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Series A Volume 6

PAPERS IN WARLPIRI GRAMMAR:

IN MEMORY OF LOTHAR JAGST

Editor: S. Swartz

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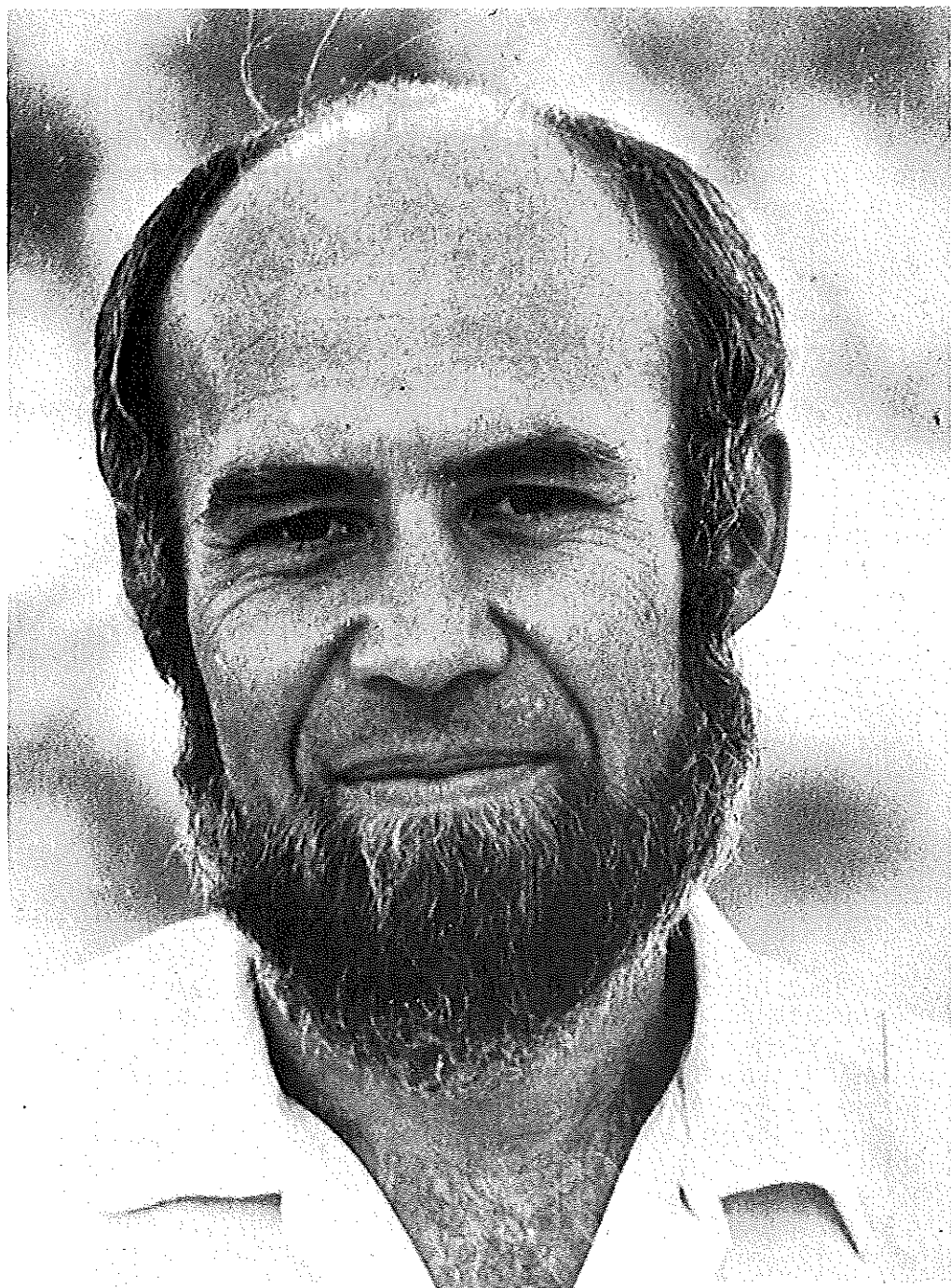
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LOTHAR H. JAGST

By all accounts and recollections, Lothar Jagst (1934 - 1976) was an independent and determined individual. Working under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines Branch, he, along with his wife Else and four children, commenced work with the Warlpiri people at Hooker Creek (now Lajamanu) in 1969. Already multilingual, he plunged into the acquisition of Warlpiri with the same perfectionist zeal which apparently characterized his previous language experience. It is said by his colleagues that his speech bore no trace of foreign accent, but that he strove to adapt his speech entirely to the local idiom. And even today, those Warlpiris who can be encouraged to speak of this lost friend readily acknowledge that he spoke Warlpiri *pirrjirdi manu jungarni nyayirni*, 'hard and really true'.

Lothar Jagst died unexpectedly while hunting wallaby near Darwin with Kenny Walker Jupurrula, a Warlpiri mate and kinship father. He died as he was just beginning to realize his true ambition, that of translating the Bible into the Warlpiri tongue. But he was more than a Bible translator to the people of Hooker Creek. He was a friend. He gave himself selflessly to a variety of community services: carting firewood and beef to those without, keeping accounts for the local store, repairing automobiles, taking men on hunting trips and to sacred sites, teaching a few to read their own language, and probably much, much more of which I am unaware.

Lothar Jagst left behind, among other things, an incomparable measure of good will. Since 1978 when my wife and I moved to Lajamanu to take up Lothar's work of Bible translation and language study, we have been continually aware that our acceptance has depended in large part upon his legacy and that of his family. I recall that on our first evening in Lajamanu, I was driven several miles out of town to the men's 'sacred business' camp. I was introduced as being like Jakamarra, doing what he had done, learning the language, translating the Bible. As one by one the old men shook hands with me I felt they were shaking hands with a friend from long ago.

This volume has been compiled in memory of Lothar Jagst. The first paper is a previously unpublished work by Lothar, written sometime around 1972 but never completed. It was only recently discovered in a collection of his files. The orthography has been changed to conform to current use, but apart from this and a few minor editorial changes, the paper is presented as he wrote it. The other papers have been graciously submitted in his memory by Drs. Nash,

Hale, and Laughren, who each have spent considerable time and energy studying the Warlpiri language. I, who have benefited greatly from previous work by all the others, also submit my paper in his memory.

One final tribute to Lothar Jagst is included, written by Maurice Luther Jupurrula, a Warlpiri man who knew him and on occasion assisted him in his language study. It is reproduced here as it was written in Warlpiri with the English translation following.

Nyampu karna yirrarni manngi nyanjakarrarlu
Jilpirlwanakurlu, Jakamarrakulu. Kujarnalu
yirrarnu nganimpanyangurla yardayardarla, walya
nganimpanyangurla. Puntu manu wapirralparna
ngarrurnu. Jarlupatu ngajunyangu warrawarraka-
ngujana. Kangulpajana wirlinyi manu manjiki.
Ngulangka karna purda nyanyi ngajunyangu
mikilyirla. Ngajunyangu Warlpiri rdirri yungu
jaru wangkanjaku manu yirrarninjaku pipangka.
Wapirrakurlangu jaru kapu yirrakarla pipangka
Warlpirikirli ngajunyangurla jarungka. Kapurna
tarnngangku purda nyanyi ngurrjunyayirni
Jakamarra. Kujakalu ngajunyangurlu yapangku
Warlpiripaturlu purda nyanyi nginyinginyirla
manu kurturdurrurla. Kujanganpa milki yirrarnu
Wapirra Kaatu manu nyanungunyangu ngalapi nyanu
Jiju. Kapurnalu purda nyanyi tarnngangku manu
yimi ngarrirni Jilpirliwana.

Thinking about him I am telling this about
Jakamarra, the one buried at Jilpirli. We buried
him at Jilpirli, our sacred place. I called him
friend and father. He took care of my old people.
He would take them hunting and camping. Because
of that I think of him in my mind. My Warlpiri
langugae he started to speak and to put on paper.
He would have put God's word on paper in my
language. I will always remember how really
good Jakamarra was. My Warlpiri people remember
him in their minds and hearts. He showed us
Father God and his son Jesus. We will always
remember him and talk about the one buried at
Jilpirli.

Stephen M. Swartz
Volume Editor

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0.   INTRODUCTION

Warlpiri[1] is an ergative language, by which is meant that subject
noun phrases in intransitive clauses are case-marked identically
to object noun phrases in transitive clauses, that is, by ABSOLUTIVE
case.   These then are distinguished from subject noun phrases in
transitive clauses which are case-marked by ERGATIVE case.   The
semantic relations between a predication and its accompanying
arguments are manifested by these and other grammatical cases
suffixed to all noun phrases and free pronouns.[2]   A maximum of two
noun phrases per clause are also echoed by a set of pronominal
clitics, cross-referencing these noun phrases as per person and
number.   These clitics are represented in Chart 1.

*(Note: Warlpiri orthography and the grammatical abbreviations used
in this paper are given in Appendix 1.)*

CHART 1

Pronominal Clitics

Person-Number	Subject Order 1 Clitics	Non-Subject Order 2 Clitics
1 Sg	– *rna*	*-ju ∿ ji*
1 du in	– *rli*	*-ngali(ngki)*
1 du ex	*-rlijarra ∿ -rlujarra*	*-jarrangku*
1 pl in	– *rlipa∿ rlupa*	*-ngalpa*
1 pl ex	– *rnalu*	*-nganpa*
2 sg	– *npa*	*-ngku ∿ ngki*
2 du	– *npa(pa)la*	*-ngkupala*
2 pl	– *nkulu ∿ -nkili*	*-nyarra*
3 śg	∅	∅
3 du	– *pala*	*-palangu*
3 pl	*-lu ∿ li*	*-jana*

These clitics are suffixed in a fixed order onto a tense-aspect catalyst which occurs as either the first or second word in the clause. This combination of catalyst plus pronominal clitics I shall call the catalyst complex. Tense and aspect are signalled jointly by the particular catalyst used and the tense inflection on the verb.

Because of the cross-referencing feature, partial or wholesale nominal deletions can occur. Well formed clauses may consist of a verb plus catalyst complex only, or with these two constituents and fewer overt nominals than would be expected from the transitivity class of that verb. For a simple over-view of elementary Warlpiri syntax, consider the following two examples:

(1) *Kurdukurdu-ku-lpa-lu-jana*   *yu-ngu*   *nalija-∅*
     children-DAT-CAT- 3pl – 3pl   give-PAST   tea-ABS

     karnta-patu-rlu.
     woman-pl-ERG

     'The women were giving tea to the children.'

(2)   *Nalija-Ø-lpa-lu-jana*   *yu-ngu.*
      tea-ABS-CAT-3pl-3pl   give-PAST .

      'They (2 or more) were giving tea to them (2 or more).'

Example (2) is a paraphrase of (1) with all but one nominal deleted.
In (2) the givers and recipients of the tea can be discovered only
from the context, although the pronominal clitics indicate they are
at least dual in number. [3]

Upon examination one finds that only certain of the case-marked
noun phrases (hereafter referred to as NPs) in any particular clause
are cross-referenced by the pronominal clitics within the catalyst
complex.   Specifically it is only those NPs marked for either
ERGATIVE, ABSOLUTIVE or DATIVE case which are so cross-referenced.
Person and number features of the other case-marked NPs, specifically
ALLATIVE, ABLATIVE, LOCATIVE, INSTRUMENTAL, AVERSIVE, COMITATIVE,
CAUSATIVE, PRIVATIVE, PERLATIVE, ACCIDENTAL, and PURPOSIVE[4] are not
relevant .in terms of the cross-referencing.

ERGATIVE, ABSOLUTIVE, and DATIVE cases are commonly called 'syntactic
cases'.   In Warlpiri it is only these syntactic cases which may be
cross-referenced by the pronominal clitics.   The other cases are
thus labelled non-syntactic.

Given the information that there are three syntactic cases but only
two sets of pronominal clitics with which to cross-reference these,
it is clear that whenever a combination of any of these syntactic
NPs occurs in a clause with a particular verb, one of them cannot
be cross-referenced.   One further finds that it is possible to have
two syntactic DATIVE NPs in the same clause, both of which may
potentially be cross-referenced, thus opening up the possibility of
having four syntactic NPs in a single clause, that is, ABSOLUTIVE,
ERGATIVE, DATIVE, and DATIVE.   Again, only two of these NPs can
possibly be cross-referenced by the pronominal clitics, but which
two?   What is the basis for deciding?

The aims of this paper are therefore:

(1)   to discuss briefly the semantic relations which hold between
      predications and their accompanying arguments;

(2)   to set up verb classes on the basis of the syntactic NPs which
      are necessary for (but not necessarily made explicit in) non-
      deviant sentences;

(3)   to give evidence of and to account for possible expansions of
      syntactic NPs within a clause;

(4)   to set forth a set of pronominal clitics and give both a

grammatical and a semantic basis for the flexible hierarchical selection process which affects the cross-referencing of the syntactic NPs; and

(5) to compare this analysis with that of Kenneth Hale in his article 'Person Marking in Warlpiri' (Hale 1973).

