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YANYULA NOUN MODIFIERS

Jean F. Kirton

0. Introduction

1. Noun Modifiers
   1.1 Adjectives and Numerals
   1.2 Demonstrative and Possessive Pronouns
   1.3 Allitive Specifier
   1.4 Prefix Allomorphs Used by a Male Speaker

2. Noun Modifier Occurrence in Noun Phrases

0. INTRODUCTION

In Yanyula, adjectives, numerals, demonstrative and possessive pronouns, and allitive 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 allitive 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,
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 personal or nonpersonal subtypes, but noun modifiers have no such restriction.

Adjective stems include the following:


Numeral stems are:

\textit{aŋgula} one, \textit{ganjmaɗa} two, \textit{gulaŋgulaŋ} a few, \textit{djagaɗa} many

The stems \textit{yabi} good, nice, and \textit{aŋgula} one, are listed below occurring with each Type I class-marker.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
Classes & 1 Female & 3 Feminine \\
& \textit{fa-yabi} & \textit{fa-aŋgula} \\
Class 2 Male & \textit{nja-yabi} & \textit{nja-aŋgula} \\
Class 4 Masculine & \textit{yabi} & \textit{aŋgula} \\
Class 5 Food & \textit{ma-yabi} & \textit{ma-aŋgula} \\
Class 6 Arboreal & \textit{na-yabi} & \textit{na-aŋgula} \\
Class 7 Abstract & \textit{naŋu-yabi} & \textit{naŋuŋ-aŋgula} \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Adjectives also take the personal dual and plural prefixes. The numeral \textit{ganjmaɗa} two occurs with the dual prefix, and the stems \textit{gulaŋgulaŋ} few and \textit{djagaɗa} many occur with the plural prefix.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
Dual & \textit{fi-yabi} (d-good) & \textit{fi-ganjmaɗa} (d-two) \\
Plural & \textit{li-yabi} (pl-good) & \textit{li-gulaŋgulaŋ} (pl-few) & \textit{li-djagaɗa} (pl-many) \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>Nja-ařgula (m-one)</th>
<th>Ma-ařgula (fd-one)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Ri-ganjmaŋa (d-two)</td>
<td>Ma-ganjmaŋa (fd-two)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>Li-gulařgulař (pl-few)</td>
<td>Ma-gulařgulař (fd-few)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Li-djagaŋa (pl-many)</td>
<td>Ma-djagaŋa (fd-many)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nuc</th>
<th>Li-wuřiři (pl-big)</th>
<th>Na-ganjmaŋa (arb-two)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Liyi-wuřiři-yu</td>
<td>Nu-ganjmaŋa-wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir</td>
<td>Linjdji-wuřiři-lu</td>
<td>Nungu-ganjmaŋa-lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>Linjdji-wuřiři-la</td>
<td>Nungu-ganjmaŋa-la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nuc</th>
<th>Ařgula (masc-one)</th>
<th>Ša-muŋu (f-deaf)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Djiiy-ařgula-wu</td>
<td>Šu-muŋu-wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir</td>
<td>Djiiy-ařgula-ngu</td>
<td>Šu-muŋu-ngu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>Djiiy-ařgula-ŋga</td>
<td>Šu-muŋu-ŋga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nuc</th>
<th>Ši-waŋi (d-bad)</th>
<th>Naŋu-yabi (abstr-good)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Šiyi-waŋi-yu</td>
<td>Nuwaŋu-yabi-yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir</td>
<td>Šinjdji-waŋi-njdju</td>
<td>Nungaŋu-yabi-njdju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>Šinjdji-waŋi-njdja</td>
<td>Nungaŋu-yabi-njdja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Consonant-final stems are infrequent among adjectives and numerals. The few š- and ı-final stems take set 5 tagmeme-marking suffixes.

Nuc  řa-gulařgulař (fem-few)  ma мandałмandał (fd-soft)  
Ref  řu-gulařgulař-u  mu мandałмandał-u  
Dir  řu-gulařgulař-u  mưa мandałмandał-u  
Acc  řu-gulařgulař-a  mưa мandałмandał-a

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

Nuc  ɲaľa (masc-warm)  řa-buţi (f/fem-small)  
Ref  dji-ɲaľa-ngu  řu-buţi-ngu  
Dir  dji-ɲaľa-ndu  řu-buţi-nju  
Acc  dji-ɲaľa-nda  řu-buţi-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/-ŋu) hot, walguľa (-lu/-ŋu) big, wuřiři (-lu/-ŋdju) big, fullgrown

Nuc  walguľa (masc-big)  wuřiři (masc-big)  
Dir  dji-walguľa-lu  dji-wuřiři-lu  
/ dji-walguľa-ngu  / dji-wuřiři-njdju

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

ganjmada-wudjařa two (animate beings), walguľa-wudjařa two big (animate beings), wadi-wudjařa two bad (animate beings), buţi-ŋudjařa 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, -maŋadjji 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes 1 &amp; 3</th>
<th>řa-dja</th>
<th>řa-maŋadjji</th>
<th>řa-mbaŋu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ a-dja</td>
<td>/ a-maŋadjji</td>
<td>/ a-mbaŋu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Class 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 2</th>
<th>nja-dja</th>
<th>nja-maŋadjji</th>
<th>nja-mbaŋu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Class 4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 4</th>
<th>djina</th>
<th>nja-maŋadjji</th>
<th>nja-mbaŋu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Class 5**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>ma-dja</th>
<th>ma-maŋadjji</th>
<th>ma-mbaŋu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Class 6**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 6</th>
<th>na-dja</th>
<th>na-maŋadjji</th>
<th>na-mbaŋu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Class 7**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 7</th>
<th>naŋu-dja</th>
<th>naŋu-maŋadjji</th>
<th>naŋu-mbaŋu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Dual**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>ři-dja</th>
<th>ři-maŋadjji</th>
<th>ři-mbaŋu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Plural**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>li-dja</th>
<th>li-maŋadjji</th>
<th>li-mbaŋu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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 linjdi-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 -maŋadjji that (specific) normally only occur with -dja this and -maŋadjji in non-Nuclear tagmemes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nuclear</th>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>Dir/Acc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Classes 1 and 3</td>
<td>řa-maŋadjji</td>
<td>řuwu-maŋadjji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ a-maŋadjji</td>
<td>/ wuwu-maŋadjji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 2</td>
<td>nja-maŋadjji</td>
<td>njuwu-maŋadjji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 4</td>
<td>nja-maŋadjji</td>
<td>yi-maŋadjji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 5</td>
<td>ma-maŋadjji</td>
<td>muwu-maŋadjji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 6</td>
<td>na-maŋadjji</td>
<td>nuwu-maŋadjji</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Class 7 naŋu-маŋadjji nuwaŋu-маŋadjji nuŋgaŋu-маŋadjji
Dual ŋi-маŋadjji ŋiyi-маŋadjji ŋinjdi-маŋadjji
Plural li-маŋadjji liyi-маŋadjji linjdi-маŋadjji

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

The stem -маŋadjji 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 улу 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classes 1 &amp; 3</th>
<th>ŋulu-маŋadjji</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Classes 2 &amp; 4</td>
<td>njulu-маŋadjji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 5</td>
<td>mulu-маŋadjji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 6</td>
<td>nulu-маŋadjji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 7</td>
<td>naŋulu-маŋadjji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>ŋili-маŋadjji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>ili-маŋadjji</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 yingu your, аngu her, yigu his, all occur with the suffix -ŋu 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:
Examples of possessive pronouns are given below as they occur with tagmeme-marking prefix sets:

Nuc 1-igu-ŋu (pl-his-rel) nja-ŋada (m-my)
Ref liiy-igu  nju-ŋada
Dir/Acc linjdj-igu njuŋu-ŋada
Nuc nj-angu-ŋu (masc-her-rel) naŋ-aluŋa (abstr-their:pl)
Ref dj-angu nuwan-aluŋa
Dir/Acc djing-angu nungn-aluŋa

1.3 ALLOTIVE SPECIFIER

The allotive specifier aŋgu other, different, some (or as in comparison: aŋgu ... aŋgu 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 aŋgu. Set I is closely related in form to the demonstrative pronoun prefix set as it occurs with -maŋadjji 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 ŋa- and the dual prefix ŋi- in Nuclear occurrence. To retain the distinction the dual suffix -wudjaŋa 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.
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.  

