A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF GARAWA PHRASES AND CLAUSES

by

E.S. and C.E. Furby

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ABBREVIATIONS

+ obligatory
± optional
/ or
- morpheme division
; additional meaning within the morpheme, or "filled by" when used in phrase headings
( ) interruption of one tagmeme by another in tagmeme headings, or implied information in the English gloss
{} the bracketed item represents all the allomorphs of the morpheme
\ alternating with
ab, Ab ablative
abil abilitative
acc, Acc accompaniment
adjr adjectiviser
al, Al allative
app, App appositional
asp aspect
assoc, Assoc associative
att, Att attributive
Cl Clause
concom, Concom concomitant
### Glossary

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refr, Refr referent
R.If.Pred Reflexive Infinitive Predicate
R.OP.Pred Reflexive Object Participial Predicate
R.Pred Reflexive Predicate
R.Subj Subject of Reflexive Predicate
R.SP.Pred Reflexive Subject Participial Predicate
s singular
spec.t specific time
subj, Subj subject
Tns Tense
T.Adj.Pred Transitive Adjectivised Predicate
T.If.Pred Transitive Infinitive Predicate
T.OP.Pred Transitive Object Participial Predicate
T.Pred Transitive Predicate
T.SP.Pred Transitive Subject Participial Predicate
transloc translocative
trans, Trans transitive
T.Subj Subject of Transitive Predicate
um hesitation word translating baiki
Voc Vocative
0. PRELIMINARY

The Garawa language is spoken by approximately 300 people living in the Northern Territory of Australia in the area bordered by the McArthur River on the west, and the Queensland border on the east, and extending about 100 miles inland from the coast.

The Garawa people live adjacent to the Yanyula people and the two languages, though different in structure, have a number of cognate (or borrowed) roots. Some of the borrowing is said to be recent. The Garawa say that originally the Nyanga tribe occupied the coastal region of this area, and the Yanyula tribe occupied the country west of Garawa and Nyanga land. Inter-tribal relationships among the three tribes were amicable, intermarriage being permissible within the restrictions of the kinship systems which coincided.

After the Nyanga tribe died out, the Garawa occupied their coastal area and the Garawa and Yanyula tribes continued to live in harmony with each other. The acquisition of coastal areas brought new pursuits (such as dugong hunting) to the Garawa people, and as their language did not have a vocabulary appropriate to these new activities Yanyula words were taken into the Garawa language to make good this deficiency and adapted to fit into the Garawa grammar system.

Apart from this, the two languages have some common vocabulary, especially in roots of a few nouns, adjectives, and manner words, and these fit into the two different grammatical structures.

The material on which the following analysis is based was collected under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics during thirty months' residence at Borroloola between June 1968 and November 1971.

The authors are indebted to Dr Charles Peck of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for his invaluable assistance in analysis and preparation of this paper and to many informants during the above period, especially Edna Jack.

This paper was produced with the assistance of a concordance of 26,181 morpheme/words of text in Garawa produced by a joint project of
The Oklahoma University Research Institute and the Summer Institute of Linguistics which was partially supported by Grant GS-1605 of the National Science Foundation.

The tagmemic model is used in the presentation of this paper, using Bidimensional Arrays as developed by Robert E. Longacre of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to describe the contrastive clause and phrase types of Garawa. This involves a description of the case system which is a feature of Garawa clauses and a factor in the separation of some of the phrase types.

Garawa is an ergative type language as far as nouns are concerned. Each word within the noun phrase is inflected for ergative case when subject of the Transitive verb. Nominative case (ø case-marker) indicates object of the Transitive, and subject of the Intransitive and Reflexive verb constructions. Subject and Predicate of non-verbal clauses also take the (unmarked) nominative case.

The pronominal system differs in that it is an accusative system where the personal pronouns are marked for subject in both the Transitive and Intransitive clauses, and for object in the Transitive clause, while the Reflexive has a combined form of subject and object pronoun which we have termed the Reflexive Pronoun. In addition, there is a special set of compound object/subject pronouns used in transitive clauses. For more detailed information see 'The Pronominal System of Garawa', Section 2.1 (published in Oceanic Linguistics, vol.XI, No.1).

In both nucleus and periphery, all components of the noun phrases, nouns, pronouns etc., are marked according to the case of the tagmeme in which they are manifested, except for the manifestations of Connector Particles, Negative Particles, Manner Adverbs, and Location Adverbs, which are always uninflected for case. Time may have a manifestation which is marked for Ablative, Allative, or Locative Time, or may be uninflected.

2. CASE SUFFIXATION

Case is an important feature of Garawa clauses and phrases. The reaction of certain phrases to case has been adopted as one of the criteria for separating some phrase types. The only clause level tagmemes which do not have phrases as exponents are Predicate, Tense,
Aspect, Connector, Negative and Manner. The language does not contain any verb phrases.

There is concord of case suffixation on all words which may be inflected for case within the phrase, with the exception of Kinship, Location Modification and Negative Noun Phrases. These exceptions will be explained in the discussion of each of these phrase types.

Charts 1, 2, and 3 show the case suffixes for various classes of words.

Nouns are divided into Common Nouns (which include proper nouns, abstract nouns, body parts, etc.), Kinship Nouns, and Location Nouns. Kinship nouns are further divided because of their distribution on phrase level, their ability or inability to be inflected for case, or their internal structure. Kinship nouns Types 3, 4 and 5 do not take case suffixes when singular in number. With dual or plural markers on both common and kinship nouns of all types, the case allomorphs are determined by the dual/plural markers rather than the noun roots.

The Location Nouns consist of roots meaning 'north', 'south', 'east', and 'west'. Suffixation adds to the meaning, such as 'north-side' and 'south-across', etc. The suffixation is rather extensive and meanings of some suffixes appear to be quite subtle so that we have not yet been able to define all their meanings. Location nouns must be inflected for case, but take only Referent, Locative, Allative and Ablative cases, and the allomorphs of the case suffixes do not coincide with those for the other classes of nouns.

A discussion of the case suffixes follows. These have been divided into three charts because different columns are required to describe the three different groupings of affixes. Chart 1 applies to the largest number of words. Chart 2 applies to a small class of kinship nouns, and Chart 3 applies to personal pronouns.

Case suffixes on Location Nouns and a few other residual word classes which are not fully analysed are not included in these charts, though they are identified in the examples throughout the paper.

Case System for Common Nouns, Kinship Nouns Type 1, Adjectives, and Certain Other Words

Chart 1 gives the case suffixes for all common nouns, type 1 kinship nouns, adjectives, and certain other words and morphemes.
CHART 1. CASE SUFFIXATION
Sets of Case Ending Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Nom</th>
<th>Erg</th>
<th>Refr</th>
<th>Loc/Acc/Ins</th>
<th>Al</th>
<th>Ab/Tac</th>
<th>Transloc</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-wanji</td>
<td>-anj l</td>
<td>-ina</td>
<td>-yuŋ</td>
<td>-nanji</td>
<td>-yanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-unj l</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-yuŋ</td>
<td>-nanji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-wanji</td>
<td>-ŋganji</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-yuŋ</td>
<td>-nanji</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-wanji</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-unj l</td>
<td>-joŋga</td>
<td>-njina</td>
<td>-joŋ</td>
<td>-nanji</td>
<td>-yanga</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
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<td>-unj l</td>
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<td>-ŋganji</td>
<td>-njina</td>
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<td>-nbunanj l</td>
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<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-unj l</td>
<td>-wa</td>
<td>-njina</td>
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</table>

The Set 1 of Chart 1 suffixes occur with all singular kinship nouns type 1, with all singular common nouns except those ending with /unj l/, with all singular adjectives except those ending with /unj l/ or /ŋa/, and following the origin suffix -mungidji. The following allomorphs occur:

(a) The referent suffix allomorph -anj l occurs with stems ending with a consonant; -unj l occurs with stems ending with a vowel. (This referent suffix allomorph -unj l is distinguished from the ergative suffix allomorph -unj l in that the referent suffix is first order and the ergative suffix is second order.)

(b) The locative/accompaniment/instrument suffix allomorph -ina occurs with stems ending with a consonant; -na occurs with stems ending with a vowel.

(c) The allative suffix allomorph -yuŋ occurs with all adjective stems and noun stems ending with /i/, and with the origin suffix; -fi occurs with noun stems ending with /a/ or /u/.

The Set 2 suffixes occur only with nanidji 'that big', and there are no allomorphs.

The Set 3 suffixes occur with singular common nouns and singular adjectives, both ending with /unj l/. The following allomorphs occur:
(a) The referent suffix allomorph -ŋŋganji occurs with all adjective stems that end with /nji/, and with noun stems ending with /inji/; -ŋganji occurs with noun stems ending with /anji/ or /unjil/.

(b) The allative suffix allomorph -ŋŋguŋ occurs with all adjective stems ending with /nji/, and with noun stems ending with /inji/; -yuŋ occurs with noun stems ending with /anji/ or /unjil/.

The Set 4 suffixes occur with adjectives ending in /ŋa/ and following dual, plural, and concomitant markers.

The Set 5 suffixes occur with the singular possessive pronouns.¹

The Set 6 suffixes occur with wanji, the interrogative pronoun stem and with nana, 'that', and nanda, the demonstrative pronoun stem and its allomorph, when they occur without the dual or plural suffix. (nanda occurs only with the nominative case; nana occurs with all other cases.)

The Set 7 suffixes occur with nayi, nai, and nanaŋi, demonstrative pronoun stem, 'this', and its allomorph, when they occur without the dual or plural suffix. (nayi occurs with nominative, referent, and allative cases; nai occurs with ergative, referent, locative/accompaniment/instrument, allative and ablative/tactile cases; nanaŋi occurs as an alternative stem with ergative case.)

The Set 8 suffixes occur with wanjdja, the interrogative pronoun stem allomorph, when it occurs without the dual or plural suffix.

The Set 9 suffixes occur following the suffix -yuŋ, 'deceased'.

The Different Case System for Kinship Nouns Type 2

The case system of kinship nouns type 2, which comprise about one third of the kinship terms of the language, differs from the kinship nouns type 1 (see Chart 1, Set 1) in that the same suffix occurs for the ergative, locative, and accompaniment tagmemes.

Chart 2 shows the Set 10 case suffixes that occur in the different tagmemes with the kinship nouns type 2.

**Chart 2. Case Suffixes for Kinship Nouns Type 2**

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<td>-ya</td>
<td>-yaf</td>
<td>-nanji</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-yanji</td>
<td></td>
<td>-yunanji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹For a fuller explanation of case with pronouns see 'The Pronominal System of Garawa'.
Stems ending with the syllable /nja/ have this deleted with all but the nominative case.

The referent suffix has allomorphs: -yanji which occurs with the stem baŋaŋi 'father's older brother'; -ya which occurs with all other stems.

The ablative suffix has allomorphs: -yunanji which occurs with the stem baŋaŋi 'father's older brother', buwanja 'older brother', and bugaganja 'father'; -nanji which occurs with all other stems.

The Different Case System for Personal Pronouns

The case system of personal pronouns (which does not include possessive pronouns, see Chart 1, Sets 4 and 5) differs again from that shown in Charts 1 and 2, in that the same suffix is used for the subject of the transitive and intransitive verbs, and a different suffix is used to denote object of the transitive verb. Accompaniment suffix also differs from Chart 1 accompaniment suffixes. In addition there is another suffix used in reflexive constructions as the reflexive subject marker. Chart 3 shows the Set 11 case suffixes that occur on personal pronouns.

CHART 3. CASE SUFFIXES FOR PERSONAL PRONOUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set</th>
<th>Refl</th>
<th>Subj</th>
<th>Obj</th>
<th>Refr</th>
<th>Loc</th>
<th>Al</th>
<th>Ab</th>
<th>Transloc</th>
<th>Acc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>-ŋə</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-nja</td>
<td>-ŋi</td>
<td>-nduŋu</td>
<td>-ndunajñi</td>
<td>-ndunanjñi</td>
<td>-nduŋuŋaŋa</td>
<td>-nduwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The locative, allative, ablative, and translocative suffixes each has an allomorph which occurs in free variation with the allomorphs on Chart 3. They are respectively, -nbu, -nbiŋi, -nbunanjñi, -nbiŋaŋa.

3. PHRASES


Phrases are often discontinuous, but no confusion occurs as all words of phrases are inflected for case.
3.1. MODIFIED NOUN PHRASE

The Modified Noun Phrase consists of a Deictic, Number, Possessor, Modifier and Head; all these are optional but one must occur. Case markers occur on all words in the phrase except those that cannot be inflected for case. Because of its versatility, the Modified Noun Phrase has a very wide distribution on clause level and is common throughout the language.

There is some embedding in this phrase, as the bidimensional array in Chart 4 shows.

CHART 4. BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR THE MODIFIED NOUN PHRASE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modified Noun Phrase</th>
<th>± Deictic</th>
<th>± Number</th>
<th>± Possessor</th>
<th>± Modifier</th>
<th>± Head</th>
<th>± Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demonstr. Pronoun</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Possessor</td>
<td>Modified</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>Kinship Noun 1</td>
<td>Nom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number Phrase</td>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>Attributive</td>
<td>Kinship Noun 2</td>
<td>Erg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive Pronoun</td>
<td>Apposition</td>
<td>Kinship</td>
<td>Phrase</td>
<td>Noun Clause</td>
<td>Kinship Noun 3</td>
<td>Refr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appositional Phrase</td>
<td>Co-ordinate</td>
<td>Kinship</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kinship Noun 4</td>
<td>Loc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-ordinate Phrase</td>
<td></td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kinship Noun 5 (d/pl)</td>
<td>Acc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Common</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kinship</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Phrase</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Transloc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1The word bafl is an almost meaningless word that is interspersed throughout Garawa speech. In this paper we will translate it as the hesitation word 'um'.
The Modified Noun Phrase may occur embedded within the Appositional and Co-ordinate Phrases, may expound the Inalienable Possessor or the Inalienable Possession tagmeme of the Inalienable Possession Phrase, the Head tagmeme of the Associative Noun Phrase, the Location Modification Noun Phrase and the Negative Noun Phrase, and the Axis tagmeme of the Accompaniment Noun Phrase. The Modified Noun Phrase may expound the Subject, Object, Referent, Locative, Accompaniment, Instrument, Allative, Ablative, Tactile, Translocative, Topic and Comment tagmemes of the clause.

Permutation Rules

1. Free permutation occurs within this phrase, although where Deictic, Number, or Possessor is manifested as well as Modifier, then Modifier is preferred following the Head.

2. When more than one modifier is manifested, one is usually placed after the Head (see Example 9).

3. Within the clause, post-Head modifiers are sometimes permuted to the end of the clause (see Example 16).

4. Deictic is occasionally permuted to the initial position in the clause (see Example 17), but rarely occurs following the Head (see Example 1).

Restrictions

1. There is a preferred limit of three optional tagmemes, though occasionally four or five may occur (see Example 15).

2. All fillers of the Possessor slot apart from the possessive pronoun, are marked with referent case and cannot be further inflected by the case of the tagmeme in which it occurs. This use of referent case indicates possession.

3. When the Modified Noun Phrase (poss) fills the Possessor slot, its Head is obligatory, and it may contain only one other tagmeme (see Example 18).

4. When the exponent of the Possessor slot is an Appositional Phrase, the Primary Head of the Appositional Phrase usually has a pronoun, and the Appositional Head a proper noun (see Example 19).
Examples of Modified Noun Phrase

1. *migu nufi-Ø djabulinjba Ñaninj-mugu-nji*
   "We:pl:ex:p-subj disregard man-pl:erg"
   Head Deictic Modifier
   *mambuga-Ø nanda-Ø waluqepa-Ø*
   boss-nom that-nom big-nom
   'We, many (of us) men, take notice of that big boss.'

2. Poss Head:kin n type 1
   *djura-yl Ñanang-njinga nidaŋanjdji-njinga*
   dance-p he:poss-acc father-acc
   '(He) danced with his father.'

3. *nayu-Ø nulldjba-ŋga gaunsl-Ø bafi*
   I-subj want-pres councillor-nom um
   Deictic Head:locn n
   *nana-nganj gavu-ri-nji yadji-nji*
   that-refr east-place-refr country-refr
   'I want councillors for that eastern country.'

   Note: In the above example, 'Deictic' and 'Head', nana-nganj gavu-ri-nji, form a Modified Noun Phrase, which in turn forms the Pri. Head of an Appositional Phrase, while yadji-nji forms the App. Head (being another noun, it cannot be a part of the nana-nganj gavu-ri-nji Modified Noun Phrase).

4. Head Poss
   *nayinda-Ø djibaŋi-Ø nagi-Ø*
   this-nom woman-nom my-nom
   'This is my wife.'

   Note: In the above example, the Deictic, nayinda, also is a Modified Noun Phrase, but is manifesting the Topic tagmeme of the Topic-Comment Clause, while djibaŋi nagi manifests the Comment tagmeme.

5. Poss Head:kin n type 1
   ...ŋala njulu-Ø nagi-Ø djandanj-Ø*
   while he-subj my-nom man's:offspring-nom
   Modf
   *bayagadæ-Ø djungu*
   small-nom sit
   '...while he, my small child, sits.'

   Note: Again in the above example, the underlined Modified Noun Phrase forms the App. Head, and the pronoun njulu 'he', is the Pri. Head of an Appositional Phrase.
6. **Modf**  Deictic  Head

   gudiyana  bunjulbunjul-ina  nana-njina  gunđa-na
   
   *sometimes soft-loc that-loc tree-loc*
   
   'Sometimes (we chop a hole) in those softwood trees.'

7. **Deictic**

   mamanumba-yi  duŋala-Ø  nana-mugu-nji
   
   *lose-p stone-nom that-pl-erg*
   
   'Those (ones) lost the money.'

8. **Deictic**  Head

   gulugan-gga  gadji-Ø  nanidji-na  bundai-ina
   
   *sleep-pres crocodile-nom that:big-loc river-loc*
   
   'Crocodiles live in that big river.'

9. **Modf**  Head  **Modf**

   dudidjba-yi  bulanduyanga  walguña-nji  miya-wanji  gugudu-wanji
   
   *crawl-p they:d-transloc big-erg snake-erg black-erg*
   
   'The big black snake crawled past the two of them.'

10. **Poss**  Head

    wulanı  yari-Ø  gudjba  ḥagl-ŋanja  mal-lguña-rj
    
    *yesterday they:pl:p-subj search my-refr armband-refr*
    
    'Yesterday they searched for my armband.'

11. **Poss**  Head  **Modf**

    nadjba-gyvl  ḥanaj-Ø  djalu-Ø  buludabuda-Ø
    
    *see-imp his-nom arm-nom swollen-nom*
    
    'See his swollen arm!'

12. ...bagl  guyu-yi  laŋi-na  djangu-Ø

    *and bring-p north-ab word-nom*

    **Deictic**  **Poss**  **Head**

    ḥagl-ngu-ř1  ḥagl-ngu-ř1  banda-ř1
    
    *this-al my-al camp-al*
    
    '...and brought the word from the north to this camp of mine.'

13. **Deictic**  **Head**

    ḥayu-Ø  ylŋidjba  migu  nanda-Ø  djamba-Ø
    
    *I-subj leave neg that-nom ground-nom*

    **Poss**  **Poss**

    ḥagl-Ø  ḥagl-Ø  gaŋu-ř1
    
    *my-nom my-nom east-place:loc*
    
    'I will not leave that land of mine in the east.'
14. Deictic Head
\[
\text{bagi wagudimba na-ŋa bařl } \text{nana-munanji yadjì-nanjì}
\]
and \text{tide:risest:fast he-refl um that-ab country-ab}

'And the tide rises fast from that place.'

15. Deictic Modf Num Modf
\[
\text{wanjджawa nanda-Ø yinga-Ø gudjařa-Ø walguřa-Ø}
\]
where \text{that-nom other-nom two-nom big-nom}

Poss Head: Kinship Noun Phrase
\[
\text{ŋagi-Ø gugulimba-Ø ṣẹyu}
\]
my-nom grandchild I(=my)

'Where (are) those other two big grandchildren of mine?'

16. Head Num Modf
\[
\text{djiguwařa-Ø ŋayi-Ø nadja } \text{gudjařa-Ø walguřa-wuyu-Ø}
\]
wallowy-nom I:p-subj see two-nom big-pl-nom

'I saw two big wallabies.'

17. Deictic Head
\[
\text{nanda-Ø bařl ŋayi-Ø daba } \text{wařguna-Ø}
\]
that-nom um I:p-subj kill big:goanna-nom

'I killed that big goanna.'

18. Poss . . . . . . . . . Head
\[
\text{wagunamba njuli-Ø ganji-ŋanji naŋaŋanjda-ŋi madjadja-Ø}
\]
find he:p-subj your:subj re:refr mother-refr axe-nom

'He found your mother's axe.'

