COHESION IN NGAANYATJARRA DISCOURSE

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts of the Australian National University.

December 1980
This thesis is the original work of the author unless otherwise acknowledged.  

Anne D. Glass
Acknowledgements

A study such as this is the product not just of the two years spent studying at the Australian National University, but is the culmination of many years study of the Ngaanyatjarra language and it is impossible to acknowledge all the many people who have assisted me in my study of the language since 1963.

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>transitive subject</td>
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<tr>
<td>abs</td>
<td>absolutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>allative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avers</td>
<td>aversive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>customary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>circ</td>
<td>circumstantial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl</td>
<td>climax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coup</td>
<td>coupler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ct</td>
<td>cause-time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>distributive</td>
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<td>dual</td>
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<td>ext</td>
<td>extensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hab</td>
<td>habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ill</td>
<td>illustrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imp</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inc/incl</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ins</td>
<td>instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.O.</td>
<td>indirect object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipf</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abreviations

Shorthand for referring to pronouns in literal translation.

we           we plural exclusive
we two       we dual exclusive
we incl      we plural inclusive
we two incl  we dual inclusive
they         they plural
they two     they dual
you all      you plural
you two      you dual
you          you singular
Chapter 1  Introduction

1.1  Ngaanyatjarra a dialect of Western Desert

Taking a linguistic definition of language,¹ Ngaanyatjarra is one of the dialects of the Western Desert language which it has been estimated was the largest in Australia. "Within the total Australian land area of about 3 million square miles it seems that the multi-tribe Western Desert language was largest both in terms of geographical extent -- some 500,000 square miles -- and also in number of speakers -- perhaps 6,000." (Dixon 1980:18)

The Western Desert dialect chain extends from Kukatja spoken around Balgo Hills south of Halls Creek in north-eastern Western Australia, to Gugada previously spoken in central South Australia. (See Map 1)

Due to their isolation in one of the most inhospitable areas of Australia, many of these people still maintain a relatively traditional lifestyle, and some small groups retained a completely traditional lifestyle right up until the early 1960s. Therefore the dialects, which their speakers would prefer to call languages, are still used in these areas as the everyday medium of communication. The names of some of these dialects have become familiar to some of the wider Australian public; names such as Luritja, Mantjiltjarra, Mardu, Ngaanyatjarra, Ngaatjatjarra, Pintupi, Pitjantjatjara, Yankuntjara.

Although the Western Desert people formerly roamed the desert in small food gathering groups, they have recently become localized at missions and settlements (now known as Aboriginal communities). Ngaanyatjarra is now mainly centred around Warburton which lies between

¹  "Two modes of speech are regarded as dialects of a single language if they are mutually intelligible. A somewhat wider technical definition of 'language' is that it involves a chain of mutually intelligible dialects -- there need not necessarily be intelligibility between dialects at the extremes of the chain, but each individual dialect must be mutually intelligible with its geographic neighbours." (Dixon: 1980:33)
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the Gibson and Great Victoria deserts about 330 km west of the border of South Australia and the Northern Territory.

In the times before the establishment of the Warburton Mission in 1934, Ngaanyatjarra was spoken around Warburton and perhaps as far east as the Jameson Range. Ngaatjatjarra was spoken from the Jameson Range extending around to the Blackstone Range and also around the Rawlinson Ranges to the north, while Pitjanytjtjarra (Pitjantjatjara) was spoken from Wingkiling in the Tomkinson Range and to the east and northeast. (see Map II)

The names of these dialects are to some extent nick-names which were probably given to them by the neighbouring group. Pitjanytjtjarra means the language having the word pitja 'come' i.e.

Pitjanytja-tjarra

to come - having

This name served to distinguish the Pitjanytjtjarra from their near neighbours to the north and east, the Yankuntjatjarra (Yangundjarra) who have the word yankuntja for 'come'.

Because not only the Pitjanytjtjarra, but also the Ngaatjatjarra and the Ngaanyatjarra have the word pitja meaning 'come', the next distinction is made on the basis of the word 'this' since Ngaanyatjarra has the word ngaanya for 'this', and Ngaatjatjarra has the word ngaatja for 'this', while Pitjanytjtjarra has the word nyangatja for 'this'.

The differences between Ngaanyatjarra and Ngaatjatjarra are very small and speakers of both dialects understand each other without difficulty. However, the differences between Pitjanytjtjarra and Ngaanyatjarra are much greater and speakers of one or other of the dialects, who have not had much contact with speakers of the other, experience difficulties in communication when the topic moves beyond simple everyday matters.
Introduction

Since a large number of Ngaatjatjarra and even some Pitjanytjatjarra lived at Warburton for quite long periods between 1925 and 1968, children who grew up at Warburton began to speak Ngaanyatjarra even though their parents may have been Ngaatjatjarra or Pitjanytjatjarra. However, since the return to the homeland communities I have noticed that the children in these communities are already beginning to speak Ngaatjatjarra or Pitjanytjatjarra as the case may be.

1.2 The literature

The culture and the language of the Western Desert people are extremely well documented.

1.2.1 Culture

The films Desert People and Peoples of the Australian Western Desert made by Ian Dunlop of the Australian Commonwealth Film Unit in 1965 give a good picture of the daily life of the people and interaction with the environment in pre-contact times. Robert Tonkinson's The Jigalong Mob (1974) and The Mardudjara Aborigines (1978) give clear accounts of the life of the Mantjiltjarra or Mardudjara people. Another extremely readable account is Richard Gould's Yiwara: Foragers of the Australian Desert (1969).

Some of the culture contact problems of the Pitjanytjatjarra are described in Noel Wallace's Killing Me Softly (1976), while my own Into Another World (1978) provides a very brief sketch of the life of

2. Gould's study gives much of the detail of the daily life of several families who lived around Patjarr in the Clutterbuck Hills and around Tika-Tika slightly further to the south-west. These are the same families featured in the film, Desert People, and also featured in most of the photographs in Tonkinson's The Mardudjara Aborigines, although most of his description is about the Mardudjara who originated around Lake Disappointment and are now resident at Jigalong.
Introduction

the Ngaanyatjarra people at Warburton.

To know the culture of one of the Western Desert groups intimately and then to read about one of the other groups is to be struck by the many differences -- despite the broad general similarities. One could therefore wish that there were detailed studies, comparable to Tonkinson's available for each of the Desert groups.

1.2.2 Language

In the area of language, however, there is a much greater number of detailed studies for the various dialects, although there is still room for more.

Perhaps the earliest publication of linguistic material from a Western Desert dialect was in Carl Strehlow's Die Aranda und Loritja Stämme in Zentral Australien II Tiel in 1908. However the first publication in English was R.M. Trudinger's small article "Grammar of the Pitjantjatjara Dialect, Central Australia", published in Oceania in 1943. This presented an amazing amount of grammatical material in a few short pages. This was followed by W.H. Douglas' "Phonology of the Australian Aboriginal Language Spoken at Ooldea, South Australia, 1951-1952" in 1955, and in 1958 by An Introduction to the Western Desert Language (revised 1964), and in 1959 by An Illustrated Topical Dictionary of the Western Desert Language (revised 1977).

It was probably somewhere during the sixties that the Pitjantjatjara-English vocabulary (prepared at Ernabella Mission S.A.) became available. In 1969 Jim Marsh's "Mantjiltjara Phonology" and Ken and Lesley Hansen's

3. For example, in regard to social organization, the Pintupi have an eight section system with male and female terms like the Warlpiri (a separate language to the north-east), the Mantjiltjarra have a four section system and the Ngaanyatjarra have a six section system while the Pitjanytjatjarra do not have a section system at all, but distinguish generation levels.

In 1972 John Platt's *An Outline Grammar of the Gugada Dialect: South Australia* was published. Then in 1974 Hansen and Hansen's *Pintupi Dictionary* (revised as *Pintupi/Luritja Dictionary 1977*), the most comprehensive dictionary for an Australian language currently available, was published, to be followed in 1975 by Glass' *Ngaanyatjarra Word List*.


Vernacular education had been a long-standing policy at the Ernabella Mission in the Pitjanytjatjarra speaking area of S.A. This later became a policy of Bilingual Education under the Education Department of South Australia. There has also been bilingual education among the Pitjanytjatjarra at Areyonga, among the Ngaanyatjarra at Warburton and the Pintupi at Yayayi. This has meant that basic readers and other reading materials have been produced in all of these dialects.

Western Desert has also been well supplied with intensive language learning courses. There has been a Pitjanytjatjarra Course at Adelaide University for a number of years, followed by another slightly different course at the Institute for Aboriginal Development in Alice Springs.
Introduction

The Ngaanyatjarra Course commenced at the Western Australian Institute of Technology in 1974, and I.A.D. then added a course in Pintupi to the various other courses available there, and most recently Mt. Lawley College in Perth has published a language learning course in Wangkatja spoken at Cundeelee on the Trans-Australian railway line.

1.3 Discourse genre

1.3.1 Discourse

Of recent years there has been increasing interest in the study of discourse, or the study of sentences within their context. However some of the chief practitioners of discourse studies have provided no definition of discourse, but rather regarded it as a primitive.

Joseph Grimes (1975:21) wrote as follows:

"Since 'discourse' is a primitive term in the notional system I build up in this book, it is obviously not possible to give a strict definition of it. Nevertheless, Pike's notion of discourse as a verbal behavioreme is a better starting point than any other I know of for communicating what a discourse is. Like any other behavioreme, it is recognized by the culture as an entity with a beginning and an ending, and has internal structure."

Robert E. Longacre who has written or edited a number of volumes on discourse analysis and led teams of his colleagues in the Summer Institute of Linguistics in periods of intensive study of discourse in certain fairly obscure parts of the world (in particular, the Philippines, Papua New Guinea, and Colombia) seems to take the notion of discourse entirely for granted.

Halliday and Hasan (1976:1) provide a definition of text which has some resemblance to what we can assume Grimes and Longacre to understand by discourse,
Introduction

"The word TEXT is used in linguistics to refer to any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that does form a unified whole."

"A text may be spoken or written, prose or verse, dialogue or monologue. It may be anything from a single proverb to a whole play, from a momentary cry for help to an all-day discussion on a committee."

"A text is a unit of language in use. It is not a grammatical unit, like a clause or a sentence; and it is not defined by its size."

However a discourse is usually taken to be a large unit of speech, one which usually, but not necessarily consists in turn of paragraphs, sentences, clauses, phrases and words. Such discourses may of course be either dialogues or monologues. However the present study deals only with narrative and hortatory monologues.

1.3.2 Genre

Of those writers and proponents of discourse study mentioned above, Longacre in particular has found it helpful to classify discourse into genre. The basic classification has been into four genre; narrative, procedural, expository and hortatory.

Longacre (1976:199) states "Here I classify according to two broad parameters, succession and projection. Succession refers to chronological succession which is plus in regard to certain discourse genre but minus in regard to others. Projection refers to a feature which sets off procedural genre from narrative on the one hand, and hortatory genre from expository on the other hand. We may then form the proportion: procedural is to narrative as hortatory is to expository. Narrative discourse is rooted in real time; it recounts events supposed to have happened somewhere, whether in the real or in an imaginary world. What is recounted is considered to be accomplished. Procedural discourse tells us how something would be done whenever it happens to be done, or
### CHART I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deep structure genre</th>
<th>- PROJECTED</th>
<th>+ PROJECTED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NARRATIVE</td>
<td>PROCEDURAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>1. 1/3 person.</td>
<td>1. Non-specific person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ E S S I O N</td>
<td>3. Accomplished time.</td>
<td>3. Projected time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Chronological linkage.</td>
<td>4. Chronological linkage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPOSITORY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>1. No necessary person reference.</td>
<td>1. 2 person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>2. (Subject matter oriented)</td>
<td>2. Addressee oriented.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- E S S I O N</td>
<td>3. Time not focal.</td>
<td>3. (Mode, not time).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Logical linkage.</td>
<td>4. Logical linkage.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(after Longacre)
Introduction

even how something was done whenever it happened to be done. It is in
projected rather than in accomplished time. Likewise, while expository
discourse simply explains a body of subject matter, hortatory discourse
tells us how we are to act in regard to a certain body of subject matter."

Chart I shows Longacre's diagram of deep structure genre.

Keith Forster, one of the participants at a discourse workshop
Longacre conducted in Colombia in 1974-75, proposed a slightly different
scheme for discourse genre. Longacre, in the introduction to the volume
in which Forster's article "The Narrative Folklore Discourse in Border
Cuna" appears, states that "The first article (Forster) gives a new and
more adequate scheme of discourse genre than was posited in earlier work."
(Longacre (ed) 1977: Vol 2: x)

Forster sees the basic parameters for a classification of discourse
genre as being plus or minus Agent Orientation, and Chronological linkage
versus Logical linkage, as shown in Chart II. (He posits here a behav­
ioural genre which he later subdivides to include Eulogy, Praise and
Rebuke, as well as Hortatory.)

Forster (1977:4) states that "The discourse orientation is either
agent or non-agent oriented. Agent oriented means that the interest or
focus tends toward the agent -- what each participant does. Narrative
and Behavioural are agent oriented genre. Nonagent oriented means that
the interest or focus tends towards the patient, goal or even the pre­
dication itself. Procedural and Expository are nonagent oriented genre.

"The linkage between the developmental parts of the discourse can
be either primarily chronological or primarily logical."

"By primarily chronological is meant that the events are arranged and
related to one another chronologically, e.g. in sequence, or simultaneously.
If there happens to be a logical relationship also, this is secondary.

"By primarily logical is meant that the events are arranged and
**Chart II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse Genre</th>
<th>+Agent Oriented</th>
<th>-Agent Oriented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chronological Linkage</td>
<td>(Event forms of developmental predicates)</td>
<td>Narrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logical Linkage</td>
<td>(Nonevent forms of developmental predicates)</td>
<td>Behavioural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Discourse Genre*  
(after Forster)
related to one another in some logical way, e.g. reason-result, means-purpose. If there is a chronological relationship also, this is secondary."

Forster sees projected time and person as not basic to a classification of discourse genre. He feels that projected can provide a useful subordinate classification as shown in Chart III.

Since this chart does not show the parameters that were shown on Chart II, it is a little difficult to see the contrastive features that separate all Forster's proposed genre. To make these features clearer I have composed a composite chart (Chart IV). I also propose that in order that all the parameters should be in terms of plus or minus, the parameter of logical linkage could be changed to minus chronological linkage. This would also more accurately reflect what happens in languages such as Ngaanyatjarra where it is difficult to establish a concept of "logical" linkage for those discourse genre which are minus chronological linkage.

While some may feel that discussion of genre is irrelevant to the study of relations within discourse itself, I have found that in Ngaanyatjarra, narrative and hortatory discourse types are so dissimilar that many of the significant relations found in narrative are simply not found at all in hortatory.

1.3.3 Genre in Ngaanyatjarra

Using Forster's parameters as amended and shown in Chart IV as a basis, the discourse types in Ngaanyatjarra, as far as I am aware at present, are set out in Chart V.

It is quite noticeable that Chart V shows no discourses which are minus agent oriented. Procedural discourse, 'how to do it' discourse, focusing on the goal of an activity, rather than the participants, does not occur. In Ngaanyatjarra descriptions of how to do it, which I have
**Introduction**

**CHART III**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>- Projected</th>
<th>+ Projected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>(usual concept of) Narrative</td>
<td>Prophecy/Plans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedural</td>
<td>Customs</td>
<td>(usual concept of) Procedural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavioural</td>
<td>Eulogy/Praise/Rebuke</td>
<td>Hortatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expository</td>
<td>(usual concept of) Expository</td>
<td>Orientation/Budget</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Projected and Nonprojected Examples of Discourse Genre

(after Forster chart 2)
**Introduction**

**CHART IV**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Agent Oriented</th>
<th>-Agent Oriented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Projected</td>
<td>+Projected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+Projected</td>
<td>-Projected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+Projected</td>
<td>+Projected</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Chronological Linkage</th>
<th>(usual concept of) Narrative</th>
<th>Prophecy/Plans</th>
<th>Customs</th>
<th>(usual concept of) Procedural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Logical Linkage)</td>
<td>Eulogy/</td>
<td>Hortatory</td>
<td>(usual concept of) Expository</td>
<td>Orientation/Budget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Chronological Linkage</td>
<td>Praise/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rebuke</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

An adaptation of Forster's chart 2 (CHART III)
Introduction

called customs, differ very little from narrative. The customary tense-aspect typically occurs. However this may also be used in a past tense narrative for any sequence of events that happened customarily rather than simply just once. (See Appendix I sentences 27-30). Although customs do not have the same degree of agent-orientation as narrative (i.e. specific agent reference), there is nonetheless some agent orientation. The third person plural pronoun enclitic occurs commonly, and where certain actions are typically carried out by men, women or children, this is clearly stated.

In Ngaanyatjarra there does not seem to be anything that corresponds to Forster's Orientation or Budget. Perhaps these types are limited to the languages of technological societies.

Ngaanyatjarra also seems to lack a discourse genre which is clearly expository. Explanations seem to take a different form among the Ngaanyatjarra. Where we would use explanations in English, the Ngaanyatjarra often give descriptions of customs. Other explanations are given in order to influence the hearers to change their behaviour, i.e. a hortatory discourse.

There are three texts in my corpus which are clearly neither narrative nor hortatory. They do not have chronological linkage, yet they do have agent orientation, in particular contrasting the behaviour of certain agents with that of other agents. I have labelled these descriptive, and fitted them into the chart where Forster has Eulogy/Praise/Rebuke (types for which I do not as yet have sufficient documentation for Ngaanyatjarra).

These three descriptive discourses are Bringing up Youths, Concerning Modern Youths, and Social Groupings and Responsibilities.

Bringing up Youths describes the contrast between the way white people bring up their sons, and the way Aborigines bring up theirs. This
## Introduction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHART V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>+Agent Oriented</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Projected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+Chronological Linkage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Chronological Linkage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ngaanyatjarra Discourse Genre
Introduction

is done by a series of paragraphs in customary mode moving back and forth from whites to Aborigines.

Concerning Modern Youths has a similar structure as it contrasts the exemplary behaviour of the speaker as a young man, with the conduct of the modern youths.

Social Groupings and Responsibilities starts out by describing the social groups using the speaker as a starting point. It then describes the responsibilities of each of the groups at a funeral.

Narrative discourse is distinguished by being in real or accomplished time (i.e. minus projected) and having chronological linkage. The verb forms are in past realis. Prophecy (what will happen if someone does something) and plans (what someone plans to do) differ from narrative only by being in projected time. The verb forms used are general irrealis (which may indicate future, conditional or customary) and are also used for customs and the customary sections of narrative. Prophecy and plans are thus regarded as sub-types of narrative, having insufficient distinguishing features to be considered a separate type.

Hortatory discourse is distinguished by lack of chronological linkage, and by being in projected time. That is, the exhortations which are the backbone of hortatory discourse, refer to projected time. As well as the projected dimension, the addressee orientation of hortatory serves to distinguish it from descriptive.

It is because narrative and hortatory make up the bulk of my corpus that I have chosen to limit the present study to these two discourse genres. It could be that further investigation would reveal other types.

1.4 Cohesion

The most comprehensive study of cohesion available to date is Halliday & Hasan's Cohesion in English (1976).
Introduction

They claim that cohesion is a semantic relationship. "It refers to relations of meaning that exist within the text, and that define it as a text."

"Cohesion occurs where the interpretation of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another. The one presupposes the other, in the sense that it cannot be effectively decoded except by recourse to it. When this happens, a relation of cohesion is set up, and the two elements, the presupposing and the presupposed, are thereby at least potentially integrated into a text" (Ibid:4).

Although claiming that cohesion is a semantic relationship, Halliday & Hasan see it as being realized through grammatical and lexical means. Their treatment shows how cohesion is achieved in English texts through reference, substitution, and ellipsis (grammatical) conjunction (partly lexical-partly grammatical) and lexical cohesion.

Grimes in *Thread of Discourse* (1975) sees cohesion relationships as being one of three distinct sets of relationships worthy of attention in discourse studies.  

According to Grimes cohesion relationships "relate what is being said at the moment to what has already been said. Cohesion is cumulative and linear rather than hierarchical." (Grimes 1975: 113)

Grimes mentions a number of features that have to do with cohesion relationships:- introducing new information, keeping track of old information, linkage, conjunctions, chaining (as in the languages of the highlands of Papua New Guinea), pronominalization, and deletion

4. The other relationships are content organization (which he says embraces both the way in which things that are perceived are said to relate to each other in the ordinary sense of dictionary meanings, and the way in which these propositions about relations group together into larger complexes), and staging relationships (which are concerned with expressing the speaker's perspective on what is being said, i.e. theme or topic).
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under co-reference.

I shall attempt to show how these and other cohesive relationships operate in Ngaanyatjarra narrative and hortatory discourse.

1.5 Aim of the present study

In the present study I shall attempt to describe the way in which cohesive relationships are maintained in Ngaanyatjarra narrative and hortatory oral discourse.

Some recent studies have shown that even in previously non-literate societies, new literates quickly develop a distinctive written style. That is, certain grammatical devices frequently used in oral style may be replaced by other grammatical devices in the written style. For this reason, rather than confuse the result by mixing written texts from the new Ngaanyatjarra literates with the oral texts, I have excluded written material and must let this be the subject of another study at some future date.

Naturally in working with unedited oral text there are likely to be slips of speech and various features that are not considered to be consistent with the discourse as a whole. Grimes (1975:33) points out the value of working with edited text.

"The texts that yield the most consistent analysis are edited texts. Certain people in any society have a reputation for consistently producing the kind of discourses that other people want to listen to. Part of the reason people like these discourses appears to lie in their well formed-ness; that is, they are constructed according to plans that make it

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maximally easy for hearers or readers to comprehend them. Furthermore, even people who produce highly valued discourses recognize that certain parts of what they say can be improved by being reshaped or edited. The principles that guide their editing behaviour are likely (unless they are imposed artificially from without, as for example under pressure of a more prestigious language) to represent a replacement of expressions that are less consistent with the discourse as a whole by other expressions that fit the structure and the context better. Speakers of unwritten languages display editorial reactions just as regularly as editors who work with paper and pencil. The analysis of discourse that has been edited is likely to be easier, and at the same time more truly representative of these patterns of expression that speakers of the language react to as appropriate. Practiced discourses like folk tales are less likely to be told poorly than, say, personal narratives brought out on the spur of the moment with no opportunity to shape the expression first."

Unfortunately the texts that I have worked with have not been edited, and I have therefore had to do without the various advantages described above. For the reader's convenience I will indicate with a footnote what appear to me to be errors which probably would have been edited out by a good editor.

Much of the analysis has been based on the texts included in the volume Ngaanyatjarra Texts. These consist of 12 narratives, three

6. Many of the examples that I have quoted in this description are from the volume Ngaanyatjarra Texts. Where this is so there is a reference to the item and line number in that volume. However in some cases the text presented here differs from that printed in Ngaanyatjarra Texts. What I have quoted follows an improved transcription I have been able to make recently which hopefully benefits from a further 12 years almost constant exposure to the language.
Introduction

descriptions of customs and one descriptive text. These were supplemented by 15 other narratives, three prophecies and 16 hortatory texts.

Many of the cohesive relationships discussed above are most clearly seen in narratives. For this reason chapters 2-5 deal almost entirely with cohesive relations in narrative, customs and prophecies, while only chapter 6 deals with hortatory discourse.

In chapter 2, Participant Identification and Reference, I will discuss old and new information (including markers of definiteness), the pronoun enclitics, the switch-reference system and the function of conjunctions connected with this system.

In Chapter 3, Temporal Relations and Aspectual Markers, I will show how the aspectual markers are combined in cohesive relationships throughout the discourse.

Chapter 4, Location and Direction in Travel and Hunting Narratives, will show how the use of the various lexical forms of the motion verbs in combination with particular aspectual markers is a cohesive device in these particular narratives.

Chapter 5, Further Cohesive Elements in Narrative will discuss the adverb puru 'again', the suffix -lpi 'in turn', the suffix -lta, contraexpectation marked by parturtu and ellipsis.

In chapter 6, Hortatory Discourse, I will discuss the pattern found in hortatory discourse, tense aspect and mood, reference and logical connection.

This study takes as given most of what is described in Glass & Hackett (1970). However some of the terminology that I am now using, which I feel is more in line with current linguistic terminology or more accurately reflects the linguistic reality, differs from that in the 1970 volume. Appendix V provides a ready reference for such
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terminological differences.

I believe that this study shows some of the variety of ways in which cohesion operates in Ngaanyatjarra discourse. (One aspect of cohesion which I have not discussed is lexical cohesion, except as it is exhibited in the motion verbs.) Other interesting and pertinent aspects of discourse in Ngaanyatjarra such as prominence and topicalization must await another study.
Grimes in *Thread of Discourse* (1975) sees two major types of information in narrative discourse, namely event information and information that identifies participants. He states "The information that identifies the participants in an event not only links participants to events, but also links one mention of a participant with other mentions of the same participant." (1975:43)

He also found it helpful to distinguish participants from props. It is not a simple matter of making overall statements, such as "all animates are participants and all inanimates are props" or "all humans are participants and all non-humans are props". In any particular discourse, participants tend to be those who can take an agent role and props those that have mainly patient roles.

The way in which participants are identified and referred to throughout a discourse is one of the major forms of cohesion within a discourse. There are also a number of factors which can have bearing on this identification and reference -- factors which Chafe (1976) calls packaging. Some of these are old and new information and definiteness or indefiniteness.

2.1 Old and new information

To clarify what I mean by old and new information I will quote extensively from Chafe (1976:30).

He says "Calling something 'old information' suggests it is 'what the listener is expected to know already' and 'new information' is 'what the listener is not expected to know already', something that is being introduced into the addressee's knowledge for the first time." However Chafe sees that there is more to it than this. "But a speaker who says *I saw your father yesterday* is unlikely to assume that the addressee had no previous knowledge of his father, even though by the usual criteria *your father* would be considered new information. The
Participant identification and reference

point is that the speaker has assumed that the addressee was not thinking about his father at the moment. Terms like 'already activated' and 'newly activated' would convey this distinction more accurately, but are awkward; we will probably have to live with the terms 'given' (or old) and 'new'."

Chafe (1976:31) sees that "in English and perhaps all languages" "given information is conveyed in a weaker and more attenuated manner than new information. This attenuation is likely to be reflected in two principal ways: given information is pronounced with lower pitch and weaker stress than new, and it is subject to pronominalization."

Chafe sees givenness being assumed by the speaker "on the basis of either extralinguistic or linguistic context."

Many of the writers who discuss old and new information do so on the basis of conversation. However I will confine my remarks to old and new information as it occurs in text.

2.1.1 Nouns and new information

In Ngaanyatjarra it seems that two devices commonly mark old information:- 1) zero anaphora 2) the anaphoric demonstrative palunya-. For this reason whenever we have common nouns without any markers such as palunya- or other markers of definiteness we can usually assume that we have new information.

In personal experience or anecdotal narratives it is assumed that the persons named and their relationship to each other is known by the hearer. Proper nouns occur identifying the various participants whenever they come on stage.

1. I am using the term zero anaphora to refer to those cases where the omission of a word is an anaphoric device. The operation of zero anaphora in Ngaanyatjarra is discussed in section 2.1.2.
Participant identification and reference

(1) Ka ngaratju-ralpi Tommy-lu tjutupu-ngu, mistingma-nu-partu.
   "ds stop-p.pt " -erg shoot-p.pf miss-p.pf-but
Ka Howard-tu makukurraa-rnu tjulya-lkitja.
   ds " -erg run-p.pf grab-purp.ss
'And having stopped (the truck) Tommy shot it, but he missed.
And Howard ran to grab it.'

In instances where a person's name is not being used because of the
death taboo, the circumlocution by which that person is commonly known
occurs.

(2) Nga-langu-latju nyina-ngu nya-ngu Joan-ku mama-lu
   eat-p.pf-we sit-p.pf see-p.pf "-poss father-erg
   kuka kati-ngu marlu.
   meat+abs bring-p.pf kangaroo+abs
'We ate it and sat for a while and saw Joan's father bring a
kangaroo.'

In myths the participants are usually first of all identified in
their human role. If there are more than one of them their relationship
is also stated.

(3) Wati-pula kutjarra kurta-rarra nyina-rranytja.
   man-they two two brother-coup+abs sit-p.ipf
'There were two men who were brothers.' (Ng. T. 1:1)

2. Ngalkunytja 'eat' is one of four irregular verbs in Ngaanyatjarra.
   One could say that the stem varies between nga- and ngala-. For
   the sake of consistency I have marked the stem as nga- in every
   instance.
Participant identification and reference

The one who is the major participant in this story of the turkey is identified as marlanypa 'younger brother' in the fourth sentence of the story.

(4) Ka pitja-yirnu nyina-rranytja marlany-pa.
&.ds come-p.pf.ext sit-p.ipf younger brother-abs
'And the younger brother came along and was sitting there'.
(Ng. T. 1:4)

It is not until much later in the story that the other part of his identity is revealed.

(5) Ka palunya-nya ngantjarrpa watipitja-yintja.
&.ds that-abs at edge go across-p.ipf.ext
Nganurti palunya-nya watipitja-ngu.
turkey that-abs go across-p.pf
'And that one was going across on the edge of the group. That turkey went across.' (Ng. T. 1:15)

The story of the bandicoot begins with a statement to this effect. However this is the only time the word bandicoot is mentioned in the whole story. The relationships of the participants are clearly stated in the second sentence.

(6) Tjuma ngaa-nya nirnu.
story this-abs bandicoot
Ngunytju-lu-nku parrakati-rrayintja tjilku kutjarra.
mother-erg-ref take around-p.ipf.ext child two+abs
'This story is about the bandicoot. A mother bandicoot was taking around her two children.' (Ng. T. 5:1)
In the story of the turkey many minor participants are introduced and identified in a clause which is the complement of the verb nyangu 'saw'.

(7) Mawirrtja-rnu nya-ngu papa kurluny-pa
    go quickly-p.pf see-p.pf dog small-abs
    pupa-rra-warninytja Papanyarrkal-ta kapi-ngka.
    crouch-sc.dis " -at water-at

    'And he (the turkey) hurried away and saw lots of little dogs crouching all around at the waterhole Papanyarrkal.' (Ng. T. 1:49)

This same type of appearance on stage of participants occurs in anecdotal stories as in example (2).

Instances where nominal reference does not indicate new information
There seem to be four notable instances where nominal reference does not indicate new information. These are:-

A) Repetition of the whole clause
B) Occurrence of the noun in a post-verbal position
C) A highly unusual situation
D) Final exit of the main participant

Examples are shown below.
A) Repetition of the whole clause.

Where the whole clause is repeated by way of paraphrase, or in a cause-time clause this will include the noun.

(8) Tjarungara-ngu-latju tili-rnu waru. Waru-latju
    get down-p.pf-we light-p.pf fire+abs fire+abs-we
    tili-rnu purlka-nya.
    light-p.pf big-abs

    'We got down and lit a fire. We lit a big fire.'
Participant identification and reference

(9) Ka waru mungarturri-ngu. Waru mungarturri-nyangka-litju
&.ds fire+abs go out-p.pf fire+abs go out-pf.ct.ds-we two
nyina-rra kuli-rnu.
sit-pr.pt think-p.pf

'And the fire went out. When the fire went out we sat and thought.' (Ng. T. 14:80)

(Examples 8 and 9 are not related. They are from different stories.)

B) Occurrence of the noun in a post verbal position.

When the noun occurs in the post-verbal position, this usually indicates that it is old information. The normal word order in Ngaanyatjarra is AOV. The occurrence of either subject or object NPs after the verb often indicates a kind of afterthought, as if the speaker suddenly feels that the hearer may not remember who the referent is.

(10) Ka-ya tirtu wana-rayintja warrmarla pirni-lu.
&.ds-they still follow-p.ipf.ext avenger many-erg

'And the avengers were still following them.' (Ng. T. 6:8)

In this example the occurrence of the pronoun enclitic -ya 'they plural' is really sufficient to identify the avengers as distinct from the couple they were pursuing who are consistently identified by -pula 'they two'. However the noun phrase occurs also, probably for clarification.

C) A highly unusual situation.

In a highly unusual situation the noun may occur presumably for clarification. In example (11) the unusual request was made as the young men were playfully spearing anthills while they were waiting for the wild-cat to cook. It is because it is unusual that the sentence doesn't stop at 'And I speared (it)', but continues on 'the wild-cat as it was lying there cooking.'
Participant identification and reference


'We playfully speared and (somebody) said "Who will spear the wildcat?" And I speared the wildcat as it was lying there cooking.' (Ng. T. 14:98)

D) Final exit of a main participant.

In example (12) the noun occurs to mark the final exit of a main participant. After the woman had been hit on the head by her daughter she turns into a rock.


become rock-p.pf

'The woman hurried around and crouched down, crouched there and became a rock.' (Ng. T. 5:20)

2.1.2 Old (or given) information and zero anaphora

Given NPs tend not to occur at all provided the reference is clear, that is there is no other referent in the immediate environment which could cause confusion.


see-p.pf-we " -in rabbit+abs crouch-p.ipf

Ka ngaratju-ralpi Tommy-lu tjutupu-ngu &.ds stop-p.pt " -erg shoot-p.pf
Participant identification and reference

mistingma-nu-partu. Ka Howard-tu makukurraa-rnu
miss-p.pf-but &.ds run-p.pf

tjulya-lkitja. Ka katurri-ngkula kukurraa-rnu.
catch-pur.ss &.ds get up-p.pt run-p.pf

'In the light we saw a rabbit crouching. And having stopped
(the truck) Tommy shot it, but missed. And Howard ran to catch it.
But having got up it ran away.'

