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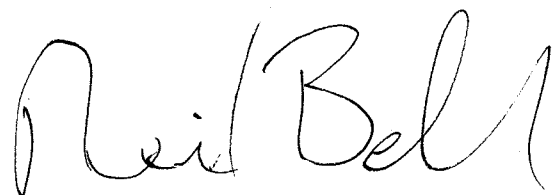
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**THE VERBAL CATEGORIES OF SOME DIALECTS OF THE WESTERN
DESERT LANGUAGE**

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degree of Master of Arts of the Australian National University
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This thesis is the original work of the author unless otherwise
acknowledged.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Neil Bell". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping initial 'N'.

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Finally, I must record the support and encouragement of my wife and the tolerance of my children.

ABBREVIATIONS

G&H	Glass & Hackett 1970
G1	Glass 1980
Pj	Pitjantjatjara
Ngaany	Ngaanyatjara
WD(L)	Western Desert (Language)
Yank	Yankunytjatjarra
H&H	Hansen & Hansen 1978

INTRODUCTION

I embarked on this study because I am interested in the syntax and morphology of Centralian languages. Put more simply, I am interested in the way in which these languages combine sounds and words to express meaning.

Before I more specifically describe my interests in syntax and morphology, it would perhaps be useful background to describe how I came to this interest in Centralian languages.

For the past thirteen years I have lived and worked in Central Australia, as a school teacher, linguist and member of the Northern Territory's Legislative Assembly. In those positions I have come in more or less close contact with speakers of the three languages of Central Australia: Western Desert, Arandic and Warlpiri.

Of these three, Western Desert and, more specifically, Pitjantjatjarra, is the language with which I am most familiar, have studied and speak with a degree of fluency, initially because I lived and worked over a six year period in a Pj speaking community at Areyonga and currently because I use it on a daily basis.

However, as a member of the Legislative Assembly, I represent Aranda speaking communities as well as Western Desert speaking communities. I therefore have a vested interest in attaining a degree of fluency in an Arandic language as well as a pure interest in Arandic morphology and syntax.

I therefore embarked on this study with a view to killing two birds with one stone: satisfying the requirements for my linguistics course and learning Aranda. To that end I set about comparing and analysing aspects of the morphology and syntax of Arandic, on one hand, and Western Desert, on the other.

However, a necessary pre-condition of such a comparison and analysis was a description of the aspects of the grammar of both languages in which I was interested. Such a single description of even an aspect of

the grammar of both languages was problematic: having narrowed my field of study to verbal morphology, I realized that the scope of this study would have to be limited to WD and the result has been that I have concentrated rather more on some dialects than others.

Chapter 2 is my initial comparison of Pj and Ngaany. It was while studying the descriptions of Ngaany verbal morphology in G&H and GI that I realized that establishing a base line description of verbal morphology for WD would be rather more difficult than I had imagined. For this reason the comparison of grammatical categories in chapter 2 is divided into two sections: "similar categories" i.e. categories that can be easily related between Pj and Ngaany and "disparate categories" which cannot be so easily related. Having completed this comparison, it became clear that there were several questions that had to be asked.

Firstly, which labels of which verbal categories differ between dialects because there is a difference between the semantic space which they express and which labels differ because of the descriptive predilections of the linguists describing those dialects?

Secondly, what is a label worth if it only ties together various functions that are not necessarily related? When should we posit polysemy when we are not able even to adumbrate an underlying semantic structure which we are labelling?

Thirdly, given the internal evidence of re-analysis in Ngaany verb forms, what is the place of this re-analysis in the diachronic development of the other dialects of the WD?

Fourthly, to what extent have the differences in form and category affected the mutual intelligibility of these dialects?

In chapter 3, I attempted to establish a clear picture of the semantic space described by verbs in the WD dialect with which I am most familiar, namely Pj. My own data has been corroborated by and in some areas the description has been informed by Goddard's description of the closely related Yankunytjatjara dialect. Likewise Trudinger's sketch grammar is cited where applicable. I have attempted to peel a few more layers of meaning from these forms in addition to re-organizing the data of verbal morphology in a form suitable for comparison with other

dialects and I have structured the description under these headings: tense/aspect, mood and subordinating forms.

In chapter 4, I have given a brief summary of H&H's Pintupi data, re-organized it again for comparison and compared it with corresponding Pj forms.

Chapter 5 is a synthesis of the data we have considered in the previous chapters. The synthesis takes the supra-categories of tense/aspect, mood and subordinating forms and draws conclusions about the similarity and difference of forms and meanings in all the dialects.

In the concluding chapter we have attempted to summarise the answers to the questions posited above, indicated our shortcomings and pointed to some directions for possible further study.

There have been few studies of the dialectology of the WDL specifically but the only one which has addressed morphological categories has been Hansen's study of communilects. The purpose of that study was to assess communicability between various of the dialects of the WDL. In the context of this study, it provides much valuable synchronic information about the status of the dialects which are the subject matter of this study. (Of great interest also is the valuable sociolinguistic data which associates the recent historic development of the communities in which people now live and the language differences between the different generations which have lived in different social, political and economic circumstances; i.e. those older people who lived a traditional life in the bush speak a different speech variety from the younger people whose language has been affected, for example much more by contact with English.)

However, an underlying assumption in the Hansen study is that semantic space is divided in the same way in each dialect. This assumption is implicit when Hansen says: "To assess communicability between each of the above mentioned communilects, I had to devise testing materials which would cover the range of ... grammatical forms known or understood."(H1984:17, my emphasis) He goes on to say that a "Grammatical Form synonym chart " was prepared in which fifty-three items were included "based on prior knowledge of dialect difference in these forms in other centres." (ibid) The advantage of this approach is

that it will result in forms which are generally understood and therefore of considerable operational value in preparing reading materials for WD speakers.

However, in terms of linguistic analysis it does not necessarily assist us in separating individual linguistic competence, multi-lingualism and diachronic change. It is of great interest for our purposes to have data which distinguishes the perceived competence of a speaker or group of speakers on one hand and what that individual or group knows of the competence of speakers of related dialects but, when WD speakers at Papunya say that /-rra-nytja-ngka ~-nytja-ngka~-nya-ngka~-nytja-la~-rra-nytja-la~-nyi-ngka/ are all synonyms for a verbal suffix which marks "different participant ... and continuous aspect" (H1984:52) we are entitled to ask the diachronic question about the development of these forms.

We are also entitled to ask the synchronic question about the rules that control these alternations. For example, what phonological rule conditions the /-nytja-ngka~-nya-ngka~-nyi-ngka/ alternation and how widespread are these phonological rules? Similarly, with the Warburton material, the "nominaliser with continuous aspect" is given as /-rra-nytja~-nytja/. Again, what conditions this alternation synchronically and, diachronically, why does this alternation appear in the Warburton material but not in other dialects?

As we shall see then, in the context of a study of grammatical categories in some of the dialects of the WDL, the assumption that semantic space is divided up uniformly across the dialects is questionable when the goal of linguistic analysis is a description of the linguistic competence of individual speakers and the diachronic development of that competence. It is, of course, a reasonable assumption when the study is communicability.

The WDL has been referred to as a "family-type" language (O'Grady & Voegelin 1966:138) because of the vast extent of the Australian continent over which it is spoken and the questions of mutual intelligibility that are raised by the large number of dialects that constitute the language. Today it is spoken from Alice Springs in the east to Kalgoorlie in the west and from the Great Australian Bight in the

south to Fitzroy Crossing and Hall's Creek in the north, although in pre-contact times the extent over which it was spoken and understood may have been somewhat more restricted.

There are several dialect names including Ngaanyatjara, Pitjantjatjara, Yankunytjatjara, Luritja and Pintupi. In this study we have concentrated on three dialects: Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara, Ngaanyatjara and Pintupi. This choice essentially reflects, firstly, my own studies of Pitjantjatjara and, secondly, the availability of grammars of other dialects.¹

FOOTNOTE

¹ Although I have not analysed Papunya Luritja, Mantjiltjara and Gugada as extensively as the other dialects, I have incorporated data from these grammars where appropriate and I do not feel that more extensive consideration of the categories employed in them would alter the conclusions I have drawn. ¹

CH 2: A COMPARISON OF NGAANYATJARRA AND PITJANTJATJARRA CATEGORIES

In this chapter we are attempting to relate the verb forms and categories employed in Ngaanyatjarra and those employed in Pitjantjatjara.

There is surprisingly little in common between the verb forms and categories that evince themselves in the extant grammars of the two dialects.

It is possible that the differences in the grammatical categories employed in the two dialects are to some extent an artifact of the predilections of the linguists concerned but this cannot explain entirely the differences referred to above.

Our task is to examine the categories and forms employed and, to that end, we will separate the forms and categories in the two dialects that can be easily related, from those which cannot be so easily related. In the first section we will consider the forms and categories which can be easily related and in section 2.2 we will consider those that are not so easily related.

2.1 Similar Categories

The Ngaany categories₁ which can be easily related to Pj counterparts are: set out below. (The numbers in brackets refer to the number given to the suffix in G&H. The page references are likewise to G&H.)

- command (11, pp 13-14)₁
- future (12, pp 13-14)
- past perfect (14, pp 14-15)
- cause/time (31, p 26)
- habitual (35, p24)
- deprivative
- aversive
- consequential (41, pp 27-28)
- purpose (36, pp24-25)
- participle (p.31)

There are therefore these categories that appear to have relatively little

formal or semantic connection with their Pj counterparts:

potential (13, pp15-18)
 present (15, p 19)
 punctiliar (21 and 22, p 19 et seq.)
 continuous (23, p 19 et seq.)
 cessative (34, p 24)
 negative future (33 + 43, pp23-24)
 non-abilitive (36 + 43, p 25)
 infinitive (32, pp 25-27)
 negative (42, p 30)
 independent negative (42, p.30)
 extensive (pp 32-34)

As we have mentioned, these categories and their associated forms will be considered in section 2.2.

There are other combinations of these suffixes, in addition to those referred to above, which require interpretation to relate them to their Pj counterparts. For example, the class 20 suffixes with aspectual labels (see table 3.4, p 3/14) can be followed by a number of suffixes to give a variety of what G&H refer to as mode complexes. These complexes bear a somewhat distant semantic relationship to their Pj counterparts, as we shall see.

We will consider now these labels but, before we do so, it should be pointed out that at a deeper level of analysis we must have some misgiving about the labels of some of these categories and for the sake of completeness and possible advantage in analysing forms, functions and categories in other dialects we will carefully examine the differences in the use of these labels in the two dialects. The question we are asking then is: how well the Ngaany labels in the above lists describe grammatical categories in Pj and, if the grammatical categories are parallel in both dialects, do they have the same formal realization in both dialects?

COMMAND

The canonical command situation is that of the speaker seeking to impress his will on a hearer or hearers. It is unusual for a speaker to address a command to himself when that command is intended for a hearer or hearers i.e. a command may be intended for the speaker himself but the

speaker in these cases is addressing his alter ego as hearer.

Both in Pj and Ngaany most usages of the command form conform to the canonical situation and there is a high degree of formal and semantic congruence between the two dialects. It is clear that there is a strong parallelism between the imperative forms in 2.1a and 2.1b.

2.1a kuka pawu - la
Pj meat cook imp

 "Cook the meat."

2.1b watja - nu katurri - wa kuka pawu - la
G&H13 say past get up imp meat cook imp

 "(He) said, 'Get up and cook the meat'"

2.2a is an example of a command form with a 1st person subject. Admittedly, the first main clause is a canonical command and the semantic force of the second main clause is purposive but by any yardstick this second verb form is not easily categorized as a command, at least not in the terms discussed above.²

2.2a ngara - 0 ka - na witi - la
Pj stand imp and 1sg grab imp

"Stand (still) so I can grab you."

2.2b watja - nu nyina - ma - la ka nyinnga wiya - rri - 0
G&H:13 say past sit c/com we and ds winter finish imp

"(He) said, 'Let's stay here and let the winter finish up'"

In the Ngaany sentence 2.2b, we have a similar phenomenon. Assuming that the reported speech would have the same form as direct speech, the second main clause is a command form with a 3rd person subject. The force of this clause again appears to be purposive.

In these cases the modal force of the command form is somewhat different from that of the canonical command to which we referred. The common semantic element is that of the speaker impressing or seeking to impress his will, not only on the hearer but on the world at large. While we will continue to use the label "command" we should bear in mind that a

more accurate label might be the impressive mood.

We see then that there is a high degree of formal, semantic and distributional congruence between the dialects with respect to this category.

FUTURE

Although it is clear that, formally and semantically, there is an almost complete overlap between the two dialects with the command mood, the future categories in the two dialects share formal congruence but evince considerable functional and semantic divergence. This semantic divergence is evident in the use of the future category to encode a past habitual aspect as in 2.3.

2.3 ka - ya pitja - anku - ya **kati - rrayi - lku - tjananya**
6:94 and ds they come extns they carry extns fut them

mingma nyinatju - ra wanti - rra **kutitja - ku**
women set part leave part go fut

mingku_ - ku. mingku_ - pa pitja - anku - la
tobacco for tobacco abs come extens part

ngalku - payi - ya. warrpu - lpayi - ya yapu -ngka.
eat hab they pull up hab they rock loc

mingku_ - pa **warrpu - lku pitja - ku nyina - ma**
tobacco abs pull up fut come fut sit c/comm

"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."

This is interesting because we have verbs in the habitual category, /ngalkupayi/ and /warrpulpayi/ as well as the future category verbs /kutitjaku/, /warrpulku/ and /pitjaku/. Below in Pj2.4 we have only the habitual form.

2.4 ngayu - ku ngunytju , ngayu - ku mama nganana Walara - la
 Pj 1sg goal mother 1sg goal father 1pl place adj

nyina - payi titutjarra. walpala ngana - la? Litula - la.
 live hab always whitefeller 1pl adj name adj

munu - la tjiipi kanyi - lpayi, tjiipi tjuta - la kanyi - lpayi,
 and ss 1pl sheep look after hab sheep many 1pl look after hab

munu - la kapi kutu ngalya kati - payi
 and ss 1pl water to towards take hab

"My mother, my father, we used to live at Wallara. (With which whitefeller?) With Liddle. And we used to look after the sheep. We used to look after a lot of sheep and we used to bring them to the water."

Therefore, of the five functions that are ascribed to the future categories in Ngaany the habitual function has no counterpart in Pj and the future tense in indicative clauses is congruent with Pj usage. The remaining three functions described for Ngaany are a little problematic and will not be considered further in this study. The non-permissive function in 2.5, the conditional function in 2.6 and the prohibitive function in 2.7 could be regarded as future tenses in indicative clauses; the modal force that the labels "non-permissive" and "prohibitive" suggest seems to be a property of the adverbs in those sentences and the conditional relationship seems to derive from the syntactic properties of the sentence rather than from the verbal morphology.

2.5 kamu - na mantji - lku tjinguru munga - ngka
 G&H:15 impossible 1sg get fut maybe night adj

"Perhaps it is impossible for me to get (fish) at night"

2.6 ka - ya tjarurru mirrirri - ku ka panaka - lu kati - ku
 G&H:15 and ds they group die fut and ds group erg take fut

tjunutju - nku
 bury fut

"And if a tjarurru person dies then the panaka people take (the body) and bury it."

2.7 **katurri - ku kulu - n**
 G&H:15 get up fut not you

"Mind you don't get up."

PAST PERFECT

This is one category where there are no examples to suggest that there is anything but formal and semantic congruence between the categories employed in the two dialects.

However, there are some distributional differences. The Ngaany sentence 2.8a below is not ungrammatical in Pj but it is highly marked and emphatic and 2.8b would be the unmarked way of expressing these actions in Pj..

2.8a **ka - latju mantji - nu paa - nu kati - ngu watitja - ngu**
 G1:90 and ds 1plexc get past cook past take past go across past

2.8b **ka - la mantji - ra pawu - ra wati kati - ngu**
 Pj and we get part cook part across carry past

"And we got it, cooked it, brought it and came across."

CAUSE/TIME

Bell1979 discusses in some detail the suffix /-nyangka/ in Pj. There it is analysed for Pj as bi-morphemic: /-nytja-/ + /-ngka/ > /-nyangka/.

Its function is congruent in the two dialects although the form varies: G&H analyse the Ngaany form as stem + punctiliar + cause/time while in Pj Bell1979 analyses such verb forms as stem + nominalizer + adjunct. (We will relate below the labels "punctiliar" and "nominalizer" in the two dialects.)

If both synchronic analyses are accepted, it will be necessary to explain how the two dialects have substantially the same form with substantially the same meaning but different underlying structure.

HABITUAL

Again it appears that there is a high degree of formal and semantic congruence between the dialects in respect of this category. In our analysis of Pj habitual forms (s3.1) we point out that this form is polysemous and that the form functions both as a noun and a verb. There is some doubt about such an analysis for Ngaany.

With respect to the nominal usage, 2.9 and 2.10 give examples of Pj utterances that may not have counterparts in Ngaany but these usages are not grammatically or semantically central.

2.9	punka - lpayi - ngka	purrkara	a - rral
Pj	fall	hab	adj slowly go imp

"Go carefully or you might fall."

2.10	nyina - payi wiru	nyangatja
pj	sit	hab good this

"This is a good place to sit!"

In 2.9 the form is suffixed with the adjunct case marker which has resulted in an aversive force to the sentence, while 2.10 is interesting because it nominalizes a non-subject argument. (The reference of these forms is usually the logical subject of the nominalized verb as in 2.4, where the reference of the forms /kanyilpayi/ and /katipayi/ is the one who does the caring and carrying. However, by contrast, in the case of 2.10, the reference is a logical locative; the reference of the form /nyinapayi/ is not to the one who does the sitting, but to the thing which is sat on.)

DEPRIVATIVE

There appears to be semantic congruence between the two dialects in this category but some formal difference.

In Ngaany the form is:

stem + punctiliar + deprivative (+erg)

while the Pj form is:

stem + nominalizer + deprivative (+ erg)

so that we have the following forms:

NGAANY	PJ
mantji - l - tjirratja	mantji - nytja - tjirratja
nyina - 0 - "	nyina - " "
a - nku - "	anku - " "
pu - ngku - "	pungku - " "

2.11 and 2.12 give examples of the deprivative suffix in the two dialects with verbs and 2.13 gives an example of the use of the suffix with with a noun in Pj.

2.11 mirrpan - arri - ngu titu mani **mantji - l - tjirratja**
G&H:25 angry incho past still money get perf depriv

"(They) became angry because they wouldn't be able to continue getting money."

2.12 mirrpan - arri - ngu mani **mantji - nytja - tjirratja**
Pj angry incho past money get Nom I depriv

"He became angry because he was in need of money (and couldn't get it.)"

2.13 ngayu - lu **kuka - tjirratja** wampata - ku a - nanyi
 Pj lsg nom meat depriv hunting goal go pres

"I am going hunting because I need meat."

PURPOSE

We have the same formal difference and semantic congruence with this category as we had with the deprivative category.

In Ngaany the form is

stem + punctiliar 1 + purpose

while in Pj it is

stem + Nom 1 + goal

so that we have the following forms:

NGAANY

ninti - 1 - tjaku

nyina - 0 - tjaku

a - nku - tjaku

pu - ngku - tjaku

PJ

mantji - nytja - ku

nyina - nytja - ku

anku - nytja - ku

pungku - nytja - ku

G&H separate the imminent category exemplified in 2.15 from the purpose category. However, G1 analyses both suffixes, /-kitja/ in 2.15 and /-tjaku/ in 2.14, as purpose. In this study we will use this label, rather than "imminent" because of its more general use in descriptions of WD dialects.

2.14 ka mama - lu watja - nu mimi **ninti - 1 - tjaku**
 G&H:25 and father erg said past milk give perfv purp

"And the father told (the mother) to give it milk."

2.15 wiya pipe tjinguru - lan mantji - l - kitja kutipitja - ku
 Ngaany neg pipe maybe 1pl get perfv purp go fut

"Why, perhaps it is to get the pipes we will go."

Considering the verb forms in both these sentences, 2.14 and 2.15, we note that only the form in 2.15 is grammatical in a dialect of Pj, as we shall see below. It is remarkable that /nintiltjaku/ is not grammatical in any dialect of Pj.

There is some doubt about the use of these forms in a main clause in the two dialects. G&H indicate the /-kitja/ suffix may be used in a main clause (G&H:23) but such sentences in Pj are elliptical where the main verb is understood and the subordinate verb left. On the other hand, the Pj form, cognate to the Ngaany /-tjaku/ forms, may be used in a main clause in Pj as in 2.16 and, according to Glass [pers comm], such a form is not grammatical in Ngaany.

2.16 palu - ru ngurra kutu a - nkunytja - ku
 Pj 3sg nom home to go Nom I goal

"He should go home now"

2.17 ngayu - nya ngalya kati - ngu wangka - kitja - ngku
 Pj 1sg acc towards carry past meeting purp erg

"(He) brought me here for the meeting."

AVERSIVE

This has similar form and the same meaning in both dialects: /-tarra/ is suffixed to the Ngaany purpose form and /-ta(w)arra/ to the Pj

counterpart. Again the punctiliar suffix occurs in the Ngaany form whereas the Pj form has a nominalizing suffix.

Unlike for the /-kitja/ suffix, both dialects have the aversive suffix in the same distribution and there is little doubt that the two forms /-ta(w)arra/ and /-tarra/ are one and the same morpheme. Both forms occur in the dialect of Pj with which I am most familiar. The form is exemplified in Ngaany and Pj sentences at 2.18a and 2.18b below:

2.18a ngulu - rri - ngu - litju patja - l - tjaku - tarra
G&H:25 afraid incho past 1duexc bite perfv purp avers

2.18b ngulu - rri - ngu - li patja - nytja - ku tarra
Pj afraid incho past 1du bite Nom I goal avers

"We became afraid that it might bite us."

CONSEQUENTIAL

This category seems to be semantically congruent in the two dialects. Although the example given in G&H, repeated at 2.19a below, would more likely be rendered in Pj as 2.20a; 2.19b gives a sentence in which there is a more strongly causal connection between the two clauses which would be rendered in Pj as 2.20b. It should be noted that the imperfective aspect in the Ngaany sentence 2.19b is not expressed in 2.20b.

2.19a mirrka nyaku - ny - tja - tjanu kutipitja - ngu
G&H:27 food see perfv inf consq go past
"After seeing the food, he went."

2.19b ngalku - la - ny - tja - tjanu walyku - rri - ngkula
G&H:30 eat imperfv consq weary incho pres

"After continually having eaten (the food, he) is becoming weary of it."

2.20a mirrka nyaku - la ma - pitja - ngu
Pj food see part away come past

"After seeing the food , he went."

2.20b ngalku - nytja - tjanu paku - rri - ngu
Pj eat Nom I consq weary incho past

"As a result of eating, he became tired -

Again the forms are slightly different in the two dialects. Ngaany has
stem + punc 2 + infinitive + consequential
while Pj has

stem + nominalizer + consequential.

PARTICIPLE

The participial category is congruent in both dialects formally and semantically with the exception of the /-lpi/ suffix in Ngaany which is obligatory on all participial forms of non-motion verbs. [G&H:103-4, Glass (pers comm)]. This is demonstrated in 2.21a and 2.21b. Apart from the apposition of past perfect forms in Ngaany which we have already noted as a dialect difference, we note the ungrammaticality of the participial form /tjunkula/ in 2.19a and its acceptability in a parallel Pj sentence .

Pj would seem to have a general requirement that the action of the participle be commenced prior to the action of the main verb where both verbs are non-instantaneous but no restriction that it be completed by the time of the commencement of the action of the main verb. 2.22a gives an example of a sentence where the action is complete prior to the commencement of the action of the main verb: they did not go to the camp until the putting in the yard was complete. On the other hand in 2.22b the action of staying in the place did not cease as soon as they saw the old man.

2.21a nyangka kati - ngu nyintji - 0 walku - 0
G&H:104 conjn bring past spear abs fruit abs

tjunku - laipi/*tjunku - la nyinakati - ngu
put part put part sit past

"And (he) brought spears and fruit (and) having put them down
sat down."

2.21b munu kulata kati - rra, **tjunku - la** nyinakati - ngu
Pj and ss spear bring past put part sit past

"And, having brought the spear and put it down, he sat."

2.22a yaata - ngka **tjarrpa - tju - nkula** ngurra kutu a - nkupayi
Pj yard adj enter put part home to go hab

"Having put them in the yard, we used to go to home>"

2.22b nyina - rra **nyina - rra - la** tjilpi - nya nya - ngu
Pj sit part sit part 1pl old man abs see past

"Having sojourned and sojourned, we saw the old man."

Of the categories then that we have considered easily related to Pj counterparts we are left with these questions, some of which we have attempted to answer and some of which will be further addressed:

- a Why does the Ngaany future encode a past habitual/customary aspect while its Pj counterpart does not?

- b Similarly, why does the Ngaany future form encode non-permissive, conditional and prohibitive functions?
- c How is the Ngaany cause/time category related to the same Pj form?
- d How do we account for the formal differences between the Ngaany forms that express deprivative, purposive, aversive and consequential functions and their Pj counterparts?
- e How do we explain the /-lpi/ suffix with Ngaany participles and its absence in Pj?

We have attempted some answers to these questions but clearly if this range of questions is raised by the forms that we are able to relate easily to each other, what sort of difficulty will there be with forms we deem less easily able to be related to each other? It is to these forms we now turn.

2.2 DISPARATE CATEGORIES

In this section we deal with those Ngaany forms and categories that appear the most difficult to relate to Pj counterparts.

2.2.1 MA - FORMS

G&H use the label "potential" for the MA - forms which implies a modality in which the speaker expresses what he believes is able to be. Considering the functions for which this form is employed in the two dialects, there seem to be two salient semantic features which are not normally associated with a potential mood: a continuous aspect and a mood that seeks to impress the will of the speaker on the future in varying degrees. (This category has the latter semantic element in common with the command category which we have discussed above.)

The eleven functions analysed by G&H fall into four groups: imperative functions, modally-marked functions, a declarative function and regressive functions. The groups and the associated functions have been tabulated below:

IMPERATIVE	continuous command
	continuous hortative
	continuous prohibitive
MODALLY MARKED	continuous subjunctive
	-admonitory/necessitative
	continuous non-permissive -
	admonitory-pumpapalka
	subjunctive - dubitative tjinguru

DECLARATIVE	continuous habitual continuous future
REGRESSIVE	regressive command future regressive habitual regressive

We have grouped THREE functions as imperative: continuous command, continuous hortative, and continuous prohibitive. This is justified because it appears, on the basis of examples cited by G&H, that the continuous hortative function differs from the continuous command function by dent of the former having a 1st person plural subject. This difference is exemplified below in 2.23 and 2.24 where 2.23 has a 2nd person subject and 2.24 a 1st person subject.

The continuous prohibitive is exemplified in 2.25 and seems to be a negative form of the continuous command. We note that these functions have Pj counterparts using the ma-form although the negative particle /kulu/ is not a Pj form.

2.23 watja - nu parra - pitja - 0 kumpi - la wata - ngka ngara - ma
G&H16 say past around go imp hide imp tree adj stand MA

"(He) said, 'Go around and hide by the tree and keep standing there.'"

2.24 kutipitja - 0 - li kuka - ku parra - nya - ngama
G&H16 go imp we2inc meat goal around look MA

"Let us go and continue to look around for game."

