TWELVE PRONOMINAL SETS IN YANYULA

JEAN F. KIRTON

Chart 1

SETS OF YANYULA CLAUSE-TYPE PERSON-MARKER AFFIXES

	LOCATIVE Subject Suffix	TRANSITIVE Actor Prefix	DESCRIPTIVE Subject Prefix	ASSOCIATIVE I Subject Prefix	ASSOCIATIVE II Subject Prefix	INTRANSITIVE Subject Prefix	REFLEXIVE Subject Prefix	TRANSITIVE Object Prefix
3 pl	alu	alu[b]	nalu	galu	djal	dj/galu[d]	dj/galinja	dj/gala
2 pl	iɼu	iɼu	niɼu	giɼu	djiɼ	giɼu	giɼinja	giɼu
1 pl excl	ŋanu	ŋanu	ŋanu	ganu	djan	ganu	ganinja	ganu
3 d	wula	wula	nawula	gawula	djawul	gawula	gawula	gawula
2 d	imbala	imbala	nimbala	gimbala	djimbal	gimbala	gimbala	gimbala
1 d excl	ŋadaɼa	ŋadaɼa	ŋadaɼa	gadaɼa	djadaɼ	gadaɼa	gadaɼa	gadaɼa
1 pl incl	ŋambala	ŋambala	ŋambala	gambala	djambal	gambala	gambala	gambala
1 d incl	ŋali	ŋali	ŋali	gali	djal	gali	gali	gali
1 s	ŋaṇa	ŋa ∞ ∅	ŋaṇa	gaṇa	djaṇ	gaṇa	gaṇa	gaṇa ∞ gaṇa
2 s	inda	inja ∞ ∅	nda	ga	djaw	ga	ginja	giṇa
3 fem s	anda	anda	nanda	ganda	djand	ganda	ganu	gaɼa ∞ gay
3 masc s	iwa ∿ iya[a]	llu[c]	niwa ∿ niya	giwa ∿ giya	djiw	giwa ∿ giya	gu	ganja
3 neut	ali	injdja	ni	giwa ∿ giya	djil	gi	ginja	gi
3 plant-derived	awu	aŋgu	nu	guwa	djuw	gu		gu
3 tree-derived	anu		nanu					gana
	SET 1	SET 2	SET 3	SET 4	SET 5	SET 6	SET 7	SET 8

NOTES TO CHART 1

a
   Third person singular masculine subject-markers of sets 1, 3, 4, 6, have allomorphs in which the final syllable varies from wa to ya; the ya-final allomorph occurs preceding a w-initial stem; elsewhere the wa-final allomorph has most frequent occurrence.

b
   Sets 2, 6, 8, have allomorphs in which the final vowel does not occur.

c
   The broken lines enclose the area of contrast between female and male speech.

d
   Sets 6, 7, 8, have dj and g initial allomorphs as free variants.

Chart 2

YANYULA FREE PRONOUN SETS

	DESTINATION -RELATION 'to'	ACCOMPANIMENT -INSTRUMENT 'with, on'	NONTRANSITIVE SUBJECT, and OBJECT	REFERENT and POSSESSIVE PRON 'for, of'
3 pl	aluwa<u>lu</u>	alu<u>wa</u>	alu	alu<u>ŋa</u>
2 pl	yiřuwa<u>lu</u>	yiřu<u>wa</u>	yiřu	yiřu<u>ŋa</u>
1 pl excl	ŋanuwa<u>lu</u>	ŋanu<u>wa</u>	ŋanu	ŋanu<u>ŋa</u>
3 d	wula<u>lu</u>	wula<u>a</u>	wula	wula<u>ŋa</u>
2 d	yimbala<u>lu</u>	yimbala<u>a</u>	yimbala	yimbala<u>ŋa</u>
1 d excl	ŋadařa<u>lu</u>	ŋadařa<u>a</u>	ŋadařa	ŋadařa<u>ŋa</u>
1 pl incl	ŋambala<u>lu</u>	ŋambala<u>a</u>	ŋambala	ŋambala<u>ŋa</u>
1 d incl	ŋali<u>lu</u>	ŋali<u>la</u>	ŋali	ŋali<u>ŋa</u>
1 s	ŋadaŋga<u>lu</u>	ŋadaŋga	ŋaŋa	ŋa<u>da</u>
2 s	yinda<u>lu</u>	yinda<u>a</u>	yinda	yin<u>gu</u>
3 fem s	anda<u>lu</u>	anda<u>a</u>	anda	an<u>gu</u>
3 masc s	yila<u>lu</u>	yila<u>a</u>	yiwa	yi<u>gu</u>
	SET 9	SET 10	SET 11	SET 12

0. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to show the role of pronominal allomorphs in Yanyula,[1] a prefixing language of the Northern Territory.