Prefixes of both sets I and II distinguish Nuclear, Referent, and Directive/Accessory. Rules previously stated for nuclear prefix occurrence 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 nuwaŋuŋ- respectively. The only 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nuclear</th>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>Dir/Acc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 s f/3 fem</td>
<td>ř-ařgu</td>
<td>řuw-ařgu-lu</td>
<td>řung-ařgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ ařgu</td>
<td>/ wuw-ařgu-lu</td>
<td>/ wung-ařgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 s m</td>
<td>nj-ařgu</td>
<td>njuw-ařgu-lu</td>
<td>njung-ařgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 masc</td>
<td>nj-ařgu</td>
<td>dj-ařgu-lu</td>
<td>djing-ařgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 fd</td>
<td>mj-ařgu</td>
<td>muw-ařgu-lu</td>
<td>mung-ařgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 arb</td>
<td>n-ařgu</td>
<td>nuw-ařgu-lu</td>
<td>nung-ařgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 abstr</td>
<td>naŋ-ařgu</td>
<td>nuwaŋuŋ-ařgu-lu</td>
<td>nuangaŋ-ařgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 d</td>
<td>ř-ařgu-wudjaŋa</td>
<td>řiy-ařgu-lu</td>
<td>řinjdv-ařgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>l-ařgu</td>
<td>liy-ařgu-lu</td>
<td>linjdv-ařgu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following are the affixed forms of argu as it occurs with set II prefixes in the various tagmemes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nuclear</th>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>Dir/Acc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 s f/3 fem</td>
<td>nand-argu</td>
<td>nuwand-argu-lu</td>
<td>nuŋgand-argu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 s m</td>
<td>niw-argu</td>
<td>niyiw-argu-lu</td>
<td>niŋgiw-argu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 masc</td>
<td>nil-argu</td>
<td>niyiil-argu-lu</td>
<td>niŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 fd</td>
<td>nuw-argu</td>
<td>nuwuw-argu-lu</td>
<td>nuŋguw-argu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 arb</td>
<td>nan-argu</td>
<td>nuwan-argu-lu</td>
<td>nuŋgan-argu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 d</td>
<td>nawul-argu</td>
<td>nuwawul-argu-lu</td>
<td>nuŋgawul-argu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>nul-argu</td>
<td>nuwal-argu-lu</td>
<td>nuŋgal-argu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nuc</td>
<td>M yabi (m/masc-good)</td>
<td>F nja-yabi (m-good)</td>
<td>F yabi (masc-good)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>gi-yabi-yu</td>
<td>nju-yabi-yu</td>
<td>dji-yabi-yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir</td>
<td>gi-yabi-njdju</td>
<td>nju-yabi-njdju</td>
<td>dji-yabi-njdju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>gi-yabi-njdja</td>
<td>nju-yabi-njdja</td>
<td>dji-yabi-njdja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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), njungu-dja (Directive/Accessory). Both -maŋadjı that (specific) and -mbaŋu that (nonspecific) take the prefixes nja- (Nuclear), nju- (Referent), njungu- (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 prefixes which indicate both classes 2 and 4 are the same as for the
demonstrative pronouns -maₙadjᵢ and -mbₐng as described in the preceding paragraph.

1.4.3 Allotive Specifier

The allotive specifier ₐₕgu 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-ₐₕgu (Nuclear), njuw-ₐₕgu-lu (Referent), njₐng-ₐₕgu (Directive/Accessory) in set I, and niw-ₐₕgu (Nuclear), niyiw-ₐₕgu-lu (Referent), ningl-_ₐₕgu (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 ± ₐₕgu ± 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  Ḩa-dja Ḩa-a₈u (f-this f-child) this girl
Ref  Ḩu-ₕu-dja Ḩu-a₈u-wu
Dir  Ḩuₐngu-dja Ḩu-a₈u-ngu
Acc  Ḩuₐngu-dja Ḩu-a₈u-ngₐ

Nuc  li-maₙadjᵢ li-wulu (pl-that pl-people) those people
Ref  liyi-maₙadjᵢ liyi-wulu-wu
Dir  linjdji-maₙadjᵢ linjdji-wulu-ngu
Acc  linjdji-maₙadjᵢ linjdji-wulu-ngₐ
Nuc  F  nj-ařgu  *awača (masc-other masc-country)*
   another country
Ref   dj-ařgu-lu djiy-awača-wu
Dir   djiŋ-ařgu  djiy-awača-lu
Acc   djiŋ-ařgu  djiy-awača-la

Nuc  M  nj-ařgu  *awača (masc-other masc-country)*
Ref   njuw-ařgu-lu giy-awača-wu
Dir   njung-ařgu  giy-awača-lu
Acc   njung-ařgu  giy-awača-la

Nuc  F  nja-ařgula  *nja-miŋiŋiya (m-one m-man)*  one man
Ref   njuw-ařgula-wu nju-miŋiŋiya-wu
Dir   njuw-ařgula-ngu nju-miŋiŋiya-lu
Acc   njuw-ařgula-nga nju-miŋiŋiya-la

Nuc  M  ařgula  *miŋiŋiya (m-one m-man)*  one man
Ref   giy-ařgula-wu gi-miŋiŋiya-wu
Dir   giy-ařgula-ngu gi-miŋiŋiya-lu
Acc   giy-ařgula-nga gi-miŋiŋiya-la

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

Nuc  F  nja-ŋada  *lulun (masc-my masc-bed)*  my bed
Ref   dji-ŋada  dji-lulun-gu
Dir   djiŋu-ŋada  dji-lulun-du
Acc   djiŋu-ŋada  dji-lulun-da

Nuc  M  nja-ŋada  *lulun (masc-my masc-bed)*  my bed
Ref   nju-ŋada  gi-lulun-gu
Dir   njungu-ŋada  gi-lulun-du
Acc   njungu-ŋada  gi-lulun-da
Nuc ŋa-mbaŋu ŋ-ǝrugu (f-that:nonspecific f-other) that other one (f)
Ref ŋuuw-mbaŋu ŋuw-ǝrugu-lu
Dir/ Acc ŋungu-mbaŋu ŋung-ǝrugu

Nuc F nj-a-manadjji diyanu (masc-that masc-new) that new one
Ref yi-manadjji.dji-diyanu-wu
Dir djingu-manadjji dji-diyanu-lu
Acc djingu-manadjji dji-diyanu-la

Nuc M nj-a-manadjji diyanu (masc-that masc-new) that new one
Ref nju-manadjji gi-diyanu-wu
Dir njungu-manadjji gi-diyanu-lu
Acc njungu-manadjji gi-diyanu-la

Nuc F nil-ǝrugu walja (masc-other masc-dugong) another dugong
Ref niyil-ǝrugu-lu dji-walja-wu
Dir nìgîl-ǝrugu dji-walja-ŋgu
Acc nìgîl-ǝrugu dji-walja-ŋga

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

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

Nuc F djina nj-ǝrugu djajŋga (masc:this masc-other masc-rock) this different rock
Ref yi-dja dj-ǝrugu-lu dji-djajŋga-wu
Dir djingu-dja djing-ǝrugu dji-djajŋga-wu
Acc djingu-dja djing-ǝrugu dji-djajŋga-a
Phrases including the dual suffix -wudjaŋa usually occur in Nuclear tagmemes only:

ři-mañadji miŋiŋu-wudjaŋa (d-that man-d) those two men
ganjmađa-wudjaŋa ři-waŋu-wudjaŋa (two-d d-spouse-d) two husbands/wives
agu-wudjaŋa buyi-ŋudjaŋa ganjmađa-wudjaŋa (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 djagaŋa ni-wini M djagaŋa na-wini (masc-many ite:masc-name) their (masc) many names; F nja-ganjmađa niya-wini M ganjmađa na-wini (m-two his-name) his two names; řa-mañadji nanda-wini (f-that her-name) that name of her's.
N O T E S

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-aŋgu with a set II food class prefix. When a bag of mangoes was brought to add to the carton, these were m-aŋgu 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-aŋgu the other people (known to us), with a set II prefix. An African tribe seen in a photograph were referred to as l-aŋgu 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 aŋgu has most frequent occurrence in Nuclear tagsmemes, 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 nungawul-aŋgu-lu to the two others and nungal-aŋgu-lu to the others (pl); the suffix -la was given to indicate Accessory in the word nungawul-aŋgu-la with the two others but there was zero suffixation for Accessory in the word nungal-aŋgu 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.

