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This volume contains a photograph of the Yanyuwa co-author, who died in July 1993.
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I had the privilege of working with Yanyuwa people and learning the Yanyuwa language during the period 1963–1988. It has therefore been a deep personal sorrow to note evidence that the language is dying. Although the children may know some Yanyuwa words, they now live in a multilingual situation, and Yanyuwa is no longer their prime language.

This volume is an attempt to preserve a record of the language for the Yanyuwa people. Since it is a record of a dying language, it is quite detailed and the description is inevitably technical in much of its presentation. Since it is also a record for the Yanyuwa people, I have attempted to keep in mind as much as possible the Yanyuwa who will want to know what it says, and there is some simplification in making morpheme breaks and glossing. This is also the reason for including so many examples, particularly of clauses or simple sentences which are the building blocks in the language. Since this is likely to be my final write-up of Yanyuwa grammar, I have also included throughout additional notes on items of linguistic interest as they occur.

The work incorporates a number of chapters (formerly separate papers) on different facets of the language, some being simply descriptions – those on the demonstrative system, locative and location, questions and interrogative words, and clauses. The chapters on the lack of ergative marking, a semantic system for case, and on discourse particles have to a greater extent come from a combination of personal intuition and linguistic fact. Other facets of the language are described in various papers written earlier (see bibliography), and the short chapter on two verb suffixes is included to correct a previous error in analysis and description.

The descriptions and analyses in this volume are based on a body of language data collected during the years 1965–1972, the main period in which I focused on linguistic analysis. This data comprises a range of recorded and transcribed texts. It reflects the speech of that time when the language was stronger.

In a sense this work is an expression of my thanks to the Yanyuwa who have shared their language and lives with me, to the many Christian friends who have supported me financially and in prayer to allow me to carry it out, and to the Lord who called me and enabled me to persevere each time I was ready to give up.

I am indebted to Bella Charlie, who has led me patiently into a speaking knowledge of the language and who has also explained so many things and checked so much data with me.

The chapters are therefore of widely varying length. As the volume is being published posthumously with the general assistance of the SIL, editorial intervention in this and other areas, including the bibliographical, has been restricted to the essential. Instead of an index, the volume has a fuller than usual contents list. PL editor.
Her co-authoring of this volume is an acknowledgment of the extent of her contribution in all these ways. I am also indebted to many other Yanyuwa people over the years for their help in language work. Among these are Tim Rakuwurlma and his family, especially Punch, Mavis and Nero, as well as Dinah, Eileen, Don and Jemimah, Queenie, Annie and many others, to whom I express my thanks for their generous sharing of their language and for giving me a place in their lives.

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Jean Kirton
February 1993

SIL Editor's note:

Jean Kirton died on 24 March 1993, just three months after an unexpected diagnosis of cancer. In those few months she persevered to finish this volume of papers, in spite of increasing pain and weakness. Her co-author, Bella Charlie, died soon after. The volume is a tribute to their dedication and a reflection of Jean’s regard for the Yanyuwa people and their language.
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CHAPTER 1
THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

1.1 OVERVIEW

The Yanyuwa or Anyuwa people of Australia’s Northern Territory are also known as the Yanyula or Anyula (the name given them by their Garawa neighbours in the east) and the Wadiri (the name given by their Mara neighbours in the north-west). Their traditional territory was the coastal strip from the Limmen River to an area opposite the Sir Edward Pellew Islands and including the islands. As at early 1993 there were approximately 90 Yanyuwa speakers (the numbers are declining; see Kirton 1988b:1-18), and the community is centred at Borroloola, a small outback township on the McArthur River, which celebrated its centenary in 1985.

1.2 LINGUISTIC TYPE

In all the earlier classifications of Australian languages, Yanyuwa (or Yanyula) was included in a grouping of northern languages in opposition to a grouping of southern languages spoken in a much larger area of the continent. Yanyuwa was variously classified as a ‘northern’, ‘prefixing’ and ‘non-Pama-Nyungan’ language. (See Dixon 1980:20-21 for a discussion and map of these three classifications.). According to the 1960s classification, Yanyuwa was listed as the single member of the Yanyulan family (O’Grady, Voegelin & Voegelin 1966:27).

Yanyuwa’s classification with the non-Pama-Nyungan (nonPN) family has recently been disputed, however, and it has been reclassified as one of the four members of the Warluwaric group within the Pama-Nyungan (PN) family (Blake 1988:29-30). The problem in classification arose because Yanyuwa shares certain of the distinguishing features of both PN and nonPN languages, and because the similarities to nonPN languages are more prominent.

Dixon (1980:222-225) and Blake (1988) present criteria by which PN and nonPN languages are distinguished. Dixon points out that nonPN languages do not, as the ‘non-’ may suggest, lack something which PN languages have, and that indeed nonPN would be better labelled ‘most-innovatory’ and PN ‘least-innovatory’. In Yanyuwa there are both ‘innovatory’ and conservative features present, according to the criteria which Dixon and Blake provide.

The ‘innovatory’ features which Yanyuwa has in common with nonPN languages are: (1) bound pronouns prefixed to the verb to mark subject and object or indirect object, and (2) noun classes indicated by class markers prefixed to the nouns. In almost all other instances these features identify languages as being nonPN, but Blake (1988:38-39) explains their presence in Yanyuwa as being due to influence from languages to the west: Mara, Alawa and Warndarang.
The 'conservative' features of Yanyuwa by which Blake (1988:38) identifies it as a member of the PN family are those which he sees as being less susceptible to change from the linguistic environment. These are: (1) the form of the free pronouns (similar to the PN set rather than the nonPN), and the fact that they distinguish between dual and plural number; and (2) the form of the case-marker suffixes, similar to and sometimes typical of the PN set (although they are fewer in number than typical PN languages). Blake also demonstrates the closeness of Yanyuwa's pronouns with those of three other PN languages: Warluwara, Bularnu and Wagaya.

Yanyuwa identification as a PN language is supported by two other criteria to which Dixon (1980:223-4) refers: (1) a three-vowel system (as opposed to a five- or maybe six-vowel system in nonPN languages), and (2) an unlimited list of inflecting verb roots (as opposed to the nonPN system of a limited number used in conjunction with a multiplicity of compound verbs). Nicholas Evans (1988:94, 99, 100), writing on Pama-Nyungan, also instances several Yanyuwa roots which reflect PN forms.

In relation to this reclassification of Yanyuwa, Blake (Blake 1988:40) makes the following observation:

It is interesting...to establish that Yanyuwa is Pama-Nyungan and similar to Wagaya, Bularnu and Warluwara, since Yanyuwa is not contiguous with these other three and in Australia there are very few instances of relatively close generic links between non-contiguous languages.

1.3 AN OVERVIEW OF YANYUWA PHONOLOGY

While Yanyuwa has the three-vowel system typical of Pama-Nyungan languages, the feature of special interest is the range of consonants. A preliminary description of "Anyula" phonology (Kirton 1967) analysed the consonant sounds as six stops, six nasals, four laterals, two rhotics and two semivowels, in relation to six points of articulation: labial, interdental, alveolar, postalveolar (retroflexed), palatal and velar. This analysis was later revised to include prenasalised stops and a seventh point of articulation, palatovelar, for stops, nasals and prenasalised stops. The description shows that each palatovelar consonant has resulted from the elision of what was historically a sequence of laminopalatal and velar consonants. During his visit to the language area in 1967, Professor Peter Ladefoget confirmed the occurrence of the palatovelar consonant series, and noted that the Yanyuwa velar position was further back than the norm to accommodate seven oral points of articulation.

1.4 AN OVERVIEW OF YANYUWA GRAMMAR

A brief introduction is given to three areas of Yanyuwa grammar (described in more detail elsewhere). Since the men's and women's dialects together essentially constitute 'Yanyuwa', this feature of the language is presented. Nouns and verbs are also introduced.

1.4.1 MEN'S AND WOMEN'S DIALECTS

Perhaps the most unusual feature related to Yanyuwa grammar is the occurrence of separate dialects for men and for women speakers, described in detail in Kirton (1988a) and Bradley (1988). The difference in dialects primarily relates to two of the seven classes of
common nouns, the male class (primarily comprising male people) and the masculine class (the most numerous class, comprising the remainder of nouns not included in the other more specific classes). These two classes contrast in the women's dialect and virtually unite in the men's, though a single archaic form in the men's dialect provides evidence that marking distinguishing the two classes has occurred there too.

For each noun class there is a set of prefixes. In the Yanyuwa case-marking system, variant forms of the class-marker prefixes accompany the addition of case-marker suffixes. In the speech of the women, male class nouns in the nominative case are marked by the prefix nya- and masculine class nouns have no overt marker. In the speech of men, the classes are combined and have no overt marker. However, for non-nominative cases the contrast becomes stronger. When one of these other cases is marked by the addition of a suffix, then for women speakers the non-nominative prefix for male class is nyu- and for masculine class it is ji-; the non-nominative prefix for the combined classes in men's speech is ki-. (For a full description of Yanyuwa nouns and modifiers, see Kirton 1971a and 1971b.)

In women's speech there are three third person singular personal pronouns: yiwa ‘he’, anda ‘she’ and aJhi ‘it’. In the men's speech there are only two: yiwa ‘he, it’ and anda ‘she’. (For a description of Yanyuwa free pronouns and pronominal sets, see Kirton 1970.)

There is a considerable degree of cross-referencing in Yanyuwa, and it is this factor which multiplies the differences between the two dialects. The dialectal allomorphs relate to noun modifier class markers, bound pronouns, and the proximal demonstrative pronoun ‘this’, all of which agree with the nouns they refer to in class, number and case. The linguistic environments in which bound pronouns occur are numerous.

Pronominal prefixes mark subject and object on verbs; they mark possessor on inalienably possessed nouns (with different sets of possessor markers for body-part nouns and for each of two kinship noun classes). Pronominal affixes also mark locative demonstrative pronouns, the locative interrogative, and certain particles which function as conjunctions or introducers.

In all these grammatical environments, women speakers distinguish male and masculine classes while male speakers combine them. The distinction between these classes is lost only in the nominative form for the distal demonstrative pronouns of the women's dialect.

1.4.2 NOUNS

Four types and 15 classes of Yanyuwa nouns are described (Kirton 1971a and 1971b), based on analysis of the women's dialect, which most clearly marks the contrasts. The four noun types are common nouns, body-part nouns, kinship nouns and proper nouns. (Note: In the following description the women's dialect is taken as the basis for description, in order to work from the more complex to the less complex dialect and from the more regular to the less regular patterns. Similarly the female noun class is described first because its patterning is more regular than the male class, which is involved in the complicating factor of dialect difference.)

Seven classes of Type I common nouns are indicated by contrastive class-marker prefixes which generally correlate with contrastive semantic categories. The first semantic division is into human and non-human categories. Human referents are subdivided into two classes:
class 1, female, and class 2, male. The semantic domain of 'human' referents within this language includes both animals and mythological beings which are related to humans within the kinship system as female or male kin. Nouns in these two classes may be marked for number by the replacement of the class prefix with *rr* (dual) or *ll* (plural).

The remaining noun classes with non-human referents are not normally marked for number. They may be subdivided into two classes, feminine (class 3) and masculine (class 4), which include both animate and inanimate nouns, and three classes of inanimate nouns: class 5 (food), class 6 (arboreal), and class 7 (abstract).

Certain stems appear to the outsider to be assigned to classes in an illogical way, but Dixon's (1968:20) two rules relating to 'transfer' of class membership in Australian Aboriginal languages apply to these instances. He states that the irregular occurrence is in fact a purposeful class transference which classifies according to mythological characteristics rather than characteristics apparent to someone from outside the culture, or which marks some "important property...most often 'harmfulness'".

In some environments there is blurring of the distinction between the female and feminine classes in both dialects, somewhat comparable to the blurring of the male-masculine distinction in the men's dialect; for example the female class marker *rr*- has the free variants *rr-, ra- and a-, a form homophonous with the feminine class marker, so that in some instances the distinction between classes is lost.

The inalienable nature of Type II, class 8 body-part nouns is marked by one set of pronominal prefixes. Type III kinship noun classes 10–12 have a different kind of inalienable nature which is marked by contrastive sets of possessor prefixes or suffixes. The other two kin noun classes do not mark possession. Class 9 consists of vocative forms and class 13 consists of innately non-singular forms, that is two or more people in a significant relationship. Type IV proper nouns consist of class 14 personal and corroborree names and class 15 placenames.

Yanyuwa noun case marking has been introduced briefly above, and the topic is examined in more depth in Chapter 3.

1.4.3 Verbs

Yanyuwa verbs have been described in considerable detail (Kirton 1978). The primary contrasts in structure distinguish indicative, imperative and participle verb forms. The other three moods of the Yanyuwa verb, dubitative ('might'), intuitive ('intend to') and hypothetical ('would/should/could') are signalled by suffixes which replace the indicative tense/aspect suffixes.

In Kirton (1978), Yanyuwa verbs were described as potentially consisting of five prefixes, a verb stem and three suffixes. Where the focus is not specifically on verbs, it is simpler to present a verb rather as consisting of three prefixes, a verb stem and one suffix. An indicative verb occurs as the maximum form, an imperative verb has one less prefix and a comparatively simpler suffix, and a participle is the minimal form of the verb. There is an open list of verb stems and classification is based on transitivity.

An indicative verb has an initial indicative marker which may additionally signal recurrent aspect. The prefixes which follow the indicative marker are determined by the transitivity of the verb. In a transitive verb, an object and a transitive subject prefix follow. In an
intransitive or an existential verb, an intransitive subject prefix follows. In a reflexive/ reciprocal/middle verb, the indicative marker is followed by an intransitive subject prefix and a reflexive-marker prefix.

Imperative verbs are marked by subject, object and reflexive prefixes, according to the transitivity type, and by one of three imperative suffixes, marking general imperative, continuous imperative or negative imperative.

The participle construction is unmarked for person. The reflexive prefix nyamba- marks the reflexive participle form, and suffixes mark the participle as past, present, past customary, purposive or dative.

1.5 YANYUWA LANGUAGE MATERIALS

The author's published materials on Yanyuwa language and culture are entered in the bibliography. Others who have contributed to the study of Yanyuwa are Capell, Blake, and Bradley. John Bradley has deposited a dictionary of the Yanyuwa language with AIATSIS in Canberra; the manuscript is a compilation of his and the author's databases. A list of vernacular materials (stories, primers, Bible portions) in the Yanyuwa language can be obtained from Bookseller, SIL-AAIB, PO Berrimah, NT 0828, Australia.
2.1 OVERVIEW

In Yanyuwa there is a demonstrative system which includes pronouns, locatives and manner adverbs. There is a set of four stems for each of these word classes. These 12 stems are constructed from four demonstrative roots, two prefixes and two suffixes. In addition to these forms, another stem occurs as a variant of two of the demonstrative pronoun stems. This variant stem $ja^1$ occurs in agreement with five of the seven noun classes for a male speaker and six of the seven noun classes for a female speaker.

The pattern behind the demonstrative stem morphology is obscured if only the forms in current use are analysed. A clear pattern emerges when the stem $mbangaji$ – an earlier form of $mangaji$ 'that (definite)' – is added to the data. (The form $mbangaji$ occurred once in a text recorded by an old man at Doomadgee Mission in 1967 and was later identified by Borroloola Yanyuwa speakers as being the older form of $mangaji$.)

The purpose of this description is to present an analysis of Yanyuwa demonstrative stems. Some notes on demonstrative inflection and the possible use of demonstrative pronoun stems in noun derivation are also included.

2.2 DEMONSTRATIVE STEM MORPHOLOGY

In the Yanyuwa demonstrative system which comprises pronouns, locatives and manner adverbs, there is the interaction of a proximal-distal semantic opposition and a definite-indefinite semantic opposition which results in a set of four stems for each of these three word classes. The English proximal demonstrative pronoun ‘this’ and the distal pronoun ‘that’ are therefore each represented by a definite and an indefinite form in Yanyuwa. Similarly the English locatives ‘here’ and ‘there’ and the adverb phrase ‘like this’ and ‘like that’ are each expressed in Yanyuwa by a definite and an indefinite demonstrative word.

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1 Examples from Yanyuwa are given in the practical orthography, that is the orthography used for literacy and literature. The following equivalents will enable transfer into the phonemic orthography for those sounds which are written differently:
   - The interdental $/d,n,l,nd/ \text{ are written } th, nh, lh, nth.$
   - The alveopalatal $/dj, nj, njdj/ \text{ are written } j, ny, nj.$
   - The alveolar flap is written $rr.$
   - The retroflexed consonant series are written $rd, rm, rl, r, rmd.$
   - The palatovelar stop, nasal and prenasalised stops are written $yk, yng, yngk.$
   - The velar stop and nasal are written $k, ng.$
The definite–indefinite semantic distinction is similar to that demonstrated by the articles ‘the’ and ‘a’ in English. The indefinite forms are used in introducing new information or referents; the definite forms are the anaphoric forms which refer back to information previously given. The definite forms may take an additional stress, as the English ‘the’ does (with an additional change in vowel too), to give focus to the referent.

(In Yanyuwa the indefinite demonstrative pronoun has an additional function demonstrated in an explanatory text in which two groups of people are referred to alternately. At each reintroduction of a group, the indefinite pronoun li-mbangu (PL-that.INDEF) ‘those’ marks its return; the reference to this group is then continued with the definite pronoun li-mangaji (PL-that.DEF) ‘those’ until the alternative group is again reintroduced with the indefinite form li-mbangu.)

In Yanyuwa a demonstrative stem potentially consists of three morphemes. A demonstrative root must occur and a word-class marker may precede or follow the root. A definite-marker suffix is added to the resultant unit for all but one of the definite demonstratives.

There are three separate roots which occur in the nucleus of the proximal demonstrative stems to distinguish the three word classes, and one of them has an allomorph: jina/ja ‘this’, marni ‘here’, and inya ‘like this’ (see Table 1). The allomorph jina occurs in agreement with masculine-class nouns and also in agreement with male-class nouns for a male speaker; ja occurs with the remaining noun classes and with male-class nouns for a female speaker (see Kirton 1971:5-6; 10-13 for further detail).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1: YANYUWA DEMONSTRATIVE STEM MORPHOLOGY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRONOUN</th>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>indefinite</td>
<td>jina/ja1</td>
<td>mba-ngu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>definite</td>
<td>jina-ngu/ja1</td>
<td>mba-ng-aji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘this’</td>
<td>/ma-ng-aji2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCATIVE</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘that’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite</td>
<td>marni</td>
<td>na-mba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>definite</td>
<td>marn-aji</td>
<td>b-aji3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘here’</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANNER ADVERB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indefinite</td>
<td>ngan-inya</td>
<td>ngana-mba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>definite</td>
<td>ngan-inya-aji</td>
<td>ngana-db-aji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘like this’</td>
<td>‘like that’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. These variants are used in agreement with different noun classes; jina and jina-ngu occur with the masculine (and male, for a male speaker) class, and ja occurs with the remaining classes.
2. This morphological change is a diachronic one.
3. This stem comes from the underlying form mba-aji by morphophonemic rules.
The single distal demonstrative root mba occurs in the nucleus of the stem for all three word classes, and the classes are distinguished by the addition of word-class marker affixes to all but one of the root occurrences. These affixes may additionally mark the proximal demonstrative roots to further distinguish the classes.

The nominaliser suffix -ngu marks all the demonstrative pronoun stems except the indefinite proximal stem jina ‘this’ and its allomorph ja. The demonstrative manner prefix ngana- is added to the distal root mba and also to the proximal root inya. The locative prefix na- is added to mba in the construction of the indefinite stem only; mba then remains as the definite distal locative unit without further marking for word class, but the initial m is lost in accordance with a strong phonological tendency in Yanyuwa for the nasal onset of a prenasalised stop or the initial consonant of a consonant cluster to be lost in a word-initial occurrence.

The definite-marker suffix -aji is then added to all the definite demonstrative units as constructed above with the exception of jina-ngu ‘this’, which is already distinguished from the indefinite form by the nominaliser suffix -ngu.

When the above roots and affixes come together, the following morphophonemic rule applies: When two vowels come together at a morpheme boundary the first vowel is lost: V -> Ø / ___+V.

The resultant demonstrative stems and their classes are listed below.

(1) Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jina</td>
<td>this (indefinite masculine class, M male class)²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jinangu</td>
<td>this (definite masculine class, M male class)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja</td>
<td>this (F non-masculine classes, M non-masculine/male classes; no definite–indefinite distinction)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbangu</td>
<td>that (indefinite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbangaji/mangaji</td>
<td>that (definite) (The mbangaji variant is the archaic form.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Locatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>marni</td>
<td>here (indefinite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marnaji</td>
<td>here (definite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namba</td>
<td>there (indefinite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baji</td>
<td>there (definite)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) Manner adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nganinya</td>
<td>like this (indefinite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nganinyaji</td>
<td>like this (definite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nganamba</td>
<td>like that (indefinite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nganambaji</td>
<td>like that (definite)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

² Men’s and women’s dialects are distinguished in Yanyuwa, based on the difference in class marking for male- and masculine-noun classes. This is then accompanied by the use of different pronominal morphemes in the extensive pronominal agreement throughout the language. F marks examples from a female speaker and M those from a male speaker in examples where there are dialect differences. (See §1.4.1; for a full description of the two dialects see Bradley 1988 and Kirton 1988a.)
Of this manner adverb set, nganinya and nganambaji are the two forms in common use; occurrence of the other two stems is rare.

2.3 NOTES ON INFLECTION OF DEMONSTRATIVES

The demonstrative stems listed above occur as free uninflected forms with the exception of the demonstrative pronoun stems. And since the proximal stems jina and jinangu occur for masculine-class referents and male-class referents for a male speaker, and since there is zero marking for these noun classes, jina and jinangu also overtly occur as uninflected free forms. The remaining pronoun stems, however, must occur with a class marker in agreement with the noun referent, and these class-markers are also modified for case (see Kirton 1971a:5-6).

The demonstrative stems from all three word classes may then take additional inflection; however, the manner adverb stem takes only one suffix. The identical-marker suffix -lulu occurs with the definite distal stem: nganambaji-lulu 'in the very same way'. This same meaning 'very same' is signalled on the definite stems of the other demonstrative classes also. The nominative demonstrative pronoun stems are marked by the identical-marker prefix ulu-, which immediately precedes the stem: nyulu-ja 'this very same (male/masculine)', mulu-mangaji 'that very same (food)' (see Kirton 1971a:6).

2.4 NOTES ON THE POSSIBLE USE OF THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN STEMS IN NOUN DERIVATION

There is one noun stem in common use, wardimbangu, which appears to be constructed from the adjective stem wardi 'bad' and the demonstrative pronoun stem mbangu 'that (indefinite)'. The resultant noun stem expresses an emphasised quality of badness in the entity it refers to. The addition of a noun class-marker completes the noun construction: rra-wardimbangu 'a bad woman', li-wardimbangu 'bad people'.

The prefix ja- which occurs with certain kin stems as a variant for first person singular possession and with certain verb stems as a derivational prefix is homophonous in form with the proximal demonstrative pronoun allomorph ja ‘this’ and it is possibly the same morpheme. Examples are given below with the noun kin stems marna ‘father’s sister, father’s older brother’, baba ‘older sibling’, and with the verb stems warndima ‘lie, speak falsely’, nganyma ‘be jealous’: rra-ja-marna ‘my aunt’, rra-ja-baba ‘my older sister’, F nya-ja-warndima ‘a liar (male)’, F nya-ja-nganyma ‘a jealous man’. The ja appears to mark the kin relationships which have a special significance (see Kirton with Timothy 1982:9), and to give emphasis to the quality expressed by the verb stem in these noun constructions.

The nouns derived from verb stems by the addition of ja- and the noun wardimbangu occur in the predicate of stative clauses. The kin nouns with the ja-prefix have free occurrence.

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3 This identical-marker ulu-/-lulu occurs also with the personal pronouns; however, it is manifested there by -lu on each occurrence of the repeated pronoun: anda ‘she, her’ becomes anda-lu anda-lu ‘the very same one (female)'; alu ‘they, them’ becomes alu-lu alu-lu ‘the very same ones'.
3.1 OVERVIEW

In Yanyuwa four cases are distinguished, and these four cases mark twelve grammatical functions in Yanyuwa. The purpose of this chapter is to suggest an underlying semantic system which interrelates the case markers to the grammatical functions according to three degrees of relationship to clause action.1

3.2 CASE MARKERS

Case is marked on nouns, noun modifiers and pronouns, and it is also marked on participles and certain adverbs. The essential markers are normally suffixes. The basic case-marker suffix set (except for pronouns) is:

-Ø nominative
-wu dative
-llu ergative-allative
-la ablative

Each of the three overt basic suffixes has a series of allomorphs. These are either phonologically or morphologically conditioned. The basic suffixes along with their variants are listed. (Predictable conditioning factors are described in full in Kirton 1971b:41-48.)

Dative: -wu; phonological variants: -yu, -u, -ku;
morphological variants: -nku, -ngku.

Ergative-allative: -llu; phonological variants: -ngku, -nju, -du, -wu, -u;
morphological variants: -ndu, -nyu.

Ablative: -la; phonological variants: -ngka, -nja, -da, -a;
morphological variants: -nda, -nya.

Participles may be marked by dative or ergative-allative case. Certain locative adverbs may also be marked by ergative-allative case.

Case is also marked on nouns and noun modifiers by prefixes which combine class-marking and case-marking functions. These prefixes may distinguish a two- or three-way contrast. For certain classes the noun prefixes distinguish only a nominative, non-nominative

1 This topic was given some preliminary consideration in the paper 'Yanyuwa nominative and ergative-allative cases' (Kirton 1976:1-12).
contrast; for example, the male-class prefixes used by a female speaker: F nya- (M.NOM),
nyu- (M.NNOM). For other classes the prefixes distinguish nominative, dative and ergative-
allative-ablative contrast; for example, the abstract-class prefixes namu- (ABST.NOM),
nuwarnu- (ABST.DAT) and nungkarnu- (ABST.ERG/ALL/ABL). The three-way contrast is
maintained for all classes in marking the non-suffixing stems of demonstrative and
possessive pronouns and the allative specifier -rrku 'other, different'. For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
F \text{ nya-} & \text{rrku} & (M.\text{NOM-other}) & \text{another} \\
F \text{ nyuwa-} & \text{rrku} & (M.\text{DAT-other}) & \text{for another} \\
F \text{ nyungka-} & \text{rrku} & (M.\text{ERG/ALL/ABL-other}) & \text{to/with another}
\end{align*}
\]

(See Table 4 in Chapter 4 for the complete set of noun prefixes.)

Nouns normally take both class-case-marker prefixes and case suffixes. However, certain
nouns in common use may lose the prefix when an overt suffix occurs; for example, alanji-lu
(camp-ALL) 'to the camp', wulangi-nda (river-ABL) 'at/ by the river'. (The arboreal class
allative-ablative prefix nungku- has been lost from these two words.) A male speaker may
drop the suffix from certain nouns in common use when he adds the male/masculine-class
non-nominative prefix ki-: for example, ki-mirningu (M.NNOM-man) 'for/to/with the man'
or 'the man (transitive subject)'. (The context distinguishes the specific role which is
intended.)

Free pronouns are also marked to distinguish four cases, but their marking is different
from that of nouns in two respects. (1) Free pronouns do not occur with a transitive subject
function and so are not marked for ergative case. Therefore -lu marks only the allative or
purpose functions (that is, location destination 'to' or purpose goal 'for' functions; these
functions are illustrated in §2.3.3 below). (2) There is some variation in the case-marker
suffixes which occur with the pronouns, more particularly in those which mark dative and
ablative cases. (See Table 2 for the full set of free pronouns for the four cases.)

3.3 BASIC CLAUSE TYPES

For the purpose of this paper, there are two main factors to be considered in relation to
clause types. Both relate to the nature of the predicate. The first is whether or not there is any
action or activity expressed in the predicate; the second is the nature of the transitivity of such
predicate action. These two factors distinguish the three basic clause types.

The two basic action clause types are intransitive and transitive. The transitive clause has
an object and the intransitive clause has no object. The third basic clause type is the non-
action clause. This type may have an existential stative predicate which is manifested by the
existential verb 'be' or it may have a verbless stative predicate (or complement). (See Chapter
8, 'Yanyuwa clauses', for a full description.)

3.4 THE SEMANTIC INTERRELATING OF CASE AND CLAUSE FUNCTIONS

Each case marker distinguishes three related semantic roles (see Table 3) in the marking of
clause functions. One role expresses active involvement in the effecting of the action of the
verb. The second expresses a more passive involvement associated with the action of the
verb. The third expresses a dissociation from the verbal action. This dissociation may be one
of two kinds. It may be dissociation from verbal action in that the clause is a non-action
clause, or it may be dissociation in the sense that it relates to a background function in an action clause. The nature of these roles will be illustrated as each case and its three semantic roles is considered. (It is noted that ‘passive’ is used here in a semantic sense, not the grammatical. There is no active–passive voice distinction in the grammar of Yanyuwa clauses.)

TABLE 2: YANYUWA FREE PRONOUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Allative</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Dative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>aluwalu</td>
<td>aluwa</td>
<td>alu</td>
<td>alunnga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>yirruwalu</td>
<td>yirruwa</td>
<td>yirru</td>
<td>yirrunga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXCL</td>
<td>nganuwalu</td>
<td>nganuwa</td>
<td>nganu</td>
<td>nganunga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DU</td>
<td>wulaJu</td>
<td>wulaa</td>
<td>wula</td>
<td>wulanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DU</td>
<td>yimbalaJu</td>
<td>yimbala</td>
<td>yimbala</td>
<td>yimbalanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DU.EXCL</td>
<td>ngatharraJu</td>
<td>ngatharraa</td>
<td>ngatharra</td>
<td>ngatharranga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL</td>
<td>ngambalalu</td>
<td>ngambala</td>
<td>ngambala</td>
<td>ngambalanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DU.INCL</td>
<td>ngaliJu</td>
<td>ngalila</td>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>ngalinga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ngathangkalu</td>
<td>ngathangka</td>
<td>ngarna</td>
<td>ngatha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>yindaJu</td>
<td>yindaa</td>
<td>yinda</td>
<td>yinku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F/FEM.SG</td>
<td>andalu</td>
<td>andag</td>
<td>anda</td>
<td>anku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M.SG¹</td>
<td>yilalu</td>
<td>yila</td>
<td>yiwa</td>
<td>yiku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MSC.SG¹</td>
<td>alhinju</td>
<td>alhinja</td>
<td>alhi</td>
<td>ayu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The distinction between male and masculine class pronouns is made by female speakers only. For the male speaker, the third person singular male pronoun is used for both male and masculine classes.

3.4.1 NOMINATIVE SEMANTIC ROLES

The nominative case marks the grammatical functions of Intransitive Subject, Object and Topic. The Intransitive Subject has the semantic role of Active Experiencer. The Object has the role of Passive Experiencer. The Topic has the third role, dissociated from verbal action, the semantic role of Dissociated Experiencer.

The term ‘experiencer’ is used in contrast with the term ‘causer’. The following pairs of clauses, examples 3.1 and 3.2, and examples 3.3 and 3.4, provide a basis for establishing the definition of the experiencer role:

3.1 F Jiwa-yabirri-nji nya-mirningiya-Ø.
   he-become.well-PRES M.NNOM-man-NOM
   The man is becoming well.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Ergative-Allative</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common</td>
<td>-θ</td>
<td>-wu</td>
<td>-lu/-ngku</td>
<td>-la/ngka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffix Form</td>
<td>Experiencer</td>
<td>Recipient/Goal</td>
<td>Causer</td>
<td>Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semantic Role</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actively involved</td>
<td>Active</td>
<td>Active</td>
<td>Active</td>
<td>Active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in effecting the</td>
<td>Experiencer</td>
<td>Recipient</td>
<td>Causer</td>
<td>Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>action</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Intransitive Subject)</td>
<td>(Recipient Object)</td>
<td>(Transitive Subject)</td>
<td>(Instrument)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passively or indirectly</td>
<td>Passive Experiencer</td>
<td>Passive Objective</td>
<td>Passive Causer</td>
<td>Passive Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>involved in the</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Object)</td>
<td>(Goal)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clause action</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Purpose)</td>
<td>(Accompaniment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissociated or</td>
<td>Dissociated Experiencer</td>
<td>Dissociated Goal</td>
<td>Dissociated Causer</td>
<td>Dissociated Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back-ground</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Topic/Non-action Subject)</td>
<td>(Pertinent)</td>
<td>(Destination/Location Goal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>involvement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3: A Semantic System of Yanyuwa Case**
Each of these two clauses above gives expression to the fact of the man becoming well. The difference between the two clauses is that in the first there is no causer of the man’s experience and in the second there is. The man’s experience is constant in both.

In these two clauses also the old woman has a common experience of returning. The difference lies in that, in clause 3.3, the implication of the clause type is that she had a more active role in doing so than in clause 3.4.3

(1) Active Experiencer

The Intransitive Subject is viewed, then, in the role of Active Experiencer – actively undergoing the experience of the verb in the clause. This role is illustrated by the underlined word or phrase in the following examples:

3.5 M Ja-rukurri-nji na-marnda-∅
   he-feel.pain-PRES his.NOM-foot-NOM
   His foot is hurting.

3.6 M Nya-mangaji wajbala-∅ ka-alkali.
   M.NOM-that.DEF white.man-NOM he-vomit
   The white man vomited.

3.7 Wawi-∅ jumba-wudurruma-nji.
   horse-NOM he.REFL-feed-PRES
   The horse is feeding.

3.8 M Marnaji ka-walanyma wurnda-∅.
   here.DEF it-emerge wood-NOM
   The stick came out here.

---

2 In this and in following examples, only the role relevant to the specific clause is glossed. In examples 3.2 and 3.4, the ergative-allative case suffix -lu is glossed ‘ERG’ since this is the function it marks in this clause.

3 This evidence is elaborated on in the earlier paper (Kirton 1976:1-12). The above couplets are representative of others of the kind in the language.
(2) Passive Experiencer

The Object is viewed in the role of Passive Experiencer – undergoing the experience of the verb in a more passive way than the Intransitive Subject. This role is illustrated in the following examples:

3.9  M  Kīl-wangkā-la  na-ngurrū-0.
      him.he-shoot-P  his-face-NOM
      (The man) shot him (the narrator's father) in the face.

3.10 M  Kīl-urrā nya-mangaji  wajbala-0.
       him.he-stop M.NOM-that.DEF white.man-NOM
       He stopped that white man.

3.11 Nya-mangaji  wawi-0 kinya-rarrima-la.
      MSC.NOM-that.DEF horse-NOM it.you-ride-FUT
      You will ride that horse.

3.12 Kīl-rduma  wurnda-0.
       it.he-get  wood-NOM
       He got the wood.

(3) Dissociated Experiencer

The Topic is viewed in the role of Dissociated Experiencer – dissociated from activity at this juncture, in a non-action clause. Since the normal context for a clause is within a discourse, the likelihood is that the Dissociated Experiencer has come out of an Active or Passive Experiencer role or is about to enter one. (Within a non-action clause, even the Predicate may be manifested by a participle or by an adverb such as walkurr ‘asleep’, mingkiya ‘sitting’ or mududu ‘having a bowed head’, forms which in some sense express deactivised verbal action.) The role is illustrated in the following examples:

3.13 M  Bubu na-marnda-0.
        sore  his-foot-NOM
        His foot is sore.

3.14 M  Nya-mangaji  wajbala-0 jumayngkarra-0.
       M.NOM-that.DEF white.man-NOM  tall-NOM
       That white man is tall.

3.15 Wawi-0  kurlukuru-0.
          horse-NOM  quiet-NOM
          The horse is a quiet one.

3.16 Li-ardu-birri-0  jal-ini  lhurra-ngka.
       PL.NOM-child-DIM.PL-NOM  they-be  play-ABL
       The children are playing.

3.17 M  Baj-iwa  wurnda-0.
        there.DEF-it  tree-NOM
        There is the tree.

3.18 Li-nhanawa-0  baj-alu  wayka arkarla-ntha-rra.
       PL.NOM-woman-NOM  there.DEF-they down  wash-PT-PRES
       The women are down there washing (their clothes).
3.4.2 DATIVE SEMANTIC ROLES

The dative case marks the grammatical functions of Recipient Object, Goal and Pertinent. The Pertinent function, associated with such meanings as ‘relating to’, ‘concerning’, ‘with reference to’, is more loosely related to the clause than the other two; there is no grammatical requirement for it to occur.

The Recipient Object has the semantic role of Active Recipient – the recipient essential to the completion of the action of the Predicate. This recipient must be a living entity, capable of consciously receiving. The verbs with which the Recipient co-occurs include the goal transitive verbs: *inu* ‘tell’, *ijarra* ‘point out, show’, *mimima* ‘show, display’, *ngunda* ‘give’; the intransitive speech verbs: *arri* in its meaning ‘said’, *wajba* ‘call out’, *lhawama* ‘swear, speak insultingy’; and the verb *wukanyi* ‘talk’, which belongs to a semitransitive subclass.

There is a grammatical ambiguity associated with the goal transitive verbs listed above. The Recipient Object function may alternatively be manifested by an Object, and it may also be marked as object on the verb instead of the proper Object. This is illustrated in examples 3.19 and 3.20 below, which relate to travellers from a group being introduced to the same young woman:

3.19 M Karr-awula-ngunda jikan-0 ki-Jijil kulu Burayin.
her-they.DU-give handshake-NOM M.NNOM-Cecil and Brian
Cecil and Brian shook hands with her.

3.20 An-ku katharra-ngunda jikan-0.
her-DAT it.we.DU.EXCL-give handshake-NOM
We shook hands with her.

However, despite the grammatical ambiguity associated with these goal transitive verbs, the semantic role of Recipient Object remains constant. The Recipient Object is the immediate recipient of the object given, the demonstration provided, or of the speech communication.

There is also an irregularity in the occurrence of the verb stem *wukanyi* ‘talk, say, speak’. It belongs to a subclass of verbs (see Kirton 1978:43) which are normally marked by intransitive prefixes but which may take an Object. The following examples illustrate the occurrence of *wukanyi* with a Recipient Object, and Object, or both:

3.21 Karna-wukanyi yin-ku.
I-talk you.SG-DAT
I spoke to you.

3.22 Kanda-wukanyi narru-munanga-0.
she-talk ABST-white.man-NOM
She spoke English.

3.23 Jarna-wukanyi-nji an-ku Yanyuwa-0.
I-talk-PRES her-DAT Yanyuwa-NOM
I am talking Yanyuwa to her.

The following examples illustrate the Recipient Object function in relation to other goal transitive verbs and intransitive speech verbs:
(1) Active Recipient (with goal-transitive verbs)

3.24 **An-ku** katharra-ngunda jikan-∅.
her-DAT it.we.DU.EXCL-give handshake-NOM
We shook hands with her.

3.25 **Kal-ina-nthaninya linji-malbu-malbu-ngku nganu-nga.**
it.they-tell-P.CST PL.ERG-old.man-old.man-ERG us.EXCL-DAT
The old men used to tell (this story) to us.

3.26 **Karr-am-ijarra-la virru-nga barratha.**
her-I-show-FUT you.PL-DAT mother
I will show (my mother) to you.

3.27 **Kinya-mirimima-nhu ngatha.**
it.you.SG-show-P me.DAT
You showed it to me.

(2) Active Recipient (with intransitive speech verbs)

3.28 **M Ka-wajba-nthaninya vi-ku.**
he-call.out-P.CST him-DAT
He used to call out to him.

3.29 **Kalu-arri-njaninya vi-ku.**
they-said-P.CST him-DAT
They used to say to him.

3.30 **Kama-arri alu-nga liyi-ardu-birri-yu.**
I-said them-DAT PL.DAT-child-DIM.PL.DAT
I said to the children.

The Indirect Object or Goal function co-occurs with transitive and intransitive clause predicates. It is viewed as having the semantic role of Passive Objective. It contrasts with the Active Recipient role in one or more of the following three ways: (1) the Passive Objective may not be an essential participant for the verb action to be fully performed; (2) the Passive Objective is not necessarily present where the verb action is performed; and (3) the Passive Objective is associated with verbs which express emotions or attitudes. The Passive Objective is not part of the action but rather a goal which may or may not be present, the one towards whom the activity is directed or on whose behalf it is performed. It is illustrated in the following examples:

(3) Passive Objective (with transitive verbs)

3.31 **Jalu-rduJu-rduma-nji wawi-yu buradii-∅ kulu jadil-∅.**
it.they-get-get-PRES horse-DAT bridle-NOM and saddle-NOM
They are getting bridles and saddles for the horses.

3.32 **Kanu-yibarra-nthaninya lhulun-∅ an-ku.**
it.we.EXCL-put-P.CST bed-NOM her-DAT
We used to arrange a (paperbark) bed for her.

3.33 **Jal-iia-nji ma-ngarra-∅ alu-nga.**
it.they-send-PRES FD.NOM-food-NOM them-DAT
They are sending food for them.
3.34  Karna-arrkana-la *vin-ku* wunala-0.
it.I-spear-FUT you.SG-DAT kangaroo-NOM
I will spear a kangaroo for you.

(4) Passive Objective (with intransitive verbs)

3.35  M *Jawula-yarriba-nji ki-wawi-yu.*
they.DU-hunt-PRES MSC.NNOM-horse-DAT
They are hunting for the horses.

3.36  F *Ji-wardanka-yi buyuka-wu.*
it-be.afraid-PRES fire-DAT
(The buffalo) is afraid of fire.

3.37  *Jalu-rarri-nji an-ku.*
they-cry-PRES her-DAT
They are sorrowing for her.

The third grammatical function marked by dative is labelled Pertinent; it is pertaining to the clause action but in a more peripheral way than for the Recipient Object or Goal. It often signals 'relating to', 'concerning' or 'with reference to' rather than 'to' or 'for'. The Pertinent function is viewed as having the semantic role of Dissociated Goal. This role may be manifested by a noun phrase, a pronoun or a participle. It is illustrated in the following examples:

(5) Dissociated Goal

3.38  M *Wambu ka-wuluma-nthaninya alu-nja.*
remaining he-run-P.CST them-DAT
He kept running away from them.

3.39  M *Nya-rrku barrawu-0 kilu-rama*
MSC.NOM-other house-NOM it.he-hit
*ki-jumbala-wu arrkana-ntha-wu.*
MSC.NNOM-clothes-DAT spear-PT-DAT
He built a tailor's shop (lit. another building for sewing clothes).

3.40  M *Ka-burrabirri wanga-ntha-wu.*
he.be.satiated shoot-PT-DAT
He had his fill of shooting.

3.41  M *Kilu-ngunda-yaninya marralnguji-0 yabima-ntha-wu yi-ku.*
it.he-give-P.CST doctor-NOM make.well-PT-DAT him-DAT
He used to give the doctor (the game he had killed) for making him well.

Although some of the above examples may appear to be related to Cause or Purpose functions, the Yanyuwa Cause function is expressed by a construction using the relator *kangka* 'because', and Purpose is marked by the ergative-allative marker *-lu*, described in the following section. The Pertinent function is distinct from these in that it is less definite.

The following example illustrates the use of the Dissociated Goal role to give an initial indefinite introduction to the topic of horses. This is then followed by a Purpose clause (marked by ergative-allative-purpose marker *-lu*) which turns them into the definite goal of the action:
As to horses, the horse-tailer is rising early in the morning to catch them.

3.4.3 ERGATIVE-ALLATIVE SEMANTIC ROLES

The ergative-allative case marks the grammatical functions of Transitive Subject, Purpose and Destination (or Location Goal). The associated semantic roles relate to the cause, motivation or goal for the action of the clause; they are Active Causer, Passive Causer and Dissociated Causer.

The Transitive Subject function has the semantic role of Active Causer or the direct initiator of the action of the clause. This role is associated with both physical actions and sensory activities such as ‘seeing’, ‘hearing’, ‘recognising’. This role is illustrated in the following examples:

(1) Active Causer

3.43 M Kandu-wunthama rru-nhanawa-lu
him.she-cool.down F.NNOM-woman-ERG
nya-mangaji wajbala-θ.
M.NOM-that.DEF white.man-NOM
The Aboriginal woman cooled down (the hot anger of) the white man.

3.44 Jalu-rama-nji linji-bardibardi-lu.
it.they-kill-PRES PL.ERG-old.woman-ERG
The old women are killing (the goanna).

3.45 M Kil-uma ki-lhambiji-lu ridinja.
it.it-break MSC.NNOM-storm.wind-ERG yesterday
The wind broke down (the banana palms) yesterday.

3.46 M Nya-mbangu jilu-lhaa-nji ki-yarraman-du.
MSC.NOM-that.INDEF it.it-know-PRES MSC.NNOM-horse-ERG
The horses ‘know’ (bullocks).

3.47 M Ki-malbu-ngku ki-Bulmika karra-wula-
M.NNOM-old.man-ERG M.NNOM-Bulmika her-they.DU-
yngkarri-njaninya a-barral-θ kari-ngamala.
hear-P.CST FEM.NOM-white.cockatoo-NOM from-south
The old man Bulmika (and his previously identified companion) heard the white cockatoo (calling) from the south.

The Purpose function has the semantic role of Passive Causer. Although it is not actively involved in the action, it does provide the motivation or incentive for it. The Purpose expresses the inner intention of the actual Subject of the verb and functions as an indirect or Passive Causer. The function is normally associated with a participle but it may also be marked on a pronoun (or, very rarely, an adverb such as mingkiya-θ (sitting-PURP) ‘to sit down’ or walkurr-u (asleep-PURP) ‘to sleep’). The role is illustrated in the following
examples (the gloss ‘PURP’ (purpose) is used for the ergative-allative case-marker when it marks this function):

(2) Passive Causer

from-down it-crawl-PRES egg-NOM lay-PT-PURP
(The sea-turtle) crawls up (onto the beach) to lay (her) eggs.

3.49 Jala-ka-nji wuba-ntha-lu.
it.they-take-PRES cook-PT-PURP
They are taking (the edible lizards) to cook (them).

3.50 F Kiya-wani-la rdum-ntha-lu ngambala-lu.
he-return-FUT get-PT-PURP us.INCL-PURP
He will return to get us.

The Destination function is associated with transitive or intransitive motion verbs such as:
ka ‘carry, bring, take’, ija ‘send’, waninjanguma ‘take back, bring back’, wingka ‘walk, come, go, move’, wuluma ‘run, run away’, warrka ‘crawl’, lhurwari ‘depart, set off’ and wani ‘return’. The Destination is the location goal of motion actions of this kind. It is dissociated from the action in not being part of the action and in being at a distance from its initiation. And yet, since it provides the goal of the action, in this sense at least it provides an indirect motivation for the action to occur. The semantic role of Destination is therefore Dissociated Causer. It is illustrated in the following examples:

(3) Dissociated Causer

3.51 Janda-wani-njani baku virru-wa-lu.
she-return-IMM later you.PL-ABL-ALL
She is going to return to you shortly.

3.52 M Ka-wingka-yaninya Wandangula-lu.
he-go-P.CST Wandangula-ALL
He used to go to Wandangula (lagoon).

3.53 Jila-ka-nji nya-mangaji walya-Ø
it.he-carry-PRES MSC.NOM-that.DEF dugong-NOM
ngamala-kari-lu wunda-lu.
south-DEF-ALL bank-ALL
He is carrying that dugong to the bank there in the south (lit. to that south place to the bank).

3.4.4 ABLATIVE SEMANTIC ROLES

The ablative case marks the grammatical functions associated with the environment of the clause action – the functions of Instrument, Accompaniment and Location. (It is noted that in Yanyuwa the Location Source function ‘from...’ is not marked by a case-marker but it is manifested by a location phrase introduced by the preposition nakari ‘from’. See §6.4.3. for more detail.)
The Instrument function has the semantic role of Active Environment; it expresses the ‘environment’ which is itself involved in the action or is the means of its taking place. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(1) Active Environment

3.54  Kumba-wijuwa-nthaninya  nungka-lhanu-ngka.
he.REFL-cover-P.CST  ARB.ABL-paperbark-ABL
He used to cover himself with paperbark (before blankets were available).

3.55  M  Nya-rdirrirra-ya  nya-mangaji  wakuku-∅
it.you.SG-tie.up-IMP  MSC.NOM-that.DEF  dog-NOM
ki-kijbakijba-la/
MSC.NNOM-chain-ABL
Tie up that dog with a chain!

3.56  F  Kal-uma-njaninya  ji-bujili-nja.
it.they-cut-P.CST  MSC.NNOM-bottle-ABL
They used to cut it with glass.

3.57  Kila-bala-ba  mungku-dulbarri-la.
it.he-spread-spread  FD.ABL-honey-ABL
He used to spread it with jam.4

3.58  M  Ka-ngabu  alu-wa.
he-go.underwater  them-ABL
He drowned (there) with them.

3.59  M  Ka-wunthanba  nya-mangaji  wajbala-∅
he-become.cool  M.NOM-that.DEF  white.man-NOM
rru-nhanawa-la.
F.NNOM-woman-ABL
The white man cooled down (from his hostility) with the Aboriginal woman.

3.60  M  Rikarrarikarra  ka-wani-la  ngatha-ngka.
tomorrow  he-return-FUT  me.DAT-ABL
He will go back with me tomorrow.

3.61  Kal-inyamba-rama  bajji  nganu-wa.
they-REFL-fight  there.DEF  us.PL-ABL
They fought one another there with us (that is, in our presence).

---

4 Honey, as a unique food, is classified as a masculine noun, not a food-class noun as may have been expected: dulbarri ‘honey’. When jam was introduced to the Yanyuwa, they utilised this stem and assigned it a food-class marker: ma-dulbarri ‘jam’
The grammatical function Location has the semantic role of Dissociated Environment; it is dissociated from the action but provides the setting or background for it. This is illustrated in the following examples:

(3) Dissociated Environment

3.62 F *Buyuka-la jiya-alarri-nji a-kari-mba.*
   fire-ABL he-stand-PRES west-side-DEF
   He is standing by the fire on the west side.

3.63 F *A-muwarda-∅ jawula-wajanga-nji*
   FEM.NOM-canoe-NOM they.DU-paddle-PRES
   *jingka-rku ji-awara-la nguthunda-kari-mba.*
   MSC.ABL-other MSC.NNOM-place-ABL north-DEF-side.
   They are paddling the canoe in another country on the north side (of the sea).

3.64 *Rru-muwarda-la kalu-arrkana-nthaninya.*
   FEM.NNOM-canoe-ABL it.they-spear-P.CST
   They used to spear it from/while in the canoe.

3.65 M *Anma-ya baji mingkiya nyungku-mangaji ki-daladala-ngka!*
   stay-IMP there.DEF sitting MSC.ABL-that.DEF
   MSC.NNOM-box-ABL
   Stay sitting there on that box!

3.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter a case has been presented for the view that in Yanyuwa each of the case-markers serves to mark a semantic role which has three degrees of involvement in the action (or non-action) of the clause to mark three grammatical functions. The four semantic roles identified are: 'experiencer' associated with the nominative case; 'recipient/goal' associated with the dative case; 'causer' associated with ergative-allative case; and 'environment' associated with the ablative case. For each of these four roles there is an 'Active' usage for which the entity is immediately involved in the action of the clause, a 'Passive' usage for which the entity is involved in the action but in an indirect or passive way, and a 'Dissociated' usage for which the entity is in some way relegated to the background in relation to the clause action. In this way the four case markers are used to distinguish the twelve main non-predicate clause functions in Yanyuwa.
CHAPTER 4
QUESTIONS AND INTERROGATIVE WORDS

4.1 OVERVIEW

The purpose of this chapter is to describe questions in Yanyuwa and the nature, form and functions of interrogative words in the language. Yanyuwa questions are closely related to statements in form. They are distinguished by a concluding rising intonation or by substitution of an interrogative word for a word or phrase of the statement construction. A question is usually in the form of a simple clause. It may however be a sentence or a sentence fragment, that is a word or phrase which depends on the situation or verbal context to fill out the meaning to make it complete. The fronting of a word to initial position in a Yanyuwa sentence brings it into focus. Questions utilise this positioning, and the kind of information required is usually indicated by the first word of the question.

Yanyuwa questions usually relate to the immediate situation of the speaker and hearer, and the questions most frequently heard are locative-related ones, such as:

\[ \text{Ngantha kimbala-arri?} \quad \text{Where have you (dual) been?} \]
\[ \text{Nganthiwuthu bajimbala?} \quad \text{Where are you (dual) going?} \]
\[ \text{Ngantha? (with the relevant pronominal suffix added)} \quad \text{Where is...?} \]

4.2 QUESTIONS MARKED BY INTONATION

Rising intonation may signal that an utterance is part of a listing series or that there is more to follow, but where there is a prominent rising intonation at the end of an obviously completed utterance then a question is established. The rising intonation is usually on the final word, but if the first word is focal to the question, it too may carry a rising intonation. If a vocative term follows the question, it also is likely to have a rising intonation. Illustrative examples follow:

\[ \text{Kan-umb-iya?} \quad \text{she-REFL-go.to.sleep} \]
\[ \text{Has she gone to sleep?} \]

Example 4.1 illustrates the use of the reflexive marker to mark middle verbs as well as reflexive and reciprocal forms.
4.2 Ma-kulabajjarra anda-a?
FD-hat her-ABL
Did/does she have a hat on?

4.3 Yurrulu?
more
Would you like more?

4.4 Warada jimu?
busy you.SG.are
Are you busy?

4.5 Ambuliyalu ka-alkalba-nhu?
before you.SG-wash-P
Did you do your washing before?

4.6 Ka-wardjangka-nhu arlku, marruwarra?
you.SG-catch.fish-P fish cousin
Did you catch any fish, cousin?

4.7 Kawul-inya-nga-nhu, kujaka?
them.DU-you.SG-see-P mother
Did you see them, mother?

4.8 Marruwarra kinya-nga-nhu?
cousin him.you.SG-see-P
Did you see your cousin?

One kind of question is of interest in that it appears to have been introduced into the language. This is the alternative question asking for a choice between two options.¹ The following example was recorded in the early 1960s, when it was devised to deal with translating a question asked by a European woman in a particular story. Since there is no precise Yanyuwa equivalent for the English ‘or’,² this word was borrowed. In this question the first clause has rising intonation and the second falling:

¹ Hudson and Richards (1978:57) refer to alternative questions as an area in which Aborigines are likely to have difficulty in communication in English.
² Two examples of the use of the additive-repetitive discourse particle mili ‘more, furthermore’ should be noted, however (see examples 9.69 and 9.70). There mili is used with a meaning ‘or’ but in a statement in one example and with a command in the other.
Will you stay here or will you go?

The only way the author knows to present alternatives in question form in Yanyuwa is to ask two 'maybe' questions in sequence, and this seems to be understood. There is potential to have rising intonation on both questions, or rising intonation on the first and a balancing falling intonation on the second:

Will you drink tea or coffee?

4.9. Marnaji k-anma-la wuwa ka-wingka-la?
here.DEF you.SG-stay-FUT or you.SG-go-FUT

maybe you.DU-drink-FUT tea maybe you.DU-drink-FUT coffee

4.3 QUESTIONS MARKED BY INTERROGATIVE WORDS

Questions marked by interrogative words may be separated into three groups by the nature of the interrogative words themselves. One group of interrogatives is marked as nouns. Another group, constructed from one stem, is marked for location, direction, and time. The final group takes no affixes and generally relates to activity, state of being, or to relationship.

4.3.1 QUESTIONS ASKING FOR A NOUN-RELATED REPLY

Four interrogative stems introduce questions which expect a noun or noun-related reply. Two of these stems are marked for both class and case: ngani 'who?' and ngalhi 'what?'. The other two stems are marked only for class: nganthangu 'which?' and ngandarrangu 'how many?', 'how much?'.

4.3.1.1 ngani 'WHO?' AND ngalhi 'WHAT?' QUESTIONS

The two stems ngani 'who?' and ngalhi 'what?' cover a range of functions when they are additionally marked for case. When class markers are added they define the topic more closely. Ngalhi is used with case markers to ask the 'why' questions also.

The class markers relating to persons are used with ngani 'who?'; they are li- (plural), rri- 'dual', rra-/a- (female), F nva- 'male' and M 0 'male'. The class markers relating to non-persons are used with ngalhi 'what?'; they are a- (feminine), 0 (masculine), ma- (food) and na-3 (arboreal). When the speaker is ignorant of the nature of the entity then the simple unmarked stems are used. The unmarked stem is also used for things of an abstract nature; the abstract-marker prefix namu- is not used. (See Table 4 for case-marker suffixes and the change in form for the accompanying class-marker prefixes.)