2.25 yuril - ta kulu - n ngara - ma
G&H17 space adj not stand MA

"Mind you don't keep on standing outside."

The other three groups of functions, the declarative, regressive and modally marked groups, are either problematical in Pj or are clearly

ungrammatical.³ The **declarative continuous future function** exemplified in 2.26 is not a grammatical Pj usage, and the **declarative continuous habitual function** exemplified in 2.27 is certainly not a grammatical Pj sentence. The grammatical Pj counterparts to 2.26 and 2.27 are exemplified at 2.28.

2.26 nyina - ma - lin ngarri - ku tjintu - rri - ngkulalpi - lin
G&H17 sit MA we2inc lie fut sun incho part we2inc

kutipitja - ku kuka - ku
go fut meat goal

"We will stay here and lie down and then tomorrow we will go for meat."

2.27 tjilku - lu - lurrtju - ya nga - lku - ya ngalpurrrpa - ngkula
G&H17 child ag also 3pl eat fut 3pl play part
nyina - ma
sit MA

"The children also would eat and stay there playing happily."

2.28a nyina - rra - li ngarri - ku munu - li ngarri - rra
Pj sit part 2du lie fut and 2du lie part

tjintu - rri - ngkula kuka - ku a - nkuku
sun incho part meat goal go fut

"We will stay here and sleep and then tomorrow we will go for meat."

b irriti tjitji tjuta - ngku nga - lkula inka - rra pukulpa
long ago child many ag eat part play part happy

nyina - payi
sit hab

"Before the children would (used to) stay happily, eating and playing."

As the table above indicates, G&H analyse three regressive functions which we have exemplified below at 2.29a - c. We have included at 2.29a' - c' the Pj counterparts of these sentences and we note that none of the Pj sentences use the MA-form. Of the Ngaany usages we note, firstly, that the regressive function only occurs with a very small number of motion verbs and that, secondly, this aspectual category is combined with other verbal categories of aspect and mood that are encoded in Ngaany by the MA-form, namely habitutive and imperative categories.

2.29a kapi - ku kutipitja - 0 tjuti - la kati - ma
G&H18 water goal go imp pour imp bring MA

"Go for water, pour it and bring it back."

2.29b ka - na yurra - lku kati - ma
G&H18 and ds 1sg gather fut bring MA

"And I will gather (fruit) and bring it back."

2.29c nyina - rrayi - nu - latju yililtu - latju ya - nku tjawa - lku
G&H18 sit extns past 1plex honeyants 1plex go fut dig fut
tjawa - rayi - lku puluka - ku ngulu - latju wanti - ku
dig extns fut bullock goal afraid 1plex leave fut

wirrtja - nma
hasten MA

"We stayed there and would go and dig honey ants, then being afraid of the bullocks we would leave and hasten back."

2.29a' kapi - ku a - nkula tjuti - ra ngalya kati - 0
Pj water goal go part pour part towards bring imp

"Go for water, pour it and bring it back."

2.29b' ka - na urra - ra ngalya kati - ku
 Pj and ds 1sg gather part towards bring fut
 "And I will gather (it) and bring it back here."

2.29c' nganana nyina - rra nyina - rra tjala - ku a - nkupayi
 pj 1pl sit part sit part honeyant goal go hab

munu - la a - nkula tjawa - lpayi. tjawa - ra, tjawa - ra,
 andss 1pl go part dig hab dig part dig part

tjawa - ra puluka - ku ngulu - rri - ngkupayi munu - la
 dig part bullock goal fear incho hab andss 1pl

wanti - rra ngurra kutu a - nkupayi (mala - ku)
 leave part home to go hab back goal

"We having stayed there (for some time) would go for honey
 ants and having gone would dig. Having dug and dug, we would
 become afraid of the bullocks and having forsaken (the
 digging), we would go back home."

The final group of functions analysed by G&H are a rather miscellaneous group of modally-marked functions that are not easily related to each other. These are the continuous subjunctive, the subjunctive and the continuous non-permissive functions which are exemplified below in 2.30, 2.31 and 2.32 respectively. We note that the modal force of each sentence owes itself at least as much to the semantic force of other morphemes as it does to the *ma*-form itself; in the case of the continuous subjunctive function to the suffix /-palka/ which as we can see from 2.30' appears strongly parallel semantically if not distributionally to the Pj particle /uti/; in the case of the subjunctive function to the particle /tjinguru/ which is paralleled formally, if not quite semantically, by the Pj utterance at 2.31'; and in the case of the continuous non-permissive function by the particle /pumpapalka/ which does not have a close parallel in Pj.5

2.30 warrpu - ngkula - palka ngaltu - rri - ngama
G&H17 hurry part should sorry incho MA

"One should always be sorry straight away."

2.31 rurrku - nu pulkanya rurrku - ra - latju ngalya - kukurra - nu
G&H17 roar past big roar part lplex toward speed past

tjinguru tili - nma green truck - nga ka tjinguru nya - ngama
perhaps light MA " " obj and ds perhaps see MA

pini - lu - tu
many ag emph

"The engine made a loud roar, and the engine having started we sped along. (He) probably would have set fire to the green truck and everyone would have seen it."

2.32 pika - ku - ya yunguntjarra kutju pitja - ma pumpapalka
G&H17 sickness for you all morning only come MA impossible

mungarrtji - tarra - tu pitja - ma
afternoon also emp come MA

"Only come in the morning for treatment. It is not right to keep coming in the afternoon also."

2.30' uti nyuntu papa pu - ngama
Pj should 2sg dog hit MA

"You should hit the dog."

2.31' tjinguru paluru nyina - rra pata - nma wati tjuta - ku
Pj maybe 3sg sit part wait MA man many goal

"Maybe he should sit and wait for the men."

To sum up then, there is overlap but not congruence between the semantic

spaces encoded by the MA-form in Pj, on one hand, and Ngaany, on the other. Clearly the regressive functions are idiosyncratic to Ngaany, as is the continuous habitual function. On the other hand, the continuous subjunctive and the subjunctive functions where the continuous command form is used with a modal adverb₆ are problematic.

PRESENT

We note that the present tense forms in Ngaany are semantically highly parallel with their Pj counterpart but that they are formally different. It is interesting to note that the Ngaany forms are congruent with the participial forms in both dialects that have already been discussed. (The table below shows the pattern for the two dialects in one of the verb classes; this pattern is, of course, repeated across the verb classes.)

T2.1

	PJ	NGAANY
present	kul <u>i</u> ni	kulira
participle	kulira	kulira

It is reasonable to assume then that in some earlier form of the language the /kulini/ forms were replaced by the participial forms in Ngaany. We will not discuss this further here but we should note 2.32a and 2.32b. The alternative Pj renderings, one having the present tense form and the other a participle functioning as a finite form, suggest the direction of change: at one stage in the development of the proto-language both forms were acceptable and both these forms have been retained in Pj while Ngaany has lost its present tense form. Evans has commented on the diachronic process of subordinating forms being raised to the status of main verbs, a process he refers to as "insubordination" (Evans 1985:222). It would appear that a similar process of syntactic change has occurred here.

2.32a wati tjuṯa kuka - ku a - nanyi ka - na ngayu - lu ngurra - ngka
 Pj man many meat goal go pres and ds 1sg nom 1sg nom camp adj

nyina - nyi
 sit pres

2.32b wati tjuṯa kuka - ku a - nkula ka - na ngayu - lu ngurra - ngka
 Pj man many meat goal go part and ds 1sg nom 1sg nom camp adj

nyina - nyi
 sit pres

"The men are going hunting but I am staying at home."

PERFECTIVE/IMPERFECTIVE

Both dialects evince a clear aspectual distinction between perfective and imperfective actions but the means for encoding this distinction bear little formal similarity from one dialect to the other.

Pj verbal morphology encodes a perfective/imperfective difference only in the past tense, although there are other non-morphological strategies for expressing an imperfective aspect. It appears that there are much richer morphological variations available in Ngaany for expressing degrees of imperfectivity than in Pj and we will discuss these here, and in the following section.

It is interesting to note that the suffixes that encode the perfective/imperfective distinction in Ngaany, although they are present in Pj, have a quite different semantico-syntactic function in that dialect. Referring to table 2.2 below, we see that the class 21 and 22 punctiliar or perfective suffixes bear a close formal similarity to the two sets of Pj nominalizing suffixes.

T2.2 PERFECTIVE/IMPERFECTIVE SUFFIXES IN NGAANY (G&H:19)

Verb class	PERFV 1 class 21	PERFV 2 class 22	IMPERFV class 23
-la	-l	-n	-ra
-o	-o	-ny	-rra
-rra	-nku	-nku	-nkula/-ra
-wa	-ngku	-ngku	-ngkula

NOTE: In this table G&H use the terms "punctiliar" and "continuous", we have used the terms replaced by Gl. For ease of reference, I have included the reference number from the 1970 work.

Considering the forms in the table 2.3, we note that the class 21 forms in Ngaany are identical with the Pj Nom II forms and that there are strong similarities between the infinitive form (class 22 + tja) in Ngaany and the Pj Nom I forms. (There is, however, relatively little distributional or semantic similarity between the forms. We will return to this question below. (See s5.3).

We are therefore forced to ask several questions: firstly, what are the semantic structures in the two dialects that are realized by these forms? Why do they apparently bear so little resemblance to each other?

Secondly, what phonological changes have occurred to explain the differences between the surface forms in the two dialects and which forms are closer to proto-forms?

Thirdly, what conditions the use of the two sets of punctiliar suffixes? (We will discuss further the alternation of Nom I and Nom II forms in Pj below. See s3.3.2)

T2.3 A COMPARISON OF SOME ISOMORPHIC NGAANY & PJ FORMS

NGAANY		PJ	
PUNCT 1	PUNCT 2 + inf	NOM I	NOM II
mantjil-	mantjin-tja	mantjinytja	mantjil
kati-	kating-tja	katingytja	kati
anku-	anku-tja	ankunytja	anku
pungku-	pungku-tja	pungkunytja	pungku-

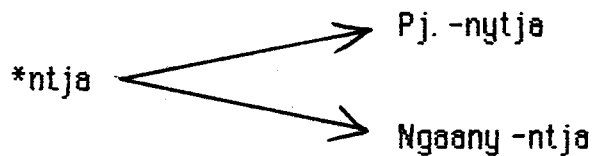
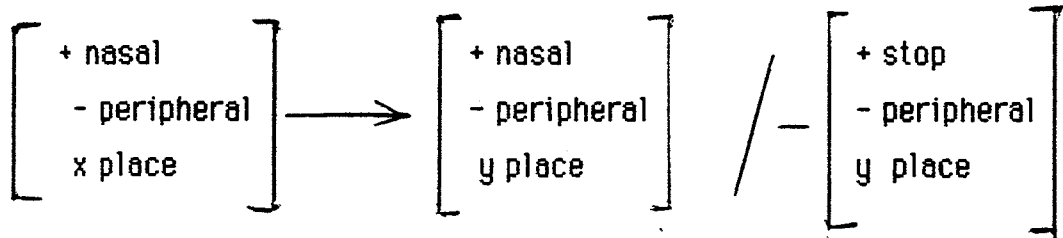
The first question we will be unable to answer until we have surveyed more landscape including other dialects. (See s5.2). We will therefore merely note it at this stage.

With respect to the second question, we will consider some possibilities. As we will see in other dialects, the /-tja/ suffix occurs in all dialects differently distributed and with slightly different meaning. (See s3.3.2 for a discussion of the Pj form, s4.6 for the Ptpi form.) In Pj the nominalizing suffix /-nytja/ is monomorphemic. Our task then is to relate phonologically the Ngaany punctiliar + infinitive form with the Pj Nom I form.

Various hypotheses are possible. Firstly, the /-ny-/ could be regarded as

being the surface realization of a proto-form *-ntja which has undergone a process of assimilation according to the following rule:

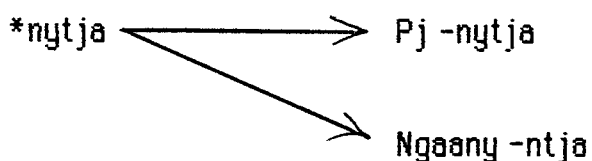
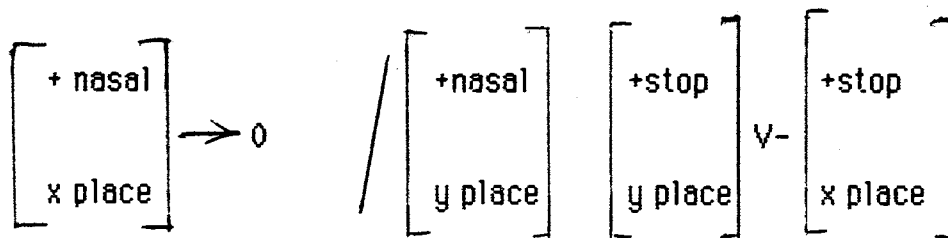
ASSIMILATION RULE:



The chief problem with this analysis is its failure to explain some of the Ngaany forms.

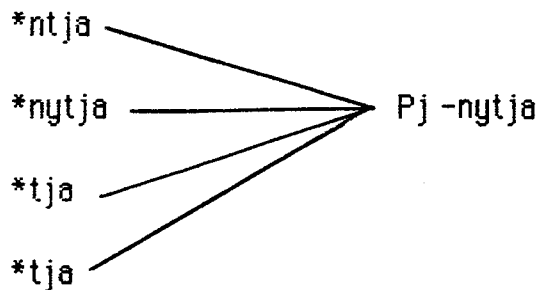
Secondly, it is possible to posit a process of dissimilation which removes a nasal from a proto-form *nytja:

DISSIMILATION RULE:



Thirdly, it is possible that Ngaany preserves proto-forms and that two

phonological changes have applied: the assimilation rule we discussed above in the case of the la-class ending and an analogical process in which an allomorph from a major class has been taken over by the rra- and wa-class.



This leaves a question of how well such a rule is motivated and there can be little doubt that there is more evidence in Australian languages for a dissimilation rule than for a rule which inserts a nasal and reverses the phonological process. On the other hand, the contrast of the uniformity of the Pj forms with their irregularity of their Ngaany counterparts suggests intuitively that the latter are closer to a proto-form.

We will have to postpone a decision on this question to see if more information becomes available.

Our third question is what conditions the use of the two sets of Ngaany perfective or punctiliar suffixes. Synchronically, there does not seem to be a rule which conditions the occurrence of one or other of the set of punctiliar or perfective suffixes. On the basis of the data presented in G&H and GI, this category is also morphologized in other suffixes, notably the past perfect. It would appear reasonable on these grounds to suggest that a punctiliar or perfective category is not morphologized as such but that these forms are unmarked for aspect rather than specifically coded for aspect and that the morphemes so labelled are vestigial.

There is some evidence for this view from the perceptible diachronic

development of the imperfective and extensive aspects which we will discuss below. In broad terms, there is clear evidence from a comparison of the two dialects that these categories, imperfective and extensive, developed after what we will prefer to call the unmarked aspectual category.

Diachronically, it is interesting to note, looking at table 2.4, that the class 22 forms are followed by /-nyangka/ and /-tja/. As was mentioned above, Bell 1979 posits for Pj two underlying morphemes for the cause/time suffix /-nyangka/, namely /-nytja/ and /-ngka/, the nominalizing suffix and the locative or adjunct suffix. This means that the class 22 Ngaany suffixes are followed only by class 30 suffixes which are comparable to a Pj Nom I suffix.

It should be observed that, from the other side, /-nyangka/ and /-tja/ are not the only class 30 suffixes that evince the Pj Nom I suffix because the purpose suffix 36 /-tjaku/ does likewise.

Turning to the imperfective suffixes in Table 2.2, we note that they are participial forms in both dialects. There has obviously been some re-analysis there and it is difficult to imagine that Pj has lost this additional aspectual category. The logical conclusion is that there has been some re-analysis of the participial forms that are clearly proto-Western Desert, occurring in all dialects and that that re-analysis has gone far further in Ngaany.

We have already observed the re-analysis of the Ngaany participial forms into the present tense forms and the dialect-specific use of the /-lpi/ suffix on non-motion participles and to that extent it is not entirely to be wondered at that re-analysis should have taken place in other grammatical categories. It is, however, somewhat curious that the language should have

chosen the participial form because there is no compelling formal or semantic motivation for the re-analysis that has clearly taken place. There is perhaps a case to be made for participles encoding imperfective action as a back drop to a main clause verb but it could not be a strong one. In short, at this stage in the inquiry, apart from our observation about "insubordination" above, there is no compelling explanation for this re-analysis.

When we consider the co-occurrence of the imperfective suffix with other suffixes (see table 2.4), it is interesting to note that the imperfective suffix occurs only with the suffixes that were described above as manifesting traces of the Pj Nom I suffix. This also explains the presence of [-ra]ny with suffix 32 /-tja/ and [-ra]nytja with suffix 33 /-kitja/.

This gives a clue to the development of the /-tjaku/ suffix in Ngaany. Whereas Pj has the opposition in 2.33a and 2.33b, conditioned by same and different subjects as is the Ngaany counterpart, Ngaany itself has acquired two alternatives which are set out in 2.34.

T2.4 CO-OCCURRENCE OF CLASS 20 AND CLASS 30 SUFFIXES IN
NGAANY (G&H:21)

PERFV	IMPERFV	SUFFIX
[-n]	[-ra]	-nyangka (31)
[-n]] -ra]ny	-tja
[-l]	[-ra]nytja	-kitja
[-l]	0	-tjarra
[-l]	0	-payi
[-l]	[-ra]	-tjaku
[-l]	0	-tjirratja

NOTE: The square brackets in this table represent the suffixes of all classes, even though the suffix of only one class is contained therein. For the complete set of class 20 suffixes consult table 2.2.

2.33a (Pj) mantjinytjaku ~ mantjilkitja

2.33b (Pj) mantjinytjaku ~ mantjinytjakitja

2.34a (Ng) mantjiltjaku ~ mantjilkitja

2.34b (Ng) mantjiratjaku ~ mantjiranytjakitja

This suggests that /-tjaku/ has been re-analysed as monomorphemic prior to the development of the imperfective/perfective split and the development or adoption of the two sets of perfective suffixes.

2.35

PROTO STAGE I	PROTO STAGE II	MODERN NGAANY
*mantjira	*mantjira	mantjira - tjaku -nytja + case -nytjakitja
*mantjil - ku - kitja	*mantjil - ku - kitja	mantjil - ku - kitja - tjaku
*mantjintja - ku - kitja - ngka - case	*mantji - n - tjaku - ny - - nytjakitja - nytja - nytjangka	mantji - n - tja - nyangka

As a hypothesis 2.35 sets out diagrammatically the changes that may have taken place. Initially there were three forms with the suffixes as indicated and the morphology went through two proto-forms, stages I and II. At stage I there were two nominalized verbs and purpose could be expressed with either nominalized verb. From stage I to stage II /-tjaku/

came to be analysed as one morpheme so that with the incorporation of the participial forms it was this re-analysed form /-tjaku/ that became the purposive form and the alternative purposive form *mantjilku became the future form in modern Ngaany.

It is clear then that, when we consider the perfective and imperfective categories in Ngaany, they are formally related to different semantic categories in Pj. The Ngaany perfective forms, as we have observed, are nominalized verbs in Pj and the Ngaany imperfective forms are related to the participial forms in Pj.

EXTENSIVE

Of considerable interest is the development of a further imperfective aspectual category referred to in G&H as intensive continuous and in G1 as extensive. The morphemic constituency of these forms is:

stem + PARTICPL + /yi/ ~ /a/ + tense/aspect/mood

G&H report a more or less full range of tense, aspect and modal suffixes although it is pointed out that the extensive aspect is one of those that "[occurs] less frequently and [has] a lighter functional load." (G1:82). Where tense, aspect and mood suffixes are specific to a verb class, the endings are usually la-class endings, although rra-class endings do occur. We will discuss this alternation below.

This form is interesting in the context of this study for two reasons: firstly, as we have pointed out, it is a grammatical category that does not occur in Pj and, secondly, although the form is diachronically able to be related to forms in other dialects, it is synchronically unique.

With respect to this second point, although this Ngaany form has no counterpart in Pj, it has a strong similarity in form and meaning to a series of compound verbs in Pj that are productively formed by compounding /a - / "go" with a participle. A phonological rule applies across the word boundary:

a * a > i /C-C

and the result is verbs such as pitjalinanyi, katirrinanyi etc. These verbs have the meaning of travelling about performing the action of the participle as in 2.36a and 2.36b.

2.36a ngali a - nkupayi, puluka nya - kul - i - nkupayi
 Pj 2du go hab bullock see part go hab
 "We used to go, we used to travel around and looking for
 bullocks."

2.36b tjina kutjarra - li pitja - l - i - nanyi
 Pj foot two 1du come part go pres
 "We two together were travelling about on foot."

It is interesting to note that this compound is not reported by Trudinger or Platt (Dixon ed 1976:667-673) in their discussions of compound verbs in the Ernabella dialect of Pj (which is Pj pulka). Goddard reports a compound verb in Yankunytjatjarra meaning "to do so-and-so while going along." He describes this as "kati - 0 applied to the neutral stem of a verb" and gives examples such as /nyaku-kati/ and /ngarri-kati/. (Goddard:234).

It is therefore clear that, although the semantic structure is present in other dialects, it is more or less restricted to Pj tjuku-tjuku which is areally closer to Ngaany than are the other two dialects.

These forms bear too close a resemblance to ignore the relationship and there are these points to consider:

- (i) they are both formed or can be formed from the participial form and
- (ii) the Ngaany category is compulsorily marked by either the root of the second verb in the Pj compound /a-/ or what could be regarded as a derivative from the same root. This is corroborated by the Ptpi form /yananyi/.

We should therefore hypothesize two proto-forms: *participle + /yananyi/ and *stem + /yananyi/ for the motion verbs. (See G&H: 33-34). This then requires the explanation of:

- (i) the development of essentially la-class endings, as well as the anticipated rra-class endings and
- (ii) the positing of some phonological rules to explain the yi ~ a alternation.

(i) THE 1a-CLASS ENDINGS

The presence of 1a-class endings appears strange with this particular form. Because we have hypothesized an underlying form /yananyi/ and because this hypothesis is well motivated we would expect rra-class endings. These endings are reported by G&H (G&H:34) and it is interesting to note that they are only cited occurring on verbs of motion. Given that other morphological phenomena, such as the /-lpi/ suffix, are conditioned by this criterion, this may not be a coincidence.

However, as we have said, most suffixes are 1a-class suffixes where they are specific to a verb class and this is difficult to explain. There has clearly been a re-analysis of the rra-class /yananyi/ and it is difficult to find a motivation for this re-analysis. We have no precedent for such re-analysis of a rra-class verb but verb class membership is strongly conditioned by phonological criteria. We have in Pj the inchoative suffix -rri- ~ -arri- being conditioned by the syllabicity of the stem and then being assigned to either wa- or 0-class.

Apart from such a general explanation, at this stage, no better justification can be found for the re-analysis.

(ii) PHONOLOGICAL RULES FOR YI ~ A ALTERNATION

These are more transparent than the suffixes referred to above; we simply posit a rule that deletes the initial glide, which we will call yotic deletion, and a second vowel dissimilation rule, similar to the one that we described above:

- 1 yotic deletion: Ptpi y > 0 /* -
 2 vowel dissimilation: a > i /a*yaC -

both these rules are well-motivated; there are many forms in Ptpi and other dialects which exemplify this yotic deletion: yipi/ipi, yananyi/ananyi etc. Equally the vowel dissimilation occurs with similar Pj forms as we shall see below. (See s3.4).

For the derivation of the Ngaany extensive either one of these rules can apply.

To sum up then, the Ngaany extensive category bears a formal and semantic relationship diachronically to some Pj forms and categories but synchronically there is no relationship. The Ngaany forms we have

discussed here can be related to Pj forms in the way we have described and some semantic relationships can be deduced but it seems impossible that such relationships could represent a psychological reality in the mind of Ngaany and Pj speakers today. For that reason, the changes are regarded as diachronic.

INFINITIVE

As was mentioned above, this form in Ngaany has a direct counterpart in Pj but it seems that there is not a semantic or distributional congruence i.e. the Ngaany suffix /-tja/ is an adjective forming suffix in Pj and is cognate with the nominalizing suffix /-nytja/. (Ngaany has an interesting set of adjective forming suffixes which are related to this form: /-ngkatja ~ tamatatji ~ ngamatatji ~ lamatatji ~ nyamatatji/: some of these are phonologically conditioned (see G&H:9) but the suffix seems to have the same distribution as the /-tja/ suffix in Pj.) The Ngaany uses of the infinitive form are exemplified below.

- 2.37a nyanyurrpu - ngku - tja warrnyu - n - tja - nya kumpinyu
G&H26 cause bleed punc2 inf make bleed punc inf subj one
 ngara - la
 stend pres
 "The verbs nyanyurrpungkutja and warrnyuntja mean the same."
- 2.37b Elizabeth - tu Edna - nya pu - ngku - tja - lu ngayu - nya
G&H27 name ag name boj hit punc inf ag 1sg obj
 pu - ngu
 hit past
 "Elizabeth who had hit Edna hit me."
- 2.38 Kingkanyina - la ngarri - rra malu waka - nytja, waka - nytja
Pj name adj lie part roo spear NOM I spear Nom I
 papa pu - ngkuntja, pu - ngkuntja, pu - ngkuntja
 dog hit Nom I hit Nom I hit Nom I
 "(We) camped at King's Canyon and speared and speared
 kangaroo and killed and killed dingoes."

Of the Ngaany sentences cited, we note that 2.37a is a somewhat atypical metalinguistic utterance but obviously the infinitive form is used syntactically here as a noun. Unfortunately my Pj data does not include comparable utterances:

The infinitive form in 2.37b is a relativizing strategy in Ngaany and is comparable with a strategy in Pj for such a subordinate clause where the

ergative subject of the main clause is also ergative subject of the subordinate clause. We will discuss relativisation later. It is sufficient to note here that there are some differences between the dialects in this regard.

2.38 gives a clear example of a different usage in Pj of this infinitive form. The force of the infinitive or nominalized verb is to convey repeated point-action aspect.

It should be noted that G&H report an imperfective usage of this form. They note that "in Ngaatjatjarra, the closest easterly neighbouring dialect [and immediately west of the Pj area,] this form is much more commonly used and appears to be similar in meaning to the Ngaanyatjarra past continuous."(G&H:26).

On the basis of the evidence available then, it appears that this form has a somewhat different semantic structure and distribution in the two dialects.

NEGATION

Negation is distributionally similar but formally different in the two dialects. Ngaany has three negativizing suffixes that are morphologically and semantically conditioned. These are /-tjarra/, /-maal/ and /-munu/.

The cessative mood in Ngaany is expressed by the particle /-tjarra/ and it appears to be a quite separate category from the negative imperative in the Pj tjuku-tjuku dialect with which I am most familiar. While the Ngaany category forbids an action already in progress, the counterpart in Pj tjuku-tjuku is both cessative and anticipatory in the sense that it could be used either to instruct someone to cease an action in progress or to insist that they do not start.

