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**PAPERS IN WARLPIRI GRAMMAR:
IN MEMORY OF LOTHAR JAGST**

Editor: S. Swartz

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PREFACE

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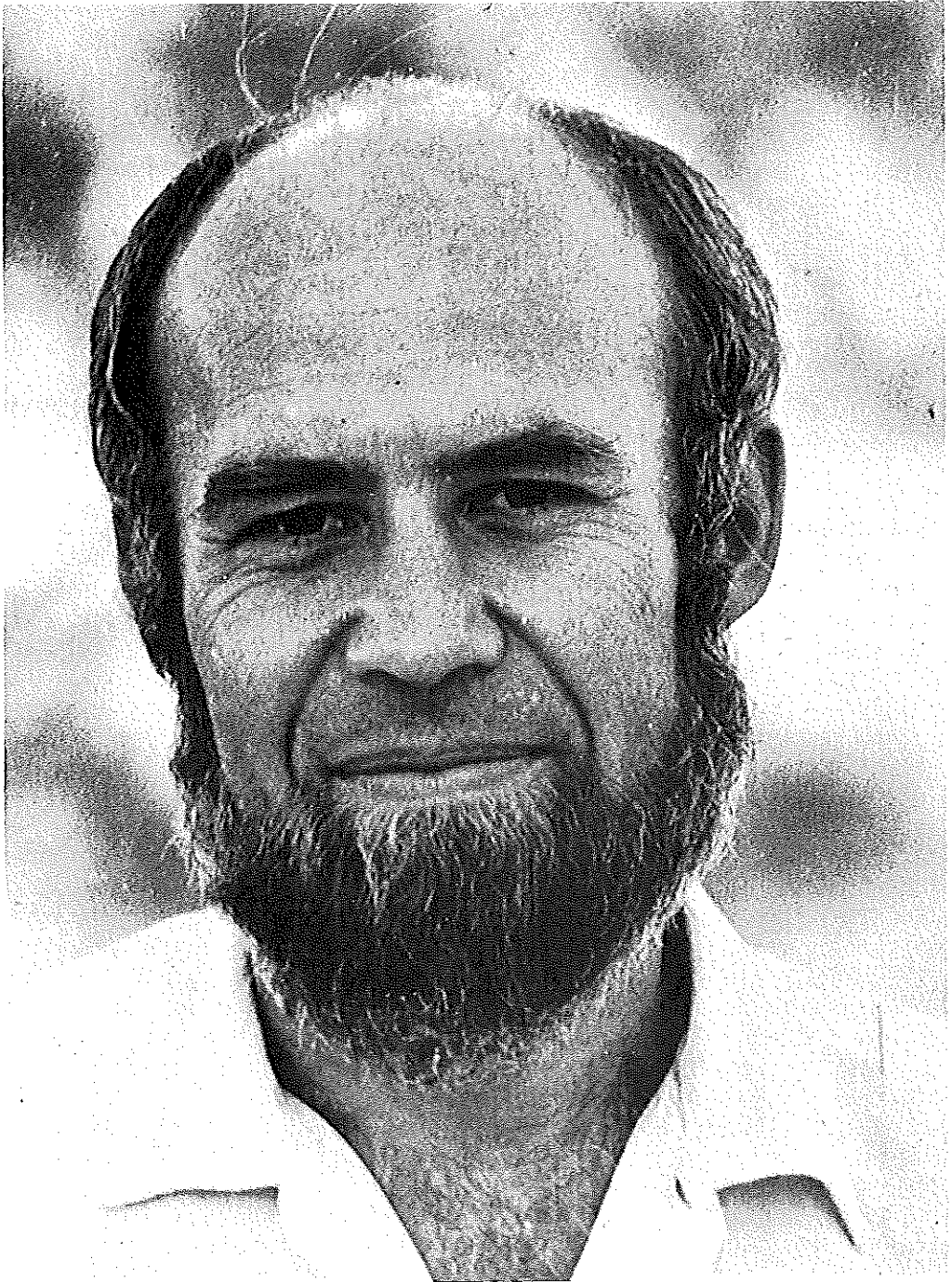
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LOTHAR H. JAGST

INTRODUCTION TO SERIES A VOLUME 6

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 nyayirmi*, '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
Jilpirliwanakurlu, Jakamarrakulu. Kujarnalu
yirrarnu nganimpanyangurla yardayardarla, walya
nganimpanyangurla. Puntu manu wampirralparna
ngarrurnu. Jarlupatu ngajunyangu warrawarraka-
ngujana. Kongulpajana wirlinyi manu manjiki.
Ngulangka karna purda nyanyi ngajunyangu
mikilyirla. Ngajunyangu Warlpiri rdirri yungu
jaru wangkanjaku manu yirrarninjaku pipangka.
Wampirrakurlangu jaru kapu yirrakarla pipangka
Warlpirikirli ngajunyangurla jarungka. Kapurna
tarnnganguku purda nyanyi ngurrjunyayirni
Jakamarra. Kujakalu ngajunyangurlu yapangu
Warlpiripaturlu purda nyanyi nginyinginyirla
manu kurturdurrurla. Kujanganpa milki yirrarnu
Wapirra Kaatu manu nyanungunyangu ngalapi nyanu
Jiju. Kapurnalu purda nyanyi tarnnganguku 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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A Preliminary Description of Propositional Particles in Warlpiri¹

Mary Laughren

0. INTRODUCTION

Until recently, there has been little written about 'particles' in descriptions of Australian languages. Reference is made to them in Dixon (1980:284) where he writes: 'Australian languages typically have a set of a score or so "particles" that provide logical/modal-type qualification of a complete clause. These are often the only types of words which cannot take any sort of inflection.'

Dixon (1981:82-3) describes the particles of Wargamay. Douglas (1981:256) gives examples of 'sentence particles' in Waljarri. Crowley (1981:184) gives a list of 7 'particles and interjections' in the Mpakwithi dialect of Anguthimri.² A fuller description of particles in Margany and Gunya is given in Breen (1981:343-6).

In chapter 9 of her grammar of Ngiyambaa (1980), Tamsin Donaldson describes a set of 'particles' which have functional correspondence with some members of the Warlpiri set described in this paper. However, Donaldson includes in the category 'particle' dependent enclitic forms which we exclude by definition from the category of 'particle'. What Donaldson (1980:238) calls 'free particles' would be included in our category 'particle'.

Similarly Nash (1980:186-7) includes in his category of 'modal particles' phonologically independent forms which are classified as

particles in this study, as well as phonologically dependent forms (affixes) which will be excluded from our category of particles.

While this paper is particularly concerned with only one subcategory of particles, namely the Propositional Particles (PPs), each of which is described and analysed in some detail in section 2, it is necessary to have an understanding of the role and nature of all four subcategories to appreciate their interrelations, similarities and differences. Thus we will give a brief contrastive description of each of the four subcategories in section 1, partly to explain and justify the criteria used to establish these subcategories. The category 'particle' is defined with reference to other word categories such as noun and verb.

In section 2 we will attempt to describe and analyse the semantic content and pragmatic role of each of the propositional particles.

1. PARTICLE: PHONOLOGICAL, MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTIC STATUS

1.1 PHONOLOGICAL STATUS

A particle in Warlpiri is a phonologically independent word since it can appear utterance initially and can carry a main stress on its first syllable. The placement of main stress on the initial syllable is the characterizing feature of the word in Warlpiri. (No word can have less than two syllables.) The subcategory of particles which we will call 'interjections' functions as the sole constituent of an utterance.

In Warlpiri, all particles can function as the phonological base of the auxiliary³ — that is as the first or host element to which the aspect, subject-object, person-number clitics are suffixed. The preferred position for the auxiliary is as first or second constituent of the clause.

Where the auxiliary base is non-null and has more than one syllable, it can stand as a phonologically independent word as in (1).

- (1) *Ngapa kaji wantimi...*
water UNINST fall-nonP

'When it rains...'

Where the base is phonologically null, then the auxiliary clitics are suffixed to the first constituent of the clause as in (2).

- (2) *Ngapa-rma-rla yungu.*
water-1s-3-io give-P

'I gave him some water.'

1.2 MORPHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The 'particles' host no characteristic inflections as do the nouns (case suffixes) and verbs (tense suffixes). With very few exceptions (see 2.6) they do not host suffixing enclitics other than the auxiliary clitics. Warlpiri nouns and verbs can both host one or several of a very large number of enclitics with phrasal or sentential scope.