The class marker plus the interrogative stem construction is the nominative form of the word. (In Yanyuwa the nominative case marks the subject of a non-transitive clause and the object of a transitive one. Dative case marks possession and benefaction. Ergative-allative

3 The morpheme na- is likely to be rna- in its basic form. In other pronominal sets where the morpheme is not in word-initial position the nasal is retroflexed; for example, the verb prefix arna- 'it (arboreal)', the locative suffix -arnu 'it (arboreal)'. In Yanyuwa, retroflex consonants tend to lose their retroflexion when they occur initially and so they are frequently perceived and recorded as alveolar consonants.
case marks transitive subject, direction 'to' and purpose. Ablative case marks location 'at, in, by, on', accompaniment and instrument 'with'. Case marking does not signal 'from' but the relator *nakari* 'from (indefinite)' or *nakaringu* 'from (definite)' must occur with any noun to carry this meaning (see §6.4.3.). The ablative case marker may mean 'from' only in the sense of 'using' or 'out of' as in example 4.20 below.

**TABLE 4: CASE MARKING OF INTERROGATIVE Nouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix for all classes</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Ergative-Allative</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>li-</td>
<td>liyi-</td>
<td>linji-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>rri-</td>
<td>rriyi-</td>
<td>rrinji-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arboreal</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>nu-</td>
<td>nungku-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>mungku-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>wu-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>nya-</td>
<td>nyu-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: (i) M – indicates the prefix used by a male speaker
        F – indicates the prefix used by a female speaker
(ii) Those feminine-class entities which have a 'dreamtime' mythological association may also take female-class marking.

Examples of questions with *ngani* and *ngalhi* follow:

4.11 F *Nya-ngani* *yinda*?
   M-who you.SG
   Who are you?

4.12 M *Ngani* *baji* *kar-akarra* *wajanga-ntha-rra*?
   who there.DEF from-east paddle-PT-PRES
   Who is that paddling (his canoe) from the east?

4.13 A-*ngani* *barra* *aja* *a-nhanawaya* *kanha-ngunda-nhu*?
   F-who now F-this F-woman me.you.SG-give-P
   Whoever is this woman that you have given me?

4.14 F *Nyu-ngani-nju* *kila-ka* *ni-warnyi*?
   M.NNOM-who-ERG it.he-bring its-flesh
   Who brought the meat?
4.15  F  Nyu-ngani-yu jina nyanyalu?
M.NNOM-who-DAT this.MSC tea
Who is this tea for?

4.16  Ngalhi baji?
what there.DEF
What's that?

4.17  Ma-ngalhi?
FD-what
What food (does this tree have)?

4.18  Ngalhi baji jumayngkarra?
what there.DEF long
What's that long thing over there? (of an artificial leg)

4.19  F  Ji-ngalhi-nja ka-wingka-nhu?
MSC.NNOM-what-ABL you.SG-come-P
How did you come (lit. what did you travel in?)

4.20  Ngalhi-nja wabarrangu kalu-yabima?
what-ABL in.past it.they-make
What did they make it out of in the past?

4.21  Ngalhi jina?  Ngalhi-yu?
what this.MSC.DEF what-DAT
What's this? What is it for?

4.22  Ngalhi-nja jand-ini mingkiya?
what-ABL she-is sitting
What is she sitting on?

There is no specific ‘why?’ in Yanyuwa; it seems that this is an area where questioning is least encouraged. The stem ngalhi ‘what?’ is marked by the dative case suffix or the ergative-allative case suffix (which also marks purpose) to ask the questions ngalhi-yu ‘for what?’ or ngalhi-nju ‘for what purpose/reason?’:

4.23  Ngalhi-yu wambu k-anma-nhu marnaji?
what-DAT remaining you.SG-stay-P here.DEF
What did you stay here for?

4.24  Ngalhi-nju marn-inda ka-wingka-nhu?
what-ERG/ALL here.INDEF-you.SG you.SG-come-P
Why did you come here?

4.25  F  Ngalhi-nju kiwa-ma a-ya langa Dawin?
what-ERG/ALL he-intend west-wards to Darwin
Why/for what reason did he go west to Darwin?

(In example 4.25 the Kriol preposition langa ‘to, at’ has been used as a loan word.)

4.3.1.2  nganthangu ‘WHICH?’ AND ngandarrangu ‘HOW MANY?’ QUESTIONS

The ‘which?’ and ‘how many?’ questions are simpler and less frequent than the questions of the previous section. The interrogative ngandarrangu has the meaning ‘how many?/how
much?’. Both nganthangu and ngandarrangu have a concluding ngu syllable. This may be the -ngu nominaliser suffix which is used in deriving nouns from other word classes. Both ngantha and ngandarra do occur as interrogative stems (see §4.3.2 and §4.3.3.2), but the addition of -ngu to ‘where?’ and ‘what way?’ seems to give a different semantic total than the meaning of the two interrogatives in present use. Nganthangu and ngandarrangu take class-marker prefixes but no case-marker suffixes (in common with most nouns derived with -ngu).

The prefixation of nganthangu for male and masculine class is nya- for both male and female speakers. Examples of questions with nganthangu and ngandarrangu follow:

4.26 F Nya-nganthangu kayikyi?
M-which brother.in.law
Which brother-in-law?

4.27 Nya-nganthangu wawi kinya-rarrima-la?
MSC-which horse it.you.SG-ride-FUT
Which horse will you ride?

4.28 Nya-nganthangu awara jinya-ngalkiwunja-yimu?
MSC-which ground it.you.SG-choose-PRES
Which land do/will you choose (to farm on)?

4.29 Rra-nganthangu a-nhanawaya baj-anda walkurr?
F-which F-woman there.DEF-she asleep
Which woman is that sleeping there?

4.30 Ngandarrangu?
how.many
How many (wallabies did you get)?

4.31 Ma-ngandarrangu ma-kijululu kuwu-rduma-la?
FD-how.much FD-money it.FD.you.SG-get-FUT
How much money will you get?

4.32 Li-ngandarrangu kal-inyamba-minmirra ambuliyalu?
PL-how.many they-REFL-be.sick before
How many people were sick before (with flu like this)?

4.3.2 QUESTIONS ASKING FOR A LOCATION-RELATED REPLY

Questions asking for a location-related reply are based on the stem ngantha ‘where?’. This stem does not take prefixes but it takes a range of suffixes so that the resultant forms ask questions about locality, location in time, and location related to people or things. The list of suffixes which occur with ngantha are very similar to that which occurs with the demonstrative locative stems (see §6.3.1).

4.3.2.1 LOCALITY QUESTIONS

The stem ngantha is the interrogative word ‘where?’ and it anticipates a reply giving information about a place:
4.33 *Ngantha* kimba-la-arri?
where you.DU-be
Where were you?

4.34 *Ngantha* ka-wuba-nhu ma-burlurlu?
where you.SG-cook-P FD-light
Where do you bake bread?

*Ngantha* also occurs with the locative-case suffix set which marks the demonstrative locatives: -inju ‘to’, -ingu ‘from’ and -iwuthu ‘direction in’. *Ngantha*, in common with the demonstrative locative stems, loses the final vowel preceding these three suffixes: *ngantha*-inju ‘to which place?’, *ngantha*-ingu ‘from which place?’ and *ngantha*-iwuthu ‘in which direction?’:

4.35 *Nganth-inju* kamba-la-wingka-la kamba-la-anma-la
where-to we.INCL-go-FUT we.INCL-stay-FUT
walkurr baji?
asleep there.DEF
Where will we go (to find a place) to sleep?

4.36 *Nganth-ingu* rra-mangaji?
where-from F-that.DEF
Where does that woman (come) from?

4.37 M *Nganth-ingu* ka-wingka?
where-from he-come
Where did he come from?

4.38 *Nganth-iwuthu* baj-imbala?
where-direction.in there.DEF-you.DU
Where are you going?

4.39 *Nganth-iwuthu* ka-ma?
where-direction.in you.SG-intend
Where do you intend to go?

4.3.2.2 LOCATION-IN-TIME QUESTIONS

The stem *ngantha* ‘where’ takes suffixes of two kinds to become *nganth-imba-la* or *nganth-arnungka-la*, the two time-interrogative words for ‘when’. The form *nganthamungkala* consists of *nganth* marked by the suffixes -arnungka (abstract pronominal morpheme marked by ablative case) and -la (ablative marker).

The structure of *nganthimbala* is uncertain but since *nganthamungkala* is constructed of identifiable morphemes, and since the two forms share *nganth* ‘where’ and the final -la (ablative case marker), a hypothesis is suggested about the remaining segment of *nganthimbala* also. The segment imba may be related to the locative suffix -mba ‘on the...side’ (see §6.3.2.1.1 and §6.3.2.1.2). This would be comparable with the general word for ‘morning’, *wungkuwungkulaamba*, which may well be derived from *wungkuwungku* ‘black’ with the suffixes -la (ablative) and -mba ‘on the...side’.

The commonly occurring form is *nganthimbala*. The other form *ngantharmungkala* has been recorded only twice. There is the possibility that *nganthimbala* is ‘when (indefinite)’ and
ngantharnungkala 'when (definite)', but more data is needed to verify this. (See §2.2 and §6.2 for further on the definite-indefinite contrast in the language.) Examples are:

4.40  Ngantharnungkala kanda-rilirri-la?
       when she-appear-FUT
       When will she appear? (of someone whose arrival any moment was
       expected)

4.41  M Nganthimbala waya ka-yibanda-rra?
       when boat it-sit/land-FUT
       When will the boat arrive?

4.42  M Nganthimbala ka-wani-la akarr-iya
       when you.SG-return-FUT east-wards
       ki-awara-lu?
       MSC.NNOM-country-ALL
       When will you return eastwards to the place?

4.43  Nganthimbala nu-wulanthantha ma-mungku?
       when its.FD-flower FD-mango
       When is the mango-flower time?

4.3.2.3 LOCATION-OF-ENTITY QUESTIONS

Just as ngantha is marked by the demonstrative locative case suffix set, so it is marked by
the same pronominal suffix set which occurs with demonstrative locative stems, and by the
additional suffix -aji (definite) which may also follow those suffixes (see §6.3.1). (There are
no recorded occurrences of first person pronominal morphemes co-occurring with ngantha.)

4.44  Nganth-anda a-bardibardi?
       where-she F-old.woman
       Where is the old woman?

4.45  M Nganth-iwa mili nya-rrku?
       where-it more MSC-other
       And where is the other (sheep)?

4.46  F Nganth-alhi yin-kuduraji, a-ardu?
       where-it you.SG-DAT dress F-child
       Where is your dress, little girl?

4.47  Nganth-iw-aji?
       where-he-DEF
       Whereabouts on him?

4.48  Nganth-and-aji janda-rukurri-nji?
       where-she-DEF she-feel.pain-PRES
       Whereabouts is she feeling pain?
4.3.3 QUESTIONS ABOUT STATE-OF-BEING, ACTION AND RELATIONSHIP

The remaining question types are marked by the interrogative words which do not take marking by prefixes or suffixes. One of them is a compound stem made up of an interrogative stem (to be described below) and the immediacy particle *barra* (see Chapter 9, 'Yanyuwa discourse particles'). The interrogative words of this section are further removed in meaning from their nearest English equivalents than those of the preceding sections.

4.3.3.1 *wayi* 'HOW?' AND STATE-OF-BEING QUESTIONS

The interrogative *wayi* means ‘how?’ or ‘in what state/condition is?’. It normally occurs followed by the immediacy particle *barra*.

4.49 Wayi barra awara?
how now ground
What is the state of the ground (muddy or dried out)?

4.50 Wayi barra yinda?
how now you.SG
How are you?

4.51 Wayi namu-wilala ngatharra-nga rru-ngatha
how ABST-wide us.DU.EXCL-DAT F.NNOM-my
rru-nhanawaya-wu?
F.NNOM-woman-DAT
How about room/a space for my wife and me?

4.52 Wayi ma-mangaji ma-ngarra, ngabuji?
how FD-that.DEF FD-food paternal.grandmother
How is that food, grandmother (cooked or not cooked)?

4.3.3.2 *ngandarra* 'WHAT WAY?' QUESTIONS OF ACTION AND RELATIONSHIP

There are far fewer questions about actions and activities in the Yanyuwa communities than in the adjacent European ones. The interrogative *ngandarra* 'how? in what way?', which is used of actions, is also used to ascertain a person's name, social group (spoken of as 'skin group' or 'skin') or kinship relationship. Since names, 'skin groups' and kin terms all contribute to form a basis for interrelationship and consequently interaction, it is not surprising that the *ngandarra* interrogative for actions includes these other functions as well. (For further explanation of 'skin groups' in Yanyuwa culture see Kirton and Timothy 1977:320-22.)

4.53 Ngandarra kanu-arri ambuliyalu?
what.way we.EXCL-do before
How did we do this before?

4.54 Ngandarra barra kirna-rduma-la bardarda?
what.way now it.I-get-FUT baby
However will I become pregnant? (in a retelling of the Christmas story)
4.55 *Ngandarra nanda-wini?*  
what.way her-name  
What is her name?

4.56 *Ngandarra nawula-ngalki?*  
what.way their.DU-skin.group  
What is their 'skin' group?

4.57 *Ngandarra jarr-arnaka-nji?*  
what.way her-I-take-PRES  
In what kinship way do I relate to her? (lit. How do I take her?)

4.3.3.3 *barrangandarra* 'LIKE WHAT?' QUESTIONS

The Yanyuwa relators for 'like' or 'as' are complex stems constructed from the immediacy particle *barra* (see §9.2.2 and §9.2.4) followed by a demonstrative locative stem or the relator *wumba* 'that, which'. The demonstrative locative stems used are *namba* 'there (indefinite)', *mami* 'here (indefinite)', *baji* 'there (definite)'. The four resultant comparison relators are: *barranamba, barramarni, barrabaji, barrawumba* 'like, as...' (see §9.2.2.4). The commonly occurring form of the comparison relator is *barranamba*, with one or two examples showing that the other forms are available for particular instances.

The rarely used comparison interrogative 'like what?' has a parallel construction. It is formed from the same particle *barra* followed in this instance by the interrogative *ngandarra* 'what way?' described above.

4.58 *Barrangandarra nya-mangaji majika?*  
like.what MSC-that.DEF crayfish  
What was that crayfish like? (wanting an answer about relative size)

4.3.4 QUESTIONS FOR VERIFICATION

There are two tag-question particles in Yanyuwa, *kaji* and *ngarri*. They share the general meaning 'isn't it?', but they are used in different ways. The article *kaji* has a stronger sense of questioning associated with it. The particle *ngarri* has a much weaker interrogative function and seems to always assume a 'yes' answer.

The *kaji* tag-question is always asked with the particle phrase *kaji minja*; the added particle *minja* means 'only, just' when it occurs alone. The particle phrase normally follows the sentence it applies to, and in this position *kaji* has a rising intonation and *minja* a falling or final low one. The phrase may, however, precede the sentence to be verified and it then has the meaning 'is it so that?' or 'is it true that?'. In this position *kaji* has a rising intonation still but *minja* has a level-mid or perhaps falling-to-mid intonation.

4.59 *Kim-ili-nu kiw-anma-la baji kanymarda-wu, kajiminja?*  
you.SG-he-tell he-stay-FUT there.DEF two-DAT isn't.that.so  
He told you he would stay there two days, didn't he?

4.60 *Kajiminja kiya-wingka-la marnaj-inju lhurru?*  
isn't.it.so he-come-FUT here.DEF-to later.today  
Isn't it true that he will come here today?
The response to a *kaji minja* question may be confirmation that the sentence is true, discussion of the facts, or perhaps *kaji nungka* ‘I don’t know’ (lit. ‘isn’t it so?/maybe’).

The particle *ngarri* ‘isn’t it?’ has more of a social function than an interrogative one, and yet in some of its uses it does have a function of eliciting the response ‘yes’. It is therefore included along with the other interrogative words. It occurs in a similar way to the English ‘is that so?’, which is in the form of a question but which is also used as an indication of interest or a polite encouragement for the speaker to continue on. The Yanyuwa *ngarri* is used in this same way or else as a question for which the answer is ‘yes’. When used as an indication of interest, usually it is a complete utterance on its own, or else a vocative word may accompany it. The particle occurs with a rising or falling intonation.

4.61 *Ngarri?*

isn’t.it
Is that so?

4.62 M *Ngarri, ardiyardi?*

isn’t.it sister’s child
Is that so, niece?

When *ngarri* occurs as a tag question expecting a ‘yes’ answer, it has a rising intonation. The writer has a vivid recollection of one instance of its use in this way. A grandmother was sitting feeding her small grandson and was simultaneously teaching him to nod his head in agreement each time she concluded a simple true statement with the tag question *ngarri*. She provided a series of factual statements and nodded for him to mimic in agreement after each concluding *ngarri*. And so even though the answer is known and known to be accurate, there is still a sense in which a response is required, and so part of the question function remains.

4.4 SELF-QUESTIONING

For the neighbouring language Mara, Heath describes the self-interrogative nouns *wumbul* ‘what’s-it, whatchamacallit’ and *wumbuli*, which is used specifically for a place name (Heath 1981:175-176), words which the speaker uses while he searches his mind to recall a specific word which is eluding him. In Yanyuwa the stem *ngabiya* serves this same self-questioning function but it occurs as a replacement stem for both nouns and verbs. A range of class markers, case markers and verbal affixation give it various self-questioning functions.

4.63 *ma-ngabiya*

FD-what’s.it.called
– what’s (that food) called?

4.64 *ngabiya-la*

what’s.it.called-ABL
– what’s (the place) called?

4.65 M *ki-ngabiya-wu*

MSC.NNOM-what’s.it.called-DAT
for a – what’s it called?
The stem ngabiya is used in this self-questioning way but it is also used as a replacement morpheme if the speaker does know the specific alternative but chooses not to use it before the particular group of people who are listening. In this way ngabiya is used to make a vague reference to the fact that something was used, something was done. (This stem, or its root ngabi, is also related to two vocative terms which are used for a male or female person who has not yet been included in the kinship system, or as general vocatives.) The male and female noun class-markers nya- and rra- are added as suffixes to ngabiya or ngabi to form the indefinite vocatives ngabinya ‘man!’ or ‘sir!’ and ngabiyarra ‘woman!’ or ‘madam!’.

4.5 USE OF INTERROGATIVES IN REPLY

The interrogatives described above, with the single exception of the tag-question ngarri, may be repeated in response to the question to indicate that the speaker does not know the answer. On these occasions the interrogative is followed by the adverb nungka ‘maybe, perhaps’ and the resultant reply means ‘I don’t know’.

4.68 Ngalh nungka.
what  maybe
I don't know what it is.

4.69 Nganthimbala nungka.
when  maybe
I don't know when.

4.70 Nganth-anda nungka.
where-she  maybe
I don't know where she is.

4.71 Li-ngani nungka.
PL-who  maybe
I don't know who they are.

These Yanyuwa examples and English translations illustrate the use of interrogatives in response to questions in both languages.
CHAPTER 5
PERSON PRONOUNS IN LIGHT OF DISCOURSE CONSIDERATIONS

5.1 OVERVIEW

The Yanyuwa language makes extensive use of person pronoun morphemes. They occur as free pronouns and also as affixes attached to a number of word classes (see Kirton 1970:825-844; for a description of the full case-marking system of nouns and pronouns, see Chapter 3 in this volume).

This chapter is concerned primarily with the function of unmarked free pronouns, that is nominative case pronouns. However, since their function is different in verb-centred and in verbless clauses, verb pronominal prefixes are also relevant to the topic. Indicative and imperative verbs are marked for subject, and transitive verbs are additionally marked for object, and so verbs have a significant role in maintaining pronominal reference.

In two earlier papers (Kirton 1970:825-844 and 1976:1-12), it was proposed that although free pronouns are marked for case in a similar way to nouns, there is one major difference. Nouns take an ergative-allative case-marker -lu (or an allomorph), which marks both transitive subject and 'to' a destination. Unmarked nouns are in nominative case, and these occur as objects or non-transitive subjects. Free pronouns, however, take the suffix -lu to mark only allative case: 'to' a destination. The conclusion was reached in those earlier papers that the unmarked nominative-case free pronouns occurred (like nouns) as objects or non-transitive subjects, but that they also occurred unmarked (unlike nouns) in a transitive subject role. The implication was that there were two different marking systems: one for nouns, distinguishing between ergative and nominative, and the other for pronouns, making no such distinction.

Those two papers were written before Yanyuwa discourses were analysed and so nouns and pronouns were then considered only within the clause context. Since the relationships and functions of units have also been studied within sentences, paragraphs and discourses, it is apparent that free pronouns do not have any ergative function. Yanyuwa pronouns are not marked by an ergative -lus suffix because they do not occur in the transitive subject role which this case marks. Pronouns which had previously appeared to do so are, in fact, functioning in a paragraph or discourse role. (Free pronouns are used most extensively in clauses in those functions for which they are marked by dative, ablative or allative cases: Goal, Accompaniment, Destination.)

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a fresh description of the functions of unmarked Yanyuwa person pronouns in the light of this changed view, that is from the perspective of occurrence within both clauses and discourses.
5.2 CONTRASTING FUNCTIONS OF BOUND AND FREE PRONOUNS

Unmarked free pronouns function in a subject role in only two clause contexts, neither of them transitive. Their main function is as the Subject of Stative Clauses. Otherwise they may occur to list or to link specific participants within an Intransitive Clause Subject noun phrase.

Bound pronoun verb prefixes function to indicate the subject or object of verbs in all verb-centred clause types, and any co-occurring unmarked free pronouns in these clauses have a focus function in the sentence, paragraph or discourse. (Free pronouns with such a function are exceptional in that they do not have to agree with the case of the referent.)

Free pronouns may focus on a switch to a first-person comment or a first-person participant at the conclusion of a paragraph. They may highlight contrast between two thematic participants, or they may focus on the current topic participant at a significant place within the discourse.

Focus may also be put on a subject or object noun phrase. This is accomplished by fronting such a phrase to sentence-initial position, with or without the addition of a focus particle such as barra or mili (described in the final chapter of this volume). However, after third-person participants have been introduced by means of one or a series of noun phrases, there is a strong preference to then maintain continuity of reference by means of pronominal forms (unless there is a recognised loss of distinction between them). Initial and ongoing reference to first and second persons is of course, by person pronominal forms exclusively.

Bound pronouns are the commonest means of maintaining pronominal reference. Definite and indefinite demonstrative pronouns are also used extensively to maintain reference; to some extent, the choice of definite or indefinite pronoun is relative to thematic and non-thematic content respectively, but there are other factors. (See §2.2 for a brief description of demonstrative pronoun functions.) Unmarked free person pronouns are comparatively rare and their use therefore has an added significance. Third person free pronouns may give focus to ongoing referents, or may give additional focus to a fronted noun phrase (see paragraph two of example 5.18 below).

In approximately 19,000 words of texts prepared for computer processing, there are only 82 free pronouns in nominative case. This compares with 1,256 demonstrative pronouns in nominative case in the same body of data. And it compares with 115 pronominal suffixes on locative demonstratives alone – to say nothing of the other pronominal affixes which attach to verbs, nouns, adjectives and relators.

One noteworthy fact is that of those 82 pronouns, 55 are first person pronouns and one is second person. (These are persons for which there is no demonstrative pronoun and a few of the first person pronouns, at least, are functioning as alternatives to demonstrative pronouns.)

Another noteworthy fact is that all these free pronouns have a tendency to co-occur with other particles which give focus. Within the immediate context, 18 co-occur with the secondary focus discourse particle mili, nine co-occur with the primary focus discourse particle barra, two co-occur with ngayamantharra ‘only’, and 17 with the conjunction marda ‘and, also’ (which is stronger in impact than the general conjunction kulu ‘and’). In a few instances, two of these particles co-occur with a pronoun; for example marda ngarna mili ‘and I too’ (literally ‘also I more’), and marda ngarna barra ‘and also I’ (literally ‘also I now’). The addition of a focus particle (one or two) adds a further degree of focus to the free pronoun referent in accordance with that particle’s own focus role.
Each of the functions of these unmarked free pronouns in nominative case is now considered in turn.

5.3 FREE PRONOUNS AS THE SUBJECT OF STATIVE CLAUSES

Free pronouns function as the Subject of Stative Clauses (in its role of Dissociated Experiencer as defined in Chapter 3). Of the 82 free pronouns in the discourse texts considered above, 25 occurred with this function. In the examples below, clauses are given in their sentence context where this seems relevant. In these sentences, the Stative Clause is underlined:

5.1 M Yamulu mammaj-ingama, ngarna lhungku.
all.right here.DEF-I I alive
I'm all right here, I'm (still) alive.

5.2 Waluku ngarna waykal-iya.
for.a.while I down-wards
I (am going) down (to the camp) for a while.

5.3 Nga nth-ingu yinda, nganth-ingu?
where-from you.SG where-from
Where are you from?

5.4 FREE PRONOUNS IN PHRASES TO DISTINGUISH OR LINK PARTICIPANTS

Free pronouns in nominative case may occur in a phrase as the Subject of an Intransitive (example 5.4) or Stative Clause (5.5), Object of a Transitive Clause (5.6), or in an additional explanatory phrase in the Sentence Periphery (5.7-5.9) to spell out specifically the participants included in the Subject of the main clause. In the following examples, the pronouns are underlined:

5.4 Ngarna Kulu Burayin kulu Nim kulu Jijil kanu-lhuwarri...
I and Brian and Nym and Cecil we.EXCL-depart
Brian and Nym and Cecil and I went away...

5.5 Ja-baba Yulngurri, Bur rayi, Jangurranu, Baju, baki
my-other sibling Yulngurri Bur rayi, Jangurranu, Baju and
ngarna, li-mangaji li-rikarikajanja nganu nguthunda-kari,
I PL-that.DEF PL-sibling group we.EXCL north-DEF
li-jibiya baji Burrulula.
PL-countryman there.DEF Borroloola
My older brother Yulngurri, Bur rayi, Jangurranu, Baju and I, we are that
group of brothers (associated with) the northern place, countrymen of that
place Borroloola.

5.6 F Kawul-andi-nu nya-Kiyin wula nya-Abul.
them.DU-she-tell M-Cain they.DU M-Abel
She told the Cain and Abel (story to us).
5.7  *Li-jakarda kirru-wingka-la, li-nhanawa marda *yinda*  alu-wa.*  
PL-many you.PL-go-FUT PL-woman and you.SG them-ABL  
Many of you will go out (fishing), the women and you with them.

5.8  **M** *Ngamal-iya ny-inki-mimi ka-wingka ridinja,*  
south-wards **M** your.SG-grandfather he-go yesterday  
wula  *rr-iku-rra-yuwnri.*  
they.DU F-his-F-mother.in.law  
Your (maternal) grandfather went south (on the medical plane) yesterday,  
and his mother-in-law.

5.9  **M** *Ka-wuba-nthaninya baji baku-wu, wula maykarra.*  
he-cook-P.CST there.DEF later-DAT they.DU married.couple  
He cooked (the game) there for (eating) later, he and his wife.

5.5 *FOCUS-MARKING FUNCTION OF FREE PRONOUNS*  
Free pronouns mark focus on a participant (examples 5.17, 5.18 and 5.22) or on a change  
of participant (5.10 to 5.16, 5.19 to 5.21 and 5.23 to 5.25) within a sentence or paragraph.  
The strength of focus varies considerably according to the nature of the discourse and the  
content of the paragraph. Since the pronoun is functioning here as a focus marker, it retains  
nominative case, regardless of the case of its referent.

An unmarked (or nominative) pronoun may mark focus on either the subject or the object  
of a clause, although it is more frequently the subject which is marked for focus. Where it  
marks focus on an object or non-transitive subject referent, there is a harmony of nominative  
case marking between focus marker and referent. However, where the pronoun marks focus  
on a transitive subject, the difference in case marking becomes apparent. In those examples  
below where the pronoun focus marker is unmarked and the focused referent is transitive  
subject, the pronoun is marked with an asterisk.

All Yanyuwa free pronouns are underlined in the examples below – those which mark  
focus and also those which occur as Stative Clause Subjects. Only free pronouns which mark  
focus are underlined in the English free translation.

The first examples are from explanatory sentences or paragraphs. These all illustrate a  
paragraph-final comment with first-person reference:

5.10  **Baj-alu** wangarni, bubu nalu-arnma kulu nalu-marnda  
there.DEF-they nearby sore their.PL-ear and their-feet  
*Barranamba ngarna, ngarna-bubu.*  
like  
me  
my-sore  
There they are nearby (on the way to the clinic), (with) their sore ears and  
sore feet. Like me and my sores.

5.11  **M** *Akarra-kari-mba jiw-ini, a-kari-mba jiw-ini, marda*  
east-DEF-side he-PRES west-DEF-side he-PRES also  
ngarna* karna-ka-la baji marda.*  
I  him.I-see-P there.DEF also  
(The white man) is on the east side (of the river), he is on the west side, and  
I saw him there too.
I more Yanyuwa-mouth
(Shes is a) Yanyuwa speaker talking to us, and I too am a Yanyuwa speaker (lit. Yanyuwa-mouth).

5.13 Jirr-andu-linginma-nji yamulu, baj-anda janda-wani-njani you.PL-she-remember-PRES all.right there.DEF-she she-return-IMM baku yirru-wa-lu. Janda-rari-nji yirru-nga kurdandu. in.future you.PL-ABL-ALL she-cry-PRES you.PL-DAT intensely Marda ngarna mili, jarna-rari-nji yurringumantha kurdandu, warriya. also I more I-cry-PRES continually intensely poor.fellow She is remembering you all right, there she is, she is about to return to you any time. She is really sorrowing for you (missing you). And I too, I am really sorrowing continually, you poor fellow.

5.14 M Kalu-lanima nya-mangaji walaba ngal-alu nungka they-dance MSC-that.DEF corroboree when-they maybe li-ja-wuthu, ngulaya li-ja kalu-yirdardi, ngala jina PL-this-direction after PL-this they-grow but this walaba ambuliyalu alu-nga, ambuliyalu alu-nga. corroboree before them-DAT before them-DAT Nyayamantharra ngarna* karna-ka-la nya-mangaji walaba. only I it.I-see-P MSC-that.DEF corroboree They danced that corroboree when the people in this direction (were there) perhaps, these ones (here) grew up afterwards, but this corroboree was before them, before their time. Only I saw that corroboree.

5.15 M Walkurra wunyatha ngabangku, akarra-kari-mba Wanjiya big father deceased east-DEF-side Wanjiya Wunyatha, wunyatha, na-wini karna-mba-wundarriba-la barra father father his-name I-REFL-name-FUT now nd-iwa ngabaya, Karriyangkanya, wunyatha na-wini REL-he deceased Karriyangkanya father his-name ngabangaku, walkurra. Karn-ilu-yuba marda, karn-ilu-yuba deceased big me-he-grow.up also me-he-grow.up ngarna. Karn-ilu-ngabarlama-nthaninya. me me-he-carry.on.shoulder-P.CST My deceased father, a big man, (is buried) on the east side at Wanjiya. My father, my father, I will tell you the name for that deceased one now, Karriyangkanya is the name of my deceased father, a big/important man/ name. He brought me up too, he brought up me. He carried me on his shoulders.
The next examples are from Narrative paragraphs. Here the pronoun focuses on a first or third person participant in an incident which is significant within the paragraph or within the discourse as a whole.

Example 5.16 refers to a significant event in the speaker's life when he was introduced to Cecil's relatives in a New South Wales community. (Previously these people had been 'strangers', which in Yanyuwa is synonymous with 'enemy'.) In example 5.17 the focus is on the first white man in the area, who introduced two Yanyuwa men to European-type food and cooking methods. In the two paragraphs of example 5.18, focus is placed on each of the two major participants in a controversy which is later to lead to the killing of the old man and the imprisonment of Andrew.

5.16 M Karr-awula-ngunda jikan ki-Jijil kulu Burayin, her-they.DU-give handshake M.NOM-Cecil and Brian

kulu ngarna karn-iku-yunduyunduma.

and I/me he-he-point

Cecil and Brian shook her by the hand, and he introduced me.

In the next two examples from Narrative paragraphs, there is an ambiguity because the pronoun yiwa 'he, him' occurs in a context with two male participants and it could potentially refer to either. In example 5.17 a white man is introducing a Yanyuwa man to his kind of food. In 5.18 paragraph two, there is an encounter between Andrew and the father of a girl he ran off with.

Several people were asked which of the two participants the yiwa referred to in each story. (The authors are deceased and so could not be consulted.) The majority understood yiwa to refer to the previously established subject of the paragraph in each instance. One individual thought that it referred to the object (the Yanyuwa man) in example 5.17. A different individual thought that it referred to the co-subject of the reciprocal verb (to Andrew) in the second paragraph of example 5.18. The likelihood is, therefore, that the established subject of a paragraph is more likely to receive free pronoun focus than another participant.

5.17 M Kila-ka alanji-lu, kilu-ngunda ma-balawa, na-warnnyi, him.he-take camp-ALL him.he-give FD-flour its-flesh

nyanyalu. Kila-balaba yiku mungku-dulbarri-la. tea it.he-spread.spread him.for FD.ABL-honey-ABL

"Ngarna-ka-rra! Nganinya ka-rarrma-la ma-ja me.you.SG-see-IMP like.this you.SG-eat-FUT FD-this

ma-balawa. Jingu nyanyalu. Ka-burayama-la."

FD-flour this.DEF tea you.SG-fry-FUT

Yiwa* barra kilu-milirdima ambuliyalu.

he now him.he-teach first

(The white man) took (the Yanyuwa man) to camp, he gave him food made from flour, meat and tea. He spread the food with jam for him.

"Watch me! You will eat (food cooked from) flour like this. This is tea. You will fry (things)." He now taught (the Yanyuwa man) first.

5.18 M Wabarrangu mirningiya na-wini Anduru ka-arri Burrulula.
in.past man his-name Andrew he-was Borroloola
Yiwa* kay-ilu-mijanga kulu kawula-wuluma wunji
he her-he-love and they.DU-run running.off.together
anka-ya wula-wulangi. Kulu kawula-wani nungkarna-rrku
up-wards river-river and they.DU-return ABST.ABL-other
nyala alanji-lu.
to camp-ALL
Kulu nyungk-anku-biyi-lu, yiwa anku kawula-mba-rama.
and M.ERG-her-father-ERG he her.DAT they.DU-REFL-fight
Kulu Dunikin ka-lhuwarri na-yumarra yila-a
and Donaghan he-depart his-partner him-ABL
ki-malbu-ngka, kulu kilu-wangka-la Anduru na-mamda...
M.NNOM-old.man-ABL and him.he-shoot-P Andrew his-foot
Long ago there was a man at Borroloola named Andrew. He loved (a girl)
and they ran off together up the river. And later they came back to the camp.
And her father, he (and Andrew) fought with one another concerning her.
And Donaghan went out as associate with the old man, and he shot Andrew
in the foot...

In the second paragraph of example 5.18 the ergative marking of nyungk-anku-biyi-lu
‘her father’ is exceptional. Normally the subject of a reflexive or reciprocal verb is in
nominative case. This ergative marking would seem to focus on ‘the father’ as the initiator
of the fighting together, and the following pronoun adds additional focus.

The next example is from an explanatory paragraph in a Procedural Discourse on hunting
for goanna and other edible lizards. The pronoun marks a first-person comment.

5.19 M Bawuji barra jalu-nuwa-nji. Na-lhanu
finished now they-cook.underground-PRES ARB-paperbark
jarn-alu-rduma-nji na-lhanu, nuwa-nthu-wu
it.ARB-they-get-PRES ARB-paperbark cook.underground-PRES-DAT
now down later now it.they.take.up-PRES when-it cooked
Bawuji barra jal-inyamba-wudurruma-nji. Marda ngarna
finished now they-REFL-feed-PRES also I
wabarrangu, ngarna marda jarna-mba-wudurruma-nthaninya.
in.past I also I-REFL-feed-P.CST
After that they are cooking (the game in an underground oven). They are
getting paperbark for cooking it down there. Later they are taking it up
when it is ready to eat. After that they are eating it. And I too long ago, I
used to eat it.

The remaining examples are of free pronouns used with their strongest degree of focus.
These came from additional texts which were not included in the computer-processed data.
These texts included Hortatory Discourses and two brief Dreamtime stories. The pronouns
are used to give their strongest focus in Hortatory material and in harangues within the
Dreamtime stories.
In a Hortatory Discourse on the topic of the negative consequences of drinking alcohol, the speaker provides negative motivation in the form of his own former problems in relation to alcohol. In one section, he opens and closes with a statement emphasising his personal experience, and the first person pronoun subject in these Stative clauses seems also to mark a measure of focus on this referent. This leads in to a Rhetorical Question asked of the drinkers in which a second person pronoun gives focus. (An additional focus is given to the Reason segment of his Motivation section in that it encircles the remaining content of the Motivation section; that is, it both introduces and closes the section):

5.20 Kangka mirdan ngarna, karna-wunjka ny-mangaji
because knowledgable I I-drink MSC-that.DEF
wabarrangu. Karna-wunjka kulu karna-mba-ymgkarri ngarna-manka
in.past I-drink and I-REFL-hear/feel my-body
wardimbangu. Karna-jirdarri wiji ngarna-mulu.
very.bad I-be.bitter all.inclusively my-mouth
Nya-mangaji barra jirru-lakima-nji barra, jirru-wunjka-yi
MSC-that.DEF now it.you.PL-like-PRES now you.PL-drink-PRES
yurrngumantha. Ngala wardimbangu...
continually but very.bad
...mirdan ngarna, karna-wunjka nya-mangaji wabarrangu.
knowledgable I I-drink MSC-that.DEF in.past
Ngala ngalhi-yu vrru* jirru-lakima-nji
but what-DAT you.PL it.you.PL-like-PRES
nya-mangaj-iwuthu?
MSC-that.DEF-direction.in
(I'm talking like this) because I know (about these things) from experience, I drank in the past. I drank and my body felt terrible. My mouth tasted altogether bitter. That is the stuff you are liking now, you are drinking it continually. But it's really bad...
...because I know from experience, I drank that stuff in the past. But why do you like that kind of life?

Later in the same discourse the speaker again concludes by telling of his own negative experience. He contrasts it with the present experience of the current drinkers, again using a second person pronoun to emphasise his point:

5.21 ...karna-majarrmajarrirri nyungku-mangaji.
I-become.weak MSC.ABL-that.DEF
Ngala vrru barra nganambaji jirru-wingka-yi,
but you.PL now like.that you.PL-walk-PRES
kangka nya-mangaji jirru-lakima-nji.
because MSC-that.DEF it.you.PL-like-PRES
...I used to be weak through that (alcohol). But you are living (lit. walking) just that way because you like that stuff.
In another Hortatory Discourse, the speaker is urging his fellow Christians not to be discouraged or angry if they are opposed or disregarded or mocked when they seek to share their knowledge with others. He uses the first person plural inclusive pronoun once in a Stative clause and as a sentence tag for focus, in urging them not to be impatient with the people who have negative attitudes towards them because, after all, they have the benefits of their faith:

5.22 M Li-ngajbirri-njani ngambala-nga, kangka ngambala they-disregard-IMP.CONT us.INCL-DAT because we.INCL
mirdan yiku ki-Jijaj, ngambala-a knowledgable him.DAT M.NNOM-Jesus us.INCL-ABL
wurdulu-la jiw-ini, ngambala. spirit-ABL he-PRES we.INCL
Let us keep on allowing them to disregard us, because we are knowledgeable of Jesus, he is with our spirits, all of us.

In this example, the tagged pronoun focuses on the contrast between the Christian group and those who disbelieve or mock; this inclusive pronoun also strengthens the identification of the speaker with his audience. (Since the first clause of the sentence has a third person subject, it is inappropriate to mark focus on the first person referent there.)

In each of the two short Dreamtime stories, there are one or more harangue speeches. In one, a Dramatic Discourse, the entire discourse is a harangue between two characters. In the other, one participant harangues the other within a Narrative Discourse. In all these harangues, the characters make use of the free pronouns ngarna ‘I’ and yinda ‘you (singular)’ to focus on the contrast between their own superior characteristics and some inferior ones of the other.

In the Narrative of the brolga (bird) and the emu, focus is marked on the brolga’s haranguing of the emu in four ways. The discourse climax verb suffix -nya is attached to the verb in the Quote Formula introducing the harangue. The brolga commences the harangue with the insult particle suwi...i. The immediacy particle barra is used several times to focus on the brolga’s superiority, and the first and second person free pronouns are used to focus on the contrast between the two participants:

5.23 F Bawuji barra kulu ki-arri-nya nya-mangaji kurdarrku finished now and it-say-CLIM MSC-that.DEF brolga
yiku. “Suwi...i! Yinda wardimbangu! Ngarna him.DAT Ya...ha you.SG very.bad I
karna-wabama-nthanama ankangu ngala yinda I-fly-FUT.CST above but you.SG
ka-wuluma-nthanama mardna-a awara-la, buyi you.SG-run-FUT.CST foot-ABL ground-ABL small
nda-wi ka-anma-la wardimbangu. Ngala your.SG-arm you.SG-be-FUT very.bad but
ngarna ankangu juju karna-wabama-nthanama ankangu, I above distant I-fly-FUT.CST above
juju ankangu barra, juju ankangu, juju
in.distance above now in.distance above in.distance
ankangu ki-ararr-a wunumberra, “ki-arri
above MSC.NNOM-sky-ABL near it-say
barra kurdarrku, bawuji barra.
now broga finished now
And after that the broga said to him, “Ya...ha! You're rubbish! I will fly up
above, but you, you will always run on the ground on foot, a small-winged
one you will be, rubbish! But I, high above I will always fly overhead, high
above now, far above in the near sky,” the broga said now, (and the story
is) finished now.

In the Dramatic Discourse the haranguing is between a jabiru (bird) and a python snake.
The following excerpt comes from the first speech of the wurullibinka jabiru:

5.24  "Rra-wardi yinda, rra-wardi ka-warrka-njama
F-bad you.SG F-bad you.SG-crawl-INTEN
ki-awara-la, ka-nma-la rra-lhuwa.
MSC.NNOM-ground-ABL you.SG-stay-FUT F-snake
Ngala ngarna karna-wabuma-njama ankangu juju.
but I I-fly-INTEN above in.distance
Karna-wingka-yanama juju-ngka yarrba-ntha-rra
I-go-FUT.CST distant-ABL hunt-PT-PRES
ki-wudurru-wu ngatha. Ngala yinda
MSC.NNOM-good-DAT me.DAT but you.SG
rra-wardi ka-warrkalarrka-nthanama baj-iwuthu,
F-bad you.SG-crawl.FUT.CST there.DEF-direction.in
rra-lhuwa yinda...”
F-snake you.SG
“You're a bad one, a bad one you intend to crawl on the ground, you will be
a crawling creature (lit. a snake/lizard-class creature). But I, I intend to fly
above. I will always go in the heights hunting for my food. But you the bad
one will always crawl around down there (lit. in that direction), you're a
crawling creature...”

The verb of the Quote Formula introducing the python’s reply is also marked by the
discourse climax marker suffix. The snake uses the insult particle and makes use of the free
pronouns to contrast her advantage in having cooked food with the jabiru’s lack:

5.25  Bawuji barra kanda-arri-nya a-mangaji barra,
finished now she-say-CLIM.MKR F-that.DEF now
a-buburna kanda-wukanyi yiku, kiwuma nganinya
F-python she-talk him.DAT insult like.this
nya-mbangu, “Suwi...! Yinda ka-tha-la
MSC-that.INDEF ya...ha you.SG you.SG-eat.flesh-FUT
arlku mawunku yin-ku wudurru, ngala nya-ngatha
fish raw you.SG-DAT food but MSC-my
wunhunhu. Ngarna kama-mba-wudurruma-nthanama wunhunhu
cooked I I-REFL-feed-FUT.CST cooked
wudurru, buyuka-wiji. Ngala yinda mawunku
cooked fire-having but you.SG raw
ka-wurdatha-nthanama arlku... Ngala ngarna
you.SG-swallow-FUT.CST fish but I
karna-tha-nthanama wunhunhu wudurru, marringaya
I-eat.flesh-FUT.CST cooked food excellent
karna-mba-wudurruma-nthanama," kanda-arri-njaninya
I-REFL-feed-FUT.CST she-say-P.CST
rra-buburna yiku.
F-python him.DAT
After that the female one said, the a-buburna python spoke that insult like
this, “Ya...ha! You will eat raw fish (as) your food, but mine (will be)
cooked! I will always eat cooked food, (cooked) with fire. But you, in a raw
state you will always eat fish...But I, I will always eat cooked food, I will
always feed in an excellent manner,” the rra-buburna snake used to say to
him.

5.6 CONCLUSION

Yanyuwa unmarked free pronouns occur in both verbless and verb-centred clauses. In
verbless clauses (where there is no obligatory pronominal affix) these pronouns function as
Subject. In verb-centred clauses, however, free pronouns function to mark focus on a
participant in a sentence or paragraph within a discourse, not to manifest the Subject of the
clause. (Their only non-focus function in verb-centred clauses is in the linking or listing of
participants within an Intransitive Subject noun phrase, and even here there may be an
associated sense of focus, at times.)

The focus-marking function of free pronouns is indicated in that (1) unlike all other words
or phrases manifesting the Subject constituent, free pronouns contain no additional
information not already present in the verb person-marker prefix; (2) in a Transitive Clause
they are not marked as Subject; (3) their occurrence is restricted to those contexts in which
focus is given to the Subject or to a change of Subject in explanatory material; or (4) they
occur in hortatory material or harangues in association with strongly focussed contrasts.
CHAPTER 6
LOCATION AND THE FUNCTIONS OF LOCATIVES

6.1 OVERVIEW

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the variety of ways in which reference is made to location in Yanyuwa, and to describe the functions of the variety of locative words.

Location reference is maintained by locative adverbs and by nouns and noun phrases marked for location. Locative adverbs accompany the verb or may themselves function as the predicate. Nouns and noun phrases may be marked by locative case markers or introduced by locative prepositions to maintain reference in this essential area of the language.

6.2 DEFINITE AND INDEFINITE LOCATION

The definite-indefinite opposition which is evident in Yanyuwa demonstratives is evident not only in the demonstrative locatives but also in cardinal locatives and in the prepositions ‘to’ and ‘from’. There is agreement of locatives in this respect so that the indefinite demonstrative and cardinal locatives co-occur as do the definite locatives:

6.1
namba nguthundu
there.INDEF north.INDEF
there in the north

6.2
baji nguthunda-kari
there.DEF north-DEF
there at the north place

The definite form of the proximal demonstrative locative, marnaji, means ‘right here’ or ‘here at this very place’. The indefinite form marni means ‘somewhere here’; it could mean ‘here in Australia’, ‘here at Borroloola’ or ‘somewhere here where we are’. This illustrates the way in which the definite form is the more clearly defined one, the more sharply focussed one.

6.3 ADVERBS WHICH SIGNAL LOCATION

Yanyuwa locative adverbs are of three kinds. There are four demonstrative locatives which parallel the demonstrative pronoun set (see Table 1 in Chapter 2). There are four cardinal locatives for the primary compass directions. There are also general locative adverbs. The three kinds of stems are distinguished by the different sets of suffixes which co-occur with them.
It was of interest to do a statistical count of locative words in relation to other words. The source data is 100 pages of discourse material. The content is primarily personal experience stories of both past and present, with a good proportion of them describing aspects of traditional life. There is a limited amount of travel data. The total word count is approximately 19,000 and almost 12% of those occurrences are locative words. The breakdown of these is:

- demonstrative locatives: 4.2%
- cardinal locatives: 3.8%
- general locatives: 2.9%
- placename nouns: 1.1%

(General locatives include such words as *anka* ‘up, up there’, *wayka* ‘down, down there’, *ngulakari* ‘behind’, *wunumbarra* ‘close’. The first two stems *anka* and *wayka* in their various usages comprise almost 2% of the total word occurrences.) These statistics give an impression of the kind of functional load locatives carry in Yanyuwa.

### 6.3.1 Demonstrative Locatives

The four demonstrative locative stems are *marni* ‘here (indefinite)’, *marnaji* ‘here (definite)’, *namba* ‘there (indefinite)’, *baji* ‘there (definite)’. The morphology of these stems is described in Chapter 2. These stems take two sets of suffixes to extend their range of functions. The two definite stems take further suffixation, and *baji* is used in still further ways.

The final vowel of the demonstrative locative stem is lost when a vowel-initial suffix is added.

### 6.3.1.1 Locative Case Suffix Set

Three locative case suffixes form a set to occur with demonstrative locative stems: *-inju* ‘to’, *-ingu* ‘from’, *-iwuthu* ‘direction in’. The use of the suffix *-iwuthu* is accompanied by a motion of the speaker’s head to indicate the specific direction. (This set is distinct from noun case markers.) Examples: *marn-inju* (here.INDEF-to) ‘to this place’, *marnaj-ingu* (here.DEF-from) ‘from here’, *namb-iwuthu* (there.INDEF-direction.in) ‘that way, in that direction’, *namb-inju* (there.INDEF-to) ‘to that place’.

*Baj-ingu* (there.DEF-from) ‘from there’ also functions as a sentence introducer or paragraph introducer in travel narratives, and as a logical introducer in explanatory or hortatory data. In these instances it has the meanings ‘after that’, ‘from (what I have established in what I said) there’ or ‘following on from there/that’.

*Namb-alu* (there.INDEF-to) ‘to that place’ is the only form of a demonstrative locative with the suffix *-lu*, the allative case marker for nouns. There would appear to be no need for this form since *namb-inju* is shown above with the meaning ‘to that place’. The form *namba-lu*, however, functions as a preposition with a temporal meaning ‘until’. The literal meaning is ‘to there (indefinite)’ and with reference to location in time ‘to that (indefinite) time (when)’, as in the following example:
6.3  Kal-inyamba-wukanyi-la namba-lu  kal-anma-la
they-REFL-talk-FUT there.INDEF-to they-be-FUT
ngayama-ntha-rra kulu bawuji.
agree-PT-PRES and finished
They will talk together until they reach agreement and conclude.

6.3.1.2 PRONOMINAL SUFFIX SET

The demonstrative locative stems may occur with pronominal suffixes for all persons and
classes to form a clause complex in a word comparable to a Yanyuwa verb. Just as a verb
includes subject (and object) pronominal reference in its construction, so does this locative
complex. The pronominal set is:

- ingambala we (INCL)
- inganu we (EXCL)
- ingali we (DU.INCL)
- ingatharra we (DU.EXCL)
- ingarna I
- irru you (PL)
- imbala you (DU)
- inda you (SG)
- alu they
- awula they (DU)
- iwa he (M), M it (MSC)
- alhi it (MSC)
- anda she (F/FEM)
- awu it (FD)
- arnu it (ARB/ABST)

Examples: marnaj-ingarna ‘I am here’, baj-inda ‘you are there’, baj-iwa ‘he is there’ and
namb-awu ‘the food is there somewhere’. This form of the demonstrative locative is able to
function as an independent clause. (Such forms with first and second person suffixes provide
the greeting and response forms in Yanyuwa.) These forms also occur within a clause in their
locative function, but the subject suffix maintains an agreement with the entity it refers to. It
is in this context that the indefinite forms usually occur.

6.4  M Jala-yngkarri-nji namb-iwa.
it.M/MSC.they-hear-PRES there.INDEF-it/M/MSC
(The dugong hunters) are hearing (the dugong or sea-turtle) somewhere
there.

The demonstrative locative marked with a pronominal suffix may take two further
suffixes: -aji (definite), -iwuthu ‘direction in’. The forms with the additional -aji definite
marking are used to identify places on a body (to describe the location of pain or injury, for
instance).

The first vowel of -iwuthu is lost when it follows a vowel-final suffix. The final vowel of
a pronominal suffix is lost preceding -aji: baj-anda-wuthu (there.DEF-she-direction.in) ‘her
way, that direction she is/was going'; *marn-iya-wuthu* (here.INDEF-he-direction.in) ‘his way, this direction he is/was going’; *baj-and-aji* (there.DEF-she-DEF) ‘that place on her’; and *marn-iw-aji* (here.INDEF-he-DEF) ‘this place on him’.

The form marked by both masculine pronominal suffix and -aji is irregular for a female speaker. The form *marni* with the pronominal suffix only, for example, is regular: *marn-alhi* (here.INDEF-it.MSC) ‘here it is’. But the form with -aji added is: *marn-ilh-aji* (here.INDEF-it.MSC-DEF) ‘this place on it’. The first vowel of the pronominal morpheme changes from a to i.

Normally, either -aji or -iwuthu occurs following the pronominal suffix. However there is one recorded form of *baji* in which the pronominal suffix, -aji and -iwuthu all occur, and in that order: *baj-am-aji-wuthu* (there.DEF-it.ARB/ABST-DEF-direction.in) ‘that particular way’. This word is used in referring to a previously described activity. For example, in one context the speaker describes a pattern of behaviour he regards as bad. He continues:

6.5  
*Kurdardi*  *karn-arnu-mijanga-njima*

not  it.ABST-I-want-PRES.NEG

*baj-arn-aji-wuthu*.

there.DEF-it.ABST-DEF-direction.in

I don’t want (to live in) that kind of way. I don’t want to do that kind of thing.

6.3.1.3 OTHER SUFFIXATION

The two definite demonstrative locative stems *marnaji* and *baji* take the suffix complex *ngulaji*, that is -ngula-aji (behind-DEF). (The morpheme ngula/ngul is described further in the first paragraph of §6.3.3 below.) The resultant form is used in making reference to a time or location which is the same as that which has also had a significance in the past: *marnaji-ngulaji* ‘at this very same place’, ‘at this very same season’ and *baji-ngulaji* ‘at that very same place’, ‘at that very same season’.

The locative *baji* with its abstract pronominal suffix -arnu is used in two other ways to provide logical relators which introduce paragraphs in discourses which include explanation or exhortation. The distinctive feature of these two relators is that the pronominal morpheme is additionally marked for case, dative in one instance and ablative in the other: *baj-uwarnu* (there.DEF-it.ABST.DAT) ‘for (the reason established) there’; *baj-ungkarnu* (there.DEF-ABST.ABL) ‘on (the basis of what was said) there’, ‘because of that’. These two relators then introduce paragraphs in which a conclusion is drawn based on what has been established in the preceding section of the discourse.

6.3.2 CARDINAL LOCATIVES

There are cardinal locative stems corresponding to the four English compass-point adverbs. The first distinction usually to be made in Yanyuwa is the east–west distinction. When this is established, then the north or south component is defined next. If someone is in

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1 The morpheme -iwa has this allomorph -iya preceding a w-initial morpheme. Similarly the verb prefix iwa- has an allomorph iya- preceding a w-initial stem.
the north-west, even if they are further to the north than they are to the west, they are
primarily described as being in the west. For example, atlas readings place Darwin
approximately 12\frac{1}{2} degrees south, 31 degrees east and Borroloola 16 degrees south, 36
degrees east, but Darwin is always described as angula ‘west’ without reference to the
northern aspect. This same principle applies to locations within the immediate community
area also.

The fact that akarru ‘east’ is the primary reference point may be seen from the morphology
of a-ngula ‘west’. It is constructed from the root a ‘west’, but since a minimal word in
Yanyuwa is a two-syllable unit, the root ngula ‘behind’ is added. (This root is lost when any
affix occurs to provide the essential additional syllable.) Since west is the ‘behind’ direction,
then akarru facing the sunrise must be the foremost direction.

The four cardinal locative stems are marked with suffixes and with one prefix, and these
marked forms then define location or direction.

6.3.2.1 DEFINING LOCATION

The same four locative stems are used for both definite and indefinite forms. The
indefinite stem is the unmarked stem. The definite stem is the indefinite stem plus -kari
(definite). The indefinite and definite stems may then take suffixes to add further meaning
components. There are inconsistencies in the variation of both stems and affixes and in their
co-occurrence in cardinal locative constructions.

6.3.2.1.1 INDEFINITE LOCATION

The four stems akarru ‘east’, a-ngula ‘west’, nguthundu ‘north’ and ngamala ‘south’ are
the indefinite referents to locations in those directions.

These stems take the suffix -mba to mean ‘on the...side’ (in relation to some visible or
previously identified referent). The same morpheme -mba may occur on other forms in
Yanyuwa also and the following rule applies to all of its occurrences: when -mba follows a
syllable with a complex onset, that is either CC or prenasalised stop onset, the processes of
dissimilation and lenition occur as mpa → pa → wa. Examples are akarra-mba ‘on the east
side’, a-mba ‘on the west side’, nguthunda-wa ‘on the north side’ and ngamala-mba ‘on the
south side’.