19. Poss . . . . . . . Head
\[
\text{wanjджawa naŋaŋi-Ø rurj-nji banda-Ø}
\]
where his-nom Rorie-refr camp-nom

'Where is Rorie's camp?'

20. Poss . . . . . . . Head
\[
\text{djiładjba ŋayi-Ø naŋaŋi-nguři rurj-nji banda-ři}
\]
go I:p-subj his-al Rorie-refr camp-al

'I went to his camp - Rorie's camp.'

Note: In the above Examples 19 and 20, the Possession tagmem is a Modified Noun Phrase (pos). In this phrase the Head is marked for referent (=possessive) case and so takes no further case marking.

\[\text{1See footnote on page 7.}\]
3.1.1. Number Phrase

The Number Phrase has been placed in a Subsection of the Modified Noun Phrase as it occurs only as an exponent of the Number tagmeme in a Modified Noun Phrase. All words in the Number Phrase, except bagi, receive case suffixes as assigned in the Modified Noun Phrase.

The system of numbering is simple as there are only two basic numbers, yiŋamali and yaŋunji both meaning 'one', and gudjaŋa 'two'. From these, the number 'three' is formed by combining the two as gudjaŋa yiŋamali (or yaŋunji) and 'four' is gudjaŋa gudjaŋa or gudjaŋa bagi gudjaŋa. In recent times, this original system has been extended slightly by using gudjaŋa bagi gudjaŋa yiŋamali for 'five' and also gudjaŋa bagi gudjaŋa bagi gudjaŋa bagi gudjaŋa for 'six', but this is seldom used, and then only through the influence of European culture requiring a more precise numbering system. Beyond the number 'four' the indefinite numbers are used, gudiyŋa 'some', and gadjja 'many'. If a more accurate definition of numbers is required, it is possible to say maŋi gudjaŋa 'two hands' for ten, or maŋi gudjaŋa bagi nugam gudjaŋa 'two hands and two feet' for twenty. This can also be repeated several times.

The Number Phrase has only a few exponents and is not analysed any further.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number Phrase</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yiŋamali</td>
<td>'one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaŋunji</td>
<td>'one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gudjaŋa</td>
<td>'two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gudjaŋa yiŋamali</td>
<td>'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gudjaŋa yaŋunji</td>
<td>'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gudjaŋa gudjaŋa</td>
<td>'four'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gudjaŋa bagi gudjaŋa</td>
<td>'four'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gudjaŋa bagi gudjaŋa yiŋamali</td>
<td>'five'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gudjaŋa bagi gudjaŋa bagi gudjaŋa</td>
<td>'six'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maŋi gudjaŋa</td>
<td>'ten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maŋi gudjaŋa bagi nugam gudjaŋa</td>
<td>'twenty'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of Number Phrase

1. Num
   ɾaŋimba ŋayi-ø ẓunba-ø ɾadjaɾ-yudi-nji gudjaɾa-ø
   shoot I:p-subj duck-nom rifle-concom-erg two-nom
   'I shot two ducks with (my) rifle.'

2. Num . . . . . . .
   gudjaɾa-ø yinamali-ø ŋayi-ø ɾaŋimba ẓunba-ø
   two-nom one-nom I:p-subj shoot duck-nom
   'I shot three ducks.'

3. Num . . . . . . .
   yalu-ø bɾidja gudjaɾa-nji yalgunji-wanji
   they:pl-subj sing two-erg one-erg
   ɾaninji-mugu-nji maliwaɾa-ø
   man:pl-erg name:of:corroboree-nom
   'The three men sing the "maliwarra" corroboree.'
   This example shows double embedding. The Number Phrase underlined fills the number slot of a Modified Noun Phrase of which ɾaninji-mugu-nji is the Head. This phrase then forms the Appositional Head, and the pronoun yalu the Primary Head, of an Appositional Phrase.

4. Num . . . ( ) . . . . . .
   gudjaɾa-ø ŋayi-ø da ya bəɾi gudjaɾa-ø
   two-nom I:p-subj chop and two-nom
   'I chopped (down) four (trees).'

5. Num . . . . . . .
   bəɾi mili gudjaɾa-ø yinamali-ø
   and again two-nom one-nom
   '...and again (I chopped) three (trees).'

6. Num
   baɾba ŋayi-ø djiɾi badjaɾu-nji gudjaɾa-jnjga
   go I:p-subj with dog-refr two-refr
   'I went with two dogs.'
   Note: The underlined Number Phrase expounds the Number tagmeme in a Modified Noun Phrase which expounds the Axis of an Accompaniment Phrase.

7. Num
   waliyaɾu-ø gudjaɾa-wuɾa-ø ɾagl-ø yadjaɾ-ø nji zilan-ø
   island-nom two-d-nom my-nom country-nom New Zealand-nom
   'My country, New Zealand, consists of two islands.'
3.1.2. Kinship Noun Phrase

The Kinship Noun Phrase also is placed in a subsection of the Modified Noun Phrase as it occurs only as an exponent of the Head tagmeme of a Modified Noun Phrase.

The Kinship Noun Phrase comprises a Kinship Head and a Kinship Possessor, both tagmemes being obligatory, as shown in Chart 6.

The Kinship Head is manifested by a Kinship Noun Type 5, a group of kinship nouns which comprises a noun stem and an obligatory suffix -mba. Within the Kinship Noun Phrase the Head must be singular in number.

The Kinship Possessor is manifested by a subject Personal Pronoun.

The Kinship Noun Phrase is unusual in that it is never inflected for case. (When the dual or plural forms of the Kinship Head are used, they are inflected for case and so fit into the Modified Noun Phrase structure.)

CHART 6.  BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR THE KINSHIP NOUN PHRASE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinship Noun Phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ Kinship Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Kinship Possessor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinship Noun (Type 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject Personal Pronoun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Permutation Rules

No permutation occurs.

Examples of Kinship Noun Phrase

1. wanjdkawa nanda-Ø yingga-Ø gudjaña-Ø walguaña-Ø
   where that-nom other-nom two-nom big-nom
   Kin Head  Kin Poss
   ngaí-Ø gugulimba nayu
   my-nom grandchild I(=my)
   'Where (are) those two big grandchildren of mine?'

2. nangji ngaí-Ø yangja ngaí-nganj i gadjigadimba nayu
   you:refr Ip:subj talk my-refr nephew I(=my)
   'I spoke to you, my nephew.'
3. yugumba-ga nanja' wajga bundal-ina
   wait-pres you:refr down river-loc
   Kin Head   Kin Poss
   gugulimba ninjdji giningl-wanji
   grandchild you:s(=your) Kiningki-erg

   'Your grandchild, Kiningki, is waiting for you down at the river.'

   Note: In the examples 2 and 3 above, the Kinship Noun Phrase is uninflected for
   case, even though it is expounding in Example 2 the Head of a Modified Noun Phrase
   that is in Referent Case, and in example 3 the Primary Head of an Appositional
   Phrase in Ergative Case.

4. Kin Head   Kin Poss
   ranlimba-yl gaanaanjdja-Ø mimimba njulu lubi-wanji
   shoot-p emu-nom grandson he(=his) Lobby-erg

   'Lobby, his grandson, shot the emu.'

5. Kin Head   Kin Poss
   djiladja nayu-Ø naa-ndufi mufimu:imba ninjdji
   go I-subj he-al gr:nephew you:s(=your)

   'I go to him, your nephew.'

6. Kin Head   Kin Poss
   migu nayl-Ø-ya djungu naa-ndu nawa:dlimba nayu
   neg I-subj-desid:p sit she-acc sister-in-law I(=my)

   'I did not sit with her, my sister-in-law.'

3.2. APPOSITIONAL AND CO-ORDINATE PHRASES

   The next group of phrases to be discussed comprises the Appositional
   Phrase and the Co-ordinate Phrase, which are grouped together because
   of similarity of construction and distribution. Before continuing with
   their description, we will discuss our reasons for positing the Appositional
   Phrase as an alternative to multiple manifestations of the same
   tagmeme.

3.2.1. Appositional Phrase

   Frequently we encounter a simple clause such as:

djungu naylba ninanji-Ø
sit here man-nom

   'The man lives here.'

   An expansion which would be even more frequently used would be:
djungi nayiba ṣaninji-Ø gađidi-Ø
sit here man-nom uncle-nom
'The man, (my) uncle, lives here.'

It would also be normal to expand this still further to make the identity of the uncle still more clear by the addition of the uncle's name. The clause would then read:

djungi nayiba ṣaninji-Ø gađidi-Ø djağsi-Ø
sit here man-nom uncle-nom Jackson-nom
'The man, (my) uncle, Jackson, lives here.'

The subject of the first clause, ṣaninji, has been expanded in the second and third clauses to further define the subject. The relationship between each of these words in the subject tagmeme is so close as to suggest that they would more reasonably constitute a phrase than be regarded as multiple manifestations of the subject tagmeme. However, as Garawa favours the use of a pronoun wherever applicable, a construction preferable to any of the above clauses would have the pronoun njulu inserted. This frequently is placed at or near the beginning of the clause, so that a fourth example would read:

njulu-Ø djungi ṣaninji-Ø gađidi-Ø djağsi-Ø
he-subj sit man-nom uncle-nom Jackson-nom
'He, (that) man, (my) uncle, Jackson, lives here.'

In this clause the pronoun njulu, although separated by the verb from the rest of the subject, is just as closely related as any of the subject words in the previous examples. Accordingly, we have discarded the concept of multiple manifestations of a tagmeme in favour of that of one tagmeme being manifested by the Appositional Phrase, or the Co-ordinate Phrase which will be explained in the following section.

The Primary Head of an Appositional Phrase is taken as the most indefinite in meaning of the manifestations of the subject, and the succeeding explanatory words are Appositional Heads. Therefore, in the final example above, the pronoun njulu is regarded as the Primary Head, as it is the most indefinite in meaning. The following parts of the subject, ṣaninji 'man', gađidi 'uncle', and djağsi 'Jackson', are Appositional Heads.

A notable feature of clause construction is the manner in which other clause tagmemes interrupt this phrase, particularly when the Primary Head is expounded by a personal pronoun.

The Bidimensional Array in Chart 7 shows that both heads may be manifested by phrases, which means that there is frequent embedding. Case is obligatory on all words in the phrase, except on Time, Locative
and Manner Adverbs, and some Location nouns.

The Appositional Phrase may occur embedded within the Co-ordinate Phrase, may expound the Possessor tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase, the Head tagmeme of the Location Modified Noun Phrase and the Negative Noun Phrase, and the Axis tagmeme of the Accompaniment Noun Phrase. The Appositional Phrase may expound the Subject, Object, Referent, Locative, Allative, Ablative, Time, Manner, Topic and Comment tagmemes of the clause.

CHART 7. BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR THE APPOSITIONAL PHRASE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appositional Phrase</th>
<th>+ Primary Head</th>
<th>+ Appositional Head</th>
<th>+ Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Modified Noun Phrase</td>
<td>Co-ordinate Phrase</td>
<td>Associative Noun Phrase</td>
<td>Personal Pronoun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Permutation Rules

There is no difference in the fillers of either Primary or Appositional Heads. However, as one is less explicit in meaning than the other, it has been called the Primary Head. The Primary Head may precede or follow the Appositional Head, and often, particularly when the primary head is manifested by a personal pronoun, it comes early in the clause while the Appositional Head is often placed finally.

Additional Note

As the embedded phrases contain a case tagmeme within themselves, and the Location Noun and Locative, Manner and Time adverbs are not inflected for case, the case tagmeme applies only to the Personal Pronoun.
Examples of Appositional Phrase

1. Prior Head: Modifier NP  App. Head: Modifier NP
   gudjba nana-ŋi gugu-∅ baŋi nanaŋi-∅ djiangani-∅
   search he-refr mat:gr:uncle-nom um his-nom son-nom
   'My maternal great uncle, his son, searches for him.'

2. Prior Head: Modifier NP
   ηawamba djingdjaŋa ηayi-∅ nugami-∅ nana-ngina
   only know I:subj tracks-nom that-loc
   Modif NP App. Head 1: Modifier NP  App. Head 2: Modifier NP
   wabu-da-na gudjifi-na bayana-ŋi
   water-loc crossing-loc west-place:loc
   'But I recognised (his) tracks by the river at the crossing in the west.'

3. App. Head 1: Modifier NP...
   nana-ŋaŋi  nagi-ŋaŋi  nagi-ŋaŋi  banidi-ŋaŋi
   that-refr my-refr my-refr bro-in-law-refr
   Prior Head App. Head 2
   nana-ŋi dun-ŋaŋi yanjba-yi
   he-refr Don-refr talk-p
   '(Mother) talked to him, Don, my brother-in-law.'

4. Prior Head App. Head
   maŋa nayiba malbu-∅ bugaŋāna-∅ djungu-yi nanaba nagi-ndu
   also here old:man-nom father-nom sit-p there me:acc
   'Also the old man, (my) father, sat there with me.'

5. App. Head: Co-ord. P...
   dadagi-∅ bagi mundaraŋa-∅ nana-nguya-∅
   Dadaki-nom and Mundararra-nom that-d-nom
   ...
   baŋi gunda-wunya-∅
   um tree-d-nom
   'Dadaki and Mundararra, those two trees, (are used for this).'

6. Prior Head: Kin. NP...
   mùrimùrimba Ṉayu djunjua-∅
   sister's:daughter's:son I(=my) Johnson-nom
   Prior Head App. Head
   bagi gugu-∅ djaŋsun-∅ bagi gamudjulu-∅
   and mat:gr:uncle-nom Jackson-nom and Kungleberry-nom
'My niece's son Johnson, (my) great-uncle Jackson and Kungleberry, (searched for him).'

Note: The above example illustrates two Appositional Phrases, which manifest the first two heads of a Co-ordinate Phrase, with ḡamudjulu as Head 3 of a Co-ordinate Phrase.

7. Pri.Head  
   App.Head 2:Modf.NP  
   ḡnu-Ø mawal-Ø lalanba-ga nana-ŋini  
   he-subj float-nom watch-pres that-erg  
   madbigga-fa-wanji ḡañįnji-wanji  
   expert:dugong:hunter-erg man-erg  
   'He, the man, that expert dugong hunter, watches the float.'

8. App.Head Pri.Head  
   ḡaru ŋayi-Ø ḡada-ye nana-gi  
   tell I:p-subj mother-refr she-refr  
   'I told her, mother.'

9. App.Head Pri.Head  
   ŋala gudiya-Ø djařidja-wa yalu-Ø  
   while some-nom are:away-cont they:pl-subj  
   '...while they, some (of them) are still away.'

10. Pri.Head:Locn N  
    bulidjjimanjdji-wanji guyu yalu-nja gula-ério-djj  
    policeman-erg take they:pl-obj south-place-al  
    App.Head  
    grusin-uyfi-wa  
    crossing-al-cont  
    'The policeman was taking them to the crossing in the south.'

11. Pri.Head  
    App.Head:Modf.NP . . . . . . .  
    yali-Ø-ya nana-mugy-nji gaunsii-łu-mugy-nji  
    they:pl-subj-desid:p that-pl-erg councillor-pl-erg  
    garu bugamba wudjini  
    tell all few:days:ago  
    'All those councillors wanted to tell (him) a few days ago.'

12. Pri.Head  
    App.Head  
    djabari ḡayu-Ø bari ḡayu-Ø-ma bari  
    once:again I-subj um I-subj-myself um  
    'Again I myself (held that ground).'

\[ djandanjji-Ø \quad nagi-Ø \quad naja-nja \quad yidna-Ø \]

daughter-nom my-nom mother-nom Edna-nom

"My daughter, (your) mother, Edna..."

14. Pri.Head:Modf.NP

\[ nayu-Ø \quad nulidjba-nga \quad gaunsil \quad bafi \quad nana-nganjji \]

I-subj want-pres councillor um that-refr

\[ gaatu-ţi-nji \quad yadji-nji \]

east-place:loc-refr country-refr

"I want councillors for that country in the east."

15. App.Head

\[ ...gala \quad nayu-Ø \quad djungu-gili \quad mugulaŋu-Ø \]

while I-subj sit-hab Robinson:River-loc

Pri.Head:Modf.NP

\[ nagi-njina \quad yadji-na \]

my-loc country-loc

"...while I used to live at Robinson River."

Note: Ø signifies locative case on place names.

16. Pri.Head:Modf.NP

\[ malidjba \quad bull-Ø \quad nagi-Ø \quad djandanjji-Ø \]

follow they:d:subj my-nom son-nom

\[ bayagada-Ø \quad bang-Ø \]

small-nom Barnes-nom

"They followed my small son, Barnes."

17. Pri.Head App.Head:Co-ord.P

\[ wadjamba \quad bula-ngi-li \quad waja-nji \quad gaju-nji \quad maŋa \quad wadjaba-nji \]

eat they:d:refl-hab food-refr fish-refr also goanna-refr

"(Those) two are eating food, fish and goanna."


\[ djungu \quad njul-Ø \quad nana-manjdji \quad nayi-nda \quad mału-Ø \quad daymand-Ø \]

sit they:subj that-spec:t this-nom old:man-nom Diamond-nom

"He, this old man, Diamond, lived at that time."
   nadjba-ŋga  nayi   gala
   see-pres   here   under
 '(He) sees (the dugong) here, under (the surface).'

   nungala-Ø  nayi   gula-fa
   we:incl-subj here   south-loc
 'We two (arrive) here at the south.'

21. djam-lí gaŋu nanda-Ø milingundaya-Ø
   then-call that-nom Milingundaya-nom

   wangala  wabula
   olden:times   before
 'Then, in olden times, we used to call that one (high tide)
"Milingundaya".'

22. gamu-njí muguřinjdja  yal-u-Ø

   nana-wa  gula  langi
   that-way   south:al north:al
 'They stand in the bow of the canoe (going) in that direction,
to the south and to the north.'

3.2.2. Co-ordinate Phrase

The Co-ordinate Phrase, as stated in Section 3.2 is similar in
construction and distribution to the Appositional Phrase. However, it
differs semantically from the Appositional Phrase in that each success-
sive head is not explanatory of the previous head, but is completely
new and separate, although altogether they constitute a single group.
A clause may include a collective term which names the other separate
items which co-occur with it. This collective term is considered to be a
Primary Head of an Appositional Phrase. The co-occurring separate items
then form a Co-ordinate Phrase which expounds the Appositional Head.
(See Example 3 following, where gudugudu 'many' is a summary of the ex-
ponents of the Heads in the following Co-ordinate Phrase.)

The Co-ordinate Phrase (see Chart 8) comprises two or more Heads,
onoptionally joined by Links, either bagi 'and', or maŋa 'also'. Most
manifestations of these Heads are phrases, and since these phrases
contain a case tagmeme within themselves the additional obligatory case tagmeme applies only to exponents that may be inflected for case but do not contain a case tagmeme.

The Co-ordinate Phrase is most common as the exponent of the Subject or Object tagmemes, though it may also occur in any tagmeme of a clause that has a phrase as an exponent.

The Co-ordinate Phrase may occur embedded within the Appositional Phrase, may expound the Possessor tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase, the Head tagmeme of the Location Modification Noun Phrase and the Negative Noun Phrase, and the Axis tagmeme of the Accompaniment Noun Phrase. The Co-ordinate Phrase may expound the Subject, Object, Referent, Locative, Allative, Ablative, Time, Manner, Topic and Comment tagmemes of the clause.

CHART 8. BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR THE CO-ORDINATE PHRASE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Co-ordinate Phrase</th>
<th>+ Head</th>
<th>± Link</th>
<th>+ Head_1</th>
<th>± Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>± Link</td>
<td>+ Head_1</td>
<td>+ Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appositional Phrase</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>± Link</td>
<td>+ Head_1</td>
<td>+ Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Pronoun</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>± Link</td>
<td>+ Head_1</td>
<td>+ Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associative NP</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>± Link</td>
<td>+ Head_1</td>
<td>+ Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location Noun</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>± Link</td>
<td>+ Head_1</td>
<td>+ Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative Adverb</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>± Link</td>
<td>+ Head_1</td>
<td>+ Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner Adverb</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>± Link</td>
<td>+ Head_1</td>
<td>+ Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time Adverb</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>± Link</td>
<td>+ Head_1</td>
<td>+ Case</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Permutation Rules

As there is no distinction between the Heads, permutation does not apply to this phrase.

Restrictions

1. The Modified Noun Phrase manifesting any of the Heads is usually limited to Head and at most, two other tagmemes.

2. When a Location Noun, a Locative, Manner or Time Adverb manifests one Head, then other head/s must also be manifested by the same class of word.

3. As Location Nouns carry only Locative, Allative, Ablative or
Referent case, then case is restricted to one of the forementioned cases when a location noun is the exponent of any head.

