

A Grammar of Yankunytjatjara



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A Grammar of YANKUNYTJATJARA

CLIFF GODDARD

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Submitted as a PhD thesis in The Australian National University, September 1983. Full title "A Semantically-oriented Grammar of the Yankunytjatjara dialect of The Western Desert Language". The cover drawing, by Julie Carter, shows the tjalku or bilby. In the old days, this kind of bandicoot was one of the most common and important animals in the Yankunytjatjara area.

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PREFACE FOR THE NON-LINGUIST

Because it was written as a thesis in linguistics parts of this work will be too technical for general users. Hopefully these will mostly be introductory chapters (e.g. most of Chapter 2) or introductory sections of later chapters (e.g. 3.1 and 3.2, 6.1 and 6.5.1).

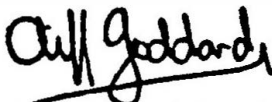
The example sentences are really the most important part of the book and deserve the closest study. In between them and the English translations, there is a line with a mixture of English words and technical abbreviations (in capital letters) that label each part of every word. Although these look strange at first, as you gradually get familiar with the system, you should begin to find them useful.

The writing system is that commonly used in South Australian Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara literacy materials. (Except that the letters au and ai are always separated by w or y respectively, so that, for instance, instead of the standard spelling pauni 'is roasting, shooting' and mai 'vegetable food' in this work you will find pawuni and mayi.)

Since this is a reference grammar the material is presented in a logical order that doesn't correspond to the way a learner encounters the language. Get to know the Contents pages and overall structure of the book, then 'dip in' as you need to. If you want help, feel free to write to the Language Program of I.A.D., or drop in on us if you are in Alice Springs.

Finally, and this can't be stressed too much, watch out for mistakes of all kinds - inaccuracies, omissions, wrong spellings.

Hope you find it useful.



Cliff Goddard.
January, 1985.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Numbered examples consist of the three parts:

- (1) Yankunytjatjara sentences with words divided into morphemes by hyphens, except that derived and compound verb stems are not always segmented if the division is not relevant to the point being illustrated. Note also that the stems of verbs in certain inflectional categories are presented in their intermediate (augmented) form. See 6.1.2. 'Zero' morphemes are not indicated. Repetition of a word is indicated by a following figure in parantheses.
- (2) Interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses lined up with the beginning of each Yankunytjatjara word. Glosses for bound and certain other grammatical morphemes are written in capital letters, and are usually abbreviations or contractions of the term used to refer to the morpheme in the text. Parentheses enclose the gloss symbol of an inflectional category represented by a zero morpheme.
- (3) English translations enclosed in single inverted commas. Relevant material that can be inferred from the Yankunytjatjara sentence in its context of utterance is enclosed in parentheses, except for 'the', 'a' and 'some'. Occasionally explanatory comments, also in parentheses, follow the English translation or are included within the inverted commas if there is no possibility of their being confused with ellipsed or understood material. The Yankunytjatjara equivalent to the English third-person singular pronouns, the DEFINite nominal palu(ru), is not specified for gender, and so may be translated as either 'he' or 'she' when it refers to a person. Where a sentence in its original context of utterance was clearly meant to refer to an individual of a particular sex I have used the appropriate English pronoun. Otherwise I have alternated between 'he' and 'she'.

The following is a list of interlinear gloss symbols for inflectional and derivational morphemes and categories. When a morpheme is referred to in the text, the part of the term forming its interlinear gloss is sometimes written in capital letters, eg the ACCusative case-marker, the REFLEX-ive clitics.

ABL	ablative case-marker
ACC	(common) accusative case-marker
ACC NAME	name-status accusative case-marker
ALL	allative case-marker
ASSOC	associative nominal-deriving suffix
BODILY EFFECT	denominal causativiser
CAUS	denominal causativiser
CAUSE TO DO	deverbal causativiser
CHAR	characteristic verb suffix
DECAUS	denominal intransitive verbaliser (decausative)
DEM PL	demonstrative plural marker
CONTRARY	nominal-deriving suffix
EMIT	'sound emission' verbaliser
ERG	(common) ergative case-marker
ERG NAME	name-status ergative case-marker
EVIDENT	adverb-deriving suffix
FAMILY GROUP	nominal-deriving suffix
FUT	future verb suffix
GEN	genitive use of purposive case
HARM	denominal causativiser
HAVING	'having' suffix
IMP	perfective imperative verb suffix
IMP. IMPF	imperfective imperative verb suffix
INCHO	inchoative verbaliser
INTENT	intensive relator
LOAN	transitive loan verb marker
LOC	(common) locative case-marker
LOC NAME	name-status locative case-marker
LOCUTION	locution marker in delocutive verb stem
NOM	(common) nominative case-marker
NOM NAME	name-status nominative case-marker
NOML	action/state nominaliser
PAIR	nominal-deriving suffix
PAST	perfective past verb suffix

PAST.IMPF	imperfective past verb suffix
PERL	perlative case-marker
PL	plural marker for small things
PRES	present verb suffix
PURP	purposive case marker
REFLEX	reflexive
SEQ	sequentive relator
SIMILAR	nominal-deriving suffix

Capitalised interlinear glosses are also used for the NEGative morpheme wiya (8.1), the DEFinite nominal palu(ru) (4.4.2), the INTERrogative root yaal (8.2.2), the CONTRastive connective kaa (9.1.3), the ADDitive connective munu (9.1.2) and for clitic and free particles. The glosses for clitic and free particles are complete English words, except for EXCITement (9.2.6) and QUOTative (9.2.4).

Abbreviations for pronouns are as follows:

- 1 first person
- 2 second person
- 3 third person
- sg singular
- du dual
- pl plural

Other abbreviations are:

- S 'subject of an intransitive sentence'
- A 'subject of a transitive sentence'
- O 'object of a transitive sentence'
- NP 'noun phrase'
- P. 'the Pitjantjatjara dialect'
- Y. 'the Yankunytjatjara dialect'
- Ng. 'the Ngaanyatjarra dialect'
- V 'vowel'
- C 'consonant'

Other conventions are:

- a. / alternative material
- b. " " direct speech (not used in interlinear gloss)

- c. Capitalisation of the initial letter of names
- d * ungrammatical sentence or word-form or
hypothesised historical form
- e \emptyset a 'zero' or phonologically null morpheme
- f. A > B B descends historically from A
- g. A \rightarrow B Underlying form A is realised as B

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Kerry France and Jennifer Hyles typed a difficult manuscript well; Val Lyon drew the maps.

Finally, to the many friends who bore with me through difficult times: I will not embarrass you by listing your names here, but you have my heartfelt thanks. Without your support this thesis would not have been finished, but I would have been.

PRECIS

The Western Desert Language is a fairly typical Pama-Nyungan language, spoken in the arid western interior of Australia; it is suffixing and agglutinative, with a well-developed case system and a fairly free but basically verb-final word-order.

Chapter 1 outlines my fieldwork methodology and semantic approach, and the physical and socio-cultural setting of the Yankunytjatjara dialect. Chapter 2 briefly describes its segmental phonology and some preliminary matters such as parts of speech. The bulk of the thesis describes the morphosyntax in a fairly informal typologically-oriented fashion, with an emphasis on semantics.

The treatment of case in Chapter 3 is based on the traditional distinction between a category and its marking, and on the traditional concept of a case as a substitution class. This leads me to recognise three core case categories - an A case (ergative), an O case (accusative) and an S case (nominative), despite the fact that they are realised differently with nouns (nominative = accusative) and pronouns (nominative = ergative). This interpretation allows an elegant statement of the structure of certain NP types, such as those involving inalienable possession and group inclusion, and of a pervasive case agreement rule whereby manner-like nominals (active adjectives) agree in case with the actor/subject NP. Non-pronominal case-markers are shown to be portmanteau morphemes, signalling name-status as well as case. Purposive and locative cases are each treated in some detail, showing the semantic interrelatedness of their uses (including the genitive use of purposive case and the instrumental use of locative case). The 'local' cases (allative, ablative and perlative) are treated more briefly.

Chapter 4 deals with NP structure, demonstratives, free and clitic pronouns, nominal derivation and an interesting class of suffixes (relators) showing intention, deprivation, sequential action and control ('having'), which display the actor agreement pattern of case inflection. Chapter 5 begins with nominalisation and goes on to describe how subordination and relativisation are achieved by adding case or relator suffixes to nominalised clauses; also dis-

cussed is the 'switch-reference' specification in the semantic structure of purposive and circumstantial (background) clauses.

Chapter 6 deals with verbal inflection, highlighting a perfective/imperfective aspectual contrast in certain tense/mood categories. Adopting a system of intermediate (augmented) stems simplifies the formal description of the paradigms for the four conjugational classes. Chapter 6 also discusses several types of serial verb construction within the Foley/Van Valin typology of clause juncture.

Verbal derivation and compounding are treated in Chapter 7; and miscellaneous topics such as negation, temporal and spatial expressions, interrogatives and adverbs in Chapter 8. Chapter 9 begins with sentence connectives (including a discussion of a switch-reference contrast) and proceeds with a fairly detailed survey of free and clitic particles. The final chapter briefly describes some speech registers, the auxiliary language anitji and other matters relating to language use.

There is detailed exemplification throughout, and eleven accompanying texts in the Appendix.

5.3.3

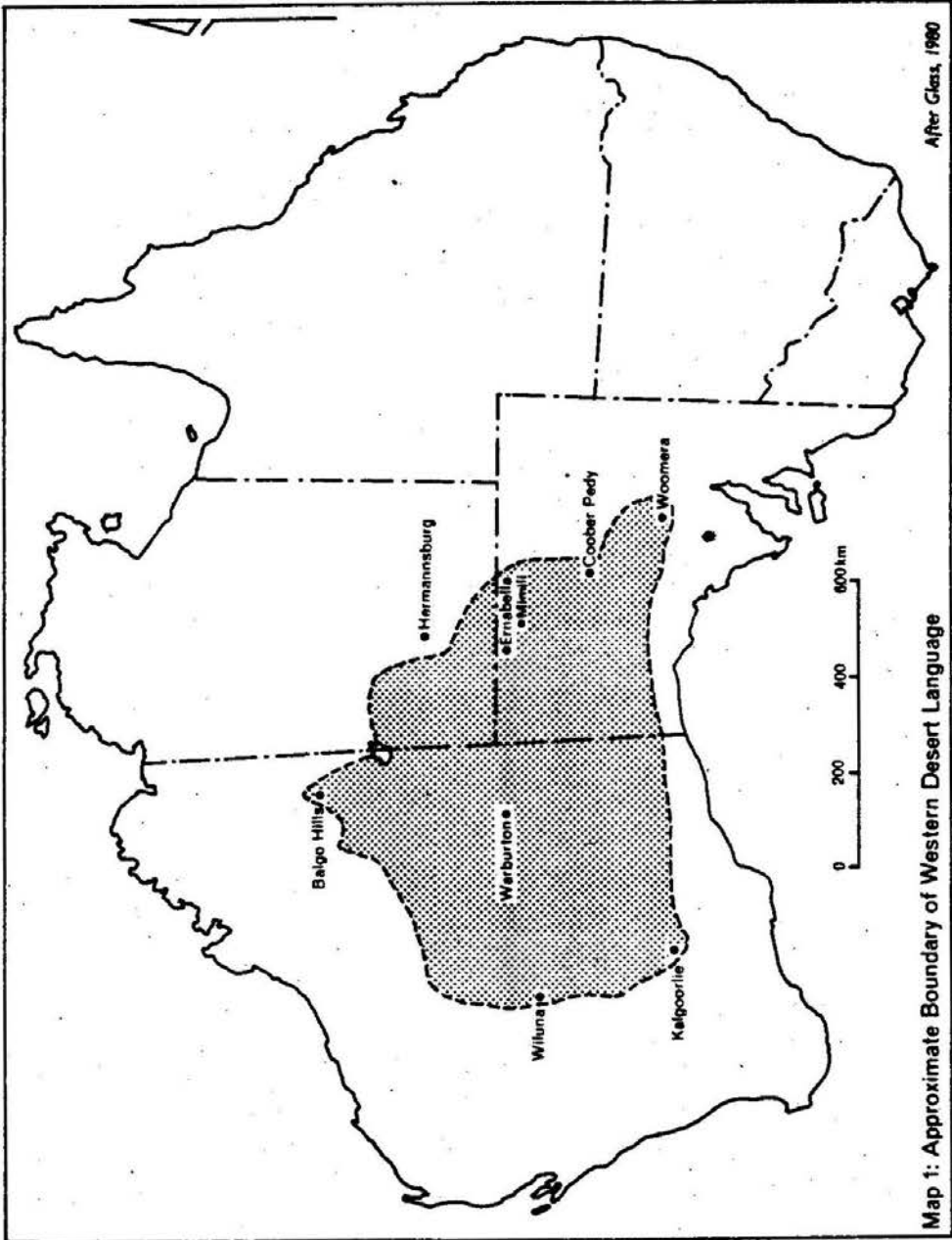
CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION

1.1 OPENING REMARKS

This is a reference grammar of the Yankunytjatjara dialect of the Western Desert Language as spoken at Mimili in South Australia. The Yankunytjatjara are one of many Aboriginal groups comprising a vast linguistic and cultural network in Australia's arid western interior (see Map 1). Within this area, Aboriginal people speak varieties of the Western Desert Language,¹ share a system of social organisation known as the Aluridja kin system, and are bound together in ritual by affiliations to sacred places created by the ancestral beings whose paths criss-cross the region. Speakers of Western Desert Language are usually numbered at 4,000 - 5,000, making them one of the largest groups in Australia speaking a traditional Aboriginal language. Of these the Yankunytjatjara number 200 - 300 and are situated in the north-west of South Australia.

Since the main aim of this work is descriptive rather than theoretical (in so far as these can be separated) I have adopted a somewhat eclectic approach to syntactic description, and kept terminological discussion to a minimum. There is however a fairly constant attention to meaning, for like an increasing number of linguists (eg McCawley 1968; Garcia 1979; Dixon 1982; Wierzbicka 1972) I believe that semantics is theoretically prior to syntax,² and that if a grammar is to be descriptively adequate it must be semantically-based. I therefore discuss formal and semantic features as far as possible in parallel, seeking generalisations about how meaning is expressed through form.

Of course to discuss meanings one must have a way of stating them - ie a method of semantic representation. I agree with Anna Wierzbicka (and others) that the best method of semantic analysis is reductive paraphrase in natural language (1.5), and have therefore preferred simple English to 'semantic markerese', logical notations and other technical neologisms as a way of explaining the meanings of Yankunytjatjara expressions. Like most research within this framework to date (eg Wierzbicka 1979a, 1979b, 1980a, 1982; Chappell 1980, forthcoming) the present work is structuralist in the sense that it is concerned simply with correlating semantic with formal structures and not with formulating rules for mapping one onto the other.



Map 1: Approximate Boundary of Western Desert Language

After Glass, 1980

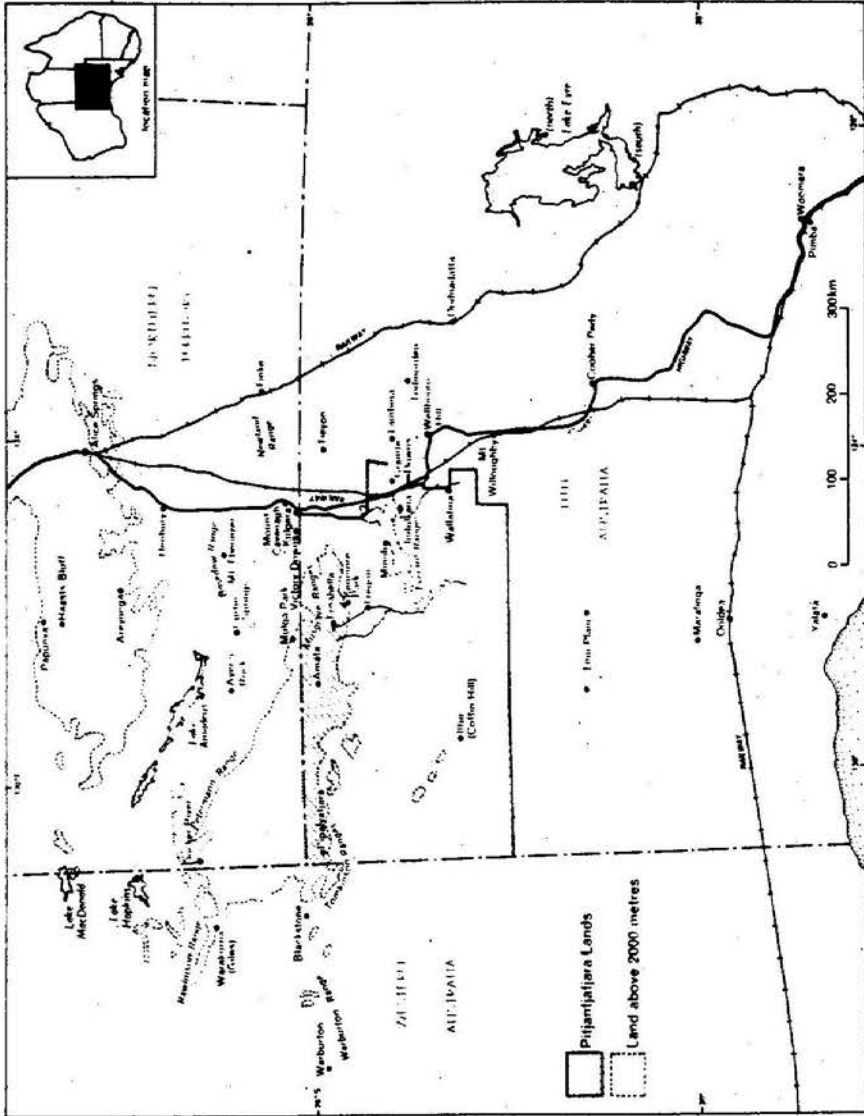
It should be noted that this work does not encompass the full range of speech variation or language use in a Yankunytjatjara community. It is biased strongly in favour of people over fifty and (somewhat less strongly) in favour of men as against women. Also, my main consultants were often making an effort to speak only what they regarded as the old or traditional Yankunytjatjara when I was present, eg to avoid Pitjantjatjara expressions, and English loan words which have Yankunytjatjara equivalents. The text material I collected is strongly weighted in favour of traditional subject matter, and this also undoubtedly influences the style of language used.

1.2 PHYSICAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SETTING

The Yankunytjatjara live mainly in Aboriginal communities in the north-west of South Australia - especially Mimili, Indulkana, and Fregon, but also at Ernabella, Amata, Ayer's Rock, Finke, Kenmore Park, Oodnadatta, and a number of smaller centres. There are also speakers at Yalata on the South Australian coast.

These communities are strongly 'traditionally oriented'. Social relationships are still mediated by ritual and the relationship walytja system. There is a lot of ceremonial activity, and major ceremonies such as male initiation affect the lives of communities for weeks, if not months. Yankunytjatjara or the closely related dialect Pitjantjatjara, is the language of everyday life. English is learnt as a foreign language and spoken only when interacting with non-speakers of the community language, such as white community staff, teachers and visiting officials. The number of white people in the communities varies, but is rarely more than about 10% of the population.

Since the Pitjantjatjara Land Rights Act 1981 the north-west corner of South Australia which takes in almost all of the traditional Yankunytjatjara region has been Aboriginal free-hold land (see Map 2). The main topographical features are the Musgrave and Everard Ranges, and the Officer Creek, which runs through the centre of the traditional Yankunytjatjara area. The climate is arid, with low and unreliable rainfall. Average rainfall is about 250mm, but is highly variable both annually and monthly.³ Temperatures range from extremely hot on summer days to below frost level at night, from May to August (Brokensha 1978a:5).



MAP 2: The Pitjantjatjara Lands, and surrounding areas of South Australia, Western Australia and the Northern Territory.

Despite the aridity, visitors to the area are struck by the astonishing natural beauty of the country, especially the ranges. The earliest white visitor, the explorer Giles, wrote of the Everards: "Very peculiar, bare, red granite mounds, being the most extraordinary ranges one could possibly imagine .. thousands of acres of bare rock, piled into mountainous shapes .. and isolated masses" (Australia Twice Traversed II, 1889). The ranges are the heartland of the region. Within and around them are found the precious rock-holes and soakages, and run-off from the rocky slopes contributes most water to water courses. Creek beds lined with river gums, dry except in heavy rains, fan out from the high country through mulga woodland or grassland. Farthest from the hill country are spinifex sand-plains and the dune country.

The Yankunytjatjara experience with whites began in the 1870's when the first exploring parties travelled through their country. Since then contact history has passed through a number of periods - the surveyor-explorer phase (roughly up to the twenties), the period of the early white pastoral holdings and 'doggers' (till the late thirties), the hey-day of the Ernabella Mission, and the expansion of the cattle industry (the forties through to the sixties). More recent times have seen an end to Mission, pastoralist and direct government control, the growth of relatively autonomous Aboriginal communities under a Federal government policy of 'self-determination', the decentralisation or 'homelands' movement, and the achievement of land rights (Berndt, R. and C. 1951; Hilliard 1968; Brokensha 1978a; Vachon 1982; Lester 1982).

Three important points can be extracted from this history, so far as the present-day linguistic situation is concerned:

(i) Due mainly to the remoteness of their country and its poor economic potential from a white point of view, the Yankunytjatjara have not been forcibly alienated from their traditional lands, or at least not nearly to the extent that most Aboriginal groups have been.

(ii) The adaptations in Yankunytjatjara life over the contact period have been concerned mainly with material culture. The Yankunytjatjara have eagerly adopted European food, rifles, axes, clothing, and motor vehicles while exercising a marked cultural conservatism as far as religious beliefs, ritual, language and social organisation are concerned (Brokensha 1978a).

(iii) However, and this is an important qualification to the preceding two points, patterns of residence and movement have changed markedly, and in fact passed through several different periods before the founding of the major present day Yankunytjatjara communities at Mimili, Fregon and Indulkana within the past twenty years. The most obvious enduring result of these changes, aside from the concentration of people in settlements, has been a generally eastward relocation of people from their traditional lands. In particular, there have been large numbers, by local standards, of westerners (Pitjantjatjara people) living in the old Yankunytjatjara region for over fifty years.

Most Yankunytjatjara people now reside chiefly in one of the major communities - Mimili, Indulkana, Fregon, or Ernabella, though they make frequent excursions into the bush after traditional foods, material for artefacts, or for educational or spiritual purposes. The communities, whose populations vary from about 150 (Mimili) to 350 (Ernabella), have elected Councils responsible for community management and development, though important decisions are usually discussed at public meetings. The Department of Aboriginal Affairs and the Aboriginal Development Commission make funds available as grants or loans for provision of basic amenities and for community development, in line with the official policy of 'self-determination'. Thus community councils are concerned with issues as diverse as providing housing and up-grading facilities, maintaining law and order, training, health, education, and social planning.

Councils employ a 'community advisor', a suitably qualified person to help plan community development, liaise with government, supervise the community office, and arrange training in these areas so they may be taken over completely by Aboriginal people. Communities rely heavily on the sensitivity and competence of advisors and other white staff. A major problem for all concerned is miscommunication "across the cultural and ethnic boundaries of black and white through expectations and actions based on different premises" (Myers 1980b:311).

In the remainder of this section I expand on the social and cultural background to the language and its speakers with some notes on everyday life as I saw it at Mimili, and a summary of some aspects of traditional Western Desert culture, as seen by anthropologists.

The bulk of the local diet - bread, flour, tinned meats, sugar, tea, soft drinks, some vegetables and tinned fruit, comes from the community-run store. The store tjuwa also sells miscellaneous items like ammunition, soap, batteries and clothing. There is still much economic use of the land along traditional lines, though the rifle and the crowbar have superseded the spear and digging stick for most purposes. The more convenient types of 'bush tucker' are highly prized - maku 'grubs', Solanum fruits like kampurur 'bush raisin', mangata 'quondong' purara 'honey ants' and the native tobacco ukiri. Rabbits, kangaroos malu, bustards kipara, emu kalaya, and monitor lizards like ngintaka and milpali, are favourite meat foods, and keenly hunted. Traditional grains and other edible seeds are sometimes gathered and prepared, though this is very time-consuming.

In present conditions most hunting, gathering or camping trips require cars, which are a major ingredient in the contemporary lifestyle. Someone is always buying, fixing, or borrowing a car mutaka or trying to get a lift or some petrol. Since cars are usually cheap and mechanically suspect when bought, breakdowns are common and wrecks abound. Younger men especially tend to have a keen interest in motor mechanics. Petrol and basic facilities for servicing cars are provided by the community garage.

Yankuntjatjara people as a rule are very fond and indulgent toward young children, and families tend to be large. Children are required to attend the school which will have from 3 - 10 white teachers and a similar number of Aboriginal education workers. Since 1965 the South Australian Education Department has had a policy of 'bi-lingual education' so that literacy and initial curriculum is introduced in the vernacular (Pitjantjatjara dialect). Parents and grandparents are generally eager that children learn English, writing, numeracy and related skills, as well as receiving a sound grounding in traditional culture.

In most centres there is a clinic run by the South Australian Health Department and staffed by nurses and Aboriginal health-workers on a similar model to the school. Traditional healers ngangkari continue to practise.

Most full-time employment is for the Council, school, clinic or store, except where there are community enterprises like the Mimili Pastoral

Company, or smaller private enterprises such as market gardening, bakery, and fencing contracting. In most communities there is small-scale commercial craft - men make traditional artefacts like boomerangs, spears and spear-throwers, and women produce batik, spinning and crocheting. Both sexes carve stylised animals and small traditional-style dishes, onto which they burn patterns with hot wires (Brokensha 1978b). Elderly people are generally pensioners, and other unemployed people receive unemployment benefit if they are eligible. Around Mimili and Indulkana people make some money fossicking for opal on the Mintubi opal field.

In living arrangements, as in social relationships generally, there is a strong continuity with the traditional past. Families of close relatives or friends often live together or close to one another, so that camp ngura life is close-knit and intimate. At Mimili, as at the other communities there is a range of dwelling-styles, - aside from simple, prefabricated houses, there are temporary traditional-style shelters, and larger and more permanent huts. Most families with children have or share a house and the facilities it provides, such as power, water, sewerage, appliances and shelter. But most of life happens outdoors around wind-breaks yuu, shade kanku and the fire-place waru.

Yankunytjatjara people like company, and the verbal culture is rich with ways of expressing respect or intimacy, with styles of joking and oratory, and a great deal of wit. People spend a lot of time sitting with groups of their peers gossiping, joking and exchanging stories. Story-telling is a fine art, whether it be a simple yarn or part of the rich cultural heritage of Yankunytjatjara law and tradition.

Behind almost everything that happens, there is the usually unspoken background of walytja relationships and ritual - whether it be changing living arrangements, the way money and meat circulate through the community, the way people talk to each other, or any of the myriad other components of social life. It is a society deeply infused with the distinctive but elusive qualities that make up the 'anangu (Aboriginal) way', whose origins lie in the traditional Western Desert past.

Traditional Western Desert culture has been extensively described by anthropologists (eg Hamilton 1979, 1980, 1982; Myers 1976; Tonkinson 1978; Berndt and Berndt 1945; Tindale 1972; Gould 1979) and I will

limit myself to summarising some of the main features.

The traditional economy and lifestyle was based around small highly mobile groups or 'bands' moving around the country along more or less fixed routes, which corresponded roughly with the tracks or paths of the totemic ancestors whose activities had created the landscape, including its water sources. The composition and size of these bands (or 'hordes' as they were sometimes called in the anthropological literature) was flexible, and could change with the season, resources and water supplies, and with social conditions.

According to circumstances of birth - especially place of birth and parentage - a Western Desert person has affiliations to a series of sacred places along a segment of the track or path travelled by one of the Dreaming beings. More accurately, a person has affiliations to a number of such sets of related sites. These 'totemic affiliations' are crucial ingredients in an individual's social identity and ritual responsibilities.

The wapar (P. tjukurpa) 'Dreaming, Law, story, word, meaning' is the origin and basis, not only of the landscape and the animals, plants and other natural things, but also of the social order. In fact, in Western Desert thought there is no distinction between the 'natural order' and the 'social order', as European culture sees it, nor between the 'religious' and the 'economic'. Just as the social order is constituted and regulated by initiation and other rituals, so too is the natural order through 'increase ceremonies' that ensure the reproduction of animals and plants.

In keeping with the mobile lifestyle the Western Desert technology is light-weight and multi-purpose. Men employed the barbed and jointed hunting spear katji, and the multi-purpose miru - a spear-thrower with a sharp quartz chip mounted at one end for use as an adze or meat knife. Women used the digging stick wana, and a range of wooden bowls and dishes such as the wira and mimpu for carrying water, grain and fruits, yandying seed and to help in digging. Women also employed the large grindstone and mill, the tjiwa and tjungari, to grind grass seed into flour, to be made into a cake and cooked in the ashes, or to grind Acacia seed into an edible paste. The wooden tools were made using stone flakes kanti, sometimes mounted as adzes, and hand-held axes and choppers. Resin kiti is used in hafting and animal sinew

marpany in binding. There were also fighting tools, such as the men's stabbing spear winta and the women's fighting stick.

It is obvious from this description of the traditional 'tool kit' that the Western Desert economy was strongly sex-segregated:

"The division of labour by sex in this area is so thorough-going and complete that it can better be understood as two separate systems. The instruments of labour, the techniques used, the organisation of the work, the means of distribution of the product and the ideology governing these activities is notably different for men and women. There is no element of structural integration in production" (Hamilton 1980:12).

Men's primary economic activity was hunting large game, especially the kangaroo malu and euro kanyala. This was usually done alone or in pairs, though sometimes 'drives' would be organised or fires lit to drive animals toward waiting hunters. Preparation and distribution of meat is collective, and strictly regulated by custom and law. Women's primary economic activity was gathering vegetable foods, fruits as well as grain, and small protein sources such as eggs, birds, lizards, burrowing animals and grubs. Generally, gathering expeditions were more collective than men's hunting, and would include children's labour.

As in the economic, so in the spiritual/ritual sphere, men and women have virtually autonomous rights and responsibilities. Both sexes have custodianship over sacred sites and sacred objects, and obligations to perform or regulate rituals involving these. Neither sex may know the secret stories, dances and songs of the other, even if they should involve the same ancestral figures.

As well as sex, age (or more accurately, 'stage of life') plays a key role in determining a person's social, economic and ritual role. The most powerful and meaningful ceremonial knowledge is dangerous/restricted miilmil and strictly controlled by the senior men wati tjilpi and senior women kungka wampa. This knowledge, and their greater experience and wisdom, gives older people pre-eminence in collective decision-making, but there is no formal political structure, and in principle all adults enjoy a large measure of individual freedom, except in the conduct and discharge of ritual obligations. Personal behaviour is mostly regulated by the social pressures and rewards implicit in the relationship walytja system (10.2). As in Aboriginal societies generally, one's

relationship standing with respect to another person implies a more or less fixed pattern of behaviour toward them, varying with relative age and familiarity. Drastic deviation from the expected pattern disgraces a person in the eyes of others, and gives rise to powerful emotions of shame and embarrassment kunta. Exemplary conduct brings public approval.

Male ritual life in the Western Desert has been much studied by anthropologists. As is well-known, there is a series of secret rituals through which a male child becomes an initiated man wati. Preparation for these rituals requires periods of seclusion before and after initiation, and special instruction by guardians.

The wati-making process involves a young man and his extended family in contracts or 'alliances' with a distantly related family from which that young man will find a wife. Two extended families cannot be joined through man-making and marriage if they are genealogically closely related or if they have been associated with one another through co-residence. The preferred marriage is when husband and wife have the same totemic affiliations.

In the initiation rituals one of the initiate's potential fathers-in-law plays a certain key role which puts the two in an umari 'avoidance' relationship. They must not henceforth speak or sit together, or look closely at one another, and for all intents and purposes must ignore each other should they find themselves in the same place (see Text 7). An umari relationship is also created between the new wati and his prospective mothers-in-law. The relationship is one of the utmost respect, and there is an obligation to care and provide for one's umari (10.3.1).

Indeed the wati-making and marriage system creates reciprocal obligations between all the young man's close relations and their opposite numbers in the wife's family, effectively binding together geographically and genealogically distant groups with obvious survival value in the harsh environment. The system acts to reinforce and reassert the totemic ties which unite the entire Western Desert bloc.

1.3 DIALECT VARIATION

Pre-contact linguistic variation in the Western Desert apparently took the form of a dialect continuum or 'chain' (Douglas 1964:2f; Dixon 1980:36f) - easy comprehensibility between adjacent speech varieties

deteriorated with geographic separation, as lexical, morphosyntactic and other differences accumulated. There is little evidence to support Tindale's persistent claims that more or less discrete 'dialectal tribes' existed, and it seems more likely that the isoglosses for different linguistic features criss-crossed, rather than coinciding in bundles to delineate discrete dialect areas (Douglas 1971; Miller 1971). The concentration of speakers into a relatively small number of more or less fixed settlements is leading however to a merging of dialect features, which is taking place in different ways in different communities, depending on their demographic composition and histories.

Western Desert people have a well-developed system for discussing lexical variation, which continues to have an important 'group-identifying' function (Berndt 1959; Hamilton 1982). A speech variety is identified and in an important sense partially described by a term of the form 'distinctive lexical item + tjara HAVING'. Thus wangka yankunytjatjara and wangka pitjantjatjara refer to speech varieties (wangka 'talk') having yankunytja 'going' and pitjantja 'coming' as distinctive lexical items, as did the speech varieties of the Everard-Musgrave and Mann-Tomkinson Ranges respectively in earlier times.

This system of referring to dialects differs fundamentally from 'proper name' terms like 'English' 'Latin' and so on, in being both relative and descriptive. A given variety may be called by different terms depending on what other variety it is being contrasted with. Thus, the speech of the Everard Ranges people can be called yankunytjatjara to distinguish it from that of their former western neighbours, but this lexical index will not serve in respect of the people to the north, around Mount Ebenezer, who share the word yankunytja, so this distinction is drawn in terms of the word for 'true' - Everard Ranges speech is mulatjara as opposed to matu:tjara. Conversely, several different varieties can be covered by a single term if they are being contrasted as a grouping with the speech of another community or group of communities. For instance, at Warburton in Western Australia the terms ngaanyatjara, ngaatjatjara and nyangatjatjara, based on various forms of the demonstrative adverb 'this here', describe the speech varieties found around the settlement, to the north, and to the east, respectively (Miller 1971). Since pitjantjatjara and yankunytjatjara both use the word nyangatja they are lumped together by this division.

Since early this century substantial migrations have altered the demographic situation in the Western Desert. A great number of people from the Tomkinson-Mann Ranges have settled in the Musgrave-Everard Ranges, many of whose original inhabitants have been displaced or have moved for other reasons further east or south (Berndt 1941; Tindale 1974:69f; Hamilton 1979:5f). In my opinion, this largely accounts for the fact that at present the main distinction drawn between speech varieties in the south-eastern Western Desert is between yankunytjatjara and pitjantjatjara, which are invariably linked with eastern and western homelands respectively. It seems likely that many small linguistic differences which previously would have distinguished westerners among themselves and easterners among themselves have lost their social significance.

These days the words Yankunytjatjara and Pitjantjatjara are increasingly being used as if they were proper names designating discrete dialects or dialect groups, and I have adopted the convention of spelling them with an initial capital letter to indicate this. Despite the obvious dangers, I summarise below the main differences between the Yankunytjatjara speech of my main consultants and Pitjantjatjara, as spoken at Mimili. Pitjantjatjara spoken further to the west probably differs more extensively than this summary suggests.

(1) There are a number of 'accent' differences including the following:

(i) Pitjantjatjara speech has a more 'staccato' delivery. (ii) The initial /y/ of many Yankunytjatjara words whose Pitjantjatjara cognates are vowel-initial results in Yankunytjatjara having a relatively lower frequency of elision involving adjacent vowel-final and vowel-initial words (2.2.4). (iii) The Yankunytjatjara pronunciation of the lamino-dentals is accompanied by a more noticeable alveo-palatal friction. (iv) Fronting and raising of /a/ before laminal consonants (2.1.2) is more pronounced in Yankunytjatjara.

(2) Lexical variation includes the common words below, some of which would be heard in almost any conversational exchange.

	<u>Yankunytjatjara</u>	<u>Pitjantjatjara</u>
<u>Verbs:</u>		
'travelling, walking'	yankunytja	ankunytja
'coming, going'	yankunytja*	pitjanytja*
'return to camp'	kulpanytja	-
'run, go quickly'	walaringkunytja	wirtjapakantja
'picking up, getting'	mankunytja	mantjintja
'climbing (on)'	kalpanytja	tatintja
'giving'	yungkunytja	ungkunytja

Other Words

'story, Law, word'	wapar	tjukurpa
'earth, land'	manta	pana
'rock, hill'	apu	puli
'water'	kapi	mina
'moon'	pira	kinara
'hot weather'	unun	kuli
'far, distant'	wanma	parari
'middle-aged woman'	kungka	minyma
'old woman'	kungka wampa	minyma pampa
'adolescent girl'	ukara	kungkawara
'water-carrying bowl'	mimpu	piti
'flame'	kala	tili
'pale, white'	piyan	piranpa
'sleep'	anku	kunkunpa
'hungry'	anymatjara	paltjatjiratja
'true'	mula	mulapa
'all'	kutjuli	uwankara

(*with directional prefixes)

(3) Phonological variations include: (i) Consonant-final words are permitted in Yankunytjatjara but are blocked in Pitjantjatjara by the addition of the syllable -pa (except in vocative uses). (ii) Words beginning with /y/ are rare in Pitjantjatjara - most y-initial Yankunytjatjara words are vowel-initial in Pitjantjatjara (2.2.1).

(4) Morphosyntactic differences include: (i) circumstantial (5.4.1) and aversive (5.5) morphology (ii) conditioning of ergative and locative case-marking allomorphs (3.2.2) (iii) Yankunytjatjara 1sg ACC clitic pronoun -tja, compared with Pitjantjatjara -ni.

The differences between Yankunytjatjara and more geographically distant varieties such as Ngaanyatjarra (Glass and Hackett 1970), Pintupi (Hansen and Hansen 1978) and Mantjiltjara (Marsh 1976) are more extreme, and involve much morphosyntactic as well as lexical variation. While most of the conclusions in this work probably apply also to Pitjantjatjara, the reader should conclude nothing from it about any other dialect of the Western Desert Language.

1.4 FIELDWORK METHODOLOGY

My contact with the Mimili community came about through Yami Lester, a Yankunytjatjara man who is presently Director of the Institute for Aboriginal Development in Alice Springs. Senior Yankunytjatjara men and women wanted to have their dialect 'written down' and recognised by white authorities as distinct from the Pitjantjatjara dialect. Yami arranged for me to stay with his father Kanytji and mother Pingkayi at Mimili (see Text 1), and I lived there for most of May - November 1980, and subsequently for shorter periods, November 1981 - January 1982, and October - December 1982.

While at Mimili I tried to confine myself to speaking with Aboriginal people only in Yankunytjatjara, and most of the Mimili folk were happy to oblige me in this once I had gained a very basic proficiency. Aside from my connections with friends and family walytja, the main part of my social identity was that of the 'Yankunytjatjara man' wati Yankunytjatjara, whose reason for being there was 'writing down' the language. I saw myself, and I believe was seen by others, as a participant in the community, though always as a foreigner.

To write the language down, I had of course to learn it - and I was delighted to find that virtually the whole community supported me in this in various ways. I carried a notebook with me constantly, and people kindly allowed me to take notes or jot down sentences in a wide (but far from complete) range of social contexts. Several of the senior men, in particular Kanytji, Tommy Tjampu, Pompe Everard, William Wangkati and Sam Pumani, became close friends, and were clearly seen by themselves and others as the most appropriate teachers for me. We made countless trips into the bush in my A.I.A.S. Toyota - for hunting, food gathering, to find wild tobacco, so that I could be shown the country and some of its important places. Often on these trips I would record texts on a portable tape recorder I carried at almost all times -

sometimes I would ask, or hint, about something I was interested in, but just as often someone would volunteer to speak. Later they would help me transcribe the recordings, and explain them to me as best they could. Several younger people also took on this interpretive role, especially Willy Muntjantji and Litj^u Brown. A number of people, especially Tommy Tjampu, took pains to detail specific areas of vocabulary with me, such as the names for animals, birds and plants. On later trips, a number of senior women, especially Murika, Milatjari, and Mollie Everard, became interested in recording traditional knowledge of plant foods and medicine for future use in schools.

I found much of what Harris 1982 has called Aboriginal learning and teaching styles in the approach my Yankunytjatjara friends took toward teaching me: an emphasis on learning through observation, imitation, persistence and repetition - through real-life performance and active participation in group activities, rather than practice in contrived settings. With one or two exceptions, I did not attempt to use a direct question-and-answer style of grammatical elicitation at Mimili. As questions and hypotheses about grammar occurred to me I would (i) pay special attention to listen for and note down relevant naturally occurring examples, (ii) wait till I thought a real utterance of the pertinent type would be appropriate, try it and see what happened, and (iii) try to find relevant examples in texts, or prompt for them while transcribing or listening to recordings with others. People who knew me well would often quickly realise where my difficulty lay and could be quite ingenious in helping me.

My other great source of information was Yami Lester, who spent over 80 hours with me in private sessions when I was in Alice Springs. As a bilingual with many years interpreting experience, his collaboration was invaluable. He was untiring in his efforts to explain to me subtle meanings of words, expressions or sentences, and we worked extensively with texts. I was free to ask questions like 'would anyone ever say anything like this?', 'how would you say so-and-so?', 'what would be the difference between saying so-and-so and such-and-such?', and so on. Often our discussion diverged profitably from my intended line of questioning. Yami is very interested in the social and cultural contrasts in language use between Yankunytjatjara and (White Middle Class) English, and spent many sessions discussing these matters with me, and giving examples.

A third source of information and stimulation came from organising and participating in two (so-called) Advanced Pitjantjatjara intensive language courses at the Institute for Aboriginal Development in Alice Springs. Like the other participants I learnt a good deal from the concentrated efforts of talented teachers like Unanti Burton from Anamarapiti, and Nyangu and Pantjiti, now of Alice Springs. I learnt also from my fellow white participants, some of whom had many years experience living in Western Desert communities.

Lastly, but importantly, there is, by the standards of Australian linguistics, quite a lot of published linguistic investigation into various dialects of the Western Desert Language, though not of Yankunytjatjara as such. The phoneme inventory and basic morphology of the neighbouring dialect Pitjantjatjara had been described by the missionary linguist Trudinger 1943, and a practical orthography for literacy has been in use since the forties. A 1,500 entry word list (Anon.) was available, and a number of translated texts. Douglas 1964 and Glass and Hackett 1970 are book-length studies of Ngaanyatjarra by S.I.L. trained missionary linguists, as are Hansen and Hansen's dictionary (1974) and grammar (1978) of Pintupi. Marsh 1976 describes the Mantjiltjara dialect of the north-west of the Western Desert, and Platt 1972 is a sketch grammar of Gugada, originally to the south of Yankunytjatjara. The most sophisticated works on Western Desert are Glass 1980 and 1983, studies of cohesion and sentence types in Ngaanyatjarra.

1.5 SEMANTIC APPROACH

This section briefly outlines the theory of semantic representation through reductive paraphrase in natural language, as advocated and practised primarily by Anna Wierzbicka (1972, 1980 and other works listed in the Bibliography). Its basic principles flow from the observation of Peirce and others that a sign cannot be faithfully reduced to equivalent structures or units which are themselves not signs or composed of signs. If it is not to be circular, semantic analysis therefore consists of decomposing complex signs into equivalent signs composed of semantically simpler units than the original. As Aristotle said (Topica:577) "we make things known, not by using any chance terms, but those which are prior and more intelligible". Logical symbols, semantic 'markers' and 'features', and 'abstract predicates' are unsatisfactory for this purpose because they are inevitably less intelligible

(ie, semantically more complex) than formulations in natural language. As Lyons (1977:12) puts it "it is probably far more widely accepted than it was at one time that any formalisation is parasitic upon the ordinary everyday use of language in that it must be understood intuitively on the basis of ordinary language." An ideal semantic metalanguage must therefore take the form of a minimal subset of a natural language.

Here it should be pointed out, if it is not already obvious, that the very idea of semantic analysis presupposes the existence of a set of basic semantic units which are indefinable. As Frege wrote (1966:43) "One cannot require that everything shall be decomposed any more than one can require that a chemist shall decompose every substance. What is simple cannot be decomposed, and what is logically simple cannot have a proper definition. Now something logically simple is no more given to us at the onset than most of the chemical elements are; it is reached only through scientific work". Sørensen (1946:42-3): "Semantic analysis consists of reducing V [vocabulary] to the smallest set of signs from which all the signs of V can be derived. A sign belonging to the smallest set of signs from which all the signs of V can be derived is a semantically primitive sign".

In recent years, recognition of these principles has been largely confined to East European linguists such as Apresjan, Žolkovskij, Meščuk, and especially Bogusławski and Wierzbicka. Wierzbicka, after a long program of semantic investigation, has gone so far as to propose a list of only thirteen semantically primitive expressions (in English) (1980:10): I, you, someone, something, world, this, want, not want, think of, say, imagine, be a part of, become.

Semantic representations in natural language are subject to a stringent verifiability procedure, namely substitution in Leibnitz' phrase 'salve significatione'. Since the semantic representation is itself an expression in natural language it should in principle be substitutable for the utterance or part of the utterance whose meaning it is supposed to represent. Leibnitz (1949:356): "it is not enough to make an abstract explication .. we must proceed to a paraphrase which may be substituted in its place, as the definition may be put in the place of the thing defined".

In fairness it must be conceded that there are some difficulties in applying this criterion. For one thing, investigation quickly shows

that as the process of reductive paraphrase is carried out, the explications become very much longer than the original. As Peirce wrote in his Speculative Grammar (2.230) "the sign and the explanation together make another sign, and as the explanation will be a sign, it will probably require an enlarged sign, which taken together with the already enlarged sign will make up a still larger sign ..". Wierzbicka (1980:20): "Obviously .. if a tiny particle or inflection is replaced by a long formula in which all the assumptions and all the relations that it stands for are made explicit, the resulting paraphrase will generally become so long that from a pragmatic point of view it will be anything but equivalent to the original". For this reason "semantic substitutability does not entail pragmatic substitutability". Though this sounds a serious weakness (and perhaps it is) it is an inevitable fact about any system of semantic representation. In fact, as Wierzbicka points out, semantic representations in natural language measure up far better to the criterion of substitutability (and hence verifiability) than features, markers, abstract predicates or logical formulae.

As for issue of the universality or cross-linguistic validity of semantic metalanguage, it is not, I think, logically necessary that the indefinable units within one language L1 - those L1 expressions in terms of which all expressions of L1 can be explicated, and which cannot be further explicated in L1 - must coincide with the indefinable units within another language L2. Sørensen for one did not assume that the indefinables of various languages coincide. If they do not however, we face an intractable limitation on cross-linguistic semantics, and I am therefore prepared to accept universality as a working hypothesis, and with it the corollary that exact translation is ultimately possible, though unwieldy and stylistically odd (Wierzbicka 1980:39-75).^{4,5}

Though these theoretical principles are an important background, the present work falls far short of applying them consistently or rigorously. I put forward relatively few explicit semantic representations, and those that do appear often employ English words which are not hypothesised to be semantically primitive and which in some cases are of doubtful translatability. A rigorous formal survey of how meaning is grammaticalised in and expressed through Yankunytjatjara morphosyntax is a goal toward which the present work is only a very preliminary step.

CHAPTER TWO : PRELIMINARIES

2.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

2.1.1 Phoneme Inventory

Yankunytjatjara has 17 consonantal phonemes, displayed in Table 2.1 in the official orthography used in South Australian Aboriginal schools.¹ The phoneme system is typical of languages in the western interior of the continent in that it can be analysed as having five contrastive places of articulation with two apical and one laminal series, and in having three laterals, one for each non-peripheral place of articulation (Dixon 1980:139f). It is typical of Australian languages generally in lacking fricatives, and in having a nasal corresponding to each stop.

Table 2.1 : Yankunytjatjara Consonant Phonemes

	nonperipheral			peripheral	
	apical	laminal		bilabial	dorsal
	alveolar	postalveolar	(dental)		
	(retroflex)				
stops	t	<u>t</u>	tj	p	k
nasals	n	<u>n</u>	ny	m	ng
laterals	l	<u>l</u>	ly		
tap	r				
glides		<u>r</u>	y	w	

As usual in Australian languages (Dixon 1980:139), bilabial and dorso-velar consonants form a 'natural class' (peripheral)² in terms of their distribution within a word (2.2.1-2). Also, the analysis of /w/ is simplified if it can be described as a peripheral glide, without us being forced to decide whether its articulation is primarily labial or dorsal.

Among the non-peripherals, the apical phonemes and the laminal phonemes form complementary natural classes in terms of their distribution in consonant clusters (2.2.2). The fact that the apical contrast (alveolar/postalveolar (retroflex)) is neutralised word-initially is another reason for grouping the apical phonemes together.³

The tap phoneme /r/ belongs with the apicals in that it is articulated with the tongue tip, and exhibits similar phonotactic patterning in consonant clusters. It is alveolar in place of articulation, and this is reflected phonologically in the form taken by the ergative and locative case-markers when suffixed to a stem ending with /r/ - -tu

ERG and -ta LOC (generally the allomorphs of these case-markers which occur after a stem-final consonant are -Tu and -Ta where T is a stop homorganic with the preceding consonant).

I have grouped /r/ together with /w/ and /y/ as glides (rather than with /r/ in a 'rhotic' category) because: (1) /r/ patterns phonotactically like the glides, and unlike the tap /r/, in that it may occur word-initially, but not word-finally or in consonant clusters. (ii) It is phonetically reasonable to regard /r/ and /y/ as non-peripheral apical and laminal glides, in contrast to /w/ as a peripheral glide.

Some important phoneme contrasts are illustrated in (2-1) in intervocalic position.

2-1	<u>stops</u>	mutumutu	'beetle'	mutumutu	'short'
		patani	'is shaking it'	patani	'is waiting (for)'
		iti-	'close'	iti	'baby'
	<u>nasals</u>	ini	'name'	ini	'loose'
		tjana	'they'	tjana	'back (body part)'
		munu	ADD 'and'	punu	'wood'
	<u>laterals</u>	mala	'hare wallaby'	mala	'behind, after'
		tjula	'soft'	tjula	'knife'
	<u>/r/vs/r/</u>	waru	'black-flanked wallaby'	waru	'fire, firewood, heat'
		wira	'small dish/ bowl'	wiru	'fine, excellent'
	<u>/t/vs/r/</u>	wati	'initiated man'	wari	'cold, cool'
		uti	'clear, should'	yuri	'move' (imp)

Vowels

In terms of quality there are three contrastive vowels, each of which may be contrastively short or long, except that long vowels are found only in the initial syllable of lexical roots (and in the directional prefix maa- 'away'). The stress pattern (2.2.3) and various morphosyntactic rules of verb derivation (7.2.1, 7.4.1) treat long vowels as equivalent to two short vowels and they are written as such. As far as I am aware however, there are no compelling phonological arguments to decide whether long vowels should be analysed as clusters or geminates of short vowels, as a set of distinct phonemes, or as the result of a

'vowel plus length phoneme',⁴ and for our purposes it is not necessary to resolve this matter. I state the relevant rules in terms of morae (Trubetzkoy 1962:172ff) - such that a syllable containing a short vowel consists of one mora, and a syllable containing a long vowel consists of two morae.

Yankunytjatjara Vowels

		<u>Front</u>	<u>Back</u>
	<u>High</u>	i,ii	u,uu
	<u>Low</u>		a,aa
2-2 (i)	tjaa 'mouth'		tjamu 'grandfather'
	nyaa(ku) 'what (for)'		nyaku(ku) 'will see'
	ngaaly 'breath, air'		ngalya 'forehead'
	kaanka 'crow'		kanku 'shade'
(ii)	tjiil 'tap root'		tjilpir 'splinter'
	nyii(ku) 'take this!'		nyiku 'elbow'
	pii 'skin'		pika 'hurt, angry'
	iili 'drizzle'		ili 'wild fig'
(iii)	yuun 'bundle'		yunpa 'face'
	tjuul 'pile of earth'		tjula 'knife'
	yuu 'windbreak'		yuwa 'give it'
	kuuti 'vital energy, life force'		kutu 'really'

Well-established spellings do not indicate the long vowels in the CONTR-
 astive conjunction kaa and the directional prefix maa- 'away' (usually
 spelt ka and ma-),⁵ but note the following contrasts:

- 2-3 (i) kaa-tja nya-ngu
 CONTR-lsgACC see-PAST 'and (someone) saw me'
- (ii) katja nya-ngu
 son(ACC) see-PAST 'and (someone) saw the son'
- 2-4 (i) maa-kati!
 away-take(IMP) 'take it away!'
- (ii) makaṯi 'rifle'

2.1.2 Phonetic Realisations

Consonants

Stops are unaspirated and voiceless except where preceded by a nasal or lateral, and sometimes in intervocalic position, where they are voiced.

The laminals have several allophones. The most general articulation is lamino-dental - tongue blade touching both sets of teeth, tongue tip against the lower teeth. Preceding the high front vowel /i/ the tongue blade is retracted slightly. As the second element of a non-homorganic consonant cluster the laminal stop /tj/ has additional allophones due to assimilation in place of articulation to the preceding consonant. It is lamino-alveolar following an apical alveolar, ie in clusters /ntj/, /ltj/ and /rtj/, and lamino-postalveolar following an apical postalveolar, ie in the clusters /ltj/ and /ntj/. In the cluster /rtj/ the tap may optionally be omitted, so that alveolar release of the stop is the only phonetic sign of the /r/ (cf Glass and Hackett 1970:110). /tj/ is also occasionally fricativised in word-initial or intervocalic position.

The apico-alveolars /t/, /n/, and /l/ involve the tongue tip touching the alveolar ridge, /m/ and /p/ are bilabial, and /k/ and /ng/ involve a portion of the back of the tongue touching the soft palate. For /t/, /l/ and /n/ the tongue tip touches the postalveolar region, giving rise to a relatively light retroflex quality in auditory terms (unlike the marked retroflex quality of sublamino-prepalatal retroflexes (Catford 1977: 150f)).

/r/ is usually realised as a tap, but may be trilled when a word is pronounced emphatically, or as a matter of individual style. /r/ may be voiceless word-finally. /y/ and /r/ are lamino- and apico-postalveolar approximants; /w/ is a bilabial dorso-velar semi-vowel, produced by a momentary movement toward and away from a [u] type stricture (Catford 1977:120, 131). /y/ and /w/ are weaker in auditory terms when followed by /i/ and /u/ respectively.

Vowels

There is considerable variation in the phonetic realisation of vowels, and the following notes are far from exhaustive. (Busby 1981 contains some acoustic analysis of vowel realisation in Pitjantjatjara, and eighteen other Australian languages.)

/a/ is a low central unrounded vowel approximating [ɐ] except following a laminal consonant, where it is somewhat fronted and perhaps more closed. In initial syllable following /w/ there is pronounced lip-rounding, except before a retroflex consonant.⁶

/i/ is a front vowel generally laxer, lower and more central than cardinal i, except following a laminal consonant. Preceding the tap /ɾ/ it is longer and still more centralised.

/u/ is a rounded back vowel, generally lax, lower and more central than cardinal u, tending to be somewhat fronted following a laminal consonant. Lip-rounding is more pronounced following a labial consonant.

All vowels have a distinct retroflex quality preceding a retroflex consonant. A weak vowel (2.2.4) at the end of an intonation group may be voiceless. Long vowels differ little from short vowels in quality.

2.2 PHONOTACTICS

2.2.1 Phonological Structure of the Word

A Yankunytjatjara word must have at least two morae, and can begin with a vowel or a consonant. Long vowels, written as clusters of identical short vowels, occur only in the initial syllable of lexical roots (and in the directional prefix maa- 'away'). Consonant clusters may consist of two consonants only in intervocalic position, and are subject to restrictions detailed in 2.2.2. (2-5) makes it clear that Yankunytjatjara syllables are of two types - non-initial CV(C), and initial (C)V(V)(C).

2-5 (C)V(V)(C) (CV(C))ⁿ condition: a word must contain at least two Vs

In stem-initial position the apical contrast (alveolar/postalveolar (retroflex)) is neutralised. Stem-initial apicals tend to be lightly retroflex in auditory quality. Otherwise any consonant but /r/ and /ly/ may be word-initial. In accordance with current orthographic practice I write initial apicals without underlining (except for the glide /ɿ/).

Yankunytjatjara differs from many Western Desert dialects in allowing both vowel-initial and glide-initial words. In Ngaanyatjarra and Pintupi for instance, the cognates of Yankunytjatjara vowel-initial words begin with a glide, usually /y/. In Yankunytjatjara's immediate western neighbour

Pitjantjatjara on the other hand, words beginning with /y/ are rare. These variations are illustrated below.

Some vowel-initial and /y/-initial words in three dialects

	<u>Yankunytjatjara</u>	<u>Pitjantjatjara</u>	<u>Ngaanyatjarra</u>
'opening'	<u>a</u> la	<u>a</u> la	y <u>a</u> la
'sweat'	ak <u>a</u> ri	ak <u>a</u> ri	yak <u>a</u> ri
'called over'	y <u>a</u> l <u>i</u> ngu	<u>a</u> l <u>i</u> ngu	y <u>a</u> l <u>i</u> ngu
'went'	yanu	anu	yanu
'avoidance relative'	um <u>a</u> ri	um <u>a</u> ri	yum <u>a</u> ri
'man's sister's/ woman's brother's child'	uk <u>a</u> ri	uk <u>a</u> ri	yuk <u>a</u> ri
'gave it'	yungu	ungu	yungu
'hollow, empty'	y <u>u</u> ltu	<u>u</u> ltu	y <u>u</u> ltu
'native fig'	<u>i</u> li	<u>i</u> li	y <u>i</u> li
'name'	ini	ini	yini

It is impossible to predict whether a given Yankunytjatjara word-form will begin with ya or yu as opposed to a or u, but this possible difference is not phonologically significant, in the sense that it never acts to distinguish two words - as far as I know, there are no minimal pairs which differ solely in whether they begin with /ya/ or /yu/ as opposed to /a/ or /u/. In other words, though word-initial /y/ is not predictable, neither is it contrastive. It should also be noted that word-initial /yi/ and /wu/ are rare in Yankunytjatjara, though they do occur eg yililpi 'stone axe/chopper', wurumpuru 'stabbing spear'.

In word-final position, stops, glides and peripheral nasals do not occur. The remaining permissible word-final consonants⁷ are the nasals /n/, /n/ and /ny/, the laterals /l/, /l/ and /ly/, and the tap /r/.

2-6	nguwan	'almost, rather'	tjuntal	type of cloud
	pulkun	'thick, matted'	pukul	'contented, happy'
	malany	'junior, sibling'	munytjuly	'wrist'
	wapar	'story, Dreaming, word'		

2.2.2 Consonant Clusters

Generalisations about C_1C_2 clusters are: (i) C_1 may not be a stop or a glide. (ii) C_2 may not be a lateral or /r/. (iii) Homorganic clusters are possible only if C_1 and C_2 have different manner of articulation (ie there are no geminate or double consonants). (iv) Non-homorganic clusters are possible only if C_1 is a non-peripheral and C_2 non-apical (ie peripheral or laminal). (v) If C_1 is /r/, C_2 must be non-apical, except that /rt/ is found across a morpheme boundary. (vi) In nasal-nasal clusters, C_2 must be non-laminal.

Morpheme-internally additional restrictions are: (i) C_2 may not be a glide. (ii) Lateral-nasal clusters do not occur. (iii) /nyp/ and /nyng/ do not occur.

(2-7) illustrates non-homorganic nasal-stop and lateral-stop clusters, (2-8) nasal-nasal clusters and (2-9) the permissible clusters beginning with /r/. Note that all homorganic nasal-stop and lateral-stop clusters are found.

2-7	nk - wanka	'alive, awake'	lk - walka	'design, pattern'
	<u>nk</u> - w <u>anka</u>	'spider'	<u>lk</u> - pa <u>lka</u>	'end-section of spear'
	nyk - panyka <u>ni</u>	'creeping up'	lyk - pulyku	'sinew'
	np - kanpa	'snake'	lp - tjalpa	'lower leg'
	<u>np</u> - ku <u>npu</u>	'strong'	<u>lp</u> - ma <u>lpa</u>	'companion'
			lyp - kalypa	'reconciled'
	ntj - kantja	'beard'	ltj - miltji	'finger/toe nail'
	<u>ntj</u> - ng <u>antja</u>	a type of mistletoe	<u>ltj</u> - tu <u>ltjungaranyi</u>	'kneeling'
2-8	nng - unngu	'inside'	nm - inma	'song'
	<u>nng</u> - ng <u>anngi</u>	type of frog	<u>nm</u> - wa <u>nma</u>	'far'
			nym - anymatjara	'hungry'
2-9	rp - tjarpa	'go in!'	rm - warmala	'raiding party'
	rk - tarka	'bone'	rng - lurnga	'boulder'
	rtj - tartja	'shallow'	rny - warny <u>ni</u>	'stripping leaves off'

Across a morpheme boundary the following clusters also become possible:

(i) the combinations /nyp/ and /nyng/ - for instance, the name-status NOMinative/ACCusative marker -nga or the FAMILY GROUP suffix -piti, may apply to a noun like malany 'junior sibling' (ii) lateral plus peripheral nasal - these occur when, for instance the causativiser ma-n CAUS or the ABLative case-marker -nguru is suffixed to a stem ending in a lateral (iii) lateral plus peripheral glide, (ie /w/). These arise for instance through reduplication of a root which begins with a glide and ends with a lateral eg watjil-watil 'rather homesick' wiruly-wiruly 'slippery' (iv) /r/ plus peripheral glide, again mainly through reduplication eg wapar-wapar 'a sort of story' (v) /rt/ - where ERGative or LOCative case-markers are suffixed to a stem ending with /r/ eg walkir-ta crack-LOC .

When the addition of a clitic particle to a consonant-final word would bring about a sequence of three consonants, Yankunytjatjara inserts the epenthetic vowel /a/, eg nguwan-mpa almost-INTEREST → nguwanampa, kurup-lta spirit-AND THEN → kurupaalta. (In citing examples where this occurs I have arbitrarily attributed the epenthetic vowel to the clitic morpheme).

2.2.3 Stress

There are two types of stress possible within a Yankunytjatjara word, both fully predictable.⁸ The auditory correlates of stress are relatively higher pitch and greater loudness. In decreasing order of prominence:

- (1) Primary stress normally occurs on the initial vowel of a word, and on the initial vowel of reduplicated roots. Directional prefixes to verbs behave as separate phonological words in that both prefix and verb receive primary stress.
- (2) Secondary stress is found on the initial vowel of di- and poly-moric suffixes.

2.2.4 Elisions

The following elisions operate in fluent speech but may be absent from slow or emphatic speech.

(1) Vowel elisions

A weak vowel can be defined as an unstressed vowel that: (i) follows an unstressed vowel, and (ii) precedes a stressed vowel.

If reduplication or compounding brings two vowels together, the second is elided (2-10) unless the first is weak, in which case it is elided (2-11).

- 2-10 (i) munta-uwa → muntawa⁹
 SORRY-yes 'oh yes, really' (conversational interjection)
- (ii) inka-inka-ra → inkankara
 fun-fun-PAIR 'pair of joking partners'
- 2-11 (i) ukiri-ukiri → ukirukiri
 green grass-green grass 'green'
- (ii) akuri-akuri → akurakuri
 sweat-sweat 'sweating'
- (iii) irmangka-irmangka → irmangkirmangka
 species of plant, 'mint bush'

If identical vowels are brought together by compounding or reduplication we can deduce which is affected, by analogy with examples like (2-10) and (2-11). For instance in (2-12) the roots involved are dimoric and by analogy with (2-10) we say that it is the second of the identical vowels which is omitted. In (2-13) where the initial root is trimoric, we say that the first (ie the weak) vowel is omitted by analogy with (2-11).

- 2-12 (f) ipi-ipi → ipipi
 milk-milk 'snake vine (a plant with milky sap)'
- (ii) tjuta-ara → tjutara
 many-occasion 'on many occasions, often'
- 2-13 (i) unturu-unturu → unturunturu
 'blossom, flowers'
- (ii) kutjupa-ara → kutjapara
 another-occasion 'on another occasion, sometimes'

The same phenomenon occurs in some close-knit (nuclear level) serial verb constructions (6.5.3), as in (2-14). A slight extension of the process operates to produce elisions as in (2-15), where the second of the two verbs begins with a /w/. One way of describing this is to say that the glide may be elided from the sequence /awa/ across a word-boundary, and the resulting vowel-vowel combination reduces in the usual manner.

- 2-14 (i) wanti-ra iya-ni → wantiriyani
 leave alone-SERIAL send-PRES 'lets go without harming'
- (ii) payi-ra iya-nu → payiriyanu
 drive off-SERIAL send-PAST 'sent packing'
- 2-15 (i) maa-waka -ra wana -ra → maa-wakarana
 away-pierce-SERIAL follow-SERIAL
 '..going away after them, piercing at them (with claws)..'
- (ii) ngalku-la wani -ma → ngalkulama
 eat -SERIAL throw-IMP.IMPF
 'be scattered around eating'
- (iii) pawu -ra wanti -nyi → pawuranyi
 roast-SERIAL leave off-PRES
 'putting it to bake and leaving it'

A weak vowel may also be elided where its loss gives rise to a homorganic consonant cluster. The phrases in (2-16) can be pronounced as single words with the elision as shown. (2-16i) is an 'inclusive' construction (4.2.1), and (2-16ii) a pronoun modified by the DEFINITE nominal palu- (4.4.2). If an elision brings together two identical consonants, they reduce to one, leading to the loss of the entire syllable. (2-17) illustrates this with a genitive pronoun plus noun, and a pronoun modified by the DEFINITE nominal. The following examples show the process giving rise to haplology - loss of one of two identical adjacent syllables - within a word, as in (2-18) where the -tjana HAVING and -tjanu SEQ 'after doing' suffixes are added to verbs nominalised with -nytja NOML, or between adjacent words, as in (2-19).

- 2-16 (i) Yami-nya tjana → Yaminytjana
 Yami-NOM NAME 3pl(NOM) 3pl(NOM/ERG) 'Yami and the others'
- (ii) palu-nya tjana-nya → palunytjananya
 DEF-ACC 3pl-ACC 'them (definite)'
- 2-17 (i) ngayu-ku katja → ngayukatja
 lsg-GEN son(NOM) 'my son'
- (ii) palu-mpa pula-mpa → palumpulampa
 DEF-GEN 3du-GEN 'of the two of them'

- 2-18 (i) yanku-nytja-tjara —> yankunytjara
 go -NOML -HAVING 'the Yankunytjara tongue'
- (ii) kulpa-nytja-tjanu —> kulpanytjanu
 return-NOML-SEQ 'after having returned'
- 2-19 (i) apu-ngka katu —> apungkatu
 hill-LOC above 'up on the hills, high on the hills'
- (ii) ngayu-ku kuri —> ngayukuri
 1sg-GEN spouse 'my spouse'

(2) Consonant Cluster Simplifications

Combinations of a lateral and peripheral glide (/w/), possible only across a morpheme boundary, are subject to elision of the glide in fluent speech.

- 2-20 (i) pampul-wiya —> pampuliya
 touch-NEG
- (ii) ngalkul-wiya —> ngalkuliya
 eat-NEG
- 2-21 (i) watjil-watjil —> watjilatjil
 homesick-homesick 'rather homesick'
- (ii) wiruly-wiruly —> wirulyiruly
 smooth-smooth 'slippery'

A nasal-stop cluster is subject to elision of the stop if: (i) it is followed by a cluster of the form nasal + k, and (ii) it follows two or more morae. Not all speakers apply this rule, even in fluent speech.

- 2-22 (i) kaanka-ngku —> kaanangu
 crow -ERG
- (ii) pika-ntanku-ku —> pikanankuku
 pain-HARM(neutral stem)-FUT
- (iii) nyuntu-mpa-nku —> nyuntumanku
 2sg-GEN-REFLEX

2.3 PARTS OF SPEECH

2.3.1 Principles

Modern linguistic practice (eg Hockett 1958:221f; Lyons 1968:317f; Schachter (to appear)) determines the membership of the part of speech

categories on 'formal' grounds - ie on the basis of similarities and differences in inflectional and derivational behaviour. The classes are then named on 'notional' grounds, on the understanding a notional characterisation does not have to apply to the whole of a morphosyntactically defined class but only to a "distinguished subclass of the total class (which) ...is focal within the larger class" (Lyons 1977:449).

In terms of the well-known distinction drawn by Matthews 1974 between lexeme (a unit of the lexicon), word (a grammatical representation) and word-form (a phonological representation), a parts of speech system is a classification of lexemes (or stems), not a classification of the types of word in a sentence. In Yankunytjatjara however, as in most languages, the classes of lexemes correspond very strictly to classes of words, so that (Hockett 1958:221) "the part of speech system can also be interpreted as a classification of whole words: the part of speech of a word is that of its stem". In this work therefore the lexeme/word/word-form distinction is maintained only when necessary for the purposes at hand, for instance in discussion of case homonymy in 3.1. At other times 'word' may be used in any of the three senses, eg the word (=lexeme) patja-l 'bite', word (=word-form)-finally, the word (=grammatical) patjani 'is biting'.

In grouping words together in terms of shared properties it is most revealing to set up (Hockett 1958:221) "a few large classes, divided into successively smaller classes on the basis of additional criteria". This hierarchical presentation helps bring out similarities between subclasses that would be obscured by simply listing the sub-classes all on a par. For Yankunytjatjara it is most revealing to set up two major classes, nominals and verbs (each with a number of subclasses), and a number of minor parts of speech - time qualifier, spatial qualifier, adverb, particle and exclamation.

2.3.2 Nominals

The defining property of nominals¹⁰ is that they (or the noun phrases (NPs) in which they occur in a sentence) are subject to case inflection and the expression of number. They can be further subdivided into: (i) nouns and adjectives (ii) demonstratives (iii) pronouns and the DEFINITE nominal.

The nominal case-marking system is of the 'split' or 'mixed' type found in many Pama-Nyungan languages. Nouns, adjectives, and demonstratives have a marked A form (ergative suffix -ngku/-lu/-Tu) but identical

unmarked S and O form (3.1). Pronouns and the DEFINITE nominal have a marked O form (accusative suffix -nya), but identical unmarked A and S form. The marking system for nouns and adjectives fairly consistently distinguishes 'common' from 'proper (name-status)' use of a word.

(1) Nouns and adjectives are both open classes of nominals. As in most Australian languages (Dixon 1980:272) they show almost identical morphological possibilities - that is, they take the same set of case-markers and derivational suffixes, and stem reduplication has the same semantic effect in both subclasses (4.6.6).

Nouns are grammatically distinct from adjectives in that only nouns may occur as the head element of a noun phrase (though an adjective may be the only explicit element of a noun phrase if the head noun is omitted through ellipsis (2.4.3)). Adjectives follow nouns in terms of linear order within a noun phrase. Semantically, a prototypical noun denotes a class of concrete objects or persons. Nouns may also denote places, natural phenomena, noises, ritual happenings and linguistic entities like words and languages. To account for certain types of noun phrase structure it is useful to recognise a small subclass of generic nouns (4.1.2-3) like kuka 'flesh food', wati 'initiated man', tjulpu 'bird'.

Adjectives in Yankunytjatjara can be roughly divided into active and stative classes. Stative adjectives are the semantically prototypical adjective - ascribing more or less permanent properties to the referent of a noun phrase. They are different from actives in that: (i) a stative adjective can be predicated of a subject in a verbless (ascriptive) sentence (2.4.1), and (ii) stative adjectives can occur within a noun-phrase (4.1.2). In fact, from the ordering within a noun-phrase we can recognise two further subclasses of stative adjectives¹¹ - descriptive (which includes dimension and other physical properties, value, personality and bodily traits) and quantifying (which includes the 'numerals', the plural adjective tjuta 'many', and words like winki 'the whole lot' and kutjuli 'all'). As in many Australian languages the distinction between nouns and (stative) adjectives is not always perfectly clearcut, especially since apposed nouns may modify other nouns (4.1.3).

Active (as opposed to stative) adjectives¹² essentially describe an actor 'in action' (manner eg wala 'quickly', puriny 'slowly, gently', ninti 'in an experienced way'; motive or attitude eg pika 'angrily', ngulu

'warily'; or sequence of action eg nganmany 'previously'). They do not ascribe properties to their referent except, as it were, within the referent's role as actor. They are different from statives in that:

(1) An active adjective cannot generally be predicated of a subject in a verbless (ascriptive) sentence. To express the meaning that someone 'held' or maintained an emotional or attitudinal state over an extended period of time, the active adjective is used as the complement of an intransitive stance verb such as nyina-Ø 'sit, live' (2.4.1).

(1i) Active adjectives do not as a rule enter into NPs, but form a separate phrase showing case agreement with the actor NP (3.3.1).

A small number of lexemes may function either as active or stative adjectives with a corresponding difference in meaning.

(2) Demonstratives

The demonstratives are a highly semantically-structured class of four deictic words that do not describe but directly indicate or 'point to' (Lyons 1977:637) something, in a sense through reference to physical presence or proximity (4.3). Morphosyntactically they resemble nouns and adjectives in that: (i) They take the same set of case-markers.

(1i) The category of number has a singular/plural opposition, whereas there are three number distinctions drawn with pronouns. Demonstrative adverbs may be derived from the demonstrative stems (4.3.3).

(3) Pronouns and the DEFINite Nominal

Yankunytjatjara pronouns show a three-way number contrast (singular, dual, plural). There is also a three-way person contrast (first, second, third), except that there is no third singular pronoun, the function of which is covered by ellipsis (2.4.3), use of a demonstrative (4.3), or the DEFINite nominal.¹³

The DEFINite nominal palu(ru) signals that the referent of an NP is the same as that previously mentioned, or understood. It can function as a modifier of nouns or pronouns, or stand alone as an independent NP, with some of the characteristics of a 3sg pronoun. Palu(ru) DEF also resembles the pronouns in its case-marking pattern, but despite these similarities there are enough syntactic differences to make it worthwhile to regard it as a distinct, but closely related, part of speech (4.4.2).

There is a small set of (en)clitic pronouns which usually adhere to the final word of the first phrasal constituent of a clause (4.4.3). Free and clitic pronouns are more or less interchangeable and may occur together with the effect of contrastive emphasis.

2.3.3 Verbs

Verbs are an open class with the defining property that they are subject to inflection for tense-aspect-mood (6.1-5). Semantically, they depict activities, processes, events, moods and feelings.

There are few Yankunytjatjara verbs which can occur in both transitive and intransitive clauses, allowing us to categorise them into two main subclasses - intransitive and transitive. Lexically simple (ie non-derived, non-compound) transitives include those of physical affect, like biting and hitting, some social acts like sending and telling, and verbs of perception such as seeing, hearing and smelling. Lexically simple intransitives include those of stance and motion, like standing, sitting and walking, some bodily processes like crying and laughing, and some spontaneous events like falling. There is no single copula verb comparable to English 'to be'. The Yankunytjatjara equivalents to English equational sentences are either verbless, or complement constructions with one of the stance/state verbs nyina-Ø 'sit', ngari-Ø 'lie' and ngara-Ø 'stand'. Ngara-Ø 'stand' is also the nearest equivalent to an 'existential' verb (2.4.1).

Not all Yankunytjatjara verbs fall neatly into one of the two major sub-classes. A few like yu-ng 'give' and ninti-l 'show' may take two accusative objects, and can be classified as di-transitive. A few like wangka-Ø 'talk, discuss' and kampa-Ø 'be burning, burn' may occur in both transitive and intransitive sentences, and be classified as ambi-transitive. Furthermore, there are some derived and compound 'cognate object' verbs, where the understood object is highly specific in nature and not fully 'individuated', which take ergative subjects but seldom or never take accusative objects (cf Austin 1980ms:3). In most of these cases, the verb stem incorporates a root denoting the 'object' produced by the action, eg delocutive verbs (7.3.3) and verbs of sound production (7.3.4).

A large number of verbs are formed by derivational processes which transform other parts of speech, especially nouns and adjectives, into verbs (7.2-4). There are also at least several hundred compound verbs, mostly based on the roots pu- 'hit, use force' and tju- 'place, put in position'. On a sample of about 1,000 verbs I estimate the proportion of lexically simple verbs at about 20% (cf Platt 1976a).

Each Yankunytjatjara verb belongs to one of four 'conjugation classes', which following Dixon 1980 I call the \emptyset -, l-, n-, and ng- classes. The largest are the l- and \emptyset - classes, which are composed primarily, but not exclusively, of transitive and intransitive verbs respectively. In contrast, the n- and ng- classes contain only a small number of lexically simple roots, and the rest of their membership is made up of verbs formed by compounding or derivation. There is a strong correlation between the 'mora parity' of a verb stem and verb-class membership. Stems containing an even number of morae are almost always l-class (if transitive) or \emptyset -class (if intransitive). Stems containing an odd number of morae are n-class (if transitive) or ng-class (if intransitive) (6.1.1, 6.1.3).

A large number of the l- and n-class transitive verbs are identical in form to vowel-final nominal stems, eg palya 'good, useful', palya-l 'make (tool), repair'; kuna 'shit, bowels', kuna-l 'remove bowels'; kantilya 'tight', kantilya-n 'tighten'. These result from 'zero-derivation' or 'conversion' (Lyons 1977:522f), ie derivation without the addition of an affix (or put another way, by the addition of a \emptyset affix). An adjective like palya 'good' is converted to a transitive verb stem by a derivational process that consists simply of assigning the stem to one of the transitive verb classes, according to the number of morae it contains. The main argument for this interpretation is that the resulting verbs are of the same syntactic and semantic type as those derived from consonant-final nominals by means of the suffix ma-n CAUS (7.4.1).

2.3.4 The Minor Parts of Speech

There are small closed classes whose members are not syntactically obligatory but function as 'adjuncts' (Lyons 1977:435-6). They do not qualify as nominals or verbs because they are not subject to a full range of inflection, either verbal or nominal. Some of the spatial qualifiers may take local cases, and both spatial and time qualifiers may take purposive case, but there is no possibility of a minor part of speech word occurring in a core case.

Spatial Qualifiers

These express position (eg katu 'above', tjaru 'below'), direction (eg wilurara 'west', ulparira 'south') or location (eg tjangati 'on this side', munkara 'beyond') with respect to some understood or specified reference

point (8.3.1). Spatial qualifiers are morphosyntactically different from time qualifiers and particles in that: (i) They may occur in ablative, allative and sometimes purposive cases. (ii) They may occur in combination with a preceding word, usually in locative case, specifying the reference point with respect to which position, direction or location is being expressed. They are readily converted to adjectives and verbs by productive processes (4.6.1, 7.2.3, 7.4.1).

Time Qualifiers

These are words like mungatu 'recently', iriti 'long ago', kuwari 'now, today', which express (in Western terms) the 'point time' (Dixon 1980:282) or 'historic time' an event takes place (8.4). They may occur in ablative or purposive case (eg iriti-nguru 'since/from a long time ago', ngula-ku 'for later') but are otherwise invariable in form. Note that duration is not expressed by time qualifiers but by certain members of the class of active adjectives. Time qualifiers may be converted to adjectives and intransitive verbs by productive processes (4.6.1, 7.2.8).

Free Particles

Free particles are morphologically inert words whose meaning in some sense ranges over the sentence as a whole, expressing the speaker's attitudes and beliefs (9.2). They are subject to various idiosyncratic syntactic restrictions, eg some such as uti SHOULD and tjinguru MAYBE generally occur sentence-initially, others like puta WHAT DO YOU SAY and kunyu QUOTative must occur in the second phrasal position.

Adverbs

In this work, the term adverb is used for morphologically inert words that do not qualify as free particles on semantic grounds eg ngapartji 'in turn, in return', piyuku 'again', ngaparku 'straight on', kulukulu 'as well', nguan 'almost, rather', kutu 'really'. As is to be expected of a residual class, they show considerable syntactic and semantic heterogeneity (5.8).¹⁴

Exclamations

These are words that form a complete, non-elliptical utterance in themselves, eg uwa 'yes', ngangka a swear word, swari an exclamation of self-conscious surprise. Some of the free particles, such as wanyu JUST LET, and a few nominals, such as wiya 'no, nothing, without' and ngaltutjara 'poor thing', function also as exclamations (9.3).

2.4 CLAUSE TYPES, WORD ORDER AND ELLIPSIS

2.4.1 Clause Types

Yankunytjatjara clauses can be classified in the first instance according to whether or not the predicate contains a verb.¹⁵

(1) Verbless clauses occur only as simple sentences, and they may not contain syntactic adjuncts. The subject expression and the predicate expression comprise distinct intonation groups separated by a pause, and there is usually some sort of prosodic emphasis or 'prominence' on the final word of the predicate.

There are three broad semantic types of verbless clause correlated with the nature of the predicative complement:

(i) Equative sentences, for example (2-23), identify the referent of one expression with the referent of the other - the complement is a noun phrase, a referring expression.

(ii) Verbless possessive sentences, as in (2-24), loosely speaking, assert (or deny or question) ownership, control or use - the complement may be a noun, demonstrative or pronoun suffixed either with purposive (genitive) case-marker (3.4.4) or the HAVING suffix -tjara (4.5.5), or followed by the negative morpheme wiya in the privative construction (4.5.6).

(iii) The third type of verbless sentence ascribes more or less permanent properties to a referent - the complement is a stative adjective, as in (2-25).

2-23 wati pala-tja ngayu-ku mama
 man just there-EVIDENT lsg-GEN father(NOM)
 'That man just there (is) my father'

2-24 (i) (katji) nyanga-tja ngayu-ku
 spear this-EVIDENT lsg-GEN(NOM)
 'This (spear) (is) mine'

(ii) ngayulu katji-tjara
 lsg(NOM) spear-HAVING(NOM)
 'I have a spear'

(iii) ngayulu katji wiya
 lsg(NOM) spear NEG(NOM)
 'I don't have any spears'

2-25 (1) wati nyanga-tja pulka
 man this-EVIDENT big(NOM)
 'This man (is) big'

(2) 'Verbal clauses' (ie, clauses with verbal predicates) may contain syntactic adjuncts (like locative and other peripheral NPs, and time and spatial qualifiers), and combine through serial verb, subordinate and coordinate constructions to form complex sentences. Verbal clauses fall into three types:

(1) In the major type the verbal predicate depicts a referent doing, perceiving, feeling or undergoing something, or being in a place.

(ii) Sentences like (2-26) - (2-28) ascribe more or less temporary properties or states to a referent. The predicate takes the form of an intransitive 'stance' verb preceded by a nominal, usually a stative adjective in nominative case. Generally nyina-Ø 'sit' is used in the sense of 'live', ngari-Ø 'lie' and pupa-Ø 'crouch, bend' when the referent can be seen as having the appropriate physical posture, and ngara-Ø 'stand' otherwise. Ngara-Ø 'stand' is thus the least semantically marked of these verbs.

2-26 nganana pukul nyinga-ngi
 1pl(NOM) contented(NOM) sit-PAST.IMPF
 'We were contented'

2-27 wati pala-tja pika-tjara ngari-nyi/
 man just there-EVIDENT sick-HAVING(NOM) lie-PRES
 pupa-nyi
 crouch-PRES
 'The man over there is (lying/crouching) sick'

2-28 (i) ngayulu kurun kuya ngara-nyi
 1sg(NOM) spirit bad(NOM) stand-PRES
 'I'm in bad spirits' 'I have a premonition'

(ii) pika pulka ngayulu ngara-nyi
 sick big(NOM) 1sg(NOM) stand-PRES
 'I'm really sick'

(iii) 'Existential' sentences like (2-29) - (2-32) also use 'stance' verbs, but there is no complement. Choice of verb is determined by the same factors as mentioned above. (Alternatively, it can be argued that

the underlying subject of such sentences is a locative and/or temporal expression (Lyons 1977:723; Wierzbicka 1980b:186, 189) and that the apparent 'subject' is a nominal complement. This need not concern us here).

2-29 tjalku tjuta kuwari nyina-nytja wiya
 bilby many(NOM) these days sit-NOML NEG
 'There are no bilbies these days'

2-30 kapi ngari-nyi?
 water(NOM) lie-PRES
 'Is there any water (there)?'

2-31 iriti wali pupa-nytja wiya
 long ago building(NOM) crouch-NOML NEG
 'Long ago there were no buildings'

2-32 (i) ..mitjini wiya-ngka panya, iriti, palu
 medicine NEG-LOC ANAPH long ago BUT OF COURSE

 kuwari mitjini ngara-nyi
 these days medicine(NOM) stand-PRES

..' (that was) in the old days, you know, when there was no
 medicine. But of course these days there is medicine'
 (as opposed to traditional remedies)

(ii) mitingi ngara-ngu
 meeting(NOM) stand-PAST
 'There was a meeting'

2.4.2 Word Order

Yankunytjatjara is typical of verb-final suffixing languages in its word order possibilities (Greenberg 1963). There is generally strict ordering within phrasal constituents like noun phrases and spatial qualifier phrases, usually in accord with the tendency for modifiers to follow in verb-final languages. (The exceptions concern demonstratives (4.3.2), genitive pronouns (3.4.4) and 'noun compounds' (4.1.4).) This section deals chiefly with the ordering of phrasal constituents within the clause, which as in most languages that encode semantic/grammatical role by case-marking allows considerable freedom.

In verbless sentences, the subject normally precedes the predicate, though the other order is also possible. In verbal clauses, the most common and semantically neutral ordering of the constituents is A/S-(O)-(X)-Verb, at least where both subject and object are nouns, but any order is possible. The 'verb final' condition is stronger than 'subject precedes object' condition in that: (i) post-verbal material is almost always separated from the verb by a pause, and (ii) the verb is almost invariably final in nominalised clauses. On the other hand, objects may precede subjects freely without a pause, both in main and nominalised clauses.

It appears that most deviations from the neutral order can be explained by these principles: (i) that sentence-initial position reflects 'prominence' or speaker's focus of interest;¹⁶ (ii) that post-verbal NPs either have 'afterthought' status (eg confirming the identity of a referent taken for granted in the preceding stretch of the utterance), or present information peripheral to the speaker's main concerns.

The 'initial prominence' principle explains the facts that: (i) accusative pronouns often precede non-pronominal subjects (ii) interrogatives are preferred in sentence-initial position (8.2.2), and (iii) demonstrative adverbs are common sentence-initially. It is also consistent with the fact that time qualifiers, and particles (like tjinguru MAYBE uti SHOULD and kunyu QUOTative) tend with varying strictness to occur sentence-initially or in the second phrasal position, since these elements provide a perspective from which further information is to be interpreted (Garcia 1979:34-35).

Peripheral NPs such as locative and purposive tend to immediately precede or follow the verb, though they may occur in any position. Adverbs almost always occur next to the verb they modify. Aside from embedded relative clauses, subordinate clauses usually occur in marginal position. Purposive, intentive (cf Greenberg 1963:84) and aversive clauses have a strong tendency to follow the main clause. Circumstantial clauses tend, rather less strictly, to precede it.

2.4.3 Ellipsis

It is impossible to consider ellipsis fully without taking into account a whole range of other context-dependent phenomena, including the use of pronouns, the definite nominal, word-order, sentence connectives and prosodic features such as prominence and intonation. The following

notes are therefore far from exhaustive.

