976a, 355) cites *-kuli* for marking [+human] nouns in Golpa.

¹⁶⁷ Instead of *-wuli*, *-wara* (ALL_{an}) may be used.

(150) Walalawuli dhaluthaṅa walala yiṅu gapu nhaḷuwa.

walala-**wuli** dhalutha-**ṅa**
3PL-LOC_{an} presence-LOC

walala yiṅu gapu nhaḷu-wa
3PL usually/always water(*Golpa) eat/drink-PST_{hab}

‘There (and) they used to/would drink the water in their presence.’ (text HNG003_0678)

(151) Ḍayi wurruku girriyun ṅarrakuli ṅarriṅa.

ṅayi wurruku girriy-un ṅarra-**kuli**¹⁶⁸ ṅarri-**ṅa**
3SG will get.here-NEU 1SG-LOC_{an} place-LOC

‘He will come to my place.’ (s.v. *-kuli* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(152) Ratha ḍuktuk ṅayi bul’yun waṭuwuli.

ratha ḍuktuk [ṅayi bul’y-un waṭu-**wuli**]
child want/need 3SG play-NEU dog-LOC_{an}

‘The child likes to play with the dog(s).’ (JBG309b)

(Note that *-kuli* also occurs on the demonstrative *djini* resulting in the lexicalised pronominal form *djinikuli* ‘here’.)

While the locative marks the rest at a place, the allative, ablative and perlative express motion. **Allative** case markers indicate motion towards a place or creature. The morpheme *-ḍili* attaches to [-animate] entities.¹⁶⁹ [+animate] nouns take *-kara* (found after the vowel /a/, after fortis stops and after nasals (followed by the glottal stop)) or *-wara* (found after /i/, /a/ and /u/). The form *-gara* has only been detected once in the present corpus, cf. (410). The following examples illustrate this distinct animacy marking which most clearly shows in (159) and (160).

¹⁶⁸ Instead of *-kuli*, *-kara* (ALL_{an}) may be used.

¹⁶⁹ Schebeck (1976a, 364) notes *-tili* and *-li*. According to him, the latter form may occur after vowels. “My” data does not confirm the existence of the form *-li*.

(153) Walala buthanawa Darwindili.

walala buth-ana=wa Darwin-**dili**
3PL fly-PST=MOD Darwin-ALL

‘They flew to Darwin.’ (JBG054)

(154) Balay duy’tjana warraw’dili nutjatjaway.

balay duy’tj-ana warraw’-**dili** nutjatja-way
3DU return-PST shade-ALL fish-with/COMM

‘They (two) went into the shade with their fish.’ (JBG001; also Nyomba and Garrutju)

(155) Walala marthanayu ma garama djunama nutjatjadili.

walala marthanay-yu ma gara-ma djunama nutjatja-**dili**
3PL boat-INSTR PROG/CONT come/go-NEU towards.there fish-ALL

‘They are taking the boat to (where) the fish (is).’ (s.v. *dili* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

-*dili* is also found on nouns denoting abstract concepts:

(156) Darra wurruku rum’tanharadili garama [...].

darra wurruku rum’t-anhara-**dili** gara-ma
1SG will sleep-NOML/INF-ALL come/go-NEU

‘I’ll go to sleep [...].’ (JBG330)

(157) Rulka ban’ka warrkuluṅa ṅarrakara!

rulka ban’ka warrkulu-ṅa ṅarra-**kara**
not sand throw.at-IMP 1SG-ALLan

‘Don’t throw sand at me!’ (JBG083)

(158) Waṅanha ṅarra Garrutjuwara.

waṅa-nha ṅarra Garrutju-**wara**
say-PST 1SG Garrutju-ALLan

‘I spoke to/with Garrutju.’ (JGG132b)

(159) Darraṇayu wurruku garama nhurruliwara ṅarriḍili.

ṅarra=ṅayu	wurruku	gara-ma	nhurruli-wara	ṅarri- ḍili
1SG=PROM	will	come/go-NEU	2PLincl-ALLan	place-ALL

‘I will go to your place/camp.’ (s.v. *nhurruli* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(160) Basket balam gäṅa marmukuwara ṅarriḍili!

basket balam	gä-ṅa	marmuku-wara	ṅarri- ḍili
basket that/there	bring/carry-IMP	mother’s.mother-ALLan	place-ALL

‘Bring the basket to your grandmother’s place/house!’ (JBG332)

Like locative case marking, allative case marking is not sensitive to humanness but to animacy. In the following sentence the form *-wara* is suffixed to the [-human] but [+animate] noun *bäru*:

(161) Nhaṅu garkman dhunupamirriyunha gokulu bäruwara [...].¹⁷⁰

nhaṅu	garkman
this/here	frog

dhunupa-mirri-yu-nha	goku-lu	bäru-wara
straight/correct-with/COMMIT-VERB-PST	hand-INSTR	crocodile-ALLan

‘The frog was pointing with his hand to the crocodile [...].’ (JBG318)

(The use of ALL and ALLan in nominalised/infinitive constructions is discussed in section 7.1.2 and section 7.5.5)

Note that there are also few examples involving the form *=dhal*. It has only been found in the texts of Djingulul where it usually occurs on pronouns. However, it is also attached to the verb *ṅorra* (‘stay, exist, sit, live’) in one instance, and to the adjectival form *dhanaṅ=ba* (full=MOD) in another. Therefore, it is not a case marking. Most often (but not always!) it can be interpreted as conveying the allative notion of ‘towards’. (The gloss of this clitic form therefore involves question marks.) To arrive at a more definite statement, more data is required.

¹⁷⁰ This sentence is a reduced version of a more complex one which is cited in section 7.6.1. (The complexity of the entire sample sentence is irrelevant for the current discussion.)

(162) Ga biju walalayidhal waṅa rulka barrṅarra ṅarraṅayu.

ga biju walala=yi=**dhal** waṅa rulka barrṅarra ṅarra=ṅayu
and if 3PL=EMPH=towards?? say not hear(NEU) 1SG=PROM
'And if they talk amongst/towards themselves I can't understand.' (text HDG003_0194)

(163) [...] nhaṅ'kuḏhal ma waṅa ga nhaṅuṅayu ma Marrāṅu waṅa [...].

nhaṅ'ku=**dhal** ma waṅa ga
that/there=towards?? PROG/CONT say(NEU) and

nhaṅu=ṅayu ma Marrāṅu waṅa
this/here=PROM PROG/CONT Marrāṅu say(NEU)
'[...] Marrāṅu is spoken towards there and here [...]' (text HDG003_1364)

The **ablative** case suffix *-ṅuru* has been found on the interrogative adverb *nhala* 'where' and on nouns denoting places. Its use is illustrated in the subsequent question-answer sequence in (164):

(164) Nhalaṅuru nhonuṅayu ma garama? Biṅulu shopṅuṅ u ṅarra ma garama.

[nhala-**ṅuru** nhonu=ṅayu ma gara-ma]
where-ABL 2SG=PROM PROG/CONT come/go-NEU

[biṅulu shop-**ṅuru** ṅarra ma gara-ma]
from.there shop-ABL 1SG PROG/CONT come/go-NEU
'Where are you coming from? I'm coming from the shop.' (HNG006)

-ṅuru is also used on nouns expressing abstract notions:

(165) [...] ṅarra ma garanha huntingṅuru.

ṅarra ma garanha hunting-**ṅuru**
1SG PROG/CONT come/go-PST hunting-ABL
'[...] I came (back) from hunting.' (JBG314b)

(166) Darran̄ayu n̄aṅu yakaraṅuru waw'yana.

ṅarra=ṅayu n̄aṅu yakara-ṅuru waw'y-ana
1SG=PROM this/here sleep-ABL get.up-PST

‘I’ve got up from sleeping.’

(JBG073)

The suffix *-ṅuru* also occurs on the nominalised/infinitive form of the verb in non-finite constructions. This is discussed in section 7.1.2 and section 7.5.2.

There are few examples involving the suffix *-ṅul*. It also codes ablative but has only been found on the demonstrative *djini*.

(167) [...] ṅanapu djiniṅul waw'yun [...].¹⁷¹

ṅanapu djini-ṅul waw'y-un
1PLexcl this/here-ABL get.up-NEU

‘[...] (so) we get up from here [...].’

(text JBG001_0006)

[+human] referents take the ablative marker *-kuru* (found after the vowel /a/ and the nasals (followed by the glottal stop)) or *-wuru* (found only after /a/)¹⁷². (A form *-guru* has not been detected.) Since the present corpus only contains examples in which these forms occur on pronouns denoting [+human] referents, it is unclear whether the ablative case marking is sensitive to animacy or to humanness. Based on the available examples, these allomorphs are glossed *ABLhum* (instead of *ABLan*).

The following sentences illustrate the use of *ABLhum*:

(168) Nhaku n̄onu dhälṅayu walalawuru

nha-ku n̄onu dhäl=ṅayu walala-wuru
what-GEN/DAT 2SG want/feel=PROM 3PL-ABLhum

‘What did you want from them?’

(s.v. *-wuru* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

¹⁷¹ This sentence is a reduced version of a more complex one which is cited in section 7.6.1. (The complexity of the entire sample sentence is irrelevant for the current discussion.)

¹⁷² Schebeck (1976a, 365) also lists *-ṅuru* for [-human] for N̄aṅu and *-kuru* for [+human] for N̄aṅu (and also for D̄aṅu and D̄jaṅu).

(169) Walala garanha nhan'kuru n̄arriḡuru.

walala gara-nha nhan'-kuru n̄arri-ḡuru
3PL come/go-PST 3SG(alt.form)-ABLhum place-ABL

'They came from his place.' (JGG077b)

The **perlative/transgressive** case “designates motion within/about/over or along. Some extended location is always implied but it may be a continuous path or region or a number of discrete locations within/amongst which the same action occurs” (Wilkinson 1991, 134). PERL/TRANS is expressed by *-kurru* (only found on the interrogative/indefinite pronoun *nhä* and after nasals (followed by the glottal stop)) or *-murru* (found elsewhere).¹⁷³ (A form *-gurru* has not been found.) Perlative/transgressive case forms have been found in a number of contexts:

(170) Darra ma garanha d̄iltjimurru gokuwu.

n̄arra ma gara-nha d̄iltji-murru goku-wu
1SG PROG/CONT come/go-PST bush-PERL/TRANS wild.honey-GEN/DAT

'I was going through the bush (looking) for wild honey.'

(s.v. *d̄iltji* (Golpa dictionary); Garrutju and wäwa)

(171) Darraḡayu garanha raḡimurru.

n̄arra=ḡayu gara-nha raḡi¹⁷⁴-murru
1SG=PROM come/go-PST beach(*Golpa)-PERL/TRANS

'I went along the beach.'

(HNG023b)

(172) Djiniku d̄uwaṡṡa bukuḡuru [...].

d̄jini-ku d̄uwaṡṡa-a buku-murru
this/here-GEN/DAT go.up-IMP hill-PERL/TRANS

'Go up this hill [...].'

(s.v. *d̄uwaṡṡhun* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

¹⁷³ Schebeck (1976b, 516) notes *-muru*.

¹⁷⁴ The Golpa equivalent is *dhawaḡa*.

(173) Nhonu wurruku ṅambaṅambatjyunba munhamurruṅayu gama nhonu ma bul'yanha baḷkurrkmurru.

nhonu	wurruku	ṅambaṅambatjy-un=ba	munhamurru=ṅayu
2SG	will	be.sick-NEU=MOD	tomorrow=PROM

[gama	nhonu ma	bul'y-anha	baḷkurrk-murru]
because	2SG PROG/CONT	play-PST	rain-PERL/TRANS

‘You will be sick tomorrow because you were playing in the rain.’ (JBG183)

The PERL/TRANS suffix also appears on the interrogative/indefinite pronoun *nhä*, resulting in the form *nhäkurru* ‘where to, which way’:

(174) Nhäkurru ṅarra wurruku garama?

nhä-kurru	ṅarra	wurruku	gara-ma
what-PERL/TRANS	1SG	will	come/go-NEU

‘Which way will/should I go?’ (JBG094e)

Besides physical motion, PERL/TRANS is also used to express the more abstract notion of ‘through/in a language’, a concept which could be expected to be marked by the INSTR case. This case function is illustrated in (175) and) below:

(175) Danapilima ṅaḷpaḷ mittji (walala) waṅanha yänmurru (Golpamurru).

ṅanapilima	ṅaḷpaḷ	mittji
1PLexcl.GEN/DAT	ancestor	group/PL

walala	waṅa-nha	yän-murru	Golpa-murru
3PL	say-PST	language-PERL/TRANS	Golpa-PERL/TRANS

‘Our ancestors spoke in Golpa language.’ (JBG092c)

(176) [...] gaa James ḡarra Balandamurrḡayu ḡaykḡa [...].¹⁷⁵

[ga James ḡarra Balanda-**murrḡ**=ḡayu ḡaykḡa]

and James 1SG white.man-PERL/TRANS=PROM name

‘[...] aaand my Balanda name is James [...].’/‘[...] aaand may name in Balanda (language) is James.’ (text JBG002_10)

Note that *-murrḡ* also occurs in the adverbial particle *munhamurrḡ* ‘tomorrow’, *munha* meaning ‘night, darkness’.

The perlativ/transgressive case marker is also found on the nominalised/infinitive form of the verb in non-finite constructions, cf. section 7.1.2 and section 7.5.2.

Syntactic peripheral functions are coded by the genitive/dative case, the instrumental case, the associative case and the originative case.

The **genitive/dative** case is marked by the suffix forms *-ku* (found after the vowels /i/ and /a/, fortis stops and nasals (followed by the glottal stop)), *-gu* (found after nasals and fortis stops), *-wu* (found after /i/, /a/ and /u/ and rhotics) and *-ma* (found after /a/ and only on pronouns).¹⁷⁶ The suffix *-ku* has been reported to probably be the most widespread affix in Australian languages (cf. Blake 1976, 421f. and Dixon 1976, 11): It is most often found in DAT function on nouns marking them as indirect objects in transitive sentences (as in (177)) or as complements in intransitive sentences (as in (178), (179) and (180)). In many Australian languages, the same suffix is used to mark possessors (i.e. the GEN function, as in (181), (182), the then following list of noun phrases and in). The suffix is also reported to code purposive (cf. Dixon 1980, 458), as in (186). In Golpa, it may also be used to mark benefactive (as in (187) and (188)).

Note that in descriptions of other Yolḡu languages GEN is distinguished from DAT on the basis of their marking-function relation.¹⁷⁷ As I have not found GEN and DAT functions to be marked distinctly in Golpa, the relevant suffixes are always glossed *GEN/DAT*.

¹⁷⁵ This sentence is a reduced version of a more complex one which is cited in section 7.4. (The complexity of the entire sample sentence is irrelevant for the current discussion.)

¹⁷⁶ Note also that *-gu* predominantly attaches to nouns, while *-ku* is most often found on pronouns. The form *-wu* occurs equally frequent on members of the two nominal subclasses.

¹⁷⁷ In Ritharḡu, for instance, DAT noun phrases have been found to often be co-referenced by enclitic pronouns while GEN noun phrases have not (cf. Heath 1980b, 35f.).

Possessor:

The genitive/dative case is attached to the possessor:

(181) Darraku mutika burrpurryanha yalḡgiḡa baḡkaḡa.

ḡarra-ku	mutika	burrpurry-anha	yalḡgi-ḡa	baḡka-ḡa
1SG-GEN/DAT	car	be.stuck-PST	soft-LOC	sand-LOC

‘My car got stuck in the soft sand.’ (s.v. *burrpurryun* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

(182) Nhaḡuḡayu ḡarraku yuḡa mutika.

nhaḡu=ḡayu	ḡarra-ku	yuḡa	mutika	
this/here=PROM	1SG-GEN/DAT	new	car	

‘This is my new car.’ (JGG093)

The present corpus (as described in section 2.5) only contains examples in which the possessee is associated with S or O context (as in (181) and (182), respectively).

In the few sentences where the possessee is associated with A context (like *rathayu* in (183)), the possessor does not carry the GEN/DAT case but shows ABLhum marking:

(183) Nhuḡ'kuru rathayu miriḡuyunha ḡarraku mudhuḡay.

nhuḡ'-kuru	ratha-yu	
2SG(alt.form)-ABLhum	child-ERG	

miriḡu-yu-nha	ḡarra-ku	mudhuḡay
bad-make/CAUS-PST	1SG-GEN/DAT	food

‘Your child spoiled my food.’ (s.v. *-yu-* (Golpa disctionary); wāwa)

Alienable and inalienable possession is not distinguished, as illustrated by the following noun phrases:

- *ɲarra-ku dhalkirri* 1SG-GEN/DAT foot ‘my foot’ (s.v. *ɲätjili (watha)* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)
- *dhum’thum-gu mullkurr* ‘kangaroo’s head’ (JGG015b)
- *gutjirriyamu ɲalitja-wu* grandchild of same moiety 1DUincl(alt.form)-GEN/DAT ‘our grandchild’ (HNG028)
- *ɲatha walala-ma* food(*Golpa) 3PL-GEN/DAT ‘their food’ (JBG137f)
- *midiku-wu namba* sister.of.man-GEN/DAT number ‘midiku’s¹⁷⁸ (phone) number’ (s.v. *namba* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)
- *Bedinybuy-wu gunhu’ɲu* Bedinybuy-GEN/DAT father ‘Bedinybuy’s father’ (text JBG003_024a)

In few instances, the possessive relationship pertaining between two nouns is also expressed by juxtaposition, cf., for instance, the construction in (184):

(184) meyalk nyälka ga darramu nyälka

meyalk	nyälka	ga	darramu	nyälka	
woman	bag/basket	and	man	bag/basket	
‘man’s and woman’s bag’					(JBG137e)

The GEN/DAT does not occur in constructions involving a personal pronoun and *ɲaykana* ‘name’, i.e. **ɲarra-ku ɲaykana*, but *ɲarra ɲaykana* ‘my name’. However, the case marking is used in connection with a kin term:

(185) Nhä nhuɲ’ku marmukuwu ɲaykaŋ a?

nhä	nhuɲ’-ku	marmuku-wu	ɲaykana	
what/something	2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT	mother’s.mother-GEN/DAT	name	
‘What’s your maternal grandmother’s name?’				(HNG016; Nyomba and Garrutju)

¹⁷⁸ *Midiku* is a respectful term, used by males to address and refer to their sister.

Purposive:

(186) Walala garanha ŋutjatjawu.

walala gara-nha ŋutjatja-wu
3PL come/go-PST fish-GEN/DAT

‘They went for fish.’

(JGG039b)

Benefactive:

GEN/DAT marking has also been found within the functional domain of the benefactive. The case markers then attach to the beneficiary (i.e. the participant in an action who benefits from it):

(187) Yolku nhonu ma mudhuŋayŋayu warkthun?

yol-ku nhonu ma mudhuŋay=ŋayu warkth-un
who-GEN/DAT 2SG PROG/CONT food=PROM work-NEU

‘For who are you cooking food?’

(JGG072)

(188) Biŋumba gapu bāpurruwu.

biŋu-m=ba gapu bāpurru-wu
that-DEM.SUFF=MOD water(*Golpa) clan-GEN/DAT

‘That’s the water for the tribe/that’s the tribe’s water.’

(text HDG003_0132)

(189) Darra nhan’ku mutika warriyanha rakiyu.

ŋarra nhan’-ku mutika warriy-anha raki-yu
1SG 3SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT car pull-PST rope-INSTR

‘I pulled his car with a rope.’/‘I pulled the car for him with a rope.’

(JBG114c)

From the last two examples it can be concluded that the possessor and the benefactive function are generally not distinguished, neither in verbal nor in non-verbal clauses.

In other instances, the benefactive is encoded by the forms *–kuruma* (found after the vowel /a/ and nasals (followed by the glottal stop)) or *–wuruma* (found after /a/)). These markers have only been detected on pronouns:

(190) Darrakuruma bäyim ticket ɳätjili.

ɳarra- kuruma	bäyim	ticket	ɳätjili
1SG-BEN	buy/pay	ticket	a.while.ago

‘I already bought the ticket for myself.’/‘I already bought my ticket.’

(s.v. *bäyim* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(191) Darra yiŋu guŋga’yun yolŋunha walalanha walalawuruma doy’wu.

ɳarra yiŋu	guŋga’y-un	yolŋu-nha	walala-nha
1SG	usually/always	help-NEU	person-ACC 3PL-ACC

walala- wuruma	doy’-wu
3PL-BEN	money-GEN/DAT

‘I help them to (get) their money.’ (s.v. *-kuruma* (Golpa dictionary); Nyomba)

Given that both GEN/DAT and BEN markers may encode benefactive, they may also occur in the same context. For an illustration, compare the following sentence in (192) with (190) above:

(192) Darraku bäyim ticket ɳätjili.

ɳarra- ku	bäyim	ticket	ɳätjili
1SG-GEN/DAT	buy/pay	ticket	a.while.ago

‘I already bought the ticket for myself.’/‘I already bought my ticket.’

(s.v. *bäyim* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

BEN markers seem to add some sort of emphasis (as opposed to the GEN/DAT suffix). However, as the present corpus only contains few examples involving these markers, a more detailed description of their use is presently not possible.

The use of the GEN/DAT case in nominalised/infinite constructions is discussed in section 7.1.2, section 7.5.5 and section 7.7.

Instrumental case markers appear on weapons or tools in intransitive and transitive sentences and are identical to the ergative case markers, cf. (193) and (194):

(193) Darra biḍḍ iyanha bunbu gulaṅ-gulaṅdhu minitjiyu.

ṅarra	biḍḍ	iy-anha	bunbu	gulaṅ_gulaṅ-dhu	minitji-yu
1SG	paint-PST	house		red-INSTR	paint-INSTR

‘I painted the house red.’/‘I painted the house with red paint.’ (JGG056b)

(194) Darraku nyälka ṅarkulayu dhaṅaṅdjinya.

ṅarra-ku	nyälka	ṅarkula-yu	dhaṅaṅ-dji-nya
1SG-GEN/DAT	bag/basket	water-INSTR	full-INCH/VERB-PST

‘My bag was full of water/filled by water.’ (JBG097d)

The sentences in (195) and (196) below demonstrate that the INSTR is also used with body parts:

(195) Dayi duwaṯṯanha dhalkiriyu.

ṅayi	duwaṯṯ-anha	dhalkirri-yu
3SG	go.up-PST	foot-INSTR

‘He went uphill by foot.’ (JBG026b)

(196) Darra ma gayabakthu gayaṅa.

ṅarra	ma	gayabak-thu	gayaṅa
1SG	PROG/CONT	head-INSTR	think(NEU)

‘I’m thinking with my head.’ (s.v. *gayabak* (Golpa dictionary); probably wäwa)

Body part terms have not been found in the present corpus with any other case but the INSTR. However, note that they only rarely occur. These items can be expected to take on [-animate/-human] case markings.

The allomorphs *-tju* and *-lu* do not occur in the present corpus in instrumental function (which, by no means, is to say that they may not be used with this meaning). The form *-ri* has only been found on *gana* ‘spear’ (as presented in the list of noun phrases in section 4.2 above) and on *mutika* ‘car’, as shown in (197) below:

(197) Dalima ma rurr'yun mutikari.

ḡalima	ma	rurr'y-un	mutika-ri
1PLincl	PROG/CONT	walk/go.in.vehicle-NEU	car-INSTR
‘We’re going in/with the car.’			(s.v. <i>-ri</i> (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

Note that *mutika* also occurs with the allomorph *-yu* in the present corpus.

Although INSTR and ERG inflections are identical, the two cases can be distinguished on structural grounds: The INSTR case does not attach to [+animate] referents and ERG not to [-animate] referents (cf. also Blake 1987, 50). Furthermore, the INSTR may occur in intransitive clauses while the ERG may not. They also behave differently in nominalised clauses (cf. section 6.3.2).¹⁷⁹

The construction in (198) below illustrates that the INSTR may also be used for abstract notions. In this sentence it renders a causal meaning:

(198) Nhaḡu wolguman dhinganha rerriyu.

nhaḡu	wolguman	dhing-anha	rerri-yu
this/here	woman	die-PST	sickness-INSTR
‘This woman died of sickness.’			(JBG137d)

Formally identical to the INSTR (and ERG) markers are the **temporal** case forms which attach to nominals expressing temporal reference.¹⁸⁰ Such nominals have been introduced as *temporal qualifiers* in section 4.1.2.6. The TEMP case markers can be translated with ‘at’ or ‘during’. So far, the corpus only holds examples involving the suffix forms *-tju* and *-yu*, cf. (199) and (200):

¹⁷⁹ ERG and the INSTR are also distinguished in other Yolḡu languages, like Dhaḡu (cf. Schebeck 1976a, 363f.) or Ritharḡu (cf. Heath 1980b, 35), for instance.

¹⁸⁰ The temporal case markers in Djambarrpuyḡu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 131) and Wangurri (cf. McLellan 1992, 104) are also identical to the ERG/INSTR forms.

(199) [...] biɟum wolguman [...] dhämirrinnya gämuktju.¹⁸¹

biɟu-m	wolguman	dhämirri-nya	gämuk-tju]
that-DEM.SUFF	woman	be.dead.INCH/VERB-PST	night-TEMP

‘[...] that woman [...] died last/during the night.’ (JBG112c)

(200) Gatɟiɟayu wurruku borumdjirriwa rarranhdharryu.

gatɟi=ɟayu	wurruku	borum-dji-rri=wa	rarranhdharr-yu
mango=PROM	will	ripe-INCH/VERB-NEU=MOD	dry.season-TEMP

‘The mangos become ripe during dry season.’ (s.v. –yu (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

Note that in Golpa, this temporal function may also be expressed by the ASSOC, as illustrated in (204), for example.

Like in other Yolɟu descriptions, Golpa also has what is commonly referred to as the *associative case* (cf., for instance, Wilkinson 1991, McLellan 1992 or Christie 2001a, b). The suffix is translatable with ‘be associated/concerned with’. However, the distribution of the three forms *-wuy/-buy/-puy* is not clear: The form *-wuy* appears after /i/, /a/ and /u/ (which may be followed by the glottal stop), *-buy* also stands after /i/, /a/ and /u/ and after nasals, and *-puy* has been found after /u/ and /i/ and a fortis stop (followed by the glottal stop). In a number of instances, *-wuy* and *-buy* are seemingly used in free variation. (Further data is required in order to make a more definite statement.)

The form *-wuy* is the most frequent allomorph which also shows in the following examples. *-puy* only rarely occurs.

(201) Nhalanurubuy ɟayi nhanu yolɟu?

nhalanuru-buy	ɟayi	nhanu	yolɟu
where-ABL-ASSOC	3SG	this/here	person

‘Where is s/he from?’ (JBG333)

¹⁸¹ This sentence is a reduced version of a more complex one which is cited in section 6.3. (The complexity of the entire sample sentence is irrelevant for the current discussion.)

(202) Darraṅayu nhaṅu Germanywuy yolṅu.

ṅarra=ṅayu	nhaṅu	Germany- wuy	yolṅu
1SG=PROM	this/here	Germany-ASSOC	person
‘I am a person from/associated with Germany.’			(JGG101; Garrutju and Nyomba)

(203) Dali wurruku dhawarr’miyama waṭuwuy dhāwu.

ṅali	wurruku	dhawarr’miya-ma	waṭu- wuy	dhāwu
1DUincl	will	finish.off-NEU	dog-ASSOC	story
‘Let’s finish the story about the dog(s).’				(JBG102)

The following example shows that the ASSOC also marks words or phrases used for the location of time, a function which is usually covered by the TEMP case (as in (199) and (200) above).

(204) Darra ma nhaṅ’kuru garama ṅarriḍili baḷkurrkpuy.

ṅarra	ma	nhaṅ’-kuru	gara-ma
1SG	PROG/CONT	2SG(alt.form)-ABLhum	come/go-NEU
ṅarri-ḍili	baḷkurrk- puy		
place-ALL	rain-ASSOC		
‘I’m going at/during the rain time from your place towards my place.’			(JBG151b)

The ASSOC suffix also occurs on the nominalised/infinitive form of the verb in non-finite relative clauses. This matter is addressed in section 7.1.2 and section 7.6.2.

The ASSOC is formally treated as a case suffix in this thesis, like in the descriptions of Djambarrpuyṅu, Wangurri and Yan-nhaṅu, for instance.¹⁸² However, it is to be noted that Schebeck (2001, 34 and 1976a, 376, footnote 31) and Heath (1980, 40) offer a different classification: They analyse the ASSOC as a derivational suffix rather than as a case suffix. The adjectivising function is taken to be the basic use of the forms *-wuy/-buy/-puy* (cf. section 5.1.3 for examples). This interpretation is based on the findings that the ASSOC (i) may occur in combination with other case suffixes in (most) Yolṅu languages (cf. Schebeck 1976a, 376, footnote 27), (ii) can be found on the nominalised verb form in non-finite relative clauses (in

¹⁸² Cf. Wilkinson (1991), McLellan (1992) and Bower et al. (2006), respectively.

Golpa and other Yolŋu languages)¹⁸³, and (iii) also occurs before *-ŋu* which, in turn, can then readily be taken to function as a nominalising suffix (cf. section 5.1.2), like in forms such as *Yirrkalapuyŋu*: *Yirrkala* ‘Yirrkala’ - *Yirrkala-puy* ‘Yirrkalian’ – *Yirrkalapuyŋu* ‘the Yirrkalian ones’ (cf. Schebeck 1976a, 376, footnote 31).

By treating the ASSOC as a case (instead of as a derivational suffix), I follow the majority of linguists in the Yolŋu language context. It is due to data limitations that I was not able to check Schebeck’s (2001) and Heath’s (1980) classification.

The **originative** case may occur with intransitive and transitive verbs, and is marked by *-kuŋu* (found after nasals (followed by the glottal stop), but also after the vowel /a/), *-wuŋu* (found after vowels) or *-guŋu* (only found once after the bilabial nasal).

The originative suffix “seems confined to entities that can be interpreted as creators, providers or originators - all in some sense original non-local sources - in whom resides the original or conscious power/ability to act in these ways” (Wilkinson 1991, 136). However, in Golpa, it is not restricted to [+human] referents (like in Djambarrpuyŋu or Wangurri, for instance)¹⁸⁴ but attaches to [+animate] nominals, also including [-human] referents. For an illustration, cf. (205) and (206):

(205) Darrakuŋu dhulmupuy Germanyŋa ma nyena.

ŋarra- kuŋu	dhulmu-puy	Germany-ŋa	ma	nyena
1SG-ORIG	belly-ASSOC	Germany-LOC	PROG/CONT	sit(NEU)

‘My children are in Germany.’ (s.v. *dhulmubuy* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)
(lit.: ‘Those from my belly are in Germany.’)

¹⁸³ Relative clauses can generally be understood as transporting adjectival meaning: Adjectives are typical modifiers denoting properties, whereas relative clauses can be regarded to function as modifiers denoting actions (cf. Croft 2001, 88).

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Wilkinson (1991, 136) for Djambarrpuyŋu and McLellan (1992, 95) for Wangurri.

(206) Dayi bunhdhurr’inya [...] bärwuḡu.¹⁸⁵

ḡayi bunhdhurr-‘i-nya bär-wuḡu
3SG lame-INCH/VERB-PST crocodile-ORIG

‘He is lame from a crocodile [...].’ (s.v. –*wuḡu* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

The noun phrase *ḡarrakuḡu dhulmupuy* (‘(those) from my belly’) in (205) shows that the ORIG is related to the ASSOC case: The latter generally marks [-human] sources (including [+animate] referents), whereas the ORIG has been found to be used for [+animate] sources (including [-human] referents).

(The use of ORIG in nominalised/infinitive constructions is commented on in section 7.1.2 and section 7.6.2.)

4.2.3 Summary of Golpa case markings

In the above discussion of Golpa case markings we have seen that the distribution of case allomorphs does not follow fully transparent rules. A broader database may reveal clearer distributional tendencies.¹⁸⁶

The following table summarises the case allomorphs in Golpa, and includes the forms found in Yan-nḡaḡu. (Recall from section 2.2 that this language is of particular interest, as it is the only other Nḡaḡu variety (besides Golpa) of which a description is available. The Yan-nḡaḡu data is taken from Bower et al. (2006, ch. 5).)

¹⁸⁵ This sentence is a reduced version of a more complex one which is cited in section 6.3. (The complexity of the entire sample sentence is irrelevant for the current discussion.)

¹⁸⁶ Of course, it cannot be ruled out completely that the fuzzy picture may in part have resulted from hearing/spelling mistakes on my side.

case ¹⁸⁷	Golpa	Yan-nhaŋu	Golpa	Yan-nhaŋu
	[+human]		[-human]	
NOM	-∅			
ERG	<i>(-dhu/-thu~-tju/-yu/-lu/-ri)</i> ¹⁸⁸	<i>(-yu/-thu/-dhu)</i>	<i>-dhu/-thu~-tju/-yu/-lu/-ri</i>	<i>-yu/-thu/-dhu</i>
ACC	<i>-nha</i>		<i>(-nha)</i> ¹⁸⁹	
LOC	<i>-kuli/-guli/-wuli</i> [+animate]	not addressed in description	<i>-ŋa</i>	
ALL	<i>-kara/-wara</i> [+animate]	<i>-gara/-kara</i>	<i>-dili</i>	<i>-li</i>
ABL	<i>-kuru/-wuru</i>	not addressed in description	<i>-ŋuru</i>	
PERL/TRANS	*		<i>-murru</i>	
GEN/DAT	<i>ku/-gu/-wu/-ma</i>	<i>-ku/-gu</i>	<i>ku/-gu/-wu</i>	<i>-ku/-gu</i>
INSTR (only on [-animate] referents)	*		<i>-dhu/-thu/-yu/-ri</i>	<i>-yu/-thu/-dhu</i>
TEMP (only on temporal qualifiers)	*		<i>-tju/-yu</i>	not addressed in description
ASSOC	*		<i>-wuy/-buy/-puy</i>	<i>-bu/-pu</i>
ORIG	<i>-kuŋu/-wuŋu</i>	<i>-guŋu</i>	*	

Table 14 Golpa and Yan-nhaŋu case markings

It is obvious from the information in the above table that Golpa and Yan-nhaŋu show a [+/-human] distinction in the case markings (which is typical of Yolŋu languages). It is also evident that the forms coding the individual cases in the two languages are similar in both form and function.

(Lists of pronominal forms and their case markings are presentend in section 4.1.2.2.)

¹⁸⁷ Heath (1978, 3) lists the following case suffixes for Nhaŋu: ∅ for NOM, *-dhu/-yu* for ERG/INSTR, *-nha* for ACC, *-gu* for GEN/DAT, *-ŋa/-la* for LOC, *ŋuru* for ABL, and *-li* for ALL.

¹⁸⁸ This case is generally only marked on nouns. ERG case markers also occur on [+human] nouns when these have the potential to also be the undergoer in the clause.

¹⁸⁹ Accusative case marking always occurs on pronouns (in O context). However, it may also occur on [-human] nouns, especially when they refer to bigger animals which have the capacity to also act as the agent in the clause.

4.3 The verb phrase

Like in other Yolŋu languages, tense, mood, modality and aspect in Golpa are expressed by verbal inflection, the use of various TMA markers, or both. Person is expressed by free pronouns.

However, we will see in the following sections that Golpa's verb system differs from other Yolŋu languages in a number of ways: Its grammatical differences are obvious in the functions of the inflectional suffixes. Also, instead of distinguishing aspectual auxiliaries, Golpa (semi-)speakers make use of the aspectual particle *ma* which may combine with almost any of the verb forms. Furthermore, the choice of verb form does not depend on whether the utterance is positive or negative, as is the case in a number of other Yolŋu languages. Instead, the Golpa negation particle *rulka(ŋu)* may co-occur with any of the verb forms.

4.3.1 Verb classes and verb forms

The only overt verb classification system (in McGregor's (2002) sense) in Golpa (and other Yolŋu languages) is that of the conjugation classes. (This term is used synonymously with *verb classes*.)

Like in other Yolŋu languages (such as Ritharŋu, Wangurri, Djambarrpuyŋu, Gupapuyŋu and Yan-nhaŋu, for instance), verbs behave differently towards the inflectional suffixes they may take and can thus be grouped into several classes. The **inflected verb forms** usually combine with TMA markers (most often free particles) to express various notions within the categories of 'tense', 'mood', 'modality' and 'aspect'. Golpa has been found to have 6 (main) conjugation classes. However, the majority of verbs belong to three classes, comprising verbs with the suffixes *-ma*, *-un*, and *-rri*.

My findings regarding the inflectional patterns of the Golpa conjugation classes are presented in the following six tables. The inflectional suffixes appear in bold print. Uncertain or unknown data is indicated by question marks. The asterisk (*) is used when a certain form does not exist. Note that hyphens are only used to shape the appearance of the individual words in the tables, they do not indicate segmentation.

(Please also consider that the terms *verb ending* and *verb inflection* are distinct from each other. The former is introduced for descriptive purposes. Note also that a number of verb endings are formally identical to some (inflected) verbalising suffixes (cf. section 5.1.1).)

conjugation class 1							
form of the verb		NEU (neutral form, used as citation form)	IMP (imperative form)	PST (past form) ¹⁹⁰	NOML/INF (infinitive form of the verb; PST form + <i>-ra</i>) ¹⁹¹	PSThab (past habitual form)	IRR (irrealis form)
-un	a	djirr'tjun 'go down'	djirr'tja	djirr'tjana	djirr'tjanara	djirr'tjala	??
		wapthun 'jump'	waptha	wapthanha	wapthanhara	wapthala	??
		baļapthun 'bend down'	baļaptha	baļapthanha	baļapthanhara	baļapthala	??
		dharr'yun 'damage, hit, kill'	dharr'ya	dharr'yana	dharr'yanara	dharr'yala	??
		djaļburr'yun 'run and jump (into water)'	djaļburr'ya	djaļburr'yanha	djaļburr'yanhara	djaļburr'yala	??
	b	galkun 'wait'	galkarra	galkanha	galkanhara	galkarrayala	??
c	dhamuļuḡur'yun 'be rinsed, be in mouth'	dhamuļuḡur'yaṅa	dhamuļuḡur'yanha	dhamuļuḡur'yanhara	dhamuļuḡur'yala	??	

- At the time of writing, this class 1 has 170 members (also including some shared Yolḡu vocabulary items) of which only 48 are transitive, e.g. *riwam'thun* 'cook/bake sth. in hot ashes' or *dhaw'yun* 'steal'.

- This conjugation class contains all verbs ending in *-un/-thun/-tjun/-yun* (*-yun* being most frequent, and *-un* being extremely rare), including derivations like *warktjun* 'work, build' or *hello'yun* 'greet, say hello to so.' (which are usually intransitive).

- *-yun* is most frequent after stops, liquids and semivowels but it may also follow vowels

- *-thun* and *-tjun* occur most often after vowels but have also been found after stops (including the glottal stop), rarely after liquids; in a number of cases [t] (<th>) and [c] (<tj>) are interchangeable as in *malḡ'thun* ~ *malḡ'tjun* 'turn up, appear' or *warkthun* ~ *warktjun* 'work, build'

Table 15 Inflectional pattern of conjugation class 1

¹⁹⁰ Please note that sometimes the PST form of the verb is represented by *-(a)na* and sometimes by *-(a)nha*. In other Yolḡu languages these two suffixes are categorised as two distinct verb forms. However, in Golpa, they are only (if at all!) allomorphs. In a number of cases, Garrutju gave me the orthographic representation of the PST form of a verb (i.e. *-(a)na* vs. *-(a)nha*) when we were working on dictionary items or on text transcriptions. In other instances I am not sure about the exact sounds.

¹⁹¹ This combined form is only found in non-finite subordinate constructions.

conjugation class 2							
form of the verb		NEU	IMP	PST	NOML/INF	PSThab	IRR
-ma	a	wanğa-punuma 'cook, roast'	wanğa-punuğa	wanğa-pununha	wanğa-pununhara	wanğa-punuwa	wanğapu-nuğu??
		bağawuma 'give'	bağawuğa	bağawunha	bağawu-nhara	bağawuwa	bağawuğu??
		burrakuma 'threaten, confront'	burrakuğa	burrakunha	burraku-nhara	burraku-wa	burraku-ğu??
		dhiŋgama 'die'	dhiŋgağa	dhiŋganha	dhiŋga-nhara	dhiŋgawa	dhiŋguğu
		nhäma (shared Yolŋu lexeme) 'see, look, watch'	nhäğa	nhänha	nhänhara	nhäwa	nhäğu
		wirwir'-miyama 'mix'	wirwir'-miyaga	wirwir'-miyanha	wirwir'-miyanhara	wirwir'-miyawa	wirwir'-miyagu??
		djulŋiyuma 'make good, fix'	djulŋiyuğa (~ djulŋiyaga)	djulŋiyunha	djulŋiyunhara	djulŋiyuwa	??
		nhałuma 'eat, drink'	nhałuğa	nhałunha	nhałunhara	nhałuwa	nhałuğu
	b	wakalama 'make so. feel good, strengthen so.'	wakala	wakalanha	wakala-nhara	walakawa	wakalağu??
		ŋayathama 'have, own'	ŋayatha	ŋayathanha	ŋayatha-nhara	ŋayatha-wa	ŋayatha-ğu??
	c	bayrakarama 'forgive'	bayra-kara(ŋa)	bayrakara-nha	bayrakara-nhara	bayrakara-yala	bayrakara-ğu??
	d	garama 'come, go'	garaka (~ garaku)	garanha	garanhara	garawa	garağu??
	e	munama 'carry, take'	munhawa	munanha	munanhara	munha-wa	munha-ğu??
	f	manaŋama 'steal'	manaŋaya	manaŋanha	manaŋa-nhara	manaŋa-yala	mana-ŋagu??

- For this class 2, I have counted 63 members (also including compounds like *buku-baṭawuma* ‘give thanks to so.’, *maṇutji-baṭawuma* ‘show’, *goku-milkama* ‘loose sth. to so.’, *dhāl-buma* ‘burden so., *märr-buma* ‘feel sorry (for so.)’ (shared Yolṅu lexeme), ‘hurt so.’s feelings’, *märr-dhuwalktjun* ‘believe’, *ṇarri birrka’yun* ‘be born again’, *walip baḷmiyama* ‘mix’ or *gokulu-ṇabatthun* ‘adopt, take care of (someone within family)’).
- Except for very few items (like *garama*), this class consists of transitive verbs.
- The class 2a includes all verbs with the causative suffixes *-miya-* or *-ku-/-gu-/-yu-*. (I only counted lexemes involving *-miya-* when the root of the word this suffix is attached to does not seem to exist in any other form (as with *-yun*, for instance).)
- Except for 2c, the subclasses only differ in regard to the verb form expressing imperative mood.

Table 16 Inflectional pattern of conjugation class 2

conjugation class 3 ¹⁹²							
form of the verb		NEU	IMP	PST	NOML/INF	PSThab	IRR
-n	a	nhäpiyan 'do what, happen'	*	nhäpiyan ha	nhäpiyan hara	* (PST form is used)	??
		gurrunan(°) 'put' ¹⁹³	gurruna	gurrunan ha	gurrunan hara	gurrunala	??
		ɲupan 'chase, go after, explore, go towards'	ɲupa	ɲupan ha	ɲupan hara	ɲupala	??
		ɲuthan 'grow sth., grow up'	ɲutha	ɲuthan ha	ɲuthan hara	ɲuthala	??
-n	b	mälpan 'put wood on fire'	mälpa	mälpan a	mälpan hara	* (PST form is used)	??
		miyaman 'sing'	miyama	miyaman a	miyaman hara	* (PST form is used)	??
		dharanjan 'recognise, remember, respect'	dharanjan (~ dharanjan- ya)	dharanjan a	dharanjan hara	dharanjan ala	??
		yirpan 'put into; put net out for fishing'	yirpa	yirpan a	yirpan hara	yirpala	??
		yukman 'think of/about, worry about'; 'look for something'	yukma	yukman a	yukman hara	yukmala	??

Table 17 Inflectional pattern of conjugation class 3

¹⁹² I am not sure about the spelling of the word final sound in *yukman*, *miyaman* and *dharanjan*. The latter two lexemes are also listed in the Yolŋu Matha Dictionary (Zorc 1986), but are spelled with a word final alveolar /n/, instead of a retroflex /n/, i.e. *miyaman* and *dharanjan*.

¹⁹³ I am not sure about the glottal stop here.

conjugation class 4							
form of the verb		NEU	IMP	PST	NOML/INF	PSThab	IRR
-rri	a	marŋgiyirri 'learn'	marŋgiyi- ya	marŋgiyinya (~ marŋgi-'inya)	marŋgiyinyara (~ marŋgi- 'inyara)	marŋgiyi- yala	??
	b	ŋaramurryirri 'be angry (to the point of being dangerous and liable to kill)'	ŋaramurri- ya	ŋaramurr-'iny a	ŋaramurr-'inyar a	ŋaramurri- yala	??
	c	banaka- yirri ¹⁹⁴ 'be/get hit/killed'	banakayi- ya	banakayinya	banakayinyara	banakayala	??
	d	mirirriyirri 'get/be bad'	*	mirirriyaya	*	mirirriyala	??
		marandjiyirri 'fill up (self or sth.)'	marandjiya	marandjinya	marandjinyara	marandji- yala	
	e	dhämirirri 'be dead (by accident)'	*	dhämirirriyaya	*	* (PST form is used)	??
		boyaktjirri 'be(come) invincible'	*	boyaktjinya	*	boyaktji- yala	??
		warritjirri 'dance'	warritjiya	warritjinya	warritjinyara	warritjiyala	??
	f	gulŋiyirri 'enter, be inside'	gulŋiya	gulŋiyinya	gulŋiyinyara	* (PST form is used)	??

- Class 4a presently has 19 members and includes all derived verbs ending in *-tjirri/-djirri/(y/)'irri* (the NEU form of the inchoative suffix), like *marŋgiyirri* 'learn'.

- Wilkinson (1991, 374) reports that the glottal stop seems to be associated with derivational processes in Djambarrpuyju. This matter is not yet investigated in Golpa. Presently, I understand the glottal stop preceding *-irri* endings as belonging to the derivational allomorph *-i-*.

- The roots of all the above lexemes in class 4 have not been found in any other form (for instance, so far *boyak* only seems to exist in the form *boyaktjirri* 'be(come) invincible')

Table 18 Inflectional pattern of conjugation class 4

¹⁹⁴ I do not know if there is a Golpa word *banaka*. According to the Yolŋu Matha Dictionary (Zorc 1986) *banaka* is used by Dhuwa moiety languages meaning 'make branches for bush shelter'. However, *banakayirri* (meaning 'be/get hit/killed') is said to be a Golpa lexeme (s.v. *banakayirri* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa).

conjugation class 5							
form of the verb		NEU	IMP	PST	NOML/INF	PSThab	IRR
-a	a	waṅa 'say, speak'	waṅayi (~ waṅaya)	waṅanha	waṅanhara	waṅayala	??
		barrṅarra 'hear, listen, understand'	barrṅarra- ya	barrṅarranha	barrṅarranhara	barrṅarra- yala	??
	b	dhärra 'stand' ¹⁹⁵	*	dhärranha	dhärranhara	dhärrawa	??
	c	dhawal- gayaṅa 'be born'	*	dhawal- gayaṅanha	dhawalgaya- ṅanhara	* (PST form is used)	??
	d	wurraṅa- tjarra 'be silly'	wurraṅa- tjarrayiya	wurraṅa- tjarrayinya	wurraṅatjarra- yinyara	wurraṅa- tjiyala	??
	e	ṅaṭa 'cook, burn'	*	ṅaṭanha	??	??	??

Table 19 Inflectional pattern of conjugation class 5

conjugation class 6						
form of the verb	NEU	IMP	PST	NOML/INF	PSThab	IRR
-man	guwatjman 'visit'	guwatjpa	guwatjma- nha	guwatj- manhara	guwatj- mala	??

Table 20 Inflectional pattern of conjugation class 6

Verbs most frequently occur in the NEU form, IMP form and PST form in recorded texts, elicited examples and spontaneous speech. The NOML/INF form only occurs in non-finite constructions. The PSThab form is rarely used, and the IRR form is actually forgotten. It was only because of one sentence in one of Djingulul's texts involving the IRR form that it was detected at all. It could be revived to again be used (by wäwa) in few more sentences.

Please bear in mind that the figures presented in the above tables are based on a dictionary in progress. However, in regard to the inflections and the sizes of the individual conjugation classes, I do not expect the overall picture to change dramatically, as work will continue. As the tables indicate, conjugation class 1 is the largest class, predominantly containing intransitive verbs. Class 2 is the largest class with transitive verbs. 1a is an open class, as the suffix *-yu-* is also used as a verbaliser.¹⁹⁶ The conjugation classes 2a and 4a are also open: Class 2a includes all verbs with the causative suffixes *-miya-* or *-gu-/ku-/-yu-*, and class 4a also contains verbalised words involving the inchoative/verbalising suffix *-(y/°)i/-*

¹⁹⁵ There are other words in Golpa meaning 'stand': *djirra*, *djingaryun*, *djirriyun*. However, their uses are not perfectly clear yet.

¹⁹⁶ So far, the suffixes *-thu-* or *-tju-* have not been found with a verbalising function.

tji-/dji-. (The inflectional behaviour of the derivational causative form *-gumiya(n??)* is presently unknown but could be identical to members of class 3a.) The columns of the remaining conjugation classes list ALL verbs that I have found with a corresponding inflectional pattern.

(Please consult section 5.1.1 (and its subsections) for details on the derivational operations by which new verbs are added to the classes 1a, 2a and 4a. As *-miya-* is not a derivational suffix it is not treated in that section but here below.)

The dictionary also contains some non-Golpa lexemes: Some of them were purposely entered, as they occur in a text of the “Golpa story book” (for example, Gupapuyŋu *buwal-buwalyun* ‘bubble up’).¹⁹⁷ In other cases it remains to be clarified whether a word is Golpa or not (for instance, *daw’tawyun* ‘finish, quit’, *dhartjun* ‘kill’, *gal’yun* ‘crawl (as baby, snake, lizard, crocodile etc.)’ or *yukman* ‘think (of/about), worry (about)’). The dictionary also includes vocabulary items that are shared by a number of Yolŋu languages. Many of them are frequently used although the (semi-)speakers also make use of their Golpa equivalents (such as *gäma* instead of Golpa *munama* ‘carry, take’, *ŋäma* instead of Golpa *barrŋarra* ‘hear, listen, understand’, *buma* instead of Golpa *djuthun* ‘hit’ or *dhärra* and *djingaryun* instead of Golpa *djirriyun* ‘stand’). Verbs of these kinds were counted, too, and are included in the numbers given in the above tables. Polysemous words were only counted once.

The tables above also include some words which are only remembered by wäwa. Garrutju and Nyomba did not know these lexemes at all: *dharaŋan*¹⁹⁸ (class 3b), *djalburr’yun* (class 1a) and *balapthun* (class 1a).

¹⁹⁷ As it is the major aim of the Golpa dictionary to provide information about the lexical items occurring in the texts of the “Golpa story book” (as archived with ELAR at <http://elar.soas.ac.uk/deposit/0139>), text lexemes are listed in the dictionary independent on whether they are Golpa or not. (Non-Golpa entries, of course, contain information about the donating language.)

¹⁹⁸ According to wäwa it is *dharaŋul* or *dharaŋay* ‘respect’ in other Yolŋu languages. The phonologically closest form which could be found in the Yolŋu Matha Dictionary (Zorc 1986) is *dharaŋan* [v.tr.] ‘understand, recognise’, which wäwa translated with ‘remember’ for Golpa.

‘I was going to town (when) you rang me.’ (s.v. *ring-him-up* (Golpa dictionary); Garrutju)

of otherwise intransitive verbs, usually ending in *-yun/-thun/-tjun* (i.e. verbs belonging to conjugation class 1a). The transitivised verbs then become members of class 2a. Consider the following example pair involving the verbal root form *malŋ*':

(210) Dätjili baman' ŋarra malŋ'tjanha.

ŋätjili_baman' ŋarra malŋ'tj-ana
 long.time.ago 1SG turn.up/appear-PST
 'I was born long time ago.'

(JBG145b)

(211) Djini wolgumandhu malŋ'miyanha maltjananaha rathanha.

djini wolguman-dhu malŋ'miya-nha maltjana-nha ratha-nha
 this/here woman-ERG give.birth-PST two-ACC child-ACC

'This woman gave birth to two children. (s.v. *malŋ'miyama* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

Other verbs taking *-miya-* are, for instance:

<i>mam'thun</i> 'be together'	↔	<i>mam'miyama</i> 'put together'
<i>muktjun</i> 'be quiet'	↔	<i>mukmiyama</i> 'silence someone'
<i>wadi'yun</i> 'go away, get lost'	↔	<i>wadi'miyama</i> 'loose something'
<i>yal'yun</i> 'cool off (of place or weather), get relief'	↔	<i>yal'miyama</i> 'cool something down' ²⁰³

Note that there are also verbs occurring with this suffix which, to my knowledge, may not alternatively end in *-yun/-thun/-tjun*, such as *buŋbuŋ'miyama* 'boil' (**buŋbuŋ'yun* 'cook'), *gatmiyama* 'catch' (**gathun* 'be held') or *bakmiyama* 'break' (**bakthun* 'be broke').

I have come across one verbal root form which may take on either one of the two forms without any change of meaning: *dhamuŋgur'yun* = *dhamuŋgur'miyama*.

²⁰³ All verbs are presented here in the NEU form of the verb which is used as the citation form.

(212) Dhamuḷungur'ya/dhamuḷungur'miyaṅa gapu meditjinway, nhuḷ'ku gikinha wurruku djulḷiyirri.

[dhamuḷungur'y-a ~	dhamuḷungur'miya-ṅa	gapu	meditjin-way]
rinse-IMP	rinse-IMP	water	medicine-with/COMMIT

[nhuḷ'-ku	gikina wurruku	djulḷi-yi-rrri]
2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT	tooth will	good-INCH/VERB-NEU

'Rinse (your mouth) with water mixed with medicine (and then) you're teeth will get better!'
(s.v. *-miya-* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

Although there are a number of causativised verbs involving the form *-miya-*, this process is not exceedingly productive. (In Dhuwal, Dhuwala and Dhay'yi languages as well as in Ritharṅu the causative/transitivising suffix is *-mara-* (cf. Schebeck 2001, 32; cf. also Wilkinson 1991, 390).)

Golpa also has two other causative suffixes: *-yu-* (*/-ku-/-gu-*), and *-gumiya(n??)*. Since these are derivational suffixes, they are treated in section 5.1.1.2.

The formation of reciprocal/reflexive expressions²⁰⁴ is the only intransitivising process in Yolḷu languages (cf. Schebeck 1976b, 532). Causativisation processes are of more importance, as there are many more intransitive verbs than transitive ones in Yolḷu languages (ibid), including Golpa (as illustrated in Table 15 - Table 20). In Golpa, transitive verbs may take on the **reciprocal/reflexive suffix *-yini***.²⁰⁵ Clauses involving such forms are considered in section 6.2.5.

It is to be mentioned that my above findings regarding the sets of inflectional allomorphs deviate from what Schebeck (2001, 27ff.) has found for Golpa in 1965/1966. (Note that he says that this information is not always certain (ibid, 29).) The following table summarises his notes in regard to the Golpa inflections:

²⁰⁴ Such clauses are called "Reflexive-mutualis-Reciprocal clauses" in the Djambarrupuyṅu grammar (cf. Wilkinson 1991).

²⁰⁵ This element is classified as a particle by Schebeck (2001, 33).

form of the verb	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
conjugation class						
1	-i	-i	-inya	(-Ø)	-i(y)i	-iyala
2	-a	-iya	-ana/-una/ -inya	-i	-i(ya)	-iyala
3	-i(ya ?)	-aya	-ana	-anara	-a(y)	-ayala
4	-un	-a	-ana	-anara	-u(y)	-ala
5	-un	-a	-ana	-anara		-ala
6	-ma	-ka/-ga/- ŋa/-wa/-Ø	-ŋa	-nhara	-nu(y)/- gu(y)	-wa
7	-kama	-?	-kaŋa	-kanara	-k(u(y))	-kawa
-Ø						
irregular						

Table 22 Golpa conjugation classes according to Schebeck (2001, 27ff.)

Unfortunately, he does not define the functions of all verb forms (I-VI). (The information he does present concerning the functions of the inflectional forms are discussed in section 4.3.3.)

I shall also comment on the **inflections in Yan-nhaŋu**, as this language is most closely related to Golpa. Since I have not undertaken any research on Yan-nhaŋu myself, I rely on the information provided by Bower et al. (2006). Therefore, I mainly go along with their labels and terms. However, please bear in mind that their paper is a learner's guide, and not a scientific description.

Apart from a class of non-inflecting/unchanging verbs (like *djäma* 'work') and a class of irregular verbs (like *nyena* 'sit, stay, live/exist'), Bower et al. (2006, 58) list five main conjugation classes for inflecting verbs. According to their description, verbs in that language may take on four inflectional forms (which vary structurally across the conjugation classes). These are referred to as *Primary*, *Secondary*, *Tertiary* and *Quaternary*. Table 23 below is adapted from Bower et al. (2006, 58) to illustrate these four inflectional forms.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ I do not cite the entire table here but only present one Yan-nhaŋu example for each (main) conjugation class. Note also that the suffixes in the column "comment" are cited without the inflection of the Primary form (for instance, *-miya-* instead of *-miyama*). The inflectional forms are highlighted.

class	English	Present Primary	Command Secondary	Past Tertiary	Habitual Quarternary	Comment
1	‘run’	gabathun	gabatthu	gabathanha	gabathala	and all verbs with – <i>thu-/yu-</i>
2	‘hit’	buma	buḡu	bunha	buwa	and all verbs with – <i>ku-/yu and</i> <i>–miya-</i>
3	‘get big’	yindiyirri	yindiyi	yindiyina	yindiyala	and all verbs with – <i>tji-/yi-</i>
4	‘talk’	waḡa	waḡayi	waḡanha	waḡayala	
5	‘cook’	bathan	batha	bathana	bathala	

Table 23 Yan-nhaḡu conjugation classes and inflectional patterns (adapted from Bovern et al. 2006, 58)

Note that, like Golpa, Yan-nhaḡu also has a nominalised/infinitive form of the verb (*-nara*, *-nhara* or *-nara*)²⁰⁷ and a reflexive form (*-yini*). Table 23 only lacks this information.

Like in Golpa and other Yolḡu languages, Yan-nhaḡu verb forms usually co-occur with TMA particles. (The detailed functions of the inflectional forms and their interplay with TMA devices are presented in section 4.3.4.)

For now, it can be concluded that the conjugation classes and inflectional forms found in Yan-nhaḡu show a number of similarities with conjugation classes and inflections in Golpa. (Cf. section 4.3.4 for further comparative notes.)

Since the Dhaḡu language **Wangurri** is frequently mentioned in the following sections, its verbal inflections shall also be cited here:

verb form	class 1	class 2	class 3	class 4
NEUtral	-n	-m(a)	-ma	-0
Perfective	-(wa)na	-(wa)na	-ḡala	-na
Habitual	-(wa)rra	-(wa)rra	-ḡarra	-rra
IRRealis	-u	-ḡu	-ḡu	-yi
IMPerative	-(wa)	-ḡa	-ḡa	stem change
NOMinalisation	-NEU+da	-nhara	-nhara	-nhara
REFLexive	-NEU+mi	-NOM+mi	-NOM+mi	-NOM+mi

Table 24 Wangurri conjugation classes and inflectional patterns (cf. McLellan 1992, 73)

²⁰⁷ A Yan-nhaḡu complex sentence involving this form is cited in section 7.5.2.

As already mentioned, Golpa verb forms are used to express temporal, modal and aspectual notions as well as (imperative) mood. Before the functions of the individual inflections are examined in more detail (in section 4.3.3), it appears to be crucial to first define the terms *tense*, *mood*, *modality* and *aspect*.

4.3.2 Tense, mood, modality and aspect

As already noted by Schebeck (2001, 29)²⁰⁸, Yolŋu verb systems distinguish temporal, modal²⁰⁹ and aspectual notions, i.e. past vs. future vs. present, realis vs. irrealis, and perfective vs. imperfective. (In some Yolŋu languages there is an additional distinction between undefined and defined past, and undefined and defined future.)

Even so, the verb systems of a number of Yolŋu languages have mainly been analysed in terms of tense (as is the case for Gupapuyŋu, Ritharŋu or Yan-nhaŋu, for instance).

According to McLellan's (1992, 49-59) comparative study, the inflectional forms of the Dhuwala variety Gupapuyŋu and the Dhuwal varieties Djambarrpuyŋu and Djapu do not express tense but "are actually an intersection of modal and aspectual qualities" (ibid, 56).²¹⁰ She argues further that the Dhuwal and Dhuwala languages are based on modality (ibid, 57), i.e. PRIMARILY distinguish between realis and irrealis situations. The analyses of the Dhaŋu languages Gälpu and Wangurri also lead her to the conclusion that their verb systems PRIMARILY express modal(ity) notions (ibid, ch. 4 and 5).

As to be shown in the following sections, Golpa is unlike these Dhuwal, Dhuwala and Dhaŋu languages in that its verb system cannot be regarded as being BASED on modality. The Golpa verb forms/inflections carry a mix of temporal, modal and aspectual notions as well as imperative mood. Except for mood, these categories are usually expressed together with free particles. In other Yolŋu languages, tense-mood-modality-aspect distinctions are also put across by the combination of verbal inflections and various particles. Recall that they also have auxiliary verbs (which do not exist in Golpa).

In regard to the definitions of the terms *tense*, *mood*, *modality* and *aspect*, I lean on McLellan's (1992) study, as it presents a reasonable discussion of these terms from a

²⁰⁸ This publication is based on the (unpublished) essay written by him in 1968. (Both papers carry the same title.)

²⁰⁹ Note that Schebeck uses the term *mood* for what I distinguish to be *modality* and *mood* (as defined in the present section).

²¹⁰ McLellan's findings are based on Lowe's (1975) description of Gupapuyŋu and Buchanan's (1986) work on Djambarrpuyŋu. Both analysed the verb system of these languages as expressing tense. Djapu's verb system was originally described as being "primarily aspectual" (Morphy 1983, 69).

functional perspective, also considering the Australian language context, including the Yolŋu language group.

In Golpa, the inflectional forms involved in the expression of temporal distinctions are the NEU form, PST form and PSThab form. **Tense** is taken to be “part of the deictic frame of temporal reference: it grammaticalises the relationship which holds between the time of the situation that is being described and the temporal zero-point of the deictic context” (Lyons 1977, 678). The temporal zero-point usually is the present moment (cf. Foley and Van Vallin 1984, 208). (This concept is also referred to as *absolute tense* (cf. Comrie 1985, 56)). Situations/events prior to this deictic center are located in the past and situations that follow the “present act of speaking” (Foley and Van Vallin 1984, 209) in time lie in the future. (In her description of Djambarrpuyŋu, Wilkinson (1991, 336) refers to the three tenses as *contemporary*, *pre-contemporary* and *post-contemporary*.) Tenses that do not have the present moment as the deictic center are called *relative tenses*, as their temporal reference point is provided by the context (cf. Comrie 1985, 56). Following McLellan’s (1992) arguments, Yolŋu languages cannot be interpreted as having a tense system in the sense that past, present and future time reference are discretely marked by verbal inflection.

Golpa has the TMA particle *wurruku* and a number of time adverbs that may be used to help locate a situation in time. (The interplay of TMA markers and verbal inflections is discussed in section 4.3.3 below.) *Wurruku* only occurs with verbs in the NEU form. This construction (referred to as *irrealis construction* in this thesis) may then be used to indicate future time reference (*wurruku* meaning ‘will’) or to denote potential/uncertain situations (*wurruku* meaning ‘would’ or ‘might’). Single constructions which involve verbs in the NEU form but lack *wurruku* refer to the present moment. Verbs in the PST form and PSThab form in Golpa refer to past situations. (However, note that the PST form of the derivational INCH/VERB suffix (i.e. *-(y/’)inya*) can usually be interpreted as indicating present/imperfective states.)

In regard to future time reference, the suffix *-tji* may be of relevance. However, at this point its function is not perfectly clear. For this reason, it is not included in the conjugation tables above (Table 15 - Table 20). The present corpus only contains the two following examples:

(213) Nhala bilawu nhonu ḡurruṭṭjṭṭayṭu ma?

nhala	bilawu	nhonu	ḡurru- tjṭṭ =ḡayṭu	ma
where	thus/like.this	2SG	sleep(alt.form)-***=PROM	PROG/CONT

‘Where will you be staying (in Gove)?’ (text HDG004_0338; Djingulul talking)

(214) Darra nyinitjṭṭi yapawuli.

ḡarra	nyini- tjṭṭi	yapa-wuli
1SG	sit(alt.form)-***	sister/Miss-LOC _{an}

‘I’ll stay with yapa.’ (s.v. *-tjṭṭi* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa and Garrutju)

To my surprise, Garrutju seemed to be more familiar with this form than wāwa. Moreover, they did not agree in regard to the meaning of this form: While Garrutju insisted on the future meaning of *-tjṭṭi*, wāwa also translated the sentence in (214) with ‘I did stay with yapa’.

If future investigations should show that *-tjṭṭi* is an inflectional form which is not restricted to only few verbs and is (at least primarily) used to convey futurity, the Golpa verb system could be regarded as being BASED on tense (with the NEU form expressing present, the PST form past and *-tjṭṭi* future). However, without any further supportive data such an assumption is pure speculation. (Note that a *-tj* suffix occurs in the Djinba grammar as an inflection for ‘potential’ in one of the three main conjugation classes (cf. Waters 1989, 172f.). There is also a form *-dji* in Djinan which is labelled FUTure (cf. Waters 1989, 169).)

Aspect “is any grammaticalised non-deictic temporal reference” (McLellan 1992, 26) and subsumes the notions of ‘perfective’ and ‘imperfective’. While “imperfectivity brings the internal structure of the situation to our notice”, a perfective situation is perceived as a “single and bounded whole” (McLellan 1992, 23): A perfective verb “will typically denote a single event, seen as an unanalysed whole, with a well-defined result or end-state, located in the past. More often than not, the event will be punctual, or at least, it will be seen as a single transition from one state to its opposite, the duration of which can be disregarded” (Dahl 1985, 78; a similar definition of perfectivity is also provided by Comrie (1976, 3)). In Golpa and other Yolḡu languages we also find habitual and continuous aspect. (Note that what I call *continuous* is referred to as *progressive* in some other Yolḡu grammars.) Habitual aspect is understood as marking situations as being the “usual case”, and continuous aspect as expressing the (extended) duration of a situation/event/action.

In Golpa, the NEU form of the verb may be used with and without any TMA particle(s): With and without the continuous marker *ma* it is used to express a situation which

takes place at the present moment. When occurring with *wurruku* ‘will, would’ it denotes an irrealis situation (including future time reference). This means that an identical inflectional form is used for the expression of situations/actions that are taking place AND for situations/actions that are yet to take place. Distinct inflectional forms (i.e. the PST form and the PSThab form) are used to express situations which have already taken place. This inflectional behaviour could be regarded as pointing to an aspectual distinction (between perfective and imperfective situations) which underlies the verb system. HOWEVER, recall that the PST form of the INCH/VERB suffix can usually be interpreted as indicating present/imperfective states (that came into being in the past)!

Also, since habitual and continuous aspects describe the internal temporal structure of a situation, these aspectual concepts can be taken to be “subcategories of imperfectivity” (McLellan 1992, 23). However, note that the continuous particle *ma* and the habitual particle *yiju* also occur in predications (verb phrases) denoting situations that HAVE already taken place (i.e. perfective situations which are perceived as a “single whole”). Therefore, Golpa does not have a prototypical aspect system (underlying the verb system).

Recall that other Yolŋu languages (such as Gupapuyŋu (cf. Christie 2001a), Djambarrpuyŋu (cf. Wilkinson 1991), Wangurri (cf. McLellan 1992)), Djinang or Djinba (cf. Waters 1989) or Yan-nhaŋu (cf. Bower et al. 2006)) have aspectual auxiliaries. Unlike these forms, the particle *ma* is used to express continuity in Golpa. (The employment of aspectual auxiliaries in other Yolŋu languages (including the use of motion and posture verbs) is commented on in section 4.1.1.4.)

Aspectual notions may also be expressed by the reduplication of the inflected verb or of (parts of) the verb stem (cf. section 5.2) and seemingly also by the use of *ŋupan* ‘chase, pursue, explore’ (cf. section 4.1.2.6).

Modality may refer to the attitude of the speaker regarding the factuality of his/her utterance or to “the speaker’s estimate of the relationship of the actor of the event to its accomplishment, whether he has the obligation, the intention or the ability to perform it” (Foley and Van Vallin 1984, 214). Situations can be placed on a realis-irrealis continuum which Foley and Van Vallin (1984, 213) suggest to range from ‘real’ to ‘unreal’:

real ← necessary – probable – possible → unreal.

Realis is defined as referring to “situations that have actually taken place or are actually taking place, while irrealis is used for more hypothetical situations, including situations that represent inductive generalisations, and also predictions, including also predictions about the future” (Comrie 1985, 45). In other words, irrealis situations are situations which have not (yet) happened. In many Yolŋu languages, negative situations, commands, counterfactual events, prescriptions or obligations (yet to be met) are also formally treated as irrealis situations.

As indicated above, the verb systems of the Dhuwala language Gupapuyŋu, the Dhuwal languages Djambarrpuyŋu and Djapu and the Dhaŋu languages Wangurri and Gälpu²¹¹ are analysed by Marilyn McLellan (1992) as primarily expressing the modal(ity) category. My understanding of Golpa leads me to believe that the modal realis-irrealis distinction is NOT grammatically expressed in this language.²¹² In Golpa, modal notions are mainly conveyed by the use of modal markers (cf. section 4.1.3.2 and section 4.3.4 for further information). Given this difference, I shall go into some more detail here and discuss what speaks against such a modality-based analysis in regard to Golpa, and what speaks for such an analysis in regard to these other Yolŋu languages.

For the illustration of a modality-based Yolŋu language I present some **Gupapuyŋu** examples, taken from Christie (2001b).²¹³ For the glosses of the inflectional forms, I follow the discussion in Christie (2001a) and use Roman numbers for the identification of the verbal inflections (I, II, III, IV). The verb system of that language primarily (but not exclusively) expresses a realis-irrealis distinction: The inflections I and III mainly occur on verbs referring to realis situations, while II and IV are primarily used to refer to irrealis situations.²¹⁴ Although modality is primarily conveyed by the inflections, the expression of this category may be supported by the use of modal particles.

²¹¹ Although Wood (n.d.) uses the word *tense* in his grammar notes, he states that he is aware of that the Gälpu verb system also carries other notions.

²¹² In the Golpa context, the terms *realis* and *irrealis* are therefore only used to refer to the actual situations. It is only for descriptive purposes that the terms occasionally occur in connection with Golpa inflectional forms in this section. They are then put in quotation marks.

²¹³ The glosses for all Gupapuyŋu examples are mine. Sample sentences presented in this study material generally lack this kind of grammatical information.

²¹⁴ Similar findings are put forward for Djambarrpuyŋu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 345).

form I used to express today and indefinite future (with the particle *dhu* ‘will’),
present tense, specific past; may occur with the continuous aspect auxiliary *ga*:

Gupapuyŋu

(215) Darra ga guya luka.

ŋarra ga guya luka-a
1SG PROG/CONT.I fish eat/drink-I

‘I’m eating fish.’

(Christie 2001b, example 257)

Gupapuyŋu

(216) Barpuru ŋarra ga guya luka.

barpuru ŋarra ga guya luka-a
yesterday 1SG PROG/CONT.I fish eat/drink-I

‘I had fish to eat yesterday.’

(Christie 2001b, example 259)

form III used to express today and unspecific past AND present state; may occur with
the continuous aspect auxiliary *gana*:

Gupapuyŋu

(217) Dhäwu ŋayi lakaraŋala ŋunhiŋuwuy.

dhäwu ŋayi lakara-ŋala ŋunhiŋuwuy
story 3SG tell-III that.ASSOC

‘S/he told a story about that.’

(Christie 2001b, example 275)

Gupapuyŋu

(218) Barrarina ŋarra ŋuruku.

barrari-na ŋarra ŋuruku
be.frightened-III 1SG this\GEN/DAT

‘I am frightened of that.’

(Christie 2001b, example 277)

form II used to express imperative, tomorrow and definite future and negative present and negative yesterday past; may occur with the continuous aspect auxiliary *gi*:

Gupapuyŋu

(219) Nhuma mutikay gäŋu!

nhuma mutika-y gä-ŋu
2PL car-INSTR carry/take-II

‘You (PL) take (it/them) by car!’

(Christie 2001b, example 376)

Gupapuyŋu

(220) Godarr’ ŋarra dhu nhäŋu.

godarr’ ŋarra dhu nhä-ŋu
morning 1SG will see-II

‘I’ll look tomorrow.’

(Christie 2001b, example 265)

Gupapuyŋu

(221) Băyŋu ŋayi gi gäŋu.

băyŋu ŋayi gi gä-ŋu
not 3SG PROG/CONT.II carry/take-II

‘S/he isn’t carrying it.’

(Christie 2001b, example 236)

Gupapuyŋu

(222) Barpuru ŋarra băyŋu ŋatha luk-i.

barpuru ŋarra băyŋu ŋatha luk-i
yesterday 1SG not food eat/drink-II

‘I didn’t eat yesterday.’

(Christie 2001b, example 274)

form IV used to express negative today past but also habitual past; may occur with the continuous aspect auxiliary *ganha*:

Gupapuyŋu

(223) Yaka ŋarra nhänha.

yaka²¹⁵ ŋarra nhä-**nha**

not 1SG see-IV

‘I didn’t see it.’

(Christie 2001b, example 247)

From the above example pairs (215) - (216) and (217) - (218), it is obvious that an identical form (I and III, respectively) is used for the reference to situations which have already taken place (cf. (216) and (217)) AND which are taking place (cf. (215) and (218)). According to the above definition, both types of situations are real(is). Irrealis situations are marked distinctly, cf. (219) through ((223). (I return to (219) and (220) in a little bit. The examples (221), (222) and (223) are not discussed any further.)

There are several (more and less strong) arguments against a modality-based analysis of the Golpa verb system.

First, and most importantly, the verb forms denoting situations/actions that have taken place (cf. (224), for example) and verbs denoting situations/actions that are taking place (cf. (225), for example), both “realis” situations, do NOT show the same inflection in Golpa:

(224) Darraŋayu nha_lunha nhayiŋu ŋutjatja barpuru.

ŋarra=ŋayu	nha _l u- nha	nhayiŋu	ŋutjatja	barpuru
1SG=PROM	eat/drink-PST	HESIT	fish	yesterday

‘Yesterday I ate fish.’

(HNG013b)

(225) Bärulu nha_luma ma ŋutjatja [...].

bäru-lu	nha _l u- ma	ma	ŋutjatja
crocodile-ERG	eat/drink-NEU	PROG/CONT	fish

‘The crocodile is eating fish [...].’

(JBG173a)

²¹⁵ The negation particles *bäyŋu* and *yaka* are interchangeable.

Second, in Golpa, the use of the negation particle is not restricted to certain verb forms.

In Dhuwal and Dhuwala languages (such as Djambarrpuyŋu and Gupapuyŋu) the negation of a realis clause requires a shift of the verb form, as a negated proposition is perceived as an irrealis proposition (describing an event which has not happened). Consequently, the negation marker may only occur with an irrealis form (cf. McLellan 1992, 56f.). (Schebeck (2001, 32) also states that the verb form used for negative and irrealis is usually the same in Yolŋu languages). The following examples from Gupapuyŋu illustrate this shift of verb forms.²¹⁶

In Gupapuyŋu, the negation of a predication involving a verb in the realis form I triggers the shift to the irrealis form II, cf. (226) with (227):

Gupapuyŋu

(226) Dayi ŋatha luka ga.

ŋayi ŋatha luk-a ga
3SG food eat/drink-I PROG/CONT.I

‘S/he is eating food.’

(Christie 2001b, example 282)

Gupapuyŋu

(227) Bāyŋu walala gi ŋatha luki.

bāyŋu walala gi ŋatha luk-i
not 3PL PROG/CONT.II food eat/drink-II

‘They aren’t eating food.’

(Christie 2001b, example 237)

Note that the form of the aspectual auxiliary in the above examples changes in accordance to the inflection of the verb.

The negation of a predication involving a verb in the realis form III triggers the shift to the irrealis form IV, cf. (228) with (229):

²¹⁶ Note that this is true for speakers in the Milingimbi area. Further east (on Elcho Island and at Yirkkala), it was observed (by Beulah Lowe) in the 1960s (!) that Gupapuyŋu speakers did use the forms I and III (marking realis situations) with the negative (instead of forms II and IV, marking irrealis situations) (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 359). Similar counterexamples have also been collected from Djambarrpuyŋu speakers (ibid, 358). However, no functional explanation for this alternation (shift) could be offered. I do not have recent Gupapuyŋu or Djambarrpuyŋu data in regard to this phenomenon.

Gupapuyŋu

(228) Darra ŋanya nhäŋala.

ŋarra ŋanya nhä-ŋala

1SG 3SG\ACC see-III

‘I saw her/him.’

(Christie 2001b, example 305)

Gupapuyŋu

(229) Yaka ŋarra nhänha.

yaka ŋarra nhä-nha

not 1SG see-IV

‘I didn’t see (it).’

(Christie 2001b, example 247)

In Golpa, the negation particle *rulka(ŋu)* ‘not (none, nothing)’ may co-occur with any of the inflections (except for the NOML/INF inflection which only occurs in non-finite constructions), i.e. it can be used to negate situations which have already taken place and which are taking place (both “realis” situations) as well as those which have not (yet) taken place (“irrealis” situations), cf. (230) and (231), respectively:

(230) Djiniŋayu ŋunhu rulka walala ma nyena runu’ŋa.

djini=ŋayu_ŋunhu	rulka	walala	ma	nyena	runu’-ŋa
now=PROM	not	3PL	PROG/CONT	sit(NEU)	island-LOC

‘They’re not on the island right now.’ (JBG099)

(231) Dalima wurruku rulka galkun nhan’ku.

ŋalima	wurruku	rulka	galk-un	nhan’ku
1PLincl	will	not	wait-NEU	3SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT

‘They will not/could not wait for him.’ (JBG094d)

However, note that the negative is not treated as “irrealis” in all modality-based Yolŋu languages. In Dhanu languages (including Gälpu and Wangurri), the negation particle may be used in connection with all verb forms (cf. McLellan 1992, 125).

It also needs to be pointed out for Golpa that expressions of counterfactual events (in verbal clauses) either involve the use of the PST inflection (in both clauses), or the PSThab inflection (in the protasis), ALTHOUGH both forms are used to refer to events/situations that have already taken place. (Counterfactual constructions are discussed in section 7.5.1.2 and section 7.5.1.3).

Third, in Golpa, the modal particles *bika* and *gona* ‘maybe’ as well as the modal clitic form =*wa* have not only been found in verb phrases referring to irrealis situations but also in those referring to “realis” situations. In the following two examples, the “realis” PST form co-occurs with the modal markers *bika* and =*wa*:

(232) Bika ṅayi duy’tjana ṅarruwa ṅarra girriyanha nhan’kara ṅarriṅa.

[**bika** ṅayi duy’tj-**ana**]
 maybe 3SG return-PST

[ṅarruwa ṅarra girriy-anha nhan’-kara ṅarri-ṅa]
 before 1SG get.there-PST 3SG(alt.form)-ALLan place-LOC

‘He may have/must have left before I got to his place.’ (JBG176)

(233) Wolgumandhu ṅama’ṅamayanha nyälka dalpamdjinyawa.

wolguman-dhu ṅama’ṅamay-anha nyälka [dalpam-dji-**nya=wa**]
 woman-ERG make-PST bag/basket dead-INCH\VERB-PST=MOD

‘The woman (who) died made baskets.’ (JBG198)

Note that for the modality-based language Wangurri, for instance, it is reported that verb phrases containing a realis form lack modal particles (cf. McLellan 1992, 110).

Fourth, distinct forms are used in Golpa for the expression of commands and future time reference.

In the above mentioned Dhuwal and Dhuwala languages, the verb form which is used to express commands may also be used to indicate future time reference, as illustrated by the Gupapuyṅu examples (219) and (220) above. The use of the same verb form for the expression of these two functions can readily be explained for languages with a realis-irrealis

distinction, as both types of situations have not (yet) happened and can thus be classified as being irrealis situations.

However, note that this is not generally the case for modality-based languages. The Dhuwala variety Gumatj and the Dhaŋu variety Wangurri, for instance, also use distinct forms for the indication of future and imperative (cf. McLellan 1992, 122).

In Ritharŋu the imperative form is also identical to the “regular future form” (Heath 1978, 130).²¹⁷ Even in Yan-nhaŋu, which is most closely related to Golpa, the secondary (command) form of the verb may be used to express events that might happen in the future (cf. Bower et al. 2006, 59).²¹⁸ (Note that according to the terminology used to refer to the functions of the individual forms of the verb, Ritharŋu and Yan-nhaŋu are analysed in terms of tense (cf. Heath 1980, 63-73, and Bower et al. 2006, 56-59).)

In Golpa, the IMPerative form is distinct from the form used for future time reference (NEU form). There is no Golpa data available as to whether the IMP inflection may have expressed futurity at an earlier stage. (However, recall from section 4.1.3.2 that irrealis constructions (involving the NEU verb form and *wurruku*) may be used to express future time reference AND polite commands (as well as other irrealis notions such as intention, prediction, obligation and potential).)

At this point it seems necessary to bring to mind that modality is not to be confused with **mood** which is understood as a lexicogrammatical category which (among other structural devices) is used to encode behavioural options of the speaker towards his/her audience, including the interactive functions of statement, command, question and offer. These are basically expressed by the mood categories ‘declarative’, ‘imperative’ and ‘interrogative’ (cf. Butler 1985, 80, referring to Halliday 1984).

I only use the notion *mood* in connection with imperative mood which is explicitly expressed by the IMP inflection in Golpa. When I generally speak of declarative, imperative or interrogative clauses, I refer to them as *clause types*.

²¹⁷ Note that Ritharŋu differs from the other Yolŋu languages in several respects, as it shows influences from the neighbouring prefixing languages Dandi or Nungubuyu in the south.

²¹⁸ Ritharŋu and Yan-nhaŋu are also reported to have a past potential form (cf. Heath 1978, 131 and Bower et al. 2006, 55, respectively).

With respect to the expression of commands, this seems to be the appropriate place to make some notes about the hortative. Such a meaning is usually conveyed by the irrealis construction, involving the particle *wurruku* and a NEU-inflected verb form:

(234) Dali wurruku dhawirrkpunuma dhäwu.

<i>ɲali</i>	wurruku	<i>dhawirrkpunu-</i>	ma	<i>dhäwu</i>
1DUincl	will	finish.off-NEU		story

‘Let’s finish the story.’ (s.v. *dhawirrkpunuma* (Golpa dictionary); *wäwa*)
(lit. ‘We’ll finish the story.’)

However, a hortative interpretation may also result from constructions which lack the particle *wurruku*, as in (235) and (236), for instance. The latter example even involves the aspectual continuous particle *ma*.

(235) Dali baŋ’ku garama.

<i>ɲali</i>	<i>baŋ’ku</i>	<i>garama-</i>	ma
1DUincl	there/that.way	go/come-NEU	

‘Let’s go (down) there.’ (JBG036)

(236) Nhaŋu ɲali ma nyena ɲundhurrkɲa dharpaŋa.

<i>nhaŋu</i>	<i>ɲali</i>	ma	nyena	<i>ɲundhurrk-ɲa</i>	<i>dharpa-ɲa</i>
this/here	1DUincl	PROG/CONT	sit(NEU)	under-LOC	tree/stick-LOC

‘Let’s sit under the tree.’ (JBG084)

Note that all three constructions above involve the pronoun *ɲali* (1DUincl).

Polite commands may be expressed by irrealis constructions. In such instances, a second person pronoun (i.e. *nhonu* 2SG, *nhuma* 2DU or *nhurruli* 2PLincl) is used instead of *ɲali*. (An example of this type is cited in (258).)