There are twelve[2] sets of pronominal morphemes which occur as free pronouns and as person-markers. They provide contrastive features of tagmemes on three levels of the grammatical hierarchy. Person-marker affixes provide a contrastive feature distinguishing clause-types, that is, sentence-level tagmemes; suffixes on free pronouns provide contrastive features distinguishing clause-level tagmemes; possessive pronoun prefixes provide a contrastive feature of noun classes; person-marker suffixes also occur on certain clause-introducers relating them to the subject of the clause they precede. Pronominal affixes also have allomorphs which distinguish women's speech from men's speech. The affixation as it occurs in women's speech is the more complex, and therefore is taken to be the basic form.

The description of these twelve pronominal sets further illustrates the 'full development of pronominalisation' which Dr. A. Capell has presented in his recent paper on Australian languages (Capell 1967: 21-42).

1. SETS OF CLAUSE-TYPE PERSON-MARKER AFFIXES

Sets of allomorphs of person-marker affixes are conditioned by distribution into locative, descriptive, intransitive, associative, reflexive, transitive, and imperative clause-types. These person-markers, affixed to the predicate, indicate subject, actor, or object.

1.1. Locative Person-marker Set

In a locative clause, the stems maṇ-/maṇadj- *here,* badj- *there (definite place),* namb- *there (indefinite place),* and the locative interrogative stem ŋand- *where?,* take a person-marker suffix to indicate the subject of the clause. The above locative stems all have i finally when preceding a consonant-initial person-marker. The set of person-markers which occur with these stems (see chart 1 set 1) provides the basic set from which the other sets of person-marker allomorphs are predictable.

There are seven different person-markers indicating third person. The nonsingular third person is divided between dual and plural. The singular third person has five distinctions. For the most part the categories referred to can be defined in the following way. The feminine person-marker refers not only to female humans or animals but also to certain inanimate items such as *canoe.* The masculine person-marker refers to male humans and to a restricted list of animals. The plant-derived person-marker refers to vegetable food and to articles derived from plants. The tree-derived person-marker refers to articles made from wood or bark, but also includes some other items such as *river.* The neuter person-marker is very inclusive in the items to which it refers. These items include some which would be logically included in other third person classes, most unclassified items, and most articles from western culture.

In locative clauses, a male speaker shows distinction between the third persons singular in masculine, neuter, and plant-derived classes. In all other clause-types except associative, male speakers do not show this distinction.

Locative subject-markers are listed below with the stem maṇadj- *here,* as in maṇadjiŋaṇa *I am here.* (The subject or actor person-marker will be underlined in examples throughout the paper, except in sections describing the object person-marker where the object person-marker will be underlined).

3 pl	maṇadjalu		2 s	maṇadjinda
2 pl	maṇadjiṟu		3 s fem	maṇadjanda
1 pl excl	maṇadjiŋanu		3 s masc	maṇadjiwa
3 d	maṇadjiwula		3 s neuter	maṇadjali
2 d	maṇadjimbala		3 s plant-derived	maṇadjawu
1 d excl	maṇadjiŋadaṟa			
1 pl incl	maṇadjiŋambala		3 s tree-derived	maṇadjanu
1 d incl	maṇadjiŋali			
1 s	maṇadjiŋaṇa			

Person-markers do not distinguish between singular, dual, and plural when referring to nonpersonal[3] subjects, even when they occur in the feminine class. When referring to nonpersonal subjects, the third singular form is used.