Basically, any third person NP can be omitted if its referent is understood or 'recoverable' in context. First and second person NPs are less subject to ellipsis and in comparable textual conditions occur as clitic rather than free pronouns, (if a clitic exists for the person-number combination in question). The fact that, in narration, the CONTR-astive connective kaa and the ADDitive connective munu strongly imply switch-reference or identical reference respectively between the subjects of successive sentences allows extensive ellipsis in this type of discourse (9.1.2, 9.1.3). Otherwise, most ellipsis affects objects.

Ellipsis (which involves a specific 'recoverable' NP) is to be distinguished from the absence of an explicit subject as a device to indicate a 'non-specific' actor (as might be expressed in English 'one does so-and-so' or 'you do so-and-so'). This typically occurs in stories about customary or traditional practices - see for example (6-13) and (6-48).

Occasionally a head noun will be omitted from an NP, leaving an adjective alone in surface structure, as in (2-33).

2-33 ..munu-la palu-nya-tjanu-ngku pulka tjuta patja-nu
 ADD-1pl(ERG) DEF-ACC-SEQ-ERG big many(ACC) bite-PAST

 waka-nu tjuta, malu tjuta
 spear-PAST many(ACC) kangaroo many(ACC)

'After doing that we'd bite (=our dogs would bite) a lot of big (ones). (We'd) spear a lot, a lot of kangaroos'

CHAPTER THREE : CASE AND CASE-MARKING

3.1 PRINCIPLES

3.1.1 Case

In this thesis I employ a concept of case which is different to, and in some ways more traditional than that usually accepted in Australian linguistics. As I have argued for this view elsewhere (Goddard 1982) I will confine myself here to summarising the main points as they apply to Yankunytjatjara. The classical concept is that a 'case' is, roughly speaking, a class of nominal forms mutually interchangeable in certain syntactic or semantic contexts. The rationale for this traditional concept of case is precisely that it enables simple and elegant statement of morphosyntactic patterns. Case, as a category (substitution-class membership), must be rigorously distinguished from case-marking - which deals with the realisation or signalling of the category. In classical Indo-European linguistics it was always recognised that distinct cases could be realised by identical marking for some classes of lexeme, because in all Indo-European languages the accusative and nominative cases have identical (usually \emptyset) realisation with neuter (or a similar sub-class of) nouns. This is case homonymy - cf Huddleston 1975: "we will say there is homonymy in the paradigm of a given lexeme when two or more words in the paradigm are realised by the same word-form".

To see how this is at variance with conventional Australianist analyses, consider the marking pattern of Yankunytjatjara in the three core syntactic contexts A(transitive subject), O(transitive object) and S(intransitive subject) (Dixon 1979).

Yankunytjatjara core case-marking (vowel-final stems only)

	<u>common nouns and adjectives demonstratives</u>	<u>proper (name status) nouns and adjectives</u>	<u>pronouns definite nominal</u>
A	-ngku	-lu	\emptyset^*
S	\emptyset	-nya	\emptyset^*
O	\emptyset	-nya	-nya

(*except 1sg -lu and definite nominal -ru)

On the traditional concept of case, there are three underlying core case categories, an A case (ergative), an O case (accusative), and S case (nominative), because there are clearly three distinct substitution classes. Ergative case is the class of forms for which a common

noun suffixed by -ngku can be substituted; accusative the class for which a pronoun suffixed with -nya can be substituted; nominative the class for which either an unmarked pronoun or noun can be substituted (or conversely, for which neither a noun plus -ngku or a pronoun plus -nya can be substituted).

There is of course a systematic homonymy in the case-marking paradigm. Nouns and demonstratives have a distinct marked form for A, but identical form for O and S (-nya if a 'proper' noun, unmarked otherwise). Pronouns and the definite nominal have distinct marked forms for O (suffix -nya) but identical unmarked forms for A and S. Various semantic, functional and historical hypotheses have been proposed to account for this typically Australian marking pattern (see eg Dixon 1979, Wierzbicka 1981, DeLancey 1981, Goddard 1982) but these need not concern us here.

Despite this homonymy, we can always determine the case(category) of a nominal occurring in a non-unique case-form by substitution. Huddleston 1975:162 "where two words in a paradigm are realised by the same word-form, the standard test for determining which of the words is realised by a particular token of the word-form involves replacing the lexeme by one where the corresponding words are not homonymous".

In contrast to the traditional Indo-Europeanist practice, Australianists generally use case terminology to describe marking patterns. Yankunytjatjara pronouns would be said to occur in two 'cases' (case-forms) 'nominative' (unmarked) and 'accusative' (suffix -nya), and other nominals in 'ergative' (suffix -ngku/-lu) or 'absolutive' (\emptyset /-nya). Nouns and pronouns are held to have different case systems.

This interpretation has at least three (related) drawbacks. First, it leads us to see case disagreement in NPs which involve both nouns and pronouns. Second, it means that case is not considered a category of an NP, but of individual nominals. Third, it introduces inconsistency into the way some NP constructions are described. Consider the Yankunytjatjara 'personal' (inalienable possession (4.2.2)) and 'inclusive' (4.2.1) constructions, illustrated in (3-1) and (3-2). Similar constructions in other Australian languages are discussed in Goddard 1982.

- 3-1 (i) wati-ngku kata ngayi-nya pu-ngu
man-ERG head(ACC) lsg-ACC hit-PAST
'The man hit me on the head'

- (ii) punpun tjuta wati-ngka mara-ngka nyina-nyi
 flies many(NOM) man-LOC hand-LOC sit-PRES
 'There are flies on the man's hand' (lit: on-the-man
 on-the-hand)

The usual Australianist analysis sees case agreement in (3-1ii), but not in (3-1i) ('absolutive' kata 'head' vs 'accusative' ngayinya 'me'). Accordingly, the structure of kata ngayinya 'my(me) head' in (3-1i) is described as agreement or sharing of syntactic function, whereas watingka marangka in (3-1ii) is described as case agreement. Similarly, in an 'inclusive' construction (4.2.1) as illustrated in (3-2i) an NP like Tjani-nya ngali 'Johnny we-two' is said to contain nominals in different cases - Tjani-nya 'absolutive' and ngali 'nominative', ie there is supposed to be case disagreement within the NP in (3-2i), but not in (3-2ii). Accordingly, on the conventional analysis, (3-2i) is described in terms of 'shared syntactic function' and (3-2ii) as case agreement. Once again, we are forced into giving heterogeneous accounts of what seems a single phenomenon - a linguistically significant generalisation is being obscured.

- 3-2 (i) Tjani-nya ngali yanku-ku
 Johnny-NOM NAME Idu(NOM) go-FUT
 'Johnny and I (lit: Johnny we-two) might go'
- (ii) ngayulu Tjani-la tjana-la nyina-ngi
 Iag(NOM) Johnny-LOC NAME 3pl-LOC sit-PAST. IMPF
 'I was staying with Johnny and the others' (lit: with-
 Johnny with-them)

The classical concept of case, which recognises the possibility of case homonymy, allows the constructions in (3-1) and (3-2) to be described consistently in terms of case agreement, preserving the notion that case is a category applying to NPs as a whole, rather than to individual elements of the NP (though of course it may be marked separately on the individual elements of the NP).

3.1.2 Case and Meaning

My approach to the semantics of case follows Wierzbicka 1980a. On this view case (categories) are typically polysemous, encoding a range of related meanings, which ideally can be clearly modelled and separated from one another in semantic formulae. More accurately, a given case can usually participate in a number of syntactic constructions with interrelated meanings.

"Cases do not have meaning in isolation - their meanings are relative to specifiable syntactic constructions..for this reason it is more correct to speak of the ten, twenty, or whatever instrumental constructions that a language may have, and their ten, twenty or whatever interrelated meanings, than to speak of the ten, twenty, or whatever meanings of the instrumental case as such." (Wierzbicka 1980a:xix)

"This, I suggest, is how morphology works: a versatile grammatical exponent can serve a large number of different meanings - not on its own, but in collaboration with other indicators, such as the semantic and syntactic category of nouns and verbs occurring in a given construction. At the same time, the different meanings..are not disparate - are not widely and unpredictably different from one another; on the contrary they are usually very closely related and have a common core - ie a partial semantic invariant" (Wierzbicka 1982:789).

In many descriptions of Australian languages, case polysemy is recognised, by implication at least, in the notions of 'core' or 'prototypical', as opposed to 'extended' uses of a case, (Dixon 1980:292 "Cases labelled by the same name will have a common semantic core, but may differ widely in their extensions from this"), but there is seldom any systematic attempt to make explicit the semantic relatedness between the various uses of a particular case in a particular language. Nor has there been much interest in why a particular case in one language should have a certain range of extensions, while a case with the same core or prototypical function in another language should have a completely different range of extensions.

This lack of interest in the detailed language-particular semantics of case is associated with another feature of the conventional Australian approach, which is the practice of describing case systems within a preconceived framework of 'deep cases', 'case relations' or 'NP functions'. Blake (1977) for instance, employs a list of eleven 'case relations', and Dixon 1980 a similar list of twelve 'NP functions' ABSOLUTIVE, ERGATIVE, LOCATIVE, ALLATIVE, ABLATIVE, DATIVE, PURPOSIVE, CAUSAL, INSTRUMENTAL, AVERSIVE, and GENITIVE. Regardless of whether such inventories are held to be wholly or mainly language-independent, or are simply proposed as "a framework for comparison of individual case systems and for the reconstruction of pA cases" (Dixon 1980:293-4), on this approach the task of describing the case system of a particular language consists largely in saying which 'surface cases' (or simply 'cases' as we are using the term) correspond to the supposed deep cases or case relations. Since "no language has a separate case for all twelve functions" (Dixon 1980:293) the cases of any single language are subject to be viewed a priori as

each expressing several unrelated underlying categories, and we are led to ^{set} case systems in terms of homophony rather than polysemy.

3.2 CASE-MARKING IN YANKUNYTJATJARA

3.2.1 Introduction

For the reasons just presented I recognise three core cases in Yankunytjatjara - ergative, accusative and nominative. There are five other cases - locative, purposive (which also functions adnominally as a genitive), and ablative, allative and perlative (the last three of which are conveniently grouped together as 'local' cases). The marking system signalling these values presents a complex picture, not so much in the sheer number of markers (which is no greater than in many Australian languages) but in the way that morphological, phonological and semantic factors interact to determine their distribution.

It is fairly clear from internal evidence and dialect comparison that an earlier phonologically conditioned alternation in the marking of ergative and locative cases with nouns and adjectives has been partially re-interpreted to differentiate between common and 'proper' (name-status) use of a lexeme; and that the marking of the local cases (ablative, allative, and perlative) has been restructured to express the same distinction. The model for these analogical restructurings was probably a 'name-status' morpheme confined to nouns and adjectives with zero case-marking, which persists to this day. These matters are discussed in 3.2.2.

3.2.3 deals with the variation in case-marking pattern between pronouns and the definite nominal on the one hand, and other nominals. As far as core cases are concerned, this follows the usual Australian pattern. Pronouns and the definite nominal are also characterised by morphologically conditioned variation in the marking of purposive (genitive), locative and the local cases. The picture is complicated further by the fact that certain case-markers also have stem-forming (3.2.3) and clause marking (3.2.4) functions.

3.2.2 Nouns, Adjectives and Demonstratives

The full paradigm of the case-marking of nouns, adjectives and demonstratives is set out in Table 3.1.

Except for the purposive(genitive) which is invariably marked with -ku¹ each case can be indicated by one of several markers. Some of this

Table 3.1 Case-Marking of Nouns, Adjectives and Demonstratives

	<u>nom</u>	<u>acc</u>	<u>purp</u> (<u>gen</u>)	<u>erg</u>	<u>loc</u>	<u>all</u>	<u>abl</u>	<u>perl</u>
common nouns	∅	∅	-ku	-ngku*	-ngka*	-kutu	-nguru	-wanu
adjectives								
demonstratives	C-final	∅	-ku	-Tu ⁺	-Ta ⁺	-kutu	-nguru	-wanu
name status	C-final	-nga	-ku	-Tu ⁺	-Ta ⁺	-Ta-kutu	-Ta-nguru	-Ta-wanu
nouns and	V-final	-nya	-ku	-lu	-la	-la-kutu	-la-nguru	-la-wanu
adjectives								

* except that older speakers sometimes use -lu/-la with stems containing more than two morae

+ where T is a stop homorganic with preceding consonant

variation is phonologically conditioned (for instance, the ergative and locative markers are invariably -Tu and -Ta following a C-final stem, and the name-status forms of the nominative and accusative cases are marked with -nya if V-final, and -nga if C-final) but most of the remaining variation has semantic significance, indicating whether the NP is being used as a name or not.

It is essential to realise that this variation has independent semantic significance, and cannot be fully predicted from the morpholexical class of the stem. There is indeed a lexical class of personal names (such as the female names Yipaṭi, Anmanari, Kukika, and the male names Yami, Tjulyu, Tjami) which always take 'name-status' case-markers. Also, there are two nominal interrogative stems nyaa- 'what' and ngana- 'what name, who' (8.2.2) which must take the common and name-status markers respectively. But despite this limited predictability the name-status markers may be applied, in principle, to almost any noun or adjective stem. For instance, most kin and stage of life terms may occur with either common or name-status markers, with an associated difference in meaning. For instance, as suggested by the capitalisation of the word 'Father' in the gloss of (3-3ii) a term like mama 'father' can be used as if it were a name, as for instance within a single family. (3-4ii) shows the word tjilpi 'old man' used as a name, (see also (8-28) and (3-36)).

3-3 (i) kaa mama-nga watja-nu
 CONTR father-LOC say-PAST
 'And (he or she) told (the/his or her) father'

(ii) kaa mama-la watja-nu
 CONTR father-LOC NAME say-PAST
 'And (he or she) told Father'

3-4 (i) wati tjilpi yana-nyi
 man old man(NOM) go-PRES
 'The/An old man is walking/going'

(ii) tjilpi-nya anku-ringku-la ngari-nyi
 old man-NOM NAME sleep-INCHO-SERIAL lie-PRES
 'The Old Bloke is asleep'

It could be argued of course that the kin vocabulary and some of the stage of life terms showed systematic polysemy - ie that mama 'father' and tjilpi 'old man' for instance belong in both common and proper noun

categories (like English 'mother', 'father'). This proposal flounders on other aspects of the use of the name-status markers, such as the formation of 'nick names' and place names. Conceivably, any word can be turned into a nickname though those most commonly used describe some physical or social attribute, eg Tungku(nya) 'Shortie', Wara(nya) 'Slim, tall' Tjampu(nya) 'Leftie', Pulka(nya) 'big' Wangkatı(nya) 'big talker, Big-mouth'. Similarly, places often have 'descriptive' names composed of ordinary lexemes eg Maluwalpa(nya) 'kangaroo-wind', Aparakurakura(nya) 'river gum-rubbishy', Karu(nya) 'creek', Katiti(nya) 'teeth' (cf Myers 1976:171f). Usually these relate to physical features of the location or to the events in the Dreaming story associated with the place, or both.

I conclude from these facts that for most Yankunytjatjara speakers the case-markers are portmanteau morphemes, indicating name-status² as well as case. As indicated in the note to Table 3.1 however, this statement must be qualified for older speakers, who tend to use the -lu ergative and -la locative markers not only for name-status nouns and adjectives, but also with common nouns and adjectives that contain more than two morae, as in (3-5) and (3-6). (See also (3-20), (3-112), (4-108), (6-14).) (This necessitates some inconsistencies in inter-linear glosses: -lu and -la are glossed ERG NAME and LOC NAME except where an older speaker uses them with a polymorphic stem, where they are glossed ERG and LOC.)

3-5 nyaa-ngku yuratja ngalku-payı? kalaya-lu
 what-ERG Caladrina sp.(ACC) eat-CHAR emu-ERG

rapita-lu malu-ngku piluka-lu nyanytju-ngku
 rabbit-ERG roo-ERG bullock-ERG horse-ERG

'What eats Caladrina plant? - the emu, rabbit, kangaroo, bullock, and horse'

3-6 ...ngalku-la punu tjarapakutjara-la karala-wa...
 eat-SERIAL tree fork-LOC wedge in-IMP

'(After) eating it, (the quoll) would wedge it into a fork in the tree...'

I have not noticed this feature in the speech of older Pitjantjatjara speakers, and Trudinger did not mention it in his 1943 grammar. Some Yankunytjatjara people told me it was a practice confined to Yankunytjatjara. Another peculiar aspect of this usage is precisely that it is limited to the ergative -lu and locative -la. For instance, the name-

status markers for nominative and accusative case (-nya/-nga) are always and only associated with name-status³. These facts, in conjunction with comparison with other Western Desert dialects and related languages, suggest an historical origin for the present-day situation.

In most of the many Australian languages that have alternative allomorphs cognate with Yankunytjatjara -ngku/-lu ergative and -ngka/-la locative, their distribution is determined solely by phonological factors. Very often, as in Warlpiri and Panyjima, the -ngku ERG and -ngka LOC are used with stems containing two vowels, and -lu ERG and -la LOC with stems containing more than two vowels (Dixon 1980:306; Dench 1981:24). Hale 1976b has suggested that this was the original conditioning in Proto-Pama-Nyungan. Suppose that in an ancestor language to Yankunytjatjara this was indeed so, and furthermore that at this early stage the -nya/-nga morpheme functioned solely as an indicator of name-status on nouns which carried no positive (ie non- \emptyset) inflection, as set out in (3-7). In a situation like this it is likely there would be analogical pressure in favour of a re-interpretation of the alternate forms in terms of a single parameter.

- 3-7 (i) ergative locative
 -ngku -ngka following stem with two vowels
 -lu -la elsewhere
- (ii) \emptyset = nominative/accusative case
- (iii) -nya/-nga = name-status (with \emptyset case-marked stems only)

It seems plausible that the phonologically conditioned ergative and locative alternation was re-interpreted to express the name-status distinction. Logically this involves two innovations: (i) extending the -lu/-la markers to name-status stems containing two vowels, (ii) extending the -ngku/-ngka marker to non-name-status stems containing more than two vowels. It would seem that innovation (i) has applied completely in both Yankunytjatjara and Pitjantjatjara. Pitjantjatjara has completed innovation (ii) also, erasing all traces of phonological conditioning, but in Yankunytjatjara (ii) has only been partially carried through, so that -lu and -la are still occasionally found with stems containing more than two vowels.

This hypothesis is supported by case-marking variations found in Nyaanyatjarra and Pintupi. In both dialects the -nya/-nga morpheme is invariably found with name-status nouns and adjectives, further

testimony of its antiquity. In Ngaanyatjarra however the -ngku and -ngka forms have been lost almost entirely, so that all nouns and adjectives⁴ have ergative and locative markers -lu and -la respectively, regardless of name-status (Douglas 1964:58). In Pintupi the ergative is invariably -lu and locative -ngka regardless of name-status. In terms of the hypothetical Pre-Western Desert situation, where Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara have moved to analogise the variations so that they are conditioned by a single parameter, Ngaanyatjarra and Pintupi have eliminated the phonologically conditioned variation altogether.

Now consider the marking of the local cases, noting that name-status is indicated by adding a basic suffix (-kutu ALLative, -nguru ABLative -wanu PERLative) to a stem already suffixed with a locative marker (-la for vowel-final stems, -Ta for consonant-final stems). In this context, the locative -la and -Ta are not in complementary distribution with the -ngka locative marker.

3-8 (i) ngayulu Mimili-la-kutu/-nguru yana-nyi
 lsg(NOM) Mimili-LOC NAME-ALL/-ABL go-PRES
 'I'm going to/from Mimili'

(ii) ngayulu ngura-(*ngka)-kutu/-nguru yana-nyi
 lsg(NOM) camp-(*LOC)-ALL/-ABL go-PRES
 'I'm going to/from camp'

The stem-forming role of the -la and -Ta locative markers will be discussed further in 3.2.4. It seems likely the present system results historically from a restructuring of an older system in which the local case-markers were added directly to the nominal stem (or perhaps uniformly to a locative-marked stem) regardless of name-status. Finally, note that the name-status marker for nominative and accusative cases -nya/-nga has a similar, but more restricted, auxiliary function in forming name-status stems for the addition of the relator suffixes (3.2.4).

3.2.3 Pronouns and the Definite Nominal

The case marking paradigm for pronouns and the definite nominal is set out in Table 3.2 (see also 4.4.1 and 4.4.2).

There are three major points to be made.

Table 3.2 : Case-Marking of Pronouns and Definite Nominal

	<u>erg</u>	<u>nom</u>	<u>acc</u>	<u>purp</u> (<u>gen</u>)	<u>loc</u>	<u>all</u>	<u>abl</u>	<u>perl</u>
pronouns except 1sg	∅	∅	-nya	-mpa	-la	-la-kutu	-la-nguru	-la-wanu
definite nominal (palu)	-ru	-ru	-nya	-mpa	-la	-la-kutu	-la-nguru	-la-wanu
1sg (ngayu)	-lu	-lu	-nya	-ku	-la	-la-kutu	-la-nguru	-la-wanu

(1) The marking pattern for core cases differs from that used with other nominals in that the accusative (O) case is overtly marked with -nya, while the nominative (S) and ergative (A) case-forms are identical, and unmarked except for lsg and the definite nominal palu-. (The lsg nominative/ergative suffix -lu is presumably a fossilised ergative marker. The definite nominal nominative/ergative suffix -ru possibly also descends from an earlier ergative marker, via dissimilation *palu-lu > palu-ru.) The purposive(genitive) marker has a special form for pronouns except lsg, -mpa as opposed to -ku used with other nominals (including lsg).⁵ On the model of case and case marking adopted in 3.1 these alternations are described as morphologically conditioned.

(2) There are certain resemblances between the pronominal markers and the non-pronominal name-status markers.⁶ (i) The pronominal accusative suffix -nya is identical to the name-status nominative/accusative marker. (ii) The locative case is marked with -la (which signals name-status when applied to nouns and adjectives), rather than -ngka. It is difficult to assess the significance of this correlation because -la is found as a pronominal locative in many languages without a grammaticalised name-status category, eg in Panyjima and Warlpiri -ngka is found with disyllabic noun stems, -la with polysyllabic noun stems and pronouns even though/when these are disyllabic. (iii) The local cases are constructed according to the same pattern which with non-pronominal stems indicates name-status - namely locative -la followed by one of the suffixes -kutu ALLative, -nguru ABLative and -wanu PERLative.

(3) The accusative marker -nya is suffixed to pronominal stems prior to the application of relator suffixes such as -kitja INTENT and -tjara HAVING.

3.2.4 Stem-forming Functions of Case-Markers

This section brings together and expands the basic points noted in the preceding sections, which weaken any attempt to maintain a rigid dichotomy between inflectional and derivational functions.⁷

(1) Locative markers -la (V-final stem) and -Ta (C-final stem) are added to nouns and adjectives to indicate name-status prior to a local case suffix. The pronominal locative -la is added to a pronoun stem prior to a local case suffix.

		<u>locative</u>	<u>local cases</u>
name-status nouns and adjectives	C-final	-Ta	-Ta + kutu/-nguru/-wanu
	V-final	-la	-la + kutu/-nguru/-wanu
pronoun		-la	-la + kutu/-nguru/-wanu

I have decided to gloss -Ta and -la in these contexts as follows: (i) V-final -la with name-status nouns and adjectives LOC NAME (ii) pronominal -la simply LOC. Both these glosses, happily, apply whether the -la occurs as a locative case-marker, or a name-status indicator prior to a local case-marker. (iii) -Ta however is a name-status indicator only when followed by a local case marker and is then glossed LOC NAME, but as a locative case-marker it is simply glossed LOC, because -Ta is the invariable C-final locative allomorph (eg unytjun-ta warmth-LOC, Fregon-ta 'at Fregon', unytjun-kutu warmth-ALL, Fregon-ta-kutu Fregon-LOC NAME-ALL).

The stem-forming role of these locative suffixes is particularly clear in certain complex noun-phrase constructions involving pronouns and name-status nouns, such as the 'inclusive' construction (4.2.1) and the use of the definite nominal palu- as a modifier of a third person pronoun (4.4.2). Each element of a noun-phrase of this type bears a locative marker and a single local case suffix is applied to the final constituent only.

3-9 (i) ..nyuntu-la ngali-la -kutu
2sg-LOC 2du-LOC-ALL
'towards you and I (you we-two)'

(ii) Yami-la tjana-la-nguru
Yami-LOC NAME 3pl-LOC-ABL
'from Yami and the others ("Yami mob")'

3-10 (i) ..palu-la pula-la-wanu
DEF-LOC 3du-LOC-PERL
'through/via the two of them'

(2) The -nya/-nga nominative/accusative marker is added to nouns and adjectives to indicate name-status before a relator suffix. The pronominal accusative marker -nya is added to pronoun stems prior to a relator suffix.

		<u>nom</u>	<u>acc</u>	<u>relator-suffixed forms</u>
name-status nouns and adjectives	C-final	-nga	-nga	-nga + kitja/-tjara/-tjanu/-tjiratja
	V-final	-nya	-nya	-nya + kitja/-tjara/-tjanu/-tjiratja
pronouns		∅	-nya	-nya + kitja/-tjara/-tjanu/-tjiratja

I have decided to gloss -nya/-nga with nouns and adjectives as ACC NAME, and pronominal -nya as simply ACC. Note examples (3-13) and (3-14), involving the inclusive construction and the definite nominal palu- modifying a third person pronoun. As in the comparable examples (3-9) and (3-10), we see that each of the constituent elements bears an accusative marker, with a relator suffix added to the final constituent. (Note by the way that sentences like these are very infrequently heard.)

3-11 nyaa-ku-n ngalya-ya-nu? nyuntu-nya-kitja
 what-PURP-2sg(NOM) this way-go-PAST 2sg-ACC-INTENT(NOM)
 'What did you come here for?' 'Wanting (to get) you'

3-12 pulyantu panya-lta katantana-nyi,
 native tobacco(ACC) ANAPH-AND THEN break off-PRES

 munu palu-nya-tjanu-ngku wita-ni, kalpi
 ADD DEF-ACC-SEQ-ERG singe -PRES leaves

 wita-ni
 singe -PRES
 '(They) break off some of that tobacco plant, and after
 that they singe it, the leaves'

3-13 ngayulu kuwari yana-nyi, palu-nya tjana-nya-kitja
 1st(NOM) now go-PRES DEF-ACC 3pl-ACC-INTENT(NOM)
 'I'm going now, for those (things)'

3-14 ngayulu Yami-nya tjana-nya-tjiratja
 1sg(NOM) Yami-ACC NAME 3pl-ACC-INTENT(NOM)

 watjil-ari-ngi
 lonesome-INCHO-PAST.IMPF
 'I was lonesome for Yami and the others (for "Yami mob")'

3.2.5 Marking of Nominalised Clauses

Embedded relative clauses (5.2.2) generally take the name-status case-markers. This may be partly due to the semantic similarity between relative clauses and names, *vis*, that in both cases the speaker's

intention is to enable the addressee to make a unique identification of a referent.⁸ (I have not encountered non-restrictive relative clauses in Yankunytjatjara.)

Subordination in Yankunytjatjara is achieved by applying case-markers or other nominal suffixes to nominalised clauses (see Chapter 5). Purposive clauses are invariably marked with -ku. Circumstantial (5.4.1) clauses are marked with locative -la. Post-circumstantial (5.4.3) and aversive (5.5) clauses are marked with locative -ngka. This alternation correlates with whether the base to which the locative marker is suffixed contains an even (-ngka) or odd (-la) number of morae, for the following reasons. Both the action/state -nytja NOML and 'characteristic' -payi CHAR nominalisers apply to the neutral stem form of a verbal lexeme, which, for the reasons discussed in 6.1.3, always contains an even number of morae. Thus the circumstantial construction - neutral stem (even morae) + NOML (-nytja) + LOC(-la) has -la applying to an odd-morae base. The aversive construction - neutral stem (even morae) + CHAR (-payi) + LOC(-ngka) has -ngka applying to an even-morae base. The post-circumstantial construction - neutral stem (even morae) + NOML (-nytja) + ASSOC(-itja) + LOC(-ngka) again has -ngka applying to an even-morae base.⁹

circumstantial 'while he or she was drinking, talking, putting (it)'
hitting (it)'

tjikintja-la wangkanytja-la tjunkunytja-la pungkunytja-la

post-circumstantial 'after he or she had drunk/ talked/ put it/ hit it'

tjinkintjitja-ngka wangkanytjitja-ngka tjunkunytjitja-ngka
pungkunytjitja-ngka

aversive 'lest he or she drink/ talk/ put it/ hit it'

tjikilpayi-ngka wangkapayi-ngka tjunkupayi-ngka pungkupayi-ngka

3.3 SPECIAL CORE CASE CONSTRUCTIONS

3.3.1 Actor Agreement

A wide range of simple and derived nominal expressions obligatorily show case agreement with the actor NP - ie carry ergative markers (-ngku, -lu, -Tu) in transitive clauses, and are unmarked (ie in nominative case) in intransitive clauses.¹⁰ These are of two main types (1) active adjectives describing the manner, emotional/intentional state, or sequence in which an actor does something (2) derived constituents which semantically and

syntactically resemble active adjectives. In addition, (3) there are some nouns and stative adjectives - ie lexemes that may constitute heads or modifiers within an NP, which are also capable of functioning as active adjectives with a 'manner' interpretation.

(1) Active adjectives differ from nouns and stative adjectives in that they may not be the predicate of a verbless sentence and cannot occur as a modifier or head within an NP (2.3.2, 2.5.1). They constitute a separate phrase which need not be contiguous to the actor NP (eg(3-17), (3-18)), but which agrees with it in case. Semantically, active adjectives, like English 'manner adverbs', describe how a particular action was carried out. They can be roughly divided into three main semantic subtypes - (i) manner¹¹ eg wala 'quickly', puriny 'slowly', kanmar 'quietly', ninti 'competently' (3-15)-(3-17); (ii) emotion/intention eg ngulu 'fearfully, warily', mirpan 'angrily, vengefully' (3-18), (3.4.3); (iii) sequence of action¹² eg nganmany 'previously', warara 'firstly', mapalku 'immediately' (3-19)-(3-20). Anee Glass (p.c.) points out that the first two of these types can be seen as describing the transient state of the actor as he or she goes through an action.

3-15 (i) wati wala/puriny yana-nyi
 man(NOM) quickly(NOM)/slowly(NOM) go-PRES
 'The man is going along quickly/slowly'

(ii) wati-ngku wala-ngku/ puriny-tju kati-nyi
 man-ERG quickly-ERG/slowly-ERG take-PRES
 'The man is bringing it quickly/slowly'

3-16 (i) kanmar nyina-ma!
 quietly(NOM) sit-IMP. IMPF
 'Sit quietly!'

(ii) kanmar-tu kuli-rma!
 quietly-ERG listen-IMP. IMPF
 'Listen quietly!'

3-17 wati tjilpi-ngku kuka palya-ningi ninti-ngku
 man old man-ERG meat(ACC) divide-PAST. IMPF knowingly-ERG
 'The old man was butchering the meat in an experienced fashion'

3-18 (i) tjitji kumpi-ra nyina-nyi wati-ku
 child(NOM) be concealed-SERIAL sit-PRES man-PURP
ngulu
 fearful(NOM)

'The child is hiding, fearful of the man'

(ii) wati-ngku kanpa ngulu-ngku pu-ngu
 man-ERG snake(ACC) fearful-ERG hit-PAST
 'The man hit the snake fearfully'

3-19 (i) ngayulu nganmany-tju nya-ngu
 lsg(ERG) beforehand-ERG see-PAST
 'I've seen it previously'

(ii) yanku-la Yami-nya watja-la, palu
 go-SERIAL Yami-ACC NAME say-IMP BUT OF COURSE
nganmany-tju tjilpi-nya nya-wa
 beforehand-ERG old man+ACC NAME see-IMP

'Go tell Yami, but before that, see the old man'

3-20 ..mapalku-lu kutu payi-ntja-ku
 immediately-ERG really drive out-NOM-PURP,
mapalku yanku-nytja-ku
 immediately(NOM) go-NOML-PURP

'..so (we) can drive them right out immediately, so (they)
 go straight away'

(2) Most derived expressions showing actor agreement are semantically similar to one of the three main subtypes of active adjectives. For instance, perrelative NPs (suffix -wanu/-lawanu), roughly speaking, describe the route taken by an actor in performing an action. Semantically they resemble manner adjectives (3.6.4). Intensive and deprivative NPs (suffixes -kitja and -tjiratja (4.5.2-3)) resemble emotional/intentional adjectives. Sequentive NPs (suffix -tjanu SEQ 'after doing' 4.5.3) resemble active adjectives of sequence.

3-21 wati-ngku kungka tali-wanu-ngku nya-ngu
 man-ERG woman(ACC) sandhill-PERL-ERG see-PAST

'The man saw the woman (by looking) across the sandhill'

3-22 wati-ngku makati kati-ngu malu-kitja-ngku
 man-ERG rifle(ACC) take-PAST roo-INTENT-ERG
 'The man took the rifle, for (shooting) kangaroos'

3-23 kaa kungka ngunytju-ngku ngapartji-lta
 CONTR woman mother-ERG in turn-AND THEN
 pawu-nma-r, kapi-tjanu-ngku
 bake-IMP. IMPF-EXCIT water-SEQ-ERG
 'And the mother in turn would bake food, after (getting)
 water'

'Having' and privative expressions formed respectively with the suffix
 -tjara HAVING (4.4.5) and the NEGative morpheme wiya (4.4.6) also show
 actor agreement. The semantic rationale for this is presumably that they
 depict an actor either having, or not having, control over something.

3-24 (i) paluru tjana papa-tjara-ngku nguri-ningi
 DEF(ERG) 3pl(ERG) dog-HAVING-ERG seek-PAST. IMPF
 'They were seeking with dogs'

(ii) wati tjilpi kuka-ku ya-nu katji-tjara
 man old man(NOM) meat-PURP go-PAST spear-HAVING(NOM)
 'The old man went for meat (=hunting) equipped with a spear'

3-25 paluru tjana mutaka wiya-ngku waru
 DEF(ERG) 3pd(ERG) car NEG-ERG fire(ACC)
 tjali-ra ngalya-kati-ngu
 load on head-SERIAL this way-bring-PAST
 'Not having a car, they loaded the firewood on their heads and
 carried it here'

Actor agreement is also found in sentences describing the deliberate non-
 performance of an action. As described in 8.1.4, the finite verb of such
 a sentence specifies the alternative course of action that was or
 should be followed; the avoided action is specified by a phrase contain-
 ing a verb stem or nominalised verb followed by the NEGative morpheme
 wiya, and this phrase shows actor agreement. The semantic rationale here
 may be that the inflecting phrase shows the manner in which the actor
 carried out the action depicted by the main verb - while or by not doing
 something else.

3-26 tjitji tjuta, wangka-nytja wiya nyina-ma
 child many talk-NOML NEG(NOM) sit-IMP.IMPF
 'Children! Sit without talking'

3-27 tjitji-ngku nyaku-nytja wiya-ngku wanti-ngu
 child-ERG see-NOML NEG-ERG leave alone-PAST
 'The child left it alone, without looking at it'

(3) Some stative adjectives and nouns may function as active adjectival phrases showing actor agreement, with a 'manner' interpretation. These include (i) stage of life and kin terms, as in (3-28) (ii) certain simple adjectives like palya 'good, well' and kutju 'one, alone' (3-29) (iii) the derived adjectives mungatja night-ASSOC and kalalitja daylight-ASSOC (3-30) (iv) simple and derived terms for speech varieties (6-13) and styles (9-77) and (v) sometimes, phrases showing duration (3-31).

3-28 (i) nganana tjitji-ngku nyaku-payi
 1pl(ERG) child-ERG see-CHAR
 'We used to see (it) as children'

(ii) mama mala-tja-ngku-nta-na
 father behind-ASSOC-ERG-2sgACC-1sg(ERG)
 angawangka-nyi
 speak up to block criticism-PRES
 'I'm speaking as (his) junior father to block you off'

3-29 (i) tjintu-ngka-na palya-ngku nyanga-nyi
 sun-LOC-1sg(ERG) good-ERG see-PRES
 'Tomorrow I'll look (at it) properly (ie in good light)'

(ii) kutju-ngku-na kuli-ningi
 one-ERG-1sg(ERG) think-PAST.IMPF
 'I was considering it by myself (ie not consulting or telling others)'

3-30 (i) mayi-ya munga-tja-ngku yungku-payi
 food(ACC)-3pl(ERG) night-ASSOC-ERG give-CHAR
 'They used to distribute the food of an early morning'
 (ie while it is still (almost) dark)

(ii) wala-ngku-ya kalal-itja-ngku ngura
quickly-ERG-3pl(ERG) daylight-ASSOC-ERG camp(ACC)

ilawiti-nma
set off to-IMP.IMP

'You should set off to camp quickly, while its still light'

3-31 (i) nganana kapi tjiki-ra wiya-nu, tjintu
lpl(ERG) water(ACC) drink-SERIAL finish-PAST day

kutjara-ngku
two-ERG

'We drank all the water over two days'

(ii) munu-la kapi wiya nyina-ma, tjintu kutjara
ADD-lpl(NOM) water NEG(NOM) sit-IMP.IMP day two(NOM)

'And we'd be without water for two days'

3.3.2 Accusative Case

(1) Di-transitive verbs, such as yu-ng 'give', walku-l 'address someone as relative' and ninti-l 'show', may occur with two accusative arguments. The 'recipient' NP usually comes first. (See also (4-63) and line 14 of Text 3.)

3-32 ngayi-nya niipaniipa yu-wa!
lsg-ACC scissors(ACC) give-IMP
'Pass me the scissors'

3-33 ngayulu tjilpi panya kuta
lsg(ERG) old man(ACC) ANAPH senior brother(ACC)

walku-ni
address-PRES

'I address that old man as big brother'

(2) With verbs of speech and cognition (as well as ninti-l 'show') there are several different case-marking possibilities in respect of NPs indicating the topic spoken or thought about, and the person or persons spoken or listened to. Accusative case is used to specify and focus attention on the topic being discussed. The addressee, if mentioned at all, usually occurs in the locative case, with a peripheral semantic effect (3.5.1).

- 3-34 tjilpi-lu Brian-ta tjapi-nu tamiyaka
 old man-ERG NAME Brian-LOC ask-PAST tomahawk(ACC)
 'The old man was asking Brian about a tomahawk'
- 3-35 mani-li wangka-nyi
 money(ACC)-ldu(ERG) talk-PRES
 'We're talking about/discussing money'
- 3-36 ngayulu mama-nya kuli-ningi
 lsg(ERG) father-ACC NAME think about/listen-PAST. IMPF
 'I was thinking about/heeding Father'

Alternately the addressee may occur in accusative case,¹³ in which case the speaker's focus of interest is on the effect of the speech-act on that person. In such sentences there is generally no noun referring to the form or content of what was said. Occasionally an accusative noun of the cognate object type, such as wapar/tjukur 'story, message,' or ara 'situation, facts' is found as in (3-39), but this does not specify the content or subject-matter of the communication in the same sense as the accusatives in (3-34) - (3-36).

- 3-37 ngayulu nyuntu-nya kuwari ninti-nu
 lsg(ERG) 2sg-ACC now show-PAST
 'I showed you just now'
- 3-38 kaa-na Kanytji-nya putu tjapi-ningi
 CONTR-lsg(ERG) Kanytji-ACC NAME IN VAIN ask-PAST. IMPF
 'And I was asking Kanytji to no avail'
- 3-39 ..ngalya-kulpa-ra nyura-nya watja-ni ara
 this way-return-SERIAL 2pl-ACC say-PRES situation(ACC)
 '(..he'll) come back and tell you the situation'

Supporting the idea that accusative addressee NPs are seen as more 'affected' is the fact that watjantja 'say, tell' is usually best translated into English as 'tell' when the addressee NP is accusative, but as 'mention to' when the addressee NP is locative. When watjantja is used in the sense of 'tell to do' the addressee is always in accusative case. Likewise, with verbal expressions like watjawatjantja 'speak pushily to' and anangura/puntura watjantja 'tell off severely' it appears that the only possibility for the addressee is accusative case.

3-40 mama-ngku untal watja-nu, mayi yungku-nytja-ku
 father-ERG daughter(ACC) say-PAST food(ACC) give-NOML-PURP
 'The father told the daughter to give food'

3-41 ngayu-ku kuta-ngku ngayi-nya watjawatja-nu,
 lsg-GEN senior brother-ERG lsg-ACC speak pushily-PAST
 tjiki-ntja-ku
 drink-NOML-PURP

'My big brother badgered me into drinking'

3.4 PURPOSIVE CASE

3.4.1 Preliminary Remarks

Purposive nominals (suffix -mpa with pronouns (except lsg) and the definite nominal/-ku otherwise) may occur as sentential arguments, the complements of adjectives or verbs depicting emotions or attitudes, and as adnominal modifiers (genitive construction). Depending on the semantic and syntactic context, a purposive nominal may indicate, among other things, the purpose for which an action was performed, the beneficiary of an action, the 'target' of an emotional or attitudinal state, or relationships of ownership, use, care and custody.

The conventional approach to this situation, which has analogues in many Australian languages, is to say that there are two (or more) distinct cases (or other underlying) categories, such as GENITIVE and PURPOSIVE (and sometimes BENEFACTIVE or DATIVE), realised by the same marker. But the mere fact that a case-marker occurs in different syntactic contexts does not in itself justify setting up distinct cases. In view of the semantic relationships between the adnominal (genitive), complement and sentential uses of -ku/-mpa it seems preferable to me, and more consistent with the usual practice in respect of Indo-European languages, to regard it as the marker of a single case, which I will call purposive.¹⁴

Rather than posit homophony we say that a purposive-marked element may occur in various syntactic contexts and the full semantic effect is determined by the interplay of case¹⁵ and syntactic context (cf Blake 1977:38). For simplicity however I sometimes speak of 'genitive nouns/pronouns' as a shorthand for purposive nouns/pronouns in the genitive construction; and I assign adnominal purposive markers the interlinear gloss GEN.

3.4.2 Purposive and Beneficiary Constructions

The purposive construction most commonly occurs with verbs of motion as in (3-42) and (3-43). Almost invariably the purposive NP consists of a single noun denoting the product or an activity generally recognised as needed or wanted, such as kuka 'meat', kapi 'water', waru 'firewood', inma 'ceremony, song', tina 'lunch'.

3-42 wati kuka/waru-/ inma-/ku ya-nu
 man(NOM) meat/fire(wood)/ceremony-PURP go-PAST
 'The man went for meat/fire(wood)/ ceremonies'

3-43 ngayulu ngura-kutu kulpa-nyi, tina-ku
 lsg(NOM) camp-ALL return-PRES lunch-PURP
 'I'm going home for lunch'

It appears in fact that the construction is confined to contexts where the desirability of, or need for, the implied activity is taken for granted. The semantic representation in (3-44) will serve as a convenient basis for discussion of this and other points.

3-44 A did something (to B), X-ku Verb

= A did something (to B)

so that A would be able to do something involving thing X
that one would want to do

Effectively this explication claims that the purposive construction indicates (i) that the action was directed toward a particular kind of end or purpose (so that he/she would be able to do something) (ii) involving the thing denoted by the purposive NP and (iii) that the implied activity is presented as generally understood to be desirable (.. that one would want to do). Indeed, it is precisely this that means that its exact nature need not be specified. If one hears waru-ku one understands 'to get firewood', kapi-ku 'to get water', tina-ku 'to eat lunch'.¹⁶ The locution 'able to do something involving thing X' is needed (rather than simply 'able to do something to thing X) because the thing denoted by X is not always the syntactic object of the implied activity. For instance, (3-45) would normally be taken to indicate the intransitive activity of bathing, kapi-ngka tjarpa-nytja water-LOC go in-NOML - ie kapi yuru 'a pool of water' is not the syntactic object of the

implied activity. Similarly the purposive inma-ku ceremony/song-PURP might imply the activity inma-ku pakantja 'getting up for a ceremony = dance'.

3-45 tjitji tjuta kapi yuru-ku ya-nu
child many(NOM) water pool-PURP go-PAST
'The kids went off for a pool=to swim'

The examples and explication below also illustrate this point, and show the purposive construction with transitive verbs.

3-46 mani-tja yu-wa tjuwa-ku
money(ACC)-lsgACC give-IMP store-PURP
'Give me some money for the store'

= give me some money,
so that I will be able to do something involving the store
that one would want to do
(ie to buy something at the store)

3-47 kaa-na kuka-ku tjararpungku-la kurutju-ra
CONTR-lsg(ERG) meat-PURP dig trench-SERIAL heap wood-SERIAL
pawu-la
roast-IMP

'And after I dig a trench and heap wood over it for the meat
I'll roast it!'

A slightly different, and more specialised, use of the purposive case is the 'goal of motion' construction, involving verbs of motion and a place-name or the word ngura 'camp, place' (or a similar word denoting a place) in the purposive case. This construction contrasts interestingly with the use of ALLative case -kutu/-lakutu 'towards' (3.6.2):(3-48i) with purposive case implies that the man wanted to reach the camp, whereas (3-48ii) with the allative simply says that he was going in the direction of the camp.

3-48 (i). wati ngura-ku ya-nu
man(NOM) camp-PURP go-PAST
'The man went off to/for camp'

- (11) wati ngura-kutu ya-nu
 man camp-ALL go-PAST
 'The man went toward camp'

If two men are hunting, and one goes off in the direction of camp looking for game, only the allative is possible (3-49); ngura-ku would mean he was looking for the camp.

- 3-49 ngura- *ku/-kutu-na maa-nguri-ni
 camp - *PURP/-ALL-lsg(ERG) away-seeK-PRES
 'I'll look off towards camp'

(3-50) - (3-52) also contrast ALLative -kutu 'towards' with the purposive construction. In (3-50) and (3-51) we see that, not surprisingly, an inanimate object like a stone rolling down a hill or a bucket at the end of a windlass, cannot be attributed a purpose. (3-52) shows that this is not the result of a mechanical restriction of the purposive construction to animate subjects, for if a blind man or a drunk is unwittingly walking toward a fire the purposive is also not possible.

- 3-50 ayi, pala! apu pala kutikuti
 hey just there rock just there(NOM) rolling
 ngalya-yana-yi wali-*ku/-kutu
 this way-go-PRES house-*PURP/ALL
 'Hey look out! There's a rock rolling down towards the house'
- 3-51 (pakata) tjaru-kutu/*-ku ukali-ngu, katu-kutu/*-ku
 bucket(NOM) down-ALL/*PURP descend-PAST up-ALL/*PURP
 paka-nu
 get up-PAST
 '(The bucket) went down, (and) came up'
- 3-52 wati paluru watarku waru *-ku/-kutu ya-nu,
 man DEF(NOM) heedless(NOM) fire-*PURP/ALL go-PAST
 putu kuli-ra
 IN VAIN think-SERIAL
 'The man unwittingly went toward the fire, not thinking'

The purposive marker may also apply to time qualifiers and other words with temporal reference, as in (3-53) and (3-54). (Cf Dixon 1977:343 on Yidiny.)

3-53 waru wiya-ngka wanti mungawinki-ku
 fire NEG-LOC leave alone(IMP) morning-PURP
 '(There being) no firewood, let's leave it till morning'

3-54 ngula-ku tju-ra!
 later-PURP put-IMP
 'Put it aside for later'

We should not leave this discussion of the purposive construction without contrasting it briefly with the INTENTive relator -kitja (4.5.2). Note that sentences like (3-55) and (3-56) are possible with -kitja 'wanting to do something' substituted for the -ku PURP in (3-42) and (3-48i).

3-55 wati kuka-kitja ya-nu
 man(NOM) meat-INTENT(NOM) go-PAST
 'The man went (because he wanted) to get meat'

3-56 wati ngura-kitja ya-nu
 man(NOM) camp/place-INTENT(NOM) go-PAST
 'The man went (because he wanted) to get to/do something involving the camp'

The meanings of (3-55) and (3-56) are obviously very close to those of (3-42) and (3-48i) involving -ku. The difference is that -kitja the INTENTive relator directly and primarily refers to the actor's personal wishes or desires, whereas the purposive construction simply says that he or she was acting as people do to accomplish some desirable or necessary goal. This may seem a rather fine semantic distinction, but both sides of the claim are supported by syntactic as well semantic evidence. The syntactic evidence that INTENTive -kitja contains a direct reference to personal desire comes from the fact that -kitja constituents inflect on the 'actor agreement' pattern (3.3.1) found with underived expressions of intention (and other expressions an actor's personal state as he or she goes through an action). Conversely, the fact that the purposive construction does not involve the actor agreement pattern argues that it does not directly refer to the actor's motivational state.

It attributes an objectively necessary purpose to the action, as it were; rather than to the actor as an individual.¹⁷

We can see the contrast between INTENTive -kitja 'wanting to do something' and the PURPositive -ku in (3-57), which is a light-hearted exchange between two brothers. A says he is going for water, using the purposive construction. His brother B jests that this isn't likely to be the real motive - there must be a woman involved. When A replies he uses the -kitja INTENTive relator, apparently to emphasise his personal desire for water (not woman).

- 3-57 A: ngayulu kapi-ku yana-nyi
 lsg(NOM) water-PURP go-PRES
- B: wiya, ngunytji-n wangka-nyi kungka pata-ra
 no false -2sg(NOM) talk-PRES woman wait-SERIAL
- nyina -nyi
 sit-PRES
- A: wiya, kapi-kitja-na
 no water-INTENT(NOM)-lsg(NOM)
- A: 'I'm going for water'
 B: 'No, you're telling it wrong, a woman's waiting'
 A: 'No, I want water'

The beneficiary construction is found with transitive verbs, where someone does something for the benefit of someone else denoted by a purposive NP, as in (3-58) and (3-59).

- 3-58 ngayulu yuu tju-nu, tjamu-ku
 lsg(ERG) windbreak(ACC) put-PAST grandfather-PURP
 'I made a windbreak for grandfather'
- 3-59 katji-na palya-ni ngayu-ku katja-ku, kati-ra
 spear(ACC)-lsg(ERG) make-PRES lsg-GEN son-PURP take-SERIAL
- malu waka-ntja-ku
 'roo(ACC) spear-NOML-PURP
- 'I'm making a spear, for my son, so he can take it and
 spear a kangaroo'

3-63 munu nganana waru-ku pata-mma,
 ADD 1pl(NOM) fire-PURP wait-IMP, IMPF
 'And we're waiting for wood'

The transitive verb nguri-1 'seek, search for' usually occurs with an NP in accusative case denoting the thing sought, but sometimes this NP occurs in purposive case (in which case no accusative is possible). The purposive usage is apparently only possible when the verb has imperfective aspect (or put another way, perfective aspect demands accusative case).

3-64 wati-ngku malu nguri-ningi
 man-ERG 'roo(ACC) seek-PAST, IMPF
 'The man was seeking kangaroos'

3-65 (i) wati-ngku malu-ku nguri-ningi
 man-ERG 'roo-PURP seek-PAST, IMPF
 'The man was searching for kangaroos'

(ii) wati-ngku *malu-ku/malu nguri-nu
 man-ERG *'roo-PURP/'roo(ACC) seek-PAST
 'The man sought kangaroos'

(2) In Yankunytjatjara, as in many Australian languages, the set of basic stems for describing emotions and related concepts has a number of interesting grammatical properties. One of these is that the 'target' or 'object' of an emotion or attitude, if it is specified, appears in the purposive case, ²⁰ eg wati-ku ngulu man-PURP wary of/afraid of, ngayu-ku pika lsg-PURP angry at, walytja-ku watjil relation-PURP lonesome for. Most expressions like these may be used either as (i) 'active' adjectival phrases (3.3.1) describing the way a person carried out an action (warily, angrily, lonesomely etc) or (ii) as the base for the formation of INCHOative verbs depicting the active feelings of the subject (7.2.5). This semantic difference need not concern us here because the both uses involve a purposive NP as complement.

The psychiatrist Rodney Morice in his study of the Pintupi lexicon of emotion concluded (1977:142): "A major difference between the vocabularies of emotion in Pintupi and most European languages is the degree of instrumentality in the former. Many Pintupi emotive and motivational terms have the idea of some object of action built into them". I take

Morice to be suggesting that Pintupi emotive words typically have built into them the idea of a purpose directed toward something. Let us briefly explore the lexical semantics of some Yankunytjatjara emotion words to test the plausibility of this notion.

(i) pika 'hot tempered, angry, "wild"'

Aboriginal people usually express this concept in English with the word "wild", suggesting hot-tempered spontaneous and uncontrollable anger. The word pika also functions as a noun meaning '(a) hurt, sore, pain'. I suggest that this is no accident, and that semantically pika as an emotive term refers to an urge to hurt or harm the object or target of one's temper.

3-66 X-ku pika = wanting to hurt X
because of something X has done

It is interesting to contrast (3-67i) where pikaringu 'got angry' has a purposive complement, with (3-67ii) where it occurs with an NP in ablative case (katja-nguru son-ABL). In (3-67i) the man's feelings were directed toward his son; in (3-67ii) the son is simply the source or origin of the man's anger, which may well be directed toward someone else (eg toward someone who has wronged his son).

3-67 (i) wati paluru katja-ku pika-ri-ngu
man DEF(NOM) son-PURP angry-INCHO-PAST
'The man felt angry at/toward his son'

(ii) wati paluru katja-nguru pika-ri-ngu
man DEF(NOM) son-ABL angry-INCHO-PAST
'The men felt angry over his son'

(ii) mirpan 'grudging', vengeful, hostile'

In contrast to the hot-tempered pika, mirpan describes a considered commitment to harm someone in return for a perceived wrong.

3-68 X-ku mirpan = wanting to do something bad to X
to get even for something X has done

3-69 walypala-la tjitji tjapu ninti-ri-ngu,
 whitefeller-lpl(NOM) child small(NOM) knowing-INCHO-PAST,
 ninti-ringku-la-mpa walypala-ku
 knowing-INCHO-SERIAL-INTEREST whitefeller-PURP
 mirpan-ari-nytja wiya-lta
 vengeful-INCHO-NOML NEG-AND THEN

'(As) little kids we learned from whitefellers. (So) having learned from them, (we) don't hold them any grudge'

(iii) ngulu 'wary (of), afraid of'

Ngulu describes the desire to keep away or get away from something which could cause something bad to happen to one. If the implied threat is serious, English 'afraid' is usually a reasonable equivalent, but ngulu is also used to describe actions taken to avoid quite mild negative consequences,²¹ eg to avoid flies or rain, as in (3-71) and (3-72).

3-70 munu ya-nu-lta wati-ku ngulu
 ADD go-PAST-AND THEN man-PURP wary(NOM)
 'And (she) left, wary of/afraid of the man'

3-71 ngayulu nyanga-tja nyina-nyi, punpun-ku ngulu
 1sg(NOM) this-EVIDENT sit-PRES flies-PURP afraid(NOM)
 'I'm sitting here (in the smoke of a fire), wary of the flies'

3-72 wiya, kapi-ku ngulu-la kulpa-ngu,
 no water-PURP wary(NOM)-lpl(NOM) return-PAST
 nyanga ngalya-puyi-ni, ila-ngku
 here this way-chill-PRES close-ERG
 'No, we came back to avoid the rain; here, it's blowing coldly, from close'

I would tentatively advance the following explication:

3-73 X-ku ngulu = wanting to prevent X doing something bad to one

(iv) kunta 'embarrassed, shy'²²

Restraint and self-effacement is a major factor in Yankunytjatjara social life, especially with respected or senior relations and members of the opposite sex (10.2). Children who are boisterous or forthright in the

wrong company are reprimanded with the exclamation kunta³-ngka embarrassment-LOC . As examples (3-75) and (3-76) show, the purposive NP indicates the person one is ashamed 'towards'.

3-74 X-ku kunta = wanting to prevent X from thinking badly of one

3-75 ngayulu kungka-ku kunta-ri-ngu
1sg(NOM) woman-PURP shame-INCHO-PAST
'I got shy toward the woman'
(ie because of being with the woman)

3-76 wati mama kunta-ringa-nyi anangu tjuta-ku
man father(NOM) shame-INCHO-PRES people many-PURP
'The father is ashamed (to be with) the people'
(eg on account of something his son has done)

(v) watjil 'feeling lonely, separated'

Watjil describes a longing to be reunited with relations (walytja) or home country (ngura 'place' walytja), or simply to be back at camp. I will not try to explicate walytja, but it is evident enough that watjil involves a purpose directed toward something.

3-77 X-ku watjil = wanting to cease being away from one's walytja

This discussion has obviously been very superficial, and limited to a handful of lexemes. Furthermore it has dealt exclusively with roots that are able to appear as independent words (active adjectives), though they frequently occur in emotional INCHOative verbs. There are in addition a few INCHOative verbs of emotion whose roots do not meet this condition (eg muku-ri-ng 'feel yearning for/be fond of' cf mukulya 'favourite/nice'; kuya-ri-ng 'feel bad toward' cf kuya 'bad') (7.2.5).

(3) Like the emotion terms, ninti 'experienced, competent, familiar' and its converse ngurpa 'inexperienced, incompetent, unfamiliar' may function either as active adjectives describing the way a person does something, or as the base for INCHOative verbs, meaning roughly 'learn' and 'forget' respectively. The complement of such a verb or adjective occurs in purposive case. Essentially ninti and ngurpa describe ability or inability to achieve some purpose involving a certain subject matter. For instance, to be wangka-ku ninti talk-PURP competent means to be able to do what is needed or wanted as far as talking is concerned - namely speak and understand; to be mutaka-ku ngurpa car-PURP incompetent means

to be unable to do what is needed or wanted so far as cars are concerned - eg unable to drive or repair or comprehend them. If one is palu-mpa ninti DEF-PURP familiar, one has the knowledge of a person necessary to talk with him or her freely. That is, ninti and ngurpa used with purposive complements²³ imply the existence of some desirable skill or ability involving a certain something.

3-78 X-ku ninti = able to do something involving X
that one would want to do

X-ku ngurpa = unable to do something involving X
that one would want to do

(4) Finally, I suggest that pukul 'pleased, contented, grateful' includes components of intention and ability. Pukul is usually translated by Aboriginal people as 'happy' but is frequently used in contexts where English 'happy' is strange, as in (3-79). I believe it describes a feeling one has from being able to do something one wants to do, such as eating, singing, playing. It is more goal-directed than English 'happy' which suggests an undirected 'free-floating' state.²⁴

3-79 munu-la ngalku-la(2), kuka-ku pukul-tu
ADD-1pl(ERG) eat-SERIAL meat-PURP satisfied-ERG
'And we were eating and eating, satisfied (to have) meat'

3-80 X-ku pukul = thinking that one is able to do something
one wants to do with X

3.4.4 Genitive Constructions

The genitive construction occurs where a nominal suffixed with the purposive marker -ku/-mpa acts as an adnominal modifier of another 'head' nominal, forming a noun phrase. As noted previously, for simplicity I speak of 'genitive nouns', 'genitive pronouns' and so on, and assign -ku/mpa the interlinear gloss GENitive where it marks an adnominal modifier, but as the following discussion should show, the genitive constructions are semantically linked with other uses of -ku/-mpa (such as the purposive and beneficiary constructions) to such an extent that it is probably preferable to recognise a single polysemous morpheme rather than two (or more) distinct but homophonous morphemes.

A genitive noun precedes its head, as in (3-82), (9-24), (9-71). A genitive pronoun sometimes precedes as in (8-14) and (9-2), but usually follows the head, so that it may carry an additional case-marker on behalf of the NP as a whole, as in (3-83). Occasionally a genitive noun or pronoun occurs without an explicit head due to ellipsis (as in (3-101)), but the head is always recoverable, in the sense that there will be a fully synonymous sentence containing an explicit head.

3-81 uti-ya katji ngayu-ku wanti-ma
 SHOULD-3pl(ERG) spear(ACC) 1sg-GEN leave alone-IMP. IMPF
 'They should leave my spears alone'

3-82 kaa kungka panya, wati-ku kungka...
 CONTR woman ANAPH man-GEN woman ...
 'And the woman, the man's wife...'

3-83 ngana-nya puta yana-nyi, iwara
 who-NOM NAME WHAT DO YOU SAY go-PRES road

 ngayu-ku-ngka
 1sg-GEN-LOC
 'Who's that walking on my road?' (from Nanikuta Mankurpa,
 The Three Billy Goats Gruff)

Linguists often discuss the semantics of genitive constructions by distinguishing various categories of 'possession' such as 'alienable' (separable) possession like that involved in ownership, and inalienable (or inseparable) possession as in whole-part relationships; but it is also recognised that this is only an approximate partition, and that languages differ widely in the functional range of genitive constructions. English is well-known as a language with a semantically very broad genitive, as many English genitives do not involve 'possession' in any clear sense eg Mary's school/home town/dentist/opinion. In English, it is arguable that 'X's Y' means little more than 'the Y that is associated with X' (cf Lyons 1977:473). The genitive construction in Yankunytjatjara, as in most Australian languages, is far more restricted, taking in relations of ownership, use, custody, and care (including kin relationships), depending in part on the type of head noun involved. For a fuller picture of the restrictions on the Yankunytjatjara, as opposed to the English, genitive, see also (4.2.2) on the 'personal' construction (used to express person/body-

part relationships, amongst other things), (4.6.1) on the ASSOCIative morpheme -itja, and (4.1.3) on noun compounds.

(1) The genitive construction is of course used to indicate individual ownership of certain physical objects, such as tools and implements. In the traditional economy personal belongings were few, and overwhelmingly (if not exclusively) functional in nature (see 1.2). An expression like ngayuku katji 'my spear' essentially (i) claims an exclusive and enduring right of control over (ii) something manufactured for a purpose. I would tentatively suggest that the latter component is the semantic link with the other uses of the purposive marker.

(2) The genitive construction is also used to claim the use of the 'products of nature' such as waru 'fire(wood)', kapi 'water', kuka 'meat', and other functional but given or naturally occurring (ie non-manufactured) things like iwara 'track' and wangka (in the sense) 'language'.²⁵ In Yankunytjatjara society such things cannot be owned in the strict sense of being a single individual's personal property: at least some other people will always have a right to share. A genitive expression like ngayuku waru does not claim exclusive personal control, but a more limited right to use something.

In some ways this genitive is similar to the beneficiary construction. This is particularly clear in commonly heard exclamations like kuka ngana-mpa! meat lpl-GEN on seeing someone arrive with meat to be shared, or tjawu ngayu-ku! edible resin lsg-GEN on finding some delicious Acacia resin (see also (4-51)).

(3) The genitive construction may express custody or care, or control of younger or junior persons, dogs, camps, or tracts of country, eg kungkaku iti '(the) woman's baby', papa ngayuku 'my dog', Yami-ku ngura 'Yami's camp/country'.²⁶ Clearly these need not involve functional or useful things, (except perhaps ngura in the sense of 'camp') but imply a limited right (and possibly a duty) to partially control and care for someone or something.

(4) The genitive is used to indicate social relationships, most commonly with walytja 'kin relations' eg ngayuku katja/ngunytju/waputju 'my son/mother/father-in-law', but also with words like malpa 'companion' and mayatja 'boss'.²⁷ I would suggest that what is at issue here is the relationship of care between walytja, malpa 'companions' and indeed

between mayatja and his or her subordinates (Myers 1980a). (I have not been able to discover any word in Yankunytjatjara like 'enemy', so I cannot test whether it is possible to say things like 'my enemy'.) I would argue that expressions like wati-ku kungka 'the man's woman = wife' and kungka-ku wati 'the woman's man = husband' are also instances of this construction, because they are euphemisms for wati-ku/kungka-ku kuri 'the man's/woman's spouse/mate', the word kuri being often avoided on account of its sexual connotation; similarly an elderly man might refer to his son as ngayuku wati 'my initiated man' to give the son his due recognition as an initiated man, and to avoid presenting him in the subordinate role of son.

Note that genitive constructions can also indicate the relationship between kinds of thing. For instance, a certain kind of plant with stiff stalk boys use as a play spear can be referred to as tjitji-ku katji 'a child's spear'; a certain kind of tree which grows on the rocky hills and provides shade for the euro (hills kangaroo) is kanyala-ku kanku 'euro's shade(shelter)'. A certain kind of plant not eaten by people is malu-ku mayi 'kangaroo's food'. A certain ceremony might be reserved for women: it is kungka-ku inma 'a woman's ceremony/song'. The emu and the crow are regarded as relations walytja - the crow being said to warn the emu of approaching hunters: it is kalaya-ku kuntili 'the emu's auntie'.

The multiple uses of the -ku/mpa marker seem to show a network of polysemy that is more complex than simply each use containing a common semantic invariant. Limitations of space prevent a full discussion but oversimplifying, we can say that the genitive of use is the closest in meaning to the purposive constructions - if we call this purposive component b, we can say that the genitive of ownership combines a component of 'exclusive control' (call it a) with that of purpose - ie exclusive control over something made for a purpose. The genitive of use involves limited control (a') of something which can be used for a purpose (b), and the genitives of custody, care and control involve only limited control, without reference to purpose - ie the overlap of meaning components takes the form - (b), (a + b), (a' + b), (a').

3.5 THE LOCATIVE CASE

3.5.1 Locative Case

The locative -ngka/la is if anything even more versatile than the purposive (genitive). It is used, among other things, to indicate the location in which an event takes place, accompaniment, the person

witnessing or 'receiving' certain speech-acts, certain types of cause, in certain temporal expressions and most strikingly to indicate the weapon, tool, implement or other physical means with which an action is performed. These uses are however united in a network of polysemy by a common locational component, which is the synchronic justification for recognising a single case with a core locative function.²⁸

I will show that the various locative constructions involve the notions of place, presence or contact, taking it largely for granted that these notions are related in a way which is locational in some sense. Each of these three components may be combined with a component of causality - thus, 'place + causal role' gives the 'present cause' construction, 'presence + causal role' gives the locative addressee construction, 'contact + causal role' gives the instrumental construction.

(1) To begin with there is the prototypical 'locative of location' construction, as in (3-84) and (3-85). In sentences like these locative case does not require there to be contact, or any specific spatial orientation between the location and the thing located, ie an expression like wali-ngka house-LOC could be used where in English we would have to choose between 'in the house' 'near the house' 'at the house' 'on the house' and so on. The vagueness in the location 'in the place where' in the explication in (3-84) tries to model the vagueness in the meaning of the construction itself.

3-84 wati tjuta wali-ngka nyina-nyi
 man many(NOM) house-LOC sit-PRES
 'The men are in/near/at the house'
 - the men are
 in the place
 where the house is

3-85 wati tjuta Mimili-la nyina-nyi
 man many(NOM) Mimili-LOC NAME sit-PRES
 'The men are at Mimili'

On the other hand, in some sentences the locative case must be interpreted as implying contact. I have not established the conditions for this reading, but they seem to involve both the nature of the referent of the locative NP and the verb.

3-86 wati paluru punu-ngka nyina-nyi
 man DEF(NOM) wood-LOC sit-PRES
 'The man is sitting on/against the wood (eg log)'
 * 'the man is sitting near the log'

3-87 manta-ngka wani-ngu waru panya
 ground-LOC throw away-PAST fire(ACC) ANAPH
 '(He) threw it on the ground, that firewood'

(2) A locative NP may occur preceding a spatial qualifier (8.3.1) - the resulting phrase indicates the orientation of a referent with respect to the place indicated by the locative NP.

3-88 karu-ngka munkara/wilurara
 creek-LOC on the other side/west of
 'beyond/west of the creek'

(3) Locative NPs also occur as peripheral arguments of verbs whose meaning involves a necessary reference to place, or contact, such as kalpa-Ø 'climbing (on)', wirka-n 'arriving (at)', tjarpa-Ø 'going in', payi-l 'driving out'. See also (3-119) and (6-44).

3-89 tjitji tjuta punu-ngka kalpa-nyi
 child many(NOM) wood-LOC climb-PRES
 'The children are climbing (on) trees'

3-90 punpun-na kuru-ngka payi-ni
 flies(ACC)-lsg(ERG) eye-LOC drive out-PRES
 'I'm brushing flies from my eyes'

(4) The locative is used to speak of one person accompanying or being in the presence of another person.

3-91 ngayulu tjamu-la nyina-nyi
 lsg(NOM) grandfather-LOC NAME sit-PRES
 'I'm staying with grandfather'

3-92 nyuntu ngayu-la yanku-ku?
 2sg(NOM) lsg-LOC go-FUT
 'Are you coming with me?'

(5) Locative case is used to specify a means of transport, as in (3-93), (6-21) and (6-51). Note the semantic contrast with the use of -tjara HAVING (4.5.5), which implies active control over the transport. For instance, paatja-ngka 'bus-LOC' allows the possibility of being a passenger in the bus; paatja-tjara 'bus-HAVING', as in (4-122) implies control of the bus.

3-93 ngayulu mutaka-/nyanytju/paatja-ngka ngalya-ya-nu
 lsg(NOM) car horse bus-LOC this way-go-PAST
 'I came by car/horse/bus'

(6) Locative case is not used with time qualifiers such as mungawinki 'in the morning', mungartji 'yesterday, late afternoon', iriti 'long ago' and mungatu 'recently' (8.4), but is found in some other temporal expressions, such as tjintu-ngka sun/day-LOC 'in the day, tomorrow', munga-ngka dark/night-LOC 'at night', nywanga-ngka winter/ice-LOC 'in winter', unun-ta hot weather-LOC 'in summer'. The characteristic feature of these expressions is that they are based on nouns describing the ambient (ie present) environment. The locative is also used with the names of the days of the week eg manti-ngka 'on Monday'.

(7) Locative case may be used to indicate the addressee of speech-act verbs like wangka-Ø 'talk', watja-l 'say', tjapi-l 'asking', tjakultju-n 'inform', ngatji-l 'ask to be given something'; or the person to whom something is shown (ninti-l 'show').

3-94 kaa-na wati tjuta-ngka tjakultju-nu
 CONTR-lsg(ERG) man many-LOC inform-PAST
 'And I informed the men (about it)'

3-95 ngayulu nyuntu-la nintil-ku
 lsg(ERG) 2sg-LOC show-FUT
 'I might show you'

I would suggest that semantically the locative addressee construction involves both a locational and a causal component: the addressee's presence is (or is represented as) the cause or occasion for the speech-act. This tallies with the indirect or peripheral role attributed to the addressee by this construction, as compared to the accusative construction (3.3.2).

(8) The locative case is used in some other causal contexts, but only when the thing or situation indicated by the locative NP is present or current. Prior causes, or 'origins', are expressed with the ablative (3.6.3).

3-96 putu-na munga-ngka anku-ri-ngu muntur-ta
 IN VAIN-1sg(NOM) night-LOC asleep-INCHO-PAST noise-LOC
 'I couldn't sleep at night because of/in the noise'

3-97 ngayulu wari-ngka tjititinga-nyi
 1sg(NOM) cold-LOC shiver-PRES
 'I'm shivering in/because of the cold'

3-98 mutaka kuya-ri-ngu kapi wiya-ngka
 car(NOM) useless-INCHO-PAST water NEG-LOC
 'The car broke down because of lack of water'

3-99 *paluru katja-ngka pika-ri-ngu
 DEF(NOM) son-LOC angry-INCHO-PAST
 * 'He got angry because of his son'

3.5.2 Instrumental uses of the Locative Case

The Western Desert Language is one of the minority of Australian languages in which instrumental function is expressed by the locative case. Dixon (1980:321) says that "the problem of the instrumental - why this function should be shown by ergative case in some languages, but by locative in others - is one of the most tantalising puzzles in comparative Australian studies". A survey of the range of application of the locative instrumental suggests that the synchronic semantic rationale for this puzzle in Yankunytjatjara at least is based on the physical contact between the instrument and object in the prototypical instrumental situation (Wierzbicka 1980a:131).²⁹ (3-100) - (3-102) show NPs in locative case whose interpretation must clearly be instrumental. Note that though the 'instrument' (physical means with which the action is achieved) is typically inanimate, it is not always so. We have already seen two locative constructions incorporating a causal as well as a locational component - the 'present cause' ('place' + cause) and the 'locative addressee' ('presence' + cause). The instrumental construction involves contact plus cause.

- 3-100 wati-ngku malu katji-ngka waka-nu
 man-ERG 'roo(ACC) spear-LOC pierce-PAST
 'The man speared a kangaroo with a spear'
- 3-101 maa-wanma-ringku-nytji-tja-ngka paluru tjana-mpa
 away-far-INCHO-NOML-ASSOC-LOC DEF(ERG) 3pl-GEN(ACC)
 atu-nu-lta ilipil-ta
 chop-PAST-AND THEN axe-LOC
 'When (they) had gone away he chopped their (tree) with an
 axe'
- 3-102 paluru tjana malu papa-ngka
 DEF(ERG) 3pl(ERG) 'roo(ACC) dog-LOC
 iritju-nu
 bring down(with dogs)-PAST
 'They brought the kangaroos down with dogs'

Note that there are sentences like (3-103) where it is difficult to separate instrumental and locative interpretations, and also sentences like (3-104) which are ambiguous between these interpretations. (The instrumental interpretation is favoured in a sentence like (3-104) if apu-ngka rock-LOC follows the verb.)

- 3-103 paluru malu waru-ngka pawu-nu
 DEF(ERG) 'roo(ACC) fire-LOC roast-PAST
 'He roasted a kangaroo in/with a fire'
- 3-104 wati-ngku papa apu-ngka pu-ngu
 man-ERG dog(ACC) rock-LOC hit-PAST
 'The man hit the dog on/with a rock'

There are some interesting restrictions on the instrumental use of the locative.

(1) The locative is not used when the means used to achieve the action is a part of the actor's own body. In this case the 'personal' construction is used, according to which the body part occurs in the same case (ergative or nominative) as the actor NP (4.2.2).

3-105 (i) wati-ngku papa mara*-ngka/-ngku pu-ngu
 man-ERG dog(ACC) hand-*LOC/-ERG hit-PAST
 'The man hit the dog with his hand'

(ii) wati-ngku winpinpi*-ngka/-ngku yalti-ngu
 man-ERG lips-*LOC/-ERG call over-PAST
 'The man called someone over with his lips (ie whistled)'

3-106 wati paluru tjina-*ngka/-Ø kulpa-ngu
 man DEF(NOM) foot-*LOC/(NOM) return-PAST
 'The man returned on foot'

Locative case may however be used when a body-part is not active in the performance of an action (and accordingly is not instrument-like).

3-107 paluru tjitji pini-ngka kati-ngu
 DEF(ERG) child(ACC) shoulder-LOC take-PAST
 'She took the child on her shoulders'

(2) The locative is not used to signal an instrument-like entity in intransitive sentences ³⁰, the -tjara HAVING suffix being used in such cases (4.5.5).

3-108 (i) *tjilpi punu-ngka yana-nyi
 old man(NOM) stick-LOC go-PRES
 ≠ 'The old man walks with a stick'

(ii) tjilpi punu-tjara yana-nyi
 old man(NOM) stick-HAVING(NOM) go-PRES
 'The old man walks with a stick'

(3) The locative is not used when the physical means used to achieve an action does not come into contact with the patient. Again, the -tjara HAVING suffix is used in such cases.

3-109 (i) *paluru tjana papa/tuutji-ngka nguri-ningi
 DEF(ERG) 3pl(ERG) dog/torch-LOC seek-PAST. IMPF
 ≠ 'They were searching with dogs/a torch'

(ii) paluru tjana papa-/tuutji-tjara-ngku nguri-ningi
 DEF(ERG) 3pl(ERG) dog-/torch-HAVING-ERG seek-PAST. IMPF
 'They were searching with dogs/a torch'

This is reminiscent of the Russian instrumental case, which also requires physical contact. For instance, if 'he killed the snake with a gun' is translated into Russian with the instrumental case, it implies the gun was used to beat the snake to death (Wierzbicka 1980a:8). Clearly however the prototypical notion of instrument involves causality as well as contact: a prototypical instrument is something a person uses to cause a certain change in the patient, by bringing it into physical contact in a certain way with the patient. Accordingly, we can see the meaning of the instrumental use of locative case as involving at least two components - physical contact and casual role. Since the notion of contact is spatial, its explication must involve location in some way. (eg 'A is in contact with B' = 'part of A is in the same place as part of B'.)³¹

To conclude, consider examples like those below, in which for one reason or another the locative NP denotes something other than an ideal or prototypical instrument. The referent may be a substance rather than a discrete object, as in (3-110). It may be something used as a medium or object of exchange, like money, or dingo skins, or a shield to be sold as an artefact, as in (3-111); or a musical instrument as in (3-112), which is not an ideal 'instrument' since it does not come into contact with a patient.

3-110 (i) manta-ngka waltu-la
 earth-LOC cover-IMP
 'Cover (it) with earth'

(ii) paluru tjana ilunta-nu walkal-ta
 DEF(ERG) 3pl(ERG) kill-PAST D.hopwoodi -LOC
 'They killed emus with D.hopwoodi (a poisonous bush)'

3-111 (i) papa pii-ngka-la mayi payamila-nu
 dingo skin-LOC-1pl(ERG) food(ACC) buy-PAST
 'We bought food with dingo skins'

(ii) tjinguru tiintala yungku-ku tjara-ngka
 maybe ten dollars(ACC) give-FUT shield-LOC
 'Maybe (they'll) give ten dollars for (this) shield'

3-112 wati tjilpi-ngku inma inka-nyi, punu tjutiny
 man old man-ERG song(ACC) play-PRES wood hitting stick
 kutjara-la
 two-LOC

'The old man is playing a song, with two hitting sticks'

3.6 THE LOCAL CASES

3.6.1 Preliminary Remarks

The following three sections deal in turn with what I call (for want of a better term) 'local' cases - allative, ablative and perlative. Formally these are alike in that their name-status and pronominal forms are based on the locative marker -la (3.2.2-3), ie -kutu/-lakutu 'toward' ALLative, -nguru/-languru 'from' ABLative, and -wanu/-lawan 'through, via' PERLative. Semantically all involve spatial orientation, at least in their core functions.

The local cases may serve limited stem-forming functions, and like the purposive may apply to spatial qualifiers as well as to nominals. PERLative NPs, for semantic reasons discussed in 3.6.4, are subject to the actor agreement pattern of inflection - ie they take ergative case-marking in transitive sentences.

3.6.2 Allative Case

(1) The primary meaning of this case (marker -kutu/-lakutu for common and name-status nouns respectively) is to indicate orientation towards something, typically but not necessarily in association with motion. Cf Hansen and Hansen (1974:74,84) on Pintupi "the intrinsic meaning of -kutu (is) a localised 'toward' with no suggestion of motion...-kutu means a static orientation toward".

3-113 ngayulu ngura-kutu/Mimili-la-kutu ya-nu
 lsg(NOM) camp-toward/Mimili-LOC NAME-ALL go-PAST
 'I went to camp/Mimili'

3-114 nganana alatji-kutu nyina-ku
 lpl(NOM) this way-ALL sit-FUT
 tjintu-ngku kuru kuyal-payi-ngka
 sun-ERG eye(ACC) make bad-CHAR-LOC

'We could sit (facing) this way, so the sun won't hurt our eyes'

As discussed in 3.4.3, the allative contrasts semantically with the purposive construction in not involving any conscious purpose on behalf of the subject, which may be inanimate as in (3-50) and (3-51). Dixon (1980:309) suggests that historically at least "allative in Pitjantjatjara is ku + tu (although this can be shortened to just -ku or just -tu).. based on the purposive-genitive, as in Kalkatungu and Warlpiri". Conversely, Platt (1976b:430) suggests that "-ku is a reduced form of -kutu". Whatever the attractions on historical grounds, both analyses are untenable for present-day Yankunytjatjara (and Pitjantjatjara) because: (i) There is meaning difference between ku (purposive) and -kutu (allative). (ii) The 'other half' of the ku + tu breakdown, namely -tu, is rare indeed, if it exists at all in Yankunytjatjara. Glass and Hackett (1970:83f) give two examples from the Ngaanyatjarra dialect, eg (3-115), but I have not recorded any similar use in Yankunytjatjara. If these forms do occur, they could be interpreted as reductions of -kutu. (iii) While the ALLative marker has a name-status form, namely -lakutu, no analogous form is possible with the PURPositive marker, ie there are forms like Mimililakutu 'toward Mimili', and Mimiliku 'to (reach) Mimili' but not like *Mimililaku.

3-115 (Ng.) kati ngayu-la-tu
bring(IMP) 1sg-LOC-ALL(?)
'Bring it to me'

(2) Allative NPs may also be used to give a vague indication of direction or location, in place of a demonstrative adverb as in (3-116), a use which is particularly common in the indirect speech style tjalpawangkanytja (10.3.2). Used this way the ALLative marker may be followed by the ABLative case-marker -nguru as in (3-117).

3-116 mayi nyanga-kutu ngari-nyil?
food(NOM) this-ALL lie-PRES
'Is there any food around here?'

3-117 (i) mutaka nyara-kutu-nguru ngalya-yana-nyil
car(NOM) over there-ALL-ABL this way-go-PRES
'A car's coming from somewhere over there' (when the exact direction is not clear)

- (11) mutaka nyara-nguru ngalya-yana-nyi
 car(NOM) over there-ABL this way-go-PRES
 'A car's coming from over there' (when the direction is quite clear)

(3) The ALLative suffix also serves a stem-forming function in the verbs illustrated below. (3-118) shows intransitive verbs of motion formed by applying the INCHOative verbaliser -ri (7.2) to a noun suffixed with -kutu. (3-119) and (3-120) show 1-class transitive verbs formed according to the \emptyset -derivation process usual with even-moraed vowel-final stems (7.4.1), involving directing the motion of a patient towards the referent of a noun suffixed with -kutu. Neither of these formations is completely productive.

- 3-118 Tjani-nya kuri-/malpa-kutu-ri-ngu
 Johnny-NOM NAME spouse/friend-ALL-INCHO-PAST
 'Johnny went to (his) wife/friend'

- 3-119 ..yanku-la kuka ngura-kutu-ra wana-ra,
 go-SERIAL meat(ACC) camp-ALL-SERIAL follow-SERIAL
 kapi-ngka maa-tjarpa-payi
 water-LOC away-enter-CHAR
 '..we used to go moving the game toward camp, following them, and enter the waterhole area'

- 3-120 kaa nganana pati-kutu-ra wana-ra
 CONTR 1pl(NOM) closed place-ALL-SERIAL follow-SERIAL
 tjarpa-ngu
 enter-PAST
 'And we moved the kangaroos into a closed place, (by) chasing them, and went in'

Finally note that with directional spatial qualifiers (8.3.1) the ALLative suffix sometimes takes the form -lkutu rather than -kutu. I have no explanation for this.

- 3-121 muna-ya maa-ngari-ra nyaku-payi, wilurara-lkutu
 ADD-3pl(ERG) away-lie-SERIAL see-CHAR west-ALL
 'And they were lying looking out to the west'

3-122 paluru pula ya-nu iti-wanu, kakarara-ikutu
 DEF(NOM) 3du(NOM) go-PAST close-PERL(NOM) east-ALL
 'The two of them came close by, (going) eastwards'

3.6.3 Ablative Case

(1) The primary meaning of the ablative case (markers -nguru/-languru for common and name-status respectively) is to indicate orientation away from something, typically but not necessarily in association with motion.

3-123 ngayulu ngura-nguru/Mimili-la-nguru ngalya-ya-nu
 lsg(NOM) camp-ABL/Mimili-LOC NAME-ABL this way-go-PAST
 'I came here from camp/Mimili'

3-124 wati pala-ngku rawa-ngku iwarakati-ra
 man just here-ERG persistantly-ERG come and go-SERIAL
 ura-ra kati-ngi ngura-nguru
 get-SERIAL take-PAST. IMPF camp-ABL
 'That man just here was always coming and taking things
 from camp'

3-125 kungka-ngku ngayi-nya nya-ngu, ngura-nguru
 woman-ERG lsg-ACC see-PAST camp-ABL
 'The woman saw me, from camp'

(2) The ablative may indicate the 'prior cause' or origin of an event or state, contrasting with the locative which may indicate a 'present cause' only (3.5.2).

3-126 paluru pika-ri-ngu katja-nguru
 DEF(NOM) angry-INCHO-PAST son-ABL
 'He got angry over his son'

3-127 (1) paluru wama-nguru kata kuya-ri-ngu
 DEF(NOM) liquor-ABL head(NOM) bad-INCHO-PAST
 'His head went funny from (having drunk) liquor'
 (eg after a drinking bout)

- (11) paluru wama-ngka kata kuya-ri-ngu
 DEF(NOM) liquor-LOC head(NOM) bad-INCHO-PAST
 'He went funny in the head because of liquor'
 (eg because of long-standing drinking, 'always thinking
 about drink')

(3) The ablative may indicate the material from which something has been made. For instance a digging dish may be made punu iwiri-nguru 'from a tree root' or a damper mayi ulu-nguru 'from powdered food (=flour)'.
 (4) The ablative may indicate the point of contact with the body, as in (3-128) and (3-129). I have not established the precise bounds of this usage.

- 3-128 paluru patangara-ku ngunti-/muti-/ngalya-nguru
 DEF(NOM) fall-FUT back of neck/knee/forehead-ABL
 'She might fall on (from) the back of her neck/her knee/
 her face'

- 3-129 paluru kata-nguru ngara-nyi
 DEF(NOM) head-ABL stand-PRES
 'She's standing on her head'

3.6.4 Perlative Case

(1) Perlative case (markers -wanu/-lawanu for common and name-status nouns respectively) usually indicates that an action was performed through or across something or that a state exists around something.

- 3-130 munu ngura panya Kupapiti-la alintjara-wanu-mpa
 ADD place ANAPH CooperPedy-LOC NAME north-PERL(NOM)-INTEREST
 ngalya-ya-nu, uril palu-la-wanu
 this way-go-PAST open place DEF-LOC-PERL(NOM)

'And (he) came hither through that place to the north of Cooper Pedy, through that open country'

- 3-131 nyanga-wanu kampurara ngara-nyi nyanga
 this-PERL(NOM) bush-raisin(NOM) stand-PRES this
 ila-wanu
 close-PERL(NOM)

'The bush raisin grows around here, close around here'

As shown in (3-132), (3-133), (3-21), perlatives inflect according to the actor agreement pattern (3.3.1) found with active adjectives and other nominal expressions that describe an actor in action. On reflection, a possible semantic rationale for this is fairly easy to discern. Notice that if one is told the starting or end point of a journey, one learns nothing which helps visualise the journey in progress; if, on the other hand one is told the route taken, one is better able to visualise the journey in progress. The perlatives in other words tells something about how the actor performed the action depicted by the verb - it is semantically like a manner active adjective, and this is why it shows actor agreement.

3-132 puluka tjuta-la ngalya-kati-ngu,
 cattle many(ACC)-lpl(ERG) this way-bring-PAST
 Unkalypalangu-la-wanu-ngku
 Unkalypalangu-LOC NAME-PERL-ERG
 'We brought the cattle back here by way of Unkalypalangu'

3-133 miri kunyu.. ngura Yalata-la-wanu-ngku
 dead body(ACC) QUOT place Yalata-LOC NAME-PERL-ERG
 waka-ra ngalku-ningi
 pierce-SERIAL eat-PAST.IMPF
 'According to the story the eagles were clawing and eating
 a dead body around Yalata'

(2) PERLative -wanu also occurs occasionally in sentences like (3-134) and (3-135), indicating manner of action, and a kind of origin respectively.