These forms with the suffix -mba may take a further suffix -lulu. There is a scarcity of
data to give a context for these forms but the common meaning component in the few
examples thus far is an ‘alternative route’ from that previously taken or planned. The
following examples are of akarra-mba-lulu (east-side-ALT.RT) ‘on the east side by an
alternative route’, in context to illustrate the usage:

6.6 Akarra-mba-lulu ka-wingka-nhu kar-anka wungk-arrku
east-side-ALT.RT you.SG-come-P from-up FEM.ABL-other
wu-yabala
FEM.NNOM-road
You came from up there on the other road on the east side.2

6.7 Kirru-wingka akarra-mba-lulu yurngumantha nguthund-nya.
you.PL-go east-side-ALT.RT continually north-wards
You kept going northwards by the other route on the eastern side.

In the two examples above, the alternative path taken in sentence 6.6 was intentional, that taken in sentence 6.7 was the result of taking a wrong turning. The speaker was aware of these circumstances in each situation.

6.3.2.1.2 DEFINITE LOCATION

The definite location forms of cardinal locatives are: akarra-kari ‘the east place’, a-kari ‘the west place’, nguthundakari ‘the north place’ and ngamala-kari ‘the south place’. These forms then become definite locative stems which may optionally take one or both of the following suffixes in the following order: -mba ‘on the...side’ and -lu ‘to’. Examples are akari-mba ‘on the west side’, akari-lu ‘to the west place’, akari-mba-lu ‘to the place on the west side’ and nguthundakari-mba-lu ‘to the place on the north side’.

6.3.2.2 DEFINING DIRECTION

When motion is described in Yanyuwa, it is obligatory to state the direction of that motion. Once the direction is established, that continuing direction is assumed until a change of direction is indicated. The direction form of the cardinal locative occurs as part of the verb phrase. Once the kind of motion is established – walking, rowing, travelling in a vehicle or whatever – then the direction locative alone may fill the predicate and the verb may be omitted.

As well as describing motion, these same direction words may also describe the direction in which a stationary object is pointing or lying; for example, the direction of a road, a rock formation, or a person sleeping.

The direction in which motionless entities lie is defined in a further way. Cardinal locatives also take suffixes to indicate the general direction where stationary entities are and to relate the direction of an unknown location to a known or previously identified one.

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2 At times there is loss of distinction between the female and the feminine class marking which is not reflected in the gloss of examples in this paper. All female-class entities may be marked by either rra- or a-(nominative), and either rr- or wu- (non-nominative). All feminine-class entities are marked by a-(nominative), wu- (non-nominative) but some may take the same rr- and rr- variants as the female class. The feminine-class entities which may take female class-marker variants are specifically those with a Dreamtime or ‘dreaming’ female significance; that is, those which have an association with the period or realm of mythological activity which is of great importance within the culture. For example, wu-yabala ‘on the road’ in example 6.6 has the variant rru-yabala since the noun ‘road’ may be used in reference to ‘dreaming’ paths or roads; and in example 6.9 below rra-binjiri ‘paperbark tree’ has the variant a-binjiri since it is a feminine noun.
6.3.2.2.1 DIRECTION FROM

The marking of direction from in Yanyuwa is noteworthy in that for this meaning alone the marker is a prefix. It is appropriate that the marking of source should come first in the word. This prefix is identical in form with the suffix which transforms the indefinite cardinal locative stem into the definite form. The prefix is kari- and it has the variants kariy- and kar-. kariy- precedes the single-vowel root a ‘west’ and kar- precedes other vowel-initial stems. The set of forms indicating cardinal direction ‘from’ is: kar-akarra ‘from the east’, kariy-a ‘from the west’, kari-nguthunda ‘from the north’, kari-ngamala ‘from the south’.

While checking the data for this paper, the Yanyuwa language consultant not only completed the set of examples of indefinite location forms marked with -lulu (see §6.3.2.1.1) but she also volunteered the direction ‘from’ set with this same suffix added. Her comment was that they were used of the winds. The set is: kar-akarra-lulu, kariy-a-lulu, kari-nguthunda-lulu and kari-ngamala-lulu. Until these forms are heard in context, the meaning of -lulu here remains uncertain.

6.3.2.2.2 DIRECTION TOWARDS

Direction towards is indicated by the suffix -iya ‘-wards’; the variant -ya occurs with the root a ‘west’. The other three stems lose the final vowel before -iya: akarr-iya ‘eastwards’, a-ya ‘westwards’, nguthund-iya ‘northwards’, ngamal-iya ‘southwards’.

There is a rarely-heard variant set which occurs with the suffix -ulu in place of -iya. The stem variant awula ‘west’ occurs with this suffix only. The four stems lose the final vowel before -ulu also. The set marked by -ulu is: akarr-ulu, awul-ulu, nguthund-ulu, ngamal-ulu/ngal-ulu. For this set and for another in §6.3.2.2.4 below, ngamala ‘south’ has the variant stem ngalu.

The cardinal locative set marked by the suffix -iya may take the dative case-marker -wu ‘for, in relation to’. This is illustrated in the following example:

6.8 Bawuji barra ngamal-iya-wu.
   finished now south-wards-DAT
   Farewell for (your journey) south.

6.3.2.2.3 DIRECTION IN

The forms above which indicate direction towards and direction from are primarily related to motion, although they are sometimes used to refer to the direction in which motionless entities are pointing or lying. However the suffix -iwuthu ‘direction in, way’ which occurs with demonstrative locatives also occurs with the cardinal locative set, but here in the form -wuthu. The final vowel of the stems changes to a preceding this suffix: akarra-wuthu ‘in the east’, a-wuthu ‘in the west’, nguthunda-wuthu ‘in the north’, ngamala-wuthu ‘in the south’. The almost parallel occurrence of forms marked by -wuthu ‘-wards’ and -iya ‘direction in’ is demonstrated in the following sentence:

6.9 Waraji akarra-wuthu, rra-binjirri wulangi-nda
   paperbark.tree east-direction.in FEM-paperbark.tree river-ABL
ankan-ya
up-wards.
The waraji paperbark trees are in the east, the rra-binjirri paperbark trees are upriver.

6.3.2.4 RELATIVE DIRECTION

The other kind of direction marking is in relation to a reference point. The suffix -nga means ‘of/from that place/person/object’ or ‘of/from there’. When the suffix -rrinjarra occurs following -nga it adds a meaning component ‘at a distance’. (The suffix -rrinjarra is identical in form with the intransitive verbaliser marker -rri followed by the present participle suffixes -nja-rra. The cardinal locative stems marked in this way therefore appear to be verb participles, but any attempts to use the stems as verb stems marked by -rri are rejected.) The form of a ‘west’ which occurs as relative direction stem is awu, and the alternative stem ngalu ‘south’ is the form which takes the relative direction suffix rather than the commonly occurring form ngamala: akarru-nga ‘east from there’, awu-nga ‘west from there’, nguthunda-nga ‘north from there’, ngalu-nga ‘south from there’, akarru-nga-rrinjarra ‘east from there at a distance’.

6.10 Baji na-jiw-ini wumba, ngalu-nga
there.DEF REL-he-be REL.PRON south-REL.DIR
Nyujathawila ngala nguthunda-nga Kuwinalin.
New.South.Wales but north-REL.DIR Queensland.
That place where (the border fruit-inspector) always is, south from there is New South Wales and north from there is Queensland.

The following example gives a variety of cardinal locative forms and functions including relative direction:

6.11 M Kulu nya-mangaji malbu ny-anki-wangu, kumbu-wijuwa-nthaninya and M-that.DEF old.man M-her-spouse he.REFL-cover-P.CST
wumbiji. Barra namba rri-kanymarda, nguthunda-nga buyuka,
in.centre now when DU-two north-REL.DIR fire
ngalu-nga buyuka, ngamala-kari-mba rra-rrku,
south-REL.DIR fire south-DEF-side F-other
nguthunda-kari-mba rra-rrku, kawul-aninya. Akarr-iya,
north-DEF-side F-other they.DU-P.CST east-wards
wumbiji akarr-iya nya-mangaji malbu barra nya-wulanga-nganji.
in.centre east-wards M-that.DEF old.man now M-their.DU-kin
The husband would cover himself over, there in the centre. When he had two wives he would have a fire on either side of him and a wife on the other side of each fire. Their husband would lie there in the centre.

It is unlikely that there would be any more specific reference to direction in English than this. A more literal translation would be:
And that old man, the husband, he used to cover himself over in the central position (to sleep). And when there were two wives, (he had) a fire north of him, a fire south of him, one of them on the south side, the other on the north side, (that is how) the (two wives) used to be. Eastwards, in the centre lying eastwards was that old man, their husband (lit. kinsman).

This example demonstrates the way in which the Yanyuwa continually orient themselves to direction and location, even in the process of describing a simple domestic scene from former times.

6.3.2.3 SUMMARY OF PRIMARY CARDINAL LOCATIVE FUNCTIONS

Indefinite location

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{akarru} & \quad \text{E} \\
\text{angula} & \quad \text{W} \\
\text{nguthundu} & \quad \text{N} \\
\text{ngamala} & \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

\(+\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mba} & \quad \text{W} \\
\text{wa} & \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

\(+/-\)

\(+/-\) lulu

Rule:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{angula} & \quad \text{to} \\
\text{akarru} & \quad \text{a} \\
\text{nguthundu} & \quad \text{wa} \\
\text{ngamala} & \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

\(+\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mba} & \quad \text{W} \\
\text{wa} & \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

\(\rightarrow\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{amba} & \quad \text{to} \\
\text{akarramba} & \quad \text{a} \\
\text{nguthundawa} & \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

Definite location

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{akarru-kari} & \quad \text{E} \\
\text{a-kari} & \quad \text{W} \\
\text{nguthunda-kari} & \quad \text{N} \\
\text{ngamala-kari} & \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

\(+\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mba} & \quad \text{W} \\
\text{lu} & \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

\(+/-\)

\(+/-\) lulu

Direction from

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{akarr} & \quad \text{E} \\
\text{a} & \quad \text{W} \\
\text{nguthunda} & \quad \text{N} \\
\text{ngamala} & \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

\(+\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lu} & \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

\(+/-\)

\('+/-\) lulu

Rule:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{akarr} & \quad \text{E} \\
\text{a} & \quad \text{W} \\
\text{nguthunda} & \quad \text{N} \\
\text{ngamala} & \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

\(+\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{iya} & \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

\(\rightarrow\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{karakarra} & \quad \text{a} \\
\text{kariya} & \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

Direction to

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{akarr} & \quad \text{E} \\
\text{a} & \quad \text{W} \\
\text{nguthunda} & \quad \text{N} \\
\text{ngamala} & \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

\(+\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{iya} & \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

\(+\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ulu} & \quad \text{S}
\end{align*}
\]

\('+/-\)

\('+/-\) -wards
Rule:
\[ + a + \{ iya, ulu \} \rightarrow \{ aya, awululu \} \]

Direction in
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{akarra} & \quad E \\
+ & \quad a \quad W \\
\text{nguthunda} & \quad N \\
\text{ngamala} & \quad S \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘direction in’

Relative direction
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{akarru} & \quad E \\
+ & \quad awu \quad W \\
\text{nguthunda} & \quad N \\
\text{ngalu} & \quad S \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘from there’ ‘at a distance’

6.3.3 GENERAL LOCATIVES

Four of the remaining locative adverbs form a subgroup because only these stems, of the general stems, take any of the cardinal locative affixes. These four stems are: \textit{anka} ‘up, up there, upriver’, \textit{wayka} ‘down, down there, downriver’, \textit{ambirri-ju} ‘ahead’ and \textit{ngula-kari} ‘behind’. The final two stems are complex stems which lose their suffixes if any other suffix is added. The meaning of the suffix -\textit{ju} is unknown. The root \textit{ngula} means ‘behind’ and the suffix -\textit{kari} has the form of the definite marker (see §6.3.2.1.2) but any definite-marking function has been lost; that is, there is no isolated form \textit{ngula} to provide contrast with \textit{ngulakari}, and so \textit{ngulakari} functions as an indefinite form along with the rest of the general locatives.

The one exception to this is the locative \textit{anka} ‘up’. The form \textit{anka-ngu} ‘above, overhead, up there’ seems to function as the definite form of this locative; the suffix -\textit{ngu} is homophonous in form with the nominaliser suffix which marks the definite form of the proximal demonstrative pronoun \textit{jina-ngu} ‘this (definite)’ (see Chapter 2), and it may well be the same morpheme. The word \textit{anka-ngu} refers to a specific higher place, either on the ground or in the air or sky.

The four stems of the subgroup are marked for direction ‘-wards’ and all except \textit{ambirri} are marked for direction from. The rule is: the unreduplicated stem \textit{wayka} ‘down’ becomes \textit{waykal} when a suffix is added. The direction forms are: \textit{ankaya} ‘upwards’, \textit{waykaliya} ‘downwards’, \textit{waykawaykaya} ‘downwards (of a heavily laden vehicle)’, \textit{ambirriya} ‘forwards’, \textit{nguliya} ‘backwards’; \textit{karanka} ‘from higher up’, \textit{kariwayka} ‘from lower down’ and \textit{karingula} ‘from behind’.

(Although \textit{kar-ambirri} ‘from ahead’ was rejected as a locative form, it is used in noun derivation (described in §6.3.4.1) in the formation of the noun \textit{li-karambirringu} ‘the people from in front’ or ‘the people who lived before (us)’.)

The locatives \textit{ankaya} ‘upwards’ and \textit{waykaliya} ‘downwards’ may be additionally marked by the dative suffix -\textit{wu} in the same way as cardinal locatives.
Only *anka* 'up' takes any further locative suffix. It occurs with the -wa variant of -mba 'on the...side', as in *ankawa* 'on the upper side/level'. The stem *wayka* 'down' does not take this suffix, but the function is included in the meaning of another general locative *aminda wa* 'lower down, along the coast, below'. This word is used in direct contrast with *ankawa* and so complements *wayka* in this way. (Although the final syllable of *aminda wa* may appear to be the suffix -wa 'on the...side', it is in fact part of the stem and cannot be removed from it.)

Other general locatives in common use include: *arndaarnda* 'inside', *winkan-da* 'outside', *wumbiji* 'in the centre, in between', *wurra* 'underwater', *rarra* 'in the depths', *wunumbarra* 'close, nearby', *juju* 'in the distance', *wangarni* 'nearby, on the way here'. Some general locative stems occur also with the allative suffix -lu 'to' or one of its allomorphs: for example, *wumbiji-lu* 'to the centre, to the central position', *winkan-du* 'to the outside', *arndaarnda-lu* 'to the inside' and *juju-ngku* 'to a distant place'. Others such as *anka*, *wayka*, *wunumbarra* and *wangarni* do not occur with these suffixes.

The locative phrase *karanka wangarni* (from. up nearby) has the special meaning ‘right at the top’ or ‘on the summit’. It may be used in relation to a tree, a mountain or a building. For instance:

6.12 M  

*Ka-warlba anka-ngu ki-wurnda-a, kar-anka wangarni.*  
he-climb up-DEF MSC.NNOM-tree-ABL from-up nearby  
He climbed up on the post, on the very top.

6.3.4 OTHER FUNCTIONS OF LOCATIVE STEMS

Certain of the cardinal and general locative roots or stems may be further inflected to become derived nouns, verbs or syntactic constructions of a special kind.

6.3.4.1 DERIVED NOUNS

The nouns most commonly derived from locatives are those which define an entity in relation to its source, origin or relative location. The four cardinal locatives and the general locatives *anka* 'up' and *wayka* 'down' are used in such derivation. The derivational formula is: + class marker + (locative stem + -mba/-wa ) + -ngu (kari- + locative stem).

The appropriate noun class marker is used. Either the locative form marked by -mba/-wa ‘on the...side’ or the ‘direction from’ form marked by *kari* -occurs with the nominaliser suffix -ngu. Nouns formed in this way include:

- **li-akarramba-ngu**  
  PL-east.side-NMSR  
  the east-siders

- **Ø-akarramba-ngu**  
  MSC-east.side-NMSR  
  the east-side variety (of wild honey)

- **Ø-ankawa-ngu**  
  MSC-up.side-NMSR  
  the high-level one

- **nya-kariya-ngu**  
  M-from.west-NMSR  
  the man from the west

- **rra-karinguthunda-ngu**  
  F-from.north-NMSR  
  the woman from the north
ma-karakarra-ngu the food from the east
FD-from.east-NMSR
Ø-karanka-ngu the one from higher up (used of fresh-water fish)
MSC-from.up-NMSR
Ø-kariwaykal-ngu the one from lower down (used of salt-water fish)
MSC-from.down-NMSR

Derived nouns are also formed from certain general locatives by the addition of the
nominaliser suffix -ngu and the relevant noun class-marker prefix. Nouns of this kind
include: li-ngulakari-ngu (PL-behind-NMSR) 'the later people, the people who followed',
and F nyla-wumbiji-ngu (M-in.centre-NMSR) 'the middle (male) child'.

Nouns derived with the nominaliser suffix -ngu generally occur in the nominative case. In
those instances when they occur in a non-nominative form, the class marker changes to
indicate case but case suffixes are rarely added.

The other type of noun derivation noted consists of marking the locative ankaya 'upwards'
with a body-part possessive prefix, as in M na-ankaya (his-upwards) 'the upper part of his
body', and F ni-ankaya (its.MSC-upwards) 'the bodice (of a dress)'.

6.3.4.2 DERIVED VERBS

The most frequent usage of a locative stem in a verbal function is an imperative one. The
imperative suffix -ya is added to a stem formed from an indefinite cardinal locative or anka
'up' marked by -mba/-wa 'on the...side', or the reduplicated stem of wayka 'down'. For
example: Amba-ya! 'Move west!', Akarramba-ya! 'Move east!', Ankawa-ya! 'Move higher
up!' and Waykawayka-ya! 'Keep down!'. This same function is described for the
neighbouring language, Garawa (see Furby 1976:5).

Two locatives are used in the derivation of intransitive verb stems. In one instance a
cardinal locative is used, in the other a general locative, and each stem is derived in a different
way. The verb stem akarirri 'move to the west ' is constructed from the locative a-kan 'west
(definite)' and the intransitive verb marker -£ri. This verb is usually used of the sun, as in
kanda-akarirri 'she moved to the west'.

The other locative stem ambirriju 'ahead' is used unchanged as an intransitive verb stem
(the stem-final u changes to a when suffixes are added as occurs with certain other u-final
verb stems): ambirrija-njarra (go.ahead-PRES.PT) 'going ahead, taking the lead'. The verb
stem may then be used in the past participle form ambirrija-nja in the process of making a
derived noun, as in nya-ambirrijanja-ngu (M-gone.ahead-NMSR) 'the firstborn son'.

6.3.4.3 OTHER DERIVATION

There is one remaining construction which is also formed from cardinal locatives in their
‘direction from’ form. This stem takes a pronominal prefix from the set which marks noun
body-part possession: nda-kariya (you.SG-from.west), nalu-karingamala (they.PL-from.
south). This form seems to parallel another in which the same prefix set occurs with noun
stems relating to a stage of a person's life: nda-ardu (you.SG-child) 'when you were a child'
or ‘you being a child’, nalu-yalkuyi (they.PL-young.adult) ‘when they were young adults’ or
they being young adults'. Sentences 6.13 and 6.14 illustrate the use of the derived locative forms, each in a context of an expected returning.

you.SG-see-FUT you.SG-from.north
I will see you when you come back from the north.

6.14 F *Awu-lulu* ni-wurdu ni-karingamala ki-wani-la.
west-wards its-belly it-from.south it-return-FUT
(The plane) will return westwards in coming from the south.

6.4 NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES WHICH SIGNAL LOCATION

Yanyuwa nouns and noun phrases have several locative functions. They name places and they signal 'at', 'to' or 'from' a place. The meanings 'at' and 'to' are marked directly on the noun or noun phrase by case-marker suffixes. The meaning 'to' is also signalled by two relator prepositions, and the meaning 'from' is signalled only in this way in relation to nouns.

6.4.1 PLACENAME NOUNS

Placename nouns are classed as class 15 nouns in Yanyuwa (for details of the noun classification system see Kirton 1971b:18-36). A placename usually signifies both a specific place and its surrounding area. *Wandangu* names a lagoon, known in English as 'Police Lagoon' and also the country surrounding the lagoon. Similarly *Burrulula* names a lagoon and the surrounding area of land (and has given its name to the developing outback township Borroloola). *Warralungku* is the name of the crossing at Borroloola (where the McArthur River could be forded at low tide) and to the land to the south of it. The Sir Edward Pellew Islands were in Yanyuwa territory and so placenames are established for the islands. For example, *Yulbarra* is a coastal area on Vanderlin Island where dugong hunters used to take shelter from the storms, and *Yukuyi* is another landing place further east.

6.4.2 LOCATION CASE MARKING ON NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

Common nouns are marked for case, and placename nouns also may be so marked. Two of the four noun case-marker suffixes have locative functions. The ablative marker -*la* and its allomorphs have the meanings 'in, at, by' (as well as marking accompaniment and instrument). The ergative-allative marker -*Ju* and its allomorphs mark 'to' (as well as marking transitive subject and purpose functions). Since the allative function is the only one relevant to this chapter, this marker is referred to as the allative marker for its remaining sections.

Class-marker prefixes on common nouns also change to a non-nominative form, or to dative and ergative-allative-ablative forms for the food, arboreal and abstract classes. (This latter prefix will be referred to as allative-ablative and glossed as 'ALL/ABL' for the remainder of this chapter.) Placenames may be marked by -*lu* 'to'.

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3 In the Yanyuwa noun paper (Kirton 1971b), different terminology was used. The nominative of this paper was there referred to as 'nuclear', ergative-allative as 'directive', ablative as 'associative' and dative as 'referent'.
ji-barrawu-la
MSC.NNOM-house-ABL
at the house

ki-wurnda-a
MSC.NNOM-tree-ABL
by/in the tree

nungka-lhanu-ngka
ARB.ALL/ABL-paperbark-ABL
on the paperbark

nyungku-mangaji ki-daladala-ngka
MSC.ALL/ABL-that.DEF MSC.NNOM-box-ABL
in/on the box

ji-waya-ngka ji-walkurra-ngka
MSC.NNOM-boat-ABL MSC.NNOM-big-ABL
on the big boat

Wandangula-lu
Wandangula-all
to Wandangula

ji-buyuka-lu
MSC.NNOM-fire-ALL
to the fire

nungka-wulangi-ndu
ARB.ABL/ALL-river-ALL
to the river

nungku-ngatha nungku-alanji-lu
ARB.ABL/ALL-my ARB.ABL/ALL-camp-ALL
to my camp

These examples illustrate the agreement of noun modifiers with the respective noun in relation to both class and case.

6.4.3 LOCATIVE PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

Nouns also occur in phrases with one of four locative prepositions to form allative ‘to’ phrases and originative ‘from’ phrases. There is a definite and an indefinite relator for each function. The indefinite prepositions are nyala ‘to’ and nakari ‘from’. The definite prepositions are ngaliba ‘to’ and nakar-ingu ‘from’ (marked by -ingu ‘from’ which occurs also on the demonstrative locative stems; see §6.3.1). Common nouns which occur in locative prepositional phrase are marked for case, but the case-marking prefix may be omitted. Placenames are optionally marked for case. The allative case marker occurs in an allative phrase and the ablative case marker in an originative phrase.

The indefinite prepositions nyala ‘to’ and nakari ‘from’ introduce places which are of less significance in the narrative – the places which the narrator views as incidental stopping places along the way:

nyala alanji-lu
to.INDEF camp-ALL
to the camp

nyala Burrulula
to.INDEF Borroloola
to Borroloola

nakari awara-la
from.INDEF ground-ABL
from the ground

nakari Burrulula
from.INDEF Borroloola
from Borroloola
Two other locative phrases occur with the prepositional phrase nyala kulu (nyala + ‘and’) preceding anka ‘up’ or wayka ‘down’. The two resultant phrases are: nyala kulu anka ‘right to the top’ and nyala kulu wayka ‘right to the bottom’. These phrases may be used in reference to such activities as climbing a tree or mountain or descending of a cliff.

The definite prepositions ngaliba ‘to’ and nakaringu ‘from’ are used to introduce places which the specific narrator views as being of significance. Nakaringu is used to introduce the place at which a story originates and ngaliba introduces the phrase which tells where the story concludes. The frequency with which these prepositions are used in between is determined by the narrator and his or her personal style or choice.

One man told a dramatic story and referred to places throughout with the indefinite preposition nyala until ‘the villain’ is taken ngaliba Alij Buringa ‘to Alice Springs’ to jail at the conclusion. The narrator’s uncle told of a journey from a cattle station ngaliba Mungkubayi ‘to Burketown’ and ngaliba Ngurduri ‘to Doomadgee’ before his sick child is flown ngaliba Klunkari ‘to Cloncurry’ to hospital. In another story this same uncle tells of a young man going ngaliba kadin ‘to a garden’ (to hide) part way through his narrative. Each speaker selects the prepositions in the ways that are appropriate for him, just as English speakers select the definite and indefinite article in different ways in certain contexts.

The preposition nakaringu signals not only ‘from a place of origin’ or ‘from a significant place en route’ in a narrative, but also ‘from’ with reference to the place of origin or the place of belonging in defining the nature of entities. Young men working with cattle nakaringu ngurrbun-da ‘from the scrub’ are not working with domestic animals which have strayed into the scrub, but rather with animals which continually live in scrub country. A snake nakaringu wayka, nakaringu ki-alhibi-la ‘from downriver, from the salt water’ is not a snake which has gone down into the salt water and will emerge again, but a snake which is essentially a salt-water snake. Examples of nakaringu from travel narratives are: nakaringu Burrulula ‘from Borroloola’ and nakaringu Wanadingka ‘from Wanadingka’.

### 6.4.4 LOCATIVE FUNCTION OF REDUPLICATED NOUN STEM S

Certain inanimate common nouns may take on a locative function in one other way. The class-marker prefix is lost and the stem is partially or wholly reduplicated. These reduplicated forms then have a locative function and do not take any case marking:

- **wumburr** plain
- **wumburr-wumburr** on the plain
- **a-yabala** road
- **yaba-yabala** on the road
- **na-wulangi** river
- **wula-wulangi** by the river
- **jayngka** rock
- **jayngka-jayngka** on the rocks
- **munji** bush
- **munji-munji** in the bush
- **wirninyma** gum tree
- **wirni-wirninyma** at the gum trees
- **nankawa** lagoon
- **nanka-nankawa** at the lagoon

### 6.5 ANTROPOLOGICAL NOTES ON LOCATION

The Yanyuwa people, like other Aborigines of Australia, are a location-oriented people. The spiritual origin of each member of Yanyuwa society is associated with an area of land. Similarly, a person’s given name is associated with an area of land. Life is lived in the
knowledge of the land and its resources. And at death it was viewed as only right that a man's bones should be returned to his own country:

That log coffin, stand it up there in his country. Take back his bones and put them there, let his nephew put them there. Let them take him back to his country for all time. There let him remain, let him warm himself there.

This quotation comes from a description of traditional funeral rites and it expresses something of the emotional harmony of the people with their land. The land is at the heart of their life and so it is not surprising that their language is rich in reference to their land – to location.

The Yanyuwa are aware not only of the beneficial resources of their land, but also of its hazards, and they are taught to respect them. There are spiritual perils if one trespasses in sacred areas. There are physical dangers if one wanders far from water sources. And so the culture of the people is seen in the deep embedding of reference to location in the language.
CHAPTER 7
THE VERB SUFFIXES -nhu AND -njimu

In the paper ‘Yanyuwa verbs’ (Kirton 1978:18-20), two verb suffixes were described according to a false analysis. All other Yanyuwa verb suffixes have meanings which relate to tense, mood or aspect, and so meanings of this kind were assigned also to the two suffixes -nhu and -njimu (infrequently occurring in the data) as past focal affirmative and present affirmative respectively.

An essential factor of co-occurrence restriction was overlooked in this analysis. These two suffixes co-occur only with second person singular subjects. They are not two distinctive morphemes in Yanyuwa but are allomorphs of two other common verb suffixes.

When there is a second person singular subject of the verb, the following changes occur in verb suffixation (all other suffixes remain unchanged):

1. the suffix 0 ‘general past’ has the variant -nhu (or nyu following an i-final stem);
2. the suffix -nji (/yi) ‘present’ has the variant -njimu (/yimu);
3. the existential present root ini ‘am/is being’ has the allomorph -imu.

The use of these allomorphs is illustrated in the following forms, which show a comparison between the second person singular allomorphs and the regular suffix forms as they co-occur with first person singular and second person plural subjects. The initial prefix here is an indicative marker ja-/ka-; ja- co-occurs with present tense suffixes, while ka- co-occurs with past, future, hypothetical, dubitative, intensive and negative suffixes.

However, if the action expressed by the verb is a recurrent one, the prefix usage is changed so that ka- co-occurs with present tense suffixes and ja- with past or future. The final vowel of a prefix is lost preceding a vowel-initial prefix or an i-initial or u-initial stem:

\[
\begin{align*}
k-arna-wingka-0 & \quad I \text{ went} \\
\text{IND.I-go-P} & \\
k-irru-wingka-0 & \quad \text{you (PL) went} \\
\text{IND.MKR-you.PL-go-P} & \\
ka-0-wingka-nhu & \quad \text{you (SG) went} \\
\text{IND.MKR-you.SG-go-P} & \\
k-arna-arri-0 & \quad \text{I was} \\
\text{IND.MKR-I-be-P} & \\
k-irru-arri-0 & \quad \text{you (PL) were} \\
\text{IND.MKR-you.PL-be-P} &
\end{align*}
\]
ka-ền-irri-nyu
IND.MKR-you.SG-be-P
you (SG) were

j-ama-wingka-yi
IND.MKR-I-go-PRES
I am going

j-irru-wingka-yi
IND.MKR-you.PL-go-PRES
you (PL) are going

ja-ền-wingka-yimu
IND.MKR-you.SG-go-PRES
you (SG) are going

j-am-ini
IND.MKR-I-PRES
I am being

j-irr-ini
IND.MKR-you.PL-PRES
you (PL) are being

j-ền-imu
IND.MKR-you.SG-PRES
you (SG) are being

k-al-ama-rama-ền
IND.MKR-them-I-hit-P
I hit them

k-al-irru-rama-ền
IND.MKR-them-you.PL-hit-P
you (PL) hit them

k-al-inya-rama-nhu
IND.MKR-them-you.SG-hit-P
you (SG) hit them

j-al-irma-rama-nji
IND.MKR-them-you.SG-hit-PRES
I am hitting them

j-al-irru-rama-nji
IND.MKR-them-you-hit-PRES
you (PL) are hitting them

j-al-inya-rama-njimu
IND.MKR-them-you.SG-hit-PRES
you (SG) are hitting them

Factors which contributed to the error at the time of earlier analysis included the following: (1) a mind which was closed to the possibility of tense-aspect-mood suffixes being influenced by a subject person, (2) limited written data in which second person singular subjects occurred, (3) limited good opportunities for hearing Yanyuwa conversation, and (4) some inaccurate data in which there was confusion between the hypothetical (or subjunctive) suffix -njima and the present tense second person singular allomorph -njimu.
An independent Yanyuwa clause is a minimal complete utterance. Clauses may be constructed with or without a verb, although all clause types have potential for a verb to occur. Verb-centred clauses may be action clauses or non-action stative clauses. Action clauses may be intransitive, transitive, or reflexive. Clauses of the above types may be positive or negative, indicative or imperative (although there are restrictions on imperative occurrence for certain clause types). Questions are a subtype of indicative clauses. Clauses may also be independent or dependent.

Reference is made to frozen clauses. A frozen clause consists of a statement realised as a single word; for example, the following greetings:

\[\text{Marnaj-ingarna.} \quad \text{(here.DEF-I) \quad I am here.}\]
\[\text{Baj-irru.} \quad \text{(there.DEF-you.PL) \quad You are there.}\]

In these two locative-complexes, the pronominal suffix is the clause subject (or topic) and the demonstrative locative stem is the predicate (or comment).

These two words are acceptable complete utterances and occur as the minimal manifestation of one stative clause subtype.

Clause types are distinguished on the basis of the following criteria: (1) action or non-action expressed, (2) presence or absence of active causation, (3) presence or absence of reflexive or reciprocal action, and (4) the nature of the clause units which cross-reference to the verb or to each other.

The main grammatical features reflecting the above criteria are the presence or absence of a verb, the nature of the verb stem and the associated person markers, the presence or absence of a reflexive marker on the verb, and the specific case marking of the nominal units in the clause.

Thus Stative Clauses express no action or activity. Intransitive Clauses express action but have no component of active causation, reflexion or reciprocity. Transitive Clauses express active causation but without any associated reflexion or reciprocity. These are the three most basic types.

The fourth type, Reflexive Clauses, express action of a reflexive or reciprocal nature but do not signal active causation. These can be derived from Transitive Clauses by the deletion of the Subject as Causer and modification of the verb which manifests the Predicate (see examples 8.4 and 8.5 below). However, since the status of Reflexive Clauses seems nearer
to that of the three basic types than to clause subtypes, they are presented as a clause type, while their relationship to Transitive Clauses is recognised.

A preliminary illustration of the nuclear relationships involved in these four clause types is provided by the following examples. The two Stative Clause examples below illustrate the potential for the presence or absence of a verb in this clause type. (The semantic role of the clause-level unit is in brackets, following the unit's label.)

(1)a Simple Stative

8.1 \textit{Rra-ardu rra-yabi.}
F-child F-good
SBJ(TOPIC) COMP(COMMENT)
The girl is a good one.

(1)b Existential Stative

8.2 \textit{Rra-ardu kand-aninya rra-yabi.}
F-child she-P.CST F-good
SBJ(TOPIC) PRED COMP(COMMENT)
The girl used to be good.

Examples 8.3 and 8.4 illustrate the contrastive semantic roles of Experiencer and Causer in this description. The participant who initiates a transitive action is viewed as the Causer of that action. The participant who undergoes an action, either intransitive action (as Subject) or transitive action (as Object), is viewed as the Experiencer of that action. In these two clauses for example, the experience of the child is the same in both instances – she becomes well. In clause 8.4, the additional information is supplied that the ‘becoming well’ was caused by a further participant. The noun which represents the entity in Causer role is marked by ergative case. The noun which represents the entity in Experiencer role is marked by nominative case.

(2) Intransitive

8.3 \textit{Rra-ardu kanda-yabirri.}
F-child she-become.good
SBJ(EXPER) PRED
The girl improved.

(3) Transitive

8.4 \textit{Rru-bardibardi-lu karr-ardu-yabima rra-ardu.}
F.NNOM-old.woman-ERG her-she-make.good F-child
SBJ(CAUSER) PRED OBI(EXPER)
The old woman healed the girl.

In the above two examples, it is apparent that two derivational suffixes have been used in the construction of these two verb stems: -\textit{ri} (intransitive marker/verbaliser) and -\textit{ma} (transitive marker/verbaliser). These suffixes are referred to later wherever the structure of verbs being discussed is of particular importance. Otherwise verb stems are presented as units to simplify verb breakdown and glossing. (See Kirton 1978:21-29 for a detailed description of verb stems.)
(4) Reflexive

8.5  *Rra-ardu kan-umba-yabima.*
F-girl she-REFL-make.good
SBJ(EXPER) PRED

The girl improved/healed herself/became well of her own accord.

In one sense the Subject of a reflexive or reciprocal action may be perceived as being both Causer and Experiencer of the action. In Yanyuwa, the nominal which manifests the Subject is in the unmarked nominative case, not in the ergative case which marks the Causer role.

Intransitive and transitive clause subtypes are determined in response to two questions: (1) Does the verb subclass which manifests the Predicate require that a clause constituent be added to the nucleus of the clause type to make a semantically complete statement? (2) If so, which of the following three units is required: Goal (that is, an indirect object or objective of the verb action), Location, Destination (or location goal)? (Simple subtypes are semantically complete without the addition of any of these three units.)

By this analysis, what in another language is described as a di-transitive clause type (for example, ‘John gave the meat to the dog’), is described in Yanyuwa as a Goal Transitive Clause – one of the subtypes of Transitive. Location Transitive and Destination Transitive subtypes similarly require an additional clause constituent beyond the nuclear Subject, Predicate and Object to make a semantically complete statement, and therefore Goal Transitive is separated from them as a distinctive type.

One additional Transitive Clause subtype is postulated to deal with certain irregular clauses. This is the Semitransitive Clause, in which the markers of active causation do not normally occur when a non-personal nominal referent manifests the Object. For certain of these clauses, markers of causation do occur when the Object is manifested by a personal nominal referent. (The term ‘personal’ is used to include human referents and such other referents as are included within the kinship system, for example, pet dogs.)

8.2 INDEPENDENT INDICATIVE CLAUSES

The four main types of indicative clauses are: Stative, Intransitive, Transitive, Reflexive. The Stative Clause describes a Subject or its state of being. In this clause type, there is no action or activity in process (see examples 8.1 and 8.2 above). The Intransitive and Transitive Clauses generally make reference to an activity or a process taking place. In an Intransitive Clause the process is described with reference to a Subject-as-Experiencer only. In a Transitive Clause it is described with reference to both a Subject-as-Causer and an Object-as-Experiencer.

There are also Reflexive Clauses, which are constructed around verbs (usually transitive verbs) which express either reflexive or reciprocal action. This is a more restricted clause type. There are also Semitransitive Clauses which combine certain features of both Intransitive and Transitive types. This clause type is constructed around a semitransitive subclass of verbs (see Kirton 1978:43, §2.5.2).

The initial description is of the construction of a nucleus for each clause type and an inner periphery for each clause subtype, that is, the essential units which are specific to their construction. The outer peripheral units provide additional information or explanation and are
more loosely related to the construction. They tend to co-occur with all the clause types and so are described in a following section (§8.2.3).

Equivalent peripheral units in Stative Clauses are rare. Since the relationship in this clause type appears to be a closer one, peripheral units are therefore described in relation to the clause subtypes with which they occur.

8.2.1 STATIVE CLAUSES

In Yanyuwa the Stative Clause relates one or two complementary facts to a subject or topic. This clause has four subtypes: Simple Stative, Locative-Complex Stative, Existential Stative, Full Stative (see Table 5). Examples of Full Stative Clauses are rare. The Simple Stative Clause is the most commonly occurring. Although all four clause subtypes share common functions, certain subtypes more commonly occur in certain discourse contexts, and the Locative-Complex Clause has two functions which are specific to its subtype.

The Simple Stative subtype consists of a Subject-as-Topic in juxtaposition to a Complement. These two units are common to all four subtypes. The additional unit in the Locative-Complex Stative subtype is a Locative-Complex (that is, a demonstrative locative stem with a pronominal subject suffix). The additional unit in the Existential Clause is an Existential Predicate (which is manifested by the verb 'be'). Both Locative-Complex and Existential Predicate units occur in the Full Stative Clause subtype.

The Stative Clause subtype has the widest range of variety in its Complement manifestation and it also has the widest range of occurrence. The Locative-Complex Clause has more an attention-getting function than the other subtypes and is also used in greeting. All four subtypes are used to identify or describe an entity or its location in place or time.

The Subject for all these non-action clause types is always in the nominative case. The Complement is frequently in the form of a noun phrase or adjective phrase also marked for nominative case. However there are a few instances in which the Complement is marked with non-nominative case marking. These will be described in the relevant sections.

### TABLE 5: ACCEPTABLE COMPLETE MANIFESTATIONS OF YANYUWA STATIVE CLAUSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subtype</th>
<th>Constituents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple stative</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative-complex</td>
<td>Subject Locative-Complex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential</td>
<td>Subject Existential Predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full stative</td>
<td>Subject Locative-complex Existential predicate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.2.1.1 SIMPLE STATATIVE CLAUSE SUBTYPE

The Simple Stative Clause consists of a Subject in the role of Topic, and of a Complement. This Complement describes the Subject or its setting in some way. The usual order is for the Subject to precede the Complement. However, if the Complement is in focus, it may be fronted to precede the Subject.
The Subject may be manifested by a noun, noun phrase, personal or demonstrative pronoun, or an allative specifier (constructed from the stem *rrku* 'other').

The Complement may be manifested by a noun or noun phrase, an adjective or adjective phrase, a possessive pronoun, a locative or locative phrase, a temporal, an adverb, an embedded Stative Clause, or a Dependent Clause constructed from a participle marked by the dative case-marker *-wu* or marked by the ergative-allative case-marker *-lu* to construct a purposive form.

The Stative Clause subtype may be used to identify an entity by its name, by relationship to a known person or location, by description of its characteristics or functions, by location in time or space, or in relation to a purpose it fulfils.

Note: The symbol / is used in the following examples to indicate the boundary of units within a clause-level construction. The clause constituent order is normally Subject followed by Predicate. Clauses which follow this pattern are not given constituent labels below. However, where the order is reversed or if there are more than two constituents, labels are given.

A Simple Stative Clause may identify the Subject by name:

8.6 *Nya-mangaji / bandawi.*
 MSC-that.DEF bandawi
 That (method of hunting kangaroo) is *bandawi.*

8.7 *Jina jina walya / jardiwangarni.*
 this.INDEF this.INDEF dugong flat.backed.turtle
 This particular dugong is the *jardiwangarni.*

8.8 *Nya-mbangu julaki / balubalu.*
 MSC-that.INDEF bird pelican
 That bird is a pelican.

8.9 *Na-wini awara / Windikarri.*
 its-name place Windikarri
 The name of the place is Windikarri.

8.10 *Rra-mangaji rra-rrku / nanda-wini Wanda.*
 F-that.DEF F-other her-name Wanda
 That other one was named Wanda.

When an entity is identified by name, the Simple Stative Clause construction may be extended to define what language is being used. The added peripheral unit consists of the language name marked for ablative case. It has an Instrument or Means type of function:

8.11 *Wurnumala / na-wini / ki-arrawa-ngka.*
 Wurnumala his-name MSC.NNOM-Garawa-ABL
 PRED SBJ INSTR
 His name in Garawa is Wurnumala.

8.12 *Alik / na-wini / ki-wajbala-ngka.*
 Alec his-name MSC.NNOM-white.man-ABL
 PRED SBJ INSTR
 His name in English is Alec.
Where a name is given in a transitive clause, the language reference has a different form. The suffix \(-ngala\) 'in a...manner' changes the language name noun to an adverb, and this then modifies the specific verb which is used, as in \(arrawa-ngala\) 'in Garawa' and \(yanyuwa-ngala\) 'in Yanyuwa' (see examples 8.289 and 8.290). This form marked by \(-ngala\) may occur in a Stative Clause Complement too, but it is the noun marked by ablative case which occurs more frequently here.

A Simple Stative Clause may identify the Subject by kinship relationship to another known entity:

8.13 M  \textit{Nya-mangaji malbu / ny-inki-baba.}\newline M-that.DEF old.man M-your.SG-old.er.sibling\newline That old man is your elder brother.

8.14 M  \textit{Nya-mangaji / ny-iki-nganji ki-aruku-wu.}\newline MSC-that.DEF MSC-its-kin MSC.NNOM-fish-DAT\newline That (seabird) is a kinsman of the fish (that is, is a fellow sea-creature).

8.15 \textit{Li-kanymarda arrkula / l-iki-li-nganji.}\newline PL-two one PL-his-PL-kinsman\newline The three (of them) are his relations.

A Simple Stative Clause may identify the Subject by its place of residence or origin:

8.16 M  \textit{Ja-baba / jibiya Manankura.}\newline my-old.er.sibling resident Manangoora\newline My older brother is a Manangoora (cattle-station) man.

8.17 M  \textit{Ngarna / jibiya Burrulula.}\newline I resident Borroloola\newline I'm a Borroloola person/resident.

8.18 M  \textit{Rra-kama-ardima / nakaringu Burrulula.}\newline F-my-sister's.child from Borroloola\newline My niece is from Borroloola.

8.19 \textit{Nakaringu Burrulula / jinangu walaba.}\newline from Borroloola this.DEF corroboree\newline This corroboree dance is from Borroloola.

8.20 \textit{Nya-mangaji wudurru / munji-munji-ngu.}\newline MSC-that.DEF food bush-bush-NMSR\newline That food is/was bush food (or from a bush source).

8.21 \textit{Nya-mangaji alhibi / kari-nguthunda-ngu.}\newline MSC-that.DEF salt.water from-north-NMSR\newline That salt water is from a northern source.

Examples 8.20 and 8.21 illustrate the use of nominalised forms in the Complement of a Simple Stative Clause. This is the environment in which they normally occur.

A Simple Stative Clause may provide a description of the Subject:

8.22 F  \textit{Nya-mangaji / nya-ja-warndima.}\newline M-that.DEF M-ja-lie/deceive\newline That (man) is a liar/deceiver.
8.23 F Ngarna / rra-manji.
I F-ignorant/unknowing
I don’t know.

8.24 F Nya-ja / nya-ngirringirri.
M-this M-constantly.moving
This (small boy) is constantly moving around.

8.25 Nya-mbangu arlkur / walkurra bijal.
MSC-that.INDEF fish big quite
That fish is quite big.

8.26 Nya-rrku / burnalkarra-milimili.
MSC-other white-chest
The other (cat) has a white breast.

8.27 Lhuwa nya-mbangu / tha-ntha-mara.
snake MSC-that.INDEF bite-PT-NMSR
That snake is a biting one.

8.28 Arlkur mawunkur / yin-ku wudurru.
fish raw you.SG-DAT food
Your food is raw fish (spoken in scathing terms).

8.29 Rra-rimi / rra-mbangu wajanga-ntha-wu.
F-paddle F-that.INDEF paddle-PT-DAT
The rra-rimi is the thing for paddling (canoes).

8.30 F Alhi / yabima-ntha-wu ma-ngarduku marda
it make-PT-DAT FD-heavy.rope and
mindima-ntha-wu a-muwarda.
mend-PT-DAT FEM-canoe
It is to make heavy rope and also to mend canoes (in reference to a stringy-bark fibre).

8.31 Ma-yatha / ma-mangaji wumba kalu-tharrama-nji.
FD-tree.kind FD-that.DEF which it.they.again-cut-PRES
The ma-yatha tree is that one which they always cut.

A Simple Stative Clause may describe the location of an entity in space or time:

8.32 Nguthundu marni / Dulijarrba.
north here.INDEF Dulijarrba
(The place) here in the north is Dulijarrba.

8.33 A-kari-mba / Rrumandanga.
west-DEF-side Rrumandanga
(The place) on the west side is Rrumandanga.

8.34 Kuwulana / nguthunda-nga Munukanyina.
Kuwulana north-REL.DIR Munukanyina
Kuwulana is north of Munukanyina.
8.35 *Ngarna / ankangu juju.*
I above distant
I am high above.

8.36 *Nguralngural / yinda-a marda-a.*
prickle you.SG-ABL foot-ABL
(There's a) prickle in your foot.

8.37 *Jina wala / wabarrangu.*
this.INDEF corroboree in.past
This corroboree dance is an olden-time one.

A Simple Stative Clause may describe the state of the Subject (although this function is more often associated with the Existential Stative subtype):

8.38 *Alu / lhungku.*
they alive
They are alive/living.

8.39 *Marlambi nanda-marliji / rra-ardu.*
outstretched her-hand F-child
PRED SBJ
The girl has her hands outstretched.

The Complement of example 8.39 is an embedded Simple Stative Clause:

8.40 *Marlambi / nanda-marliji.*
outstretched her-hand
PRED SBJ
Her hands are outstretched.

Simple Stative Clauses may also be used to define the function of an entity in terms of purpose. Such clauses are rare:

8.41 *Wurumul / rduma-ntha-lu arlku.*
bait get-PT-PURP fish
Bait is to catch fish.

8.42 *Ny-iku-ngu yilirri / arlkarla-ntha-lu nganu-milimili arndaarnda nuwarmu-wardi-yu.*
MSC-his-DEF blood wash-PT-PURP our.EXCL-chest inside ABST.DAT-bad-DAT
His blood is to cleanse our hearts of badness (lit. to wash our chests inside of badness).

8.43 *Ngali / rduma-ntha-lu li-jakarda yilarr.*
we.DU.EXCL get-PT-PURP PL-many policeman
(It is for) you and me to get many policemen.

The meaning of example 8.43 is close to that of a hortatory clause. The use of a Stative Clause gives focus to *ngali*, to the responsibility especially lying with the speaker and his hearer.
8.2.1.2 LOCATIVE-COMPLEX STATIVE CLAUSE SUBTYPE

The Locative-Complex Stative Clause, in its full independent form, consists of a Simple Stative Clause construction with the addition of a Locative-Complex unit manifested by a locative-complex. However, in certain contexts the Subject and/or the Complement may be deleted.

When the Locative-Complex Stative Clause is used as a greeting, either a first or second person pronominal suffix is used in the locative-complex construction. The normal manifestation of a Locative-Complex Stative Clause in this situational context is a Locative-Complex unit alone. When the Locative-Complex Stative Clause is used within a discourse, the Subject and/or Complement may be deleted when the information is already established.

The locative-complex is a locative demonstrative marked by a pronominal suffix. (See Chapter 6 for a full description.) Locative-complex units, constructed from the definite and indefinite proximal and distal locative demonstratives, are illustrated below:

8.44  *Marnaj-ingarna.*  
here.DEF-I  
I'm here.

8.45  *Marn-iwa.*  
here.INDEF-he  
He's here.

8.46  *Baj-awula.*  
there.DEF-they.DU  
They're there.

8.47  *Narnb-anda.*  
there.INDEF-she  
She's there.

The Complement may be manifested by a locative or a locative phrase, a noun marked for ablative case, an adverb or a manner phrase, a temporal, a present participle or a negative participle, an adjective, a noun or a simple noun phrase. In rare instances, the Complement may be in the form of a pronoun, noun or noun phrase marked by dative case to indicative benefaction, or marked by allative case to indicate 'to' another entity.

A Locative-Complex Stative Clause may be used in greetings and in simple statements to direct attention to someone or to some fact related to them. These clauses are also used to give focus to a unit within a clause or within a discourse.

Locative-Complex Stative Clauses, marked for first or second persons, are used to initiate conversation between speakers:

*Marnaj-inganu*  (here.DEF-we.EXCL)  We're here.
*Baj-irru*  (there.DEF-you.PL)  You're there.

The Locative-Complex Stative Clause may be used as a simple statement to draw attention to an entity within view. No Complement unit occurs in such a clause:
8.48  *Baj-anda / rra-muwarda.*
the.DEF-she F-canoe
LOC.CX  SBJ
There's the canoe.

8.49  M *Baj-iwa / jayngka.*
there.DEF-he rock
LOC.CX  SBJ
There's the rock.

8.50  M *Baj-iwa / ngatha wakuku.*
there.DEF-he my dog
LOC.CX  SBJ
There's my dog.

The Locative-Complex Stative Clause may be used to define a location. In example 8.53 below, the Complement preceding the Predicate gives a general location and the Complement following the Predicate gives the specific location:

8.51  *Baj-anda / nguthunda-kari.*
there.DEF-she north-DEF
LOC.CX  COMP
She's there at the northern place.

8.52  *Namb-alu / ngurrbun-da.*
there.INDEF-they scrub-ABL
LOC.CX  COMP
They're there in the scrub.

8.53  *Ngamala / baj-iwa / Alijanduriya.*
south there.DEF-he Alexandria
COMP  LOC.CX  COMP
He's there in the south at Alexandria (cattle station).

The next examples include the Subject as well as a Complement expressing location:

8.54  M *Baj-alu / akarra-kari / li-kama-wuthayi.*
there.DEF-they east-DEF PL-my-sister's.grandchild
LOC.CX  COMP  SBJ
There in the east are my sister's daughter's children.

8.55  M *Mam-iwa / ngawu / ankangu.*
here.INDEF-it cloud above
LOC.CX  SBJ  COMP
(There are) clouds here above.

The Locative-Complex Stative Clause Complement may be manifested by a participle to describe the Subject:

8.56  M *Baj-iwa / wumda / alarri-nga-raa.*
there.DEF-it tree stand-PT-PRES
LOC.CX  SBJ  COMP
(There is) a tree standing there.
8.57  *Baj-alu* / *wayka* / *arlkarba-ntha-rra.*

Locative-Complex Stative Clause Complements may also be manifested by adjectives, adverbs or phrases to describe the Subject:

8.58  M  *Na-miji* / *baj-iwa* / *babalu.*

8.59  M  *Marnaj-ingarna* / *lhungku.*

8.60  *Baj-alu* / *a-ya.*

8.61  *Baj-iwa* / *wabarrangu.*

8.62  M  *Na-wurdu* / *baj-iwa* / *walkurra wabuda.*

8.63  M  *Nya-rrku* / *baj-iwa* / *kinybutha.*

8.64  *Nyala yurmgumantha* / *baj-iwa.*

8.65  *Nyala mamarri-nja-rra* / *baj-and* / *ngamala.*

8.66  M  *Nyala wurdu-la* / *baj-iwa* / *wayka.*
There is one example of a Locative-Complex Stative Clause in which the Complement comprises a Destination unit manifested by a noun phrase with allative marking, and one in which the Complement is a Purpose phrase:

8.67 \( Baj-inda / yila-lu \) kardirdi-lu.
\begin{align*}
\text{there.DEF-you.SG} & \quad \text{him-ALL uncle-ALL} \\
\text{LOC.cx} & \quad \text{COMP}
\end{align*}
There you are (on your way) to (your) uncle.

8.68 \( Namb-alu / nyala \) lhurrama-ntha-lu.
\begin{align*}
\text{there.INDEF-they} & \quad \text{to dance-PT-PURP} \\
\text{LOC.cx} & \quad \text{COMP}
\end{align*}
They are there intending still to dance.

Locative-Complex Stative Clauses occur as a specialised kind of Stative Clause and they frequently have an attention-catching or focus-giving function.

A Locative-Complex Stative Clause may be used in a dramatic interjection by the narrator:

8.69 M \( Kulu ka-Ihakanba-la - baj-iwa kar-anka! \)
\begin{align*}
\text{and he-come.down-FUT} & \quad \text{there.DEF-he from-up}
\end{align*}
And he will come down – there he is (coming down) from up there!

In a similar way, Locative-Complex Stative Clauses may be used in direct speech, suddenly interjected into a series of actions at a dramatic part of a Narrative Discourse.

8.70 \( Kalu-wingka-...i - "Nganth-anda? Nganth-anda?" "Baj-anda." \)
\begin{align*}
\text{they-go-on.and.on} & \quad \text{where-she where-she there.DEF-she}
\end{align*}
They continued on and on – “Where is she? Where is she?” “She’s there.”

“These Locative-Complex Stative Clauses in example 8.70, as direct speech interjected into the sequence of narrative actions, contribute to the building of tension in the narrative and to conveying the shocked reaction of the participants who accompany a teenage girl and find her murdered mother.

A Locative-Complex Stative Clause may also occur as a sentence topic, or be embedded within a clause to give focus to the unit it occurs with:

8.71 \( Baj-alu \) barra akarra-kari, jaluyukuma-nji an-ku.
\begin{align*}
\text{there.DEF-they now east-DEF they-wait-PRES she-DAT}
\end{align*}
There in the east they're waiting for her.

8.72 \( Rra-nhanawa mili, kanda-yirdardi ngulakari, ruthu li-yumbuwarra, \)
\begin{align*}
\text{F-woman more she-grow later separate PL-adolescent}
\end{align*}
rra-wurriri baj-anda kanumba-mirra wiji.
F-large there.DEF-she she.REFL-die completely
The women also, they grew up after that, the young ones are a separate group, the senior (traditional) women have all of them died.

8.2.1.3 THE STATIVE CLAUSE PREDICATE CONSTITUENT

The remaining two Stative Clause subtypes, the Existential Stative and the Full Stative Clauses, have a Predicate constituent. The Stative Predicate is manifested by an existential verb.

There are three verb stems which are used in the role of existential verb ‘be’: Ø, arri, anma. The first two of the three stems are functionally equivalent to the English verb ‘be’. The third stem anma is an intransitive verb stem with the meaning ‘stay, camp, remain’, but it also serves to fulfil the remaining functions of the existential verb in the contexts where the other two stems do not occur.

Each of these three stems has its specific area of function. The stem Ø co-occurs with past customary and future customary suffixes, present tense, intensive and negative present/hypothetical moods. (The presence or absence of the negative adverb kurdardi ‘not’ indicates whether the negative or hypothetical mood is intended.) Forms of the existential verb having this zero stem therefore occur as a person prefix and a tense-mood suffix. The examples below are given with the third person plural subject: kal-aninya ‘they used to be’, kal-anima ‘they used not to be’, jal-ini ‘they are’, kal-ama ‘they intend to be’, kal-ima ‘they are not/they might be’ and kal-anama ‘they will always be’. The variant form of the present tense for second person singular is jimu ‘you are’.