If we limit our definition of 'particle' to the phonological criteria given in 1.1 (independent word) and to the morphological criteria just given (no characteristic inflection), then we find ourselves with a rather large set of words in Warlpiri which we would like to subcategorize according to syntactic and semantic criteria and pragmatic function.

A list of all particles is given in chart 1. They are subcategorized according to syntactic criteria into four subcategories: Propositional Particle (PP), Sentential Particle (SP), Interjection (INTJ) and Conjunction (CONJ). The semantic criteria according to which these subcategories are established is set out in the following subsections.

CHART 1

Warlpiri Particles

PROPOSITIONAL PARTICLES (PP)	SENTENTIAL PARTICLES (SP)	INTERJECTIONS (INTJ)	CONJUNCTIONS (CONJ)
<i>Nganta</i>		<i>Nganta</i>	
<i>Kari</i>		<i>Kari</i>	
<i>Karinganta</i>		<i>Karinganta</i>	
<i>Ngari/Ngayi</i>		<i>Ngari/Ngayi</i>	
<i>Marda</i>		<i>Marda</i>	
<i>Ngarra</i>	<i>Ngarra~</i>	<i>Ngarra</i>	
<i>Kapi/Kapu</i>	<i>Kapi/Kapu</i>	<i>Kapi</i>	<i>Kapi~</i>
<i>Kulanganta</i>	<i>Kula</i>	<i>Yadu</i>	<i>Manu</i>
<i>Wayi</i>	<i>Winjarra/Winjarni</i>	<i>Wayi(nta)</i>	
<i>Murra</i>	<i>Nyangurla</i>	<i>Yawa</i>	
<i>(Kaji)</i>	<i>Kaji</i>	<i>Ywayi</i>	
<i>(Waja)</i>	<i>Kuja-Ngula</i>	<i>Murraja</i>	
<i>(Mayi)</i>	<i>Kujaka</i>	<i>Karija</i>	
	<i>Kajika</i>	<i>Wara</i>	
	<i>Kalaka</i>	<i>Yatyi</i>	
	<i>Kala</i>	<i>Kala</i>	<i>Kala</i>
	<i>Pangkala</i>	<i>Yakarra</i>	
	<i>Kuku</i>	<i>Yakayi</i>	
	<i>Yungu/Yinga/Yingi</i>	<i>Yumpa</i>	

1.3 SYNTACTIC BEHAVIOUR

A particle which typically constitutes an utterance on its own is under the heading of 'interjection'. The pragmatic function of interjections is usually to express the speaker's attitude or reaction to the preceding linguistic utterance or to an extra-linguistic event. The semantic content may be an expression of surprise (*yakarra*), joy, approval (*wara, yatiyi*), consternation (*yakayi*), interrogation (*nganta, kari, ngayi, kapi, mayi, ngarra*), attention seeking (*Yuwa, wayinta, yumpa*), agreement (*yuwu, yuwanyi*), ignorance (*karija, murraja*), probability (*marda*), negation, disagreement (*nuu, nati*).

Some interjections could be described as conventionalized linguistic responses to a situation type.

We note that some of the propositional particles are cross-classified as interjections. Before discussing in detail reasons for this, we will examine the difference between the propositional particles and the sentential particles.

PPs are not so tightly intergrated into the syntax of a clause as are the SPs. This shows up formally in several ways. PPs can be extraposed in some way to a clause. They can be preposed or postposed to the clause which expresses the proposition⁴ over which they have semantic scope.

In (3) *kulanganta* is preposed to the clause '*Ngapa kapi... pirrarhi*'. 'The rain would have fallen heavily yesterday.' While the PP has semantic scope over the entire proposition, it plays no active syntactic role in it.

(3) *Kulanganta ngapa kapi wantiyarla wiri pirrarni.*
PP water FUT fall-IRREAL big yesterday

'I thought that it would have rained heavily yesterday.'

By contrast the SP *kapi* which expresses a future tense (or a time point ahead of another established time point) is an integral part of the clause syntactically as the potential auxiliary base, as well as semantically as the future tense marker.

In (4) the PP *nganta* is postposed to the clause '*Tarnngangu-ka pakarni*', signalling that this information is being reported second hand by the speaker.

(4) *Tarnnga-ngku-ka paka-rni nganta.*
always-ERG- IMPF hit-nonP PP

'He always hits her, she says.'

While a PP may be superficially more tightly integrated syntactically into a clause, as in (5) where it hosts the auxiliary 3pl clitic *-lu*, such a role is not obligatory as seen in (3) and (4).

- (5) *Kulu-wangu nganta-lu nyina-ya yurrkunya-kujaku.*
fight-PRIV PP-3pl be-IMP police-avoid

'The police said not to be fighting or you'll be in trouble with them.'

On the other hand, SPs obligatorily constitute the auxiliary base, i.e. the auxiliary clitics are obligatorily suffixed to the SP as in (6), where the 3pl clitic *-lu* is suffixed to *kapu*.

- (6) *Wati-patu-rlu kapu-lu purlapa pinyi.*
man-Dpl-ERG FUT-3pl corroboree dance

'The men will dance a corroboree.'

Given that the SP is the first element in the auxiliary base, it cannot be extraposed to the clause; it is an integral part of the clause.

Sometimes the entire auxiliary is repeated at the end of a clause as in (7), especially in a narrative, as a stylistic device, but the base is not devoid of the auxiliary clitics. It is not possible to isolate the SP from the auxiliary clitics.

- (7) *Kala-lu yanu, yanu, yanu... — ngapa-kurra kala-lu.*
RP-3pl went, went, went water-ALL RP-3pl

'They kept on going and going — to the water hole they did.'

Thus we have established a crucial difference between PPs and SPs. PP may form the phonological base of the auxiliary as the first morpheme, but not obligatorily so. SPs must form the phonological base of the auxiliary as the first element.

It follows from the above, that while PP may appear on the surface in virtually any position in the clause, the SP is restricted to the auxiliary position, that is as the first or second constituent of the clause.

Given that a PP can be postposed to a clause or to a word or phrase over which it has semantic scope, it is not surprising that it can be used as an interjection referring either to a previous utterance or to an understood linguistic or extralinguistic context.

Propositional particles indicate the speaker's attitude to or judgement concerning the proposition expressed by the clause to which the PP is attached, or the speaker's role with respect to

the speech act itself. The semantic function of a PP typically extends beyond a single clause to the discourse or to the extra-linguistic context in which the clause containing the PP is spoken.

SPs express obligatory temporal/modal information or provide a formal syntactic linking as well as semantic linking between clauses. SPs such as *kaji* (uninstantiated event), *kuja* (instantiated event), *yungu* (casual) have the latter function. SPs such as *nyarra ~ kapu*⁵ (future), *kula*, *nyangurla*, *winjarra* (negative), *pangkala* (permissive), *kulu* (connative), *kala* (remote past), *kujaka* (present instantiated), *kajika* (present uninstantiated), *kalaka* (potential)⁶ provide temporal/modal information.

While the auxiliary base can be phonologically null in Warlpiri, it is semantically non-null since the absence of the aspectual affixes *-ka* and *-lpa* indicates the perfective aspect. The imperfective aspect is marked by *-ka* with the non-past verb form and by *-lpa* with the past and irrealis verb forms.⁷ This is shown by examples (8) - (13):

- (8) *Wati ya-nu.*
man go-P 'The man went/has gone.'
- (9) *Wati-lpa yanu.* 'The man was going.'
- (10) *Wati ya-ni.*
man go-nonP 'The man may go.'
- (11) *Wati-ka yani.* 'The man goes/is going.'
- (12) *Wati ya-ntarla.*
man go-IRR 'The man should have gone.'
- (13) *Wati-lpa yantarla.* 'The man should go.'

From (8) to (13) it can be seen how it is the combination of aspectual affix and verbal suffix that conveys the overall tense/mood/aspect content of the clause.

In addition to the aspectual affixes *-lpa* and *-ka* which can constitute by themselves the auxiliary base, there are the SPs which can be prefixed to the aspectual affixes, or which substitute for them as the auxiliary base.

There are very strict co-occurrence restrictions between SPs and the Imperfective aspect affixes *-ka* and *-lpa*. No such co-occurrence restrictions hold between the PPs and aspectual affixes. Also PPs can combine with any verbal form, whereas SPs only co-occur with a limited subset of the verbal forms.

The 'future' SP *kapu~kapi~ngarra* only combines with the non-past and irrealis verb forms in the perfective (phonologically null) aspect.