We have exemplified the Ngaany form in 2.39 and note that Trudinger reports it for Pj pulka. (We have included at 2.40 an utterance reported by Trudinger.) We note however that the Pj utterance at 2.41 is both cessative and anticipatory. It is the unmarked negative imperative form.

2.39 pampu - l - tjarra
G&H24 touch punc cess
 "Stop touching it!"

- 2.40 ngatji - l - tjarra
T219 beg Nom II negimp
 "Stop begging."
- 2.41 pampu - nytja wiya
Pj touch NOm I neg
 "Don't touch it!"
- 2.42 pampu - n - tja - maal - tu wanti - 0
G&H:28 touch punc neg ag leave imp
 "Don't touch it, leave it!"
- 2.42' {pampu - nytja wiya - ngku/pampu - l (w)iya-ngku } wanti - 0
Pj touch Nom I neg ag touch Nom II neg ag leave imp
 "Leave that alone!"
- 2.43 kuli - n - tja - maalpa/munu - (tu)
G&H:28 hear punc 32 neg neg emph
 "(He) has not heard."
- 2.43' kuli - nytja wiya (paluru)
Pj listen NomI neg 3sg
 "He didn't hear."/ "he has not heard"/ "He is not listening"

In 2.42 we see a Ngaany negative imperative that is formally and semantically parallel with the Pj sentence 2.42'. Apart from the phonologically conditioned ergative case marker, the punctiliar morpheme we have already discussed and the negative morpheme, there is no formal difference and, semantically, they appear semantically congruent.

Similarly, the Ngaany utterance 2.43 has formal and semantic parallels with the Pj negative declarative at 2.43'. It appears that Ngaany has no counterpart to the Pj negative imperative at 2.41 and that the Ngaany utterance 2.43 cannot function in this way.

There are two further Ngaany categories expressing negation that seem to have a strong parallel with Pj forms: the negative future and the non-abilitive.

2.44 titu - litju nyina - rra nyina - kitja ngurra - ku - na
 G&H23 always 2duex sit part sit purp camp goal 1sg
 mapitja - 0 - kitja - munu
 gp punc purp neg fut

"We two intend to stay here always. I do not intend to go to camp."

2.45a ngayu - ku tjilku nyuntu - lu wiya - l - tjaku - munu
 G&H25 1sg goal child 2sg ag send punc nonab
 nganku - lu - na tjilku wiya - l - kitja - munu
 1sg ag 1sg child send punc neg fut
 "You won't send my child. I will not send my child (allow him to be sent.)"

2.45b nganku - lu - na rurrku kuli - l - tjaku - munu tiwa
 G&H25 1sg ag 1sg roar hear punc nonab distant

"I cannot hear the distant roar (of an engine)"

These essentially encode declarative statements. With the negative future, although Pj has a similar form, it is not used in the same modally unmarked manner. A similar sentence in Pj would elliptically express purpose. With the non-abilitive category, it is even more clear that the parallel form in Pj would express a hortatory mood. (See s3.2) One could argue that there is a hortatory element in 2.45a: the gloss quotes the parent as saying "you won't send my child." It is easy to see a hortatory element in such a statement as there would be in the Pj counterpart i.e. "You won't send my child (and neither you should!)"

It appears then that, there is some formal and semantic diversity between the dialects in the means employed to express negative statements and commands.

CONCLUSION

It is generally surprising to find such diversity in the semantic structure of the categories employed in the two dialects. As we observed in the introduction, one would expect of dialects that there be some formal diversity in the morphology but, equally, one would expect that the same grammatical categories would be employed across them. It is therefore

interesting that , for example, the participial forms have been pressed into service as present tense forms in Ngaany, while Pj has retained separate forms. Equally, the development of a new aspectual distinction in Ngaany, namely the extensive, is surprising.

We must give at least an interim answer to the question which we first posed, namely: how close are the labels and categories we have discussed to those of proto-Pj/Ngaany? On the basis of this comparison of categories in the two dialects we must return an open verdict. As we have said, there is a surprising divergence between the two dialects in the way they map form onto semantic space.

In the meantime, these are the questions that we raise of the categories that we considered less easy to relate to Pj counterparts:

- (i) How has the continuous command form acquired additional functions in Ngaany? Or conversely how have these been lost in Pj?
- (ii) Which of the Ngaany present form and the Pj present form are nearer the proto-form?
- (iii) How did Ngaany acquire an additional aspectual distinction? How did the extensive form develop?
- (iv) Can we account for the relationship between the two sets of nominalized verbs in Pj and the two sets of perfective suffixes in Ngaany?
- (v) Are the negative commands and declaratives semantically parallel in both dialects?

Obviously, some answers have been given to these questions above but it is appropriate to put them together to justify our conclusion that there are differences between these two dialects that merit deeper study than has hitherto been possible.

2.3 NGAANY CATGEGORIES: A SUMMARY

Below are three tables of the Ngaany categories that we have used in this study. In table T2.5 we have presented Ngaany categories in two groups, those that are comparable with Pj forms and categories which we examined in s2.1 and those that more difficult to relate to Pj forms and categories which we examined in s2.2.

In table T2.6 we have grouped Ngaany categories according to the supra-categories of tense/aspect, mood and subordinating forms. The remainder of this study is organized around these three supra-categories.

In table T2.7 we have provided a list of labels of categories that are used in the two works relevant to this study.

Table T2.5 Ngaany categories according to comparability with Pj categories

EASILY RELATED CATEGORIES	CATEGORIES UNLIKE PJ COUNTERPART
command	potential
future	present
past perfect	punctiliar
cause/time	continuous
habitual	cessative
deprivative	non-abilitive
aversive	infinitive
consequential	negative
purpose	extensive
participle	

Table T2.6 Ngaany categories by type

TENSE/ASPECT	MOOD	SUBORDINATING
future	command	cause/time
past perfect	potential	deprivative
present		consequential
punctiliar		purpose
continuous		participle
extensive		infinitive
habitual		
		negative forms
		-cessative
		-non-
		abilitive
		-negative

Table T2.7 Labels of Ngaany categories used in relevant studies

Glass 1980	G&H 1970	present study
aversive	preventative reason/reason	aversive
customary mode	habitual	habitual
deprivative	unfulfilled desire	deprivative
extensive aspect	intensive continuous	extensive
imperfective	continuous (usually)	imperfective
irrealis general perfective	future	future
irrealis general & modal imperfective	potential	MA-form
irrealis modal perfective	command	command

prospective

imminent⁷

purpose clause

benefactive tagmeme
manifested by clause
marked by -tjaku or
manner tagmeme
manifested by clause
marked by -kitja (lu)

purpose

realis past
imperfective

past continuous

past imperfective

realis past
perfective

past

past perfective

(After Appendix V, Glass 1980.)

FOOTNOTES

1

I have used various labels for Ngaany categories, some from G&H and some from G1. Occasionally I have used a different label altogether because it seemed more appropriate. In such cases I have attempted to justify my choice.

2

There is some parallel with the English command form "Let me/us/him go." However, while "let" is clearly a command form, "go" is more easily construed as a subordinate form rather than a command. In 2.2a, both verb forms are clearly command forms.

3

It is interesting to note that the verb in the sentences evincing continuous MA-forms in this section are semantically continuous (/nyina-/ "sit"). Likewise the verb in two of the sentences evincing regressive forms is semantically directional (/kati-/ "bring").

4

G&H use the term "regressive" to refer to actions "regressing" or returning to the speaker. (See G:108, G&H:16).

5

/pumpapalka/ appears to have some similarity to the Pj

particle /putu/ which we discuss elsewhere but in the absence of further data no firm conclusion can be made in this regard.

- 6 "modal adverb" may be the wrong label for these forms but it is used here to describe the class of words and particles which are not verbs but which convey mood in this way.

- 7 We have not discussed the imminent or prospective category separately because of its formal isomorphism with the purpose form. It is however important to note the Ngaany main clause usage of this form in both positive declarative sentences, the imminent usage, and negative declarative sentences, the negative future.

CHAPTER 3 PITJANTJATJARA

INTRODUCTION

It is my intention to examine Pj verbs under these headings:

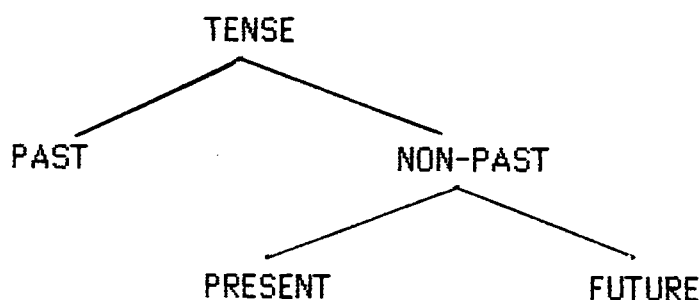
- 3.1 tense and aspect
- 3.2 mood
- 3.3 subordinating forms
- 3.4 compound verbs

We note that in the context of this chapter we use the term "Pitjantjatjara" (Pj) as a cover term for all the eastern dialects because it is these dialects with which I am most familiar. Where there are specific features which are not general to all these dialects, it will be noted and discussed where relevant.

3.1 TENSE AND ASPECT

Because of the intimate connection between the categories of tense and aspect in Pj, as in many of the languages of the world, we will discuss these together in one section but will devote a separate section to the other supra-category, mood.

Defining tense as the temporal relationship between a point of reference in time, usually that of the time of utterance, and the time of the situation to which the utterance refers, we have two choices for describing the tense system of Pj; it could be characterized as a tripartite past/present/future system or as a bipartite past/non-past system. There appears to be a much clearer semantic distinction between the past and the non-past that I will explain further in this section, and it is for this reason that Pj appears to evince a bipartite tense system and the non-past tense is further subdivided into present and future, as the diagram below indicates.



Following Comrie, we take a general definition of aspect as "the different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation." (Comrie 1976:3). We note then that Pj grammaticalizes a perfective/imperfective distinction in the past tense and that this distinction is between situations which are viewed as a whole (perfective) and situations which are viewed as in progress at some time. (Obviously, some verbs will be more naturally perfective ("hit", "shove", "reach") while others will be more naturally imperfective ("go", "come", "think"). This does not of course mean that, in Pj, or any other language, a particular verb cannot be used in either aspect. (We will discuss in the final section of this chapter some aspects of the relationship between lexical meaning and grammatical meaning in Pj.)

PAST: PERFECTIVE/IMPERFECTIVE

The perfective/imperfective distinction is only morphologized in the past tense. Its use is clearly illustrated in 3.1 below. The imperfective form of /pitjalinangi/ is seen as the background, extended in time, for the action of sleeping at different places expressed by the perfective form /ngarringu/. This is a particularly instructive example of this aspectual distinction because it is quite possible to have /ngarri -/, "lie", as the temporal background for other actions viewed as a whole, as we have in 3.2 where the situation of sleeping for the night is seen as being in progress. The past forms are included in the table T3.1 below.

3.1 ka palu - ru ngayu - ku mayita Tjukapati - nya pamuli
and ds 3sgm nom 1sg goal wife name abs family

pitja - li - nangi. Wamingyinka - la ngarri - ngu,
come go p/imperf name adj lie past

Wamingyinka - la pitja - la ngarri - ngu. palu - la nguru
name adj come part lie past 3sg adj abl

Kulilpurutja - la ngarri - ngu
name adj lie past

"And she my wife, Tjukapati, was travelling as a family (with) me. We slept at Wamingyinka. Having come, we slept at Wamingyinka. And after that we slept at Kulilpurutja."

3.2 palu - ru kunkunpa ngarr - ingi, waru - ngka, ka liru
3sg nom asleep lie p/imperf fire adj and ds snake

ila - rri - ngu
close incho past

"He was sleeping by the fire and a snake came close."

NON-PAST: PRESENT

In the non-past tenses, there is no overt marking of the perfective/imperfective split. The present forms, which are included in table T3.1 below, are non habitual and imperfective. As Comrie notes, "since the present tense is essentially used to describe rather than to narrate, it is essentially imperfective, either continuous or habitual, and not perfective." (Comrie 1976:66). In the case of the Pj present, it is continuous. This is illustrated in 3.3 where the reading with /ananyi/ implies that Kunmanara is actually in the process of going or is going at some time in the near future, of which time the speaker is aware. On the other hand the reading with /ankupayi/ makes no claims about any particular instance of Kunmanara going to Uluru, just that he is in the habit of going.

We note in passing that the future reading that is possible with /ananyi/ in 3.3 does not extend to the present form of all verbs. It is not possible, for example, to give 3.4 a future reading. This would appear to be conditioned by the differing semantic status of the verbs involved, /ananyi/ being an activity term and /punganyi/ an accomplishment term, to use Vendler's terminology. We will discuss the interaction between grammatical categories and the semantic status of verbs in the final section of this chapter.

3.3 Kunmanara - nya Uluru - la kutu a - nanyi/a - nkupayi
 name abs name adj all go pres go hab

"Kunmanara is going/goes to Ayers Rock."

3.4 nyuntu - mpa malany - pa karru - ngka pu - nganyi
 2sg goal younger sibling abs creek adj hit pres

"(He/she is hitting/killing your little brother/sister in the creek."

Finally we note the present forms are included below in table T3.1.

NON-PAST: FUTURE

When we consider the other non-past tense, the future, there are several points to make. Firstly, as a natural corollary to our comments about the futurity of /ananyi/ and /punganyi/, we note that there is overlap between the time reference of /ananyi/ and /ankuku/ but not between that of

/punganyi/ and /pungkuku/. /punganyi/ has to refer to hitting which is taking place at the time of utterance and /pungkuku/ to hitting taking place subsequently. However, it is not quite clear what conditions the alternation /ananyi/~/ankuku/, although the /ankuku/ reading of 3.5 implies a dubitative mood that is not implicit in the future reading of /ananyi/.

3.5 Kunmanara - nya Uluru - la kutu a - nkuku/a - nanyi
Pj name abs place adj to go fut go pres

"Kunmanara will go/is going to Uluru."

3.6 nyuntu - mpa malany - pa karru - ngka pu - ngkuku/pu - nganyi
2sg goal sibling abs creek adj hit fut hit pres

"(He/she) will hit/is hitting your little brother/sister down in the creek."

We note two features of the morphology of the future tense which is included in table T3.1. Firstly, it is formally congruent with the goal suffix /-ku/ and, not surprisingly, semantically related; a goal is always subsequent and a future tense is, in a sense, a goal for action (c.f. English "will", "It is your will that I should go and mine that I should stay; I will stay.")

Secondly, /-ku/ is suffixed to an augmented stem which occurs elsewhere in the verb morphology and will be discussed later. The result is forms that appear quite copious beside the rest of the tense and aspect morphology. We will discuss later the possible diachronic implications of these facts.

HABITUAL/CHARACTERISTIC

The final form that must be considered in aspectual terms is the characteristic or habitual form. As Goddard notes, it is necessary on the basis of distributional criteria to assign this form to two different grammatical categories, one verbal and the other nominal. Quite clearly /wakalpayi/ in 3.9a is distributionally the head of a noun phrase of the form noun + adjective in an equational sentence, while in 3.10 each occurrence of /mantjilpayi/ is with at least one ergative subject and either a realized noun phrase (/mai/) in absolutive case or an understood noun phrase.

Further evidence for postulating two categories is the ungrammaticality of 3.7. If 3.7 had been grammatical, as well as 3.8 there would be far less justification for postulating two categories. Similar further evidence of the nominal nature of the characteristic form can be found in 3.9b where such a form occurs with an inchoative suffix. This is further evidence of the form patterning like any other noun.

In this study we have used the term "habitual" for the matrix clause verb form and "characteristic" for the nominal form. We note that this verb form is tenseless, having seen it functioning as a present habitual in 3.8, and as a past habitual in 3.10.

T3.1 Table of Pitjantjatjara tense/aspect suffixes

	wa	rra	la	0
present	-nganyi	-nanyi	- <u>ni</u> (-ni)	-nyi
past imperf v	-ngangi	-nangi	- <u>ningi</u> (-ningi)	-ngi
past perf v	-ngu	-nu	- <u>nu</u> (-nu)	-ngu
future	-ngkuku	-nkuku	-lku	-ku
habitual	-ngkupayi	-nkupayi	-lpayi	-payi

(We note the allophonic variations described by Goddard for Yank presented in the table above. In this study we will write the retroflex series. The study and discussion of the phonetic variations in this position are beyond the scope of this study.)

The habitual forms are cited in table T3.1 and we note that the marker /-payi/ is suffixed to the same augmented stem. Again we note that this form is suggestive of re-analysis at an earlier stage of the language. This

will be discussed in a later section.

3.7 *tjilpi nyarratja waka - lpayi
old man there spear hab

"That old man over there is a spearer."

3.8 tjilpi nyarra - ngku waka - lpayi
old man there erg spear hab

"That old man over there is a spearer."

3.9a tjilpi nyarratja waka - lpayi ninti
old man there spear char knowing

"That old man over there is a very accomplished spearer."

3.9b palu - ru wati tjilpi kuli - ra kuli - ra tjukurr - pa wiru
3sg nom man old listen part listen part story abs good

wangka - payi - rri - ngkuku
talk char incho fut

"If he keeps listening to the old man, he will become a good storyteller."

3.10 mayi wiya - ngka, palu - ru mayi tjuku-tjuku mantji - lpayi,
food neg adj 3sg nom food small get hab

Mr Andrew-lu, tjilpi - lu, mantji - lpayi, Glady - ku
name old man erg get hab name goal

tjamu-ngku, mantji - lpayi a - nkula
g'father erg get hab go part

"When there was no food, he would get a little non-meat food.
Mr Andrew, the old man, used to get the food, Glady's
grandfather (it was), he used to go and get (it)."

There are two further questions that need to be addressed in this section:
(i) since both forms express a durative aspect, what conditions the
alternation between the past imperfective form and the habitual form
when it is used with a past tense reference?

We can see in the verb alternations in 3.11 below a clear illustration of

the distinction between the habitual aspect of the /-payi/ form, expressing the actions of the young women on one hand and, on the other, the more instantial but still durative actions of the bullock expressed by the past imperfective forms. It may very well have been the only time in the bullock's life that he sniffed and pawed the ground in that way, although the action went on for some time. On the other hand the actions of the young women of going and camping in this way were clearly frequently carried out.

There are three passages in 3.11 that illustrate an interesting tripartite aspectual distinction and they have been marked as X, Y and Z. Two of these distinguish themselves by the use of habitual forms, X and Z, and one by the use of past imperfective forms, Y. X and Z refer to habitual actions in the past within the context of which there was a particular incident involving the drinking bullock and the young women taking fright and running away. In the context of the whole incident expressed in the passage Y, there were imperfective actions of smelling and pawing and instantial actions of standing up and running away expressed past perfective.

3.11 [munu - li puluka tjuta ngurri - ra nyarra palu - la - tu - li
and ss 2du bullock many look for part there 3sg adj emph 2du

ngarri - payi, nyina - payi, ngurra, puluka tjuta nya - kula]x,
lie hab live hab place bullock many see part

[ka - linya puluka - ngku munga - ngka pitja - la kapi
and ds 2du acc bullock erg night adj come part water

tjiki - ra - linya panti - ningi tjawa - ningi - lta pana, pana
drink part 2duacc smell imperf dig imperf there ground ground

tjawa - ningi ngali - nya pu - ngkunyitja - kitja - ngku, ka - li
dig imperf 2du acc hit Nom I purp erg and ds 2du

paka - ra kutitjaka - ngu puli kutu, puli tjuku-tjuku kutu.
stand part run past rock to rock small to

paka - ra - li kutjarra kutitjaka - ngu, puluka ngulu - ra - li
stand part 2du two run past bullock fear part 2du

pitja - la ngarri - rra] _y. [alatji - li piruku a - nkupayi] _z
 come part lie part thus 2du again go hab

"[And we , having looked about for bullocks used to camp at the same place, we used to remain(there), (at) the camp, having seen a lot of bullocks] _x [And (one) night a bullock, having come and having drunk was smelling us and pawing at the ground, pawing at the ground with the idea of knocking us down. But we got up and ran to a hill, to a little hill. We two ran away, having come and lain down and been frightened by the bullock.] _y [Like that we again used to travel...] _z"

(ii) A second question that needs to be addressed is the reason that some suffixes expressing tense and aspect are clearly more marked than others.

When we look at the table of tense and aspect suffixes in T3.1, we note that it is only the past perfective suffixes that are monosyllabic and it is for this reason that they appear to be the only suffixes that we can confidently say are monomorphemic both synchronically and diachronically.

The present and past imperfective forms share a formal congruence that suggests that imperfectivity in the present and the past is morphologized. With the monosyllabic verb wa- and la-verb classes there is formal evidence that there is an underlying rule for these forms:

stem + imperfective + tense

so that forms like /punganyi/, /pungangi/, /ananyi/, /anangi/ etc could be said to be trimorphemic, instead of bimorphemic as they are usually analysed. Clearly this analysis cannot be pushed too far but it would be a mistake to ignore what is clearly a diachronic clue.

Similarly, the multi-syllabic suffixes of the future and the habitual forms encourage further investigation. Goddard notes that for wa- and rra- class verbs the stems are "augmented" with /-ngku-/ and /-nku-/ respectively. This clearly has diachronic implications, as do the /-lku/ and /-lpayi/ suffixes for la-class verbs. We will discuss these implications further.

We have summarised below in table T3.2 the categories of tense and aspect that are morphologized in Pj and the forms by label which encode

them.

T3.2 THE PITJANTJATJARA TENSE/ASPECT SYSTEM

		TENSE		
		PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
ASPECT	PERFV	"past"		"present", "future"
	IMPERFV NON-HAB	"past imperfV"	"present"	"present", "future"
	IMPERFV HAB	"habitual"	"habitual"	"habitual"

3.2 MOOD

In this section we will consider the morphologization of mood and we will define mood as the degree of belief the speaker has about his utterance, and the degree of expectation about resultant events.

For the purpose of this description, following Lyons, we will distinguish two scales of modality: the epistemic and the deontic.

Epistemic moods express the degree of belief the speaker has about his statement. In Pj these distinctions are, in many cases, lexicalized; there is an extensive class of adverbs and clitics that express many distinctions of the belief of the speaker. (The only possible exception to this are the future tense forms which, as we have described above have a dubitative element.)

On the other hand, the deontic moods express the speaker's desire to conform the world to his expectations. There are three Pj forms in which deontic distinctions are morphologized and we will discuss these in this section. (We will deal with subordinating forms in a subsequent section; it is intended to consider here only main clause verbs.)

3.2.1 SIMPLE IMPERATIVE

The most easily described of the modally marked forms is the simple imperative. As we noted in the previous chapter, the imperative forms are so uniform across the Western Desert dialects that it is the imperative suffix that can be used in all dialects to label the verb classes. Essentially the use of the imperative is canonical: a speaker commanding actions of a hearer or hearers, which may or may not include the speaker. However, we note that there are utterances where the agent or subject of the imperative verb is not the canonical 2nd person singular or 1st or 2nd person plural. We have therefore, as well as exemplifying the canonical usage in 3.12a, included sentences with non-canonical agents and subjects.

In 3.12b the canonical imperative /ngara/ is conjoined to a second mainclause in which the agent of an imperative verb is 1st person singular. It appears that the canonical imperative is subsumed by a category that expresses a more diffuse expectation that the results of the utterance are very strongly desired, rather than the more insistent imperative expectation of obedience. In this sense then, there is an argument for labelling these forms as optative. For reasons of tradition and cononical usage, however, we will continue to use the label 'imperative.'

3.12a nyuntu kuka mantji - la
Pj 2sg meat get imp

"You get meat!"

3.12b ngara - 0 ka - na witi - la
Pj stand imp and ds 1sg grab imp

"Stand still so I can grab you!"

These observations are re-inforced by a sentence like 3.13. The constituent structure of this sentence, which is not isolated in my data, appears to be

/ayikan/ + VP

There are several things to note about this utterance. Firstly, such a syntactic pattern seems to be restricted to speakers below a certain age. (This particular utterance was directed at a smaller child by an eleven year old boy in a high state of pique.) Secondly, while /ayikan/ is obviously a loan from English, it is interesting to note that it is a borrowing of

essentially grammatical, rather than lexical morphemes. Thirdly, it is difficult to associate the modal force with specific segments: how much of the modal force of the sentence comes from the English loan word and how much from the Pj imperative? On the basis of the data available, this question must be left hanging but, as a general conclusion, we are left in no doubt that the imperative form has come or is coming to express semantic space beyond that of the canonical imperative₂.

Similarly, the argument for a more attenuated category than a strict imperative is enhanced by 3.14. Goddard notes of this sentence that it "occurred in a text as a mocking response to a boastful remark about what a competent hunter the speaker was," and that it has "a third person subject." It is clear then this is a further non-canonical use of the imperative.

3.13 ayikan nyuntu - nya pilki - la
Pj (loan) 2sg acc squash imp

"I'd like to squash you!"

3.14 malu waka - la pala - ngku kuwarri yanku - la
Gdrd6.23 roo spear imp this erg now go part

:(So) go spear a kangaroo now!"

3.2.2 MA-FORMS

When we consider the MA-forms, our problem of labelling becomes rather more complicated. Trudinger posits two categories for the MA-forms: the continuous imperative and the conditional subjunctive. The continuous imperative is exemplified in 3.15 and the conditional subjunctive in 3.16.

These sentences and the glosses are given by Trudinger. On the basis of my data, it appears that the glosses for 3.16 are not accurate. The first gloss "let them go," according to informants, cannot be rendered in this way, and the other glosses include a dubitative mood which is not inherently expressed by the MA-form. Such a dubitative mood would require, as we shall see later, a dubitative particle. On this basis then we cannot accept Trudinger's analysis of a category "conditional subjunctive."

In 3.17a, both Pj forms can be similarly glossed but there is a distinction: /anamaya/ implies that the speaker is not pleased that the hearers should go while /arraya/, on the contrary, expresses no such displeasure. It

should be noted that this optative /non-optative distinction is evidently idiomatic because it is not preserved between the same two forms in 3.17b. In fact at this stage, I am unable to distinguish any difference in meaning between /uwani/ and /ungamani/ in some situations of utterance. Obviously, the punctiliar/iterative distinction can be expressed but my data includes /ungamani/ with punctiliar reference which leads one to the conclusion that there are problems with the label "continuous."

3.15 witi - nma
T215 grab c/com

"Keep holding it!"

3.16 a - nama - ya
T215 go c/com 3pl

"Let them go"/"They might have gone"/"They might be going"/"They might go"

3.17a a - nama - ya/a - rra - ya
Pj go c/com 3pl go com 3pl

"Off you go!"

3.17b u - ngama - ni / u - wa - ni
Pj give c/com 1sg acc give com 1sg acc

"Give (it) to me!"

While Trudinger posited two categories, one of which we have shown to be doubtful, Goddard posits only one category, the imperfective imperative with several functions. He describes this form as "the imperfective counterpart of the perfective imperative" and posits these functions:

- (i) a main function of giving instructions and making requests
 - (a) where the action requested or ordered is extended in time as in 3.15 or
 - (b) where the request or order is less pressing or more polite than would be the case with the simple imperative as in 3.18,
- (ii) expressing necessity with sentence initial /uli/ as in 3.19₃,

(iii) expressing hope as in 3.20₄ and expressing counterfactual wishes as in 3.21 and 3.22.