    ṟamuwaḍa badjanda   *'there is a canoe, there are canoes'*
    f-canoe   there-she

1.2. Transitive Actor Person-marker Set

    In a transitive clause, the actor-marker (see chart 1 set 2) is a first-order prefix, that is, it occurs next to the stem. In form it is identical to the locative subject-marker (see chart 1 set 1) for all dual and plural persons and for feminine singular. There is no actor prefix for the tree-derived class in the set of allomorphs which mark transitive actor. The remaining singular persons have allomorphs as follows: ŋa- ∞ ∅- *I*, inja- ∞ ∅- *you*, ilu- *he*, injdja- *it (neuter)*, aŋgu- *it (plant-derived)*.

    When first and second persons singular co-occur as object and actor prefixes, the object allomorph occurs and the actor person-marker has zero occurrence. The zero allomorph of second person singular as actor, further occurs wherever the feminine singular, plant-derived, or tree-derived allomorphs occur as objects. The other allomorph of second person singular inja- therefore co-occurs with dual and plural persons, and masculine and neuter singular object prefixes.

    Probably because of semantic restrictions, there is no co-occurrence of first person actor with any first person as object. There is no co-occurrence of second person actor or object with person-markers in which any second person occurs.

giṇa-∅̸-ṛama [4]	*I hit you(s)*
giṇaṉadaɽaṛama	*we(d excl) hit you(s)*
gaṉa-∅̸-ṛama	*you(s) hit me*
ganimbalaṛama [5]	*you(d) hit me*
gaɽa-∅̸-ṛama	*you(s) hit her*
ginjaṛama	*you(s) hit him*
gawulinjaṛama	*you(s) hit them(d)*
gawuliṇaṛama	*I hit them(d)*
gawulandaṛama	*she hit them(d)*
gawulinjdjaṛama	*it(neuter) hit them(d)*
gawulaŋguṛama	*it(plant-derived) hit them(d)*

1.3. Descriptive Person-marker Set

In a descriptive clause, the subject is indicated by a subject person-marker allomorph (see chart 1 set 3) prefixed to the predicate. In all first persons the allomorphs are identical with the locative subject allomorphs (see chart 1 set 1). Second person dual allomorph is formed by prefixing na to the corresponding locative allomorph. The remaining dual and plural descriptive subject-markers are formed by prefixing n to the corresponding locative allomorphs. Feminine, masculine, and tree-derived descriptive subject-markers are formed in the same way. The remaining singular persons are as follows: nda- *you*, ni- *it (neuter)*, nu- *it (plant-derived)*.

The set of person-marker allomorphs occurs prefixed to the stems of personal nouns or adjectives. The resultant form is a descriptive clause. Because of semantic restrictions the neuter classes do not occur with personal nouns or adjectives, and their occurrence will be described ed section 3.

EXAMPLES

ŋaṉayalguyi	*I am/was a young adult*
nawulayalguyi	*they(d) are/were young adults*
naluyumbu	*they(pl) are/were small*
niwayumbu	*he is/was small*
nandayumbu	*she is/was small*

Descriptive person-marker allomorphs also occur with yuɽŋu *all the time.* niwayuɽŋu *he is/was all the time,* ŋambalayuɽŋu *we(pl incl) are/ were all the time.*

1.4. Associative Person-marker Sets

The predicates in associative clauses, -ma *want,* -ninja *was being,* and -ini *am being,* take person-marker subjects. Associative I set 4 (see chart 1) occurs with -ma and -ninja, and associative II set 5 (see chart 1) occurs with -ini.

Apart from second person singular and third persons neuter and plant-derived subjects, set 4 allomorphs are predictable from the descriptive subject allomorphs of set 3. Person-markers for second person singular, neuter, and plant-derived classes are as follows: ga- *you,* giwa- ∿ giya- *it (neuter),* guwa- *it (plant-derived).* The remaining allomorphs are formed from the descriptive subject prefixes by replacing the initial nasal with g.