Additional Note

As the embedded phrases contain a case tagmeme within themselves, and the Location Noun and Locative, Manner and Time Adverbs are not inflected for case, the case tagmeme applies only to the personal pronoun.

Examples of Co-ordinate Phrase

1. Head 1 Link Head 2
   waḍamba bula-ngi-li waḍa-nji gagu-nji mada waḍaba-nji
   eat they:refl-hab food-refr fish-refr also goanna-refr
   'Those two are eating food, fish and goanna.'

2. Head 1 Link Head 2
   Dadagi-∅ bagi mundaraŋa-∅ nana-nguya-∅ baŋi gunda-wuya-∅
   Dadaki-nom and Mundararra-nom that-d-nom um tree-d-nom
   'Dadaki and Mundararra, those two trees, (are used for this).'

3. Head 1:Modf.NP Link Head 2:Modf.NP Link Head 3:Modf.NP
   wudumba yali-∅ gudugudu-∅ gudjaŋa-∅ djiguwaŋa-∅
   get they:pl:p-subj many-nom two-nom wallaby-nom
   Link Head 2:Modf.NP Link Head 3:Modf.NP
   bagi mundaju-∅ gudugudu-∅ bagi yalgunj-∅ waḍaba-∅
   and turtle-nom many-nom and one-nom goanna-nom
   Link Head 4:Modf.NP
   bayagaŋa-∅ bagi walguŋa-∅ wadjill-∅ bagi
   small-nom and big-nom wild:honey-nom and
   Head 5:Modf.NP
   bidiwiŋi-∅
   pandanus:nut-nom
   'They got many (things), two wallabies, many turtles, one small goanna, much wild honey, and pandanus nuts.'

Note: In the above example, the Co-ordinate Phrase underlined expounds the Appositional Head of an Appositional Phrase, and the summarising indefinite number word gudugudu expounds the Primary Head of the Appositional Phrase.

4. Head 1
   dadldjba gagalidjba yali-∅ wabula
   no:matter laugh:at they:pl:p-subj before
5. 'No matter (what he did) people everywhere laughed at him all the time.'

6. 'I might tell mother and father that same story later, tomorrow (perhaps).'

7. (They) used to spear kangaroos and emus.'

8. 'We used to kill (kangaroos) here on the east side (and) again on the west side.'
9. Head 1
muguñijdja yalu-Ø gaři

Head 2 Head 3 Head 4
bayugu gula laggı
west:al south:al north:al
'They stand in the bow of the canoe (looking) to the east, to the
west, to the south, (and) to the north.'

10. Head 1 Head 2
ŋařgadaba wuni-na bari-na yalu-ngi-li
spear spear-ins club-ins they:pl-refl-hab
'They used to spear each other with spears and sticks.'

3.3. INALIENABLE POSSESSION PHRASE

The Inalienable Possession Phrase is the construction used to indi­cate the relationship of a part to the whole of a person, animal or article, such as in man-hand, horse-hoof, canoe-bow.

The Inalienable Possession Phrase consists of an Inalienable Posses­sor and an Inalienable Possession (see Chart 9). The Inalienable Posses­sor is not marked for possession (referent case).

The Inalienable Possession slot is filled by a Modified Noun Phrase which is expounded only by a Head and optionally one other tagmeme. The Head consists of a body part noun or a noun which is part of the whole article.

The Inalienable Possessor slot may be filled by a Modified Noun Phrase or a pronoun which denotes the animal possessor or the part of the whole.

The Inalienable Possession Phrase may expound the Subject, Object, Referent, Locative, Allative, Ablative, Translocative, Topic and Comment tagmemes of the clause.

CHART 9. BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR THE INALIENABLE POSSESSION PHRASE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inalienable Possession Phrase</th>
<th>+ Inalienable Possessor</th>
<th>+ Inalienable Possession</th>
<th>+ Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modified Noun Phrase</td>
<td>Modified Noun Phrase (limited)</td>
<td>All cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal Pronoun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reflexive Pronoun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Permutation Rules

Tagmemes may permute to alternative order.

Restrictions

When the reflexive pronoun expounds the Possessor tagmememe, the phrase is inflected with nominative case only. (This use of the reflexive pronoun within a phrase is rare.)

Additional Note

As the embedded phrases and the Reflexive Pronoun contain a case tagmememe within themselves the case tagmememe applies only to the Personal Pronoun.

Examples of Inalienable Possession Phrase

1. Inal.Possr Inal.Poss
   ṣaŋimba njul-Ø wunduŋi-Ø djalu-Ø
   shoot he:p-subj bush turkey-nom wing-nom
   'He shot the bush turkey in the wing.'
   Note: The possessor 'bush turkey' is not marked with referent (=possession) case.

2. Inal.Possr Inal.Poss
   muwada-na ŋufu-na yaŋidjaŋa djidimbi-Ø
   canoe-loc bow-loc put-pres tail-nom
   '(They) put the tail at the bow of the canoe.'

   nuggi-Ø bafi ŋayi-Ø nadja gaŋgu-Ø
   track-nom um I:p-subj see mat:g:uncle-nom
   'I saw the tracks of (my) maternal great-uncle.'

   Inal.Poss Inal.Possr
   nidjinba-ŋl gabigabi-Ø yarama-wanj  maŋi-wanj djalu-wanj
   trample-p calf-nom horse:erg hoof-erg foreleg:erg
   'The front hoof of the horse trampled the calf.'

   gudjaŋa ŋayi-Ø nana-ŋganji miya-nji wuyu-nji
   search I:p-subj that-refr snake-refr snake:track-refr
   'I searched for the track of that snake.'
6. Inal.Poss:Modf.NP
   djunu  baɾi  laŋgu  djala  gaɾala  nana-njina  muwa-na
   perhaps  um  north:loc  today  descend  that-loc  stomach-loc
   Inal.Possr
   yadji-na
   country-loc

   'Perhaps (he) went down to that bay in the north today.'

   Note: The 'bay' (stomach=bulge) is a part of the 'country' and 'country' is not marked with referent (=possessive) case.

   daya  nagi-∅  nayi  mani-∅  naga
   chop  my-nom  here  hand-nom  I:refl

   'I chopped my hand here.'

   Note: This is an example of the use of the reflexive pronoun as the possessor tagmeme manifestation.

3.4. ASSOCIATIVE NOUN PHRASE

   The Associative Noun Phrase has a basic meaning of association in that it has an obligatory element which can best be translated as 'having'. The Associative Noun Phrase is used to describe method of travel, such as horse-having, motor-car-having, boat-having. This construction indicates temporary possession of horse, car or boat, but it is not used with aeroplane since ownership is not so clearly defined. Its use also includes accompaniment such as 'man with a boy', 'child with mother', but here again possession is implied as it would not be used for 'boy with a man'. It would, however, be used for 'boy with his father'. Similarly, possession is just as strongly implied when the phrase indicates instrument, as in 'they fought each other, sticks-having'.

   The Associative Noun Phrase comprises an optional Head and an obligatory Association. As is seen in the Bidimensional Array in Chart 10, the exponents of the Head are limited to the Modified Noun Phrase or a Personal Pronoun, while the Association is expounded only by the Concomitant Noun Phrase. Both tagmemes are inflected for case.

   The Associative Noun Phrase may occur embedded within the Appositional and Co-ordinate Phrases and may expound the Head tagmeme of the Location Modification Noun Phrase. The Associative Noun Phrase may expound the Subject, Object, Referent, Locative, Allative, Ablative, Topic and Comment tagmemes of the clause.
Permutation Rules

Permutation of the Head and Association is possible but rarely occurs.

Restrictions

1. The Modified Noun Phrase is usually limited to Deictic or Head, but occasionally it is expounded by the Head and one other tagmeme.

2. When the Associative Noun Phrase manifests the Reflexive Subject of a Reflexive Clause, the Head is inflected for nominative case while the Association is marked for ergative case.

Additional Note

All words within the Associative Noun Phrase are marked for case. As the embedded Modified Noun Phrase contains a case tagmeme within itself, the case tagmeme of the Associative Noun Phrase applies only to the Personal Pronoun and the Concomitant Noun Phrase.

Examples of this phrase are given following the description of the Concomitant Phrase.

3.4.1. Concomitant Noun Phrase

The Concomitant Noun Phrase consists of that part of the Associative Noun Phrase that is associated with or possessed by the Head of the Associative Noun Phrase.

The Concomitant Noun Phrase is placed as a sub-section of the Associative Noun Phrase as it occurs only as the exponent of the Association tagmeme or as the exponent of the Comment tagmeme in the Topic-Comment Clause.

As shown in Chart 11, the Concomitant Noun Phrase comprises an optional Deictic, Modifier and Head, one of which must occur, and a
Concomitant marker. The Concomitant marker takes the form of a suffix which is affixed to all words of the phrase.

**CHART 11. BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR CONCOMITANT NOUN PHRASE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concomitant Noun Phrase</th>
<th>(\pm) Deictic</th>
<th>(\pm) Modifier</th>
<th>(\pm) Head</th>
<th>(\pm) Concomitant Marker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative Pronoun</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>{-yudi}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quantifier</td>
<td>App.P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive Pronoun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Permutation Rules**

Deictic, Modifier and Head may permute to any order though that shown in the Array is preferred.

**Restrictions**

It is usual for only one of the three optional tagmemes to occur, except when the Modifier is manifested it is preferred that the Head should co-occur.

**Examples of Associative and Concomitant Noun Phrases**

1. **Assoc:Concom.NP**
   
   mu\(\partial\)nawa djiladja-dja naga\(\partial\)-yudi-\(\emptyset\)
   
   tomorrow go-f horse-concom-nom
   
   'Tomorrow (I) will go on horseback.'

   Note: In the above example the subject 'I' is understood from the context and is the Head of the Associative Noun Phrase, with naga\(\partial\)-yudi filling the Association slot.

2. **Assoc:Concom.NP**
   
   gadja\(\partial\)-yudi-nji yalu-\(\emptyset\)gi-li \(\emptyset\)agadaba \(\emptyset\)jiba\(\partial\)-wanji
   
   yam:stick-concom-erg they:pl-refl-hab spear woman-erg
   
   'Women used to spear each other with yam sticks.'

   Note: In the above example, the underlined Associative Noun Phrase is embedded as Appositional Head of an Appositional Phrase of which the reflexive pronoun is the Primary Head.

3. **Head:Refl.Pron**
   
   ma\(\partial\) ga na-\(\emptyset\)ga mili \(\emptyset\)agadaba nana-nj\(\partial\)judi-nji
   
   also he-refl again spear that-concom-erg
'Also he (our ancestors) used to spear each other with those stone bladed spears in the olden times.'

'Nangalama came back with this (one).'

'The boy went to the old man with two dogs.'

'I mourned for the woman with that baby.'

'I saw the woman with those clothes of yours.'

'I shot two ducks with the rifle.'

'Perhaps they (those men) with feathers (on) ate kangaroo.'
3.5. LOCATION MODIFICATION NOUN PHRASE

Location, as well as direction, is an important concept to the Garawa people. This is reflected in the language in that people, animals, or objects are nearly always given a fairly precise location, particularly as far as north, south, east and west are concerned. For example, in a discourse it is not sufficient to introduce a new object or character without stating his/its origin, direction of travel if moving, or location. Location definition is the most common method of differentiation between characters/objects. For this reason, locative tagmemes are common in the language, and often are more closely related to the Head of a phrase than to the general statement of the clause. For example, the statement, "the man in the south slept", differentiates between the man in the south and someone elsewhere, who may, or may not, have been sleeping. The emphasis is on which man was sleeping, not on the fact that he slept in any particular place.

Within the clause, the Locative tagmeme always refers to the subject of the intransitive predicate, or the object of the transitive predicate, unless it is embedded in one of the movement tagmemes, viz., Allative, Ablative, or Translocative. To deal with this occurrence we have posited the Location Modification Noun Phrase.

The Location Modification Noun Phrase is unusual in that there is no concord of case within the Phrase. It consists of a Location, a Head and Case, all of these tagmemes being obligatory. The Location tagmeme is always inflected for Locative case, and is manifested only by a Location Noun. The Head has several possible exponents as shown in the Bi-dimensional Array in Chart 12 and is inflected for case.

The Location Modification Noun Phrase occurs only in the Allative, Ablative and Translocative tagmemes of a clause.
CHART 12. BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR LOCATION MODIFICATION NOUN PHRASE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location Modification Noun Phrase</th>
<th>+ Location</th>
<th>+ Head</th>
<th>+ Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Location Noun + Locative case</td>
<td>Modified Noun Phrase</td>
<td>Appositional Phrase</td>
<td>Allative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Co-ordinate Phrase</td>
<td>Ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Associative Noun Phrase</td>
<td>Translocative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Permutation Rules

1. The first two tagmemes may permute to the alternative order.

2. The Location tagmeme may be placed in any position within the Head phrase if this comprises two or more words.

Restrictions

1. Case, as shown in the array, occurs on the Head only, as locative case is already carried by the fillers of the Location tagmeme.

2. The phrase functions in the Allative, Ablative, and Translocative tagmemes of clause periphery only, and so case is limited to those three.

Examples of Location Modification Phrase

1. Head: Modif.NP
   wulani yali-Ø djiladjba ŋagi-nduři nana-nguři
   yesterday they:pl-subj go I-al that-al
   Locn
   gařu-Ø ŋagi-nguři banda-ři
   east-loc my-al camp-al
   'Yesterday they came to me - to that camp of mine at the east.'

2. Head: Locn
   wilgu njuli-Ø gaři-na miya-yanga bayaga-ři
   run help-subj east-ab snake-transloc west-place:loc
   'He ran from the east past the snake in the west.'

3. gula-Ø nuři-Ø badja nayi-wa
   south-al we:pl:ex:p-subj dance this-way
GARAWA PHRASES AND CLAUSES

4. garala-ŋi nanda-Ø ŋaninji-Ø ńaji-nguři
descend-p that-nom man-nom this:place-al

Head: Modf.NP . . . . . . . . . Locn
gulu-ři bod-a other-al camp-al south-loc

'We danced south this way - to the other big camp at the south.'

4. garala-ŋi nanda-Ø ŋaninji-Ø ńaji-nguři
descend-p that-nom man-nom this:place-al

Head: Modf.NP . . . . . . . . . Locn

gulu-ři bod-a other-al camp-al south-loc

We danced south this way - to the other big camp at the south.'


djudju-nanji yaŋdi-nanji ńaŋadja-nanji nanda-Ø djulagi-Ø
long:way-ab country-ab come-p that-nom plane-nom

. . . . . . . . . Locn

birisbin-nanji garu-ři
Brisbane-ab east-place:loc

'That plane descended to here from the big hill at the north.'

6. Head: Assoc.NP . . . . . .
djiladja bula-Ø ńaja-nbiyanga ńaŋa-yudijonga
go they:transloc she-concom-transloc

Locn

bayanja-ři
west-place:loc

'The two of them ran past her (the woman) with the baby; (she was) in the west.'

3.6. ACCOMPANIMENT NOUN PHRASE

The Accompaniment Noun Phrase is unusual in that it is the only prepositional phrase found in the Garawa language. Its function is to fill the Accompaniment tagmeme in the clause periphery. It is composed of a Relator and an Axis, both of which are obligatory. There are only two prepositions which may be used in the Relator tagmeme and these appear to be interchangeable: djidi 'with' and maŋa which in this context also means 'with'. The Axis may be manifested by any of the fillers shown in Chart 13 but must be marked for Referent case. To date no examples have been recorded of interruption of this phrase by other tagmemes.

(As stated above, maŋa in this context, functions as a preposition meaning 'with', though it also functions as a connector on clause or phrase level, and as an adverb meaning 'too'.)
CHART 13. BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR ACCOMPANIMENT PHRASE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Relator</th>
<th>+ Axis</th>
<th>+ Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>djiği 'with'</td>
<td>Modified Noun Phrase</td>
<td>Referent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mağa 'with'</td>
<td>Co-ordinate Phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appositional Phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal Pronoun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Permutation Rules

Permutation is not permissible.

Restrictions

Only Referent case occurs on the Axis, and this is obligatory.

Examples of Accompaniment Phrase

1. Re

   baŋba-yi nanda-∅ ŋaninji-∅  djiği
   go-p   that-nom   man-nom   with

   Axis:Modf.NP . . . . . . .
   gadja-mugu-jgjqa  badjangu-nji  gu-jganji  waţaba-nji
   many-pl-refr   dog-refr   search-infin   goanna-refr

'That man went with many dogs to search for goanna.'

2. widjba-yi  naŋi-nguũi  nanda-∅ ŋaninji-∅
   come:back-p this:place-al that-nom man-nom

   Re    Axis:Modf.NP . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
   djiği  mana-nganji  wuni-nji  wunanjbala-nji
   with  that-refr  spear-refr  long-refr

'That man with the long spear came back here.'

3. Re

   djiladjba ŋayi-∅  wuanĩ  mada
   go   I:p-subj yesterday with

   Axis:Co-ord.P . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
   baya-mugu-jgjqa  bagi  badjangu-wuya-jgjqa
   child-pl-refr   and   dog-d-refr

'I went yesterday with the children and two dogs.'
4. Re Axis: Kin.NP

\[ \text{djiladja nju}l-\varnothing \quad \text{m}a\text{d}a \quad \text{gugulimba nju}l \]
\[ \text{go} \quad \text{he:p-subj with grandchild he(=his)} \]
'He went with his grandchild.'

5. Re Axis: App.P

\[ \text{djungu nju}l-\varnothing \quad \text{m}a\text{d}a \quad \text{gangu-nj}l \quad \text{ruri-nj}l \]
\[ \text{sit} \quad \text{he:p-subj with mat:gr:uncle-refr Rorie-refr} \]
'He lives with his maternal great-uncle, Rorie.'


\[ \text{djalan-mi}fa \quad \text{ba}jba-\text{yi} \quad \text{dji}dji \quad \text{bula-}\text{gi} \quad \text{n}aninji-wuya-njina \]
\[ \text{now-intens go-p with they:d-refr man-d-acc} \]
'(He) has just now gone with the two men.'

3.7. NEGATIVE NOUN PHRASE

Whereas other phrases are marked consistently for case, the Negative Noun Phrase is marked for case according to the negative word within it rather than the relationship to the predicate, as shown in Chart 14. Also different case marking suffixes are used on nouns from those used on adjectives. The Negative Noun Phrase comprises Attributive, Head, and Case, all of which are obligatory. There are only two exponents of the Attributive, manimani and migu-yadjì both of which carry the meaning of 'nothing'. The Head is manifested by a limited range of fillers as shown in the Bidimensional Array. Only a Variant form of the Modified Noun Phrase is permitted, either as the sole exponent of the Head, or embedded within the Appositional or Co-ordinate Phrases. This variant form is discussed fully in Restriction 2. Case applies only to the Head of the Negative Noun Phrase and this varies according to which exponent of the Attributive is manifested. This variant is also discussed in Restriction 2.

The function of the Negative Noun Phrase is to indicate absence of an article, animal or person. It has a limited application owing to its semantic restriction and also because of the few tagmemes in clauses which it may manifest. It occurs only as a filler for Comment tagmeme in the Topic-Comment clause, Object of the Declarative Transitive clause, Subject of the Declarative Intransitive clause, or for the Accompaniment tagmeme in the clause.
### Chart 14. Bidimensional Array for Negative Noun Phrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative Noun Phrase</th>
<th>+ Attributive</th>
<th>+ Head</th>
<th>+ Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>manimani 'nothing'</td>
<td>Modified Noun Phrase</td>
<td>Personal Pronoun</td>
<td>Referent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>migu-yadji 'nothing'</td>
<td>Co-ordinate Phrase</td>
<td>Appositional Phrase</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Permutation Rules**

1. Tagmemes may permute to alternative order.

2. Frequently, the Attributive is permuted to the beginning of the clause and the Head is permuted to the end of the clause.

**Restrictions**

1. When the Head is manifested by a Personal Pronoun, it must be inflected for Referent Case.

2. Only a variant form of the Modified Noun Phrase is permitted when it manifests the Head of the Negative Noun Phrase. In the variant, only the Head of the phrase is marked for Referent case and no more than one modifier is manifested. The modifier may be either an adjective or a possessive pronoun, and these must be marked for Referent case when manimani fills the Attributive tagmeme, and for Nominative case when migu-yadji is manifested (see Examples 6 and 7).

3. The Appositional and Co-ordinate Phrases manifested in the Head are limited to those whose Heads are filled by Modified Noun Phrases. These Modified Noun Phrases are then subject to the same restrictions as apply when the Head of the Negative Noun Phrase is filled by a Modified Noun Phrase.