Data for this paper is primarily of an elicited nature. The analysis represents potential speech performance and is not based upon typical speech patterns. Although the examples given herein are grammatical, as attested to by native speakers, various discourse features beyond the scope of this study allow the native speaker of Warlpiri to express many of the cited data in shorter, more natural, form.

1.   SEMANTIC FEATURES OF VERBS

A proposition consists of a predication plus accompanying arguments which are either obligatorily or optionally associated with that predication. That is, in reference to the real world we do not and normally cannot conceive of an activity or process apart from the thing that is acting or is involved in some way with that activity or process. We find that these semantic arguments are obligatorily associated with a predication and are inextricably bound up within the meaning of the predication itself. Without these obligatory arguments, the meaning of the predication is altered and thus becomes either meaningless or a different predication altogether. For example, the English verb 'give' is obligatorily associated with the following arguments: a giver, a recipient, and an item which is given. Remove any one of these arguments and one no longer has the predication 'give'.

Optional arguments, however, do not distort the basic meaning of a predication. Rather they serve to extend the meaning by qualifying or elaborating upon the predication, in a manner which is in no way central to it. For instance with the verb 'give' one can include a 'reason' argument such as 'for Christmas', as in 'John gave Mary the book for Christmas.' Or one can add a 'causer' argument such as 'Mother made John give Mary the book.' Both 'causer' and 'reason' are optional, yet English grammar imposes certain restrictions upon the one and not the other; that is, NPs manifesting reason have different options as far as word order is concerned than do NPs manifesting causer.

The claim here is that there are levels of optionality in Warlpiri syntax as there are in English. These levels are indicated grammatically by the fashion in which the catalyst complex may manifest certain optional NPs at the expense of more obligatory or more semantically nuclear NPs.

Earlier it was stated that the scope of the paper involves careful examination of the syntactic case system and the system of cross-referencing pronominal clitics, more specifically, the relation between the two. A basic assumption in all of this is that the systems do not operate in an arbitrary fashion but rather reflect a native speaker's conceptualization of the real world. Stated differently, I am working from the assumption that the inter-relationships between the catalyst cross-referencing system and the syntactic case system can only be fully explicated on a semantic basis.

Consider the following two examples:

(3) *Wati-∅-∅* [5]   *ya-nu*   *kurdu-kurlu.*
     man-ABS-3sg   go-PAST   child-COM

     'The man went with the child.'

(4) *Wati-∅-ji-∅-rla*   *jirrnganja*   *ya-nu*   *kurdu-ku*
     man-ABS-TP-3sg-3sg   'having' PV   go-PAST   child-DAT

     'The man went with the child.'

Although both (3) and (4) can be translated with the same English sentence, there is a significant semantic difference between the two examples. The child in (3) *kurdu* is marked by the non-syntactic COMITATIVE case and is not manifested in the catalyst complex. Thus the child is a bit of incidental information in very loose association with the subject of the sentence *wati* or the action of the verb *ya-*.

However in (4) the use of the pre-verb *jirrnganja* 'having' the use of DATIVE case on *kurdu* 'child', and the cross-referencing by *-rla* within the catalyst complex all serve to draw the clause participants together in tight association. The use of *-rla* will be dealt with more fully below. The man in (4) would be seen to be responsible for the child in some way, a notion not gained from (3). Thus, although *kurdu* 'child' is certainly an optional second participant with the verb *ya-* 'go', it can be seen that a speaker has the grammatical option of semantically 'tying in' the second partic-ipant either loosely or tightly. This flexibility within the use of the pronominal clitics as they relate to verbs of varying degrees of transitivity is, as stated earlier in aim (4), of primary interest here.

2.   SYNTACTIC VERB CLASSES

2.1   DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

The reader should now refer to chart 2, as subsequent discussion
revolves around it.

The top set of boxes in chart 2 is a conceptualization of Warlpiri
syntactic verb classes based upon the occurrence of syntactic NPs
as fillers of clause level slots. The bottom section of boxes shows
how these NPs are echoed by the catalyst complex. Two concurrent
parameters are posited which determine the clause level slots,
namely SYNTACTIC versus NON-SYNTACTIC and, within the syntactic
parameter, INNER NUCLEUS versus OUTER NUCLEUS.

In chart 2, cases which are underlined always get cross-referenced.
Thus, ABS NPs with transitive verbs will be cross-referenced by the
Order 2 clitics unless there is also a syntactic dative (DAT_1)
associated with the verb. DAT_1 NPs with any verb will always be
cross-referenced by the Order 2 clitics unless superseded by a
further syntactic dative (DAT_2). This will be clarified later.

The pronominal clitics are organized on a nominative-accusative
pattern. That is, Order 1 clitics only cross-reference SUBJECT, and
Order 2 clitics only cross-reference OBJECT.

The parentheses indicate optionality of occurrence of the particular
NPs.

The forms of DAT_1, DAT_2, and the non-syntactic PURPOSIVE NPs are
identical. That DAT_1 and DAT_2 NPs are in fact distinguishable is,
as a sub-point of aim (3), a major thesis of this paper. Some
further clarification is appropriate here.

Earlier it was stated that ERGATIVE, ABSOLUTIVE, and DATIVE are the
syntactic cases and that only these cases may be cross-referenced by
pronominal clitics. It was also stated that it is not possible to
cross-reference more than two of these cases in any one clause. Thus
a syntactic NP which is cross-referenced in one clause may, with the
same verb, be superseded in the cross-referencing in another clause
which happens to carry an added syntactic NP. Consider the following
examples:

(5)   *Wati-ngki-∅-palangu*   *marlu-jarra-∅*   *luwa-rnu.*
       man-ERG-3sg-3du   kangaroo-two-ABS   shoot-PAST

       'The man shot two kangaroos.'

CHART 2

CLAUSE STRUCTURE

Semantic / Syntactic Verb Classes — Clause level slot	SYNTACTIC CASES		NON-SYNTACTIC CASES
	INNER NUCLEUS	OUTER NUCLEUS	
Intransitive (I)	ABS	(DAT_1) + Rule 1	$(\underline{DAT_2})$ + Rule 2	(LOCATIVE)
Bi-Intransitive (BI)	ABS	DAT_1 + Rule 1	$(\underline{DAT_2})$ + Rule 2	(ABLATIVE)
Middle (M)	ERG	DAT_1 + Rule 1	$(\underline{DAT_2})$ + Rule 2	(ALLATIVE)
Transitive (T)	ERG $[$ ABS $]$	(DAT_1) + Rule 1	$\left[\begin{array}{c}(\underline{DAT_2})\\(\underline{DAT_2})\end{array}\right]$ + Rule 2	(INSTRUMENTAL) (CAUSATIVE) (AVERSIVE) (COMITATIVE)
Bi-Transitive (BT)	ERG ABS	(DAT_1) + Rule 1	$\underline{DAT_2}$ + Rule 2	(PRIVATIVE) (PURPOSIVE) (PERLATIVE) (ACCIDENTAL)

SUBJECT	NON-SUBJECT
+ Order 1 Clitics	$\pm$ Order 2 Clitics
CATALYST	

Catalyst Complex

(6)   *Wati-ngki-Ø-rla*   *marlu-jarra-Ø*   *luwa-rnu*
      man-ERG-3sg-3sg   kangaroo-two-ABS   shoot-PAST

      warlalja-ku.
      family-DAT$_1$

      'The man shot two kangaroos for his family.'

While the pronominal clitic -*palangu* cross-references the ABSOLUTIVE
marked NP *marlu-jarra-Ø* 'kangaroo-two-ABS' in (5), the same NP in (6)
is superseded; that is, the non-subject pronominal clitic cross-
references the DATIVE marked NP *warlalja-ku* 'family-DAT$_1$' as per
person and number. Thus the ABSOLUTIVE NP in a clause containing
the verb *luwa* 'shoot' may or may not be cross-referenced, depending
on the absence or presence respectively of a further syntactic NP
marked by DATIVE. Furthermore, the semantic relation of Agent-
Patient between the ERGATIVE marked NP and the ABSOLUTIVE marked NP
is unaffected by the addition of the DATIVE marked NP in the role of
BENEFACTIVE.

Pike and Pike (1977:27) list several characteristics exhibited by
nuclei and margins on every level of the hierarchy. I quote two of
these as having special relevance to the ideas being presented here.
They state:

'We assume that probably the **nucleus** (in contrast to the **margin**):...
more frequently has the option of representing the entire unit, of
which it is a part, in larger units; and is more likely to identify
the larger construction of which it is a part.' They state further
that probably the nucleus' ... has the more central semantic role
(in the analyst's judgment).'

As demonstrated earlier in example (2), the function of the pronominal
clitics is to echo certain of the semantic components of the unit
which it cross-references within the larger unit of the clause. This
allows for deletions of syntactic NPs without the total loss of
information. Non-syntactic NPs cannot be deleted without the total
loss of that information within the clause; and non-syntactic NPs
are always, in my judgment, less central semantically to the verb than
syntactic NPs. That Warlpiri speakers make relatively little use of
free pronoun forms in everyday speech accentuates the important clause
function of the pronominal clitics.

This supplies further bases for positing, as I have done, the
nuclearity of the syntactic cases versus the marginality of the non-
syntactic cases. Going one step further, I have also posited, within
the nucleus itself, Inner versus Outer Nucleus based upon
1)   the syntactic criteria within the system of cross-referencing
     pronominal clitics and
2)   semantic criteria involving propositional arguments inherent to
     or relatively closely linked with the verb predication itself.

The result of this is that a distinction can be made between the two syntactic DATIVEs possible within a single clause, and these I will label as DAT_1 and DAT_2. The precise nature of DAT_1 and DAT_2 will be made clear in the remainder of section 2.

2.2   INTRANSITIVE VERBS

The class of intransitive verbs (hereafter referred to as I-verbs) comprises a very large class of Warlpiri verbs. Some representative I-verbs are:

nyina-	'sit, be'
wanti-	'fall'
parnka-	'run'
mirilykarri-	'shine brightly'
wangka-	'speak'
ya-	'go'

I-verbs require only one NP to be cross-referenced by one of the set of subject pronominal clitics. That NP will be in ABSOLUTIVE case and may be deleted within the clause.

(7)   *Wati-∅   ka-∅   wangka-mi.*
      man-ABS   CAT-3sg   speak-NONPAST

      'The man is speaking.'

(8)   *Ya-nu-lpa-lu   kurdukurdu-∅   wiriwiri-∅.*
      go-PAST-CAT-3pl   children-ABS   adults-ABS

      'The children and adults were going.'

In both (7) and (8) person and number of the subject are manifested by the appropriate pronominal clitic. Subject pronominal clitics are listed in the second column of chart 1.

It is quite easy for I-verbs to accept a DATIVE NP within the Inner Nucleus, that is, DAT_1. This involves merely the cross-referencing of the DAT_1 NP by the appropriate pronominal clitic as listed in the third column of chart 1. Because of the cross-referencing of this Inner Nucleus DAT_1 NP, the first of a set of ordered rules, namely '∅ Replacement', must be applied when that NP is third person singular.

ORDERED RULES FOR PRONOMINAL CLITICS

1. Rule 1

    $\emptyset$ Replacement   –   Replace $\emptyset$ with *-rla* in 3 sg with DAT_1 NPs

2. Rule 2

    -rla Addition   Add *-rla* to all Order 2 clitics with DAT_2 NPs

    $$-rla + rla \longrightarrow -rlajinta$$

By themselves (without overt NP referents) non-subject pronominal clitics are thus diagnostic of the presence of DAT_1 NPs only when that NP has third person and singular number. Otherwise for all other person and number combinations, the clitic is the same as when it cross-references ABSOLUTIVE NPs with transitive or bi-transitive verbs.

(9)   *Wangka-ja-$\emptyset$-jana*   *kuja.*
       speak-PAST-3sg-3pl   thus

     'He/she spoke to them thus.'

(10)   *Wanga-ja-$\emptyset$-rla*   *jinta-kari-ki-wiyi*   *kirri-ngka-ku.*
       speak-PAST-3sg-3sg   one-other-DAT_1-first   camp-LOC-DAT_1

     'He first spoke to the other one from the camp.'

In these examples the subjects are deleted, yet the person-number information is carried by the pronominal clitics. In (9) both subject and non-subject NPs are deleted, yet their person and number information is carried by the sequence of two pronominal clitics, the maximum allowable number per clause.

