YANYULA NOUN MODIFIERS

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0. INTRODUCTION

In Yanyula, adjectives, numerals, demonstrative and possessive pronouns, and allotive specifier occur as noun modifiers. All of these agree with the nouns they modify in class, number, and tagmeme-marking, but they do not all take identical affixation to do so. Noun modifiers occur alone, or they co-occur with nouns and/or other modifiers, to form noun phrases.

1. NOUN MODIFIERS

Noun modifiers are described as including 1) adjectives and numerals, 2) demonstrative and possessive pronouns, and 3) the allotive specifier. These three types of modifiers all agree with the noun they modify in class, number, and tagmeme-marking, but there is variant affixation for each type.

1.1 ADJECTIVES AND NUMERALS

The stems of adjectives and numerals take the same class-marking prefix sets and tagmeme-marking suffix sets as those which occur with Type 1 nouns. Adjectives and numerals are distinguished from nouns,

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however, in that 1) they occur without class-marking prefixation in a
Manner tagmeme where nouns do not occur, 2) the stems may occur with
class-marking prefixes from every Type I class list. While nouns may
sometimes occur in more than one list, they remain in either the per-
sonal or nonpersonal subtypes, but noun modifiers have no such
restriction.

Adjective stems include the following:

> yabi *nice, good, pretty, kind,* waḍi *bad, naughty,*
> *unpleasant,* wuguḏu *short,* djumajŋjgařa *tall, long,*
> walguřa *big,* buyi *small,* wuřiři *big, fullgrown,* yumbu
> *small, young,* bululu *light (in weight),* wununu *heavy,*
> ḍiyaŋu *new,* bunalgařa *white,* wuŋguwuŋgu *black,* wununu
> *ripe, cooked,* mawungu *raw, green (of fruit),* wiṇḍajgu
> *hungry,* wařgi *greedy,* muḍu/yagayaga *deaf, stupid,*
> *mentally ill,* liŋi *intelligent, keen of hearing,*
> maṉdalmaṉdal *soft,* wayařwayař *hard, tough, strong,* maḍu
> *cold,* wuṉda *warm, harmless, nonvenomous,* ladalada *hot,*
> *harmful, venomous, wild,* ŋařa *warm, hot*

Numeral stems are:

> ařgula *one,* ganjmaḍa *two,* gulařgulař *a few,* djagaḍa *many*

The stems yabi *good, nice,* and ařgula *one,* are listed below occur-
ring with each Type I class-marker.

Classes 1 Female and 3 Feminine	řa-yabi	řa-ařgula
Class 2 Male	nja-yabi	nja-ařgula
Class 4 Masculine	yabi	ařgula
Class 5 Food	ma-yabi	ma-ařgula
Class 6 Arboreal	na-yabi	na-ařgula
Class 7 Abstract	naṉu-yabi	naṉuw-ařgula

Adjectives also take the personal dual and plural prefixes. The
numeral ganjmaḍa *two* occurs with the dual prefix, and the stems
gulařgulař *few* and djagaḍa *many* occur with the plural prefix.

Dual	ři-yabi (d-*good*)	ři-ganjmaḍa (d-*two*)
Plural	li-yabi (pl-*good*)	li-gulařgulař (pl-*few*)
		li-djagaḍa (pl-*many*)

The nonpersonal classes, classes 3-7, do not distinguish between singular and nonsingular by use of dual or plural prefixes, but number may be indicated by use of the relevant class-marker prefixed to a numeral. Singular, dual, and plural of personal and nonpersonal items will be illustrated below using numeral stems and referring to a personal male item in the first column and a nonpersonal food class item in the second.

s	nja-ařgula (m-*one*)	ma-ařgula (fd-*one*)
d	ri-ganjmaḍa (d-*two*)	ma-ganjmaḍa (fd-*two*)
pl	li-gulařgulař (pl-*few*)	ma-gulařgulař (fd-*few*)
	li-djagaḍa (pl-*many*)	ma-djagaḍa (fd-*many*)

Both adjectives and numerals take tagmeme-marking suffixes and tagmeme-marking prefix sets in precisely the same way as the nouns they modify.