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

Jean F. Kirton

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1. Semantic Classification
   1.1 Common Nouns
   1.2 Body-part Nouns
   1.3 Kinship Nouns
   1.4 Proper Nouns
2. Grammatical Conditioning
   2.1 Tagmeme-marking Suffixes
   2.2 Tagmeme-marking Prefix Sets
3. Phonological Conditioning
   3.1 Suffix Allomorphs
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### ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abstr</td>
<td>abstract class-marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc</td>
<td>accessory tagmeme-marker</td>
</tr>
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<td>anim</td>
<td>animate derivational suffix</td>
</tr>
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<td>attr</td>
<td>attributive derivational suffix</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>occurrence in an Accessory tagmeme</td>
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<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dir</td>
<td>directive tagmeme-marker</td>
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<td>Dir</td>
<td>occurrence in a Directive tagmeme</td>
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<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>food class-marker</td>
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<td>non:nuc</td>
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<tr>
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<td>occurrence in a Nuclear tagmeme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>referent tagmeme-marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>rel</td>
<td>relator derivational suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>occurrence in a Referent tagmeme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>versus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/ (represents alternatives)
{ } (the bracketed item represents all the allomorphs of its morpheme)
: (additional meaning within the morpheme)
+ plus
→ 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 Yanyula 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 semiotics, 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 tag-meme-marking suffixes. Allomorphs of affixes are most frequently related to phonological features. Certain prefix allomorphs, allo-stems, 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 tagmeme 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
Avoidance speech allomorphs

Semantic (Prefixation and Classification)

Anthropological (Allomorphs, Allostems, Alloclases, and Classification)

Grammatical (Suffixation and Prefixation)

Phonological (Affix Allomorphs)

Chart 1: Factors Influencing Yanyula Noun Morphology
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Identifying Affix</th>
<th>Typical Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TYPE IA</td>
<td>Class 1</td>
<td>{ra-}</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Class 2</td>
<td>{nja-}</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TYPE IB</td>
<td>Class 3</td>
<td>{řa-}</td>
<td>Feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Class 4</td>
<td>{ś-}</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Class 5</td>
<td>{ma-}</td>
<td>Food</td>
</tr>
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<td>Class 6</td>
<td>{na-}</td>
<td>Arboreal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Class 7</td>
<td>{naŋu-}</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>TYPE II</td>
<td>Class 8</td>
<td></td>
<td>Possessive Set I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TYPE IIIA</td>
<td>Class 9</td>
<td>{ś-}</td>
<td>Familiar Kinship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TYPE IIIB</td>
<td>Class 10</td>
<td>Possessive Set II</td>
<td>Formal Kinship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Class 11</td>
<td>Possessive Set III</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Class 12</td>
<td>Possessive Set IV</td>
<td>Formal Kinship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TYPE IIIC</td>
<td>Class 13</td>
<td>{ś-/ři-/li-}</td>
<td>Group Kinship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TYPE IV</td>
<td>Class 14</td>
<td></td>
<td>Personal Names, Corroboree Names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Class 15</td>
<td></td>
<td>Place Names</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 ƙa ni who is used only in reference to nouns of Type IA, while the stem ƙa li what is used in reference to nouns of Type IB. This is illustrated below using Type IA female stem baɗi baɗi old woman, and Type IB feminine stem muwaɗa canoe:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ƙa-} & \text{baɗi baɗi} & (f-old:woman) & \text{old woman} \\
\text{ƙi-} & \text{baɗi baɗi} & (d-old:woman) & \text{old women (d)} \\
\text{li-} & \text{baɗi baɗi} & (pl-old:woman) & \text{old women (pl)} \\
\text{ƙa-} & \muwaɗa & (fem-canoe) & \text{canoe, canoes} \\
\text{ƙa-} & \text{ŋaŋa} & \text{ƙa-} & \text{baɗi baɗi} & \text{Who is the old woman?} \\
(f-\text{who}) & (F-old:woman) \\
\text{ƙa-} & \text{ŋaŋi} & \text{ƙa-} & \muwaɗa & \text{What is this (kind of) canoe?} \\
(fem-what) & (fem-canoe)
\end{align*}
\]

1.1.1 Personal Nouns

Type IA nouns are personal common nouns which occur in classes 1 and 2, which are female and male 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 ƙi- or the plural-marker li- in nonsingular occurrence.
Class 1 (Female)

Class 1 is the female class marked by the prefix {ra-}. This prefix has the free variants ra- and a-, and the relative usage of the two prefixes varies according to speaker preference. At times it has been noted that ra- 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 ra- 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.

fa-wu'umba' fa / fa-wunba'ridji adolescent girl, fa-nanawaya woman, fa-walgu ru pregnant woman, fa-bin'adjafa woman with many children, fa-guliga woman who has lost a child in infancy, fa-wamala'na 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:

fa-niwanama, fa-nima'ama, fa-nulanjma, fa-naminjanma, fa-nulja'rima, fa-na'jalama, fa-nu'arima, fa-nu'ulama

Class 2 (Male)

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

nja-mininjira man, nja-malbu old man, nja-yalgu yi young man, nja-ramanju single man, nja-manga'ni cleverman, doctor, nja-ramanji' da skillful hunter of dugong (sea mammal), nja-daru adolescent boy, nja-duwa'fa initiated boy

The male tribal subsection names occurring in this class are:

nja-bu'ula'ni, nja-balja'ringjiji, nja-gana'la, nja-bulanji, nja-banja'ringjiji, nja-gama'ra'ni, nja-yaga'mani, nja-ara'idingjimala

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 a'gu child occurs as fa-a'gu girl, nja-a'gu boy. The following are other stems which occur in both classes:
badaa baby, miyadji widow, widower, bulungu sicik person, 
ngana ganu dead person, wagugu dog (pet), djawina subordinate 
associate, ngajji stranger, wi elder person, boss, bu person, ma first-born, bunju junior to 
the first-born

Tribal names also occur in both classes, so that da-ma is Mara 
woman, nja-ma Mara man, ri-ma two Mara people, and li-ma Mara 
people, the Mara tribe.

Other stems in common usage are:

anjuwa / yanjuwa Yanyula, afawa Garawa, gudanjji Kudanjji, 
alawa Alawa, muna 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 associ- 
ated with the earlier semi-moiety system of the Yanyula:

wudaliya, wuyaliya, rumbuiya, wawugaiya, djungayi

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-yumbuwa 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 accord- 
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 {fa-}. This 
prefix has the variants fa- and a-, which for the most part occur in
## Chart 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
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<th>7</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personal Nouns</strong></td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Creatures Distincted by Sex</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Other Animals</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Reptiles, Birds, Insects</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Fish and Other Water Creatures</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Spirits</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Grasses</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Trees</strong></td>
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<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Foods (non-meat)</strong></td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Manufactured Articles</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Natural Phenomena</strong></td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>(x)</td>
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<td>(x)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Pertaining to Corroborees</strong></td>
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<td>x</td>
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</table>
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. 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: ḋa-wunamuď opossum, ḋa-malaŕunguď wallaby, ḋa-djunabu mountain kangaroo, a-ṉaṉanda emu, ḋa-wanďi crab, a-daľa turtle, ḋa-guridi groper


Birds: ḋa-ɓaʃal white cockatoo, ḋa-ɗingili galah, ḋa-wanqa crow, ḋa-bulbulgidja swamp pheasant, ḋa-yilviyiwi duck, ḋa-wulumaṆgayaya pigeon species

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

Fish: ḋa-yubaʃa salmon, ḋa-maʃinda bream, ḋa-muʃba combfish, ḋa-mangududu type of mullet, ḋa-ṉuǐi shellfish species, ḋa-wangili freshwater combfish, ḋa-wandimuda catfish

Spirits: ḋa-gurinja female spirit

Trees: ḋa-wajŋjuwajŋju6 blackwood tree, ḋa-lawuma, ḋa-binjdiʃi, ḋa-wulgu different tree species

Food: ḋa-galwagalwa round fruit with white flesh

Manufactured Articles: ḋa-muwadja canoe, ḋa-mayawadjawa / ḋa-ገimi paddle (of canoe), ḋa-gandaganda sailing boat, ḋa-binjawaʃa dilly-bag (string bag), ḋa-minini basket, ḋa-wafawaʃaba fishing net, ḋa-buʃawa stone knife, ḋa-mangabuʃuna hook boomerang

Natural Phenomena: ḋa-gamba sun, ḋa-yabala path, ḋa-ɣumu waves, ḋa-wuna fog, dew, ḋa-ṉadjaf lightning, ḋa-maďu cold wind, cold season
Associated with Ceremonial Life: ŧa-guŗidja women’s fun corroborees, ŧa-yawulu women’s sacred corroborees, ŧa-wuŋa white body paint, ŧa-maľa red body paint

Other: ŧa-wajjana ground beehive, ŧa-biŋji beeswax (from ground hive)

Class 4 (Masculine)

Class 4 is the masculine class marked by the prefix {0-}. 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), aľgu fish, wajj sea turtles and dugong (sea mammal), wudala tree, wood, wudju grass, wulandanda flower

Natural Phenomena: These are listed under the following headings:

Ground: awaŋa earth, country, yuŋu dust, waŋa mud, djajŋga rock, stone, wuluj gravel, mundaŋ sand

Water: wabuda water, rain, wayari rain, wayuru water from river or spring, řawuŋi waterhole, nangawa lagoon, anda sea, alibi saltwater, waŋama flood

Sky: aŋa sky, řawu cloud, řagaŋa moon, maľalawa star

Times, Seasons, Winds etc.: wangala olden time, řaŋuwa day, wunduŋ night, řaŋaŋa hot dry season, labayi wet season, Labidi storm wind, yaŋimbidja řimbi dry season east wind, wuŋařuŋ dry season north wind, yuŋuwa earthquake