EXAMPLES

gaṇaninja	*I was being*
gandaninja	*she was being*
gaṇama	*I want*
gama	*you(s) want*

Associative allomorphs of set 5 vary from set 4 by the replacement of the initial consonant g by dj, and the loss of the final vowel. The two exceptions are person-markers for second person singular and third person neuter. These are as follows: djaw- *you,* djil- *it (neuter).* djuwini *it (plant-derived) is being,* djiwini *he is being,* djalini *they(pl) are being,* djambalini *we(pl incl) are being,* djawini *you(s) are being,* djilini *it (neuter) is being.*

1.5. Intransitive Person-marker Set

In an intransitive clause, the subject is indicated by a subject person-marker allomorph (see chart 1 set 6) prefixed to the predicate. The set 6 intransitive person-markers have dj and g occurring initially in free variation. Apart from the initial consonant, the set is identical with set 4 except for third persons neuter and plant-derived classes. Subject-markers for these two persons are: dji-/gi- *it (neuter ,* dju-/gu- *it (plant-derived).* djaṇawani/gaṇawani *I came back,* djandawani/gandawani *she came back,* djimbalawani/gimbalawani *you(d) came back.*

1.6. Reflexive Person-marker Set

In a reflexive[6] clause, the subject is marked on the predicate by a second-order prefix from set 7 (see chart 1). First-order prefix is the reflexive morpheme mba-.

Apart from the third persons singular feminine and masculine, the reflexive set is predicted from the set 6 intransitive allomorphs. Third person singular feminine person-marker is ganu- *she,* and masculine person-marker is gu- *he.* Plant-derived and tree-derived subjects have not been found to occur in reflexive clauses. The dual and first person subsets are identical in form with set 6. The remaining set 7 allomorphs, that is, the plural subset, second person singular, and third person neuter, are derived from set 6 by the addition of the suffix -inja, after the loss of the final vowel.

EXAMPLES

ganumbawuganji	*she talked to herself*
gumbawuganji	*he talked to himself*
gawulambawuganji	*they(d) talked to each other*
galimbawuganji	*we(d incl) talked to each other*
galinjambawuganji	*they(pl) talked to each other*
girinjambawuganji	*you(pl) talked to each other*

1.7. Transitive Object Person-marker Set

In a transitive clause, both actor and object are indicated by person-marker allomorphs. The first-order actor allomorphs have been described in section 1.2. The second-order object allomorphs, set 8 (see chart 1), are predictable from the set 6 intransitive subject allomorphs. All first persons and neuter allomorphs are identical with the intransitive allomorphs, but gana- *me* has an additional allomorph gana- which co-occurs with all second person subjects. Second and third persons dual and plural object person-markers are also identical with the corresponding intransitive subject-markers, but these object-markers have further allomorphs in which the final vowel is replaced by i. These i-final allomorphs co-occur with first person actors. The second person singular and remaining third person object allomorphs are gina- *you,* gara-/gay- *her,* ganja- ∞ ga- *him,* gu- *it (plant-derived),* gana- *it (tree-derived).*

Feminine object allomorphs gara-/gay- co-occur with masculine singular actor; gara- co-occurs with remaining persons. Masculine object allomorph ga- co-occurs with second person singular actor; ganja- co-occurs with remaining persons.

galilurama	*he hit us(d incl)*
ganinjdjarama	*it (neuter) hit me*
ganimbalarama	*you(d) hit me*
gilurama	*he hit it (neuter)*
girawulaṟama	*they(d) hit you(pl)*
giriṇanurama	*we (pl excl) hit you(pl)*
galiṇanurama	*we (pl excl) hit them(pl)*
galawularama	*they(d) hit them(pl)*
gariluṟama/gayiluṟama	*he hit her*
ganjandarama	*she hit him*
ginjaṟama	*you(s) hit him*
guwularama	*they(d) hit it (plant-derived)*
ganawularama	*they(d) hit it (tree-derived)*

1.8. Imperative Person-marker Sets

In an imperative clause, the subject, actor, and object are indicated on affirmative verbs.

1.8.1. *Imperative Person-marker Sets*.

In an intransitive imperative verb, the second person subject is marked by a limited set of person-markers not listed on the chart. The prefixes are ∅-[7] *you(s)*, bila- *you(d)*, ŕu- *you(pl)*. ∅-wulumaya *(you s) run!*, bilawulumaya *(you d) run!*, ŕuwulumaya *(you pl) run!*

In a reflexive imperative verb, the second person dual subject is marked by bila- as in the intransitive. Second person singular person-marker is nja-, and second person plural subject is ŕinja-. A reflexive subject allomorph precedes the reflexive prefix mba-.

bilambabalamaya	*(you d) clap (your hands)*
njambabalamaya	*(you s) clap (your hands)*
ŕinjambabalamaya	*(you pl) clap (your hands)*

In a transitive imperative verb, the actor-marker is a first-order prefix and the object is a second-order prefix.