The present tense form is the only one which differs significantly from the equivalent present tense suffix used with other verbs. The present tense morpheme for ‘be’ is ini. The present tense verb suffix is -nji or its allomorph -yi. The existential form ini is, however, similar in form to the noun stem wini ‘name’ which is obligatorily marked by a possessive prefix (see examples 8.9–8.12, 8.287 and 8.288, and 8.291).

This similarity may not be accidental, but may signal the close association which the Yanyuwa recognise between an entity’s ‘name’ and its ‘being’. (This is seen in such customs as (1) assigning someone a name which is associated with their ‘spirit country’, and (2) ceasing, for a time, to use the name of someone who has died.)

The second existential verb stem is arri. This stem co-occurs with the non-customary past tenses; that is, general past, focal past, and past negative/dubitative (these latter being distinguished also by the presence or absence of the negative adverb): for example, kalu-arri ‘they were’, kalu-arri-nya ‘they were (used at a focal discourse-level point)’ and kalu-arri-nma ‘they were not/they might be’.

The variant form of the past tense for second person singular is: ka-arri-nyu ‘you were’. (The general past tense is normally indicated by a zero suffix.)

It may sometimes happen that the stem arri takes tense-aspect suffixes which normally only occur on the other two existential verb stems. There is one example of arri with a past customary suffix in the initial statement of a brief discourse. In this sentence there is a strong emphasis on the fact that the event was at a much earlier time and it may be that this use of arri rather than Ø is associated with focus:
Further instances of this unusual behaviour may occur when *arri* is used within a Quote Formula (introducing direct speech). In this specialised usage, *arri* may additionally co-occur with both past customary and present tense suffixes (see examples 8.622 and 8.625). (In the speech context, the direct speech Quote occurs as the Complement constituent of the construction.)

The intransitive stem *anma* ‘stay, camp, remain’ is used in place of an existential stem for the non-customary future forms, in participle construction, and when an imperative form is required.

8.2.1.4 EXISTENTIAL STATIVE CLAUSE SUBTYPE

The Existential Stative Clause is a more developed form of the Simple Stative Clause. The Subject constituent for both clause subtypes is of the same kind, but because the subject is marked as a pronominal prefix on the existential verb, the Subject unit may be absent from the Existential Stative Clause if it has already been defined in the context. The Existential Stative Clause Complement is of the same kind as that of the Simple Stative Clause. Two Complements may occur. The Existential Predicate is manifested by an existential verb.

The writer responded to two statements about the Hebrew verb ‘be’ as having relevance to the Yanyuwa verb in its various forms: “This verb goes beyond ‘to exist’; it means rather ‘to be actively present’” (Motyer 1973:157); and “…the Hebrew verb ‘to be’ has the sense of ‘to be present (and active)’; it is dynamic, not static” (Cole 1973:21).

The Yanyuwa stems *θ, arri* ‘be’ also include a sense of ‘be actively present’ or ‘be present (with potential for action)’ in their meaning. This seems to be a significant additional component in Stative Clause subtypes which include a Predicate.

The Existential Clause is unlike the other verbal clause types in that its Predicate cannot stand alone as a minimal clause. A Complement is essential to the construction: if there is just a Predicate alone then the clause is semantically incomplete. This is true whether or not the form of the existential verb stem is *θ*, because an adequate meaning cannot be assigned to the existential verb when a Complement is lacking.

The Complement unit is of the same kind as that for the other Stative Clause subtypes. It is noted, however, that an Existential Stative Clause Complement is more frequently manifested by an adverb or an adverb phrase. These adverbs or adverb phrases commonly express meanings which may also be associated with verbs.

Adverbs of this kind include: *mingkiya* ‘sitting/seated’, *waki/jabu* ‘working’, *walkurr* ‘asleep’, *walkurrwalkurr* ‘lying down’, *wambu* ‘remaining, stopping’, *warringku* ‘thirsty’, *wudurru* ‘satisfied’, *manji* ‘ignorant’, *mirdan* ‘knowing’ and *wirndayku* ‘hungry’. (The last three stems may occur as either adverbs or adjectives.) Although adverbs of this kind are sometimes found in a Stative or Locative-Complex Clause Complement, they typically occur in an Existential Clause.
An Existential Stative Clause may be used as a simple sentence to make a comment in general conversation. In a discourse context, Existential Stative Clauses are primarily used in introductory or concluding sections. They may be used to introduce participants or provide a setting. They may conclude a discourse section or an entire discourse. When the Complement is manifested by an adverb or adverb phrase expressing an activity-related meaning, an Existential Stative Clause may also co-occur with action clauses within a Narrative Paragraph.

In everyday conversation, Existential Stative Clauses are used to make comments about people in the area. When these people are in view, the Subject constituent is optional. The subject-marker on the verb is a sufficient referent.

8.74 \( Lhurra-ngka / jai-ini / li-ardu-birri. \)
play-ABL they-PRES PL-child-DIM.PL
COMP PRED SBJ
The children are playing.

8.75 F \( Jand-ini / lhurra-ngka / ji-wararr-a. \)
she-PRES play-ABL MSC.NNOM-mud-ABL
PRED COMP COMP
She is playing in the mud.

8.76 \( Jiw-ini / jabu-ngka. \)
he-PRES job-ABL
PRED COMP
He is working.

8.77 \( Jand-ini / mingkiya anda-lumba. \)
she-PRES sitting she-by.self
PRED COMP
She is sitting by herself.

8.78 \( Jand-ini / walkurr walurrungku. \)
she-PRES asleep prone
PRED COMP
She is sleeping on her stomach.

8.79 \( Lhaba / kirr-ima. \)
quiet you.PL-HYP
COMP PRED
You (children) should be quiet.

8.80 \( Kal-ama / waykal-lya. \)
they-INTEN down-wards
PRED COMP
They intend to go down/downriver.

8.81 \( Jan-ini / mukunjarna-wu. \)
we.EXCL-PRES dinner-DAT
PRED COMP
We are (here) for dinner.

Examples 8.81 and 8.89 illustrate a Complement filler marked for dative case. Such occurrences are rare.
Existential Stative Clauses may be used in identification or description:

8.82 M Wajbala na-wini / kiw-aninya / Kuliba.
whiteman his-name he-P.CST Cliff
SBJ PRED COMP
The white man's name was Cliff.

8.83 M Nya-mbangu yumbu julaki / wirriyuruyuru / jiw-ini.
MSC-that.INDEF small bird grass wren it-PRES
SBJ COMP PRED
That small bird is a wirriyuruyuru.

8.84 Rra-burnalkarra / nanda-wunhan / kanda-arri.
F-white her-breast she-be
COMP SBJ PRED
Her breasts were white (painted with white ochre).

Although there is no grammatical passive construction in Yanyuwa, a comparable meaning is expressed where the past participle of a transitive verb is used as the Complement in an Existential Stative Clause:

8.85 Kal-aninya / rdirrrra-ntha.
they-P.CST tie-PT
PRED COMP
They used to be tied up.

8.86 F Kilh-aninya / nuwa-ntha / wayka.
it-P.CST cook(underground)-PT down
PRED COMP COMP
(The kangaroo) used to cook (in an underground oven) down there.

An Existential Stative Clause may be used as the opening sentence of discourse:

8.87 M Wandangula / ja-murimuri / kawula-arri.
Wandangula my-paternal.grandfather they.DU-be
COMP SBJ PRED
My 'grandfathers' were at Wandangula (Police Lagoon).

8.88 M Wabarrangu / mirningiya na-wini / Anduru / ka-arri / Burrulula.
in.past man his-name Andrew he-be Borroloola
COMP SBJ PRED COMP
In the past a man named Andrew was at Borroloola.

8.89 Rra-mangaji rra-Kunabibi / jand-ini / liyi-wulu-wu.
F-that.DEF F-Kunapipi she-PRES PL.DAT-men-DAT
SBJ PRED COMP
The Kunapipi (ceremony) is for men.

Existential Stative Clauses may also be used in one or both bases of a more complex opening sentence of a discourse. In example 8.90, two Existential Clauses form the balancing statements in a Temporal Sentence linked by the relator ngal 'when, while':

8.90 M Akarra-kari / kama-arri / waki / wabarrangu ngal-iwa
east-DEF I-be working in.past when-he
COMP PRED COMP REL
The clause in the first base of sentence 8.90 has been analysed as having three Complement constituents. (It is unusual to have more than two.) Alternatively it may be analysed as having a peripheral Time constituent wabarrangu ‘in the past, before’. It is noted however that in example 8.88 above, wabarrangu was analysed as a Complement. The location-in-time constituent Time and the location-in-space constituent Location may both function in the outer periphery of an Action Clause. However, they generally have a Complement function in the Non-action clauses. For this reason the Complement analysis has been favoured over the Time one.

In the introduction to a Narrative Discourse, the crash-landing of a plane is described first. This is followed by the introduction to the survivors in terms of the two groups they divide into, one pair to travel east and the others, west. This participant introduction is accomplished by the use of two Simple Stative Clauses linked by the conjunction baki ‘and’, followed by a summary statement in an Existential Stative Clause:

8.91  
Rri-kanymarda yamulu lhungku baki li-jakarda yamulu,  
DU-two all.right alive and PL-many all.right

kalu-arri / lhungku wiji.  
they-be alive all.inclusively
PRED COMP
Two were all right, alive, and the group were all right, they were all of them (still) alive.

The next example illustrates the use of an Existential Stative Clause in a sentence in the setting of a Procedural Discourse. In the bandawi method of hunting kangaroo, the women have the role of frightening the animals out of the scrub towards the men who are waiting ready with spears. After a clause referring to the women’s activity, the men's situation is described in the two succeeding clauses – the first an Existential Stative Clause and the second an Intransitive Clause:

8.92  
Kalu-wingka-yaninya li-nhanawa arnindawa ngurrbun-ngurrbun
they-go-P.CST PL-woman below scrub-scrub

ngal-alu li-wulu / kalu-arri-njaninya / anka-wa wumburr-a
when-they PL-men they-be-P.CST up-side flat-ABL
SBJ PRED COMP

nguthund-ija, kalu-alalarri-njaninya nalu-yirdi
north-wards they-stand.stand-P.CST they-bearing

ji-mawurraji-nku.  
MSC.NNOM-spear-DAT
The women used to walk down in the scrub while the men used to be up on the flat area to the north, they used to stand there bearing spears.

Example 8.93 is the sentence which follows 8.92 in the same paragraph. It refers to the contrastive activity of the women again in the process of defining bandawi. The Existential Clause is the nuclear clause of the sentence:
Existential Stative Clauses, especially those which have as Complement the adverb *walkurr* 'sleep', may occur to terminate a series of action clauses in a Narrative Paragraph:

8.94  *Kanu-lhuwarri rikarrarikarra, wumbiji / kanu-arri /*  
we.EXCL-depart tomorrow in.centre we.EXCL-be  
walkurr Mili baj-ingu / kanu-lhuwarri...  
asleep more there.DEF-from we.EXCL-depart  
We left next day, *part way (further on) we slept.*  
And from there we departed...

8.95  *Yalibala kanu-wingka a-ya, Yarram akarra-kari /*  
early we.EXCL-go west-wards Yarram east-DEF  
*kanu-arri / walkurr.*  
we.EXCL-be asleep  
Early in the morning we went westwards, *at Yarram in the east we slept.*

An Existential Clause may be used in making a final comment on a section of a Narrative Discourse or in the Discourse Conclusion. In one Narrative Discourse, there are five sections covering the main action of the story. The final sentences in two of these sections have an Existential Clause in at least one base.

One section tells of a daughter reporting back to the people in camp that her mother has been killed and her father is missing. The section concludes:

8.96  *Ngala li-manji / wambu baji / kalu-arri, kurdardi*  
but PL-ignorant remaining there.DEF they-be not  
karr-alu-yalbanga-nma.  
her-they-ask-P.NEG  
But *they remained there ignorant,* they didn't ask her (for any more information).

Example 8.97 occurs as the final comment in the next section of the same Narrative Discourse:

8.97  *M Ngal-alu li-manji / kalu-arri / ki-malbu-wu*  
when-they PL-ignorant they-be M.NNOM-old.man-DAT  
...COMP...  
...COMP
While they were still ignorant of the (fate of) the old man, he was still down in the water, they didn't see him.

The discourse concludes with the following sentence:

8.98 M Arndaamda / ka-arri / baj, kumba-mirra
inside he-be there.DEF he.RFL-die
COMP PRED COMP
baji-ngulaji angula.
there.DEF-very.same west
He was in jail (lit. inside) there, he died in that very same place.

The Narrative section of a complex Narrative-Expository Discourse concludes with this sentence, built around an Existential Clause:

very.sick now very.sick he-was intensely very.sick
COMP PRED
Very ill (he was), he was very.sick, very seriously ill.

In example 8.99, the adverb kurdan 'very ill, dead', occurs as a sentence introducer followed by the immediacy particle barra to give emphasis; it occurs as the Complement of the main clause, and again with a modifier as sentence tag.

In an Expository Discourse which gives teaching on the necessity for the women and children to keep away from the site of a sacred ceremony, the concluding statement is based on an Existential Stative Clause:

8.100 M Nya-mangaji malbu walkurra-wala, jiw-ini / rama-ntha-mara.
M-that.DEF old.man big-MAGN he-PRES kill-PT-NMSR
That old man is powerful, he is a killer.

8.2.1.5 FULL STATIVE CLAUSE SUBTYPE

The Full Stative Clause subtype consists of all four potential Stative Clause constituents: Subject, Predicate, Locative-Complex, Complement. The Subject and/or the Complement may be deleted if the information is available from the context. Full Stative clauses are very rare. The following three examples illustrate this subtype:

8.101 Baj-iwa / ngamala-kari / jiw-ini.
there.DEF-he south-DEF he-PRES
LOC.CX COMP PRED
He is there at that place in the south.
8.2.2 ACTION CLAUSES

Action Clauses may be intransitive, transitive, or reflexive. These clause types all have a Predicate which is normally manifested by an action verb; that is, a verb which has a meaning associated with an action, activity or process.

Yanyuwa Action Clauses are described in terms of three layers of construction. The inner layer, or Clause Nucleus, consists of the essential units which must occur. The nucleus of an Intransitive Clause, for example, consists of a Subject and a Predicate. The nucleus of a Transitive Clause consists of a Subject, Predicate and Object.

The second layer, or Clause Base, consists of a Clause Nucleus, to which may be added one of the three inner periphery units: Goal, Location and Destination (see Table 6).

Each of these inner periphery units co-occurs with a specific subclass of verbs and is almost obligatory in this occurrence. (If the meaning may be obtained from the context, the inner periphery constituent may be omitted.)

Clause Bases which take a Destination constituent (expressing 'to' a destination) may additionally or alternatively take a Source Location constituent (expressing the originating location of the action), but this occurs more rarely than Destination. A Simple Clause is one in which the Predicate manifests a simple verb - a verb which does not require any inner periphery constituent.

The third layer consists of a Clause Base with optional inner periphery units together with optional outer periphery units which include Time, Location, Accompaniment, Instrument (or Means), and Pertinent, a loosely related constituent marked by a dative case marker.

Adverbs of manner may either be considered to manifest an outer periphery Manner constituent or to be associated with the verb in a verb phrase. Since discontinuous clause constituents occur quite frequently, the fact that the adverb does not always occur adjacent to the verb is not a deciding factor. Since a choice must be made, the writer has elected to include the adverb as part of a verb phrase within the Predicate.
TABLE 6: CLAUSE BASE CONSTITUENTS IN YANYUWA ACTION CLAUSE SUBTYPES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Nucleus</th>
<th>Additional Constituent</th>
<th>Case marking of nouns which manifest the Constituent</th>
<th>Resultant Clause Subtype</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Simple Intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Simple Transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>Goal</td>
<td>dative (associated meaning: 'to, for')</td>
<td>Goal Intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>ablative (associated meaning: 'at a location')</td>
<td>Location Intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>Destination</td>
<td>allative (associated meaning: 'to a location/person')</td>
<td>Destination Intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>± Source Location*</td>
<td></td>
<td>Destination Transitive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* A locative or locative phrase with a meaning of 'from a location' manifests the Source Location.

8.2.2.1 THE CLAUSE NUCLEUS

8.2.2.1.1 SUBJECT AND OBJECT CONSTITUENTS

In action clauses (and also existential clauses), the Subject unit within the clause is obligatory if it is not already known from the context. Once the subject is clearly identified, the reference may be maintained by the pronominal prefix, which marks the verb in the Predicate. This is also true for the Object of transitive actions.

A brief study was made of the composition of just under 4,000 clauses from discourse material. These included: 417 Existential, 1,368 Intransitive and 2,108 Transitive/Reflexive. From all these clauses, 1,407 manifested a Subject unit within the clause, that is approximately 35%. The remainder of the clauses made reference to the subject by means of the verb pronominal prefix only.

For the clauses in which a Subject constituent occurs, there is freedom for the Subject to precede or follow the Predicate but there is a preference for it to precede. In the 1,407 clauses which manifested a Subject, that unit preceded the Predicate in 844 examples (60%) and followed it in 563 (40%).

In the 2,108 Transitive Clauses, 945 manifested an Object within the clause, that is, approximately 45%. In the remainder, the object marker on the verb maintained a continuity
of reference. For those 945 clauses, the Object preceded the Predicate in 341 (36%) and followed it in 604 (64%). This demonstrates flexibility in the position of occurrence, as also for the Subject, but shows that there is a preference for the Object to follow the Predicate.

In discourse material, it is rare to find a Transitive Clause in which both Subject and Object occur as independent constituents. A quick survey was made of clauses based on nine of the commonest transitive verbs: *nga* 'see', *ka* 'carry', *arrkana* 'spear, pierce', *rama* 'hit, kill', *rduma* 'get', *wanga/wangka* 'shoot, fire at', *ina* 'tell', *yabima* 'make, make well' and *yibarra* 'put'.

There were about 700 clauses in which these verbs occurred. Of these clauses, there were only ten in which both Subject (S) and Object (O) co-occurred with the Predicate (P). In six examples the order was SPO, in two examples OPS, and there was one example each of the orders POS and SOP. It is significant that four of these ten examples came from direct speech quotations in which the utterance was a single clause. In such a situational context, the information is likely to be mostly (or wholly) new and so there is less scope for deletion.

8.2.2.1.2 THE PREDICATE CONSTITUENT

The Predicate of an Action Clause is usually manifested by a verb only. However, certain adverbs may modify verbs to form a verb phrase. Normally the adverb follows the verb but a few adverbs tend to precede the verb they modify. Focus may be put on the modifying adverb so that it is fronted to initial place in the clause, or a secondary focus may be given by moving the adverb to the final position in the clause. When focus is put on the adverb in either of these ways, it may be separated from the verb so that the verb phrase is then a discontinuous one.

A few adverbs have a heavy functional load in verb modification, and many others may occur. Some adverbs have frequent general use and others have frequent use with certain clause types only.

Adverbs in frequent general use in modifying verbs include: *bawuji* 'finished', *kurdandu/wakulamba* 'with vigour, with intensity', *minja* 'just, merely', *nungka* 'maybe, perhaps', *wiji* 'completely, all-inclusively', *winarrku* 'aimlessly, unrestricted, free', *yurrngumantba* 'continually' and *yurrulu* 'again'. The two demonstrative adverbs most commonly used are: *nganinya* 'in this way, like this' and *nganambaji* 'in that way, like that'.

The personal pronoun set marked by the suffix -lumba 'by-self also functions as a verb modifier: for example, *ngarna-lumba* 'by myself' and *F alhi-lumba* 'by itself'. The meaning 'by-self' includes both 'of own accord, without assistance' and 'alone, without companion', as in English.

The adverb *yurrngunmantha* 'continually' may reinforce the meaning already expressed by an affix on the modified verb. The three verb suffixes which include a component of continuity in their meanings are: *-nji* (present), *-nthaninya* (past customary) and *-nthanama* (future customary). The first two of these suffixes are in common occurrence and *yurrngumantba* frequently co-occurs with them.

8.104

*Jarna-rarri-nji yurrngumantba.*

I-cry-PRES continually

I am sorrowing continually.
8.105 Kanu-yukuma-nthaninya yurrngumantha [ji-julaki-nku].
we.EXCL-wait-P.CST continually MSC.NNOM-plane-DAT
We used to wait continually [for a plane].

8.106 Yurrngumantha jarna-linginma-nji [nya-mangaji awara].
continually I-remember-PRES MSC-that.DEF place
I'm remembering [that place] all the time.

Certain of the above adverbs may also co-occur with other verb tenses to provide an aspect which is otherwise lacking.

The adverb nungka 'maybe, perhaps' may co-occur with the dubitative suffix -nma but it more often co-occurs with other suffixes. The multifunctional particle bawuji 'finished' is used to provide a completive aspect to the verb it modifies. There is no verb affix which has this function.

8.107 Kanda-warrma-la nungka [rra-mardu].
she-blow-FUT maybe F-cold.wind
[The cold wind] might blow.

8.108 F Nungka jiwa-nba-yani.
maybe he-fall-IMM
He might be about to fall.

8.109 Karna-wani-la nungka.
I-return-FUT maybe
Perhaps I will return.

8.110 M Nungka ka-wurunma-nma.
maybe it-explode-DUB
(The bullets) might explode.

The adverb nungka 'maybe' is one of the few adverbs which more frequently precedes than follows the word it modifies.

8.111 Jilu-rduma-nji bawuji.
it.he-get-PRES finished
He is finished getting (the horses).

8.112 Kal-inyamba-wudurruma bawuji.
they-REFL-feed finished
They finished eating (their meal).

8.113 F Kany-ilu-wangka-la bawuji.
him-he.PL-shoot-P finished
He shot him dead.

The adverb yurrulu 'again' shares the function of expressing recurrence with both the ka-/ja- indicative/recurrence marker and with the discourse particle mili (described in Chapter 9).

8.114 Jalu-rdirirra-nji yurrulu.
it.they-tie-PRES again
They are tying on (the saddles) again.
Yurrulu ka-wajanga-nthaninya.
again he-paddle-P.CST
He kept paddling (his canoe) again.

Yurrulu kilu-ngunda.
again him.he-give
Again he gave him (food).

The adverb kurdandu ‘more vigorously, more intensely’ covers the function of a range of English adverbs. Its range of meaning includes: ‘loudly, hard, vigorously, severely, hungrily, intently’, depending on the action of the verb which it modifies. (The adverb wakulamba has a very similar, if not the same, meaning and function.) In the following examples, the English free translation equivalent for the adverb is emphasised:

Janda-wajba-nji kurdandu.
she-call-PRES intensely
She is calling out loudly.

Kurdandu janu-rarrma-nji.
intensely we.EXCL-eat-PRES
We are eating (the lily roots) hungrily./We are eating large quantities (of lily roots).

Jala-yngkarri-nji kurdandu.
it.they-hear-PRES intensely
They are listening to it intently.

Jalu-lhurrama-nji kurdandu.
they-dance-PRES intensely
They are dancing vigorously.

Kany-ilu-rama kurdandu.
him-he-hit intensely
He hit him hard.

The adverb winarrku has a meaning range which includes ‘without restraint, without constraint, merely, freely’. It is not easily defined but the following examples will illustrate its function:

Kanu-wuluma-nthaninya winarrku.
we.EXCL-run-P.CST freely
We kept travelling on freely (in our car).

Winarrku karr-alu-kurrama.
freely her-they-buried
They just buried her there (hastily, without the normal full range of accompanying traditional activities, as they kept searching for her missing husband).

Karn-andu-ngunda winarrku.
me-she-give freely
She gave (it) to me as a free gift (without obligation for payment or a return gift).
8.125  *Kumba-arrkana-nthaninya winarrku.*
he.REFL-spear-P.CST freely
(In the old days men) used to freely spear one another.

8.126  *Jiya-wuluma-nji winarrku.*
he-run-pres freely
(The dog which has just been untied) is running free.

The use of the adverbs *minja* ‘just, only’, *wiji* ‘completely, entirely, all-inclusively’, and *yamulu* ‘all right’, is illustrated below. (Note that *wiji* may be used literally or with some exaggeration.)

8.127  *Ja-wingka-yi minja [warama].*
it-go-PRES just flood
[The floodwater] is barely running.

8.128  *Jalu-wardjangka-yi minja.*
they-catch.fish-PRES just
They are merely fishing (with little result).

8.129  *Minja karna-yngkarri [wangarraba-tha-ra].*
just it.I-hear dispute-PT-PRES
I just heard [the sound of fighting] (that is, I wasn't there).

8.130  *Wiji kalinamba-mirra.*
completely they-REFL-die
They have all of them died.

8.131  *Ka-ngunda-yaninya wiji.*
it-flood-P.CST completely
It used to flood the whole area.

8.132  *Jilu-ngalnganda-yi [mirmingu Yanyuwa] wiji.*
him.he-dislike-PRES man Yanyuwa completely
He wholly dislikes [the Yanyuwa people]./He dislikes all of [the Yanyuwa people].

8.133  *Kal-inya-wayatha wiji.*
them.PL-you.SG-finish completely
You have completely defeated them.

8.134  *Jirr-andu-linginma-nji yamulu.*
you-she-remember-PRES all.right
She is remembering you all right.

8.135  *Kandu-lhungkuma yamulu.*
him.she-keep.alive all.right
She kept him alive all right.

*Kulyukulyu* MSC-that.DEF it.they-see-PRES all.right
It is safe for them to see [that *Kulyukulyu* ceremony]. (lit. They are watching [that *Kulyukulyu* all right.)

The use of the demonstrative adverbs, and the personal pronouns marked by *-lumba*, are illustrated below:
They are falling down in this way.

We are singing like this.

(The buffalo) tossed up (the horse) like this.

[My head] is burning like this (that is, when I wear a hat).

The use of *nganambaji* ‘like that’ refers back to something which took place or was demonstrated or described at an earlier time:

That is how we are naming (the rainbow creature in the language).

That is how they are killing (goanna and blue-tongue lizards).

That is how they used to draw water (that is, using a bark water container).

[The floodwater] used to come like that (that is, to the very high level just described).

[Her head] fell by itself (that is, separately from her body, when she was killed).

He is standing up by himself. (said of an infant)

[The grass] is falling of its own accord (that is, it hasn't been bent over by the wind).

A range of other adverbs may also occur in a verb phrase as their meanings are appropriate to the action of the verb. These include: *yarlayka* ‘quickly’, *yili/murndumurndu*
‘slowly’, yabimantharra ‘well’, yajburr ‘once’, yurrujurrul ‘all the way’, jarrumantharra ‘unsuccessfully’, amimbirr ‘everywhere, all over the place’, kalngiya ‘truly’ and anngayngkarriya ‘loudly’. It is observed that adverbs are more used to modify verbs in conversation than in discourses.

Six locative adverbs have frequent occurrence with motion verbs in both conversation and discourses. These are the four cardinal locatives and the stems anka ‘up’, wayka ‘down’, marked by either the prefix kari- (direction from) or -ya ‘-wards’. Occasionally these locatives are used with other verbs. Examples of their use are:

from-east  he-appear
He appeared from the east.

8.149 M Ka-alarri anka-ya.
he-stand  up-wards
He stood up.

8.150 M Kari-ngamala ka-lhuwarri.
from-south  he-depart
He departed (coming) from the south.

8.151 F Kari-nguthunda ki-wani.
from-north  it-return
(The plane) came back from the north.

8.152 M Jalu-rduma-nji kari-wayka.
it.they-get-PRES from-down
They are getting (the goanna lizards) from down (in their burrows).

8.153 F Kanda-wani-njama a-ya.
she-return-INTEN west-wards
She intends to return westwards (to you).

There are a few examples in which two adverbs modify a verb within a verb phrase:

8.154 M Jarna-rarri-nji yurrngumantha kurdandu.
I-cry-PRES continually intensely
I am continually in deep sorrow.

8.155 F Ngamal-iya kanu-wingka-yaninya winarrku.
south-wards we.EXCL-go-P.CST freely
We kept on freely going southwards.

8.156 M Kal-alu-wanga-nthaninya wiji bawuji.
them-they-shoot-P.CST completely finished
They used to shoot everyone dead.

8.157 M Janda-nba-yi a-ya waykal-iya.
she-fall-PRES west-wards down-wards
(The sun) is setting.
8.2.2.2 INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Intransitive Clauses have a clause nucleus consisting of a Predicate which is manifested by an intransitive or middle verb or verb phrase, and a Subject with the role of Experiencer, manifested by a noun or noun phrase marked for nominative case (zero marking). (A middle verb has the same form as a reflexive verb but does not have a reflexive meaning. It occurs not in a Reflexive but in an Intransitive Clause. Middle and reflexive verbs are marked by the first-order prefix mba-/inyamba-/umba-. For the variant sets of pronominal prefixes used in the construction of the three main verb types, see Table 7.)

There are four Intransitive Clause subtypes determined by the absence or occurrence of an additional constituent in the clause base. The Simple Intransitive Clause has no additional constituent. The Goal, Destination and Locative subtypes manifest the co-occurrence of a verb subclass with a Goal, Destination or Locative constituent.

<p>| TABLE 7: YANYUWA VERB PREFIXES |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Transitive Subject</th>
<th>Reflexive Subject-Reflexive Marker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG ka/ya arna (anha)</td>
<td>arna</td>
<td>arna (0/anha/arna)</td>
<td>arna-arna-mba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DU atharra</td>
<td>atharra</td>
<td>(i)ngatharra</td>
<td>atharra-amba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL anu</td>
<td>anu</td>
<td>(i)nganu</td>
<td>an-inyamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DU.INCL ali</td>
<td>ali</td>
<td>(i)ngali</td>
<td>ali-mba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL ambala</td>
<td>ambala</td>
<td>(i)ngambala</td>
<td>ambala-mba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG 0 irma</td>
<td>inya</td>
<td>inya (0)</td>
<td>inya-mba or 0-inyamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DU imbala</td>
<td>imbala</td>
<td>imbala</td>
<td>imbala-mba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL irru</td>
<td>irru</td>
<td>irru</td>
<td>irru-inyamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.3M/MSC 0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>ilu</td>
<td>0-umbab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.3M iwa(iya)</td>
<td>anya</td>
<td>ilu</td>
<td>0-mba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.3MSC i(iilha)</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>inju</td>
<td>i-inyamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F/FEM anda</td>
<td>anda (aya)</td>
<td>anda</td>
<td>an-umbab and-umbab8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FD u (uwa)</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>angku</td>
<td>u-inyamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ARB arna</td>
<td>arna</td>
<td>arnu</td>
<td>ar-inyamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ABSTR arnu</td>
<td>arnu</td>
<td>arnu</td>
<td>ar-inyamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DU awula</td>
<td>awula</td>
<td>awula</td>
<td>awula-mba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL alu</td>
<td>alu</td>
<td>alu</td>
<td>al-inyamba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The indicative-marker prefix in the first column precedes all pronominal prefixes in indicative verb construction. The vowel is lost preceding a vowel-initial prefix.

1. *anha* co-occurs with second person subjects.
2. *0* co-occurs with second singular object; *irma* co-occurs with 2DU, 2PL, 3DL and 3PL objects; *rma* with all other third person objects.
3. The first person *i*-initial variants co-occur with second and third persons dual and plural (as also 1SG-irma above).
4. *0* co-occurs with 1SG, 3M, 3F, 3ARB objects.
5. *iya* precedes w-initial stems.
6. *ilha* and *uwa* variants precede a one-syllable stem.
7. *aya* may co-occur with 3M.SBJ.
8. These two forms are free variants.
Simple Intransitive Clauses are formed around a Predicate which is manifested by a verb from the simple intransitive subclass. These verbs tend to have meanings associated with ‘becoming’ or ‘remaining’ in a certain state or condition. They include some stems derived from adjectives, adverbs and nouns.

The verbs which occur in this clause subtype include verbs relating to growth, health and sickness. In the following list, any root from which a verb stem is derived is underlined and also the English meaning of that root. If there is a change of the root in the process of derivation, then the root is given in brackets following the stem: "barlkibarliki-rri ‘become weak’, kakadiri ‘be crippled, be unable to walk’, lhungku-rri ‘become/remain alive’, malbu-rri ‘become old’ (from malbu ‘old man’), ruku-rri ‘become dry, experience pain’, wardi-rri ‘become/remain bad’, wubarirri ‘become tired/sleepy’, wula-riri ‘to have a headache’ (from wula ‘head’, yabi-rri ‘become/remain good/well’ and yirdardi ‘grow’). Some examples of their use are:

8.158 Li-ja li-ngulakaringu / kalu-yirdardi.
PL-this PL-later.one they-grew
SBJ PRED
These later people grew up.

8.159 Nanda-ngunduwa / janda-rukuri-nji.
her-throat she-feel.pain-PRES
SBJ PRED
She has a sore throat.

you.PL-have.headache-PRES your.PL-body
SBJ PRED
You have severe headaches. (lit. Your bodies are headaching.)

8.161 Na-wurdu / ka-wardirri.
his-stomach he-become.bad
SBJ PRED
He became sick in the stomach.

8.162 Karna-majarri-majarri.
I-become.weak
PRED
I became weak.

The simple intransitive verb class also includes verbs relating to temperature: "atharrirri ‘be/become cold’ and urrukwa (rkuwa word-initially or following the prefix ka- ‘you (singular)’) ‘be/become hot’; and also the derived stems: wuntha-nba ‘become cool’, ngarra-nba ‘become hot’ and ladalad-irri ‘become excessively hot’ (from ladalada ‘hot, poisonous, dangerous’). Examples of their use are:

8.163 F Niya-manka / jiw-urrkuwa-nji.
his-body he-burn-PRES
SBJ PRED
He is feverish. (lit. His body is very hot.)
Your foot might become burnt (if you go any closer to the fire).

Other derived stems include: buyi-yngirri 'become small, diminish', jirda-ri 'be/become bitter', milka-tharri 'be/become numb/cramped in the buttocks', nganthal-ungka 'poke out the tongue', ngawu-ri 'cloud over', nyibu-ri 'be/become calm/still (of river/sea/wind)', rlikarlika-ri 'become clean', wundururrirri 'become night' (from wundururra 'night') and wunumbarrirri 'come near' (from wunumbarra 'near, close'). Examples of their use are:

8.165 Karna-jirdarri / ngarna-mulu.
I-become.bitter my-mouth
PRED SBJ
I got a bitter taste in my mouth.

8.166 F Ki-nyiburri-njima [warma-ntha-wu].
it-become.calm-HYP blow-PT-DAT PRED
[The wind] may stop.

8.167 F Ji-rlikarlikarri-nji.
it-become.clean-PRES PRED
(The river) is becoming clear (as the flooding subsides).

The simple intransitive verb list also includes verbs of breaking, wearing out, bursting and coming to an end: bi 'stop, stay still', inmarri 'wear out', una (unu word-final) 'break, tear', wayarri 'finish, come to an end' and wumma 'burst, burst open (of flower bud, boil, balloon, gunfire)'; and also the middle stem: wama 'cease (of speech, running motor, storm)'.

Example 8.170 below illustrates with the stem una 'break, tear' a rule that applies to all na-final verb stems: when there is no overt suffix following a na-final stem, the final a becomes u.

8.168 Kanda-bi-njaninya.
she-stop-P.CST PRED
She used to remain.

8.169 M Kiwa-bi / nya-mangaji lhambiji.
it-stop MSC-that.DEF storm.wind PRED SBJ
The storm wind ceased.

8.170 F Duraji / kilh-unu.
dress it-break SBJ PRED
The dress tore.
8.171 Ku-wayarri / ma-ngarra.
it.FD-finish FD-food
PRED SBJ
The food is finished.

8.172 Kal-inyamba-wama.
they-REFL-cease
PRED
They stopped (talking).

8.173 F Ji-nyamba-wama-nji.
it.MSC-REFL-cease-PRES
PRED
(The engine) is stopping.

This list includes verbs which refer to making a noise apart from speech: *malawurri* ‘make a noise (of drums, a motor, earthquake, children)’, *ngayungka* ‘groan’, *ngundurrma* ‘snore’, *ngurrma* ‘roar, rumble (of motors, certain bird calls)’, *yunga* ‘howl (of dogs)’ and *yuwama* ‘cry out (to frighten or disturb)’; and also the middle verbs *ngarrarnma* ‘call out (of bird)’ and *rirririrrama* ‘call out in chorus (of people or dogs)’. Examples of their use are:

F-swamp.pheasant she-roar-PRES
SBJ PRED
The swamp pheasant is calling out. (a gurgling sound)

8.175 M Wardali / ja-yunga-nji.
dingo it-howl-PRES
SBJ PRED
The dingoes are howling.

F-white.cockatoo she-REFL-call.out-PRES
SBJ PRED
The white cockatoo is calling out.

8.177 Jal-inyamba-rirririrrama-nji.
they-REFL-call.out.in.chorus-PRES
PRED
(The people) are all calling out.

Other simple intransitive verbs are: *bulaka* ‘float’, *bulanga* ‘become white’, *mirmngarri* ‘shine’, *ngunda* ‘become/remain at a high level (of tide, flood level)’, *rimarri* ‘catch alight’, *wurda* ‘become wet’ and *wurrungka* ‘smell, give off a smell/odour’. Examples of their use are:

8.178 Janda-bulanga-nji / wukuku.
she-become.white-PRES grandchild
PRED SBJ
(Your) daughter’s child is become white (with dust).
Middle verbs in various other semantic fields also manifest the Predicate of Simple Intransitive Clauses. The verb stems of this kind include those relating to parenting or sharing parentage: *kajakajama* 'father children', *kulhakulhama* 'mother children' and *mirriri* 'share common parentage/be siblings' (see the following three examples). The verb stems *kajakajama* and *kulhakulhama* are derived from the vocative kin terms used by men and women to their children: M *kajaka* '(my) child' and F *kulhakulha* '(my) child'.

8.181  
*L-alunga-li-ardu / kal-inyamba-kajakajama-la.*  
PL-their-PL-child they-REFL-father.child-FUT  
SBJ  
PRED  
Their children will father offspring.

8.182  
*M Kawula-mba-kulhakulhama [yi-ku ki-Jikaba].*  
they.DU-REFL-mother.child he-DAT M.NNOM-Jacob  
PRED  
They mothered offspring [to Jacob].

8.183  
*Kan-inyamba-mimirri wiji.*  
we.EXCL-REFL-be.sibling all-inclusively  
PRED  
We were all brothers and sisters.

This list includes the stem *mirra* 'die' (in its non-literal uses) and its extended form *minmirra* 'become/remain ill'. The stem *mirra* has the meaning range 'be very ill, be close to death, die'. It may also be used in association with the adverbs *wimdayku* 'hungry' and *warringku* 'thirsty' to express extreme hunger or thirst, either literally or figuratively. With its ultimate meaning 'die', the stem *mirra* occurs in the locative intransitive verb subclass. Two examples of its use are:

8.184  
*Jama-mba-mirra-nji warringku.*  
I-REFL-die-PRES thirsty  
PRED  
I'm dying of thirst.

8.185  
*Jumba-minmirra-nji / niya-manka.*  
he.REFL-be.sick-PRES his-body  
PRED  
SBJ  
He (lit. his body) is sick.
8.2.2.2 GOAL INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

A Goal Intransitive Clause is one in which the action or activity of the verb is oriented towards another person or some object. The clause has the same basic constituents as the Simple Intransitive Clause but it is extended to include an inner peripheral constituent, a Goal (or Indirect Object) in the role of Passive Goal. The Goal unit is manifested by a pronoun, noun or noun phrase, marked for dative case.

For certain verbs, the Goal is manifested by a participle to indicate an activity goal of the verb. This participle is usually marked by dative case but in rare instances a present participle may occur as Goal.

In the same way that a Subject or Object unit may be omitted from a clause when the context defines the entity clearly, so the Goal may be omitted if it is obvious from information already provided. In some instances it is provided at sentence level in a Reason Sentence. It is rarer for a Goal constituent to be omitted than for the Subject or Object, which are cross-referenced by prefixation in the Predicate.

The goal intransitive verbs which manifest the Predicate include verbs of goal-oriented action, verbs of emotion or attitude, verbs of commencement of action, and certain verbs of speech.

Verbs of goal-oriented action include rarangka ‘follow the scent’, rdi ‘meet up (with relative), arrive/find (the action of the spirit-child in relation to conception or birth)’, yarrba ‘hunt, search’ and yukuma ‘wait’; and also the middle verbs lhakarra ‘give birth’ and milmirilanga ‘avoid’. Examples of their use are:

8. 18 6
Kanu-yarrba-la / yi-ku.
we.EXCL-hunt-FUT he-DAT PRED GOAL
We will search for him.

8. 18 7
M Jalu-yarrba-nji / ki-wardaba-wu.
they-hunt-PRES MSC.NNOM-goanna-DAT PRED GOAL
They are hunting for goanna.

8. 18 8
Kanda-rdi / wula-nga.
she-arrive them.DU-DAT PRED GOAL
She reached/arrived for (her parents at the time of her conception).

8. 18 9
Rri-wulanga-rru-aru-wujara / kawula-rdi / wula-nga.
DU-their.DU-DU-child-DU.person they.DU-arrive them.DU-DAT SBJ PRED GOAL
The two children were born to them.

8. 19 0
Karna-rdi / wula-nga kujaka-wu.
I-reach them.DU-DAT mother-DAT PRED GOAL
I met (my) two ‘mothers’ (on the road).
he-wait-DUB F.NNOM-lugger-DAT
PRED GOAL
He might wait for the lugger.

she-REFL-give.birth-P.CST M.NNOM-baby-DAT
PRED GOAL
She used to give birth to a baby.

8.193 Kumba-milmirilanga / an-ku.
he.REFL-avoid her-DAT
PRED GOAL
He avoided her.

The stem rdi occurs also as an intransitive locative or destination verb with a meaning of 'reach, arrive at' in relation to a location. The stem lhakarra occurs also in the transitive list with the meanings (1) ‘water, make wet’ and (2) ‘lay (eggs)’. (It is rare for the transitive stem to be used of human birth.)

Goal intransitive verbs of emotion or attitude include: burraykirri ‘be weary of, be “fed up” with (of food, people, activity)’, ngajbirri ‘disbelieve, disregard’, nganyma ‘be jealous’, ngayama ‘approve, agree with’, rarrri ‘be sorry, cry’, ruwama ‘be amazed, surprised’, wana ‘be shy, ashamed’, wardanka ‘fear, be frightened’, wuthurruma ‘smile, laugh’, yakayakama ‘misunderstand, not comprehend’and yinjathirri ‘be/become angry’; and also the middle verbs arrkalarrkana ‘not know, be undecided’ (the same in form as the extended transitive verb stem for ‘spear’), ayayana ‘unsuccessfully attempt’, ngarrarrma ‘refuse, hold back’, riyarraba ‘be pleased’, wathawathana ‘run around crying in distress’ and yalkinyma ‘be unwilling’. Examples of their use are:

8.194 Nala-rrku / ngambala-nga / jalu-ngajbirri-nji.
they-other us.INCL-DAT they-disregard-PRES
SBJ GOAL PRED
Some of them are taking no notice of us/don’t believe us.

we.INCL-cry-FUT.CST them-DAT our.EXCL-stomach
PRED GOAL SBJ
We will always feel sorry for them. (lit. Our stomachs will always cry for them.)

she-cry-fut her-DAT ABST.DAT-bad-DAT
PRED GOAL
She will be sorry for her wrongdoing.

8.197 M Ja-wardanka-yi kurndanu / nyuwu-ja ki-wararr-u.
he-fear-PRES intensely MSC.DAT-this MSC.NNOM-mud-DAT
PRED GOAL
(The pilot) is very fearful of this mud (on the airstrip).
8.198  *Kalu-wuthurruma-nthaninya / yi-ku.*  
they-laugh-P.CST him-DAT  
PRED GOAL  
They used to laugh at him.

he.REFL-be.pleased them-DAT PL.DAT-child-DIM.PL-DAT  
PRED GOAL  
He is pleased with/happy about the children.

8.200  *Karna-mba-arrkalarrkanu / wingka-ya-wu.*  
I-REFL-not.know go-PT-DAT  
PRED GOAL  
I didn't know which way to go.

8.201  *Ki-nyamba-ayayanu / walanya-ntha-wu.*  
it-REFL-unsuccessfully.try emerge-PT-DAT  
PRED GOAL  
(The snake) tried in vain to come out (of the water-drum).

8.202  *Kumba-wathawathanu.*  
he.REFL-run.around.crying  
PRED  
He ran around crying in distress.

8.203  *Jan-umba-yalkinyama-nji / jabu-wu.*  
she-REFL-be.unwilling-PRES job-DAT  
PRED GOAL  
She is unwilling to work.

This list includes two stems relating to beginning or commencing: *wardangalanga* ‘begin, start’ and *wirrirri* ‘begin’, as in:

8.204  *Ji-nyamba-wardangalanga-nji.*  
it.MSC-REFL-start-PRES  
PRED  
(The cold season) is commencing.

we.INCL-REFL-begin-FUT REFLL-talk-PT-PRES  
PRED GOAL  
We will begin to talk together.

8.206  *Kan-umba-wirrirri / maluma-nja-rra wujurl.*  
she-REFL-begin cut.cut-PT-PRES grass  
PRED GOAL  
She began to cut the grass.

8.207  *Jan-umba-wirrirri-nji / wingka-ya-wu.*  
she-REFL-begin-PRES walk-PT-DAT  
PRED GOAL  
She is beginning to walk.
Clauses 8.205 and 8.206 may appear on the surface to express a transitive relationship; however, the semantic relationship expressed is comparable with that of 8.207. Since there is no Passive Experiencer role in the two clauses, the ‘talking together’ and ‘cutting the grass’ are analysed as being Goal constituents with a role of Passive Goal.

Goal intransitive verbs of speech or calling include: *arrnyi* ‘answer back’, *lhawama/lhawarndi* ‘swear, speak insultingly/negatively’, *mirirri* ‘growl, rebuke’, *wajba* ‘call out’ and *warmdima* ‘lie, deceive’; and also the middle verbs *arra* ‘boast, brag’, *lhawarrma* ‘greet, call by kin name, speak positively’, *ngaminjama* ‘reply, answer’, *ngarrarrma* ‘refuse, hold back’ and *ngayardi* ‘speak encouragingly, compliment’. Examples of their use are:

8.208  
*Kumba-arrnyi.*
he.REFL-answer.back  
PRED  
He answered (me) back.

8.209  
*Jumba-ngayardi-nji / yi-ku.*
he.REFL-praise-PRES him-DAT  
PRED DAT  
He compliments (the *mankarni* doctor who healed him).

8.210  
*MJa-wajba-nji / alu-nga.*
he-call.out-PRES them-DAT  
PRED GOAL  
He called out to them.

8.211  
*Kumba-arrar / alu-nga.*
he-boast them-DAT  
PRED GOAL  
He boasted to them.

8.212  
*Kumba-lhawarrma / yi-ku.*
he.REFL-speak.well he-DAT  
PRED GOAL  
He greeted him.

8.213  
*Karna-mba-lhawarrma / yi-ku.*
I.REFL-speak.well he-DAT  
PRED GOAL  
I thanked him warmly (for giving me a lift).

8.214  
*Jumba-ngarrarrma-nji.*
he.REFL-refuse-PRES  
PRED  
He won't let (me remove the splinter).

8.215  
*Jan-inyamba-ngayardi-nji / wula-nga / kurdandu.*
we.EXCL-REFL-encourage-PRES them.DU-DAT intensely  
PRED... GOAL ...PRED  
We are strongly encouraging the two (dancers).
Several other stems from the simple intransitive list also occur in the goal intransitive list, but the meaning here refers to an attitude in each instance. The meaning changes from a literal to a figurative one. The body-part noun wurdu 'stomach, belly (the centre of the emotions)' frequently occurs as the subject of the verb. These verbs include: ladaladirri 'to be very heated/angry', ngarranba 'to be heated/angry', urruwa 'to inwardly burn in anger', wardirri 'to feel badly' (includes fear, anger, disappointment – the range of negative feelings), wunthanba 'to be well-disposed, to feel positively (lit. to feel cool)' and yabirri 'to feel happy, pleased' (includes the range of positive feelings). Two examples are:

he-burn-P.CST M-that.DEF his-stomach white.man
PRED SBJ
The white men used to burn with anger. (lit. That white man’s stomach – the centre of the emotions – used to burn.)

8.217 M Ka-wunthanba / nya-mangaji / alu-nga.
he-cool.down M-that.DEF them-DAT
PRED SBJ GOAL
That (white man) became better disposed (lit. cooled down) towards them.

8.2.2.2.3 LOCATION INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

A Location Intransitive Clause is one in which the location of the action is essential to the semantic completeness of the clause. The clause consists of the same basic constituents as the Simple Intransitive Clause but it is extended to include an inner peripheral Location constituent in the role of Dissociated Environment. The Location unit is manifested by a locative adverb or phrase, a placename noun, or a noun expressive of location, marked either for ablative case or by extension of the stem.

The topic of location is covered in some detail in Chapter 6. Locative phrases and the use of nouns and noun phrases in providing location reference are described there. An additional locative phrase type not included there is one which combines these locative and nominal elements. A locative may be followed by a noun, pronoun or noun phrase, marked by ablative case. The order of the constituents may be reversed if the noun is inanimate. (If an animate nominal word or phrase precedes the locative then the phrase becomes an accompaniment phrase; for example, yila-a baji (him-ABL there.DEF) ‘with him there’. The change of order has given a change of focus.) The resultant phrase incorporates the animate or inanimate environment with the locative adverb:

wayka nankawa-la
down lagoon-ABL
down at the lagoon

baji buyuka-la lhangka
there.DEF fire-ABL on.top
there on top of the fire

arndaardhda binana-la
inside banana-ABL
inside (the cover of) the banana palms (as a hiding place)

marnaji nganu-wa
here.DEF us.EXCL-ABL
here with us
rarra alu-wa linji-wajba-wajbala-ngka
in.depth them-ABL PL-ABL-white.man-white.man-ABL
in the depths of a crowd of white men

The essential nature of the Location unit in this clause type was demonstrated for the writer in her early months of language learning. If she contributed a Location Intransitive Clause to the conversation and omitted the Location unit, a Yanyuwa friend would immediately provide it to make the statement complete. This occurred when the writer commented that a plane had landed – a complete statement in its English counterpart. A Yanyuwa companion immediately added the word ngamala 'south':

8.218 F Ki-yibanda / julaki / ngamala.
    it-land plane south
    PRED SBJ LOC
    The plane landed in the south.

The list of location intransitive verbs is shorter than the lists for the previous subtypes. It includes the following stems: alarri 'stand', ariyarirri 'become lost', ngalba 'enter, go into', mamarrirnarni 'remain away, be absent', walanyma 'emerge, come out', warlba 'climb', wundirri 'ascend', yanjarri 'be born' and yibanda 'sit, arrive, land (of plane), berth (of boat)'. When the middle verb mirra has the meaning 'die' (rather than 'be very ill/hungry/thirsty'), it comes within this list too. The stem rdi 'arrive, reach' may occur in either a Location Intransitive Clause or a Destination Intransitive Clause (see examples 8.248 and 8.249).

The following examples illustrate Location Intransitive Clauses:

8.219 Kanu-ariyarri-njima / munji-munji.
    we.EXCL-be.lost-HYP bush-bush
    PRED LOC
    We might become lost in the bush.

8.220 Kanu-wundirri-njaninya / Yulbarra nguthunda-kari.
    we.EXCL-go.up-P.CST Yulbarra north-DEF
    PRED LOC
    We used to go up (from our canoes) at Yulbarra in the north.

8.221 M L-iki-liardu / kalu-ngalba / ki-waya-ngka.
    PL-his-PL-child they-enter MSC.NNOM-boat-ABL
    SBJ PRED LOC
    His children entered (the door of) the boat.

8.222 Kanu-yibanda / akarra-kari-mba.
    we.EXCL-arrive east-DEF-side
    PRED LOC
    We arrived on the east side.

    tree it-stand-PRES at.side MSC.NNOM-rock-ABL
    SBJ PRED LOC
    The tree is standing on the side of the mountain.
He.is.stay-away-PRES.down Ngarrbangarrala

He is staying away again down at Ngarrbangarrala.

Examples 8.225 and 8.226 illustrate the use of a vague reference to location when a specific one is not known:

8.225 M *Namb-iwuthu* / *Ihuwa nya-mangaji* / *ja-mamarri-nji*.
The.snakes keep-away there somewhere.

8.226 M *Nya-mangaji ariku* / *ja-mamarri-nji* / *nganth-iwuthu*

The fish are keeping away who can tell where.

8.227 *Nya-rku* / *kumba-mirra* / *a-kari-mba* Windikarri.
Another one died there on the west side of Windikarri (the Robinson River).

8.228 *Kumba-mirra* / *baji-ngulaji* angula.
He.died there.DEF.same west

He died at that very same place in the west.

8.229 M *Ka-yanjarri* / *munji*.
He.was.born in.bush

He was born in the bush.

8.230 M *Ka-walanyma* / *ambiriju alu-nga*.
He.emerge ahead them-DAT

He came out in front of them.

8.231 M *Marnaji* / *ka-walanyma* / *na-mi* / *yila-a*.
The.bullet (lit. its seed) came out of him here.

8.232 M *Namba namba angula* / *nunaka kiwa-rdi-ja*.

Maybe (the cyclone) will arrive some place there in the west.
8.2.2.4 DESTINATION INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Destination Intransitive Clauses are those in which motion is expressed. There may be reference to the location origin of the motion or to its destination goal, but it is essential to the semantic completeness of the clause that there be reference to one of these. Only if this information is clear from the context may it be omitted from the clause. It is the destination goal of the motion which is more frequently stated.

The Destination Intransitive Clause has the same basic constituents as the Simple Intransitive Clause but it is extended to include one of the two additional units: Location Source and Destination.

The Location Source unit is manifested by the demonstrative locative marked by -ingu 'from', or by an originative locative phrase introduced by the relator nakari/nakaringu 'from' or 'by'.

A Destination unit is manifested by (1) a pronoun, noun or noun phrase with allative case marking; (2) a placename noun which may be either marked for allative case or unmarked; (3) a demonstrative locative marked by -inju 'to' or -iwuthu 'direction.in'; or (4) an allative locative phrase introduced by the relator nyalangaliba 'to' or kulu 'and, all the way to'.

In the same way that a pronominal prefix on the verb agrees with categories of number, person and gender of the Subject or Object and provides an adequate ongoing reference to these when they do not occur overtly in the clause, so a cardinal locative or anka 'up', wayka 'down', marked by either kari- 'from' or -iya 'wards' in a verb phrase within the Predicate, provides an adequate substitute reference for Location Source or Destination constituents, when (1) the full information is clear from the context, or (2) when the specific information is unknown. A motion verb phrase of this kind may be discontinuous.

The verbs which manifest the Predicate of a Destination Intransitive Clause include the following: lhakanba 'descend', lhuwarrri 'depart, leave', lukulukuma 'go around', nba 'fall', wabama 'fly', wani 'return, come back, go back', warka 'crawl, move slowly', wingka 'walk, come, go', wujba 'flow'; wulumi 'run', wulyarri 'depart, set off (for hunting)', wunjini 'swim', yibaka 'move camp' and yurmguri 'continue on'; and also the middle verb na 'alight, dismount'. The verbs mi 'arrive, reach (in travel), and waJanyma 'emerge' may occur in either Location or Destination Intransitive Clauses. Destination Intransitive Clauses are illustrated below:

8.233    Karna-lukulukuma-nji / marnaj-inju.
I.again-go.around-PRES here.DEF-to
FRED  DEST
I am moving around again to this place.

she-run F-that.DEF F-adolescent to.DEF camp-ALL
FRED SBJ  DEST
That teenage girl ran to the camp.

8.235    Kalu-wingka-yaninya arindaa a-ya.
they-go-P.CST at.coast west-wards
FRED
They kept on walking westwards along the coast.
Kar-anka kiwa-nba-la / buyuka.

from-up it-fall-FUT fire

PRED SBJ

Fire will fall from above.

Juju-ngku / ka-nba-nma kar-anka.

far.away-ALL you.SG-fall-DUB from-up

DEST PRED

You might fall down a long way.

Nakari manka-nda yila-a / ka-wujba.

from body-ABL him-ABL it-flow

LOC.SCE PRED

(The blood) flowed from his body.

Nguthund-iya kalu-lhuwarri / nakari Wiririla.

north-wards they-depart from Wiririla

PRED LOC.SCE

They set off northwards from Wiririla.

Ngamar-nya ka-wingka / baj-inju kulu ngamala.

south-wards he-go there.DEF-to and south

PRED DEST

He went southwards right to that place in the south.