Fire: buyuga fire, firewood, wuŋa fire, smoke, alban ash, baluŋu a blaze

Male Member Only of Specific Species: wuŋundula dingo, waŋiŋma opossum, baŋaŋa kangaroo, naŋbuwala mountain kangaroo,
waŋiguliyanu turtle, wanguwa groper, waligi dugong, yula crab

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

Reptiles: maďumbaňa saltwater crocodile, mundanu freshwater turtle, waďaba goanna species, waŋunu large goanna species, ńulwa brown snake, guṛun whip snake, garudji green frog species

Birds: gudaťgu brolga, djalbuňu magpie, gulagugu small pigeon, milinjma larger multicoloured parrot, bišililji smaller multicoloured parrot, balubalu pelican, waŋua crane

Insects: djaruma grass-hopper, bibin fly species, buljiřiři moth, djudajy tick, ŋuŋuŋu small black beetle, banďja red ant, gišil sandfly

Fish: wuniwuni type of mullet, djulbi rifle fish, ńulumići barramundi, mundulu bony bream, ŋuŋunu type of shark, wudifị a jellyfish, wadjbuluŋu saltwater combfish, wułya red bream, mišići porpoise, djiguyu crab, ĥamaňa type of stingray

Spirits: ńąbayya spirit

Grasses and Plants: ĥamuřumiyiwa, wunjduř, mađamadā! types of grass, buguyabuguya, gařebu types of plants

Trees: galabĩ ghost gum, lamuña ironwood tree, yubalala bloodwood tree, aŋđinj mangrove, wařadji paperbark tree

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

Manufactured Articles: wuguņu raft, ńaŋoŋja anchor, bařgu waddy, wuni spear type, wagili boomerang type, wudjula womera type (spear thrower), djaŋanji shovelpoint spear, lama axe, wařbiŋani stone knife, djimuguwana pipe (for tobacco), waŋgalu man's public apron (of opossum fur twine), mađamada woman's public apron

Associated with Ceremonial Life: walaba fun corroborree, yinaľambuluńu sacred corroborree, gundabiŗa 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: ŋaŋař nasal discharge, a cold, raŋal spuṭum, ńińi tears, yiliři blood, algu vomitus, wadawada urine, gaga faeces, filth
Other: dulbaři beehive (in tree trunk), wanjdjif leaf, waŋu tobacco (for chewing), mada tobacco (for smoking), řabu / wiřiŋayi large shell (for baling out canoe), waliwan chips, yařiwin antbed, wařinj / wudžbi 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-ŋařa food, ma-budjuwa lilyroot, ma-ŋaayi lily-seed, ma-guđiŋi pandanus nuts, ma-minŋil edible gum, ma-wuŋju yam species, ma-wunjduŋbunjduŋ wild plum, ma-aŋařa wild passion vine, ma-mudi thin-shelled nut with hard white centre (edible after processing)

Firesticks: ma-yidji pointed firestick, ma-budala firestick, tree species

Manufactured Articles: ma-yulbu rope, tvine, ma-wuŋgu fishing line, ma-gulabadjafa / ma-balmaŋa head-dress, hat, ma-djaŋaŋi heavy rope, tree species, ma-řilgaŋa plaited armband, ma-djaŋaba! strap (of fibrous material), ma-laľuwa / ma-wubin pipe (for tobacco), ma-guluŋu didgeridoo (musical instrument), ma-alagala funeral platform (on the ground), ma-wundubundu shield, ma-mayalunga pointed spear

Trees: ma-wuŋaŋa pandanus palm, ma-gawuŋga wattle, ma-galawumbi tree with black berry, ma-ľalba tree with red berry, ma-yada tree with fibrous layer beneath the bark, ma-waŋaŋayi, ma-gulawumbi, ma-wuladj ji 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-luundu bark shelter, na-ṇandu / na-wađa bough shelter

Bark, and Bark Articles: na-buṟubuṟu type of paper-bark, na-lamu bark, coolamon (carrier for foods or baby), na-gulgaña different bark and coolamon made from it, na-mungamunga bark used for covering for shelter or for sleeping, na-bununu small bark water container, na-waliñi bark used for bark-painting, na-wulgu bark canoe

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

Other Manufactured Articles: na-wabidja woman’s digging stick, na-wiri pointed stick for removing head lice, na-ridiriñi walking stick, na-walanğaḷanu first harpoon (in speariong dugong), na-walabaļa forked wood, na-ayi forked stick used for carrying fish

Natural Phenomena: na-wulanji river, na-ḷaŋan light, na-wunbař night time, na-adjinjdja, na-wiriñiñi caves, na-djiwagon hole (as dug by a dog), na-liñidji goanna burrow, na-lawar hole, pit. (It may be that some items in this are considered to be "camps" also.)

Other: na-wunan breast, milk, na-wunjduŋwunjduŋ small developing breasts of a young girl, na-walguña stinging jellyfish species

Class 7 (Abstract)

Class 7 is the abstract class marked by the prefix (nañu-). 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: nañu-njiŋga corroboree ground, nañu-wuřama fighting ground

Natural Phenomena: nañu-galaŋaŋa / nañu-waŋaŋin burrow in the ground (with an exit), nañu-maya land, mainland

Abstract Items: nañu-njiñi song, nañu-yuwa law,

Derived: nañu-waŋi evil, bad words, bad sickness (waŋi bad); nañu-guduguđu sacredness, sacred place (guduguđu sacred); nañu-wuřulbuřul leprosy, measles (wuřulbuřul lumpy); nañu-ŋuyul a trick, prank (ŋa-ŋuyulŋuyul a clown, trickster); nañu-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 \( \text{niwa-} \) has the variant \( \text{niwa-} \) and \( \text{niya-} \); \( \text{niya-} \) precedes \( w \)-initial stems and occurs with the stems \( \text{manga} \) body, and \( \text{mabuluma umbilicus} \); \( \text{niwa-} \) occurs with the remaining stems.

Body-parts: \( \text{nana-wada} \) my hair, \( \text{nda-nu}} \) your nose, face, \( \text{nanda-malidji her finger, niwa-manda his foot, feet, nali-gandal our (d incl) tongue, nadafa-bu} \) our (d excl) knees, \( \text{nambala-mi our (pl incl) eyes, nanu-rafama our (pl excl) upper legs, nimbala-wu} \) your (d) stomachs, \( \text{ni-fu-wugu} \) your (pl) backs, \( \text{nawula-wulaya their (d) heads, nalu-wi} \) their (pl) lower legs

Other Items Possessed by a Personal Subject: \( \text{nda-wini} \) your (s) name, \( \text{nda-} \)galgi your (s) tribal "skin group"

Items Possessed by Nonpersonal Subjects: \( \text{ni-yi} \) its (masc) skin, \( \text{ni-lii} \) its (masc) scales (as of fish), \( \text{ni-wa} \)njji its (masc) flesh, meat, \( \text{nu-wulaya} \) its (fd) head, fruit, \( \text{nanu-mulu} \) its (arb) mouth (as of cave), \( \text{ni-wuyu} \) its (masc) track, \( \text{ni-} \)ayi its (masc) noise (sound of water), \( \text{ni-wimbi} \) its (masc) bee (the bee of the masculine hive), \( \text{nanda-wimbi} \) its (fem) bee (the bee of the feminine hive), \( \text{nanda-ra} \)yal sea-spray (literally its (fem) sputum, or the spitting of the feminine waves); \( \text{nanda-minjdja} \) sunrise and \( \text{nanda-miya} \) sunset (which are possessed by the feminine sun); \( \text{ni-wala} \) its (masc) branch and \( \text{ni-walu} \) 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, gaçidi mother's brother, F gadağada brother's child, guguđi mother's mother, wugugu* daughter's child, gayigayi spouse, munjumunjü / guyuguyu / mañuwaaña mother's brother's child, father's sister's child, wunaga younger sibling, cousin's child, gugu mother's mother's brother, M muñumuñi / nabiñabi brother-in-law, banjdi M brother-in-law F sister-in-law, M àgiyadi* sister's child, mimi* mother's father, M daughter's son, muçimuçi* father's father M son's child, ñabujiji* 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 IIIIB 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 -wañë 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type II</th>
<th>Type III Kinship Nouns</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Body-part Nouns</strong></td>
<td><strong>Class 10</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Set I Prefix</strong></td>
<td><strong>Set II Prefix</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1 pl incl</td>
<td>ηαmβa-</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 pl excl</td>
<td>ηαnυ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 d incl</td>
<td>ηαlι-</td>
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<td>1 d excl</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 d</td>
<td>ηιwυ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 s female</td>
<td>ηιαυ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 s male</td>
<td>ηιαυ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 feminine</td>
<td>ηιαυ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 masculine</td>
<td>ηιαυ-</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 food</td>
<td>ηιυ-</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 arboreal</td>
<td>ηιυ-</td>
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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 prefixes\(^{10}\) 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 *waŋu* *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 *ŋanjdi* relative, *fellow-countryman*. It is noted that the male personal prefix *nja-* / *nj-* is used to mark the masculine stem in this class:

\[
\text{nj-ayu-nja-ŋanjdi (masc-its:masc-masc-fellow:countryman)}
\]

\[
\text{its fellow-countryman}
\]