In this example the rabbit is the object of 'shot', 'missed'
'to catch', and the subject of 'got up' and 'ran away'.

In example (14) raapita maru-maru 'the black rabbit' is the object
of eight verbs in four sentences other than the one in which it occurs.

(14) Ninti-rnu-rna katurri-ngu raapita maru-maru
give-p.pf-I get up-p.pf rabbit black+abs
kati-nytja. Kati-ngu-rna parrakati-ngu shop-ngka
bring-p.reg bring-p.pf-I bring around-p.pf " -at
ngara-lanyangka ninti-rnu. Nyangka nya-ngu wanti-ngu
stand-ipf.ct.ds give-p.pf &.ds see-p.pf leave-p.pf
papa maru-kukantja-lu. Ka-rna wanti-ngu ninti-rnu
dog black-mt.erg &.ds-I leave-p.pf give-p.pf
minyma-ku, nyangka pu-ngu kutju-lu nga-langu.
woman-for &.ds hit-p.pf one-erg eat-p.pf

'I got up and brought the black rabbit and gave it. I brought it
and took it around and gave it to him while he was standing at the shop.
But he looked at it and left it mistakenly thinking it was a black dog.
So I left it and gave it to the women and one killed it and ate it.'

This phenomenon of non-occurrence of given NPs is very similar to
Dyirbal topic chains (Dixon 1972:71ff). Notice that in examples (13)
and (14) the NP referred to is in S or O function which is a necessary
Participant identification and reference

condition for Dyirbal topic chains. But this is not a necessary
condition for deletion of given NPs in Ngaanyatjarra as shown in
examples (15) and (16) where NPs in A function are deleted. These
examples also show that the deletion of NPs may apply to human referents
also.

(15) Mr Kinninmonth-tju watja-rnu Thomas-nga-pulanya Paul-nga
    " -erg say-p.pf " -abs-them two " -abs
    Wingkilina-ku kutitja-tjaku. Ka³ watja-rnu Sunday
    " -to go-p.pf &.ds say-p.pf "
    katikitja-lu. Ka-latju mapitja-ngu ngarri-ngu
    bring-p.pf &.ds go-p.pf lie-p.pf
    katurri-ngu tjiirntu-ngka nyina-ngu nya-ngu wirrtja-ntja.⁴
    get up-p.pf day-on sit-p.pf see-p.pf come quickly-pf.sc
    Pitja-ngu-lanyatju tatitju-nu. Mantji-rnu-lta-lanyatju
    come-p.pf-us put on-p.pf get-p.pf-cl-us
    mawirrtja-rnu.
    go quickly-p.pf

'Mr Kinninmonth said that Thomas and Paul were to go to Wingkilina.
He said he would bring us on Sunday. So we went and slept the night and
in the morning sat for a while and saw him come. He came and picked us
up. He got us and went off quickly.' (Ng. T. 4:1-4)

Once again reference extends over four sentences.

3. According to the rule I have formulated in section 2.4.1.4.1 this
instance of ka would be an error. However there is a possibility
that ka is always used following indirect speech as well as following
direct speech.

4. The form wirrtjantja could be either a past regressive or a perfective
sensory complement. I take it here to be a sensory complement since
the subject of the next sentence is Mr Kinninmonth (since 'he picked us
up') without any switch-reference conjunction as described in
section 2.4.1.3.
Participant identification and reference

There are some cases where the given NP does not occur and the referent is not in the immediate context at all. In such a case the hearer is expected to be able to deduce the referent from the general context.

(16) Pitja-anu-latju nya-ngu nganurti-pula kutjarra
    come-p.pf.ext see-p.pf turkey-they two two+abs
    ngara-la. Ka ngaratju-nu nganurti kutjarra-nya-rtu
    stand-pr &.ds stop-p.pf turkey two-def.abs-emph
    tjutupu-ngu.
    shoot-p.pf

'Ve came along and saw two turkeys standing (there). And he (Tommy) stopped (the truck) and shot the two turkeys.'

Here we would presume that it is Tommy who stopped the truck and shot the turkeys since it is his truck (this was stated at the beginning of the story), and he was the one who was driving and who shot the rabbit and the dingo just previously. (In this example the given NP does occur since it is also definite and emphatic.)

The fact that given NPs do not occur seems to agree with Chafe's assertion that given information is conveyed in a weaker and more attenuated manner. This non-occurrence would seem to be similar to the pronominalisation of given information in English, whereas the occurrence of given NPs in post verbal position is possibly similar to given information pronounced with lower pitch and weaker stress in English.

2.1.3 Markers of definiteness

Chafe (1976:39) feels that identifiable might be a better term than definite. "It is therefore of some interest in the communicative situation whether I think you already know and can identify the particular referent I have in mind. If I think you can, I will give this
Participant identification and reference

item the status of definite. The assumption in this case is not just
'I assume you already know this referent,' but also 'I assume you can
pick out, from all the referents that might be categorized in this way,
the one I have in mind.' Thus identifiable would be a better term than
definite, but again we are stuck with the traditional label."

Chafe goes on to mention five factors which may establish
definiteness.

1) a unique referent e.g. the sun.
2) a referent unique in its context, e.g. the blackboard in the class­
room, the dog in the family.
3) prior mention in discourse.
4) modifiers which may cause the referent to be identifiable.
5) one particular which may entail another e.g. the kitchen of the
house.

What is the correlation between definiteness and given? Chafe
(1976:42.43) says "There is a strong tendency for indefiniteness and new­
ness to go together." For "items that are definite, there is no reason
why they cannot be either given or new. Definiteness and givenness often
go together." "But certainly it is common enough to find sentences like
I talked with the carpenter yesterday, where he is both definite and
new. In such cases the definiteness is established on some other basis
than immediately prior mention, which would create givenness as well."

"In summary, of the four possible combinations the following three
are all quite common: indefinite and new; definite and new, definite
and given. The fourth combination, indefinite and given, may be found
only when the referent in question is different from the referent which
established the givenness."

In Ngaanyatjarra there are three markers of definiteness:

1) the anaphoric demonstrative palunya--,
Participant identification and reference

2) the suffix -mirntany-

3) the suffix -nya ~ -nga

2.1.3.1 The anaphoric demonstrative palunya-

There are five demonstrative stems in Ngaanyatjarra, the first four indicating location in relation to speaker and addressee, and the fifth being anaphoric. These are:

ngaa- this (near speaker)
pala- that (mid-distant or nearer addressee than speaker)
nyarra-/tjii- that (distant from both addressee and speaker)\(^5\)
palunya- that (previously referred to)

Apart from ngaanya which occurs frequently in expository and hortatory text and which in such cases appears to have a contrastive function, the first four are mainly exophoric (referring outside the text). When they do occur in text they are accompanied by gestures and can only be understood in relation to these gestures.

However palunya- is clearly endophoric (referring within the text) and occurs commonly in text. It seems to occur to re-activate given NPs. In the nganurti story (Ngaanyatjarra Texts. Item I), the nganurti is re-identified by palunya(nya) four times during the story. At each point there seems a good reason for re-identification. The first of these is example (5). At this point in the story he separates himself from the group he was with, which explains the need for re-identification.

In example (17) he is also re-identified. This follows straight on from a section which was rather ambiguous.

---

5. There is no difference in the meaning of nyarra- and tjii-. Ken Hansen (p.c.) has suggested that tjii- is a loan from English 'there'.

Participant identification and reference

(17) Parna rulyupu-ngkunyangka tarrka kartati-ngu
ground+abs hit-pf.ct.ds bone+abs break-p.pf
kunpu-kunpu. Wati palunya-nya katurri-ngkula
for no reason man that-abs get up-pr.pt
paalyuti-ngkulanytja.
fall-p.ipf

'When the ground was hit, the bone broke for no reason at all.
That man was getting up and falling down.' (Ng. T. 1:18)

In example (18) the nganurti is again identified by palunya-.

(18) Ka-ya waalkarra-rnu nya-ngu, "Muntá palunya6 ngaa
&.ds-they emerge-p.pf see-p.pf oh that here
nyina-rra mulyartarri-ngu palunyalu."
sit-pr steal-p.pf and

'And they emerged and saw, "Oh here he is, sitting, having stolen
the fire."' (Ng. T. 1:28)

In this example palunya- is not linked with a noun but refers to
the expression mulyartarringu palunyalu 'the one who stole' or 'having
stolen it'.

This construction whereby the temporal order of events is reversed
is fairly common. The connective palunyalu 'and.ss' occurring sentence
final seems to be the indicator that the verb which precedes it is not

6. There are three circumstances under which demonstratives occur
without case marking. 1) In fast speech palunya- may occur without
the absolutive -nya. Editors usually put the -nya on when editing.
2) Case marking is omitted from demonstratives when non-final in
phrases and relative clauses. Wati tjii kutjupalu katingu. 'That
other man there brought it.' Tjilku tjii mungangka yularranytjala...
'(talked) to the child who was crying in the night.' 3) Following
perception verbs the exophoric demonstratives occur in their
locative function without the usual locative marker -tja. In example
example (18) ngaa occurs unsuffixed in this way. It is probably the
first reason that accounts for the lack of suffixation on palunya.
participant identification and reference

to be understood as temporally following the verb which precedes it.
That is, the actual order of events in (18) is mulyartarringu palunyalu
nyinarra 'stole and is sitting'.

In example (19) the large group who were trying to regain the fire
have become reduced to two, so it seems necessary to again give specific
identification of the nganurti.

(19) Ka-pula Kutjarra marlartarri- ngu
&.ds-they two two+abs become left alone-p.pf
nyina-rranyangka katurri-ngkula tjawa-rnu kutipitja-ngu
sit- ipf.ct.ds get up-p.pt dig-p.pf go-p.pf
nganurti palunya- nya.
turkey that-abs

'And when two stayed where they were left sitting alone, that
turkey got up and went away quickly.' (Ng. T. 1:47)

In text palunya- commonly functions as an attributive to a noun
head as in examples 5, 17 and 19. However it may occur without a noun
head as in (18).

It would also seem that in conversational situations where the
identity of the head noun can be seen by speaker and hearers, it is
more common for all the demonstratives to occur without head nouns as
in (20) below.

(20) Watja-la-lanyatju. Nyaa-tjanu nyarra- nya mayula-rrayirni?
tell-imp.pf-us what-from that-abs cry away-pr.ext

'Tell us. Why is that (woman) crying as she goes away?'

7. Tjawarnu kutipitjangu (lit. dug went) is an idiomatic expression
meaning 'went quickly'.
Participant identification and reference

Outside of text palunya (unsuffixed) can be used to refer to anything which the speaker assumes to be understood by the hearer. My favourite example of this concerns the man who after an absence from the settlement of approximately ten weeks came along and simply said, "Palunya?" which meant 'What happened about that thing we agreed on before I went away?'

As well as common NP case-marking such as ergative, absolutive, and genitive palunya- also occurs with almost every suffix that occurs with nouns.

- palunyakutu 'to that one', 'to that place'
- palunyanguru 'from that one', 'from that place', 'as a result of that'
- palunyatjanu 'after that', 'as a result of that'
- palunyakurtarra 'lest that (happen)'
- palunyangka 'at that time', 'at that place', 'because of that'
- palunyapiinypa 'like that'
- palunyapiinymanu 'made it like that'
- palunyapiinyarriingu 'became like that'
- palunyakitja 'in order to get that'
- palunyatjirratja 'being deprived of that'
- palunyawana 'by way of that place'
- palunyatjarra 'having that', 'at that time'
- palunyakukantja 'mistakenly thinking that'
- palunyartarra 'that also'
- palunyalamartatji 'from that place'

Many of these uses are cases of extended reference (Halliday & Hasan 1976:52).

2.1.3.2 The suffix -mirntany-

The suffix -mirntanynga (as it commonly occurs in absolutive case) usually marks one member of a pair that has been previously introduced.
Participant identification and reference

'Two brothers', kurta-rarra may be later separately referred to as kurta-mirntany-nga 'the elder brother' or marlany-mirntany-nga 'the younger brother'. Two children introduced as tjilku kutjarra may be later separately referred to as kungka-mirntany-nga 'the girl' or minarli-mirntany-nga 'the boy'. A man and his wife introduced as kurri-rarra may be later separately referred to as wati-mirntany-nga or minyma-mirntany-nga 'the man' or 'the woman'.

The suffix -mirntany- may occur with either absolutive or ergative case.

(21) Ka marlany-mirntany-tju puru katurri-ngu
    &.ds younger brother-def-erg again get up-p.pf
    tjilturru-nkukitja-lu.
    spear-pur.ss.pf-erg

'And the younger brother got up again to spear him.' (Ng. T. 11:54)

(22) Ka minarli-mirntany-nga tjulya-rnu kuultju-nkunyangka
    &.ds boy-def-abs catch-p.pf swallow-pf.ct.ds
    kungka parrawirrtja-rnu kumpi-ralpi
    girl+abs go around quickly-p.pf hide-p.pt
    nyina-rra yapurri-ngu.
    sit-pr.pt become rock-p.pf

'And when the boy was caught and swallowed the girl went quickly around and having hid, sitting there became a rock.' (Ng. T. 5:29)

It would appear from example (22) and (23) that when the two members of the pair are referred to in the same sentence, only one is suffixed with -mirntany-.
Participant identification and reference

(23) Ka piwarraa-ralpi tjilturru-nu kurta-rtu
&d s blunder-p.pt spear-p.pf elder brother-emph
marlany-mirntany-tju.
younger brother-def-erg

'But the younger brother blundered and speared the elder brother.'
(Ng. T. 11:56)

In the Ngaanyatjarra Texts there is one example (12:24) where a man is referred to as wati-mirntany-nga who has not been previously introduced as a member of a pair. However it does seem that the man is here being contrasted with the emu which he has been chasing for some time. The actions of both the man and the emu have been described in considerable detail.

The use of -mirntanynga with for example, wati identifies 'the man' as opposed to some other category of participant who could be described by a noun, whereas wati palunyanya identifies a man previously mentioned from any other man we might consider. That is, watimirntanynga identifies 'the man' as opposed to 'the woman' or 'the emu', while wati palunyanya identifies 'that man' (previously mentioned) as opposed to some other man.

2.1.3.3 The suffix -nya ~ -nga

The suffix -nya and its allomorph -nga have seven functions all of which are inherently identifiable (definite).

1. Marking absolutive case on Proper nouns (Glass & Hackett: 1970, 34 chart IX)
2. Marking absolutive case on the definite interrogative (Glass & Hackett: 1970, 34, 53)
3. Marking accusative case on 1st and 2nd person pronouns (Glass & Hackett: 1970, 49)
Participant identification and reference

4. Marking absolutive case on demonstratives (Glass & Hackett: 1970, 50)

5. Marking absolutive case on relative and nominalised clauses and sentences in some instances (Glass & Hackett: 1970, 100)

6. Suffixed to a proper name or relationship term which is called out in a type of joyful greeting (warlkuntja)

7. Marking a noun or adjective (whose normal absolutive case is zero) as definite.

Before discussing this latter usage in some detail, I shall briefly discuss definite interrogatives and joyful greetings.

The definite interrogative (interrogative name in our earlier grammar p.34, 53) is ngana- 'who', 'what place'. I have called it definite because the reply is expected to be the name of a person or place or if not, a definite specification thereof. It is a request for definite information. Dixon (1977: 182-184) has described similar interrogatives for Yidiny as indefinite/interrogatives. He claims that the interrogative in most or all other Australian languages has this indefinite as well as interrogative sense. "Speakers of Australian languages usually consider vagueness to be a social fault, so that it is not unnatural for any indefinite specification to, at the same time, enquire for definite information about what is being referred to."

Examples such as (24) below are frequent in Ngaanyatjarra text.

(24) Ka-ya wantingu wirulyma-rayirnu ngana-nya &.ds-they leave-p pf smooth-p pf.ext what place-abs
kapi Tuunparra-nya.
water " -abs

'And they left (there) and smoothed out that place -- what was its
Participant identification and reference

name? -- Oh yes, the water-hole Tuunparra.' (Ng. T. 6:10)

In these situations in Ngaanyatjarra it appears to be very important that the name be supplied. I have heard a speaker who after asking ngananya? and being unable to supply the name from her own mind just kept on asking ngananya? until someone in the audience supplied the name.

Therefore because it is a request for definite information I prefer to call it a definite interrogative.

It seems that Ngaanyatjarra is unusual for an Australian language in that this form doesn't seem to have an indefinite as well as an interrogative sense. Joyce Hudson (p.c.) reports cognate forms for Walmatjari:- ngana 'who', 'what', ngana-partu 'anykind', ngana-wurti 'whoever', 'anyone', and nganayi '—er' as a hesitation morpheme in discourse.

In joyful greetings the speaker is saying "This is someone that I recognize as....." The person is known, thought to be known, or pretended to be known by the speaker, even though the person may not be identifiable to the hearer in terms of prior mention in the text. Note that this is different from the vocative, the purpose of which is to attract the addressee's attention and has zero suffixation. Examples (25) and (26) are examples of greetings. Example (27) is a vocative.

(25) "Rhoda-nya! Rhoda-nya! watja-watja-ra
" -rec " -rec speak quickly-pr.pt
warlku-ranytja-mpanyu. Rhoda-nya nya-ngu
call out joyfully-p.ipf-take note " -abs see-p.pf
pukurlarri-ngkulalpi
rejoice-p.pt
Participant identification and reference

Carol-ta tjakultju-ranytja "Rhoda-nya-nyu pitja-ngu."

"-I.O. report-p.ipf " -abs-quo come-p.pf

"It's Rhoda! It's Rhoda!" he was speaking very fast and calling out joyfully (take note). He saw Rhoda and having rejoiced was reporting to Carol, "Rhoda has come."

(26) Ka-ya kutjupa-lu pitja-la tjamu-nya warlku-ranyangka
&.ds-they other-erg come-pr.pt grandson-rec call out-ipf.ct.ds
tjamu-nya warlku-ranytja.
grandfather-rec call out-p.ipf

'And when others came and were calling out "It's grandson" he was calling out "It's grandfather."' (Ng. T. 1:13)

(27) Ka Howard-tu watja-rnu, "Kawiny! Watiwirrtja-la
&.ds " -erg say-p.pf " +voc come across quickly-imp.pf
kaninytjarra tjarrpa."
inside enter+imp.pf

'And Howard said, "Kawiny, come across quickly and get inside."'

There are instances where -nya or -nga marks a noun or adjective (whose normal absolutive case is zero) as definite. This is definite (identifiable) either from the text or situation or knowledge of the culture.

(28) Ka pitja-ngu nya-ngu "Ngaa-nya walykumunu ngara-lanyangka
&.ds come-p.pf see-p.pf this-abs good stand-ipf.ct.ds
nyarra-nya palyamunu ngara-la." Ka walykumunu
that-abs bad stand-pr &.ds good
wanti-rralpi palyamunu-nya nga-langu.
leave-p.pt bad-def.abs eat-p.pf
Participant identification and reference

'And (the turkey) came and saw "While this is good fruit here, that is bad." And leaving the good he ate the bad.' (Ng. T. 11:63)

(29) Ka-pula tjilku kutjarra-nya wanti-rra kutipitja-ngu.
&.ds-they two child two-def.abs leave-p.pt go-p.pf

'And those two children having left (the place where their mother died) went away.' (Ng. T. 5:21)

In example (29) the -nya has the function of identifying the children as those the mother was previously taking with her.

In both examples (28) and (29) the -nya may also have the function of identifying the participant or prop that is now of importance to the narrative. In (28) 'the bad' is perhaps of more importance to the story than 'the good' since it was the bad fruit that the turkey ate. In (29) the children now become the central participants in the story, since the mother who was formerly the central participant has now died.

The suffix -nya occurs as the absolutive with several adjectives with considerable frequency. These are pirni 'many', kutjupa 'other' and kutjupatjarra 'some'.

There are certain examples where the referent is definite in terms of one's knowledge of Ngaanyatjarra culture and customs. Example (30) occurs at the end of an account of burial customs.

(30) Palunyalu-ya ngarri-ku katurri-ngkulalpi
&.ss-they lie-c.pf get up-p.pt
yunguntjarra warntu pirni-nya payima-lku.
morning clothes many-def.abs pay-c.pf

'And then they would sleep and having got up the next morning would give the clothes.' (Ng. T. 8:22)
Participant identification and reference

In this context 'the clothes' are definite, i.e. identifiable as the clothes which are always given by the mourners to those who have performed the burial.

In example (31) 'the rubbish' and 'the good seed' are seen as definite in the context of separating seed from husks.

(31) Kati-ku-ya karni-lku-lta-ya karnil-ta
bring-c.pf-they yandy-c.pf-then-they yandying bowl-in
wirra-ngka-rtarra karni-ra tjuti-rayilku
digging bowl-in-also yandy-pr.pt pour-c.pf.ext
rubbishpa pirni-nya tjuti-lku. Palunyalu-ya
" many-def.abs pour.c.pf &.ss-they
yurninypa pirni-nya walykumunu tju-nku
seed many-def.abs good put-c.pf
piti-ngka karnil-ta-rtarra tju-nku.
carrying bowl-in yandying bowl-in-also put-c.pf

'They would bring it and yandy it in a yandying bowl or a digging bowl. Having yandied it they would pour out all the rubbish. And then they would put all the good seed in a carrying bowl or a yandying bowl.'
(Ng. T. 7:20,21)

With both kutjupa 'other' and kutjupatjarra 'some' there may seem to be some conflict, since the basic meaning of kutjupa 'other, 'another' and kutjupatjarra 'some' may seem to be indefinite. However 'the other one' or 'the others' can be definite especially where two people or things, or two groups of people or things are under consideration.

8. Yandy = to shake in a shallow dish in order to separate two substances such as seed from husks.
Participant identification and reference

(32) Marlu purlka-nya-pula kati-nytja. kutju-lu
kangaroo big-abs-they two bring-p.reg one-erg
kati-rrayintja. Ka kutjupa-nya maralpa pitja-yintja
bring-p.ipf.ext &.ds other-def.abs without come-p.ipf.ext
kurrurnpa palyamunurri-ngkunyangka.
spirit-abs become bad-pf.ct.ds
'They two brought a big kangaroo. That is, one was bringing it
along. For the other one came with nothing because he was feeling sick.'
(Ng. T. 9:51, 52)

Here 'the other one' is identified by 'because his spirit had
become bad' as the one whom we are told earlier in the text has almost
died.

Where kutjupanya occurs alone without a noun head it usually means
'another of those same things that have been mentioned.' Thus in
example (33) kutjupanya refers to 'another honey-ants' hole'.

(33) Ngalangu katurri-ngu puru mawana-yirnu mawana-rnu
eat-p.pf get up-p.pf again follow-p.pf.ext follows-p.pf.ext
nya-ngu puru kutjupa-nya patja-ranytja.
see-p.pf again another-abs bite-sc
'She ate and got up and again followed along, followed and saw yet
another (honey ants' hole) biting.' (Ng. T. 5:6)

Most of the occurrences of kutjupatjarranya 'the others' can be
seen to be definite.

(34) Tiwa-ngkatja-ya tjilturru-ra kati-rrayntja.
far-from-they spear-p.pt bring-p.ipf
Kutjupatjarra-nya-ya ngamu-ngkatja wiyarri-ngu palunya-ngka.
others-def.abs-they near-from disappear-p.pf that-because
Participant identification and reference

'They were spearing them from a long way away. The others from near by had all disappeared, that's why.' (Ng. T. 12:7)

With purlkanya 'big', -nya is the normal and only form of the absolutive for Ngaanyatjarra. This contrasts with Pitjanytjatjarra where the absolutive is zero and also with a north-westerly dialect of Ngaanyatjarra where -nya has become part of the stem. 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Abs</th>
<th>Erg</th>
<th>Dat/All/Pur</th>
<th>Loc</th>
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<td>Pitjanytjatjarra</td>
<td>purlka-</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>-ngku -ku</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td>purlka-</td>
<td>-nya -lu -ku</td>
<td>-1a T.Murray</td>
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<td>purlka-</td>
<td>-nya -lu -ku</td>
<td>-ngka some others</td>
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<td>purlkanya-</td>
<td>-nya -lu -ku</td>
<td>-ngka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are a couple of examples where Thomas Murray uses purlkanya as the stem before an allative or purposive -ku.

2.2 Pronoun enclitics

Generally speaking we understand pronouns to be words that take the place of nouns and therefore have anaphoric or cataphoric reference. This of course is only true of third person pronouns as is pointed out by Halliday and Hasan (1976:48).

"There is a distinction to be made, however, between the speech roles (first and second person) and the other roles (third person). Only the third person is inherently cohesive, in that a third person form typically refers anaphorically to a preceding item in the text. First

9. It could be that this is the beginning of a change whereby -nya will become part of the stem of a number of adjectives. Perhaps this has already happened with palunya-. Some dialects of Western Desert have palu as a third person singular pronoun stem.
Participant identification and reference

and second person forms do not normally refer to the text at all; their referents are defined by the speech roles of speaker and hearer, and hence they are normally interpreted exophorically by reference to the situation."

In Ngaanyatjarra the only free-form pronouns are 1st and 2nd person. There is however a full set of what are usually termed pronoun enclitics. These pronoun enclitics are attached to the first word of the sentence and the subject ones are obligatory to the sentence. The question is are they really pronominal, having anaphoric or cataphoric reference to a noun somewhere in the text, or are they simply person and number markers which are attached not to the verb but to the first word of the sentence?

I prefer to regard them as person-number markers. The subject enclitics, Ø, -pula and -ya for third person, are obligatory to every sentence whether or not there are noun subject NPs, thus making the question of whether there is anaphoric or cataphoric reference irrelevant. See example (3).

However these subject enclitics play an important part in the identification of participants. In the text A Revenge Expedition from Patjarr to Kaarnka the participants are identified early in the story by full NPs.

(35) Ka-pula kurri-rarra pitja-yintja kayili-nguru.
   &.ds-they two spouse-coup come-p.ipf.ext north-from
   'And a man and his wife were coming from the north.' (Ng. T. 6:1)

(36) Ka-ya wati warrmarla pirni-lu-ya pitja-ngu yangatju-nu.
   &.ds-they man avenger many-erg-they come-p.pf close in-p.pf
   'And the many avenging men came and closed in.' (Ng. T. 6:4)
Participant identification and reference

From then on throughout the story the two groups are identified mainly by the enclitics -pula and -ya.

The referents of the subject enclitics are usually animate but there are examples where they refer to inanimates. In example (37) the second instance of -ya refers to rock-holes.

(37) Tjawa-rnu-ya tali parnta-ngka. Pirti ngara-la dig-p.pf-they sandhill base-at hole+abs stand-pr pulpa. tjukula pirni-ya ngara-la-warni. cave small hole many-they stand-pr-dis

'They dug at the base of the sandhills. There is a hole there in rock. There are lots of little rock-holes all around.' (Ng. T. 5:9)

The object enclitics (3rd person -lu, -pulanya and -tjananya) are not obligatory. They appear to have only human referents. The third person singular object enclitic -lu appears to be somewhat more restricted in usage than -pulanya and -tjananya. It seems that -lu refers only to definite human referents. It most commonly occurs following a proper name in object position, although it does not seem to be obligatory in such situations. Compare examples (38) with -lu and (39) without -lu.

(38) Ka-latju nyina-ngu nya-ngu plane-pa pitja-ngu. &.ds-we sit-p.pf see-p.pf "-abs come-p.pf

Ka Donnegan-nga-lu kutikati-ngu. &.ds "-abs-him take-p.pf

'And we sat and saw a plane come. And Donnegan was taken away.' (Ng. T. 4:33)
Participant identification and reference

(39) Ka Maureen-tu wirrtja-rnu yampu-rnu Vincent-nga
6.ds " -erg come quickly-p.pf pick up-p.pf " -abs
parratja-ngu nyina-rrantja.
come around-p.pf sit-p.ipf
'And Maureen came quickly and picked up Vincent, and came around
and was sitting there.' (Ng. T. 4:42)

The plural and dual object enclitics -tjananya and -pulanya some­
times occur with specific referents and sometimes without.

(40) Kutikati-ngu-tjananya Rogey-lu nintitju-rnantja
take-p.pf-them " -erg show-p.ipf
Thomas-nga Paul-nga.
" -abs " -abs
'Rogey took them, Paul and Thomas and was showing them.'
(Ng. T. 4:14)

In example (40) it may have been an afterthought to add the names
of Thomas and Paul. However the plural form indicates that there were
more than Thomas and Paul who were shown.

In example (41) -tjananya refers back to the 'they' -ya, of the
previous sentence, but the noun reference is found only at the beginning
of the story.

(41) Ka-ya nyina-rra rulyupu-ngama mirrka. Ka-tjananya
6.ds sit-pr.pt grind-c.ipf food+abs &.ds-them
mirrka nga-lkukita-lu wana-nma.
food+abs eat-pf.pur.ss-erg follow-c.ipf
'And they would sit grinding food. And he would follow them so
that he could eat food.' (Ng. T. 13:10)
Participant identification and reference

The third person possessive or dative enclitics (-nku, -ra, -pulampa, -tjanampa) may sometimes occur with specific referents and sometimes without.

(42) Ka tjawa-rnu nga-lkula-pulampa wirta tjuulypu-ngkula &.ds dig-p.pf eat-pr.pt-for them two saliva+abs spit-pr.pt ninti-lpayi.
give-hab
'And (the mother) dug and eating (the honey herself) she used to spit out the saliva and give it to the two (children).' (Ng. T. 5:7)

child two-for
'And she dug and ate and gave some to the two children.' (Ng. T. 5:12)

In example (42) -pulampa is anaphoric referring back over seven sentences to the first (and to that stage only) mention of the two children. However in example (43) -pulampa has explicit reference to the two children in the same sentence.

2.3 The switch-reference system

There has recently come to be quite a lot of interest in the subject of switch-reference, as more and more languages from out of the way parts of the world have been found to have phenomena of this kind. Many of those who have written on this subject have taken as their definition that of Jacobsen (1967). However Jacobsen did not intend this to be a universal definition - but simply a definition of the facts he was describing for three Hokan-Coahuiltecan languages, Washo, Kashaya and
Participant identification and reference

Tonkawa.

"We are now ready for an explanation of what I mean by 'switch-reference' in the languages under consideration. It consists simply in the fact that a switch in subject or agent, of the sort that has been exemplified, is obligatorily indicated in certain situations by a morpheme, usually suffixed, which may or may not carry other meanings in addition." (Jacobsen 1967:240)

This however is quite a useful definition and will serve as the basis for our discussions of switch-reference in Ngaanyatjarra.

In Ngaanyatjarra switch-reference encodes change of subject. Subject here is understood in the traditional sense as either an A (Transitive Subject) or S (Intransitive Subject) NP.

2.3.1 Switch-reference with subordinate clauses

As in the Hokan-Coahuiltecan languages, switch-reference in Ngaanyatjarra is found on certain subordinate clauses and between clauses.

On subordinate clauses switch-reference operates on clauses encoding purpose and cause-time-location as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Same subject</th>
<th>Different subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>-lkitja(lu)</td>
<td>-Itjaku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cause-time-location</td>
<td>-n(tja)tjanu(lu)</td>
<td>-nyyangka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms shown are for the 1 conjugation. The -tja before the -tjanu is optional. It appears to be in the process of being dropped.

The same subject suffixes are also marked by -lu or zero to agree with the matrix clause for transitivity.

There is a great deal that could be said about the switch and coreference forms on these subordinate clauses. However I will not discuss them further in this thesis, except as they affect the tracing of participants through text. See section 2.4.1.2.
2.3.2 Switch-reference between independent clauses and sentences

Although switch-reference markers between sentences are not usually found in the New Guinea Highlands, where many languages have switch-reference markers on what are usually known as medial verbs, they are found in Hokan-Coahuiltecan. "The other main situation in which the switch is signaled is between sentences. In this case the switch morpheme is suffixed to a sentence -particle stem which begins the second sentence and which has anaphoric reference to the first sentence." (Jacobsen 1967:241)

In Ngaanyatjarra the most commonly used conjunctions as well as indicating conjunctive relations indicate switch or co-reference.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Different Subject</th>
<th>Same Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka / nyangka</td>
<td>palunyalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'and'</td>
<td>'and then'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palunyangka</td>
<td>palunyatjanu(lu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'because of that' /</td>
<td>'after that' /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'at that time'</td>
<td>'as a result of that'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

McGregor (1980: 17,30) implies that the occurrence of ka / nyangka in Ngaanyatjarra does not meet with Jacobsen's definition since there are a high percentage of occurrences of ka and nyangka which "do not satisfy the condition of non-coreferentiality of subjects." He also states that there are many instances where there are changes of subject that are not indicated by ka or nyangka.

However Jacobsen's definition states "is obligatorily indicated in certain situations by a morpheme..." Much hinges on the phrase "in certain situations" and in section 2.4 I will discuss the situations in which switch-reference is indicated by ka or nyangka and the situations in which it is not. In particular section 2.4.2 deals with apparent changes which are not marked, while section 2.4.3 deals with instances of ka and nyangka which do not mark non-coreferentiality with the
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previous clause.

2.3.2.1 *Ka* and *nyangka*

*Ka* is a shortened form of *nyangka* and there is no difference in the occurrence. Certain speakers may have a preference for one or the other but usually do not use one to the exclusion of the other. In a sense it is the unmarked relation lacking the strong logical connection of *palunyangka* 'because of that', 'at that time'.

