

STRESS AS RELATED TO THE GRAMMAR OF GUGU-YALANJI

HENRY HERSHBERGER AND EUNICE V. PIKE

0. Introduction
1. Word Stress
2. Clause Stress
3. Obligatory Clause Stress
4. Postpredicate Stress
5. Stress of the Location Tagmeme
6. Stress of the Negative *gari*
7. Optional Clause Stress
8. Stress of a Phrase
9. Intonation
10. Sentence

0. INTRODUCTION

Stress in Gugu-Yalanji¹ functions not only as a word marker, but the placement of clause stress is one of the contrastive features by which clause types² are distinguished. At least one tagmeme in a clause must receive clause stress, but in certain clause types the location tagmeme is also obligatorily stressed, and in some clause types any postpredicate tagmeme except the negative *gari* is obligatorily stressed. If a stressed tagmeme is manifested by a phrase consisting of more than one word, for the most part, each word of the phrase receives clause stress.

1. WORD STRESS

Word stress occurs on the first syllable of words. It is characterised by loudness and the highest pitch of the word. A word has a minimum of two syllables, but may have as many as eight. In words of two syllables³ there is a sharp drop in pitch between the two syllables--especially when the word has both word and clause stress. In this section word stress is indicated by ' preceding the stressed

syllable. In other sections it is marked by word space only. 'bana water, 'ganggal *child*, 'wuŋar *sun*.

The drop of pitch is more gradual in words with more than two syllables and composed of stem plus affixes. In such words the pitch of the first syllable may be retained on the second, then the pitch drops gradually over the rest of the word: 'ŋadigu *long ago*, 'djalamaɪ *jump*, 'duŋagada *want to go now*, 'djuwalmaɪda *momentarily unalert*.

Certain words (usually those with reduplicated stems, but occasionally those with compound stems) have a secondary stress which occurs on the first syllable of the second stem. There is variation in the occurrence of this secondary stress in that it usually occurs in slow speech but may be lacking in fast speech: 'giway'giway *cold*, 'maral'maral *lost of girls*, 'buŋi'dudaɪ 'a *sing*', or a *dance*.

2. CLAUSE STRESS

Clause stress occurs on the first syllable of a word, that is, it co-occurs with word stress. It is marked by loudness, slight length of vowel, and high or extra-high pitch.

There are two types of clause stress: declarative stress (indicated by °), and interrogative stress (indicated by "). Both types of stress occur on the first syllable of a word. Both are marked by loudness and slight length of vowel. Declarative stress is further marked by high pitch, whereas interrogative stress⁴ is marked by extra-high pitch. It is only the stressed syllables which differ in pitch; the other syllables of the word involved remain, for the most part, the same. Both declarative and interrogative stress are, of course, louder and higher in pitch than word stress.

In their minimal manifestations the only contrast between a declarative clause and a yes-no interrogative clause is the pitch of the stressed syllable.⁵

°nugan (*He*) ate. versus "nugan *Did (he) eat?*

°duŋan (*He*) went. versus "duŋan *Did (he) go?*

°ŋumbu (*It*) is black. versus "ŋumbu *Is (it) black?*

°mayiga (*He*) wants food. versus "mayiga *Does (he) want food?*

3. OBLIGATORY CLAUSE STRESS

The placement of obligatory clause stress is one of the contrastive features which distinguish various clause types, see the accompanying chart.

Chart showing the relationship of clause types to stressed tagmemes

STRESSED TAGMEMES					
CLAUSE TYPE	Oblig. stressed tagmeme	Postpred. tagmeme	Location tagmeme	Negative prepred.	gari postpred.
Trans. or Intrans. Declarative	tagmeme prec. pred. ¹	oblig.	oblig.	oblig.	∅
Descriptive	descr. pred.	oblig.	oblig.	oblig.	not stressed
Associative	assoc. tagmeme	oblig.	optional	∅	not stressed
Content Interrogative	inter. pro.	optional	optional	not stressed ³	not stressed ⁴
yes-no Interrogative	pred. ²	optional	optional	gari ³ / pred.	not stressed ⁴

¹If the predicate is preceded by more than one tagmeme.