Waykal-nya ka-wuluma / ngaliba kadin.

down-wards he-run to.DEF garden

PRED DEST

He ran down into the garden.

Kar-anka ka-lhakanba-la / ja-baba Jiija.

from-up he-descend-FUT my-older.sibling Jesus

PRED SBJ

My older brother Jesus will come down from above.

Wunyatha / kari-ngamala ka-lhuwarri / nakaringu ngalu-nga

father from-south he-depart from.DEF south-REL.DIR

SBJ PRED LOC.SCE

My father set off northwards (lit. from the south) from a place to the south of there.

Kiyinykiyiny / ja-wabama-nji / ki-wulanthantha-lu

flying.fox it-fly-PRES MSC.NNOM-flower-ALL

SBJ PRED DEST

juju-ngku.

far.away-ALL

The flying foxes are flying to the flowers in the distance (to get nectar).

Kanu-yurrngurri marn-iwuthu kariy-a.

we.EXCL-continue here.INDEF-direction.in from-west

PRED

We continued (coming) in this direction from the west.
8.246  Kanda-yurrngurri kariy-a / nakaringu Burrulula.
                   she-continue        from-west     from.DEF Borroloola
                     PRED          LOC.SCE
She continued on from the west from Borroloola.

8.247  Rra-kamba / janda-nba-yi a-ya waykal-lya.
                   F-sun        she-fall-PRES west-wards down-wards
                       SBJ         PRED
The sun is going down in the west. / The sun is setting.

8.248  M Kiwa-rdi / ngambala-lu.
                   it-arrive        us.INCL-ALL
                       PRED     DEST
(The plane) reached us.

8.249  M Kiwa-rdi kari-ngamala.
                   it-arrive        from-south
                       PRED
(The plane) arrived (here) from the south.

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**TABLE 8: UNITS WITH WHICH THE VERB CROSS-REFERENCES IN YANYUWA CLAUSE NUCLEI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause type</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Predicate: relevant verb morphemes</th>
<th>Other Units</th>
<th>Agreement (in person, gender and number)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>prefix-stem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Full Stative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>intr-existential</td>
<td>locative-Complex</td>
<td>Verb subject prefix and locative demonstrative suffix agree with Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nominative marking)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(nominative marking)</td>
<td>locative sbj demonstrative suffix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intransitive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>intr-intr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nominative marking)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(nominative marking)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reflexive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>intr-refl tr</td>
<td></td>
<td>Verb subject prefix agrees with Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nominative marking)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(nominative marking)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transitive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>obj-tr-tr</td>
<td>Object</td>
<td>Verb object prefix agrees with Object; verb subject prefix agrees with Subject.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ergative marking)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(nominative marking)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Goal Transitive Clause: verb object prefix agrees with either Object or Goal.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* When certain verbs manifest the Predicate or a Reflexive Clause, an Object or Object Complement may occur.
8.2.2.3 TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Transitive clauses have a clause nucleus consisting of a Predicate which manifests a transitive verb or verb phrase, a Subject in the role of Active Causer of the action, and an Object in the role of Passive Experiencer. The Subject is manifested by a noun, noun phrase, demonstrative pronoun, or the allative specifier rrku 'other', and the selected unit is marked by ergative case. The Object is manifested by one of these same nominal units marked by nominative case. Once the subject and object have been clearly established, the independent Subject and Object constituents may be omitted.

The pronominal prefixes on the verb are sufficient to maintain the reference until further participants are introduced. (For contrastive transitive verb pronominal sets, see Table 7. For contrastive cross-referencing to the verb nucleus in the various clause types, see Table 8.)

There are four clause subtypes determined by the absence or occurrence of an additional constituent in the clause base. The Simple Transitive Clause has no additional constituent. The Goal, Locative and Destination subtypes manifest the co-occurrence of a verb subclass with a Goal, Locative or Destination constituent.

8.2.2.3.1 SIMPLE TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Simple Transitive Clauses are formed around a Predicate which manifests a verb from the simple transitive subclass. Most transitive verbs fall into this subclass. A small group of them may optionally take an action as their object rather than the usual nominal entity (although there is usually a person-marker object reference to the performers of the action in the Predicate). In these instances the Object constituent is manifested by a dependent clause. This group of verbs includes: nga 'see', wayatha 'finish, complete, defeat' and yngkarri 'hear' (see examples 8.225 to 8.258, 8.269 and 8.270).

Simple transitive verbs include those associated with the senses: lhaa 'know (from experience), recognise', manmarralanga 'love', mijanga 'like, love, desire, want', mulamulanga 'hate', mungarruma 'make happy, cheer up', nga 'see', nganda/ngalnganda 'dislike', wamdulma 'frighten' and yngkarri 'hear'. Examples of their use are:

       him.they-know-PRES PL.ERG/ALL-horse-ERG
       PRED SB
       The horses know (the 'horse-tailer').

8.251  Karra-ngambala-mijanga-la / rra-waykana kulu dulbarri.
       her-we.INCL-desire-FUT F-honey and honey
       PRED OBJ
       We will want rra-waykana honey (from the ground hives) and dulbarri honey (from the tree hives).

8.252  Linj-ardu-birri-lu / jirr-ala-nga-nji.
       PL.ERG/ALL-child-DIM.PL-ERG you-they-see-PRES
       SB
       The children are looking at you.
I might see that old wife of mine.

I saw my small son.

I heard them talking.

We see (the wurrbindindi seabird) catching fish.

They used to wash us.

They used to spear dugong (or other large edible sea creatures such as turtles).
8.261 M *Jilu-lhakarra-nj / wujbi.*

\[\text{PRED} \ \text{OBJ} \ \text{PRED} \ \text{OBJ}\]

(The sea-turtles) lay their eggs.

8.262 *Nyungku-mangaji / karr-ilu-rama / barratha.*

\[\text{SBJ} \ \text{PRED} \ \text{OBJ} \ \text{PRED} \ \text{OBJ}\]

That man killed mother.

8.263 *Karn-arrungku-rama.*

\[\text{PRED} \ \text{PRED} \ \text{PRED} \ \text{OBJ}\]

(The falling bark) hit me.

8.264 F *Kalu-r dirrirra-nthaninya / ni-mamda kulu ni-marlji.*

\[\text{PRED} \ \text{OBJ} \ \text{PRED} \ \text{OBJ}\]

They used to tie together the (kangaroo's) feet and paws (in preparation for cooking in an underground oven).

8.265 M *Anduru / kay-ilu-rduma / rra-Bilanyi.*

\[\text{SBJ} \ \text{PRED} \ \text{OBJ} \ \text{OBJ}\]

Andrew got Bilanyi.

It is rare for the Transitive Subject to be unmarked for ergative case. Example 8.265 illustrates one such occurrence. There is a male speaker referring to another man by name, and by his English name. There is a tendency for affixes to be omitted in relation to these three factors, that is: (1) a male speaker referring to a male topic, (2) use of a personal name, and (3) use of English loan words.

8.266 *Karr-alu-tharrama-nma / nalu-ngunduwa.*

\[\text{PRED} \ \text{OBJ} \ \text{PRED} \ \text{OBJ}\]

They might cut the women's throats (if they enter the sacred ceremony ground).

In example 8.266, the object prefix *karr-* 'her' illustrates the use of a singular form as representative of a group; the fact that a group is being considered is indicated by the plural possessive form *nalu-* 'their'. It is unusual for the verb object prefix and the Object constituent not to agree in number. The above example illustrates the kind of context in which such an exception may occur. It is from a brief discourse which focuses on the peril of any women or children who enter a sacred ground. The distinction between male and female in Yanyuwa is marked only in singular prefixes, and so a singular form is used rather than a plural to keep the female people in focus. Further examples are:

8.267 *Karr-il-uma / nanda-ngunduwa.*

\[\text{PRED} \ \text{OBJ} \ \text{PRED} \ \text{OBJ}\]

He cut her throat.
The emu hit that brolga.

He finishes getting (horses) for them.

The white man finished shooting.

There is a series of simple transitive verb stems which are derived from the same roots as a group of intransitive verb stems: *lhungku-ma* ‘keep/make alive’, *ngarra-ma* ‘make hot, heat’, *wardi-ma* ‘make bad, spoil’, *wuntha-ma* ‘make cool, cause to be well-disposed’ and *yabi-ma* ‘make, make good/well, heal’. Examples of their use are:

She kept him alive.

They are making rope.

In the following example, the verb stem *bijibijingunda* is derived from the adverb *bijibiji* ‘twisted, plaited’ and the verb *ngunda* ‘give’:

The *ma-wuyku* vine entangled the (*ma-wukarra* pandanus palm).

Some speech-related simple transitive verb stems are: *murdama* ‘farewell, say goodbye to’, *ngarrarnma* ‘refuse, withhold’ and *yalbanga* ‘ask’. Examples of their use are:

He said goodbye to his father.

He refused to give (him the bullets). (lit. He withheld (the bullets which were then) remaining (there)).
We might pray. (lit. We might ask him ‘upwards’.)

The stem murdirri is derived from the adjective murdu ‘deaf, foolish, stupid’ and it occurs in both the intransitive and the transitive verb lists. (The expected form for the transitive stem would have been murdama, but this form already occurs as the verb ‘farewell’; see example 8.274). The intransitive occurrence of murdirri means ‘be/become deaf/foolish/stupid’; the simple transitive occurrence means ‘forget, lose, be deaf, not hear’:

Karr-ili-murdirri.
her-he-forget

He forgot/neglected (his daughter).

8.2.2.3.2 GOAL TRANSITIVE (OR DI-TRANSITIVE) CLAUSES

The Goal Transitive Clause has the same basic constituents as the Simple Transitive Clause, but it is extended to include an additional inner peripheral unit, a Goal with the semantic role of Active Recipient (or it could alternatively be labelled Recipient Object). The Transitive Goal unit is manifested by a noun, noun phrase or pronoun, but there is ambiguity in the case marking of these nominal or pronominal units. In some instances they are marked for dative case, but in many instances they are marked for nominative case as if the Transitive Goal were a second Object.

In most instances it is the Object referent rather than the Goal referent which is marked by the pronominal prefix on the verb, but for the two verbs, ngunda ‘give’ and inu ‘tell’, either the Object or the Goal referent may be marked on the verb by an object person marker. (There is no special person marker for Goal.) Since the semantic role is that of Active Recipient, whichever marking is used, the label ‘Goal’ is retained.

There is a limited list of verbs which occur in the Predicate of Goal Transitive Clauses. They include verbs of giving, taking away, and certain speech verbs: inu ‘tell’, ngunda ‘give’, wundarrba ‘name (in the senses of assign a name, tell the name of, address by name)’ and yiwa ‘take away, remove from’. It is noted that for the verb yiwa ‘take away’, the Goal represents the former possessor of the object. For this verb, it is the Goal (the person from whom the object is removed) which is the referent of the object marker on the verb (see examples 8.292 to 8.294).

8.278 M Jan-ina-nji / an-ku / wakuku kalu-wanga-njama.
it.we.EXCL-tell-PRES her-DAT dog it.they-shoot-INTEN
PRED GOAL OBJ

We are telling her (that) they intend to shoot the dogs.

8.279 Jirn-ina-nj / yin-ku / jinangu wuka wabarrangu-mba.
it.I-tell-PRES you.SG-DAT this.DEF word in.past-side
PRED GOAL OBJ

I am telling this olden-time story to you.
In the next example, the roles are changed. The verb *inu* ‘tell’ is here used as a simple transitive verb and the constituent marked by dative is a Pertinent in the outer clause periphery. (It is not in the Active Recipient role of a Goal unit.)

8.280 M  
Ki-warama-wu / kal-il-ina-nthaninya / ki-Nuwa.  
MSC.NNOM-flood-DAT them-he-tell-P.CST M.NNOM-Noah  
PERT PRED SBJ  
Noah told them about the flood.

8.281 M  
F-first.wife F-his-F-mother.in.law-ERG him.she-give-P.CST  
OBJ SBJ PRED  
His mother-in-law used to give him (his) first wife.

8.282 M  
Kilu-ngunda-yaninya / mankarni.  
it/him.he-give-P.CST cleverman  
PRED GOAL  
(The healed man) used to give the (emu) to the cleverman (or Aboriginal ‘doctor’).

8.283 M  
Karr-awula-ngunda / jikan / ki-Jijil kulu Burayan.  
her-they.DU-give handshake M.NNOM-Cecil and Brian  
PRED OBJ SBJ  
Cecil and Brian shook her by the hand (lit. gave her a handshake).

8.284 M  
An-ku / katharra-ngunda / jikan.  
er.her.DAT it.we.DU.EXCL-give handshake  
GOAL PRED SBJ  
We shook her by the hand.

8.285 M  
Kal-anda-ngunda / liardu-birri / jumbala.  
them-she-give PL-child-DIM.PL clothes  
PRED GOAL OBJ  
She gave the children clothes.

8.286 M  
Kujaka-lu wu-Dabi / karn-andu-ngunda anka-ya.  
mother-ERG F.NNOM-Darby me-she-give up-wards  
SBJ PRED  
(Your) mother Darby handed me up (my baby son). (lit. Mother Darby gave me upwards.)

8.287 F  
Wawi, julaki / kilu-wundarrba / ni-wini / nyungku-mangaji  
horse bird it.he-name its-name M.ERG/ABL-that.DEF  
GOAL PRED OBJ SBJ  
*nyu-wajbala-ngku.*  
M.NNOM-white.man-ERG  
That white man gave names to the horses and the birds.

8.288 F  
Kany-ilu-wundarrba / niya-wini Adam.  
him-he-name his-name Adam  
PRED OBJ  
He addressed him by his name ‘Adam’./He called out his name “Adam”.
They are naming (the ceremony) Milba in Yanyuwa.

We name that (salt water) alhibi in Yanyuwa.

He used to call the name of the country southwards all the way to the south (by) its one name Beaudesert.

I might take that axe away from you.

They took everything away from him.

He took his older brother's wife from him.

The list of verbs also includes verbs which relate to showing or demonstrating: ijarra 'show, point out', mirmina/mirajima/mirnilungka 'show, demonstrate, display' and yunduyunduma 'demonstrate, introduce, (and sometimes) explain'. The stem ijarra also occurs as a simple transitive meaning 'point at (using a bone or another object for the working of sorcery)'.

The stem mirajima is derived from the stem mirmina and has the definite-marker aji incorporated. The few recorded examples suggest that it is used with entities of greater significance (see examples 8.297 and 8.375 for reflexive use).

I will point out mother to you.

She showed slides to us.
The father above showed it (that is, the burning bush to Moses).

He showed him the house.

The two verb stems relating to teaching or the giving of knowledge may also occur in this list: mirdan/milirdima ‘teach’. These stems are derived from the stems mirdan/milirdi ‘clever, wise, knowledgeable, learned’; mirdan is the more commonly used stem. They may occur in a Goal Transitive Clause construction when the content of the teaching is significant. Alternatively, when the focus is on the student, the verbs may occur in a Simple Transitive Clause; any reference to what is taught is then in an outer peripheral clause (or sentence) unit. The stems are included here since they have potential to occur as goal transitive verbs.

The remaining examples illustrate the verbs of teaching. They demonstrate that the person who is taught or made knowledgeable is marked on the verb as object. The matter taught may occur as an Object or as an outer peripheral Pertinent unit, or it may be left unstated.

I will teach them another (language), [the sounds of this language Yanyuwa now].

They taught me about all sorts of things.

She will teach you.

The Location Transitive Clause has the same basic constituents as the Simple Transitive Clause, but it is extended to include an additional inner peripheral unit, Location, with the semantic role of Dissociated Environment. Just as with the Location Intransitive Clause, reference to the location of the action is essential to the completeness of the clause statement. The Location constituent may be omitted only if the information is already provided in the context. The Location unit may be manifested by a locative adverb or phrase, a placename noun, or a noun expressive of location, either marked by ablative case or by extension of the stem.
The list of verbs which occur in the Location Transitive Clause Predicate is a short one: kurrama ‘bury’, nda ‘leave’ and yibarra ‘put, place, appoint’. Location Transitive Clauses are illustrated below:

8.302  
\textit{Karr-alu-kurrama / baji.}  
\begin{tabular}{ll}
her-they-bury & there.DEF \\
PRED & LOC \\
\end{tabular}  
They buried her there.

8.303  
\textit{Jalu-kurrama-nji / awara-la.}  
\begin{tabular}{ll}
it.they-bury-PRES & ground-ABL \\
PRED & LOC \\
\end{tabular}  
They are burying (the cycad nuts) in the ground.

8.304  
\textit{Kala-nda-yaninya / nya-mangaji yarraman / ngulakari.}  
\begin{tabular}{ll}
it.they-leave-P.CST & MSC-that.DEF horse behind \\
PRED & OBJ & LOC \\
\end{tabular}  
They used to leave the horses behind.

8.305  
\textit{Karn-arna-nda / na-lhanu / ngamala.}  
\begin{tabular}{ll}
it.ARB-I-leave & ARB-paperbark south \\
PRED & OBJ & LOC \\
\end{tabular}  
I left the paperbark in the south.

8.306  
\textit{Kal-irna-nda / angula Burrulula.}  
\begin{tabular}{ll}
them-I-leave & west Borroloola \\
PRED & LOC \\
\end{tabular}  
I left (my relatives there) in the west at Borroloola.

8.307  
\textit{F Kinya-yibarra-la / nilha-rrku / bilikan-da yin-ku.}  
\begin{tabular}{ll}
it.you.SG-put-FUT & MSC-other billy-ABL you.SG-DAT \\
PRED & OBJ & LOC \\
\end{tabular}  
You will put some of it (lit. it/other) in your billy.

8.308  
\textit{Wu-bardibardi-lu / kanda-yibarra / bilikan / buyuka-la.}  
\begin{tabular}{ll}
F.NNOM-old.woman-ER & it.she-put billy fire-ABL \\
SBJ & PRED & OBJ & LOC \\
\end{tabular}  
The old woman put the billy on the fire.

8.309  
\textit{Jalu-yibarra-nji / rru-birndawarra-la.}  
\begin{tabular}{ll}
it.they-put-PRES & F.NNOM-bag-ABL \\
PRED & LOC \\
\end{tabular}  
They are putting (the edible lizards) in the bag.

8.310  
\textit{Kilu-yibarra / arkula na-mi / ki-ngajarr-a.}  
\begin{tabular}{ll}
it.he-put & one its-eye MSC.NNOM-gun-ABL \\
PRED & OBJ & LOC \\
\end{tabular}  
He put one bullet (lit. eye/seed) in the gun.

8.311  
\textit{Kalu-yibarra-nthaninya / nya-mangaji jayngka / arndaarnda.}  
\begin{tabular}{ll}
it.they-put-P.CST & MSC-that.DEF rock inside \\
PRED & OBJ & LOC \\
\end{tabular}  
They used to put those (heated) rocks inside (the pit, in making an underground oven).
The verb *yibarra* ‘put’ also has the meaning ‘appoint’. The position to which the Object entity is appointed then manifests the Location. Consequently the Location unit is manifested by a noun with an appropriate meaning, usually *wirdi* ‘senior one, boss, leader’ or *wirdiwalangu* ‘most senior leader’:

8.312  F  
*Kany-ilu-yibarra / nya-wirdi.*
him-he-put M-senior.one  
PRED LOC  
He appointed him leader./He put him in charge.

8.2.2.3.4 DESTINATION TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Destination Transitive Clauses are those in which there is motion of the referent of the clause's Object. As with Destination Intransitive Clauses, there may be reference to the source direction of the motion or to its goal, but it is essential to the completeness of the clause statement that there be reference to one of these. Only if this information is clear from the context may it be omitted from the clause. The Destination Transitive Clause consists of the same basic constituents as the Simple Transitive Clause but it is extended to include one (or rarely, both) of the two additional units: Location Source, Destination.

The Location Source is manifested by an originative locative phrase (see §8.2.2.2.4 for description) or by a demonstrative locative marked by *-ingu* ‘from’. A Destination unit is manifested by an allative locative phrase (also at §8.2.2.2.4), a noun or noun phrase with allative marking, a placename noun or a demonstrative locative marked by *-inju* ‘to’ or *-iwuthu* ‘direction in’.

The verb stems which occur in the Predicate of the Destination Transitive Clause include: *athama* ‘chase’, *ija* ‘send’, *ka* ‘carry, bring, take’, *lhawurndama* ‘drop, cause to fall’, *nyi* ‘frighten out’, *wajanu/waninjanguma/wanjanguma* ‘send back, take back’, *walima* ‘throw’, *wanda* ‘follow’ and *warrkama* ‘push, pull’. The Destination Transitive Clause type is illustrated below:

8.313  
*Kariy-a jal-ija-nji / marnaji-nju.*
from-west it.they-send-PRES here.DEF-to  
PRED DEST  
They are sending (the message stick) here from the west.

8.314  
*Karr-and-ija ngamal-iya.*
her-she-send south-wards  
PRED  
She sent her south.

Example 8.314 illustrates that a cardinal locative, or one of the two general locatives, *anka* or *wayka*, marked by *kari*- ‘from’ or *-iya* ‘-wards’, may substitute for Location Source or Destination constituents as in Destination Intransitive Clauses.

8.315  M  
*Baj-ingu / kala-ka / ngaliba Bamuji.*
there.DEF-from him.they-take to Bamuji  
LOC.SCE PRED DEST  
From there they took him to Bamuji/Fanny Bay Gaol.
They took Barry and Gilbert to Kalikama again.

He will take us all up to (be with) him there.

I took the cattle eastwards to Wanadingka.

(The pilot) dropped a lot of mail from up (there – when the airstrip was too wet for the plane to land).

They used to chase out the kangaroos from below from the scrub.

The doctor took him back eastwards to Cloncurry.

Some of them he will throw down into the fire.

In example 8.322, the occurrence of the locative *waykal-inya* ‘downwards’ is ambivalent. It may be associated with either the verb which precedes it (as above) or with the allative noun which follows. In example 8.323 below, the verb phrase is discontinuous, the verb being separated from the cardinal locative by the Object constituent. An alternative analysis would be to regard the cardinal locative, marked for direction, as the minimal manifestation of a destination phrase.
alhibi / kari-nguthunda.
salt water from-north
...PRED
The large (cyclone) is tossing that salt water from the north.

you.SG-they-follow-FUT up-wards him-ALL father-ALL
PRED DEST
They will follow you up to (my) father.

8.325 Kal-alu-wanda-yaninya...i / namb-inju.
them-they-follow-P.CST-on.and.on there.INDEF-to
PRED DEST
They used to follow them on and on to some place there.

them-he-bring.back-FUT here.DEF-to
PRED DEST
He will bring them back here.

8.327 Jal-ilu-warrkama-nji waykal-iya / buyuka-lu.
them-he-pull-PRES down-wards fire-ALL
PRED DEST
He is pulling them down into the fire.

In this case the verb is treated the same way as an intransitive verb; that is, it is marked for subject only. However, there may be an object (of a restricted kind) within the clause, termed an Object Complement.

There is a sense in which the meaning of the object generally seems to be inherent in the verb stem. Some stems, in fact, are derived from the noun which is normally their object (see Kirton 1978:43). The semitransitive verb stems include: alkali ‘vomit’, lhurrama ‘dance’, mabimalrawurrkima ‘dig for water’, wukanyi ‘talk’, which are derived from the nouns: alku ‘vomit’, lhurra ‘dance, play’, mabilrawurrki ‘water (from an underground source), soak’, and wuka ‘word, speech, language’. An Object Complement therefore makes more specific the nature of the object inherent in the verb.

Certain semitransitive verb stems may alternatively be used as transitive verb stems. When they are, this change has significance. Sometimes the transitive construction gives focus to the rare occurrence of an animate or human object of the verb. Or there may be a stronger sense of causation associated with the transitive verb form. In these clauses, the Object has a normal Object role. (See the close of this section for examples of such clauses.)

Most of the Semitransitive Clauses are of the Simple subtype. The verbs which occur in Simple Semitransitive Clauses include: alkali ‘vomit’, mabima/rawurrkima ‘dig for water’, matha ‘fill’, milama ‘kindle (a fire)’, munjarr ‘fetch firewood’, rarrma ‘eat (non-flesh food)’, tha ‘eat (flesh food)’, wardjangka ‘fish (with line), catch fish’, wuka ‘be full, satisfied (with food)’, wukama ‘breathe, blow (a large shell as a signal, a musical instrument), smoke’, wunja ‘drink, fetch water’, yinba ‘sing’ and yiwa ‘pull in fish, catch fish’.
8.328  F  Kiya-alkali / nya-ardu / na-wunhan.
he-vomit  M-child  ARB-milk
PRED  SBJ  OBJ.COMP
The boy vomited milk.

8.329  F  Ki-matha-la.
it-fill-FUT
PRED
(The wild honey) will fill up (the container).

8.330  M  Ka-milama / buyuka / malbu.
he-kindle  fire  old.man
PRED  OBJ.COMP  SBJ
The old man lit a fire.

8.331  F  Ka-rarrma-la / ni-manka.
you.SG-eat-FUT  its-body
PRED  OBJ.COMP
You will eat (the dulbarri honey with its) wax.

8.332  M  Ka-rarrma-nthaninya / wudurru.
he-eat-P.CST  bush.food
PRED  OBJ.COMP
He used to eat bush foods.

8.333  M  Ja-rawurrkuma-nji / rawurrki.
he-dig.soak-PRES  soak
PRED  OBJ.COMP
He is digging a soak (that is, water from an underground source).

8.334  F  Jiya-wukama-nji.
he-blow-PRES
PRED
He is breathing (lit. blowing wind).

8.335  M  Ma-rlarruwa / kalu-wukama-nthaninya.
FD-pipe  they-blow-P.CST
OBJ.COMP  PRED
They used to smoke the ma-rlarruwa pipe (a long-stemmed pipe made from ma-rlarruwa wood).

M-Numunumu  FD-didgeridoo  he-blow
SBJ  OBJ.COMP  PRED
Numunumu played the didgeridoo.

8.337  M  Ka-wunja / alhibi.
he-drink  salt.water
PRED  OBJ.COMP
He drank salt water.
ARB-good you.SG-sing-P
OBJ.COMP PRED
You sang a good (song).

he-sing MSC-that.DEF corroboree
PRED OBJ.COMP
He sang that corroboree song.

barramundi and schnapper he-pull.in-PRES
OBJ.COMP PRED
He is catching barramundi and schnapper.

8.341 M Kurdandu ja-yiwa-nji / arlku.
intensely he-pull.in-PRES fish
PRED OBJ.COMP
He is catching a great many fish.

One goal semitransitive verb stem is noted: wukanyi ‘talk, speak’. It is derived from the noun wuka ‘word, speech, language, story’, and so, in this way, the object is already incorporated in the stem. In most instances no additional object is stated in the clause, but sometimes an Object Complement does occur:

this-DEF cleverman me.DAT he-talk-PRES
SBJ GOAL PRED
This cleverman (or doctor) is talking to me.

8.343 Jarna-wukanyi-nji / an-ku / Yanyuwa.
I-talk-PRES her-DAT Yanyuwa
PRED GOAL OBJ.COMP
I am talking Yanyuwa to her.

8.344 F Jiya-wukanyi-nji / Mayali wuka.
he-talk-PRES Mayali word
PRED OBJ.COMP
He is talking the Mayali language.

Alternatively it could be considered that the verb wukanyi ‘talk’ generally occurs in a Goal Intransitive Clause (see example 8.342), but that it may also be used in a Goal Semitransitive Clause (see 8.343 and 8.344). (This occurrence in Yanyuwa is comparable with the English verb ‘talk’, which is used in both intransitive and transitive constructions: (a) ‘he is talking (intransitive) to me’; and (b) ‘he talks (transitive) Chinese’.)

One destination semitransitive verb is noted: wajanga ‘paddle (canoe)’. This verb normally has as its object one of two nouns: na-wulka ‘bark canoe (of an earlier period)’ and rra-muwarda ‘dugout canoe (introduced by the Maccassans)’:

8.345 M Kanu-wajanga-nthaninya nguthund-iya / ki-antha-wu.
we.EXCL-paddle-P.CST north-wards MSC.NNOM-sea-ALL
PRED DEST
We used to paddle northwards to the sea.
Example 8.348 illustrates the adaptation of a clause type to accommodate a special situation. The speaker was commenting on an illustration of people in a foreign country to the north of Australia. Since she had no way of knowing the direction or the destination of the canoeists (which is normally required information in Yanyuwa), she instead substituted additional locative material to complete her statement.

Three verbs are tentatively analysed as location semitransitive verbs on the basis that they co-occur with Location constituents more frequently than would be expected with an outer peripheral Location unit: lhurrama ‘dance’, mulantha ‘dig’, and the general verb relating to cooking, wuba ‘cook’:

8.349  Kalu-lhurrama-nthaninya waJuku / munji.  
they-dance-P.CST for.a.while bush  
PRED LOC  
They used to dance for a while in the bush.

8.350  Kalu-lhurrama / nya-mangaji Kulyukulyu.  
they-dance MSC-that.DEF Kulyukulyu  
PRED OBJ.COMP  
They danced the Kulyukulyu.

8.351  M Ja-mulantha-yi / awara / wayka.  
it-dig-PRES ground down  
PRED OBJ.COMP LOC  
(The dog) is digging the ground down there.

8.352  Kanda-wuba / ma-balawa / marnaji.  
She cooked the damper here.

He used to cook that kangaroo at that same place.
8.2.2.4 SIGNIFICANT TRANSITIVE USE OF SEMITRANSITIVE VERBS

The following semitransitive verb stems may also occur in transitive constructions: *lhurrama* ‘dance’, *rarrma* ‘eat (non-flesh food)’, *tha* ‘eat (flesh)’, *wajanga* ‘paddle (canoe)’, *wuba* ‘cook’, *wukama* ‘blow, breathe’ and *yinba* ‘sing’.

If the object of the verb *lhurrama* ‘dance’ is stated at all, it is normally the name of a specific dance; otherwise the general activity of dancing is assumed (see examples 8.349 and 8.350). However, the following transitive clause was also heard in conversation:

8.354  
Kal-ilu-lhurrama / li-nhanawaw.
them-he-dance  PL-woman
PRED  OBJ
He had the women dance. (lit. He danced the women.)

When a Yanyuwa friend was questioned about the verb *kal-ilu-lhurrama* (removed from its context), she suggested the meaning, ‘The old men danced the boys/The old men caused the boys to dance’. These two kinds of use seem comparable with the English constructions, ‘He danced the Highland Fling’ and ‘He danced his partner into a state of exhaustion’. The first is the equivalent of the Yanyuwa semitransitive usage, and the second of the Yanyuwa transitive.

There is a single recorded occurrence of the verb *rarrma* ‘eat (non-flesh food)’ as a transitive verb:

8.355  
F  Karn-inju-rarrma / ji-bilbarurruru-lu / ngarma-marliji.
me-it-eat  MSC.NNOM-groper-ERG  my-finger
PRED  OBJ
The groper (fish) nibbled my finger.

In this example, if the skin had been broken to cause bleeding, the verb *tha* ‘eat (flesh)’ would have been used. This did not occur, but because it was a *person* the groper was nibbling, a transitive construction gives the action focus.

The verb stem *tha* ‘eat (flesh)’ similarly occurs in a transitive construction to provide focus. It is used when there is a human object of the verb, alive or dead (examples 8.356 and 8.357), or when one living creature is eating another 8.358:

8.356  
M  Kambal-ila-tha-nma / ki-wakuku-lu.
us.INCL-it-eat.meat-DUB  MSC.NNOM-dog-ERG
PRED  SBJ
The dog might bite us.

8.357  
M  Kila-tha / ki-ngurdungurdudu-lu.
him.it-eat.meat  MSC.NNOM-tiger.shark-ERG
PRED  SBJ
The tiger shark ate him (that is, part of the body of a murdered man).

8.358  
M  Jila-tha-nji / ki-warrbirna-lu.
it.it-eat.meat-PRES  MSC.NNOM-dingo-ERG
PRED  SBJ
The dingoes are eating (flying foxes).

The verb *wajanga* ‘paddle’ normally assumes as its object a canoe. (A different verb is used for rowing with oars: *jumba-rra-nji* (he.REFL-row-PRES) ‘he is rowing’.) When there
is an animate object, the verb is used in a transitive construction with an Object rather than an Object Complement:

8.359 Kal-alu-wajanga / li-wakuku.
them-they-paddle PL-dogs
PRED OBJ
They paddled the dogs (upriver in the canoes).

The verb *wuba* 'cook' is used in a semitransitive construction when non-meat foods are cooked. It may be used in either a semitransitive or transitive construction when meat is the object of the verb. The semitransitive use is illustrated in example 8.353 above. Example 8.360 is from a paragraph in a discourse which describes the traditional life of the people. The first sentence illustrates the transitive use of the verb in two transitive clauses, and with the subject of them both tagged to follow. The relevant section of the second sentence illustrates the association of Location with this verb:

8.360 Kilu-wuba-nthaninya arlku, kilu-wuba-nthaninya wunala,
it.he-cook-P.CST fish it.he-cook-P.CST kangaroo
nyungku-mangaji barra...Kilu-wuba-nthaninya munji,
M.ERG/ABL-that.DEF now it.he-cook-P.CST bush
munji-lulu.
bush-very.same
He used to cook fish, he used to cook kangaroo, *that* one...He used to cook it in the bush, at the very same place in the bush (where he killed it).

There is a single example of the semitransitive verb *wukama* 'blow, breathe, smoke' in a transitive construction. A Yanyuwa friend looked at a picture of a circus elephant sucking up water and spraying itself. She commented:

8.361 F Jinju-wukama-nji anka-ya [kulu ji-nyamba-lhakarra-nji ni-wuku].
it.it-blow-PRES up-wards and it.REFL-water-PRES its-back
PRED
It is blowing (the water) upwards [and it is spraying its back].

The verb *yinba* 'sing' occurs in a transitive verb construction where there is a special significance to the singing. Several factors may provide this significance. The transitive form is used (1) if the song is being 'found' or 'received', that is composed – sung for the first time; (2) if the song is for the purpose of causing rain to come; or (3) if the song is a namu-nyiri 'song' used by a cleverman or 'Aboriginal doctor' to help a patient or harm a victim.

8.362 Kilu-yinba / walaba.
it.he-sing corroboree.song
PRED OBJ
He sang a song (in its first singing).

8.363 Kilu-yinba-yaninya / wabuda.
it.he-sing-P.CST water
PRED OBJ
He used to sing the rain (to make it come).
PL.ERG/ALL-old.man-old.man-ERG it.they-sing-P.CST
SBJ  PRED
The old men used to sing (the rain).

8.365  F  Nungka  kany-alu-yinba / niya-mi.
maybe  him-they-sing  his-eye
PRED  OBJ
Perhaps they sang his eyes (and that is why the man is blind).

8.2.2.5 REFLEXIVE CLAUSES

There is a need to clarify the use of the term reflexive in Yanyuwa description because there is not the same correlation between reflexive verbs and Reflexive Clauses that there is between the other verb classes and clause types. Reflexive verbs are classified according to their morphological construction and these include both reflexive and middle verbs.

Middle verbs are always constructed in a reflexive form but they have an intransitive meaning and occur within an Intransitive Clause Predicate. (See examples 8.181 to 8.185, 8.192, 8.193, 8.199 to 8.209, 8.211 to 8.216, 8.227 and 8.228 above.) Middle verbs may include some sense of ‘of one’s own accord/for one’s own advantage’ in their meaning.

The reflexive verbs which refer to either a reflexive or reciprocal action (Yanyuwa does not distinguish between the two morphologically) are constructed from transitive verb stems, and it is these which occur in the Reflexive Clause Predicate.

The reflexive verb kal-inyamba-rama (they.PL-REFL-hit), for example, is constructed from the transitive stem rama 'hit, kill', and it means either ‘they hit one another’ or ‘they hit themselves’. The context normally suggests which meaning is intended. If it is necessary to make a distinction, the adverb wumimbijilu 'reciprocally' may be used.

The reflexive verb is constructed from a transitive verb stem (or the semitransitive stem wukanyi ‘talk’), an intransitive subject prefix, and a reflexive-marker prefix which follows the subject marker (see Table 7 for prefixes). The reflexive marker is the first order prefix mba-inyamba-umba-. (The initial vowel of inyamba- is lost when the preceding pronominal prefix consists of a single vowel.) The form inyamba- co-occurs with plural subjects for first exclusive, second and third persons, and also with second person singular and third persons from the masculine, food and arboreal classes. The prefix umba- co-occurs only with third persons male and female. The prefix mba- co-occurs with the remaining persons, that is, first persons inclusive plural and singular, and with all dual persons.

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The second order prefix is the subject marker. There are only two changes from the intransitive prefix set and these are: (1) the female class prefix anda 'she' has the alternate form ana so that either an-umba- or and-umba- may occur, and (2) for a female speaker, the male prefix is the zero prefix, the same as for a male speaker.

The two nuclear constituents of Reflexive Clauses are Subject and Predicate. Since the Subject and Object of the action normally coincide, there is no distinction between the Causer and Experiencer of the action. One entity shares both roles. Reflexive Subject is marked by a nominative case marker, which has zero marking.
In a few instances an Object or an Object Complement may also occur. If the action is a reflexive one which affects the subject’s own body, then the relevant body part may occur as an Object Complement. But in addition to this, there are a few verbs with which an Object constituent may co-occur. These include the simple transitive verb *wudurruma* ‘feed’ and the goal transitive verb *ngunda* ‘give’. In these clauses, both Subject and Object (or Object Complement) are marked for nominative case, as for a semitransitive clause.

The following examples illustrate Reflexive Clauses:

8.366  
*Kan-umba-arrrkana-nthaninya.*
she-REFL-spear-P.CST
PRED
(The women) used to spear one another (in traditional fighting). (The singular is used representatively of women in general.)

8.367  
*M lumba-darlbirra-nji.*
it.REFL-pile-PRES
PRED
(Clouds) are gathering (lit. piling themselves up).

8.368  
*Rra-ja rra-ngulakaringu / jan-umba-muruma-nji.*
F-thi F-later.one she-REFL-shut-PRES
SBJ PRED
This modern woman encloses herself (in clothes, unlike her forebears who wore pubic aprons).

8.369  
*Kal-inyamba-rama / li-malbu-malbu.*
they-REFL-hit PL-old.man-old.man
PRED SBJ
The old men fought one another.

8.370  
*Kumbi-ranka.*
he.REFL-burn
PRED
He burnt himself.

8.371  
*Ji-nyamba-warrkama-nji / duraji.*
it-REFL-pull-PRES dress
PRED SBJ
(The train of) the dress is trailing (lit. pulling itself).

8.372  
*Kan-inyamba-wukanyi / malbu-malbu.*
we.EXCL-REFL-talk old.man-old.man
PRED SBJ
We old men talked together.

The next examples illustrate the occurrence of a body part (the class includes spirit, shadow, name) as an object constituent:

8.373  
*Jumba-nga-nji / niya-ngawulu.*
he.REFL-see-PRES his-shadow/spirit
PRED OBJ.COMP
He is looking at his shadow.
The next four examples are of goal transitive verbs in Reflexive Clauses:

8.375  
Kumba-mirmajima / alunga.  
he.REFL-show them-DAT  
PRED GOAL  
He showed himself to them (when he had risen from the dead).

8.376  
Kurdukurdu / jal-inyamba-ngunda-yi.  
very.much they.REFL-give-PRES  
OBJ PRED  
They are giving large quantities (of dugong meat) to one another.

8.377  
Na-marliji / yi-ku / kumba-yunduyunduma.  
his-hand him-DAT he.REFL-show/indicate  
OBJ.COMP GOAL PRED  
He made hand signals for him (lit. He showed his hands for him.)

8.378  
Julaki / jumba-wundarrba-nji / ny-iku ki-wundururra / kurrkurr.  
bird it.REFL-name-PRES MSC-its MSC.NNOM-night kurrkurr  
SBJ... PRED ...SBJ OBJ.COMP  
The bird of the night calls out its name kurrkurr.

Example 8.378 may alternatively be analysed as a Quotation Sentence with kurrkurr as the Quote or speech utterance. Certain of the birds are named according to their bird call and the kurrkurr ‘owl’ is one of them. Its call is kurr kurr kurr...

The following examples are of locative transitive verbs used in Reflexive Clauses:

8.379  
Jumba-waykirra-nji / nya-mangaji wajbala.  
he.REFL-hide-PRES M-that.DEF white.man  
PRED SBJ  
That white man is hiding himself (that is, taking his boat to shelter from a cyclonic storm wind).

8.380  
Kawula-mba-waykirra / munji.  
they.DU-REFL-hide bush  
PRED LOC  
They hid in the bush.

8.381  
Jumbu-kurrama-nji / wayka.  
it.REFL-bury-PRES down  
PRED LOC  
(The rainbow serpent creature) buries itself down there (in the ocean).

8.2.3 INDICATIVE CLAUSE OUTER PERIPHERY

The outer periphery constituents of a clause are those which are not essential to its grammatical or semantic completeness. They contain additional information which is
generally applicable to any clause type or subtype. These constituents manifest the following grammatical relations: Time, Location, Accompaniment, Instrument (or Means), and Pertinent – a loosely related Goal. (By an alternative analysis, Manner would also be an outer peripheral unit. The writer has chosen rather to analyse adverbs of manner as modifiers of the verb within a verb phrase, sometimes a discontinuous verb phrase.) The status of the Purpose constituent is discussed separately in §8.2.4.

Outer peripheral units normally precede or follow the Clause Base. However, any constituent of the Clause Base may be fronted to initial position in the clause to give it prominence, and such change in the position of Base units causes displacement of outer periphery units also.

One or two outer peripheral units may occur in a single clause. It is unusual, however, for a complete clause, base and outer periphery, to consist of more than three or four constituents. Where the background information is given in outer periphery, the Clause Base is minimal.

8.2.3.1 TIME

Time and Location are distinguished in Yanyuwa, and yet there are also indications that they are related, as location-in-time and location-in-space, perhaps. The time interrogatives, nganthimbala, nganthamungkala ‘when?’ are derived from the locative interrogative nganta ‘where?’. The word bajingulaji means either ‘at that same time’ or ‘at that same place’. The ablative case is used to mark nouns which manifest Time or Location. Time and Location clause constituents share the semantic role of Dissociated Environment.


Certain noun and adjective stems are used with ablative or dative marking, and the allative specifier rku is used with ablative marking to indicate time: kamba-a (sun-ABL) ‘in the daytime’, mukunjama-wu (dinner-DAT) ‘at dinner-time’, nu-nyilan-ku (ARB.DAT-dawn-DAT) ‘at dawn’, ngubuntbUlT-a (black-ABL) ‘in the dark, at night’ and nungkama-ITku (ABST.ERG/ABL-other) ‘some time, at another time’. The demonstrative adverb nganinya ‘like this, in this way’, occurs with a -nga suffix to form the temporal nganinyanga ‘now, at the present time’. A numeral may also be marked with dative case to indicate a number of ‘times’, often ‘nights’: arrkula-wu ‘once, for one night’, kanymarda-wu ‘for two nights’.

The Time constituent may be manifested by one of several kinds of temporal phrases. The simplest consists of two temporal adverbs, usually two different ones but sometimes the same adverb repeated for emphasis: for example, baku baku ‘later, later!’, barrungku yalibala ‘earlier this morning’, ridinja ngula (yesterday back) ‘a few days ago’ and baku wundurrrra ‘later on at night-time’.

Another form of temporal phrase is used to describe periods of time. Such a phrase consists of a numeral followed by a noun. The noun na-wunbarr ‘sleep’ is used of days, the
noun *jarirdi* ‘Saturday’ is used of weeks, *ngakarla* ‘moon’ is used of months, and either *lhabayi* ‘wet season’ or *kurijimiji* ‘Christmas’ is used of years. The numeral may be unmarked or may have the arboreal class-marker *na-* (which may be used of time- or location-related entities):

\[
\begin{align*}
na-kanymarda & \quad na-arrkula & \quad na-wunbarr & \quad \text{for three nights} \\
\text{ARB-two} & \quad \text{ARB-one} & \quad \text{ARB-sleep} \\
na-kanymarda & \quad \text{jarirdi} & \quad \text{for two weeks} \\
\text{ARB-two} & \quad \text{Saturday} \\
kanymarda & \quad \text{ngakarla} & \quad \text{for two months} \\
\text{two} & \quad \text{moon} \\
nabubala & \quad \text{lhabayi} & \quad / \quad \text{nabubala} & \quad \text{kurijimiji} & \quad \text{for four years} \\
\text{ARB-four wet season} & \quad \text{ARB-four Christmas} \\
\text{(The word} & \quad \text{bubala} & \quad \text{‘four’ is derived from the English} & \quad \text{‘four’ and the Kriol} & \quad \text{suffix} & \quad \text{-bala}.)
\end{align*}
\]

These same time-related nouns may also be used in other ways to manifest Time. This is illustrated in the next two examples: *kurijimiji-yu* (Christmas-DAT) ‘for Christmas’, *yurrngumanthana-wunbarr* (continually ARB-sleep) ‘every day, all the time’.

The other temporal phrase consists of a temporal functioning as a preposition followed by a pronoun or noun marked by dative case, or an embedded clause. The temporals functioning as prepositions are: *ambuliyalu* ‘before’, *ngulaya* ‘after, afterwards’:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ambuliyalu ngali-nga} & \quad \text{before our time} \\
\text{before we.DU.INCL-DAT} \\
\text{ambuliyalu ki-wajbala-wu} & \quad \text{before the white man} \\
\text{before M.NNOM-white.man-DAT} \\
\text{ngulaya alu-nga} & \quad \text{after their time} \\
\text{after they-DAT} \\
\text{ngulaya li-ja kalu-yirdardi} & \quad \text{after these ones grew up} \\
\text{after PL-this they-grow}
\end{align*}
\]

The following clauses illustrate the peripheral clause constituent, Time:

8.382
*Baku / karna-wunjini-la ngamal-iya yila-lu*  
later I-swim-FUT south-wards him-ALL  
TIME INTR.CL.BASE  
Later I shall swim south to him.

8.383
*Kalu-lhuwarri baj-ingu a-ya / wungkuwungkulamba.*  
they.PL-depart there.DEF-from west-wards in.the.morning  
INTR.CL.BASE TIME  
They departed westwards from there in the morning.

8.384
*Wankala / kalu-lhurrama- nthaninya.*  
in.olden.time they-dance-P.CST  
TIME SEMITR.CL.BASE  
In the olden days they used to dance.
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8.385 M Mankarni nungka ka-yibanda-yama / lhurrku.
doctrer maybe he-arrive-INTEN later.today
LOC.INTR CL.BASE TIME
Maybe the doctor intends to arrive (here) today.

8.386 M Ngakarla / wundururra / ja-mirrnga-rri-nji kurdaardu.
moon at.night it-shine-PRES intensely
INTR... TIME ...CL.BASE
The moon is shining brightly at night.

8.387 M Kilu-wayatha mirningu / wabarrangu.
him.he-defeat man in.past
TR.CL.BASE TIME
He defeated the Aboriginal man in the past.

flying.fox it-return-return-PRES ARB.DAT-dawn-DAT
INTR.CL.BASE TIME
The flying foxes are returning at dawn.

8.389 M Wunyatha kilu-wangka-la / wabarrangu.
father him.he-shoot-P in.past
TR.CL.BASE TIME
He shot my father in the past.

8.390 F Rikarra yalibala / kawula-yibanda marnaji.
already early.morning they.DU-arrive here.DEF
TIME LOC.INTR.CL.BASE
They arrived here already this morning.

Usually only a single Time unit occurs in a clause, but sometimes two may occur to
distinguish two different aspects of time:

8.391 Wundururra / kumba-rama-nthaninya / wankala.
at.night he.REFL-fight-P.CST in.olden.time
TIME RFL.CL.BASE TIME
In olden times (Aboriginal man) used to fight at night.

8.392 Nganinyanga / kamba-a / jalu-arrkana-nji.
now sun-ABL it.PL-spear-PRES
TIME TR.CL.BASE
Now they are spearing (dugong) in the daytime.

8.2.3.2 LOCATION

In Yanyuwa, most references to location are expressed in nuclear constituents in non-
verbal clauses, or in the inner periphery of Location Clause bases. However, Location may
also occur as an outer periphery constituent. The differences are in the essential or non-
essential nature of the Location unit in relation to the clause type.

Outer periphery Location is manifested by a locative, locative phrase, or a noun or noun
phrase with locative meaning content. The semantic role of Location is Dissociated
Environment. The following examples illustrate the unit and its function:
Wanda walked southwards ahead (of the others).

That Lizzie walked behind.

I told you again here in the west on Sunday morning.

We used to come back from the east in the calm (sea).

In the past we used to chop (that feminine-class tree with drinkable sap) in dry country.

They used to wind (the newly woven string) on that stick again.

8.2.3.3 ACCOMPANIMENT

There are only a few examples of the outer peripheral Accompaniment constituent. The information it provides is more often given in Complement constituents of non-verbal clauses. Accompaniment may occur in the outer periphery of an Intransitive, Semitransitive or Reflexive Clause. It has the role of Passive Environment in that it refers to clause participants who have only a secondary role in relation to the clause action. In a primary role they would have been included in the Subject constituent and in the cross-referencing verb subject-marker within the Predicate.

The Accompaniment constituent is manifested by a pronoun, noun, or noun phrase which has an animate referent and which is marked for ablative case:
8.399 M Watha ja-wingkal-wingka-yi / yila-a.
Youth one it-walk-PRES his-ABL
INTR.CL.BASE ACC
The (masculine-class seabird’s) chicks walk with it.

8.400 M Karna-wingka / alu-wa / ki-walya-wu.
I-go them-ABL MSC.NNOM-dugong-DAT
INTR.CL.BASE ACC PERT
I went with them for dugong.

8.401 F Karna-lhuwarri-la / yila-a nyu-Dika / ngamal-iya.
I-depart-FUT him-ABL M.NNOM-Dick south-wards
INTR.CL... ACC ...BASE
I will go away south with (my husband) Dick.

it.REFL-pull-PRES dress her-ABL
RFL.CL.BASE ACC
(The train of her) dress is trailing behind her. (lit. The dress is pulling itself with her.)

8.403 Rarra alu-wa linji-wajbala-ngka / karna-wunjja.
in.deep them-ABL PL.ERG/ALL-white.man-ABL I-drink
ACC SEMITR.CL.BASE
With the crowd of white men I drank (at the bar in an outback hotel).

8.2.3.4 INSTRUMENT (OR MEANS)
The outer periphery Instrument constituent is the inanimate counterpart of the Accompaniment and it occurs with any action-clause type. The Instrument has the semantic role of Active Environment since it is directly involved in the accomplishment of the action of the verb.

The Instrument is manifested by a noun or noun phrase marked for ablative case:

8.404 F Ma-jakarda ma-ngarra ku-wingka / ridinja /
FD-much FD-food it.FD-come yesterday
INTR.CL.BASE TIME
ji-walkurra-ngka ji-mudika-la.
MSC.NNOM-big-ABL MSC.NNOM-vehicle-ABL INSTR
Plenty of food came yesterday in a big truck.

8.405 M Kilu-rama-nthaninya na-murrngu / ki-barku-nda.
it.REFL-hit-P.CST its-neck MSC.NNOM-hitting.stick-ABL
TR.CL.BASE INSTR
He used to hit him on the back of the neck with a hitting stick.

he.REFL-cover-P.CST ARB.ERG/ALL-paperbark-ABL
RFL.CL.BASE INSTR
He used to cover himself with paperbark (in the cold season, before there were blankets).
They used to spear dugong using that messmate wood (spear).

He burnt himself with spilt hot tea.

They used to stitch together (the messmate bark canoe pieces) with the *maya*ththa string (woven from the fibrous layer beneath the bark of that tree).

In the two following examples, the narrator is decrying the damage done to his people through the instrumentality of alcohol. This is the referent of the demonstrative pronouns used:

*Nganu-nga.*

That is how the floods used to come for us.
8.413 M Kiwa-nba / ngambala-nga / jinangu walkurra wabuda.
it-fall us.INCL-DAT this.DEF big water
INTR... PERT ...CL.BASE
This heavy rain is falling for us.

8.414 M Nganinya jalu-rama-nji wakirli nya-mangaji / wula-nga.
like.this it.they-hit-PRES boomerang MSC-that.DEF them.DU-DAT
TR.CL.BASE PERT
This is how they are tapping those boomerangs (to provide a rhythmical accompaniment) for (the dancers).

8.415 Kalu-lihurrama-la marnaji / nganu-nga.
they.dance-FUT here.DEF us.EXCL-DAT
SEMITR.CL.BASE PERT
They will dance here for us.

8.416 Kamba-waykirra / alu-nga.
he.REFL-hide them-DAT
RFL.CL.BASE PERT
He hid from them (lit. he hid himself in relation to them).

8.417 Katharra-marni / yi-ku / akarru.
we.DU.EXCL-be.away him-DAT east
INTR.CL... PERT ...BASE
We remained away from him in the east (lit. we remained away in the east in relation to him).

8.418 Jalu-rdirrirra-nji / alu-nga / jadil.
it.PL-tie-PRES them-DAT saddle
TR.CL... PERT ...BASE
(The horse-tailers) are tying on the saddles for (the stockmen).

8.419 Kilu-yabima awara / nuwaru-wardi-yu.
it.he-make.well place ABST.DAT-badness-DAT
CL.BASE PERT
He is making the situation all right again.

you.SG-we.EXCL-ask-PRES him-DAT M.NNOM-older.sibling-DAT
TR.CL.BASE PERT
We are asking you about the older brother.

8.2.4 THE PURPOSE CONSTITUENT

Purpose is a grammatical constituent which occurs at both clause and sentence levels. The Purpose function co-occurs with the Destination subtypes of both Intransitive and Transitive Clauses; that is, it co-occurs with verbs of motion. Where there is no Destination constituent in the Clause Base, then Purpose may occur within the clause. Where there is a Destination constituent, then Purpose unit occurs in the sentence periphery. Purpose is assigned the semantic role of Passive Causer since the motivation for the main clause action lies in an inner desire or intention within the mind of the Clause Subject participant.
In Yanyuwa, Transitive Subject, Destination and Purpose are all marked by the ergative/allative suffix -lu (or one of its allomorphs). In any Destination Clause, only one of these constituents may occur. In a Destination Transitive clause, if the Subject unit occurs, then Destination or Purpose constituents occur outside that clause within the sentence unit. Similarly, if the Destination constituent occurs within a Destination Intransitive Clause, then Purpose occurs within the sentence. The following sentence illustrates the way in which the Destination unit occurs as Sentence Periphery when a Transitive Subject occurs within the related clause:


him.he-take M.N NOM-drover-ERG south-wards Anthony-ALL

SENT.BASE SENT.PERI

The drover took him southwards, to Anthony's Lagoon.

In this example, Andini-lu (Anthony-to) is a clause fragment. The probable underlying clause is: kila-ka Andini-lu 'he took him to Anthony's Lagoon'. The repeated kila-ka has then been deleted because it is redundant.

Purpose is expressed by means of a verb participle marked by the ergative-allative-purpose marker -lu, or by a dependent clause based on this participle. There are two instances in which the Purpose constituent is introduced by the preposition nyala 'to', which otherwise occurs to introduce a location phrase, for example nyala alanji-lu 'to the camp' (see examples 8.68 and 8.426).

The following examples illustrate Destination Intransitive Clauses in which the Purpose function is expressed:

8.422 Jalu-wulyarri-nji / wardjangka-ya-lu.

they-set.off-PRES fish-PT-PURP

PRED PURP

They are going fishing.

8.423 M Ka-lhuwarri-njaninya / nyamba-rama-ntha-lu.

he-depart-P.CST REFL-fight-PT-PURP

PRED PURP

(In the old days) they used to go off to fight (that is, for an organised time of settling disputes between groups before there was mutual involvement in ceremonies).


they-walk-walk see-PT-PURP MSC-that.DEF corroboree

PRED PURP

They all went to watch the corroboree.

Example 8.425 illustrates the unusual fronting of both a Purpose constituent within a clause and also of the non-participle constituents of that embedded participial clause. (Normally the participle precedes the other constituents.)


again word put-PT-PURP I-come

PURP PRED

I came to write down more language.

The normal order in this clause would be: Karna-wingka/yibarra-ntha-lu yurrulu wuka.
In example 8.426, the preposition nyala ‘to’ introduces the Purpose constituent:

8.426  \[\text{Karna-wuluma / nyala warlba-ntha-lu wurnda-a.}\]
I-run to climb-PT-PURP tree-ABL
PRED
PRED
PRED

I ran to climb a tree.