(44) *Ka*-pula **paa-rnu-pula** marlu ninti-rnu. *Ka*
   &.ds-they two **cook-p.pf-they two kangaroo+abs give-p.pf** &.ds mantji-rnu mutulya kawu-kawu-kawurtja-nu wiya-rnu.
   **get-p.pf** back+abs **crunch up-p.pf** **finish-p.pf**
   'And they two cooked the kangaroo and gave it to him. And he got it and crunched up the back bone and finished it.' (Ng. T. 11:41)

(45) Ngurri-rayirnu-latju, *ka*-lanyatju **nyiimarra-lu** pitja-ngu
   search-p.pf.ext-we &.ds-us **lightning-erg come-p.pf**
   rulyupu-ngkulayirnu.
   **strike-p.pf.ext**
   'We searched for some time, and then lightning came and was striking around us for some time.' (Ng. T. 9:13)

(46) Don-nga 'Arolng-nga ngayu-lu-latju kutipitja-ngu
   " -abs " -abs I-nom-we **go-p.pf**
   marlu-ku. *Ka*-ya kutjupatjarra wati nyarratja
   kangaroo-for &.ds-they .other man+abs there
   kutipitja-ngu.
   **go-p.pf**
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'Don, Harold and I went out for kangaroo. And the others, the men, went that way.' (Ng. T. 9:2)

2.3.2.2 Palunyalu

Palunyalu has a fairly restricted usage. Since the norm of Ngaanyatjarra discourse is for same-subject strings to occur and these may be connected by verbal linkage without any conjunction as shown below, it is not necessary to use same subject conjunctions.

In order that we may contrast the use of palunyalu as a same-subject conjunction with same subject verbal linkage, I will first describe the latter phenomenon.

Verbal linkage may be of three types:

1) Repetition of a verb that refers to the same situation.

(47) Palunyalu kata-nguru tjarrpatju-nu murrutju-nu.
&.ss head-from insert-p.pf erect-p.pf
Murrutju-nu katurri-ngkula parratja-ngu tali-ngka
erect-p.pf get up-p.pt go around-p.pf sandhill-loc
parrarri nyinatingu.
beyond sit down-p.pf

'And then (the turkey) inserted (the fires) and erected them from his head. He erected them and having got up went around and sat down beyond the sandhills.' (Ng. T. 1:24)

2) Repetition of a verb so close in meaning that it can be understood from the previous one. Example (48) follows example (47) in text. Here nyinangu-nyinangu in (48) is linked to nyinatingu in (47).
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(48) Nyina-nga-nya-nya-nya-nya-nya-nya-nya-ya
sit-p.pf-sit-p.pf see-p.pf that-abs-they
waalkarra-ra pitja-nya.
emerge-p.pf come-p.pf

'He sat and sat and saw them having come into view come up.'

(Ng. T. 1:25)

This same phenomena occurs with motion verbs as in (49). This will be described in more detail in chapter 4.

(49) Ka paarrpaka-ra kutitja-nya kayili. Pitja-yirnu
&.ds fly up-p.pt go-p.pf north come-p.pf.ext
purlkawati-ya nyina-rranyangka manyinati-nya.
crowd-they sit-ipf.ct.ds sit down-p.pf

'And having flown up into the air he went north. He came along and alighted where a crowd of men were living.' (Ng. T. 1:7)

3) The simple occurrence of a verb which can be seen to be necessarily subsequent to the final verb of the previous sentence.

(50) Nyina-nya-nya-nya-nya-nya-nya-nya-ya
crouch-p.pf-crouch-p.pf get up-p.pf go-p.pf
Warungantjil-nya manyina-nya.....
" -abs sit-p.pf

'He sat and sat and crouched and crouched with no fire. He got up and went away and sat at Warungantjil.' (Ng. T. 1:5)

From the occurrences of Palunyalu in the volume Ngaanyatjarra Texts...
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it appears that Palunyalu occurs in three types of situations.
1) In close proximity to the discourse peak if there is one.
2) In descriptions of procedures where actions occur in strict sequence.
3) As a linkage device similar to that described by Thurman and Grimes
   (Grimes 1975:95).

1) The tendency of Palunyalu to occur in proximity to the discourse
peak is borne out by the fact that in anecdotal narratives Palunyalu
often doesn't occur at all. In six of the texts in this volume there
are no instances at all. Five of these texts are of the anecdotal
type.

   However in the story of the turkey, Palunyalu occurs at the point
where the turkey has gathered up all the fires and placed them on his
head.

(51) Pirni-nya-rtu-tjananya yurra-rayirnu.  Palunyalu
     many-abs-emph-them gather-ppf-ext &.ss
     karrpi-rayirnu-lta.  Palunyalu kata-nguru
     tie-ppf-ext-then &.ss head-from
     tjarrpatju-nu murrutju-nu.
     insert-ppf erect-ppf

   'He gathered up all the fires. And then he tied them up. And
then he inserted them, erected them from his head.' (Ng. T. 1:24)

In the story of the stick insect Palunyalu occurs where he has caused
his wife and numerous other people to go into a hole. He then leaves the
two children guarding the entrance to the hole while he goes off to find
a grass especially suited to smoking them out. (Ng. T. 3:22)

   In the story of the bandicoot, Palunyalu occurs at two places.
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Firstly at the initial description of the tactics of the mother in eating the sweet part of the honey-ants for herself and giving only the saliva to the children (5:7). Secondly at the final description of the mother's tactics and prior to the girl's becoming frustrated and killing her mother because of this. (5:17, 18)

In the story of famine and cannibalism **palunyalu** occurs just where the cannibal is gathering his weapons ready to kill the two young men. (11:48) It also occurs where the cannibal is on his way back to the other cannibals with the cooked bodies of the two young men. (11:59) To our eyes it is not quite so obvious that this is a climactic point.

2) **Palunyalu** also tends to occur in descriptions of procedures where actions occur in strict sequence. In *A Description of Life Before the Advent of the Whiteman* there is a description of gathering and preparation of **wangurnu** seed where 14 instances of **palunyalu** occur in fairly close succession. (7:13-25) Example (52) shows the type of occurrence in this section.

(52) **Palunyalu** yapu-ngka yatu-lku. **Palunyalu** mara-lu
&.ss rock-with pound-c.pf &.ss hand-erg
nyaa-lku tjila-lku. **Palunyalu-ya** yurra-ra
do what-c.pf do like this.c.pf &.ss-they gather-pr.pt
tju-nkulayilku.
put-c.pf.ext

'And then they would pound it with a rock. And then do it with the hand, do like this. And then gathering it up keep on putting it (in the bowl).' (Ng. T. 7:19)

3) Grimes (1975:95) refers to a distinction made by Thurman in an unpublished manuscript. "Thurman has singled out two special kinds of text relationships that deserve notice. **Linkage** is his name for a
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particular kind of anaphoric relation, and chaining for a particular kind of cataphoric relation. In a number of languages events must be linked to preceding events by a repetition of those events: They went down to the river. Having gone to the river, they entered the canoe. Having entered the canoe, they began to paddle. Having begun to paddle......"

Some of the usages of palunyalu seem to have a similar effect. However rather than the repetition of the verb in a dependent form, the independent form is repeated with palunyalu.

fire-in heat-c.pf &.ss bark shift-c.pf chip-c.pf
Yiri-lku palunyalu wayinpu-ngku. Wayinpu-ngku palunyalu
chip-c.pf &.ss smooth-c.pf smooth-c.pf &.ss
waru-ngka, waru-ngka kurlku-ngka nyiltjitju-nku paa-lku.
fire-in fire-in hot earth-in heat-c.pf heat-c.pf
'(They) would heat it in the fire and then peel off the bark and chip it. (They) would chip it and then smooth it. (They) would smooth it and then heat it in the fire, that is in the hot earth.' (Ng. T. 14:3,4)

(54) Ngarri-ngu-latju bag-tjarra-munu-ngka pulakarra
lie-p.pf-we " -having-not-because flour
mixingma-nu nyaa-ngka purli-ngka lawu ngara-lanyangka.
mix-p.pf what-on rock-on depression stand-ipf.ct.ds
Mixingma-nu palunyalu paa-rnu-latju nga-langu.
mix-p.pf &.ss cook-p.pf-we eat-p.pf
'We slept the night and because we had no bag mixed some flour on a what? on a rock where there was a depression. We mixed it and then cooked it and ate it.' (Ng. T. 15:5)

In these instances palunyalu and the verbs which precede and follow
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it all occur on the same breath group.

2.3.2.3 Palunyangka

Palunyangka as a conjunction does not occur very commonly in narrative. In the Ngaanyatjarra Texts it occurs occasionally in expository sections or those describing customs. This is because the linkage it encodes is primarily logical. We will discuss it further in the chapter on hortatory discourse.

(55) Early day tjilturruru-ranytja-ya ngaparrtjika.
" spear-p.ipf-they in return
Squarema-ranytja tjiinya. Mirri lirrirnta-nku-ya
avenge-p.ipf you know dead execute-c.pf-they
palunyangka-ya kutitja-ku tjilturruru-nku ngaparrtjika.
because of that-they go-c.pf spear-c.pf in return
Tjilturruru-nku-ya palunyangka-ya nyina-yilku-ya
spear-c.pf-they because of that-they sit-c.pf.ext-they
puru kutitja-ku-ya lirrirnta-nku.
again go-c.pf-they execute-c.pf

'In the early days they used to spear in return. They used to avenge. If they executed someone, because of that they would go and spear in return. They would spear, and because of that they would stay awhile and again go and execute someone.' (Ng. T. 10:16-18)

Notice the important switch-reference function of palunyangka in this section. The second change of subject would not necessarily take us back to the first set of participants. However the use of puru 'again' indicates that this is in fact the case. Notice also the similarity of the linkage effect of repeating the verb plus palunyangka in example (55) (Tjilturrunkuya palunyangkaya...) to the linkage effect
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of repeating the verb plus palunyalu in example (53) (Yirilku palunyalu...).  

In example (56) notice the stronger causative notion encoded in palunyangka as opposed to ka. However the causal and temporal notions are closely tied together.

(56) Nyina-yilku-ya, ka puru kapi-lu pu-ngkulayilku sit-c.pf.ext-they &.ds again water-erg hit-c.pf.ext palunyangka wangurnu puru katurri-ku. because of that seed+abs again get up-c.pf  
'They will stay a while, and again it will rain and because of that/ then the plants of the wangurnu seed will again come up.' (Ng. T. 14:48)  

In example (57) the meaning of palunyangka seems to be more temporal.

'For their sons also they would pour out and put aside the seed. When he was a big uninitiated youth they would pour the food and keep on

10. Here palunyangka shows the subject of tjulyalku is different from that of nintilku. It is partly our cultural knowledge that tells us that the subject of 'catch' is different from the subject of 'keep on putting aside', because different relatives are responsible for these activities when a boy is initiated.
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putting it aside. When he was caught (for initiation) then they would
give it to him. (They) would give him food and he would eat it.'
(Ng. T. 14:56)

2.3.2.4 Palunyatjanu

There are very few examples of palunyatjanu in the Ngaanyatjarra
Texts. Like palunyangka it encodes a logical relation which is found
more often in Hortatory Discourse. It can usually be translated 'after
that' although there is a certain amount of causality in some examples.

(58) Palunyalu karrpi-rayilku murti kampa-tjakurtarra kurli-lu
 &.ss tie-c.pf.ext knee+abs burn-lest heat-erg
burn-c.pf dry out-avers after that.ss crawl-c.pf-cl

'And he would tie (the grass) well (around his knees) lest his
knees burn, lest the heat burn them and dry them up. After that he would
then crawl.' (Ng. T. 12:18)

In this example the tying of the grass on the knees was a necessary
condition before he could crawl on the hot earth.

In example (59) linkage is achieved by repeating the verb plus
palunyatjanu as previously described with palunyalu.

(59) Nyina-yilku-ya marlaku kutitja-ku parranga-lku
sit-c.pf.ext-they back go-c.pf eat around-c.pf
wiya-ralpi. Parranga-lku-ya palunyatjanu marlaku
finish-p.pt eat around-c.pf-they and then.ss back
kutipitja-ku.
go-c.pf

'They would stay for a while and go back, having eaten around and
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finished off (the food). They would eat (the food all around the water hole) and then go back.' (Ng. T. 12:48)

2.4 Reference within the text

An examination of participant reference in Ngaanyatjarra narrative shows that it is considered important to clearly mark changes of subject and that there are ways of doing this other than the switch-reference conjunctions and subordinate clause suffixes already discussed.

I examined seven texts from the volume Ngaanyatjarra Texts, paying particular attention to how changes of subject are marked. The following is a numerical summary of the findings:

- Total number of changes of subject: 311
- Changes marked by ka or nyangka: 165
- Changes marked by palunyangka: 5
- Changes after the verb nyakunytja 'see': 59
- Changes after other perception verbs: 6
- Changes after a -nyangka clause: 25
- Changes after other subordinate clauses: 1
- Changes by repeating nyakunytja 'see': 5
- Changes with no marking: 45

In the turkey story, there were 42 instances of the use of the different subject conjunctions ka / nyangka and only three occurrences of the same subject conjunction palunyalu. However it is apparent that the switch-reference system as manifested by conjunctions between independent clauses or sentences is definitely asymmetric in signalling chiefly switch-reference.

Jacobsen (1967:241) states that one could conceive of a system that had a symbol for switch-reference, or a system which had symbols for
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both switch and co-reference, or a system which had a symbol for co-reference, "but not for switch, a switch being implied by the lack of a signal for retention in the appropriate situation."

In Ngaanyatjarra it appears that the unmarked situation is for clauses to have the same subjects and the marked situation is to have different subjects.

2.4.1 Devices marking switch-reference within the text

We shall now look in more detail at four of the most common devices showing change of subject within the text, namely:

1) The conjunctions ka and nyangka.
2) Complement clauses following the verb nyakunytja 'see'.
3) Repetition of the verb nyakunytja 'see'.
4) Subordinate clauses marked by -tjaku and -nyangka.

2.4.1.1 The conjunctions ka and nyangka

These conjunctions are the most common way of indicating change of subject. The shortened form ka seems to occur more often, although this does vary a little from speaker to speaker.

(60) Katurri-ngu mapitja-ngu Warungantjil-nga manyina-ngu.
get up-p.pf go-p.pf " -abs sit-p.pf
Mara makanyi-rnu ka kampa-ngu. Ka
hand +abs hold away-p.pf &.ds burn-p.pf &.ds
paarrpaka-ra kutitja-ngu kayili.
rise up-p.pt go-p.pf north

'He got up and went away and stayed at Warungantjil. He held out his hand and (the heat) burnt (him). And having arisen into the air he flew north.' (Ng. T. 1:6,7)
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In example (60) ka first of all occurs linking two clauses within a sentence. This is a Co-ordinate Sentence (Glass 1979:38ff). Then it occurs at the beginning of the next sentence. 11

2.4.1.2 Change following the verb nyakunytja 'see'

It may be rather unusual to regard this as a switch-reference device, since it is obvious that apart from reflexives, the subject of the complement of the verb 'see' must be different from the subject of the verb 'see'. However in Ngaanyatjarra the participant introduced and referred to in this way continues to be the subject of the next several sentences until a further change is indicated.

In (61) below, the turkey sees a stick insect digging. The stick insect is then the subject of the next two sentences until return to the turkey as subject is indicated by use of the switch-reference conjunction ka.

(61) Ka wirrtja-rnuₐ nya-nguᵢ purnurr-tu pupa-raₜ
&.ds come quickly-p.pf see-p.pf stick insect crouch-pr.pt

tjaw-a-ranytjaₐ Tjawa-rnuᵢ palunyuₐlu pupa-nguᵢ

dig-sc dig-p.pf &.ss crouch-p.pf

yirli-ku ngarrirraₜₐ pampu-ranytjaₜᵢ. testing stick-for lie-pr.pt feel-p.ipf

Mara-lu-kutju yurritjinga-raₜᵢ purtu pampu-ranytjaₜᵢ. hand-erg-only move-pr.pt in vain feel-p.ipf

11. Although a single clause may be the minimal expansion of a sentence, a more typical sentence in Ngaanyatjarra is a same subject string bounded by pause. A co-ordinate sentence consists of two clauses or sentences joined by a switch-reference conjunction usually occurring in one breath group and having a semantic relationship of cause-effect. This general working definition of the sentence in Ngaanyatjarra is in need of much more refinement. This I hope to do in a forthcoming paper.
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Ka nya-ngu₁ kutjuti-nu₁ wanti-rra₁
&.ds see-p.pf see without being seen-p.pf leave-p.pt
tjawa-rnu₁ kutipitja-ngu₁.
dig-p.pf go-p.pf

'And (the turkey)₁ came and saw a stick insect₇ bending over
digging. He₇ dug and then crouched down and was lying feeling for his₇
testing stick. He₇ was moving it with only his₇ hand as he was feeling
about in vain. And (the turkey)₁ saw him₇ without the stick insect₇
seeing him₁ and₁ having left went away quickly.' (Ng. T. 1:33-35)

In addition, even following only one clause which is the
complement of nya-ngu it is necessary to use some change of subject
indicator to change back to the subject of nya-ngu as in (62).

(62) Mawirrtja-rnu nya-ngu papa kurluny-pa pupa-rrawarninytja
go quickly-p.pf see-p.pf dog small-abs crouch-sc.dis
Papanyarrkal-ta kapi-ngka. Ka yampu-rnu....... "-at water-at &.ds picked up

'He hurried away and saw lots of little dogs crouching there at the
water-hole Papanyarrkal. He picked them up.....' (Ng. T. 1:49)

2.4.1.3 Repetition of the verb nyakuntja 'see'

Repetition of the verb nyakuntja 'see' after a complement clause
indicates a return to the previous participant. This is not a widely
used device. One example seems to indicate lack of interest in what was
seen.

(63) Watiwirrtja-rnu₁ nya-ngu₁ muungu pirni-ya
go across quickly-p.pf see-p.pf fly many-they
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nyina-rranytja, minyma muungu. Nya-ngu wanti-ngu....
sit-p.ipf woman fly see-p.pf leave-p.pf

'(The turkey) hurried across and saw many flies, women flies, sitting there. He took no notice....' (Ng. T. 1:42)

In the other instance it appears to be a device for repetition.

(64) ....yurra-ra nga-langu nya-ngu wiltja yurri-rranytja.
gather-pr.pt eat-p.pf see-p.pf shadow+abs move-p.ipf
nyina-rranyangka kutjarra-pula yurri-rra."
sit-ipf.ct.ds two-they two move-pr

'Gathering (the honey ants up) he ate them, then saw a shadow moving. He looked and moved. He saw, "I am the only one sitting here, but two (shadows) are moving."' (Ng. T. 1:59)

2.4.1.4 Subordinate clauses or sentences marked by -tjaku and -nyangka

Although purpose clauses marked by -tjaku are not particularly frequent in text, I will discuss them here because of features that they share with the -nyangka clauses. Both these clauses are truly subordinate, that is they contain background information, (time, place, cause or purpose). It is also often the case that these clauses could be lifted out without the flow of the participant reference being changed.

12. Most subordinate clauses may be expanded to 'sentences', i.e. a series of verbs, only the final one of which is suffixed with the particular subordinate clause suffix. I hope to describe these in a forthcoming paper.
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2.4.1.4.1 Subordinate clauses marked by -tjaku

Subordinate clauses marked by -tjaku indicate a purpose to be carried out by a different subject from that of the matrix clause. The next sentence usually records the carrying out of that purpose, and is introduced by a switch-reference conjunction.

(65) Ka-rni watja-rnu mantji-ltjaku-tju warntu.
&.ds-me tell-p.pf get-pur.ds.pf-my blankets+abs
Ka-rna mapitja-ngu warntu mantji-rnu.....
&.ds-I go-p.pf blanket+abs get-p.pf

'And he told me to get my blankets. And I went and got the blankets.....' (Ng. T. 2:11-12)

Thus in example (65) mantjiltjakutju warntu is truly subordinate. It could be lifted out without making any difference to the following conjunction.

2.4.1.4.2 Subordinate clauses/sentences marked by -nyangka

Subordinate clauses/sentences marked by -nyangka indicate background information (time, cause, or place) carried out by a subject other than that of the matrix clause. These 'background' clauses/sentences most frequently occur prior to the matrix clause, which may mean that they are within a sentence as in examples (66) and (67).

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13. The reason for the similarity in form of the conjunction nyangka and the subordinate clause suffix -nyangka is an interesting matter for speculation. I hope to discuss this in a forthcoming paper.
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(66) Pitja-yirnu purlkawati-ya nyina-rranyangka\textsuperscript{14} manyinati-ngu.

come-p.pf.ext crowd-they sit-ipf.ct.ds sit down-p.pf

'(The turkey) came along and sat down where a big crowd was sitting.' (Ng. T. 1:8)

(67) Wana-rnu-wana-rnu-pula kapi-ngka tjarrpa-rra

follow-p.pf-follow-p.pf-they two water-in enter-p.pt

mapitja-nyangka parrawana-rnu.
go-pf.ct.ds follow around-p.pf

'They two followed (the turkey) around where he had gone into the water.' (Ng. T. 1:70)

The subject of the background clause/sentence may be incidental participants as in (66) or one of the main participants as in (67) where the turkey is the subject of the background sentence.

The background clause/sentence may occur following the matrix clause as in example (68).

(68) Ka-rna nganku-lu wanti-rra kutitja-ngu wiltja-ngka

&.ds-I I-nom leave-p.pt go-p.pf shade-in

nyina-rranyangka. Pitja-yirnu kutjupa-nya

sit-ipf.ct.ds come-p.pf.ext another-def.abs
tjutu-rnu.....
cover-p.pf

'And I left and went while she was sitting in the shade. I came along and covered in another (hole)....'

The background clause/sentence with -nyangka may also occur as

\textsuperscript{14} There are both perfective and imperfective forms for the -nyangka suffix. For the Ø conjugation -nyangka is perfective and -rranyangka imperfective.
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complement of the verb nyakunytja 'see' as in (69).

(69) Wana-rnu\textsubscript{i} nya-ngu\textsubscript{i} paalyukati-ngu\textsubscript{j} ngarri-rranyangka\textsubscript{j}
follow-p.pf see-p.pf fall down-p.pf lie-ipc.ct.ds
puru pitja-ngu\textsubscript{i} pu-ngkukitja-lu\textsubscript{j}
again come-p.pf hit-pf.pur.ss-erg
maparntju-rayirnu\textsubscript{i}.
work magic-p.pf.ext

'He (the stick-insect man) followed (the kangaroo) and when he saw
it had fallen down and was lying there he again came and was about to
kill it, but worked magic on it.' (Ng. T. 3:6)

Notice that in examples (66)-(69) the background clause/sentence
could be lifted out without affecting the chain of reference. In
particular notice that the use of a -nyangka clause/sentence following
nyangu 'saw' does not have the same effect as the use of -ranytja
forms as in (61) and (62).

A background clause/sentence may also occur sentence initial. In
such a case it will commence with a switch-reference conjunction if its
subject is different from that of the previous sentence.

(70) Christmas-pa-latju nga-langu. Ka-lampatju toyspa
"-abs-we eat-p.pf &.ds-for us"
pirni-nya ninti-rayirnu wanti-nyangka-latju
many-def.abs give-p.pf.ext leave-pf.ct.ds-we
kati-ngu.
bring-p.pf

'We celebrated Christmas. And when we were given the toys we
brought them.' (Ng. T. 9:61)
Participant identification and reference

(71) Ka-ya wanti-rra kutipitja-ku parranyina-ku.
&.ds-they leave-p.pt go-c pf sit around-c pf

Ka kampa-kul-lta pirltirrma-nkunyangka
&.ds ripen-c pf-cl dry out-pf ct ds

pitja-kul-lta-ya mantji-lku minarltu-nku.
come-c pf-cl-they get-c pf pluck heads off-c pf

'And they would leave it and go and live around at other places. And when (the heat) had finally ripened and dried out (the seed), then they would come and get it and pluck it.' (Ng. T. 14:51)

2.4.2 Apparent changes without marking

Since 45 of the 311 instances of change of subject listed at the beginning of section 2.4 are not marked in any way I will now turn my attention to an examination of these instances. There are a number of principles which will explain most of these instances.

These principles are of two types. Firstly what is considered a change of subject in this language? It seems that where the subject of one clause is included in the subject of the adjacent clause (e.g. I cooked the kangaroo and we ate it) this is not considered a change of subject. Cases of inalienable possession are not considered to be a change of subject nor are certain idiomatic sequences.

Secondly there are situations where the change of subject rules do not seem to apply. These are with parenthetical information and in direct quotes.

2.4.2.1 Inclusion

Where one participant or group of participants who is/are the subject of one sentence are included in the group of participants who are the subject of the following sentence, or where the group of
Participant identification and reference

participants who are the subject of the previous sentence include a participant or group of participants who is/are the subject of this sentence, this is not marked by a 'change of subject' - marker.

The various possibilities for inclusion together with the number of instances in the seven texts studied are shown in Chart I.

Example (72) is one where the subject of the first sentence is included in the subject of the second sentence, while example (73) is one where the subject of the second sentence is included in the subject of the first sentence.

(72) Kultu-rna tjilturru-nu. Nga-langu-latju karnpi
    chest+abs-I spear-p.pf eat-p.pf-we fat
    purlkanya pitja-nytja ngurra-ku.
    big+abs come-p.reg camp-to

"I speared it in the chest. We ate it (it was very fat) and came back to camp." (Ng. T. 14:99)

(73) Pitja-anu-pitja-anu-litju munga kultu-ngka.
    come-p.pf.ext-come-p.pf.ext-we two night middle-in
    Watja-rnu-rna, "Kunkunarrri-li ngaa-ngka-rtu."
    say-p.pf-I go to sleep+imp.pf-we two incl here-at-emph

"We came along some distance in the middle of the night. I said, "Let's sleep right here."' (Ng. T. 14:86)

This matter of inclusion is not a mechanical result of the co-occurrence of the person number enclitics set out in the table below but has to do with the actualities of the situation. In example (74) we can conclude from the lack of switch-reference conjunction that the we (-latju) who ate included the they (-ya) who brought the rabbits.
## Participant identification and reference

### CHART I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st sentence</th>
<th>2nd sentence</th>
<th>number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>-rna (1 s)</td>
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<td>-latju (1 pl excl)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-latju (1 pl excl)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>all 3rd person</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ø (3 s)</td>
<td>-pula (3 dl)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
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<td>-pula (3 dl)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø (3 s)</td>
<td>-ya (3 pl)</td>
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<td>Ø (3 s)</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>-ya (3 pl)</td>
<td>-pula (3 dl)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1st and 3rd</strong></td>
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<td>-latju (1 pl excl)</td>
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<td>-ya (3 pl)</td>
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<td>Ø (3 s)</td>
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<td>-pula (3 dl)</td>
<td>-latju (1 pl excl)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>-latju (1 pl excl)</td>
<td>- pula (3 dl)</td>
<td>--</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Participant identification and reference

However in (75) we can conclude from the presence of the switch-reference conjunction that the we (-latju) who ate did not include the they (-ya) who brought the rabbits. Perhaps they had already eaten their share when they cooked them close to where they caught them.

(74) Pirni-ya kati-nytja. Nga-langu-latju nyina-ngu.....
many+abs-they bring-p.reg eat-p.pf-we sit-p.pf
'They brought a lot. We ate them and sat there....' (Ng. T. 2:18)

(75) Ka-ya kuka pirni kati-ngu, rabbit-pa-ya
&.ds-they meat many+abs bring-p.pf rabbit-abs-they
minyma-lu. Ka-latju nga-langu nyina-ngu.
woman-erg &.ds-we eat-p.pf sit-p.pf
'And they brought lots of meat, rabbits, the women did. And we ate them and sat there.' (Ng. T. 2:7, 8)

Austin (1978:372-6) discusses the matter of inclusion in regard to switch-reference in Diyari. He found that the principles of inclusion operate in one direction only. To be counted as same-subject the subordinate clause subject must include the person features of the subject of the main clause. "same subject marking applies only if IMPL subject includes (the person feature(s) of) the main subject and not vice-versa". (Austin 1978:375)

Austin found that in comparison with what Jacobsen (1967) found for Hokan-Coahuiltecan switch-reference and Langdon and Munro (1975) for Yuman, and Longacre (1972) for the highlands of Papua New Guinea, Diyari was unusual in having a unidirectional principle of inclusion. Austin cites all the above writers as implying or stating "that this type of inclusion operates in both directions across the clause boundary."
Participant identification and reference

(Austin 1978:376)

The Ngaanyatjarra data above (which applies to switch-reference across sentence boundaries, rather than between subordinate and main clauses) shows the inclusion principle operating in both directions across the sentence boundary, and is thus similar to that reported for elsewhere in the world.

2.4.2.2 Inalienable possession

Like most Australian languages Ngaanyatjarra treats body parts as being inalienably possessed. In the noun phrase parts of the body are shown linked to the person by apposition and both take the same case-marking. (See Glass & Hackett 1970:66-67, animate member phrase.) Therefore it is not surprising that in inter-clausal relations parts of the body are regarded as co-referent with the person. See example (17) where the turkey-man and his bone are co-referent and (76) where he is co-referent with his blood.

(76) Ka-ya pirni-lu-rtu tjulurraa-rnu nya-ngu nyarra
&.ds-they many-erg-emph start-p.pf see-p.pf there
paalyuti-ngkula, yirrami purlka-nya tjuti-rranytja.
fall-pr blood big-abs flow-p.ipf

'And they all got a shock when they saw him falling over and the blood pouring out.' (Ng. T. 1:19)

This principle is also exemplified in example (77) where the turkey-man's stomach is co-referent with himself in a same subject string of verbs. Then his stomach and blood are shown as co-referent when linked by a participle that only encodes 'same subject.'
Participant identification and reference

(77) Paa-rnu wankatju-nu nga-langu tjuni palyamunurri-ngu
yulirri-ngu. Tjuni palyamunurri-ngkulalpi yirrami
die-p.pf stomach+abs become bad-p.pt blood+abs
tjuti-ngu kuna.
flow-p.pf faeces+abs

'He undercooked it, ate it and his stomach became upset and he
passed out. His stomach having become upset blood flowed out in his
faeces.' (Ng. T. 1:57)

Kurrurnpa 'spirit' is problematical. In example (32) it is shown
to be not inalienably possessed. There are two words for spirit.
Kurrurnpa is not the one that can leave the body, but the one that is the
essential essence of a person, that can feel happy or sad, or be ill. I
would like to collect more evidence on the syntactic treatment of
kurrurnpa.

2.4.2.3 Idiomatic sequences

McGregor (1980:32) has suggested that the sequence ngarringu
tjirnturringu 'slept became day' breaks the switch-reference rules since
it never takes any switch-reference marking. However although this
sequence could be said to literally mean 'he slept and it became day' it
seems preferable to regard it as a close-knit semantic unit meaning 'slept
the night'. Notice the occurrence of the pronoun enclitic -latju 'we'
on the second verb of the sequence in example (78).

(78) Ngarri-ngu tjirnturri-ngkula-latju kutipitja-ngu.
lie-p.pf become day-p.pt-we go-p.p.pf

'Ve slept the night and went.' (Ng. T. 2:19)
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2.4.2.4 Parenthetical information

There are several examples where parenthetical information involving change of subject has no marking. In examples (79)-(81) the parenthetical information is a break in the event-line going back in time to provide an explanation for the event in the previous sentence. It seems likely that the lack of switch-reference conjunction is a signal that the speaker has departed from the event-line.

(79) Nyinurru kuka-maalpa nyina-ngu-nyina-ngu
starving meat-without sit-p.pf-sit-p.pf
nungkumunurri-ngu tjilku katurri-ngu pu-ngu
become hungry-p.pf child+abs get up-p.pf kill-p.pf
nga-langu, tjamu-nku yungarra. (Nyinatju-ra
eat-p.pf grandson-his own set down-p.pt
wanti-rra kutipitja-ngu wati-lu katja-lu-ra.)
leave-p.pt go-p.pf man-erg son-erg-his
Katurri-ngu pu-ngu mantji-rnu parrakati-ngu
get up-p.pf kill-p.pf get-p.pf bring around-p.pf
paa-rnu nga-langu.
cook-p.pf eat-p.pf

'He was starving without any meat, he became so hungry that he killed and ate his own grandson. (His son had gone away and left the child there.) He got up killed got brought around and cooked and ate him.' (Ng. T. 11;5,6)

(80) Ngarri-ngu tjirnturri-ngkula-latju kutipitja-ngu.
sleep-p.pf become day-p.pt-we go-p.pf
(Cyril-tu watja-rnu marlu two tju-nu wanti-ngu.)
" -erg say-p.pf kangaroo " put-p.pf leave-p.pf
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Ka-latju kutitja-ngu.
&.ds-we go-p.pf

'We slept the night and went. (Cyril said he had left two kangaroos there.) So we went.' (Ng. T. 2:19)

(81) Ka-ya pitja-ngu purtu mantji-ra ngungkutju-nu.
&.ds-they come-p.pf in vain get-pr.pt put together-p.pf
Joiningma-lkitja-lu-ya purtu palya-rnu. (Ngaatja
join-pf.pur.ss-erg-they in vain do-p.pf here
wartalpitjanu kartati-ngu.) Ka-ya wanti-rra kutitja-ngu...
 too far gone break-p.pf &.ds-they leave-p.pt go-p.pf

'They came and in vain were trying to put it together. They tried in vain to join it. (It was broken here beyond repair.) So they left it and went.....' (Ng. T. 1:20)

There is one example where what appears to be parenthetical information is introduced by a switch-reference conjunction.