(iv) a marked declarative usage as in 3.23

3.18 mayi yunga - ma
66.30 food give MA

"Give me some food."

3.19 uti wangka Yankunytjatjarra tju - nama nyiri - ngka
66.29 should talk name put MA paper adj

"They should put Yankunytjatjarra language on paper."

3.20 tjinguru - la malu kutjupa nyakukati - ma
66.30 maybe 1pl roo another see KATI MA

"Maybe we'll see another kangaroo as we go along."

3.21 uu ngayu - lu mutaka nyanga - puriny kanyi - nma
66.31 um 1sg nom motor car this similar possess MA

"Umm, would I had a car like this." (expensive car pictured in a magazine.)

3.22 makati - nti - na kati - ma
66.32 rifle maybe 1sgnom bring MA

"Oh, if only I'd brought my rifle." (e.g. on seeing emus while driving.)

3.23 ka palu - ru katu ngarri - ma, putu waawani - ma
66.32 and ds 3sg nom above lie MA in vain jump up on hind legs MA

ka palu - ru katu ngarri - ma, ngarri - rra ngalku - nma
and ds 3sg nom above lie MA lie part eat MA

"And (the quoll) lies up above (a tree). (Dogs) couldn't rear up (and get the meat). (The quoll) would be up there and eat."

Because of the variety of functions performed by this form across the WD dialects, it is difficult to adequately describe the MA-forms and it is my intention to postpone a fuller description of this form until we have considered the functions of the form in both Pintupi and Ngaanyatjara.

However, it should be noted that there is some doubt whether the MA-form fills the same semantic space in each of the more easterly dialects which are the subject of this chapter. While the imperfective imperative function is common to all these dialects, as it is common to all the WD dialects which we will consider in this study, there is some doubt about the other functions. Firstly, Trudinger does not record the necessitative function as in 3.19, nor does he record the expressions of hope and contrafactual wishes. These expressions of hope and contrafactual wishes are not recorded in my data.

Goddard then has a label "imperfective imperative" which labels four modal functions in addition to that function described by the label itself: a deontically less marked or polite imperative, a necessitative function, an optative function and a marked declarative function. We note that the modality of the necessitative and optative seems to be expressed at least to some extent by other morphemes: /uti/ in the case of the necessitative function and in the case of the optative function a dubitative morpheme /tjinguru ~ -nti/.

With respect to these four functions, my own data records the imperfective imperative, the polite imperative and the necessitative functions, has an example of a optative usage that we will discuss but no marked declarative usage.

The example of the optative usage is given in 3.24. Although this is rendered in English as a hypothetical conditional sentence, such gloss belies its semantico-syntactic structure; it is clearly in Pj two parallel main clauses in the optative function described by Goddard. In addition to the dubitative morpheme in each clause we have the morpheme /wanyu/. There is an idiomatic element to the use of this morpheme and it is difficult to describe its semantic and syntactic function. For this reason we have not given a gloss for it in the sentence below. A further discussion of this form is beyond the scope of this study.

- 3.24 wanyu - nti - na raipula kanyi - nma, tjinguru - na - nta
 Pj ? perhaps 1sg rifle have MA perhaps 1sg 2sgacc
 unga - ma
 give MA
 "If only I had a rifle, I'd give it to you."

To sum up we can identify five functions:

- (i) imperfective imperative
- (ii) polite imperative
- (iii) necessitative
- (iv) optative
- (v) marked declarative

We have not labelled these functions at this stage because we will give the form further consideration when we have considered data from other dialects.

3.2.3 HORTATORY

Having considered the imperative forms in this way we must consider the morphology of hortatory sentences such as 3.25.

- 3.25 (tjinguru) nyuntu ngurra kutu a - nkunytja - ku
 Pj maybe 2sg home all go noml goal

"(Maybe) you should go home."

- 3.26 nyuntu ngurra kutu a - rra
 Pj 2sg home all go imp

"Go home!"

Deontically these sentences lie somewhere between imperative and declarative sentences: the speaker is not commanding the obedience of the speaker to the indicated action; the speaker is putting in the mind of the hearer what the speaker believes to be desirable action on the part of the hearer. The hearer is not seeking to bind the action of the hearer in the same strong fashion implied by the imperative mood.

Of Yank Goddard says "a purposive clause with rising intonation may constitute a complete sentence in itself" (Goddard:167) and cites 3.27 as an example.

3.27 ngayu - lu ngalku - nytja - ku/kuli - nytja - ku
 Gdrd5.56 1sg nom eat noml goal listen noml goal

"May I eat/listen?"

He notes that "in Pintupi a purposive main clause may have a hortative or suggestive meaning but this is not the case in Yankunytjatjara." (Goddard:340).

It appears that there is a dialectal difference here between Yank and Pj because 3.25 is, as we said, a grammatical Pj sentence, as is 3.27.

In Pj 3.27 with a rising intonation could also be glossed "Should I eat/listen?" i.e. it means both "out of all possible actions, is it OK for me to eat/listen?" and "out of all possible actions will it be offensive if I do not eat/listen?" These two readings are only disambiguated by the response and the situation of utterance, as we have attempted to demonstrate with 3.28a and 3.28b.

3.28a ngayu - lu (palya) nyangatja ngalku - nytja - ku
 Pj 1sg nom good this eat noml goal

(uwa palya/wiya, wanti - 0/wiya, wanti - nytja - ku)
 yes good no leave imp no leave noml goal

"May I eat this?" "Yes, that's OK/ No. leave it./ No, you should leave it."

3.28b palu - ru (*palya) ngurra kutu a - nkunytja - ku?
 Pj 3sg nom good home all go noml goal

(uwa, mulapa/wiya palya)
 yes true no good

"Should he go home?" "Yes, he should/ No, that's OK."

The reading of 3.28a without /palya/ is ambiguous: it could mean "May I eat this?" or, it could mean "Should I eat this?" i.e. "Will I give offence to someone if I do not?" or, alternatively, "Will I give offence to my stomach if I do?" The hearer has taken the first reading from the situation of utterance and responded appropriately. Firstly, it should be noted that there is only one reading of 3.28a with /palya/ and this is indicated by the

gloss we have given. Secondly, the imperative or hortatory negative response should be noted: the hearer responds by commanding or exhorting the speaker not to eat. With 3.28b the hearer has taken an obligatory reading from the situation of utterance and responds appropriately. As we have indicated, in this situation of utterance a reading of 3.28b with /palya/ is ungrammatical.

We note then that the form of hortatory sentences is related in this way to that of interrogative sentences.

In considering the actual verb form in these sentences it is clear that there is no need to set up a hortatory category in the morphology because it is possible to relate the semantic structure of hortatory sentences to morphological categories we will discuss further in the next section; each hortatory sentence is a NP in goal case. This is demonstrated firstly by the obvious formal congruence and, secondly, by a consideration of semantic structure. The hortatory sentence 3.25 could be glossed "The (only acceptable) goal is your going home." i.e. the NP /nyuntu ngurra kutu ankunytja/ is suffixed with a goal case marker.

3.3 SUBORDINATING FORMS

In discussing subordinate verb forms in Pj it is important to note at the outset that none of these are solely used in subordinate clauses. There is a distinction between the forms that can never be used in subordinate clauses and which have been discussed above i.e. the strictly finite verb forms, and those forms which, on the other hand, can be used in subordinate clauses.

There are three forms which can be so used: the participial form, the tja-form and the payi-form. We will discuss each of these in turn.

3.3.1 THE PARTICIPLE

The reason for choosing this label is the strong semantic parallelism between this form and the English past participle. In this respect we follow Trudinger and Hansen because in its canonical usage, as in 3.29, it is most simply rendered in English by the past participle.

3.29 ngayu - lu a - nkula kuka paya - mila - ni
Pj 1sg nom go part meat buy loan pres

"I, having gone, will buy some meat."

This form has semantic and syntactic parallels with the English past participle: it is semantically parallel because it expresses a similar non-modal and non-aspectual subordinate action and syntactically parallel because the participle obligatorily shares the same subject as the main verb.

In addition, it can be serialised as in 3.30a. It is interesting to note that there are similar formal constraints on the number of participles that can be serialised as there are in English; serialising a large number of participles in Pj is not rejected as ungrammatical although stylistically it is deemed undesirable. Perhaps because a Pj participial phrase is usually one word in length, more are stylistically permitted to be serialised, although it is rare to hear more than two participles in one sentence. By way of illustration, in 196 lines of narrative text, there were 34 examples of one participle occurring before a main verb, 12 examples of two participles occurring before a main verb and only 4 examples of three participles so occurring. There were only 5 examples of participles

occurring after the main verb.

In semantic terms, there are differences. While in its canonical form the time frame of the action of the verb in the subordinate clause is separate from and prior to that of the action of the main verb, this is by no means a universal constraint, so that, in 3.29, the action of going has to be completed before the action of buying and, in 3.30a, the action of each verb is complete before the action of the next verb commences. On the other hand, in 3.11, the relevant section of which has been repeated at 3.30b, the time frame of the action of drinking extends into that of smelling. The bullock did not necessarily start smelling only when he stopped drinking. Similarly, in 3.31, the action of sitting continues through the action of seeing the old man return. (The narrative strategy of repeated participles has strong aspectual force, indicating either durativity or iterativity, as well as allowing the narrator to catch breath and structure what is to follow!) This strategy has a parallel with the English participle: we could render 3.31 as "Having stayed and stayed and stayed and stayed, we saw the old man return." However, the Pj sentence does not have the same sense of boredom and frustration as its English counterpart.

3.30a wana - ra mantji - ra tjatala tju - nkula a - nkupayi
Pj follow part get part saddle put part go hab

"We used to chase (the horses), get (them), put saddles (on them) and go."

3.30b ka - linya puluka - ngku munga - ngka pitja - la kapi
and ds 2du acc bullock erg night adj come part water

tjiki - ra - linya panti - ningi tjawa - ningi - lta pana, pana
drink part 2duacc smell imperf dig imperf there ground ground

tjawa - ningi ngali - nya pu - ngkuntja - kitja - ngku
dig imperf 2du acc hit Nom I purp erg

"And (one) night a bullock, having come and having drunk was smelling us and pawing at the ground, pawing at the ground with the idea of knocking us down.

3.31 nyina - ra nyina - ra nyina - ra nyina - ra - la tjilpi - nya
Pj sit part sit part sit part sit part 1pl old man abs

nya - ngu
see past

"Having stayed in one place for some time, we saw the old man (return)."

We mentioned above that the Pj participle obligatorily shares the same subject as the main verb but we should address the question of control of case marking. One might suspect that this is entirely controlled by the main verb as in 3.29 and 3.30b but 3.32 and 3.33 below indicate otherwise. Clearly, the transitive subordinate participle has conditioned the case marking of the main verb arguments. In the case of 3.33b, my data indicates that this sentence would be ungrammatical without an ergative suffix.

3.32 wati tjuta - ngku maju waka - ra malaku a - nu
Pj man many erg roo spear part back go past

"Having speared the kangaroo, the men returned."

3.33a wati tjuta - ngku kuka nga - lkula ma pitja - nyi
Pj man many erg meat eat part away come pres

3.33b *wati tjuta kuka nga - lkula ma pitja - nyi
 man many meat eat part away come pres

"Having eaten the meat, the men are going away."

It seems then that the action of the participle is foregrounded semantically and that this conditions the ergativity of the subject. On the other hand, the absolutive marking on the two NPs in 3.33b requires disambiguation, which is obviously not the case with 3.32 and 3.33a.

Further comment should be made about the semantic structure of sentences with participial subordinate verbs. The majority of such constructions evince a discrete reference for the participles, so that in 3.29 for example, the four actions of following, catching, saddling and going are quite separate. However, there are a number of other such constructions, formally congruent, which evince a high degree of semantic incorporation. They are exemplified in 3.34 below: the actions of hiding and sitting/being are inseparable, as those of giving and causing to be

nothing and throwing and talking.

3.34	kumpi - ra nyina - nyi	
Pj	hide part sit pres	"hide"
	u - ngkula wiya - ni	
	give part no cause pres	"share out"
	wana - rra wangka - nyi	
	throw part speak pres	"discuss"

We will comment further below on such semantic incorporation which appears to be a diachronic process.

Finally, it was noted above (see Ngaany 2.2.2) that the Pj participles can also be used as main verbs. Although in Pj the participle is in the vast majority of cases a subordinate verb we do have sentences like 2.32b, copied below at 3.35, where the participle is distributionally parallel with a matrix verb form.

3.35	wati tjuta kuka - ku a - nkula ka - na ngayu - lu ngurra - ngka
Pj	man many meat goal go part and ds 1sg 1sg nom home adj
	nyina - nyi
	sit pres

"The men are going hunting but I am staying at home."

3.3.2 NOMINALS AND VERBAL ADJECTIVES

The Nominal I forms have been labelled by Trudinger as "verbal adjectives" and by Goddard as an "action/state nominalization" after Comrie and Thompson.

Because of the low functional load of these forms, it is not easy to analyse them in the passage of text referred to above. While the occurrence of participles was frequent (92 in 196 lines of the sample text), there are only 16 Nominal I or Nominal II forms in the same passage.

Phonologically, the suffix itself is odd. Pj has a rather strict syllable pattern of CVC and CV. Since morpheme boundaries occur between

syllables the constraint of the CVC and CV syllable pattern is offended and we are confronted with this CCV ugly duckling. It is tempting then to try to analyse /-nytja/ as bi-morphemic.⁵

We are encouraged in this analysis by the form /-tja/ which is a productive adjective forming suffix:

wati "man",	watitja "of the men"
kuwarri "now",	kuwarritja "of now, new"

(There is an interesting morphophonemic process of vowel dissimilation associated with this suffix:

a → i /-*tja

so that we have forms:

lungkata "sp. lizard"	lungkatitja a personal name given to a person bitten as a child by this species of lizard lit. "the one pertaining to the lungkata."
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On the other hand, /-ny-/ is unanalysable₆, either synchronically or diachronically, and we must accept, with some reservation, that /-nytja/ is monomorphemic. We are supported in this view by the re-analysis of the form in other dialects such as Ngaany where this form is an intensive continuous suffix and the Ptpi past habitual suffix. In both these dialects we have forms/nyinarranytja ~ pungkulanytja ~ ankuṭānytja ~ wantiranytja/. These will be discussed further below. (See s5.1)

Syntactically, the Nom I form can function in a number of ways. Semantically, the common thread amongst the various functions of this forms seems to be that it is predicating of some participant a state. It seems that it must be a temporary state, although possibly of long duration. The reason for this will become clear as we examine the distribution of the Nom I forms.

We see from 3.36 the semantic distinction between the Nom I forms and some other verb forms that could fill this slot. Initially we should observe that the nominal can fill the same slot as a finite verb but it would be a mistake to imagine that the sentence with the nominal was the same type

as the sentence with the other finite verb forms. The finite verbs cannot be as freely embedded as the Nom I forms and the solution seems to be to regard [malu wakanytja] as a NP in an equational sentence. (At sentence level in Pj a minimal NP can stand alone without it being necessary to posit ellipsis because of the null form of the 3rd person singular subject pronoun clitic. This is exemplified in 3.37.)

3.36 palu - ru malu waka - nytja /waka - ni/waka - lpayi
Pj 3sg nom roo spear NomI spear pres spear hab

"He is in a state of having speared/is spearing/ habitually spears kangaroos."

3.37 wati!
Pj man

"He is a man, (not a boy, or an uninitiated male.)"

We should consider now the different readings of 3.36 and how the /wakanytja/ reading differs from each of the others. In my view the /wakanytja/ reading can best be glossed as 'He is in a state of having speared a kangaroo.' This differs from the present tense reading because he must be in the act of actually spearing as the sentence is being uttered. It differs from the habitual reading because /wakanytja/ makes no claim about the habit of the subject; this may be the only kangaroo ever speared by the subject. It differs from the past tense form /wakanu/ more subtly: the past tense statement is an answer to a question "What did he do?" while the nominal has strong present time reference and would answer a question like: "Why is he behaving like this today?"

This analysis of the semantic structure of these forms is reinforced by the distribution of the nominal when it is negated. With a 2nd person subject this is in fact the most common form of a negative command. On the other hand with a 3rd person subject for example the reading is that of a simple declarative sentence. These are exemplified by the different readings of 3.38. On the other hand a sentence that substitutes a present tense form for the nominal is ungrammatical as we see in 3.39.7 2 al.)

Further the NP of the form /Nom I+ wiya/ can be subordinated in a variety of ways as we see in 3.40 and 3.41.

3.38 palu - ru/nyuntu a - nkunytja wiya
Pj 3sg nom 2sg go NomI neg

"He is not (in a state of) going." / "Don't go!" (lit. "You should not be in a state of going.")

3.39 *palu - ru/nyuntu a - nanyi wiya
Pj 3sg nom 2sg go pres neg

"He is not going." / "Don't go!"

3.40 palu - ru a - nkunytja wiya nyina - nyi
Pj 3sg nom go Nom I neg sit pres

"He is not going anywhere, he's staying here."

3.41 palu - ru a - nkunytja wiya - ngku mutukaya palya - ni
Pj 3sg nom go Nom I neg erg motorcar fix pres

"He's not going anywhere he's fixing his car."

It is possible to write rules for NPs containing Nominal I and Nominal II verb forms and these rules have been included below. There are several comments to be made about these rules.

Firstly, their justification is that they tie together otherwise disparate phenomena and, I believe, provide a more economical description of them than is currently available. They also provide a convenient summary which assists the comparison with other dialects. On the other hand, they are a hypothesis and I am not convinced that there are not other facts about these forms that will challenge this description.

RR1 $NP_{nom} \rightarrow [S_{nom} (+ NUM)]_{CASE}$

RR2 $S_{nom} \rightarrow (NP_X) (+ NP_Y) (+ ADYB) + \{V_{Nom I}, V_{Nom II}\} (+ NEG)$

RR3 $NUM \rightarrow \{kutju, kutjarra, \dots, tjuta\}$

RR4 $NEG \rightarrow \{wiya\}$

RR5 $X, Y \rightarrow CASE$

RR6 CASE \rightarrow {Subj, Ag, Obj, Goal, Adj}

RR7 NP_{REL} \rightarrow [(NP, S_{Nom}) + REL] CASE

RR8 REL \rightarrow {-kitja, -tjanu, -tjirratja, -tjarra}

CR1 If X \rightarrow Ag and Y \rightarrow Obj, RR1 cannot apply
(Restriction of embedding double argument nominalised sentences in a noun phrase.)

CR2 If RR1 and RR2 apply, then either NP_X or NP_Y or ADVB or 0 are chosen.
(Restriction on embedding "heavy" nominalised sentences in a noun phrase.)

CR3 If CASE \rightarrow Goal and RR1 applies, then either RR3 applies or neither RR3 nor RR4 apply.
(Restriction on the constituency of goal case NPs containing nominalised verbs.)

CR4 If V_{NomII} occurs, then NP_X, NP_Y \rightarrow 0, RR1 cannot apply and RR4 must apply.
(Restriction on the occurrence of V_{NomII} forms with negative sentences.)

- CR5 When RR7 applies, CASE \rightarrow {Subj, Ag}
 (Restriction on case marking of NPs with relator suffixes so that such NPs agree with the subject of the matrix clause.)
- CR6 When RR2 and RR7 apply, NEG \rightarrow 0 and only one other element can occur.
 (Restriction on the constituency of NPs with relator suffixes.)
- CR7 When REL \rightarrow {tjarra}, the S_{NOM} phrasemarker cannot occur in RR7.
 (Restriction on suffixing /-tjarra/ to NPs without nominalized verbs in some dialects.)

With regard to the morphology associated with these rules, we note that case marking is not one or other of the sets of case markers_P but rather includes suffixes from both sets. (In Pj there is a set of case markers for proper nouns and a different set of case markers for common nouns.) There are then the following morphological rules:

- (i) Agent is realized by /-lu/ when suffixed to the Nominal I form and by /-ngku/ otherwise. (Compare 3.41 and 3.46.)
- (ii) Subject and object are null suffixes.
- (iii) The adjunct suffix is exclusively /-ngka/ in Pj but Yank has the form /-la/. When the Pj adjunct case marker /-ngka/ is suffixed to $V_{\text{Nom I}}$, as discussed in Bell 1980, a phonological dissimilation occurs:

-nytjangka \rightarrow -nyangka

The dialectal difference between Pj and Yank in this regard is illustrated by 3.42 and 3.43:

3.42 panya wati - ngku minyma pu - ngu kutury witi - nya - ngka
 Pj dem man erg woman hit past null² hit Nom I adj

"That man hit the woman as she grabbed the null²-nulla."

3.43 pulitjumana - ngku wati panya witi - ra kati - ngu mani
 Gdrd5-64 policeman erg man dem grab part take past money
 kutitjunku - nytja - la
 hide nom loc

"The police arrested and took that man away, because he stole some money."

Below are some comments and justification for these rules. Some of the co-occurrence restrictions may be only the reflex of the limitations of my data. Such limitations are largely the result of the low functional load of many of these forms to which we have already referred.

NP CONSTITUENCY

RR1 realizes the overall structure of NPs with nominalized verbs: there is an underlying sentence with a nominalized verb which, like other NPs, can be followed optionally by a numeralizing morpheme and is marked for case. This is exemplified below in 3.44 and 3.45, where we have NPs with nominalized verbs (NP_{nom}) in subject case in which is embedded a sentence with a nominalized verb (S_{nom}). A NP in adjunct case, /Utjula/, is the only argument of S_{nom} .

RR3 realizes the surface forms of the numeralizing suffix. We have cited three forms but there are others. To give an exhaustive list and an analysis is beyond the scope of this study.

3.44 Utju - la nyina - nytja kutju/kutjarra/tjuta ngalya pitja - nyi
 Pj place adj sit Noml one two many towards come pres

"One/two/a number of people who is/are staying at Utju are coming this way."

3.45 Utju - la nyina - nytja ngalya pitja - nyi
 Pj place adj sit Noml towards come pres

"A/the person who is staying at Utju is coming."

In both 3.44 and 3.45, we are embedding a subject nominalization and RR1

and RR6 have applied in this way:

RR1 and RR6 apply thus:

$$3.44: \quad NP_{nom} \longrightarrow [S_{nom} + NUM]_{Subj}$$

$$3.45: \quad NP_{nom} \longrightarrow [S_{nom}]_{Subj}$$

i.e. the optional NUM node is chosen in 3.44 but not in 3.45 and subject case is chosen

RR2 has then applied to give this constituent structure in each case:

$$3.44: \quad [NP_{Adj} + V_{NomI} + NUM]_{Subj}$$

$$3.45: \quad [NP_{Adj} + V_{NomI}]_{Subj}$$

We should note that CR1 blocks RR1 when S_{nom} has both core arguments realized. There is a semantic restriction on embedding S_{nom} when both core arguments are realized: NP_{nom} is used in relativization processes as in 3.46, where one of the core NPs is relativized. In this example it would not be possible to have a NP in agent case embedded in S_{nom} .

In 3.46, RR1 and RR6 apply in this way:

$$NP_{nom} \longrightarrow [S_{nom}]_{Ag}$$

RR2, RR5 and RR6 then apply in that order:

$$NP_{nom} \longrightarrow [NP_{Obj} + V_{NomI}]_{Ag}$$

There is room for further investigation of the constituent Y of NP_{nom} but for the purpose of this study CR1 captures an important feature of NPs with nominalized verbs.

3.46 panya kuka waka - nytja - lu ngayu - nya tjunta u - ngu
 that meat spear NomI erg 1sg acc thigh give past

"That one who speared the meat gave me (a piece of) thigh."

As we have seen above, RR2 realizes the structure of sentences with nominalized verbs which may or may not be embedded, and we note that the only obligatory elements of this string are the nominalized verbs themselves. Of this rule, there are several things to be noted: firstly, there is a general aversion to sentences with multiple arguments in Pj and this aversion is particularly observable with sentences with nominalized verbs. All my data includes only NP_{nom} with one embedded NP and typically the embedded NP is realized by only one word, usually a noun. We have attempted to capture this restriction in CR1 and CR2.

It is possible that CR2 is somewhat arbitrary and may have more to do strictly with style than grammaticality but it is unusual to have more than one NP in S_{nom}.

Secondly, although we have included a phrase marker ADVB and it is grammatical, it nonetheless occurs infrequently. We have exemplified such an utterance below at 3.47:

3.47 panya pulka - ra - ngku pu - ngkuntja ma pitja - ngu
 that big advb erg hit NomI away come past

"The one who hit me really hard has gone away."

Thirdly, V_{NomII} is used in this derivation with negative imperatives. It does not occur in my data with other than 2nd person subjects. This is exemplified below in 3.48. The restriction of the use of V_{NomII} with negative imperatives is captured in CR4. Again, a restriction on the arguments applies and NP_X, NP_Y → 0 where V_{NomII} occurs and RR1 must apply because V_{NomII} cannot occur as a main clause verb and must be subordinated. The dialectal variations in distribution of the nominal forms were discussed in Bell 1979 where it was pointed out that the canonical negative imperative in Pj tjuku-tjuku exemplified in 9b does not occur in Pj pulka. (We will discuss below such forms in Pj pulka.)

3.48 pampu - l (w)iya - ngku wanti - ma
 touch NomII neg erg leave MA

"Don't touch it!"

In the case of 3.48, the rules apply in this way: RR1 and RR6 apply:

$$NP_{nom} \rightarrow [S_{nom}]_{Ag}$$

and RR2 applies to give this constituent structure:

$$NP_{nom} \rightarrow [V_{NomII} + NEG]_{Ag}$$

It should be noted that in Yank the V_{NomII} form does not occur, although it is recorded by Trudinger

NEGATION

NEG is realized obligatorily as we saw above with V_{NomII} . When it is realized with a V_{NomI} form, which is its most frequent usage as we saw above, it expresses a negative imperative in its unembedded form. When it is embedded, it is used to relativise on a main clause argument, as in 3.49 and 3.50 below, where it relativises on a main clause subject and a main clause object.

3.49 palu - ru a - nkunytja wiya / (*wiya - ngka) nyina - nyi
 3sg nom go NomI neg neg adj sit pres

"He's not going anywhere, he's staying here."

3.50 ngayu - lu panya a - nkunytja wiya pu - ngu
 1sg nom that go NomI neg hit past

"I hit (that person) who didn't go."

CASE (RR5, RR6)

In addition to the comments that have already been made about case marking on NP_{nom} , we should point out the restriction on goal case marking represented by CR3. This restriction blocks ungrammatical sentences like 3.54, where there would be this derivation:

RR1 and RR6 apply:

$$NP_{nom} \rightarrow [S_{nom} (+ NUM)]_{Goal}$$

RR2 applies:

$$NP_{nom} \rightarrow [V_{Noml} (+ NEG) (+ NUM)]_{Goal}$$

At this stage **either** RR3 applies, in which case, RR4 applies optionally to derive 3.52 or 3.53 i.e. the numeralizer is obligatory if the nominalized verb is negative so that for 3.52

$$NP_{nom} \rightarrow [V_{Noml} + NEG + NUM]_{Goal}$$

and for 3.53

$$NP_{nom} \rightarrow [V_{Noml} + NUM]_{Goal}$$

or neither RR3 nor RR4 apply so that for 3.51 we have:

$$NP_{nom} \rightarrow [V_{Noml}]_{Goal}$$

3.51 ngayu - lu kuka pawu - nu ngurra kutu kati - nytja - ku
Pj 1sg nom meat cook past home towards bring Noml goal

"I cooked the meat so that it could be taken home."