The 'instantiated event' SP *kuja* does not occur with the irrealis verb form — it only co-occurs with the past and non-past verb forms. The remote past SP *kala* only combines with the past verb form. In the north-east Lander River dialect and in the Hansen River dialect it is often combined with the imperfective *-lpa* affix, but in the south-western Warlpiri the person-number clitics are suffixed to *kala* without the intervening imperfective affix.

Following Hale, we have chosen to analyse *kajika*, *kujaka* and *kalaka* as synchronically irreducible forms even though they are probably historically formed from the fusion of a SP and the imperfective aspect affix *-ka*. Since they only combine with the non-past verb form as does *-ka*, such a derivation seems very likely, but the synchronic semantic content is not in direct correspondence with the putative constituents.

The 'uninstantiated event' SP *kaji* combines with the past (rare), non-past and irrealis verb forms and with the imperfective aspect affix *-lpa*.

The negative SPs⁸ are also subject to strict co-occurrence restrictions. *kula* is used with the past, non-past and irrealis verb forms and with both *-lpa* and *-ka* affixes as well as without them. It cannot be used with the imperative verb form to give a negative command. Similarly *winjarmi ~ winjarra*⁹ is used like *kula* with the past, non-past and irrealis verb forms and combines with *-ka* but not with *-lpa*. *Nyangurla*, used in Lajamanu Warlpiri, is only used with the imperative verb form to express a prohibition or negative command.

Pangkala when used with the non-past verb expresses the speaker's desire that an event be allowed to be realized. When used with the past verb form it signals the speaker's supposition that the event must have been realized despite possible let or hindrance. With the irrealis verb form it signals the speaker's conviction that the unrealized event 'should have been realized' in spite of that which prevented its realization.

Kuku, which expresses an attempt or an intention made by the speaker to act in the manner described by the clause, is, like *pangkala*, typically in clause initial position. It can be used with the past, non-past and irrealis verb forms and with the imperfective affixes *-ka* and *-lpa*, although the perfective aspect is more usual.

The SP *yungu* (south-west Warlpiri), *yinga* (north-east Warlpiri) has a monosyllabic alternate *yi-* which is not a particle, since we have defined a particle as an independent word, but a prefix to which may be added the imperfective affixes *-ka* and *-lpa* and/or the auxiliary person-number clitics. *Yungu ~ yinga~yi-* expresses a relation of causation between two propositions typically expressed by clauses. It combines with the non-past, past and irrealis verb forms.

We note that there are a few SPs which are homophonous with the PPs: *ngarra*, *kapi ~ kapu* and *kaji*. It is possible that the SP is derived from an original PP. PPs can form the base of the auxiliary; thus it is reasonable to assume that in some cases the PP becomes fixed in the auxiliary base role, like a SP, and at the same time is semantically reinterpreted.

As PPs *kaji* and *kapi ~ kapu* are interrogative particles, while *ngarra* serves to add emphasis. As SPs their semantic content is however quite different, as we have seen above.

The conjunctions are 'particles' according to the phonological and morphological criteria by which we have defined that category. The conjunctions conjoin like syntactic entities. Like the PPs and SPs they can form the auxiliary base as in (14).

- (14) *Luwarnu-rna manu-rna pakarnu-yijala.*
 shot -ls and -ls hit-also
 'I shot it and hit it as well.'

Unlike the SPs, conjunctions do not obligatorily host the auxiliary clitics. Conjunctions can combine with both PPs and SPs in a single clause as in (15).

- (15) *Yunta-pala wiri yirrarnu manu warlu-pala nganta yarrpurnu.*
 shelter-3D big put-P and fire - 3D PP set-P
 'They put up a big shelter and reportedly built a fire.'

Manu is the south-west Warlpiri 'additional' conjunction roughly equivalent to the English 'and' while *kapi* is the north-east form.

Kala indicates contrast or non-consequent event/proposition, roughly equivalent to English 'but', 'however'.

In chart 1 under the heading Propositional Particles there are some forms which are given in parentheses. These words do not appear clause initially but are postposed to a constituent of a clause or to the entire clause. They can also form the base of the auxiliary. If we relax the condition that particles are words which can appear

clause initially, then these forms must also be classified as particles — a possible subset of the propositional particles. While they are listed in this study in the interest of completeness, they are not studied in detail in section 2.

2. PROPOSITIONAL PARTICLES

2.1 DEFINING CHARACTERISTICS

Propositional particles are those particles which may form the base of the auxiliary but which do not necessarily do so.¹⁰ They may be extraposed to the clause over which they have semantic scope or contained in it. Propositional particles combine with other particles in a clause. They follow a conjunction and may precede or follow a sentential particle, the obligatory auxiliary base. Several propositional particles may be found in the one clause. The constraint on the co-occurrence of particles would appear to be semantic incompatibility.

While PPs have virtually no syntactic role within a clause, they have an important semantic role and pragmatic function. The semantic content of the PPs has scope over the proposition expressed by the clause or constituent to which the PP is attached, modifying the semantic content of the clause or constituent especially with respect to the role of the speaker in the speech act — thus combining a pragmatic function with the semantic one. Since all PPs have a recognizable semantic content, we will attempt a lexical definition of each of them following a description of their usage.

2.2 *NGANTA*

Nganta is typically in first or second position in a clause, host to the auxiliary clitics. It is also found postposed to a clause over which it has semantic scope. It can also be placed in post-auxiliary position.

The inclusion of *nganta* in a declarative sentence indicates that the speaker only affirms the proposition expressed by the sentence to be true if the indirect evidence or hearsay on which it is based proves reliable or is known or judged by the speaker and/or hearer to be so. It is thus somewhat equivalent to the English 'They say...', 'I've heard that...', 'reportedly'.

By using *nganta* the speaker refrains from asserting the truth of a proposition. He distances himself from the proposition, implying

that he is merely reporting what was asserted by another. This can be seen by comparing (16) and (17).

In (16) we have a straightforward assertion by the speaker that the house in question is destined for himself, the speaker.

(16) *Ngaju-ku ngulaju yuwarli.*
1-DAT that(is) house

'That house is for me.'

In (17) the speaker makes a claim that is less strong. He implies that 'someone' (known or unknown to the participants in the speech act) has asserted that the house is for him, the speaker.

(17) *Ngaju-ku nganta ngulaju yuwarli.*

'They say that house is for me.'

In the enunciation of imperative sentences, *nganta* is used to attenuate the role of the speaker issuing the command in the same way as he attenuates his role as asserter of a proposition in declarative utterances. In (18) the speaker issues a direct command, thus identifying himself as its author.

(18) *Marna-lu ma-nta!*
spinifex-3PL get-IMP

'Pick up the spinifex grass!'

In (19) the speaker, by including *nganta*, distances himself from the authorship of the command, implying that it originated elsewhere and that his (speaker's) role is merely that of reporter.

(19) *Marna nganta-lu ma-nta.*

'They said to pick up the grass.'

Examples (18) and (19) can be contrasted with (20) in which the speaker issues a direct command of which he is the implied author, but attempts to attenuate the directness of the relation between himself and the order by postposing *nganta*, pronounced with questioning intonation, thereby attempting to involve the addressees in the actual authorship of the command. The speaker tries to make the addressees become party to the command itself as co-authors by their implied acquiescence.

(20) *Marna-lu ma-nta, nganta?*

'Pick up the grass won't you?'

Nganta does not indicate any specific referent as the source of the proposition or command. Where the addressee cannot interpret a specific referent or where none is intended by the speaker, the

source or original author's identity is vague as in 'They say...' or 'I've heard that...' where there is no known or identifiable antecedent.

However the use of *nganta* often involves a very high degree of co-operation or shared knowledge between speaker and addressee so that a specific value (referent) attaches to the role of original author. For this reason the scope of *nganta* can be seen to go beyond the clause or sentence in which it is found to the larger discourse and/or extralinguistic context.

In (21) the speaker issues a direct command of which he is the implied author (unmarked case).

(21) *Nyuntu-ju-r'la nyuntu-parnta-ku ya-nta!*
2-DEL-2io 2-CON-DAT go-IMP

'You go to your spouse.'

In (22) it is most probable that, while the speaker by using *nganta* implies that he is not the author of the command but merely the reporter, the addressee will attribute the authorship to his (addressee's) spouse, if the contextual clues point to such an origin. This interpretation is made explicit in the English gloss. Where the source of the statement is known to the speaker in English, then it is normal for him to make it explicit. The construction type, using the active verb 'say' in the main clause and reporting the original statement in a subordinate clause introduced by 'that...', forces the identification of the author on the reporting speaker since the subject of the verb 'say' must be given. By using a particle in Warlpiri there is no such constraint.