Actor person-marker allomorphs are a limited set: ∅- *you(s)*, imbala- *you(d)*, iŕu- *you(pl)*. These dual and plural allomorphs are identical with the corresponding locative allomorphs (see chart 1 set 1).

nja-**∅**-ga**ł**a *(you s) bring him!*, nj<u>imbalaga</u>**ł**a *(you d) bring him,*
nji**ł**uga**ł**a *(you pl) bring him!*

   Object person-marker allomorphs are incompletely analysed. Two
of the frequently occurring object-markers are **ł**a- ∿ **ł**- *her*, and nja-
∿ nj- *him*. The a of these markers is lost preceding a vowel-initial
actor prefix. **ł**a-∅-ga**ł**a *(you s) bring her!*, **ł**i**ł**uga**ł**a *(you pl) bring
her!*, n<u>ja</u>-∅-ga**ł**a *(you s) bring him!*, n<u>j</u>i**ł**uga**ł**a *(you pl) bring him!*

1.8.2. *Hortatory Person-marker Sets*. In a hortatory clause, the subject,
actor, and object are indicated on the verb by person-marker prefixes.
   Present data does not allow complete analysis but in the data
available the following have been observed. The subject person-marker
allomorphs in intransitive clauses are ŋali- *we(d incl)*, ŋambala-
we(pl incl). ŋaliwiŋa *let us(d incl) go*, ŋambalawiŋa *let us(pl incl)
go*. In reflexive clauses the same subject person-markers occur
preceding the reflexive morpheme mba-.

   ŋalimbawuduɾumaya   *let us(d incl) feed ourselves,*

   ŋambalambawuduɾumaya *let us(pl incl) feed ourselves.*

In transitive clauses, actor allomorphs occurring as first-order
prefixes are ŋali- *we(d incl)*, ŋambala- *we(pl incl)*, ilu- *he*.
nja<u>ŋali</u>ɾamaya *let us(d incl) hit him*, nja<u>ŋambala</u>ɾamaya *let us(pl incl)
hit him*, nj<u>ilu</u>ɾamaya *let him hit him*. Object allomorphs occurring as
second-order prefixes are **ł**a- *her*, nja- *him*, and both lose the final
vowel preceding a vowel-initial prefix. **ł**aŋaliɾamaya *let us(d incl)
hit her*, **ł**iluɾamaya *let him hit her*, n<u>ja</u>ŋaliɾamaya *let us(d incl) hit
him*, n<u>ji</u>iluɾamaya *let him hit him*.

1.9. Variant Set Used in Male Speech

   In each set of person-marker prefix allomorphs except the
associative sets, the female speaker has the neuter, plant-derived,
and masculine forms to differentiate (see area enclosed by broken lines
on chart 1). The male speaker has only one form which includes all
three classes. In the associative sets, the male speaker distinguishes
the plant-derived class but makes no distinction between the masculine
and neuter classes.
   In set 2, the transitive actor allomorph for a male speaker is
ilu- *he, it (neuter, plant-derived)*. (As in the examples in sections
1.8. and 3.3., F preceding a language example indicates a female
speaker, and M indicates a male speaker).

F	gal<u>i</u>lu<u>r</u>ama	M	gal<u>i</u>lu<u>r</u>ama	*he hit him*
F	gal<u>i</u>njdja<u>r</u>ama	M	" "	*it (neuter) hit him*
F	gala<u>ŋ</u>gu<u>r</u>ama	M	" "	*it (plant-derived) hit him*

In set 3, the subject allomorph for a male speaker is na- *he, it (neuter, plant-derived).* Because semantic restrictions limit the use of set 3 allomorphs in a descriptive clause, the following illustrations are of set 3 allomorphs in their occurrence as possessive-marker on body-part nouns.

