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Series A Volume 6

PAPERS IN WARLPIRI GRAMMAR:
IN MEMORY OF LOTHAR JAGST

Editor: S. Swartz

SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS
AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES BRANCH
DARWIN
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S. K. Hargrave
Series Editor
INTRODUCTION TO SERIES A VOLUME 6

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

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

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

This volume has been compiled in memory of Lothar Jagst. The first paper is a previously unpublished work by Lothar, written sometime around 1972 but never completed. It was only recently discovered in a collection of his files. The orthography has been changed to conform to current use, but apart from this and a few minor editorial changes, the paper is presented as he wrote it. The other papers have been graciously submitted in his memory by Drs. Nash
Hale, and Laughren, who each have spent considerable time and energy studying the Warlpiri language. I, who have benefited greatly from previous work by all the others, also submit my paper in his memory.

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


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

Stephen M. Swartz
Volume Editor
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SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE OF WARLPIRI CLAUSES

Stephen M. Swartz

I. INTRODUCTION

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

(Note: Warlpiri orthography and the grammatical abbreviations used in this paper are given in Appendix 1.)
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Subject Order 1 Clitics</th>
<th>Non-Subject Order 2 Clitics</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Sg</td>
<td>- rma</td>
<td>-ju 'ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 du in</td>
<td>- rli</td>
<td>-ngali(ngki)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 du ex</td>
<td>-rijarra 'nu -rijarra</td>
<td>-jarrangku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl in</td>
<td>- rlipar rlupa</td>
<td>-ngalpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl ex</td>
<td>- malu</td>
<td>-nganpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg</td>
<td>- npa</td>
<td>-ngku 'nu ngki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 du</td>
<td>- npa(pala)</td>
<td>-ngkupala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>- nkulu 'nu -nkili</td>
<td>-nyarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 du</td>
<td>- pala</td>
<td>-palangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl</td>
<td>-lu 'nu li</td>
<td>-jana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

1. *Kurrukuru-ku-lpa-lu-jana yu-ngu naliwa-Ø*  
   *Children-DAT-CAT- 3pl - 3pl give-PAST tea-ABS*  
   *karnt-patu-ru.  
   *woman-pl-ERG*  

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

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

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

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

The aims of this paper are therefore:

1. to discuss briefly the semantic relations which hold between predications and their accompanying arguments;
2. to set up verb classes on the basis of the syntactic NPs which are necessary for (but not necessarily made explicit in) non-deviant sentences;
3. to give evidence of and to account for possible expansions of syntactic NPs within a clause;
4. to set forth a set of pronominal clitics and give both a
grammatical and a semantic basis for the flexible hierarchical selection process which affects the cross-referencing of the syntactic NPs; and

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

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

1. SEMANTIC FEATURES OF VERBS

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

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

The claim here is that there are levels of optionality in Warlpiri syntax as there are in English. These levels are indicated grammatically by the fashion in which the catalyst complex may manifest certain optional NPs at the expense of more obligatory or more semantically nuclear NPs.
Earlier it was stated that the scope of the paper involves careful examination of the syntactic case system and the system of cross-referencing pronominal clitics, more specifically, the relation between the two. A basic assumption in all of this is that the systems do not operate in an arbitrary fashion but rather reflect a native speaker's conceptualization of the real world. Stated differently, I am working from the assumption that the inter-relationships between the catalyst cross-referencing system and the syntactic case system can only be fully explicated on a semantic basis.

Consider the following two examples:

(3) \[ \text{Wati-Ø-Ø}^5 \quad \text{ya-nu} \quad \text{kurdù-kurlu.} \]
\[ \text{man-ABS-3sg} \quad \text{go-PAST} \quad \text{child-COM} \]

'The man went with the child.'

(4) \[ \text{Wati-Ø-ji-Ø-rła} \quad \text{jirrmganja} \quad \text{ya-nu} \quad \text{kurdù-ku} \]
\[ \text{man-ABS-TP-3sg-3sg} \quad \text{'having' PV} \quad \text{go-PAST} \quad \text{child-DAT} \]

'The man went with the child.'

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

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

2.1 DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

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

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

In chart 2, cases which are underlined always get cross-referenced. Thus, ABS NPs with transitive verbs will be cross-referenced by the Order 2 clitics unless there is also a syntactic dative (DAT₁) associated with the verb. DAT₁ NPs with any verb will always be cross-referenced by the Order 2 clitics unless superseded by a further syntactic dative (DAT₂). This will be clarified later.

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

The parentheses indicate optionality of occurrence of the particular NPs.

The forms of DAT₁, DAT₂, and the non-syntactic PURPOSEFUL NPs are identical. That DAT₁ and DAT₂ NPs are in fact distinguishable is, as a sub-point of aim (3), a major thesis of this paper. Some further clarification is appropriate here.

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

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

'The man shot two kangaroos.'
### Chart 2

**Clause Structure**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Verb Classes</th>
<th>Clause level slot</th>
<th>Syntactic Cases</th>
<th>Non-Syntactic Cases</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive (I)</td>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>(DAT₁) + Rule 1</td>
<td>(DAT₂) + Rule 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bi-Intransitive (BI)</td>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>DAT₁ + Rule 1</td>
<td>(DAT₂) + Rule 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle (M)</td>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>DAT₁ + Rule 1</td>
<td>(DAT₂) + Rule 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive (T)</td>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>(√) ABS (DAT₁) + Rule 1</td>
<td>(DAT₂) + Rule 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bi-Transitive (BT)</td>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ABS (DAT₁) + Rule 1</td>
<td>(DAT₂) + Rule 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Subject**
- CATALYST
  - + Order 1 Clitics

**Non-Subject**
- CATALYST
  - + Order 2 Clitics

**Catalyst Complex**
(6) wati-ngki-∅-rla
    marlu-jarra-∅
    luma-mu
    man-ERG-3sg-3sg
    kangaroo-two-ABS
    shoot-PAST
    marlalja-ku.
    family-DAT

'The man shot two kangaroos for his family.'

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

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

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

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

This supplies further bases for positing, as I have done, the nuclearity of the syntactic cases versus the marginality of the non-syntactic cases. Going one step further, I have also posited, within the nucleus itself, Inner versus Outer Nucleus based upon

1) the syntactic criteria within the system of cross-referencing pronominal clitics and

2) semantic criteria involving propositional arguments inherent to or relatively closely linked with the verb predication itself.
The result of this is that a distinction can be made between the two syntactic DATIVEs possible within a single clause, and these I will label as DAT₁ and DAT₂. The precise nature of DAT₁ and DAT₂ will be made clear in the remainder of section 2.

2.2 INTRANSITIVE VERBS

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

nyina- 'sit, be'
wanti- 'fall'
parka- 'run'
mirilykarri- 'shine brightly'
wangka- 'speak'
yra- 'go'

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

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

'The man is speaking.'

(8) Yr-nu-lpa-lu kurdukurdu-Ø wiwiwiri-Ø.
go-PAST-CAT-3pl children-ABS adults-ABS

'The children and adults were going.'

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

It is quite easy for l-verbs to accept a DATIVE NP within the Inner Nucleus, that is, DAT₁. This involves merely the cross-referencing of the DAT₁ NP by the appropriate pronominal clitic as listed in the third column of chart 1. Because of the cross-referencing of this Inner Nucleus DAT₁ NP, the first of a set of ordered rules, namely 'Ø Replacement', must be applied when that NP is third person singular.
ORDERED RULES FOR PRONOMINAL CLITICS

1. Rule 1

-∅ Replacement - Replace ∅ with -rila in 3 sg with DAT₁ NPs

2. Rule 2

-rila Addition - Add -rila to all Order 2 clitics with DAT₂ NPs

-rila + rila → -rlajinta

By themselves (without overt NP referents) non-subject pronominal clitics are thus diagnostic of the presence of DAT₁ NPs only when that NP has third person and singular number. Otherwise for all other person and number combinations, the clitic is the same as when it cross-references ABSOLUTIVE NPs with transitive or bi-transitive verbs.

(9) Wangka-ja-∅-jona kuja.
     speak-PAST-3sg-3pl thus

'He/she spoke to them thus.'