(22) *Nyuntu-ju nganta-r'la nyuntu-parnta-ku ya-nta.*

'Your wife says you are to go to her.'

Similarly by comparing (23) and (24) we see how the speaker in (24) distances himself from the command by renouncing his authorship of it and at the same time, in the appropriate context known to both the speaker and addressees, implies the identity of the original author, i.e. the police. Of course if some other information were available to the addressee concerning the source of either (22) or (24), then the identity of the author would be interpreted differently than it is, as given in our English glosses.

(23) *Kulu-wangu-lu nyina-ya yurrkunyukujaku.*
fight-PRIV-3PL be-IMP police-AVOID

'Don't fight or you'll be in trouble with the police.'

(24) *Kulu-wangu nganta-lu nyina-ya yurrkunya-kujaku.*

'The police said not to fight or you'll be in trouble with them.'

Nganta is also used in interrogative sentences such as (25) in which the speaker questions the addressee as to the truth of the proposition 'that your grandfather came' and at the same time distances himself from this claim by implying (by the inclusion of *nganta*) that his knowledge comes from a third party — the originator or author of the proposition.

(25) *Junga-nya nganta jamindi-puraji-ji ya-nu-rnu?*
true - ? PP grandfather-2kin-DEL go-P-hither

'Is it true what I heard that your grandfather came?'

The identity of the 'author' can be known from extralinguistic information available to the speaker and addressee(s). For example if a woman is publicly accusing someone of hitting her son, one spectator might ask another the question posed in (26) to which the reply (27) might be given.

(26) *Ngana-ngku nganta pakarnu?*
who-ERG PP hit-P

'Who does she say hit him?'

(27) *Ngana-ngku mayi nganta pakarnu.*
who-ERG ? PP hit

'I don't know who she says hit him.'

Because it is evident from the scene at which both speakers are present as spectators who is making the claim about the hitter of her son, it is normal to make the mutual common assumption that the woman observed to be making the claim is the author of the claim.

As the speaker by using *nganta* distances himself from the authorship of the declaration or command he enunciates, he also fails to overtly indicate the identity of the 'author' although the latter may be known by the speech act participants.

The speaker also fails to make explicit his own position with regard to the truth of a proposition or the appropriateness of a command. However by varying the intonation pattern as well as by extrinsic knowledge (outside the scope of the sentence containing *nganta*) shared by the speech act participants, or assumed by the speaker to be available to the addressee, the speaker may make known his position.

For example, where it is shared knowledge that a certain person claims to be beautiful, then the speaker may convey his disagreement with such a judgement or at least an ironical comment by (28).

(28) *Yuntardi nganta!*
beautiful PP

'She thinks she's beautiful (but).'
'She's beautiful, supposedly.'

The role of *nganta* is thus extended to imply that the speaker knows or believes the proposition over which it has scope to be false. While the speaker does not assert that the proposition is false, he implies that it is false. This is illustrated by (29) taken from a mythological text about an evil old man who pretended to his sons to be blind. The sons were taken in by the ruse — believing him to be blind. Of course the story-teller knows better!

(29) *Nganta-lpa purlka yangka-ju Lungkarda parntarrija — pampa*
PP-IMPF old man ANAPH-DEL Lungkarda crouched-P blind
nganta nyanja-wangu. Kala ruyu parntarrija.
PP seeing-PRIV but ruse crouch-P

'That old man Lungkarda was supposedly crouching down reckoning he was blind — that he couldn't see. But he was just crouching down pretending.'

By using *nganta* the author distances himself from the proposition that 'the old man is blind' since he knows it to be false, as he explicitly states in the second sentence beginning 'Kala...'. The author implies that it is the subject of the sentence, i.e. the old man, who claimed he was blind and who pretended to be so; thus he is the implied author of the proposition — not the speaker.

By using *nganta* the speaker disclaims authorship of a proposition or command expressed by the clause with *nganta*. The identity of the 'author' is not made explicit in the clause but may be determined from the discourse and/or from the extralinguistic context shared by the speech act participants. By using *nganta* the speaker may imply that the proposition is believed by him to be false. The postposing of *nganta* to a declaration of intention or a command can also serve as a plea by the speaker for the approbation of the addressee(s).

2.3 KARI

When contained in a clause, *kari* is almost always in initial position. By prefacing the expression of a proposition by *kari*, the speaker implies that he has direct observable evidence that

the proposition expressed by him is true and that he believes or 'knows' it to be true. This is illustrated by the examples (30)-(32).

(30) *Kari ka-rna maju-lku nyina.*
 PP IMPF-1 bad-SEQ be

'I know I'm very sick now.'

(31) *Kari-ka ngurrju nyina nyurnu-jangka-ju.*
 PP-IMPF good be ill-from-DEL

'I see that he is better and over the illness.'

(32) *Kari nyampu-rla-kula-lpa nyina-ja-wu — yintirdi-rla*
 PP here-LOC-PREST-IMPF be-P-EMPH stump-LOC
ngapa-kujaku.
 water-AVOID

'I see that it's here he was sitting — on the stump to avoid the water.'

Like *nganta*, *kari* has a speaker-centric pragmatic role, since it makes overt the relation between the speaker and the semantic content of the clause. In a third person narrative text in which the narrator plays no active role — by not inserting his temporal frame of reference into that of the narrative temporal frame of reference — then PPs such as *nganta* and *kari* are rarely used.

Kari indicates that the proposition is affirmed true by the speaker because of direct reliable evidence available to him at the time of speaking. Authorship of the proposition is claimed by the speaker and attributed by the addressee to the former. For that reason in the context of a narration, *kari* indicates a shift to direct speech by a story character and hence a shift in narration time — to the present of the story events' frame of reference — away from the present of the actual narration or speech act signalled by the use of the past tense. This is illustrated in (33) and (34).

(33) *Milpa-ngku-jala kala-palangu tarda-kuju-rnu.*
 eye-ERG-EMPH RP-3Do sight-throw-P

"*Kari yali-kila-pala rdipijarni. Kuku-rna kuja pampa-jarri-lki.*"
 PP there-PREST-3D come-P-hither SP-1 thus blind-INCO-SEQ

'He caught sight of them with his very eye. "I see them there coming this way. I must now make as though I'm blind (to deceive them)".'

- (34) *Nyangu, nyangu. Karrinja-pardi-ja-lpa. "Kari lawa-juku*
 saw saw standing-rose-IMPF PP no-CONTS
ka-palangu karri. Wurmturu marda-pala yanu."
 IMPF-3Do stand far perhaps-2D go-P

'He looked and looked. He got up. "I see that they are not there yet. They have probably gone along."'

In the first sentence of (33), the narrator expresses the proposition that the old man (understood) caught sight of the two (sons). The past tense is used which indicates a time of reference prior to that of the time of speaking or narration itself. Then the speaker shifts the frame of reference so that the following sentence introduced by *kari* is the reported direct speech of the old man (story character). The presence of *kari* signals this change of mode or time reference indirectly, since *kari* indicates a direct relation between the speaker and the proposition.

By using *kari* the speaker associates himself with the proposition and to the speech act, indicating that he has direct evidence of the truth of the proposition at the time of the speech act. Since it is not possible for the story-teller himself to perceive the two mythological characters at the same time as he relates the story (given the two incompatible temporal frames of reference), the clause introduced by *kari* can only be attributed to one of the story characters — in this case the wicked old man.

Kari preposed to a clause is typically used to indicate that the speaker is consciously aware of a given set of circumstances or facts relevant to the proposition, that he is reflecting on or thinking about them or figuring out a plan, solution, explanation, course of action. This is illustrated by the following sentences taken from texts.

- (35) *Kari--i, kalaka-ju-lu kuja katirni-rra — panu-ngku.*
 PP likely-lo-3PL thus weigh-thither — all-ERG

'How am I going to manage? There are so many of them that they will be too heavy for me (to carry).'

- (36) *Ngula puta-manngu-nyangu-lpa, ngula kuja-lpa wangka-ja:*
 ANAPH some-mind-perceive-IMPF ANAPH thus-IMPF speak-P
"Kari... nyampu-rlu-ju mayi-ji wiri-manu ngati-nyanu-wangu?"
 PP this-ERG-DEL ?-lo big-CAUS mother-ANAPH-PRIV

'He thought about it some and then said, "Now I understand. Could it be that this one reared me who has no mother?"'