The next example is the cook's call to the cattle-station workers to come to a meal (reminiscent of the English ‘Come and get it!’):

8.427  \[\text{Kirru-wingka-la / rduma-ntha-lu.}\]
you.PL-come-FUT get-PT-PURP
PRED
PRED

You will come to get (breakfast).

The following examples illustrate Destination Transitive Clauses in which the Purpose function is expressed:

8.428  \[\text{Jala-ka-nji waykal-iya / wuba-ntha-lu.}\]
it.they-take-PRES down-wards cook-PT-PURP
PRED
PRED

They are taking (the game) down to cook (it).

8.429  \[\text{Jilu-athama-nji / tha-ntha-lu.}\]
it.it-chase-PRES eat-PT-PURP
PRED
PRED

(The dogs) are chasing (the goanna) to eat/to hold in their teeth.

8.430  \[\text{Kila-ka-nthaninya / ngunda-ya-\textit{lu} yila-\textit{lu}.}\]
it.he-take-P.CST give-PT-PURP him-ALL
PRED
PRED

He used to take (the game) to give to (the cleverman who had healed him or one of his family).

8.431  \[\text{Arrkula mimingiya / kal-ija / na-ntha-lu yilarr.}\]
one man him.they-send tell-PT-PURP policeman
OBJ
PRED
PRED

They sent one man to inform the policeman.

The next set of examples illustrates sentences in which a Purpose unit occurs in the Sentence Periphery:

8.432  \[\text{Nya-mangaji kiya-wingka wula-\textit{lu} / wukanyi-\textit{nja-\textit{lu}.}\]
M-that.DEF he-go them.DU-ALL talk-PT-PURP
SENT.BASE
SENT.PERI

That man went to them, to talk (to them).

8.433  \[\text{Kumba-nu wabuda-lu / ma-wurrngku rduma-ntha-lu.}\]
he.REFL-descend water-ALL FD-fishing.line get-PT-PURP
SENT.BASE
SENT.PERI

He got down into the water, to get (his floating) fishing line.

8.434  \[\text{Jarna-ka-nji mamaj-inju / wuba-ntha-lu mamaji.}\]
it.I-bring-PRES here.DEF-to cook-PT-PURP here.DEF
SENT.BASE
SENT.PERI

I am bringing (the game) here, to cook here.
You sent him here to this place, to die for our wrongdoing.

The final two examples are of Destination Transitive Clauses in which a present participle appears to have a purpose function. These are the only recorded examples of this kind:

[F-woman her-hair her-they-cut-PRES twist-PT-PRES]

[The woman's hair,] they are cutting it to plait (into the woman's madamada pubic apron tassels; that is, in former times).

Kalu-arrrkana-nthaninya / lhawurndama-ntha-rra.
it.they-spear-P.CST make.fall-PT-PRES

They used to spear (the kangaroos) and make them fall.

8.2.5 NEGATION OF INDICATIVE CLAUSES

The general negative adverb kurrdardi 'no, not, no longer' is used to negate all indicative clause types. It co-occurs with negative verb forms and is essential to distinguish between the two functions of the suffixes -nma and -njima; for example:

\[\text{karma-wani-nma} \quad \text{I might return}\]
\[\text{I-return-DUB}\]

\[\text{kurrdardi} \quad \text{karma-wani-nma} \quad \text{I didn't return}\]
\[\text{not} \quad \text{I-return-DUB}\]

\[\text{karma-wani-njima} \quad \text{I might/should return}\]
\[\text{I-return-HYP}\]

\[\text{kurrdardi} \quad \text{karma-wani-njima} \quad \text{I am not returning}\]
\[\text{bit} \quad \text{I-return-PRES.NEG}\]

Another more specific negative adverb aliyaliya 'not yet, not previously, not until now' has a more restricted use. It sometimes occurs to negate an indicative clause. It occurs more in spontaneous conversation than in discourse material. Unlike kurrdardi, it co-occurs with non-negative verb forms. The functions of the two particles are combined in the following examples in which aliyaliya further qualifies a statement negated by kurrdardi:

\[\text{Kurrdardi} \quad \text{karr-arn-ina-nma, aliyaliya.} \quad \text{not} \quad \text{her-I-tell-P.NEG not.yet}\]
\[\text{I didn't tell her (about that), not yet.}\]

The negative adverb always occurs as the first word of the clause it negates. There is one statement in a discourse dictated early in the writer's experience which appears to be an exception. Almost certainly, a recorded version would have indicated a pause after the first locative phrase to indicate that this was a sentence topic:
Here at Borroloola the white man didn't shoot (the Aborigine).

This statement came after a description of some shooting in surrounding areas, and this, the concluding statement of the discourse, returns to the original topic of the Borroloola situation and states this exception.

8.2.5.1 NEGATIVE STATIVE CLAUSES

The Negative Stative Clause subtype which occurs most frequently is the Negative Simple Stative Clause. Examples of Negative Locative-Complex Stative Clauses and Negative Existential Stative Clauses are more limited in number, and there are no examples of Negative Full Stative Clauses in current data.

8.2.5.1.1 NEGATIVE SIMPLE STATIVE CLAUSE SUBTYPE

Information in the Simple Stative Clause subtype may be negated by expressing the absence of the topic or by making a negative statement about an existent topic.

Negative Simple Stative Clauses, expressing the absence of the topic, consist of two constituents, Negation and Subject. Negation is expressed by the negative adverb *kurdardi*. In this clause type it has the meaning ‘there are/were none’. The Subject is manifested by a pronoun, noun, noun phrase or participle, marked by dative case. Negative Simple Stative Clauses of this kind are illustrated below:

8.440  *Kurdardi / rru-muwarda-wu.*
not  F-canoe-DAT
NEG  SBJ
There are no (longer any) canoes.

8.441  *Kurdardi / alu-nga.*
not  them-DAT
NEG  SBJ
There are none of them./They aren't (here).

8.442  *Kurdardi / ki-duraji-yu.*
not  MSC.NNOM-dress-DAT
NEG  SBJ
There was/is no dress./There were no dresses (at that time).

8.443  *Kurdardi / ki-wurrirri-yu*
not  MSC.NNOM-large-DAT
NEG  SBJ
*ki-warrnguma-wu.*
MSC.NNOM-large.goanna.spec-DAT
There are/were no large *warrnguma* lizards.
not  REFL-fight-PT-DAT
NEG  SBJ
There is/was no fighting.

The Negative Simple Stative Clauses which make a negative statement about an existent
topic consist of a Negation constituent and either a Subject or a Complement. When such a
Subject or Complement is manifested by a pronoun, noun or noun phrase, distinction
between these two units is lost. In either instance the case marking is nominative. Either of
the negatives kurdardi or aliyaliya may manifest the Negation unit. The negative aliyaliya has
the meaning 'is/was not yet'. The negative kurdardi has a wider meaning range in this
case to include: 'is/was not there, is/was not like that, is/was not the one who did that'.

Negative Simple Stative Clauses which make a statement about an existent topic are
illustrated below:

8.445  Aliyaliya / yiwa.
not,yet  he
He wasn't (born) yet/then.

8.446  Aliyaliya / mukunjarna.
not,yet  dinner
It isn't dinner time yet.

8.447  Aliyaliya / awara.
not,yet  place
The place was not (created) yet/It isn't yet time (for the meeting).

Example 8.447 illustrates the use of awara 'ground, place, country' to include 'situation'
in its functioning, as in the second alternative free translation.

In the remaining examples, the negative adverb kurdardi manifests the Negation
constituent:

8.448  Kurtardi / Bikarli.
not  Bikarli
NEG,COMP  SBJ
It wasn't Bikarli (who did it)/Bikarli isn't like that.

8.449  M Kurtardi / na-rarrama marda wiji.
not  his-upper.leg and completely
NEG,COMP  SBJ
His legs were completely gone (lit. his upper legs and everything were not).

Example 8.449 is in reference to a murdered man whose body was thrown into the water
and partly eaten by sharks. There are specific terms for upper and lower leg (and also arm)
but there is no term for the entire limb. The phrase na-rarrama marda wiji 'his upper leg and
everything' expresses this meaning.

8.450  Kurtardi / li-wujiji.
not  PL-orphan
NEG  COMP
They aren't orphans.
Examples 8.453 and 8.454 illustrate a variation in form of the preposition ‘like’.

8.2.5.1.2 NEGATIVE LOCATIVE-COMPLEX CLAUSE SUBTYPE

In the entire body of recorded data, there are only two examples of Negative Locative-Complex Stative Clauses. The first is in the context of a massive flood. The narrator is emphasising the uniqueness of this particular flood and is making a contrast with the lesser flooding in the local river. He states:

8.455 M Kurdardi / marn-iwa.
   not here.INDEF-it
   (There is) not (that kind) here.

The other example negates the content of the Complement constituent. The old man speaking is making the point that he is still living but that he is restricted by some of the limitations of his physical aging. In this context, he says:

8.456 Kurdardi yamulu / marnaj-ingarna.
   not all.right here.DEF-I
   I am not very well. (lit. Not all right (is how) I am here.)

8.2.5.1.3 NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL STATIVE CLAUSE SUBTYPE

Negative Existential Stative Clauses are limited in number. However, there are two negative forms of the existential verbs and they co-occur with the negative kurdardi ‘not’ to form negative clauses.

The negative forms of the existential verb occur as zero stem with either the present negative/hypothetical suffix -ima or the negative past customary suffix -anima. The use of the existential verb with -anima is very rare.

In general, the examples of Negative Existential Clauses have the same three basic constituents in the same order: Negative, Predicate, Complement. There may be two
Complements, and there is one example in which a Subject occurs in addition, following the other three constituents. The following examples illustrate this clause type:

8.457  
Kurdardi / kal-anima / baji yurmungantha.  
not they-P.CST.NEG there.DEF continually 
NEG PRED COMP  
They weren't always there.

8.458  
Kurdardi / kal-anima / wirndayku / baji.  
not they-P.CST.NEG hungry there.DEF 
NEG PRED COMP COMP  
They didn't used to be without food there.

8.459  
Kurdardi / karn-ima / yuwundu.  
not I-PRES.NEG ill 
NEG PRED COMP  
I'm not ill.

8.460  
Kurdardi / kiw-ima / na-miji / marn-iwuthu.  
not it-PRES.NEG it-many here.INDEF-direction.in 
NEG PRED COMP COMP  
There aren't large numbers (of buffaloes) in this direction/around here.

8.461  
Kurdardi / kiw-ima / mingkiya mirrba.  
not he-PRES.NEG sitting still 
NEG PRED COMP  
This (child) isn't sitting still.

8.462  
Kurdardi / kiw-ima / marn-iwuthu / dulbarri.  
not it-PRES.NEG here.INDEF-direction.in honey 
NEG PRED COMP SB  
There is not any honey (that is, hives in the trees) in this direction.

The intransitive verb stem anma 'stay, remain', which provides a substitute stem for the non-occurring forms of the verb 'be', may be used if other negative tenses are required:

8.463  
Kurdardi / karn-anma-nma / walkurr.  
not I-stay-P.NEG asleep 
NEG PRED COMP  
I didn't sleep.

8.2.5.2 NEGATIVE ACTION CLAUSES

A positive action clause may be transformed into a negative one by the addition of the negative adverb kurdardi 'not' to precede the positive clause constituents, and by making the necessary changes to the verb. The other clause constituents remain unchanged. It is noted, however, that outer peripheral units do not normally occur in a negative clause. It is the Clause Base of each type and subtype which is negated.

There are a few recorded examples of two other means of negating action clauses. One is by the use of the negative aliyaliya 'not yet, not previously'. When this negative is used, the verb normally remains in its positive form. The other means is by adding the negative prefix
barni-/barli- 'not, cannot' as the initial prefix of the verb. This prefix co-occurs with the negative verb form.

When the general negative kurdardi 'not', or the prefix barni-/barli-, negates a verbal clause, the following changes occur in the verb: (1) an indicative-marker prefix ja- becomes ka- (a ka-prefix remains unchanged); (2) the present tense suffix allomorphs -nji, -njima become -njima and the allomorphs -yi, -yima become -yima; (3) the past tense suffix allomorphs 0, -nhu, -nyu, -la become -nma, or -rma following a stem-final rda syllable; and (4) the future tense suffix -la becomes -rru, or -yu following a stem-final rri syllable. (See Kirton 1978:7-8 for specific morphophonemic rules.) The clause negated by kurdardi 'not' and with the negative form of the verb suffix is that which usually occurs.

(1) Negative Intransitive Clauses

8.464 Kurdardi / kalu-arliariri-nma / nguthunda-wa.
not they-be.lost-P.NEG north-side
NEG PRED.NEG LOC
They weren't lost (there) on the north side.

not they-REFL-refuse-PRES.NEG
NEG PRED.NEG
They aren't refusing (to drink alcohol). They aren't saying "no" to themselves.

8.466 F Kurdardi / ki-wabama-njima / jakudukudu.
not it-fly-PRES.NEG emu
NEG PRED.NEG SBJ
The emu doesn't fly.

8.467 Kurdardi / kara-wani-njima a-ya.
not I-return-PRES.NEG west-wards
NEG PRED.NEG
I'm not coming back westwards.

8.468 Kurdardi / kara-wama-nma / juju.
not I-stay-P.NEG distant
NEG PRED.NEG LOC
I didn't remain at a distance.

8.469 M Kurdardi / wumburr-a / ka-yibanda-rma.
not plain-ABL it-land-P.NEG
NEG LOC PRED.NEG
(The plane) didn't land on the plain.

8.470 Kurdardi / kanda-warrma-rru / kari-ngamala.
not she-blow-FUT.NEG from-south
NEG PRED.NEG
(The cold wind) won't blow from the south.

not she-go-FUT.NEG F-woman there.DEF-to
NEG PRED.NEG SBJ DEST
The woman won't go there (to the sacred ground).
(2) Negative Transitive Clauses

8.472 Kurdardi / kal-uma-njima / nya-mangaji rubu.
not it.they-break-PRES.NEG MSC-that.DEF rope
NEG PRED.NEG OBJ
They aren’t breaking/can’t break that rope.

not it.they-see-PRES.NEG PL.ERG/ABL-this-direction.in
NEG PRED.NEG SBJ
The people around here (lit. this direction people) aren’t seeing (a flood like that).

8.474 Kurdardi / arlku jakarda / kalu-ruuma-njima.
not fish many it.they-get-PRES.NEG
NEG OBJ PRED.NEG
They aren’t getting many fish.

not it.they-take-P.NEG FD-food up-wards
NEG PRED.NEG OBJ ...PRED
They didn’t take the food up (to the camp).

8.476 Kurdardi / kama-murdi-nma / nya-mangaji awara.
not I-forget-P.NEG MSC-that.DEF place
NEG PRED.NEG OBJ
I haven’t forgotten that place.

not them-he-shoot-FUT.NEG PL-men
NEG PRED.NEG OBJ
He won’t shoot the people.

8.478 Kurdardi / kirn-inj-irra-ruu.
not you.SG-it-bum-FUT.NEG
NEG PRED.NEG
(The salted fat dugong meat) won’t bum you.

(3) Negative Semitransitive Clauses

8.479 M Kurdardi / jakarda wuburr / kiwa-tha-njima.
not many food it.eat.flesh-PRES.NEG
NEG OBJ PRED.NEG
(The flying fox) doesn’t eat many bush foods.

not he-pull.in-PRES.NEG fish
NEG PRED.NEG OBJ
He isn’t pulling in any fish.

8.481 M Kurdardi / ka-wunja-nma / diyi.
not he-drink-P.NEG tea
NEG PRED.NEG OBJ
He didn’t drink tea.
(4) Negative Reflexive Clauses

8.482 M  
Kurdardi / kambu-kurrama-njima / wardaba / awara-la.
not it.REFL-bury-PRES.NEG goanna ground-ABL
NEG PRED.NEG SBJ LOC

The goanna (lizard) isn't burying itself in the ground (at this time of year).

8.483 M  
Kurdardi / kumba-wudduruma-nma / mardumbarra.
not it.REFL-feed-P.NEG crocodile
NEG PRED.NEG SBJ

The crocodiles didn't eat (the dead body).

8.484
Kurdardi / yi-ku / kan-umb-ina-nma.
not him-DAT she-REFL-tell-P.NEG
NEG GOAL PRED.NEG

She didn't tell him about herself/her situation.

(5) Clauses negated by aliyaliya 'not yet, not previously'

8.485 F  
Aliyaliya / kanya-ila-nga-la / nya-Junithin.
not yet him-he-see-FUT M-Jonathan
NEG PRED OBJ

He hasn't yet seen Jonathan (but he will).

8.486  
Aliyaliya / karna-mb-ija waykal-iya.
not yet I-REFL-sleep down-wards
NEG PRED

I hadn't yet gone to bed. (lit. I haven't yet slept down (on my bed)).

8.487
Aliyaliya / kuw-urrkuwa-nji / ma-ngarra.
not yet it.FD-burn-PRES FD-food
NEG PRED SBJ

The food isn't yet cooked.

(6) Clauses negated by barni-

There is one other way in which an action clause may be negated. The prefix negative barni-/barli- 'not' may occur in the Predicate as the initial prefix on the verb. This negative prefix is in more general use to negate a participle or an imperative form of the verb. There are only five recorded examples of the use of barni- to negate an indicative verb. Some uses of the prefix almost suggest a meaning of inabilitative mood 'cannot', but when it was used by the writer to translate this meaning it was not acceptable to native speakers. It may be that it is an older form of negation, or an alternative one which is now falling into disuse:

8.488  
Barn-inyamba-nyngkarri-yu.
not-SG.REFL-feel/hear-FUT.NEG
PRED.NEG

You won't feel (any pain).

8.489
Barni-kila-nyngkarri-yu / awara.
not-it.he-hear-FUT.NEG place
PRED.NEG OBJ

He won't be able to hear anything. (lit. He won't hear the place.)
8.490 Bami-kinya-nga-rru / juju awara.
not-it.you.SG-see-FUT.NEG distant place
PRED.NEG OBJ
(When there is a heavy fog) you don't see the distant places.

8.491 Bami-ka-tha-rru / arrkula.
not-you.SG-eat-FUT.NEG one
PRED.NEG OBJ
(When bush foods are so plentiful) you won't eat (just) one (kind).

8.492 Bami-kanu-walima-nma.
not-it.we.EXCL-throw-P.NEG
PRED.NEG
We didn't throw it away.

8.3 IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

The functions of Yanyuwa Imperative Clauses are (1) to command immediate action, (2) to exhort to continuing action, and (3) to prohibit action. (Prohibitions are dealt with in §8.3.3.) A milder form of request may be made by using an Indicative Clause with a general future tense.

The imperative function is generally signalled on the verb in action clause types. However, there is one type of verbless Imperative Clause in which certain adverbs manifest the Predicate.

If a command is called to someone at a distance, the utterance is terminated by a raised intonation on the final syllable, lengthening of the final vowel, and a high front vowel off-glide. This applies not only to commands. It may occur also in greetings, farewells, statements or questions. It comes to mind here, perhaps, because commands are a more urgent form of speech which is more frequently called from a distance. This feature is illustrated in example 8.498.

8.3.1 VERBLESS IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

Several kinds of verbless commands may be given by the use of adverbs. The four cardinal locatives and the general locatives anka 'up' and wayka 'down', may take the general imperative suffix -ya to become command forms. These same six locatives, marked by the direction suffix -iya/-ya 'wards', also function as commands:

8.493 A-mba-ya!
west-side-IMP
Move to the west!

8.494 Akarra-mba-ya!
east-side-IMP
Move to the east!

8.495 Wayka-wayka-ya!
down-down-IMP
Keep down!/Get down!
Akarr-iya!
east-wards
(Go) eastwards!

Ngamal-iya!
south-wards
(Go) southwards!

The adverb kawa ‘back’ may be used to command as well as to modify motion verbs of command. It may mean ‘come back’ or ‘go back’. The specific meaning is distinguished by gesture or by an additional adverb. The adverb kawa may occur alone or in phrase with kabu or an adverb to indicate direction. (The meaning of kabu is not known. It seems to add a slight urgency to the command.)

Kawa!
back
Come back!/Go back! (to someone in the distance)

Kabu kawa!
kabu back
Come back!/Go back!

Kawa / ngambala / anka-ya!
back we.INCL up-wards
PRED...
SBJ ...
PRED.IMP
Let us go back up!

Kawa marnaj-inju!
back here.DEF-to
PRED.IMP
Come back here!

There are a few other adverbs or particles which may function as verb substitutes. One of these is jaba ‘Give it to me!/Give me some!’:

Jaba / ma-mungku!
give.me FD-mango
PRED.IMP OBJ
Give me a mango!

The particle kuju may be used in a quiet continuous way to lull a small child to sleep: kuju kuju kuju... The same particle may be used as a command for a child to go to sleep. In the following example, kuju and the adverb walkurr ‘asleep’ are used in succession:

Kuju! Walkurr!
kuju asleep
Settle down and go to sleep!

Another imperative word is: Bakuyaa! ‘Stop!/Wait!’ It is derived from the temporal adverb baku ‘later, in the future’ and an interaction suffix -yaa which anticipates an immediate response. (There are a group of interaction suffixes or particles which are used in conversations to prompt a response, reaffirm the statement, or with some such function.)
The imperative morpheme *ndi* 'leave alone' may be used to focus on either the subject or the object of the required action. It co-occurs (1) with the particle *bawujī* 'finished/terminating' and with either an imperative or a second person non-singular suffix, in its focus on the subject, or (2) with the adverb *wambu* 'remaining' and a third person prefix in its focus on the object. The following examples illustrate the functions of *ndi*:

- **Bawujī ndi-ya!** You (singular) leave that!
- **Bawujī mbila-ndi!** You (dual) leave that!
- **Bawujī rrা-ndi!** You (plural) leave that!

In the first of the three above clauses, the form *ndi*-ya does not follow the same pattern of construction as the other two. The second person singular intransitive subject morpheme is a zero morpheme. The minimal Yanyuwa phonological word, however, consists of two syllables. To make a complete word, the imperative suffix -ya is used with the *ndi* stem in this one instance.

The final vowel of the prefixes preceding the stem *ndi* is always *a*. This also occurs in verb constructions where there is a one-syllable verb stem; any other prefix-final vowel changes to *a* before such a stem.

- **Wambula-ndi!** Leave them (plural) alone!
- **Wambu wula-ndi!** Leave them (dual) alone!
- **Wambunda-ndi!** Leave her/it (feminine) alone!
- **Wambuna-ndi!** Leave it (arboreal) alone!
- **Wambu wa-ndi!** Leave him/it (food) alone!
- (Also for a male speaker:) **Wambulha-ndi!** Leave it (masculine) alone!

These clauses may be expanded to include an Object constituent also:

8.504 F  **Wambu  lha-ndi / mudika!**
remaining  it.MSC-leave car
PRED.IMP  OBJ
Leave that car alone!

8.505  **Wambu  wa-ndi / ma-mangaji  ma-barlmarna!**
remaining  it.FD-leave FD-that.DEF FD-hat
PRED.IMP  OBJ
Leave that hat alone!

8.506  **Wambu  la-ndi / li-ardu-birri!**
remaining  them-leave PL-child-DIM.PL
PRED.IMP  OBJ
Leave the children alone!

8.3.2 VERB-CENTRED IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

The clause constituents of an Imperative Clause are comparable with those for the Indicative Clause of the same type and subtype. There is usually no Subject constituent because the most frequently occurring subject is a second person one and the person marker on the verb provides sufficient reference. However, when the imperative clause is to exhort a
first-person group or to give instructions concerning a third-person subject, a Subject may occur.

Similarly, in a Transitive Imperative Clause, an Object constituent may occur, or the object-marker on the verb may give sufficient reference in the contextual situation. Because Imperative Clauses are used in face-to-face situations, there is scope for omission of reference to all that is shared speaker-hearer knowledge.

Apart from the Predicate constituent, the same grammatical units manifest Imperative Clause units as manifest the comparable Indicative Clause units. However, the inner peripheral constituents – Goal, Location and Destination – are more frequently omitted than in Indicative Clauses.

8.3.2.1 THE IMPERATIVE CLAUSE NUCLEUS

Verb-centred Imperative Clauses occur with a Predicate which manifests an imperative form of the verb (see Kirton 1978:33-36). In comparison with an indicative verb the following changes occur: (1) the \( \text{ka-} / \text{ja-} \) indicative-marker is deleted, (2) if a vowel-initial prefix remains as initial prefix in the word, the initial vowel is lost, and (3) either the general imperative suffix \( \text{-ya} \) or the continuous imperative suffix \( \text{-nthani/-njani/-yani} \) occurs. (see Kirton 1978:9-13 for further detail on verb prefixes.) These changes are illustrated in the two following examples:

8.507a. \( \text{K-al-inya-} \) rduma-la.
   IND-them-you.SG-get-FUT
   You will get them.

   b. \( \text{L-inya-} \) rduma-ya!
   them-you.SG-get-IMP
   Get them!

8.508a. \( \text{K-arr-} \) rduma-la.
   IND-her.you.SG-get-FUT
   You will get her.

   b. \( \text{Rra-} \) rduma-ya!
   her.you.SG-get-IMP
   Get her (female class)!

   c. \( \text{A-} \) rduma-ya!
   it.FEM.you.SG-get-IMP
   Get it (FEM)!

The example 8.508c has a vowel-initial prefix. This is acceptable because (1) the vowel \( a \) is the entire remaining prefix morpheme to provide the object or subject reference and it is obligatory that there be some such reference on a transitive verb, and (2) it is phonologically acceptable for the vowel \( a \) to occur in word-initial position.

The imperative suffix \( \text{-ya} \) has the allomorph \( \text{-rra} \) which occurs (1) with verb stems which have a CCV final syllable such that the consonant cluster is nasal followed by stop, and (2) with the following verb stems: \( \text{ngabu} \) ‘go underwater, swim, dive, drown’, \( \text{uma} \) ‘cut, break’, \( \text{nga/ka} \) ‘see’. (The allostem \( \text{ka} \) or the verb \( \text{nga} \) ‘see’ occurs only with the imperative suffix \( \text{-rra} \) and the general past tense.) The use of \( \text{-rra} \) is illustrated below:
8.509 Nya-wangka-rra!
him.you.SG-shoot-IMP
Shoot him!

8.510 Nya-ngunda-rra!
him.you.SG-give-IMP
Give it to him!

8.511 Ny-uma-rra!
it.you.SG-break/cut-IMP
Break it up/Cut it!

8.512 Ngabu-rra!
go.underwater-IMP
Dive!Swim!

8.513 Nya-ka-rra!
him.you.SG-see-IMP
Look at him!

The stem wunja ‘drink, fetch water’ is an exception in that, although it is a CCV-final stem as defined above, it does not take the suffix -rra but occurs with the basic suffix -ya (see example 8.592).

The continuous imperative suffix -nthani has the variants -njani and -yani. The suffix -njani occurs with i-final stems and also with the irregular group of stems which take -rra for the general imperative. The suffix -yani occurs with CCV-final verb stems when the consonant sequence is nasal followed by stop, and with the stem anma ‘stay, remain’:

8.514a. Kal-iny-ina-nthani!
them-you.SG-tell-IMP.CON
Keep telling them!

b. Wani-njani!
return-IMP.CON
Keep going back!

c. Nya-wanda-yani!
him.you.SG-follow-IMP.CON
Keep following him!

The verb stem wirranga ‘allow, permit, let’ changes to wirraka in an imperative construction:

him.you.SG-let-FUT
You will let him.

b. Nya-wirraka-ya!
him.you.SG-let-IMP
Let him!
8.3.2.2 EXISTENTIAL IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

Although there is no imperative form of the existential verb, there is an Existential Imperative Clause which consists of an obligatory Predicate and Complement, just as the Existential Indicative Clause does. The intransitive stem *anma* 'stay, remain' substitutes for the existential verb in the Predicate of this clause type as it does for other clause types where the existential verb does not occur.

The Complement is usually manifested by an adverb or adverb phrase, but a noun or noun phrase may occur. There may be two Complements. It is rare for there to be a Subject constituent but one may occur. Existential Imperative Clauses are illustrated below:

- **8.516** F *J-arrkula / anma-ya!*
  
  MSC.NNOM-one stay-IMP
  
  COMP PRED.IMP
  
  Stay in one place!

  (The usual form for ‘in one place’ is *jingk-arrkula*, but an alternative abbreviated form is used in this command.)

- **8.517** *Marnaji / anma-ya / walkurr!*
  
  here.DEF stay-IMP asleep
  
  COMP PRED.IMP COMP
  
  Sleep here!

- **8.518** *L-anma-ya / waki!*
  
  them-stay-IMP at.work
  
  PRED.IMP COMP
  
  Put them to work!

- **8.519** *Ambirri waka / anma-ya / mingkiya!*
  
  in.front away stay-IMP sitting
  
  COMP PRED.IMP COMP
  
  Sit away up the front!

- **8.520** *Ngali-nma-ya / ngali-wini / Jarabul Bili!*
  
  we.DU.INCL-stay-IMP our.DU.INCL-name Jarabul Billy
  
  PRED.IMP SBJ COMP
  
  Let us share the name Jarabul Billy! (lit. Let our name be Jarabul Billy!)

8.3.2.3 INTRANSITIVE IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

There are Intransitive Imperative Clauses for all four clause subtypes, but those for Simple Intransitive are rare. A check of the simple intransitive verb list (see §8.2.2.2.1) will show why. The very nature of the meanings of almost all these verbs makes it inappropriate to command them to happen. They are primarily associated with becoming or remaining in a certain state or condition, and to a large extent this is outside the control of the subject of the verb. There are some examples of Imperative Locative and Goal Intransitive Clauses. Most Intransitive Imperative Clauses are of the Destination subtype, based on motion verbs.

At first it seemed there were no naturally occurring Imperative Simple Intransitive Clauses recorded, but there is one. It is a mother’s command to a noisy child. The command is based on a middle verb which occurs in the simple intransitive list:
8.521 \textit{Nyamba-wama-ya!}  
\text{you.SG.REFL-cease-IMP}  
Stop (that noise)!

The other occurrences come from a translation of the New Testament passage in which Jesus stills a storm. He speaks to the wind and the waves. In the Yanyuwa version he uses the same command as example 8.521 above and also the following command:

8.522 \textit{Baujji bi-ya!}  
\text{finished stop-IMP}  
Stop!

The following are examples of Imperative Goal Intransitive Clauses:

8.523 \textit{Wāyinjathirri-njani / ngambala-nga!}  
\text{he-become.angry-IMP.CON us.INCL-DAT}  
PRED.IMP GOAL  
Continue to let him be angry with us!

8.524 F \textit{Yarrba-ya / yi-ku nyu-Riji!}  
\text{hunt-IMP him-DAT M.NNOM-Reggie}  
PRED.IMP GOAL  
Look for Reggie!

8.525 \textit{Baku yukuma-ya!}  
\text{later wait-IMP}  
PRED.IMP  
Wait a while!/Stop back!

Example 8.525 is a common command with an unstated Goal. The speaker then goes on to give the reason for the command. (See also the paragraph following example 8.503 for another use of the temporal baku ‘later’ in a command.)

8.526 \textit{Nyamba-lhawarma-ya / an-ku wu-bardibardi-yu!}  
\text{REFL-greet-IMP her-DAT F.NNOM-old.woman-DAT}  
PRED.IMP GOAL  
Greet the old woman!

The following are examples of Imperative Location Intransitive Clauses:

8.527 \textit{Ngalba-ya / arndaarnda!}  
\text{enter-IMP inside}  
PRED.IMP LOC  
Go inside!

8.528 \textit{Alarri-ya anka-ya!}  
\text{stand-IMP up-wards}  
PRED.IMP  
Stand up!

8.529 \textit{Alarri-ya / ngatha-ngka!}  
\text{stand-IMP me.DAT-ABL}  
PRED.IMP LOC  
Stand by me!
In example 8.529, a personal pronoun (marked for ablative case) functions in a Location unit. A personal pronoun marked for ablative case may also co-occur with locatives in the construction of a location phrase:

8.530  M Nya-mangaji / wa-alarri-ya / baji nyungk-iku
       MSC-that.DEF it-stand-IMP there.DEF MSC.ERG/ALL-his
       SBJ  PRED.IMP  LOC
       ki-awara-la!
       MSC.NNOM-country-ABL
Let that (log coffin) stand there in his/its country!

The Imperative Destination Intransitive Clause subtype (associated with motion) is the most common. The two verb stems most frequently used in this type are wani 'return, come back, go back', and wingka 'walk, come, go'. The verb phrase may include the adverb or adverb phrase kawa/kabu kawa 'back' (which also occur independently as a non-verb command; see examples 8.498 to 8.501). If the direction of movement is evident from the context or indicated by gesture, the verb may occur alone or with a Location or Time constituent:

8.531  Yarlayka wingka-ya kawa!
quickly go-IMP back
PRED.IMP
Come/Go back quickly!

8.532  Waka rru-wingka-ya!
away you.PL-go-IMP
PRED.IMP
Come/Go away!

8.533  Wani-ya kawa / nyala ngathangka-lu!
return-IMP back to me.ABL-ALL
PRED.IMP  DEST
Come back to me!

8.534  Bawuji wingka-ya!
finished go-IMP
PRED.IMP
Come/Go away at once!

8.535  Mbila-wingka-ya!
you.DU-go-IMP
PRED.IMP
Come!/Go!

8.536  Rikarrarikarra / wani-ya!
tomorrow return-IMP
TIME  PRED.IMP
Come back tomorrow!

8.537  Nyamba-na-ya / awara-lu!
you.SG.REFL-descend-IMP ground-ALL
PRED.IMP  DEST
Come down to the ground!
8.538 Wa-wingka-ya yiwa-lumba!
he-go-IMP he-by.self
PRED.IMP
Let him walk by himself! (to a child attempting to carry a younger brother)

8.539 A-Rudi / nda-wingka-ya / marnaj-inju!
F-Roddy she-come-IMP here.DEF-to
SBJ PRED.IMP DEST
Let Roddy come here!

8.540 Anka-ya waka wingka-ya / baj-inju!
up-wards away go-IMP there.DEF-to
PRED.IMP DEST
Go away up there!

8.541 Wuluma-ya marn-iwuthu / ngathangka-lu!
run-IMP here.INDEF-direction.in me.ABL-ALL
PRED.IMP DEST
Run here to me!

8.3.2.4 TRANSITIVE IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

Transitive Imperative Clauses occur for all four transitive subtypes. Certain simple transitive verbs are unlikely to occur in imperative constructions (for example, *lhaa* ‘know, recognise’, *mijanga* ‘desire’) but Imperative Simple Transitive Clauses commonly occur.

(1) Simple Transitive Clauses

8.542 Ny-irra-ynkarri-ya!
him-you.PL-hear-IMP
PRED.IMP
Listen to him!

8.543 Ngambal-awula-ka-rra!
us.INCL-they.DU-see-IMP
PRED.IMP
Let them see us!

8.544 L-inya-ka-rra / li-ardu-birri / akarru!
them-you.SG-see-IMP PL-child-DIM.PL east
PRED.IMP OBJ
Look at the children over in the east!

8.545 Nya-wayatha-ya!
it.you.SG-finish-IMP
PRED.IMP
Finish (drinking my cup of tea)!/Stop it!

8.546 A-wijuwa-ya / nanda-wulaya!
her.you.SG-cover-IMP her-head
PRED.IMP OBJ
Cover over (the baby's) head (to protect her from the sun)!
There are several verbs to express the concept of cooking (including those relating to specific methods), but one of the options is to use the verb *irrka* 'burn' or 'expose to the heat' as is done in example 8.549.

8.550  *Mbil-alu-rduma-ya!
you.DU-they-get-IMP
PRED.IMP
They are to get you!

8.551  *Nya-rduma-ya / yinda!
it.you.SG-get-IMP you.SG
SBJ
You get it!

8.552  *Na-yabima-ya / na-lhanu yin-ku!
it.ARB.you.SG-make-IMP ARB-paperbark you.SG-DAT
OBJ
Build your shelter! (traditionally made of paperbark)

8.553  *A-rdirrirra-ya / a-mbangu a-muwarda!
her.you.SG-tie-IMP F-that.INDEF F-canoe
OBJ
Tie up that canoe!

8.554 M  *Nya-rdirrirra-ya / nya-mangaji wakuku / ki-kijbakijba-la!
it.you.SG-tie-IMP M-that.DEF dog MSC.NNOM-chain-ABL INSTR
OBJ
Tie up that dog with the chain!

8.555  *Marn-iwuthu rra-ngali-yabalama-ya!
here.INDEF-direction.in her-we.DU.INCL-make.road-IMP
PRED.IMP
Let us make a road in this direction!

Example 8.555 illustrates the derivation of a transitive verb stem *yabalama* from a noun *rra-yabala* 'road, path'.
(2) Goal Transitive Clauses

8.556 Ny-ijarra-ya!
it.you.SG-point.out-IMP
PRED.IMP
Point it out (to him)!

8.557 M Ngarna-ngunda-rra / ngajarr!
me.you.SG-give-IMP gun
PRED.IMP OBJ
Give me a gun!

8.558 M Ngarna-ngunda-rra / yinku-rra-ardu!
me.you.SG-give-IMP your.SG.-F-child
PRED.IMP OBJ
Give me your daughter!

8.559 Rra-mimima-ya / kukurdi-yu / a-ngabalangu!
her.you.SG-show-IMP grandmother-DAT F-long.tom.fish
PRED.IMP GOAL OBJ
Show (your maternal) grandmother the a-ngabalangu fish!

8.560 Nganinya li-ngambal-ina-nthani / nala-rrku!
like.this them-we.INCL-tell-IMP.CON they-other
PRED.IMP GOAL
Let us keep on telling (this message) to the others!

8.561 F Nya-ngunda-rra / niya-marliji!
it.you.SG-give-IMP his-hand
PRED.IMP GOAL
Give (the torch into) his hand!

(3) Location Transitive Clauses

8.562 Bawuji l-inya-nda-rra!
finished them-you.SG-leave-IMP
PRED.IMP
Leave them right alone (there)!

8.563 Nya-nda-rra wambu!
it.you.SG-leave-IMP remaining
PRED.IMP
Leave it where it is!

8.564 M Nya-yibarra-ya waykal-iya / nya-mangaji ardu!
him.you.SG-put-IMP down-wards M-that.DEF child
PRED.IMP OBJ
Put that child down (there)!

8.565 A-yibarra-ya / wurdu-la nungku-burruburr-1a!
it.FEM.you.SG-put-IMP belly-ABL ARB.ERG/ALL-paper-ABL LOC
Put (the ball) in the carton (lit. cardboard's belly)!
Put it in the bag!

Carry this fishing spear for a while!

Bring her back to me!

Bring him back (here) straight away!

Take him back to me.

Take back his bones!

Take him/them back to his own country!

There are also Semitransitive Imperative Clauses. As for their Indicative Clause counterparts, the verbs take intransitive prefixes but there is potential for an Object Complement constituent to occur within the clause.
(1) Simple Semitransitive Imperative Clauses

8.573  Kurdandu  rarrma-ya!
       intensely    eat-IMP
       PRED.IMP
       Eat up your food! (to a child who is playing around)

8.574  Yabi       rarrma-ya!
       good/well   eat-IMP
       PRED.IMP
       Eat properly!

8.575  Mbila-rarrma-ya / ma-mangaji nu-wulaya!
       you.DU-eat-IMP   FD-that.DEF its.FD-head/fruit
       PRED.IMP          OBJ.COMP
       Eat that fruit!

8.576  Rru-munjarr-ya / buyuka!
       you.PL-get.firewood-IMP   firewood
       PRED.IMP              OBJ.COMP
       Fetch some firewood!

8.577  Wuba-ya / yi-ku / awirr-a!
       cook-IMP   him-DAT   ashes-ABL
       PRED.IMP    PERT    LOC
       Cook (it) for him in the ashes!

(2) Goal Semitransitive Imperative Clauses

8.578  Wukanyi-ya / Yanyuwa wuka / alu-nga liyi-ja!
       talk-IMP   Yanyuwa word them-DAT PL.DAT-this
       PRED.IMP   OBJ.COMP   GOAL
       Talk Yanyuwa language to these ones!

(3) Destination Semitransitive Imperative Clauses

8.579  A-kari-mba / wajanga-ya nguthund-iya!
       west-DEF-side paddle-IMP north-wards
       LOC         PRED.IMP
       Paddle (the canoe) northwards on the west side!

     This example illustrates the use of a direction indication in the verb phrase in place of a
     Destination constituent in the clause, as in Indicative Destination Clauses.

8.3.2.6 REFLEXIVE IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

     There are Reflexive Imperative Clauses but they do not frequently occur. The following
     examples illustrate this clause type:

8.580  Nyamba-wirringunda-rra!
       you.SG.REFL-give.up-IMP
       PRED.IMP
       Give yourself up!
8.581  *Mbila-mba-wudurruma-ya!*
you.DU-REFL-feed-IMP
PRED.IMP
Eat your meal! (lit. Feed yourselves!)

8.582  *Wumbu-wudurruma-ya!*
he.REFL-feed-IMP
PRED.IMP
Let him feed himself!

8.583  *Wumbu-ngarranma-ya / baji!*
he.REFL-heat-IMP    there.DEF
PRED.IMP    LOC
Let him warm himself there!

8.584  *Rr-inyamba-balama-ya / nirru-marliji / kurdandu!*
you.PL-REFL-clap.hand-IMP your.PL-hand    hard
PRED.IMP...    OBJ.COMP    ...PRED
Clap your hands together hard!

8.585  *Nyamba-mirnima-ya / alu-nga!*
you.SG.REFL-show-IMP them-GEN
PRED.IMP    GOAL
Show yourself to them!

8.3.3 NEGATION OF IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

The function of Negative Imperative Clauses is to prohibit action. In clause construction, (1) the Predicate is always the initial constituent of the clause, and (2) the negative prefix *bami-/barli-‘don’t (in this context)’ is the initial prefix in the verb (or adverb in a verbless clause). Clause constituents are minimal. Outer peripheral clause units do not occur, and often inner peripheral units are omitted too.

8.3.3.1 NEGATION OF VERBLESS IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

A look back at the Verbless Imperative Clauses (§8.3.1) shows that the verbless positive commands are generally not of a kind to have a negative counterpart. The directional commands, for example, are likely to be countermanded by a positive instruction to stop or to change direction.

The one recorded example of a Verbless Imperative Clause follows. Here the negative prefix marks the adverb stem *mingkiya ‘sitting’*:

8.586  *Barni-mingkiya / ngatha-ngka!*
don’t-sitting    me.DAT-ABL
PRED.NEG.IMP    COMP
Don’t sit (here) with me!
8.3.3.2 NEГATION OF VERB-CENTRED IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

In a negative Verb-centred Imperative Clause, the Predicate is always the first unit. The positive form of the imperative verb loses all person-marker referent so that the only prefix to remain is the reflexive marker inyamba-, where this is relevant. The verb is marked by the negative barni-/barli- as the initial prefix and by the negative imperative suffix -ntha, or one of its allomorphs -nja or -ya.

The negative imperative allomorph -nja co-occurs with i-final verb stems, and the allomorph -ya co-occurs with CCV-final stems such that the consonant cluster consists of a sequence of nasal plus stop. Two irregular verb stems also take the suffix -ya: uma 'cut, break' and ngabu 'go underwater, dive, swim'.

In general, the negative imperative allomorph -ya does not occur with the same stems which are marked by the positive imperative suffix -ya. The one noted exception to this is the verb stem wunja 'drink, fetch water' (see example 8.592).

(1) Compared Positive and Negative Imperative Clauses

The following examples illustrate the positive and negative imperative forms of certain selected verbs:

8.587a. Wuluma-ya!
        run-IMP
        Run!

b. Barni-wuluma-ntha!
       don't-run-NEG.IMP
       Don't run!

8.588a. Nya-wurruba-ya!
       it.you.SG-pour-IMP
       Pour it out!

b. Barni-wurruba-ntha!
       don't-pour-NEG.IMP
       Don't spill it!

8.589a. Nya-ngunda-rra!
       it/him.you.SG-give-IMP
       Give it (to him)!

b. Barni-ngunda-rra!
       don't.give-IMP
       Don't give that!

8.590a. Wani-ya!
       return-IMP
       Come/Go back!

b. Barni-wani-nja!
       don't-return-NEG.IMP
       Don't come/go back!
8.591a.  *Ny-uma-rra!*
   it.you.SG-cut/break-IMP
   Cut/Break it!

   b.  *Barni-ma-nja!*
   don't-cut/break-NEG.IMP
   Don't cut/break it!

8.592a.  *Wunja-ya!*
   drink-IMP
   Drink it!

   b.  *Barni-wunja-ya!*
   don't-drink-IMP
   Don't drink it!

(2) Negative Imperative Intransitive Clauses

8.593  *Barni-malawurri-nja!*
   don't-make.noise-NEG.IMP
   Don't make a noise!

8.594  *Barni-wardirri-nja!*
   don't-be/become.bad-NEG.IMP
   Don't be naughty!

8.595  *Barni-mirirri-nja!*
   don't-growl-NEG.IMP
   Don't growl (at him)!/Don't argue!

8.596  *Barni-rarri-nja!*
   don't-cry-NEG.IMP
   Don't cry!

8.597  *Barni-yinjathirri-nja / yi-ku!*
   don't-be.angry-NEG.IMP  him-DAT
   PRED.NEG.IMP  GOAL
   Don't be angry with him!

8.598  *Barni-bul-burraykirri-nja / alu-nga!*
   don't-be.weary-weary-NEG.IMP  them-DAT
   PRED.NEG.IMP  GOAL
   Don't weary of them and leave them!

In example 8.598, the meaning of the verb *burraykirri* is comparable with the English expression ‘be fed up’. It may relate to being satiated with a specific kind of food or to being figuratively ‘fed up’ with an excess of meetings or difficult people or other tiresome things.

8.599  *Barni-warlba-ntha  anka-ya!*
   don't-climb-NEG.IMP  up-wards
   Don't climb up (there)!

8.600  *Barni-ngirringirrima-ntha!*
   don't-move.all.around-NEG.IMP
   Don't move all around!
Don't stop there on that bed!

With its meaning 'cease', the stem *bi* occurs in the simple intransitive verb list. With its meaning 'stay, remain', it occurs in the locative intransitive list.

There are few Negative Imperative Clauses of the Destination Intransitive subtype. The subtype is illustrated in examples 8.587 and 8.590 above.

### (3) Negative Imperative Transitive Clauses

Negative Imperative Transitive Clauses occur in the four subtypes, although the distinctions become blurred because of the omission of most inner peripheral constituents (as is also seen in the Negative Imperative Intransitive Clauses above). The following are examples:

8.602 *Barni-nga-ntha!*

Don't look!

8.603 *Barni-kujukujuma-ntha!*

Don't tickle him!

8.604 F *Barni-mijanga-ntha / nya-rrku nya-miringiya!*

Don't desire another man (than your husband)!

8.605 *Barni-nma-ntha / nya-mangaji bindij!*

Don't take that bandage off!

8.606 *Barni-wuburuma-ntha / ma-mangaji wumbiji!*

Don't touch that central (fruit tree)!

The next three examples come from a discourse urging people not to drink alcohol and especially not to give it to the children:

8.607 *Barni-ngunda-ya / alu-nga!*

Don't give (alcohol) to them!
Don't give the children the drinking (habit)!

Don't put it down there!

Don't send him there!

Don't pull him!

Don't eat that!

Don't drink alcohol!

Don't hit one another!/Don't hit yourselves!

Don't hit one another!/Don't hit yourselves!

Don't scratch yourself!

Don't drink alcohol!

Don't pull him!! Don't pull him!

The following are examples of Negative Imperative Semitransitive Clauses:

Don't give the children the drinking (habit)!

Don't put it down there!

Don't send him there!

Don't pull him!

Don't eat that!

Don't drink alcohol!

Don't hit one another!/Don't hit yourselves!

Don't scratch yourself!

Don't pull him!! Don't pull him!

The following are examples of Negative Imperative Reflexive Clauses:

Don't give the children the drinking (habit)!

Don't put it down there!

Don't send him there!

Don't pull him!

Don't eat that!

Don't drink alcohol!

Don't hit one another!/Don't hit yourselves!

Don't scratch yourself!

Don't pull him!! Don't pull him!

The following are examples of Negative Imperative Semitransitive Clauses:

Don't give the children the drinking (habit)!

Don't put it down there!

Don't send him there!

Don't pull him!

Don't eat that!

Don't drink alcohol!

Don't hit one another!/Don't hit yourselves!

Don't scratch yourself!

Don't pull him!! Don't pull him!

The following are examples of Negative Imperative Reflexive Clauses:

Don't give the children the drinking (habit)!

Don't put it down there!

Don't send him there!

Don't pull him!

Don't eat that!

Don't drink alcohol!

Don't hit one another!/Don't hit yourselves!

Don't scratch yourself!

Don't pull him!! Don't pull him!

The following are examples of Negative Imperative Semitransitive Clauses:

Don't give the children the drinking (habit)!

Don't put it down there!

Don't send him there!

Don't pull him!

Don't eat that!

Don't drink alcohol!

Don't hit one another!/Don't hit yourselves!

Don't scratch yourself!

Don't pull him!! Don't pull him!

The following are examples of Negative Imperative Reflexive Clauses:

Don't give the children the drinking (habit)!

Don't put it down there!

Don't send him there!

Don't pull him!

Don't eat that!

Don't drink alcohol!

Don't hit one another!/Don't hit yourselves!

Don't scratch yourself!

Don't pull him!! Don't pull him!

The following are examples of Negative Imperative Semitransitive Clauses:

Don't give the children the drinking (habit)!

Don't put it down there!

Don't send him there!

Don't pull him!

Don't eat that!

Don't drink alcohol!

Don't hit one another!/Don't hit yourselves!

Don't scratch yourself!

Don't pull him!! Don't pull him!
na-wulangi wiji.
ARB-river completely
(The water) is going in the bush; it doesn't follow the river-way entirely.

Imperative Clauses are used in this same way to reinforce a command. The positive and the negative commands are given in immediate succession (in either order):

8.617 Barni-warndima-ntha! Yabi ny-ina-ya!
don't-lie-NEG.IMP well him.you.SG-tell-IMP
Don't tell lies! Tell him rightly!

8.618 Barni-yarrungka-ya! Nya-nda-rra walkurr!
don't-arouse-IMP him.you.SG-leave-IMP asleep
Don't wake (him) up! Leave him asleep!

8.619 Lhaba mbil-anma-ya! Barni-malawurri-nja!
quiet you.DU-stay-IMP don't-make.noise-NEG.IMP
Be quiet! Don't make a noise!

8.620 Yabi nya-arrkana-ya! Barni-wardima-ntha!
well it.you.SG-spear-IMP don't-make.bad-NEG.IMP
Sew it well! Don't spoil it!

8.621 Barni-ma-nja! Yabi n-imba-la-ka-rra!
don't-break-NEG.IMP well it.ARB-you.DU-see-IMP
Don't tear (the photographs)! Look at them properly!

8.4 QUOTE FORMULA CLAUSES

Certain clauses have the special function of introducing or terminating direct speech utterances. These clauses are termed Quote Formula Clauses and the speech utterance is termed the Quote (as in Longacre 1968). Apart from one minor difference, Quote Formula Clauses are structurally the same as the Indicative Clauses described in §8.2 above. However, their function is sufficiently specialised for a brief description of these clauses to be given separately.

Quote Formula Clauses include Existential, Intransitive, Transitive, Semitransitive and Reflexive Clauses. The one exceptional occurrence is that, in some instances, the Quote itself may occur in place of the otherwise obligatory Complement in an Existential Quote Formula Clause.

It is not unusual to find a Quote without any introductory Quote Formula. In 98 speech segments studied, half had no Quote Formula. In a Narrative Discourse especially, action clauses may be interspersed with Quotes and the context indicates which participant or participants are speaking. When there is a conversation, a Quote Formula may introduce the first Quote and the ensuing utterances continue without further introductory or terminating formulae.

In the other 49 examples, mainly from non-Narrative discourse types, a Quote Formula Clause precedes or follows the Quote, or it may do both. Quote Formulae preceding the Quote are more numerous than those following. It is very rare for a Quote Formula Clause to occur within a Quote, that is with the Quote divided to precede and follow it, but this may occur to give stylistic variation (see §8.4.6).
Quote Formula Clauses consist of their nuclear constituents only, except for the inner periphery Goal constituent. Other inner peripheral constituents and all outer peripheral constituents are omitted.

The commonly occurring verbs in Quote Formula Clauses are the existential verb *am* 'be, do', the semitransitive verb *wukanyi* 'talk, speak, say', and the transitive verbs *inu* 'tell', and *yalbanga* 'ask'. These are the four which may occur in the Quote Formulæ following the Quote as well as preceding it.

The other verbs which may occur in the Quote Formula which may introduce the Quote include the intransitive verbs *lhawamallhawamdi* 'swear, abuse, speak negatively/with hostility', *mirirri* 'growl at, say argumentatively', *rarri* 'cry', *wajba* 'call out', *warndima* 'lie, say falsely' and *wuthurruma* 'laugh, say jokingly'; the middle verbs *lhawarrma* 'greet, speak well of', *ngarninyama* 'reply, respond' and *ngayardi* 'say appreciatively, compliment'; and the transitive verbs *kiwuma* 'spit, insult, speak mockingly at', *murdama* 'farewell, say goodbye', *urma* 'stop, forbid' and *wundarrba* 'call by name, address by name'.

### 8.4.1 EXISTENTIAL QUOTE FORMULA CLAUSES

The one existential verb which occurs in a Quote Formula Clause is the verb *am* 'be, do'. The writer had a mental query as to whether *am* functions with one of these meanings in this clause type also, or whether it has an additional meaning 'say'. It was therefore of special interest to observe the equivalent Kriol usage.

The following sentence comes from the Kriol translation of ‘Wandi’ (Thomas 1982:6, translated by Queenie Brennan):

"Kamenplei!" iminlagijat.

This means ‘‘Come and play!” he said' (lit. ‘‘Come and play!” he was/did like that’).

The word *imin* in this Kriol sentence is a contracted form of the third person singular pronoun *im* and the past tense auxiliary verb *bin* 'was' (see Sandefur 1979:127). Other Kriol writers also use the verb *bin* in this same way. This demonstrates that the Kriol existential verb *bin* (and the contraction *imin*) is used in a Quote Formula in precisely the same way as the Yanyuwa verb *arriri*.

The following are examples of Existential Quote Formula Clauses which precede the Quote. The first one illustrates an Existential Clause which is lacking any Complement apart from the Quote which fulfils this function:

**8.622**  
\[\text{Kalu-arrri-njaninya, } "\text{Wayi! Wayi! Wayi!}" \]
\[\text{they-be-P.CST wayi wayi wayi} \]
They used to call out, "Wayi! Wayi! Wayi!" (to frighten out any kangaroos or wallabies towards the waiting hunters)

**8.623**  
\[\text{Karna-arrri alu-nga liyi-ardu-birri-yu, } "\cdots" \]
\[\text{I-be them-DAT PL.DAT-child-DIM.PL-DAT} \]
I said to the children, "..."

**8.624**  
\[\text{Kanda-arrri Rumbuli, } "\cdots" \]
\[\text{she-be Rumbuli} \]
Rumbuli said, "..."
8.625 *Janda-arri-nji ngatha,* “...”
She is saying to me, “...”

8.626 M *Ka-arri yi-ku nya-mangaji wajbala jiwin* 
he-be him-DAT M-that.DEF white.man he-PRES
*nungku-kida,* “...”
ARB.ERG/ALL-gate
The white man who is at the gate said to him, “...”

The following clauses are those which follow the Quote:

8.627 M “...”, *ka-arri.*
he-be
“...”, he said.

8.628 “...”, *nganinya kanda-arri ngatha.*
like.that she-be me-DAT
“...”, she said to me in this way.

8.4.2 INTRANSITIVE QUOTE FORMULA CLAUSES

The following are examples of Intransitive Quote Formula Clauses which may precede the Quote (Intransitive Clauses do not normally follow it):

8.629 *Kanda-wajba an-ku,* “...”
She called to her, “...”

8.630 M *Ja-wajba-nji,* “...”
He is calling out, “...”

8.631 *Kalu-wuthurruma-nthaninya yi-ku,* “...”
They used to laugh at/mock him, “...”

8.632 *Kumba-ngayardi-njaninya yi-ku,* “...”
He used to speak encouragingly to him, “...”

8.633 *A-bardibardi kanda-mirirri alu-nga,* “...”
The old woman rebuked them, “...”

