

COMPLEXITIES OF YANYULA NOUNS:
INTER-RELATIONSHIP OF LINGUISTICS AND ANTHROPOLOGY

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ABBREVIATIONS

abstr	abstract class-marker
acc	accessory tagmeme-marker
anim	animate derivational suffix
arb	arboreal class-marker
attr	attributive derivational suffix
Acc	occurrence in an Accessory tagmeme
d	dual
dir	directive tagmeme-marker
Dir	occurrence in a Directive tagmeme
excl	exclusive
f	female class-marker
fd	food class-marker
fem	feminine class-marker
F	female speaker only
inanim	inanimate derivational suffix
incl	inclusive
m	male class-marker
masc	masculine class-marker
M	male speaker only
nuc	nuclear tagmeme-marker
non:nuc	non-nuclear tagmeme-marker
Nuc	occurrence in a Nuclear tagmeme
pl	plural
ref	referent tagmeme-marker
rel	relator derivational suffix
Ref	occurrence in a Referent tagmeme
s	singular
v	versus

- / (represents alternatives)
- { } (the bracketed item represents all the allomorphs of its morpheme)
- :
- +
- becomes
- ~ (alternating with a phonologically defined allomorph)

0. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is twofold. The author's intention is 1) to describe as fully and accurately as possible the structure and occurrence of Yanyula¹ nouns, and 2) to show the extent to which the culture directs the language.

Yanyula nouns are of remarkable complexity and a full study of them leads into the patterns of inter-relationship among the speakers as well as into semantics, phonology, and other areas of grammar of the language (see chart 1). Four noun types and fifteen classes are distinguished on the basis of contrastive affixation, separate lists of stems, syntactic agreement, and certain semantic relationships. Grammatical conditioning affects both class-marking prefixes and tagmeme-marking suffixes. Allomorphs of affixes are most frequently related to phonological features. Certain prefix allomorphs, allostems, and alloclasses, however, are conditioned by human relationships within the life of the tribe.

It is noted that in certain areas of Yanyula nouns there are prefix allomorphs which vary according to the sex of the speaker. Because the morphology is more simply described in terms of the women's speech, this speech will be used as the basis of description in sections 1 and 2. Allomorphs occurring in men's speech will be described in section 5.1.

1. SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION

Nouns may be classified into four main types, and further into fifteen classes (see chart 2). Type I nouns are common nouns which occur in classes 1-7. Type II nouns are body-part nouns which form class 8. Type III nouns are kinship nouns which occur in classes 9-13. Type IV nouns are proper nouns which occur in classes 14-15.

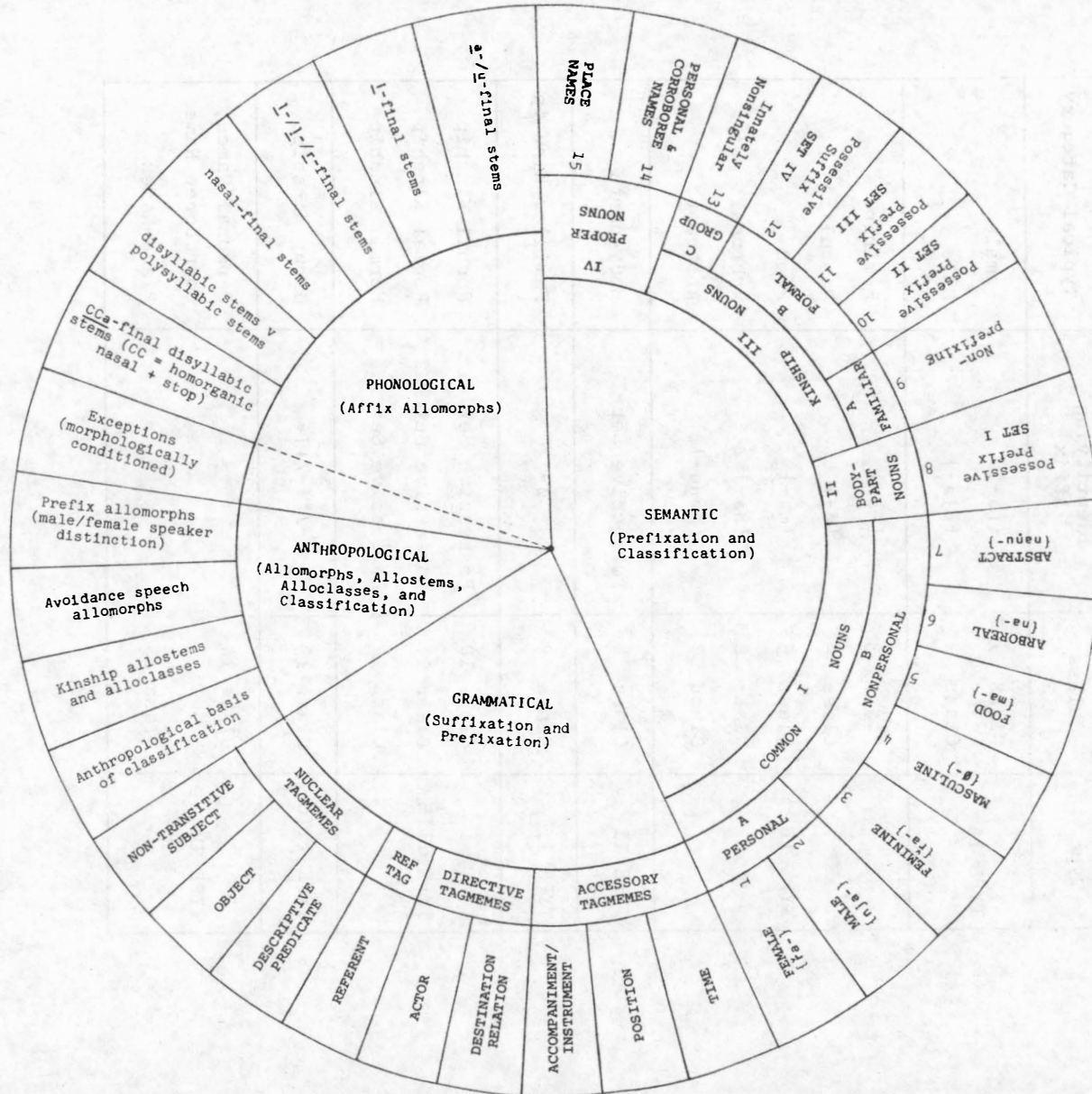
In Yangula there is variation of the class-marking prefix according to the tagmeme² in which the noun occurs. The simplest form of each prefix is that which occurs in Nuclear tagmemes (which include non-Transitive Subject, and Object), and this prefix has been chosen as the identifying prefix for each class.

1.1 COMMON NOUNS

Type I nouns are common nouns of alienable possession and it is this type only which has unlimited potential for vocabulary growth. Type I nouns are describable in terms of two subtypes and seven classes. In

FACTORS INFLUENCING YANYULA NOUN MORPHOLOGY

Chart 1



YANYULA NOUN TYPES AND CLASSES

Chart 2

Type	Class	Identifying Affix	Typical Category
TYPE IA	Class 1	{ra-}	Female
	Class 2	{nja-}	Male
TYPE IB	Class 3	{ʔa-}	Feminine
	Class 4	{∅-}	Masculine
	Class 5	{ma-}	Food
	Class 6	{na-}	Arboreal
	Class 7	{naŋu-}	Abstract
TYPE II	Class 8	Possessive Set I	Body-parts
TYPE IIIA	Class 9	∅-	Familiar Kinship
TYPE IIIB	Class 10	Possessive Set II	Formal Kinship
	Class 11	Possessive Set III	Formal Kinship
	Class 12	Possessive Set IV	Formal Kinship
TYPE IIIC	Class 13	∅-/ʔi-/li-	Group Kinship
TYPE IV	Class 14		Personal Names, Corroboree Names
	Class 15		Place Names

Yanyula there is a comprehensive system of agreement in which noun modifiers and pronominal morphemes agree with the noun to which they relate syntactically, according to class, number, and tagmeme relationship. Both noun modifiers and pronominal morphemes distinguish the seven Type I classes. Identical morphemes occur for female singular and feminine classes, but only the female class has the potential to extend into dual and plural number. Unmistakable contrast is evidenced by the morphemes which occur in agreement with the remaining noun classes.

Type I nouns are described in terms of Types IA and IB. Type IA consists of personal nouns which form classes 1 and 2, and Type IB consists of nonpersonal nouns which form classes 3-7. Personal nouns are defined as those which refer specifically to human persons, but which may include domesticated animals which have a close personal association. Dogs and horses are known to occur as personal nouns.

Type IA nouns are structurally distinct from Type IB in two main respects. Type IA nouns, and morphemes agreeing with them, distinguish singular, dual, and plural number, while Type IB nouns make no distinction of number. The interrogative stem *ɲani* *who* is used only in reference to nouns of Type IA, while the stem *ɲali* *what* is used in reference to nouns of Type IB. This is illustrated below using Type IA female stem *baɖibaɖi* *old woman*, and Type IB feminine stem *muwaɖa* *canoe*:

ʔa-baɖibaɖi	(f-old:woman)	<i>old woman</i>
ʔi-baɖibaɖi	(d-old:woman)	<i>old women (d)</i>
li-baɖibaɖi	(pl-old:woman)	<i>old women (pl)</i>
ʔa-muwaɖa	(fem-canoe)	<i>canoe, canoes</i>
ʔa-ɲani	ʔa-baɖibaɖi?	<i>Who is the old woman?</i>
(f-who)	(F-old:woman)	
ʔa-ɲali	ʔa-muwaɖa?	<i>What is this (kind of) canoe?</i>
(fem-what)	(fem-canoe)	

1.1.1 Personal Nouns

Type IA nouns are personal common nouns which occur in classes 1 and 2, which are female and male³ classes respectively. These are the only Type I nouns which distinguish number. The female and male class-marking prefixes are replaced by the dual-marker *ʔi-* or the plural-marker *li-* in nonsingular occurrence.

Class 1 (Female)

Class 1 is the female class marked by the prefix {*řa-*}. This prefix has the free variants *řa-* and *a-*,⁴ and the relative usage of the two prefixes varies according to speaker preference. At times it has been noted that *řa-* is used on the first utterance of a word or the first word in a list, and *a-* is used on the following stem or stems. In examples throughout this paper *řa-* will be used.

The nouns occurring in class 1 are predictably those referring to female people, with the possibility of the inclusion of a female domesticated animal.

řa-wuřumbařa / řa-wunbařidji adolescent girl, řa-nanawaya woman, řa-walguřu pregnant woman, řa-biņđadjařa woman with many children, řa-guliga woman who has lost a child in infancy, řa-wamalaņi girl in early adolescence

Female "skin group" names, (including subsection membership in a tribal group according to parentage and sex), also occur as personal nouns. These are:

řa-niwanama, řa-nimařama, řa-nulanjma, řa-naminjanma, řa-nuljařima, řa-naņalama, řa-nuņařima, řa-nuřulama

Class 2 (Male)

Class 2 is the male class marked by the prefix {*nja-*}. This class consists of male personal nouns only.

nja-miņiņiya man, nja-malbu old man, nja-yalguyi young man, nja-řumanņu single man, nja-mangaņi cleverman, doctor, nja-řamanjdja skilful hunter of dugong (sea mammal), nja-dařu adolescent boy, nja-duwařa initiated boy

The male tribal subsection names occurring in this class are:

nja-buřulaņi, nja-baljařinjdji, nja-gaņala, nja-bulanji, nja-baņařinjdji, nja-gamařaņi, nja-yagamaři, nja-ņařidjbalani

Classes 1 and 2

Certain personal noun stems occur in the lists of both classes 1 and 2, and the male or female class-marker distinguishes the sex of the person involved; for example, the stem *ađu child* occurs as *řa-ađu girl*, *nja-ađu boy*. The following are other stems which occur in both classes:

baḡaḡa *baby*, miyadji *widow, widower*, bulmuḡuḡu *sick person*, ḡabaḡaḡu *dead person*, wagugu *dog (pet)*, djawina *subordinate associate*, ḡanjdji *stranger*, wiḡi *elder person, boss*, buḡi *younger person*, maḡabaḡa *first-born*, bunjdjuḡaḡu *junior to the first-born*

Tribal names also occur in both classes, so that ḡa-maḡa is *Mara woman*, nja-maḡa *Mara man*, ḡi-maḡa *two Mara people*, and li-maḡa *Mara people, the Mara tribe*.

Other stems in common usage are:

anjuwa / yanjuwa *Yanyula*, aḡawa *Garawa*, gudanjdji *Kudanji*,
alawa *Alawa*, munaḡa *English, European*

These same tribal name stems occur in class 4 also, and they then refer to the language of the tribe.

Certain tribal group names also occur with female, male, dual, or plural marking. These are the alternative "skin group" names associated with the earlier semi-moiety system of the Yanyula:

wuḡaliya, wuyaliya, ḡumbuḡiya, wawuḡaḡiya, djuḡgayi

Also included in this section are two innately plural noun stems. These stems have identical occurrence with the plural form of the nouns of classes 1 and 2:

li-wulu *men, Aborigines, people*, li-yumbuwaḡa *young people*

1.1.2 Nonpersonal Nouns

Type IB nouns are nonpersonal common nouns which occur in classes 3-7, and these classes are respectively feminine, masculine, food, arboreal, and abstract. The class names have been applied according to a typical semantic area within each class (see chart 3).