²If there is a manner tagmeme, the obligatory stress alternates between the predicate and the manner tagmeme.

³gari does not precede the predicate in an associative interrogative clause.

⁴gari does not follow the predicate in a transitive or intransitive interrogative clause.

3.1. Transitive or Intransitive Declarative Clauses

In a transitive or intransitive declarative clause (in a clause with more than one tagmeme preceding the predicate), it is the tagmeme preceding the predicate which receives the obligatory clause stress. Since the order of tagmemes within the clause is very free, tagmemes may receive focus by occurring in the prepredicate position. (In illustrations with more than one word order the words are numbered to key into the translation.)

gayaŋga₁ °mayi₂ nugaŋ₃ / mayi₂ °gayaŋga₁ nugaŋ₃
 dog-subj.₁ food-obj.₂ ate-pred.₃
 'The dog ate food.'

gayaŋga mayi °yilaygu nugaŋ
 dog-subj. food-obj. yesterday-time ate-pred.
 'Yesterday the dog ate the food.'

In a transitive or intransitive declarative clause in which the predicate is preceded by one tagmeme only, there is variation in that either the predicate or the preceding tagmeme may receive the obligatory clause stress. In such an environment, it is the predicate which most frequently receives the stress.

njulu °duŋan / °njulu duŋan
he-subj. went-pred.
'He went.'

gayaŋga °nugan / °gayaŋga nugan
dog-subj. ate-pred.
'The dog ate.'

There are clauses in which the predicate is the only tagmeme, in which case it receives the stress.

°duŋan '(He) went.'

3.2. Descriptive Declarative Clause

In a descriptive declarative clause, the descriptive predicate receives the obligatory clause stress.

gaya °ŋumbu
dog-subj. black-descr.pred.
'The dog is black.'

dingar °buliman
man-subj. policeman-descr.pred.
'The man is a policeman.'

njulu °yaluy
he-subj. here-descr.pred.
'He is here.'

gaya °ŋaygu
dog-subj. my-descr.pred.
'The dog is mine.'

3.3. Associative Declarative Clause

In the associative declarative clause, it is the associative tagmeme which receives the obligatory clause.

gaya₁ °mayiga₂ wawu₃
*dog-subj.*₁ *food-assoc.*₂ *want-pred.*₃
 / gaya₁ wawu₃ °mayiga₂ / °mayiga₂ gaya₁ wawu₃
 'The dog wants food.'

gaya balu °mayiga
dog-subj. not-want-pred. *food-assoc.*
 'The dog wants no food.'

°maŋginga yundu binal
gun-assoc. you-subj. know-pred.
 'You know how to shoot.'

ŋayu °laliga
I-subj. lolly-assoc.
 'I (want) a lolly.'

3.4. Interrogative Clause

In any content interrogative clause, the obligatory clause stress occurs on the interrogative pronoun. Clause stress which occurs on the interrogative pronoun has extra-high pitch; that is, it is interrogative stress.

"wandjabu njulu dunan
where-inter. he-subj. went-pred.
 'Where did he go?'

"wandjungu gaya gunin
who-inter. dog-obj. hit-pred.
 'Who hit the dog?'

njulu "wandjamun gadan
he-subj. where-from came-pred.
 'Where did he come from?'

gaya ŋumbu "wandjabu
dog-subj. black-descr.pred. where-inter.
 'Where is the black dog?'

"wanja mayiga wawu
who-inter. food-assoc. want-pred.
 'Who wants food?'

In a yes-no interrogative clause, the clause stress, i.e., interrogative stress, occurs on the predicate tagmeme unless the clause includes a manner tagmeme.

gayaᅇga mayi "nugan
dog-subj. food-obj. ate-pred.
'Did the dog eat the food?'

gaya "ᅇumbu
dog-subj. black-descr.pred.
'Is the dog black?'

gaya "wawu mayiga
dog-subj. want-pred. food-assoc.
'Does the dog want the food?'

Optionally an interrogative introducer yala may occur, but the interrogative stress remains the same.

yala gayaᅇga mayi "nugan
ques.intro. dog-subj. food-obj. ate-pred.
'Did the dog eat the food?'