**Examples of Negative Noun Phrase**

1. **Att**
   - manimani
   - qali-Ø
   - nothing

2. **Head**
   - widjba
   - wali-dji-nji
   - we:d:ex-subj
   - return
   - kangaroo-refr

   'We two returned without any kangaroos.'
2. Att Head
migu-yadji djiguwaŋa-nji ŋayu-∅ nadjba-yi nanaba
nothing wallaby-refr I-subj see-p there
'I didn't see any wallabies there.'

Note: The literal meaning of migu-yadji is 'negative-country'.

3. Att Head: Co-ord. P
widjba njūli-∅ migu-yadji djiguwaŋa-nji maŋa wajdlji-nji
return he:p-subj nothing wallaby-refr also kangaroo-refr
'He returned without any wallabies or kangaroos.'

4. Att Head: App. P
migu-yadji yala-ŋi gudya-jɔjga
nothing they:p-refr some-refr
'Some people didn't come.'

5. Att Head: Modf. NP
nanda-∅ djibaf-i-∅ manimani ŋanji-nganji baŋaδa-nji
that-nom woman-nom nothing her-refr baby-refr
'That woman doesn't have a baby.'

6. Att Head: Modf. NP
migu-yadji nadjba ŋayi-∅ miya-nji wunanjba-∅
nothing see I:p-subj snake-refr long-nom
'I didn't see any long snakes.'

7. Att Head: Modf. NP
manimani ŋayi-∅ nadjba miya-nji wunanjba-nji
nothing I:p-subj see snake-refr long-refr
'I didn't see any long snakes.'

8. Att Head: Modf. NP
migu-yadji mama-nji wajuŋa-∅ ŋawamba bayagaδa-∅
nothing food-refr big-nom only small-nom
'There are no big (water melons) to eat - only small ones.'

9. Att
waŋiyalugu nanda-∅ ɲila-∅ migu-yadji
exclam that-nom girl-nom nothing
Head: Modf. NP Head: Modf. NP Att
ŋadanajdu-nji bugaga-ya ɲanji-∅ migu-yadji
mother-refr father-refr her-nom nothing
'Poor girl! She hasn't any mother or father!'
4. CLAUSES

There are eleven independent and five dependent clauses in Garawa. The independent clauses divide into seven Declarative, two Interrogative, one Imperative and one Obligation. The dependent clauses divide into one Purpose, three Participial and one Attributive Noun. Each clause comprises a nucleus and a periphery.

Before discussing the distinctive features of each clause type, the possible peripheral tagmemes are reviewed. Not all of these are possible in any one clause but limitations are discussed as each clause type is described. The case-marking suffixes were discussed in Section 2.

4.1. CLAUSE PERIPHERY

The analysis of peripheral clause tagmemes is complicated by the presence of homophonous case-marking suffixes. When two phrases having the same case-marker occur in a clause a decision must be made as to whether those two phrases fulfil the same role in a clause. Our position in this paper is that, if the roles are quite different, we are assigning the phrases to separate clause level tagmemes. The possible peripheral tagmemes are shown in the Bidimensional Array in Chart 15.

In discussing clause periphery the use of different tagmemes possible is governed largely by special features relevant to the culture of the Garawa people. To them it is most important, being originally nomadic bush people, to know their exact geographical position, and their origin and destination. Consequently, Locative, Allative, and Ablative tagmemes occur very frequently, particularly Locative and Allative, as the Garawa person would consider a statement of motion or position incomplete without stating the direction, and/or the destination of the subject.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Connector</th>
<th>Negation</th>
<th>Nuclear Slot</th>
<th>Manner</th>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Accompaniment</th>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Allative</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
<th>Tactile</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Translocative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>and'</td>
<td>'no'</td>
<td>'not'</td>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>Location Noun Referent</td>
<td>Location Noun Locative</td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>Accompaniment NP</td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>Location Noun Allative</td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>Temporal Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but'</td>
<td>'no'</td>
<td>'not'</td>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>Location Noun Referent</td>
<td>Location Noun Locative</td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>Accompaniment NP</td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>Location Noun Allative</td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>Temporal Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>while'</td>
<td>'no'</td>
<td>'not'</td>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>Location Noun Referent</td>
<td>Location Noun Locative</td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>Accompaniment NP</td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>Location Noun Allative</td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>Temporal Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when'</td>
<td>'then'</td>
<td>'now'</td>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>Location Noun Referent</td>
<td>Location Noun Locative</td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>Accompaniment NP</td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>Location Noun Allative</td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>Temporal Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>also'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Manner</td>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>Location Noun Referent</td>
<td>Location Noun Locative</td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>Accompaniment NP</td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>Location Noun Allative</td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>Temporal Phrase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This feature has a further result in that, as the predicate is less central to the clause, the verb consequently carries little or no inflection, and is frequently omitted where it is possible to understand it by implication or context within the paragraph. (See Sections 5.1.4., 5.1.5. and 7.)

4.1.1. Special Features of Peripheral Tagmemes

LOCATIVE, ACCOMPANIMENT, AND INSTRUMENT TAGMEMES

A special feature of the Locative and Accompaniment tagmemes is that they obligatorily refer to the subject of the Intransitive and Reflexive Clauses, or to the object of the Transitive Clause (but see Section 3.5.). Instrument occurs only in Reflexive (where reciprocity is expressed by reflexive construction) and in Transitive Clauses.

In the following English Clauses: 'That woman in the boat saw the emu.', the Locative Phrase 'in the boat', obviously refers to the subject, 'woman'. A literal translation into Garawa is impossible here as a Locative would necessarily refer to the object of the transitive verb (which would make the statement ridiculous). Instead, a further clause would have to be inserted as follows:

\[
\text{nana-ŋl djibaŋl-wanjl djŋngu-ŋl muwaŋa-na nadjba-ŋl gaŋŋanjdja-Ø}
\]

'that-erg woman-erg sit-p boat-loc see-p emu-Ø'

or 'That woman saw the emu; (she) sat in the boat.'

These two clauses form a merged sentence with the Transitive Clause, nana-ŋl djibaŋl-wanjl nadjba-ŋl gaŋŋanjdja, interrupted by the Intransitive Clause, djŋngu-ŋl muwaŋa-na.

Homophonous case-marking suffixes occur with the Locative, Accompaniment and Instrument tagmemes, but the decision as to which tagmemic category in which a Locative-Accompaniment-Instrument phrase is placed is made on the class of noun used as the head of the phrase. Only location words, or phrases having concrete nouns, indicating location, as heads may be used as fillers of the Locative slot.

Example of Locative Phrase:

\[
\text{wudumba-ŋl ñaninj-l-wanjl gagu-Ø bundal-inä walguŋa-na}
\]

get-p man-erg fish-nom river-loc big-loc

'The man caught the fish in the big river.'

Example of Accompaniment Phrase:
GARAWA PHRASES AND CLAUSES

\[ \text{Acc} \]

nadja \( nayi \- \emptyset \) djiba\( ri \- \emptyset \) djuga\( na \) walgu\( ra \- \emptyset \)

see I:p-subj woman-nom boy-acc big-acc

'I saw the woman with the big boy.'

Example of Instrument Phrase:

\[ \text{Ins} \]

wudumba\( y \) \( \eta \)aninji-wanj\( l \) gagu\( \emptyset \) wuni\( na \) wunan\( j \)bala\( na \)

get-p man-erg fish-nom spear-ins long-ins

'The man caught the fish with a long spear.'

The foregoing three examples illustrate the three different semantic noun clauses used in the Phrases under review. In locative phrases, only concrete nouns indicating location may be used in the head slot. In accompaniment phrases, only human or animate nouns may be used in the head slot. In instrument phrases, only inanimate nouns involving manipulation may be used in the head slot.

There is a certain area of overlap, however, as both the inanimate nouns possessing manipulatory ability, and human or animate nouns may be used in locative slots. For example:

djuga \( \eta \)aninji-na djunga-ga

boy man-loc sit-pres

A free translation of this clause could be either 'The boy sits at the man's side.' or 'The boy sits with the man.'

In such cases, an arbitrary decision as to the classification of the tagmeme must be made.

One of the fillers of the locative tagmeme, Place Names, has no suffixation to mark case. In this situation, Place Names are intrinsically locative. Place Names can also occur without case marking in the Declarative Ditransitive Clause and the Topic Comment Clause.

ABLATIVE AND TACTILE TAGMEMES

The Ablative and Tactile tagmemes also have a homophonous case-marking suffix, -nanji.

Example of Ablative Phrase:

\[ \text{Abl} \]

dulaba\( y \) wa\( \d \)aba\( \emptyset \) djamba\( -nanji \) djiba\( ri \)-wanji

remove-p goanna-nom ground-ab woman-erg

'The woman pulled the goanna from the ground.'
Tactile is the name allotted to the tagmeme which is used to explain
the part of the body of a human or an animal by which an action is
transferred to the whole.

Example of Tactile Phrase:

dulaba-yi waŋaba-Ø djamba-nanja djibai-wanja buŋga-nanja
remove-p goanna-nom ground-ab woman-erg tail-tac
'The woman pulled the goanna from the ground by the tail.'

Here the action is not that of separating the tail from the body,
but of using the tail to extract a goanna from a hole in the ground.

Again, semantic noun classes supply the reason for separate clas­
sification of these two tagmemes. The Tactile tagmeme must be mani­
fested by phrases in which the noun head must be a body part. Again,
however, there is overlap in filler classes as it would be possible for
body parts to be used in the Ablative tagmeme.

REFERENT TAGMEME

The Referent tagmeme functions in different ways, but has not been
divided into two separate tagmemes as there is no distinction of noun
classes to warrant the positing of a further tagmeme.

(1) It denotes benefaction as in the following example:

Refr
daya njuli-Ø baŋji-Ø djuga-njį
out he:p-subj meat-nom boy-refr
'He cut the meat for the boy.'

(11) Indirect Object. With a Reflexive Predicate, Subject and Object
are contained in the obligatory Reflexive Pronoun, and Indirect
Object is marked with referent case.
Example of Referent Phrase with Reflexive Predicate:

Refr
waŋamba yalu-ngi djiguwaŋa-nji
feed they-refl:p wallaby-refr
'They ate wallaby.'
TIME TAGMEME

The time tagmeme has different classes of fillers. One comprises a group of words which cannot be inflected in any way and have been classed as temporal adverbs which include words such as \textit{bāfn 'earlier today'}, \textit{yuŋũmba 'all the time'}, \textit{nanidja 'now'}. A further class is capable of inflection for case and includes nouns such as \textit{wulani 'yesterday'}, \textit{muŋa- 'night'}, \textit{ŋabuŋabu 'afternoon'}. These can also be used as heads in the co-ordinate noun phrase fillers of the time tagmeme.

Another filler of the time tagmeme is a stem, \textit{gambaliŋidja}, which has a verbal structure and carries tense markers as well as the suffix -\textit{dju}. This word is derived from the noun, \textit{gamba 'sun'}, and the meaning is \textit{'sun rises'}, but it is used only in the time tagmeme. The noun, \textit{gamba}, with the addition of the locative suffix -\textit{na}, is used to mean \textit{'daytime'}. The meaning of the suffix -\textit{dju} has not been discovered.

Inflection of time words is extensive and much further investigation of the meanings of the various affixes is necessary before a complete analysis is possible.

Temporal suffixes indicating post-event and specific time also occur with demonstrative, interrogative and noun stems. For a full explanation of this see 'The Pronominal System of Garawa' (Section 7).

NEGATIVE TAGMEME

There are three forms of negative used in the clause. The negative \textit{gudadi} is the usual negative answer to a question, although \textit{migu} is sometimes used.

When aspect is manifested in a clause carrying the negative tagmeme, it is commonly suffixed to the negative, in which case \textit{migu} is the form almost exclusively used.

The negative -\textit{nawa} is infrequent in occurrence and may be a word introduced from the adjacent Yanyula language, as it is not known by some speakers. No occurrence of its being an answer to a question has been encountered, but it has always occurred meaning \textit{'not'} in a clause.

No co-occurrence of any two of these negatives has yet been found.

MANNER TAGMEME

The Manner tagmeme differs from other tagmemes in that its exponents form a class of words that are never inflected for case, and have therefore been classed as Manner Adverbs. Throughout this analysis, any word classed as adverb cannot take case-marking suffixes. No phrases are found in this tagmeme.
TRANSLOCATIVE TAGMEME

The Translocative tagmeme is not used frequently in the language, and has a much more limited number of possible fillers as is shown in the bidimensional array. Its meaning is that of movement past a person, animal or feature such as the following example shows.

\[
\text{ba} \text{\_ba njuli-\_\_ nafri-nbiyangga ba\_nda-\_\_} \\
\text{go:back he:p-subj you:pl-transloc camp-al} \\
'\text{He went back past you to the camp.}'
\]

MULTIPLE MANIFESTATIONS

Multiple manifestations of most peripheral tagmemes are common, and clauses often have two or more manifestations of one or more tagmemes. Sometimes these are simply repetitions of a tagmeme, at other times they may have different fillers.

Time and Manner tagmemes in particular, often are manifested several times in the one clause. Each occurrence of an adverb, which is found only in Time, Manner, and Locative tagmemes, has been analysed as another manifestation of the same tagmeme. Because the language features appositional phrases frequently, many of the occurrences of two or more parallel words or phrases are analysed as Appositional Phrases rather than multiple manifestations of a tagmeme. However, when the parallel exponents are not in apposition, they are taken to be multiple manifestations.

Phrase embedding is common also, but this has the effect of lengthening a tagmeme so that more than one manifestation of a tagmeme comprising an Appositional or Co-ordinate Phrase, often with several heads, is unlikely. An example of expansion of a phrase is shown in the following clause:

\[
\text{Refr} \\
nana-nganji pagi-nganji pagi-nganji bandjdji-nji \\
that-refr my-refr my-refr brother:in:law-refr \\
\text{yanjba-yl naga-\_\_ don-ganji} \\
talk-p he-refr Don-refr \\
'(He) spoke to that (one), my brother-in-law, Don.'
\]

This example shows that of the seven words in this clause, all but one are parts of the Referent tagmeme, which comprises an Appositional Noun Phrase with a Modified Noun Phrase and another Appositional Noun Phrase embedded in it.
4.1.2. List of Peripheral Tagmemes

The Declarative Transitive and Intransitive Clauses permit the greatest number of peripheral tagmemes and are therefore used in the examples to illustrate clause periphery. Below is a list of Peripheral tagmemes and the numbers of the clause examples in which they are manifested.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tagmeme</th>
<th>Clause Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Connector tagmeme</td>
<td>1, 4, 9, 11, 13, 16, 23, 30, 31, 32, 34, 36.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative tagmeme</td>
<td>10, 23, 24.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner tagmeme</td>
<td>3, 7, 8, 9, 11, 17, 18, 24, 29, 30.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referent tagmeme</td>
<td>1, 4, 5, 6, 12, 18, 20, 23, 32.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location tagmeme</td>
<td>2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 13, 16, 21, 22, 29, 31.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrument tagmeme</td>
<td>25, 37, 38.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative tagmeme</td>
<td>30, 35, 39.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative tagmeme</td>
<td>2, 3, 9, 19, 27, 31, 33, 36.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time tagmeme</td>
<td>3, 14, 23, 24, 28, 29, 32, 33, 36, 41.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accompaniment tagmeme</td>
<td>15, 17, 34, 41.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translocative tagmeme</td>
<td>26, 27.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tactile tagmeme</td>
<td>39, 40.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the examples following, peripheral tagmemes only are labelled.

Examples of Clause Periphery

1. Con  Refr

...naːla yuːgu bafi nanda-Ø waguwaŋu-nji maːda gaːru-ɣi
while yes um that-nom pine:tree-refr also teil-p
'...while yes, (he) told those ones about pine trees also.'

2. Al  Loc  Al

naːli-ːwa bafi gaːfu-ːfi gula gudja baːli-Ø
this-way um east-place:loc south:al search they:pl:p-subj

Time

bafi djala
earlier:today um today

'Earlier today they searched in this direction, this east place, to the south.'

3. Al  Time  Time  Man

gula gamu yaːli-Ø-ya badja gamu baːli gudanju
south:al later they:pl-subj-abil dance later um hard
Later today they might dance southwards vigorously (and on arrival, might dance) at this south place.'

...and they gave milk.'

'(He) spoke to that (one), my brother-in-law, Don.'

'Father, I will say words for him here.'

'(They) danced round there, near me.'

'Once again I spoke (for) another (nomination).'
10. **Loc** Neg
gařu-ři migu ɲayi-Ø ylqdjba-wa  
east-place:loc neg I:p-subj leave-cont  
'I still did not leave the place in the east.'

11. **Con** **Man**
...ɲala nanda-Ø ɲaninji-Ø yuwadji djařimba-ga dulu  
while that-nom man-nom still pull:behind-pres quickly  
'...while (the dugong) pulls that man behind quickly.'

12. **Con** **Refr**
nanda-Ø baři nuři-Ø-li luwanjdja walja-nji naga-ŋi  
that-nom um we:pl:ex-subj-hab twist dugong-refr he-refr  
'We twist that (rope) for the dugong.'

13. **Con** **Loc**
...ɲala nanda-Ø illi yařidjba-ŋga muwača-na wili-na  
while that-nom dur put:pres canoe-loc side-loc  
mañbliŋaľa-wanja  
expert:dugong:hunter-erg  
'...while the expert dugong hunter puts that one at the side of the canoe.'

14. **Time**
wulani-yana gařu yali-Ø buildımanjdjı-Ø  
day:before:yesterday tell they:pl:p-subj policeman-nom  
'They told the policeman the day before yesterday.'

15. **Acc**
ŋaŋgadaba ŋagi-ndu bařlwa  
spear me:acc finish  
'(He) with me, speared (the dugong).'

16. **Con** **Loc** **Loc**
...ɲala yanja-yl nayl ɲaŋanja-Ø laŋgu-ři  
while talk-p here mother-nom north-place:loc  
Acc **Loc**
yalu-ndu laŋgu-ři  
they-acc north-place:loc  
'...while here at the north place mother talked with them.'

17. **Man** **Acc**
malidjba yili yalu-Ø djiguwaľa-Ø oggleri-nbu  
chase slowly they:pl-subj wallaby-nom we:d:ex-acc
'They, with us, follow the wallaby slowly.'

18. Man | Man | Refr
djaŋumba buyŋa nanda-∅ gudja ya-li-∅ nana-ŋi
only once:again that-nom search they:pl:p-subj he-refr
'Only once more did those (men) search for him.'

19. Al
nana-nguŋi raŋimba nuŋi-∅
that-place:al shoot we:pl:ex:p-subj
'We shoot there.'

20. Refr
ŋanji ŋayi-∅ yanjba
you:refr l:p-subj talk
'I talked to you.'

21. Loc . . . . .
muwaŋa-na nuŋu-na yaŋidja-ŋga
canoe-loc bow-loc put-pres
'(They) put (it) in the bow of the canoe.'

22. Loc
nala-na luwanjdja-gilli wangala-wanjla nala-na
thigh-loc twist-hab olden:times-erg thigh-loc
'The olden times people used to twist (the fibre) on the thigh.'

23. Neg | Con | Refr | Time
migu djala yalu-∅ ŋaŋgadaba gula-ŋi-njin muŋa-na
neg then they:pl-subj spear south-place-refr night-loc
'Then they do not spear (the dugong) at night in the south place.'

24. Neg | Man
migu nuŋi-∅-ya  mangu nanda-∅ djunu
neg we:pl:ex-subj-abil hear that-nom perhaps

Time
djaŋuŋ-∅ wabula
word-nom before
'Perhaps we did not hear those words before.'

25. Ins . . . . .
ŋaŋgadaba wuni-na baŋgu-na yalu-ŋgi-li
spear spear-ins club-ins they:pl:refl-hab
'They used to spear each other with spears and sticks.'
26. Transloc.

djiladja njul-% bulání-njdaŋa bandà-yâŋga

go he:p-subj they:d:poss-transloc camp-transloc

"He went past their camp."

27. Al Transloc

wilgu-yi laŋgi naři-nbïyaŋga

run-p north:al you:pl-transloc

"(He) ran past you to the north."

28. Time

yuwadj-î wa nanda-% ñulja-% wilgu-ŋga wulani-nji

still-cont that-nom blood-nom run-pres yesterday-refr

"That blood is still running from yesterday."

29. Loc Time

nanda-% baŋi djungu-yi wajga nana-mungudji bagu-nji

that-nom um sit-p down that-origin later-refr

Man Time

mili muŋa-nji

again night-refr

"Those countrymen sat down again till later, till night."

30. Con Man Ab

djala yal-u-ô manimani widjba laŋi-na

then they:pl-subj for:nothing come:back north-ab

"Then, for no particular reason, they come back from the north."

31. Con Loc Al

...bagi nanda-% djibaŋi-ô djiladja giŋgaŋi sista-yuŋi

and that-nom woman-nom go up sister-al

"...and that woman goes up to the sister."