(10) Wangga-ja-∅-rila jinta-kari-ki-wiinyi kirri-ngka-ku.
     speak-PAST-3sg-3sg one-other-DAT₁-first camp-LOC-DAT₁

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

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

It is also possible for at least some I-verbs to accept a third syntactic NP, that is, a second DATIVE NP. The presence of this Outer Nucleus NP is signalled within the catalyst complex by the application of the second ordered rule 'rila Addition' (refer to the text following example 8). Note that -rila + -rila sequence arrived at by the application of both rules 1 and 2 for third person singular DATIVE NPs results in the complex morpheme -rlajinta. The application of the 'rila Addition' rule is thus diagnostic of the presence of a DAT₂ NP. This applies regardless of any NP deletions which may occur in the clause. The syntactic status of a particular NP as being either DAT₁ or DAT₂ is determined solely by the application of the ordered rules.
When an I-verb has both DAT$_1$ and DAT$_2$ occurring within the clause, we find that echoing of DAT$_2$ takes precedence over DAT$_1$ in the catalyst complex.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In summary, I-verbs require only that NP in ABSOLUTE case be manifested by one of the set of Order 1 subject clitics to form a non-expanded clause. Some I-verbs can also be associated with up to two non-subject syntactic NPs per clause, both of which will be in DATIVE case. All syntactic NPs are potentially deletable, in which instance the cross-referencing clitics clearly signal the total number of syntactic clause slots being filled. Stated
differently the subject NP and one or both of the non-subject NPs may be deleted with retention of person-number information for two of these syntactic NPs. Significantly, as we see from example (11), it is the more semantically peripheral DAT₂ NP which takes precedence over the DAT₁ NP in the cross-referencing of the non-subject item.

2.3 BI-INTRANSITIVE VERBS

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

- rdipi- 'approach'
- parda- 'wait for'
- japirdi- 'threaten'
- rdampa- 'accompany'
- tiya- 'be defeated, overcome by'

BI-verbs require that two NPs be cross-referenced by pronominal clitics. The subject NP will be in ABSOLUTIVE case, and the non-subject NP will be in the DATIVE case, more specifically DAT₁. One or both of these NPs may be deleted in the clause with no change in meaning, provided the respective real world referents are recoverable from the context. When the DAT₁ NP is third person singular, the rule 'Ø Replacement' must be applied to the non-subject pronominal clitic.

(13a) Wati-Ø ka-Ø kamta-ku parda-ri
man-ABS CAT-3sg woman-DAT₁ wait-NONPAST

(13b) Wati-Ø ka-Ø-ri katra-ku parda-ri
man-ABS CAT-3sg-3sg woman-DAT₁ wait-NONPAST

'The man is waiting for the woman.'

(14) Kamta-Ø-Ø-jana kurukurdu-ku japirdi-jaa
woman-ABS-3sg-3pl children-DAT₁ threaten-PAST

'The woman threatened the children.'

Example (13a) is deviant because the DAT₁ NP is not manifested in the catalyst complex.

In all respects the cross-referencing of BI-verbs parallels that of I-verbs which occur in expanded clauses, that is, in clauses with extra DATIVE NPs. Thus it is possible for at least some BI-verbs to accept a third syntactic nominal, namely an Outer Nucleus DAT₂ NP.
As before, we find that this DAT₂ NP takes precedence in the cross-referencing over the DAT₁ NP.

(15) Karnta-µ-µ-rlajinta kurdukurdu-ku marlaja
woman-ABS-3sg-3sg children-DAT₁ causative PV
japirdi-ja wati-ki
threaten-PAST man-DAT₂

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

With BI-verbs it is clearly the DAT₁ NP non-subjects which are semantically inherent to the meaning of a verb, and, as seen in example (15), when a DAT₂ NP is included within the clause, this semantically peripheral DAT₂ NP takes precedence in the cross-referencing. Even if kurdukurdu-ku 'children-DAT₁' in example (15), which is not cross-referenced, were deleted, the pronominal clitic -rlajinta clearly indicates the necessary presence of two DATIVE NPs in the clause.

2.4 MIDDLE VERBS

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Warri-</th>
<th>'search for'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rdiwarri ma-</td>
<td>'decimate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lwa nya-</td>
<td>'fail to see, miss seeing'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

M-verbs require that two NPs be cross-referenced by the pronominal clitics. The subject NP will be in ERGATIVE case and the non-subject NP will be in DATIVE case, more specifically DAT₁. One or both of these NPs may be deleted in the clause with no subsequent effect on the meaning of the verb itself. Again, when the DAT₁ NP is in third person singular, the rule 'Ø Replacement' must be applied to the non-subject pronominal clitics. Some examples:

man-ERG CAT-3sg-3sg boomerang-DAT₁ search for-NONPAST

'The man is searching for the boomerang.'

man-ERG CAT-3sg-3du boomerang-two-DAT₁ search for-NONPAST

'The man is searching for the two boomerangs.'
As with I-verbs and Bl-verbs, M-verbs can also accept a second non-subject DAT₂ NP. This DAT₂ NP takes precedence in the cross-referencing over the DAT₁ NP and likewise is semantically peripheral.

(18) Wati-ngki ka-Ø-ngalparla karli-ki ngalipa-ku
    man-ERG CAT-3sg-lpl(inc) boomerang-DAT₁ us(inc)-DAT₂
    warri-mi.
    search-for-NONPAST

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

(19) Wati-ngki-lpa-Ø-jurla nyuntu-ku warru-mu
    man-ERG-CAT-3sg-1sg you-DAT₁ search for-PAST
    ngaju-ku.
    l-DAT₂

'The man was searching for you for me.'

The application of the rule 'Øla Addition' in examples (18) and (19) clearly signals the presence of DAT₂ NPs. NPs of any person or number could conceivably be substituted for the DAT₁ NPs in examples (18) and (19) without creating grammatically deviant sentences and without affecting the cross-referencing clitics.

2.5 TRANSITIVE VERBS

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

\begin{align*}
\text{liwa-} & \quad \text{'shoot'} \\
\text{nya-} & \quad \text{'see'} \\
\text{pu-} & \quad \text{'strike, kill'} \\
\text{panti-} & \quad \text{'spear'} \\
\text{kiji-} & \quad \text{'throw'}
\end{align*}

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

82
(20) Wati-ngki-ŋ-ŋ marlu-ŋ luwa-₁₋₁
man-ERG-3sg-3sg kangaroo ABS shoot-PAST

'The man shot the kangaroo.'

(21) Karnta-ngku ka-ŋ-jana kurdukurdu-ŋ nga-ŋ
woman-ERG CAT-3sg-3pl children ABS see-NONPAST

'The woman sees the children.'

T-verbs readily accept DAT₁ NPs, in which instance the ABSOLUTIVE NP is superseded in the cross-referencing by the DAT₁ NP while the cross-referencing of the ERGATIVE NP subject remains unchanged.

(22) Wati-ngki ka-ŋ-rla marlu-ᵣatu-ng luwa-₁₋₁
man-ERG CAT-3sg-3sg kangaroo-pl ABS shoot-NONPAST

karnspa-ku,
woman-DAT₁

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

The application of the rule '∅ Replacement' in example (22) signals the presence of three syntactic NPs within the Inner Nucleus. DAT₁ NPs added through the use of this rule are typically human and have the role of BENEFACTIVE. Thus with the verb luwa 'shoot', to insert an animate but non-human NP in a clause similar to (22) is semantically, but not grammatically, deviant as in:

(23) * Wati-ngki ka-ŋ-rla marlu-ku luwa-₁₋₁
man-ERG CAT-3sg-3sg kangaroo-DAT₁ shoot-NONPAST

Notice that on chart 2 the row for T-verbs divided into two rows. Following along the top row for T-verbs, one sees that it is possible for some T-verbs to accept in the Outer Nucleus a DAT₂ NP in addition to an ABSOLUTIVE NP and a DAT₁ NP in the Inner Nucleus.

This phenomenon is signalled within the catalyst complex by the application of the rule 'ᵣla Addition'. When this occurs it is the DAT₂ NP which takes precedence in the cross-referencing over both the ABSOLUTIVE NP and the DAT₁ NP.

(24) Wati-ngki ka-ŋ-palangurla marlu-ŋ kurdu-ku
man-ERG CAT-3sg-3du kangaroo ABS child-DAT₁

marlaja luwa-₁₋₁ karnspa-jawa-ku,
causative PV shoot-NONPAST woman-two-DAT₂

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

No indication of the person and number of either the ABSOLUTIVE NP or the DAT₁ NP is contained within the catalyst complex in (24).
The DAT₂ NP in (24) is so peripheral to the meaning of the verb, that it is doubtful that any sense at all could be made of the sentence if the causative preverb marlajin were not there to aid in the interpretation. Again I assert that it is this relative peripheralness with respect to the other syntactic NPs which gives the DAT₂ NP priority in the cross-referencing.