3.52 ngayu - lu kuka pawu - nu a - nkunytja wiya tjuta - ku
Pj 1sg nom meat cook past go Noml neg many goal

"I cooked the meat for the people who didn't go."

3.53 ngayu - lu kuka pawu - nu a - nkunytja tjuta - ku
Pj 1sg nom meat cook past go Noml many goal

"I cooked the meat for the many people who went/are going."

3.54 *ngayu - lu kuka pawu - nu a - nkunytja wiya - ku
1sg nom meat cook past go Noml neg goal

"I cooked the meat for the person who didn't go."

RELATORS

As we have seen, subject to certain conditions, nominalized verbs can take the full range of noun morphology, so that in addition to the case-marking suffixes we have discussed above, nominalized verbs can also be suffixed by the relators. Apart from the fact that relators are distinguished from case-marking suffixes by their co-occurrence, they are also themselves suffixed to agree with the subject of the clause of which they are a part.

Semantically and syntactically, these NPs are a subordinating strategy, expressing purpose, result and need/cause. We have given the label NP_{REL} to this set of NPs because the Pj suffixes are formally and semantically congruent with their Ptpi counterparts, although, as we shall see, H&H describe a larger set of relators for Ptpi than occurs in Pj.

Below are the two further realization rules and two further co-occurrence restrictions that are introduced to generate these forms. We note that, in the same way as the phrase marker NP_{nom} that is subject to re-write rule RR1 is a node generated optionally by some sentence re-write rule, so with the node NP_{REL} . Sentence structure is beyond the scope of this study and here we note agreement between NP_{REL} and the subject without discussion. CR5 expresses this agreement between the case marking of NPs with relator suffixes and the subject of the matrix clause.⁹

$$RR7 \quad NP_{REL} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} NP \\ S_{NOM} \end{array} \right\} + REL \quad CASE$$

$$RR8 \quad REL \longleftrightarrow \{-kitja, -tjanu, -tjirratja, -tjarra\}$$

$$CR5 \quad \text{When RR7 applies, } CASE \longrightarrow \{Subj, Ag\}$$

CR6 When RR2 and RR7 apply, NEG \rightarrow 0 and only one other element can occur.

CR7 When REL \rightarrow {tjarra}, the S_{NOM} phrasemarker cannot occur in RR7.

RR7 generates the set of NPs with relator suffixes. NP_{REL} is an optional phrase marker generated by the sentence realization rule.

We note the NP $\sim S_{NOM}$ alternation in this rule; this alternation indicates that a relator can be suffixed either to a general NP or a nominalized sentence. Such nominalized sentences are generated by RR2 and we will discuss restrictions on this below.

The phrase marker REL is realised by the four suffixes generated by RR8. We have, following Goddard, included /-tjarra/ in this set. Although it is doubtful that /-tjarra/ can be productively suffixed to a nominalized verb, we have included it in this set because of its obvious similar patterning in all other regards. CR7 blocks the suffixing of /-tjarra/ to an S_{NOM} phrasemarker. This, however, leaves us firstly, with the problem of generating /yankunytjatjarra/ and /pitjanytjatjarra/ which are formally examples of suffixing /tjarra/ to an S_{NOM} form. We can justify this by saying that forms like /yankunytjatjarra/ and /pitjanytjatjarra/ are metalinguistic forms in which /yankunytja/ and /pitjanytja/ are re-analysed as nouns for the purpose of labelling, rather than as nominalized verbs c.f. English: "going'occurs three times in this sentence," where distributionally 'going' functions as a noun. (It would also be possible to analyse the /-tjarra/ forms without CR7 by saying that, with the exception we have noted above, suffixing /-tjarra/ to a nominalized verb is blocked semantically i.e. it is difficult to know what a form like /*ngalkunytjatjarra/ might mean.)

Secondly, CR7 does not apply across all the eastern dialects; Trudinger

reports the productive suffixation of /-tjarra/ to nominalized verb forms. We see below in 3.55 its suffixation to a Nom II form. For this reason, for the dialect that Trudinger describes we have to revise this co-occurrence restriction thus: when REL \rightarrow /-tjarra/, RR1 and RR4 cannot apply.

There will obviously have to be other revisions to the set of rules and restrictions we have set up here. For example, CR4 does not apply in this dialect.

We have exemplified these relators in the sentences at 3.56 to 3.63 below. Because of the light functional load of these forms, my data does not include examples of each of them with and without ergative case marking. At 3.62 and 3.63 I have included Yank examples which are grammatical Pj sentences.

In 3.56 and 3.57 below we have exemplified the deprivative suffix /-tjirratja/. In both cases it is suffixed to a noun. However, in Yank sentence 3.62 it is suffixed to a nominalized verb and this is a grammatical Pj sentence.

In 3.58, we exemplify the consequential relator suffixed to a noun. In 3.63 we exemplify the relator suffixed to a nominalized verb in a Yank sentence which would again be a grammatical Pj sentence.

In 3.59, 3.60 and 3.61, we have exemplified the purposive suffix. In two of the sentences we have /-kitja/ suffixed to agree with an ergative subject and in 3.61 to agree with an absolutive subject. 3.59 and 3.60 exemplify the parallelism of the suffixation of /-kitja/ to both NP and nominalized verb (S_{NOM}), as RR7 indicates.

3.55 Ngatji - l - tjarra!
Pj Pulka beg nom II hav
Trud219
 "Stop begging!"

3.56 paluru puluka waka - nu kuka - tjirratja - ngku
Pj 3sg bullock spear past meat depriv erg
 "He was in need of meat so badly that he speared a bullock."

3.57 ngayu - lu kuka - tjirratja a - nanyi kantina kutu
Pj 1sg nom meat depriv go pres store to

"I'm going to the store because I need some meat."

3.58 paluru wama-tjanu mirrpan - arri - ngu
Pj 3sg grog consq angry incho past

"It was the grog that made him angry."

3.59 paluru mitingi - kitja - ngku mutukaya ngalya kati - nytja - ku
Pj 3sg meeting purp erg motor car toward bring Nom I goal

He should bring a motor car for (so we can go to) the meeting

3.60 pana tjawa - ningi ngali - nya pu - ngkuntja - kitja - ngku
Pj ground dig imperf 1du acc hit Nom I purp erg

"(The bullock) was pawing at the ground with the idea of doing us an injury lit. digging the ground for the purpose of hitting us."

3.61 karitjamitja ngalku - kitja a - nanyi Utju - la kutu
Pj Christmas eat purp go pres place adj to

"(He) is going to Utju for Christmas."

3.62 kuka ngalku - nytja - tjirratja paluru pika - rri - ngu
Gdrd4-113 meat eat Nom I depriv 3sg sick incho past

"She got sick on account of a lack of meat."

3.63 kaltarrapu - nganyi - na tii tjiki - nytja - tjanu - ngku
Gdrd4-117 belch pres 1sg tea drink Nom I consq erg:

"I'm belching, after drinking tea."

There are two points that require consideration in closing: firstly, there is one further relator which must be mentioned but which does not pattern in the same way as those we have described above, namely /-ta(w)arra/, the aversive relator. We have discussed this above in the context of Ngaany forms and categories and we will consider it again in the overall context of the Western Desert dialects. This relator occurs in two different syntactic structures, one with noun phrases containing nominalised verbs exemplified below at 3.65 (and in 2.16b), and another with noun phrases without such verbs. This latter pattern is exemplified at 3.64.

We note the lack of parallelism between the two NPs to which /-tawarra/ is suffixed; one is in goal case and the other in adjunct case.

Secondly, we note the formation of adjectives from the nominals we have

discussed in this section. We referred above to the adjectiviser /-tja/ in our discussion of the derivation of the /-nytja/ suffix and noted that it was used productively to form adjectives. It is then no surprise that it is so used as a suffix to the nominalised verbs. Because of the very low functional load of these forms and the difficulty in eliciting them, we are only able to exemplify their use with an adjunct case marker, as in 3.66 below.¹⁰

3.64 puli mantji - la papa tjuta - ngka tawarra
Pj stone get imp dog many adj avers

"Pick up a rock to frighten the dogs."

3.65 karrpi - la punka - nytja - ku tawarra
Pj tie imp fall Nom I goal avers

"Put a seat belt on in case we crash lit. tie up against falling"

3.66 nganana ngarri - ku irriti ngarri - nytji - tja - ngka
Pj 1pl camp fut long ago camp Nom I adjvs adj

"We'll camp where we camped long ago."

3.4 COMPOUND VERBS

For the purpose of this study it is not necessary to give a thorough-going analysis of compound verbs in the eastern dialects, but, because some aspectual distinctions in these dialects are rendered by verbal compounds which are in some cases re-analysed in other dialects it is appropriate to consider them at this point.

So that it is possible to be aware of the context of the compound forms that we will discuss at greater length, we will briefly outline the compounding strategies available in these dialects.

All compound verbs in Pj contain two lexical morphemes i.e. they are of the form

X + Y + SUFFIX

They divide themselves into two classes according to whether Y can stand as a monomorphemic verb. It should be noted that Goddard draws a distinction between categories of "tight serialisation" according to degrees of semantic incorporation and, although the question of semantic incorporation will concern us in the case of other dialects, it is not necessary for our consideration of verb compounds in Pj. All the forms considered here exhibit a degree of amalgamation of the meaning of X and Y, sometimes analysable, sometimes not.

It should also be noted that for the purpose of this analysis we are not considering la-class causative verbs as compounds. Strictly speaking causative verbs such as

ngu <u>l</u> uni "frighten"	(ngu <u>l</u> u "afraid")
pu <u>l</u> kani "bring up"	(pu <u>l</u> ka "big")

are not monomorphemic but for the purpose of this study, it is not necessary to regard them as compound verbs.

We will now turn to a consideration of the two classes of compound verbs.

(1) Compound verbs where Y can stand as a monomorphemic verb

These occur with a wide range of verbs and the inclusion or otherwise of a particular form seems only to be conditioned by the need to express

particular meaning.

punganyi "hit"

- kunytjul ~ "cough"
 tungun ~ "disobey"

katingyi "carry"

- wararra ~ "jump, come down, travel"
 nyina ~ "sit down"
 tjalira ~ "carry on back"
 ngaparri ~ "go to meet"

waningyi "throw"

- wangkarra ~ "discuss"
 ngarala ~ "stand about (in a group)"

nyinanyi "sit"

- anga ~ "sit in the way (of something)"

wiyani "use up" lit "cause to be nothing"

- ungkula ~ "share out"

tjunanyi "put"

- anga ~ "block"
 tjarrpa ~ "put inside"
 ngara ~ "stand (something) up"
 wangkarra ~ "discuss"

It should be noted that these examples evince varying degrees of semantic and morphological incorporation of the two lexical morphemes involved. On one hand there is a high degree of semantic and morphological incorporation of the lexical morphemes in a form like /kunytjul-punganyi/, particularly since the first morpheme cannot apparently stand alone. On the other hand, /ungkulawiyani/ is almost analysable semantically and is certainly morphologically analysable.

In between these extremes there are forms like /nyina katingyi/ and

/tjarrpa tjunanyi/ which contain initial morphemes which are verb roots, namely /nyina/ "sit" and /tjarrpa/ "enter" respectively, but, while there must be some diachronic explanation of the morphological incorporation, it is not synchronically apparent. Similarly, the semantic incorporation of the two morphemes in each case lies between the extremes.

(2) Compound verbs where Y is a bound verb root

In the former section we considered compound verbs where Y was able to stand alone as a lexical morpheme, independent of the compounding process. In this section we consider a range of lexical morphemes that cannot synchronically occur independently of the compounding process. We note with no further discussion that with the majority of these compounds it is not possible to clearly distinguish lexical and grammatical meaning.

-ma-nanyi

Goddard posits three semantic structures for this bound verb root; one produces a class of sound emission verbs:

- munturr ~ "make a sound like an engine"
- ngawurr ~ "growl"
- ngurr ~ "snore"
- ngerr ~ "cry really hard"

The second is that of a causative bound verb root:

- mirrpan ~ "make angry"
- pukul ~ "make happy"

The third structure means approximately "to say X" or "to declare X to be the case". For example:

- uwan ~ "say 'yes'"
- wiyan ~ "say 'no'"
- kulpayin ~ "say 'goodbye'"
- tjanytjun ~ "say 'thank you'"
- palyan ~ "declare to be good"

It is possible that this is a sub class of the sound emission verbs or that there is a super class of what Goddard following Benveniste describes as "delocutive" because they are "derived from locution" and are "in the relationship of 'to say with its nominal base.'" (Goddard :219)

-nta-nanyi

This suffix generates quite idiomatic forms that show a high degree of incorporation between the two morphemes:

- | | |
|---------|---|
| lirri ~ | "choke" |
| kaṭa ~ | "break" (c.f. kaṭalya "broken in two pieces") ₁₁ |

With all these forms there is the implication that the result is bad. They are labelled by Goddard as "causatives of harm."

-tjinga-ni

Goddard posits three semantic structures for this suffix:

- (i) MAKE EMIT
e.g. munturr ~ "Cause to emit an engine like sound"
- (ii) CAUSATIVE OF BODILY EFFECT
e.g. karul ~ "break a kangaroo's back legs"
- (iii) CAUSE TO DO
e.g. pakal ~ "cause to get up"

It should be noted that it is difficult to disambiguate this morpheme and /-mananyi/ in all cases. I suspect, for example, that in 1 below the /*mirrpantjingani/ reading is ungrammatical because /-tjingani/ requires some actual physical movement and cannot be used to express emotion. (It is also possible that the only constraint on the mirrpan-tjingani/ form is the phonological one that /tjingani/ cannot be suffixed to a consonant-final morpheme. I suspect this is a further constraint, in addition to the semantic one referred to above.)

3.67 Paul Everingham - lu walpala tjuta
 name erg whitefeller many

(*mirrpan-tjinga-ni)/mirrpan-ma-nanyi
 anger caus pres anger cause pres

"Paul Everingham is stirring up the whitefellers."

-(a)rri-nyi~-(a)rringanyi

This is an inchoative morpheme and the allomorphs are conditioned by the phonological composition of the stem:

INCHO ---> -arri- /C-

---> -rri- /V-

The resulting compound is assigned to either wa- or 0-class according to the syllabicity of the stem: even-syllabled stems have wa-class inchoatives and odd-syllabled stems have 0-class inchoatives.

The majority of these forms are clearly inchoative and these are exemplified below:

pu ka-rri-	"become big"
puku arri-	"become happy"
wati-rri-	"become a man"

Some forms, on the other hand, are more idiomatic:

tjintu-rri-	"to perform an action till dawn"
-------------	----------------------------------

This is exemplified in 3.68:

3.68 ngayu - lu a - nkula tjintu - rri - ngu
 1sg nom go part sun incho past

"I went about till dawn"

Similarly, this morpheme is used as an incorporative suffix to form

intransitive verbs from loan words (c.f. /-mila-/ below) and it is difficult to see any inchoative force in its use under these circumstances:

rayitj-arri-	"race"
puut-arri-	"vote"

-mila-ni

This morpheme incorporates loan words as transitive verbs:

paya-mila-	"buy"
matjara-mila-	"muster"
aparayita-mila-	"operate (medically)"

My data records only English loan words being thus incorporated. It would appear that the only constraint on such incorporation is intelligibility.

a-nanyi

In the context of verb compounding, it is important for the purpose of this study to note forms such as:

pungkulinanyi	"to go about hitting"
nyakulinanyi	"go about looking"
nintirinanyi	"go about showing (something)"

These forms are not described by Goddard, nor by Trudinger, although a morpheme /-rinanyi/ "to go about" does appear in the IAD notes.

Clearly, there is a productive compounding process in Pj which expresses this unusual but, as we shall see, thorough-going aspectual distinction. The morphophonemic process operates on an underlying form:

STEM + PARTICIPLE + /A-/	where /A-/ is an underlying rra-class stem "go"
--------------------------	---

(We have already discussed degrees of semantic incorporation of the participial form into the main verb (see s3.3.1) which is evidence in favour of the process we describe here.)

Elision and vowel dissimilation, parallel to that described above with /-tja/ (see s3.3.2) and occurring elsewhere in Pj phonology,¹² elides the final vowel of the participial form and the initial vowel of /ananyi/ and replaces it with the high front vowel /i/.

That this form is not described is not a lacuna in Goddard's study: my data indicates that what is described above is a Pj form, described in the IAD notes, and replaced in Yank by one of the functions described by Goddard for the PROCESS morpheme /kati-/. Goddard, for example, cites /nyaku-kati-/ which has clearly the same meaning as Pj /nyakulinanyi/.

There is further evidence for this description provided by the other dialects which will be described below. At this stage we will note this distinction between Pj and Yank. (It could be argued that this form should not be discussed under the heading of "compounding" but quite separately as a morphophonemic process. Because the second morpheme in the Yank form can stand alone, and because it is related to what appear to be compounding processes in other dialects, we will let it stand.)

FOOTNOTES

1 (p55) I have included the future form as encoding both perfective and imperfective meanings although my data does not include any specific examples that throw this logically possible distinction into relief. It is fair to say that this distinction is more likely to be lexicalised rather than grammaticalised, as is the case in English where some verbs are logically perfective or imperfective cf. he will hit, which is perfective, vs he will carry, which is imperfective. An adverbial strategy to elaborate this distinction is available in Pj but this is beyond the scope of this study.

Similarly, although my data does not include the use of the habitual form with a specifically future reference, its use in a present tense context implies futurity and its inclusion in the future is therefore justified. For example, one is entitled to presume that the old man in 3.8 will continue to be a spearer in the future.

2 (p.58) In addition to the borrowing of /ayikan/ I have in my data an

example with /yukan/:

yukan wanant(u)rita tju - rra
loan 100 put imp

"(Look!) you can set (this thing) at one hundred!"

This utterance is very difficult to gloss; it was uttered conveying amazement about the operation of a particular machine. Within the context of this thesis it is not possible to describe these utterances more adequately.

3 (p.59) Goddard glosses /uti/ as SHOULD. This form can be glossed as 'clearly' from its use in utterances like:

puli uti - rri - ngu kuwarri
hill clear incho past now

"You can see that hill now. lit. "(that) hill has become clear now."

It is interesting to note that there is a parallel metaphor in Pj and English (and other languages I am sure) where an adjective describing a physical attribute (uti, "clear") has come to be used as a modal adverb /uti/ "clearly".

4 (p59)A further area for investigation is to contrast 3.20 with "tjingurula malu kutjupa nyakuku/nyakukatiku". This is however beyond the scope of this study.

5 (p 69) In other parts of the verb morphology, where they are analysable, at least diachronically, as polymorphemic e.g. /-lku/ can be analysed as /nominal + goal/ form diachronically. /-ngkupayi/ can be analysed as trimorphemic: /stem + goal + habitual/ and /-mpa/, although analysed as monomorphemic, has some relationship, again diachronically, with the phonological "filler" suffix /-pa/.

6 (p69) The only clue we have is a form like /piranypa/ "whitefeller" lit "those who are moonlike (in colour)"; this is at least bi-morphemic because of the form /pira/ "moon". /-pa/ is a "filler" syllable (c.f. /kunkunpa/ "asleep", /tjunan-tjunanpa/ etc.) Again, /-ny-/ is left as an unanalysable but tantalizing remainder. Further, what of the unattested form /piratja/?

7 (p70) There are a number of questions in relation to negation that merit further study but are beyond the limits of this thesis. For example, I have mentioned one of the restrictions of the distribution of /wiya/ but, while 3.39 is ungrammatical, the string /paluru wiya ananyi/ is not. Given the relative dearth of word order constraints in Pj, this is unusual.

8 (p73) All WD languages have two sets of casemarkers: {-lu, -nya, -ku, -la} and {-ngku, 0, -ku, ngka}. In Pj their choice is determined by noun class: proper nouns take the first set, common nouns the second, although there are some exceptions which need not concern us here.

9(p79) This is an approximation of a description of the syntactic properties of NPs with relator suffixes because we have forms like

/palytja-tjirratja-rri-ngu/
satisfied depriv incho past

"has become in need of being satisfied" i.e. "has become hungry"

/palytja-tjirratja tjuta-ku/
satisfied depriv many goal

"for the hungry ones"

and so on. However, for the purpose of this study we will accept this restriction.

10 (p83) Goddard reports forms such as /ngarrinytjitjangka/ in 3.66 as post circumstantial clauses. (Goddard:171)

11 (p87): Pj distinguishes between a break into two separate pieces and a break or a cut which does not do so.)

12 (p90) Compare for example ['pungkuntja'kitja] and ['pungkuntjiki'tjangku]

CHAPTER 4 PINTUPI

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we first examine and re-analyse for the purpose of this study the categories employed by K.C. and L.E. Hansen in their study "The Core of Pintupi Grammar." Because of the frequency of reference to this work we will cite it as "H&H".

We examine in s4.2 the categories employed by H&H and in s4.3 we discuss and reclassify some of these categories for the purpose of comparison with the other WD dialects.

In ss4.4, 4.5 and 4.6, we discuss the categories expressing verbal morphology under the same headings as in previous chapters: tense and aspect, mood and subordinating categories.

4.2 H&H ANALYSIS OF PINTUPI VERB MORPHOLOGY

At word level H&H analyse a number of different structures for the Ptpi verb. They are:

- (i) stem + classifier + basic action + classifier + md/tns/asp
- (ii) stem + classifier + basic action + classifier + asp + classifier + {mood, non-mood}
- (iii) stem + classifier + basic action + classifier + (aspect + nominal) + relator₁

Considering each of these slots, with the exception of the stem, we have:

Classifier

H&H define two sets of "stem classifying morphemes" and give syntactic and semantic rules for their use. The forms used are given in the table T4.1 below. H&H analyse a series of rules for the derivation of Form A or Form B; because we will re-analyse the stem classifying morphemes in the

following section, these rules will be discussed at that stage where they are relevant to the present study.

T4.1 Stem classifying suffixes

	wa-class	rra-class	la-class	0-class
Form A	-ng	-n	-ŋ	-0
Form B	-ngku	-nku	-l	-0

Basic Action

H&H posit four sets of "basic action" suffixes that express essentially aspectual categories. (This is in addition to a separate aspect slot which we will comment on below.) H&H analyse four basic actions: the intermittent continuous action, which is exemplified in 4.1, the unit action, which is exemplified in 4.2, and the intermittent continuous unit action, which is exemplified in 4.3. The forms are set out in the table T4.2 below.

T4.2 Basic action suffixes

	wa-class	rra-class	la-class	0-class
intermittent action	-li	-li	-ri	-rri
unit action	-ti	-ti	-kati	-ti
intermittent unit action	-tiri	-tiri	-katirri	-tiri
normal action	-0	-0	-0	-0

4.1 tjangala tungku pankaralu - ya tjarrpatju - 0 - ri - n - u
H&H413 name short the rest 3pl insert class intm class past

"Short Tjangala and the rest put (the meat) into all (the cars)."

4.2 pitja - 0 - la mantji - 1 - kati - 0 - in - pa - lanya - ya
 H&H424 go clas part get clas unit clas pres junc 1placc 3pl

"Having come they are picking us up (in the truck)."

4.3 mutukayi gata - rri - 0 - ra - 0
 H&H435 car hot incho clas part 3sg

ngara - 0 - ti - 0 - ri - na - malpa
 stand clas unit clas intrm clas c/fut

"After the car engine has become hot the car will keep on
 stopping along the way."

Tense/Aspect/Mood

This slot can be filled by the following suffixes:²

	punctiliar	continuous
present		-in
past	-u	-ma
future	-ku	-malpa
imperative	-wa -rra -la -0	-ma

Some of these suffixes are exemplified below in 4.4 - 4.7. The similarities with and differences from forms in other dialects and the semantic space covered will be discussed below.

Aspect

In addition to the tense/aspect/mood category referred to above, H&H analyse a further "aspect" category. This slot can be filled by the suffixes

set out in table T4.3 below:

T4.3 Aspect suffixes

	punctiliar	continuous
aspect	0	-la, -la, -ra, -rra

It should be noted that the continuous suffixes are formally identical to the participial suffixes. We will comment further on this isomorphism.

It is not necessary to exemplify all these tenses, aspects and moods here but in 4.4 we exemplify the past punctiliar form, in 4.5 the past continuous, in 4.6 the imperative punctiliar and in 4.7 the imperative continuous. The future continuous is exemplified below at 4.24.

4.4 ya - nku - la - latju waka - 0 - ra tju - n - u
H&H452 go clas part 1plex spear clas part put clas past

"We went and speared them dead."

4.5 mingku] - tu - lanyu - 0 kampa - 0 - rra
H&H471 tobacco eg 1plobj 3sg heat clas part

yalapu - ngku - ti - 0 - ma
open clas unit clas MA

"The chewing tobacco was heating us and opening our ears as we went along, (making us think clearly)."

4.6 pana - ngka - 0 titu nyina - rra paka - la
H&H464 ground adj 2sg continually sit part arise imp

"After sitting on the ground so long get up."

4.7 titu kuli - n - ma
 H&H477 continue listen clas MA

"Continue to listen."

Mood

H&H posit these moods: hortative, past habitative, characteristic and subjunctive. It is to be noted that with two of these categories there is also an aspectual element involved as well as mood i.e. past habitative and characteristic moods appear to have continuous imperfective aspect and a declarative mood and not in fact to be modally marked. These categories are expressed in the forms set out in table T4.4 below.

T4.4 Some mood suffixes (after chart 28, H&H:194)

hortative	-nytjaku
past habitative	-nytja
subjunctive	-mara
characteristic	-payi

(This is a slight emendation of H&H's table which indicates that the hortative form can be suffixed to either a punctiliar or continuous form.)

4.6 nya - ku - ti - 0 - ri - nku - la - nytjaku - ya
 H&H484 look clas unit clas intrm clas con hort 3pl

puntu - ngkamarra
 man avoid

"They should all continually look around as they go to avoid the kadaicha men."

4.9 papa - ya wana - 0 - ra pu - ngku - nytjaku
 H&H 576 dog 3pl follow clas part hit clas hort

"They should follow and hit the dog."

4.10 Yayayi - ngka - limpa - 0 ngara - 0 - la - nytja
 H&H485 place adj 1dugol 3sg stand clas con phab

"It (the caravan) used to stand at Yayayi."₃

4.11 wiya - la wirrtja - l - mara yapurra mutukayi - ngka
 H&H568 not 1pl hurry clas subj west car adj

"We should not have gone west in the car."

4.12 yapurra - nyurra ya - nku - la kunti - l - mara kuka pini - kati
 H&H566 west 2pl go clas part shoot clas subj meat many at

"If you had gone west where many kangaroos are, you would have shot some."

4.13 Warumpiyi - ngka - pula titu pu - ngku - payi
 H&H576 place loc 3du continually hit clas char

"Those two continue to fight at Papunya."

The hortative mood is exemplified in 4.8 and 4.9, the past habitative in 4.10, the subjunctive in 4.11 and 4.12 and the characteristic in 4.13.