4.3.3 The functions of the verb forms

Similar to other Yolŋu languages, **verb forms** play a central role in Golpa verbal morphology. As we have seen in section 4.1.1.1 and section 4.3.1, a fully inflecting verb in Golpa takes on six inflectional forms (which differ structurally in the various conjugation classes). While the IMP form, PSThab form, IRR form and NOML/INF form have one discrete meaning, the NEU form and PST form are used to express more than one function within the categories of ‘tense’, ‘mood’, ‘modality’ and ‘aspect’.

Temporal, aspectual and modal notions are usually expressed by the interplay of an inflected verb and the use of particles. Imperative mood is normally solely expressed by inflection (i.e. by the IMP form). (Person is marked by free pronouns.)

The **NEU form** is involved in the expression of several TMA notions. It is used to refer to situations that happen at the present moment/time of speaking. This verbal form is then often accompanied by the continuous particle *ma*:

expressing a temporal notion (present time reference):

(237) Darra ma nhaŋu ŋayathama gulpurra’ ŋutjatja.

ŋarra	ma	nhaŋu	ŋayatha- ma	gulpurra’	ŋutjatja
1SG	PROG/CONT	this/here	have-NEU	three/few	fish
‘They have some fish.’					(JGG098)

When co-occurring with the particle *wurruku*, the NEU form is used to refer to situations which have not (yet) happened. Such irrealis constructions may thus serve the expression of futurity, intention, prediction, hypothesis or obligation.

expressing a modal or temporal notion (future time reference):

(238) Darra wurruku garama do’dili.

ŋarra	wurruku	gara- ma	do’- <u>d</u> ili
1SG	will/would	come/go-NEU	shop-ALL
‘I will/might/could/have to go to the shop.’			(JGG163)

expressing a modal or temporal notion (future time reference):

(239) Biṅu ḡarra wurruku nhaḷuma nhaṅu miriṅu mudhuṅay ḡarra wurruku ḡambaṅambatjyun [...] ²¹⁹.

biṅu	ḡarra	wurruku	nhaḷu-ma	nhaṅu	miriṅu	mudhuṅay
if/when	1SG	will	eat/drink-NEU	this/here	bad	food

ḡarra	wurruku	ḡambaṅambatjy-un
1SG	will	be.sick-NEU

‘If I will/would eat this bad food I will/would be sick.’ (JBG215a; wāwa and Garrutju)

expressing imperative mood:

As just noted in section 4.3.2 above, an irrealis construction (involving the NEU form and *wurruku*) can also be interpreted as a polite command if a second person pronoun functions as the subject.

Given its wider range of functions, I refer to this form as the *NEUtral form* within the system, as also done in the description of Wangurri (cf. McLellan 1992). (Waters (1989, 174) uses the term *unmarked* for such a form in his work on Djinaṅ and Djinba.)

The **IMP Form** serves the expression of imperative mood which conveys the interactive function of command.

(240) Garaku ḡunhu!

gara-ku	ḡunhu
come/go-IMP	over.there

‘Go there!’ (JGG115)

The **PST Form** indicates past time reference, i.e. it is used to express situations/events that have already happened. The PST form of the derivational INCH/VERB suffix (attached to adjectives and nouns) can usually be interpreted as denoting present/imperfective states (as in (243)). However, the situations in which they came into being clearly lie in the past.

²¹⁹ This sentence is a reduced version of a more complex one which is cited in section 7.5.1.2. (The complexity of the entire sample sentence is irrelevant for the current discussion.)

expressing a temporal notion (past time reference):

(241) Yow, ŋarra rakaranha Antheawara.

yow	ŋarra	rakara- nha	Anthea-wara
yes	1SG	tell-PST	Anthea-ALLan
'Yes, I told Anthea.'			
(s.v. <i>rakarama</i> (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)			

expressing a temporal notion (past time reference):

(242) Darra ŋanya maŋ'miya-nha baḍak ŋayi wänŋa('inya).

ŋarra	ŋanya	maŋ'miya-nha	baḍak	ŋayi	wänŋa- 'i-nya
1SG	3SG\ACC	find-PST	still	3SG	alive-INCH/VERB-PST
'He was still alive when I found him.'					
(s.v. <i>wänŋa</i> (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)					

expressing an aspectual notion (imperfective):

(243) Darra djaŋŋarr'inya.

ŋarra	djaŋŋarr- 'i-nya
1SG	hungry-INCH/VERB-PST
'I got hungry.' = 'I am hungry.' (as opposed to meaning 'I was hungry.')	
(s.v. <i>djaŋŋarr</i> (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)	

The NOML/INF form is the infinitive form of the verb, seemingly combined of the PST inflection and the suffix *-ra*. It only occurs in non-finite (subordinate) constructions. To this combined form nominal suffixes may be attached (cf. also section 5.1.2, section 6.3.2 and section 7.1.2 for information). In the present corpus²²⁰, the following nominal suffixes (other than case suffixes) have been found on the infinitive form:

- *-ŋu* NOML (text HDG003_1560)
- *-way* with/COMMIT (text HDG002_0196, following VERB-NOML/INF);
text HDG002_0240 and 0256; text HDG004_072; s.v. *guyakthun* (Golpa dictionary), wäwa; JGG127)
- *-mirri* with/COMMIT (text HDG001_0114)

²²⁰ The already analysed Golpa corpus comprises data collected during my fieldtrips in 2011 and 2012. This information is accessible at <http://elar.soas.ac.uk/deposit/0139>. (Data obtained during my fieldtrip in 2016 will also soon be available at ELAR.)

The modal marker =*wa* was also found to be attached to the infinitive form of the verb (cf. section 4.3.4 for examples).

Contrary to other Yolŋu languages (see paragraph below), there is only one type of example in which a case suffix directly follows the PST form in Golpa, i.e. where A FORM IN “INFINITIVE” FUNCTION LACKS *-ra*: *ŋayath-anha-wurru-ŋu* have-PST-PERL-NOML ‘holder/owner’, cf. text HDG003_0324, 1012 and 1836).

Like in Golpa, the Yan-nhaŋu infinitive form also involves the verb form used to express past events (called *Tertiary form*) and the suffix *-ra*, resulting in the forms *-na(ra)*, *-nha(ra)* and *-ña(ra)*. However, note that the ‘infinitive’ is also regularly used without *-ra* (cf. Bower et al. 2006, 92, 122). There are also structurally similar combined infinitive forms in the Dhuwal languages Djambarrpuyŋu and Djapu as well as in the Dhuwala languages Gumatj and Gupapuyŋu (i.e. *-na(ra)/-nha(ra)/nya(ra)*).²²¹ In these languages, the infinitive involves verb form “IV”/“FOURTH”/“Quaternary” and *-ra*. However, *-ra* is optional there, too (like in Yan-nhaŋu). In Djambarrpuyŋu, the long infinitive form with *-ra* is required before case allomorphs (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 632).²²² In Wangurri, all derivational suffixes, including the nominalising suffix, are attached to the verb root. In Wangurri’s largest verb class, some derivational suffixes, including the nominalising suffix, may attach to her “NEUtral” inflection form, i.e. to the verb stem (cf. McLellan 1992, 72).

Despite the differences, note that the involved inflectional suffix (occurring in the infinitive form) in all the above mentioned Yolŋu languages (i.e. the Tertiary form in Yan-nhaŋu, form IV in Djambarrpuyŋu, Djapu, Gupapuyŋu and Gumatj, and the PST form in Golpa) is also used to refer to situations (somewhere) in the past (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 333, 336, 353, and Christie 2001a, 70 for Gupapuyŋu). Also, the infinitive forms in these languages, including Golpa, are formally similar or even identical.

Like in other Yolŋu languages, the infinitive in Golpa is used in a number of (non-finite) subordinate constructions (cf. section 6.3.2 and chapter 7). Therefore, this form does not receive much attention in the following sections.

²²¹ Note that Djapu behaves a little differently in that it has allomorphs with a final /r/, i.e. *-nar*, *-nhar*, *-nyar* (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 333).

²²² The form *-ra* is optional before other nominal suffixes in that language. However, note that case suffixes and derivational suffixes may also be directly attached to two of the four inflectional forms in Djambarrpuyŋu, i.e. to the FIRST and the FOURTH form of the verb (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 297, 306).

The use of **the PSThab form** locates a situation in the distant past. However, in a number of instances these situations/events can also be understood as having taken place habitually, cf. the following example for an illustration:

(244) Ga waṅgany mittji nyiniyala ga biṅurumguli waṅayalayini dhāruk ga bilawu gutji'yala.

ga	waṅgany	mittji	nyini-yala
and	one	group/PL	sit(alt.form)-PSThab

ga	biṅurum-guli	waṅa- yala -yini	dhāruk
and	that(alt.form)-LOCan	say-PSThab-RCP/REFL	story

ga	bilawu	gutji'y- ala
and	thus/like.this	speak.Nhaṅu.language-PSThab

‘Long time ago a group used to sit there talking to each other in language like this, talking Nhaṅu.’ (JBG124c)

(Note that the above sentence lacks the habitual aspect particle *yihu* ‘usually, always’ (which is usually used to convey habituality).)

The PSThab form occurs relatively frequently in Djingulul’s texts but was only occasionally used by wāwa.

In constructions expressing counterfactual situations, the PSThab form is used in connection with the modal(ity) particle *wanha* ‘surely’ (cf. section 7.5.1.3).

The IRR form was seemingly used to express uncertain and potential situations (i.e. irrealis notions). The analysed text corpus (as described in section 2.5) only provides one sentence involving this form. This example stems from one of Djingulul’s recordings:

(245) Dayi bilawu yolṅu dhiṅguṅu yothuyuwala bukmak [...].

ṅayi	bilawu	yolṅu	dhiṅg- uṅu	yothu-yu-wala	bukmak
3SG	thus/like.this	person	die-IRR	child-***-PL??	all

‘Thus that person may die (and) all the children [...].’ (text HDG001_0080-0082)

Only wäwa immediately recognised this construction. Garrutju, Nyomba and RRU²²³ were not sure about the form and thus did not accept the above sentence. However, all four (semi-)speakers gave me an alternative irrealis construction, involving the NEU verb form and the particle *wurruku* ‘will, would’ (i.e. [...] *wurruku dhinga-ma* [...]).

Even though wäwa readily accepted the sentence in (245) above, it was only after we had worked on the construction for a while that he also approved other sentences involving the form *-(u)ŋu*, and started to produce them himself (cf. (246) and (248)). However, he also clearly preferred the alternative irrealis constructions (cf. ~ (247) and ~ (249), respectively):

(246) Walala nha_lu_ŋuwa mudhu_ŋay.

walala	nha _l u- ŋu =wa		mudhu _ŋ ay
3PL	eat/drink-IRR=MOD		food
‘They might eat.’			(s.v. <i>-(u)ŋu</i> (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

~ (247) Walala wurruku nha_luma mudhu_ŋay.

walala	wurruku	nha _l u- ma	mudhu _ŋ ay
3PL	will	eat/drink-NEU	food
‘They might eat.’			(s.v. <i>-(u)ŋu</i> (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(248) Walala ŋarranha nhä_ŋuwa munhamurru.

walala	ŋarra-nha	nhä- ŋu =wa		munhamurru
3PL	1SG-ACC	see-IRR=MOD		tomorrow
‘They might (come to) see me tomorrow.’				(s.v. <i>-(u)ŋu</i> (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

~ (249) Walala ŋarranha wurruku nhä_{ma} munhamurru

walala	ŋarra-nha	wurruku	nhä- ma	munhamurru
3PL	1SG-ACC	will	see-NEU	tomorrow
‘They might (come to) see me tomorrow.’				(s.v. <i>-(u)ŋu</i> (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

Note that the IRR inflectional form has been found to be followed by the modal clitic form =*wa* in all constructions of this type. (I return to these examples in a little bit.)

²²³ RRU was an old Warramiri lady who was considered to know Nha_ŋu well. Her name may not be mentioned (cf. section 2.5).

It is to be pointed out that $-(u)\eta u$ has some phonological similarity with form V in Bernhard Schebeck’s conjugation class 6: $-nu(y) \sim -gu(y)$ (cf. Table 22 above). According to Schebeck (1976a, b), this form V marks the “eventualis” function (i.e. potential/irrealis). Note further that the Wangurri IRRealis form is also $-\eta u$ in two of the four conjugation classes (cf. Table 24). (In Yan-nhaṅu, this potential meaning is expressed by the use of a modal particle and the Secondary form (otherwise used to express imperative mood).)

The following table summarises the functions of the six forms of the verb in Golpa:

function/use	tense	mood	modality	aspect	comment
inflectional form					
NEU	present time reference	polite commands,			most often found with <i>wurruku</i> ‘will, would’, unless it is used to mark present time reference
	future time reference	hortative (with and without <i>wurruku</i>)	irrealis: intentions, predictions, obligations, potential/hypotheses		
IMP		imperative			
PST	past time reference (“simple past”)			imperfective: PST form of the INCH/VERB suffix marks present states	
NOML/INF	This form of the verb does not serve the expression of verbal categories. It is the infinitive form of the verb, structurally consisting of the PST form and <i>-ra</i> . The NOML/INF inflection is required when nominal suffixes are to be attached to a (regularly or irregularly inflecting) verb form.				
PSThab	distant (habitual) past	←-----→		distant (habitual) past	
IRR				irrealis: potential	

Table 25 Functions of Golpa inflectional forms

It follows that three forms (i.e. the NEU form, PST form and PSThab form) are involved in the expression of temporal notions, two forms (i.e. the NEU form and the IRR form) in the expression of (irrealis) modality, two forms (i.e. the PST form and PSThab form) in the expression of aspectual notions and two forms (i.e. the NEU form and the IMP form) in the expression of (imperative) mood. (The NOML/INF form is required for the attachment of nominal suffixes to a verb.)

Before concluding this section, I shall cite Schebeck’s (2001, 29f.) findings concerning Golpa inflections. According to him, form I is used for future, present and defined past, and form III expresses undefined past. (The functions of the other forms are not defined in his paper.) These statements only partially agree with “my” Golpa data: (i) the NEU form (Schebeck’s form I) has not been found to be involved in the expression of any kind of past time reference, (ii) there is no distinction made between what he refers to as *defined past* and *undefined past*. I have only detected that Golpa (semi-)speakers differentiate between what I call *distant (habitual) past* (which indicates events in the distant/remote past) and what one may call a *simple past*.

Also, contrary to my findings, Schebeck (2001, 31f.) reports that verb forms also shift in Golpa when they are involved in a negated (or irrealis) verb phrase. Depending on the temporal frame one wants to make a statement for, the verb forms used for negative (and irrealis) are reported to carry the following inflections:

negative present:	form uncertain
negative undefined past/same-day-past:	form VI
negative defined past/yesterday-past:	form VI
negative undefined future/same-day-future:	form I (same as in positive undefined future)
negative defined future/tomorrow-future:	form I (same as in positive defined future)

Recent data only confirm Bernhard Schebeck’s conclusion that Golpa does not distinguish two kinds of future (as observed in some other Yolŋu languages such as Gupapuyŋu), and his statement that future time reference is expressed by the NEU form (his form I) and the particle *wurruku* (cf. Schebeck 2001, 30).

Note that in Golpa, unlike in many other languages in the area, the temporal distinctions are not coded in a “cyclical”²²⁴ way (anymore?) in the sense that “one [tense]²²⁵ codes the present moment and situations up to few days ago and the other codes situations earlier on today and situations in the more distant past” (Wilkinson 1991, 337, cf. also Comrie 1985 for a discussion of ‘time’).

²²⁴ This feature is said to cut across the Pama-Nyungan and non Pama-Nyungan boundary (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 337).

²²⁵ This word was added by me for a better understanding of the quote.

4.3.4 The use of TMA particles and modal clitic forms

Temporal, modal and aspectual markers (i.e. TMA particles and modal clitic forms) interacting with the verb inflections have already been listed in section 4.1.3.2.

In the following discussion, I ignore the NOML/INF form, as it only occurs in non-finite constructions which normally lack the expression of verbal (TMA) categories. Verb phrases involving one of the remaining five forms of the verb may (but do not have to) contain TMA markers which help “to express the details of circumstance”, as Arthur Capell (1962, 68) put it.

Golpa has the **TMA particle** *wurruku* ‘will’ (also meaning ‘would’) **and various time adverbs** that can combine with a verb form in a verb phrase to further specify the temporal notion that is (at least partially) indicated by the inflected verb. Reference to the present moment can be expressed by *djinidhal*, *djinimana* or *djini ŋunhu* meaning ‘now’ (cf. example (230) above for an illustration). These elements are only found with the NEU form. Time adverbs used to refer to a time after the present moment (future) are *yalŋuwa* ‘later’, *munhamurru* ‘tomorrow’ and *godarr* ‘(tomorrow) morning’. Future time reference always involves the use of the TMA particle *wurruku*. While *wurruku* may only occur in verb phrases involving the NEU form of the verb (as in (250)), future indicating time adverbs may also combine with verbs in the IMP form (as in)):

(250) *Darramu mittji wurruku garama baŋ’ku.*

<i>darramu</i>	<i>mittji</i>	wurruku	<i>gara-ma</i>	<i>baŋ’ku</i>
man	group/PL	will	come/go-NEU	there/that.way
’The men will go there/that way.’				(JGG164)

(Recall from section 4.3.3 that hortative constructions and polite commands have been found to involve the NEU form and usually also the irrealis particle *wurruku*.)

(251) *Rulka girriya dinikuli munhamurru godarr’!*

<i>rulka</i>	<i>girriy-a</i>	<i>dinikuli</i>	munhamurru	godarr’
not	get.there-IMP	here	tomorrow	morning
’Don’t come here tomorrow morning!’			(s.v. <i>girriyun</i> (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)	

The following time adverbs serve the specification of a time before the present moment (past): *yawungu* ‘yesterday’, *barpuru* ‘yesterday’, *baman* ‘long ago, once upon a time’ and *ṅätjili* ‘earlier, a while ago, long time ago’. *Barpuru* and *yawungu* have only been found to occur with verbs in the PST form (cf. (77) and (224), for instance), whereas *baman*’ and *ṅätjili* (or their combined form) are used with verbs in the PST form and the PSThab form, as illustrated by (252) and (253) below:

(252) Dätjili baman’ ṅarra malṅ’tjana.

ṅätjili_baman’	ṅarra	malṅ’tj-ana		
long.time.ago	1SG	turn.up/appear-PST		
‘I was born long time ago.’				(JBG145b)

(253) Walala ṅätjili nyiniyala ga garawa.

walala	ṅätjili	nyini-yala	ga	gara-wa
3PL	a.while.ago	sit(alt.form)-PSThab	and	come/go-PSThab
‘Long time ago they camped and travelled.’				(JBG124d)

Modality particles in Golpa are (*nhä*)*bika* and *gona* ‘maybe’, *wurruku* ‘would’ and *wanha* ‘surely’.

(*Nhä*)*bika* and *gona* have been found with the NEU form (with and without *wurruku*), PST form and PSThab form, as illustrated in (254), (255), (256) and (257, line 1).²²⁶

(254) Gona ṅayi wurruku nyärr’yun.

gona	ṅayi	wurruku	nyärr’y-un	
maybe	3SG	will	rain-NEU	
‘Maybe it’ll rain.’				(RRU004)

(255) [...] rulka nhaḷunha gapu gonhaba.

rulka	nhaḷu-nha	gapu	gonha=ba
not	eat/drink-PST	water(*Golpa)	maybe=MOD
‘[...] (and they) may not have drunk the water.’			(text HDG003_0466)

(256) Nhäbika ṅarraku gunhu’ ṅätjili rulkaṅu’inya ṅarruba ṅarra malṅ’tjana.

²²⁶ Although only line 1 is relevant for the illustration of this matter, I have decided to present the entire sentence here to help the reader understand the meaning of the construction in focus.

[nhäbika	ɲarra-ku	gunhu'	ɲätjili
maybe	1SG-GEN/DAT	father	a.while.ago

rulkaɲu-'i-nya]
 none/nothing-INCH/VERB-PST

[ɲarruba	ɲarra	maɲɲ'tj-ana]
before	1SG	turn.up/appear-PST

'My father must have died before I was born.' (JBG178)
 (lit. 'Maybe my father died before I was born.')

(257) Bika yäna ɲaɲ'ɲaɲtjala biɲu gapuwu [...] berrawa waɲayala rulka "rulka nhalumi nham ɲanapilima gapu" berra, ɲayi bilawu dhiɲgamawa dhiɲgamawa gapuwa rangawa ga waɲgany yäna dhukarr nhamwhana guɲga'yalayini berra nhaɲu nhaɲu gapu berra.

1 [bika	yäna	ɲaɲ'ɲaɲtj-ala	biɲu	gapu-wu
maybe	just/only	chase.away-PSThab	that	water(*Golpa)-GEN/DAT

2 [berra=wa	waɲa-yala	rulka
like.this=MOD	say-PSThab	not

3 rulka	nhalu-mi	nham	ɲanapilima	gapu	berra]]
not	eat/drink-***	this.is	1PLexcl.GEN/DAT	water(*Golpa)	like.this

4 ɲayi	bilawu	dhiɲga-ma=wa
3SG	thus/like.this	die-NEU=MOD

5 dhiɲga-ma=wa	gapu-wu??	ranga-wa
die-NEU=MOD	water(*Golpa)-GEN/DAT	look.for-PSThab

6 ga wanyany yäna dhukarr
 and one(*Golpa) just/only road

7 nhamwhana gunğa'y-ala-yini berra nhañu
 because.of.this?? help-PSThab-REFL/RCP like.this this/here

8 gapu berra
 water(*Golpa) like.this

‘(If) they had sent (them) away for the water saying no, “don’t drink our water”, he (i.e. the tribe) would have died, looking for water, because that's the only way (to go), (they) used to help each other (with) water.’ (text HDG003_0091)

(Note that *(nhä)bika* and *gona* may also have a coordinating function, cf. section 7.3.1 for more information.)

We have already seen in the examples (238) and (239) above that the irrealis particle *wurruku* may have a temporal AND a modal interpretation. In either case, this particle only occurs in verb phrases involving a verb in the NEU form. As already noted, the combination of a NEU-inflected verb form and *wurruku* may also be used to convey commands, if a second person pronoun is present. Such constructions are perceived as being more polite than those involving the IMP form, cf. (258) below (and (418) in section 6.2.4).

(258) Murruwaryu nhonu wurruku gayana nhala nhonu gurrunanha biñu gonythiñ.

[murruwar-yu **nhonu** **wurruku** **gayana**]
 morning-TEMP 2SG will think(NEU)

[nhala nhonu gurrana-nha biñu gonythiñ]
 where 2SG put-PST that key

‘In the morning, think about where you put that key!’ (JGG159)

(lit.: ‘In the morning, you will think (about) where you put that key.’)

(An irrealis particle *bila(gu)*, as noted by Schebeck (2001, 31f.), does not occur in “my” analysed corpus. However, this form is reported to be used in Yan-nhañu where it is translated with ‘might’ (cf. Bowern et al. 2006, 60).)

The modal particle *wanha* can loosely be translated with ‘surely’. It is most frequent in counterfactuals (cf. section 7.5.1.3) where it is only allowed to occur in clauses with a non-verbal predicate (as in (259, line 1)) or with the PSThab form of the verb (as in (259, line 2)).²²⁷

(259) Darra wanha (biɟurumɟa)²²⁸ nhaŋ’kum ɟarra wanha warritɟiyala.

1 [ɟarra	wanha	biɟurum-ɟa	nhaŋ’ku-m]
1SG	surely	that(alt.form)-LOC	that/there-DEM.SUFF

2 [ɟarra	wanha	warritɟiy- ala]
1SG	surely	dance-PSThab

‘(Had) I (been) there I would have danced.’ (JBG163)
 (lit. ‘(If) I (was) surely there I surely used to dance.’)

I have come across only one instance in which *wanha* is used in a simple sentence. In this example, *wanha* occurs with a verb in the PST form:

(260) Waɟu wanha dhiŋganha.

waɟu	wanha	dhiŋga- nha
dog	surely	die-PST

‘The dog did die.’ (s.v. *wanha* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

This element also exists in the Nhaŋu variety Yan-nhaŋu. However, there it is glossed *COMPLete*, seemingly carrying an aspectual notion. In that language, it may only be used with verbs in the Tertiary form (marking situations in the distant and non-distant past) (cf. Table 27, and Bower et al. 2006, 60 and 62).

²²⁷ Non-verbal clauses are defined in section 6.2.1.

²²⁸ The word *biɟurumɟa* was only used once in wāwa’s repetitions of the sentence and is therefore given in brackets.

Yan-nhaŋu

(261) Ɔarra dhor'tjina wanha yina.²²⁹

Ɔarra dhor'thina **wanha** yina
1SG bend.PST COMPL arm

'I bent my arm.'

(Bower et al. 2006, 60)

(It is unknown to me how counterfactuals are expressed in Yan-nhaŋu.)

Besides the above discussed modal particles and the use of the NEU form and IRR form, modal(ity) notions are seemingly also expressed by the **clitic =wa (/=ba/=pa)**.²³⁰ These forms are referred to as *clitic forms*, as they do not carry stress and may attach to elements of basically any word class anywhere in the sentence. They always follow the final inflection. There is no full form which is similar in function. It seems reasonable to assume that the clitic has evolved from a free modal particle (cf. Dixon 1980, 284f. for a general note on this matter). However, the meaning(s), function(s) or distribution(s) of the three elements are not perfectly clear yet.

The form =wa appears most often in the present corpus, usually following open syllables (i.e. vowels) (cf. (262)). =ba stands elsewhere (cf. (263)). The form =pa has only been found once. (This example is cited in (320) in section 5.2.)

(262) Biŋuŋayu wuŋgan ŋayi djawaryanha ŋayi ŋupannha nhunanha ga bunhawa.

1 [biŋuŋayu wuŋgan ŋayi djawary-anha]
that=PROM dog(*Golpa) 3SG be.tired-PST

2 [ŋayi ŋupa-nha nhuna-nha]
3SG chase-PST 2SG(alt.form)-ACC

3 [ga bu-nha=**wa**]

and bite-PST=MOD

'Had that dog been tired he would have chased you and bitten (you).'

(JBG194)

²²⁹ The original example is glossed as follows:

Ɔarra dhor'thina **wanha** yina
I bent COMPL arm

²³⁰ I do not know whether the temporal *ŋarruba ~ ŋarruwa* 'before' can be analysed as consisting of the form *ŋarru* (used as adversative particle in Golpa meaning 'but') and =wa/=ba.

(263) Biḡu ḡayi wurruku djawaryunḡayu ḡayi wurruku ḡupanba nhunanha ga buma nhunanha.

1 [biḡu ḡayi wurruku djawary-un=ḡayu]
if 3SG will be.tired-NEU=PROM

2 [ḡayi wurruku ḡupa-n=**ba** nhuna-nha]
3SG will chase-NEU=MOD 2SG(alt.form)-ACC

3 [ga bu-ma nhuna-nha]
and bite-NEU 2SG(alt.form)-ACC

‘If he (i.e. the dog) will be tired he will (certainly?) chase you and bite you.’ (JBG193)

Each of the two above sentences involves three clauses: an independent (finite) subordinate conditional clause (in line 1) and a construction consisting of two coordinate clauses (in line 2 and line 3). Note that in the coordinate construction in both examples, the scope of the modal clitic expands to the neighbouring predication: In (262) =*wa* occurs in the second clause of the coordinate construction (line 3) from where its scope also covers the preceding one (line 2), while =*ba* in (263), appearing in the first clause of the coordinate construction (line 2), also covers the following one (line 3). Note also that the clitic may occur in both dependent clauses (cf. (262)) and independent clauses (cf. (263)).

The following sentence shows that =*ba* may also occur after vowels where =*wa* is normally found:

(264) [...] rulka ḡarra marḡgi yāna ma ḡarri dhawar’yun nhaḡ’kuba, [...].

rulka ḡarra marḡgi²³¹
not 1SG know

[yāna ma ḡarri dhawar’y-un nhaḡ’ku=**ba**]
just/only PROG/CONT place finish/die-NEU that/there=MOD

‘[...] I just don’t know (what) land ends there [...].’ (text HDG002_0158)

²³¹ Recall from section 4.1.1.3 that *marḡgi* is an “adjectival verb” and therefore does not inflect when it occurs in its bare form.

The forms =*wa* and =*ba* have been found in verb phrases involving the NEU form (cf. (265)), IMP form (cf. (266)), PST form (cf. (262) above), PSThab form (cf. (267)), IRR form (cf. (268)), and even the NOML/INF form (cf. (269) and (270)). In a number of cases, the clitic is attached to the inflected verb form, as illustrated in all following examples. (Note that a modal clitic form may also co-occur with the future/modal particle *wurruku*, as shown in (263) above and (265) below.)

(265) Gatjiṅayu wurruku borumdjirriwa rarranhdharryu.

gatji=ṅayu	wurruku	borum- dji-rri=wa	rarranhdharr-yu
mango=PROM	will	ripe-INCH/VERB-NEU=MOD	dry.season-TEMP

‘The mangos become ripe during dry season.’ (s.v. *-yu* (Golpa dictionary); *wäwa*)

(266) “Gaytjuy wadapthawa!”

gaytjuy	wadapth- a=wa
go.on.ahead	bathe/wash-IMP=MOD

‘Come have a wash!’ (text HDG003_0992)

(267) [Walala] djirrtjala nhaluwawa.²³²

walala	djirrtj- ala	nhalu- wa=wa
3PL	descend-PSThab	eat/drink-PSThab=MOD

‘(They) used to go down (and/to) drink(ing) (the water).’ (text HDG003_0322)

(Note that the above example illustrates a serial verb construction.)

(268) Dayi babalaway dhingunṅuwa.

ṅayi	babalaway	dhing- unṅu=wa
3SG	any	die-IRR=MOD

‘Everybody might die.’ (s.v. *-(u)ṅu* (Golpa dictionary); *wäwa*)

²³² This sentence is taken from one of Djingulul’s texts recorded by Bernhard Schebeck in 1965/1966. In (traditional) narrations, the subject of a sentence is not always repeated but usually omitted once it was given (cf. section 6.1). *Walala* was added to this construction by me and thus appears in square brackets. Note that the sentence also lacks the direct object argument (*gapu* (*Golpa) or *ṅarkula* ‘water’) which is unusual for verb phrases involving the verb *nhaluma* ‘eat/drink’: This verb normally has the meaning ‘make love’ if it does NOT occur with a nominal referring to food (like *ṅutjatja* ‘fish’ or *mudhunṅay* ‘food’, for instance).

(271) Darra wurruku nhaḷuma nhaḡu ḷurrkun ga walimaḡayu ḡarra wurruku gurrunhanba walalama.

[ḡarra wurruku nhaḷu-ma nhaḡu ḷurrkun']
 1SG will eat/drink-NEU this/here a.little(*Golpa)

[ga walima=ḡayu ḡarra **wurruku** **gurruna-n'=ba** walala-ma]
 and other.one=PROM 1SG will put-NEU=MOD 3PL-GEN/DAT

'I will/would eat a little (of) this and/but put the rest for them.' (JBG123b)

(272) Darra wurruku nhaḷuma nhaḡu ḷurrkun ga walimaḡayu ḡarra wurruku ganan walalama.

[ḡarra wurruku nhaḷu-ma nhaḡu ḷurrkun']
 1SG will eat/drink-NEU this/here a.little(*Golpa)

[ga walima=ḡayu ḡarra **wurruku** **ganan** walala-ma]
 and other.one=PROM 1SG will leave(NEU) 3PL-GEN/DAT

'I will/would eat a little (of) this and/but leave the rest for them.' (JBG123c)

These two sentences are formally very similar and only vary with respect to the verb in the second clause: When I initially asked wāwa to give me a Golpa construction expressing 'I could eat this fish but I will leave it for him' he gave me the sentence presented in (271). In order to get the 'leave' meaning I offered him the construction in (272). Note that my construction lacks =ba. The absence of this element does not seem to affect the interpretation of the sentence. Given that the relevant constructions in both examples involve *wurruku*, it seems reasonable to assume that the modal notion is solely carried by this irrealis particle in (272).

As already noted above, the clitic occurs on various word classes: Apart from inflected verbs, =wa and =ba have also been found on time adverbs (including borrowed words or loans, cf. (273)), modal particles (cf. (274)), the (emphatic) negation particle (cf. (275)), common nouns (cf. (276) and (277)) as well as proper nouns (cf. (278)), demonstrative pronouns (like *nhaḡ'ku* in (279)), adjectives (like *weyin* in (279)), the particle *berra* marking direct speech (cf. (280)), adjectival verbs (cf. (281)) and verbalised nominals (cf. (282)). The form =pa has been found on a bare verbal form (cf. (320) in section 5.2).

(273) Darran̄ayū munhamurru guruku huntingd̄ili ṅarra rruku d̄uytjun lateba.

[ṅarra=ṅayū munhamurru guruku hunting-d̄ili]
1SG=PROM tomorrow will\come/go(NEU)?? hunting-ALL

[ṅarra wurruku d̄uytj-un late=ba]
1SG will return-NEU late=MOD

‘If I go hunting tomorrow I will be home late.’ (JBG156)

(274) [...] rulka nhaḷunha gapu gonaba.

rulka nhaḷu-nha gapu gona=ba
not eat/drink-PST water(*Golpa) maybe=MOD

‘[...] (and they) may not have drunk the water.’ (text HDG003_0466)

(275) Baṅu garanhara rulkaṅuwa time bulu.

[baṅu gara-nhara] [rulkaṅu=wa time bulu]
here/this.way come-NOML/INF none/nothing=MOD time again/also

‘(You) won’t have time to come here again?’ (s.v. =wa (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)
(lit.: ‘There will be no time to come here.’)

(276) [...] rulka ṅayi wurruku gandarrṅawa dhiṅgamawa, [...]

rulka ṅayi wurruku gandarr-ṅa=wa dhiṅga-ma=wa
not 3SG will half.way-LOC=MOD die-NEU=MOD

‘[...], he (i.e. the tribe) wouldn’t get half way and die, [...].’ (text HDG003_0646)

(277) Darra ma nyena d̄jinikuli ḷurrkun ṅarra rulka garamawa ṅarrid̄iliwa.

ṅarra ma nyena d̄jinikuli ḷurrkun
1SG PROG/CONT sit(NEU) here a.little(*Golpa)

ṅarra rulka gara-ma=wa ṅarri-d̄ili=wa
1SG not come/go-NEU=MOD place-ALL=MOD

‘I am sitting here for a while, I don’t go home.’ (JBG049b)

(Note that in the above two examples (276) and (277) the clitic is also attached to the inflected verb stem.)

(278) Mirraṇawa wurruku gul'yunṇayu Wuytjarawuliba.

Mirraṇa=**wa** wurruku gul'y-un=**ṇayu** Wuytjarawuliba

Mirraṇa=MOD will stop??-NEU=PROM Wuytjarawuliba

‘At Mirraṇa (the story) will end (with the) Wuytjarawuliba (people).’ (text HDG003_1856)

(279) Ḍanapuṇayu nhaṇ'kuwa ma weyinba djäma, ga bilawu nhäthan waluyu nakap.

ṇanapu=**ṇayu** **nhaṇ'ku=wa** ma **weyin=ba** djäma²³⁴

1Plexcl=PROM that/there=MOD PROG/CONT long=MOD work

ga bilawu nhätha-n walu-yu nakap

and thus/like.this when-*** day/time/sun-TEMP knock.off(NEU)??

‘We’re working long there (until) anytime we finish/whenever we’re done.’

(text HDG002_0048-0050)

(280) Bilawu Bararrpararr gayabak ga yäna berrawa “go” [...].

bilawu Bararrpararr gayabak ga yäna **berra=wa** go

thus/like.this Bararrpararr head/mind and just/only like.this come

‘This (could have been) on the Bararrpararr’s mind (but they) just (said) “come” [...].’

(text HDG003_0478-0480)

(281) Ḍarraṇayu marṇgiwa Golpawu yängu waṇanhara.

[ṇarra=**ṇayu** **marṇgi=wa**] [Golpa-wu yän-gu waṇa-nhara]

1SG=PROM know=MOD Golpa-GEN/DAT language-GEN/DAT say-NOML/INF

‘I (certainly/already) know how to speak Golpa.’

(JBG188)

²³⁴ Note that *djäma* belongs to the restricted class of “unchanging verbs”.

(282) Dayiṅayu biṅu ga worruṅuyinyawa bala ḍalpamdjinyawa.

[ṅayi=ṅayu biṅu ga worruṅu-yi-nya=wa]
3SG=PROM that and(HESIT) old.person-INCH/VERB-PST=MOD

[bala ḍalpam-dji-nya=wa]
and.then dead-INCH\VERB-PST=MOD

(i) ‘He was very old and died.’

(ii) ‘He was very old when (he) died.’ (s.v. *worruṅu* (Golpa dictionary); Garrutju)

According to Claire Bowerm (personal correspondence in December 2011), the forms =*wa* and =*ba* also occur in the closely related language Yan-nhaṅu where she has found =*wa* to be an irrealis marker, while =*ba* appears to be used to mark events as being “well and truly over”, as she put it.²³⁵ As for Golpa, it seems to me that these forms (including =*pa*) convey an identical modal(ity) notion: certainty. Except for the sentence in (268), =*wa*/=*ba* could be translated with ‘definitely’ or ‘certainly’ in all of the above examples. In other instances of their occurrence, it seems that =*wa*/=*ba* are best interpreted as meaning ‘already’ (as in (281), for instance).

It needs to be pointed out that the above examples were found through a corpus search, and did not result from extensive research aiming to investigate modality marking in Golpa. So, to absolutely rule out the possibility that =*wa*, =*ba* and =*pa* have distinct meanings which just cannot be measured by translation, and to be able to appropriately describe their function(s) and distribution(s), further investigation is required. The researcher’s attention should then also be directed towards the seemingly optional use of these markers. (As far as I know, their behaviour in Yan-nhaṅu has neither been studied yet IN DETAIL.)

(However, recall that the above described modality-analysis is not necessarily the only possible functional interpretation of =*wa*/=*ba*/=*pa*. As mentioned in section 4.1.4, there also seems to exist the possibility that these forms function as discourse clitics.)

²³⁵ As far as I remember, she did not call them *clitics*, though.

Golpa has three **aspectual particles**: *yijū*²³⁶ (expressing habituality), *ma* and *badak* (both expressing duration and continuity). *Ma* and *yijū* have been found in verb phrases involving verbs with the NEU form, PST form and PSThab form, cf. (283), (284) and (285) for *ma*²³⁷, and (286), (287) and (288) for *yijū*:

(283) Nhalanuru nhonuṅayu ma garama?

nhalanuru	nhonu=ṅayu	ma	garama
where-ABL	2SG=PROM	PROG/CONT	come/go-NEU

‘Where are you coming from?’ (HNG006)

(284) Darra ma djirriyana bukuṅa ga ṅarra ma larrunha nhuṅ’ku.

ṅarra	ma	djirriy-ana	buku-ṅa
1SG	PROG/CONT	stand-PST	hill-LOC

ga	ṅarra	ma	larrunha	nhuṅ’-ku
and	1SG	PROG/CONT	look.for-PST	2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT

‘I were standing on the hill and were looking for you.’ (JBG021)

(285) Ga ṅäyṅu Dhurpuṅuru yolṅu waw’yala girriyala Biyam ma.

ga	ṅäyṅu	Dhurpu-ṅuru	yolṅu
and	HESIT	Dhurpu-ABL	person

waw’y-ala	girriy-ala	Biyam	ma
get.up(intr.)-PSThab	get.there(intr.)-PSThab	Biyam	PROG/CONT

‘And people from there, Dhurpuṅa, were getting up (and) arriving at Biyam.’
(text HDG003_0634)

²³⁶ It seems that Schebeck (2001, 31) mistakenly noted the form (*b*)*ijū* instead.

²³⁷ Schebeck (2001, 30f.) mentions two such (“imperfective”) particles, namely (*dha*)*ma* (said to combine with his verb forms I and II), and *mi* (said to combine with his verb form III). While *dhama* does not occur anywhere in “my” corpus, a form *-mi* has been detected. However, it does not appear to be an aspectual marker (s.v. *-mi?* (Golpa dictionary) for more information).

(286) Darra yiṅu baṭawuma nhunanhaṅayu ṅutjatja.

ṅarra **yiṅu** baṭawu-**ma** nhuna-nha=ṅayu ṅutjatja
1SG usually/always give-NEU 2SG(alt.form)-ACC=PROM fish
'I usually give you fish.' (s.v. *yiṅu* (Golpa dictionary); Garrutju)

(287) Bararrṅuwu yānaṅayu ṅarra yiṅu gapuṅayu rakaranha, [...].

Bararrṅu-wu yāna=ṅayu ṅarra **yiṅu**
Bararrṅu-GEN/DAT just/only=PROM 1SG always/usually

gapu=ṅayu rakara-**nha**
water(*Golpa)=PROM tell-PST
'I was just speaking of the Bararrṅu's water, [...].' (text HDG003_0816)

(288) Diltjiṅa[wa] [wala]la yiṅu nhaḷu[wa].²³⁸

diltji-ṅa=wa wala **yiṅu** nhaḷu-wa
bush-LOC=MOD 3PL usually/always eat/drink-PSThab
'They used to drink inland/in the bush (when the Dhondula stream had dried up).'
(text HDG003_1422)

The aspectual markers *ma* and *yiṅu* may also co-occur²³⁹, as illustrated by the following examples:

(289) Bäru yiṅu ma garama yāna wandiṅ [...].

bäru **yiṅu** **ma** gara-ma
crocodile usually/always PROG/CONT come/go-NEU

yāna wandiṅ
just/only hunting
'The crocodiles are always going (there) to hunt [...].' (text HDG003_1920)

²³⁸ The elements given in square brackets were not uttered by the speaker (Djingulul) but added by wāwa and Garrutju when we were transcribing the text.

²³⁹ This is also the case in Gupapuyṅu, for instance (cf. Christie 2001b, example 432).

(290) Yän ma dhawar'yun bilawu biñu ñayi yiñu ma dhunupa waña [...].

yän	ma	dhawar'y-un	bilawu	biñu
language	PROG/CONT	finish/die-NEU	thus/like.this	that

ñayi	yiñu	ma	dhunupa	waña
3SG	usually/always	PROG/CONT	straight/correct	say(NEU)

‘The language that has been spoken straight is dying like this [...].’

(text HDG002_0004-0010)

While *ma* expresses that the situation/event is continuous, *yiñu* adds the notion that the still ongoing event has already been going on in the past. (Most examples of this kind involve the NEU form. However, combinations of *ma* and *yiñu* have also been found with the PSThab form.)

Besides *ma*, the word *badak* may be used to express duration and continuity. It has been found to occur with verbs in the NEU form, IMP form and PST form, cf. (291), (292), (293) and (294):

(291) [...] ñarra ma nhaluma meditjin badak.

ñarra	ma	nhalu- ma	meditjin	badak
1SG	PROG/CONT	eat/drink-NEU	medicine	still

‘[...] I’m still taking the medicine.’

(s.v. *badak* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(292) Badak nhaluñ!

badak	nhalu- ña
still	eat/drink-IMP

‘Keep eating!’

(s.v. *badak* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(293) Walala badak larrunha ñutjatjawu.

walala	badak	larru- nha	ñutjatja-wu
3PL	still	look.for-PST	fish-GEN/DAT

‘They kept looking for fish.’

(s.v. *badak* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

IMP		imperative			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - particles referring to future time, except for <i>wurruku</i> - modal clitic forms - aspect particle <i>badak</i>
PST	past time reference			imperfective: PST form of the INCH/VERB suffix marks present states_	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - tense particles referring to past time - modality particles (<i>nhä</i>)<i>bika</i>, <i>gona</i> and <i>wanha</i> - modal clitic forms - all aspect particles
NOML/INF	This form of the verb does not serve the expression of verbal categories. It is the infinitive form of the verb, structurally consisting of the PST form and <i>-ra</i> . The NOML/INF inflection is required when nominal suffixes are to be attached to a (regularly or irregularly inflecting) verb form. Although the NOML/INF form does not co-occur with TMA particles (to express any of the verbal categories), it has been found with the modal clitic form = <i>wa</i> (cf.. (269) and (270) above).				
PSThab	distant (habitual) past	←-----→		distant (habitual) past	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - tense particles referring to past time, except for <i>yawungu</i> and <i>barpuru</i> - modality particles (<i>nhä</i>)<i>bika</i>, <i>gona</i> and <i>wanha</i> - modal clitic forms - aspect particles <i>ma</i> and <i>yiju</i>
IRR			irrealis: potential		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - modal clitic form =<i>wa</i>

Table 26 The interplay of Golpa inflectional forms with TMA markers

Except for the forms *badak* and *-(u)ŋu* (for which no such examples could be detected in the present/analysed corpus), all TMA elements have also been found in finite SUBORDINATE clauses.

Despite some structural similarities (cf. section 4.3.1), it is to be noted that the Nhaŋu varieties Yan-nhaŋu and Golpa also show a number of differences in the verbal system, particularly in regard to the functional range of the individual inflectional forms. The functions that have been found to be expressed by the four **inflections in Yan-nhaŋu** (as cited in Bower et al. 2006, 58, 62) are summarised in the following table, also including the co-occurring TMA markers. (The terminology used in the table is copied from Bower et al. (2006).)

function/use inflectional form	tense	mood	modality	aspect	co-occurring TMA particles
Primary (most similar to the NEU form in Golpa)	yesterday past				continuous aspect particle <i>mana</i>
	present (now)				continuous aspect particle <i>mana</i>
	future	←-----→	future		- tense particle <i>gurrku</i> ²⁴⁰ 'will' (+continuous aspect marker <i>mana</i>)
			negative future		- negation particle <i>rulka</i> - tense particle <i>gurrku</i> 'will'
		negative command ←-----	-----→		negation particle <i>rulka</i> 'not'
				always/ habitually	habitual aspect particle <i>bäyŋu</i> 'always'

²⁴⁰ Please recall that the particle *wurruku* also appears in a number of Yan-nhaŋu sentences that were recorded by Wood (1977).

Secondary (most similar to the IMP form in Golpa)			something might happen		modal particle <i>baka</i> ‘may, might, could’
		command			
				keep on doing something	aspect particle <i>badak</i> ‘keep on, still, not yet’
			should (do something)		modal particle <i>nhakali</i> ‘should’
Tertiary (among other things, it seems to express a combination of the PST form and the PSThab form in Golpa)	long ago in the past				continuous aspect particle <i>mananha</i>
	before yesterday				continuous aspect particle <i>mananha</i>
			negative long ago used to do something		
	earlier today				continuous aspect particle <i>mananha</i>
			negative of earlier today		negation particle <i>rukka</i> ‘not’
				something is finished	aspect particle <i>wanha</i> (glossed <i>COMPLete</i>)
Quarternary			should have (done something)		modal particles <i>baka</i> , <i>bilagu</i> ‘may, might, could’
			negative yesterday		negation particle <i>rukka</i> ‘not’
			negative of earlier today		negation particle <i>rukka</i> ‘not’
			negative present		negation particle <i>rukka</i> ‘not’
			no longer		habitual aspect particle <i>bäyŋu</i> ‘always’
Infinitive form	The Yan-nhaŋu infinitive looks like the infinitive in Golpa. It is also used in non-				

	finite constructions.
Table 27	Functions of Yan-nhaṅu verb forms and their interplay with TMA particles (according to Bower et al. (2006, 58, 62, 91f.))

It can be concluded that Yan-nhaṅu makes more temporal and modal distinctions than Golpa. Although the Yan-nhaṅu verb system is analysed as being one of tense, the inflections actually carry more modal than temporal notions. In fact, the functions of the Yan-nhaṅu inflections (i.e. the Primary, Secondary, Tertiary and Quarternary form) are similar to the four forms in Djambarrpuyṅu, Djapu and Gupapuyṅu.²⁴¹ While the Tertiary form is primarily used to express realis situations, the Secondary and Quarternary forms are only used to denote irrealis situations (given that commands can also be regarded as expressing situations which have not taken place, as defined in section 4.3.2 above). However, the Primary form is seemingly used for both modality notions, i.e. for situations which have taken place and which are taking place (realis), and for situations which have not (yet) taken place (irrealis). For this reason, Yan-nhaṅu cannot readily be analysed as being a modality-based Yolṅu language. (Note that the negation particle *rulka* may co-occur with all but the Secondary form.)

Yan-nhaṅu is also reported to have the two aspectual forms *mana* (only co-occurring with the Primary form) and *mananha* (only co-occurring with the Tertiary form). They are referred to as particles (by Bower et al. 2006) but their distributional and inflectional behaviour actually encourage the thought that they are better regarded as auxiliaries. The other Yolṅu languages mentioned here have four such aspectual forms. Golpa has none (cf. section 4.1.1.4 for a discussion).

From the above data it follows that Golpa and Yan-nhaṅu do not only show differences concerning the inflections and their functions but also in regard to their TMA markers: Some of them vary in form and/or function (compare, for instance, Yan-nhaṅu *gurrku* with Golpa *wurruku*, the existence of Yan-nhaṅu *bilagu*, or the different uses of *wanha*, =*wa* or =*ba* in Yan-nhaṅu). Also recall that the negation particle *rulka* is restricted in Yan-nhaṅu and that the aspectual elements *mana/mananha* have a different grammatical status than the Golpa form *ma*. (I do not know whether motion and/or posture verbs are used as aspectual auxiliaries in Yan-nhaṅu.)

²⁴¹ This conclusion is based on the Yan-nhaṅu data presented above and on McLellan's (1992, 54f., table 3(1)) study of the functions of the individual forms in Djambarrpuyṅu, Djapu and Gupapuyṅu. Please also consider see the Gupapuyṅu examples in section 4.3.2.

4.3.5 Negation

The negation particle is also regarded as a TMA device. It is only for the reader's convenience that it is treated in this separate section.

The particle *rulka* is the basic negation morpheme in Golpa. As already demonstrated by a number of examples, this particle has been found with verbs in the NEU form, IMP form, PST form and PSThab form. Although no such example is available, nothing speaks against its co-occurrence with the IRR verb form. (The NOML/INF form of the verb is only used in non-finite constructions and therefore not considered here.)

The nominaliser *-ŋu* may be added to *rulka*, “resulting in an emphatic negative utterance translatable with an English expression such as *nowhere*, *no-one*, *nothing*, *never*, or *at all*”, as Heath (1980, 102) describes the function of *yaka-ŋu* in Ritharŋu. (However, note that the distribution of *yakaŋu* differs from that of *rulkaŋu* in Golpa.) The use of *rulka(ŋu)* is again illustrated in (295) and (296):

(295) Rulka wirrwaptha!

rulka wirrwapth-a

not fall.down-IMP

‘Don’t fall down!’

(s.v. *wirrwapthun* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(296) Rulka(ŋu) ŋarra nha_lunha ŋarkula.

rulkaŋu ŋarra nha_lu-nha ŋarkula

none/nothing 1SG eat/drink-PST water

‘I didn’t drink any water.’/‘I drank no water.’/‘I didn’t drink water.’

(s.v. *rulkaŋu* (1) (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

Like in the above sentences, the negation particle is often found clause initially.

Both *rulka* and *rulkaŋu* also occur in non-verbal clauses. (Recall that *rulkaŋu* often functions as a quantifier (cf. section 4.1.2.4).)

The shared Yolŋu negation particle *yaka* also occasionally occurs in Golpa speech. However, in many cases it is immediately corrected by the speaker to *rulka*.

In non-verbal clauses, the PRIV suffix *-nharraŋu* has also been found to express negation, cf. (297) and (298) for examples:

(297) Ga nhaŋ'ku ŋumiyangu Bapagutha rathanharraju.

ga nhaŋ'ku ŋumiyangu Bapagutha ratha-**nharraju**
and that/there HESIT Bapagutha child-without/PRIV

‘And Bapagutha had no children.’/‘And Bapagutha was without children.’

(s.v. *-nharraju* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(298) Dayi rrupiyanharraju.

ŋayi rrupiya-**nharraju**
3SG money-without/PRIV

‘He is poor.’/‘He is without money.’/‘He has no money.’

(JGG087b)

The already analysed corpus (as described in section 2.5) only contains very few sentences in which the non-Golpa equivalent *-mirriw* is used instead of *-nharraju*.

(Note that the suffix *-nharraju* is also used in Yan-nhaŋu with the same meaning (cf. Bowern et al. 2006, 89).)

4.3.6 Differences between Golpa and other Yolŋu languages

We have seen that the inflection systems of Yolŋu languages vary in regard to the conjugation classes, the number of inflections, the actual inflectional forms and their functions. Speakers of Dhuwal, Dhuwala, Dhaŋu and Nhaŋu varieties make use of several inflectional forms to express various notions of ‘tense’, ‘mood’, ‘modality’ and ‘aspect’. However, unlike Dhuwal, Dhuwala and Dhaŋu varieties, the verb systems of the Nhaŋu varieties Golpa and Yan-nhaŋu are apparently not based on modality. As demonstrated in the previous sections, Golpa does not PRIMARILY express any of these verbal categories. (Due to a lack of data, I cannot say whether Golpa’s verb system was once based on the expression of tense, mood, modality or aspect.)

Golpa also differs from a number of other Yolŋu languages (including Yan-nhaŋu) with respect to its TMA markers, in particular to two of these elements: For Golpa, the negation particle *rukka* has been found with any of the relevant verb forms.²⁴² This is unlike Dhuwal languages (like Djambarrpuyŋu or Djapu) and Dhuwala languages (like Gupapuyŋu) where the negation particle is only to co-occur with verb forms denoting irrealis situations. However, recall that the negation particle may be used with all verb forms in the modality-

²⁴² Except for modal clitic forms, elements expressing verbal categories do not co-occur with the infinitive form of the verb.

based Dhaṅu languages (including Gälpu and Wangurri). There, the negative is obviously not perceived as irrealis (cf. McLellan 1992, 125). From this, it follows that negation is treated differently in modality-based Yolṅu languages.

Another Golpa TMA marker with a different behaviour is the continuous aspect particle *ma*, used to express continuity. This element may co-occur with all relevant verb forms/inflections, but with the IMP form (which has only been found with the continuous particle *baḍak*). In all other Yolṅu languages mentioned above, aspectual auxiliaries are used instead: These languages have several short continuous aspect auxiliaries that inflect in accordance to the verb form of the clause. Speakers of these languages also use some motion and posture verbs as aspectual auxiliaries.²⁴³ In regard to the short aspectual forms, it seems that Yan-nhaṅu is positioned in-between Golpa and the other Yolṅu languages mentioned here, as it has four inflections/verb forms but only two auxiliaries. (Cf. section 4.3.2 for information about the behaviour of the negation particle, and about the use of aspectual auxiliaries in some other Yolṅu languages.)

The following table represents these thoughts:

language feature	Dhuwal, Dhuwala	Dhaṅu	Nhaṅu	
			Yan-nhaṅu	Golpa
verb system	modality-based verb system		?	not BASED on any of the verbal categories
number of verb forms (excluding infinitive and reflexive forms)	4	5	4	5 → 3/4 (IRR-form already lost; PSThab-form rarely used)
number of aspectual auxiliaries (inflecting according to verb form)	4	4	2 <i>mana</i> (with Primary form) and <i>mananha</i> (with Tertiary form)	0 (particle <i>ma</i> instead; not co-occurring with the IMP form (→ <i>baḍak</i>))
use of negation particle	with irrealis forms	with all forms (but the infinitive)	with all but the Secondary form (and the infinitive)	with all forms (but the infinitive)

Table 28 Differences between verb systems of Dhuwal, Dhuwala, Dhaṅu and Nhaṅu languages

²⁴³ Recall that all languages also have aspectual particles.

In the above sections, we have seen that the Golpa verb system lacks some of the structural complexity found in other Yolŋu languages:

- Two of six inflectional forms are hardly used at all. (The PSThab form is rarely used nowadays and only occurs in wäwa's speech. The IRR form is basically lost).
- In order to denote the duration/continuity of the situation, Golpa (semi-)speakers neither use motion or posture verbs nor the short inflecting aspectual auxiliaries (like in other Yolŋu languages). Instead, the aspectual particle *ma* is used.
- As may be recalled (from section 4.1.1.4), the present Golpa corpus only contains very few non-inflecting "bare verbal forms". These forms occur with a relatively high frequency in a number of other Yolŋu languages.

It seems to me that these are manifestations of the language obsolescence process within the verb system.²⁴⁴

²⁴⁴ The unrestricted use of *rulka* (with all verb forms) in Golpa cannot be taken to be a sign of language obsolescence because (i) Golpa is not analysed as a modality-based language and (ii) we have seen that even in such languages negated situations do not have to be perceived as being irrealis.

5. Lexical morphology

The basic word formation strategy in Golpa is suffixation (cf. section 5.1). Other possible operations are compounding and reduplication (cf. section 5.2).

5.1 Derivational suffixes

Like in other Pama-Nyungan languages (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 121), suffixation is a productive word formation strategy in Golpa.

This language shows a word structure typical for non-prefixing languages: root-derivational affix(es)-inflection (cf. Dixon 1980, 378, 431-436).

5.1.1 Verbalisers

In Golpa, non-verbal stems may take one of four derivational suffixes resulting in a verbalised form: the inchoative suffix *-(y/°)i-/-tji-/-dji-*, the two causative suffixes *-yu-/-gu-/-ku-* and *-gumiya(n??)* or the verbaliser *-yu-(-thu-/-tju-)*. Verbalised stems involving *-(y/°)i-/-tji-/-dji-*, *-yu-/-gu-/-ku-* or *-yu-(-thu-/-tju-)* are always inflected, may co-occur with the full range of TMA devices and can also be nominalised (involving the NOML/INF inflection). Due to a lack of data I do not know about the behaviour of *-gumiya(n??)* concerning these features.

(Since the reciprocal/reflexive suffix *-yini* and the causative suffix *-miya-* are no category changing suffixes but affect the valency value of a verb, they are not treated here but are discussed in section 4.3.1 above.)

The order of suffixes of a derived verbal stem is as follows: root (- case inflection) - derivational suffix - inflection (- RCP/REFL).

The inchoative *-(y/°)i-/-tji-/-dji-*, the causative *-yu-/-gu-/-ku-* and the verbaliser *-yu-(-thu-/-tju-)* have also been found with these functions in Yan-nhaṅu (cf. Bovern et al. 2006, 64-67). The same suffixes are also used in other languages of the Yolṅu group (cf. Schebeck 2001, 34), for instance in the Dhaṅu language Wangurri (cf. McLellan 1992, 76), or in the Dhuwal language Djambarrpuyṅu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 64-75).²⁴⁵

²⁴⁵ For further comments on cross Yolṅu verbal derivational suffixes, see Wilkinson (1991, section 7.6). The diffusion of bound morphemes in Arnhem Land languages is discussed in Heath (1978, ch. 3).

5.1.1.1 The inchoative suffix *-(y/’i-/-tji-/-dji-*

The inchoative “is used to indicate change of states or states which result from a process” (Wilkinson 1991, 377). As already indicated in section 4.3.3, the PST form of the inchoative suffix can also often be interpreted as denoting a PRESENT/IMPERFECTIVE state (although the situation in which it came into being took place prior to the moment of speaking).

The inchoative suffix usually derives intransitive verbs from adjectives (cf. (299) and (300)) and nouns (cf. (301)), and can normally be translated with ‘become’:

(299) Go gunhu’ waṅarr, ṅarra nhunanha ṅāṅ’tjanha mǎrr nhonu wurruku galkiyirri ṅanapiliwara, [...].

[go gunhu’ waṅarr]
come God/father great/holy

[ṅarra nhuna-nha ṅāṅ’tj-anha]
1SG 2SG(alt.form)-ACC ask-PST

[mǎrr nhonu wurruku galki-yi-ri ṅanapili-wara]
so.that 2SG will/would near-INCH/VERB-NEU 1PExcl(alt.form)-ALLan
‘Come, Holy Father, I’m asking you to be close to us [...]’ (text JBG012_0002-0006)
(lit.: ‘Come, Holy Father, I asked you so that you will/would get close to us [...].’)

(300) Darrakuṅayu ṅarri ṅarkulamirri’inya.²⁴⁶

ṅarra-ku=ṅayu ṅarri ṅarkula-mirri-’i-nya
1SG-GEN/DAT=PROM place water-with/COMMIT-INCH/VERB-PST
‘My place is flooded with water.’ (JBG137c)

²⁴⁶ Note that in this sentence, the derived verbalised form *ṅarkulamirri’inya* can be substituted by the case-marked nominal form *ṅarkula-ṅa=wa* (water-LOC=MOD) (JBG137c).

(301) Darra garanha ṅawatthanhara guyiṅarrwu ṅarru ṅayi ṅarkula'inyawa.

ṅarra gara-nha ṅawatth-anhara guyiṅarr-wu
1SG come/go-PST get-NOML/INF ice-GEN/DAT

[ṅarru ṅayi ṅarkula-'i-nya=wa]
but 3SG water-INCH/VERB-PST=MOD

'I went to get the ice but it was all water (i.e. had already melted).' (JBG097a)

Note that the clauses involving the derivations in (299) and (301) also contain TMA devices: The verbalised form in (299) co-occurs with the irrealis particle *wurruku*, and in (301) with the modal clitic form =*wa*.

The inchoative suffix has also been found to be attached to the temporal (adverbial) particle *repurru* 'afternoon' (→ *repurru'inya* 'become afternoon'/'be afternoon'), the negation particle *rulkaṅu* (→ *rulkaṅuyinya* 'be not (anymore)') and to a numeral (55 → *55yirri* 'turn 55'). The last two cases are illustrated in the following examples:

(302) Darra barrṅarranha nhuṅ'ku lundu rulkaṅuyinya.

ṅarra barrṅarra-nha [nhuṅ'-ku lundu rulkaṅu-yi-nya]
1SG hear-PST 2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT friend nothing-INCH/VERB-PST

'I heard your friend passed away/died.' (JBG070)

(303) [...] nham ṅarra birthdaynharraṅu ga 55yirri.

nham ṅarra birthday-nharraṅu ga 55-yi-ri
this.is 1SG birthday-without/PRIV and 55-INCH/VERB-NEU

'I turned 55 but didn't have a birthday party. (s.v. -*yi-* (Golpa dictionary); Garrutju)

Verbalised stems involving the inchoative suffix belong to the conjugation class 4a (cf. Table 18).

The inchoative seems to be the most productive derivational suffix in Golpa. However, there are also few lexicalised stems: *boyaktjirri* 'be(come) invincible', *gulṅiyirri* 'enter, be inside', *marandjirri* 'fill up' and *warritjirri* 'dance'.

The form *-tji-* has been found after stops, *-dji-* after nasals, and *-yi-* ~ *-i-* in all other cases, being the most frequent forms (cf. section 4.3.1 for a brief note on this alternation).

(The distributional behaviour of the allomorphs is similar in Yan-nhaṅu (cf. Bower et al. 2006, 65f.). However, note that the form –‘i- is not mentioned.)

5.1.1.2 The causative suffixes *-yu-/-ku-/-gu-* and *-gumiya(n??)*

Golpa has three causative suffixes: *-yu-/-ku-/-gu-*, *-miya-* and *-gumiya(n??)*. While *-miya-* attaches to the root of an otherwise intransitive verb ending in *-(y)un/-thun/-tjun* (cf. section 4.3.1), the suffixes *-yu-/-ku-/-gu-* and *-gumiya(n??)* are derivational suffixes. They are used to derive transitive verbs from adjectives (cf. (305) and (306)) and adjectival verbs (cf. (304)). Verbalised stems involving *-yu-/-ku-/-gu-* belong to the conjugation class 2a (cf. Table 16). The following sentences illustrate the use of this causative suffix:

(304) Darra wurruku marṅgiyuma nhunanha.

ṅarra	wurruku	marṅgi- yu -ma	nhuna-nha
1SG	will	know-make/CAUS-NEU	2SG(alt.form)-ACC
‘I will teach you.’			(JGG011c)

(305) Rulka ṅarraku girri djurrukkuṅa!

rulka	ṅarra-ku	girri	djurruk- ku -ṅa
not	1SG-GEN/DAT	stuff	wet-make/CAUS-IMP
‘Don’t make my stuff wet!’			(s.v. <i>djurruk</i> (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(306) Rulka gurrṅan’guṅa mutika!

rulka	gurrṅan’- gu -ṅa	mutika
not	dark/black-make/CAUS-IMP	car
‘Don’t make the car dirty!’		(s.v. <i>gurrṅan’</i> (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

The derived transitive verb in (306) is the only one involving the form *-gu-*. *-ku-* has been found after stops. The most frequent form is *-yu-*, occurring in all other environments.²⁴⁷

Golpa also has some lexicalised stems involving *-yu-/-ku-/-gu-*, such as *burrakuma* ‘threaten, confront’ (listed for conjugation class 2a in Table 16) or *gumurrkuma* ‘adopt (into family)’ (*gumurr* meaning ‘chest’).

The causative suffix *-yu-/-ku-/-gu-* and the inchoative suffix *-(y/‘)i-/-tji-/dji-* derive verbs mainly from adjectives. The causative can be understood to function as the transitive

²⁴⁷ Schebeck (2001, 34) lists *-yama* (instead of *-yuma* (make/CAUS-I)) for Golpa.

counterpart to the inchoative (cf. Schebeck 1976, 377, footnote 36), compare, for instance, *marŋgi-yi-* ‘be(come) knowledgable = learn’ with *marŋgi-yu-* ‘make knowledgable = teach’, or *djurruk-i-* ‘be(come) wet’ with *djurruk-ku-* ‘make wet’. However, note that both operations are not generally applicable to all possible roots.

The element *-gumiya(n??)* has only been found once. In this instance it is attached to the adjective *gurrŋan*’:

(307) Rulka nhonu wurruku gurrŋan’gumiyan-yini!

rulka	nhonu	wurruku	gurrŋan’-gumiyan-yini
not	2SG	will	dark/black-CAUS.IMP??-RCP/REFL
‘Don’t make yourself dirty!’			(s.v. <i>-gumiya(n?)</i> (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

(Note that *-gumiyan* may be substituted by *-gu-ŋa-* (make/CAUS-IMP) in the above sentence.)

Due to the lack of data, it is unknown to me whether this suffix takes any inflections. It is for this reason that the final phoneme of this derivational form is generally followed by question marks in this thesis.

5.1.1.3 The verbalising suffix *-yu-(-thu-/-tju-)*

The verbaliser suffix *-yu-(-thu-/-tju-)* derives intransitive verbs from nouns and adjectives (which may carry a case inflection). The derived verbs then become members of the conjugation class 1a (cf. Table 15), showing the same formal appearance and inflectional behaviour like the lexicalised verbs ending in *-(y)un(-thun/-tjun)*, compare, for instance, (308) and (309) with verbal forms cited in Table 15.

(308) Ga ŋayiŋayu “yuwalk” rakaranha ŋayi dhunupamirriyunha gokulu.

ga	ŋayi=ŋayu	yuwalk	rakara-nha	
and	3SG=PROM	true	tell-PST	
ŋayi	dhunupa-mirri- yu -nha			goku-lu
3SG	straight/correct-with/COMMIT-VERB-PST			hand-INSTR
“‘True(ly)!” he said, pointing with (his) hand.’				(text JBG005_0038)

(309) [...] ŋarru nhaŋu ŋayi ma gulunŋayunha.

ɲarru	nhaɲu	ɲayi	ma	guɭun-ɲa- yu -nha ²⁴⁸
but	this/here	3SG	PROG/CONT	billabong-LOC-VERB-PST

‘[...] and he is being in the billabong.’ (text JBG004_0004)

Note that in some cases a glottal stop occurs between the verb root and the suffix.²⁴⁹ (Note also that the glottal stop occurs in this place in lexicalised verbs, too.)

Presently, this derivational suffix is not very productive. However, given the relatively large number of (lexicalised) verbs ending in *-yun* (cf. Table 15 for more information), it seems that *-yu-* was very productive at an earlier stage. (Cf. Wilkinson (1991, 374) for a similar note concerning the derivational suffix form *-thu-* in Djambarrpuyŋu.)

I know of only two verbs which are derived from (nominal) English loans: *warkthun* (~ *warktjun*) ‘work, build’ and *hello ’yun* ‘greet’.

It is also to be pointed out here that *warkthun* (~ *warktjun*) seems to be the only derived verb which involves the form *-thu-* or *-tju-*. In all other cases, I have found *-yu-*.

Examples with the verbalising suffix are also cited in the Yan-nhaɲu learner’s guide (cf. Bower et al. 2006, 66f.):

Yan-nhaɲu

<i>yapa</i> ‘sister’	<i>yapa ’yun</i> ‘call so. sister’
<i>data</i> ‘goodbye’	<i>data ’yun</i> ‘say goodbye’
<i>rathala</i> ‘headache’	<i>riya-rathala ’yun</i> ‘have a headache’. ²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸ Note that *guɭunɲayunha* may also be *guɭunɲayanha*.

²⁴⁹ For Djambarrpuyŋu it is stated that “the glottal stop does appear to have a general association with derivational processes“ (Wilkinson 1991, 374). This matter awaits more research in Golpa. Given the existence of the Golpa minimal pair *wirwiryun* ‘wander around’ - *wir’wiryun* ‘whistle repeatedly’ where the verbs only contrast in the presence/absence of the glottal stop, this segment is presently analysed as being part of the root morpheme.

²⁵⁰ Besides *-yu-*, *-thu-* is also given as a verbalising suffix in Yan-nhaɲu. However, only these examples with *-yu-* are listed.

5.1.2 Nominalisers

The nominalising form *-ŋu* occurs on the interrogative/indefinite pronouns *yol* ‘who, someone’ - *yolŋu* ‘person’ and *nhä* ‘what, something’ - *nhaŋu* ‘this, here’, on the negation particle *rulka* ‘not’ - *rulkaŋu* ‘none, nothing’ (cf. section 4.3.1) and seemingly also on an alternative form of *nyena* ‘sit, stay, live/exist’: *nyininŋu* ‘existing’ (cf. section 4.1.1.4). *-ŋu* also functions as a nominaliser when it follows the adjectivising suffix *-wuy/-buy/-puy*: *-wuyŋu/-buyŋu/-puyŋu* (cf. section 5.1.3). For Yolŋu languages it is reported that *-ŋu* is productive in this compound form when added to place names conveying the meaning ‘people from/of/associated with’ or ‘the ones from/of/associated with’, like in *Darwinbuyŋu* (cf. Schebeck 2001, 34, 41 and 1976a, 376 footnote 31). I have heard Golpa (semi-)speakers use such expressions but the present corpus does not contain a relevant example.

Note that this form also occurs in some ethnic names such as *Gupapuyŋu* (*gupa* meaning ‘back of neck’ and ‘top place, top country’) or *Djambarrpuyŋu* (*djambarr* ‘?’) (cf. Schebeck 2001, 41f.).

The form *-ŋu* is also said to function as a “noun-noun derivator” in Yolŋu languages (cf. Schebeck 1976a, 360). In Golpa, the suffix only seems to act in this capacity in regard to the kin terms *ŋamu*’ – *ŋamu’ŋu* ‘mother’ and *gunhu*’ – *gunhu’ŋu* ‘father’ and the moiety terms *Yirritja* – *Yirritjaŋu* and *Dhuwa* - *Dhuwaŋu*. The change of form does not seem to be accompanied by any change of semantic or grammatical meaning.

An adjective → substantive derivation does not exist in Yolŋu languages (cf. Schebeck 2001, 34).

Note that in Golpa *-ŋu* is found in a number of lexicalised adjectives, e.g. *miriŋu* ‘bad’, *wiryanaŋu* ‘skinny’, *ŋätjiliyaŋu* ‘old’ or *gulkuruŋu* ‘small, little’.

Much more frequent are nominalised verbs. Such forms involve the **NOML/INF inflection** which appears to be a combination of the PST inflectional form (most often *-(a)n(h)a*) and the suffix *-ra*. This combined form only serves this function. (Note that *-ra* has not been found in any other environment.) Nominalised verbs may take on case suffixes, as illustrated in (310) below:

(310) Darra wurruku rum'thanharadili garama [...].

ɲarra	wurruku	rum'th- anhara -dili	gara-ma
1SG	will	sleep-NOML/INF-ALL	come/go-NEU

‘I’ll go to sleep [...].’

(JBG330)

Nominalised/non-finite verbs occur in subordinate constructions. They are discussed in more detail in section 6.3.2 and in various sections of chapter 7.

(In Yan-nhaŋu, the suffixes *-nara*, *-nhara* and *-ɲara* are reported for this function, cf. Bower et al. 2006, 92, 122.)

5.1.3 Adjectivisers

The COMMIT suffix *-way* is used to derive adjectives from nouns (cf. (311), (312) and (313)) or nominalised forms (cf. (314) and (315)). It can usually be translated with ‘having’ or ‘with’. Adjectivised forms involving *-way* may be followed by case suffixes.

(311) Buthulu balam djetjiway [...].

buthulu	balam	djetji- way
bottle	that/there	wound-with/COMMIT

‘The bottle is leaking [...].’

(s.v. *djetji* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(lit.: ‘The bottle is with a wound.’)

(312) Wäkwakwayŋa ŋayi ma biŋu bäru nhaŋ'kumŋayu ɲurrunha.

wäkwak- way -ŋa	ŋayi	ma	biŋu	bäru
waterlili-with/COMMIT-LOC	3SG	PROG/CONT	that	crocodile

nhaŋ'ku-m=ŋayu	ɲurru-nha
that/there-DEM.SUFF=PROM	exist/stay(alt.form)-PST

‘That crocodile was staying/sleeping at (the place) with the waterlilies.’ (text JBG005_0118)

(313) Godarr'way ɲarra garanha wapmiyanha gurrtha.

Godarr'- way	ɲarra	gara-nha	wapmiya-nha	gurrtha
morning-with/COMMIT	1SG	come/go-PST	gather-PST	firewood

‘Every morning I used to go (and) gather firewood.’

(s.v. *godarr'* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(316) Dayi rrupiyanharraru.

ɲayi rrupiya-**nharraru**

3SG money-without/PRIV

‘He is poor.’/‘He is without money.’/‘He has no money.’

(JGG087b)

(317) [...] ɲanapu nhaɲu mittji dāmbunharraru [...].

ɲanapu nhaɲu mittji dāmbu-**nharraru**

1PLexcl this/here group/PL head-without/PRIV

‘[...] and we are a group without a leader [...].’

(text HNG001_0040)

(Literally, *mittji dāmbunharraru* means ‘headless group’.)

(Note that *dāmbunharraru* also stands for the numeral ‘four’.)

Although the suffix *-wuy/-buy/-puy* has already been introduced as ASSOC case marker, it shall be pointed out here again that it could also be analysed as a derivational suffix, deriving adjectives from nouns (cf. section 4.2.2 for a discussion).

The following examples illustrate that the suffix is attached to all constituents of a noun phrase which are involved in the expression of an adjectival meaning.

(318) Godku darrtjalk ratha miriɲu dhaw’yana ɲalimalama djinipuy munatha’wuy.

God-ku darrtjalk ratha

God-GEN/DAT clean child

miriɲu dhaw’y-ana ɲalimala-ma

sin take.away-PST 1PLincl(alt.form)-GEN/DAT

djini-**puy** munatha’-**wuy**

this/here-ASSOC earth-ASSOC

‘God’s clean/spotless/righteous son took away our sin associated with this earth.’

(s.v. *-puy* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

(Literally, *miriɲu djinipuy munatha’wuy* means ‘this earthly sin’.)

As we have already seen in section 5.1.2 above, this suffix also co-occurs with the “nominaliser“ *-ɲu*:

(319) [...] ɲayɪɲuwuy biɲu biɲu ma watjim ɲarri [...].

ɲayi-ɲu- wuy	biɲu	biɲu	ma	watjim ²⁵¹	ɲarri
3SG-NOML-ASSOC	that	that(HESIT)	PROG/CONT	wash/clean	place

‘[...] that one is used for cleaning/washing the place/house [...].’

(s.v. *watjim* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

Note that there are also some lexicalised nouns involving *-wuy/-buy/-puy*, such as *dhalkirriwuy* ~ *dhalkirribuy* ‘shoe’ (*dhalkirri* meaning ‘foot’), *ganydjuławuy* ‘glasses’ (*ganydjuła* meaning ‘eye’) or *buthurruwuy* ~ *buthurrubuy*²⁵² ‘earring’ (*buthurru* meaning ‘ear’). (It seems to me that it is on the basis of such items that the Yan-nhaɲu cognate suffix *-pu/-bu* is interpreted to have a nominalising function in that language (cf. Bower et al. 2006, 92).)

Note also that the adjectival verb *wawupuy* ‘do not know’ involves a form of the ASSOC suffix.

5.2 Compounding and reduplication

New words may not only be formed by suffixation (as illustrated in section 5.1 above) but also by compounding and reduplication. The new stems may then also take on inflectional suffixes.

Since these two operations have not been found to be used extensively in Golpa, this section does not contain an in-depth discussion of these processes but merely provides general information on how they work. (All following examples are taken from the corresponding entries in the Golpa dictionary and therefore lack explicit references.)

Compounding usually involves nouns whereas reduplication is only productively applied to verbal entities. (Note that the verbal components are presented in their citation form, i.e. in the NEU form/with the NEU inflection.)

Compound words do not occur very often in the present corpus and thus do not seem to be used as much or be as productive as in other Yolɲu languages. Nevertheless, new words can be formed by a number of compositional types. (Note that the orthographic representation of a compound form only includes a hyphen when the overall meaning is new.) Consider the following examples:

²⁵¹ Recall that *watjim* is an “unchanging verb” (cf. section 4.1.1.1 and section 4.3.1). (Its gloss therefore lacks the indication of the inflectional form.)

²⁵² An alternative term for *buthurruwuy* is *dhuli’na*.

(1) noun + noun = adjective:

gayawak ‘head’ + *rrupiya* ‘money’ = *gayawak-rrupiya* ‘crazy for money’

(2) noun + adjective = noun

borum ‘ripe’ + *mudhuṅay* ‘food’ = *borum mudhuṅay* ‘ripe food, fruit’

bulpuyu ‘wild, alone’ + *watu* ‘dog’ = *bulpuyu watu* ‘wild dog, dingo’

dhuyu ‘sacred, secret, holy’ + *birrimbirr* ‘soul, human spirit’ = *dhuyu-birrimbirr* ‘Holy Spirit’²⁵³

gunhu ‘father’ + *wanarr* ‘great, holy’ = *gunhu’-wanarr* ‘Holy Spirit’

(3) noun + adjective = adjective

gandarr ‘middle, waist’ + *yindi* ‘big’ = *gandarr-yindi* ‘fat’

(4) noun + verb = verb

buku ‘head’ + *duwatṭhun* ‘go up’ = *buku-duwatṭhun* ‘persist, insist’

buku ‘head’ + *baṭawuma* ‘give’ = *buku-baṭawuma* ‘give thanks to so.’

goku ‘hand’ + *milkama* ‘forget’ = *goku-milkama* ‘loose sth. to so.’

maṅutji ‘eye’ + *baṭawuma* ‘give’ = *maṅutji-baṭawuma* ‘show’

märr ‘strength, faith, personality’ + *buma* ‘hit, kill’ = *märr-buma* ‘feel sorry (for), feel sad’

dhäkay ‘taste’ + *barrṅarra* ‘hear, listen, understand’ = *dhäkay-barrṅarra* ‘feel’

Note that there are no examples where two nouns combine to a new noun. (These types of compositions are also listed by Schebeck (2001, 34f.)

²⁵³ These words have only been found in this compound construction in Golpa. The Yolḷu Matha Dictionary (Zorc 1986) gives the following information: *birrimbirr* ‘soul, human spirit (goes to land of departed spirits to be re-incarnated)’; *dhuyu* ‘sacred, secret, holy, taboo (forbidden or secret knowledge)’; ‘attractive, clean, tidy’.

(5) Few compound verbs are composed of an adjectival verb and a verb (resulting in a verb), e.g.:

dhäl ‘want, feel’ + *buma* ‘hit, kill’ = *dhäl-buma* ‘burden so., make hard on so., make so. feel bad/sad, give so. hard time, hurt so’s feelings’ (lit.: ‘want (to) hit’),

marŋgi ‘know(ledgable)’ + *baṭawuma* ‘give’ = *marŋgi-baṭawuma* ‘teach’.

(6) There are also few verbal compounds formed by an adverb and a verb (resulting in a verb), e.g.:

dhawal ‘far, distant’ + *birrka’yun* ‘think, taste, try’ = *dhawal-birrka’yun* ‘be born’.

Particularly productive in Yolŋu languages is the combination of body-part terms with verbs (cf. Waters 1989, 285).²⁵⁴ Examples of this compound-type (4) (see above) also occur relatively often in Golpa. In such compounds, the body-part term is the initial lexeme.

Reduplications are found more often than compound words. The following two sets of examples show that verbal roots are either partially or fully reduplicated:

girr’yun ‘get here, come here’

nhäma ‘see’

buma ‘hit, kill’

girr’yun-girr’yun ‘keep coming, come many times’

nhäma-nhama ‘search, look for’

buma-puma ‘gather a lot, gather repeatedly’

yarrktjun ‘go away’

garama ‘come, go’

wapthun ‘jump’

ŋupan ‘go after, chase’

baṭawuma ‘give’

yarrkyarrktjun ‘move further’

garagarama ‘walk around (back and forth or in circles)’

wapwapthun ‘jump around, jump up and down’

ŋupañupan ‘chase constantly’

baṭabaṭawuma ‘give something but holding on to it’

(Note that the orthographic representations of words with fully reduplicated roots involve a hyphen.)

Reduplication generally intensifies the meaning of the reduplicated form. In a number of cases this operation serves the expression of the aspectual notion of ‘duration’ or ‘continuity’ (as in *girr’yun-girr’yun*, *nhäma-nhama* or *ŋupañupan*, for example) or conveys the repetition of an action (as in *buma-puma* or *wapwapthun*, for example).

²⁵⁴ See, for instance, also Heath (1980b, 83) for Ritharŋu or Wilkinson (1991, section 10.1.2.1) for Djambarrpuyŋu.

As may be recalled from section 4.3.2, the continuity of an action can also be expressed by the repetition of an inflected verb, as illustrated in (320) below:

(320) D̩arkulad̩ili dhal'yana biŋuŋayu balay watjkal'yana watjkal'yanawa watjkal'yana ganydjarryu dhawat̩pa mulka'd̩ili ŋarrid̩iliwa.

ŋarkula-d̩ili dhal'y-ana biŋu=ŋayu balay
water-ALL land-PST that=PROM 3DU

watjkal'y-ana watjkal'y-ana=wa watjkal'y-ana
swim-PST swim-PST=MOD swim-PST

ganydjarr-yu dhawat̩=pa mulka'-d̩ili ŋarri-d̩ili=wa
power/speed-INSTR emerge=MOD dry-ALL place-ALL=MOD

'Those two landed in the water (and) swam, swam, swam, coming out quickly unto dry land.'

(text JBG005_0204-0208)

It is to be pointed out that reduplicated forms also occur in some lexicalised nouns such as *lipalipa* 'canoe'. The glottal stop is occasionally found between such roots and their reduplicated forms, as in *bala'bala()*²⁵⁵ 'table' (**bala()*) or *dhum'thum* 'wallaby' (**dhum()*), for example.²⁵⁶

The conjunction *ga* 'and' has also been found to be reduplicated (cf. section 7.3.1).

It can be concluded that all three word formation processes are still in use and that they all brought forward some lexicalised (fossilised) stems. However, suffixation is noticeably more productive than compounding or reduplication.

²⁵⁵ I am not absolutely sure about the second glottal stop in this word.

²⁵⁶ In Djambarrpuyŋu, the glottal stop obligatorily occurs in this place (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 546). As noted earlier, the glottal stop has not yet received much attention in Golpa. Therefore, I cannot make any further statements about its behaviour.

6. Clauses

A clause is commonly understood as “minimally consisting of a predication, i.e. a pairing of a predicate and a (potentially empty) set of arguments” (Diessel and Gast 2012, 3; cf. also Lehmann 1988, 182). Clauses may thus be dependent or independent.