32. Con Refr Time

...ŋala yal-u-ô gudjba-nawa naŋa-ŋi mandi

while they:pl-subj search-neg he-refr Monday

"...while they do not search for him on Monday."

33. Time Al Time

muŋanawà baŋi ŋayi-ô djila laŋgi dinu-wunjí

next:day um I:p-subj go north:al dinner-after

"After dinner the next day I went towards the north."
34. Con Acc

...ŋala djila nufu-Ø muwaŋa-na
while go we:pl:ex-subj canoe-acc
'...while we all go in the canoe.'

35. Con Man Ab

...ŋala widja-ŋga nanda-Ø yingga-Ø mili wajga-linja
while come:back-pres that-nom other-nom again down-ab
walguŋa-Ø
big-nom
'...while that other big (tide) rises (comes back from down).'

36. Time Al .........

yugu wulan! yall-Ø djila ŋagi-nduři nana-nguři
yes yesterday they:pl:subj go me-al that-place:al
Loc Al ........ Loc .................
langu ŋagi-nguři bjanga-fi bayŋa-djba nayi langu
north:loc my-al camp-al west-close:loc here north:loc
'Yes, yesterday they went towards me to that place at the north,
close to the west to my camp here in the north.'

37. Ins

wudumba-dja yalu-Ø walidji-Ø duŋala-na
get-f they:pl-subj beef-nom money-ins
'They will get beef with money.'

38. Ins

namba yalu-Ø gaŋanun-Ø guŋu-na
rub they:pl-subj stick-nom fat-ins
'They rub the stick with fat.'

39. Tac Ab

dulaba-yi waŋaba-Ø djibaŋi-wanji buŋga-nanji djamba-nanji
pull-p goanna-nom woman-erg tail-tac ground-ab
'The woman pulled the goanna out of the hole by the tail.'

40. Tac

maŋimba njulu-Ø buluŋu-Ø guwaŋa-nanji djuga-wanji
hold he-subj pup-nom ear-tac boy-erg
'The boy holds the pup by the ear.'
41. Time

Acc

djaalan-miʃa baiʃba-yi djiʃi bula-qi
now-intens go-p with they:d-refr

"He went with them immediately."

4.2. Aspect and Tense Tagmemes in Clause Nucleus

Aspect

Aspect and tense exponents co-occur freely, with predictable meanings. Desiderative and Abilitative aspects, however, form special meanings with the negative. The meaning of desiderative aspect suffix -gimi is 'want to'. With past tense indicated by substitution of the aspect suffix -giyanjí for {-gimi} it is 'wanted to'. However, if the negative occurs also, the meanings are changed to 'did not' and 'does not', respectively.

Similarly, the Abilitative suffix -wali carries the meaning 'might'; with the negative the meaning changes to 'can not'.

Aspect clitics may be suffixed to any word within the clause, or may optionally occur as free words. Occasionally both the clitic and a free word may co-occur.

Durative aspect acts differently as it comprises a drawn-out i sound. This indicates distance travelled or time consumed. The length of duration of this sound is indicative of distance or time involved. Occurrences of up to six seconds duration have been noted. This is placed anywhere in the clause, but when indicating distance it generally follows Allative tagmememe, and Time tagmememe when length of time consumed is expressed.

For a more detailed explanation of Aspect see 'The Pronominal System of Garawa' (Section 2.2).

Tense

Present tense is indicated by the use of an uninflected verb stem, or by the suffix {-ŋa} on the verb. Past tense is indicated by the changing to i of the final vowel of a pronoun which expounds subject, object, compound object-subject or reflexive subject, while the verb stem remains uninflected. Alternatively, the affix -yi occurs with the verb stem while the pronoun remains unchanged. There is a marked preference for past tense to be marked on the pronoun rather than on the verb. Future tense clitic dja is optionally attached as either a suffix on the
verb stem, as suffix or prefix\(^1\) on the subject, object, compound object/subject or the reflexive pronoun, or as a suffix on connector, noun, adjective, or on temporal or locative adverbs.

5. INDEPENDENT CLAUSES

5.1. DECLARATIVE CLAUSES

The Declarative Transitive, Declarative Intransitive, Declarative Reflexive, and Declarative Ditransitive Clauses constitute the largest group of clauses and their classification depends on the verb used in the Predicate tagmem. A class of verbs such as 'make', 'hunt', 'talk', 'break', 'scratch', 'take', 'bump', 'burn', etc., take a transitive construction. A further class including verbs such as 'come', 'go', 'sit', 'return', 'move about', 'arrive', 'misbehave', 'breathe', 'decay', etc., take an intransitive construction only. A third class which includes verbs such as 'wash', 'jump', 'feed', 'explode', 'loaf', etc., takes a reflexive construction which necessitates a reflexive pronoun acting as a combined Subject/Object. This is obligatory with reflexive verbs. A fourth class, comprising only two verbs, gaṟu 'call' and nidjařidja 'name', take a ditransitive construction.

A certain number of verbs may be used either in a transitive or a reflexive construction. In the latter case this generally denotes reciprocity rather than reflexivity.

5.1.1. Declarative Transitive Clause

The Declarative Transitive Clause is the most common type of clause, see Chart 16. Its basic structure is Subject, Object, Predicate, in any order, though it is not uncommon to delete one or even two of these tagmemes, where the context does not permit ambiguity. When one of these deletions involves the predicate, the remaining tagmemes of the clause have been termed Deleted Predicate Clauses or Clause Fragments and these will be discussed later in Sections 5.1.5. and 5.1.6., and Section 7, respectively. The Declarative Transitive clause lends itself to the greatest expansion of peripheral tagmemes.

\(^1\)This is the only occurrence of a prefix in the language. For a detailed explanation of Tense, see 'The Pronominal System of Garawa' (Section 2.3.).
CHART 16. BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR DECLARATIVE TRANSITIVE CLAUSE NUCLEUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Nucleus of the Declarative Transitive Clause</th>
<th>± Periphery</th>
<th>+ Transitive Predicate</th>
<th>± Transitive Subject</th>
<th>± Object</th>
<th>± Periphery</th>
<th>± Aspect</th>
<th>± Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Verb</td>
<td></td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{ -gili } hab</td>
<td>{ -ηγa } pres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Personal Pronoun</td>
<td>Personal Pronoun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{ -yanji } desid:p</td>
<td>-yì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Compound Object/</td>
<td>Compound Object/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{ -gimi } desid:np</td>
<td>-dja/dja- fut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Subject Pronoun</td>
<td>Subject Pronoun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{ -wali } abil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Associative NP</td>
<td>Associative NP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ngiwa incp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Co-ordinate</td>
<td>Co-ordinate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-giyi imp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Phrase</td>
<td>Phrase</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ili dur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Appositional</td>
<td>Appositional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ma } { njawamba lim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Inalienable Possession</td>
<td>Possession</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-wa } { yuwadji cont</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Inalienable</td>
<td>Negative NP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-wafi { walu gu prim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Permutation Rules

1. Nuclear and peripheral tagmemes permute rather freely to any order.
2. Tense and Aspect tagmemes permute as described in Section 4.2.

Restrictions

1. No more than five peripheral tagmemes have been found in any one clause.
2. When a fairly full expansion of a phrase occurs in one tagmeme, a smaller number of other tagmemes is generally manifested.

Additional Note

Some of the peripheral tagmemes, mainly Manner and Time, may be re-duplicated.

In the following examples of the Declarative Transitive Clause, nuclear tagmemes only are labelled.

Examples of the Declarative Transitive Clause

1. T.Pred-Tense
   \[\eta\text{-ndu} \quad \eta\text{ra-ba-yi} \quad \lambda\text{gu} \quad \eta\text{ba-u-abu}\]
   \[me\text{-acc} \quad \text{drink-p} \quad \text{north:loc} \quad \text{afternoon}\]
   '(He) drank near me at the north in the afternoon.'

2. Obj-Aspect T.Pred-Tense
   \[\text{wu\text{-wali} ma\text{\text{-a}} guyu-yi}\]
   \[\text{scrub-abil also take-p}\]
   '(He) might have gathered scrubwood also.'

3. Obj... T.Subj:Tense T.Pred
   ...\[\eta\text{g-
   \text{-nanda-}\text{-}\eta\text{li-ba-ba-lu\text{-}\eta\text{ayi-}\text{-}\text{
   duri-dja}}\text{b}a}\]
   \[\text{and that-nom um buffal-o-nom I:p-subj follow}\]
   \[\text{Obj}\]
   \[\eta\text{-gami-}\text{-}\eta\text{n\text{-}\text{-a-ba-ba-n\text{-}\text{-a-}
   ndu} ma\text{\text{-a}} track-nom there he-acc also}\]
   '\text{...and I followed that buffalo's tracks and his (tracks) too.'}

4. -Aspect T.Pred T.Subj...
   \[mig\text{-\text{-i-yi}} \text{nadja nana-\text{-}\text{-i-wa\text{-}\text{-a-wa-
   nj i migu neg-did see that-erg buffal-o-erg neg}\] '
   'That buffalo did not see (him).'
5. **Obj**  
**T.Subj:Tense** T.Pred **Obj**  
nugami-Ø baři djali ṅayi-Ø nadja gaŋgu-Ø  
tracks-nom um then I:p-subj see mat:gr:uncle-nom  
'I saw (my) maternal great uncle's tracks then.'

6. **T.Subj:Aspect** T.Pred  
gula gamu yali-Ø-ya badja gamu baři guďanju  
south:al later they:pl-subj-abil dance later um hard  
gula-reachable baři nanjina  
south-place:loc um this:place:al  
'Later, they might dance vigorously (on their way) to the south,  
(and continue) at this place in the south.'

7. **T.Subj:Tense** T.Pred  
muniŋga ṅayi-Ø yanja naŋa-ŋi gula-ni  
to:no:purpose I:p-subj talk he-refr south-ab  
'I spoke, from (my position in) the south, without influencing him.'

8. **T.Pred** **T.Subj:Tense**  
dadidgba gagalidgba yali-Ø wabula maďa yufůmba  
no:matter laugh:at they:p-subj before also all:the:time  
lugulugu  
round  
'No matter (what he did) they (i.e. people) everywhere laughed at (him).'

9. **T.Pred-Tense**  
mangu-ğa  
listen-pres  
'(They) listen (to him).'</n

10. **Obj** **Tense-T.Subj** T.Pred  
nayi baři djangu-Ø dja-ŋayu-Ø yanja baŋji buwaga  
here um word fut-I-subj talk your-refr father  
'Father, I will say words for you here.'

11. **Obj** ......... **Asp** T.Pred-Tense  
...ŋala nanda-Ø ọanjaŋji-Ø yuwaŋji djaŋimba-ğa  
while that-nom man-nom still drag-pres  
'...while (the dugong) still drags that man behind.'

12. **Obj** **Aspect** T.Pred-Tense  
...ŋala nanda-Ø 11111 yařidgba-ŋa muwaŋa-na will-na  
while that-nom dur put-pres canoe-loc side-loc
...while the expert dugong hunter puts that one at the side of the canoe.'

They told the policeman the day before yesterday.'

...while Nero spoke first.'

'(He) drank water near me there repeatedly, at Bijanguykin.'

'We used to see only (wallaby).'
GARAWA PHRASES AND CLAUSES

20. T. Pred Obj-Aspect
    biljinba ηani-yi
    swallow I:obj-abil
    'It might swallow me.'

21. T. Subj T. Pred Obj
    bulidjimandji-wanji guyu yalu-nja gula-yi-dji
    policeman-erg take they:pl-obj south-place-al
    -Aspect
grusiŋ-yuři-wa
    crossing-al-cont
    'The policeman is taking them to the crossing at the south.'

22. -Aspect T. Pred
    djali-li ŋafgardaba lugu-yi
    then-hab spear north-place:loc
    'Then they used to spear at the north place.'

5.1.2. Declarative Intransitive Clause

The Declarative Intransitive Clause is, like the Transitive, a common construction in the Garawa clauses. Its basic structure is Subject plus Predicate, but it is quite common to delete the subject where it can be understood from context. While this clause lends itself to as great an expansion by inclusion of peripheral tagmemes as the transitive, generally the number of tagmemes tends to be more limited. The exponents of the nuclear tagmemes are shown in Chart 17, overleaf.

Permutation Rules

1. Nuclear and peripheral tagmemes permute rather freely to any order.

2. Tense and Aspect tagmemes permute as described in Section 4.2.

Restrictions

1. No more than five peripheral tagmemes have been found in any one clause.

2. When a fairly full expansion of a phrase occurs in one tagmeme, a smaller number of other tagmemes is generally manifested.

Additional Note

Some of the peripheral tagmemes, mainly Manner and Time, may be re-duplicated.
**Chart 17. Bidimensional Array for the Declarative Intransitive Clause Nucleus**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Nucleus of the Declarative Intransitive Clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>± Periphery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive Verb</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In the following examples of Declarative Intransitive Clauses, the nuclear tagmemes only are labelled.

**Examples of the Declarative Intransitive Clause**

1. Tense-I.Subj I.Pred
   gařu-ři-dji dja-yalu-∅ djiladjba
   east-place-al fut-they:pl-subj go
   gařu-řinjba-ři naŋi-nguři gamu
   east-side-al here-al later:today
   'Later today they will go to the place over here on the east side.'

2. I.Pred I.Subj
   gamu-nji baři djuŋgu yalu-∅ nana-wa
   later:today-refr um sit they:pl-subj that-way
'Later today they will sit over in that direction.'

3. I.Subj (I.Pred) 
...ŋala nu fu-Ø nanja-ŋi ganindimba nu fu-Ø
while we:pl:ex-subj he-refr follow we:pl:ex-subj
lani-na djabaŋi
north-ab once:again
'...while we follow it from the north once more.'

Note: In this example the Subject tagmememe is interrupted by the Referent and Intransitive Predicate tagmememes.

4. I.Subj 
... ( ) 
nanda-Ø daʃanu-Ø ləŋgu balawala-Ø gala
that-nom tree-nom north:loc roots-nom under
I.Pred-Tense
djiladja-ya gula gala
go-p south:al under
'The roots of that tree in the north, go under (ground) to the south.'

Note: In the above example the Inalienable Possession Phrase filling the Subject tagmememe is interrupted by the Locative tagmememe ləŋgu.

5. I.Subj I.Pred
bəɾi Hạyu-Ø djungu
um I-subj sit
'I sit.'

6. I.Pred
djila
go
'(I) go.'

7. I.Subj -(Aspect) 
...ŋala njulu-Ø na-njina-wa nanda-Ø gudjanja-Ø
while he-subj that:place-loc-cont that-nom mat:gr:uncle-nom
I.Pred-Tense
djungu-ya sandi
sit-p Sunday
'...while he, (my) maternal great-uncle still sat in that place on Sunday.'
8. -Aspect I.Pred
   djali-li djungu gamu-nji languardi-njiln
   con-hab sit later-refr north-place-ab
   '...then (they) used to stay till later away from the north place.'

   djabaři njulu-∅ baři waladja-ya bas-∅
   once:again he-subj um arise-p boss-nom
   mambu-∅ waliwa-∅
   boss-nom big-nom
   'Once again he, the big boss, arose.'

10. I.Pred-Aspect
    mili gaya-ngili yiŋga-nji bagu
    again call:out-hab other-refr later
    'Later, (he) again kept calling out for another (nomination).'

11. -Aspect I.Pred
    migu-wali djila mudiga-na
    neg-abil go motor:car-loc
    '(They) can not go in the motor-car.'

12. I.Subj. . . . . I.Pred-Tense
    yiŋga-∅ bigibigi-∅ gulaŋa-ya gulaŋa-na walu ṅagl-nbu
    one-nom pig-nom sleep-p pillow-loc in:front me-acc
    'One pig slept on a pillow in front of me.'

13. I.Subj. . . (I.Pred) . . . . . . . . .
    yalu-∅ ṅindu yalu-∅ bayamugu-∅
    they:pl-subj cry they:pl-subj child:pl-nom
    'They cry, (those) children.'

14. Time-Aspect I.Pred
    wabula-gili djungu nanaba
    before-hab sit there
    '(He) used to sit there.'

15. I.Subj:Tense I.Pred
    gula-ni ṅayi-∅ ganja baři
    south-ab I:p-subj leave um
    'I left from the south.'
16. -Aspect I.Pred
walja-nji-gili widjba laŋi-na gamu
dugong-refr-hab come:back north-ab later:today
'(They) come back from the north for the dugong later today.'

17. I.Subj:Tense I.Pred
naŋi-nbunanj jayi-∅ djila giŋgaři-dji
here-ab I:p-subj go up-al

-Aspect
dingi-yudi-∅ nana-nguři-wa
dinghy-concom-nom that-al-cont
'From here, I went up to that place in the dinghy.'

18. Tense-I.Subj I.Pred
garu-ři-dji djajalu-∅ djiladjba gařu-řinjba-ři
east-place-al fut-they:pl-subj go east-side-al
naŋi-nguři gamu baři
here-al later um
'They will come to this place on the east side later today.'

19. Aspect I.Pred-Tense
iili muwaŋa-na bunundudjba-ŋa
dur canoe-loc get:close-pres
'(The men) in the canoe get close (to the dugong).'</n
20. I.Pred-Tense
djudju daɲu-na laŋa-yi
long:way tree-loc hang:up-p
'(They) hung (the meat) a long way up in the tree.'

21. I.Pred I.Subj
gunjidjba gali-∅
feel:good we:d:ex-subj
'We feel good.'

5.1.3. Declarative Reflexive Clause

The Declarative Reflexive Clause is not as common as the Transitive and Intransitive clauses. It is similar to these latter two clauses in that the verb class determines the type of construction in most cases. This reflexive construction necessitates a Reflexive Subject tagmeme, which functions as a Reflexive Subject/Object, and may be manifested only by a reflexive pronoun which is obligatory. The optional Subject
tagmeme may co-occur with the Reflexive Subject. The optional Referent tagmeme functions as an indirect object.

The use of reflexive construction when not governed by the class of verb used in the Predicate has been discussed in the introductory paragraph on Declarative Clauses (Section 5.1.). Reflexive verbs cannot be used transitively, though the transitive verb and a very limited number of intransitive verbs may be used in a reflexive construction to express reciprocity. The following examples will illustrate this.

Example of verb taking reflexive construction only:

waɗamba  na-ŋa  mama-nji  ṣaninji-Ø

eat (feed)  he-refl  food-refr  man-nom

'The man eats food.'

Example of transitive verb in transitive construction:

yali-Ø  daba  badjaŋu-Ø  djuga-mugu-nji

they:pl:subj  hit  dog-nom  boy-pl-erg

'The boys hit the dog.'

Example of transitive verb used reflexively to show reciprocity:

...djala  daba  yalu-ŋg!

then  hit  they:pl-refl:p

'...then they hit each other.'

Chart 18, next page, shows the exponents of the nuclear tagmemes of the Declarative Reflexive Clause.

Permutation Rules

1. Nuclear tagmemes permute freely to any position, though Reflexive Subject is preferably adjacent to the Predicate.

2. Manner and Locative tagmemes permute freely to any position.


4. Allative, Ablative, Instrument and Referent are manifested following the Predicate.

Restrictions

No more than three peripheral tagmemes are found in any one clause.
**CHART 18. BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR DECLARATIVE REFLEXIVE CLAUSE NUCLEUS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>± Periphery</th>
<th>+ Reflexive Predicate</th>
<th>+ Reflexive Subject</th>
<th>± Subject</th>
<th>± Tense</th>
<th>± Aspect</th>
<th>± Referent</th>
<th>± Periphery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Declarative Reflexive Verb</td>
<td>Reflexive Pronoun</td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>{ nga } pres</td>
<td>{ gili } hab</td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>Inalienable Possession Phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associative NP</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>{ yanji } desid:p</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Co-ordinate Phrase</td>
<td>-dja/dja- fut</td>
<td>{ gimi } desid:np</td>
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<tr>
<td>Appositional Phrase</td>
<td>-wali</td>
<td>abil</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inalienable Possession Phrase</td>
<td>-ngiwa</td>
<td>incp</td>
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<td>-giyi</td>
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<td>-ma</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-waři</td>
<td>prim</td>
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<td>walugu</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Additional Notes

1. As the Referent tagmeme functions as an Indirect Object it has been placed in the nuclear part of this clause and must therefore be deleted from clause periphery.

2. When a subject, in addition to the reflexive pronoun is manifested, it is inflected for nominative case.

In the following examples of Reflexive clauses, nuclear tagmemes only are labelled.

Examples of the Declarative Reflexive Clause

1. Refl.Subj-Aspect R.Pred -Aspect
   gafu-fin jba na-ngi-li yuymba nana-njina-wa
   east-side:loc he-refl-hab move:about that-place-cont
   'He used to move about continuously at that place on the east side (of the river).'