(82) Ka-rna mapitja-ngu warntu mantji-rnu pitja-ngu
&.ds-I go-p.pf blanket+abs get-p.pf come-p.pf
tati-rnu. (Ka. Ngunytjurti-nya rabbit-ku ya-nu,
climb-p.pf &.ds Mother-abs " -for go-p.pf
Pitja-ngu-lta purtu nya-ngu-tju.) Ka-rna mapitja-yirnu-
come-p.pf-there in vain see-p.pf-for me &.ds-I go-p.pf.ext-we
well-ku parrapitja-ngu.
" -to arrive-p.pf

'And I went and got my blankets and came and climbed on (the truck). (But mother had gone for rabbits. She came back and couldn't find me.) We went along and arrived at the well.' (Ng. T. 2:13)
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Notice that there are several differences between example (82) and the preceding three examples. The parenthetical sentences in (82) do not provide an explanation for any of the events in the first sentence. Rather the second sentence in the parenthesis shows the result of the events in the first sentence. Also the parenthetical sentences move back along the time-line, and then forward beyond the time-line.

2.4.2.5 Direct quotes

Another area where changes of subject may occur without any marking is within direct quotes.

I believe that the type of discourse where it is most important to keep track of participants is that where there is chronological sequencing, that is, narrative, customs, and prophecies. It is here that we find consistent use of the switch-reference conjunctions.

However direct quotes are rather like mini-discourses and may vary in genre. If we had a narrative sequence within the quote we could expect to find switch-reference devices. However what we have in example (83) is a mini hortatory discourse. There is a command, two statements and a further command. Just as switch-reference conjunctions do not seem to be needed so much in hortatory discourse (see section 6.4.4) so they are not needed here.

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'And his elder brother said, "Leave their fire alone. They have their own. They had their own fire. Let us stay here as we are." And they two are there.' (Ng. T. 1:72, 73)

2.4.3 Other occurrences of ka and nyangka

There are two notable places where ka and nyangka occur without apparently signalling any change of subject; that is after direct speech and at the beginning of texts. It has been suggested to me that in these instances we have a completely different but homophonous morpheme. However my intuition is that it is basically the one morpheme, signalling a change - but perhaps in these instances a change on another level.

2.4.3.1 After direct speech

After direct speech that is introduced by a verb of speaking (as opposed to a verb of seeing which may also introduce direct speech in Ngaaynatjarra), a switch reference conjunction invariably occurs. This is regardless of whether the subject of the following clause is the same as the speaker, or whether the subject of the following verb is the same as the subject of the last clause in the quote.


Ka wana-rnu.

&.ds follow-p.pf

'He left it, said thought, "I will follow them." So he followed.'

(Ng. T. 3:15)

Example (83) as well as (85) also exemplify this.
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(85) Ka-rna katurri-ngu watja-rnu, Thomas-tja-rna watja-rnu
&.ds-I get up-p.pf say-p.pf " -I.O.-I say-p.pf
"Katurri." Ka katurri-ngu.
get up-pf.imp &.ds get up-p.pf
'And I got up and said, I said to Thomas, "Get up". And he got
up.' (Ng. T. 4:24)

2.4.3.2 At the beginning of a text

There are a number of instances in the Ngaanyatjarra Texts where a
text begins with ka or nyangka, as well as some other texts not within
this volume. Items 6, 8, 9, 13 and 14 all begin with ka.

Forster (1977) in writing on Discourse in Border Cuna (of Panama)
tells how discourses may have reference to conversation that went on
before the recording of the discourse took place.

"Many discourses, however, do have reference to what has gone on
before. This is evidenced in such features as:

a) a back reference without an explicit referent,
b) a marker of contrast, without anything in the discourse with which
to contrast,
c) an indication of change of theme, at the beginning of the discourse.

******

d) The title or topic of the discourse, and the relationship of the
narrator to the discourse, which are characteristically given in
the Aperture (the opening section of the discourse), are presented
in conversation, prior to the actual relation of the story. The
discourse itself then opens without these opening remarks."

(Forster 1977:8)

The explanation for the number of items in the Ngaanyatjarra Texts
which begin with ka probably lies in the circumstances under which these
Participant identification and reference

texts were recorded. They were recorded in several recording sessions in a sound-proof room. It is therefore likely that because some of the texts were recorded in fairly quick succession, Thomas Murray felt obliged to use ka to show he is speaking of different participants from those in the last discourse.

Although we did not keep a record of which items were recorded at each recording session, it is worthy of note that Thomas Murray does not begin item 1 with ka nor item 3 nor 5, each of which follows straight after his wife has contributed an item. However he does begin item 6 with ka straight after he himself had told item 5.

One possible explanation for the difference in function of ka / nyangka may be that it operates at different levels. Thus between clauses and sentences it indicates change of subject, but it may also occur at the beginning of paragraphs to indicate a new topic or the beginning of a new episode. Thus it could be that after direct speech a new episode begins which describes the carrying out of the suggestion or command in the direct speech. Thus Kapula nyinarra in example (83) could be regarded as the beginning of the concluding paragraph of this text which describes how the turkey-man and his brother have become rocks and are still there on the Nullabor plain. This function of beginning a new topic or episode would also explain the occurrence of ka / nyangka at the beginning of a text.

Any brief reading of a narrative discourse in Ngaanyatjarra will show that nouns do not occur frequently. In this chapter we have seen how the pronoun enclitics and switch-reference conjunctions, in particular, combine with the occurrence of the nouns and anaphoric markers to identify and refer to participants.
Chapter 3 Temporal relations and aspectual markers

3.1 Aspect tense and mood

In the languages of the world the verbs typically distinguish tense aspect and mood (although not all languages have a grammatical category of tense). Tense distinctions have to do with indicating when situations take place in time. Aspectual distinctions have to do with "the internal temporal constituency of a situation." Distinctions of mood have to do with the speaker's attitude to a situation.

In this chapter I want to focus on aspectual distinctions in Ngaanyatjarra and how the various aspectual forms interact to form cohesive discourse.

In writing about aspect in Greek, McKay (1977:137) states "It is important to note that aspectual distinctions are not always objectively determined, but depend very largely on the subjective attitude of the speaker or writer: the same activity may be viewed by different observers or in different contexts as process, whole action or state."

The fact that aspects are not absolute, and that the same situation may be viewed in different ways makes the study of aspect perhaps more elusive than that of tense.

In Ngaanyatjarra the basic aspectual distinctions are between perfective and imperfective. These distinctions intersect and overlap with tense and mood. The perfective aspect is used to describe situations that the speaker views as complete. That is, a perfective aspect in the past describes a situation that the speaker views as complete, while a perfective aspect in the future (irrealis general) or imperative (irrealis modal) describes a situation that the speaker

1. I am following Comrie (1976:13) here in using situation as a cover term for a state, event or process.

2. A definition from Comrie (1976:3) who modified it from one given by Hall (1943).
Temporal relations and aspectual markers

The imperfective aspect describes a situation in progress, or incomplete. Thus an imperfective aspect in the future (irrealis general) or imperative (irrealis modal) describes a situation expected to carry on into the future, that is not to be completed, while an imperfective aspect in the past describes a situation in progress usually in relation to certain other situations.

As well as perfective and imperfective there are three other aspects in Ngaanyatjarra which occur less frequently and have a lighter functional load. These are regressive, extensive and distributive.

Regressive is so named because it often encodes the meaning of 'return to' the place of speaking or focus, as well as 'arrival at' the place of speaking or focus. It has limited usage in that it occurs only with three verbs, pitjanytja 'to come', katinytja 'to bring' and wirrtjantja 'to come quickly'.

Extensive and distributive aspects occur in combination with perfective or imperfective to give a further dimension of meaning.

The extensive aspect indicates a situation which the speaker wishes to present as prolonged or extended over a period of time. This extension of the situation may be either durative or iterative according to the semantics of the verb stem. An extensive perfective indicates a situation which is prolonged for a while but has an end (that is, is viewed as a complete situation). An extensive imperfective indicates a situation which is both prolonged and incomplete.

The distributive aspect is the rarest of all the aspects. It describes a situation where a multiplicity of subjects are involved in the same situation. If it is imperfective they are all involved in it at the same time. If it is perfective they will have all been involved over a period of time 'one after the other'.
Temporal relations and aspectual markers

3.2 Aspect tense and mood forms in Ngaanyatjarra

Chart I shows the independent verb forms in Ngaanyatjarra. I do not intend to comment on all of these forms here but only in so far as it is relevant to the discussion of aspect in discourse. (For a fuller discussion of these forms, but with less emphasis on aspectual distinctions, see Glass & Hackett 1970:11-34).

Among the forms on the chart it can be seen that perfective/imperfective is a meaningful distinction except in those cases where one or the other is semantically impossible. For example the present is necessarily imperfective as is also the habitual. The cessative is necessarily perfective. It seems likely that the negative future form covers the idea of both perfective and imperfective.

The modal irrealis forms occur without further particles or suffixes in Imperative sentences. However they also occur with a wide variety of particles and suffixes in a variety of non-indicative sentences:- Contrafactual, Non-Permissive (with pumpapalka), Expectation (non-desired or unfulfilled), Optative, Subjunctive and Illustrative. For this reason I have called these forms modal.

The general irrealis forms most commonly encode future, but also encode conditional, and customary action that occurs in sequence. They also occur with two non-indicative sentences:- Prohibitive and Non-Permissive (with kamu).

Chart II shows the dependent clause suffixes. I will not comment further on the dependent clauses except to say that the distinction between perfective and imperfective applies with nine out of the ten dependent clause suffixes. The lack of this distinction in the deprivative appears to be a semantic restriction.

Chart III shows the extensive aspect in comparison with the most common independent verb forms. The morphology of extensive aspect is
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Temporal relations and aspectual markers</th>
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</table>

### CHART I

**Independent Verb Forms in Ngaanyatjarra**

Citation forms *kulintja* 'to listen' *wirrtjantja* 'to come quickly'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Regressive</th>
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<td>kulirnu</td>
<td>kuliranytja</td>
<td>wirrtjantja</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'listened'</td>
<td>'was listening'</td>
<td>'came quickly here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td></td>
<td>kulira</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'is listening'</td>
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<td>Irrealis - general future, conditional customary</td>
<td>kuliku</td>
<td>kulinma</td>
<td>wirrtjanma</td>
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<td>'will listen etc'</td>
<td>'will keep on listening'</td>
<td>'will come quickly here'</td>
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<td>-modal</td>
<td>kulila</td>
<td>kulinma</td>
<td>wirrtjanma</td>
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<tr>
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<td>'listen'</td>
<td>'keep on listening'</td>
<td>'come quickly back here'</td>
</tr>
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<td>Cessative</td>
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<td></td>
<td>'stop listening'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prospective</td>
<td>kulilkitja</td>
<td>kuliranytjakitja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'want to listen'</td>
<td>'want to keep on listening'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td></td>
<td>kulipayi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'always listens'</td>
<td>'always listened'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Past</td>
<td>kulintjamunu</td>
<td>kuliranytjamunu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'didn't listen'</td>
<td>'wasn't listening'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Future</td>
<td>kulilkitjamunu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Temporal relations and aspectual markers

CHART II

Perfective and imperfective forms in dependent clauses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>purpose d.s.</td>
<td>-ltjaku</td>
<td>-ratjaku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purpose s.s.</td>
<td>-lkitja(lu)</td>
<td>-panytjakitja(lu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cause-time d.s</td>
<td>-nyangka</td>
<td>-panyangka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cause-time s.s.</td>
<td>-(tja)tjanu(lu)</td>
<td>-(panytja)tjanu(lu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>circumstantial s.s.</td>
<td>-ntjalu</td>
<td>-ranytjalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>complement of perception</td>
<td>ntja</td>
<td>ntja*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relative</td>
<td>ntja*</td>
<td>ranytja*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aversive</td>
<td>-ltjakurtarra</td>
<td>-ratjakurtarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deprivative</td>
<td>-ltjirratja(lu)</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negative</td>
<td>-ntjamaal(tu)</td>
<td>-ranytjamaal(tu)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Nominal case-marking follows these forms in relative clauses.

1. This form occurs commonly in Northern Ngaanyatjarra.

2. Complements of perception verbs could be regarded as circumstantial d.s.
Temporal relations and aspectual markers

described in Glass & Hackett 1970 (32-34). It is there called intensive continuous verb. To describe it more simply I could say that an extensive aspect is made up of a verb stem, the appropriate participle suffix for that verb stem, a lengthening of the final vowel of the participle suffix by \(-yi\) or \(-a\), and the addition of the appropriate tense aspect or mood suffix for an 1 conjugation verb following the \(-yi\) or for an n conjugation verb following the \(-a\).

\[\text{wana-ra-yi-ntja} \quad \text{'was following and following'}\]
\[\text{wana-ra-a-nkutja} \quad \text{'was following and following'}\]

Both the above forms are extensive past imperfective.

Most motion verbs occur only rarely in the non-extensive past imperfective. When they do so it is with the iterative rather than the durative sense. That is tirtu pitjalanytja would mean 'was continually coming (on a number of occasions)' rather than 'was still in the process of coming'. However the extensive past imperfective pitjalayintja (or the shortened form pitjayintja) does occur with the meaning 'was in the process of coming over a prolonged period.'

Another form which indicates a situation prolonged or extended over a period of time is the reduplication of the perfective form. The period indicated by this form would seem to be not quite as long as that indicated by an extensive aspect. An extensive perfective may also be reduplicated thus indicating an even longer period of time. It seems that four degrees of length of time can be indicated thus:-

\[\text{kuli-rnu} \quad \text{listen-p.pf} \quad \text{'listened'}\]

3. I have been unable to find any meaningful difference between the addition of \(-yi\) and \(-a\). It seems to be mainly dialectal although some speakers use both.
# Temporal relations and aspectual markers

## CHART III

Extensive aspect with Common Independent Verb Forms.

Citation forms: kulintja 'to listen' wirrtjantja 'to come quickly'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Regressive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Realis past</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-extensive</td>
<td>kulirnu 'listened'</td>
<td>kuliranytja 'was listening'</td>
<td>wirrtjantja 'came quickly here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extensive</td>
<td>kulirayirnu 'listened and listened'</td>
<td>kulirayintja 'was listening and listening'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Irrealis general</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-extensive</td>
<td>kulilkku 'will listen'</td>
<td>kulinma 'will keep on listening'</td>
<td>wirrtjanma 'will come quickly here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extensive</td>
<td>kulirayilkku 'will listen and listen'</td>
<td>kulirayinma 'will keep on listening and listening'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Irrealis modal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-extensive</td>
<td>kulilila 'listen!'</td>
<td>kulinma 'keep on listening!'</td>
<td>wirrtjanma 'come quickly back here!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extensive</td>
<td>kulirayila 'listen for a while'</td>
<td>kulirayinma 'keep on listening and listening'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Although most motion verbs do not occur in the non-extensive past imperfective, they commonly occur in the extensive past imperfective. e.g. wirrtjarayintja 'was quickly coming along'
  pitjalayintja 'was coming along'
  katirrayintja 'was bringing along'
  wanarayintja 'was following along'

Also shortened forms of these without the participle suffix (Glass & Hackett 1970:33) commonly occur. wirrtjayintja, pitjayintja, wanayintja.
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kuli-rnu-kuli-rnu
listen-p.pf-listen-p.pf
'listen for a while.'
kuli-rayirnu
listened-p.pf.ext
'listened for quite a while.'
kuli-rayirnu-kuli-rayirnu
listened-p.pf.ext-listen-p.pf.ext
'listened for a long while'

Chart IV shows the distributive aspect in comparison with the most common independent verb forms. (Distributive aspect has also been observed occurring with some dependent verb forms.) Generally speaking the distributive aspect is formed by the verb stem, the appropriate participle suffix, the distributive suffix -warni4, and the appropriate tense mood or aspect suffix for a zero conjugation verb.

There are two notable exceptions to the above rule for the formation of the distributive aspect. Both concern instances where the participle suffix has the same form as part or all of the final tense mood or aspect suffix. For the present our rule would produce *nyina-rra-warni-rra. But the -rra is not repeated. The form is nyina-rra-warni. In the past imperfective our rule would produce *nyina-rra-warni-rra-nytja. But the -rra is not repeated. The form is nyina-rra-warni-nytja.

3.3 Aspect in discourse

Within the discourse the interaction of the aspects has a cohesive function. But in order to understand this we must first understand something of the usage of the various aspects. As stated in chapter 1 there is little difference in Ngaanyatjarra between what one would term

4. In isolation warninytja is a zero conjugation verb meaning 'to throw'.

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**CHART IV**

Distributive aspect with common independent verb forms.

Citation forms: mirrirringkutja 'to die' nyinanytja 'to sit'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Realis</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-distributive</td>
<td>mirrirri-ngu</td>
<td>nyina-rranytja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distributive</td>
<td>mirrirri-ngkula-warni-ngu</td>
<td>nyina-rra-warni-nytja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-distributive</td>
<td>nyina-ra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distributive</td>
<td>nyina-ra-warni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Irrealis general</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-distributive</td>
<td>mirrirri-ku</td>
<td>nyina-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distributive</td>
<td>mirrirri-ngkula-warni-ku</td>
<td>nyina-rra-warni-ma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mirrirringkutja is a verb that commonly occurs in the perfective distributive, whereas stance verbs such as nyinanytja commonly occur in the imperfective distributive.
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a normal narrative in the past realis, and prophecies (directions and predictions) in general irrealis, and descriptions of customs also in general irrealis. Therefore I will discuss each aspect in turn giving examples of its usage in past narrative, in prophecies and in customs.

3.3.1 Perfective aspect

The perfective aspect is the aspect of complete actions. Therefore it is the aspect of the event line. Verbs in perfective aspect sometimes occur in very long strings (more so in past narrative - example (1), and customs - example (3), than in prophecies - example (2)). These strings of verbs in perfective aspect are one of the diagnostic features of what I have previously described as Sequence Sentence. (Glass 1979:32-37).

(1) Ka-latju mantji-rnu paa-rnu kati-ngu watitja-ngu.
&.ds-we get-p pf cook-p pf bring-p pf go across-p pf
'And we got it, cooked it, brought it and came across.'

(2) Mapitja-ku-yan, ka-tjananyanta tjinguru walypala-lu-
go -f pf you all &.ds you pl ob maybe whiteman-erg-
tjananyanta watiwirrtja-lku tatitju-nku-tjananyanta
you pl ob come quickly across-f pf pick up-f pf you pl ob
yurltu-ngka.
car-in
'You will go, and probably a white man will come across and pick you up in his car.'

(3) Ka-ya nga-lku ngarlpurri-ku ngarri-ku tjirnturri-ku
&.ds they eat-c pf play-c pf lie-c pf become day-c pf
Temporal relations and aspectual markers

nyina-ku parrapitja-ku mirtu-lku yimiya watipitja-ku
sit-c pf go around-c pf see tracks-c pf emu go across-c pf
palunyangka.

And they would eat it and play, sleep the night, sit, go around
and see tracks where an emu would go across.

3.3.2 Imperfective aspect

The imperfective aspect presents a situation as going-on, in process,
without reference to its completion. The imperfective aspect may be used
in a descriptive statement which will later be expanded by detail or
which has been expanded by detail. It may also describe a situation
incomplete or still going on when something else happens. Background
information is encoded in this form. If one were to view a narrative as
a play, one could say that the imperfective aspect occurs to describe
the setting or the stage at any point that could be a break in the play.
The imperfective aspect encodes information that is off the event line,
or a pause-point in the event line.

This very wide range of usages can be summarized fairly succinctly
and I have attempted to do this in Chart V, showing which usages occur
in past, prophecies, customs and habitual.

Although the imperfective covers basically the same range of
occurrence in past narrative, as in prophecies and in descriptions of
customs, there are some quite notable differences. Notice that the
irrealis general imperfective is not used for descriptive statements
in prophecies. Or it could be said that descriptive statements do
not occur in prophecies. In descriptions of customs there are two
imperfective forms, the habitual and the irrealis general imperfective,
which occur almost entirely in complementary distribution.
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The habitual typically occurs in a one clause sentence. However one or two participles may occur with it. (Forms other than participles do not occur with the habitual.) The irrealis general imperfective although it is also often preceded by participles is commonly preceded by a string of irrealis general perfectives as in example (26).

I will now illustrate these various usages as shown on Chart V. It is important to note that these various usages are not mutually exclusive. Any one example may illustrate more than one of these usages.

A. As a descriptive statement

1. A general descriptive statement that is afterwards expanded, even with details of other situations included in that situation.

   Example (4) is from a past narrative, Example (5) is a habitual from a description of customs and example (6) is a general irrealis imperfective from a customary section in a narrative.

(4) Wurrurruru-ku-latju pitja-ngu Wurrurruru-la munkarra-lta-latju
    " -to-we come-p pf " -at beyond-then-we
    nyarra ngana-ku Mulyangirrily-ku ruurrpa mangara-la,
there what-to " -to road stand away-pr
    palunya-ngka-latju nyina-rrantja. Ngamutja ngaak kapi
    there-at-we sit-p ipf near here water
    purlkanya yirrala ngarri-rrantyangka-latju nyantu-rayirnu-
big pool lie-ipf ct ds -we drink-p pf ext
    nyantu-rayirnu winytju-rayirnu-winytju-rayirnu.
drink-p pf ext wet-p pf ext-wet-p pf ext

'We came to Wurrurruru, beyond Wurrurruru there where the road to
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### CHART V

**Occurrences of imperfective aspect in discourse.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pa</th>
<th>Pr</th>
<th>Cus Hab</th>
<th>I.G.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As a descriptive statement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. A general descriptive statement that is afterwards expanded.</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. A descriptive statement that comes after a lot of detail.</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. A descriptive statement that the speaker doesn't expand.</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. A description of the setting.</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Descriptive statements containing parenthetical information.</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. A descriptive statement following a direct quote.</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A situation that is still going on while other events happen, when the next event happens or when the story ends.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. A situation that is a pause-point in the discourse.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) the situation is still going on when the next situation (usually initiated by another participant) happens</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) the situation is concluded by repetition of that same verb with a perfective aspect and the same participant.</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Situations that are going on simultaneously</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. A situation still going on when the story ends or that goes on into the future.</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pa = Past  
Pr = Prophecy  
Cus = Customs  
Hab = Habitual  
I.G. = Irrealis General  
x = occurrence  
-- = non-occurrence
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where, to Mulyangirrily is, there we were sitting. Quite close here where that big pool is we drank and drank and splashed water on ourselves.'


'And they would come along, they would bring the women along and having set them down and left them would go for tobacco. They used to come along and eat tobacco. They used to pull it up from the rocks, they would pull it up and come and sit.' (Ng. T. 14:23-25)

In example (5) the sentences with habitual aspect come in the middle of a sequence of events. It seems that when mingkurlpa 'tobacco' is mentioned a general descriptive statement about it is then made.

(6) Ka-tjananya nya-kula mukurri-ngama. Ngatalpa-rtu &.ds-them see-pr.pt desire-c.ipf not quite there-emph ngarri-ku katurri-ku wana-yilku puru ngatalpa-rtu lie-c.pf get up-c.pf follow-c.pf.ext again not quite there-emph mangarri-ku. sleep out-c.pf

'And he would keep on seeing them and desiring them. He would sleep away from their camp and get up and follow and again sleep away from their camp.' (Ng. T. 13:19)
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2. A descriptive statement that comes after a lot of detail.

Example (7) shows a past imperfective in a past narrative, example (8) shows a habitual in a description of customs and example (9) shows a general irrealis in a description of customs.

(7) Mitika-ku-latju parrakurraa-rnu, gate-pa openingma-ra

'We arrived at Mitika, opened the gate and sped on. But the lights went out. So we again did something then again fixed it and could see so again we sped away and again the lights went out. The lights were continually going out.'


'And they would also spear from above. They would spear and having caused it to fall over they would descend and having jumped
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down would kill (the emu). They used to spear from a tree also after they had climbed up and waited.' (Ng. T. 14:66,67)

In example (9) matilirayinma is an example of a situation going on when the next situation happens as is watitilirayinma. Tilinma is an example of a paraphrase description and watjanma is an example of a description coming after detail like a summary.


'They would stay around and when they had drunk all the water (from the small water-holes) they would light fires away from them. And those from some distance away having seen (the fires) would light fires across. The fire would light other fires. And the two fires, like on a wireless, would tell the message, "We have gone over there to that big water-hole." And they would go across.' (Ng. T. 14:58-61)

3. A descriptive statement that the speaker doesn't expand.

Example (10) shows a past imperfective. This particular example comes from the 'daily diary' of a young woman just beginning to write
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in Ngaanyatjarra and was the only sentence she wrote that day.5

Example (11) shows a habitual from a description of customs. Whereas other customs in this text were described in detail, no further details are given regarding these particular customs.

(10) Walykunya pika pu-ngkulanytja Carol-nga-lu palunyaku today fight hit-p.ipf " -abs-her her
kurri-lu.
spouse-erg
'Today Carol was being beaten by her husband.'

(11) Ka-ya kutjupatjarra kayili-nguru-ya nyirtu
&.ds-they others north-from-they fruit
nga-lkupayi. Kantumi-rtarra kampurarr-pa-rtarra-rtu
eat-hab . fruit-also fruit-abs-also-emph
nga-lkupayi. Ka-ya ngururrkutjarra-nguru nyina-rra
eat-hab &.ds-they between-from sit-pr.pt
wangurnu nga-lkupayi. Njururrkutjarra nyina-rranytjanu
seed eat-hab Between sit-ipf.ct.ss
wangurnu marlu-rtarra-ya nga-lkupayi.
seed kangaroo-also-they eat-hab
'And others from the north used to eat nyirtu fruit. They used to eat kantumi and kampurarra also. And in between they used to eat wangurnu seed. The people from in between used to eat wangurnu seed and kangaroo.' (Ng. T. 7:50,51)

4. A description of the setting of a narrative or a particular

5. The young children in the bilingual programme when learning to share 'news' in the classroom situation frequently use past imperfective if their news consists of only one sentence.
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Example (12) shows an extensive past imperfective providing the setting for a small incident in a past narrative, while example (13) shows a past imperfective describing the setting for a narrative.

(12) Palunyalu-nku watja-rnu, "Kutjulpirtu-nyu and.ss-ref say-p.pf previously-quo
Wubutinnga-tjanu mapitja-ankutja nyarratja Cosmo Newbery-ku.
Warburton -from go-p.ipf.ext there " " -to
Mapitja-anu-nyu kapi-maalpa ngarri-ngu.
go-p.pf.ext-quo water-without lie-p.pf
'And then he said of himself, "Previously we were going from Warburton there to Cosmo Newbery. We went along and slept the night without water." '

(13) Yitjanu-latju purlkanya-ngka kutjulpirtulpi
good season-we big-in previously
Rhoda-nya 5 year old nyina-rranytja, kurlupa school-pa
" -abs " " " sit-p.ipf small " -abs
palya-ranytjamunu. Ka-latju nyina-ngu katurri-ngu-litju
do-p.ipf.neg &.ds-we sit-p.pf get up-p.pf-we two
watja-rnu yalatjarri-ngkula kutitja-ngu.
say-p.pf go on a journey-p.pt go-p.pf
'A long time ago in a good season, Rhoda was five years old, only small not doing school. We were there and we two got up and told them and having started a journey we went.'

Example (14) shows the habitual describing the setting of a long description of customs. In this example there are five verbs in the
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habitual. The first three can be regarded as describing the setting while the latter two instances are descriptive statements afterwards expanded. Example (15) shows habitual describing the setting of a small customary section within a past narrative.


'They used to stay. They used to stay where there was a big water-hole. It used to be very hot. They would stay a while. They used to go and spear and bring meat. And then they would cook it and come back in the afternoon.' (Ng. T. 12:1-3)

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'We stayed. We went for rabbits. We always used to go. We used to catch them and come back. We used to bring back lots of rabbits. We would cook food for them, make dinner and put it (ready) for the men.' (Ng. T. 4:16-18)

5. Descriptive statements containing parenthetical or incidental information.

Example (16) shows a past imperfective in a past narrative, while example (17) shows a habitual in a description of customs.

(16) Wirrtja-rnu-latju nyantu-rnu lurrtjurri-ngkulalpi
come quickly-p.pf-we drink-p.pf meet up with-p.pt
watja-rnu, "Kuka-tju kukurraa-la marlaku-lu-pula
say-p.pf meat-my run-imper.pf back-erg-you two
mantji-la wirrtja-la," (Wiltja-ngka tjiinya
get-imper.pf come quickly-imper.pf shade-in you know
ngarri-r ran y tja.) Ka-rna mularrpartu kutitja-ngu marlaku-lu
lie-p.ipf s.ds-I truly go-p.pf back-erg
mantji-rnu katurri-ngu pitja-ngu.
get-p.pf get up-p.pf come-p.pf

'We came quickly and drank and he having met up with us he said,
"You two run back, get my meat and come quickly." (You know it was
lying in the shade.) And sure enough I went back and got it got up
and came.'

cut-c.pf-they many-erg-emph eat-c.pf-eat-c.pf-they sit-c.ipf
Nga-lku-ya wiya-lku. (Papa-ku tarrka ninti-ntjamaal-tu
eat-c.pf-they finish-c.pf dog-for bone give-pf.neg-erg
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wanti-payi. Warta-ngka-ya yurtitju-nkupayi ngaka-ra-ya
leave-hab tree-in-they put up-hab choke-pr.pt-they
yulirri-ngkutjakurtarra papa ngarltutjarra.) Ka-ya nyina-rayilku.
die-pf.avers dog poor thing &.ds-they sit-c.pf.ext

'They would all cut it up. They would eat and eat and stay there.
They would eat it and finish it. They wouldn't give the bones to the
dogs. (They used to put them up in a tree, lest they should choke
and die, the poor things.) And they would stay for quite a while.'
(Ng. T. 12:39,40)

6. A descriptive statement following a direct quote.
The only examples I have of this are from past narratives. In
example (18) surprise is expressed in the quote and explanation is
given to the hearers in the past imperfective.

(18) ...watja-rnu, "Wirrtja-la-ya ngunti nya-wa.
say-p.pf come quickly-imper.pf-you all quick see-imper.pf
Nyaa ngaa-nya ngara-la?" Watjala-pula papa kutjarra
what this-abs stand-pr say-they,two dog two
ngara-lanytja. Maru dingo-pula ngara-la ngupanu kutjarra.
stand-p.ipf black " they.two stand-pr dingo two

'Said, "Come quickly and have a quick look. What is this here?"
There were two dogs standing there, two black dingos, two dingos.'

B. A situation that is still going on while other events happen, when
the next event happens or when the story ends. In this section the
habitual does not occur. The past imperfective occurs in past
narratives and the irrealis general imperfective occurs in prophecies
and descriptions of customs.

1. A situation that is a pause point in the discourse.
Temporal relations and aspectual markers

a) The situation is still going on when the next situation (usually initiated by another participant) happens.

Example (19) shows a past imperfective in a past narrative, example (20) shows a general irrealis imperfective in a prophecy and example (21) shows a general irrealis imperfective in a description of customs.

(19) Nyangka Len-nga pitja-ngu nyinati-ngu nyina-rranytja.
&.ds "-abs come-p.pf sit down-p.pf sit-p.ipf
Ka wati ngaa-lu watja-rnu........
&.ds man this-erg say-p.pf
'And Len came and sat down and was sitting. And this man said.....'

(20) Blackstone-ta-nguru-lta-n nyamaga, "Oh
"-loc-from-then-you see-f.ipf
ngamuntirri-ngu-watjala." Pitja-ku-lta-n
come near-p.pf-say come-pf.cl.you
parratja-ku-lta-n turn-off-ku.
arrive-f.pf-cl-you "-to
'From Blackstone you will see "Say, it has come near".
Then you will come and arrive at the turn-off.'

(21) Pitja-yilku warta purlka-la kumpi-ralpi nyina-ma.
come-c.pf.ext tree big-at hide-p.pt stay-c.ipf
Ka wati mara-lku katurri-ngkula yapantju-ra
&.ds man crawl-c.pf get up-p.pt move in cover-pr.pt
wirrtja-lku.
come quickly-c.pf
'The emu would come along and having hid by a big tree stay there.'
Temporal relations and aspectual markers

And the man would crawl and having got up quickly move across keeping in cover.' (Ng. T. 12:21,22)

b) The situation is concluded by the repetition of that same verb with a perfective aspect and by the same participant.

Examples (22) and (23) show past imperfectives in past narrative. Example (24) also shows a past imperfective. However this example is a fragment of conversation and so the past imperfective has some of the features of a descriptive statement. Example (25) shows an irrealis general imperfective in a prophecy. Example (26) shows an irrealis general in a description of customs. Notice the different types of perfectives that may conclude the situation; a simple past perfective in (22), a reduplicated past perfective in (23), and an extensive past perfective in (24).

(22) Waru-latju nyuyu-rayirnu palunyangka-rna nyina-rra
fire-we heap up-p.pf.ext then,ds-I sit-pr.pt
nga-lkulanytja mungarri-ngkulalpi kula. Nga-langu-latju
eat-p.ipf become night-p.pt meat eat-p.pf-we
ngarri-ngu-latju katurri-ngkula pitja-ngu Wurrurru-la-latju
lie-p.pf-we get up-p.pt come-p.pf -at-we
lurrtjurri-ngu nyina-rranytja pirni-ya nyina-rranyangka.
join up-p.pf sit-p.ipf many-they sit-ipf.ct.ds

'Ve heaped up the fire then having become night I was sitting eating meat. We ate it and lay down and got up and came and joined up with the others where they were sitting at Wurrurru and we were sitting there.'
Temporal relations and aspectual markers

(23) Ngarriti-ngu-rna \textit{ngarri-rranytja} ngurra-nguru-ya
lie down-p.pf-I lie-p.ipf camp-from-they
nya-kulatjakurtarra-rtu. \textit{Ngarri-ngu-ngarri-ngu-rna}
far-only here-loc get up-p.pf " -loc
'I lay down and was lying there (on the back of the truck) so that they wouldn't see me from the camp. I lay for a while and got up only after coming some distance, here by the gate.'