Independent clauses normally constitute simple sentences and may have an either verbal or non-verbal predicate. (In some Yolŋu descriptions, these two categories are also referred to as *non-equational clauses* and *equational clauses*, respectively.) They may combine to complex sentences. Dependent clauses are usually (but not always) subordinated and linked to an independent (main) clause.

Main clause types are discussed in section 6.2 (and its subsections). Subordinate clause types receive detailed attention in section 6.3 and in chapter 7.

Before turning to the individual clause types and their features, it appears to be necessary to comment on the identification on clausal boundaries in Golpa.

6.1 Identification of clause boundaries

Although there exists a commonly accepted and seemingly applicable definition of ‘clause’, the identification of clause boundaries in texts is usually not an easy task. In the following discussion I outline major factors creating the difficulties.

In oral texts, thoughts are rarely organised in neat sentences but are rather added to each other. As a result of this “flow” of thoughts, “sentences” tend to have **elliptical structures** which make it hard to identify clause or sentence boundaries. Such structures frequently occur in Golpa narratives, especially in older texts recorded from Djingulul, the father of my three language workers).²⁵⁷ These texts typically have several topics/subjects that the speaker moves along. These can be clans, individuals or places, for instance. They are mentioned at the beginning of a (sub)section or (sub)chapter of the story they are talked about. Once the subject has been introduced it is usually omitted in the chained propositions that follow, i.e. these subsequent clauses show participant sharing (or “argument-related dependencies” as to be discussed in section 7.1). Whenever the speaker changes the subject matter the new subject is introduced and then left out. The tendency to omit redundant or contextually recoverable information serves the principle of ‘syntactic economy’ (cf.

²⁵⁷ Most of Djingulul’s texts carry important cultural or spiritual information which is still relevant for today’s generations, e.g., how land was formed, where waterholes are or what languages and land sections belong to what clan.

Cristofaro 2003, 248ff.). The following two sentences are cited to illustrate this “flow” of thoughts and some resulting elliptical structures. (The English equivalents of the omitted elements are presented in capital letters and round brackets in the translation lines.)

(321) Bika yäna ṅaṅ’ṅaṅtjala biṅu gapuwu berrawa waṅayala rulka “rulka nhaḷumi nham ṅanapilima gapu” berra, ṅayi bilawu dhiṅgamawa dhiṅgamawa gapuwa rangawa ga waṅgany yäna dhukarr nhamwhana guṅga’yalayini berra nhaṅu nhaṅu gapu berra.

1 [bika yäna ṅaṅ’ṅaṅtj-ala biṅu gapu-wu
maybe just/only chase.away-PSThab that water(*Golpa)-GEN/DAT

2 [berra=wa waṅa-yala rulka
like.this=MOD say-PSThab not

3 rulka nhaḷu-mi nham ṅanapilima gapu berra]]
not eat/drink-*** this.is 1PLexcl.GEN/DAT water(*Golpa) like.this

4 ṅayi bilawu dhiṅga-ma=wa
3SG thus/like.this die-NEU=MOD

5 dhiṅga-ma=wa gapu-wu?? ranga-wa
die-NEU=MOD water(*Golpa)-GEN/DAT look.for-PSThab

6 ga waṅgany yäna dhukarr
and one(*Golpa) just/only road

7 nhamwhana guṅga’y-ala-yini berra nhaṅu
because.of.this?? help-PSThab-REFL/RCP like.this this/here

8 gapu berra
water(*Golpa) like.this

‘If (THEY) had sent (THEM) away for the water saying no, “don’t drink our water”, he (i.e. the tribe) would have died, looking for water, because that’s the only way (to go), (THEY) used to help each other (with) water.’ (text HDG003_0618-0624)

(322) “Duy’tja ŋunhu gatjuy balaŋ’ku wurruku nhonu binmi” berra, rulka ŋayi wurruku gandarrŋawa dhiŋgamawa, mani dapthun.

[duy’tj-a	ŋunhu	gatjuy	balaŋ’ku	wurruku	nhonu
return-IMP	over.there	go.on.ahead	***	will	2SG

binmi	berra]
thus/like.this	like.this

rulka	ŋayi	wurruku	gandarr-ŋa=wa	dhiŋga-ma=wa
not	3SG	will	half.way-LOC=MOD	die-NEU=MOD

mani dapth-un
throat dry.out-NEU

‘(IF THEY WOULD SPEAK) like this, “you will go back”, he (i.e. the tribe) wouldn’t get half way and die, the throat(s) dry(ing) out.’

(text

HDG003_0646-0648)

In (321), both the subject argument and direct object argument is missing. The sentence in (322) almost lacks the entire sentence initial clause. (For structural discussions of these examples, please see section 7.5.1.1.)

In a number of cases, prosodic features have proved to be useful in regard to the determination of clause boundaries. The notion *prosody* is used as a cover term for intonation patterns and pauses (intonation breaks) used to signal clause boundaries or clause linkages.

The intonation pattern linking constructions is characterised by a higher pitch on the last constituent of the first clause and the onset of a falling intonation which is placed on the first constituent of the second clause. The higher pitch at the end of the first clause indicates that more information is yet to come. This information is then given in the second clause and marked by a falling pitch towards the end of this clause. In other words, the clausal juncture is located between the high pitch and the onset of its fall. The low pitch of the linked (second) clause signals its (slight) downgrading (cf. Lehmann 1988, 192).

This intonation pattern is particularly used to mark the linkage of independent juxtaposed clauses, i.e. where the combination of entities or constructions is not indicated in any other way (such as by the presence of a coordinating or subordinating element in finite clauses, by the morphological marking of the verb in non-finite constructions, or other

morpho-syntactic markings). However, this intonation pattern can also be observed in sentences with explicit linking devices. It may link a subordinate clause to a main clause or connect independent clauses. This intonation pattern has also been found to link single constituents.

In some instances, clause boundaries are unclear due to a **continuous rising-falling intonation pattern** which may span rather long sequences.

Intonation breaks (pauses) may basically occur anywhere. They are not only perceptible at clausal junctures but have also been found to separate a core argument from the rest of the clause. Therefore, their presence is not a reliable variable for defining clause or sentence boundaries in Golpa.²⁵⁸ In the case of complex sentences in Golpa, the interpretation of the presence of this prosodic feature becomes even more obscure when considering the major strategy of data collection: A relatively great number of complex constructions are not taken from text recordings (in which sentences are normally given in spontaneously and fluently uttered sequences of speech) but were elicited in isolation, mainly from wāwa. When responding to me, he often paused several times within an utterance, seemingly thinking about the right words and/or to give me a chance to put them down. (In examples where I suspect such a use of an intonation break, the pause indicating symbols # and ## are given in round brackets.) Only examples containing appositional adjuncts mostly stem from texts. In these instances, the interpretation of a pause is thus not open to as many possibilities as it is in the cases of elicited sentences.

However, the absence of a pause can be interpreted as signaling the integration of the following clause into the previous one (cf. Hale 1976, 100, or Mithun 1988).²⁵⁹ Even so, the intonation pattern of a construction is a better defined and thus more reliable feature when examining clause linkages in sentences lacking an explicit linking device. (Note, though, that a high pitch on a clausal entity (especially when it is not associated with the last constituent of the clause) can, just like a pause, also mark a thinking process.)

(For a deeper discussion of prosodic features and their interpretations in complex sentences I refer the reader to section 7.1.1.)

A different intonation pattern is used to mark what I refer to as *appositional adjuncts*. These are uttered with a rather stable or monotone intonation. The clause preceding such an apposition usually ends with a rather low pitch (cf. section 7.4 for more details).

²⁵⁸ Similar comments are made for Djambarrupuyu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 691).

²⁵⁹ It is to be noted, however, that the identification of a pause is often impossible in fast speech.

In chapter 7, a number of examples are individually discussed in regard to their prosodic features.

Statements concerning prosodic features are based on fieldwork observations and/or my acoustic impressions when listening to a number of work session recordings and text recordings that involve relevant sentences (of which some are presented in this thesis).

6.2 Main clause types

Contrary to subordinate clauses, main clauses can (normally) stand as independent utterances (to which semantically or structurally subordinate clauses may be attached). They can be understood as simple sentences.²⁶⁰

The following main clause types are distinguished: Declarative clauses typically serve the expression of statements (cf. section 6.2.1 and section 6.2.2), interrogative clauses the expression of questions (cf. section 6.2.3) and imperatives the expression of commands (cf. section 6.2.4). Clauses involving the reflexive/reciprocal suffix *-yini* are attended to in section 6.2.5. (Remember that no distinction is made between positive and negative clauses in Golpa.)

Like other Yolŋu languages (such as Djambarrpuyŋu, Wangurri or Yan-nhaŋu, for instance), Golpa also has verbal and non-verbal clauses. This distinction is relevant for the description of declarative clauses and interrogative clauses.²⁶¹ Imperative expressions always require an inflected verb.

Compared to verbal clauses, non-verbal clauses have been noted to involve a restricted set of case-marked nominal expressions: They have been found with constituents marked GEN/DAT, LOC, ASSOC and ABL. LOCAn-marked constituents have only been found in transitive clauses. (Non-verbal clauses do not occur with constituents marked ALL, ALLAn, ABLhum, PERL/TRANS, INSTR, ORIG or TEMP.)

Before attending to main clause types in detail, some information should be provided about **word order**. Like in other Australian languages (cf. Dixon 1980, 441f.), the constituents of a single verbal or non-verbal clause may occur in free order. However, in verbal clauses, the most frequently occurring (and thus seemingly preferred) order of constituents is S-V in

²⁶⁰ In cases where the main clause follows the subordinate clause (instead of preceding it), it may show argument-related and/or predicate-related dependencies and thus not constitute an independent utterance.

²⁶¹ For convenience purposes, interrogative clauses are treated in a separate section.

intransitive sentences and A-V-O or A-O-V in transitive sentences, i.e. the verb does normally not stand sentence initially, as this position is most often occupied by the subject argument in both intransitive and transitive sentences. (However, there are a few counterexamples, cf. (358) and (392)). Peripheral noun phrases usually follow the verb but may also precede it. As will be recalled from section 4.2, the constituents of a noun phrase (in verbal and non-verbal clauses) do not have to be contiguous but may be scattered in the sentence. The usual (unmarked) order of constituents in non-verbal clauses is that the topic precedes the comment.

The ordering of the constituents may vary with respect to what wants to be emphasised (cf. Blake 1976, 485). In the following example pair, different constituents are considered important. This is highlighted by their clause initial position:

(324) Dayi ma nyena gol̩ṇa.

ṇayi	ma	nyena	gol̩-ṇa
3SG	PROG/CONT	sit(NEU)	school-LOC

‘He is in school (now).’

(JBG334a; me speaking)

(325) Gol̩ṇa ṇayi ma nyena?

gol̩-ṇa	ṇayi	ma	nyena
school-LOC	3SG	PROG/CONT	sit(NEU)

‘In school is he (now)?’

(JBG334b; wāwa speaking, seeking re-affirmation)²⁶²

Note that, in opposition to (324), the ordering of the constituents in example (325) is marked.

(Passive-like sentence patterns also show a marked word order. Such examples are presented and briefly discussed in section 6.2.2.)

To mark a focussed constituent/argument, a co-referential noun phrase may also be placed in the leftmost position within a sentence, as illustrated in the following example:

²⁶² This conversational sequence resulted from a phone conversation with wāwa (in March 2016) where we were talking about my son Jewe.

(326) Biḡurumdhu rathayu balay rulka nhänha waṭunha.

biḡurum-dhu **ratha-yu** balay rulka nhä-nha waṭu-nha
that(alt.form)-ERG child-ERG 3DU not see-PST dog-ACC

‘The children, the two didn’t see the dog.’

(JBG347)

The sentence initial ERG-marked noun phrase *biḡurumdhu rathayu* is co-referential with (and further specifies) the subsequent pronoun *balay*. (Both the pronoun and the preceding noun phrase function as the subject of the transitive sentence.)

Most often, focus is indicated by the frequently occurring PROM clitic =*ḡayu* (cf. section 4.1.4 for more information about this form).

6.2.1 Declarative clauses with non-verbal predicates

Non-verbal clauses can be found in all Australian languages (cf. Dixon 2002, 240). In Golpa, two sources of such clauses can be distinguished:

- (i) clauses in which a word other than a verb functions as predicate, and
- (ii) clauses with elliptical constructions lacking the verb.

(i) The most minimal structure required to form a grammatical Golpa sentence/main clause with a non-verbal predicate is a bare nominal form, usually marked with the PROM–marker =*ḡayu*, like in *mutikaḡayu* ‘(it’s) the car’ or *miriḡunḡayu* ‘(it’s) bad’. Such minimal structures are normally only used in answers to questions such as *nhä nḡayu* ‘what is this’.

Interjections/exclamations (such as *yow* ‘yes’, *rulka(ḡu)* ‘no’, *way* ‘hey’, or *maḡapway* ‘thanks’) also produce minimal non-verbal clauses.

In Golpa, most often **nominal expressions** are found in predicative function. Such non-verbal clauses then consist of two nominal constituents (or more complex nominal constructions) of which one specifies or identifies the other (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 550). These two entities can be thought of as *topic* and *comment* (cf. Waters 1989, 209f.).

A frequently occurring element in non-verbal clauses is the PROM marker =*ḡayu*. This form may attach to the topic constituent, the comment constituent, or both, cf. (327), (328) and (329), respectively. (Remember that the clitic is optional.)

(327) Nhonuṅayu bankudi.

nhonu=ṅayu bankudi

2SG=PROM hunter

‘You are a (good) hunter.’

(HNG021)

(328) Nhaṅu ṅarraku bunbu djulṅiṅayu.

nhaṅu ṅarra-ku bunbu djulṅi=ṅayu

this/here 1SG-GEN/DAT house good=PROM

‘This house of mine is nice.’

(MYG002²⁶³; accepted by Garrutju)

(329) Ḍarrakuṅayu ṅarri buḷaṅgitjṅayu.

ṅarra-ku=ṅayu ṅarri buḷaṅgitj=ṅayu

1SG-GEN/DAT=PROM place good=PROM

‘My place/house is good/nice.’

(JGG015c)

(Note that (328) and (329) above have adjectival predicates, while the predicate in (327) is a noun.)

As we have already seen illustrated (by *nhaṅu ṅarraku bunbu*) in example (328), the entities involved in such attributive non-verbal clauses may also be more complex. Each of the following two sentences involves a complex comment entity which includes a non-finite verb form:

(330) Nhaṅu dhukarr garanhara.

nhaṅu dhukarr gara-nhara

this/here road come/go-NOML/INF

‘This is the road to go on.’

(s.v. *dhukarr* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

²⁶³ This sentence stems from Meagan Yiṅi Gandaṅu, the youngest child of Djingulul. She is able to produce simple sentences.

(331) Nhaṅu rulka nhalunharaway.²⁶⁴

nhaṅu **rulka nhalu-nhara-way**

this/here not eat/drink-NOML/INF-with/COMMIT

‘This is not edible.’

(s.v. *-way* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

The subsequent examples show non-verbal clauses with an ASSOC-marked attribute (cf. (332)), a COMMIT-marked attribute (cf. (333)) and a PRIV-marked attribute (cf. ((334)):

(332) Nhaṅuṅayu dhäwu maltjana-wuy garkmanbuy.

nhaṅu=ṅayu dhäwu **maltjana-wuy** **garkman-buy**

this/here=PROM story two-ASSOC frog-ASSOC

‘This story is about two frogs.’

(text JBG005_0001)

(333) Tuesday djäma-way walu.

Tuesday **djäma-way** walu

Tuesday work-with/COMMIT day/time/sun

‘Tuesday is working time.’

(s.v. *-way* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(334) Dayi rrupiyanharrāṅu.

ṅayi **rrupiya-nharrāṅu**

3SG money-without/PRIV

‘He is poor.’/‘He is without money.’/‘He has no money.’

(JGG087b)

Other types of non-verbal clauses have been found to involve source constituents, locative constituents and GEN/DAT-marked constituents. These are now briefly discussed in turn.

Non-verbal clauses involving a constituent indicating a ‘source’ notion may include the ablative suffix *-ṅuru* (cf. (335)), the ASSOC suffix *-wuy/-buy/-puy* (cf. (336)), or the ORIG suffix *-wuṅu/-kuṅu/-guṅu*. Non-verbal clauses involving the latter suffix have only been found to be subordinate (cf. section 7.6.2 for examples).

²⁶⁴ This is the only example in which a non-finite/infinitive form co-occurs with the negation particle *rulka*. However, this sentence does NOT illustrate a negated non-finite construction, as the infinitive form is adjectivised!

(335) Nhaṅu mittji biṅulu Germanyṅuru [...].

nhaṅu mittji biṅulu **Germany-ṅuru**

This/here group/PL from.there Germany-ABL

‘These people are from Germany [...].’

(JBG053)

(336) Darraraṅayu nhaṅu Germanywuy yolṅu.

ṅarra=ṅayu nhaṅu **Germany-wuy** yolṅu

1SG=PROM this/here Germany-ASSOC person

‘I am a person from/associated with Germany.’

(JGG101)

Locative non-verbal clauses may involve unmarked nominals denoting a place (cf. (337)), demonstrative stems (cf. (338)), LOC-marked nominals (cf. (339)), or LOC_{an}-marked constituents (cf. (149) in section 4.2.2 above):

(337) Runurr milkmilk Galawarraṅayu.

runurr milkmilk **Galawarra=ṅayu**

a.lot mosquito Galawarra=PROM

‘Lots of mosquitos are at Galawarra.’

(JBG009b)

(338) Nhaṅu ṅarra.

nhaṅu ṅarra

this/here 1SG

‘I am here.’

(JGG032a)

(339) Yirrkala bulunu’ṅa gali’ṅa (ṅarri).

Yirrkala **bulunu’-ṅa** **gali’-ṅa** ṅarri

Yirrkala east-LOC side-LOC place

‘Yirrkala is in the east.’

(s.v. *bulunu’* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

Demonstratives may also co-occur with unmarked place names or nominals in the locative case, as demonstrated by (340) and (341), respectively:

(340) Nhan'ku gunhu' nhaŋ'ku Germany.

nhan'-ku	gunhu'	nhaŋ'ku	Germany
3SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT	father	that/there	Germany

'His father is in Germany.' (JGG165; Garrutju and wäwa)

(341) Milkilkŋayu nhaŋ'ku djinawa buthuluŋa.

milkilk=ŋayu	nhaŋ'ku	djinawa	buthulu-ŋa
mosquito=PROM	that/there	inside	bottle-LOC

'The mosquitos are inside the bottle.' (JGG027)

(Note that the predicative construction in (341) also includes a locational qualifier: *djinawa*.)

Non-verbal clauses have also been found with GEN/DAT-marked (predicative) expressions. As will be recalled from the discussion of the genitive/dative case in section 4.2.2, the possessor and the benefactive function are not overtly distinguished in non-verbal (or verbal) clauses:

(342) Balamŋayu ŋarraku!

balam=ŋayu	ŋarra-ku
that/there=PROM	1SG-GEN/DAT

'That (there) is mine!'/ 'This is for me.' (s.v. *balam* (Golpa dictionary); Garrutju and Nyomba)

(343) Walala lundu nhan'ku.

walala	lundu	nhan'-ku
3PL	friend	3SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT

'They are his friends.' (s.v. *lundhu* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(For the above clausal distinctions, I mainly followed Wilkinson's (1991, 550-557) categorisation.)

In Golpa, **adverbial forms** may also function as (or be part of) predicates in non-verbal clauses, like, for instance, *dhawal* in the predication *rulka dhawal* in (344) below:

(344) Tentɲayu rulka dhawal.

tent=ɲayu **rulka dhawal**

tent=PROM not far

‘The tent isn’t far.’

(JGG048b)

Also, (adverbial) interrogative forms (i.e. all interrogatives except for *yol* ‘who, someone’, *nhä* ‘what, something’ and *nhämunha* ‘how many’) can occur as non-verbal predicates:

(345) Nhäway nhonuɲayu?

nhä-way nhonu=ɲayu

what-with/COMMIT 2SG=PROM

‘How are you?’

(JGG002)

(346) Nhala mudhuɲayɲayu?

nhala mudhuɲay=ɲayu

where food=PROM

‘Where is the food?’

(JBG093c)

(347) Nhalanuru nhurruliɲayu?

nhala-nuru nhurruli=ɲayu

where-ABL 2PLincl=PROM

‘Where are all of you from?’

(JGG040a)

(348) Nhaku nhaɲu?

nhä-ku nhaɲu

what-GEN/DAT this/here

‘What is this for?’

(JBG349)

(349) Nhalanurubuy ɲayi nhaɲu yolɲu?

nhala-nuru-buy ɲayi nhaɲu yolɲu

where-ABL-ASSOC 3SG this/here person

‘Where is s/he (originating) from?’

(JBG333)

Non-verbal clauses “are generally imperfective, contemporary and realis” (Wilkinson 1991, 550). However, this unmarked status may be modified in various ways:

As already illustrated in the examples (331) and (344) above, non-verbal predicates may be negated. They may also involve the habitual aspect particle *yijū*²⁶⁵, as in (350) below:

(350) [...] ḡarru yolḡu yijū [...].

ḡarru yolḡu **yijū**
 but person usually/always

‘[...] but there is always somebody [...]’ (text HDG001_0008)

Furthermore, the temporal frame may be defined by using time adverbs:

(351) Buḡgulḡayu munhamurruwa.

buḡgul=ḡayu **munhamurru=wa**
 ceremony=PROM tomorrow=MOD

‘The ceremony (will be) tomorrow.’ (JBG130b)

The time adverb *munhamurru* functions as the predicate of the clause. This example also shows that non-verbal predicates may bear a modality marking clitic form. The irrealis particle *wurruku* has also once been found in a non-verbal clause (cf. (446) in section 6.3.2)

The particle *ma* does not occur in a non-verbal clause. Full expressions of TMA distinctions may only be made with a verbal predicate.

(ii) Non-verbal clauses may also result from **elliptical constructions** in which the verb is omitted. This is only possible if the verbal form/meaning can be inferred from the context. Such structures are usually found in narratives.

The following example includes an appositional adjunct clause (in bold print) which lacks the verbal predicate. This adjunct clause consists of the subject noun phrase *biḡurumdhu maltjaḡari ḡarkamndhu mirribulu* and the direct object noun phrase *nhaḡu waṭunha ga nhaḡu yolḡunha ga butpuḡ*. These phrases specify the arguments of the verb *nhänha* in the preceding clause. However, note that only the subject argument *balay* is overtly expressed in that first clause:

²⁶⁵ However, only very few such examples occur in the corpus.

(352) Darru rulka balay nhänha, biṇu[(rum)dhu] maltjaṇari, garkmandhu mirribulu nḥaṇu waṭu[nha] ga nḥaṇu yolṇu[nha]²⁶⁶, ga butpuḷ, rulkaṇuwa.

1 ṇarru rulka balay nhä-nha #
but not 3DU see-PST

2 [[biṇurum-dhu maltjaṇa-ri # garkman-dhu mirribulu] #
that(alt.form)-ERG two-ERG frog-ERG DU

3 nḥaṇu waṭu-nha ga nḥaṇu yolṇu-nha] ##
this/here dog-ACC and this/here person-ACC

4 ga butpuḷ]] ## [rulkaṇu=wa]
and ball nothing=MOD

‘But they did not see, those two frogs, the dog and the man, and the ball, (there was) nothing.’
(text JBG005_0244-0252)

(The structure of this sentence is described in some more detail in section 7.4.)

Apart from their occurrences in narrative texts, elliptical constructions may also be produced in the course of a conversation (where the verbal form/meaning was already expressed in a previous utterance). The following sentence, for example, can be interpreted as lacking the imperative form *ṇabattha* ‘get.IMP’ or *batawuṇa* ‘give.IMP’ (in one of the two non-verbal clauses or both):

(353) Rulka nḥaṇu, waḷima!

rulka nḥaṇu waḷima
not this/here other.one

‘Not this one, the other one!’

(JGG045)

²⁶⁶ When I was transcribing this text (narrated by wäwa) with Garrutju, she added the ACC case markings unto the direct object arguments *waṭu* and *yolṇu*. Therefore, the suffix *-nha* is given in square brackets here. The notation of *biṇu[(rum)dhu]* has a more complicated explanation: Garrutju gave me only *biṇu* although *biṇu-dhu* is clearly audible. However, according to my knowledge and understanding of Golpa grammar, *biṇu* needs to appear in its alternative form *biṇurum-* in order to take a suffix (which in this case is the ERG suffix *-dhu*).

However, it is also possible to understand the above construction as consisting of two non-verbal clauses in which the demonstrative *nhaṅu* and the pronoun *walima* function as predicates (translating to ‘it’s not this one, it’s the other one’).

6.2.2 Declarative clauses with verbal predicates

The following types of verbal clauses can be distinguished:

- (i) clauses with intransitive verbs
- (ii) clauses with verbs that may take a GEN/DAT-marked argument
- (iii) clauses with transitive verbs
- (iv) clauses with ditransitive verbs
- (v) clauses with adjectival verbs

Clauses of the types (i), (ii), (iii) and (iv) were introduced in section 4.1.1.1 in terms of S_1 , S_2 , A_1 and A_2 , respectively. Since I already presented a rather detailed account of the verb system (cf. section 4.3 and its subsections) and the case system (cf. section 4.2 and its subsections), here, I only present and briefly discuss the possible types of additional constituents (denoting peripheral roles) that may occur with the core argument(s) of a verb.

(i) **S_1 clauses** are intransitive sentences, at least consisting of a subject noun phrase in the nominative case and an inflected intransitive verb. This also includes clauses involving verbalised forms, like in (355).

(354) Yolṅu dhiṅganhaba.

yolṅu dhiṅga-nha=ba

person(NOM) die-PST=MOD

‘The person died.’

(JBG058d)

(355) Baṅka gormur’inya.

baṅka gormur’-i-nya

sand(NOM) hot-INCH/VERB-PST

‘The sand is warm.’

(s.v. *gormur’* (2) (Golpa dictionary); wāwa and Garrutju)

Such minimal constructions may be expanded by various types of constituents:

LOC-marked constituent:

(356) Dayi ma ŋorra bunbuŋa.

ŋayi ma ŋorra **bunbu-ŋa**
3SG(NOM) PROG/CONT sleep(NEU) house-LOC

‘He is sleeping in the house.’

(JBG339)

ALL-marked constituent:

(357) Darramu garanha dhabadadili [...].

darramu gara-nha **dhabada-dili**
man(NOM) come/go-PST beach-ALL

‘The man went to the beach [...].’

(JBG137h)

ALLan-marked constituent:

(358) Waŋanha ŋarra Garrutjuwara.

waŋa-nha ŋarra **Garrutju-wara**
say-PST 1SG(NOM) Garrutju-ALLan

‘I spoke to/with Garrutju.’

(JGG132b)

ABL-marked and ABLhum-marked constituents:

(359) Walala garanha nhan'kuru ṅarriṅuru.

walala	gara-nha	nhan'-kuru	ṅarri-ṅuru
3PL(NOM)	come/go-PST	3SG(alt.form)-ABLhum	place-ABL
'They came from his place.'			
(JGG077b)			

PERL/TRANS-marked constituent:

(360) Darra ma garanha diltjimurru [...].

ṅarra	ma	gara-nha	<u>diltji</u> -murru
1SG(NOM)	PROG/CONT	come/go-PST	bush-PERL/TRANS
'[...] I was going through the bush [...].'			
(s.v. <i>diltji</i> (Golpa dictionary); Garrutju and wāwa)			

GEN/DAT-marked constituent:

(361) Darra ma garanha [...] gokuwu.

ṅarra	ma	gara-nha	goku-wu
1SG(NOM)	PROG/CONT	come/go-PST	wild.honey-GEN/DAT
'[...] I was going [...] for wild honey.'			
(s.v. <i>diltji</i> (Golpa dictionary); Garrutju and wāwa)			

INSTR-marked constituent:

(362) Nhaṅu wolguman dhiṅganha rerriyu.

nhaṅu	wolguman	dhiṅganha	rerri-yu
this/here(NOM)	woman(NOM)	die-PST	sickness-INSTR
'This woman died of sickness.'			
(JBG137d)			

ASSOC-marked constituent:

(363) [...] ɲayɪɲuwuy biɲu biɲu ma watjim ɲarri [...].

ɲayi-ɲu-wuy	biɲu	biɲu
3SG-NOML-ASSOC	that(NOM)	that(HESIT)

ma	watjim ²⁶⁷	ɲarri
PROG/CONT	wash/clean	place

‘[...] that one, the one that has to do with it, is used for cleaning/washing the place/house [...].’
(s.v. *watjim* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(The ASSOC-marked constituent specifies the subject *biɲu* here.)

ORIG-marked constituent:

(364) ɲayi bunhdhurr’inya [...] bärwuɲu.²⁶⁸

ɲayi	bunhdhurr-‘i-nya	bäru-wuɲu
3SG(NOM)	lame-INCH/VERB-PST	crocodile-ORIG

‘He is lame from a crocodile [...].’ (s.v. *-kuɲu* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

time adverb:

(365) ɲarra garanha (Yirrkalaḍili) barpuru.

ɲarra	gara-nha	Yirrkala-ḍili	barpuru
1SG(NOM)	come/go-PST	Yirrkala-ALL	yesterday

‘I went (to Yirrkala) yesterday.’ (s.v. *barpuru* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

²⁶⁷ Recall that *watjim* does not inflect.

²⁶⁸ This sentence is a reduced version of a more complex one which is cited in section 6.3. (The complexity of the entire sample sentence is irrelevant for the current discussion.)

TEMP-marked constituent:

(366) *Darramu garanha [...]* murruwaryu.

darramu *gara-nha* ***murruwar-yu***
man(NOM) come/go-PST morning-TEMP

‘The man went [...] in the morning/during daytime.’

(JBG137h)

adverbial constituent expressing manner:

(367) *Bulpuyu ŋarra ma nyena.*

bulpuyu *ŋarra* *ma* *nyena*
alone 1SG(NOM) CONT/PROG sit(NEU)

‘I am sitting alone.’

(JBG032)

(ii) **S₂ clauses** involve a genitive/dative-marked object argument. Since most of the relevant examples occur with a pronoun in subject function (which is generally unmarked), it is sometimes unclear whether the involved verb takes an ergative-marked or a nominative-marked subject argument.

The following list presents the S₂ verbs that have been found in the present corpus. Note that they belong to different conjugation classes. (The verbs are given in the NEU form (= citation form).)

<i>birrka'yun</i>	‘think about’
<i>girrirr'yun</i>	‘be happy with’
<i>galkun</i>	‘wait (for)’ (shared Yolŋu lexeme)
<i>malthun</i>	‘follow’ (shared Yolŋu lexeme)
<i>larruma</i>	‘look for’ (shared Yolŋu lexeme; takes NOM-marked subject argument)
<i>wadi'yun</i>	‘go away, get lost’ (takes NOM-marked subject argument)
<i>bayrakarama</i>	‘forgive’
<i>djäga</i>	‘take care’ (shared Yolŋu lexeme)
<i>gitkitthun</i>	‘laugh (at)’ (shared Yolŋu lexeme)

The use of such verbs is illustrated by the following three examples:

(368) *Darramu wurruku larruma nhan'ku [...]*.

<i>darramu</i>	<i>wurruku</i>	<i>larru-ma</i>	<i>nhan'-ku</i>
man(NOM)	will	look.for-NEU	3SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT

‘The man will look for him [...].’ (JBG326)

(369) *Darraku wadi'yanha girri*.

<i>ḡarra-ku</i>	<i>wadi'y-anha</i>	<i>girri</i>
1SG-GEN/DAT	go.away/get.lost-PST	stuff(NOM)

‘The stuff is gone to me.’/‘I lost the stuff.’ (s.v. *wadi'yun* (Golpa dictionary); *wäwa*)

(370) *Darra bili bayrakaranha nhuḡ'ku*.

<i>ḡarra</i>	<i>bili</i>	<i>bayrakara-nha</i>	<i>nhuḡ'-ku</i>
1SG(NOM??)	and.then/when	forgive-PST	2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT

‘I already have forgiven you.’ (s.v. *bayrakarama* (Golpa dictionary); *Garritju*)

(The verbs *galkun* and *gitkitthun* may also only occur with a nominative-marked subject argument (i.e. in *S*₁ clauses). With the meaning ‘try’, *birrka'yun* is used as a transitive verb, i.e. occurs in *A*₁ clauses.)

In the present corpus, *S*₂ clauses have not been detected to be expanded by additional constituents (although this appears to be possible).

(iii) ***A*₁ clauses** involve a transitive verb which takes an ergative-marked subject argument and an accusative-marked direct object argument:

(371) *Darramulu djuthanha meyalknha [...]*.

<i>darramu-lu</i>	<i>djuth-ana</i>	<i>meyalk-nha</i>
man-ERG	fight-PST	woman-ACC

‘The man killed the woman [...].’ (JBG316)

The following types of constituents may be added to this construction:

LOC-marked and LOCAn-marked constituents:

(372) Darra djuthana lukundjanha [...] narakuli lipalipaņa [...].

narra	djuth-ana	lukundja-nha	narra-kuli	lipalipa-ņa
1SG(ERG)	fight-PST	rich.person-ACC	1SG-LOCAn	canoe-LOC
'I killed the rich man [...] in my canoe [...].'				(JBG095)

ALL-marked constituent:

(373) Darra dadukmiyanha gadanuk galki manidili.

narra	dadukmiya-nha	gadanuk	galki	mani-dili
1SG(ERG)	throw-PST	spear(ACC)	near	river-ALL
'I threw the spear to near the river.'				(JBG118c)

ALLAn-marked constituent:

(374) [...] walala wurruku nabatthun rrupiya yalnuwa narakara.

walala	wurruku	nabatth-un	rrupiya	yalnuwa	narra-kara
3PL(ERG)	will	get-NEU	money(ACC)	later.today	1SG-ALLAn
'[...] they'll get the money to me later.'				(s.v. <i>-kara</i> (Golpa dictionary); Garrutju)	

ABL-marked constituent:

(375) [...] biņu nanapu nhä nhäyiņu dubuktjun nanya luwal'miyama biñulu planeñuru [...].²⁶⁹

[biņu nanapu	nhä	nhäyiņu	dubuktj-un	nanya]
so	1PLexcl(ERG)	what(HESIT) HESIT	carry/lift-NEU	3SG\ACC

[luwal'miya-ma biñulu **plane-ñuru**]

lift.up-NEU from.there plane-ABL

'[...] so that we, carry him, lift (him) from the plane [...].' (text JBG001_0016-0026)

²⁶⁹ This sentence is a reduced version of a more complex one which is cited in section 7.5.2. (The complexity of the entire sample sentence is irrelevant for the current discussion.)

ABLhum-marked constituent:

(376) Dayi rrupiya dhaw'yanha nhan'kuru.

ɲayi rrupiya dhaw'y-anha **nhan'-kuru**
3SG(ERG) money(ACC) steal-PST 3SG(alt.form)-ABLhum
'He stole the money from her.'
(JBG340)

GEN/DAT-marked and INSTR-marked constituents:

(377) Darra nhan'ku mutika warriyanha rakiyu.

ɲarra **nhan'-ku** mutika warriy-anha **raki-yu**
1SG(ERG) 3SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT car(ACC) pull-PST rope-INSTR
'I pulled his car with a rope./'I pulled the car for him with a rope.'
(JBG114c)

Note that the GEN/DAT-marked constituent may be interpreted either as the possessor (of *mutika*) or as the beneficiary of the described action. (Cf. also section 4.2.2 for a note in regard to the lack of this functional distinction.)

ASSOC-marked constituent:

(378) Godku darrtjalk ratha miriɲu dhaw'yana ɲalimalama djinipuy munatha'wuy.

God-ku darrtjalk ratha
God-GEN/DAT clean(ERG) child(ERG)

miriɲu dhaw'y-ana ɲalimala-ma
sin take.away-PST 1PLincl(alt.form)-GEN/DAT

djini-puy munatha'-wuy

this/here-ASSOC earth-ASSOC

'God's clean/spotless/righteous son took away our sin associated with this earth.'

(s.v. *-puy* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

Note that the actor *darrtjalk ratha* is not overtly ERG-marked ALTHOUGH this noun phrase functions as the subject argument of a transitive verb. This unusual behaviour can only be

explained by the fact that the noun phrase may have no other interpretation here in regard to its syntactic function (cf. section 4.2.1).

ORIG-marked constituent:

(379) Dayi dhäwu barrŋarranha walalawuŋu.

ŋayi	dhäwu	barrŋarra-nha	walala-wuŋu
3SG(ERG)	story(ACC)	hear-PST	3PL-ORIG

‘He heard the story (originating) from them.’ (JBG341)

For an example involving a time adverb (*yalŋuwa* ‘later (today)’), cf. (374). Constructions involving a transitive verb and a PERL/TRANS-marked constituent or a constituent expressing manner have not been found. However, they are probably possible.

The verbs *maŋutji-batawuma* ‘show’, *djuj’yun* ‘send’ and *duy’miyama* ‘bring (back)’ have most often been found to take an ALLan-marked constituent (in addition to an ERG-marked subject argument and an ACC-marked direct object argument). Although the analysed corpus only contains examples involving pronouns in subject function, it can be assumed that subject noun phrases would be ergative-marked (which is indicated in the gloss lines of the following examples):

(380) Darra wurruku maŋutji baŋawuma nhuŋ’kara ŋarrakuruma ŋarra ŋarri.

ŋarra	wurruku	maŋutji_baŋawu-ma	nhuŋ’-kara
1SG(ERG)	will	show-NEU	2SG(alt.form)-ALLan

ŋarra-kuruma	ŋarra	ŋarri
1SG-BEN	1SG(HESIT)	place(ACC)

‘I will show you my own land.’ (JBG071)

(381) Darra djuj’yanha djorra nhan’kara.

ŋarra	djuj’y-anha	djorra	nhan’-kara
1SG(ERG)	send-PST	paper/book(ACC)	3SG(alt.form)-ALLan

‘I sent a letter to you.’ (s.v. *djuj’yun* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(382) Dayi duy'miyanha balam phone ɲarrakara.

ɲayi	<u>duy</u>'miya-nha	balam	phone	ɲarra-kara
3SG(ERG)	bring.back-PST	that/there	phone(ACC)	1SG-ALLan
'He gave the phone back to me.'		(s.v. <i>duy'miyama</i> (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)		

The verb *warrkuluma* 'throw (at)' seemingly behaves like *maɲutji-batawuma*, *djuj'yun* and *duy'miyama*. However, no example could be found in the present corpus which explicitly shows the ERG-ACC-ALLan case array. (Constructions in which *warrkuluma* is used with the meaning 'throw (out)' lack the ALLan constituent.)

(iv) **A₂ clauses** do not only involve an ergative-marked and accusative-marked core argument, but also a genitive/dative-marked (indirect) object argument. This case array has been found to be taken by a very small set of verbs: *batawuma* 'give' and *rakarama* 'tell'.

(383) Dhuwiyu batawunha nhan'ku ɲaykana, Banumbirr.

dhuwi-yu	batawu-nha	nhan'-ku	ɲaykana	Banumbirr
husband-ERG	give-PST	3SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT	name(ACC)	Morning.Star
'Dhuwi gave him the name <i>Morning Star</i> .'				(JBG342)

(384) Walalama nhonu rakaranha dhäwu.

walala-ma	nhonu	rakara-nha	dhäwu	
3PL-GEN/DAT	2SG(ERG) ²⁷⁰	tell-PST	story(ACC)	
'To them you told the story.'				(JBG343)

In the present corpus, A₂ clauses have not been detected to be expanded by additional constituents (although nothing speaks against it).

(v) My understanding of Golpa leads me to believe that the uninflected forms of **adjectival verbs** are more verbal than nominal (cf. section 4.1.1.3 for their discussion). Therefore, they are listed here instead of in section 6.2.1 above. (Note that the treatment of adjectival verbs varies in Yolŋu descriptions. In Djinaŋ, for instance, they are counted among verbal forms (cf.

²⁷⁰ The assumption of this case value is based on a text example (text HDG003_1344) in which *rakara-wa* (PSThab-marked form of the verb) takes the ergative-marked noun *gunhu'-lu*. (Due to its reduced structure, this text example is not suitable to illustrate the above statement.)

Waters 1989, 209), while they are regarded to be nominal elements in Djambarrpuyŋu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 557f.)

It was already noted that these verbs take a GEN/DAT-marked object argument in simple sentences (even if they do not appear with an inflected verbalising suffix), cf. (385) for an example:

(385) Darra dhäl bulu mudhuŋaywu.

ŋarra dhäl bulu mudhuŋay-**wu**
 1SG want again/also food-GEN/DAT

‘I also want food.’

(HNG003b)

Adjectival verbs may also take finite and non-finite complement clauses, as illustrated by (386) and (387), respectively:

(386) Darra dhäl ŋarra wurruku marŋgiyirri yängu Golpawu.

1 [ŋarra dhäl]

1SG want/feel

2 [ŋarra wurruku marŋgi-yi-**rri**

1SG will know-INCH/VERB-NEU

[yän-gu Golpa-wu]]

language-GEN/DAT Golpa-GEN/DAT

‘I want to learn the Golpa language.’

(JBG310b)

(Note that the finite complement clause in the above sentence (line 2 and line 3) includes the GEN/DAT-marked noun phrase constituents *yängu Golpawu* (line 3). This case marking is triggered by the (verbalised) adjectival verb *marŋgi* (line 2).)²⁷¹

²⁷¹ Recall that the square brackets are used to indicate clause boundaries.

(387) Darra dhäl marŋgiyinyara yängu Golpawu.

[ŋarra dhäl]

1SG want/feel

[marŋgi-yi-nyara

yän-gu

Golpa-wu]

know-INCH/VERB-NOML/INF

language-GEN/DAT

Golpa-GEN/DAT

‘I want to learn the Golpa language.’

(JBG310a)

(Complement clauses of adjectival verbs receive more attention in section 7.7.1.)

Of course, adjectival verbs bearing a derivational/verbalising suffix can clearly be identified as verbal forms (unless they appear with a NOML/INF inflection). Consider, for instance, the form *marŋgiyirri* in the finite complement clause of example (386) above, or *boitjimirri* in (388) below:

(388) Biŋu wurruku botjimirri ŋarri ŋarra ma wurruku rulka warkthun.

[biŋu wurruku

botji-mirri-i-ri

ŋarri]

if will

rain-with/COMMIT-INCH/VERB-NEU

place

[ŋarra ma

wurruku

rulka warkth-un]

1SG PROG/CONT will

not work-NEU

‘If it will rain I won’t be working.’

(s.v. *botji* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(lit.: ‘If the place will become rainy/will be with rain, I won’t be working.’)

Verbal(ised) forms of adjectival verbs behave like intransitive verbs (i.e. occur in S₁ clauses).

Clauses with adjectival verbs may probably also involve additional constituents. However, such examples do not occur in the present corpus (as is also the case for S₂ clauses and A₂ clauses).

Before concluding this section, I shall make some comments about **passive constructions** as these are not considered elsewhere in this thesis. It can be noted that non-finite relative clauses that involve an ORIG-marked constituent generally have a passive interpretation (cf. section 7.1.2 and section 7.6.2 for discussions).

I have also come across the following example:

(389) Yolḡunha dharr’yanha walimayu yolḡulu.

yolḡu-nha dharr’y-anha walima-yu yolḡu-lu
person-ACC damage/hit/kill-PST other.one-ERG person-ERG

‘The man got killed by another man.’ (JBG058c)

The passive interpretation of this sentence seems to be solely based on the unusual/marked order of the constituents: Although Golpa does not have a fixed word order, the preferred (and unmarked) order of constituents in an active transitive clause is that the subject (denoting the actor/agent) precedes the direct object (denoting the undergoer). However, according to my understanding, this sentence does not have to have a passive reading but may also be translated with ‘another man killed the man’. Note that in this case, the sentence initial ACC-marked argument is the focus of the clause.

Another passive-like construction is illustrated in the following examples involving the verb *wadi’yun* ‘go away, get lost’. (Remember that this form belongs to the S₂ set of verbs taking GEN/DAT-marked object arguments.)

(390) Binmunumana ḡarraku ma wadi’yun.

binmunumana ḡarra-ku ma wadi’y-un
lots.of.times 1SG-GEN/DAT PROG/CONT go.away/get.lost-NEU

‘I’m always loosing (something).’ (s.v. *wadi’yun* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)
(lit.: ‘(It) always gets lost to me.’)

(391) Darraku wadi’yanhawa.

ḡarra-ku wadi’y-anha=wa
1SG-GEN/DAT go.away/get.lost-PST=MOD

‘I lost (it).’ (s.v. *wadi’yun* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)
(lit.: ‘(It) got lost to me.’/‘It is gone to me.’)

Note that the absent subject argument in both sentences may be overtly expressed (by *girri* ‘stuff’, for example).

A conclusive statement cannot be made in regard to this construction type, as all of the few existing examples involve the verb *wadi’yun*.

6.2.3 Verbal and non-verbal interrogative clauses

All core and peripheral roles found to be expressed in declarative clauses may also be expressed in interrogative clauses (involving the same type of verb). In fact, **polar interrogative clauses** are formally identical to declarative clauses. In such cases, it is only the rising intonation on the last constituent of the clause which indicates that an utterance is a question, instead of a statement. This observation can be made for verbal and non-verbal clauses, cf. (392) and (393), respectively:

(392) *Miyaman walala ma nhaŋ'ku./?*

miyama- <u>n</u>	walala	ma	nhaŋ'ku
sing-NEU	3PL	PROG/CONT	that/there

'They are singing there (i.e. started the ceremony).'/ 'Are they singing there?'
(s.v. *miyaman* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(393) *Nhaŋuŋayu nhuŋ'ku computer./?*

nhaŋu=ŋayu	nhuŋ'-ku	computer
this/here=PROM	2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT	computer

'This is your computer.'/ 'Is this your computer?' (JGG026)

Note that polar interrogative clauses have also been found with non-finite structures:

(394) *(Nhä) nhaŋu nhaŋunharaway?*

nhä	nhaŋu	nhaŋu-nhara-way
what/something	this/here	eat/drink-NOML/INF-with/COMMIT

'Is this edible?' (JGG127)

(395) *Nhuŋ'ku monydjulŋu djulŋi garanhara?*

nhuŋ'-ku	monydjulŋu	djulŋi	gara-nhara
2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT	body	good	come/go-NOML/INF

'Is your body okay to walk?' (JBG337)

Information interrogative clauses involve interrogative particles. These markers have exclusively been found in sentence initial position:

(401) Yolthu nhaṅu buṅbuṅ'miyanha ṅarkula [...]?

yol-thu nhaṅu buṅbuṅ'miya-nha ṅarkula
who-ERG this/here boil-PST water

‘Who boiled this water [...]?’ (s.v. *buṅbuṅ'miyama* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

Although no such examples occur in the present/analysed corpus, it can be assumed that participants in O context can also be questioned.

It does not seem to be possible to question more than one element in a sentence (as, for instance, in a conversation where a speech act participant tries to gather information s/he missed out on). The construction in (402) below was not accepted by wäwa:

(402) *Nhäku yolthu djuthana yolnha?

nhä-ku **yol-thu** djuth-ana **yol-nha**
what-GEN/DAT who-ERG fight-PST who-ACC

‘Why did who kill whom?’ (JBG137g)

One example has been found in which an information interrogative clause is linked to a main clause:

(403) Yolthu ṅarraku dhaw'yanha mutika ṅarra wurruku ṅanya maṅ'miyama.

[**yol-thu** ṅarra-ku dhaw'y-anha mutika]
who/someone-ERG 1SG-GEN/DAT steal-PST car

ṅarra wurruku ṅanya maṅ'-miya-ma
1SG will 3SG\ACC turn.up/appear-CAUS-NEU

‘Who(ever) stole my car, I will find him.’ (JBG199a)

The structure of this sentence is discussed in section 7.6.4.

Please see section 4.1.2.2 and section 4.1.3.1 for more interrogative forms.

(Due to a lack of data I cannot say anything about the scope of question operators in complex sentences.)

6.2.4 Imperative clauses

In Golpa, commands are distinctly marked by verbal inflection: Imperative clauses minimally consist of an inflected verb in the IMP form, as illustrated below:

(404) Mukcja!

muktj-a

be.quiet-IMP

‘Be quiet!’

(s.v. *muktjun* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

Such constructions may be expanded by adding various types of constituents. Depending on the type of verb (cf. section 6.2.2), imperative clauses may express the roles found in declarative clauses (except for the core role in S or A context, i.e. the nominative-marked or ergative-marked subject argument). The following constituents have been found to occur in imperative clauses:

a direct object argument (in accusative case):

(405) Rulka waᅇgapunhuᅇa yimandi, ᅇutjatja waᅇgapunhuᅇa!

[rulka waᅇgapunhu-ᅇa **yimandi**] [ᅇutjatja waᅇgapunhu-ᅇa]

not cook-IMP turtle(ACC) fish(ACC) cook-IMP

‘Don’t cook the turtle, cook the fish!’

(JBG093d)

a direct object argument and an ALLan-marked constituent:

(406) Rulka ban’ka warrkuluᅇa ᅇarrakara!

rulka **ban’ka** warrkulu-ᅇa ᅇarra-kara

not sand(ACC) throw.at-IMP 1SG-ALLan

‘Don’t throw sand at me!’

(JBG083)

a direct object argument and a GEN/DAT-marked constituent denoting a beneficiary:

(407) Balam ŋalitjawu waŋgapunuŋa!

balam	ŋalitja-wu	waŋgapunu-ŋa
that/there(ACC)	1DUincl(alt.form)-GEN/DAT	cook-IMP

‘Cook this for us!’ (s.v. *waŋgapunuma* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

a GEN/DAT-marked constituent expressing purpose:

(408) Garaka ŋutjatjawu!

gara-ka	ŋutjatja-wu	
come/go-IMP	fish-GEN/DAT	

‘Go for fish!/Go fishing!’ (JBG344)

a direct object argument, a GEN/DAT-marked beneficiary and an INSTR-marked noun phrase:

(409) Warrakan balam ŋalitjawu ŋarkulayu gormur’yu buŋbuŋ’miyaŋa!

warrakan	balam	ŋalitja-wu	
bird(ACC)	that/there(ACC)	1DUincl(alt.form)-GEN/DAT	

ŋarkula-yu	gormur’-yu	buŋbuŋ’miya-ŋa
water-INSTR	hot-INSTR	boil-IMP

‘Boil the bird for us in hot water/(by) boil(ing) it in hot water!’
(s.v. *buŋbuŋ’miyama* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

an ALLan-marked constituent:

(410) Rakara walalaŋgara [...]!

rakara	walalaŋ-gara	
tell(IMP)	3PL(alt.form)-ALLan	

‘Tell them [...]!’ (s.v. *-wara* (Golpa dictionary); Garrutju)

the negation particle *rulka*:

(411) [...], *rulka* *baṭawuṇa*!

rulka *baṭawu-ṇa*

not give-IMP

‘[...], don’t give it away!’

(s.v. *baṭawuma* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(412) *Rulka* *mithayini*!

rulka *mith-a-yini*

not cut-IMP-RCP/REFL

‘Don’t cut yourself!’

(s.v. *mithun* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

the negation particle *rulka* and an ALL-marked constituent:

(413) *Rulka* *garaka* *wadaptha* *lunduṇudili*, [...]!

rulka *gara-ka* *wadapth-a* ***lunduṇu-dili***

not come/go-IMP bathe/wash-IMP deep-ALL

‘Don’t go into the deep (water), [...]!’

(s.v. *lunduṇu* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(Note that *garaka* and *wadaptha* form a serial verb construction.)

an adverbial particle:

(414) *Garaka* *ṇunhu*!

gara-ka

ṇunhu

come/go-IMP

over.there

‘Go there!’

(JGG115)

Continuative imperatives involve the aspectual particle *badak*:

(415) *Badak* *nhaḷuṇa*!

badak *nhaḷu-ṇa*

still eat/drink-IMP

‘Keep eating!’

(s.v. *badak* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

Imperative clauses may also be linked to finite and non-finite constructions, cf. (416) and (417), respectively:

(416) Balam dharpa ηayatha, nhonu wurruku rulka wirrwapthun!

[balam dharpa ηayath-a]
that/there tree/stick have-IMP

[nhonu wurruku rulka wirrwapth-un]

2SG will not fall.down-NEU

‘Hold on to the tree (and) you will not fall down!’ (JBG149c)

(intended meaning: ‘If you do not hold on to the tree you will fall down.’)

(417) Batha gapu teawu nhaḷunhara!

[bath-a gapu] [tea-wu nhaḷu-nhara]
cook-IMP water(*Golpa) tea-GEN/DAT eat/drink-NOML/INF

‘Boil the water to drink/have tea!’ (s.v. *bathan* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

As indicated earlier (cf. section 4.3.2, section 4.3.3 and section 4.3.4)), the irrealis construction, involving the NEU verb form and the particle *wurruku* ‘will, would’, has been found to be used to express polite commands. Such constructions include a second person pronoun (i.e. *nhonu* 2SG, *nhuma* 2DU or *nhurruli* 2PLincl). For an illustration, please compare (418) below with (405) above:

(418) Rulka waṅgapunhuḡa yimandi, ηutjatja nhonu wurruku waṅgapunhuma.

[rulka waṅgapunhu-ḡa yimandi]
not cook-IMP turtle

[ηutjatja nhonu wurruku waṅgapunhu-ma]
fish 2SG will cook-NEU

‘Don’t cook the turtle, you’ll cook the fish!’ (JBG093e)

To utter polite commands, the particle *buku-djulḡu* ‘please’ may also be used, both in imperative clauses involving the IMP verb form and in irrealis constructions (with an imperative reading).

Positive and negative imperatives are only distinguished by the absence or presence of the negation particles *rulka(ŋu)* and *yaka* (*Golpa).

6.2.5 Reciprocal/reflexive clauses

As already noted in section 4.3.1, the suffix *-yini* is employed for (positive and negative) reciprocal and reflexive expressions. The use of this form intransitivises transitive sentences. The ERG-marked actor/agent in the transitive clause (being in A context) becomes the NOM-marked subject constituent in the intransitivised clause (being in S context). To clearly illustrate this, the following two examples involve a noun in A and S context, as pronouns do not show case marking distinctions when functioning as subject arguments (cf. section 4.2.1 for a discussion of this matter).

(419) Rathayu dharr'yanha waṭunha.

ratha-yu	dharr'y-anha	waṭu-nha	
child-ERG	damage/hit/kill-PST	dog-ACC	
'The child hit the dog.'			(JBG345)

(420) Ratha dharr'yanhayini.

ratha	dharr'y-anha-yini	
child(NOM)	damage/hit/kill-PST-RCP/REFL	
'The child hit itself.'		(JBG346)

As can be observed in (420) and (412) above, *-yini* is normally attached to inflected verb forms. This is also illustrated by the following constructions:

(421) Rulka gurrŋan'guŋayini monydjulŋu!

rulka	gurrŋan'-gu-ŋa-yini	monydjulŋu ²⁷²
not	dark/black-make/CAUS-IMP-RCP/REFL	body
'Don't make yourself/each other dirty!' (s.v. <i>monydjulŋu</i> (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)		

²⁷² Instead of *monydjulŋu*, *rumbal* may be used.

(422) Walala ma yiṅu djuthanayini.

walala	ma	yiṅu	djuth-ana-yini
3PL	PROG/CONT	usually/always	fight-PST-RCP/REFL

‘They have always been fighting with each other.’

(s.v. *binmunumana* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

(423) Ga waṅany mittji nyiniyala ga biṅurumguli waṅayalayini dhāruk ga bilawu gutji’yala.

ga	waṅany	mittji	nyini-yala
and	one	group/PL	sit(alt.form)-PSThab

ga	biṅurum-guli	waṅa-yala-yini	dhāruk
and	that(alt.form)-LOCan	say-PSThab-RCP/REFL	language(*Golpa)

ga	bilawu	gutji’y-ala
and	thus/like.this	speak.Nhaṅu.language-PSThab

‘Long time ago a group used to sit/was sitting there talking to each other in language like this talking Nhaṅu.’

(JBG124c)

(424) [...] biṅu biṅum dhāwu balay ma rakaranhayini waṭubuy [...].

biṅu	biṅu-m	dhāwu
that(ACC)	that-DEM.SUFF(HESIT??)	story(ACC)

balay	ma	rakara-nha-yini	waṭu-buy
3DU	PROG/CONT	tell-PST-RCP/REFL	dog-ASSOC

‘[...] the two were telling each other that story about the dog’

(text JBG005_0222)

Note that although reciprocals/reflexives are expressed by an identical form, they do “not have the same individual referent” (Schebeck 1976a, 378f., footnote 40).

Sentences with plural pronouns often only have a reciprocal interpretation (like in (422), (423) and (424)).

As illustrated by the noun phrase *biṅu dhāwu (waṭubuy)* ‘that story (about the dog)’ in (424), reciprocal/reflexive constructions may contain a direct object argument (as also reported for Yolṅu languages by Schebeck 1976a, 361f.). However, the present corpus does

not contain an example of such a construction which involves an overtly accusative-marked argument.

The following construction is exceptional because *-yini* does not occur on the verb *waŋa* (as would be expected) but on the form *balam* (which functions as a pronoun here):

(425) Yolŋu yiŋu biŋu bin waŋa balamyini, [...].

yolŋu	yiŋu	biŋu	bin	waŋa	balam-yini
person	usually/always	that	like.this	say(NEU)	that/there-RCP/REFL
'People say to each other, [...].'					(text HDG003_0300-0302)

6.3 Subordinate clause types

Typical subordinate clauses contrast with main clauses in that they may not occur as independent utterances, as they show argument-related and/or predicate-related dependencies, i.e. their interpretation in regard to the coding of participants and the marking of tense, mood, modality and aspect (TMA) depends on the expression of these categories in the main clause.

With respect to the marking of these cross-clausal dependencies, the main distinction that is to be made for subordinate clauses in Golpa (and other Yolŋu languages) is the one between **finite and non-finite clauses**. While non-finite subordinate constructions are generally dependent (and embedded), this does not necessarily hold for finite subordinate clauses. Both clause types may function as adverbial, relative and complement clauses.

As the behaviour of subordinate finite and non-finite clauses receive a great deal of attention in 7.1 (and various other sections of chapter 7), I restrict myself and only discuss main properties of these subordinate clause types here.

Subordinate clauses in Golpa may occur juxtaposed or adjoined to the main clause, or are embedded into it. Embedded subordinate clauses are normally non-finite, while juxtaposed and adjoined clauses involve finite verb forms.

The roles in subordinate clauses have been found to be expressed by a single noun or a pronominal form. We find core roles in non-finite constructions to be marked by peripheral cases (GEN/DAT, ORIG, ASSOC), whereas they show core case markings in finite subordinate clauses (i.e. NOM (unmarked), ERG, ACC). Core role marking in finite subordinate clauses is thus akin to core role marking in independent (main) clauses.

Finite and non-finite subordinate clauses occur with and without coreference between the core roles in the subordinate construction and the main clause.

Subordinate clauses in Golpa normally follow the clause or constituent they qualify. Conditionals usually precede the main clause.²⁷³

The constituents of subordinate finite and non-finite constructions usually stand together and are not “mixed” with constituents of their main clauses. However, there are eight instances of “**mixed clauses**” in which the constituents of both subordinate clause types have been found to be mixed with the components of the main clause.

There are four examples with “mixing” finite relative clauses: (426), (427), (428) and (429).²⁷⁴ In all these cases, the subordinate clause directly follows the constituent(s) it modifies (i.e. its head). However, the relative clause in (426) can also be interpreted as modifying a different constituent, i.e. the sentence final noun *bärunha*, the ACC-marked direct object argument of the main clause. In regard to (427), it is to be pointed out that *malɲ’thana nħaŋ’kuwa* is marked as the subordinate (relative) clause. However, note that the expression *Golpayinya* could also be understood as functioning as the subordinate (relative) clause in the sentence: [*Ga bukmakŋayu malɲ’thana nħaŋ’kuwa [Golpayinya]*], translating to ‘and all (that are) Golpa were born there’. (In all following examples, clause boundaries are indicated by square brackets (if possible). Subordinate clauses are presented in bold print.)

(426) *Darramulu mittjiyu djinikuli ma ŋorra bunbuŋa walala djuthana bäru(nha)*.²⁷⁵

[<i>darramu-lu</i>	<i>mittji-yu</i>	[<i>djinikuli</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ŋorra</i>	<i>bunbu-ŋa</i>
man-ERG	group/PL-ERG	here	PROG/CONT	sleep(NEU)	house-LOC

<i>walala</i>	<i>djuth-ana</i>	<i>bäru-nha</i>]
3PL	fight-PST	crocodile-ACC

‘The men (who were) sleeping/staying in the house killed the crocodile.’/‘The men killed the crocodile (that) is staying (i.e. being left) in the house.’ (JBG197a)

²⁷³ These findings are also reported for Djinaŋ (cf. Waters 1989, 207) and Djambarrpuyŋu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, examples in ch. 12), for instance.

²⁷⁴ This finding is contrary to what Wilkinson (2004, 25) reports for Djambarrpuyŋu where constituents of adjoined and juxtaposed subordinate clauses are said to not mix with the constituents of the main clause. Finite complement clauses placed between the verb and the subject argument (i.e. where non-clausal arguments in O function may also stand in Djambarrpuyŋu) are reported to be rejected by the speakers in most cases. They are only accepted when the clause boundaries are specially marked (by pauses and intonation).

²⁷⁵ The pronoun *walala* is coreferential with the ERG-marked subject noun phrase *darramulu mittjiyu* and presumably optional.

(427) Ga bukmakṇayu maḷṇ'thana nhaṇ'kuwa Golpayinya [...].

[ga bukmak=ṇayu [maḷṇ'th-ana nhaṇ'ku=wa]
and all=PROM turn.up/appear-PST that/there=MOD

Golpa-yi-nya]

Golpa-INCH/VERB-PST

‘And all (that are) born there were/became Golpa.’

(but also ‘And all (that are) Golpa were born there.’)

(text JBG003_005a)

(428) Bararrpararrwu yolṇuwu gapu maltjana maṇṭji, Dhurpuṇa, ṇaykana ṇarri gapu ma bāni, Dhurpuṇa, ga Waniṇa.

[Bararrpararr-wu yolṇu-wu gapu maltjana maṇṭji]
Bararrpararr-GEN/DAT person-GEN/DAT water(*Golpa)two hole

[Dhurpuṇa ṇaykana ṇarri [gapu ma bāni]
Dhurpuṇa name place water PROG/CONT water.flowing(NEU)

Dhurpuṇa ga Waniṇa]

Dhurpuṇa and Waniṇa

‘There are two waterholes for the Bararrpararr people, the names of the places (where) the water is always flowing (are) Dhurpuṇa and Waniṇa.’

(text HDG003_0280-0288)

While all “mixing” finite subordinate clauses occur as contiguous units within the main clause, the “mixing” non-finite constructions have been found in various positions: In (430) the main clause occurs within the non-finite construction, in (431) its individual constituents are totally mixed with those of the main clause, in (432) the non-finite construction appears within the main clause, and in (433) it occurs within a complement clause.

Although complex sentences usually involve only one subordinate clause, we have seen in (433) above that two are also possible (as noted also for Djambarrpuyju (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 675)). More such Golpa examples are given below. (Subordinate clauses appear in bold print.)

(434) Darra nhänha ḡanya ḡarra milkanha nhan’ku baṭawunhara.

[ḡarra	nhä-nha	ḡanya]
1SG	see-PST	3SG\ACC

[ḡarra	milka-nha	[nhan’-ku	baṭawu-nhara]]
1SG	forget-PST	3SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT	give-NOML/INF

(i) ‘I saw her/him (and) I forgot to give it to her/him.’

(ii) ‘(When/if) I saw her/him I forgot to give it to her/him.’

(iii) ‘I saw her/him (but) I forgot to give it to her/him.’

(s.v. *milkama* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(This sentence is discussed in section 7.1.1.)

As indicated by its translations, the above sentence has two possible sets of subordinate clauses: the first and the third clause or the second and the third clause.

(435) Darra garanha ṅutjatjadili, duy'tjanara yiṅu ṅarra wurruku nhaḷuma mudhuṅayṅayu.

[ṅarra gara-nha ṅutjatja-dili] # [[duy'tj-anara yiṅu]
 1SG come/go-PST fish-ALL return-NOML/INF usually/always

ṅarra wurruku nhaḷu-ma mudhuṅay=ṅayu]
 1SG will eat/drink-NEU food=PROM

‘I went for fish, (after/when) coming back, I will eat.’ (JBG302a)

(This sentence is discussed in section 7.5.2.)

(436) Rulka ṅarra marṅgi bathanhara biṅu ṅarra gulkuruṅu(yanha).

[rulka ṅarra marṅgi²⁷⁸ [bath-anhara]]
 not 1SG know cook-NOML/INF

[biṅu ṅarra gulkuruṅu-y-anha]

when 1SG small-VERB-PST

‘I didn’t know (how) to cook when I was young.’ (JBG157)

(This sentence is discussed in section 7.5.2.)

(437) Djiniku ṅutjatjauw ṅarra dhäl(mirrinya) nhaḷunhara ṅarru ṅarra wurruku galkun walalama.²⁷⁹

[djini-ku ṅutjatja-wu [ṅarra
 this/here-GEN/DAT fish-GEN/DAT 1SG

dhäl-mirri-i-nya] nhaḷu-nhara]
 want/feel-with/COMMIT-INCH/VERB-PST eat/drink-NOML/INF

[ṅarru ṅarra wurruku galk-un walala-ma]
 but 1SG will wait-NEU 3PL-GEN/DAT

‘I would like to eat the fish but I will wait for them.’ (JBG123a)

(This sentence is discussed in section 7.5.3.)

²⁷⁸ Recall from section 4.1.1.3 that *marṅgi* does not inflect when occurring in its bare form.

²⁷⁹ When wäwa repeated the first clause he gave me *dhäl* without its suffixes.

(438) Darra garanha ɲawatthanhara guyiɲarrwu ɲarru ɲayi ɲarkula'inyawa.

[ɲarra gara-nha] [ɲawatth-anhara guyiɲarr-wu]

1SG come/go-PST get-NOML/INF ice-GEN/DAT

[ɲarru ɲayi ɲarkula-'i-nya=wa]

but 3SG water-INCH/VERB-PST=MOD

'I went to get the ice but it was all water (i.e. had already melted).' (JBG097a)

(This sentence is discussed in section 7.5.3.)

(439) [...] Yirritjaɲu Dhuwaɲu biɲu yin'pi nhaɭuwa bili ɲayi Bararrpararr Murru dhäl yolɲuwu djiniku maniwu djiniku wadapmiyanhara.

[Yirritja-ɲu Dhuwa-ɲu biɲu yin'pi nhaɭu-wa]
Yirritja-NOML Dhuwa-NOML that also?? eat/drink-PSThab

[bili ɲayi Bararrpararr Murru dhäl²⁸⁰
because(*Golpa) 3SG Bararrpararr Murru want/feel

[yolɲu-wu djini-ku mani-wu
person-GEN/DAT this/here-GEN/DAT throat-GEN/DAT

djini-ku wadapmiya-nhara]]
this/here-GEN/DAT(HESIT) bathe/wash.CAUS-NOML/INF

'[...] the Yirritja and the Dhuwa used to also drink that (water), because the Bararrpararr (and) the Murru both want these people to cool down their throats.'

(text HDG003_0458-0460)

(This sentence is discussed in section 7.5.4.)

²⁸⁰ Recall that *dhäl* is one of few non-inflecting "adjectival verbs". Such verbs do not inflect when occurring in their bare forms.

(440) Darra (garanha) (ga) guwatjmanha wolgumanha ηayi biju dhäl nhaḷunhara ηutjatjawu.

[ηarra gara-nha ga guwatj-manha wolguman-nha]
1SG come/go-PST and visit-PST woman-ACC

[ηayi biju dhäl [nhaḷu-nhara ηutjatja-wu]]
3SG that want/feel eat/drink-NOML/INF fish-GEN/DAT

‘I (went and) visited the woman who likes to eat fish.’

(s.v. *guwatjman* (Golpa disctionary); wäwa)

(This sentence is discussed in section 7.6.1.)

Examples with more than three clausal components have not been found.

6.3.1 Finite subordinate clauses

In most cases, finite subordinate clauses are juxtaposed or adjoined to an independent clause, i.e. they may or may not be introduced by subordinating lexemes. These can be particles or the bare form of the demonstrative *biḷu* which then functions as a general subordinator. (The apparently optional status of this element is discussed in section 7.6.1 and section 7.8.) In one instance, the interrogative/indefinite pronoun *yol* ‘who, someone’ was found to introduce a finite subordinate clause. Finite subordinate clauses are usually only semantically (and prosodically) subordinated. However, in one relative clause type, finite subordinate clauses appear to be structurally embedded into the main clause. Such examples are treated in section 7.6.3.

Finite subordinate clauses normally have the structural appearance of independent main clauses, i.e. they involve a finite verb, have the potential to fully express tense, mood, modality and aspect and contain case-marked arguments in accordance to their functions.²⁸¹ Any role can be expressed. Although coreferential participants may be deleted, they usually are not. Their roles are most often expressed by pronouns but may also be represented by lexical nominals. (Emphatic pronominal forms have not been found to mark interclausal coreference.) Coreference may be expressed in independent and dependent subsequent clauses. (All these findings also hold for coordinate clauses.)

²⁸¹ I have not found a sentence involving a non-verbal subordinate clause.

Finite subordinate clauses may show argument-related and/or predicate-related dependencies.

Especially in Djingulul'texts (recorded by the linguist Bernhard Schebeck in 1965/1966), a sequence of clauses usually lacks the overt expression of the subject argument. As noted in section 6.1, the subject is normally omitted once it was introduced, as it can then be contextually recovered. (This strategy is discussed by Cristofaro (2003, 248ff.) under the notions *principle of syntactic economy* and *information recoverability*.)

Similarly, the direct object may be omitted if it can be inferred from the context.

Finite subordinate clauses may also share TMA markers with the (preceding) main clause and thus lack them: As we will see in section 7.1.3, there are examples in which the scope of the irrealis particle *wurruku* and the modal clitic *=wa* (*/=ba/=pa*) have been found to not only cover the predication of the main clause but also the predication of the (finite) subordinate clause. In a few sentences, the continuous aspectual particle *ma* could also be interpreted as covering both predications.

(Argument-related and predicate-related dependencies of finite clauses are discussed in detail in section 7.1.3.)

Under certain formal conditions, juxtaposed and adjoined finite subordinate clauses are open to more than one reading. The use of such multifunctional clauses is pointed out in various subsections of section 7.5 and section 7.6, and receives detailed attention in section 7.8.

(In regard to all points mentioned above, Golpa is very similar to Djambarrpuyju, as described by Wilkinson (1991, ch. 12).)

6.3.2 Non-finite subordinate clauses

A number of complex sentences involve subordinate clauses with nominalised verbs. Such clauses are also referred to as *non-finite* or *infinitive constructions*. Nominalised verbs carry the **NOML/INF inflection**, or, in other words, are represented by the NOML/INF form of the verb. Structurally, this inflectional marking consists of the PST form of the verb (most often – *(a)n(h)a*) and the form *-ra*. This combined form is a structural requirement in Golpa for the attachment of nominal suffixes to a verb. *-ra* is only found in this combination and therefore only occurs in infinitive constructions. (There is only one type of example in which a case suffix has been found to be directly attached to the PST form of the verb: *ɲayath-anha-wurru-ɲu* have-PST-PERL/TRANS-NOML ‘holder/owner’.)²⁸²

²⁸² This structure occurs in HDG003_0324, 1012 and 1836, cf. <http://elar.soas.ac.uk/deposit/0139>. (For more information on the NOML/INF inflection I refer the reader to section 4.3.3.)

The verb is marked as a dependent entity. It appears in its infinitive form and thus lacks the marking of the verbal categories of ‘tense’, ‘mood’, ‘modality’ and ‘aspect’. Instead, the verbal form takes on nominal properties. This is most obvious in examples in which the infinitive is marked by case suffixes.

The case markings on the non-finite verb correlate with the usual functions of these case markers (as indicated in the subsections of section 4.2). Thus, case marking indicates the kind of relation which exists between the non-finite construction and the main clause:

- In some temporal clauses expressing simultaneity, the non-finite verb carries ABL or PERL/TRANS case marking.
 - o The ABL case suffix encodes FROM/IN WHICH POSITION the action (noted in the non-finite clause) is carried out, which then modifies the aspectual interpretation of the action expressed in the main clause.
 - o The PERL/TRANS case suffix indicates that the action of the main clause is carried out THROUGH the continuity of the action noted in the non-finite clause.
- In non-finite purposive clauses, the nominalised verb carries a GEN/DAT²⁸³ case suffix denoting the purpose of an action. (The argument (if present) is marked as a possessor.) Only the GEN/DAT case suffix in complement clauses expressing desire is not used according to its actual (semantic) function.
- In non-finite relative clauses, ASSOC marking is displayed on the infinitive form (and also on the argument referring to an inanimate undergoer and/or an instrument (if expressed)). ASSOC-marked subordinate clauses provide a specification with respect to the relativised constituent. (For information on the ASSOC I refer the reader to section 4.2.2 and section 5.1.3.)

Overtly expressed arguments in non-finite constructions carry different case markings than in finite clauses. The nominalisation of a transitive sentence in Golpa involves changes in case markings for the arguments referring to the actants of the clause: An ERG-marked constituent turns into an ORIG-marked constituent, an ACC-marked constituent into an unmarked NOM constituent and an INSTR-marked constituent into an ASSOC-marked constituent. Clausal components marked GEN/DAT, ALL, ALLan or LOC have been found to retain their case

²⁸³ Recall that GEN and DAT functions are not marked distinctly in Golpa so that the relevant allomorphs are always glossed *GEN/DAT* (cf. section 4.2.2).

markings in non-finite clauses. (Case markings in non-finite constructions are summarised in Table 30 in section 7.1.2.)²⁸⁴

However, in many cases, arguments are not expressed (in non-finite clauses) under referential identity with actants of the main clause (cf. also Cristofaro 2003, 79). In Golpa, non-finite constructions may solely consist of the nominalised verb form and thus lack the expression of any argument.²⁸⁵ In complement constructions of the desiderative adjectival verbs *dhäl* and *duktuk* (cf. 7.7.2) and in non-finite purposive clauses, the absent subject argument is coreferential with the subject of the main clause.²⁸⁶ Complement clauses of the verb *gunga'yun* 'help' have also been found to lack the overt expression of the subject referent. However, in these cases the covert subject entity is coreferential with the direct object argument of the main clause.

Although TMA distinctions are normally not made in non-finite constructions, there are few exceptional examples in which they have been found with a modal clitic form. These sentences are presented in (269) = (689) (discussed in section 7.5.5) and (270) = (764) (discussed in section 7.7.1).

As just mentioned above, the aspectual notion of 'continuity of a situation/action' can be indicated by an ABL-marked or a PERL/TRANS-marked infinitive form in a non-finite temporal clause expressing simultaneity (cf. section 7.5.2 for examples).

Cristofaro (2003, ch. 9) argues that there is a correlation between the structurally reduced expression of a dependent clause and its conceptualisation in that the lack of structural independence reflects the lack of an independent conceptual status. The structural reduction is intertwined with the desententialisation/nominalisation process. The absence of verbal/clausal features and the presence of nominal features are commonly interpreted to indicate that non-finite constructions are conceptualised as things or properties rather than as processes (cf. Cristofaro 2003, 270, or Diessel 2004, 41f.).

²⁸⁴ Schebeck (1976b, 526-532) lists numerous Dhaṅu examples to illustrate the case changes that take place in that language when finite clauses are transformed into non-finite constructions. For clause type dependent differences in case marking in Djambarrpuyṅu, cf. Wilkinson (1991, various sections of ch. 12).

²⁸⁵ Unlike Golpa, the infinitive may not occur on its own in Djambarrpuyṅu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 632).

²⁸⁶ Cf. Schmidtke-Bode (2009) for a cross-linguistic discussion of this matter.

Although subordinate-marked clauses may normally not occur by themselves, some Golpa constructions of this type have been encountered to be perceived as independent utterances. Compare, for example, the following finite - non-finite sentence pairs from Dhaŋu (cf. Schebeck 1976a, 364)²⁸⁷ and Golpa:

Dhaŋu²⁸⁸

(441) yolŋu-thu dayka-nha dharpu-wa-n wiłmur-thu
 man-ERG woman-ACC spear-Afv. fish.spear-INSTR
 ‘man speared woman with fish-spear’

Dhaŋu

(442) dayka-Ø dharpu-nara-Ø yolŋu-kuŋ-Ø wiłmur-puy-Ø
 woman-NOM spear-NOML-NOM man-ABL-NOM fish.spear-ASSOC-NOM
 ‘woman speared by man with fish-spear’

The following two Golpa constructions are structurally analogous to the Dhaŋu examples above:

(443) Darramulu ŋanya djawar’yanha dharirryu (biŋu ŋarra nhan’kara baṭawunha).

darramu-lu ŋanya djawar’y-anha dharirr-yu
 man-ERG 3SG\ACC stab-PST knife-INSTR

[biŋu ŋarra nhan’-kara baṭawu-nha]
 that 1SG(ERG) 3SG(alt.form)-ALLan give-PST

‘The man stabbed her with the knife (that I had given to him).’ (JBG205)

²⁸⁷ Schebeck’s Dhaŋu data are mainly taken from the varieties Rirratjinu and Daymil (cf. Schebeck 1976a, 352f.).

²⁸⁸ The original transcriptions of these Dhaŋu sentences contain a great number of diacritics that are not used elsewhere in this thesis. Therefore, they are not presented here. I changed Schebeck’s spelling according to the orthographic conventions as described in section 3.6. Except for his gloss *Afv.* (verbal affix), I also use my gloss labels (instead of his).

(444) **Wolguman nhaḡu djawar’yanharabuy dharirrwuy darramuwuḡu.**²⁸⁹

wolguman **nhaḡu**
woman(NOM) this/here(NOM)

djawar’y-anhara-buy **dharirr-wuy** **darramu-wuḡu**
stab-NOML/INF-ASSOC knife-ASSOC man-ORIG

‘This woman was stabbed by the man with the knife.’ (JBG204)

The Dhaḡu construction in (442) and the Golpa construction in (444) are the non-finite/nominalised counterparts of the finite clauses in (441) and (443), respectively. As already mentioned above, the nominalisation of a transitive sentence in Golpa involves the replacement of the ERG-constituent (*darramulu*) by an ORIG-constituent (*darramuwuḡu*), the ACC-constituent (*ḡanya*) by an (unmarked) NOM-constituent (*wolguman nhaḡu*) and the INSTR-constituent (*dharirryu*) by an ASSOC-constituent (*dharirrwuy*).

Note that in Golpa the ASSOC marking also appears on the infinitive form of the verb in the non-finite relative clause (in (444)). This is not the case in the equivalent Dhaḡu example (in (442)). Also, the ORIG-constituent in Golpa non-finite clauses is an ABL-constituent in Dhaḡu non-finite clauses.

Following Schebeck’s (1976a, 364) analysis for Dhaḡu, the changes in marking regarding the ERG case and the INSTR case also indicate that these two cases are to be taken to be distinct in Golpa.²⁹⁰

It is worth noting that Bernhard Schebeck reports that he had difficulties eliciting the non-finite construction because it was not perceived to be a sentence by his Dhaḡu speakers. Contrary to his experience, the nominalised construction in Golpa was readily accepted by wāwa.

Similarly, complex sentences consisting of two subordinate structures are acceptable to wāwa, cf. (445) and (446):

²⁸⁹ This sentence was immediately accepted by wāwa after I had offered it to him on the phone.

²⁹⁰ Another clear evidence justifying the distinction of the two cases is that the INSTR may occur in transitive AND intransitive clauses, while the ERG only marks constituents in transitive clauses (cf. also Schebeck 1976a, 363).

(445) Biṅu ḡarraku walu dḡiniku waṅgapununhara.

[biṅu ḡarra-ku walu]
if 1SG-GEN/DAT day/time/sun

[dḡini-ku waṅgapunu-nhara]
this/here-GEN/DAT cook-NOML/INF

‘I would have cooked this had I had the time.’ (JBG159)
(lit. ‘If there is time for me to cook this.’)

(446) Biṅu(ḡayu) ḡarraku wurruku walu garanhara malthanhara nhuṅ'ku.

[biṅu=ḡayu ḡarra-ku wurruku walu]
if=PROM 1SG-GEN/DAT will day/time/sun

[gara-nhara malth-anhara nhuṅ'-ku]
come/go-NOML/INF go.with-NOML/INF 2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT

‘If I had time I would come with you.’ (JBG160)
(lit.: If I had time to come with you.)

In (445) and (446), the first clause is a conditional with a non-verbal predicate which is introduced by the subordinator *biṅu*, while the second clause is a non-finite construction.

Please note that the great majority of sentences involving non-finite constructions were elicited from wāwa, and that I did not have the opportunity to systematically test their acceptability with a second speaker. However, (at least one example of) each non-finite construction type was recognised by (the semi-speakers) Garrutju and/or Nyomba.

7. Complex sentences

Complex sentences are defined as the combination of a (main) clause and (at least) one other constituent (cf. Diessel and Gast 2012, 3f. or Lehmann 1988, 181f.), and are traditionally divided into sentences formally expressing **coordination or subordination**. This distinction is based upon whether the linked structure has a (syntactically, semantically and prosodically) symmetrical or asymmetrical relationship with the main clause with which it constitutes a complex sentence (cf., for instance, Foley and van Valin 1984, 239, or Mithun 1988).

In case of an asymmetrical relation, the same range of categories expressed (or expressible) in one of the linked clauses (“main” clause) is not allowed in the other clause (subordinate construction) (cf. Bickel 2010, 67). Prototypical asymmetry or subordination exists when one of the involved structures “occupies a grammatical slot” of the other (Lehmann 1988, 181), i.e. when one is embedded into the other.

To refer to non-subordinate relations, Lehmann (ibid) introduces the term *sociation*. This notion covers linkages of (prototypically) independent clausal expressions and includes coordination, apposition and other adjunct constructions. Cristofaro (2003, 54ff.) uses the notion *balancing* instead. She adopted this term from Stassen (1985, section 4.3.1) and defines *balancing* as a relation that holds between clauses involving equivalent verb forms which code the propositions of these clauses.²⁹¹ Such relations are expressed by juxtaposition or the use of conjunctions. (*Deranking* on the other side is the case when a proposition is expressed by a verb form which may not occur in an independent clause.)

The traditional analysis of complex sentences also involves the distinction of **relative clauses, adverbial clauses and complement clauses**. While relative clauses modify a participant of the clause they are linked to, adverbial clauses typically modify the situation (or proposition) described in the main clause (cf., for instance, Diessel and Gast 2012, 27, or Thompson and Longacre 1985, 171). Complement clauses serve as arguments of the main clause predicate (cf. Diessel 2004, 43). These three clause types are commonly classified as being subordinate.

However, just like in most other languages of the world, such a simple subordination – non-subordination/sociation dichotomy leads to a number of difficulties in Golpa. These are briefly discussed below.

²⁹¹ Note that propositions are *states of affaires* in Cristofaro’s terminology.

First of all, this dichotomy implies that all coordinated constructions are independent clauses.²⁹² But not all coordinate clauses may stand by themselves. See, for instance, the sample sentence in (447) where the linked (second) clause lacks the subject argument. Similarly, subordinate constructions in Golpa do not only occur as (prototypically) nominalised entities (like the ASSOC-marked clause in (448), for example) but may range from such highly dependent structures to relatively independent clauses in which subordination is solely indicated by the presence of a subordinator (like the second clause in (449)), or even only by prosodic patterns (like in (450)).

(447) Darra garanha ga girriyanha nhuŋ’ku.

ŋarra	gara-nha	ga	girriy-anha	nhuŋ’-ku
1SG	come/go-PST	and	get.here-PST	2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT

‘I have come to meet you.’/‘I went and got to you/your place.’

(s.v. *girriyun* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)
(dependent coordinate clause)

(448) Darra nhänha waŋu djuthanarabuy.

ŋarra	nhä-nha	waŋu	[djuth-anara-buy]
1SG	see-PST	dog	fight-NOML/INF-ASSOC

‘I saw the dog that was hit.’