3-134 wati panya-tja, paluru panya katu-wanu
 man ANAPH-EVIDENT DEF(NOM) ANAPH high-PERL(NOM)
 mira-ra wangka-nyi
 shout-SERIAL talk-PRES
 'that bloke, the one calling out loudly'

3-135 ngayulu ngunytju-wanu yankunytjatjara
 lsg(NOM) mother-PERL(NOM) Yankunytjatjara(NOM)
 'I'm Yankunytjatjara (speaker) through my mother'

(3) Very occasionally, -wanu functions as a stem-forming element, as in (3-136), comparable to (3-118).

3-136 alintjara-la yanku-la kayita-wanu-ri-ngu,
 north-1pl(NOM) go-SERIAL gate-PERL-INCHO-PAST

 wilurara-lku-lta yana-ngi
 west-PURP-AND THEN go-PAST. IMPF

 'In the north we went through a gate; then we were
 travelling west'

CHAPTER FOUR : NOMINALS AND THE NOUN PHRASE

4.1 HEAD-MODIFIER CONSTRUCTIONS

4.1.1 Introduction

Endocentric, subordinative noun-phrases (Bloomfield 1933:195; Lyons 1977:391) in Yankunytjatjara always consist of adjacent words, the final word only bearing the case-marking for the NP as a whole. The head of such an NP is always a noun (though occasionally NPs are headless due to ellipsis) and the modifiers may be demonstratives (4.3.2), genitive NPs (3.4.4), stative adjectives or apposed nouns.

This section deals with the possible relationships between nouns and adjectives in such NPs, which fall into two broad types - attributive and non-attributive. Attributive modifiers, which may be stative adjectives or nouns, follow their heads and, roughly speaking, attribute or ascribe a property, form or source to the referent of the head. Non-attributive modification occurs only in the noun compound construction, and may involve several different types of semantic relationship.

4.1.2 Attributive Modification

As mentioned in 2.3.2, stative adjectives can be divided into two subclasses - descriptive and quantifying, which follow a head noun in that order.

- 4-1 (i) papa tjuta-ngku mayi ngalku-nu
dog many-ERG veg eat-PAST
'The dogs ate the food'
- (ii) papa tjapu tjuta-ngku mayi ngalku-nu
dog small many-ERG veg food(ACC) eat-PAST
'The small dogs (puppies) ate the food'
- (iii) *papa tjuta tjapu-ngku mayi ngalku-nu
dog many small-ERG veg food(ACC) eat-PAST
'The small many dogs ate the food'

An NP may contain more than one descriptive adjective (eg tjitji maru pulka '(a) big dark child'), but this is rare and I have not investigated the ordering or selectional restrictions that may apply. An NP may contain only one quantifying adjective (but note that as in many Australian languages the 'numerals' kutju 'one', kutjara 'two', and mankur 'three, few' may be compounded eg kutjara-kutjara 'four',

kutjara-mankur 'five', mankur-mankur 'six'). The quantifying adjective tjuta 'many' is the normal way of indicating plurality and must be included in any NP whose referent consists of, or more accurately, is seen to consist of, ¹ more than two or three individuals (providing, that is, that we are not referring to the whole set of such individuals in which case kutjuli 'all' or winki 'the complete set' is used).

Though it is not strictly relevant here, it is worth mentioning the existence of a rather rare PLural affix -n, which occurs only with NPs referring to small things.²

- 4-2 (i) papa tjapu/*pulka-n-tu kuka kati-ngu
 dog small/*big-PL-ERG meat(ACC) take-PAST
 'The small dogs (puppies)/*big dogs took the meat'
- (ii) punti tjapu-/*pulka-n
 Cassia bush small/*big-PL(NOM)
 'A group of small/*large Cassia bushes'

A head noun may also be modified by a following attributive noun in a 'generic-specific' construction, giving the order of occurrence: head noun - apposed noun - descriptive adjective - quantifying adjective. Though it is sometimes claimed or implied that the specific noun is the head of such constructions, there are two main reasons for identifying the generic noun as head: (i) the specific noun limits the range of reference of the generic noun, just as an adjective restricts or limits the range of reference of a head noun (ii) the distribution of an NP like kuka malu 'meat kangaroo' is more similar to that of kuka 'meat' than of malu 'kangaroo' - for instance, slaughtered meat is more likely to be called kuka malu than simply malu, and a living kangaroo is referred to as kuka malu only when it is being thought of as game (in which case it may indeed be called simply kuka) - not for instance in the equivalents to sentences like 'kangaroos jump' or 'kangaroos eat grass'. The use and meaning of generic nouns warrants some further consideration.

4.1.3 Generic Nouns

There are at least twelve generic nouns, closely resembling similar sets found in other Australian languages (eg Yidiny (Dixon 1977a)). They are of three main semantic types.

(1) Social status generics (wati 'initiated man', kungka 'woman',³ tjitji 'child') refer to persons, including Dreaming beings.

4-3 (i) wati tjitji katja

man child son

'(my) initiated man/child son'

(ii) wati tawal/ kungka tjintirtjintir

man nail-tail wallaby/ woman willy wag-tail

'the nail-tail wallaby man'/'the willy wag-tail woman'

(2) Use/function generics such ^{as} (kuka 'edible meat (including ngampu 'egg'), kapi 'drinking water', mayi 'edible vegetable matter', maku 'edible grub', wama 'consumable sweet substance, (solid or liquid, including liquor)'). In generic-specific constructions based on these words the specific noun may indicate the source from which it is obtained as in (4-4), or the form in which it occurs, whether naturally occurring as in (4-5) or processed as in (4-6).

4-4 (i) kuka malu/kipara/wayuta/ngintaka

meat kangaroo/bustard/possum/perentie lizard

'meat from/of kangaroo/ bustard / possum / perentie lizard'

(ii) mayi ili/wangun/parkily

veg food wild fig/woolybutt grass/parakeelya

(iii) kapi piti/wala/tjukula/punu

water hole/spring/rock-hole/tree

'water from/of a hole (soakage)/spring/rock-hole/tree'

(iv) wama waputi

sweet stuff Thryptomene maisonneuvii

'nectar/sweet dew from Thryptomene maisonneuvii'

(v) maku ilykuwara/punti

edible grub Witchetty bush/Cassia bush

'edible grubs from Witchetty/Cassia bush'

4-5 (i) kuka ngatin/kantily

meat fat/rib

'meat in the form of fat/ribs'

- (ii) mayi kalka/kalpi/ungka
 veg food hard round thing /leaf/tap root
 'food in form of seeds/leaves/edible root'
- (iii) kapi yuru/iili/irilypi
 water pool/drizzle/drop
 'a pool/drizzle/drop of (rain) water'
- (iv) wama mangir/ngapari
 sweet stuff dried mulga lerp/Eucalypt leaf lerp
- (v) maku anumara/itjaliti
 grub green caterpillar type/large Cossid larvae
- 4-6 mayi ulu/wanytji/latja
 food powder/seed-cake/paste
 'food in the form of powder (=flour)/seed-cake paste
- (3) 'Inherent nature' generics (Dixon 1977a) such as punu 'wood, plant, wooden thing', apu 'rock, hill, rocky thing', waru 'fire, burning thing, firewood', tjulpu 'bird of flight (including bat)'.⁴
 The first three of these are polysemous.
- Used by itself, ie outside a generic-specific construction, punu most often refers to trees, bushes and pieces of 'green' or living wood such as recently fallen branches, suggesting that its core meaning is something like 'living/growing tree/bush'. In examples like (4-7i) the specific term gives the species or variety of tree or bush in question. A secondary meaning of punu is 'anything made of wood', as illustrated in (4-7ii) where the specific term indicates the specific implement or tool in question. A third meaning of punu (a generalisation of the core meaning) is 'growing/living plant', including grasses, vines and fungi (4-7iii).⁵
- 4-7 (i) punu apara/ngatun/witjinti/punti
 'a (living) river-gum/prickly wattle/corkwood/Cassia'
- (ii) punu kali/wira/tjutiny/mimpu
 'a wooden implement boomerang/digging dish/throwing stick/ carrying bowl'
- (iii) punu ipiri/anulytja/ayinkura
 'a living curly-wire grass/C.erubencens(a creeper)/large puff-ball'

Apu used alone most often refers to rocks or stones, and paralleling punu in this regard occurs in generic-specific constructions where the specific noun indicates a variety of rock, or something made out of rock. (Apu may also mean 'hill, hills' but, as far as I know, in this meaning it is not found in generic-specific constructions - there are no types of hill, or things made of hills.)

4-8 (i) apu kanti
'quartz stone, quartz chip'

(ii) apu alkara
'a stone-tool axe'

Waru used alone - ie outside a generic-specific construction, commonly refers to fire, which I would suggest is its core meaning. By extension it can be used for heat generally, so that waru can be used to describe a hot day, or a fever. In generic-specific NPs, waru can be used to indicate anything burning or produced by fire - ashes, flames, charcoal, smoke, sparks and so on.

4-9 waru puyu/kala/ipa/
fire smoke/flame/ashes

Waru is also used alone to refer to firewood - ie wood which is not still living or growing, and can therefore be used to make fire. Based on this meaning of waru there are generic-specific constructions like (4-10), where the specific noun gives the form taken by the firewood. Note however that waru in this sense does not belong in the category of 'inherent nature', but with the use/function generics discussed in (2) above.

4-10 waru tjiwuru/kultu
'firewood in the form of twigs, brush-wood/trunk, log'

Unlike the other 'inherent nature' generics tjulpu appears to have only a single meaning, namely 'bird of flight (including the bat)'. In a generic-specific construction the specific noun indicates the species or variety of bird.

4-11 tjulpu nyiinyii/walawuru/kiilkiilkari
bird zebra-finch/eagle/budgerigar

4.1.4 Noun Compounds

There are many apposed noun structures whose internal semantic structure is not attributive - ie where it is not the case that one noun specifies the form or source of the thing referred to by the other noun. It turns out that in 'noun compounds' the modifying relationship operates in the reverse direction to that found in attributive constructions - ie the first noun modifies the second, which is the head. In describing these structures I have benefitted from Lyons 1977 discussion of English expressions like 'week-end cottage', 'garden furniture', and 'car radio' (see also Marchand 1969). Lyons (1977:535) distinguishes such expressions from compound lexemes like 'screwdriver', 'blackbird' and 'boy-friend', calling the former 'syntactic compounds': "Syntactic compounds are like completely regular derived lexemes in that their meaning and distribution can be accounted for in terms of the productive rules of the language system", but he also notes that "while this would appear to be a reasonable assumption... the semantic relationships between the head-noun and the modifying noun in such noun phrases are extremely diverse" (p.538). This is also true of Yankunytjatjara, and the following four categories are not exhaustive.⁶

(1) The most obvious class of noun compound expressions involves part-whole relationships. The second noun denotes a part of something indicated by the first noun. (Note that this relation is strictly limited to part-whole relationships within and between things. A different construction - the 'personal' construction, is used when the relation is between a person and a part of a person's body (4.2.2)) It may be useful to divide such expressions into two types, according to whether the 'part' is indicated by an extended use of a body-part term, as in (4-12), or not, as in (4-13). Note that, as we might expect, something can be spoken of in this way regardless of whether or not it is a part of the original whole at the time of speaking.

- 4-12 (i) wana mulya
 digging-stick nose
 'the nose (=tip) of a digging-stick'
- (ii) apu panta
 hill lap
 'the lap (=flank) of a hill'

- (iii) urtjany mara
Pandorea bush hand
'the hand (=cluster of finger-like pods) of a Pandorea bush'
- (iv) miru tjuni
spear-thrower stomach
'the stomach (=hollow) of a spear-thrower'
- (v) karu kantily
creek rib
'the rib (=edge) of a creek'
- (vi) punu miina
tree arm
'the arm (=branch) of a tree'
- 4-13 (1) kipara kalpi
bustard feather/leaf
'feather of a bustard'
- (ii) apara makaly
river-gum hollow branch
'hollow branch of a river-gum'
- (iii) malu kuna
kangaroo shit
'shit of a kangaroo'
- (iv) apara tjintulu
river-gum berry/nut
'gum nut of a river-gum'
- (v) punu iwiri
tree root
'root of a tree'
- (vi) katji wata
spear base
'the base (=top section) of spear'

(2) A second type of non-attributive apposed noun construction is seen in expressions like nyinji manngu 'zebra-finch nest', tjalku piti 'bandicoot burrow', rapita piti 'rabbit burrow' and so on. Here the second noun denotes a 'dwelling' made by an animal - a nest, burrow, warren and so on; the initial noun tells the type of animal which has made and lives in it.⁷

(3) A third type of non-attributive apposed noun construction is found in expressions like ngura ini 'name of a place', kuka ini 'name of an edible animal', ngura walytja 'owner of a place', papa walytja 'owner of a dog'. Though it seems to me these expressions do fall into a single category I am at a loss to describe it precisely. Hopefully the following comments will be helpful: if a name ini is something which one calls a certain something, then ngura ini tells us that this something is a place, kuka ini that it is an edible animal; similarly, if walytja (in this sense) means someone who cares for a certain something, then ngura walytja and papa walytja tell us that this something is a place, or a dog.

(4) In the fourth and final noun compound pattern to be noted here the second noun describes a type of deformation - a hole, a hollow, a cavern, a crack, in the material or physical matrix indicated by the first noun.

- 4-14 (i) pina ala
ear hole 'the opening in/of the ear'
- (ii) karu ngati
creek depression 'a depression in a creek'
- (iii) apu walkir
rock crack 'a crack in a rock'
- (iv) apu kulpi
rock cavern 'a cavern in rock (a cave)'
(Note that kulpi can also refer to a chamber in a burrow)
- (v) apu wimaru
hill gap 'a gap in the hills'

Regardless of their semantic differences, noun compounds behave like attributive NPs syntactically. Though they may be followed by adjectives, they usually are not, forming an NP on their own account.

- 4-15 iri-ra upa-ra mula-mpa malu
sharpen-SERIAL lighten-SERIAL true-INTEREST 'roo

pilki-ngka kunytji-ningi
grass-mash-LOC smear-PAST. IMPF

'(Having) sharpened (it) (and) really made it light, (one)
would smear it with kangaroo grass-mash (ie the mash within
a kangaroo's guts)'

4-16 ngayulu wati akuri-ngka kutju nyina-payi kungka
 lsg(NOM) man scent-LOC only sit-CHAR woman
 akuri-ku-na ngurpa
 scent-PURP-lsg(NOM) ignorant(NOM)

'I only live with the smell of men. I'm ignorant of the
 smell of women' (ie a confirmed bachelor, who avoids the
 company of women)

4-17 apu walkir-ta patangara-ku
 rock crack-LOC fall-FUT

'(Careful), you might fall into a crack in the rock'

4.2 NON - 'HEAD-MODIFIER' CONSTRUCTIONS

4.2.1 The 'inclusive' Construction

This construction consists of (i) one or more names or non-first person pronouns (ii) followed by a non-singular pronoun subsuming the preceding elements in number (iii) all agreeing in case (subject to the discussion below about local cases). Despite the fact that each word in such a construction is individually marked for case they must all be adjacent. The semantic effect of the construction is to present the referents of the non-final words as included within the group designated by the final non-singular pronoun. Since the construction is composed of names and pronouns it is largely restricted to expressing phrasal coordination and inclusion between and among people and groups of people (though occasionally named places may be involved as in (4-20)). (Phrasal coordination of non-human referents is expressed through juxtaposition, or less commonly with the ADDitive connective munu (9.1.2). It is in fact ungrammatical to coordinate pronouns with munu ADD on the pattern of the English 'you and I'.) The implications of the inclusive construction for understanding case have already been mentioned in 3.1.

(4-18) illustrates inclusive constructions involving various pronoun combinations. Note that a non-final pronoun may never be first person eg *ngayulu ngali lsg(NOM) ldu(NOM), and that the several pronouns must be of different persons eg *nyuntu nyura 2sg(NOM) 2pl(NOM). See also (6-52) and (8-50).

4-18 (i) nyuntu ngali kuka-ku yanku-ku
 2sg(NOM) ldu(NOM) meat-PURP go-FUT
 'You and I might go for meat' (lit: you we-two)

(ii) nyuntu-nya tjana-nya nya-ngu
 2sg-ACC 3pl-ACC see-PAST
 '(Someone) saw you and the others' (lit: you them)

(iii) nyupali-mpa tjana-mpa-na watjil-ari-ngi
 2du-PURP 3pl-PURP-1sg(NOM) pine-INCHO-PAST.IMPF
 'I was pining for you two and the others'

(4-19) are examples where the non-final elements are names or name-status words. (See also (3-2) and (6-84i).)

4-19 (i) Tjilpi-lu/Tjampu-lu nyupali kati-ku-nti
 old man-ERG NAME/Tjampu-ERG NAME 2du(ERG) take-FUT-MAYBE
 'You and the Old Bloke/Tjampu might take (us)'

(ii) Tjampu-nya pula nyina-nyi?
 Tjampu-NOM NAME 3du(NOM) sit-PRES
 'Are Tjampu and he/she (here)?'

(iii) ngayulu Tjampu-la tjana-la nyina-ngi
 1sg(NOM) Tjampu-LOC NAME 3pl-LOC sit-PAST.IMPF
 'I stayed with Tjampu and the others'

It is obvious that inclusive constructions differ markedly in grammar and meaning structure from the NP types considered in 4.1. They resist analysis in terms of a head-modifier relationship, because although the final pronoun is perhaps syntactically dominant in some way, the non-final names or pronouns can hardly be considered modifiers. Indeed, an expression like nyuntu ngali 2sg(NOM) ldu(NOM) makes not one, but two distinct (albeit closely related) acts of reference, and the separate case-marking must surely be related to this fact. (In traditional terms, inclusive constructions are endocentric co-ordinative since "the resultant phrase belongs to the same form-class as two or more of the constituents" (Bloomfield 1933:195), that is (Lyons 1977:391) "they have more than one head and no modifier".)

I do not want to go into the precise formal syntactic characterisation of the inclusive construction, except to say that (i) it would seem that each element should be regarded as a distinct NP, since each is a distinct referring expression (ii) but that by the same criterion the construction as a whole should be regarded as a complex NP, a complex referring expression, especially since it conforms to the requirement of strict adjacency that characterises other NP types.

Finally, to reiterate a point made in 3.2.4, when an inclusive construction occurs in a local case, each but the final word is marked with the locative case-marker only, and the local case suffix (-kutu ALLative, -nguru ABLative, -wanu PERLative) occurs only once, on the final pronoun. (Recall that for pronouns and name-status nouns the locative case-marker -la acts as a stem-forming element to which the local case suffixes are added.) One way to interpret this is to say that where 'double case-marking' occurs the case agreement between NPs in the inclusive construction applies only to the 'inner-most' case. (See also (3-9).)

4-20 kutjupa tjuta maa-kati-ngi, Mimili-la
 other many(ACC) away-take-PAST.IMPF Mimili-LOC NAME

 Intalka-la tjana-la-kutu
 Indulkana-LOC-NAME 3pl-LOC-ALL

'(They) took some others to Mimili, Indulkana and other places (around there)'

4.2.2 The Personal Construction

This expresses certain types of what is normally called 'inalienable possession'. The two NPs involved have identical case but do not form a syntactic constituent, in the sense that it is possible to separate them. (4-21) - (4-22) illustrate the construction with NPs representing a person and a part of that person's body. For convenience I will call these words, and other analogous to them, the 'primary' and 'secondary' terms respectively. Note that the primary term is often a pronoun, as in (3-1), frequently a clitic pronoun, as in (4-22). The implications of this for an understanding of case have been mentioned in 3.1.

The key thing about the Yankunytjatjara personal construction is that the primary term must always denote a person. Relationships between an animal or inanimate thing and a component part are not expressed by the personal construction, but by means of noun compounds (4.1.4), unlike many Australian languages (eg Yidiny (Dixon 1977:361)⁸ and Warlpiri (Hale 1981:335)) where an analogous construction applies uniformly to all part-whole relationships.

- 4-21 (1) punpun tjuta wati-ngka nyina-nyi kuru-ngka
 fly many(NOM) man-LOC sit-PRES eye-LOC
 'There are a lot of flies in the man's eyes'
- (ii) wati-ngku mara-ngku papa pu-ngu
 man-ERG hand-ERG dog(ACC) hit-PAST
 'The man hit a dog with his hand'
- (iii) ngayulu Yami-ku yunpa-ku ngurpa-ri-ngu
 lsg(NOM) Yami-PURP face-PURP ignorant-INCHO-PAST
 'I forgot Yami's face'
- 4-22 (1) tjina-tja kampa-ra kuya-nu kaa ngayulu
 foot(ACC)-lsgACC burn-SERIAL ruin-PAST CONTR lsg(NOM)
 tjina kuya
 foot(NOM) useless(NOM)
 '(The heat) burnt my feet, and (now) I've (got) useless feet'
- (ii) kumpu-lta-n paka-ni
 piss-AND THEN-2sg(NOM) get up-PRES
 'You'll piss yourself' (lit: you piss will come out)

The personal construction is not possible if the body part has been separated from the body. For instance, if a hand has been cut off in an accident and is lying on the ground, then the relationship between person and hand is expressed by means of the genitive case, the normal case expressing possession. (Cf Blake 1977:60 "It seems to be generally true that body parts and excretions when separate from the source body are treated as possessions as in 'he give me a lock of his hair' 'he gave me one of his teeth'.")

- 4-23 punpun tjuta wati-ku mara-ngka nyina-nyi
 fly many(NOM) man-GEN hand-LOC sit-PRES
 'There's a lot of flies on the man's (severed) hand'

The personal construction is by no means limited to cases where the secondary term is a body part. It may also be ini 'name', wangka 'voice',⁹ kurun 'spirit, will' and tjina 'tracks' (= 'foot').

- 4-24 ngayulu nyuntu-nya wangka kuli-nu
 lsg(ERG) 2sg-ACC talk(ACC) hear-PAST
 'I heard your voice'

4-25 kaa ngayulu mala yana-ngi mama-ngka
 CONTR lsg(NOM) after (NOM) go-PAST.IMPF father-LOC
 tjina-ngka
 feet-LOC

'And I was going after, in father's tracks'

This suggests that the crucial semantic relationship is not whole-part in a physical sense, but has to do with the significance of (the referent of) the secondary term for the identity or person of (the referent of) the primary term, rather than with his or her body as such. We cannot for instance, hear Mary's voice or name without thinking of Mary; we cannot see or hit Johnny's hand without seeing or hitting Johnny; we cannot follow Mary's tracks without following Mary. It would take too long to try to refine this semantic notion¹⁰ here, or to inquire how it might be incorporated into a formal grammar (but see Hale 1981).

Note incidentally that sentences incorporating serial verbs, which demand a common subject between the finite and serial verb-forms, are possible if the subject of the finite verb is the primary term, and the subject of the serial verb is the secondary term (6.5.2).

4.3 DEMONSTRATIVES

4.3.1 Forms and Meanings

Yankunytjatjara has four demonstratives - nyanga 'this', pala 'this just here/there', nyara 'that over there' and panya, which I will call the ANAPHORIC demonstrative, since its function is to direct attention to something with which the listener is already familiar but which is not present. Demonstratives may occur alone, or in combination with nouns, pronouns, the DEFINITE nominal and spatial qualifiers, as described in 4.3.2.

Plural number is indicated by suffixing the DEMONSTRATIVE PLURAL marker -n to the stem eg (4-40), (4-57); otherwise demonstratives have singular reference.¹¹ Case-marking follows, and is achieved with the same markers as used with common nouns (3.2.2). Note that in Yankunytjatjara it is quite usual to refer to a person by means of a demonstrative, if he or she is present.

(1) Nyanga 'this' is used to refer to something close to the site of the speech-act or other implied reference point, which is already being attended to, as in (4-26) and (4-27). It is also commonly used in normal speech to single out the referent of an NP which has already been mentioned for further comment, as in (4-28) and (9-24) - ie the referent need not necessarily be physically near as long as it holds the speaker's focus of attention.

4-26 (wati) nyanga-ngku papa pu-ngu
 (man) this-ERG dog(ACC) hit-PAST
 'This man/one hit the dog'

4-27 paluru tjakultju-nu (wati) nyanga-ngka
 DEF(ERG) inform-PAST (man) this-LOC
 'She told (it) (to) this man/one'

4-28 kaa wati nyanga paluru ...
 CONTR man this DEF(NOM)
 'And this same man ...'

(2) Like nyanga 'this', pala 'just here/there' is usually used to refer to things relatively close to the site of the speech act or other implied reference point. It differs from nyanga 'this' (i) distributionally, in that it is rarer and (ii) semantically, in containing an additional component of meaning, namely a direction to shift the attention. That is, pala presupposes that the listener is not really paying attention to a thing which is close, and directs him or her to notice it. It is highly suggestive that the call pala! is equivalent to English 'look out!'. Conversely, a person holding two objects and examining them in turn will refer to the first as nyanga 'this' (or nyangatja 'this one here'); on turning to the second he or she will not refer to it as pala, but as nyanga also, or possibly nyanga kutjupa 'this another'.¹²

4-29 pala-ngka papa payi-ni
 just there-LOC dog(ACC) drive off-PRES
 '(Someone's) driving off a dog just over there'

4-30 (wati) pala-ngku tjinguru kati-ku
 (man) just there-ERG MAYBE take-FUT
 'Maybe that man/one just there might take (you)'

(3) Nyara always refers to something physically distant. Distance here is relative judgement - it may be twenty metres, a kilometre or a hundred kilometres. The referent need not be visible to be indicated using nyara.

4-31 wali nyara-ngka-ya tjarpa-ngu
house over there-LOC-3pl(NOM) enter-PAST
'They went into that house over there'

4-32 paluru tjana maa-kulpa-ngu ngura nyara-ku
DEF(NOM) 3pl(NOM) away-return-PAST place over there-PURP
'They went back to that place over there'

(4) Panya ANAPH (roughly 'you know the one') calls the listener's attention to the fact that he or she is already familiar with a referent. It is not usually used about things which are fully topical - ie already being talked about, but rather to re-introduce something into the conversation. In (4-33) a woman is exclaiming on her speedy recovery from an illness, and praises the particular bush medicine she used. In (4-34) a group of hunters returns to camp to find it unoccupied, but then see smoke on the horizon and recall there had been talk of checking a nearby waterhole.

4-33 ayi, pika panya ngayulu wiya-ri-ngu
hey pain(NOM) ANAPH lsg(NOM) nothing-INCHO-PAST
ngaltutjara, mititjini panya-ngka-lta ngayulu
dear thing medicine ANAPH-LOC-AND THEN lsg(NOM)
palya-ri-ngu
good-INCHO-PAST

'Hey, you know that sickness of mine has disappeared. The dear (stuff), with that medicine, you know the medicine, I got better'

4-34 munu nyaku-payi "waru kampa-nyi kapi
ADD see-CHAR fire(NOM) burn-PRES water
panya-ngka-manti-r."
ANAPH-LOC-PROBABLY-EXCIT

'And they would see "There's a fire burning, at that water(hole), you know the water(hole), most likely, by gee!'"

Actually, panya ANAPH does not presuppose an explicit mention in previous discourse, but simply that the addressee be able to call to mind the intended referent, whether through linguistic or extra-linguistic context. For instance, panya often occurs when a person is trying to recall something, as if talking to him or herself, nyaa? nyaa panya? 'what (is it)? what is it, you know the one?'. Yankunytjatjara people like to avoid referring to familiar individuals by name, which is in any case largely unnecessary in a small kin-based community where people all know each other and their mutual relationships. So one often hears things like wati panya yaaltji? 'where's that bloke, you know the one?'

Unlike the other demonstratives, panya ANAPH may occur sentence or clause initially as a presentational particle (something like English 'you know'), introducing a proposition that the speaker assumes the listener will readily accept, as in (4-35). It also occurs as a sort of hesitation particle while a speaker gropes for something to say, as in (4-36) from Text 1. Individuals vary greatly in how frequently they use panya in this way (just as English speakers do in respect of 'you know').

4-35 mungatu-ya nyitayira tjuta tangki-tjara
 recently-3pl(NOM) boy many donkey-HAVING(NOM)

ya-nu Itjinpiri-la-kutu munu-ya yuru-ngka
 go-PAST Itjinpiri-LOC NAME-ALL ADD-3pl(NOM) water-LOC

tjarpa-ngu. Panya nyara tjana yuru-ku
 enter-PAST ANAPH over there 3pl(NOM) water-PURP

muku-ringku-payi
 like-INCHO-CHAR

'A while back some boys went by donkey to Itjinpiri,
 and they went swimming. You know, they like water over there'

4-36 kaa-ya panya yanku-nytja kutju-ka watja-la,
 CONTR-3pl(ERG) ANAPH go-NOML(ACC) only-JUST SO speak-IMP

panya, panya, tjukur kurakura panya, yanku-nytja
 ANAPH ANAPH story unimportant(ACC) ANAPH go-NOML

yanku-nytja
 go-NOML(ACC)

'..and you know, you should only tell him about (comings and)
 goings. You know, you know, ordinary stories, about (comings
 and) goings...'

4.3.2 Syntax of the Demonstratives

(1) Demonstratives most often (i) follow the first noun of an NP, preceding any apposed nouns or adjectives, as in (4-37) and the first sentence of (4-38). They may also occur (ii) preceding the first noun, as in (4-39) and the second sentence of (4-38), or (iii) following the NP as a whole - ie following case inflection, as in the second sentence of (4-40).

4-37 punu nyara apara pulka-ngka nyina-kati-ngu
tree over there river-gum big-LOC sit-PROCESS-PAST
'(It) landed on/stopped near that big river-gum tree
over there'

4-38 kalka pala pulkanya kunyu kungka paluru,
round just there big(NOM) QUOT woman DEF(NOM)

kungka paluru kunyu nyanga apu
woman DEF(NOM) QUOT this rock

'That big round (rock) just there is, they say, the
woman. They say the woman is this rock'

4-39 munu nyanga panta wakal-wiya-ngka wanti-ma
ADD this lap(ACC) pierce-NEG-ERG leave alone-IMP.IMP
'And don't pierce this lap here!'

4-40 kaa mingkiri nyanga ngura-ngka nyina-ra wani-nyi
CONTR mice(NOM) this place-LOC sit-SERIAL throw-PRES

nyanga-n-ta, nyanga panta-ngka nyanga
this-DEM PL-LOC this lap-LOC this

'The marsupial mouse lives around here, in these spots
around here, right in these foothills'

These syntactic differences appear to correlate with a distinction reminiscent of that between restrictive and non-restrictive adjuncts. A restrictive adjunct is one which serves to identify a referent by singling it out from the set or class indicated by the head noun. As Jespersen (1924:108) puts it "to limit the number of objects to which it [the head] may be applied... to specialise or define it. Thus red in a red rose restricts the applicability of the word rose to one particular sub-class of the whole class of roses". Non-restrictive

adjuncts do not have this specialising identificational function but "simply characterise.. (or) describe parenthetically" (p.111-112).

Though it is difficult to be certain of this, it appears that a demonstrative is, or at least strongly tends to be, restrictive where it occurs NP-internally ie preceding case inflection and following the head noun, and non-restrictive otherwise. For instance, in the first sentence of (4-38) the speaker is pointing out to me the rock he means to refer to, apu pala pulka 'that big rock'. Once I had identified the rock he subsequently refers to it as apu nyanga 'this rock'. In (4-39) there can be little question ^{that} the demonstrative in nyanga panta 'this lap' is non-restrictive, because the speaker has but one lap. (4-40) occurred as a speaker assured me that the marsupial mouse, unlike many other marsupial species, was still to be found around Mimili. In the context, I believe he is taking it for granted that we are talking about Mimili - the uses of the demonstrative nyanga 'this' are not intended to specialise or define the reference of the NPs indicated (eg to contrast this place or these foothills with some other places or foothills) but simply to characterise the referent.

This difference can be clearly seen in elicited contrasting pairs like the sentences in (4-41). (4-41i) with panya outside the NP is clearly non-restrictive - the speaker assumes that the noun wati 'man' is sufficient description to identify the intended referent. The panya adds the comment 'you know the one'. In (4-41ii), with panya inside the NP preceding case-marking, we are dealing with a group of men, only one of whom is the intended referent, namely the one that the addressee already knows, ie in this context panya serves to restrict the applicability of the word wati 'man' to one particular individual. ¹³

- 4-41 (i) kungka-ngku wati-ngka panya tjapi-nu
woman-ERG man-LOC ANAPH ask-PAST
'The woman asked the man, you know the one'
- (ii) kungka-ngku wati panya-ngka tjapi-nu
woman-ERG man ANAPH-LOC ask-PAST
'The woman asked that man, you know the one'

Note that if the above account is correct, NPs like kungka panya in the nominative or accusative case are ambiguous between restrictive and non-restrictive interpretations. I strongly suspect that in fact 'emphasis' or 'prominence' (in the sense of Liebermann 1967)

disambiguates between the restrictive interpretation kungka panya (NOM), where panya has a distinct prominence relative to kungka, as opposed to the non-restrictive interpretation kungka(NOM) panya where the converse applies. The fact that I have not systematically investigated the role of prominence (which plays a key role in disambiguating restrictive from non-restrictive adjectives in English) is one reason why the above account is only tentative.

(2) Turning to the positioning of demonstratives with respect to words other than nouns, note that a demonstrative may only precede the DEFINite nominal palu(ru). For more detail on the interaction of panya ANAPH and palu(ru) DEF in the corelativisation strategy illustrated in (4-44) see 5.2.2.

4-42 nyanga-tja wati tjalku tjùta-ngku ngara-la
 this-EVIDENT man bilby many-ERG stand-SERIAL

 nyanga palu-nya nyaku-la, maa-kulpa-ngu
 this DEF-ACC see-SERIAL away-return-PAST

'The bilby men, having seen this same thing, returned home'

4-43 walytja tjuta ngayu-ku ngura nyara
 relation many lsg-GEN(NOM) place over there

 palu-la nyina-nyi
 DEF-LOC sit-PRES

'My relations live in that (same) place over there'

4-44 wati panya mungartji ngalya-ya-nu, (wati) panya
 man ANAPH yesterday this way-go-PAST (man) ANAPH

 paluru
 DEF(NOM)

'A man came yesterday, do you know the one?
 this one you know (is) the same one'

(3) Demonstratives may also be used in combination with the dual and plural third person pronouns pula and tjana, which they must always precede. See (4-35) and (9-13).

(4) A demonstrative may also precede, or less commonly, follow, a spatial qualifier.

4-45 uwankara-mpa pakapaka-ra-lta wala-ri-ngu
 all-INTEREST rise up-SERIAL-AND THEN fast-INCHO-PAST
 nyara tjaru-kutu-lta'
 over there down(south)-ALL-AND THEN
 'All (the birds) rose up and sped off, there southwards'

4-46 nyanga-ngku-lta puru-nu unngu nyanga-lta
 this-ERG-AND THEN press-PAST inside this-AND THEN
 kaa paluru tjana mamu-lta nyina-nyi
 CONTR DEF(NOM) 3pl(NOM) devil(NOM)-AND THEN sit-PRES
 nyanga unngu-lta
 this inside-AND THEN
 'Then (he) pressed them inside here, and they're (here) now
 as 'devils', inside this'

4.3.3 Demonstrative Adverbs

The demonstrative adverbs nyangatja 'here, this-here', palatja 'just here/there, this just here/there' nyaratja 'over there, that over there' and panyatja 'the one you know, as you know' are derived by adding the suffix -tja EVIDENT to the demonstrative stems. As suggested by the interlinear gloss, the demonstrative adverbs differ semantically from the demonstratives in the presupposition that the referent is evident or obvious to the addressee.

The demonstrative adverbs cannot be regarded as members of the same part of speech category as the demonstratives because (i) they are invariable in form (ie not subject to case inflection) and (ii) they do not form plurals with the DEMonstrative PLural -n.

4-47 (i) *wati nyanga-tja-ngku papa pu-ngu
 man this-EVIDENT-ERG dog(ACC) hit-PAST
 * 'This man hit the dog'

(ii) *kanyala apu nyara-tja-ngka nyina-nyi
 euro(NOM) hill over there-EVIDENT-LOC sit-PRES
 * 'The euro lives in the hills over there'

4-48 *tjitji nyara-tja-n ngara-la inka-nyi
 child over there-EVIDENT-DEM PL stand-SERIAL play-PRES
 * 'The kids are playing over there'

One clear distributional difference between the demonstrative adverbs and the demonstratives is that only the demonstrative adverbs can be used in giving ostensive identifications - ie pointing to something and saying what it is, as in (4-49), or generally drawing attention to something, as in (4-50).

4-49 nyanga-tja/*nyanga papa
 this-EVIDENT/*this dog
 'This here is a dog'

4-50 nyanga-tja-mpa-l!
 this-EVIDENT-INTEREST-YOU SEE
 'Oh here it is!'

In many contexts Yankunytjatjara demonstrative adverbs are most readily translated into English with the English 'place' or 'local' adverbs 'here' and 'there', as in (4-51) and (4-52).

4-51 ala! kapi pulka nyanga-tja! ngura pulka
 lo water big(NOM) this-EVIDENT place big
 ngana-mpa!
 lpl-GEN
 'Lo! There's a lot of water here! Our big camp!'

4-52 wati wanampi wati-watungara-nyl nyara-tja
 man water-snake(NOM) across-lie prone-PRES over there-EVIDENT
 'The water-snake man is lying prone over there'

This parallelism extends to the fact that in both languages the adverbs in question may be either clausal - giving the location where something was taking place, or where something was sayable, as in (4-53) and its gloss (and (4-51) and (4-52)), or associated with a preceding NP, with a presentational effect, as in (4-54) and its gloss (or perhaps more clearly in English sentences like 'John here has been working on this all week').

4-53 papa nyina-nyl nyanga-tja
 dog(NOM) sit-PRES this-EVIDENT
 'A dog is sitting here'

4-54 papa nyanga-tja nyina-nyl
 dog(NOM) this-EVIDENT sit-PRES
 'The dog here is sitting'

Unlike the demonstratives (and again like English 'here' and 'there') the Yankunytjatjara demonstrative adverbs cannot be used as restrictive modifiers - ie though the demonstratives in (4-55) are subject to a restrictive interpretation, the corresponding sentences in (4-56) using the demonstrative adverbs are not. The referent is being presented as evident from its presence alone - there is no question of having to single it out from among others.

4-55 (i) papa nyanga anyma-tjara
 dog this(NOM) hunger-HAVING(NOM)
 'This dog is hungry'

(ii) ngayulu kuka nyanga waka-nu
 lsg(ERG) meat this(ACC) spear-PAST
 'I speared this meat'

4-56 (i) papa nyanga-tja anyma-tjara
 dog(NOM) this-EVIDENT hunger-HAVING
 'The dog here/this here dog is hungry'

(ii) ngayulu kuka nyanga-tja waka-nu
 lsg(ERG) meat(ACC) this-EVIDENT spear-PAST
 'I speared the meat here/this here meat'

A nice example of contrast between nyanga, contrastive 'this' and nyangatja 'this here' is (4-57). The speaker is explaining the origin of some designs inscribed into a rock. He points repeatedly to the designs, which are rather faint, and explains they were once the body-paint of ancestral bilby-men who danced in this place. It seems to me that when he said nyangatja 'this here' the speaker of course assumed that I would have no trouble knowing where he meant. When he said nyangan 'these ones', however, he was trying to make me see something which wasn't evident.

4-57 nyanga-tja walkatju-ra paka-ntja(2)
 this-EVIDENT make design-SERIAL get up-NOML(NOM)

ala nyanga-n, walkatju-ra paka-ntja
 right this-DEM PL(NOM) make design-SERIAL get up-NOML(NOM)

wati tjalku tjuta-ngku
 man bilby many-ERG

'Here (they) painted up and danced, these designs,
 these designs right here. (They) painted up and
 danced, the bilby men.'

Interestingly, demonstratives and demonstrative adverbs can be combined in the sort of emphatic expressions used to make someone see something which should be obvious to them, but isn't. For instance, if you were looking around for something 'right under your nose' one might say nyanga nyangatja: 'right here!' or pala palatja 'just there'.

Panya-tja ANAPH-EVIDENT is the most difficult of the Yankurytjatjara demonstrative adverbs to render into English. Like the others, it refers to something as self-evident, but in the addressee's memory or consciousness rather than through its physical presence or location. While the ANAPHoric demonstrative panya directs the listener to think of something particular, confident for one reason or another that he or she will be able to do so even though it is not present, the corresponding demonstrative adverbs panyatja presupposes that the listener is already thinking about the referent.

To help clarify this distinction, consider (4-58) which occurred in a text about a certain type of evil dog-being. The protagonist has almost been bitten by one of these terrible creatures as he was lying helpless, paralysed by its presence. By good fortune, the mamu "devil" leaves the man alone and passes on. As soon as he can move again, the man exclaims (4-58). Here we see an instance of nyaa panyatja? 'what was that?' which is exactly parallel to nyaa nyangatja? 'what is this?', in the presupposition that the referent is already salient in the addressee's consciousness, since it is obvious in the context that the near-victim and his companions will all be thinking about the same referent.

4-58 ayi! uu! nyaa panya-tja? nguwan-atja
 hey what(NOM) ANAPH-EVIDENT almost-lsg(ACC)
 patja-nu
 bite-PAST

'Hey, oh! What (was) that? (It) almost bit me!'

As (4-58) shows, it is not strictly necessary for the intended referent to receive a prior mention in discourse for panyatja to be used, but such cases are rare and in most instances panyatja does follow an explicit prior mention. (It is likely that panyatja is more common in the indirect speech style tjalpawangkantja, one of whose main features is an aversion to direct reference - see for instance (10-12) where the use of panyatja allows the speaker to allude rather than directly refer to a kangaroo which he and his partner are hunting.)

Like panya ANAPH, panya-tja ANAPH-EVIDENT may be used to refer to ideas and propositions as well as persons, places and things. One such characteristic use of panyatja is sentence-finally as a sentence adverb something like 'as you know' or 'as usual', as in (4-59) and (4-60). The context of (4-59) is that some Aboriginal people have been waiting for a white person to turn up for a meeting. Aboriginal people regard punctuality as a rather striking cultural trait of white people. So supposing the white person doesn't arrive on time, one might remark:

4-59 walypala mapalku wirkanku-payi panya-tja
 white man(NOM) right away(NOM) arrive-CHAR ANAPH-EVIDENT
 'White people always arrive on time, as you know'

(4-60) comes from a children's story about a hawk-man who has a way of making water by poking his eyes for tears. On one occasion this procedure doesn't work, and puzzled, he says to himself:

4-60 kapi mapalku ukalingku-payi panya-tja
 water(NOM) straight away(NOM) run down-CHAR ANAPH-EVIDENT
 'Water flows out straight away, usually'

4.4 PRONOUNS AND THE DEFINITE NOMINAL

4.4.1 Free Pronouns

Free pronoun stems are portmanteau morphemes signalling both person (first, second, or third) and number (singular, dual or plural), except that the element palu(ru), which functions in certain contexts as a third

singular pronoun, is better analysed as a distinct (but closely related) part of speech I call the DEFINITE nominal (4.4.2).

Pronoun stems and major case forms are displayed in Table 4.1. See 3.2.3 for a discussion of the pronominal case-marking system. The only additional points that need to be made are (i) the 1sgACC is realised as ngayinya rather than ngayunya (ie the stem-final /u/ is fronted between the laminal glide and laminal nasal) and (ii) the 1pl stem has the form nganana for nominative, accusative and ergative cases but simply ngana- for the other cases. (Interestingly, -na is identical with the 1sg NOM/ERG clitic pronoun, and ngana- is identical to the 'who, what name?' interrogative.)

Table 4.1 : Free Pronouns - Major Case Forms

	<u>Stem</u>	<u>Ergative Nominative</u>	<u>Accusative</u>	<u>Locative</u>	<u>Purposive- Genitive</u>
sg	1 ngayu-	ngayulu	ngayinya	ngayula	ngayuku
	2 nyuntu-	nyuntu	nyuntunya	nyuntula	nyuntumpa
du	1 ngali-	ngali	ngalinya	ngalila	ngalimpa
	2 nyupali-	nyupali	nyupalinya	nyupalila	nyupalimpa
	3 pula-	pula	pulanya	pulala	pulampa
pl	1 ngana-	nganana	nganananya	nganala	nganampa
	2 nyura-	nyura	nyuranya	nyurala	nyurampa
	3 tjana-	tjana	tjananya	tjanala	tjanampa

4.4.2 The DEFINITE Nominal palu(ru)

Major Case Forms of the DEFINITE Nominal (See also 3.2.3)

<u>Ergative Nominative</u>	<u>Accusative</u>	<u>Locative</u>	<u>Purposive- Genitive</u>
paluru	palunya	palula	palumpa

Trudinger 1943 regarded palu(ru) as a 3sg pronoun parallel to the dual and plural pronouns pula and tjana, presumably because in some contexts it indeed resembles a 3sg pronoun, and because its case-marking system is exactly the same as the pronominal system, even sharing the pronominal purposive-genitive -mpa. There are however a range of semantic and distributional differences between palu(ru) and the true third person pronouns 3du pula and 3pl tjana.

(1) It is very common in Yankunytjatjara to hear expressions like those in (4-61), where the stem palu- precedes a 3du or 3pl pronoun, and palu- and the pronoun stem are marked for identical case.

4-61 ..ngari-ngu palu-mpa pula-mpa pata-ra..
 lie-PAST DEF-PURP 3du-PURP wait-SERIAL
 '(They) camped, waiting for those two'

4-62 kaa pungku-la tjarpatju-nu palu-nya tjana-nya
 CONTR hit-SERIAL put inside-PAST DEF-ACC 3pl-ACC
 'And (he) hit and drove them inside (a waterhole)'

In expressions like these palu(ru) is acting as a modifier to the pronoun. This becomes obvious on comparing the meaning of a pronoun plus palu(ru) combination with the meaning of the pronoun used alone. Without palu(ru), tjana 'they' for instance has a vague, unspecified or indefinite interpretation (reminiscent of a similar use of English 'they').

4-63 (i) tjinguru nganana-nya turaka yungku-ku, tjana,
 MAYBE 1pl-ACC truck(ACC) give-FUT 3pl(ERG)
 inma-ku muku-ringku-la
 dance-PURP like-INCHO-SERIAL

'Maybe they'll give us a truck, if they like the dancing'
 (a future audience for a dancing tour)

(ii) tjana-nya para-tjapi-ra, ngayulu wangka-ku-lta
 3pl-ACC around-ask-SERIAL 1sg(NOM) talk-PURP-AND THEN
 ninti-ringa-nyi, pulka-ra
 knowing-INCHO-PRES do fully-SERIAL

'By asking around (of) them, I'll learn the language properly'

It is clear from scrutiny of texts that paluru tjana always refers to a specific group of individuals which is already known. Almost invariably NPs with the element palu(ru) occur only after the identity of the referent has been already established. We can therefore roughly represent the meaning of palu(ru) by the paraphrase 'the same X' - thus paluru pula is not simply 'the two of them' but 'the same two of them'; paluru tjana is not simply 'they, the mob' but 'the same them/mob'. There are even rare examples, like (4-64), of palu(ru) being used to modify non-third

pronouns. In context the speaker apparently meant to emphasise that the ngali-mpa we two-PURP he is talking about is the same 'we two' he was talking about previously.

4-64 wanampi-ku ngura, ngali-nya nyaku-la, ngali-nya
 water snake-GEN place(NOM) ldu-ACC see-SERIAL ldu-ACC
 nyaku-la nyanga walpa mirpan-ari-ngu palu-mpa
 see-SERIAL this wind(NOM) vengeful-INCHO-PAST DEF-PURP
 ngali-mpa
 ldu-PURP

'(This is) a water-snake place. (Because he) saw us here, this wind got vengeful, at the very two of us' (the water-snake moves the wind to vent his anger)

(2) Palu(ru) may also act as the modifier of a noun, in which case it follows the noun and carries the case inflection for the NP as a whole, just as if it were an adjective.

4-65 wati paluru puluka tjuta ngalya-kati-ngu
 man DEF(ERG) cattle many(ACC) this way-bring-PAST
 'The man brought the cattle back here'

4-66 kaa tiila-ra kampa-ngu wati wanampi
 CONTR send off spark-SERIAL burn-PAST man water-snake
 palu-nya
 DEF-ACC

'And (fire) sent off sparks and burnt the water-snake man'

4-67 kaa kunyu pula kakarara-nguru ngalya-kulpa-angi
 CONTR QUOT 3du(NOM) east-ABL this way-return-PAST.IMPF
 miri palu-nya-tjara
 corpse DEF-ACC-HAVING(NOM)

'And the story goes that the two were returning from the east with that dead body'

Studying the context of these examples in texts, it is quite clear that palu(ru) is meant to signal that the referent of the noun it is associated with is the same one as previously mentioned.

Clearly palu(ru) is no ordinary third singular pronoun. It is not restricted to NPs which are singular in number, or even to those in the third person. Further, it is obvious palu(ru) differs markedly in meaning and distribution from the 3du and 3pl pronouns, and from pronouns generally. I have therefore chosen to regard palu(ru) as a distinct part of speech - a nominal showing what I will call, largely for the want of a better term, 'DEFiniteness', in the sense that the referent is the same as an already established one. (Certainly an NP with palu(ru) DEF is the best translation for an English NP with the 'definite article'.)

Dixon 1980:375ff describes a similar situation for Warrgamay: "nyuṅa is semantically rather different from the other eight pronouns and it is probably not strictly appropriate to refer to it as a 'third person singular'... From a semantic point of view we could think of the personal pronouns (with human reference) as constituting a 3 x 3 matrix with a gap in the 3sg box. nyuṅa is then a form outside this system, ranging over all numbers and all persons (but with an unmarked '3sg' sense that does correspond to the empty box)."

Like Warrgamay nyuṅa, Yankunytjatjara paluru DEF has an 'unmarked' 3sg sense. That is, used alone it fulfills some of the functions of a 3sg pronoun. In most cases where palu(ru) DEF occurs as the sole constituent of an NP there has been a prior specification of the individual in question by means of a noun, and accordingly the palu(ru) can be regarded as in effect a modifier of an omitted head noun. Occasionally however palu(ru) begins a discourse, as in Text 4, where it makes, as it were, a definite but non-specific reference.

In closing, three other relevant facts about palu(ru) DEF are: (i) it is not normally used to refer to someone who is present, the usual practice being to use a demonstrative. This suggests that palu(ru) is not a deictic as are the first and second person pronouns and the demonstratives. (ii) Palu- occurs in the words palu-puriny and/or paluru-puriny 'in the same way', where -puriny is the SIMILAR suffix (4.6.2). (iii) Palu occurs as a clause-initial introductory particle, signalling that the proposition expressed by a clause is regarded as already established (9.1.4).

4.4.3 Clitic Pronouns

There are three sets of clitic pronouns in Yankunytjatjara - nominative/ergative, accusative and purposive. All three sets are defective, - ie there are forms equivalent to some, but not all, of the corresponding free pronouns. The nominative/ergative set contains five members, the accusative set four members, and the purposive set three members. Clitic pronouns generally occur enclitic to the final word of the first phrasal constituent of a clause. (The connectives kaa CONTR and munu ADD count as constituents of a clause for the purpose of this rule.) In Yankunytjatjara the use of clitic pronouns is not obligatory and sentences containing free pronouns only are by no means uncommon in normal speech. Using a free form and a corresponding clitic together creates contrastive emphasis, as in (4-71) and (4-142).

Subject (nominative/ergative) Clitic Pronouns

The nominative/ergative clitic pronouns are shown below, and exemplified in (4-68) - (4-71) and in numerous examples throughout.

Subject (nominative/ergative) Clitic Pronouns

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
1 person	-na	-li	-la
2 person	-n		
3 person			-ya

4-68	nyaa-n	kuli-ni		
	what(ACC)-2sg(ERG)	think-PRES		
	'What do you think?'			
4-69	iriti-la	alatji	alatji	nyina-ngi
	in old days-1pl(NOM)	like this	like this	sit-PAST.IMPF
	'In the old days we used to live like this'			
4-70	wanyu-li	kuli-nma		
	JUST LET-1du(ERG)	listen-IMP.IMPF		
	'Let's just listen'			
4-71	wiya, wati	ngayulu-na	kungka	wiya
	no man	1sg(NOM)-1sg(NOM)	woman	NEG(NOM)
	para-ngara-ngi			
	around-stand-PAST.IMPF			
	'No man, I've not been hanging around with women'			

Leaving aside stylistic differences, the free and clitic nominative/ergative pronouns are mutually substitutable, except for some peculiarities in the distribution of clitic pronouns in imperative sentences. Though the first person clitics can, and frequently do, serve as subjects of an imperative verb, as in (4-70), (6-20) and (9-72) the second singular -n cannot be used this way. That is, one may for instance address a single person saying kulila! 'listen!' or, with a more direct and emphatic effect, kulila nyuntu! 'you(2sgERG) listen!', but not *kulila-n ≠ 'you listen!'.

This restriction is in fact part of a larger pattern which starts to emerge when we consider how to frame an imperative to groups of two, or more than two people. If the addressees are plural in number, the imperative usually contains the 3plERG/NOM clitic -ya. Alternatively, with a direct and emphatic effect, it may contain the 2pl free pronoun, but not the 3pl free pronoun.

- 4-72 (i) kuli-la-ya!
 listen-IMP-3pl(ERG)
 'Listen all of you.'
- (ii) kuli-la nyura!
 listen-IMP 2pl(ERG)
 'Listen all of you'
- (iii) *kuli-la tjana
 listen-IMP 3pl(ERG)

If a pair of individuals is being issued a command, the imperative sentence usually contains what appears at first sight to be the 3duERG/NOM form pula; or alternatively, with an emphatic and direct effect, the 2du free form nyupali. On closer examination the 3du pula in this context seems to behave more like a clitic than a free pronoun - it cannot occur sentence-initially, though the 2sg and 2pl free forms nyuntu and nyura may freely precede the verb.

- 4-73 (i) kuli-la-pula
 listen-IMP-3du(ERG)
 'Listen you two!'
- (ii) *pula kuli-la!
 3du(ERG) listen-IMP
 ≠ 'You two listen!'

The implication of this is that in imperative sentences the 3du free pronoun pula functions as a clitic analogous to 3pl -ya. Given this, we can make the generalisation that second person imperative subjects are indicated by third person clitics (-pula 3du; -ya 3pl), or second person free forms (nyupali 2du; nyura 2pl).¹⁴ Since there is no 3sg clitic, it is to be expected that imperatives addressed to a single person should have either no overt subject, or the second person free form (ie \emptyset ; or nyuntu).

Accusative Clitic Pronouns

Of the four accusative clitic pronouns, the first and second singulars are in a suppletive relationship with their nominative/ergative counterparts, while the 1du and 1pl members consist of the nominative/ergative counterparts suffixed with the usual pronominal accusative marker -nya. With the qualification discussed below, the corresponding accusative free and clitic forms are interchangeable, aside from stylistic effects.

Accusative Clitic Pronouns

	Sg	Du	Pl
1	-tja	-linya	-lanya
2	-nta		
3			

(Note that the Pitjantjatjara 1sgACC form in -ni, not -tja. Otherwise the pronoun inventories of the two dialects are the same. In my corpus there is considerable use of -ni, which has largely replaced -tja in the speech of younger people. Older people used -tja fairly consistently, and if asked about the matter stated without hesitation that -tja is the traditional Yankunytjatjara form.)

(4-74) - (4-77) illustrate use of the accusative pronouns. Notice that the recipient of a gift is referred to using an accusative clitic as in (4-77), consistent with the use of an accusative free pronoun in the same context.

4-74 munu-lanya waka-ra-lta ngalku-ni kutjuli
 ADD-1plACC pierce-SERIAL-AND THEN eat-PRES all(ACC)
 'And (the eagles) will tear us up and eat the lot of us'

4-75 kampa-ku-nta!
 burn-FUT-2sgACC
 'It'll burn you!'

4-76 wati tjuta-ngku-linya nya-ngu
 man many-ERG-lduACC see-PAST
 'The men saw us (two)'

4-77 (i) wala-ngku-tja ngalya-yu-wa
 quick-ERG-lsgACC this way-give-IMP
 'Quickly pass it to me!'

(ii) wala-ngku ngayi-nya ngalya-yu-wa
 quick-ERG lsg-ACC this way-give-IMP
 'Quickly give it to me!'

With verbs of speech and some types of social action, it may appear that an accusative clitic is equivalent to a locative free pronoun in the 'locative of addressee' construction as in (4-78ii), but it is essential to note that an accusative free pronoun may also occur as the object of a speech or social action verb of the appropriate type (3.3.2). That is, (4-78i) is equivalent to (4-78iii), not to (4-78ii). Trudinger 1943 apparently overlooked the existence of sentences like (4-78iii) and asserted that the accusative clitic pronouns were equivalent to the locative as well as accusative free forms, but this idea is vitiated by the fact that the core locative case function, namely expressing location at a place, cannot be expressed with an accusative clitic.

4-78 (i) kaa-tja watja-nu
 CONTR-lsgACC say-PAST
 'And (she) told me'

(ii) kaa ngayu-la watja-nu
 CONTR lsg-LOC say-PAST
 'And (she) said to me'

(iii) kaa ngayi-nya watja-nu
 CONTR lsg-ACC say-PAST
 'And (she) told me'

4-79 (i) tjamu-nya ngayu-la nyina-nyi
 granddad-NOM NAME lsg-LOC sit-PRES
 'Granddad is staying with me'

(ii) *tjamu-nya-tja nyina-nyi
 granddad-NOM NAME-lsgACC sit-PRES
 *'Granddad is staying with me'

A specialised use of the accusative clitic pronouns, for which the corresponding free accusative forms are not substitutable, is illustrated in (4-80). This involves an action performed on, or in contact with, a person's body, with a particular personal importance. ¹⁵

4-80 kaa-ni tjitu waka-la
 CONTR-1sgACC louse(ACC) pierce-IMP
 'And squash the head-lice (on) me!'

Order of Clitic Pronouns

Before turning to the purposive-genitive clitics, let us consider the ordering possibilities where two clitic pronouns occur together. Though Dixon's (1980:363) assertion that "in Western Desert ... ordering depends on person - first person will precede second person, and second person will precede third person, quite irrespective of syntactic function", holds for some other Western Desert dialects such as Ngaanyatjarra (Glass & Hackett 1970:47), syntactic function does largely determine the order of Yankunytjatjara clitic pronouns. Accusative generally precedes ergative, except that 2sgNOM/ERG -n is always word-final, and therefore must follow an accusative clitic, as in (4-81), or any clitic particle (9.2.1).

4-81 pu-ngu-tja/-linya/-lanya-n
 hit-PAST-1sgACC/-lduACC/-1plACC-2sgERG
 'You hit me/us two/us (pl)'

It is ungrammatical to reverse the order of pronouns in (4-82) - (4-84). Crucial combinations are -nta-li 2sgACC-lduERG and -nta-la 2sgACC-1plERG in (4-82), where second person accusative precedes first person ergative.

4-82 nya-ngu-nta-li/ -la/ -ya
 see-PAST-2sgACC-ldu(ERG)/1pl(ERG)/3pl(ERG)
 'We two/we(PL)/they saw you'

4-83 nya-ngu-linya/-lanya-ya
 see-PAST-lduACC/-1plACC-3pl(ERG)
 'They saw us two/us(pl)'

4-84 nya-ngu-tja-ya
 see-PAST-1sgACC-3pl(ERG)
 'They saw me'

When the pronouns involved are 1sg(ERG) -na and 2sgACC -nta there is some variation. In elicitation Yami Lester insisted that the accusative precedes ergative rule held as in (4-85), and in texts this order is the most common (see (3-29) and (10-21)), but occasionally the reverse order does occur, as in (10-15) from Text 8.

4-85 nya-ngu { -nta-na
 *~na-nta
 'I saw you'

Purposive-Genitive Clitic Pronouns

These exist only for the first person. Notice that: (i) the 1du and 1pl forms are composed of the nominative/ergative clitics suffixed with -mpa, the usual purposive-genitive case marker (ii) the 1sg -tju is homophonous with the 1sg REFLEXive clitic (4.4.4).

Purposive-Genitive Clitic Pronouns

	Sg	Du	Pl
1	-tju	-limpa	-lampa
2	-	-	-
3	-	-	-

I am not sure that each and every instance of a purposive-genitive first person free pronoun can be replaced by the corresponding clitic - ie the free and clitic forms may not be fully equivalent. It does seem however that a clitic can always be replaced by a free form, as in (4-86).

4-86 (i) papa -tju/ -limpa/ -lampa kawalkati-ngu
 dog-1sgGEN/ -1duGEN/ -1plGEN(NOM) get lost-PAST
 'My/ our(du)/ our(pl) dog got lost'

(ii) papa ngayu-ku / ngali-mpa / ngana-mpa kawalkati-ngu
 dog 1sg-GEN / 1du-GEN / 1pl-GEN(NOM) get lost-PAST
 'My/our(du) / our(pl) dog got lost'

(4-87) - (4-89) show the purposive-genitive clitic pronouns with purposive (beneficiary) function.

4-87 munu kami-ngka watja-nu " kami, waru-tju
 ADD g'mother-LOC say-PAST g'mother, fire(ACC)-lsgPURP
 wani malu pawu-ntja-ku
 throw(IMP) kangaroo(ACC) roast-NOML-PURP

'And (the Nylinka) said to (his) grandmother "Grannie, throw some fire for me, so (I) can roast the kangaroo"'

4-88 wiya, ngara-la-tju pata-la
 no stand-SERIAL-lsgPURP wait-IMP
 'No, stay and wait for me'

4-89 A: ngari-nyi kunyu, kapi pulkanya!"
 lie-PRES QUOT water big(NOM)

B: munta, palya-lampa
 SORRY good-lplPURP

A: (seeing smoke signal) 'It's there, lot of water.'
 (at distant water-hole)

B: 'Oh, good for us'

4.4.4 The REFLEXive Clitics -tju/-nku

There are two REFLEXive clitics, lsg -tju (identical with lsgPURP/GEN), and non-lsg -nku. Put another way, -tju is used when the only person in question is the speaker, and -nku otherwise. If the person or persons involved are first person, the REFLEXive clitic usually follows the appropriate nominative/ergative clitic pronoun as shown. (Compare these forms with the purposive-genitive bound pronouns, repeated from 4.4.3).

REFLEXive Clitics with First Person Bound Pronouns

<u>lsg</u>	<u>ldu</u>	<u>lpl</u>
-na-t <u>ju</u>	-li-n <u>ku</u>	-la-n <u>ku</u>

First Person Purposive-Genitive Suffixes

<u>lsg</u>	<u>ldu</u>	<u>lpl</u>
-t <u>ju</u>	-lim <u>pa</u>	-lamp <u>pa</u>

If the person or persons involved are non-first person, the clitic -nku generally follows a nominative or ergative free pronoun or noun specifying that person. (The combination -ya-nku 3plNOM/ERG-REFLEXive is attested once in my corpus.)

REFLEXive Clitic with 2 and 3 Person Free Pronouns

	<u>sg</u>	<u>du</u>	<u>pl</u>
2	nyuntu-nku	nyupali-nku	nyura-nku
3	-	pula-nku	tjana-nku

Range of Use

(1) Reflexive and reciprocal uses, as in (4-90) and (4-91) respectively.

4-90 (i) marna-tju kunta-nu
hand(ACC)-1sg(ERG)-REFLEX cut-PAST
'I cut my own hand'

(ii) palu nyuntu panya-nku watja-nma
BUT OF COURSE 2sg(ERG) ANAPH-REFLEX say-IMP.IMP

kuta
big brother

'But of course you should say that to yourself, big brother'

4-91 (i) pula-nku pika-ngku punga-nyi
3du(ERG)-REFLEX angry-ERG hit-PRES
'The two of them are fighting'

(ii) nyupali-nku nyanga-nyi
2du(ERG)-REFLEX see-PRES

'You two are looking at each other' (in a photograph)

(2) In intransitive sentences like (4-92) - (4-95) the semantic effect of the REFLEXive -tju/-nku clitics is to emphasise that the situation being described is limited or restricted to a specific person (somewhat like the intensive/emphatic use of reflexives in English eg 'I myself have never been there'). On reflection I believe we can discern this meaning also in the reciprocal examples above. For instance, in (4-91i) there is a suggestion that the two people fighting are minding their own business and not affecting anyone else.

4-92 kurunna-tju kuya ngara-nyi
spirit(NOM)-1sg(NOM)-REFLEX bad(NOM) stand-PRES

'(My) spirit is in a bad state = I have a premonition'

- 4-93 nyuntu-nku palya, mani pulka-tjara,
 2sg(NOM)-REFLEX good(NOM) money big-HAVING(NOM)
- palu ngayulu-tju mani tjukutjuku
 BUT OF COURSE 1sg(NOM) -REFLEX money little(NOM)
- 'You're alright, with plenty of money. But of course
 I've only got a little'
- 4-94 nyanga-tja-nku Anmanari-nya pata-ni nyina-ra
 this-EVIDENT-REFLEX name-NOM NAME wait-PRES sit-SERIAL
- nyuntu-mpa
 2sg-PURP
- 'Anmanari is sitting here on her own/by herself, waiting
 for you'
- 4-95 paluru-nku nyina-nyi/yanku-ku
 DEF(NOM)-REFLEX sit-PRES/go-FUT
- 'He's keeping to/going by himself'

(3) The limiting or 'exclusive effect' meaning can also be found
 in transitive sentences like (4-96) - (4-97).

- 4-96 malu-la-nku waka-nu
 kangaroo(ACC)-1pl(ERG)-REFLEX spear-PAST
- 'We speared ourselves a kangaroo'
- 4-97 kungka wampa-ngku-nku papa pulka-ra witi-ni,
 woman old-ERG-REFLEX dog(ACC) do fully-SERIAL hold-PRES
- wati tjuta wanal-payi-ngka
 man many(ACC) follow-CHAR-LOC
- 'The old woman is holding the dog tightly to herself, lest
 it follow the men'

4.5 THE RELATOR SUFFIXES

4.5.1 Preliminary Remarks

The relators¹⁶ are suffixes which derive words or phrases that typically
 show the actor agreement pattern of case inflection characteristic of
 active adjectives: -kitja INTENT 'wanting to do something', -tjiratja
 DEPRIV 'on account of a lack or wrong', -tjanu SEQ 'after doing something'
 and -tjara HAVING (control). It was argued in 3.3.1 that actor agree-
 ment with these suffixes follows from their semantic similarities with

active adjective lexemes - ie that their meanings are inherently 'actor oriented'. Pronouns and name-status nouns are marked with the accusative suffix -nya prior to the addition of a relator suffix (3.2.4).

(Since the relator in a word like palu-nya-kitja DEF-ACC-INTENT or Intalka-nya-kitja Indulkana-ACC NAME-INTENT is affixed to an unambiguously accusative form, it could be argued that a word like kuka-kitja meat-INTENT should be analysed as meat(ACC)-INTENT - ie that the common noun stem be taken as a zero-marked accusative. I have not felt compelled to adopt this view, which leads to an unpleasant proliferation of zero-morphemes, because of the way that the locative pronominal and name-status suffix -la acts as a stem-forming element prior to the addition of the local cases (3.2.4). Comparing palu-la-kutu DEF-LOC-ALL and Intalka-la-kutu Indulkana-LOC NAME-ALL with kuka-kutu meat-ALL, it is clear that the common noun form is not necessarily built on the same pattern as the pronominal or name-status form. That is, since we do not find *kuka-ngka-kutu meat-LOC-ALL it is not necessary to analyse kuka-kitja as meat(ACC)-INTENT.)

4.5.2 The INTENTive -kitja

Suffixed to a noun or nominalised verb, -kitja INTENT indicates actor's intention. In this section we are concerned only with the use of -kitja with noun stems. Its use with nominalised verbs (clauses) as a 'same-subject' purposive is dealt with in 5.3.1.

(4-98) shows that a -kitja constituent agrees in case with the actor NP. Also, it is impossible to use a -kitja constituent to modify a non-actor, such as a patient (4-99). In both respects -kitja INTENTive constituents behave exactly like active adjectives.

- 4-98 (i) wati malu-kitja ya-nu
 man(NOM) kangaroo-INTENT(NOM) go-PAST
 'The man went off, wanting (to get) kangaroo'
- (ii) wati-ngku rayipula malu-kitja-ngku kati-ngu
 man-ERG rifle(ACC) kangaroo-INTENT-ERG bring-PAST
 'The man took a rifle, wanting (to get) kangaroos'

4-99 (i) wati-ngku kungka nya-ngu Intalka-nya-kitja-ngku
 man-ERG woman(ACC) see-PAST Indulkana-ACC NAME-INTENT-ERG
 'The man saw the woman on (his) way to Indulkana'

(ii) *wati-ngku kungka Intalka-nya-kitja nya-ngu
 man-ERG woman(ACC) Indulkana-ACC NAME-INTENT(ACC) see-PAST
 * 'The man saw the woman on her way to Indulkana'

(iii) wati-ngku kungka Intalka-nya-kitja
 man-ERG woman(ACC) Indulkana-ACC NAME-INTENT(NOM)
 yanku-nytja-la nya-ngu
 go-NOML-LOC see-PAST

'The man saw the woman as she was going to Indulkana'

The subtle but syntactically relevant semantic difference (3.4.2, 3.3.1) between the INTENTive -kitja suffix (which imputes a personal motivation or intention to an actor) and the PURPositive case-marker -ku (which suggests a need or conventionally recognised purpose behind an action) also leads to -kitja INTENTive having a wider range of potential interpretations. For instance, the purposive construction in (4-100i) must be interpreted to mean that the man set off in order to reach Indulkana (3.4.2), but (4-100ii), while also subject to this interpretation, could also be used to mean that the man went somewhere else, intending to, say, talk about Indulkana in a meeting. The point is that while the purposive construction always implies a more-or-less fixed, conventionally recognised purpose, -kitja INTENT says that the actor has a strictly personal intention which may or may not be a conventionally recognised goal. (4-101), which contains both a purposive and an intensive NP, could mean one was going to Indulkana on the way to Mintubi, or to do anything else involving Mintubi, such as discuss its future at a meeting.

4-100 (i) wati Intalka-ku ya-nu
 man(NOM) Indulkana-PURP go-PAST
 'The man went to Indulkana'

(ii) wati Intalka-nya-kitja ya-nu
 man(NOM) Indulkana-ACC NAME-INTENT(NOM) go-PAST
 'The man went to/on account of Indulkana'

4-101 ngayulu Intalka-ku yana-nyi Mintipayi-nya-kitja
 lsg(NOM) Indulkana-PURP go-PRES Mintubi-ACC NAME-INTENT(NOM)
 'I'm going to Indulkana to get to/to do something about Mintubi'

Revealing examples of the meaning of -kitja are found in the following sentences. (4-102) describes a situation where a man throws a boomerang with the intention of hitting his son, but misses and hits his grandfather instead.

4-102 wati-ngku tjamu runka-nu
 man-ERG granddad(ACC) hit with stick-PAST

 katja-kitja-ngku
 son-INTENT-ERG

 'The man hit his granddad with a stick (eg boomerang),
 wanting to hit his son'

4-103 carburettor-na ara-nu,
 carburettor(ACC)-lsg(ERG) take off-PAST

 water pump-kitja-ngku
 water pump(ACC)-INTENT-ERG

 'I took off the carburettor, wanting the waterpump'
 (eg mistakenly removed carburettor, or removed it
 to get at the water pump).

I suggest the following semantic representation for sentences involving -kitja.

(The locution 'do something involving X' is necessary, in preference to 'do something to X', for the same reason it is necessary in the explication of the purposive constructions, ie that the referent of the stem is not always the direct object or patient of the implied activity.)

4-104 A did something (to B), X-kitja(-ngku)

 = A did something (to B)
 wanting to do something involving X

Finally, note that there are rare instances of noun + kitja as the stem of an INCHOative verb, as in (4-105) and (4-106) (Hansen and Hansen 1978:75 report that this construction is far more productive in Pintupi).

4-105 ngayulu putu wangka-kitja-ri-ringa-ngi
 lsg(NOM) IN VAIN talk-INTENT-INCHO-PAST.IMPF

 'I wanted to talk with them in vain' (eg they wouldn't
 listen)

4-106 putu-na wari-kitja-ri-ngu
 IN VAIN-1sg(NOM) cool-INTENT-INCHO-PAST
 'I was wanting in vain to get cool/find a cool place'

4.5.3 The DEPRIVATIVE -tjiratja

The DEPRIVATIVE suffix -tjiratja indicates that a lack of something involving the referent of the stem to which it is attached is the motive or reason for the action or event depicted by the main verb. (Note that (4-107) could not be used if, say, the prices at the store were too high. It implies that there is nothing much in the store, or perhaps that the store isn't making enough profit.)

4-107 tjana wari-ringa-nyi, tjuwa-tjiratja
 3pl(NOM) worry-INCHO-PRES store-DEPRIV(NOM)
 'They're worrying, on account of a lack in the store'

4-108 pula-nku pika-ngku pu-ngu, mani-tjiratja-lu
 3du(ERG)-REFLEX angry-ERG hit-PAST money-DEPRIV-ERG
 'The two fought on account of a lack of money'

Similarly, (4-109) and (4-110) describe an actor being in a certain situation on account of a lack of sleep or food.

4-109 kurun-na kuya ngara-nyi, anku-tjiratja
 spirit(NOM)-1sg(NOM) bad(NOM) stand-PRES sleep-DEPRIV(NOM)
 'I'm uneasy, for want of sleep'

4-110 puluka tjuta nyurka-ri-ngu, kapi-/putja-tjiratja
 cattle many(NOM) thin-INCHO-PAST water/grass-DEPRIV(NOM)
 'The cattle got thin, lacking water/grass'

If the stem to which -kitja is attached is a kin relationship noun, we understand that the actor behaved as he or she did on account of a lack of care or proper treatment of his or her relative. For instance, (4-111) could be used to describe an angry father's reaction to his son being left behind in Alice Springs, or refused treatment by a traditional healer ngangkari, or being beaten up.

4-111 (i) pika-ri-ngu paluru katja-tjiratja
 angry-INCHO-PAST DEF(NOM) son-DEPRIV(NOM)
 'He got angry, over lack of proper treatment of his son'

(ii) wati-ngku panya wati panya pu-ngu,
 man-ERG ANAPH man(ACC) ANAPH hit-PAST

katja-tjiratja-lu
 son-DEPRIV-ERG

'That man hit that (other) man, on account of a lack of proper treatment of his son'

4-112 kuta-ngku malany-tju alatji
 senior brother-ERG junior brother-ERG like this

wangka-nyi katja-tjiratja-ngku
 talk-PRES son-DEPRIV-ERG

'(A man's) older brother(s), and younger brother(s) speak like this, over lack of proper treatment of (his) son' (ie would defend son from unfair criticism)

Rarely, -tjiratja may be attached to a nominalised verb, in which case the nominalisation spells out explicitly what is or was missing or lacking.

4-113 kuka ngalku-nytja-tjiratja paluru pika-ri-ngu
 meat(ACC) eat-NOML-DEPRIV(NOM) DEF(NOM) sick-INCHO-PAST
 'She got sick on account of a lack of meat'

4.5.4 The SEquentive -tjanu

The suffix -tjanu attached to a noun describes an actor as doing or undergoing something after he or she has done something involving the referent of the stem noun. -tjanu can be roughly glossed 'after doing something involving X'. -tjanu may also follow an action nominalisation, in which case the nominalisation spells out precisely what the preceding action is or was. In either case, there may or may not be an implication of causality in addition to sequential action.

(4-114) and (4-115) illustrate -tjanu with noun stems. Note that (4-114) clearly does not involve causality, whereas (4-115) clearly does. See also (3-23).

- 4-114 kaa nganana inka-payi tali-ngka mayi
 CONTR lpl(NOM) play-CHAR sandhill-LOC veg food
 wiya, kuka-tjanu kutu
 NEG, meat-SEQ(NOM) really
 'And we used to play in the sandhills, without plant-food,
 just after (eating) meat'
- 4-115 nyuntu ukiri-tjanu kata kuya-ri-ngu
 2sg(NOM) native tobacco-SEQ(NOM) head(NOM) bad-INCHO-PAST
 'Your head's gone useless, from the native tobacco'

The examples below show SEquentive -tjanu suffixed to nominalisations. (Note that an optional elision rule may operate here, so that only one of the adjacent syllables -tja need be pronounced (2.2.4).) In (4-116) and (4-117) causality is clearly implied in addition to sequential action, but in (4-118) no causal connection is implied. See also (6-60).

- 4-116 paluru pika-tjara, mayi kuya ngalku-nytja-tjanu
 DEF(NOM) sick-HAVING(NOM) food bad(ACC) eat-NOML-SEQ(NOM)
 'He's sick, from eating bad food'
- 4-117 kaltarapunga-nyi-na tii tjiki-ntja-tjanu-ngku
 belch-PRES-1sg(ERG) tea(ACC) drink-NOML-SEQ-ERG
 'I'm belching, after drinking tea'
- 4-118 kaa wati wilyaru-lu kata uru nya-ngu,
 CONTR man wilyaru-ERG NAME head hair see-PAST
 yuutja paluru karpí-ntja-tjanu-ngku
 certain relation(ACC) DEF(ERG) tie-NOML-SEQ-ERG
 'And the wilyaru man saw the head hair, after he had
 tied (the chignon) (of) his yuutja (special ceremonial
 relative)'

Note that -tjanu always implies the completion of the implied or stated preceding activity - contrast (4-119i) with (4-119ii), which uses a serial verb construction.

- 4-119 (i) kulpa-nytja-tjanu-ngku-na kungka nya-ngu
 return-NOML-SEQ-ERG-1sg(ERG) woman(ACC) see-PAST
 'After having returned, I saw the woman'

- (11) kulpa-ra-na kungka nya-ngu
 return-SERIAL-1sg(ERG) woman(ACC) see-PAST
 'Returning, I saw the woman'

4.5.5 The HAVING suffix -tjara

The -tjara HAVING suffix has three main uses. In only one of these - namely that of specifying that something is or was under the control of an actor, does it function as a relator, - an expression with 'actor oriented' semantics showing case agreement with the actor NP. In its two other uses -tjara forms descriptive expressions, describing a person, animal or thing as having a bodily feature, or a language or speech style as 'having' a certain characteristic lexical item.

(1) In examples like (4-120) to (4-122) -tjara indicates that the referent of the noun stem to which it is attached is under the control of the actor - that the actor is equipped with a certain thing. In this use the meaning of the -tjara expression is clearly 'actor oriented' and consistent with this shows case agreement with the actor. (Note that in (4-122) it is implied that they had control of the bus, as opposed to simply being passengers.)

- 4-120 wati tjilpi kuka-ku ya-nu, katji
 man old man (NOM) meat-PURP go-PAST spear
 mankur-tjara
 three-HAVING(NOM)

'The old man went hunting, with three spears'

- 4-121 kuka-tjara wala-wala ngalya-ya-ra!
 meat-HAVING(NOM) quick-quick(NOM) this way-go-IMP
 'Get a move on over here with the meat!'

- 4-122 paluru tjana paatja-tjara ya-nu
 DEF(NOM) 3pl(NOM) bus-HAVING(NOM) go-PAST
 'They went off by bus'

(4-123) and (4-124) illustrate -tjara expressions in transitive sentences, showing case agreement with the ergative subject. The comparison with the locative case in (4-123) is semantically revealing. (There is no locative alternative to papa-tjara-ngku dog-HAVING-ERG in (4-124) because locative cannot be used with instrumental function unless there is physical contact between instrument and patient (3.5.2).)

4-123 (i) *tjitji-ngku apu-tjara-ngku stu-ningi*
 child-ERG rock-HAVING-ERG hit with stone-PAST.IMPF
 'The child was stoning something, equipped with stones'
 (ie he or she had a supply of stones for the purpose)

(ii) *tjitji-ngku apu-ngka stu-nu*
 child-ERG rock-LOC hit with stone-PAST
 'The child stoned/chopped something with a stone'

4-124 *paluru tjana papa-tjara-ngku nguri-ningi*
 DEF(ERG) 3pl(ERG) dog-HAVING-ERG seek-PAST.IMPF
 'They were seeking something with dogs' (ie tracking)

(2) A speech variety can be described as having or using a certain lexical item by suffixing *-tjara* HAVING to the lexeme in question. This type of expression is widely used in the Western Desert to refer to, and partially describe regional dialects (1.3). Lexemes that typically differ between dialects are the demonstratives, verbs of motion like 'come, go' 'return', certain adverbs, especially the word for 'true', and common nouns referring to age-sex status of persons. Thus a type of speech *wangka* may be described as in (4-125).

4-125 (wangka) *ngaanya-/yanku-nytja-/mula- tjara*
 speech this(Ng)/go-NOML/true-HAVING
 'Speech variety having the word *ngaanya* 'this'/
yankunytja 'going'/*mula* 'true'

When expressions like these are used to describe the speech variety or language in which one is speaking, or in which one says something, they show actor agreement, as in (6-13).

(3) The HAVING suffix *-tjara* may form stative adjectival expressions describing a person's, animal's or plant's body or physical form as having a certain feature (usually a temporary feature, such as a symptom of illness).

4-126 (i) *ngayulu pika-/nyapi-/purtju- tjara*
 1sg(NOM) pain/boil/rash-HAVING(NOM)
 'I've got pain (illness)/a boil/a rash'

(ii) *..nyanytju pala wipu maru-tjara*
 horse just there(NOM) tail black-HAVING(NOM)
 ' ..that horse with the black tail'

- (111) punu unturuntu-mayi- tjara
 tree/bush flowers/food-HAVING (NOM)
 'A plant with flowers/food (eg fruit) on it'

4.4.6 The privative construction

The privative construction, formed by postposing the NEGative morpheme wiya to a nominal, has semantic and syntactic properties closely paralleling those of the HAVING morpheme -tjara.¹⁷

- (1) It may be used to show an actor's not having, ie lacking, control over something, in which function it shows actor agreement, as in (4-127), (8-2), (3-25).

4-127 tuutji wiya-ngku-na putu nguri-ningi
 torch NEG-ERG-lsg(ERG) IN VAIN seek-PAST.IMPF
 'Not having a torch I was searching in vain'

- (2) It may form stative adjectival expressions describing a person's, animal's or plant's body as not having a certain feature.

4-128 ngayulu pika/nyapi/purtju wiya
 lsg(NOM) pain/boil/rash NEG(NOM)
 'I don't have a pain/boil/rash'

4.6 NOMINAL DERIVATION

4.6.1 The ASSOCIative Suffix -itja

The ASSOCIative suffix (underlying form -itja) derives descriptive adjectives or nouns from nouns, action adjectives, and time and spatial qualifiers. It is also involved in one type of subordinate clause formation - the 'post-circumstantial' (5.4.3).

The ASSOC suffix has the peculiarities displayed below: (1) As exemplified in the first set of entries, if the stem is consonant-final, it takes the form -itja, even though there is no phonotactic constraint against clusters like /rtj/, /ntj/, /ltj/, /lytj/, /nytj/ which would result from the addition of a suffix -tja to consonant-final stems.

(2) As exemplified in the second set of entries, if the stem is trimoric and vowel-final, the apparent stem-final vowel in the derived form appears as /i/. However, if the stem is dimoric and vowel-final, as in the majority of cases, the derived form appears simply as stem + tja, as exemplified in (4-129) - (4-133).

Some Derived Adjectives and Nouns with ASSOC Suffix

1. consonant-final:	wapar 'story, Dreaming'	waparitja 'of/belonging to the Dreaming'
	kurun 'spirit, soul'	kurunitja 'of/belonging to the spirit'
	yaal- 'where?'	yaalitja 'of/belonging to where?'
	urkaly 'phlegm'	urkalyitja 'one who has a cold'
	nganmany 'previous'	nganmanyitja 'something from beforehand'
2. trimoric, vowel-final	anangu 'aboriginal person'	anangitja 'of/like an aboriginal person'
	tawara 'avoidance camp'	tawaritja 'young man who must live in avoidance camp'
	iriti 'a long time ago'	irititja 'of/belonging to the old days'

My interpretation of these facts is that (i) the ASSOC morpheme has an underlying dimoric form -itja, (ii) when a vowel-vowel combination results from the suffix being added to a vowel-final stem the /i/ is lost (iii) unless the preceding (stem-final) vowel is weak (eg in third vocalic position), in which case it is lost.¹⁸ These conditions determining which vowel is deleted are the same as those that operate where reduplication or compounding brings two vowels together (2.2.4).

Added to a noun, or to a spatial or time qualifier, -itja gives rise to a nominal, which usually functions as an adjective - ie as a modifier to a head noun, or, less commonly, as a noun.

(4-129) and (4-130) show words of this type derived from nouns, and functioning as descriptive adjectives.

4-129 wati tjuwa-tja-ngku mayi kati-nyii
 man store-ASSOC-ERG food(ACC) take-PRES
 'The store keeper is taking some food'

4-130 katja tjuta-ngku palu-nya tjana-nya kati-ra yungku-payi
 son many-ERG DEF-ACC 3pl-ACC take-SERIAL give-CHAR
 kaa paluru tjana malu katja-tja ngalku-payi
 CONTR DEF(ERG) 3pl(ERG) 'roo son-ASSOC(ACC) eat-CHAR

'The sons bring and give them meat, and they eat the kangaroo from their sons'

(4-131) and (4-132) show adjectives derived from time and spatial qualifiers respectively.

4-131 munu ngura yanku-la mungartji katji wata ini-ngka
 ADD WELL-JUST go-SERIAL afternoon spear base loose-LOC

 katji palka kuwari-tja-ngka, malu... urakati-ra
 spear end-section today-ASSOC-LOC 'roo(ACC)... stalk-SERIAL

'And he just goes off in the late afternoon with a spear with a loose head, with a fresh end-section, (and) stalks a kangaroo'

4-132 mayi katu-tja, nganana ura-ra(2) kati-ra
 food above-ASSOC(ACC) lpl(ERG) get-SERIAL take-SERIAL

 ngalku-payi munu-la tatu ngapartji utulu-ra,
 eat-CHAR ADD-lpl(ERG) stone(ACC) in turn gather-SERIAL

 atu-ra, lamalpunku-la ...ura-ra(3), kuuti panya
 chop-SERIAL prise-SERIAL get-SERIAL life-force ANAPH

 unngu-tja
 inside-ASSOC(ACC)

'The food up high (ie the fruits of the quondong tree) we'd pick and eat, and we'd gather the stones in turn, chop and prise them (open) ...and get the life-force (kernel) inside'

Less commonly, a nominal derived with *-itja* functions as an independent noun. For instance, *tjitutja* 'dog', from *tjitu* 'louse'; *tjungutja* 'partner, spouse', from *tjungu* 'together'; *nguratja* 'resident, person in camp' from *ngura* 'camp'; *tjukuritja* 'something from the Dreaming' from *tjukur* 'Dreaming'.

4-133 "ayi, wati kutjupa, tjuta wirka-nu!" kaa ngura-tja
 hey man other many(NOM) arrive-PAST CONTR camp-ASSOC

 mankur nyina-payi, ngura nyanga-ngka
 few(NOM) sit-CHAR place this-LOC

'"Hey, some other men have arrived!" And there used to be (only) a few residents in this place here'

It should be apparent from the examples so far that there is a good deal of variation in the meaning relationship between the stem and the

derived nominal. Most instances I recorded can be summarised under three headings.

(1) The relationship is one of spatial association (cf Trudinger 1943's paraphrase "near, against, on, with"). For instance: apu 'rock, hill', aputja '(thing, eg bird, plant) living in hills'; parka 'foliage', parkatja '(thing eg necter) found in foliage'; yuru 'pond, surface water', yurutja '(thing, eg bird, insect) living on water'; kungka 'woman', kungkatja '(person, eg young boy) living with women'; kutju 'one, single', kutjutja (person) living alone'; nguratja 'person staying in camp (ngura)'; tawaritja 'person living in avoidance camp (tawara)'.