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

1) changing the non-subject NP which ordinarily is in ABSOLUTIVE case to DATIVE case and
2) applying the rules 'Ø Replacement' and '-vlaj Addition' to the non-subject pronominal clitics.

Syntactically this signals the presence of a DAT₂ NP in the Outer Nucleus. However, there are not concurrently within the clause any other syntactic non-subject NPs as might be expected. Semantically, these changes mean that the action of the verb has been frustrated in some way and that the intent of the action has been unfulfilled. For example:

(25) _Wati-ngki _ka-ø-vlajinta _marlu-ku_
    man-ERG CAT-3sg-3sg kangaroo-DAT₂
    luwa-rti.
    shoot-NONPAST

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

Waters (private communication) suggests that this signalling of the kangaroo as an outer dative indicates that it is unaffected by the action of the verb. He further suggests that all ABSOLUTIVE NPs in a T-clause are connected with the semantic notion of 'affected' or possibly 'intentionally affected'. As was stated earlier, only a few T-verbs can accept this Outer Nucleus DAT₂ NP. When the action itself cannot be performed apart from affecting the ABS NP, such as with the T-verb jamtti- 'trim', the verb cannot accept DAT₂ NPs in this special 'unaffected' sense.

In spite of the fact that (25) contains only one DATIVE NP, this NP cannot be construed as being DAT₁ that is, within the Inner Nucleus. In section 2.2, criteria were given to distinguish Inner Nucleus from Outer Nucleus. Syntactically in (25) the pronominal clitics clearly indicate an Outer Nucleus NP by virtue of the application of both ordered rules. The notion of 'frustrated aspect' is simply not within the basic semantics of a verb like luwa- 'shoot'. This carrying of aspectual information within the pronominal clitics.
gives further support to the peripheralness of such a DATIVE NP as one finds in (25).

2.6 BI-TRANSITIVE VERBS

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

\[
\begin{align*}
yu- & \quad \text{'give'} \\
punta- & \quad \text{'take away from'} \\
karlirrmarnda- & \quad \text{'retain a portion for him'}
\end{align*}
\]

Bl-verbs require that two NPs be cross-referenced by the pronominal clitics. The subject NP will be in ERGATIVE case and will be cross-referenced by one of the set of subject clitics. The non-subject clitics will cross-reference the DAT\(_1\) NP in preference to the ABSOLUTIVE NP. All three of these NPs may be deleted within the clause, but all three are understood to be 'there'. BT-verbs correspond to what Lyons calls three-place verbs (Lyons 1971:350). Deleted ABSOLUTIVE NPs are normally interpreted as being either third person singular count nouns or as mass nouns, unless of course previous context indicates otherwise.

(25a) Wati-ngki ka-Ø-ria kuyu-Ø yi-nyi kamta-ku.

\[
\text{man-ERG \ CAT-3sg-3sg \ meat-ABS \ give-NONPAST \ woman-DAT}_1
\]

'The man is giving meat to the woman.'

Bl-verbs can also accept a DAT\(_2\) NP within the Outer Nucleus in addition to an ABSOLUTIVE NP and the normal DAT\(_1\) NP within the Inner Nucleus. When this occurs, it is the DAT\(_2\) NP which takes precedence in the cross-referencing over the other two syntactic non-subject NPs.

(26) Wati-ngki ka-Ø-palangurla marlu-Ø kurdu-ku

\[
\text{man-ERG \ CAT-3sg-3du \ kangaroo-ABS \ child-DAT}_1
\]

\[
\text{marlaja \ yi-nyi \ kamta-jarra-ku}
\]

\[
\text{causative PV \ give-NONPAST \ woman-two-DAT}_2
\]

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

In example (25a) the application of the rule 'Ø Replacement' indicates the presence of a DAT\(_1\) NP and in example (26) the further application of the rule '-ria Addition' signals the presence of a DAT\(_2\) NP. This DAT\(_2\) NP takes precedence over the other non-subject NPs in the clause with respect to the cross-referencing.
3. RANKING IN THE SELECTION OF PRONOMINAL CLITICS

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

**CHART 3**

Verb Classes and Possible Expansions of Syntactic NPs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>NON-SUBJECT</th>
<th>VERB CLASS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td></td>
<td>-1-verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>DAT₁</td>
<td>- Bl-verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>DAT₁ DAT₂</td>
<td>- M-verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>DAT₁</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>DAT₁ DAT₂</td>
<td>- BT-verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>- T-verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ABS DAT₁</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ABS DAT₁</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ABS DAT₁</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>DAT₂</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

The cross-referencing in (27) indicates the presence of an Outer Nucleus DAT2 NP which, along with all the other syntactic NPs, has been deleted.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thirdly, ABSOLUTIVE NPs can be cross-referenced by either Order 1 or Order 2 clitics only when certain conditions obtain. These conditions are as follows: ABSOLUTIVE NPs will be cross-referenced by Order 1 subject clitics if and only if an ERGATIVE NP is not present or implied within the clause, that is, with 1-verbs and Bi-verbs only. If an ERGATIVE NP is implied or present in the clause, with T-verbs, the ABSOLUTIVE NP will be cross-referenced by Order 2 non-subject clitics if and only if there is no DATIVE NP present or implied in the clause.
The last observation to be made is that \( \text{DAT}_1 \) NPs are always cross-referenced unless there is a \( \text{DAT}_2 \) NP present in the clause.

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

**CHART 4**

Ranking of Cases

Here '\( x < y \)' means '\( x \) takes precedence in the cross-referencing over \( y \)', and conversely, '\( y \) is superseded in the cross-referencing by \( x \)'.

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

To date much has been written on the subject of clause and person marking in Warlpiri, most notably by Kenneth Hale. In his article 'Person Marking in Warlpiri' (1973), Hale presents a concise description of auxiliary (catalyst) positioning, subject person markers, and agreement between the auxiliary pronouns (pronominal clitics) and the syntactic cases within the clause. In section 7 he proceeds to talk about other clitic sequences which are affixed to the auxiliary model root to form, in my terminology, the catalyst complex.
Hale states that there is a constraint upon clitic sequences to the effect that a phonologically constituted direct object clitic cannot co-occur with a dative clitic’ (1973:333-4). Note that his usage of 'direct object clitic' and 'dative clitic' corresponds to my usage of Order 2 pronominal clitics. Furthermore 'there is a constraint which would appear to limit clitic sequences to two members, subject-object' (p. 334). By speaking of direct object clitics and dative clitics, Hale implies that there are two independent systems operating, whereas I have earlier shown that a single system with ordered rules operates to cross-reference all non-subject syntactic NPs, namely the set of Order 2 clitics. This implication forces him to back away from his basic premise that there is a constraint which limits clitic sequences to two members, subject-object. It is my intended purpose here to strengthen Hale’s second premise (i.e. clitic sequences are limited to two members) on the basis of my preceding analysis.

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

(28) (Hale’s 59)  
Ngajulu-rlu  
1-ERG  
karti-jarra-Ø  
Boomerang-two-ABS  
ptnta-mi  
Nontake away from-NONPAST  
nyuntulu-ku  
you-DAT

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

(29)  
Ngajulu-rlu-ma-palangu  
1-ERG-1sg-2du  
karti-jarra-Ø  
Boomerang-two-ABS  
jmtmu-ru  
Carve-PAST

'I carved the two boomerangs.'

In example (29) as well as in earlier discussion of T-verbs, we see that the ABSOLUTIVE NP karti-jarra-Ø 'boomerang-two-ABS' is unambiguously cross-referenced since no added DATIVE NP is involved. In example (28) we see, as predicted by the case ranking posited previously, that the ABSOLUTIVE NP is superseded since a further DATIVE NP, specifically DAT₁, is present. By examining the pronominal clitics alone it is not possible to tell whether a DATIVE NP or an ABSOLUTIVE NP is being cross-referenced. Such information is signalled primarily by the syntactic class of the verb. Systemically since there is no distinction between the way DAT₁ NPs and ABSOLUTIVE NPs are cross-referenced, except in third person singular, it is improper to speak of direct object clitics and dative clitics.
Hale's analysis results in a third column added to chart 1, and the entries in this third column are identical with those of the second column except for third person singular. In my view this constitutes an over-differentiated paradigm and is less preferable than the analysis which I have presented above.

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

To cite Hale's example:

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

puwa-mi  ngaju-ku
      take away from-NONPAST  I-DAT

'The man will take you away from me.'