If the yes-no interrogative clause includes a manner tagmeme, the interrogative stress alternates between the manner tagmeme and the predicate.

njulu₁ "djinbalgu₂ wařin₃
he-subj.₁ quickly-manr.₂ ran-pred.₃
/njulu₁ djinbalgu₂ "wařin₃ / njulu₁ wařin₃ "djinbalgu₂
/"djinbalgu₂ njulu₁ wařin₃ / djinbalgu₂ njulu₁ "wařin₃
'Did he run quickly?'

4. POSTPREDICATE STRESS

In a declarative clause any tagmeme (except for the negative gari) which occurs postpredicate is obligatorily stressed. In such a case the clause contains two tagmemes with clause stress. Optionally a slight pause may occur postpredicate.

°bulanin₁ baygan₂ °gayaᅇga₃
them-obj.₁ bit-pred.₂ dog-subj.₃
/gayaᅇga₃ °bulanin₁ baygan₂
'The dog bit them.'

°dingar₁ duᅇan₂ °yalibalagu₃
 man-subj.₁ went-pred.₂ early-time₃
 /yalibalagu₃ °dingar₁ duᅇan₂ / dingar₁ °duᅇan₂ °yalibalagu₃
 'The man went early.'

njulu °yaluy °yilaygu
 he-subj. here-pred. yesterday-time
 'He was here yesterday.'

gaya °mayiga wawu °yilaygu
 dog-subj. food-assoc. want-pred. yesterday-time
 'The dog wanted food yesterday.'

In an interrogative clause, a tagmeme occurring postpredicate frequently does not receive clause stress.

bulanin "baygan gayanᅇa
 them-obj. bit-pred. dog-subj.
 'Did the dog bite them?'

dingar "duᅇan yalibalagu
 man-subj. went-pred. early-time
 'Did the man go early?'

"wanja baygan gayanᅇa
 who-inter. bit-pred. dog-subj.
 'Whom did the dog bite?'

5. STRESS OF THE LOCATION TAGMEME

In a transitive, intransitive, or descriptive declarative clause, the location tagmeme is obligatorily stressed. A clause may, therefore, have double stress.

gayanᅇa₁ °bayanba₂ °mayi₃ nugaᅇ₄
 dog-subj.₁ house-in-loc.₂ food-obj.₃ ate-pred.₄
 / °bayanba₂ mayi₃ °gayanᅇa₁ nugaᅇ₄
 / °gayanᅇa₁ mayi₃ °bayanba₂ nugaᅇ₄
 'The dog ate food in the house.'

yilaygu₁ °djiganba₂ °djana₃ duṅan₄
*yesterday-time*₁ *grass-into-loc.*₂ *they-subj.*₃ *went-pred.*₄
 /°djiganba₂ yilaygu₁ °djana₃ duṅan₄
 'They went into the grass yesterday.'

°yinjaymba gaya °ṅumbu
there-loc. dog-subj. black-descr.pred.
 'The dog over there is black.'

In an associative declarative clause, the location tagmeme is usually not stressed.

byanba gaya °mayiga wawu
house-in-loc. dog-subj. food-assoc. want-pred.
 'The dog in the house wants food.'

In an interrogative clause, the location tagmeme is usually not stressed, but may be stressed for emphasis.

byanba mayi "nugan
house-in-loc. food-obj. ate-pred.
 'Did (he) eat food in the house?'

yinjaymba gaya "ṅumbu
there-loc. dog-subj. black-descr.pred.
 'Is the dog over there black?'

gayanga byanba "wanju nugan
dog-subj. house-in-loc. what-inter. ate-pred.
 'What did the dog eat in the house?'

byanba gaya mayiga "wawu
house-in-loc. dog-subj. food-assoc. want-pred.
 'Does the dog want food in the house?'

6. STRESS OF THE NEGATIVE GARI

The negative *gari* is stressed or nonstressed in accordance with the clause type in which it occurs, and in accordance with its position in the clause.