(2) The derived nominal describes a person, animal or thing as physically affected by the referent of the stem, which is often, but not always, a condition or symptom of illness. Naturally, physical proximity - indeed, contact - is usually implied. Examples are urkaly 'phlegm', urkalyitja 'person affected by a cold'; purttju 'scabies, itch', purttjutja 'affected by scabies, rash'; tjitu 'louse', tjitutja 'affected by lice = dog'; anku 'sleep', ankutja 'sleepy'.

(3) The derived form describes something as originating with or in the thing or time indicated by the stem, eg wapar 'Dreaming', waparitja 'of/created in Dreaming'; pika 'pain', pikatja 'marriage relationship activated or sanctioned by ritual beating'; miri 'dead body, ancestor', miritja 'something (eg custom, food) used/practised by the people who have passed away'; iriti 'long ago', irititja 'of/from the old days'; mungatu 'recently', mungatitja 'of/from recent times'; mungartji 'yesterday', mungartjitja 'yesterday's' (eg yesterday's food); kuwari 'today, presently', kuwaritja 'fresh, recent'.

4.6.2 The SIMILAR Suffix -puriny

The suffix -puriny (P. -puruny(pa)) derives a nominal meaning 'something similar to' the referent of a nominal stem. -puriny suffixed to the definite nominal - palupuriny or palurupuriny, means 'the same as that thing'. Other examples -puriny are at (4-149), (6-31), (9-91) and (10-20).

4-134 nyanga-puriny-tja-la kapi kati-payi
this-SIMILAR-LOC-lpl(ERG) water(ACC) bring-CHAR
'We used to carry water in (bowls) like these'

4-135 wati papa-puriny-tju-ya tjitji ngulu-ra
 man dog-SIMILAR-ERG-3pl(ERG) child(ACC) frighten-SERIAL
 wana-ningi
 follow-PAST.IMPF

'The men like dogs (in a cartoon) were chasing the child'

4-136 punu tulypur palu-puriny
 tree emu bush(NOM) DEF-SIMILAR(NOM)

'(It's) the same as the emu bush' (ie another name for
 emu bush)

-Puriny is also sometimes used as a 'hedge'.

4-137 tala yaaltjiru? - uu, tiintala-puriny
 dollar how many(NOM) um, ten dollar-SIMILAR(NOM)
 'How many dollars (is it)?' - 'Um, something like ten'

4-138 ngayulu palu-mpa ninti-puriny
 lsg(NOM) DEF-PURP knowing-SIMILAR(NOM)
 'I sort of know him'

4.6.3 The CONTRARY Suffix -munu

Suffixed to a noun, -munu CONTRARY derives an expression which describes something as contrary in nature to the thing denoted by the stem. It appears to be usually used to 'make a point', as in the examples below. (Possibly -munu CONTRARY also involves a presupposition component, along the lines of 'you should know this'.)

4-139 wati, tjitji-munu-mpa-lanya
 man, child-CONTRARY(ACC)-INTEREST-1plACC
 yuri-tjingal-wiya-ngku wanti-ma
 move-CAUSE-NEG-ERG leave alone-IMP.IMPF

'Man, leave off disturbing us, since we're not kids'

4-140 kuka-munu-mpa wanti, wari-ringku-nytja
 meat-CONTRARY(ACC)-INTEREST leave alone(IMP) worry-INCHO-NOML
 wiya, mutaka kurakura wanti, kuka-munu
 NEG car useless(ACC) leave alone(IMP) meat-CONTRARY(NOM)

'As it's not meat, leave it, don't worry about it. Leave that
 broken down old car, as it's not meat' (ie "it won't fill your
 belly")

- 4-141 apu-munu-ngku-mpa pika ngapartji wakal-payi-ngka
 rock-CONTRARY-ERG-INTEREST pain in return spear-CHAR-LOC
 kuli-mma
 think-IMP.IMP
 'Not being a rock you'd better think, lest you get speared
 in return'

-munu may be suffixed to a nominalised verb, forming expressions explicitly contrary to counterparts with the CHARACTERISTIC suffix -payi (6.4.2). In (4-142) a young man (A) is borrowing a tomahawk from his uncle (B), who is teasing him.

- 4-142 A: wati kawalinku-payi-manti-r!
 man lose-CHAR-PROBABLY-EXCIT
 '(You're) a man who loses things most likely!'
- B: wiya, ngayulu-na kawalinku-nytja-munu,
 NEG 1sg(NOM)-1sg(NOM) lose-NOML-CONTRARY(NOM)
 walytja-tjara ngalya-kati-payi
 owner-HAVING(ACC) this way-bring-CHAR
 'No, I never lose things, I bring other's things back!'

- 4-143 ngayulu wati warki-nytja-munu
 1sg(NOM) man swear-NOML-CONTRARY(NOM)
 'I'm never a swearing man'

- 4-144 ngayulu mayi ngalku-la wiya-ntja-munu
 1sg(NOM) food(ACC) eat-SERIAL finish-NOML-CONTRARY(NOM)
 'I never eat up (all) the food (ie without giving to others)'

4.6.4 The PAIR Suffix -(ra)ra/-kira

A noun with this suffix denotes a pair consisting of the person or thing referred to by the stem noun, together with its natural counterpart. Allomorph -rara is found with vowel-final dimoric stems (4-145), -ra with vowel-final polymoric stems (4-146), and -kira with consonant-final stems¹⁹ (4-147).

The stem is usually a kin relationship noun, in which case the other element of the pair is understood to be a person in the complementary relationship. Occasionally the stem noun refers to an animal or plant, in which case the other element of the pair is understood to be a similar

animal or plant, eg the plains kangaroo and the hills kangaroo, or the quondong and the wild plum, or the long-eared bandicoot and the banded ant-eater. I have recorded one instance of nyaa-rara what-PAIR, said by a person trying to remember what 'went with' a certain type of grass, ie what type of grass resembled it.

- 4-145 (i) kuta-rara
senior brother-PAIR 'senior brother and his junior sibling
(malany)'
- (ii) kuri-rara
spouse-PAIR 'a married couple'
- (iii) malpa-rara
companion-PAIR 'a pair of companions'
- (iv) malu-rara
kangaroo-PAIR 'the kangaroo and a similar animal
eg (hills kangaroo)'
- 4-146 (i) kangkuru-ra
senior sister-PAIR 'senior sister and her junior sibling
(malany)'
- (ii) tjuwari-ra
sister-in-law-PAIR 'a pair of sisters-in-law'
- (iii) mangata-ra
quondong-PAIR 'the quondong and a similar fruit eg
wild plum'
- 4-147 (i) malany-kira
junior sibling-PAIR 'a junior sibling with his or her
senior sibling'
- (ii) untal-kira
daughter-PAIR 'a daughter and a parent'
- 4-148 kungka-ngku pulka-ra inal-payi, wati-rara-ngku
woman-ERG do fully-SERIAL pull out-CHAR man-PAIR-ERG
wati kuri-rara-ngku pula, tjatu-ngku, kaa
man spouse-PAIR-ERG 3du(ERG) together-ERG CONTR
kutjupa-ngka kungka untal-kira-ngku, kaa kutjupa-ara
another-LOC woman daughter-PAIR-ERG CONTR another-time
kangkuru-ra-ngku
senior sister-PAIR-ERG

'A woman can really pull out a lot (of witchetty grubs); together with a man, a man together with his spouse; the two of them doing it together. And somewhere else a woman with her daughter, and sometimes two sisters together..'

4-149 arnguli nyanga-tja mayi mulapa... mangata-puriny
wild plum this-EVIDENT food true(NOM) quondong-SIMILAR(NOM)
nyara-tja, mangata-ra
over there-EVIDENT quondong-PAIR

'The wild plum is truly a bush-food. It's similar to the quondong. It's one of a pair with the quondong'

4.6.5 The FAMILY GROUP Suffix -piti

This relatively uncommon suffix applies to relationship (walytja) terms, indicating a group or collection of relations generally, as in (4-150), of a specific type of relation, eg katja-piti son-FAMILY GROUP 'sons', malany-piti junior siblings-FAMILY GROUP 'junior siblings'.

4-150 ngayulu walytja-piti-ngka mungatu nyina-ngi,
1sg(NOM) relation-FAMILY GROUP-LOC recently sit-PAST.IMPF
pukul kutu
happy really(NOM)

'I was staying with (my) relatives a while ago, really contented'

4.6.6 Nominal Root Reduplication

(1) We can regard nominal root reduplication as a partially productive morphological process in cases where (a) the reduplicated root is capable of standing alone as an independent word, and (b) the reduplicated form has a meaning clearly related to the reduplicated root. Semantically significant reduplication of this type is found with both noun and adjective roots, but I have not established the precise bounds of its productiveness.

With adjective roots, the semantic effect of reduplication is to weaken or 'deintensify' the meaning of the root²⁰ eg pulka 'big', pulkapulka 'biggish'; pika 'angry', pikapika 'irritated, annoyed'; tartja 'shallow', tartjatartja 'rather shallow'; puriny 'slowly, gently', purinypuriny 'very softly'; rawa 'for a long time, persistently', rawarawa 'for rather a long time, rather persistently'; wanma 'far away', wanmawanma 'somewhat

far away'; kura 'bad, useless, harmful', kurakura 'pretty useless, not very harmful'. (Moravcsik 1978:322 notes that in many languages "diminution and attentuation ... are senses conveyed by reduplication")

4-151 piriya puriny-puriny wangka-nytja-la-mpa,
 spring wind(NOM) softly-softly(NOM) talk-NOML-LOC-INTEREST
 kuka-ku-lta..
 meat-PURP-AND THEN
 'When the spring wind starts to blow gently, (the men)
 start going for meat'

4-152 wanma-wanma tju-ra
 far away-far away put-IMP
 'Put it a little way away.' (smoking stick in fire)

With noun roots, the semantic effect of reduplication is usually to describe something as similar to the referent of the root, usually through being a reduced or weakened version of it. For instance, kulpi 'cave', kulpikulpi 'a sort of cave, a small cave'; ngura 'camp', ngurangura 'a sort of camp, a temporary camp'; putju 'rash, scabies', putjuputju 'itch'; mukul 'hook on spear or spear-thrower', mukulmukul 'a sort of hook'.

4-153 palu ili nyara paluru apu
 BUT OF COURSE wild-fig over there DEF(NOM) rock
 kulpi-kulpi-ngka unngu ngara-nyi
 cave-cave-LOC inside stand-PRES
 'Only of course the wild fig was growing a small cave
 in the hills'

4-154 maku ila-ra ngalku-payi, mukulmukul-ta,
 grub(ACC) pull-SERIAL eat-CHAR hook-hook-LOC
 punu tjukutjuku-ngka, tartja-tjara
 stick little-LOC off-shoot-HAVING
 '(You) pull out the grubs and eat them with/off a sort of
 little hook, off a small stick with an off-shoot'

A similar semantic effect is found with reduplication of certain temporal expressions (8.4) eg munga 'darkness, night', mungamunga 'very early morning, half-light'; kalala 'noon', kalalakalala 'mid-afternoon, late morning'; mungartji 'late afternoon', mungartjimungartji 'mid-afternoon'. A rather specialised use of reduplicated noun roots is in describing children's 'pretend' games. For instance, playing 'women' is kungkakungka inkanyi woman-woman play-PRES; playing at hunting kangaroos is malumalu inkanyi; to play 'motorcars' is mutakamutaka inkanyi. (Moravcsik 1978:323 notes comparable examples in several languages, pointing out that "the meaning 'similar to X' appears to be close to the meaning of attenuation; and the meaning 'pretend to X' is again close to 'similar to X'.")

There are a few other instances of noun reduplication; kutjupa 'another, different' reduplicates as kutjupakutjupa 'various different things'; the stems mara 'hand' and mutu 'knee' reduplicated describe a person's mode of moving, as crawling or 'walking' on the knees respectively - ie maramara/mutimuti yananyi 'going hand-hand/knee-knee'.

(2) Roots capable of standing alone are found reduplicated in many stems denoting plants, but it is uncertain or unlikely that there is any synchronic semantic connection between the root and the stem. It is helpful to think of a cline or range of potential semantic relatedness. At one extreme there are words like ipiipi 'snake vine' and katjikatji, as in (4-155), where there is some evident or plausible relation between the appearance of the plant and the meaning of the root. At the other end are partjatapartjata 'quoll-quoll' and pakalipakali 'grandson-grandson', where there is no evident connection. (Speakers differed in their responses to my questions about semantic relatedness. All found the idea of a connection in examples like (4-156) quite amusing.)

- | | | |
|-----------|---|--|
| 4-155 (i) | <u>ipi-ipi</u>
milk-milk | 'snake vine, <i>Sarcostemma australe</i>
(exudes a milky sap when broken) |
| (ii) | <u>katji-katji</u>
spear-spear | (this plant has tall woody shafts used
by boys as play spears) |
| (iii) | <u>parka-parka</u>
thin leaf-thin leaf | ' <i>Lysianna</i> spp' (a mistletoe with thin
leaves) |

4-156 (i) partjata-partjata 'grass sp, *Monochaetor paradoxa*'
quoll-quoll

(ii) pakali-pakali '*Canthium lineare*'
grandson-grandson

(3) A third type of reduplicated stem takes in the many lexemes where the reduplicated element does not occur independently at all. These include (i) bird names - natural since the name is usually based on a conventionalised rendering of the bird's call eg nyinyii 'zebra finch', mininymininy 'yellow-rumped thornbill', tiiltiil 'magpie lark', piilpiil 'yellow-throated min^{er}' (ii) the names for some insects eg pintapinta 'brightly coloured butterflies', muumu 'bee', kurtjikurtji a type of water insect, papapapa a type of ant (iii) many words for things, especially natural phenomena, which are 'multiple' and 'distributed' eg kulyarkulyar 'heavy dew', tjulpuntjulpun 'wild flowers', putaputa 'sedge', minyamina 'bits and pieces, tiny pieces' (iv) some revolving things kutikuti 'rolling', kupikupi P. 'whirlwind' (v) words for some undesirable mental or psychological conditions eg kawakawa/yukuyuku/wapawapa 'crazy, nutty', kananykanany 'proud', ramarama 'confused, out of touch', pilupilu 'drowsy', tunguntungun 'stubborn, unyielding'. (vi) Other words eg utiuti a sort of sponge made by grinding a certain type of grass, pukupuku referring to ground moistened and cleared of tracks by rain, irmangkairmangka 'mint bush, *Prostanthera striatiflora*', manimani 'native fuchsia, *Eremophila paisleyi*'.

CHAPTER FIVE : NOMINALISATION, RELATIVISATION AND SUBORDINATION

5.1 NOMINALISATION

5.1.1 Preliminary Remarks

I use the term 'nominalisation' with a systematic ambiguity to mean both a process which converts a verb or a clause into a noun or noun phrase, and the resulting noun or noun phrase itself.¹ There are two productive processes of nominalisation in Yankunytjatjara, corresponding to the types called by Comrie and Thompson (to appear) 'action/state nominalisation' and 'agentive/instrumental nominalisation' (which I prefer to call 'characteristic' for reasons given in 5.1.3).

Nominalisation plays a central role in Yankunytjatjara syntax, since it is through nominalisation that syntactic subordination takes place. Subordinate clauses always decompose into a nominalised clause followed by case inflections or relator suffixes. For instance, circumstantial clauses are action nominalisations followed by the locative case marker, intentive clauses are action nominalisations suffixed with the INTENTIVE relator -kitja, and aversive clauses are characteristic nominalisations followed by the locative case marker. Nominalisation also plays a role in one type of relative clause (5.2.1), though an alternative strategy involving a finite verb is also possible.

A Yankunytjatjara verb belongs to one of four conjugational classes. Except for the \emptyset -class, verbs have three distinct stem forms to which various inflectional and derivational suffixes are added (6.1.2) - the perfective (root) stem, the imperfective stem, and the neutral stem. Nominalising suffixes apply to the neutral stem - action/state nominaliser NOML has (underlying) form -nytja and the characteristic nominaliser has form -payi. This is illustrated below with sample lexemes from the four verb classes.

Morphemic Analysis of Nominalised Verbs

<u>VERB CLASS</u>	<u>SIMPLE STEM</u>	<u>NEUTRAL STEM</u>	<u>-nytja NOML</u>	<u>-payi CHAR</u>
\emptyset	wangka- 'talk'		wangka-nytja	wangka-payi
n	tju- 'put'	tju-nku-	tjunku-nytja	tjunku-payi
ng	pu- 'hit'	pu-ngku-	pungku-nytja	pungku-payi
l	kuli- 'hear'	kuli-l-	*kulil-nytja kuli-ntja	—> kulil-payi

As discussed in 6.1.1 a morphophonemic change occurs when the -nytja suffix is added to an l-class stem: l + nytja(a) → ɾtja(a). Note that *lnytja would not be a permissible sequence of consonants - both because three consonants cannot occur in a row, and because *lny- is not a permissible sequence. The proposed change circumvents both these prohibitions. The l + ny merge with the resulting phoneme n having dental place of articulation but retaining nasal manner of articulation.

5.1.2 Action/State Nominalisation -nytja NOML

Comrie and Thompson (to appear) would describe -nytja NOML as an "action/state nominalisation..(a device)..for creating action nouns from action verbs, and stative nouns from stative verbs..meaning the fact, the act, the quality or occurrence of that verb.." Nominalisation with -nytja is completely productive and completely regular, ie there is a nominalised form for every verb in Yankunytjatjara, and all are constructed according to the rules just outlined. This form of the verb is the natural citation form.

As Comrie and Thompson point out, languages often have nominalisation processes that produce noun-phrases "which contain, in addition to a reflex derived from a verb, one or more reflexes of a proposition or a predicate", and some of their main generalisations concern the internal syntax of such expressions. On the one hand the reflexes (arguments) of the nominalised verb may be related to it syntactically in ways characteristic of the structure of non-derived noun-phrases, as in English where "subjects and objects assimilate to NP syntax" eg in 'the enemy's destruction of the city' the reflexes of the subject and object are associated with the nominalised verb destruction by the genitive morphology. "At the opposite extreme from English...we find languages like Tamil (a Dravidian language) and Avar (a North Caucasian language) where the internal syntax of the action nominal noun-phrase, as far as subject and direct object are concerned is like that of a sentence and different from that in a noun-phrase." This is also true of Yankunytjatjara - in nominalisations formed with -nytja NOML, the arguments precede the verb with the usual case-marking.

Aside from their uses in subordinate constructions (5.2 - 5.5), action nominalisations may function as arguments of finite verbs, most commonly in the 'accusative topic of speech' construction as in (5-1) and (5-2),

where the nominalisation specifies the content or subject matter of a speech-act or story.

5-1 paluru ilu-nytja watja-ni
 DEF(ERG) die-NOML(ACC) say-PRES
 'He's talking about dying'

In Text 1, lines 13-21, a series of nominalisations occur as Kanytji lists the type of things that he and others should use to teach me the language. They should keep away from sacred information, and stick to ordinary stories of every day life.

5-2 tjukur kura-kura panya, yanku-nytja yanku-nytja
 story bad-bad(ACC) ANAPH go-NOML go-NOML

 murka, maa-yanku-la punu katantanku-nytja,
 lots(ACC) away-go-SERIAL wood(ACC) break off-NOML(ACC)

 ngalya-kulpa-nytja, palu-nya tjana-nya
 this way-return-NOML(ACC) DEF-ACC 3pl-ACC

 'You know, ordinary stories, (about) all different comings
 and goings, going and getting wood, coming back, those
 (types of) things'

An action nominalisation may also be used (i) to refer to the tracks or traces left on the ground by an action (5-3) (ii) to refer to something which has been the object of an action (5-4) (5-5) (see also (6-59)) (iii) to describe something as the product of an intransitive verb, (5-6) and (5-7).

5-3 kaa paluru tjukaruru-ngku wana-nma, kuka
 CONTR DEF(ERG) straight-ERG follow-IMP.IMP meat(ACC)

 kati-nytja wana-nma, kutjupa-kutjupa
 take-NOML(ACC) follow-IMP.IMP different-different(ACC)

 itarikati-nytja
 drag-NOML(ACC)

 'And straight-way she would follow (where the animal) had
 taken it's game, (where it) dragged something or other
 (along the ground)'

- 5-4 paluru-lta ngalku-ni kutju-ngku ngalku-nytja
 DEF(ERG)-AND THEN eat-PRES alone-ERG eat-NOML
- wiya, kunte-ringa-nyi, waputju-ngku yungku-nytja
 NEG shame-INCHO-PRES father-in-law-ERG give-NOML(NOM)
- 'He eats then, he doesn't eat alone. He's ashamed, (it's
 a) gift (given thing) from his father-in-law'
- 5-5 ...uti-uti, wangunu purara-ngka
 grass sponge woollybutt seed(ACC) honey-ant-LOC
- kaputunku-nytja, palu-nya pula-nya
 make into a ball-NOML(ACC) DEF-ACC 3du-ACC
- maa-tjunku-la wanti-payi
 away-put-SERIAL leave alone-CHAR
- 'The grass sponge, (and) the woollybutt flour made into
 a ball with honey-ant honey, (you) put the two of them
 away' (to be kept for one's son)
- 5-6 paluru ninti pulka, pulka-ra ninti-ringku-nytja
 DEF(NOM) knowing big(NOM) do fully-SERIAL knowing-INCHO-NOML
- 'He's really knowledgable, (someone) who has learnt really well'
- 5-7 nyanga kayariny, kampa-ra pilti-ringku-nytja,
 this dried plant(NOM) burn-SERIAL dry-INCHO-NOML(NOM)
- ngara-nyi
 stand-PRES
- 'Here's a dried out plant (kayariny), something that has
 been burnt and dried out'

5.1.3 CHARACTERISTIC NOMINALISATION -payi

This is a nominaliser of the type Comrie and Thompson (to appear) call "by the traditional label 'agentive nominalisation' even though, strictly speaking, the noun need not be in an 'agentive' relationship with the verb from which it is derived". The nominalisation designates a person (or animal) that characteristically does the action depicted by the verb-stem, or the instrument with which a certain thing is characteristically done. Strictly speaking therefore, Yankunytjatjara -payi combines the nominalising functions Comrie and Thompson call the 'agentive' and 'instrumental', a phenomenon also found in other languages, like Diola

(Niger-Congo) and, marginally, in English - compare singer, mower, (cf Apresjan 1974, Eather 1977). It is completely productive and regular.

<u>Verb Stem (Neutral)</u>	<u>-payi Nominalisation</u>
inka- 'sing'	inkapayi 'singer'
witil- 'hold, catch'	witilpayi 'catcher = policeman'
atul- 'chop, pound'	atulpayi 'chopper ie axe or axeman'
miratjingal- 'cry out'	miratjingalpayi 'car horn'

(5-8) and (5-9) are examples of the -payi nominalisation occurring with a non-Ø case inflection, clear indication of nominal status. Other indications of the nominal status of some instances of verb-stem + payi are the possibility of using such forms as the base for an INCHOative verb as in (5-10), and the possibility of suffixing nominal derivational elements such as -tjara HAVING, as in (5-11).

- 5-8 tjinguru witil-payi-ngku nyuntu-nya nyaku-ku
MAYBE catch-CHAR-ERG 2sg-ACC see-FUT
'Maybe the policeman will see you'
- 5-9 piturulu kanyil-payi-ngku kii kawali-nu
petrol(ACC) keep-CHAR-ERG key(ACC) lose-PAST
'The petrol keeper lost the key'
- 5-10 paluru nyaku-payi-ri-ngu
DEF(NOM) see-CHAR-INCHO-PAST
'She became able to see again'
- 5-11 nyara tawuna-kutu yanku-nytja wiya-ngku
over there town-ALL go-NOML NEG-ERG

wanti-ma nyara paluru panya
leave alone-IMP.IMP over there DEF(NOM) ANAPH

turangka-ri-payi-tjara
drunk-INCHO-CHAR-HAVING

'Don't go over to town. That place over there has got
drunks (now).

Though the verb-stem + payi is clearly a nominal in examples like (5-8) - (5-11), -payi also functions as a verbal inflection (6.4) indicating that the actor characteristically or habitually does or did the action depicted

by the verb. For instance, the ergative case of the subject in (5-12) and (5-13) means they cannot be analysed as equative or ascriptive clauses (2.4.1).

5-12 wati tjuta-ngku iriti malu wakal-payi
 man many-ERG long ago 'roo(ACC) spear-CHAR
 'In the old days the men used to spear kangaroos'

5-13 kaanka-ngku wanka ngalku-payi
 crow-ERG caterpillar(ACC) eat-CHAR
 'Crows eat caterpillars'

Though the -payi suffix can give rise to both nouns (arguments of finite verbs) and verbs (with their own arguments) the 'characteristic' component of meaning is clearly present in both cases, and this is the reason I prefer to use a single interlinear gloss CHAR for both (following Hansen and Hansen 1978).

The syntactically two-sided nature of -payi is not difficult to understand in semantic terms. As Comrie (1976:28) says for instance in his discussion of 'habituality' "all habituals...describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an accidental property of a moment in time, but precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period". Clearly it is equally possible to regard such a state of affairs as characteristic of, or as characterising, an actor.

5.2 RELATIVISATION

5.2.1 Nominalised Relative Clauses

There are in Yankunytjatjara two main strategies for forming equivalents to English restrictive relative clauses - the nominalised relative clause and the correlative construction (5.2.2), neither of which is particularly common in narrative texts or conversation. The following discussion is limited to outlining the main surface syntactic features. I have not investigated accessibility to relativisation (Keenan and Comrie 1977) in any detail.

Typologies of the syntax of relative clauses and related constructions, such as those presented in Keenan and Comrie 1977, Downing 1978 and Keenan (to appear), begin with an essentially semantic definition. A

restrictive relative clause is a clausal structure that specifies or identifies a referent in two steps: (i) a class of objects, called the 'domain of relativisation' is specified by a common noun we will call the domain noun² (following Keenan (to appear)) (ii) a subset of the domain (possibly a single member) is singled out by a 'restricting clause' containing an assertion or condition about the intended referent. That is, a restrictive relative clause is a clausal structure that limits or restricts the range of reference of a certain noun.

(There is something of a tradition in Australian linguistics for a broader use of the term 'relative clause' eg Hale 1976, Austin 1980a, Dixon 1980:514 "type of subordinate clause specifying some event or state in which one of the participants of the main clause is, or has been involved." On this definition, Yankunytjatjara circumstantial clauses would also be called relative clauses.)

From (5-14) - (5-16), in which the 'position relativised' - ie the conceptual role of the intended referent within the relative clause - is S, A and O respectively, we can discern the main syntactic features of nominalised relatives: (i) The domain noun, wati 'man' in these examples, occurs as the initial noun of the restricting clause, trivially when the position relativised is S or A (since the usual word order is S/A-(O)-(V)), but significantly in examples like (5-16), (5-19) and (5-20), where another 'position' is relativised. (ii) The domain noun is not an argument of the main clause, since it does not have ergative case-marking even though the main clause verb is transitive. (iii) The nominalised relative clause functions as an NP argument of the main verb, as evident from the ergative case marking it takes in the examples below. (iv) The domain noun is followed by the ANAPHoric demonstrative panya and (v) is invariable in form ie not subject to case inflection, since ergative case marking is not possible even when the restricting clause verb is transitive,³ as in (5-15). See also (5-19) and (5-20).

5-14 wati panya mungartji ngalya-yanku-nytja-lu
 man ANAPH yesterday this way-go-NOML-ERG NAME

 mutaka kati-ngu
 car(ACC) take-PAST

 'The man (who) came yesterday took the car'

5-15 wati/*wati-ngku panya kuka ngalya-kati-nytja-lu
 man /*man-ERG ANAPH meat(ACC) this way-take-NOML-ERG NAME
 mutaka kati-ngu
 car(ACC) take-PAST

'The man (who) brought the meat took the car'

5-16 wati panya ngayulu ngalya-kati-nytja-lu mutaka
 man ANAPH lsg(ERG) this way-take-NOML-ERG NAME car(ACC)
 kati-ngu
 take-PAST

'The man (who) I brought here took the car'

The fact that the domain noun is not case-marked with respect to either verb makes it difficult to decide on the limited language-internal data I have whether the construction is an internal or (post-nominal) external relative, ie (i) whether the domain noun, though fronted, is part of the restricting clause or (ii) whether it is outside the following restricting clause from which the corresponding noun (NP_{rel} as it is usually symbolised in the literature) has been 'gapped' (Keenan (to appear)). Postnominal relatives are rare but not unattested in verb-final languages (Downing 1978). While it is not typologically unusual to find internal relatives in a verb-final language, it would appear from the small number of languages for which the phenomenon has been described, such as Digueno, Bambara and Navajo, that the usual pattern is for the domain noun to have the appropriate case-marking and normal position of an argument of the restricting clause (Andrews p.c.). (Comrie and Thompson (to appear) report that internal relatives based on action/state nominalisations are common in languages of the American west and south-west.)

(The domain noun's lack of case-marking may be explicable in terms of the idea that the speaker has an independent interest⁴ in (the referent of) this noun - independent that is, of its role in the clause.)

As shown in the examples above and (5-17)- (5-20) the nominalisation as a whole is case-marked according to the role of the intended referent with respect to the main verb. Ergative is always marked with allomorph -lu which functions as the name-status marker with simple NPs. Nominative and accusative are usually marked with the name-status NOM/ACC allomorph -nya as in (5-17) and (5-18), but \emptyset -marking is also possible as in

(5-65). Allative and ablative seem to be generally marked with the name-status suffixes (ie name-status LOCative -la plus -kutu ALLative or -nguru ABLative) as in (5-19) and (5-20). I have no data on other cases.

In (5-14) - (5-16) the relative clause appears at the front of the main clause. In (5-17) - (5-20) on the other hand, the relative clause follows the main clause, separated from it by a pause in which case the main clause contains a NP coreferential with the domain noun, which may sometimes be omitted as in (5-17). (A similar situation is found in Hindi and Tamil (Maxwell 1979:358-9).) Note that the main clause NP need not be identical to the domain noun - in (5-18) untal 'daughter' and ukari 'niece' refer to the same person. (A niece may be called daughter in certain circumstances.)

5-17 ..kuka-lta-ya ngalku-la(3), panya
 meat(ACC)-AND THEN-3pl(ERG) eat-SERIAL ANAPH
 mama-ngku pawu-ntja-nya
 father-ERG roast-NOML-ACC NAME
 '..and they had a good feed of the meat, that father had
 roasted'

5-18 kungka untal-ampa kunyu kalala nyanga-ngi,
 woman daughter(ACC)-INTEREST QUOT daylight see-IMP.IMP
 ukari-mpa, panya ninti-ntja-nya
 niece(ACC)-INTEREST ANAPH show-NOML-ACC NAME
 '(He), they say, was only seeing his daughter in strong
 daylight, you know, the niece (who) showed (it)'

In (5-19) and (5-20) the position relativised is locative, but the domain noun again occurs without case-marking.

5-19 nyara-kutu kati-ma, ngura panya puyu
 over there-ALL take-IMP.IMP place ANAPH smoke(NOML)
 paka-ntja-la-kutu
 come up-NOML-LOC NAME-ALL
 'Take it over there, to that place (where) smoke's coming
 up'

- 5-20 nganana apu-kutu ya-nu, apu panya ili pulka
 1pl(NOM) hill-ALL go-PAST hill ANAPH wild-fig big(NOM)
 ngara-nytja-la-kutu
 stand-NOML-LOC NAME-ALL
 'We went to the hill, the hill (where) a lot of wild fig is
 growing'

Finally, note that in a few recorded instances the domain noun is followed by a demonstrative other than panya such as nyanga 'this' or nyara 'that over there'. This is apparently possible only when the referent is also being indicated in terms of its physical presence. For instance (5-21) was said as the speaker described a sacred site where the man in question is present as a rock.

- 5-21 paluru everything nganmany-tju analuta-mila-nu
 DEF(ERG) everything(ACC) previously-ERG unload-PAST
 wati nyanga-ngku, wati nyanga ngalya-nyina-nytja-lu
 man this-ERG man this this way-sit-NOML-ERG NAME
 'He unloaded everything beforehand. This man, this man
 sitting facing this way'

5.2.2 Corelatives

Corelatives are a widespread functional equivalent of restrictive relative clauses in 'loose' verb-final languages, ie those which like Yankunytjatjara allow some NPs, especially 'heavy' ones, to follow the verb without any special effect of foregrounding or backgrounding. Essentially corelative sentences consist of juxtaposed clauses (Downing 1978:401) "indistinguishable from the corresponding independent sentences except for the form of the coreferential NP in each clause", which link the clauses semantically. The domain noun in the corelative clause is usually fronted and marked, often with the same morpheme employed in any other relativisation strategies a language may have. The coreferential NP in the main clause, which Keenan (to appear) calls the 'anaphoric NP' can be "any overt nominal which is elsewhere in the language used anaphorically: a personal pronoun, a demonstrative pronoun, a demonstrative adjective + common noun, or any other anaphoric determiner + common noun." According to Keenan (to appear) corelatives are attested in Bambara (Bird 1966) and early forms of Indo-European languages such as Hittite (Justus 1976), Sanskrit and Homeric Greek

(Lehmann 1974), among other languages.

(5-22) - (5-24), the corelative equivalents of (5-14) - (5-16), illustrate the main features of Yankunytjatjara corelatives, most of which are typologically unremarkable. (i) The verb of the corelative clause is finite. (ii) The domain noun is fronted, invariable in form, and followed by the ANAPHoric demonstrative panya like the nominalised relatives. (iii) The coreferential NP in the main clause is usually the DEFINite nominal palu(ru) modified by a preceding ANAPHoric demonstrative panya (the combination panya paluru being roughly equivalent to English 'that same one'), but it is possible to include a repetition of the domain noun eg wati panya paluru 'that same man'. (iv) The corelative clause precedes the main clause.

5-22 wati panya mungartji ngalya-ya-nu, panya paluru
 man ANAPH yesterday this way-go-PAST ANAPH DEF(ERG)

 mutaka kati-ngu
 car(ACC) take-PAST

 'That man (who) came yesterday, that same one took the car'

5-23 wati panya ngayulu ngalya-kati-ngu, panya paluru
 man ANAPH lsg(ERG) this way-take-PAST ANAPH DEF(ERG)

 mutaka kati-ngu
 car(ACC) take-PAST

 'That man I brought here, that same one took the car'

5-24 wati panya kuka ngalya-kati-ngu, panya paluru
 man ANAPH meat(ACC) this way-take-PAST ANAPH DEF(ERG)

 mutaka kati-ngu
 car(ACC) take-PAST

 'That man (who) brought the meat, the same one took the car'

5.3 PURPOSIVE AND INTENTIVE CLAUSES

5.3.1 Intentive Clauses

Intentive clauses are formed by suffixing an action nominalisation with the INTENTive relator -kitja (4.5.2). Like nouns suffixed with -kitja INTENT, intentive clauses show the actor agreement pattern of case inflection (3.3.1) - ie carry an ergative marker when the main verb is transitive, as shown by (5-26) - (5-29).

(1) The main function of the intentive clause is to specify the personal intention or motive of an actor. Compare (5-25) and (5-26). In (5-25) -kitja INTENT follows the simple (underived) noun kuka 'meat'. This sentence is inexplicit in that it tells us only that the actor's intention involved meat in some way. In (5-26) -kitja INTENT follows the nominalisation kuka pawu-ntja meat roast-NOML 'roasting meat' which spells precisely the nature of the intention.

Note that in normal speech the morpheme sequence -nytja NOML + kitja INTENT is subject to a regressive vowel assimilation nytja-kitja → nytji-kitja, but may be pronounced -nytja-kitja in deliberate or emphatic speech.

- 5-25 wati paluru ya-nu, kuka-kitja
 man DEF(NOM) go-PAST meat-INTENT(NOM)
 'The man went off, wanting meat'
- 5-26 wati paluru ya-nu, kuka pawu-ntji-kitja
 man DEF(NOM) go-PAST meat(ACC) roast-NOML-INTENT(NOM)
 'The man went off, wanting to shoot/roast meat'
- 5-27 wati ya-nu waru ura-ntji-kitja
 man go-PAST fire(ACC) get-NOML-INTENT(NOM)
 'The man went (because he wanted) to get fire(wood)'
- 5-28 kungka-ngku tii kutja-nu, tjiki-ntji-kitja-ngku
 woman-ERG tea(ACC) heat-PAST drink-NOML-INTENT-ERG
 'The woman heated some tea, (because she wanted) to drink'
- 5-29 waru-na ura-nu, munga-ngka unytjun
 fire(ACC)-1sg(ERG) get-PAST night-LOC warm

 ngari-nytji-kitja-ngku
 lie-NOML-INTENT-ERG
 'I got some firewood, because I wanted to lie(sleep) warm
 at night'

In most cases the main clause subject and the intentive clause subject are the same, but sentences like (5-30) and (5-31), where the main clause subject is referentially included in the intentive clause subject, are also possible. The converse inclusion relationship however (ie intentive subject referentially included within the main clause subject) calls for the purposive (switch-reference) construction (5.3.2). This

asymmetricality follows naturally from the semantics of -kitja - the intentive clause must specify the intention of the main clause subject, and the only inclusion relationship allowing this is that the main clause subject be included within the intentive clause subject.

5-30 ngayulu kuka yanku-la waka-ni, ngali
 1st(ERG) meat(ACC) go-SERIAL spear-PRES 1du(ERG)

 ngalku-nytji-kitja-ngku
 eat-NOML-INTENT-ERG

 'I'll go and spear some meat, because we two want to eat'

5-31 tjarpa mutaka-ngka, yanku-nytji-kitja-la
 go in(IMP) car-LOC go-NOML-INTEREST(NOM)-1pl(NOM)
 'Get in the car, as we want to go'

5-32 (i) *nganana ya-nu, nyanga pula nyuntu-nya
 1pl(NOM) go-PAST this 3du(ERG) 2sg-ACC

 nyaku-nytji-kitja
 see-NOML-INTENT(NOM)

* 'We came here, so these two could see you'

(ii) nganana ya-nu, nyanga pula nyuntu-nya nyaku-nytja-ku
 1pl(NOM) go-PAST this 3du(ERG) 2sg-ACC see-NOML-PURP
 'We came here, so these two could see you'

As Austin (1980:16f) notes in his discussion of comparable Diyari constructions, these facts mean that in some cases the choice between an intentive as opposed to a purposive (S-R) clause may express an inclusive/exclusive contrast. For instance, (5-33i) means that the main clause subject intended to share in the meat; (5-33ii) implies the contrary.

5-33 (i) paluru kuka ngalya-kati-ngu, paluru tjana
 DEF(ERG) meat(ACC) this way-take-PAST DEF(ERG) 3pl(ERG)

 ngalku-nytji-kitja-ngku
 eat-NOML-INTENT-ERG

'He brought the meat, so they (and he) could eat'

(ii) paluru kuka ngalya-kati-ngu, paluru tjana
 DEF(ERG) meat(ACC) this way-take-PAST DEF(ERG) 3pl(ERG)

 ngalku-nytja-ku
 eat-NOML-PURP

'He brought meat, so they (not including him) could eat'

(2) An intentive clause may also describe a personal intention expressed by an act of speech (5-34), (6-12) or formulated by an act of cognition (5-35).

5-34 munta, nganmany-tju-na wangka-ngu, ngayu-ku
 SORRY previously-ERG-lsg(ERG) talk-PAST lsg-GEN

 kuta kati-nytji-kitja-ngku
 senior brother(ACC) take-NOML-INTENT-ERG

 'Sorry, I already said I would take my brother'

5-35 ngayulu yanku-nytji-kitja-ngku kuli-nu
 lsg(ERG) go-NOML-INTENT-ERG think-PAST

 'I decided (thought) to go'

(3) An intentive clause functions as the clausal complement of the verb muku-ri-ng 'be fond of, like, want'.

5-36 ngayulu yanku-nytji-kitja muku-ringa-nyi
 1st(NOM) go-NOML-INTENT(NOM) fond-INCHO-PRES

 'I'm yearning to go'

(4) Occasionally intentive clauses occur in sentences with inanimate subjects referring to natural phenomena.

5-37 kapi patangara-nytji-kitja ila-ringa-nyi
 water(NOM) fall-NOML-INTENT(NOM) close-INCHO-PRES

 'Rain's coming close, about/ready to fall'

5.3.2 Switch-Reference Purposive Clauses

The term 'switch-reference' was coined by Jacobsen 1967 in a paper on a number of American Indian languages:

"Switch-reference consists simply in the fact that a switch in the subject or agent is obligatorily indicated in certain situations by a morpheme, usually suffixed, which may or may not carry other meanings in addition"
(emphasis mine).

The qualifications in this definition are easily neglected and switch-reference is sometimes discussed as though it was always a uniform process mechanically determined by syntactic relations between successive clauses. In Yankunytjatjara, as noted by Trudinger (1943:223), there are

three morphosyntactic constructions expressing switch-reference - circumstantial clauses (5.4), the use of the CONTRastive connective kas in narration (9.1.3), and the purposive clauses discussed in this section. In each case however, the morphemes involved signal switch-reference in certain situations only, and carry other meanings in addition.

5.3.1 described the intentive clause - a nominalisation suffixed with the INTENTive relator -kitja, whose primary function is to specify actor's intention (what the actor wanted to do): this strongly implies that the subject of the main and intentive clauses are the same. In syntactically parallel contexts a nominalisation followed by the purposive case-marker -ku expresses the contrary (ie, switch-reference) specification - that the subject of the main and purposive clauses are referentially different. Compare (5-38i) and (5-38ii), and (5-39i) and (5-39ii). Note that the subject of a purposive clause need not be stated explicitly, but must be interpreted in conformity with the S-R principle.

- 5-38 (i) kungka-ngku tii kutja-nu, tjiki-ntji-kitja-ngku
 woman-ERG tea(ACC) heat-PAST drink-NOML-INTENT-ERG
 'The woman heated some tea (because she wanted) to drink'
- (ii) kungka-ngku tii kutja-nu, (tjitji-ngku)
 woman-ERG tea(ACC) heat-PAST child-ERG
 tjiki-ntja-ku
 drink-NOML-PURP
 'The woman made some tea for (someone)/the child to drink'
- (iii) kungka-ngku tii kutja-nu, tjitji-ku
 woman-ERG tea(ACC) heat-PAST child-PURP
 'The woman heated some tea, for the child'
- 5-39 (i) ngayulu ngura-kutu kulpa-nyi, ngari-nytji-kitja
 1sg(NOM) place-ALL return-PRES lie-NOML-INTENT(NOM)
 'I'm going to camp, to sleep'
- (ii) ngayulu ngura-kutu kulpa-nyi, (nyuntu)/*ngayulu
 1sg(NOM) camp-ALL return-PRES 2sg(NOM)/*1sg(NOM)
 ngari-nytja-ku
 lie-NOML-PURP
 'I'm going home, so (someone)/you/*I can sleep'

The function of the PURPositive -ku in sentences like (5-381i) is easy to understand by comparison with the beneficiary construction (3.4.2). Compare (5-381i) and (5-381ii) - the NP tjitji-ku child-PURP 'for the child' indicates the person for whose benefit the act depicted by the main verb was done, but it does not specify what this person has been enabled to do. A nominalisation followed by the PURPositive case-marker spells this out explicitly.

The switch-reference constraint inherent in the construction is, at first sight, more difficult to understand for two reasons: (i) It is not the case that the combination of morphemes nytja NOML + ku PURP entails switch-reference - for as we shall see in 5.3.3 there are morphologically identical purposive clauses which do not imply switch-reference, in complement and other constructions; (ii) There are other Western Desert dialects where the switch-reference constraint is not found in comparable sentences. For instance in Pintupi (Hansen and Hansen 1978:65f) and Luritja (Ah Chee, p.c.) a sentence like (5-381i) is subject to a same-subject interpretation. In these dialects, (and in many other Australian languages (Dixon 1980:458)) the NOML + PURP structure is the usual way of expressing the reason or purpose for an action, regardless of sameness or difference of subjects in the main and subordinate clauses.

In fact it appears that the NOML + PURP construction has the switch-reference semantics only when it is functionally opposed to the NOML + INTENT construction, both within Yankunytjatjara and across dialects. This suggests an obvious historical route by which the switch-reference specification may have been grammaticalised into the NOML + PURP clause. Imagine a hypothetical Pre-Yankunytjatjara in which the NOML + PURP has no switch-reference specification, and functions as a general purposive. Assume that at this stage of the language's development the intensive morpheme -kitja is wholly or largely restricted to use with simple (underived) nouns, and does not occur suffixed to nominalisations, as in present-day Pintupi and Luritja. Now suppose there is an extension in the syntactic range of application of the -kitja INTENT morpheme, so that it becomes possible to apply it to nominalisations. This new construction is only ever found in situations where the old general purposive NOML + PURP would have had a 'same subject' interpretation. The way is open for a re-interpretation of the NOML + PURP as a different subject (switch-reference) construction, but only in contexts where it is functionally opposed to the NOML + INTENT construction.

Other uses of the NOML + PURP construction, such as in purposive complement, clauses remain unaffected, and we have arrived at the present-day situation.⁵

(5-40) - (5-44) are some more examples of switch-reference purposive clauses. Note that (5-43) and (5-44), where the purposive clause describes the goal behind an act of speech or cognition, parallel the same subject intensive examples (5-34) and (5-35). See also (3-41).

5-40 tjilpi-ngku atu-ni, wami palya-ntja-ku
 old man-ERG chop-PRES snake(ACC) make-NOML-PURP
 'The old man is chopping, so (his wife) can make a
 snake (artefact)'

5-41 munu tjuti-ra yunga-nyi kulpa-nytja-ku
 ADD pour-SERIAL give-PRES return-NOML-PURP
 'And (he) will pour (us) some (petrol), so we can go home'

5-42 puriny nguwan wangka-ma, ngayulu
 slowly rather(NOM) talk-IMP.IMP lsg(ERG)
 kuli-ntja-ku
 understand-NOML-PURP
 'Talk slowly so I can understand'

5-43 tjilpi-ngku watja-nu, ngayulu yanku-nytja-ku
 old man-ERG say-PAST lsg(NOM) go-NOML-PURP
 'The old man said I should go'

5-44 wangka yanku-nytja-tjara tjunku-nytja-ku, Yami-lu
 talk go-NOML-HAVING(NOM) put-NOML-PURP Yami-ERG NAME
 watja-nu
 say-PAST
 'Yami said that Yankunytjatjara should be recorded'

5.3.3 Non-Switch-Reference Purposive Clauses

In the following uses of purposive clauses switch-reference is clearly not involved.

(1) A purposive clause may function as the clausal complement of (i) pata-1 'wait for' (ii) certain INCHOative verbs of emotion (iii) active

adjectives describing ability or competence, and INCHOative verbs derived from these. This is exactly parallel to the range of use of simple purposive NPs (3.4.3), as illustrated below. (Muku-ri-ng 'like, be fond of, want' is an exception to this statement, since it takes a purposive simple NP complement but an intentive clausal complement (5.3.1). Ninti-ri-ng 'learn' may occur with an intentive clause but this is not a complement eg ngayulu nyanytjunga kalpanytjikitja nintiringanyi 'I'm learning (because I want) to ride horses' (compare (5-46i)).)

5-45 (i) ngayulu Yami-nya nyaku-nytja-ku/Yami-ku pata-ni
 lsg(NOM) Yami-ACC NAME see-NOML-PURP/Yami-PURP wait-PRES
 'I'm waiting to see Yami/for Yami'

(ii) ngayulu mungartji-ri-nytja-ku/mungartji-ku pata-ni
 lsg(NOM) evening-INCHO-NOML-PURP/evening-PURP wait-PRES
 'I'm waiting for it to get dark/for evening'

5-46 (i) ngayulu nyanytju-ngka kalpa-nytja-ku/nyanytju-ku
 lsg(NOM) horse-LOC climb on-NOML-PURP/horse-PURP
 ngulu-ringa-nyi
 afraid-INCHO-PRES
 'I'm afraid to ride horses/of horses'

(ii) paluru ngura-ngka nyina-nytja-ku/ngura-ku
 DEF(NOM) place-LOC sit-NOML-PURP/camp-PURP
 watjil-ari-nyi
 lonesome-INCHO-PRES
 'She's pining to be home/for home'

5-47 ngayulu nyanytju-ngka kalpa-nytja-ku/nyanytju-ku
 1st(NOM) horse-LOC climb-NOML-PURP/horse-PURP
 ninti-ringa-nyi
 knowing-INCHO-PRES
 'I'm learning to ride a horse'

5-48 ngayulu-mantu kutju ngari-nytja-ku ngurpa nguwan
 lsg(NOM)-CERTAINLY alone lie-NOML-PURP ignorant rather
 'Indeed I'm rather ignorant of sleeping (camping) alone'

(2) Purposive clauses in certain contexts may indicate that something is or is not possible or able to be done. (See also (6-24).)

5-49 ngayulu apu-ngka kalpa-ny^tja-ku paku-ri-ngu
1sg(NOM) rock-LOC climb-NOML-PURP tired-INCHO-PAST
'I got (too) tired to climb the rock'

5-50 walpa nyanga palya malu-ku yanku-ny^tja-ku
wind this(NOM) good(NOM) 'roo-PURP go-NOML-PURP
'It's a good wind for hunting kangaroo'

5-51 ayi, tjinguru wama, tjiki-ntja-ku
hey MAYBE sweet drink-NOML-PURP
'Hey, maybe, its (become) sweet (enough), to drink'
(as the water in which sweet corkwood flowers are soaking goes dark)

(3) A purposive clause may refer to the right to do something, as the complement of the verb ngara- \emptyset 'stand' (see 2.4.1). (Unfortunately, I have no examples with transitive verbs in the purposive clause, and non-pronominal subjects, so an alternative analysis is that the subject is included in the purposive clause, which is the subject of the verb ngara- \emptyset . We need to know which of the two alternatives in (5-55) is possible.)

5-52 ngayulu 2 years nyina-ny^tja-ku ngara-ngu
1sg(NOM) sit-NOML-PURP stand-PAST
'I could have stayed two years'

5-53 nyuntu kalpa-ny^tja-ku ngara-nyⁱ
2sg(NOM) climb-NOML-PURP stand-PRES
'You may climb that hill'

5-54 nyuntu ura-ntja-ku ngara-nyⁱ
2sg(NOM) take-NOML-PURP stand-PRES
'You may get some'

5-55 (i) wati ura-ntja-ku ngara-nyⁱ

(ii) wati-ngku ura-ntja-ku ngara-nyⁱ

'The/a man may get some'

(4) A purposive clause with rising intonation may constitute a complete sentence in itself, as in (5-56). These utterances are probably best interpreted as 'indirect speech-acts', for they implicitly request the addressee to do something, so that the situation they depict may become possible.⁶

5-56 ngayylu ngalku-nytja-ku/ kuli-ntja-ku
 lsg(ERG) eat-NOML-PURP listen-NOML-PURP
 'May I eat/listen?' (= will you do something so that I can
 eat/listen?)

5.4 CIRCUMSTANTIAL CLAUSES

5.4.1 Formal Analysis

Circumstantial constructions occur in two types, both based on action/state nominalisations and both subject to the switch-reference constraint - ie the subjects of the main verb and the nominalised verb may not be coreferential. The simple circumstantial construction (5.4.2), which consists of a nominalised clause followed by the locative case marker -la, either (i) presents background information about what was happening while the event depicted by the finite verb was going on (ii) gives the reason for the event depicted by the finite verb, or (iii) specifies an event perceived by the subject of the finite verb. The post-circumstantial construction consists of a nominalised clause followed by the ASSOCIative morpheme -itja, followed by the locative case-marker -ngka. It is semantically identical to the simple circumstantial except for implying the prior completion of the event or action it depicts (5.4.3). There need not be any common argument between the main and nominalised clauses.

It is interesting to compare dialect differences in the form taken by circumstantial clauses in Yankunytjatjara, on the one hand, and Pitjantjatjara and Ngaanyatjarra on the other.

	<u>Yankunytjatjara</u>	<u>Pitjantjatjara</u>
∅-class (eg <u>wangka-</u> 'talk')	wangka-∅-nytja-la	wangka-∅-nya-ngka
n-class (eg <u>tju-</u> 'put')	tju-nku-nytja-la	tju-nku-nya-ngka
ng-class (eg <u>pu-</u> 'hit')	pu-ngku-nytja-la	pu-ngku-nya-ngka
l-class (eg <u>kuli-</u> 'listen')	kuli-ntja-la	kuli-n-nya-ngka ⁷

In Yankunytjatjara the morphemic analysis NOML + LOC is transparent, but in Pitjantjatjara and Ngaanyatjarra the morpheme corresponding to Yankunytjatjara -nytja NOML has the form -nya. In the light of the Yankunytjatjara material it seems likely that the Pitjantjatjara circumstantial suffix was originally *nytja-ngka NOML + LOC and that a sporadic phonological change (simplification of the first of two homorganic nasal-stop clusters) *-nytja-ngka > -nya-ngka has given rise to a new allomorph of the nominalising suffix. Most work on Pitjantjatjara and Ngaanyatjarra has not segmented the -nyangka suffix, though the phonological identity of -ngka to the locative case-marker has usually been recognised. An exception is Bell (1980), who adduces the following persuasive argument. In the Pitjantjatjara examples (5-57) and (5-58)⁸ a clause formed with the -nyangka suffix precedes spatial qualifiers katu 'above' and itingka 'close by'. Because spatial qualifiers govern the locative case (8.3.1), there is paradigmatic pressure to segment the nyangka suffix as nya-ngka, to expose the -ngka as LOC. Since we have to recognise -nyangka as -nya (NOML) + ngka (LOC) in examples like these, there is no extra cost in applying the same analysis to Pitjantjatjara circumstantial constructions generally. (5-59) is a comparable Yankunytjatjara example.

5-57 (P.) kililpi kuwari-tu ngara-ngu iti ngari-nya-ngka
 star(NOM) now-JUST SO stand-PAST baby(NOM) lie-NOML-LOC
 katu
 above

'Just then the star stopped above where the baby lay'

5-58 (P.) ngayulu mutakayi-ngka a-nu Mikinamara-lu anangu
 lsg(NOM) car-LOC go-PAST McNamara-ERG NAME person
 tjuṯa kunti-nya-ngka iti-ngka
 many(ACC) shoot-NOML-LOC close by-LOC

'I went in a motor car near where McNamara shot all the people'

5-59 nganana ngari-ngi, malu pawu-ntja-la iti-ngka
 lpl(NOM) lie-PAST.IMPF 'roo(ACC) shoot-NOML-LOC close by-LOC
 'We were camping near where the kangaroo was shot'

5.4.2 The Simple Circumstantial Clause

(1) The circumstantial construction is the usual way of providing background information to the event depicted in the main clause. Usually, but not always (5-64), the circumstantial clause depicts something else that is happening while the main clause event took place. There may or may not be,⁹ in addition, the implication of a causal relationship between the two events.

- 5-60 ngunytju pukul₋ari-ngu, katja ngalya-yanku-nytja-la
 mother(NOM) glad-INCHO-PAST son(NOM) this way-go-NOML-LOC
 'Mother was happy when/because (her) son came'
- 5-61 nganana nyina-nyi, kungka-ngku tina kutja-ntja-la,
 1pl(NOM) sit-PRES woman-ERG lunch(ACC) put to fire-NOML-LOC
 pata-ra
 wait-SERIAL
 'We're sitting while a woman prepares lunch, waiting'
- 5-62 nya-ngu-tja-ya kungka-ngku wangka-nytja-la
 see-PAST-lsgACC-3pl(ERG) woman-ERG talk-NOML-LOC
 'They saw me while the woman was talking (to me)'
- 5-63 ngayulu ngalya-yanku-nytja-la, paluru puluka-ngka
 lsg(NOM) this way-go-NOML-LOC DEF(NOM) cattle-LOC
 waaka-ri-ngu
 work-INCHO-PAST
 'When I came here (Alice Springs), he was working with the
 cattle (at Mimili)'
- 5-64 pulitjuna-ngku wati panya witi-ra kati-ngu
 policeman-ERG man(ACC) ANAPH grab-SERIAL take-PAST
 mani kutitjunku-nytja-la
 money(ACC) steal-NOML-LOC
 'The police arrested and took that man away, because he stole
 some money'

It may be helpful to contrast the circumstantial with the embedded relative clause (5.2.1). A relative clause, as in (5-65i), identifies a referent, in this case the object of the main sentence. A circumstantial construction, as in (5-65ii), on the other hand indicates the background to the main event.

5-65 (1) ngayulu malu panya kapi tjiki-ntja waka-nu
 lsg(ERG) 'roo ANAPH water(ACC) drink-NOML(ACC) spear-PAST
 'I speared the kangaroo which was drinking'

(1i) ngayulu malu waka-nu kapi tjiki-ntja-la
 lsg(ERG) 'roo(ACC) spear-PAST water(ACC) drink-NOML-LOC
 'I speared kangaroo while it was drinking'

(2) The circumstantial construction is also used as a clausal complement to a verb of perception, such as kuli-l 'hear', nya-ng 'see', panti-l 'smell', specifying the perceived event. (5-67i) and (5-67ii) contrast this use with a nominalisation functioning as object. (The examples in (5-67) and (5-72) refer to a Dreaming story in which a bilby man was roasted and partially eaten.)

5-66 malu-ngku nya-ngu/ kuli-nu/ panti-nu, wati
 'roo-ERG see-PAST hear-PAST smell-PAST man(NOM)
 urakati-nytja-la
 creep up-NOML-LOC
 'The kangaroo saw/heard/smelt the man creeping up'

5-67 (i) paluru tjana wati miri pawu-ntja-la nya-ngu
 DEF(ERG) 3pl(ERG) man dead roast-NOML-LOC see-PAST
 'They saw the dead man being roasted'

(ii) paluru tjana wati miri pawu-ntja-nya nya-ngu
 DEF(ERG) 3pl(ERG) man dead(ACC) roast-NOML-ACC see-PAST
 'They saw the roasted dead man'

Now let us turn to the switch-reference specification inherent in the circumstantial construction, evident from the ungrammaticality of (5-68) and the forced different-subjects interpretation of (5-69). Background information concerning the main clause subject is expressed through a serial verb construction (6.5) so that, as long noted by writers on Western Desert (eg Trudinger 1943), the circumstantial and serial constructions function in a complementary syntactic fashion as switch/same subject variants, despite their structural dissimilarities.

5-68 *ngayulu waru-ku yana-ngi, ngayulu nyaku-nytja-la
 lsg(NOM) fire-PURP go-PAST.IMPF lsg(ERG) see-NOML-LOC
 * 'I was going for firewood, when I saw (it)'

5-69 ngayulu yana-ngi, nyaku-nytja-la
 lsg(NOM) go-PAST.IMPF see-NOML-LOC
 'I was walking when (someone else) saw (something)'
 * 'I was walking when I saw something'

5-70 ngayulu waru-ku yanku-la nya-ngu
 lsg(ERG) fire-PURP go-SERIAL see-PAST
 'I saw something, while going for firewood'

In fact it is easy to see that the switch-reference specification may have been grammaticalised into the circumstantial construction precisely because of its opposition to the serial verb construction. If in an earlier stage of the language there were no switch-reference constraint associated with circumstantial clauses, there would have been a choice between the two constructions where both the background and the main verb action were performed by the same subject. Where the two subjects were different only the circumstantial clause would have been possible, and therefore it would have been proportionally more used in the different-subjects situation than the same-subject situation. The way would have been open for a re-interpretation to bring the semantic structure of the circumstantial construction into line with its majority surface function - through the addition of the switch-reference specification to its semantic structure.

5.4.3 The Post-Circumstantial Construction

This construction is semantically identical to the simple circumstantial except that it implies the prior completion of the event depicted by the nominalised clause. Morphologically the post-circumstantial suffix -nytjitjanga decomposes into -nytja NOML + -itja ASSOC + ngka LOC. The underlying vowel sequence -ai- which results from the addition of the ASSOC to the NOML morpheme is reduced to i by regular rule - (2.2.4) (4.6.1), because a nominalised form always contains an odd number of morae (6.1.3). To see the semantic difference between the circumstantial and post-circumstantial, consider the contrasts in (5-71) and (5-72).

5-71 (i) palu-mpa kuri pukul-ari-ngu, paluru
 DEF-GEN mate(NOM) pleased-INCHO-PAST DEF(NOM)
 waka-ri-nytji-tja-ngka
 work-INCHO-NOML-ASSOC-LOC
 'His wife was pleased when/because he got a job'

(ii) palu-mpa kuri pukul-ari-ngu paluru
DEF-GEN mate(NOM) pleased-INCHO-PAST DEF(NOM)

waaki-ri-nytja-la
work-INCHO-NOML-LOC

'His wife was happy, because/when he was working'

5-72 (i) maa-ngara-la nya-ngu, wati miri pungku-la
away-stand-SERIAL see-PAST man dead(ACC) hit-SERIAL

pawu-ra wanti-nytji-tja-ngka
roast-SERIAL leave alone-NOML-ASSOC-LOC

'(They) stood at a distance and saw, (someone) had killed the
dead man, put him to roast and left him'

(ii) maa-ngara-la nya-ngu, wati miri pungku-la
away-stand-SERIAL see-PAST man dead(ACC) hit-SERIAL

pawu-ra wanti-nytja-la
roast-SERIAL leave alone-NOML-LOC

'(They) stood at a distance, and saw someone killing the dead man,
putting him to roast and leaving him'

Other examples of the post-circumstantial follow; see also (3-10), (7-104) and (10-14). (5-73) could be used to report that someone has been hurt in a car accident. (5-74) comes from a text describing how a water-snake man flung himself down prone to form a long hill. Just prior to this sentence the speaker has told us that a spark flew off from a neighbouring camp fire and burnt the man.

5-73 paluru pika, punka-ntji-tja-ngka
DEF(NOM) hurt(NOM) fall-NOML-ASSOC-LOC

'She's hurt, because (she) fell (had an accident)'

5-74 kaa paluru wati-kartjila-ra nyara-tja-lta
CONTR DEF(NOM) across-run-SERIAL over there-EVIDENT-AND THEN

watungara-nyi, ngulu-lta pika kampa-nytji-tja-ngka
lie prone-PRES afraid(NOM) hurt(ACC) burn-NOML-ASSOC-LOC

'And ^{then} he ran across and is lying face-down over there, afraid
after/because he'd been badly burnt'

5.5 AVERSIVE CLAUSES

In the Yankunytjatjara spoken at Mimili¹⁰ aversive clauses take the form of a CHARACTERISTIC nominalisation (suffix -payi) followed by the locative case-marker -ngka. The aversive clause describes a potential, bad situation which the actor of the main clause acts to avoid. As evident from the acceptability of (5-77) and (5-78), the aversive construction is possible regardless of sameness or switch of reference between the subject of the main verb and the subject of the aversive clause. But notice that even in the same-subject situation, as in (5-77) and (5-78), what is portrayed in the aversive clause is not an action but an event (eg if X falls, this is not an action of X's, but something which happens to X). For other examples of the aversive construction see (3-114), (4-97) and (4-141).

5-75 paluru mayi unngu tju-nu papa-ngku ngalku-payi-ngka
DEF(ERG) food(ACC) inside put-PAST dog-ERG eat-CHAR-LOC
'She put the food inside so that the dogs wouldn't eat it'

5-76 paluru paka-ra ngara-nytja wiya, paluru tjana
DEF(ERG) get up-SERIAL stand-NOML NEG DEF(ERG) 3pl(ERG)
nyaku-payi-ngka
see-CHAR-LOC
'He didn't get up, so that they wouldn't see him'

5-77 paluru atatju-ra yana-ngi, patangara-payi-ngka
DEF(ERG) take time-SERIAL go-PAST.IMPF fall-CHAR-LOC
'She was walking carefully, so as not to fall'

5-78 paluru pakuwiya-ringku-nytja wiya, anku-ringku-payi-ngka
DEF(NOM) rest-INCHO-NOML NEG sleep-INCHO-CHAR-LOC
'He didn't have a spell, so as not to fall asleep'

It is very noticeable of course that the Yankunytjatjara construction does not involve any explicitly aversive, or even negative morpheme, especially since the locative case may not carry an aversive meaning when applied to a simple (non-derived) NP (in contrast to languages like Warrgamay and Dyirbal (Dixon 1980:310)). Aversive meanings of the type illustrated in (5-79) are expressed with the active adjective ngulu 'wary of' (3.4.3), (but compare Pitjantjatjara (5-79iii)).

- 5-79 (i) *mayi-la unngu tju-nu, papa-ngka
 food(ACC)-lpl(ERG) inside put-PAST dog-LOC
 * 'We put the food inside because of dogs, lest the dogs (eat it)'
- (ii) mayi-la unngu tju-nu, papa-ku ngulu-ngku
 food(ACC)-lpl(ERG) inside put-PAST dog-PURP wary-ERG
 'We put the food inside, for fear of the dogs'
- P. (iii) mayi-la unngu tju-nu, papa-ngka tawara
 food(ACC)-lpl(ERG) inside put-PAST dog-LOC AVERSIVE
 'We put the food inside, to keep away from the dogs'

Finally, a note on a possible semantic rationale for the occurrence of the CHARACTERISTIC -payi nominaliser rather than the action/state nominaliser -nytja. The situation or event depicted in an aversive clause is 'irrealis' in status - it has not occurred and may never do so: it is an imagined situation. (In contrast, the circumstantial and post-circumstantial clauses formed with the action/state nominaliser -nytja are 'realis' in status.) Now the characteristic in its other uses as a nominaliser (5.1.3) or as a verbal inflection (6.4.2) also seems associated with 'irrealis' meanings - to say that an activity 'characterises' a person or a period of time is to say, in a sense, that one can readily picture or imagine them as doing it or it happening: the CHARACTERISTIC verb is not used to refer to a specific, real instance.

6.1 FORMAL ANALYSIS

6.1.1 Verb Class

There are four verb classes in Yankunytjatjara, which following Dixon 1980 I call the \emptyset -class, n-class, ng-class and l-class. Verb class membership determines which of four parallel sets of inflectional forms is applicable to a particular verbal lexeme. On a sample of about 1,000 the main membership of the verb class is as follows. The two major classes, \emptyset and l-class, consist almost exclusively of stems containing an even number of morae, and are predominantly intransitive and transitive respectively.

\emptyset -CLASS: (i) At least thirty basic, underived lexemes, all dimoric, about 2/3 of them intransitive, eg intransitive nyina- \emptyset 'sit', ngara- \emptyset 'stand', ngari- \emptyset 'lie', pupa- \emptyset 'crouch', kalpa- \emptyset 'climb on', kulpa- \emptyset 'return', tjarpa- \emptyset 'go into', mira- \emptyset 'shout', ula- \emptyset 'cry', pirtji- \emptyset 'wriggle', yuri- \emptyset 'move'; transitive - wani- \emptyset 'throw away', wanti- \emptyset 'leave alone', warki- \emptyset 'abuse, swear at'; ambi-transitive - kampa- \emptyset 'burn', wangka- \emptyset 'talk, tell', inka- \emptyset 'play, sing/perform song/ceremony'.

(ii) Intransitives derived with the -ri/-ari INCHOative verbaliser, if the derived stem contains an even number of morae (7.2).

(iii) Derived intransitives of sound emission (7.3.2), and a few compounds (7.5.3-4).

l-CLASS: (i) At least 200 basic, underived lexemes, mostly transitive, and all containing an even number of morae, eg transitive - kutja-l 'heat, put on fire', atu-l 'hit with stone, chop', rungka-l 'hit with stick, grind, spin', patja-l 'bite', tjiki-l 'drink', watja-l 'tell, say to', tjuti-l 'pour', pampu-l 'touch', kantu-l 'kick, stamp', pawu-l 'roast, shoot', tjawu-l 'dig', wapa-l 'follow', tjunyi-l 'swish in water (to make dissolve)', waltu-l 'cover', ati-l 'uncover', runyu-l 'crush up', tjapi-l 'ask', ngatji-l 'ask for favour'; di-transitive - walku-l 'address as a relation'; intransitive - paka-l 'get up', kumpi-l 'be concealed', pata-l 'wait for', taa-l 'burst open', panyka-l 'creep up', lurpa-l 'limp', alu-l 'echo', tawu-l 'thunder', urku-l 'roar'. (Notice that most of the l-class intransitives involve motion, or the spontaneous emission of a sound.)

(ii) Causative verbs formed productively by \emptyset -derivation from vowel-final noun and adjective stems with an even number of morae (7.4.1).

(iii) Causatives derived from intransitive verb stems with tjinga-1 CAUSE TO DO (7.4.4).

(iv) Some compounds (7.7) and transitive loan verbs with mila-1 LOAN (7.4.6).

(v) A dozen or so derived intransitives with -ara-1 DECAUS (7.5.1).

Ng-class and n-class stems all contain an odd number of morae. These classes also contain the only monosyllabic lexical roots in the language.

ng-CLASS: (i) Three basic, underived roots all transitive and monomoric, nya-ng 'see', pu-ng 'hit' and yu-ng 'give'.

(ii) At least 50 compounds using pu-ng 'hit', mostly transitive, and a few using nya-ng 'see' (7.7).

(iii) Intransitives formed productively with -ri/ari INCHOative if the derived stem has an odd number of morae (7.2.1).

(iv) A small number of intransitives formed with -ra-ng (7.5.2).

(v) A few apparently basic trimoric stems, as in karala-ng 'wedge into crack' and tjititi-ng 'shiver, shake'.

n-CLASS: (i) Three basic, underived monomoric roots ya-n 'go', tju-n 'put' and ma-n 'pick up'.

(ii) At least 60 compounds formed with tju-n 'put', all transitive (7.7).

(iii) Transitives formed productively by \emptyset -derivation from vowel-final noun and adjective stems having an odd number of morae, and transitives formed from consonant-final noun and adjective stems with an even number of morae by means of -ma-n CAUS (7.4.1).

(iv) A dozen or so other causatives formed with -nta-n HARM (7.4.2) and -lyi (7.4.5).

(v) A few apparently basic trimoric stems, such as uuli-n 'irritate', kuuntja-n 'suck', papula-n 'stare at'.

6.1.2 Inflectional Paradigms

As usual with a complex set of morphological facts, there are various possible analyses of the verb paradigms, depending on the extent to which variation is described as morphologically conditioned, or as

resulting from morphophonemic rules operating on underlying forms. I prefer to keep surface and underlying forms as close as possible, and to admit only morphophonemic rules which are clearly phonologically motivated. Table 6.1 gives the full paradigms for sample verbs of each verb-class. Note that although the n- and ng- classes are illustrated with monomoric lexemes, the paradigms apply uniformly to derived and compound lexemes, with the exception noted in respect of the serial form.

Table 6.1 : Verbal Paradigm for Sample Lexemes of Four Verb Classes

	<u>∅-class</u>	<u>n-class</u>	<u>ng-class</u>	<u>l-class</u>
	wangka- 'talk'	tju- 'put'	pu- 'hit'	patja- 'bit'
IMPERATIVE (PERFECTIVE)	wangka	tju-ra	pu-wa	patja-la
PAST (PERFECTIVE)	wangka-ngu	tju-nu	pu-ngu	patja-nu (but stems ending in i have -nu)
PRESENT	wangka-nyi	tjuna-nyi	punga-nyi	patja-ni (but stems ending in i have -ni)
IMPERATIVE IMPERFECTIVE	wangka-ma	tjuna-ma	punga-ma	patja-nma
PAST IMPERFECTIVE	wangka-ngi	tjuna-ngi	punga-ngi	patja-ningi
FUTURE	wangka-ku	tjunku-ku	pungku-ku	patjal-ku
CHARACTERISTIC ACTION	wangka-payi	tjunku-payi	pungku-payi	patjal-payi
NOMINALISATION	wangka-nytja	tjunku-nytja	pungku-nytja	patja-ntja
SERIAL FORM	wangka-ra	tjunku-la (but di- and polymoric roots have -ra)	pungku-la	patja-ra

The IMP and PAST morphemes each have four morphologically conditioned allomorphs - IMP ∅ / -ra / -wa / -la and PAST -ngu/ -nu/ -ngu / -nu(-nu) added directly to the verb root. Since both inflections are perfective in aspect (6.2.1; 6.3.1), we can say that the root functions

as a 'perfective stem' for all four verb-classes. The 1-class PAST is -nu following a stem-final 1, and -nu elsewhere, eg patjanu 'bit' untunu 'pushed' witinu 'held, grabbed'.

Now consider the PRES, IMP.IMPF and PAST.IMPF forms, noting that the n- and ng-class forms consist of the \emptyset -class suffix (-nyi, -ngi, -ma) added to the root augmented by the syllable -na (for n-class) and -nga (for ng-class).¹ (It is likely that forms like *tjuna and *punga were inflected words in a language ancestral to Western Desert, and the present-day forms result from 'double-marking' (Koch 1981 ms; Evans 1981 ms).)

Because the relevant inflectional categories are all imperfective in aspect (6.2; 6.3.2), we can say that the n- and ng-classes have intermediate, augmented 'imperfective stems'.

The 1-class present, past imperfective and imperative imperfective are best viewed synchronically in terms of allomorpha -ni/-ni PRES (same conditioning as past perfective), -ningi PAST.IMPF and -nma IMP.IMPF, added directly to the root.¹ (The PAST.IMPF is probably a 'remarking' of an old present tense form re-interpreted as an imperfective stem. The IMP.IMPF form is probably historically derived from forms like *kulil-ma > kulinma, but this is not attractive in a synchronic description since lm is a permissible consonant cluster across a morpheme boundary (2.2.2).)

Turning to the future, characteristic and action nominalisation forms, it once again is convenient to recognise an intermediate augmented stem for n- and ng-class lexemes, which I will call the 'neutral stem'. n- and -ng-class neutral stems consist of the root augmented with -nku and -ngku respectively. (It is likely that forms like *tjunku and *pungku were once future, purposive or desiderative inflected forms, re-interpreted as stems and 'remarked'.)

The 1-class verbs also have a claim to a special 'neutral stem' form, involving not a syllabic augment, but a stem-final 'conjugation marker' 1.¹ A strong piece of evidence that the augments are part of the stem is that the neutral stems occur before derivational affixes, as in (6-1), and in one type of negated verb formation (8.1.4) before the NEGative morpheme -wiya, as in (6-2).

6-1 (i)	kulil-kati- \emptyset	listen-PROCESS	'listen while going along'
(ii)	pungku-kati- \emptyset	hit-PROCESS	'hit while going along'
(iii)	manku-kati- \emptyset	pick up-PROCESS	'pick up while going along'
6-2 (1)	kulil-wiya	listen-NEG	'without listening'
(ii)	pungku-wiya	hit-NEG	'without hitting'
(iii)	manku-wiya	pick up-NEG	'without picking up'

The l-class nominalised NOML form could be described either (i) as an allomorph -ntja added directly to the root, or (ii) as the result of a morphophonemic rule operating on the unacceptable cluster *l_ny arising when underlying -nytja NOML is added to the neutral stem eg *kulil-nytja → kulintja. This rule would produce a surface segment with alveolar place of articulation like the first member of the underlying cluster and nasal manner of articulation like its second member. I favour the second analysis since it allows to make the generalisation that suffixes -ku FUT, -payi CHAR and -nytja NOML apply uniformly to the neutral stems of all four verb classes. (This analysis incurs the problem of how to divide words like kulintja for the purposes of interlinear glosses. I do not see any theoretical point hingeing on this, so I have chosen to regard the phoneme n as part of the nominalising suffix for this purpose eg kuli-ntja 'listen-NOML'.)

Finally consider the serial verb-form, noting that for monomeric n-class lexemes it consists of the neutral stem plus -la, but for other n-class lexemes, including compounds based on monomeric lexemes it consists of suffix -ra (identical with the l-class SERIAL suffix) added directly to the root (eg walkatju-ra apply design -SERIAL, pika-nta-ra sick-HARM-SERIAL, unytjun-ma-ra warmth-CAUS-SERIAL). Ng-class serial forms are always based on the neutral stem, plus suffix -la. \emptyset -class serial forms consist of the root plus -ra.

In summary, this analysis describes the verbal paradigm partly in terms of variation in stem form, and partly as allomorphic variation in suffix

form. Depending on verb class, a lexeme may have one, two or three distinct stem-forms. In the absence of an intermediate stem-form, the root serves.

	<u>Neutral Stem</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>Imperfective Stem</u>
∅	wangka-		
l	patjal-	patja-	
n	tjunku-	tju-	tjuna-
ng	pungku-	pu-	punga-

Future, characteristic and nominalising morphemes have single allomorphs.

All Verbs

<u>future</u>	neutral stem + <u>ku</u>
<u>characteristic</u>	neutral stem + <u>payi</u>
<u>action nominalisation</u>	neutral stem + <u>nytja</u>

The imperfective morphemes - present, past imperfective and imperative imperfective - each have two allomorphs, one used with l-class and the other used with the three remaining classes.

	<u>∅, n- and ng-classes</u>	<u>l-class</u>
<u>present</u>	imperfective stem + <u>nyi</u>	root + <u>ni/ni</u>
<u>past imperfective</u>	imperfective stem + <u>ngi</u>	root + <u>ningi</u>
<u>imperative, imperfective</u>	imperfective stem + <u>ma</u>	root + <u>rma</u>

The remaining inflectional morphemes have distinct allomorphs for each verb class. Perfective suffixes (imperative and past) are added directly to the root.

	<u>∅-class</u>	<u>l-class</u>	<u>n-class</u>	<u>ng-class</u>
<u>imperative (perfective)</u>	root + ∅	root + <u>la</u>	root + <u>ra</u>	root + <u>wa</u>
<u>past (perfective)</u>	root + <u>ngu</u>	root + <u>nu/nu</u>	root + <u>nu</u>	root + <u>ngu</u>

The serial suffixes are added to the root, except for ng-class and monomeric n-class where they are added to the neutral stem.

	<u>Ø-class</u>	<u>l-class</u>	<u>n-class</u>	<u>ng-class</u>
<u>serial</u>	root + <u>ra</u>	root + <u>ra</u>	neutral stem + <u>la</u> (if monomoric root) root + <u>ra</u> (otherwise)	neutral stem + <u>la</u>

(Ngara-Ø 'stand' and ngalku-l 'eat' have irregular SERIAL suffix -la, as does the Pitjantjatjara pitja-Ø 'come'.)

6.1.3 Moric Targets

All the basic underived Ø and l-class verbs I have recorded contain an even number of morae, and all the n- and ng-class verbs contain an odd number of morae. With two exceptions (the derivational morphemes -kati-Ø PROCESS (7.6.1) and -mila-l LOAN (7.4.6)), the derivational and compounding processes are arranged so that the same correlation holds between mora parity and verb class. The major productive derivational processes reflect this quite transparently - for instance, an INCHOative verb belongs to the Ø-class if the derived lexeme contains an even number of morae and to the ng-class if it contains an odd number of morae; a Ø-derived transitive verb belongs to the l-class if the lexeme has an even number of morae and to the n-class if it has an odd number of morae. Essentially then the pattern is as follows (though the correlation of verb class with transitivity is weaker than with mora parity).

	<u>even-moraed lexeme</u>	<u>odd-moraed lexeme</u>
<u>intransitive</u>	Ø-class	ng-class
<u>transitive</u>	l-class	n-class

The effect of the odd-moraed verb classes having imperfective and neutral stems augmented by a single mora is that inflected verbs based on these stems have the same mora parity regardless of verb-class. To illustrate, Table 6.2 shows a sample of inflected forms for a number of basic and derived verbs. As the left hand side of the table shows, PREsent and action nominalisation (NOML) verb-forms always contain an odd number of morae - because the suffixes -nyi/-ni PRES and -nytja NOML are monomoric, and they apply to even-moraed stems. The same is true of the other imperfective inflections and the FUTure. CHARacteristic inflected forms always contain an even number of morae because the suffix -payi is dimoric.

The right-hand side of the table shows that uniform mora parity across verb-classes does not apply to inflections which are or may be marked by a suffix added directly to the verb root, as are the perfective IMPerative and PAST, and the SERIAL ending.

Table 6.2 : Some Inflected Forms of a Sample of Basic and Derived Lexemes

	<u>PRESENT</u> (odd number of morae)	<u>action</u> <u>nominalisation</u> NOML (odd number of morae)	<u>CHARACTERISTIC</u> <u>nominalisation</u> (even number of morae)	<u>IMPERATIVE</u>	<u>PAST</u>
<u>Ø-CLASS</u>					
'talk' wangka-Ø	wangkanyi	wangkanytja	wangkapayi	wangka	wangkangu
'what happens?' yaaltji-ri-Ø	yaaltjirinnyi	yaaltjirinnytja	yaaltjiripayi	yaaltjiri	yaaltjiringu
					which way-INCHO
<u>1-CLASS</u>					
'bite' patja-l	patjani	patjantja	patjal-payi	patjala	patjani
'widen' utju-l	utjuni	untjuntja	utjul-payi	utjula	utjuni
					wide
<u>n-CLASS</u>					
'put' tju-n	tjunanyi	tjunkunytja	tjunkupayi	tjura	tjuni
'narrow' kantilya-n	kantilyananyi	kantilyankunytja	kantilyankupayi	kantilyara	kantilyanu
					narrow
'warm up' unytjun-ma-n	unytjunmananyi	unytjunmankunytja	unytjunmankupayi	unytjunmara	unytjunmanu
					warm-CAUS
<u>ng-CLASS</u>					
'hit' pu-ng	punganyi	pungkunytja	pungkupayi	puwa	pungu
'be afraid' ngulu-ri-ng	nguluringanyi	nguluringkunytja	nguluringkupayi	nguluriwa	nguluringu
					fearful-INCHO

6.2 THE PRESENT AND PAST TENSES

6.2.1 The Past Tenses

The -ngu/-nu/-nu(-nu) PAST forms and the -ngi/-ningi PAST.IMPF forms both ambiguously locate an event at a time prior to the speech-act, but differ in aspect, ie in the way they present the internal structure or "temporal constituency of a situation." The perfective PAST forms present (Comrie 1976:3) "the totality of a situation referred to .. without reference to its internal temporal constituency: the whole of the situation is presented as a single unanalysable whole, with beginning, middle and end rolled into one", whereas the imperfective past (PAST.IMPF) forms do make reference to, or draw attention to, the internal structure or temporal constituency of the event. Imperfective aspect presents an event 'from the inside', rather than from without, as a complete whole.

The difference is, as Comrie notes (1976:4), "not necessarily an objective difference between situations" but rather a difference in the way the speaker views, or presents, a situation. (Cf also Chung and Timberlake (to appear).)

To clarify the perfective/imperfective distinction, consider the following examples from narrative texts, in which both aspectual types occur. Here we see the imperfective past used to present a background frame inside which subsequent events depicted by the perfective occur. As Comrie notes, this is a natural use for imperfective aspect, since the definition of imperfectivity entails that the event depicted is not viewed as complete in itself.

6-3 kaa kapi paluru ngalya-yana-ngi munu
 CONTR water DEF(NOM) this way-go-PAST.IMPF ADD

 ila-ringku-la pulka punka-nu
 close-INCHO-SERIAL big fall-PAST

 'And the rain came(impf) this way and when it got close
 fell heavily'

6-4 kaa wati kutjupa tjuta kuka ngalku-la(2)
CONTR man different many(NOM) meat(ACC) eat-SERIAL(2)

ngari-ra wani-ngi wiya-ngka-palku
lie-SERIAL throw-PAST.IMPF nothing-LOC-NOT REALLY

kaa wati wanampi kungka wanampi
CONTR man water-snake woman water-snake

ngalya-kulpa-ngi ngura walytja,
this way-return-PAST.IMPF camp owner(NOM)

ngalya-kulpa-ra(2) panti-nu
this way-return SERIAL(2) smell-PAST

'And a mob of other man were lying scattered around(impf) eating meat, mistakenly thinking they were nowhere special. But the water-snake man and water-snake woman were coming back(impf), the owners of the place. (They) came back and smelt (them)'

6-5 wanampi nyara-tja kunyu
water-snake(ACC) over there-EVIDENT QUOT

maa-punga-ngi wati-kulpa-nytja-la maa-pungku-la
away-hit-PAST.IMPF across-return-NOML-LOC away-hit-SERIAL

kaa titu-ra wana-lta
CONTR do unexpectedly-SERIAL digging stick(NOM)-AND THEN

nyanga-tja katakati-ngu
this-EVIDENT break-PAST

'The story goes, (she) was hitting at that water-snake over there as he went past; hitting, and unexpectedly this digging stick here broke in two'

The second main use of the imperfective is in 'direct speech' reporting of acts of speech and cognition. In this, the most common means in Yankunytjatjara of reporting speech, the speaker as it were 'reproduces' the original speech act, distinguishing it by a change of voice quality and higher pitch. Imperfective aspect is natural here because reproducing the original speech-act strongly implies directing attention to its 'internal structure' or 'internal temporal constituency': by personally showing or modelling the reported speech-act, the speaker presents it 'from the inside'.

6-6 kaa Kunmanara-lu watja-ningi "wiya,
 CONTR Kunmanara-ERG NAME say-PAST.IMPF no

ngayulu ngurpa"
 lsg(NOM) ignorant(NOM)

'But Kunmanara said(impf) "No, I don't know"'

6-7 ngayulu tjapi-ningi "ini pala-ngka ngara-nyl?"
 lsg(ERG) ask-PAST.IMPF name(NOM) just here-LOC stand-PRES
 'I asked(impf) "Is (my) name on that (list)?"'

Use of the imperfective past with 'direct speech' reporting is not an absolute rule however. Sometimes a perfective verb is used, as in (6-8) and (6-9). Though there are some exceptions, there is a clear tendency for longer, more complex and less perfunctory direct quotes to be associated with an imperfective verb of report, and conversely for short, perfunctory remarks to be reported with a perfective verb. There is no instance in my present corpus of a single word utterance being reported with an imperfective verb.

6-8 kaa watja-nu "palya"
 CONTR say-PAST good
 'And (she) said "O.K."'

6-9 kaa watja-nu "wiya, ngayulu tjitji" paluru
 CONTR say-PAST no lsgNOM child(NOM) DEF(NOM)
 ngara-la wangka-ngi
 stand-SERIAL talk-PAST.IMPF

'And (she) said "No, I'm a child". She kept on saying (impf) it'

Certain types of speech-act can be reported by means of subordinate clause constructions rather than by direct 'quote', and overwhelmingly the verb of report in such sentences eg (5-43), (5-44), (5-34), (5-35), (3-41), is perfective. The subordinate clause, a purposive or intentive complement (5.3.4, 5.3.3), does not of course purport to reproduce the actual words used; perfective aspect is semantically natural because speaking in this way, one is not interested in the internal structure of the speech event being reported, but in summarising its content as a whole.

Occasionally the choice of imperfective or perfective aspect implies a different interpretation of the objective situation being described. The per-

fective verb in (6-10i) presents the event as a complete whole, suggesting that a single large fire was lit more or less quickly. The imperfective verb in (6-10ii), by directing attention to the internal structure of the event being depicted, implies that it was distributed in time and/or space - for instance, lighting a lot of small fires (as (6-10ii) actually meant in context) or spending some time lighting a widely distributed blaze eg 'firing' a tract of grassland.