(JBG112a)

(desententialised non-finite relative clause)

²⁹² Foley and van Vallin (1984, ch. 8.2.3) solve this problem by introducing the term *cosubordination* to describe dependency relations between linked clauses (“juncts” in their terminology) which do not involve embedding of one clause in the other. They thus distinguish between coordination, cosubordination and subordination. Cosubordinated junctives are further characterised by an identical illocutionary force. Clauses may be linked (and thus also appear cosubordinated) to other clauses at the predicate level (“nucleus”), the core argument level (“core”) or the peripheral constituent level (“periphery”) (ibid, 187, 261, 257).

(449) Nhonu wurruku nha_luma nha_u mudhu_ugay märr nhonu wurruku rulka ŋambaŋamba'tjun.

nhonu	wurruku	nha _l u-ma	nha _u	mudhu _u gay
2SG	will	eat/drink-NEU	this/here	food

[märr	nhonu	wurruku	rulka	ŋambaŋamba'tj-un]
so/that	2SG	will	not	be.sick-NEU

'You will eat this food so you won't get sick.' (JBG166)

(explicitly linked adverbial clause indicating purpose)

(450) Darra nhänha darramunha ŋayi dharr'yanha meyalknha.

ŋarra	nhä-nha	darramu-nha	[ŋayi dharr'ya-nha	meyalk-nha ²⁹³]	
1SG	see-PST	man-ACC	3SG	damage/hit/kill-PST	woman-ACC

'I saw the man who hit the woman.' (JBG209)

(lit. 'I saw the man, he hit the woman.')

(structurally independent relative clause which is prosodically linked)

Furthermore, none of the features characterising prototypical coordinate and subordinate constructions apply to all clauses of these kinds. Adverbial constructions, for instance, are not always (typically) 'subordinate'. As in other languages, in Golpa a number of them actually behave (more) like coordinate clauses in that they are structurally and semantically only loosely connected to the "main" clause (as in (450), (451), (452), and even in (449)).²⁹⁴

²⁹³ When I checked this sentence again on the phone, wäwa gave me *meyalktja*, containing the palatalised ACC allomorph *-tja*. Similarly, the palatalised ERG-suffix *-tju* is occasionally used instead of *-thu*. The distribution of these suffix forms is briefly discussed in section 4.3.1.

²⁹⁴ Semantically loosely connected clauses add non-relational information to the main clause.

(451) Darra wir’yanha nhuḡ’ku, nhonu rulka barrḡarranha.

[ḡarra wir’y-anha nhuḡ’-ku] [nhonu rulka barrḡarra-nha]
1SG whistle-PST 2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT 2SG not hear-PST
‘I whistled at you (but) you didn’t hear.’²⁹⁵ (s.v. *wir’yun* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)
(juxtaposed adverbial clause indicating contrast)

(452) Rulka ḡarra ḡatha nhaḡunha ḡarra wurruku rulka warkthun.

[rulka ḡarra ḡatha nhaḡu-nha] [ḡarra wurruku rulka warkth-un]
not 1SG food(*Golpa) eat/drink-PST 1SG will not work-NEU
‘I did not eat (because/so/and) I won’t work.’ (JGG158)²⁹⁶
(juxtaposed adverbial clause indicating reason/juxtaposed coordinate clause)

Moreover, the traditional tripartite division of subordinate clauses in adverbial clauses, relative clauses and complement clauses may lead someone to the unfortunate conclusion that a certain relation is expressed by a certain structure in a language. However, one function/relation may be encoded in various ways. Relativisation, for instance, may be expressed by a wide range of structures: We already saw that a relative clause may be realised as a nominalised construction (cf. (448)) or as a structurally independent clause which is subordinated solely by prosodic means (cf. (450)). While the former construction is maximally dependent on the main clause, the latter is formally independent. In between these two extremes, four other types of relative clauses have been found in Golpa: They may involve the general subordinator *biḡu* (cf. (453)), be introduced by the interrogative/indefinite pronoun *yol* (cf. (454)), or be characterised by the sharing of a main clause constituent (normally the subject argument) (cf. (455)). There are also two examples in which clauses with a relative interpretation have been found to be (mis)placed within the main clause (cf. (456)). (Relative clause types are discussed in more detail in section 7.6.)

²⁹⁵ At first sight, it seems possible to also translate the sentence with ‘Had I whistled at you, you would not have heard (it).’ However, all sentences with a counterfactual meaning/interpretation involve the use of *biḡu* or some other specific marker or construction (cf. section 7.5.1.3). Therefore the given interpretation is the most reasonable one.

²⁹⁶ Wāwa gave me the same construction.

(453) Darra ṅamaṅamayanha gaḍanuk biṅu walala nhuṅ'ku baṭawunha.

ṅarra ṅamaṅamay-anha gaḍanuk
1SG make-PST spear

[biṅu walala nhuṅ'-ku baṭawu-nha]
that 3PL 2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT give-PST

'I made the spear that they gave to you.' (JBG217)

(454) Yolthu ṅarraku dhaw'yanha mutika ṅarra wurruku ṅanya maṅ'miyama.

[yol-thu ṅarra-ku dhaw'y-anha mutika]
who/someone-ERG 1SG-GEN/DAT steal-PST car

ṅarra wurruku ṅanya maṅ'miya-ma
1SG will 3SG\ACC find-NEU

'Whoever stole my car, I will find him.' (JBG199)

(455) Wolgumandhu ṅama'ṅamayanha nyälka ḍalpamdjinyawa.

wolguman-dhu ṅama'ṅamay-anha nyälka [ḍalpam-dji-nya=wa]
woman-ERG make-PST bag/basket dead-INCH\VERB-PST=MOD

'The woman (who) died made baskets.' (JBG198)

(456) Bararrpararrwu yolṅuwu gapu maltjana maṅutji, Dhurpuṅa, ṅaykana ṅarri gapu ma bäni, Dhurpuṅa, ga Waniṅa.

Bararrpararr-wu yolṅu-wu gapu maltjana maṅutji
Bararrpararr-GEN/DAT person-GEN/DAT water(*Golpa)two hole

Dhurpuṅa ṅaykana ṅarri [gapu ma bäni]
Dhurpuṅa name place water PROG/CONT water.flowing(NEU)

Dhurpuṅa ga Waniṅa

Dhurpuṅa and Waniṅa

'There are two waterholes for the Bararrpararr people, the names of the places (where) the water is always flowing (are) Dhurpuṅa and Waniṅa.' (text HDG003_0280-0288)

Also, some constructions are multifunctional in that they are open to more than one interpretation.²⁹⁷ Like in other Australian languages (cf. Hale 1976, McGregor 1988, or Wilkinson 1991, among others), this is particularly true of temporal and conditional clauses (as in (457)), and of temporal and relative clauses (as in (458)). Of course, sentences are naturally not uttered in isolation so that in cases of such an ambiguity the context usually provides the basis for the interpretation of the sentence. (Clauses with multiple readings receive detailed attention in section 7.8 where the focus will also lie on the multifunctional demonstrative pronoun *biŋu* which functions as a general subordinator in complex sentences.)

(457) (Biŋu) ŋarra ŋayathama mudhuŋay ŋarra wurruku nhaluma.

[biŋu ŋarra ŋayatha-ma mudhuŋay] [ŋarra wurruku nhalu-ma]
 if 1SG have-NEU food 1SG will eat/drink-NEU

(i) ‘If I had food I would eat something.’

(ii) When(ever) I have food I will eat something.’ (JBG122a)

(458) Yothuyu nhalnha mudhuŋay biŋu ŋarra ma waŋgapunhnha.

yothu-yu nhalnha mudhuŋay
 child-ERG eat/drink-PST food

[biŋu ŋarra ma waŋgapunhnha]
 that/when 1SG PROG/CONT cook-PST

(i) ‘The child ate the food I was making/had been making.’

(ii) ‘The child ate the food when I was cooking.’ (JBG222)

All these findings are in line with a number of cross-linguistic studies (cf. Lehmann 1988, Cristofaro 2003, Diessel 2004, or Bickel 2010) which have shown that subordination is better defined as a gradual property, i.e. subordinate structures lack (at least some of the) features characterising an independent clause, or do not express them to their full potential (such as

²⁹⁷ Gast and Schäfer (2012) discuss such a functional ‘overlap’ with respect to Latin where a relative clause construction has been found to have a participant-related reading as well as an event-related (adverbial) reading. Their findings concerning such “hybrid adverbial clauses” in Latin are based on a corpus study. Unlike Latin, such clauses do not have a primary (participant-modifying) function and a secondary (event-modifying) function in Australian languages. Instead, a clause is open to more than one interpretation under certain structural conditions (cf. section 7.8).

finiteness of the verb form or overt expression of clausal arguments). In other words, the distinction between subordination and non-subordination is regarded “as a syntactic continuum involving a number of different and quite freely combinable parameters” along which constructions may be described, i.e. “[...] a clause may be more or less subordinate-like depending on how many subordinate-like features it displays” (Cristofaro 2003, 20, 24).

For the discussion of such a **parametric approach**²⁹⁸ concerning complex sentences I follow to Christian Lehmann (1988). He proposes three major dimensions (each comprising two parameters) allowing to account for the variations of clauses and clause linkages: Autonomy vs. integration (hierarchical downgrading, syntactic level), expansion vs. reduction (desententialisation of subordinate clauses, grammaticalisation of main verb), and isolation vs. linkage (interlacing, explicitness of linking). Each of these six parameters describes a continuum in which the end poles are defined by prototypical characteristics of coordination and subordination, ranging from “maximal elaboration to [...] maximal compression (or condensation) of lexical and grammatical information” (Lehmann 1988, 216).

All these parameters are applicable to any language. They are not dependent on (or limited to) the traditional categorisation into adverbial, relative and complement clauses but may be applied to all types of subordinate structures. The parametric approach is also useful for typologically oriented studies: Sets of variables (parameters) help portray variation and probabilistic correlations of certain aspects within a language or across languages. This approach thus allows to measure linguistic diversity (cf. Bickel 2010, 54f., 93). A parametric description of an individual language makes this typologically relevant data easily accessible to future researchers who otherwise would have to search the entire language description to find such information (if it is given at all).

The above parameters are purely grammatical in nature. Diessel (2004, ch. 3) points to two other features characterising prototypical subordinate structures: their semantic integration into the main clause and their psycholinguistic association with the main clause. With respect to the former feature, he refers to Langacker’s (1991) work and argues that the semantic properties of the main clause “override” (i.e. determine) the semantic “profile”²⁹⁹ of

²⁹⁸ Bickel’s (2010) *multivariate analysis* is along these lines. However, his study is limited to adjoined clauses. Bickel suggests a number of features along which clause linkages may be described for such clauses. He lists the following parameters: illocutionary scope, scope of negation, tense and other main clause operators, finiteness and marking possibilities (of illocutionary force, tense, realis and irrealis), categorical symmetry, occurrence of question words or focus constructions/marking in linked clauses and extraction possibilities, clause position, and layer of attachment. Lehmann’s (1988) parameters account for ALL types of linkages, also covering adjoined clauses.

²⁹⁹ Langacker (1991, 183) defines “profile” as the designatum of the predication.

the subordinate structure. The criterion of ‘psycholinguistic association’ pertains to the planning and processing of subordinate structures. The author proposes that a (tendentiously prototypical) subordinate structure is processed together with the main clause within the same “viewing frame”, i.e. “the interpretation of the initial clause cannot be completed before the whole sentence has been processed” (Diessel 2004, 47). Contrary to subordinate structures, (tendentiously prototypical) coordinate clauses are said to be processed successively (i.e. independently). Although these non-structural features will not be considered any further for the description of Golpa, they are certainly useful to complete the picture of subordination as a cross-linguistic feature.

Despite all advantages of the parametric approach, I decided to also describe clause linkage in Golpa from the traditional perspective, as it allows me to encounter and display all possible structural realisations of each of the three traditional subordinate clause types (and other complex constructions). Also, since complex sentences in other Yolŋu languages are described in terms of the traditional analysis, this approach makes Golpa data easier accessible for the comparison with neighbouring languages.

Given the limitations of relevant data and the fact that complex sentences in Golpa are described from the parametric AND the traditional perspective, a number of examples re-occur throughout the chapter.

In what follows I occasionally use the terms *attachment site* and *attached clause* to refer to the ‘main clause’ and the ‘linked clause/structure’, respectively (as used in Diessel and Gast 2012).

Only few other descriptions of Yolŋu languages include a discussion of complex sentences. These are Schebeck’s (1976b) article on Dhaŋu, Morphy’s (1983) description of Djapu, Heath’s (1976b, 1980) work on Ritharŋu, and Wilkinson’s (1991) account on Djambarrpuyŋu (which is the most comprehensive Yolŋu language description). The Yan-nhaŋu description from Bower et al. (2006) also contains few complex constructions.³⁰⁰ Where appropriate, I refer to comparable constructions in these Yolŋu varieties.

³⁰⁰ Recall that amongst all described Yolŋu languages, Yan-nhaŋu is most closely related to Golpa.

7.1 The parametric approach of clause linkage and its application to Golpa

It needs to be emphasised that the solution to the problems of the traditional analysis of complex sentences (as pointed out above) lies in the realisation that the constructions AT THE END POLES of a continuum show prototypical (coordinate and subordinate) features. In this sense, Golpa data tendentiously confirm R.M.W. Dixon's (1980, 285) description of Australian languages where "subordination is often shown by verbal inflection, and coordination simply by intonation and the deletion of a 'repeated noun phrase'."

In the following sections I examine the types of linkages and the characteristics of linked constructions in Golpa in the light of Lehmann's (1988) six parameter continua. The parameters are applied to serial verb constructions and complex sentences involving coordinate clauses, appositional adjuncts, adverbial, relative and complement constructions. The analysis includes the description of the location/position of the various structural realisations of the different clause types on the individual continua.

It needs to be pointed out that serial verb constructions and what I refer to as *appositional adjuncts* are distinct from the other construction types in that the former do not form complex sentences but only complex predicates, and the latter do not only appear in a linear order with the main clause but also co-occur in a paradigmatical sense with the main clause component that they specify.

(Please note that I try to avoid the term *clause* in contexts where I talk about tendentiously non-clausal expressions (such as non-finite constructions or nouns, as opposed to independent finite clauses), or where this distinction is irrelevant. In such cases, *clause* will be substituted by the somewhat broader terms *expression*, *structure* and *construction* which I treat as synonyms. However, the notion *relative construction* is used as defined by Lehmann (1984 or 1992), cf. section 7.6.)

7.1.1 Autonomy vs. integration

For the analysis of the degree of a structure's autonomy or integration into the main clause, Lehmann points to the continuous parameters of (i) **hierarchical downgrading** and (ii) **syntactic level**. These help describe how dependent a structure is (i.e. its degree of embeddedness into the main clause) and what it is dependent on (i.e. the main clause syntactic level it is subordinated to) (cf. Lehmann 1988, 183, 189).

(i) The continuum extends from parataxis (i.e. absence of hierarchical downgrading) to embedding where the subordinate structure is a constituent of the main clause. Although embedding is seen as the clearest indicator of subordination it does not characterise all subordinate structures (cf. Cristofaro 2003, ch. 2, among others).

It may be useful here to add a few clarifying remarks in regard to the terms *dependency* and *subordination*. I consider all constructions as being dependent which “are incomplete in isolation” (Diessel 2004, 44). This does not only include the prototypically dependent non-finite subordinate structures of some relative, complement, temporal, purpose or manner ‘clauses’, but also serial verb constructions, formally independent adverbial clauses in which subordination is signalled by the use of an explicit linking device, and coordinate (dependent) clauses that either lack the subject argument (as a result of same subject deletion) or share the predicate-related particles *wurruku* ‘will, would’ and/or *ma* (PROG/CONT), or a modal clitic form with the preceding clause. Thus, not all dependent clauses are also subordinate clauses, and vice versa.

In Golpa, to the left end of this parataxis – embedding continuum, there are sentences with two **juxtaposed independent clauses** which may be linked prosodically (as in (451) above) or by the coordinating particles *ga* ‘and’, *bala* ‘and then’, *(nhä)bika* or *gona* ‘maybe’ (as in (459) below). (Coordinate particles are discussed in section 4.1.3.6 and in section 7.3.1.)

(459) Darra nha_lunha mudhu_ŋay_ŋayu bala ŋarra garanha ŋutjatjadili.

ŋarra	nha _l u-nha	mudhu _ŋ ay=ŋayu	bala	ŋarra	gara-nha	ŋutjatja-dili
1SG	eat/drink-PST	food=PROM	and.then	1SG	come/go-PST	fish-ALL
‘I ate the food and then I went fishing.’						(JBG300)

Accordingly, this applies to the vast majority of coordinate clauses, some combinations of a main clause with an adverbial clause, independent appositional adjunct clauses and, further right on the continuum, also to serial verb constructions.

I now only consider examples in which (independent) clauses are solely **linked by prosodic patterns**. Such patterns include intonational characteristics as well as pauses.

Intonation is frequently used in both texts and elicited constructions uttered in isolation, especially in sentences consisting of juxtaposed clauses where clause linkage is not structurally indicated (such as by an explicit linking device, a morphological marking or by other formal means). Intonation is a reliable indicator for clause boundaries/linkages. Except for examples involving appositional adjuncts and serial verb constructions, the intonation pattern linking constructions is characterised by a rising intonation in the first/preceding clause and a higher pitch on its last constituent. (In the examples below, these constituents appear in bold print.) This indicates that more information (concerning the already uttered thought) is yet to come. This information is then given in the second/following clause which is marked by a low pitch (at its end). The low pitch is interpreted as signalling the (slight) downgrading of this clause (cf. Lehmann 1988, 192), unless it is a coordinate clause. The onset of the falling intonation is placed on the first constituent of this second/following clause. The intonation keeps falling towards the end of this clause.³⁰¹ The low pitch indicates the end of the SENTENCE. As the attached construction precedes the low pitch, it is interpreted to be uttered WITHIN THE SENTENTIAL INTONATION CONTOUR which also encloses the main clause. In other words, the main clause and the attached construction are then prosodically marked as belonging to one sentence.

The clausal juncture is located between the high pitch and the onset of its fall. This second clause may or may not be preceded by a pause (indicated by #, or by ## if longer). Its absence is interpreted as signaling the integration of this clause into the main clause (as already noted in section 6.1). Such a prosodic linking pattern is found in coordinate clauses as well as in sentences containing clausal adverbial, relative or complement expressions (with or without other indications of subordination). Considering the number and wide range of features associated with the elaboration – compensation continuum, clauses which only show prosodic signs of downgrading, of course, have a rather low degree of subordination, cf. (460), (461) and (462) for examples:

(460) Darra nhänha ɣanya ɣarra milkanha nhan'ku baɬawunhara.

³⁰¹ It is to be pointed out, of course, that there are instances in which the rising-falling intonation finds a stronger expression than in others.

[ŋarra nhä-nha **ŋanya**]₍₁₎ (#)
 1SG see-PST 3SG\ACC

[ŋarra **milka-nha** # [nhan'-ku baṭawu-nhara]₍₃₎]₍₂₎
 1SG forget-PST 3SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT give-NOML/INF

(i) 'I saw her/him (and) I forgot to give (it) to her/him.'

(ii) '(When/if) I saw her/him I forgot to give (it) to her/him.'

(iii) 'I saw her/him (but) I forgot to give (it) to her/him.'

(s.v. *milka* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(coordinate clauses or the linkage of a main clause with an adverbial clause)

(461) Walala djuthana bäru ŋayi ma ŋorra gulundili.

walala djuth-ana **bäru** [ŋayi ma ŋorra gulun-dili]
 3PL fight-PST crocodile 3SG PROG/CONT sleep(NEU) billabong-ALL

'They killed the crocodile that was sleeping in the billabong.' (JBG305)

(solely prosodically linked juxtaposed relative clause)

(462) Rulka ŋarra marŋgi ŋayi wurruku garama Darwindili.

rulka ŋarra marŋgi [ŋayi wurruku gara-ma Darwin-dili]
 not 1SG know 3SG will come/go-NEU Darwin-ALL

'I do not know whether s/he will go to Darwin.' (JBG202)

(solely prosodically linked juxtaposed complement clause)

While the combination of the clauses in (460) and (461) is indicated by the rising-falling intonation pattern, the clauses in (462) are only linked by the absence of a pause at the clausal juncture.

The construction in (460) is more complex. The following analysis is provided for the sake of a better understanding of this example. The sentence contains three clauses: The sentence initial transitive clause *ŋarra nhänha ŋanya* ₍₁₎ is only connected prosodically to the following complex construction consisting of the clause *ŋarra milkanha* and the non-finite/nominalised complement clause *nhan'ku baṭawunhara*. This layered structure is indicated by the square brackets in the gloss lines. Since the complement construction ₍₃₎ is embedded into the preceding clause, it is part of it. In this sense, the above sentence consists of the two "major clausal components" ₍₁₎ and ₍₂₎ of which ₍₂₎ is the attached/linked clause. As

indicated by the translations, the sentence may have several interpretations: (i) The two major clausal components ⁽¹⁾ and ⁽²⁾ of the sentence may be interpreted to express subsequent events. (ii) Clause ⁽¹⁾ may have a conditional or a temporal reading. (iii) The complex construction ⁽²⁾ may be interpreted to indicate contrast.

The linkage of the two major clausal components in (460) is indicated by a higher pitch on the last constituent of the first clause (i.e. *ɲanya*) and the onset of the falling intonation placed on the first constituent of the following clause (i.e. *ɲarra* in ⁽²⁾). However, please note that the embedded (and thus highly downgraded) structure of ⁽³⁾ is also (additionally) tied to the preceding clause by this very same intonation pattern, i.e. by the rising intonation on *milkanha* and the onset of the falling intonation placed on *nhan'ku*. In fact, there are numerous examples which show that this linking intonation pattern is used with finite and non-finite clauses of all kinds (cf. examples in section 7.3.1, section 7.3.2 or section 7.5.3).

Moreover, this intonation pattern has not only been found to connect clauses but also parts of a single clause (as illustrated by examples in section 7.3.2, for instance). It seemingly also marks focus constructions (as observed in example (718), for instance). In other words, this pattern appears to be generally used to indicate the linkage between entities of various types, independent of their sizes, functions or degrees of downgrading.

However, it is to be pointed out that a high pitch on a clausal entity (especially when it is not associated with the last constituent of the clause) can, just like a pause, also mark a thinking process. (Some examples illustrating this matter are cited in section 7.3.2.)

The linkage of an appositional adjunct clause to a (main) clause is indicated by an intonation pattern which is distinct from the above pattern: The preceding (main) clause is characterised by a falling intonation which actually indicates that the sentence ends there. Thus, appositional adjuncts are intonationally located OUTSIDE THE SENTENTIAL BOUNDARIES of the main clause. The appositional adjunct itself has a monotone intonation and is normally attached after a brief pause. In the following example, the formally independent appositional adjunct clause repeats the preceding utterance:

(463) [...] gaaa James ḡarra Balandamurrḡayu ḡaykaḡa gaaa ḡarriḡayu nhaḡu ḡarra ma waḡa Galawarra, Galawarra nhaḡu ḡarriḡa ḡarra ma waḡa.

ga # James ḡarra Balanda-murru=ḡayu ḡaykaḡa #
 and James 1SG white.man-PERL/TRANS=PROM name

ga # ḡarri=ḡayu nhaḡu ḡarra ma waḡa Galawarra #
 and place=PROM this/here 1SG PROG/CONT say(NEU) Galawarra

[Galawarra nhaḡu ḡarri-ḡa # ḡarra ma waḡa]
 Galawarra this/here place-LOC 1SG PROG/CONT say(NEU)

‘[...] aaand my Balanda name is James aaand I am talking on this land Galawarra [...].’

(text JBG002_0008-0016)

Appositional adjunct constructions (of all types) have been found to show a rather steady intonation (cf. section 7.4). (In the few cases where the intonation appears to be slightly falling towards the end of the adjunct construction, it is perceptibly not falling to the extent it is in instances of other clause types which are linked by the rising-falling intonation pattern.) Unlike coordinate clauses and sentences with an adverbial, relative or complement clause, the last constituent of the preceding clause is NOT marked by a high pitch. Instead, this (preceding) clause is either characterised by a falling intonation (indicating the end of the sentence/thought) or also by a steady intonation. As far as I am able to tell from the recordings, appositional adjuncts are usually preceded by a brief pause.

Serial verb constructions are mentioned here for the sake of completeness in regard to the treatment of the prosody parameter. However, note that they generally differ from the other construction types in that they do not form complex sentences but only complex predicates (and thus appear within the boundaries of a SINGLE clause). Compared to other non-subordinate-like clauses (i.e. independent coordinate, adverbial, relative, complement and appositional adjunct clauses), serial verb constructions show a greater dependency on the entity they are linked to. The linked construction does not have an independent status. Instead, both verbal components form a complex predicate. Such constructions also have a different prosodic pattern: Their intonation is identical to the intonation of a monoverbal clause and thus does not involve a rising-falling intonation. An example is given in (464) below:

(464) Durranharanuru ḡarra waw’yanha wuḡathanha.

ḡurra-nhara-ḡuru	ḡarra	waw’y-anha	wuḡath-anha
sleep(alt.form)-NOML/INF-ABL	1SG	get.up(intr.)-PST	feel.better(intr.)-PST
‘After sleeping I felt much better.’		(s.v. <i>wuḡathun</i> (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)	
(lit. ‘From sleeping I woke up feeling better.’)			

An overt indicator of a (slightly) asymmetric relation between two linked structures is the presence of a subordinator. This type of downgrading can be found in finite constructions of all three major clause types in Golpa: (Adverbial) conditionals and temporal clauses (indicating simultaneity) as well as relative and complement clauses may be subordinated by the demonstrative pronoun *biḡu* ‘if/when, that’ (as illustrated in (458) above, for instance). Other adverbial clauses (i.e. temporal clauses expressing posteriority or anteriority, clauses expressing contrast, reason or purpose) are introduced by particles (*ḡarruwa* ‘before’, *ḡarru* ‘but’, *gama* or *bili* (*Golpa) ‘because’, *nhaku* ‘(that’s) why’, or *mārr* ‘so that’). An example of this kind is (449) above. More sentences with such clauses are given in section 7.1.3 below where the parameter of ‘explicitness of linking’ is discussed. This type of downgraded clause is referred to as an *adjoined clause*, i.e. a (somehow subordinate-marked) clause which is linked to a main clause at its margin rather than being embedded into it. Such clauses may be separated from the main clause by an intonation break. While conditional clauses most often precede the main clause, all other adjoined clauses in Golpa generally follow it. This tendency can be explained with the topical function of conditionals (cf. Lehmann 1988, 188, Haiman 1978, 572f., Diessel 2013, 350, or Schmidtke-Bode 2012, 421).

In a number of examples, the subordinating element is optional. This is particularly the case in clauses involving *biḡu*. (A discussion concerning the optional status of this subordinator is provided in section 7.5 and section 7.8.) Such only semantically and prosodically subordinate clauses then occur juxtaposed to the main clause. Along with the rising-falling intonation pattern, clausal juxtaposition is used as a linking mechanism which has mostly been found to connect two structurally independent clauses (as indicated above).³⁰²

³⁰² Note that the juxtaposition of clauses does not generally have to equate to paratactic expressions. Palancar (2012) investigated the clausal juxtaposition with respect to coordinate and subordinate clauses in Otomi, a Mesoamerican language (of the Oto-Manguean stock), and found that juxtaposed dependent clauses “fall under a single intonation contour together with the main clause [which] indicates that the juxtaposed construction is a complex clause” (ibid, 46). However, in Golpa, the juxtaposed clause is usually formally independent.

Golpa also shows highly integrated subordinate constructions, i.e. **governed structures**. Typically, these are non-finite. Complement clauses are, by definition, (at least semantically) embedded. Finite complement clauses are only semantically embedded into the main clause but do not show this structurally. However, non-finite complement clauses do. A high degree of downgrading also shows in non-finite relative structures, non-finite temporal expressions encoding simultaneity, non-finite purposive and manner constructions as well as in non-finite appositional adjunct constructions. Examples involving these various kinds of non-finite constructions are presented in the following paragraph (ii) and in section 7.1.2 below where the parameter of desententialisation is discussed. Apart from non-finite constructions, finite relative clauses which share a constituent with the main clause (as shown in example (455) above) are also structurally embedded.

Cross-linguistic investigations have led linguists to the conclusion that the degree of the syntactic integration of a linked construction into a main clause depends on the degree of its semantic integration (cf. Diessel and Gast 2012, 30, Cristofaro 2003, 251). Given that the degree of semantic integration is rather low for propositions in coordinate clauses and in most adverbial constructions, they are preferably expressed by tendentially symmetrical constructions (which are often akin to independent (main) clauses in that they show the same range of categories).

An advanced degree of downgrading correlates with a higher degree of interlacing and desententialisation (cf. Lehmann 1988, 214). (These two parameters are discussed in section 7.1.3 and section 7.1.2, respectively.)

(ii) The degree of integration of a subordinate clause into a main clause is higher, the lower the main clause syntactic level to which the subordinate clause belongs (cf. Lehmann 1988, 189). According to Lehmann, a linked clause may have various positions relative to (a constituent of) the main clause: It may be located outside the main clause, at the margin of the main clause, inside the main clause/verb phrase. It may also be linked to the verb with which it then forms a complex predicate. Such formations can appear as serial verb constructions, auxiliary periphrases or verbal derivations (cf. Lehmann 1988, 192).

In Golpa we find all the above types of clause linkage but auxiliary periphrases (with the possible exception of *ɲupan*-constructions, as indicated in section 4.1.2.6). The syntactic levels at which clauses may be linked are now discussed and illustrated in turn.

Coordinate clauses (with and without a connective particle) are linked to an independent main clause at the text level. In these instances, the linked clause is **outside the main clause** (cf., for example, (459) and (460, interpretation (i)) above).

However, the majority of complex sentences are formed by the linkage of an independent main clause and an adjoined or juxtaposed clause which is attached **at the margin of the main clause**.³⁰³ This applies to (adjoined or juxtaposed) adverbial clauses (except for those indicating manner) (cf. (460, interpretation (ii) and (iii)) and (465) below), relative clauses (cf. (453) and (461) above) and complement clauses (cf. (462) above and (466) below). In such instances, the clauses are linked on the clause level.

(465) Djinikuli ηayi ηätjiliηayu nyininya ηarruba ηayi garanha huntingdili.

djinikuli ηayi ηätjili=ηayu nyini-nya
 here 3SG a.while.ago=PROM sit(alt.form)-PST

[ηarruba ηayi gara-nha hunting-dili]
 before 3SG come/go-PST hunting-ALL

‘S/he was here before s/he went hunting.’ (JBG180)

(466) Darra rulka nhänha biηu ηayi djuthana bäru.

darra rulka nhä-nha [biηu ηayi djuth-ana bäru]
 1SG not see-PST that 3SG fight-PST crocodile

‘I did not see that he killed the crocodile.’ (JBG312b)

In complex sentences which lack an explicit (subordinating) linking device, both clauses have always been found to be independent utterances. The linkage of these juxtaposed clauses is then solely indicated prosodically, i.e. by intonation, and/or by the absence of a pause at the clausal juncture (cf. paragraph (i) above). Note that the latter feature is interpreted to be a sign of integration (cf. Hale 1976, 100): Conjoined structures which are linked without an intonation break have been found to be conceptualised as a single unit, while structures separated by the presence of an intonation break point to a separate conceptualisation of the described situations/propositions (cf. Mithun 1988).

Appositional adjunct constructions (as described in section 7.4) are usually not structurally integrated, as they have a paradigmatic relation with the main clause (component)

³⁰³ Finite subordinate clauses are also found at the margin of the main clause in other Yolŋu languages (cf., for instance, Wilkinson 1991 on Djambarrpuyŋu, or Heath 1980b on Ritharŋu).

that they specify. (The specified expression is usually a nominal form). Only the non-finite appositional adjunct constructions are structurally embedded into the main clause (and specify the verbal component of the main clause).

Complement structures are subordinate constructions which, by definition, are located **inside the main clause**, or, more precisely, **inside the verb phrase**. Contrary to finite complement clauses, non-finite constructions are not only semantically embedded into the main clause but also indicate this embedding structurally by the morphological marking of the verb (and present arguments), cf. (467):

(467) Dätjili ḡarra birrka’y-anha waḡgapunhunhara yimanhdhiwu.

ḡätjili	ḡarra	birrka’y-anha	[waḡgapunhu- nhara	yimanhdhi- wu]
a.while.ago	1SG	try-PST	cook-NOML/INF	turtle-GEN/DAT

‘I tried to cook turtle a while ago.’/‘I was thinking about cooking a turtle a while ago.’

(s.v. *yimanhdhi* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

The same degree of integration is also apparent in other types of non-finite constructions, including non-finite adverbial expressions indicating time, purpose or manner, non-finite relative structures (with and without a head noun), and non-finite appositional adjunct constructions, cf. (468) through (472).

(468) Bärulu nhaluma ma ḡutjatja rurryanharḡuru.

bäru-lu	nhalu-ma	ma	ḡutjatja
crocodile-ERG	eat/drink-NEU	PROG/CONT	fish

[rurr’y-anhara-ḡuru]
walk-NOML/INF-ABL

‘The crocodile is eating fish while walking.’

(JBG173a)

(lit. ‘The crocodile is eating fish from the walking (position).’)

(sentence involving a non-finite temporal construction)

(469) Batha gapu teawu nha_lunhara!

bath-a gapu [tea-**wu** nha_lu-**nhara**]
cook(*Golpa)-IMP water(*Golpa) tea-GEN/DAT eat/drink-NOML/INF
'Boil the water to drink/have tea!' (s.v. *buṅbuṅ 'miyama* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)
(sentence involving a non-finite purposive construction)

(470) Darraṅayu marṅgiwa Golpawu yāngu waṅanhara.

ṅarra=ṅayu marṅgi=wa [Golpa-**wu** yān-**gu** waṅa-**nhara**]
1SG=PROM know=MOD Golpa-GEN/DAT language-GEN/DAT say-NOML/INF
'I (already) know how to speak Golpa.' (JBG188)
(sentence involving a non-finite manner construction)

(471) Darra nhānha nhuṅ'ku waṭu nhan'kuṅu djuthanarabuy.

ṅarra nhā-nha nhuṅ'-ku waṭu
1SG see-PST 2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT dog

[nhan'-**kuṅu** djuth-**anara-buy**]
3SG(alt.form)-ORIG fight-NOML/INF-ASSOC
'I saw your dog that was hit by him.' (JBG200)
(sentence involving a non-finite relative construction)

(472) Dayi nhaṅu ma djaṅṅarr'inya ṅayi, nha_lunhara garkmangu, [...].

ṅayi nhaṅu ma djaṅṅarr-'i-nya ṅayi
3SG this/here PROG/CONT hungry/hunger-INCH/VERB-PST 3SG

[nha_lu-**nhara** garkman-**gu**]
eat/drink-NOML/INF frog-GEN/DAT
'He is hungry, for eating the frog(s) [...].' (text JBG004_0076)
(sentence involving a non-finite appositional adjunct construction)

It is to be noted that the structural embedding of non-finite appositional adjunct constructions is not mirrored by their prosodic pattern, as intonation actually marks them as being outside the sentential boundaries of the main clause. (For more information, cf. section 7.4.)

Structurally embedded constructions also include finite relative clauses which share a constituent with the main clause, like *wolguman* (or *yothu*) in (473) below:

(473) Yothulu guwatjmanha wolgumanha nyininya ma galki maniŋa.

yothu-lu guwatj-manha wolguman-nha
 child-ERG visit-PST woman-ACC

[nyini-nya ma galki mani-ŋa]
 sit(alt.form)-PST PROG/CONT near river-LOC

preferred/spontaneous interpretation: ‘The child visited the woman (who) was living by the river.’

but also: ‘The child who lived by the river visited the woman.’ (JBG206a)

(sentence involving a finite relative construction)

(Constructions of this type are discussed in section 7.6.3.)

With respect to **complex predicate formations**, Golpa possesses serial verb constructions and verbal derivations in the form of causative constructions. In both cases, the linkage happens on the **verb level**. However, it is tighter in causative constructions, as the subordinate structure depends on a verbal suffix (expressing causation). Although causative constructions of this type have a very low degree of syntactic complexity, they are relevant to this discussion because of the gradual nature of subordination (as defined in Lehmann’s (1988) elaboration – compensation continuum which I follow here). Golpa has the three causative suffixes *-yu-* (*/-ku-/-gu-*), *-gumiya(n??)* (cf. section 5.1.1.2) and *-miya-* (cf. section 4.3.1). Since I have already described them and their uses, I only briefly comment on causation here. The following example illustrates both the use of a causative suffix and a serial verb construction:

(474) Darra rulka ŋurrunha djulŋiyunha.

ŋarra rulka ŋurru-nha djulŋi-yu-nha
 1SG not sleep(alt.form)-PST good-VERB-PST

‘I didn’t sleep well.’

(s.v. *-yu-* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

In this sentence, the derivational causative suffix *-yu-* is attached to the adjective *djulŋi*. This verbalised structure *djulŋiyunha* ‘make good’ then forms a serial verb construction with the

immediately preceding verb *ɲurrunha*. Note that both verbs share the subject argument *ɲarra* and show an identical inflection. (A detailed discussion of serial verb constructions will follow in section 7.2.)

(Other Yolŋu languages like Djambarrpuyŋu (cf. Wilkinson 1991), Wangurri (cf. McLellan 1992) or Yan-nhaŋu (cf. Bower et al. 2006) also show the use of grammaticalised causative forms.)

7.1.2 Expansion vs. reduction

Lehmann's (1988) expansion – reduction dimension concerns the degree of finiteness of a clause and thus refers to the structural properties of the linked clauses, i.e. to the degree to which (i) the **attached clause is desententialised**, and (ii) **the attachment site (main clause) is grammaticalised**.

(i) Towards the right pole of this continuum, clausal properties get lost and nominal properties are acquired (Lehmann 1988, 193). The degree of subordination is thus determined by the degree of nominalisation. While clauses are reported to typically express relational³⁰⁴ and temporal SITUATIONS, nouns commonly encode things or PROPERTIES. Thus, they are typically non-relational and atemporal (cf. Diessel 2004, 41f.).³⁰⁵ This is most obvious in non-finite subordinate clauses. These are characterised by (strongly) desententialised clauses and nominalised verbs (cf. Lehmann 1988, 193-200). In other words, and to continue in the above line of thought, this continuum ranges from the denotation of linked situations (expressed by two finite clauses) to the denotation of a situation linked with a property (expressed by the linkage of a finite clause with a non-finite construction).

Finite subordinate clauses (in Yolŋu languages) normally have the structural appearance of independent (main) clauses, may serve as adverbial, complement or relative clauses and often involve a (clause initial) subordinator. (Wilkinson (1991, 655) makes comparable statements for Djambarrpuyŋu.) Consider the following examples:

³⁰⁴ I use this term in Lehmann's (1988, 181) sense who defines *relational* as a property of a clause (*syntagm* in his terminology) which, by itself, contracts a grammatical relation.

³⁰⁵ It needs to be born in mind, however, that these encoding strategies are only tendencies, not laws (cf. Diessel 2004, 42).

(475) Darra wurruku ḡambaḡambatjyun biḡu nḡaḡuma nḡaḡu miriḡu mudḡuḡay.

ḡarra wurruku ḡambaḡambatjy-un
1SG will be.sick-NEU

[biḡu nḡaḡu-ma nḡaḡu miriḡu mudḡuḡay]
if/when eat/drink-NEU this/here bad food

(i) ‘I will be sick if I will/would eat this bad food.’

(ii) ‘I will be sick when I will/would eat this bad food.’ (JBG190)

(adverbial clause indicating condition)³⁰⁶

(476) Nḡonu wurruku nḡaḡuma nḡaḡu mudḡuḡay mḡarr nḡonu wurruku rulka ḡambaḡamba’tjun.

nḡonu wurruku nḡaḡu-ma nḡaḡu mudḡuḡay
2SG will eat/drink-NEU this/here food

[mḡarr nḡonu wurruku rulka ḡambaḡamba’tj-un]
so/that 2SG will not be.sick-NEU

‘You will eat this food so you won’t get sick.’ (JBG166)

(adverbial clause indicating purpose)

(477) Darra garanḡa ḡawatḡanhara ḡuyiḡarrwu ḡarru ḡayi ḡarkula’inyawa.

ḡarra gara-nḡa ḡawatḡ-anhara ḡuyiḡarr-wu
1SG come/go-PST get-NOML/INF ice-GEN/DAT

[ḡarru ḡayi ḡarkula-‘i-nḡa=wa]
but 3SG water-INCH/VERB-PST=MOD

‘I went to get the ice but it was all water (i.e. had already melted).’ (JBG097a)

(adverbial clause indicating contrast)

³⁰⁶ Note that this example is exceptional in that the conditional FOLLOWS the main clause, instead of preceding it.

(478) Darra ma waṅanha darramunha biḡu ḡurranha ma.

ḡarra ma waṅa-nha darramu-nha
1SG PROG/CONT say-PST man-ACC

[biḡu ḡurra-nha ma]

that sleep(alt.form)-PST PROG/CONT

‘I was talking to the man who was sleeping.’

(JBG219)

(relative clause modifying direct object)

(479) Dayi gitkitthanha dhāwuwu biḡu walala ḡanya rakaranha.

ḡayi gitkitth-anha dhāwu-wu
3SG laugh-PST story-GEN/DAT

[biḡu walala ḡanya rakara-nha]

that/when 3PL 3SG\ACC tell-PST

(i) ‘He laughed at the story that they had told him.’

(ii) ‘He laughed at the story when they told him.’

(JBG221)

(relative clause modifying indirect object)

(480) Darra gayanaha walala nhaḡ’ku ḡambaḡambatjyanha.

ḡarra gayan-a-nha [walala nhaḡ’ku ḡambaḡambatjy-anha]
1SG think-PST 3PL that/there be.sick-PST

‘I thought they were very sick.’

(JBG218)

(complement clause)

Finite clauses always involve a finite/inflected verb (as in all above examples) and may also involve temporal, aspectual (cf. as *ma* in (478), for instance) and/or modal markers (as =*wa* in (477), for example). Since the distribution of time adverbs is straight forward, I only focus on aspectual and modal(ity) devices here. Such markers have been found in several types of adverbial, relative and complement clauses. (For detailed information about the verbal system please see the subsections of section 4.3.) Table 29 below lists all cited examples of chapter 7 in which the linked finite clause overtly marks an aspectual and/or modal notion. Note that the table includes coordinate and subordinate finite clauses.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁷ Repeated sample sentences are only given once. (Some examples or parts of them were also presented in previous chapters.)

predicate-related features		aspect marking in linked finite (coordinate/subordinate) clauses	modality marking in linked finite (coordinate/subordinate) clauses
clause type			
coordinate clauses	with a connective particle	(463), (570)	- possibly (565), as <i>wurruku</i> could be interpreted to have a modal meaning in both clauses (instead of indicating future time reference) - (569) and (573) (with the clitic form = <i>wa</i> on the verb in 2 nd clause) - (575) (with <i>bika</i> 'maybe' in 2 nd clause)
	without a connective particle	- (577) and (582) (in 2 nd clause) - (581) (in 1 st clause)	(579) (with the clitic form = <i>ba</i> on the verb in 2 nd clause)
adverbial clauses	conditionals	(595)	- (597) (with <i>bika</i> 'maybe') - (621), (622), (623), (624), (627) and (628) (counterfactual with <i>wanha</i> 'surely')
	temporal clauses	(655)	(658) (with the clitic form = <i>wa</i> on the verb)
	contrast clauses		- (477) (with the clitic form = <i>wa</i> on the verb) - (663) (with <i>wurruku</i> marking obligation)
	reason clauses	(674), (675), (676)	
	purpose clauses	(682)	possibly (608), (680) and (681), as <i>wurruku</i> could be interpreted to have a modal meaning in both clauses (instead of indicating future time reference)
	place clauses	(692)	
	manner clauses	(693), (694)	

relative clauses	adjoined relative clauses	- (697) and (698) (modify subject) - (700) and (703) (modify direct object) - (708) (with <i>yigu</i> ‘usually, always’, modifies indirect object) - (709) and (710) (modify an adjunct constituent)	
	clauses with <i>biyu</i> and <i>ɲayi</i>	- (713) (modifies subject) - (715) (modifies direct object)	
	juxtaposed relative clauses	- (718) and (721) (modify direct object) - (723) (modifies indirect object) - (725) (modifies a LOC constituent)	
	clauses which share a main clause constituent	- (737), (738)/(739) (can be interpreted to either modify the subject or the direct object) - (741) and (743) (modify subject)	(455) and (742) ³⁰⁸ (with the clitic form = <i>wa</i> on the verb, modify subject)
	other relative clauses	- (744) and (745) (relative clauses positioned within main clause, modify a constituent referring to a place) - (746) (relative clause introduced with the interrogative/indefinite pronoun <i>yol</i> , modifies direct object)	
complement clauses	of <i>marɲgi</i>	(771)	
	of <i>dhäl</i> or <i>duktuk</i>	(769)	~ (765) (with the clitic form = <i>wa</i> on the verb)
	of other (“full”) verbs		possibly (781), as <i>wurruku</i> could be interpreted to have a modal meaning in both clauses (instead of indicating future time reference)

Table 29 Apectual and modal marking in linked finite clauses in Golpa

Note that in finite subordinate clauses, future time reference is not always completely indicated by overt marking: While the verb in the subordinate clause has to show the

³⁰⁸ Note that this example could also be interpreted to illustrate a serial verb construction.

appropriate (NEU) inflection, it may lack the irrealis particle *wurruku* if it can be shared with the preceding clause (cf. section 7.1.3 below for more information).

Finite subordinate clauses may be independently negated, as shown in (462) and (476). In these sample sentences, only one of the two clauses contains the negation particle. In (462) it occurs in the main clause, and in (476) negation is only expressed in the subordinate (purpose) clause.

Finite clauses usually contain all arguments of the verb (as in (476), (477), (479) and (480)). (See also section 6.2 and its subsections for information about additional constituents.) In the great majority of finite adverbial clauses, the subject pronoun of the main clause is repeated in the subsequent finite subordinate clause. However, the sentence in (475) shows that the subject may be deleted under coreference with the subject of the main clause. Finite complement clauses usually involve a subject argument. Most finite relative clauses modify the direct object of the main clause. Like in (478), this is usually anaphorically referred to by the subordinator *biŋu*. (Predicate-related and argument-related dependencies are discussed in the following section 7.1.3.)

In Golpa, finite temporal clauses expressing simultaneity, purpose clauses, relative clauses and complement clauses have also been found to be realised as **non-finite constructions**. Please consider the following examples:

(481) Darra ma nhaluma mudhuŋay garanharamurru.

ŋarra	ma	nha <u>l</u> u-ma	mudhuŋay
1SG	PROG/CONT	eat/drink-NEU	food

[gara-**nhara-murru**]

come/go-NOML/INF-PERL/TRANS

‘I am eating while walking.’

(adverbial clause indicating simultaneity)

~ **(482) Darra ma nhaluma mudhuŋay garanharajuru.**

ŋarra	ma	nha <u>l</u> u-ma	mudhuŋay	[gara- nhara-ju<u>r</u>]
1SG	PROG/CONT	eat/drink-NEU	food	come/go-NOML/INF-ABL

‘I am eating while walking.’

(JBG137a)

(adverbial clause indicating simultaneity)

(489) Yirritjaṅu Dhuwaṅu biṅu yin’pi nhaḷuwa bili ṅayi Bararrpararr Murru dhäl yolṅuwu djiniku maniwu djiniku wadapmiyanhara.

Yirritja-ṅu	Dhuwa-ṅu	biṅu	yin’pi	nhaḷu-wa
Yirritja-NOML	Dhuwa-NOML	that	also??	eat/drink-PSThab

bili	ṅayi	Bararrpararr	Murru	dhäl
because(*Golpa)	3SG	Bararrpararr	Murru	want/feel

[yolṅu- wu	djini- ku	mani- wu
person-GEN/DAT	this/here-GEN/DAT	throat-GEN/DAT

djini- ku	wadapmiya- nhara]
this/here-GEN/DAT(HESIT)	bathe/wash.CAUS-NOML/INF

‘[...] the Yirritja and the Dhuwa used to also drink that (water), because the Bararrpararr (and) the Murru both want these people to cool down their throats.’

(text HDG002_0458-0460)

(complement clause)

(These constructions are discussed together with their finite counterpart structures in the relevant sections of this chapter.)

A non-finite construction has also been found to express manner. It is akin to non-finite purposive expressions, cf. (490):

(490) Darranṅayu marṅgiwa Golpawu yänṅu waṅanhara.

ṅarra=ṅayu	marṅgi=wa	[Golpa- wu	yän- gu	waṅa- nhara]
1SG=PROM	know=MOD	Golpa-GEN/DAT	language-GEN/DAT	say-NOML/INF

‘I (already) know how to speak Golpa.’ (JBG188)

(adverbial clause indicating manner)

Non-finite constructions are also used as what I refer to as *appositional adjunct constructions* (defined in section 7.4):

(491) Dayi nħaju ma djanħarr'inya ħayi, nħalunħara garkmangu, [...].

ħayi	nħaju	ma	djanħarr-'i-nya	ħayi
3SG	this/here	PROG/CONT	hungry/hunger-INCH/VERB-PST	3SG

[nħalu-nħara	garkman-gu]
eat/drink-NOML/INF	frog-GEN/DAT

'He is hungry, for eating the frog(s) [...].' (text JBG004_0076)

(sentence involving a non-finite appositional adjunct construction)

The above cited examples illustrate that non-finite constructions show a number of features characterising desententialisation and nominalisation.³¹⁰ The presence of case suffixes marking these constructions particularly indicates a rather high degree of nominalisation (cf. Lehmann 1988, 198). In non-finite constructions, the verb always appears in the infinitive³¹¹, and may even bear a case suffix: It is ASSOC-marked in non-finite relative clauses (cf. (484), (485) and (486)) and it either carries a PERL/TRANS case suffix or is ABL-marked when encoding simultaneity (cf. (481) and ~ (482), respectively). Most non-finite clauses involve the GEN/DAT case and function as clausal complements (cf. (487), (488) and (489)), purposive adverbial constructions (cf. (483))³¹² or as appositional adjuncts (cf. (491)). However, in the great majority of such cases it is only the argument of the clause which is GEN/DAT case-marked while the infinitive usually lacks this grammatical indication. An example in which the speaker chose to also mark the non-finite verb with this case marking is given in (488). Contrary to the (same) subject in finite subordinate clauses, the main clause subject argument is always deleted under coreference in non-finite constructions (cf. (481), ~ (482), (483), (487) and (488)).

As illustrated in (481), ~ (482), (483), (484) and (487), all types of non-finite constructions may occur as dramatically reduced structures, only consisting of the infinitive form of the verb (lacking the overt expression of arguments and TMA notions). If more information is to be provided, the speaker will choose to use a finite (subordinate) clause which then occurs either juxtaposed or adjoined to the main clause.

³¹⁰ Desententialisation and nominalisation are parallel processes and correlate with each other. As they increase, they lead to higher degrees of subordination.

³¹¹ Please see section 5.1.2 and section 6.3.2 for more details.

³¹² Similar functions of finite dependent clauses and non-finite GEN/DAT-marked clauses are also reported for Djambarrpuyŋu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 655, 643ff.).

Minimal structures of non-finite relative clauses, adverbial constructions (except for time indicating clauses) and complement constructions have been found to be expanded with other constituents: According to my data, non-finite relative clauses may contain an ORIG-marked constituent denoting the actor (cf. (485)), an ASSOC-marked constituent denoting an (inanimate) undergoer (cf. (486)) or an instrument (cf. (444)), or a LOC-marked constituent (and its modifier) (cf. (492)).

(492) Darra nhänha nhuḡ'ku yothunha waḍapthanharabuy nhaḡ'ku maniḡa.³¹³

ḡarra	nhä-nha	nhuḡ'-ku	yothu-nha
1SG	see-PST	2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT	child-ACC

[waḍapth-anhara-buy	nhaḡ'ku	mani-ḡa]
bathe/wash-NOML/INF-ASSOC	that/there	river-LOC

‘I saw your child drowning in that river/in the river there.’³¹⁴ (JBG207)
 (lit.: ‘I saw your child being associated with the drowning in that river/in the river there.’)

Non-finite adverbial constructions indicating manner and purpose usually include GEN/DAT-marked constituents in the undergoer role, cf. (493) and (494), respectively:

(493) Darraḡayu marḡgiwa Golpawu yänḡu waḡanhara.

ḡarra=ḡayu	marḡgi=wa	[Golpa-wu	yän-gu	waḡa-nhara]
1SG=PROM	know=MOD	Golpa-GEN/DAT	language-GEN/DAT	say-NOML/INF

‘I (already) know how to speak Golpa.’ (JBG188)

(494) Darra garanha nhaḡunhara mudhuḡaywu nhuḡ'kara.

ḡarra	gara-nha	[nhaḡu-nhara	mudhuḡay-wu
1SG	come/go-PST	eat/drink-NOML/INF	food-GEN/DAT

nhuḡ'-kara]
 2SG(alt.form)-ALLan
 ‘I came to eat food at your place.’ (JBG187b)

³¹³ Originally I had asked for ‘I saw the woman that had a child that drowned in the river.’

³¹⁴ I did not check whether this sentence implies that the woman has more than one child.

Purpose constructions may additionally involve an ALL-marked nominal element and/or an ALLan-marked pronominal form (like *nhuŋ'kara* in (494) above).

Minimal non-finite complement constructions governed by the desiderative adjectival verbs *dhäl* and *duktuk* (cf. section 7.7.1) may be expanded by GEN/DAT-marked constituents denoting the actor AND the undergoer of the proposition (cf. (489)), while the infinitive form of non-finite complement clauses of the knowledge adjectival verb *marŋgi* and other (“full”) verbs has only been found to be accompanied by a GEN/DAT-marked constituent in the undergoer role (cf. (493) and (487), respectively).

The case suffixes occurring in non-finite constructions are summarised in the table below:

non-finite construction type	case suffixes found on infinitive form	case suffixes found on nominal constituents
adverbial clause indicating simultaneity	PERL/TRANS ~ ABL	
adverbial clause indicating purpose		GEN/DAT, ALL, ALLan
adverbial clause indicating manner (structurally akin to a non-finite purposive clause)		GEN/DAT
complement clause	of <i>dhäl</i> and <i>duktuk</i>	(GEN/DAT) ³¹⁵
	of <i>marŋgi</i> and other verbs	
relative clauses	ASSOC	ASSOC, ORIG, LOC

Table 30 Case markings in non-finite constructions in Golpa

It can be concluded that Golpa only shows a small range of its case suffixes on the infinitive form in non-finite constructions. Golpa thus behaves unlike a number of other Yolŋu languages (such as Djambarrpuyŋu, Gupapuyŋu, Djapu, or Dhaŋu varieties) in which ERG, LOC and ALL have also been found on the nominalised verb (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 628-632, 653ff.). This case reduction in non-finite constructions could be a result of the language obsolescence process.³¹⁶ (It needs to be considered here that finite subordinated clauses are generally preferred by all three speakers.)

³¹⁵ The infinitive form in non-finite ‘want’ complement constructions MAY be marked with the GEN/DAT case, but normally lacks this marking (cf. section 7.7.1).

³¹⁶ However, please bear in mind that my study of non-finite constructions is based on a rather limited amount and variety of data. Except for few examples, this thesis contains all sentences involving non-finite constructions that were found in the corpus. (Those not cited here are structurally very similar to the examples presented here.)

Generally speaking, the more desententialised a clause, the lower its syntactic complexity (cf. Lehmann 1988, 200), compare, for instance, the non-finite clauses in (484) and (489). The construction in (489) demonstrates, that non-finite clauses in Golpa may show a combination of nominal and clausal properties: Although the subordinate clause shows typical features of a non-finite complement construction (which is governed by an adjectival verb), it provides a great deal of information, as it does not just consist of the infinitive form of the verb but actually also contains “its arguments”.

Another aspect which needs to be considered with respect to desententialisation is whether or not a clause has its own **illocutionary force**. Normally, only independent clauses have this property. Consider the following example:

(495) Dalitjawu gapirri djulŋi ga dhuwaymirri ŋalitjawu manymak?

ŋalitjawu	gapirri	djulŋi
1DUincl.GEN/DAT	child.of.opposite.moiety	good

ga	dhuway-mirri	ŋalitjawu	manymak
and	husband-with/COMMIT	1DUincl.GEN/DAT	good(*Golpa)

‘Is our child good, and is our husband good?’

(HNG034)

The above example consists of two coordinate clauses which are connected by the conjunction *ga* ‘and’. Both clauses are independent and thus have their own interrogative illocutionary forces. In this case these forces are identical.

Subordinate clauses with a low degree of hierarchical downgrading may also have their own illocutionary force (cf. Lehmann 1988, 193f.). In sentence (496) below, for example, the interrogative form *nhalanuru* ‘where from’ only has scope over the clause it is part of. The (slightly) subordinate adjoined temporal clause introduced by *ŋarruwa* ‘before’ has its own, declarative illocutionary force.

(496) Nhalanuru nhonu ganhanha ŋarruwa nhonu djinikuli girriyanha?

nhalanuru ³¹⁷	nhonu ganha-nha	[ŋarruwa	nhonu djinikuli	girriy-anha]
where.from	2SG come/go-PST	before	2SG here	get.here-PST

‘Where did you live before you came here?’

(JBG226)

³¹⁷ Alternatively, *nhäkuru* ‘where to, which way, whither’ may be used.

Similarly, the scope of the imperative markers *-ŋa* and *-ya* in the main clause of (497) below are limited to the clause they occur in and do not cover the preceding finite conditional clause:

(497) Biŋu wurruku gara-ma=ŋayu wakir'dili(ŋayu) djulŋiyuŋa ŋurriya!

biŋu	wurruku	gara-ma=ŋayu	wakir' ³¹⁸ - <u>d</u> ili=ŋayu
if	will	come/go-NEU=PROM	hunt&camp-ALL=PROM

[djulŋi-yu³¹⁹-ŋa ŋurri-ya]

good-VERB-IMP sleep(alt.form)-IMP

'If/when you go camping, have a good rest (there)!' (JBG162; wäwa and Garrutju)

As surprising as it may seem, I have also encountered some subordinate clauses and combinations of these which may stand by themselves as independent utterances. They thus have their own illocutionary forces. These examples are cited in section 6.3.2.

Diessel and Gast (2012, 13) emphasise the importance of yet another aspect of desententialisation which has hardly received any attention in the finiteness discussion so far: the existence of structural slots relating to information structure in main clauses as opposed to subordinate clauses. For a number of language descriptions, I assume that the absence of such notes mainly resulted from a limited databasis. Unfortunately, this is also the case for Golpa.

The parameter of desententialisation is obviously linked to the parameters of interlacing (cross-clausal dependencies) and downgrading (degree of independence of a construction): Signs of desententialisation point to some degree of downgrading of a construction because its independence gradually ceases with the degree of its structural reduction. This reduction of clausal properties correlates with argument-related and/or predicate-related dependencies (cf. Lehmann 1988, 214f.).

(ii) Other than causative constructions (as discussed in section 7.1.1 above), there is no other process at work by which the governing (or superordinate) verbal form is grammaticalised.

³¹⁸ Here, *wakir'* is used as noun (as opposed to the infinitive form of the verb *wakir'yun.*)

³¹⁹ When repeating the sentence, wäwa and Garrutju used *djulŋiyuŋa*.

7.1.3 Isolation vs. linkage

The isolation vs. linkage dimension comprises the parameters of (i) **interlacing** and (ii) **explicitness of linking**. These features refer to the amount of shared elements and their meanings (interlacing) and to the degree to which the clauses are explicitly linked with each other (explicitness of linking).

(i) Morphosyntactic material that is shared with the preceding main clause is often omitted in the linked clause. Such cross-clausal dependencies thus indicate clause linkage (and leave behind a dependent (linked) clause). They may relate to the arguments of the verb (also referred to as *argument-related dependencies*) or to the predicate (also referred to as *predicate-related dependencies*) (cf. Diessel and Gast 2012, 18).

Like in other languages, an **argument-related dependency** is most obvious in relative clauses. In Golpa, the shared argument/participant is modified by the relative clause and is either gapped in the relative construction (as in (484)) or represented by *biŋu* which has an anaphoric function in relative clauses (as in (478)). Although the relative clause is subordinate in both examples, the non-finite relative structure in (484) is embedded, while the relative clause in (478) is not and thus can be viewed as being halfway in between (prototypical) parataxis and embedding (cf. also Lehmann 1988, 185).

Generally speaking, the absence of person marking requires coreference (cf. also Diessel and Gast 2012, 19). The **non-finite versions** of temporal structures (expressing simultaneity), purpose, manner or complement constructions are only possible if they share the subject with the main clause. The following sentence pair involving purpose constructions illustrates this:

(498) Darra garanha ŋali wurruku nha_luma mudhuŋay nhuŋ'kara ŋarriŋa.

[ŋarra gara-nha]

1SG come/go-PST

[ŋali	wurruku	nha _l u-ma	mudhuŋay
1DUincl	will	eat/drink-NEU	food

nhuŋ'-kara	ŋarri-ŋa]
2SG(alt.form)-ALLan	place-LOC

'I came to eat with you at your place.'

(JBG187a)

(lit.: 'I came (so that) you and I will/would eat at your place.')

(499) Darra garanha nha_lunhara mudhuŋaywu nhuŋ'kara.

[ŋarra	gara-nha]	[nha _l u-nhara	mudhuŋay-wu
1SG	come/go-PST	eat/drink-NOML/INF	food-GEN/DAT

nhuŋ'-kara]

2SG(alt.form)-ALLan

'I came to eat food at your place.'

(JBG187b)

In (498) the subject of the linked finite clause (i.e. *ŋali*) DIFFERS from the subject of the main clause (i.e. *ŋarra*), while the gapped subject argument in the non-finite construction in (499) can only be interpreted to be COREFERENTIAL with the subject argument of the main clause (i.e. *ŋarra*). (I return to these examples in section 7.5.5 and section 7.7.3 where other aspects of the two constructions are discussed.)

Other examples of non-finite constructions which show the obligatory deletion of a coreferential subject referent are presented in (483) and (487).³²⁰ Similar to other non-finite constructions, non-finite appositional adjuncts also show subject argument-related dependencies.

Although the majority of argument-related dependencies concern the subject argument, there are also examples in which other main clause participants are shared by the linked clause. Non-finite relative constructions, for instance, have not only been found to

³²⁰ The roles and markings of arguments in non-finite constructions are outlined in section 7.1.2 above.

modify (and thus share) the subject of the main clause (as in (486)) but also its direct object (cf. (484)).

Argument-related dependencies are not limited to non-finite constructions but may also occur in coordinate and subordinate **finite clauses**. In (500), (501), (502), (503) and (504) below the second/linked clause lacks the overt expression of the **subject referent** which is coreferential with the subject of the preceding clause: The subject *ɲarra* is shared by (and missing in) a coordinate clause in (500), (501) and (502), a finite subordinate temporal clause in (503) and a main clause in (504). (Note that the second/linked clauses in (500) and (503) also show predicate-related dependencies by sharing the TMA particles *wurruku* and *ma*, respectively. The second clause in (504) also lacks the direct object argument which can/must be contextually inferred.)

(500) Nhaɲu ɲarraɲayu wurruku dʒinidhal gara ma ga baɲuɲayu ɖuy'tjun munhamurru godarr'.

[nhaɲu	ɲarra=ɲayu	wurruku	dʒinidhal	gara-ma]
this/here	1SG=PROM	will	now	come/go-NEU

[ga	baɲu=ɲayu		ɖuy'tj-un	munhamurru	godarr']
and	here/this.way=PROM		return-NEU	tomorrow	morning

'I'll go/leave now and come back tomorrow morning.'

(RRU003)

(501) Darra garanha do'dili ga ɖutjana ɲarridiliwa.

[ɲarra	gara-nha	do'-dili]	[ga	ɖutj-ana	ɲarri-dili=wa ³²¹]
1SG	come/go-PST	store-ALL	and	return-PST	place-ALL=MOD

'I went to the store and then returned home.' (s.v. *ɲarri* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

³²¹ Note that the modal clitic form =*wa* is attached to a noun here. (The distribution and functions of this element is discussed in section 4.3.4.)

(502) Darra ma nyininya wawu rulka barrjarra nhänha Jewenha nhädili ηayi garanha.

[ηarra ma nyini-nya wawu]
1SG PROG/CONT sit(alt.form)-PST unaware

[rulka nhä-nha Jewe-nha [nhädili ηayi gara-nha]]
not see-PST Jewe-ACC where.to 3SG come/go-PST

‘I’m sitting without notice, not seeing where Jewe went.’

(s.v. *wawu* (Golpa dictionary); Garrutju)

(Note that the second coordinate clause in the above example has a complex structure (as indicated by the square brackets), consisting of the construction initial dependent coordinate clause and the subsequent complement clause (of *nhäma*), introduced by the interrogative *nhädili*.)

(503) Darra ma nyena djinikuli lurrkun’ ga ηarruba garama.

[ηarra ma nyena djinikuli lurrkun’³²²]
1SG PROG/CONT sit(NEU) here a.little(*Golpa)

[ga ηarruba gara-ma]
and(HESIT/SLIP??) before come/go-NEU

‘I am sitting here for a little before (I) leave/(I’m) leaving.’ (JBG191)

(504) Biηu ηarra nhänha ηanya ga baṭawunha nhan’kara.

[biηu ηarra nhä-nha ηanya] [ga baṭawu-nha nhan’kara]
if 1SG see-PST 3SG\ACC and give-PST 3SG.ALLan

‘Had I seen her/him (I) had given (it) to her/him.’ (JBG158)

(Similar examples involving dependent coordinate clauses are given in (447) and (545).)

As the following examples (505) and (506) demonstrate, it is possible in Golpa that a coreferential subject argument may be omitted in a subsequent clause even if its syntactic function in that clause differs from that of its overt expression in the preceding clause. The

³²² The Golpa equivalent is *gorraη*.

sentence in (506) shows the linkage of a main clause and a subordinate clause, (505) illustrates coordination:

(505) *darramu wurruku larruma nhan'ku ga maḷḷ'miyama.*

[<i>darramu</i>	<i>wurruku</i>	<i>larru-ma</i>	<i>nhan'-ku</i>]
man	will	look.for-NEU	3SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT

[*ga maḷḷ'-miya-ma*]
and turn.up/appear-CAUS-NEU

‘The man will look for him and find (him).’ (JBG326)

Whereas *darramu* (unmarked nominative) is the subject of an intransitive clause (S context), its omitted coreferential “form” in the following clause “functions” as the subject of a transitive clause (A context).³²³

A similar construction is illustrated in (506) below: The sentence initial intransitive main clause involves the overtly expressed subject argument *ḡayi* (S context) while its absent coreferential “form” is the subject of a transitive verb in the subsequent subordinate adverbial clause (A context):

(506) [...] *dhiḡanha biḡu ḡayi ḡarraku, mǎrr wurruku ḡarranha wǎḡḡayuma.*³²⁴

[<i>dhiḡa-nha</i>	<i>biḡu</i> ³²⁵	<i>ḡayi</i>	<i>ḡarra-ku</i>]
die-PST	then??	3SG(NOM)	1SG-GEN/DAT

[<i>mǎrr</i>	<i>wurruku</i>	<i>ḡarra-nha</i>	<i>wǎḡḡa-yu-ma</i>]
so.that	will	1SG-ACC	alive-make/CAUS-NEU

‘[...] then he (Jesus) died for me, so that (he) will/would make me alive.’/‘[...] then he (Jesus) died for me, so that I will/would be saved/come to life.’ (text JGG003_001b+c)

There are also three examples in which the subordinate clause lacks the subject argument although this is coreferential with the direct object argument of the preceding clause, cf., for instance,):

³²³ Note that if *darramu* was overtly expressed in the linked (second) clause, it would carry an ERG marking.

³²⁴ This sentence is a reduced version of a more complex one which is cited in section 7.8. (The complexity of the entire sample sentence is irrelevant for the current discussion.)

³²⁵ As noted in section 7.3.1, it is likely that *biḡu* actually functions as a demonstrative pronoun here.

(507) Darra nhalunha medikin märr ḡarranha wurruku wundaḡarryuma.

[ḡarra nhalu-nha medikin]
1SG eat/drink-PST medicine

[märr ḡarra-nha wurruku wundaḡarr-yu-ma]
so.that 1SG-ACC will strong-make/CAUS-NEU

‘I drank the medicine so that (it) will/would make me strong.’/‘I drank the medicine to make me stronger.’/‘I drank the medicine so that I would get stronger.’ (JBG185)

In this example, the absent subject referent in the finite purposive clause (introduced by *märr*) is coreferential with the (unmarked accusative) direct object argument *medikin* in the preceding main clause. (The other two sentences of this type involve complement clauses and are cited in (548) (= (783)), and (549) (= (784)).)

However, in most cases the second occurrence of a nominative or ergative entity is pronominalised, and not deleted, regardless of whether its syntactic function is the same (as in (508) and (509)), or not (as in (510)), or whether the relevant clause is subordinated (as in (508)) or coordinated (as in (509) and (510)).

(508) Wolgumandhu walip ḡama’ḡamayanha nyälka ḡarruwa ḡayi nhalunha mudhuḡay.

wolguman-dhu walip ḡama’ḡamay-anha nyälka
woman-ERG one make-PST bag/basket

[ḡarruwa ḡayi nhalu-nha mudhuḡay]
before 3SG eat/drink-PST food

‘The woman made a basket before she ate.’ (JBG348)

In the above sentence, the ergative-marked noun *wolgumandhu* in the main clause is represented by the (unmarked ergative) pronoun *ḡayi* in the subsequent finite subordinate temporal clause.

Similarly, in (509) the noun in the first clause (could be *watu* or *ratha*) is pronominalised in the following coordinate clause (also represented by *ḡayi*):

(509) Bul'yanha balay ma waṭu ga ratha ga ṇayiṇayu wapthana ṇal'thana ṇayi ma nyena garrwar'ba.

1 [bul'y-anha balay ma waṭu ga ratha]
 play-PST 3DU PROG/CONT dog and child

2 [ga ṇayi=ṇayu wapth-ana ṇal'th-ana]
 and 3SG=PROM jump-PST climb-PST

3 [ṇayi ma nyena garrwar'=ba]
 3SG PROG/CONT sit(NEU) top/up=MOD

'The dog and the child were playing and he jumped (and) climbed (to) sit above/on the top.'

(JBG149d)

In (510) below, the (unmarked) nominative pronominal form *ṇayi* in the second (coordinate) clause (S context) is coreferential with the ERG-marked noun *darramulu* (A context):

(510) Darramulu ṇanya maṇ'miyanha (ga) ṇayi bäl'thanha.

[darramu-lu ṇanya maṇ'-miya-nha]
 man-ERG 3SG\ACC turn.up/appear-CAUS-PST

[ga ṇayi bäl'th-anha]
 and 3SG scream-PST

'The man found him and screamed.'

(JBG325)

The above examples have shown that the second occurrence of a nominative/ergative noun (phrase) may either be deleted or pronominalised in coordinate clauses and finite subordinate clauses. Instances in which a noun re-occurs are very rare. However, it is to be pointed out that the majority of main clauses in the present Golpa corpus already contain subject pronouns (instead of nouns). In most finite adverbial clauses (which follow the main clause), the subject pronoun of the main clause is repeated (instead of being deleted).

Recall that temporal and conditional clauses often precede the main clause (cf., for instance, (504) above). In such cases, it is the main clause in which a coreferential argument is

pronominalised or deleted. (Conditional and temporal clauses are discussed in detail in section 7.5.1 and section 7.5.2, respectively.)

In finite subordinate clauses, the second occurrence of a (marked or unmarked) **direct object argument** has also been found to either be pronominalised (like *ɲanya* in (511)) or deleted (like in (512)):

(511) Damu'ɲu'lu luwal'miyanha rathanha ɲarruwa ɲayi ɲanya gurrunanha gayathadili.

[ɲamu'-ɲu-lu	luwal'miya-nha	ratha-nha]
mother-NOML-ERG	carry/lift-PST	child-ACC

[ɲarruwa	ɲayi	ɲanya	gurruna-nha	gayatha-dili]
before	3SG(ERG)	3SG\ACC	put-PST	bed-ALL

'The mother carried the child before she put it to bed.' (JBG327)

(Note that the ERG-marked subject argument *ɲamu'ɲulu* is also pronominalised in the subsequent subordinate clause (*ɲayi*).

(512) Nhaɲu ɲunhu ga djinikuli nhaɲ'kum larrunha ɲarra, rulka malɲ'miyanha, wadi'yanhawa.

[nhaɲu_ɲunhu	ga	djinikuli	nhaɲ'ku-m	larru-nha	ɲarra
over.there	and	here	that/there-DEM.SUFF	look.for-PST	1SG

[rulka malɲ'miya-nha]]	[wadi'y-anha=wa]
not find-PST	go.away/get.lost-PST=MOD

'I searched for it here and there (but) didn't find (it), (it's) gone.'

(s.v. *malɲ'miyama* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

In (512) above, the adverbial clause *rulka malɲ'miyanha* '(but) (I) didn't find (it)' shares (and lacks) both the subject argument AND the direct object argument.

Similarly, in subsequent coordinate clauses, the coreferential element may occur as a pronoun or be deleted, cf. (513) and (514), respectively. (In these examples, only line 2 and line 3 are relevant for the present discussion.) The direct object argument *nhunanha* (in line 2) re-occurs

as a pronominal form in the subsequent clause in (513, line 3) while it is deleted in (514, line 3). (Unfortunately, the present corpus only contains examples with coordinate clauses in which the first clause already involves a pronoun, and not a noun.)

(513) Biḡu ḡayi wurruku djawaryunḡayu ḡayi wurruku ḡupanba nhunanha ga buma nhunanha.

1 [biḡu ḡayi wurruku djawary-un=ḡayu]
if 3SG will be.tired-NEU=PROM

2 [ḡayi wurruku ḡupa-n=ba nhuna-nha]
3SG will chase-NEU=MOD 2SG(alt.form)-ACC

3 [ga bu-ma **nhuna-nha**]
and bite-NEU 2SG(alt.form)-ACC

‘If he (i.e. the dog) will be tired he will chase you and bite you.’ (JBG193)

(514) Biḡunḡayu wunḡan ḡayi djawaryanha ḡayi ḡupannha nhunanha ga bunhawa.

1 [biḡu=ḡayu wunḡan ḡayi djawary-anha]
if=PROM dog(*Golpa) 3SG be.tired-PST

2 [ḡayi ḡupa-nha nhuna-nha]
3SG chase-PST 2SG(alt.form)-ACC

3 [ga bu-nha=wa]
and bite-PST=MOD

‘Had that dog been tired he would have chased you and bitten (you).’ (JBG194)

(Note that in (513) and (514) the clause in line 3 also lacks the subject argument which, in both examples, is coreferential with the subject of the preceding clause.)

The direct object argument is NOT deleted in the second clause (but pronominalised) if it is coreferential with the subject argument of the preceding clause (in S or A context):

(515) Darramulu ḡarranha djuthana ga nḡaḡu waḡuyu dhartjana ḡanya.

[**darramu-lu** ɲarra-nha djuth-ana]
 man-ERG 1SG-ACC fight-PST

[ga nhaɲu waɬu-yu dhartj-ana **ɲanya**]
 and this/here dog-ERG kill-PST 3SG\ACC

‘The man hit me and the dog bit him.’ (JBG328a)

(516) *Darramulu ɲarranha djuthana ga nhaɲu waɬuyu dhartjana.

‘The man hit me and the dog bit (him).’ (JBG328b)

(I have not come across a complex sentence involving causation of the type ‘man hit woman and made her scream’ so that I cannot say whether the same deletion/pronominalisation rules also apply in these cases.)

Note that the sentences in (500), (501), (505), (513) and (514) involve argument-related dependent clauses which are coordinated by *ga* ‘and’. The examples (503), (504), (506), (512) and) show the combination of main clauses with finite subordinate clauses. Apart from (503), (506) and), there is only one other example in the present corpus that I know of in which a syndetic finite subordinate clause shows an argument-related dependency. This sentence is cited in (475). (It involves a conditional/temporal clause introduced by *biɲu* which shares (and thus lacks) the subject argument with the preceding clause.) Typical syndetic finite subordinate clauses do not show any cross-clausal dependencies, cf., for instance, (476) and (477). The only asyndetic finite clauses with an argument-related dependency are given in (502), (512), and (524). (The sentences in (502) and (524) express coordination, while (512) involves a (semantically) subordinate adverbial clause.)

(Similar observations regarding noun phrase deletion and noun phrase pronominalisation in finite clauses and non-finite constructions were also made for other Yolɲu languages such as Dhaɲu (cf. Schebeck 1976b, 523-526) Djambarrpuyɲu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 632f., 656f.) or Ritharɲu (Heath 1980, 108)).

With respect to **predicate-related dependencies**, finite and non-finite constructions show greater discrepancies. As numerous examples in previous sections have already demonstrated, non-finite constructions do not normally express **TMA distinctions** or **negation**, while finite (subordinate) clauses do. For an illustration, let us reconsider the example pair given in (498)

and (499) above. The finite subordinate clause in (498) involves an inflected verb in the NEU form and the irrealis particle *wurruku*. The construction can thus be interpreted as expressing a future or a potential situation. The non-finite counterpart construction in (499) does not express any verbal category so that its interpretation in regard to tense, mood, modality and aspect is fully dependent on the TMA expressions in the preceding main clause. (However, it is to be noted that I have come across two examples in which the non-finite clauses involve the modal clitic form =*wa*. These sentences are cited in (689) (= (269)) and (764) (= (270)).)

Although finite coordinate and adverbial subordinate clauses usually overtly express aspectual and modal notions, they have also been found to share TMA markers with the preceding (main) clause, like the irrealis particle *wurruku*. In example (500) above, for instance, the second coordinate clause indicates future time reference although it lacks the irrealis particle *wurruku* ‘will, would’. In sentences with adverbial conditional clauses, predicate-related (and argument-related) dependencies are normally expressed in the subsequent main clause, as conditional clauses usually PRECEDE the main clause. This is illustrated in (517) below:

(517) Biḡu ḡarra wurruku nhäma ḡanya ga baṭawuma nhan’kara.

[biḡu	ḡarra	wurruku	nhä-ma	ḡanya]
if/when	1SG	will	see-NEU	3SG\ACC

[ga	baṭawu-ma	nhan’kara]
and	give-NEU	3SG.ALLan

‘If I will see her/him (I will) give (it) to her/him.’

(JBG192a)

(Note that the conditional clause may also have a temporal reading: ‘When I will see her/him (I will) give (it) to her/him.’)

In this sentence, *wurruku* is omitted in the subsequent main clause although this also states a future/irrealis event. This seems to be possible because the scope of *wurruku* in the conditional covers both clauses (which are additionally linked by the conjunction *ga*). (Note that the main clause also shows an argument-related dependency, as it lacks the overt expression of the coreferential subject referent *ḡarra*.)

However, there are also some examples in which the preceding conditional lacks *wurruku*. In such cases the conditional clause shares the particle with the subsequent main clause. A sentence of this type is cited in (518):

(518) Biḡu ḡarra ḡanya nhäma ḡarra wurruku baṭawuma nhan'kara.

[biḡu ḡarra ḡanya nhä-ma]
if/when 1SG 3SG\ACC see-NEU

[ḡarra wurruku baṭawu-ma nhan'kara]
1SG will give-NEU 3SG.ALLan

'If I see her/him I will give (it) to him.' (JBG192b)

(Like in the previous examples, the conditional clause may also have a temporal reading.)

This construction is possible with conditionals since they always express an event which is to happen prior to the one stated in the main clause. In this sense, the sentence is iconic in that its structure (i.e. the order of the clauses and the deletion of *wurruku* in the conditional) mirrors the order of the events expressed. (Note that the particle *wurruku* MAY be used in the conditional clause in (518).)

Examples in which the continuous aspectual modifier *ma* is shared by a linked clause are rare. A finite adverbial clause that COULD be interpreted to share this particle with the preceding main clause (and lack it) is given in (503) above.

Apart from *wurruku* and *ma*, the modal clitic =*wa* (/=*ba*/=*pa*) has been found with an extended scope, cf. (519):

(519) Biḡuḡayu wuḡgan ḡayi dḡawaryanha ḡayi ḡupannha nhunanha ga bunhawa.

1 [biḡu=ḡayu wuḡgan ḡayi dḡawary-anha]
if=PROM dog(*Golpa) 3SG be.tired-PST

2 [ḡayi ḡupa-nha nhuna-nha [ga bu-nha=**wa**]]
3SG chase-PST 2SG(alt.form)-ACC and bite-PST=MOD

'Had that dog been tired he would have chased you and bitten (you).' (JBG194)

The above sentence consists of three clauses of which only the last two (in line 2) are of interest here: The clitic occurs in the second, dependent clause of the coordinated construction. Its scope covers the predications of both coordinate clauses. Along with other examples presented earlier, this sentence shows that coordinate clauses may share TMA markers with a linked clause. It can be assumed that they may also share the negation particle

rulka. However, the corpus (as described in section 2.5) unfortunately does not contain such an example.

Finite subordinate clauses are independently negated, as illustrated in (462) and (476), for instance.

Finite relative and complement clauses normally do not share any TMA expressions with the main clause. However, in the following example, the relative clause *COULD* be interpreted to do so:

(520) Biyam ḡarrila ma gapuḡayu bāni Gurrgalabawu Gurrgalabawu bilawuru ga babalaway nhaḡuwa.

Biyam	ḡarri-ḡa ³²⁶	ma	gapu=ḡayu
Biyam	place-LOC??(*Golpa)	PROG/CONT	water(*Golpa)=PROM

bāni	Gurrgalaba-wu	Gurrgalaba-wu
water.flowing(NEU)	Gurrgalaba-GEN/DAT	Gurrgalaba-GEN/DAT

[bilawu-ḡuru	ga	babalaway	nhaḡu-wa]
thus/like.this-ABL	and(HESIT)	any	eat/drink-PSThab

‘At Biyam is the water of/for the Gurrgalaba from which (lit. ‘from this’) everyone can/used to drink.’
(text HDG003_0542-0544)

The scope of the continuous aspect marker *ma* in the main clause could be understood to also cover the predication of the following clause, i.e. ‘At Biyam the water of the Gurrgalaba IS FLOWING from which everyone used to BE DRINKING.’

Except for independent appositional adjunct clauses, appositional adjuncts lack predicate-related categories.

In serial verb constructions, the verbal components always show an identical marking and share the elements expressing the predicate-related categories of ‘tense’, ‘mood’, ‘modality’, ‘aspect’ and ‘negation’ (if expressed).

The present/analysed corpus contains only few examples of complex sentences involving **question operators**. One such example is cited and discussed in section 7.1.2 (under the subject of illocutionary force). As may be recalled, polar questions are only marked

³²⁶ According to wāwa, this is a Mālarra form.

prosodically, i.e. by a raised intonation. Such constructions have the structural appearance of declarative clauses. Interrogation is only overtly indicated by particles in information interrogative clauses.

I have not come across a complex sentence in which a predicate is in **focus**.

Before I close the discussion of this parameter, I shall point to its relationship to the parameter of desententialisation. Interlacing has to do with the loss of clausal properties and thus strongly correlates with desententialisation: An advanced desententialised construction also shows a high degree of nominalisation and dependence, i.e. the more subordinate a construction is, the greater is the amount of material that it shares with the main clause, and the less likely it is to find this shared material overtly expressed in the subordinate construction. Compare, for instance, the finite complement clause in (521) with its non-finite counterpart construction in (522):

(521) Darra dhäl ɲarra wurruku djuthun bärünha.

ɲarra	dhäl ³²⁷	[ɲarra	wurruku	djuth-un	bäru-nha]	
1SG	want/feel	1SG	will	fight-NEU	crocodile-ACC	
'I like fighting crocodiles.'						(JBG223)

(522) Darra dhäl djuthanara bäruwu.