It is noted that there is a semantic and structural relationship between the feminine and masculine classes of Type IB and the female and male classes respectively, which have been described above. However, on the ground of the evidence shown in separating Types IA and IB (see 1.1 above), the contrastive prefixation of male and masculine classes, and for the sake of simplicity of description, the four classes have been separated.

Class 3 (Feminine)

Class 3 is the feminine class marked by the prefix {ḡa-}. This prefix has the variants ḡa- and a-, which for the most part occur in

SEMANTIC CATEGORIES IN YANYULA TYPE I NOUN CLASSES

Chart 3

(x) = limited number of fillers

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Exclusive to and/or Typical of Noun Class	Female people	Male people	Female non-human (certain species only)	Male non-human (as 3) Natural Phenomena Generic Terms	Food Firesticks Tree Source of These	Bark Articles Shelters and Camps	Abstract Things
A N I M A T E	Personal Nouns	x	x					
	Creatures Distinguished by Sex			x	x			
	Other Animals				x			
	Reptiles, Birds, Insects			x	x			
	Fish and Other Water Creatures			x	x		(x)	
	Spirits			x	x			
I N A N I M A T E	Grasses				x		x	
	Trees			(x)	x	x		
	Foods (non-meat)			(x)	(x)	x		
	Manufactured Articles			x	x	x	x	
	Natural Phenomena			(x)	x		(x)	(x)
	Pertaining to Corroborees			x	x			x

free variation as for class 1. Two stems included in the examples below occur with the a-variant only.

Class 3 includes a comprehensive range of categories including animate and inanimate nouns. Animate nouns include female nonpersonal creatures of those species for which sex is distinguished, certain species of reptiles, birds, insects, fish and other water creatures, and female spirits.⁵ Feminine inanimate nouns include a limited number of trees, natural phenomena, and one variety of food. A number of manufactured articles are included (some having had exclusive use by women but most having had no such limitation), and some items pertaining to corroborees. Examples will be given from the various categories:

Female Member Only of Specific Species: ʔa-wunamuḍu *opossum*, ʔa-malaʔunguʔu *wallaby*, ʔa-djunabu *mountain kangaroo*, a-ḥaḥanda *emu*, ʔa-wandi! *crab*, a-daʔa *turtle*, ʔa-guḥidi *groper*

Reptiles: ʔa-gadji *freshwater crocodile*, ʔa-bubuḥa *snake species*, ʔa-ḥagunaguyana *watersnake species*, ʔa-wayuʔ *blue-tongue lizard*, ʔa-galgi *small lizard species*, ʔa-yuguwa! *"stinking" turtle*, ʔa-waḥbul *brown frog species*

Birds: ʔa-baʔal *white cockatoo*, ʔa-ḥingili *galah*, ʔa-waḥga *crow*, ʔa-bulbulgidja *swamp pheasant*, ʔa-yilwiylwi *duck*, ʔa-wulumanḥaya *pigeon species*

Insects: ʔa-malamala *centipede*, ʔa-wunanga *scorpion*, ʔa-gulambimbi *butterfly*, ʔa-wuda *head louse*, ʔa-miyimiyi *fly species*, ʔa-wiyinbin *hornet*

Fish: ʔa-yubaḥa *salmon*, ʔa-maʔinda *bream*, ʔa-muʔba *combfish*, ʔa-manguḍuḍu *type of mullet*, ʔa-ḥu!i *shellfish species*, ʔa-waḥgili *freshwater combfish*, ʔa-wandimuda *catfish*

Spirits: ʔa-guʔinja *female spirit*

Trees: ʔa-wajḥguwajḥgu⁶ *blackwood tree*, ʔa-lawuma, ʔa-binḥdjiʔi, ʔa-wulgu *different tree species*

Food: ʔa-galwagalwa *round fruit with white flesh*

Manufactured Articles: ʔa-muwaḥa *canoe*, ʔa-mayawadjava / ʔa-ḥimi *paddle (of canoe)*, ʔa-gandaganda *sailing boat*, ʔa-binḥdawaʔa *dilly-bag (string bag)*, ʔa-minini *basket*, ʔa-waʔabawaʔaba *fishing net*, ʔa-buʔawa *stone knife*, ʔa-mangabuʔuna *hook boomerang*

Natural Phenomena: ʔa-gamba *sun*, ʔa-yabala *path*, ʔa-ḥumu *waves*, ʔa-wuna *fog, dew*, ʔa-ḥadjaʔ *lightning*, ʔa-maḥu *cold wind, cold season*

Associated with Ceremonial Life: *Ƴa-guṛidja women's fun corroborees, Ƴa-yawulu women's sacred corroborees, Ƴa-wuṇambuṇa white body paint, Ƴa-maṛa red body paint*

Other: *Ƴa-wajgana ground beehive,⁷ Ƴa-biṇṇji beeswax (from ground hive)*

Class 4 (Masculine)

Class 4 is the masculine class marked by the prefix {Ø-}.⁸ This class includes the widest variety of categories and has the greatest number of nouns within those categories. In one hundred quarto pages of text material there were 340 stems of Type I nouns, and of these, 202 stems were of class 4.

Class 4 stems include all generic terms, most natural phenomena, male creatures of species for which sex is distinguished, all remaining animals, reptiles, birds, insects, fish (with the single known exception of a stinging species of jellyfish which occurs in class 5), and spirits. Also included in class 4 are grasses and plants, trees, a few non-flesh foods, many manufactured articles, things pertaining to corroborees, languages, terms for body fluids or discharges, and other items.

Generic Terms: *wunala animal, djulagi bird (including bats and flying foxes also), aḷgu fish, walja sea turtles and dugong (sea mammal), wuṇḍa tree, wood, wudjul grass, wulandanda flower*

Natural Phenomena: These are listed under the following headings:

Ground: *awaṛa earth, country, yuḍu dust, waṛaṛ mud, djaṅjga rock, stone, wuluṛ gravel, mundaṛ sand*

Water: *wabuda water, rain, wayaṛi rain, wayuṛu water from river or spring, ṛawuṛgi waterhole, nangawa lagoon, anda sea, alibi saltwater, waṛama flood*

Sky: *aṛaṛ sky, ṇawu cloud, ṇagaḷa moon, maṛalawa star*

Times, Seasons, Winds etc.: *wangala olden time, ṇaṇḍuwa day, wunduṛuṛ night, ṇaḍaṛa hot dry season, labayi wet season, lambidji storm wind, yaḷimbidjaḷimbi dry season east wind, wuṛaṛumu dry season north wind, yunduṛma earthquake*

Fire: *buyuga fire, firewood, wuṇṇaṛ smoke, alban ash, baluṇuṇu a blaze*

Male Member Only of Specific Species: *wuṛundula dingo, wangiṛma opossum, baḍagalinja kangaroo, naṇuṛbuwala mountain kangaroo,*

wařiguliyaŋu *turtle*, wanguwa *groper*, waligi *dugong*, yula *crab*

Animals (for which sex is not distinguished): biwali *opossum*, muđarı *bandicoot*, balaguya *kangaroo rat*, mulgun *mouse*, muliři *river kangaroo*, mařadji *plains kangaroo*

Reptiles: mađumbařa *saltwater crocodile*, mundaŋu *freshwater turtle*, wađaba *goanna species*, wařnuņa *large goanna species*, ŋulwa *brown snake*, guřun *whip snake*, gařudji *green frog species*

Birds: gudařgu *brolga*, djalbuřuřu *magpie*, gulagugu *small pigeon*, milinjma *larger multicoloured parrot*, biřililji *smaller multicoloured parrot*, balubalu *pelican*, waņuřa *crane*

Insects: djařuma *grass-hopper*, bibin *fly species*, buljiřiři *moth*, djudayi *tick*, řuřuřuřu *small black beetle*, baŋdja *red ant*, giđil *sandfly*

Fish: wuniwuni *type of mullet*, djulbi *rifle fish*, ŋulumiri *barramundi*, mundulu *bony bream*, ŋuđuŋuđu *type of shark*, wuđiři *a jellyfish*, wadźbuluŋu *saltwater combfish*, wuřya *red bream*, miřiysi *porpoise*, djiguyu *crab*, lamaŋa *type of stingray*

Spirits: ŋabaya *spirit*

Grasses and Plants: wuřumuřiya, wunjdjuř, mađa|mađa| *types of grass*, buguyabuguya, gařubu *types of plants*

Trees: galabiř *ghost gum*, lamuřa *ironwood tree*, yubalala *bloodwood tree*, aŋđinj *mangrove*, wařadji *paperbark tree*

Foods: wulala *type of fruit*, walabu, wanjdjiya *small root foods*

Manufactured Articles: wuguŋu *raft*, řajŋjga *anchor*, bařgu *waddy*, wuni *spear type*, wagili *boomerang type*, wudjula *womera type (spear thrower)*, djaŋani *shovelpoint spear*, lama *axe*, wuřbiŋani *stone knife*, djimuguwana *pipe (for tobacco)*, wuřgalu *man's pubic apron (of opossum fur twine)*, madamada *woman's pubic apron*

Associated with Ceremonial Life: walaba *fun corroboree*, yinařambululu *sacred corroboree*, gundabiřa *hollow length of wood (receptacle for the bones of the dead)*, yidjan *dreaming (related to mythology and spiritual life of the people)*, budjimala *rainbow creature (associated with dreaming)*

Language: wuga *word, story, language*, anjuwa / yanjuwa *Yanyula words or language*, ařawa *Garawa words or language*

Body Secretions and Discharges: ŋaŋgař *nasal discharge*, a *cold*, řayał *sputum*, ŋiřił *tears*, yiliři *blood*, algu *vomit*, wadawada *urine*, gaga *faeces*, fiłth

Other: *dulbaři beehive (in tree trunk)*,⁷ *wanjdiř leaf*, *waņu tobacco (for chewing)*, *mada tobacco (for smoking)*, *řabu / wiřiqayi large shell (for baling out canoe)*, *wařwan chips*, *yařiwin antbed*, *wařinj / wudjbi egg*, *lawa spider's web*, *lanba nest*

Class 5 (Food)

Class 5 is the food class marked by the prefix {ma-}. This class includes stems of almost all non-flesh foods, firesticks (from which fire is "made" by twirling a sharpened stick in the hollow of a second piece of wood), articles made from fibrous material obtained from pandanus leaves or from beneath the bark of certain trees, some other manufactured articles, the trees which are the source of the above items, and the words for a boil and a type of stone knife.

Foods (non-flesh): *ma-qařa food*, *ma-budjuwa lilyroot*, *ma-řayi lilyseed*, *ma-guđiđi pandanus nuts*, *ma-miņđil edible gum*, *ma-wujgu yam species*, *ma-wunjdjuřbunjdjuř wild plum*, *ma-ađařa wild passion vine*, *ma-mudi thin-shelled nut with hard white centre (edible after processing)*

Firesticks: *ma-yidji pointed firestick*, *ma-buđala firestick, tree species*

Manufactured Articles: *ma-yulbu rope, twine*, *ma-wuřngu fishing line*, *ma-gulabadjařa / ma-balmaņa head-dress, hat*, *ma-dađagi heavy rope, tree species*, *ma-řilgařa plaited armband*, *ma-djařabař strap (of fibrous material)*, *ma-lařuwa / ma-wubin pipe (for tobacco)*, *ma-guluřu didgeridoo (musical instrument)*, *ma-alagala funeral platform (on the ground)*, *ma-wundubundu shield*, *ma-mayalungu pointed spear*

Trees: *ma-wugařa pandanus palm*, *ma-gawuřga wattle*, *ma-galawumbi tree with black berry*, *ma-lalba tree with red berry*, *ma-yada tree with fibrous layer beneath the bark*, *ma-wařaņayi*, *ma-gulawumbi*, *ma-wuladji tree species which provide food*

Other: *ma-wundiři a boil*, *ma-wudawuda stone knife, stone blade of a shovel-point spear*

Class 6 (Arboreal)

Class 6 is the arboreal class marked by the prefix {na-}. This class includes the stems of shelters and camps, bark and articles made from bark, grass species, some other manufactured articles, a few natural phenomena, and the words for breast, milk, and a single type of stinging jellyfish.

Shelters and Camps: na-alanjdi *camp*, na-luṅundu *bark shelter*, na-ṅandu / na-waḡaḡa *bough shelter*

Bark, and Bark Articles: na-buḡubuḡu *type of paper-bark*, na-lanu *bark, coolamon (carrier for foods or baby)*, na-gulgaḡa *different bark and coolamon made from it*, na-mungamunḡa *bark used for covering for shelter or for sleeping*, na-bununu *small bark water container*, na-waliḡi *bark used for bark-painting*, na-wulgu *bark canoe*

Grasses: na-guwanda *grass (used in a pad to dip into honey and suck)*, na-awili, na-muwulmuwul, na-wiyi, na-laḡalaḡa *different species of grass*

Other Manufactured Articles: na-wabidja *woman's digging stick*, na-wiḡi *pointed stick for removing head lice*, na-ḡidiḡidi *walking stick*, na-walangaḡaṅu *first harpoon (in spearing dugong)*, na-waḡabaḡa *forked wood*, na-ayi *forked stick used for carrying fish*

Natural Phenomena: na-wulaṅi *river*, na-ḡaṅan *light*, na-wunbaḡ *night time*, na-adjinjdja, na-wiḡiwḡi *caves*, na-djiwaguḡ *hole (as dug by a dog)*, na-liḡidji *goanna burrow*, na-lawaḡ *hole, pit*. (It may be that some items in this are considered to be "camps" also.)