6-10 (i) wati tjuta-ngku waru pulka kala-nu
 man many-ERG fire big(ACC) light-PAST
 'The men lit a big fire'

(ii) wati tjuta-ngku waru pulka kala-ningi
 man many-ERG fire big(ACC) light-PAST.IMPF
 'The man lit lots of fires/a lot of fire'

6.2.2 The Present (non-past) Tense

This form of the verb depicts an event as present (on-going), as in (6-11), or certain to occur,² as in (6-12). Describing an event as on-going strongly implies imperfectivity: it is difficult to view an on-going event as a totality (perfective) because it has not been completed. As Comrie (1976:66) says "since the present tense is used to describe rather than to narrate, it is essentially imperfective".

6-11 kungka-ngku tina kutja-ni
 woman-ERG lunch(ACC) put to fire-PRES
 'The woman is cooking lunch'

6-12 tjintu-ngka-na Intalka-ku yana-nyi
 sun-LOC-1sg(NOM) Indulkana-PURP go-PRES
 'Tomorrow I'm going to Indulkana'

The present is also used to make universal or generic statements, as in (6-13) and (6-14).

6-13 kapi watja-ni yanku-nytja-tjara-ngku
 water say-PRES go-NOML- HAVING-ERG
 '(One) says kapi(water) in Yankunytjatjara' (as opposed to Pitjantjatjara mina 'water')

6-14 wama ngari-nyi waputi unturuntu-la
 sweet.liquid(NOM) 11e-PRES T. Maisonneuvii flower-LOC
 'Nectar is (to be found) in the flowers of the desert
 thryptomene (a scrub)'

6.3 THE IMPERATIVE MOODS

6.3.1 The Perfective Imperative

The main use of the perfective IMPerative is to issue instructions and make forthright requests, as in (6-15) - (6-17).

6-15 waru waltu-la
 fire(ACC) cover up-IMP
 'Cover up the fire' (eg with earth)

6-16 wanyu-ya kanmar-ari kutu
 JUST LET-3pl(NOM) quiet-INCHO(IMP) really
 'Come on, quieten down'

6-17 kungka malany, mayi yu-wa
 woman junior sibling food(ACC) give-IMP
 'Young sister, give (me) some food'

The imperative is also frequently used with first person subjects, either in hortative contexts (where it most readily translated with the English locution 'let's'...) as in (6-18), or as if the speaker is addressing him or herself, as in (6-19) and (6-20).

6-18 ya-ra-li
 go-IMP-1du(NOM)
 'Let's go'

6-19 "wanti, kaa-na nyara-ngka tju-ra
 leave off(IMP) CONTR-1sg(ERG) over there-LOC put-IMP
 piyuku"
 again
 'Leave off! I should put it over there again'
 (woman in a story deciding to move her fireplace)

6-20 wanyu-na wana-la-r
 JUST LET-1sg(ERG) follow-IMP-EMOT
 'I should just follow it!'

The imperative is also used in a range of other speech-acts, including offers (6-21), taunts (6-22), mockery (6-23) and exclamations of delight (9-18) - (9-21). (6-22) occurs in a Dreaming story text describing an encounter between a willy-wagtail woman and a water-snake. The bird woman is about to fly off and escape. Just as she does so she taunts the water-snake to follow her, using the imperative (much as is possible in English). (6-23) occurred in a text as a mocking response to a boastful remark about what a competent hunter the speaker was.

6-21 kaa Iliyata-nya wangka-ngu "uwa, palya, ngayu-ku
 CONTR Elliot-NOM NAME talk-PAST yes good lsg-GEN

 yuta-ngka ya-ra "
 ute-LOC go-IMP

'And Elliot said "Sure, you go in my ute (vehicle)''

6-22 munu paluru watja-nu "munta wana-ra-tja
 ADD DEF(ERG) say-PAST SORRY follow-SERIAL-lsgACC

 patja-la.. nyaa-ngka pala-tja-n pulka
 bite-IMP.. what-LOC this just-EVIDENT-2sg(NOM) big

 mula "
 true(NOM)

'And she said "Well, follow and bite me, if you're as great as (all) that''

6-23 malu waka-la pala-ngku kuwari yanku-la
 'roo(ACC) spear-IMP this just here-ERG now go-SERIAL
 '(So) go spear a kangaroo now!'

(Note that (6-23) has a third person subject pala-ngku this just here-ERG . Presumably this reflects the fact that mocking is a public activity: ostensibly one addresses one's remarks to the others present rather than to the person who is the object of the mockery. Thus, even in social interaction the Yankunytjatjara imperative may have first, second or third person subjects.)

The IMPerative is also used in dramatic or 'made up' narratives, where the speaker is relating a series of events that could or might happen (see eg Text 6). My impression is that this device adds 'vividness' in some sense, like the use of the narrative present tense in English. Notice that, consistent with the perfective aspect, the events depicted in (6-24) are either punctual, or presented from the point of view of their result.

6-24 kaa pit_i ila-ri-wa, kuka rapita
 CONTR hole(NOM) close-INCHO-IMP meat rabbit(ACC)
 wan_ikati, munu kul_pa, kul_pa-ra pit_i
 leave behind(IMP) ADD return(IMP) return-SERIAL hole(ACC)
 nya-wa munu "pit_i ila, alatji
 see-IMP ADD "hole(NOM) close(NOM), like this
 kul_pa-nytja-ku"
 return-NOML-PURP

'And the burrow gets close. (It) leaves the rabbit, and goes back, and sees (it's) burrow, and (thinks) "The burrow's close, so I can come back like this"'

6.3.2 The Imperfective Imperative

This inflection is the imperfective counterpart of the perfective IMPerative. Its main use is to give instructions and make requests. It is obligatory where the nature of the action requested or ordered is extended in time as in (6-25), but it can also be used in place of the perfective IMPerative, as in (6-26) - (6-28) with a less pressing, more polite effect, presumably because it implies less attention to the result or completion of the action in question. (Note that the imperfective imperative verbs in (6-27) and (6-28) could be used to mean 'keep on carrying' and 'keep on talking' but were recorded in situations where the gloss provided was appropriate. See also (5-21).)

6-25 nyina-ma
 sit-IMP.IMPF
 'Stay (there)!'

6-26 mayi yunga-ma
 food(ACC) give-IMP.IMPF
 'Give me some food'

6-27 nyuntu kutjara kati-ma
 2sg(ERG) two(ACC) take-IMP.IMPF
 'You carry two' (slabs of mulga)

6-28 wangka-ma puriny kutu
 talk-IMP.IMPF slowly really(NOM)
 'Talk really slowly'

Sentences introduced by uti SHOULD (9.2.5) usually have imperfective verbs - see also (9-69) and (9-70).

- 6-29 uti wangka yankunytjatjara tjuna-ma
 SHOULD talk Yankunytjatjara(ACC) put-IMP.IMPF

 nyiri-ngka
 paper-LOC

 '(They) should put down Yankunytjatjara language on paper'

It is also used in a range of other speech-acts, including expressions of hope (6-30), and counterfactual 'wishes' (6-31) and (6-32).

- 6-30 tjinguru-la malu kutjupa
 MAYBE-1pl(ERG) kangaroo another(ACC)

 nyakukati-ma
 see while going along-IMP.IMPF

 'Maybe we'll see another kangaroo as we go along'
- 6-31 uu ngayulu mutaka nyanga-puriny kanyi-nma
 um lsg(ERG) car this-SIMILAR(ACC) possess-IMP.IMPF
 'Umm, would I had a car like this' (expensive car pictured
 in a magazine)
- 6-32 makati-nti-na kati-ma!
 rifle(ACC)-MAYBE-lsg(ERG) bring-IMP.IMPF
 'Oh, if only I'd brought my rifle' (eg on seeing emus
 while driving)

Like the perfective imperative, the imperfective imperative is sometimes used in dramatic or 'made up' narratives with a 'vivid' effect. Comparing (6-33) with (6-24) from the same text, it is clear that the perfective imperative is used for events which are punctual, or being presented from the point of view of their results, and imperfective imperative where the events are prolonged, extended or incomplete. (See also (5-3) and (8-65).)

- 6-33 kaa paluru katu ngari-ma, putu
 CONTR DEF(NOM) above lie-IMP.IMPF IN VAIN
- waawani-ma kaa paluru katu
 jump up on hind legs-IMP.IMPF CONTR DEF(NOM) above
- ngari-ma, ngari-ra(2) ngalku-nma
 lie-IMP.IMPF lie-SERIAL(2) eat-IMP.IMPF
- 'And (the quoll) lies up above (a tree). (Dogs) couldn't
 rear up (and get the meat). (The quoll) would be up there
 and eat'

6.4 THE FUTURE AND CHARACTERISTIC

6.4.1 Future

The FUTURE suffix -ku implies that an event is possible or likely, but not certain. As mentioned earlier, the PRESENT suffix is used for future events which are more or less certain.³

- 6-34 kapi-ngku puyil-ku
 water-ERG chill-FUT
 'It might rain'
- 6-35 malu-la nyaku-ku
 kangaroo(ACC)-lpl(ERG) see-FUT
 'We might see a kangaroo'

The contrast between future (uncertain) and present (certain) is nicely illustrated in exchanges like the following.

- 6-36 kuka tjuni ngana-lu pawul-ku? (reply) ngayulu
 meat guts(ACC) who-ERG NAME roast-FUT lsg(ERG)
- pawu-ni
 roast-PRES
- 'Who might cook the guts (of kangaroo)?' (reply) 'I'm
 roasting them' (= I'll do it)

The future verb form is used to make suggestions, as in (6-37), (4-181), (4-191) and (10-13). It is also routinely used to issue warnings, as in (6-38) and (6-39).

6-37 pala-ngka-li ngura tjunku-ku
 just here-LOC-1du(ERG) camp(ACC) put-FUT
 'We might set up camp just there' (suggestion)

6-38 wanatjiti-lu patjal-ku-nta
 centipede-ERG bite-FUT-2sgACC
 'The centipede might bite you'

6-39 wiya, nyanytju-ngku patal-ku
 no horse-ERG shake off-FUT
 'No, the horse might throw (you)'

6.4.2 Characteristic

The function of the CHARACTERISTIC suffix -payi as a verbal inflection is to cite a particular action or activity as characteristic of a subject, especially to describe habits and customs. It is 'irrealis' because it does not present or depict an individual event: it presents an image of a subject performing an action, as typical of that subject.⁴ Note that the CHARACTERISTIC suffix may also function as a nominaliser (5.1.3). There is no inherent time reference involved in the use of the characteristic suffix. The activity may be understood to have been characteristic or typical of the past only (6-41), or to apply in the present day as well (6-40).

6-40 piiwiya-ringku-la paluru ngunytji
 feel shame/respect-INCHO-SERIAL DEF(ERG) false
 wanti-payi
 leave off-CHAR
 'A son-in-law, because he's shy and respectful, pretends to leave it (gift from father-in-law)'

6-41 wati ngangkar_i-ngku kutju ngangkarinku -payi kaa
 man healer-ERG only heal-CHAR CONTR
 takuta-la kuli-ntja wiya
 doctor(ACC)-1pl(ERG) hear-NOML NEG
 '(In the old days) only healers used to heal, and we didn't know doctors'

6-42 mungawayuru... makaly-tja kalpa-ra nyina-payi
 possum(NOM) hollow branch-LOC climb-SERIAL sit-CHAR

 maratju-ra witi-ntja wiya, mara patjal-payi
 put hand in-SERIAL grab-NOML NEG hand(ACC) bite-CHAR

 palu kultul-payi-lta katji-ngka
 BUT OF COURSE run through-CHAR-AND THEN spear-LOC

'The possum... climbs and lives (sits) in a hollow branch.
 (One) doesn't put a hand in and grab, they bite. Just
 run them through with a spear'

6.5 VERB SERIALISATION

6.5.1 Introduction

Foley and Van Valin (in press: chap 5) define serial verb constructions as "constructions in which verbs sharing a common core argument are merely juxtaposed with no complementisers or intervening conjunctions", noting that "they are common in many languages, especially those of West Africa, Southeast and East Asia and New Guinea". (See also Schachter 1974, Foley and Olson 1981ms.) The typologically most common restrictions on serial verb constructions are that all the verbs require a single subject NP which occurs only once prior to all of them, and that there should be identity of tense/mood over the entire string (Olson 1981:161). A glance at almost any text will show that serial verb constructions are near-ubiquitous in Yankunytjatjara discourse.

Serialisation is however, not accomplished by simple juxtaposition of verb stems, as in most serialising languages (Foley and Van Valin (in press: chap 5)). According to verb class, every Yankunytjatjara verbal lexeme has a 'serial form' composed of the simple or neutral stem and a SERIAL suffix (6.1.2). With one exception described in 6.5.2, clauses containing serial verb forms always contain a single finite (ie tense/mood inflected) or nominalised verb, which determines the tense/mood of the clause as a whole.

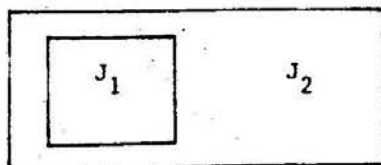
In a clause containing serial verbs sharing a common subject but differing in transitivity, the question arises - which verb determines the case of the subject? In most serial constructions the finite verb has this privilege and deserves the label 'main verb'. There is however a restricted set of 'periphrastic' constructions in which the finite verb acts as an auxiliary-like modifier of a serial verb form (6.5.4), and here

the serial verb determines the case of the subject.

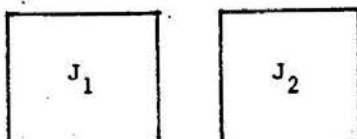
In Yankunytjatjara, as in many languages, it is possible to group serial verb constructions into two main categories, contrasting in the closeness or tightness of the semantic and syntactic bond between the elements involved. In 'loose' serialisation each verb may have arguments and modifiers peculiar to itself, forming a kind of 'verb phrase'. Phrases of this type are often set off from one another by pause and intonation, and it is possible to insert intervening material between them (6.5.2). In 'tight' serialisations the verbs cannot be separated from one another by intervening material, are pronounced in a single intonation group, and (arguably) form a single complex predicate sharing all arguments and modifiers. Tight serialisation can be further divided into periphrastic (6.5.4-5) and non-periphrastic (6.5.3). A fourth type of serial verb in Yankunytjatjara are a small number of 'adverbals' (6.5.6).

As a descriptive framework for the following discussion I will use the theory of clausal structure and linkage proposed in Foley and Van Valin (in press) and Foley and Olson (1981ms), which was developed in part specifically to accommodate serial verb constructions. Aside from the traditionally recognised categories of clause linkage, coordination and subordination, these writers distinguish a third type of syntactic linkage or nexus that can occur between or within clauses - co-subordination (Olson 1981). In subordination, one of the juncts is embedded in the other - "they are in part-whole relationship, with the subordinate junct functioning as part of the superordinate junct. Consequently, subordinate nexus results in a compound unit".⁵ In coordinate nexus, "neither junct is embedded in the other, and the two do not form a composite unit". In co-subordinate nexus "neither junct is embedded in the other ...and yet they do form a composite unit" (Foley and Van Valin (in press): chap 5). Olson 1981 expressed this diagrammatically as follows.

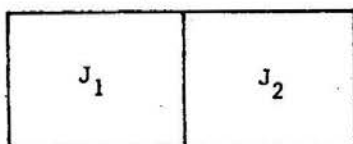
(a) Subordination: + embedded; + composite unit



(b) Coordination - embedded; - composite unit



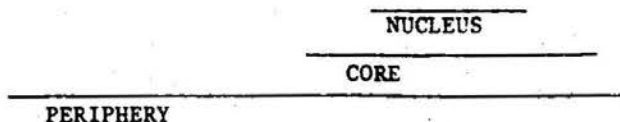
(c) Co-subordination: - embedded; + composite unit



Foley, Van Valin and Olson also advance a tripartite division of clausal units. Foley and Van Valin (in press: chap 5): "The innermost layer of the clause is the nucleus. It corresponds to a predicate, usually a verb. The core layer consists of the nuclear layer plus the core arguments of the verb ...the outermost layer ...the peripheral layer consists of the core plus all other constituents of the clause ...(such as) oblique NPs like effector-themes or locatives". Crucial to this three layer account of clausal structure is the claim that each layer is characterised by a distinct set of syntactic-semantic operators which "have as the domain of their scope the corresponding layer. They are not constituents of the layer, but are operators over the entire layer". Aspect for instance is claimed to be a nuclear level operator, modality a core level operator, and 'illocutionary force', tense (time reference) and status (the 'realis-irrealis' continuum) peripheral layer operators.

Summary of the Layered Structure of the Clause
(Foley & Van Valin (in press))

(ILLOC FORCE(TENSE(STATUS[Loc..Inst(MODALITY[S/A O(ASPECT[Predicate]]))]))))

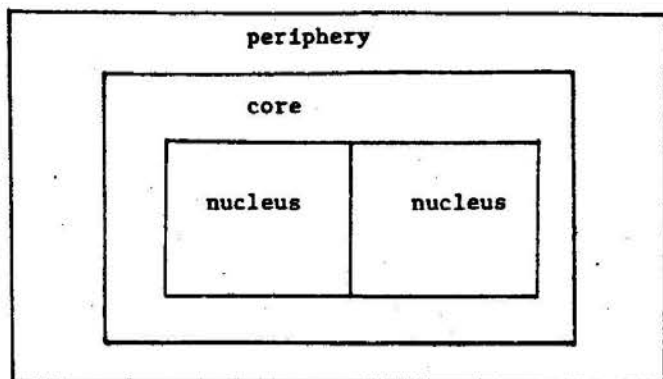


- MODALITY = root modals, e.g. obligation, ability
- STATUS = realis-irrealis continuum, including epistemic modals
- [...] = Constituents
- (...) = OPERATORS

The type of syntactic linkage (nexus) at a particular layer of juncture is determined firstly by whether or not there is embedding, and if there is not, by whether the junct share the relevant operators at that level. Foley and Van Valin (in press: chap 6): "Whether a juncture results in a composite unit or not is determined solely by reference to the operators over the level of juncture; for example, in a non-embedded peripheral juncture, compositeness is only with respect to the peripheral operators of illocutionary force, status and tense."

Restricting ourselves to clause linkage units at the same layer of juncture, the "unmarked pattern of clause linkage", there are nine logically possible juncture-nexus combinations, since there are three layers of juncture and three types of nexus. To determine which occur in any individual language requires examining restrictions on constituents within and between junct (to establish level of juncture), and a detailed study of operators, and in particular how they apply over linked junct (to establish nexus type). Though Foley and Van Valin claim that some operator types are universally or necessarily particular to certain levels of juncture, they make it clear that any given language will have many more operators whose level of application may be somewhat language-specific. In Yankunytjatjara, aside from tense/mood, status and aspect, operators in this sense would include free particles (like kunyu QUOT 'it is said' and uti 'SHOULD, clear'), modification by active adjectives, adverbs of various types, the pre-verbal 'IN VAIN' adverb putu, negation, and the directional prefixes. I have not completed a detailed survey of how these operators apply over linked junct, and the following discussion is therefore necessarily somewhat superficial and tentative.

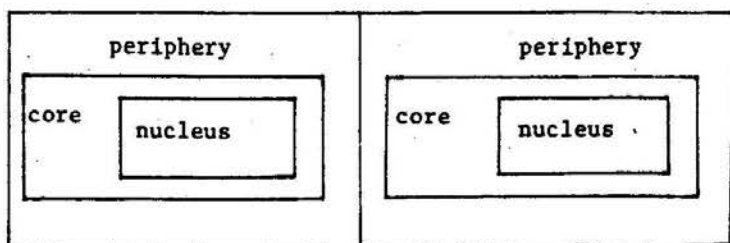
Non-periphrastic tight serialisations are fairly clearly nuclear level junctures, with the two verbs forming a complex predicate, with a single set of arguments and modifiers. (Cf Foley and Van Valin : "extensive nuclear junctures are a wide-spread feature of verb-final serialising languages".) They are probably co-subordinate in nexus type, though the evidence for this, which has to do with directional prefixes, is rather weak. Semantically, the construction depicts a 'compound action'.



Tight serialisation is also found in periphrastic constructions, where the serial verb determines the case of the subject, and the finite verb acts as an aspect-like operator. Foley and Van Valin cite similar examples from Lakhota, Fijian and Yoruba, and assert that they "are not verbs in a nuclear juncture, but rather an aspectual operator realised by a verb stem".⁶

Loose serialisation in Yankunytjatjara is fairly obviously co-subordinate nexus at the peripheral level, since the verbs may have separate temporal and locative arguments, yet share a single tense/mood/status value signalled by the main verb. Semantically this construction presents a series or combination of distinct actions by a single subject, culminating in some sense in that depicted by the main verb.

Foley and Van Valin note that "co-subordinate peripheral junctures ... with switch-reference morphology are a common feature of many language families, especially those with verb-final word order".



Finally, note that according to Foley and Van Valin's cross-linguistic survey of clause linkage types, the Yankunytjatjara serial constructions are somewhat unusual in that the same marking (ie the SERIAL suffixes) are used in both peripheral and nuclear junctures, violating their claim that "the degree of morphological marking is always less for nuclear junctures ...than for peripheral".

6.5.2 Peripheral Serialisation

This is the loosest type of serialisation in Yankunytjatjara. There is always the possibility of a pause after each verb, represented in the examples by a comma. Any number of verbs may be strung together in this way as long as they represent consecutive or simultaneous actions by a single subject. There may in addition be the implication of causality, as in (6-46), (6-47). Peripheral serialisation is much used in narration to recapitulate the preceding action.

(6-43) and (6-44) are clear instances of juncture at the peripheral layer because, although the junct share a single actor/subject NP, they contain independent peripheral arguments and time qualifiers. For instance, in (6-43) the verb ngari-ra lie-SERIAL has the locational argument Mimili-la 'at Mimili' to itself, while the following main verb has the time qualifier mungawinki 'in the morning', and the purposive NP Intalka-ku-(lta) 'to Indulkana'.

6-43 munu-li Mimili-la ngari-ra, mungawinki
 ADD-1du(NOM) Mimili-LOC NAME lie-SERIAL morning
 maa-yana-nyi, Intalka-ku-lta
 away-go-PRES, Indulkana-PURP-AND THEN
 'And having slept at Mimili, in the morning we'll go off
 to Indulkana'

6-44 apu panta-wanu ngalya-wala-ringku-la, tjarpa-ngu
 rock lap-PERL(NOM) this way-fast-INCHO-SERIAL enter-PAST
 nyanga palu-la
 this DEF-LOC
 '(The birds) having sped this way along the side of the
 hill (and) entered, came into right here'

Given the possibility of a pause separating the serial verb and the main verb, it is perhaps not surprising that this construction may also occur with the main verb preceding, and the serial verb following.

6-45 wati-ngku malu waka-nu, ngura-ku kulpa-ra
 man-ERG kangaroo(ACC) spear-PAST camp-PURP return-SERIAL
 'The man speared a kangaroo, returning to camp'

6-46 papa pala mira-nyi, walytja putu
 dog(NOM) just there cry out-PRES owner(ACC) IN VAIN
 nyaku-la
 see-SERIAL
 'That dog is crying out, not being able to see (his) owner'

6-47 paluru pikatjara-ri-ngu, kapi kuya tjiki-ra
 DEF(NOM) sick-INCHO-PAST water bad(ACC) drink-SERIAL
 'She got sick, having drunk bad water'

Of course it is not the case that each and every peripheral juncture serial verb has distinct arguments and modifiers. For instance, in (6-48) the various verbs share not only subject, but also object, and only the final, finite verb has an overt peripheral argument peculiar to itself. But because all the verbs are followed by a pause, and because it is possible to insert distinct peripheral arguments, they are clearly joined at the peripheral layer of juncture.

6-48 karingana atu-ra, yuru-ra,
 mint bush(ACC) chop-SERIAL liquify-SERIAL
 kaputu-ra, kata-ngka tjunku-payi
 make into a wad-SERIAL head-LOC put-CHAR
 '(One) chops up the mint bush, liquifies it, makes it
 into a wad (and) puts it on the head'

Another characteristic of peripheral (as opposed to nuclear) level of juncture is that the verbs may have distinct objects, if they are transitive. Sometimes, as in (6-49) and (9-49), several object NPs all occur explicitly, but usually one or more is omitted, as in (6-50). (6-49) describes the traditional use of a certain type of grass kutau as a sort of shade hat while on the hunt.

6-49 munu kapi-lta tjiki-ra, kutanu palu-nya
 ADD water(ACC)-AND THEN drink-SERIAL grass sp. DEF-ACC

kata-ngka tjunku-la, kulyakulya-ra, kata karpi-ra,
 head-LOC put-SERIAL sprinkle-SERIAL head(ACC) bind-SERIAL

kulpa-payi
 return-CHAR

'And having drunk some water, and put the grass on the head, sprinkling (one's self), (one) binds (it to) the head and returns'

In (6-50) the object of atu-ra chop-SERIAL is understood to be kali 'boomerang' distinct from the object of wanikatingu 'left behind', which is payila 'a file', but both have been established in the preceding discourse, and therefore do not occur on the surface.

6-50 wati-mpa, payila panya-na kawali-nu
 man-INTEREST file(ACC) ANAPH-lsg(ERG) lose-PAST

kaa-na atu-ra(2), watanku-ngku wanikati-ngu
 CONTR-lsg(ERG) chop-SERIAL unthinking-ERG leave behind-PAST

 'Well man, I lost that file. I was chopping out (a boomerang) and unthinkingly left it behind'

The rules of peripheral serialisation as described so far require two minor, but interesting, qualifications.

(1) The co-referentiality constraint between main and serial verb subjects may be satisfied by partial co-referentiality - in (6-51) the main verb subject referentially includes the serial subject, whereas in (6-52) and (6-53) (where the subject is an 'inclusive' NP (4.2.1)) the converse holds.

6-51 wanyu-na wapar walkatju-ra
 JUST LET-lsg(ERG) story(ACC) write-SERIAL

wiya-ringku-la-mpa, ngali-lta
 nothing-INCHO-SERIAL-INTEREST ldu(NOM)-AND THEN

yana-nyi-lta, mutaka-ngka-lta
 go-PRES-AND THEN car-LOC-AND THEN

 'Just let me finish writing, and then we'll go (together) in the car'

6-52 nyuntu nganana yanku-la, ngayulu nyuntu-la
 2sg(NOM) 1pl(NOM) go-SERIAL 1sg(ERG) 2sg-LOC

watja-nma

say-IMP.IMPF

'(If) you and we were going (together), I would tell it to you' (a message to convey to my father-in-law)

6-53 kaa mama-ngku kuri atuny-mana-nyi,
 CONTR father-ERG spouse(ACC) safe-CAUS-PRES

iti-tjara-ringku-la pula

baby-HAVING-INCHO-SERIAL 3du(NOM)

'And the father looks after (his) wife, when the two of them come to have a baby'

(2) There is one type of exception to the rule that a clause containing a serial verb must contain a finite verb. In (6-54) and (6-55) we see clauses with serial forms alone, followed immediately by the CONTRastive connective kaa (9.1.3). A check of texts reveals that in such cases the first clause always depicts an activity in progress while the action depicted in the second clause takes place. There are similar examples at (6-5) and (9-5).

6-54 (i) munu ngalya-murukati-ra paluru ngara-la
 ADD this way-walk backwards-SERIAL DEF(ERG) stand-SERIAL

yalti-ra kaa kungka paluru
 call over-SERIAL CONTR woman DEF(NOM)

ngalya-kulpa-ngi
 this way-return-PAST.IMPF

'He was walking backwards this way calling (her) over, and the woman was coming this way'

(ii) kaa paluru ngalya-yanku-la kaa nyanga-tja
 CONTR DEF(NOM) this way-go-SERIAL CONTR this-EVIDENT

ngalya-nyinakati-ngu
 this way-sit down-PAST

'And she was coming this way and (he) sat down facing her'

6-55 munu-la wana-ra tjarpa-ra
 ADD-1pl(ERG) follow-SERIAL enter-SERIAL
 pati-kutu-ra kaa warara-ngka
 closed-towards-SERIAL CONTR cliff-LOC
 maa-maa-kalpa-ngi malu tjuṯa
 away-away-climb-PAST.IMPF 'roo many(NOM)

'..And we were following them as we arrived, driving them toward an enclosed place, and (they) were scrambling up the cliffs, the kangaroos'

6.5.3 Nuclear Serialisation

"A nuclear level juncture is a construction with a complex nucleus. It is a single unit, and all core and peripheral arguments must be shared equally by all verbs in the nucleus" (Foley and Van Valin (in press: chap 5)). Nuclear level serialisations show a much tighter syntactic and semantic bond than the peripheral level junctures described in the previous section. Where a peripheral serialisation presents a series or combination of distinct but related actions, a nuclear serialisation presents a single 'compound action'. At most two verbs may be joined into a single nuclear serialisation, and they must be pronounced in a single intonation group - there is no possibility of separating them with a pause, or any intervening material. Several features of nuclear serialisation are illustrated in (6-56) and (6-57).

In (6-56i) there is nuclear juncture between an intransitive motion verb yanku-la go-SERIAL and a transitive finite verb ura-nu 'took'. The object nyinyii 'zebra finch' occurs preceding both verbs, and there is no possibility of inserting it between the verbs without breaking the predicate into two intonation groups (which amounts to changing the level of juncture).

6-56 (i) paluru nyinyii yanku-la ura-nu
 DEF(ERG) zebra finch(ACC) go-SERIAL get-PAST
 'She went and got zebra finch (droppings)

(ii) paluru yanku-la, nyinyii ura-nu
 DEF(ERG) go-SERIAL zebra finch(ACC) get-PAST
 'Having gone, she got zebra finch'

Serialisations like (6-56i), which combine transitive and intransitive verbs, might seem at first to violate the stricture that at nuclear level

of juncture all core and peripheral arguments are shared equally. And in one sense nyinyii 'zebra finch' in (6-56) is an argument only of the transitive verb in the serial construction; but in terms of its position it behaves as though it were the object of a pair of serialised verbs. Foley and Van Valin (in press: chap 5): "The core layer relates to the nucleus as a whole, so when the nucleus is complex, the core arguments are a function of the whole nucleus, not any particular verb within it". Similarly, in (6-57) the locative NP Maudie-ku ngura-ngka 'at Maudie's place' in some sense modifies only the finite verb ngari-ngu 'slept at', but syntactically it behaves as an argument of the serial construction as a whole, either preceding or following both verbs. (See Olson 1981 for extensive discussion of nuclear level serialisation between transitive and intransitive verbs in Barai.)

6-57 (i) ngayulu yanku-la ngari-ngu, Maudie-ku ngura-ngka
 lsg(NOM) go-SERIAL lie-PAST Maudie-GEN place-LOC
 'I went and stayed at Maudie's place'

(ii) ngayulu Maudie-ku ngura-ngka yanku-la ngari-ngu
 lsg(NOM) Maudie-GEN place-LOC go-SERIAL lie-PAST
 'I went and stayed at Maudie's place'

(6-58) and (6-59) show tight serialisation involving two transitive verbs with a common object (as well as common subject). Note that a clause containing a tight serialisation can be nominalised and embedded as a main verb argument (6-58) (where the nominalisation katji kuwari karpira tjunkunytja 'a spear bound (and) put (aside) today' is the object of the serial pair nyakula wantima 'see (and) leave alone = ignore'), or act as a base for subordinate constructions like the circumstantial clause in (6-59).

6-58 wiya, palya-na watarku-ngku warki-nyi, kati-ra
 no good-lsg(ERG) heedless-ERG abuse-PRES take-SERIAL
 katantanku-nya-ngka
 break-NOML-LOC

'No, it's all right for me to abuse (him) without thinking about it, because he took and broke (it)'

6-59 katji kuwari karpí-ra tjunku-nytja nyaku-la
 spear(ACC) now bind-SERIAL put-NOML(ACC) see-SERIAL
 wanti-ma
 leave alone-IMP. IMPF
 '(One) should ignore (see leave alone) spears bound (and)
 put (aside) today'

(6-60) further illustrates these points, and may make it clearer that semantically a nuclear serialisation depicts a compound action. The text from which (6-60) is taken tells how a wilyaru man training a pair of birds to act as decoys repeatedly 'released', then 'chased and caught' them. The point is that the expressions tjinatjunu 'released' and wanara witi-l 'chase and catch' are syntactically and semantically parallel, though one is a single verb and the other a nuclear serialisation - for instance, sentences containing both are separated by the ADDitive connective munu (9.1.2).

6-60 munu wana-ra witi-nu, munu
 ADD follow-SERIAL grab-PAST ADD
rupawila-la-lta tjinatju-nu, munu
 Robb's Well-LOC NAME-AND THEN release-PAST ADD
wana-ra witi-nu... munu wana-ra
 follow-SERIAL grab-PAST ADD follow-SERIAL
witi-ntja-tjanu-ngku-mpa ngalya-kulpa-ra nyanga
 grab-NOML-SEQ-ERG-INTEREST this way-return-SERIAL this
parariparari tjinatju-nu
 other side release-PAST
 'And he caught them, and then released them at Robb's Well,
 and chased (and) caught them... And after having caught
 them, came back and released them just over here'

A final piece of evidence that nuclear serialisations depict a single compound action comes from the behaviour of directional prefixes like ngalya- 'in this direction' (7.8.1). In (6-61) we see the prefix preceding the serialised pair of verbs kulira kulpara listen-SERIAL return-SERIAL (itself a peripheral serialisation within the larger clause). The interpretation must be that he was listening as he was returning this way. If the prefix preceded the motion verb, there would

be a pause, and a peripheral serialisation as in kulira, ngalya-kulpara 'having listened, he returned this way'. Similarly in (6-62) the meaning of ngalya-ura-ra kati-ngu this way-get-SERIAL bring-PAST is that he gathered them up and brought them as he came this way. The peripheral serialisation urara, ngalya-katingu would mean 'he gathered them, and then brought them this way'.

6-61 kaa paluru ngalya-kuli-ra kulpa-ra,
 CONTR DEF(NOM) this way-hear-SERIAL return-SERIAL

 ngalya-kuli-ra kulpa-ra...
 this way-hear-SERIAL return-SERIAL

 'And he was (over) hearing while returning, hearing
 while returning...'

6-62 rupawila palu-la-nguru-mpa ngalya-ura-ra
 Robb's Well DEF-LOC-ABL-INTEREST this way-get-SERIAL

 kati-ngu-lta
 bring-PAST-AND THEN

 'From Robb's Well (he) came this way, gathering up
 (the escaped birds)...'

6.5.4 Periphrastic Constructions

In the three productive constructions described below a finite verb acts as an auxiliary providing aspect-like modification for a verb in serial form. The two must occur in a fixed order (finite verb following)⁷ and be pronounced as a single intonation unit. The case of the subject is determined by the serial verb (eg(6-64), (6-66) (6-68)), consistent with the status of the finite verb as an auxiliary in this specialised use. (Austin (1978: 220-227) describes similar constructions in Diyari.)

(1) The distributive construction, formed by combining a serial form with the finite verb wani-Ø 'throw', depicts an action or stance being done or held by a number of people or things spread out or scattered around. (See also (6-4) and (7-36).)

6-63 (i) nyina-ra wani-nyi
 sit-SERIAL throw-PRES 'sitting around the place'

 (ii) pungku-la wani-nyi
 hit-SERIAL throw 'hitting all over the place'
 eg in a big fight

- (iii) kampa-ra wani-ny_i
 burn-SERIAL throw-PRES 'burning scattered around'
 eg town lights
- (iv) tjarpa-ra wani-ny_i
 enter-SERIAL throw-PRES 'entering (= swimming) all over
 the place' eg kids in swimming pool

6-64 puluka tjuta ngara-la wani-ny_i
 cattle many(NOM) stand-SERIAL throw-PRES
 'There are cattle standing scattered around'

6-65 tjulpu tjuta wangka-ra wani-ny_i
 bird many(NOM) talk-SERIAL throw-PRES
 'The birds were talking (= singing) all over the place'

(2) The 'customary' construction is formed by combining the serial form of a verb with nyina-Ø 'sit'.

6-66 wati-ngku kali atu-ra nyina-ny_i
 man-ERG boomerang(ACC) chop-SERIAL sit-PRES
 'The man makes boomerangs'

6-67 yaaltjinga-ra-la yungku-la
 do what kind of thing to it-SERIAL-1pl(ERG) give-SERIAL
 nyina-ny_i?
 sit-PRES
 'How are we going to distribute (the money)?'

(3) Combining a verb in serial form with wana-1 'follow' depicts an action carried out following something or done along a certain path.

6-68 apara tjuta ngara-la wana-n_i karu-ngka
 river gum many(NOM) stand-SERIAL follow-PRES creek-LOC
 'The river gums are lining the creek'

6-69 kaa nyaku-la tjawu-n_i, munu katawaka-n_i
 CONTR see-SERIAL dig-PRES ADD break by piercing-PRES
 tjawu-ra wana-ra, tjawu-ra wana-ra, tjawu-ra
 dig-SERIAL follow-SERIAL dig-SERIAL follow-SERIAL dig-SERIAL
 wana-ra, katawaka-n_i
 follow-SERIAL break by piercing-PRES

'And on seeing (the root mark) one digs, and breaks the root by piercing it, digs along following (it) along, (and) breaks it (at the other end)'

6.5.5 'Semi-Periphrastic' Constructions

I suspect that the constructions described below are 'periphrastic' in the syntactic sense -ie that the serial rather than the finite verb determines the case of the subject, but I have grouped them separately because my data is weak on this point ((6-75) is the only example where the two verbs differ in transitivity and the subject is non-pronominal), and because in these constructions the finite verb seems to retain its independent lexical meaning.

(1) arka-l means 'to try something out, to practise'. Combining the serial form of an action verb with arka-l gives expressions meaning 'to try/test/doing something', as in (6-70) - (6-72).

6-70 ...unu-lta tjunku-la,... waliwali-ra
 ashes(ACC)-AND THEN put-SERIAL mix in-SERIAL
 ngapu-ra-lta arkal-payi
 eat powder-SERIAL-AND THEN try-CHAR
 '(And they would) add ashes, mix it in, and try tasting
 (the powder)'

6-71 wanyu-na kala-ra arka-la
 JUST LET-lsg(ERG) light-SERIAL try-IMP
 'Just let me try lighting it'

6-72 wanyu-na tjarpa-ra arka-la! tjaata walka
 JUST LET-lsg(ERG) enter-SERIAL try-IMP shirt pattern
 wirunya pala-tja
 beautiful(NOM) this just here-EVIDENT
 'Just let my try it on (try getting in it)! That's a
 pretty shirt!'

(2) There are two verbs based on the NEGative morpheme wiya 'nothing, no' - wiya-ri-ng 'to come to an end' and wiya-l 'to bring to an end'. Combining the serial form of another verb with one of these gives expressions with meanings like 'to finish eating' or 'to eat something up' respectively. See also (6-51) and (9-48).

- 6-73 nganana ngalku-la wiya-ri-ngu
 1pl(NOM) eat-SERIAL nothing-INCHO-PAST
 'We finished eating'
- 6-74 ..ngalku-la wiya-ringku-la, nganana anku-ringku
 eat-SERIAL NEG-INCHO-SERIAL 1pl(NOM) sleep-INCHO-PAST
 'After finishing eating, we went to sleep'
- 6-75 kapi-ngku pulka-ra puyi-ra wiya-ringku-la,
 rain-ERG do fully-SERIAL chill-SERIAL NEG-INCHO-SERIAL

 kaa kurkuntjunga-lta tjata-ri-wa
 CONTR mulga lerp(NOM)-AND THEN start-INCHO-IMP
 'As the heavy rain stops (falling), the mulga lerp begins
 (to grow)'
- 6-76 nganana kuka ngalku-la/kapi tjuti-ra/mani
 1pl(ERG) meat(ACC) eat-SERIAL/water(ACC) pour-SERIAL/money(ACC)

 yungku-la wiya-nu
 give-SERIAL bring to an end-PAST

 'We ate up the meat/poured all the water out/gave away all
 the money'

(3) A verb in serial form may combine with an 'ambient change' verb (7.2.7) like tjintu-ri-ng day-INCHO 'become daylight', or munga-ri-Ø night-INCHO 'get dark', meaning roughly that the act depicted by the serial verb was going on, or still going on, as it became day or night.

- 6-77 munu pula ngari-ra tjintu-ri-ngu nyanga
 ADD 3du(NOM) lie-SERIAL day-INCHO-PAST this

 unngu-tu-lta
 inside-JUST SO-AND THEN

 'And the two of them slept the night, right inside here'
- 6-78 paluru tjana panti-ra tjintu-ri-ngu
 DEF(ERG) 3pl(ERG) sniff-SERIAL day-INCHO-PAST
 'They were sniffing (petrol) all night (till daybreak)'

- 6-79 kaa pula nyina-ra tjintu-ri-ngu munu
 CONTR 3du(NOM) sit-SERIAL day-INCHO-PAST ADD
 kunkun-ari-ngu
 sleep-INCHO-PAST
 'The two sat up till it became day on them and they
 went to sleep'
- 6-80 ngayulu anku ngari-ra mungartji-ri-ngu
 lsg(NOM) asleep lie-SERIAL afternoon-INCHO-PAST
 'I slept till it got late afternoon'

6.5.6 Adverbial Serials

There are a small number of serial verb forms which act as adverb-like modifiers (cf Dixon 1980:281). They are of two types.

(1) The verbs alatjinga-1 'do like this to it' and its interrogative counterpart yaaltjinga-1 'do what kind of thing to it?' (8.2.3), both based on alatji 'like-this'.

- 6-81 alatjinga-ra untu-la!
 do like this to it-SERIAL push-IMP
 'Push it like this!'
- 6-82 yaaltjinga-ra malu pawu-ni?
 do what kind of thing to it-SERIAL 'roo(ACC) roast-PRES
 'How does (one) roast a kangaroo?'

(2) A small number of other words which, though analysable as special forms of certain verbal lexemes, do not have their predictable verbal meaning when used as 'adverbial' modifiers. The two most common are pulkara 'do fully' and wirura 'do properly, pleasingly', which morphologically are the serial forms of the verbs pulka-1 'make big/loud' and wiru-1 'make smooth, beautiful'. (6-84) and (6-86) show these verbs used in their predictable verbal function, to depict an action. (6-83) and (6-85) illustrate the adverbial use in serialised form.

- 6-83 (1) uti-n pulka-ra kuli-nma
 SHOULD-2sg(ERG) do fully-SERIAL listen-IMP.IMP
 'You should listen carefully'

- (if) ngayulu palu-mpa pulka-ra muku-ringa-nyi
 lsg(NOM) DEF-PURP do fully-SERIAL fond-INCHO-PRES
 'I'm very fond of it'
- 6-84 (i) kami-lu tjana ngayi-nya pulka-nu
 grannie-ERG NAME 3pl(ERG) lsg-ACC make big-PAST
 'Grannie and the others grew me up (raised me)'
- (ii) pulka-la!
 make big-IMP
 'Turn it up!'
- 6-85 (i) katja-lu-tja kuka wiru-ra yu-ngu
 son-ERG NAME-lsgACC meat(ACC) do pleasingly-SERIAL give-PAST
 '(My) son pleasingly gave me some meat'
- (ii) ngayulu wiru-ra nyina-nyi, kama
 lsg(NOM) do properly-SERIAL sit-PRES respectful(NOM)
 'I live (behave) properly, respectfully'
- 6-86 tjilpi-ngku kali wiru-ra, manta-ngka
 old man-ERG boomerang(ACC) make smooth-SERIAL ground-LOC
 tju-nu
 put-PAST
 'The old man planed the boomerang smooth, (and) put it
 on the ground'

A third adverbial serial is titura 'do of its own accord, unexpectedly' - morphologically analysable as the SERIAL form of titu-1 'to make separate (titu)'. (6-87) and (6-5) illustrate its adverbial function, and (6-88) its use as a normal verb.

- 6-87 kaa titu-ra nyanytju-lta
 CONTR do unexpectedly-SERIAL horse(NOM)-AND THEN
 paka-ri-ngu
 buck-INCHO-PAST
 'And unexpectedly the horse bucked'
- 6-88 nyuntu titu-nu, wangka-ra(2)
 2sg(ERG) separate-PAST, talk-SERIAL
 'You separated him (from us), by talking on and on'

ngara-la stand-SERIAL sometimes acts as an adverbial modifier indicating that an action, process or activity was carried on for an extended period. As one might expect, this meaning is only possible with imperfective aspect main verbs (6-89). Often, as in (6-90) and (6-91), sentences showing this use of ngara-la imply speaker's anger. (See also (6-9) and (7-15).)⁸

6-89 tjitji tjuta ngara-la inka-ngi/*ngu
 child many(NOM) stand-SERIAL play-PAST.IMPF/*PAST
 'The kids were playing around'

6-90 malany-tja-manti ngara-la pirtji-nyi
 junior sibling-LOC-LIKELY stand-SERIAL wriggle-PRES
 'He's been playing around with my sister, most likely'

6-91 wati, nyaa-ku-n ngara-la katji
 man what-PURP-2sg(ERG) stand-SERIAL spear(ACC)
 miilmil-mana-hyi
 sacred/restricted-EMIT-PRES
 'Man, why are you going around saying (your) spear's
 sacred/restricted?'

CHAPTER SEVEN : VERB-STEM MORPHOLOGY

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Dixon (1976:12f) has pointed out that Australian languages differ markedly in the number of lexically simple verbs they contain. Dyirbal for instance has more than a thousand, whereas Walmatjari, toward the other extreme, has only about sixty. Yankunytjatjara has at least several hundred lexically simple verbs, about 20% of a sample of 1,000. Like most languages without a large store of verbal roots, it makes extensive use of derivational processes and compounding.

This chapter lists and exemplifies an array of verb-forming processes, and it is worthwhile to highlight two persistent themes at the onset (cf 6.1.1, 6.1.3). (1) There is a clear tendency for \emptyset and ng-class verbs to be intransitive and for l- and n-class verbs to be transitive. Only three of the many derivational processes violate this correlation: (i) ma-n EMIT (7.3.2) produces intransitive n-class verbs of sound emission (ii) -ara-l DECAUS (7.5.1) produces intransitive l-class verbs (but with the implication of an external cause) (iii) -kati PROCESS produces \emptyset -class transitive verbs when suffixed to a transitive verb root (7.6.3). (2) There is a very strong correlation between verb class and the 'mora parity' of the derived stem - \emptyset or ng-class if the stem has an even number of morae, and n or ng-class if the stem has an odd number of morae. All derivational processes but kati- \emptyset PROCESS and mila-l LOAN conform to this principle which is clearly productive in respect of the major intransitive and transitive verb-deriving processes (7.2, 7.4.1). Each of the minor derivational processes is so restricted that in isolation its conformity to the verb class /mora parity correlation could appear accidental. For instance, the dimoric tjinga-l and monomoric ma-n and nta-n are only found with even morae roots, so that derived n-class stems all have an odd number of morae, and the derived l-class stems all have an even number of morae. Compound verbs also conform to the canonical verb class/morae parity correlation. Compounds consist of an initial element which may be a nominal, a verb or an unknown stem, followed by a verbal 'compounding' root, which determine the verb class of the compound lexeme. It happens that all the initial elements found in compounds contain two morae, so that n- and ng-class compounds formed with monomoric tju-n 'put' and pu-ng 'hit' contain an odd number of morae; and that \emptyset and l-class compounds formed with dimoric compounding roots (such as posture/stance verbs) an even number of morae.

7.2 THE INCHOATIVE VERBALISER -ri/-ari

7.2.1 Allomorphy and Verb-Class Membership

The intransitive verbaliser -ri/-ari INCHO is found suffixed to nouns, adjectives, spatial qualifiers, time qualifiers, and also to stems that (apparently) do not occur elsewhere in the language. Allomorph -ri follows vowel-final stems, and -ari consonant-final stems. The verb-class of the derived stem depends on its 'mora parity' - ng-class if it has an odd number of morae; \emptyset class if it has an even number of morae.

- 7-1 (i) pulka-ri-ng
(ii) ngulu-ri-ng 'feel afraid, scared'
- 7-2 (i) mungartji-ri- \emptyset 'get late/afternoon'
(ii) yaaltji-ri- \emptyset 'what happens?'
- 7-3 (i) pukul-ari- \emptyset 'feel happy'
(ii) kanmar-ari- \emptyset 'become silent, fall silent'

All INCHOative verbs are intransitive, and all broadly speaking depict change, but there are a number of more or less distinct semantic types.

7.2.2 INCHOatives of Unspecified Happening

This is a small subclass based on interrogative and indefinite stems (8.2): nyaa-ri-ng 'what happens?' (nyaa 'what-'), yaaltji-ri- \emptyset 'what sort of thing happen?' (yaaltji 'in what way?') and kutjupakutjupa-ri-ng 'something or other happen' (kutjupakutjupa 'something or other').

- 7-4 (i) nyaa-ri-ngu?
what-INCHO-PAST
'What happened?'
- (ii) kaa nganana yaaltji-ri-ku?
CONTR 1pl(NOM) which way-INCHO-FUT
'What sort of thing might happen to us/befall us?'
- (iii) nyuntu ngula kutjupa-kutjupa-ri-nya-ngka, ngayulu
2sg(NOM) later another-another-INCHO-NOML-LOC 1sg(ERG)
ngapartji nyuntu-nya ngalkil-ku
in turn 2sg-ACC rescue-FUT
'If later on something or other happens to you, I might rescue you in return'

7.2.3 Change of State INCHOatives

The INCHO morpheme suffixed to a noun, stative adjective or spatial qualifier X, means roughly 'become (describable as) (an) X'. The process is completely productive. The following examples illustrate this with stems which are nouns (7-5), descriptive adjectives of various types (7-6), quantifying adjectives (7-7), and spatial qualifiers (7-8).

- 7-5 (i) mama ngayu-ku tjilpi-ri-ngu
father lsg-GEN(NOM) old man-INCHO-PAST
'My father has become an old man'
- (ii) ...tjitji puti-tja tjuta, wayi
child scrub-ASSOC many(NOM) what's the matter
wali-ngka, kaa nyanga-tja kuwari
building-LOC CONTR this-EVIDENT today
wali-ri-ngu
building-INCHO-PAST
'(We were) bush kids, not by any means around buildings,
but now this place has got buildings'
- 7-6 (i) kapi nyanga-tja itari pulka-ri-ngu
water(NOM) this-EVIDENT on ground big-INCHO-PAST
'The rain built up here in puddles'
- (ii) tangka-ri-ngu!
firm/set-INCHO-PAST
'It's cooked!'
- (iii) ngura ila-ri-ngu
camp(NOM) near-INCHO-PAST
'(The) camp has become close' (ie we've nearly arrived)
- 7-7 ruuta nyara-tja tjuta-ringa-nyi
road(NOM) over there-EVIDENT many-INCHO-PRES
'The road splits up (becomes many) over there'
- 7-8 ...tjarakati-ra tjarpa-ngi kuli-ra "kaa
stagger-SERIAL enter-PAST.IMPF think-SERIAL CONTR
ngurur-ari mula!"
in between-INCHO(IMP) true
'He staggered in (to camp) thinking "Let (her) get right in
the middle!"' (ie hoping his pursuer will be trapped in ambush)

Note that a genitive pronoun may also provide a stem for an INCHOative verb of this type.

- 7-9 kaa kuka palu-mpa-ri-nyi-lta
 CONTR meat(ACC) DEF-GEN-INCHO-PRES-AND THEN
 'And then the meat becomes his' (when hunter spears an animal)

7.2.4 Physiological State INCHOatives

Some inchoatives depict the experience of certain involuntary but 'active' bodily states, such as sweating, shuddering, itching, and cramp. Usually the root is a noun, but occasionally as in (7-10ii,iii) is unknown elsewhere.

- 7-10 (i) akuri-akuri-ri-Ø 'to sweat' akuri 'sweet, scent'
 (ii) kaamara-ri-ng 'to get the creeps, shudder'
 (iii) tiwil-ari-Ø 'to feel cramp'
 (iv) purtju-purtju-ri-ng 'to feel itch' purtju 'rash, itch'
 (v) mulya-mulya-ri-ng 'to feel itch feeling in nose' mulya 'nose'
 (vi) tjuritja-ri-Ø 'to have diarrhoea' tjuritja 'diarrhoea'

7.2.5 Emotional INCHOatives

There are two types of emotional INCHOatives, both of which depict active emotional experience, a feeling 'stirring within'.

- (1) Root an emotion/attitude lexeme¹ (3.4.3):

- 7-11 (i) kaa mama nyaku-la, pukul-ari-nyi, tjitji
 CONTR father(ACC) see-SERIAL happy-INCHO-PRES, child

 paluru
 DEF(NOM)

 'And on seeing (his) father' (bringing meat), the child felt
 happy'
- (ii) wati-ngku ngulu-ringku-la kanpa pu-ngu
 man-ERG afraid-INCHO-SERIAL snake(ACC) hit-PAST
 'The man got frightened and killed the snake'
- (iii) wati-ngku pika-ringku-la pu-ngu
 man-ERG angry-INCHO-SERIAL hit-PAST
 'The man got angry ('wild') and hit it'

INCHOative emotion verbs contrast semantically with emotion lexemes used as independent words. For instance if the serial verbs ngulurungkula or pikarungkula in (7-11ii) and (7-11iii) were replaced with ngula-ngku afraid-ERG and pika-ngku angry-ERG, the resulting sentences would deal only with the actor's intention or attitude in acting as he or she did: ngulungku and pikangku could be translated 'warily' and 'aggressively' respectively (cf 3.4.3) - they essentially describe the way the action was carried out. The corresponding INCHOative verbs however depict feelings - the emotional experience of being frightened or angry.

(2) Root not known to occur as an independent word; I am not very clear on the semantics of these verbs, but it would seem that they differ from those based on emotion/attitude lexemes in not involving an intention directed toward a specific individual or thing.

- 7-12 (i) iira-ri-Ø 'feel urge to butt into others' activities'
 (ii) kaakar-ari-Ø 'get 'fed up''
 (iii) nyara-ri-ng 'feeling of not wanting someone else to do something'
 (iv) mula-mula-ri-ng 'trust' (mula 'true')

7.2.6 Behaviour INCHOatives

Many INCHOative verbs depict intransitive 'behaviours'. Some of these are based on active adjectives of the manner type (7-13), (7-14), others on roots that are either not known to occur elsewhere (7-15), or occur only in other derived or compound lexemes (7-16).

- 7-13 (i) munu, wala-ringku-la kunyu kumpi-ningi
 ADD quickly-INCHO-SERIAL QUOT hide-PAST.IMPF
 'And the story goes (they) would speed off and hide'

- (ii) puriny-ari
 slowly-INCHO(IMP)
 'Go slowly.'

- 7-14 wati tjuta
 man many(NOM)
 yannga-/antjaki-ri-ngu
 away for some days/on an overnight trip-INCHO-PAST
 'The men went on a trip for a few days (at least)/an overnight trip'

- 7-15 ngara-la-n kawaru-ri-nyi
stand-SERIAL-2sg(NOM) unknown root-INCHO-PRES
'You keep mucking it up'
- 7-16 paluru aru-ringku-la kulpa-ngu
DEF(NOM) "turn"-INCHO-SERIAL return-PAST
'She turned around and went back' (Note aru-1 'chase around')

7.2.7 Ambient Change INCHOatives

These include tjintu-ri-ng 'become day', munga-ri-ng 'become night', mungartjiri-Ø 'get late, late afternoon; kalala-ri-Ø 'become noon/daylight'. These verbs often occur without an explicit subject NP. If pressed, people sometimes provide the word ngura 'place, camp' as subject. Note that all the recorded examples of this type have to do with the state of the light.

An interesting peculiarity of these verbs, discussed in 6.5.5, is that they may take a personal subject, as in (7-17) in which case the ambient change depicted by the verb is understood to have a special effect on or significance for the subject.

- 7-17 kalala-la pawu-ra ngalku-payi, "nganana
high noon-lpl(ERG) roast-SERIAL eat-CHAR lpl(NOM)

kalala-ri-ngu!"
high noon-INCHO-PAST

'Ve used to roast (our game) and eat at noon. (We'd say, with relish) "It's got noon!"

7.2.8 Passage of Time INCHOatives

At least three of the time qualifiers, iriti 'a long time ago', kuwari 'these days, today', ngula 'later on', may be suffixed with the INCHOative -ri/-ari to form verbs which are predicated of personal subjects, apparently indicating that the passage of time has affected the subject.

- 7-18 nganana nyina-ra iriti-ri-ngu
lpl(NOM) sit-SERIAL long ago-INCHO-PAST
'Ve stayed a really long time'

7-19 kaa ngula-ringku-la-mpa, ngaritju-ra
 CONTR later-INCHO-SERIAL-INTEREST lay down-SERIAL
 ngulu-ngku paluru tjana kuli-ra
 afraid-ERG DEF(ERG) 3pl(ERG) think-SERIAL
 "nyaku-la-lanya ngalya-kulpa-ra wakal-ku"
 see-SERIAL-lplACC this way-return-SERIAL pierce-FUT
 'As it was getting late on them, as (they) lay it down they
 were fearfully thinking "Maybe (the eagle) will see us and
 come back and pierce (claw) us"'

7.2.9 INCHOative Intransitive Loan Verbs

As far as I know, all intransitive loan verbs are INCHOative. They are very numerous (at least 60), and occur in most of the semantic types identified in this section - 'change of state' (eg (7-20)), 'active physiological state', eg (7-21), 'emotional' (7-22), 'behaviour' (7-23) and ambient change (7-24).

- | | | | |
|----------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 7-20 | tur <u>angka</u> -ri-ng | 'get drunk' | tur <u>angka</u> 'drunk person' |
| 7-21 | kar <u>ampa</u> -ri-∅ | 'feel cramp' | (< English 'cramp') |
| 7-22 (i) | wur <u>i</u> -ri-ng | 'be concerned about' | (< English 'worry') |
| 7-23 (i) | ra <u>atja</u> -ri-∅ | 'speed in a car, race' | (< English 'race') |
| | (ii) wa <u>aka</u> -ri-∅ | 'work' | (< English 'work') |
| | (iii) tun <u>a</u> -ri-ng | 'turn around' | (< English 'turn') |
| | (iv) ta <u>antji</u> -ri-∅ | 'dance' | (< English 'dance') |
| 7-24 | tin <u>a</u> -ri-ng | 'become lunchtime,
noonish | (< English 'dinner') |

7.3 DELOCUTIVE AND SOUND EMISSION/PRODUCTION VERBS

7.3.1 Introduction

In a classic study Benveniste (1958, 1971) defines a class of verbs 'derived from locutions' - "the essential and signal feature of a delocutive is that it is in the relationship of 'to say' with its nominal base" (1971:245). He discusses delocutives based on greeting and thanksgiving formulae, and exclamations of various types in Latin, French and a number of other Indo-European languages, stressing that they are quite different semantically from verbs derived from nouns and adjectives as

as lexical items. For instance Latin salutare 'to greet' "must be traced back not to salua ('well being') as a nominal sign but to salus ('greetings!') as a locution of discourse, ...as a 'term to utter'" (1971:239-40). "Delocutives are, above all ...verbs denoting activities of discourse" (245-46). In his study of this and related areas of Dyirbal grammar, Dixon (1977) uses the term 'delocutive' to include sounds made by birds and animals, and certain noises, as well as 'human locutions', but I will adhere to Benveniste's stricter definition. This is not to say there are not close similarities in the ways delocutive and 'sound emission' verbs are derived, but there are also syntactic and semantic differences.

Yankunytjatjara 'sound emission' verbs (7.3.2) are intransitive and formed on exactly the same pattern - ie an onomatopoeic base suffixed with -ma-n EMIT, regardless of whether the thing that 'gives out' the sound is animate (eg a dog barking, a cow mooing) or inanimate (eg a tree creaking in the wind, leaves rustling). Delocutive verbs are distinguished from sound emission verbs in that (i) they are transitive and (ii) they are formed by adding the -ma-n EMIT suffix to a base identical to a single word utterance, marked as such by the LOCUTION suffix -n- (7.3.3).

If something (eg leaves, a car) can be made to give out a sound (eg rustling, engine-running noise) there will be a corresponding transitive 'sound production' verb formed of an onomatopoeic base suffixed with -tjinga-l MAKE EMIT (7.3.4). Note that delocutive and sound production verbs are weakly transitive in the sense that although the subject takes ergative (A) case, there is rarely an explicit object (though I believe that one is always possible - the thing being made to emit the sound in the case of sound production, addressee or person referred to if the verb is delocutive). It is also interesting that both -ma-n EMIT and -tjinga-l MAKE EMIT act as causative suffixes in other contexts (7.4.1) (7.4.3) (7.4.4) not having to do with sound production or locutions.

7.3.2 Sound Emission Verbs -ma-n EMIT

At least forty, probably many more, intransitive verbs are formed by suffixing ma-n EMIT to an onomatopoeic base describing or designating the sound in question. The resulting verbs are n-class, consistent with the fact that the derived stem contains an odd number of morae. Note that ⁽ⁿ⁾all the examples in (7-25) the onomatopoeic base ends in a

As Benveniste notes (1971:241) "the creation of delocutive verbs ... is connected with the frequency and importance of pregnant formulae in certain types of culture". In Yankunytjatjara these fall into at least three types.

(i) Common conversational exclamations, ³ eg

7-29	wiya-n-ma-n		
	no-LOCUTION-EMIT	'to say 'no' (<u>wiya</u>)	
	uwa-n-ma-n		
	yes-LOCUTION-EMIT	'to say 'yes' (<u>uwa</u>)', 'agree'	
	palya-n-ma-n		
	good-LOCUTION-EMIT	'to say 'good' (<u>palya</u>)'	
	wayi-n-ma-n		
	what's up-LOCUTION-EMIT	'to say 'what's up?' (<u>wayi</u>)'	
	nyaa-n-ma-n		
	what-LOCUTION-EMIT	'to say 'what?' (<u>nyaa</u>)'	

(ii) Kin nouns used as terms of address: for instance, if a child says mama nyaa palatja? 'dad, what's that?' he or she mama-n-ma-ra walkuni 'addresses (him) calling him "dad"'.
walkuni

7-30	ngayulu	katja-n-ma-ra	walku-ni	"ala
	1sg(ERG)	son-LOCUTION-EMIT-SERIAL	address-PRES	"lo
				katja!"
				son
				'I'm addressing (him) calling him <u>katja</u> (son) (saying)
				"Hey son"

(iii) Significant one-word pronouncements or declarations, eg mamu! 'it's an evil spirit!' manyu! '(you're) greedy!' ngurpa! '(I'm) ignorant of it'.

7-31	wati	paluru	ngurpa-n-ma-nu	
	man	DEF(ERG)	unknowing-LOCUTION-EMIT-PAST	
				'The man said he was <u>ngurpa</u> , ignorant of the thing'
				(ie he denied knowledge of it)

7-32	kaa	tjilpi	tjuta-ngku	mamu-n-mana-ngi
	CONTR	old man	many-ERG	evil being-LOCUTION-EMIT-PAST.LMPF
				'And the old men were declaring it a <u>mamu</u> , an evil inhuman being'

- 7-33 ngayulu ngunytji tjitji-n-ma-nu
 1sg(ERG) wrongly child-LOCUTION-EMIT-PAST
 'I wrongly (accidentally) referred to him as a child'

7.3.4 Sound Production Verbs -tjinga-l MAKE EMIT

These are transitive verbs formed by suffixing -tjinga-l MAKE EMIT to an onomatopoeic base. There are at least thirty (probably many more) such verbs. The 1-class membership of all recorded verbs of this type is consistent with the principle that transitive verbs whose stems contain an even number of morae belong to the 1-class.

- 7-34 takaltakal-tjinga-l 'make a knocking sound'
 tukul-tjinga-l 'make a beating sound by clapping
 one's lap'
 pirilypirily-tjinga-l 'make a rustling sound'
 muntur-tjinga-l 'cause to make 'running' noise (eg
 start motor)'
 raal-tjinga-l 'make a scraping noise'

The contrast between MAKE EMIT -tjinga-l and EMIT ma-n is that ma-n is to do with the emission of a sound, while -tjinga-l is to do with its creation. For instance, munturmananyi means 'giving out a running noise'; munturtjingani means 'causing something to give out a running noise', for instance by starting a car. Similarly, leaves might pirilypirilymananyi 'give out a rustling noise', but a person moving the leaves might pirilypirilytjingani 'make a rustling noise'.

- 7-35 tjitji-ngku turuma takal-tjinga-nu
 child-ERG drum(ACC) knocking-MAKE EMIT-PAST
 'The child 'knocked' the drum' (ie made it give out a sharp
 sound, eg by hitting it with a stone)

- 7-36 piyan nyanga tjuta-ngku tjawu-ni,
 white this many-ERG dig-PRES
 turkul-tjinga-ra wani-nyl
 type of sound-MAKE EMIT-SERIAL throw-PRES
 'Those white guys are digging, making a (certain kind of
 disturbing) noise all over the place' (while laying water pipes)

7.4 OTHER TRANSITIVE VERB DERIVATION

7.4.1 Zero-derived and ma-n CAUSatives

A great many transitive verbs are formed from nouns and adjectives by one of two semantically equivalent processes: (1) (if the root is consonant-final) addition of the CAUSative suffix -ma-n (11) (if the root is vowel-final) 'zero(\emptyset) derivation' - the root becomes an l-class verb if it has an even number of morae, and n-class if it has an odd number of morae. (Ma-n CAUS is distinct from ma-n EMIT precisely in that it produces transitive verbs.)

The notion of 'zero derivation', or conversion, has long been used by linguists as a response to a situation where "morphologically simple forms... function as stems for both nouns and verbs (doubt, answer, skin, knife, etc) or both adjectives and verbs (dirty, clean, dry etc)" (Lyons 1977:522). The main syntactic argument for \emptyset -derivation is the existence of a semantically identical overt morphological process. For instance in English as Lyons points out (1977:523) the reason the nouns 'release' and 'attempt' are said to be "derived from the corresponding verbs, and by means of suffixation (of the \emptyset element) is that they belong to the same subclass of nouns as 'extension', 'justification' 'arrangement' etc which are clearly deverbal and derived by suffixation".

The theoretical distinction between ' \emptyset -derivation' in the strict sense (affixation of a null affix) and 'conversion' (Quirk 1972:1009f "the derivational process whereby an item is adapted to a new word-class without the addition of an affix") need not concern us. The central point is that one of the pair of lexemes involved is taken as basic and the other derived as from it, by analogy with an overt semantically parallel process. For instance, we identify the nominal lexeme utju 'narrow' as derivationally prior to the verbal lexeme utju-l 'narrow' by analogy with for instance tjurkuly 'straight' and tjurkuly-ma-n 'straighten'. As the glosses show, this exact situation is sometimes found in English.

Close examination shows that, though highly productive, the \emptyset /-ma-n derivation of transitive verbs from nominals falls into at least six semantically distinct patterns correlated with the semantic and syntactic type of the root. Five of these patterns are clearly causative in the broad sense that they depict an actor causing a change in an object.

(1) In the vast majority of cases, where the nominal lexeme X is an adjective the verb will mean approximately 'cause to become X'. Spatial qualifiers of the positional type may also give rise to verbs of this type (eg katu 'high, above', katu-l 'raise, lift').

7-37	<u>ini-l</u> 'loosen'	<u>ini</u> 'loose'
	<u>lipi-l</u> 'widen'	<u>lipi</u> 'wide'
	<u>tjungu-l</u> 'join'	<u>tjungu</u> 'together'
	<u>taltu-l</u> 'inflate'	<u>taltu</u> 'swollen'
	<u>ninti-l</u> 'show'	<u>ninti</u> 'experienced'
	<u>ngulu-l</u> 'frighten'	<u>ngulu</u> 'fear, wariness'
	<u>paku-l</u> 'tire'	<u>paku</u> 'tired'
	<u>wanka-l</u> 'wake, heal, save'	<u>wanka</u> 'awake, alive, safe'
7-38	<u>kutjupa-n</u> 'change'	<u>kutjupa</u> 'another, different'
	<u>kantilya-n</u> 'tighten'	<u>kantilya</u> 'tight'
	<u>lipula-n</u> 'make straight, equal'	<u>lipula</u> 'straight, equal' (< English 'level')
7-39	<u>unytjun-ma-n</u> 'warm up, make warm'	<u>unytjun</u> 'warm'
	<u>tjurkul-ma-n</u> 'straighten'	<u>tjurkul</u> 'straight'
	<u>atuny-ma-n</u> 'protect'	<u>atuny</u> 'protected'
	<u>puriny-ma-n</u> 'make quiet, eg turn down volume'	<u>puriny</u> 'soft, quiet'
	<u>pukul-ma-n</u> 'make happy'	<u>pukul</u> 'happy, contented'

Many verbs formally analysable as \emptyset -derived have probably been 'lexicalised' as independent lexemes. Sometimes this is apparent where a verb has a wider range of meaning than the nominal root eg palya means 'good, usable', but palya-l can mean 'butcher meat' as well as 'make, repair'; kura means 'bad, useless', but kura-l can mean 'deceive' as well as 'spoil'.

(2) In most cases where the root is a noun, approximately the same semantic pattern applies: the derived verb means 'cause to become X', usually by physical construction or other physical activity, but sometimes through other means. (In fact, comparison with other causative verb types, including compounds, suggests the relevant meaning is closer to 'create an/some X', but we will not pursue this point.)

7-40	wati-l 'make (into) an initiated man, initiate'	wati 'initiated man'
	wira-l 'make a digging dish'	wira 'digging dish'
	kanku-l 'build a shade shelter'	kanku 'shade shelter'
	manngu-l 'build a nest'	manngu 'nest'
	yuru-l 'liquify'	yuru 'liquid'
	nyuti-l 'make into a round carrying bundle'	nyuti 'round carrying bundle'
7-41	utulu-n 'gather together, group, muster'	utulu 'group'
	itjili-n 'cut cooked animals into sections'	itjili 'a section of cooked animal'
	anangu-n 'bring a person up'	anangu 'person'
	manguri-n 'make a head-ring for carrying'	manguri 'head-ring for carrying'
	kaputu-n 'make into a wad, ball'	kaputu 'wad, ball'
	nyilinka-n 'raise up to be a pre-initiate youth'	nyilinka 'pre-initiate youth'
7-42	tjalkaly-ma-n 'make into a rough hewn form'	tjalkaly 'rough hewn implement'
	uril-ma-n 'make a clearing, sweep'	uril 'clearing, open place'

The essentials here are not affected by the fact that in some cases it may be difficult to distinguish whether a particular nominal root is a noun or an adjective.

(3) In one minor formation, the verb means to remove or extract something (X), for instance from an animal, plant or hole (cf English gut, skin, shell).

7-43	pil-l 'remove skin'	pil 'skin'
	nyiri-l 'remove bark, egg-shell etc'	nyiri 'bark, egg-shell etc'
	kuna-l 'remove bowels'	kuna 'shit, bowels'
	kalka-l 'remove seed'	kalka 'seed, round hard thing'
	manta-l 'remove dirt (while digging hole)'	manta 'dirt, earth'
7-44	uniny-ma-n 'remove seed'	uniny 'seed'

(4) In another minor pattern the root noun denotes a physical opening, or depression, or hollow. The corresponding transitive verb means to create such a physical deformation in something.

7-45	<u>ala</u> -l 'make an opening in, open'	<u>ala</u> 'opening'
	<u>lawu</u> -l 'make a hollow in'	<u>lawu</u> 'hollow'
	<u>ngati</u> -l 'make a depression in'	<u>ngati</u> 'depression, deep pit'

(5) In yet another minor pattern the root is a noun suffixed with the locative case-marker -ngka LOC, or the allative case-marker -kutu ALL. The corresponding verbs mean to put something in or on the thing or place denoted by the root noun, or to cause something to move toward the thing or place denoted by the root noun.

7-46	<u>kutju</u> -ngka-n 'put into one place'	<u>kutju</u> 'one, single'
	<u>mimpu</u> -ngka-n 'put into a large bowl'	<u>mimpu</u> 'large water-carrying bowl'
	<u>tjaa</u> -ngka-n 'put in the mouth'	<u>tjaa</u> 'mouth'
	<u>pini</u> -ngka-n 'put on/carry on the shoulders'	<u>pini</u> 'shoulders'

7-47	<u>ngura</u> -kutu-l 'to drive toward camp'	<u>ngura</u> 'camp'
	<u>pati</u> -kutu-l 'to drive into a closed place'	<u>pati</u> 'closed'
	<u>manta</u> -kutu-l 'make move towards the ground'	<u>manta</u> 'ground'

(6) A handful of l-class transitives have a root identical to a noun denoting a broad surface part of the body. The corresponding verb means to hold something on or against that part of the body.

7-48	<u>ampu</u> -l 'cuddle, hold in lap'	<u>ampu</u> 'embrace, lap'
	<u>pini</u> -l 'hold on the shoulders'	<u>pini</u> 'shoulders'
	<u>tjupu</u> -l 'hold/carry on back'	<u>tjupu</u> (?) 'back'

These six types by no means exhaust the possible types of \emptyset -derived transitive verbs. For instance, piri 'fingernail', piri-l 'scratch'; kultu 'trunk' (of body)', kultu-l 'run through the trunk with spear'; ngangkari 'healer', ngangkari-n 'heal; act as healer'.

7.4.2 Causatives of HARM -nta-n

(1) The suffix -nta-n HARM is found affixed to about a dozen roots, all dimoric and vowel-final (so that the derived stem contains an odd number of morae like most other n-class verbs). Most of these roots occur as independent words, either as nouns ngunti 'back of neck' liri 'throat', or adjectives pika 'hurt' ilu 'dead, unconscious' kata 'broken'. The derived verbs depict a harmful or damaging action. (Cf Hansen and Hansen 1978:139).)

7-49	<u>ngunti-nta-n</u>	'break neck (eg of rabbit)'
	<u>liri-nta-n</u>	'strangle, seize by throat'
7-50	<u>pika-nta-n</u>	'make someone ill'
	<u>ilu-nta-n</u>	'kill'
	<u>kata-nta-n</u>	'break'

Two verbs of this class tjala-nta-n 'break open so that liquid comes out' and pilu-nta-n 'make something collapse, cave in' are based on roots which apparently do not occur independently but are found in other derived verbs. In fact, comparison between the meaning of nta-n verbs and other transitive verbs involving the same root confirms the impression that -nta-n is a morpheme indicating harm and/or damage. For instance, kata-l means to cut or divide, kata-nta-n to break; tjala-tju-n is a compound verb used to describe deliberately breaking an egg into a vessel; tjala-nta-n in contrast suggests an accidental breakage.

7-51	kaa	tjitji	kutjupa-ngku	alatjina-ma,
	CONTR	child	other-ERG	like this-IMP.IMP

para-pilu-nta-nu
around about-HARM-PAST

'And the other kid would do like this (stamps on ground);
made them (burrows and tunnels) cave in'

7-52	kaa-na-nta	kuwari	ila-ngku	ku <u>ru</u>
	CONTR-1sg(ERG)-2sgACC	now	close-ERG	eye(ACC)

waka-ra tjala-ntana-nyi yanku-la
pierce-SERIAL break open like egg-HARM-PRES go-SERIAL

'And now I'm going to gouge (your) eyes out from up close,
having come (up to you)' (threat to troll by one of
Billygoats Gruff)

(Ngurkanta-n 'select, pick' and the synonymous ikanta-n appear to accidentally resemble the HARM causatives, since they do not involve harm or damage, and *ngurka and *ika are unknown elsewhere.)

7.4.3 Causatives of BODILY EFFECT-tjinga-1

A small class of transitive verbs formed with the suffix tjinga-1 depict actions which physically deform or otherwise affect the whole 'body' of something.⁴ In all recorded examples the base for these verbs is dimoric (so that the derived stem has an even number of morae); generally the base is consonant-final and does not exist as an independent word (though it may be found in other derived lexemes).

7-53	<u>karul-tjinga-1</u>	'break kangaroo's back legs' (part of cooking ritual)
	<u>mammal-tjinga-1</u>	'jerk, jolt, hit abruptly so as to crack'
	<u>pinkur-tjinga-1</u>	'turn over onto side' (kangaroo on fire, to singe off fur)'
	<u>watan-tjinga-1</u>	'to put something on one side and another' (eg tipping tea from one vessel to another)
	<u>wilily-tjinga-1</u>	'to scatter' (cf <u>wilily-ara-1</u> 'to become scattered')

The verbs ngulu-tjinga-1 'strike fear into someone's heart' and uruly-tjinga-1 'surprise, disturb' may be members of this subclass, or they form a subclass of their own. It is suggestive to me that both verbs involve causing a 'reaction' (for the want of a better term) with a bodily component, eg shivering, cold sweat, heart pounding etc. Note that ngulu-1 'to cause fear, scare' does not share this physical component with ngulu-tjinga-1.

7.4.4 CAUSE TO DO causatives with -tjinga-1

A number of transitive verbs are formed by suffixing tjinga-1 CAUSE TO DO to the neutral stem of an intransitive verb. This process is not completely productive, even with intransitive verbs, and I suspect it is restricted to verbs of 'bodily action'; actions like falling, crying, moving. It is not found with waiting, hiding and motion verbs.

7-54	<u>pakal-tjinga-1</u>	'to make get up, help get up, grow'	<u>paka-1</u>	'get up'
	<u>punkal-tjinga-1</u>	'to make fall over'	<u>punka-1</u>	'fall'
	<u>taal-tjinga-1</u>	'make burst open'	<u>taa-1</u>	'burst open'

7-55	wangka-tjinga-l	'to make talk'	wangka-Ø	'talk'
	ula-tjinga-l	'to make cry'	ula-Ø	'cry'
	inka-tjinga-l	'to make fun of, to make laugh	inka-Ø	'play, laugh'
	yuri-tjinga-l	'to shake, move back and forth'	yuri-Ø	'move'
	mira-tjinga-l	'to make cry out'	mira-Ø	'cry out'

7-56 wati' tjilpi-na ampu-ra
 man old man(ACC) hold in arms-SERIAL
 pakal-tjinga-nu, putu paka-ntja-la
 get up-CAUSE TO DO-PAST IN VAIN get up-NOML-LOC
 'I helped the old man get up, because he couldn't get up
 (by himself)'

7-57 palu-mpa kamuru-ngku palu-nya inka-tjinga-ni
 DEF-GEN uncle-ERG DEF-ACC play-CAUSE TO DO-PRES
 'His uncle is teasing him'

Note that a verb like pakaltjinga-l can mean 'help to get up', as in (7-56). It is impossible to form a causative verb using a transitive verb stem as base - (7-58) and (7-59).

7-58 *kuta-ngku ngayi-nya wama tjikil-tjinga-nu
 big brother-ERG lsg-ACC liquor(ACC) drink-CAUSE-PAST
 * '(My) big brother made me drink the liquor'

7-59 *wati-ngku-tja apu pampul-tjinga-nu
 man-ERG-lsgACC rock(ACC) touch-CAUSE-PAST
 * 'The man made me touch the rock'

7.4.5 The -lyi-n Causatives

I have only found this element in four verbs, in all cases suffixed to an intransitive verb of motion or stance.

7-60 kulpa-lyi-n 'bring back' kulpa-Ø 'return'
 uka-lyi-n 'bring down' ukali-ng 'come down, descend'

7-61 ngara-lyi-n '(dogs) to copulate' ngara-Ø 'stand'
 ngari-lyi-n '(people) to copulate' ngari-Ø 'lie'

7.4.6 Transitive LOAN mila-1 Verbs

There are at least fifty, probably very many more, transitive loan verbs formed by suffixing -mila-1 LOAN to a loan root, which may or may not occur as an independent nominal loan in Yankunytjatjara. The origin of the -mila-1 morpheme is unknown, though it is possible it is a borrowing through Arandic, where a similar suffix is a productive transitiviser (Wilkins p.c.). Trudinger (1943) reported -mila-1 LOAN in the Pitjantjatjara of Ernabella mission over forty years ago. Note that this morpheme applies to roots regardless of their 'mora parity', so that it may produce stems violating the canonical pattern that an l-class verb stem have an even number of morae.

7-62	kilina-mila-1	'clean'
	kina-mila-1	'skin'
	kaparapa-mila-1	'cover up'
	liita-mila-1	'lead (horse)'
	matjara-mila-1	'muster'
	pampa-mila-1	'work hand pump'
	paya-mila-1	'buy'
	payinta-mila-1	'paint'
	tjata-mila-1	'shut, close off'
	tjaata-mila-1	'operate machine, start'
	tjayintji-mila-1	'cash (change) cheque'
	tjila-mila-1	'sell'
	tjitja-mila-1	'teach'
	uparata-mila-1	'operate on (surgery)'
	wayinta-mila-1	'wind'
	yutja-mila-1	'use'

7.5 OTHER INTRANSITIVE DERIVATION

7.5.1 The -ara-1 Intransitive DECAUSatives

At least twenty l-class intransitive verbs are formed by suffixing -ara-1 to a consonant-final root containing two morae. In several cases the root is a noun or adjective, but usually it is found only in other derived verbs. My only comments on the semantics of these verbs and how they are distinguished from -ri/-ari INCHOatives are: (i) Unlike the INCHOatives the -ara-1 verbs do not depict a 'change of substance', but rather a change in the 'physical integrity' or 'body' (eg cracked, torn, scattered). (ii) Unlike the INCHOatives, they seem to imply the

possibility or even likelihood of an outside cause. For this reason I have tentatively given the morpheme the interlinear gloss DECAUSative.

7-63	wiruly-ara-1 'to slip'	wiruly 'slippery'
	puyul-ara-1 'to get greasy'	puyul 'grease'
	tjilpir-ara-1 'to crack'	tjilpir 'splinter'
		tjilpir-pu-ng 'to crack (trans.)'
	pinkur-ara-1 'to turn head'	pinkur-tjinga-1 'to turn over (trans.)'
	tiil-ara-1 'to send off a spark (eg fire, car battery)'	
	wilily-ara-1 'to become scattered'	wilily-tjinga-1 'to scatter (trans.)'
	wilypan-ara-1 'tear, become split'	wilypan-pu-ng 'tear off'

Two -ara-1 verbs depict 'feelings', and it is interesting to note that in both cases there is the clear implication of an outside cause.

7-64	miil-ara-1 'feel need to avenge an insult to the Dreaming Law'	(cf: miil-miil 'secret/sacred, restricted')
	uruly-ara-1 'be surprised, startled'	uruly-tjinga-1 'surprise, startle'

One verb stem pakal- 'get up' is found suffixed with ara-1 giving the verb pakal-ara-1 'to rise up', as for instance birds taking flight. Again, the implication of a possible outside cause is obvious.

7-64	ngayu-ku wiila	tjilpir-ara-nu
	1sg-GEN tire(NOM)	crack-DECAUS-PAST
	'My tyre's cracked'	
7-65	ular-ular-pungku-la nyaku-la,	'ayi! mara-ngka
	grind-hit-SERIAL	see-SERIAL hey hand-LOC
	puyul-ara-ni'	
	greasy-DECAUS-PRES	
	'(And) you sort of grind (the leaves) together, (and) see "Hey! it's getting greasy on my hands"'	

7-66 A: ayi! wilypan-ara-nu-mpa-l nyanga-tja!
 hey split-DECAUS-PAST-INTEREST-YOU SEE this-EVIDENT
 'Hey! These (trousers) have split!' (man returning borrowed
 trousers)

B: wiya, nyuntu wilypan-pu-ngu
 no 2sg(ERG) split-hit-PAST
 'No, you split them!'

7-67 kaa paluru-lta liri-nta-nu-lta, paluru
 CONTR DEF(ERG)-AND THEN throat-HARM-PAST-AND THEN DEF(ERG)
 pungku-nytja wiya paluru wati mil-ara-nu,
 hit-NOML NEG DEF(NOM) man(NOM) ?-DECAUS-PAST
 tjitji-ngku warki-nytja-la
 child-ERG swear-NOML-LOC

'And so afterwards he strangled him. He didn't (just) hit him.
 He felt compelled to avenge the Sacred, because the child
 profaned'

7.5.2 The -ra-ng verbs

A small number of intransitive ng-class verbs are formed by adding the
 suffix -ra-ng to a dimoric root (so that once again the derived ng-class
 verbs have an odd number of morae in the stem).

7-68 kumpu-ra-ng 'have a piss' kumpu 'piss'
 kuna-ra-ng 'have a shit' kuna 'shit'

7-69 tii-ra-ng 'stand out from the background, glint'
 ilu-ra-ng ''''

7-70 nyaku-payi ilu-rangku-la nyanga-tja ngara-nytja-la,
 see-CHAR shine out-SERIAL this-EVIDENT stand-NOML-LOC
 uti kutu... tii-rangku-la panya tiin-puriny
 clear really shine out-SERIAL ANAPH tin-SIMILAR TO
 '(You) see (a mulga variety with resinous leaves) standing
 out, really clearly, glinting, you know; like galvanised
 iron'

7.6 THE DERIVATIONAL ELEMENT -kati-Ø PROCESS

7.6.1 Preliminary Remarks

There are at least thirty verbal lexemes whose final element is PROCESS -kati-Ø. These cannot be regarded as compounds with kati-Ø 'bring, take' because they are mostly intransitive (except those described in 7.6.3 where the transitivity is a result of the transitivity of the initial verbal stem). Derived verbs with kati-Ø can be roughly divided into four categories.

7.6.2 Assume Stance/Posture

-kati-Ø applied to an intransitive verb stem of stance or posture means to assume the stance or posture depicted by the root.

- | | | | | | |
|----------|--------------|--|--|----------|----------------|
| 7-71 (i) | nyina-kati-Ø | 'sit down, come to a halt
(in car)' | nyina-Ø | 'sit' | |
| | (ii) | ngara-kati-Ø | 'stand up, come to a halt
(in standing position)' | ngara-Ø | 'stand' |
| | (iii) | ngari-kati-Ø | 'lie down' | ngari-Ø | 'lie down' |
| | (iv) | pupa-kati-Ø | 'tip over, spill (intrans.)' | pupa-Ø | 'crouch' |
| | | kumpil-kati-Ø | 'hide, get out of sight' | kumpil-Ø | 'be concealed' |

7-72 nyina-kati!
 sit-PROCESS(IMP)
 'Sit down!'

7-73 kapi pupa-kati-nyi, tjiki-ntja-la
 water(NOM) crouch-PROCESS-PRES drink-NOML-LOC
 'The water container is tipping over, as (I) drink'

7.6.3 Do While Going Along

-kati-Ø applied to the neutral stem of a verb produces a verb meaning 'to do so-and-so while going along' (cf Dixon 1976:219ff on Yidiny). The transitivity of such PROCESS verbs is determined by the verbal root eg inka-kati-Ø 'play while going along' is intransitive because inka-Ø 'play' is intransitive; nyaku-kati-Ø 'look out for something while going along' is transitive because nya-ng (neutral stem nyaku-) 'see, look' is transitive. (Note that this construction applies to stance/posture roots as well as to other actions so that a polysemous verb root like ngari-Ø 'be lying down, lie, sleep' may give rise to a polysemous PROCESS verb, as in (7-75) and (7-76) and (7-71).)

'And he was travelling, looking out for what kind of meat? - kangaroo. He was looking out for kangaroo while he was going along'

7.6.4 Types of Motion or Movement

In these verbs the root is usually an element which does not occur as an independent word, as in (7-81). Notice that kati-Ø applies indifferently to two and three morae roots in this type of construction, and therefore sometimes produces stems violating the usual pattern whereby Ø-class verb stems contain an even number of morae.