" -for cry-p.ipf cry-p.pf.ext become quiet-p.pf
'She was crying for an orange. She cried for a while and became quiet.'

(25) Matjarrpa-ku-lta-yan
enter-f.pf-cl-you all Jameson-ta-kutu mawirrtja-nma purti-ngka.
" -loc-to go quickly-f.ipf thicket-in
Mawirrtja-lku-yan bore ngarnmany-tju nya-ku.....
go quickly-f.pf-you all " first-erg see-f.pf
'Then you will enter the thicket and go quickly towards Jameson. You will go quickly and see the bore first.....'

(26) Ka-ya nga-lku ngarri-ku katurri-ku \textit{nyina-ma}.
&.ds-they eat-c.pf lie-c.pf get up-c.pf sit-c.ipf
\textit{Nyina-ku-ya} puru kutipitja-ku.
sit-c.pf-they again go-c.pf
'And they would eat and sleep and get up and sit. They would sit
Temporal relations and aspectual markers

for a while and then go again.' (Ng. T. 12:6)

2. Situations that are going on simultaneously.

Example (27) shows a past imperfective in a past narrative, example (28) shows an irrealis general in a prophecy, and example (29) shows irrealis general in a description of customs. Notice in example (28) that the singing goes on at the same time as the manager is taking them for a ride.

(27) Sister-nya tirtu nyina-rranytja. Ka-litju tjarungara-ngu-
" -abs still sit-p.ipf &.ds-we two descend-p.pf
litju Rhoda-nya ngayulu mapitja-anu.
we two " -abs I go-p.pf.ext

'Sister was still sitting there. And we two, Rhoda and I, got down and went along for a while.'

(28) Manager-lutjananyanta watikati-ma ride-pa.
" -erg-you all.ob take across-f.ipf " -abs
Farm-patjananyanta kati-rrayilku nintitju-nkulayilku
" -abs-you pl.ob take-f.pf.ext show-f.pf.ext
marlaku-lu kati-ma. Ka-yan turlku-lta
back-erg bring-f.reg &.ds-you all song-then
parrayinka-rrayimma buspa-ngka.
sing around-f.ipf.ext " -in

'The Manager will take you for a ride (every Sunday). He will take you along and show you a lot of farms and bring you back. And as you go you will sing songs in the bus.'
Temporal relations and aspectual markers

cut-c.ipf 'Some would cut up the fat. And others would cut up the leg.'
(Ng. T. 12:38)

3. A situation still going on when the story ends or that goes on into the future.

Example (30) shows past imperfective coming at the conclusion of a past narrative. Example (31) shows an irrealis general imperfective in direct speech in a past narrative. Examples (32) and (33) show irrealis general imperfectives in prophecy and example (34) shows irrealis general in a description of customs.

eat-p.ipf-we there-emph 'We came along and were sitting there. We were sitting eating sweetness at that very place.' (Ng. T. 14:101)

(31) Ka watja-rnu tjitji palunya-lu, "Wiya ka-rna &.ds say-p.pf child that-erg no &.ds-I tirtu mirra-ma."
still shout-f.ipf 'And that child said, "No I will keep on shouting."'
Temporal relations and aspectual markers

(32) Washing-pa-partu-yankun anytime palya-nma-yankun
   " -abs-but-you all.ref1 " do-f.pf-you all.ref1
Nintipayi-la.
   " -at
'But at Nintipayi you can do your washing anytime.'

Sometimes a situation such as this that goes on into the future, will be followed by more specific details in perfective aspect.

(33) But Nintipayi-la kungka-lu palya-nma. earlyone-pa-ya
   " " -at girl-erg do-f.ipf early-they
katurri-ku palya-rayilku ready wanti-ku
get up-f.pf do-f.pf.ext " leave-f.pf
Ka-yan mantji-ra-kutju ya-nku.
&.ds-you all get-p.pt-only go-f.pf
'But at Nintipayi, the girls do (the lunches). They get up early and do them all and leave them ready. And you only have to pick them up and go.'

(34) Tirtu tju-nama pirti palunya-ngka-rtu kutju-ngka-rtu.
still put-c.ipf hole that-in-emph one-in-emph
Ka-ya nga-ikunma.
&.ds-they eat-c.ipf
'The mallee-hen would keep on laying (its eggs) in the same hole, in the one hole. And they would keep on eating it.' (Ng. T. 12:64)

The adverb tirtu 'continually', 'still', 'always' frequently co-occurs with imperfective aspect. I think it would be valid to say

6. I am grateful to Harold Koch for drawing my attention to this fact.
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that about 95% of the occurrences of tirtu are with imperfective aspect. See examples (7), (15), (27), (31) and (34). However where tirtu does occur with perfectives it seems to carry two special types of meaning.

Firstly an idea something like an extensive perfective aspect, a situation that was prolonged for some time but complete.

(35) Parturtu-rna mularrpa rapa-rtu nyina-ngu tirtu.
but-I truly brave-emph sit-p.pf still
'However I truly still sat there bravely.'

Secondly the idea that the effects of the action will continue on into the future.

(36) Tirtu ya-nu.
always go-p.pf
'Gone for good.'

(37) Truck-pa-ya watja-rnu ninti-lkitja-lu tirtu.
"-abs-they say-p.pf give-pf.pur.ss-erg always
'They said they would give the truck for keeps.'

3.3.3 Regressive aspect

The regressive aspect appears to have a wider range of usage in past narrative than in prophecies and descriptions of customs. In past narrative regressive aspect indicates return to the place of speaking or focus (this usage is often accompanied by the words marlaku 'back' and ngurraku 'to camp'), the entry of travellers onto a scene that is to be in focus, the entry onto the scene of important characters, or parenthetical information. In prophecies and descriptions
Temporal relations and aspectual markers

of customs regressive indicates return to place of speaking or focus.

A. Return to place of focus.

Examples (38) and (39) show past regressive in past narrative, example (40) shows an irrealis general regressive in part of a direct quote (a miniature prophecy) in a past narrative, and example (41) shows an irrealis general regressive in a description of customs.


'We speared it, cooked it, got it and came back to camp. We brought it and ate it.' (Ng. T. 9:8-9)


'They came and speared in the south. Having speared (them) dead they returned. They came, and the women danced, happy that they had returned.' (Ng. T. 10:14-15)

(40) Ka-rna yurra-lku kati-ma mungarrtji-lin &.ds-I gather-f.pf bring-f.reg afternoon-we two incl

7. -ngi is past regressive in a neighbouring dialect. Thomas Murray uses this form occasionally.
Temporal relations and aspectual markers

nga-lkukitja-lu.
eat-pur.ss-erg

'And I will gather (them) and bring them back for us to eat in
the afternoon.'

(41) Paa-rayilku-ya mungarrtji pitja-ma. Kati-ku-ya
cook-c.pf.ext-they afternoon come-c.reg bring-c.pf-they
ninti-lku tjilku-ku.
give-c.pf child-to

'They would cook it all and come back in the afternoon. They would
bring it and give it to the children.' (Ng. T. 12:8)

B. Entry of travellers onto a scene that is to be in focus.

(42) Katurri-ngu-latju kapi kutjupa-kutu pitja-nytja creek-ngka
get up-p.pf-we water another-to come-p.reg " -in
ngarri-rranytja. Mapitja-ngu-latju tju-nu.
lie-p.ipf go-p.pf-we put-p.pf

'We got up and came to another waterhole that was lying in the
creek. We went and set our things down.' (Ng. T. 2:5)

C. The entry onto the scene of important participants.

(43) Pitja-ngu-lta-ya lurrtjurri-ngu. Nyiwayi walykumunu
come-p.pf-then-they join up-p.pf young man good
pitjanytja kutjarra-pula. Pitja-ngu young-fellow
come-p.reg two-they two come-p.pf "
kutjarra lurrtjurri-ngu.
two join up-p .pf

'Then they all came and joined up. Two nice young men arrived.
Two young men came and joined up (with them).' (Ng. T. 11:11-12)
Temporal relations and aspectual markers


'They played and played, and a water-snake arrived from over there. Two big water-snakes came from a long way off.....' (Ng. T. 5:23)

D. A parenthetical explanation which includes the idea of arrival at the place of focus particularly after a clause that is a complement of a perception verb.


'I went and saw that Mother had come and was sitting there. (She had come there afterwards along the same way that I had climbed on and gone.)' (Ng. T. 2:24)

(46) Ka nyina-ngu nya-ngu Mr McDougall-nga pitja-ngu. &.ds sit-p.pf see-p.pf " " -abs come-p.pf (Pantjiti-nya-lu katinytja marlaku-lu.) " -abs-her bring-p.reg back-erg

'And (we) sat and saw Mr McDougall come. (He had brought Pantjiti back.)' (Ng. T. 4:35)
Within the discourse, the regressive, like the imperfective, marks a pausing place for the event line. The action is only carried on by the repetition of the verb (or one of similar meaning) in the perfective. Thus in examples (39), (43) and (44), following the occurrence of pitjanytja, pitjangu occurs in the next sentence to carry the event line on. In example (38) the verb katingu 'brought' is the restatement in the perfective that carries the event line on.

In the examples (45 and (46) there is no restatement in the perfective since these contain parenthetical information and are off the event line anyway.

3.3.4 Extensive aspect

Extensive aspect indicates a situation which is prolonged or extended over a period of time.

Extensive perfective indicates a prolonged action which is complete. It commonly occurs after an imperfective. See pitjaanu in example (12) and yularrayirnu in example (24). See also pitjalayilku in example (47) and ngalkulayilku in example (48).

(47) Yiwarra purlkanya-wana-yan tirtu pitja-yinma.
road big-along-you pl still come-f.ipf.ext
Tiwa purlkanya ngara-lanyangka pitja-layilku-yan
far big stand-ipf.ct.ds come-f.pf.ext-you pl
rawa-rtu-yan pitja-layilku.
long time-emph-you all come-f.pf.ext

'You will keep going along the main road. Because it is a very long way you will keep going along, you keep going along a very long time.'
Temporal relations and aspectual markers

(48) Ka-ya palya-ra nga-lkunma. Yatu-ra-ya
&.ds-they do-pr.pt eat-c.ipf pound-pr.pt-they
nga-likulayilku, nyangka kapi-lu pu-ngku muurrpu-ngku.
eat-c.pf.ext &.ds water-erg hit-c.pf dislodge-c.pf
Ka-ya wanti-rra kutipitja-ku.
&.ds-they leave-p.pt go-c.pf

'And they would prepare and eat it. Pounding it they would eat
it until the rain fell and dislodged the seed. Then they would leave
it and go.' (Ng. T. 7:32,33)

However it is not restricted to occurring only following an
imperfective and may occur anywhere a prolonged situation is indicated.
See nyuyurayirnu in example (22) mapitjaanu in (27) and pitjayirnu in
(20). In prophecies see katirrayilku in (28) nintitjunkulayilku in (28)
and palyarayilku in (33). In customs see pitjaanku in (5)
katirrayilku in (5) parranyinarrayilku in (9) paarayilku in (14) and (41)
nyinarrayilku in (17) and pitjayilku in (21).

Reduplicated extensive perfectives also occur indicating
situations the speaker wants to present as slightly more prolonged.
See nyanturayirnu-nyanturayirnu and winytjurayirnu-winytjurayirnu in
example (4) and tjutirayilku-tjutirayilku in example (49).

(49) Palunyalu-ya yurninya purlkanya kanyi-ra ngalkunma.
&.ss-they seed big+abs keep-pr.pt eat-c.ipf
Payiki-ngka tjuti-rayilku-tjuti-rayilku. Katja-ku-rtarra-ya
bag-in pour-c.pf.ext-pour-c.pf.ext son-for - also-they
tjuti-ra tju-nama.
pour-pr.p put-c.ipf

'And they would keep a big lot of seed and eat it. They would
pour a lot into a bag. For their sons also they would pour it and put
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An extensive imperfective indicates an imperfective situation which is viewed as prolonged. See mawiyarringkulayintja in example (7) mapitjaankutja in (12) parrayinkarrayinma in (28) pitjayinma in (47) and matilirayinma and watitilirayinma in (9).

Extensive aspect also occurs with habitual as in example (50).

 &.ds in vain follow-hab &.ds stone-with-emph come-hab.ext
 'And he used to follow in vain. And they used to keep coming along with their grinding stones.' (Ng. T. 13:13)

Extensive aspect also occurs with participles. See pitjaankula in (5) and (14).

3.3.5 Distributive aspect

The distributive aspect is the least common of all the aspects. It has the fairly restricted function of indicating a multiplicity of subjects involved in the same situation.

3.3.5.1 Perfective distributive

A perfective distributive indicates that a multiplicity of subjects are involved in the same situation one after the other. It is often used to describe things that have been done by the ancestors. The use of mirrirringkulawarningu 'died one after the other' has much the same force as 'generation after generation.'

Example (51) shows a past perfective distributive from the end of a description of customs which has changed into past tense. Example (52) shows a general irrealis distributive from a customary section
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within a past narrative.

(51) Mii-ku-lampatju-ya tjamupiri-lu ngarnmanytjatja-lu
    I-poss-our-they ancestors-erg early ones-erg
    nga-langu-nga-langu-ya mirrirri-ngkulawarningu.
    eat-p.pf-eat-p.pf-they die-p.pf.dis

'Generation after generation of our early ancestors ate them
(small marsupials).'
(Ng. T. 14:71)

(52) Rifle-maal-tu-latju kurlarta-tjarra kutipitja-lanytja.
    " -without-erg-we spear-with go-p.ipf
    Pitja-yilku ngara-ku pirnipurlka tjilturru-nku.
    come-c.pf.ext stand-c.pf lots spear-c.pf
    Twelve-pa-rtarrartu tjilturru-nku rifle-maal-tu.
    " -abs-also spear-c.pf " -without-erg
    Ka kutjupatjarra-nya mirrirri-ngkulawarniku.
    &.ds some-def.abs die-c.pf.dis

'Without rifles we were going with spears. We would come along and
stand and spear lots (of kangaroos). We would even spear twelve
without rifles. And some of them would die one after the other.'
(That is, the kangaroos would go away wounded and die one after the other.)
(Ng. T. 9:36-38)

3.3.5.2 Imperfective distributive

An imperfective distributive indicates that a multiplicity of
subjects are involved in a situation at the same time. To my mind it con-
jures up the picture of a number of subjects scattered about an area.

8. I presume that the use of the ergative marker here is an error
which I would expect to be edited out.
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Example (53) shows a past imperfective distributive from a past narrative, while example (54) shows an irrealis general imperfective from a description of customs.

(53) Pitja-ngu-ya kutjupatjarra tiltirrmara
    come-p.pf-they others+abs shiver-pr.pt
nyina-rrawarnintja.
sit-p.ipf.dis

'Others came and were sitting around everywhere shivering.'
(Ng. T. 1:26)

(54) Ka tirtu ngarri-ma. Warta-ngka-rtu
    &.ds still lie-c.ipf tree-on-emph
ngara-lawarnima.
stand-c.ipf.dis

'And the seed would still be there. It would still be there everywhere on the plants.' (Ng. T. 7:31)

3.3.5.3 Present distributive

Present distributive which is also an imperfective aspect also indicates a multiplicity of subjects involved in the same situation at the same time. Example (55) shows a present distributive. This is a small parenthesis in a past narrative explaining how today there are many rockholes because of the activity of the mythological being.

(55) Tjawa-rnu-ya tali parnta-ngka. (Pirti
dig-p.pf-they sandhill base-at hole+abs
ngara-la pulpa. Tjukula pirni-ya ngara-lawarni.)
stand-pr cave+abs small hole many-they stand-pr.dis
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'They dug at the base of the sandhill. (There is a hole there in rock. There are lots of little rock-holes all around.)' (Ng. T.5:9)

3.3.6 Passage of time indicated by verbs

In studying texts in Ngaanyatjarra or in attempting to translate from English to Ngaanyatjarra, it will not be long before one is struck by the absence of expressions such as 'after a while' or 'after some time'. However it is not that such ideas are not expressed in Ngaanyatjarra. Rather they are expressed by verbs rather than adverbial expressions.

Such expressions are conveyed by the stance verbs ngaranytja 'to stand', ngarrinytja 'to lie' and most commonly nyinanytja 'to sit, stay, live'.

These verbs occur in perfective aspect and may be either past realis or general irrealis. Commonly occurring forms of nyinanytja are: perfective - nyinangu, nyinaku; perfective extensive - nyinarrayirnu, nyinarrayilku; and reduplicated perfective - nyinangu-nyinangu, nyinaku-nyinaku.

The amount of time that has passed is not indicated by the form of the verb, but can be deduced from the context.

In example (56) nyinangu-nyinangu probably applies to a period of a couple of hours at the most (more likely only half - 3/4 of an hour) whereas in example (57) it would indicate several days or maybe a couple of weeks.

ka-rni Margaret-tu yarlti-rra kutitja-ngu tirnka-ku-litju.
&.ds-me " -erg call-p.pt go-p.pf goanna-for-we two
Temporal relations and aspectual markers

'We put (the meat) down on a sandhill and were sitting there. We sat for a while, and Margaret having called me, we two went off for goannas.' (Ng. T. 2:20,21)


come-p.pf say-p.pf your " " -abs-quo bring-f.pf

'We used to stay there. We stayed a while and then Mr Kinninmonth came and said, "I will bring your little boy."' (Ng. T. 4:20,21)

In example (58) ngarringu-ngarringu indicates passage of an hour or so during the night.


lie-p.pf-we night-in-we lie-p.ipf

Ngarri-ngu-ngarri-ngu kuli-rnu pitja-ngu.....

lie-p.pf-lie-p.pf hear-p.pf come-p.pf

'We lay down to sleep. We were lying there at night. We lay for a while and heard (them) come...' (Ng. T. 4:23,24)

For reasons that I am not aware of at the moment, in the Ngaanyatjarra Texts, neither Thomas Murray nor his wife use the form nyinarrayirnu / nyinayirnu in past narrative, although nyinangu-nyinangu occurs frequently. In customary mode Thomas Murray uses both nyinaku-nyinaku and nyinarrayilku / nyinayilku.

In example (59), Thomas uses nyinayirnu as a transition from customary mode to past narrative, which is the same function as is
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filled by nyinangu-nyinangu in (57).

(59) Ka-ya ngururrkutjarra-nguru nyina-rra wangurnu nga-lkupayi.
&.ds-they in between-from sit-pr.pt seed sp eat-hab
Ngururrkutjarra nyina-rranytjanu wangurnu marlu-rtarra-ya
in between sit- ipf.ct.ss seed sp kangaroo-also-they nga-lkupayi. Nyina-yirnu-ya marlaku-lta wiyarri-ngkula
eat-hab sit-p.pf.ext-they back-cl finish-p.pt
kutitja-ngu. Tawun-ta-lta-ya tjarrpa-ngu nyina-rra
go-p.pf settlement-at-then-they enter-p.pf sit-pr.pt
pirnirri-ngu.
become many-p.pf

'And those from in between used to eat wangurnu seed. After living in between they ate wangurnu seed and kangaroo. They stayed there and then having disappeared went back entered the settlement and increased in numbers.' (Ng. T. 7:51,52)

3.3.7 Cohesive function of the aspects in discourse

The occurrences of the aspects, particularly perfective and imperfective, have a considerable cohesive function in discourse. In order to highlight this I have set out below a text wherein only the verbs are shown with a symbolic notation that highlights aspect. This text is Experiences at Wingkilina which is shown in full in Appendix I. Since it is a past narrative the tense is past except where shown as customary.

The following is the symbolic notation used:-
. =perfective, -- =imperfective, ~ =extensive perfective, ~ ~ =extensive imperfective, , =participle, h =habitual, c =customary, sc =sensory complement, i =imperative, RA =relator-axis, < =regressive, .-. =reduplicated
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perfective, pur=purpose. Complements of sensation verbs are shown in brackets, as are sentences that are parenthetical, and relator-axis.

1) . pur / 23) . /
2) . pur / 24) h /

25) , h /

3) . . . . (sc) / 26) h /

4) . . / 27) .c .c .c /
5) . . / 28) .c .c .c /
6) . . / 29) .c .c /

7) . . . . / 30) .c <c /

8) . / 31) h

9) " . / 32) " . . " ." /

10) . . " / 33) -- (.RA) /
11) , . / 34) . . /

35) . /

12) . . / 36) -- /

13) . . . . / 37) . . . ( . . ) /
14) . . / 38) . . . /

15) . . (sc) / 39) . . " .i" /
16) . / 40) . . . . /

17) . . / 41) -- /

18) . / 42) . . /

19) -- / 43) . . /

( 20) . -- /

21) -- . / ) 43) . . /

22) . / 44) . /
Temporal relations and aspectual markers

I hope that this display helps to give some idea of the cohesive function of the various aspects. As mentioned previously perfective aspect is the aspect of the event line, while the imperfective aspect marks a pause-point in the event line. This pause is often concluded by the repetition of that same verb in perfective aspect. This alternation of imperfective and perfective aspect is important to the flow of the discourse.

There are several features concerning the co-occurrence of aspectual forms to which I wish to draw attention.

1. Notice a number of perfectives occurring together in strings within one sentence. See sentences (7) and (13). These perfectives within the one sentence cohere closely indicating events occurring in relatively close succession and sharing the one subject and often the same object time and location.

2. Notice extensive perfectives occurring in a string with other perfectives within the sentence. See sentences (9), (10) and (59). The extensive perfective views a situation as prolonged for some time but complete. However it does not usually stand alone in a sentence,
Temporal relations and aspectual markers

but co-occurs with other perfectives, indicating that the situation it
depicts is shown in relation to other situations.

3. Notice the imperfectives occurring in one clause sentences. (see
sentences (19), (36) and (41) ) or at the end of a string of perfectives
(see sentence (60) ). This shows their function as a pause-point in the
discourse.

4. Notice that following an imperfective the next sentence often begins
with a perfective. In (36)-(37) and (60)-(61) this is both a lexical
and a grammatical link.

5. This text also illustrates how a section in the customary may occur
as part of a past narrative. Sentences (24)-(31). This indicates a
series of events that happened not once, but on a number of occasions.
In this section too there is a distinction between imperfective and
perfective. However the imperfective aspect that occurs is the habitual
(which has no perfective form). The habitual occurs as a transition
into a series of sentences in the customary perfective (27)-(30) and
also concludes the section (31).

A knowledge of these ways of linking situations together is
essential to the understanding and production of Ngaanyatjarra
narratives.
Chapter 4  Location and direction in travel and hunting narratives

Australian Aborigines are well known as being a nomadic people. As such, travel was an intrinsic part of their daily life. Without the benefit of the wheel or domesticated riding animals, this travel was necessarily on foot. In the desert, in particular, they travelled long distances.

It is not surprising therefore that the languages of the Australian Aborigines should have a variety of lexical, morphological and syntactic devices to deal especially with travel. A cross-linguistic study of this particular area would be extremely interesting.

In some languages it is necessary to state the directions (i.e. north, south etc) in every sentence.

In other languages forms of the verbs 'come' and 'go' become aspectual markers on other verbs. Dixon (1977:219ff) describes aspectual affixes in Yidiny indicating whether an action was performed during or after 'going' or 'coming'. Chadwick (1975:33ff) describes three types of verbal suffixes in Djingili: motion neutral, 'go' finals and 'come' finals. Harold Koch (p.c.) describes similar forms for Kaititj.

Many languages have a form of the verb 'come' or 'go' which is pronounced with one or two lengthened vowels (especially the final one) and an extended high pitch, and which indicates prolonged or extended movement. Some of the languages with this feature are: Burrarra (K. Glasgow p.o), Nunggubuyu (K. Warren p.c), Kaititj (H. Koch p.c.), Walmatjari and Kimberley Kriol (J. Hudson p.c.).

An examination of travel or hunting narratives in Ngaanyatjarra shows that any 'journey' typically involves three phases, which I have termed departure, transit, and arrival. (I am here using the word 'journey' in a special sense to indicate a unit of travel. This may be what is normally called a journey from one place to another.)
Location and direction in travel and hunting narratives

Or it may be a day's hunting which ends up back at the starting place, the camp from which the participants set off. Or it may be movement from one scene to another during a hunting excursion. In these latter cases there is often only a departure and transit phase.)

It is often the case that the three phases of movement are encoded by three different verbs, and typically the verb encoding the transit phase is in the extensive perfective aspect. There is thus both lexical and grammatical cohesion evident in the description of these "journeys". There is lexical cohesion in the way certain motion verbs typically encode the phases of a "journey" and grammatical cohesion in the way the transit phase is very often encoded by a verb in extensive perfective, following the verb in the departure phase which is usually in perfective aspect.

There is however considerable variety in the way the three phases are encoded as I will describe presently.

4.1 The motion verbs and the directional prefixes

There are five directional prefixes (ma- 'away', wati- 'across', parra- 'around', ngalya- 'towards' and kuti- 'out') and five motion verbs to which these prefixes are most commonly attached. (pitjanytja 'come' katinytja 'bring', wirrtjantja 'come quickly', kukurraantja 'run' and wanantja 'follow'), although the prefixes may be attached to other verbs. The co-occurrence of the verbs and the prefixes is set out in Chart I. (x indicates an occurrence.)

There is considerable variation among the dialects of Western Desert regarding the occurrence and meaning of some of these forms. Note that the information here applies only to Ngaanyatjarra.

The unprefixed forms of pitjanytja, katinytja and wirrtjantja imply motion towards the speaker or place of focus, and thus in
Location and direction in travel and hunting narratives

**CHART I**

Occurrence of directional prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Directional Prefix</th>
<th>pitjanytja 'come'</th>
<th>katinytja 'bring'</th>
<th>wirrtjantja 'come quickly'</th>
<th>kukurraantja 'run'</th>
<th>wanantja 'follow'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kuti- 'out'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma- 'away'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wati- 'across'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parra- 'around'</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngalya 'towards'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Location and direction in travel and hunting narratives

Ngaanyatjarra they do not usually co-occur with ngalya- 'towards'. The unprefixed forms of kukurraantja and wanantja are more neutral with respect to direction and may occur with all prefixes (except kuti-). The direction of wanantja can be largely indicated by who or what is being followed. The -rni 'me' suffix would indicate towards speaker.

It is difficult to give an accurate gloss for the prefix kuti-. Kutipitjanytja means 'to set off' or 'set out' on a journey or a hunting expedition and thus kutikatinytja 'to take' on a journey or hunting expedition. Also kuti- occurs only with pitjanytja and katinytja.

Some speakers elide the first syllable of katinytja and pitjanytja with some prefixes. With katinytja the syllable ka- may be elided when the prefixes kuti-, ma-, wati, or parra- are added e.g. kutitingu, matingu, waitingu, parratingu. With pitjanytja the syllable pi- may be elided when the prefixes kuti-, wati-, and parra- are added e.g. kutitjangu, waitjangu, and parratjangu.

There is one other common motion verb yankutja 'go' which is not prefixed in Ngaanyatjarra.

4.2 Combination of motion verbs and aspectual markers in travel

In Ngaanyatjarra it would be most unnatural to say 'We went from A to B'. This idea is perhaps best expressed in Ngaanyatjarra as 'We came along and slept at A. We got up and went along and slept at B.'

1. It could be that yankutja is a fairly recent borrowing into Pitjanytjatjarra, Ngaatjatjarra and Ngaanyatjarra. Yankunytjatjarra, the dialect to the east of Pitjanytjatjarra is presumably distinguished from Pitjanytjatjarra by having yankutja as the basic verb of movement whereas Pitjanytjatjarra has pitjanytja. This could explain why yankutja is not prefixed in Ngaanyatjarra, nor does it encode departure phase of a 'journey'.
Location and direction in travel and hunting narratives

This is shown in example (1).

(1) Pitja-yirnu-latju Multju-la ngarri-ngu, katurri-ngu
come-p.pf.ext-we " -at lie-p.pf get up-p.pf
mapitja-yirnu Murily-tja ngarri-ngu.
go-p.pf.ext " -at lie-p.pf
'We came along and slept at Multju. We got up and went along
and slept at Murily. (NG. T. 9:24)

The form 'We set out. We came along and arrived at B.' or
'We set out for B. We came along and arrived.' is also quite common as
in examples (2) and (3).

(2) Paa-rnu-latju mantji-ra kutipitja-ngu. Pitja-anu-latju
cook-p pf-we get-p.pt set out-p.pf come-p.pf.ext-we
Pilpirr-ku parrapitja-ngu.
" -to arrive-p.pf
'We cooked it and having got it set out. We came along and
arrived at Pilpirr.' (Ng. T. 15:23)

(3) Ka-latju ngarri-ngu tjirnturri-ngu Multju-ku kutitja-ngu
&.ds-we lie-p.pf become day-p.pf " -for set out-p.pf
kapi pirrkili. Pitja-yirnu-latju Multju-la ngarri-ngu.
water claypan come-p.pf-ext-we " -at lie-p.pf
'We slept the night and set out for Multju, a claypan. We came
along and slept at Multju.' (Ng. T. 9:23)

Thus it seems that in Ngaanyatjarra the journey is seen as having
three phases which I have termed departure, transit and arrival
Location and direction in travel and hunting narratives

(D, T, & A). Thus example (2) is one where each phase is realized by a separate verb: *kutipitjangu* (D), *pitjaanu* (T) and *parrapitjangu* (A). In example (3) the transit phase is realized by *pitjayirnu* but the arrival phase is not realized.

Upon examination of a number of travel and hunting narratives, these three phases of the 'journey' are often quite apparent, although there is considerable variation in the way they are realized. Chart II is an attempt to summarize 67 'journeys.' In 15 of these there is a separate verb for each phase of the 'journey.'

There are also 13 'journeys' where the arrival phase is not realized. In order to consider why this should be so and also to contrast these 'journeys' with those which have only departure and transit but no arrival, we shall need to look more closely at what constitutes an arrival.

4.2.1 What constitutes an arrival?

I have taken the following to be the realization of arrival.

1) The occurrence of *pitjangu* 'came' the non-extensive perfective.
2) The occurrence of similar verbs such as *watipitjangu* 'came across' *parrapitjangu* 'arrived' or *waalkarrarnu* 'came into view'.
3) The occurrence of a verb in regressive aspect indicating return to or arrival at place of speaking or focus. e.g. *katinytja*, *pitjanytja* or *wirrtjantja*.

There are a number of other factors that indicate that an arrival took place. These sometimes co-occur with the verbal realizations listed above. In other instances these features occur

2. *Parrapitjangu* may also occur with its more literal meaning of 'come around'. But in these cases it is quite clear from the context that it doesn't mean 'arrive'.
Location and direction in travel and hunting narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Departure</th>
<th>Transit</th>
<th>Arrival</th>
<th>No. of Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kutipitjangu</td>
<td></td>
<td>pitjangu</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutipitjangu</td>
<td>pitjayirnu/pitjaanu/pitjalanu</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutipitjangu</td>
<td>pitjayirnu</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>kutipitjangu</td>
<td>pitjayintja</td>
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</tr>
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<td>kutipitjangu</td>
<td>pitjayirnu</td>
<td>pitjangu</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>kutipitjangu</td>
<td>pitjayirnu</td>
<td>parrapitjangu</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutipitjangu</td>
<td>pitjayirnu</td>
<td>watipitjangu</td>
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<td>pitjayirnu</td>
<td>waalkarrarnu</td>
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</tr>
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<td>kutipitjangu</td>
<td>pitjayirnu</td>
<td>wirrtjarnu (? paraphrase)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutitjangu</td>
<td>pitjayirnu</td>
<td>katinytja</td>
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<td>mapitjangu</td>
<td></td>
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<td>mapitjangu</td>
<td>#</td>
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<td>pitjangu</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>mapitjaanu )</td>
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<td>mapitjalanu</td>
<td>ngarangu</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>wirrtjarnu</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

.../cont'd.
### CHART II (Cont'd)

Realization of phases of a journey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Departure</th>
<th>Transit</th>
<th>Arrival</th>
<th>No. of Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kutipitjangu</td>
<td>mawirrtjarnu</td>
<td>parrapitjangu</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(? paraphrase)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutikatingu</td>
<td>katingu</td>
<td>pitjangu</td>
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<tr>
<td>yanu</td>
<td>mapitjayirnu</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yanu</td>
<td>mapitjayirnu</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukurraarnu</td>
<td>kukurrpa pitjaanu</td>
<td>pitjangu</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukurraarnu</td>
<td>kukurrpa pitjayirnu</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngalyakukurraarnu</td>
<td>kukurrpa pitjaanu</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katurringu</td>
<td>pitjayirnu</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
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<td>katurringu</td>
<td>mapitjangu</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>mapitjangu</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katurringu</td>
<td>mapitjayirnu</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>mapitjayirnu</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>mapitjayirnu</td>
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<td>mapitjalunu</td>
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<td>pitjayirnu</td>
<td>parrapitjangu</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawirrtjarnu</td>
<td>pitjayirnu</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mapitjayirnu</td>
<td>parrapitjangu</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pitjayirnu</td>
<td>parrapitjangu</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Location and direction in travel and hunting narratives

occur without any verbal realization of the arrival phase, but these features and the following context indicate that an arrival has taken place.

1) The occurrence of the word ngurra 'camp', kapi 'water-hole', or a specific place-name, unless it is stated that the place was 'passed by', 'eaten at' or 'drunk from' only.

2) The occurrence of verbs such as nyinarranytja 'was sitting', tjunu 'put down' and ngarringu 'slept' (except if accompanied by ngatalpartu 'not quite there'.)