F	<u>ni</u>yawulaya	M	<u>na</u>wulaya	*his head*
F	<u>ni</u>wulaya	M	" "	*its (neuter) head*
F	<u>nu</u>wulaya	M	" "	*its (plant-derived) head*

The above neuter class example, *its (neuter) head,* is used in relation to neuter class animals such as a crocodile, and of neuter class inanimate objects such as the *head* of an engine. The above plant-derived class example, *its (plant-derived) head,* is used in relation to fruit, since the fruit of a tree is referred to in Yanyula as *its head.*

In set 4, the subject allomorph used by a male speaker for masculine and neuter classes is giwa-, and in set 5 the subject allomorph used is djiw-. In the plant-derived class the person-marker in both sets is identical with that in women's speech.

F	<u>dji</u>wini	M	<u>dji</u>wini	*he is being*
F	dji<u>li</u>ni	M	" "	*it (neuter) is being*
F	<u>dju</u>wini	M	<u>dju</u>wini	*it (plant-derived) is being*

In set 6, the third person subject for masculine, neuter, and plant-derived classes is ga-/dja-.

F	<u>gi</u>yawiŋga	M	<u>ga</u>wiŋga	*he came*
F	<u>gi</u>wiŋga	M	" "	*it (neuter) came*
F	<u>gu</u>wiŋga	M	" "	*it (plant-derived) came*

In set 7, gu- is the subject allomorph used by a male speaker for masculine and neuter classes. There is no example of plant-derived class occurring as reflexive subject.

F gumbawaḍiŕi   M gumbawaḍiŕi   *he harmed himself*

F ginjambawaḍiŕi   M   "   "   *it (neuter) harmed itself*

Concerning set 8, analysis of transitive person-markers used by a
male speaker is incomplete. It is noted however, that the object
person-marker occurs less frequently in male speech than in women's
speech, and that frequently the actor allomorph occurs alone on the
predicate of a transitive clause.

F ganjawulagala   *they(d) saw him*

F giwulagala   *they(d) saw it (neuter)*

F guwulagala   *they(d) saw it (plant-derived)*

M gawulagala   *they(d) saw (him, it neuter, it plant-derived)*

Residue: gi- infrequently occurs in male speech as a variant of the
intransitive subject ga-. Conditioning factors of its occurrence have
not yet been determined.

2. FREE PRONOUN SETS

There are forty-eight free pronouns (see chart 2). For an earlier
less complete analysis,[8] see Kirton 1964:139-48.

There are four sets of pronouns correlating with their distribution
into the following clause-level tagmemes: destination-relation,
accompaniment-instrument, nontransitive subject, object, referent.

2.1. Destination-relation Pronoun Set

The pronouns of set 9 (see chart 2), have a suffix -lu *to* indicating
destination-relation tagmeme. aluwalu *to them(pl)*, yimbalalu *to you(d)*,
yindalu *to you(s)*, ŋadaŋgalu *to me*.

yilalu galuwiŋga
him-to they-walk
'they walked to him'

2.2. Accompaniment-Instrument Pronoun Set

The pronouns of set 10 (see chart 2), have a suffix a ∿ wa ∿ la ∿
ŋga indicating accompaniment-instrument tagmeme. The allomorph -ŋga
occurs only on first person singular; -la occurs only on first person
dual inclusive; -wa occurs on the plural subset (see chart 2) which has

u-final stems; -a occurs with all other pronouns. ŋadaŋga *with me,* ŋalila *with us(d incl),* aluwa *with them(pl),* ŋambalaa *with us(pl incl),* yindaa *with you(s).*

    ligiliyaḏu   galilaga   yilaa
    pl-his-pl-child *them-he-bring* *him-with*
    'he brought his children with him'

2.3. Subject and Object Pronoun Set

The pronouns of set 11 (see chart 2), manifesting the nontransitive subject or object tagmeme, have the shortest form. With the exception of first person singular pronoun, set 11 pronouns are predictable from set 10; the instrument-accompaniment suffix is lost and the remaining set of stems is the nontransitive subject and object set. First person singular stem in set 11 is ŋaṇa. Unlike all other free pronouns, the referent pronoun ŋada *for me* is the free pronoun stem for first person singular in all other tagmeme sets. The pronoun ŋaṇa is identical in form with the first person singular locative subject person-marker (see chart 1 set 1), and is therefore more closely related to the corresponding person-markers than to the other first person singular free pronouns. ŋaṇa *I, me,* alu *they, them(pl),* wula *they, them(d),* ŋadała *we, us(d excl),* yinda *you(s subj or obj).*

    ŋala yiwa njamaŋadji njawadjbala giyawuluma
    then he m-that   m-whiteman he-run
    'then that whiteman ran'

2.4. Referent Pronoun Set

On the free pronouns of set 12 (see chart 2), the referent tagmeme is manifested by the nonsingular suffix ŋa, and by the singular suffix gu ∞ ∅.