Other: na-wunan *breast, milk*, na-wunjdjuḡwunjdjuḡ *small developing breasts of a young girl*, na-walguḡaḡa *stinging jellyfish species*

Class 7 (Abstract)

Class 7 is the abstract class marked by the prefix {naṅu-}. This class includes the least number of items, and it includes stems relating to places of significance to the tribe, a few stems referring to natural phenomena, and nouns relating to abstract things. Many abstract nouns are derived from adjectives or other nouns, and examples will include these:

Significant Places: naṅu-njiḡga *corroboree ground*, naṅu-wuḡama *fighting ground*

Natural Phenomena: naṅu-galaḡaṅga / naṅu-waḡaṅin *burrow in the ground (with an exit)*, naṅu-maya *land, mainland*

Abstract Items: naṅu-njiḡi *song*, naṅu-yuwa *law*,

Derived: naṅu-waḡi *evil, bad words, bad sickness (waḡi bad)*; naṅu-guḡuguguḡu *sacredness, sacred place (guḡuguguḡu sacred)*; naṅu-wuḡulbuḡul *leprosy, measles (wuḡulbuḡul lumpy)*; naṅu-ṅuyul *a trick, prank (nja-ṅuyulṅuyul a clown, trickster)*; naṅu-yagayaga *madness, mental sickness (yagayaga deaf, stupid)*

1.2 BODY-PART NOUNS (CLASS 8)

Type II nouns are innately possessed nouns of class 8 and these consist mainly of body-parts. Class 8 stems are marked by possessive person-marker prefixes of Set I (see chart 4), which agree with the possessor in person, number, and class. Class 8 stems primarily include body-parts of animate beings, but inanimate subjects may also be possessors. Class 7 is the only Type I class which has no body-part possessive.

The prefix {niwa-} *his* has the variant niwa- and niya-; niya- precedes w-initial stems and occurs with the stems *manga body*, and *mabuluma umbilicus*; niwa- occurs with the remaining stems.

Body-parts: *ḡaḡa-wada my hair*, *nda-ḡuḡu your nose, face*, *nanda-malidji her finger*, *niwa-maḡda his foot, feet*, *ḡali-ḡaḡdaḡ our (d incl) tongue*, *ḡaḡaḡa-buḡu our (d excl) knees*, *ḡambala-mi our (pl incl) eyes*, *ḡanu-ḡaḡama our (pl excl) upper legs*, *nimbala-wuḡu your (d) stomachs*, *niḡu-wugu your (pl) backs*, *nawula-wulaya their (d) heads*, *nalu-wiḡba their (pl) lower legs*

Other Items Possessed by a Personal Subject: *nda-wini your (s) name*, *nda-ḡalgi your (s) tribal "skin group"*

Items Possessed by Nonpersonal Subjects: *ni-yiḡa its (masc) skin*, *ni-liḡbi its (masc) scales (as of fish)*, *ni-waḡḡji its (masc) flesh, meat*, *nu-wulaya its (fd) head, fruit*, *nanu-mulu its (arb) mouth (as of cave)*, *ni-wuyu its (masc) track*, *ni-ḡayi its (masc) noise (sound of water)*, *ni-wimbi its (masc) bee (the bee of the masculine hive)*, *nanda-wimbi its (fem) bee (the bee of the feminine hive)*, *nanda-ḡayaḡ sea-spray (literally its (fem) sputum, or the spitting of the feminine waves)*; *nanda-minjdjaḡaḡa sunrise* and *nanda-miyaḡ sunset* (which are possessed by the feminine sun); *ni-wala its (masc) branch* and *ni-walmuḡ its (masc) root (of the masculine tree)*.

1.3 KINSHIP NOUNS

Type III nouns are innately-possessed nouns of classes 9-13, and they consist specifically of kinship terms.⁹ Classes are determined by contrastive affixation (see chart 4), different usage, and separate lists of fillers. These nouns are described in terms of Types IIIA, IIIB, and IIIC. Type IIIA consists of familiar kinship noun stems which are nonprefixing, and which occur in class 9. Type IIIB consists of formal kinship nouns which have possessive prefixes and these include classes 10-12. Type IIIC consists of kinship group nouns which are innately nonsingular and which occur in class 13.

1.3.1 Familiar Kinship Nouns (Class 9)

Type IIIA nouns occur in class 9 and they consist of familiar nouns used in addressing relatives, and these terms may also be used in casual conversation with others to refer to these relatives. These terms are similar in function to such English terms as *daddy, mummy, sonny, aunty, grandma, nanna, mom, pop*. (In all following examples, F and M are used preceding a language or translation example to indicate that that form or translation applies to specific use by a female or male speaker only, respectively.)

gudjaga mother, F gulagula child, gadjadja father, M gadjagadja child, gaḍiḍi mother's brother, F gadagada brother's child, guguḍi mother's mother, wugugu daughter's child, gayigayi spouse, munjumunju / guyuguyu / maḥuwaḥa mother's brother's child, father's sister's child, wunaga younger sibling, cousin's child, gugu mother's mother's brother, M muḥumuḥu / nabiḥabi brother-in-law, banjdji M brother-in-law F sister-in-law, M aḍiyaḍi* sister's child, mimi* mother's father, M daughter's son, muḥimuḥi* father's father M son's child, ḡabudji* father's mother F son's child, baba* elder sibling*

The stems which are asterisked above also occur in the list of class 10 stems but with a more restricted meaning: for example, certain stems in class 9 are used reciprocally by both people in a certain relationship, but when those same stems occur in class 10, they are used by the junior relative only.

1.3.2 Formal Kinship Nouns

Type IIIB nouns occur in classes 10-12, and they consist of formal kinship nouns. All such nouns are marked by a Type IA prefix to indicate female, male, dual, or plural, and this prefix precedes all other prefixation. These classes are also marked for possession. Classes are distinguished on the basis of contrastive affixation (see chart 4 for contrastive possessive affix sets) and separate lists of nouns.

It is noted that class 12 consists of the single stem *-gayibanda M mother-in-law F son-in-law*, but this stem is affixed in such a radically different way that it is set up as a class. The kinship relationship involved is one of extreme avoidance. It is further noted that the stem *-waḡu spouse* occurs as a separate subclass in class 10 because of a unique restriction of suffixation, and that this kinship relationship

POSSESSIVE AFFIXES FOR YANYULA NOUNS

Chart 4

	Type II	Type III Kinship Nouns		
	Body-part Nouns	Class 10	Class 11	Class 12
	Set I Prefix	Set II Prefix	Set III Prefix	Set IV Suffix
1 pl incl	ḡambala-	ḡambalaḡa-	gambala-	-ḡambalalu
1 pl excl	ḡanu-	ḡanuḡa-	ganu-	-ḡanuwalu
1 d incl	ḡali-	ḡaliḡa-	gali-	-ḡalilalu
1 d excl	ḡadaḡa-	ḡadaḡaḡa-	gadaḡa-	-ḡadaḡalu
1 s	ḡaḡa-	ḡada-/dja-	gaḡa-	-ḡadaḡalu
2 pl	niḡu-	yīḡuḡa-	giḡu-	-yīḡuwalu
2 d	nimbala-	yimbalaḡa-	gimbala-	-yimbalalu
2 s	nda-	yingu-	ga-	-yindalu
3 pl	nalu-	aluḡa-	galu-	-aluwalu
3 d	nawula-	wulaḡa-	gawula-	-wulalu
3 s female	nanda-	angu-	ganda-	-andalu
3 s male	niwa-	yigu-	gilu-	-yilalu
3 feminine	nanda-	angu-		
3 masculine	ni-	ayu-		
3 food	nu-			
3 arboreal	nanu-			

is the one of closest association. It therefore seems likely that there is also an anthropological basis for the setting up of the remaining kinship classes and subclasses. There is indication that this is so, but present knowledge is insufficient to substantiate the theory.

Class 10

Class 10 consists of the most comprehensive list of stems used in formal reference to relatives. Three orders of prefixes occur of which the first and third order prefixes are personal prefixes¹⁰ indicating the sex and number of relatives, and the second order prefix is a possessive prefix. This possessive prefix set is identical in form with the free possessive pronoun set, although morphophonemic changes occur.

There are three subclasses of stems within class 10 determined by variant prefixation for first person singular possession and variant suffixation. The lists for subclasses (a) and (c) take the three orders of prefixes as described above. The list for subclass (b) takes the variant prefix *dja-my*, and this form replaces both the first order personal prefix and the second order possessive prefix. (The prefix *dja-* is identical in form with the stem of the near demonstrative pronoun *this*.) For all possessive persons other than first person singular, subclass (b) takes regular class 10 prefixes. Subclass (c) consists of the single stem *-wanu spouse* which occurs with restricted suffixation.

The first and third order prefixes are identical in form with those for female, male, dual, or plural, which mark Type IA stems, (that is, in Nuclear occurrence). The second order prefixes are set II possessive prefixes (see chart 4).

The masculine possessive *ayu-* occurs with a single stem *nanjdji relative, fellow-countryman*. It is noted that the male personal prefix *nja- / nj-* is used to mark the masculine stem in this class:

nj-ayu-nja-nanjdji (masc-its:masc-masc-fellow:countryman)
its fellow-countryman

(This examples occurred in relating two kinds of plants which grew in the same kind of soil, the one plant being the *nanjdji* of the other.)

In the lists of stems occurring in subclasses (a) and (b), there are some stems which may also occur without prefixation to be used as familiar terms in the same way as class 9 stems. Such stems are marked below with an asterisk.

Subclass (a): F *-abaṅu brother's child, aḍu son, daughter, -aḍuṅanda father-in-law, -anjira younger sibling, baḥada* / wibi* mother, wunjada* / biyi* father, -miyaṅgi F sister's husband M younger brother's wife, ṅanjɔji relative, -ṅayiṅu cousin, ruḍu mother's eldest brother, -yalaṅɔji M elder brother's wife F elder sister's husband, yumaḥa companion*

Subclass (b): aḍiyaḍi *mother's brother, mother's eldest sister, -agaga mother's younger brother, baba* elder sibling, mimi mother's father, muḥimuḥi father's father, ṅaṅa* father's sister, father's elder brothers, ṅabudji father's mother*

Subclass (c): *-waṅu spouse*

Class 11

Class 11 consists of a limited number of stems. These occur with a first order possessive prefix and a second order personal prefix which indicates sex and number. The set III possessive prefix set (see chart 4) is almost identical with the Intransitive Subject person-marker set. The exceptional occurrence is the morpheme *gilu- his*.

The stems occurring in class 11 are those used by certain senior relatives. In the reciprocal relationships which are involved, the two related members use identical or related forms for each other in familiar speech, the junior member retains the familiar stem in class 10 in formal speech, and the senior member uses a class 11 noun in formal reference.

The prefix *ga- your (s)*, which is a class 11 possessive, has a peculiar occurrence. Whenever this prefix occurs it is accompanied by a variant form of the stem. In the list of stems below, the allstem occurring with *ga-* will be listed in brackets following the regular form:

-aḍima (-aḍimanu) M sister's child F younger sister's child (used by eldest sister only), F -mangayi (-manganu) son's child, -maḥini (-maḥinimanu) M daughter's child F brother's daughter's child, M -muḥima (-muḥimanu) son's child, M -ṅaṅama (-ṅaṅamanu) younger sibling's child, F wuḍayi (-wuḍayimanu) daughter's child

Class 12

Class 12 consists of the single stem *-gayibanda M mother-in-law F son-in-law*. This stem takes a first order prefix to indicate sex and

number, but unlike any other noun class which is marked for possession, class 12 is marked by a possessive *suffix* set (see chart 4 set IV). The possessive occurs as a first order suffix, which is identical in form with the respective Destination Relation free pronoun.

1.3.3 Group Kinship Nouns (Class 13)

Type IIIC nouns consist of innately nonsingular kinship stems of class 13. The stems of this class may occur unprefixated, or less frequently with the dual prefix *ři-*, to indicate a group of two people interrelated in a certain way. The stems occur with the plural prefix *li-* to indicate a larger number who come from two tribal groups and are interrelated in a certain way. Plural prefixation is accompanied by partial reduplication of the stem. This reduplication does not follow the regular pattern for noun stems (see 7.2) and therefore the respective plural allostem will be listed below in brackets following the regular stem:

majgařa	(majgalmajgařa)	<i>husband and wife</i>
ņijņjgařa	(ņijņjgalņijņjgařa)	<i>two siblings</i>
ayařa	(alayařa)	<i>mother and child (of similar age)</i>
bilařa	(bilbilařa)	<i>father and child</i>
ađigařa*	(alađigařa)	<i>man and sister's child</i>
muřigařa*	(munmuřigařa)	<i>child and mother's mother or mother's mother's brother</i>
babaguļa*	(babaguļa)	<i>two elder siblings</i>

The following two stems occur only in the plural form:

manmařuwařa*	<i>tribal cousins</i>
řigařigadjanjdja	<i>siblings in a single family or in brothers' families</i>

The asterisked stems in the above lists are those which are related in form to kinship stems of Type IIIB.