- (37) *Yarda manngu-nyangu*: "Kari... *karnta ka-rna-ju ngurrju-mani*."
 again thought PP woman IMPF-1-lo good-CAUS
 'He thought about it again. "I know, I'll make myself a woman.'"
- (38) *Yimi-ngarrirni-rna-nyarra?* Kari *nyinami-yi-rna parduna?*
 story-tell-1-2Plo PP be-nonP-CONT-1 'dry'
 'Can I tell you? Or should I remain silent?'

Thus *kari* signals that the speaker has directly observed or become aware of, or conscious of, a situation or set of facts from which he draws a conclusion expressed by the clause prefaced by *kari*. He may question that conclusion as in (36) and (38) or simply make a declaration about it as in (35) and (37) as well as in previous examples.

As an interjection *kari* is commonly used to signal the observation of a situation or fact or to ask a question about a known proposition. Thus in (39) *kari* has semantic scope over a preceding statement.

- (39) *Nantuwu-lu muku-palija.* Kari?
 horse-3PL all-die-P PP
 'The horses all died. Didn't they?'

Kari contrasts with *nganta* since the former signals direct observation and formulation of a proposition by the speaker who associates himself personally with the claim made, whereas *nganta* signals that the speaker is merely reporting information received and in some cases implies a contrary point of view.

2.4 KARINGANTA

While *karinganta* is made from the amalgamation of the two preceding particles, it is synchronically an indivisible word. Unlike *nganta* which serves to distance the speaker from the semantic content of an utterance by implying second-hand reporting, or *kari* which signals a conclusion drawn from direct evidence by the speaker, *karinganta* signals a statement of fact asserted by the speaker, a proposition that the speaker claims is true. *Karinganta* has a declarative function. By prefacing a statement or a command with *karinganta* the speaker signals that he is the author of the proposition or order; thus he makes a strong claim or direct command.

In (40) the speaker makes a claim based on his knowledge of the subjects' relationship and of the kinship system in general.

(40) Karinganta Jakamarra ngulaju Napanangka-kurlangu.
 PP Jakamarra that is Napanangka-POSS

'I know he's a Jakamarra because his mother is a Napanangka.'

In (41), on the other hand, the claim is made that the subject observed at the time of speaking is the one being referred to in a previous context.

(41) Nyampu-kula karinganta nyanungu.
 here/this-PREST PP 3

'This here is the one.'

Similarly in (42) the proposition prefaced by *karinganta* is claimed to be true based on observable evidence, as is the case with *kari*.

(42) Ngula-ngurlu kala-palangu yirri-puraja.
 ANAPH-EL RP-3Do eye-follow-P
 "Karinganta nyurru-pala wurnturu-jarrija."
 PP finish-3D far-INCO-P

'Then he watched them both go. "They are already a long way off."'

Karinganta is typically used to introduce an answer explaining the reason for actions when the reason has been questioned. This is shown in (43)-(45). In these sentences *karinganta* is perhaps best translated by English 'because' but *karinganta* does not contain as part of its semantic content a causal component. It is merely the juxtaposition of these types of sentences that leads necessarily to a 'because' translation in English. In Warlpiri, while the answer is understood as explaining the reason why, the role of *karinganta* is still to introduce a statement of fact 'known' to the speaker to be true, and authored by the speaker. This is apparent from (46) and (47) where the answer introduced by *karinganta* is not causally related to the question.

(43) Q: *Nyarrpa-rġa ka-n-pala yulami?*

A: Karinganta *wangumarnanypa-lku waja-npa nyuntu-ju.*

Q: Why are you two crying?

A: Because you have lost your father.

(44) Q: *Nyarrpara-ngurlu-n-ku-lu yanurnu?*

A: Karinganta-rna *kali-puka jarri-nja-rġa yanu-rnu.*

Q: Why have you come here?

A: It is because I have been widowed that I have come here.

- (45) Q: *Nyiya-rla-nkulu ngurra nyampu-kujaku-ju yanu?*
 A: *Karinganta pingi-kijaku-rna yanu.*
 Q: What is it about this camp that has made you move away from it?
 A: It is to get away from the ants that I have moved.
- (46) Q: *Nyarrpara-wiyi yangkaju kurdu ngaju-nyangu-jarra?*
 A: *Karinganta wurnturu-pala yanu — kurdu ngaju-nyangu-jarra.*
 Q: Where are those two boys of mine?
 A: They have gone far — those two boys of mine.
- (47) Q: *Yuwa nyarrpa-manu-ngku-lu yalumpuju? Nyiya-rlu-ngku nyangu?*
 A: *Karinganta ngaju-ju yinya-patu-rlu ngarrka-patu-rlu jilly-ngarrurnu mardukuja-ngurlu-kula.*
 Q: Hey, what did they do to you over there? What happened to you?
 A: Those men there accused me of taking a woman — that's what.

Karinganta can also be used to introduce an imperative statement as in (48), given in answer to a question.

- (48) Q: *Nyiya-rna-ngku kuja nyuntu-ku-ju yinyi?*
 A: *Karinganta-ju nganayi yungka — nyilima.*
 Q: What can I give you out of this lot?
 A: I say, give me that... the liver.

By prefacing the order with *karinganta* the speaker asserts himself as the author of the command related to himself.

Similarly with a statement of immediate intention as in (49) *karinganta* serves as a reinforcement.

- (49) *Karinganta* *karlipa ngalipa-kula yani, marrkarirra karli ngali*
 PP IMPF-1PLin 1PLin-PREST go-nP b-in-1 IMPF-1Din 1Din
yani.
 go-nonP

'I say, we here will go, we brother-in-laws will go together.'

In both (48) and (49) the declarative function of *karinganta* is most prominent.

Like *kari*, *karinganta* which is speaker centric is used as a time and role shifter in narrative text, as can be seen from (42) and from the following examples (50) and (51).

- (50) *Ngulawarnuju, kala yijardu-juku nyangu. "Karinganta-ka*
 after that RP true-CONS see-P PP-IMPF
yali-lki nguna-wu! yama-ngka!
 there-SEQ lie-EMPH shade-LOC

'Then he really saw it. "I say, there it is lying there — in the shade."'

- (51) *Kula-lu kuja wangka-yarla: "Karinganta jinta-juku-rna marda-*
 NEG-3PL thus say-IRR PP one-CONS-1
marda-rni."
 have-nonP

Kula-lu kuja wangka-yarla kamparru-warnu-patu-ju — lawa.
 NEG-3PL thus say-IRR former-RESULT-D.PL-DEL — no

'They couldn't say like this: "I say, I'm going to have just one (wife)." Our forefathers couldn't talk that way — not at all.'

Whereas in (50) and (51) the use of *karinganta* signals a shift from the present narration time to story present time and from the narrator's direct speech to that of the story character reported or imitated by the narrator, in (52) the narrator uses *karinganta* to indicate a shift of focus — he inserts himself into the narrative in the 'Dear Reader' style by prefacing a statement implying that he is the author of that proposition, the truth of which is based on his (narrator's) knowledge, in contrast to the situation in the text in which the story characters mistakenly believe the old man to be blind.

- (52) *Kamparru-juku kala pampa-jarrija...Karinganta kala-palangu*
 former-CONS RP blind-INCO-P PP RP-3Do
ngilkingki nyangu. Lawa-lku nganta kala pampa-lku
 sideways saw-P not-SEQ PP RP blind-SEQ
parntarri-ja.
 crouch-P

'He became blind before they got there... I tell you however that he saw them out of the corner of his eye. He was not crouching there blind as they thought.'

Like *nganta* and *kari*, *karinganta* can be used in isolation as an exclamation typically signaling the presence or realization of the expected or sought after as in (53).

- (53) *Karinganta-wu!* *Nyampu-kula yakiri.*
 PP-EMPH this-PREST wet

'This is it! It's damp here.'

Because of the extrinsic context in which the utterance is made — that of people digging in a soakage in search of water — the exclamation *karinganta-wu!* signals the discovered presence of water by the speaker, as is made explicit by the following clause.

By using *karinganta* the speaker signals that he is the author of the statement or command thus prefaced. Thus it follows by implication that he asserts or claims that a proposition thus expressed is true.

2.5 KULANGANTA

While *kula* is a negative SP (it has very strict co-occurrence restrictions, e.g. it cannot combine with other SPs), by combining with *nganta* it has fused into a non-decomposable PP in the same way as *karinganta*.

The PP *kulanganta* signals that the proposition over which it has semantic scope is believed and claimed to be false by the speaker, but that either the speaker or another had previously believed it to be true or may be inclined to mistakenly believe it to be true. It is semantically equivalent, *grosso modo*, to the English 'I/he/she/they... thought that... (but)', 'it seemed that... (but)', 'as if/though'.