The negative *gari* is obligatorily stressed when it occurs contiguously or noncontiguously prepredicate in a declarative clause. (The negative *gari* does not occur prepredicate in an associative clause.).

mayi °gari nugan
food-obj. negative ate-pred.
'(He) didn't eat the food.'

gaya °gari °ɲumbu
dog-subj. negative black-descr.pred.
'The dog is not black.'

djana °gari °yinjamba bundan
they-subj. negative there-loc. sit-pred.
'They didn't sit there.'

When the negative *gari* occurs prepredicate in a content interrogative clause, the *gari* is not stressed.

"wanja gari duɲan
who-inter. negative went-pred.
'Who didn't go?'

When the negative *gari* occurs prepredicate in a yes-no interrogative clause, the interrogative stress alternates between the predicate and *gari*.

njulu gari "duɲan / njulu "gari duɲan
he-subj. negative went-pred.
'Didn't he go?'

gayanga mayi gari "nugan
dog-subj. food-obj. negative ate-pred.
 / gayanga mayi "gari nugan
'Didn't the dog eat the food?'

gaya gari "ɲumbu / gaya "gari ɲumbu
dog-subj. negative black-descr.pred.
'Isn't the dog black?'

When the negative *gari* occurs postpredicate, it is never stressed. (It does not occur postpredicate in transitive or intransitive clauses.).

gaya °ɲumbu gari
dog-subj. black-descr.pred. negative
'The dog is not black.'

gaya "ŋumbu gari
dog-subj. black-descr.pred. negative
'Isn't the dog black?'

gaya °mayiga wawu gari
dog-subj. food-assoc. want-assoc.pred. negative
'The dog did not want the food.'

gaya mayiga "wawu gari
dog-subj. food-assoc. want-assoc.pred. negative
'Didn't the dog want the food?'

7. OPTIONAL CLAUSE STRESS

Except for the negative *gari* which is obligatorily nonstressed in some positions in some clauses, any clause-level tagmeme may receive optional stress. It is the time and manner tagmemes which most frequently receive optional stress, and the subject and object tagmemes which seldom receive optional stress.

°gayanga °bama baygan / gayanga °bama baygan
dog-subj. people-obj. bit-pred.
'The dog bit people.'

°djinabu °yundu duŋan / djinabu °yundu duŋan
foot-inst. you-subj. went-pred.
'You went by foot.'

°ŋadigu gaya °gaŋgay
long-ago-time dog-subj. small-descr.pred.
'Long ago the dog was small.'

gaya "wandjungu °gunin / gaya "wandjungu gunin
dog-obj. who-inter. hit-pred.
'Who hit the dog?'

njulu °djinbaldagu °minja nugan
he-subj. quickly-manr. meat-obj. ate-pred.
'He ate the meat quickly.'

8. STRESS OF THE PHRASE

When a stressed clause-level tagmeme is manifested by a phrase consisting of more than one word, each word (except for the word *badjagu very*) in the phrase is stressed.⁶

yilaygu °dingar °yalbay duᅇan
yesterday-time man - big-subj. went-pred.
'Yesterday the big man went.'

dingar °bayanba °yalbaymba
man-subj. house-in -big-descr.pred.
'The man is in the big house.'

gaya °mayiga °djiřaynga wawu
dog-subj. food- much-assoc. wants-pred.
'The dog wants much food.'

°yilaygu duᅇan °ᅇaygu °gaya
yesterday-time went-pred. my - dog-subj.
'Yesterday my dog went.'

njulu °ᅇayguwunmun °bayanmun °djambulmun
he-subj. my-from - house-from - two-from-loc.
 gadan
came-pred.
'He came from my two houses.'

kingar °yilaygu °yalibalagu duᅇan
man-subj. yesterday - early-time went-pred.
'Yesterday morning the man went.'

The word *badjagu very* is not stressed, however, even when preceding the predicate in an intransitive declarative clause.

djana °gayanda °yalbaymba badjagu duḡan
they-subj. dogs-to - big-to - very went-pred.
'They went to the very big dogs.'

A contrast of stress occurs between a descriptive clause which contains both subject and descriptive predicate versus a descriptive clause which contains a descriptive predicate only.

gaya °ḡumbu
dog-subj. black-descr.pred.
'The dog is black.'