(This examples occurred in relating two kinds of plants which grew in the same kind of soil, the one plant being the *ŋanjdi* 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 -abañu brother's child, aðu son, daughter, -aðunanda father-in-law, -anjira younger sibling, bafaða* / wibi* mother, wunjada*/ biyìc* father, -miyangi F sister's husband M younger brother's wife, ąajdji relative, -nąini cousin, ędù mother's eldest brother, -yalanjdji M elder brother's wife F elder sister's husband, yumaña companion

Subclass (b): aäiyađi mother's brother, mother's eldest sister, -agaga mother's younger brother, baba* elder sibling, mimi mother's father, muŗimurĩ father's father, ęanja* father's sister, father's elder brothers, ębudjì father's mother

Subclass (c): -wañu 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 gi- 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 (M), 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 all-stem occurring with ga- will be listed in brackets following the regular form:

-ąađima (-ađimanu) M sister's child F younger sister's child (used by eldest sister only), F -maŋayi (-maŋanu) son's child, -mañi (-mañinmanu) M daughter's child F brother's daughter's child, M -muŗima (-muŗimanu) son's child, M -ęanja ma (-ęanja manu) younger sibling's child, F wudayi (-wudayimanu) 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 unpreixed, or less frequently with the dual prefix *fi-* 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) husband and wife
- **ŋiŋŋaŋařa** (ŋiŋŋgalŋiŋgařa) two siblings
- **ayařa** (alayařa) mother and child (of similar age)
- **bilařa** (bibilalařa) father and child
- **ađiŋgařa** (alađigařa) man and sister's child
- **muřigařa** (munmuřigařa) child and mother's mother or mother's mother's brother
- **babaguša** (babaguša) two elder siblings

The following two stems occur only in the plural form:

- **maŋmařuwařa** tribal cousins
- **ţigarigadjanjdja** siblings in a single family or in brothers' families

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:

buŋayi, baŋgiŋinju, waŋgaŋawi, bunadja, diŋgawu,
ŋaŋigalu, maŋŋawi, wanidjabu, dawajgu, walimuŋgu

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

gunabibi / řa-gunabibi, guljugulju, milba,
malwa, gundawiŋa, wulubuwa, wambuyanə

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:

waŋaluŋgu Burketown Crossing, buŋulu Borroloola, wuluŋulini
One Mile, mungumuŋganda Centre Island, wandaŋula Police Lagoon,
ŋijdjawuma The Landing, wadawadala Blackfellow Crossing,
maŋjịnbuli (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, 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 SUFXIESES

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

-Ø (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 -waŋu spouse where partial suffixation occurs, and with Type IV class 15 stems. The stem -waŋu 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 -Ø 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixation of All Classes</th>
<th>Nuclear</th>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>Directive</th>
<th>Accessory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>{wu}</td>
<td>{-lu}</td>
<td>{-la}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural Prefix (Personal)</td>
<td>li-</td>
<td>liyi-</td>
<td>linjdji-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual Prefix (Personal)</td>
<td>ĭi-</td>
<td>ĭiyi-</td>
<td>ĭinjdji-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 7 Prefix (Abstract)</td>
<td>nantu-</td>
<td>nuwanu-</td>
<td>nuŋgaŋu-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 6 Prefix (Arboreal)</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>nu-</td>
<td>nuŋgu-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 5 Prefix (Food)</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>muŋgu-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 4 Prefix (Masculine)</td>
<td>ŋ-</td>
<td>dji-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 3 Prefix (Feminine)</td>
<td>ŋa-</td>
<td>ŋu-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 2 Prefix (Male)</td>
<td>nja-</td>
<td>nju-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class 1 Prefix (Female)</td>
<td>ŋa-</td>
<td>ŋu-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Classes 1 and 3  
Nuc  \( \{\text{ťa-}\} (\text{ťa-} / \text{a-}) \)  
Non-Nuc  \( \{\text{ťu-}\} (\text{ťu-} / \text{wu-}) \)

Class 2  
Nja-  

Class 4  
\( \emptyset \)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
<th>Class 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nuc</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>na-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>nu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir/Acc</td>
<td>muŋgu-</td>
<td>nuŋgu-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nuc</td>
<td>źi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>źiyi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir/Acc</td>
<td>źinjdi-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Nuc     | źa-bađača | baby girl | nja-marânjda | dugong  
| Ref     | źu-bađača-wu |          | nju-marânjda-wu |    
| Dir     | źu-bađača-lu |          | nju-marânjda-lu |    
| Acc     | źu-bađača-la |          | nju-marânjda-la |    
| Dual    |            |          |        |        |
| Nuc     | źi-bađača | two babies | li-marânjda | dugong  
| Ref     | źiyi-bađača-wu |          | liyi-marânjda-wu |    
| Dir     | źinjdi-bađača-lu |          | linjdi-marânjda-lu |    
| Acc     | źinjdi-bađača-la |          | linjdi-marânjda-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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nuc</th>
<th>Nuclear</th>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>Dir/Acc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nda-wuluŋanda</td>
<td>nana-</td>
<td>niyiŋaŋa-</td>
<td>nungiŋaŋa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 s</td>
<td>2 s</td>
<td>3 s f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuluŋanda-la</td>
<td>nda-</td>
<td>nyiŋinda-</td>
<td>nungiŋinda-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 s</td>
<td>2 s</td>
<td>3 s m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yinda-a</td>
<td>nanda-</td>
<td>nuwanda-</td>
<td>nunganda-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 s f</td>
<td>2 s m</td>
<td>3 fem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nandiwa-</td>
<td>niyiwa-</td>
<td>nungiwa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 s fem</td>
<td>2 s m</td>
<td>3 masc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nanda-</td>
<td>nuwanda-</td>
<td>nunganda-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 s fem</td>
<td>2 s m</td>
<td>3 masc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>nyi-</td>
<td>nungi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 s fem</td>
<td>2 s m</td>
<td>3 masc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nu-</td>
<td>nuw-</td>
<td>nung-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 s fem</td>
<td>2 s m</td>
<td>3 masc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 ţa- / a- and the male nja- prefixes of Nuclear tagmemes become ţu- / wu- and nju- respectively in Referent tagmemes, and ţuŋgu- / wuŋgu- and njuŋgu- 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 1 tagmeme-markers regardless of stem shape: -ŋ (nuclear), -wu / -yu (referent), -lu (directive), -la (accessory). The Referent variant -yu occurs following i-final stems, and -wu following other vowels. One exception ŋanjdji 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 9</th>
<th>Class 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nuc</td>
<td>mimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>mimi-yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir</td>
<td>mimi-lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>mimi-la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mother's father  
my father
## YANYULA TAGMEME-MARKING SUFFIX ALLOMORPHS

**Chart 6**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set</th>
<th>Stem Type</th>
<th>Nuc</th>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Dir</th>
<th>Acc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Polysyllabic vowel-final (except la-, lu-, li-final)</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-wu/-yu</td>
<td>-lu</td>
<td>-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Disyllabic a-, u-final (except CCa-final) Polysyllabic la-, lu-final</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-wu</td>
<td>-ŋgu</td>
<td>-ŋga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Disyllabic i-final Polysyllabic li-final</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-yu</td>
<td>-ŋdju</td>
<td>-ŋdja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Disyllabic CCa-final (CC = homorganic cluster of nasal + stop)</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-wu</td>
<td>-wu</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>f-, l-, l-final</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>n-final</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-gu</td>
<td>-du</td>
<td>-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>nj-final</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-gu (nj + ŋ)</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Morphologically-defined</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-ŋgu</td>
<td>-ndu</td>
<td>-nda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Morphologically-defined</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-ŋgu</td>
<td>-nju</td>
<td>-nja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Class 15: buřulula Borroloola (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 -Ø, 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 di-syllabic 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: -Ø (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 i-final stems; (a polysyllabic stem is defined as being a stem of three or more syllables):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nuc</th>
<th>na-wabidja (arb-hitting: stick)</th>
<th>nja-ŋabanagu (m-dead: man)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>nu-wabidja-wu</td>
<td>nju-ŋabanagu-wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir</td>
<td>nungu-wabidja-lu</td>
<td>nju-ŋabanagu-lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>nungu-wabidja-la</td>
<td>nju-ŋabanagu-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuc</td>
<td>ma-wuřadji (fd-spear: type)</td>
<td>gidjbagidjba (masc-chains)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>mu-wuřadji-yu</td>
<td>dji-gidjbagidjba-wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir</td>
<td>mungu-wuřadji-lu</td>
<td>dji-gidjbagidjba-lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>mungu-wuřadji-la</td>
<td>dji-gidjbagidjba-la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Set 2 suffixes are: -∅ (nuclear), -wu (referent), -ŋgu (directive), -ŋga (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-ŋu (its:masc-nose)
Ref dji-biga-wu niyi-ŋu-wu
Dir dji-biga-ŋgu nĩgi-ŋu-ŋgu
Acc dji-biga-ŋga nĩgi-ŋu-ŋga

Nuc nja-malbu (m-old:man) naŋu-njiŋga (abstr-corroborere: ground)
Ref nju-malbu-wu nuwaŋu-njiŋga-wu
Dir nju-malbu-ŋgu nügenaŋu-njiŋga-ŋgu
Acc nju-malbu-ŋga nügenaŋu-njiŋga-ŋga

Nuc wunala (masc-animal) wuluwulu (masc-upper:grinding:stone)
Ref dji-wunala-wu dji-wuluwulu-wu
Dir dji-wunala-ŋgu dji-wuluwulu-ŋgu
Acc dji-wunala-ŋga dji-wuluwulu-ŋga

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

Nuc ŋa-rimi (fem-paddle) ma-ŋayi (fd-lily:seed)
Ref ŋu-rimi-yu mu-ŋayi-yu
Dir ŋu-rimi-njdu muŋu-ŋayi-njdu
Acc ŋu-rimi-njda maŋu-ŋayi-njda
Set 4 suffixes are: -Ø (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.