On Chart II I have marked those 'journeys' where there is evidence for arrival, but no verbal realization by #, to differentiate from those 'journeys' where there is no evidence of arrival.

4.2.2 Transit and extensive aspect

In the 67 journeys that have been studied there are 64 that include a transit phase. In 48 of the 64 instances of transit phase, the verb indicating this phase is in extensive aspect. This is not altogether surprising since the function of the extensive aspect is to indicate a situation as prolonged in time or space. It is these forms in Ngaanyatjarra which may have further lengthening of vowels and extended high pitch as mentioned at the beginning of the chapter.

(4) pitja-yirnu::: parrapitja-ngu.
    come-p pf.ext     arrive-p pf

'Came along:::, and arrived.'

3. I had previously considered these instances to be a collapse of transit and arrival phases. I am grateful to my colleague Dorothy Hackett for the suggestion that arrival is not realized in these instances.
Location and direction in travel and hunting narratives

There is considerable variation in the form of the extensive aspect in Ngaanyatjarra. The most common forms are: pitjayirnu, pitjaanu, and pitjalanu.

4.2.3 Lexical realization of the three phases

Each of the three phases is typically realized by certain verbs.

4.2.3.1 Departure

The most common realization of the departure phase is kutipitjangu (or kutitjangu) 'set out'. (See examples (2) and (3).) This occurs in 48 of the 67 examples. Other verbs that encode departure are kutikatingu (or kutitingu) 'took on a journey', yanu 'went' kukurraarnu 'ran' or ngalyakukurraarnu 'ran towards' where these latter two have the meaning of setting off in a motor vehicle.

Departure is also sometimes encoded by katurringu 'got up' which is often a prerequisite to setting out, but in some cases it could be said that ellipsis takes place and katurringu stands for the whole departure phase. There are also a few examples where departure is encoded by mapitjangu 'went' or mawirrtjarnu 'went quickly'. Examples are shown below.

Departure realized by kutikatingu 'took on a journey'.


'He came and got Anna and Pantjiti and me and took us to Warburton. He brought us. We had dinner at Giles.' (Ng. T. 4:39)
Location and direction in travel and hunting narratives

Departure realized by yanu 'went'

(6) May holiday time-latju ya-nu well-ku. Mapitja-yirnu
   " " " -we go-p.pf " -to go-p.pf.ext
   Warupuyu-la-latju nyina-rra mirrka paa-ra nga-langu.
   " -at-we sit-pr.pt food cook-pr.pt eat-p.pf

'In the May holidays we went to the well. We went along and at Warupuyu we sat and cooked food and ate it.' (Ng. T. 2:1)

The verb yanu may have a more general usage than kutipitjangu. In example (7) yanu seems to be doing double duty as an introduction to the whole discourse, as well as encoding the departure phase of the 'journey'. In the material examined, there is no example showing the three phases, where departure is encoded by yanu, although some speakers tend to use yanu more than others.

Departure encoded by kukurraarnu 'ran', 'sped'.

   come quickly-p.pf-we climb-p.pt speed-p.pf swiftly-abs-we
   pitja-anu ngurra-kutu pitja-ngu.
   come-p.pf.ext camp-to come-p.pf

'We came quickly and having climbed on sped off. We came swiftly along and came to camp.'

Departure encoded by katurringu 'got up'.

   eat-p.pf-we get up-p.pf swiftly-abs come-p.pf.ext

'We had dinner and then came swiftly along some distance.'

(Ng. T. 4:7)

4. There is a sub-type of adjective in Ngaanyatjarra, which although separated from the NP or occurring without the NP is case-marked either ergative or absolutive to agree with the verb for transitivity.
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(9) Nga-langu-litju katurri-ngu mapitja-yirnu nyinnga-ngka
    eat-p.pf-we two get up-p.pf go-p.pf.ext winter-in
    tjurntalpa purlkanya wangka-rranyangka.
    east wind big talk-ipf.ct.ds

'We ate and got up and went along in the winter time, when a
very cold east wind was blowing.' (Ng. T. 14:81)

Although katurringu may encode the departure phase it is not as
separate from the transit phase as kutipitjangu is. Katurringu is often
in the same sentence as the verb encoding transit in the extensive
aspect.

Departure realized by mapitjangu 'went'.

(10) Ka-litju mapitja-ngu. Mapitja-lanu-litju nya-ngu
    &.ds-we two go-p.pf go-p.pf.ext-we two see-p.pf
    pirti-ya tjawa-rnu wanti-nyangka puru-litju mapitja-ngu.
    hole-they dig-p.pf leave-pf.ct.ds again-we two go-p.pf

'And we two went. We went along and when we saw a hole that they
had dug and left we again went away.'

(11) Blackstone-nga-latju wanti-rra mapitja-ngu. Pitja-yirnu-latju
    " -abs-we leave-p.pt go-p.pf come-p.pf.ext-we
    mungarrtji parrapitja-ngu Wingkilina-ku.
    afternoon arrive-p.pf " -to

'Leaving Blackstone we went on. We came along some distance and
arrived at Wingkilina in the afternoon.' (Ng. T. 4:7)

In example (11) the journey actually starts at Warburton and
Blackstone was a place that was passed on the way to Wingkilina.
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Therefore *mapitjangu* may be encoding an incidental rather than a 'real' departure. Examples (10) and (12) are also similar in that the departures encoded are not the original departure.

Departure realized by *mawirrtjarna* 'went quickly'.

(12) Paa-rnu-litju nga-langu. Katurri-ngu-litju
    cook-p.pf-we two eat-p.pf get up-p.pf-we two
    mawirrtja-rnu. Pitja-yirnu-litju,
    go quickly-p.pf come-p.pf.ext-we two
    maku-litju nga-langu nga-langu.
    bardie-grub-we two eat-p.pf eat-p.pf

'We cooked and ate it. We got up and went off quickly. We came along and ate lots of bardie-grubs.' (Ng. T. 14:79)

4.2.3.2 Arrival

There are 20 examples where arrival phase is realized. The most common verb is *parrapitjangu* 'arrived' (8 examples) followed by *pitjangu* 'came' (7 examples). Other verbs are *watipitjangu* 'came across', *waalkarrarnu* 'came into view', *katingu* 'brought' or *katinytja* 'brought back' and *ngarangu* 'stopped'. With the exception of *katinytja* which is regressive aspect, they are all in the past perfective non-extensive aspect. Examples are shown below.

Arrival realized by *pitjangu* see example (7).

Arrival realized by *parrapitjangu* see example (2).

Arrival realized by *watipitjangu* 'went across'

(13) Ngarri-ngu-latju tjirnturri-ngkula kutipitja-ngu
    lie-p.pf-we become day-p.pt set out-p.pf
    ngana-ku, Warrurulyupungku-ku. Pitja-yirnu-latju
    what place-to " -to come-p.pf.ext-we
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watipitja-ngu.

come across-p.pf

'Having slept the night we set off for where? for Warrurulyupungku. We came along and came across.' (Ng. T. 9:33)

Arrival realized by waalkarrarnu 'came into view'

(14) Ka-lta kutipitja-ngu-pula katurri-ngkula.
&.ds-then set out-p.pf-they two get up-p.pt

Pitja-yirnu-pula ngururrpa-rtu tjirnturri-ngkulalpi-lta
come-p.pf.ext-they two in between-emph become day-p.pt-then

munga-munga-ngka waalkarra-rnu.
early morning-in come into view-p.pf

'And then they got up and set off. They came along and it became day as they were still coming along and in the early morning they came into view.' (Ng. T. 9:47)

Arrival realized by katinytja 'brought back'

(15) Ka-ya kutitja-ngu Nola-nya Margaret-nga Elizabeth-nga.
&.ds-they set out-p.pf " -abs " -abs -abs

Pitja-yirnu-ya tjulya-rnu rabbit-pa kati-nytja.
come-p.pf.ext catch-p.pf " -abs bring-p.reg

'And Nola, Margaret and Elizabeth went out (hunting). They came along caught some rabbits and brought them back.' (Ng. T. 2:18)

In this example the use of the regressive aspect indicates return to the place of departure.

Arrival realized by ngarangu 'stopped'

In the following example the arrival was not at any particular place, but at the place where they stopped the vehicle before spreading
Out to dig rabbits.


stand-p.pf

'We came along and having left the well went towards the other one, the one beyond Kamina. We went along and stopped.'

4.2.3.3 Transit

The transit phase is most commonly encoded by verbs in extensive aspect. These are almost always forms of pitjanytja 'come' or mapitjanytja 'go'.

It is very difficult to determine the reason for the speaker's choice of mapitjanytja or pitjanytja. The use of the prefix ma- appears to be very subjective, depending on whether the speaker envisages the participant as going away from the place of the last event, or going towards the place of the next event.

Example (3) is one where we can assume the speaker views the participants as going towards the place of the next event, while (6), (9), (10) and (16) are examples where we can assume that the speaker views the participants as going away from the place of the last event.

Where the place which is the goal of the journey is mentioned in combination with the departure verb kutipitjangu, most examples have pitjayirnu rather than mapitjayirnu in the extensive aspect for the transit phase. Example (3) exemplifies this.

We have one example where the transit phase is encoded by the verb
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ngurrintja 'search'.

(17) Kutipitja-ngu-latju ngurri-rayirnu pitja-ngu ngarri-ngu
set out-p.pf-we search-p.pf.ext come-p.pf lie-p.pf
tjirnturri-ngkula katurri-ngkula ngana-ku
become day-p.pt get up-p.pt what place-to
kutitja-ngu Kantjil-ku.
set out-p.pf " -to

'We set out, searched for a while, came and slept the night and
having got up set out for where?, for Kantjil.' (Ng. T. 9:26)

Transit phase may also be encoded by the perfective form of
wirrtjantja. It seems that since its basic meaning is 'came quickly'
it focuses more on how the person came than on their actual arrival.
Example (18) is one where arrival phase is not realized.

(18) Ka mirtu-rnu wanti-rra tjawa-rnu kutipitja-ngu.
&.ds see track-p.pf leave-p.pt dig-p.pf set out-p.pf
Kapi-ngka wirrtja-rnu nyina-rranytja.
water-at come quickly-p.pf sit-p.ipf

'And having seen the tracks he set out quickly. He came quickly
and was sitting at the water-hole.' (Ng. T. 11:24)

4.2.4 The non-realization of arrival phase

As described in section 4.2.1 there are 13 instances where
features of arrival are present, but there is no verbal realization of
arrival. Examples of this are set out below. All of these examples

5. Tjawarnu kutipitjangu (lit. 'dug went') is an idiomatic expression
meaning 'went quickly'.
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show departure and transit phases.

(19) Palunya-ngka-latju ngarri-ngu katurri-ngkula
    that-at-we lie-p pf get up-p pt
Wartayilkarnu-ku kutitja-ngu. Pitja-yirnu-latju
    " -to set out-p pf come-p pf.ext-we
maŋju-nu-latju.
put-p pf-we
'We slept there and having got up set out for Wartayilkarnu.
We came along and put our things down.' (Ng. T. 9:31)

(20) Ka-latju Christmas time-latju nga-langu katurri-ngkula
    &.ds-we " " -we eat-p pf get up-p pt
yalatja kutitja-ngu, kutjulpirtu Mr Jone-nga time.
journey set out-p pf previously
Mapitja-ngu-latju ngana-la .ngarri-ngu Warupuyu-la.
go-p pf-we what place-at lie-p pf " -at
'Some time ago, in Mr Jones' time we ate our Christmas fare and
then set out on a journey. We went and slept at what place? at
Warupuyu.' (Ng. T. 9:1)

(21) Ka-latju wanti-rra kutipitja-ngu. Mapitja-ngu nya-ngu
    &.ds-we leave-p pt set out-p pf go-p pf see-p pf
kuka palunya-nya ngarri-rranytja ngurra-ngka.
meat that-abs lie-ipf.sc camp-in
'And having left we set out. We went and saw that meat lying
in camp.' (Ng. T. 9:21)
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(22) Katurri-ngu-latju mapitja-ngu Winpuly-tja tju-nu.
get up-p pf -we go-p pf " -at put-p pf
'We got up and went and put our things at Winpuly.' (Ng. T. 2:3)

There also seems to be evidence that mapitjangu can stand for the
whole three phases of the journey when the speaker wishes to be brief.
Example (23) shows mapitjangu encoding the whole three phases of
a journey.

(23) ...ngarri-ngu Warupuyu-la. Mapitja-ngu-latju Winpuly-nga
lie-p pf " -at go-p pf -we " -abs
tjiki-rnu wayinta-nu mapitja-ngu Mamayin-ta ngarri-ngu.
drink-p pf go past-p pf go-p pf " -at lie-p pf
'...(we) slept at Warupuyu. We went and drank at Winpuly and
went past, went and slept at Mamayin.' (Ng. T. 9:2)

4.2.5 Other parameters - (speed and motor vehicles)

When the journey is undertaken with speed, this may be encoded in
more than one phase of the journey. For example the idiomatic
combination tjawarnu kutipitjangu 'went quickly' is combined with
wirrtjarnu 'came quickly' in example (18) and several others.

When the journey is by motor vehicle this may be indicated by the
occurrence of the verb kukurraarnu 'ran' or 'sped' in the departure
phase as in example (7). Where this is so the transit phase will
include the adverb kukurrpa 'swiftly' as well as the verb in the
extensive aspect. When the journey is by motor vehicle kukurrpa will
usually appear in the transit phase even if the departure phase is
not encoded by kukurraarnu. (See example (8).)

There is indeed considerable variety in the ways a 'journey' may
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be described in Ngaanyatjarra. There are however, clear cohesive patterns. Usually, as we have seen, a motion verb cannot be fully understood in terms solely of the sentence in which it stands. It is likely to be part of a pattern for describing a 'journey' which extends over several sentences, a pattern in which there is lexical cohesion between the forms of the motion verbs and grammatical cohesion particularly where a transit verb in the extensive perfective follows a departure verb in the perfective.
So far I have discussed cohesion in Ngaanyatjarra narrative as it is evidenced with old and new information, by the pronoun enclitics, the switch reference conjunctions and aspectual markers on verbs. In addition to these there are several other cohesive elements which I propose to discuss in this chapter. These are: the adverb puru 'again', the suffix -lpi 'in turn', the suffix -lta marking climax, finality or anaphoric reference to location, parturtu marking contra-expectation, and ellipsis.

5.1 The adverb puru 'again'

The adverb puru is a cohesive element in that it indicates
1) that the situation to which it refers has happened before (either in its entirety, or with another subject, or with another object) or
2) that the entity to which it refers is another instance of something previously referred to. Although in the heading above I have glossed puru as 'again', its meaning is rather wider including 'also' and 'more' in certain situations as will be shown below.

In English the adverb 'again' is used to refer to a repetition of a proposition, that is, a verb and its arguments. If we wish to refer to the repetition of the verb with a different subject or object we would not use the word 'again'.

(1) Tom went to Sydney.
   Bill went to Sydney too.
(2) Mary bought a dress.
   She bought a skirt too.

However in Ngaanyatjarra puru is used mainly to mark the repetition of a situation regardless of whether it has the same participants.

In example (3) puru marks the repetition of the whole proposition as in English. (In the examples below the first sentence is the
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instance of a particular situation to which the second sentence refers. The second sentence is the one with the word puru. The references at the end of each sentence refer to the volume *Ngaanyatjarra Texts*, and give some indication of how far back the reference extends.)

(3)  

Ka-ya mirra-rraanku palunyangka pirmipurlka-ya &.ds-they shout-c.pf.ext then a lot-abs-they tjilturru-nku. ----  (Ng. T. 14:12) spear-c.pf


'And when (the women) would shout for some time, they (the men) would spear a great number (of kangaroos).----'

'And (the women) would go around and shout across. And (the men) would again spear a lot and put them together and bring them.'

In example (4) puru marks the repetition of the situation but the subject is different.

(4)  

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palunyangka wangurnu puru katurri-ngku.

then " again get up-c.pf

'They would eat (the wild tobacco), and after dropping and leaving it come and see that seeds had come up, the ones they had dropped and left, because it had rained.'----- (Ng. T. 14:29)

'They would stay for a while and again the rain would rain for a while and because of that wangurnu also would come up.' (Ng. T. 14:48)

In example (5) puru marks the repetition of the situation but the object is different.


'We came along and went across and speared a kangaroo in the hip and broke (the bone).....'

'We got it and brought it and cooked it, we brought a goanna also.'

This example goes on to state that it was actually Tall John who brought the goanna; but he can be presumed to be included in the 'we'.

In example (6) puru marks another instance of many men, even though they are not involved in the same situation.
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come-p.pf

'And he came quickly and joined up where a great crowd of men were sitting. They joined up and sat there for a while and saw another group of men come.' (Ng. T. 11:10,11)

In examples (7) and (8) puru seems to be functioning to list things that the turkey saw on his journey. They have not been previously seen by him.

(7) Mapitja-anu puru nya-ngu yirliltu.
go-p.pf.ext again see-p.pf honey-ant

'He went along and also saw honey ants.' (Ng. T. 1:59)

stand-pr good food

'He came quickly and also saw kampurarrpa fruit; it is good food.' (Ng. T. 1:62)
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5.2 The suffix -lpi 'in turn'

The suffix -lpi 'in turn' occurs on parts of speech other than verbs. Although it is not particularly common in text, when it does occur it has a cohesive function for it marks the referent of the part of speech on which it occurs as being different from what has happened previously.

In example (9) -lpi is suffixed to the object NP.

(9) Ka-ya puru nga-lku mirrka-lpi, wangurnu-lpi.
&.ds-they again eat-c.pf food+abs-in turn " +abs-in turn 'And they would again eat food, wangurnu seed this time.'

(Ng. T. 14:49)

The previous section of this text described how they would go and exchange dingo scalps for the white-man's flour and bring this back to share with the group. Then when they had eaten it all they would forget about it. So then they would eat wangurnu instead.

In example (10) -lpi is suffixed to the locational adverb nyarratja 'there (distant)'.

(10) Tjulya-rnu-ya puru yikarri-ngkulayirnu-ya puru
grab-p.pf-they again laugh-p pf.ext-they again
katurri-ngkula nyarratja-lpi-ya kutitja- ngu.
get.up-p.pt there-in turn-they go-p.pf
'They grabbed (at the turkey) and again laughed and laughed and

1. The form -lpi has two other functions. 1) As a verbal suffix -lpi marks a past participle preceding non-motion verbs (Glass & Hackett 1970:31, 104). 2) A rarer usage forms derived time words from nouns. e.g. tawun-maal-ta-lpi (settlement-not-when-then) 'before there was a settlement'.
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again having got up went off in that direction this time.' (Ng. T. 1:36)

Here the use of -lpi implies that they are going in a different
direction from where they had previously.

In example (11) -lpi is suffixed to the subject NP.

(11) Kutjupatjarra-ya kurlarta-ya kartarnta-nku,
others-they spear+abs-they break-c.pf
marrpuri tjawa-ra katatju-rayilku, kuka-rtarra
root+abs dig-pr.pt build big fire-c.pf.ext meat+abs-also
marlu paa-rayilku palunyangka-rtu wartu-lku.
kangaroo+abs cook-c.pf.ext there-emph stretch-c.pf
Ngurra-ku-ya kutipitja-ku kultupayil-maal-ku.
camp-to-they go-c.pf cook meat-without-to
Ka-ya kutjupatjarra-nya-lpi watipitja-ku.
&.ds-they others-def+abs-in turn go across-c.pf

'Some of them would go and break (roots) for spears. Having dug
up roots they would heap up a big fire, and cook the kangaroo meat
too, and at the same time straighten (the spears). (Then) they would
go to camp to those without any cooked meat. And the others in turn
would go across.' (Ng. T. 14:18)

5.3 The suffix -lta

The suffix -lta is very common in narrative discourse. It
occurs suffixed to verbs, NPs, time words and conjunctions. On an NP
it occurs after the case-marking, and wherever it co-occurs with
pronoun enclitics, it precedes them. The suffix -lta may be loosely
translated 'then' or 'there', but such a translation does not in any
way explain its usage. It appears to have two usages, both cohesive
in the discourse. These are, firstly to mark climax in a discourse or
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a sequence of actions, and secondly to refer to a place previously
mentioned in the discourse. (With this usage it is only suffixed to
verbs.) The former usage is by far the most common.

5.3.1 As a marker of climax

When -lta occurs marking a climactic action or sequence of
actions, an understanding of this can only be obtained by perusal of
the preceding section of the discourse.

The sentence in example (12) with three instances of -lta occurs
as the climax of a carefully laid plot by the cannibal to kill the
two young men.

(12) Palunyalu wirnta mantji-ra-lta
&.ss fighting spear+abs get-p.pt-cl
panyka-rnu-lta panyka-panyka-ra-lta tili-ralpi
creep-p.pf-cl creep stealthily-pr.pt-cl light-p.pt
katu-ralpi nya-ngu, light-pa nyaa-ralpi.
lift-p.pt see-p.pf " -abs do-p.pt

'And then having got his fighting spear he crept, creeping
stealthily having lit a firestick, having lifted it up he looked,
having lifted the light.' (Ng. T. 11:48)

In example (13) the nearness of the climactic event is signalled
over several sentences. In this story there was a group of people who
were travelling along. The women in the party were collecting and
grinding wangurnu seed while the men were spearing emus. There was
one man who was trying to catch up to this group so that he could eat
some of the wangurnu seed. However the distance was just too great and
each night he would be forced to make his camp and sleep before he
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caught up with the group.

Ka-lta ngurra-lta ngamuntirri-ngu ngurra purlka-nya, &.ds-cl place-cl come near-p.pf place big-abs
kapi pirti Walu-nya-lta ngamuntirri-ngu kapi
water hole " -abs-cl come near-p.pf water
palunya. (Mr Wade-nga ninti palunya-ku, nya-ngu
that " -abs knows that-for see-p.pf
palunyalu) Ka parrapitja-ngu-lta.....
and.ss &.ds arrive-p.pf-cl
Ka wati ngaa palunya-lu purtu wana-rnu-wana-rnu
&.ds man this that-erg in vain follow-p.pf-follow-p.pf
wanti-rralpi piriya-lta palya-rnu, yunpalara palya-rnu.
leave-p.pt wind-cl make-p.pf whirlwind+abs make-p.pf
'He followed in vain, he followed and followed. And the place
came nearer, that place, the water-hole Walu, that water came closer.
(Mr Wade knows that place, having seen it.) And he arrived.....And
that man having followed and followed in vain and left it made a wind,
he made a whirlwind.' (Ng. T. 13:20-23)

The suffix -lta may also mark the climax or purpose of a shorter
sequence of actions as in example (14).

(14) Palunyalu yapu yatu-rayilku murilyma-nku
&.ss stone+abs hit-c.pf.ext make smooth-c.pf
smoothyonema-nku rulyupu-ngku-lta.
make smooth-c.pf grind-c.pf-cl
'And then (they) would hit the stone and make it smooth and
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finally grind (the seed).' (Ng. T. 7:23)

5.3.2 As an anaphoric reference to location

A specific anaphoric reference to a location can be made by the phrase ngurra palunyangka 'at that same place'. However the use of -lta is not so strong.

(15) Nga-langu-latju kukurr-pa pitja-yirnu mungarrtji
    eat-p.pf-we swiftly-abs come-p.pf.ext afternoon
parrapitja-ngu Warburton-ku. Parratja-ngu
come around-p.pf " -to come around-p.pf
tjarungara-ngu-lta, ka Maureen-tu wirrtja-rnu
descend-p.pf-there &.ds " -erg come quickly-p.pf
yampu-rnu Vincent-nga parratja-ngu nyina-rranjtja.
pick up-p.pf " -abs come around-p.pf sit-p.ipf
Nyina-ngu-lta-latju ya-nu holiday-ku well-ku.
sit-p.pf-there-we go-p.pf " -for " -to
'We had dinner and then came along swiftly and arrived at Warburton in the afternoon. We arrived and got down there and Maureen came quickly and picked up Vincent and went around and was sitting there. We stayed there and then went for a holiday to the well.' (Ng. T. 4:41-43)

In this example, the first instance of -lta is ambiguous in that it could be regarded as the climax of the journey. However the second instance is not climactic and appears to be an anaphoric reference to location.

In example (16) -lta seems best interpreted as referring to the place where the others have already met together.
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(16) Ka wirrtja-rnu lurrtjurri-ngu wati &.ds come quickly-p.pf join up-p.pf man
pirnipurlka-ya nyina-rranyangka purlkawati.
lots+abs-they sit-ipf.ct.ds crowd
Lurrtjurri-ngu-ya nyina-ngu-nyina-ngu nya-ngu puru-ya
join up-p.pf-they sit-p.pf-sit-p.pf see-p.pf again-they
wati pirni-nya pitja-ngu. Pitja-ngu-lta-ya
man many-def.abs come-p.pf come-p.pf-there-they
lurrtjurri-ngu. Nyiwayi walykumunu pitja-nytja
join up-p.pf young man good+abs come-p.reg
kutjarra-pula.
two-they two

'And he came quickly and joined up where a great crowd of men were sitting. They joined up and sat there for a while and saw another group of men come. They came there and joined up with them. Two handsome young men came there.' (Ng. T. 11:10-12)

Example (17) is another example where -lta refers to previously mentioned location.

(17) Ka Ngunytjurti-nya rabbit-ku ya-nu. Pitja-ngu-lta &.ds Mother-abs " -for go-p.pf come-p.pf-there
purtu nya-ngu-tju.
in vain see-p.pf-for me

'And Mother went for rabbits. She came (back) there and looked in vain for me.' (Ng. T. 2:13)

There is a great deal of variation from speaker to speaker in regard to how much the suffix -lta occurs. Some speakers using a
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particularly vivid style may want to mark climax very clearly. They may also see many events in the discourse as being climatic in particular ways. Whereas another speaker may use a much less vivid style and not wish to highlight any climax.

5.4 Contraexpectation marked by parturtu

In narrative parturtu or partu (the shorter form is preferred by some speakers) as a free form or a suffix marks a relation of contraexpectation whereas in descriptive text, or explanatory sections of other texts it marks a relation of contrast. Example (18) shows this contrastive relation.

(18) Tjuki-tjuki parturtu ngampu kurlupa. Purlkanya
chook on other hand egg small big
ngampu.
egg
'A chook on the other hand has a small egg. (This mallee hen) has a big egg.' (Ng. T. 12:65)

In narrative parturtu may occur as a sentence conjunction, as a suffix to a verb, or following a perception verb either as a free form or suffixed to the first word following the perception verb. (In example (24) parturtu is suffixed to the verb nyangu indicating that the whole situation of seeing only the tracks is unexpected. I feel that this is somewhat similar to example (22).)

5.4.1 Parturtu as a conjunction

As a free form conjunction parturtu signals that what happened in the sentence of which it is a part is not what one would have expected
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to happen following the preceding sentence.

(19) Makultu-rnu-rna  pirti  nya-kulalpi.  Parturtu
   jab away-p.pf-I  hole+abs  see-p.pt  but
   katurri-ngkula  kukurraa-rnu.
   get up-p.pt  run-p.pf

'I jabbed away from myself, having seen the hole. But (the
rabbit) got up and ran away.'

(20) Ka-rna  kuli-rnu, "Mularrpartu  paalyukati-ku-rna
   &.ds-I  think-p.pf  truly  fall-f.pf-I
   mirrirri-ngku  tjarrpa-ku  yirrala-ngka."
   die-f.pf  enter-f.pf  pool-in
   Parturtu-rna  mularrpa  rapa-rtu-rna  nyina-ngu  tirtu.
   but-I  truly  brave-emph-I  sit-p.pf  still

'And I thought, "I will fall into the pool and die." However I
still sat there bravely (and didn't fall off.)'

(21) Palunyatjanu-lu-rna  nyina-rra  kultu-ranytja  rapirr-pa
   and then-ss-erg-I  sit-pr.pt  jab-p.ipf  rabbit-abs
   pupa-rranyangka.  Partu  mantji-rnu  ninti-nnyangka
   crouch-ipf.ct.ds  but  get-p.pf  give-pf.ct.ds
   ngurrpa-lu-rtu  Miss Glass-tju  nyina-ngu
   ignorant-erg-emph " "  -erg  sit-p.pf
   tjulurraa-rnu  nya-ngu.
   start-p.pf  see-p.pf

'And then I was sitting jabbing where the rabbit was crouching.
But when I got it and gave it to her, Miss Glass who had been sitting
there unexpectedly saw it and got a surprise.'
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Evidently the expectation was that since the speaker was jabbing at the rabbit, her companion would not have been surprised that she got it.

5.4.2 The suffix -partu

As a suffix -partu may be attached to a verb, indicating that the event signified by that verb was unexpected.

(22) Pitja-anu-latju nya-ngu-latju light-ta raapita
come-p.pf.ext-we see-p.pf-we " -in rabbit+abs
pupa-rranytja. Ka ngaratju-ralpi Tommy-lu
crouch-ipf.sc &.ds stop-p.pt " -erg
tjutupu-ngu, mistingma-nu-partu.
shoot-p.pf miss-p.pf-but

'We came along and saw a rabbit crouching in the light. And having stopped (the truck) Tommy shot it, but he missed it.'

5.4.3 Parturtu following a perception verb

Following a perception verb parturtu may occur indicating the unexpected. However it may also indicate something not totally unexpected, perhaps even hoped for, although there was some likelihood that it would not be so. This difference in meaning can only be deduced from the context. There does not seem to be any difference in meaning depending on whether it is a suffix or a free form. In section 5.4.3.1 where parturtu indicates contracexpectation, I do not have examples where parturtu occurs following a perception verb as a free form. However I feel that this is likely to be a gap in the data. In section 5.4.3.2 where parturtu indicates a situation counter to an apprehension, examples (25) and (28) show parturtu as a suffix to the
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first word after the perception verb. (It can be seen to be a suffix by the lack of juncture and word stress.) Examples (26) and (27) show parturtu as the first word in the direct speech following the perception verb.

5.4.3.1 Indicating contraexpectation

In examples (23) and (24) parturtu indicates contraexpectation.

(23) Pitja-ngu nya-ngu, "Wiyarri-ngu-parturtu, kuka
come-p.pf see-p.pf disappear-p.pf-but meat+abs
ngarri-ngu marlu."
lie-p.pf kangaroo+abs

'(They) came (back) and saw, "But it's gone, that kangaroo meat that lay there."' (Ng. T. 11:30)

Prior to this the two young men had left the meat weighted down by a flat stone, and gone off to follow another kangaroo that they had speared and wounded. They followed this killed it and came back.

(24) Parrayangatju-nu-ya kultu-lkitja-lu nya-ngu-parturtu
surround-p.pf-they spear-pf.pur.ss-erg see-p.pf-but
tjina-kutju-rtu ngara-la.
footprint-only-emph stand-pr

'They surrounded (the place) to spear them, but they saw only tracks there.' (Ng. T. 6:9)

5.4.3.2 Indicating a situation counter to an apprehension

In examples (25) - (28) the meaning expressed by parturtu is slightly different from what we normally understand by contraexpectation.
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It seems that what is perceived is not totally unexpected. In fact we rather suspect it is what the actor has been hoping for. But the use of parturtu indicates that there has been some doubt that it would indeed be the case.

In example (25) we can hardly conclude that the cannibal did not expect to see a fire, since he had seen one from the previous hill. But he seems to be pleased to be more sure of it. Notice the occurrence of mularrpa 'truly'. Therefore it appears that there was some doubt in his mind if he had really seen a fire previously.

(25) Ka wirrtja-rnu tati-ralpi puru purli-nguru &.ds come quickly-p.pf climb-p.pt again hill-from nya-ngu, "Kampa-rra-parturtu waru mularrpa see-p.pf burn-pr-but fire+abs truly nyarratja, kiti-kiti." there side

'And he came quickly and having climbed up again looked from a hill, "However there is truly a fire burning over there to the side."'
(Ng. T. 11:21)

In example (26) we can assume that the cannibal was hoping that the two young men would still be asleep so that he could kill them unawares. He lifted the light to make sure. But his suspicions that they might be awake were not confirmed.

Further cohesive elements in narrative

tirtu ngarri-rra nguurrma-ra kunkun-pa."
still lie-pr snore-pr asleep-abs

'Creeping stealthily, having lit a firestick, having lifted it up, he looked (having lifted the light), "But they are still asleep lying there snoring." ' (Ng. T. 11:48-49)

In example (27) we can assume that the woman was hoping to get a rabbit. The use of parturtu indicates that she had some doubt that there was one there.

(27) Tjawa-rnu-rna mawana-rnu pampu-rnu, "Parturtu
dig-p.pf-I follow on-p.pf feel-p.pf but
pupa-rra."
crouch-pr
'I dug and followed along and felt (in the burrow). "But it's crouching there." '

In example (28) we know that the avengers have been hoping to find the couple they have been following. However that expectation has been frustrated so many times that it is not surprising that they are surprised when they finally find them.

(28) Parrayangatju-nyu-ya nya-ngu, "Nyina-rra-parturtu
surround-p.pf-they see-p.pf sit-pr-but
ngarri-rra, kankarra murtingara-la."
lie-pr above lie with knees in air-pr
'They surrounded them and saw,"But they're here. He's lying here on his back with his knees in the air." ' (Ng. T. 6:20)

Thus we see parturtu as a marker of contraexpectation, in the
Further cohesive elements in narrative

earlier examples being a cohesive link with the previous sentence, while in the later examples being the only indication that there has been an expectation counter to what actually happened.

5.5 Ellipsis

In Ngaanyatjarra ellipsis is only a minor cohesive device, contrasting with English where ellipsis is widely used. (Halliday & Hasan 1976:142-225). I will take a definition from Halliday and Hasan (1976:144).