2. R.Subj:Tense Refl.Subj R.Pred
   bugamba yali-Ø djali yalu-ngga laduba
   all they:pl:p-subj then they-refl apply:white:ochre
   'Then they painted themselves all over with white ochre.'

3. R.Pred Refl.Subj
   baragidjba na-ngga nana-njina langu-fi-njin gambalijidju
   decorate he-refl that-place:loc north-place-refr daybreak
   'He decorated himself at that place from the north at daybreak.'

4. R.Pred Refl.Subj:Tense Refr
   bulbulgidjba na-ngi nana-ŋi
   jump he-refl:p he-refr
   'He jumped.'

5. R.Pred Refl.Subj:Tense Refr
   mangumangu na-ngi nana-ŋi
   recognise he-refl:p he-refr
   'He recognised him.'

6. R.Pred Refl.Subj:Tense Refr
   wagadaba ŋanji-ngi mani-yudi-nji
   wash he-refl:p hand-concom-refr
   'He washed his hands.'
7. R.Pred  R.Subj . .( ) . . . . . . Refl.Subj
daya  nąga-∅  nayi  mani-∅  nąga
cut  my-nom  here  finger-nom  I:refl
'I cut my finger here.'

Note: In the above example, nąga mani nąga is an Inalienable Possession Phrase, which when used as subject of a Reflexive Predicate, must be inflected for Nominative Case. The Inalienable Possession Phrase is interrupted by the locative nayi.

nugami-∅  na-ŋga  balangamba  nugami-∅
feet-nom  he-refl  spread:feet  feet-nom
'He stands with his feet spread apart.'

...ŋala  na-ŋgli-li  dyuzđi  nananja  yuřmba
while  he-refl-hab  Tuesday  there  move:about
'... while he used to move about there (all day) Tuesday.'

yugu  bari  wadamba  nali-ŋgi  dina-nji  diyi-nji
yes  um  feed  we-refl;p  dinner-refr  tea-refr
'Yes, we ate dinner and tea.'

11. R.Pred  Refl.Subj:Aspect
...mađa  yuřmba  na-ŋgli-ya  nana-wa
also  move:about  he-refl-desid:p  that-way
'...nor did he move about in that direction.'

Note: Negative is carried through from the previous clause so that migu....mađa takes the meaning 'neither....nor'.

12. R.Pred  Refl.Subj:Tense
guliţadžba  na-ŋgli  gala  banđa-na
cut:head  he-refl;p  down  camp-loc
'He cut his head down at the camp.'

migu  na-ŋga-ma  na-ŋgli-mi  dulaba
neg  he-refl-lim  he-refl-desid  remove
'He, by himself, does not pull himself (out of the bog).'

nąga  djanjba-dja  nananja  gaľu-ři
I:refl  die-fut  there  east-loc
'I will die there in the east.'
15. R.Subj . . . R.Pred Refl.Subj
...ŋala njulu walja-Ø buŋadaba na-ŋa
  but he dugong-nom exhausts he-refl
'...but the dugong is exhausted.'

16. R.Subj . ( ) . . . . . . . R.Pred
...nanda-Ø baŋ maŋ waŋuna-Ø magaba
  that-nom um also goanna-nom cover
Refl.Subj:Tense
na-ŋa djamba-na
he-refl:pres earth-loc
'...and that goanna covered himself in the earth.'

17. R.Pred Refl.Subj Refr
...bagi binandaba na-ŋgi magulu-nji
  and lay he-refl:p egg-refr
'...and she laid an egg.'

18. Aspect R.Pred Refl.Subj
iili gidjijidjaba na-ŋga guŋul-ina
dur tangle:up he-refl line-loc
'He gets tangled up in the line.'

19. R.Pred Refl.Subj
ŋaŋgadaba na-ŋgi-li nana-njina luŋgul-ina djaŋani-na
  spear he-refl:hab that-ins stone:blade-ins spear:blade-ins
  'He used to spear with those stone spear blades.'

...maŋa na-ŋga mili ŋaŋgadaba nana-njdjudi-nji
  also he-refl again spear that-concom-erg

... luŋgul-yudi-nji djaŋani-yudi-nji wuni-yudi-nji
  wangala wabula
  olden:times before
'...and too, before, in olden times, he speared, using those spears with stone blades.'

21. R.Subj R.Pred Refl.Subj:Tense
dbaŋumba nayinda buŋiŋinjį-Ø daba na-ŋgi
  only here pres:day:people-nom hit he-refl:p
manī-na bañī
hand-ins um

'Here the present day people hit each other with fists only.'

22. Refl.Subj R.Pred
muñanawa bula-ngi-li malidjba mili
next:day they:pl-refl-hab follow again

'Next day the two of them used to follow each other.'

5.1.4. Declarative Ditransitive Clause

The Declarative Ditransitive Clause has a limited application in that it is a construction used only when naming a place, person, animal or item. The predicate is expounded by one of only two verbs, gaṟu, 'call', or nidjařidjba, 'name'. These two verbs differ from those in other clauses in that both the object and the nominal complement are marked with nominative case.

Nuclear tagmemes of the Declarative Ditransitive Clause, as shown in Chart 19 (overleaf), comprise a Predicate, Subject, an Object, a Nominal Complement, Aspect and Tense. Peripheral tagmemes are limited to Negative, Time and Locative.

Permutation Rules

1. Nuclear and Peripheral tagmemes permute rather freely to any order though there is a preference for the Nominal Complement to follow the Object.

2. Tense and Aspect tagmemes permute as described in Section 4.2.

Restrictions

Peripheral tagmemes are limited as only Negative, Time and Locative occur.

In the following examples of the Declarative Ditransitive Clause, only the nuclear tagmemes are labelled.

Examples of the Declarative Ditransitive Clause

   nidjařidjba yali-Ø yaṟama-Ø nagaṟa-Ø wanga-la-wanji name they:pl:p-subj horse-nom nagaṟa-nom olden:time-erg
   'Our ancestors called the horse "nagara".'

(Examples continued on page 69.)
### Chart 19. Bidimensional Array for Declarative Ditransitive Clause

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>± Periphery</th>
<th>+ Ditransitive Predicate</th>
<th>+ Ditransitive Subject</th>
<th>+ Ditransitive Object</th>
<th>+ Nominal Complement</th>
<th>± Aspect</th>
<th>+ Tense</th>
<th>± Periphery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ditransitive Verb – garu 'call' nidjaridjba 'name'</td>
<td>Personal Pronoun</td>
<td>Personal Pronoun</td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>[-gili] hab</td>
<td>[-nga] pres</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>Place Names</td>
<td>[-yanji] desid:p</td>
<td>-dja/dja- fut</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Associative NP</td>
<td>Associative NP</td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>[-gimi] desid:np</td>
<td>-yi past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Co-ordinate Phrase</td>
<td>Co-ordinate Phrase</td>
<td>Place Names</td>
<td>[-wali] abil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appositional Phrase</td>
<td>Appositional Phrase</td>
<td>Place Names</td>
<td>-ngiwa incp</td>
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<td>Place Names</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Place Names</td>
<td>walugu } prim</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. D.Pred  D.Subj  D.Obj  

nidjaridjba  nuƙu-Ø  nanda-Ø  gunđa-Ø  gaƙu  

name  we:pl:ex-subj  that-nom  tree-nom  east:loc  

Nom.Com  
wügaƙa-Ø  
pandanus-nom  

'We call that tree in the east "pandanus".'

3.  

D.Subj  D.Pred  D.Obj  
migu  nuƙi-Ø-ya  gaƙu  yadji-Ø  
neg  we:pl:ex-subj-desid:p  call  country-nom  

Nom.Com  
rabinsin-Ø  ƙiba  wangala  
Robinson-nom  River-nom  olden:time  

'In the olden times we did not call the country "Robinson River".'

4.  

D.Pred  D.Subj  D.Obj  Nom.Com  

garƙu  nuƙi-Ø  yadji-Ø  mugulaƙaŋu-Ø  
call  we:pl:ex-subj  country-nom  Mugularangu-nom  

'We called the country "Mugularangu".'

5.1.5. Deleted Predicate Transitive Clause

A few verbs such as wudumba 'carry' or 'bring' may also be elided where a manner tagmeme is manifested by one of the group of words describing carrying positions. Past or present tense may be shown on the subject pronoun if manifested, and present tense has been found on the manner tagmeme. Future tense is attached to a subject pronoun, noun, or adjective, an object, or object/subject pronoun, a connector or the manner tagmeme. The inclusion of a Time tagmeme may alternatively indicate the time of the action.

In the following examples both nuclear and peripheral tagmemes are labelled.

Examples of Deleted Predicate Transitive Clause

1.  

Man  T.Subj  Obj  

ŋabala  njulu-Ø  djuga-Ø  naŋaŋi  baŋda-ʁi  
on:shoulder  he-subj  boy-nom  he:poss  camp-AL  

'He (carries) his boy on his shoulders to the camp.'

2.  

T.Subj  Man  Obj  

nanda-Ø  baŋiŋu-Ø  djawayawa  djumbala-Ø  ŋanjı  
that-nom  dog-nom  in:mouth  clothes-nom  you:s:poss
'That dog (is carrying) your clothes in his mouth.'

3. Man T.Subj .. (Obj ) .. . .. . .. Loc
   wulala yalu-Ø wabuda-Ø wangała-wanji yaɾaŋul-ina
   on:head they-subj water-nom olden:times-erg carrying:dish-loc
   'Olden times (people carry) water in a water dish on their head.'

4. Man T.Subj Obj Ab
   munduga buli-Ø daŋu-Ø djudju-nanjì
   on:hip they:d:p-subj firewood-nom long:way-ab
   'They (brought) firewood on their hips from a long way away.'

5. Man T.Subj Obj Loc
   dugagana djibaři-wanji djuga-Ø baŋa-ña
   on:neck woman-erg boy-nom camp-loc
   'The woman (carries) the boy on her neck at the camp.'

6. Con Obj . . . . . . . Man
   ...ŋala baŋa-ña bayagaña-Ø djildinjdja
   while baby-nom small-nom in:coolamon
   '...while (she) carries the small baby in a coolamon.'

5.1.6. Deleted Predicate Intransitive Clause

   Certain verbs such as djiladjba 'come' or 'go', djingu 'sit' or
   'stay' may be elided where the meaning of the verb is obvious from
   context or from the tagmemes in the clause. In this way, a clause
   comprising Subject and Allative tagmemes implies motion of the subject,
   as also does Subject and Ablative. A clause comprising Subject and
   Locative tagmemes implies lack of motion.

   The number of peripheral tagmemes in these clauses is limited —
   generally not more than three or four in each clause. Most frequently
   only one, apart from Connector and Negative, is present. Past and
   present tense may be shown on the subject pronoun if present, and future
   tense on pronoun, noun, adjective or connector. Alternatively, time of
   the action may be indicated by a Time tagmeme.

   In the following examples of the Deleted Predicate clause both nuclear
   and peripheral tagmemes are labelled.

1. Al . . . (−Aspect ) . . . . . . . (−Aspect)
   nanj-ŋuři-wa baři bidjaŋujgina-yaŋi-wa
   this:place-al-cont um Bidjangujgina-al-cont
   '(I) still (went) to this place - Bijanguykina.'
GARAWA PHRASES AND CLAUSES

2. Al -Aspect Loc
   nana-nguĩ-wa baĩ gula-ŋa
   that:place-al-cont um south-loc
   '(I) still (went) to that place in the south.'

3. Al I.Subj:Tense
   bayugu ŋayi-∅
   west:al I:p-subj
   'I (went) to the west.'

4. Al I.Subj Al
   nayi-wa ngaga-∅ gaĩ
   this-way we:d:inc-subj east:al
   'We both go this way to the east.'

5. I.Subj ................. Al ........
   nanda-∅ bagurs-∅ řudu-∅ bayina gula
   that-nom pack:horse-nom road-nom west:of south:al
   'That pack-horse road (runs) to the south-west.'

6. I.Subj Aspect Al ... (-Aspect)
   nanda-∅ baĩ illii nana-nguĩ-wa
   that-nom um dur that:place:place-al-cont
   (   ) .........
   baĩwa ganjdja-ŋi
   finish sea-al
   'That (dugong) still (goes) to that place - to the sea.'

7. I.Subj Al Man
   ŋayu-∅ gula walu-wa
   I-subj south:al front-way
   'I (lead) the way to the south.'

8. Al I.Subj Al ............... gula nuřu-∅ nayi-wa walguña-jajguña
   south:al we:pl:ex-subj this-way big-al
   ........... (Loc) ...
   yinga-ŋi baŋda-ŋi gula-ŋa
   other-al camp-al south-loc
   'We (will go) south this way to the other big camp in the south.'

9. Loc Al Subj
    nayi buluwaŋaŋ-yuŋi řudu-∅
    here Buluwangarr-al road-nom
'The road (runs along) here to Buluwangarr.'

10. Loc . . . .
nayi giwuñu
here east:loc
'(The road runs) here in the east.'

11. Aspect Loc . . . . . . . . . . 
yiningi djudju yinga-na yadji-na
might long:way other-loc country-loc
'(He) might (be) a long way away in another country.'

12. I.Subj Loc Loc . . . .
nungala-Ø nayi nayi gula-ña
we:disinc-subj here here south-place:loc
'We (are) both here in the south.'

13. I.Subj . . . . Loc Ab
nanda-Ø qaninji-Ø nayi bayinga-wunjil
that-nom man-nom here west-ab
'Those men here (come) from the west.'

14. I.Subj . . . (Time) . . . . . . . (Loc)
nanda-Ø djala wadjbala-gi nayi
that-nom then white:man-refr here

. . . . . . (Loc) . . . . . . . Loc.(Ab) . . . .
malbu-nji gaju-ţi bandu-Ø gingari-nja bañani
old:man-refr east-place:loc camp-nom up-ab behind
'Then that old white man's camp in the east is behind a hill.'

5.1.7. Declarative Topic-Comment Clause

The Topic-Comment clause is the most predominant of the few non-verbal clauses. As the classification suggests, there is no verb present, nor can this clause take one. Nuclear tagmemes comprise a Topic, a Comment and the optional Aspect and Tense tagmemes. As the bidimensional array in Chart 20 shows, the Topic has a fairly wide variety of exponents. Should the context make plain what is referred to, the topic is often omitted. Exponents of the Comment tagmeme have a similar wide variety, with the exception of a pronoun, and the addition of an Adjective and an Attributive Noun Clause. Manifestations of peripheral tagmemes are limited.
### Chart 20. Bidimensional Array for Topic-Comment Clause

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Nucleus of Topic-Comment Clause</th>
<th>± Periphery</th>
<th>± Topic</th>
<th>± Comment</th>
<th>± Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>Modified NP</td>
<td>{-nga}</td>
<td>pres</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associative NP</td>
<td>Associative NP</td>
<td>{-yi}</td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-ordinate Phrase</td>
<td>Co-ordinate Phrase</td>
<td>-dja/dja-</td>
<td>fut</td>
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<td>Adjective</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### Permutation Rules

1. Topic and Comment tagmemes may permute to any order.

2. In the periphery, Negative and Connector are preferred before the nucleus, while Locative, Accompaniment and Time are usually after the nucleus.

#### Restrictions

1. Periphery is limited to Negative, Connector, Locative, Accompaniment and Time.

2. There is no Aspect in this clause type.

3. If either Topic or Comment tagmemes are manifested by a phrase comprising two or more tagmemes, the other (T or C) is more likely to comprise a more simple construction.

4. Present, Past and Future Tenses may be indicated on a pronoun within the Topic tagmeme, otherwise indication of time may only be given through use of the Time tagmeme.
Additional Note

All fillers of Topic and Comment tagmemes must be marked for nominative case, except when possession is indicated (by referent case) or when the Comment tagmeme is expounded by the Accompaniment NP (also marked for referent case).

Examples of the Declarative Topic-Comment Clause

1. Comment
   mambuga-Ø
   boss-nom
   '(He is) the boss.'

2. Comment
   mambuga-Ø nana-nganji
   boss-nom that-refr
   '(He is) the boss of those (people).'</n
3. Comment
   qanji-nganji madjuqanjda-nji guluqanjda-Ø
   you:s:poss-refr old:sister-refr child-nom
   Topic
   nayinda-refr wangulu-Ø
   this-nom boy-nom
   'This boy is your older sister's child.'

4. Comment
   waŋguµa-Ø nanda-Ø mambuga-Ø
   big-nom that-nom boss-nom
   'That (man) is the big boss.'

5. Topic Comment
   bayira-Ø maðbiŋaŋa-Ø
   Pharoah-nom expert:dugong:hunter-nom
   'Pharoah is an expert dugong hunter.'

6. Topic Comment Refr
   nimbala-Ø malbu-Ø mambuga-Ø nani-nganji yadjì-nji
   you:d-subj old:man-nom boss-nom this-refr country-refr
   'You two men are the bosses of this country.'

7. Con Topic Comment Manner Topic
   qala anadalad-Ø gunsila-Ø bugamba yalu-Ø
   but another:lot-nom councillors-nom all they:pl-subj
'But quite a lot of them are councillors.'

8. Comment  Topic . . . . . . .
gadigadi-Ø gadja-Ø yalu-Ø  şu alanja-Ø nanda-Ø
nepew-nom many-nom they:pl-subj mother-nom that-nom

  miminjja-Ø  gadidj-Ø
  grandfather-nom uncle-nom

'Nephew, they are many people, those mothers, grandfathers, and uncles.'

nayinda-Ø gudjaraka-Ø nayinda-Ø gudja-Ø
this-nom two-nom this-nom two-nom

'These two (people) are these (same) two.' (Remark made when comparing two photographs.)

10. Time  Tense-Topic  Comment
bagu baři dja-njulu-Ø şu arsaw-Ø
after um f-he-subj salt-nom

'Later it (the river) will become salty.'

11. Asp  Topic  Comment
yuwadjji yala-Ø wanga-njja
still they:pl-subj alive-animate

'They are still alive.'

Note: The suffix -njja is obligatory with yuwadjji when speaking of animate things without using a verb in the clause. Although we have stated that aspect does not occur in the Topic-Comment Clause, this use of "yuwadjji" is really part of a combination of words that form an adjectival expression; hence we feel that yuwadjji loses its aspect meaning here.

12. Con  Topic  Comment  Time
şala njulu-Ø nanamajji-Ø wabula...
when he-subj young-nom before

'When he was young long ago...'

13. Topic  Con  Comment
...nanda-Ø djaalanaunjji-Ø
that-nom when sick-nom

'...(or) when he is sick.'

14. Comment
şala-Ø
sick-nom
'He is) sick.'

15. Topic Comment
    yìnga-Ø bayagaða-Ø
    other-nom small-nom
    'The other is small.'

16. Comment Topic...
    magiŋa-yudi-Ø nanda-Ø ñila-Ø
    paint-concom-nom that-nom girl-nom
    'That girl has paint.'

17. Topic Comment Topic Comment
    yìngan-Ø guðaliŋi-Ø yìngan-Ø wunanjbal-Ø
    other-nom short-nom other-nom long-nom
    'One is short, the other is long.'

18. Topic...Comment
    nanda-Ø djëmban-Ø binda-yudi-Ø
    that-nom ground-nom burnt:grass-concom-nom
    'That ground is covered with burnt grass.'

19. Man Comment...
    ñawamba djiŋi lama-nji bagi wiŋmuŋ-anji
    only with axe-refr and wire:spear-refr
    '(We had) only axes and wire spears.'

5.2. INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES

5.2.1. Interrogative Information Clause

Interrogative Information clauses are formed from any Declarative clause, by expounding any one clause tagmeme with an appropriate interrogative pronoun and permuting that tagmeme to a clause-initial position, or, rarely, to a clause final position. The only clause tagmemes that may not be expounded by an interrogative pronoun are Reflexive Subject, Tense Aspect, Connector, Negative and Translocative. Generally, the interrogative pronoun is inflected for case though there is a series of interrogative pronouns which are not inflected. (See 'The Pronominal System of Garawa', Section 7.)

The Interrogative Clauses formed with the use of the Interrogative Partitive Pronoun or the Interrogative Adjective may take the imperative clitic -giyi, but the clause remains basically Interrogative Information. The imperative marker appears only to emphasise the interrogation.
For a full exposition of the interrogative pronoun and adjectives, see 'The Pronominal System of Garawa' (Sections 5 and 7).

Examples of the Interrogative Information Clause

1. Comment Topic
   wanji-Ø nanda-Ø
   interrog:s-nom that-nom
   'Who is that?'

2. Obj T.Pred
   wanjdja-mugu-Ø nadjba-yi
   interrog-pl-nom see-p
   'Which ones did (he) see?'

3. T.Subj T.Pred Obj . . . . . .
   wanjdja-ŋini raŋimba-yi nanda-Ø djiguwaña-Ø
   interrog:s-erg shoot-p that-nom wallaby-nom
   'Who shot that wallaby?'