°gaya °ḡumbu
dog - black-descr.pred.
'It is a black dog.'

9. INTONATION

In our data as analysed there are three types of intonation: (1) that in which the intonation contrasts occur, for the most part, between the last clause stress and pause; (2) that in which an emphatic stress occurs on the clause-final syllable; (3) that in which the intonation contrast is carried by a change of key.

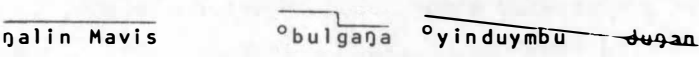
9.1. Intonation Contrasts Between the Last Clause Stress and Pause

In a termination contour, the contour is divided into that which precedes the last clause stress versus that which follows the last clause stress. Preceding the last clause stress, except that word and clause--stressed syllables are slightly or considerably higher than contiguous syllables, the general overall pitch is level. After the last clause stress there is decrescendo of intensity and pitch, and after the start of the decline, each syllable is lower than the preceding one. The last syllable is lenis and low in pitch.

ḡandjin ḡadigu °buruḡu duḡan
we-subj. long-ago-time Buru-loc. went-pred.
'Long ago we went to Buru.'

ḡandjin °mayi nugaḡ.
we-subj. food-obj. ate-pred.
'We ate food.'

A tentative contour is like a terminal contour except that the prepause decline of pitch is not as steep, does not end as low, and it is not relaxed. Occasionally it ends with a glottal stop.

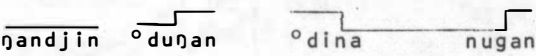


 ɔalin Mavis ɔbulgaŋa ɔyinduymbu duŋan

we-two-Mavis-subj. nest-to-another-to-loc. went-pred.

'Mavis and I went to another nest.'

A sequence contour is like a tentative contour except that the last syllable has extra-high pitch. (That syllable is not stressed, however, since it lacks the features of loudness and length.)

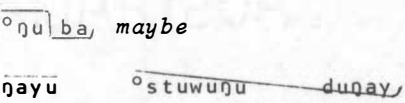


 ɔandjin ɔduŋan ɔdina nugan

we-subj. went-pred. dinner-obj. ate-pred.

'We went, ate dinner...'

The dubitative contour is like a tentative contour except that in the dubitative contour the last syllable has a short, lenis upglide. This contour is used to indicate doubt not only when the speaker volunteers the information, but it is also frequently used when answering a question.



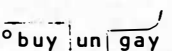
 ɔnu|ba, maybe

 ɔay ɔstuwuŋu duŋay

I-subj. store-loc. go-pred.

'I am going to the store.' (Response to a question.)

In a sympathy contour the last syllable glides up from mid to high. It differs from the dubitative contour in that in the sympathy contour the glide starts higher and the vowel is longer.



 ɔbuy|un|gay 'Poor kid.'

9.2. Intonation with Emphatic Stress

Certain contours have an emphatic stress (marked by : following the vowel) which occurs on the prepause syllable. This syllable is loud, long and ends with crescendo. The pitch of the syllable with emphatic stress is the main contrastive feature which differentiates several different intonation contours. In our data, in all but the continuous-action contour, except that the key may be higher, the pitch and stress of words other than the prepause word are more or less normal.

In an impatience contour the syllable with emphatic stress is long, low, and glides upwards to high with crescendo.

^ogadayguda: < 'Come on!'

An amazement contour has been recorded on two expressions only, *ya:* and *yu:y*. These are uttered with a breathy voice quality, a slight downglide and crescendo.

yu:y <

In a call contour the syllable with emphatic stress starts extra-high and glides downward with crescendo. Except that the whole clause is usually raised in key, the pitch and stress of words other than the prepausal word are more or less normal.

^obana wundi: < 'Bring water!'

^omama: < 'Mother!'

A call of the same contour shape, but made with vocoids only (not words)--a cooee--is frequently used when calling to someone at a distance. It is usually said at a very high pitch and the high-falling part of the contour is frequently in falsetto.