Kulanganta is always preposed to the word(s) expressing the proposition over which it has semantic scope.

- (54) *Kulanganta-lpa-rna nyangu jirrama, kala jinta.*
 PP-IMPF-1 saw two but one

'I thought I saw two, but it was only one.'

- (55) *Kulanganta-mpa yilya-yarla Alice Springs-kirra. Yangka-juka-mpa*
 PP-2 send-IRR A/S-ALL ANAPH-CONS-2
yilya-yarla.
 send-IRR

'I thought you were going to send him to Alice Springs. You should have sent him.'

- (56) *Kulanganta ngapa kapi wanti-yarla wiri pirrarni.*
 PP water FUT fall-IRR big yesterday

'I thought that it would have rained heavily yesterday.'

(57) *Kulanganta-lpa yantarli nyinaja, kala lawa.*

PP-IMPF home sit-P but no

'I thought that he was at home, but he wasn't.'

(58) *Kulanganta-ka nyiya yangka kurlarda-piya wirnpirlinja-yani.*

PP-IMPF what ANAPH spear-like whistle-INF-go-nonP

Ngula-nya waripirapira-ju.

ANAPH-FOC whip snake-DEL

'You think it's something whistling past like a spear. That's a whip snake.'

(59) *Kulanganta kaji wantija.*

PP UNINS fell-P

'I thought he had fallen.'

When it is the initial constituent of a clause, *kulanganta* typically becomes the base of the auxiliary as in the above examples (54), (55), (57) and (58), or precedes the SP such as *kaji* in (59).

However *kulanganta* can be in non-initial position in a clause expressing more than one proposition, or where the scope of the PP only extends over a proposition expressed by part of the clause as in (60).

(60) *Kala yakarra-pardija yali kulanganta ngurrju, kala nyurmu*

RP awake-rise-P that PP good but dead

yalumpu-ju.

that-DEL

'That one got up as though he was fine (=alive), but he was dead.'

In (60) *kulanganta* has scope over the proposition 'that he was good (=alive)' expressed by the nominal *ngurrju*. The speaker is not denying the truth of the preceding proposition 'that one rose up'. The contrastive conjunction *kala* introduces a second clause which expresses the contrary proposition 'that he was dead' understood to be true, or claimed to be true by the speaker, since its opposite is false.

In sentences with *kulanganta*, as with *nganta*, it is left open to the addressee to interpret who actually held the belief deemed false by the speaker at the time of speaking. The implication by the speaker and the interpretation by the addressee can depend very heavily on extrinsic (pragmatic) information or context and/or contextual information contained in the larger discourse.

The speaker may imply, or it may be interpreted, that the proposition was such that it could be or could have been universally held to be true, i.e. by anyone, or a specific value or identity may be implied to the believer — the speaker or another. Only a knowledge of the context (discourse) and the extralinguistic context can lead to the correct identification of the original mistaken 'believer'. The English translation given for the examples above presupposes the availability of such information, each of the sentences being taken from larger discourses and/or from an observable or imagined real life context.

By prefacing the expressing of a proposition with *kulanganta*, the speaker claims that the proposition is false or known by him to be false at the time of speaking, although it was previously held to be true or is held by another to be true or may/might be held to be true.

2.6 *MARDA*

By using *marda* the speaker expresses his belief that a proposition may or may not be true. *Marda* expresses probability as opposed to certainty (*kari*, *karinganta*, *kulanganta*). *Marda* may precede (61) or follow (62) the clause over which it has semantic scope, or it may be contained in the clause either as the auxiliary base, preceding the auxiliary where the base is a SP, or it may appear elsewhere in the clause.

- (61) *Marda maliki-rli pungu.*
 PP dog-ERG killed.
 'Perhaps the dog killed it.'
- (62) *Jalangu kapu-lu kanyi-rni marda.*
 today FUT-3PL bring-hither PP
 'They'll bring it today perhaps.'
- (63) *Kapu-rna jalangu marda yani tawunu-kurra.*
 FUT-1 today PP go town-ALL
 'Maybe I'll go to town today.'
- (64) *Nyuntu-ku marda kapu-ngku turaki-ji yinyi.*
 2-DAT PP FUT-2io truck-DEL give-nonP
 'Perhaps he'll give you the truck.'
- (65) *Ngurrju-lku marda ngarra-rlijarra nyina.*
 good-SEQ PP FUT-1Dex be
 'We will probably be fine then.'

(66) *Ngarra-rna marda jukurra-ju lawa-nyina-lku.*
 FUT-1 PP tomorrow-DEL not-be-SEQ

'May-be I'll be no more tomorrow.'

By juxtaposing two contradictory propositions each in a clause/sentence containing *marda*, Warlpiri expresses as two probable but mutually exclusive possibilities what English expresses with the 'either...or' construction.

(67) *Kapu marda ngapa wantimi, marda lawa-rlangu.*
 FUT PP water fall-nonP PP no-EX

'Perhaps it will rain today, perhaps it won't.'

'Either it will rain today or it won't.'

(68) Q: *Nyiya nyiya yaliji yapa?*

A: *Karija. Jungarrayi marda, Japanangka marda. Ngurrpa-rna ngaju-ju.*

Q: What is that person's skin name?

A: Search me. He's either Jungarrayi or Japanangka. I don't know.

(69) *Marda yapa-ngku pakarnu, marda wantija pama-jangka kujaka*
 PP person-ERG hit-P PP fell-P grog-EL INST
jarntijarntinyja-yani wanarri.
 limp-move-nonP leg

'Perhaps someone hit him or he fell down drunk because he is limping.'

As an interjection, *marda* serves to express a judgement about a preceding proposition typically uttered by another interlocutor, as in (70) and (71).

(70) Q: *Jalangu-nya ka-lu rdipi-mi-rni?*
 today-FOC IMPF-3PL go-nonP-hither.

A: *Marda.*

Q: Are they coming today?

A: Perhaps.

(71) X: *Watiya-kujaku-lu nyina-ka, rampal-panti-rninja-kujaku —*
 spear-AVOID-PL be-IMP mistake-spear-INF-AVOID
karlangka-kujaku-rlangu.
 exchange-AVOID-EX

Y: *Yuwa marda. Yijardu-ja ngari.*
 Yes PP true-DCL PP

X: Stay here in case you get speared by mistake, or in case they punish you because you're related to me.

Y: Yes perhaps. That's quite true.

While *marda* is speaker-centric in that it expresses the speaker's judgement of 'probability', it is neutral as to the 'authorship' of the proposition. Semantically and syntactically, *marda* as PP and INTJ are one and the same. We will see that the same is true of the PP *ngayi* 'just'. Thus a categorical distinction made according to phonological and morphological criteria does not necessarily correspond with one made according to other criteria.

2.7 NGARI ~ NGAYI

Ngayi is derived from *ngari* by a regular process of shift from *x* to *y* in Warlpiri. Both forms are used by older speakers seemingly in free variation, but most young speakers only use *ngayi*. The particle is typically placed first or second in a clause and can serve as the phonological base of the auxiliary.

Semantically *ngayi* limits the scope (inferentially) of a proposition or attenuates the force of a command in a way similar to the English adverb 'just'.

This is illustrated by the following examples.

(72) *Ngari ka-rna-ngku payirmi.*
PP IMPF-1-2o' ask-nonP

'I am just asking you.'

(73) *Kuja ngayi jurnta-yanu-ju-lu jarda-ngkarni.*
thus PP away-go-P-1o-3PL sleep-OBV

'They went away and left me just because I was asleep.'

(74) *Majungurlu-yani — yaruju ngari yangka ya-ninja-ku.*
Majungurlu-go-nonP fast PP ANAPH go-INF-DAT

'"Majungurlu-yani" is just to hurry away.'

(75) *Waparlku-lpa ngari wapaja. Kulanganta-lpa-lu wurramanji*
unaware-IMPF PP walk-P PP-IMPF-3PL camping out
ngari wapaja.
PP walk-P

'She was just walking unaware (of the real reason). She thought that they were just going to camp overnight.'

(76) *Ngayi jalangu-rlu-wiyi ma-nta!*
 PP now-ERG-first get-IMP

'Just take hold of him for now.'

(77) *Yali ngayi wala-parri-ka!*
 that PP try-IMP

'Just try it.'

(78) *Nyuntu ngayi-rla wangka-ya nyarrpa-japa-ngku wangka-mi.*
 2 PP-3io speak-IMP how-?-2io speak-nonP

'Just go and ask him to see what he says to you.'

A clause containing *ngayi* can be prefixed by another PP such as *kulanganta* in (75). It can also precede another PP as in (79) where it precedes *nganta*.