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

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

A further problem arises when Hale states that ' ... a sequence of subject followed by dative object may be further extended by the clitic /-ri/!' (1973:339). He cites as an example:

(31)  (Hale's 64)  Ngajulu-nilu  ka-ma-ngku-nilu  karli-ki
      I-ERG  CAT-1sg-2sg-3sg  boomerang-DAT

warri-mi  nyuntu-ku
      seek-NONPAST  you-DAT

'I am looking for the boomerang for you.'

(Note that I am indicating morpheme breaks within the catalyst complex as Hale did, not as I would.)
Hale then makes the following statement followed by his example (65):

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

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

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

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

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

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

(33) (Hale's 66)  
Ngarrka-ngku-lpa-0-ju-rla  nyuntu-ku  
man-ERG-CAT-3sg-1sg-3sg  you-DAT

warru-mi  ngaju-ku  
seek-PAST  I-DAT

'The man was looking for me.'

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

Hale states that this example (33) is unacceptable because 'the clitic /-rla/ cannot be construed with the second person dative noun phrase /nyuntu-ku/.' (1973:336), but having tested (33) with a number of Warlpiri speakers, I found it to be quite acceptable. Hale's reason for asserting the unacceptability of (33) can only be that the cross-referencing clitic of animate objects cannot be suppressed where in fact in (33) the cross-referencing clitic for 'you' -ngku has obviously been suppressed in favor of -rla. (I am conceding Hale's argument at this point.) However, there is no need to posit either 'suppression' of a clitic in (33) or substitution of a clitic in (32), provided that only sequences of up to two cross-referencing clitics may obtain in any one clause. This has
been shown to be a viable analysis in the preceding sections. The presence of -pla is due to the application of the */-pla/ Addition rule. Thus it is unnecessary to posit any principle based upon animatedness. This in turn strengthens Hale's original statement, concerning the limiting of clitic sequences to subject-object.
1. Warlpiri is spoken by about 3,000 people comprising two major subtribes, the Warnayaka and Ngaliya. Population centers are at Yuendumu, Lajamanu, Willowra Station and Warrabri, all on the fringes of the Tanami Desert area within the Northern Territory of Australia. Data for this paper was gathered primarily at Lajamanu among speakers of the Warnayaka dialect. No attempt has been made to distinguish or account for any dialect differences which may exist.

My main sources of language data have been Mr Ned Jampijinpa, Mr Jerry Jangala and Mr Paddy Jangala, and to all of them I offer very special thanks.

I would also like to thank Mary Laughren, Northern Territory Department of Education linguist at Yuendumu, for her advice and helpfulness in supplying additional data and ideas. Thanks also to Bruce Waters, SIL linguist at Ramangining, who has consulted with me during the formulation of my ideas.

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

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

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

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

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

7. Some T-verbs such as känginypu- 'fail to recognize' and känginywurda nya- 'mis-hear', carry within themselves frustrated aspect. However these take ABSOLUTIVE NP non-subjects as do all other T-verbs.

8. I expect that rules governing deletions and clause word order will be discovered when text grammar is studied.
9. The symbolism is that used by David E. Johnson in his article 'On Relational Constraints on Grammar' (Johnson 1978:156). No attempt has been made here regarding possible application of my analysis to theoretical work in Relational Grammar as it is being developed by Comrie, Keenan, Morgan, Perlmutter, Postal, Ross and others.
APPENDIX I

WARLPIRI ORTHOGRAPHY

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

ABS  absolutive case
DAT₁ dative 1 case
DAT₂ dative 2 case
PUR purposive case
ERG ergative case
COM comitative case
CAT catalyst
PV preverb
PAST past tense inflection
NONPAST present tense inflection
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>TP</td>
<td>topicalizer</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>Inclusive</td>
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<td>exc</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
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APPENDIX 2

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

PER  perlative case
ALL  allative case
INS  instrumental case
PUR  purposive case
PRO  progressive aspect
IMP  imperative mood
INF  infinitive
'THE FIRESAW'
- Jerry Jangala

1. *Yimi-φ yi-ma wita-φ wangka-φ, yirra-mi*
   story-ABS CAT-1sg little-ABS say-NONPAST put-NONPAST
   *nyampu-ria wirinyi-wamu-φ.*
   here-LOC hunting-from-ABS
   I want to say, put a little story here about hunting.

2. *Ya-nu-malu nyampu-nguriu-ju marru-nguriu.*
   go-PAST-1plex here-ABL-TP house-ABL
   We (exc.) went from this house.

3. *Karlarra-malu ya-nu yiwarra-wana mutika-kurru,*
   west-1plex go-PAST road-PER car-COM
   *ngajulu-φ, Jampijinpa-jarra-φ, Napangardi-φ*
   I-ABS skin group-two-ABS skin group-ABS
   *Nungarrayi-φ, kurdukardu-φ.*
   skin group-ABS children-ABS
   We went west along the road with a car; myself, the two
   Jampijinpas, Napangardi, Nungarrayi, and the children.

4. *Ya-nu-malu karlarra...*
   go-PAST-1plex west
   We went west...

5. *Yirliyi-φ yangka-φ kuja ka-φ*
   road-ABS aforementioned-ABS that CAT-3sg
   *ngura-mi-rra Yumturmu-kurra maru Nangkurdu-kurra.*
   lie-NONPAST-thither Yuendumu-ALL and NangkurduLake-ALL
   That is the road which lies toward Yuendumu and Nangkurdu Lake.
6. 
Ngula-malu ya-nu Wiyala-kurra.
relator-plex go-PAST Wiyala-ALL
Then we (exc.) went towards Wiyala.

7. 
Ngula-malu jupu karri-ja yali-rla-fuku.
relator-plex stop-PAST there-LOC-still.
Then we (exc.) stopped right there.

8. 
Yama-ngka-ipa-malu nyina-ja.
shade-LOC-CAT-plex sit-PAST
We (exc.) were sitting in the shade.

9. 
Jiti-jiti-ja-malu mutika-ngurlu.
dismount-PAST-plex car-ABL
We dismounted from the car.

10. 
Jumarrpa-lku-malu ma-nu miyi-Ø kapi ngapa-Ø.
belongings-then-plex get-PAST food-ABS and water-ABS
Then we (excl.) got our things, the food and water.

11. 
Ya-nu-malu yama-kurra.
go-PAST-plex shade-ALL
We went towards the shade.

12. 
Japu-mu-ma-palangu Jampijinpa-jarra-Ø,
ask-PAST-1sg-2du skin group-two-ABS
I asked the two Jampijinpas,

'Matches-ji ka-npala marda-mi palka-Ø?'
matches-TP CAT-2du have-NONPAST present-Ø

'Do you two have matches on hand?'

13. 
Jampijinpa-kari-Ø-ji wongka-ja, 'Lawa'.
skin group-other-ABS-TP say-PAST no
The other Jampijinoa said, 'No'.
14. *Jinta-kari-ŋi-ji* <small>wangka-ja, 'Lowa, matches-wangu'.</small><br>one-other-ABS-then-TP say-PAST no matches-without

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

15. *Ngaju-ma* <small>wangka-ja</small> 'Kala nyarrpa ma-ni-rlipa'<br>1-1sg say-PAST and what/how do-NONPAST-Iplinc
nyampu-ŋu nyaliŋu-ŋu?'<br>this-ABS-TP tea-ABS

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

16. *Jinta-kari-ŋi-ji* <small>wangka-ja Jampijinpa-kari-ŋi-ji</small> skin group-other-ABS<br>one-other-ABS-TP say-PAST

'Jimanyapa-ŋu-rlipa-ŋu ngurrju ma-ni.',<br>firesaw-ABS-Iplinc-3sg make-NONPAST

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

17. *Ngaju-ma* <small>wangka-ja</small>, 'Yuwyiyi, ngulajuku!'<br>1-1sg say-PAST yes OK

I said, 'Yes, OK!'

18. *Ya-nu-ma*.<br>go-PAST-1sg

I went.

19. *Watiya-ŋu-ma* <small>paka-mu mayingka-kurlu-ulu</small><br>tree-ABS-1sg strike-PAST axe-COM-INS<br>linji-jarraŋu jirrana-ŋu.<br>dry-two-ABS two-ABS

I cut wood with an axe, two dry pieces.

20. *Ka-ngu-ma* <small>pina yama-kurra</small><br>carry-PAST-1sg back shade-ALL

I carried it back to the shade.
    yardi jandjil-i-φ ngulajangka-ju dry seed (species)-ABS after that-TP
    puluku-kurlangu-φ-lku kuna-φ. cow-possessive-ABS-then dung-ABS
    Straightway I put grass and dry seeds into it, and after that
ten cow dung.