NON-MOOD SLOT

The fillers for this slot are given below in table T4.5. It is to be noted that these suffixes encode essentially syntactic meanings and are all used in subordinate clauses. Further we should note that the obligative suffix, unlike any of the other fillers, can occur with relators. (See below.) This is contrary to the morphological patterns we set out above and requires further consideration.

T4.5 Non-mood suffixes

	punctiliar	continuous
projected reason	-0-tjaku	-la-tjaku
purpose	-0-nytja-ku	-la-nytja-ku
diff't participant	-0-nytja-ngka	-la-nytja-ngka
same participant	-0-nytja-lu/0	-la-nytja-lu/0
participle	-la	
obligative	-wa(n)	

The purpose suffix is exemplified in 4.14 below and the participle form is exemplified above in 4.2 -4.6, 4.9 and 4.12. It is not necessary to exemplify all the forms set out in T4.5 but below we have exemplified some of these:

4.14 Tjupurrula - lu rayipula ngalya kati - ng - u ngayulu - na
 H&H492 name erg rifle toward bring clas past I 1sgnom

palya - 0 - ra - nytja - ku
 fix clas con noml pur

"Tjupurrula brought me the rifle so that I could fix it."

4.15 wati - ya pitja - 0 - li - nku - la - nytja - ngka nyina - na - ma
 H&H495 man 3pl go clas intrm clas con noml dpart sit clas MA

"While the men are walking around you keep on sitting here."

4.16 kampurarrpa nya - ku - li - nku - la - nytja - lu malu - lpi
 H&H497 berry food see clas intrm clas con noml erg₄ roo finally

nya - ng - u
 see clas past

"While he was looking around for berry food he finally saw a kangaroo."

4.17 ngaa - kutu miil - pu - ngku - la - nytja - lu - la
 H&H505 here to shape hit clas con noml erg₄ 1pl

ngalku - 0 - wan - pa ngalya kati
 eat clas oblig junc towards bring

"Bring it here, so that we can eat it while we are shaping
 (spears)."

4.18 paka - 0 - la yulytja tju - nku - ti - 0 - ri - nku - wa
 H&H508 arise clas imp belongings put clas unit clas intm clas oblig

"Get up and put all those belongings (which are lying all around)
 in the case."

RELATORS

H&H analyse two overlapping sets of relators, one set of which are suffixed to nominalized verbs and another which are suffixed directly to the basic action + classifier complex form. The forms are set out in the table T4.6 below.

These forms are used only in subordinate clauses or in main clauses where subordination is implied. We will not exemplify all these uses. Some of these uses are exemplified in 4.19 -4.22:

4.19 walytja - ku - 0 pitja - 0 - li - nku - tjirratja nyin - 0 - in - pa
 H&H521 relative goal 3sg go clas intm clas concern sit clas pres junc

"He is sitting there just itching to go to his own country."

4.20 kuru pampa walytja nya - ku - li - nku - 0 - nytja - tjirratja
 H&H535 eye blind himself see clas intm clas punc noml concern

nyin - 0 - in - pa
 sit clas pres/con junc

"The blind one was sitting there just longing to go round and see all his relatives."

T4.6 Relator suffixes

	nomilzd verbs	b/action + classfr
negative	pa _n i	wiya
intention	kitja	kitja
concern	tjirratja	tjirratja
characteristic	0	-payi
should	putjunu	putjunu
origin	tjanu	0
reverser	munu	0
toward	kutu	0
along	wana	

4.21 yarrkapaka mantji - 0 - ra wirrtja - 0 - 0 - nytja - kitja - lu
H&H530 secretly get clas hav hurry clas punc noml intent erg

"He (was standing there) with the secret intention of getting the money and running off with it."

4.22 yiwarra wanti - 0 - rra ma ya - nku - kitja - ngka
H&H517 path leave clas part away go clas inten dpart

"(He didn't go with him) because he was intending to leave the road and go (through the bush.)"

4.3 RE-ANALYSIS

When one considers the table of Ptpi categories and compares them with those we have discussed in our analysis of Pj (see T4.7), one could be excused for not appreciating that Ptpi and Pj are dialects of one language and are regarded as such by the speakers of those dialects. Our task in this section is to relate form and function in one dialect to form and function in the other and in that way attempt to come to some conclusions about which categories are common to both dialects and which are not.

Considering the forms of Ptpi morphology in broad terms, the key difference between it and Pj verbal morphology is the greater elaboration of aspectual distinctions. Although there is some difference in form between the two dialects in other areas of verbal morphology, it appears that it is only in the area of aspectual distinction that the semantic space expressed verbally is divided in a different way in Ptpi from Pj.

For example, the aspectual distinctions encoded in Ptpi between punctiliar and continuous action is quite absent in Pj. The Ptpi alternation /pungkuntjaku ~ pungkulanytjaku/ which encodes a punctiliar/continuous distinction between hortative forms does not occur in Pj and the second of these forms is not even a grammatical Pj form. On the other hand, it seems clear that the difference between present tense forms in the two dialects is purely formal and that the forms cover the same semantic space in each dialect.

In considering the forms and functions in specific terms, for the purpose of this study we will consider four areas:

- (i) stem classifying morphemes and the basic action suffixes,
- (ii) tense and aspect,
- (iii) mood and
- (iv) subordinating strategies.

(i) STEM CLASSIFYING MORPHEMES AND BASIC ACTION SUFFIXES

These categories provide a viable analysis of Ptpi verbs but for the purpose of this study some re-analysis is required. It is our intention to regard the basic action suffixes as compounding lexical morphemes rather than as grammatical morphemes suffixed to a root. There are four

T4.7 Grammatical categories employed by H&H and their re-analysed categories

<u>H&H</u>	<u>Re-analysis</u>
classifiers	augmented stems
basic action suffixes	compound verbs
tense/mood/aspect:	
punctiliar past	past
future	future
imperative	imperative
continuous past	MA
present	present
future	continuous future
imperative	MA
aspect: punctiliar/continuous	punctiliar/continuous
mood:	
hortative	Nom + relator /-ku/
past habitative	past habitative
subjunctive	admonitory
characteristic	characteristic
non-mood:	
projected reason	Nom + relator
purpose	Nom + relator
diff't participant	Nom + case
same participant	Nom + case
participle	participle
obligative	Nom + relator
relators:	
negative	Nom + relator
intention	Nom + relator
concern	Nom + relator
characteristic	Nom + relator
should	Nom + relator
origin	Nom + relator
reverser	Nom + relator
toward	Nom + relator
along	Nom + relator

justifications for this re-analysis: firstly, in the case of the unit action suffixes, there is a strong formal and semantic similarity to the Pj and Yank /kati/ compounds which were discussed previously. (See s3.4) (We will discuss later the intermittent action suffixes /-li~li ~-ri ~-rri/ and the intermittent unit action suffixes /-tiri ~-tiri ~-katirri ~-tiri/.)

Secondly, if we consider the relationship between the basic action category and the aspect category in Ptpi, one would not expect the unit action suffix to occur with a continuous aspect as in 4.5 above. H&H say, "The unit action (-ti) or (-kati) emphasizes an action which is accomplished once. One definite action is in focus and it is usually carried out speedily." (H&H:161). There is an inherent contradiction here that suggests the need for an alternative explanation of these forms.

Thirdly, H&H say "The absence of any basic action morpheme is significant in contrast to the intermittent continuous action, unit action and intermittent continuous unit action. Verbs are most frequently found in their normal action forms." (H&H:165). As we have said, H&H analyse an obligatory basic action category but the most frequently occurring normal action form is signalled by a null morpheme. This suggests that even if we were to reject the analysis of intermittent, unit and intermittent unit action forms as verb compounds, they should at least be regarded as optionally marked forms. As we have said, we will continue, for the purpose of this study, to regard them as verb compounds.

Fourthly, it is verb class of the basic action suffixes rather than the verb class of the stem that determines the verb class of the whole form. This is clearly seen with the imperative suffix, so that the basic action imperative forms of a wa-class verb are /pungkulirra pungkuti pungkutirirra/ for example, and not /*pungkuliwa *pungkutiwa *pungkutiriwa/ which one would anticipate since /pu-/ 'hit' is a wa-class verb. H&H choose to say that "as each new suffix is added the verb is reclassified." (H&H: 157). Both for the sake of this study and because it is less expensive in a Chomskyan sense, we choose to describe these as compounds with either an underlying form /kati-/ in the case of the unit action suffix or an underlying /-(y)a-/ "go" in the case of the other basic action suffixes as head of the verb complex.

Analysis of the basic action forms as verb compounds requires us to

explain firstly, the alternation /-ti~-ti~-kati~-ti/ for the unit action forms. This is not difficult; we are able to posit an underlying form:

STEM + NOM I + KATI

and a rule

KATI → -ti /C-

We thus have the derivation

pu + ngku + KATI → pungkuti-
 tju + nku + KATI → tjunkuti-
 tjawa + l + KATI → tjawalkati-
 kati + 0 + KATI → katiti -

i.e. the stem classifying morpheme /l/ with la-class verbs acts to prevent the elision of the first syllable of the underlying /KATI/.

We have further strong evidence for this analysis from H&H when they say: "[The allomorphs of the unit action suffix (kati)] may be used with other classes as a dialectal preference." (H&H:161). i.e. the KATI rule does not apply in these dialects.

Secondly, we must explain the alternation /-li~-li~-ri~-rri/ for the intermittent action forms. In this study we posit for each of these forms an underlying form:

STEM + PARTICIPLE + /A-/

where /A-/ is an underlying rra-class stem "go" which would give these derivations for each class:

pungkula + /A-/
 tjunkula + /A-/
 tjawara + /A-/
 katirra + /A-/

The derivation that applies at this point is the dissimilation rule we referred to in Pj (see ch 2.2, p 38). We have then rra-class stems:

pungkuli-
 tjunkuli-
 tjawari-
 katirri-

Further evidence for this analysis of the intermittent action form comes from the irregular participial forms. As can readily be seen from table T4.8 the intermittent action forms are based on the actual participles of the irregular forms, not on the participial forms implied by their verb class.

Thirdly, the intermittent unit action can be analysed as having an underlying form:

STEM + KATI + PARTICIPLE + /A-/

with a combination of the derivations for the previous two forms.

With this analysis of the intermittent unit action verbs, however, we have, firstly, to try to explain why the underlying form /stem + katirra + A-/ anticipates the la-class form /katirri/ but not the wa-, rra- or 0-class form /-tiri/ i.e. the continuant /r/ in these forms should not be generated; a flapped /rr/ would be generated for each class.

At this stage it is not possible to give an adequate explanation of this. However, we note the participial forms for unit action verbs: /pungkutira ~tjunkturira~tjwalatirra~katitira/. This suggests that with appropriate rule ordering it would be possible to generate these forms.

T4.8 Some irregular verb forms

IMPERATIVE FORM	VERB CLASS	PARTICIPIAL FORM	INTERMITTENT ACTION FORM
ngarai	0	ngarala	ngarali-
nglakulal	la	ngalkula	ngalkuli-
pitjal	0	pitjala	pitjala-
nyawal	0	nyakula	nyakuli-

Secondly, we must explain some dialectal variations with this form. H&H

say: "A dialect variation of the intermittent continuous unit action morpheme is (-ti-ngku-li) or (kati-ngku-li)." (H&H:163).

Earlier, H&H mention that "the unit action morpheme [/-ti~/~/kati/] is followed either by (0) class or (wa) class classifiers depending on the dialect preference of the speaker." (H&H:161). This implies that underlying KATI can be analysed as a 0- or wa-class verb. Bearing in mind that 0-class verbs are disyllabic and wa-class verbs monosyllabic, it is possible to see that the allomorphs /-ti~/~/kati/ could be attracted into other verb classes. We must suspend judgement on this change of class membership.

Once we accept that KATI may be analysed as a 0- or wa-class verb, under some diachronic circumstances, the occurrence of /-tingkuli~/~/katingkuli/ allomorphs mentioned above as a dialect variant of the set /-tiri-katirri/ provide evidence for our analysis because if KATI is analysed as a 0-class verb, we have the derivation

STEM + KATI + PARTICIPLE + /A-/ STEM + KATINGKULA + /A-/

Similarly, other difficulties about the occurrence of classifiers mentioned by H&H in this context are resolved: when H&H say "Depending on the speaker's dialect preference, the zero class (0) or the (wa) class classifier (-ngku) may occur between (-ti) and (-ri). The intermittent continuous form (-li) follows the (wa) class classifier" This form then /-tingkula-/ instead of being an exception is generated from our underlying form.

Again, H&H say; "The (rra) class classifier (-nku) always follows the intermittent continuous unit action morpheme." This is anticipated by the (rra) class membership of the underlying form/A-/.

The only difficulty with this analysis is the form /-katingkuri-/ which is described by H&H (H&H:163). This form is not predicted by the rules we have given above.

We have then, with considerable saving to the morphological description, relegated to the lexicon a large amount of what H&H have regarded as morphology. A further saving is the stem classifying morphemes which can now be distributed amongst the suffixes in a similar fashion to the eastern dialects with little descriptive cost.

It should be noted in passing that H&H's stem classifiers Form B result in Goddard's "augmented stem." (See s3.1) As we noted above, there are diachronic implications of these forms but on the basis of our data we are unable to draw any conclusion.

4.4 TENSE AND ASPECT

In this section we will compare the form associated with, and meaning of, categories of tense and aspect.

The only Ptpi tense/aspect suffixes that we can declare with assurance to be of the same form and to cover the same semantic space as their Pj counterparts are the past punctiliar (Pj. past perfective) and the characteristic (Pj. habitual) forms. All the examples of these categories cited by H&H are grammatical Pj sentences and H&H make the same distinction between the /-payi/ form as a verb and the /-payi/ forms as a noun on distributional grounds as was the case with the Pj forms.

An examination of the Ptpi suffixes expressing categories of tense and aspect and a comparison with Pj categories reveals that there are similarities and differences of form and category. These have been arranged in the table below (T4.9) where the columns contain categories whose forms are the same, similar or different between the two dialects and the rows contain categories whose meanings are likewise the same, similar or different between the two dialects.

T4.9 Pintupi categories of tense and aspect analysed for similarity to and difference from Pitjantjatjara categories

		FORM		
		SAME	SIMILAR	DIFFT
MEANING	SAME	past punc charactstc	fut punc	
	SIMILAR			present
	DIFFT	past cont		fut con past hab

The future punctiliar form is similar to its Pj counterpart and covers the same semantic space. The Ptpi forms are truncated in the wa- and rra-classes, which we compare in the table below:

	WA	RRA	LA	O
PtPI	-ngku	-nku	-lku	-ku
PJ	-ngkuku	-nkuku	-lku	-ku

The forms cited for Ptpi are also found in other dialects to the east of Ptpi. (For example, Heffernan reports a future tense form /tjunku/ for Papunya Luritja. (Heff:33)) In addition, the sentences containing this form cited by H&H have a semantic structure that is parallel to Pj sentences of the same or similar form.

Diachronically, it is not possible on the basis of the data currently available to decide with any certainty which form is nearer the proto-language but, as a hypothesis, it is tempting to say that the monosyllabic wa- and rra-class verbs have reduplicated the final suffix to give tri-syllabic forms for the Pj future.

The Ptpi present form is different from its Pj counterpart although they have in common some semantic space. Both forms encode the present continuous tense but the Ptpi form also encodes customary actions as 4.23 below indicates. (See H&H:170). This means that there is common semantic space shared by Ptpi characteristic form and the present form. We should also note that, while the Pj present form can encode some future actions. (See s3.1), our data is mute with respect to Ptpi.

4.23 kata - ra - latju kati - rra miilpu - ngin - pa
H&H465 chop part 1plex bring part shape pres junc

"After chopping and bringing it we shape it (into a boomerang)"

When we turn to the continuous forms, the situation is more complicated: we have one Ptpi form, the past continuous ma-form, which is a grammatical Pj form but which covers quite different semantic space and we have two other Ptpi forms, the future continuous and the past

habitulative, which are neither grammatical Pj forms nor cover the same semantic space.

Considering first the past tense forms, the Ptpi past habitulative form, while distinct from any Pj form, is clearly a re-analysis of the Pj participle and the Pj nominaliser /-nytja/. The table below gives the Ptpi past habitulative suffixes with augmented stems in the case of the monosyllabic root classes. This is remarkable and raises a question about its diachronic derivation.

VERB CLASS	WA	RRĀ	LA	0
SUFFIX	-ngkula-nytja	-nkula-nytja	-ra-nytja	-rra-nytja

At this stage, our only clue in relating the /-nytja/ form in the two dialects is that there is a semantic connection between the notion of past habitulative and the stative nature of the Pj /-nytja/ nominalisations that was discussed above. (See s3.3)

We said there that the Pj form

stem X + nytja

meant that the subject was in a state of having done X. It is not difficult to relate such a semantic structure to a past habitulative notion. This connection is, however, nothing more than a clue and we will have to leave open the question of the derivation of the form. (Quite clearly, it represents a re-analysis of the Pj forms, i.e. the Pj forms are closer to a proto-form than the Ptpi forms)

The other Ptpi form which is different in both form and function from any Pj form is the future continuous. Although it can be related to the past continuous and imperative continuous forms on the basis of surface form,

i.e. fut cont = {past cont, imp cont} + /-lpa/

there is no other evidence for their synchronic or diachronic connection than the common semantic element of continuity. Since there are other

forms expressing continuity without the /-lpa/ suffix, we cannot draw any conclusions on this basis.

Of the future continuous sentences cited by H&H (p,172-3), all would be expressed by a simple future in Pj. Indeed it is interesting to compare two sentences with parallel glosses given by H&H cited as 4.24a and 4.24b below.

4.24a timana - tjarra - lu - pula nyaku - ti - malpa
H&H475 horse assoc erg 3du see unit fut/cont

"Those two will search all around on horses."

4.24b tawuna - wana nyaku - li - nku tjupurrula - lu
H&H457 town around see intrn fut/punc name erg

"Tjupurrula will look around town"

Both sentences appear to express future continuous meanings while 4.24b expresses the meaning with a future punctiliar form. It is possible that in 4.24a the speaker is envisaging the action as on-going, while in 4.24b it is viewed as a whole. There is also the question of the relationship between the future suffixes in both sentences and the compounds /-ti-/ and /-li-/. However, the question of what conditions the punctiliar/continuous distinction in the two sentences remains but we will have to leave this question in abeyance in the context of this study due to lack of evidence.

The Ptpi past continuous form on the other hand, is a MA-form which we discussed above. (See s3.2). While we noted for Yank a marked declarative usage for this form the Ptpi counterpart is not marked in any way and the sentences cited by H&H, like 4.25 below, express unmarked, non-habitual continuous actions in the past and appear to be quite parallel to the Pj past imperfective. Stronger evidence would be provided by a Ptpi sentence that used this form to express a past continuous action as a background to a past punctiliar action parallel with the Pj sentences 3.1 and 3.2 but unfortunately our Ptpi data does not include sentences with such a semantic structure.

4.25 kulata miilpu - ngama

H&H469 spear shape MA

"He was shaping a spear"

If we divide up the declarative semantic space on the basis of the three tense distinctions and three aspectual distinctions (punctiliar, continuous habitual, continuous non-habitual), the Ptpi and Pj categories can be assigned as indicated in table T4.10 below

T4.10 The mapping of Ptpi and Pj categories on to the tense/aspect semantic space

		TENSE		
		PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
PUNCT		Ptpi past Pj past		Ptpi fut punc Pj pres Pj fut
CONT	NON-HAB	Ptpi past cont Pj past imperf	Ptpi pres Pj pres	Ptpi fut cont Pj pres Pj fut
CONT	HAB	Ptpi past hab Ptpi char Pj hab	Ptpi pres Ptpi char Pj hab	 Ptpi char Pj hab

By way of explanation, we note of the table above (T4.10), that, firstly, the present punctiliar space is empty, a present action being regarded for the purpose of this study as inherently non-punctiliar. Secondly, we note that there is only one Pj category in each semantic space, with the exception of the future spaces. (The relationship between Pj present and Pj future has been discussed above. See s3.1) Two Ptpi categories appear in the past habitual space and the present habitual space. On the basis of the data that is available it is not possible to disambiguate the Ptpi past habitative and the characteristic on one hand and the Ptpi present and the characteristic on the other. H&H cite sentences containing each form which appear to have the same tense/aspect structure and these are included below at 4.26 and 4.27.⁶

4.26 kurralka - latju kamula kati - payi yapurra
 H&H 571 long ago lplex camel take char west

Long ago in the west we used to ride camels."

4.27 Yayayi - ngka - limpa ngara - la - nytja
 H&H 485 place at ldugoal stand part past hab

"It (the caravan) used to stand at Yayayi"₃

Similarly, the sentence 4.23 above appears to have the same semantic structure in tense/aspect terms as other sentences with a characteristic form

Finally, we should note that H&H report a habitual/non-habitual distinction between the past habitative and the past continuous when they say in reference to the past habitative that it "has a past continuous meaning similar to past continuous indicative mood suffix (-ma)" and go on to point out the "the past habitative usually refers to an action which was done repeatedly over a prolonged period of time in the past, whereas (-ma) refers to an action repeatedly carried out over a brief duration of time." (H&H:202).

It is clear then that, generally, the same categories of tense and aspect are encoded by the two dialects but that there are significant differences between them in terms of the forms employed and that there are some semantic distinctions that are not preserved in both dialects.

4.5 PINTUPI MOOD

Above we have considered the declarative forms in Ptpi and their relationship to their Pj counterparts. In this section we will carry out a similar task with the modally marked Ptpi forms.

There are six of these forms in Ptpi labelled by H&H as **imperative punctiliar, imperative continuous, hortative, subjunctive and "should"**.

Of the imperative forms, H&H say "two distinct meanings 'hortative' and 'customary action' are combined under the general term imperative mood." (H&H:197) (It should be noted that H&H are here using 'hortative' in a different sense from its previous use in this study, because they are using it to describe what we previously referred to as the canonical imperative, rather than the deontically less binding meaning expressed by the English auxiliary 'should'. We will continue in this study to differentiate between the imperative mood and the hortative mood in the way we have done hitherto and also use this distinction in our analysis of Ptpi forms which express modally marked categories.)

Of the examples of the imperative forms given by H&H, all are imperative in this canonical sense, and not hortative, with two exceptions. Firstly, H&H note a declarative function for the imperative forms in reference to customary action and this is cited below at 4.28.

4.28 Yurrutumalungka - latju yanta - la - latju kati - 0
H&H565 place 1pflex pull up imp 1pflex bring imp

tjinka - nma ngalya paka - la Walawala - kutu - lta - latju
shape imp cont toward arise imp place to then 1pflex

ngalya kati - 0. ngalya kati - 0 - latju Ngamingka - latju
toward take imp toward take imp 1pflex place 1pflex

tjarrpa - tju - rra kulata
enter put imp spear

"We pull up spear trees at Yurrutumalu then we take them (sit down) and shape them continually. Then we arise and go to Walawala and carry the spears there. Then we carry the spears to Ngami and insert them there (in a cave.)"

While this use of the imperative punctiliar form has no counterpart in Pj, the use of the imperative continuous in this way strongly parallels the

marked declarative function of this form in Pj described above. (Sees 3.2) Unfortunately, H&H give only one example of this usage and it is thus not possible to draw conclusions but it is to be noted that there is a strong aspectual and modal parallel between this usage and the past continuous.

The second exception to the canonical imperative uses of these forms which we note is in the sentence 4.29a below. This is the only example given by H&H of a negated imperative form expressing a negative potential mood. This sentence with this gloss would be grammatical in Pj but would have a negative imperative reading: "Don't go to town and buy a motorcar for \$100! (I accept that it is possible but don't do it!)" In sentence 4.29b below we have rendered this negative potential mood in Pj using the particle /putu/ which is of course also a grammatical Ptpi form. (See H&H:152-3)

4.29a wiya ya - nku - la tawunu - kutu mutukayi 200 tala - ngka
H&H564 not go ??? part town to motor car dollar adj

payi - mila - la
buy loan imp

4.29b nyuntu tawuna - kutu a - nkula mutukayi putu
Pj 2sg town to go part motorcar unable

paya - mila - ni/paya - mila - lpayi 200 tala - ngka
buy loan pres buy loan

"You can't go to town and buy a car with (only) two hundred dollars."

We note then that the Ptpi counterpart to the simple imperative in Pj, while it expresses essentially the same canonical imperative, covers additional semantic space: firstly, it can express a declarative function and, secondly, it can express a negative potential mood.

On the other hand, with respect to the **imperative continuous or MA-form**, while in Pj we analysed five functions for the one category, H&H analyse two categories: the past continuous which we have already discussed and the imperative continuous form. Quite clearly, there are

problems to resolve here and as we said with respect to the Pj MA-form a more coherent picture of the semantic space covered by this form may become obvious when we considered other dialects. We will postpone this consideration to the next chapter where we will attempt a synthesis of the various categories. However, at this point we will mention the questions that must be answered with respect to the Ptpi data. They are these:

1 What are the relative merits of the H&H analysis of two categories expressed by the same form, on the one hand, and, on the other, our Pj analysis of one category with several functions?

2 Does this represent a diachronic change from the proto-language to modern Ptpi and modern Pj or is it simply the result of differing descriptive predilections?

There are four Ptpi forms that express less deontically marked categories of mood: hortative, subjunctive, obligatory and "should" and we will discuss these now.

HORTATIVE I

It is clear from the data presented by H&H that this category is formally and semantically isomorphic with its Pj counterpart which we discussed above. The Pj sentence 4.30 (3.25 in s3.2) is quite parallel with the Ptpi sentence 4.31a (4.6 in s4.2)

4.30 (tjinguru) nyuntu ngurra kutu a - nkunytja - ku
Pj maybe 2sg home all go noml goal

"(Maybe) you should go home."

4.31a nya - ku - ti - 0 - ri - nku - la - nytjaku - ya
H&H484 look clas unit clas intm clas con hort 3pl

puntu - ngkamarra
man avoid

"They should all continually look around as they go to avoid the kadaicha men."

4.31b papa - ya wana - 0 - ra pu - ngku - nytjaku
 H&H 576 dog 3pl follow clas part hit clas hort

"They should follow and hit the dog."

We observe also with the Ptpi form that it is derived from a NP in goal case with a nominalized verb (see RR1, s4.6) in the same way as its Pj counterpart so that 4.31a could be paraphrased "A desirable goal for them is that they should continually look around as they go to avoid the kadaitcha men" and similarly 4.31b could be paraphrased "A desirable goal for them is that they should follow and hit the dog." The morphological relationship between these hortative forms and subordinating forms will be examined further below.

SUBJUNCTIVE/ADMONITORY

The label 'subjunctive' implies subordination and, on the basis of the data presented by H&H (H&H:199), it is clear that the function of the mars-form is that of a main clause verb expressing an admonitory function. For the purpose of this study we will use the functional label "admonitory".

We note that an admonitory function and a hortative function are semantically very closely related: one admonishes with respect to a past action and encourages or is hortatory with respect to a present or future action but, as we said in our discussion of the hortative form in Pj, both functions have in common that the speaker is putting in the mind of the hearer what the speaker believes to be desirable action on the part of the hearer. (See the discussion of Pj mood, s3.2.) In the case of an admonitory function he is putting in the hearer's mind what he believes to have been a more desirable action than the one actually carried out by the hearer.