4. T.Subj T.Pred Subj Obj
   wanjī-ngudja:r:a-nji mangu buli-Ø yalu-nja
   interrog-d- erg hear they:d:p-subj they:pl-obj
   'Which two (people) heard them?'

5. Refr I.Subj I.Pred
   wanjī-ŋganji njuli-Ø baḍadja ba
   interrog:s-refr he:p-subj come
   'Why did he come?'

6. Refr T.Pred Obj Loc
   wanjdja-guya-jọjga yabimba-dja baɾawu-Ø nanaba
   interrog-d-refr make-f hut-nom there
   'Why will the two of them build the house there?'

7. Comment Topic . . . . . .
   wanjdja-ganji nayinda-Ø djaɾawadja-Ø
   interrog:s-refr this:s-nom trousers-nom
   'Whose are these trousers?'

8. Comment Topic
   wanjī-nmugu-ŋọjga badejaŋu-mugu-Ø
   interrog-pl-refr dog-pl-nom
   'Whose are the dogs?'
9. Loc       R.Subj       I.Pred
             wanji-na       yalu-nqa       yanjba
       interrog:s-loc       they:pl-refl       talk
      'Where are they talking?'

10. Loc       Loc       I.Subj       I.Pred
       wanji-nmugu-njina       yalu-ndu       ninjdi-Ø       djungu-yi
       interrog-pl-loc       they:pl-loc       you:s-subj       sit-p
      'With which ones did you sit?'

11. Al       I.Subj       I.Pred
             wanjdja-blyuñi       ninjdi-Ø       djilladjba
       interrog:s-al       you:s-subj       go
      'To where are you going?'

12. Al       I.Pred
             wanji-nmugu-jnjguñi       djilladjba-dja
       interrog-pl-al       go-f
      'To which ones will (he) go?'

13. Ab       I.Subj       I.Pred
             wanjdja-binanji       njuli-Ø       badadjba
       interrog:s-ab       he:p-subj       come
      'From where did he come?'

14.
             wanjdja-řuda-glyi       wadjba-yi       gañañanjda-nji
       interrog-part-imp       give-p       kangaroo-refr
      'What part of the kangaroo did (he) give (you)?'

5.2.2. Yes/No Interrogative Clause

The Yes/No Interrogative Clause may be formed from any Declarative clause either by the addition of interrogative intonation, or by interrogative intonation and the nuclear interrogative tagmeme expounded by the interrogative particle guna, which may permute to any position in the clause. There is, however, a preferred word order in which Predicate is placed first, followed by guna, and other tagmemes permute to any order. A frequently occurring alternative order is to place the interrogative particle finally in the clause. Occurrence of peripheral tagmemes is generally limited to no more than two in any clause.

The interrogative particle also occurs with paragraph and sentence level tagmemes as illustrated in Example 10.
Interrogative intonation is carried over the whole clause by commencing at a mid-high register and sharply rising to high register on the final stressed syllable, and falling again to mid-high over the rest of the word. (Garawa words carry stress on the initial syllable.)

Examples of the Yes/No Interrogative Clause

Interrogative Transitive:

1. T.Pred Obj Interrog
   wudumba naři-ø gagu-ø guna
   get you:pl-subj fish-nom interrog
   'Did you get (any) fish?'

2. T.Pred Interrog Subj
   badja guna dja-ninjdji-ø ŋila-ø
   play interrog f-you:s-subj girl-nom
   'Will you play (now), girl?'

Interrogative Intransitive:

3. T.Pred Interrog Subj Al . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Time
   djiladjba guna njuli-ø naŋaŋi-nguři baŋa-ři wulan1
   go interrog he:p-subj he:poss-al camp-al yesterday
   'Did he go to his camp yesterday?'

4. Man Interrog Loc I.Pred Loc
   mili guna nawu djungu galawunji
   again interrog somewhere sit inside
   '(Is it) somewhere inside again?'

Interrogative Reflexive:

5. R.Pred R.Subj Interrog Refr
   waga dja-bula-ŋa guna naři-ŋi
   repeatedly:reprimand f-they:d-refl interrog you:pl-refr
   'Will they repeatedly reprimand you?'

Interrogative Topic-Comment Clause:

6. Comment Interrog
   walguřa-ø guna
   big-nom interrog
   '(Is it) big?'
7. Topic . . . . . . . Comment Interrog
nayinda-Ø bâdâdâ-Ø əlila-Ø guna
this-nom baby-nom girl-nom interrog
'(Is this) baby a girl?'

Interrogative Deleted Predicate Transitive:

8. Man Interrog Subj Obj Ab
ôabalâ guna ninjdji-Ø djuga-Ø djudju-nanjî
on:shoulders interrog you:s-subj boy-nom long:way-ab
'(Did) you (carry) the boy on (your) shoulders all (that) way?'

Interrogative Deleted Predicate Intransitive:

9. Subj Al Al Interrog
njuju-Ø bayunu nangawa-ři guna
he-subj west:al lagoon:al interrog
'(Did he go) to the west to the lagoon?'

10. Para.mkr Interrog Para.mkr Voc
bâfîwa guna bâfî bâfîwa ədâñja-Ø
finish interrog um finish mother-nom
'(Is that) enough, mother?'

Note: As in the above example, bâfîwa is used at the end of a discourse and to mark the end of a conversation, a certain part of a story or to mark a change of subject and is tentatively analysed as a paragraph marker. Roughly, it carries the meaning of 'finish'. It is also used as a farewell when two people do not expect to meet again for some time.

NOTE: In all the previous examples, the interrogative particle guna could have been omitted, as noted in the introductory paragraph of this section.

5.3. IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

All the Declarative Clauses except the Topic-Comment Clause may be converted to Imperative clauses by the addition of a nuclear Imperative tagmeme manifested by the Imperative clitic, -giyi, which is generally attached to the first tagmeme in the clause, or to any tagmeme of the outer periphery of a sentence when this precedes the nucleus. Occasionally this clitic is permuted to the second tagmeme in the sentence or clause.

As stated above, the addition of the imperative clitic to the Declarative Clauses converts the latter to Imperative Clauses. However, though permutation rules and restrictions of the Declarative Clauses still apply, there are further permutation and restriction as follows:
Permutation Rules

Nuclear and peripheral tagmemes permute freely though the predicate normally follows the tagmeme in which the imperative clitic is manifested.

Restrictions

There is generally only one peripheral tagmeme present in a clause.

In the following examples all tagmemes are labelled.

Examples of the Imperative Clause

Imperative Transitive Clause:

1. Obj-Imp T.Pred
   duŋala-Ø-giyi wudumba
   stone-nom-imp get
   'Get a stone!'  

2. Loc-Imp T.Pred
   laŋgu-giyi yařidjba
   north:loc-imp put
   'Put (it) in the north!'  

3. T.Pred-Imp T.Subj Obj Refr
   garu-giyi naři-Ø yalu-nja nqagi
   tell-imp you:pl-subj they:pl-obj I:refr
   'You tell them about me!'  

4. Neg-Imp T.Pred
   migu-giyi yabimba
   neg-imp make
   'Don’t make (it)!'  

5. T.Pred-Imp Obj Al
   guyu-giyi djunguř-Ø nança-nbuři
   take-imp words-nom he-al
   'Take words to him!'  

6. T.Pred-Imp Ab Al
   guyu-giyi wajgalinga nqagi-nbuři
   take-imp down-from I-al
   'Bring (it) from down (there) to me!'
7. **Obj-Imp** T.Pred **Obj**
   yinini-giyi wudumba waluřa-∅-miřa
   *Get another very big (one)!*

   **Imperative Transitive Deleted Predicate Clause:**

8. **Loc-Imp** **Obj**
   naba-la-giyi nanda-∅ djuga-∅ ∅ nanka-∅ bagi
   on:shoulder-imp that-nom boy-nom you:s:poss-nom and
   nargadaba nugami mudanj-i-wnji
   spear feet-nom burntgrass-erg
   *(Carry) that boy of yours on (your) shoulder or the burnt grass will spear his feet.*

   **Imperative Intransitive Clause:**

9. **I.Subj-Imp** I.Pred **Al**
   ninjdi-∅-giyi bala yiŋa-ri yadji-yuŋi
   you:s-subj-imp go:back another-al place-al
   *You go away to another place!*

10. **Al** I.Pred-Imp
    nagi-nbuŋi djila-giyi
    I-al come-imp
    *Come to me!*

11. **Man-Imp** I.Pred
gad-a-giyi djungu
    quietly-imp sit
    *Be quiet!*

12. **I.Subj-Imp** I.Pred **Subj**
ninjdi-∅-giyi djungu yigmali-∅
    you:s-subj-imp sit one-nom
    *You, only you, sit (down)!*

13. **Man-Imp** I.Pred **Acc**
dulu-giyi djila nagi-ndo
    quickly-imp come I-acc
    *Come with me, quickly!*

14. **Loc-Imp** I.Pred
    bajaran-giyi djiladjba
    long:way-imp go
    *Go away!*
15. I. Pred-Imp
   ba ϱba-giyi
   'Go back!'

16. Al-Imp    I. Pred    Al
   nana-wa-giyi djiladjabo  Nuubu-nguři
   that-way-imp go  gorge-al
   'Go that way to the gorge!'

17. Loc      Imp    I. Pred
   nanaba baři-giyi djungu
   there um-imp sit
   'Stay there!'

18. Man-Imp   I. Pred
   gadaa-giyi yanjba
   slowly-imp talk
   'Talk slowly!'

Imperative Intransitive Deleted Predicate Clause:

19. Loc . (Imp Al ) . . . .
   wajga-giyi yalu-nduři wabuda-na
   down-imp they:pl-al water-loc
   '(Go) down to them at the water!'

Imperative Reflexive Clause:

20. R. Pred-Imp  Refl.Subj
    wagaďaba-giyi  qanji-ŋa
    wash-imp  you:s-refl
    'Wash yourself!'

    maŋi-Ø-giyi manjdjidjabo  qanji-ŋa yalu-ŋi
    hand-nom-imp wave  you:s-refl they:pl-refr
    'You wave to them!'

22. Neg-Imp    Refl.Subj  R. Pred
    migu-giyi nimbala-ɡa djabubulinjba
    neg-imp  you:d-refl argue
    'Don't you two argue!'

    balaŋamba-giyi qanji-ŋa nugami-Ø muwađa-na Nuufu-na
    fork-imp  you:s-refl feet-nom boat-loc bow-loc
'Spread your legs apart in the bow of the canoe!'

24. Time-Imp Refl.Subj R.Pred Obj
muŋanawa-giyi naŋi-ŋga mudamba bula-ŋi
tomorrow-imp you:pl-refl say:goodbye:to they:pl-refr
'Say goodbye to them tomorrow!'

25. Manner-Imp Refl.Subj R.Pred Ins
gadada-giyi nimba-la daba ŋubuŋu-na
quietly-imp you:d-refl fight boomerang-acc
'Don't fight so hard with those boomerangs!'

5.4. OBLIGATION CLAUSE

Certain constructions of the Interrogative Information clause may also manifest the Imperative clitic. When the interrogative word yanga and the Imperative clitic -giyi occur together in the one clause they carry the meaning of obligation.

Examples of the Obligatory Clause

1. Interrog(-)-Imp T.Pred Obj Refr
yanga-bari-giyi wudumba mama-Ø bayu-mugu-ŋŋa
how-um-imp get food-nom child-pl-refr
'(You) should get food for the children.'

2. Interrog-Imp I.Pred Al Time Con T.Pred
yanga-giyi djila-djba sista-yuŋi wudjina bagi wadjba
how-imp go sister-al few:days:ago and give
Obj Refr
niŋja midsin-ganji
you:s:obj medicine-refr
'(You) should have gone to the sister a few days ago and (she) would have given you medicine.'

3. Interrog-Imp I.Pred Time
yanga-giyi djila-djba gamu
how-imp go later:today
'(You) should go later today.'
6. DEPENDENT CLAUSES

Dependent Clauses differ from Independent Clauses in that infinitive and participial forms of the verb are obligatory in Dependent Clause constructions.

6.1. DEPENDENT PURPOSE CLAUSE

The Dependent Purpose Clause manifests the Purpose tagmem of a Purpose sentence. A dependent Infinitive verb fills the Predicate tagmem. This infinitive form comprises the verb stem and one of the suffixes -ŋanji, -dji, -djiwa, or -ŋa. No distinction has been found either in distribution or meaning of these four suffixes, though further investigation may make a distinction apparent.

The nuclear tagmemes are the same as in the Declarative Transitive, Intransitive and Reflexive clauses, except that neither Tense nor Aspect occur. Peripheral tagmemes possible are also the same, but are more limited in number, and distribution is restricted. Connector and Negative may occur before the nucleus, and all other tagmemes occur following the nucleus and are limited to two in number, though more than one is unusual.

Both nuclear and peripheral tagmemes are labelled in the following clauses.

Examples of Dependent Purpose Clause

1. T.lIf.Pred Obj Time
   njulu-Ø yabimba galinjiŋi-Ø wufgudiŋiŋanji ŋubuŋu-Ø wabula
   he-subj make shield-nom block-infin boomerang-nom before
   'He (would) make a shield to block boomerangs in the early days.'

2. T.lIf.Pred
   wudumba yalu-Ø malbumaiba-wanji yabimbi-ŋanji
   get they:pl-subj old:men-erg make-infin
   Obj ...
   gunjba mama-Ø
   good-nom food-nom
   'They, the old people, get (yeast) to make good bread.'

3. R.lIf.Pred Time Refl.Subj
   widjba nuŋi-Ø wadambi-dji mugunjda-na nuŋu-ŋa
   go:back we:pl:ex:p-subj feed-infin mid:day-loc we:pl:ex-refl
   'We went back to eat at mid-day.'
4. Refr T.If.Pred

gudjba nuṅu-Ø djangja-wala wälidji-nji ṇaŋgada-jganji
search we:pl:ex-subj rain-season kangaroo-refr spear-infin

'During the "Wet" we hunt to spear kangaroo.'

5. T.Subj

garu nuṅu-Ø nanda-Ø maŋanjanganu-Ø nuṅu-Ø
call we:pl:ex-subj that-nom name:of:rope-nom we:pl:ex-subj

T.If.Pred Obj
didigujganji djidimbi-Ø
tie:up-infin tail-nom

'We call that (rope) "mardanjanjangu" - we (use it) to tie up the tail.'

6. T.Subj T.If.Pred Obj

buŋandidjba nuṅu-Ø didigujganji naniŋgi
be:in:the:middle we:pl:ex-subj tie:up-infin like:this

'(The rope) is in the middle - we (use it) to tie up the tail like this.'

7. Con T.Subj

gagalidjba yali-Ø nanda-Ø bagi yalu-Ø
laugh:at they:pl:p-subj that-nom and they:pl:p-subj

T.If.Pred Obj

ŋara-djiwa wabuda-Ø
drink-infin water-nom

'They laugh at that man (until) they (have) to drink water.'

8. I.If.Pred

migunaŋja-mugu-Ø yali-Ø djila badja-ngi
neg many-pl-nom they:pl:p-subj go dance-infin

'Not many went to dance.'

9. T.Subj T.If.Pred Al

bagi nana-njina-wa nuṅu-Ø gamamba-wuţi gudiya-Ø
and that:place-loc-cont we:pl:ex-subj sunrise-loc some-nom

T.If.Pred Loc

laŋgi djila gandimbi-dji laŋgu-ŋi-dji baři
north:al go accompany-infin north-place-al um

T.If.Pred Loc

ŋaŋgadabaja-dji nanaba
spear-infin there

'And some of us kept going to that place in the north at sunrise to accompany (them) to spear (dugong) there.'
6.2. DEPENDENT PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE

The Dependent Participial clause is the exponent of the Attributive tagmeme of a merged sentence. The Predicate is manifested by the participial form of the verb which comprises verb stem + participial suffix, either -djina or -guři. When the Predicate refers to the Subject of the previous clause, the suffix -djina is used, and -guři when the reference is to the Object of the preceding clause. The Participial clause always occurs finally in the sentence. The bidimensional arrays shown in Charts 21 to 23 illustrate the tagmemes of the Transitive, Intransitive and Reflexive Participial Clauses.

6.2.1. Transitive Participial Clause

CHART 21. BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR TRANSITIVE PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Participial Clause</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>± Periphery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Permutation Rules

1. Nuclear tagmemes may permute to any order, though Subject, Predicate, Object is preferred.

2. In the periphery, Negative and Connector occur before the nucleus and all other tagmemes follow the nucleus.

Restrictions

1. No more than two peripheral tagmemes occur after the nucleus.

Examples of the Transitive Participial Clauses

Subject Reference Transitive Participial Clause:
1. T.SP.Pred  Obj . . . . . . . .  
\textit{dj\textipa{u}g\textipa{u} yalli-}\textipa{Ø}  \textit{ningi-djina}  \textit{bayaga}\textipa{da-}\textipa{Ø}  \textit{djuga-}\textipa{Ø}  
\textit{sit}  \textit{they:pl-p-subj}  \textit{look:at-subj:part}  \textit{small-nom}  \textit{boy-nom}  
'They sat looking at the small boy.'

2. T.SP.Pred  
\textit{gudja}\textipa{ra-}\textipa{Ø}  \textit{malumba}  \textit{dji\textipa{l}\textipa{d}a\textipa{b}a}  \textit{bula-}\textipa{Ø}  \textit{ya\textipa{f}i-djina}  
\textit{two-nom}  \textit{together}  \textit{go}  \textit{they:d-subj}  \textit{put-subj:part}  
\textit{Obj}  \textit{Loc}  
\textit{dj\textipa{u}gu\textipa{r}-}\textipa{Ø}  \textit{nadj\textipa{a}-na}  
\textit{words-nom}  \textit{paper-loc}  
'They sit together, putting words on paper.'

3. T.SP.Pred  Obj  T.OP.Pred  
\textit{nu\textipa{r}u-}\textipa{Ø}  \textit{ba\textipa{f}i}  \textit{dj\textipa{u}g\textipa{u} nu\textipa{r}u-}\textipa{Ø}  \textit{nana-njina}  
\textit{we:pl-ex-subj um}  \textit{sit}  \textit{we:pl-ex-subj}  \textit{that-loc}  
\textit{T.SP.Pred}  \textit{Obj}  \textit{T.OP.Pred}  
\textit{wa\textipa{n}a\textipa{\textipa{ra}-}\textipa{na}  \textit{na-djina}  \textit{yalu-nja}  \textit{badja-\textipa{g}\textipa{u}\textipa{r}i}  
\textit{corroboree-loc}  \textit{see-subj:part}  \textit{they:pl-obj}  \textit{dance-obj:part}  
'We all sit at the corroboree watching them dancing.'

4. T.SP.Pred  
\textit{dji\textipa{l}a\textipa{d}a\textipa{b}a}  \textit{yalli-}\textipa{Ø}  \textit{migu}  \textit{wu\textipa{n}umbi-djina}  
\textit{go}  \textit{they:pl-p-subj}  \textit{neg}  \textit{collect:firewood-subj:part}  
\textit{Obj}  \textit{Loc}  
\textit{dj\textipa{g}u-}\textipa{Ø}  \textit{munj\textipa{d}jimunj\textipa{d}ji}  
\textit{firewood-nom}  \textit{bush-loc}  
'They went, but they did not collect firewood in the bush.'

Object Reference Transitive Participle Clause:

5. T.OP.Pred  \textit{Loc}  \textit{Loc}  . . . . . . . .  
\textit{mangu}  \textit{\textipa{n}ayu-}\textipa{Ø}  \textit{bri-\textipa{g}\textipa{u}\textipa{r}i}  \textit{langu}  \textit{nana\textipa{n}-njina}  \textit{b\textipa{m}ga-}\textipa{n}a  
\textit{hear}  \textit{I-subj}  \textit{sing-obj:part}  \textit{north-loc}  \textit{he:poss-loc}  \textit{camp-loc}  
'I hear (them) singing at his camp in the north.'

6. T.OP.Pred  Obj  
\textit{wudumb\textipa{a} dja-\textipa{n}ayu-}\textipa{Ø}  \textit{buwanja-}\textipa{Ø}  \textit{yabimbi-\textipa{g}\textipa{u}\textipa{r}i}  \textit{n\textipa{nd}du-}\textipa{Ø}  
\textit{get}  \textit{fut-I-subj}  \textit{brother-nom}  \textit{make-obj:part}  \textit{shade-nom}  
'May I (take a photo of my) brother making a shelter?'