"We can take as a general guide the notion that ellipsis occurs when something that is structurally necessary is left unsaid; there is a sense of incompleteness associated with it."

I am therefore considering that cases of given information being omitted as described in section 2.1.2 are not elliptical. This is because neither subjects nor objects are structurally necessary to the clause. Verbs however are structurally necessary to the clause, and it is the omission of the verb that provides clear examples of ellipsis, even though this is not a commonly used device in Ngaanyatjarra.

Examples (29) and (30) show verbal ellipsis.

(29) Tjarungara-ngu-latju ya-nu raapita-ku.
   descend-p.pf-we go-p.pf rabbit-for
Betty-nya-litju nganku-lu ya-nu, Lily-nya-pula
   " -abs-we I-nom go-p.pf " -abs-they two
   Glenys-ku ngunytju, Thelma-nya-pula Nyaltultu-nya.
   " -poss mother+abs " -abs-they two " -abs
'We got down and went off for rabbits. Betty and I went (together), Lily and Glenys' mother (went together), and Thelma and Nyaltultu...
Further cohesive elements in narrative

(30) Ka nganku-lu nganurti paa-rnu, kutju-rna, &.ds I-nom turkey+abs cook-p.pf one+abs-I
ka Thelma-lu kutju. Ka Glenys-ku ngunytju-lu &.ds " -erg one+abs &.ds " -poss mother-erg
papa paa-rnu.
dog+abs cook-p.pf

'And I cooked the turkey, I (cooked) one, and Thelma (cooked) one. And Glenys' mother cooked the dingo.'

The object NP kutju in example (30) also shows nominal ellipsis. (see Halliday & Hasan 1976:147.) The common noun Head is elided and the function of Head is taken on by the numerative. Halliday and Hasan list four modifying elements: Deictic, Numerative, Epithet, and Classifier, which may function as Head when the Head is elided. They state that this is very frequently a Deictic or Numerative, much less frequently an Epithet (adjective) and very rarely a Classifier (another noun). This generalization would appear to be true for Ngaanyatjarra also.

Example (30) could be regarded as an example of gapping. However since it is not a frequently used device in Ngaanyatjarra I do not have enough examples to provide evidence for the theoretical issues raised by Ross (1967). However Ngaanyatjarra differs from Dyirbal (Dixon 1972: 73) where gapping is not permissible at all.

In this chapter I have described how several seemingly minor elements nonetheless have a function of "relating what is being said to what has already been said".

2. It does appear that in Ngaanyatjarra gapping operates forward, despite the fact that the verb is on the right branch of the first conjunct.
Longacre (1976:199ff) in discussing the distinctions between what he considers the four main discourse genre, has this to say about hortatory discourse. It "tells us how we are to act in regard to a certain body of subject matter." It is "beamed at second person". It is "addressee oriented - a sort of one-sided dialogue." "In hortatory discourse mode rather than time, i.e. matters of command, suggestion, etc., are focal." While both expository and hortatory discourse have logical linkage, "hortatory discourse is concerned with such matters as cause, condition, and purpose as motivations of conduct. Consequently constructions (often sentence margins) which express these relations figure prominently in the linkage."

In Ngaanyatjarra, hortatory discourse is perhaps the most interesting of all the discourse genre. There is considerable variety in the semantic content of what is said in a hortatory text, and yet at the same time an observable pattern.

However real hortatory discourse is perhaps the most difficult to record. Real hortatory discourse occurs when someone feels considerably emotionally involved in a situation. However the Ngaanyatjarra people have a marked aversion to being photographed when fighting or recorded when emotionally upset. No doubt it would be possible to make some such recordings in the spirit of the proverb "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread," but having developed considerable rapport with the people over a number of years, I did not feel free to disregard what I knew to be their feelings on these matters. (Some of the men of the community have been known to remove the film from the cameras of tourists who disobeyed the "no photographs" rule.)

Consequently my analysis is primarily based on what I call "simulated" hortatory texts. These were obtained by saying to various people "Imagine you were talking to X about Y." Thus some of the
Hortatory discourse

topics of these simulated hortatory texts are:-
'To young boys, not to sniff petrol.', 'To parents, to prevent their children from sniffing petrol', 'To young girls, not to run around with boys at night', 'To young girls not to despise mature polygamous men', 'To young men on the advantages of washing for the cure of scabies', 'To women, on the advantages of washing themselves, children and clothes for the cure of scabies', 'To children to go straight home after school.'

One text, which is perhaps the closest to real hortatory discourse, in that the speaker herself felt it to be a topic of importance and afterwards insisted that the recording be played to those to whom she had directed it, was in fact elicited in an attempt to obtain an expository text. My colleague asked Yimiyarri, a woman about fifty, who had been attending reading classes and had just discovered that learning to recognize syllables did seem to be leading towards her desired goal of reading the Bible, to give an explanation to the other women on the purpose of learning syllables.

Yimiyarri took as her main theme 'Keep coming to reading classes.' Having decided that the reason the other women were not persisting with classes, was that they mistakenly thought that the syllables were "worthless", she devoted quite a lot of time to explaining that this is not the case. However these explanations were woven around the theme 'Keep on coming all of you', and 'I want lots of us to learn together'.

6.1 The pattern

The pattern that emerges with regard to these hortatory texts, even though most of them are simulated, is that each is built around a series of exhortations. Statements about the status quo, statements
Hortatory discourse

that support the exhortation, prophetical encouragements of good effects of heeding the exhortation, prophetical warnings of bad effects of ignoring the exhortation, exemplary citations of someone (usually the speaker) who did the right thing and what happened, and even outright ridicule of the addressee if he is pursuing a course of action contrary to that being recommended, are woven around the exhortations.

Not all of these additional elements occur in every discourse depending on the topic and also the intensity of the speaker's feelings, and the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. For instance, those discourses dealing with petrol-sniffing have many prophetical warnings of the dire effects of continuing to sniff petrol, while the one about coming to reading classes, stresses the fact that reading syllables does lead to reading the Bible.

In order to illustrate the type of things that are said in Ngaanyatjarra hortatory discourse, in this section I will give examples of the exhortations and elements that are woven around the exhortations without very much comment. Then in sections 6.3 and 6.4 I will discuss what occurs particularly in respect to tense aspect and mood and also reference.

6.1.1 The exhortations

The exhortations vary in the degree of speaker involvement, which is probably correlated to the relationship between speaker and hearer, and whether the speaker wishes to shame the hearer into more reasonable behaviour or to conciliate the hearer into the advocated behaviour.

In example (1) there is a second person command, indicating that the speaker is implying that she already does the thing she is commanding the other person to do. Indeed she later states this specifically. (See example (23).)
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In example (2) there is a first person plural inclusive command indicating that the speaker is involving himself in the injunction.

Example (3) shows a general command in the third person indicating that the speaker wants to present the exhortation as something all mothers and fathers should do.

Example (4) is a statement of the speaker's desire, thereby implying no very strong constraint on the hearer to comply.

(1) Ka-ya nyuntu-lu purtukulil-maral-tu ya-nkula
   &.ds-you all you-nom obstinate-not-erg go-pr.pt
   parltji-ra-parltji-ra pitja-ma.
   wash-pr.pt-wash-pr.pt come-imp.reg
   'And you all, not being obstinate, go and wash well and come back.'

(2) Palunyatjanu-lu-la tjilku pirni-nya yaka-yaka-nma
   and then.ss-erg-we incl child many-abs forbid-imp.ipf
   pitul-pa nyantu-ranyangka.¹
   petrol-abs drink-ipf.ct.ds
   'And then let us all keep on forbidding the children when they are sniffing petrol.'

(3) Palunyalu mama-lu ngunytju-lu tirtu watja-nma....
   &.ss father-erg mother-erg still speak-imp.ipf
   'And let the mothers and fathers keep on speaking to them.'

¹. Throughout this particular text, the speaker uses the verb nyantuntja 'drink' with the meaning of 'sniff'. A few speakers did this when petrol-sniffing was first introduced into the community about ten years ago. However it is no longer used in this way.
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(4) Tjiinya-rna mukurri-ngkula pirni-yan pitja-la
you know-I desire-pr many-you all come-pr.pt
nintirri-tjaku-la.
learn-pf.pur.ds-we incl

'You know, I am wanting lots of you to come so that we can all learn together.'

It is a little unusual to have third person imperatives. However in Ngaanyatjarra apart from the usage in (3) above third person imperatives occur in the second base of a co-ordinate sentence, where the first base is a second person or first person imperative as in examples (5) and (6).

(5) Tjarrpatju-rra ka walypala-lu pu-wa.
put in-imp.pf &.ds whiteman-erg hit-imp.pf
'Put (the dog) in, and let the whiteman kill it.'

(6) ..watja-rnu, "Nyina-ma-la ka nyinnga
say-p.pf sit-imp.ipf-we incl &.ds winter
wiyarri."
finish+imp.pf
'(He) said, "Let us stay here and let the winter finish up." / "Let's stay here until winter is over." '

6.12 Statements about the Status Quo

The statements about the status quo describe the behaviour that is in need of changing. They may be rather mild as in examples (7) and (8) or rather exaggerated as in (9) - (12).
(7) Nyangka-yan tjiinya kuli-ra mungutja-kukantja-lu &.ds-you all you know think-pr worthless-mt.erg wanti-rra.
leave-pr

'And you, you see mistakenly thinking (the syllables) are worthless are leaving it.'

go-pr.pt mother-def.abs father-def.abs make talk-pr

'The children are going after school and stoning everything all around and becoming disobedient to their mothers and fathers. They're also going and causing their mothers and fathers to talk.'

petrol-abs lie-p.ipf.mt.erg water-mt-erg

'All the children, you know, are mistakenly thinking it's fun. They mistakenly think that petrol is water lying there.'

(10) Tirtu-lan parrawirrtja-ani bush-ngka-plinypa-la still-we incl go around-pr.ext " -in-like-we incl tirtu nyina-rra.
still sit-pr

'We are still getting around as if we were still in the bush.'
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The implication is that although they live at the settlement, they are not washing, just as they did when they lived in the bush.

(11) Tjiinya-yan wirrtja-ra mitjitji-yan
    you know-you all come quickly-pr whitewoman+abs-you all
    pu-ngkukitja. Ngara-la-ngara-la-yan pitja-la
    hit-pf.pur.ss stand-pr.pt-stand-pr.pt-you all come-pr.pt
    payi-lpayi.
    growl-hab

'You know you are coming to hit the whitewoman. You are standing around and coming and growling.'

Here the implication is that by not washing before coming to ask for the scabies medicine, they might as well pick a fight with the nurse.

(12) Mutuka-ku nyina-rri robma-ra-yan mutuka-ku
    car-poss sit-pr rob-pr-you all car-poss
    tjiinya mutuka parrawirrtja-yiltjaku.
    you know car+abs go around quickly-pf.ext.pur.ds

'You are stealing what belongs to cars, what is for cars to go around on.'

This is directed to boys who sniff petrol.

6.1.3 Statements of supportive evidence

There is considerable variety in the semantic content of statements of supportive evidence. Some of these are shown below. Examples (13) - (16) are value judgements about the situation with which the exhortation is concerned or things connected with that situation. Example (17) presents the syllables as an instrument of learning, while (18) states
Hortatory discourse

the purpose of learning the syllables.

(13) Tjiinya kurluny-kurlunypa tjiinya mungutjamunu
you know fairly small-abs you know valued
Katungkatja-ku wangka.
God-poss talk

'You see these moderately small things are valuable, they are
God's Word.'

(14) Tjiinya pirni-nya-la kapi-ku yanyanarri-ngkula,
you know many-def.abs-we incl water-for dislike-pr
but kapi mularrpa walykumunu.
" water+abs truly good

'You see we all dislike water, but water is truly good.'

The example above is from a text on the benefits of washing.

(15) Tjiinya palyamunu munga-wana kutitja-payi.
you know bad night-way go-hab

'You see it is bad to go about through the night.'

(16) Nyangka ngaanya mularrpa. Palyamunu pitul-pa
and.ds this true bad petrol-abs
waru-piinypa tili-piinypa kaninytjarra kampa-rra
fire-like flame-like inside burn-pr.pt
yurnmi-lpayi.
cook-hab

'But this is true. Petrol is bad, it's like a fire, like a flame
that burns and cooks inside.'
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(17) Tjiinya Yurntal-tu nintipu-ngkula wangka murtuny-murtuny-tja.
   you know daughter-erg teach-pr talk piece -ins
   'You see, Daughter is teaching us by means of the syllables.'

(18) Tjiinya-la Katungkatja-ku wangka-ku ngaa-nguru-rtu
   you know-we incl God-poss talk-for this-from-emph
   manintirri-ngkula wana-ra nyaku-la watja-lkijta.
   learn-pr follow-pr see-pr.pt say-pf.pur.ss
   'You see we are in the process of learning to read God's Word
   from these very things (the syllables).'

6.1.4 Prophecies

Prophetical encouragements concerning the good effects of heeding
the exhortation and prophetic warnings about the bad effects of not
heeding the exhortation are in the irrealis general tense-aspect
having a future or conditional sense. Examples (19) and (20) are
prophetic encouragements, while (21) and (22) are prophetic warnings.

(19) Wati-lu mama-lu tjiinya payi-lku. Kurta-lu-rtarrartu
   man-erg father-erg you know growl-f.pf brother-erg-also
   tjinguru payi-lku ngurnti rurrupu-ngku
   maybe growl-f.pf back of neck press-f.pf
   pu-ngkukitja-lu. Watja-rayilku wanti-nyangka
   hit-pf.pur.ss-erg say-pf.ext.f leave-pf.ct.ds
   walykumunurri-ku nyina-ma, pitulmaalarri-ku.
   become good-f.pf stay-f.ipf become without petrol-f.pf
   '(If) the man, the father will growl at (him), or even the older
   brother maybe will growl at (him) press the back of his neck as if to
   hit him, keep on talking for some time, then he will become good and
Hortatory discourse

be without petrol.'

(20) Nyangka tjiinya nyina-rra-nyina-rra walykumunu nyina-rra, &.ds you know sit-pr-sit-pr good sit-pr
nyangka-lta yuwarnma-nku. Rawa tjiinya &.ds-cl say yes-f pf long time you know
nyina-rra kungkawirrmira purlkirri-ngkula sit-pr.pt teenage girl become big-pr.pt
palunyangka witu-nma.
because of that.ds send-f.ipf
'And you see if one stays good for some time, then (they) will say 'yes'. If one waits a long time until one is an older girl, then one will be sent (in marriage).'

(21) Nyantu-lku-nyantu-lku-yan palunyatjanu-yan
drink-f pf-drink.f pf-you all and then.ss-you all
purlkarri-ngkulalpi, purlkarri-ngkulalpi-yan
become big-p.pt become big-p.pt-you all
mirrirri-ku. Palyamunurri-ngku-yan purlkirri-ngkulalpi-yan
die-f pf become bad-f pf-you all become big-p.pt-you all
become bad-f pf and then.ss-you all die-f pf
Mirrirri-ku-yan, Ka mama ngunytju tjiinya
die-f pf-you all &.ds father mother you know
marrku-ranytja-munu paarnarra-1ku. ..... prevent-p.ipf-not get a shock-f pf
'(If) you all sniff and sniff then having become big, having become big you will die. You will all become bad, having become big you will become bad. And then you will all die. You will all die and
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your mothers and fathers, who haven't prevented you will all get a shock. .......

(22) Tjiinya mirrparnarri-ku mama ngunytju-rtarrartu.
You know become angry-f pf father+abs mother+abs also
Kurta kamuru-rtarra mirrparnarri-ku
brother+abs uncle+abs also become angry-f pf
ya-nkulanyangka. Warnngi-tjarra kutipitja-lanyangka
go-ipf ct ds boyfriend-having go-ipf ct ds
pika-pikarri-ku-rtarrartu tjilturruru-nama.
become fighting-f pf also spear-f ipf
Pika-rtarrartu tjiinya kungkawirmira-rtarrartu
hurt also you know teenage girl+abs also
pu-ngku ya-nkunyangka, ngunytju-lu-rtarra.
hit-f pf go-pf ct ds mother-erg also
'You see (your) mother and father will be angry. (Your) brother and uncle too will be angry because you keep going. Because you keep going with a boyfriend they will fight and spear. And the girl too will be hurt because she went, her mother will hit her.'

6.1.5 Exemplary citations

Most common to all the hortatory discourses is the exemplary citation of someone (usually the speaker) who followed or follows the recommended course of action. This is usually a section several sentences long as in (23) below although it may only be one sentence.

(23) Ngayu-lu-rna mawirrtja-ra tirtu tjarrpa-payi
I-nom-I go quickly-p pt always enter-hab
cold-in-emph enter-p pf-enter-p pf-I
Hortatory discourse

Tjarrpa-rra-rna wirrtja-lpayi, nyangka-rni tirtu
enter-p.pt-I come quickly-hab &.ds-me always
anoint-hab anoint-p.pf-anoint-p.pf-me good
Ka-rna purrtjumaalarri-ngu-rna nyina-rra.
&.ds-I become without rash-p.pf-I sit-pr
'I always go quickly and enter (the shower) in the cold. I
showered and showered. Having showered I come quickly (to the clinic)
and (the nurse) always anoints me. She anointed and anointed me well.
And (now) I don't have any more rash.'

Examples (24)-(26) show the first sentence of this exemplary
citation in various hortatory texts.

(24) Kutjulpirtu-latju nganku-lu walykumunu nyina-payi.
previously-we I-nom good sit-hab
'We used to be good (when I was young).' 

because of that I-nom-emph child+abs growl-p.ipf
'Because of that I was growling at my child.'^2

(26) Ka-rna ngayu-lu-kutju tirtu pitja-la kutjupa tjirntu-
&.ds-I I-nom-only still come-pr
kutjupa tjirntu.
every day
'And only I am still coming every day.'

2. In this text the exhortation is to growl at the children so that
they won't sniff petrol. Therefore this statement is exemplary.
Evidently this need for the speaker to be able to cite himself as practising the recommended behaviour is very strong. In one text where the speaker is exhorting parents to forbid their children from sniffing petrol, he comes to the place where he should make this citation and being unable to do so states as in (27).

(27) But tjilku nganku-lu-rnatju parturtu kurluny-tjarra.

" child I-nom-emph on other hand small-having

'But (I) on the other hand have only a small child.'

That is, he is saying that his child isn't old enough to be into the petrol scene, so he is unable to state whether he has been effective in forbidding him from sniffing petrol.

(It is possible that this discrepancy would not have arisen in the normal course of events, for the speaker would not speak on a topic on which he could not speak with authority. Whereas in this case, he was addressing himself to this topic because I had asked him to.)

Sometimes speakers may give citation of others whose behaviour is exemplary to add weight to their own experience as in (28).

(28) Kungkawirrmira tjiinya ngarnmanypali wiya teenage girl you know early times no walykumunu nyina-rranytja kutjulpirtulpi. Ngaa-ya good sit-p.ipf previously this-they minyma pamparri-ngu mirrirri-ngkulawarni-ngu woman become old-p pf die-p pf.dis palunya-nya.

that-abs

'Teenage girls used to be good in the early days. These ones who
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have now become old and died.'

6.1.6 **Ridicule**

In some hortatory texts there is a section which has no relation to the main theme, but appears to simply ridicule the addressee by a series of rhetorical questions. The purpose seems to be to shame the addressee into the desired behaviour. This is quite different from the regular insult patterns which are derogatory statements about body parts (particularly sexual organs), but these do not form part of a coherent text, but are simply flung at the addressee in anger.

Example (29) is from a text addressed to young women by an older woman, while example (30) is from a text addressed to children by a young married woman.

(29) Pina-munta-ya wiya? Pina-munta wiya-lu
     ear-que-you all no ear-que no-erg
     kuli-ra purtu? Yaaltji kuli-ra?
     think-pr in vain how think-pr

'Have you no ears? Having no ears are you unable to think? How are you thinking?'

(30) Pina-lu-munta-yan kulira? or tjinguru-yan
     ear-erg-que-you all think-pr " maybe-you all
     pinakunytjinytji likarra-ngkatja-piinypa,
     deaf lizard bark-pertaining to-like

---

3. *Pina* means both 'ear' and 'mind' and *kulintja* means 'hear', 'listen' and 'think'. So in both examples (29) and (30) there is a double implication of inability to listen and inability to think.
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purtukulil-pa, pina papa.
unheeding+abs ear dog

'Are you listening with your ears? Or perhaps you are deaf lizards, like the things one finds in the bark, unheeding, having dog's ears.'

6.1.7 The particle tjiinya

On reading a Ngaanyatjarra hortatory text or quotes from Ngaanyatjarra hortatory texts, one cannot help but be struck by the frequent occurrence of the particle tjiinya. In these texts it seems to be sprinkled about almost at random, rather in the manner of colloquial English 'y'know.'

The particle tjiinya does not appear to be related to the absolutive form of the demonstrative tjii- 'that distant from both addressee and speaker.' The only time the particle tjii- occurs without the -nya is with the illustrative suffix -kurlu in an Illustrative Sentence (Example 31). However tjiinya may also be suffixed by -kurlu as in example (32).

meat water-pertaining to-like see-p.pf-they make-p.pf
you know-ill air-for rise-ipf.md that-like

'They saw fish and made (submarines) like that. You know how (fish) rise for air; like that.'

(32) Tjiinya-marntu mani purlka-tjarra-nya nyina-ku
you know-because money big-with-def.abs sit-f.pf
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wiyarri-ngku. Tjiinya-kurlu yalpurtarti
disappear-f.pf you know-ill " flower
ngara pikirri-wa. Palunya-piinypa.
stand-pf.md become dry-pf.md that-like

'Because you know, a person with a lot of money will exist for a while and then disappear. You know how a yalpurtarti flower exists for a while and then dries up; like that.'

One function of the particle tjiinya could be to slow down the flow of information in the discourse. It also seems to be associated with an attempt by the speaker to convince the addressee, to 'get through' to him as it were, to cause him to understand the point he is making. It is perhaps because of this that tjiinya occurs with great frequency in hortative, with moderate frequency in descriptive and very rarely in narrative or customary discourse. Example (33) is one of the very rare occurrences in narrative. Even though explanatory material may be stated in a narrative, the particle tjiinya does not usually occur.

(33) Palunyatjanu-latju truck kati-rrayirnu tjultjul-ta
and then.ss-we " bring-p.pf.ext thicket-in
kumpitju-nu wanti-ngu, tjiinya emu-lu-ya
hide-p.pf leave-p.pf you know " -erg-they
ngurrpa-lu nya-kula ngurlurri-tjakurtarra.
ignorant-erg see-pr.pt become afraid-avers

'Then we brought the truck along and hid it in the thicket, you see lest the emus seeing it for the first time should become afraid.'

The particle tjiinya occurs quite often in descriptive text.
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However it is not unusual to have texts which do not have any instances of it. The occurrence of it may be related to the intensity with which the speaker tries to convince his hearers about the subject matter.

But it is in hortatory text that tjiinya really comes into its own. In the text "Keep coming to Reading Classes", forty-seven of the eighty-six sentences have at least one instance of the particle tjiinya.

For examples of the use of tjiinya see examples (4), (7), (9), (11), (12), (13), (14), (15), (17), (18), (19), (20), (22), and (28).

There are a few hortatory texts that have only one, or no instances of tjiinya. These tend to be those that take a more dogmatic line, (that is, the speaker has the attitude "This is how it is, whether you agree or not.") and do not really try to convince the addressee. Both the texts from which the examples of ridicule (29) and (30), are taken, are very low in instances of tjiinya.

6.2 An outline of one text

There is considerable variety in the way the various elements as described above are fitted together to form a cohesive text. However it appears that the exhortations are the skeleton around which the other elements may be arranged.

It is possible to divide some texts into paragraphs with an exhortation at the beginning of each paragraph. One text which divides neatly in such a way is "Advice to Parents and Children" by Mavis Simms. Semantic criteria also help in making paragraph breaks. There is an exhortation at the end of paragraph two as well as at the beginning of paragraph three; but one is about growling at children, the other is about growling at older youths.

I will present the outline of this text below. This text is shown
in full in Appendix II. There is also the translation of a section of the text "On the evils of drinking" in Appendix III, and the translation of a section of "Keep coming to reading lessons" in Appendix IV.

Paragraph 1
Exhortation: To children not to sniff petrol.

Prophetical Warning: The bad effects of sniffing petrol for parents and children.

Paragraph 2
Exhortation: To parents to forbid children from sniffing petrol.

Prophetical Warning: Bad effects of sniffing petrol (what the doctor will say).

Exhortation: To parents to forbid children from sniffing petrol.

Paragraph 3
Exhortation: To parents to growl at older youths when they sniff petrol.

Prophetical Encouragement: Good result that will be obtained from growling at older youths.

Exemplary Citation: The speaker always growled at her child and now he is finished with petrol.

Expansion: Further details of speaker's good results.

Exhortation: To parents to do likewise.

To parents to keep on growling.

To parents to keep on speaking.

6.3 Tense, aspect and mood

It is a characteristic of hortatory discourse in Ngaanyatjarra that almost every tense, aspect or mood form may occur, although these various tense aspect and moods are determined by the particular section of the discourse.
Hortatory discourse

6.3.1 In exhortations

In exhortation the verbs are usually irrealis modal. Most sentences are imperative. The aspect is usually imperfective since the speaker desires that the action continue on into the future. See examples (1) and (2). At the beginning of the discourse an injunction to listen often occurs in the perfective as in (34).

(34) Yuwa tjitji pirni kuli-la-ya,
yes child many listen-imp.pf-you all
'Yes, listen all you children.'

The weakest form of exhortation is that with 'I am desiring' in the present tense and a subordinate clause. See example (4).

Generally the exhortations tend to be positive even when the discourse topic is a negative one. Notice in Appendix III, a section from a text on the evils of drinking, that seven out of the ten exhortations are completely positive. The other three exhortations are both negative and positive. This tendency may be partly due to a grammatical constraint.

In the imperative, the negative may only occur as a subordinate clause as in examples (35) and (36).

(35) Pampu-ntjamaal-tu wanti.
touch-pf.neg-erg leave-imp.pf
'Without touching it leave it.' / 'Don't touch it, leave it.'

(36) Palunyatjanu-lu pitul-\text{pa} nyantu-ranytjamaal-pa
and then.ss-erg petrol-abs drink-\text{ipf.neg-abs}
Hortatory discourse

nyina-ma palyarungu.
sit-imp.ipf well-behaved.

'And then, not sniffing petrol, be well-behaved.' / 'And then, don't sniff petrol, be well-behaved.'

The cessative (Glass & Hackett 1970:77) and the prohibitive (Glass & Hackett 1970:78) do focus more directly on the negative. However these types of sentences occur only in short utterances, the cessative when someone is actually doing the action, and the prohibitive when it appears likely that someone will do the action.

Consequently when the speaker wishes to make an exhortation with a more negative focus, he uses a non-permissive sentence as in (37) or a rhetorical question as in (38).

(37) Pumpapalka yangupala-kutju kuli-nma tirtu.
non-perm unmarried man-only think-md.ipf always

'It is not right to be always thinking about unmarried men only.'

The implication here is that the girls should consider already-married men also as potential husbands, reflecting the view of the polygynous society.

(38) Nyaa-ku-yan school-maal-pa nyina-rra?
what-for-you all " -without-abs sit-pr

'Why are you all not going to school?'

This usage of nyaaku is not a request for information - but a commonly used means of reprimanding someone for their actions.
Hortatory discourse

6.3.2 In statements of the status quo

The present realis is the most commonly occurring tense-aspect in the status quo sections. See examples (7), (8), (9), (10) and (12).

Occasionally the habitual occurs in this section as in the second sentence in example (11).

6.3.3 In statements of supportive evidence

Statements of supportive evidence are often in present realis as in examples (17) and (18), or in the habitual as in the latter part of example (16). Non-verbal sentences often give supportive evidence as in example (13) and parts of examples (14) and (16). Example (15) shows a habitual as a nominalization in a non-verbal sentence.

6.3.4 In prophecies

The irrealis general is the most usual tense-aspect for the prophetical sections. This is shown in examples (19), (21) and (22). Examples (19) and (21) seem to be more of a conditional nature. In (21) the condition is encoded in the first clause, whereas in (19) the condition covers everything up to wantinyangka. Example (20) is rather unusual in that the first parts of both the sentences consist entirely of participles.

6.3.5 In exemplary citations

The most common tense aspect in exemplary citations is habitual. There may be a whole series of sentences in habitual aspect as in (39), or the section may start out with habitual and then go to past realis both perfective and imperfective as in (23).
Previously (when we were young) we used to go and play a long way away. We used to spear (pieces of the bark of) gum trees with toy spears. Truly not touching bad things, we always went away on Saturdays like this. Yes we always went a long way for a walk. We used to get rabbits hurling (something at them). With stones also we used to stone them and bring them (home). Yes like this we always did.'

Sometimes an exemplary citation begins in the habitual and then goes into customary as in (40), but this is not very common.

4. The habitual only occurs in one-clause sentences or in association with participles. A sequence of clauses may occur in the customary. (see beginning of section 3.3.2). The customary, which is one usage of the general irrealis, has both perfective and imperfective forms. The habitual is only imperfective.
Hortatory discourse

(40) Everytime Malcolm-an-Sylvia-nya-pulanya witu-lpayi-rna
    " and " -abs-them two send-hab-I
    school-ku. If ngurra-ngka ngarlpurri-payi
    " -to " camp-in play-hab
    "Nyina-ma-rna ngurra-ngka." Mii-lu-rna tirtu
    stay-ipf.f-I camp-in I-nom-I always
    watja-lpayi, "Wiya school-ku kuitja." and
    say-hab no " -to go+pf.imp "
    yula-rrayilku an kuitja-ku-pula school-ku
    cry-c.pf.ext and go-c.pf.they two " -to
    Malcolm-an-Sylvia-nya.
    " and " -abs

'I always send Malcolm and Sylvia to school. If they play in
    camp (and say) "I'm going to stay in camp," I always say, "No, go to
    school". And they cry for a while and then go to school, Malcolm
    and Sylvia do.'

As can be seen the speech of the speaker from whom example (40) is
taken has been considerably influenced by English. So it might be
valid to assume that the occurrence of the customary in exemplary
citations is not normal, since there are few other examples.

It is also quite common for a citation to begin with a past
imperfective. This may be coupled with some sentences with habitual
aspect and a whole chain of events in past perfective as in (41).

(41) Palunyangka ngayu-lu-rnatju tjilku payi-ranytja.
    because of that I-nom-I.emph child+abs growl-p.ipf
    growl-p.pf.ext-we two &.ss almost-we two hit-hab
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'Because of that I was growling at my child. We growled at him for some time. We always almost hit him. We continually almost hit him. We growled and growled at him, we fixed it in his mind. Because of that my child has finished with petrol.'

There is one instance where the exemplary citation is all in the present.


'But only I am still coming every day. You know, I didn't leave it when I was sick, I am still desiring (it). And, you know, God
Hortatory discourse

truly heals me and quickly finishes my sickness.'

6.3.6 In ridicule

In the ridicule section present tense occurs as well as non-verbal sentences. There are instances of both of these in examples (29) and (30).

6.4 Reference

6.4.1 Addressee reference

In hortatory discourse the most important reference is to the addressee. The identity of the addressee is usually clearly stated in the opening sentence, as in example (34). There seems to be a constraint to supply this. On one occasion I asked a young woman to give an exhortation to an imaginary relative at the high school hostel, whom she had heard had run away. After undertaking to do so, she said, "What will her name be?"

After the identity of the addressee is established the pronoun enclitics carry the main load of reference information. However in this area there is potential ambiguity. The second person enclitics occurring with commands are identical with the third person enclitics occurring with indicatives; zero, -pula and -ya for singular, dual and plural respectively. Normally ambiguity doesn't arise because the mood of the verb is quite clear. However the imperfective modal and the imperfective general irrealis are both realized by -nma.

Therefore it is sometimes difficult to tell if we have an imperfective command, in the second person singular, or a prophetic

5. The only examples I have of ridicule in hortatory text are in the present. I would imagine that future could also occur where supposed intentions are ridiculed.
statement with an imperfective in the third person singular.

6.4.2 General reference

This ambiguity is heightened by the existence of a type of general command which doesn't have an overt subject. Or perhaps it has a third person singular subject, which has the meaning of 'anyone'.

There is the general command as exemplified in example (3) where the implication is that all mothers and fathers or any mother and father should keep on speaking. The reference of such a command is shown by the NP, but there is no marker to show singular or plural reference.

There are also a number of commands in the imperfective aspect which one would assume have plural reference since they are taken from hortatory texts which are addressed to a plural addressee - but have no overt marking as in example (43).

(43) Nyangka payin-wana-rtarra parrapitja-antjamaal-pa
s.ds night-way-also go around-pf.ext.neg-abs
walykumunu nyina-ma.
good sit-imp.ipf

'And also not going around through the night, be good.'

In the text "Keep Coming to Reading Lessons" there are ten sentences with no overt reference which seem as if they should be understood as having general reference. Some of these are in present as (44) others in future perfective as (45) and some are imperfective and thus ambiguous as to whether they are prophecies or commands as (46).
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(44) Tjiinya murtuny-murtunypa ngaa-nya kuwarripa
you know piece this-abs still
manintirri-ngkula wana-ra Katungkatja-ku wangka
learn-pr follow-pr God's talk
nya-kula watja-lkitja.
see-pr.pt say-pr.pf
'You see (we) are still learning these syllables to read God's word.'