ɲarra	dhäl	[djuth-anara	bäru-wu]	
1SG	want/feel	fight-NOML/INF	crocodile-GEN/DAT	
'I like fighting crocodiles.'				(JBG224)

The desententialised and nominalised complement construction in (522) is more subordinate than the finite complement clause in (521) in that it lacks the overt expression of the subject referent, shows the direct object with peripheral case marking and involves the non-finite form of the verb. The subject referent and TMA notions are shared with the main clause. The finite subordinate clause, on the contrary, overtly expresses these categories.³²⁸ (Note that finite complement clauses of ‘wanting’ (i.e. of *dhäl* and *duktuk*) usually involve the particle *wurruku*.)

The gapping of shared material directly corresponds to the structural reduction/desententialisation of the subordinate construction.

³²⁷ Recall from section 4.1.1.3 that *dhäl* (in its bare form) does not inflect.

³²⁸ It can generally be stated that all three Golpa language workers generally prefer finite constructions before their non-finite counterpart expressions.

(ii) Like a number of other Yolŋu languages such as Dhaŋu varieties (cf. Schebeck 1976b, 523) or Djambarrpuyŋu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, ch. 12), complex sentences in Golpa may be construed by juxtaposition, the employment of particles and by embedding.³²⁹

Finite clauses may lack any formal marking indicating their subordinate status. (Dependent and independent) coordinate clauses as well as finite adverbial, relative and complement clauses (except for those indicating manner) have been found to occur **juxtaposed to the main clause**, i.e. they are realised as asyndetic constructions. In such cases, the clausal linkage is signalled prosodically: The linked clause is generally uttered within the sentential intonation contour which also encloses the main clause, as the attached construction precedes the low pitch indicating the end of the sentence (cf. section 7.1.1). Usually, there is no pause at the clausal juncture. Cf. (523) through (530) for illustration:

(523) Walima ŋarra yiŋu garama wandiŋdili walimaŋayu ŋarra rulka.

walima	ŋarra	yiŋu	garama	wandiŋ-dili
sometimes	1SG	usually/always	come/go-NEU	hunting-ALL

[walima=ŋayu ŋarra rulka]
 sometimes=PROM 1SG not

‘Sometimes I go hunting, sometimes I don’t.’ (JGG117)

(juxtaposed independent coordinate clause)

³²⁹ However, note that in Djinaŋ, clausal juxtaposition is almost exclusively used as a linking mechanism. In this Yolŋu language, subordinate clauses hardly ever involve an obligatory marking. Instead, a subordinate clause is “merely juxtaposed to the constituent it qualifies, typically occurring immediately following it [...]. This is true of complement clauses, relative clauses, adverbial clauses, reported speech and constructions corresponding to English participial constructions” (Waters 1989, 207).

(524) Darra dadukmiyanha waṭaba dharr’yanha bunbu.

ḡarra dadukmiya-nha waṭaba [dharr’y-anha bunbu]
1SG throw-PST rock damage/hit/kill-PST house
‘I threw the stone (and) hit the house.’ (s.v. *dadukmiyama* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)
(juxtaposed dependent coordinate clause)

(525) Nhonu wurruku garama Yurrwidili nhunanha walala wurruku dharr’yunba.

[nhonu wurruku gara-ma Yurrwi-dili]
2SG will come/go-NEU Milingimbi-ALL

nhuna-nha walala wurruku dharr’y-un=ba
2SG(alt.form)-ACC 3PL will damage/hit/kill-NEU=MOD
‘If/when you go there they will kill you.’ (JBG227)
(juxtaposed adverbial clause indicating time or condition)

(526) Rulka ḡarra ḡatha nhaḷunha ḡarra wurruku rulka warkthun.

rulka ḡarra ḡatha nhaḷu-nha [ḡarra wurruku rulka warkth-un]
not 1SG food(*Golpa) eat/drink-PST 1SG will not work-NEU
‘I did not eat (because/so/and) I won’t work.’ (JGG158)³³⁰
(juxtaposed adverbial clause indicating reason/juxtaposed coordinate clause)

**(527) Barrḡarraya djulḡi’yaga, djäga djulḡiyaga nhonu wurruku rulka ḡarraku³³¹
TVwu ḷathun.**

barrḡarra-ya djulḡi-ya-ḡa djäga³³² djulḡi-ya-ḡa
hear-IMP good-make/CAUS-IMP take.care good-make/CAUS-IMP

[nhonu wurruku rulka ḡarra-ku TV-wu ḷath-un]
2SG will not 1SG-GEN/DAT TV-GEN/DAT break-NEU
‘Listen carefully, look after it well (so that) you will not break my TV.’ (JBG186)
(juxtaposed adverbial clause indicating purpose)

³³⁰ Wāwa gave me the same construction.

³³¹ *Darraku* may be substituted by *ḡarrakuru* (1SG-BEN).

³³² Recall that *djäga* does not inflect (cf. section 4.1.1.1 and section 4.3.1).

(528) [...] Barrawuyma nhaṅu biṅu yalu ma dhärra Bukbukku [...]³³³

[Barrawuyma nhaṅu]

Barrawuyma this/here

[biṅu yalu ma dhärra Bukbuk-ku]

that nest still stand(NEU) Bukbuk(native.bird)-GEN/DAT

‘[...] Barrawuyma is (where) that nest of the Bukbuk is [...].’ (text HDG003_0808-0810)

(juxtaposed adverbial clause indicating place)

A juxtaposed adverbial clause indicating contrast is illustrated in (512).

Examples with a juxtaposed relative clause and a juxtaposed complement clause are presented in (529) (= (450)) and (530) (= (480)), respectively:

(529) Darra nhänha ḍarramunha ṅayi dharr’yanha meyalknha.

[ṅarra nhä-nha ḍarramu-nha] [ṅayi dharr’ya-nha meyalk-nha³³⁴]

1SG see-PST man-ACC 3SG damage/hit/kill-PST woman-ACC

‘I saw the man who hit the woman.’ (JBG209)

(lit. ‘I saw the man, he hit the woman.’)

(juxtaposed relative clause)

(530) Darra gayaṅanha walala nhaṅ’ku ṅambaṅambatjyanha.

[ṅarra gayaṅa-nha] [walala nhaṅ’ku ṅambaṅambatjy-anha]

1SG think-PST 3PL that/there be.sick-PST

‘I thought they were very sick.’ (JBG218)

(juxtaposed complement clause)

Appositional adjunct constructions are generally linked asyndetically. Please recall that their prosodic pattern differs from the rising-falling pattern of the other (purely) prosodically linked clauses (cf. section 7.1.1 above, or section 7.4 below for a discussion).

³³³ This sentence is a reduced version of a more complex one which is cited in section 7.5.6. (The complexity of the entire sample sentence is irrelevant for the current discussion.)

³³⁴ When I checked this sentence again on the phone, wäwa gave me *meyalktja*, containing the palatalised ACC allomorph *-tja*. Similarly, the palatalised ERG-suffix *-tju* is occasionally used instead of *-thu* (cf. section 4.3.1 for notes on the distribution of these suffix forms).

The clausal linkage of finite constructions may also be made explicit. This is accomplished by the use of conjunctive and disjunctive particles (cf. section 4.1.3.6) in coordinated clauses, by the subordinating particles *ɲarruwa* ‘before’, *ɲarru* ‘but’, *gama* or *bili* (*Golpa) ‘because’, *nhaku* ‘(that’s) why’, or *märr* ‘so that’ in adverbial clauses, or by the general subordinator *biɲu* ‘if/when, that’ which occurs in finite conditional, temporal, relative and complement clauses.³³⁵ Subordinate clauses introduced by particles or *biɲu*, are also referred to as *adjoined clauses*. I am not aware of any differences between juxtaposed (asyndetic) clauses and syndetic clauses with respect to their prosodic properties. Both types of clauses may or may not be preceded by a pause, and are uttered with the main clause within the same rising-falling intonation contour. (The clauses are then marked as belonging to one sentence, as defined in section 7.1.1.) The subordination of adjoined subordinate clauses is thus indicated prosodically AND by the presence of a subordinating particle. (The explicit linking device can be intonationally marked.)

Explicit linking devices may occur in tendentiously paratactic and hypotactic constructions (excluding embedded expressions), cf. (531) and (532), respectively.

(531) Darra wirrwapthana gama nhonu ɲarranha d̥ur’yina.

[ɲarra wirrwapth-ana]	[gama	nhonu ɲarra-nha	d̥ur’y-ina]
1SG fall.down-PST	because	2SG 1SG-ACC	push-PST

‘I fell because you pushed me.’

(JBG045a)

³³⁵ Such a universal subordinator also occurs in other Yolŋu languages. For example, in Dhaŋu varieties, the equivalent to *biɲu* is *panha*, in the Dhuwal/Dhuwala varieties Djambarrpuyŋu, Djapu and Gupapuyŋu it is *ɲunhi*.

(532) **Garray djirr'tjana baŋu munatha'dili dhiŋganha biŋu ŋayi ŋarraku, märr wurruku ŋarranha wänŋayuma.**

[Garray djirr'tj-ana baŋu munatha'-dili]

Lord descend-PST here/this.way earth-ALL

[[dhiŋga-nha biŋu³³⁶ ŋayi ŋarra-ku]

die-PST then?? 3SG 1SG-GEN/DAT

[märr wurruku ŋarra-nha wänŋa-yu-ma]]

so.that will 1SG-ACC alive-make/CAUS-NEU

'The Lord descended this way to earth, then he (Jesus) died for me, so that (he) will/would make me alive./be saved/come to life./'/'The Lord descended this way to earth, then he (Jesus) died for me, so that I will/would be saved/come to life.' (text JGG003_001a-c)

It can be concluded that there is no strong correlation between the likeliness of explicit linking and the degree of downgrading (cf. Lehmann 1988, section 4.2). However, there is a correlation between the KIND of linking device and the degree of hierarchical downgrading: Coordinating particles do not indicate any downgrading. On the contrary, the universal subordinator *biŋu* (only) downgrades the clause it is part of and thus indicates its subordinate status. Particles introducing adverbial clauses range in between the two. In contrast to *biŋu*, they carry semantic information, but also express some degree of (semantic) subordination. Therefore, *biŋu*-clauses are slightly more subordinate than clauses involving subordinating particles (like in (531) and (532) above, for instance).

Note that *biŋu* generally appears in its bare form. (This is also reported for its equivalent *ŋunhi* in Djambarrpuyŋu, Gupapuyŋu and Djapu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 655)).

The explicitness of linking also correlates with the parameter of syntactic level. The presence of an explicit device (marking the kind of relation between the main clause and the linked construction) becomes more likely, the higher the syntactic level is to which a construction is attached (cf. Lehmann 1988, 215). For an illustration, compare, for instance, the subordinate clause in) which is linked to the clause level, with the sentence in (534) which is controlled by the main clause verb:

³³⁶ This interpretation is based on information from Garrutju. However, I cannot rule out the possibility that this analysis is based on a misunderstanding. According to my knowledge of the language, the most plausible function of *biŋu* here would be that of a demonstrative pronoun (being coreferential with *ŋayi*). In that case, the first two clauses in this examples are juxtaposed coordinate clauses, as there is no coordinating element.

(533) Dayi djuthana ḡarranha ḡarruba ḡarra ḡanya djuthana.

[ḡayi djuth-ana ḡarra-nha]
3SG fight-PST 1SG-ACC

[ḡarruba ḡarra ḡanya djuth-ana]
before 1SG 3SG\ACC fight-PST

‘S/he hit me before I hit her/him.’

(JBG181)

(534) Dayi milkanha bathanhara cakegu.

[ḡayi milka-nha] [batha-nhara cake-gu]
3SG forget-PST cook-NOML/INF cake-GEN/DAT

‘She forgot to bake the cake.’

(s.v. *milkama* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

Explicit linking devices may also occur in slightly desententialised/interlaced constructions (as in) and (532)).

Embedding is most obvious in non-finite constructions (cf. (481) through (494)). Such structures generally lack a (formally independent) explicit linking device. Instead, the subordination of the construction is indicated morphologically, i.e. by use of the infinitive form of the verb and possibly also by an appropriate case marker. (The linkage may also be marked prosodically.)

Apart from non-finite constructions (of all kinds), finite relative clauses which share a constituent with the main clause (usually the subject argument) are also structurally embedded into the main clause (cf. section 7.6.3). Examples illustrating such clauses are given in (455) and (473) above.

Finite complement clauses are only semantically embedded in Golpa (cf. section 7.7).

7.1.4 Summary

I want to summarise the above findings by identifying the Golpa elaboration - compensation end poles of the subordination continuum which is defined by the six parameter continua discussed in the previous sections: To the very left, there are clauses expressing situations which have an equal semantical status with the main clauses they are attached to. They are linked either only by prosodic patterns or by coordinating (conjunctive or disjunctive) particles. Their semantical symmetry is typically reflected by their structural independence. Such prototypical non-dependent and (normally) non-subordinate relations at the very left end

of the elaboration - compensation continuum are expressed in complex sentences involving fully independent appositional adjunct clauses, coordinate clauses or juxtaposed adverbial clauses which do not show any argument-related or predicate-related dependencies.

On the contrary, prototypical subordinate structures may not stand by themselves but are prosodically, semantically and structurally integrated into the main clause that they are linked to. Such strongly subordinate and dependent structures are located at the compensation pole at the right end of the continuum. As found also in other languages (cf. Lehmann 1988, 218), highly subordinated constructions in Golpa show a very advanced degree of desententialisation and nominalisation, and are embedded on a low syntactic level. They are interlaced with the main clause and governed by its predication to a rather high degree and thus lack an explicit linking device. Such structures contain a case-marked infinitive form and a peripheral case-marked subject argument (if present). They are found in non-finite constructions expressing relativisation, simultaneity and purpose. (Non-finite complement, manner and appositional adjunct constructions do not involve a case-marked infinitive form.)

There are various other structural types in between these end poles in which the single features characterising the two extremes are less strong, or do not show prototypical correlations. These are adjoined adverbial, relative and complement clauses as well as appositional noun phrases and serial verb constructions. Table 31 below (adopted from Lehmann 1988, 217) is an attempt to summarise the variation of linked structures in Golpa, and to actually locate the different types of linked constructions on the six continua constituting/defining the elaboration – compensation continuum.

Although the table does not present a simple picture, it displays the degree to which the single features (characterising dependency and/or subordination) are realised in a certain clause type.

maximal elaboration	←.....→	maximal compensation
---------------------	---------	----------------------

weak parataxis	← ...Downgrading of linked construction... →		strong embedding
independent clauses	juxtaposed clauses with cross-clausal dependencies	adjoined clauses	governed structures
- independent coordinated clauses - independent juxtaposed adverbial clauses - independent appositional adjunct clauses ³³⁷	- appositional noun phrases - serial verb constructions	adverbial clauses introduced by particles	adverbial, relative and complement clauses introduced by <i>biju</i> ³³⁸
			- non-finite relative and complement constructions - non-finite adverbial constructions (indicating time, purpose or manner) - non-finite appositional adjunct constructions - embedded finite relative clauses which share a main clause constituent

high sentence	← ...Syntactic level of attachment... →		low word
outside main clause	at margin of main clause	inside main clause/verb phrase	attached to verb
coordinate clauses	adjoined adverbial, relative and complement clauses	- non-finite relative and complement constructions - non-finite adverbial constructions (indicating time, purpose or manner) - non-finite appositional adjunct constructions - embedded finite relative clauses which share a main clause constituent	- serial verb constructions - causative constructions
appositional adjuncts (except for the non-finite constructions)			

weak clause	←...Desententialisation of non-finite constructions... →		strong noun
	no case marking on non-finite verb form	optional case marking on non-finite verb form	obligatory case marking on non-finite verb form
	- non-finite complement constructions of verbs other than adjectival verbs - non-finite appositional adjunct constructions	non-finite complement constructions of adjectival verbs	non-finite temporal, purpose and relative constructions

³³⁷ Although appositional adjuncts are generally characterised by the paradigmatic relation that they have with a main clause component, they also occur in a linear order with the main clause, and are therefore included in the table.

³³⁸ Relative clauses which do not only involve *biju* but also the overtly expressed subject argument (*ɲayi* (3SG) in all such examples), range further left on the continuum than those lacking the pronoun.

Non-finite constructions show no illocutionary force, no TMA expression and the dispensability of arguments. If the subject or direct object function is expressed, the referents are marked by peripheral cases.

independent predicate	←...Grammaticalisation of main verb...→	grammatical operator
lexical verb		derivational suffix
all constructions but causative		causative suffixes

weak clause disjunct	←...Interlacing shown in linked construction...→		strong clauses overlapping
degree to which TMA and arguments are shared with main clause (and thus gapped in the linked construction)			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - independent coordinate clauses - independent appositional adjunct clauses - independent juxtaposed and adjoined adverbial clauses - juxtaposed relative clauses and adjoined relative clauses which also involve an overtly expressed subject argument (<i>ɲayi</i> (3SG) in all such examples) - finite complement clauses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - adjoined relative clauses lacking an overtly expressed subject argument - embedded finite relative clauses which share a main clause constituent - appositional adjunct noun phrases (by showing predicate-related dependencies) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - all non-finite constructions (by showing predicate-related dependencies, and often also argument-related dependencies) - serial verb constructions (by showing argument-related and predicate-related dependencies) 	

maximal syndesis	←...Explicitness of linking...→		minimal asyndesis
subordinating particle as explicit linking device	specific conjunction	universal subordinator (<i>biɲu</i>)	
finite adverbial clauses	coordinated clauses	finite conditional, temporal, relative and complement clauses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - non-finite temporal purpose, manner, relative and complement constructions - appositional adjunct constructions - embedded finite relative clauses which share a main clause constituent - serial verb constructions - juxtaposed clauses

Note that finite constructions of all clause types (except for adverbial clauses indicating manner) have been found to be juxtaposed to the main clause. These are (semantically) subordinated under the main clause but not dependent on it.

Table 31 Parallelism of clause linkage continua and features of Golpa constructions

Note that there is some variation amongst the clause types that are listed in a column: Not all constructions show exactly the same clausal/verbal or non-clausal/nominal properties. Also, the vertical lines in the table should not be understood to be rigid.

The previous sections have illustrated that the subordination of one clause under another may be realised by a number of constructions in Golpa, ranging from formally independent clauses in which subordination is only signalled prosodically or by the presence of a subordinator, to highly integrated and nominalised entities. (Semantic) subordination is often, but not always, reflected structurally. Of course, structurally subordinate clauses are more subordinate than only semantically subordinate clauses.

With respect to the discussed parameters, further research resulting in a growth of data (particularly in the area of the older recordings) may reveal new insights and change the above picture to some extent.

Note that due to a number of fieldwork-related circumstances, I found myself to be predominantly working with wäwa on complex sentences. Some examples were also collected from Garrutju (who considers herself a semi-speaker) and some I found in the analysed text corpus.

Non-finite temporal, purposive, relative and complement clauses are mostly produced by wäwa. Since I collected the majority of complex sentence data from him, I cannot say much about the performance of Garrutju and Nyomba in regard to such non-finite structures. The present corpus only contains three sentences from Garrutju which involve non-finite constructions: two complement clauses of adjectival verbs and one example with a non-finite relative clause. However, all types of non-finite constructions were recognised by at least one of the two sisters.

Following a number of usage-based linguists (cf. Diessel and Gast 2012, 29f., referring to Bybee 2010, Bybee and Hopper 2001, Hawkins 1994 and 2004 and Thomasello 2003), the frequent use of preferred grammatical patterns results in conventionalised linguistic structures. Grammar thus is to be viewed as a dynamic system which is influenced by “cognitive and communicative pressures involved in language comprehension and production” (Diessel and Gast 2012, 30). As we will see in various of the following sections, adjoined and juxtaposed clauses are seemingly favoured by Garrutju, Nyomba and wäwa, i.e. the use of constructions with a tendentially low degree of desententialisation, nominalisation and interlacing, and with a rather high syntactic level that the subordinate clause is attached to

is the unmarked case. (Although wāwa produced various non-finite construction types at numerous occasions, he used finite clauses more spontaneously. Even in cases where he also came up with an alternative non-finite construction of a complement clause or a purpose clause, for instance, he often gave me the finite construction first. There were also several instances in which he had to think about the non-finite structure.) It follows that the preferred finite constructions are produced more spontaneously, and occur more frequently (than the highly subordinate non-finite constructions). According to my understanding, this is one of the most striking features characterising the attrition of the Golpa language which has resulted from language disuse. Given that Garrutju and Nyomba recognise the non-finite constructions, shows that they must have acquired them. (The distinction between language attrition (i.e. the loss of elements) and acquisition failure (i.e. the incomplete language acquisition process) is considered crucial for the study of language obsolescence, and the categorisation of semi-speaker types.³³⁹ (Cf. section 2.1 for some notes concerning Golpa (semi-)speakers.)

In the following sections I discuss serial verb constructions, coordinate clauses, appositional adjuncts, adverbial clauses, relative clauses and complement clauses, and their structural realisations in turn. This approach allows me to give an overview of the amount of formal variation that was found for each clause type.

7.2 Serial verb constructions

There is no typologically applicable definition of *serial verb construction*. However, recent studies point out that the criterion of ‘single eventhood’ is crucial for the identification of a serial verb construction: “The archetypal serial verb construction consists of a sequence of two or more verbs which in various (rather strong) senses, together act like a single verb” (Durie 1997, 289f.), and thus represent a single event (cf. Durie 1979, 291, and Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006, 1). This conceptual unity (eventhood) is typically reflected by a number of connected structural features:

³³⁹ For further reading I recommend, among others, Aitchison 2001, Andersen 1982, de Bot 2007, Campbell & Muntzell 1989, Dorian 1986, 1982a, b, 1981, 1980, 1978, 1977 and 1973, Edwards 1994, 1983, Gal 1989, Hill 1989, Menn 1989, Montrul 2008, Sasse 1992 and Tsunoda 2004.

- (i) shared grammatical categories
- (ii) marking of grammatical categories
- (iii) shared arguments
- (iv) monoclausality
- (v) intonational properties
- (vi) contiguity
- (vii) wordhood (cf. Bisang 2009, 805 (with reference to Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006, section 1.2 and section 1.4)).

While the notion *event(hood)* is too fuzzy to serve as sole definition, these formal criteria form a relatively concrete and cloudless basis on which a serial verb construction may be identified. The number of features involved in serial verb constructions, and their combinations can be expected to vary across languages.

I now address each of these factors in turn and discuss their relevance with respect to Golpa constructions. (For the reader's convenience, the serial verb constructions are highlighted in the gloss lines.)

Consider the following examples (535) through (547):

(535) Ga ṅäyīṅu Dhurpuṅuru yolṅu waw'yala girriyala Biyam ma.

ga	ṅäyīṅu	Dhurpu-ṅuru	yolṅu
and	HESIT	Dhurpu-ABL	person

waw'y-ala	girriy-ala	Biyam	ma
get.up(intr.)-PSThab	get.here(intr.)-PSThab	Biyam	PROG/CONT

‘And people from there, Dhurpuṅa, were getting up (and) arriving at Biyam.’

(text HDG003_0634)

(536) Durranharaṅuru ṅarra waw'yanha wuṅathanha.

ṅurra-nhara-ṅuru	ṅarra	waw'y-anha	wuṅath-anha
sleep(alt.form)-NOML/INF-ABL	1SG	get.up(intr.)-PST	feel.better(intr.)-PST

‘After sleeping I felt much better.’ (s.v. *wuṅathun* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(lit. ‘From sleeping I woke up feeling better.’)

(537) Dayi ma ḡurrḡurr’yanha ḡurrunha, galki dhinganhara.

[ḡayi	ma	ḡurr’ḡurry-anha	ḡurru-nha]
3SG	PROG/CONT	be.very.sick(intr.)-PST	sleep(alt.form)(intr.)-PST

galki dhinganhara

near die-NOML/INF

‘He was lying feeling awful, nearly dying/soon to die.’ (JBG214c; wāwa and Garrutju)

(538) Dayi munana³⁴⁰ ḡarraku mudhuḡay (ga) ḡarra häp gulkmiyanha ganāḡ’miyanha biḡulumḡu mittjiwu.

ḡayi	muna-na	ḡarra-ku	mudhuḡay
3SG	carry/take-PST	1SG-GEN/DAT	food

[ga	ḡarra	häp	gulkmiya-nha	ganāḡ’miya-nha
and	1SG	some??	cut(tr.)-PST	separate(tr.)-PST

biḡulum-gu

mittji-wu]

that(alt.form)-GEN/DAT group/PL³⁴¹-GEN/DAT

‘He brought me food and I gave the mob some of it.’

also: ‘He brought me food and I cut it to separate it for that mob.’ (JBG201)

The above four constructions are good examples for the limited sufficiency of a purely semantic definition of a serial verb construction: While all of them formally show all characteristics of a typical serial verb construction, some would not necessarily be identified as such if one would only apply the semantic criterion of ‘eventhood’, consider, for instance, the construction in (535).

³⁴⁰ This sentence was also given to me with the shared Yolḡu form *gä-nha* (take/carry-PST) instead of *munana*.

³⁴¹ While *mittji* is commonly used in a number of Yolḡu varieties meaning ‘group, mob, tribe, family’ (s.v. *mittji* (Yolḡu Matha Dictionary (Zorc 1986)), *mittji* is also used as a plural marker in Golpa. Due to the semantic closeness of the two functions of *mittji* it is often impossible to tell them apart. This item is orthographically represented as being a word. Its independent status becomes obvious in examples like this where both *mittji* and its preceding nominal are case-marked. (In Warramiri, the plural marker *warra* is also represented as a separate word (cf. McLellan 1992, 197 (ex 16)).)

(543) [...] djäga ŋali wurruku ma nyena.

djäga ŋali wurruku ma **nyena**
take.care(intr.)(NEU) 1DUincl will PROG/CONT sit(intr.)(NEU)
‘[...] (and) we will take care (of us/ourselves) while being (here).’ (text JBG005_0020)

(544) Darra ŋurrunha miriŋuyinya.

ŋarra **ŋurru-nha** **miriŋu-yi-nya**
1SG sleep(alt.form)(intr.)-PST bad-INCH/VERB(intr.)-PST
‘I did not sleep well.’ (s.v. *miriŋu* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(545) Bulnha ŋalima garamawa dhokamawa ga dhal’yun dhurruwarra.

[bulnha ŋalima **gara-ma=wa** **dhoka-ma=wa**]
slowly 1PLincl come/go(intr.)-NEU=MOD walk(intr.)-NEU=MOD

ga dhal’y-un dhurruwarra
and close-NEU door
‘We (would) walk slowly and close the door.’ (s.v. *bulnha* (1) (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(546) Walala darr’tarrtjanha mudhuŋay nhalunha.

walala **darr’tarrtj-anha** mudhuŋay **nhalu-nha**
3PL chew(tr.)-PST food eat(tr.)-PST
‘They chewed the food.’ (s.v. *darr’tarrtjun* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(547) Dur’ya dhurruwarra lapmiyaŋa!

dur’y-a dhurruwarra **lapmiya-ŋa**
push(tr.)-IMP door open(tr.).CAUS-IMP
‘Push the door open!’ (JBG045c)

In the following paragraphs, all above Golpa examples are discussed in regard to the structural features that were identified as characterising a serial verb construction (see (i), (ii), (iii), (iv), (v), (vi) and (vii) above). Note that the discussion of each individual feature is indicated by identical numbering (i.e. by (i), (ii), (iii), (iv), (v), (vi) and (vii)).

(i) The verbs in a Golpa serial verb construction show an identical inflection and share the expression of TMA particle(s) and modality clitic forms (if expressed).

The TMA particles *wurruku* (when indicating future time reference, not modal notions)³⁴⁴ and *ma* (indicating continuous aspect) occur only once within the clause, covering the entire construction.³⁴⁵ The construction in (543) involves both markers. The negation particle *rulka* is also shared by both verbal components, as illustrated in (539).

The modal clitic form =*wa* in (545) is attached to both verbs. Contrary to this example, it is only carried by the last verb of the construction in (551) below. However, I cannot say whether it has scope over both verbs there or not. The function of this element is not perfectly clear at this point and requires further investigation. (Cf. section 4.3.4 for a discussion of this clitic form and the seemingly related forms =*ba* and =*pa* with respect to their grammatical status, distributional behaviour and understood meaning.)

(ii) The identification of a serial verb construction is easiest in cases where only one of the verbs is marked for the relevant grammatical categories. However, there are languages in which all verbs show equal marking (cf. Bisang 2009, 801). In Golpa, for instance, all verbal components of the serial verb construction show an identical inflection, indicating the same tense-mood-modality-aspect distinctions.³⁴⁶

(iii) The verbal components of a serial verb construction at least share the subject argument. (In (539) and (541) the verbs have the same addressee.) If both verbs are transitive, as is the case in (538), (542), (546) and (547) above, they also have to share the direct object argument (which is *häp*, *rathanha*, *mudhuṇay* and *dhurruwarra*, respectively). If this is not the case, a sentence can readily be ruled out as illustrating a serial verb construction, like the following two examples:

³⁴⁴ Note that *wurruku* is only shared by two clauses when it is involved in the expression of future time reference (meaning ‘will’). Its scope has not been found to be extended to another clause when it functions as a modal device (meaning ‘would’).

³⁴⁵ For a discussion of the relevance of temporal operators (such as temporal adverbials, temporal clauses or tense markers) in serial verb constructions, I refer to the study of Bohnemeyer et al. (2007). The authors have shown that the presence of temporal operators allows a more exact definition of the otherwise rather fuzzy notion of “event”.

³⁴⁶ Recall that person is not marked on the verb but expressed by independent pronouns.

(548) Darra ḡanya guḡga'yanha yirrpāna dharpa.

ḡarra	ḡanya	guḡga'y-anha	[yirrpā-na	dharpa]
1SG	3SG\ACC	help-PST	plant-PST	tree/stick

'I helped him plant a tree.' (JBG216a)

(549) Darra ḡanya guḡga'yanha djuthana bāru.

ḡarra	ḡanya	guḡga'y-anha	[djuth-ana	bāru]
1SG	3SG\ACC	help-PST	fight-PST	crocodile

'I helped him kill the crocodile.' (JBG216b)

The lack of a shared direct object argument disqualifies these examples from being counted among serial verb constructions. In both examples, the verbs are transitive, but they have distinct direct object arguments: In both sentences, the direct object argument of *guḡga'yanha* is *ḡanya*. However, the direct object of the second verb is *dharpa* in (548), and *bāru* in (549). These examples illustrate combinations of a main clause with a (juxtaposed) finite clause showing an argument-related dependency: The juxtaposed dependent clause lacks the subject argument which is coreferential with the direct object argument of the main clause (*ḡanya*). In both sentences the linked clause could be regarded as a complement of the verb *guḡga'yun* (NEU form)³⁴⁷ 'help' in the preceding main clause. Thus, the constructions in (548) and (549) look like what is called an *object control* structure (cf. Stiebels 2007, 1).³⁴⁸ (In both sentences, the complement clause involves a transitive verb. However, since these are the only examples of this type, I cannot make a definite statement about whether the use of a transitive verb in such complement clauses is a structural requirement.)

It is to be pointed out that the "covert controllee" of the complement clause (as referred to by Stiebels (2007)) may optionally be overtly expressed by the pronominal form *ḡayi* 's/he, it'.

Note that the verbs in the example series (535) through (547) agree in transitivity. Except for those in (538), (542), (546) and (547), the verbs in these examples are intransitive. Although the verbs most often have the same valency, this is not a requirement.³⁴⁹ We have

³⁴⁷ Recall that, I use the NEU form of the verb as the citation form. (This is also done in other Yolḡu descriptions where this form is often referred to as *verb form I*, *Primary form of the verb* or *FIRST form*.) Occasionally, I use the NEU form in the discussion of an example, instead of the actually occurring verb form. In such cases, the use of the citation form is indicated as done above.

³⁴⁸ These sentences will re-occur and be commented on again in section 7.7.2.

³⁴⁹ The terms *transitivity* and *valency (value)* are used synonymously here.

already come across such an instance in (541) where the verbs of the second serial verb construction (i.e. *djäga* (intr.) and *djulñiyana* (tr.)) have different valency values. Consider also the following examples:

(550) Darra ma nhaḷuma mudhuḡay nyena.

ḡarra	ma	nhaḷu-ma	mudhuḡay	nyena
1SG	PROG/CONT	eat/drink(tr.)-NEU	food	sit(intr.)(NEU)

‘I am eating while sitting.’ (JBG172b)

(lit. ‘I am eating (and) sit(ting).’)

(551) [Walala] djirrtjala nhaḷuwawa.³⁵⁰

walala	djirrtj-ala	nhaḷu-wa=wa
3PL	descend(intr.)-PSThab	eat/drink(tr.)-PSThab=MOD

‘(They) used to go down (and/to) drink(ing) (the water).’ (text HDG003_0322)

(552) Walala garanha rakaranha ḡarraku gunhu’ ḡalpamdjinya [...].³⁵¹

[walala	gara-nha	rakara-nha]
3PL	come/go(intr.)-PST	tell(tr.)-PST

ḡarra-ku	gunhu’	<u>ḡalpam-dji-nya</u>
1SG-GEN/DAT	father	dead-INCH/VERB-PST

‘They came (and) told (me) (that) my father died [...].’ (JBG177)

³⁵⁰ This sentence is taken from a text recorded by Bernhard Schebeck in the 1965/1966. The speaker is Djingulul, the father of my three language workers. As outlined in section 6.1, the subject of a sentence is not always repeated in such traditional narrations but usually omitted once it was given. *Walala* was added to this construction by me and thus appears in square brackets. Neither did the speaker utter the direct object argument *gapu* (*Golpa) or *ḡarkula* ‘water’.

³⁵¹ The first clause *walala garanha rakaranha* ‘they came (and) told/said’ may be expanded by adding a direct object to *rakaranha*, e.g. *walala garanha ḡarranaha rakaranha* ‘they came (and) told ME’. This ACC-marked object would then only be an argument of the (di)transitive verb form *rakaranha*. Note also that the conjunction *ga* ‘and’ is allowed between the verbal components of this serial verb construction. However, unfortunately I have not had the chance to find out whether this is a general feature of serial verb constructions in Golpa. (This sentence is a reduced version of a more complex one which is cited in section 7.5.2. (The complexity of the entire sample sentence is irrelevant for the current discussion.))

(553) Darra wurruku garama guwatjman wolgumanha ḡalinyu wurruku nhaḡuma ḡutjatja.³⁵²

[ḡarra wurruku	gara-ma	guwatj-man	wolguman-nha]
1SG will	come/go(intr.)-NEU	visit(tr.)-NEU	woman-ACC

ḡalinyu	wurruku	nhaḡu-ma	ḡutjatja
1DUexcl	will	eat/drink-NEU	fish

‘I will go (and) visit the woman (so that) we will eat fish together.’

(s.v. *guwatjman* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

(lit. ‘I will go (and) visit the woman, her and I will eat fish.’)

In the above constructions, the transitive verb is the grammatically dominant one, as it governs the core arguments. In a number of cases, it is also semantically dominant, as the intransitive verb usually functions as an adverbial modifier to this main predication.³⁵³ In (553), for instance, this modification could be rendered by the following translation: ‘I will visit her by going (there)’. However, note that some constructions consisting of verbs which agree in transitivity can also be interpreted to express such modifying notions. Reconsider, for example, the sentences in (546) and (547) where the first verb could be understood to function as the modifying component of the construction, i.e. ‘they ate the food (by) chewing it’ and ‘open the door (by) pushing it’, respectively.

The (grammatical) status of the transitive verb as being the main verb of the construction becomes particularly apparent in sentences in which the direct object is overtly expressed, as is the case in (550) and (553) above. Note that the direct object *mudhuḡay* in (550) is zero-marked, while the direct object *wolguman-nha* in (553) carries overt ACC case marking.³⁵⁴ These object arguments, of course, are only the arguments of the transitive verbs and are not shared by the intransitive verbs.

Apart from their valency disagreement, the verbal components of the serial verb constructions in (550) through (553) show the main characteristics of this constructions type

³⁵² The attached finite clause *ḡalinyu wurruku nhaḡuma ḡutjatja* ‘her and I will eat fish’ may also occur in this sentence as a non-finite construction, i.e. *Darra wurruku garama guwatjman wolgumanha [ḡutjatjauw nhaḡunhara]*. This fact, that the serial verb construction *garama guwatjman* may even take on a structurally embedded complement construction, shows that the semantic linkage between the two verbal components of the serial verb construction is rather strong.

³⁵³ This is also described by Wilkinson (1991, 390) for Djambarrpuyḡu

³⁵⁴ As outlined in section 4.2, an entity in the undergoer role may lack overt accusative marking if this interpretation (of its semantic role) is the only one possible.

(as defined above): They share the subject argument, the aspect particle *ma* (if expressed, as in (550)), they agree in inflection, and are not connected by any sort of explicit marker. Also, these sentences can easily be interpreted as referring to a single event.

(iv) A main indicator of monoclausality is the sharing of arguments and grammatical categories. Note that a Golpa serial verb construction is the only complex construction type in which the continuous aspectual modifier *ma*³⁵⁵ (PROG/CONT, indicating the continuity of an action/event) always has scope over both verbs, cf. (535), (537), (543) and (550). (The syntactic position of *ma* does not affect its scope.) In other complex sentences, *ma* normally only covers the predicate of the clause it is part of. This behaviour is a clear indication that the verbs in serial verb constructions do not belong to separate clauses but constitute a complex predicate within a single clause, representing a single event.

Similarly, the negation particle *rulka* has scope over both verbs in a serial verb construction (cf. (539)). Only in sentences involving an infinitive, its scope also extends to the attached (non-finite) construction. However, since non-finite expressions are embedded into and thus part of the same/main clause, these instances actually provide further evidence that serial verb constructions (also) belong to a single clause. (In cases other than serial verb constructions, the scope of *rulka* is limited to the clause it occurs in.)

As illustrated in the examples (543) and (553), the particle *wurruku* also has scope over both verbs of a serial verb construction. Note that *wurruku* also covers both verbs in examples involving coordinate clauses (cf., for instance, (500) and (517)³⁵⁶).

Given that the components of a serial verb construction belong to a single clause and that they share all expressed grammatical categories, both verbs are also under the same illocutionary force (cf. Cristofaro 2003, 19).

³⁵⁵ Besides *ma*, aspectual notions may also be expressed by the particles *badak* ‘still, keep (doing something)’ and *yijū* ‘usually, always’. However, they have not been found to occur in serial verb constructions. In complex sentences, their scope is limited to the predication of the clause they are part of.

³⁵⁶ Apart from *wurruku*, the linked dependent clause of this example also lacks the subject argument (which is coreferential with the main clause subject).

(v) The intonation of a serial verb construction in Golpa is identical to the intonation of a monoverbal clause (and does not involve a rising-falling intonation). In some of the sentences where the verbs are contiguous/stand next to each other, there is no pause between them (cf. (537), (538) and (541)). In other examples, I noticed a pause separating the two verbal components however. It thus seems that the absence of a pause is irrelevant for the definition of a Golpa serial verb construction.

(vi) Most definitions of serial verb constructions include the feature that the verbal components occur juxtaposed, i.e. without any connective marker (cf., for example, Foley and van Valin 1984, 198, or Lehmann 1988, 190) that indicates coordination or subordination (cf. Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006, 1). The above Golpa examples demonstrate this. However, since there is no required word order in this language, the verbs of a serial verb construction do not need to be contiguous but may be interrupted by a number of other constituents. This is illustrated in the examples (543), (546), (547) and (550).³⁵⁷

(vii) In Golpa, the components of a serial verb construction are individual words. They show the same properties that they have when they are used in monoverbal clauses.

To summarise the above discussion, serial verb constructions in Golpa are (mainly) characterised by shared argument(s), the equal marking of identical categories which includes the sharing of markers indicating aspect, negation and future time reference (if expressed), and the absence of a connective marker.

Although there are a few constructions involving *garama* ‘come, go’, it does not appear to be extraordinarily productive in combining with other verbs.

Serial verb constructions are also reported from the Dhuwal language Djambarrpuyŋu. The sentence in (554) below illustrates that they are analogous to Golpa constructions: The two transitive verbs show an identical inflection and share both the subject and the direct object argument. Also, the Djambarrpuyŋu example does not involve any connective device.

³⁵⁷The constructions in (543) and (550) receive more attention in section 7.5.2 where they are discussed together with their non-finite counterpart constructions.

Djambarrpuyŋu

(554) dharəŋar	nhäŋal	ŋarra	ŋanya
dharəŋa-r	nhä-ŋal	ŋarra	ŋanya
understand(tr)-PST	see(tr)-PST	1SG	3SG\ACC

‘I recognised her/him’

(Dip; MW 1991, 390)

(For a better understanding, I have changed the annotation according to my definitions.)³⁵⁸

(Although I have not come across an explicit description of serial verb constructions in other Yolŋu languages, I assume that they also make use of such complex predicates.)

In Golpa, most serial verb constructions contain two verbs from a semantically and grammatically open/unrestricted class. Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006, 21) refer to them as *symmetrical serial verb constructions*. The components of these constructions are interpreted as being semantically related, expressing simultaneous manner, immediate consecutive actions, cause-effect sequences or synonymous propositions (cf. Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006, 28-30 for this classification). In Golpa, symmetrical serial verb constructions have been found to mainly communicate simultaneous manner (cf. (546) and (547)) and immediate consecutive actions (cf. (536), (537) and (538)). However, not all constructions neatly fall into these semantic categories. The serial verb construction in (538), for instance, could also be interpreted to express simultaneous manner. This construction is also open to yet another reading: In this sentence, the two verbs *gulkmiyanha* ‘cut’ and *ganəŋ’miyanha* ‘separated’ can be interpreted to have an almost synonymous meaning. When looking from this perspective, their combination can be taken to intensify the semantic component of ‘sharing (the food with the others)’. The constructions in (536) and (537) could also be interpreted to communicate simultaneous manner. In (547), the verbal components could alternatively be taken to express a cause-effect sequence.

Similar to Djambarrpuyŋu, the unrestricted verb class in Golpa “is open to any combination that is semantically felicitous” (Wilkinson 2004, 27).

Following Aikhenvald & Dixon (2006, 21), there are also **asymmetrical serial verb constructions**, i.e. constructions involving a verb from a closed/restricted class. In (541), (542), (543) and (544), an unrestricted verb is combined with a verb from a GRAMMATICALLY RESTRICTED CLASS.

³⁵⁸ The original annotation is as follows:

dharəŋa+r	nhä+ŋal	ŋarra	ŋanya
understand(tr)+3rd	see(tr)+3rd	1sg	3sg-ACC

In (541) and (542), the serial verb constructions consist of a verb from an unrestricted class and a CAUS-marked verbalised adjective which directly follows the former. The sentence in (541) contains two serial verb constructions of this kind. There, all verbal components (but the unchanging verb *djäga* ‘take care’) overtly indicate imperative mood.³⁵⁹ (The (slight) integration of the subsequent declarative clause is signalled by the absence of an intonation break.) The verbs in (542) appear in the PST form, marking the actions as past events.

Like the second serial verb construction in (541), the construction in (543) also involves *djäga* which belongs to the grammatically closed class of unchanging (non-inflecting) verbs. Here, it combines with the verb *nyena* ‘sit, stay, live/exist’. (Note that in this sentence *nyena* takes on its function as an existential verb.)

The sentence in (544) shows a serial verb construction consisting of a form of the unrestricted verb *ɲorra* (NEU form) ‘sleep’ and the verbalised adjective *miriɲuyirri* (NEU form) ‘be/become bad’. Both components appear in the PST form of the verb.

Golpa also has serial verb constructions which involve verbs from SEMANTICALLY RESTRICTED CLASSES. According to Aikhenvald and Dixon (2006, 3), verbs of motion and posture can be regarded as belonging to such semantically closed classes. Consequently, the constructions in (535), (539), (540), (545), (551), (552) and (553) (for motion verbs)³⁶⁰, as well as (543) and (550) (for the posture verb *nyena*) illustrate such semantically asymmetrical serial verb constructions. In such constructions, the verb from the closed class may (but does not have to) be interpreted as modifying the other verbal component. In constructions involving two semantically restricted verbs, like in (539) and (545), it seems that the second one takes on the modifying function. In (539), for instance, this modifying meaning could be translated by ‘don’t go in a leaving manner’.

The serial verb constructions in the following five examples deviate from the (semantically) asymmetrical constructions above in that a SEMANTICALLY IMPOVERISHED VERB is, to some degree, (semantically) dependent on a second, semantically dominant verb which adds an explicit meaning and thus makes the construction interpretable. In Golpa, such a semantically dependent verb is *birrka’yun* ‘try, think’. Although it may occur independently (as in (119) =

³⁵⁹ Recall that the verbal components in these two constructions do not have the same valency value.

³⁶⁰ Note that in the sentences involving only one motion verb, this element always precedes the other verbal component. However, this does not appear to be a requirement.

(668), for instance), it seems to be used more often in combination with another verb or a complement clause (cf. section 7.7.2 for the latter case).

(555) Darra ma birrka'yun guyakthun ɲutjatja.

ɲarra	ma		birrka'y-un		guyakth-un	ɲutjatja
1SG	PROG/CONT		try/think-NEU		fish(tr.)-NEU	fish

‘I’m trying to catch fish.’/‘I’m thinking about fishing.’

(s.v. *birrka'yun* (1) (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(556) Darra wurruku rulka birrka'yun garama nhuɲ'kara ɲarriɖili.³⁶¹

ɲarra	wurruku	rulka	birrka'y-un	gara-ma
1SG	will	not	try/think-NEU	come/go(tr.)-NEU

nhuɲ'-kara	ɲarri-ɖili
2SG(alt.form)-ALLan	place-ALL

‘I will not try to go to your place.’/‘I will not think about going to your place.’ (JBG216e)

At first sight, the above constructions may appear to be instances of complementation with subject control (i.e. where the subject of the “main clause” verb *birrka'yun* is identified with the covert subject of the subsequent dependent finite clauses *guyakthun ɲutjatja* and *garama nhuɲ'kara ɲarriɖili*).³⁶² However, in Golpa, finite complement clauses normally involve an OVERTLY expressed subject argument. (Neither can the above two sentences be analysed as containing non-finite complement constructions, as there are no infinitive forms involved.) When considering the features characterising a serial verb construction in Golpa (as defined in (i) through (vii) above), these examples actually present us with relatively typical cases of that construction type, at least from a formal point of view. The strongest argument for the treatment of these constructions as serial verb constructions is the scope of the continuous marker *ma* in (555) and the negation particle *rulka* in (556).³⁶³

³⁶¹ According to my data, the second verb and the ALL constituents in (556) could also be uttered as a finite complement clause by repeating the (same) subject and the irrealis particle: *Darra wurruku rulka birrkayun ɲarra wurruku garama nhuɲ'kara ɲarriɖili*. ‘I will not try, I WILL go to your place.’ The particle *rulka* then only covers the clause it is part of.

³⁶² For more information on subject and object control structures, please see Stiebels (2007).

³⁶³ Note that such structures have non-finite counterpart constructions which could be chosen by the speaker instead. These are discussed in section 7.7.3.

Note that the gloss of *birrka'yun* lacks information concerning the valency value. This is because this verb is one of few items with a “fluid transitivity”, as Melanie Wilkinson (2004, 30) calls it. For Djambarrpuyŋu, she lists the following verbal forms belonging to this class: *ŋurru'yirryun* ‘begin’ and *badatjun* ‘miss, fail’, *birrka'yun* ‘try’, *dhawar'yun* ‘finish’, *mirithirr* ‘do intensely, *bitjan* ‘do thus’ and *nhaltjan* ‘do what’. They have been found to occur independently and in serial verb constructions (ibid). Note that all these verbs also show a certain degree of semantic impoverishment. With respect to Golpa, besides *birrka'yun*, I have detected only one other semantically impoverished verb to co-occur with another verb: the interrogative verb *nhäpiyan* ‘do what’³⁶⁴ (Golpa equivalent of Djambarrpuyŋu *nhaltjan*). The use of *nhäpiyan* in serial verb constructions is illustrated in (557), (558) and (559) below. However, note that this word only rarely occurs in the present corpus.

(557) Rulka ŋarra ma girrirri'yun nhäpiyan nhonu ma waŋa.

rulka ŋarra ma girrirri'y-un
not 1SG PORG/CONT be.happy.with-NEU

[nhäpiya-n	nhonu	ma	waŋa]	
do.what/how-NEU	2SG	PROG/CONT	say(NEU)	
‘I’m not happy with how you are speaking.’				(JGG160b) ³⁶⁵

³⁶⁴ Note that according to my data, *nhäpiyan* does not seem to take the full range of verbal inflections. It is thus not only semantically impoverished but also grammatically restricted.

³⁶⁵ It needs to be pointed out, that wäwa did not accept this sentence. Instead, he would choose a combination of a main clause with a non-finite construction: *Rulka ŋarra ma girrirri'yun [nhuŋ'ku waŋanhara]*. (nhuŋ-ku waŋanhara 2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT say-NOML/INF) ‘I am not happy [talking to him]’. However, note that his construction has a different meaning, too.

(558) Nhäpiyan nhonu ma girrirri'yun nhan'ku djutanhara?

[nhäpiya-n nhonu ma girrirri'y-un]
do.what/how-NEU 2SG PROG/CONT be.happy.with-NEU

nhan'-ku djuth-anara
3SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT fight-NOML/INF

'You are happy you hit him?' (JBG306)

(559) Nhäpiyan ñarra wurruku rakaramañayu biñu ñayi ñarraku dhälñayu?

[nhäpiya-n ñarra wurruku rakara-ma=ñayu]
do.what/how-NEU 1SG will tell-NEU=PROM

biñu ñayi ñarra-ku dhäl=ñayu]
that 3SG 1SG-GEN/DAT want/feel=PROM

'How will I tell that he (Jesus) loved me?' (text JGG003_003a+b)

The above constructions involving *birrka'yun* or *nhäpiyan* also show the major features characterising a Golpa serial verb construction: The verbs share the subject argument, show an identical inflection and are covered by the scope of the particles *ma* or *wurruku* which only occur once in the clause. In the last two examples, the serial verb constructions even take a complement clause (which indicates a rather strong semantic linkage between the two verbs of the serial verb construction): In (558), the complex predicate *nhäpiyan girrirri'yun* takes a non-finite complement construction. In (559), *nhäpiyan rakaramañayu* governs an adjoined finite complement clause. Contrary to these examples, the serial verb construction in (557) (involving *nhäpiyan* and *wañä*) is part of the attached (finite complement) clause.

Although the outlined definition of a serial verb construction above provides clear criteria for the identification of such structures, there are a number of **problematic cases** where this decision cannot be made without hesitation. These instances are discussed here. (For convenience purposes, the discussions of these examples are numbered.)

1) The following sentences are similar to those in (550) through (553) in that the verbs also have different valency values. However, these cases are problematic because the verbs only SEMANTICALLY share the subject argument.

(560) Bärulu nhaluma ma ɲutjatja rurr'yun.

bäru-lu	nhalu-ma	ma	ɲutjatja	rurr'y-un
crocodile-ERG	eat/drink(tr.)-NEU	PROG/CONT	fish	walk(intr.)-NEU

‘The crocodile is eating while walking.’ (JBG173b)
 or: ‘The crocodile is eating (and) walk(ing).’

(561) Darramulu nhalunha ɲutjatja ɲarruwa bärulu garanha bunha darramunha.

[darramu-lu	nhalu-nha	ɲutjatja]		
man-ERG	eat/drink-PST	fish		

[ɲarruwa	bäru-lu	gara-nha	bu-nha	darramu-nha]
before	crocodile-ERG	come/go(intr.)-PST	hit(tr.)-PST	man-ACC

‘The man ate the fish before the crocodile, that came, killed the man.’ (JBG179)
 or: ‘The man ate the fish before the crocodile came (and) killed the man.’

The intransitive verbs *rurr'yun* (NEU form) ‘walk’ (in (560)) and *garama* (NEU form) ‘come, go’ (in (561)) do not take an ERG-marked subject argument. This case marking is triggered by the co-occurring transitive verbs *nhaluma* (NEU form) ‘eat, drink’ and *buma* (NEU form) ‘hit, kill’, respectively. In (561), *bäru* is marked (by ERG –*lu*) as the new actor/subject of the sentence (replacing *darramulu* of the preceding main clause). *Bärulu* is the semantic subject of *garanha* and *bunha* but only the grammatical subject of *bunha*. Similarly, the ERG-marked *bärulu* in (560) is only the semantic subject of the intransitive verb *rurr'yun*.

The intransitive verbs *rurr'yun* (in (560)) and *garanha* (in (561)) can be interpreted to modify the ERG-marked nominal *bärulu* in both sentences. They can therefore be taken to function as relative “clauses”, i.e. *bärulu nhaluma ma ɲutjatja [rurr'yun]* ‘the crocodile [that is walking] is eating the fish’, and *bärulu [garanha] bunha darramunha* ‘the crocodile [that came] killed the man’. (Other relative clauses of this type are cited and discussed in section 7.6.3.)

However, it seems that the finite relative “clauses” *rurr'yun* and *garanha* in (560) and (561) are appositive relative clauses which may be interpreted to have a coordinating

function. (Corresponding translations are given below the above examples.) The connection between the “relative clause-analysis” and the “coordination-analysis” is discussed in section 7.6.2.

Despite these analytical options, there also exists the possibility that the above two examples do illustrate serial verb constructions: The relative “clauses” in (560) and (561) solely consist of a verbal component which shows an identical inflection with the other verb. In (560), both verbs even share the continuous aspect particle *ma*. As just noted above, the two constructions are similar to the examples in (550) through (553) in that the two involved verbal components disagree in their transitivity. However, note that the subject arguments in (560) and (561) are expressed by nouns, while they are expressed by pronouns in (550) through (553). With respect to the indication of core case values, nouns show overt ergative and accusative marking, and are zero-marked in the nominative case. Pronouns, on the contrary, are only overtly marked accusative. Without overt marking, pronouns can thus have an either ergative or nominative case value (depending on whether they occur in either A or S context). This means that subject pronouns do not formally change in accordance to the valency of the governing verb. It is for that reason that the discrepancy between the semantic subject and the grammatical marking of this subject only shows strikingly in sentences like (560) and (561) where the subject argument is expressed by a noun. (For a discussion of core case values and case markings see section 4.2 and its subsections.)

To summarise the above thoughts, it can be said that the constructions in (560) and (561) range between what I have defined as *serial verb constructions* and *embedded finite relative clauses (that share a main clause constituent)*.³⁶⁶

2) As illustrated by all (clear) examples above, the great majority of serial verb constructions are finite. However, where there is a rule, exceptions may be expected. A counterexample to this “finiteness rule” is given in (562) below where the two “verbal” components are non-finite:

³⁶⁶ In regard to (561), please note that there is a small chance that the speaker corrected *garanha* to *bunha*. Since this is one of the few sentences that were not audio or video recorded, I cannot say to what extent the intonation of the sentence would support any of the analytic possibilities. The sentence in (560) is not on a recording either.

(562) Biju(ɲayu) ɲarraku wurruku walu garanhara malthanhara nhuŋ'ku.

biɲu=ɲayu	ɲarra-ku	wurruku	walu
if=PROM	1SG-GEN/DAT	will	day/time/sun

[gara-nhara	malth-anhara	nhuŋ'-ku]
come/go-NOML/INF	go.with-NOML/INF	2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT
'If I had time I would come with you.'		
(JBG160)		

(lit.: If I had time to come with you.)

(The construction of this sentence is discussed in section 7.5.1.2 (example (614).)

On the one hand, the double marking with the nominalising suffix speaks against an analysis as a serial verb construction. According to Bisang (2009, 795), markers of syntactic dependency (here: the NOML/INF form of the verb) should only occur on one of the verbs and mark the entire construction. This seems to be of particular importance in Golpa, because this suffix combination is generally only found in non-finite subordinate constructions. When following this line of reasoning, each of the verbs is subordinated separately. However, on the other hand, this double marking is analogous to all other examples in which both verbs are always equally marked. Although this is a controversial example, I would dare say that the two non-finite forms illustrate a serial verb construction rather than anything else. (To my knowledge, this sentence is the only one of its kind in the present corpus. I did not have the opportunity to find out to what extent the construction may be altered with respect to a single NOML/INF-marking.)

3) Last but not least, it is to be mentioned that bare verbal forms (cf. section 4.1.1.2 for more information) have the potential to form (asymmetrical) serial verb constructions with full/regular (i.e. inflecting) verbs. According to the descriptions of Djambarrpuyŋu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 117) and Ritharŋu (cf. Heath 1980, 75), these words do not inflect and may either stand for full verbs or are used to “add stylistic ‘spice’ to an utterance” when co-occurring with them (Heath 1980, 75).³⁶⁷ In the latter case, the TMA expressions of the full verb also cover the bare verbal form. As we have seen above, the sharing of TMA markers is a major criterion defining a serial verb construction. Unfortunately, the present Golpa corpus does not contain a clear example of a serial verb construction involving such a bare verbal

³⁶⁷ In Ritharŋu, these forms usually co-occur with their related inflecting verbs instead of replacing them (cf. Heath 1980b, 75).

form. However, in an old text (recorded of Djingulul in 1965/1966) I came across a sentence which at least illustrates the co-occurrence of such elements with inflecting verbs:

(563) Yothu yäna bul'yala dumba dumba dumba gapu dum'thala dum dum bul'yala, [...].

yothu	yäna	bul'y-ala
child(*Golpa)	just/only	play-PSThab

<u>dumba</u>	<u>dumba</u>	<u>dumba</u>	gapu
SPLASH	SPLASH	SPLASH	water(*Golpa)

<u>dum</u> 'th-ala	<u>dum</u>	<u>dum</u>	bul'y-ala
splash-PSThab	SPLASH	SPLASH	play-PSThab

‘The children would/used to play SPLASH, SPLASH, SPLASH, splashing (in the) water, SPLASH, SPLASH, (they) would/used to play, [...].’ (text HDG003_1022)

In this example, it is not perfectly clear whether *dumba* and *dum* are used onomatopoeically or whether they, together with the two full verbs *bul'yala* ‘used to play’ and *dum'thala* ‘used to splash’, actually denote the activity that is carried out.³⁶⁸ For this reason, it is unclear whether the above sentence shows serial verb constructions, or not.

Another bare verbal form in Golpa is *dhit* ‘dip, scoop (water)’. (Note that the words *dum* and *dhit* are short forms of the corresponding full verbs *dum'thun* and *dhitthun*.)

The extremely rare occurrence of such words in the Golpa corpus (as compared to their relatively frequent use in other Yolŋu languages) may be due to the fact that they are simply not used in the contexts that were recorded. However, it is also possible that their infrequent use is one of the features characterising the Golpa language obsolescence process.

Before I conclude this section I want to discuss serial verb constructions in the light of Lehmann’s elaboration – compression continuum.

On the one hand, there is no sign of hierarchical downgrading (as defined by Lehmann 1988), as the verbs occur juxtaposed. Also, both verbs always appear with the same inflection (expressing identical tense-mood-modality-aspect notions). These features place such constructions more on the coordinate/sociate/elaborated side of the continuum.

³⁶⁸ For Ritharŋu it is noted that the non-inflecting forms “do not normally have the onomatopoeic overtones of English interjections” (Heath 1980b, 75).

On the other hand, serial verb constructions show argument-related and predicate-related dependencies, i.e. they show an advanced degree of interlacing and share at least the subject argument. They also exhibit predicate-related dependencies: As already pointed out, a serial verb construction is basically the only (complex) construction type in which two verbs are always under the scope of the aspect particle *ma*. Similarly, the scope of the negation particle *rulka(ŋu)* (if present) also always covers the entire construction. Although the scope of the particle *wurruku* ‘will, would’ may also cover the verbs of coordinate clauses, it undoubtedly also covers both verbal components of a serial verb construction. The scope behaviour of these structural devices (marking aspect, negation and future time reference) points to that the verbs in serial verb constructions do not belong to separate clauses but constitute a complex predicate within a single clause. Given that serial verb constructions show a rather high degree of interlacing, they need to be moved further right on the continuum.

Another factor indicating that the position of serial verb constructions is more towards the subordination/compression pole is the fact that the second verb is linked at a low syntactic level, as the attachment site is the preceding verb.³⁶⁹ Such examples show that a low(er) syntactic level does not imply a high(er) degree of downgrading. (However, the converse is true (cf. Lehmann 1988, 191).)

According to the distribution of the features characterising serial verb constructions in Golpa, this construction type leans more towards the subordination/compression pole of the continuum.³⁷⁰

The structure of sentences involving serial verb constructions is summarised in the table below:

³⁶⁹ This is referred to as “core-layer serialization” by Foley and van Vallin (1984, 261).

³⁷⁰ According to Foley and van Vallin’s (1984) terminology, examples of serial verb constructions demonstrate “(nuclear) cosubordination”.

attachment site	linkage	attached (second) verb
syntactic level: verb	- mostly symmetrical structures; one of the verbs can be from a semantically or grammatically closed class - no use of an explicit linking device	- no sign of hierarchical downgrading - interlacing: shares predicate-related devices marking aspect, negation and future time reference (if expressed) and at least the subject argument with the first verb
	relation: event specification	

Table 32 Features of serial verb constructions in Golpa

7.3 Coordinate clauses

Paratactic/coordinate relations may be encoded by the use of coordinators (cf. section 7.3.1) or by clausal juxtaposition (cf. section 7.3.2).

In regard to connective devices, conjunctive and disjunctive coordinators may be distinguished in Golpa.³⁷¹

Conjunctive coordinators (*ga* ‘and’ and *bala* ‘and then’) or clausal juxtaposition typically express a sequential or consequential relation that holds between the propositions of the clauses (cf. Palancar 2012, 38).

Clausal propositions linked by a disjunctive coordinator (*wo* ‘or’, *(nhä)bika* ‘maybe’ and *gona* ‘maybe’) can usually be interpreted as being alternatives of each other. In addition to the disjunctive function, *(nhä)bika* and *gona* also encode a lack of certainty on the side of the speaker towards the uttered proposition.

All these connectives occur clause initially, i.e. between the coordinate constructions.

Coordinate clauses are usually formally independent. The verbs in coordinate verbal clauses show an identical inflection.

7.3.1 Coordinate clauses linked by a coordinating particle

The most common coordinating particle in Golpa is *ga* ‘and’. This connective usually does not carry any information other than that of syntactic coordination. It is optional when two formally independent clauses are coordinated.

Ga has been found to link clauses and other constituents. (For examples illustrating the latter case, cf. section 4.1.3.6). There are also a number of sentences illustrating its use as a clause linking device (cf., for instance, (447), (495) and (545)). Further examples are presented in (564), (565) and (566) below:

³⁷¹ Cf. Wilkinson (1991, ch. 13) for an analogous analysis of coordinating particles in Djambarrupynu.

(564) Dayi gumurrwatjmanha ḡarranha ga ḡanapu gumurrwatjmanha walalanha.

[ḡayi gumurrwatjman-nha ḡarra-nha]

3SG visit-PST 1SG-ACC

[ga ḡanapu gumurrwatjman-nha walala-nha]

and 1PLexcl visit-PST 3PL-ACC

‘He visited me and we visited them.’ (s.v. *gumurrwatjman* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

(565) Darra wurruku nhaluma nḡaju ḡurrkun ga walimaḡayu ḡarra wurruku gurrunhanba walalama.

[ḡarra wurruku nhalu-ma nḡaju ḡurrkun’] #

1SG will eat/drink-NEU this/here a.little(*Golpa)

[ga walima=ḡayu ḡarra wurruku gurruna-n’=ba walala-ma]

and other.one=PROM 1SG will put-NEU=MOD 3PL-GEN/DAT

‘I will/would eat a little (of) this and/but put the rest for them.’ (JBG123b)

(Note that the intonation pattern of the above sentence is identical to the one found in sentences consisting of clauses which are solely linked by intonation (cf. sections 7.1.1 and 7.3.2): Although the second clause involves the conjunction *ga*, *ḡurrkun’* is marked by a high pitch (as it is the last constituent of the first clause). Also, the pitch falls towards the end of the second clause. (*ḡurrkun’* is followed by a brief pause.))

(566) Dharpa wapmiyaḡa ga buymarr mälpa!

[dharpa wapmiya-ḡa] [ga buymarr_mälpa]

tree/stick gather-IMP and make.fire(IMP)

‘Collect firewood and make fire!’ (s.v. *mälpaḡ buymarr* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

As shown by the examples (564), (565) and (566) above, the conjunction *ga* typically links two formally independent clauses in Golpa. However, the second coordinate clause may be syntactically reduced showing cross-clausal dependencies, i.e. share arguments, aspectual or modal(ity) markers with the preceding clause (which has an independent status). In such cases, the second coordinate clause is dependent on the first clause (but, of course, not subordinated under it). Sentences with dependent coordinate clauses are presented in section 7.1.3.

The use of *ga* in) below is unusual, as it introduces an independent clause which follows an independent conditional.

(567) Biɲu ɲarra nhänha ɲanya ga ɲarra baɲawunha nhan'kara.

[biɲu ɲarra nhä-nha ɲanya] [ga ɲarra baɲawu-nha nhan'kara]
 if 1SG see-PST 3SG\ACC and 1SG give-PST 3SG.ALLan
 'Had I seen her/him I had given (it) to her/him.' (JBG189)

The conjunction is certainly optional in this construction, as the semantic relation of the events stated in the two clauses is expressed by the subordinator *biɲu* which introduces the sentence initial conditional clause. However, it is probably not optional when the clause it introduces lacks the overt expression of the subject referent, like in (568) below (or (517) above):

(568) Biɲu ɲarra nhänha ɲanya ga baɲawunha nhan'kara.

[biɲu ɲarra nhä-nha ɲanya] [ga baɲawu-nha nhan'kara]
 if 1SG see-PST 3SG\ACC and give-PST 3SG.ALLan
 'Had I seen her/him (I) had given (it) to her/him.' (JBG158)

Here, *ga* does not seem to function as a hesitation marker, like it probably does in) above.

In narratives, *ga* is also used in its multiple reduplicated form as a stylistic device, cf. (569) for an illustration:

(569) Dätjili ga Djama'wu, gunhu'ŋu Nyambiwu, Wanhanyambiwu gagagaga rulkayinya ŋayi, dhawar'yanhawa, dalpamyinya.

[ŋätjili	ga	Djama'wu	gunhu'-ŋu	Nyambi-wu
before	and(HESIT)	Djama'wu	father-NOML	Nymabi-GEN/DAT

Wanhanyambi-wu]	[gagagaga	rulka-yi-nya	ŋayi]
Wanhanyambi-GEN/DAT	and.RDP	not-INCH/VERB-PST	3SG

dhawar'y-anha=wa	<u>dalpam-yi-nya]</u>
finish/die-PST=MOD	dead-INCH/VERB-PST

'Before it was Djama'wu, Nyambi's/Wanhanyambi's father', aaand he is no more, he died.'

(text HDG001_0016-0020)

In this example, the reduplicated form of *ga* could be translated with 'and after some time': The repetition of the particle imitates the passing of time between the events expressed in the linked clauses, i.e. between Djama'wu's being (caretaker of the Gurrarama rain forest) and his death. Note that in such cases, the vowel of the last phonological segment of the reduplicated form is lengthened.

Ga has also been found to operate on the discourse level: In narrations, clauses are often interrupted by pauses. In such instances, *ga* is used to indicate the connection of these disrupted parts. In a number of cases, *ga* connects an argument with the rest of the (usually preceding) clause.

This particle is also frequently used to link greater linguistic units as illustrated by the two sentences in example (570) below:

(570) Nhakuwa Bararrŋu yolŋu ga Yirritjaŋu, Yirritjaŋu, nhä, nhä bäpurru Girkirr ga Barrariŋu yäna dhawuwa gapu nhaluwa. Ga märryu ma ŋayathama märryu rondhu biŋum gapu maŋutji ŋayipi Bararrpararryu yäna Bararrpararryu yäna ŋayipi.

nhakuwa	Bararrŋu	yolŋu	ga	Yirritja-ŋu	Yirritja-ŋu
like	Bararrŋu	person	and	Yirritja-NOML	Yirritja-NOML

nhä	nhä	bäpurru	Girkirr	ga	Barrariŋu
what	what	clan	Girkirr	and	Barrariŋu

yäna	dhawu-wa	gapu	nha <u>l</u> -wa
just/only	give-PSThab	water	eat/drink-PSThab

ga	märr-yu	ma	ŋayatha-ma	märr-yu
and	strength-INSTR	PROG/CONT	have-NEU	strength-INSTR

rom-dhu	biŋu-m	gapu	maŋutji
law-INSTR	that-DEM.SUFF	water(*Golpa)	hole

ŋayi=pi	Bararrpararr-yu	yäna	Bararrpararr-yu
3SG=EMPH	Bararrpararr-ERG	just/only	Bararrpararr-ERG

yäna	ŋayi=pi
just/only	3SG=EMPH

‘Like the Bararrŋu people and the Yirritja, (like) what clan, the Girkirr and the Barrariŋu used to just give water to drink/for drinking. AND (the Bararrpararr clan) is holding (the ownership of the water) with strength/heart (and) through law/custom, that waterhole is his, just the Bararrpararr (own it) the Bararrpararr, just him (i.e. the tribe).’

(text HDG003_0366-0386)

In instances in which the speaker is thinking about how to go on with his speech, *ga* is often found with a lengthened vowel, as illustrated in (571) below. In such cases, *ga* functions as a hesitation element.

(571) [...] gaaa James ḡarra Balandamurrḡayyu ḡaykana gaaa ḡarrḡayyu nhaḡu ḡarra ma waḡa Galawarra [...].³⁷²

[ga James ḡarra Balanda-murru=ḡayyu ḡaykana]
and James 1SG white.man-PERL/TRANS=PROM name

[ga ḡarri=ḡayyu nhaḡu ḡarra ma waḡa Galawarra]
and(HESIT) place=PROM this/here 1SG PROG/CONT say(NEU) Galawarra
‘[...] aaand my Balanda name is James aaand I am talking on this land Galawarra [...].’

(text JBG002_0008-0014)

In conversations, *ga* may be used to relate comments to an already asked question.

The discourse and conversational usage of *ga* as indicated above is not only a Golpa feature but has also been found in some other Yolḡu languages, like Djambarrpuyḡu, for instance (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 691).

Note that, unlike Golpa and Djambarrpuyḡu, for example, where *ga* occurs rather often as a linking device, there are other Yolḡu languages in which it is used less frequently. Ritharḡu, for instance, is reported to make extensive use of juxtaposed coordinate clauses instead (cf. Heath 1980, 112).³⁷³

Besides *ga*, *bala* ‘and then’ is used as a conjunct coordinator. Like *ga*, it may link two independent clauses which may stand by themselves (cf. (572)), or an independent clause with a dependent clause (cf. (573)):

(572) Darra nhaḡunha mudhuḡayḡayyu bala ḡarra garanha ḡutjatjadili.

[ḡarra nhaḡu-nha mudhuḡay=ḡayyu] [bala ḡarra gara-nha ḡutjatja-dili]
1SG eat/drink-PST food=PROM and.then 1SG come/go-PST fish-ALL
‘I ate the food and then I went fishing.’ (JBG300)

(but also: ‘I ate food when I went fishing.’)

³⁷² This sentence is a reduced version of a more complex one which is cited in section 7.4. (The complexity of the entire sample sentence is irrelevant for the current discussion.)

³⁷³ This linkage may involve a brief pause in between the two clauses (ibid).

(573) [...] **ɲarra wurruku ɲambaɲambatjyun ɲurrɲurr'yun bala dhiŋgamawa.**

[ɲarra wurruku ɲambaɲambatjy-un ɲurrɲurr'y-un]
1SG will be.sick-NEU be.very.sick-NEU

[**bala** dhiŋga-ma=wa]
and.then die-NEU=MOD

‘[...] I will be feeling very sick and then die.’ (JBG215a)
(but also: ‘I will be very sick when I die.’)

Note that coordinate clauses introduced by *bala* may be multifunctional in that they may also have a temporal reading (cf. section 7.8). The multiple interpretations of the above sentences are indicated in the individual translation lines.

Bala-clauses have not been found sentence initially.

In one possible instance, *biɲu* COULD be interpreted to link coordinate clauses. However, note that it does not occur clause initially. Considering this fact, it is possible that *biɲu* actually functions as a demonstrative pronoun here.

(574) **Garray djirr'tjana baɲu munatha'dili dhiŋganha biɲu ɲayi ɲarraku, mǎrr wurruku ɲarranha wǎɲɲayuma.**

[Garray djirr'tj-ana baɲu munatha'-dili]
Lord descend-PST here/this.way earth-ALL

[[dhiŋga-nha **biɲu** ɲayi ɲarra-ku]
die-PST then?? 3SG 1SG-GEN/DAT

[mǎrr wurruku ɲarra-nha wǎɲɲa-yu-ma]]
so.that will 1SG-ACC alive-make/CAUS-NEU

‘The Lord descended this way to earth, then he (Jesus) died for me, so that (he) will/would make me alive.’/‘be saved/come to life.’/‘The Lord descended this way to earth, then he (Jesus) died for me, so that I will/would be saved/come to life.’ (text JGG003_001a-c)

With respect to disjunctive coordinating particles, Golpa has *wo* ‘or’, (*nhä*)*bika* ‘maybe’ and *gona* ‘maybe’.

(575) Darra wurruku garama nhuŋ’kara ŋarridili bika ŋarra wurruku rulka garama.

[ŋarra wurruku	gara-ma	nhuŋ’-kara	ŋarri-dili]
1SG will	come/go-NEU	2SG(alt.form)-ALLan	place-ALL

[**bika** ŋarra wurruku rulka gara-ma]
 maybe 1SG will not come/go-NEU

‘I might come to your place or not. (s.v. *nhäbika* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)
 (lit. ‘I will go to your place, maybe I will not go.’)

(576) Nhonu nyälkaŋayu buma gona ŋayi yarrkthun.

[nhonu	nyälka=ŋayu	bu-ma]
2SG	basket=PROM	make.basket-NEU

[**gona** ŋayi yarrkth-un]
 maybe 3SG go.away-NEU

‘You make a basket, maybe s/he goes/will go away.’ (RRU002)³⁷⁴

The sentence in (575) was also given to me with *wo* (instead of *bika*). However, note that this is the only complex sentence in the present corpus involving *wo*. In all other instances, this element links single nominal constituents or noun phrases. (The extremely limited number of examples showing that *wo* may also connect clauses must have to do with the available Golpa data material, as nothing speaks against its usage as a clause linking device.)³⁷⁵

(Please see section 4.1.3.6 for more information on conjunctive and disjunctive coordinators.)

³⁷⁴ This sentence was given to me by a now deceased lady from the Warramiri clan. She was said to have good knowledge of Nhaŋu varieties (to which Golpa is counted).

³⁷⁵ It is widely used in this function in Djambarrpuyŋu, for instance.

7.3.2 Coordinate clauses lacking a coordinating particle

Like in other Yolŋu languages, such as Ritharŋu (cf. Heath 1980, 112), Djambarrpuyŋu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 691) or Dhaŋu varieties (cf. Schebeck 1976b, 523), conjunctive coordinate clauses in Golpa do not necessarily have to be linked by an explicit device but may also be juxtaposed. Their linkage is then indicated prosodically, i.e. by a rising-falling intonation pattern and/or the absence of an intonation break.³⁷⁶ Nevertheless, some of the examples do involve pauses at the clausal juncture (indicated by #, or ## if longer). However, since the intonation pattern of these sentences clearly indicate clause linkage, the presence of a pause can here only be interpreted as a sign of hesitation, resulting from a thinking process. (In some cases in which an utterance was collected through elicitation (instead of being taken from a recorded text) the speaker also paused to allow me to put the construction down.)

(577) Biŋulu Germanyŋuru walala garanha nyininya walala ma makarr-yindiŋa ŋarriŋa.

[biŋulu	Germany-ŋuru	walala	gara-nha]	#
from.there	Germany-ABL	3PL	come/go-PST	

[nyini-nya	walala	ma	makarr_yindi-ŋa	ŋarri-ŋa]
sit(alt.form)-PST	3PL	PROG/CONT	mainland-LOC	place-LOC

‘The people came from Germany (and then) stayed/settled on the mainland (Australia).’

(s.v. *makarr’-yindi* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

Although the two verbs *garanha* and *nyininya*, at first sight, may appear to form a serial verb construction, they do not. The above sentence has three characteristics not found with such constructions: The most obvious one is that the two intransitive verbs do not share the subject argument *walala*, as this is overtly expressed in both clauses. Neither do the verbs share the continuous particle *ma*. This aspectual marker only has scope over the predicate in the second clause which it occurs in. The third feature which speaks against an analysis as a serial verb construction has to do with intonation. Clauses involving serial verb constructions are uttered like monoverbal clauses. The verbal components of a serial verb construction are thus produced and conceived as being one unit (i.e. as being parts of a single clause). Unlike such constructions, juxtaposed coordinate clauses (as well as a number of other clause types) show an intonation which rises at end of the first clause and falls towards the end of the following

³⁷⁶ Cf. section 7.1.1 for the discussion of these prosodic properties and their analytical relevance.

one. The onset of the falling intonation lies on the first constituent of this second clause, here *nyininya*. The first clause in the above example ends with the verb *garanha* which is marked by a higher pitch. This intonation pattern thus signals the linkage of the clause to the following one.

Further examples of juxtaposed coordinate clauses are given in (578) and (579) below:

(578) Darra wurruku gara ma guwatjman wolgumanha ṅalinyu wurruku nhaḷuma ṅutjatja.

[ṅarra wurruku	gara-ma	guwatj-man	wolguman-nha]	#
1SG will	come/go-NEU	visit-NEU	woman-ACC	

[ṅalinyu	wurruku	nhaḷu-ma	ṅutjatja]
1DUexcl	will	eat/drink-NEU	fish

‘I will go (and) visit the woman (so that) we will eat fish together.’

(s.v. *guwatjman* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(lit. ‘I will go (and) visit the woman, her and I will eat fish.’)

Note that the second clause could also be connected to the preceding clause by *ga* ‘and’, *märr* ‘so (that)’ or *gama* ‘because’. However, the latter two particles would mark the attached clause as being a subordinated adverbial clause. (The verbs in the first clause form a serial verb construction.)

(579) Darra rulka nhaḷunha mudhuṅay weyinba ṅarra nyininya.

[ṅarra rulka	nhaḷu-nha	mudhuṅay]	[weyin=ba	ṅarra	nyini-nya]
1SG not	eat/drink-PST	food	long=MOD	1SG	sit(alt.form)-PST

‘I didn’t eat for a long time.’/‘I haven’t had food for as long as I’ve been sitting here.’

(s.v. *weyin*(‘) (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(lit.: ‘I didn’t eat food, (for) long I sat.’)

As illustrated by all above examples, intonationally linked clauses are usually independent.

The following example is one of only two sentences where clausal juxtaposition links two coordinated clauses of which one is a dependent clause. (The other instance is presented in (502).)

(580) Darra dadukmiyanha waṭaba dharr'yanha bunbu.

[ŋarra dadukmiya-nha # waṭaba] # [dharr'y-anha bunbu]
1SG throw-PST rock damage/hit/kill-PST house
'I threw the stone (and) hit the house.' (s.v. *dadukmiyama* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

In the above sentence, the second clause *dharr'yanha bunbu* shows an argument-related dependency, as it shares the subject argument *ŋarra* with the preceding clause. This construction is unusual, as the preferred linking strategy in such cases actually involves the use of the conjunctive coordinator *ga* 'and'.

As was to be expected, the constituent *waṭapa* carries a high pitch indicating that the clause it is part of is linked to the following construction (which is characterised by a falling intonation). The onset of the falling intonation marking the beginning of the linked clause clearly falls on *dharr'yanha*. However, note that *dadukmiyanha* is also marked by a high pitch.³⁷⁷ This is one of several examples demonstrating that the rising-falling intonation pattern is generally used to indicate that more structure and information is yet to come. Obviously, it does not only link clauses but also single constituents within a clause (as also mentioned in section 7.1.1). In the case of *daduk'miyanha*, this intonation connects this verb with its direct object argument *waṭapa* from which it was separated by a pause. Wäwa was also speaking slowly to allow me to take notes. I assume that if the above sentence had been uttered fluently within context, *dadukmiyanha* would probably not have been marked the way it is in the above construction.

In many cases, coordinate clauses are uttered together, without any sign of a pause. Two such examples are given in (581) and (582) below:

(581) Nhonu ma mudhuṅay ṅarraku ṅayathama ṅarra wurruku nhaḷuma?

[nhonu ma mudhuṅay ṅarra-ku ṅayatha-ma]
2SG PROG/CONT food 1SG-GEN/DAT have-NEU

[ŋarra wurruku nhaḷu-ma]
1SG will eat/drink-NEU

'Do you have food for me to eat?' (JBG147b)

(582) Ga nhaṅ'ku plastic buthulu rathayu ṅayathama ṅayi ma wapwaphthun ṅupaṅupan.

³⁷⁷ The falling intonation on the following *waṭaba*, of course, is not really audible because this word carries the (clause-linking) high pitch.

[ga nħaŋ'ku plastic buthulu ## ratha-yu ŋayatha-ma]
 and that/there plastic bottle child-ERG have-NEU

[ŋayi ma wapwaph-un ŋupaŋupa-n]
 3SG PROG/CONT jump.around-NEU keep.chasing-NEU

‘And the child is holding that plastic bottle (and) he is jumping around (with it) (and) chasing (the dog). (text JBG011_0008-0010)

The linkage of the two clauses in (581) is additionally indicated by the rising-falling intonation (as described above). (An alternative construction of this sentence involving an infinitive is given in example (790)).

The sentence in (582) illustrates that the rising-falling intonation pattern is not only used to connect clauses but also smaller units: Here, it links the direct object noun phrase *nħaŋ'ku plastic buthulu*³⁷⁸ with the rest of the clause (consisting of the verb *ŋayathama* and the subject argument *rathayu*), seemingly because these two units are separated by a longer pause.³⁷⁹ (The second clause contains a serial verb construction.)

7.3.3 Summary of coordinate clause structures

The structures of sentences involving coordinate clauses are summarised in the table below:

attachment site	linkage	attached/linked clause
syntactic level: main clause	- explicitness of linking: syndetic and asyndetic; when asyndetic, clause linkage is indicated by prosodic means (i.e. by a rising-falling intonation and usually also by the absence of a pause at the clausal juncture)	- interlacing: usually independent clauses; some have been found to share the subject argument and the irrealis particle <i>wurruku</i>
	relation: conjunction or disjunction of events	

Table 33 Features of Golpa coordinate clause types

³⁷⁸ When listening to the recording, wāwa seems to actually say *bottle* instead of *buthulu*. He gave me the shared Yolŋu word *buthulu* (instead of its English equivalent) when we were transcribing this text.

³⁷⁹ The intonation break resulted from a thinking process (on the side of the speaker).

7.4 “Appositional adjuncts”

In several respects, most of the Golpa expressions that I refer to as *appositional adjunct constructions* could be called *appositions*: They are optional constituents of (main) clause noun phrases (cf. Bußmann 1990, s.v. *Apposition*), operate at the same grammatical level and “have an identity or similarity of reference” (Crystal 1997, s.v. *apposition*) with the thus specified (main) clause noun (phrase). The apposed entity and the specified noun (phrase) also have the same syntactic function which is usually indicated by case congruency. In fact, the two components co-occur in a paradigmatical sense. Appositional constructions are further characterised by that they may generally be left out without affecting the semantic or grammatical acceptability of the (main) clauses (cf. Crystal 1997, s.v. *apposition*).

However, appositional expressions are also said to appear next to the nominal they specify (cf. Glück 1993, s.v. *apposition*). Contrary to this, “appositions” in Golpa are normally juxtaposed to the right of an argument-satisfied clause. Since they thus do not satisfy all (traditional) criteria of an apposition, I use the term *appositional adjunct (construction/phrase/clause)* to eliminate a possible source of (terminological) confusion.

The introduction of this notion yet serves another purpose: There are other constructions in Golpa which also occur in this syntactic slot and which have the same (or very similar) semantic-pragmatic and prosodic features. However, these constructions have nothing in common with what would traditionally be called an “apposition”. It is for the shared properties of all such apposed constructions that they are subsumed under this term. We will see that appositional adjuncts do not only specify a single nominal constituent or a noun phrase but also other and larger entities.