8.4.3 TRANSITIVE QUOTE FORMULA CLAUSES

The two verbs most commonly occurring in Transitive Quote Formula Clauses are *inu* ‘tell’ and *yalbanga* ‘ask’. Clauses manifesting these verbs may occur preceding or following a speech utterance. The other verbs which occur in this clause type (see §8.4 above, final paragraph) normally occur in Quote Formula Clauses which precede the Quote.

The following are examples of Transitive Quote Clauses which precede the Quote:
Karr-am-inu rra-karna-ardima rra-Ngarrikalu, "..."
her-I-tell F-my-niece F-Ngarrikalu
I told my niece Ngarrikalu, "..."

Kal-and-inu, "...
them-she-tell
She told them, "..."

Jilu-yalbanga-nji ki-wujidila, "..."
him.he-ask-PRES M.NNOM-horse.tailer
The horse-tailer is asking him, "..."

Kilu-yalbanga munanga-ngala, "...
him.he-ask white.man-way
He asked him in English, "..."

karn-ilu-yalbanga, "...
me-he-ask
He asked me, "...

Kany-ilu-wundarrba niya-wini, "...
him.he-call.name his-name
He called him by name,"...

Kil-urra niwa-rku munanga, ["Barni-wanga-nthal"]
him.he-stop he-other white.man don't-shoot-NEG.IMP
He stopped the other white man, ["Don't shoot!"]

The following are examples of Transitive Quote Formula Clauses which follow the Quote. The first example is from a teaching discourse which the narrator presents in the form of a conversation between himself and an unidentified questioner. The first question was introduced by a Quote Formula also (see example 8.638 above) and is followed by an expanded form of the clause in example 8.642):

"...", nd-iwa manji nya-mangaji karn-ilu-yalbanga.
REL-he ignorant M-that.DEF me-he-ask
"...", being ignorant that one asked me.

"...", nganinya jarn-ina-nji.
like.this him.I-tell-PRES
"...", I'm telling him in this manner.

8.4.4 SEMITRANSITIVE QUOTE FORMULA CLAUSES

The semitransitive verb wukanyi 'talk, speak' is the only one to occur in Quote Formula Clauses, but it is one of the most commonly occurring verbs with this function. Quote Formulae which manifest wukanyi usually precede the Quote but may also follow it:

Kanda-wukanyi-la, "...
she-talk-FUT
She will say, "..."
8.644 *Kama-wukanyi alu-nga liyiardu-birri-yu,* "..."
I-talk them-DAT PL.DAT-child-DIM.PL-DAT
I spoke to the children, "..."

8.645 F *Kiya-wukanyi-njaninya kari-ngamala nya-mangaji wurrulibinka,* "..."
he-talk-P.CST from-south MSC-that.DEF jabiru
The jabiru bird used to talk from the south, "..."

8.646 "...", *jarna-wukanyi-nji an-ku marruwarra-wu.*
I-talk-PRES her-DAT cousin-DAT
"...", I said to (my) cousin.

8.4.5 REFLEXIVE QUOTE FORMULA CLAUSES

The transitive verb *inu* 'tell' may be used in a Reflexive Clause with the meaning 'tell about-self'. Reflexive Quote Formula Clauses of this kind may precede or follow the Quote:

8.647 *Kanumb-inu,* "..."
she.REFL-tell
She said of herself, "..."

8.648 "...", *kanumb-inu ngatha.*
she.REFL-tell me.DAT
"...", she told me about herself.

The semitransitive verb *wukanyi* 'talk, speak' and the transitive verb *yngkarri* 'hear, listen' in the extended form *yngkalayngkarri* may both be used in reflexive verb construction to mean 'think'. It is usually the former, *mba-wukanyi* 'talk to -self' which is used to introduce a Quote which refers to 'thinking':

8.649 *Kanumba-wukanyi,* "..."
she.REFL-talk
She said to herself/thought, "..."

8.4.6 SPECIAL STYLISTIC USAGE

One brief Dramatic Discourse has an attractive literary style. The narrator is giving instructions to a non-Aboriginal hearer on how to find food and drink in the bush if she should become lost. In giving this teaching, she puts her 'cousin' in the role of questioner and she herself gives the information to her in terms of a response.

The narrator commences the discourse with the beginning of her 'cousin's' question, interrupts with a Quote Formula Clause and its paraphrase, and then continues:

8.650 "*Marruwarra, namba karna-wingka-yima munji-munji,*"
cousin if I-go-HYP bush-bush

*janda-wukanyi-nji ngatha a-Duna, janda-arri-nji ngatha,*
she-talk-PRES me.DAT F-Donna she-be-PRES me.DAT

"*Marruwarra, namba karna-wingka-yima munji-munji, ngalhi*
cousin if I-go-HYP bush-bush what
"karna-rarrma-njima?"  
I-eat-HYP  
"Cousin, if I should go in the bush," Donna is talking to me, she is saying to me, "Cousin, if I should go in the bush, what would I eat?"

The narrator introduces her own response with a Quote Formula Clause in the customary way:

8.651  
Karna-wukanyi an-ku rruwu-ja marruwarra-wu, "..."  
I-talk her-DAT DAT-this cousin-DAT  
I said to this (my) cousin, "..."

The 'cousin' responds with a brief appreciative indication that she is listening. This also has a Quote Formula within the Quote:

8.652  
"Ngarri?" janda-arri-nji marruwarra ngatha,  
is.that.so she-is-PRES cousin me.DAT  
"A...a, ngarri, marruwarra."  
oh is.that.so cousin  
"Is that so?" (my) cousin is saying to me, "Oh... is that how it is, cousin?"

The narrator continues her teaching without further introductory formula but she terminates it with a Quote Formula Clause (see example 8.646 above). She concludes the question-answer section with a summary repetition of the cousin's initial question, but this time it is introduced and terminated by Quote Formulae:

8.653  
Jarn-andu-yalbanga-nji jinangu, 'Nama munji-munji wingka-ya-ra,  
me-she-ask-PRES this if bush-bush go-PT-PRES  
kulu ngandarra ngarna rduma-ntha-wu wudurru?'  
then how I get-PT-DAT food  
kanda-arri-nji ngatha, [kulu yamulu jarr-arni-na-nji...]  
she.again-be-PRES me.DAT and all.right her-I-tell-PRES  
She is asking me this, "If (one is) walking in the bush, then how (am) I to get food?" she is saying to me, [and I am telling her all right...]

The narrator concludes with a brief summary in indirect speech.

8.5 Participial Clauses

Participial Clauses are normally dependent clauses, clauses which occur as part of a larger construction. They are normally dependent on the previous clause (or sometimes, earlier context) for identification of their subject. The verb participle which occurs in the Predicate has no person-marker subject and there is normally no Subject constituent. In most instances, the subject is identified as being the Subject of the previous clause. If that preceding clause is transitive, then either the Subject or the Object may be the subject of a Participial Clause which follows. Pronominal reference or the context must distinguish which of them is the subject.

It is noted that an Indicative Stative Clause may have a Participial Clause as one rare form of its Complement (see examples 8.29, 8.30 and 8.41 to 8.43), so that it then consists of a
Subject and a Participial Clause, but these are independent clauses with a specific defining function.

The only context in which dependent Participial Clauses having a Subject within the dependent clause may occur is in a Temporal Clause introduced by the relator *ngal* 'when' if the subject of this clause is different from the subject of the accompanying clause. These are illustrated in §8.5.2.

### 8.5.1 Participial Clause Construction

Participial Clauses consist minimally of a verb participle in one of its forms, and it may include other constituents according to the type and subtype of the verb which manifests the Predicate. Participial Clauses may consist of nuclear, and inner and outer peripheral constituents, just as independent clauses do.

It is rare for motion verbs to occur in a Participial Clause. The present participle *wingkaya-rra* 'coming, going, walking' occurs in a few instances in the sense of 'walking around' to indicate a reasonable degree of health. But the normal use of motion verbs is in the expressing of purposeful action, and this is typically manifested in independent clauses.

There are no Participial Clauses in which an intransitive past participle form occurs. There is only one example of such a participle in the entire data and it is in the following Stative Clause. A group of women had been waiting for a length of time for another person to arrive. One of them finally commented:

8.654

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{A-yurrujurr} & \text{mamarri-nja}.\\
\text{F-all.the.time/way} & \text{remain.away-PT} \\
\text{SBJ} & \text{COMP} \\
& (\text{She is}) \text{ a constantly absent woman.}
\end{array}
\]

#### 8.5.1.1 Clause Nucleus

The nucleus of a non-transitive Participial Clause normally consists of a Predicate only. In a dependent Transitive Clause, an Object usually occurs following the Predicate. A Subject may occur only in the context defined above (§8.5, final paragraph).

#### 8.5.1.1.1 The Predicate

The Predicate of a Participial Clause is manifested by a verb participle or by a participle phrase. Yanyuwa participles may be past, past customary, present, or negative. They may be marked by dative or ergative-allative-purpose case suffixes. These forms are illustrated below with the transitive verb stem *wijuwa* 'cover':

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
wijuwa-ntha & \text{covered} \\
cover-PT & \\
*wijuwa-ntha-ninya & \text{covered (in the customary way)} \\
cover-PT-P.CST & \\
wijuwa-ntha-rra & \text{covering} \\
cover-PT-PRES &
\end{array}
\]
wijuwa-ntha-wu covering, relating to covering
cover-PT-DAT

wijuwa-ntha-lu to cover, with the intention of covering
cover-PT-PURP

*barni-wijuwa-ntha not covered
not-cover-PT

* (These two forms occur rarely. The negative form of the participle is identical with the negative imperative form of the verb.)

The Yanyuwa past participle, occurring in a Stative clause, provides a way of expressing passive in the language. This is illustrated in the following sentence (in women's dialect) which terminates a paragraph in a Procedural discourse on cooking kangaroo:

8.655 Kilh-aninya nuwa-ntha barra wayka,
it.MSC-P.CST cook.underground-PT now down
kurrama-ntha barra.
bury-PT now
It used to cook down in the underground oven then, buried.

There are two kinds of participle phrases. One is comparable with other verb phrases and the other is unique to participle occurrence. The common form of the participle phrase, in common with other verb phrases, consists of a verb form and an adverb modifier:

8.656 nyamba-wukanyi-nja-wu kurdandu
REFL-talk-PT-DAT loudly
to talk loudly

8.657 kadirra-ntha waykal-iya
insert.into-PT down-wards
inserted into (it)

8.658 walkurrija-nja-rra ngamal-iya
break.over-PT-PRES south-wards
breaking over southwards (of the effect of a storm on some banana palms)

8.659 kariy-a wunjini-nja-rra
from-west swim-PT-PRES
swimming from the south

8.660 rarri-nja-rra baj-iwuthu wiji
cry-PT-PRES there.DEF-direction.in all.inclusively
crying as a group in that direction

The second kind of participle phrase is of a specialised kind. In this phrase, the constituents appear to be those of a Participial Clause, but any other constituents are marked by the same case marker as the participle, in agreement with it, as in a phrase. The two cases which are used for the marking of such phrases are dative and ergative-allative-purpose. For these participle phrases, the constituent function for which the constituents are marked within the independent clause takes precedence over their functions relative to each other.

These specialised participle phrases are illustrated below, in their sentence context:
8.661 **Wanga-ntha-wu yi-ku ka-yukuma.**
shoot-PT-DAT him-DAT he-wait
He waited to shoot him.

8.662 **Kilo-ngunda-yaninya mankarni yabima-ntha-wu yi-ku.**
him.he-give-P.CST cleverman make.well-PT-DAT him-DAT
He gave (the game) to the *mankarni* doctor for making him well.

8.663 **Kila-ka-nthaninya baj-inju nuwa-ntha-lu yila-lu.**
it.he-carry-P.CST there.DEF-to cook-PT-PURP him-PURP
He brought it back to that place, to cook *in an underground oven* for him.

8.664 **Kanda-wani-nma nga-ntha-lu marnaj-inju.**
she-return-DUB see-PT-PURP here.DEF-ALL/PURP
She might come back to see us here.

8.665 **Kiya-wani-la rduma-ntha-lu ngambala-lu.**
he-return-FUT get-PT-PURP us.INCL-PURP
He will come back to collect us.

8.5.1.1.2 **THE OBJECT**

The Object in a Transitive Participial Clause is comparable with that in an Independent Clause. It consists of a noun, noun phrase, or a noun substitute such as a pronoun or an allative specifier *rrku* 'other'. The Object normally follows the Predicate:

8.666 **Ma-nja-rra / na-martiji**
break-PT-PRES his-finger
breaking his fingers (as a disciplinary action)

8.667 **Rama-ntha-rra / wakirli**
hit-PT-PRES boomerang
tapping boomerangs (as a rhythmic accompaniment)

8.668 **Wukanyi-nja-rra / Kangkalida**
talk-PT-PRES Kangkalida
talking the Kangkalida language

8.669 **Yngkarri-nja-wu / yin-ku wuka**
hear-PT-DAT you.SG-DAT word
to hear your words

8.670 **Rduma-ntha-lu / li-jakarda yilarr**
get-PT-PURP PL-many policeman
to get a band of policemen

8.671 **Jabuma-ntha-rra / ma-mangaji nu-wulaya**
pick-PT-PRES FD-that.DEF its.FD-head/fruit
picking that fruit

8.672 **Arrkana-ntha-ninya / a-wutha a-ngubunthurr**
spear-PT-P.CST FEM-head.louse FEM-black
spearing (in the customary way) the black head-lice
Sometimes the order of these constituents is reversed for stylistic reasons. In the following example, two Participial Clauses occur in succession, linked by the conjunction *marda* 'and'. The constituents are in the normal order in the first clause and are permuted in the second, to provide stylistic variation:

8.673  
*bulama-ntha-rra dulbarri marda wardaba rama-ntha-rra*

cut-PT-PRES honey and goanna kill-PT-PRES

cutting (trees to obtain) honey and killing goanna

In the oral language, new information is introduced slowly and in conjunction with repetition of known information. There is a preference for varying the order of constituents as the repetition occurs, as is illustrated in sentence 8.674. The same Participial Clause occurs three times within the sentence. The first occurrence is in the normal order. In the two occurrences which follow, the Object precedes the participle:

8.674  
*Wayka kan-aninya, kan-aninya wayka tha-ntha-rra*

down we.EXCL-P.CST we.EXCL-P.CST down eat-PT-PRES

*walya, walya tha-ntha-rra kan-aninya wuru-ngka,*

dugong dugong eat-PT-PRES we.EXCL-P.CST beach-ABL

*walya tha-ntha-rra arnindawa bara wuru-ngka, wuru-ngka*

dugong eat-PT-PRES at.coast now beach-ABL beach-ABL

*kan-aninya.*

ew.EXCL-P.CST

We used to be down there, we used to be down there *eating dugong*, we used to be *eating dugong* on the beach, *eating dugong* at the coast on the beach, on the beach we used to be.

Although the degree of repetition may have a tediousness in the English translation, in the Yanyuwa original there is rather a feeling of the relaxed time of eating after the active period of the hunt. There is also a certain sense of poetry in the repetition, with its variation and its accompanying rhythm.

8.5.1.1.3 THE SUBJECT

The Subject is restricted to those Participial Clauses which occur in a Temporal Clause introduced by *ngal* 'when' in a Temporal Sentence Base. It is noted that in each of the Temporal Sentence examples, there is a different subject referent for each Base (see examples 8.704 to 8.706 below). In this context, the Subject is manifested by a noun or a simple noun phrase comprising a demonstrative pronoun and a noun. These units are marked for nominative case.

8.5.1.2 CLAUSE INNER PERIPHERY

The inner periphery constituents, Goal and Location, may be omitted from the Participial Clause, but they frequently co-occur with their respective verb subtypes, as in independent clauses. (There are no examples of the Destination constituent in a Participial Clause, since this constituent seems to be essentially associated with action.)
The following examples illustrate the Goal Participial Clause subtype. In each instance, the Predicate precedes the Goal:

8.675 **yarrba-ntha-rra / wula-nga**
  hunt-PT-PRES  them.DU-DAT
  searching for them

8.676 **yarrba-ntha-rra / ki-wunala-wu**
  hunt-PT-PRES  MSC.NNOM-kangaroo-DAT
  hunting for kangaroos

8.677 **rarrl-nJa-rra baj-iwuthu wiji / nu-ngulyanda-wu**
  cry-PT-PRES  there.DEF-direction.in  all.inclusively  his.DAT-bone-DAT
  crying together in that direction for his bones (that is, for the bones of their
decedent kinsman)

8.678 **na-ntha-rra / yi-ku / nganambaji**
  tell-PT-PRES  him-DAT  like.that
  PRED...  GOAL  ...PRED
telling him in that way

The Goal (or Recipient Object) of a goal transitive verb may be marked by either dative case (as in the preceding examples) or by nominative (as if it were a second object). Examples 8.678 and 8.679 illustrate these alternatives with the same verb 'tell'.

8.679 **nalina-ntha-rra / nala-rrku li-mbangu li-manji-manji**
  tell.tell-PT-PRES  they-other  PL-that.INDEF  PL-ignorant-ignorant
  PRED  GOAL
telling all those other ignorant/unknowing ones

(In example 8.678, the 'all' translation is associated with the reduplication of the adjective/noun stem *manji* 'ignorant'. Stem extension or reduplication signifies the expanded nature of the verb action or of the number of participants involved.)

The following are examples of the Location Participial Clause subtype. In each instance the Predicate precedes the Location:

8.680 **nuwa-ntha / wayka**
  cook.underground-PT  down
  cooked down there

8.681 **wuba-ntha-lu / alanji-la**
  cook-PT-PURP  camp-ABL
  to cook in the camp

8.682 **alarri-nja-rra / wayka ngatha-ngka wurnda-a**
  stand-PT-PRES  down  me.DAT-ABL  tree-ABL
  standing down there with me by the tree

8.683 **alarri-nja-rra / marnaji-nju**
  stand-PT-PRES  here.DEF-to
  standing up this high/standing out this far

Example 8.683 is unusual in that the Location unit is manifested by a demonstrative locative with an allative suffix to indicate a height rather than a location. It was accompanied by a hand gesture to indicate the distance.
8.684 M nyamba-mirra-ntha-lu / nyungka-rkku
REFL-die-PT-PURP MSC.ERG/ALL-other

ki-awara-lae
MSC.NNOM-country-ABL
to die in another country

8.5.1.3 CLAUSE OUTER PERIPHERY

The outer peripheral units which occur with independent clauses may also occur with Participial Clauses. There is no example of the Accompaniment unit, but this unit has rare occurrence in independent clauses and it is assumed that there is potential for it to occur. There are examples of Time, Location, Instrument and Pertinent outer periphery constituents. These are illustrated below:

8.685 arrkana-ntha-ninya a-wutha a-ngubunthur / wabarrangu
spear-PT-P.CST FEM-louse FEM-black in.past
TR.PART.CL TIME
(customarily) speared the black head-lice in the past

8.686 tha-ntha-wu marnaji anda-lumba / wundururra
eat-PT-DAT here.DEF her-by.self at.night
SEMI TR.PART.CL.BASE TIME
to eat here by herself in the evening

8.687 walima-ntha-lu ma-wurmgku / wayka
throw-PT-PURP FD-fishing.line down
TR.PART.CL.BASE LOC
to cast a fishing line down there

8.688 rduma-ntha-lu akarru dubaka Yukuyi
get-PT-PURP east tobacco Yukuyi
TR.PART.CL.. LOC.. ..CL.BASE ..LOC
to get tobacco in the east at Yukuyi

8.689 M wijuwa-ntha / ki-bilangki-la
cover-PT MSC.NNOM-blanket-ABL
TR.PART.CL.BASE INSTR
covered with a blanket

8.690 muruma-ntha / nungka-lhanu-ngka
shut-PT ARB.ERG/ALL-paperbark-ABL
TR.PART.CL.BASE INSTR
closed off with paperbark (of the open end of a log coffin)

8.691 rduma-ntha-wu / alu-nga
get-PT-DAT them-DAT
TR.PART.CL.BASE PERT
to get (the horses) for (the stockmen)
8.692 arkarlba-ntha-lu nganu-milimili arndaarnda / nuwarnu-wardi-yu
wash-PT-PURP our.EXCL-chest inside ABST.DAT-bad-DAT
TR.PART.CL.BASE PERT

to cleanse our hearts (lit. our chests inside) of badness

8.5.2 PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE FUNCTIONS

Some functions of Participial Clauses have been touched on in the earlier sections of this clause description, and references back to relevant examples are given below. Participial Clauses of the various kinds are used (1) as the Complement of Stative Clauses; (2) as the Complement of Locative-Complex Clauses; (3) as the Complement of Existential Clauses; (4) as the Object of certain verbs including ‘hear’, ‘see’, ‘finish’; (5) as the Subject of Negative Stative Clauses of the kind ‘(there is) not any...’; (6) to manifest Purpose; (7) in the periphery of an Explanatory Sentence; (8) as the base introduced by the relator ngal ‘when, while’ in a Temporal Sentence; (9) more rarely, as the Apodosis of a Conditional Sentence; (10) in a depersonalised summary section of a Procedural Discourse; and (11) as the Topic of an Imperative Sentence.

In certain Participial Clauses, the participle may be preceded by the word nyala in two of its different functions. In a Purpose constituent within a clause, nyala may occur as purpose preposition ‘to’ (see examples 8.68 and 8.426); in this context it seems to have a focus function. The adverb nyala ‘still’ may precede a participle when it functions as Complement of a verbless clause (see example 8.65) or in a Temporal Sentence Base introduced by ngal ‘when’ (see example 8.708).

(1) Stative Clause Complement (See also examples 8.29, 8.30, 8.41 to 8.43 and 8.654)

8.693 M Nya-mangaji maranja / arrkana-ntha-rra
M-that.DEF dugong.hunter spear-PT-PRES
SBJ COMP

ki-walya-wu.
MSC.NNOM-dugong-DAT
That maranja dugong-hunter is going spearing dugong.

(2) Locative-Complex Clause Complement (See also examples 8.56, 8.57, 8.65 and 8.67)

8.694 Baj-anda / rarri-nja-rra yi-ku wumba kumba-mirra.
there.DEF-she cry-PT-PRES him-DAT that he.REFL-die
LOC.PRED COMP
There she is, crying for the one who has died.

(3) Existential Clause Complement (See also examples 8.85 and 8.86)

it-PRES shut-PT ARB.ERG/ABL-paperbark-ABL
PRED COMP
(The log coffin opening) was closed with paperbark.

(4) Object of Verbs ‘see’, ‘hear’, ‘finish’ (See also examples 8.255 to 8.258, 8.269 and 8.270)
This is one of the two contexts in which a Participial Clause may have a Subject. The Subject of the Participial Clause is the Object of the transitive verb in the main clause, and it always precedes the other Participial Clause constituents.

8.696 *Kila-yngkarri / baji / mulhamulhama-ntha-ninya.*

it.he-hear there.DEF act.quietly-PT-P.CST

PRED LOC OBJ

(The hunter) heard (the dugong) there moving quietly (in its customary way).

8.697 *Karr-arna-ka-la / a-bardibardi alarri-nja-rra.*

her-I-see-P F-old.woman stand-PT-PRES

PRED OBJ

I saw the old woman standing (there).


them-he-hear PL-child-DIM.PL cry-PT-PRES

PRED OBJ

He heard the children crying.


her-they.DU-hear-P.CST F-white.cockatoo from-south

PRED OBJ

REFL-call-PT-PRES

They heard a white cockatoo calling from the south.

(5) Subject of Certain Negative Stative Clauses (See also example 8.444)

8.700 **M Kurdishi / ka-ntha-wu baj-inju kulu ngamala nyungku-mangaji ki-awara-la.**

not carry-PT-DAT there.DEF-to and south MSC.ERG/ABL-that.DEF MSC.NNOM-place-ABL

No-one would take (live rabbits) all that way (from Queensland into New South Wales) (lit. (there is) not any taking (those things) all the way south there to that place.). (a Yanyuwa man's reaction to the vehicle check at the border some years ago)

By the analysis presented, in examples 8.700 and 8.701 the negative *kurdardi* functions as the Negative Complement and the Participial Clause functions as the Subject (or Topic).

8.701 *Kurdardi / wuba-ntha-wu a-mangaji a-ngilhiny.*

not cook-PT-DAT FEM-that.DEF FEM-oyster

NEG.COMP SBJ

The oyster doesn't require cooking. (lit. (there is) not any cooking of that oyster.)

(6) To manifest Purpose (see examples 8.421 and 8.435 above)
(7) In the Periphery of an Explanatory Sentence (see also examples 8.436 and 8.437)

8.702 F Kilh-aninya nuwa-nta barra wayka / kurrampa-nta barra.
     it-P.CST cook-PT now down bury-PT now
SENT.BASE SENT.PERI
(The kangaroo) used to be cooked down (in the underground oven) now, buried now.

8.703 Kujaka nganu-wa ambirriju / bathu-nta-rra buyuka.
     mother us.EXCL-ABL in.front light.fire-PT-PRES fire
SENT.BASE SENT.PERI
Mother was with us in front, lighting fires (with matches to keep the buffalo at bay).

Although a noun or pronoun marked for ablative case may occur with a locative in a locative phrase, in example 8.703 the intonation pattern of the statement indicated that the pronoun and the locative were each in a Complement role, and the Participial Clause was functioning in the Sentence Periphery.

(8) In the Temporal Sentence Base introduced by the relator ngal 'when, while'

This is the second of the two contexts in which a dependent Participial Clause may have a Subject. This is illustrated in examples 8.704 to 8.706. (In all the current examples, the Subject occurs in those sentences where there is a change of subject from one sentence base to the other.)

8.704 F Ngal-alhi rrkuwa-nja-rra nya-mangaji buyuka /
     when-it burn-PT-PRES MSC-that.DEF fire
TEMP.SENT.BASE 1
kalu-rduma-nthaninya wurnda jumayngkarra.
     it.they-get-P.CST wood long
TEMP.SENT.BASE 2
When that fire was burning, they used to get long pieces of wood.

8.705 Jalu-lhurrama-nji-i wumbiji mili / ngal-iya
     they-dance-PRES-on.and.on in.centre more when-he
TEMP.SENT.BASE 1 TEMP.SENT.BASE 2
nya-mangaji yinba-ya-rra baku.
     M-that.DEF sing-PT-PRES later
They are still dancing on and on in the centre while that (songman) is singing until later (in the night).

8.706 M Ngal-iya nba-ya-rra wabuda nganu-nga /
     when-it fall-PT-PRES water us.EXCL-DAT
TEMP.SENT.BASE 1
nganambaji kanu-wuba-nthaninya arndaarna.
     like.that we.EXCL-cook-P.CST inside
TEMP.SENT.BASE 2
When we had the rain falling, we used to cook inside like that.
We cooked the meat in the east until it was done while they were fighting one another in the west.

They used to be folding up the rope later on while they were still spinning it.

(The women) used to dance there at the side of (the men) while they were dancing.

The singular form of the female subject marker on the verb and of the male subject-marker on the relator focuses on the contrast of the activities performed by female and male representative groups of people. The use of the singular to represent a group applies also to the Protasis in sentence 8.710.

Although the above Temporal Sentences all have a dependent clause in one Base (since they are illustrating the use of Participial Clauses), other Temporal Sentences may be constructed with independent clauses in both Bases.

(9) The Apodosis of a Conditional Sentence

And a lot of kangaroos will be speared now, if men are coming.

If (there is) no fire, (then there is) making fire (by twirling one firestick into another), breaking wood making fire on and on, and it's there! – fire! – it is coming.
The two Conditional Sentence examples above are the only ones of their kind recorded, and they occur in sequence within a Procedural Discourse as it is moving towards its conclusion.

(10) Summary Section from a Procedural Discourse

8.712 F Kulu wunja-ya-rra nya-mangaji wabuda barra, kulu and drink-PT-PRES MSC-that.DEF water now and nya-mangaji yabima-ntha-rra buyuka, ni-wini wurnda MSC-that.DEF make-PT-PRES fire its-name tree marrbirnbi kulu a-wurlku, arnindawa barra. marrbirnbi and a-wurlku at.coast now And (that is) drinking that water now, and making that fire, with the trees named marrbirnbi and a-wurlku, at the coast.

There is a tendency for an abbreviated summary of a series of words or phrases to occur at the conclusion of paragraphs in a Procedural Discourse, to recapitulate the points covered. Sentence 8.712 is the single example of an equivalent occurrence at a higher level with a sentence recapitulating the immediately preceding paragraphs.

(11) As the Topic of an Imperative Sentence

8.713 F Nyinga barra wuba-ntha-rra, / wuba-ya nyinga crab now cook-PT-PRES cook-IMP crab TOPIC ji-buyuka-la. MSC.NNOM-fire-ABL IMP.CL As for cooking crabs, cook them on the fire!

This is the one example of a Participial Clause introducing a command. In common with the examples in the previous two sections, it comes from one Procedural Discourse, and it comes from the last of three major sections.

The examples illustrate how Participial Clauses (and also the immediacy particle barra) are marking the concluding summary of the discourse.

8.5.3 NEGATIVE PARTICIPIAL CLAUSES

Negative Participial Clauses in recorded data are sufficiently rare that all of them may be considered in a brief description. The Predicate is manifested by a negative participle form, that is the form marked by the negative prefix barni-/barli-. The participle may also be marked by the dative suffix -wu (which is also associated with negation in one of the Negative Stative Clause types; see examples 8.440 to 8.444.

Several of the examples occur without further constituents. There is one example with an Object Constituent to extend the clause nucleus. There is another example with an inner peripheral Locative unit in accordance with the subtype of the verb that is occurs with.

Two of these clauses occur as the Complements of Locative-Complex Clauses. The two clauses come from a description of an old man, cut off from the rest of the community by the flooding of the local river:
8.714 Barni-wukama-ntha baj-iwa.
not-smoke-PT here-he
He is there not smoking (that is, without any tobacco).

8.715 M Baj-iwa ngamala-kari barni-nga-ntha, [kurdardi there.DEF-he south-DEF not-see-PT not
kambala-nga-nma].
we.INCL-see-P.NEG
He is there in the south out of sight, [we haven't seen him].

In example 8.714 it is the old man who is without the wherewithal to smoke and so he is
the subject of the negative participle. In example 8.715, the unstated Subject of the participle
refers to the old man's kinsmen – this is made clear by the following clause – and so in this
second example the old man is the object of the participle. The context must distinguish the
roles.

The other two examples of Negative Participial clauses are in Explanatory Sentences. In
every 8.716, the participle is marked by dative case and it has an accompanying Object. In
every 8.717, the participle is also marked for dative case and it is accompanied by a
Locative unit:

8.716 [Winarrku kalu-wingka-yaninya,] barni-yalbanga-ntha-wu
freely they-come-P.CST not-ask-PT-DAT
layirlilinganj i awara.
responsible.men land
[(The white men) used to just come (into our territory),] not asking
(permission of) the men responsible for that area.

8.717 [Ka-tha-njima, rarrma-ntha-rra a-ngulhiny,] barni-wuba-ntha-wu
you.SG eat-HYP eat-PT-PRES FEM-oyster not-cook-PT-GEN
buyuka-la, [kulu a-wan du wandu].
fire-ABL and FEM-mature.oyster
[You would eat (the seafood you had gathered),] eating the oyster raw, not
cooked on the fire, [and also the mature oyster].

8.6 CONCLUSION

In Yanyuwa, there are Action Clauses and Non-action Clauses. Non-action Clauses
include verbless clauses, Stative and Locative-Complex, and the Existential Clause which
has a verb but must have an accompanying Complement. Action Clauses may be Intransitive,
Transitive, Semitransitive or Reflexive. Action Clauses may be further categorised into
Simple, Goal, Locative or Destination subtypes according to the Inner Peripheral units which
co-occur with the subclass of verb in the Predicate.

These clauses may be independent and provide Indicative statements or Imperative
commands. (Questions are of the same form as Indicative Clauses, but the use of a rising
intonation or the substitution of an interrogative word for one of the clause constituents
indicates that the statement has been transformed into a question.) They may be dependent
Participial Clauses. Clauses of all these kinds may be negative or positive.
Independent clauses provide the context to understand the functions of much of the morphology of the language, the functions of case markers and verb affixes, for example. As simple sentences they are the basic communication units in the language. They are also the basic units which, in whole or in part, combine to make more complex sentences which express additional logical, time and explanatory relationships.

Clauses also serve to illustrate further the focus given to location in Yanyuwa. (This point is also made in the description of location in earlier chapters.) The three non-action clause types – Stative, Locative-Complex and Existential – all have the stating of the location of the Subject as one of their functions. The Locative-Complex Clause Predicate is itself manifested by a locative.

Each of the action-clause types may have a Location or a Destination subtype, in which the inner periphery provides information on the location at which or to which the action is taking place. Further to this, the motion verb which manifests the Predicate of Destination clauses frequently occurs within a verb phrase, accompanied by a marked locative to indicate the direction of the action. (Verb phrases of this same kind may occur in other clause types also.) In addition, there may be a Location constituent in the outer periphery of Simple or Goal clause subtypes.
CHAPTER 9
DISCOURSE PARTICLES

9.1 OVERVIEW

There are five major discourse types in Yanyuwa: Narrative, Procedural, Expository, Hortatory and Dramatic (as defined by Longacre 1968).

(1) Narrative discourse

The Narrative discourse tells a story of past or present events in relation to living, dead or mythical characters. The story moves towards a crisis point and then tapers off to a conclusion. In a longer narrative there are a series of crises leading up to a major crisis. In a travel narrative the story may move towards a destination or a series of destinations rather than to a crisis event. There is a strong sense of chronological sequence throughout a narrative discourse.

(2) Procedural discourse

The Procedural discourse gives instructions on how an activity is carried out. Yanyuwa discourses of this kind give information on such things as how to cook a kangaroo, how to make rope, how to survive in the bush if one becomes lost (this last one with Europeans in mind). Events here are also given in chronological sequence but they are presented as steps towards accomplishing a goal. The procedures may be presented in past customary, present or future tense.

(3) Expository discourse

The Expository discourse presents teaching or descriptive material. The participants and times may change as the narrator progresses in his covering of a topic. One Yanyuwa discourse of this kind gives a brief general description of the activities of various participants in relation to the Kunapipi ceremony, and gives emphasis to the fact that women or children approach the sacred ground at their peril. Another discourse tells of a major flood and compares it with the normal wet season flooding of the local river. Another tells of the disruption to various areas of community life since the onset of the wet season. Several such discourses tell of the traditional life of the Yanyuwa people.

(4) Hortatory discourse

The Hortatory discourse provides exhortation for the hearers to maintain ethical conduct within the community. Certain actions are recommended, the reasons for acting that way are given, and warning of the negative consequences of failing to act in that way are also given. In this discourse type, focus is on the hearer and his behaviour.
(5) Dramatic discourse

The Dramatic discourse is presented in the form of a dialogue between two speakers. In the Yanyuwa discourse, the speakers are identified and there is a Quote Formula to introduce each speech (such as 'that brolga said to him' or 'I told my cousin'). Yanyuwa examples of this discourse type include two in which teaching is presented in the form of a question-and-answer dialogue, and a Dreamtime story in which the *a-buburna* snake and the *wurrilibinka* bird, a jabiru, harangue each other.

Each discourse type normally has an introduction and a conclusion. The units within the main body of each discourse are typically as follows: episodes within a Narrative discourse, procedures within a Procedural discourse, expositions within an Expository discourse, exhortation and motivational exposition within a Hortatory discourse, and exchanges of dialogue between speakers within a Dramatic discourse.

There is scope for embedding of one discourse within another; for example, a brief Expository discourse may form the introduction of a Narrative discourse, or a Narrative discourse may provide an illustration within a Hortatory discourse.

There is also potential for the occurrence of complex discourses in which the genre of the discourse changes as it progresses. One discourse of this type commences as a Narrative discourse and tells of a father's journey back to his home community to his sick son and of the boy's evacuation on a medical flight. The second half of the discourse is Expository. The narrator considers the virtues of the local nurse who cared for his son, and the fact that both Aboriginal and white culture have their qualified medical practitioners to heal the sick.

9.2 THE DISCOURSE PARTICLES AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

Discourse particles are defined in Yanyuwa (and possibly for other languages as well) as those items that never occur in isolation and that do not take sentence stress.1

Several occurrences of a particle in one paragraph, or the co-occurrence of several different discourse particles, strongly highlight a paragraph within that discourse. In this way there is a combining of functions to mark focus.

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1 The following list of features of discourse particles has been compiled from Callow (1974:66,67), Grimes (1975:93) and Longacre (1977:25, Longacre & Woods, eds 1977:x), linguists of the Summer Institute of Linguistics who have worked in many languages in different parts of the world:

1. It is difficult to assign a meaning to them.
2. They tend to be frequent in occurrence.
3. They tend to be understood only in relation to the context of paragraph and discourse units.
4. They may function to provide discourse cohesion; that is, they are involved in linking units or in maintaining the continuity of thematic or participant reference.
5. They may function to mark prominence or focus within a discourse.
6. They may be variable in the strength of their function, so that a particle may mark prominence strongly in one occurrence, weakly in another, or not at all in another.
7. A particle may signal two or more features simultaneously.
8. There is an elusive quality to them, both in meaning and in function, for a foreigner to the language. (Their use by a native speaker of the language is probably more deeply intuitive than for any other class of words in the language.)
9.2.1 THE EXTENSION PARTICLE \( i-\ldots -i \)

The particle \( i-\ldots -i \) is described as an extension particle because its most readily recognised function is to mark a dramatic extension of (1) an established action, (2) continuity of movement in an established direction, (3) the passage of time in association with a temporal adverb, or (4) size in association with the adjective \( \text{walkurra} \) 'big'.

9.2.1.1 THE VARIANT FORMS OF THE EXTENSION PARTICLE

The particle occurs as the prolongation of any of the three vowels, accompanied by a marked rise in pitch during its duration and the sudden descent to normal pitch at the onset of the following word. It may occur as a vowel off-glide or as an isolated morpheme. The high front vowel \( \ldots -i \) occurs most often as the off-glide at the end of a word but \( \ldots -a \) or \( \ldots -u \) may also occur. The isolated morpheme form is usually \( i-\ldots -i \) but \( u-\ldots -u \) occurs as a rare variant.

In association with a verb or a directional locative, it usually occurs as an off-glide from the final vowel:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kalu-wingka-} & \ldots -i & \text{bawuji} & \text{they went on and on and stopped} \\
\text{they-go-} & \ldots -\text{on.and.on} & \text{finished} \\
\text{akarr-} & \ldots -i & \text{baj-inju} & \text{on and on eastwards to that place} \\
\text{east-wards-} & \ldots -\text{on.and.on} & \text{there.DEF-to}
\end{align*}
\]

In association with an adjective or temporal adverb it may occur as the prolongation of the vowel of the initial syllable or of the final syllable:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{walkurra} & \quad \text{big} \\
\text{wa...lkurra} & \quad \text{very big} \\
\text{walkurra-} & \ldots -u & \text{very big} \\
\text{wabarrangu} & \quad \text{in the past} \\
\text{wa...barrangu} & \quad \text{very long ago} \\
\text{wabarrangu-} & \ldots -u & \text{very long ago}
\end{align*}
\]

9.2.1.2 THE FUNCTIONS OF THE EXTENSION PARTICLE

The primary function of the extension particle seems to be to mark focus on the crisis of a Narrative discourse or on the successful conclusion of a Procedural discourse. In a Narrative discourse it usually marks the entry into a crisis but it may also mark the crisis resolution. Whether the particle occurs as a morpheme to link paragraphs or as a morpheme of an off-glide within a paragraph, it has this focus function.

In one Narrative discourse the author receives word that his son is sick. He sets off to return home to Doomadgee. The particle \( i-\ldots -i \) marks his arrival to see his son.

9.1 M \( \text{Baj-ingu mili karna-lhuwarri kar-akarra wundururra} \) there.DEF-from more I-depart from-east at.night

\( i-\ldots -i \) \( \text{ngaliba Ngurdurri. Karna-ka-la} \) on.and.on-\ldots -on.and.on to Ngurdurri. him.I-see-P
buyi nya-ngathi-ardu.
small M-my-child

From there we departed again from the east at night and continued on and on to Ngurdurri. I saw my little boy.

In another Narrative a man is walking with his two wives and the extension particle off-glide on the verb heralds the crisis when he murders one of them.

9.2 Ngamal-iya kalu-wingka-...i. Wumbiji ngamala
south-wards they-go-...on.and.on part.way south

karr-ilu-ma nanda-ngunduwa.
her-he-cut her-throat.

They went on and on toward the south. Part way there, he cut her throat.

The next two paragraphs are from a small embedded discourse which is the introduction to a Narrative discourse telling of the fate of a group of airmen whose plane made a crash-landing. The particle i-...-i introduces the climax of the introduction: the continuation of the flight until the plane was inland in a remote corner of north-west Queensland. (The main narrative has a series of crises, each marked by i...i, as one after another of the group of survivors dies until only one remains.)

9.3 M Walkurra lhambiji ka-wingka kar-akarra, walkurra lhambiji
big storm.wind it-come from-east big storm.wind

ka-wingka kar-akarra kulu kal-ilu-walima. I-...-i
it-come from-east and them-it-throw on.and.on-...on.and.on

kari-nguthunda kalu-wingka yurrngumantha. Kurdardi mili
from-north they.PL-come continually not more

wumburr-ka ya-yibanda-rrma marda ngala ngamal-iya kalu-wingka.
plain-ABL it-land-P.NEG also but south-wards they-come

Kulu namba barra Dulijarrba, kiwa-nba barra wundururra, and there.INDEF now Dulijarrba it-fall now at.night

kiwa-nba wundururra Dulijarrba. Bawuji.
it-fall at.night Dulijarrba finished.

A large storm wind came up from the east, a large storm wind came up from the east and it tossed them. On and on they came from the north continually. It didn't land on the plain either, there in the north, but they came on southwards. And there at Dulijarrba it fell at night, it fell at night at Dulijarrba. And that's how that ended.

The following three paragraphs illustrate the use of the extension particle to mark focus on the climactic procedure of a Procedural discourse. The first paragraph tells of the completion of spinning fibre into rope so that it can be attached to a harpoon ready for hunting dugong or sea-turtles.

9.4 F Baku kalu-rangki-yaninya-...u kulu
later it.they-spin-P.CST-...on.and.on and

ku-matha-nthaninya, jingku-mangaji
it.FD-become.full-P.CST MSC.ERG/ABL-that.DEF
ji-wurnda-a kalu-rdirrirra-nthaninya,
MSC.NNOM-wood-ABL it.they-tied-P.CST

nya-mangaji mawarl, kalu-rangki-yaninya barra.
MSC-DEF float it.they-spin-P.CST now
Later they used to spin it on and on and it became a full length, they used to
tie it on the (buoyant) wood, that float, (that's how) they used to spin it then.

In a discourse on how to cook kangaroo in an underground oven using heated stones, the
climax comes when the oven is opened and the meat is ready for eating. The introduction to
this paragraph is marked by i-...-i:

9.5  F Baku barra i-...-i kilh-urrkuwa-njaninya baji.
later now on.and.on-...-on.and.on it.MSC-cook-P.CST there.DEF

Ngabungabula kalu-warlma-nthaninya ngal-alhi barra
afternoon it.they-open.oven-P.CST when-it.MSC now
wunhunhu, marringaya barra, bawuji barra.
cooked good now finished now
Later then it used to cook on and on there. In the afternoon they opened up
the oven when the meat was cooked, (it was) good now, (the procedure
was) ended now.

The climax of digging for water in the bush is reaching water and i-...-i introduces the
paragraph in which this result is obtained.

9.6  F i-...-i wabuda barra, nya-mangaji ji-wujba-nji
on.and.on-...-on.and.on water now MSC-DEF it.flow-PRES

kurdundu barra, munji barra, namba juju, kurdundi wabuda-wu,
intensely now, bush now, if distant not water-DAT

ruku-ngka awara-la.
dry-ABL place-ABL
The water keeps on (rising to the surface), it is flowing strongly now, (there)
in the bush now, if (we are) in a distant place, without water, in a dry area.

In Expository discourses there are a few examples of the particle being used to mark an
adverb to strengthen a crucial point.

wabarrangu-...-u wabarrangu long ago in the past
in.past-...-on.and.on in.past

Baku-...-u yurngumantha continuing on and on in the
in.future-...-on.and.on continually future

9.2.2 THE IMMEDIACY PARTICLE barra

The Yanyuwa particle barra primarily functions as a focus marker within discourses. When a Yanyuwa speaker was first consulted, he pondered for several days before
volunteering 'now' as the English meaning. However, the meaning is 'now' in a specialised
sense: to bring a dramatic immediacy to the topic or event that it marks. It means 'now' in the
present time of the context, whether that context be in past, present or future time. It is not
interchangeable with the Yanyuwa adverb nganinyanga 'now, at the present time'.
Morphemes with similar meaning and functions are described for neighbouring languages and for others further afield. Heath (1981:306) describes the Mara particle mingi which "can be crudely translated as 'now'...It essentially indicates the temporal immediacy of the event of its clause to that of another" or "the 'now' of the speech act". Conversations with Christine Furby some years ago confirmed a similarity between the Garawa particle barra and Yanyuwa barra.

Kriol texts from Barunga/Bamyili and also from Fitzroy Crossing in Western Australia demonstrate the particle na in similar contexts to barra (see Sandefur and Sandefur 1981:61-63, 65, 69). Graber (1987:219-226) glosses this particle na as "EMPHASIS" in an article on his analysis of a Kriol story told at Bamyili. In private communication Bruce Waters (1984:188-90) refers to the "suffix -nha in the Yulngu languages" as comparable with Yanyuwa barra, and he describes -ban in Djinang which also signals "a contextual now", in the Arnhem Land area.

The particle barra occurs with a word, phrase, clause or series of clauses to mark them out and give them an increased prominence. It also functions as a paragraph introducer, in phrase with certain other particles, and it may introduce the apodosis of a conditional sentence.

9.2.2.1 THE USE OF barra TO MARK FOCUS

The particle barra is used to mark focus within a sentence, on the topic of a paragraph, or within a discourse as a whole. The particle may combine with the other discourse particles, the extension particle i-...-i and the additive-repetitive particle mili, to mark paragraphs. Frequently, two or more occurrences of barra alone serve to mark focus on a paragraph within a discourse.

9.2.2.1.1 barra MARKING FOCUS WITHIN A SENTENCE

The particle barra marks the word or phrase immediately preceding it to give it focus within the sentence in the way that phonological stress gives focus to an English word. It is most frequently used in this way to mark words but it may also be used to mark a phrase.

9.7 F Kulu baba kanda-wingka yarlayka barra, marda kulhakulha. and older.sibling she-come quickly now also child And (my) older sister went quickly, and so did (my) child.

9.8 Li-kurdurdu barra li-mimingu kalu-wingka baj-inju. PL-many now PL-men they-go there.DEF-to Many men went there.

9.9 Nganinyanga barra kurdardi mili rru-muwarda-wu. now now not more F.NNOM-canoe-DAT Now there are no longer any canoes.

In example 9.9, the temporal adverb nganinyanga 'now' is marked by the immediacy particle barra 'now' for emphasis.

9.10 M Kurdan barra, kurdan ka-arri, kurdandu kurdan. very.ill now very.ill he-was intensely very.ill He was ill, very ill indeed, desperately ill.
In the translation of example 9.10, the initial phrase is transposed to follow the independent clause to give a natural English equivalent. Just about every available means is used to mark emphasis in this sentence. There is fronting, the use of barra, the use of the intensifier adverb kurdandu, and even the choice of word for 'very ill' adds to the effect because kurdan means both 'very ill' and 'dead'.

In the following example, a locative phrase akarr-iya a-ya ‘eastwards and westwards’, is focused by barra. As he spoke the first sentence, the narrator made movements to the east and to the west to demonstrate the action of the dancers he was describing. This provides the context for the second sentence in which barra marks the two directions:

9.11  Jala-nba-yi nganinya baki mili nganinya.  
they-fall-PRES like.this.INDEF and more like.this.INDEF

Akarr-iya a-ya barra jala-nba-yi li-mangaji  
east-wards west-wards now they-fall-PRES PL-that.DEF

li-jakarda.  
PL-many
They were falling this way and that. Eastwards and westwards those many (dancers) were falling.

The effect of the word focus of barra may extend beyond the clause of the sentence in which it occurs. In one discourse the first paragraph opens, Marni barra ‘Here now’, and the narrator tells of his own situation. The next two paragraphs commence, Baj-iwa barra ‘There he is’, and they tell of a situation in strong contrast to that of the narrator. In this way barra marks focus not only on the locative words it follows but also on the contrasting situations over three paragraphs.

9.2.2.1.2 barra MARKING FOCUS WITHIN A PARAGRAPH

In its marking within a paragraph, barra most frequently marks the opening phrase of a new sentence or of the paragraph to draw attention to the topic or to the introduction. It may also mark the concluding sentence of a paragraph.

Examples 9.12 to 9.14 illustrate barra marking the paragraph topic or introduction. They show that where the marked phrase is a noun phrase comprising a specifier (either a demonstrative pronoun or an allative specifier) followed by a noun, then the preferred position for the focus particle, for barra and also for mili, is between the specifier and the noun.

9.12  M Nya-mangaji barra babalu, ka-wuluma marn-iwuthu...  
MSC-that.DEF now buffalo it-run here.INDEF-direction.in
The buffalo, it ran way in this direction...

9.13  M Nya-mbangu barra bardarda, kala-ka-nthaninya yirdijanja...  
M-that.INDEF now baby him.they-carry-P.CST on.a.coolamon
That baby, they used to carry him on a coolamon (bark carrier)...

9.14  M Nya-mangaji barra buyuka, kanu-milama-nthaninya  
MSC-that.DEF now fire we.EXCL-kindle-P.CST
Occasionally *barra* marks the concluding sentence of a paragraph but this function is much less frequent.

9.15  M  Jiw-ini  *barra* walkurr, wudurru  *ki-arlku-ngka*.
it-PRES now asleep    satisfied MSC.NNOM-fish-ABL (The young seabirds) are asleep, satisfied with fish.

9.16  M  Ka-ngabu  *barra* nya-mangaji waibala.
he-drown now M-that.DEF white.man That white man drowned.

### 9.2.2.1.3 *barra* MARKING FOCUS WITHIN A DISCOURSE

Where *barra* functions to mark a sentence or paragraph at discourse level, two or more clauses in a series are marked by the particle. This marking occurs in a Narrative discourse to put focus on a specific episode. It occurs in a Procedural discourse to mark the accomplishment of a stage in the procedure or to mark a summary section. It may be used in a teaching section of a Dramatic discourse and the major grounds for exhortation in a Hortatory discourse. It may be used to mark the terminating section of various discourse types also. When *barra* is used in these ways, it has the effect of slowing down the momentum of the discourse to focus attention on the section, or of slowing it down towards a conclusion.

The marking of paragraphs seems to be a special feature of Procedural discourses and so a check was made of the comparative number of paragraphs marked by *barra* in twenty familiar texts of five different genres. In the Procedural discourses, 20 paragraphs were marked in 19 pages of text. In the Narrative discourses, 13 paragraphs were marked in 31 pages of text. In the Hortatory discourses, seven paragraphs were marked in 22 pages of text. In 11 pages of Expository discourses, no paragraphs were so marked. In the Dramatic discourses, seven paragraphs were marked in 12 pages of text, and here the use of *barra* was directly comparable with the nature of the content of the discourse; that is, in a Dramatic discourse with procedural content the paragraphs marked by *barra* were proportionately high, and in a discourse with expository content there were no paragraphs marked by *barra*.

Examples 9.17 and 9.18 are focal paragraphs from Procedural discourses:

9.17  F  Kinya-lhaa-la  nya-mangaji  wabuda  *barra*  it.you.SG-know-FUT    MSC-that.DEF water    now
*baj-alhi,*  “Jinangu  *barra* wurnda,
there.DEF-it.MSC    this.MSC.DEF now    tree
*mam-alhi  *barra* wabuda  arndaarnda*.
here.INDEF-it.MSC    now    water    inside
You will recognise it, that tree, that there is water there – “This is the very tree, here is water inside.”
The next two examples are from crises in Narrative discourses. In example 9.19 a station-owner is giving food to a starving man who to this point has been unable to keep any food down. In example 9.20 some drovers, after taking a mob of cattle to their destination, collect some troublesome horses for their next job.

9.19 M

Baki mili yurrulu kilu-ngunda, yamulu barra, ka-yabirri
and more again him he-give all.right now he-become.well

barra, ka-yabirri barra yamulu. Kumba-wudurruma barra
now he-become.well now all.right he.REFL-feed now

kurdandu barra yamulu yangbala wajbala.
intensely now all.right young white.man
And yet again he gave him (food), (and he was) all right, he became well, he recovered all right. He ate very hungrily then, well, the young white man.

9.20 M

Kar-akarra barra kanu-wani... yarraman barra
from-east now we.EXCL-return horse now

ka-ntha-rra. Kana-ka yarraman barra
bring-PT-PRES it we.EXCL-bring horse now

nya-mangaji i...-i wardi, ka-wardirri
MSC-that.DEF on and on...-on and on bad it-become.bad

wijji bawuji nganu-nga yarraman.
completely finished us DAT horse
We came back from the east...bringing horses. We brought those horses (that were) out and out bad, they became completely and utterly troublesome to us, (those) horses.

One Dramatic discourse tells of the Dreamtime significance of a rock and its site. It is presented in the form of mutual haranguing by the a-buburna snake and the wurrulibinka bird, a jabiru. The critical paragraph which explains the origin of the rock is heavily marked by barra:

9.21 F

Ngamala-kari alhi barra, ankangu ki-alarri-njaninya jayngka-a.
south-DEF now above it-stand-P.CST rock-ABL

Kulu baj-alhi ankangu, ngamala-kari barra langa Jaburing
and there DEF it above south-DEF now at Spring
Kurik, Jininyina barra, lhanba barra ayu walkurra jayngka Creek Jininyina now nest now its big rock
barra, rawunbala, wuluwulu barra jayngka wumba now round one round now rock which
ki-alarringa-njaninya naji.
it-stand-P.CST there.DEF
It (the jabiru) was at the south place, it used to stand above on the rock. And it is there above, at the south place there at Spring Creek, at Jininyina, its nest is a big rock, a round one, a round stone (there) where it used to be standing there.

Example 9.22 shows the use of barra in a Hortatory discourse to mark a major section which provides the grounds for the exhortation. The speaker is urging his people not to give alcohol to the children. As the reason for this he describes the negative consequences of excessive drinking.

9.22 Bardabarda barra jirru-walanyma-nji barra, jika nawu, empty now you.PL-emerge-PRES now sick now jirr-inyamba-mirra-nji barra kangka nyungku-mangaji you.PL-REFL-sick-PRES now because MSC.ERG-that.DEF jirr-ilu-rama-nji, jirru-wulariri-nji barra nirru-manka. you.PL-it-hit-PRES you.PL-have.head.ache-PRES now your.PL-body Lacking (any food or money) you are getting up then, sick, you are really sick because that stuff is hurting you, and your head is aching in your body.

The next example illustrates the immediacy particle marking the conclusion of a Narrative discourse. It is noted that bawuji barra is an introductory phrase and that barra has no focus function here.

9.23 Bawujé kil-a ka ki-duruba-lu ngamal-iya barra finished him. he-take M.NNOM-drover-ERG south-wards now Andini-lu. Baji kil-ija Andini Anthony-ALL there.DEF him. he-send Anthony ki-julaki-nda barra, akarr-ija barra MSC.NNOM-plane-ABL now east-wards now marn-iwuthu ka-wani. Ny-iki-biyi baj-ija barra here.INDEF-direction.in he-return M-his-father there.DEF he now akarru nungka baki rr-iku-ra-wibi. Bawujé barra na-yurrngu east maybe and F-his-F-mother finished now he-continually ka-wani akarr-ija. Namb-iwa lhungku barra, he-return east-wards there.INDEF-he alive now After that a drover took him south to Anthony's Lagoon. There at Anthony's Lagoon he sent him off by plane, he went back eastwards this way. His father was there in the east maybe and his mother. The end of the story is that he went back eastwards for good. He is there somewhere alive.
9.2.2.2 *barra* FUNCTIONING AS A CONJUNCTION

The particle *barra* has a much lighter functional load as a conjunction than it does as a focus marker. It may occur to link paragraphs, sentences or clauses. Where it does so, it is in the context of quickly continuing action or of one action following as the sure consequence of another.

The particle *barra* may occur in place of the conjunction *kulu* ‘and, and then’ to link paragraphs in a Narrative discourse. In a brief Narrative, two of the paragraphs are introduced as follows:

9.24  
*Barra* kar-anka kawula-wani...
now from-up they.DU-return
And then (the two wives) came back down...