22. Jungajuku-rlujarra-φ rduyulu-ngu jimmyapa-φ-lku straightway-lduexc-3sg make a smoky fire-PAST firesaw-ABS-then
    Straightway we two (exc) made the firesaw smoke.

23. Lusa-mu-ruja rura-φ. saw-PAST-lduexc-3sg
    We sawed (literally shot) it.

24. Lusa-wiya kamparru-warmu-ju. nothing-first first-from-TP
    There was nothing from that first effort.

25. Ngulajangka-ji jinta-kari-φ-lki-rlujarra-φ yarda after that-TP one-other-ABS-then-lduexc-3sg again
    liwa-mu. saw-PAST
    After that then we sawed again at it.

    Jampijinpa-rlu. skin group-ERG
    We two (exc) then successfully sawed the firesaw, Jampijinpa
    (and I) did.

27. Jungajuku rduyulu-ngu-malui-φ jimmyapa-φ straightway make a smoky fire-PAST-1plexc-3sg firesaw
27. (cont.)  
jangka-iku warlu-ŋ-ju ngurrju-nyayimi-ŋ.  
CAU-then fire-ABS-TP good-very-ABS

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

relator-plexc-ref tea-ABS-then cook-PAST

Then we (exc.) cooked tea for ourselves.

relator-lsg-3pl l-ABS-TP hunting-ABS-then

jumta ya-nu  
go away from-PAST

Then I went hunting away from them.

behind-CAT-3pl-3sg cook-PAST

Behind they were cooking it (lunch).

eat-PAST-3pl-3sg

They ate it.

noon-TIP-3pl-3sg eat-PAST they-ERG-TP

At noon they ate it.

33. Ngaka-iku-rma ngaju-ŋ ya-nu-mu karli-  
later-then-lsg l-ABS go-PAST-hither boomerang

kirli-ŋ jinta-kulu-ŋ paka-minjarra.  
COM-ABS one-COM-ABS hit-sequential

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

34. Nyaarpa-rma-ŋ  kuja ngula-ŋji ngurrju ma-nu.  
how-lsg-3sg thus relator-TP make-PAST

How is it then I made it/did thus?
35. Kala-ma-Ø nya-ngu ngaju-ku-palangu.
CAT-1sg-3sg see-PAST I-DATIVE-ascending kinsman
I used to see my father.

36. Kala-Ø-Ø jirnypa-Ø luwa-mu.
CAT-3sg-3sg firesaw-ABS saw-PAST
He used to saw the firesaw.

37. Kala-Ø-Ø ngurrju ma-nu kuja-piya-rlu.
CAT-3sg-3sg make-PAST thus-like-ERG
Just like that he used to make it.

because of that-ERG wise-ERG-than-1sg-3sg saw-PAST
Because of that I now know (how to) saw one.

39. Ngulajuku-ma-Ø nyanpu-Ø-ju wita-Ø jaru-Ø-ju
finish-1sg-3sg this-ABS-TP little-ABS word-ABS-TP
yimri pura-ja.
tell-PAST

I am finished following (telling) this little story.
'CHRISTIAN DANCES'
- Ned Jampijinpa

1. Nyampu-rla ka-rlipa-jana marda-mni
   here-LOC CAT-1plinc-3pl have-NONPAST
   mardukuja-∅ manu wati-∅ ngula
   woman-ABS and man-ABS relator
   ka-lu-∅ pi-nyi purlapa-∅ manu
   CAT-3pl-3sg strike-NONPAST ceremony-ABS and
   yawulyu-∅ wapirra-kurlangu-∅
   woman's business-ABS rather-possessive-ABS

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

2. Mardukuja-rlu ngula ka-lu-∅ yumpa-mni
   woman-ERG relator CAT-3pl-3sg sing-NONPAST
   manu pi-nyi yawulyu-∅ ngurrju-∅
   and strike-NONPAST woman's business-ABS good-ABS
   manu wati-ngki ngula ka-lu-nyanu
   and man-ERG relator CAT-3pl-ref
   yirra-mni kurrasa-ti-∅ wapirra-kurlangu-∅
   put-NONPAST sacred designs-ABS father-possessive-ABS
   ngurrju-∅
   good-ABS

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

3. Yapu-ngku, ngula ka-lu-jana nya-nyi
   people-ERG relator CAT-3pl-3pl see-NONPAST
   purlapa-kurra.
   public ceremony-ALL

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

   evening and night-LOC go-NONPAST-hither CAT-3pl

   Evening and all night they come there.
They hear God’s good story.
THE CROW AND THE BOY

- Jerry Jangala

1. Jinta-ngka kirri-ngka kuja-ipa-ku nyina-ja
   one-LOC camp-LOC relator-CAT-3pl sit-PAST
   jukurrpa-% dreaming-ABS

   There was one camp where the dreamings lived.

2. Ngula-lu-rla jaalyma-nu kurdu-ku marluri-ku,
   relator-3pl-3sg whisper-PAST child-DAT1 initiate-DAT1
   ngati-nyamu-%, kirda-nyamu-%, pimirdi-nyamu-%
   mother-ref-ABS father-ref-ABS mother's sisters-ref-ABS
   jamirdi-nyamu-%.
   father's, sister's sons-ref-ABS.

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

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

   The guardians told them.

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

   The guardians talked to them concerning him.

   'Karinganta yi-malu-% nyampu-%-ju ngarrka-%
   declarative CAT-1plexc-3sg this-ABS-TP man-ABS
   kiji-mi-',
   throw-NONPAST.

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

   straightway gather-PAST-3pl-3sg

   Straightway they gathered around him.

6. Turnu jarrri-ja-ju 'mamakurra warnkurra'.
   gather-PAST-3pl name of ceremony

   They gathered together for the ceremony.
7. *Ngula-lpa-lu-nyamu* wakna-ja juka-patu-ŋ-ju
   relator-CAT-3pl-ref say-PAST guardian-pl-ABS-TP

Then the guardians said to each other,

''Nyampu-lra-juku-nya-lripa-ŋ' marda-mi yantarli-jiki.'
here-LOC-still-query-1pl-inc-3sg hold-NONPAST nearby-still

'Should we hold him right here nearby?'

''Paka-rni-lripa-ŋ' kurdji-ri-ji?'
strike-NONPAST-1pl-inc-3sg shield-ERG-TP

'Should we dance the kurdji ceremony?'

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

Many other of the guardians said to each other,

''Karinganta-lripa-ŋ' yilya-ŋ' jukurdukuru-ŋ,
declarative-1pl-inc-3sg send-NONPAST initiation tour-ABS

yingga-ŋ-jana yapə-ŋ warming turnu ma-ni
CAT-3sg-3pl people-ABS around gather (T-verb)-NONPAST

ngarrka-ŋ,' man-ABS

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

9. *Jungajuku* kaarmka-ŋ-ji-ŋ-jana wakna-ja,
straightway crow-ABS-TP-3sg-3pl say-PAST

''Ywayi, ngajulu-rlu ka-rna-ŋ ka-nyi
yes 1-ERG CAT-1sg-3sg take-NONPAST

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

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

straightway-3pl-3sg rub-PAST fat-INS ochre-INS

Straightway they rubbed him with fat and ochre.

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

They sent those two.
12. *jirrganja-ŋa-ria* ya-nu kaarnka *papardi-nyanu-ŋ*
   'having' PV-3sg-3sg go-PAST crow-ABS older brother-ref-ABS
   *kurdu-ku-ju* marlurlu-ku.
   child-DAT initiate-DAT
   Having the young male initiate in his company, the crow, his older brother, went.

   'having' PV-3sg-3sg go-INF go-PAST
   Having him in his company, he kept on going and going.

   halfway-3du lie-PAST-thither
   They (2) camped halfway.

15. *Ya-nu-pala* mungalyurruru-kari-ŋ-iki.
   go-PAST-3du morning-other-ABS-then.
   Then they (2) went the next morning.

   relator-3sg-3sg water-ABS-TP 'benefactive' PV find-PAST soak-ABS-TP
   Then he found some soak water for him.

   relator-3sg-3sg soak-DAT-TP dig-for-PAST
   He dug for water.

   little-LOC-thither-3sg-3sg dig-for-PAST
   in a little hole he dug for it.

   water-ABS-TP-3sg-3sg expose-PAST along the topside-ABL-still lurlju-ngurlu nomu parduna-ria-juku.
   aforementioned-ABS hill-ABL and dry-LOC-still
   From along the top side of that same dry hill he exposed water.

   little-LOC-thither-3sg-3sg downward dig-for-PAST
   He dug downwards in that little (soak).

   expose-PAST-3sg-3sg
   He exposed it.
drink-PAST-3sg-3sg water-ABS-TP big-ERG-first
The big one drank water first.

child-diminutive-ABS-then-3sg go-PAST-hither
Then the little fellow came up.