1.4 PROPER NOUNS

Type IV nouns are proper nouns occurring in classes 14 and 15. These classes include personal and corroboree names, and place names. Type IV nouns have the simplest morphology and the most limited occurrence.

Class 14 (Personal and Corroboree Names)

Class 14 has two subclasses, of which subclass (a) is a personal class consisting of the names of individuals, and subclass (b) is a nonpersonal class consisting of the names of corroborees.

Subclass (a): Personal names are used when speaking of a person, and the relevant kinship term or another general vocative term is used when speaking to him. Personal names are used with and without the personal male or female prefix. The following are a selection of personal names:

buřayi, baŋgiřinju, waŋgařawi, bunadja, dingawu,
ŋařigalu, mařŋawi, wanidjabu, dawajgu, walimungu

Subclass (b): Corroboree names are masculine with the single known exception of the Kunapipi, which may optionally take the feminine prefix. The following are corroboree names:

gunabibi / řa-gunabibi, guljugulju, milba,
malwa, gundawiřa, wulubuwa, wambuyana

Class 15 (Place Names)

Class 15 consists of place names. These noun stems have a limited distribution and tagmeme-marking is similarly limited. Yanyula place names include:

wařalungu *Burketown Crossing*, buřulula *Borrooloola*, wulugulini
One Mile, mungumunganda *Centre Island*, wandaŋula *Police Lagoon*,
njdjawuma *The Landing*, wadawadala *Blackfellow Crossing*,
mařinjbul (land near Manangoora cattle station)

2. GRAMMATICAL CONDITIONING

Yanyula nouns are conditioned by occurrence in clause-level tagmemes. Tagmeme-marking involves suffixation of the stem and variant occurrence of the class-marking prefix. Certain noun classes are marked only by a tagmeme-marking prefix and some only by suffixes. Other nouns are marked by both prefixes and suffixes which then occur in agreement.

Tagmeme-marking makes four major distinctions, but serves to mark nine tagmemes with little ambiguity. A single morpheme can carry several meanings, which are defined by the clause type in which it occurs.

Tagmeme-marking suffixes distinguish Nuclear (Nuc), Referent (Ref), Directive (Dir), and Accessory (Acc) tagmemes (defined below). Some prefix sets distinguish Nuclear and non-Nuclear, and others distinguish Nuclear, Referent, and Directive/Accessory tagmemes. Nuclear tagmemes are non-Transitive Subject,¹¹ Object, Descriptive Predicate (for example: *he (is) BIG, he (is) A MAN*). The Referent tagmeme expresses purpose, benefaction, or indicates an indirect object. Directive tagmemes are Actor and Destination Relation (indicating *to* or *from* a destination). Accessory tagmemes are Position, Time, and Accompaniment/Instrument.

2.1 TAGMEME-MARKING SUFFIXES

The following is the full set of tagmeme-marking suffixes:

-∅ ⁸	(Nuclear)
{-wu}	(Referent)
{-lu}	(Directive)
{-la}	(Accessory)

Sets of allomorphs of these suffixes are described below (see 3.1).

Certain noun classes take the full set of suffixes, some take partial suffixation, and some do not take tagmeme-marking suffixes. Full suffixing occurs with all classes of Types I, II, IIIA and IIIB except for class 10 subclass (c) stem *-wanu spouse* where partial suffixation occurs, and with Type IV class 15 stems. The stem *-wanu* takes the referent suffix only. The place name stems of Type IV class 15 take only directive and accessory suffixes to indicate *to* and *at* respectively. The classes which do not take tagmeme-marking suffixation, other than the -∅ nuclear suffix, are classes 12 and 13 of Type III, and class 14 of Type IV.

2.2 TAGMEME-MARKING PREFIX SETS

Tagmeme-marking prefixes are conditioned by occurrence in clause-level tagmemes, and a set of prefixes occurs for each prefixing class and sets for dual and plural. Certain sets distinguish only between Nuclear and non-Nuclear. Others distinguish Nuclear, Referent, and Directive/Accessory (see chart 5).

2.2.1 Type I Noun Prefix Sets

Singular nouns of classes 1 and 2, and nouns of classes 3 and 4 differentiate only Nuclear and non-Nuclear by prefixation. Sets are:

TAGMEME-MARKING OF YANYULA TYPE I NOUNS

Chart 5

	Nuclear	Referent	Directive	Accessory
Suffixation of All Classes	-∅	{-wu}	{-lu}	{-la}
Plural Prefix (Personal)	li-	liyi-	linjdji-	
Dual Prefix (Personal)	ŷi-	ŷiyi-	ŷinjdji-	
Class 7 Prefix (Abstract)	naŋu-	nuwaŋu-	nungaŋu-	
Class 6 Prefix (Arboreal)	na-	nu-	nungu-	
Class 5 Prefix (Food)	ma-	mu-	mungu-	
Class 4 Prefix (Masculine)	∅-	dji-		
Class 3 Prefix (Feminine)	ŷa-	ŷu-		
Class 2 Prefix (Male)	nja-	nju-		
Class 1 Prefix (Female)	ŷa-	ŷu-		

	Classes 1 and 3	Class 2	Class 4
Nuc	{ʃa-} (ʃa- / a-)	nja-	∅-
Non-Nuc	{ʃu-} (ʃu- / wu-)	nju-	dji-

Classes 5-7 differentiate Nuclear, Referent, and Directive/Accessory. Sets are:

	Class 5	Class 6	Class 7
Nuc	ma-	na-	naŋu-
Ref	mu-	nu-	nuwaŋu-
Dir/Acc	muŋgu-	nuŋgu-	nuŋgaŋu-

Personal dual and plural prefixes also differentiate Nuclear, Referent, and Directive/Accessory for classes 1 and 2:

	Dual	Plural
Nuc	ʃi-	li-
Ref	ʃiyi-	liyi-
Dir/Acc	ʃinjɗji-	linɗɗji-

The following are examples of Type I nouns with tagmeme-marking prefixation and suffixation:

	Class 1	Class 2
Nuc	ʃa-baɗaɗa <i>baby girl</i>	nja-maɗanɗɗa <i>dugong hunter</i>
Ref	ʃu-baɗaɗa-wu	nju-maɗanɗɗa-wu
Dir	ʃu-baɗaɗa-lu	nju-maɗanɗɗa-lu
Acc	ʃu-baɗaɗa-la	nju-maɗanɗɗa-la
	Dual	Plural
Nuc	ʃi-baɗaɗa <i>two babies</i>	li-maɗanɗɗa <i>dugong hunters</i>
Ref	ʃiyi-baɗaɗa-wu	liyi-maɗanɗɗa-wu
Dir	ʃinjɗji-baɗaɗa-lu	linɗɗji-maɗanɗɗa-lu
Acc	ʃinjɗji-baɗaɗa-la	linɗɗji-maɗanɗɗa-la

	Class 4		Class 5	
Nuc	buyuga	<i>fire</i>	ma-wugařa	<i>pandanus palm</i>
Ref	dji-buyuga-wu		mu-wugařa-wu	
Dir	dji-buyuga-lu		muŋgu-wugařa-lu	
Acc	dji-buyuga-la		muŋgu-wugařa-la	
	Class 6		Class 7	
Nuc	na-wađara	<i>bough shelter</i>	naŋu-wuřama	<i>fighting ground</i>
Ref	nu-wađara-wu		nuwaŋu-wuřama-wu	
Dir	nuŋgu-wađara-lu		nuŋgaŋu-wuřama-lu	
Acc	nuŋgu-wađara-la		nuŋgaŋu-wuřama-la	

2.2.2 Type II Noun Prefix Sets

Type II body-part nouns most frequently occur in non-Nuclear tagmemes with no prefixation. In place of the possessive prefix the respective free pronoun occurs with the noun stem to form a phrase:

Nuc	nda-wuluŋanda	<i>your (s) shoulder</i>
Acc	wuluŋanda-la yinda-a	<i>on your (s) shoulder</i>
	(<i>shoulder-on you:s-on</i>)	

There is no record of any occurrence of dual or plural possessive prefixes in non-Nuclear tagmemes. There are possessive sets for all singular persons, although these are less frequently used than noun phrases:

	Nuclear	Referent	Dir/Acc
1 s	ŋaŋa-	niyiŋaŋa-	niŋiŋaŋa-
2 s	nda-	niyinda-	niŋginda-
3 s f	nanda-	nuwanda-	nuŋganda-
3 s m	niwa-	niyiwa-	niŋgiwa-
3 fem	nanda-	nuwanda-	nuŋganda-
3 masc	ni-	niyi-	niŋgi-
3 fd	nu-	nuwu-	nuŋga-
3 arb	nanu-	nuwanu-	nuŋganu-

2.2.3 Types III, IV, Prefix Sets

Prefixing of classes in Types III and IV, is also conditioned by clause-level occurrence. The third order personal prefix of class 10 distinguishes Nuclear, Referent, and Directive/Accessory. The female *ʃa-* / *a-* and the male *nja-* prefixes of Nuclear tagmemes become *ʃu-* / *wu-* and *nju-* respectively in Referent tagmemes, and *ʃungu-* / *wungu-* and *njungu-* in Directive/Accessory tagmemes.

All remaining personal prefixes make the same distinctions as in Type IA occurrence (see 2.2.1). These remaining personal prefixes include the first order personal prefixes of class 10, initial prefixes of classes 11-13, the initial prefix preceding the *dja-* prefix in class 10 subclass (b), and the dual and plural prefixes in class 15. (Examples of nouns from Types II, III, and IV will be given in section 3 when allomorphs of affixes are described.)

3. PHONOLOGICAL CONDITIONING

Phonological conditioning occurs when stems and affixes of certain phonological shapes co-occur. Variants of suffixes and prefixes will be described.

3.1 SUFFIX ALLOMORPHS

In describing suffix allomorphs it is necessary to state which noun type is involved. Types I and II occur with one of nine suffix sets (see Chart 6) according to the phonological shape of the stem for the most part. Types III and IV take set I tagmeme-markers regardless of stem shape: *-∅* (nuclear), *-wu* / *-yu* (referent), *-lu* (directive), *-la* (accessory). The Referent variant *-yu* occurs following *i*-final stems, and *-wu* following other vowels. One exception *nanjdji* *relative, countryman* occurs, which takes set 9 allomorphs. The following are examples of nouns from classes 9, 10, and 15, which are the classes from Types III and IV which take suffixes:

	Class 9	Class 10
Nuc	mimi <i>mother's</i> <i>father</i>	<i>nja-nada-nja-biyi</i> (<i>m-my-m-father</i>) <i>my father</i>
Ref	mimi-yu	<i>nju-nada-nju-biyi-yu</i>
Dir	mimi-lu	<i>njungu-nada-nju-biyi-lu</i>
Acc	mimi-la	<i>njungu-nada-nju-biyi-la</i>

YANYULA TAGMEME-MARKING SUFFIX ALLOMORPHS

Chart 6

Set	Stem Type	Nuc	Ref	Dir	Acc
1	Polysyllabic vowel-final (except la-, lu-, li-final)	-∅	-wu/-yu	-lu	-la
2	Disyllabic a-, u-final (except CCa-final) Polysyllabic la-, lu-final	-∅	-wu	-ŋgu	-ŋga
3	Disyllabic i-final Polysyllabic li-final	-∅	-yu	-njdju	-njdja
4	Disyllabic CCa-final (CC = homorganic cluster of nasal + stop)	-∅	-wu	-wu	-a
5	ʃ-, l-, ɭ-final	-∅	-u	-u	-a
6	n-final	-∅	-gu	-du	-da
7	nj-final	-∅	-gu (nj → ŋ)	-u	-a
8	Morphologically-defined	-∅	-ngu	-ndu	-nda
9	Morphologically-defined	-∅	-ŋgu	-nju	-nja

Class 15: buřulula *Borrołoola* (Nuc), buřulula-lu (Dir), buřulula-la (Acc)

The three stems *mimi*, *biyi* and *buřulula* are all of the phonological shape to have caused suffix allomorphs if they had occurred in Types I or II lists.

In suffix allomorph sets for all classes the nuclear tagmeme-marker occurs as -∅, and in each set except set 4 the difference between the directive and accessory suffixes is a predictable vowel change.

Suffixation of Types I and II nouns is influenced by the number of syllables in the stem, the final phoneme of the stem, and by the final syllable type. Morphophonemic changes are caused by disyllabic stems, consonant- and i-final stems, and by a CCa-final syllable of a disyllabic stem in which the CC of that syllable is a homorganic cluster of nasal plus stop, and the final vowel is a.

There are also two lists of stems which take variant sets for which no phonological rules can be applied, and other exceptions to the rules will be described.

Suffix Allomorphs with Vowel-final Stems:

Four sets of allomorphs occur with vowel-final stems.