Polysyllabic stems, with the exception of la-, lu-, and li-final stems, occur with set 1 tagmeme-marking suffixes.

Nuc	li-wuřiři (pl-*big*)	na-ganjmaḍa (arb-*two*)
Ref	liyi-wuřiři-yu	nu-ganjmaḍa-wu
Dir	linjdji-wuřiři-lu	nuŋgu-ganjmaḍa-lu
Acc	linjdji-wuřiři-la	nuŋgu-ganjmaḍa-la

Polysyllabic la- and lu-final stems and disyllabic a- and u-final stems occur with set 2 tagmeme-marking suffixes.

Nuc	ařgula (masc-*one*)	řa-muḍu (f-*deaf*)
Ref	djiy-ařgula-wu	řu-muḍu-wu
Dir	djiy-ařgula-ŋgu	řu-muḍu-ŋgu
Acc	djiy-ařgula-ŋga	řu-muḍu-ŋga

Polysyllabic li-final stems and disyllabic i-final stems occur with set 3 tagmeme-marking suffixes.

Nuc	ři-waḍi (d-*bad*)	naṇu-yabi (abstr-*good*)
Ref	řiyi-waḍi-yu	nuwaṇu-yabi-yu
Dir	řinjdji-waḍi-njdju	nuŋgaṇu-yabi-njdju
Acc	řinjdji-waḍi-njdja	nuŋgaṇu-yabi-njdja

Consonant-final stems are infrequent among adjectives and numerals.
The few ř- and l-final stems take set 5 tagmeme-marking suffixes.

Nuc	řa-gulařgulař (fem-*few*)	ma-ma<u>nd</u>alma<u>nd</u>al (fd-*soft*)
Ref	řu-gulařgulař-u	mu-ma<u>nd</u>alma<u>nd</u>al-u
Dir	řu-gulařgulař-u	muŋgu-ma<u>nd</u>alma<u>nd</u>al-u
Acc	řu-gulařgulař-a	muŋgu-ma<u>nd</u>alma<u>nd</u>al-a

Adjective stems also occur with the morphologically-defined allo-
morphs of sets 8 and 9:

Nuc	ŋařa (masc-*warm*)	řa-buyi (f/fem-*small*)
Ref	dji-ŋařa-ngu	řu-buyi-ŋgu
Dir	dji-ŋařa-ndu	řu-buyi-nju
Acc	dji-ŋařa-nda	řu-buyi-nja

In the same way that certain nouns may optionally take an irregular
variant suffix for directive and accessory marking, certain adjectives
may also. These are listed below with the regular directive suffix
and the variant directive suffix respectively, in brackets following
the stem:

> ladalada (-lu/-ŋgu) *hot*, walguřa (-lu/-ŋgu) *big*,
> wuřiři (-lu/-njdju) *big, fullgrown*

Nuc	walguřa (masc-*big*)	wuřiři (masc-*big*)
Dir	dji-walguřa-lu	dji-wuřiři-lu
	/ dji-walguřa-ŋgu	/ dji-wuřiři-njdju

The numeral ganjmaḍa *two*, and adjective stems also take the animate
dual suffix -wudjaṛa in agreement with the noun they modify. Any stem
which takes set 9 tagmeme-marking suffixes takes the variant from
-ŋgudjaṛa.

> ganjmaḍa-wudjaṛa *two (animate beings)*, walguřa-wudjaṛa
> *two big (animate beings)*, waḍi-wudjaṛa *two bad (animate
> beings)*, buyi-ŋgudjaṛa *two small (animate beings)*

1.2 DEMONSTRATIVE AND POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

The stems of demonstrative and possessive pronouns occur with class-
marking prefixes in agreement with the nouns which they modify.
Neither of these pronoun types takes tagmeme-marking suffixes, and
therefore the class-marking prefix sets may make more distinctions
than those of the nouns which they modify.

1.2.1 Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronoun stems are -dja *this*, -maŋadji *that (specific)*,-mbaŋu *that (nonspecific)*. In the masculine class, class 4, -dja has the variant djina in Nuclear occurrence only. The stems are listed below with the various class-markers as they occur in Nuclear tagmemes.