Set 5 suffix set is: -Ø (nuclear), -u (referent, directive), -a (accessory). This set occurs with ŋ-, l-, and !-final stems:
Set 6 suffix set is: -Ø (nuclear), -gu (referent), -du (directive), -da (accessory). This set occurs with n-final stems:

Nuc  ꙳ꕴiken (masc-scrub)  na-wunan (arb-milk)
Ref  dji-ꕴiken-gu  nu-wunan-gu
Dir  dji-ꕴiken-du  nuŋgu-wunan-du
Acc  dji-ꕴiken-da  nuŋgu-wunan-da

Set 7 suffix set is: -Ø (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  anđijŋ (masc-mangrove)  wařinj (masc-egg)
Ref  djiy-anđijŋ-gu  dji-wařinj-gu
Dir  djiy-anđijŋ-u  dji-wařinj-u
Acc  djiy-anđijŋ-a  dji-wařinj-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: -Ø (nuclear), -ŋgu (referent), -ndu (directive), -nda (accessory). This set occurs with the following stems: luwa snake, ꙳ꅌ food, manga body, yulbu vein, string, bařgu waddy, waŋŋi flesh, meat, buŋu knee, walaba corroboree, djulagi bird, plane, wulaŋi river, malidji finger, hand

Nuc  ma-ŋafa (fd-food)  na-wulaŋi (arb-river)
Ref  mu-ŋafa-ŋgu  nu-wulaŋi-ŋgu
Dir  muŋgu-ŋafa-ndu  nuŋgu-wulaŋi-ndu
Acc  muŋgu-ŋafa-nda  nuŋgu-wulaŋi-nda

Set 9 allomorphs are: -Ø (nuclear), -ŋgu (referent), -ŋju (directive), -nja (accessory). This set occurs with the following stems: buṟi younger person, ꙳ŋajŋji stranger (Type I), relative (Type IIIIB).
(This list becomes longer with the addition of adjective stems which take this same affixation):
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:

bu̱ru (-ndu/-ŋgu) knee, waɾama (-lu/-ŋgu) flood, bulugi
(-lu/-njdu) bullock, djulagi (-ndu/-njdu) bird, plane,
aɾawa (-lu/-ŋgu) Garawa, gagayi (-lu/-njdu) lily flower,
wu̱dula (-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 ḥa- and ū-final stems which occur with -lu and -ŋgu in free variation:

bu̱ru u bone, gulru didgeridoo, wu̱gaɾa pandanus palm

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, -njdu) spear type, mayi (-ŋgu, -njdu) tooth, diŋi (-yu, -nju) dinghy, ḥabaya (-wu, -ŋgu) evil spirit, ūndu (-wu, -wu) shade, shadow, wu̱dɔ (-wu, -lu) stomach, wula (-wu, -lu) head
The final stem *wuła* is a variant form of the stem *wułaya*, and it is noted that the same suffixes which irregularly occur with *wuła* are used quite regularly with the polysyllabic stem variant.

Nuc  
wuła  (masc-spear: type)  
Ref  
dji-wuła-ŋgu  
Dir  
dji-wuła-njdja  
Acc  
dji-wuła-njdju

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  (her-eye)  nanda  (her-arm)  
Ref  
nuwaanda-ŋgů  nwaanda-ŋgů  
Dir  
nunganda-ŋgů  nunganda-ŋgů  
Acc  
nungand  
na-ŋgů

Two consonant-final stems have not yet been included in the description. These are *giyijŋgiyijŋ* flying foz and *buridʒburidʒ* 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: foz)  buridʒburidʒ  (masc-willy: wagtail)  
Ref  
dji-giyijŋgiyijŋ-ŋgu  dji-buridʒburidʒ-ŋgů  
Dir  
dji-giyijŋgiyijŋ-njdju  dji-buridʒburidʒ-njdja  
Acc  
dji-giyijŋgiyijŋ-njdja  dji-buridʒburidʒ-njdja

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 anu her and alua 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:

\[ \text{\textipa{fa} + a\textipa{d}u + } \text{\textipa{fa-a\textipa{d}u}} \]
(f:nuc) (child) little girl

\[ \text{na} + \text{alanjdji } + \text{na-alanjdji} \]
(arb:nuc) (camp) camp

\[ \text{nugu} + \text{alanjdji } + \text{lu } + \text{nuguw-alanjdji-lu} \]
(arb:dir/acc) (camp) (dir) to the camp

\[ \text{nju} + \text{adu} + \text{wu } + \text{njuw-adu-wu} \]
(m:non:nuc) (child) (ref) for the boy

\[ \text{nju} + \text{nada } + \text{nju} + \text{adu } + \text{wu } + \text{nju-nada-njuw-adu-wu} \]
(m:ref) (my) (m:non:nuc) (child) (ref) for my son

\[ \text{li} + \text{alawa } + \text{liy-alawa} \]
(pl:nuc) (Alawa) the Alawa people

\[ \text{dji } + \text{awara } + \text{la } + \text{djiy-awa\textipa{ra}-la} \]
(masc:non:nuc) (earth) (acc) on the ground

\[ \text{\textipa{f}a} + \text{yingu } + \text{\textipa{f}a} + \text{wibi } + \text{\textipa{f}-ingu-\textipa{f}a-wibi} \]
(f:nuc) (your:s) (f:nuc) (mother) your (s) mother

\[ \text{li} + \text{yimbalanga } + \text{li} + \text{baba } + \text{l-imbala\textipa{na}-li-baba} \]
(pl:nuc) (your:d) (pl:nuc) (elder sibling) your (d) elder brothers and/or sisters
linjdji + yigu + linjdji + ađu + ŋa + linjdj-igu-linjdjy-ađu-ŋa
(pl:dir/acc)(his)(pl:dir/acc)(child)(acc) with his children

ři + yingu + ři + anjiřa + ř-ingi-řiy-anjiřa
(d:nuc)(your:s)(d:nuc)(younger:sibling)(your)(s)(two)younger siblings

li + yigu + li + ađu + l-igi-liy-ađu
(pl:nuc)(his)(pl:nuc)(child)his children

liyi + yigu + liyi + ađu + wu + liy-igu-liyi-y-ađu-wu
(pl:ref)(his)(pl:ref)(child)(ref)for his children

li + aluŋa + li + wanu + l-aluŋa-li-wanu
(pl:nuc)(their:pl)(pl:nuc)(spouse)their husbands, their wives

ři + angu + ři + ŋanjdji + ř-angi-ři-ŋanjdji
(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):
nuŋguw-alanjdji-.lu / alanjdji-.lu to the camp (Dir)
nuŋgu-wulaŋi-nda / wulaŋi-nda by the river (Acc)
nuŋgu-gulgaʁa-la / gulgaʁa-la on the coolamon (Acc)
nuŋgu-lawaʁ-a / lawaʁ-a in the hole (Acc)
muŋgu-yulbu-nda / yulbu-nda with a rope (Acc)
nuŋgaŋu-wuʁama-.lu / wuʁama-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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gi-malbu-ŋu} & / \text{gi-malbu} \quad \text{to the old man (Dir)} \\
\text{gi-waʁama-la} & / \text{gi-waʁama} \quad \text{in the flood (Acc)} \\
\text{gi-miŋinya-wu} & / \text{gi-miŋinya} \quad \text{of the man (Ref)}
\end{align*}
\]