It is also possible for at least some I-verbs to accept a third syntactic NP, that is, a second DATIVE NP.[6] The presence of this Outer Nucleus NP is signalled within the catalyst complex by the application of the second ordered rule '*-rla* Addition' (refer to the text following example 8). Note that *-rla* + *-rla* sequence arrived at by the application of both rules 1 and 2 for third person singular DATIVE NPs results in the complex morpheme *-rlajinta*. The application of the '*-rla* Addition' rule is thus diagnostic of the presence of a DAT_2 NP. This applies regardless of any NP deletions which may occur in the clause. The syntactic status of a particular NP as being either DAT_1 or DAT_2 is determined solely by the application of the ordered rules.

When an I-verb has both DAT$_1$ and DAT$_2$ occurring within the clause, we find that echoing of DAT$_2$ takes precedence over DAT$_1$ in the catalyst complex.

(11)   *Wati-∅-∅ janarla*   *marlaja*   *wangka-ja*   *kurdu-ku*
       man-ABS-3sg-3pl   causative PV   speak-PAST   child-DAT$_1$

       karnta-patu-ku.
       woman-pl-DAT$_2$

       'Because of the women, the man spoke to the child.'

In this sentence, if the DAT$_1$ NP *kurdu-ku* 'child-DAT$_1$' were deleted it would be impossible to recover the person and number of the person(s) spoken to. But because of the pronominal clitic *-janarla* which clearly signals the presence of a DAT$_2$ NP by the application of the rule '*-rla* Addition', there would have to be a DAT$_1$ NP in the clause which had been subsequently deleted. We would know that the man in question is definitely talking to someone and not just to himself. Note that the use of the pronominal clitic *-janarla* is diagnostic of the presence of the DAT$_2$ NP *karnta-patu-ku* 'woman-pl-DAT$_2$'. The sentence would be difficult if not impossible to interpret semantically were it not for the use of the causative preverb *marlaja*.

Such usage of a preverb such as *marlaja* or *jirrnganja* (see example 4 and discussion) assists a verb to accept extra syntactic NPs and strongly affects the semantic interpretation of the clause. But the pronominal clitics and not the preverbs determine whether a clause contains, overtly or deleted, a DAT$_1$ NP only or both a DAT$_1$ NP and a DAT$_2$ NP. For example, consider (12):

(12)   *Wati-∅-∅-jana*   *marlaja*   *wangka-ja*   *karnta-patu-ku.*
       man-ABS-3sg-3pl   causative PV   speak-PAST   woman-pl-DAT$_1$

       'Because of the women, the man is speaking.'

Example (12) is not a paraphrase of (11); the pronominal clitic *-jana* signals the presence of a DAT$_1$ NP, and a second syntactic DATIVE NP cannot be construed to exist and to be subsequently deleted. The man in (12) is presumably talking to no one in particular.

In summary, I-verbs require only that NP in ABSOLUTIVE case be manifested by one of the set of Order 1 subject clitics to form a non-expanded clause. Some I-verbs can also be associated with up to two non-subject syntactic NPs per clause, both of which will be in DATIVE case. All syntactic NPs are potentially deletable, in which instance the cross-referencing clitics clearly signal the total number of syntactic clause slots being filled. Stated

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differently the subject NP and one or both of the non-subject NPs may be deleted with retention of person-number information for two of these syntactic NPs. Significantly, as we see from example (11), it is the more semantically peripheral DAT$_2$ NP which takes precedence over the DAT$_1$ NP in the cross-referencing of the non-subject item.

2.3   BI-INTRANSITIVE VERBS

The class of bi-intransitive verbs (hereafter referred to as BI-verbs) comprises approximately two dozen verbs. Some representative members are:

rdipi-	'approach'
parda-	'wait for'
japirdi-	'threaten'
rdanpa-	'accompany'
jija-	'be defeated, overcome by'

BI-verbs require that two NPs be cross-referenced by pronominal clitics. The subject NP will be in ABSOLUTIVE case, and the non-subject NP will be in the DATIVE case, more specifically DAT$_1$. One or both of these NPs may be deleted in the clause with no change in meaning, provided the respective real world referents are recoverable from the context. When the DAT$_1$ NP is third person singular, the rule '∅ Replacement' must be applied to the non-subject pronominal clitic.

(13a)   * *Wati-∅   ka-∅   karnta-ku   parda-rni.*
        man-ABS CAT-3sg   woman-DAT$_1$ wait for-NONPAST

(13b)   *Wati-∅   ka-∅-rla   karnta-ku parda-rni.*
        man-ABS   CAT-3sg-3sg   woman-DAT$_1$ wait for-NONPAST

        'The man is waiting for the woman.'

(14)   *Karnta-∅-∅-jana   kurdukurdu-ku japirdi-ja*
        woman-ABS-3sg-3pl   children-DAT$_1$ threaten-PAST

        'The woman threatened the children.'

Example (13a) is deviant because the DAT$_1$ NP is not manifested in the catalyst complex.

In all respects the cross-referencing of BI-verbs parallels that of I-verbs which occur in expanded clauses, that is, in clauses with extra DATIVE NPs. Thus it is possible for at least some BI-verbs to accept a third syntactic nominal, namely an Outer Nucleus DAT$_2$ NP.

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As before, we find that this DAT$_2$ NP takes precedence in the cross-referencing over the DAT$_1$ NP.

(15) *Karnta-∅-∅-rlajinta*   *kurdukurdu-ku*   *marlaja*
      woman-ABS-3sg-3sg   children-DAT$_1$ causative PV

      japirdi-ja   *wati-ki*
      threaten-PAST   man-DAT$_2$

      'Because of the man, the woman threatened the children.'

With BI-verbs it is clearly the DAT$_1$ NP non-subjects which are semantically inherent to the meaning of a verb, and, as seen in example (15), when a DAT$_2$ NP is included within the clause, this semantically peripheral DAT$_2$ NP takes precedence in the cross-referencing. Even if *kurdukurdu-ku* 'children-DAT$_1$'· in example (15), which is not cross-referenced, were deleted, the pronominal clitic *-rlajinta* clearly indicates the necessary presence of two DATIVE NPs in the clause.

2.4   MIDDLE VERBS

The class of middle verbs (hereafter referred to as M-verbs) comprises a very small number of verbs, perhaps less than five in all. Those known to date are:

warri-	'search for'
rdiwarri ma-	'decimate'
lawa nya-	'fail to see, miss seeing'

M-verbs require that two NPs be cross-referenced by the pronominal clitics. The subject NP will be in ERGATIVE case and the non-subject NP will be in DATIVE case, more specifically DAT$_1$. One or both of these NPs may be deleted in the clause with no subsequent effect on the meaning of the verb itself. Again, when the DAT$_1$ NP is in third person singular, the rule '∅ Replacement' must be applied to the non-subject pronominal clitics. Some examples:

(16) *Wati-ngki*   *ka-∅-rla*   *karli-ki*   *warri-rni.*
      man-ERG   CAT-3sg-3sg   boomerang-DAT$_1$ search for-NONPAST

      'The man is searching for the boomerang.'

(17) *Wati-ngki*   *ka-∅-palangu*   *karli-jarra-ku*
      man-ERG   CAT-3sg-3du   boomerang-two-DAT$_1$

      warri-rni.
      search for-NONPAST

      'The man is searching for the two boomerangs.'

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As with I-verbs and BI-verbs, M-verbs can also accept a second non-subject DAT_2 NP. This DAT_2 NP takes precedence in the cross-referencing over the DAT_1 NP and likewise is semantically peripheral.

(18) *Wati-ngki*   *ka-Ø-ngalparla*   *karli-ki*   *ngalipa-ku*
      man-ERG   CAT-3sg-1pl(inc)   boomerang-DAT_1 us(inc)-DAT_2

      warri-rni.
      search-for-NONPAST

      'The man is searching for the boomerang for us.'

(19) *Wati-ngki-lpa-Ø-jurla*   *nyuntu-ku*   *warru-rnu*
      man-ERG-CAT-3sg-1sg   you-DAT_1 search for-PAST

      ngaju-ku.
      I-DAT_2

      'The man was searching for you for me.'

The application of the rule '*-rla* Addition' in examples (18) and (19) clearly signals the presence of DAT_2 NPs. NPs of any person or number could conceivably be substituted for the DAT_1 NPs in examples (18) and (19) without creating grammatically deviant sentences and without affecting the cross-referencing clitics.

2.5   TRANSITIVE VERBS

The class of transitive verbs (hereafter referred to as T-verbs) comprises a very large number of verbs. Some representative members are:

luwa-	'shoot'
nya-	'see'
pu-	'strike, kill'
panti-	'spear'
kiji-	'throw'

T-verbs require that two NPs be cross-referenced by the pronominal clitics. The subject NP will be in ERGATIVE case, and the non-subject NP will be in ABSOLUTIVE case, with one exception which will be noted later in this section. One or both of these NPs may be deleted in the clause with no subsequent effect on the meaning of the verb itself. ABSOLUTIVE NPs will be cross-referenced by the Order 2 non-subject pronominal clitics with none of the ordered rules being applied. Thus third person singular ABSOLUTIVE NPs are cross-referenced by Ø.

(20)   *Wati-ngki-∅-∅*   *marlu-∅*   *luwa-rnu.*
       man-ERG-3sg-3sg   kangaroo-ABS   shoot-PAST

       'The man shot the kangaroo.'

(21)   *Karnta-ngku*   *ka-∅-jana*   *kurdukurdu-∅*   *nya-nyi.*
       woman-ERG   CAT-3sg-3pl   children-ABS   see-NONPAST

       'The woman sees the children.'

T-verbs readily accept DAT$_1$ NPs, in which instance the ABSOLUTIVE NP
is superseded in the cross-referencing by the DAT$_1$ NP while the
cross-referencing of the ERGATIVE NP subject remains unchanged.

(22)   *Wati-ngki*   *ka-∅-rla*   *marlu-patu-∅*   *luwa-rni*
       man-ERG   CAT-3sg-3sg   kangaroo-pl-ABS   shoot-NONPAST

       karnta-ku.
       woman-DAT$_1$

       'The man is shooting several kangaroo for the woman.'

The application of the rule '∅ Replacement' in example (22) signals
the presence of three syntactic NPs within the Inner Nucleus. DAT$_1$
NPs added through the use of this rule are typically human and have
the role of BENEFACTIVE. Thus with the verb *luwa* 'shoot', to
insert an animate but non-human NP in a clause similar to (22) is
semantically, but not grammatically, deviant as in:

(23)   * *Wati-ngki*   *ka-∅-rla*   *marlu-ku*   *luwa-rni.*
         man-ERG   CAT-3sg-3sg   kangaroo-DAT$_1$ shoot-NONPAST

Notice that on chart 2 the row for T-verbs divides into two rows.
Following along the top row for T-verbs, one sees that it is possi-
ble for some T-verbs to accept in the Outer Nucleus a DAT$_2$ NP in
addition to an ABSOLUTIVE NP and a DAT$_1$ NP in the Inner Nucleus.
This phenomenon is signalled within the catalyst complex by the
application of the rule '*-rla* Addition'. When this occurs it is the
DAT$_2$ NP which takes precedence in the cross-referencing over both
the ABSOLUTIVE NP and the DAT$_1$ NP.

(24)   *Wati-ngki*   *ka-∅-palangurla*   *marlu-∅*   *kurdu-ku*
       man-ERG   CAT-3sg-3du   kangaroo-ABS   child-DAT$_1$

       marlaja   *luwa-rni*   *karnta-jarra-ku.*
       causative PV   shoot-NONPAST   woman-two-DAT$_2$

       'Because of the two women, the man is shooting the kangaroo
       for the child.'

No indication of the person and number of either the ABSOLUTIVE NP
or the DAT$_1$ NP is contained within the catalyst complex in (24).

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The DAT$_2$ NP in (24) is so peripheral to the meaning of the verb, that
it is doubtful that any sense at all could be made of the sentence
if the causative preverb *marlaja* were not there to aid in the inter-
pretation. Again I assert that it is this relative peripheralness
with respect to the other syntactic NPs which gives the DAT$_2$ NP
priority in the cross-referencing.

On chart 2 in the bottom half of the row for T-verbs is represented
an interesting capability applicable to a small subset of T-verbs,
most probably those involving physical impingement. Frustrative
aspect can be signalled by

    1) changing the non-subject NP which
       ordinarily is in ABSOLUTIVE case to
       DATIVE case and
    2) applying the rules '$\emptyset$ Replacement' and
       '-*rla* Addition' to the non-subject
       pronominal clitics.

Syntactically this signals the presence of a DAT$_2$ NP in the Outer
Nucleus. However, there are not concurrently within the clause any
other syntactic non-subject NPs as might be expected. Semantically,
these changes mean that the action of the verb has been frustrated
in some way and that the intent of the action has been unfulfilled.
For example:

(25)   *Wati-ngki*   *ka-$\emptyset$-rlajinta*   *marlu-ku*
       man-ERG   CAT-3sg-3sg   kangaroo-DAT$_2$

       luwa-rni.
       shoot-NONPAST

       'The man is shooting and is missing the kangaroo.'