In a surprise contour the syllable with emphatic stress starts on extra-high and remains there, but there is a rearticulation with crescendo at the end of the long vowel.

yanju ^oyalbay badjagu: <
this-subj. big - very-descr.pred.
 'This is very big!'

In continuous-action contour the syllable with emphatic stress is long and level in pitch with rearticulation and crescendo at the end of the long vowel. It differs from the surprise contour in that in the surprise contour the pitch of the last syllable is considerably higher than that of the preceding syllables, whereas in the continuous-action contour the pitch of the last syllable is the same as that of the preceding syllables. Another difference is that in the continuous-action contour, the whole sentence may be a monotone whereas in the other contours syllables with word or clause stress are usually slightly raised.

yundu ^ogulɟɟɟbu gunibadja, gunibadja: <
you-subj. stone-inst. hit-again-pred. hit-again-pred.
 'You hit it again and again with a stone.'

~~njaman njaman njaman njaman njaman njama:n~~
boil boiled boiled boiled boiled boiled
'It kept on boiling.'

9.3. Intonation Contrast by Change of Key

In a quotation intonation the whole clause is said with a high key. This high key is most frequently superimposed on a tentative or dubitative contour but it may occur on any contour.

~~yundu "nubidjin~~
you-subj. lost-pred.
'Were you lost? (quoted)'

~~ɲayu °baya mudjalmudjan~~
I-subj. firewood-obj. was-gathering-pred.
'I was gathering firewood. (quoted)'

10. SENTENCES

For the most part our study of stress placement has been confined to simple sentences, i.e., to clauses. Texts with complicated sentence types, with sentences interrupted by pause, and with sentence fragments, are outside the scope of this paper. We have, however, added a few sample sentences. In these examples a termination contour is indicated by /./, a tentative contour by /;/, and a sequence contour by /,/.

°ɲalin njadjin; °mayi °djanbal °wubul badjagu
we-subj. saw-pred. food-quondong- many-very-subj.

wunanarin °bubuŋu
lying-pred. ground-loc.
'We saw a lot of quondong food lying on the ground.'

yundu °duŋay; °baya mana
you-subj. go-pred. firewood-obj. get-pred.
'You go and get firewood.'

yinjamun ɲayu °njuŋunin njadjin °gangadanjada
afterwards-time I-subj. him-obj. saw-pred. coming-then-pred.
'Afterwards I saw him coming.'

djana °ŋaygundu balgan; djawun °yinjabi
they-subj. to-me-loc. told-pred. friend-subj. there-

°wanŋarwanŋar
up-descr.pred.

'They told me, "Friend is up there."'

ŋayu °njuŋun yuŋan; °mayi maninga
I-subj. him-obj. sent-pred. food-obj. get-purpose-pred.

'I sent him to get food.'

bana °ŋulguŋ; °gaŋgayaŋga nuganga
water-subj. good-descr.pred. children-subj. drink-purpose.pred.

'The water is good for the children to drink.'

njulu °duŋan, °bana manin, °nugan,
he-subj. went-pred. water-obj. got-pred. drank-pred.

°bayanbagu gadan
back-home-loc. came-pred.

'He went, got water, drank, came back home.'

ŋayu °djarbada ginilgunin; njulu °gadan
I-subj. snake-obj. was-killing-pred. he-subj. came-pred.

'While I was killing the snake, he came.'

bulgidji °baganja; ŋaygu mugu °gagaman
shellfish-obj. dug-because-pred. my - back-subj. became-sore-pred.

'Because (I) dug shellfish my back became sore.'

There is an interesting contrast of clause stress on the negative *gari* versus lack of clause stress on the implied-action-divertor conjunction *gari*.

ŋayu °dibuŋ manin; °gari gabu
I-subj. egg-obj. got-pred. negative rotten-descr.pred.

'I got an egg; it wasn't rotten.' versus

ŋayu °dibuŋ manin; *gari*
I-subj. egg-obj. got-pred. implied-action-divertor-conj.

°gabu
rotten-descr.pred.

'I got an egg; but it was rotten.'