7-80	warara-kati+Ø	'jump down'	warara 'cliff, steep'
	iwara-kati-Ø	'to 'beat a path to', go back and forth'	iwara 'track, road'

7-81	karulu-kati-Ø	'sink, fall into trap'	
	murukati-Ø	'walk backwards'	
	ngapari-kati-Ø	'to go and meet someone on their way back'	
	takulu-kati-Ø	'take cover, duck down'	
	tjara-kati-Ø	'stagger'	
	urakati-Ø	'creep up'	
	kutin-kati-Ø	'roll over and over'	

7-82	walkir-ta	karulu-kati-ku	
	crack in rock-LOC	?-PROCESS-FUT	
	'You might fall in a crack in the rock'		

7-83	wati paluru	ngalya-tjara-kati-ra	kulpa-ngi,
	man DEF(NOM)	this way-?-PROCESS-SERIAL	return-PAST.IMPF
	paku uli		
	tired weak		

'The man was staggering back here, weak from tiredness'

7.6.5 Transformation

These verbs depict a change in the 'physical constituency' of the referent. In a few cases the root is an independently occurring adjective, but in most cases it occurs only in other verbs, if at all.

standing and so on. Note that some verbs describing types of lying are formed with ngara-Ø 'stand'.

- 7-87 tjili-nyina-Ø 'sit on haunches'
- 7-88 anuti-ngari-Ø 'lie on the elbow'
muti-ngari-Ø 'lie on the back with the knees raised or bent' (muti 'knee')
- 7-89 wala-ngara-Ø 'stick out of the ground (?)'
tala-ngara-Ø 'stand motionless (eg while hunting)'
anga-ngara-Ø 'hold a blocking position' (anga 'blocking')
intin-ngara-Ø 'stand with quivering thighs'
tultju-ngara-Ø 'kneel'
- 7-90 watu-ngara-Ø 'lie prostrate'
ngampal-ngara-Ø 'lie prostrate'

7.7.3 Verbs of 'Putting'

These are a type of causative, in that they depict the action of placing something in the stance or position indicated by the root.

- 7-91 ngari-tju-n 'place in lying position' ngari-Ø 'lie'
ngara-tju-n 'place in standing position' ngara-Ø 'stand'
nyina-tju-n 'place in sitting position' nyina-Ø 'sit'
pupa-tju-n 'knock over, spill' pupa-Ø 'crouch'
tjarpa-tju-n 'put inside, insert' tjarpa-Ø 'go into'
kalpa-tju-n 'put something to climb
onto something (eg loading
cattle onto truck by ramp)'
kalpa-Ø 'climb'

7.7.4 Compounds With Other Compounding Roots

The largest group of compounds are formed with tju-n 'put' and pu-ng 'hit'. The tju-n 'put' compounds all involve putting in a more or less literal sense, (arranging, applying, inserting). (7-92) gives examples where the root is a noun or adjective; (7-93) where the root is 'unknown'.

- 7-92 mukul-tju-n 'put a hook on (to spear-thrower)' mukul 'hook'
tipiny-tju-n 'put a twig in place (to seal
animal after gutting)' tipiny 'twig'
purulu-tju-n 'make a pile of wood (eg for
fire)' purulu 'pile
of wood'

	walka-tju-n	'put a design on'	walka 'design'
	ini-tju-n	'give a name to'	ini 'name'
	puyu-tju-n	'put in smoke'	puyu 'smoke'
	tjara-tju-n	"drop off" eg from car	tjara 'group, division
	waralywaraly-tju-n	'hang'	waralywaraly 'hanging'
	anga-tju-n	'secure by wedging into place'	anga 'blocked, crowded'
	wala-tju-n	'set free, release'	'wala 'fast'
7-93	ata-tju-n	'to do something taking one's time'	
	kuti-tju-n	'to hide, conceal'	
	murū-tju-n	'stick (spear) upright in ground'	
	iri-tju-n	'bring down (game) with dogs' (though note that <u>iri-iri!</u> = 'sic 'em')	
	tjatu-tju-n	'surround (eg game in hunt)'	

The pu-ng 'hit' compounds are more varied in semantic type, but in most cases depict a forceful or vigorous action.

7-94	tjarar-pu-ng	'dig trench'	tjarar 'trench'
	tjilpir-pu-ng	'to split asunder, splinter'	tjilpir 'splinter'
	ulu-pu-ng	'to grind or rub in circular fashion'	ulu 'ground stuff'
	wiru-pu-ng	'scrape, make smooth'	wiru 'smooth, fine'
	tungun-pu-ng	'resist, disobey'	tungun 'unyielding'
	latja-pu-ng	'grind into past'	latja 'paste'
7-95	nuun-pu-ng	'make cloth bulge (eg push into the side of a tent)'	
	muur-pu-ng	'crush up something dry'	
	pulta-pu-ng	'crack joint'	
	payir-pu-ng	'yandy with a bouncing motion'	
	riwi-pu-ng	'wave (burning thing) back and forth so it flares up'	
	lamal-pu-ng	'prise, lever'	
	tarpi-pu-ng	'trip'	

Three pu-ng compounds depict vigorous bodily actions/functions which produce a sound (though 'hiccup' is not expressed with a pu-ng compound).

7-96	kunytjul-pu-ng	'cough'
	kaltara-pu-ng	'belch'
	nyuul-pu-ng	'blow nose'

Other miscellaneous compounds with non-stance verbs include the following.

7-97 (i)	wirtja-paka-l	'run' (northern and southern varieties; also P.)	paka-l 'get up'
	paar-paka-l	'fly'	
(ii)	tjalpa-wangka-Ø	'talk indirectly, politely'	wangka-Ø 'talk'
	anga-wangka-Ø	'intervene in verbal fight'	anga 'blocking'
(iii)	iri-rungka-l	'(wind) fan fire'	rungka-l 'throw stick, hurl'
	kata-rungka-l	'break by throwing stick'	kata 'broken'
(iv)	tjulka-waka-l	'pounce on and bite' (eg cat, dog)	waka-l 'pierce'
	tjara-waka-l	'(group) to divide, split up'	tjara 'group'
(v)	ila-witi-l	'set off for place in urgency'	witi-l 'grasp'
			ila 'close'
(vi)	ulu-kuli-l	'ponder'	kuli-l 'think'
(vii)	ira-nya-ng	'look upwards'	nya-ng 'look'
	walu-nya-ng	'look downwards'	

7.8 DIRECTIONAL PREFIXES AND REDUPLICATION

7.8.1 Directional Prefixes

The directional prefixes are amply illustrated through the text. Roughly speaking, they indicate the direction of motion eg (4-20), (4-32), (4-121), (7-26), (9-6) or the orientation of an action with respect to the speaker or another implied reference point. They are not restricted to motional verbs, but may occur with verbs of stance and posture (3-121), (4-52), (9-53), speech-acts (4-63ii), (9-80), and giving (4-77), among others (3-49), (9-49).

Directional Prefixes

ngalya-	'in this direction'
maa-	'away'
wati-	'across'
para-	'around'

7.8.2 Reduplication of Directional Prefixes

Reduplication of a directional prefix indicates plurality and dispersion of the subject of the verb. See also (6-55).

7-98 tjinguru ngintaka tjuta pungku-la(2)
 MAYBE perentie many(ACC) hit-SERIAL
 ngalya-ngalya-kati-ny_i, kungka tjuta-ngku
 this way-this way-bring-PRES woman many-ERG
 'Maybe after hitting (killing) a lot of perentie lizards,
 they're bringing them back, the women'

7-99 ayi! pala-tja wati-wati-nyina-ny_i
 hey just here-EVIDENT across-across-sit-PRES
 'Hey! Over there, there's a whole lot (of rabbits) sitting
 across-ways'

7-100 tjitu pulka kutu para-para-ngara-ny_i
 louse big really(NOM) around-around-stand-PRES
 'There's a real lot of lice around here' (in a marsupial
 mouse's nest)

7.8.3 Reduplication of Verb Root

A reduplicated verb root may indicate (i) a repeated or distributed action (7-101, 7-102), (ii) a hasty incomplete action (7-103), or (iii) a 'weakened version' of an action depicted by the root (7-104). (Cf Moravcsik 1978.)

7-101 puu-ra manta pata-pata-n_i,
 blow-SERIAL dirt(ACC) make drop off-make drop off-PRES
 waru unu, mayi-ngka ngari-ny_{tja}-la
 fire ash food-LOC lie-NOML-LOC
 '(You) blow on it to make the dirt come off (and) the ashes,
 that are on the food'

7-102 kapi-ngku wali atu-atu-n_i
 rain-ERG house(ACC) hit with stone-with stone-PRES
 'The 'rain' is pelting the house (hail)'

7-103 nyaa-ku-n munga-munga-n_i? ngura puriny-tju
 what-PURP-2sg(ERG) eat-eat-PRES WELL-JUST slow-ERG
 munga-nma ngalkal-ku-n, munu ilu-ku
 eat-IMP. IMPF choke-FUT-2sg(ERG) ADD die-FUT
 'Why are you bolting your food down? Just eat slowly,
 (otherwise) you might choke and die'

- 7-104 wita-ngka-lta kuntji-kuntji-ni, aa...
 spit-LOC-AND THEN smear-smear-PRES ah
 pilti-ringku-nytji-tja-ngka -mpa... katji nyanga
 dry-INCHO-NOML-ASSOC-LOC INTEREST spear this
 anangu kutu-lta waru-ngka-lta tjuna-tjuna-nyi
 body(ACC) really-AND THEN fire-LOC-and then put-put-PRES
 '(He) lightly smears it with spit, ah...once it's gone dry,
 (he) lightly runs this (part of the) body of the spear
 through the fire'
- 7-105 munta, palya, palya, palya-tja warki-ngu, katji-nguru
 SORRY good good good-lsgACC swear-PAST spear-ABL
 wangka-wangka-nytja-ngka
 talk-talk-NOML-LOC
 'Right, good, good. It's alright you swore at me, after/
 because of my little talk over the spear' (back-down)
- 7-106 kaliwara mayi kura, tjaa patja-patjal-payi
 A. olgena(NOM) food bad (NOM), mouth(ACC) bite-bite-CHAR
 'A. olgena is bad food, it stings the mouth'

I did not record any instance of a 'reduplicated root' verb in the perfective past or perfective imperative. This would be expected given the 'distributed' and/or 'ineffectual' semantic effect of the reduplication, but I am not sure whether perfective aspect is ungrammatical with reduplicated root verbs, or simply rare. Notice that for monomeric n- and ng-class verbs, it is the imperfective or neutral stem (as appropriate) that is reduplicated, as in (7-104); also punga-punga-nyi hit-hit-PRES 'is sort of hitting/tapping repeatedly', pungku-pungku-nytja hit-hit-NOML, tjunku-tjunku-nytja put-put-NOML 'putting all over the place/lightly and repeatedly putting'.

CHAPTER EIGHT : MISCELLANEOUS TOPICS

8.1 NEGATION

8.1.1 Introduction

This section deals with the main syntactic mechanisms of verbal negation in Yankunytjatjara - for stating that a certain action, process or event etc did not occur (stative verbal negation (8.1.3)), that an actor deliberately or actively avoided doing a certain thing (active verbal negation (8.1.4)), or that a certain action failed (or fails) to achieve its objective (8.1.5). Negation is of course also involved at many other places in the grammar - eg the privative construction (4.5.6), the CONTRARY nominal-deriving suffix -munu (4.6.3), the WRONG WORD suffix -kata (9.2.7), the particle wayi? 'what's the matter' in the special construction described in 9.3, the verbs wiya-ri-ng 'come to an end' and wiya-l 'bring to an end' and periphrastic constructions involving these (6.5.5).

The most prolific negative morpheme is wiya NEGative, which is involved in the privative construction, the verbs of finishing and ending, and in clausal negation in both verbless and verbal clauses. It also functions as an exclamation 'no, I disagree' - the negative counterpart of uwa 'yes, I agree'. (Uwa however is strictly an exclamation, and is morphologically inert except for its occurrence in delocutive verbs, see 7.3.3.) Outside of its exclamatory function, wiya is a nominal, since it enters into NPs as adnominal modifier, and may carry case inflection for the NP as a whole. Yankunytjatjara people often translate wiya, even in exclamatory function, as "nothing"; certainly wiya is the most appropriate translation for this English noun (see 8-70)).

8.1.2 Negation in Verbless and Existential Clauses

Negative ascriptive and equative (2.4.1) clauses consist of a subject juxtaposed to a negated predicate, formed by following the predicative noun or stative adjective with the NEGative morpheme wiya.

8-1 nyanga-tja pulka/waru wiya
 this-EVIDENT big/fire NEG(NOM)
 'This isn't big/ a fire'

Negative possessive clauses are formed by juxtaposing the subject to a predicate consisting of a noun followed by wiya, in the privative

construction (4.5.6).

8-2 ngayulu mani-tjara/mani wiya
 lsg(NOM) money-HAVING/money NEG(NOM)
 'I have/don't have money'

Since possessive and equative clauses are identical in the negative, a sentence like (8-3i) is ambiguous, depending on whether it is taken to correspond to an affirmative equative (8-3ii) or possessive (8-3iii).

8-3 (i) ngayulu kungka wiya
 lsg(NOM) woman NEG(NOM)
 'I'm not a woman'
 OR: 'I don't have a woman'

 (ii) ngayulu kungka
 lsg(NOM) woman(NOM)
 'I'm a woman'

 (iii) ngayulu kungka-tjara
 lsg(NOM) woman-HAVING(NOM)
 'I have a woman'

Negated existential sentences consist of a negated subject (a noun followed by *wiya*) with the existential verb *ngara-Ø* 'stand', as in (8-4). (But see below on existential-like statements made with the stative verbs *nyina-Ø* 'sit', *ngari-Ø* 'lie', *pupa-Ø* 'crouch'.)

8-4 kapi/mitingi wiya ngara-nyi
 water/meeting NEG(NOM) stand-PRES
 'There isn't any water/a meeting on'

8.1.3 Stative Verbal Negation

To state that a certain event simply hasn't occurred (or doesn't occur), one appends the NEGative morpheme *wiya* to a nominalised clause depicting the event in question.

8-5 ngayulu kati-nytja wiya, Anti-lu kati-ngu
 lsg(ERG) take-NOML NEG Andy-ERG NAME take-PAST
 'I didn't take it. Andy took it'

8-6 kaa paluru-lta lirinta-nu-lta, paluru
 CONTR DEF(ERG)-AND THEN strangle-PAST-AND THEN DEF(ERG)

pungku-nytja wiya
 hit-NOML NEG

'And he strangled him. He didn't hit him'

8-7 kaa katja panya, inkilyi-ku katja,
 CONTR son(NOM) ANAPH co-parent-in-law-GEN son(NOM)

wati waputju-ngka wangka-nytja wiya
 man father-in-law-LOC talk-NOML NEG

'But that son, the co-parent-in-law's son, doesn't talk to (his) father-in-law'

Note that the stative verbs nyina-Ø 'sit', ngari-Ø 'lie' and pupa-Ø 'crouch' form negatives in this manner regardless of whether they are being used to depict stance, or to make existential-like statements (2.4.1), as illustrated in (8-8).

8-8 (i) wati/kapi ngari-nytja wiya
 man/water(NOM) lie-NOML NEG

'The man isn't lying (sleeping)/There isn't any water (lying) (here)'

(ii) kungka/partjata kuwari nyina-nytja wiya
 woman/quoll now sit-NOML NEG

'The woman isn't sitting now/There aren't any quolls these days'

8.1.4 Active Verbal Negation

This construction deals with deliberate non-performance of an action - ie where someone is told or said to actively avoid doing a certain thing. This type of sentence always involves a non-negated finite verb stating the alternative course of action which the subject followed or should follow. Often this finite verb is simply wanti-Ø 'reject, leave (something) alone', as in (8-11) and (8-14).

The negated verb in neutral stem or nominalised form is followed by wiya NEGative, showing the familiar actor agreement pattern of case inflection (3.3.1) - ie carrying the ergative marker -ngku if the finite verb is transitive. (8-9) - (8-13) illustrate this with the negated verb in the neutral stem form. (Note that an l-class neutral stem followed by wiya

undergoes an elision (2.2.4), so that tjikil-wiya-ngku for instance becomes tjikiliya-ngku (ie -lw → l.)

8-9 kaa muurpungku-la ngapul-wiya-ngku paluru
 CONTR crush up-SERIAL eat powder-NEG-ERG DEF(ERG)

tjana tjiwa-ngka tjunku-la rungkal-payi
 3pl(ERG) flat rock-LOC put-SERIAL grind-CHAR

'And after crushing (the dried tobacco leaves), without eating any of the powder, they put it on a flat rock and grind it'

8-10 uu ngaltu-tjara! tjukutjuku-nti-n punga-ma,
 pity-HAVING little-MAYBE-2sg(ERG) hit-IMP. IMPF

pulka-ra pungku-wiya-ngku
 do fully-SERIAL hit-NEG-ERG

'Oh, the poor thing! You should/could have hit it a little bit, without hitting it really hard'

8-11 wiya! nyanga-tja mayi ngalku-wiya-ngku
 NEG this-EVIDENT food(ACC) eat-NEG-ERG

wanti-ma mayi kuka waliwali
 leave alone-IMP. IMPF veg food(ACC) meat(ACC) together
 ngalku-wiya-ngku
 eat-NEG-ERG

● 'No, don't eat (the) plant-food now, leave it alone, not eating vegetable and meat together'

8-12 kuka-ku yanku-wiya, yulta nyina-nyi
 meat-PURP go-NEG(NOM) in camp(NOM) sit-PRES

'(We're) not going for meat, (but) sitting in camp'

8-13 pirtji-wiya ngari-ma!
 wriggle-NEG(NOM) lie-IMP. IMPF

'Lie still, without wriggling!'

Somewhat less commonly, the negated verb appears in nominalised form, in which case the NEGative element wiya is not suffixed to the verb but follows as a separate word (ie receives a separate primary stress).

8-14 papulanku-nytja wiya-ngku wanti-ma nyuntu-mp.
 stare at-NOML NEG-ERG leave alone-IMP.IMP 2sg-GEN
 walytja pala-tja
 relation(NOM) just there-EVIDENT
 'Don't stare, that's your relation!'

8-15 wiya, tjitji ula-nytja wiya nyina-ma
 NEG child cry-NOML NEG(NOM) sit-IMP.IMP
 'No child, sit without crying'

8.1.5 The IN VAIN Pre-Verbal Adverb putu

Putu IN VAIN expresses unsuccessful action, taking in cases where an action is achieved but without fulfilling its intended purpose, and less commonly, cases where one action itself cannot be achieved (as in (7-56)). Note the semantic contrast shown in (8-16) and (8-17). Several other examples follow.

8-16 (i) ngayulu putu nya-ngu
 lsg(ERG) IN VAIN see-PAST
 'I couldn't see/find it'

(ii) ngayulu nyaku-nytja wiya
 lsg(ERG) see-NOML NEG
 'I didn't see it'

8-17 (i) ngayulu putu kuli-ni
 lsg(ERG) IN VAIN understand/hear/think-PRES
 'I can't understand/hear/think'

(ii) ngayulu kuli-ntja wiya
 lsg(ERG) understand/hear/think-NOML NEG
 'I don't/didn't understand/hear/think'

8-18 palu mungartji-mpa putu pata-ra,
 BUT OF COURSE afternoon-INTEREST IN VAIN wait-SERIAL
 marutju-ku nganana tina-nguru kulpa-nyi
 brother-in-law-PURP lpl(NOM) lunch-ABL return-PRES
 Mimilu-ku
 Mimilu-PURP

'But of course, if (we) wait in vain for (my) brother-in-law this afternoon, we'll return to Mimili after lunch'

8-19 ya-nu malu-ku paluru, yanku-la malu
 go-PAST 'roo-PURP DEF(NOM) go-SERIAL 'roo(ACC)
 putu nguri-ra(3) paluru ngalya-kulpa-ngi
 IN VAIN seek-SERIAL DEF(NOM) this way-return-PAST.IMPF
 'He went looking for kangaroo, and having moved around
 searching in vain (for) kangaroos, he was coming back here'

8-20 palu-nya tjitji pika-tjara kanyil-payi, munu
 DEF-ACC child ill-HAVING(ACC) keep-CHAR ADD
 putu yungku-payi kuka...kaa paluru wanti-payi
 IN VAIN give-CHAR meat(ACC) DEF(ERG) leave alone-CHAR
 'She is looking after a sick child, and offers it meat in
 vain ...(the child) rejects it'

8.2 QUESTIONS AND INTERROGATIVES

8.2.1 Polar (yes/no) Questions

These are formally identical with declarative sentences, except for a rising intonation contour.

8-21 kuwari-n tjarpa-ngu?
 today-2sg(NOM) enter-PAST
 'Did you enter (= arrive) today?'

Note that in answering polar questions, Yankunytjatjara speakers use uwa 'yes/I agree' and wiya 'no/I disagree' according to whether they agree or disagree with the proposition expressed in the question, (cf Sadock & Zwicky (to appear): 4.2.2), rather than with respect to the polarity of the answer, as in English.

8-22 (i) nyura waru wiya?
 2pl(NOM) fire NEG(NOM)
 'Don't you(pl) have any wood?'
 (ii) uwa (nganana waru wiya)
 yes 1pl(NOM) fire NEG(NOM)
 'Yes (we don't have any wood)'

8.2.2 Interrogative Nominals

(1) Identification of persons, places or things can be sought by means of nyaa- 'what?' and ngana- 'who, what name?', which usually occur sentence-

initially regardless of case inflection. Morphosyntactically these words are nominals, since they have the same case-marking pattern as nouns (ergative -ngku/-lu; nominative/accusative \emptyset /-nya; purposive (genitive) -ku etc). Ngana- 'who, what name?' takes the name-status case-markers (3.2), and nyaa- 'what?' the non-name-status case-markers.

Note that ngana- 'who, what name?' is used to seek not only the identity of a person, but the identity of named places and other named things, such as songs. Nyaa- 'what?' may be used to inquire about animals and natural forces, as well as inanimate objects. Ngana- 'what name, who?' is also used vocatively to attract someone's attention without mentioning their name eg ngana! ngana! 'hey you, excuse me!'

8-23 (i) nyaa-n nya-ngu?

what(ACC)-2sg(ERG) see-PAST

'What did you see?'

(ii) tjulpu nyaa-ngku alatji wangka-ny*i*?

bird what-ERG like this talk-PRES

'What bird talks (= has call) like this?'

(iii) nyaa-ngka ngara-ny*i*?

what-LOC stand-PRES

'Where (on what) does it grow?'

8-24 (i) nyuntu ini ngana-nya

2sg(NOM) name what name-NOM NAME

'What is your name?'

(ii) ngana-lu-nta yu-*ng*u

what name-ERG NAME-2sg(ACC) give-PAST

'Who gave it to you?'

(iii) mayu ngana-nya watja-la!

tune what name-ACC NAME tell-IMP

'Tell (us) what tune!'

(2) The remaining interrogative words are based on the root yaal INTER, or the related stem yaaltji 'which way?' (see below). All call for some type of specification, rather than simple identification.

8-25 (i) yaal-ta 'where (at)?'

-LOC

(ii) yaal-kutu 'where to/around?'

-ALL

- (iii) yaal-ara 'when?' (older speakers sometimes use
 -time, occasion yaal-ta-ara → yaaltara)
- (iv) yaal-itja 'what manner of?/what kind of?'
 -ASSOC

Some examples follow.

8-26 yaal-ta ngayulu nyina-ku
 INTER-LOC 1sg(NOM) sit-FUT
 'Whereabouts might I sit?'

8-27 yaal-ara-n tjarpa-ngu
 INTER-time-2sg(NOM) enter-PAST
 'When did you arrive?'

8-28 A: wati-nya-n nya-ngu?
 man-ACC NAME-2sg(ERG) see-PAST
 'Have you seen the Man?'

B: wati yaal-itja?
 man INTER-ASSOC (NOM)
 'What kind of man?'

A: wati-nya panya, ngana-ku, Tjilari-ku mama
 man-NOM NAME ANAPH what name-GEN Tjilari-GEN father (NOM)
 'You know the Man, whose...? Tjilari's father'

The word yaaltji 'which way, in what way?' is almost certainly derived historically from yaal- plus alatji 'like this'. Questions framed with yaaltji 'in what way?' are naturally answered by demonstration accompanied by alatji 'like this'. A number of interrogatives are based on yaaltji.

- 8-29 (i) yaaltji-ru¹ 'how many?'
 (ii) yaaltji-ru-ara 'how many times?'
 → yaaltjirura
 (iii) yaaltji-pitin 'in what sector?/on what side? (rare)'

Some examples follow.

8-30 A: yaaltji-n kuli-ni? B: alatji-na kuli-ni
 which way-2sg(ERG) think-PRES like this-1sg(ERG) think-PRES
 A: 'What do you think?' B: 'I think like this.....'

8-31 yaaltjiru-na yunga-nyi? nyanga alatjiru
 how many(ACC)-1sg(ERG) give-PRES this this many(NOM)
 'How many shall I give?' 'This many here'
 (for instance, someone about to give some pieces of fruit)

8-32 yaaltjiru-ara nyuntu nyanytju-ngka panya kalpa-ngu
 how many-time 2sg(NOM) horse-LOC ANAPH climb-PAST
 'How many times have you ridden that horse?'

8.2.3 Interrogative Verbs

There are five interrogative verbs, all formed from nominal interrogatives nyaa 'what?' and yaaltji 'in what way?' according to productive verb-forming processes.

(1) Nyaa-ri-Ø 'what happen?' and nyaa-1 'do what (to something)?' are respectively intransitive INCHOative (7.2.2) and transitive Ø-derived (7.4.1) interrogative verbs. Both call for a more or less exact and immediate identification of an action or event.

(2) The verbs based on yaaltji 'in what way?' seem to call for a more discursive description of an event or aspects of an event: (i) yaaltji-ri-Ø 'what kind of thing happen?' is an intransitive INCHOative (7.2.2) - it corresponds to alatji-ri-Ø 'this kind of thing happen' (ii) yaaltji-n 'do what kind of thing?' is a Ø-derived transitive (7.4.1) - it corresponds to alatji-n 'do like this' (eg (7-51)) (iii) yaaltjinga-1 'do what kind of thing to it?' is a transitive verb derived from the BODILY EFFECT suffix -tjinga-1 (7.4.3) by regular haplology (2.2.4) ie yaaltji-tjinga-1 → yaal-tjinga-1. It corresponds to alatjinga-1 'do like this to it'. Both are usually used as adverbial modifiers (6.5.6) - see also (6-81) and (6-82).

8-33 A: yaaltjinga-ra nyuntu punu wiru-ni?
 do what to it-SERIAL 2sg(ERG) wood(ACC) polish-PRES
 'By doing what do you polish (the) wood?'

B: alatjinga-ra
 do like this to it-SERIAL
 (demonstrating) 'By doing like this'

(2) Directionals also may occur either alone, if the reference point is implied, or with a preceding locative case NP specifying the reference point. They are distinguished semantically from positionals because they have absolute values corresponding (at least roughly)² to the English compass points.

8-39	X-LOC	alintjara	'north of X'
	X-LOC	ulparira	'south of X'
	X-LOC	wilurara	'west of X'
	X-LOC	kakarara	'east of X'

8-40 uu ngura-ngka panya ulparira, kurku panya pulka
 um place-LOC ANAPH south, mulga ANAPH big(NOM)
 ngara-nyi, panya palu-la-kutu
 stand-PRES ANAPH DEF-LOC-ALL
 'Um, south of that place, (where) that big mulga tree's growing,
 around there'

8-41 ...ngalya-kulpa-ra paakawila-la wilurara,
 this way-return-SERIAL Park Well-LOC NAME west,
 wilurara nguwan-alta, tjinatju-nu piyuku
 west almost-AND THEN set free-PAST again
 '...(and he) came back and let them go again west of Park
 Well, almost west'

Bearings mid-way between the cardinal directions can be referred to by combinations of cardinal direction words, just as we say in English 'north-west' or 'south-west' eg kakarara-alintjara 'east-north'. Directions which are slightly off 'true' can be spoken of as 'a little bit east' or 'almost east' eg alintjara, tjukutjuku kakarara 'north, a little east', and wilurara nguwan 'almost west' as in (8-41).

Directionals may be used without inflection to indicate direction of motion.

8-42 paluru tjana wilurara ya-nu
 DEF(NOM) 3pl(NOM) west go-PAST
 'They went west'

Directionals have the peculiarity that the PURPositive and ALLative case-markers when affixed to them occur as -lku and -lkutu respectively (see also (3-121), (3-122) and (3-136).)

8-43 munu-ya kutjupa tjara munkara-kutu
 ADD-3pl(ERG) another group(ACC) beyond-ALL

ulparira-lkutu maa-kati-ngi
 south-ALL away-take-PAST.IMPF

'And (they) were taking some groups of cattle off to the other side, to the south'

8-44 wilurara-nguru . kakarara-iku ya-nu
 west-ABL east-PURP go-PAST

'She went from west to east'

Directionals, rather than the 'ego-centric' terms waku 'right (side)' and tjampu 'left (side)', are normally used even when the objects close at hand eg waru-ngka ulparira 'south (of) the fire', kanku-ngka alintjara 'north (of) the shade (shelter)'. This type of usage is not uncommon in the languages of the world eg Keenan and Ochs (1979) for Malagasy, and is quite widespread in Australia, eg Haviland (1979a) for Guugu-Yimidhirr.

8-45 pala pala-tja, kakarara nguwan
 just there just there-EVIDENT east almost

'Just there, a little (to) the east'

(3) Katu 'above, on top of' and unngu 'inside, underneath' comprise a third sub-class of spatial qualifier. Like the positionals and directionals, they may occur either alone, or with a preceding locative NP giving the reference point, as in (8-46) and (8-47); but it is also possible for the preceding NP to be unmarked as in (8-48) and (8-49), apparently with no difference in meaning.

8-46 paluru tjana kanku-ngka unngu nyina-ngi
 DEF(NOM) 3pl(NOM) shelter-LOC inside sit-PAST.IMPF

'They were inside the shade-shelter'

8-47 kaanka tjuta Mimili-la katu yana-nyi
 crow many(NOM) Mimili-LOC NAME above go-PRES

'A lot of crows are flying above Mimili'

8-48 pala-tja nya-wa, kanyala nyina-nyi, apu
 just there-EVIDENT see-IMP euro(NOM) sit-PRES rock
 katu
 above

'Look there, (there's) a euro sitting in top (of) the hill'

8-49 nganana kanku unngu nyina-nyi
 lsg(NOM) shade underneath sit-PRES
 'We're sitting underneath a shade (shelter)'

(4) A fourth sub-class of spatial qualifiers - locationals - is made up of iti- 'close by', mala- 'behind', ngati- 'behind' and mira- 'in view'. These occur alone or with a preceding locative case NP specifying the reference point, but unlike other spatial qualifiers, are themselves inflected for case, usually locative.

8-50 kaa wati tjilpi ngura-ngka nyina-nyi nyuntu-la
 CONTR man old man(NOM) camp-LOC sit-PRES 2sg-LOC
 ngali-la iti-ngka
 ldu-LOC close by-LOC

'And the old man is staying in camp, close by you and I'

8-51 punu-ngka iti-kutu ya-ra
 tree-LOC close by-ALL go-IMP
 'Walk close to the tree'

Note however that these basically spatial expressions can also be used to say that something happened after, or close in time to, some other event, eg -

8-52 tina-ngka mala-ngka 'after lunch, following lunch'
 Christmasa-ngka iti-ngka 'close to Christmas-time'

8.3.2 Other Spatial Expressions

(1) I am not sure how to classify the words warara 'along'³ and witjuruly 'right through', both of which are preceded by an unmarked noun.

8-53 puti warara kulpa
 scrub along return(IMP)
 '(The quoll) would return along the scrub' (ie in the shelter of scrub)

8-54 apu witjuruly ngari-kati-nyi
 hill right through lie-PROCESS-PRES
 '(Railway line) goes right through the hill'

(2) ila 'close', wanma 'distant' and ngatal 'close to camp' are best regarded as stative adjectives rather than spatial qualifiers because they can act as adnominal modifiers eg ngura wanma-nguru place distant-ABL 'from a distant place'. However, if it is necessary to state a reference point, this is done in the same manner as with spatial qualifiers - ie a preceding locative NP eg palu-la wanma DEF-LOC distant 'a long way from there'.

8.4 TIME QUALIFIERS AND OTHER TEMPORAL EXPRESSIONS

Time qualifiers (2.3.4) are a small set of invariable words indicating location in 'historic' time (as opposed to diurnal and seasonal 'time' - location within a cycle of environmental changes). Time qualifiers usually occur sentence-initially or pre-verbally. I believe (8-56) is a complete list.

8-56 iriti 'a long time ago, in the old days'
 mungatu 'some time ago'
 kuwari 'today, at present'
 ngula 'later on'

Iriti is used only of the quite distant past, for instance when adults are recalling their lives as children. Mungatu can refer to something many years ago, or only a few days ago. Ngula is likewise quite unspecific - it could be used anticipating a wait of a few days or many years. Kuwari takes in 'today' and 'these days', much as English 'today'. It is also commonly used as English 'presently, directly, soon'. Corresponding to kuwari 'today, presently, soon', there is the word kuwaripa 'not yet', used for instance as the standard way of putting off a request.⁴ If necessary, the word kuwari can be modified by the adverb nguwan 'somewhat, almost' or the demonstrative nyanga 'this': kuwari nguwan 'soon' as opposed to kuwari nyanga 'now'. Similar expressions are kuwari nyangatja 'here and now' and kuwarika 'right now' (see 9.2.3 for the clitic particle -ka JUST SO).

The time of day - or more accurately, the phase of the day - can be indicated by a good number of words, and I am certain the following list is not exhaustive. Semantically, these words seem to refer primarily to the state of the light as the day proceeds through its cycle, and to explain their

meanings people usually point to the place in the sky where the sun would be at that particular time of day (except of course for mungangka 'at night').

8-57	<u>munga-ngka</u>	'at night' (munga = darkness)
	<u>munga-winki</u>	'morning' (winki = complete)
	<u>kalala</u>	'heat of the day' (cf <u>kala</u> 'flame')
	<u>mungartji</u>	'late afternoon'

There are other expressions that refer to more specific phases of the day, including words like mungamunga lit: dark-dark 'dawn', and wantitja 'just before sundown, evening', and expressions like kuru munga-tjara lit: eye dark-HAVING 'pre-dawn', and the verb katjarungka-l '(dawn) to break'. There is also munga kultu-ngka 'in the middle of the night' (kultu = trunk). The rising and setting of the sun is described much as in English: tjintu paka-ni 'sun's getting up = rising' and tjintu tjarpa-nyi 'the sun's going in = setting'.

Kalala can be used not only for 'in the heat of the day' in the strict sense, as in (8-58), but also to mean 'in the day' generally, as opposed to mungangka 'at night'.

8-58	<u>kalala-la</u>	<u>pawu-ra</u>	<u>ngalku-payi</u>
	heat of the day-lpl(ERG)	roast-SERIAL	eat-CHAR
	'We used to roast and eat game in the day'		

8-59	<u>ngayulu</u>	<u>mulya</u>	<u>pati-ri-ngu,</u>	<u>urkaly,</u>	<u>munga-ngka,</u>
	lsg(NOM)	nose(NOM)	closed-INCHO-PAST	phlegm(NOM)	night-LOC
	<u>kalala</u>	<u>palya,</u>	<u>munga-ngka</u>	<u>kura</u>	
	daylight	good	night-LOC	bad	
	'My nose is clogged up; mucous at night. It's OK in the day, (but) bad by night'				

Mungangka 'at night' can be used to mean both 'yesterday night' and 'tonight'. Mungawinki 'morning' and mungartji 'late afternoon' may be used to mean 'tomorrow morning' and 'yesterday afternoon' respectively.

Mungartji can also be used to mean 'yesterday' generally, possibly an extension of its use as 'yesterday afternoon', since yesterday afternoon is the most recent phase of yesterday. (Cf Dixon 1976:498 on Yidiny). Admittedly, on this interpretation one would expect to find an extension of mungawinki 'morning' to take in 'tomorrow' generally. Though I think

it is probably possible to use mungawinki in this way in some contexts, generally the word tjintu-ngka sun-LOC 'in the day' is used to mean 'tomorrow' as in (8-60). Tjintungka also has the literal meaning 'in the sunlight' as in (8-61).

8-60 tjintu-ngka-na Mimili-ku kulpa-nyi
 day-LOC-lsg(NOM) Mimili-PURP return-PRES
 'Tomorrow I'm going back to Mimili'

8-61 tjintu-ngka-li nyina-ma
 sun-LOC-ldu(NOM) sit-IMP.IMPF
 'Let's sit in the sunlight'

The word kutjupa 'another' can be used to form parallel expressions with munga 'night/dark' and tjintu 'day/sun' - for instance tjintu kutjupa-ngka 'day after tomorrow' and tjintu kutjupa kutjupa 'every day'.

Some people told me that mungalyuru is the original Yankuntjatjara word for 'tomorrow' and that tjintungka is a Pitjantjatjara usage. Mungalyuru can apparently refer directly to tomorrow (or possibly tomorrow morning) and, by extension, to the near future generally.

8-62 ngayulu mungalyuru inka-ku piyuku, inma
 lsg(ERG) tomorrow sing-FUT again song(ACC)
 palu-nya-ka
 DEF-ACC-JUST SO
 'I might sing again tomorrow, the very same song'

8-63 paluru wangka-ra ara tjakultju-nu, report,
 DEF(ERG) talk-SERIAL matter(ACC) inform-PAST report(ACC)
 mitingi panya Pitjantjara Council mitingka
 meeting ANAPH meeting-LOC
 mungalyuru
 in future
 'He'll report the matter, to the meeting, the Pitjantjatjara Council meeting, soon afterwards'

There is a fairly rich set of expressions describing the phases of the yearly cycle, but my data on this is incomplete. The simplest divisions are:

8-64	<u>unun-ta</u> /kuli-ngka(P)	summer heat-LOC
	nyinninga-ngka	cold time/frost-LOC
	piriya-kutu	spring = time of the <u>piriya</u> (a hot wind from the north-west)

Unun 'heat' and nyinninga 'frost, freezing', like tjintu 'sun' and munga 'darkness', are grammatically nouns, taking locative case in these expressions describing the ambient environment (3.5.1). Piriya-kutu is based on the vague 'around about' sense of ALLative -kutu (3.6.2).

(Ethnographies often mention Aboriginal reference to the constellations, and to plant and animal life cycles as a way of indicating phases of the year, eg time of the dingo pups (papa-ngka dog-LOC), time of the Corkwood flowers, but though I heard examples of each of these, I have not recorded enough information to make it worth presenting.)

8.5 ADVERBS

8.5.1 Introduction

In terms of part of speech criteria (2.3.4), adverbs are a residual class - morphologically inert words which do not qualify as free particles on semantic grounds (ie their meanings do not range over the sentence as a whole, expressing speaker's attitudes or beliefs). As is to be expected of a residual class they show considerable syntactic and semantic heterogeneity. The following classification is incomplete and tentative.

It may be difficult to tell whether a word is an active adjective (2.3.2) or an adverb if, due to its semantics, it almost always occurs with intransitive verbs. For instance, I originally mistook active adjectives of 'route taking' (such as kultukata 'taking short-cut', ngatakuru 'stopping short', ngurili 'taking circuitous, twisting route') for adverbs because they are almost always found with intransitive verbs of motion. However, in rare instances with transitive verbs they show the actor agreement pattern of case inflection (ie overt ergative marking) and so are clearly active adjectives.

8.5.2 'Temporal/Aspectual' Adverbs

These include piyuku 'again, more' (P. piruku), ngapartji 'in proper turn, in return', and ngulakutju 'too late' (lit: later-only). See also (4-141), (6-19), (9-4), (9-12), (9-50) and (10-24).

8-65 kaa palu-la ngari-payi,... ngari-ra(6), kampa
 CONTR DEF-LOC lie-CHAR lie-SERIAL side
 kutjupa-ri-ra ngari-ma piyuku, munu piyuku
 another-INCHO-SERIAL lie-IMP.IMPf again ADD again
 watungara-ma
 lie prone-IMP.IMPf

'And (the sick person) lies on it ...after lying for some time,
 (he) turns over and lies some more on the other side, and then
 lies some more face down'

8-66 kungka tjuta ngapartji inka-nyi
 woman many(NOM) in proper turn play-PRES

'The women will dance in proper turn (ie after the men)'

8-67 ngayulu ngulakutju nya-ngu
 lsg(ERG) too late see-PAST

'I found it after it was too late'

8.5.3 Adverbs of Degree or Scale

These include nguan 'rather, almost' and kutu 'really, just so', both of which may modify nouns, adjectives or spatial qualifiers, sometimes forming expressions similar to the English comparative and superlative degrees, respectively, eg pulka nguan 'sort of big/bigger', pulka kutu 'really big'; punu nguan 'a sort of plant', punu kutu 'really/just a plant'. I do not properly understand the semantics of nguan - in its comparative-forming function it is glossed as 'rather' or 'sort of', but in other contexts as 'almost'. I concede that in some sentences, like (8-68), the choice may not be obvious. (Kutu 'really, just so' is identical in form to the allative suffix -kutu. The adverb kutu is not found in Pitjantjatjara, whose comparable expression is alatjitu.)

8-68 pika-mpa palya-ri-ngu, ipily nguan
 sickness(NOM)-INTEREST good-INCHO-PAST healthy almost
 ngara-nyi
 stand-PRES

'The sickness has got better, (I'm) almost healthy (again)'

8-69 inka-wiya, wati panya kura nguan nyuntu
 play-NEG man ANAPH bad rather(NOM) 2sg(NOM)

'No playing around, you're the worse man (of us) you know'

8-70 tala tjukutjuku nguwan, anangu
dollar small rather(NOM) Aboriginal person(ACC)

alpa-mila-ntja-ku, wiya nguwan
help-LOAN-NOML-PURP nothing almost(NOM)

'(There's) a smaller amount of money to help Aboriginal people,
almost nothing'

As modifiers of adjectives and nouns, kutu 'really' and nguwan 'rather, almost' sometimes carry overt case-marking for the NP as a whole, as in (8-71).

8-71 munu paluru tjana pulyantu kalpi-lta wita-ra(3),
ADD DEF(ERG) 3pl(ERG) tobacco leave(ACC) single-SERIAL

pukul kutu-ngku
happy really-ERG

'And they were singeing the tobacco leaves (to prepare them
for chewing), really happily'

The nominal mula 'true' is also used to form superlative-like expressions, eg pulka mula 'really big', punu mula 'a true/real plant'. Interestingly, pika 'pain, hurt' can precede an adjective or spatial qualifier as an extreme, and somewhat emotionally coloured, superlative-like modifier, as in (8-72) and (8-73).

8-72 kaa-la ngura pika parari ngari-payi
CONTR-1pl(NOM) WELL JUST hurt distant lie-CHAR

'And we'd, well just, lie (= camp) really far away'

8-73 ...pika wirunya kutu
hurt fine really

'...really really excellent'

Kutu 'really, just so' and nguwan 'rather, almost' may also act as verb modifiers, as in (8-74) - (8-75). (See 10.3.2 for more detail on the use of nguwan as in (8-76), to make a polite expression of desire.)

8-74 (i) nganga-ku, kutu-na-tju palya-ringa-nyi
heck-PURP really-1sg(NOM)-REFLEX good-INCHO-PRES

'By heck! I'm completely recovered!'

- (11) punu nyanga paluru wankal-payi kutu
 plant this DEF(ERG) heal-CHAR really
 'This plant really heals (one)'

8-75 ngayulu ilu-ngu nguwan
 1sg(NOM) die-PAST almost
 'I almost died'

8-76 ngayulu kuka nguwan ngalku-ni
 1sg(ERG) meat(ACC) almost eat-PRES
 'I'd rather like to eat some meat'

8.5.4 Adverbs of Posture

These include kankara '(lie) spread out on back', anta '(lie) on side' and ngatarpi '(sit) cross-legged'. As indicated, each of these words is specific to a particular verb of posture or stance. They express the same sort of information as the stance/posture compound verbs described in 7.7.2, but are clearly separate words, because they can be host for clitic pronouns.

8-77 kankara-na ngari-nyi
 on back-1sg(NOM) lie-PRES
 'I'm lying spread out on (my) back'

8.5.5 Other Adverbs

Adverbs which do not fit into any of the above categories include the apparently synonymous 'addition' adverbs waliwali and kulukulu 'also, as well' (8-78), ngaparku 'facing straight on'⁵ (8-79) (8-35) and (9-7), and ngunytji (P. ngunti) 'falsely, wrongly', (8-80) and (8-81).

8-78 kuru palya-ri-ngu munu kutu kurunpa
 eye(NOM) good-INCHO-PAST ADD heart(NOM) spirit(NOM)
kulukulu-na tjukaruru-ri-ngu
 as well-1sg(NOM) straight-INCHO-PAST

'(My) eyes are better, and (in) the heart (and) spirit also
 I've been set straight (by this bush medicine)'

8-79 ngaparku ngara-la-li-nku waka-la
 facing straight on stand-SERIAL-1du(ERG)-REFLEX spear-IMP
 'Let's stand and spear each other facing straight on'

8-80 nganana ngunytji ya-nu
lpl(NOM) wrongly go-PAST
'We went the wrong way'

8-81 rayipula ngunytji ngayulu kati-ngu
rifle(ACC) wrongly lsg(ERG) bring-PAST
'I brought the rifle for no reason' (because we had so
little petrol we had no chance to hunt)

CHAPTER NINE : SENTENCE CONNECTIVES AND PARTICLES

9.1 SENTENCE CONNECTIVES

9.1.1 Introduction

Our treatment of switch-reference in purposive and circumstantial clauses confirmed the implication of Jacobsen's original definition of switch-reference, that a given morpheme (such as the purposive marker -ku or the locative marker -la) may indicate switch-reference in some contexts, but not others. This will be further confirmed by the following discussion of the connectives kaa and munu, which in certain circumstances indicate a switch or retention of a common subject respectively. Austin's survey (1980) of switch-reference in Australia shows that Western Desert is apparently the only Australian language with a switch-reference system of this type, ie one that operates between independent clauses or sentences. Essentially however, signalling switch or retention of subjects is not the basic meaning of either connective. In the broadest terms kaa is a contrastive connective (and will be glossed CONTR), and munu is an 'additive' connective rather similar to English 'and', except that its role in phrasal conjunction is more restricted (it will be glossed ADD). In addition to kaa and munu, there is a third connective palu (identical in form to the DEFINite nominal), which acts as a proclitic to the first element of a clause. Unlike the other connectives, palu is concerned with the 'status' of the following material, which it presents as presupposed, or to be taken for granted (it will be glossed BUT OF COURSE).

9.1.2 The ADDitive Connective munu

(1) As an NP coordinator the role of munu ADD is more or less limited to enumeration or 'listing'. It is not used to form the equivalents of English phrases like 'you and I', 'John and I' or 'Mary and Jane' (ie to refer to persons as a group), a function covered by the inclusive construction (4.2.1). Munu ADD may be used to enumerate a list of persons, as in (9-2) - but here the individuals are being referred to one at a time, not being referred to in a single referential act as a group. Further, even when the speaker is listing a number of individual objects or persons, the words referring to these need not be separated by munu, for instance (4-112), (6-4) and (8-78). Use of munu is associated either with (i) a deliberate step-by-step spelling out of each of a number of individual things, as in (9-1) and (9-2), or (ii) with 'afterthought' as in (9-3). (The 'afterthought' status of the second part of (9-3) is not evident from the written form, but is very clear when pause and intonation are taken

into account.)

9-1 iriti nganana mayi wangunu ngalku-payi,
 long ago lpl(ERG) food woollybutt(ACC) eat-CHAR

 munu wakati, munu kaltukaltu, munu
 ADD pig-face(ACC) ADD native millet(ACC) ADD

 ili...
 wild-fig(ACC)...

'In the old days we used to eat woollybutt (grain) and pigface,
and native millet, and wild-fig...'

9-2 nganana iriti nyina-ngi, ngayu-ku mama,
 lpl(NOM) long ago sit-PAST.IMPF lsg-GEN father(NOM)

 munu ngayu-ku ngunytju, munu tjamu
 ADD lsg-GEN mother(NOM) ADD grandfather(NOM)

 kami, munu ngayu-ku malany mankur
 grandmother(NOM) ADD lsg-GEN junior sibling three(NOM)

'In the old days we were, my father, and my mother, and
grandfather (and) grandmother, and my three junior siblings'

9-3 kaa paluru pintjatan wangka-payi, kuka pintjatan,
 CONTR DEF(ERG) rabbit(ACC) talk-CHAR meat rabbit(ACC)

 munu mayi ili...
 ADD food wild-fig(ACC)

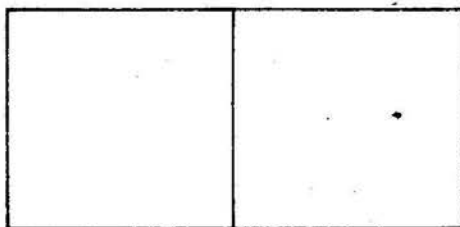
'They (the women) used to talk about (getting) rabbits, rabbit
meat, and wild-fig...'

(2) The use of munu as a same subject sentence connective is closely linked with its enumerative function as an NP coordinator. To see this, it is necessary to recapitulate some facts about peripheral level verb serialisation, which, as discussed in 6.5.2, involves a series of verbs marked with an invariable SERIAL suffix, sharing a common subject with a main verb (finite or nominalised) determining the tense/mood status of the whole string. Each verb may have independent peripheral arguments, temporal qualifiers and independent objects, though very often they do not. In terms of the Foley/Van Valin/Olson typology of clause juncture, this phenomenon is a co-subordinate nexus (linkage type), i.e. though the serialised junctives are not embedded in one another they form a composite unit for the purpose of operators such as tense/mood marking.

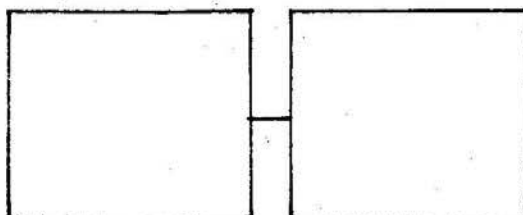
Peripheral serialisation is similar to the use of munu ADD as a connective, in so far as both constructions demand that the verbs involved share a common subject; but they differ in that in the serial construction, tense/mood is marked only once, on the sole finite verb, whereas each verb joined by munu is marked separately. Note however, that despite the separate marking there is no instance in the present corpus of verbs joined by munu ADD disagreeing in tense (time reference), illocutionary force or status (irrealis/realis). Rarely, as in (9-8), a CHARACTERISTIC verb (suffix -payi) may be linked with an imperative imperfective verb (suffix -ma IMP. IMPF), but this does not involve a difference in tense (time reference), since neither of these inflections is specified for tense (time reference). More commonly, as in (9-7), junctives containing verbs in the PAST perfective (-ngu/-nu) and past imperfective (PAST. IMPF) (-ngi) may be linked with munu, but this is a difference in aspect, not tense.

The fact that verbs joined by munu ADD share the peripheral level operators of tense, and status, together with the fact, illustrated in (9-4), (9-5) and (9-6), that they may have distinct peripheral arguments and modifiers, establishes the juncture as coordinate linkage (nexus) at the peripheral level, in terms of the Foley/Van Valin/Olsen model. Diagrammatically:

Serialisation: Co-Subordinate Nexus at Peripheral Level



munu: Coordinate Nexus at Peripheral Level



Semantically (and here is the link between the NP coordinating and sentence/clause coordinating role of munu), the contrast between peripheral serialisation and the use of munu has to do with whether or not independent attention is being directed toward the separate actions. Serialisation is used when the speaker is mainly interested in the final action depicted by the finite verb - it presents a series of subsidiary or preparatory actions which culminate in that depicted by the main verb. Munu is used when independent attention is being directed toward the separate actions. Impressionistically, coordination with munu puts actions by a single subject into separate, but related, packages. Co-subordination through verb serialisation puts several in the same package. (Cf Grimes (1975:40): "the time sequence of a narrative is rarely expressed as though the events simply followed one another like beads on a string. Instead there is usually a grouping of events into smaller sequences, and then each of these smaller sequences as a unit is put together with other sequences of the same kind".)

The usual style in Yankunytjatjara discourse is to depict the successive actions of a single subject by means of serialisation, except where they are physically separated by an intervening period of motion or travel as in (9-4) - (9-6).

- 9-4 nyina-ra(2) paluru paka-nu munu yanku-la
 sit-SERIAL DEF(NOM) get up-PAST ADD go-SERIAL

 maa-ngari-ngu munu piyuku yanku-la maa-ngari-ngu
 away-lie-PAST ADD again go-SERIAL away-lie-PAST

 'Having stayed some time, she set off, and having travelled
 for some time camped, and again travelled and camped away'
- 9-5 munu ngari-ra tjintu-ringku-la, paka-ra kuka-ku
 ADD lie-SERIAL sun-INCHO-SERIAL get up-SERIAL meat-PURP

 yanku-la wiya-ringku-payi munu-ya kuka
 go-SERIAL nothing-INCHO-CHAR ADD-3pl(ERG) meat(ACC)

 tjawu-ra witi-ra(4) kaa wati tjuta-ngku...
 dig-SERIAL grab-SERIAL CONTR man many-ERG

 'And having slept the night would all go off after meat,
 and they (the women) would be digging out meat, and the
 men...'

- 9-6 ..wararakati-ra yana-ngi ngura nyara
 jump down-SERIAL go-PAST.IMPF place over there
 Piriny-ku, munu Piriny-tja maa-tjarpa-ngu
 Piriny-PURP ADD Piriny-LOC away-go in-PAST
 '..(He) got down and was travelling to that place Piriny, and
 (he) arrived at Piriny'

Physical separation in time or space is not however the only context where coordination with munu is found. The actions described may be carried out sequentially in the same place, but expressed in two clauses joined with munu if equal attention is being directed to each for some other discourse-related reason, as in (9-7) and (9-8). ((9-7) from Text 11 is rather unusual in showing four sentences linked with munu. Here the speaker is very deliberately describing the preparations made against a marauding eagle. The effect of coordination with munu is clearly to direct individual attention to each stage of these preparations. The connection with the NP enumerative function should be obvious.)

- 9-7 kaa-ya wiltja pulkanya wiltja-nu
 CONTR-3pl(ERG) shade shelter big(ACC) build shelter-PAST
 munu utju tju-nu munu kampa kutjupa
 ADD narrow(ACC) put-PAST ADD side other
 tju-nu utju munu winta pulkanya
 put-PAST narrow(ACC) ADD spear big(ACC)
 tjaas-ngka-lta ngaparku ngaratju-nu, iri
 mouth-LOC-AND THEN straight out stand up-PAST point
 katu-kutu-lta, munu pata-ra nyina-ngi
 up-ALL-AND THEN ADD wait-SERIAL sit-PAST.IMPF
 'And they built a big shade shelter, and made (put) a
 narrow (entrance), and on the other side made a narrow
 entrance, and stood a big stabbing spear in the entrance
 (= mouth), facing straight out, point upwards, and were
 waiting'

- 9-8 kaa paki tjawu-ra util-payl munu
 CONTR sand(ACC) dig-SERIAL make plain-CHAR ADD
 unngu-tja tjiki-nma
 inside-ASSOC drink-IMP.IMPF

'And (they) used to dig sand and reveal (water) and
would drink the stuff underneath'

Finally, note that so far as the 'common subject' restriction is
concerned, munu may be used if the subject of the second junct
referentially includes that of the first junct (ie $S_1 \subset S_2$), but not
vice versa.

9-9 kuka-na kati-ra pawu-nu munu-li
 meat(ACC)-lsg(ERG) take-SERIAL roast-PAST ADD-ldu(ERG)

 ngalku-nu
 eat-PAST

'I brought some meat, roasted it and we ate it'

9-10 pata-la nyanga-nguru munu-li tjungu
 wait-IMP this-ABL ADD-ldu(NOM) together(NOM)

 maa-ya-ra!
 away-go-IMP

'Wait here and we'll go together (when I get back)'

9-11 wala pulka-la ya-ra kaa/*munu-na
 quick big(NOM)-lpl(NOM) go-IMP CONTR/*ADD-lsg(ERG)

 ngunytju-nya nya-wa
 mother-ACC NAME see-IMP

'Let's go really quickly, and I'll see my mother (when we
get there)'

9.1.3 The CONTRastive Connective kaa

The CONTRastive connective kaa is found in three main contexts: (1)
where one proposition is being contrasted with another, or when in a
narration, a surprising or exceptional development occurs; (2) in
exclamations expressing the wish to be able to do something long yearned
for, or delight at having at last become able to do such a thing;
(3) in narration, linking sentences with referentially different sub-
jects (the switch-reference function).

(1) (9-12) exemplifies the use of kaa CONTR to divide a stretch of
discourse into contrasting sections, not in terms of a contrast or
switch in subject or actor, but in terms of topic. Despite the change

of subject between the first and second sentences, the CONTRastive kaa does not occur, probably because the topic of both is tjilpi tjuta 'the old men'. In the third sentence both topic and subject switch to nganana 'we', and contrastive kaa occurs. The fourth sentence continues with topic nganananya 'us' as evidenced by its fronted position, and the 'afterthought' status of the subject mamungku 'the 'devils''. Again, because of the maintenance of topic, no kaa occurs between sentences three and four, despite the change in subject.

- 9-12 (i) tjinguru tjilpi tjuta kuwari wiya-ringa-nyi
 MAYBE old man many(NOM) now nothing-INCHO-PRES
- (ii) mamu-ngku patja-ni
 evil being-ERG bite-PRES
- (iii) kaa nganana watarku nyina-nyi
 CONTR lpl(NOM) heedless(NOM) sit-PRES
- (iv) tjinguru nganana-nya ngapartji patja-ni, mamu-ngku
 MAYBE lpl-ACC in turn bite-PRES evil being-ERG
- 'Perhaps the old men are finishing up now. Evil spirit beings are biting them. But we aren't paying attention. Maybe they'll bite us in turn, the evil spirit beings'

(9-13) comes from a description of how to collect sweet dew from the flowers of waputi (*Thryptomene maisonneuvii*). Though the subject of both sentences is yuru 'liquid', their contrasting or opposed nature demands the use of CONTRastive kaa. Similarly, in (9-14) the speaker is contrasting two states of affairs separated in time and, despite the fact that the subject of both sentences is nganana 'we', kaa is used.

- 9-13 nyingga-ngka panya yuru ngari-payi, kaa
 winter-LOC ANAPH liquid(NOM) lie-CHAR CONTR
- nyanga-puriny-tja wiya, pilti-ringa-nyi
 this-SIMILAR-LOC NEG dry-INCHO-PRES
- 'In winter, you know, there's liquid, but not when it's like this (hot weather), it dries up'

9-14 kaa nganana iriti kapi palya-ngka nyina-ngi...
 CONTR lpl(NOM) long ago water good-LOC sit-PAST.IMPF

palu nganana-mantu kapi palya-ngka
 BUT OF COURSE lpl(NOM)-CERTAINLY water good-LOC

nyina-ngi kaa nganana kuwari kapi puwa-nguru
 sit-PAST.IMPF CONTR lpl(ERG) now water bore-ABL

pika ura-ni
 sickness(ACC) get-PRES

'And in the old days we had good water...only of course
 in the old days we had good water, but these days we
 get sicknesses from the bore water'

As we shall see in (3) below, in narration kaa usually has the switch-reference function, ie contrasting successive actors or subjects, but even in narration, sentences depicting surprising or otherwise exceptional events are introduced by kaa regardless of the retention of a common subject. For instance, (9-15) is from a passage describing the use of a certain type of medicinal plant. The protagonist is said to apply the liquid prepared from the plant, and lie down. Then, as he lies there, in a new and significant development, he recovers. Despite the retention of a common subject, kaa occurs between the two sentences. A similar example is (9-16), which describes the reaction of a wanampi water-snake, which can control the wind, to our visit to its waterhole.

9-15 yuru-lta kata-ngka tjuna-nyi munu
 liquid(ACC)-AND THEN head-LOC put-PRES ADD

ngari-ra kaa palya-ringa-nyi
 lie-SERIAL CONTR good-INCHO-PRES

'(He) puts the liquid on his head, and is lying down.
 And (then) he gets better'

9-16 nyanga walpa mirpan-ari-ngu palu-mpa ngali-mpa,
 this wind(NOM) angry-INCHO-PAST DEF-PURP ldu-PURP

kaa walpa atana-ri-ngu, unytju
 CONTR wind(NOM) quiet-INCHO-PAST not serious(NOM)

mirpan-ari-ngu
 angry-INCHO-PAST

'This wind got angry at we two, and (then) the wind calmed down. It's not seriously angry'

(2) A second context where kaa occurs is in (i) exclamations of delight at being able to do something one has longed for, and (ii) in a sort of conditional wish to be able to do something one has longed for. (9-17) and (9-18) illustrate the first of these.

(9-17) occurs in a passage in the indirect speech-style tjalpawangkanytja (10.3.2), after the speaker has elicited the offer of a meal from a relation. This type of exclamation of grateful relish is common also in normal social interaction and shows appreciation for an offer. (9-18) is from a text describing the men's liking for native tobacco. After being deprived of it for some time, the protagonists finally get a fresh supply. In both cases the rationale for the introductory kaa is evidently the contrast between the delightful new development and the dismal past.

9-17 alatji! kaa-na tjuni nyanga-tja
 like this CONTR-lsg(NOM) stomach(NOM) this-EVIDENT

 paltja-ri-wa
 satisfy-INCHO-IMP

'Just so! And now I'll satisfy my stomach (at last)!'

9-18 uwa, kuru-lta paka-la, pulyantu
 yes eye(NOM)-AND THEN get up-IMP tobacco(ACC)

 ngalku-la "uwa-r! kaa-na-tju pulyantu
 eat-IMP yes-EXCIT CONTR-lsg(ERG)-REFLEX tobacco(ACC)

 ngalku-la!"
 eat-IMP

'Yes, (his) eyes lift up, as he chews the tobacco,

"Oh yes! And now at last I'm chewing me some tobacco!'"

(9-19) and (9-20) illustrate a similar use of kaa in a 'conditional wish'.

9-19 kuta-nya ngalya-yanku-ku kaa-li
 senior brother-NOM NAME this way-go-FUT CONTR-ldu(NOM)

 kuka-ku ya-ra!
 meat-PURP go-IMP

'(If only) big brother would come back, and we could go for meat at last!'

9-20 wala-wi kaa-na-tju tjaali
quick-WISH CONTR-1sg(NOM)-REFLEX holding in mouth(NOM)
ngari-r!
lie(IMP)-EXCIT

'Oh, let's get a move on, and I can sleep with (tobacco) in my mouth!'

(3) Finally, there is what is probably the most common use of kaa, and that which has attracted most attention from linguistic commentators to date, that of indicating a switch in subject between successive sentences in 'narration'. By narration, I mean to include all speech contexts where events are being related in chronological sequence (cf Glass 1980:77, 187), taking in prophecies, and the relating of customary activities, as well as narrative in the strict sense. As Glass 1980 points out, since narration consists of describing events that follow one another, in this context kaa is almost invariably found between sentences sharing the same tense/mood/status specification. It is as if, given this framework, the main contrast in the discourse is between the participants, or more specifically, between the actor/subjects of successive sentences.

In narration the use of kaa CONTR between sentences with different subjects is almost a water-tight rule. Since kaa signals a change of subjects, and munu ADD and serialisation retention of a common subject, it is not necessary to constantly specify the identify of the protagonists once they have been established at the onset, and consequently subject ellipsis is extremely widespread (at least in the most common case where the number of protagonists is low). (9-21) are made-up examples illustrating the kaa CONTR (= switch subject) versus munu ADD (= same subject) contrast. In the absence of an overt subject for the second verb mirangu 'cried out', (9-21i) must be understood with same subject, and (9-21ii) with different subject interpretation.

9-21 (i) wati-ngku papa pu-ngu munu mira-ngu
man-ERG dog(ACC) hit-PAST ADD cry out-PAST
'The man hit the dog and (he) cried out'

- (i) wati-ngku papa pu-ngu kaa mira-ngu
 man-ERG dog(ACC) hit-PAST CONTR cry out-PAST
 'The man hit the dog and (it) cried out (yelped)'

(9-22) illustrates these points with an extract from a text about a bilby tjalku man and a 'devil' mamu woman. The protagonists are explicitly referred to in the first two sentences, but in the following five sentences no explicit subject NPs are needed.

- 9-22 (i) kaa wati paluru watja-nu "kampa-ngu-tja
 CONTR man DEF(ERG) say-PAST burn-PAST-lsgACC
 ngalya-kulpa-ra wala-ngku ura-la!"
 this way-return-SERIAL quick-ERG get-IMP
- (ii) kaa kungka paluru ngalya-kulpa-ra ura-nu
 CONTR woman DEF(ERG) this way-return-SERIAL get-PAST
- (iii) kaa watja-nu "wiya, tjirpika yanku-la
 CONTR say-PAST no leaf bed(ACC) go-SERIAL
 katanta-ra!"
 break off-IMP
- (iv) kaa tjirpika yanku-la katanta-nu
 CONTR leaf bed(ACC) go-SERIAL break off-PAST
- (v) kaa watja-nu "ura-ra-tja tju-ra!"
 CONTR say-PAST get-SERIAL-lsgACC put-IMP
- (vi) kaa ura-ra tju-nu
 CONTR get-SERIAL put-PAST
- (vii) munu palya-ningi
 ADD cut up-PAST.IMPF

'And the man said "I'm cooked, come and get me quickly!"
 And the woman came back, got him and (he) said "No, go
 and break off a leaf bed." and (she) went and broke off
 a leaf bed... And (he) said "Get me, and put (me) on it"
 and (she) got him, put him on it, and was cutting him up'

The contrastive reference function of kaa is also well illustrated in (9-23), an extract from a story describing how a group of bilby tjalku men split up on their travels.

- 9-23 (i) wati tjalku tjuta Mintipayi-la-nguru
 man bilby many(NOM) Mintubi-LOC NAME-ABL
 ngalya-kulpa-ngu
 this way-return-PAST
- (ii) munu-ya ngalya-kulpa-ra nyanga
 ADD-3pl(NOM) this way-return-SERIAL this
 Unu-la-nguru tjarawaka-ra ngalya-kulpa-ngu
 Unu-LOC NAME-ABL split up-SERIAL this way-return-PAST
- (iii) kaa nyanga tjana maa-kulpa-ngu...
 CONTR this 3pl(NOM) away-return-PAST
- (iv) kaa nyanga tjana ngalya-kulpa-ngu
 CONTR this 3pl(NOM) this way-return-PAST
- (v) munu-ya nyanga-tja nyina-ngi
 ADD-3pl(NOM) this-EVIDENT sit-PAST.IMPF
- (vi) kaa tjalku kutjupa tjuta nyanga parariparai
 CONTR bilby other many(NOM) this on other side
 nyina-ngi
 sit-PAST.IMPF

'The bilby men came this way from Mintubi, and returning this way from that place Unu (they) split up and came this way, and this mob went off ...And this (other) mob came back this way and were camping here. And the other bilbies were camping on the other side here'

9.1.4 The Introductory Particle palu BUT OF COURSE

Aside from kaa CONTR and munu ADD, there is a third element which may introduce a clause or sentence, palu, identical in form with the stem of the DEFINite nominal palu(ru). The comments of the Ernabella missionary linguists are brief but suggestive. Ernabella Grammar (Anon.a:12): "palu 'but' can be used with either alien or identical subjects; also for emphatic contrast. Often begins a sentence where we would use 'well' or 'now'." Trudinger (1943:221): "Palu has an extremely wide use... 'supposing' seems to represent it best".

As the early commentators observed, introductory palu differs syntactically from kaa and munu in its indifference to switch or retention of subject. It also has the peculiarity that it is not counted as the

first phrasal constituent of a clause for the placement of bound pronouns or the evidential particle kunyu QUOT (9.2.4). Bound pronouns usually adhere to the first phrasal constituent of a clause and kunyu QUOT usually follows the first constituent - both kaa and munu count as independent phrasal constituents for this purpose (see for example (9-9), (9-20), (9-29) and (9-23)), but in the present corpus there is not a single case of a bound pronoun, a particle word like kunyu QUOT, or indeed a clitic particle of any type intervening between palu and the following word.

9-24 nyanga-tja Pitjantjatjara-ku ngura wiya, wati
 this-EVIDENT Pitjantjatjara-GEN place NEG(NOM) man
 miri tjuta-ku, Yankunytjatjara-ku ngura, palu
 dead many-GEN Yankunytjatjara-GEN place(NOM) BUT OF COURSE
 mula-la watanku-ri-ngi, palu
 true-1pl(NOM) heedless-INCHO-PAST.IMPF BUT OF COURSE
 nyiri-ngka-nti tjuna-ma nganmany kutu-ngku
 paper-LOC-MAYBE put-IMP.IMPF previous really-ERG

'This isn't Pitjantjatjara country. (It's) the ancestor's, a Yankunytjatjara place. But of course we haven't been paying attention. Of course we should perhaps have put it on paper well before now'

9-25 palu wati mankurpa-ya kunyu pitja-ngi
 BUT OF COURSE man three-3pl(NOM) QUOT come-PAST.IMPF
 'But of course there had been, the story goes, three men come (in the night)'¹

In other words, though introductory palu is a separate word on stress and pause criteria, it behaves like a proclitic to the next word. This would, it seems to me, be semantically consistent with this palu acting as an operator over the content of the following clause, as indeed implied by Trudinger.

Essentially, introductory palu primarily (i) presents the content of the following clause as something established, or evident, or given, while also (ii) implying that this may be surprising or unexpected - at least to the extent that it should be mentioned at all, even though, as the speaker would have it, it can be taken for granted. For simplicity I use the interlinear gloss BUT OF COURSE, but introductory

palu's close semantic connection with the DEFINite nominal palu(ru), which presents a referent as the same as an established or given one, will be plain.

Palu BUT OF COURSE is most often heard in conversational exchanges, including explanations, persuasion and joking. For instance, in (9-24) above from Text 1, the speaker is expressing his conviction that Yankunytjatjara should be committed to writing. Often clauses introduced by palu have a parenthetical, explanatory role. For instance, (9-26) comes from Text 4, on how to use nyinyii zebra-finch medicine - after describing how to apply a poultice to the head, the speaker interrupts herself to point out that of course this procedure only applies if the complaint is head or eye pain. Similarly, (9-27) occurred describing how waputi (*Thyrptomene maisonneuvii*) nectar is shaken from bushes; then the speaker reminds me that the stuff was liquid to begin with, in contrast to some other sweet substances we'd been discussing just previously, such as lerp scales, which need to be soaked in water.

9-26 ...nyanga alatji-la tjunku-payi, palu
 this like this-1pl(ERG) put-CHAR BUT OF COURSE
 kuru pika-tjara pupa-payi, kata
 eye(NOM) sore-HAVING(NOM) crouch-CHAR head
 pika-tjara anangu pika, nyanga-kutu tjunku-payi
 sore-HAVING(NOM) body sore this-ALL put-CHAR

'We put (it) here like this (indicating head). Only of course (if) there's a sore eye, or sore head. (If) there's a pain in the body (we) put it around here (indicating chest, shoulders)'

9-27 munu palu-nya-tjanu-ngku mimpu pulka-ngka
 ADD DEF-ACC-SEQ-ERG carrying bowl big-LOC
 tjaruwani-nyi, palu yuru nganmany-itja,
 tip-PRES BUT OF COURSE liquid previous-ASSOC
 waputi
 T. maisonneuvii(NOM)

'And after doing that, (one) tips (it) into a big water-carrying bowl. But of course the liquid (was) already there, waputi'

Palu BUT OF COURSE is also used to introduce small (ie readily acceptable) conversational excuses or explanations, as in (9-28) where the speaker interrupts a narrative to excuse himself for having forgotten a place name.

9-28 ngayulu ngura ninti, palu
 1sg(NOM) place(NOM) knowing(NOM) BUT OF COURSE

ngurpa-lta-na, putu-lta-na
 ignorant(NOM)-AND THEN-1sg(NOM) IN VAIN-AND THEN-1sg(ERG)

kuli-ni, kata-lta kura,
 think-PRES head-AND THEN bad(NOM)

'I know the place, only of course now I've forgotten,
 and can't think of it. (My) head's bad'

(9-29) and (9-30) illustrate palu BUT OF COURSE in joking, light-hearted contexts. (9-29) is the reply made by one of a pair of joking partners (10.3.3) to the accusation that he is a bad man and a womaniser. (9-30) is a simulated exchange between two young men who spy a fruit high up on a tree.

9-29 wiya, wati ngayulu kungka wiya, wanti-nyi-na
 no man 1sg(NOM) woman NEG(NOM) leave off-PRES-1sg(ERG)

ngayulu, palu nyuntu panya-nku watja-nma
 1sg(ERG) BUT OF COURSE 2sg(ERG) ANAPH-REFLEX say-IMP.IMP

kuta
 senior brother

'No, I don't have any women, I leave (them) alone, I do.
 Only of course you should say that to yourself, big
 brother'

9-30 A: wala-wala-ngku ura-la!
 quick-quick-ERG get-IMP

B: palu-nya-kitja-na palu tiirpatja-ra
 DEF-ACC-INTENT-1sg(ERG) BUT OF COURSE spring up-SERIAL

ural-ku? kalpa-nyi-na
 get-FUT climb-PRES-1sg(NOM)

A: 'Be quick about getting it!'

B: 'I want to do that, only of course I'll spring up and get it, will I? I'm going to climb up'

As one might expect, palu BUT OF COURSE is relatively rare in narration, except in parenthetical remarks like (9-27). Predictably, when it does occur, it serves to re-introduce material that has been related before, as in (9-25) and (9-31). (9-31) is from a story relating how a group of men unwittingly made camp at a waterhole belonging to a savage wanampi watersnake. The wanampi returns and kills them. After recounting this, the speaker began to recapitulate the story from the men's point of view. In context therefore, the material introduced by palu is already known.

9-31 paluru tjana yuutju-ra(2), ngari-ngi,
 DEF(NOM) 3pl(NOM) make wind break-SERIAL lie-PAST.IMPF
 ngunti wiya-ngka-palku, palu wanampi
 wrong nothing-LOC-NOT REALLY BUT OF COURSE water-snake
 piti ngara-ngi
 hole(NOM) stand-PAST.IMPF

'They had made wind-breaks and were camping, mistakenly thinking there was nothing wrong. Only of course it was a water-snake hole'

Even in narration, palu BUT OF COURSE is concerned not with the unfolding events being described, (as are kaa CONTR and munu AND), but rather with the status of the information being presented.

9.2 FREE AND CLITIC PARTICLES

9.2.1 Preliminary Remarks

Free particles (2.3.4) are invariable words such as tjinguru MAYBE, kunyu QUOTative and puta WHAT DO YOU SAY, which, roughly speaking, express a speaker's attitudes, intentions or beliefs in respect of what is being said. They normally occur in a fixed position within a sentence, either initially, or in the second phrasal position. Clitic particles are post-inflectional suffixes such as -nti MAYBE, -mpa INTEREST and -ka JUST SO, which may adhere to any word in a sentence regardless of its part of speech category. Because free and clitic particles have a similar range of semantic function, it is convenient to treat them together; but the following classification is intended mainly for ease of presentation and does not embody any theoretical.

(1) -mpa INTEREST has a wide range of use in questions, insinuation, didactic speech, conditional statements, as a 'suspense builder' in narration, and in the polite indirect speech style tjalpawangkanytja (10.3.2). It's basic meaning is something like 'one might like to know' or 'it would be good to know about this', but as these expressions are unwieldy I have used INTEREST as an interlinear gloss.

(9-35) and (9-36) illustrate the simplest use of -mpa INTEREST, with single word requests or suggestions. (9-35) was said to a person returning from a trip to look for spinifex gum. (9-36) could be said on entering the camp of a relative obliged to offer one food.

9-35 kiti-mpa?
 spinifex gum(NOM)-INTEREST
 'So what about the spinifex gum, then?'

9-36 mayi-mpa?
 food(NOM)-INTEREST
 'So what about food, then?'

9-37 wayi? pika-mpa? ngara-nyi-ka
 what's up pain-INTEREST stand-PRES-JUST SO
 'What's up? What about (your) pain (illness) then,
 is it just as it was?'

As illustrated in (9-38) and (9-39), -mpa INTEREST may occur suffixed to the final word of a conditional protasis. It is not obligatory - rising intonation on the protasis clauses is enough to convey the 'if-then' sense.

9-38 pulitjimana-ngku nyaku-nytja wiya-mpa, palya
 policeman-ERG see-NOML NEG-INTEREST good
 'If a policeman doesn't see us, then (we'll) be right'

9-39 kapi kuya tjiki-ra-mpa, ilu-ku
 water bad(ACC) drink-SERIAL-INTEREST, die-FUT
 '(If) (one) drinks bad water, then (one) might die'

9-40 wanti-ra-mpa yu-wa!
 leave alone-SERIAL-INTEREST give-IMP
 'If (you've) finished with it, give it to me'

(9-41) from Text 8 illustrates -mpa INTEREST in the context of joking insinuation (10.3.3). (9-42) shows -mpa INTEREST used in a taunt.

9-41 ayi, ngangka-r wati kuta
 hey heck-EXCIT man senior brother

 ngayulu-mpa-na nyanga-ngi
 1sg(ERG)-INTEREST-1sg(ERG) see-PAST.IMP

 nyuntu-nya-mpa nyara-kutu kungka tjuta-ngka
 2sg-ACC-INTEREST over there-ALL woman many-LOC

 yanku-nytja-ngka-mpa-l
 go-NOML-LOC-INTEREST-YOU SEE

 'Hey! Heck brother, I've been keeping an eye on you, as one
 might like to know, going over there with some women you
 see, as one might like to know'

9-42 munta, wana-ra-tja patja-la ...nyaa-ngka-mpa
 SORRY follow-SERIAL-1sgACC bite-IMP what-LOC-INTEREST

 pala-tja-n pulka mula
 just there-EVIDENT-2sg(NOM) big true(NOM)

 'Sorry, follow and bite me then ...if you just there are
 what ...so really great, as one would want to know'
 (taunt in Dreaming story made to water-snake wanampi)

As one might expect, -mpa INTEREST is also common in didactic and reproachful passages, as for instance in (10-24), and (9-43) from Text 9, where the speaker reproaches a man for intemperately abusing his son.

9-43 katja warki-wiya nyina-payi-mpa ngayulu-mpa
 son(ACC) abuse-NEG(NOM) sit-CHAR-INTEREST 1sg(NOM)-INTEREST

 miri-ngku-mpa kunyu nyanga-tja warki-ma
 dead person-ERG-INTEREST QUOT this-EVIDENT abuse-IMP.IMP

 'One doesn't abuse (one's) son, it would be good to know,
 I (think). They say that dead people swear like this, it
 would be good to know' (ie this is the type of behaviour
 that leads to a bad outcome)

At first sight, one of the most puzzling things about -mpa INTEREST is its frequency in narration, usually affixed to the final verb in a string of serial verb forms - ie on the serial verb immediately preceding the finite verb. In such cases the serial forms are usually recapitulating the action up to a point, with the following finite verb presenting the new development, as in (9-44) and (9-45). -mpa may follow words other than serial verbs but almost always where the following word depicts some new development in the story as in (9-46). This use of -mpa is associated with suspense-building. Skilled storytellers build up suspense by recapitulating the preceding actions before revealing the next one. In this light, the use of -mpa INTEREST 'one might want to know' is quite natural.

9-44 munu nyaku-la-mpa nyina-ra nyina-ra-mpa
 ADD see-SERIAL-INTEREST sit-SERIAL sit-SERIAL-INTEREST

 paluru kuli-ningi
 DEF(ERG) think-PAST.IMPF

 'And (after) seeing (that) he sat and sat; he was thinking'

9-45 kaa wana-ra witi-ra-mpa palya-lta
 CONTR follow-SERIAL grab-SERIAL-INTEREST good-AND THEN

 kuli-nu
 think-PAST

 'And on following and catching (them), (he) thought 'good''

9-46 munu Aparakurakura-la-nguru-mpa, ngura nyanga
 ADD Aparakurakura-LOC NAME-ABL-INTEREST place this

 Parawalpir-ta tjaru-tja-lta tjinatju-nu
 Parawalpir-LOC south-ASSOC-AND THEN release-PAST

 'And from Aparakurakura, at this place south of Parawalpir,
 he released (the birds) again'

Finally, note that -mpa INTEREST is extremely common in the polite, indirect speech style tjalpawangkanytja (10.3.2). This is natural in view of the high reliance of this speech style on implication and insinuation. For examples see (10-5), (10-7), and (10-8).

(9-49) occurs at the climax of a story relating how a rocky hill was formed by the fallen body of an evil mamu woman. She had cooked and was on the point of eating a bilby man, but he cunningly stalled her so that his friends could come to his aid. The quoted section, which presents the 'final act' of the narrative, contains the first instances of -lta in the text.

9-49 "kututu wanti-ma munu pilpir
heart(ACC) leave alone-IMP.IMPF ADD brisket(ACC)
ngalku-nma" kaa pilpir maa-ngalku-la
eat-IMP.IMPF CONTR brisket(ACC) away-eat-SERIAL
wati-lta nya-ngu "wati nyanga
man(ACC)-AND THEN see-PAST man this(NOM)
ngalya-wirka-nu" kaa paka-ra
this way-arrive-PAST CONTR get up-SERIAL
ngulu-lta maa-kartjila-nu, nyanga wilurara-lta
afraid(NOM)-AND THEN away-run-PAST, this west-AND THEN
"Leave the heart, and (just) eat the brisket". And on
eating up the brisket (she) saw a man then, "This man's
arrived" (she said). And (she) fearfully got up then and
ran off here (to) the west"

(9-50) occurs in Text 8, describing an argument. An outburst of threats has finally silenced an obstreperous old man who had been abusing his son.

9-50 kaa wati mama wangka kanmar-ari-payi
CONTR man father(NOM) voice(NOM) quiet-INCHO-CHAR
ngulakutju, wangka kanmar-tu-lta
too late, voice quiet-ERG-AND THEN
kulil-payi nyina-ra
listen-CHAR sit-SERIAL
'And the father's voice goes quiet, too late; he sits
listening with a quiet voice'

(3) -ka JUST SO is said by Yankunytjatjara speakers to be equivalent to Pitjantjatjara -tu, and in most normal speech I have observed Yankunytjatjara people use both. I have not however, collated material on the Yankunytjatjara use of -tu, or studied its use in Pitjantjatjara, so the question of whether the two particles are precisely equivalent is left open. The meaning of -ka JUST SO can best be illustrated by examples. For instance, suppose you ask someone to bring you back something from the store, and that since that thing wasn't there, your friend brings the next best thing. That's OK you say palya-ka good-JUST SO 'that's good as it is'. If someone is filling your tea-cup the expression alatji-ka like this-JUST SO means something like English 'that's enough'. As described in 8.4, kuwari may mean 'today, now, these days' but kuwari-ka currently-JUST SO means 'right now'.

9-51 alatji-na nyanga-tja alatji-ka
 like this-1sg(ERG) this-EVIDENT like this-JUST SO

 tjukutjuku watja-ni
 small(ACC) say-PRES

 'Now that's enough here, the little I'm saying'

9-52 kaa-ya panya yanku-nytja kutju-ka watja-la
 CONTR-3pl(ERG) ANAPH go-NOML(ACC) only-JUST SO say-IMP
 'And you should only tell (him) about (comings and) goings'

Often -ka JUST SO is combined with a form of the DEFINITE nominal palu(ru) (4.4.2), with the effect of emphasising that something or someone is exactly the same as mentioned before. (9-53) occurred when the speaker was telling me about a wanampi 'water snake'. At one point he interrupted himself to allude to another story he'd told me a few days earlier, explaining that a nearby rock formation was the body of the same water-snake.

9-53 ...panya-lta nyara-tja maa-watungara-nyi,
 ANAPH-AND THEN over there-EVIDENT away-lie prone-PRES

 panya paluru-ka
 ANAPH DEF(NOM)-JUST SO

 '...You know the one lying face down over there; (it's)
 that same one'

(9-54) was said by an old man talking about possums, making the point that mungawayuru and wayuta are names for the same animal.

9-54 ...mungawayuru, wayuta-mpa wiya-mpa, mungawayuru,
 possum(NOM) possum-INTEREST NEG-INTEREST • possum(NOM)

 wayuta paluru-ka ini
 possum DEF(NOM)-JUST SO name(NOM)

'...mungawayuru, if it weren't wayuta (one could say)
mungawayuru; wayuta has just the same name (meaning)'

9-55 palu-la-ka nyuntu nyina-nyi?
 DEF-LOC-JUST SO 2sg(NOM) sit-PRES

 'Are you still (living) in the same place'

9.2.4 Epistemic/Evidential Particles

Under this heading I include the several free and clitic particles which indicate the degree of certainty the speaker attributes to a statement: (1) tjinguru MAYBE (2) -nti MAYBE (3) -manti PROBABLY (4) -mantu CERTAINLY, as well as (5) kunyu the QUOTative particle, which attributes a statement to someone else, and (6) -palku the misapprehension particle NOT REALLY.

(1) Tjinguru MAYBE generally occurs sentence-initially or in second phrasal position. See (4-30), (4-63), (5-8), (6-30) and (9-57).

(2) -nti MAYBE is virtually synonymous with tjinguru (see (9-57)). If added to tjinguru, giving tjinguru-nti 'it could be that it might be so', the resulting word implies that the speaker in fact disbelieves the statement under discussion. -nti is commonly found with the exclamation wampa 'I don't know' (9.3) -wampa-nti 'I guess I don't know'. For other examples see (4-19), (6-32) and (8-10). Note that the indirect speech style tjalpawangkantja contains a high incidence of -nti MAYBE - see for example (10-4), (10-7) and (10-11).

9-56 kapi-ngku-nti puyil-ku
 water-ERG-MAYBE chill-FUT

 'Could be it'll rain'

9-57 tjinguru katji ngara-nyi, tjinguru wiya, alatji
 MAYBE spear(ACC) stand-PRES MAYBE NEG, like this
 anangu-ngku kulil-payi, "ngara-nyi-nti, wiya-nti"
 person-ERG think-CHAR stand-PRES-MAYBE, NEG-MAYBE
 'Maybe there are (good) spear (vines on a spear-bush),
 maybe not. This is how a person thinks, "(They) could be
 (there), (they) could not (be)'"

(3) -manti PROBABLY is exemplified below (see also (4-34), (4-142),
 (7-27) and (10-15A). (It cannot be analysed as -ma+nti because -ma
 does not occur as a clitic particle.)

9-58 tjuwa-kutu-manti
 store-ALL-PROBABLY
 '(She's) (gone) to the store most likely'

9-59 kampa-ngu-manti-r ura-la
 burn-PAST-PROBABLY-EXCIT get-IMP
 'It's cooked most likely, heh, let's get (it out of fire)'

9-60 uwa-manti
 yes-PROBABLY
 'Yes, most likely'

(4) -mantu CERTAINLY is exemplified in (9-61) - (9-63). In argument
 this particle has a similar effect to English 'obviously', implying
 that one ought to have known it already. (See also (9-14).)