9.25  
M *Barra* a-ya kala-k ngaliba Binibi Jiyil...
now west-wards him.they-take to.DEF Fanny.Bay Gaol
And then they took him away westwards to Fanny Bay Gaol...

The particle *barra* is sometimes used to link sentences in the context of commands being given:

9.26  
*Kimbala-wani* wundururra kar-anka? *Barra* kawa
you.DU-return at.night from-up now come.on
ngambala anka-ya!
we.INCL up-wards
You came back down in the dark? Well come on, we’ll (go) back up!

9.27  
*Ngarri?* *Barra* kawa! *Nya-ka-ya* jina
is.that.so now come.on it.you.SG-take-IMP this.MSC
wirmmurr waluku!
pronged.spear for.a.while
Is that so? Well come on! Carry this spear for a while!

The particle *barra* sometimes functions as a conjunction to link clauses in sentences which describe a sequence of actions, or to link the protasis and apodosis of a Conditional Sentence:

9.28  
M *Kilu-rdirrirra* ki-bulijimanji-lu, *barra* a-ya
him.he-tie.up M.NNOM-policeman-ERG now west-wards
kala-ka ngaliba Binibi Jiyil.
him.they-take to.DEF Fanny.Bay Gaol
The policeman took him prisoner, then they took him westwards to Fanny Bay Gaol.

9.29  
...*jilu-arrrkana-nji* nyungka-rrku, *barra* anka-ya.
it.he-spear-PRES M.ERG/ALL-other now up-wards
...another (dugong hunter) spears it, and then (they are taking it) up (on the beach).

In Yanyuwa the protasis of a Conditional Sentence is introduced by the particle *namba* ‘if, when’ (which is homophonous in form with the distal indefinite demonstrative locative). The apodosis is usually unmarked, but if the speaker wishes to emphasise the sureness of the
consequence, then the apodosis is introduced by one of the following: *kulu* ‘and, then’, *marda/marda barra* ‘and, also’ or *barra* ‘then’.

9.30  
\[ \text{Namba kari-wayka wabuda ki-walanyama-njima, barra manthalmanthal} \]

if from-down water it-emerge-POT then soft  
\[ \text{nawu awara, wararr barra.} \]

now ground mud now  
If the water should come up from down there, then the ground is soft, there is mud.

9.31  
\[ \text{Namba lhambiji walkurra kiw-aninya, karr-ilu-walima-nthaninya} \]

if stormwind big it-P.CST her-it-throw-P.CST  
\[ \text{rra-muwarda nganu-nga, barra a-mba nguthunda-kari} \]

FEM-canoë us.EXCL-DAT then west-side north-DEF  
\[ \text{baki kanu-wundirri-njaninya Yulbarra.} \]

and we.EXCL-go.up-P.CST Yulbarra  
If/when there used to be a strong stormwind, it used to toss the canoe around on us, then (there was the) north place on the east side there and we used to go up (to shelter) at Yulbarra.

9.2.2.3 *barra* FUNCTIONING AS A CONJUNCTION IN PHRASES WITH OTHER PARTICLES

The particle *barra* may occur in phrases with certain other particles. It either follows them and may add a slight emphasis to them or it precedes them and seems to have a conjunctive function ‘and then’ or ‘and so’.

There is frequent occurrence of the particle phrase *bawuji barra*. In examples above the completive particle *bawuji* is glossed ‘finished’ but it is used with a range of meanings associated with conclusion, termination or departure. It is used by a speaker to indicate that his or another’s departure is expected. It functions as ‘Goodbye’. It marks the conclusion of a paragraph or discourse. It functions as a paragraph introducer and conveys the suggestion of finality concerning the activity of the preceding paragraph. It has further functions also, but those listed are the ones in which *barra* may occur in a phrase with *bawuji* to give emphasis to the finality which *bawuji* expresses. The phrase is illustrated in example 9.23 above.

There are less frequent occurrences of *barra* following these particles: *minja* ‘only, just’, *mili* ‘also, again, furthermore’, *marda* ‘and, also, too’. There are limitations on co-occurrence of *barra* with the temporal and contrast relator *ngala* ‘when, then, but’. In its temporal function the particle *ngala* may take a pronominal suffix in agreement with the subject of the clause which it introduces. Only this suffixed *ngala* occurs in phrase with *barra*: *ngal-alu barra* ‘when they, then they’. The particle phrase *ngala minja* ‘they then, on the other hand’ is used to indicate weaker contrast than the particle *ngala*. This particle phrase may be expanded to *ngala minja barra*. There seems little change in meaning when *barra* is added.

The one particle which *barra* may precede as well as follow in a phrase is the other discourse particle *mili* ‘again, furthermore’.
Another particle with which *barra* co-occurs in a significant way is *ju*, a particle which resembles the English ‘Scram!’ . When it is used following *barra* it is brought into more generally accepted use in the language to mean ‘Move off!’ or ‘Keep going!’ . The phrase may also be used as a sentence or paragraph introducer with the meaning ‘moving on from that’.

9.32  
*Barra ju!*
now off
Be off!/Move on!/Keep going!

9.33  
*Barra ju ngamal-iya kalu-wingka...*
now off south-wards they-go
Now *moving on* they went southwards...

9.2.2.4 *barra* FUNCTIONING AS A CONJUNCTION AT WORD LEVEL

It seems probable that the morpheme *barra* occurs in the construction of a group of relators and also as the stem of a temporal adverb. The relators are the comparison set which share the meaning ‘like, just as’, or in a sequence: ‘just as...so...’. The relators are: *barra-namba* and *barra-baji* ‘like that’, *barra-marni* ‘like this’, *barra-wumba* ‘like, just as (of an action)’, *barra-ngandarra* ‘like what?’ (described in §4.3.3.3). The additional morphemes in the construction of these relators are the indefinite demonstrative locatives *namba* ‘there’ and *marni* ‘here’, the definite demonstrative locative *baji* ‘there’, the relator *wumba* ‘which, that’, and the interrogative *ngandarra* ‘which way?’. The most commonly occurring of these relators is *barranamba*. The others are only rarely heard.

9.34  
*M Ngala winkanda awu-nga-rinjarra barranamba mirringiya*
but side-ABL west-from.there-distant like man
ja-alarri-nji yila-a juju ankangu.
it-stand-PRES it-ABL far above
But on the side (of the mountain) to the far west (a rock) like a man is standing high up.

9.35  
*Kulu kanu-wukanyi yi-ku baj-arn-aji*
and we.EXCL-talk him-DAT there.DEF-ABST-DEF
*barrawumba ka-wukanyi-nyu nganu-nga.*
like you.SG-talk-P us.EXCL-DAT
And we talked to him there at that time just as you talked to us.

The temporal adverb *barrungku* ‘earlier today, earlier in the day’ may well be constructed from *barra* marked by the ergative-allative suffix *-ngku*: *barru-ngku* (*barra-to*). If this is the

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2 The particle *ju* is one of several of a kind which do not fit the phonological word patterns of Yanyuwa. The minimal phonological word consists of two syllables and the language constantly functions to provide an additional syllable for any one-syllable stem which would not normally be marked in a particular context. (For example, when the stem *a* 'west' occurs without prefix or suffix, the locative morpheme *angu* 'back' is added so the word for 'west' is *angu*.) The group of particles with which *ju* belongs is used for such functions as to chase away animals, to call dogs, to express exasperation, and, as such, they are outside the normal language system. The two particles *barra ju* frequently elide and may be perceived by outsiders as a single word, however, Yanyuwa speakers perceive them as two. The fact that *ju* continues to take stress as it does when it occurs in isolation also indicates that it is functioning independently, since word stress never occurs on the final syllable of a word.
true derivation of the word, then in this instance *barra* has a more truly temporal meaning ‘now’; *barru-ngku* is then literally (now-to) and so ‘earlier in the day’. Perhaps historically *barra* had a temporal meaning ‘now’. But in all current usage *barra* means ‘now’ only in the special sense of a contextual immediacy. It is the ‘now’ of the mind and not the ‘now’ of chronology. The primary meaning of *barra* is ‘now’ in the sense of the speaker entering into the ‘present’ of which he speaks.

9.2.3 THE ADDITIVE-REPETITIVE PARTICLE *mili*

The additive-repetitive particle *mili*, like the particle *barra*, marks focus and functions as a conjunction. However, *mili* has a weaker role in focus marking. Whereas *barra* marks focus on initiatory material and primary topic, *mili* marks focus on secondary topics and subsequent material. It marks recurrence and continuity. The particle *barra* marks the theme and the climax in a discourse; *mili* marks the buildup to the climax and marks divergence from the theme and sections of explanation. The particle *barra* marks the primary motivational grounds for exhortation; *mili* marks the secondary grounds. The particle *barra* more frequently marks focus on definite forms and *mili* on indefinite forms.

The particle *mili* is used more extensively than *barra* as a conjunction, but it has a less dramatic role there also. As a conjunction, *barra* continues to give an immediacy to the action or event it introduces, whereas *mili* usually signals a continuity, a recurrence, or an additional note or afterthought.

9.2.3.1 THE USE OF *mili* TO MARK FOCUS

The particle *mili* is used to mark focus within a sentence, within a paragraph, or in a discourse as a whole. In marking focus on a paragraph within a discourse, it most often combines with *barra* or with both *barra* and *i-...-i* to do so. The particle *mili* has less of an independent focus-marking role than *barra*, but it has a significant one nonetheless.

9.2.3.1.1 *mili* MARKING FOCUS WITHIN A SENTENCE

The particle *mili* marks the word or phrase immediately preceding it to give it a focus within the sentence. It tends to mark an entity or a kind of entity that has been referred to previously, or to a newly introduced one which relates to a secondary theme within the discourse.

9.36 M *Marda nya-mbangu ardu-birri yumbu, kulu nya-mbangu*  
also M-that.INDEF child-DIM.PL young and M-that.INDEF  

*ardu mili* walkurra bijal *kal-ili-rama-nthaninya.*  
child more big quite them-he-kill-P.CST  
And the young children and the quite big children also he used to kill.

In example 9.36, the singular form and the repeated use of the indefinite demonstrative indicate that this is a general reference to children. The use of the singular to make a general reference to a class of people is also illustrated in the next example:

9.37 *Marda rra-nhanawa mili kanda-wukanyi narnu-munanga*  
also F-woman more she-talk ABST-white.man
In example 9.38, the focus is on the verb *janu-wanga-nji* ‘we are hitting it (with a projectile)’. Throughout a discourse on hunting for lagoon turtles and the larger edible lizards, the narrator has been repeatedly using the verb stem *rama* ‘hit, kill’ which relates to directly hitting or killing some object. At this place in his description, a large lizard being pursued by dogs climbs a tree and so it becomes necessary to ‘hit’ by another method from a distance. The narrator emphasises the change of verb by his use of *mili*.

9.38 M Niw-arru kja-warba-nji kiu-wurnda-a anka-ya, MSC-other it-climb-PRES MSC.NNOM-tree-ABL up-wards nya-mangaji janu-wanga-nji mili ki-rukudu. MSC-that.DEF it.we.EXCL-hit-PRES more MSC.NNOM-stick
Another (goanna) is climbing up a tree; that one we are *firing a stick* at.

9.2.3.1.2 *mili* MARKING FOCUS WITHIN A PARAGRAPH

The particle *mili* usually marks the initial statement or topic in a paragraph. Where it does so it marks a recurring entity or theme, a continuity of theme, or the introduction of a secondary topic. In one instance it marks the concluding parenthetical statement of a section.

9.39 M Kulu baj-iwa angula mili ka-ngabu nya-rku, ka-ngabu and there.DEF he west more he-drown M-other he-drown nya-rku angula Windikarri, bawuji barra ka-ngabu Windikarri. M-other west Windikarri finished now he-drown Windikarri And there in the west also another man drowned, he drowned there in the west at Windikarri river, after that he drowned at Windikarri.

Example 9.40 illustrates the marking of a paragraph topic by *mili* where it is resumed after a break. The experience of the two remaining survivors has been set aside while the narration follows the floating body of their drowned companion until it is washed up on a river-bank. The return to the topic of the two living men is marked by *mili*.

9.40 Rru-mangaji mili rri-kanymarda kariy-a DU-that.DEF more DU-two from-west kawula-wani-...-i baj-inju, walkurra they.DU-return-...-on.and.on there.DEF-to big nya-mangaji badika walkurra. MSC-that.DEF paddock big Meanwhile the two (living men) kept walking back further and further from the west to that place (where there is) that very large paddock.

In examples 9.41 and 9.42, *mili* marks focus on a paragraph topic which introduces a secondary topic. Example 9.41 considers a possible problem for the old man whose situation is being described. Example 9.42 is a parenthetical comment in a description of a traditional situation.
Furthermore (there is) this flu, flu is here (in the community).

9.42 M Marda jina duraji mili ngulakari, ruthu
also this.MSC.INDEF dress more later separate
ki-wajbala-ngka yila-a.
M.NNOM-white.man-ABL bim-ABL
And these dresses are a later thing, peculiar to white people.

The next example illustrates mili marking a parenthetical comment at the conclusion of a Narrative paragraph. A girl has returned to camp to report to the people that her mother has been killed and her father is missing. The narrator comments on the fact that no inquiry was made and no action was taken at that time.

9.43 Ngala li-manji mili wambu baji kalu-arri,
but PL-ignorant more remaining there.DEF they-were
kurdardi karr-alu-yalbanga-nma.
not her-they-ask-P.NEG
But they stayed ignorant there, they didn't question her (to find out more).

9.2.3.1.3 mili MARKING FOCUS WITHIN A DISCOURSE

In discourses mili marks recurrence, but also motivation or causation in Expository and Hortatory discourses. It has a function in relation to each discourse type.

The particle mili is used to mark focus on paragraphs within Expository discourses, and the tendency is for it to have its most frequent use there. There is also a higher frequency of occurrence of mili than ban-a in the majority of Expository discourses studied in depth.

The longest Expository discourse studied tells of the early conflict between the narrator's people and the white settlers who came into the area with their horses and cattle. The narrator remains remarkably philosophical as he tells how his own father was shot and crippled, his father's older brother was killed, and another uncle was shot in the face. In addition to this, many other people (including the elderly, the blind, children and teenagers) were killed in retaliatory raids on the Aborigines after they had killed a horse or a bullock. But the combination of dramatic events and a deeply emotive issue calls forth a heavier than normal marking of focus by all three discourse focus particles.

It is rare to find the extension particle i-...-i in an Expository discourse but there are 17 occurrences of it in this one, and most of those do not occur in the two-page embedded Narrative discourse. The relative proportion of occurrences of barra and mili is also atypical in this discourse in comparison with other Expository discourses. Here there are 37 occurrences of barra and 19 of mili. The use of mili in the marking of this discourse will be considered first.

The discourse commences with a description of the damage inflicted on the narrator's own immediate kinsmen. The first paragraph tells of the injury to his father (who was able to crawl to safety) and the death of his father's older brother. The second paragraph tells of the facial injuries of another uncle and it is this paragraph which is focused by a dual occurrence of mili:
Another father too (the white man) shot his face right here from above, and the bullet came out here on him. And he was still all right, he remained alive, my (now) deceased father.

(In Yanyuwa the term wunyatha 'father' is used for one's father's brothers also, and for others classified as 'father' within the kinship system.)

Later in the discourse the narrator explains the cause of the white man's violence. The wurdu 'belly' is the seat of the emotions for the Yanyuwa, and the sense of anger of the white man (because of the killing of some of his farm animals) is described in terms of the wurdu 'falling' and 'burning'. In the following paragraph, mili marks the motivating factor for the white man's actions, and barra marks the consequent anger and shooting:

That (white man), that white man used to bum (with anger) because (the Aborigines) used to further worry/irritate them about the horses, spearing the hobbled ones and also (spearing) the bullocks as well. Their hearts 'fell', that white man burned (with anger), it was like that now he used to shoot them so fiercely.

In another discourse, a general introduction to the Kunapipi ceremony is given. The primary theme tells of the general activities of various men's groups and a secondary theme notes what the women and children are doing and that their needs are adequately met at that time. An emphasis is given to the fact that the initiates are sending food back to their mothers, and this is followed by a strong warning that, if the women should go up to the sacred ground, they are liable to get their throats cut. The particle mili marks the paragraph which tells of the women's needs being provided.
ngala yamulu l-alunga-li-wibi, jal-ija-nji
but all.right PL-their-PL-mother it.they-send-PRES
ma-ngarra alu-nga. Alu mili munji jalu-rama-nji,
FD-food them-DAT they.PL more bush it.they-kill-PRES
jal-ija-nji mili alu-nga. "Jinangu wunala
it.they-send-PRES more them-DAT this.DEF kangaroo
nya-ka-ya barratha-wu an-ku, biyi"
it.you.SG-take-IMP mother-DAT her-DAT father
But their mothers are all right, (the initiates) are sending food to them.
What's more they are hunting (game) in the bush, they are sending it to them. "This kangaroo, take it to mother, father!"

One compound discourse has as its first section a brief Narrative discourse telling of the narrator's hurried trip back to his family before his son is evacuated to hospital on an emergency medical flight. The second section is a brief Expository discourse extolling the virtues of the local nurse who kept his son alive until the doctor arrived. He refers to the doctors at the hospital, he speaks of the nurse as 'another doctor' and he considers the Aboriginal 'doctors' as well. In his final paragraph he summarises his assessment of these various medical practitioners. Focus is put on this summary statement by mili.

M Baji angula yarrbira. Wiji yarrbira, wajbala
there.DEF west doctor everyone doctor white.man
yarrbira, baki wungkuwungku mili yarrbira mili, wiji.
doctor and black more doctor more everyone
Doctors (are) there in the west. (They are) all doctors, white men (are)
doctors, and black men too are doctors also, everybody.

(The Garawa word yarrbira is used as a loan word. The Yanyuwa term for 'doctor, cleverman' is mankami.)

In Hortatory discourses the particle mili is used to mark certain supporting motivation sections — to mark the bases upon which the speaker expects the recommended action to be taken. Factors which have more importance may be marked by a single occurrence of mili.
The paragraph or paragraphs which provide the strongest basis for action are marked by two or more occurrences of mili.

In one Hortatory discourse the speaker is calling for drinkers to leave alcohol, and certainly not to give it to their children. He has two primary bases for his exhortation. One factor is that the consumption of alcohol is proving to have destructive consequences in the lives of the drinkers. The other factor is that the speaker has himself formerly been a drinker and so he speaks from experience with the authority which that gives. It is noteworthy that the paragraphs relating to the speaker's own personal experiences are marked for focus by barra. Those relating to the effects of alcohol on the lives of the hearers are marked by mili. This is illustrated in the following example:

M Jirru-rduma-nji yalibala, jirra-ka-nji kulu wayka
it.you.PL-get-PRES early it.you.PL-take-PRES and down
wunja-ya-lu kulu jirru-wayatha-nji. Jirru-wani-nji
drink-PT-PURP and it.you.PL-finish-PRES you.PL-return-PRES
mili  anka-ya rduma-ntha-lu nya-rrku mili, waykal-lya
more up-wards get-PT-PURP MSC-other more down-wards
jirra-ka-nji,   jirru-wunja-yi  wayka, baki
it.you.PL-take-PRES you.PL-drink-PRES down and
jirru-wayatha-nji.  Baj-ingu  mili  kulu
it.you.PL-finish-PRES there.DEF-from more and
jirr-inyamba-rama-nji  namba  jirru-ladaladama-nji
you.PL-REFL-fight-PRES if you.PL-become.hot-PRES
nirru-wurdu,  marda  jirr-ili-rrka-lirra-nji  nirru-manka
your.PL-belly also you.PL-it-burn-burn-PRES your.PL-body
wayatha-ntha-ra.  Rayal  yirru-wa  mulu-ngka  ja-wujba-nji
finish-PT-PRES spit you.PL-ABL mouth-ABL it-flow-PRES
kangka  wardimbangu  nya-mangaji.
because very.bad  MSC-that.DEF
You are getting (alcohol) early, you are taking it right down (to the camp) to
drink and you're finishing it. You are going back up again to get yet
another supply, you are taking it down, you're drinking it down there and you're
finishing it. Furthermore after that you are fighting one another if you
become heated, and it is burning up your bodies entirely. Spit is dribbling
from your mouths because that stuff is really bad.

The particle *mili* is used in a Dramatic discourse to give continuity to the series of verbal
exchanges between the two speakers involved. Three discourses provide a preliminary
pattern for this genre. One of these three has a specialised style and for this one the continuity
is maintained by the change in semantic content from question to answer in the speech units
themselves. But in the other two discourses, each fresh interchange between the speakers is
marked by an occurrence of *mili* in the introductory Quotation Formula. This is illustrated in
the next three examples:

9.49  Karn-ilu-yalbanga  mili  kari-ngula, "..."
me-he-ask  more  from-behind
After that he asked me further, "..."

9.50  Kulu  karn-ilu-yalbanga  kari-ngula  mili, "...
and  me-he-ask  from-behind  more
And after that he asked me further, "..."

9.51  F Barrawumba  karr-inju-kiwama  barra  nganinya  mili, "...
like  her-it-insult  now  like.this  more
In just this way (the jabiru bird) insulted (the snake) again, "..."

The response within a dialogue interchange may also be marked by *mili*. The snake's final
response to the jabiru's second (final) haranguing speech is introduced in this way:

9.52  Barra  mili  anda  mili  kari-nguthunda  kanda-arri-njaninya, "...
now  more  she  more  from-north  she-say-P.CST
Then again she also used to say from the north, "...

The particle *mili* has a limited use in Procedural discourses and in some such discourses it
does not occur at all. Where it is used, it either gives focus to the recurrence of some activity
or it marks a recapitulative paragraph at the conclusion of a discourse or discourse section. This is illustrated in the following examples:

9.53  **Mili** namba  *jala-nga-nji nya-rrku*, *nya-rrku*  more there.**INDEF** it.**they-see-PRES** MSC-other MSC-other  
*jala-nga-nji** *mili*, *jalu-mulantha-yi jalu-rduma-nji*  it.**they-PL-see-PRES** more they-dig-PRES it.**they-get-PRES**  
*na-rarrama, marda nganambaji na-wi, rru-birdawarra-lu*  its-hind.leg also like.that its-foreleg  
**FEM.NNOM**-bag-ALL  
waykal-iya yurrgumantha.  
down-wards continually.  
**And again** they are seeing another one there, they are seeing another one again, they are digging, they are getting its hind legs, and its forelegs similarly, (they are putting the turtles) down into (their) bags continually.

9.54  **F Kulu wabuda mili, nya-mangaji rawurrki anka-wa.** Yamulu and water more **MSC-that.DEF** soak up-side all.right  
*a-mangaji a-rumu kari-wayka janda-wingka-yi, marda**  **FEM-that.DEF** FEM-wave from-down she-go-PRES also  
wabuda nya-mangaji alhibi ji-wingka-yi kari-wayka.  
water **MSC-that.DEF** salt.water it-go-PRES from-down  
**Nya-mangaji mili ankangu nganambaji jilh-ini, rawurrki**  
**MSC-that.DEF** more above like.that it-is soak  
mili wabuda, marringaya barranamba jilili.  **Kulu marringaya** more water good like spring and good  
mili wunja-ya-ra, kurdardi – ngabiya – wurrunkurrun,  
more drink-PT-PRES not what’s.it.called brackish  
**kurdardi, ngala marringaya wabuda barranamba jilili.**  
not but good water like spring  
And (about that drinking) water **again** (there is) that soak-water (from underground) at the higher level. All right, those waves are coming up, and that is salt water coming up. (But) that place further up is just as (I told you previously), soak-water (from underground), good like spring-water. And what’s more it is good to drink, it isn’t – what’s the word – brackish, no, but it is good water like spring-water.

Examples 9.55 to 9.57 illustrate the use of **mili** in linking three successive paragraphs to their preceding paragraphs in a Procedural discourse.

9.55  **Mili** *jalu-yarrba-nji-...-i...*  more they-hunt-PRES-...-on.and.on  
**Again** they are hunting on and on...  

9.56  **Mili** *jalu-wingka-yi-...-i...*  more they-go-PRES-...-on.and.on  
**Again** they are walking on and on...
The particle *mili* has only a minor focus-marking role in Narrative discourses. Where it does occur, it marks a significant item or point within the discourse rather than marking a significant paragraph. The following single paragraph shows *mili* in a role of marking focus on a quiet episode in a travel narrative. Even here *barra* is present to mark primary focus and in a conjunctive phrase with *bawuji* ‘finished’, but *mili* marks a secondary focus on a recurrent activity.

There is one function of *mili* which, although it is not exclusive to Narrative discourses, has its main association with them. The particle *mili* may be used to mark subsequent participants after the initial one has been introduced. This is normally a feature of Narrative discourses, but it may apply also to certain Expository discourses. This is illustrated in the following example:

His two wives were working up there, those two, the one named Lizzie, Wunkuli's younger sister, and that other one also named Wanda, while that old man, my deceased older brother named Dambalyama, was down at the camp.
9.2.3.2 *mili* AS A CONJUNCTION

The additive-repetitive particle *mili* has a role as a conjunction. It may link paragraphs, sentences, clauses and words. In its conjunctive role it usually has a meaning ‘again, furthermore, also’, but in some rare instances it marks alternative possibilities and means ‘or, otherwise’. It maintains a measure of focus marking in its role as a conjunction.

The particle *mili* may be used to link paragraphs within a Procedural discourse or a Narrative one. In a Procedural discourse, its use is limited to a description of activities in which there are recurrent sequences of action. There is a single example of *mili* linking narrative paragraphs and there is recurrence of activity here also. The first of the following two examples of paragraph introductions comes from a Procedural discourse, the second from a Narrative:

9.60  
\[\text{**Mili** rikarrarikarra karna-lhuwarri-njaniya...} \]
more tomorrow I-depart-P.CST
And again next day I used to set off...

9.61  
\[\text{**Mili** kalu-lhuwarri-njaninya a-ya...} \]
more they-depart-P.CST west-wards
And again they set off westwards...

The particle *mili* may be used to link sentences within a paragraph, usually within a Narrative or an Expository discourse. In a narrative sequence of events it is likely to be associated with recurrence.

9.62  
\[\text{**Mili** kalu-athama...} \]
more him.they.chase her.he-tip.over FEM-canoe west-DEF
They chased him, he turned over the canoes in the west. And again they chased him...

9.63  
\[\text{Barra akarr-iya kanu-lhuwarri rikarrarikarra.} \]
now east-wards we.EXCL-depart next.day
\[\text{Wumbijji kanu-arri walkurr. **Mili** baj-ingu} \]
in.centre we.EXCL-were asleep more there.DEF-from
\[\text{**Mili** kanu-lhuwarri...} \]
we.EXCL-depart more we.EXCL-depart
And we set off eastwards next day. Part way on we slept. And again we set off from there...And again we set off from there...

9.64  
\[\text{...bardabarda jalu-wani-nji kari-wayka. **Mili**} \]
empty they-return-PRES from-down more
\[\text{ngabungabula nganinyanga barra jalu-wingka-yi waykal-iya,} \]
afternoon now now they-go-PRES down-wards
\[\text{kulu jalu-wani-nji kari-wayka bardabarda.} \]
and they-return-PRES from-down empty
...they are returning empty-handed from down (at the river fishing). And again in the afternoon at this very time they are going down (to the river), and they are returning from down there empty-handed.
The particle *mili* may also be used to link clauses within a sentence, or to link the topic phrase or clause to a sentence. It is also used in rare instances to link two alternative bases in a sentence.

In example 9.65, the first occurrence of *mili* marks a subsequent sentence topic and the second links the sentence topic to the first clause of the sentence. The following examples illustrate the linking of clauses:

9.65  M  *Marda jinangu kirdil, jinangu mili badi, mili*  
also  *this.DEF sandfly this.DEF more March.fly more*

*jambal-ulu-tha-nji...*
us._INCL-it-eat.meat-PRES
And this sandfly, this March fly too, furthermore they are biting us...

9.66  *Kawula-yukuma u-...-u mili nya-rrku*
they._DU-wait on.and.on-...-on.and.on more M-other

*kumba-mirra baji...*
he._REFL-die there.DEF
They waited on and on and another (of them) died there too...

more  *again him.he-give more he-vomit more he-vomit*
And again he gave him more food, and _again_ he vomited, and _again_ he vomited.

9.68  M  *Mili rikarrarikarra ja-lhuwarri-nji, mili arlkku arrkana-ntha-lu.*  
more  *tomorrow he-depart-PRES more fish spear-PT-PRES*
And again next day he is going out, _yet again_ to spear fish.

The following two examples illustrate the role of *mili* in linking two alternative bases within a sentence. These are the only examples noted in which *mili* has this function.

9.69  M  *Ngala bawuji nungka kiwa-bi barra nya-mangaji wabuda,*  
but  *finished maybe it-stop now MSC-that.DEF water*

*mili nungka nungka kiwa-nba-yani nungka.*  
more  *maybe maybe it-fall-IMM maybe*
But the rain has possibly stopped completely now, or perhaps it is about to rain again.

9.70  *Nyamba-wirringunda-raa, mili kima-wanga-nma baji,*  
you._SG.REFL-give.up-IMP more you._SG.I-shoot-DUB there.DEF

*kangka kinya-rama-nhu nya-mangaji malbu ny-inki-ngabuji!*  
because  *him.you._SG-kill-P M-that.DEF old.man M-your._SG-ngabuji*
Give yourself up, otherwise I might shoot you there, because you killed that old man, your _ngabuji_ kinsman!

9.2.3.3  *mili* IN PHRASES WITH OTHER PARTICLES

The particle *mili* may occur in phrases with certain other conjunctions. The phrases _barra mili_ and _mili barra_ have already been referred to in §9.2.2.3. In addition, *mili* also occurs with _baki ‘and’, kulu ‘and, and then’, marda ‘also, and, too’, ngala ‘but, then’, bawuji
‘finished’. These particles precede *mili* in the formation of a phrase. In each instance the particle *mili* adds a measure of focus and adds the appropriate meaning from its meaning range.

9.2.4 THE ROLE OF *barra* AND *mili* IN MARKING NEGATIVE AMPLIFICATION AND MISTaken THOUGHT SENTENCES

There are two Yanyuwa sentence types which demonstrate a particular use of *barra* and *mili* in marking focus. These are the Negative Amplification Sentence and the Mistaken Thought Sentence. Where focus is marked in these sentences, *barra* marks the positive or the true information and *mili* marks the negative or erroneous information. In a Mistaken Thought Sentence, however, if the mistaken thought introducer is itself in focus rather than the content of the thought, either *barra* or *mili* may be used to mark the introducer.

In sentences of other types, *barra* may be used to mark a negative statement. A negative statement may be made more emphatic by marking focus on the negative: *kurdardi barra* ‘(definitely) not’. But in the context of a Negative Amplification Sentence, the roles of the two particles are particularised.

9.2.4.1 *barra* and *mili* MARKING NEGATIVE AMPLIFICATION SENTENCES

The Negative Amplification Sentence consists of a minimum of two sentence bases, a negative and a positive, linked by the relator *ngala* ‘but’. The normal pattern is that one of the bases is repeated, usually the positive, without any further marking. In this sentence type, if focus is marked in the sentence, *barra* marks the positive base and *mili* marks the negative base. (There is no requirement that focus be marked on either.) The marking of the negative base by *mili* is more frequent than the marking of the positive base by *barra*.

The following examples illustrate the use of these two particles to mark focus on Negative Amplification Sentences:

9.71 M  I-....-i  kari-nguthunda kalu-winkga yurrngumantha;
on.and.on-....-on.and.on from-north they-come continually
  *kurdardi mili* ka-yibanda-rmma marda nguthundu baj
  not more it-land-P.NEG also north there.DEF
  *ngala ngamal-iya kalu-wingka.*
  but south-wards they-come
  Further and further they kept coming from the north; (the plane) did not land there in the north (on the plains) either but it came on southwards.

In the next example, the narrator is decrying the fact that he receives his meat supply once a week and he has no way to keep it. Consequently he is eating large quantities of meat exclusively while it is fresh and then he has no meat until the next supply day.

9.72  *Ngayamantharra ngayamantharra barra* buluki jama-tha-nji;
  only only now beef I-eat.meat-PRES
  *kurdardi mili* ngulakari-ngu, rikarrarikarra marda, *ngala*
  not more behind-NMSR next.day also but
jam-ini winarrrku, kurdardi tha-ntha-wu buluki.
I am free not meat-PT-DAT beef
I am only eating beef, that's all; there is no later supply, (none) the next day, but I am (meat-)free, there is no eating beef.

In another discourse, the narrator describes some of the birds. After describing a fish-eating seabird, he turns to the brolga:

9.73 M Barra jina mili kurdarrku, jumba-wudurruma-nji now this.INDEF more brolga it.REFL-feed-PRES
ma-wirnku ngayamantharra; kurdardi mili arlku FD-lily.root only not more fish
kilu-arrkana-njima ngala nya-mangaji barra it.it-spear-PRES.NEG but MSC-that.DEF now
jumba-wudurruma-nji ma-wirnku, nya-mangaji kurdarrku. it.REFL-feed-PRES FD-lily.root MSC-that.DEF brolga
And there is this brolga, too, it is eating only lily roots; it is not spearing fish (with its beak) but that one is eating lily roots, that brolga.

(The introductory barra is in the role of paragraph introducer and the first mili in the sentence is marking the paragraph topic – one of the subsequent topics in a series within the discourse. The underlined particles are those which mark the sentence bases which are relevant to negative amplification.)

In the next example both barra and mili occur in the negative sentence base and barra occurs in the second base. The analysis of these is as follows: in the negative base, barra is giving emphasis to the negative adverb kurdardi and mili is marking the irrealis nature of the content of the base; the second barra marks the positive base in the normal way.

9.74 Kurdardi barra nganinyanga mili, ngala maji barra not now now more but matches now
jalu-rduma-nji. it.they-get-PRES
(They are) not (using traditional fire sticks to make fire) now but they are buying matches.

The Negative Amplification Sentence may be used also for self-correction:

9.75 M Baj-alu akarra-kari li-karna-wuthayi there.DEF-they east-DEF PL-my-sister's.daughter's.child
li-wujiji mili – kurdardi mili li-wujiji ngala PL-orphan more not more PL-orphan but
yamulu rr-alunga-rra-wibi, rra-lhungku. all.right F-their-F-mother F-alive
My great nieces and nephews are there at the place in the east, orphans – not orphans but (they have) their mother all right, (she is still) alive.
9.2.4.2 *barra* AND *mili* MARKING MISTAKEN THOUGHT SENTENCES

There is a specific kind of Yanyuwa sentence which encodes mistaken thought. It may be introduced by a specific verb constructed from the stem *yudirri* ‘mistakenly think’. More often this verb is omitted and the sentence is introduced by the introducer *katha* ‘it was mistakenly thought that’. Where both the verb and *katha* occur, *katha* follows the verb.

The introducer occurs unmarked where the mistaken thought relates to an action. Where the error is related to an entity, the introducer is usually marked by a pronominal suffix which agrees with the erroneous subject in number and class.

Since there are no examples of the full sentence, including the verb, which are marked by *barra* or *mili*, three unfocused sentences are given initially to illustrate the basic sentence type:

9.76 a. **F** Kawula-*yudirri* F *kath-iwa*
they.DU-mistakenly.think mistakenly.think.that-he
*kiya-wingka wula-a ngulakari.*
he-come them.DU-ABL behind
They mistakenly thought that he had been walking behind them.

b. **Janda-yudirri-nji kath-anda**
she-mistakenly.think-PRES mistakenly.think.that-she
*marruwarra kurdardi wundarrba-ntha-wu ma-kijululu.*
(cousin no name-PT-DAT FD-money
(The shop assistant) mistakenly thinks that (your female) cousin does not recognise the right change (lit. is not calling money by its name).

c. **Katharra-yudirri** **katha babalu**
we.DU.EXCL-mistakenly.think mistakenly.think.that-buffalo
*ngala kurdardi ngala wakardawakarda.*
but no but bull
We mistakenly thought a buffalo (was there) but (it was) not, (there was a) bull.

The remaining examples are of Mistaken Thought Sentences, lacking the introductory verb, marked by *barra* or *mili* for focus. In this sentence type, too, where the two discourse particles occur, *mili* marks the content which is untrue and *barra* marks the true statements or marks emphasis on the mistaken thought introducer itself.

9.77 **Kath-alu li-wulu mili kalu-wingka-yima**
mistakenly.think.that-they PL-people more they.PL-walk-HYP
*ngala nya-mgangaji barra wurrbindibindi.*
but MSC-that.DEF now wurrbindibindi
(We used to) mistakenly think that it might be people walking, but it was the wurrbindibindi seabird.

9.78 **M** **Kath-iwa nya-mgangaji rdiyangu mili**
mistakenly.think.that-it MSC-that.DEF new more
*barrawu. Wulbala nya-mgangaji ...*
house old MSC-that.DEF
(People) mistakenly thought that it was a new house. That was an old one...
9.79 *Ngala barra kal-ina-nthaninya wabarrangu, kath-iwa* but now it.they-tell-P.CST in.past mistakenly.think.that-it

*barra kalngiya barranamba ngambala li-lhuwa wabarrangu.*

now truly like us.INCL PL-snake in.past

But they used to tell us (this story) in the past, (they) *mistakenly thought* that snakes were really like us (people) in past times.

9.3 DISCOURSE CLIMAX

In addition to the use of particles *i-...-i, barra, mili* to mark the climax of discourses (described above), other particles and other means are also used. In this final section these are quickly considered to place the above three particles in some perspective.

9.3.1 OTHER SPECIFIC MORPHEMES WHICH MARK A DISCOURSE CLIMAX

Several other morphemes may be used to mark a discourse climax, and mention is made of another single-occurrence morpheme. These morphemes include the climax-marker verb suffix *-nha*, the particles *ngala* ‘but, then’, *namba* ‘if, when, therefore’, *marda* ‘also, too, and’, *nganambaji* ‘like that (definite)’ and the suffix *-kaa*.

9.3.1.1 THE CLIMAX-MARKER VERB SUFFIX *-nha*

One rarely occurring verb suffix *-nha* (or *-nya* following an *i*-final stem) may be used to mark one or two verbs associated with the climax of a Narrative discourse or a Dramatic discourse which has narrative-related content. Such marking has been noted in only four discourses.

In one narrative, a man describes the experience of accompanying a New South Wales group going back from Brisbane to visit their home community at Woodenbong. On the way they came within sight of Mount Lindsay, and for the narrator, this was the climax of the journey. The *-nha* suffix marks the activity which immediately precedes his first sight of this mountain.

9.80  

*M Ngamal-inya kanu-wuluma, ka-wuluma-nha mudika kulu* south-wards we.EXCL-run it-run-CLIM car and

*ngamala bajji barra akarra-kari ankangu ja-alarri-nji* south there.DEF now east-DEF above it-stand-PRES

*nya-mangaji jayngka.* MSC-that.DEF mountain

We ran on southwards, the vehicle ran on, and there in the south now, up on the east side, that mountain is standing.

In another Narrative the same speaker tells of a dramatic incident which took place in his home community. A young man fell in love with one of the young women and ran off with her. The girl’s father and some other elders organised a fight to discipline him for this. However, he afterwards planned to take the girl again. He obtained a gun and waited until the old man was taking his family downriver in his canoe. He then suddenly appeared by the
river bank with his gun and demanded the daughter. When the old man would not willingly allow her to go, he shot the old man and went off with the girl.

In this discourse, the narrator uses the particle -nha twice in the crisis section: to mark the young man's anticipation and the the old man's approach towards the crisis in which the old man was killed.

9.81 M Kulu ki-malbu ka-yukuma-nha bajì and MSC.NNOM-old.man he-wait-CLIM there.DEF wanga-ntha-wu yi-ku ka-yukuma... kumba-yabil-yabima shoot-PT-DAT him-DAT he-wait he.REFL-make.good-make.good ngal-iya malbu ka-wajanga-nha yiwirra-yiwiirra... when-he old.man he-paddle-CLIM bank-bank And he waited for the old man there, he waited to shoot him...he made himself ready when the old man paddled along the bank...

In a Dramatic discourse, a jabiru bird and python snake harangue each other with insults. The jabiru claims to be superior because he can fly and the snake must crawl on the ground. The snake claims to be superior because she eats food which she cooks with fire and the bird merely eats raw food. The Quote Formula which introduces the first and primary speech of the python snake is marked by the suffix -nha in its form -nya.

9.82 Bawuji barra kanda-arri-nya, a-mangaji barra finished now she-say-CLIM FEM-that.DEF now a-buburna kanda-wukanyi yi-ku kiwuma nganinya FEM-python she-say him-DAT insult like.this nya-mbangu, "..." MSC-that.INDEF After that she spoke, that black-headed python spoke that insulting speech to him like this, "..."

The remaining example noted was in a translation of the narrative passage in which Christ enters Jerusalem and the people honour him and call out praises to God. The Yanyuwa translator marked the verb of praising with the suffix -nha.

9.83 Kalu-wingka a-ya, nala-rrku wingka-ya-rrra ambirriju they-go west-wards they-other go-PT-PRES in.front yila-a mili nala-rrku ngulakari yila-a, baj-iwa him-ABL more they-other behind him-ABL there.DEF-he wumbijji. Kalu-wajba yi-ku ki-Kud in.centre they-call him-DAT MSC.NNOM-God kalu-barliirra-nha... him.they.PL-praise-CLIM They went westwards, some walking in front of him and others walking behind him, he was there in the middle. They called out to God, they praised him,....
9.3.1.2 THE PARTICLE ngala ‘BUT, THEN’

The particle ngala ‘but, then’ is a strong marker of contrast. The temporal ‘then’ function is much less frequent than the contrast ‘but’ function; however, the particle often has the meaning ‘then’ when it introduces a climax. It occurs as the link of sentence bases in Negative Amplification sentences (see examples 9.71 to 9.75). It also occurs to introduce focal or climactic paragraphs in discourses. It may be used to mark crisis points in Narrative and Hortatory discourses, and a crisis point of a particular kind in a Procedural discourse.

In a Narrative discourse telling of the survivors of the crash-landed plane, ngala introduces the crisis point paragraph when the final survivor makes contact with his rescuers:

9.84  

Ngala nya-mangaji barra yangbala  
then M-that.DEF now young.man

kumba-yurrnguma-nthaninya-i baki
he.REFL-continually.go-P.CST-...-on.on and

kala-ka-la – “Marnaj-iwa warriya.”
him.they-see-P here.DEF-he poor.thing
Then that young man kept on and on continually walking and (the searchers) saw him – “Here he is, poor man!”

In the story of the murder of a husband and wife, the paragraph which concludes the first crisis is that which tells of the daughter’s return to camp to report the murder of her mother and that her father is missing.

9.85  

Ngala rra-mangaji rra-wardukara, Bugundu nanda-wini,
then F-that.DEF F-adolescent Bugundu her-name

kanda-wuluma ngaliba alanji-lu. Kal-and-inu...
she-run to.DEF camp-ALL them-she-tell
Then that teenage girl called Bugundu ran back to the camp. She told them...

After the ineffectual search for the murderer by the group from the camp, the narrator’s father sets off on a successful search which results in the capture of the murderer. This crisis section commences:

9.86  

Ngala wunyatha kari-ngamala ka-lhuwarri...
then father from-south he-depart
Then my father set out from the south...

In a Hortatory discourse the particle ngala is used to introduce strong exhortations – the climax sections of a Hortatory discourse. In the discourse encouraging Christians to keep seeking to share their faith, even if they are ignored or opposed, the speaker considers these negative factors and then exhorts his hearers.

9.87  

Ngala nganambaji li-ngambal-ina-nthani!
but like.that them-we.INCL-tell-IMP.CON

li-ngambal-ina-nthani nganambaji,
them-we.INCL-tell-IMP.CON like.that

“Lukat!” Li-ngajbirri-njani ngambalanga
look.out they-disregard-IMP.CON us.INCL-DAT
... Ngambala-ina-nthani...

like.that them.PL-we.PL.INCL-tell-IMPL.CON
But let us keep saying that to them! Let us keep warning them, “Look out!”
Let them disregard us...Let us keep on saying that to them..

In the Hortatory discourse urging drinkers not to give alcohol to children and to leave it themselves, one strong plea for them to leave it themselves is introduced by ngala and a Rhetorical Question:

nya-mangaj-iwuthu? Kirru-walanyma-njima marda MSC-that.DEF-direction.in you.PL-emerge-HYP also
kirra-nda-yima!
it.you.PL-leave-HYP
But why do you like that kind of thing? You should come out of it and you should leave it!

In one Procedural discourse ngala plays a significant role in introducing an alternative procedure relating to a crisis situation of being without water in the bush. The previous section has established the procedure of looking for trees with drinkable sap and cutting for sap to quench one's thirst. The discourse continues with instructions to look for signs of a spring. This section commences:

9.89 Ngala namba kurdardi, nungkarn-ariku, namba kurdardi but if not ABS.ABL-other if not
wabuda-wu wumda kinya-ngra-ru... water-DAT tree it.you.SG-see-FUT.NEG
But if not, at another time, if you don't see a tree for water...

9.3.1.3 THE PARTICLE namba ‘IF, WHEN, THEREFORE, WELL’

The function of the particle namba ‘if, when’ to introduce the protasis of a Conditional Sentence has been referred to above (see examples 9.30 and 9.31). This particle is also used to introduce the strong exhortations in the climax sections of Hortatory discourses. In each of two Hortatory discourses, two exhortations are very strongly presented. Two of these four sections are introduced by ngala (see examples 9.87 and 9.88 above), and the other three are introduced by namba, which in this context has more the meaning ‘therefore’ or ‘well’. (This particle is also homophonous in form with the indefinite distal demonstrative pronoun namba.)

In the discourse urging Christians to keep telling their kinsmen about their faith and hope for the future, the speaker acknowledges that many are ignoring them but he urges them nonetheless:

9.90 Marda nya-mbangu ja-ngajbirri-nji ngambala-nga also M-that.INDEF he-disregard-PRES us.INCL-DAT
ngal-ingambala na-ntha-raa yi-ku nganambaji. when-we.INCL tell-PT-PRES him-DAT like.that
In the discourse urging the drinkers to leave alcohol, the speaker strongly urges them twice in a paragraph, each time introducing his exhortation with *namba*:

9.91  
*Minja barra jirr-irma-maramarama-nji nganinya:*  
just now you.PL-I-command-PRES like.this

*Namba kirra-nda-yima nya-mangaji*  
therefore it.you-PL-leave-HYP MSC-that.INDEF

*wardimbangu wabuda ... Namba kirra-nda-yima!*  
very.bad water therefore it.you-PL-leave-HYP

Well I'm strongly urging you like this: *For all those reasons* (I've been giving you) you should leave that harmful drink... Therefore you should leave it!

9.3.1.4 THE PARTICLE *marda* 'ALSO, TOO, AND'

It is noted that the conjunction *marda* 'also, too, and', the conjunction used in listing, is used also in linking focal content. The Expository discourse which tells of the killing of Aborigines who have killed settler's stock is noteworthy in that the main paragraph introducer used is *marda*. In Hortatory discourses it is *marda* which is primarily used to link imperative clauses which normally form the exhortations. (Examples 9.88 and 9.91 illustrate the other form of exhortation using the hypothetical verb suffix.) The following paragraph is one of several which illustrates this:

9.92  
*Barni-lanima-ntha alu-nga liyi-ardu-birri-yu!*  
NEG-teach-NEG.IMP them-DAT PL.DAT-child.DIM.PL.DAT

*Barni-ngul-gunda-ya marda wunja-ya-rra!*  
NEG-give-give-NEG.IMP also drink-PT-PRES

*Marda li-mbangu li-yumbu barni-ngunda-ya*  
also PL-that.INDEF PL-young NEG-give-NEG.IMP

*kangka wardimbangu nya-mangaji!*  
because very.bad MSC-that.DEF

Don't teach (the drinking habit) to the children! And don't give it all around (for them) to drink! And don't give it to the young ones, because it is very harmful!
9.3.1.5 THE DEMONSTRATIVE ADVERB nganambaji ‘LIKE THAT’

The definite demonstrative adverb is one of the markers of the climax sections, the
exhortations, in a Hortatory discourse. (See several usages in examples 9.87 and 9.90
above.)

9.3.1.6 THE SUFFIX -kaa

The suffix -kaa is noted in one discourse. In the brief Expository discourse telling of a
massive flood, the narrator makes a strongly emphatic statement about the uniqueness of this
flood that only he in the community has seen. The suffix -kaa occurs on the temporal adverb
wabarrangu and it seems to give it prominence in a climactic statement and so it is given a
tentative label, ‘climax marker’.

9.93 M Kurdandu ka-ngunda-yaninya wabarrangu awara jinangu;
   intensely it-rise.in.level-P.CST in.past place this.DEF
   ngala kurdardi ka-wingka-yima yurrngumantha ngala
   but not it-go-PRES.NEG continually but
   ngayamantharra arrkula-wu ja-wingka-yi bawuji waburrangu-kaa.
   only one-DAT it-go-PRES finished in.past-CLIM

The water kept rising excessively high in this place in the past; however, it
doesn’t keep on coming continually (in that manner) but it is only coming
once and that is all, in that special occasion in the past.

9.3.2 OTHER WAYS OF MARKING A DISCOURSE CLIMAX

From the description of the functions of discourse particles in the preceding sections, it is
apparent that attention is frequently drawn to a discourse climax by a combination of
markers. In addition to discourse focus particles or affixes, certain grammatical constructions
or stylistic features contribute to the marking of a discourse climax. These include repetition,
Negative Amplification, Locative Complex Stative Clause, direct speech, vivid vocabulary
items, cycling/sandwich structures and rhetorical questions.

(1) Repetition

There may be repetition of a significant verb or of a clause to mark a climax. Some
reordering of the words may occur in the repeated clauses. Repetition is illustrated in
Hortatory discourse exhortations (see 9.87 and 9.92 above). It is illustrated from a Narrative
discourse climax in example 9.94 below. The narrator tells of the death of a man as he was
crossing a coastal river. Before he continues with the remaining two living men, he diverts to
follow the floating body until it is washed up on land again. The paragraph is marked by
repetition of three clauses and one phrase (telling of the body’s final position) and is marked
by all three discourse particles.

9.94 M Nya-mangaji mili ka-bulaka, wajbala barra nya-mangaji
   M-that.DEF more he-float white.man now now M-that.DEF
   ka-bulaka mili yurrngumantha, kurdardi mili
   he-float more continually not more
kumbu-wudurruma-nma mardumbera marda. Kilu-walima-nthaninya it.REFL-feed-P.NEG crocodile also im.it-throw-P.CST
arnindawa a-ya, a-kari-mba Rrumundanga baji
below west-wards west-DEF-side Rrumundanga there.DEF
ka-wundirri, baji ka-wundirri a-kari-mba Rrumundanga.
he-come.up there.DEF he-come.up west-DEF-side Rrumundanga

Kila-ka barra i-...-i anka-ya, kila-nda
him.it-take now on.and.on-...-on.and.on up-wards him.it-leave
anka barra, kila-nda anka, bawuji. Anka-ya na-wurdu
up now him.it.leave up finished up-wards his-belly
anka-ya na-wurdu ka-arri baji kurdan barra.
up-wards his-belly he-was there.DEF dead now
And that (body) floated, that white man floated on and on continually; and
the crocodiles didn't eat him either. (The tidal river) tossed him on westwards lower down. (The body) came up on the west bank there at Rrumundanga, it came up there at Rrumundanga on the west bank. It carried him then all the way up, it left him up there then, it left him up there (and that was) the end. Stomach up, stomach up he lay there, dead.

(2) Negative Amplification

The use of Negative Amplification sentences to mark discourse climax is seen in examples above also. It occurs in Expository discourses (see example 9.72), in Narrative discourses (see example 9.71), and in Procedural discourses (see the description of the quality of the water in the conclusion of example 9.54).

(3) Locative Complex Stative Clause

A Locative Complex Stative Clause subtype consists potentially of the following constituents: Subject, Locative Complex, Complement. The Locative Complex consists of a demonstrative locative, usually one of the definite locatives, baji ‘there’ or marnaji ‘here’, marked by a pronominal suffix; for example: baj-iwa (there-he), marnaj-anda (here-she). The Complement unit is optional and the Subject may be omitted if it is understood from the context.

Locative Complex Stative clauses are noted in the climax of Narrative discourses (see examples 9.19 and 9.84) and Procedural discourses (see examples 9.17 and 9.18).

(4) Direct speech

The interjection of direct speech into a flow of reported speech (often but not necessarily without any Quotation Formulae to identify speaker) may well be indicative of a discourse crisis. The interjection may well be a Locative Complex Stative Clause. This feature is illustrated in a Procedural discourse (example 9.17), an Expository discourse (example 9.46), and a Hortatory discourse (example 9.87).
(5) Vivid vocabulary items

The use of certain strong, vivid, or emotive vocabulary items may be associated with a discourse climax. This is particularly noted in the Procedural discourse type where the climax of each step and the climax accomplishment of the entire procedure is often marked in this way. The three adverbs wakara ‘accomplished’, yamulu ‘all right’, bawuji ‘finished, completed’ frequently occur in this context. Or in the procedure of cooking a kangaroo, the equivalent indication of the desired conclusion is conveyed by the word series: wunhunhu ‘cooked, ready to eat’, marringaya ‘good, excellent’, and bawuji ‘finished, done’ (see example 9.5). In a Narrative discourse also the repeated use of yamulu ‘all right’ occurs in a climax (example 9.19).

In the Expository discourse telling of the killing of the Aborigines who have been killing the settlers’ animals for meat, the narrator repeatedly uses the verb urrkuwa ‘burn’ in the climax where he considers the motivation for the white man’s actions (see example 9.45). In coming to the happier climax of the white man ceasing to kill, there is repeated use of the words yamulu ‘all right’, and wuntha ‘cool, well-disposed’ (in direct contrast to the verb urrkuwa ‘burn’).

In a Hortatory discourse in which the speaker is urging his hearers to leave alcohol, he provides reasons for them to do so in the Grounds sections. In climax paragraphs in these Grounds sections, he gives several vivid descriptions of the apparent negative effects of alcohol use. This is illustrated in example 9.48 where he refers to fighting as a consequence of ‘hot bellies’ and ‘burning bodies’ and he describes them dribbling sputum from their mouths. In another paragraph he concludes with the clause: jirru-wulariri-nji barra nirru-manka ‘your head is aching in your body’, or literally, ‘you are head-aching now your body’.

(6) Cycling/sandwich structures

Some writers use the term ‘cycling’ and others ‘sandwich structures’ for the feature of repeating some part of a construction so that it surrounds the remaining content. Yanyuwa discourses are rich in examples of cycling and certain entire discourses are cycled. Cycling may involve more than one layer of the construction so that, for example, content A and B is cycled around content C in the order A B C B A. Such cycling may be used in a discourse climax. Example 9.71 above illustrates cycling in a Negative Amplification sentence in a discourse climax. The positive statement is repeated (with some slight variation of vocabulary; for example, ngamal-iya ‘southwards’ is substituted for kari-nguthunda ‘from the north’) surrounding the negative sentence base.

Example 9.95 is from a Hortatory discourse climax. In this example, an imperative sentence is repeated. The material omitted from that example is the following motivational content – almost two sentences in this example:

9.95  Minja barra jirr-ima-maramara-nji nganinya: Namba
       just now you.PL-I-command-PRES like.this therefore
       kirra-nda-yima nya-mangaji wardimbangu wabuda
       it.you-PL-Ieave-HYP MSC-that.INDEF very.bad water
... Namba kirra-nda-yima!
       therefore it.you.PL-Ieave-HYP
Well I’m strongly urging you like this: For all those reasons (I’ve been
giving you) you should leave that harmful drink... Therefore you should leave it!

(7) Rhetorical Question

In a Hortatory discourse, a Rhetorical Question may be associated with either a strong exhortation or with a strong grounds section. This is illustrated in example 9.88 above. This exhortation is then followed by a section of motivation which concludes with a one word Rhetorical Question:

9.96 \textit{Ngalhi-yu?} \\
what-DAT \\
Why?

9.3.3 CONCLUSION

Yanyuwa has a wide potential range of methods for marking the climax of discourses of the various types. The discourse focus particles which have been described in detail above, \textit{i-...i}, \textit{barra} and \textit{mili}, have a significant role in marking a discourse climax. So too do the other morphemes or words described in §9.3.1. In addition to these, vivid vocabulary, certain clause constructions, sentence types, and stylistic devices such as repetition or cycling contribute to marking a climax. The usual pattern is that varying combinations of these linguistic factors are used to give indication of a climax point within a section of a discourse or in the discourse as a whole.
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