Classes 1 & 3	řa-dja	řa-maŋadji	řa-mbaŋu
	/ a-dja	/ a-maŋadji	/ a-mbaŋu
Class 2	nja-dja	nja-maŋadji	nja-mbaŋu
Class 4	djina	nja-maŋadji	nja-mbaŋu
Class 5	ma-dja	ma-maŋadji	ma-mbaŋu
Class 6	na-dja	na-maŋadji	na-mbaŋu
Class 7	naṇu-dja	naṇu-maŋadji	naṇu-mbaŋu
Dual	ři-dja	ři-maŋadji	ři-mbaŋu
Plural	li-dja	li-maŋadji	li-mbaŋu

The above prefixes are identical with those of the respective nouns with which the demonstrative pronouns agree, with the exception of class 4. The masculine demonstrative *this* has the variant stem djina in Nuclear occurrence only. The remaining two demonstrative stems occur with the same prefix as the male class 2 in the Nuclear occurrence, but class distinction is maintained in non-Nuclear tagmemes.

Demonstrative prefixes of all classes distinguish Nuclear, Referent, and Directive/Accessory tagmemes, however, it is rare to find the stem -mbaŋu with any other than nuclear prefixes. A single occurrence is recorded of linjdji-mbaŋu (pl:dir/acc-*that:nonspecific*) *to/with those people (that we do not really know about)*. The demonstrative class-marking prefix sets listed below with the stem -maŋadji *that (specific)* normally only occur with -dja *this* and -maŋadji in non-Nuclear tagmemes.

	Nuclear	Referent	Dir/Acc
Classes 1 and 3	řa-maŋadji	řuwu-maŋadji	řuŋgu-maŋadji
	/ a-maŋadji	/ wuwu-maŋadji	/ wuŋgu-maŋadji
Class 2	nja-maŋadji	njuwu-maŋadji	njuŋgu-maŋadji
Class 4	nja-maŋadji	yi-maŋadji	djiŋgu-maŋadji
Class 5	ma-maŋadji	muwu-maŋadji	muŋgu-maŋadji
Class 6	na-maŋadji	nuwu-maŋadji	nuŋgu-maŋadji

Class 7	naṇu-maŋadji	nuwaṇu-maŋadji	nuŋgaṇu-maŋadji
Dual	ři-maŋadji	řiyi-maŋadji	řinjdji-maŋadji
Plural	li-maŋadji	liyi-maŋadji	linjdji-maŋadji

The masculine class takes up the regular stem -dja for non-Nuclear occurrence, and takes distinguishing prefixes for Referent and Directive/Accessory.

The stem -maŋadji is the only demonstrative pronoun to take an alternative prefix set. This set is found in Nuclear tagmemes only. It is formed from the respective nuclear prefix minus the final vowel plus ulu for classes 1-7 or ili in place of the final vowel for dual and plural. The meaning of the resultant demonstrative is *that same one*.

Classes 1 & 3	řulu-maŋadji
Classes 2 & 4	njulu-maŋadji
Class 5	mulu-maŋadji
Class 6	nulu-maŋadji
Class 7	naṇulu-maŋadji
Dual	řili-maŋadji
Plural	lili-maŋadji

1.2.2 Possessive Pronouns

When possessive pronouns occur as noun modifiers they take the same class-marking prefixes as the three demonstrative pronouns described above or allomorphs of those prefixes.

The singular stems yiŋgu *your*, aŋgu *her*, yigu *his*, all occur with the suffix -ŋu[1] in Nuclear tagmemes.

The prefix sets listed in 1.2.1 above have certain variants when they occur with possessive pronouns. All prefixes lose the final vowel when preceding a vowel-initial stem, and such stems include the y-initial pronouns which lose the initial semi-vowel when they are prefixed. The masculine class 4 referent prefix has the variant form dji- which occurs with free pronouns.