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 -waŋu 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nj-angu-nja-waŋu} & / \text{nj-angu-waŋu} \quad \text{her husband (Nuc)} \\
\text{m-} & -\text{her-} \text{-spouse} \\
\text{f-igu-ʁa-waŋu} & / \text{f-igu-waŋu} / \text{yigu-waŋu} \quad \text{his wife (Nuc)} \\
\text{f-} & -\text{his-} \text{-spouse} \quad (\text{his-} \text{-spouse}) \\
\text{njung-angu-nju-waŋu} & / \text{njung-angu-waŋu} \quad \text{with her husband, to her husband} \\
\text{m-} & -\text{her-} \text{-spouse} \quad (\text{Dir/Acc})
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{f-igu-ʁa-aðu} & / \text{yigu-ʁa-aðu} \quad \text{his daughter (Nuc)} \\
\text{f-} & -\text{his-f-} \text{-child} \quad (\text{his-f-} \text{-child})
\end{align*}
\]
1-imbalaŋa-liy-anjira / yimbalaŋa-liy-anjira (Nuc)
(pl-your:id-pl:-younger: (your:id -pl:-younger: nuc sibling) nuc sibling)
the (pl) younger siblings of you two

njung-angu-nju-biyi-la / nj-angu-nja-biyi-la (Acc)
(midir-her-m:non:-father-acc) (m:-her-m: -father-acc)
/acc nuc nuc nuc

with her father

fung-angu-fu-wibi-lu / ţ-angu-ţa-wibi-lu (Dir)
(f:dir-her-f:-mother-dir) (f-her-f:-mother-dir)
/acc non:nuc nuc
to her mother

f-ingu-ţuw-anjira-wu / ʒ-ingu-ţa-anjira-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).
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), nuŋga- (directive/accessory).

In the following examples the stem ȵuŋu 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M Classes 2 &amp; 4</th>
<th>F Class 2</th>
<th>F Class 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nuc</td>
<td>na-ŋuŋu</td>
<td>niwa-ŋuŋu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>nuwa-ŋuŋu-wu</td>
<td>niyiwa-ŋuŋu-wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir</td>
<td>nuŋga-ŋuŋu-ngu</td>
<td>niŋgiwa-ŋuŋu-ngu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>nuŋga-ŋuŋu-nga</td>
<td>niŋgiwa-ŋuŋu-nga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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), nuŋgalu- (directive/accessory). The stem ȵuŋu nose may alternatively be prefixed for male possession as follows:

| Nuc             | na-ŋuŋu / nula-ŋuŋu (his:m-nose) | his nose |
| Ref             | nuwa-ŋuŋu-wu / nuwalu-ŋuŋu-wu |
| Dir             | nuŋga-ŋuŋu-ngu / nuŋgalu-ŋuŋu-ngu |
| Acc             | nuŋga-ŋuŋu-nga / nuŋgalu-ŋuŋu-nga |

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: Ø- (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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nuc</th>
<th>M nga-baba</th>
<th>F nga-baba (m-her-m-sibling)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>gi-dja-baba-wu</td>
<td>nju-dja-baba-wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir</td>
<td>gi-dja-baba-ku</td>
<td>nju-dja-baba-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>gi-dja-baba-la</td>
<td>nju-dja-baba-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuc</td>
<td>M ngi-gi-baba</td>
<td>F ngi-gi-baba (m-his-m-sibling)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>ngi-gi-baba-wu</td>
<td>ngi-gi-baba-wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir</td>
<td>ngi-gi-baba-ku</td>
<td>ngi-gi-baba-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>ngi-gi-baba-la</td>
<td>ngi-gi-baba-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuc</td>
<td>M ngi-ang-wa</td>
<td>F ngi-ang-wa (m-her-m-spouse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>ngi-ang-wa-wu</td>
<td>ngi-ang-wa-wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir, Acc</td>
<td>ngi-ang-wa-wu</td>
<td>ngi-ang-wa-wa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

| Nuc    | M giu-mu\-rima | F giu-mu\-rima (m-his-son's:son) |
| Non-Nuc| nju-giu-mu\-rima | nju-giu-mu\-rima |

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 allostem:

**Type I Nouns**

**Class 1:** ṭa-guyadji (ṱa-baĐTa, ṭa-a günd) baby girl, girl, ṭa-yibawunjajğa (ṱa-nanawaya) woman, ṭa-mayajo (ṱa-badibajği) old woman

**Class 2:** nja-maƙuƙul (nja-duwaƙa) initiated boy, nja-mayajo (nja-malbu) old man, nja-ŋamimi (nja-gabudjimi) blind man

**Class 3:** ṭa-yaba (ṱa-gamba) sun, ṭa-ŋalibagu (ṱa-wayuƙ) blue-tongue lizard, ṭa-libaliba (ṱa-muwaƙa) canoe, ṭa-djangudjangu (ṱa-malaƙungufu) female of a kangaroo species

**Class 4:** wumayangga (buyuga) fire, labaƙaƙ (awaƙa) earth djidjaga (wunala) animal, wuruƙu (algu) fish, mimaju (luwa) snake, buluruƙu (djajnja) rock, balangjaga (ŋagaja) moon, ŋuŋuŋuŋu (yiliƙi) blood

**Class 5:** ma-wuŋaƙa (ma-ŋaƙa) food, ma-ŋudjii (ma-djaƙabal, ma-yulbu) strap, rope (of some fibrous material), ma-bunili (ma-ŋai) lilyseed, ma-wiliƙinjdia (ma-gudjii) pandanus nuts

**Class 6:** na-wiyadjii (na-lanu) paper-bark type, na-balaguƙ (na- alanjadjii) camp, na-wulunggayajjo (na-wabidjja) woman’s digging stick, na-mugugu (na-wunan) breast, milk

**Class 7:** naŋu-balaƙaŋga (naŋu-waƙanin) burrow in ground, naŋu-wuŋuwaƙa (naŋu-yabi) goodness, good words, naŋu-lagajjo (naŋu-badajja) ground full of holes and burrows

**Type II Nouns**

**Class 8:** naŋa-mayamaya (naŋa-mandà) my foot, naŋa-guyala (naŋa-malidji) my finger, hand, nda-ŋungün (nda-ŋuƙu) your (m) nose, nanda-ŋaƙar (nanda-mi) her eyes, nanda-ŋawungugu (nanda-wuƙu) her stomach, niwa-malaƙunjdia (niya-wi) his arm, ni-djaŋidjbuƙ (ni-yiƙimi) its (masc) tail, ni-banjdaƙa (ni-waƙnji) its (masc) flesh, nəwuƙa-yiƙidjidi (nawula-wulaya) their (d) heads, nalu-wanul (nalu-wuna) their (pl) buttocks

**5.3 Kinship Allo-stems and Allo-classes**

In the area of the language involving kinship allo-stems 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
nj-angu-nja-wil\_aninja & \quad (m-her-m-elder:brother) \\
& \quad \text{her elder brother (my uncle)} \\
nja-wula\_nja-\_\_ananda\_am & \quad (m-their:d-m-father) \\
& \quad \text{their (d) father (my uncle)} \\
i\_ig\_fa\_ma\_n\_iya & \quad (f-his-f-mother) \\
& \quad \text{his mother (my uncle's)} \\
i\_angu\_fa\_a\_diya\_nanda & \quad (f-her-f-mother) \\
& \quad \text{her mother (my aunt)}
\end{align*}
\]

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 alonouns occur where the third person subject is the speaker's uncle, or a male speaker's brother-in-law.
wa-mimajgu your elder brother (my uncle)
wa-walaninja your younger brother (my uncle)
wa-ñanaña your father (my uncle)
M wa-ñanaña your father (my brother-in-law)

It is noted that there is a relationship in form between certain allo-
class 1 stems and the kinship allostems (see 5.3.1 above). The stem
walaninja occurs in both lists, and ñanaña and ūnu and ñanaña 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-wigwiiři your mother (my sister)
F nda-mangajgu your sister (my mother)
nda-aŋiya your mother (my father's sister)

Alloclass 3

In alloclass 3 there is a personal prefix to indicate male or
female. All speakers use ūa- 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.

ūa-ŋgůwiři your daughter's child (my wife)
ūa-mangāyůwiři your child (my daughter's child)
ūa-wūñbu your sister (my daughter's child)
F nja-wūñbu your brother (my daughter's child)
M dji-wūñbu your brother (my daughter's child)
ūa-wugwō your mother's mother (my sister)
F nja-wugwō your mother's mother's brother (my brother)
F nja-lamajŋŋu your mother's father or cousin (my brother)
ūa-wuŋanjiři your wife (my elder sister)
F nja-wunajŋu your husband (my elder sister's)
F nja-wunulů her father (my younger brother)

5.4 BASIS OF STEM CLASSIFICATION

In section 1 the distinctive class lists manifest a careful clas-
sifying 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,\textsuperscript{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 transfer 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: \textit{r̃a-ma̍̄\-gu cold wind, cold season}, \textit{r̃a-wañbul frog species}, \textit{r̃a-wa̍̄ga\-cow, r̃a-giljagilja\-eaglehawk, r̃a-ga\-ganga fish hawk}.