This analysis is borne out by a consideration of the semantic structure of the sentences cited by H&H to exemplify the admonitory form. We cited two of these above at 4.12 and 4.13 and, although the gloss for the latter does not evince an admonitory form, it would appear reasonable to rephrase the gloss more literally as "You, having gone west where many kangaroos are, should have shot some."

We should note that there are at least two hypotheses for the

cross-dialectal relationship between the /-mara/ suffix and forms in other dialects. As one tentative hypothesis, it would be possible to analyse the /-mara/ suffix as a participial form of the causative verbalizer /-mananyi/ discussed above for Pj (See s3.4) and also analysed by H&H for Ptpi. The evidence in favour of such an analysis is the formal isomorphism and the semantic parallelism of the two forms. The formal isomorphism is clear: the participial form of /-mananyi/ is /-mara/ and we have evidence elsewhere for the raising of a subordinate, participial form to a main clause form. (It should be pointed out that one of the flaws with this hypothesis is that /-mananyi/ is not in my data ever suffixed to a verb root but it is suffixed to adjective roots (see s3.4)). Semantically, there is an arguable connection between the participial form of a causative and an admonitory category. One can argue a semantic parallelism between the admonitory force of the Ptpi /-mara/ form and a causative idea; one could gloss 4.12, for example, as "We did not cause ourselves to go west and that was bad."

The second hypothesis is that the Ptpi /-mara/ form is really a formal variant of the ubiquitous MA-form. There is strong semantic evidence for this hypothesis: the same semantic space is encoded in Pj by the MA-form with the particle /uti/ which we have discussed above. (See s3.2.) However, the formal evidence is not as strong: there is no evidence for /-ra/ being used as a further suffix in any of the other dialects and, further, /-mara/ is suffixed to a different verb form, a Nom II form which we will discuss below (see s4.6).

It is clear that we must return an open finding with respect to both these hypotheses.

OBLIGATORY/HORTATIVE II

In this section it is appropriate that we also make reference to the category "obligatory" realized by the suffix /-wa(n)/ which H&H assign as a non-mood slot filler.

In our discussion of H&H's categories in s4.2, we cited one example of the use of this suffix (see 4.18) and that example appears to employ the suffix as a subordinating strategy. We will not consider these examples here but will address them in section 5.3 with other subordinating strategies.

In this section we are interested in the use of this suffix with verbs in

matrix clauses. In such clauses, this suffix encodes semantic structures which are modally marked. H&H exemplify such matrix clause use in several sentences some of which we have repeated below:

4.32a **ma pitjal - anku - wanpa - ngkun** kuka - pani
H&H506 away go go oblig 2sg meat neg

"You should have gone and followed (that kangaroo) you who have no meat."

4.32b kuka - tju wanyukakampa ma **ngalku - tingku - wa**
H&H507 meat 1sg wait away eat KATI oblig

"Wait, that meat is for me to eat."

4.32c ngaa - kutu miilpu - ngkula - nytja - lu - la **ngalku - wanpa**
H&H505 here to shape cont Nom I erg 1pl eat oblig

ngalya kati - 0
toward bring

"Bring it here, so that we can eat it while we are shaping (spears)"

Of these three sentences, two exemplify matrix clause use of the /-wa(n)/ suffix, namely 4.32a and 4.32b, and it is interesting to note that the semantico-syntactic structure of these two sentences is markedly different; while 4.32a expresses an admonitory mood, 4.32b expresses a marked declarative mood. We note, further, that the other example, 4.32c, expresses a purpose subordination. This is a remarkably disparate set of meanings to be expressed by one form. However, it would appear that it is not impossible to link the meanings because of their isomorphism with the Nom I + goal form which we discuss in s4.5 and which we have already discussed in relation to other dialects.

We analysed as an underlying meaning for these forms in both Pj and Ptpi, a hortatory mood as well as the purpose subordination and this is remarkably parallel with the usage of these /-wa(n)/ forms. H&H say of this form that its "meaning ... is paralleled by the non-syntactic purpose case (-ku)" and that "unlike the purpose morpheme (-ku) the nominaliser (nytja) does not precede (-wa)". It is quite clear that each of the above utterances can be associated semantically in the same way as the parallel Pj forms. We will return to a further consideration of the subordinating usage in s4.5 but at this stage we note that, rather than being a "non-mood" suffix, it is in fact modally marked and patterns in a very similar fashion formally and semantically to the goal suffix /-ku/.

expressing as it does a hortatory meaning in a matrix clause. For this reason we have relabelled this form as encoding a second hortative category.

UNFULFILLED OBLIGATION

The relator form /-putjunu/ labelled by H&H as "should" is of course a modally marked form as well. In the same way as each of the above hortatory forms can be derived from nominalized verb forms as we shall see in the next section, so it is that this form is derived.

On the basis of the sentences cited by H&H, it appears that the semantic force of this suffix is to express an unfulfilled obligation on the part of some third person. (It is possible that this form can be cited with a first or second person subject but our data does not include this.) H&H, as we have said, gloss this suffix as "should" because it expresses the speaker's view that, not only is the subject not carrying out action X, but this is a significant lapse of desirable and acceptable behaviour. Although the sentences below 4.33a, b, c and d are not glossed to reflect this analysis, it is quite clear that the idea of "should but didn't" can be incorporated. I have appended a second gloss to indicate this.

4.33a ngulytju nyaku - ti - putjunu pata - nma
H&H525 relation see KATI oblig wait past cont

"He was waiting there, without going to see his relatives as he should have." (H&H)

"He who should have gone around to see his relatives but didn't is waiting."(NB)

4.33b nyina - rra nyina - payi watjal - kati - rrinku - putjunu
H&H528 sit part sit hab tell KATI cont oblig

"He just sits there all the time without going around and talking to them as he should."(H&H)

"He who should go around to see his relatives but doesn't just sits and sits and sits."(NB)

4.33c palatja pulalu yu - ngkula - nytja - putjunu
H&H533 that one quickly give cont nom I oblig

"That person doesn't give quickly (when he is asked)." (H&H)

"That person should give quickly but doesn't." (NB)

4.33d kati - rrinku - nytja - putjunu - lu wanti - ngu
 H&H540 take intrn Nomi oblig erg leave past

"She should have taken the water round to all the camps but left doing it." (H&H)

It is clear that this is a subordinating strategy and it will be further discussed in the next section. In addition, it is noteworthy that this form does not occur in any of the other dialects that we have studied.

4.6 SUBORDINATING FORMS

There are three sets of suffixes analysed by H&H that are used for syntactic subordination:

- (i) the non-mood suffixes expressing categories of projected reason, purpose, different and same participant, participle and obligative (see table T4.5),
- (ii) the verb relators which occur after the basic action + classifier complex expressing the categories of negation, intention, "concern", characteristic action and "should" (see table T4.6) and
- (iii) the verb relators which occur after the nominalizing suffix /-nytja/ and express negation, intention, concern, characteristic action, origin, reverser, "should", "toward" and "along" (see table T4.6).

We note of the non mood suffixes referred to in (i) above that only one, the participial form, is unrelated to nominal forms in Pj. This form is formally and distributionally congruent with its Pj counterpart and it can be seen from a consideration of the utterances cited above 4.2 - 4.6, 4.9 and 4.13 that the Ptpi participle patterns in the same way as the Pj form which we discussed in ch.4.

We turn now to the forms that are related to the nominal forms in Ptpi and/or other dialects and we note that, on the basis of formal criteria, they fall easily into two groups, one group that suffixes to the nominalized verb form which, for the sake of ease of cross-dialectal reference, we will refer to as Nom I, as we did the corresponding, isomorphic Pj form, and a second group that suffixes to what we will refer to there as Nom II. (Because there are so many parallels between the dialects in this regard, I am satisfied that there are two, not one, nominalised verb forms in Ptpi on the basis of this data, as there are in Pj.)

Because the forms, their meaning and distribution in Ptpi are closely related to corresponding forms in Pj, there should be correspondence between the re-write rules and co-occurrence restrictions we analysed for Pj forms and such rules and restrictions for Ptpi. It is these rules and restrictions we will now consider.

Where possible, we have retained the same numbering for the Ptpi rules and restrictions as we did for the Pj rules and restrictions which we discussed above in s3.3.

RR1 $NP_{nom} \rightarrow [V_{Nom I}]_{CASE}$

RR5 $CASE \rightarrow \{Subj, Ag, Obj, Goal, Adj\}$

RR7 $NP_{REL} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} NP + REL_N / REL_1 / REL_2 \\ V_{Nom I} + REL_1 \\ V_{Nom II} + REL_2 \end{array} \right]_{CASE}$

RR8 $REL_1 \rightarrow \{-pani, -kitja, -tjirratja, -tjanu, -putjunu, -kutu, -nguru, -wana\}$

RR9 $REL_2 \rightarrow \{-wiya, -marra, -kitja, -tjirratja, -payi, -putjunu, -wa, -tjaku(marra)\}$

There are similarities and differences between the Ptpi rules and their Pj counterparts and we will discuss these now.

Looking at the rules overall, we note that we are forced to make some changes. RR2 has been deleted; in the Ptpi data there are no examples of $V_{Nom I}$ occurring as a verb in a main clause, nor have we any examples of nominalized verb phrases with arguments of any sort, or being qualified by adverbs. For this reason there is very little justification for retaining a S_{nom} node. This has, firstly, removed a need for RR6 and, secondly, necessitated revision of RR1 where we have, in addition to abandoning the NUM node which we refer to below, replaced the S_{nom} node with $V_{Nom I}$. This reflects the distributional difference between the Nom I and Nom II forms, since the former can be suffixed directly with case markers, while the latter cannot. (It will be noted that the same distributional difference evinces itself in Pj; in our description of that dialect we solved the

problem by positing CR4. This analysis obviates such a co-occurrence restriction.)

We note also that RR1 generates three of the non-mood suffixes: purpose, different participant and same participant. Forms like /pitjalankulanytjanga/ in 4.15 are generated from a stem /pitjala + ya-/ + continuous + Nom I which, with the phonological rules discussed in the last chapter, gives the $V_{\text{Nom I}}$ form /pitjalankulanytja/. RR1 operates on this form to give the structure [pitjalankulanytja]_{CASE} and, in the case of the form in 4.15, RR5 operates to generate the Adj node. Like wise the form /miilpungkulanytjalu/ in 4.17 would be generated from a stem /miilpu-/, except that RR5 would operate to generate the Ag node.

The purpose forms are generated in the same way and we analyse the Nom I forms in goal case in the same way as we did the isomorphic Pj forms: the goal of the action expressed in the main clause, in the case of 4.34 below, Tjupurrula's bringing the rifle, was it being fixed. Again the form is derived from the continuous nominal verb form of the stem /palya-/ by the application of RR1 and RR5.

4.34 tjuurrula - lu rayipula ngalya kati - ngu ngayu - lu - pa
H&H492 name erg rifle toward bring past 1sg erg 1sg

palya - ra - nytja - ku
fix cont Nom I goal

"Tjupurrula brought me the rifle so that I could fix it."

RR3 has also been deleted; there is no evidence in our Ptpi data of the Pj NPs with nominalized verbs as heads, qualified by numeralizers, as we saw in ch 4.

RR4 has been deleted. The Ptpi negating suffixes are best treated as relators, having essentially the same distribution as other relators. H&H cite three suffixes: /-pani/, /-wiya/ and /-maral/ (In addition to these relator suffixes H&H also point out that /wiya/, as a "free negative form", is used to negate the clause and the sentence (H&H:78).) We do not have examples of each of these forms being suffixed to both Nom I and Nom II forms but H&H report no difference in the distribution of any form. We will discuss the other relator forms below. To exemplify the similar patterning

of negated nominals in both dialects we have cited below 4.35a and Pj sentences 4.35b and 4.35c, which have been discussed above. (See s2.2 and s3.3). The Ptpi data does not include the suffixing of an ergative case marker to the /-wiya/ form but, as we have said above, 4.35b would be a grammatical Ptpi sentence, as 4.35a would be a grammatical Pj sentence with the exception of the /pani/ form (and the stem /marrku-/).

4.35a ngurra - ngka mama nyina - nytja - wiya - ngka
H&H71 camp adj father sit Nom I neg adj

marrkul - pani - lu wanti - 0
persuade neg erg leave imp

"Don't scold (the child) because his father isn't in camp (to console him if he gets upset.)"

4.35b pampu - l - wiya - ngku wanti - ma
Pj tjuku² touch NomII neg erg leave MA

4.35 c pampu - nytja wiya - ngku wanti - ma
Pj pulka touch NomI neg erg leave MA

"Leave it alone!"

RR5 is the same in both dialects. This involves some re-labelling of the case names used by H&H but in the context of a study of verb morphology it is not felt that this affects the analysis in any relevant way.

RR7 and RR8 have significant differences from their Pj counterparts and we have introduced a further rule, RR9. We will discuss these now, more or less as a whole because of the inter-relationship between them.

There are two reasons for the substantial differences in this area between the rules required in the two dialects. Firstly, we have already noted the abandonment of the S_{nom} node and this accounts for the introduction of $V_{Nom I}$ and $V_{Nom II}$ nodes into RR7. Secondly, we note the much richer inventory of relators in Ptpi.

In RR7, we note the suffixation of either REL_N or REL_1 or REL_2 to the NP node. This reflects the larger set of relators which can be suffixed to nouns. We have not given a rule for REL_N ; this set of relators does not concern us in this study. We note without comment at this stage that there is a problem with the REL_2 suffixation: the relator /-wa(n)/ cannot co-occur with NP and we will have to posit a co-occurrence restriction in this regard. We will discuss this anomaly further below.

The CASE node in RR7 also requires comment: whereas in Pj, we had to posit CR5 because NP_{REL} only occurs in agent or subject case, there is a much wider range of case marking for these forms in Ptpi. It is not completely clear from H&H how wide the range of case marking is; H&H say, "All nominaliser plus relator forms [i.e. $V_{Nom I} + REL_1$ forms] are followed by case..." (H&H:187). H&H also cite sentences like 4.36a - b, which exemplify the suffixation of an adjunct case marker to the /-kitja/ relator, so clearly a wider range of case marking on the $V_{Nom II} + REL_2$ forms is possible than is the case with their Pj counterparts. It should be noted that the Ptpi forms /yankukitjangka/ and /tjawalkatikitjangka/ are not grammatical forms in Pj.

4.36a yiwarra wanti - rra ma **ya - nku - kitja - ngka**
 H&H517 path leave part away go Nom II purp adj

"(He didn't go with him) because he was intending to leave the road and go (through the bush.)"

4.36b **tjawa - l - kati - kitja - ngka** nyina - laka
 H&H523 dig Nom II KATI purp adj sit 1pl₈

"Let us sit because he is going to dig"

In the absence then of conclusive data about any restrictions on the marking of case on these noun phrases in Ptpi, then, we will abandon CR5 for this dialect.

Turning to RR8 and RR9, in addition to the negating relators that we have already discussed, we note the reverser relator /-munu/. H&H say of this relator that it "is not strictly a negative, although it may be replaced by the negative relator in some contexts" but that it "gives a negative

implication to a phrase", while it "sometimes has the connotation of 'completely different'" (H&H:87). 4.37a & b give the force of the reverser as opposed to negation. The relator in this sense is not exemplified in suffixation to a verb in the Ptpi data and we have included an example of such suffixation without the full semantic force of the reverser at 4.37c, comparing it with a parallel utterance in Pj at 4.37d. We note then that this form does not occur in Pj in the full reverser sense, although the negative force of the relator is comparable.

4.37a kampa - payi paletja kapi - munu
H&H157 burn charac that one water rev

"That is entirely different from water; it burns (the mouth)"

4.37 b kutju - ngka - rri - ngu - ya kapi - munu - ngka
H&H161 one adj incho past they water rev adj

"They gathered around because of the wine."

4.37 c wanti - nytja - ku - nyurra ngalku - nytja - munu - lu
H&H158 leave Noml goal 2pl eat Noml rev erg

"You all should leave it, without eating any of it."

4.37 d nga - lkunytja - wiya - ngku wanti - nytja - ku nyurra
Pj eat Noml neg erg leave Noml goal 2pl

"You should all leave it, without eating it."

Again the admonitory relator /-putjunu/ does not occur and, has no counterpart in Pj. H&H report a dialectal alternative form for this relator, namely /-putjumunu/, from which /-putjunu/ seems to have derived by haplology.⁹ Because of its modal force, we have already discussed the semantic function of this relator. (See s4.5).

Likewise, the directional relators /kutu/, /wana/ and /nguru/ have a different distribution in Ptpi from Pj. They cannot occur in the same morphological context in Pj as they do in Ptpi; 4.38a - c are not grammatical utterances in Pj. Parallel sentences employing the /-tjitja/ forms that were discussed above (See s3.3) are possible but they have such a light functional load that analysis is difficult, let alone comparison with other dialects. Pj speakers prefer not to use such a subordinating pattern.

4.38a yukiri ngalku - la - nytja - kutu kunti - nu

H&H144 grass eat part Nom I to shoot past

"He shot at (the kangaroo) which was eating grass."

b yumari nyina - nytja - wana wiya yampu - wana
H&H164 mother in law sit Nom I perl neg side perl

pitja - nytja - ku
come Nom I goal

"You should not sit with your yumari, but you should go around the side of her camp."

c kamuru - ku - ra ngara - nytja - nguru - lu - ni
H&H148 uncle goal 3sgD stand Nom I sbl Ag 1sgD

ngalya waka - nu
towards spear past

"While he was standing at my uncle's camp, he speared me."

/-kitja/, /-tjirratja/ and /-tjanu/ pattern in the same way in Ptpi as they do in Pj tjuku-tjuku, but not in Pj Pulka or Yank. In these latter dialects, these relators can only be suffixed to $V_{\text{Nom I}}$ forms, whereas in Pj Tjuku-tjuku they can be suffixed to the Nom II forms.

Finally, we must consider the obligative suffix /-wa(n)/. In the previous section we discussed the use of this suffix in matrix clauses and here we will consider it as a subordinating form. We noted its use to express purpose in subordinate clauses in that section and, although the suffix is distributionally parallel with the Pj goal suffix /-ku/ in matrix clauses, with the subordinating usage there is much less distributional equivalence.

Apart from the subordinate clauses expressing purpose which we have already exemplified and discussed, H&H report the suffixation of various relators to the /-wa(n)/ form. It is difficult to detect with some utterances which contain these forms, how the /-wa(n)/ suffix contributes meaning to the overall utterance. Considering the examples below, 4.39-4.45, while in 4.39 and 4.40 the meaning of the suffix is arguably evident, this is by no means the case in 4.41-4.44.

In 4.39, the use of a non-restrictive relative clause in the gloss somewhat obfuscates the purposive force of the /-wa(n)/ suffix and it would perhaps

be more helpful for the purpose of analysis to gloss this utterance as "We are now living under canvas so that the rain doesn't hit us." In this way the force of the suffix in question becomes much clearer. With 4.40 it is a little less clear but it is possible to construe the /yankulinkuwapani/ as a purpose subordination: "He sat there for the purpose of not going around (each camp)."

However, with 4.41-4.42, it is very difficult to see how the /-wa(n)/ suffix contributes to the meaning in either case. If we compare 4.41 with 4.20, we note that /yankulinkuwatjirratja/ and /nyakulinkunytjatjirratja/ are very parallel forms and that the /-nytja-/ suffix in the latter form fulfils a syntactic role but the /-wa/ suffix appears to contribute little either lexically or grammatically. Similarly, with 4.42, if we compare the /nyakutirinkuwapani/ form in this sentence with the /yungkunytjapanilu/ form in 4.45, it is again very difficult to detect any lexical or grammatical role for the /-wa/ suffix.

More difficult to analyse are the forms in 4.43 and 4.44 where the /-wa(n)/ suffix seems to be redundant. In 4.43, /-kitja/ expresses the purposive meaning that we have associated with /-wa(n)/ and /-putjunu/ expresses the admonitory meaning in 4.44 which we discussed above and in s6.3.

4.39 nyina- rra wana - nin - pa - latju kaliki
H&H510 sit part follow pres junc 1plex canvas

pu - ngku - wa - munu - ngka
hit clas oblig rev adj

"We are now living under canvasses which don't allow the rain to hit us."

4.40 yanku - linku - wa - pani - 0 - 0 nyina - ngu
H&H511 go intrm oblig neg nom 3sg sit past

"Without going around (each camp) he sat there."

4.41 mutukayi - ngka kalpa - kati - ngu
H&H512 car adj climb unit past

yanku - linku - wa - tjirratja
go intrm oblig concern

"He climbed into the car with a desire to go all round the place."

4.42 mannganytju nyin - inpa - 0
 H&H515 stubborn sit pres 3sg

nyaku - ti - rinku - wa - pani
 gō unit intm oblig neg

"She is stubbornly sitting there without looking around for it."

4.43 nyarratja watjal - kati - wan - kitja ya - nu
 H&H513 over there say unit oblig inten go past

"He went over there with the intention of speaking to them."

4.44 palatja - 0 tala yungku - tingku - wa - putjunu
 H&H514 that 3sg dollar give unit oblig should

"That person should but doesn't desire to give money (to his relatives.)"

4.45 warrka - rri - ra mantji - ninpa yungku - nytja - pani - lu
 H&H529 work incho part get pres give nom neg erg

"After working he gets (money) but does not give it away (to his relatives.)"

A further point to be considered is the distribution of the /wa(n)/ suffix. We noted above that it could not be suffixed to NPs whose heads were nouns, only to those whose heads were $v_{\text{Nom II}}$. This is clearly an anomaly and challenges our analysis of this suffix as a relator because in this regard it does not pattern in the same way as the other relators. However, equally unsatisfactory is its analysis as a "non-mood" category. The set of non-mood categories posited by H&H seem to be a remainder class; the term "non-mood" does not really categorize them in any way that gives a clue to what those forms may have in common. In fact they do not have a great deal in common either semantically or formally and in this study we submit that the category requires re-analysis in the manner we are here attempting.

Our solution then to the problem that /-wa(n)/ does not pattern in quite the same way as the other relators under the REL_2 node, is to posit a co-occurrence restriction, CR8, that blocks the selection of /-wa(n)/ from REL_2 when REL_2 is chosen with NP in RR7, which we have set out formally below.

To conclude with this suffix then, we note the similarities and differences between its distribution and that of the goal suffix /-ku/. Clearly, there are some unanswered questions with this suffix which cannot be addressed in the context of this study: why does /-wa(n)/ pattern so similarly to /-ku/ when it is unsuffixed but when suffixed itself seems to carry little meaning and no similarity to /-ku/. Perhaps some of the answer to this question lies in the fact that this suffix is found nowhere else in the dialects that are the subject of this study. Perhaps further evidence from neighbouring languages will provide a clue.

A second difficulty with this analysis is the projected reason category, morphologized by the suffix to the Augmented Stem /-tjaku(marra)/. Formally, the shortened form of the suffix /-tjaku/ is almost isomorphic with the purpose form /-nytjaku/. This is not semantically unusual because it is an aversive form related formally and semantically, as we shall see, to forms in both Pj and Ngaany and the aversive category can be regarded as a negative purpose category. For the purpose of cross-dialectal comparison, we will refer to it as the aversive category from here on.

At least some of the difficulty with this suffix evaporates if we regard Ptpi /-marra/ as a dialectal variant of /-ta(w)arra/, which we discussed in chapter 2. (See s2.1). The two NPs highlighted in 4.46 and 4.47 below have Pj counterparts with the same meaning: /mantjinytjaku ta(w)arra/ and /kapingka ta warra/. There can be little doubt that, in spite of the minor formal difference, these suffixes have the same meaning and are diachronically related. We will return to this question in the next chapter.

4.46 kili - lu mantji - l - tjakumarra, tjarrpa - tju - rra
H&H89 steal erg get Nom/1 projreas enter put imp

kaliki - ngka
tent adj

"Put it inside your tent, so he won't steal it."

4.47 ruutu kutjupa - wana - latju ya - nu kapi - ngkamarra
H&H88 road another along iplex go past water projreas

"We went along another road to avoid the water."

At this stage we are left with the question of how to synchronically deal with this suffix in the context of the rules that we have established for these subordinating forms. To solve this difficulty we will take refuge in the same stratagem we employed with the obligative or admonitory suffix that we discussed above: we will relegate it to being generated by REL₂. (In this way, /-ngkamarra/ would be relegated to REL_N. (This is not the only solution, nor even, perhaps, the best one, but it will suffice for now. Perhaps we should consider positing an AVERSIVE node and a separate re-write rule to generate the surface forms.) We then block the occurrence of /-tjaku(marra)/ with non-nominalized verb NPs with the same co-occurrence restriction that prevents ungrammatical /-wa(n)/ forms.

CR6 When NP_{REL} → NP + REL₂,
 REL₂ does not go to {-wa(n), -tjaku(marra), -marra, -payi}

CONCLUSION

With respect to the three supra-categories, non-mood suffixes, verb relator suffixes and nominaliser + relator suffixes, posited by H&H to describe the subordinating strategies in Ptpi, we find that some re-analysis is required to relate them to corresponding categories in other dialects. (The categories posited by H&H and the re-analysis is presented in the table T4.7.)

Firstly, the non-mood category has to be broken up and its members distributed to either the verbal NPs in the case of the projected reason, purpose, different and same participant and obligative (or admonitory) categories or to a separate category in the case of the participles.

Secondly, by positing similar re-write rules, we have tied together the previously disparate nominalized verb and verb relators that were posited by H&H. (Equally, this analysis of Ptpi data has ramifications for a better analysis of Fj nominalized verbs and this issue will be addressed in the next chapter.)

Thirdly, although this analysis has advantages both synchronically and

diachronically, for the analysis of Ptpi verb morphology, there are two categories the analysis of which offered here would require further consideration: the obligative/admonitory category and the aversive category.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 These structures represent a slight formal departure from H&H. The departure is justified because in this way we can signify a single slot that is manifested by a filler that combines the semantic categories of mood and tense and aspect as we shall see below. (see page 85)
- 2 (p87) This table is after H&H (chart 25 on p168) which leaves a blank for the present punctiliar, although it is indicated in the following text that Ptpi evinces the present punctiliar. It would appear that, as in the case of the eastern dialects discussed above, the punctiliar/continuous distinction is lexicalized rather than morphologized.
- 3 (p90) The force of the goal pronoun, or dative, to use H&H's term, /-limpa/, does not appear to be glossed. Its usage in this way seems parallel with that in other dialects, so that it could be glossed literally as "It of us two stands at Yayayi."
- 4 (p91,92) In both 4.16 and 4.17, the suffixes /-nytja-lu/ are glossed as "nominal" and "ergative" respectively. However, it is clear, particularly in the case of 4.16 that these suffixes gloss "same participant".
- 5 (p97) This is by no means the only possible analysis of these phonological processes. It is not within the scope of this study to exhaustively discuss all analyses.
- 6 (p105) 4.27 was previously cited as 4.10.
- 7 (p 124) /maral-/ is an interesting negative morpheme; it is undoubtedly related to the Pj form /maralpa/ 'empty handed', which can refer to hunting without weapons amongst other things, but there is a clear formal and semantic connection

between it and this negating suffix

- 8 (p127) The status of the morpheme /-laka/ is unclear; it is unattested elsewhere.
- 9 (p128) Etymologically, this variant is interesting; there is a suffix, /-putju/, which occurs in Pj in only one context of which I am aware, namely in the phrase /kuka - putju/, "good hunter". This seems bi-morphemic: /kuka/ "meat" + /putju/. Perhaps Ptpi /putjumunu/, "should but didn't", is admonitory and itself bi-morphemic /putju/ + /munu/ reverser. In this case /putju/ means the reverse of that for which one should be admonished i.e. it means that for which one should be acclaimed and thus Pj /kukaputju/ means literally, one who should be acclaimed for his meat i.e. a good hunter. This analysis is enhanced by the sentences cited by H&H at 138 and 139.