Examples of the possessive pronoun set are listed as they occur with the masculine prefix nja- in Nuclear occurrence:

1 s	nja-ŋada	2 pl	nj-iřuŋa
1 d excl	nja-ŋadařaŋa	3 f s	nj-angu-ŋu
1 d incl	nja-ŋaliŋa	3 m s	nj-igu-ŋu
1 pl excl	nja-ŋanuŋa	3 d	nja-wulaŋa
1 pl incl	nja-ŋambalaŋa	3 pl	nj-aluŋa
2 s	nj-ingu-ŋu	3 fem s,d,pl	nj-angu-ŋu
2 d	nj-imbalaŋa	3 masc s,d,pl	nj-ayu

Examples of possessive pronouns are given below as they occur with tagmeme-marking prefix sets:

Nuc	l-igu-ŋu (pl-*his-rel*)	nja-ŋada (m-*my*)
Ref	liy-igu	nju-ŋada
Dir/Acc	linjdj-igu	njuŋgu-ŋada
Nuc	nj-angu-ŋu (masc-*her-rel*)	naṇ-aluŋa (abstr-*their:pl*)
Ref	dj-angu	nuwaṇ-aluŋa
Dir/Acc	djiŋg-angu	nuŋgaṇ-aluŋa

1.3 *ALLOTIVE SPECIFIER*

The allotive specifier ařgu *other, different, some* (or as in comparison: ařgu ... ařgu *one ... another, some ... some others*), is different from other noun modifiers in two respects. This stem takes two sets of prefixes, and it takes a referent suffix which has occurrence unique to this stem.

Third person prefixes of sets I and II occur with ařgu. Set I is closely related in form to the demonstrative pronoun prefix set as it occurs with -maŋadji *that (specific)*, but with loss of the final vowel from each prefix. This loss of vowel causes loss of distinction between the female/feminine prefix řa- and the dual prefix ři- in Nuclear occurrence. To retain the distinction the dual suffix -wudjaṛa always co-occurs with the dual prefix in Nuclear tagmemes. Set II is closely related in form to body-part possessive prefixes of Type II nouns with the following modifications: 1) the final vowel is lost from the female, male, and arboreal prefixes; 2) the consonants l and w are added to masculine and food prefixes respectively; 3) dual and plural prefixes occur. Rules 1)-3) also apply to non-Nuclear prefixation. The two prefix sets are listed below with the stem in Nuclear occurrence.

	Set I	Set II
3 s f/3 fem	ř-ařgu	nand-ařgu
3 s m	nj-ařgu	niw-ařgu
3 masc	nj-ařgu	nil̲-ařgu
3 fd	m-ařgu	nuw-ařgu
3 arb	n-ařgu	nan-ařgu
3 abstr	naṇ-ařgu	-
3 d	ř-ařgu-wudjaṛa	nawul-ařgu
3 pl	l-ařgu	nal-ařgu

The choice of prefix from set I or set II is determined by whether
contrast or comparison is intended, and by whether the item under
review is unfamiliar or known and familiar, whether it comes from
some outside source or belongs. Set I prefixes are used where the
contrast is to be highlighted, and with items which are unfamiliar or
from an outside source. Set II prefixes are used in comparison, and
with items which are familiar or part of a known whole.[2]

Prefixes of both sets I and II distinguish Nuclear, Referent, and
Directive/Accessory. Rules previously stated for nuclear prefix occur-
rence with ařgu apply to the non-nuclear also, but with two exceptions
in set I. In Referent occurrence the masculine and abstract prefixes
are dj- and nuwaṇuw- respectively. The only[3] suffix which occurs is
the referent suffix -lu which has unique occurrence with this stem.

The following are the affixed forms of ařgu as it occurs with set I
prefixes in the various tagmemes:

	Nuclear	Referent	Dir/Acc
3 s f/3 fem	ř-ařgu	řuw-ařgu-lu	řuŋg-ařgu
	/ ařgu	/ wuw-ařgu-lu	/ wuŋg-ařgu
3 s m	nj-ařgu	njuw-ařgu-lu	njuŋg-ařgu
3 masc	nj-ařgu	dj-ařgu-lu	djiŋg-ařgu
3 fd	m-ařgu	muw-ařgu-lu	muŋg-ařgu
3 arb	n-ařgu	nuw-ařgu-lu	nuŋg-ařgu
3 abstr	naṇ-ařgu	nuwaṇuw-ařgu-lu	nuŋgaṇ-ařgu
3 d	ř-ařgu-wudjaṛa	řiy-ařgu-lu	řinjdj-ařgu
3 pl	l-ařgu	liy-ařgu-lu	linjdj-ařgu