24. Ngula-ŋu-ŋu yuka-ja kanjarra
relator-then-3sg enter-PAST downwards
Then he descended into it (the soak).

25. Nga-minjumun ngapa-ŋu-ŋu
drink-PAST PRO water-ABS-TP
He went drinking water.

ille-PAST-3du
They (2) camped.

27. Yardi-pala yarmka-ja mungalyurrur-kari-ŋu-ŋu
again-3du set off-PAST morning-other-ABS-then
Again they (2) set off then the next morning.

28. Ya-ku-pala...
go-PAST-3du
They (2) kept on going.

halfway-still-3sg-3du become morning-PAST
Halfway, morning broke on those two.

relator-3sg-3sg leave-PAST-thither child-ABS-TP shade-LOC
He left the child in the shade.

he-ABS-then-3sg go-PAST soak-ALL
Then he (emphatic) went to the soak.

soak-ABS-TP straightway dig-PAST dig-PAST dig-PAST
Straightway he dug and dug and dug the soakage.
33. Palka ma-nu-Ø-Ø ngapa-Ø-ji.
    expose-PAST-3sg-3sg water-ABS-TP
    He exposed the wafer.

34. Yangka-piya-Ø-ziyila wita-ngka-rra karla-ja.
    aforementioned-like-ABS-also little-LOC-thither dig for-PAST
    Just like in that other little soak, he dug for it.

35. Nga-mu-Ø-Ø wiri-ngki-wiyi
    drink-PAST-3sg-3sg big-ERG-first
    The big one drank first.

36. Yangka yali-Ø kurdci-Ø yama-jangka-lpa-Ø
    aforementioned that-ABS child-ABS shade-LOC-CAT-3sg
    ya-mu purangirli-warnu-Ø
    go-past behind-from-ABS
    That previously mentioned boy was coming from behind from the shade.

37. Ya-mu-mu-Ø
    go-PAST-hither-3sg
    He came up.

38. Yangka-ja-Ø-rra, 'Ngapa-Ø palka-Ø. Yalwmu-Ø
    say-PAST-3sg-3sg water-ABS present-ABS that(closeby)-ABS
    kaninjarra nga-nja.'
    downward, deep drink-IMP
    He (crow) said to him, 'There's water here. Drink it down below.'

    straightway child-diminutive-ABS descend-PAST
    Immediately the little boy went down.

40. Marlurlu-Ø(sic)ngapa-Ø nga-minjwur.
    initiate-ABS water-ABS go and drink-PASTPRO
    The initiate went down and drank water.

41. Ngula-lpa-Ø pina-lku warrrka-minja ya-mu
    relation-CAT-3sg back-then climb-INF go-PAST
    kankarlarra-kari lurlju-kurra.
    up-other hill-ALL
    Then he climbed back upwards and went towards the hill.
42. Nyanungu-riu-ŋa-ŋa yarrimi pormka-ja yama-ngurlu.
   he-ERG-3sg-3sg attack-PAST shade-ABL
   (emphatic)
   He attacked him from the shade.

43. Yalwmpu-riu-juku-ŋa-ŋa paka-mu.
   that-ERG-still-3sg-3sg hit-PAST.
   That one struck him dead.

44. Kakarda-ŋa-ŋa rāngkurrpaka-mu.
   nape of neck-ABS-3sg-3sg smash-PAST
   He smashed him in the nape of his neck.

45. Yama-kurra-ŋa-ŋamak ka-ngu
   shade-ALL-3sg-ref carry-PAST
   He carried him to the shade for himself.

46. Purra-ja-ŋa-ŋamak kuyu-ŋa-liku.
   cook-PAST-3sg-ref meat-ABS-then
   Then he cooked the meat for himself.

47. Ngula-ŋa-ŋa nga-mu yalwmpu-riu-juku.
   relator-3sg-3sg eat-PAST that-ERG-still
   That one certainly ate it.

   meat-ABS-then-CAT-3sg-3sg eat-PAST
   Then he was eating the meat.

49. Sara-ŋa-ji-ipa-ŋa-ŋa palka-ŋa-juku marda-mu
   fat-ABS-TP-CAT-3sg-3sg present-ABS-still hold-PAST
   wita-kari-ŋa-ji.
   little-other-ABS-TP
   He still had present a little bit of the fat.

50. Ngula-ngurlu-ju-ipa-ŋa-ŋa palka-kurlu-juku warru
   relator-ABL-TP-CAT-3sg-3sg present-COM-still around
   yungku-mu warlu-ŋa-ŋa kuja-purda kuja-purda.
   light-PAST fire-ABS-TP thus-toward thus-toward
   From there still having that bit (of fat) he was lighting
   fires all around this way and that.
51. Yungku-mu-∅-∅ warru.
light-PAST-3sg-3sg around
He lit them around.

52. Kulanganta-lpa-∅-rla yijawdu-kurla
counterfactual-CAT-3sg-3sg true-certainly
jirmgana rdij ka-ngu-rva
'having' PV set line of fires-PAST-thither
kuja-porda-rlu.
thus-towards-ERG
It certainly wasn't true that he, having (that little bit of fat),
was just going along setting fires away from them.

53. Kala lawa-ngka!
but no-LOC
But no, not for that reason!

54. Yimiru-ngu-lpa-∅-jana yangka
trick-PAST-CAT-3sg-3pl aforementioned
purpamirti juka-fatu-∅
behind guardians-pl-ABS
He was tricking those previously mentioned guardians
behind.

55. Yarnka-ja-∅ pina nyanugu-kari-∅-lk'i.
set off-PAST-3sg back he-other-ABS-then
Then he (emphatic) set off back.

56. Jara-∅-lpa-∅-∅ vita-∅ marda-mu langa-ngka
fat-ABS-CAT-3sg-3sg little-ABS have hold-PAST ear-LOC
He was holding a little bit of fat (behind) his ear.

57. Pina-∅ ya-nu
back-3sg go-PAST
He went back.

58. Kulanganta kaji-∅-jana yu-ngu yapa-kari
counterfactual CAT-3sg-3pl give-PAST people-other
ki-lki.
DAT1-then.
It wasn't as if he gave him to other people then.
59. *Kulanganta* kaji-li-ŋ/*yapa-kari-njil-ki*  
counterfactual CAT-3pl-3sg people-other-ERG-then  
ka-ngu.  
take-carry-PAST  
It wasn't as if other people had taken him then.

60. *Ya-nu-ŋ/*pina jurruku-kurra.*  
go-PAST-3sg back same place-ALL  
He went back to the same camp.

61. *Ngula-lpa-ŋ/*yangka pina-nmi purlu-nja  
relator-CAT-3sg aforementioned back-hither yell/cry-INF  
y-a-nu.  
go-PAST  
He, the previously mentioned (crow) one, was going along yelling.

cry-INF-thither-3sg go-PAST  
He went along yelling.

63. *Jungajuku-lu turnojarri-ja*  
straight-3pl gather-PAST  
Straightway they gathered together.

64. *Kulanganta-ŋ/*panu-ku-kurla *yapa-ku*  
counterfactual-3sg many-PUR-still people-PUR  
warra purnkaja.  
around run-PAST  
It's not true he was running all around to get that mob of people.

reportative-CAT-3sg thus-towards-other stand-PAST-thither  
He was supposedly standing the other way.

see-PAST-3pl-3sg  
They saw him.

67. *'Kari kuja nyampu-ŋ-ju jinta-ŋ!*  
only thus this-ABS-TP one-ABS  
'Hey, there's only one!'
    one-ABS see-PAST-then-reported speech-3pl-3sg.
    
    Reportedly then they saw but one.

69. Ngula-lpa-lu-∅ japa-rnu-lpa-lu-∅,
    relator-CAT-3pl-3sg ask-PAST-CAT-3pl-3sg
    
    They were asking him.
    'Nyarrpara kala kuja kurdu-∅-ju!'
    where and thus child-ABS-TP
    'And where is the child?'