Waters (private communication) suggests that this signalling of the
kangaroo as an outer dative indicates that it is unaffected by the
action of the verb. He further suggests that all ABSOLUTIVE NPs
in a T-clause are connected with the semantic notion of 'affected' or
possibly 'intentionally affected'. As was stated earlier, only a
few T-verbs can accept this Outer Nucleus DAT$_2$ NP. When the action
itself cannot be performed apart from affecting the ABS NP, such as
with the T-verb *jarnti-* 'trim', the verb cannot accept DAT$_2$ NPs in
this special 'unaffected' sense.

In spite of the fact that (25) contains only one DATIVE NP, this NP
cannot be construed as being DAT$_1$ that is, within the Inner Nucleus.
In section 2.2, criteria were given to distinguish Inner Nucleus from
Outer Nucleus. Syntactically in (25) the pronominal clitics clearly
indicate an Outer Nucleus NP by virtue of the application of both
ordered rules. The notion of 'frustrated aspect' is simply not
within the basic semantics of a verb like *luwa-* 'shoot'.[7] This
carrying of aspectual information within the pronominal clitics

gives further support to the peripheralness of such a DATIVE NP as
one finds in (25).

2.6   BI-TRANSITIVE VERBS

The class of bi-transitive verbs (hereafter referred to as BI-verbs)
comprises a relatively small number of verbs. Some representative
members are:

yu-	'give'
punta-	'take away from'
karlirrmarda-	'retain a portion for him'

BI-verbs require that two NPs be cross-referenced by the pronominal
clitics. The subject NP will be in ERGATIVE case and will be cross-
referenced by one of the set of subject clitics. The non-subject
clitics will cross-reference the DAT_1 NP in preference to the
ABSOLUTIVE NP. All three of these NPs may be deleted within the
clause, but all three are understood to be 'there'. BT-verbs
correspond to what Lyons calls three-place verbs (Lyons 1971:350).
Deleted ABSOLUTIVE NPs are normally interpreted as being either third
person singular count nouns or as mass nouns, unless of course
previous context indicates otherwise.

(25a)   *Wati-ngki   ka-Ø-rla   kuyu-Ø   yi-nyi   karnta-ku.*
       man-ERG   CAT-3sg-3sg   meat-ABS   give-NONPAST   woman-DAT_1

    'The man is giving meat to the woman.'

BI-verbs can also accept a DAT_2 NP within the Outer Nucleus in addi-
tion to an ABSOLUTIVE NP and the normal DAT_1 NP within the Inner
Nucleus. When this occurs, it is the DAT_2 NP which takes precedence
in the cross-referencing over the other two syntactic non-subject
NPs.

(26)   *Wati-ngki ka-Ø-palangurla   marlu-Ø   kurdu-ku*
       man-ERG   CAT-3sg-3du   kangaroo-ABS   child-DAT_1

      marlaja   yi-nyi   karnta-jarra-ku
      causative PV   give-NONPAST   woman-two-DAT_2

    'Because of the two women, the man is giving meat to the
    child.'

In example (25a) the application of the rule '-Ø Replacement'
indicates the presence of a DAT_1 NP and in example (26) the further
application of the rule '-*rla* Addition' signals the presence of a
DAT_2 NP. This DAT_2 NP takes precedence over the other non-subject
NPs in the clause with respect to the cross-referencing.

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3. RANKING IN THE SELECTION OF PRONOMINAL CLITICS

In the previous section data has been presented which shows the various allowable combinations of syntactic NPs within Warlpiri clauses. In summary, the full range of combinations is indicated in chart 3.

CHART 3

Verb Classes and Possible Expansions of Syntactic NPs

SUBJECT	NON-SUBJECT		VERB CLASS		
ABS					
ABS		DAT_1	$-$I-verbs		
ABS		DAT_1 DAT_2		$-$ BI-verbs	
ERG		DAT_1	$-$M-verbs		
ERG		DAT_1 DAT_2			
ERG	ABS				
ERG	ABS	DAT_1	$-$BT-verbs	$-$ T-verbs	
ERG	ABS	DAT_1 DAT_2			
ERG		DAT_2			

In reference to the chart, it is important to note that with the NP combinations (as indicated by the brackets) appropriate to any of verb classes, the pronominal clitics will indicate the person and number of the left-most NP and the right-most NP. These clitics and the class of the verb will then indicate the numbers of other NPs, implied or overt, within the clause. The terms 'left-most' and 'right-most' are in reference only to the schematization in chart 3 and do not apply to any preferred word order in Warlpiri, which on the clause level is quite free. Rarely does one find overt in the clause every syntactic NP indicated by the pronominal clitics and the relevant verb class. In fact, all the syntactic NPs can be deleted without total loss cf information.[8] Thus:

(27)   *Marlaja-Ø-palangurla*   *yu-ngu.*
        causative PV-3sg-3du   give-PAST

        'Because of them (two), he/she gave it/them to him/her/them.'

The cross-referencing in (27) indicates the presence of an Outer
Nucleus DAT$_2$ NP which, along with all the other syntactic NPs, has
been deleted.

A quote from Jagst ([1972]:2; published in this volume) on the topic
of deletions is appropriate:

> A marked tendency to communicate by making only
> the bare minimum of information explicit has been
> observed. This could be due to the prevalent
> practice of using much gesturing, 'finger talk'
> pantomime while talking. Another factor could be
> that much of the implicit information is usually
> already general knowledge or can be inferred from
> the surrounding circumstances. Warnayakas also
> firmly believe that when someone doesn't understand
> something that has been said, then let him use his
> mouth and ask, and implied information is then
> usually made explicit for him.

Again, whether or not a syntactic NP is deleted or overt within the
clause, the pronominal clitic cross-referencing remains unchanged.

From charts 2 and 3, therefore, several observations can be made
concerning the selection of the subject and non-subject pronominal
clitics which cross-reference the syntactic cases.

Firstly, ERGATIVE NPs are always cross-referenced by Order 1 subject
clitics.

Secondly, DATIVE NPs are cross-referenced solely by Order 2 non-
subject clitics.

Thirdly, ABSOLUTIVE NPs can be cross-referenced by either Order 1
or Order 2 clitics only when certain conditions obtain. These
conditions are as follows: ABSOLUTIVE NPs will be cross-referenced
by Order 1 subject clitics if and only if an ERGATIVE NP is not
present or implied within the clause, that is, with I-verbs and BI-
verbs only. If an ERGATIVE NP is implied or present in the clause,
with T-verbs, the ABSOLUTIVE NP will be cross-referenced by Order 2
non-subject clitics if and only if there is no DATIVE NP present
or implied in the clause.

The last observation to be made is that DAT_1 NPs are always cross-referenced unless there is a DAT_2 NP present in the clause.

These observations are summed up in chart 4 which shows the relative ranking of the syntactic cases.

CHART 4

Ranking of Cases
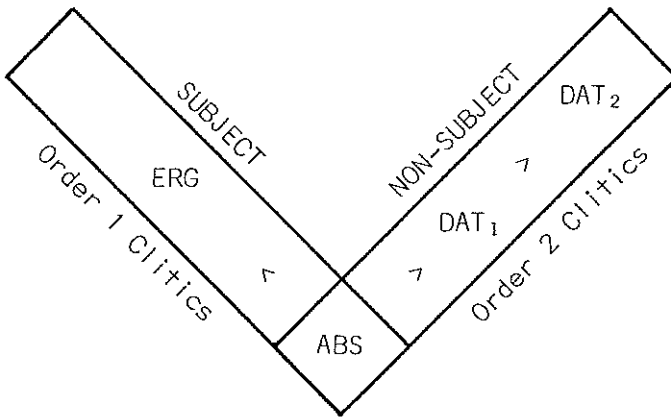
Here 'x < y' means 'x takes precedence in the cross-referencing over y', and conversely, 'y is superseded in the cross-referencing by x.'[9]

4.   COMPARISON WITH THE ANALYSIS OF WARLPIRI BY K. HALE

To date much has been written on the subject of clause and person marking in Warlpiri, most notably by Kenneth Hale. In his article 'Person Marking in Warlpiri' (1973), Hale presents a concise description of auxiliary (catalyst) positioning, subject person markers, and agreement between the auxiliary pronouns (pronominal clitics) and the syntactic cases within the clause. In section 7 he proceeds to talk about other clitic sequences which are affixed to the auxiliary model root to form, in my terminology, the catalyst complex.

Hale states 'that there is a constraint upon clitic sequences to the
effect that a phonologically constituted direct object clitic cannot
co-occur with a dative clitic' (1973:333-4). Note that his usage
of 'direct object clitic' and 'dative clitic' corresponds to my
usage of Order 2 pronominal clitics. Furthermore 'there is a
constraint which would appear to limit clitic sequences to two
members, subject-object' (p. 334). By speaking of direct object
clitics and dative clitics, Hale implies that there are two indepen-
dent systems operating, whereas I have earlier shown that a single
system with ordered rules operates to cross-reference all non-
subject syntactic NPs, namely the set of Order 2 clitics. This
implication forces him to back away from his basic premise that there
is a constraint which limits clitic sequences to two members,
subject-object. It is my intended purpose here to strengthen Hale's
second premise (i.e. clitic sequences are limited to two members) on
the basis of my preceding analysis.

Specifically two problems exist with Hale's approach. Consider
the following data: *(Note: All of Hale's data is presented
phonemically. To avoid confusion I cite all of his data written
orthographically to be consistent with my own data.)*

(28) (Hale's 59) *Ngajulu-rlu*   *kapi-rna-ngku*
                     1-ERG   CAT-1sg-2sg

    karli-jarra-Ø   *punta-rni*   *nyuntulu-ku.*
    boomerang-two-ABS   take away from-NONPAST   you-DAT

    'I will take the two boomerangs away from you.'

(29) *Ngajulu-rlu-rna-palangu*   *karli-jarra-Ø*
       1-ERG-1sg-2du   boomerang-two-ABS

    jarntu-rnu.
    carve-PAST

    'I carved the two boomerangs.'

In example (29) as well as in earlier discussion of T-verbs, we see
that the ABSOLUTIVE NP *karli-jarra-Ø* 'boomerang-two-ABS' is unambig-
uously cross-referenced since no added DATIVE NP is involved. In
example (28) we see, as predicted by the case ranking posited
previously, that the ABSOLUTIVE NP is superseded since a further
DATIVE NP, specifically DAT_1, is present. By examining the
pronominal clitics alone it is not possible to tell whether a
DATIVE NP or an ABSOLUTIVE NP is being cross-referenced. Such
information is signalled primarily by the syntactic class of the
verb. Systemically since there is no distinction between the way
DAT_1 NPs and ABSOLUTIVE NPs are cross-referenced, except in third
person singular, it is improper to speak of direct object clitics
and dative clitics.

Hale's analysis results in a third column added to chart 1, and the entries in this third column are identical with those of the second column except for third person singular. In my view this constitutes an over-differentiated paradigm and is less preferable than the analysis which I have presented above.

Hale states 'Where the direct object is inanimate, apparently, a clitic may be suppressed, as in (59) [my (28)]; but where the direct object is animate, a phonologically constituted clitic may not be suppressed. This yields an irresolvable conflict in the case of certain sequences of the type presently under discussion, accounting for the ill-formedness of such strings as those in (60)' (1973:334).

To cite Hale's example:

(30)   (Hale's 60b)   *Ngarrka-ngku   kapi-Ø-ji*   *nyuntu-Ø*
                       man-ERG   CAT-3sg-1sg   you-ABS

       punta-rni   *ngaju-ku*
       take away from-NONPAST   I-DAT

       'The man will take you away from me.'

I believe Hale is incorrect in setting forth the criteria of animate versus inanimate as the explanatory principle involved. (In footnotes 1 and 22 of his paper, Hale alludes to the tentative nature of his conclusions.)

Having tested (30) with a number of Warlpiri speakers, I found it not only well-formed but quite acceptable although situationally unlikely. Therefore (30) represents a counter-example to Hale's claim that where the direct object is animate, a phonologically constituted clitic cannot be suppressed. In both (29) and (30) it is not a question of one of the putative object and dative clitic sequences being suppressed, because there is no sequence of two non-subject clitics involved, but rather selection of one clitic according to the ranking of cases.

A further problem arises when Hale states that ' ... a sequence of subject followed by dative object may be further extended by the clitic /-rla/' (1973:335). He cites as an example:

(31)   (Hale's 64)   *Ngajulu-rlu   ka-rna-ngku-rla*   *karli-ki*
                      I-ERG   CAT-1sg-2sg-3sg   boomerang-DAT

       warri-rni   *nyuntu-ku*
       seek-NONPAST   you-DAT

       'I am looking for the boomerang for you.'

(Note that I am indicating morpheme breaks within the catalyst complex as Hale did, not as I would.)