The following are the affixed forms of ařgu as it occurs with set II prefixes in the various tagmemes:

	Nuclear	Referent	Dir/Acc
3 s f/3 fem	nand-ařgu	nuwand-ařgu-lu	nuŋgand-ařgu
3 s m	niw-ařgu	niyiw-ařgu-lu	niŋgiw-ařgu
3 masc	nil̲-ařgu	niyil̲-ařgu-lu	niŋ
3 fd	nuw-ařgu	nuwuw-ařgu-lu	nuŋguw-ařgu
3 arb	nan-ařgu	nuwan-ařgu-lu	nuŋgan-ařgu
3 d	nawul-ařgu	nuwawul-ařgu-lu	nuŋgawul-ařgu
3 pl	nal-ařgu	nuwal-ařgu-lu	nuŋgal-ařgu

1.4 PREFIX ALLOMORPHS USED BY A MALE SPEAKER

There are variants in noun modifier prefixes for men speakers for male and masculine classes 2 and 4 as there are in noun prefixes. In all instances prefixation for the two classes is identical.

1.4.1 Adjectives and Numerals

Adjectives and numeral prefixes occur in precisely the same form as with nouns. Both classes 2 and 4 take Ø (Nuclear), and gi- (non-Nuclear). In the examples listed below, the forms used by a male speaker will be shown in comparison with those used by a female speaker for the same two classes.

Nuc	M yabi (m/masc-good)	F nja-yabi (m-good)	F yabi (masc-good)
Ref	gi-yabi-yu	nju-yabi-yu	dji-yabi-yu
Dir	gi-yabi-njdju	nju-yabi-njdju	dji-yabi-njdju
Acc	gi-yabi-njdja	nju-yabi-njdja	dji-yabi-njdja

1.4.2 Demonstrative and Possessive Pronouns

Demonstrative occurrence for classes 2 and 4 is as for the masculine class in women's speech. The near demonstrative *this* is: djina (Nuclear), njuwu-dja (Referent), njuŋgu-dja (Directive/Accessory). Both -maŋadji *that (specific)* and -mbaŋu *that (nonspecific)* take the prefixes nja- (Nuclear), nju- (Referent), njuŋgu- (Directive/Accessory).

The possessive pronoun for classes 2 and 4 is yigu, which occurs as the male class 2 pronoun in women's speech. The class-marking pre-fixes which indicate both classes 2 and 4 are the same as for the

demonstrative pronouns -maŋadji and -mbaŋu as described in the preceding paragraph.

1.4.3 Allotive Specifier

The allotive specifier ařgu *other* takes identical prefixes for classes 2 and 4 in both sets I and II, and in each instance the prefix is the same as that of male class 2 in women's speech: nj-ařgu (Nuclear), njuw-ařgu-lu (Referent), njuŋg-ařgu (Directive/Accessory) in set I, and niw-ařgu (Nuclear), niyiw-ařgu-lu (Referent), niŋgiw-ařgu (Directive/Accessory) in set II.

2. NOUN MODIFIER OCCURRENCE IN NOUN PHRASES

Adjectives, numerals, demonstrative or possessive pronouns, and allotive specifier may all co-occur with each other and/or with nouns to form noun phrases. There is no rigid order of word occurrence in such phrases, but the following is the preferred order:

±demonstrative ± ařgu ±numeral/adjective/possessive ±noun

Rule: Demonstrative and possessive pronouns do not occur together.

There is obligatory occurrence of one of these words and frequently two occur. These are a few phrases of this type consisting of three words, but no examples of phrases with more than three words.

In such phrases there is agreement in class and number of the prefix on each word, and with animate dual suffixation where this occurs. There is also agreement in tagmeme-marking in prefixation, and in suffixation for all suffixing stems.