The nonsingular suffix ŋa occurs with the nontransitive subject and object nonsingular stems (see chart 2 set 11). aluŋa *for them(pl),* yiłuŋa *for you(pl),* ŋambalaŋa *for us(pl incl),* yimbalaŋa *for you(d).*

First person singular referent pronoun occurs as the free pronoun stem ŋada *for me,* with zero suffixation. The other singular pronouns undergo stem change by the loss of the final syllable of the corresponding nontransitive subject and object pronoun (see chart 2), and replacement of the final syllable by the suffix gu.

    anda *she, her*   yinda *you(s)*   yiwa *he, him*
    angu *for her*   yingu *for you(s)*   yigu *for him*

djiyawadjba<u>nd</u>aninja <u>yigu</u>
he-call-past cont   *him-for*
'he was calling for him'

Set 12 referent pronouns, as described in this section, also occur
as possessive pronouns.   angu *her,* ŋa<u>d</u>a *my,* aluŋa *their(pl),* yiʈuŋa
your(pl).

3.   POSSESSIVE-MARKER PREFIX SETS

In Yanyula, inalienable possession is marked by a person-marker
prefix. (Alienable possession, detail of which is outside the scope
of this paper, is indicated by a free possessive pronoun). Three sets
of prefixes are used to indicate possession of relatives and body-parts.

3.1.   Kinship Possession Sets

There are two classes of kinship nouns and each class takes a
different set of possessive prefixes.

Class 1 kinship nouns consist of a full list of kinship terms, and
possession is indicated by a second-order prefix. This prefix is
similar in form to the free possessive pronoun of set 12 (see chart 2),
but certain morphophonemic changes occur. The prefix-initial semi-
vowel y is lost when a third-order prefix occurs. The final vowel of
yigu *his* changes to i preceding the plural morpheme li-.

li<u>gi</u>liŋanjdji
pl-his-pl-relative
'his relatives'

ṛinguʈaaḏu
f-your s-f-child
'your(s) daughter'

nja<u>ngu</u>njabiyi
m-her-m-father
'her father'

ʈaŋa<u>d</u>aʈamanjdjigaʈa
f-my-f-sister in law
'my sister-in-law'

Class 2 kinship nouns consist of a limited list of kinship terms.
The kinship relationships expressed in this class are the same as some
of those expressed in class 1 but the stems are different. Possession

is indicated by the same allomorphs which manifest associative I
subject (see chart 1 set 4).

> njagadaɫawuḏayi
> *m-our d excl-grandchild*
> *'our(d excl) grandson'*

> ɫagaṉaaḏima
> *f-my-sister's child*
> *'my niece'*

> agandamaŋgayi
> *f-her-paternal grandmother*
> *'her paternal grandmother'*

3.2. Body-part Possession Set

Possession of a class of nouns which consist chiefly of body-
parts is shown by the allomorphs which manifest descriptive subject-
marker, set 3 (see chart 1). naluwini *their(pl) names,* niɫuŋuɫu
your(pl) noses, ŋaṉamulu *my mouth,* nandawada *her hair,* niwamalidji *his
hand,* niŋuɫu *its (neuter) nose,* nanumulu *its (tree-derived) mouth*
(*used to refer to the door of a house*).

3.3. Variant Set Used in Male Speech

The set of possessive prefixes occurring with class 1 kinship nouns
has a set of allomorphs in which the final vowel changes to i. This
variant set is used by a male speaker when referring to a male relative.

> F njaŋgunjabiyi   M njaŋgibiyi   *her father*
>
> F njiŋgunjababa   M njiŋgibaba   *your(s) older brother*

The set of allomorphs used by a male speaker in body-part possessive-
markers has been described and exemplified in section 1.9., para 3.