N O T E S

1. Gugu-Yalanji is the language spoken by the majority of the Aborigines living in the Bloomfield River area. The Bloomfield River is located about forty miles south of Cooktown, Queensland. There are approximately 250 people in the Bloomfield area who speak Gugu-Yalanji; however, the complete language area extends from Cooktown in the north to Mossman in the south. The total number of speakers in this area number about 500. Our informant for this paper was Miss Nora Smith whose age is about 25 years. The research for this paper was done under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

2. For additional data on grammar - but not in relation to stress, see the articles listed in the bibliography by Henry (Hank) Hershberger and Ruth Hershberger. Ruth Hershberger has since modified her analysis of clause types and the authors have profited by her suggestions. Her present analysis is reflected in this paper.

For segmental phonemes we have used the analysis as described in William and Lynette Oates, 'Gugu-Yalanji Linguistic and Anthropological Data', *Occasional Papers in Aboriginal Studies*, No.2, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1964. Specifically, there are 13 consonants: Stops (voiced following a nasal, usually voiceless in other environments): b, d, dj (palatalized stop), g. Nasals: m, n, nj (alveopalatal), ŋ (velar). Resonants: l, w, y, r (retroflexed vocoid), ɾ (flapped intervocalically, trilled when preceding another consonant and word finally, frequently voiceless word finally). There are three vowels: i, a, u.

3. In our data there is one word with one syllable only: 'ba come.

4. We considered the possibility that this extra-high pitch might better be considered a feature of an intonation contour. We decided in favour of our present analysis, however, since (1) the choice of an intonation contour is determined by the attitude of the speaker, whereas the choice of declarative stress versus interrogative stress is determined by the clause type; (2) the place of the contrast between

intonation contours is restricted, for the most part to (a) the clause-final syllable, or (b) between the syllable with the last clause stress and pause; whereas a syllable with interrogative stress may occur on words in any position in the clause.

5. We checked for a stress contrast between declarative and interrogative versus "imperative" clauses but found none. In a transitive clause the aspects which in the first and third person are translated as '*should...*' or '*ought...*' are used as imperatives in the second person. In an intransitive clause this aspect does not occur, instead nonpast forms are used in the second person for the imperative.

gayangga °minja nuga '*The dog should eat the meat.*'

yundu °minja nuga '*You eat the meat (imperative)*'

dinggar °wungun duṅay '*The man will go tomorrow.*'

yundu °wungun duṅay '*You go tomorrow (imperative)*'

6. As analysed, we do not have verbal phrases in our data. Adverb-like words do occur, but since they may be separated from the verb, we have considered that they are manifesting the manner tagmeme. In addition, words in other phrase types must all be stressed, or all nonstressed, whereas the verb may be stressed when the adverb is not, or the adverb may be stressed when the verb is not.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

HERSHBERGER, HANK

- 1964 'A Tentative Description of the Noun Morphology of Gugu-Yalanji', *Occasional Papers in Aboriginal Studies*, No.2, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1964. pp.18-23.

HERSHBERGER, HENRY

- 1964a 'Case-Marking Affixes in Gugu-Yalanji', *Occasional Papers in Aboriginal Studies*, No.3, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1964. pp.73-82.
- 1964b 'Gugu-Yalanji Noun Phrases', *Occasional Papers in Aboriginal Studies*, No.3, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1964. pp.83-90.

HERSHBERGER, RUTH

- 1964a 'A Tentative Grammatical Statement of the Simple Clause in Gugu-Yalanji', *Occasional Papers in Aboriginal Studies*, No.2, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1964. pp.24-48.
- 1964b 'Notes on Gugu-Yalanji Verbs', *Occasional Papers in Aboriginal Studies*, No.3, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1964. pp.35-54.
- 1964c 'Personal Pronouns in Gugu-Yalanji', *Occasional Papers in Aboriginal Studies*, No.3, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1964. pp.55-68.
- 1964d '-KU 'Then' and -DA 'Now' in Gugu-Yalanji', *Occasional Papers in Aboriginal Studies*, No.3, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1964. pp.68-72.

OATES, WILLIAM AND LYNETTE

1964 'Gugu-Yalanji Linguistic and Anthropological Data',
Occasional Papers in Aboriginal Studies, No.2, Australian
Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 1964. pp.1-17.