(45) Tjiinya payipulpa purlkanya-ngkatja-nya-rtarrartu
You know Bible big-pertaining to-abs-also
nintirri-ngku murtuny-murtunypa ngaa-tjanu-lu-rtu.
learn-pr piece this-from-erg-emph
'You see (one) will learn the big Bible from these little pieces.'

(46) Katungkatja-ku wangka-kitja-lu-rtu nintirri-ngkula
God's talk-to get-erg-emph learn-pr.pt
wana-nma.
follow-?.ipf
'Keep on learning and following on to get God's word.' / ? 'To get God's word one will keep learning and following on.'

6.4.3 Third person reference

There is some third person reference in hortatory discourse in the supportive evidence sections. Often the NP is included so that reference is clear as in example (17). In example (47) there is no overt reference but since Yurntal 'daughter' has already occurred twice with the verb nintipungkula 'teaching' and since she would have been known to the hearers as the only teacher, it is not necessary to
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have the NP stated.

(47) Tjiinya-lanya mukurri-ngkulanytja-lu tjiinya
    you know-us incl desire-ipv.circ.erg you know
nintipu-ngkula wana-ra.
teach-pr follow-pr

'You see it is because she likes to that she is following on
and teaching us.'

6.4.4 First person reference

There is first person reference in the exemplary citations.
This is either first person singular or first person plural or dual
exclusive. See examples (23) - (27). There is also first person
reference in the weak exhortations which are statements of desire.
(See example (4).)

6.4.5 Lack of switch-reference conjunctions

One very notable feature of hortatory texts is the lack of switch-
reference conjunctions. In the text "Keep Coming to Reading Lessons"
there are 59 instances of change of subject but only 14 instances of
switch-reference conjunctions. In this text over 74% of the changes
are not marked in any of the ways discussed in chapter 2, whereas in
the narratives examined in chapter 2 only 14% of the changes were not
marked. (That is, not marked before we began to look more closely at
the certain situations under which change of subject was marked, and
what was actually regarded in the language as a change of subject.)

Despite this the only cases of ambiguity (or uncertainty on my
part as to who the actors are) are those mentioned in section 6.4.2
where there is no nominal or pronominal reference. Even here it seems
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fairly clear that it is general reference to something everybody ought to do.

One reason for this could be that the constant changes of tense and mood make it unnecessary to use switch-reference conjunctions since the main domain of the switch-reference conjunctions seems to be where there are events that follow one another in past realis, general irrealis or modal irrealis. Also even with short narrative sections there is a tendency to go over the events a number of times to make the point that is relevant to the hortatory text, rather than tell a story as in a narrative text. Notice the exemplary citation in "Advice to Parents and Children" (Appendix II) where the speaker gives several summaries of the way she and her husband growled at their child and then goes through the sequence of events twice.

6.5 Logical connection

There is a certain amount of variation in hortatory text as to how loosely-knit or tightly-knit the logical connection is. Tight-knit connection is where there is lexical connection between the sentences or frequent use of anaphoric conjunctions.

6.5.1 Tight-knit connection

"Advice to Parents and Children" by Mavis Simms is a text where the logical connection is fairly tight.

The first exhortation is, "And then not sniffing petrol, be well-behaved." This is linked lexically to the prophetical warning following straight on from this which begins, "If you sniff and sniff..."

The last part of the prophetical warning reads, "Those who haven't growled and kept that petrol, who haven't forbidden it and kept it will get a shock... And then having come to their senses they
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will pierce their heads and fall down." This theme of forbidding is taken up in the next exhortation, "Everybody listen, and then let us all forbid the children when they are sniffing petrol."

The next prophetical warning tells how the children will go to the hospital and about the doctor's verdict (? at the post mortem). The next exhortation is linked to that section by palunyangka 'because of that.' which has extended anaphoric reference to the whole of that section. The exhortation is "Because of that let us all forbidding keep the children."

The next paragraph changes to a slightly different theme, with an exhortation to keep growling at the older youths. This is linked lexically to the prophetical encouragement following straight on from this which begins, "If the father will growl at them..." This section predicts the good effects of growling at youths when they sniff petrol.

The exemplary citation section which follows this is linked to it by palunyangka 'because of that' which again has extended anaphoric reference to the whole of that section. It reads "Because of that I was growling at my child."

The final exhortation begins palunyapiinymanamaya 'Keep on doing it like that' which has extended anaphoric reference to the whole of the exemplary citation.

6.5.2 Loose-knit connection

On the other hand the text "Keep Coming to Reading Lessons" could be regarded as loose-knit. There are no anaphoric conjunctions linking one section to another.

However there are three key concepts 'to keep on learning', 'the syllables' and 'God's word', or to put them together 'Keep on
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learning the syllables, they lead to God's word.' If we label these concepts A, B, and C, respectively we can see from Appendix IV how almost every sentence refers to one of these concepts and some sentences refer to all three.

The anaphoric demonstrative occurs in two forms: palunyanguru 'from that' which always refers to the syllables, and palunyakitja 'to get that' which always refers to God's word.

In this text there are five instances of ka or nyangka that do not encode a simple cause-effect relationship between actions of different participants. All of these occur as links between sections rather than within a section. The common denominator seems to be that the reality (what is actually happening) doesn't line up with what the speaker would expect from the facts as she sees them. See examples (48), (49) and (50) below.

(48) Manintirri-ngku ngaa-nguru-rtu. Ka-rna ngayu-lu-kutju learn-f.pf this-from-emph &.ds-I I-nom-only
tirtu pitja-la kutjupa tjirntu - kutjupa tjirntu. still come-pr every day

'One will learn from these very things. But only I am still coming every day.'

(49) Mungutja-munu ngaa-nya mularrpa. Nyangka-yan
valueless-not this-abs truly &.ds-you all
tjiinya kuli-ra mungutja-kukantja-lu wanti-rra
you know think-pr valueless-mt.erg leave-pr

'This is truly valuable. But you see, you all mistakenly thinking it valueless are leaving it.'
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(50) Pumpapalka-lanya paluru kanyi-nma. Nyangka-yan non-perm-us incl for nothing keep.ipf.md &.ds-you all pitja-la tjiinya mungutja-kukantja-lu kutjuwarra come-pr you know valueless-mt-erg once palya-ra wanti-rra yanku-la. do-pr leave-pr go-pr

'She wouldn't teach us for nothing. (if it wasn't worthwhile)
Nonetheless you see you are all coming and mistakenly thinking it worthless are doing it once and leaving it and going away.'

In examples (51) and (52) the speaker takes a slightly more gentle approach, as if trying to understand why her hearers are not doing what she thinks would be reasonable.


'Truly this is not valueless, these syllables. But perhaps you are thinking. "You know these are worthless little things Daughter is giving us."'

(52) Ngayu-lu-lan kawaku-rtu nintirri-ngama.
I-nom-we incl together-emph learn-f.ipf
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Ngayu-lu-rna tjiinya kuwarripa nintirri-ngkula.
I-nom-I you know still learn-pr

Nyangka-yan tjinguru kuli-ra
&.ds-you all maybe think-pr

ngayu-lu-nyka-rna-nyu kutju pitja-la tjarrpa-rra
I-nom-emph-I only come-pr enter-pr

ngayu-ku-tju-kutju-ku ngara-nyangka.
I s.-for-emph-only-for stand-pf.ct.ds

'We will all learn together. You see, I am still learning. But perhaps you are thinking that I am coming by myself because it is only for me.'

Hortatory discourse in Ngaanyatjarra, although it might at first glance appear to be disjointed with such a wide variety of things that can be said, does indeed have a pattern. In this pattern various elements can be woven around exhortations. This series of exhortations and supportive evidence etc., may go on for as long as the speaker has energy and inclination to do so.
In this thesis I have described many of the cohesive relationships found in Ngaanyatjarra narrative and hortatory discourse.

In chapter two I have discussed participant identification and reference. I have described how old information is referred to by zero anaphora, this being one of the factors that accounts for the high proportion of verbs to nouns in narrative discourse. I have described the pronoun enclitics and their occurrence within the text.

In this chapter I have also described the switch-reference system in considerable detail, paying particular attention to its operation in discourse, and the switch-reference function of conjunctions, subordinate clauses, and the verb nyakunytja 'see'.

In chapter three I have described the aspectual markers in relation to discourse, and in particular tried to show how the occurrence of the imperfective aspect is discourse-conditioned.

In chapter four I have described the lexical and grammatical cohesion involved in the use of different motion verbs to encode successive phases of a 'journey'.

In chapter five I have described a number of elements that have a more minor cohesive function, including the enclitic -lta, a lower level grammatical unit which marks the climax of a narrative or series of events.

In chapter six I have described hortatory discourse, the different types of exhortations used (depending perhaps on the relationship of speaker and hearer), and the way these exhortations are supported by statements of the status quo, prophetic encouragements and warnings, exemplary citations, and in some cases ridicule of the hearer.

Some of the intuitions that I have concerning hortatory discourse need to be verified by further socio-linguistic study, if possible recording real hortatory discourses and paying particular attention to the circumstances and the relationship of speaker and hearer.
A narrative text: Experiences at Wingkilina. by Isabel Murray

(1) Mr Kinninmonth-tju watja-rnu Thomas-nga-pulanya

" " -erg say-p.pf " -abs-them two

Paul-nga Wingkilina-ku kutitja-tjaku. (2) Ka watja-rnu-

" -abs " -to go-pf.pur.ds &.ds say-p.pf

lanyatju Sunday kutikati-kitja-lu.
us " take-pf.pur.ss-erg

(3) Ka-latju mapitja-ngu ngarri-ngu katurri-ngu

&.ds-we go-p.pf lie-p.pf get up-p.pf
tjirntu-ngka nyina-ngu nya-ngu wirrtja-ntja.
day-in sit-p.pf see-p.pf come quickly-pf.sc

(4) Pitja-ngu-lanyatju tatitju-nu. (5) Mantjirnu-lta-

come-p.pf-us put on-p.pf get-p.pf-cl-
lanyatju mawirrtja-rnu. (6) Hospital-ta-latju

us go quickly-p.pf " -at-we

ngara-ngu, ka Anna-ku tjilku-ku medicine-pa ninti-rnu.
stop-p.pf &.ds " -poss child-poss " -abs give-p.pf

(7) Yurra-rnu kati-ngu sister-lu ninti-rnu, ka mantji-rnu

gather-p.pf bring-p.pf " -erg give-p.pf &.ds get-p.pf

Mr Kinninmonth-tju tju-nu. (8) Mantji-ra-latju

" " -erg put-p.pf get-p.pt-we

kukurraa-rnu.
run-p.pf

(9) Kukurr-pa-latju pitja-yirnu, Winpuly-tja

swiftly-abs-we come-p.pf.ext " -at
munkarra nga-langu tina-latju. (10) Nga-langu-latju

beyond eat-p.pf dinner-we eat-p.pf-we

katurri-ngu kukurr-pa pitja-yirnu. (11) Blacksone-nga-

get up-p.pf swiftly-abs come-p.pf.ext " -abs
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mungarrtji parrapitja-ngu Wingkilina-ku.
afternoon come around-p.pf " -to

watja-rnu. (14) Ka-lanyatju matjalki-rnu ngurra-ngka say-p.pf &.ds-us take-p.pf camp-in
nyina-rranytja-ya Thomas-ku tjurtu. (16) Ka-latju sit-ipf.sc-they " -poss sister &.ds.we
(18) Ka Rogey-nya Melva-nya-ya ngaparrtjika ya-nu &.ds " -abs " -abs-they in turn go-p.pf
marlaku. (19) Ka-latju nyina-rranytja. (20) Kutikati-ngu-back &.ds-we sit-p.ipf take-p.pf
tjananya Rogey-lu nintitju-rranytja Thomas-nga Paul-nga. them " -erg show-p.ipf " -abs " -abs
(21) Ka-ya palya-rranytja nintirri-ngu. (22) Ka-latju &.ds-they do-p.ipf learn-p.pf &.ds-we
nyina-ngu.
sit-p.pf

(23) Raapita-ku-latju ya-nu. (24) Tirtu-latju rabbit-for-we go-p.pf always-we
(26) Pirnipurlka rabbit katipayi-latju. lots " bring-hab-we
Appendix I

(27) Paa-lku-latju mirrka-tjanampa tina palya-lku
cook-c.pf-we food+abs-for them dinner make-c.pf
wati-ku tju-nku. (28) Ka-ya pitja-ku tina nga-lku
man-for put-c.pf &.they come-c.pf dinner eat-c.pf
kutitja-ku marlaku-rtu. (29) Palya-lku-ya kaparti-ya
go-c.pf back-emph do-c.pf-they cup of tea-they
tjiki-lku. (30) Mungarrtji-ya mirrka mantji-lku pitja-ma.
drink-c.pf afternoon-they food+abs get-c.pf come-c.reg
(31) Ka-latju nyina-payi.
&.ds-we sit-hab
(32) Nyina-ngu-nyina-ngu, ka Mr Kinninmonth-tju
sit-p.pf-sit-p.pf & " " -erg
pitja-ngu watja-rnu, "Nyuntuku little boy-nya-nyu
come-p pf say-p pf your " " -def. abs-quo
kati-ku." (33) Ka-rna nyina-rranytja pukurl-pa
bring-f.pf &.ds-I sit-p.ipf happy-abs
kuli-rnu palunyatjanu. (34) Nyina-ngu ngarri-ngu
hear-p.pf as a result of that.ss sit-p.pf lie-p.pf
(35) Ngarri-ngu-latju. (36) Munga-ngka-latju
lie-p.pf-latju. (37) Ngarri-ngu-ngarri-ngu kuli-rnu
lie-p.ipf lie-p.pf-lie-p.pf hear-p.pf
pitja-ngu ngara-ngu. (38) Tjapi-rnu Andrew-lu watja-rnu
come-p.pf stop-p.pf ask-p.pf " -erg say-p.pf
"Thomas." watja-rnu "We brought Vincent." (39) Ka-rna
" say-p.pf " " " &.ds-I
katurri-ngu watja-rnu Thomas-tja-rna watja-rnu
get up-p.pf say-p.pf " -I.O.- I say-p.pf
Appendix I

"Katurri." (40) Ka katurri-ngu Thomas-ngu parratja-ngu
get up-imp.pf &.ds get up-p.pf " -abs come around-p.pf
yampu-rnu Vincent-ngu kati-ngu. (41) Ka-litju
pick up-p.pf " -abs bring-p.pf &.ds-we two
kanyi-ranytja-ita-latju. (42) Pukurlarri-ngu-rna
keep-p.ipf-cl-we rejoice -p.pf-I
mantji-rnu.
get-p.pf

(43) Kanyi-rnu-latju nyina-ngu. (44) Ka Pantjiti-ku
keep-p.pf-we sit-p.pf &.ds " -poss
tjilku pikarri-ngu. (45) Kim-nya pikarri-ngu, ka
child.abs become sick-p.pf " -abs become sick-p.pf &.ds
kutikati-ngu walypala-lu Musgrave Park-ku.
take-p.pf whiteman-erg " " -to
(46) Ka-latju nyina-ngu nya-ngu plane-pa pitja-ngu.
&.ds-we sit-p.pf see-p.pf " -abs come-p.pf
(47) Ka Donnegan-ngu-lu kutikati-ngu.
&.ds " -abs-3ps.ob take-p.pf
(48) bullet-pa waru-ngka tjarrpa-ngu pukulyarra-rnu.
" -abs fire-in enter-p.pf explode-p.pf
(49) Ka wilurruru-ngka tjarrpa-ngu. (50) Ka kutikati-ngu.
&.ds thigh-in enter-p.pf &.ds take-p.pf
(51) Ka nyina-ngu nya-ngu Mr MacDougall-nga pitja-ngu.
&.ds sit-p.pf see-p.pf " " -abs come-p.pf
(52) Pantjiti-nya-lu kati-nytja marlaku-lu.
" -abs-3ps.ob bring-p.reg back-erg
(53) Nyina-ngu-latju pitja-ngu-lu Pantjiti-lu nya-ngu
sit-p.pf-we come-p.pf-him " -erg see-p.pf
Appendix I


(1) Mr Kinninmonth said that Thomas and Paul were to go to Wingkilina. (2) He said he would take us on Sunday.
Appendix I

(3) We went and slept and got up the next day and sat there and saw him come. (4) He came and put us on (the truck). (5) He got us and set off quickly. (6) We stopped at the hospital and Anna's child's medicine was given. (7) Sister gathered it up and brought it and gave it, and Mr Kinninmonth put it (in the truck). (8) Having got it we sped away.

(9) We came swiftly along some distance and had dinner the other side of Winpuly. (10) We had dinner and then came along swiftly some distance. (11) Leaving Blackstone we went on. (12) We came along some distance and arrived at Wingkilina in the afternoon.

(13) We arrived and waited and the boss came out and gave instructions. (14) And (Mr Kinninmonth) took us and set us down in camp. (15) And we got down and saw Thomas' sister and others sitting there. (16) And we stayed there. (17) We slept the night.

(18) And Rogey and Melva and the others in turn went back home.
(19) And we were staying there. (20) Rogey took Thomas and Paul and was showing them (what to do). (21) And they learned and were doing it.

(22) And we stayed there.

(23) We went for rabbits. (24) We always used to go. (25) Having caught them we used to come back. (26) We used to bring back lots of rabbits. (27) We would cook food for them, make dinner and put it ready for the men. (28) And they would come and eat dinner and go back. (29) They would work and then drink afternoon tea. (30) In the afternoon they would get food and come back. (31) And we used to stay.

(32) After we had been there a while, Mr Kinninmonth came and said, "I'm going to bring your little boy." (33) And I was very happy because I had heard that. (34) I sat a while and then slept.

(35) We slept. (36) We were lying there at night. (37) We lay there for
Appendix I

a while and heard someone come and stop. (38) Andrew called out and said, "Thomas." He said, "We've brought Vincent." (39) And I got up and I said, I said to Thomas, "Get up." (40) And Thomas got up and took Vincent in his arms and brought him. (41) And we were looking after him there. (42) I was very happy that we had him.

(43) We kept him and stayed there. (44) And Pantjiti's child became sick. (45) Kim became sick and the whiteman took him to Musgrave Park. (46) And we stayed there and saw a plane come. (47) And Donnegan was taken away. (48) A bullet had gone into the fire and exploded. (49) And it went into his thigh. (50) So they took him away. (51) And after some time we saw Mr MacDougall come. (52) He brought Pantjiti back. (53) We stayed there and Pantjiti came and saw Kim looking after Vincent. (54) And his Aunties came, they saw him and cried.

(53) And after some time we saw Mr Kinninmonth come back. (56) He came and got Anna and Pantjiti and me and took us to Warburton. (57) He brought us. (58) We had dinner at Giles. (59) We had dinner and then came along swiftly and arrived at Warburton in the afternoon. (60) We arrived and got down there and Maureen came quickly and picked up Vincent and went around and was sitting there. (61) We stayed there and then went for a holiday to the well.
A hortatory text: Advice to parents and children, by Mavis Simms

Opening:
Yuwa tjitji pirni kuli-la-ya. (2) Watja-lku-rna.
yes child many listen-imp.pf-you tell-f.pf-I

Exhortation:
(3) Kuli-la-ya, palunyatjanulu pitul-pa
   listen-imp.pf-you and then petrol-abs
nyantu-ranytjamaal-pa nyina-ma palyarungu.
drink-ipf.neg-abs sit-imp.ipf well-behaved

Prophetical Warning:
(4) Nyantu-lku-nyantu-yan ngunytju-lu tjiinya
   drink-f.pf-drink-f.pf-you mother-erg you know
marrku-ra kanyi-ranytja-munu-ngka nyantu-lku-nyantu-lku
prevent-pr.pt keep-ipf-not-because drink-f.pf-drink-f.pf
nyantu-lku-nyantu-yan, palunyatjanu-yan
   drink-f.pf-drink-f.pf-you and then-you
purlkarri-ngkulalpi, purlkarri-ngkulalpi-yan mirrirri-ku.
become big-p.pt become big-p.pt-you die-f.pf
(5) Palyamunurri-ngku-yan, purlkarri-ngkulalpi-yan
   become bad-f.pf-you become big-p.pt-you
palyamunurri-ngku palunyatjanu-yan mirrirri-ku.
become bad-f.pf and then.ss-you die-f.pf
(6) Mirrirri-ku-yan, ka mama ngunytju tjiinya
   die-f.pf-you s.ds father mother you know
marrku-ranytja-munu paarnarra-lku. (7) Pitulpa
prevent-ipf-not get a shock-f.pf petrol
palunya-nya payi-ra kanyi-ranytja-munu yaka-yaka-ra
that-abs growl-pr.pt keep-ipf-not forbid-pr.pt
Appendix II

kanyi-ranytja-munu pawurnarra-lku, palunyatjanu
keep-ipf.not get a shock-f.pf and then.ss
pina palya-lu-ru pilu-rayilku paalyukati-ku.
ear allright-erg-as if piece-f.pf.ext fall down-f.pf

Exhortation:

(8) Pirni-lu-rtu kuli-la, palunyatjanu-la tjilku
many-erg-emph listen-imp pf and then.ss-we incl child
pirni-nya yaka-yaka-nma pitul-pa nyantu-ranyangka.
many-abs forbid-imp ipf petrol-abs drink-ipf ct ds

Prophetic Warning:

(9) Purlkarri-ngkulalpi-ya tjiinya kutipitja-la-rtarrartu-ya
become big-p pt-they you know go-p pt-also-they
hospital-ku-rtarrartu-ya kutipitja-ku. (10) Ka tukuta-lu
" -to-also-they go-f pf &.ds doctor-erg
tju-nku nya-ku, palunyalu watja-lku, "tjitji
put-f pf see-f pf & ss say-f pf child
palyamunu," watja-lku "pitul-tjanu mirrirri-ngkutja."
bad say-f pf petrol-from die-pf
(11) Pampu-lku (12) Tjiinya kurturtu nganytja-lku-rtarrartu
feel-f pf you know heart become stuck-f pf-also
palyamunurri-ku.
become bad-f pf

Exhortation:

(13) Palunyangka-lanku tjilku pirni-nya yaka-yaka-ra
because of that-we inc ref child many-abs forbid-pr pt
kanyi-nma. (14) Minarli pirni-nya palunya-piinypa-la
keep-imp ipf boy many-abs that-like-we incl
watja-nma. (15) Payi-nma-la, nyangka walykumunu-ya
speak-imp ipf growl-imp ipf & ds good-they
Appendix II

nyina-ma pitul-maalpa.
sit-imp.ipf petrol-without

Exhortation:

(16) Nyangka wati-nya rtarrartu nyantu-ranyangka,
&.ds man-def-also drink-ipf.ct.ds
purlka-lu rtarrartu murtilya tjiinya purlka-lu rtarrartu
big-erg-also youth you know big-erg-also
tjultjul tatja lu rtarrartu nyantu-ranyangka payi nma.
bush-pertaining-erg-also drink-ipf.ct.ds growl-imp.ipf

Prophectical Encouragement:

(17) Wati lu mama lu tjiinya payi lku kurta lu rtarrartu
man erg father erg you know growl pf brother erg also
tjinguru payi lku ngurnti rurrupu ngku pu ngkukitja lu.
maybe growl pf back of neck press pf hit pf pur ss erg
watja rayilku wanti nyanka walykumunurri ku
speak pf ext leave pf ct ds become good pf
nyina ma pitulmaalarri ku.
sit f ipf become without petrol pf

Exemplary Citation:

(18) Palunyangka ngayu lu rnatju tjilku payi ranytja.
because of that I nom I emph child growl p ipf
(19) Payi rayirnu litju (20) Palunyalu nguwanpa litju
growl pf ext we two & ss almost we two
pu ngkupayi (21) Pu ngkupayi litju nguwanpa tirtu.
hit hab hit hab we two almost continually
(22) Payi rnu payi rnu litju pina ngka tju nu.
growl pf growl pf we two ear in put pf pf
(23) Palunyangka ngayuku tjilku wiyarri ngu
because of that my child become finished pf
Appendix II

nyina-rra wiyarri-ngu pitul-ku.
sit-pr become finished-p pf petrol-for

Expansion of Citation:

(24) Tjiinya-litju watja-ranytja, "Nyantu-lku-nyantu-lku-n you know-we two say-p ipf drink-f pf-drink-f pf-you
purlkarri-ngkulalpi palyamunu, purlkarri-ngkulalpi
become big-p pt bad become big-p pt
palyamunurri-ku-n, palunyalu-nta tukuta-nta-nta
become bad-f pf-you s and-you ob doctor-erg-you ob
nya-ku-nta watja-lku-nta 'Palyamunu-n mirrirri-ku.' "
see-f pf-you ob say-f pf-you ob bad-you s die-f pf

(25) Palunya-nya-rtarrartu-litju kuli-ntjanu-lu
that-abs also we two think-pf ct ss-erg
payi-rnu-payi-rnu ngayuku tjilku. (26) Nyangka
growl-p pf-growl-p pf my child & ds
wiyarri-ngu nyina-rra pitul-ku.
become finished-p pf sit-pr petrol-for

Exhortation:

(27) Palunyapiinyma-nama-yanku. (28) Kutjupatjarra-lu
do like that-imp ipf you ref others erg
pirni-lu-rtu pirni-lu-rtu-lanku payi-ra walyku-nma
many-erg emph many-erg emph- we ref growl-pr pt prevent-imp ipf
pitul-pa nyantu-ranyangka palyamunurri-ngkutjakurtarra.
petrol-abs drink-ipf ct ds become bad-avers

(29) Palunyalu mama-lu ngunytju-lu tirtu watja-nma
& ss father erg mother erg still speak-imp ipf
palyarungurri-ngkula-rtarrartu nyina-rratjaku, tjiinya
become well-behaved-pr pt also sit- ipf pur ds you know
Appendix II

walykumunu nyina-rratjaku pitul-maalpa.
good sit-ipf.pur.ds petrol-without

Closure:
Yuwa tjilanyartu tjinguru.
yes that's all perhaps

Opening:
(1) Yes all you children, LISTEN. (2) I will tell you.

Exhortation:
(3) LISTEN ALL OF YOU, AND THEN NOT SNIFFING PETROL BE WELL-BEHAVED.

Prophetic Warning:
(4) If you sniff and sniff..., if you sniff and sniff (you see because your mothers haven't prevented you), if you sniff and sniff, then when you are big you will die.
(5) You will become bad, having become big you will become bad, and then you will die. (6) You will die and your mothers and fathers who haven't prevented you will get a shock.
(7) Those who haven't growled and kept that petrol, who haven't forbidden and kept it will get a shock, and then having come to their senses they will pierce their heads and fall down.

Exhortation:
(8) EVERYBODY LISTEN AND THEN LET US ALL FORBID THE CHILDREN WHEN THEY ARE SNIFFING PETROL.

Prophetic Warning:
(9) When they become big they may even go, they may even go to hospital. (10) And the doctor will put them in and look at them and say, "Bad child", he will say, "He has died from petrol." (11) He will feel it. (12) The heart will even become stuck and become bad.

Exhortation:
(13) BECAUSE OF THAT LET US ALL FORBIDDING KEEP THE CHILDREN.
Appendix II

(14) LIKE THAT LET US KEEP ON SPEAKING TO THE BOYS. (15) LET US KEEP ON GROWLING AND LET THEM BE GOOD WITHOUT PETROL.

Exhortation:

(16) AND WHEN MEN ALSO ARE SNIFFING, WHEN BIG ONES ALSO, BIG YOUTHS ALSO, WHEN YOUTHS SEPARATED FOR INITIATION ARE SNIFFING, KEEP ON GROWLING AT THEM.

Prophetic Encouragement:

(17) If the man, the father will growl at them, or the older brother even perhaps will growl at them, will press the back of the neck as if to hit; will keep on talking and leave it, then they will become good and will become without petrol.

Exemplary Citation:

(18) Because of that I was growling at my child. (19) We growled at him for some time. (20) We always almost hit him. (21) We continually almost hit him. (22) We growled and growled at him, we fixed it in his mind. (23) Because of that my child has finished with petrol.

Expansion of Citation:

(24) We two were saying, "If you sniff and sniff having become big, having become big you will become bad, and the doctor will look at you and say, "You are bad. You will die." '

(25) Having thought of that also we growled and growled at my child.

(26) And he has become good and is finished with petrol.

Exhortation:

(27) ALL OF YOU KEEP ON DOING LIKE THAT. (28) ALL THE OTHERS LET US ALL GROWLING PREVENT THEM WHEN THEY ARE SNIFFING PETROL LEST THEY BECOME BAD. (29) AND LET FATHERS AND MOTHERS KEEP ON SPEAKING SO THAT THEY BECOME WELL-BEHAVED, YOU KNOW SO THAT THEY WILL BE WITHOUT PETROL.

Closure:

Yes that's all perhaps.
Translation of part of a hortatory text: On the evils of drinking.

by Esther Green

Opening: Are you listening all you people?

Prophetic Warning: You see, if you drink and drink...

Exhortation: LEST YOU DIE AS A RESULT OF DRINKING ALL SORTS OF THINGS, LET US ALL BE WELL-BEHAVED.

Supportive Evidence: That drinking of all sorts of things is aberrant.

Exhortation: YOU SEE, KEEP ON GETTING FOOD AND EATING IT, FOOD TO SATISFY HUNGER, LEST YOU SIT AROUND HUNGRY FOR SOME TIME AND DIE, LEST YOU HAVE TO GO AROUND BEGGING.

Status Quo: You see, you are working for money for food and then you are taking it and giving it to the devil, you are giving it to the devil.

Exhortation: LET US NOT GIVE (THE MONEY WE HAVE EARNED) TO THE DEVIL, LET US KEEP ON EATING OUR OWN FOOD.

Exhortation: LEST WIVES AND CHILDREN SHOULD SIT AROUND FOR SOME TIME LACKING FOOD AND DIE, TRULY LOOK AFTER(Them).

Exhortation: NOT BECOMING BAD AND GOING THE WRONG WAY LET US LISTEN AND LOOKING BE WELL-BEHAVED.

Exhortation: YES TRULY FOLLOW THE ONE ROAD.

Supportive Evidence: You see, the live road is there.

Exhortation: SO LET US FOLLOW IT TO GOD'S CAMP. LET US ALL GO TO GOD'S ROAD.

Exhortation: AND THEN YOU SEE NOT GOING QUICKLY IN THE WRONG DIRECTION, YOU SEE NOT PLAYING CARDS, STANDING ABOUT GOING AWAY ENTERING AND DRINKING, LET US ALL LOOKING BE WELL-BEHAVED, WOMEN AND MEN TOO.

Exhortation: LET US EAT FOOD, FOOD TO KEEP THE STOMACH FULL.
Appendix III

Prophetic Warning: You will sit hungry for some time. After all you will be looking around like a beggar, going around begging. When they are eating in another camp they will not give you any just because you're looking. They will not become sorry and give to you. Because they are thinking "We all including you were working. We worked. We are all working and getting money and then we didn't get food."

Status Quo: You see we are taking it quickly and giving it to the devil.

Exhortation: YOU SEE LET US KEEP ON GETTING FOOD. LET US ALL GET FOOD AND EAT IT.
APPENDIX IV

Translation of part of a hortatory text: Keep coming to reading
lessons. by Yimiyarri Bates

Opening:
(1) YES ALL YOU WOMEN LISTEN.

Exhortation:
(2) YOU SEE, KEEP ON COMING. (3) KEEP COMING AND LEARNING
(4) KEEP ON LEARNING THE LITTLE BITS OF LANGUAGE.

Supportive Evidence:
(5) You see, Daughter is teaching us with the syllables.
(6) You see to God's word from these very things we are learning and
following on to read. (7) It is to get that that we are still in the
process of learning.

Exhortation:
(8) YOU KNOW, DON'T JUST DO IT ONCE AND LEAVE IT AND GO AWAY, STILL
KEEP ON LEARNING AND FOLLOWING ON WITH THE LITTLE THINGS.

Supportive Evidence:
(9) You see these things are truly valuable. (10) To get God's
word we are still in the process of learning the syllables.

Prophetic Encouragement:
(11) From that we will follow and follow on, you know, to read
Bible things, with our eyes.
(12) ARE YOU LISTENING?

Exhortation:
(13) IN VAIN I AM DESIRING THAT LOTS OF US SHOULD KEEP ON LEARNING
TOGETHER.

Status Quo:
(14) You see you are learning the syllables and possibly mistakenly
thinking they are worthless, are leaving them and going away.
Appendix IV

Supportive Evidence:

(15) You see the little things, you see, are valuable, they are God's word. (16) It is to get God's word, you know, that we are following on and learning the syllables. (17) You see we are learning and following on for Bible things.

Prophetical Encouragement:

(18) One will learn from these very things.

Exemplary Citation:

(19) But only I am still coming every day. (20) You see, even when I am sick, I don't leave it, I am still desiring it. (21) And you know, God quickly makes me well and finishes my sickness. (22) You see, I am truly desiring God's word.

Supportive Evidence:

(23) You see, it is not for one person, it is for us all. (24) You see, Daughter is wanting to teach so that you will all learn and follow on and then be able to read Bible things. (25) You see, the syllables, the little things are valuable. (26) To read God's word we are learning and following on.

Exhortation:

(27) YES I AM TRULY DESIRING, YOU SEE. (28) AND THEN I AM DESIRING IN VAIN FOR MANY, FOR MANY OF US TO LEARN, MANY OF US HAVING LEARNED TO READ GOD'S WORD.

Prophetical Encouragement:

(29) One can easily read. (30) One can learn the big Bible even from these very syllables. (31) By looking at and following looking at and following, looking at, reading these very syllables and following on one will easily attain the big Bible.

(32) ARE YOU ALL LISTENING?
## APPENDIX V

Reference for terminological changes from Glass & Hackett (1970)

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Appendix V

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