Hale then makes the following statement followed by his example (65):

> These three-membered clitic sequences are also
> subject to a constraint: they must be of the
> form subject-dative-*la* [-*rla*]. Thus, one of the
> dative noun phrases in such a sentence must be
> of a form whose corresponding dative clitic is
> /-la/ [-*rla*], that is, it must be third singular.
> It appears again, however, that an inanimate non-
> singular third person can be treated as if it
> were singular with respect to agreement in such
> cases. (1973:335)

(32)   (Hale's 65)   *Ngajulu-rlu*   *ka-rna-ngku-rla*
                     I-ERG   CAT-1sg-2sg-3sg

     karli-jarra-ku   *warri-rni*   *nyuntu-ku.*
     boomerang-two-DAT   seek-NONPAST   you-DAT

     'I am looking for the two boomerangs for you.'

     (Note: Hale's morpheme breaks are cited.)

Hale says of the above example that 'a third person inanimate dative
noun phrase in the dual, /karli-jarra-ku/ 'boomerang-dual-dative',
normally requiring the clitic /-palangu/, is allowed to take the
clitic /-rla/ instead'. He then proceeds to say that 'strings of the
form shown in (66) are unacceptable'.

(33)   (Hale's 66)   *Ngarrka-ngku-lpa-∅-ju-rla*   *nyuntu-ku*
                     man-ERG-CAT-3sg-1sg-3sg   you-DAT

     warru-rnu   *ngaju-ku*
     seek-PAST   I-DAT

     'The man was looking for you for me.'

     (Note: Hale's morpheme breaks are cited.)

Hale states that this example (33) is unacceptable because 'the
clitic /-rla/ cannot be construed with the second person dative
noun phrase /nyuntu-ku/' (1973:336), but having tested (33) with a
number of Warlpiri speakers, I found it to be quite acceptable.
Hale's reason for asserting the unacceptability of (33) can only be
that the cross-referencing clitic of animate objects cannot be
suppressed where in fact in (33) the cross-referencing clitic for
'you' -*ngku* has obviously been suppressed in favor of -*rla*. (I am
conceding Hale's argument at this point.) However, there is no
need to posit either 'suppression' of a clitic in (33) or substitu-
tion of a clitic in (32), provided that only sequences of up to two
cross-referencing clitics may obtain in any one clause. This has

been shown to be a viable analysis in the preceding sections. The presence of -*rla* is due to the application of the '/-*rla*/ Addition' rule. Thus it is unnecessary to posit any principle based upon animatedness. This in turn strengthens Hale's original statement, concerning the limiting of clitic sequences to subject-object.

2. Clause-initial free pronouns are optionally marked for case.
    Clause-final free pronouns are obligatorily marked.

3. Several systems operate to neutralize number distinctions in
    the pronominal clitics. Basically these result in dual syntactic
    nominals being manifested by plural clitics. Thus the ambiguity
    concerning number in example (2).

4. PURPOSIVE case is also marked by the DATIVE case suffix *-ku* but
    is clearly distinct from it by virtue of its inability to be
    cross-referenced.

5. Simple past tense is marked by the absence of a catalyst, in
    which instance all pronominal clitics attach to the first word
    in the clause.

6. No attempt has been made to further sub-categorize verbs on the
    basis of whether they can or cannot accept and cross-reference
    a second DATIVE NP.

7. Some T-verbs such as *kanginypu-* fail to recognize' and
    kanginypurda nya- 'mis-hear', carry within themselves frus-
    trated aspect. However these take ABSOLUTIVE NP non-subjects
    as do all other T-verbs.

8. I expect that rules governing deletions and clause word order
    will be discovered when text grammar is studied.

9. The symbolism is that used by David E. Johnson in his article 'On Relational Constraints on Grammar' (Johnson 1978:156). No attempt has been made here regarding possible application of my analysis to theoretical work in Relational Grammar as it is being developed by Comrie, Keenan, Morgan, Perlmutter, Postal, Ross and others.

WARLPIRI ORTHOGRAPHY

	apico-alveolar	apico-post alveolar	lamino-alveo-palatal	bilabial	dorso-velar
stops	t	rt	j	p	k
nasals	n	rn	ny	m	ng
laterals	l	rl	ly		
semi-vowels	y	r		w	
rhotics	rr	rd			
vowels	i	u			
		a			

Following is a list of abbreviations used in all language glosses:

ABS	absolutive case
DAT_1	dative 1 case
DAT_2	dative 2 case
PUR	purposive case
ERG	ergative case
COM	comitative case
CAT	catalyst
PV	preverb
PAST	past tense inflection
NONPAST	present tense inflection

TP	topicalizer
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
sg	singular
du	dual
pl	plural
inc	inclusive
exc	exclusive

Following are three oral texts and a vocabulary listing all the words found therein. In addition to the abbreviations used in the main body of this paper are the following:

PER   perlative case

ALL   allative case

INS   instrumental case

PUR   purposive case

PRO   progressive aspect

IMP   imperative mood

INF   infinitive

'THE FIRESAW'

          – Jerry Jangala

1. *Yimi-ø*   *yi-rna*   *wita-ø*   *wangka-ø,*   *yirra-rni*
   story-ABS   CAT-1sg   little-ABS   say-NONPAST   put-NONPAST

     nyampu-rla   *wirlinyi-warnu-ø.*
     here-LOC   hunting-from-ABS

   I want to say, put a little story here about hunting. .

2. *Ya-nu-rnalu*   *nyampu-ngurlu-ju*   *marru-ngurlu.*
   go-PAST-1plex   here-ABL-TP   house-ABL

   We (exc.) went from this house.

3. *Karlarra-rnalu*   *ya-nu*   *yiwarra-wana*   *mutika-kurlu,*
   west-1plex   go-PAST   road-PER   car-COM

     ngajulu-ø,   *Jampijinpa-jarra-ø,*   *Napangardi-ø*
     I-ABS   skin group-two-ABS   skin group-ABS

     Nungarrayi-ø,   *kurdukurdu-ø.*
     skin group-ABS   children-ABS

   We went west along the road with a car; myself, the two
   Jampijinpas, Napangardi, Nungarrayi, and the children.

4. *Ya-nu-rnalu*   *karlarra...*
   go-PAST-1plex   west

   We went west...

5. *Yirdiyi-ø*   *yangka-ø*   *kuja*   *ka-ø*
   road-ABS   aforementioned-ABS   that   CAT-3sg

     nguna-mi-rra   *Yurnturmu-kurra*   *manu* *Nangkurdu-kurra.*
     lie-NONPAST-thither   Yuendumu-ALL   and   Nangkurdu Lake-ALL

   That is the road which lies toward Yuendumu and Nangkurdu Lake.

6. *Ngula-rnalu*   *ya-nu*   *Wiyala-kurra.*
    relator-Iplex   go-PAST   Wiyala-ALL

    Then we (exc.) went towards Wiyala.

7. *Ngula-rnalu*   *jupu karri-ja*   *yali-rla-juku.*
    relator-Iplex   stop-PAST   there-LOC-still.

    Then we (exc.) stopped right there.

8. *Yama-ngka-lpa-rnalu*   *nyina-ja.*
    shade-LOC-CAT-Iplex   sit-PAST

    We (exc.) were sitting in the shade.

9. *Jitijiti-ja-rnalu*   *mutika-ngurlu.*
    dismount-PAST-Iplex   car-ABL

    We dismounted from the car.

10. *Jurnarrpa-lku-rnalu*   *ma-nu*   *miyi-ø*   *kapi*   *ngapa-ø.*
    belongings-then-Iplex   get-PAST   food-ABS   and   water-ABS

    Then we (excl.) got our things, the food and water.

11. *Ya-nu-rnalu*   *yama-kurra.*
    go-PAST-Iplex   shade-ALL

    We went towards the shade.

12. *Japu-rnu-rna-palangu*   *Jampijinpa-jarra-ø,*
    ask-PAST-1sg-2du   skin group-two-ABS

    I asked the two Jampijinpas,

       'Matches-ji   *ka-npala*   *marda-rni*   *palka-ø?'*
       matches-TP   CAT-2du   have-NONPAST   present-ø

       'Do you two have matches on hand?'

13. *Jampijinpa-kari-ø-ji*   *wangka-ja,*   *'Lawa'.*
    skin group-other-ABS-TP   say-PAST   no

    The other Jampijinpa said, 'No'.

14. *Jinta-kari-ø-lki-ji*   *wangka-ja,*   *'Lawa,*   *matches-wangu'.*
    one-other-ABS-then-TP   say-PAST   no   matches-without

    Then the other one said, 'No, (we're) without matches'.

15. *Ngaju-rna*   *wangka-ja*   *'Kala nyarrpa*   *ma-ni-rlipa*
    I-1sg   say-PAST   and   what/how   do-NONPAST-1plinc

    nyampu-ø-ju   *nalija-ø?'*
    this-ABS-TP   tea-ABS

    I said, 'And how will we make this tea?'

16. *Jinta-kari-ø-ji*   *wangka-ja*   *Jampijinpa-kari-ø,*
    one-other-ABS-TP   say-PAST   skin group-other-ABS

    'Jimanypa-ø-rlipa-ø   *ngurrju ma-ni'.*
    firesaw-ABS-1plinc-3sg   make-NONPAST

    The other Jampijinpa said, 'Let's make a firesaw'.

17. *Ngaju-rna*   *wangka-ja,*   *'Yuwayi, ngulajuku!'*
    I-1sg   say-PAST   yes   OK

    I said, 'Yes, OK!'

18. *Ya-nu-rna.*
    go-PAST-1sg

    I went.

19. *Watiya-ø-rna*   *paka-rnu*   *mayingka-kurlu-rlu*
    tree-ABS-1sg   strike-PAST   axe-COM-INS

    linji-jarra-ø   *jirrama-ø.*
    dry-two-ABS   two-ABS

    I cut wood with an axe, two dry pieces.

20. *Ka-ngu-rna*   *pina*   *yama-kurra*
    carry-PAST-1sg back   shade-ALL

    I carried it back to the shade.

21. *Jungajuku   yirra-rnu-rna-rla   marna-ø*
    straightway   put-PAST-1sg-3sg   grass-ABS

    yardijardi.ji-ø   ngulajangka-ju
    dry seed (species)-ABS after that-TP

    puluku-kurlangu-ø-lku   kuna-ø.
    cow-possessive-ABS-then   dung-ABS

    Straightway I put grass and dry seeds into it, and after that
    then cow dung.

22. *Jungajuku-rlujarra-ø   rduyulu-ngu   jimanypa-ø-lku.*
    straightway-1duexc-3sg   make a smoky fire-PAST firesaw-ABS-then

    Straightway we two (exc) made the firesaw smoke.

23. *Luwa-rnu-rlujarra-ø.*
    saw-PAST-1duexc-3sg

    We sawed (literally shot) it.

24. *Lawa-wiyi   kamparru-warnu-ju.*
    nothing-first   first-from-TP

    There was nothing from that first effort.

25. *Ngulajangka-ji   jinta-kari-ø-lki-rlijarra-ø   yarda*
    after that-TP   one-other-ABS-then-1duexc-3g   again

    luwa-rnu.
    saw-PAST

    After that then we sawed again at it.

26. *Palka-ø-lku-rlujarra-ø   luwa-rnu   jimanypa-ø-ji*
    present-ABS-then-1duexc-3sg   saw-PAST   firesaw-ABS-TP

    Jampijinpa-rlu.
    skin group-ERG

    We two (exc) then successfully sawed the firesaw, Jampijinpa
    (and I) did.

27. *Jungajuku   rduyulu-ngu-rmalu-ø   jimanypa-*
    straightway   make a smoky fire-PAST-1plexc-3sg   firesaw

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27. (cont.)   *jangka-lku*   *warlu-ø-ju*   *ngurrju-nyayirni-ø.*
              CAU-then   fire-ABS-TP   good-very-ABS

    Straightway then we (exc.) made a really good fire from the firesaw.

28. *Ngula-rnalu-nyanu*   *nalija-ø-lku*   *purra-ja.*
    relator-1plexc-ref   tea-ABS-then   cook-PAST

    Then we (exc.) cooked tea for ourselves.

29. *Ngula-rna-jana*   *ngaju-ø-ju*   *wirlinyi-ø-lki.*
    relator-1sg-3pl   I-ABS-TP   hunting-ABS-then

        jurnta   *ya-nu*
        go away   from-PAST

    Then I went hunting away from them.

30. *Purdangirli-lpa-lu-ø*   *purra-ja.*
    behind-CAT-3pl-3sg   cook-PAST

    Behind they were cooking it (lunch).

31. *Nga-rnu-lu-ø.*
    eat-PAST-3pl-3sg

    They ate it.

32. *Mirntangali-ji-li-ø*   *nga-rnu*   *nyanungu-rlu-ju.*
    noon-TP-3pl-3sg   eat-PAST   they-ERG-TP

    At noon they ate it.