70. 'Yinya kuja-lu-∅ ka-nganya-rva murrma-juku
    there relator-3pl-3sg carry-NONPAST-hither yet-still
               PRESENTATIONAL

    kuja-purda-juku.
    thus-towards-still
    'It's over there that they are now still taking him away that way.'
    Kala-rma wuukayi-∅-lki pina ya-nu.
    and-1sg tired-ABS-then back go-PAST
    'But I then came back all tired out.'

71. Nya-ngu-lpa-lu-∅
    see-PAST-CAT-3pl-3sg
    
    They were watching him.

72. Miyimiyi nya-ngu ngari-lpa-lu-∅.
    examine-PAST only-CAT-3pl-3sg
    
    They were only examining him closely.

73. Jungajuku yama-kurra ya-nu-rva
    straightway shade-ALL go-PAST-thither
    
    So he went away towards the shade.

74. Murrja-ngku-lu-∅ yampi-ja ngarrwuda-wangu-rlu.
    yet-ERG-3pl-esg leave-PAST fear without-ERG
    
    Without fear they left him yet for a while.

75. Miyimiyi nya-ngu-lpa-lu-∅, monu parma nya-ngu-lu-rla
    scrutinize-PAST-CAT-3pl-3sg and smell-PAST-3pl-3sg
    jara-∅-ji yali-∅
    fat-ABS-TP that-ABS
    
    They were scrutinizing him, and they smelled that fat on him.
76. 'Nyampu-ŋ, nyampu-ŋ-ŋ-ŋ-juku  paka-mu.
    this-ABS  this-ABS-3sg-3sg-certainty  hit-PAST
This one certainly killed him.
Lawa-ngka  ka-ŋ-naŋpa  nyampu-ŋju  yimiri-ŋyi
nothing-LOC  CAT-3sg-1plinc  this-ERG-TP  trick-NONPAST
For no reason at all this one is tricking us.'
Paka-rinja-rla-ŋ-ŋ  nga-mu  nyanungu-ŋju
hit-INF-sequence-3sg-3sg  eat-PAST  he-ERG
kuŋu-ŋ-lk."  meat-ABS-then
After killing him, he (emphatic) then ate him as meat.

sit-PAST-CAT-3sg  shade-LOC-TP
He was sitting in the shade.
at way.'

78. Yangka-ŋ-lpa-lu  yali-ŋ  yapakari-ŋ
aforementioned-ABS-CAT-3pl  that-ABS  people-other-ABS
piŋapina ya-nu, nomu-lpa-lu-ŋ  pu-ngu-ŋ-lu-ŋ
comeback-PAST  and-CAT-3pl-3sg  dance-PAST-3pl-3sg
yalumpu-rla-juku  'mamakurra warnukurra'-rla-rlu.
that-LOC-still  name of ceremony-LOC-ERG
Those aforementioned other people all went back, and they
danced the ceremony at the ceremonial place.

dance-PAST-3pl-3sg  dance-PAST-3pl-3sg  dance-PAST-3pl-3sg
They danced and danced and danced it.

80. Puwarrilpa-lpa-lu-ŋ  pu-ngu
body painting-CAT-3pl-3sg  do-PAST
nyanungu-nyanungu-ŋ-lk  yapakaŋku.
he-possessive-ŋ-ŋ-lk  people-ERG
Then they, his people did the body painting.

81. Yirra-mu-lu-ŋ
put-PAST-3pl-3sg
They put it there.
82. *Ngula-ku-iuku-lu-rla, wimpiyi-ji-iapa-lu-rla*

relation-PUR-then-3pl-3sg 'entrap' PV-TP-CAT-3pl-3sg

pamka-ja.
run-PAST

Then for that, they ran over to entrap him.

83. *Yaja-minja pamka-ja-iapa-lu-*

enliise-INF run-PAST-CAT-3pl-3sg

They were running there enlisting him.

84. *Puta-iapa-lu-* yaja-minja pamka-ja.

try-CAT-3pl-3sg enlist-INF run-PAST

They tried unsuccessfully running over and enlisting him.

85. *Wongka-ja-iapa-lu-rla, 'Yinya-waja-npa kuja*

say-PAST-CAT-3pl-3sg over there-reportedly-2sg relation

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

pusarri-iapa-.'
body painting-ABS

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

86. *Ngula-iapa-* nyangwa-ju-ju wongka-ja, *Pina*

relation-CAT-3sg he-ABS-TP say-PAST wise

ka-ma nyina nya-nja-warmu-kari-*
CAT-1sg sit see-INF-from-other-ABS

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

*Nyampu-ju-ju, wirriji-i-ki luwa-mi*

this-ABS-emphatic-lsg hairstring-ABS-how spin-NONPAST

nyampu-rala-juju.
here-LOC-still

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

87. *Lawa-juju, puta-lu-* yaja-mu

nothing-still try-3pl-3sg enlist-PAST

They still couldn't enlist him.

88. *Ngaka-iapa-lu-rla yarrri-mi ya-mu*

later-CAT-3pl-3sg hostile-PW-hither go-PAST
Later then two other of his circumcisors approached him threateningly.

89. Yaja-mu-pala-∅
   enlist-PAST-2du-3sg
They enlisted him.

90. Wangka-ja-pala-ria.
   say-PAST-2du-3sg
They were talking to him.

91. Manguma-ninja-ku-wiyi yingga-∅-∅ yarriki-nyanu
   see/look-1NF-PUR-first CAT-3sg-3sg father-ref
   wirripiyi yirra-mu-mu puwarriipa-∅ kuja
   'entrap' PV put-PAST-hither body painting-ABS thus
   yinya.
   there.

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

92. Ngaka-∅-ria ngula-ku yalya jarrri-ja
   later-3sg-3sg relator-PUR decide-PAST
   jimarrri-nyaru-ku.
   circumcisor-ref-DAT₁

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

93. Wangka-ja-∅-paŋgu, "Ngari ka-ma kuja
   say-PAST-3sg-3du only CAT-1sg thus
   parlipa-∅ kuja-∅-ria rdampa-mi.
   circumcise-ABS relator-3sg-3sg accompany-NONPAST

He said to those two, 'I the circumcise will only accompany
him (my circumcisor).
   Kala kulalpa-ma-∅ ya-niarla panu-kari-ki-ji.'
   but CAT-1sg go-IRREALIS many-other-PUR-TP

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

   straightway go-PAST-hither
   Straightway he came up.
95. Kulkurru-jarra-ŋ-lu-ŋ kutu-juka yirra-mu
halfway-two-ABS-3pl-3sg close-still put-PAST
nya-nja-ku, yinga-ŋ-ŋ nya-nyi puwarriŋpa-ŋ
see-INF-PUR CAT-3sg-3sg see-NONPAST painting-ABS
yakumpu-ŋ yaku-ŋ
dancer-ABS
They put him right in their midst to see it, in order that he see that painted dancer.

96. Warrukirdikirdi-ipa-lu karri-ja.
encircling-CAT-3pl stand-PAST
They were standing all around in a circle.

97. Kalu rdaku-ŋ-ju-lu-ŋ nyurru-juku pangu-mu,
but hola-ABS-TP-3pl-3sg ready-still dig-PAST
manu-lu-ŋ warlu-ŋ wiri-ŋ yirra-mu.
and-3pl-3sg fire/firewood-ABS big-ABS put-PAST
But they had already dug a hole and put a big fire in it.

98. Jongajuku muku-ŋ pu-ngu-mu yali-ŋ
straightway all-ABS do-PAST-hither that-ABS
puwarriŋpa-ŋ
painting-ABS
So straightway he did toward him all that painting (ceremony).

99. Milki yirra-mu-ŋ-ŋ-nda yalumpu-ngu-lu-
show-PAST-3sg-3sg that-LOC-still
Juku
He showed it to him right there.

100. Yarnka-ja-lku-lu-ŋ-nda yangka-ji kaarmka-ku
grab-PAST-then-3pl-3sg aforementioned-TP crow-DAT
Then they grabbed that aforementioned crow.

get-INF-sequencer-3pl-3sg toss into-PAST fire-ALL
Getting him, they tossed him into the fire.

102. Warlu-ngku-ŋ-ŋ janka-ja muku-ŋ
fire-ERG-3sg-3sg burn-PAST all-ABS
The fire burned him up.
103. *Ngula-ngurlu-nya* yafullyu-ŋułu-ŋułu kaarmka-ŋułu
relator-ABL-emphatic that-ABS-still crow-ABS

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

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

all-ABS-then-3sg fly-PAST

All of them then flew.

105. *Ngari-lku-ŋułu* rduyypardulypa ngaru!
only-then-CAT-3sg explode from-PAST

Why, they were just exploding out of there!