Golpa adjunct constructions are of varying complexity and independence. Such units have been found to have the syntactic form of (i) a noun phrase, (ii) a non-finite construction, (iii) a formally fully independent clause and (iv) a relative construction. In the cases of (i) and (iv), the appositional adjunct specifies a nominal constituent of the main clause with which it is coreferential (cf. (583) through (586) and (590)). The apposed coreferential unit is in subject or object function. Examples illustrating (ii) are close to complement constructions, as they do not specify a coreferential nominal unit but appear as subordinate-marked constructions which specify the predication of the clause they are attached to (cf. (587) and (588)). Thus, they provide wholly new information. The appositional adjunct construction of type (iii) in (589) is a repetition (or an “almost repetition”) of the previous utterance, seemingly serving emphatic purposes.

Like other non-finite constructions, non-finite appositional adjuncts are attached at the verb phrase level and are embedded into the preceding clause. All other appositional adjunct constructions are not syntactically integrated into the main clause.

Appositional adjuncts are usually preceded by a brief pause³⁸⁰ and show a certain intonational linking pattern: As already outlined in section 7.1.1, they are uttered with a rather stable intonation, i.e. without the clearly falling intonation towards its end which characterises other types of clauses which are also solely linked prosodically to a preceding clause. What seems to be an even more important characteristic is that the previous clause usually has a falling intonation and ends with a rather low pitch (instead of a high pitch like in all other cases showing a prosodic linkage). This actually indicates the end of the sentence (or thought). In some instances, the preceding clause is, like the adjunct, also uttered with a steady intonation. In any case, an appositional adjunct construction is outside the sentential intonation contour which encloses the main clause. It thus does not belong to the sentence the main clause belongs to (cf. section 7.1.1).

In the following example series, a pause is indicated by a comma in the text lines and by # (or ##) in the gloss lines. The (focussed) appositional adjunct construction appears in bold print.

(583) Nhaṇuṇayu balay maltjana ma djämaṇayu djinikuli wupitja, waḷimaṇayu ṇalitjauw gutjirriyamu, yow, gutjirriyamu ṇalitjauw nhuṇ'ku ga ṇarraku.

1 nhaṇu=ṇayu	balay	maltjana	ma	djäma ³⁸¹ =ṇayu
this/here=PROM	3DU	two	PROG/CONT	work=PROM

2 djinikuli	wupitj-ṇa
here	office-LOC

3 waḷima=ṇayu	ṇalitjauw	gutjirriyamu
other.one=PROM	1DUincl.GEN/DAT	grandchild

³⁸⁰ Apposed clauses and phrases in Djapu (Morphy 1983, 140) are also reported to follow a pause. (For a detailed description of apposed relations in Djambarrupuyu, cf. Wilkinson (1991, section 9.4).)

³⁸¹ Note that *djäma* belongs to the restricted class of “unchanging verbs” and does not inflect (cf. section 4.1.1.1 and section 4.3.1). (Its gloss therefore lacks the indication of the inflectional form.)

4 yow gutjirriyamu ηalitjawu #
 yes grandchild 1DUincl.GEN/DAT

5 **nhuq'-ku** **ga** **ηarra-ku**
 2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT and 1SG-GEN/DAT

‘Two are working here in the office, other grandchildren of ours, yes, our grandchildren, yours and mine.’ (HNG028)³⁸²

(584) Dhurtjpa balayηayu garanha, wapunhuju nhuju nhan'ku waɬuwu, ga gutjparryanhana biju butpulηayu bala gulundili.

1 dhurtjpa balay=ηayu gara-nha #
 late 3DU=PROM come/go-PST

2 **wapunhuju** **nhuju** **nhan'-ku** **waɬu-wu** ##
 owner.of.animal SLIP(*Golpa) 3SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT dog-GEN/DAT

3 ga gutjparr'y-anha biju butpul=ηayu
 and throw-PST that ball=PROM

4 bala gulun-dili
 away.from.speaker(*Golpa) billabong-ALL

‘Later the two came, the owner and his dog, and (he, i.e. the owner) threw that ball into the billabong.’ (text JGG001_140-144)

In (583), the highlighted appositional adjunct phrase is a specification of the pronominal form *ηalitjawu* in line 4. Note that the phrases given in the lines 3 and 4 can also be taken to be appositional adjuncts: What is given in line 4 repeats (and seemingly emphasises) the expression in line 3 which, in turn, is coreferential with the subject *balay* in the preceding clause which it specifies by adding new information.

The appositional adjunct phrase in (584) also specifies the pronominal form *balay(ηayu)* of the preceding clause (which again is in subject function), and occurs between two coordinated clauses which are linked by the conjunction *ga* (in line 3). It is preceded by a

³⁸² Nyomba used this sentence in a phone conversation with me.

brief pause and followed by a longer one (indicated by ##). The appositional adjunct and its preceding clause are uttered with a very steady intonation.

The sentence below contains several appositional adjunct constructions, and beautifully illustrates the specification of main clause information. The entire apposed sequence is uttered in a monotone style:

(585) Darru rulka balay nhänha, biju[(rum)dhu] maltjanari, garkmandhu mirribulu nhañu watu[nha] ga nhañu yolñu[nha]³⁸³, ga butpul, rulkañuwa.

1 ñarru	rulka	balay	nhä-nha	#
but	not	3DU	see-PST	

2 [[biñurum-dhu	maltjana-ri	#	garkman-dhu	mirribulu]	#
that(alt.form)-ERG	two-ERG		frog-ERG	DU	

3 nhañu	watu-nha	ga	nhañu	yolñu-nha]	##
this/here	dog-ACC	and	this/here	person-ACC	

4 ga butpul]]	##	[rulkañu=wa]
and ball		nothing=MOD

‘But they did not see, those two frogs, the dog and the man, and the ball, (there was) nothing.’

(text JBG005_0244-0252)

Note that the sentence initial clause does not need an explicitly expressed direct object argument, as this can be clearly inferred from the previous sentences of the narrative text from which this example is taken. However, the overt expression of this argument (i.e. *nhañu watu[nha] ga nhañu yolñu[nha], ga butpul*) was added by the speaker to the clause (in line 1) as part of a complex appositional adjunct construction. It seems to have been added spontaneously unto the previous appositional adjunct construction *biñu(rum)dhu maltjanari garkmandhu mirribulu* (which specifies the subject argument *balay* in line 1), as the speaker must have felt that he should provide yet more information. However, the words *ga butpul*

³⁸³ When transcribing this text (narrated by wäwa) with Garrutju, she added the ACC case markings unto the direct object arguments *watu* and *yolñu*. Therefore, the suffix *-nha* is given in square brackets here. The notation of *biñu[(rum)dhu]* has a more complicated explanation: Garrutju gave me only *biñu* although *biñu-dhu* is clearly audible. However, according to my knowledge and understanding of Golpa grammar, *biñu* needs to appear in its alternative form *biñurum-* in order to take a suffix (which in this case is the ERG suffix *-dhu*).

(line 4) are set off from the rest of the direct object argument phrase by a longer pause. I assume that they were added when the speaker recalled that the two frogs (in the story) did not only expect a man and a dog to show up but also a ball. Given that *yolŋu* (line 3) is marked by a low pitch, the elements *ga butpul* actually appear to be an appositional adjunct to the extended appositional adjunct construction *biŋu(rum)dhu maltjanari garkmandhu mirribulu nhaŋu watu[nha] ga nhaŋu yolŋu[nha]*. (The square brackets in the gloss line are to illustrate this layered structure.) The segment *rulkaŋuwa* (line 4) could also be treated as a separate sentence, as it follows a rather long pause. Semantically, however, it belongs to this sentence.

An appositional adjunct construction may also follow a complex sentence although it actually refers to an element at the beginning of the sentence:

(586) Baŋu guḷundiliŋayu wurruku gara ma ŋayi ma, djäga ŋali ma nyena djinikum, balam waṭu.

1 baŋu	guḷun-dili=ŋayu
here/this.way	billabong-ALL=PROM

2 wurruku	gara-ma	ŋayi	ma	#
will	come/go-NEU	3SG	PROG/CONT	

3 djäga ³⁸⁴	ŋali	ma	nyena
take.care	1DUincl	PROG/CONT	sit(NEU)

4 djini-ku-m	#	balam	waṭu
this/here-GEN/DAT-DEM.SUFF		that/there	dog

‘He (i.e. the dog) will be coming this way to the billabong, we’re taking care of ourselves as we’re sitting here, this dog.’ (text JBG005_0042)

The appositional adjunct phrase *balam waṭu* specifies *ŋayi* (in the first clause, line 2) and was added as an afterthought by the speaker, as he must have wanted to make sure that the audience knows that it is the dog who is coming. Similar to the other examples, the appositional adjunct is preceded by a brief pause. The preceding clause shows a falling intonation (and ends with a low pitch), indicating the end of the sentence.

³⁸⁴ *Djäga* is a non-inflecting verb.

In (587) and (588), the appositional adjunct constructions are non-finite and thus structurally embedded:

(587) Dayi ma ḡurrḡurr'yanha ḡurrunha, galki dhiḡanhara.

ḡayi ma ḡurr'ḡurry-anha ḡurru-nha # **galki dhiḡa-nhara**
 3SG PROG/CONT be.very.sick-PST sleep(alt.form)-PST near die-NOML/INF

‘The dog was lying feeling awful, nearly dying/soon to die.’ (JBG214c; wāwa and Garrutju)

(588) Dayi nhaḡu ma djaḡḡarr'inya ḡayi, nhaḡunhara garkmangu, [...].

ḡayi nhaḡu ma djaḡḡarr-'i-nya ḡayi #
 3SG this/here PROG/CONT hungry/hunger-INCH/VERB-PST 3SG

nhaḡu-nhara **garkman-gu**
 eat/drink-NOML/INF frog-GEN/DAT

‘He is hungry for eating the frog(s) [...].’ (text JBG004_0076)

Appositional adjunct constructions can also appear to be repetitions (or “almost-repetitions”) of the previous clause. The appositional adjunct clause in (589) below could be interpreted to have served the speaker as a self-confirmation of what he just said, or to create more time to think about how to go on with the story. The appositional adjunct has the complexity of an independent clause (or simple sentence).

(589) [...] gaaa James ḡarra Baladamurruḡayu ḡaykaḡa gaaa ḡarriḡayu nhaḡu ḡarra ma waḡa Galawarra, Galawarra nhaḡu ḡarriḡa ḡarra ma waḡa.

ga # James ḡarra Balanda-murru=ḡayu ḡaykaḡa #
 and James 1SG white.man-PERL/TRANS=PROM name

ga # ḡarri=ḡayu nhaḡu ḡarra ma waḡa Galawarra #
 and place=PROM this/here 1SG PROG/CONT say(NEU) Galawarra

Galawarra nhaḡu ḡarri-ḡa # ḡarra ma waḡa
 Galawarra this/here place-LOC 1SG PROG/CONT say(NEU)

‘[...] aaand my Balanda name is James aaand I am talking on this land Galawarra [...].’

(text JBG002_0008-0016)

There is a slight lowering of the intonation towards the end of the clause which precedes the appositional adjunct. This indicates that the sentence actually ends there. The appositional adjunct construction is attached after a brief pause. It has a monotone intonation and is uttered with a low voice.

The appositional adjunct in the following example is a relative construction, specifying the PROM-marked subject *ɲayiɲayu* of the main clause:

(590) ɲayiɲayu biɲuluɲayu girriyanawa b̄aru biɲu ma gulunɲa ɲorra.

ɲayi=ɲayu biɲulu=ɲayu³⁸⁵ girriy-ana=wa
 3SG=PROM from.there=PROM get.here-PST=MOD

b̄aru	biɲu	ma	gulun-ɲa	ɲorra
crocodile	that	PROG/CONT	billabong-LOC	exist/stay(NEU)

‘(Then) it came from there, the crocodile that is staying in the billabong.’

(text JBG005_0112-0116)

Unlike the adjuncts in the other sentences, the appositional adjunct expression in the above example is not uttered with a monotone intonation. However, the preceding clause is clearly characterised by a falling intonation (signalling the end of the sentence). The relative clause is attached to its head *b̄aru* without a pause.³⁸⁶

Note that in all instances, the case marking of appositional adjuncts is in accordance with the syntactic function of the constituent(s) they specify or refer to. (Examine, for instance, (585) where the ERG-marked appositional adjunct noun phrase *biɲurumdhu maltjanari garkmandhu mirribulu* specifies the (zero-marked ERG) pronoun *balay*, or (590) above where *ɲayi* and *b̄aru* appear in the unmarked NOM case which indicates the subject argument in an intransitive clause.)

³⁸⁵ Although the PROM-marking on *biɲulu* seemingly indicates that it is part of the subject noun phrase, it cannot be analysed as *biɲu-lu=ɲayu* ‘that-ERG=PROM’ because the ERG form of *biɲu* is *biɲurum-dhu* ‘that(alt.form)-ERG’. (There are other examples in which the PROM marker occurs on distinct elements of a clause.)

³⁸⁶ Due to the (slightly) rising intonation on *b̄aru*, the following analyses can be ruled out: 1) *B̄aru* and *biɲu* in the second clause form the subject noun phrase, i.e. [*ɲayiɲayu biɲuluɲayu girriyanawa*] [*b̄aru biɲu ma gulunɲa ɲorra*], ‘That one came. That crocodile was staying in the billabong.’ 2) *B̄aru* is the apposition of the subject in the preceding clause and (the demonstrative pronoun) *biɲu* is the subject of the second clause, i.e. [*ɲayiɲayu biɲuluɲayu girriyanawa*] *b̄aru*] [*biɲu ma gulunɲa ɲorra*] ‘That one came, the crocodile. That (one) is staying in the billabong.’

Considering all data, appositional adjunct constructions in Golpa can be regarded to express a semantic and grammatical relation which is gradually distinct from complementation or modification.³⁸⁷

The structures of sentences involving appositional adjunct constructions are summarised in the table below:

attachment site	linkage	attached/linked clause
syntactic level: - main clause predicate (for non-finite appositional adjunct constructions) - main clause (for all other appositional adjuncts)	asyndetic linking relations: - They are specifications of or additions to (main) clause nominal constituents (appositional adjunct noun phrases), or main clause predicates (non-finite appositional adjunct constructions). - An appositional adjunct may also be a repetition of the entire preceding clause, seemingly to emphasise the (proposition of the) utterance.	downgrading: low and steady intonation pattern; often dependent constructions

Table 34 Features of appositional adjunct constructions in Golpa

Self-corrections also frequently occur in the slot where appositional adjuncts are found (i.e. to the right of an argument-satisfied clause). However, they seem to be set off from the other clause even more clearly (by prolonged pauses). In the example below, the Golpa word *mudhujay* ‘food’ is to correct the shared Yolŋu item *ŋatha* ‘food’.

(591) Nhaŋu ŋarraku, rulka ŋarraku ŋatha nhaŋunhara, mudhujay.

nhaŋu	ŋarra-ku	rulka	ŋarra-ku
this/here(SLIP)	1SG-GEN/DAT(SLIP)	not	1SG-GEN/DAT

ŋatha	nhaŋu-nhara	##	mudhujay
food(*Golpa)	eat/drink-NOML/INF		food

lit.: ‘This is my (SLIP), (there is) no food for me to eat.’ (JBG122b)

(intended meaning: ‘If I had food I would eat something.’)

The intonation of the example above indicates that the sentence ends with *nhaŋunhara*: The pitch is low and *mudhujay* is preceded by a longer pause.

³⁸⁷ Cf. Meyer (1992, 5) for a similar definition of appositions.

7.5 Complex sentences with an adverbial clause

In Golpa, various semantic types of adverbial clauses may be expressed: The corpus (as described in section 2.5) contains sentences with adverbial clauses indicating condition, time, contrast, reason, purpose, place and manner. I have not found clauses expressing concession or apprehension. With respect to clauses indicating concession, I would not expect to find a word for ‘allow’ in any Yolŋu language. According to my understanding of Golpa, the closest speakers could come to this concept is by expressing the proposition in combination with the irrealis particle *wurruku* ‘will, would’ in direct speech (like ‘you will/may go to the beach’), or by using a (finite or non-finite) complement clause governed by a verb of speaking in indirect speech (like ‘they told them to go to the beach’ or ‘they said to them they will/may go to the beach’). The (present) corpus neither contains sentences indicating apprehension. Such adverbial clauses describe undesired events that are to be avoided. The main clauses they are linked to then give information on how these events are/should be avoided (cf. Dixon 1980, 458). I assume that such meanings would be conveyed by (finite) constructions that involve clauses indicating reason (as in ‘I did not go there because I did not want to meet them’) or purpose (like ‘I did not go there so that I will/would not meet them’).

The adverbial functions of condition, time, contrast, reason, purpose, place and manner can be expressed by a variety of clause structures, ranging from basically independent clauses at the left end of the elaboration – compression continuum (either prosodically connected to another clause or adjoined to it by a subordinating element), to highly subordinated and dependent structures (i.e. nominalised embedded constructions) at the right end of this subordination/dependency continuum. While the latter construction type has only been found in some temporal, purposive and manner clauses, constructions showing the characteristics of the former type are used as encoding mechanisms for ALL adverbial functions.

Finite clauses expressing condition, time, contrast, reason and purpose may occur with and without subordinating particles, i.e. *biŋu* ‘if/when’, (*bili* ‘when, and then’ (shared Yolŋu lexeme)), *ŋarruwa* ~ *ŋarruba* ‘before’, *ŋarru* ‘but’, *gama* (or *bili* (*Golpa)) ‘because’, *nhaku* ‘(that’s) why’ or *märr* ‘so that’, or Ø.³⁸⁸ These explicit linking devices express the semantic relation that holds between the involved clauses. Clauses indicating place usually involve a particle for ‘where’. Clauses indicating manner either occur with the interrogative verb *nhäpiyan* ‘do what/how’ or involve a non-finite construction. Although Golpa does not have a

³⁸⁸ These elements are also referred to as *particles* in Schebeck (1976b, 525) for Dhaŋu and in Wilkinson (1991, ch. 13) for Djambarrpuyŋu.

fixed word order, subordinating elements normally stand clause initially. (Cf. (596) and (656) for exceptional examples involving *biṇu* and *nhātha*, respectively.)

In sentences involving juxtaposed adverbial clauses, the specific adverbial interpretation of the linked clause is usually based on the (sentential) context.

In the majority of cases, adverbial clauses (of all construction types) are combined with independent (main) clauses.

As already indicated (cf. also previous sections of this chapter), adverbial clauses and main clauses may entertain a relationship of coordination (expressed by juxtaposition) or subordination (when involving a subordinating element or a non-finite construction). In both cases, one of the clauses may have a dependent status and may thus show a structural reduction. Since sentence initial clauses are most often independent (main clauses), it is usually the subsequent adverbial clause that is structurally reduced, showing argument-related and/or predicate-related dependencies. However, note that conditional clause predominantly precede the main clause. Temporal clauses have been found to follow AND to precede the main clause. In such sentences, where the adverbial clause precedes the main clause, the structural reduction (if shown) usually concerns the subsequent main clause. (Finite adverbial clauses with cross-clausal dependencies are presented and discussed in section 7.1.3.)

This positional behaviour of adverbial clauses in Golpa is in accordance with outcomes of recent cross-linguistic studies which show that the positional tendencies of adverbial clauses reflect their communicative functions: “In contrast to conditional and temporal clauses, causal³⁸⁹ and purposive clauses are only rarely used for discourse-organizing functions, serving instead a more local function in the context of the preceding (main) clause” (Diessel 2013, 350; cf. also Schmidtke-Bode 2012, 421). This means that it is due to their discourse function that conditional and temporal clauses (usually) appear sentence initially (cf. also section 7.5.1 below). Unlike these semantic clause types, clauses indicating reason and purpose usually follow the main clause, as they specify the context of this other clause. Golpa clauses indicating contrast, place and manner also occur after the main clause.

Another cross-linguistic observation reported in Diessel’s work (ibid, 347, 352) is that sentence initial conditionals tend to be linked more tightly to the subsequent clause by intonation than sentence final adverbial clauses are linked to the preceding (main) clause. However, this finding cannot be confirmed by Golpa data. Neither can I confirm Hale’s (1976, 78) description of prosodic features regarding Australian languages: For those which make extensive use of adjoined clauses, he states that the intonation break (if present at all) is

³⁸⁹ In this thesis, *causal clauses* are referred to as *adverbial clauses indicating reason*.

brief in those instances in which the subordinate clause follows the main clause. This linkage is then usually characterised by a falling intonation. A subordinate clause which precedes the main clause, on the contrary, is said to be most often followed by an intonation break and has a falling-rising intonation.

In regard to prosodic means marking adverbial clauses in Golpa, I have observed the general tendency that the first clause is marked by a rising intonation, independent of whether this first clause is an adverbial clause or a main clause. It also does not seem to matter what kind of adverbial clause is involved. The linked clause is characterised by a falling intonation and a low pitch at its end. The presence of a pause or its length do not seem to be of much relevance. Its absence is interpreted to signal integration and thus clause linkage. (As already pointed out in section 7.1.1 and section 7.3.2, this intonation pattern has not only been found with adverbial clauses.) However, note that the differences regarding the prosodical behaviour of INITIAL and FINAL adverbial clauses in Golpa has not yet been the focus of my investigations.

(Unless indicated otherwise, in the following subsections square brackets are used to mark the attached clause which usually is the adverbial construction.)

7.5.1 Sentences with a conditional clause (conditional sentences)

Before presenting examples with Golpa conditional constructions, I should address some terminologically relevant issues, and first point to Caron's (2006, 2) notion of 'conditional system': "When two clauses X (protasis) and Y (apodosis) entertain a [conditional]³⁹⁰ relation, they form a Conditional System if the existence of X must be ascertained (whether in reality or in imagination) in order for Y to be realised. X is called a conditional clause or conditional." Like him, I use the terms *conditional* and *conditional clause* synonymously. However, what he calls *conditional system* I refer to as *conditional SENTENCE* (as opposed to *conditional CLAUSE* which is contained in it). Conditional clauses are used to express conditions or hypotheses that can be both real and imagined. The other clause states the consequence(s).

Like in other Golpa sentences involving adverbial clauses, the conditional (protasis) and the main clause (apodosis) may entertain a relationship of coordination and subordination. The former is expressed by clausal juxtaposition and prosodic means, the latter

³⁹⁰ Note that Caron's definition of a *conditional system* also covers temporal clauses that are in accordance with the above definition. Please note that I only refer to sentences involving CONDITIONALS when I use the term *CONDITIONAL sentence*.

by the use of *biḡu*. It was already mentioned that a conditional almost always precedes the main clause. It is for this reason that cross-clausal dependencies are basically only found in the subsequent main clause.

First, I attend to the structure of the protasis. Possible structures of the apodosis are discussed in the following section 7.5.1.2.

7.5.1.1 Structure of the protasis (conditional clause)

In the majority of cases, the protasis and the apodosis are structurally independent clauses. The subordinate status of the protasis is then only formally indicated if this clause is introduced by the subordinator *biḡu* ‘if, when’.

A conditional clause (with or without *biḡu*) may also have a temporal reading, whenever the event of the main clause can be interpreted to follow the event of the conditional in time. Examples with such multiple readings are cited with two translations. (Cf. section 7.8 for a more detailed discussion of multifunctional clauses.)

Most of all following examples have a potential conditional reading. Counterfactuals are discussed in section 7.5.1.3 below.

(592) (Biḡu) ḡarra ḡanya nhäma ḡarra wurruku baṭawuma nhan’kara.

[biḡu ḡarra ḡanya nhä-ma]
if/when 1SG 3SG\ACC see-NEU

ḡarra wurruku baṭawu-ma nhan’-kara
1SG will give-NEU 3SG(alt.form)-ALLan

(i) ‘(If) I see her/him I will give (it) to her/him.’

(ii) ‘(When(ever)) I see her/him I will give (it) to her/him.’ (JBG192b)

(593) (Biḡu) ḡarra ḡayathama mudhuḡay ḡarra wurruku nhaḷuma.

[biḡu ḡarra ḡayatha-ma mudhuḡay] ḡarra wurruku nhaḷu-ma
if/when 1SG have-NEU food 1SG will eat/drink-NEU

(i) ‘(If) I had food I would eat something.’

(ii) ‘When(ever) I have food I will eat something.’ (JBG122a)

(594) Biḡu waṭu rulka mathamiyanha ḡayi wurruku ḡupanba warrakannya.

[biḡu waṭu rulka mathamiya-nha]

if dog not be.tired-PST

ɲayi wurruku ɲupa-n=ba warrakan-nha
3SG will chase-NEU=MOD bird-ACC

(i) ‘If the dog was not so tired he would chase the bird.’

(ii) ‘When the dog was not so tired he would chase the bird.’ (JBG154)

In (594) above, clause linkage is not only indicated by the subordinator *biɲu* but also by the absence of a pause at the clausal juncture.

It seems that *biɲu* is generally **optional**. (In sentences for which I have tested this, *biɲu* is presented in square brackets in the text lines.) However, due to limited data material, I am not sure whether this is also the case for examples like (594) in which the conditional expresses past time reference. The optional use of the subordinator is also evident in the older texts told by Djingulul Gandaju, the father of my three language workers (cf. chapter 2 for more information about this speaker). This is illustrated by the two conditional sentences in (595) and (596) below, for instance. They have the same meaning and occur next to each other in the text). While *biɲu* is lacking in the (sentence initial) conditional clause in (595), it is present in the conditional in (596):

(595) ɳarradhal (ma) waɲa walalama walala wurruku barrɲarra.

[ɲarra=dhal ma waɲa walala-ma]
1SG=towards?? PROG/CONT say(NEU) 3PL-GEN/DAT

walala wurruku barrɲarra
3PL will hear(NEU)

(i) ‘(If) I talk to them they will understand.’

(ii) ‘(When) I talk to them they will understand.’ (text HDG002_0314)

(596) Ga biḡu wurruku ḡarra waḡa walalama ga walala wurruku waḡa nhaḡu Burarra, walalama matha ḡarra rulka barrḡarra.

[ga	biḡu	wurruku	ḡarra	waḡa	walala-ma]
and	if/when	will	1SG	say(NEU)	3PL-GEN/DAT

[ga	walala	wurruku	waḡa	nhaḡu	Burarra
and	3PL	will	say(NEU)	this/here	Burarra

walala-ma	matha]
3PL-GEN/DAT	language

ḡarra	rulka	barrḡarra
1SG	not	hear(NEU)

- (i) ‘And if I will speak to them and they will talk their language Burarra, I do not understand.’
(ii) ‘And when I will speak to them and they will talk their language Burarra, I do not understand.’
(text HDG002_0316-0318)

The above example is the only one in the present corpus which contains a multiple conditional. Note that the subordinator *biḡu* is only used in the first of the two (coordinated) conditional clauses.

The following two sentences are also taken from a text which was recorded of Djingulul. They show the juxtaposition of a complex protasis and a complex apodosis. The presence of the modal particle *bika* ‘maybe’ in the protasis (line 1, 2, 3) and seemingly also the use of the modal clitic form =*wa* on the particle *berra* (line 2) as well as on the verb *dhiḡgama* ‘die’ in the apodosis (line 4, 5), result in the conditional interpretation of the sentence. The verbal suffix allomorphs *-(y)ala* (in *ḡaḡ’ḡaḡtjala* and *waḡayala* in lines 1 and 2) and *-wa* (in *raḡgawa* in line 5) indicate reference to the distant (habitual) past. The protasis and the apodosis are both complex constructions. For a better understanding of this sample sentence, it is helpful to focus on line 1 and lines 4 – 5, as these are the core clauses of the protasis and the apodosis, respectively. (The structural expressions in lines 6, 7 and 8 are irrelevant. They are only given to provide a wider contextual setting and to thus allow the reader to gain more insight into the meaning of the focussed clauses.)

(597) **Bika yāna ṅaṅ'ṅaṅtjala biṅu gapuwu berrawa waṅayala rulka “rulka nhaḷumi nham ṅanapilima gapu” berra, ṅayi bilawu dhiṅgamawa dhiṅgamawa gapuwa rangawa ga waṅgany yāna dhukarr nhamwhana guṅga'yalayini berra nhaṅu nhaṅu gapu berra.**

1 [bika yāna ṅaṅ'ṅaṅtj-ala biṅu gapu-wu
maybe just/only chase.away-PSThab that water(*Golpa)-GEN/DAT

2 [berra=**wa** waṅa-yala rulka
like.this=MOD say-PSThab not

3 rulka nhaḷu-mi nham ṅanapilima gapu berra]]
not eat/drink-*** this.is 1PLexcl.GEN/DAT water(*Golpa) like.this

4 ṅayi bilawu dhiṅga-ma=**wa**
3SG thus/like.this die-NEU=MOD

5 dhiṅga-ma=**wa** gapu-wu?? ranga-wa
die-NEU=MOD water(*Golpa)-GEN/DAT look.for-PSThab

6 ga waṅgany yāna dhukarr
and one(*Golpa) just/only road

7 nhamwhana guṅga'y-ala-yini berra nhaṅu
because.of.this?? help-PSThab-REFL/RCP like.this this/here

8 gapu berra
water(*Golpa) like.this

‘If (they) had sent (them) away for the water saying no, “don’t drink our water”, he (i.e. the tribe) would have died, looking for water, because that’s the only way (to go), (they) used to help each other (with) water.’ (text HDG003_0618-0624)

Similarly, the clitic form =*wa* occurs in the apodosis in (598) below (taken from the same text) where it is attached to the noun *gandarr* ‘middle, half way’ as well as to the verb *dhiṅgama* ‘die’. In addition to this device, the particle *wurruku* is functioning as a modal marker here. (This function of *wurruku* will also become evident in a number of other

examples. For a detailed discussion of *wurruku* and the expression of modal meanings, please skip to section 4.3.4.)

The protasis lacks a structural indication for a conditional interpretation.

(598) “Duy’tja ŋunhu gatjuy balaŋ’ku wurruku nhonu binmi” berra, rulka ŋayi wurruku gandarrŋawa dhiŋgamawa, mani daphun.

[<u>d</u> uy’tj-a	ŋunhu	gatjuy	balaŋ’ku	wurruku	nhonu
return-IMP	over.there	go.on.ahead	***	will	2SG

binmi	berra]
thus/like.this	like.this

rulka	ŋayi	wurruku	gandarr-ŋa= wa	dhiŋga-ma= wa
not	3SG	will	half.way-LOC=MOD	die-NEU=MOD

mani	daph-un
throat	dry.out-NEU

‘(If they would speak) like this, “you will go back”, he (i.e. the tribe) wouldn’t get half way and die, the throat(s) dry(ing) out.’ (text HDG003_0646-0648)

The elliptical structure in (597) and (598) above is characteristic of the older recordings made from Djingulul in 1965/1966. (This stylistic feature is discussed in section 6.1.) The sentence in (598) is highly elliptical in that it is not only the subject that is missing but most of the contextual frame/the protasis. However, this information can be inferred by the hearer on the basis of the presence of the particle *berra* (marking direct speech) and by means of the previous chain of clauses (or sentences) that are part of the hypothetic conversation the speaker reports about here.

Due to this hypothetic contextual setting, the adverbial clauses in the above two sample sentences can only be interpreted as being conditional clauses (and are not open to a temporal reading).

Imperative clauses may also be interpreted as conveying conditional meanings. (Please note that the protasis also precedes the apodosis in these examples.) The imperative clauses in (599) and) give the instruction of what needs to be done in order to arrive at what is stated in the following declarative clause:

(599) Balam dharpa ḡayatha, nhonu wurruku rulka wirrwapthun!

[balam dharpa ḡayath-**a**] # nhonu wurruku rulka wirrwapth-un
 that/there tree/stick have-IMP 2SG will not fall.down-NEU

‘Hold on to the tree, you will not fall down!’ (JBG149c)

(intended meaning: ‘If you do not hold on to the tree you will fall down.’)

(600) Mudhuḡay balam nhaḷuḡa baḡak, nhonu wurruku marandjirri!

[mudhuḡay balam nhaḷu-**ḡa** baḡak] # nhonu wurruku marandji-**rri**
 food that/there eat/drink-IMP still 2SG will fill.up-NEU

‘Keep eating your food, you will be filling up/full!’ (JBG169)

(intended meaning: ‘If you keep eating your food you will be filling up/full!’)

(This construction could also be interpreted as a sentence containing a purposive clause which lacks the particle *mārr* ‘so that’: ‘Keep eating your food so that you will be filling up/full!’)

As demonstrated by these examples, the imperative clause is linked to the subsequent clause by clausal juxtaposition. Both clauses are independent (and actually have their own illocutionary force). In each case, the declarative clause involves the particle *wurruku* and the verb in the NEU form. Like in other cases in which two clauses are juxtaposed, the linkage is indicated by a rising-falling intonation. (In both examples, the clauses are separated by a brief pause.)

Conditional clauses may have **verbal or non-verbal predicates** (cf. 6.3.1 and 6.3.2, respectively). Clauses with verbal predicates have already been given above (cf., for instance, *ḡayathama* in (593) or (*wurruku*) *waḡa* in (596)). The following two sentences involve conditional clauses with non-verbal predicates (i.e. *rulkaḡu mudhuḡay*, and *djulḡi*):

(601) Biḡu rulkaḡu mudhuḡay ḡarra rulka nhaḡuma.

[biḡu rulkaḡu mudhuḡay] ḡarra rulka nhaḡu-ma
if/when none/nothing food 1SG not eat/drink-NEU

(i) ‘If there is no food I do not eat.’

(ii) ‘When there is no food I do not eat.’ (JBG122c)

(602) Djulḡi (nhuḡ’ku) nhonu ḡarranha wurruku ḡäma huntingḡili?³⁹¹

[djulḡi nhuḡ’-ku]
good 2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT

nhonu ḡarra-nha wurruku ḡä-ma hunting-ḡili
2SG 1SG-ACC will bring/carry-NEU hunting-ALL

(i) ‘(If it is) okay (for you), would you take me hunting?’

(ii) ‘(When(ever) it is) okay (for you), will you take me hunting (then)?’ (JBG203b)

As already demonstrated by the above examples, the **protasis usually precedes the apodosis**. However, it is also perfectly acceptable to the Golpa (semi-)speakers when the protasis FOLLOWS the apodosis. For an illustration of such constructions, cf. (603) and (604):

(603) ḡarra wurruku nhuḡ’ku yoramaḡayu (biḡu) wurruku nhonu ḡaramaḡayu Darwinḡili.

ḡarra wurruku nhuḡ’-ku yora-ma=ḡayu
1SG will 2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT agree-NEU=PROM

[biḡu wurruku nhonu ḡara-ma=ḡayu Darwin-ḡili]
if/when will 2SG come/go-NEU=PROM Darwin-ALL

(i) ‘I will say yes to you if you will go to Darwin.’

(ii) ‘I will say yes to you when(ever) you will go to Darwin.’ (JGG069)

³⁹¹ I have asked for this sentence on a number of occasions. Although wäwa gave me the above construction repeatedly, he seems to prefer it without *nhuḡ’ku*. This sentence may also be uttered as a combination of a main clause and a non-finite construction, i.e. *Djulḡi nhonu [ḡänhara huntingḡili ḡarraku]*. lit. ‘You are good [to take me hunting].’ However, it is surprising that *ḡarra* may also bear ACC case marking: *Djulḡi nhonu [ḡänhara huntingḡili ḡarranha]* (cf. notes in JBG203b). In this case, the pronoun is outside the non-finite construction (as it would otherwise be required to appear with the GEN/DAT case). In the above sentence, clause linkage is indicated by a slightly raised intonation on *nhuḡ’ku* which is followed by a brief pause.

(604) Darra ḡanya wurruku ḡāḡ'tjun (biḡu) ḡayi wurruku ḡarraku girriyun munhamurru.

ḡarra ḡanya wurruku ḡāḡ'tj-un
1SG 3SG\ACC will ask-NEU

[biḡu ḡayi wurruku ḡarra-nha girriy-un munhamurru]
if/when 3SG will 1SG-ACC get.here-NEU tomorrow

(i) 'I will ask him if/whether s/he will come to me tomorrow.'

(ii) 'I will ask him when s/he will come to me tomorrow.' (JBG153)

In fact, the protasis and the apodosis of a sentence may normally be permuted (if the first clause is formally independent), as shown in the example pair in (605) and (606) below. (Note that both sentences convey the same meaning.)

(605) Biḡu ḡarra (wurruku) ḡanya maḡḡ'miyama(ḡayu) ḡarra wurruku nhan'ku baḡawumawa.

[biḡu ḡarra wurruku ḡanya maḡḡ'miya-ma=ḡayu]
if/when 1SG will 3SG\ACC find-NEU=PROM

[ḡarra wurruku nhan'-ku baḡawu-ma=wa]
1SG will 2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT give-NEU=MOD

(i) 'If I (will) find him I will give (it) to him.'

(ii) 'When(ever) I (will) find him I will give (it) to him.'

(606) Darra wurruku nhan'ku baḡawumawa biḡu ḡarra (wurruku) ḡanya maḡḡ'miyama(ḡayu).

(i) 'If I (will) find him I will give (it) to him.'

(ii) 'When(ever) I (will) find him I will give (it) to him.' (JBG152)

Nevertheless, examples involving conditional clauses preceding the main clause outnumber those following it by far. This “positional imbalance” shows that such clauses are preferably placed in sentence initial position. As already indicated in section 7.5 above, this positional behaviour of conditionals can be explained by their discourse-organising function: Conditional clauses state the condition that, if met, will result in what is stated in the other clause. Such clauses can thus be regarded as creating **fictitious referential frames** (cf. Caron 2006, 10f.). Along these lines, Diessel (2013, 350) describes conditionals as “fictive situations providing a conceptual framework for the interpretation of subsequent clauses”. Thus, the contextual frame is mentioned prior to the event(s) located within it. This linear order of the clauses is iconic with the actual order of the events.

In a similar way, Haiman (1978, 572f.) argued that conditionals, just like “given that” constructions, are treated like **topics** in that they are left dislocated constituents which state presuppositions. Conditionals and “given that” clauses also correspond in Golpa, as illustrated in the following example which involves two independent juxtaposed clauses:

(607) Darranayū munhamurru guruku huntingdili ṅarra rruku dūytjun latepa.

[ṅarra=ṅayu	munhamurru	guruku	hunting-dili]
1SG=PROM	tomorrow	will\come/go(NEU)??	hunting-ALL

ṅarra	wurruku	dūytj-un	late=pa
1SG	will	return-NEU	late=MOD

(i) ‘(If) I will go hunting tomorrow I will be home late.’

(ii) ‘Given that I go hunting tomorrow I will be home late.’ (JBG156)

Like a number of other examples above, this sentence is also open to a temporal reading (i.e. ‘(when(ever)) I will go hunting tomorrow I will be home late’). This shows that “scene-setting” or “topical (often presupposed) information” (Schmidtke-Bode 2012, 421) may not only be given in conditionals but also in temporal clauses (ibid; cf. also Diessel 2013, 350) which have also been found in sentence initial position in a number of Golpa examples.

In summary, the PREFERRED and thus frequently occurring structure of sentences with conditional clauses has the following features:

- It involves the use of *biŋu* in clause initial position in the protasis. (However, it may be preceded by the conjunction *ga* ‘and’ (as illustrated in (596) above).³⁹²)
- The protasis precedes the apodosis.
- Protasis and apodosis are independent clauses (i.e. the same subject is not deleted in the attached clause (cf., for instance, (592), (593) and (594)).
- Although the use of *biŋu* seems to be generally optional, the instances in which *biŋu* is used to mark the conditional relation between joined clauses outnumber the instances in which this marker is absent. Thus, Golpa (semi-) speakers seemingly prefer *biŋu* in conditionals (and in (structurally identical) temporal clauses).

7.5.1.2 Structure of the apodosis

So far, we have seen conditional clauses occurring with independent (declarative) clauses. However, conditionals have also been found linked to already complex sentences, dependent clauses and imperatives. In all instances, the conditional is introduced by *biŋu*, and may follow or precede the attached construction/apodosis. (In the following examples, the square brackets are used to indicate the apodoses of the sentences. In cases where the apodosis is complex, an additional set of square brackets marks the dependent clause of the apodosis.)

I first attend to examples with **complex apodoses**.

(608) Biŋu ŋarra wurruku nhaŋuma nhaŋu miriŋu mudhuŋay ŋarra wurruku ŋambaŋambatjyun bala dhiŋgamawa.

biŋu	ŋarra	wurruku	nhaŋu-ma	nhaŋu	miriŋu	mudhuŋay
if/when	1SG	will	eat/drink-NEU	this/here	bad	food

[ŋarra wurruku	ŋambaŋambatjy-un	[bala	dhiŋga-ma=wa]]
1SG will	be.sick-NEU	and.then	die-NEU=MOD

(i) ‘If I will/would eat this bad food I will/would be sick and die.’

(ii) ‘When I will eat this bad food I will be sick and die.’ (JBG215a; wäwa and Garrutju)

³⁹² In Djambarrpuyŋu, the *biŋu*-equivalent *ŋunhi* may also be preceded by the conjunction *ga* ‘and’ (cf., e.g. example 917 in Wilkinson 1991).

(609) Biḡu ḡarra nḡaḷunḡa nḡaḡu miriḡu mudḡuḡay ḡarra ḡambaḡambatḡyanḡa bala dḡiḡanḡa.³⁹³

biḡu	ḡarra	nḡaḷu-nḡa	nḡaḡu	miriḡu	mudḡuḡay
if	1SG	eat/drink-PST	this/here	bad	food

[ḡarra ḡambaḡambatḡy-anḡa	[bala	dḡiḡa-nḡa]]
1SG be.sick-PST	and.then	die-PST

‘Had I eaten this bad food I would have gotten sick and died.’

(JBG215b; wāwa and Garrutju)

The above sample sentences in (608) and (609) only vary in regard to their time reference: While the events in the protasis and the apodosis in (608) have a future interpretation (by the use of verbs in the NEU form, involving the suffixes *-ma/-un*, and the irrealis particle *wurruku*), they are located in the past in (609) (by the use of the PST verb form, involving the suffix *-nḡa/-anḡa*). (Note that in each sentence, all verbs carry the same inflection, in the protasis and in both clauses of the apodosis.) In both examples, the protasis is linked to a complex apodosis consisting of an independent clause and a dependent clause. The dependent clause of the apodosis lacks the overt expression of the subject argument and only consists of the conjunction *bala* ‘and then’ and a form of the verb *dḡiḡama* (NEU form) ‘die’. In (608), the verb in the dependent clause (of the apodosis) shows the modal clitic form =*wa* which is lacking in the independent clause (of the apodosis). There, the particle *wurruku* can be interpreted to function as a modal marker. However, the verb in the independent clause (of the apodosis) may additionally bear a modal clitic form, cf. (610):

(610) [...] ḡarra wurruku ḡambaḡambatḡyun=*ba* bala dḡiḡamawa.

With respect to the sentence in (608), note that *wurruku* is open to a temporal and a modal interpretation in both the protasis and the apodosis.

Another instance demonstrating the linkage of a conditional clause with a complex sentence is given in (611) below:

(611) Biḡu wurruku waḡuḡayu ḡarama ḡayi wurruku way’thun bala nḡaḷuma ḡayi wurruku nḡunanḡa ḡa ḡarranḡa, yindi waḡu.

³⁹³ Note that this sentence has a counterfactual reading. In such examples, *biḡu* is only glossed *if* (instead of *if/when*).

(613) Biḡu ḡarraku walu dḡiniku waḡgapununhara.

biḡu ḡarra-ku walu
if 1SG-GEN/DAT day/time/sun

[dḡini-ku waḡgapunu-nhara]
this/here-GEN/DAT cook-NOML/INF

‘I would have cooked the meat had I had the time.’ (JBG159)
(lit. ‘If there is time for me to cook this.’)

(614) Biḡu(ḡayu) ḡarraku wurruku walu garanhara malthanhara nhuḡ’ku.³⁹⁴

biḡu=ḡayu ḡarra-ku wurruku walu
if=PROM 1SG-GEN/DAT will day/time/sun

[gara-nhara malth-anhara nhuḡ’-ku]
come/go-NOML/INF go.with-NOML/INF 2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT

‘If I had time I would come with you.’³⁹⁵ (JBG160)
(lit.: If I had time to come with you.)
(intended meaning: ‘If I had time I would come with you.’)

In the above two examples (613) and (614), a sentence initial conditional clause (introduced by *biḡu*) is combined with a non-finite construction. These are the only instances in the present/analysed corpus which illustrate the linkage of two subordinate clauses. The non-finite clause in (613) consists of a nominalised verb and a GEN/DAT-marked demonstrative pronoun (denoting an undergoer). The non-finite clause in (614) involves two nominalised

³⁹⁴ Since wāwa accepted this sentence as given above (on the phone in August 2014), the option that this construction may have resulted from the fact that the speaker was correcting *garanhara* with *mathanhara*, can be ruled out. Instead, the above sentence involves a serial verb construction (cf. section 7.2). I tried to find out whether the entire sentence is a complex conditional clause which INCLUDES a non-finite construction. Therefore, I wanted to check whether this sentence could be expanded by adding a main clause. In order to do this, I used the non-verbal structure *dḡulḡi* ‘(it is) good’ to not complicate the already complex structure any more (i.e. [*Biḡu(ḡayu) ḡarraku wurruku walu [garanhara malthanhara nhuḡ’ku]*] [*dḡulḡi*]). ‘(It will be) good if I have time to come with you.’ Unfortunately, it was very hard to get wāwa to react to just this part of the example. However, I had the impression that he did not need such a main clause to “complete” this sentence (which involves two subordinate clauses).

³⁹⁵ Later, wāwa translated the sentence with ‘It’s my time to go and walk with you.’

verbs and a GEN/DAT-marked personal pronoun. Alternatively, the apodosis in (614) may take the form of an independent clause, cf.):

(615) Biṇu ḡarraku wurruku dhäl ḡarra wurruku malthun nhuḡ'ku.

biṇu	ḡarra-ku	wurruku	dhäl
if	1SG-GEN/DAT	will	want/feel

[ḡarra	wurruku	malth-un	nhuḡ'-ku]
1SG	will	go.with-NEU	2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT

'If it will feel for me, I will/would come with you.' (JBG161)

In (616) the apodosis is an **imperative clause**.

(616) Biṇu wurruku garama(ḡayu) wakir'dili(ḡayu) djulḡiyuḡa ḡurriya!

biṇu	wurruku	gara-ma=ḡayu	wakir' ³⁹⁶ -dili=ḡayu
if/when	will	come/go-NEU=PROM	hunt&camp-ALL=PROM

[djulḡi-ya ³⁹⁷ -ḡa	ḡurri-ya]
good-VERB-IMP	sleep(alt.form)-IMP

(i) 'If you go camping have a good rest (there)!'

(ii) 'When you go camping have a good rest (there)!' (JBG162; wäwa and Garrutju)

In summary, we have seen that a conditional interpretation may result from various types of constructions. The vast majority of sentences involving conditional clauses I collected from wäwa, some are from Garrutju and few others I found in the analysed text corpus. It is noteworthy that, unlike wäwa, Garrutju responded to my English stimuli of conditional sentences with the preferred structures as described in the summary paragraph of section 7.5.1.1 above. Note that such constructions are structurally close to conditional sentences in English. Wäwa's responses resemble this structure much less frequently. However, I do not know for sure whether this has to do with the fact that the two speakers have a different degree of fluency in Golpa (cf. section 2.1 for socio-linguistic information).

³⁹⁶ Note that *wakir'* is used as a noun here (as opposed to the infinitive form of the verb *wakir'yun*, i.e. *wakir'yanhara*).

³⁹⁷ Occasionally, wäwa and Garrutju also used *djulḡi-yu-ḡa*.

The following example series (617) though (620) illustrates that some of wāwa's Golpa translations of an English conditional sentence do not involve conditionals at all. These constructions were given by wāwa in this order for my English stimulus 'if I had food I would eat something' (The clauses which are relevant for the discussion below are marked by square brackets.)

(617) Nhaṅu ḡarraku, rulka ḡarraku ḡatha nhaḷunhara, mudhuḡay.

nhaṅu	[ḡarra-ku]	[rulka ḡarra-ku
this/here(SLIP)	1SG-GEN/DAT(SLIP)	not 1SG-GEN/DAT

ḡatha]	[nhaḷu-nhara]	mudhuḡay
food(*Golpa)	eat/drink-NOML/INF	food

lit.: 'This is my (SLIP), (there is) no food for me to eat.' (JBG122b)

(618) Rulkaṅu ḡarraku mudhuḡay ḡarra rulka nhaḷunha.

[rulkaṅu ḡarra-ku	mudhuḡay]	[ḡarra rulka nhaḷu-nha]
none/nothing 1SG-GEN/DAT	food	1SG not eat/drink-PST

lit.: '(There is) no food for me, (so) I did not eat.'

(619) Nhaṅu ḡarra rulkaṅu ḡarraku mudhuḡay ḡarra rulka nhaḷunha.

[nhaṅu ḡarra	rulkaṅu	ḡarra-ku	mudhuḡay]
this/here 1SG(SLIP)	none/nothing	1SG-GEN/DAT	food

[ḡarra rulka nhaḷu-nha]
1SG not eat/drink-PST

lit.: 'This food (is/was) not for me/this (is) not my food, (so) I did not eat.'

(620) Biṅu rulkaṅu mudhuḡay ḡarra rulka nhaḷuma.

[biṅu rulkaṅu	mudhuḡay]	[ḡarra rulka nhaḷu-ma]
if none/nothing food	1SG not	eat/drink-NEU

lit.: 'If (there is) no food I do not eat.' (JBG122c)

Despite the sentence initial slip *nhaṅu ḡarraku*, that I ignore here, the sentence in (617) consists of the non-verbal main clause *rulka ḡarraku ḡatha*, the discontinuous non-finite

construction *ɲarraku nhalunhara* and the item *mudhunay* (which was added by the speaker at the end of the sentence to correct the non-Golpa word *ɲatha*).

The sentences in (618) and (619) are structurally identical, except for that (619) starts out with what appears to be a slip of the tongue (i.e. *nhanu ɲarra*). Both examples consist of two independent clauses. Since the second clause states the result of the event given in the preceding clause, each sentence has a conditional interpretation. (The construction of (618) may have been repeated by *wāwa* in (619) in order to create more time to think about further sentences translating to my English stimulus.)

Only the last construction (i.e. (620)) involves a “typical” conditional clause (as described in section 7.5.1.1).

7.5.1.3 Conditional sentences with a counterfactual reading

We already saw two sentences with a counterfactual interpretation in (609) and (612) above. Other constructions with such a reading most often involve the modal(ity) particle *wanha* in one of the clauses, or in both. Again, *biɲu* is optional. In examples which lack this subordinating element, clause linkage is usually expressed by the rising-falling intonation pattern but may also be signalled by the absence of a pause. (The square brackets in the examples below mark the protases.)

(621) **Darra wanha (biɲurumɲa)³⁹⁸ nhaɲ’kum ɲarra wanha warritjiyala.**

[ɲarra	wanha	biɲurum-ɲa	nhaɲ’ku-m]
1SG	surely	that(alt.form)-LOC	that/there-DEM.SUFF

ɲarra	wanha	warritjiy- ala
1SG	surely	dance-PSThab

‘(Had) I (been) there I would have danced.’

(JBG163)

(lit. ‘(If) I (was) surely there I surely used to dance.’)

³⁹⁸ The word *biɲurumɲa* was only used once in *wāwa*’s repetitions of the sentence.

(622) Biḡu wanha ḡalima ḡarriḡa bondi ḡalima wanha ḡama'ḡamayala biḡu nhäyḡu nyälka.

[biḡu	wanha	ḡalima	ḡarri-ḡa	bondi]
if	surely	1PLincl	place-LOC	quickly

ḡalima	wanha	ḡama'ḡamay- ala	biḡu	nhäyḡu	nyälka
1PLincl	surely	make-PSThab	that	HESIT	bag/basket

'Had we been home earlier we would have made the baskets.'
(JBG164c)³⁹⁹

The above two examples are uniform in construction: (i) both the conditional as well as the apodosis involve the form *wanha*, (ii) the conditional clause has a non-verbal predicate, and (iii) the verb in the apodosis appears with the PSThab form (i.e. with the suffix *-(y)ala*) which is used to indicate reference to the distant (habitual) past.

The following example was given as an alternative construction to (622) above. The conditional clause in this sentence has a verbal predicate which appears with a PSThab inflection, just like the verb in the apodosis:

(623) Biḡu wanha ḡalima early ḡirriyala ḡarriḡa biḡu wanha ḡalima ḡama'ḡamayala nyälka.⁴⁰⁰

[biḡu	wanha	ḡalima	early	ḡirriy- ala	ḡarri-ḡa]
if	surely	1PLincl	early	get.here-PSThab	place-LOC

biḡu	wanha	ḡalima	ḡama'ḡamay- ala	nyälka
that	surely	1PLincl	make-PSThab	bag/basket

'Had we gotten home earlier we would have made the baskets.'
(JBG164b)

³⁹⁹ When I checked this sentence with wäwa again (on the phone in 2014), he offered me an alternative construction with a potential interpretation: [*biḡu ḡarriḡa bondi*] ḡalima wurruku ḡama'ḡamayun nyälka 'if (we are) home early we will make baskets'. (The verb in the apodosis here may also take the PST inflection.)

⁴⁰⁰ When I double-checked this sentence with wäwa (on the phone in 2014), he immediately accepted this construction (again). However, he then translated it with 'If we get here early we are going to make baskets.'

Counterfactual interpretations may also result from constructions where **the apodosis lacks *wanha***, cf. (624), (625), (627) and (628):

(624) Biḡu wanha ḡalima ḡätjili girriyala ḡarriḡa ḡalima ḡama'ḡamayala biḡu nyälka.

[biḡu	wanha	ḡalima	ḡätjili	girriy- ala	ḡarri-ḡa]
if	surely	1PLincl	a.while.ago	get.here-PSThab	place-LOC

ḡalima	ḡama'ḡamay- ala	nyälka
1PLincl	make-PSThab	bag/basket

'Had we been/gotten home earlier we would have made the baskets.' (JBG164a)

(This sentence was offered by wäwa as yet another alternative construction to (622). It could also be interpreted temporally, i.e. 'When(ever) we used to get home early we used to make baskets.')

In the following examples (625), (627) and (628), the apodosis also lacks *wanha*. However, contrary to the sentence in (624) where the verb appears in the PSThab form in both clauses (and thus expresses an identical time reference for the two described propositions), the clauses in (625), (627) and (628) show different verbal inflections: While the inflected verbs in the protases of these examples indicate distant (habitual) past, the verbal inflections in the apodoses express irrealis notions (by use of the NEU verb form and the irrealis particle *wurruku*, like in (625) and (627)), or past time reference (like in (628)).

(625) Biḡu ḡarra wanha ḡurriyala rulka ḡarra wurruku djäma.

[biḡu	ḡarra	wanha ḡurri- yala] ²	rulka] ²	ḡarra	wurruku	djäma ⁴⁰¹
if	1SG	surely sleep(alt.form)-PSThab	not	1SG	will	work

'Had I slept I would not have worked.'/'Had I not slept I would work.'/ (JBG165a)

The precise interpretation of the above sentence in (625) depends on what clause *rulka* is attributed to by the speaker and/or hearer (as indicated by the questioned clause boundary markers in the gloss line). Although this construction was accepted immediately by the speaker (wäwa) I was given the following construction in (626) shortly after:

⁴⁰¹ *Djäma* belongs to a set of non-inflecting verbs. (In ((626) below, *djäma* functions as a noun.)

(626) Darra wurruku ḡorra ḡarra rruku rulka garama djämadili.

[ḡarra wurruku ḡorra]
1SG will sleep(NEU)

ḡarra wurruku rulka gara-ma djäma-dili
1SG will not come/go-NEU work-ALL

‘(If) I will sleep I will not go to work.’ (JBG165b)

Note that this construction has a potential reading. However, it seemed to be wäwa’s preferred response to my counterfactual English stimulus (cf. translation line in (625)). This type of construction was also produced by Garrutju (for counterfactual English stimuli). Structures like in (621) through (625) only came from wäwa (as indicated by the references). Nevertheless, it is to be mentioned that wäwa usually did not immediately respond with such constructions but had to think about them.

Like in (625), the apodosis in (627)) below expresses an irrealis notion:

(627) Biḡu ḡarra wanha ḡurriyala rulka ḡarra nhunanha wurruku nhäma.

[biḡu ḡarra wanha ḡurri-yala]
if 1SG surely sleep(alt.form)-PSThab

rulka ḡarra nhuna-nha wurruku nhä-ma
not 1SG 2SG(alt.form)-ACC will see-NEU

‘You sleep never seeing somebody.’/‘Had I been sleeping I would not have seen you’

(JBG165c)

The apodosis in (628) involves a PST-marked verb form:

(628) Biḡu ḡarra wanha ḡurriyala rulka ḡarra nhunanha nhānhaḡayu.⁴⁰²

[biḡu ḡarra wanha ḡurri-yala]
if 1SG surely sleep(alt.form)-PSThab

rulka ḡarra nhuna-nha nhā-nha=ḡayu
not 1SG 2SG(alt.form)-ACC see-PST=PROM

‘Had I been sleeping I would not have seen you.’ (JBG165d)

The sentence in) below does not have the typical conditional interpretation. However, it is cited here because the sentence initial clause also involves the particle *wanha* and the PSThab form of the verb, and has the counterfactual interpretation that we have seen in the above examples. (Note that the irrealis construction in the second/adverbial clause indicates obligation.)

(629) Darra wanha ḡurriyala ḡarru ḡarra wurruku djāma.

ḡarra wanha ḡurri-yala ḡarru ḡarra wurruku djāma
1SG surely sleep(alt.form)-PSThab but 1SG will work
‘I would have slept but I have to work.’ (JBG165e)

As shown in the above examples, *wanha* only co-occurs with verbs in the PSThab form (or in non-verbal clauses). Golpa stimuli sentences in which the protasis involves *wanha* and the PST verb form were not accepted by wāwa but changed into constructions with a potential reading involving the irrealis particle *wurruku* and the NEU verb form in both the protasis and the apodosis (like in (626) above). These example pairs are cited in (630) through (634) below. The constructions that were given by the speaker (to correct mine) are indicated by an arrow. Note that their meanings also deviate from those I initially sought for. “My” sentences are marked as ungrammatical by an asterisk (*):

⁴⁰² Wāwa did not accept any other form of *nhāma* ‘see.I’ here.

(630) *Nhonu wanha nhaḡu nhaḡunha mudhuḡay nhonu wanha wurruku ḡambaḡamba'tjun.

[nhonu **wanha** nhaḡu nhaḡu-**nha** mudhuḡay]
 2SG surely this/here eat/drink-PST food

nhonu wurruku ḡambaḡamba'tj-un
 2SG will be.sick-NEU

intended meaning: 'Had you eaten the food you would be sick.'

→ **(631) Nhonu wurruku nhaḡuma nhaḡu mudhuḡay mǎrr nhonu wurruku rulka ḡambaḡamba'tjun.**

nhonu **wurruku** nhaḡu-**ma** nhaḡu mudhuḡay
 2SG will eat/drink-NEU this/here food

mǎrr nhonu wurruku rulka ḡambaḡamba'tj-un
 so/that 2SG will not be.sick-NEU

'You will eat this food so you won't get sick.' (JBG166)

(Note that the above sentence includes a purpose clause, introduced by the particle *mǎrr*.)

(632) *Nhonu wanha nhaḡu nhaḡunha mudhuḡay nhonu wanha ḡambaḡamba'tjanha(wa).

[nhonu **wanha** nhaḡu nhaḡu-**nha** mudhuḡay]
 2SG surely this/here eat/drink-PST food

nhonu wanha ḡambaḡamba'tj-anha=wa
 2SG surely be.sick-PST=MOD

intended meaning: 'Had you eaten the food you would have been sick.'

Although wǎwa began repeating the structure offered by me, i.e. *wanha nhonu nhaḡunha ḡatha* ('Had you eaten the food'), he paused and went on giving me the following sentence:

→ (633) **Nhonu wurruku nhaṅu ṅatha nhaluma nhonu rruku rulka ṅambaṅamba'tjun.**

[nhonu	wurruku	nhaṅu	ṅatha	nhalu-ma]
2SG	will	this/here	food(*Golpa)	eat/drink-NEU

nhonu	wurruku	rulka	ṅambaṅamba'tj-un
2SG	will	not	be.sick-NEU

‘(If) you will eat this food you will not be sick.’

(JBG167)

Wäwa did not accept the following sentence either:

(634) ***Biṅu ṅarra wanha nhaṅ'kuṁ nyininya ṅarra wanha warritjiyala.**

[biṅu	ṅarra	wanha	nhaṅ'ku-m	nyini-nya]
if	1SG	surely	that/there-DEM.SUFF	sit(alt.form)-PST

ṅarra	wanha	warritji-yala
1SG	surely	dance-PSThab

intended meaning: ‘Had I been there I would have danced.’

Having considered all currently available data, I am drawn to conclude that a counterfactual reading results from the use of *wanha*⁴⁰³ in the protasis which is either a non-verbal clause or involves a verb with a PSThab inflection. In the apodosis (in which the particle *wanha* may or may not occur), the verb has been found in the NEU form (indicating reference to the present moment, or, if also involving the particle *wurruku*, to an irrealis situation (including future time reference)), the PST form (indicating past time reference) and the PSThab form (indicating reference to the distant (habitual) past).⁴⁰⁴

As illustrated in (609) and (612), a counterfactual interpretation also follows from the expression of past time reference in both clauses.

Counterfactual propositions like ‘had I seen him I would have given it to him’ may also be expressed by complex sentences involving adverbial clauses conveying purpose or reason, like in ‘I didn’t see him so (that) I didn’t give it to him’/‘I didn’t give it to him because I didn’t see him’.

⁴⁰³ In Wangurri the counterfactual particle *warri* is used. However, in that language the expression of conditionals (including counterfactuals) also requires a certain word order (cf. McLellan 1992, 151f.).

⁴⁰⁴ The IMP form, NOML/INF form and IRR form of the verb may not occur in counterfactual constructions (with and without *wanha*).

7.5.2 Sentences with an adverbial clause indicating time

Just like conditional clauses (and most relative clauses), temporal clauses are often akin to the independent (main) clauses they are attached to, and usually involve *biḡu*.

Like in other languages where ‘if’ = ‘when’, in Golpa, the SEMANTICALLY close temporal and conditional clauses are also “SUPERFICIALLY identical” (cf. Haiman 1987, 581). This was already demonstrated by a number of examples.

However, there are some differences between temporal and conditional clauses: While conditionals are predominantly positioned before the main clause, temporal clauses have been found to precede AND to follow the main clause. As already mentioned above, these positional tendencies can be explained with their pragmatic or communicative functions: Whereas “preposed temporal clauses create a temporal setting for foreground information in subsequent clauses based on information from the preceding discourse⁴⁰⁵, [...] final adverbial clauses [including temporal clauses]⁴⁰⁶ complete or narrow the meaning of the preceding (main) clause” (Diessel 2013, 350). As conditionals usually have a topic function, they most often occur before the main clause which then provides further (new) information.

Despite these functional and (thus) positional differences, there are also structural differences between temporal and conditional clauses: (i) Unlike conditionals, temporal clauses may not only be introduced by *biḡu* (cf.) for an example which only has a temporal interpretation) but also by the shared Yolḡu particle *bili* meaning ‘and then/(when)’ (cf. (655)), the conjunction *bala* ‘and then’ (as in), the interrogative adverb *nhätha* ‘when’ (cf. (656)), the conjunction *ga* ‘and’ (cf. (637)), or the particle *ḡarruwa ~ ḡarruba* ‘before’ (cf. (649) through (654)). (ii) Temporal clauses conveying simultaneity can be expressed by non-finite constructions (cf. (639) and (641)), serial verb constructions (cf. (640) and (643)), or relative clauses (cf. (642)). Temporal clauses may thus exhibit a higher degree of subordination than any conditional clause does. (iii) While conditionals may also have a temporal interpretation under certain conditions, and vice versa, temporal clauses may additionally be open to a relative clause reading. (Cf. section 7.8 for a discussion of multifunctional clauses.)

The event/action expressed in a temporal clause may describe (i) a point in time which lies within the time span of the event given in the main clause (“framed temporal expressions”), (ii) an event which continues for as long as the main clause event/action carries on (expression of simultaneous events), (iii) an event happening after (expression of

⁴⁰⁵ This refers to the topic function of temporal clauses.

⁴⁰⁶ The comment presented in brackets was added by me for a better understanding of the quote in the above context.

posteriority) or (iv) before the main clause event (expression of anteriority). These temporal concepts may be expressed by various means.

(i) “**Framed temporal expressions**” are realised by the use of particles and clausal juxtaposition.

Although *biŋu*-clauses may be multifunctional (cf. section 7.8), there are a number of instances in which they have only one interpretation. In example (635) below, *biŋu* clearly introduces a temporal clause:

(635) Damu’lu ma nhänha bitja biŋu ŋarra wirrwapthanha dharpaŋuru.

ŋamu’-lu	ma	nhä-nha	bitja
mother-ERG	PROG/CONT	see-PST	picture(TV)

[biŋu	ŋarra	wirrwapth-anha	dharpa-ŋuru]
when	1SG	fall.down-PST	tree/stick-ABL

‘Mother was watching TV when I fell off the tree.’ (JBG140b)

(Like in numerous other examples of complex sentences, the intonation rises on the last constituent of the first clause (i.e. *bitja*) to indicate that more is to follow. The pitch then falls towards the end of the second clause.)

The temporal clause in the following example involves *bala*:

(636) Dayiŋayu biŋu ga worruŋuyinyawa bala dalpamdjinyawa.

ŋayi=ŋayu	biŋu	ga	worruŋu-yi-nya=wa
3SG=PROM	that	and(HESIT)	old.person-INCH/VERB-PST=MOD

[bala	dalpam-dji-nya=wa]
and.then	dead-INCH\VERB-PST=MOD

(i) ‘He was very old and died.’

(ii) ‘He was very old when (he) died.’ (s.v. *worruŋu* (Golpa dictionary); Garrutju)

The sentence in (637) below is the only one of its kind in the corpus where the conjunctive coordinating particle *ga* ‘and’ introduces a clause which (only) has a temporal interpretation.

However, note that *ga* COULD function as a hesitation marker here. The verbs in both clauses show an identical inflection:

(637) Darra ma garanha bala djunama towndili ga nhonuḡayu ḡarraku ring-him-upnha.

ḡarra	ma	gara-nha	bala ⁴⁰⁷	djunama	town-dili
1SG	PROG/CONT	come/go-PST	SLIP	towards.there	town-ALL

[**ga** nhonu=ḡayu ḡarra-ku ring_him_up-nha]
and 2SG=PROM 1SG-GEN/DAT call-PST

‘I was walking to town when you called me.’ (JBG150b)

Alternatively, *biḡu* could be used instead of *ga*.⁴⁰⁸

A framed temporal expression may also occur **juxtaposed** to another clause, cf. (638):

(638) Darra djuḡuḡ’yanha giwitjdili yindidili waḡabadili ḡarra barrḡarranha mutika.

ḡarra	djuḡuḡ’y-anha	giwitj-dili	yindi-dili	waḡaba-dili
1SG	hide-PST	behind-ALL	big-ALL	rock-ALL

[ḡarra barrḡarra-nha mutika]
1SG hear-PST car

‘I (was) hid(ing) behind the big rock (when) I heard a car.’ (JBG175)

Such clauses may precede or follow the other clause.

(ii) Temporal clauses indicating **simultaneity** have been found to be realised by the use of ABL-marked non-finite constructions, serial verb constructions, relative clauses, clausal juxtaposition and the subordinator *biḡu*.

⁴⁰⁷ Here, *bala* could either be ‘and.then’ or ‘away.from.speaker(*Golpa)’. In any case, it is very likely that it was a slip of the tongue.

⁴⁰⁸ A comparable sentence is the following: *Darra ma garanha gukuḡuwara towndili biḡu nhonu ḡarraku waḡanhanḡayu*. ‘I was walking to town with my child (of opposite moiety) WHEN you talked to me/called me.’ (JBG150)

I now attend to these devices in turn and first discuss **non-finite constructions**. One such example is given in (639) below:

(639) Darra ma nhaluma mudhuḡay nyininyaraḡuru.

ḡarra	ma	nhaḡu-ma	mudhuḡay	[nyini-nyara-ḡuru]
1SG	PROG/CONT	eat/drink-NEU	food	sit(alt.form)-NOML/INF-ABL

‘I am eating while sitting.’ (JBG172a)

The more literal translation of the above sentence would be ‘I am eating from sitting (position)’. The main clause (i.e. *ḡarra ma nhaluma mudhuḡay*) is followed by a non-finite clause that only consists of the verbal infinitive component: The verb *nyena* ‘sit, stay, live/exist’ appears with the PST inflection to which the suffix *-ra* is attached. This (semantically empty) combined form is a structural requirement in Golpa if nominal suffixes are to be added to a verb. The NOML/INF form is only found in (non-finite) subordinate clauses (cf. section 4.3.3 and section 6.3.2). In non-finite constructions expressing simultaneity, this nominalised/infinitive form bears the ablative suffix *-ḡuru* (or the PERL/TRANS suffix *-murru*). Like in the vast majority of non-finite constructions, TMA distinctions are not indicated in this case-marked subordinate clause but are shared with the main clause. Due to the use of the NEU verb form and the continuous particle *ma* in the main clause the above example, the two situations are expressed as continuous events that are temporally located in the present moment/the moment of speaking.

Alternatively, the meaning of the above sentence may be conveyed by the following construction:

(640) Darra ma nhaluma mudhuḡay nyena.

ḡarra	ma	nhaḡu-ma	mudhuḡay	nyena
1SG	PROG/CONT	eat/drink-NEU	food	sit(NEU)

‘I am eating while sitting.’ (JBG172b)
 (lit. ‘I am eating (and) sit(ting).’)

In this sentence, the ABL-marked infinitive *nyininyaraḡuru* is replaced by the finite form *nyena*. Contrary to (639), the utterance in (640) consists of only one clause in which the verbs *nyena* and *nhaluma* form a **serial verb construction** (as described in section 7.2).

Another example pair illustrating that an ABL-marked non-finite ‘while’-clause has a finite counterpart is given in (641) - (642):

(641) Bärulu nha_luma ma ɲutjatja rurryanharanuru.

bäru-lu	nha _l u-ma	ma	ɲutjatja
crocodile-ERG	eat/drink-NEU	PROG/CONT	fish

[rurr’y-anhara-ɲuru]

walk-NOML/INF-ABL

‘The crocodile is eating fish while walking.’ (JBG173a)

(lit. ‘The crocodile is eating fish from the walking (position).’)

(642) Bärulu nha_luma ma ɲutjatja rurryun.

bäru-lu	nha _l u-ma	ma	ɲutjatja	rurr’y-un
crocodile-ERG	eat/drink-NEU	PROG/CONT	fish	walk-NEU

‘The crocodile is eating fish while walking.’ (JBG173b)

(lit. ‘The crocodile is eating fish (and) walk(ing).’)

Note that the sentence in (642) ranges somewhere between a serial verb construction and a **relative construction**. The structure of this sentence is discussed in section 7.2 (and is again referred to in section 7.6.3).

Analogous to the elicited examples presented in (640) and (642), I have also found a sentence in the analysed text corpus in which a finite clause expresses simultaneity:

(643) [...] djäga ɲali wurruku ma nyena.

djäga ⁴⁰⁹	ɲali	wurruku	ma	nyena
take.care	1DUincl	will	PROG/CONT	sit(NEU)

‘[...] (and) we will take care (of us/ourself) while sitting (here).’ (text JBG005_0020)

In the above sentence, the particle *wurruku* has scope over both verbs. Note that in the examples (640), (642) and (643) the scope of the aspectual particle *ma* also covers both verbs, irrelevant of its position. Also, in all these cases, both verbs carry an identical (NEU) inflection. However, since only the verbs in (640) and (643) also share the semantic AND

⁴⁰⁹ Recall that *djäga* belongs to the restricted class of “unchanging” (non-inflecting) verbs.

grammatical subject argument, these sentences have been classified as constituting only one clause of which each involves a serial verb construction (while (642) involves a relative construction).

(The fact that the second (finite or non-finite) verbal form occurs in sentence final position in all these above examples seems to be irrelevant for the analysis.)

As for the Dhuwal language Djambarrpunu, ABL-marked subordinate clauses have been described to mark the following functions: “motion from, cessation from, change from condition, cause, start of temporal span, prior event” (Wilkinson 1991, 637ff.). With respect to the semantics of the above sentences in (639) and (641), the ABL-suffix on the infinitive in the non-finite clause expresses a temporal meaning marking the event of the subordinate clause (i.e. the sitting and walking) as the start of the time span within which the event of the main clause takes place.

(Another example illustrating an ABL-marked non-finite construction is given in (644) below:

(644) Gul'miyaŋa waṭunha gukdjanharaŋuru.

gul'miya-ŋa waṭu-nha [gukdj-**anhara-ŋuru**]

stop-IMP dog-ACC bark-NOML/INF-ABL

‘Stop the dog from barking!’

(s.v. *gukdjun* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

However, note that the non-finite construction in this example is not a ‘while’-clause. This sentence also differs structurally from the above examples in that the main clause is an imperative clause. Unfortunately, this is the only sentence of its kind.)

Non-finite ‘while’-clauses may also be expressed by the **PERL/TRANS** suffix *-murru* ‘through, along’, cf. (645):

(645) Darra ma nha_luma mudhuḡay garanharamurru.

ḡarra	ma	nha _l u-ma	mudhuḡay	
1SG	PROG/CONT	eat/drink-NEU	food	

[gara-**nhara-murru**]

come/go-NOML/INF-PERL/TRANS

‘I am eating while walking.’

(JBG137a)

(~ *Darra ma nhaluma mudhuḡay garanharayuru.*)

The PERL/TRANSgressive suffix *-murru* ‘through, along’ is also reported to mark ‘while’-clauses in Yan-nhaḡu⁴¹⁰ (cf. Bowern et al. 2006, 60) in which it is also attached to the infinitive form of the verb:

Yan-nhaḡu

(646) Dar’taryanaramurru nhani mananha rakunha guya.

[dar’tary-anara-murru]	nhani	mana ⁴¹¹ -nha	raku-nha	guya
sing-INF-PERL/TRANS	3SG	PROG/CONT-PST	spear-PST	fish

‘While singing, he was spearing fish.’

(For a better understanding and the sake of consistency, I have changed the annotation according to my definitions.)⁴¹²

(However, I do not know whether ‘while’-clauses may also be ABL-marked in Yan-nhaḡu.)

The case-marking found in such non-finite temporal clauses correlates with the usual functions of the case markers: The ABL marking refers to the position in/from which the action is carried out, while the PERL/TRANS marker points to the continuity of the situation/action in question.

⁴¹⁰ Please recall that Yan-nhaḡu is the only Nhaḡu variety besides Golpa which has received linguistic attention.

⁴¹¹ As noted in section 4.1.1.4, other Yolḡu languages (including Yan-nhaḡu) make use of continuous aspectual auxiliaries, whereas Golpa only has the continuous particle *ma*.

⁴¹² The original annotation is as follows:

dar’taryanaramurru	nhani	mana-nha	raku-nha	guya
while singing	he	CONT-PAST	spear-PAST	fish

Simultaneity has also been found to be expressed by **juxtaposition** of two independent (main) clauses. In the following example (647), the verbs in the two clauses (each given in square brackets) show an identical inflection, indicating past time reference. Since both clauses state ongoing events each of them includes the aspectual particle *ma*.

(647) Balay ma miyamanha ṅayiṅayu ma warritjinya.

[balay ma	miyama-nha]	[ṅayi=ṅayu	ma	warritji-nya]
3DU	PROG/CONT sing-PST	3SG=PROM	PROG/CONT	dance-PST
'They were singing (while) s/he was dancing.'				(JBG174)

The expression of a simultaneous event may also involve a temporal clause which is introduced by the subordinator *biṅu* (translated by 'when'). This is illustrated in (648):

(648) Rulka ṅarra marṅgi bathanhara biṅu ṅarra gulkuruṅu(yanha).

[rulka ṅarra	marṅgi ⁴¹³	[bath-anhara]]	
not	1SG	know	cook-NOML/INF
[biṅu ṅarra gulkuruṅu-y-anha]			
when	1SG	small-VERB-PST	
'I didn't know (how) to cook when I was young.'			
(lit.: I did not know (how) to cook for as long as I was young.)			
(JBG157)			

The construction that the adverbial *biṅu*-clause is attached to is complex already, consisting of the main clause *rulka ṅarra marṅgi* and the verbal complement construction *bathanhara*. The latter involves the NOML/INF verb form. (Here, this form of the verb is triggered by the adjectival verb *marṅgi* of the preceding main clause. Please note that such adjectival verbs do not normally inflect, cf. 7.7 and 7.7.1 for a discussion of the distinct behaviour of such predicates.) (PST) time reference is only expressed in the adverbial clause *biṅu ṅarra gulkuruṅuyanha* which sets/specifies the temporal frame for the proposition stated in the preceding complex construction. (The square brackets in the gloss lines are to indicate this described syntactic structure of the sentence.)

⁴¹³ Recall that *marṅgi* is an "adjectival verb" and does not inflect (in its bare form).

(iii) To express **posteriority**, Golpa (semi-)speakers employ the particle *ɲarruwa ~ ɲarruba* ‘before’. *Posteriority* describes the kind of temporal situation which takes place when the action in the subordinate adverbial clause involving *ɲarruba (~ ɲarruwa)* follows the event stated in the main clause, cf. (649) through (654) below.

(649) Bika ɲayi ɖuy'tjana ɲarruwa ɲarra girriyanha nhan'kara ɲarriŋa.

bika ɲayi ɖuy'tj-ana
 maybe 3SG return-PST

[**ɲarruwa** ɲarra girriy-anha nhan'-kara ɲarri-ŋa]
 before 1SG get.here-PST 3SG(alt.form)-ALLan place-LOC

‘He may have/must have left before I got to his place.’ (JBG176)

(Please note that the modality reading in the above example solely results from the presence of the modal particle *bika* ‘maybe’.)

(650) Walala garanha (ɲarranha) rakaranha ɲarraku gunhu' ɖalpamdjinya ɲarruwa ɲarra malŋ'tjana.

1 [[walala gara-nha ɲarra-nha rakara-nha]
 3PL come/go-PST 1SG-ACC tell-PST

2 [ɲarra-ku gunhu' ɖalpam-dji-nya]]
 1SG-GEN/DAT father dead-INCH/VERB-PST

3 [**ɲarruwa** ɲarra malŋ'tj-ana]
 before 1SG turn.up/appear-PST

‘They came (and) told me (that) my father died before I was born.’ (JBG177)

In (650), line 2 contains the complement clause of the serial verb construction *garanha rakaranha* in line 1. This already complex construction is expanded by the attachment of the adverbial clause in line 3. Clause 1 and clause 2 (given in line 1 and line 2, respectively) are semantically closer to each other than this clausal combination is to clause 3 (in line 3). This is mirrored structurally by the absence of a connective between line 1 and line 2, and the

presence of the linking device *ɲarruwa* between the complex construction in line 1 and line 2, and the clause in line 3.

As an alternative to the sentence in (650), wāwa gave me the construction in (651) in which posteriority (of the proposition stated in the subordinated adverbial clause) is double-marked, i.e. by the particle *ɲarruba* in the subordinate clause and by *ɲätjili* ‘a while ago’ in the main clause. (Cf. (652) below for an analogous structure.) The modal element *nhäbika* in (651) is the phonologically full form of the particle *bika* that we have seen in some examples already. Its presence results in the modal reading of the main clause.

(651) Nhäbika ɲarraku gunhu’ ɲätjili rulkaɲu’inya ɲarruba ɲarra maɲ’tjana.

[nhäbika	ɲarra-ku	gunhu’	ɲätjili
maybe	1SG-GEN/DAT	father	a.while.ago

rulkaɲu-‘i-nya]

none/nothing-INCH/VERB-PST

[ɲarruba	ɲarra	maɲ’tj-ana]
before	1SG	turn.up/appear-PST

‘My father must have died before I was born.’

(JBG178)

(lit. ‘Maybe my father died before I was born.’)

(652) Djinikuli ɲayi ɲätjiliɲayu nyininya ɲarruba ɲayi garanha huntingdili.

[djinikuli	ɲayi	ɲätjili =ɲayu	nyini-nya]
here	3SG	a.while.ago=PROM	sit(alt.form)-PST

[ɲarruba	ɲayi	gara-nha	hunting-dili]
before	3SG	come/go-PST	hunting-ALL

‘S/he was here before s/he went hunting.’

(JBG180)

Further examples illustrating the use of *ɲarruba* (or *ɲarruwa*) are given in (653) and (654) below:

(653) Ɖayi djuthana ɲarranha ɲarruba ɲarra ɲanya djuthana.

[ɲayi djuth-ana ɲarra-nha]
3SG fight-PST 1SG-ACC

[**ɲarruba** ɲarra ɲanya djuth-ana]
before 1SG 3SG \ACC fight-PST

‘S/he hit me before I hit her/him.’

(JBG181)

(654) Ɖarra maɲ’miyanha nhaɲu dharirɲayu ɲarruwa ɔarramulu meyalknha djawar’yana djini dharirryu.

[ɲarra maɲ’-miya-nha nhaɲu dharir=ɲayu]
1SG turn.up/appear-CAUS-PST this/here knife=PROM

[**ɲarruwa** ɔarramu-lu meyalk-nha djawar’y-ana djini dharirr-yu]
before man-ERG woman-ACC kill-PST this/here knife-INSTR

‘I found the knife before the man killed the woman with it.’

(JBG182)

(iv) If the event in the subordinate clause temporally precedes the event described in the main clause, it expresses **anteriority**. This temporal relation has been found to be realised by the employment of particles and clausal juxtaposition.

Some temporal clauses involve the particle *bili* ‘and then/(when)’. In the example below, it could also be omitted. However, its use is preferred by Garrutju.

(655) Ɖarrakuɲayu yakara girriyanha bili wandiɲuru ɲarra ma garanha.

ɲarra-ku=ɲayu yakara girriy-anha
1SG-GEN/DAT=PROM sleep get.here-PST

[**bili** wandiɲ-ɲuru ɲarra ma gara-nha]
and.then/when hunting-ABL 1SG PROG/CONT come/go-PST

‘I got very sleepy when I was coming (back) from hunting.’

(JGG156)

(lit.: ‘The sleep came (over) me when I was coming (back) from hunting.’)

Note that the adverbial clause may also precede the other clause.

Bili belongs to a pool of lexemes that are used in a number of Yolŋu languages. These shared vocabulary items, however, may have distinct meanings in the individual languages. According to the Yolŋu Matha Dictionary (Zorc 1986), the word *bili* is used by languages of both moieties with the meanings ‘and then/(when)’ and ‘because, since’.⁴¹⁴ While the causal meaning of *bili* does not seem to be part of the Golpa lexicon (cf. section 7.5.4), its temporal meaning seems to be.

However, it hardly appears in the (present) Golpa corpus. It usually only occurred in Garrutju’s speech. (Wäwa used *bala* ‘and then’, or *gama* ‘because’, instead, depending on what was intended to be said).

The following example involves two temporal clauses. Both are introduced by the interrogative adverb *nhätha* ‘when, then’. The event of the sentence initial clause is interpreted to happen before the event of the subsequent clause.

(656) Bilawu nhätha nhonuyi b(i)lawu ŋarraku ŋarri gayaŋayi nhätha bilawu ŋarra guruku.

[bilawu **nhätha** nhonu=yi
thus/like.this when/then 2SG=EMPH

bilawu ŋarra-ku ŋarri gayaŋa=yi]
thus/like.this 1SG-GEN/DAT place think(NEU)=EMPH

nhätha bilawu ŋarra guruku
when/then thus/like.this 1SG will\come/go(NEU)??

‘Anytime when(ever) you think it’s the place for me, then will I go.’

(text HDG004_0324; RLG)

⁴¹⁴ For more information on the moiety division I refer the reader to section 2.2.

The sentences in (657) and (658) involve **juxtaposed temporal clauses**:

(657) Waluḡayu nhaḡu garrwar'inya ḡalthana ḡali garamawa huntingḡili.