4. CLAUSE-INTRODUCER PERSON-MARKER SUFFIXES

Two clause-introducers, ŋala *when, then* and gaḏa *mistakenly thought/
thinking,* take a set of person-marking suffixes identical in form with
set 1 locative subject-markers (see chart 1).

The temporal clause-introducer, ŋala ∿ ŋal- ∿ ŋali- *when, then,*
has an optional person-marker suffix which refers to the subject of the
clause it introduces. The clause-introducer allomorph ŋal- precedes a
vowel-initial person-marker; ŋali- precedes an ŋ initial person-marker;
ŋala- precedes -wula *they(d).*

EXAMPLES

ŋaliwa   *when he*

ŋaliŋanu   *when we(pl excl)*

ŋalawula   *when they(d)*

ŋalanda   ... ŋaliŋaṇa ... *when she ... then I ...*

ŋaliwa giyawadjbala yingu,   ŋaliŋaṇa gaŋaluwaři la
when-he he-call-fut you s-for   then-I   I-depart-fut
'When he calls for you, I will go away.'

The misconception introducer, gaḏa ∿ gaḏ-, optionally has a subject
person-marker suffix. This may co-occur with a subject-marker prefix
on the verb.

gaḏiwa   giwanbanma
thought-he he-fall-might
'(I) mistakenly thought he might fall'

gaḏanda   abuyi   ṛaḍu
thought-she f-small f-child
'(he) mistakenly thought (the baby was) a little girl'

NOTES

1. A change has been made by the author in the spelling of the language name from Anyula as in previous papers, to Yanyula, to be in accord with usage in Government records.

The Yanyula people mainly live at or around Borroloola in the Northern Territory, but a small group is settled at Doomadgee Mission over the border in Queensland. This paper is written using data obtained during twelve months' field work at Borroloola, and eight months' field work at Doomadgee Mission, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

The author gratefully acknowledges the consultant help of Miss Eunice Pike in analysis and presentation of the content of the paper.

The author also gratefully acknowledges the help of a concordance of approximately 19,000 words of Yanyula text compiled by the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and sponsored by Grant GS-934 of the National Science Foundation.

The author also achnowledges her debt to willing Yanyula informant helpers, Bella Jerry and Punch Mundula from Borroloola, and Pluto Sevenemus and Big Arthur from Doomadgee Mission.

2. Yanyula nouns, clauses, and verbs are incompletely analysed at this time. From analysis which has been done it is known that there are, in fact, more than twelve pronominal sets, but twelve sets come within the scope of this paper, and others are referred to.

3. Personal nouns are nouns from feminine and masculine classes which refer almost exclusively to people. There is rare inclusion of a restricted group of animals.

4.   -∅- is used as a device to indicate a zero morpheme occurrence in examples where a specific person-marker is signalled in this way.

5.   Morphophonemic changes occur in person-marker affixation. (1) The initial y of person-markers for second persons and third person singular masculine, is lost when that person-marker ceases to be word-initial. These person-markers then behave as vowel-initial morphemes. (2) In the context of word, where any vowel-final morpheme precedes a vowel-initial person-marker, there is loss of the first vowel.

6.   The term *reflexive* includes reflexive and reciprocal action as no distinction is made between these in Yanyula.

7.   nda- has only been recorded once as an allomorph of ∅ as subject of an intransitive imperative: ndawiŋga *(you s) walk!*

8.   The author's previous paper on pronouns was written before the phonemic analysis was done. Orthographical changes have since been made to concur with the phonemic symbolisation, see Kirton 1967:15-28.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

CAPELL, A.

    1967   'Pronominalisation in Australian Languages.' *Pacific Linguistics* Series A, Occasional Papers 11: 21-42.

KERR, HARLAND B.

    1964   'Comparison of Anyula Base Pronouns with Burera, Maung, and Wik-Munkan.' *Occasional Papers in Aboriginal Studies* 3: 149-50.

KIRTON, JEAN F.

    1964   'Anyula Person Pronouns.' *Occasional Papers in Aboriginal Studies* 3: 139-48.

    1967   'Anyula Phonology.' *Pacific Linguistics* Series A, Occasional Papers 10: 15-28.

PIKE, KENNETH L.

    1967   'Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior.' Revised ed. Mouton & Co., The Hague.