9-61 nganana tina-nguru kulpa-nyi Mimili-ku, kapi
 lpl(NOM) lunch-ABL return-PRES Mimili-PURP water
 wiya-mantu
 NEG-CERTAINLY
 'After lunch we're going back to Mimili, since we obviously
 don't have any water'

9-62 tjina kutjara unmi, kuka-mantu
 foot two cooked(NOM) meat(NOM)-CERTAINLY
 'The two cooked feet (of kangaroo) (are) certainly edible
 meat'

- 9-63 Yami-lu-mantu kati-ngu, walytja-ngku
 Yami-ERG NAME-CERTAINLY take-PAST owner-ERG
 'Yami certainly did take it, being its owner'

(5) kunyu QUOTative is a strictly second-position free particle which attributes a statement or proposition to someone other than the speaker.⁴ It is frequently found in Dreaming stories (for instance Text 11), in other contexts where for various reasons the speaker wishes not to be held personally responsible for a statement as in (9-64) and (10-24), to relay orders or suggestions as in (9-65) and (10-2), and to report children's 'pretend' games as in (9-66).

- 9-64 kaa kunyu Pitjantjatjara kutjikiti, nyiri
 CONTR QUOT Pitjantjatjara(NOM) well off(NOM) paper(NOM)
 pulka-ri-ngu
 big-INCHO-PAST
 'And it can be said that Pitjantjatjara is well off.
 It's literacy materials (paper) have got big'

- 9-65 paka-la kunyu!
 get up-IMP QUOT
 'Someone says get up!'

- 9-66 nyanytju kunyu
 horse(NOM) QUOT
 'It's a horse according to him' (said of a boy playing
 'horsies' with a dog)

(6) -palku NOT REALLY represents a situation depicted as a misapprehension - ie something wrongly thought to be the case. The person to whom the misapprehension is attributed may be ^{the} speaker as in (9-67), the addressee as in (9-68) and (10-16), or one of the protagonists in a story as in (6-4).

- 9-67 ngayulu kuli-nu, nyuntu kutju-palku nyina-nyi
 1sg(ERG) think-PAST 2sg(NOM) one-NOT REALLY sit-PRES
 'I thought, being under a misapprehension, that you were alone'

- 9-68 wati kutjupa-palku warki-nyi-r
 man another(ACC)-NOT REALLY abuse-PRES-EXCIT
 '(You're) abusing (him) as if (he) were another/any
 old man, which he isn't'

9.2.5 Modal-Like Particles

(1) uti SHOULD is identical in form with a nominal meaning 'visible, plain, understandable' eg (7-70), (9-8). It can also be used as an interrogative exclamation uti? 'is that clear?'. As a modal-like particle it is usually sentence-initial, but sometimes in second position, with imperative imperfective, future or imperative perfective verbs, roughly in that order of frequency. It can only be used affirmatively or assertively - ie one cannot ask, using uti, 'should I do so-and-so?' - presumably because it is contradictory to ask whether something is plainly obvious. Most commonly, uti SHOULD is used not to directly tell someone to do something, but to comment on what a third person should do.

9-69 uti nyara-ngku wanti-ma, malu
 SHOULD over there-ERG leave alone-IMP.IMP 'roo

 kutjupa nyaku-kati-ma
 another(ACC) see-PROCESS-IMP.IMP

 'That bloke should leave off (and) keep on the lookout
 for another 'roo as (we) go along'

9-70 uti-n makati kati-ma
 SHOULD rifle(ACC) take-IMP.IMP

 'You should bring/should've brought (your) rifle'

9-71 uti mama-ku tjukur kulil-ku
 SHOULD father-GEN word(ACC) listen-FUT

 '(They) should heed their fathers' words/law'

(2) wanyu JUST LET is a typically sentence-initial free particle most commonly used to make a polite request for indulgence in a small matter - to ask permission assuming that the addressee will not object or demur (but see (3) following for impersonal uses in combination with wi WISH). Used alone as an exclamation it translates as 'just hold on a minute' or 'wait a sec'. Wanyu generally occurs with imperative verbs, and is particularly common in polite indirect speech (10.3.2), - see (10-4), (10-8ii) and (10-11).

- 9-72 wanyu-na unytju-ngku nya-wa
 JUST LET-1sg(ERG) not seriously-ERG look-IMP
 'Just let me have a little look'
- 9-73 wanyu-la kanmar-tu kuli-nma
 JUST LET-1pl(ERG) quitely-ERG listen-IMP.IMPF
 'Let's just listen quietly'
- 9-74 ngana-nya wanyu
 what name-NOM NAME JUST LET
 'Just who is it?'

(3) puta WHAT DO YOU SAY is a second-position free particle used to make suggestions for actions as in (9-75), or to venture an opinion as in (9-76) and (9-77), in both contexts assuming that the addressee is likely to agree. Puta is also used to invite someone to make a guess about something as in (9-77), and in suggestive joking as in line 11 of Text 8. Often it occurs combined with wanyu JUST LET, particularly in polite indirect speech (10.3.2) where it is much used.

- 9-75 ngali puta pala-kutu ya-ra
 ldu(NOM) WHAT DO YOU SAY just there-ALL go-IMP
 'What do you say we go over there eh?'
- 9-76 pala-ngku puta ngunytji mutaka
 just there-ERG WHAT DO YOU SAY wrongly car(ACC)
 paya-mila-ni
 buy-LOAN-PRES
 'That bloke is senseless/stupidly buying a car, don't you agree?'
- 9-77 ayi, ayilpiri-ngku puta nganana-nya
 hey morning rhetoric-ERG WHAT DO YOU SAY 1pl-ACC
 payil-ku
 drive off-FUT
 'Hey, (they'll) tell us off in morning rhetoric, don't you think?'

9-78 nyaa/ngana-nya puta?
 what(NOM)/what name-NOM NAME WHAT DO YOU SAY

(4) -wi WISH is a second-position clitic particle which expresses a heart-felt wish that something outside one's control should happen. Often it combines with wanyu JUST LET as in (9-79). -wi WISH is always associated with imperative or future verbs.

9-79 wanyu-wi kapi-ngku puyi-la
 JUST LET-WISH rain-ERG chill-IMP
 'Oh, I wish it would just rain!'

9-80 maa-tjapi-la tjana-la, iti-wi ngalya-kati ⁵
 away-ask-IMP 3pl-LOC baby(ACC)-WISH this way-bring(IMP)
 'Go ask them if only they'd bring the baby over here'

-wi WISH may be used to indirectly urge one's companions to do something something. For instance, (9-81) comes from a text describing how a group of men who have run out of pulyantu 'native tobacco' travel to the range country to renew their supply. In (9-81) the speaker is effectively urging his companions to get a move on about preparing the first plants they come across.

9-81 wala-wi kaa-na-tju pulyantu kanyi-nma
 quick-WISH CONTR-1sg(ERG)-REFLEX tobacco(ACC) have-IMP.IMPF
 'Oh quick and I'll have some tobacco at last'

Note that it is quite possible for wanyu JUST LET, -wi WISH and puta WHAT DO YOU SAY to occur in a single clause. For instance, to politely ask one's companion for the opportunity to go and inspect a tree which might make good material for a spear-thrower one might say (9-82).

9-82 kurku palya pala-tja ngara-nyi,
 mulga good(NOM) just there-EVIDENT stand-PRES

wanyu-wi-na puta nyaku-ku
 JUST LET-WISH-1sg(ERG) WHAT DO YOU SAY see-FUT
 'There's a good mulga tree over there. Oh what do you say I just go and check it'

9.2.6 'Emotional' Clitic Particles

Both -r EXCIT and -l YOU SEE are strictly word-final - ie they follow all other clitics, including clitic pronouns.

(1) -r EXCITEMENT, showing the speaker's excitement, most often occurs with exclamations (eg ngangka-r heck-EXCIT) or with superlative-like expressions as in (9-83), but it is not limited to such expressions, for instance (9-84) and (9-85).

9-83 wati nyanga-tja nintipuka mula-r
man this-EVIDENT sage true(NOM)-EXCIT
'This man here is truly a sage'

9-84 ngayu-ku kutju-r, nyanga-tja kutjupa tjukutjuku
lsg-GEN one-EXCIT, this-EVIDENT other small(NOM)
'My last (chance), this little something'
(eg a hunter sighting small tracks after a fruitless search for large game)

9-85 munu-la ngura tjunku-la wanti-ra,
ADD-1pl(ERG) WELL-JUST put-SERIAL leave off-SERIAL
pawu-ra-lanya yu-ngu-r
roast-SERIAL-1pl-ACC give-PAST-EXCIT
'And we, just, made camp, and (he) roasted (the bilbies) and gave (them) to us by gee!' (recalling excitement as a child at tasting a new meat for the first time)

(2) In neutral speech, -l YOU SEE is usually associated with the speaker's surprise of discovery, and almost always occurs in combination with -mpa INTEREST, as in the expression nyangatjampal! 'oh here it is!' and (9-86). However, in polite indirect speech and in angry outbursts, it seems -l YOU SEE may imply that there is something surprising to the addressee about what one has to say, as in (9-87) and (10-7).

9-86 munu wana-ra(4) tjina ngurkantana-nyi "uu
ADD follow-SERIAL foot(ACC) pick out-PRES um
partjata-mpa-l nyanga-tja"
quoll(NOM)-INTEREST-YOU SEE this-EVIDENT
'And (he) follows and recognises the tracks "hm, these are quoll (tracks)''

9-87 .. warki-ra kuta-ngku-na-1 nyanga-tja
 abuse-SERIAL senior brother-ERG-lsg(NOM) this-EVIDENT

ngara-la kawaru-ri-nytja-la
 stand-SERIAL stuff up-INCHO-LOC

'.. as his senior brother I'm abusing him alright, I'll have
 you know, since he's always stuffing it up!'

9.2.7 Other Particles

(1) wampa DON'T KNOW is usually an exclamation (9.3), but may occur
 as a second-position free particle in polite indirect speech (10.3.2) -
 as in (10-4).

(2) -kata WRONG WORD (literally 'cut', cf kata-1 'to cut', kata-nta-n
 'break off') is used to correct an inadvertent verbal slip, by 'cutting
 it off' with -kata, then giving the correct or intended word.

9-88 (i) ngayulu nyanga-tja tjiki-ni, tjikil-kata,
 lsg(ERG) this-EVIDENT drink-PRES drink-WRONG WORD

ngalku-ni
 eat-PRES

'I'm going to drink this, - not drink! - eat it'

(ii) ngali-kata, kutju nyuntu-nya ngayulu watja-ni
 ldu(ERG)-WRONG WORD only 2sg-ACC lsg(ERG) say-PRES

tjukur
 story(ACC)

'Not the two of us - it's only me telling you a story'

(3) ngura WELL-JUST (coincidentally homophonous with the nominal
 'place, camp') is a free particle suggesting that one is almost lost
 for words, as in (9-89) or feels that what one is saying is too plain
 or simple to express the excitement or colour of what happened as in
 (9-91). It also occurs occasionally in expressions like ngura iriti
 WELL-JUST long ago 'ages ago (ie recently, but relatively long ago)',
ngura tjukutjuku WELL-JUST small 'hardly any'. (See also (8-72) and
 (9-85).)

- 9-89 ngura(tsk) putu-na kuli-ni
 WELL-JUST IN VAIN-lsg(ERG) think-PRES
 'Shucks, well...just...I don't know'
- 9-90 kaa paluru tjana ngura yanku-la-lta
 CONTR DEF(NOM) 3pl(NOM) WELL-JUST go-SERIAL-AND THEN
 kutu-lta wiya-ri-wa, tjuta-lta,
 really-AND THEN nothing-INCHO-IMP many(NOM)-AND THEN
 kaa-la putu para-watapara-ra kaa
 CONTR-lpl(ERG) IN VAIN around-chase-SERIAL CONTR
 ngura yanku-la wiya-ringku-payi
 WELL-JUST go-SERIAL nothing-INCHO-CHAR

'And then they'd, well just, run off, lots of them, and we'd be trying to chase them all around, and they'd all just disappear' (in a passage describing consternation as marsupial mice that were being dug out of a burrow escape and scatter)

(4) ruuku COULD BE is a sentence-initial free particle usually heard when people are making tentative judgements based on uncertain memory of what something looks like.

- 9-91 ruuku nyanga-kutu-puriny
 COULD BE this-ALL-SIMILAR
 'It sort of looks like it could be around here'
 (a camp we had used the previous year)
- 9-92 ruuku ngintaka tjina-puriny
 COULD BE perentie foot-SIMILAR
 'It looks sort of like perentie tracks'

9.3 EXCLAMATIONS

In Yankunytjatjara, as in any language, there are a great number of words which can constitute non-elliptical single-word utterances. Some, such as muntawa 'oh really', uwa 'yes', kakarku 'yuk' and awari 'will you look at that', can only be used as exclamations, whereas others like wiya 'no' palya 'good' ala 'that's it' wampa 'DON'T KNOW' may also function as nominals or free particles.

(1) The most common conversational exclamations are uwa 'yes', wiya 'no', munta 'sorry/whoops/excuse me', muntawa (from munta-uwa) 'oh really', wampa 'don't know/search me', ngaltutjara (lit: ngaltu 'pity/affection' + tjara HAVING) 'the dear/poor thing'.

(2) wayi? 'what's up/is anything the matter?' functions to a certain extent as a standard greeting between friends who have a light-hearted relationship. Wayi also occurs in a standard locution expressing incredulous or outright dismissal: where wayi with a rising intonation precedes another word, usually a noun, adjective or nominalised verb, with an emphatic falling intonation. (See also (7-41).)

For instance, in a father's reply to his young son's mistaken idea that the partjata 'quoll, native cat' was a kind of wayuta 'possum':

9-93 "wiya, kuka kutjupa pala-tja, kuka
 NEG meat different (NOM) just there-EVIDENT, meat
 ini kutjupa! wayi wayuta!
 name different(NOM) what's the matter possum(NOM)
 "No, that's a different (sort of) meat, a different
 type of meat. Not a possum at all!"

(3) The strongest expletives ngangka(r), ngangkaku, and lara, apparently refer to secret/sacred items of men's ritual: I have glossed them all as 'heck', rather than use the somewhat analogous blasphemous swear words of English, such as 'for Chrissakes'. Expletives can apparently be used to express strong feelings of anger or delight. See eg (10-22) (10-23) and (9-44). Nganga and ngangari, which are 'weakened' versions of ngangka, are usually heard as exclamations of pleasure, eg at being given a nice gift. There is also the word kakarku 'yuk!' which seems to be used mostly by women.

(4) Attention-getting exclamations include ayi 'hey' and awayi (perhaps related to wayi), yuu (in polite speech), and pawu, a shout to call on someone out of sight to respond, something like the Australian English 'coo-ee!'.
 (5) awari 'will you look at that!' and ala 'that's it!' may be termed attention-directing exclamations. Awari is self-conscious and deliberate, as in (9-94). Ala can be used as an exclamation something like 'lo!' eg (4-51), or in expressions like ala wiyaringu 'that's all

there is', and in combination with a demonstrative in expressions like ala nyanga(tja) 'the one just there' (eg (4-57)). Ala palatja can also mean something like 'there you go' or 'I told you so!'

9-94 A: kuntili, nya-wa! ngayulu turaka-tjara!
 auntie look-IMP lsg(NOM) truck-HAVING(NOM)

B: awari! wirunya! ngana-lu-nta
 will you look at that great who-ERG NAME-2sgACC
yu-ngu
 give-PAST

A: 'Auntie look! I've got a truck!'

B: 'Will you look at that! Great! Who gave it to you?'

(6) Two expressions of delighted shock at the size or abundance of something are wampanti! (which can also mean 'I don't know/search me') and kata paruntjiparuntji (where kata 'head' and, I suspect, paruntja '(mind) shaking').

9-95 ...nyaku-payi-lta "wampanti! wampanti! tali
 see-CHAR-AND THEN wow wow sandhill
 kutjupa, tali kutjupa, wampanti, ngangka-r!"
 another sandhill another wow heck-EXCIT

'...and (we'd) see (desert raisin) "Oh wow, too much for words! All over the sandhills, too much, by heck!'

(7) ngura (9.2.8) and ya-ra (go-IMP) are both used in joking to acknowledge and repudiate outrageous suggestions, much like English 'go on' or 'get away!'

(8) Exclamations or calls directed to dogs include payi! 'get away/begone' (related to payi-l 'to drive away, "growl at"'), iri-iri 'sic 'em', used to set dogs on game, and tju-tju-tju 'here boy/girl' used to call a dog to come.

CHAPTER TEN : WAYS OF SPEAKING

10.1 INTRODUCTION

It is a truism that 'grammatical knowledge' does not equal communicative competence (Hymes 1962), which entails knowing also when to speak and to whom, what to speak about, how to speak in different social situations, and many other things. This chapter, which deals briefly with some of these matters, is based largely on personal communications from Tommy Tjampu, Pompe Everard, Kanytji and especially Yami Lester. It has of course often been shown that 'normative' or idealised accounts of what people say they should or do say, do not necessarily correspond to what they do say. This chapter also suffers from a 'conservative' or traditionally-oriented bias, and from a bias in favour of male-male interaction, as does the rest of this thesis. Though I personally observed each of the various speech-styles, alternate language codes, practices of verbal etiquette and so on in operation at Mimili, I did not keep detailed records on this, and therefore cannot be certain how systematically they are practised, or whether the circumstances that determine them, and the precise linguistic details in current use, correspond exactly with the information provided by the main consultants.

Anthropologists and Aboriginal people agree that in Western Desert society, social behaviour depends heavily on the relative age, sex and mutual familiarity of the participants, and on their kin walytja relationship. Though the formal complexity and elegance of Aboriginal kin systems fascinate the Western mind, it has truly been said (Keesing 1972:17) that 'when we can understand friendship, we may understand kinship'. The point is that 'patterned kin behaviour' is intimately tied up with human feelings of affection and respect, and is not simply the output of a calculus of duties and responsibilities - a fact easily lost sight of by a concentration on 'kinship algebra'. 10.2 is a simplified picture of the kin system and some notes on the emotive qualities of the relationships, as they have been explained to me, and as they seem to me from my observations.

The variation in 'patterned kin behaviour' between adult males can be usefully summarised:

"as falling between two extremes: complete avoidance and uninhibited joking.. avoidance relationships.. typified by the "WM" - "DH" (wife's mother-daughter's husband) affinal link, necessitate the taking of rapid evasive action if either party seems likely to come within 20 to 30 yards of the other. Joking relationships, which generally obtain between same sex relatives, involve rowdy exchanges of sexually explicit epithets and mock abuse, with much body contact and sexual horseplay, which amuse onlookers at least as much as the joking pair" (Tonkinson 1978:47)

Between these extremes is a continuum of restraint-intimacy whose linguistic aspects form the main subject matter of 10.3. Haviland (1979b:387): "Practices of institutionalised avoidance and joking.. lean heavily on a system of linguistic indexes which at once signal that a relationship obtains and which, in a crucial way, themselves constitute the relationship."

Though the continuum of restraint-intimacy gives a valuable overview, it underrepresents the diversity of speech events in everyday life, two of which, ayilpiri 'rhetoric' and warkinytja 'abuse, swearing' are briefly described in 10.4 and 10.5. 10.6 deals with the complex area of euphemism - how sensitive or distressing topics such as death, sexual and eliminatory functions can be spoken of in the least offensive way.

10.7 deals with anitji 'ceremony-time language' - a system of alternate vocabulary consisting of at least several hundred words, including pronouns and demonstratives, which should be conformed to by all people in certain relationships to a boy whose initiation ceremonies are in progress.

It goes without saying that this chapter is only a rudimentary start toward understanding language use in Yankunytjatjara social interaction.

10.2 THE RELATIONSHIP (walytja) SYSTEM

10.2.1 The 'Aluridja' System

The Yankunytjatjara kin system, like all Australian Aboriginal kin systems, is of the so-called 'classificatory' type - ie the inventory of relationship terms is not used simply to describe the members of the family and a limited range of closely related people, but is 'all-embracing', so that every one in the community, "indeed everyone with whom one comes into contact is regarded as related... and the kind of

relationship must be ascertained so that the two persons concerned will know what their mutual behaviour should be " (Elkin 1974:84).

Western Desert or 'Aluridja' kin systems (Elkin 1940; Myers 1976:444-455; Hamilton 1979:296-359) are especially interesting to anthropologists because they lack many features typical of other Australian kin systems. Hamilton (1979:301) lists:

"the absence of vertical exogamous moieties, either patrilineal or matrilineal; the absence of section or sub-section systems, except where they have recently arrived;¹ the absence of a great number of kinship terms, or, the paucity of terms; and finally and most importantly, the failure of the system to make any 'proper' terminological provision for cross-cousins.. and the classification of these together with brothers and sisters."

In addition, there is what Hamilton (1979:301) calls "the one great structural principle which dominates all others in this area, and that is the combination of alternate generation levels into endogamous 'moieties' which are, in many parts of the region, named" (cf White 1981). In the Yankunytjatjara area these generation moieties are ego-centrally named by the terms nganantarka 'we-bone' (nganana '1plNOM/ERG' tarka 'bone') and tjanamilytjan 'they-flesh' (tjana 3pl NOM/ERG milytjan 'flesh') which are a type of group pronoun. All members of a person's own and grandkin generations belong to nganantarka; all members of a person's parent's and children's generations belong to tjanamilytjan. In general, one has relaxed and open relationships within one's own group (or 'side' as Aboriginal people sometimes term it in English), and must find marriage and sexual partners within it. Relations with tjanamilytjan are more restrained and respectful, and sexual contact is prohibited (Myers 1976:455-478; Tonkinson 1978:57f; Hamilton 1979:301).

The anthropological literature contains conflicting theoretical analyses of the Aluridja system. The traditional 'genealogical-extensionist' view advocated by Elkin, the Berndts and others, and brilliantly formalised and elaborated by Scheffler 1978, takes the primary meaning of the walytja terms to be kin in the literal biological sense, and holds that they are extended by set of regular principles to take in all known individuals according to their genealogical relationships. The alternative (but not strictly incompatible)

view advocated by Turner and others, insists that the application of the walytja terms cannot be predicted on purely genealogical grounds and that other matters such as totemic or moiety affiliation must be involved.

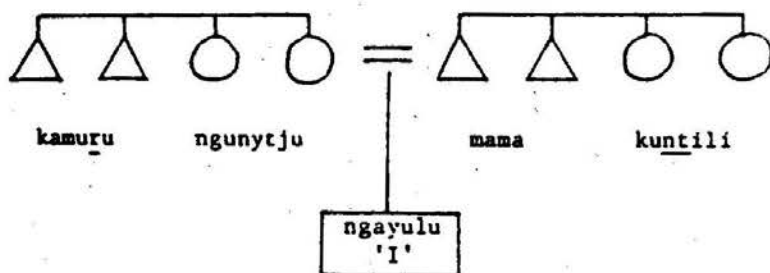
Without commenting on this debate, it is worth noting that a crucial feature of the Alurudja system is that there is no fixed marriage rule. "It is impossible to obtain a specification for proscribed marriage partner within the kinship terminology itself... the real prescription is for local-group exogamy; people classified together as 'brother' and 'sister' may marry provided other criteria for marriagability are met" (Hamilton 1979:301). Marriage is only permitted with members of nganantarka who are genealogically and geographically distant from oneself (Elkin 1940:221f), and marriage is preferred with people "most similar... in spiritual terms... namely with the same totemic affiliations" (Turner 1980:17). This creates difficulties for a purely extensionist theory of kin classification: marriage preferences cannot be described in 'primary genealogical terms' since by definition marriage must be between genealogically unrelated people.

The following survey of the kin terminology does not pretend to be ethnographically or semantically water-tight - it is simply an informal background for the subsequent discussion of speech-styles. (Modern anthropologists of varying persuasions agree that kin words are characteristically polysemous, with meanings that may be genealogical in some contexts, non-genealogical or metaphorical in others.)

10.2.2 'Close' Kin

A basic feature of the Western Desert relationship system is that same sex siblings receive the same kin name. Consequently, one's mother's sisters, as well as one's mother, are ngunytju "mother" and one's father's brothers, as well as one's father, are mama "father". Conversely, one is katja "son" or untal "daughter" to all of them. Between parents and children there is an obligation to provide (yungkunytja 'give') and in both generation groups same-sex siblings share their responsibilities, as implied by the terminology. Parents provide for the young, and in return (ngapartji) are provided for when the younger generation reaches adulthood.

Parent's opposite-sex siblings - father's sisters kuntili and mother's brother's kamuru, have a guardian-like role: one expects to be admonished (tjunpantja) from time to time for one's own good. But though one should be obedient and receptive (wanganara) to a close kamuru or kuntili it is by no means a generally stern relationship, but can be quite fond and indulgent, especially when the nephew or niece is still a child. (Cf below on distantly-related kamuru and kuntili.) The converse term to kamuru/kuntili is ukari, "nephew/niece" which is applied to both sexes - ie ukari can be a man's sister's child or a woman's brother's child. Ukari is not a term of address: ukaris are addressed as katja/untal "son/daughter". In a sense an ukari is a special type of katja/untal; sometimes people do refer to their ukari relations as katja or untal, or katja ukari or untal ukari. (A close kamuru who has helped raise one can be called a kamuru ngunytju, but I am not sure if a comparable kuntili can be referred to a kuntili mama.)



All the relations mentioned so far are tjanamilytjan 'they-flesh' - the opposite (inyur) generation moiety. Now let us turn to nganantarka 'we-bone' relations, again restricting ourselves to genealogically close kin. Within the nuclear family kuta "senior brother" and kangkuru "senior sister" are one's older brother and sister respectively.² The converse term is malany (related to mala 'behind'). A close kuta or kangkuru has a disciplinary role, especially in regard to sexual behaviour.

As mentioned above, one of the typologically peculiar features of the Western Desert kin system is that there are no special terms for parallel or cross cousins, which are called by the same term as siblings. However between cousins the choice of terms kuta/kangkuru as opposed to malany is not determined by the immediate birth order of

the persons concerned, but by the seniority relation in the parent's generation - eg the son of one's father's kuta is one's own kuta "senior brother" even if he is younger.

(Incidentally, one can refer to one's father's younger brothers as mama malatja (mala 'behind' -tja ASSOC) and one's father's older brothers as mama pulka 'big father'. One's own biological parents can be specified as ngunytju mula 'true mother' and mama mula 'true father' though this is unlikely to be fully reliable in the case of early adoptions, remarriages etc.)

Turning to grandkin generations,³ note that there is no differentiation between grandparents and great aunts and great uncles of various types, all of whom are referred to as tjamu if male and kami if female. The converse terms are pakali "grandson" and puliri "granddaughter". (Here, as in the lack of a term for cross-cousins, the Aluridja system shows its disregard for keeping track of 'lines of descent'.) Relations with "grandchildren" are very affectionate and indulgent. Children love their grandparents and great uncles and aunts who smile and joke with them, and indulge them when they can. Grandparents are tolerant of children's bad tempers and bad language, and this relaxed relationship persists into adulthood.

Merged Alternate Generation Level Moieties⁴

US: nganantarka 'we bone'	THEM: tjanamilytjan 'they flesh'
tjamu ♂ kami ♀ "grandparents"	
	mama ♂ "father" kamuru ♂ "mother's brothers" ngunytju ♀ "mother" kuntili ♀ "father's sister"
ngayulu 'I' kuta ♂ kangkuru ♀ malany ♀ "siblings and cousins"	
	katja ♂ untal ♂ ukari ♂ "sons, daughters, nephews & nieces"
pakali ♂ puliri ♀ "grandchildren"	

The discussion to date has been limited to 'close kin' which, in the loose sense I have been using the term, includes all people with whom one shares a common grandparent. Yankunytjatjara people have repeatedly stressed to me that a one's first and second cousins are 'really' one's kuta and kangkuru, (cf Myers 1976:437) and marriage or sexual contact with such a person is out of the question. Equally however, growing up in the same group as any person makes the relationship 'close', regardless of the closeness of the genealogical link.

10.2.3 Distant Kin

By 'distant kin' I mean people with whom one does not share a common grandparent, and who one has not grown up with. It is of course the essence of a 'classifactory' system that distant kin are nonetheless referred to and addressed by the walytja terms (though as mentioned, anthropologists disagree about the principles involved in the extension process.) To address or refer to someone as walytja is essentially an expression of care and respect presupposing and affirming a type of mutually understood social relationship. Hamilton 1979:303 speaks of kinship systems establishing a moral community -

"out of the alternating refusals and permissions to which individual actors are subject under specific social conditions... when a person ceases to abide by the appropriate stipulations of that community he or she ceases to be walytja.. in the end whoever is in close enough contact and obeys moral imperatives laid down by the lawgivers past and present (is walytja)."⁵

Distant kin are in one sense, I have been told, less walytja than close kin, but if there are established social relations, such as those formed and confirmed through ceremony, they are treated and addressed as walytja. Nonetheless, as usual in Australia (eg Haviland 1979b:380) behaviour is not necessarily as constrained between distant as between close kin. For instance, a man might have a ribald joking relationship with a distant kuta "senior brother" which is quite the opposite to normal behaviour with a close kuta. Similarly a distant kamuru is not necessarily listened to humbly and respectfully, nor are his requests automatically met.

Knowing the appropriate relationship terms for a newcomer is usually no great problem due to the great economy of the system, and the fact that it is rare to come across someone that does not already regard someone one knows as a certain walytja. On this basis one can almost

immediately deduce how to classify the newcomer, without any need to know genealogical links. Firstly and most importantly a person will be nganantarka 'we-bone' or tjanamilytjan 'they flesh'. A person's generation moiety and sex largely determine their classificatory status. If they are of one's own generation they must be either kuta (male) or kangkuru (female), or malany. If grandkin level, either pakali/tjamu (male) or kami/puliri (female). The tjanamilytjan possibilities are slightly greater - in the parental generation mama/kamuru (if male) or ngunytju/kuntili (if female); and conversely in the child generation katja (if male), untal (if female) or ukari.

How then to decide for instance whether to regard a distant kinsman as mama (like one's father) or kamuru (like one's mother's brother)? This is not done by genealogical calculation, given that the relationship is distant, but is tied up with prospects for marriagability with that person's offspring, which in turn is based on social and totemic considerations. It seems that the terms kamuru and kuntili are applied to distant members of the parent's generation to suggest a special respect such as one has for one's own close kamuru and kuntili. This is apparently why when discussing marriagability Yankunytjatjara people usually say that one should marry the son or daughter of a kamuru/kuntili wanmatja 'distant kamuru/kuntili' (wanma 'distant', -tja ASSOC), as opposed to a kamuru ilatja (ila 'close').

10-1 kamuru wanma walytja mula wiya nguwan,
 "uncle" distant (NOM) relation true NEG almost(NOM)

panya kamuru panya walkul-payi,
 ANAPH "uncle"(ACC) ANAPH address as relation-CHAR

panya kamuru panya walku-ntja-ku
 ANAPH "uncle"(ACC) ANAPH address as relation-NOML-PURP

'A distant kamuru is hardly a true relation; you know, you call him a kamuru, you know, a kamuru, for a relation word to call him'

10.2.4 Affinal Relationships

As various writers have pointed out, marriage in the Western Desert is essentially an alliance relationship between two extended families enacted within the sphere of male ritual, that is, within the series of ceremonies whereby a male child becomes a wati initiated man. The

man who performs certain key operations on a youth during initiation process will be a 'distant' member of the parent generation, and either he or one of his brothers will become the young man's future father-in-law. This group of men are the young man's wati umari, and their wives are his kungka umari (kungka 'woman'). The umari relationship involves near total avoidance, including a ban on speaking to, sitting with, or looking closely at that person (see Text 7). It implies great respect and an obligation to provide meat and other gifts to the parents-in-law, through intermediaries. A man's wati umari can also be called his waputju.

A striking generalisation about the affinal terms is that they are all reciprocal. So a father-in-law and mother-in-law regard their son-in-law also as wati umari (or for men, also waputju). The sons of the younger man's wati umari are his marutju; these men form a bond of mutual support in the ceremonial context which make them 'great mates' for life. Naturally they are the young man's prospective brothers-in-law. A woman, once a marriage arrangement is made, has a comparable bond of friendship with her husband's sisters, her tjuwari.

There is no avoidance between a woman and her husband's parents who are each other's mingkayi (though this is not a term of address). The parents (and possibly grandparents) of the couple are related to each other as inkilyi (co-parent-in law), a relationship of some formality and restraint (see Text 7). The marriagability relationship is kuri, again a reciprocal term, but not one used as a form of address. Apparently the most general sense of kuri is to the acceptability or expectation of a sexual relationship, which is probably the reason the word is not used in certain circumstances, as a matter of a verbal etiquette (10.6). Cross-sex sibling-in-law - ie between a man and his brother's wife, or between a woman and her husband's brothers - is inkani, another relationship involving a marked degree of restraint and avoidance.

10.3 THE RESPECT-INTIMACY CONTINUUM

10.3.1 Avoidance

As mentioned, the strictest avoidance umari relationship is between a man and his actual or potential mothers and fathers-in-law. A mother or father-in-law's requests for food, or any other interaction, will be done through an intermediary, ideally the older person's son,

the son-in-law's marutju. Even the intermediary's speech may be terse and oblique if circumstances allow. For instance a request for food may be relayed as in (10-2), using the QUOTative particle kunyu without any direct reference to asking or to being hungry.

10-2 mayi kunyu nyantu-mpa waputju
 food(NOM) QUOT 2sg-GEN father-in-law
 'Your father-in-law says food'

The constraint on interaction with the classificatory fathers of a man's wife is not so severe, and a waputju malatja or waputju tjukutjuku 'small father-in-law' may be spoken to in the indirect speech tjalpwangkanytja described in 10.3.2. With increasing age the constraints on waputju behaviour ease somewhat. They may sit closer and be able to hear each other's conversations, but may still not sit together, speak directly to one another or pass things hand to hand.

10.3.2 Polite, Indirect Speech tjalpwangkanytja

Tjalpwangkanytja is a specially respectful style or 'register' characterised by obliqueness of reference, a distinctive higher pitch drawn-out delivery, often with rising intonation, and the generous use of particles and other devices to convey uncertainty, disinterest and deference. (Wangkanytja 'speaking' - I have not discovered an etymology or other use for the element tjalpa.) The indirectness of this style can also be described as kitikiti wangkanytja 'talking to one side' and itiwanu wangkanytja 'talking close by (the point)'.

Tjalpwangkanytja is considered appropriate between people in constrained relationships such as between an adult man and his close kamuru "uncle", kuta "senior brother" and his father-in-law's brothers waputju tjukutjuku "small fathers-in-law", his sisters-in-law inkani and between co-parents-in-law inkilyi. It is required between an adolescent boy tjitji pulka 'big child' and his father mama, as part of the general process of distancing that begins when a boy's facial hair begins to show, and proceeds through a period of segregation onto eventual initiation. It is considered proper public behaviour between distant "cousins" of the opposite sex (probably since they are potential sexual partners). In addition it may be used between people with less restrained relationships to raise a delicate issue or make a polite request.

Like polite speech in English-speaking culture, tjalpawangkantja admits of degrees, and is integrated with a range of non-verbal respectful behaviour, such as -

"restrictions on behaviour such as touching, joking, the direct passing of objects hand to hand, sitting together, visiting another's camp, calling by name, looking directly at one another while talking, and arguing with or physically assaulting any members of certain kin categories"⁵ (Tonkinson 1978:4).

It is not automatic in any sense but a "creative resource for shaping social relations" (Haviland 1979b), reflecting and 'enacting' the feelings of kunta 'embarrassment' and kama 'respect' (3.4.3).

To see the stylistic features involved in tjalpawangkantja, consider alternate approaches a person might make seeking something to eat from another person. A fairly casual exchange between people familiar with one another might be as follows.

10-3 A: mayi nyuntu-mpa ngari-nyii? ngayulu mayi wiya
 food 2sg-GEN(NOM) lie-PRES lsg(NOM) food NEG(NOM)
 'Is there any of your food (lying) around? I don't have any food'

B: uwa, mayi ngayu-ku ngari-nyii, palu nyuntu
 yes food lsg-GEN(NOM) lie-PRES BUT OF COURSE 2sg(NOM)
 anyma-tjara
 hunger-HAVING(NOM)

'Yes, I've got some food, but I suppose you're hungry'

Contrast the relative straightforwardness of this with (10-4) in the tjalpawangkantja style, which must be spoken quietly, in a distinctive higher pitch drawn-out delivery and rising intonation. Notice the extensive use of the particle munta SORRY, the JUST LET particle wanyu and the clitic particle -nti MAYBE, which combine to express hesitation, deference and uncertainty. Lexical items like unytju(ngku) 'not seriously', which explicitly declare a lack of serious intent also abound in tjalpawangkantja (see (10-7), (10-9) and (10-11).)

10-4 A: aya, anyma-tjara kutu-na, mayi-nti
 hunger-HAVING really(NOM)-lsg(NOM) food-MAYBE(NOM)
 wampa ngari-nyii
 DON'T KNOW lie-PRES

A: 'Oh, I'm really hungry! I don't know if there's any food around here?'

B: wanya-na unytju-ngku nya-wa, papa-ngku-nti
 JUST LET-1sg(ERG) not seriously-ERG look-IMP dog-ERG-MAYBE
 kati-ngu, munta, nyanga-kutu ngari-nyi
 take-PAST SORRY this-ALL lie-PRES
 ...wanyu-na tii nya-wa, tii-nti
 JUST LET-1sg(ERG) tea(ACC) look-IMP tea(ACC)-MAYBE
 ulka pilikana-ngka, munta, ulka ngari-nyi
 drop billycan-LOC SORRY drop(NOM) lie-PRES
 ...wanyu-na unytjun-ma-ra
 JUST LET-1sg(ERG) warm-CAUS-IMP

B: 'I'll just have a little look, maybe a dog's taken it.
 Oh sorry, there's some around here. I'll just check the
 tea, there could be a drop in the billycan. Oh sorry
 there is a drop. I'll just warm it up'

Another tjalpawangkantja exchange, from Text 7, is occasioned by an unknown or highly respected man approaching. As he comes near the man in camp, ngura-tja camp-ASSOC, begins as in (10-5i), indirectly eliciting the intention of the newcomer, which leads to the ensuing exchange in (10-5ii) and (10-5iii). A striking feature of tjalpawangkantja nicely illustrated in (10-5) is obliqueness of reference - for instance, in (10-5iii) the nguratja avoids direct reference to the newcomer - he does not say for instance nyuntu ngali tjungulta yananyi 'you and I'll go together then'. Notice also the clitic particle -mpa INTEREST associated in this context with insinuation and implication.

10-5 (i) A: yaaltji nyanga-tja?
 which way this-EVIDENT
 'What's this?'

(ii) B: nyara-kutu-mpa-na yana-nyi
 over there-ALL-INTEREST-1sg(NOM) go-PRES
 'I'm going over that way, one might like to know'

(iii) A: muntawa, kuwari-mpa-na tjungu-lta
 oh really now-INTEREST-1sg(NOM) together(NOM) THEN-AND
 yana-nyi
 go-PRES

'Really, I'll go together then now, one might like to know'

Obliqueness or 'generality' of reference (Sutton 1982) is not only called for in respect of persons - for instance in (10-4) the ALLative case-marker -kutu is used in its 'around about' sense (3.6.2) to avoid the more explicit nyanga-tja this-EVIDENT. Consider also (10-6), which could be used to ask for a match. (In such cases one does not hand the thing requested directly to the other person, but places it on the ground; after a pause, the other person picks it up.)

10-6 A: waru pala-kutu ngari-nyi?
 fire(NOM) just there-ALL lie-PRES
 'Is there a light around?'

B: uwa, pala-kutu ngari-nyi
 yes just there-ALL lie-PRES
 'Yes, it's just there'

Many of the features identified above are combined in (10-7), which was given as an example of the exchange that might occur if a man happened to drop in on his brother's camp while his brother was not there, and therefore must speak alone to his inkani, his brother's wife.

10-7 A: munta, panya paluru-nti nyanga-kutu
 SORRY ANAPH DEF(NOM)-MAYBE this-ALL
 'Sorry, could that one be around here somewhere'

B: munta, wiya-mpa-l, ya-nu-mpa pala
 SORRY NEG-INTEREST-YOU SEE go-PAST-INTEREST just there
 nyara-kutu
 over there-ALL
 'Sorry, it's not so, one might like to know. You see, (he) went over there somewhere'

A: muntawa! alatji! unytju-ngku-na-l tjapi-ni
 oh really like this not seriously-ERG-lsg(ERG) ask-PRES
 'Oh really, just so! I'm just asking you see'

(10-8) could occur as two men are returning to camp after a drive in the country. If one wants the other to stop for wood, he might say (10-8), using the polite nguwan 'almost' locution; to say ngayulu waru nguwan mananyi is literally something like 'I'll somewhat get some wood'. This is roughly functionally equivalent to English 'I'd rather like to get some wood'. Use of nguwan in this way is completely

productive - eg nyuntu nguwan ngalkuni? 'would you rather like something to eat?' is the polite version of nyuntu anymatjara? 'are you hungry?' Notice that the driver's reply (10-8ii) shows that muted voice is not always appropriate in tjalpawangkantja. He exclaims enthusiastically alatji! 'just so!' as if to leave no doubt that his cooperation is complete and uncoerced. (Similarly in (10-7) when the speaker learns his brother is not in camp he exclaims alatji! as if to leave no doubt that this satisfies his inquiry, and he leaves immediately.)

10-8 (i) A: munta, waru-mpa-l, nguwan-ampa-na
 SORRY fire(NOM)-INTEREST-YOU SEE almost-INTEREST-1sg(ERG)
 mana-nyi
 get-PRES

'Sorry, there's some firewood you see; as one might like to know, I'd rather like to get some'

(ii) B: alatji! wanyu-na mutaka nyinatju-ra!
 like this JUST LET-1sg(ERG) car(ACC) stop-IMP
 'Just so! Hold on I'll just stop the car!'

I mentioned in connection with (10-4) and (10-7) that declarations of indifference are common in tjalpawangkantja. (10-9) and (10-10) are similar examples from community meetings, where as in other discussions of public policy it is appropriate to open and close with self-depreciating remarks (cf Myers n.d.). These may frame a passage that is actually quite opinionated and hard-hitting.

10-9 unytju-ngku-na wangka-nyi, nyura
 not seriously-ERG-1sg(ERG) talk-PRES 2pl(ERG)
 kuli-ntja-ku
 listen-NOML-PURP

'I'm just talking so that you can consider it'

10-10 ngunytji-na wangka-nyi
 wrongly-1sg(ERG) talk-PRES
 'I'm talking wrongly'

It must be understood that restraint and talking in the tjalpawangkantja style does not preclude a happy and friendly relationship and may indeed be the vehicle for considerable wit and verbal

skill. For instance, Text 7 tells how a pair of inkilyi (co-parents-in-law) may enjoy good conversations. While hunting together, they sight a kangaroo and in a magnificent piece of indirection one says (10-11). Notice that the use of the CONTRastive connective kaa allows the speaker to avoid explicitly referring to the addressee in the second sentence.

10-11 wanyu-wi ngayulu-nti nyina-ma kuwari kaa
 JUST LET-WISH lsg(NOM)-MAYBE sit-IMP.IMP now CONTR
 yanku-la-lta unytju-ngku nyanga-nyi,
 go-SERIAL-AND THEN not seriously-ERG see-PRES
 tjinguru kuka paluru ilu-ku, uu wanka kutu
 MAYBE meat DEF(NOM) die-FUT um alive really(NOM)
 wala-rinku-ku
 fast-INCHO-FUT

'I just wish... I could stay now, and (you'll) go and have a little look. Maybe that animal'll die, or maybe run off alive'

As the story continues, the man goes off and spears the kangaroo, then signals his inkilyi to come over with a whistle. When asked if the animal got away, he replies as in (10-12). Following the tracks of the dying animal is of course the routine thing to do in such situations, and might normally be suggested as tjinala yankula nyawa 'let's go look at the tracks'.

10-12 tjuu, nyara-kutu, wampa-nti-na
 friend over there-ALL DON'T KNOW-MAYBE-lsg(ERG)
 panya-tja waka-nu, wanyu-na
 ANAPH-EVIDENT(ACC) spear-PAST JUST LET-lsg(ERG)
 puta mitu-ra wanal-ku
 WHAT DO YOU SAY pick up track-SERIAL follow-FUT

'Friend, over there, I don't know, maybe I speared it. What do you say I just pick the tracks and follow it?'

After finding the dying animal, preparing it and putting it to roast, one inkilyi says to the other (10-13A). Here the speaker explicitly speaks of himself only, but the suggestion is that they return together. Notice that the addressee in his reply does not say simply

uwa 'yes' or uwa palya 'yes fine' as in neutral conversation.

10-13 A: tjuu, kuwari-mpa-na ngalku-la(2) kulpa-ku
friend now-INTEREST-lsg(NOM) eat-SERIAL return-FUT
'Friend, presently, after having a good feed, I might
go home, one might like to know'

B: uwa-nti
yes-MAYBE
'Yes I guess'

10.3.3 Light-Hearted Speech Styles

This section deals with the light-hearted joking relationships that so much enliven Yankunytjatjara social life. These are most likely to occur between distantly related nganantarka 'we-bone', though good-natured teasing inkatjingantja may take place between a close kamuru/kuntili and nephew or niece ukari. (Please note that it could be very embarrassing for Aboriginal people to read, or be read, some of the following examples, especially in mixed company.)

Consider the contrast between (10-14), given as an example of a joking approach for the loan of some sugar, and the measured deference of (10-4). The exchange in (10-14) is forthright, boisterous, uses direct imperatives and shows mock hostility. (Yami commented that this sort of banter might go on for some time before A gets the sugar, if he ever does.)

10-14 A: awayi! tjuka-ku-na ngalya-ya-nu,
hey sugar-PURP-lsg(NOM) this way-go-PAST

tjuka-tja ngalya-yu-wa!
sugar(ACC)-lsgACC this way-give-IMP

'Hey! I came here for sugar, give me some sugar!'

B: tjuka wanyu nyuntu yaal-ara paya-mila-ra
sugar(ACC) JUST LET 2sg(ERG) INTER-time buy-LOAN-SERIAL

nyanga-ngka tju-nu?
this-LOC put-PAST

'Just when did you ever buy any sugar and bring (put)
it here?'

A: wiya, anyma-tjara-na, wala-ngku-tja
 no hunger-HAVING(NOM)-lsg(NOM) quick-ERG-lsgACC
 yungku-la iya-la kaa-na tii kutja-ra
 give-SERIAL send-IMP CONTR-lsg(ERG) tea(ACC) heat-SERIAL
 tjiki-la!
 drink-IMP

'No! I'm hungry! Quick give me some sugar and send me off and I'll drink some tea!'

B: wiya, tjuka nyanga-tja ngayu-ku, ngayu-ku kutu,
 NEG sugar this-EVIDENT lsg-GEN lsg-GEN really(NOM)
 ngayu-ku mani-ngka paya-mila-ntji-tja-ngka...
 lsg-GEN money-LOC buy-LOAN-NOML-ASSOC-LOC

'No, it's my sugar! It's really mine! Bought with my money...'

(10-15) comes from Text 8 and describes how a pair of joking partners inka-inka-ra (fun-fun-PAIR - (4.6.4)) might behave. The direct and familiar address as wati 'initiated man' and kuta "senior brother", as well as the loudness and pace of the exchange, are in marked contrast with the indirect slow-moving tjalpawangkanytja. And whereas in the direct speech style sexual matters are out of the question, there is direct reference to sexuality. The assertiveness of the light-hearted style is also shown by the frequency of particles like -manti PROBABLY. Note also the use of -mpa INTEREST associated in this context with strong innuendo. (See also (9-41) also from Text 7.)

10-15 A: wati, nyanga-ngi-na-nta, wati
 man see-PAST.IMPF-lsg(ERG)-2sg(ERG) man
 nyaa-manti-n ya-nu? kulakula-mpa
 what-PROBABLY-2sg(NOM) go-PAST randy(NOM)-INTEREST
 kungka-kutu-mpa
 woman-ALL-INTEREST

'Man, I've been watching you. What did you go (off) for?
 Randy most likely, after women, one might like to know'

B: wiya, wati ngayulu kungka wiya,
no man lsg(NOM) woman NEG(NOM)

wanti-nyi-na ngayulu, palu
leave alone-PRES-lsg(ERG) lsg(ERG) BUT OF COURSE

nyuntu panya-nku watja-nma kuta wati
2sg(ERG) ANAPH-REFLEX say-IMP.IMPF senior brother

panya kura-ngku
man ANAPH bad-ERG

'No, I don't have any woman, I leave them alone I do.
But of course you could say that to yourself, big brother,
(you) the bad one'

As (10-15) shows it is quite in order in joking to use words like kulakula 'randy' which refer directly to sexual desire, and, in the more extreme forms, to swear and abuse each other. For instance, the word kalu 'prick' is sometimes used as a form of address in this rowdy mucking about, but would be a provocative insult in other contexts.

Certain relations at times indulge in bouts of good-natured teasing inkatjingantja. This involves the senior person insulting the junior in various good-humoured ways, generating an amusing banter of parry and thrust. The setting for (10-16) is that a young man goes to borrow an axe from his uncle kamuru. Knowing he is a favoured nephew he baldly asks:

10-16 A: kamuru, ngayulu yungku-la wana-la-r pamiyangka
uncle lsg(ERG) give-SERIAL follow-IMP-EXCIT hatchet(ACC)

pala-tja, kaa-na kati,
just there-EVIDENT CONTR-lsg(ERG) take(IMP)

miru atu-ntji-kitja-ngku
spear-thrower(ACC) chop-NOML-INTENT-ERG

'Uncle, I'm after a loan of that hatchet just there,
so I can take it and chop out a spearthrower.

B: uwa, kati punytjul-wiya-ngku kati!
yes take(IMP) blunt-NEG-ERG take(IMP)

'OK take it but don't blunt it!'

A: wati, nyas-ku-na tjitji-ngku-palku
 man what-PURP-1sg(ERG) child-ERG-NOT REALLY
 punytja-nma
 blunt-IMP.IMP

'Man, why would I blunt it as if I were a child?'

Sometimes a teasing relationship allows a good deal of direct sexual reference, involving sensitive or offensive language warkira inkatjingantja 'teasing with/while swearing'. (10-17) is a simulated exchange between a man (or boy?) and his kamuru. Aside from the older man's joking about the younger one's penis - making out that it is his kid-brother and that he is addressing it - the passage is interesting because of the direct reference to generation moieties. Kamuru and ukari are in different generation moieties, but the exchange begins with the uncle calling the nephew over by the term malany 'junior brother', implying that they belong to the same generation moiety. He also uses the swear word kalutjanu (related to kalu 'prick'), which I have glossed as 'dickhead'. Ngayukunu is an affectionate call which parents use to summon children.

10-17 A: ngayukunu! tjukaruru ngalya-ya-ra! kalutjanu!
 dear boy straight away(NOM) this way-go-IMP dickhead
 kalutjanu! ngayu-ku pala malany
 dickhead 1sg-GEN just there junior brother(NOM)
 'Dear boy! Come here straight away! Dickhead! Dickhead!
 That's my kid brother there!'

B: wiya, wati warki-tjara, munkar-itja wati
 no man swear-HAVING on the other side-ASSOC man
 tjana-milytjan, kutjupa
 they-bone(NOM) different(NOM)
 'No, you swearing man. (You're) on the other side,
tjanamilytjan, (you're) different!'

After this riposte, the kamuru comes back with the following comment, saying that he is not addressing his ukari as malany but rather 'that thing in your lap'. The ukari manages a 'snappy comeback' of his own.

10-18 A: wiya, ngayulu-mpa-na-tju-l
 no lsg(ERG)-INTEREST-lsg(ERG)-REFLEX-YOU SEE
 pala panta-tja walku-ni
 just there lap-ASSOC(ACC) address as relation-PRES
 titu-ngku, ngayu-ku malany-al
 separately-ERG lsg-GEN junior brother-YOU SEE
 pala-tja!
 just there-EVIDENT

'No, you see I'm just addressing my relation there in
 your lap, separately. That's my kid brother!'

B: uum, wati kumpu alatji-ka malany
 man piss(ACC) like this-JUST SO junior brother(ACC)
 walku-ni
 address as relation-PRES

'Um, man, you're calling piss itself kid brother'

10.4 INSULT AND ABUSE

Warkinytja 'swearing, abuse' (a \emptyset -class transitive verb) refers to the use of potentially offensive words whether in jest, accidentally or seriously. Sensitive or offensive language includes words belonging to secret/sacred ritual, as well as those referring to sexual and eliminatory functions. Deliberate use of these words outside a joking context provokes (tjitintja) a fight, which in traditional Yankunytjatjara society was a highly constrained and honourable way of settling a dispute. (10-19) - (10-21) illustrate this process from Text 9, which simulates a heated verbal exchange as an aggressive old man publically abuses his son for allegedly ruining spears he (the younger man) had borrowed. (Please note that it would be very embarrassing for Aboriginal people to read, or be read, these examples, especially in mixed company.)

The old man severely abuses (tarkantja) his son, saying things like (10-19). Notice that in the first sentence of (10-19) he uses the 3plNOM/ERG pronoun -ya (4.4.3) the usual practice in publically berating another's behaviour - but as he gets more worked up he switches to the 2sgNOM/ERG -n.

10-19 kalu tarpu tjuku-ngku-ya katji
 prick shrivelled small-ERG-3pl(ERG) spear(ACC)
kata-nta-ra wani-ra wanti-ma
 broken-HARM-SERIAL throw-SERIAL leave alone-IMP.IMP
nyaa-ku-n kati-ra tarpu-ringa-nyi
 what-PURP-2sg(NOM) take-SERIAL scrivelled-INCHO-PRES

'Small shrivelled prick, they oughtn't take spears and break them and throw them away! Why are you always taking things and fucking them up?'

In the text, the old man's brothers speak up as in (10-20), to block (angawangkanytja 'block by talking') this intemperate outburst. Notice in (10-20) and (10-19) the use of the rhetorical question with nyaa-ku what-PURP as a device to censure behaviour. Despite their efforts the old man persists and eventually the son is goaded to reply (10-21), in what Yami Lester commented was 'really dirty' provocative language. The threatened retaliation by a younger man silences the old man (9-50).

10-20 wati nyaa-ku-n tjitji-puriny warki-nyi
 man what-PURP-2sg(ERG) child-SIMILAR(ACC) abuse-PRES
wanti-ma warki-wiya-ngku
 leave alone-IMP.IMP abuse-NEG-ERG

'Man, why are you abusing him as if he were a child, man, since he's a man, you should leave him alone without cursing him'

10-21 kutju-ara-ni-n warki-ngu, munu ngula
 one-time-1sgACC-2sg(ERG) abuse-PAST ADD later on
kumpuranga-nyi-lta kumpu-lta-n paka-ni
 piss-PRES-AND THEN piss(NOM)-AND THEN 2sg(NOM) get up-PRES
...nguntiwata-nta-na pungku-ku kaa-n
 back of neck(ACC)-2sgACC-1sg(ERG) hit-FUT CONTR-2sg(ERG)
ngari-ra kunaranga-ma, kumpu tjuti-ra
 lie-SERIAL shit-IMP.IMP piss(NOM) leak-SERIAL
ngari-ma
 lie-IMP.IMP

'You've cursed me once, and later you'll be pissing.
You'll be pissing yourself. I might hit you on the
back of the neck, and you might (end up) lying shitting
(yourself), lying leaking piss'

Leaving this particular text at this point, it is worth reiterating that warkinytja is not restricted to the deliberate (wangka mula = true word) use of sexual and eliminatory-function words in disputes. If words of this type are used in joking, or in pain, or even for medical reasons, eg describing the symptoms of sexually-transmitted diseases, it is still warkinytja, hence the need for euphemism (10.6).

Unauthorised or inappropriate use of words relating to the secret/sacred life is also warkinytja (see 9.3). This may be out-and-out blasphemy if sacred knowledge is revealed wrongly. In one text of a Dreaming story a man overhears a woman talking about men's sacred knowledge. (It is not clear if she is simply using prohibited words, or is describing the activities themselves). The man exclaims:

10-22 ngangka-r! kungka-munu tjukur-ampa-l
 heck-EXCIT woman-CONTRARY story(ACC)-INTEREST-YOU SEE

 nyanga-ngku warki-nyi ngara-la
 this-ERG swear-PRES stand-SERIAL

 'Heck! This woman is swearing (with) words prohibited
 to women'

Use of sensitive or offensive words by children seems largely tolerated by adults⁶ along with much unruly behaviour which would be checked in English-speaking society. When denied something, children sometimes throw temper tantrums involving abuse and mock attack of the adult object of their displeasure; but I have little data on children's swearing and cannot say anything about how it may differ in content or other ways from adult swearing. Children frequently abuse each other with epithets referring to bodily deformation like tjaa kuyakuya/ kalikali 'rotten/crooked mouth' tjuni kaputu 'knotted belly' mulya wara/iri/kaputu 'long/sharp/knotted nose'.

10.5 ayilpiri 'RHETORIC'

Rhetoric ayilpiri is an institution in Yankunytjatjara society. In the early morning, as the camp begins to come alive and people are still gathered around their camp-fires, the older people publically address

the camp in a loud voice, to air grievances, censure bad behaviour (in a way that does not necessarily cause confrontation with the individuals involved) and speak on matters of public importance. Though I have heard quite a few sessions of ayilpiri, I am told it is much less practised in present-day settlement conditions than in earlier times when people lived in smaller 'bush camps'. On the other hand, it seems that the genre lives on in a modified form in the community meetings that are such a frequent part of the present-day political and consultative process (Myers n.d.).

The following examples are not drawn from recording of naturally-occurring ayilpiri or community meetings, but are simulations, or extracts from texts in which ayilpiri occurs; but they are sufficient to discern at least some stylistic features. For example in one text a group of young men in a seclusion stage tawaritja, camping a little way from the main camp, irritate their elders by whispering loudly at night, joking and telling stories and keeping others awake. In the early morning while they are still asleep, an old man loudly addresses the camp in ayilpiri, venting his grievance, publically embarrassing the young men, and waking them up rudely. Notice the way that the speaker contrasts his own exemplary behaviour with that of the others, and his use of the nyaaku what-PURP rhetorical question as a device of censure.

10-23 ngangka! ngura ngayu-ku pala-tja, tjaaly-tju
 heck camp lsg-GEN(NOM) just there-EVIDENT whisper-ERG

 kaaraka-nu, wati ngayulu-mpa-na-tju-l
 make noisy-PAST man lsg(ERG)-INTEREST-lsg(ERG)-REFLEX-YOU SEE

 tjaaly kakuti wangka-ra ngari-payi,
 whisper few small(ACC) talk-SERIAL lie-CHAR

 nyaa-ku-ya anku ngari-nytja wiya kutu
 what-PURP-3pl(NOM) sleep lie-NOML NEG really

 wangka-ngi, aar!
 talk-PAST.IMPF

'By heck! This is my camp, (they) made it noisy by whispering! Man, as for me, you might like to know, I say a few small things in a whisper and go to sleep. Why were they talking (on) without going to sleep at all? aar!'

After a pause, the speaker continues with (10-24), defending his right to speak in ayilpiri, waking people up in the morning. He makes the telling point that staying up late at night, and so over-sleeping, exposes the camp to the danger of a hostile raiding party. Notice that the -mpa INTEREST particle occurs four times in the sentence making this point, emphasising that as far as he is concerned this is the key thing, that one should know and act on. His speech meets enthusiastic approval from another old man, who shouts something akin to English 'hear, hear!'

10-24' A: ngura wangka-nyi-na-l nyanga-tja
 WELL-JUST talk-PRES-1sg(NOM)-YOU SEE this-EVIDENT
 ayilpiri tjintu-ringku-nya-ngka, ngura
 rhetoric(NOM) day-INCHO-NOML-LOC WELL-JUST
 nyaa-ku-na ngulakutju awu-ringku-ku?...
 what-PURP-1sg(NOM) too late drowsy-INCHO-FUT
 wati-mpa kunyu nyanga-tja kunkun-ampa
 man(NOM)-INTEREST QUOT this-EVIDENT asleep-INTEREST
 mungawinki-mpa warmala-mpa wirkanku-payi
 morning-INTEREST raiding party(NOM) arrive-CHAR

'Well, you see I'm just talking ayilpiri now, as the day begins. Well why should I be drowsy now too late... they say that men can arrive here in the morning in a raiding party, one might like to know'

B: ngangka! uwa-mpa kunyu nyanga-tja-r
 heck yes-INTEREST QUOT this-EVIDENT-EXCIT

'Heck yes! That's what they say, one might like to know!'

In (10-23) and (10-24) ayilpiri was used to show irritation and direct disapproval at a specific group. Ayilpiri can also be used to advocate on a matter of a public policy, as in the simulated example (10-25), where a speaker urges greater control of drinking. Notice that once again the key point is made in a sentence with several instances of the -mpa INTEREST particle. Note also the use of introductory palu BUT OF COURSE to present an argument as if it were to be taken for granted (compare (9-24)). Again we see that though the speech is quite hard-hitting it is couched in general terms.

10-25 wati, ngunytji-la katja tjuta kanyi-ra...
 man wrongly-lpl(ERG) son many(ACC) keep-SERIAL
 palu payi-ni palu-nya tjana-nya
 BUT OF COURSE tell off-PRES DEF-ACC 3pl-ACC
 wayina wiya wanka nyina-nytja-ku
 liquor NEG(NOM) healthy(NOM) sit-NOML-PURP
 wayina-ngku-mpa ilu-ntanku-payi-mpa, wati
 liquor-ERG-INTEREST dead-HARM-CHAR-INTEREST man
 wanyu-ya pina ala nyina-ma
 JUST LET-3pl(NOM) ear open(NOM) sit-IMP.IMP
 munu-la wayina nyaku-la wanti-ma
 ADD-lpl(ERG) liquor(ACC) see-SERIAL leave alone-IMP.IMP
 'Men, we're not looking after our sons properly...
 only of course (if) we tell them off, they'll be able to
 be healthy, without liquor. Liquor is a killer one might
 like to know! Men, let's have clear heads (open ears)
 and leave liquor alone when we see it!'

10.6 EUPHEMISM

The following is a very sketchy coverage of a large area of verbal etiquette.

Bereavement

Anyone who has witnessed the mourning, trauma and upheaval death causes in an Aboriginal community will know that the utmost sensitivity to the feelings of the bereaved is called for in mentioning or discussing death. I have never heard the word ilungu 'died' used of a person, even if they passed away many years ago - wiyaringu 'finished' is the usual expression, at least to white people. As for the more sensitive matter of recent death, there is an extensive set of terms which allow one to inform others of a death without making reference either to the person who has died or to the fact of death itself. These are INCHOative verbs based on lexemes describing the status of the bereaved relatives, some of which are listed in (10-26), or on the lexeme kutju 'alone'. After a death a person may be referred to and addressed by one of the terms in (10-26) for a long time, as illustrated in (10-28).

- 10-26 (i) pinku 'woman/girl whose sibling has died'
 tjitjururu 'man/boy whose sibling has died'
- (ii) tjitula 'person whose mother, father, uncle or aunt
 has died'
 minytji "
 wangu "
- (iii) purkutjara 'person who has lost child, nephew or niece
 through death'
- 10-27 Mary-nya kuwari kutju/pinku-ri-ngu
 Mary-NOM NAME now single/bereaved sister-INCHO-PAST
 'Today Mary became alone/a bereaved sister'
- 10-28 A: Wangu-nya yaaltji?
 bereaved child-NOM NAME which way?
 'Where's the Bereaved Child'
- B: Wangu-nya? Wangu-nya
 Bereaved child-NOM NAME bereaved child-NOM NAME
 ngana-nya? nyitayira?
 who-NOM NAME male(NOM)
 'The Bereaved Child? Which Bereaved Child? The boy?'
- A: wiya, wangu akuri
 no bereaved child female
 'No, the girl'

The Aboriginal practice of not using the names of recently deceased people or other words similar to these is well-known. Kunmanara is the substitute address/reference term for a replaced name; kumanu is the substitute for a replaced word that is not a name. For instance, the death of a woman named Tina led to that name being replaced by kunmanara and the word tina 'lunch, dinner' being replaced by mayi (food) kumanu, at least in some people's usage. As many observers have noted, whether a name-substitute or a bereavement term is used on a specific occasion depends on who is present, the time elapsed since the death, the nature of the speech event, and other factors.

Sexual, Eliminary and Reproductive Matters

(10-29) - (10-32) illustrate some ways of saying things roughly equivalent to English "I'm going for a leak' or 'let's stop and I'll go to the toilet'. Of course in deciding what to say, or indeed whether to say anything, the important factor is the degree of restraint operating among those present. Yami Lester said that the locutions in (10-29) and (10-30) were recent but widely-used coinages.

10-29 ngayulu kapa anyma-ringa-nyi
 lsg(NOM) abdomen(NOM) hunger-INCHO-PRES
 'My abdomen's hungry'

10-30 kapi/tii-tja-na wanyu yana-nyi
 water/tea-ASSOC-lsg(NOM) JUST LET go-PRES
 'Just let me go off, of/ (due to) /tea/water'

10-31 wanyu-na unyuru-punga-nyi
 JUST LET-lsg(ERG) slime-hit-PRES
 'Hold on I'll just have a leak'

(10-32) averts to a saying something like 'a little bird told me': if someone is talking about someone else behind their back, (kampa-ngka wangka-nytja side-LOC talk-NOML) one can say ayi wiya punpuntu wangkanyi kuwari 'gee, no the flies will tell (him or her) directly', the idea being that the flies are listening and will take the message back to the person being discussed.

10-32 punpun kuli-ntji-kitja yana-nyi
 flies(ACC) listen-NOML-INTENT(NOM) go-PRES
 'He's gone to listen to the flies'

Discussion of sexual matters is generally embarrassing for Yankunytjatjara people, especially in mixed company. Misunderstandings can easily occur for instance when medical staff wish to discuss sexually-transmitted diseases. For instance, to ask about pain in the genital area, it is not in order to use a word like kalu 'prick' or nyira 'cunt' - one could say instead something like (10-33). Similarly if a man had been hit in the testicles he would rather not have to use the expression 'eggs, balls' but say something like (10-34) also using the word kapa 'abdomen'.

- 10-33 kapa kampa-nyɪ?
 abdomen(NOM) burn-PRES
 'Is the abdomen burning?'
- 10-34 kapa-tja pu-ngu
 abdomen(ACC)-1sgACC hit-PAST
 '(It) hit me (in the) abdomen'

The word murantja 'fucking' is out of the question in polite conversation and the more proper expression is ngarilyinkunytja, formed from the verb ngari-Ø 'lie' with the rare causativiser -lyi (7.4.5). The parallel word ngaralyinkunytja, formed from ngara-Ø 'stand' refers to sexual intercourse between dogs. Even the word kuri 'spouse, mate' apparently has a sexual implication and should be used with circumspection - alternative terms are mayita 'spouse' (from English 'mate') tjunggu-tja together-ASSOC 'partner', or even more polite, anangu 'person'.

10.7 Anitji OR tjaa paku : AUXILIARY LANGUAGE

Anitji or tjaa paku (lit: 'tired mouth = speech') is an alternate system of vocabulary comprising at least several hundred words. It is structurally similar to some other Aboriginal auxiliary languages (eg Dixon 1972, Haviland 1979b) in having a separate lexicon, but identical grammar to the main language, (except that it has special pronouns, demonstratives and interrogatives). Anitji words are usually longer than their 'plain speech' (wangka uti) equivalents, but are constructed according to the same phonological rules.

Anitji should reportedly be used between certain of the adult relations of a boy who is undergoing his initiation processes, which may take several weeks or more. The relations in question include the boy's close mama "father", ngunytju "mother", kamuru "mother's brothers", kuntili "father's sisters" kami "grandmother" tjamu "grandfather" and kangkuru "senior sister", but not his kuta "senior brother" or marutju "brother-in-law". In fact, the speech restriction operating in this period is more likely to be avoiding the use of normal or 'plain' speech, as Yami Lester told me it is acceptable for younger people who have not fully mastered anitji to communicate in English or using hand-signs. Middle-aged and older people at Mimili appear to be quite fluent in anitji, and at ceremony time I have seen very large gatherings interacting in anitji, apparently as fluently as they would

otherwise in normal speech. My present data on anitji is rather scant however, and comes mainly from Kanytji and Tommy Tjampu.

Free Pronouns and the Definite Nominal

Anitji differs from reported Aboriginal auxiliary 'avoidance' languages in having special pronouns, demonstratives and interrogatives. The nominative/ergative free pronouns of anitji, and the anitji DEFINITE nominal, which like its plain speech counterpart (4.4.2) resembles a 3sg pronoun, are displayed below.

Anitji Free Pronouns and DEFINITE Nominal (Plain Speech Equivalents in Parentheses)

1	nganku-lu (ngayu-lu)	ngawi (ngali)	ngawa-na (ngana-na)
2	nyunku (nyuntu)	nyuwali (nyupali)	nyuya (nyura)
3		puwa (puwa)	tjaya (tjana)
	DEFInite nominal	pangku-ru (palu-ru)	

Notice that the initial syllables of the anitji forms are the same as the plain speech equivalents - the first person all begin with nga-; second person with nyu-; third person dual with pu-; third person plural with tja-; and DEFINITE nominal with pa-. Furthermore the 1sg and DEFINITE nominal anitji forms resemble their plain speech counterparts morphologically in having the nominative/ergative suffixes -lu and -ru respectively (cf accusative forms ngankunya and pangkunya respectively).

Demonstrative and Interrogatives

The plain speech demonstrative stems nyanga 'this' and nyara 'that over there' have a single anitji equivalent ngayi. The 'intermediate' plain speech pala 'this just here/there' has the equivalent pari, and the ANAPHORIC panya has the counterpart paya. Demonstrative adverbs are formed in anitji as in plain speech by the addition of the suffix -tja EVIDENT.

Interestingly the word anitji itself is the anitji equivalent of alatji 'like this', so that the anitji phrase anitji malalinganyi 'talking anitji' actually means 'talking like this'. The interrogative version 'in which way?' is yayiltji, corresponding to yaaltji. Corresponding to yaalara 'when, what time' is anitji yayiltara. Nyangita is the anitji counterpart of nyaa 'what?'

Other Parts of Speech

To date I have recorded about 45 anitji verbs, about double that number of nouns and adjectives and a small number of anitji adverbs, spatial qualifiers and free particles. As the entries in (10-35) show there is no systematic phonological resemblance between anitji and plain speech words. On the basis of the scant data I have at the moment, it is not possible to say to what extent the semantic relations between anitji and plain speech words are one-to-one, as opposed to one-to-many, as is often the case in the auxiliary languages reported elsewhere in Australia.

(10-35) lists a sample of 30 nouns and adjectives, including some kin terms, body parts, tools and implements, words for camp and types of shelter, and natural features and resources. Some plain speech words, such as kali 'boomerang' and kutjara 'two' apparently do not have anitji equivalents, and may be used in anitji speech.

10-35	<u>anitji</u>	<u>wangka uti</u>	
	anpara	anangu	'person'
	angkuru	pina	'ear'
	kampinyu	kutju	'one, single'
	kinal	kiti	'spinifex gum'
	mawun	kanku	'shade'
	manmar	parka	'long thin leaves, leaf spray'
	manyirka	mara	'hand'
	mayali	maku	'grub'
	mitulpa	mutaka	'car'
	nganal	piti	'burrow'
	ngantankari	mayi	'vegetable food'
	ngirmi	wira	'digging dish'
	ngunyar	katji	'hunting spear'
	nyangangu	malany	'junior sibling'
	panma	manta	'ground'
	pintiiri	ngura	'camp, place'

pukaru	inma	'song, ceremony'
pulara	tjina	'foot, tracks'
puwatju	pulka	'big'
tjimpatjimpa	tjapu	'small'
umpawanytja	kapi	'water'
wakari	kuka	'meat'
wampun	wati	'initiated man'
wawanki	yu	'windbreak'
wiri	tjilpi	'old man'
yunytja	yulytja	'clothes, stuff'

The verb-deriving processes of anitji appear to be the same as those of plain speech, and the same correlation between mora parity of the stem and verb-class holds (ie even-moraed stems are \emptyset -class and l-class and odd-moraed stems are n-class and ng-class). Basic (underived) anitji verb stems are listed in (10-36), but many basic plain speech words have derived or compound anitji equivalents, for instance those listed in (10-37). (As far as I know, the roots in (10-37i, ii) cannot occur as independent words.) Two anitji verbs which apparently subsume the meanings of distinct plain speech verbs are putanta-n 'give, put' and ana-ri-ng 'stand, lie'.

10-36	<u>anitji</u>	<u>wangka uti</u>	
	pitjinti-n	pu-ng	'hit'
	tjayiyuka-l	waka-l	'spear'
	tjannga-l	atu-l	'chop, hit with stone'
	nyumara-n	tjarpa- \emptyset	'enter, go in'
	warka-l	ya-n	'go'
	malali-ng	wangka- \emptyset	'talk'
	munnga-l	kutja-l	'heat, cook'
	nani-l	kalpa- \emptyset	'climb on'
	nulaku-n	tjutl-l	'pour (water)'
	ngunyi-l	nguri-l	'seek'

10-37 (i) with -ri/ari INCHOative

	panturu-ri- \emptyset	nyina- \emptyset	'sit'
	ana-ri-ng	ngara- \emptyset	'stand, lie'
		ngari- \emptyset	
	munga-ri-ng	muku-ri- \emptyset	'like, yearn for'
	ngunyinya-ri- \emptyset	watjil-ari- \emptyset	'pine for'
	kulirira-ri-ng	anku-ri-ng	'sleep'

(ii) with -kati PROCESS

mantji-kati-Ø	ilu-Ø	'die'
pawul-kati-Ø	punka-Ø	'fall'
wanguru-kati-Ø	ukali-ng	'descend'

(iii) Ø-derived stems (7.4.1)

ngunyanyu-Ø	palya-l	'make, fix'
		'good'
umpawanytja-l	tjiki-l	'drink'
		'water'
angkuru-n	kuli-l	'listen, think'
		'ear'

(iv) compounds with pitjinti-n 'hit'

puwal-pitjinti-n	mira-Ø	'shout'
tjanmu-pitjinti-n	tjawu-l	'dig'
wintji-pitjinti-n	wani-Ø	'throw away/down'

(10-38) lists some distinctive anitji free particles, exclamations and time qualifiers. Note that ngawa- 'this way' and paya- 'around' are the anitji directional prefixes corresponding to ngalya- and para- (but maa- 'away' occurs in both anitji and plain speech).

10-38 (i)	kumari	wanyu	JUST LET
	kuyu	kunyu	QUOTative
	tjiwuru	tjinguru	MAYBE
(ii)	uma	uwa	'yes'
	wingira	wiya	'no'
(iii)	inyiti	iriti	'long ago'
	nguma	ngula	'later on'

Anitji Grammar

As can be seen from Text 10 in anitji, the inflectional morphology, sentence connectives, clitic pronouns and particles, and syntax of anitji are the same as plain speech. One or two examples will suffice here. (Plain speech equivalents are given in (10-39ii) and (10-40ii).)

10-39 (i) warka-ra umpawanytja munnga-la, kaa-li
go-SERIAL water(ACC) get-IMP CONTR-ldu(NOM)
wakari-ku warka-la
meat-PURP go-IMP

'Go get some water, and we'll go for meat'

(ii) yanku-la kapi tjuti-la, kaa-li
go-SERIAL meat(ACC) get water-IMP CONTR-ldu(NOM)
kuka-ku ya-ra
meat-PURP go-IMP

'Go get some water, and we'll go for meat'

10-40 (i) wakari nyayi-tja, pintjatan nyumara-ngu
meat(NOM) this-EVIDENT rabbit(NOM) go in-PAST
kumari-li tjanmu-pitjinti-ra tjarangka-ra
JUST-LET-ldu(ERG) hole-hit-SERIAL look-IMP

'There's some game. A rabbit went down (its burrow).
Let's just dig and have a look!'

(ii) kuka nyanga-tja, rapita tjarpa-ngu
meat this-EVIDENT rabbit(NOM) go in-PAST
wanyu-li tjawu-ra nya-wa
JUST LET-ldu(ERG) dig-SERIAL see-IMP

'There's some game! A rabbit went down (its burrow).
Let's just dig and have a look!'

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER ONE:

1. Western Desert people have many terms referring to dialect and dialect features but no overall term for the family of dialects linguists call Western Desert Language. The closest term I know of is wangka uti 'clear/understandable speech'.
2. As Lakoff remarked in 1972 in a critique of 'autonomous syntax', to start an overall linguistic description by hypothesising rules for mapping meanings onto sounds without giving prior thought to the meanings and sounds themselves is like trying to build the middle third of a bridge.
3. Figures from Ernabella in the Musgrave Ranges over the years 1936-74 show an annual range from about 50-750mm. Monthly rainfall figures from Amata 1962-74 show that though the heaviest falls are more likely to occur in February, in six of the thirteen years recorded no rain at all fell in that month. There were many periods of four, five and six months when no rain fell.
4. I might say that I personally doubt the universality of Wierzbicka's proposed primitives 'be a part of' and 'world'. Also, I am inclined to agree with the implication in her more recent work that the expression 'be in a place' should be added to the list of primitives.
5. The hypothesis of the universality of semantic metalanguage entails not just that the "sets of semantic primitives which can be established through the analyses of different languages coincide... (but) that the 'irreducible cores' of all languages coincide in their entirety... that the deep syntax of all languages is the same" (Wierzbicka 1980:26). It goes without saying that this hypothesis is at least as difficult to test as that of the universality of a minimal lexicon. We would need detailed studies of the semantics of grammatical constructions and categories in different languages and this work is just beginning.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER TWO:

1. Underlining is used to indicate retroflexion (t, n, l, r). The Ngaanyatjarra orthography in use in Western Australia uses digraphs (rt, rn, rl) for the retroflex stop, nasal and lateral; r for the retroflex glide and rr for the tap. Pintupi orthography in use in the Northern Territory uses r and rr as in Ngaanyatjarra, but underlining for the retroflex stop, nasal and lateral. The S.A. Education Department has unsuccessfully canvassed the South Australian Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara communities several times on the possibility of adopting digraphs instead of underlining to indicate retroflexion (Tryon 1981). It is worth noting however that the literate speakers I have observed generally do not include the underlining in their writing, and that a good proportion of published literacy materials does not make use of it either.
2. The articulatory feature 'peripheral' (articulation at the extreme back or front of the mouth' Dixon 1980:139) correlates with the acoustic feature 'grave'. Busby 1981
3. Acoustic study of phoneme realisation in Australian languages also provides support for classifying stops, nasals and laterals into peripheral and non-peripheral divisions, and further classifying the non-peripherals into apicals and laminals (Busby 1981:133).

4. For instance, it never happens that a morphological process brings together two identical short vowel phonemes which are realised as a long vowel; and there are no morphological processes which convert short vowels to long vowels.
5. Well-established spellings also do not indicate that some verbal compounding elements contain long vowels. For example, paar-paka-l 'fly (paka-l = get up)', waar-pu-ng 'do suddenly (pu-ng = 'hit')' and muur-pu-ng 'crush up' are usually spelt with short initial vowels, but they are clearly long compared with vowels in words like parka 'thin leaves', warku 'small round hollow in rock' and murpu 'rise (of hill)'.
 6. It is probably better to say that retroflex 'colouring' due to the following retroflex consonant masks the auditory effect of lip-rounding.
7. In many Western dialects, such as Pitjantjatjara, Ngaanyatjarra and Pintupi consonant-final words are blocked by the addition of the syllable -pa. (See eg Hale 1973, Hansen and Hansen 1978:39f).
8. In terms of classical phonemics, stress is phonemic even though it is predictable in morphemic terms, because potentially there could be a minimal pair like kútjupa-tjara/kútjupatjara, where the first member consisted of a trimoric root plus a dimoric suffix with an initial secondary stress, and the second was an unanalysable stem. Nash (1980:101) cites the following Warlpiri examples from Hale 1977:16 yáparla-ngùrlu 'Fa Mo-Elative' / yápa-rlàngu-rlu 'person - eg - Ergative'.
9. I continue to write the word in (2-101) as muntawa in deference to established orthographic practice.
10. Lyons 1977 uses nominal for a 'referring expression' - ie in the sense we use noun phrase. A nominal in the sense used in this work is any lexeme which can enter into a nominal in Lyons' sense. Our usage of nominal also differs from Dixon 1980 who uses the term as a cover term for nouns and adjectives.
11. Finer distinctions are undoubtedly necessary: for the descriptive class to account for ordering restrictions when more than one such adjective occurs in a single NP; for the quantifying class to account for such facts as for instance (i) that unlike the other quantifying adjectives kutjuli 'all' and winki 'the complete set' cannot form the base for INCHOative verbs, and (ii) kutju 'one' kutjara 'two' mankur 'three, few' can be combined in pairs for counting.
12. By analogy with English it might be argued that these words be called 'manner adverbs', but this would mean (i) disregarding case inflection as the primary morphosyntactic diagnostic of nominals in Yankunytjatjara, and (ii) introducing a type of inflecting 'adverb' into a class which is otherwise invariable in form.
13. It is well-known that third person pronouns differ fundamentally from first and second person pronouns because they do not correlate with any participant(s) in the speech-act. Many languages lack third person pronouns altogether. In others the third person pronouns have peculiarities or are subject to restrictions not shared

by first and second person pronouns (eg the gender distinction in the English third singular). "It is not uncommon for Australian languages to have forms that can be recognised as 3du and 3pl pronouns, but nothing that could properly be called 3sg" (Dixon 1980:357).

14. Though this is unfortunate and reflects the need for more detailed research, it parallels the situation in Indo-European grammars (Lyons 1968:326). For instance, on the classical notional definition of an adverb as a word that modifies a verb, adjective or other adverb, it is doubtful whether 'manner adverbs' and 'sentence adverbs' should be regarded as adverbs even in English. (It is interesting to note that most English expressions of these types correspond to active adjectives or free particles in Yankunytjatjara.)
15. I take for granted the classical distinction between a subject, in the logical sense, (an expression identifying something about which something is said) and predicate (an expression which says something about the referent identified by the subject).
16. Garcia (1979:33-34) has suggested that the widespread 'initial prominence' principle follows from the fact that "it is at the beginning of communications that the addressee knows least, that is... it is there (if anywhere) that the speaker may expect him to be attentive, since his very ignorance will force him to depend on the speaker's words. The speaker will consequently do well if he places at the beginning of his communications those items that (for any of a variety of reasons) he may wish to bring to the hearer's attention."

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER THREE:

1. See (8.3.2) for a minor qualification in respect of directional words like wilurara 'west' (cf wiluraralku west-PURP, wiluralkutu west-ALL.)
2. Name-status seems to involve at least three semantic components: (i) referentiality - a name-status NP is intended to refer to a specific individual (I'm thinking of someone/ some place wanting to say something about them) (ii) 'non-descriptiveness' (I don't have to say anything about them in order to cause you to know who/ what place I mean) (iii) subjective 'appellation' (it is enough that I call them/it 'X'). In connection with referentiality, note that the name-status nominative is not used in the (non-referential) vocative context (eg Kuṭa/Linta! ngalya-yara 'big brother/Linda! come here!'), but is used in a kind of exclamation of recognition with which people greet friends and relatives they have not seen for some time (eg Kutanya/Lintanya! '(it's) big brother/Linda!'). Components (ii) and (iii) try to model the fact that the speaker assumes that using a name-status term in itself is sufficient to identify the intended referent. The need for the subjective component is clear from the use of name-status kin terms.
3. A possible exception is that a suffix -nya is sometimes found with lexemes pulka 'big' wiru 'fine, excellent' in nominative and accusative case, as in (4-38), (4-89), (6-72), (9-7) and (9-94).

4. Some variation between locative markers -ngka/-la persists with the demonstratives (Glass and Hackett 1970:50).
5. Interestingly in Ngaanyatjarra the 2sg as well as the 1sg has a nominative/ergative -lu and purposive (genitive) -ku. Dixon 1980:332.
6. A possible semantic basis for this is that pronouns and the definite nominal are inherently referential and non-descriptive like name-status nouns and adjectives (see footnote 2).
7. It is common practice in Australian linguistics to call any non-final suffix 'derivational' (see Dixon 1980:322-323, and the many grammars collected in Dixon and Blake 1979, 1981) but it is arguable that this term is better reserved for morphemes that create new lexemes (Matthews 1974:48; Anderson (to appear)), hence my use of the more neutral term 'stem-forming'. The standard Australianist practice also confronts severe problems in languages like Martuthunira, in which multiple case-marking occurs productively where NPs are case-marked for their role in an embedded structure and also in accordance with the role of the embedded structure in a matrix sentence (Dench p.c.).
8. Lyons 1977a:179 "we can identify a referent, not only by naming it, but also by providing the hearer or reader with a description of it, sufficiently detailed in the particular context of utterance to distinguish it from all other individuals in the universe of discourse."
9. Pitjantjatjara uses the -ngka LOC in its equivalents to both the circumstantial and the post-circumstantial construction.
10. An apparently similar agreement is found in Latin sentences like nihil feci iratus 'I did nothing in anger', varlis adulteribus inritus urget 'he pressed upon (them) in vain with various assaults' virum.. qui primus.. Italiam venit 'the man who first came to Italy' where the underlined Latin words are adjectives in nominative case with manner-like meanings.
11. At first sight, words like pulkara 'do fully, well' and atatjura 'taking one's time', wirura 'do properly' appear to be counter examples to the claim that manner adjectives show actor agreement, but though adverbial in effect, these are syntactically serial verbs (6.5.6).
12. Occasionally mapalku 'immediately' and warara 'firstly' occur without ergative marking in transitive sentences. I have no explanation for this and no idea if it is semantically significant.
13. Actually, cognate object NPs like ara 'situation' in (3-39) and NPs specifying the kin-term used to address someone like kuta 'big brother' in (3-33) are indeterminate between accusative and nominative case, since it is not possible to substitute a pronoun for them, and so obtain a syntactically equivalent NP in an unambiguous accusative or nominative form. There may indeed be semantic arguments favouring the nominative interpretation, (eg such NPs do not refer to a patient, an 'affected' referent, but rather seem to 'name' something, or specify something which is said) but I have not investigated the possibility at any depth.

14. The 'single case' analysis is nothing new in Western Desert studies: Trudinger 1943 (Pitjantjatjara) and Hansen and Hansen 1978 (Pintupi) both adopt it, but differ in the label they assign to the case in question, 'genitive' and 'purposive' respectively. Many Australian linguists use 'dative' to describe a similar category.
15. It can be argued that even if the genitive construction involves the purposive marker, it does not involve purposive case, in the strictest sense, since the marker does not signal the semantic or grammatical role of an NP in a sentence. In a genitive construction the purposive marker applies to a nominal word, rather than to an NP. But this is largely a terminological issue and I will not pursue it.
16. Note that I am not claiming that only one such activity can be implied by a given purposive NP. For instance, malu-ku kangaroo-PURP could indicate to hunt kangaroo, or to get a kangaroo out of a fire-pit; waru-ku could mean to get firewood, or to get fire, because of the polysemy of waru itself (4.1.3).
17. Anthropologist Annette Hamilton (1979:38) noticed that Yankunytjatjara people publically explain decisions to move from one settlement or camp to another in 'economic' terms (eg mayi-ku 'on account of food' kapi-ku 'on account of water') even if the reasons are apparently social (eg to avoid certain individuals or to seek the company of certain others). This ties in nicely with our account of the purposive construction as a way of presenting a rationale for action without direct reference to personal wishes.
18. As in the purposive construction the implied goal activity must be interpreted as 'something one would want to do' - ie something generally recognised as needed or worthwhile, rather than, say, 'something Z wants to do'. Consider (FN-1): one may buy clothes for a baby, yet presumably it is not implied that the baby wants to wear clothes. The assumption is simply that wearing or having clothes is generally thought worthwhile.
- FN-1 paluru yulytja ura-nu, iti tjapu-ku
 DEF(ERG) clothes(ACC) get-PAST baby little-PURP
 'She got clothes, for the little baby'
19. A purposive complement is also found in the fixed expression inma-ku paka-l song/ceremony-PURP get up 'dance'
20. Since the emotion terms are nominals, it could perhaps be argued that these are genitive constructions (cf English 'afraid of' 'fond of'). On a single case analysis this is a minor terminological problem, but if two underlying deep cases are postulated, 'genitive' and 'purposive', it is difficult to see what arguments could determine which was involved in these emotion expressions.
21. Unlike many Australian languages (Dixon 1980:292-293) Yankunytjatjara has no special 'aversive' case. Pitjantjatjara has an aversive construction formed by suffixing tawara, roughly 'avoid' to a locative marked stem (5.5).