[walu=ḡayu nhaḡu garrwar'-i-nya ḡalth-ana]
 day/time/sun=PROM this/here top/up-INCH/VERB-PST go.up-PST

ḡali gara-ma=wa hunting-ḡili
 1DUincl come/go-NEU=MOD hunting-ALL

‘When the sun was up we went hunting.’ (s.v. *ḡalthun* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

In the above example, the adjective *garrwar'* ‘top, up’ is verbalised, and accompanied by the (“full”) verb *ḡalthun* (NEU form) ‘go up (like morning star, sun or children into a tree)’. With respect to this construction, I am not sure whether *ḡalthana* was added in order to form a serial verb construction with *garrwar'inya*, or whether it was used to correct this verbalised form: The distinctive high pitch on *garrwar'inya* actually indicates the end of a first clause (which is uncharacteristic for serial verb constructions, as their intonation is identical to the intonation of a monoverbal clause). However, there is no pause between the two verbal components. *Garrwar'inya* is directly followed by *ḡalthana* which is marked by a low pitch.

In the following sentence, the temporal clause involves *garrwar'* as a non-verbal predicate (carrying the modal clitic =*ba*).

(658) Waluḡayu garrwar'ba ḡalima garamawa huntingḡili.

[walu=ḡayu garrwar'=ba] ḡalima gara-ma=wa hunting-ḡili
 day/time/sun=PROM top/up=MOD 1PLincl come/go-NEU=MOD hunting-ALL

‘At sunrise we (will) go hunting.’ (s.v. *garrwar'* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

I have come across only one example in which a temporal clause would translate to ‘after ...’. This sentence is given in (659) below:

(659) Darra garanha ŋutjatjadili, d̥uy'tjanara yiŋu ŋarra wurruku nhaɭuma mudhuŋayŋayu.

[ŋarra gara-nha ŋutjatja-d̥ili] # [[d̥uy'tj-anara yiŋu]
 1SG come/go-PST fish-ALL return-NOML/INF usually/always

[ŋarra wurruku nhaɭu-ma mudhuŋay=ŋayu]
 1SG will eat/drink-NEU food=PROM

'I went for fish, (after/when) coming back, I will eat.' (JBG302a)

This sentence consists of three clauses: The **non-finite construction** *d̥uy'tjanara yiŋu* 'when(ever)/after returning' is preceded and followed by a finite clause. Its temporal interpretation results from the overall meaning of the sentence. Semantically, the non-finite expression belongs to the following clause. This interpretation is supported by the absence of a pause. The first and the second clause are linked by a raised intonation on *ŋutjatjadili* (cf. (460) for a similar example). This layered structure of the sentence is indicated by the square brackets in the gloss line.

Alternatively, *d̥uy'tjanara yiŋu* can be *d̥uy'tj-anhara-way* (return-NOML/INF-with/COMMIT), or be expressed by a finite clause, as in (660):

(660) Darra garanha ŋutjatjadili, ŋarra wurruku d̥uy'tjun ga (ŋarra wurruku) nhaɭuma mudhuŋayŋayu.

ŋarra gara-nha ŋutjatja-d̥ili [ŋarra wurruku d̥uy'tj-un]
 1SG come/go-PST fish-ALL 1SG will return-NEU

ga ŋarra wurruku nhaɭu-ma mudhuŋay=ŋayu
 and 1SG will eat/drink-NEU food=PROM

'I went for fish, I will return and (I will) eat.' (JBG302b)

It can be concluded that meanings such as 'after I had eaten he came home' seem to be conveyed either by constructions involving *ŋarruwa* (~ *ŋarruba*) or by structures used to express successive actions/events, involving *bala* 'and then' (cf. (608), (609) and (611)), *ga* 'and' (cf. (660)), *biŋu* 'when' (as possible in (637)), *bili* 'when, then' (cf. (655)) or *nhätha* 'when, then' (cf. (656)).

Golpa data confirm the cross-linguistic observations that temporal clauses expressing posteriority tend to follow the main clause while temporal clauses expressing anteriority tend to precede it (cf. Diessel 2013, 350).

Before closing the discussion on temporal clauses, some remarks should be made concerning the behaviour of **constituents that refer to a specifically defined point in time**. Usually, such elements are found to be morphologically marked by the temporal case, as discussed in section 4.1.2.6. An example illustrating this is presented in (661, line 1) below:

(661) Bilawuyu waluyu ṅayiṅayu djoḷpa ṅayi biṅu rulka goyurr garanhara biṅu ṅanapu nhä nhäyiṅu ḍubuktjun ṅanya luwal'miyama biṅulu planeṅuru ga djunama yarrupthun ṅanapu ga ṅunha warraw'ṅa.

1 bilawu-yu	walu-yu	ṅayi=ṅayu	djawuḷpa	ṅayi
thus/like.this-TEMP	time-TEMP	3SG=PROM	old.man	3SG(HESIT??)

2 biṅu rulka	goyurr	gara-nhara
that not	journey	come/go-NOML/INF

3 biṅu	ṅanapu	nhä	nhäyiṅu	ḍubuktj-un	ṅanya
so	1PLexcl	what(HESIT)	HESIT	carry/lift-NEU	3SG\ACC

4 luwal'miya-ma	biṅulu	plane-ṅuru
lift.up-NEU	from.there	plane-ABL

5 ga	djunama	yarrupth-un	ṅanapu	ga	ṅunha	warraw'ṅa
and	towards.there	descend-NEU	1PLexcl	and(HESIT)	over.there	shade-LOC

‘At this time old man (could) not go on that journey so that we, carry him, lift (him) from the plane and we walk down towards there in(to) the shade.’ (text JBG001_0016-0026)⁴¹⁵

The adjectivising suffix *-way* has also been found on constituents specifying a point in time, cf. (662) below for an illustration:

⁴¹⁵ This text was provided by wäwa, and is interesting with respect to tense marking: Apart from very few exceptions, all verbs carry the NEU inflection (indicating reference to the moment of speaking). (The story is about Djingulul's last trip to his home place on the Wessel Islands, and is one of the two texts on the CD which is attached to this thesis.)

(662) Godarr'way ḡarra garanha wapmiyanha gurrtha.

godarr'-way # ḡarra gara-nha wapmiya-nha gurrtha
morning-with/COMMIT 1SG come/go-PST gather-PST firewood

'Every morning/whenever it was morning I used to go (and) gather firewood.'

(s.v. *godarr'* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

Note that the above sentence consists of only one clause. The verbs *garanha* and *wapmiyanha* form a serial verb construction. The sentence initial adjectivised noun *godarr'way* is followed by a brief pause and marked by a high pitch, indicating its linkage to the following expression.

7.5.3 Sentences with an adverbial clause indicating contrast

Clauses indicating contrast are typically introduced by the adversative particle *ḡarru* 'but':

(663) Darra wanha ḡurriyala ḡarru ḡarra wurruku djäma.

ḡarra wanha ḡurri-yala [ḡarru ḡarra wurruku djäma⁴¹⁶]
1SG surely sleep(alt.form)-PSThab but 1SG will work

'I would have slept but I have to work. (JBG165e)

Similar constructions are given in (664) and (665) below, where the *ḡarru*-clause is attached to an already complex construction (as indicated by square brackets):

(664) Darra garanha ḡawatthanhara ḡuyiḡarrwu ḡarru ḡayi ḡarkula'inyawa.

[ḡarra gara-nha [ḡawatth-anhara ḡuyiḡarr-wu]]
1SG come/go-PST get-NOML/INF ice-GEN/DAT

[ḡarru ḡayi ḡarkula-'i-nya=wa]
but 3SG water-INCH/VERB-PST=MOD

'I went to get the ice but it was all water (i.e. had already melted).' (JBG097a)

⁴¹⁶ Note that *djäma* belongs to the restricted class of "unchanging verbs" (cf. section 4.1.1.1 and section 4.3.1).

The following three sentences show that contrast indicating clauses may also be introduced by the conjunction **ga** ‘and’ (instead of *ɲarru* ‘but’). The contrastive meaning then is to be inferred from the (sentential) context.

(666) Darra wurruku nhaluma nhaɲu lurrkun ga walimaɲayu ɲarra wurruku ganan walalama.

ɲarra	wurruku	nha <u>l</u> u-ma	nha <u>ɲ</u> u	<u>l</u> urrkun’	#
1SG	will	eat/drink-NEU	this/here	a.little(*Golpa)	

[ga	wa <u>l</u> ima=ɲayu	ɲarra	wurruku	ganan	walala-ma]
and	other.one=PROM	1SG	will	leave(NEU)	3PL-GEN/DAT

‘I will/would eat a little (of) this and/but leave the rest for them.’ (JBG123c)

Similar to the previous example, the linkage of these two clauses is also additionally indicated by intonation: *Lurrkun’* (being the last constituent of the first clause) is marked by a high pitch, and the second clause is characterised by a falling intonation. (*Ga’* is preceded by a brief pause.) The sentences in (667) and (668) below show analogous patterns:

(667) Marrma waɲu ga bukmak runurr waɲu.

marrma	wa <u>ɲ</u> u	[ga	buk <u>m</u> ak	runurr	wa <u>ɲ</u> u]
two	dog	and	all	a.lot	dog

‘(There are) two dogs, and/but all (of us together) (got) many dogs.’ (JBG213)

(668) Birrka’yanha gorrku’ djunama Darwindlili ga rulka ɲarra garanhaɲayu.

birrka’y <u>a</u> nha	gorrku’	dju <u>n</u> ama	Darwin- <u>l</u> ili
try-PST	very.much	towards.there	Darwin-ALL

[ga	rulka	ɲarra	gara-nha=ɲayu]
and	not	1SG	come/go-PST=PROM

‘(I was) trying hard (to get) to Darwin but I did not go (i.e. make it).’ (JGG148a)

I have also come across four instances in the present corpus where contrast is expressed **without any (overt) connecting device**, cf. (669) though (672). In these examples, the linkage of the clauses is indicated intonationally and/or by the absence of a pause at the

(671) Nhaṅu ṅunhu ga djinikuli nhaṅ'kum larrunha ṅarra, rulka maṅ'miyanha, wadi'yanhawa.

nhaṅu_ṅunhu ga djinikuli nhaṅ'ku-m larru-nha ṅarra
 over.there and here that/there-DEM.SUFF look.for-PST 1SG

[rulka maṅ'miya-nha wadi'y-anha=wa]
 not find-PST go.away/get.lost-PST=MOD

'I searched for it here and there (but) didn't find (it), (it's) gone.'

(s.v. *maṅ'miyama* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

(672) Rulka (nhuma) buṅayini, waṅayayini!

rulka nhuma bu-ṅa-yini [waṅa-ya-yini]
 not 2DU hit-IMP-RCP/REFL say-IMP-RCP/REFL

'Don't hit each other, (but) talk to each other!' (s.v. *-yini* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

7.5.4 Sentences with an adverbial clause indicating reason

Usually, reason indicating adverbial clauses involve the use of the particle *gama* 'because'. Sentences illustrating this are given in (673), (674) and (675):

(673) Darra wirrwapthana gama nhonu ṅarranha ḍur'ina.

ṅarra wirrwapth-ana [gama nhonu ṅarra-nha ḍur'(y)-ina]
 1SG fall.down-PST because 2SG 1SG-ACC push-PST

'I fell because you pushed me.' (JBG045a)

(674) Nhonu wurruku ṅambaṅambatjyunba munhamurruṅayu gama nhonu ma bul'yanha baḷkurrkmurru.

nhonu wurruku ṅambaṅambatjy-un=ba munhamurru=ṅayu
 2SG will be.sick-NEU=MOD tomorrow=PROM

[gama nhonu ma bul'y-anha baḷkurrk-murru]
 because 2SG PROG/CONT play-PST rain-PERL/TRANS

'You will be sick tomorrow because you were playing in the rain.' (JBG183)

(675) Waṅgalkal nhaṅu yindiyirri ma gama wirrmu birrkuyirri ma.

wāṅgalkal	nhaṅu	yindi-yi-rrī	ma
wind	this/here	big-INCH/VERB-NEU	PROG/CONT

[gama	wirrmu	birrku-yi-rrī	ma]
because	moon(*Golpa)	full.moon-INCH/VERB-NEU	PROG/CONT

‘There’s this big wind/storm because of full moon.’ (s.v. *birr’ku* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

In few other instances, the non-Golpa particle *bili* ‘because’ has been found to introduce an adverbial clause expressing reason. Since Golpa has a distinct word for ‘because’ I am led to the assumption that the speaker could not think of the Golpa counterpart *gama* when s/he used *bili* with this meaning in a Golpa utterance. Accordingly, *bili* meaning ‘because’ is marked to be non-Golpa in the gloss lines of examples. (Note that *bili* also means ‘and then/(when)’. Its temporal use was briefly discussed in section 7.5.2.)

(676) Yow ṅamu’, ṅayi ma barrṅarra nhunanha ga gitkitthun, bili ṅayi ma barrṅarra nhaṅu Golpa matha [...].

yow	ṅamu’	ṅayi	ma	barrṅarra	nhuna-nha
yes	mother	3SG	PROG/CONT	hear(NEU)	2SG(alt.form)-ACC

ga	gitkitth-un
and	laugh-NEU

[bili	ṅayi	ma	barrṅarra	nhaṅu
because(*Golpa)	3SG	PROG/CONT	hear(NEU)	this/here

Golpa	matha]
Golpa	language(*Golpa)

‘Yes, mother is hearing you and (is) laughing because she is hearing the Golpa language.’

(s.v. *gitkitthun* (Golpa dictionary); Garrutju)

(677) [...] Yirritjaṅu Dhuwaṅu biṅu yin’pi nhaluwa bili ṅayi Bararrpararr Murru dhäl yolṅuwu djiniku maniwu djiniku wadapmiyanhara.

Yirritja-ṅu	Dhuwa-ṅu	biṅu	yin’pi	nhalu-wa
Yirritja-NOML	Dhuwa-NOML	that	also??	eat/drink-PSThab

[bili	ṅayi	Bararrpararr	Murru	dhäl
because(*Golpa)	3SG	Bararrpararr	Murru	want/feel

[yolṅu-wu	djini-ku	mani-wu
person-GEN/DAT	this/here-GEN/DAT	throat-GEN/DAT

djini-ku	wadapmiya-nhara]]
this/here-GEN/DAT(HESIT)	bathe/wash.CAUS-NOML/INF

‘[...] the Yirritja and the Dhuwa used to also drink that (water) because the Bararrpararr (and) the Murru both want these people to cool down their throats.’

(text HDG003_0458-0460)

In the above sentence, the adverbial clause involves the adjectival verb *dhäl* ‘want, feel, need, like’ which triggers (and governs) a non-finite (verbal) complement clause (which is marked by an extra set of square brackets in the example).

Clauses indicating reason usually do not occur **juxtaposed**. In fact, I have only found one such example. However, this sentence is open to several interpretations, as illustrated by its translations:

(678) Rulka ṅarra ṅatha nhalunha ṅarra wurruku rulka warkthun.

rulka	ṅarra	ṅatha	nhalu-nha	#	[ṅarra	wurruku	rulka	warkth-un]
not	1SG	food(*Golpa)	eat/drink-PST		1SG	will	not	work-NEU

(i) ‘I did not eat (and) I won’t work.’

(ii) ‘I did not eat (because) I won’t work.’

(iii) ‘I did not eat (so) I won’t work.’

(JGG158)⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁹ Wāwa gave me the same construction.

Here, too, the clauses are linked prosodically: The last constituent of the first clause (i.e. *nhalunha*) is marked by a high pitch which then falls towards the end of the following clause. (There is a brief pause at the clausal juncture.)

7.5.5 Sentences with an adverbial clause indicating purpose

Following Gast and Schäfer (2012, 374), “purpose clauses express the (participant’s) hope that the event described in the subordinate clause will become a fact afterwards, and in sentences with past time reference, there is always the possibility for the event in question to be actually instantiated [...], so purpose clauses are non-factive.”

In Golpa, purposive constructions are typically introduced by *märr* ‘so that’. Adverbial clauses involving this particle have been found to show varying degrees of interlacing, cf. (679), (680) and (681) for an illustration:

(679) Darra waṅgapununha babala märr nhonu rulka wurruku djaṅṅarryirri.

ṅarra	waṅgapunu-nha	babala
1SG	cook-PST	any

[märr	nhonu	rulka	wurruku	djaṅṅarr-yi-rri]
so.that	2SG	not	will	hungry/hunger-INCH/VERB-NEU

‘I cooked something so that you will/would not be hungry.’ (JBG184)

In the above sentence, *märr* links two independent clauses, and could also be omitted. Contrary to this example, the adverbial clauses in (680) and (681) lack the overt expression of the subject argument. They thus have a dependent status and show a higher degree of subordination than the linked clause in (679) above.

(680) [...] dhiŋganha biŋu ŋayi ŋarraku, mǎrr wurruku ŋarranha wǎnŋayuma.⁴²⁰

dhiŋga-nha biŋu⁴²¹ ŋayi ŋarra-ku
die-PST then 3SG 1SG-GEN/DAT

[mǎrr wurruku ŋarra-nha wǎnŋa-yu-ma]
so.that will 1SG-ACC alive-make/CAUS-NEU

‘[...] then he (Jesus) died for me, so that (he) will/would make me alive.’/‘[...] then he (Jesus) died for me, so that I will/would be saved/come to life.’ (text JGG003_001b+c)

(681) Darra nhaŋunha medikin mǎrr ŋarranha wurruku wundaŋarryuma.

[ŋarra nhaŋu-nha medikin]
1SG eat/drink-PST medicine

[mǎrr ŋarra-nha wurruku wundaŋarr-yu-ma]
so.that 1SG-ACC will strong-make/CAUS-NEU

‘I drank the medicine so that (it) will/would make me strong.’/‘I drank the medicine to make me stronger.’/‘I drank the medicine so that I would get stronger.’ (JBG185)

In (680), the subject argument *ŋayi* is shared by the adverbial clause. The linked clause in (681) also lacks the subject. However, in this case, it is referentially identical with the (zero ACC-marked) direct object argument of the preceding main clause (i.e. *medikin*).⁴²²

Purposive clauses may also involve *biŋu* meaning ‘so’.

(682) Barge wurruku garama baŋu yaŋuwa repurru biŋu ŋalinyu mutikayu ma garanha guŋnharra.

barge wurruku gara-ma baŋu yaŋuwa repurru
barge will come/go-NEU here/this.way later.today afternoon

[biŋu ŋalinyu mutika-yu ma gara-nha guŋnharra]
so 1DUexcl car-INSTR PROG/CONT come/go-PST alone

‘The barge will come this way later this afternoon so we came alone in the car.’ (JGG131a)

⁴²⁰ This sentence is a reduced version of a more complex one which is cited in section 7.8. (The complexity of the entire sample sentence is irrelevant for the current discussion.)

⁴²¹ As noted in section 7.3.1, it is likely that *biŋu* actually functions as a demonstrative pronoun here.

⁴²² Cf. section 7.1.3 for the discussion of argument-related dependencies.

The following two sentences lack an explicit linking device and illustrate the **juxtaposition** of a purpose construction to a main clause. In (683), the adverbial clause follows two imperative clauses (involving the IMP inflection). In (684), it is preceded by a clause involving the intransitive verb *garanha*. (Another example of this type is cited in) above.)

(683) Barrŋarraya djulŋi'yaŋa, djäga djulŋiyaŋa nhonu wurruku rulka ŋarraku(ru)⁴²³

TVwu lathun.

[[barrŋarra-ya	djulŋi-ya-ŋa]	[djäga ⁴²⁴	djulŋi-ya-ŋa]]
hear-IMP	good-make/CAUS-IMP	take.care	good-make/CAUS-IMP

[nhonu wurruku	rulka	ŋarra-ku	TV-wu	lath-un]	
2SG	will	not	1SG-GEN/DAT	TV-GEN/DAT	break-NEU

'Listen carefully, look after it well (so that) you will not break my TV.' (JBG186)

(684) Darra garanha ŋali wurruku nha_luma mudhuŋay nhuŋ'kara ŋarriŋa.

[ŋarra gara-nha]

1SG come/go-PST

[ŋali	wurruku	nha _l u-ma	mudhuŋay
1DUincl	will	eat/drink-NEU	food

nhuŋ' -kara ⁴²⁵	ŋarri-ŋa]
2SG(alt.form)-ALLan	place-LOC

'I came to eat with you at your place.' (JBG187a)

(lit.: 'I came (so that) you and I will/would eat at your place.')

Like in other instances of clausal juxtaposition, the clauses in the above two sentences are linked by the repeatedly discussed rising-falling intonation pattern. The (sight) downgrading of the adverbial clauses is signalled by their low(er) pitch. (Note that the two imperative clauses in (683) are also characterised by a rising intonation on the elements glossed

⁴²³ The form *ŋarra-kuru* (1SG-BEN) may also be substituted for *ŋarra-ku*.

⁴²⁴ *Djäga* is an "unchanging" (non-inflecting) verb.

⁴²⁵ *Nhuŋ'kara* may be substituted by *nhuŋ'kuli*.

make/CAUS-IMP. The pitch of *djäga* in the second clause is not as low as the one on *nhonu* in the third (adverbial) clause.)

The subordination of the purposive clause in (684) is additionally reflected by its dependent temporal interpretation (cf. section 7.7.3 for a description). Alternatively, the attached irrealis construction (expressing future time reference) in (684) may take the structure of a **non-finite purposive clause** in which the nominal (*mudhuṅay*) carries a GEN/DAT case marking (*-wu*) and the verb (*nhaḷuma* (NEU form)) occurs in its infinitive form (composed of the PST form and *-ra*). This construction is given in (685):

(685) Darra garanha nhaḷunhara mudhuṅaywu nhuṅ'kara.⁴²⁶

ḡarra	gara-nha	[nhaḷu-nhara	mudhuṅay-wu
1SG	come/go-PST	eat/drink-NOML/INF	food-GEN/DAT

nhuṅ'-kara]

2SG(alt.form)-ALLan

'I came to eat food at your place.'

(JBG187b)

The fact that irrealis constructions (involving the NEU verb form and *wurruku*) in purposive or complement functions may be interchanged with infinitive clauses has also been observed for other Yolḡu languages, cf., for instance, Heath's (1980, 105) work on Ritharḡu.⁴²⁷

Note that example (685) also contrasts with (684) in its interpretation regarding the participants that are referred to: While the subjects differ in the clauses in (684) (i.e. *ḡarra* in the main clause and *ḡali* in the finite complement clause), the gapped subject argument in the non-finite/infinitive adverbial construction in (685) can only be interpreted to be coreferential with the subject argument of the main clause (*ḡarra*). The structural reduction thus leads to a slightly different meaning. This can be explained by what Cristofaro (2003, 251) calls *iconicity of independence*: "reduced independence between linguistic expressions reflects reduced independence between the concepts they encode [...] Reduced independence between clauses reflects semantic integration between [propositions]⁴²⁸, and semantic integration is a

⁴²⁶ The above example may be structurally reduced to a simple sentence in which the subordinate clause is substituted with the GEN/DAT-marked nominal *mudhuṅaywu*, i.e. *ḡarra garanha mudhuṅaywu* 'I went for food' (JBG187c).

⁴²⁷ In Ritharḡu, future is solely marked by a verbal suffix.

⁴²⁸ Cristofaro (2003) uses the term *state of affair* here which she adopted from Functional Grammar. As I do not see the need to introduce this additional expression here, I replaced it with the term *proposition* (which basically

case of reduced conceptual independence, in that the linked [propositions] are not conceptualised as completely distinct.” With respect to the above example pair, this means that the structural independence of the linked clause in (685) is more reduced than in (684) which indicates its more reduced semantic independence (in regard to the pronominal referent). To speak in Lehmann’s (1988) terms, compared to (684), the construction in (685) is more downgraded (i.e. embedded instead of “only” subordinate), more desententialised (i.e. shows more nominal than clausal properties) and more interlaced (i.e. lacks the subject argument and TMA expressions).

Other examples with infinitives are given in (686), (687) and (688):

(686) Walala yāna garanha wadapmiyanhara (rathawu mittjiwu).

walala	yāna	gara-nha
3PL	just/only	come/go-PST

[wadapmiya- nhara	ratha- wu	mittji- wu]
bathe/wash.CAUS-NOML/INF	child-GEN/DAT	group/PL-GEN/DAT
‘They just went for washing/showering (the children).’		(JBG307a)

(687) Yolthu nhaṅu buṅbuṅ’miyanha ṅarkula teawu nhaḷunhara?

yol-thu	nhaṅu	buṅbuṅ’miya-nha	ṅarkula
who-ERG	this/here	boil-PST	water

[tea- wu	nhaḷu- nhara]
tea-GEN/DAT	eat/drink-NOML/INF
‘Who boiled this water for drinking tea?’ (s.v. <i>buṅbuṅ’miyama</i> (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)	

(688) Batha gapu teawu nhaḷunhara!

bath-a	gapu	[tea- wu	nhaḷu- nhara]
cook(*Golpa)-IMP	water(*Golpa)	tea-GEN/DAT	eat/drink-NOML/INF
‘Boil the water to drink/have tea!’		(s.v. <i>buṅbuṅ’miyama</i> (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)	

The argument marking in the linked (or attached) clauses of the above examples (685) through (688) shows that non-finite purpose constructions in Golpa are associated with the

covers Cristofaro’s concept).

GEN/DAT case. This has also been described for Ritharngu (cf. Heath 1980, 105), Djambarrpuyngu and “other closely related Yolngu languages” (Wilkinson 1991, 628). Given this structural fact, non-finite purposive clauses behave like some complement constructions (which are discussed in section 7.7). The observation that (at least some types of) purposive clauses behave more like complement clauses than like adverbial clauses has been discussed in a number of cross-linguistic studies (cf. for instance, Schmidtke-Bode 2009, section 4.1.4, or Verstraete 2008).⁴²⁹

The GEN/DAT marking correlates with the usual function of this case marker, i.e. it denotes the purpose of an action. (Cf. section 4.2.2 for all functions of the GEN/DAT case.)

The following example is structurally exceptional in that the involved non-finite construction is marked for modality. The only other sentence of this type is presented in section 7.7.1 (cf. (764) = (270)). (In both examples, the modal clitic form =*wa* is attached to the infinitive form of the verb.)

⁴²⁹ Note that in most Australian languages the suffix *-gu* (~*-ŋgu*) has been found to be used for the marking of both intended actions (i.e. future or purposive; occurring on verbs) AND GEN/DAT functions (occurring on nouns) (cf. Capell 1962, 77 and Dixon 1980, 458). In Djapu (a Dhuwal language), for instance, the non-finite verb form in a purposive construction also carries DAT case marking just like the noun in the clause (cf. Morphy 1983, 134). In Golpa, only few non-finite complement constructions (triggered by an adjectival verb) were found to show the GEN/DAT marking on the argument (of the non-finite complement construction) AND on the nominalised/infinitive verb form. These instances are discussed in section 7.7.2. (Recall from section 4.2.2 that Yolngu languages usually show a distinction between GEN and DAT functions.)

(689) Dhähjaliña yäna biñu nyininya wandingu ga maratjiwu ditjputitjpununharawa.

[dhähjali-ña yäna biñu]
on.edge-LOC just/only that

[nyini-nyara wandinj⁴³⁰-gu]
sit(alt.form)-NOML/INF hunting-GEN/DAT

[ga maratji-wu ditjputitjpunu-nhara=wa]
and stingray(Golpa??)-GEN/DAT knead.hard-NOML/INF=MOD

‘That (i.e. the water) is just (there) on the side, for sitting (when) hunting, and for kneading stingray.’
(text HDG003_1884-1888)

The above sentence involves two coordinated non-finite purposive constructions, i.e. *nyininyara wandingu* ‘for sitting (when) hunting’ and *ga maratjiwu ditjputitjpununharawa* ‘and for kneading stingray’.

7.5.6 Sentences with an adverbial clause indicating place

Like in (690) and (691) below, place indicating clauses are usually introduced by an interrogative adverbial form meaning ‘where’. In (690), this meaning is transported by the Golpa word *nhala* while in (691) its Dhuwal/Dhuwala counterpart *wanha* is used:

(690) Murruwaryu nhonu wurruku gayaña nhala nhonu gurrunanha biñu gonythij.

murruwar-yu nhonu wurruku gayaña
morning-TEMP 2SG will think(NEU)

[nhala nhonu gurruna-nha biñu gonythij]
where 2SG put-PST that key

‘In the morning, think about where you put that key!’
(JGG159)

(lit.: ‘In the morning, you will think (about) where you put that key.’)

⁴³⁰ The word *wandinj* is an English loan and classified as a noun (s.v. *wandinj* (Yolñu Matha Dictionary (Zorc 1986)).

(692) [...] Barrawuyma nhaḡu biḡu yalu ma dhärra Bukbukku [...] biḡurumguli ma yalu balay garrkarryanha.

1 Barrawuyma nhaḡu
Barrawuyma this/here

2 [biḡu yalu ma dhärra Bukbuk-ku]
that nest still stand(NEU) Bukbuk(native.bird)-GEN/DAT

3 [**biḡurum-guli** ma yalu balay garrkarry-anha]
that(alt.form)-LOCan PROG/CONT nest 3DU make.nest-PST

‘[...] Barrawuyma is (where) that nest of the Bukbuk is, that’s where the two made the nest.’

(text HDG003_0808-0810)

7.5.7 Sentences with an adverbial clause indicating manner

Clauses indicating manner rarely occur in the present corpus. All three instances are cited below. Note that these examples either involves the interrogative verb *nhäpiyan* ‘do what’ (cf. (693) and (694)) or a non-finite construction (cf. (695)):

(693) Rulka ḡarraḡayu ma girrirri’yun nhäpiyan ḡayi ma djuthana, rulka ḡarra ma girrirri’yun nhan’ku.

rulka ḡarra=ḡayu ma girrirri’y-un
not 1SG=PROM PROG/CONT be.happy.with-NEU

[**nhäpiya-n** ḡayi ma djuth-ana]
do.what/how-NEU?? 3SG PROG/CONT fight-PST

rulka ḡarra ma girrirri’y-un nhan’-ku
not 1SG PROG/CONT be.happy.with-NEU 3SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT

‘I’m not happy with how s/he was hitting, I’m not happy with her/him.’ (JGG160a)

(694) Rulka ḡarra ma gırrırrı’yun nhäpiyan nhonu ma waḡa.

rulka ḡarra ma gırrırrı’y-un
not 1SG PORG/CONT be.happy.with-NEU

[nhäpiya-n nhonu ma waḡa]
do.what/how-NEU 2SG PROG/CONT say(NEU)

‘I’m not happy with how you are speaking.’ (JGG160b)

The above two examples involve serial verb constructions. (For their structural discussion, cf. section 7.2.) Please recall that none of the two above examples was accepted by wäwa. The sentence in (693) was changed by him to a combination of a main clause and a non-finite construction (cf. example (558)).

In (695) below, manner is expressed by a GEN/DAT-marked complement clause. This construction is thus structurally akin to non-finite purposive clauses (as described in section 7.5.5).

(695) Darranḡayu marḡgiwa Golpawu yängu waḡanhara.

ḡarra=ḡayu marḡgi=wa [Golpa-wu yän-gu waḡa-nhara]
1SG=PROM know=MOD Golpa-GEN/DAT language-GEN/DAT say-NOML/INF
‘I (already) know how to speak Golpa.’ (JBG188)

7.5.8 Summary of adverbial clause structures

The structures of sentences involving adverbial constructions are summarised in the table below. Note that adverbial constructions may be downgraded to various degrees.

attachement site: main clause			
type of linkage	attached/linked clause		
	juxtaposed clause	adjoined clause	non-finite construction
	slight downgrading by low pitch	slight downgrading by the presence of a subordinating element	- found in some clauses indicating time, purpose and manner
	a contrast indicating clause shows an argument-related dependency, cf. (671)	two purpose clauses show an argument-related dependency, cf. (680) and (681)	- advanced downgrading; high degree of desententialisation and interlacing
	The clauses are usually linked without an intonation break.		
explicitness of linking	asyndetic	syndetic	asyndetic
	All (semantic) adverbial clause types (except for those indicating manner) may occur juxtaposed to another clause (i.e. be solely linked to it by prosodic means).		
relation	Adverbial clauses add information that can be understood to create a (circumstantial) frame for the event of the other clause.		

Table 35 Features of Golpa adverbial clause types

7.6 Complex sentences with a relative clause

Except for few sentences, this section contains all relative constructions found in the present corpus. (Those not cited are structurally identical to examples given here.)

Following Lehmann (1992, 333), a relative clause is a subordinate clause, and part of a relative construction in which it semantically modifies a (possibly empty) nominal which is referred to as the *head* of that construction. Moreover, the relative clause is characterised by containing a predicate with an empty place in regard to the overt expression of an argument (cf. Lehmann 1984, 153-155). Although relative clauses are generally understood as being within the main clause, the semantic embedding of a relative clause into the main clause is not necessarily indicated structurally in all types of relative clauses. In Golpa, for instance, structurally embedded relative clauses are marked by verbal suffixation (cf. section 7.6.2) or the sharing of a main clause constituent (usually the subject argument) (cf. section 7.6.3). Adjoined and juxtaposed relative clauses (cf. section 7.6.1) are subordinated to the preceding clause (to some extent) but not embedded into it. While juxtaposed relative clauses are linked to another clause solely by prosody, the linkage between an adjoined relative clause and another clause is signalled by the presence of *biŋu* (and often also by prosodic means). There

is one example in which an interrogative pronoun introduces a clause with a relative clause interpretation (cf. (746) in section 7.6.4). Relative clauses which are positioned within the main clause (cf. (744) and (745) in section 7.6.4) do not seem to be structurally embedded.

I have mainly found restrictive relative clauses in Golpa, i.e. relative clauses which restrict the identity or concept of the head (noun). Such relative clauses are used to allow the hearer to identify a referent and thus normally convey given information. Restrictive relative clauses are opposed to appositive relative clauses which are non-restrictive “because of their similarity to appositional constructions” (Lehmann 1992, 333). They thus often transport new information. However, the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses is not always clear. Here, the distinction is based on the following criteria: A clause is restrictive if it identifies one referent against at least one other competing referent, and if the sentence which includes the relative clause cannot be paraphrased by two separate sentences. In Golpa, appositive relative clauses have mostly been found to have the formal appearance of juxtaposed finite clauses. (Cf. (696), (697), (701), (710), (713), (716) and (717) for examples with appositive relative clauses.)

The head of the relative clause has never been found to be repeated in it, i.e. this same noun (head) is deleted in the relative clause, independent of its syntactic function in the preceding clause. In most cases, it is the subordinator *biŋu* which then represents it in the relative clause. In other cases, a coreferential pronominal form (always *ŋayi* ‘s/he, it’ in “my” examples) is used to refer to the head and to represent it in the subordinate clause. In few examples, *biŋu* and *ŋayi* co-occur. In one instance, the interrogative/indefinite pronoun *yol* ‘who, someone’ takes this part. A head referent is lacking in all structurally embedded relative clauses.

The vast majority of Golpa relative clauses have an external head which immediately precedes the relative clause. But there are also some cases of what I refer to as *discontinuous relative constructions* in which the predication of the main clause (or parts of it) separates the relative clause from its head (cf. (697), (713), (717) and (745)). Note that in these examples, square brackets are used to mark the relative CONSTRUCTION, i.e. the relative clause AND its head.

The sentence in (716) could be taken to involve a headless relative clause, i.e. a clause which is characterised by a “lexically empty semantic head” (Lehmann 1992, 335).

In Golpa, various syntactic functions are relativisable (i.e. can function as the head of a relative clause). Adjoined and juxtaposed relative clauses have been found to modify the

subject, direct object, indirect object or an adjunct constituent of the main clause. Morphologically marked relative clauses are usually used to relativise the direct object of the main clause. There is only one (possible) example in which a relative clause of this type can be interpreted to modify an adjunct clause (cf. (730)). Examples illustrating relative clauses with a shared main clause constituent show the modification/attribution of the subject argument or the direct object argument of the main clause. There are only two relative clauses which are positioned within the main clause. They can be interpreted as relative clauses modifying constituents that refer to a place.

Relevant examples are cited in the individual sections below.

Relative clauses may express events which happen before, after or simultaneously with the event stated in the main clause. All three temporal relations have been found to be expressed in adjoined and juxtaposed relative clauses (cf. section 7.6.1) as well as in non-finite relative clauses (cf. section 7.6.2) and in clauses characterised by constituent sharing (cf. section 7.6.3). Some sentences may have more than one time-relational reading.

An interpretation of the temporal relation of the expressed events is difficult when one of the clauses does not express an event but a state (which cannot be located in time). Among other sentences, this also concerns the two examples illustrating relative clauses which are positioned within the main clause (cf. (744) and (745) in section 7.6.4).

In some sentences, the semantic interpretation of the temporal relation between the two clauses disagrees with the grammatical marking (i.e. the verbal inflections).

The temporal analysis of a sentence is given below each individual example.

7.6.1 Adjoined and juxtaposed relative clauses

Although Golpa has specific grammaticalised constructions to express relativisation, the present corpus reveals an extensive use of juxtaposed and adjoined clauses where this relative relation (that holds between two “events”) has to be contextually inferred.

Golpa (semi-)speakers seemingly prefer the use of adjoined relative clauses. This construction type occurs most frequently in the present corpus and is also spontaneously produced by my three language workers (wäwa, Garrutju and Nyomba). They stand at the margin of the preceding main clause and are introduced by the subordinator *biŋu*. However, we will see that in a great number of examples, *biŋu* is optional (i.e. the relative interpretation of the sentence remains when it is omitted). This is definitely the case in (696) (698), (701), (702), (704), (708), (711), (714), (715) and (716) (and probably also in other examples which

I have not yet had the chance to test without *biŋu*). The relative clause then appears juxtaposed to the other clause.

A number of features speak for the analysis of *biŋu* as a relative pronoun: In adjoined relative clauses, this demonstrative pronoun has anaphoric function and represents the head of the relative construction. It normally occurs in the leftmost position of the relative clause which is typical of relative pronouns (cf. Keenan 1985, 151), and also “combines head and relative clause into one notion” (Lehmann 1992, 334). HOWEVER, due to a number of other characteristics, *biŋu* cannot be referred to as a *relative pronoun*. The most obvious fact about *biŋu* in relative clauses is that it is not case-marked in accordance to the syntactic function of the head noun (as relative pronouns are (cf. Keenan 1985, 150)). Lehmann (1984, 154, 249 or 1992, 334) characterises a prototypical relative pronoun as an element which fulfills at least two of the three following functions: the subordination of the relative clause, the combination of the head and the relative clause into one notion (attribution or head formation) and the formation of an empty place in the relative clause (which is semantically occupied by the head).⁴³³ Given that *biŋu* is often optional, it cannot be regarded to function as a true subordinator in these cases, let alone, as an element forming an empty place in the relative clause. In some examples, it even co-occurs with the pronominal form *ŋayi* (‘s/he, it’) which is coreferential with the modified entity in the preceding clause (i.e. the head of the relative clause). *Biŋu* then only generally indicates a subordinate relation. It also occurs in other subordinate clause types (i.e. conditionals, temporal clauses and complement constructions). For this reason, it is referred to as a *general subordinator*.

I cannot make a statement about the circumstances under which *biŋu* IS or MAY BE present or absent. Considering presently available data, I cannot find any variable that seems to determine the absence or presence of *biŋu*. Wilkinson (2004, 14) mentions the predicate itself and the time reference of the clause relative to the speech event as likely candidates that could help determine the appearance of the *biŋu*-equivalent *ŋunhi* in Djambarrpuyŋu. However, she does not come to any conclusion. I followed her suggestions for this in regard to the study of Golpa but did not find any clue either as to what could prompt the presence of *biŋu*:

⁴³³ According to Lehmann (1984, 250), it is a demonstrative pronoun if it only represents the referential noun in the main clause. If it was a conjunction it would do nothing else but subordinate a clause.

- Relative clauses with and without *biɲu* have been found with transitive and intransitive verbs (including verbs of ‘speaking’) as well as with adjectival verbs.
- The preceding (main) clauses have also been found with transitive verbs, intransitive verbs (including verbs of ‘speaking’) and adjectival verbs as well as with non-verbal predicates.
- The events described in the relative clauses may happen before, after or simultaneously with the event referred to in the preceding (main) clause, independent of whether *biɲu* is present or absent.

I have also examined whether the syntactic function of the head is of any relevance. However, this variable can also be ruled out: Relative clauses with and without *biɲu* may modify the subject, direct object, indirect object or an adjunct constituent of the preceding clause. Neither does it matter whether the relative clause is formally dependent or independent: A number of relative clauses involving *biɲu* have the formal appearance of independent clauses (cf., for example, (702), (703), (706), (707), (708), (711), (714) and (715)). In other examples, *biɲu*-clauses are formally dependent (cf., for example, (698), (699), (700) and (710)). (Note that this structural judgement is based on the structure of the relative clause, NOT considering *biɲu*.)⁴³⁴ There are also independent and dependent relative clauses that LACK *biɲu* (cf., for example, (718),), (720) and (722), and (743), respectively).

It seems that *biɲu* cannot even be expected to occur in instances in which the relative clause does not directly follow its head, as illustrated in (717).

The linkage of juxtaposed and adjoined relative clauses to their preceding clause is usually (also) expressed prosodically, i.e. by the employment of a rising-falling intonation pattern and/or the absence of a pause at the clausal juncture. The absence or presence of *biɲu* has not been noted to influence the prosody of a sentence. (Given the great number of examples, I describe the prosodic behaviour for only some of the constructions cited in the following subsections.)

Wilkinson (2004, 14) also reports that the judgements of the speakers vary with respect to the acceptability of clauses lacking the *biɲu*-equivalent *ɲunhi* in Djambarrpuyngu. Unfortunately, I cannot say anything about this matter in regard to Golpa because I usually did not have the chance to double-check relevant sentences with a second (semi-)speaker.

Maybe, the study of recently recorded data collected during my last fieldtrip in 2016 will help to arrive at a more satisfying conclusion concerning the use of *biɲu*.

⁴³⁴ I do not expect the subordinator to be optional in the dependent *biɲu*-clauses in (699) and (700).

(As we will see in section 7.8), adjoined clauses which express tense identity and coreference may have an either relative or a temporal reading (cf. Hale 1976, 79). Two such clauses are cited in (703) and (706) below. It is in this sense that adjoined relative clauses seem to be more general as compared to the two embedded relative clause types (to be discussed in section 7.6.2 and section 7.6.3).

This section here is divided into three “subsection paragraphs” ((i), (ii) and (iii)). Each is indicated below by a headline in bold print. They subsume examples involving (i) *biŋu*, (ii) *biŋu* and the pronominal form *ŋayi* and (iii) juxtaposed clauses in which the second clause is interpreted to function as a relative clause. (In all following examples, the relative clauses appear in square brackets in the gloss lines.)

(i) In the examples of this “subsection paragraph”, *biŋu* is used anaphorically and replaces the head noun.

The following three examples present sentences in which the **head of the relative clause functions as the subject of the main clause**, i.e. in which the relative construction (consisting of the relative clause and its head) is the subject of the main clause. The subject argument is *gapu* in (696), *maŋutji* in (697) and *ŋayiŋayu* in (698):

(696) Ga Bararrpararrwu yāna gapu biŋu Wititjtju, Wititjtju ŋamaŋama’yana.

ga	Bararrpararr-wu	yāna	gapu
and	Bararrpararr-GEN/DAT	just/only	water(*Golpa)

[**biŋu** Wititjt-tju Wititjt-tju ŋamaŋama’y-ana]

that Olive.Python-ERG Olive.Python-ERG make-PST

‘(It’s) only the Bararrpararr’s water that was made by the Olive Python.’

(or: ‘And the water that the Olive Python made is just for the Bararrpararr.’)

(text HDG003_1478-1482)

(This sentence does not allow a judgement as to whether the event in the relative clause happens before, after or simultaneously with the event stated in the preceding clause because the main clause is a non-verbal clause (and does not describe an action that can be located in

time). Considering cultural background information the event stated in the relative clause happened before what is stated in the main clause.)

(697) Bāthapuṇa Bāthapuṇa gapuṇayu ma bāni rarranhdharrmirri ṇarru rulka gululyun ga maṇutji dhawar'yun rulka biṇu yāna ma bāni.

Bāthapu-ṇa Bāthapu-ṇa
 Bāthapu-LOC Bāthapu-LOC(HESIT)

gapu=ṇayu ma bāni rarranhdharr-mirri
 water(*Golpa)=PROM PROG/CONT water.flowing(NEU) dry.season-with/COMMIT

ṇarru rulka gulguly-un ga
 but not sink.in-NEU and

[maṇutji] dhawar'y-un rulka
 hole finish/die-NEU not

[biṇu yāna ma bāni]
 that just/only PROG/CONT water.flowing(NEU)

‘At Bāthapu the water is always there during the dry season and it doesn’t sink (into the ground) and the (water)hole that is always flowing is never finished.’

(text HDG003_1618-1622)

(The states that are described in the two clauses are true at the same time.)

The sentence in (697) is interesting in terms of its internal syntactic structure: Like in a number of other examples, the adjoined relative clause is introduced by *biṇu*. However, it does not immediately follow its head here. Instead, it is separated from it by the predication of the main clause. (Similar constructions are cited in (713), (717) and (745).)

The construction in focus (i.e. *[maṇutji] dhawar'yun rulka [biṇu yāna ma bāni]*) is uttered without any sign of a pause.

In the sentence below, the relative clause is directly attached to its head *bāru*. Based on the intonation, the relative construction is taken to be an appositional adjunct (as discussed in

section 7.4, example (590)). (If *biḡu* was omitted, the appositional adjunct construction would be an independent clause.)

(698) Dayiḡayu biḡuluḡayu girriyanawa bäru biḡu ma guḡunḡa ḡorra.

ḡayi=ḡayu biḡulu=ḡayu girriy-ana=wa
3SG=PROM from.there=PROM get.here-PST=MOD

bäru [biḡu ma guḡun-ḡa ḡorra]
crocodile that PORG/CONT billabong-LOC exist/stay(NEU)

‘(Then) it came from there, the crocodile that is staying in the billabong.’

(text JBG005_0112-0116)

(Grammatically, the event in the relative clause is marked to happen after the event in the main clause. Semantically, the state described in the relative clause was already true when the event in the main clause took place.)

In the following examples, **the head of the relative clause is the direct object** of the preceding main clause.

As for the following two examples (699) and (700), I do not know whether *biḡu* is optional or not, but I assume it is not. In all other examples of this “subsection paragraph” (i), *biḡu* may be omitted, unless indicated otherwise.

(699) [...] marḡgi ḡarra guḡpurr’ biḡu ḡarrakuruma rakarama [...].”⁴³⁵

marḡgi ḡarra guḡpurr’ [biḡu ḡarra-kuruma rakara-ma]
know 1SG three/few that 1SG-BEN tell-NEU

‘[...] I know few (stories) that I was told [...].’ (text HDG004_0191-0195)

(Grammatically, this sentence does not allow a judgement as to whether the event in the relative clause happens before, after or simultaneously with the event stated in the preceding clause because the relative clause is attached to a clause with an adjectival verb (cf. section 7.7.1 for notes on the behaviour of adjectival verbs).)

In (699) above, the head of the relative clause is (the not overtly marked) indirect object of the main clause, i.e. the adjective *guḡpurr’*. The modified noun *dhäwu* ‘story’ is missing, just like the GEN/DAT marking on *guḡpurr’* (which would also have to occur on *dhäwu* if it was

⁴³⁵ Following Lehmann’s (1984, 261, 264, 266) definitions, this construction may be interpreted as a restrictive OR an appositive relative clause.

there). This marking is triggered by the adjectival verb *marɲgi*. (I suppose the clause lacks this grammatical marking due to a mistake on the speaker's side.)

In the following example, the head is the (ACC-marked) direct object of the main clause, i.e. *darramunha*:

(700) Darra ma waɲanha darramunha biɲu ɲurranha ma.

ɲarra	ma	waɲa-nha	darramu-nha
1SG	PROG/CONT	say-PST	man-ACC

[biɲu ɲurra-nha ma]
that sleep(alt.form)-PST PROG/CONT

‘I was talking to the man who was sleeping.’ (JBG219)

(The events stated in the two clauses are happening simultaneously.)

The relative clauses in (701) and (702) below also directly follow their heads, i.e. *bäru* and *gadanuk*, respectively. (Since both nouns can only be interpreted to “function” as undergoers (and not also as actors), their accusative case value does not need to be overtly expressed.)

(701) Dayi djuthana bäru biɲu ɲarra nhänha.

ɲayi	djuth-ana	bäru	[biɲu ɲarra nhä-nha]
3SG	fight-PST	crocodile	that 1SG see-PST

‘He killed the crocodile that I saw.’ (JBG220)

(The event stated in the relative clause may be happening before or after the event in the main clause.)

(702) Darra ɲamaɲamayanha gadanuk biɲu walala nhuɲ’ku baɲawunha.

ɲarra	ɲamaɲamay-anha	gadanuk
1SG	make-PST	spear

[biɲu walala nhuɲ’-ku baɲawu-nha]
that 3PL 2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT give-PST

‘I made the spear that they gave to you.’ (JBG217)

(The event in the relative clause happens after the event stated in the preceding main clause.)

(Note that if *biɲu* was deleted in (701), we would be left with a combination of a main clause and a complement clause (of the main clause verb *nhäma* ‘see’).)

The following sentence may have an either relative or a temporal reading. These two possible interpretations result from the circumstances that both clauses express identical time reference and have a coreferential constituent (cf. Hale 1976, 79).

(703) Yothuyu nha_lunha mudhuɲay biɲu ɲarra ma waɲgapunhunha.

yothu-yu	nha _l u-nha	mudhuɲay
child-ERG	eat/drink-PST	food

[biɲu	ɲarra	ma	waɲgapunhu-nha]
that/when	1SG	PROG/CONT	cook-PST

(i) ‘The child ate the food that I was making/had been making.’

(ii) ‘The child ate the food when I was cooking.’ (JBG222)

(Given that the relative clause in the above sentence has two possible interpretations (i.e. a relational and a temporal one), the event in the relative clause may be interpreted as either happening before the event stated in the preceding main clause or simultaneously with it. (Multifunctional clauses are examined in section 7.8 below.)

In (704), the relative clause is linked to a complex construction consisting of two coordinate clauses joined by the conjunction *ga* ‘and’. The last constituent of this coordinate expression (i.e. *wolgumanha*) is marked by a higher pitch which, besides the use of *biɲu*, indicates the linkage of this construction to the subsequent clause. (Note that this intonation pattern does not change when *biɲu* is omitted.)

(704) Ratha garanha ga nhänha wolgumanha biɲu ɲamaɲama’yanha djulɲi nyälka.

ratha	gara-nha	ga	nhä-nha	wolguman-nha
child	come/go-PST	and	see-PST	woman-ACC

[biɲu	ɲamaɲama’y-anha	djulɲi	nyälka]
that	make-PST	good	bag/basket

‘The child went and saw the woman (that) made good baskets.’ (JBG228)

(The event stated in the relative clause was already true before the event in the main clause took place.)

The above sentence was given to me together with the following alternative construction involving a finite complement clause:

(705) Rathayu nhänha wolgumandhu ɲamaɲama'yanha djulɲi nyälka.

ratha-yu	nhä-nha	[wolguman-dhu	ɲamaɲama'y-anha	djulɲi	nyälka]
child-ERG	see-PST	woman-ERG	make-PST	good	bag/basket

‘The child saw (that) the woman made good baskets.’ (JBG229)

With respect to the last two examples, it can be observed that the case marking on the subject of the main clause (i.e. *ratha*) changes from nominative in (704) to ergative in (705). However, given the presence of the transitive verb *nhänha* (and the ACC-marked direct object *wolgumanha*), it seems to me that *ratha* is also supposed to carry the ergative marking in (704).⁴³⁶ Also, the ACC-marked direct object of the main clause in (704) (i.e. *wolgumanha*) turns into an ERG-marked subject of the complement clause in (705). The accusative marking on *wolguman* in (704) is obligatory and may not be changed to ERG. (Of course, the two different constructions also convey different meanings.)

In all following examples (of this “subsection paragraph”), the **head of the relative clause** is *dhäwuwu*, the (GEN/DAT-marked) **indirect object** of the main clause.

Note that the subordinate clause in (706) below cannot only be interpreted as a relative clause but may also have a temporal reading like in (703). Again, this is due to the expression of tense identity and coreference.

⁴³⁶ I assume, it is lacking because *ga nhänha* was added spontaneously and not meant to be part of the sentence in the first place. This change of thought and expression also involved the change from *wolgumangara* woman-ALLan to *wolgumanha* woman-ACC.

(706) Dayi gitkitthanha dhäwuwu biḡu walala ḡanya rakaranha.

ḡayi gitkitth-anha dhäwu-wu [biḡu walala ḡanya rakara-nha]
3SG laugh-PST story-GEN/DAT that/when 3PL 3SG\ACC tell-PST

(i) ‘He laughed at the story that they had told him.’

(ii) ‘He laughed at the story when they told him.’⁴³⁷ (JBG221)

(The event in the relative clause may be interpreted as either happening before the event stated in the preceding main clause or simultaneously with it.)

The above sentence was given as an alternative construction to (707):

(707) Dayi gitkittjanha dhäwuwu biḡurumuḡu ḡayi barrḡarranha walalawuḡu.

ḡayi gitkittj-anha dhäwu-wu
3SG laugh-PST story-GEN/DAT

[biḡurumuḡu ḡayi barrḡarra-nha walala-wuḡu]
that(alt.form)-ORIG 3SG hear-PST 3PL-ORIG

‘S/he laughed at the story of that s/he had heard from them.’ (JBG093b)

(The event in the relative clause may be interpreted as either happening before the event stated in the preceding main clause or simultaneously with it.)

With respect to the above example, the subordinator *biḡu* and the pronoun *walala* in the subordinate clause are marked for the same case. Thus, *biḡu* relates the head of the relative clause (i.e. *dhäwuwu*) to this ORIG-marked pronoun. This signals that the story they told originates from them (instead of being some story that was just told by them). However, I am uncertain as to whether the ORIG marking on *biḡu* is obligatory here.

Note that in this relative clause, *ḡayi* is not coreferential with the indirect object (i.e. with the head) but with the subject of the preceding (main) clause.

In (708) below, the GEN/DAT marking on the head noun is triggered by the adjectival verb *marḡgi*. (The behaviour of adjectival verbs is discussed in section 7.7.)

⁴³⁷ With respect to the temporal interpretation of the relative clause, the food that was eaten by the child is not identical with the food that was cooked (as is the case when interpreting the subordinate clause as a relative clause).

(708) Nhonuṅayu marṅgi dhäwuwu biṅu ṅarra yiṅu rakarama?

nhonu=ṅayu marṅgi dhäwu-wu
2SG=PROM know story-GEN/DAT

[biṅu ṅarra yiṅu rakara-ma]
that 1SG usually/always tell-NEU

‘You know the stories that I tell?’ (text HDG004_0199)

(This sentence does not allow a judgement as to whether the event in the relative clause happens before, after or simultaneously with the event stated in the preceding clause because the relative clause is attached to a clause with an adjectival verb (which is not tense-marked, as it does not carry the INCH/VERB suffix.))

The examples (709), (710) and (711) below illustrate **relative clauses modifying an adjunct main clause constituent**.

The relative clause in the sentence below slightly differs from those in all the above examples regarding the indication of its subordination: It does not only involve the subordinator *biṅu* but is also positioned within the main clause (i.e. appears amongst main clause constituents). The relative clause separates the sentence final imperative expression *ṅarrakara rakarawa* from the sentence initial ASSOC-marked noun phrase *biṅulumbuy djämawuy* which is the relativised entity. Thus, the relative clause directly follows its head. I do not expect *biṅu* to be optional in this case.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁸ However, SHOULD it be optional, the above sentence would be structurally similar to examples involving relative clauses which are positioned within the main clause. (Such sentences are discussed section 7.6.4.)

(709) Biɣulumbuy djämawuy biɣu ma nhonu ma djäma ɲarrakara rakarawa.

1 biɣu-lu-m-buy djäma-wuy
that-ERG-0-ASSOC job-ASSOC

2 [**biɣu** ma nhonu ma djäma⁴³⁹] ##
that PROG/CONT 2SG PROG/CONT(HESIT??) work

3 ɲarra-kara rakara-wa
1SG-ALLan tell-IMP

‘Talk to me about that job you are doing.’ (HDG004_0034; Djingulul/Garrutju)

(What is stated in the relative clause can be interpreted as happening simultaneously with the speech act (of the command). However, the job that is referred to here is an employment that the addressee had engaged in long time before the above speech act took place.)

In fact, the integration of the relative clause is triple-marked, as this is also signalled by the absence (of even the slightest sign) of a pause between it and its ASSOC-marked head (phrase). However, the imperative sequence *ɲarrakara rakarawa* is set off from the rest of the sentence by a rather long break. It actually seems that it was not intended to be uttered in the first place. This probably has to do with the circumstances under which this recording was made: The main participants of the recording session were the linguist Bernhard Schebeck, Djingulul and his oldest daughter Rose. The aim of the session was to record a conversation in Golpa. To help this come about, Djingulul kept motivating Rose to speak, gave her short instructions about what she could talk (as done in line 1 and line 2 in this example) or helped her out on single lexemes. The above sentence is part of Djingulul’s speech. Considering the long pause after the relative clause, it seems to me that he added the imperative construction *ɲarrakara rakarawa* ‘talk to me’, as he wanted to make sure that Rose answers in Golpa: Yolɲu people choose the language according to the socio-linguistic affiliation of their conversation partners. To ensure that she speaks Golpa he told her to talk TO HIM, instead of using a Dhanu language like Gälpu or Rirratjiɲu which Bernhard Schebeck would have understood. In the light of these facts, it seems that the above example actually consists of two distinct instructions (i.e. ‘(talk) about the job that you are doing’ and ‘talk to me (in Golpa)’). The above example is cited here as a single (and intact) construction because Garrutju accepted this utterance as a perfectly grammatical sentence.

⁴³⁹ *Djäma* belongs to the restricted class of “unchanging verbs”.

coming this way (once) pointed to the crocodile’. If *biɲu* was omitted in the example in (711), the sentence would involve a juxtaposed relative clause. (Examples of this type are treated in section 7.6.1 (iii).)

There is one example involving *biɲu* in which it is not used to represent the head noun in the relative clause:

(712) Nhaɲu wolguman biɲu ɔarramulu ɲanya djuthana.

nhaɲu wolguman [biɲu ɔarramu-lu ɲanya djuth-ana]
 this/here woman that man-ERG 3SG\ACC fight-PST

‘This is the woman who was hit by the man.’ (JBG303)

(The event stated in the relative clause happened before the event given in the preceding clause.)

In the above sentence, *biɲu* could be interpreted to simply indicate the subordination of the relative clause. However, it is also possible that it is used to relate the (zero-marked nominative) head noun *wolguman* to the coreferential (ACC-marked) pronoun *ɲanya* in the relative clause.⁴⁴⁰ (The fact that *biɲu* is not ERG-marked (i.e. *biɲurumdhu*), disqualifies the explanatory option that it constitutes a noun phrase with *ɔarramulu*.)

(ii) In the following sentences, *biɲu* co-occurs with the pronominal form *ɲayi* ‘s/he, it’ which, like *biɲu*, is coreferential with the head.

These two entities could be interpreted to double-represent the relativised/modified noun in the subordinate relative clause. However, it is also possible that only *ɲayi* represents the head, while *biɲu* may be understood to only indicate that the involved clauses have a relation of subordination.

According to my understanding of the language, *biɲu* can be expected to be optional in all these examples. Since the sentences are characterised by the rising-falling intonation pattern, the deletion of *biɲu* would result in the combination of two juxtaposed independent clauses. (Such examples are discussed in the next “subsection paragraph”.) I also expect *ɲayi* to be optional (if *biɲu* is present), at least in (714), (715) and (716). Note that *biɲu* may also precede *ɲayi*.⁴⁴¹

⁴⁴⁰ This example is analogous to Bernhard Schebeck’s example from Dhaɲu (1976b, 519) where he claims that the deictic element *panha* ‘that’ (i.e. the equivalent to *biɲu*) is used as a relative particle.

The subordinate clause in (713) **modifies the subject of the preceding clause.**

(713) Yän ma dhawar'yun bilawu biñu ñayi yiñu ma dhunupa waña [...].

[yän]	ma	dhawar'y-un	##	bilawu	[biñu	##
language	PROG/CONT	finish/die-NEU		thus/like.this	that	

ñayi	yiñu	ma	dhunupa	waña]
3SG	usually/always	PROG/CONT	straight/correct	say(NEU)

‘The language that has been spoken straight is dying like this [...].’

(text HDG002_0004-0010)

(While the event in the relative clause has been going on for an indefinite period of time, the event in the preceding clause is taking place at the time of speaking (but is not limited to it). The TMA marking of the two clauses only differs with respect to the presence of *yiñu* in the relative clause where it indicates that the still ongoing event has already been going on in the past.)

The audio version of this sentence beautifully illustrates that intonation breaks (pauses) may occur even within clauses and can thus be misleading when it comes to identifying clause boundaries (as discussed in section 6.1): The segment *bilawu biñu* was preceded and followed by rather lengthy pauses. However, the intonation pattern clearly supports the above analysis. This construction is taken from one of Djingulul’s texts and was transcribed by wäwa and me. The analysis of this sentence with respect to the clause boundaries represents wäwa’s interpretation of the audio sequence.

(Note that (713) is one of the few examples, in which the relative clause does NOT immediately follow its head (*yän*). A similar construction is given in (697).⁴⁴²)

In (714) and (715) below, the **head of the relative clause is the direct object argument** of the preceding clause which appears with accusative case marking, i.e. *wolgumanha* and *meyalknha*, respectively:

(714) Darra (garanha) (ga) guwatjmanha wolgumanha ñayi biñu dhäl nhañunhara ñutjatjawu.

⁴⁴¹ Both elements usually precede all other constituents in a clause. *Biñu* has also been found to follow the conjunction *ga* ‘and’. In one example, *ñayi* stands after the irrealis particle *wurruku*.

⁴⁴² The relative clause of that sentence, however, lacks *ñayi* and only contains *biñu*.

ɲarra gara-nha ga guwatj-manha wolguman-nha
 1SG come/go-PST and visit-PST woman-ACC

[ɲayi biɲu dhäl⁴⁴³ [nhalu-nhara ɲutjatja-wu]]
 3SG that want/feel eat/drink-NOML/INF fish-GEN/DAT

‘I (went and) visited the woman who likes to eat fish.’

(s.v. *guwatjman* (Golpa disctionary); wäwa)

(Grammatically, this sentence does not allow a judgement as to whether the event in the relative clause happens before, after or simultaneously with the event stated in the preceding clause because the relative clause involves an uninflected form of an adjectival verb. However, semantically the proposition stated in the relative clause was true before the event in the preceding clause.)

The relative clause in (714) above has a complex structure, as it consists of a clause involving the adjectival verb *dhäl* and its non-finite complement clause.

(715) Darramulu djuthana meyalknha biɲu ɲayi yiɲu ma djinikuli rum'thun.

darramu-lu djuth-ana meyalk-nha
 man-ERG fight-PST woman-ACC

[biɲu ɲayi yiɲu ma djinikuli rum'th-un]
 that 3SG usually/always PROG/CONT here sleep-NEU

‘The man killed the woman who has been living here.’ (JBG316)

(Semantically, what is stated in the relative clause has been true until the event in the preceding clause took place some time in the (more recent) past. This temporal and aspectual interpretation of the relative clause is based on the presence of the aspectual particles *yiɲu* and *ma*⁴⁴⁴ as well as on the use of the NEU verb form (as compared to the PST verb form in the preceding clause).)

The indirect object of the preceding clause is the head of the subsequent relative clause in (716) below:

⁴⁴³ Recall that *dhäl* is an “adjectival verbs” and does not inflect when occurring in its bare form.

⁴⁴⁴ The functions and distributions of the particles *yiɲu* and *ma* are discussed in section 4.3.4.

(716) Nham, nham dharpayu ŋarra wurruku djuthun waṭunha biṇu wurruku ŋayi waythun.

1 nham nham
 this.is(HESIT??) this.is(HESIT??)

2 dharpa-yu ŋarra wurruku djuth-un waṭu-nha
 tree/stick-INSTR 1SG will fight-NEU dog-ACC

3 [**biṇu** wurruku **ŋayi** wayth-un]
 that will 3SG swim-NEU

‘With the stick I will hit the dog that will swim (here).’ (text JGG001_0026-0028)

(According to the identical tense marking in both clauses, the event of the relative clause is expressed to happen simultaneously with the event of the preceding clause.)

The relative clause introduced by *biṇu* modifies the head *waṭunha* which is the direct object in the preceding clause (i.e. *waṭunha [biṇu wurruku ŋayi waythun]*). It is possible that the above construction contains yet another relative clause: Considering the INSTR marking on *dharpa*, it seems that this noun is part of the structure *dharpayu ŋarra wurruku djuthun waṭunha*, instead of belonging to *nham*. The construction in line 2 could then be considered a headless relative clause (or, alternatively, an internal head relative clause). In this case, *nham* would not express hesitation but constitute a clause, lacking the overt expression of a head noun (which is modified by the relative clause).

(iii) The following nine sentences illustrate the juxtaposition of formally independent clauses which are interpreted as relative clauses.

The attached clauses are prosodically linked to their preceding clause. Unfortunately, the examples involving juxtaposed relative clauses are a little unbalanced. More than half of these (independent) relative clauses are introduced by the third person pronoun *ɲayi*, (cf.), (720), (721), (722), (723) and (724) below). In these constructions, the head is the direct object of the preceding clause which is immediately followed by the relative clause (and thus by the pronoun *ɲayi*). (We have already seen examples of this type in (714) and (715) in which *ɲayi* co-occurs with *biɲu*. Given that *biɲu* is optional in these sentences, they can be taken to be structurally identical with the examples cited here.)

Like in other cases of juxtaposed clauses, the sentences of this “subsection paragraph” are interpreted as being complex constructions (instead of separate clauses/sentences) on the basis of their prosodic features. Clause linkage is indicated by the rising intonation at the end of the first clause and the fall of this intonation towards the end of the second clause. This intonation pattern is clearly audible in some sentences and marked less strong in others. (In (723), this first clause is followed by a brief pause).

In the following example (717), **the relative construction is the subject of the preceding clause**, as the head of the relative clause is *gapu(ɲayu)*, the subject argument of the preceding clause. Note that the relative clause does not directly follow its head.

(717) Biyam ṅarriḷa ma gapuṅayu bāni Gurrgalabawu Gurrgalabawu bilawuru ga babalaway nhaḷuwa.

Biyam	ṅarri-ḷa ⁴⁴⁵	ma	[gapu=ṅayu]
Biyam	place-LOC??(*Golpa)	PROG/CONT	water(*Golpa)=PROM
bāni	## Gurrgalaba-wu	Gurrgalaba-wu	#
water.flowing(NEU)	Gurrgalaba-GEN/DAT	Gurrgalaba-GEN/DAT	

[bilawu-ṅuru ga babalaway nhaḷu-wa]
 thus/like.this-ABL and(HESIT) any eat/drink-PSThab

‘At Biyam is the water of/for the Gurrgalaba from which (lit. ‘from this’) everyone can/used to drink.’ (text HDG003_0542-0544)

(According to the grammatical marking, the “event” described in the relative clause was true before what is stated in the preceding clause. Semantically, both propositions have probably been true from the same time onward.)

The sentence boundaries surrounding the above utterance are very clear, i.e. the construction as given in (717) was perceived as one sentence by the Golpa (semi-)speakers (wāwa and Garrutju) when the relevant text passage was transcribed.

As for the prosodic pattern of this sentence, the (purposely) repeated GEN/DAT-marked beneficiary *Gurrgalabawu* is preceded by a longer pause and followed by a very brief pause. Djingulul uttered these constituents in a way that marks them as conveying an important information. The intonation of *Gurrgalabawu Gurrgalabawu* ties the semantically (!) subordinate construction to the preceding clause.

The relative clauses in (718), (720), (721) and (722) below **modify the direct object** of the preceding clause.

⁴⁴⁵ Wāwa identified the suffix *-ḷa* as belonging to the Mälarra language.

The two clauses of the above sentence were elicited separately before I asked for the complex sentence comprising the two: *Djini darramulu nhäma watunha*. ‘The man is looking at the dog.’ and *Watulu dham’thamthanha wolgumanha*. ‘The dog bit the woman.’ In the complex sentence above, the (zero-marked ERG) pronoun *ɲayi* is coreferential with the relativised direct object argument of the preceding clause (i.e. *watunha*).

Note that the juxtaposed relative clause may also have a temporal reading, i.e. ‘the man saw the dog (when) he bit the woman’. This is due to the identical time reference expressed in both clauses. (Please see section 7.8 for a detailed discussion of the conditions under which a subordinate clause is open to more than one interpretation.)

The following sentence was uttered without any sign of an intonation break between the two clauses indicating the integration of the second clause into the first one. (Alternative constructions to this sentence involve finite complement clauses. These examples are cited in section 7.7.2, examples (776) and (777).)

(720) Darra nhänha darramunha ɲayi dharr’yanha meyalknha.

ɲarra nhä-nha darramu-nha [ɲayi dharr’ya-nha meyalk-nha⁴⁴⁶]
 1SG see-PST man-ACC 3SG damage/hit/kill-PST woman-ACC

‘I saw the man who hit the woman.’ (JBG209)

(lit.: I saw the man, he hit the woman.)

(The event stated in the relative clause may be interpreted to have happened before or after the event in the preceding clause.)

The below examples (721) below gives another sentence in which the relative clause modifies the direct object (which it immediately follows):

(721) Walala djuthana bäru ɲayi ma ɲorra gulundili.

walala djuth-ana bäru [ɲayi ma ɲorra gulun-dili]
 3PL fight-PST crocodile 3SG PROG/CONT sleep(NEU) billabong-LOC

‘The men killed the crocodile that was sleeping in the billabong.’ (JBG305)

(The event stated in the relative clause happened before the event given in the preceding clause.)

⁴⁴⁶ When I checked this sentence again on the phone, wäwa gave me *meyalktja*, i.e. with the palatalised ACC allomorph *-tja*. Similarly, the palatalised ERG-suffix *-tju* is occasionally used instead of *-thu* (cf., for instance, some examples with this form in section 7.7.2).

(722) Nhaŋu wurruku ŋayi ŋamaŋama'y-un mulmu rawak mulmu rawak ŋayi wurruku bondi nata.

nhaŋu	wurruku	ŋayi	ŋamaŋama'y-un
this/here	will	3SG	make-NEU

mulmu	rawak	mulmu	rawak	#
dried.up/brown	grass	dried.up/brown(HESIT)	grass(HESIT)	

[ŋayi	wurruku	bondi	<u>nata</u>]
3SG	will	quickly	burn/cook(NEU)

‘Here he will make/prepare (the) dried up grass (that) will burn quickly.’

(text JBG009_0018-0022)

(The event stated in the relative clause happens after the event in the preceding clause.)

In (722) above, the repetition of the direct object noun phrase *mulmu rawak* in the first clause seems to result from hesitation. The subsequent clause *ŋayi wurruku bondi nata* modifies this direct object and is interpreted to function as a relative clause. However, in this case, the prosodic pattern is not as clear with respect to the linkage of the two clauses: The intonation does not rise at the end of the first clause, and the pause at the clausal juncture is not as brief as in other examples of this type.

(According to my data, *nata* is an intransitive verb. Therefore, *ŋayi* in the relative clause is taken to be coreferential with *mulmu rawak* and not with *ŋayi* in the preceding clause which refers to the person preparing the grass.)

The **head of the relative clauses** in (723) and (724) below **is the indirect object** of the preceding clause, i.e. *wolgumangu* and *rrupiyawu*, respectively:

(723) Darra rulka marŋgi wolgumangu ŋayi ma waŋgapunhuma.

ŋarra	rulka	marŋgi	wolguman-gu #	[ŋayi	ma	waŋgapunhu-ma]
1SG	not	know	woman-GEN/DAT	3SG	PROG/CONT	cook-NEU

‘I don’t know the woman who is cooking.’

(JBG304)

(This sentence does not allow a judgement as to whether the event in the relative clause happens before, after or simultaneously with the event stated in the preceding clause, as the preceding clause involves an uninflected form of an adjectival verb.)

(724) **Darramu duktuktjinya rrupiyawu ɲayi dhaw'yanha nhan'kuru meyalkthu.**

<u>d</u> arramu	<u>dukt</u> uk-tji-nya	rrupiya-wu
man	want/need-INCH/VERB-PST	money-GEN/DAT

[ɲayi	dhaw'y-anha	nhan'-kuru	meyalk-thu]
3SG	steal-PST	3SG(alt.form)-ABLhum	woman-ERG

'The man wants the money that the woman had stolen from him.' (JBG319)

(lit.: 'The man wants the money, the woman stole (it) from him.')

(The event stated in the relative clause happened before the event given in the preceding clause.)

Note that the pronoun *ɲayi* in (724) above is coreferential with the clause internal subject argument *meyalkthu*, and not with the head noun *rrupiyawu* (which is the indirect object of the preceding clause). Like in other examples involving a juxtaposed relative clause, the head is to be contextually inferred, as it is formally not represented in the relative clause.

Before I close this section, it should be mentioned that I have come across one example in which a juxtaposed clause with a relative interpretation **modifies a locative construction**:

(725) [...] **ŋanapu djiniŋul waw'yun ga buthun ga nhaŋ'ku dhal'yun nhaŋ'ku ŋunhu gämurruŋa latawitj ma djingaryun, Rrimbitja ga [...].**

ŋanapu djini-ŋul waw'y-un
 1PLexcl this/here-ABL get.up-NEU

ga buth-un ga nhaŋ'ku dhal'y-un nhaŋ'ku_ŋunhu
 and fly-NEU and that/there land-NEU over.there

gämurru-ŋa # [latawitj ma djingary-un] # Rrimbitja ga
 point-LOC lighthouse PROG/CONT stand-NEU Rrimbitja and

‘[...] (so) we get up from here and fly over there to land/landing at the point/Cape Wessels where the lighthouse is standing, (at) Rrimbitja and [...].’ (text JBG001_0006-0012)

(Although the verbs in both clauses are marked by the NEU inflection (indicating present time reference), the proposition described in the relative clause was true before the event in the preceding clause took place.)

Regarding the intonation pattern of the sentence, the LOC phrase (*nhaŋ'ku ŋunhu gämurruŋa*) preceding the relative clause shows a high pitch on its last constituent *gämurruŋa*. However, a high pitch is also placed on *waw'yun*, *djingaryun* and *Rrimbitja*, as well as on the last constituents of the clauses preceding and following the cited string of clauses. (The relative clause is preceded and followed by a brief pause.) It seems that the LOC construction *nhaŋ'ku ŋunhu gämurruŋa*, the relative clause *latawitj ma djingaryun* and the nominal constituent *Rrimbitja* were LISTED to specify the place of landing. The intonation pattern links them to each other. It is because of these prosodic features that the relative clause in this sentence is not analysed as being positioned within the main clause (cf. section 7.6.4 for two such examples) but as being juxtaposed to it.

7.6.2 Relative clauses signalled by verbal morphology

In examples of the above section, the relative clauses are either adjoined to the main clause (involving the subordinator *biŋu*) or juxtaposed to it (where clause linkage is only indicated prosodically). Contrary to such solely semantically embedded constructions, relative clauses which are indicated by morphological marking show their semantic embedding structurally (cf. Lehmann 1984, 163), and have an advanced degree of subordination and dependency (expressed by desententialisation, nominalisation and interlacing).

According to Dixon (1980, 459), verbal inflection is a typical strategy found in most Australian languages for marking relative clauses.

In Golpa, the subordinating marking occurs on the verb of that clause and involves its nominalised/infinitive form (apparently consisting of the PST inflectional form and *-ra*). As already described in section 4.3.3 and section 6.3.2, this suffix combination is used in Golpa to form non-finite verbal expressions which have only been found in non-finite subordinate constructions. We have already seen this structure in some temporal and purposive clauses, and will also come across it in some complement clauses. To specifically mark a relative clause, the ASSOC suffix is attached to this non-finite form. ASSOC-marked non-finite constructions are strongly associated with the expression of relative clauses, but have also been found in few instances to mark the complements of perception verbs (cf. (734) and (735)).

Morphologically marked relative clauses in other Yolŋu languages are also associated with the ASSOC (e.g., Djambarrpuyŋu, Ritharŋu⁴⁴⁷ and Dhaŋu varieties).⁴⁴⁸

This marking correlates with the usual function of the ASSOC which is to provide specification or to indicate attributes. In sentences involving non-finite relative clauses, this case marker identifies the relative clause as the modifying attribute of the relativised constituent in the main clause. As already pointed out in section 7.1.1, TMA is normally not expressed in non-finite (relative) clauses.⁴⁴⁹ In other words, these (case-marked) constructions encode properties instead of situations (cf. Holger Diessel 2004, 41f.). (Note that, unlike adjective attributes, relative clauses do not show case agreement with the head.)⁴⁵⁰

Non-finite relative clauses **often modify the direct object** of the main clause.

The minimal structure of a relative construction consists of the ASSOC-marked non-finite verb (being the relative clause) and its head, cf. (726) and (727):

⁴⁴⁷ Note that Ritharŋu differs from other Yolŋu languages in a number of features (e.g., in the use of pronominal enclitics). This has resulted from the contact to its two neighbouring prefixing non Pama-Nyungan languages Dandi and Nungubuyu in the south. One of the most striking differences is the formation of relative clauses involving the subordinating suffix *-ŋu* which cannot be found in any other Yolŋu language with this function (cf. Heath 1976b, 447f. or 1980b, 111). Apart from such *-ŋu*-constructions, relative clauses can also be signalled by the employment of the ASSOC marker. However, this morpheme is added to INFLECTED verb forms and then “creates a subordinate clause translatable as either a relative clause or an *it being the case that ...* clause” (Heath 1980b, 111).

⁴⁴⁸ I refer the reader to Wilkinson (1991, section 9.3.4.1), Heath (1980, 111) and Schebeck (1976a, examples on page 371), respectively.

⁴⁴⁹ Exceptional examples are discussed in section 6.3.2.

⁴⁵⁰ Cf. Lehmann (1988, 199) for a general note.

(726) ŋarra nhänha waṭu djuthanarabuy.

ŋarra	nhä-nha	waṭu	[djuth-anara-buy]
1SG	see-PST	dog	fight-NOML/INF-ASSOC

‘I saw the dog that was hit.’ (JBG112a)

(Grammatically, sentences with morphologically marked relative clauses do not allow a judgement as to whether the event in the relative clause happens before, after or simultaneously with the event stated in the preceding clause as the relative clause has a non-finite structure. However, the temporal relation can be interpreted semantically. Here, the event in the relative clause may have happened before or after the event stated in the main clause.)

In the above sentence, the relative clause is a non-sentential attribute, modifying the head noun *waṭu* which is the direct object of the main clause. (The head noun may optionally be overtly ACC-marked.)

In (727) below, the sentence containing the relative construction is elliptical. It is therefore impossible to be sure about the syntactic function of the head *gapu maṇutji*. The elliptical structure is due to the circumstance that the below “sentence” is part of a line of thoughts uttered by the speaker (who was telling a story).

(727) [...] gapu maṇutji dhäyanharabuy nhätha ṅangi’yanha biṇu gapu maṇutji baman’ woka marṅgi [...].

gapu	maṇutji	[dhäyan-nhara-buy]
water(*Golpa)	hole	dig-NOML/INF-ASSOC

nhätha	ṅangi’y-anha	biṇu	gapu	maṇutji	baman’
when	dig-PST	that	water(*Golpa)	hole	long.ago

woka	marṅgi
not\1SG??	know

‘[...] the waterholes that were dug, when the waterholes were dug up long ago, (I) don’t know (who dug them), [...].’ (text HDG003_0048-0056)

(Due to the elliptical structure of the construction in focus, an interpretation of the temporal relation of the two “clauses” involved is not possible.)

Some non-finite relative clauses have been found to be **extended by a constituent** denoting an actor/agent (cf. (728) and (729)), an (inanimate) undergoer (cf. (731)) and an adjunct phrase referring to a place (cf. (732)). (These are the only examples found in the present corpus.)

When an agent is added to the subordinate non-finite relative clause, it carries ORIG-marking, as illustrated in the following two examples:

(728) Ɔarra nhänha nhuŋ'ku waŋu nhan'kuŋu djuthanarabuy.

Ɔarra	nhä-nha	nhuŋ'-ku	waŋu
1SG	see-PST	2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT	dog

[nhan'-kuŋu	djuth-anara-buy]
3SG(alt.form)-ORIG	fight-NOML/INF-ASSOC

'I saw your dog that was hit by him.' (JBG200)

(The event in the relative clause may have happened before or after the event stated in the main clause.)

(729) Biŋu Ɔarra nhänha bäru nhan'kuŋu djuthanarabuy. (JBG312c)

First possible interpretation:

biŋu	Ɔarra	nhä-nha	bäru
that	1SG	see-PST	crocodile

[nhan'-kuŋu	djuth-anara-buy]
3SG(alt.form)-ORIG	fight-NOML/INF-ASSOC

'I saw that crocodile (that was) being killed by him.'

(lit. 'I saw that crocodile being associated with the killing by him.')

(The event described in the relative clause (introduced by *biŋu*) may be happening before or after the event stated in the second relative clause. This temporal analysis is independent of its semantic interpretation.)

The sentence in (729) is interesting in regard to the possible interpretations of *biŋu*. If this sentence was analysed on purely structural grounds, several (relative clause) readings would

be possible⁴⁵¹: If *biṅu* was taken to be a demonstrative pronoun (see above), it would form a (discontinuous) direct object noun phrase with *bäru*. In this case, the sentence would only have one (morphologically marked) relative clause.

However, *biṅu* could also be taken to function as a subordinator as supposed for the second interpretation below. Then, this sentence would have two relative clauses, i.e. the sentence initial relative clause subordinated by *biṅu* which precedes its head noun, and the morphologically marked non-finite relative construction which follows its head. In this case, the head of both relative clauses would be *bäru*.

Second possible interpretation

[biṅu	ṅarra	nhä-nha]	bäru
if	1SG	see-PST	crocodile

[nhan'-kuṅu		djuth- anara-buy]
3SG(alt.form)-ORIG		fight-NOML/INF-ASSOC

‘The crocodile that I saw (that was) killed by him.’

However, since this sentence (with this second interpretation) would be the only instance in the (present) corpus where a relative clause precedes its head, this interpretation (with *biṅu* as a subordinator) is not a likely one.

This sentence may also have two further interpretations:

Third possible interpretation:

biṅu	ṅarra	nhä-nha	bäru
that	1SG	see-PST	crocodile

[nhan'-kuṅu		djuth- anara-buy]
3SG(alt.form)-ORIG		fight-NOML/INF-ASSOC

‘That I saw, the crocodile (that was) being killed by him (and no other one).’

In the above case, the clause involving *biṅu* may be analysed as a demonstrative pronoun introducing a focus construction. The sentence would then only contain one (morphologically marked) relative clause (as is also the case for the first interpretation).

⁴⁵¹ In this discussion, I ignore the possible temporal or conditional interpretation of this sentence, i.e. ‘if/when I saw the crocodile (that) was killed by him’.

Fourth possible interpretation:

biɟu ɲarra nhä-nha bāru
that 1SG see-PST crocodile

nhan'-kuɟu djuth-**anara-buy**
3SG(alt.form)-ORIG fight-NOML/INF-ASSOC

'I saw the crocodile that was killed by him.'

Like the second interpretation, this fourth interpretation does not appear to be likely, as the sentence would have to be regarded to contain a discontinuous relative clause consisting of the non-finite clause *nhan'kuɟu djuthanarabuy* and the subordinator *biɟu*. It seems unlikely that a speaker would produce this rather complex structure, and even unlikelier that the hearer would arrive at this reading. This interpretation is also unlikely from a structural point of view, as this would be the only example in the present/analysed corpus where a non-finite clause is additionally signalled by the subordinator *biɟu*. (I have neither come across such a construction in another Yolŋu language.)