33. *Ngaka-iku-rna*   *ngaju-ø*   *ya-nu-rnu*   *karli-*
    later-then-1sg   I-ABS   go-PAST-hither   boomerang

        kirli-ø   *jinta-kurlu-ø*   *paka-minjarla.*
        COM-ABS   one-COM-ABS   hit-sequential

    Later then I returned with one boomerang, having chopped it.

34. *Nyarrpa-rna-ø*   *kuja*   *ngula-ji*   *ngurrju ma-nu.*
    how-1sg-3sg   thus   relator-TP   make-PAST

    How is it then I made it/did thus? .

35. *Kala-rna-ø*   *nya-ngu*   *ngaju-ku-palangu.*
    CAT-1sg-3sg   see-PAST   I-DATIVE-ascending kinsman

    I used to see my father.

36. *Kala-ø-ø*   *jimanypa-ø*   *luwa-rnu.*
    CAT-3sg-3sg   firesaw-ABS   saw-PAST

    He used to saw the firesaw.

37. *Kala-ø-ø*   *ngurrju ma-nu*   *kuja-piya-rlu.*
    CAT-3sg-3sg   make-PAST   thus-like-ERG

    Just like that he used to make it.

38. *Ngulajangka-rlu*   *pina-ngku-lku-rna-ø*   *luwa-rnu.*
    because of that-ERG   wise-ERG-than-1sg-3sg   saw-PAST

    Because of that I now know (how to) saw one.

39. *Ngulajuku-rna-ø*   *nyampu-ø-ju*   *wita-ø*   *jaru-ø-ju*
    finish-1sg-3sg   this-ABS-TP   little-ABS   word-ABS-TP

    yirri pura-ja.
    tell-PAST

    I am finished following (telling) this little story.

'CHRISTIAN DANCES'

– Ned Jampijinpa

1. *Nyampu-rla*   *ka-rlipa-jana*   *marda-rni*
here-LOC   CAT-1plinc-3pl   have-NONPAST

   mardukuja-ø   *manu*   *wati-ø*   *ngula*
   woman-ABS   and   man-ABS   relator

   ka-lu-ø   *pi-nyi*   *purlapa-ø*   *manu*
   CAT-3pl-3sg   strike-NONPAST   ceremony-ABS   and

   yawulyu-ø   *wapirra-kurlangu-ø*
   woman's business-ABS   rather-possessive-ABS

Here we (inc.) have men and women who dance (literally strike) public ceremonies and women's business belonging to God (Father).

2. *Mardukuja-rlu*   *ngula*   *ka-lu-ø*   *yunpa-rni*
woman-ERG   relator   CAT-3pl-3sg   sing-NONPAST

   manu   *pi-nyi*   *yawulyu-ø*   *ngurrju-ø*
   and   strike-NONPAST   woman's business-ABS   good-ABS

   manu   *wati-ngki*   *ngula*   *ka-lu-nyanu*
   and   man-ERG   relator   CAT-3pl-ref

   yirra-rni   *kunwarri-ø*   *wapirra-kurlangu-ø*
   put-NONPAST   sacred designs-ABS   father-possessive-ABS

   ngurrju-ø
   good-ABS

As for the women, they sing and dance good women's business, and as for the men, they put sacred designs belonging to God on themselves.

3. *Yapa-ngku, ngula*   *ka-lu-jana*   *nya-nyi*
people-ERG relator   CAT-3pl-3pl   see-NONPAST

   purlapa-kurra.
   public ceremony-ALL

As for the people, they see them (as they dance) the public ceremony.

4. *Wuraji*   *manu*   *munga-ngka*   *ya-ni-rni*   *ka-lu.*
evening   and   night-LOC   go-NONPAST-hither   CAT-3pl

Evening and all night they come there.

5. *Purda nya-nyi* *ka-lu-ø* *wapirra-kurlangu-ø*
  hear-NONPAST CAT-3pl-3sg father-possessive-ABS

  yimi-ø *ngurrju-ø.*
  story-ABS good-ABS

They hear God's good story.

TEXT 3

'THE CROW AND THE BOY'

- Jerry Jangala

1. *Jinta-ngka*   *kirri-ngka*   *kuja-lpa-lu*   *nyina-ja*
   one-LOC   camp-LOC   relator-CAT-3pl   sit-PAST

      jukurrpa-ø.
      dreaming-ABS

   There was one camp where the dreamings lived.

2. *Ngula-lu-rla*   *jaalyma-nu*   *kurdu-ku*   *marlurlu-ku,*
   relator-3pl-3sg   whisper-PAST child-DAT$_1$ initiate-DAT$_1$

      ngati-nyanu-ø,   *kirda-nyanu-ø,*   *pimirdi-nyanu-ø*
      mother-ref-ABS   father-ref-ABS   mother's sisters-ref-ABS

     · *jamirdi-nyanu-ø.*
       father's, sister's sons-ref-ABS.

   They were plotting and planning for the young boy initiate, that
   is, his mothers, fathers, aunties, and cousins were.

3. *Ngarru-rnu-lu-jana*   *juka-patu-rlu-ju.*
   tell-PAST-3pl-3pl   guardians-pl-ERG-TP

   The guardians told them.

4. *Wangka-ja-lu-jana*   *juka-patu-ju*   *ngula-ku-ju,*
   say-PAST-3pl-3pl   guardians-pl-TP   relator-DAT-TP

   The guardians talked to them concerning him.

      'Karinganta   *yi-rnalu-ø*   *nyampu-ø-ju*   *ngarrka-ø*
      declarative   CAT-1plexc-3sg   this-ABS-TP   man-ABS

      kiji-rni.'
      throw-NONPAST.

   'It is certainly our intention to initiate (literally "throw")
   this man.'

5. *Jungajuku*   *turnu jarri-ja-lu-rla.*
   straightway   gather-PAST-3pl-3sg

   Straightway they gathered around him.

6. *Turnu jarri-ja-lu*   *'mamakurra warnukurra'.*
   gather-PAST-3pl   name of ceremony

   They gathered together for the ceremony.

7. *Ngula-lpa-lu-nyanu*   *wangka-ja*   *juka-patu-ø-ju,*
   relator-CAT-3pl-ref   say-PAST   guardian-pl-ABS-TP

Then the guardians said to each other,

   'Nyampu-rla-juku-nya-rlipa-ø   *marda-rni*   *yantarli-jiki.'*
   here-LOC-still-query-1plinc-3sg   hold-NONPAST nearby-still

   'Should we hold him right here nearby?'

   'Paka-rni-rlipa-ø   *kurdiji-rli-ji?'*
   strike-NONPAST-1plinc-3sg   shield-ERG-TP

   'Should we dance the kurdiji ceremony?'

8. *Wangka-ja-lu-nyanu*   *panu-kari-ø-ji*   *juka-patu-ø-ju,*
   say-PAST-3pl-ref   many-other-ABS-TP   guardian-pl-ABS-TP

Many other of the guardians said to each other,

   'Karinganta-rlipa-ø   *yilya-ø*   *jakurdukurdu-ø,*
   declarative-1plinc-3sg   send-NONPAST   initiation tour-ABS

   yinga-ø-jana   *yapa-ø*   *warru*   *turnu ma-ni*
   CAT-3sg-3pl   people-ABS   around   gather (T-verb)-NONPAST

   ngarrka-ø.'
   man-ABS

   'We should certainly send him on his initiation tour so that
   he can gather together men from all around.'

9. *Jungajuku*   *kaarnka-ø-ji-ø-jana*   *wangka-ja,*
   straightway   crow-ABS-TP-3sg-3pl   say-PAST

   'Yuwayi,   *ngajulu-rlu*   *ka-rma-ø*   *ka-nyi*
   yes   I-ERG   CAT-1sg-3sg   take-NONPAST

   jarrawarnu-rlu-ju.'
   guardian-ERG-TP

Straightway crow said to them,'Yes, I'm the guardian taking him.'

10. *Jungajuku-lu-ø*   *mapa-rnu*   *jara-ngku*   *yurlpa-ngku.*
   straightway-3pl-3sg   rub-PAST   fat-INS   ochre-INS

Straightway they rubbed him with fat and ochre.

11. *Yilya-ja-lu-palangu.*
   send-PAST-3pl-3du

They sent those two.

12. *Jirrnganja-ø-rla*   *ya-nu*   *kaarnka*   *papardi-nyanu-ø*
   'having' PV-3sg-3sg   go-PAST   crow-ABS   older brother-ref-ABS

     kurdu-ku-ju   *marlurlu-ku.*
     child-DAT$_1$ initiate-DAT$_1$

   Having the young male initiate in his company, the crow, his older
   brother, went.

13. *Jirrnganja-ø-rla*   *ya-ninja*   *ya-nu.*
   'having' PV-3sg-3sg   go-INF   go-PAST

   Having him in his company, he kept on going and going.

14. *Kulkurru-pala*   *nguna-ja-rra.*
   halfway-3du   lie-PAST-thither

   They (2) camped halfway.

15. *Ya-nu-pala*   *mungalyurru-kari-ø-lki.*
   go-PAST-3du   morning-other-ABS-then.

   Then they (2) went the next morning.

16. *Ngula-ø-rla*   *ngapa-ø-ji*   *ngayi*   *parlu pu-ngu*
   relator-3sg-3sg water-ABS-TP 'benefactive' PV find-PAST

     mulju-ø-ju.
     soak-ABS-TP

   Then he found some soak water for him.

17. *Ngula-ø-rla*   *mulju-ku-ju*   *karla-ja.*
   relator-3sg-3sg soak-DAT$_1$-TP   dig-for-PAST

   He dug for water.

18. *Wita-ngka-rra-ø-rla*   *karla-ja.*
   little-LOC-thither-3sg-3sg   dig for-PAST

   In a little hole he dug for it.

19. *Ngapa-ø-ji-ø-ø*   *palka ma-nu*   *kankarlarra-ngurlu-juku*
   water-ABS-TP-3sg-3sg expose-PAST   along the topside-ABL-still

     yangka-ø   *lurlju-ngurlu*   *manu*   *parduna-rla-juku.*
     aforementioned-ABS hill-ABL   and   dry-LOC-still

   From along the top side of that same dry hill he exposed water.

20. *Wita-ngka-rra-ø-ø*   *kaninjarra*   *karla-ja.*
   little-LOC-thither-3sg-3sg   downward   dig-for-PAST

   He dug downwards in that little (soak).

21. *Palka ma-nu-ø-ø.*
   expose-PAST-3sg-3sg

   He exposed it.

22. *Nga-rnu-ø-ø*   *ngapa-ø-ji*   *wiri-ngki-wiyi.*
    drink-PAST-3sg-3sg   water-ABS-TP   big-ERG-first

    The big one drank water first.

23. *Kurdu-purdimpa-ø-lku-ø*   *ya-nu-rnu.*
    child-diminutive-ABS-then-3sg   go-PAST-hither

    Then the little fellow came up.

24. *Ngula-lku-ø*   *yuka-ja*   *kaninjarra*
    relator-then-3sg   enter-PAST   downwards

    Then he descended into it (the soak).

25. *Nga-rminjunu*   *ngapa-ø-ju*
    drink-PAST PRO   water-ABS-TP

    He went drinking water.

26. *Nguna-ja-pala.*
    lie-PAST-3du

    They (2) camped.

27. *Yarda-pala*   *yarnka-ja*   *mungalyurru-kari-ø-lki.*
    again-3du   set off-PAST   morning-other-ABS-then

    Again they (2) set off then the next morning.

28. *Ya-nu-pala...*
    go-PAST-3du

    They (2) kept on going.

29. *Kulkurru kulkurru-juku-ø-palangu*   *mirntangalijarri-ja.*
    halfway-still-3sg-3du   become morning-PAST

    Halfway, morning broke on those two.

30. *Ngula-ø-ø*   *yampi-ja-rra*   *kurdu-ø-ju*   *yama-ngka.*
    relator-3sg-3sg leave-PAST-thither   child-ABS-TP   shade-LOC

    He left the child in the shade.

31. *Nyanungu-ø-lku-ø*   *ya-nu*   *mulju-kurra.*
    he-ABS-then-3sg   go-PAST   soak-ALL

    Then he (emphatic) went to the soak.

32. *Mulju-ø-ju*   *jungajuku*   *pangu-rnu*   *pangu-rnu*   *pangu-rnu.*
    soak-ABS-TP   straightway   dig-PAST   dig-PAST   dig-PAST

    Straightway he dug and dug and dug the soakage.

33. *Palka ma-nu-ø-ø*   *ngapa-ø-ji.*
    expose-PAST-3sg-3sg   water-ABS-TP

He exposed the water.

34. *Yangka-piya-ø-yijala*   *wita-ngka-rra*   *karla-ja.*
    aforementioned-like-ABS-also   little-LOC-thither   dig for-PAST

Just like in that other little soak, he dug for it.