Several representative items have been picked out from among those which seem to be erratically classified. These are the arboreal class nouns \textit{na\-walgura\-stinging jellyfish}, \textit{na\-wu\-n\-breast, milk}, the food class noun \textit{ma\-wundi\-a boil}, the body-part nouns \textit{nanda\-wimbi and ni\-wimbi bees (of feminine and masculine hives respectively)}, and the oddly occurring noun \textit{niwa\-rugugu 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 morphemes\textsuperscript{13}). 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; \textit{(nda-bubu your (s) sore} would logically be accompanied by the stem for \textit{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 *miŋiŋu 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 *miŋiŋu* in the singular and optionally in the dual. Singular, dual, and plural forms of these two nouns are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>nja-miŋiŋ-iya man</td>
<td><em>ra-nanawa-ya woman</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>ŋi-miŋiŋ-iya</td>
<td><em>ŋi-nanawa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>1i-miŋiŋu</td>
<td><em>li-nanawa</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *ra-nanawa* means *women* (pl), and *nja-miŋiŋu* 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 -wudjaŋa (animate dual) provides an alternative or an accompanying method of dual marking for animate nouns of Types I and IIIC. The dual prefix ŋi- optionally co-occurs with the suffix -wudjaŋa when the stem is a personal noun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aŋu-wudjaŋa / ŋi-y-aŋu-wudjaŋa</td>
<td>two children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miŋiŋu-wudjaŋa / ŋi-miŋiŋu-wudjaŋa</td>
<td>two men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ miŋiŋiya-wudjaŋa / ŋi-miŋiŋiya-wudjaŋa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wagugu-wudjaŋa</td>
<td>two dogs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiŋi-dì-wudjaŋa</td>
<td>two young emus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>majgaŋa-wudjaŋa / ŋi-majgaŋa-wudjaŋa</td>
<td>husband and wife</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niŋoŋgaŋa-wudjaŋa / ŋi-ŋiŋoŋgaŋa-wudjaŋa</td>
<td>two siblings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

aŋu-wudjaŋa-wu (child-dual-ref) *for the two children*

Either -wudjaŋa (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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Stem</th>
<th>Plural Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gudjaga-wudjaʁa</td>
<td>-biʁi</td>
<td>two mothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʁuwaʁa-wudjaʁa</td>
<td>-biʁi</td>
<td>two cousins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʁuwaʁa-gidja</td>
<td>-biʁi</td>
<td>two cousins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baba-gidja</td>
<td>-biʁi</td>
<td>two elder siblings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- aʁu-biʁi / liy-ʁu-biʁi  
- wada-biʁi-biʁi

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nuc</td>
<td>liy-ʁu-biʁi</td>
<td>children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>liyi-ʁu-biʁi-ʁu</td>
<td>only children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir</td>
<td>linja-yi-ʁu-biʁi-ʁu</td>
<td>only his nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>linja-yi-ʁu-biʁi-ʁu</td>
<td>only its tail</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Limiter 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Nuc</th>
<th>Lim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-yulbu</td>
<td>muluma-yulbu</td>
<td>only rope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanda-maŋda</td>
<td>nulanda-maŋda</td>
<td>only her foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niwa-ŋuru</td>
<td>niliwa-ŋuru</td>
<td>only his nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni-yalbuŋ</td>
<td>nili-yalbuŋ</td>
<td>only its tail</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- munaŋa-ŋala in English, yanjuwa-ŋala in Yanyula,
- aŋawa-ŋala in Garawa, maŋa-ŋala 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:

\[ \text{nja}a \quad \text{wula-la-ŋgu} \quad \text{to the top of (his) head} \]

(unto head-on-to)

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

\[ \text{ŋaŋa-} \text{a} \quad \text{I am/was a child}, \quad \text{nanda-ba} \text{a} \text{ŋa} \quad \text{she-baby she is/was a baby}, \quad \text{nawula-} \text{ylgu} \text{y} \quad \text{they:} \text{d-young: man} \quad \text{they are/were young men} \]

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:

-\( \text{widji} \): 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: -\( \text{bidji} \) follows n- or nj-final stems; -\( \text{idji} \) follows t-, l-, or l-final stems; -\( \text{nbidji} \) follows vowel-final stems which take set 8 tagmeme-marking suffixes; -\( \text{widji} \) follows other vowel-final stems.

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

-\( \text{ma}r\alpha \): This is an animate nominaliser, which derives an animate subject from an action which it performs.

-\( \text{wu} \): 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-olden:time) → Nja-wangala (m-olden:time)*

An olden time man

*Ra-ṣadjař (fem-lightning) → Ṣ-ṣadjař (masc-lightning)*

A gun

*Djajŋjga (masc-rock) → Ma-djajŋjga (fd-rock)*

Money

(See also 1.1.2 class 7, above.)

*Njawi (its:masc-arm)*

The wing (of a plane)

*Njiguru (its:masc-nose)*

The bonnet (of a car)

*Njigunduwa (its:masc-throat)*

The bodice (of a dress)

*Nanumulu (its:arb-mouth)*

Door, gate

2) Class-marker + adjective/numeral

*Ra-yabi (f-good)*

A good woman

*Njawału (m-big)*

A big man

*Liwungwungu (pl-black)*

Black people

*Ṣ-madu-madu (masc-old-old)*

Snow, refrigerator

*Ma-bulu (fd-light)*

Bread

*Ma-yumbu (fd-small)*

A piece of food

*Ma-argula (fd-one)*

One piece of food

*Ri-ganjmađa (d-two)*

Two people

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

*Ra-wađi-manđa (f-bad-foot)*

A lame woman

*Njagađaujmi (m-blind-eye)*

A blind man

*Ra-yabi-malidji (f-good-finger)*

A deft-fingered woman

*Limuđu-anma (pl-deaf-ear)*

The deaf people

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

*Ra-wađi-widji (f-bad-attr)*

A bad woman

*Njagađumugawidji (m-beard-attr)*

A bearded man

*Ra-gundařufu-widji (fem-sail-attr)*

A sailing boat

*Li-gamugamu-widji (pl-liquor-attr)*

The drunkards
yalbuː̊-idʒi (tail-attr) a shooting star
nja-maŋga-nbidi (m-body-attr) a sturdy boy
nja-yrinj-bidji (m-feather-attr) a dancer decorated with feathers

5) Class-marker + possessive pronoun + -ŋu (relator suffix)

m-ingu-ŋu (fd-your:s-rel) your food
l-ingu-ŋu (pl-your:s-rel) your people

6) Class-marker + temporal/locative/participle₁₅ + -ŋu (relator)

řa-gaːŋ-y-ŋu (f-from-west-rel) the woman who came from the west
ma-gaːŋ-agaːŋu (fd-from-east-rel) European food
nja-ŋaːŋ-y-ŋu (m-earlier:today-rel) the man who was here earlier today
ŋ-ɡaːŋ-angu-ŋu (masc-from-up-rel) (of clothing) a shirt (of fish) freshwater fish
ma-balaanja-ŋu (fd-spreading-rel) jam

7) Class-marker + participle ± -wu / -maːŋa (nominalisers)

mayamanda (masc-mixing:up) all different things
waŋmanda-wu (masc-blowing-inanim) the wind
widjuwanda-wu (masc-covering-inanim) a blanket
njamba-w Duŋmanda-wu (masc-reflexive-feeding-inanim) a meal
li-ramanda-maːŋa (pl-fighting-anim) fighters, soldiers
ři-waddjangaːŋa-maːŋa (d-fishing-anim) two fishermen
nja-wulumaŋa-maːŋa (m-running-anim) a runner
nje-waŋnda-maːŋa (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 tagmememe. 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:

- guŋguř morepork, gujagula (my) child, ƙa-yi'ilwi'ilwi 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 wuŋŋar smoke, which becomes wuŋŋar-guŋŋar 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-.

| li-wanga-wangala | olden time people |
| li-wuŋ-wuŋumbaŋa | the young people |
| yanjuwa-yanjuwa  | the Yanyula people |
| maŋa-marangdjia  | dugong hunters   |
| ŋabaya-ŋabaya     | evil spirits      |

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:
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.

Reduplicated inanimate noun stems may also be used as descriptives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nuc</th>
<th>li-malbu-malbu</th>
<th>the old men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>liyi-malbu-malbu-wu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dir</td>
<td>linjdji-malbu-malbu-ngu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>linjdji-malbu-malbu-nga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

ru-gamba-a (fem:non:nuc-sun-acc) in the daytime
dji-wunduŋuŋ-a (masc:non:nuc-night-acc) at night
nu-wunbaŋ-u (arb:ref-night-ref) overnight

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.
NOTES

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 ra- 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 /jn/ 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.


13. This may be illustrated by two utterances. On one occasion a speaker touched two small naked boys on the genitals and said, mañadj-awu gulu mañadj-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-yibaña-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 ~ -ndja ~ -ya).
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