106. *Muku-ŋułu-ŋułu* pardi-ŋa kaarmka-lku
all-ABS-thither-CAT-3sg rise-PAST crow-then

Then all the crows were rising out.

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

yafullyu-ŋułu maru-ŋułu nyina
that-ABS black-ABS-then sit/be

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

Jaalyma- IV.5, plot against, plan for
Jakurdukuwadu noun, young boy's initiation tour
Jamirdi noun, FaSiSo, FaSiDa
Janka- TV.1, burn, cook it
Janka- IV.1, burn
Japi- TV.2, ask
Jara noun, fat, oil, grease
Jaru noun, word, language, tale
Jarrawarnu noun, guardian, worker in a ceremony
Jimnypa noun, firesaw, firesaw method
Jimarrri noun, circumciser
Jinta noun, one
Jirrma noun, two
Jirrmanganja preverb, having, possessing, with
Jiti- IV.1, dismount
Juka noun, guardian
Jukurrpa noun, the 'dreaming'
Julyurikiiji- TV.2, toss it into (fire or water)
Jungajuku adverbial link straightway, thus
Jupukarri- IV.1, stop
Jumarrpa noun (mass), goods, belongings, possessions
Jurnta preverb, away from
Jurrku noun, same camp, place

Ka- TV.3, carry, take, bring
Kaarmka noun, crow
Kakardara noun, nape of the neck
Kala adverbial link and, but
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>karla-</td>
<td>TV.1</td>
<td>dig (for)</td>
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<tr>
<td>karlarra</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>west</td>
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<tr>
<td>karli</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>boomerang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamparru</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>front of, ahead of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaninjarra</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>downward, along the bottom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kankarlarra</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>upward, along the top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kari</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>ejaculative, hey! certainly! absolutely!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karinganta</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>sentence particle, assertive, assuredly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiji-</td>
<td>TV.2</td>
<td>throw, initiate (as in ngarrka kiji-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinda</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>father, class of ceremonial bosses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirri</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>camp</td>
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<tr>
<td>kuja</td>
<td>relator</td>
<td>thus, so, which, who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulanganta</td>
<td>sentence particle, counterfactual</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulkuuru</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>middle, halfway, midst</td>
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<tr>
<td>kuna</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>faeces, anus, bowel</td>
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<tr>
<td>kunwarri</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>sacred symbols, designs</td>
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<tr>
<td>kurdijii</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>shield, sacred ritual</td>
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<tr>
<td>kurdu</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>child, (pre-pubescent)</td>
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<td>kutu</td>
<td>adverb</td>
<td>nearby, close</td>
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<tr>
<td>kuyu</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>meat, game, animal</td>
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<td>langa</td>
<td>noun</td>
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<td>lawa</td>
<td>interjection</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>linji</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>nothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lurilju</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>dry, brittle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luwa-</td>
<td>TV.2</td>
<td>hill, rise 'jump-up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>shoot, spin (hairstring), saw</td>
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<tr>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>TV.5,</td>
<td>transitivizing verb stem do, pick up, get</td>
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<td>marilulu</td>
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<td>initiate</td>
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<td>maru</td>
<td>conjunction,</td>
<td>and</td>
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<td>mama</td>
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<td>mapa-</td>
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<td>rub</td>
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<td>maru</td>
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<td>black</td>
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<td>marda-</td>
<td>TV.2</td>
<td>have, hold</td>
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<td>mardukuja</td>
<td>noun,</td>
<td>woman</td>
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<td>mayingka</td>
<td>noun,</td>
<td>axe,</td>
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<td>marru</td>
<td>noun,</td>
<td>house (Gurindji loan)</td>
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<td>milkiyipra-</td>
<td>BTV.2,</td>
<td>show, demonstrate</td>
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<td>miritangali</td>
<td>noun,</td>
<td>noon</td>
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<td>miyi</td>
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<td>vegetable food</td>
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<td>miyimiyinya-</td>
<td>TV.3</td>
<td>scrutinize</td>
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<td>muku</td>
<td>noun,</td>
<td>all, complete, total</td>
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<tr>
<td>milju</td>
<td>noun,</td>
<td>soakage</td>
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<td>munga</td>
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<td>mungalyurru</td>
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<td>mutika</td>
<td>noun,</td>
<td>car (English loan)</td>
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<td>naliya</td>
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<td>tea</td>
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<td>nga-</td>
<td>TV.4</td>
<td>eat, drink</td>
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<tr>
<td>ngaju (lu)</td>
<td>pronoun,</td>
<td>1, me</td>
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<tr>
<td>ngaka</td>
<td>adverb,</td>
<td>later, after</td>
</tr>
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<td>ngapa</td>
<td>noun,</td>
<td>water, any beverage</td>
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<tr>
<td>ngari-ngayi</td>
<td>sentence particle,</td>
<td>only, just, merely</td>
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ngarrka  noun,  man
ngarri-  TV.2,  tell, relate, swear
ngarurda  noun,  awe, fear, surprise
ngati  noun,  mother
ngula  relator,  who, which, then?
ngulajangka  conjunction,  after that, then
ngulajuku  sentence particle, finish
nguna-  IV.1,  lie, rest, sleep, camp
ngurru  noun,  good
ngurrjuma-  TV.5  make

nya-  TV.3,  see
nyanungu  pronoun,  he, she, they
nyompu  pronoun,  this, this one
nyarrpa  pronoun,  what, how
nyarrrapa  pronoun,  where
nyina  IV.1  slit, live, be
nyurrnu  adverb  ready, already

paarpardi-  IV.1,  fly
paka-  TV.2,  hit, strike, impinge upon, dance
palka  noun,  present, here, body
palkama-  TV.5,  find, expose, locate
parlpa  noun,  circumcise
parlupu-  TV.3,  catch sight of
panu  noun,  many
parinta nya-  TV.3,  smell
pangi-  TV.2,  dig
papardi  noun,  older brother
parduna noun, dry
pimirdi noun, MoSi
pina noun, wise, knowledgable
pina adverb, back, reverse (of verb)
pu- TV.3, strike, kill, dance, do
puluku noun, cattle (English loan)
purlapa IV.1, shout, cry out
purdangirli noun, public ceremony
purdanya- TV.3 behind, following
puwa- TV.1 hear, think, feel (refl.)
puta adverb, cook, burn
puwarripa noun, try, attempt
t body painting

rdaku noun, hole
rdijika- TV.3, set line of fires
rdulpardulpanga- IV.4 explode out of
rdungkurrpakak TV.2, shatter, smash
rdugulu- TV.3, set a smoky fire

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

warlu noun, fire, firewood
wangka- IV.1, speak, say, talk
wapirra noun, father/son, God
warrka- IV.2 climb
warru adverb, around
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<td>noun</td>
<td>encircling</td>
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<td>wati</td>
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<td>watiya</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>tree, wood, stick</td>
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<td>wirlnyiyi</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>hunt</td>
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<td>Wirri</td>
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<td>wirriji</td>
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<td>wirrpiyiyi</td>
<td>preverb</td>
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<td>wita</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>small, little</td>
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<td>wungu ma-</td>
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<td>see (restricted men's language)</td>
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<td>wurrajji</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>evening</td>
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<tr>
<td>wuukayi</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>tired, exhausted</td>
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<tr>
<td>ya-</td>
<td>IV.5</td>
<td>go, come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaja-</td>
<td>TV.2</td>
<td>enlist</td>
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<tr>
<td>yaku</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>painted dancer</td>
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<tr>
<td>yali</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>that (far), over there</td>
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<tr>
<td>yalyajarri-</td>
<td>Bl.1</td>
<td>decide about</td>
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<tr>
<td>yama</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>shade, picture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yampi-</td>
<td>TV.1</td>
<td>leave, let it alone</td>
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<tr>
<td>yantarli</td>
<td>adverb</td>
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<tr>
<td>yamkka-</td>
<td>BIV.1</td>
<td>grab for it</td>
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<td>yarnkka-</td>
<td>IV.1</td>
<td>set off, leave</td>
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<td>yangka</td>
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<td>yarda</td>
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<td>again</td>
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<td>yardijardi-ji</td>
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<td>type of seed</td>
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<td>yarri</td>
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<td>yawulyu</td>
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<td>send</td>
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<td>yimi</td>
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<td>tale, story</td>
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<td>yimirri-</td>
<td>TV.3,</td>
<td>fool, deceive, trick</td>
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<td>yinya</td>
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<td>yingki-</td>
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<td>set fire to</td>
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<td>put, place, set</td>
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