Since this sentence was elicited and thus uttered in isolation, the exact meaning of it cannot be inferred from the context. However, the prosodic pattern supports the first interpretation: The finite construction *biɟu ɲarra nhänha bāru* is uttered as one clause and shows a high pitch on *bāru* indicating that the sentence is not finished yet. (*Bāru* is also followed by a brief pause.)

Contrary to (728) and (729) above, the ORIG-marked agent *bāruwuɟu* in (730) below is PROBABLY NOT part of the ASSOC-marked subordinate clause but belongs to the main clause, functioning as the relativised entity, i.e. the head of the relative clause. The non-finite relative clause thus occurs amongst the main clause constituents, as opposed to being juxtaposed to the main clause. (Remember that (finite and non-finite) subordinate constructions rarely appear in this position. For remarks on such "mixed clauses" I refer the reader to section 6.3.)

(730) Dayi bunhdhurr’inya djuthanarabuy bäruwuṅu.

ṅayi	bunhdhurr-‘i-nya	[djuth- anara-buy]	bäru-wuṅu
3SG	lame-INCH/VERB-PST	fight-NOML/INF-ASSOC	crocodile-ORIG

‘He is lame from a crocodile that bit him.’ (s.v. –*kuṅu* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)
(The event in the relative clause happened before the event stated in the main clause.)

However, it is to be noted that the ORIG-marked constituent *COULD* be interpreted to be part of the subordinate clause. This subordinate construction would then be regarded as (extended) nominalised expression with an adverbial function (translating to ‘he is lame from the biting of a crocodile’).⁴⁵² Although the constituents of the subordinate clause would carry appropriate markings, this clause could not be analysed as a relative clause, as there is no head left in the main clause which would be modified by it. (Unfortunately, wäwa did not repeat the above sentence (which I had offered him) on the audio recording. Thus, prosodic features cannot shed any light on the analysis of this sentence.)

The morphologically marked non-finite relative clause in the example (731) below involves a constituent denoting an inanimate undergoer (*nyälka*):

(731) Darra barrṅarranha (biṅum) wolguman ṅama’ṅamayanharawuy nyälkawuy dhämirirri-nya gämuktju.

[ṅarra barrṅarra-nha]	[biṅu-m	wolguman	
1SG	hear-PST	that-DEM.SUFF	woman

[ṅama’ṅamay- anhara-wuy	nyälka- wuy]
make-NOML/INF-ASSOC	bag/basket-ASSOC

dhämirirri-nya	gämuk-tju]
be.dead.INCH/VERB-PST	night-TEMP

‘I heard/learned (that) that woman who made good baskets died last/during the night.’

(JBG112c)

(What is stated in the relative clause was true before the event in the main clause.)

⁴⁵² According to wäwa (phone, Nov. 2016), the construction *ṅayi bunhdhurr’inya [djuthanarabuy]* is possible. The subordinate expression *djuthanarabuy* is used adverbially here.

This sentence consists of three clauses: The verb *barrɣarranha* in the sentence initial main clause *ɣarra barrɣarranha* controls the complement clause *biɣum wolguman dhämirirrinya gämuktju* into which the relative clause *ɣama'ɣamayanharawuy nyälkawuy* is inserted. This non-finite relative clause modifies the subject of the complement clause (i.e. *biɣum wolguman*) and separates it from its predication (i.e. *dhämirirrinya gämuktju*). (The square brackets in the gloss line indicate the syntactic analysis of the sentence.) Note that the perception verb *barrɣarra* is used in a knowledge function here while it has a perceptive sense in (735).

The head in the relative construction in the example below is the ACC-marked direct object argument of the main clause (i.e. *yothonha*). The non-finite relative clause is extended by the (LOC-marked) adjunct phrase *nhaɣ'ku maniɳa* which refers to a place:

(732) Darra nhänha nhuɣ'ku yothonha wadapthanharabuy nhaɣ'ku maniɳa.⁴⁵³

ɣarra	nhä-nha	nhuɣ'-ku	yothonha
1SG	see-PST	2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT	child-ACC

[wadapth-anhara-buy	nhaɣ'ku	mani-ɳa]
bathe/wash-NOML/INF-ASSOC	that/there	river-LOC

‘I saw your child drowning in that river/in the river there.’⁴⁵⁴ (JBG207)

(lit.: ‘I saw your child being associated with the drowning in that river/in the river there.’)

(The event in the relative clause is probably happening simultaneously with the event stated in the preceding main clause.)

The meaning of this sentence can also be rendered by a finite complement clause governed by the perception verb *nhänha*:

⁴⁵³ I had actually asked for ‘I saw the woman that had a child that drowned in the river.’

⁴⁵⁴ I did not check whether this sentence implies that the woman has more than one child.

(733) Darra nhänha nhuŋ'ku yothu waḍapthanha nhaŋ'ku maniŋa.⁴⁵⁵

ŋarra nhä-nha
1SG see-PST

[nhuŋ'-ku yothu waḍaptha-nha nhaŋ'ku mani-ŋa]
2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT child bathe/wash-PST that/there river-LOC
'I saw your child drowned in that river/in the river there.'
(JBG208a)

The ASSOC-constructions in (734) and (735) below are formally identical to the non-finite forms which we have seen in all the above relative clauses. However, instead of modifying/being linked to a head noun in the main clause, the infinitives in (734) and (735) modify/are linked to the verbs of the main clauses and are thus used to complement the perception verbs *nhäma* 'see' and *barrŋarra* 'hear', respectively:

(734) Way'thanharabuy ŋali wurruku nhäma.

[way'th-anhara-buy] ŋali wurruku nhä-ma
swim-NOML/INF-ASSOC 1Duincl will see-NEU
'We will see (him) swimming.'
(lit. 'We will see what has to do with (his) swimming.')(Both "events" can be interpreted to happen simultaneously.)
(text JBG005_0044)

(735) Darra barrŋarranha gitkitthanharabuy.

ŋarra barrŋarra-nha [gitkitth-anhara-buy]
1SG hear-PST laugh-NOML/INF-ASSOC
'I hear the laughter.'
(lit.: 'I heard what had to do with laughing.')(Both "events" can be interpreted to happen simultaneously.)
(JGG161; wäwa and Garrutju)

Like other non-finite forms, the (object) complements of the perception verbs are construed as properties, i.e. without temporal, aspectual or modal(ity) modifications. Note that the two ASSOC-constructions in the above examples are maximally compensated/compressed and

⁴⁵⁵ Wäwa immediately accepted this sentence, and repeated it without an intonation break between the main clause and the complement clause. (Recall that the absence of a pause is interpreted to signal the (slight) integration of the subordinate clause into the main clause.)

desententialised in that they only consist of a nominalised entity bearing a case marking (like in (726), (727) and (730) above).

7.6.3 Relative clauses which share a main clause constituent

In all above examples, relative clauses are signalled by some sort of overt indicator (i.e. by prosody, the subordinator *biŋu*, or by morphological marking). In this section, I discuss sentences containing relative clauses which lack such an evident marker: In complex sentences (without an explicit linking device) in which one of two linked clauses lacks the subject argument but can be interpreted to share it with the other clause of the sentence, at least in a semantic way, this clause has been found to have a relative clause interpretation.

Like morphologically indicated relative clauses, relative clauses of this type also show their semantic embedding structurally.

So far, I have found eight examples of this type. In five of them, a transitive clause is combined with an intransitive clause. In these cases, the intransitive clause lacks an appropriately marked grammatical subject argument. It shares the subject with the transitive clause, but only in a SEMANTIC way, as the ergative marking on the subject argument disagrees with the intransitive valency of the verb. Two constructions showing these characteristics are presented in (560) (= (642)) and (561) in section 7.2. Further examples illustrating the embedding of an intransitive clause into a transitive clause are discussed below for (736), (737) and (738). (In the following sentences, the relative clauses are marked by square brackets in the gloss lines.)

(736) Wolgumandhu ŋama'ŋamayanha nyälka dalpamdjinyawa.

wolguman-dhu	ŋama'ŋamay-anha	nyälka	[<u>dalpam-dji-nya=wa</u>]
woman-ERG	make-PST	bag/basket	dead-INCH\VERB-PST=MOD

'The woman (who) died made baskets.' (ERG-marked subject argument = head)

(JBG198)

(The sentence may also have a coordinate reading: 'The woman made good baskets and died.')

(The event described in the relative clause became true after the action described in the preceding main clause.)

(737) Yothulu guwatjmanha wolgumanha nyininya ma galki maniṅa.

yothu-lu guwatj-manha wolguman-nha
child-ERG visit-PST woman-ACC

[nyini-nya ma galki mani-ṅa]
sit(alt.form)-PST PROG/CONT near river-LOC

preferred/spontaneous interpretation: ‘The child visited the woman (who) was living by the river.’ (ACC-marked direct object = head)

but also: ‘The child who lived by the river visited the woman.’ (ERG-marked subject argument = head) (JBG206a)

(The sentence may also have a coordinate reading: ‘The child lived by the river and visited the woman.’)

(The proposition described in the relative clause was true before the event of the preceding main clause took place but it may also be happening simultaneously with it.)

(738) Darramulu mittjiyu djinikuli ma ṅorra bunbuṅa walala djuthana bāru(nha).⁴⁵⁶

darramu-lu mittji-yu [djinikuli ma ṅorra bunbu-ṅa]
man-ERG group/PL-ERG here PROG/CONT sleep(NEU) house-LOC

walala djuth-ana bāru-nha
3PL fight-PST crocodile-ACC

preferred/spontaneous interpretation: ‘The men (who were) sleeping/staying in the house killed the crocodile.’ (ERG-marked subject noun phrase = head)

but also: ‘The men killed the crocodile (that) is staying (i.e. being left) in the house.’ (ACC-marked direct object argument = head) (JBG197a)

(What is described in the relative clause was already true when the event of the main clause took place, independent of the identity of the head.)

In all three above examples, the main clause contains a transitive verb which takes an ERG-marked subject argument and a direct object argument with ACC case value. Note that the accusative marking is obligatory and overtly indicated on *wolguman* in (737), while it is

⁴⁵⁶ The pronoun *walala* is coreferential with the ERG-marked subject noun phrase and presumably optional.

optional on *bäru* in (738) and absent on *nyälka* in). (Please see section 4.2.1 for the discussion of case markings).

In), the head of the relative clause is the ERG-marked subject argument *wolgumandhu*, as this is the only possible interpretation of this sentence. On the contrary, in (737) and (738), the head may either be the ERG-marked subject argument or the ACC-marked direct object argument of the main clause, i.e. *yothulu* or *wolgumannha* in (737), or *darramulu mittjiyu* or *bärunha* in (738). The grammatical disagreement of the verb (in the relative clause) and the subject that it (semantically) shares with the main clause (which is here interpreted as its head) results from the fact that the “relative clause verb” is of intransitive value, while the “main clause verb” is transitive (causing the subject argument to bear ERG case marking). In (738), for instance, the ergative marks the sentence initial noun phrase *darramulu mittjiyu* as the (grammatical) subject of the transitive verb for ‘hit, kill’, not of the intransitive verb for ‘sleep’. The subordination of the intransitive relative clause thus becomes apparent by the absence of a GRAMMATICAL subject argument.

While the relative clause in) clearly modifies the SUBJECT of the main clause, the identity of the head in the relative constructions in (737) and (738) is less obvious. The identification of the head in) is easy because *dalpam-dji-* (dead-INCH\VERB-) would not be used to refer to the lifetime’s end of a thing. Therefore, the head of this construction cannot be *nyälka* but must be the animated subject argument *wolgumandhu*. The difficulty of identifying the heads of the relative clauses in (737) and (738) arises from the fact that these transitive verbs take two animated arguments which are both capable of carrying out the actions described in the individual relative clauses. Such sentences may therefore have more than one interpretation, as indicated by the translations in the above sentences. In all other cases (i.e. where the transitive clause only contains one animated argument), it is the shared subject argument which is interpreted to be the head of the relative clause.

Structurally, the sentences in (737) and (738) only differ with respect to the position of the relative clause. In (738), it is positioned within the main clause and immediately follows the ERG-marked subject argument of that clause, while it is located to the right of the main clause in (737) where it immediately follows the ACC-marked direct object argument of the main clause. Although both sentences have two possible readings, the preferred semantic interpretation of an utterance seems to depend on the syntactic arrangement of the involved clauses: The preferred reading of the relative clause in (738) is that it modifies the immediately preceding subject argument of the main clause (i.e. *darramulu mittjiyu*), while

the relative clause in (737) is preferably interpreted to modify the immediately preceding direct object argument of the main clause (i.e. *wolgumanha*).

For a better illustration of this matter, compare (738) above with (739) below:

(739) *Darramulu mittjiyu walala djuthana bäru(nha) djinikuli ma ŋorra bunbuŋa.*

<i>darramu-lu</i>	<i>mittji-yu</i>	<i>walala</i>	<i>djuth-ana</i>	<i>bäru-nha</i>
man-ERG	group/PL-ERG	3PL	fight-PST	crocodile-ACC

[<i>djinikuli</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ŋorra</i>	<i>bunbu-ŋa</i>]
here	PROG/CONT	sleep(NEU)	house-LOC

preferred/spontaneous interpretation: ‘The men killed the crocodile (that) is staying (i.e. being left) in the house.’ (direct object argument = head)

but also: ‘The men (who were) sleeping/staying in the house killed the crocodile.’ (ERG-marked subject argument = head) (JBG197b)

In the above sentence, the relative clause was permuted to now follow the ACC-marked direct object argument *bäru(nha)*. Again, this sentence has two possible readings (as indicated by the translations). However, the syntactic re-arrangement of the relative clause led to a different preference with respect to the identity of the head of the relative clause. Contrary to (738) above, the relative clause *djinikuli ma ŋorra bunbuŋa* is now more readily interpreted as modifying the direct object argument *bäru(nha)*.

The seeming preference of these interpretations could be explained by the processing mechanism that linguistic expressions which are phrased together (instead of being structurally separated) are likely to be processed together, i.e. the closer two structures are to each other the more likely it is that they are conceived to be associated with each other and to constitute a conceptual unit. Cristofaro (2003, 253) refers to this mechanism as *iconicity of distance* which she defines as “the correspondence between the formal distance between linguistic expressions and the conceptual distance between the meanings they code.” The converse is also true: Units which are conceptually close, also tend to be close structurally. (It can be assumed that this mechanism correlates with a reduced load of mental processing for both speaker and hearer.)

In this regard, it is noteworthy that the great majority of Golpa relative clauses of all types have been found to stand next to their heads. (Exceptions to this rule are the examples (697), (713), (717) and (745).)

Despite these observations regarding the constructions in (738) and (739), *wäwa* seems to prefer a sentence involving a different type of relative clause to render a meaning similar to ‘the men killed the crocodile (that) is staying in the house’ (which is the preferred interpretation in (739)):

(740) Walala djuthana bäru ŋayi ma ŋorra guḷundili.

walala djuth-ana bäru [ŋayi ma ŋorra guḷun-ḍili]
 3PL fight-PST crocodile 3SG PROG/CONT sleep(NEU) billabong-LOC

‘The men killed the crocodile that was sleeping in the billabong.’ (JBG305)

(The event stated in the relative clause was true before the event of the preceding clause took place.)

The main clause direct object argument *bäru* may optionally carry ACC case marking. (The structure of this sentence is discussed in section 7.6.1 (example (721)) where it is treated together with other examples involving prosodically linked juxtaposed relative clauses.)

Please bear in mind that the above described “position – interpretation” – observations concern only two sentences which were checked with only one speaker. (Note also that the semantic differences in the examples (738) and (739) were elicited on the phone, instead of in a face-to-face conversation where misunderstandings, for instance, can be better detected and ruled out). Therefore, I cannot say whether the position-criterion can SOLELY AND SUFFICIENTLY explain the interpretational preference of a sentence. It also needs to be said that I cannot exclude the possibility that the position of the relative clause may be irrelevant to the semantic interpretation of the sentence, and that the preferences of interpretation (as discussed above) are actually an outcome of my investigation.

However, what can be concluded from the above examples, is that sentences involving an intransitive clause and a transitive clause (with an animated subject and direct object argument) are ambiguous (at least when uttered in isolation) in the way that the subject AND the direct object argument of the transitive clause may be interpreted to be modified by the intransitive clause which then has a relative clause reading.

There are also sentences in which the verbs of the two clauses have an identical valency value. The examples (741) and (742) show the combination of two clauses with intransitive verbs. In (743) both verbs are transitive.

(742) Ga bukmakṇayu maṅ'thana nhaṅ'kuwa Golpayinya [...].

ga bukmak=ṇayu [maṅ'th-ana nhaṅ'ku=wa]
and all=PROM turn.up/appear-PST that/there=MOD

[Golpa-yi-nya]

Golpa-INCH/VERB-PST

‘And all (that are) born there were/became Golpa.’

but also: ‘And all (that are) Golpa were born there.’ (text JBG003_005a)

(The sentence may also have a coordinate reading: ‘And all were born there and were Golpa.’)

(The events in the two clauses are happening simultaneously.)

In the following sentence in (743), the head consists of the two noun phrases *bungawa biṅu* and *ṇurru dawalaṅu biṅu* (which are separated by the verb *wañayala*). When listening to the recording, it seems that the speaker (Djingulul) corrects the former noun phrase with the latter.⁴⁵⁷ If this interpretation of the audio recording is accurate, we are basically dealing with only one subject noun phrase which is shared by the transitive verbs *wañayala* ‘used to speak’ and *ṇayathama* ‘have’.

⁴⁵⁷ Given that this sentence is part of a text that was recorded by Bernhard Schebeck in order to document the language, this is a plausible interpretation: *Bungawa* is reported to be an Indonesian loanword (cf. Schebeck 2001, 34/65).

(743) “Go gapu nyeli nhunma dhittha” bungawa biju waṅayala ṅurru-dawalaṅu biju bilawu mähr̄yu ma ṅayathama gapu.

go	gapu	nyeli ⁴⁵⁸	nhunma	dhitth-a
come	water(*Golpa)	2PL(*Golpa)	3SG.GEN/DAT(*Golpa)	dip(*Golpa)-IMP

bungawa	biju	waṅa-yala	ṅurru_dawalaṅu	biju	#
boss	that	say-PSThab	leader	that	

[bilawu	mähr̄-yu	ma	ṅayatha-ma	gapu]
thus/like.this	strength-INSTR	PROG/CONT	have-NEU	water(*Golpa)

“Come, dip some water for him (i.e. the visitors)”, (thus) that leader⁴⁵⁹ used to speak (who) has the strength (for holding and giving) the water.’ (text HDG003_0424-0428)

(Following the grammatical marking, the relative clause happens after the event stated in the preceding main clause. Semantically, the proposition described in the relative clause was true at the same time (i.e. was happening simultaneously with) the main clause event.)

However, this sentence has only one semantically plausible interpretation, as indicated by the translation. This reading is also reflected by prosodic features: While *waṅayala*⁴⁶⁰ is closely connected to the two noun phrases, and also to the preceding “direct speech clause” *go gapu nyeli nhunma dhittha*, the marked relative clause is set off from this part of the sentence by a pause and marked by a distinctly low and steady pitch. This intonation pattern thus leaves open the possibility of analysing this construction as an appositional adjunct clause.

Before I conclude this section, a further note is to be made in regard to the functional interpretation of linked relative clauses which share the main clause subject: It seems that when the subject argument of a main clause can be interpreted to also be the subject of the linked clause (which lacks the overt expression of this referent), this linked clause could also be regarded as having a relationship of coordination with the main clause. The entire construction then appears to look like what is referred to as a *sentential relative clause* in

⁴⁵⁸ According to Bernhard Schebeck’s memory (email in June 2013), he has only heard this word from Mawalan speakers who occasionally used this form instead of *nhuma* (2DU). (The Yolṅu Matha Dictionary (Zorc 1986) notes that *nyeli* is the 2nd person plural form in Dhaṅu and Djaṅu.)

⁴⁵⁹ This leader may be an individual person or a clan group.

⁴⁶⁰ *Waṅayala* is the theoretic other clause which could be interpreted to function as the relative clause in this sentence. However, semantically this is not possible.

English. Such structures are defined as the extreme form of appositive relative clauses, as they function as independent clauses without being subordinated under the preceding one with which they only have a rather loose connection (cf. Lehmann 1984, 274).

The possible coordinate readings of the above sentences are indicated by corresponding translations below the individual examples. Consider, for instance, example (737): If the ERG-marked subject *yothulu* is taken to be the head of the relative clause (instead of the direct object *wolgumanha*), the sentence could also have the following coordinate interpretation: ‘The child lived by the river AND visited the woman.’ (Note that a coordinate reading does not seem to be possible with the sentences in (738) and (743). This is probably due to the fact that the verbs they involve do not show an identical (tense) inflection and thus do not indicate an identical time reference.)

However, the few features speaking for a coordination-analysis are rather weak when comparing them to features speaking for a relative clause-analysis of these examples. Consider their respective discussions under (i) and (ii) below:

(i) Since juxtaposed relative clauses are always independent (as shown in section 7.6.1 (iii)), from a structural point of view, the above examples involving a DEPENDENT clause, at first sight, may seem to illustrate instances of coordination. Such a conclusion would mainly be supported by the fact that two examples have been found in which a dependent coordinate clause is juxtaposed to an independent clause (cf. (502) and (580) (=524)).⁴⁶¹ There are also two sentences in which two coordinate clauses with different transitivity values share the subject argument (cf. (505) and (545)). However, note that the clauses in these two examples are linked by the conjunction *ga* ‘and’. (In ((447), *ga* connects two coordinate clauses involving verbs with an identical transitivity.)

(ii) A number of formal and semantic criteria actually speak for the relative clause-analysis of examples like (737): Given that clauses of this type always follow a nominal, they cannot really be regarded to be attached at the clause level. The subordination-analysis is further supported by the fact that these argument-dependent finite (relative) clauses can be permuted. Since such a clause extraposition⁴⁶² is normally not possible with non-embedded

⁴⁶¹ Note that the clauses in (502) involve verbs of different transitivity values, while the verbs in (580) have the same transitivity. Although it is possible from a structural point of view, to interpret the dependent coordinate clauses in these two examples as relative clauses (of the above described type), such a reading is very unlikely semantically, as the dependent coordinate clauses in (502) and (580) share a subject pronoun with the other clause which refers to the first person singular. A relative clause-interpretation would be very odd/unnatural here.

⁴⁶² Clause extraposition is generally considered to be one of several syntactic criteria that can be used to test embedding (cf. Cristofaro 2003, section 2.1.1).

constructions in Golpa (cf. section 6.3), I am led to conclude that the possible permutation of these finite (relative) clauses ascertains that they are actually EMBEDDED into the main clause. (Please recall that I have only tested clause extraposition for the constructions in (737) and (738). However, I would expect that the finite clauses in (736), (741) and (742) can also be permuted. Unfortunately, I cannot support this claim with language data.) Note also that serial verb constructions, in which the verbal components also share the subject argument (among other things) and which may also involve verbs of different transitivity values, lean more towards the subordination pole of the elaboration - compensation continuum, than towards the coordination pole (cf. conclusion part of section 7.2).

The relative clause-analysis also seems more appropriate for this finite clause type from a semantic point of view: Clauses of this type can always be interpreted to have a relative clause-function, as they modify the nominal constituent which precedes them, whereas a coordinate reading is not always possible. Under certain conditions (see above), such clauses even have more than one possible relative interpretation.

7.6.4 Other types of relative clauses

Due to their structurally different behaviour, some examples cannot be counted among any of the above discussed relative clause types. These cases are briefly discussed here.

In the following two sentences (that were found in one of Djingulul's texts), the (semantically) subordinate constructions (marked by square brackets) are interpreted to function as relative clauses, modifying the immediately preceding nominal. In both examples, this modified constituent refers to a place. (Note that only the relative clause in (744) is structurally independent.)

The relative clauses in the two sentences are not juxtaposed or adjoined to the preceding clause (like in examples presented in section 7.6.1). Neither are they morphologically marked (like in examples presented in section 7.6.2), or share a constituent with the other clause (like in examples presented in section 7.6.3). Instead, they are **positioned within the other clause** without any (other) sign of subordination. (As may be recalled from section 6.3, constituents of subordinate clauses are rarely found to "mix" with main clause constituents.)

However, it is unclear whether the relative clauses in these two examples can be regarded as being STRUCTURALLY embedded. (For this reason, they are not listed in Table 36 below.)

In (744), the relative clause (in square brackets) immediately follows its head *ɲarri* and thus separates it from its predication *Dhurpuɲa ga Waniɲa*:

(744) Bararrpararrwu yolɲuwu gapu maltjɲa maɲutji, Dhurpuɲa, ɲaykaɲa ɲarri gapu ma bɛni, Dhurpuɲa, ga Waniɲa.

Bararrpararr-wu	yolɲu-wu	gapu	maltjɲa	maɲutji
Bararrpararr-GEN/DAT	person-GEN/DAT	water(*Golpa)two		hole

Dhurpuɲa	ɲaykaɲa	ɲarri	[gapu ma	bɛni]
Dhurpuɲa	name	place	water PROG/CONT	water.flowing(NEU)

Dhurpuɲa ga Waniɲa

Dhurpuɲa and Waniɲa

‘There are two waterholes for the Bararrpararr people, the names of the places (where) the water is always flowing (are) Dhurpuɲa and Waniɲa.’ (text HDG003_0280-0288)

(Due to the “stative predication” of the main clause, the interpretation of the temporal relation of the two “events” is difficult.)

In (745) below, *ɲarri* is also the head of the relative clause. However, here, the subordination of the relative clause is additionally marked by the non-Golpa locative suffix *-la* (which *wäwa* identified as belonging to the Mälarra language):

[*yol*-thu *ŋarra*-ku *dhaw'y*-anha *mutika*]
 who/someone-ERG 1SG-GEN/DAT steal-PST car

ŋarra *wurruku* *ŋanya* *maŋj'*-miya-ma
 1SG will 3SG\ACC turn.up/appear-CAUS-NEU

‘Who(ever) stole my car, I will find him.’ (JBG199a)

(What is stated in the sentence initial relative clause was true before the event described in the subsequent clause.)

In all Yolŋu languages (of both moieties), the pronoun *yol* ‘who’ is also used with the indefinite meaning ‘someone’ (Yolŋu Matha Dictionary (Zorc 1986), or section 4.1.2.2). In the above sentence, *yol* is ERG-marked because of ‘steal’ rather than ACC-marked as an object of ‘find’. This leaves open the possibility that the two clauses are just two independent simple sentences. However, the sentence is taken to be a complex construction on the basis of its intonation: As the last constituent of the first clause, *mutika* is marked by a high pitch which indicates the linkage to the subsequent clause. This high pitch falls towards the end of the second clause. The entire sentence has a declarative illocutionary force.

Note that this is the only example in which the relative clause precedes the main clause.

7.6.5 Summary of relative clause structures

Features characterising sentences involving relative structures are summarised below. The table shows that the subordination of relative clauses can be indicated by various means, ranging from the use of prosodic patterns to case-marked non-finite constructions.

syntactic level of the attachment site: noun					
type of linkage	attached/linked clause				
	juxtaposed clause	adjoined clause	clause introduced by the interrogative/ indefinite pronoun <i>yol</i>	embedded clause	
				by constituent sharing	by non-finite case-marked constructions
	slight downgrading by low pitch	slight downgrading by presence of <i>bijū</i>	slight downgrading by low pitch	usually share the subject argument of the main clause	high degree of desententialisation and interlacing
explicitness of linking	asyndetic	syndetic		asyndetic	
	The rising-falling intonation pattern and/or the absence of a pause at the clausal juncture characterise most sentences involving a relative clause.				
relation	attribution/modification				

Table 36 Features of Golpa relative clause types

7.7 Complex sentences with a complement clause

While adjunct clauses “are optionally adjoined to some constituent of the host clause”, complement clauses function as arguments of a governing predicate (cf., for instance, Diessel and Gast 2012, 5, or Noonan 1985, 42). In Golpa, complement clauses serve to complete the meaning of the verb in the main clause. I have not come across nominal complement clauses. A complement clause is the clearest case of an embedded construction, as it fills a valency position of the governing main clause verb and thus is (part of) a constituent in the main clause (cf. Lehmann 1992, 334, or Diessel and Gast 2012, 10, among others).

However, in Golpa, only non-finite complement constructions show their semantic embedding into the main clause structurally. Finite complement clauses are only semantically embedded. They most often occur juxtaposed to the main clause. There are only few examples in which a finite complement clause has been found to be adjoined to the main clause. In these cases, *bijū* introduces complement clauses of verbs of ‘seeing’ or ‘speaking’.

Like in a number of other Yolŋu languages (such as Gupapuyŋu and Djambarrpuyŋu, for instance),⁴⁶⁴ complement clauses in Golpa may be taken by “adjectival verbs” (cf. section 7.7.1), and other (“full”) verbs (cf. section 7.7.2). The intransitive verb *garama* is a member of the latter type. However, for descriptive purposes, it is treated in a separate section (cf. section 7.7.3). Complement clauses are generally linked to the finite verb of the main clause

⁴⁶⁴ For more information on complement clauses in these languages, cf. Christie (2001a, b) and Wilkinson (1991), respectively.

and function as objects. However, they are not case-marked in accordance to this function but are associated with the GEN/DAT case.

Both adjectival verbs and full verbs may take finite and non-finite complement clauses. Most finite complements can stand as independent utterances, whereas (their) main clauses usually cannot. (Exceptions to this “rule” are main clauses involving the adjectival verb *marŋgi* ‘know’.) Non-finite complement constructions (of adjectival verbs and other verbs) are structurally akin to non-finite purposive structures (as discussed in section 7.5.5).

In the vast majority of cases, the complement clause (of any type) follows the main clause. However, this need not be so (as demonstrated by example (774)).

7.7.1 Complements of “adjectival verbs”

The purpose of this section is to illustrate and discuss the finite and non-finite complement constructions that may be taken by adjectival verbs.

The term *adjectival verb* was introduced and discussed in section 4.1.1.3. In Golpa, this notion subsumes the two “predicates of knowledge” *marŋgi* ‘know’ and *wawupuy* ‘do not know’, and the two “desiderative predicates” *duktuk* ‘want, like, need’ and *dhäl* (or *dhälmirri*) ‘want, feel, need, like’.⁴⁶⁵ These verbal forms differ from other verbs in that they do not inflect, unless they take on a derivational/verbalising suffix. (Therefore, their glosses purposely lack the indication of the inflectional form.)

Non-finite complement clauses of adjectival verbs are most often found in texts. Only wäwa also produced them in elicited sentences and conversations (with me). As already shown in other sections above (cf. sections 7.1.1 and 7.5.5, for example), a non-finite construction minimally consists of the infinitive form of the verb. In non-finite complement clauses, the subject of the corresponding finite clause is either marked with the GEN/DAT case or is entirely lost. The GEN/DAT suffix must appear on the direct object argument of the corresponding finite clause (if expressed), and may seemingly also attach to the nominalised/infinitive verb form. Like in other non-finite clauses, the TMA-interpretation is dependent on the distinctions expressed in the (finite) main clause.

In the following examples, the relevant forms appear in bold print.

(747) **Darraŋayu marŋgiwa Golpawu yāngu waŋanhara.**

⁴⁶⁵ The terms in quotation marks are taken from Noonan’s (1985, 110-131) complement predicate classification which is not considered here any further. For the description of complement clauses in Golpa (and other Yolŋu languages), I regard the distinction between complement taking adjectival verbs and other complement taking verbs, as well as the distinction between finite and non-finite complement constructions to be more relevant.

(751), and *ɲarra* ‘I’ and *walala* ‘they’ in (752)), AND an undergoer (i.e. *mani djini* ‘the(ir) throats’ in (751), and *dhäwu* ‘story’ in (752)). Non-finite complement constructions may thus express the semantic roles associated with the subject argument and the direct object argument (of a finite clause). Note that all arguments belonging to this non-finite clause are marked by the GEN/DAT case, cf. (751), (752) and (753) below:

(751) [...] Yirritjaɲu Dhuwaɲu biɲu yin’pi nhaɭuwa bili ɲayi Bararrpararr Murru dhäl yolɲuwu djiniku maniwu djiniku waɖapmiyanhara.

Yirritja-ɲu	Dhuwa-ɲu	biɲu	yin’pi	nhaɭu-wa
Yirritja-NOML	Dhuwa-NOML	that	also??	eat/drink-PSThab

bili	ɲayi	Bararrpararr	Murru	dhäl
because(*Golpa)	3SG	Bararrpararr	Murru	want/feel

[yolɲu- wu	djini- ku	mani- wu
person-GEN/DAT	this/here-GEN/DAT	throat-GEN/DAT

djini- ku	waɖapmiya- nhara]
this/here-GEN/DAT(HESIT)	bathe/wash.CAUS-NOML/INF

‘[...] the Yirritja and the Dhuwa used to also drink that (water), because the Bararrpararr (and) the Murru both want these people to cool down their throats.’

(text HDG002_0458-0460)

(752) Nhonu dhäl ḡarraku djiniku rakaranhara dhäwuwo wo walalama?

nhonu dhäl [ḡarra-ku
2SG want/feel 1SG-GEN/DAT

djini-ku rakara-nhara dhäwu-wu
this/here-GEN/DAT tell-NOML/INF story-GEN/DAT

wo walala-**ma**
or 3PL-GEN/DAT

‘Do you want me to tell this story or them?’ (JBG225)

(753) Walalaḡayu duktuk nhurrulima yäna garanhara.

walala=ḡayu duktuk [nhurruli-**ma** yäna gara-**nhara**]
3PL=PROM want/need 2PLincl-GEN/DAT just/only come/go-NOML/INF

‘They want only you to go.’ (JGG020d)

As already indicated, adjectival verbs may take on derivational suffixes. While *dhäl* and *duktuk* may carry the inchoative suffix (forms -‘i-/tji-), *marḡgi* has been found with inchoative suffix (form -yi-) as well as with the causative suffix (form -yu-). Adjectival verbs are then verbalised and inflect according to members of verb class 2a or 4a (cf. section 4.3.1). These two derivational suffixes only attach to adjectives. It is for this reason that *marḡgi*, *wawupuy*, *dhäl* and *duktuk* are referred to as *ADJECTIVAL verbs*.⁴⁶⁶

These verbalised forms also require a GEN/DAT case-marked complement clause:

⁴⁶⁶ Although *wawupuy* has not been found in the present corpus with either of these two derivational suffixes, it is counted among this verbal set because it behaves like *marḡgi*, *dhäl* and *duktuk* in all other respects, i.e. it conveys a verbal meaning, does not inflect (in its bare form) and requires the GEN/DAT marking on the undergoer in the clause.

I have not (yet) found a complex sentence involving the inchoative form of *marŋgi* (i.e. *marŋgiyirri* (NEU form) ‘learn’). However, the simple sentence below shows that this form also requires the object to appear with GEN/DAT case marking. It can thus be assumed that it also triggers non-finite complement constructions that are associated with the GEN/DAT case.

(756) Darra ma marŋgi’inya ŋätjili Golpawu yängu

ŋarra ma marŋgi-‘i-nya

1SG PROG/CONT know-INCH/VERB-PST

ŋätjili Golpa-**wu** yän-**gu**

a.while.ago Golpa-GEN/DAT language-GEN/DAT

‘I was learning Golpa language long time ago.’ (JGG011h)

Unlike the inchoative-marked *marŋgiyirri* (NEU form) ‘learn’, the causative-marked *marŋgiyuma* (NEU form) ‘teach’ takes an accusative case-marked direct object argument (*nhununha* in the below example) which is then located outside the non-finite construction (*bathanhara* in the below example).

(757) Darra wurruku marŋgiyuma nhununha bathanhara.

ŋarra wurruku marŋgi-yu-ma **nhunu-nha**

1SG will know-make/CAUS-NEU 2SG(alt.form)-ACC

[batha-nhara]

cook-NOML/INF

‘I will teach you (how) to cook.’ (JBG311)

So far, we have seen sentences in which the GEN/DAT case marking only appears on the argument(s) in a non-finite complement construction. However, there are examples in which the nominalised/infinitive verb form is also GEN/DAT-marked. In these instances, all constituents in the subordinate clause agree in case marking, cf. (758), (759) and (760):

(758) Rulka nhonuṅayu nhaṅu marṅgi bunharawu.

rulka nhonu=ṅayu nhaṅu marṅgi [bu-nhara-wu]
not 2SG=PROM this/here know hit-NOML/INF-GEN/DAT
'You don't know how to kill for living.' (s.v. *buma* (1) (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(759) Walala dhäl nhaḷunhara(wu) mudhuṅay(w)u.

walala dhäl [nhaḷu-nhara-wu mudhuṅay-wu]
3PL want/feel eat/drink-NOML/INF-GEN/DAT food-GEN/DAT
'They want to eat.' (JGG126a)

(760) Midiku dhäl waṅanhara(wu) nhumalama.

midiku dhäl
sister.of.man want/feel

[waṅa-nhara-wu nhumala-ma]
say-NOML/INF-GEN/DAT 2DU(alt.form)-GEN/DAT
'Midiku wants to talk to you two.' (s.v. *-wu* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

According to wäwa, the GEN/DAT marking on infinitives is optional (which is indicated by the round brackets in the text lines). However, he clearly prefers them without this case suffix. In fact, he usually "corrects them away", as shown in (761) below (where the asterisk is used in the gloss line to signal his refusal of the form):

(761) Walala dhäl guṅgayanharawu ṅarraku.

walala dhäl guṅgay-anhara-*wu ṅarra-ku
3PL want/feel help-NOML/INF-GEN/DAT 1SG-GEN/DAT
'They want to help me.' (s.v. *dhäl* (3) (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

In a number of surrounding Yolṅu languages (like Djambarrpuyṅu, Djapu or Ritharṅu),⁴⁶⁹ non-finite 'want' complement constructions show both a GEN/DAT-marked argument as well as a GEN/DAT-marked non-finite verb form. For an illustration, cf. the following example from Djapu:

⁴⁶⁹ For relevant information in regard to these languages, cf. Wilkinson (1991, ch. 12), Morphy (1983) and Heath (1980, 76f.), respectively.

Djapu⁴⁷⁰

(762) Darra djäl nhuṅu guṅga'yū-nhara-w.

ṅarra djäl [nhuṅu guṅga'yū-nhara-w]
1SG want 2SG\DAT help-NOML/INF-DAT

‘I want to help you.’/‘I want you to help.’ (cf. Morphy 1983, 134)

(For a better understanding, I have changed the annotation according to my definitions.)⁴⁷¹

Since only little research was done on Golpa in the past (cf. section 2.3), I cannot say whether the usual lack of the GEN/DAT marking on the infinitive form results from the language obsolescence process, or else, could be explained by the multilingualism of the speaker (wäwa): It is possible that the infinitive was never marked with the GEN/DAT case in Golpa. However, given that wäwa is multilingual, the few exceptional examples may only involve this marking because the Golpa construction was confused with the equivalent construction in Djambarrupyu, for instance, where the non-finite form of the verb does take on the GEN/DAT case suffix.

When adjectival verbs are PART of a non-finite complement clause, they appear like other verbs in such constructions in that they take on the NOML/INF inflectional form of the verbalising suffix:

(763) Darra dhäl marṅiyinyara yāngu Golpawu.

ṅarra dhäl
1SG want/feel

[marṅi-yi-nyara yän-gu Golpa-wu]
know-INCH/VERB-NOML/INF language-GEN/DAT Golpa-GEN/DAT

‘I want to learn the Golpa language.’ (JBG310a)

⁴⁷⁰ In Djapu, non-finite verb forms in purposive constructions also carry DAT case marking (cf. Morphy 1983, 134). (Like most Yolṅu languages, the genitive and dative functions are distinguished in Djapu, cf. section 4.2.2 for a relevant note.)

⁴⁷¹ The original annotation is as follows:

ṅarra djäl [nhuṅu guṅga'yū-nhara-w]_{Purp/Infinit}
1sgNOM want 2sgDAT help-NMLSR-DAT

As already pointed out above, non-finite constructions usually occur in texts, or are produced by wäwa. Since these structures were immediately accepted by Garrutju and Nyomba, it can be concluded that they must have acquired them. However, the sisters hardly ever use them. Unlike these non-finite complement constructions, finite complement clauses are used AND preferred by all three language workers. Considering all this, I interpret the preference of the more analytic finite complement constructions (over the desententialised and nominalised non-finite constructions) as a sign of language attrition.

In elicited sentences and spontaneous speech, **finite complement clauses** have been found to occur more often than their non-finite counterpart constructions. Such a finite - non-finite example pair is given in (764) and~ (765) below:

(764) Darra dhälyinya garanharawa.

ɲarra	dhäl-yi-nya	[gara- nhara =wa]	
1SG	want/feel-INCH/VERB-PST	come/go-NOML/INF=MOD	
	'I wanted to go/walk.'		(JBG117c)

~ (765) Darra ɲarra dhäl ɲarra wurruku garamawa (ɲarrakara ɲarridili).

ɲarra	ɲarra	dhäl		
1SG	1SG(HESIT)	want/feel		
[ɲarra wurruku gara- ma =wa ɲarra-kara ɲarri- <u>dili</u>]				
1SG	will	come/go-NEU=MOD	1SG-ALLan	place-ALL
	'I wanted to go/walk (home).'			(JBG117d)

Note that the example (764) gives one of only two sentences in which a non-finite construction involves a modality marking element. (The other example illustrating this phenomenon is cited in (689) = (269).)

Other examples of finite complement clauses are cited and discussed below:

(766) Rulka ɲarra marŋgi ɲayi wurruku garama Darwindili.

rulka	ɲarra	marŋgi	[ɲayi wurruku	gara- ma	Darwin- <u>dili</u>]
not	1SG	know	3SG	will	come/go-NEU Darwin-ALL
	'I do not know whether s/he will go to Darwin.'				
	(JBG202)				

The above sentence is another good example illustrating that clause linkage may solely be indicated prosodically: If it was not for the absence of the intonation break which indicates the (slight) integration of the complement clause (into the preceding clause), this example would be regarded as consisting of two independent simple sentences.

(767) Darra dhäl ḡarra wurruku djuthun bärünha.

ḡarra	dhäl	[ḡarra	wurruku	djuth-un	bäru-nha]	
1SG	want/feel	1SG	will	fight-NEU	crocodile-ACC	

‘I like fighting crocodiles.’ (JBG223)

(768) Walalaḡayu dukṡuk⁴⁷² nhurruli yäna wurruku garama.

walala=ḡayu	dukṡuk	[nhurruli	yäna	wurruku	gara-ma]	
3PL=PROM	want/need	2PLincl	just/only	will	come/go-NEU	

‘They want only you(PL) to go.’ (JGG20a)

As demonstrated by the above examples, finite complement clauses of adjectival verbs are usually expressed by the irrealis construction (involving *wurruku* and the verb in the NEU form) which in these cases indicates future time reference.

However, few exceptions have been found: The complement clauses in (769) through (772) below indicate present time reference, as these constructions lack the irrealis particle *wurruku* (which would be expected in a typical finite complement clause). Neither do the complements involve a nominalised verb and a GEN/DAT-marked argument (which would be expected in a typical non-finite complement constructions). Note that in (772), the “complement clause” is actually coordinated with the ‘want’ (main) clause by *ga* ‘and’.

(769) Dukṡuk ḡayi yindi ḡayi ma bul’yun djamarrkuliwara.

dukṡuk	ḡayi	yindi			
want/need	3SG	big			

[ḡayi	ma	bul’y-un	djamarrkuli-wara]	
3SG	PROG/CONT	play-NEU	child/grandchild(*Golpa)-ALLan	

‘He likes playing with the child(ren) a lot.’ (JGG131b)

⁴⁷² This sentence was also checked with wäwa. He preferred *dhäl* instead of *dukṡuk*.

(770) Ratha duktuk ɲayi buɭ'yun waɬuwuli.

ratha duktuk [ɲayi buɭ'y-**un** waɬu-wuli]
child want/need 3SG play-NEU dog-LOC_{an}

‘The child likes to play with the dog(s).’ (JBG309b)

(771) [...] ruḷka ɲarra maɲgi yäna ma ɲarri dhawar'yun nhaɲ'kuba, [...].

ruḷka ɲarra maɲgi
not 1SG know

[yäna ma ɲarri dhawar'y-**un** nhaɲ'ku=ba]
just/only PROG/CONT place finish/die-NEU that/there=MOD

‘[...] I just don’t know (what) land ends there [...].’ (text HDG002_0158)

(772) Nhaɲayi wäyin duktuk djäl ga nhaɭuma garkmannha, nhakuwa dhaw'yanha ɲayi.

nhaɲu ɲayi wäyin duktuk djäl
this/here 3SG animal want/need want/feel(*Golpa)(SLIP/HESIT??)

[ga nhaɭu-**ma** garkman-nha]
and(HESIT??) eat/drink-NEU frog-ACC

nhakuwa dhaw'y-anha ɲayi
like take.away-PST 3SG

‘This bird wants to eat the frogs, like this he took (them) away.’ (text JBG004_0082-0084)

It is difficult to say whether the exceptional finite constructions in the four above examples are possible alternations, or mistaken utterances. However, given that these examples come from three different speakers, the latter appears to be less likely.

7.7.2 Complements of other verbs

“Full” verbs also take both finite and non-finite complement clauses. However, contrary to adjectival verbs, the majority of their complement constructions are finite. The main clause usually lacks the direct object argument which has become a constituent of the subordinate clause. This “object argument” then does not carry the “appropriate” accusative case marking but appears in the nominative or ergative case which indicates that it functions as the subject

of the subordinate clause. However, note that there are also sentences with finite complement clauses in which the main clause does overtly express a direct object referent.

Finite clauses have been found to complement perception verbs (cf. (773) through (777), and (780))⁴⁷³, verbs of ‘thinking’ (cf.)) and ‘speaking’ (cf. (779), (781) and (782)), and ‘helping’ (cf. (783) and (784)). As the following examples show, the complement clauses of these (full) verbs are usually not coded by the irrealis construction as is the case with most finite complement clauses of adjectival verbs.

The following seven examples illustrate JUXTAPOSED (finite) complement clauses:

(773) Darra barrŋarranha nhuŋ’ku lundu rulkaŋuyinya.

ŋarra	barrŋarra-nha	[nhuŋ’-ku	lundu	rulkaŋu-yi-nya]
1SG	hear-PST	2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT	friend	nothing-INCH/VERB-PST

‘I heard your friend passed away/died.’ (JBG070)

(774) Wolgumangu ratha wadapthanha ŋarra nhänha.

[wolguman-gu	ratha	wadapth-anha]	ŋarra	nhä-nha
woman-GEN/DAT	child	drown-PST	1SG	see-PST

‘I saw (that) the woman’s child drowned.’ (JBG208b)

In the above two examples, the perception verbs *barrŋarra* (NEU form) ‘hear’ and *nhäma* (NEU form) ‘see’ govern intransitive complement clauses in which the subject arguments (*lundu* and *ratha*, respectively) appear in the (unmarked) nominative case. These subjects are modified by GEN/DAT-marked nominal constituents (i.e. by the pronoun *nhuŋ’ku* ‘your’ in (773) and the noun *wolgumangu* ‘of the woman’ in (774)). Note that finite complement clauses may also precede the main clause (cf. (774)).

The following three examples contain transitive complement clauses of *nhäma* (NEU form):

⁴⁷³ The perception verbs *nhäma* ‘see’ and *barrŋarra* ‘hear’ have also been found to take non-finite complement clauses. However, these constructions are structurally similar to non-finite relative clauses and are therefore treated in section 7.6.2.

(775) Rathayu nhänha wolgumandhu ḡamaḡama’yanha djulḡi nyälka.

ratha-yu **nhä-nha** [wolguman-dhu ḡamaḡama’y-anha djulḡi nyälka]
child-ERG see-PST woman-ERG make-PST good bag/basket
‘The child saw (that) the woman made good baskets.’ (JBG229)

(776) Darra nhänha meyalktju dharr’yanha ḡarramunha.

ḡarra **nhä-nha** [meyalk-tju dharr’y-anha ḡarramu-nha]
1SG see-PST woman-ERG damage/hit/kill-PST man-ACC
‘I saw (that) the woman hit the man.’ (JBG210)

The sentence in (777) below is an alternative construction to (776) above. Here, the complement clause additionally involves the third person pronoun *ḡayi* ‘s/he, it’ which is coreferential with the clause internal ERG-marked subject argument *meyalktju*.

(777) Darra nhänha ḡayi dharr’yanha ḡarramunha meyalktju.

ḡarra **nhä-nha** [ḡayi dharr’y-anha ḡarramu-nha meyalk-tju]
1SG see-PST 3SG damage/hit/kill-PST man-ACC woman-ERG
‘I saw (that) the woman hit the man.’ (JBG211)

A further example involving a finite complement clause of *nhäma* is presented in (502). However, in that construction, the complement clause is introduced by an interrogative form.

The following sentence in) contains an intransitive complement clause of *gayana* (NEU form) ‘think’:

(778) Darra gayanaḡa walala nhuḡ’ku ḡuyurrtjinya.

ḡarra **gayanaḡa-nha** [walala nhuḡ’-ku ḡuyurrtj-ḡi-nya]
1SG think-PST 3PL 2SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT hate-INCH/VERB-PST
‘I thought they hate you.’ (s.v. *ḡuyurrtk* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

In (779) below, *wana* (NEU form) ‘say’ takes an accusative-marked direct object argument AND a transitive complement clause:

(782) Nhäpiyan ñarra wurruku rakaramañayu biñu ñayi ñarraku dhälñayu?

nhäpiya-n	ñarra	wurruku	rakara-ma=ñayu
do.what/how-NEU	1SG	will	tell-NEU=PROM

[biñu ñayi ñarra-ku	dhäl=ñayu]
that 3SG 1SG-GEN/DAT	want/feel=PROM

‘How will I tell that he (Jesus) loved me?’

(text JGG003_003a+b)

(Note that the main clause in (782) above illustrates a serial verb construction.)

The constructions in (783) and (784) below differ from those in the above examples in that “the object of the matrix [main] verb is identified with the covert subject [of the complement clause]⁴⁷⁵ (object control)” (Stiebels 2007, 1; cf. also section 7.1.3).

(783) Darra ñanya guñga’yanha yirrpāna dharpa.

ñarra	ñanya	guñga’y-anha	[yirrpā- <u>n</u> a	dharpa]
1SG	3SG\ACC	help-PST	plant-PST	tree/stick

‘I helped him plant a tree.’

(JBG216a)

(784) Darra ñanya guñga’yanha djuthana bäru.

ñarra	ñanya	guñga’y-anha	[djuth-ana	bäru]
1SG	3SG\ACC	help-PST	fight-PST	crocodile

‘I helped him kill the crocodile.’

(JBG216b)

Note that these are the only examples in the (present) corpus in which a finite complement clause lacks the overt expression of the subject argument. However, the pronominal form *ñayi* ‘s/he, it’ may be used to overtly express this referent in the subordinate clause.

Non-finite complement clauses have been found to be taken by the verbs *birrka’yun* ‘try’, *milkama* ‘forget’, *daw’dawyun* ‘finish, quit’, *nhäpiyan girrirri’yun* ‘be happy with’ and *ñayathama* ‘have’, as well as *wañā* ‘say’.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷⁵ The comments in square brackets were added to the quote.

⁴⁷⁶ Note that the present/analysed corpus only contains few complex sentences with *girrirri’yun*. In all instances, this verb co-occurs with the (grammatically and semantically restricted) verb *nhäpiyan*. The verb *birrka’yun* has also been found in some serial verb constructions (cf. section 7.2).

(785) Darra ma nhaḡu birrka'yun guyakthanhara ḡutjatjawu.

ḡarra ma nhaḡu **birrka'y-un** [guyakth-anhara ḡutjatja-wu]
1SG PROG/CONT this/here try-NEU fish-NOML/INF fish-GEN/DAT

'I'm trying to catch fish here.'/'I'm thinking about fishing here.'

(s.v. *birrka'yun* (1) (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(786) Dätjili ḡarra birrka'yanha waḡapunhunhara yimanhdhiwu.

ḡätjili ḡarra **birrka'y-anha** [waḡapunhu-nhara yimanhdhi-wu]
a.while.ago 1SG try-PST cook-NOML/INF turtle-GEN/DAT

'I tried to cook turtle a while ago.'/'I was thinking about cooking turtle a while ago.'

(s.v. *yimanhdhi* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(787) Dayi milkanha bathanhara cakegu.

ḡayi **milka-nha** [batha-nhara cake-gu]
3SG forget-PST cook-NOML/INF cake-GEN/DAT

'She forgot to bake the cake.'

(s.v. *milka* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(788) Darraḡayu daw'dawyanha ḡaraliwu wopthanhara.

ḡarra=ḡayu **daw'dawyanha** [ḡarali-wu woptha-nhara]
1SG=PROM finish/quit-PST cigarette-GEN/DAT smoke-NOML/INF

'I quit smoking.'

(s.v. *wopthun* (Golpa dictionary))

(789) Nhäpiyan nhonu ma girrirri'yun nhan'ku djuthanara?

nhäpiya-n nhonu ma **girrirri'y-un**
do.what/how-I 2SG PROG/CONT be.happy.with-NEU

[nhan'-ku djuth-anara]
3SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT fight-NOML/INF

'You are happy you hit him?'

(JBG306)

(Note that the verbs *nhäpiyan* and *girrirri'yun* form an asymmetrical serial verb construction.)

(790) Nhonu ḡarraku ma ḡayathama mudhuḡay nhaḡunhara?

1 nhonu	[ɲarra-ku]	ma	ɲayatha-ma	mudhuɲay
2SG	1SG-GEN/DAT	PROG/CONT	have-NEU	food

2 [nha]u-nhara]

eat/drink-NOML/INF

‘Do you have something to eat for me?’

(JBG147a)

(lit.: ‘Do you have food for me, to eat?’)

The discontinuous non-finite complement construction *ɲarraku nha]unhara* in (790) above is under the interrogative illocutionary scope of the main clause. Since the sentence does not involve an explicit interrogative device, it is only the rising intonation on the last constituent of the sentence (here the infinitive form) which indicates that the utterance is a question.

The verb *waɲa* ‘say, speak’ has also been found to take non-finite complements, cf. (791) and (792) below:

(791) Darra waɲanha walalanha wapmiyanhara borumgu.

ɲarra	waɲa-nha	walala-nha	[wapmiya-nhara	borum-gu]
1SG	say-PST	3PL-ACC	gather-NOML/INF	fruit-GEN/DAT

‘I told them to gather fruits.’

(JBG313)

(792) Darra waɲanha rathawu ɲamu’ɲunha duy’tjanara Galawarradili.

ɲarra	waɲa-nha	[ratha-wu]	ɲamu’-ɲu-nha
1SG	say-PST	child-GEN/DAT	mother-NOML-ACC

[duy’tj-anara Galawarra-dili]

bring.back-NOML/INF Galawarra-ALL

‘I told the mother to bring the child back to Galawarra.’

(s.v. *duy’tjun* (2) (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

In the above two examples, *waɲa* occurs with an ACC-marked direct object argument (i.e. *walalanha* in (791) and *ɲamu’ɲunha* in (792)), AND a non-finite complement clause in which

the arguments bear GEN/DAT case markings. (Similar examples with finite complement clauses are given in (779) and (781) above.)⁴⁷⁷

Like in (790), the components of the non-finite construction *rathawu duy'tjanara Galawarradili* in (792) are not contiguous. (Although the translation of (792) above was the only possible one in the context in which the utterance was made, *rathawu* COULD also be regarded as belonging to the main clause. The sentence would then translate to 'I told the mother of the child to bring (it) back to Galawarra'. According to my understanding, the covert undergoer of the subordinate clause ('it') does not necessarily have to be the child (*ratha*.)

Non-finite complement constructions and finite complement clauses of verbs of 'speaking' (with and without *biyu*) are discussed again in section 7.10 where the focus is on the expression of reported speech sequences.

7.7.3 Complements of *garama*

Complement clauses of *garama* 'come, go' illustrate that the boundaries between ADJUNCT adverbial clauses and COMPLEMENT structures are fluid. Although *garama* is an intransitive verb, clauses like *narra garanha* 'I went' would generally not be uttered in isolation but typically involve a constituent denoting a destination. This can be a demonstrative pronoun (e.g., *ban'ku* 'over there') or an adverbial (e.g., *djunama narriidili* 'to my place'), or an entire (adverbial) clause, like the purposive construction in (793):

⁴⁷⁷ Such A-O-complement clause arrays also exist in Djambarrpuyju (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 629, examples 848 and 663).

(793) Darra garanha ŋali wurruku nhaluma mudhuŋay nhuŋ'kara ŋarriŋa.

[ŋarra gara-nha]

1SG come/go-PST

[ŋali wurruku nhalu-ma mudhuŋay
1DUincl will eat/drink-NEU food

nhuŋ'-kara⁴⁷⁸ ŋarri-ŋa]
2SG(alt.form)-ALLan place-LOC

'I came to eat with you at your place.'

(JBG187a)

(lit.: 'I came (so that) you and I will/would eat at your place.')

Compare the structure of this example with its non-finite counterpart construction in (794) below:

(794) Darra garanha nhalunhara mudhuŋaywu nhuŋ'kara.

[ŋarra gara-nha] [nhalu-nhara mudhuŋay-wu
1SG come/go-PST eat/drink-NOML/INF food-GEN/DAT

nhuŋ'-kara]

2SG(alt.form)-ALLan

'I came to eat food at your place.'

(JBG187b)

At first sight, the attached finite purposive clause in (793) appears to be independent. However, note that its temporal interpretation is related to the temporal setting expressed in the main clause (and not to the time of speaking). Thus, although the finite purposive clause shows a low degree of downgrading and no signs of desententialisation or interlacing (as compared to the purposive construction in (794)), it has some kind of a dependency relation with the preceding clause. In other words, while the non-finite clause in (794) clearly functions as a complement of *garanha*, the adjunct –vs. – complement status of the finite clause in (793) is debatable.

⁴⁷⁸ *Nhuŋ'kara* may be substituted by *nhuŋ'kuli*.

(The above example pair is also cited in section 7.1.3 and section 7.5.5, where I comment on the distinct interpretations of the subject argument in these two subordinate clauses.)

Other examples involving the motion verb *garama* and a complement construction are given in (664) and (686). Both sentences include a non-finite complement construction.

7.7.4 Summary of complement clause structures

Complement clauses show a similar range of structures like adverbial constructions.

attachement site: verb			
type of linkage	attached/linked clause		
	juxtaposed clause	adjoined clause	non-finite construction of adjectival verb and full verbs
	slight downgrading by low pitch	slight downgrading by presence of <i>biyu</i>	advanced downgrading; high degree of desententialisation and interlacing
explicitness of linking	asyndetic	syndetic	asyndetic
	All types of complement clauses are usually (also) prosodically linked to the main clause.		
relation	complementation (i.e. the filling of a valency position)		

Table 37

Feature of Golpa complement clause types

7.8 Multifunctional clauses and the functions of *biḡu*

Various examples presented in chapter 7 involve multifunctional subordinate clauses. Such constructions are open to more than one interpretation. (Their different readings are indicated in the translation lines.) Most of them are introduced by *biḡu*.

Multifunctional clauses occur in a number of Australian languages. They have first been described by Kenneth Hale who based his analysis on data from the Australian languages Walbiri and Kaititj (Central Australia). Amongst other things, he found out that a subordinate clause has a “NP-relative interpretation” (i.e. a relative clause interpretation), if the two linked clauses share an identical argument, and a “T-relative interpretation” (i.e. a temporal interpretation), if the two clauses show the same time reference (cf. Hale 1976, 79). These criteria have also been reported to be relevant for the interpretation of such clauses in other Australian languages (cf., for example, McKay (1988) on Rembarnga, or McGregor (1988) on Kuniyanti).

In Golpa, *biḡu*-clauses are open to a RELATIVE CLAUSE READING and A TEMPORAL READING under the same conditions. In the following sentence, the coreferential direct object argument *mudhuḡay* is shared by the second clause and anaphorically referred to by *biḡu*. Therefore, this second clause qualifies for a relative clause interpretation. However, it is also open to a temporal reading, as the verbs in both clauses show an identical (tense) inflection. (For similar examples, cf., for instance, (703) and (706).)

(795) Yothuyu nhalunha mudhuḡay biḡu ḡarra ma waḡapunhunha.

[yothu-yu	nha]u-nha	mudhuḡay]
child-ERG	eat/drink-PST	food

[biḡu	ḡarra	ma	waḡapunhu-nha]
that/when	1SG	PROG/CONT	cook-PST

(i) ‘The child ate the food THAT I was cooking/had been cooking.’

(ii) ‘The child ate the food WHEN I was cooking.’ (JBG222)

Golpa data also confirms Hale’s (1976, 80) finding that clauses may be open to a CONDITIONAL INTERPRETATION and A TEMPORAL INTERPRETATION.⁴⁷⁹ Like in Walbiri (ibid),

⁴⁷⁹ In his paper, Hale views conditionals as special types of temporal clauses.

(799) (Biḡu) ḡarra ḡanya nhäma ḡarra wurruku baṭawuma nhan'kara.

[biḡu ḡarra ḡanya nhä-ma]
if/when 1SG 3SG\ACC see-NEU

[ḡarra **wurruku** baṭawu-ma nhan'-kara]
1SG will give-NEU 3SG(alt.form)-ALLan

(i) 'If I see her/him I will give (it) to her/him.'

(ii) 'WHEN(EVER) I see her/him I will give (it) to her/him.' (JBG192b)

(800) Darradhal (ma) waṅa walalama walala wurruku barrḡarra.

[ḡarra=dhal ma **waṅa** walala-ma]
1SG=towards?? PROG/CONT say(NEU) 3PL-GEN/DAT

[walala **wurruku** **barrḡarra**]
3PL will hear(NEU)

(i) 'If I talk to them they will understand.'

(ii) 'WHEN I talk to them they will understand.' (text HDG002_0051)

In the two sentences below, even the main clause lacks the expression of future time reference. In (801), the main clause predication indicates present time reference (while the conditional clause has a non-verbal predicate). In (802), the verbs of both clauses indicate reference to the distant (habitual) past. (Note that that sentence has a counterfactual reading.)

(801) Biḡu rulkaṅu mudhuṅay ḡarra rulka nhaḷuma.

[biḡu rulkaṅu mudhuṅay] [ḡarra rulka nhaḷu-ma]
if/when none/nothing food 1SG not eat/drink-NEU

(i) 'If there is no food I do not eat.'

(ii) 'WHEN there is no food I do not eat.' (JBG122c)

(802) Biɲu wanha ɲalima ɲätjili girriyala ɲarriɲa ɲalima ɲama'ɲamayala biɲu nyälka.

[biɲu wanha ɲalima ɲätjili girriy-**ala** ɲarri-ɲa]
if/when surely 1PLincl a.while.ago get.here-PSThab place-LOC

[ɲalima ɲama'ɲamay-**ala** nyälka]
1PLincl make-PSThab bag/basket

(i) 'HAD we been/gotten home earlier we would have made the baskets.'

(ii) 'WHEN(EVER) we used to get home early we used to make baskets.' (JBG164a)

To summarise the above findings concerning subordinate clauses that are simultaneously open to a (potential or counterfactual) conditional reading and a temporal reading, it can be said that either one of the two interpretations is possible whenever the event of the main clause can be interpreted to follow the event of the adverbial clause in time.⁴⁸¹ In this sense, the temporal interpretation of the main clause is dependent on the temporal setting that is expressed in the preceding adverbial clause.

Since *biɲu* appears to be optional, multifunctional subordinate clauses may not only be adjoined to the main clause (i.e. be linked by *biɲu*) but can also occur juxtaposed to it (i.e. be linked prosodically).⁴⁸²

We have seen in previous sections of this chapter that *biɲu* usually functions as a general subordinator, introducing conditionals, temporal constructions, relative clauses and complement clauses of verbs of speaking.⁴⁸³ This usage of *biɲu* is most obvious in sentences containing a multifunctional clause (as illustrated by the above examples, for instance).

Biɲu also occurs in complex sentences with other functions/meanings: It may be used as a conjunction meaning 'then'⁴⁸⁴(cf. (803)), or introduce purposive clauses in which it is best translated with 'so that' (cf. (804, line 3)⁴⁸⁵ and (682)).

⁴⁸¹ Note that most (potential) conditional clauses also have a temporal reading.

⁴⁸² In examples for which I have checked the optional status of *biɲu*, the subordinator appears in round brackets. (For a discussion of *biɲu*'s optional status in relative clauses, cf. section 7.6.1.)

⁴⁸³ In this function, *biɲu* introduces reported speech sequences. Cf. sections 7.7.2 and 7.10 for examples.

⁴⁸⁴ Recall from section 7.1.3 that it is well possible that *biɲu* actually functions as a demonstrative pronoun here.

⁴⁸⁵ Note that *biɲu* in line 2 functions as a determiner (to *goyurr*).

(803) Garray djirr'tjana baŋu munatha'dili dhiŋganha biŋu ŋayi ŋarraku, märr wurruku ŋarranha wänŋayuma.

[Garray djirr'tj-ana baŋu munatha'-dili]
 Lord descend-PST here/this.way earth-ALL

[[dhiŋga-nha **biŋu** ŋayi ŋarra-ku]
 die-PST then?? 3SG 1SG-GEN/DAT

[märr wurruku ŋarra-nha wänŋa-yu-ma]
 so.that will 1SG-ACC alive-make/CAUS-NEU

‘The Lord descended this way to earth, THEN he (Jesus) died for me, so (that) I will/would be saved/come to life.’ (text JGG003_001a-c)

(804) Bilawuyu waluyu ŋayiŋayu djolpa ŋayi biŋu rulka goyurr garanhara biŋu ŋanapu nhä nhäyiŋu dūbuktjun ŋanya luwal'miyama biŋulu planeŋuru ga djunama yarrupthun ŋanapu ga ŋunha warraw'ŋa.

1 [bilawu-yu walu-yu ŋayi=ŋayu djawulpa ŋayi]
 thus/like.this-TEMP time-TEMP 3SG=PROM old.man 3SG(HESIT??)

2 biŋu rulka goyurr gara-nhara]
 that not journey come/go-NOML/INF

3 [**biŋu** ŋanapu nhä nhäyiŋu dūbuktj-un ŋanya]
 so 1PLexcl what/something HESIT carry/lift-NEU 3SG\ACC

4 [luwal'miya-ma biŋulu plane-ŋuru]
 lift.up-NEU from.there plane-ABL

5 [ga djunama yarrupth-un ŋanapu ga ŋunha warraw'-ŋa]
 and towards.there descend-NEU 1PLexcl and(HESIT) over.there shade-LOC

‘At this time old man (could) not go on that journey SO THAT we, carry him, lift (him) from the plane and we walk down towards there in(to) the shade.’ (text JBG001_0016-0026)

(805) Barge wurruku garama baḡu yalḡuwa repurru biḡu ḡalinyu mutikayu ma garanha ḡuḡnharra.

[barge wurruku gara-ma baḡu yalḡuwa repurru]
 barge will come/go-NEU here/this.way later.today afternoon

[**biḡu** ḡalinyu mutika-yu ma gara-nha ḡuḡnharra]
 so 1DUexcl car-INSTR PROG/CONT come/go-PST alone

‘The barge will come this way later this afternoon SO we came alone in the car.’ (JGG131a)

However, the most **fundamental functions of *biḡu*** seem to be its uses as a demonstrative pronoun, and as a determiner (when occurring with a nominal constituent), cf. (806) and (807), respectively:

(806) Rulka nhänha biḡu, biḡu ma nhä ḡorra ḡuḡunḡa ḡarkulaḡa.

[rulka nhä-nha **biḡu**]
 not see-PST that

[biḡu ma nhä ḡorra ḡuḡun-ḡa
 that PROG/CONT what/something sleep(NEU) billabong-LOC

ḡarkula-ḡa]

water-LOC

‘(He) didn’t see THAT, that what was staying in the billabong, in the water.’

(text JBG005_0126-0130)

(The use of the second *biḡu* in the above example does not seem to mark hesitation. It is regarded to have an anaphoric function and to introduce the subsequent relative clause.)

(807) Biḡuḡayu wuḡgan ḡayi dḡawaryanha ḡayi ḡupannha nhunanha ga bunhawa.

[biḡu=ḡayu wuḡgan ḡayi dḡawary-anha]

that=PROM dog(*Golpa) 3SG be.tired-PST

[ḡayi ḡupa-nha nhuna-nha [ga bu-nha=wa]]

3SG chase-PST 2SG(alt.form)-ACC and hit-PST=MOD

‘Had THAT dog been tired he would have chased you and bitten (you).’ (JBG194)

In complex sentences, *biḡu*’s use as a demonstrative pronoun cannot always be clearly distinguished from its use as a subordinate marker. For an illustration, consider the following sentence in (808) and its possible interpretations:

(808) Biḡu(ḡayu) nhonu (wurruku) gurrunan’ waludili nḡaḡu ḡayi wurruku miriḡuyirri.

[biḡu=ḡayu nhonu wurruku gurruna-n’ walu-dili nḡaḡu]

that??/if??=PROM 2SG will put-NEU day/time/sun-ALL this/here

[ḡayi wurruku miriḡu-yi-rrri]

3SG will bad-INCH/VERB-NEU

(i) ‘You will leave THAT in the sun, it will spoil.’

(ii) ‘If you will leave (it) in the sun, it will spoil.’ (s.v. *miridjuma* (Golpa dictionary); wāwa)

In the above example, *biḡu* could be interpreted to either function as demonstrative pronoun meaning ‘that’ in (i), or as subordinator of the conditional in (ii) meaning ‘if’. In either case, the sentence initial clause has a conditional interpretation.

Another sentence in which the function of *biḡu* is not as clear from a structural point of view is discussed in section 7.6.2 (example (729)). In that instance, *biḡu* could be a demonstrative pronoun, or a subordinator introducing a relative clause. (Of course, in natural speech the meaning of an ambiguous construction can usually be inferred from the context.)

When *biḡu* does not function as subordinator, it usually takes case markings according to its syntactic function in the sentence. It then occurs in its alternative form *biḡurum-*. However, only some case values have been found to be marked on *biḡu*. Unfortunately, I cannot offer an explanation for this selective marking but only illustrate it by citing appropriate examples.

(Note that not all of the following sentences are complex. However, it is irrelevant for the present discussion whether *biṅu* occurs in a simple or a complex sentence.)

(809) Biṅurumdhu maltjanayu garkmandhu rulka balay nhänha waṭunha yäna balay ma rakaranhayini, [...].

[biṅurum-dhu maltjana-yu garkman-dhu rulka balay nhä-nha waṭu-nha]
that(alt.form)-ERG two-ERG frog-ERG not 3DU see-PST dog-ACC

[yäna balay ma rakara-nha-yini]
just/only 3DU PROG/CONT tell-PST-RCP/REFL

‘THOSE two frogs didn’t see the dog (that) they were just talking about, [...].’

(text JGG001_0132-0138)

(810) Ga ṅayipi, ṅayipi märryu ma ṅayathawa ṅurru-dawalaṅu gapuwu biṅurumgu muka maṅutjiwu, [...].

ga ṅayi=pi ṅayi=pi märr-yu ma ṅayatha-wa
and 3SG=EMPH 3SG=EMPH strength-INSTR PROG/CONT have-PSThab

ṅurru_dawalaṅu gapu-wu **biṅurum-gu**
leader water(*Golpa)-GEN/DAT that(alt.form)-GEN/DAT

muka maṅutji-wu
QU/AFFIRM hole-GEN/DAT

‘(But) he (i.e. the Marranṅu tribe) is holding it with strength/authority, the leader/holder OF THAT waterhole, [...].’

(text HDG003_1434)

(811) Biṅ’kum ṅarra yiṅu marṅgiyuma biṅurumbuy dhäwubuy biṅu Martjanbawuy?

biṅ’kum ṅarra yiṅu marṅgi-yu-ma
*** 1SG usually/always know-make/CAUS-NEU

biṅurum-buy dhäwu-buy biṅu Martjanba-wuy
that(alt.form)-ASSOC story-ASSOC that(HESIT) Martjanba-ASSOC

‘Don’t I always teach (you) ABOUT THOSE stories about Martjanba?’

(text HDG002_0171-0173)

With respect to *biŋu*'s functional variety, it seems to me that the conditional and temporal interpretation of *biŋu*-clauses as well as *biŋu*'s use in relative clauses developed from its function as a demonstrative pronoun:

(i) Relative pronouns have been found to be “typically the same as, or morphologically related to, the demonstrative pronouns [...] of the language” (Keenan 1985, 149). As a demonstrative pronoun, *biŋu* is used anaphorically, representing a referential noun (phrase) or even a proposition. In relative *biŋu*-clauses it represents the head noun. However, as outlined in section 7.6.1, the optional status of *biŋu* in relative clauses and the lack of case marking (in accordance to the syntactic function of the head noun) disqualify this element from being called a *relative pronoun*. (Although I also refer to *biŋu* as a *general subordinator* in these cases, it is more an anaphorical element than a subordinator.)

(ii) In its functions as demonstrative pronoun or determiner (i.e. when occurring together with a nominal constituent), *biŋu* can be understood as representing or marking given/topical information. As indicated in section 7.1.1 and section 7.5.1, temporal and conditional clauses tend to have such a topical function (cf. Schmidtke-Bode 2012, 421, among others). The presence of *biŋu* in such constructions thus appears to highlight their topic status and helps to structure the information of the sentence.

In other Yolŋu varieties such as Djambarrpuyŋu, Gupapuyŋu and Djapu, the *biŋu*-equivalent *ŋunhi* is also used as “general subordinator”. This demonstrative form also usually occurs clause initially and without any formal marking. Like *biŋu*, *ŋunhi* may introduce adverbial, relative and complement clauses in these languages (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 655, 666f.).⁴⁸⁶ For Djambarrpuyŋu, there is also evidence of both adjoined multifunctional *ŋunhi*-clauses and juxtaposed multifunctional clauses (ibid, section 12.2.1), as discovered in Golpa. (When comparing *ŋunhi*-examples in Djambarrpuyŋu with corresponding Golpa constructions, it generally seems that *ŋunhi* and *biŋu* have parallel uses.)

As outlined in section 7.6.1, *biŋu* (in Golpa) and *ŋunhi* (in Djambarrpuyŋu) occur in some examples and are lacking in others. In Djambarrpuyŋu, it is optional in a number of relative clauses as well as in complement clauses of *wana* ‘say’, *guyana* ‘think, believe’, *djalthirr* ‘want’ and of what I refer to as *perception verbs*. Just like in Golpa, it does not seem possible to predict the absence or presence of this element in that language either. Note that

⁴⁸⁶ With respect to conditional clauses, *ŋunhi* may be exchanged with the habitual/hypothetical particle *ŋuli* ‘always’ in Djambarrpuyŋu, Gupapuyŋu and Djapu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 667). In Golpa, the habitual particle *yŋu* ‘always, usually’ has not been found to be used as a substitute for *biŋu*.

even the judgements of Djambarrpuyŋu speakers vary with respect to the acceptability of clauses lacking *ŋunhi* (cf. Wilkinson 2004, 14-24).

Before I close the discussion on *biŋu*, it should be pointed out again that Golpa does not only possess this generalised subordinate clause type but shows a variety of subordinate clause types with different markings (as discussed in various sections of this chapter). In fact, this is the case for most non-prefixing (Pama-Nyungan) languages (cf. Dixon 1980, 460), including a number of languages of the Yolŋu bloc, such as Djambarrpuyŋu, Gupapuyŋu, Djapu, Ritharŋu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, 666f.) and Dhaŋu (cf. Schebeck 1976b, 523).

Apart from *biŋu*-constructions, few **coordinate clauses** have also been found to be open to more than one reading, cf. (815) and (816) for examples:

(815) Darra nhänha ŋanya ŋarra milkanha nhan'ku baṭawunhara.

[ŋarra **nhä-nha** ŋanya]₍₁₎
 1SG see-PST 3SG\ACC

[ŋarra **milka-nha** [nhan'-ku baṭawu-nhara]₍₃₎]₍₂₎
 1SG forget-PST 3SG(alt.form)-GEN/DAT give-NOML/INF

(i) 'I saw her/him (AND) I forgot to give (it) to her/him.'

(ii) '(WHEN/IF) I saw her/him I forgot to give (it) to her/him.'

(iii) 'I saw her/him (BUT) I forgot to give (it) to her/him.'

(s.v. *milkama* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

As indicated by the translations, this sentence may be interpreted in several ways: (i) The two major clausal components ₍₁₎ and ₍₂₎ of the sentence may be interpreted to express subsequent events. (ii) Clause ₍₁₎ may have a conditional or a temporal reading. (iii) The complex construction ₍₂₎ may be interpreted to indicate contrast (instead of consequence). (For the structural discussion of this example please see example (460) in section 7.1.1.)

(816) Dayiŋayu biŋu ga worruŋuyinyawa bala dalpamdjinyawa.

[ŋayi=ŋayu biŋu ga worruŋu-yi-nya=wa]
3SG=PROM that and(HESIT) old.person-INCH/VERB-PST=MOD

[bala dalpam-dji-nya=wa]
and.then dead-INCH\VERB-PST=MOD

(i) ‘He was very old AND died.’

(ii) ‘He was very old WHEN (he) died.’ (s.v. *worruŋu* (Golpa dictionary); Garrutju)

Like in (815), the clauses in (816) may be interpreted to express subsequent events. The second (coordinate) clause also allows a temporal reading.

Structurally, the above examples do not have much in common. In (815), the two clauses (₍₁₎ and ₍₂₎) are juxtaposed, while they are linked by the conjunction *bala* ‘and then’ in (816). The second clause in example (815) is independent, but dependent in (816): In (815), the identical subject argument *ŋarra* is overtly expressed in both clauses. In (816), the second clause shares the coreferential subject argument *ŋayi* with the preceding clause. The only feature that the sentences do have in common is that their clauses involve verbs with an identical inflection.

Given the very limited number of such examples, at this point, I cannot make any generalisations about the conditions under which coordinate clauses may or may not have multiple readings.

7.9 Indirect questions

Besides adverbial clauses, relative clauses and complement clauses, indirect questions (such as ‘I wonder where my keys are’) are to be taken into account when describing subordinate clause types (cf. Klein 1997, 218). In the present corpus, I only detected one such example, cf. (817):

(817) Rulka ŋarra marŋgi ŋayi wurruku garama Darwindili.

[rulka ŋarra marŋgi] [ŋayi wurruku gara-ma Darwin-dili]
not 1SG know 3SG will come/go-NEU Darwin-ALL
‘I do not know whether s/he will go to Darwin.’ (JBG202)

In this sentence, the questioned proposition is expressed by a finite complement clause which is juxtaposed to the preceding clause.

Direct questions are preferred.

7.10 Direct and indirect speech

Direct speech or thought is usually indicated by three structural components which “frame”⁴⁸⁷ such a sequence:

- (i) a verb specifying the kind of activity (like *waŋa* ‘say’ or *barrŋarra* ‘hear’)
- (ii) the identification of the speaker (and the addressee), and
- (iii) the particle *berra* or *bena* ‘like this’.

Please see (818) below for an illustration:

(818) “[...] Nhäl’yun nhonu ma” bena ŋayi waŋanha.

[nhäl’y-un	nhonu	ma]	[bena	ŋayi	waŋa-nha]
tell.a.lie-NEU	2SG	PROG/CONT	like.this	3SG	say-PST
“[...] You’re telling lies”, thus he spoke.’					(text JBG005_0022)

These findings are analogous to what is also reported for Djambarrpuyŋu (cf. Wilkinson 1991, section 12.3). However, a direct speech framing construction in that language involves the additional “general predicate *bitja*-IR ‘do/be thus’” (ibid). This functions like *berra* and *bena* in equivalent Golpa constructions but behaves like a verb (i.e. takes on verbal inflections).

Framing constructions (as defined above) may also be reduced to one or two components. In the following examples (819) and (820), for instance, they do not involve any verb for ‘speaking’ or ‘thinking’ etc. but only the identified speaker and a framing particle which indicates the direct speech sequence (*berra* or *bena*):

(819) “Nhala nhala?” bena ŋayiŋayu.

[nhala	nhala]	[bena	ŋayi=ŋayu]
where	where	like.this	3SG=PROM
“Where, where?”, thus he (said).’			(text JBG005_0086)

⁴⁸⁷ I have adopted this very suitable term from Melanie Wilkinson’s (1991) thesis.

(820) Bararrŋu girriyala ga walala berra “go nhaŋu gapu” berra.

[Bararrŋu	girri-yala]	[ga	walala	berra]
Bararrŋu	get.here-PSThab	and	3PL	like.this

[go	nhaŋu	gapu]	[berra]
come	this/here	water(*Golpa)	like.this

‘The Bararrŋu people used to get here and they (i.e. the Bararrpararr people) (spoke) like this “come, here is the water”, like this (they spoke).’ (text HDG003_0666-0670)

The particles *berra* and *bena* may precede, follow, or surround the direct speech sequence. Also, the clause which frames the direct speech may stand before or after it.

The particles *berra* and *bena* were both found in the older texts of Dingulul. However, only *berra* is used in the speech of the remaining Golpa (semi-)speakers. Garrutju and Nyomba also frequently use the Djambarrpuyŋu verb *bitja-* ‘do/be thus’ instead.

Direct speech sequences may also occur without a framing particle. In (821) below, the framing clause only includes the specifying verb *barrŋarra* ‘hear’ and names the involved person.

(821) Baŋ’ku walala wurruku dhawal barrŋarra “Yolŋu ma nhaŋu yothu waŋa, wayya yolŋu nham?”

[baŋ’ku	walala	wurruku	dhawal	barrŋarra]
there/that.way	3PL	will	far	hear(NEU)

[yolŋu	ma	nhaŋu	yothu	waŋa
person	PROG/CONT	this/here	child(*Golpa)	say(NEU)

way-ya	yolŋu	nham]
hey-CE	person	this.is

‘They will hear/listen there far away (wondering) “Who is this child talking, who is it?”

(text HDG004_0110)

Apart from these structural markings, direct speech is also indicated prosodically in Golpa. Like in Djambarrpuyŋu, “the quotations are also associated with changes in pitch, voice quality and intonation patterns which suit the speaker and the context in which they are uttered” (Wilkinson 1991, 676).

Sequences of **reported (or indirect) speech** may be encoded by finite and non-finite complement constructions which are governed by a (main clause) verb for ‘speaking’ or ‘asking’ etc.

As discussed in section 7.7.2, finite complement clauses may occur juxtaposed to the main clause (as in (822)), or be adjoined to it by the subordinator *biŋu* (as in (823)). In contrast to these two examples, the complement construction in (824) is non-finite and contains an obligatorily GEN/DAT-marked argument which becomes the “possessor” of the infinitive (as noted also by Heath (1980, 109) for Ritharŋu). The framing clause in all three sentences involves the specifying verb as well as an identified speaker and addressee.

(822) Walala waŋanha ŋalimalanha walala wurruku guwatjman ŋalimalanha bilawu nhätha.

[walala	waŋa-nha	ŋalimala-nha]
3PL	say-PST	1PLincl(alt.form)-ACC

[walala	wurruku	guwatj-man	ŋalimala-nha	bilawu_nhätha]
3PL	will	visit-NEU	1PLincl(alt.form)-ACC	any.time

‘They told us they’ll visit us someday/any time.’ (JBG109)

(823) Darra ŋanya wurruku ŋäŋ’tjun biŋu ŋayi wurruku ŋarranha guwatjman munhamurru.

[ŋarra	ŋanya	wurruku	ŋäŋ’tj-un]
1SG	3SG\ACC	will	ask-NEU

[biŋu	ŋayi	wurruku	ŋarra-nha	guwatj-man	munhamurru]
that	3SG	will	1SG-ACC	visit-NEU	tomorrow

‘I will ask her/him whether s/he will visit me tomorrow.’

(s.v. *guwatjman* (Golpa dictionary); wäwa)

(824) Darra waṇanha walalanha wapmiyanhara borumgu.

[ḡarra waṇa-nha walala-nha] [wapmiya-nhara borum-gu]
1SG say-PST 3PL-ACC gather-NOML/INF fruit-GEN/DAT

‘I told them to gather fruits.’

(JBG313)

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Erfurt, 1. September 2017