Set 1 is the basic set: -∅ (nuclear), -wu / -yu (referent), -lu (directive), -la (accessory). This set occurs with polysyllabic noun stems of Types I and II, with the exception of la-, lu-, and li-final stems; (a polysyllabic stem is defined as being a stem of three or more syllables):

Nuc	na-wabidja	(arb-hitting: stick)	nja-ŋabaŋagu	(m-dead: man)
Ref	nu-wabidja-wu		nju-ŋabaŋagu-wu	
Dir	nuŋgu-wabidja-lu		nju-ŋabaŋagu-lu	
Acc	nuŋgu-wabidja-la		nju-ŋabaŋagu-la	
Nuc	ma-wuřadji	(fd-spear: type)	gidjbagidjba	(masc- chains)
Ref	mu-wuřadji-yu		dji-gidjbagidjba-wu	
Dir	muŋgu-wuřadji-lu		dji-gidjbagidjba-lu	
Acc	muŋgu-wuřadji-la		dji-gidjbagidjba-la	

Nuc	ʔa-baḍibaḍi	(f-old:woman)	wul <u>anda</u>	(masc- flowers)
Ref	ʔu-baḍibaḍi-yu		dji-wul <u>anda</u> -wu	
Dir	ʔu-baḍibaḍi-lu		dji-wul <u>anda</u> -lu	
Acc	ʔu-baḍibaḍi-la		dji-wul <u>anda</u> -la	

Nuc	maḍumbaʔa	(masc-crocodile)		
Ref	dji-maḍumbaʔa-wu			
Dir	dji-maḍumbaʔa-lu			
Acc	dji-maḍumbaʔa-la			

Set 2 suffixes are: -∅ (nuclear), -wu (referent), -ngu (directive), -nga (accessory). These suffixes occur with a- and u-final disyllabic stems, and with la- and lu-final polysyllabic stems:

Nuc	biga	(masc-fish: hook)	ni-ḡuʔu	(its:masc-nose)
Ref	dji-biga-wu		niyi-ḡuʔu-wu	
Dir	dji-biga-ḡu		niḡi-ḡuʔu-ḡu	
Acc	dji-biga-ḡa		niḡi-ḡuʔu-ḡa	

Nuc	nja-malbu	(m-old:man)	naḡu-njiʔga	(abstr-corroboree: ground)
Ref	nju-malbu-wu		nuwaḡu-njiʔga-wu	
Dir	nju-malbu-ḡu		nunḡaḡu-njiʔga-ḡu	
Acc	nju-malbu-ḡa		nunḡaḡu-njiʔga-ḡa	

Nuc	wunala	(masc- animal)	wuluwulu	(masc-upper:grind- ing:stone)
Ref	dji-wunala-wu		dji-wuluwulu-wu	
Dir	dji-wunala-ḡu		dji-wuluwulu-ḡu	
Acc	dji-wunala-ḡa		dji-wuluwulu-ḡa	

Set 3 suffixes are: -∅ (nuclear), -yu (referent), -njdju (directive), -njdja (accessory). These suffixes occur with i-final disyllabic stems, and with li-final polysyllabic stems:

Nuc	ʔa-ḡimi	(fem-paddle)	ma-ḡayi	(fd-lily:seed)
Ref	ʔu-ḡimi-yu		mu-ḡayi-yu	
Dir	ʔu-ḡimi-njdju		munḡu-ḡayi-njdju	
Acc	ʔu-ḡimi-njdja		munḡu-ḡayi-njdja	

Nuc	djilili (masc-spring: of water)	niwa-milimili (his:chest)
Ref	dji-djilili-yu	niyiwa-milimili-yu
Dir	dji-djilili-njdju	ningiwa-milimili-njdju
Acc	dji-djilili-njdja	ningiwa-milimili-njdja

Set 4 suffixes are: -∅ (nuclear), -wu (referent, directive), -a (accessory). These suffixes occur with CCa-final disyllabic stems, in which the consonant cluster CC is a homorganic cluster of nasal plus stop, and a is the final vowel.

Nuc	wuṅḍa (masc-tree)	djajṅga (masc-rock)
Ref, Dir	dji-wuṅḍa-wu	dji-djajṅga-wu
Acc	dji-wuṅḍa-a	dji-djajṅga-a
Nuc	řa-gamba (fem-sun)	anda (masc-sea)
Ref, Dir	řu-gamba-wu	djiy- <u>anda</u> -wu
Acc	řu-gamba-a	djiy- <u>anda</u> -a

Suffix Allomorphs with Consonant-final Stems:

Most of the noun stems of the language have a vowel in final phoneme position, however, certain consonants do occur in this position. Of these consonants, ř, l, !, and n are the most frequently occurring, two nj-final stems have been noted, and one instance each of jṅ and dj has been recorded. The latter two will be dealt with in the section on exceptions.

Set 5 suffix set is: -∅ (nuclear), -u (referent, directive), -a (accessory). This set occurs with ř-, l-, and !-final stems:

Nuc	wařař (masc-mud)	nda-ṅ <u>andal</u> (your:s-tongue)
Ref	dji-wařař-u	niyinda-ṅ <u>andal</u> -u
Dir	dji-wařař-u	ninginda-ṅ <u>andal</u> -u
Acc	dji-wařař-a	ninginda-ṅ <u>andal</u> -a
Nuc	ma-waba! (fd-wild: potato)	ni-majṅul (its:masc-fat)
Ref	mu-waba!-u	niyi-majṅul-u
Dir	mungu-waba!-u	ningi-majṅul-u
Acc	mungu-waba!-a	ningi-majṅul-a

Set 6 suffix set is: -∅ (nuclear), -gu (referent), -du (directive), -da (accessory). This set occurs with n-final stems:

Nuc	ɲuʃbun (masc- <i>scrub</i>)	na-wunan (arb- <i>milk</i>)
Ref	dji-ɲuʃbun-gu	nu-wunan-gu
Dir	dji-ɲuʃbun-du	nungu-wunan-du
Acc	dji-ɲuʃbun-da	nungu-wunan-da

Set 7 suffix set is: -∅ (nuclear), -gu (referent), -u (directive), -a (accessory). This set occurs with nj-final stems. The final nj of the stem becomes ŋ preceding the Referent suffix gu:

Nuc	aŋɗinj (masc- <i>mangrove</i>)	waʃinj (masc- <i>egg</i>)
Ref	djiy-aŋɗinj-gu	dji-waʃinj-gu
Dir	djiy-aŋɗinj-u	dji-waʃinj-u
Acc	djiy-aŋɗinj-a	dji-waʃinj-a

Exceptions:

Noun stems which do not conform to the above rules vary in several ways. Two further lists of stems occur with morphologically defined allomorphs of sets 8 and 9, some stems which occur with allomorphs from sets 1-9 may alternatively take variant suffixes, and certain other stems are quite irregular and will be listed.

Set 8 allomorphs are: -∅ (nuclear), -ngu (referent), -ndu (directive), -nda (accessory). This set occurs with the following stems: *luwa snake*, *ɲaʃa food*, *manga body*, *yulbu vein*, *string*, *baʃgu waddy*, *waŋnji flesh*, *meat*, *buʃu knee*, *walaba corroboree*, *djulagi bird*, *plane*, *wulanji river*, *malidji finger*, *hand*

Nuc	ma-ɲaʃa (fd- <i>food</i>)	na-wulanji (arb- <i>river</i>)
Ref	mu-ɲaʃa-ngu	nu-wulanji-ngu
Dir	mungu-ɲaʃa-ndu	nungu-wulanji-ndu
Acc	mungu-ɲaʃa-nda	nungu-wulanji-nda

Set 9 allomorphs are: -∅ (nuclear), -ngu (referent), -nju (directive), -nja (accessory). This set occurs with the following stems: *buʃi younger person*, *ɲanjɗji stranger* (Type I), *relative* (Type IIIB). (This list becomes longer with the addition of adjective stems which take this same affixation):

Nuc	nja-buři	(m-younger: person)	ři-ŋanjdji	(d-stranger)
Ref	nju-buři-ŋgu		řiyi-ŋanjdji-ŋgu	
Dir	nju-buři-nju		řiŋjdji-ŋanjdji-nju	
Acc	nju-buři-nja		řiŋjdji-ŋanjdji-nja	

Certain stems from Types I and II, which have already been described above, may additionally occur with a variant form for directive and accessory marking. Stems will be listed below with the previously described and the alternative directive suffixes respectively. The variant accessory suffix may be predicted from the directive suffix by changing the final vowel from *u* to *a*:

buřu (-ndu/-ŋgu) *knee*, wařama (-lu/-ŋgu) *flood*, bulugi (-lu/-ŋjdju) *bullock*, djulagi (-ndu/-ŋjdju) *bird*, *plane*, ařawa (-lu/-ŋgu) *Garawa*, gagayi (-lu/-ŋjdju) *lily flower*, wuđula (-ŋgu/-lu) *spirit (of living person)*

The stem *wudjul grass* regularly takes the directive suffix *-u*, but it may alternatively lose the final consonant of the stem and it then occurs as a regular vowel-final stem. This group of stems also includes certain polysyllabic řa- and řu-final stems which occur with *-lu* and *-ŋgu* in free variation:

buyuřu *bone*, guluřu *didgeridoo*, wugařa *pandanus palm*

Nuc	nda-buřu	(your:s-knee)	djulagi	(masc-plane)
Dir	niŋginda-buřu-ndu		dji-djulagi-ndu	
	/ niŋginda-buřu-ŋgu		/ dji-djulagi-ŋjdju	
Nuc	wudjul	(masc-grass)	ma-guluřu	(fd-didgeridoo)
Dir •	dji-wudjul-u		mungu-guluřu-lu	
	/ dji-wudju-ŋgu		/ mungu-guluřu-ŋgu	

The remaining stems occur with suffixes other than any of the above sets, or, if they do occur with sets described above, they break the rules of occurrence. These stems are listed below with referent and directive suffixes respectively, accessory suffixes again being predictable from the directive: wuni (-ŋgu, -ŋjdju) *spear type*, mayi (-ŋgu, -ŋjdju) *tooth*, dingi (-yu, -nju) *dinghy*, ŋabaya (-wu, -ŋgu) *evil spirit*, ŋaŋđu (-wu, -wu) *shade, shadow*, wuđu (-wu, -lu) *stomach*, wula (-wu, -lu) *head*

The final stem *wula* is a variant form of the stem *wulaya*, and it is noted that the same suffixes which irregularly occur with *wula* are used quite regularly with the polysyllabic stem variant.

Nuc	wuni	(masc-spear: type)	řa-dingí	(fem-dinghy)
Ref	dji-wuni-ngu		řu-dingí-yu	
Dir	dji-wuni-njdju		řu-dingí-nju	
Acc	dji-wuni-njdja		řu-dingí-nja	

In addition to these stems there are two monosyllabic noun stems, and both are Type II body-part stems. It is noted that one takes suffixes as for a regular disyllabic i-final stem, and the other takes suffixes as for a regular polysyllabic i-final stem:

Nuc	nanda-mi	(her-eye)	nanda-wi	(her-arm)
Ref	nuwanda-mi-yu		nuwanda-wi-yu	
Dir	nunganda-mi-lu		nunganda-wi-njdju	
Acc	nunganda-mi-la		nunganda-wi-njdja	

Two consonant-final stems have not yet been included in the description. These are *giyijŋgiyijŋ flying fox* and *buřidjbuřidj willy-wagtail (bird)*. Each of these is the only example of a stem with this particular consonant as the final phoneme. These two stems take suffixes as follows:

Nuc	giyijŋgiyijŋ	(masc-flying: fox)	buřidjbuřidj	(masc-willy: wagtail)
Ref	dji-giyijŋgiyijŋ		dji-buřudjbuři-yu	
Dir	dji-giyijŋgiyijŋ		dji-buřidjbuři-lu	
Acc	dji-giyijŋgiyijŋ		dji-buřidjbuři-la	

3.2 PREFIX ALLOMORPHS

Most prefix allomorphs are described in terms of loss or addition of a vowel or a semivowel. In Yanyula the only permissible vowel cluster is *aa*. When any other two vowels come together, either one vowel is lost or a semivowel is added to the prefix.

Noun stems may be consonant- or a-initial. All noun prefixes are basically vowel-final and some are also vowel-initial. Changes which occur when prefixes are added to stems or prefixes are covered by the following rules:

- 1) The initial vowel of a morpheme remains constant. The final vowel of any morpheme is liable to modification.
- 2) When any prefix precedes an a-initial stem, the final vowel of the preceding prefix occurs as follows:
 - a remains unchanged; u becomes uw; i becomes iy
 Note that when any a-final prefix precedes the possessive prefixes *angu her* and *aluṅa their* (pl) the final vowel of the preceding prefix is lost.
- 3) All yi-initial possessive prefixes lose the initial y when another prefix precedes them, and they then occur as i-initial morphemes.
- 4) When any prefix precedes an i-initial morpheme, the final vowel of the preceding prefix is lost.
- 5) When a u-final prefix precedes a monosyllabic i-final prefix, the final u of the preceding prefix changes to i.