(79) *Kula milpangku nyangu — lawa. Ngayi nganta-lpa rdaka-ngku*
 NEG eye-ERG saw-P no PP PP-IMPF hand-ERG
kuja-rlu warru marnpurnu — Jampijinpa-rlu.
 thus-ERG around feel-P Jampijinpa-ERG

'He couldn't see with his eyes at all. Jampijinpa made out that he only felt his way around with his hands like this.'

Both *marda* and *ngayi*, unlike the other particles that we have described in this section, can host a small number of temporal and quantitative enclitics such as *-lki* 'sequential', *-wiyi* 'first', *-jiki* 'constant' and *-puka* 'sole'.

(80) *Ngari-wiyi kapi-rna-ngku yi-nyi.*
 PP-first FUT-1-2io give-nonP

'I'll just lend it to you.'

(81) *Kala nyanungu-ju-ka nyina marakata ngari-jiki.*
 but 3-DEL-IMPF be opportunist PP-CONS

'But he is always just an opportunist.'

(82) *Ngari-lki-lpa-lu-jana yapa-ju paka-rnu.*
 PP-SEQ-IMPF-3PL-3PLo people-DEL hit-P

'And then they just killed the people.'

Like *marda*, the PP *ngayi* can constitute the sole element of an utterance which presupposes a preceding utterance within the same discourse. The preceding utterance is typically spoken by a person other than the one who pronounces *ngayi* which has semantic scope over the preceding utterance. For example in (83) the first speaker

questions the reason or motive behind the proposition 'that you came'. It is over this proposition then that the reply *ngayi* 'just' has semantic scope.

(83) X: *Nyiya-ku-mpa ya-nu-rnu?*
 what-DAT-2 move-P-hither
 'Why did you come?'

Y: *Ngayi(-rna yanurnu).*
 PP (- I come-P)
 'No reason.'

There is another interjection *ngayi* which may be simply homophonous with the PP or which may be semantically related, although having a somewhat different meaning and pragmatic function. Spoken with a declarative intonation contour, the interjection *ngayi* indicates understanding of and/or agreement with a preceding proposition, especially where it contains information which is new to the listener who responds with *ngayi* as in (84) and (85).

(84) X: *Nyurru-lu ya-nu.*
 complete-3PL move-P
 'They've already gone.'

Y: *Ngayi.*
 'Really.'

(85) X: *Karlarra-lku nganta-lu rdaku-ju pangu-rnu.*
 west-SEQ PP-3PL dam-DEL dig-P
 'They say they have dug a dam out west.'

Y: *Ngayi. Kulanganta yati jarra.*
 Really. PP north
 'Really, I thought it was north.'

Very often *ngayi* tends to be said twice in this 'acknowledgment of new information' function.

Pronounced with questioning intonation, *ngayi* is used to acknowledge the receipt of new information and at the same time question its truth, especially where it is contrary to a formerly held belief as in (85) or where it is not believed to be the truth as in (86).

(86) X: *Parraja-nganpa yu-ngka!*
 coolamon-1PLexio give-IMP
 'Give us the coolamons!'

Y: *Lawa waja.*
 no PP

'I haven't got them, I tell you.'

X: *Ngayi? Kala nyiyarla-rlipa yurrrpa-rminja-rla nga-rni waja?*
 but what-LOC-1PLin grind-INF-PREC eat-nonP PP

'Really? Well what are we going to grind into to be able to eat, I ask.'

Ngayi ~ Ngari is used to delimit or minimise the deductive and inferential associations of the proposition over which it has semantic scope.

2.8 NGARRA¹¹

Apart from the SP *ngarra* which when used as an auxiliary base with the non-past verb form as a future time marker, there is a PP *ngarra* which is used to give emphasis to a proposition, as in the following examples. Like other PPs it can be placed in clause initial or medial position.

(87) *Kula-rna ngarra nyarrpa-jarri-yarla-lku.*
 NEG-1 PP how-INCO-IRR-SEQ

'I didn't really know what to do.'

(88) *Wati ngarra wangka-ja.*
 man PP speak-P

'It was the man who spoke.'

Ngarra is used to emphasise the truth of a proposition where it is disputed by another or where the contrary proposition has been 'mistakenly' (from the speaker's point of view) held to be true. If, for example, the speaker of (88) had previously thought that it was a woman's voice that he had heard, and then on closer examination discovered that it was in fact a man (owner of the voice), then he would appropriately enunciate (88). Similarly if another interlocutor claimed that it was a woman, then the speaker would use *ngarra* as in (88) to stress the fact that he 'knew' that it was not a woman but a man.

Ngarra is also used in interrogative sentences such as (89) and (90). Different interrogative markers are used in each case, the particle *mayi* in (89) postposed to *ngarra* and the clitic *-nya* in (90) suffixed to *ngarra*.

(89) *Ngarra mayi yunpa-rminja-rla marda-rnu kuyu?*
 PP ? sing-INF-PREC have-P meat

'Could it really be that he sang the meat and got it?'

(90) *Ngukara-wangu-lku-jala ka-lu wapaninjani kuja ngarra-nya?*
 harmed-PRIV-SEQ-EMPH IMPF-3PL walking thus PP-?

'As I said they are now walking unharmed, is that really so?'

Ngarra is also used in imperative sentences such as (91) and (92) where the speaker seeks to persuade the addressee to act in a way contrary to the latter's desire.

(91) *Wiyarra-lu ngarra wangka-nja-parnta-ma-nta!*
 poor thing-3PL PP speak-INF-with-CAUS-IMP

'Please allow her to speak poor thing.'

(92) *Kuyu-ku-lu ngarra pipi-rlangu ngarri-ya-nta waja.*
 meat-DAT-3PL PP aunt+niece-pair go-IMP DECL

'Go and look for meat I say.'

2.9 WAYI

We do not have many examples of the PP *wayi* and consequently do not pretend to really understand its semantic content or pragmatic function. However, it appears to be used as a focus marker. It is typically placed before the clause or constituent which the speaker seeks to bring into focus. This is illustrated in (93) and (94).

(93) *Ngula-warmu-ju, wayi puluku, puluku-ku-wiyi-li-rla yaarl-kuju-rnu.*
 ANAPH-RES-DEL PP bull bull-DAT-first-3PL-3io over-throw-P

'Then it was that bull. It was first over the top of the bull that they threw it.'

(94) *Wayi marda yirrakurnu yama-ngka ngapa-ku-ngarnti-rli.*
 PP perhaps put-P shade-LOC water-DAT-before-ERG

'Ah perhaps she put it (baby) down in the shade before going for the water.'

Wayi is prefixed to a second person clitic (*-nta/-npa* 'singular', *-npala* 'dual', *-nkili* 'plural') to form an interjection used as an

exclamation whose function is to attract the attention of the addressee(s).

- (95) X: *Wayi-nta!* *Ya-ni-nya-rli jukurra-ju?*
 PP-2 go-nonP-?-1Din tomorrow-DEL
 'Hey you! Shall we both go hunting tomorrow?'
- Y: *Yuwai.* *Kapi-rli ya-ni.*
 yes FUT-1Din go-nonP
 'Yes, we will go.'
- (96) X: *Ngari-jana-rla kuyu-parnta-ku nya-ngka!*
 just-3Plo-io meat-with-DAT look-IMP
- Y: *Ngarrka wayi-nta!* *Jina-marda-rni ka-rna — yantarli-rli*
 man PP-2 see-have-nonP IMPF-1 camp-ERG
ka-rmalu panu-kari-rli jina-marda-rni.
 IMPF-1PLex many-other-ERG see-have-nonP
- X: *Yawu!* *Jina-marda-ka-lu panu-kari-rli.*
 OK see-have-IMP-3PL many-other-ERG
- X: Just look out for them because they have meat.
- Y: Hey man. I am looking after it. We others are looking after it in the camp.
- X: OK. You others keep an eye on it.

2.10 KAPI/KAPU

Kapi/kapu, which are variants, are used to question a proposition which is an alternative to or is contrary to a previously held or stated one. *Kapi* is often preposed to a clause over which it has semantic scope as in (97) and (98).

- (97) *Yii!* *Nyiya-rla ka-rna manujurru-ju wanti-mi?* *Kapu yangka*
 Oh! what-LOC IMPF-1 twitch-DEL fall-nonP PP ANAPH
purlka wayi maju-jarri-ji ngurra-ngka?
 old man PP bad-INCO-FUT home-LOC
 'Oh why are my muscles twitching? Could it be that the old man (father) is going to die back in the camp?'
- (98) *Palka-nya papardi-puraji kapi ya-nu?*
 present-? elder brother-2K PP go-P
 'Is your brother here, or has he gone?'
- (99) *Palka-nya papardi-puraji ya-nu kapi?*
 present-? older brother go-P PP
 'Is your brother here or has he left?'