Nuc	řa-dja řa-ađu (f-*this* f-*child*) *this girl*
Ref	řuwu-dja řuw-ađu-wu
Dir	řuŋgu-dja řuw-ađu-ŋgu
Acc	řuŋgu-dja řuw-ađu-ŋga

Nuc	li-maŋadji li-wulu (pl-*that* pl-*people*)
	.. *those people*
Ref	liyi-maŋadji liyi-wulu-wu
Dir	linjdji-maŋadji linjdji-wulu-ŋgu
Acc	linjdji-maŋadji linjdji-wulu-ŋga

Nuc   F nj-ařgu   awaṛa (masc-*other* masc-*country*)
another country
Ref   dj-ařgu-lu djiy-awaṛa-wu
Dir   djiŋg-ařgu   djiy-awaṛa-lu
Acc   djiŋg-ařgu   djiy-awaṛa-la

Nuc   M nj-ařgu   awaṛa (masc-*other* masc-*country*)
another country
Ref   njuw-ařgu-lu giy-awaṛa-wu
Dir   njuŋg-ařgu   giy-awaṛa-lu
Acc   njuŋg-ařgu   giy-awaṛa-la

Nuc   F nja-ařgula   nja-miṇiŋiya (m-*one* m-*man*) *one man*
Ref   njuw-ařgula-wu nju-miṇiŋiya-wu
Dir   njuw-ařgula-ŋgu nju-miṇiŋiya-lu
Acc   njuw-ařgula-ŋga nju-miṇiŋiya-la

Nuc   M   ařgula   miṇiŋiya (m-*one* m-*man*) *one man*
Ref   giy-ařgula-wu   gi-miṇiŋiya-wu
Dir   giy-ařgula-ŋgu gi-miṇiŋiya-lu
Acc   giy-ařgula-ŋga gi-miṇiŋiya-la

Nuc   na-yabi   na-wulaŋi (arb-*good* arb-*river*)
a good river
Ref   nu-yabi-yu   nu-wulaŋi-ngu
Dir   nuŋgu-yabi-njdju nuŋgu-wulaŋi-ndu
Acc   nuŋgu-yabi-njdja nuŋgu-wulaŋi-nda

Nuc   F nja-ŋad̲a l̲ulun (masc-*my* masc-*bed*) *my bed*
Ref   dji-ŋad̲a dji-l̲ulun-gu
Dir   djiŋgu-ŋad̲a dji-l̲ulun-du
Acc   djiŋgu-ŋad̲a dji-l̲ulun-da

Nuc   M nja-ŋad̲a   l̲ulun (masc-*my* masc-*bed*) *my bed*
Ref   nju-ŋad̲a gi-l̲ulun-gu
Dir   njuŋgu-ŋad̲a gi-l̲ulun-du
Acc   njuŋgu-ŋad̲a gi-l̲ulun-da

Nuc	řa-mbaŋu	ř-ařgu (f-*that:nonspecific* f-*other*)
		that other one (f)
Ref	řuwu-mbaŋu řuw-ařgu-lu	
Dir/ Acc	řuŋgu-mbaŋu řuŋg-ařgu	

Nuc	F	nja-maŋadji	d̪iyaŋu (masc-*that* masc-*new*)
			that new one
Ref		yi-maŋadji.dji-d̪iyaŋu-wu	
Dir		djiŋgu-maŋadji dji-d̪iyaŋu-lu	
Acc		djiŋgu-maŋadji dji-d̪iyaŋu-la	

Nuc	M	nja-maŋadji	d̪iyaŋu (masc-*that* masc-*new*)
			that new one
Ref		nju-maŋadji gi-d̪iyaŋu-wu	
Dir		njuŋgu-maŋadji gi-d̪iyaŋu-lu	
Acc		njuŋgu-maŋadji gi-d̪iyaŋu-la	

Nuc	F	nil̲-ařgu	walja (masc-*other* masc-*dugong*)
			another dugong
Ref		niyil̲-ařgu-lu dji-walja-wu	
Dir		niŋgil̲-ařgu dji-walja-ŋgu	
Acc		niŋgil̲-ařgu dji-walja-ŋga	

Nuc	M	niw-ařgu	walja (masc-*other* masc-*dugong*)
			another dugong
Ref		niyiw-ařgu-lu gi-walja-wu	
Dir		niŋgiw-ařgu gi-walja-ŋgu	
Acc		niŋgiw-ařgu gi-walja-ŋga	