These rules are illustrated in the following examples:

řa + aḍu → řa-aḍu
 (f:nuc) (child) little girl

na + alanjdji → na-alanjdji
 (arb:nuc) (camp) camp

nungu + alanjdji + lu → nunguw-alanjdji-lu
 (arb:dir/acc) (camp) (dir) to the camp

nju + aḍu + wu → njuw-aḍu-wu
 (m:non:nuc) (child) (ref) for the boy

nju + ṅada + nju + aḍu + wu → nju-ṅada-njuw-aḍu-wu
 (m:ref) (my) (m:non:nuc) (child) (ref) for my son

li + alawa → liy-alawa
 (pl:nuc) (Alawa) the Alawa people

dji + awaṛa + la → djiy-awaṛa-la
 (masc:non:nuc) (earth) (acc) on the ground

řa + yingu + řa + wibi → ř-ingu-řa-wibi
 (f:nuc) (your:s) (f:nuc) (mother) your (s) mother

li + yimbaluṅa + li + baba → l-imbaluṅa-li-baba
 (pl:nuc) (your:d) (pl:nuc) (elder sibling) your (d) elder
 brothers and/or
 sisters

linjdji + yigu + linjdji + aḍu + nga → linj-dj-igu-linjdji-y-aḍu-nga
 (pl:dir/acc) (his) (pl:dir/acc) (child) (acc) with his children

ři + yingu + ři + anjiṛa → ř-ingi-ři-y-anjiṛa
 (d:nuc) (your:s) (d:nuc) (younger:sibling) your (s) (two) younger
 siblings

li + yigu + li + aḍu → l-igi-li-y-aḍu
 (pl:nuc) (his) (pl:nuc) (child) his children

liyi + yigu + liyi + aḍu + wu → liy-igu-liyiy-aḍu-wu
 (pl:ref) (his) (pl:ref) (child) (ref) for his children

li + aluṅa + li + waṅu → l-aluṅa-li-waṅu
 (pl:nuc) (their:pl) (pl:nuc) (spouse) their husbands, their wives

ři + angu + ři + ṅanjdji → ř-angi-ři-ṅanjdji
 (d:nuc) (her) (d:nuc) (relative) her (d) relatives

nja + angu + nja + biyi → nj-angu-nja-biyi
 (m:nuc) (her) (m:nuc) (father) her father

nju + angu + nju + biyi + yu → nj-angu-nju-biyi-yu
 (m:ref) (her) (m:non:nuc) (father) (ref) for her father

4. PERMISSIBLE SIMPLIFICATION OF NOUNS

In the previous sections, affixation has been described as it most frequently and most fully occurs in the various tagmemes. Sometimes certain prefixes of Types I and III nouns may be omitted or modified, leaving the suffix to carry the complete tagmeme-marking identification. In some instances tagmeme-marking suffixes are omitted. Although this feature is not extensive, it does occur with some of the most commonly occurring words. It is referred to by the language speakers as "short words" or "shortcut" speech. Such simplification is made by mothers in teaching the language to their children, but it is not restricted to this use. It may be that there is some pressure being exerted by continuing close contact and frequent intermarriage with the Garawa people, whose language is non-prefixing. It may be part of an independent change within the language itself, which would relate to the loss of prefixes from body-part nouns in non-Nuclear occurrence (see 2.2.2).

Simplification of Type I nouns involves non-nuclear affixation only, and most commonly occurs as the omission of the directive/ accessory prefix from nouns of classes 5-7 (the three classes which distinguish more than Nuclear versus non-Nuclear contrast by prefixation):

nunguw-alanj _d ji-lu / alan _d ji-lu	to the camp (Dir)
nungu-wula _ŋ i-nda / wula _ŋ i-nda	by the river (Acc)
nungu-gulga _ř a-la / gulga _ř a-la	on the coolamon (Acc)
nungu-lawa _ř -a / lawa _ř -a	in the hole (Acc)
mungu-yulbu-nda / yulbu-nda	with a rope (Acc)
nung _ŋ anu-wu _ř ama-lu / wu _ř ama-lu	to the fighting ground (Dir)

In men's speech (see 5.1) there is simplification of nouns of classes 2 and 4 in non-Nuclear occurrence. The tagmeme-marking suffix may be omitted and the *gi-* prefix then alone marks non-Nuclear:

gi-malbu- _ŋ gu / gi-malbu	to the old man (Dir)
gi-wa _ř ama-la / gi-wa _ř ama	in the flood (Acc)
gi-mi _ŋ i _ŋ iya-wu / gi-mi _ŋ i _ŋ iya	of the man (Ref)

Simplification of Type III noun prefixation involves specifically the personal prefixes of class 10 (that class in which both first and third order prefixes are personal prefixes). Those nouns with which the *dja-* variant of first person singular occurs are not simplified.

There is most freedom in simplifying the prefixation of the subclass (c) stem *-wa_ŋ* spouse. This is affected by the omission of the first order prefix, and/or by the omission of the third order female prefix in a Nuclear occurrence:

nj-angu-nja-wa _ŋ / nj-angu-wa _ŋ	her husband (Nuc)
(m- her-m -spouse) (m- her-spouse)	
ř-igu-řa-wa _ŋ / ř-igu-wa _ŋ / yigu-wa _ŋ	his wife (Nuc)
(f-his-f-spouse) (f-his-spouse) (his-spouse)	
nju _ŋ -angu-nju-wa _ŋ / nju _ŋ -angu-wa _ŋ	with her husband, to her husband
(m: -her -m: -spouse) (m: -her -spouse)	(Dir/Acc)
dir/acc non:nuc	dir/acc

In subclasses (a) and (b) of class 10, simplification is effected by loss of the third order female, dual, or plural prefix from a Nuclear occurrence, or, more radically, by retaining nuclear prefixation when a non-nuclear suffix is added for occurrence in a non-Nuclear tagmeme:

ř-igu-řa-a _đ u / yigu-řa-a _đ u	his daughter (Nuc)
(f-his-f: -child) (his-f: -child)	
nuc	nuc

l-imbalaŋa-liy-anjiŋa / yimbalaŋa-liy-anjiŋa (Nuc)

(pl-your:d-pl:-younger: (your:d -pl:-younger:
nuc sibling) nuc sibling)

the (pl) younger siblings of you two

njuŋg-angu-nju-biyi-la / nj-angu-nja-biyi-la (Acc)

(m:dir-her-m:non:-father-acc) (m:-her-m: -father-acc)
/acc nuc nuc nuc

with her father

ŋuŋg-angu-ŋu-wibi-lu / ŋ-angu-ŋa-wibi-lu (Dir)

(f:dir-her-f:-mother-dir) (f-her-f:-mother-dir)
/acc non:nuc nuc

to her mother

ŋ-ingu-ŋuw-anjiŋa-wu / yingu-ŋa-anjiŋa-wu (Ref)

(f-your:-f:-younger:sibling-ref) (your:-f-younger:sibling-ref)
s non:nuc s nuc

for your younger sister

5. ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONDITIONING

In the whole social life of the Yanyula people there are two dominant forces which have influenced the language. One is the contrastive force of the male versus female distinction, and the other is the dominant influence of kinship relationship. The result of these forces acting on the language has been that prefix allomorphs, alternative vocabulary, and alloclasses have come into being. It is also likely that cultural factors underlie classification into the categories described in section 1 above.

5.1 PREFIX ALLOMORPHS

In men's speech there is a change in prefixation which involves the Type I male and masculine classes, classes 2 and 4, and the male prefixation which occurs with other noun types. The prefixes used for these two specific classes, and morphemes which agree with them, have distinctive variants from those occurring in women's speech. Just as the female and feminine classes bear close structural relationship in prefixation for all speakers, so there is a close structural relationship in prefixation for male and masculine classes for men speakers. In almost all instances prefixation for these two classes is identical, but a few morphemes reveal a recognised contrast.

Type I class-marking allomorphs are identical for both male and masculine classes: Ø- (nuclear), gi- (non-nuclear).

Nuc	maɾanjɔdja (m-dugong: hunter)	buyuga (masc-fire)
Ref	gi-maɾanjɔdja-wu	gi-buyuga-wu
Dir	gi-maɾanjɔdja-lu	gi-buyuga-lu
Acc	gi-maɾanjɔdja-la	gi-buyuga-la

(See 2.2.1 above for prefixation of these same stems by a woman speaker.)

Type II body-part noun possessive prefix set has the allomorph *na-* for both male and masculine possession. This prefix occurs as: *na-* (nuclear), *nuwa-* (referent), *nunga-* (directive/accessory).

In the following examples the stem *ɲuʃu nose* will be used. In the first column the stem will be affixed as by a male speaker for possession of both classes 2 and 4, and the other two columns will be affixed as by a woman speaker for each of those classes.

	M Classes 2 & 4	F Class 2	F Class 4
Nuc	na-ɲuʃu	niwa-ɲuʃu	ni-ɲuʃu
Ref	nuwa-ɲuʃu-wu	niyiwa-ɲuʃu-wu	niyi-ɲuʃu-wu
Dir	nunga-ɲuʃu-ɲgu	ningiwa-ɲuʃu-ɲgu	ningi-ɲuʃu-ɲgu
Acc	nunga-ɲuʃu-ɲga	ningiwa-ɲuʃu-ɲga	ningi-ɲuʃu-ɲga

It is interesting that a further less frequently occurring variant *nula-* is used by a male speaker in reference to the male class only. This prefix occurs as: *nula-* (nuclear), *nuwalu-* (referent), *nungalu-* (directive/accessory). The stem *ɲuʃu nose* may alternatively be prefixed for male possession as follows:

Nuc	na-ɲuʃu / nula-ɲuʃu (his:m-nose)	his nose
Ref	nuwa-ɲuʃu-wu / nuwalu-ɲuʃu-wu	
Dir	nunga-ɲuʃu-ɲgu / nungalu-ɲuʃu-ɲgu	
Acc	nunga-ɲuʃu-ɲga / nungalu-ɲuʃu-ɲga	

Type III nouns of classes 10 and 11 have prefix allomorphs which occur when a male speaker refers to a male relative.

Class 10 prefixes which refer to male relatives vary in three ways from those in women's speech:

- 1) The variant set: \emptyset - (nuclear), *gi-* (non-nuclear) co-occurs with the subclass (b) prefix *dja- my*.

- 2) The first order male and masculine prefix set for all remaining class 10 stems is replaced by the single allomorph *i-*. It is noted, however, that the third order male prefix occurrence is identical with that in women's speech.
- 3) The class 10 possessive prefix for the masculine and male classes is *yigu*.

Nuc	M dja-baba	F nja-dja-baba	(<i>m-my-elder:sibling</i>)
Ref	gi-dja-baba-wu	nju-dja-baba-wu	<i>my older brother</i>
Dir	gi-dja-baba-lu	nju-dja-baba-lu	
Acc	gi-dja-baba-la	nju-dja-baba-la	
Nuc	M nj-ig-i-baba	F nj-igu-nja-baba	(<i>m-his-m-elder:sibling</i>)
Ref	nj-ig-i-baba-wu	nj-igu-nju-baba-wu	<i>his older brother</i>
Dir	njung-ig-i-baba-lu	njung-igu-nju-baba-lu	
Acc	njung-ig-i-baba-la	njung-igu-nju-baba-la	
Nuc	M nj-ang-i-waŋu	F nj-angu-nja-waŋu	(<i>m-her-m-spouse</i>)
Ref	nj-ang-i-waŋu-wu	nj-angu-nju-waŋu-wu	<i>her husband</i>
Dir, Acc	njung-ang-i-waŋu	njung-angu-nju-waŋu	

The final example above uses the class 10 subclass (c) stem which is the only class 10 stem to omit any tagmeme-marking suffixation for Directive and Accessory tagmemes.

Class 11 nouns take the allomorph set: \emptyset - (nuclear), *nju-* (non-nuclear).

Nuc	M gilumurima	F nja-gilumurima	(<i>m-his-son's:son</i>)
Non-Nuc	nju-gilumurima	nju-gilumurima	

Type IV class 14 men's personal names always take zero prefixation with male speaker usage.

5.2 STEM ALLOMORPHS

A comprehensive list of allostems occurs in avoidance speech which is used between speakers who are in avoidance kinship relationship. A male speaker uses allostems when speaking to tribal sisters, brothers-in-law, and mothers-in-law (with whom traditionally there is minimal verbal communication). A female speaker uses allostems when speaking to tribal brothers and sons-in-law. Allostems occur in various parts

of speech, including nouns of Types I, II, and III. Affixation of Types I and II nouns remains the same as for the basic stems in general speech.