35. *Nga-rnu-ø-ø*   *wiri-ngki-wiyi*
    drink-PAST-3sg-3sg   big-ERG-first

The big one drank first.

36. *Yangka*   *yali-ø*   *kurdu-ø*   *yama-jangka-lpa-ø*
    aforementioned   that-ABS   child-ABS   shade-LOC-CAT-3sg

    ya-nu   *purdangirli-warnu-ø*
    go-past   behind-from-ABS

That previously mentioned boy was coming from behind from the shade.

37. *Ya-nu-rnu-ø*
    go-PAST-hither-3sg

He came up.

38. *Wangka-ja-ø-rla,*   *'Ngapa-ø*   *palka-ø.*   *Yalumpu-ø*
    say-PAST-3sg-3sg   water-ABS   present-ABS   that(closeby)-ABS

    kaninjarra   *nga-nja.'*
    downward, deep   drink-IMP

He (crow) said to him, 'There's water here. Drink it down below.'

39. *Jungajuku*   *kurdu-pardu-ø*   *jiti-ja.*
    straightway   child-diminutive-ABS   descend-PAST

Immediately the little boy went down.

40. *Marlurlu-ø(sic) ngapa-ø*   *nga-rninjunu.*
    initiate-ABS   water-ABS   go and drink-PASTPRO

The initiate went down and drank water.

41. *Ngula-lpa-ø*   *pina-lku*   *warrka-rninja*   *ya-nu*
    relator-CAT-3sg   back-then   climb-INF   go-PAST

    kankarlarra-kari   *lurlju-kurra.*
    up-other   hill-ALL

Then he climbed back upwards and went towards the hill.

42. *Nyanungu-rlu-ϕ-ϕ   yarrirni parnka-ja   yama-ngurlu.*
    he-ERG-3sg-3sg   attack-PAST   shade-ABL

    (emphatic)
He attacked him from the shade.

43. *Yalumpu-rlu-juku-ϕ-ϕ   paka-rnu.*
    that-ERG-still-3sg-3sg   hit-PAST.

That one struck him dead.

44. *Kakarda-ϕ-ϕ-ϕ   rdungkurrpaka-rnu.*
    nape of neck-ABS-3sg-3sg   smash-PAST

He smashed him in the nape of his neck.

45. *Yama-kurra-ϕ-nyanu   ka-ngu*
    shade-ALL-3sg-ref   carry-PAST

He carried him to the shade for himself.

46. *Purra-ja-ϕ-nyanu   kuyu-ϕ-lku.*
    cook-PAST-3sg-ref   meat-ABS-then

Then he cooked the meat for himself.

47. *Ngula-ϕ-ϕ   nga-rnu   yalumpu-rlu-juku.*
    relator-3sg-3sg   eat-PAST that-ERG-still

That one certainly ate it.

48. *Kuyu-ϕ-lku-lpa-ϕ-ϕ   nga-rnu.*
    meat-ABS-then-CAT-3sg-3sg   eat-PAST

Then he was eating the meat.

49. *Jara-ϕ-ji-lpa-ϕ-ϕ   palka-ϕ-juku   marda-rnu*
    fat-ABS-TP-CAT-3sg-3sg   present-ABS-still have hold-PAST

    wita-kari-ϕ-ji.
    little-other-ABS-TP

He still had present a little bit of the fat.

50. *Ngula-ngurlu-ju-lpa-ϕ-ϕ   palka-kurlu-juku   warru*
    relator-ABL-TP-CAT-3sg-3sg   present-COM-still   around

    yungku-rnu   warlu-ϕ-ju   kuja-purda   kuja-purda.
    light-PAST   fire-ABS-TP   thus-toward   thus-toward

From there still having that bit (of fat) he was lighting
fires all around this way and that.

51. *Yungku-rnu-ø-ø*   *warru.*
    light-PAST-3sg-3sg around

    He lit them around.

52. *Kulanganta-lpa-ø-rla*   *yijardu-kurla*
    counterfactual-CAT-3sg-3sg true-certainly

        jirrnganja   *rdiji ka-ngu-rra*
        'having' PV   set line of fires-PAST-thither

        kuja-purda-rlu.
        thus-towards-ERG

    It certainly wasn't true that he, having (that little bit of fat), was just going along setting fires away from them.

53. *Kala*   *lawa-ngka!*
    but   no-LOC

    But no, not for that reason!

54. *Yimirru-ngu-lpa-ø-jana*   *yangka*
    trick-PAST-CAT-3sg-3pl   aforementioned

        purdangirli   *juka-ṛatu-ø*
        behind   guardians-pl-ABS

    He was tricking those previously mentioned guardians behind.

55. *Yarnka-ja-ø*   *pina*   *nyanungu-kari-ø-lki.*
    set off-PAST-3sg back   he-other-ABS-then

    Then he (emphatic) set off back.

56. *Jara-ø-lpa-ø-ø*   *wita-ø*   *marda-rnu*   *langa-ngka*
    fat-ABS-CAT-3sg-3sg little-ABS   have hold-PAST ear-LOC

    He was holding a little bit of fat (behind) his ear.

57. *Pina-ø*   *ya-nu*
    back-3sg   go-PAST

    He went back.

58. *Kulanganta*   *kaji-ø-jana*   *yu-ngu*   *yapa-kari*
    counterfactual   CAT-3sg-3pl   give-PAST   people-other

        ki-lki.
        DAT$_1$-then.

    It wasn't as if he gave him to other people then.

59. *Kulanganta*   *kaji-li-ø*   *yapa-kari-rli-lki*
    counterfactual   CAT-3pl-3sg   people-other-ERG-then

    ka-ngu.
    take-carry-PAST

    It wasn't as if other people had taken him then.

60. *Ya-nu-ø*   *pina*   *jurrku-kurra.*
    go-PAST-3sg   back   same place-ALL

    He went back to the same camp.

61. *Ngula-lpa-ø*   *yangka*   *pina-rni*   *purla-nja*
    relator-CAT-3sg   aforementioned   back-hither   yell/cry-INF

    ya-nu.
    go-PAST

    He, the previously mentioned (crow) one, was going along yelling.

62. *Purla-nja-rra-ø*   *ya-nu.*
    cry-INF-thither-3sg   go-PAST

    He went along yelling.

63. *Jungajuku-lu*   *turnujarri-ja*
    straight-3pl   gather-PAST

    Straightway they gathered together.

64. *Kulanganta-ø*   *panu-ku-kurla*   *yapa-ku*
    counterfactual-3sg   many-PUR-still   people-PUR

    warru   *parnkaja.*
    around   run-PAST

    It's not true he was running all around to get that mob of
    people.

65. *Nganta-lpa-ø*   *kuja-purda-kari*   *karri-ja-rra.*
    reportative-CAT-3sg   thus-towards-other   stand-PAST-thither

    He was supposedly standing the other way.

66. *Nya-ngu-lu-ø.*
    see-PAST-3pl-3sg

    They saw him.

67. '*Kari*   *kuja*   *nyampu-ø-ju*   *jinta-ø!*'
    only   thus   this-ABS-TP   one-ABS

    'Hey, there's only one!'

68. *Jinta-ø   nya-ngu-lku-waja-lu-ø.*
    one-ABS   see-PAST-then-reported speech-3pl-3sg.

    Reportedly then they saw but one.

69. *Ngula-lpa-lu-ø   japu-rnu-lpa-lu-ø,*
    relator-CAT-3pl-3sg   ask-PAST-CAT-3pl-3sg

    They were asking him.

        'Nyarrpara kala   kuja   kurdu-ø-ju?'
        where   and   thus   child-ABS-TP

        'And where is the child?'

70. *'Yinya kuja-lu-ø   ka-nganya-rra   murnma-juku*
    there   relator-3pl-3sg   carry-NONPAST-hither   yet-still
                                        PRESENTATIONAL

    kuja-purda-juku.
    thus-towards-still

    !It's over there that they are now still taking him away that way.'

        Kala-rna   wuukayi-ø-lki   pina   ya-nu.
        and-1sg   tired-ABS-then   back   go-PAST

        'But I then came back all tired out.'

71. *Nya-ngu-lpa-lu-ø*
    see-PAST-CAT-3pl-3sg

    They were watching him.

72. *Miyimiyi nya-ngu   ngari-lpa-lu-ø.*
    examine-PAST   only-CAT-3pl-3sg

    They were only examining him closely.

73. *Jungajuku   yama-kurra   ya-nu-rra*
    straightway   shade-ALL   go-PAST-thither

    So he went away towards the shade.

74. *Wurra-ngku-lu-ø   yampi-ja   ngarrurda-wangu-rlu.*
    yet-ERG-3pl-esg   leave-PAST   fear   -without-ERG

    Without fear they left him yet for a while.

75. *Miyimiyi nya-ngu-lpa-lu-ø,   manu   parnta nya-ngu-lu-rla*
    scrutinize-PAST-CAT-3pl-3sg   and   smell-PAST-3pl-3sg

        jara-ø-ji   yali-ø
        fat-ABS-TP   that-ABS

    They were scrutinizing him, and they smelled that fat on him.

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76. *'Nyampu-∅,*   *nyampu-∅-∅-∅-juku*   *paka-rnu.*
   this-ABS   this-ABS-3sg-3sg-certainly   hit-PAST

'This, this one certainly killed him

      Lawa-ngka   *ka-∅-ngalpa*   *nyampu-rlu-ju*   *yimirri-nyi*
      nothing-LOC   CAT-3sg-1plinc   this-ERG-TP   trick-NONPAST

For no reason at all this one is tricking us.'

      Paka-rninja-rla-∅-∅   *nga-rnu*   *nyanungu-rlu*
      hit-INF-sequence-3sg-3sg   eat-PAST   he-ERG

      kuyu-∅-lku.'
      meat-ABS-then

After killing him, he (emphatic) then ate him as meat.'

77. *Nyina-ja-lpa-∅*   *yama-ngka-ji.*
   sit-PAST-CAT-3sg   shade-LOC-TP

He was sitting in the shade.

78. *Yangka-∅-lpa-lu*   *yali-∅*   *yapa-kari-∅*
   aforementioned-ABS-CAT-3pl   that-ABS   people-other-ABS

      pinapina ya-nu,   *manu-lpa-lu-∅*   *pu-ngu-lu-∅*
      comeback-PAST   and-CAT-3pl-3sg   dance-PAST-3pl-3sg

      yalumpu-rla-juku   *'marnakurra warnukurra'-rla-rlu.*
      that-LOC-still   name of·ceremony-LOC-ERG

Those aforementioned other people all went back, and they danced the ceremony at the ceremonial place.

79. *Pu-ngu-lu-∅*   *pu-ngu-lu-∅*   *pu-ngu-lu-∅*
   dance-PAST-3pl-3sg   dance-PAST-3pl-3sg   dance-PAST-3pl-3sg

They danced and danced and danced it.

80. *Puwarrilpa-lpa-lu-∅*   *pu-ngu*
   body painting-CAT-3pl-3sg   do-PAST

      nyanungu-nyangu-rlu-lku   *yapa-ngku.*
      he-possessive-ERG-then   people-ERG

Then they, his people did the body painting.

81. *Yirra-rnu-lu-∅*
   put-PAST-3pl-3sg

They put it there.

82. *Ngula-ku-lku-lu-rla,*   *wirrpiyi-ji-lpa-lu-rla*
    relator-PUR-then-3pl-3sg   'entrap' PV-TP-CAT-3pl-3sg

    parnka-ja.
    run-PAST

Then for that, they ran over to entrap him.

83. *Yaja-rninja*   *parnka-ja-lpa-lu-∅*
    enlise-INF   run-PAST-CAT-3pl-3sg

They were running there enlisting him.

84. *Puta-lpa-lu-∅*   *yaja-rninja*   *parnka-ja.*
    try-CAT-3pl-3sg   enlist-INF   run-PAST

They tried unsuccessfully running over and enlisting him.

85. *Wangka-ja-lpa-lu-rla,*   *'Yinya-waja-npa*   *kuja*
    say-PAST-CAT-3pl-3sg   over there-reportedly-2sg   relator

    kirda-puraji-kirlangu,   *yi-npa*   *nya-nyi*
    father-your-possessive   CAT-2sg   see-NONPAST

    puwarrilpa-∅. '
    body painting-ABS

They were saying to him, 'Your father reportedly (wants) you over
there so that you can see his painting.'

86. *Ngula-lpa-∅*   *nyanungu-∅-ju wangka-ja,*   *'Pina*
    relator-CAT-3sg   he-ABS-TP   say-PAST   wise

    ka-rna   *nyina*   *nya-nja-warnu-kari-∅'*
    CAT-1sg   sit   see-INF-from-other-ABS

Then he (emphatic) said, 'I already know that one, having seen
it another time.'