Nuc	li-maŋadji li-djagad̪a li-wulu (pl-*that* pl-*many* pl-*people*) *those many people*
Ref	liyi-maŋadji liyi-djagad̪a-wu liyi-wulu-wu
Dir	linjdji-maŋadji linjdji-djagad̪a-lu linjdji-wulu-ŋgu
Acc	linjdji-maŋadji linjdji-djagad̪a-la linjdji-wulu-ŋga

Nuc	F	djina nj-ařgu djajŋjga (masc:*this* masc-*other* masc-*rock*) *this different rock*
Ref		yi-dja dj-ařgu-lu dji-djajŋjga-wu
Dir		djiŋgu-dja djiŋg-ařgu dji-djajŋjga-wu
Acc		djiŋgu-dja djiŋg-ařgu dji-djajŋjga-a

Nuc	M djina nj-ařgu djajŋjga (masc:*this* masc-*other* masc-rock) *this different rock*
Ref	njuwu-dja njuw-ařgu-lu gi-djajŋjga-wu
Dir	njuŋgu-dja njuŋg-ařgu gi-djajŋjga-wu
Acc	njuŋgu-dja njuŋg-ařgu gi-djajŋjga-a

Phrases including the dual suffix -wudjaṛa usually occur in Nuclear tagmemes only:

ři-maṇadji miṇiŋu-wudjaṛa (d-*that* man-d) *those two men*

ganjmaḍa-wudjaṛa ři-waŋu-wudjaṛa (*two*-d d-*spouse*-d) *two husbands/wives*

aḍu-wudjaṛa buyi-ŋgudjaṛa ganjmaḍa-wudjaṛa (*child*-d *small*-d *two*-d) *the two small children*

In the above description it will be noted that only common nouns of Type I are referred to, and with a single recorded exception, these are the only nouns which occur with modifiers to form a phrase. The exception is the Type II stem -wini *name*, and this stem may occur with a demonstrative or a numeral modifying it. The stem -wini itself takes a body-part possessive prefix according to the class of the item, and the demonstrative or numeral agrees with the stem according to class but takes a nonpossessive prefix of the kind which occurs with Type I nouns. Available examples are all from Nuclear tagmemes:

F djagaḍa ni-wini M djagaḍa na-wini (masc-*many its*:masc-*name*) *their* (masc) *many names*; F nja-ganjmaḍa niya-wini M ganjmaḍa na-wini (m-*two his-name*) *his two names*; řa-maṇadji nanda-wini (f-*that her-name*) *that name of her's.*

NOTES

1. The suffix -ŋu seems likely to be the same morpheme which occurs as a relator, described with derivational suffixes in *Complexities of Yanyula Nouns* 7.1. It is noted that this suffix also occurs with the demonstrative pronoun djina *this* in Nuclear occurrence.

2. This usage is shown in three illustrations: 1) A carton of mangoes (fruit and therefore of food class) was under inspection and it was commented that some were ripe and others were green. The word used for both *some* and for *others* was nuw-ařgu with a set II food class prefix. When a bag of mangoes was brought to add to the carton, these were m-ařgu *others* from an outside source, and a set I food class prefix was used. 2) The neighbouring Garawa tribe have been referred to as nal-ařgu *the other people (known to us)*, with a set II prefix. An African tribe seen in a photograph were referred to as l-ařgu *the other people (not known to us)*, with a set I prefix. 3) When a set I dual form was elicited from an informant, she at first misunderstood and gave the more frequently used form with the set II prefix. When a further effort was made the informant gave the required set I form and added, *when they are two strangers*.

3. The stem ařgu has most frequent occurrence in Nuclear tagmemes, and to obtain non-Nuclear forms, particularly of set II prefixes, it was necessary to elicit data. In response to eliciting, the informant gave the suffix -lu to indicate Directive in nuŋgawul-ařgu-lu *to the two others* and nuŋgal-ařgu-lu *to the others* (pl); the suffix -la was given to indicate Accessory in the word nuŋgawul-ařgu-la *with the two others* but there was zero suffixation for Accessory in the word nuŋgal-ařgu *with the others* (pl). However, there seemed some hesitancy in the giving of these forms, and at this time there is evidence of only referent suffix occurrence in non-elicited data.