Examples from each class will be given with nuclear affixation and with the stem occurring in general usage being given in brackets following the avoidance allstem:

Type I Nouns

Class 1: řa-guyadji (řa-bařađa, řa-ađu) *baby girl, girl*, řa-yibawunjařa (řa-ŋanawaya) *woman*, řa-mayađa (řa-bađibađi) *old woman*

Class 2: nja-mařuřul (nja-duwařa) *initiated boy*, nja-mayađa (nja-malbu) *old man*, nja-ŋamimi (nja-gabudjimi) *blind man*

Class 3: řa-yaba (řa-gamba) *sun*, řa-ŋalibagu (řa-wayuř) *blue-tongue lizard*, řa-libaliba (řa-muwađa) *canoe*, řa-djangudjangu (řa-malařunguřu) *female of a kangaroo species*

Class 4: wumayanga (buyuga) *fire*, labanař (awara) *earth* djidjaga (wunala) *animal*, wuřuřu (aľgu) *fish*, mimaŋu (ľuwa) *snake*, buluřuluřu (djajŋjga) *rock*, balanařa (ŋagaľa) *moon*, ŋuŋuŋu (yiliři) *blood*

Class 5: ma-wungař (ma-ŋařa) *food*, ma-ŋudji (ma-djařabal, ma-yulbu) *strap, rope (of some fibrous material)*, ma-bunili (ma-ŋayi) *lilyseed*, ma-wilwiřinjdja (ma-guđiđi) *pandanus nuts*

Class 6: na-wiyadji (na-ľanu) *paper-bark type*, na-balaguř (na-ľalanjdji) *camp*, na-wulungayaŋu (na-wabidja) *woman's digging stick*, na-mugugu (na-wuŋan) *breast, milk*

Class 7: naŋu-balařanga (naŋu-wařaŋin) *burrow in ground*, naŋu-wuŋuwařa (naŋu-yabi) *goodness, good words*, naŋu-laľuř (naŋu-baŋđař) *ground full of holes and burrows*

Type II Nouns

Class 8: ŋaŋa-mayamaya (ŋaŋa-maŋđa) *my foot*, ŋaŋa-guyala (ŋaŋa-malidji) *my finger, hand*, nda-ŋuŋuŋi (nda-ŋuřu) *your (s) nose*, nanda-gabařa (nanda-mi) *her eyes*, nanda-ŋawugugu (nanda-wuđu) *her stomach*, niwa-maľagunjdja (niya-wi) *his arm*, ni-djařidjbuř (ni-yiřimbi) *its (masc) tail*, ni-banjdjařa (ni-waŋŋji) *its (masc) flesh*, nawula-yidiyidi (nawula-wulaya) *their (d) heads*, nalu-wanal (nalu-wuna) *their (pl) buttocks*

5.3 KINSHIP ALLOSTEMS AND ALLOCLASSES

In the area of the language involving kinship allostems and allo-

classes, data has been limited in quantity and has only more recently been obtained. Analysis is therefore only tentative, but the available information is included as exemplifying a further part of the total pattern of Yanyula noun occurrence.

The alternative vocabulary of this section is substituted for nouns of Type III where certain specific kinship inter-relationships are involved. Some of the relationships are avoidance ones, and others focussed on by this vocabulary are significant in other ways. This alternative vocabulary has been referred to by a Yanyula informant as being sacred in that it is associated with the law of the tribe.

5.3.1 Kinship Allostems

Kinship allostems occur when a speaker refers to a third person's relative who is the speaker's uncle (mother's brother), or aunt (father's sister). Prefixation classifies these stems as being allostems of Type IIIB class 10 (see 1.3.2). The following examples are given with nuclear tagmeme-marking:

nj-angu-nja-wilaninja (m-her-m-elder:brother)

her elder brother (my uncle)

nja-wulaŋa-nja-ŋaŋaŋandamu (m-their:d-m-father)

their (d) father (my uncle)

ř-igu-řa-maŋđiya (f-his-f-mother)

his mother (my uncle's)

ř-angu-řa-ađiyannanda (f-her-f-mother)

her mother (my aunt)

5.3.2 Kinship Alloclasses

Three alloclasses are tentatively postulated on the basis of contrastive prefixation. In these alloclasses both the stems and prefixation are different from any of the Type III nouns for which they substitute. In all of these alloclasses there seems to be a three-way inter-relationship involving the speaker, hearer, and a third person who is the subject to whom the noun refers.

Alloclass 1

In alloclass 1 the prefix *wa-* occurs, to which the tentative meaning *your (s)* has been assigned. These allonouns occur where the third person subject is the speaker's uncle, or a male speaker's brother-in-law.

wa-mimajgu	<i>your elder brother (my uncle)</i>
wa-wi <u>l</u> aninja	<i>your younger brother (my uncle)</i>
wa- <u>ṇ</u> aninja	<i>your father (my uncle)</i>
M wa- <u>ṇ</u> angiři	<i>your father (my brother-in-law)</i>

It is noted that there is a relationship in form between certain alloclass 1 stems and the kinship allostems (see 5.3.1 above). The stem wilaninja occurs in both lists, and ṇaninjadamu and ṇaninja may be related forms.

Alloclass 2

In alloclass 2 the prefix *nda-* *your (s)* occurs. In general noun occurrence this prefix is possessive for body-part nouns.

M nda-wigiwiři	<i>your mother (my sister)</i>
F nda-maṅgajgu	<i>your sister (my mother)</i>
nda-aḍiya	<i>your mother (my father's sister)</i>

Alloclass 3

In alloclass 3 there is a personal prefix to indicate male or female. All speakers use řa- for a female relative. Women speakers use nja- and men speakers use dji- for a male relative. A greater variety of relationships is involved in this alloclass.

řa-ṅguwiři	<i>your daughter's child (my wife)</i>
řa-maṅgayiwiři	<i>your child (my daughter's child)</i>
řa-wuřbu	<i>your sister (my daughter's child)</i>
F nja-wuřbu	<i>your brother (my daughter's child)</i>
M dji-wuřbu	<i>your brother (my daughter's child)</i>
řa-wuguwu	<i>your mother's mother (my sister)</i>
F nja-wuguwu	<i>your mother's mother's brother (my brother)</i>
F nja- <u>l</u> amaṅjgu	<i>your mother's father <u>or</u> cousin (my brother)</i>
řa-wuřanjbifi	<i>your wife (my elder sister)</i>
F nja-waṅařinja	<i>your husband (my elder sister's)</i>
F nja-waṅulu	<i>her father (my younger brother)</i>

5.4 BASIS OF STEM CLASSIFICATION

In section 1 the distinctive class lists manifest a careful classifying of items. For the most part there is an apparent logic in

the occurrences, but in other instances the classification seems unaccountable. Dr. R.M.W. Dixon, in his recently published paper on noun classification,¹² presents evidence of an underlying logic in apparent exceptions. He has set up two rules which apply to "transfer" of class membership in Australian Aboriginal languages. He states that the irregular occurrence is in fact a purposeful class transference which either classifies according to mythological characteristics rather than currently observable ones, or which marks some "important property ... most often 'harmfulness'". Certain of his illustrations are valid for Yanyula (the author at present has a more limited knowledge of Yanyula mythology and it may well be that increased knowledge will reveal increased correlation), and a few further examples may be added.

In the feminine class a number of stems occur which have no apparent quality which would lead to a feminine classification. However, these nouns are spoken of as being "dreaming" female relatives of the people. Such nouns include: *řa-mađu cold wind, cold season*, *řa-waṅbul frog species*, *řa-waṅga crow*, *řa-giljařgiljař eaglehawk*, *řa-gaṅgaṅga fish hawk*.

Several representative items have been picked out from among those which seem to be erratically classified. These are the arboreal class nouns *na-walguřařa stinging jellyfish*, *na-wunan breast, milk*, the food class noun *ma-wundiři a boil*, the body-part nouns *nanda-wimbi* and *ni-wimbi bees (of feminine and masculine hives respectively)*, and the oddly occurring noun *niwa-řagugu his penis* (which itself occurs normally with a male possessive prefix, but for which all morphemes which occur in agreement with it are food class morphemes¹³). It would have been anticipated that the jellyfish and bees would occur in either the masculine or feminine classes which include animate nonpersonal items, and that the remaining stems would have a regular occurrence in Type II body-part nouns; (*nda-bubu your (s) sore* would logically be accompanied by the stem for *boil*). Dixon's rules apply well to all these instances. The harmful jellyfish and boil, and the insects producing the focal dietary item, honey, have been displaced from more logical lists, and the distinguishing male and female body-parts have also undergone almost complete and complete transference respectively.

6. ADDITIONAL RESTRICTED AFFIXATION

The above sections describing noun affixation deal with those affixes which have a general occurrence. There are certain other affixes which

only occur with a restricted list of stems. These affixes are:

Nonplural Suffix: The two Type IA stems *nanawa woman* and *miṇiṇu man* are the only stems to occur with the nonplural suffix *-ya / -iya*. The suffix *-ya* obligatorily occurs with *nanawa* in the singular, but *-iya* obligatorily occurs with *miṇiṇu* in the singular and optionally in the dual. Singular, dual, and plural forms of these two nouns are:

s	nja-miṇiṇ-iya	man	řa-nanawa-ya	woman
d	ři-miṇiṇ-iya / ři-miṇiṇu		ři-nanawa	
pl	li-miṇiṇu		li-nanawa	

For these two noun stems the plural meaning is innate in the stem to the degree that, when otherwise singular male and female prefixes are affixed to them, the meaning remains plural. Therefore *řa-nanawa* means *women (pl)*, and *nja-miṇiṇu* means *men (pl)*, although the forms with the plural prefix *li-* occur with far greater frequency.

The full range of tagmeme-marking suffixes occur following the *-ya / -iya* suffix.

Dual Suffixes: The suffix *-wudjaṛa* (animate dual) provides an alternative or an accompanying method of dual marking for animate nouns of Types I and IIIC. The dual prefix *ři-* optionally co-occurs with the suffix *-wudjaṛa* when the stem is a personal noun:

aḍu-wudjaṛa / řiy-aḍu-wudjaṛa	two children
miṇiṇu-wudjaṛa / ři-miṇiṇu-wudjaṛa	two men
/ miṇiṇiya-wudjaṛa / ři-miṇiṇiya-wudjaṛa	
wagugu-wudjaṛa	two dogs
wiḍiḍi-wudjaṛa	two young emus
majgařa-wudjaṛa / ři-majgařa-wudjaṛa	husband and wife
ṇiṇṇjgařa-wudjaṛa / ři-ṇiṇṇjgařa-wudjaṛa	two siblings

When a stem is suffixed by *-wudjaṛa*, the only further suffixation known to co-occur is the referent suffix *-wu*, which then occurs in second order:

aḍu-wudjaṛa-wu (*child-dual-ref*) for the two children

Either *-wudjaṛa* (animate dual) or *-gidja* (kinship dual) may be suffixed to the familiar kinship nouns of Type IIIA. Stems suffixed by either of these morphemes have only been found in Nuclear tagmemes.

gudjaga-wudjaṛa	two mothers
maṛuwaṛa-wudjaṛa	two cousins
maṛuwaṛa-gidja	two cousins
baba-gidja	two elder siblings

Plural Suffix: The suffix *-biṛi* occurs with two Type I noun stems to indicate plurality of young animate beings. With the stem *aḍu* *child*, the plural prefix *li-* usually co-occurs with the suffix *-biṛi* but it need not do so. The suffix *-biṛi* is reduplicated when it occurs with *wada* *young animal, bird, insect*.

aḍu-biṛi / liy-aḍu-biṛi	children
wada-biṛi-biṛi	young creatures (nonpersonal)

A full range of suffixes occurs following the suffix *-biṛi*:

Nuc	liy-aḍu-biṛi	children
Ref	liyy-aḍu-biṛi-yu	
Dir	linjdjiy-aḍu-biṛi-lu	
Acc	linjdjiy-aḍu-biṛi-la	

Limitier Prefix: A limiter prefix meaning *only* may occur with stems of Types I and II, taking the place of the Type I class-marking prefix and the Type II possessive prefix. In the examples available, stems prefixed in this way occur only in Nuclear tagmemes. Examples are listed below with the regular nuclear prefix occurrence in the first column and the limiter prefix occurrence in the second column:

ma-yulbu	rope	muluma-yulbu	only rope
nanda-maṇḍa	her foot	nulanda-maṇḍa	only her foot
nliwa-ṇuṛu	his nose	niliwa-ṇuṛu	only his nose
ni-yalbuṛ	its (masc) tail	nili-yalbuṛ	only its tail

Suffix -ṇala: The suffix *-ṇala* occurs with tribal names to indicate *in language*. The suffixed stem occurs in Accompaniment/

Instrument tagmemes:

munana-ṇala *in English*, yanjuwa-ṇala *in Yanyula*,
aṛawa-ṇala *in Garawa*, maṛa-ṇala *in Mara*

Suffix -ŋgu: This second order suffix -ŋgu occurs in a single instance with the stem *wula* *head* and the first order accessory suffix -*la* in the following Destination Relation phrase:

njala wula-la-ŋgu *to the top of (his) head*
 (unto head-on-to)

Descriptive Prefix: Type IA nouns occur with the Descriptive Subject pronominal prefix set¹⁴ to form frozen clauses:

naŋa-aɖu (*I-child*) *I am/was a child*, nanda-baɖaɖa (*she-baby*) *she is/was a baby*, nawula-yalguyi (*they:d-young:man*) *they are/were young men*

7. STEM MORPHOLOGY

Noun stems most frequently occur as simple roots, but stems may be derived, and stems may occur in reduplicated form. Nouns modified in these ways frequently have a limited range of occurrence.

7.1 DERIVED STEMS

Class-marking prefixes are useful in deriving new nouns. These prefixes attach to various parts of speech, with or without the addition of a derivational suffix, to form new nouns.

Four derivational suffixes occur:

-widji: This is an attributive suffix, which attributes to the resultant stem the quality of the meaning of the root with which it occurs. The attributive suffix has four variants: -bidji follows *n-* or *nj-* final stems; -idji follows *ʃ-*, *l-*, or *!-* final stems; -nbidji follows vowel-final stems which take set 8 tagmeme-marking suffixes; -widji follows other vowel-final stems.