22. Similar expressions to kunta and kunta-ri-ng are kama/kama-ri-ng, and the specifically Yankunytjatjara verbs pii-wiya-ri-ng lit: skin-nothing-INCHO and pantu-kuya-ri-ng lit: skin-bad-INCHO. These also take purposive complements.
23. It is also possible for complements of ninti and ngurpa to appear in nominative case (unmarked), as in (FN-2) - (FN-3). The issue is the depth of knowledge or ability implied. Yami Lester once commented that ngura ninti (ngura 'place') could be used to suggest one wouldn't get lost around a certain place; nguraku ninti would mean one knows all about it. Similarly (FN-2) suggests only that one knows of someone, or knows their name, but doesn't have a deeper familiarity with the person in question. (FN-3) suggests that the children know the names of the bush foods in question, without suggesting that they are fully knowledgeable of them (eg know how to prepare them, how and when to find them etc). For another example, see (9-28).

FN-2 ngayulu paluru ninti
 lsg(NOM) DEF(NOM) knowing(NOM)

'I know him'

FN-3 tjitji tjuta mayi ninti
 child many(NOM) food(NOM) knowing(NOM)

'The children know (about that) food'

24. The apparent converse tjiturutjituru 'displeased, unhappy' usually co-occurs with a locative or ablative NP specifying the cause or origin of the dissatisfaction eg ngayulu tjiturutjituru nyinanyi, kuka wiya-ngka/karapana-nguru 'I'm displeased because of a lack of meat/over (my) caravan (not having arrived)'.
25. Wangka translates as 'language/speech' in genitive expressions like ngayuku wangka 'my language', but as 'voice' in NPs formed with the 'personal' construction.
26. An expression like ngayuku ngura can mean 'my camp' - ie the place I am staying or living - or 'my country' - ie an area over which I have special rights and obligations in Aboriginal Law as a result of my parentage or other circumstances of birth. Without inquiring into this polysemy (see Myers 1976: 161ff), note that in both cases what is involved is a right of control over what goes on in the place in question.
27. Note that the name-status case-markers are normally used in referring to one's own close relations, rather than a genitive construction, eg a father or mother would be more likely to refer to his or her son as katja-nya son-NOM NAME rather than ngayu-ku katja 'my son'. Probably the main use of the genitive with walytja terms is in identifying someone by reference to a third person, particularly common due to the Yankunytjatjara aversion to referring to people by means of their own names, eg instead of saying 'I saw X' one would prefer to say 'I saw Y's father'.
28. This correlates with comparative evidence that the strictly locational function is historically prior, eg the Western Desert -ngka/-la has cognates in many Australian languages, but though their range of functions varies considerably in present-day languages, all have the locational meaning in common. In some languages, such as Warlpiri only the locational meaning is found (Dixon 1980:309).

29. It would be interesting to discover whether physical contact is necessary in languages where instrumental function is expressed by ergative case.
30. This generalisation cannot be made simply in terms of transitivity, but depends on the type of instrument or aid involved. Cf the 'means of transport' use of locative case nyanytju-ngka 'on horse (back)', mutaka-ngka 'in a car'.
31. In Semantic Primitives Anna Wierzbicka proposed the following explication.

A is in contact with B = some parts of A can be thought of as in the same place as some parts of B

This definition is not acceptable because (i) the expression 'some parts of A' cannot be applied in any normal sense to an arbitrary two-dimensional patch on an object's surface (ii) if two objects are very close together, but not in contact, they can still 'be thought of' as in the one place.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR:

1. This is not to say that an NP without tjuta 'many' cannot have a plural reference - for instance punpun 'fly, flies' alone can indicate a single fly or a mass of flies, but this is precisely because one does not normally view a swarm or mass of flies as a group of individuals. Similarly, speaking of a group of rabbits sitting around a warren, one would almost certainly say rapita tjuta 'the rabbits', since the fact of their individual discreteness is relevant to normal purposes, such as hunting; but to speak of eating the same rabbits back at camp one would almost certainly say rapita 'rabbit' - ie a noun with a plural reference but without tjuta 'many' is analogous to a 'mass' noun in English (see Wierzbicka (to appear)).
2. A striking but restricted use of the small group PLURAL affix occurs with the reduplicated adjective stems tjukutjuku 'small' and mutumutu 'short': though the implied stems *mutu and *tjuku do NOT occur in present-day Yankunytjatjara, the appropriate small group PLURAL forms are tjuku-n-tjuku-n and mutu-n-mutu-n. Note also that the expression (tjitji) ipi mutu-n-mutu-n '(child with) small breasts', a conventionalised stage-of-life term, shows that the small group PLURAL suffix can be used even where the group in question consists of two elements only, so that X tjapu-n X small-PL 'a group of small Xs' is not strictly equivalent to X tjapu tjuta 'many small Xs', since the latter could not be used to describe two things only.
3. In Yankunytjatjara kungka means a physically mature (ie post-adolescent) woman (regardless of whether or not she has children); and akuri is 'female' generally. In Pitjantjatjara kungka apparently denotes women with fewer than two children and may also mean 'female' generally; minyma is a woman with two or more children.
4. It is obvious that there are many things in the world which cannot be referred to by any of the generic nouns. How then do Yankunytjatjara people refer to life-forms like ants, lizards and so on? In some cases at least a single prominent or common specific noun is used as an exemplar of the class as a whole (cf Traeger 1939). Though there is no 'proper' generic term for 'ant', ants in general can be loosely referred to as minga tjuta (tjuta 'many') where minga is a particular common small black ant.

5. By a further generalisation punu can be used to refer to any concrete or physical object whatever when its specific name cannot be recalled or is not known - for instance example (FN-4) came when the speaker was trying to recall the name of a species of bird.

FN-4 nyaa panya? punu panya nyaa?
 what ANAPH? thing ANAPH what?
 'what is that? what is that thing?

6. Compound lexemes in Yankunytjatjara include mayi kuru (lit: veg food eye) 'ripe fruit', mara mama (lit: hand father) 'thumb', waru tjaa (lit: fire mouth) 'fire stick' kapi wipu (water tail) 'long water-holding crack in rock'. The distinguishing feature of these as compound lexemes (as opposed to noun compounds) is that their meanings cannot be predicted from their constituent words.
7. Also maku impi where impi is a breathing tunnel dug by the developing grub maku in a root, so it can drink and breathe.
8. Actually in Yidiny the analogous construction is preferred with inanimate and non-human primary terms, quite the reverse of the Yankunytjatjara situation. The genitive tends to be used with human 'possessors' in Yidiny (Dixon 1977a:362).
9. Note that wangka may be used with genitive 'possessor' in which case it translates as language or message.
10. A starting point might be 'one cannot say something about Y (secondary term) without saying something about person X (primary term)'.
11. Since the DEM PL -n is not restricted to cases where the referents are small, I have described it as a different morpheme to the 'small group' PLURAL -n (4.1.2). Alternately one could say there was single morpheme with somewhat different meanings depending on whether it is added to a demonstrative or to a noun or adjective.
12. Some writers on Western Desert have described the meanings of the demonstratives solely in terms of relative distance. Douglas (1968) gives the Ngaanyatjarra terms the glosses 'this (near)', 'that (mid-distant)' and 'that (distant)'. Hansen and Hansen (1978:105) say the corresponding Pintupi terms are "largely defined by the third person's distance from the speaker... close to the speaker ... a distance from the speaker... a greater distance from the speaker", but these characterisations fail to reflect the distributional and semantic markedness of pala 'this just here/ there', and ignore the use of nyanga 'this' as in (4-28) and (9-24).
13. Similarly in (4-33) and (4-34) it is taken for granted in the context of narrative that we are talking of one medicine among many, or one waterhole among many - the panya specifies that the intended referent is the one of these that the addressee is already familiar with.
14. Alternatively one could say that -ya and pula are third person pronouns in non-imperative sentences, but second person pronouns in imperative sentences.

15. This may be an instance of the personal construction, if it is possible to say kaa ngayinya tjitu wakala.
16. The term 'relator' is taken from Hansen and Hansen (1978), but used in a more restricted sense.
17. In Ngaanyatjarra there is a special privative suffix -maalpa 'without' which also shows actor agreement (Glass and Hackett 1970:90).
18. Austin (1978:106) identifies a Diyari suffix -yitja HABITUAL ASSOCIATION with similar morphophonemic properties.
19. Younger people who have adopted the Pitjantjatjara 'augment' suffix -pa apply this before the PAIR suffix, giving forms like malany-pa-ra 'junior sibling-AUG-PAIR' instead of malany-kira 'junior sibling-PAIR'.
20. The present-day forms tjukutjuku 'small' and mutumutu 'short' are probably fossilised from an earlier stage where tjuku and mutu existed as independent stems (very occasionally tjuku occurs even today). An indicator that tjuku and mutu once had the status of independent stems is their behaviour with the 'group of small things' PLURAL morpheme -n - see Footnote 3 to this chapter.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE:

1. Strictly speaking, processes which derive nouns from adjectives and other nouns, eg the ASSOCIATIVE morpheme -itja are also 'nominalising' but it is convenient for our purposes to restrict the term to processes affecting verbs or clauses.
2. The domain noun is sometimes called the 'head noun' but as various writers have pointed out this is an unsuitable term for internal relatives, where the domain noun does not syntactically command the restricting clause. Internal relatives are syntactically headless (Andrews 1975:64f, Keenan (to appear)) and are in fact sometimes simply called 'headless relatives' eg Cole et al 1982.
3. In an unpublished paper Bowe 1982 cites 'several Pitjantjatjara relative clauses' where an A domain noun does appear with ergative case, but most of these examples are from Bible translations, which are in my opinion of suspect authenticity. Also, with one exception, the apparent 'domain noun' is a proper noun or pronoun, and so the relative clause can hardly be regarded 'restrictive'. In the Ernabella Grammar (Anon.a:16) there is the sentence wati-ngku panya waru atu-ntja-nya nyangatja uwa 'give this to the man who was chopping wood', but Yami Lester rejected this as ungrammatical.
4. Keenan and Comrie (1977:94) note that head NPs of relative clauses share with subjects "the logical property.. of independent reference ...to understand the meaning of an RC like the girl that John likes we must be able to understand what set is designated by the head NP independently of the reference of the NPs in the restricting clause."
5. Austin 1980 reports that switch-reference constructions are found in a geographically continuous bloc extending from the Indian Ocean into Western Queensland, indicating that S-R is an areal feature.

This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that the "actual subordinate verb clause morphology by which same or switch reference is signalled varies from language to language, even within closely related groups. It seems that what we are dealing with here is evidence of widespread syntactic diffusion - the recurrence of syntactic mechanisms in genetically diverse languages" (1980:37). It may be that the syntactic extension and re-analysis suggested here was stimulated by contact with the languages to the east, Arabana-Wanganguru, which according to Austin's information also have switch and same reference forms in purposive clauses, though not constructed in an analogous way to Yankunytjatjara.

6. In Pintupi (Hansen and Hansen 1978:200) a purposive main clause may have a hortative or suggestive meaning, but this is not the case in Yankunytjatjara.
7. Trudinger 1943:216 gives 1-class circumstantial forms like kuli-nya-ngka, but Glass and Hackett 1970 as kuli-n-nya-ngka.
8. I have altered Bell's inter-linear glosses and translations to bring them into conformity with the present work.
9. Bell 1980 claims that in Pitjantjatjara circumstantial constructions cannot receive a purely temporal interpretation, and cites a sentence comparable to (5-63) as ungrammatical.
10. In Pitjantjatjara comparable constructions are formed by suffixing the aversive morpheme -tawara to an action/state nominalisation plus purposive case. In the Wirtjapakantja variety of Yankunytjatjara spoken in earlier days in the Musgrave Ranges north of Mimili the aversive suffix has the form -tjipi(ngka). Hansen and Hansen (1978:29) report -tjipi as the 'avoidance' morpheme of the dialect they call Luritja.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER SIX:

1. Ngalku-1 'eat' is irregular in having no special neutral stem, ie all suffixes including future, characteristic and the action nominaliser apply direct to the root ngalku-ni/-ningi/-nma/-la/-nu-ku/-payi/-nytja eat-PRES/PAST. IMPF/IMP. IMPF/IMP/PAST/FUT/CHAR/NOML. Also, like ngara-0 'stand' its SERIAL suffix is -la, not *ra as expected. The lexeme nya-ng 'see' has neutral stem nyaku-, instead of *nyangu- as expected, possibly due to nasal dissimilation (Dixon 1980:217-8).
2. Strictly speaking, 'non-past' would be a better label, but 'present' is well-established in descriptions of Western Desert dialects, and Pitjantjatjara language-teaching material.
3. Ideally 'potential' would be a better term but (i) potential is used by Glass and Hackett 1970 for the -ma imperfective imperative in Ngaanyatjarra (ii) 'future' is well-established in Pitjantjatjara language-teaching materials (iii) in some dialects (eg Ngaanyatjarra, Glass p.c.) the -ku suffix is used for all future events.
4. Comrie (1976) speaks of 'habitual aspect', but it is doubtful whether habituality, even in Comrie's sense, meets the definition of aspect, namely concern with the 'internal structure' or 'temporal constituency' of an event. I am not certain how, or if, the

characteristic inflection can be classified in terms of the traditional trichotomy of tense/aspect/mood.

5. In a later draft Foley and Van Valin substitute a notion of 'dependence' in place of 'compositeness', but this does not affect the essential points of the typology.
6. Foley and Van Valin (in press) state that "subordination appears not to exist at nuclear level ... (ie) the embedding of a naked nucleus in another nucleus ... it is difficult to imagine what a construction like this could mean and what kind of function it could have." Though we cannot pursue the issue here, it seems to me that the Yankunytjatjara periphrastic serial constructions are good candidates for nuclear level subordination: the serial (main) verb is embedded in the finite verb nucleus, which therefore acts as a sort of operator.
7. It is of course possible to combine the verbs in the reverse order, in which case the resulting expression has a meaning directly predictable from the lexical meanings of the individual verbs eg wani-ra kampa-nyi 'throwing (something) down and burning (it)'.
8. A couple of common expressions contain what appear to be serial verbs for which finite forms rarely or never occur. For instance, anangu-ra and puntu-ra, apparently person-SERIAL and skin-SERIAL respectively occur in the expressions anangura/puntura watjani 'telling someone off in a really personal way'. There is a θ -derived anangu-n (7.3.2) meaning 'make into a person, bring into the world', but I am not aware of any verb puntu-l. The word tjawu-ra, formally identical to the serial form of the verb tjawu-l 'dig' occurs as a modifier in the expressions tjawura yananyi/walaringanyi 'go shoot/ off really quickly'.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN:

1. The noun tjitula 'someone who has lost a parent through death' apparently functions as an active emotion adjective in the INCHOative verb tjitula-ri- \emptyset 'to feel the loss of someone, to miss someone'. Some adjectives such as kura 'bad, useless' can give rise to INCHOatives of several distinct types eg kura-ri- \emptyset can be a change of state (eg car broke down, meat went rotten) verb or an emotional verb (ie have bad feelings toward).
2. An alternative analysis is that there is a separate transitive DELOCUTIVE morpheme -nma-n. One small piece of evidence against this is that in Ngaanyatjarra dialect the expression yuwa-n-kara-la occurs as well as yuwa-n-ma-ra meaning 'to say 'yes' (yuwa)' (Glass and Hackett 1970:6) but the choice between the two analyses amounts largely to a matter of personal taste.
3. Probably words like yuunma-n 'make ingressive hiss to attract attention while hunting' rukunma-n/utinma-n 'to whistle' should also be classed as semantically and syntactically delocutive because the base is not onomatopoeic, and although not a signifier in Benveniste's sense, is nonetheless a meaningful human utterance.

4. It might be queried whether -tjinga-l MAKE EMIT, -tjinga-l BODILY EFFECT and -tjinga-l CAUSE TO DO are really distinct morphemes, as opposed to a single morpheme with varying but related semantic effects depending on the type of root it is suffixed to. I suspect this is indeed so, and the semantic relatedness has to do with an effect on the 'body' of something, but I have used the three inter-linear glosses because I do not have enough evidence to establish this conclusively.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT:

1. Pitjantjatjara does not use the forms yaaltjiru and alatjiru, but yaaltjitu 'how many?' and alatjitu 'this many'. The latter expression is also used in Pitjantjatjara as an emphatic qualifier eg pulka alatjitu 'really big'.
2. I have not checked this correspondence accurately. Haviland (1979a:74) found comparable Guugu Yimidhirr terms indicated directions rotated 15 - 20° clockwise from the compass points.
3. Quite likely warara derives from wara-wara 'long-long' through the elision awa → a (2.2.4).
4. cf kutju 'one' and kutjupa 'another one' .
5. Morphologically ngaparku can be decomposed as a stem ngapar with purposive -ku, ngapar being found in the compound verb ngapar-pu-ng 'do something to one's face, affront', but synchronically it seems to function as an adverb.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER NINE:

1. (9-25) is from a Pitjantjatjara story by Punch Thompson published as Pitjantjatjara Reader Supplementary Book 2 by the S.A. Education Department.
2. Glass (1980; 1983) is an outstanding exception.
3. Glass (1980:147) suggests that in Ngaanyatjarra -lta may serve to give an 'anaphoric reference to location' in addition to marking 'climax', but concedes there are difficulties with this account. For instance, the expression palunya-ngka 'at the same place' (Y. equivalent palu-la DEF-LOC) quite explicitly makes anaphoric reference to place - yet -lta and palunyangka (or palu-la) are not interchangeable: 'the use of -lta is not so strong'. In my opinion Glass' examples of the supposed 'anaphoric reference to location' use of -lta are quite consistent with a 'turning point' or 'significant development' interpretation, if not perhaps with the stronger 'climax' reading that Glass adopts.

4. In Pitjantjatjara there is a second-position clitic particle -l, apparently synonymous with kunyu QUOT with which it is in complementary distribution. Occasionally it is heard in Yankunytjatjara also.
5. Trudinger 1943 includes ma-tjapila tjanala, itinyawi pikatjara ngarima with the mistaken gloss 'ask them, the child might be sick'. In fact, this sentence is strange because it implies that the speaker wishes the baby were sick.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER TEN:

1. Section and sub-section systems have been diffusing into the Western Desert from the north and north-west in historic times (Berndt; Hamilton 1979:307-8). The Pintupi have the same eight sub-section system as their Warlpiri neighbours. A six section/sub-section system is used by the Ngaanyatjarra and Ngaatjatjarra people at Warburton, and has been diffusing eastward into the Pitjantjatjara area relatively recently.
2. It is interesting that senior relations consistently have sex-distinct terms whereas juniors do not always have - kamuru ♂ / kuntili ♀, kuta ♂ / kangkuru ♀ as opposed to ukari ♂ and malany ♀.
3. Great grandchildren are reportedly referred to as kamuru (otherwise "uncle") if male, and kuntili (otherwise "auntie") if female, with the converse terms being katja and untal.
4. Kinship paradoxes are sometimes observed (Vachon pc) according to which a certain person is regarded as, say, belonging to one's parent's generation by some people but by others as belonging to one's children's generation. Note that such paradoxes never involve a person having conflicting generation moiety membership - for instance in the example in question on either reckoning the person will be tjanamilytjan. One way such paradoxes can arise is by marriage of people separated by one (notional) generation. Suppose for instance, that my daughter untal marries my distant kamuru. I shall reckon the children of this marriage through my daughter, making them my grandchildren pakali/puliri. But from the point of view of someone closely related to my daughter's husband, who may choose to reckon the children's relationship through him, these same children will be of my own notional generation.
5. I have altered Hamilton's orthography to conform with that of this work.
5. Times are changing in Yankunytjatjara society, and it is likely that relationships are becoming less restrained among the young. Even so, I have seen tjalpawanganytja used at Mimili by people in their mid-twenties when speaking to older senior relatives.
6. Some older Yankunytjatjara people have deplored children's swearing, and commented that in the old days they would be severely punished, even killed, for swearing with secret/sacred words.

APPENDIX : TEXTS

The following texts were recorded between 1981-1983 at Mimili. To achieve a better 'flow' I have made the translations somewhat freer, or less literal, than the examples cited in the rest of the work and have not maintained the convention of enclosing inferred material in parentheses.

[Some verbs consist of a productive derivational suffix added to a root which does not occur as an independent word, or is unknown outside the verb in question. This situation is indicated by the inter-linear symbol - (?). The meaning of the derived verb should be evident from the translation.]

Here Kanytji describes his son Yami's intentions about my role in recording Yankunytjatjara, stressing it was not necessary to tell me secret/sacred stories. Another person is present, who is asked a question and replies in Lines 5-6.

1. Nyanga-tja Pitjantjatjara-ku ngura wiya
 this-EVIDENT Pitjantjatjara-GEN place NEG (NOM)
This isn't Pitjantjatjara country.
2. wati miri tjuta-ku Yankunytjatjara-ku ngura
 man dead many-GEN Yankunytjatjara-GEN place (NOM)
It's the ancestors', a Yankunytjatjara place.
3. palu mula-la watanku-ri-ngi
 BUT OF COURSE true-1pl (NOM) heedless-INCHO-PAST.IMP
But of course it's true that we haven't been paying attention
4. palu nyiri-ngka-nti tjuna-ma, nganmany
 BUT OF COURSE paper-LOC-MAYBE put-IMP.IMP previous
 kutu-ngku
 really-ERG
Of course we should perhaps have put it on paper, long before now.
5. nyanga palu-la, ngura nyanga palu-la, Yankunytjatjara
 this DEF-LOC place this DEF-LOC Yankunytjatjara
 tjuta, mula panya ?
 many (NOM) true ANAPH
This place, in this place there's a lot of Yankunytjatjara people, isn't that true?

6. uwa panya
yes ANAPH
Yes indeed.
7. uwa, Yankunytjatjara-ku ngura-ku kunyu
yes Yankunytjatjara-GEN place-PURP QUOT
Yankunytjatjara, wangka Yankunytjatjara
Yankunytjatjara (ACC) talk Yankunytjatjara (ACC)
tjunku-nytja-ku Yami-lu watja-nu
put-NOML-PURP Yami-ERG NAME say-PAST
*Yes, for Yankunytjatjara country, Yami said, the
Yankunytjatjara language should be put on paper.*
8. uwa Yankunytjatjara-la kawali-nu
yes Yankunytjatjara (ACC) - lpl (ERG) lose-PAST
Yes, we've lost Yankunytjatjara.
9. uti Yankunytjatjara-ku ngura-ngka nyina-ra,
SHOULD Yankunytjatjara-GEN place-LOC sit-SERIAL
wangka Yankunytjatjara-lta tjuna-ma
talk Yankunytjatjara (ACC) - AND THEN put-IMP. IMPF
nyiri-ngka
paper-LOC
*Since we're living in Yankunytjatjara country, we should
put Yankunytjatjara down on paper.*
10. kaa kunyu Pitjantjatjara kutjikiti
CONTR QUOT Pitjantjatjira (NOM) well off (NOM)
nyiri pulka-ri-ngu
paper (NOM) bit-INCHO-PAST
*Pitjantjatjara is well off, it can be said. It's got a
lot of written material.*

11. kaa watja-ningi
 CONTR say-PAST.IMPF
He was saying:
12. "Yankunytjatjara tjapi-ntji-kitja nyiri-ngka
 Yankunytjatjara (ACC) ask-NOML-INTENT (NOM) paper-LOC
 tjunku-nytji-kitja yangapala maa-yana-nyi"
 put-NOML-INTENT (NOM) young man (NOM) away-go-PRES
*"A young man is going down there to ask about putting
 Yankunytjatjara down on paper"*
13. "kaa-ya panya yanku-nytja kutju-ka
 CONTR-3pl (ERG) ANAPH go-NOML (ACC) only-JUST SO
 watja-la"
 say-IMP
"and you should just tell him about comings and goings"
14. panya, panya, tjukur kura-kura panya,
 ANAPH ANAPH story bad-bad ANAPH (ACC)
 yanku-nytja yanku-nytja nyina-nytja murka
 go-NOML go-NOML sit-NOML many (ACC)
*You know, ordinary unimportant stories, about various
 activities -*
15. maa-yanku-la punu kata-ntanku-nytja,
 away-go-SERIAL wood (ACC) broken-HARM-NOM (ACC)
 ngalya-kulpa-nytja palu-nya tjana-nya
 this way-return-NOML (ACC) DEF-ACC 3pl-ACC
going and getting some wood, coming back, those things,
16. kuka-ku maa-ura-kati-ra waka-ra
 meat-PURP away-(?)-PROESS-SERIAL spear-SERIAL
creeping up on some game, spearing it,

17. ngalya-kulpa-ra katji manku-la,
 this way-return-SERIAL spear (ACC) get-SERIAL
- wana-ra, tjurkutjurku-ra tjina,
 follow-SERIAL do straight away-SERIAL foot (ACC)
- wana-ra
 follow-SERIAL
- coming this way, getting a spear and following, following
 its tracks straight-away,*
18. maa-wana-ra malu ngari-nytja-la nyaku-la
 away-follow-SERIAL 'roo (NOM) lie-NOML-LOC see-SERIAL
- following it off and seeing where the kangaroo is lying,*
19. katji ila-ra, pungku-la nyuti-ra
 spear (ACC) pull-SERIAL hit-SERIAL make into bundle-SERIAL
- kulpa-nytja kulpa-nytja tjuta, palu-nya tjana-nya
 return-NOML return-NOML many (ACC) DEF-ACC 3pl-ACC
- pulling out the spear, killing the kangaroo, making it
 into a bundle, coming back, all those things;*
20. kulpa-ra malu wani-ra
 return-SERIAL 'roo (ACC) throw down-SERIAL
- tjarar-pungku-la purulu-tju-ra kala-ra
 trench-hit-SERIAL pile of wood-put-SERIAL light-SERIAL
- coming back, throwing the kangaroo down, digging a trench,
 piling it with wood and lighting it,*
21. miina ulu-tju-ra, wita-ntja wita-ntja
 arm (ACC) ground-put-SERIAL singe-NOML singe-NOML
- panya palu-nya
 ANAPH DEF-ACC
- twisting its forelegs, singeing it on the fire, you know.*

22. waper nyanga kura-kura palu-nya tjana-nya
story this bad-bad DEF-ACC 3pl-ACC
tjunku-nytja-ku, watja-ningi
put-NOML-PURP say-PAST.IMPF

*These ordinary unimportant stories should be put down,
he was saying.*

Several stages of skillful processing are needed to separate Acacia aneura seeds from the pods, crack the hard outer seed cases and extract the nutritious interior.

1. punu putu-ngka tjuna-nyi munu wanti-nyi
plant (ACC) termite nest-LOC put-PRES ADD leave alone-PRES
*You put some of the plant on an old flat termite nest
and leave it,*

2. munu nyina-ra (2) yanku-la (2) nyanga-nyi
ADD sit-SERIAL go-SERIAL see-PRES
and stay for a while, travel around a bit, and then check it.

3. kaa "aa, ngayu-ku mayi pilti-ri-ngu!"
CONTR lsg-GEN veg food (NOM) dry-INCHO-PAST
"Ah, my food plant has dried out!"

4. panya palu-nya yalka-ni-lta
ANAPH DEF-ACC thresh-PRES-AND THEN
Then you thresh it.

5. yalka-ra kaa purputu-kati-nyi
thresh-SERIAL CONTR (?) -PROCESS-PRES
As you thresh it (the pods) all fall off,

6. kaa nyulku-ra palu-nya pungku-pungku-la kalka-ni
CONTR rub-SERIAL DEF-ACC hit-hit-SERIAL extract seed-PRES
*and by rubbing it and lightly hitting it, you extract
the seed,*

7. munu palu-nya wira-ngka tjuna-nyi
 ADD DEF-ACC small digging bowl-LOC put-PRES
 munu kani-ni wintalyka palu-nya
 ADD yandy-PRES mulga seed DEF-ACC
*put it in a small digging bowl (wira) and yandy it,
 the mulga-seed.*
8. munu kani-ra tjaru-wani-nyi, mimpu-ngka
 ADD yandy-SERIAL down-throw-PRES large water-carrying bowl-LCC
 tjaru-wani-nyi (2)
 down-throw-PRES
*After yandying you tip it out into a large carrying bowl.
 You do this several times,*
9. munu palu-nya tjali-ra kupa-nyi-lta
 ADD DEF-ACC load on head-SERIAL return-PRES-AND THEN
load it on your head and go back to camp.
10. munu ngura-ngka palu-nya kati-ra tjunku-la
 ADD camp-LOC DEF-ACC take-SERIAL put-SERIAL
 ipa-ngka pawu-ni, mayi palu-nya
 hot ashes-LOC roast-PRES food DEF-ACC
*After taking it back to camp, you roast the seeds in the
 hot ashes*
11. kaa paluru piltapilta-tjuna-nyi
 CONTR DEF (ERG) (?) -put-PRES
and they dry out and sort of crack.
12. kaa paluru pawu-ra, ararangku-la
 CONTR DEF (ERG) roast-SERIAL winnow-SERIAL
 kani-ni-lta
 yandy-PRES-AND THEN
And then after roasting it, you winnow and yandy it again.

13. kani-ra kalka-ni, mayi palu-nya
 yandy-SERIAL extract seed-PRES food DEF-ACC
You extract the food seed by yandying.
14. tjiwa ura-ni, munu palu-nya rungka-ni
 flat stone get-PRES ADD DEF-ACC grind-PRES
Then you get a flat lower grindstone and grind it.
15. rungka-ra antju-ni munu nyaa-ngka,
 grind-SERIAL lick-PRES ADD what-LOC
 tapal-tju-ra palu-nya mayi
 collecting dish-put-SERIAL DEF-ACC food (ACC)
rungka-ni, mayi palu-nya
 grind-PRES food DEF-ACC
*As you grind, you lick some, and - what?, you grind it
 after putting a dish behind the grindstone,*
16. kaa paluru tapal-ta pulapa-ri-ngu
 CONTR DEF (NOM) collecting dish-LOC full up-INCHO-PAST
and it builds up in the collecting dish.
17. kaa ngura tjitji tjuta-ngku nganana
 CONTR WELL-JUST child many-ERG 1pl (ERG)
 ngalku-payi. nganana taltu-ringku-payi
 eat-CHAR 1pl(NOM) swollen-INCHO-CHAR
And as kids we'd just eat it. We'd get full.
18. mayi paluru pulka, tjamu-ku,
 food DEF (NOM) big (NOM) grandfather-GEN
 kani-ku, mayi kunpu
 grandmother-GEN food strong (NOM)
*It's a major food source, of our grandfather's and
 grandmother's, a strong food.*

19. nganana mayi palu-la pulka-ri-ngu, pulawa
 1pl (NOM) food DEF-LOC big-INCHO-PAST flour

 wiya-angka
 NEG-LOC

We grew up on that food, before there was flour.

The *Convolvulus erubescens* is an edible green, whose leaves were steamed, wrapped in grass, in hot ashes.

1. kami-lu mayi tjuta kutu
 grandmother-ERG NAME veg food many (ACC) really

 yuun-tju-ra karpi-ra tjunku-payi
 bundle-put-SERIAL bind-SERIAL put-CHAR

Grandmother used to bundle up a whole lot of the plants and put them aside.

2. karpi-ra tjunku-la (3), waru kutja-ra
 bind-SERIAL put-SERIAL fire (ACC) light-SERIAL

 wanti-ra
 leave alone-SERIAL

She'd be binding them up and putting them aside, having lit a fire and left it.

3. munu paluru karpi-ra tjunku-payi (2)
 ADD DEF (ERG) bind-SERIAL put-CHAR

She'd tie it up and put it aside.

4. munu watjal-payi "tjitji wanma nyina-ma,
 ADD say-CHAR child far away sit-IMP.IMP

 waru-ngku-nta kampa-ku"
 fire-ERG-2sg ACC burn-FUT

and say, "Child, sit a way away, the fire might burn you"

5. kaa-na ngayulu wanma nyina-payi
 CONTR-1sg (NOM) 1sg (NOM) far away sit-CHAR

and I'd sit a way away.

6. kaa paluru ipa alytji-tju-ra,
 CONTR DEF (ERG) hot ashes (ACC) (?)-put-SERIAL
 wiru-ra mula-tu unngu tjunku-la,
 do well-SERIAL true-JUST SO inside put-SERIAL
 putja paluru tjunku-payi, rayi
 grass (ACC) DEF (ERG) put-CHAR food (NOM)
 ninti-ngku kutu
 knowing-ERG really
*And she'd rake back the hot ashes, really well, and put
 it inside. She'd put some grass in with it too; being
 really knowledgeable about this food.*
7. munu paluru katu tjunku-payi
 ADD DEF (ERG) above put-CHAR
She used to put some grass on top
8. munu anga-tju-ra mula-tu pawul-payi
 ADD blocked-put-SERIAL true-JUST SO bake-CHAR
and pack it down really firmly and bake it.
9. pawu-ra wanti-ra manta
 bake-SERIAL leave alone-SERIAL earth (ACC)
 tjuun-tju-ra nyina-payi
 pile-put-SERIAL sit-CHAR
*After putting it in to bake she used to pile some earth
 on top.*
10. kaa nganana nyina-ra(2) kaa paluru
 CONTR 1pl (NOM) sit-SERIAL CONTR DEF (ERG)
 ura-ra tjunku-payi
 get-SERIAL put-CHAR
And we'd be sitting there waiting and she'd get it out.

11. "wiya, nyanytjawali alatji-ka!"
 no nice and soft like this-JUST SO
"No worries! It's just nice and soft!"
12. kaa ngura warnyu-ra nganana-nya
 CONTR WELL-JUST strip off-SERIAL lpl-ACC
 yungku-payi
 give-CHAR
and she'd just strip off the leaves and give them to us.
13. kaputu-ra tjunku-payi (2) warnyu-ra,
 make into ball-SERIAL put-CHAR strip off-SERIAL
 kaputu-ra tjunku-payi (3)
 make into a ball-SERIAL put-CHAR
*She'd make them into balls and put them aside, as she
 stripped it off.*
14. munu paluru kaputu-ra nganana-nya
 ADD DEF (ERG) make into a ball-SERIAL lpl-ACC
 yungku-payi-lta kaputu tjuta
 give-CHAR-AND THEN ball many (ACC)
*And after making it into balls she'd give it to us,
 the ball,*
15. kaa nganana ngalku-payi, pukul-tu
 CONTR lpl (ERG) eat-CHAR contented-ERG
and we'd eat contentedly.

(There is a traditional belief that sickness is caused by harmful, evil objects (pu^uu tju^uta 'wooden things' ma^umu 'devils, evil things') inside the body.)

1. paluru nyiinyii yanku-la ural-payi,
DEF (NOM) zebra-finch (ACC) go-SERIAL get-CHAR

 manngu-ngka
 nest-LOC

You go and get zebra-finch (droppings) from a nest --

2. pika pupa-nytja-la, pika palapala
pain (NOM) crouch-NOML-LOC pain listless (?)

 pupa-ma
 crouch-IMP.IMPF

when there's pair, if you're weak and listless.

3. kaa yanku-la ural-payi
CONTR go-SERIAL get-CHAR

You go and get it,

4. munu kata-atu-ra kulyakulya-ra, paluru
ADD broken-chop-SERIAL moisten-SERIAL DEF (ERG)

 kata-ngka tjunku-payi
 head-LOC put-CHAR

and after chopping it up and moistening it, put it on the head,

5. paluru kutjuli tjunku-la, karpil-payi
DEF (ERG) all put-SERIAL bind-CHAR

and after putting it all over, bind it on.

6. nyanga alatji-la tjunku-payi
 this like this-1pl (ERG) put-CHAR
 We put it around here. (indicating head)
7. palu kuru pika-tjara pupa-payi,
 BUT OF COURSE eye pain-HAVING (NOM) crouch-CHAR
 kata pika-tjara
 head pain-HAVING (NOM)
 That's of course if there's eye-pain, or head-ache.
8. anangu pika, nyanga-kutu tjunku-payi
 body sick (NOM) this-ALL put-CHAR
 *If there's pain in the body, we put it around here.
 (indicating chest, shoulders)*
9. kaa, munu ngari-ra tjukur-manku-payi
 CONTR ADD lie-SERIAL story-CAUS-CHAR
 And one sleeps then and dreams
10. kaa "nyii-nyii-nyii-nyii-nyii!"
 CONTR
 "nyii-nyii-nyii-nyii-nyii" (the call of the zebra-finch)
11. paluru ila-nma punu tjuta, nyiiinyii-ngku,
 DEF (ERG) pull-IMP.LMPF wood many (ACC) zebra finch-ERG
 ngaltu-tjara
 pity-HAVING
 The zebra-finch - the dear thing! - draws out the wooden things
12. kaa paluru ngari-ra palya-ringku-payi
 CONTR DEF (NOM) lie-SERIAL good-INCHO-CHAR
 and while sleeping you get better.

13. munu paka-ra watja-nu "ngangka-ku!
 ADD get up-SERIAL say-PAST heck-PURP
- kutu-na-tju palya-ri-ngu
 really-1sg (NOM)-REFLEX good-INCHO-PAST
- And you would get up and say "By heck! I'm completely better"*
14. "kuwari-na-tju parari-lta nyanga-nyi,
 now-1sg (ERG)-REFLEX far-AND THEN see-PRES
- kuru palya-ri-ngu
 eyes (NOM) good-INCHO-PAST
- "Now I can see a long way again. My eyes are better"*
15. munu kututu kurun kulukulu-na
 ADD heart (NOM) spirit (NOM) as well-1sg (NOM)
- tjukururu-ri-ngu"
 straight-INCHO-PAST
- and my heart and spirit have also come straight!"*
16. nyanga paluru ngangkari, mamu ilu-ra (3)
 this DEF (NOM) healer (NOM) devil (ACC) pull-SERIAL
- wanti-payi
 reject-CHAR
- This stuff is a healing agent. It draws out the 'devils' (harmful things) and gets rid of them.*

TEXT 5 : Tommy Tjampu -- Medicinal use of the mint-bush
(Eremophila latrobei)

1. "pika, yaaltji-ku nyanga-tja-r?"
pain which way-PURP this-EVIDENT-EXCIT
"Oh the pain, what is there for this?"
2. "ngangkari nyanga wiya-ngka-mpa?"
healer this NEG-LOC-INTEREST
"Is there no healing agent around?"
3. palu "punu pala-kutu-nti
BUT OF COURSE plant (NOM) just there-ALL-MAYBE
ngara-ny?"
stand-PRES
Of course he'd say "Isn't there a healing plant around?"
4. "irmangka-irmangka nyanga-tja ngara-ny, nyanga
mint bush (NOM) this-EVIDENT stand-PRES this
apu-tja"
rock-ASSOC
"There's some mint-bush here, here on the rocks,"
5. "ila, punu nyanga ila-tja kutu
close plant this (NOM) close-ASSOC really (NOM)
ngalya-ngara-ny"
this way-stand-PRES
"close. The plant's really close".
6. "wala-ngku-ya kata-nta-ra, nyanga paluru
quick-ERG-3pl (ERG) broken-HARM-IMP this DEF (ERG)
wankal-payi, mamu-tja"
heal-CHAR devil-ASSOC
"Quickly get some, this stuff heals those stricken with devils"

7. kaa anangu kutjupa-ngku yanku-la kata-ntanku-payi
 CONTR person another-ERG go-SERIAL broken-HARM-CHAR
So someone goes and breaks some off,
8. kata-nta-ra kati-ra "uwa alatji
 broken-HARM-SERIAL take-SERIAL yes like this
 palya-lta pala paluru-mpa"
 good (NOM)-AND THEN just there DEF (NOM)-INTEREST
*breaks it off and brings it back "yes, that's right,
 that there!"*
9. atu-ra, runyu-ra mula-tu, kaputu-ra,
 chop-SERIAL churn-SERIAL true-JUST SO make into ball-SERIAL
 kapi-ngka kaputu-ra, kata-ngka
 water-LOC make into a ball-SERIAL head-LOC
 alatjinga-ra tjaru-tju-ra (2) nyiti-ri (2)
 do like this to it-SERIAL down-put-SERIAL rub in-SERIAL
 kata nyiti-ra (7)
 head (ACC) rub in-SERIAL
*They mash it up, churn it up really well, make it into a
 ball, tip it on the head like this, rub it in, rub it into
 the head for a while,*
10. nyiti-ra-lta kata-ngka-lta nyanga-kutu-lta
 rub in-SERIAL-AND THEN head-LOC-AND THEN this-ALL-AND THEN
 tjunku-payi kaputu-lta, irmangka-irmangka
 put-CHAR ball (ACC)-AND THEN mint bush
 kaputu
 ball (ACC)
*and after rubbing it put the ball on the head around here,
 the mint-bush poultice.*

11. tjunku-la-mpa karpi-ra-lta wanti
 put-SERIAL-INTEREST tie-SERIAL-AND THEN leave alone (IMP)
Puts it on, ties it in place and leaves it.
12. kaa paluru ngari-ra-lta pika-tjara
 CONTR DEF (NOM) lie-SERIAL-AND THEN pain-HAVING (NOM)
 palya-ri-wa
 good-INCHO-IMP
And he sleeps and the pain gets better.
13. paka-ra-lta nyina-ma-r
 get up-SERIAL-AND THEN sit-IMP.IMPF-EXCIT
He gets up and sits up --
14. "wayi? pika-mpa palya-ri-ngu! ipily
 what's up pain (NOM)-INTEREST good-INCHO-PAST healthy
 nguwan ngara-nyii"
 almost (NOM) stand-PRES
"What's up? The pain's got better! I'm almost healthy again!"
15. "ngura palya-ri-ngu kutu-na punu
 WELL-JUST good-INCHO-PAST really-lsg (NOM) plant
 nyanga paluru wankal-payi kutu"
 this DEF (ERG) head-CHAR really
"I've just got better. This here plant is a real healer"
16. kaa anangu kutjupa-ngku nyaku-la watjal-payi
 CONTR person another-ERG see-SERIAL say-CHAR
And someone else might look and say:
17. "kuka-mpa nyara-ngku wati-nyina-ra
 meat (ACC)-INTEREST over there-ERG across-sit-SERIAL
 ngalku-ni-r palya-ri-ngu-manti
 eat-PRES-EXCIT good-INCHO-PAST-PROBABLY
*"That person over there is sitting up and eating meat, by gee.
 He's got better most likely!"*

18. munu wanka-ni, punu nyanga-ngku, irmangka-irmangka-ngku
 ADD heal-PRES plant this-ERG mint-bush-ERG

It heals, this plant, this mint-bush.

19. "muntawa palya" paluru palya-ringku-payi-lta
 oh really good DEF (NOM) good-INCHO-CHAR-AND THEN

"Oh really good", He recovers then --

20. munu "paluru kaputu panya-lta
 ADD DEF (NOM) ball ANAPH (NOM)-AND THEN

ara-ra wari-ra nyina-ma-r!"
 remove-SERIAL throw-SERIAL sit-IMP.IMP-EXCIT

"He's taken off that poultice, thrown it away and is sitting up!"

21. tjintu-kutu paka-ra, paluru kaputu winki
 day-ALL get up-SERIAL DEF (NOM) ball complete (NOM)

ngari-ra tjintu-ri-ngu, panya nyanga-kutu tjunku-la
 lie-SERIAL day-INCHO-PAST ANAPH this-ALL put-SERIAL

kata-ngka
 head-LOC

On getting up the next day; he spent the night with the poultice on, you know, after putting it around here on his head.

22. paluru paka-ra-lta para-ngara-la
 DEF (NOM) get up-SERIAL-AND THEN around-stand-SERIAL

yanku-payi kutu, para-ngara-ma-lta,
 WELL-JUST go-CHAR really around-stand-IMP.IMP-AND THEN

alatji-ka
 like this-JUST SO

Then he gets up and goes around and just, walks around. Walks around. That's enough.

The sagacious quoll, or black-tailed native cat (*Dasyurus geoffroyi*) is one of the many marsupial fauna which became extinct in Central Australia in historical times, presumably due to indirect ecological consequences of white occupation. This is an extract from a longer text about the lifestyle and habits of the quoll.

1. ...kaa aru-ringku-la kulpa-ra puti-ngka
 CONTR turn-INCHO-SERIAL return-SERIAL scrub-LOC

puti warara kulpa, kangu palkalyu
 scrub along return (IMF) shade long afternoon

warara
 along

It turns around and comes back through the scrub. It comes back along the scrub, in the long shadows.

2. papa-puriny ngari-ra (2), paka-ra kulpa
 dog-SIMILAR (NOM) lie-SERIAL get up-SERIAL return (IMP)

After lying like a dog, it gets up and returns.

3. kulpa-ra (3) rapita puti-ngka nyina-ra (2)
 return-SERIAL rabbit burrow-LOC sit-SERIAL

rapita-lta patja-la
 rabbit (ACC)-AND THEN bite-IMP

It keeps coming back, waits for a while at a rabbit burrow, then catches a rabbit.

4. rapita tjukutjuku wanti-ma, pulka
 rabbit little (ACC) leave alone-IMP.IMP big (ACC)

paluru patjal-payi kuka pulka kutju
 DEF (ERG) bite-CHAR meat big (ACC) only

It leaves the little rabbits alone. It gets the big ones, only the big ones.

5. munu patja-ra paluru itari-kati-payi
 ADD bite-SERIAL DEF (ERG) on ground-PROCESS-CHAR
And after getting it, it drags it along.
6. kulpalyinku-la (4) ngara-ma paku-ali-ra
 bring back-SERIAL stand-IMP.IMP rest-SERIAL
 (this sentence repeated three times)
As it's bringing it back, it stops to rest several times
7. munu kulpa-ra (3) kaa piti ila-ri-wa
 ADD return-SERIAL CONTR burrow-(NOM) close-INCHO-IMP
and keeps coming back. And its burrow gets close.
8. kuka rapita wanikati munu kulpa
 meat rabbit (ACC) leave behind (IMP) ADD return (IMP)
It leaves the rabbit and goes back
9. kulpa-ra piti nya-wa munu "piti
 return-SERIAL burrow (ACC) see-IMP ADD burrow (NOM)
 ila, alatji kulpa-nytja-ku"
 close (NOM) like this return-NOML-PURP
*and sees its burrow and thinks "The burrow's close, so
 I can come back like this"*
10. munu paluru piti-ku itari-kati
 ADD DEF (ERG) burrow-PURP on ground-PROCESS (IMP)
And it drags it to the burrow.
11. piti tjaa-ngka tjapu tjuta unngu ngari-ma
 burrow mouth-LOC small many (NOM) inside lie-IMP.IMP
In the mouth of the burrow, inside, its young are sleeping.

12. tjapu-n nyanga pulka, pulka nguwan
 small-PL (NOM) this big (NOM) big almost (NOM)
ngari-ma
 lie-IMP.IMPF

The young would be about this big, almost grown.

13. kaa paluru kulpa-ra piti
 CONTR DEF (ERG) return-SERIAL burrow
tjaa-wanu-ngku-lta maa-itari-kati-ra-l
 mouth-PERL-ERG-AND THEN away-on ground-PROCESS-SERIAL-YOU SEE

And it'd come back and drag the rabbit past the mouth of the burrow, you see,

14. kaa punu ngara-ma, punu pulka,
 CONTR tree (NOM) stand-IMP.IMPF tree big (NOM)
nantunantu
 twisted (NOM)

and there'd be a tree, a big twisted tree

15. kaa palu-la-lta kalpa
 CONTR DEF-LOC-AND THEN climb (IMP)
and it'd climb it.

16. kaa paluru tjana paka-ra panti-la
 CONTR DEF (ERG) 3pl (ERG) get up-SERIAL smell-IMP
And they, the young quolls, would get up and smell the rabbit,

17. munu paluru tjana ngalya-wana-nu
 ADD DEF (ERG) 3pl (ERG) this way-follow-PAST
wana-ra itari-kati-nytja
 follow-SERIAL on ground-PROCESS-NOML (ACC)

and they'd follow it, follow where it'd been dragged along.

18. "laki mula, wana-la!" paluru alatji
 lucky true follow-IMP DEF (ERG) like this
 kuli-ra wana-ra (6)
 think-SERIAL follow-SERIAL
*"Really lucky, let's follow it" they'd be thinking this
 as they followed it and followed it*
19. "katja, nya-wa, nyanga-tja ngalku-ni!"
 son see-IMP this-EVIDENT eat-PRES
"Boy! look at that? She's eating it here!"
20. kaa kalpa uwankara-lta punu-ngka munu
 CONTR climb (IMP) all (NOM)-AND THEN tree-LOC ADD
 kalpa-ra ngalku-nma ...
 climb-SERIAL eat-IMP. IMPF
And then they'd all climb the tree, and eat.
21. punu katu-ka nyanga ngari-ma, papa-ku
 tree high-JUST SO this lie-IMP. IMPF dog-PURP
 ngulu, papa inura-ku ngulu
 afraid (NOM) dog wild-PURP afraid (NOM)
*They'd be lying high up in the tree for fear of dogs,
 dingos --*
22. paluru tjana patja-ntja kulil-payi-ka...
 DEF (ERG) 3pl (ERG) bite-NOML (ACC) think-CHAR-JUST SO
they used to think about being bitten.
23. papa-ngku putu ritji-milal-payi, putu
 dog-ERG IN VAIN reach-LOAN-CHAR IN VAIN
 wawani-ma
 jump up on hind legs-IMP. IMPF
*But dingoes couldn't reach them, they'd jump up on their
 hind legs to no avail.*

24. munu nyanga-ma papa nyanga paluru
 ADD see-IMP.IMPFF dog (ACC) this DEF (ERG)
- tjana nyaku-la wanti-ma, munu
 3pl (ERG) see-SERIAL leave alone-IMP.IMPFF ADD
- ngari-ra wani-ma
 lie-SERIAL throw-IMP.IMPFF

If they'd see dogs these quolls would ignore them, and stay lying around in the tree.

25. anangu nyaku-la warara-kati-payi,
 person (ACC) see-SERIAL steep-PROCESS-CHAR

But if they saw a person they'd jump down --

26. uwankara warara-kati-ra yanku-la wiya-ringku-payi
 all (NOM) steep-PROCESS-SERIAL go-SERIAL nothing-INCHO-CHAR
- piti-kutu-lta ...
 burrow-ALL-AND THEN

they'd all jump down and disappear off to the burrow.

TEXT 7 : Kanytji -- Behaviour between father- and son-in-law
umari, and between co-parents-in-law inkilyi

Kanytji explains correct behaviour, especially in respect of speech,
toward certain affinal relations. Lines 6, 12 and 16 are my questions.

1. uwa, paluru putu wangka-nyi, and ngayulu
 yes DEF (NOM) IN VAIN talk-PRES lsg (NOM)

 putu wangka-nyi
 IN VAIN talk-PRES

 Yes, he can't talk and I can't talk.

2. nganana tjuta yanku-nytji-kitja muku-ringa-nyi
 lpl (NOM) many (NOM) go-NOML-INTENT (NOM) like-INCHO-PRES

 If we want to go somewhere in a group,

3. mutaka kutjara-la, mutaka kutjupa kuranyu,
 car two-LOC car another (NOM) ahead (NOM)

 mutaka kutjupa nganti-ngka, alatji palya yana-nyi ...
 car another behind-LOC like this good go-PRES

 *we use two cars, one car up front, one car behind. That's
 the correct way to go.*

4. um, tjinguru punu kutjupa-la punu kutjupa-la
 um MAYBE tree another-LOC tree another-LOC

 nyina-ma tina panya ngalku-nma
 sit-IMP.IMPFF lunch (ACC) ANAPH eat-IMP.IMPFF

 *Or maybe we'd sit under different trees, when we were
 eating lunch.*

5. ngura same again ngari-nyi, titu-titu
 camp lie-PRES separately (NOM)

 We'd sleep in camp the same way, separately.

6. (Q) palu-nya nyuntu nyaku-payi ?
 DEF-ACC 2sg (ERG) see-CHAR
Do you look at him?
7. uwa, ngayulu nyaku-payi, palu
 yes 1sg (ERG) see-CHAR BUT OF COURSE
 wangka-nytja wiya
 talk-NOML NEG
Yes I can look at him, but not talk to him.
8. tjukur ngayulu wangka-nytja wiya,
 story (ACC) 1sg (ERG) talk-NOML NEG
I don't say a word.
9. tjinguru nyuntu nganana yanku-la, ngayulu
 MAYBE 2sg (ERG) 1pl (ERG) go-SERIAL 1sg (ERG)
 nyuntu-la watja-nma,
 2sg-LOC say-IMP.IMPFF
Maybe if you were going with us, I might tell you something,
10. kaa nyuntu-lta yanku-la maa-watja-ni
 CONTR 2sg (ERG)-AND THEN go-SERIAL away-say-PRES
 munu tjukur kuli-ni
 ADD story (ACC) listen-PRES
and you go and tell him, and hear the reply,
11. ngalya-kulpa-ra ngayu-la watja-ni alatji
 this way-return-SERIAL 1sg-LOC say-PRES like this
and come back and tell me - like so.
12. (Q) kaa nyaa, inkilyi?
 CONTR what co-parent-in-law (NOM)
And what else, ... co-parents-in-law?

19. "muntawa, kuwari-mpa-na tjungu-lta
 oh really now-INTEREST-1sg (NOM) together (NOM)-AND THEN
 yana-nyi "
 go-PRES

"Oh, really. Well I'm going together then now, as one might like to know"

20. tjungu yana-nyi, paluru-puriny
 together (NOM) go-PRES DEF-SIMILAR (NOM)

tjungu-ringa-nyi, tjalpawangka-nytja-la
 together-INCHO-PRES talk indirectly-NOML-LOC

They go together, they join up like that, talking indirectly.

21. "kuka-nti tjuu, wiya kutu"
 meat (NOM)-MAYBE mate nothing really (NOM)

"Maybe some meat friend. There's nothing at all"

22. "kuka kuwari-mpa-na nyaku-kati-nyi",
 meat (ACC) now-INTEREST-1sg (ERG) see-PROCESS-PRES

alatji tjalpawangka-nyi
 like this talk indirectly-PRES

"Well now I'll keep a lookout for meat" That's how they talk indirectly.

23. munu yanku-la (2) kuka nyanga nyanga-nyi,
 ADD go-SERIAL meat this (ACC) see-PRES

munu inkilyi-ra-ngku kunyu nyanga-nyi
 ADD co-parent-in-law-PAIR-ERG QUOT see-PRES

And they go off and see some animal. Let's say a pair of co-parents-in-law spot a kangaroo.

24. "munta, ngangka-r, malu nyanga-tja nyina-nyi"
 SORFY heck-EXCIT 'roo (NOM) this-EVIDENT sit-PRES

"Oh, heck! There's a kangaroo!"

25. "muntawa" "tjuu wanyu-wi, ngayulu-nti
oh really mate JUST LET-WISH 1sg (NOM)-MAYEE
nyina-ma kuwari
sit-IMP. IMPF now
"Oh really" "Mate, I just wish, I could stay now"
26. "kaa yanku-la-lta unytju-ngku nyanga-nyii"
CONTR go-SERIAL-AND THEN not seriously-ERG see-PRES
"and you'll go and have a little look"
27. "tjinguru kuka paluru ilu-ku uu wanka
MAYBE meat DEF (NOM) die-FUT alive
kutu wala-ringku-ku"
really (NOM) fast-INCHO-FUT
"Maybe that animal'll die, or maybe run off alive"
28. kaa yanku-la waka-ni munu winpinpi-ngku
CONTR go-SERIAL spear-PRES ADD lip-ERG
yalti-nyii-lta
call over-PRES-AND THEN
*And he goes and spears it, and calls the other one over
with a whistle;*
29. kaa ngalya-yanku-la-mpa kaa watja-ni-lta,
CONTR this way-go-SERIAL-INTEREST CONTR say-PRES-AND THEN
kutjupa-lu panya
another-ERG ANAPH
and as he's coming up the other one says:
30. "kuka-nti tjuu wanka ya-nu"
meat (NOM)-MAYBE mate alive go-PAST
"The animal, friend - it might have got away alive"

31. "tjuu, nyara-kutu wampa-nti-na
 mate over there-ALL DON'T KNOW-MAYBE-1sg (ERG)
 panya-tja waka-nu"
 ANAPH-EVIDENT spear-PAST
"Mate, over that way, I don't know - I might have speared it"
32. "wanyu-na puta mitu-ra .
 JUST LET-1sg (ERG) WHAT DO YOU SAY pick up tracks-SERIAL
 wanal-ku"
 follow-FUT
"What do you say I just pick up the tracks and follow it?"
33. watja-ni-lta "uwa tjina-la yanku-la
 say-PRES-AND THEN yes track (ACC)-1pl (ERG) go-SERIAL
 nya-wa",
 see-IMP
He's saying "Yes, let's follow the tracks"
34. "nyara-kutu-na aru waka-nu"
 over there-ALL-1sg (ERG) partially spear-PAST
"I partially speared it over there"
35. wana-ra-mpa tjina wana-ra-mpa
 follow-SERIAL-INTEREST track (ACC) follow-SERIAL-INTEREST
 nya-ngu-lta
 see-PAST-AND THEN
They follow the tracks then and find it".
36. "munta, kutu-ngku-mpa-na-l nyanga-tja
 SORRY really-ERG-INTEREST-1sg (ERG)-YOU SEE this-EVIDENT
 kultu-mpa waka-nu, ilu-ra ngari-nytja-la"
 side (ACC)-INTEREST spear-PAST die-SERIAL lie-NOML-LOC
*"Oh, well I'll be! I really speared it right through,
 since it's lying dying"*

37. pawu-ni-lta pula ... nyuti-ra
 roast-PRES-AND THEN 3du (ERG)...make into bundle-SERIAL
 kati-ra maa-wani-nyu
 take-SERIAL away-throw-PRES
The two of them roast it then ... they bundle it up, take it off and throw it down,
38. kanku-ngka pawu-ra (2) nyina-ra-lta wangka-nyu
 shade-LOC roast-SERIAL sit-SERIAL-ANOTHER talk-PRES
and sit in the shade roasting it, talking.
39. "tjuu, kuwari-mpa-na ngalku-ia ngalku-la-lta
 mate now-INTEREST-1sg (NOM) eat-SERIAL eat-SERIAL-AND THEN
 kulpa-ku"
 return-FUT
"Mate, presently after having a good feed I might go home, as one might like to know"
40. "uwa-nti" alatji watja-ni, ...inkilyi-ra
 yes-MAYBE like this say-PRES co-parents-in-law-PAIR (NOM)
 tjalpawangka-nyu-lta
 talk indirectly-PRES-AND THEN
"Yes I guess" That's how they speak...Co-parents-in-law talk indirectly.
41. kaa katja panya, inkilyi-ku
 CONTR son (NOM) ANAPH co-parents-in-law-GEN
 katja wati waputju-ngka wangka-nytja wiya,
 son (NOM) man father-in-law-LOC talk-NOML NEG
 nyara palu-nya wangka-nytja wiya
 over there DEF-ACC talk-NOML NEG
But the son, the co-parent-in-law's son doesn't talk at all to his father-in-law. He doesn't say anything to him".

42. palu-nya-mpa nyanga-ma-mpa, pulka-ra
 DEF-ACC-INTEREST see-IMP. IMPF-INTEREST do fully-SERIAL
 nyaku-nytja wiya, tjukutjuku nyaku-la
 see-NOML NEG little see-SERIAL

watanku-ringku-la
 heedless-INCHO-SERIAL

If he might see him, he doesn't look closely, but looks just a little, not paying much attention.

43. kapi tjiki-ntja-la wati umari-ngku
 water (ACC) drink-NOML-LOC man father-in-law-ERG
 kapi tjiki-ntja-la
 water (ACC) drink-NOML-LOC

If he's having a drink, if the father-in-law's drinking some water,

44. paluru yanku-la tjungu-ringku-la tjiki-ntja
 DEF (ERG) go-SERIAL together-INCHO-SERIAL drink-NOML
 wiya
 NEG

he doesn't go and join up and drink with him

45. tjitji-ngku kati-ra tjuti-ra yunga-nyi
 child-ERG take-SERIAL pour-SERIAL give-FRES

A child gets some and brings it to him;

46. tjinguru kungka-ngku tjuti-ra yu-wa
 MAYBE woman-ERG pour-SERIAL give-IMP

or maybe a woman gets some and gives it to him.

1. (A) "aa, kuta, ngayi-nya-n nyanga-ngi"
 hey senior brother, 1sg-ACC-2sg (ERG see-PAST.IMPF
"Hey, big brother, have you been keeping an eye on me?"
2. (B) "wati, nyanga-ngi-na-nta"
 man see-PAST.IMPF-1sg (ERG)-2sg (ACC)
"Man, I've been keeping an eye on you",
3. "wati nyaa-manti-n ya-nu kulakula-mpa"
 man what-PROBABLY-2sg NOM go-PAST randy (NOM)-INTEREST
"Man what'd you go off for, randy most likely"
4. (A) "wiya, wati ngayulu kungka wiya,
 no, man 1sg (ERG) woman NEG (NOM)
 wanti-nyi-na ngayulu,
 leave alone-PRES-1sg (ERG) 1sg (ERG)
"No man, I don't have any women, I leave them alone, I do,
5. palu nyuntu panya-nku watja-nma
 BUT OF COURSE 2sg (ERG) ANAPH-REFLEX say-IMP.IMPF
kuta, wati panya kura-ngku"
 senior brother man ANAPH bad-ERG
*but of course you should say that to yourself, big
 brother as (you're) the bad one"*
6. palu-nya wangka-ra ika-ringku-payi,
 DEF-ACC talk-SERIAL laugh-INCHO-CHAR
He jokes at him,

12. "inka wiya, wati panya kura nguwanpa nyuntu"
play NEG man ANAPH bad rather(NOM)2sg (NOM)

"No joke, you're the worse one of us"

13. munu pula alatji wangka-ra
ADD 3du (NOM) like this talk-SERIAL

inka-ringku-payi,
play-INCHO-CHAR

And the two joke around like this.

14. inka-inka-ra pula kuta-rara inka-payi
play-play-PAIR 3du (NOM) senior brother-PAIR play-CHAR

As joking partners, a pair of brothers play around.

15. wati tjaka kutu, wangka-ra ika-ringku-payi,
man typical really talk-SERIAL laugh-INCHO-CHAR

pika-puriny
angry-SIMILAR

*It's quite typical for men to joke around as if they
were angry.*

Pompi describes an irascible old man (A) abusing his son (B) for allegedly ruining a borrowed spear. Though A's brother (C) speaks up repeatedly to deflect the intemperate abuse, A is eventually silenced only by a hostile outburst from B himself.

1. (A) "wati kalu tarpu-ngku katji ngayu-ku
 man prick useless-ERG spear 1sg-GEN (ACC)
 kati-ra kata-nta-nu"
 take-SERIAL broken-HARM-PAST

*"A fucking useless prick of a man took my spear
 and broke it!"*

2. kaa watja-nu (B) "ayi, wati unytju-ngku
 CONTR say-PAST hey man (NOM) not seriously-ERG
 warki-tjara, kati-ra panya-nta-na
 swear-HAVING (NOM) take-SERIAL ANAPH-2sg ACC-1sg (ERG)
 yu-ngu"
 give-PAST

*And the other one said "hey, you're not swearing seriously,
 you know I brought it back to you"*

3. (A) "wiya, nyanga-tja-n kata-nta-nu,
 no this-EVIDENT-2sg (ERG) broken-HARM-PAST
 wata nyanga, munu palya maa-warki-ma
 base this (ACC) ADD good away-swear-IMP.IMP
 ngayulu"
 1sg (ERG)

*"No, you broke it here, at the top. It's quite all right
 for me to be swearing away"*

4. (B) "nyuntu pika ngara-la, ngayulu
 2sg (NOM) angry (NOM) stand-SERIAL 1sg (NOM)
 nyuntu-mpa pika wiya"
 2sg-PURP angry NEG (NOM)
"While you're angry, I'm not angry at you"
5. (A) "wiya, palya-na watarku-ngku warki-nyi,
 no good-1sg (ERG) heedless-ERG swear-PRES
 kati-ra kata-ntanku-nya-ngka, katji
 take-SERIAL broken-HARM-NOML-LOC spear (ACC)
*"No, it's OK for me to swear and abuse without thinking
 about it, because my spear's been taken and broken"*
6. uti-ya wanti-ma ngayu-ku,
 SHOULD-3pl (ERG) leave alone-IMP.IMP 1sg-GEN (ACC)
 ngari-nytja-ku ngura-ngka panya, katji
 lie-NOML-PURP camp-LOC ANAPH spear
 miilmiil"
 sacred/restricted (NOM)
*They ought to leave my things alone, to lie in camp,
 you know. They're sacred/restricted spears"*
7. (C) "wati nyaa-ku-n katji ngara-la
 man what-PURP-2sg (ERG) spear (ACC) stand-SERIAL
 miilmiil-mana-nyi ? wanti-ma
 sacred/restricted-EMIT-PRES leave alone-IMP.IMP
 katji, kaa-nku katja-ngku-mpa kati-ra,
 spear (ACC) CONTR-REFLEX son-ERG-INTEREST take-SERIAL
 kata-ntana-ma"
 broken-HARM-IMP.IMP
*"Man, why do you keep pronouncing your spears sacred/
 restricted? Leave the spear be, considering it's your son
 who might have taken and broken it"*

8. wati kuta-ngku watjal-payi, alatji,
 man senior brother-ERG say-CHAR like this
 kutjupa-lu ngapartji
 another-ERG NAME in turn
A senior brother would say something like this, someone else in turn.
9. (C) "wati, nyaa-ku-n katji walytja-tja-mpa
 man what-PURP-2sg (ERG) spear own-ASSOC (ACC)-INTEREST
 warki-nyi, wati warki-wiya-ngku wanti-ma"
 swear-PRES man swear-NEG-ERG leave alone-IMP.IMP
"Man, why are you swearing about your own spears, man, leave off the swearing"
10. (A) "wiya, ngayulu kawaru-ri-nya-ngka warki-payi
 no 1sg (ERG) mistake-INCHC-NOML-LOC swear-CHAR
 kutu"
 really
"No way! When someone does something stupid, I really abuse them"
11. (A) "wati kalu tarpu tjuku-ngku katji
 man prick useless small-ERG spear (ACC)
 kata-nta-ra wani-ra wanti-ma,
 broken-HARM-SERIAL throw-SERIAL leave alone-IMP.IMP
 nyaa-ku-n kati-ra tarpu-ringa-nyi"
 what-PURP-2sg (NOM) take-SERIAL useless-INCHO-PRES
"The useless fucking prick shouldn't have broken my spear and thrown it away! Why did you take it and fuck it up?"
12. (C) "wati nyaa-ku-n tjitji-puriny warki-nyi,
 man what-PURP-2sg (ERG) child-SIMILAR (ACC) swear-PRES
 wati wati-mpa wanti-ma, warki-wiya-ngku"
 man man (ACC)-INTEREST leave alone-IMP.IMP swear-NEG-ERG
"Man, why are you abusing him like he was a child. Man, since he's a man you should leave him alone, without swearing at him"

13. kuta-ngku, malany-tju alatji
 senior brother-ERG junior sibling-ERG like this
 watjal-payi, anga-wangka-payi katja-tjiratja
 say-CHAR blocked-talk-CHAR son-DEPRIV (NOM)
The man's brothers would say something like this. They'd speak up to block him off, on account of their son.
14. (A) "warki-ra kutu-ngku-na-l nyanga-tja
 swear-SERIAL really-ERG-lsg (ERG)-YOU SEE this-EVIDENT
 tarka-la ngara-la kawaru-ri-nya-ngka,
 severely abuse-IMP stand-SERIAL mistake-INCHO-NOML-LOC
 wati uti katji ngayu-ku kata-ntanku-wiya-ngku
 man SHOULD spear lsg-GEN (ACC) broken-HARM-NEG-ERG
 wanti-ma
 leave alone-IMP.IMP
- "I'll really abuse hell out of him I'll have you know, since he's always stuffing things up! Man, he shouldn't break my spears"*
15. (A) "katji kuwari karpi-ra tjunku-nytja
 spear (ACC) today bind-SERIAL put-NOML (ACC)
 nyaku-la wanti-ma"
 see-SERIAL leave alone-IMP.IMP
- "Seeing it was bound up and put aside just today, he should have left it alone"*
16. (A) "nyaa-ku nyura kati-ra wani-nyi?"
 what-PURP 2pl (ERG) take-SERIAL throw-PRES
"Why are you always taking things?"

17. (A) "panya-tja-na kuwari katji
 ANAPH-ASSOC (ACC)-1sg (ERG) today spear (ACC)
 ngayulu mukul-tju-ra tju-nu walytja-ngku,
 1sg (ERG) hook-put-SERIAL put-PAST own-ERG
 malu wakal-payi-nku-na"
 'roo (ACC) spear-CHAR-REFLEX-1sg (ERG)
*"I just put the hook on that spear myself today. I'm
 always spearing us kangaroos"*
18. (B) "malu waka-la pala-ngku kuwari
 'roo (ACC) spear-IMP just there-ERG today
 yanku-la kutju ara-ni-n warki-ngu
 go-SERIAL one time-1sg ACC-2sg (ERG) swear-PAST
*"This one should go spear a kangaroo right how! You've
 sworn at me once"*
19. (B) munu ngula kumpu-ranga-nyi-lta,
 ADD later on piss-GIVE OUT-PRES-AND THEN
 kumpu-lta-n paka-ni"
 piss (NOM)-AND THEN-2sg (NOM) get up-PRES
*"Later on you'll be peeing yourself, piss'll be
 coming out of you"*
20. wati mama watjal-payi katja-ngku
 man father (ACC) say-CHAR son-ERG
The son would tell the father this.
21. (B) "ngunti wata-nta-na pungku-ku
 back of neck base (ACC)-2sg ACC-1sg (ERG) hit-FUT
 kaa-n ngari-ra kuna-ranga-ma,
 CONTR-2sg (ERG) lie-SERIAL shit-GIVE OUT-IMP. IMPF
 kumpu tjuti-ra ngari-ma"
 piss leak-SERIAL lie-IMP. IMPF
*"I might hit you on the back on the neck and you'll be
 lying shitting yourself, leaking piss!"*

22. kaa wati mama wangka
 CONTR man father (NOM) talk (NOM)
 kanmar-ari-payi ngulakutju
 quiet-INCHO-CHAR too.late
and the father's voice goes quiet, too late.
23. wangka kanmar-tu-lta kulil-payi nyina-ra
 talk quiet-ERG-AND THEN listen-CHAR sit-SERIAL
He sits listening with a quiet voice.
24. (A) "munta, palya, palya, palya-tja warki-ngu,
 SORRY good good good-lsg ACC swear-PAST
 katji-nguru wangka-wangka-nytja-ngka, warki-ra
 spear-ABL talk-talk-NOML-LOC swear-SERIAL
 ngayulu-tu tjiti-ntja-ngka"
 lsg (ERG)-JUST SO provoke-NOML-LÓC
*"Sorry, OK, good. It's all right you swore at me because
 of our little talk over the spear, because it was me that
 provoked you by swearing"*
25. (C) "wati kutjupa-palku warki-nyi-r, wati
 man another (ACC)-NOT REALLY swear-PRES-EXCIT man
 nyara katja walytja-tja-mpa, wati
 over there son own-ASSOC (NOM)-INTEREST man
 katja"
 son (NOM)
*"You're swearing at him like he was just anyone, which
 he isn't! That man's your own son. He's your full-
 grown son"*
26. (C) "katja warki-wiya nyina-payi-mpa
 son (ACC) swear-NEG (NOM) sit-CHAR-INTEREST
 ngayulu-mpa"
 lsg (NOM)-INTEREST
"One doesn't swear at one's son, according to me"

27. (C) "miri-ngku-mpa kunyu nyanga-tja warki-ma"
dead-ERG-INTEREST QUOT this-EVIDENT swear-IMP.IMP

"They say people who have died would swear like this"

TEXT 10 : Kanytji -- Extract from a hunting-story in anitji,
the auxiliary language

1. wampun kuyu penturi-ri-nyi, pintiri-ngka
man (NOM) QUOT sit-INCHO-PRES camp-LOC
Let's say there's a man in camp.
2. wampun pangkuru kuyu panturi-ri-ra
man DEF (NOM) QUOT sit-INCHO-SERIAL
tjirirpi-ri-nyi
day-INCHO-PRES
Let's say there's a man sitting in camp as day breaks,
3. mnu yukayuka malalinga-nyi, wamana pangku-mpa
ADD early morning talk-PRES woman DEF-GEN (ACC)
and in the early morning, he's talking to his wife:
4. "warka-ra umpawanytja munnga-la,
go-SERIAL water (ACC) get-IMP
"Go get some water,
5. kaa-li wakari-ku warka-la!"
CONTR-1du (NOM) meat-PURP go-IMP
and we'll go for meat!"
6. wamana pangkuru warka-ra umpawanytja nungulku-ra
woman DEF (ERG) go-SERIAL water (ACC) pour-SERIAL
ngawa-warka-ra putantana-nyi
this way-go-SERIAL give-PRES
The woman goes, gets water, comes back and gives it to him

7. wampun paya pangkuru umpawanytja-lta
 man ANAPH DEF (ERG) water (ACC)-AND THEN
 umpawanytja-ra
 drink-SERIAL
and then that man drink some water, and says:
8. "wamana, kumari-li warka-la nyiya-ku
 woman JUST LET-ldu (NOM) go-IMP this-PURP
 wakari ngunyi-ntji-kitja"
 meat (ACC) seek-NOML-INTENT (NOM)
"Woman, let's just go this way, to look for some game!"
9. wakari paya-ngunyi-ra (2) tjarangkana-nyi
 meat (ACC) around-look-SERIAL see-PRES
They look around for game for a while then see
10. nganal-ta panturi-ri-nytja-la
 hole-LOC sit-INCHO-NOML-LOC
some sitting on a warren.
11. "wakari ngayi-tja, pintjatan nyumara-ngu
 meat (NOM) this-EVIDENT rabbit (NOM) go in-PAST
"There's some meat, a rabbit went down its burrow"
12. kumari-li tjanmu-pitjinti-ra tjarangka-ra!"
 JUST LET-ldu (ERG) ? - hit-SERIAL see-IMP
"Let's just dig and have a look!"
13. tjanmu-pitjinti-ra nganal tjimpatjimpa-ngka
 (?) - hit-SERIAL hole small-LOC
 tjanmu-pitjinti-ra kampintju munnga-ni
 (?) - hit-SERIAL one (ACC) get-PRES
They dig and get one out of the small burrow,

14. uu munnga-ra mea-warka-ra, warka-ra
 um get-SERIAL away-go-SERIAL go-SERIAL
 tjarangkana-nyi,
 see-PRES
 *and um, after getting it, and setting off, as they're
 going along they see:*
15. "wamana kumari panturu-ri-nyi nyaya unumpa
 woman JUST LET sit-INCHO-PRES over there 'roo (NOM)
 panturu-ri-nyi
 sit-INCHO-PRES
 "Woman, hold on, there's a kangaroo sitting over there!
16. kaa-na warka-ra iwinytji-ngku tjarangka-ra"
 CONTR-1sg (ERG) go-SERIAL not seriously-ERG see-IMP
 I'll just go and have a little look!"
17. warka-ra wampunu pangkuru kuwinggari-kati-ra
 go-SERIAL man DEF (ERG) hide-PROCESS-SERIAL
 kawartji-ngka kuwinggari-kati-ra tjarangkana-nyi
 tree-LOC hide-PROCESS-SERIAL see-PRES
 *The man goes off, keeping concealed behind trees and
 bushes and looks.*
18. "kumari-na ngaya pangu-la-nguru iwinytji-ngku
 JUST LET-1sg (ERG) this DEF-LOC-ABL not serious-ERG
 akuntji-ra!"
 try-IMP
 "I'll just have a little try from here"

19. akuntji-ra-pangku tjayungkana-nyi-lta wakari
 by-SERIAL-NOT REALLY spear-PRES-AND THEN meat
 paya pangku-nya-mpa nyinuru muwutangu
 ANAPH DEF-ALL-INTEREST side true
and then he has his so-called 'little try' and spears the animal right through.
20. .. maa-tjii-ra pawulyu-kati, warka-ra-lta
 away-run-SERIAL fall-PROCESS (IMP) go-SERIAL-AND THEN
It runs off and falls over, and then he goes and says:
21. "wamara, maa-warka-la, wakari ngayi-tja
 womar away-go-IMP meat (NOM) over there-EVIDENT
 pawulyu-kati-ngu"
 fall-PROCESS-PAST
"Womar, go over there! The animal collapsed over there"
22. "ngawi-mpa-r! kaa-li ngayi-tja
 ldu-GEN-EXCIT CONTR-ldu (NOM) this-EVIDENT
 pangku-la-nguru warka-ni-lta pintiri-ku-lta!"
 DEF-LCC-ABL go-PRES-AND THEN camp-PURP-AND THEN
"Oh it's ours! Let's go back to camp from here!"
23. ... katjuru-ra muwutangu-lta
 rake into bundle-SERIAL true-AND THEN
 tjawi-ra-lta warka-ra-lta
 load on head-SERIAL-AND THEN go-SERIAL-AND THEN
 warkalyina-nyi, pintiri-ku-lta ...
 take back-PRES camp-PURP-AND THEN
And he makes the kangaroo into a carrying bundle really well and then loads it on his head, and takes it back to camp.

TEXT 11 : Kanytji -- A Dreaming story of the wedge-tailed eagle
walawuru

This is the final part of a long text, recorded on a school excursion, which describes how the wilyaru man trained two small birds to help get revenge on a pair of marauding eagles. The savage eagles pursue the small birds far and wide, who eventually lure the eagles toward the place where their relations are waiting.

1. kaa kunyu tali-nguru ngara-la nyaku-la (4)
CONTR QUOT sand-hill-ABL stand-SERIAL see-SERIAL
nya-ngu
see-PAST

According to the story, they had been watching from the sandhills and finally saw something.

2. "nyanga-tja matari winki ila-ringa-nyi"
this-EVIDENT overcast whole (NOM) close-INCHO-PRES
"There's a big overcast cloud getting close"

3. kaa-ya wiltja pulkanya wiltja-nu
CONTR-3pl (NOM) shelter big (ACC) make shelter-PAST
munu utju tju-nu
ADD narrow (ACC) put-PAST

And they made a big shelter, and made a narrow entrance,

4. munu kampa kutjupa tju-nu utju,
ADD side other (ACC) put-PAST narrow (ACC)
and made another narrow entrance on the other side,

5. munu winta pulkanya tjaa-ngka-lta
 ADD stabbing spear big (ACC) mouth-LOC-AND THEN

 ngaparku ngaratju-nu, iri katu-kutu-lta
 straight on stand up-PAST point (ACC) up-ALL-AND THEN

*and then stood a big stabbing spear in the entrance
 facing straight out, point upwards,*
6. munu pata-ra nyina-ngi
 ADD wait-SERIAL sit-PAST.IMPF

and were waiting there.
7. kaa kunyu pula munga-ngka nyanga-tja
 CONTR QUOT 3du (ERG) night-LOC this-EVIDENT

 watja-ningi
 say-PAST.IMPF

*And the story goes that the two eagles were talking at
 night saying*
8. "kuli-nma mula, nyara-kutu,"
 think-IMP.IMPF true over there-ALL

"Think well, about that over there",
9. nyitayira-ngku panya watja-ningi, akuri
 male-ERG ANAPH say-PAST.IMPF female (ACC)

 panya
 ANAPH

the male was saying, to the female
10. "kuli-nma mula-tu, pariraral-payi-ngka"
 think-IMP.IMPF true-JUST SO make dangerous mistake-CHAR-LOC

"Think really well, lest we make a dangerous mistake"

11. wana-ra (5) kunyu ila mula-lta
 follow-SERIAL QUOT close true-AND THEN
 aru-ri-ngu
 turn-INCHO-PAST
*They were chasing and chasing them, the story goes,
 really close, then turned,*
12. matari winki kutu-lta kulpa-ra
 overcast whole really-AND THEN return-SERIAL
 maa-ngari-ngu,
 away-lie-PAST
with the whole overcast shadow and went back and camped.
13. kaa-ya ula-ra wani-ngi, pupa-ra
 CONTR-3pl (NOM) cry-SERIAL throw-PAST.IMPF crouch-SERIAL
 wiltja nyanga unngu, kuli-ra
 shelter this inside think-SERIAL
*And they, the birds, were crouched around inside this
 shelter crying, thinking*
14. "kuwari kitikiti-wanu tjarpa-ku,
 now to one side-PERL (NOM) go in-FUT
"Any minute they might get in through the side,
15. munu-lanya waka-ra-lta ngalku-ni
 ADD-1pl (ACC) pierce-SERIAL-AND THEN eat-PRES
 kutjuli"
 all (ACC)
and tear us up and eat the lot of us".
16. kaa kunyu winta-tjara winta-tjara
 CONTR QUOT stabbing spear-HAVING stabbing spear-HAVING
 nyina-ngi unngu,
 sit-PAST.IMPF inside
*The story says they were sitting inside, with a stabbing
 spear on each side.*

17. alatjinga-ra paka-ra tjata-ri-ra
do this way-SERIAL get up-SERIAL start-INCHO-SERIAL
- mungawinki-lta watapara-nu titu-ngku
morning-AND THEN chase-PAST separately-ERG
- warara
first
- In the morning the eagles rose up like this and started chasing them again, separately at first,*
18. maa-wana-ra-mpa aru-ra (3)
away-follow-SERIAL-INTEREST chase around-SERIAL
- chasing one away and chasing it around.*
19. kaa nyara-kutu ngunytju ngapartji
CONTR over there-ALL mother (NOM) in turn
- wilurara nyanga aru-ra (2)
west this chase around-SERIAL
- And over there, the mother was chasing one around here to the west.*
20. aru-ra-mpa pula kitikiti-wanu-ngku
chase around-SERIAL-INTEREST 3du (ERG) to one side-PERL-ERG
- nyaku-kati-ra (2) nya-ngu-lta
see-PROCESS-SERIAL see-PAST-AND THEN
- And as they were chasing and chasing it around the two of them noticed, to one side, as they were flying past*
21. "munta, kata-wirawira, alatji-kutu pupa-nyi
SORRY head-(?) like this-ALL crouch-PRES
- tjaa kakarara-lku wilurara-lku"
mouth east-PURP west-PURP
- "Oh, how fantastic! Over this way, a shelter with openings to the east and to the west!"*

22. munu pula wata-ngka wata-ngka
 ADD 3du (NOM) base-LOC base-LOC
 ngalya-wala-ringa-ngi,
 this way-fast-INCHO-PAST. IMPF
and the two of them came zooming over, skimming the ground.
23. wanti-ra iya-nu kunyu watja-nu
 leave alone-SERIAL send-PAST QUOT say-PAST
 "nyuntu warara arka-la"
 2sg (ERG) first try-IMP
They let the two small birds get away. "You try first!"
24. kaa akuri warara-lta kuranyu-ri-ngu,
 CONTR female (NOM) first-AND THEN ahead-INCHO-PAST
And so then the female one went ahead at first,
25. kaa akuri-ngku-lta waka-ra wana-ningi,
 CONTR female-ERG-AND THEN pierce-SERIAL follow-PAST. IMPF
and she was swooping and clawing,
26. kaa nyara nyitayira mama-ngku waka-ra
 CONTR over there male father-ERG pierce-SERIAL
 wana-ningi, waka-ra wana-ra, waka-ra
 follow-PAST. IMPF pierce-SERIAL follow-SERIAL pierce-SERIAL
 wana-ra
 follow-SERIAL
*and over there the male one, the father, was swooping and
 clawing, swooping and clawing.*
27. kaa wata-ngka wata-ngka-lta ngalya-
 CONTR base-LOC base-LOC-AND THEN this way
 wala-ri-ngu
 fast-INCHO-PAST
*And the small birds came flying this way skimming the
 ground,*

28. munu nyanga iri-ngka unngu-wanu-lta
 ADD this point-LOC inside-PERL (NOM)-AND THEN
 tjarpa-ngu, kitikiti-wanu-lta
 go in-PAST to one side-PERL (NOM)-AND THEN
and flew in just under the spear-point here, to one side.
29. kaa paluru-mpa . . . ngalya-nyina-kati-ngu-lta
 CONTR DEF (NOM)-INTEREST this way-sit-PROCESS-PAST-AND THEN
Then she, the female eagle, came in and landed,
30. alatji-lta pika pilpir-ta-mpa nyanga-mpa
 like this-AND THEN sore chest-LOC-INTEREST this-INTEREST
 tatjaru-kati-ngu
 (?) -PROCESS-PAST
*like this, she just came to a sudden halt, stuck here on
 the chest.*
31. winta panya paluru-mpa,
 stabbing-spear ANAPH DEF (NOM)-INTEREST
There was that big stabbing spear.
32. kaa paluru ngapartji atatatju-nu
 CONTR DEF (NOM) in turn get ready-PAST
And in turn he braced himself,
33. munu ngura ulparira-wanu tjarpa-ngu
 ADD WELL-JUST south-PERL (NOM) go in-PAST
and just came in the south way.
34. kaa ngalya-nyina-kati-ra-palku mama
 CONTR this way-sit-PROCESS-SERIAL-NOT REALLY father (NOM)
 panya ngapartji alatji-ka, karkuru-kati-ngu
 ANAPH in turn like this-JUST SO (?) -PROCESS-PAST
*As if he was landing, but not really, the father in turn
 toppled over, just like this,*

35. kaa pula nyara-kutu-nguru maa-paka-nu
 CONTR 2du (ERG) over there-ALL-ABL away-get up-PAST
and the two small birds flew out from over there
36. uwankara-lta pakalara-nu,
 all (NOM)-AND THEN swarm up-PAST
and then the whole lot of them took flight.
37. ngura wiltja panya palu-nya pilunta-nu-lta
 WELL-JUST shelter ANAPH DEF-ACC collapse-PAST-AND THEN

panya paluru tjana uwankara-lta
 ANAPH DEF (NOM) 3pl (NOM) all (NOM)-AND THEN

paka-ra-mpa,
 get up-SERIAL-INTEREST

*Well, they just collapsed that shelter - you know, as they
 all took flight.*
38. ngura waka-nu, kunyu walawuru palu-nya
 WELL-JUST pierce-PAST QUOT eagle DEF-ACC

pula-nya, kututu nyanga-kutu winta
 2du-ACC heart this-ALL stabbing spear

pulkanya tjukangara-la,
 big be sticking in the ground-SERIAL

*Those two eagles were well, just speared, in the heart,
 around here, by the big stabbing spears sticking out of
 the ground.*
39. wiya-ri-ngu-lta, nyanga palu-la-nguru,
 nothing-INCHO-PAST-AND THEN this DEF-LOC-ABL

alatji-ka-lta
 like this-JUST SO-AND THEN

That's all, from here, that's enough.

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