As is seen from a comparison of (98) and (99), *kapi* can precede or follow the clause over which it has scope.

Used as the sole constituent of a clause, *kapi* is used to question a preceding proposition voiced by the same speaker, as in (100). It has the same semantic content and function as in (97-99).

(100) *Jalangu ka-mpa ya-ni. Kapi?*
today IMPF-2 go-nonP PP

'You are going today. Or are you not?'

2.11 MURRA

Murra is similar in meaning to *nganta*. It signals that the information or proposition contained in the clause to which it is typically preposed has been reported to the speaker who is enunciating it second-hand.

(101) *Murra-mpa-r̄la kuja makur̄nta-puraji-ki yanu-r̄nu, yarnka-ja-*
PP-2-3io thus m-in-1-2K-DAT go-P-hither, grab-P-
mpa-r̄la.
2-3io

'I've heard that you have come to your mother-in-law and that you grabbed hold of her.'

(102) *Murra-ja ka-lu nga-r̄ni kuyu. Ngurr̄ju nganta.*
PP-EMPH IMPF-3PL eat-nonP meat good PP

'Reportedly they eat it for the meat. It's said to be good.'

Although *murra* is close in meaning to *nganta*, it seems to imply an affirmative belief in the proposition it prefaces whereas *nganta* tends more towards scepticism on the part of the speaker as we saw in 2.2.

There is an interjection *murraja* synonymous with *karija* which signals the speaker's ignorance of a proposition about which he is questioned directly or indirectly. It can also indicate the speaker's intention to remain uninvolved in the issue.

3. CONCLUSION

The number of particles in Warlpiri defined according to phonological and morphological criteria is quite large, as shown in chart 1. We have subcategorized them into four main divisions based on syntactic criteria. Further subdivisions could be made using further criteria.

We have attempted an examination of the propositional particles to examine their common syntactic and pragmatic roles.

Within a clause, the syntactic function of PPs is negligible. They are preposed or postposed to a clause or clausal constituent over which they have semantic scope or inserted into the clause after the first constituent, thus often becoming eligible for the role of auxiliary base.

A possible subcategorization of the PPs on syntactic grounds could be made such that the particles *marda* and *ngayi* which can host enclitics such as *-lki*, *-jiki* (§2.7) would be separated from the others which do not host any enclitics.

We have suggested that there is also a small subcategory of PPs not examined in this paper, viz. *kaji*, *mayi* and *waja*, which cannot appear clause initially. Because they can be postposed to the auxiliary they cannot be classified as enclitics. They are uninflected and can host the auxiliary clitics. For these reasons we are led to classify them as particles.¹²

While each PP has a definable 'meaning', that meaning relates to an accompanying 'proposition' and at the same time to the speaker. For this reason, PPs are basically shifters in Jakobsonian terms. While the meaning of a PP has scope over a proposition expressed by a clausal constituent or by an entire clause, it very often depends for part of its interpretation on a larger context — one provided by the discourse in which the PP is uttered or by the extralinguistic context in which the speech act takes place.

The relation between a proposition and the speaker cannot be abstracted away from the 'meaning' of a PP, since its primary function is to signal the speaker's relation to the proposition at two levels: that of the actual authorship and that of commitment or belief to the truth of the proposition. In fact it is the particular relation between the speaker and the proposition which constitutes the 'meaning' of a PP.

Semantically it is this which distinguishes PPs from nouns, verbs and preverbs. Members of the latter categories have a denominative function, that is a given noun symbolizes a definable concept, action, event, entity... whereas PPs cannot be defined without reference to the speaker and the text. This is true of the other particles as well.

FOOTNOTES

1. This paper has developed out of one called 'Propositional Particles in Warlpiri' delivered at the Australian Linguistic Society meeting in Canberra in August 1981. Most of the examples given in this paper are taken from texts spoken or written by Warlpiri people. Others were written by Warlpiri colleagues especially to illustrate the particle in question. I am very grateful to Professor Kenneth Hale who has kindly put his field notes and transcriptions at my disposal. Some of the examples are taken from his materials. In writing this paper I was particularly helped by Leonard Granites Japanangka, June Walker Napanangka and Robin Granites Japanangka, and am most grateful for their insights, explanations and examples. I also benefited from discussion with David Nash. Any errors in this paper are of course my responsibility.
2. Like Crowley we draw together interjections and particles. According to the defining criteria we set up (§1), interjections form a subcategory of the larger category of particles.
3. For a full description of the auxiliary in Warlpiri see Nash (1980:58-62, 185-7) and Hale (1973).
4. 'Proposition' is used fairly freely in this paper to designate the semantic content or 'message' expressed by a clause or clausal constituent (word or group of words), and not just that type of semantic representation which can be said to be true or false.
5. *Ngurra* is typically used in Lander River Warlpiri, while *Kapi ~ kapu* is used in Southern Warlpiri.
6. Some speakers use *kalaka* where others use *kajika*; however, all speakers feel that while they are very similar in meaning, there is a slight difference.
7. Verbs belong to one of five conjugations marked by their suffixal inflections. The verbal inflectional paradigm for one of the conjugations is given as an illustration:

root — inflection

<i>wangka-</i>	mi/∅	'non-past'	<i>yarla</i>	'irrealis'
'speak'	<i>ja</i>	'past'	<i>nja</i>	'infinitive'
	<i>ya</i>	'imperative'	<i>nya</i>	'presentative'
			<i>ju/ji</i>	'future' (rare)

In south-west Warlpiri (bordering Pintubi country), verbs inflect for future tense, thus having a past, present, future split; however in modern Warlpiri, the future form is very rarely used, so that there is only a past, non-past distinction in the verbal inflections, for the 'realis' tenses. The aspectual affixes do not combine with the infinitive, imperative, presentative or future verb forms.

8. In modern Warlpiri, negative particles *nuu* (<Eng. 'not') and *nati* (<Eng. 'not') are often used instead of the Warlpiri negative SPs. They are classified as PPs since they combine with all verb forms and with all SPs except the negative ones, for which the former are substituted. These are not treated in this study.
9. *Winjarra/winjami* is probably derived from the Warlmanpa verb *winja-ka* 'to leave behind' equivalent to the Warlpiri verb *yampi-mi* used in prohibitive imperative constructions (Nash 1979).
10. It was David Nash who suggested to me that obligatory hosting of auxiliary clitics might be a useful criterion to subcategorize particles in Warlpiri.
11. In Lajamanu Warlpiri as reproduced in Warlpiri readers produced by SIL under the direction of the late Lothar Jagst, *ngarra* is also used as an enclitic with an interrogative meaning akin to southern Warlpiri *mayi*.
12. A study of intonation and relative stress prominence needs to be undertaken before the question of subcategorization of syntactic categories can be properly treated in Warlpiri. For example when *nganta* is postposed to a word as in (102), it receives secondary stress on the initial syllable compared to that on the first syllable of the preceding word *ngurrju*. This is akin to the stress patterns on enclitics — these are stressed on the first syllable, but the stress is subordinated to the main stress on the first syllable of the complex word. Similarly the stress on *waja*, *kaji* and *mayi*, like for *nganta* in (102), is subordinated to that on the first syllable of the preceding word.

ABBREVIATIONS

1	First person	NEG	negative
2	Second person	nonP	non-past
3	Third person	o	object
ALL	allative case	OBV	obviative
ANAPH	anaphoric	P	past
AVOID	avoid case	PL	plural number
CAUS	causative	PP	propositional particle
CONJ	conjunction	PREC	preceding
CONS	constant	PREST	presentational
CONT	continuous	PRIV	privative
D	dual number	SEQ	sequential
DAT	dative case	SP	sentential particle
DEC	declarative	UNINST	uninstantiated
DEL	delimiting		
EL	elative case	NOTE	In glossing the auxiliary clitics, neither the <u>singular</u> number nor the <u>subject</u> is marked.
EMPG	emphasis		
ERG	ergative case		
EX	example		
ex	exclusive		
FOC	focus		
FUT	future		
IMP	imperative		
IMPF	imperfective aspect		
in	inclusive		
INCO	incohative		
INF	infinitive		
INST	instantiated		
INTJ	interjection		
io	indirect object		
IRR	irrealis		
LOC	locative case		

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