-ŋu: This is a relator suffix which relates the form with which it occurs to a source, possessor, or goal.

-maɾa: This is an animate nominaliser, which derives an animate subject from an action which it performs.

-wu: This is an inanimate nominaliser which derives an inanimate subject from an action which it performs.

Nouns are derived as follows:

1) Change of class:

wangala (masc- <i>olden:time</i>)	→	nja-wangala (m- <i>olden:time</i>)	<i>an olden time man</i>
řa-ŋadjař (fem- <i>lightning</i>)	→	∅-ŋadjař (masc- <i>lightning</i>)	<i>a gun</i>
djajŋjga (masc- <i>rock</i>)	→	ma-djajŋjga (fd- <i>rock</i>)	<i>money</i>

(See also 1.1.2 class 7, above.)

ni-wi	(its:masc- <i>arm</i>)	<i>the wing (of a plane)</i>
ni-ŋuřu	(its:masc- <i>nose</i>)	<i>the bonnet (of a car)</i>
ni-ŋunduwa	(its:masc- <i>throat</i>)	<i>the bodice (of a dress)</i>
nanu-mulu	(its:arb- <i>mouth</i>)	<i>door, gate</i>

2) Class-marker + adjective/numeral

řa-yabi	(f- <i>good</i>)	<i>a good woman</i>
nja-walguřa	(m- <i>big</i>)	<i>a big man</i>
li-wunguwungu	(pl- <i>black</i>)	<i>black people</i>
∅-mađu-mađu	(masc- <i>cold-cold</i>)	<i>snow, refrigerator</i>
ma-bululu	(fd- <i>light</i>)	<i>bread</i>
ma-yumbu	(fd- <i>small</i>)	<i>a piece of food</i>
ma-ărgula	(fd- <i>one</i>)	<i>one piece of food</i>
ři-ganjmađa	(d- <i>two</i>)	<i>two people</i>

3) Class-marker + adjective + body-part stem

řa-wađi-maŋđa	(f- <i>bad-foot</i>)	<i>a lame woman</i>
nja-gabudji-mi	(m- <i>blind-eye</i>)	<i>a blind man</i>
řa-yabi-malidji	(f- <i>good-finger</i>)	<i>a deft-fingered woman</i>
li-muđuw-anma	(pl- <i>deaf-ear</i>)	<i>the deaf people</i>

4) Class-marker + noun/adjective + -widji (attributive suffix)

řa-wađi-widji	(f- <i>bad-attr</i>)	<i>a bad woman</i>
nja-djamuga-widji	(m- <i>beard-attr</i>)	<i>a bearded man</i>
řa-gundařuřu-wldji	(fem- <i>sail-attr</i>)	<i>a sailing boat</i>
li-gamugamu-widji	(pl- <i>liquor-attr</i>)	<i>the drunkards</i>

- yalbuř-idji (tail-attr) a shooting star
 nja-manga-nbidji (m-body-attr) a sturdy boy
 nja-yiřinj-bidji (m-feather-attr) a dancer decorated with feathers
- 5) Class-marker + possessive pronoun + -nu (relator suffix)
 m-ingu-nu (fd-your:s-rel) your food
 l-ingu-nu (pl-your:s-rel) your people
- 6) Class-marker + temporal/locative/participle¹⁵ + -nu (relator)
 řa-gařiy-a-nu (f-from-west-rel) the woman who came from the
 west
 ma-gař-agařa-nu (fd-from-east-rel) European food
 nja-řigařa-nu (m-earlier:today-rel) the man who was here earlier
 today
 ø-gař-anga-nu (masc-from-up-rel) (of clothing) a shirt
 (of fish) freshwater fish
 ma-balabanda-nu (fd-spreading-rel) jam
- 7) Class-marker + participle ± -wu / -mařa (nominalisers)
 mayamanda (masc-mixing:up) all different
 things
 wařmanda-wu (masc-blowing-inanim) the wind
 widjuwanda-wu (masc-covering-inanim) a blanket
 njamba-wuduřumanda-wu (masc-reflexive-feeding-inanim) a meal
 li-řamanda-mařa (pl-fighting-anim) fighters, sol-
 diers
 ři-wađđjangaya-mařa (d-fishing-anim) two fishermen
 nja-wulumanda-mařa (m-running-anim) a runner
 nja-waŋanda-mařa (m-hitting/shooting-anim) a gunman

Derived nouns do not all have a full range of distribution into clause-level tagmemes. Those of 1) - 2) above consist of a class-marker plus a simple root (or in one instance, a reduplicated root). These nouns occur as regular nouns of their respective classes in Types I and II. The remaining stems of 3) - 7) above are complex stems which have a very limited distribution into clause-level tagmemes.

With a single exception, the remaining derived stems occur in Nuclear tagmemes only, and most occur in a single Nuclear tagmeme. The nouns of 6) above occur in all Nuclear tagmemes. The other derived stems from 3) - 5) and 7) occur in Descriptive Predicate tagmemes only. The exception from these complex stems is the Accompaniment/Instrument

occurrence of the noun *ma-balabanda-ŋu* (*fd-spreading-rel*): *mungu-balabanda-ŋu* (*fd:dir/acc-jam*) *with jam*. In the light of this occurrence, it seems quite possible that there is potential for a wider occurrence for other complex derived stems also, but current data provides no further evidence.

7.2 REDUPLICATED STEMS

Reduplication of stems occurs in Type I Yanyula nouns. There are reduplicated roots which only ever occur in this way to form the regular stem of certain nouns:

guřguř *morepork*, *gulagula* (*my*) *child*, *řa-yilwiylwi* *duck*,
ma-wudawuda *stone spear-head*, *wuluwulu* *grinding stone*

However, stems may also be reduplicated, and when this occurs there is extension of meaning.

Reduplication may be partial or complete. In partial reduplication the first two syllables of a polysyllabic stem are reduplicated. The only phonological change noted in the process of reduplication of Type I nouns is with the stem *wuŋŋař* *smoke*, which becomes *wuŋŋař-guŋŋař* *smoky*.

When a stem is reduplicated, the class-marking prefix is lost, except that the plural prefix *li-* may optionally occur.

The meaning and tagmeme occurrence of reduplicated stems is different for animate and inanimate nouns. When Type IA personal nouns are reduplicated, plurality is indicated, whether or not the plural prefix *li-* co-occurs, and there may be an associated idea of all-inclusiveness. Animate nouns of Type IB are accompanied by a similar meaning but do not take the personal plural prefix *li-*.

<i>li-wanga-wangala</i>	<i>olden time people</i>
<i>li-wuřu-wuřumbařa</i>	<i>the young people</i>
<i>yanjuwa-yanjuwa</i>	<i>the Yanyula people</i>
<i>mařa-mařanjdja</i>	<i>dugong hunters</i>
<i>řabaya-řabaya</i>	<i>evil spirits</i>

Reduplicated polysyllabic stems occur in Nuclear tagmemes only. Only reduplicated disyllabic stems take the full set of tagmeme-marking suffixes, and this does not occur frequently:

Nuc	li-malbu-malbu	<i>the old men</i>
Ref	liyi-malbu-malbu-wu	
Dir	linjdji-malbu-malbu-ŋgu	
Acc	linjdji-malbu-malbu-ŋga	

It is noted that where reduplicated stems take tagmeme-marking suffixes, they occur with the same set of suffix allomorphs as the simple root.

When inanimate noun stems of Type IB are reduplicated, the resultant form denotes position in, at, on, by, and such nouns therefore occur in an Accessory Position tagmeme.

wumbuř-wumbuř	<i>on the plains</i>
yaba-yabala	<i>on the road</i>
wula-wulaŋi	<i>by the river</i>
djajŋjga-djajŋjga	<i>on the rocks</i>
munjdji-munjdji	<i>in the bush</i>
wiŋi-wiŋinjma	<i>at the gum trees</i>

Reduplicated inanimate noun stems may also be used as descriptives:

wuŋŋař-guŋŋař	<i>smoky</i>
djajŋjga-djajŋjga	<i>stony</i>

8. DISTRIBUTION INTO CLAUSE-LEVEL TAGMEMES

Nouns occur in Subject, Object, Actor, Referent, Destination Relation, Accompaniment/Instrument, Position, Time, and Descriptive Predicate tagmemes. (See 2. above for definition.) Most noun classes have an extensive distribution into these tagmemes. A few classes have only limited distribution. No class occurs in all tagmemes.

Noun classes readily divide into two main groups. The first consists of classes 1-12, and it includes all common nouns, body-part nouns, and familiar and formal kinship nouns. The classes of this group have extensive occurrence. The second group consists of classes 13-15, and it includes group kinship nouns and proper nouns. Classes of this group have restricted occurrence.

8.1 DISTRIBUTION OF CLASSES 1-12

There is a restriction on the noun classes which occur in Position

and Time tagmemes, but nouns from classes 1-12 occur in all the remaining tagmemes which have noun fillers. (Not every noun from every class occurs in each tagmeme necessarily, but some nouns from each class do.)

Only nonpersonal nouns of classes 3-7 occur in Position tagmemes.

Only a few stems from classes 3-5 occur in Time tagmemes:

řu-gamba-a	(fem:non:nuc-sun-acc)	<i>in the daytime</i>
dji-wundur <u>ř</u> -a	(masc:non:nuc-night-acc)	<i>at night</i>
nu-wunbař-u	(arb:ref-night-ref)	<i>overnight</i>

8.2 DISTRIBUTION OF CLASSES 13-15

Classes 13 and 14 consist of group kinship nouns, personal names, and corroboree names. These nouns occur in Descriptive Predicate tagmemes only. Class 15 consists of place names and these also occur in Descriptive Predicate tagmemes, and additionally in Position and Destination Relation tagmemes.

N O T E S

1. A change has been made by the author in the spelling of the language name from Anyula of the earlier 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 twenty-four months' field work at Borroloola, and eight months' field work at Doomadgee Mission during the years 1963 - 1969, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

The author gratefully acknowledges the earlier advice of Miss Eunice Pike to take Yanyula women's speech as the basis for general description and to S.I.L. consultants for editorial advice. She has also been grateful to S.A. Wurm for his inadvertent encouragement in the comment made several years ago: "Yanyula is a wild language!"

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 acknowledges her debt to willing Yanyula informant helpers, Bella Wollogorang from Borroloola, and Pluto Sevenemus and Big Arthur from Doomadgee Mission.

2. The concept of language as a hierarchical structure which may be analysed is taken from Kenneth L. Pike (1967).

It is noted that Yanyula clause-level analysis is still in process at this time.

3. There have been changes in noun classification since earlier papers were published. Classes 1 and 3 were earlier considered to be a single feminine class. Classes 4, 5, and 6 were earlier named "neuter, plant-derived, tree-derived" respectively, before more careful analysis of semantic categories was undertaken.

4. It is noted that in the speech of some, a- is the most frequently occurring variant of this morpheme, but it has seemed to the author that řa- is the identifying prefix.

5. Spirits are designated as animate beings because it seems that this is how the Yanyula themselves view them.

6. The following two phonemes have not been described in *Anyula Phonology* (1967): /jg/ and /jŋ/ are palato-velars.

7. The Yanyula words for ground and tree beehives have been placed in a separate section from other foods, because of the particular strength of the accompanying male and female connotation, and because of the feminine classification of the beeswax with the feminine hive from which it comes. The hives are spoken of as "boy one" and "girl one", and the bees are literally named "his-bee" and "her-bee" with the identical stem for "bee" occurring with both.

8. Ø is used as a device to indicate a zero morpheme occurrence in examples where 1) a specific class-marker prefix is signalled in this way, and 2) a specific tagmeme-marker suffix is signalled in this way.

9. Aboriginal kinship terms have a different range of meaning from the English words by which they are most readily translated. For example, *mother* not only denotes one's own mother and all her sisters, but also every other woman in the tribe who shares the same *skin group*. The children of any member of that group become one's *brothers* and *sisters*. It is only mother's brother's children who are *cousins*. This different range of meaning must be borne in mind throughout sections dealing with Type III nouns.

10. When *Anyula Person Pronouns* (1964) was written, a single class 10 kinship noun was then identified as a phrase consisting of a free possessive pronoun and a kinship noun. Since then, both phonological and morphological evidence have led to recognition of a single, though complex, word.

11. Non-Transitive Subject occurs as subject of Intransitive, Locative, Descriptive, Existential, and Reflexive clauses. It is noted that nouns occur without suffixation in the sentence-level Vocative tagmeme.

12. See Dixon (1968).

13. This may be illustrated by two utterances. On one occasion a speaker touched two small naked boys on the genitals and said, *maṇadj-awu gulu maṇadj-awu* (*here-it:food:class* and *here-it:food:class*) *Here it is and here it is*. When the author was checking on the word for penis because of this odd occurrence, the word was given and then the informant asked: *gu-yibaṇa-nu badj-awu?* (*it:food:class:you-write:down-near:past there-it:food:class*) *You wrote (penis) down there?*

14. Cf. class 8 possessive prefixes, Set I (see chart 4).

15. For the sake of simplicity, participles are treated as stems in this paper. In fact, each participle consists of a verb stem and the suffix {-nda} (-nda ~ -njdja ~ -ya).

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