7. T.OP.Pred  Obj  
\textit{nadj\textipa{a} nu\textipa{r}u-}\textipa{Ø}  \textit{djuga-}\textipa{Ø}  \textit{ma\textipa{r}imbi-\textipa{g}\textipa{u}\textipa{r}i}  \textit{budjiga-}\textipa{Ø}  
\textit{see}  \textit{we:pl-ex-subj}  \textit{boy-nom}  \textit{hold-obj:part}  \textit{cat-nom}  
Tac
bufga-nanji
tail-tac
'We see the boy holding the cat by the tail.'

8. T.OP.Pred Refr
mangu ñayu-Ø wiña yanja-ŋuři yalu-qi
hear I-subj outside talk-obj:part they:pl-refr
'I hear (them) talking to them outside.'

9. T.OP.Pred Obj
nadja ñayi-Ø ñanaji-Ø da-ŋuři djibaři-Ø gulajji-Ø
see I:p-subj man-nom hit-obj:part woman-nom head-nom
Ins Loc
guŋda-na banđa-na
stick-ins camp-loc
'I saw the man hitting the woman on the head with a stick at the camp.'

6.2.2. Intransitive Participial Clause

CHART 22. BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR INTRANSITIVE PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive Participial Clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>± Periphery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Permutation Rules

1. Nuclear tagmemes may permute to either order though Subject followed by Predicate is preferred.

2. In the periphery, Negative and Connector occur before the nucleus, and all other tagmemes follow the nucleus.

Restrictions

1. The peripheral tagmemes Instrument and Tactile do not occur.

2. No more than two peripheral tagmemes occur after the nucleus.

3. If the Subject of the previous clause is manifested by a personal pronoun, the same pronoun may manifest the subject
tagmeme of the Participial clause when it is a Subject Reference clause. When reference is to the Object, then Subject is obligatorily absent.

Examples of the Intransitive Participial Clause

Subject Reference Intransitive Participial Clause:

1. I.SP.Pred Loc
   nadjba ŋana djuga-wanji lāŋa-ngina giŋgaŋi
   see me:obj boy-erg hang-subj:part up
   'The boy, hanging up (in the tree), sees me.'

2. Con Subj I.SP.Pred
   nadjba ŋayi-Ø djuga-Ø ŋala ŋayi-Ø gařinjdja-na
   see I:p-subj boy-nom while I:p-subj stand-subj:part
   'I saw the boy while I (was) standing.'

3. I.SP.Pred
   bagi ŋayu-Ø daya nanda-Ø guŋda-Ø bařařinjdja-na
   and I-subj chop that-nom tree-nom stand:in:tree-subj:part
   'And I, standing in the tree, chop it.'

4. I.SP.Pred
   nanda-Ø guŋda-Ø daya njuli-Ø bařařinjdja-na
   that-nom tree-nom out he:p-subj standing:in:tree-subj:part
   Loc
   bundal-ina
   river-loc
   'He, standing in the tree at the river, chopped it.'

Object Reference Intransitive Participial Clause:

5. I.OP.Pred
   nadjba-ŋa wajga waluŋanaŋa-Ø gulu-guři
   see-pres down mythological:sea:creature-nom sleep-obj:part
   Loc . . . . . . .
   ganjdja-na galawunjí
   sea-loc inside:loc
   '(He) sees the mythological sea creature sleeping deep in the sea.'

6. I.OP.Pred Ab
   nadjba-ʁi naři-Ø wala-jsonwebtoken gula-ni
   see-p you:pl:p-subj come-obj:part south-ab
   'We saw (them) coming from the south.'
7. I.OP.Pred Loc
wagaŋamba-yi djuga-wanjri badja-nguŋi wabuda-na
find-p boy-erg play-obj:part water-loc
'The boy found (him) playing in the water.'

8. I.OP.Pred Loc
nadjaŋayi-Ø djuga-Ø djila-jguŋi bundal-ina
see I:p-subj boy-nom go-obj:part river-loc
'I saw the boy going to the river.'

9. I.OP.Pred
wagaŋamba nuřu-Ø njlnbu-Ø gulu-guŋi
catch we:pl:ex-subj spiny:ant-eater-nom sleep-obj:part
Loc
duŋala-na
rock-loc
'We catch the spiny ant-eater sleeping on a rock.'

6.2.3. Subject Reference Reflexive Participle Clause

CHART 23. BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR SUBJECT REFERENCE REFLEXIVE PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Reference Reflexive Participle Clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>± Periphery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive Pronoun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Permutation Rules

Nuclear tagmemes may permute to any order though Predicate, Reflexive Subject, Referent is preferred.

Restrictions

1. Peripheral tagmemes, Connector and Negative, occur only at the beginning of the clause, while other periphery occurs after the nucleus.
2. As Referent has been placed in the clause nucleus, it must be excluded from the periphery.

Additional Note

Examples of this clause are extremely scarce in text, and to date, only one item of clause periphery following the Predicate has been found, though others should be permissible as in other clauses of this group.

Examples of Subject Reference Reflexive Participial Clause

1. R.SP.Pred Refl.Subj
djungu njuli-Ø banđa-na wađambi-djina nanga
sit he:p-subj camp-loc feed-subj:part he:refl

Refr
banjji-ŋŋjganji
meat-refr

'He sat at the camp feeding himself with meat.'

2. R.SP.Pred Refl.Subj
guluga ninjdi-Ø buŋumbi-djina ŋanji-ŋga
sleep you:s-subj loaf-subj:part you:s-refl

'You sleep, loafing (on the job) .'

3. R.SP.Pred Refl.Subj
baļba-dja njulu-Ø darwin-yuɓi djanjbl-djina nanga
go:baa-k he-subj Darwin-al die-subj:part he:refl

'He will go back to Darwin to die (there).'

6.2.4. Object Reference Reflexive Participial Clause

The Bidimensional Array for the Object Reference Reflexive Participial clause is the same as for the Subject Reference Reflexive Participial clause, except for the obligatory absence of the Reflexive Subject.

Examples of the Object Reference Reflexive Participial Clause

1. R.OP.Pred
mangu ŋayi-Ø bula-nja majgaɓa-Ø da-ŋguɓi
hear I:p-subj they:d-obj married:couple-nom hit-obj:part
2. **GARAWA PHRASES AND CLAUSES**

**Time-loc**

`gunđa-yudi-nji muŋa-na`

`stick-concom-erg night-loc`

'I heard that married couple fighting with sticks at night.'

Note: In the above example the Subject of the Participial clause, *majgaŋa gunđa-yudi-nji*, is interrupted by the Predicate of that clause.

2. **R.OP.Pred**

`gaya njuli-Ø nimbala-nja ŋabaya-wanjí djagaga-jguři`

`call:out he:p-subj you:d-obj white:man-erg argue-obj:part`

'He called out to you, that white man, arguing.'

6.3. **ATTRIBUTIVE NOUN CLAUSE**

The Attributive Noun Clause is very restricted in construction, owing to the small number of possible tagmemes, as shown in Chart 24. It comprises an obligatory Predicate which is formed by the addition of an adjectivising suffix *-waŋ* to a verb stem. The only other tagmememe is an optional Object, the manifestation of which is limited to one particular type of phrase. This clause functions as the exponent of the Modifier slot of a Modified Noun Phrase or the Comment tagmememe of a Topic-Comment Clause.

**CHART 24. BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR ATTRIBUTIVE NOUN CLAUSE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attributive Noun Clause</th>
<th>± Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ Adjectivised Predicate</td>
<td>± Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectivised Verb</td>
<td>Modified Noun Phrase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Permutations**

Predicate and Object may be permuted to the alternative order.

**Restrictions**

1. Transitive, Intransitive and Reflexive Verbs may manifest the Predicate tagmememe, but no reflexive pronoun occurs with the Reflexive Predicate.

2. No clause periphery occurs in this construction.

3. Object Tagmememe is optional with Transitive or Reflexive Adjectivised Verb.
4. Object Tagmeme is obligatorily absent with Intransitive Adjectivised Verb.

5. Only a variant of the Modified Noun Phrase can be the exponent of the Object tagmeme. This variant has the Head marked for Referent Case only, and no more than one modifier is manifested. When the Reflexive Predicate is manifested, the modifier is marked for Referent Case. With the Transitive Predicate, the modifier takes Nominative Case.

In the following examples only the tagmemes of the Attributive Noun Clause are labelled.

Examples of Attributive Noun Clause

1. I. Adj. Pred  Obj
   ηυφυνα-ωα-ς̄ μυωανα-ς̄ νανδα-ς̄ ωαλυγαναςα-ς̄
   drown-adjr-nom canoe-refr that-nom mythological:sea:creature-nom
   'That sea creature is one which sinks boats.'

2. R. Adj. Pred
   γουλα κανανγαλη βαδανα-ς̄ γιντδηβα-α-ς̄ γινηςα-ς̄
   search he:refl:p that-refr baby-refr bush-adjr-refr
   'She searched for that baby lost in the bush.'

3. I. Adj. Pred
   νανδα-ς̄ γαγι-ς̄ βαδα-ς̄ γιντδημωα-ς̄
   that-nom I:poss-nom baby-nom cry-adjr-nom
   'That baby of mine (is) a crying (one).'

4. Obj . . . . . . .
   ναγι-να-ς̄ διγα-ς̄ γαγι-ς̄ γορυγονυνπη-ς̄ γαγυ-ς̄
   this-nom boy-nom I:poss-nom many-refr fish-refr
   R. Adj. Pred
   ωαδαμβα-ωα-ς̄
   feed-adjr-nom
   'This is my boy who eats many fish.'

5. T. Adj. Pred
   υιγυγυνμη-ς̄ βαδαγανη-ς̄ ιντδηβα-α-ς̄
   run he:p-subj dog-ab bite-adjr-ab
   'He ran from the biting dog.'
6. **T. Adj. Pred**

wijgunumba-\(\mathrm{yi}\) ba\(\mathrm{nda}^{-}\ri) \eta\(\mathrm{yangadaba-wa}^{-}\ra\-nji) ga\(\mathrm{nana}^{-}\ra\ra\-dja-nji) 

\textit{bring:back-p camp-al spear-adj-erg emu-refr}

'(The one who is adept at) spearing emus brought (it) back to camp.'

---

7. **Obj**

nadjba \(\eta\(\mathrm{ayi-}\ri)\) nanda-\(\ri)\) wa\(\mathrm{nana-}\ri)\) malidjba-wa\(\ri)\-\(\ri)\)

\textit{see I:subj that-nom buffalo-nom follow-adj-nom}

djaguwanda-na

creek-loc

'At the creek, I saw the buffalo (which habitually) follows (people).'

---

8. **R. Adj. Pred**

nanaba djiba\(\mathrm{ri-}\ri)\) gul\(\mathrm{fadja-wa}^{-}\ra\ri)

\textit{there woman-nom cut:her:head-adj-nom}

'There is the woman cutting her head (in mourning).'</n

---

7. **CLAUSE FRAGMENTS**

A special feature of the Garawa language is the tendency to repeat the important parts of clauses or sentences, and the consequent ability of the speaker to omit tagmemes that may be understood from the context if these are not the important semantic parts of the clause. This is reflected in the omission of Subject or Object in many cases, or of both these tagmemes where the Predicate is the most important semantically. Similarly, large sections of clauses, often including all parts of the nucleus, are omitted, resulting in what we have termed "Clause Fragments". These fragments are generally one or two tagmemes such as Allative, Time, etc., repeated from a previous clause.

Phonological breaks determine the separation of the fragmented speech and thus distinguish them from reduplication of tagmemes within the clause. The breaks are often of longer duration than is usual between complete clauses.

Examples of Clause Fragments are found in the next section in the sample text.

---

8. **SAMPLE TEXT**

The following text is an excerpt from the description of the proceedings of a meeting of both Yanyula and Garawa people held at Borroloola...
to elect a new Council, representative of both tribes. The two tribes
live on opposite sides of the McArthur River, and a proposal had been
made to build a new camp for both Garawa and Yanyula people on the
Yanyula side of the river. Rorie, the narrator of the proceedings,
is the most influential member of the Garawa tribe.

Clause breaks are signified by a bar, /, and the breaks have been
made according to phonological and grammatical considerations. Clauses
are numbered and labelled above, and clause fragments designated by the
abbreviation "Cl.Frag".

(1) Intrans.Cl

.../ gaŋiŋaŋi⁻Ø bafi / ŋayu⁻Ø — — ŋaranda ŋagi⁻Ø
Nephew-nom um I-subj — — stay I:poss-nom

... Nephew, I — — my (children) stay (where we are).

(2) Intrans.Cl

ŋanji / bafi ŋayu⁻Ø djugu / manjdamanjdjaldjba
you:s:refr um I-subj sit lose:flesh

I stay (here). (I am getting old.

(3) Intrans.Cl

(4) Del.Pred.Intrans.Cl

manganji⁻Ø / ŋala ŋagi⁻Ø yadji⁻Ø gařu⁻ři /
body-nom con I:poss-nom country-nom east-place:loc

My home is in the east.

(5) Del.Pred.Intrans.Cl

ŋaŋanja⁻Ø gaŋiŋaŋi⁻Ø yalu⁻Ø ŋagi⁻Ø banda-nji
mother-nom uncle-nom they:pl-subj I:poss-nom camp-refr

(Your) mother and uncles, those many (children) of mine,

nana-nganjı gařu⁻ři gadja-mugu⁻Ø /
that-refr east-place:loc some-pl-nom

belong to that camp in the east.

(6) Trans.Cl

nanda⁻Ø gařu⁻ři migu ŋayi⁻Ø yinjidjba⁻wa /
that-nom east-place:loc neg I:p-subj leave-cont

I did not leave that east place.
(7) Trans.Cl
ŋayu-Ø yinhidja migu nanda-Ø djamba-Ø ŋagi-Ø
I-subj leave neg that-nom ground-nom I:poss-nom
I do not leave that land of mine, that east place.

ŋagi-Ø gařu-ʁi  /  gaḏigaḍi-Ø  /  
I:poss-nom east-place:loc Nephew-nom

Nephew,

(8) Reflexive Cl
nanaba ŋaga-dja djanba gařu-ʁi  / 
there I:refl-f die east-place:loc
I intend to die in that place, in the east.

(9) Trans.Cl
yanjba ŋayu-Ø ŋanjia bafi nanda-Ø  /  bariwa  /  
talk I-subj you:s:refr um that-nom para:mkr
That is what I say to you.

(10) Trans.Cl
bagi nanda-Ø bafi ninjdji-Ø ŋagi gařu-ʁi  /  
and that-nom um you:s-subj I:refr tell-p
And you tell me this —

(11) Cl.Frag
nana-nganjia djunu waguwagu-nji  /  waguwagu-Ø nanda-Ø  /  
that-refr perhaps pine:tree-refr pine:tree-nom that-nom
"Perhaps (we’ll have) shrubs those shrubs

(12) Cl.Frag
waguwagu-Ø nanda-Ø  /  ŋala yugu bafi nanda-Ø  
pine:tree-nom that-nom while yes um that-nom
those shrubs And yes, (you) told about those shrubs.

(13) Cl.Frag
waguwagu-nji maŋa gařu-ʁi  /  bayangalidja-ʁi  /  
pine:tree-refr also tell-p have:a:collection:of-p
(We could) have a collection of (shrubs).
(16) **Trans.Cl**
\[ \text{garu-yi nana-nganj} \ djunu / \]
tell-p that-refr perhaps

*(You) told those people perhaps (this could be)!*

(17) **Trans.Cl**
\[ \text{migu nu}(-\text{ya}) \ mangu nanda-Ø djanguë-Ø wabula /} \neg \text{we:pl:ex-subj-abil hear that-nom words-nom before} \]
Perhaps we did not hear all he said before.

(18) **Reflexive Cl**
\[ \text{yaɗaɗagaɾinj} \ naŋgi-ll \]
not:being:explicit he:refl-hab

*(He) had not made himself very clear.*

(19) **Intrans.Cl**
\[ \text{nanda-Ø yaɗaɗagaɾinj} \]
that-nom is:not:explicit

That one is not very explicit.

(20) **Interrog.Inform.Cl**
\[ \text{waŋ} \ maŋga-Ø maɾaɾga-yi / maɾaɾga-yi gudiya-Ø /} \]
what-nom some-nom not:know-p not:know-p some-nom

Some — who were they — did not know. Some did not know.

(21) **Intrans.Cl**
\[ \text{wanj} \ maŋga-Ø / maɾaɾga-yi gudiya-Ø /} \]
what-nom some-nom not:know-p not:know-p some-nom

Some — who were they — did not know. Some did not know.

(22) **Intrans.Cl**
\[ \text{nana}(-\text{ma}) \ lanɡu-ɾinjba bari djungu-yi /} \]
that:other-nom north-side:loc um sit-p

The others (Yanyula) sat on the north side.

(23) **Del.Intrans.Pred.Cl**
\[ \text{maŋg} \ njul-Ø-ma /} \]
later we:pl:ex-subj-lim

Later we (arrive) by ourselves.

(24) **Intrans.Cl**
\[ \text{dji} \ nuri-Ø-li /} \]
go we:pl:ex-subj-hab

We come (in groups).

(25) **Trans.Cl**
\[ \text{gaya-ng} \ yiŋamali-ŋa /} \]
call:out-hab one-refr

*(He) calls out for one (nomination).*
(26) Cl.Frag

\[\text{mili } \text{yìnga-Ø} / \]
again other-nom

(He calls for) another (nomination) again.

(27) Trans.Cl

\[\text{gaya-ngili } \text{yìngamali-nga} / \]
call-hab one-refr

(He) kept on calling for one (nomination).

(28) Trans.Cl

\[\text{gaya-ngili } \text{yìngamali-nga} / \]
call-hab one-refr

(He) kept calling for one (more).

(29) Intrans.Cl

\[\text{guđadi } \text{nuři-Ø} \quad \text{binjdju} / \]
neg we:pl:ex:p-subj speak:out:of:turn

We didn't speak out of turn.

(30) Trans.Cl

\[\text{ŋawamba } \text{nuři-Ø-li} \quad \text{baři nadjba} / \]
only we:pl:ex-subj-hab um see

We only kept on watching.

(31) Topic-Comment Cl  (32) Topic-Comment Cl

\[\text{njulu } \text{baři mambuga-Ø} / \text{mambuga-Ø} / \]
he:subj um boss-nom boss-nom

He (is) the boss. (He is) the boss.

(33) Trans.Cl

\[\text{mili } \text{gaya-ngili } \text{yìnga-nji bagu} / \]
again call-hab other-refr later

Later he was still calling out for another.

(34) Trans.Cl

\[\text{bagu } \text{gaya-ngili } \text{yìnga-nji} / \]
later call-hab other-refr

Later (he) kept on calling for another.
(35) Intrans.Cl
mig u ha j ba nga yinjamali-Ø / maţa yuţma nangita-yu nana-wa /
eg go-pres one-nom also move he:refl-did that-way
Not one (person) goes, nor moves in any direction.

(36) Intrans.Cl
Neg go-pres one-nom also move he:refl-did that-way
Not one (person) goes, nor moves in any direction.

(37) Intrans.Cl
bâri djungu nani bârinani djamandj-a /
UM sit this like: this dancing: ground-loc
They sit like this at the corroboree.

(38) Cl.Frag
nanda-Ø bâri musilina-Ø naŋa-ŋi /
that-nom UM Mussolini-nom he:refr
For that one, Mussolini.

(39) Reflexive Cl
mangumangu nuřu-ngi naŋaŋi djanguf-anji / bâriwa bâri
think we:pl:ex-refr he:poss word:refr finish UM
We think about his words. (Paragraph ending)

(40) Trans.Cl
ŋayu-Ø ŋayu-Ø yanja naŋaŋi / ŋayu naŋaŋi-Ø dudju-Ø /
I-subj I-subj talk he:refr I-subj he:poss-nom uncle-nom
I say to him,

(41) Cl.Frag
ŋayu-Ø ŋayu-Ø yanja naŋaŋi / ŋayu naŋaŋi-Ø dudju-Ø /
I-subj I-subj talk he:refr I-subj he:poss-nom uncle-nom
I say to him,

(42) Topic-Comment Cl
gadjigaŋi-Ø gadja-Ø yalu-Ø naŋanja-Ø nanda-Ø miminja-Ø
Nepheb1-nom many-nom they:pl-subj mother-nom that-nom grandfather-nom
"Nephew, they are many people, (your) mothers, grandfathers,

(43) Intrans.Cl
gadjidi-Ø / naŋamba naga-dja nana-njina djamba-na /
uncle-nom stay I:refl-f that-loc ground-loc
and uncles. I will stay at that place.

(44) Trans.Cl
nani djamba-Ø ŋayi-Ø maţimba wabula /
like this: ground-nom I:p-subj hold before
I held on to that ground before like this.
First, we two, (your) dead grandmother and I (held that land).

Again I, myself, (held that land).

Then she, grandmother, died.

So, I myself, will stay.

I (say this) to you.

And you are telling me (what to do)!

( end of discourse).