    Nyampu-∅-ja-rna   *wirriji-∅-lki*   *luwa-rni*
    this-ABS-emphatic-1sg   hairstring-ABS-how   spin-NONPAST

    nyampu-rla-juku.
    here-LOC-still

    'Now I'm just going to spin this hairstring right here.'

87. *Lawa-juku*   *puta-lu-∅*   *yaja-rnu*
    nothing-still   try-3pl-3sg   enlist-PAST

They still couldn't enlist him.

88. *Ngaka-lpa-lu-rla*   *yarri-rni*   *ya-nu*
    later-CAT-3pl-3sg   hostile-PV-hither   go-PAST

jirrama-kari-ø   *nyanungu-ku-lku*   *jimarri-nyanu.*
two-other-ABS   he-DAT-then   circumcisors-ref

Later then two other of his circumcisors approached him threateningly.

89.   *Yaja-rnu-pala-ø*
      enlist-PAST-2du-3sg

      They enlisted him.

90.   *Wangka-ja-pala-rla.*
      say-PAST-2du-3sg

      They were talking to him.

91.   *Wunguma-ninja-ku-wiyi*   *yinga-ø-ø*   *yarriki-nyanu*
      see/look-INF-PUR-first   CAT-3sg-3sg   father-ref

      wirrpiyi   *yirra-rnu-rnu*   *puwarrilpa-ø*   *kuja*
      'entrap' PV   put-PAST-hither   body painting-ABS   thus

      yinya.
      there.

      It was only to look at first that his father put (to entrap) that body painting there.

92.   *Ngaka-ø-rla*   *ngula-ku*   *yalya jarri-ja*
      later-3sg-3sg   relator-PUR   decide-PAST

      jimarri-nyanu-ku.
      circumcisor-ref-DAT$_1$

      For that reason later he decided (in favor of) his circumcisors.

93.   *Wangka-ja-ø-palangu,* *'Ngari ka-rna*   *kuja*
      say-PAST-3sg-3du   only CAT-1sg   thus

      parlpa-ø   *kuja-ø-rla*   *rdanpa-rni.*
      circumcisee-ABS   relator-3sg-3sg   accompany-NONPAST

      He said to those two,'I the circumcisee will only accompany him (my circumcisor).

      Kala *kulalpa-rna-ø*   *ya-ntarla*   *panu-kari-ki-ji.'*
      but   CAT-1sg   go-IRREALIS   many-other-PUR-TP

      But I can't/won't go for anyone else.'

94.   *Jungajuku*   *ya-nu-rnu.*
      straightway   go-PAST-hither

      Straightway he came up.

95. *Kulkurru-jarra-ϕ-lu-ϕ*   *kutu-juku*   *yirra-rnu*
halfway-two-ABS-3pl-3sg   close-still   put-PAST

       nya-nja-ku,   *yinga-ϕ-ϕ*   *nya-nyi*   *puwarrilpa-ϕ*
       see-INF-PUR   CAT-3sg-3sg   see-NONPAST   painting-ABS

       yalumpu-ϕ   *yaku-ϕ*
       that-ABS   dancer-ϕ

They put him right in their midst to see it, in order that he see that painted dancer.

96. *Warrukirdikirdi-lpa-lu*   *karri-ja.*
encircling-CAT-3pl   stand-PAST

They were standing all around in a circle.

97. *Kala*   *rdaku-ϕ-ju-lu-ϕ*   *nyurru-juku*   *pangu-rnu,*
but   hole-ABS-TP-3pl-3sg   ready-still   dig-PAST

       manu-lu-ϕ   *warlu-ϕ*   *wiri-ϕ*   *yirra-rnu.*
   . and-3pl-3sg   fire/firewood-ABS   big-ABS   put-PAST

But they had already dug a hole and put a big fire in it.

98. *Jungajuku*   *muku-ϕ*   *pu-ngu-rnu*   *yali-ϕ*
straightway   all-ABS   do-PAST-hither   that-ABS

       puwarrilpa-ϕ
       painting-ABS

So straightway he did toward him all that painting (ceremony).

99. *Milki* *yirra-rnu-ϕ-rla*   *yalumpu-rla-juku*
show-PAST-3sg-3sg   that-LOC-still

He showed it to him right there.

100. *Yarnka-ja-lku-lu-rla*   *yangka-ji*   *kaarnka-ku*
grab-PAST-then-3pl-3sg   aforementioned-TP   crow-DAT$_1$

Then they grabbed that aforementioned crow.

101. *Ma-ninja-rla-lu-ϕ*   *julyurlkuju-rnu*   *warlu-kurra.*
get-INF-sequencer-3pl-3sg   toss into-PAST   fire-ALL

Getting him, they tossed him into the fire.

102. *Warlu-ngku-ϕ-ϕ*   *janka-ja*   *muku-ϕ*
fire-ERG-3sg-3sg   burn-PAST   all-ABS

The fire burned him up.

103. *Ngula-ngurlu-nya*   *yalumpu-∅-juku*   *kaarnka-∅*
    relator-ABL-emphatic   that-ABS-still   crow-ABS

    kuja   *panu jarri-ja-lku-lu*
    relator become many-PAST-then-3pl

    It was certainly from that place that many crows came out of.

104. *Muku-∅-lku-∅*   *paarpardi-ja.*
    all-ABS-then-3sg   fly-PAST

    All of them then flew.

105. *Ngari-lki-lpa-∅*   *rdulypardulypa ngarnu!*
    only-then-CAT-3sg   explode from-PAST

    Why, they were just exploding out of there!

106. *Muku-∅-rra-lpa-∅*   *pardi-ja*   *kaarnka-lku*
    all-ABS-thither-CAT-3sg   rise-PAST   crow-then

    Then all the crows were rising out.

107. *Ngula jangka-nya-nganta*   *ka-∅*   *kuja*
    after that-emphatic-reportedly   CAT-3sg   relator

    yalumpu-∅   *maru-∅-lku*   *nyina*
    that-ABS   black-ABS-then   sit/be

    And supposedly that's why those ones are now black.

J

jaalyma-	IV.5,	plot against, plan for
Jakurdukurdu	noun,	young boy's initiation tour
jamirdi	noun,	FaSiSo, FaSiDa
janka-	TV.1,	burn, cook it
janka-	IV.1,	burn
japi-	TV.2,	ask
jara	noun,	fat, oil, grease
jaru	noun,	word, language, tale
jarrawarnu	noun,	guardian, worker in a ceremony
jimanypa	noun,	firesaw, firesaw method
jimarri	noun,	circumciser
jinta	noun,	one
jirrama	noun,	two
jirrnganja	preverb,	having, possessing, with
jiti-	IV.1,	dismount
juka	noun,	guardian
jukurrpa	noun,	the 'dreaming'
julyurlkiji-	TV.2,	toss it into (fire or water)
jungajuku	adverbial link	straightway, thus
jupukarri-	IV.1,	stop
jurnarrpa	noun (mass),	goods, belongings, possessions
jurnta	preverb,	away from
jurrku	noun,	same camp, place

K

ka-	TV.3,	carry, take, bring
kaarnka	noun,	crow
kakarda	noun,	nape of the neck
kala	adverbial link	and, but

karla-	TV.1,	dig (for)
karlarra	noun,	west
karli	noun,	boomerang
kamparru	noun,	front of, ahead of
kaninjarra	noun,	downward, along the bottom
kankarlarra	noun,	upward, along the top
kari	ejaculative,	hey! certainly! absolutely!
karinganta	sentence particle,	assertive, assuredly
kiji-	TV.2	throw, initiate (as in *ngarrka kiji-)*
kirda	noun,	father, class of ceremonial bosses
kirri	noun,	camp
kuja	relator,	thus, so, which, who
kulanganta	sentence particle,	counterfactual
kulkurru	noun,	middle, halfway, midst
kuna	noun,	faeces, anus, bowel
kurwarri	noun,	sacred symbols, designs
kurdiji	noun,	shield, sacred ritual
kurdu	noun,	child, (pre-pubescent)
kutu	adverb	nearby, close
kuyu	noun,	meat, game, animal

L

langa	noun,	ear
lawa	interjection noun	no nothing
linji	noun,	dry, brittle
lurlju	noun,	hill, rise 'jump-up'
luwa-	TV.2	shoot, spin (hairstring), saw

M

ma-	TV.5,	transitivizing verb stem do, pick up, get
marlurlu	noun,	initiate
manu	conjunction,	and
marna	noun,	grass
mapa-	TV.2,	rub
maru	noun,	black
marda-	TV.2	have, hold
mardukuja	noun,	woman
mayingka	noun,	axe,
marru	noun,	house (Gurindji loan)
milkiyirra-	BTV.2,	show, demonstrate
mirntangali	noun,	noon
miyi	noun,	vegetable food
miyimiyinya-	TV.3	scrutinize
muku	noun,	all, complete, total
mulju	noun,	soakage
munga	noun,	night
mungalyurru	noun,	morning
mutika	noun,	car (English loan)

N

nalija	noun,	tea

NG

nga-	TV.4	eat, drink
ngaju (lu)	pronoun,	I, me
ngaka	adverb,	later, after
ngapa	noun,	water, any beverage
ngari~ngayi	sentence particle,	only, just, merely

ngarrka	noun,	man
ngarri-	TV.2,	tell, relate, swear
ngarrurda	noun,	awe, fear, surprise
ngati	noun,	mother
ngula	relator,	who, which, then ?
ngulajangka	conjunction,	after that, then
ngulajuku	sentence particle,	finish
nguna-	IV.1,	lie, rest, sleep, camp
ngurrju	noun,	good
ngurrjuma-	TV.5	make

NY

nya-	TV.3,	see
nyanungu	pronoun,	he, she, they
nyampu	pronoun,	this, this one
nyarrpa	pronoun,	what, how
nyarrpara	pronoun,	where
nyina	IV.1	sit, live, be
nyurru	adverb	ready, already

P

paarpardi-	IV.1,	fly
paka-	TV.2,	hit, strike, impinge upon, dance
palka	noun,	present, here, body
palkama-	TV.5,	find, expose, locate
parlpa	noun,	circumcisee
parlupu-	TV.3,	catch sight of
panu	noun,	many
parnta nya-	TV.3,	smell
pangi-	TV.2,	dig
papardi	noun,	older brother

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parduna	noun,	dry
pimirdi	noun,	MoSi
pina	noun,	wise, knowledgable
pina	adverb,	back, reverse (of verb)
pu-	TV.3,	strike, kill, dance, do
puluku	noun,	cattle (English loan)
purla-	IV.1,	shout, cry out
purlapa	noun,	public ceremony
purdangirli	noun,	behind, following
purdanya-	TV.3	hear, think, feel (refl.)
purra-	TV.1	cook, burn
puta	adverb,	try, attempt
puwarrilpa	noun,	body painting

RD

rdaku	noun,	hole
rdijika-	TV.3,	set line of fires
rdulypardulypanga-	IV.4	explode out of
rdungkurrpaka-	TV.2,	shatter, smash
rduyulu-	TV.3,	set a smoky fire

T

turmujarri-	IV.1,	gather together
turnuma-	TV.5,	gather, muster them

W

warlu	noun,	fire, firewood
wangka-	IV.1,	speak, say, talk
wapirra	noun,	father/son, God
warrka-	IV.2	climb
warru	adverb,	around

warrukirdikirdi	noun,	encircling
wati	noun,	man
watiya	noun,	tree, wood, stick
wirlinyi	noun,	hunt
wiri	noun,	big
wirriji	noun,	hairstring
wirrpiyi	preverb,	entrapping
wita	noun,	small, little
wungu ma-	TV.5,	see (restricted men's language)
wuraji	noun,	evening
wuukayi	noun,	tired, exhaused

Y

ya-	IV.5,	go, come
yaja-	TV.2	enlist
yaku	noun,	painted dancer
yali	pronoun,	that (far), over there
yalyajarri-	BI.1,	decide about
yama	noun,	shade, picture
yampi-	TV.1,	leave, let it alone
yantarli	adverb,	nearby
yarnka-	BIV.1,	grab for it
yarnka-	IV.1,	set off, leave
yangka	pronoun,	aforementioned one
yapa	noun,	people
yarda	adverb,	again
yardijardiji	noun,	type of seed
yarri	preverb,	attacking, hostile
yawulyu	noun,	women's ceremonial business
yijardu	noun,	true
yilya-	TV.1,	send

yimi	noun,	tale, story
yimirri-	TV.3,	fool, deceive, trick
yinya	adverb	over there
yingki-	TV.2,	set fire to
yirdiyi	noun,	road
yirra-	TV.2,	put, place, set
yirripura-	TV.1	tell a story, follow with eyes
yiwarra	noun,	road, Milky Way
yuka-	IV.1,	enter
yurlpa-	noun,	ochre
yunpa-	TV.3	sing
yuwayi	interjection	yes

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