CHAPTER 5 SYNTHESIS

In this chapter we will be attempting to bring together, still under the major headings of tense and aspect, mood and subordinating structures, a cross-dialectal comparison of forms and categories in a way that will enable us to make some more or less clear statements about the forms and categories that are common to all the dialects and those that are specific to particular dialects.

5.1 TENSE AND ASPECT

In the previous chapter we discussed the relationship between the forms expressing tense and aspect in Pj and those in Ptpi. We compared the forms and meanings of Pj and Ptpi categories and this comparison was expressed in the table 4.9. These comparisons were discussed and the whole semantic space which expresses tense/aspect distinctions was divided in the manner expressed in the table 4.10 which we have reproduced below at T5.1. Our task in this section is to discover where the Ngaany categories of tense and aspect fit in to this table. We will do this by comparing Ngaany categories first with Pj categories and secondly with Ptpi categories

TABLE T5.1 (T4.10)

TENSE

		PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
PUNCT		Ptpi past Pj past		Ptpi fut punc Pj pres Pj fut
CONT	NON-HAB	Ptpi past cont Pj past imperf	Ptpi pres Pj pres	Ptpi fut cont Pj pres Pj fut
CONT	HAB	Ptpi past hab Ptpi char Pj hab	Ptpi pres Ptpi char Pj hab	Ptpi char Pj hab

1 NGAANY AND PJ CATEGORIES OF TENSE AND ASPECT

Below are two tables, one, T5.2, relating forms to the semantic space that is covered and a second, T5.3, containing a comparison of the forms and meanings of categories expressing tense and aspect in Ngaany with those in Pj.

TABLE T5.2

TENSE

	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
PUNCT	Pj past Ng past perf		(Pj pres) Pj fut Ng fut
CONT NON-HAB	Pj past imperf Ng past imperf	Pj pres Ng pres	(Pj pres) Pj fut Ng fut Ng MA form
CONT HAB	Pj hab Ng hab Ng MA form Ng fut	Pj hab Ng hab	Pj hab Ng hab
EXTENSIV	Ng past perf		Ng fut
EXTENSIV CONT NON-HAB	Ng past imperf		Ng MA form

Table T5.3

		FORM		
		SAME	SIMILAR	DIFFT
MEANING	SAME	Ng past perf Pj past Ng habitual Pj habitual		Ng past imperfv Pj past imperfv
	SMLR	Ng fut Pj fut Ng distributive		Ng pres Pj pres
	DIFFT	Ng MA form -fut cont -past habitual Pj MA form -marked declrtv	Ng extensive Ng regressive	

Most of the categories in table T5.3 and their relationship to Pj counterparts have been discussed in chapter 2; we noted there that the Ngaany past perfect and habitual were formally and semantically highly isomorphic with corresponding Pj forms. (See s2.1).

We noted that, although the present tense category was formally different from its Pj counterpart, semantically it was highly parallel. (See s2.2). While we analysed some future usages of the Pj present form (see s3.1), on the basis of the data available for this study we are unable to determine such usages for Ngaany. For this reason we have regarded Ng pres and Pj pres as different in form and similar in meaning. Because there are considerable restrictions on the future use of the Pj present form we should note that the similarity in meaning is of a high degree.

On the other hand, although there was formal isomorphism between the future forms, there was considerable semantic divergence. (See s2.1). In addition to the future declarative functions in Ngaany, we noted a past habitual function. (See s2.1). This usage is egregious and cannot be related to any usage of the /-ku/ suffix in other WD dialects.

We noted the extensive category which does not bear a strong semantic relationship to any Pj grammatical category, although we did note (s2.2.4) its formal similarity with a series of compound verbs in Pj and will discuss it further below in our comparison with Ptpi forms.

Considering the other two purely aspectual distinctions analysed by Glass, the distributive and regressive categories, we note that both bear a light functional load. The distributive aspect is formally related to the Pj compounding form (participle + *waninyi*) which was discussed above. (See s3.4). For the purposes of this study therefore we will regard the Ngaany distributive aspect as a lexical rather than a grammatical meaning. We will therefore not include it further in our synthesis of grammatical categories expressing tense and aspect.

On the basis of the data presented in Glass 1980, it is difficult to relate the regressive aspect to any Pj category. Since we are not able to contrast a regressive and a non-regressive form for Ngaany and since there are only three Ngaany verbs of motion for which this category is analysed, for the purpose of this study we will regard regressivity in Ngaany also as a lexical property, not a grammatical property. It will similarly not be further included in our synthesis of grammatical categories.

In our discussion in s2.2 we postponed the consideration of the semantic structures of the forms expressing the perfective/imperfective distinction so that we could do so in the light of data from other dialects. With respect to the tense/aspect distinctions employed in declarative sentences we must ask how the Pj past imperfectv compares with its Ngaany counterpart and whether they are formally and semantically isomorphic.

It is clear from the discussion of the Ngaany perfective/imperfective distinction (G1 1980:83 et seq) that the Ngaany past imperfective form₂ is semantically isomorphic with the Pj past imperfective but formally quite different. We can see from the sentences cited below that the Ngaany form and its Pj counterpart encode essentially the same semantic space because in both sentences the two different past tense forms are in the same relationship to each other. In both cases the continuous action expressed by the imperfective form contrasts with the more punctiliar action of the simple past forms. We note, of course, that there are some

differences in the semantico-grammatical structure of the two sentences; the order of the aspects in the two sentences is different and there is a subordinate clause in the Ngaany sentence. We note further that in the Ngaany example, while /pitja-/ is not logically punctiliar, the action of coming is viewed as less extended in time than the action of sitting. In spite of these qualifications, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that both languages are employing the same morphological category

5.1 Wurrurru - ku - latju **pitja - ngu** Wurrurru - la
 611980:92 name goal 1plex come past name adj

munkarra - lta - latju nyarra ngana - ku Mulyangirrily - ku
 beyond then 1plex there what goal name goal

rurpa ma - ngara - la, palunya - ngka - latju
 road away stand part there adj 1plex

nyina - rranjtja
 sit p imperfv

"We came to Wurrurru, beyond Wurrurru there where the road to ... where? To Mulyangirrily is, there we were sitting."

5.2 palu - ru kunkunpa ngarr - ingi, waru - ngka, ka liru
 Pj3.2 3sg nom asleep lie p/imperf fire adj and ds snake

ila - rri - ngu
 close incho past

"He was sleeping by the fire and a snake came close."

When we turn to a consideration of the forms which express the past imperfective category in the two dialects we note a marked difference in surface form but a clear diachronic relationship between, on one hand, the form employed in Ngaany and Pj forms expressing other categories. This relationship was discussed above in s2.2.3. On the other hand, there is no relationship between the Pj form and any Ngaany forms.

It should also be noted that Ngaany evinces a more thorough-going perfective/imperfective distinction and that this is carried over into the subordinating forms which will be discussed below.

A further problem in relating Ngaany and Pj categories expressing tense and aspect is analysis of the declarative semantic space expressed by the MA forms in both dialects. In our analysis of Pj we noted a very restricted

declarative usage described by Goddard and the absence of such usage in my data. From the one example available it is difficult to ascribe tense and aspect to the form in Pj. (See 3.23). For this reason we have included the Pj form on the table T5.3 comparing forms above but we have not included it on the table T5.2 summarising our analysis of semantic space.

In Ngaany on the other hand the declarative usage is much more widespread. As we noted in s2.2.1, G&H describe two declarative functions for this form: a future continuous and past habitual function. We will comment further below on the status of the MA forms.

COMPARISON NGAANY AND PTPI FORMS

Below is a table containing a comparison of the forms and meanings of categories expressing tense and aspect in Ngaany with those in Ptpi. Table T5.4 Comparison of forms and categories expressing tense and aspect in Ptpi and Ngaany

		FORM		
		SAME	SIMILAR	DIFFT
MEANING	SAME	Ng past perf Ptpi past punc Ng hab Ptpi hab		Ng pres Ptpi pres
	SMLR	Ng fut Ptpi fut Ng distributv	Ng extensv	
	DIFF	Ng MA form Ptpi past cont Ng past imperfv Ptpi past hab	Ng regressv	Ptpi fut cont

It is clear from our discussion of the Ngaany past perfect and the Ptpi past punctiliar that these categories are formally and semantically isomoporphic as are the Ngaany habitual and the Ptpi characteristic.

The future categories however, are a little more problematic because of the past habitual use of the form in Ngaany which was noted above. In this

case we have the same form expressing a similar meaning

The present forms in the two dialects are quite different but there is no evidence presented by G11980, G&H1970 in the case of Ngaany or H&H in the case of Ptpi to suggest that Ngaany present and Ptpi present are anything but semantically isomorphic. (It is possible that closer analysis such as we offer of the Pj present in this study may reveal some differences; data which would permit such further analysis is not available.)

In comparing Ptpi forms with the Ngaany regressive and distributive categories, we come to the same conclusion as we did with our comparison with Pj forms. The Ngaany distributive aspect is likewise a compounding morpheme in Ptpi and we have forms such as /mirrawagingu/ in 5.3a below.

We are regarding regressivity in Ngaany as a lexical characteristic for the purpose of this study and, as we have said above, it will not be considered further.

Turning to the Ptpi future continuous, we note, as we did in our comparison with Pj categories, the absence of a specifically morphologized counterpart in Ngaany, although it will be recalled that we questioned the punctiliar/continuous opposition in Ptpi on the basis of some of the evidence put forward by H&H. As we said in our comparison of Pj and Ptpi categories (s4.4), it would appear that the Ptpi sentences with the future continuous would be expressed by simple future forms in Ngaany, as well as Pj. Therefore, although we cannot confirm with absolute certainty from our data, it would appear that both 4.24 and 4.25, copied below as 5.3b and 5.3c, would be rendered in Ngaany with simple future forms.

Further analysis is required in the case of the non-punctiliar categories where we have a curious exchange of form and function between the dialects. This refers to the function of the MA form and the [participle + -nytja] form. Although the MA form occurs in a declarative function in both dialects, the declarative functions are different for each dialect: in Ptpi the MA form expresses a past continuous function in declarative sentences, while in Ngaany it expresses past habitual and future continuous functions. There is an obvious connection between the Ptpi past continuous function and the Ngaany past habitual function, particularly

since we noted that there was quite a fine distinction between the Ptpi past continuous and the past habitual. However the future continuous function in Ngaany is difficult to relate. We have exemplified these usages in the sentences below, where 5.4a and 5.4b have the Ptpi past continuous form, 5.4d has the Ngaany past habitual form and 5.4c has the Ngaany future continuous form.

We note also the interesting parallel between the Ngaany future continuous form and the Ptpi future continuous form which we referred to above and exemplified above at 5.3b. It will be recalled that we speculated on the connection between the MA form and the Ptpi future continuous form (see s4.4) and quite clearly this similarity of form and function is some further evidence for the association of the Ptpi /-malpa/ suffix and the ubiquitous MA form.

5.3a mirra - wani - ngu kapi pulkanya ngarri - rra - nytja
H&H352 shout around past water big lie part noml

"He told all around about the great water which was lying around."

5.3b timana - tjarra - lu - pula nyaku - ti - malpa
H&H475 horse assoc erg 3du see unit fut/cont

"Those two will search all around on horses."

5.3c tewuna - wana nyaku - li - nku tjupurrula - lu
H&H457 town around see go fut/punc name erg

"Tjupurrula will look around town"

Similarly, the non-Pj [participle+nytja] form expresses a non-habitual past imperfective in Ngaany and in Ptpi a past habitual function. The Ngaany form was exemplified above at 5.1 and the Ptpi form is exemplified below at 5.4e.³ Because of the fine distinction between habitutive and non-habitutive in Ptpi, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusion but it is interesting to note that there is a parallel between the two dialects in the expression of this distinction which we have summarised in the table

T5.5 below: the [participle + nytja] form expresses the non-habituated category in Ngaany and the habituated category in Ptpi, while, conversely, the MA form expresses the habituated category in Ngaany and the non-habituated category in Ptpi. This is some evidence of semantic change. While the declarative function is almost entirely absent in the usage of the MA form in Pj, in Ptpi and Ngaany its functions have expanded to include other semantic space and it would appear that it has moved into different but related semantic space in each of the dialects. (The other, less attractive, hypothesis would be that the usage of the MA form has contracted out of a proto-language's semantic space in different ways in each dialect.)

T5.5

PAST

CONT NON HAB Ng [-participle + nytja]
Ptpi MA

CONT HAB Ng MA
Ppti [-participle + nytja]

In addition, it should be noted that, on the other hand, no real conclusion can be drawn about the diachronic change in semantic structure that is represented by the [participle + nytja] form. It is clear that this form is the result of morphological change and that it is related to the participial and nominalizing suffixes which occur across the dialects but, on the basis of the data available, it is not possible to even offer a hypothesis about why this form should evolve as a past continuous form in two of the dialects. This is certainly the case with the participial suffix, although we have mentioned that there is a continuous connotation associated with the nominalizing suffix [-nytja]. (See s3.3.2).

5.4a mingku| - tu - lany - 0 kampa - 0 - rra
H&H471 tobacco ag 1pobj 3sg heat clas part

ya|apu - ngku - ti - 0 - ma
open clas unit clas MA

"The chewing tobacco was heating us and opening our ears as we went along, (making us think clearly)."

5.4b kulaja miilpu - ngama
H&H469 spear shape MA

"He was shaping a spear"

5.4c nyina - ma - lin ngarri - ku tjintu - rri - ngkulalpi - lin
G&H17 sit MA we2inc lie fut sun incho part we2inc

kutipitja - ku kuka - ku
go fut meat goal

"We will stay here and lie down and then tomorrow we will go for meat."

5.4d tjilku - lu - lurrtju - ya nga - lku - ya ngaipurrpa - ngkula
G&H17 child ag also 3pl eat fut 3pl play part
nyina - ma
sit MA

"The children also would eat and stay there playing happily."

5.4e Yayayi - ngka - limpa - 0 ngara - 0 - la - nytja
H&H485 place adj 1duobj 3sg stand clas con phab

"It used to stand at Yayayi."

We discussed above (s2.2.4) the extensive aspect in Ngaany and in comparing it with Ptpi forms and categories there are several question to be considered. Firstly, we notice that, whereas at no stage did we considered a grammaticalized counterpart to it in Pj, there is considerable similarity of form and meaning between the Ngaany extensive category and the Ptpi intermittent action morphemes. (It will be recalled that H&H's basic action suffixes were re-analysed for various reasons as compounding lexical morphemes rather than as grammatical suffixes. See s4.3.)

We analysed the Ptpi form as

STEM + PARTICIPLE + /A-/

where /A-/ is an underlying rra-class stem "go" which is subject to certain phonological rules. As we described above (see s2.2.4), the Ngaany extensive category has this form

stem + PARTCPL + /yi/ ~ /a/ + tense/aspect/mood

There are two questions that need to be answered in respect of the two analyses: firstly, why is it necessary to propose such different synchronic analyses of the semantic structure of these two forms in the two dialects when their surface forms are so similar? Secondly, does the participial morpheme which we have analysed for both forms have synchronic or diachronic status?

In answer to the first question, it is clear that there is markedly different, though related, semantic space encoded by the forms in each dialect. In Pj it was easy to regard this form as part of lexical compounding process. (See s3.4) In Ptpi it is still possible to analyse the morpheme /A-/ with an associated meaning of "go" and therefore still as lexical process. However, in Ngaany this is not possible; what is a lexical morpheme in Pj and Ptpi is a more or less purely grammatical morpheme in Ngaany. There has been a complete incorporation of the morpheme and there is no semantic trace of a motion verb in the extensive category.

We should however make one confession; in support of our re-analysis of the Ptpi forms, we advanced the argument that it was really the morpheme /A-/ that determined the final suffix rather than the putative stem and therefore this morpheme ought to be regarded as the stem and the form as a whole should be regarded as a compound. The same argument could be applied to the Ngaany form. In defence we can point out that, in addition to the rra-class suffixes, we have la-class suffixes which we had difficulty in explaining. (See s2.2.4). This and the high degree of semantic incorporation would seem to justify our analysis.

In answer to the second question, and as a corollary to our answer to the question above, the participial morpheme has synchronic status in Ptpi but diachronic status only in Ngaany. It is clear that across the dialects there is a cline of incorporation of the participial form from the highly

independent participle discussed for example in s3.3.1, through the forms discussed in s3.4 and in s4.3 which are partially incorporated, both phonologically and semantically, to the highly incorporated Ngaany extensive forms. Clearly the Ptpi forms are towards Ngaany end of that cline.

CONCLUSION

We have presented our conclusions about the categories expressing tense and aspect in the dialects we have examined in the table below T5.6. The body of the table contains the labels of the various forms encoding tense/aspect distinctions in the three dialects and they are included in one of the areas depending on which category of tense (see column heads) and aspect (see row labels) they encode.

From this table we can conclude that there is a surprising diversity of form and of function between the dialects in this regard and that diversity is far greater than one might have expected to be the case between dialects of one language.

It is clear that although each dialect divides up the relevant semantic space in more or less the same way, there are such wide variations in certain areas that serious questions about mutual intelligibility are raised. This is particularly the case with the MA form and its various associated functions in each dialect, the re-analysed [participle + nytja] form in the dialects where it occurs and the extensive forms in Ngaany.

It should also be noted in concluding this section that our very supra-category of tense and aspect, which we adopted for reasons of descriptive ease and not because of any theoretical assumption, has proved to be somewhat problematical because of the forms which transcend its boundaries. The MA form and the [participle + nytja] form are again clear examples in this regard. The MA form encodes distinctions of mood in all dialects and the participle and /-nytja/ forms are subordinating strategies in all dialects.⁴ We will discuss the implications of this "boundary hopping" in our final chapter.

TABLE T5.6

TENSE

	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
PUNCT	Pj past Ng past perf Ptpi past		(Pj pres) Pj fut Ng fut Ptpi fut punc
CONT NON-HAB	Pj past imperf Ng past imperf Ptpi past cont-MA form	Pj pres Ng pres Ptpi pres	(Pj pres) Pj fut Ng fut Ng MA form Ptpi fut cont
CONT HAB	Pj hab Ng hab Ptpi char Ng MA form Ng fut Ptpi past hab	Pj hab Ng hab Ptpi char Ptpi pres	Pj hab Ng hab Ptpi char
EXTENSIV	Ng extensv past perf		Ng extensv fut
EXTENSIV CONT NON-HAB	Ng extensv past imperf		Ng extensv MA form

5.2 SYNTHESIS: MOOD

When we broadly survey the categories of mood that are morphologized in the WD dialects, it becomes clear that the major areas for consideration fall into three areas:

- 1 the simple imperative form,
- 2 the continuous imperative or ma-form and
- 3 other modally marked categories

Both of the imperative forms are uniform across the WD dialects. We will comment below on the semantic isomorphism encoded by the forms. In addition to these, we have a third set of modally marked categories which are by no means uniform. We will compare form and function across the dialects in the case of the more disparate categories.

5.2.1 THE SIMPLE IMPERATIVE

As we observed in our discussion of these forms in Pj (see s3.2), there is an almost complete isomorphism of form and meaning across the dialects with respect to this category.

We noted minor exceptions in each of the dialects. In Ngaany and in Pj we noted the use of the simple imperative with 1st and 3rd person singular subjects. (See Ngaany s2.1). We also observed the use of this form in Pj with some English borrowings. Similarly, in Ptpi, we noted its use to express a negative potential. Each of these exceptions can be semantically related to the simple imperative.

The only function which cannot be related to the canonical imperative is the habitual function which we noted in Ptpi. (See s4.5). It is interesting to note that Marsh reports for Mantjiltjara the category "past continuative" which is encoded by the same forms. (M:106). There is then an interesting parallel with the MA-forms which as well as encoding an imperative continuous category in all dialects also encode a past habitual or past continuative in Ngaany and Ptpi. We are not able to pursue this question in this study because of lack of data.

5.2.2 THE MA-FORM

In the previous section we discussed the declarative functions encoded by

the MA forms and the implication of a form that covers such disparate areas of semantic space. In the table below we have presented all the functions encoded by the MA forms. In this section it is sufficient for us to note that across the dialects, and in some cases within them, the MA form expresses modal meanings across most of the deontic spectrum. While the simple imperative form is the most deontically marked in most of the dialects, the MA form can be as strongly binding. (See s3.2 where we discussed the alternation between /ungamani/~ /uwani/.) Equally, the admonitory and desiderative functions described in the same section are very attenuated deontic functions and rely heavily on the semantic force of modal adverbs. (We have discussed these further below. See s5.2.3 and for previous discussion see s2.2.1 and s3.2). For that reason it is difficult in the case of these functions to determine how much of the functional load is actually carried by the MA form.

TABLE 5.7 Categories expressed by the MA-forms in WD dialects

	PJ	NGAANY	PTPI
IMPERATIVE	imperfv imp polite imp	cont comm	imp-cont
MODALLY MARKED	admonitory desiderative	admonitory desiderative	0
DECLARATIVE	marked declarative	continuous habitual future continuous regressive-command -future -habitual	past cont

The only confident assertion we can make about functions expressed by the MA forms across the dialects is that each dialect has a continuous imperative function and the deontic force is by and large less deontically

binding than the simple imperative form. This conclusion is corroborated by data from Mantjiltjarra where Marsh (M:106) reports only the imperative continuative function for the MA-form and from Papunya Luritja where Heffernan (H33-34) reports an imperative continuous function.

The analysis of the MA forms then continues to be a problem. As we noted above, with the exception of the past continuative function associated with the simple imperative form in Mantjiltjarra, the semantic isomorphism of the simple imperative forms across the dialects is complete. This is in stark contrast with the disparateness of the semantic space encoded by the MA form both within each dialect and across the dialects. This means that with some forms and categories we are able to more or less accurately describe an area of semantic space, while with others we are forced to restrict our morphological analysis to a one-to-many mapping of form on to function. This is at best an unsatisfying approximation; a more exact analysis would demand that we either posit polysemy or that we seek further data which would allow us to find the common semantic ground between the functions which at this stage of analysis appear so disparate. There is a nagging suspicion that a linguist whose first language was WD would find the problem trifling. At this confessedly incomplete stage of our analysis we are reluctantly forced to accept this unsatisfying approximation as our conclusion.

5.2.3 OTHER MODALLY MARKED CATEGORIES₅

There are a variety of modally marked forms in some of the dialects that are not encoded by the MA forms and have not therefore been discussed above. We have already noted the relationship between the Pj forms in this group and their Ptpi counterparts. (See s4.5). The Pj hortative category is formally and semantically isomorphic with the Ptpi hortative I category but there is no counterpart in Pj to the Ptpi hortative II form (/ -wa/), nor to the admonitory form (/ -mara/).

When we consider the relationship of these forms to their semantic counterparts in Ngaany, we note, firstly, that the parallel / -tjaku/ form in Ngaany cannot be used to express such a hortative category (Glass, pers. comm.) and on the basis of the data available, it is not possible to describe with assurance the Ngaany strategy in this regard. Secondly, we note that the Ptpi / -wa/ and / -mara/ forms do not occur in Ngaany.

Table 5.6 A Comparison of Non-imperative Modal Categories

PJ	NGAANY	FTPI
hortative	hortative	hortative I
0	0	hortative II
admonitory(-MA)	admonitory(-MA)	admonitory (-mara)
desiderative(-MA)	0	0
0	0	unfulfilled obligation (-putjunu)

Similarly, as we have noted (s4.5), the Ftpi unfulfilled obligation category does not occur in other dialects.

The Ftpi admonitory category, as a morphological category, has no counterpart in either Pj or in Ngaany. Both dialects use the MA form with various adverbs. We have exemplified below the various strategies employed in the various dialects to express the admonitory category. As we noted above, we regard the hortative category as a subset of the admonitory category; one can admonish with respect to either the past, the present or the future but one can only exhort with respect to the future. Therefore, of the Pj and Ngaany examples below only 5.3c is admonitory and non-hortative. 5.3a below can have either past, present or future reference (c.f. 5.3b which, being hortative, can have only future reference.) while 5.3d and 5.3e are both hortative and admonitory. On the basis of the data available it is not possible to assess whether the Ftpi admonitory category requires a purely past reference as both the examples, 5.3f and 5.3g, cited here imply.

Finally, we note that the Pj desiderative usage of the MA-form does not occur in other dialects. We are unable to make a judgement as to whether this is lacuna in the data or whether the desiderative meaning is not expressed in the other dialects.

5.3a uti wangka Yankunytjatjarra tju - nama nyiri - ngka
G6.29 clearly talk name put MA paper adj

"They should (have) put down Yankunytjatjarra language on paper."

5.3b wangka Yankunytjatjarra tju - nkunytja - ku nyiri - ngka
G6.29 talk name put Noml goal paper adj

"They should (*have) put down Yankunytjatjarra language on paper."

5.3c uti - la wilurarra a - nku wiya nyina - ma
Pj clearly 1pl west go Nom neg sit MA

"We should not have gone west

5.3d yuril - ta kulu - n ngara - ma
G&H17 space adj not stand MA

"Mind you don't keep on standing outside."

5.3e warrpu - ngkula - palka ngaltu - rri - ngama
G&H17 hurry part should sorry incho MA

"One should always be sorry straight away."

5.3f wiya - la wirrtja - l - mara yapurra mutukayi - ngka
H&H568 not 1pl hurry clas subj west car adj

"We should not have gone west in the car."

5.3g yapurra - nyurra ya - nku - la kunti - l - mara kuka pini - kati
H&H566 west 2pl go clas part shoot clas subj meat many at

"If you had gone west where many kangaroos are, you would have shot some."

5.3 SYNTHESIS OF THE SUBORDINATING FORMS

5.3.1 THE PARTICIPLE

As we have noted elsewhere in this study, there is a high degree of formal, semantic and distributional isomorphism between the participial forms in all dialects and no further comment is required by way of synthesis, except to draw attention to the diachronic development of this form in Ngaany.

5.3.2 NOMINALS

The cross-dialectal comparison of the nominal forms, however, is as complicated and opaque as the participial forms are transparent. The question we must tackle in this section is how well the re-write rules and co-occurrence restrictions analysed for nominal forms in Ptpi and Pj predict the Ngaany forms.

These categories in Ngaany are clearly related to the nominal forms in the other dialects: a category expressing cause/time, categories expressing deprivative, purposive, aversive and consequential action and an infinitive. In addition there are these negative categories that are related to the nominal forms in other dialects, bear unmistakable formal and semantic relation to those forms and are themselves, in some cases, subordinating forms: the negative, the cessative imperative, the negative future, the non-abilitive and the independent negative.

Of the remaining categories, all are either synchronically or diachronically related to the nominalized verb forms we have discussed in Pj and Ptpi. All of these categories and forms are set out in the table below. (T5.9) (This table is based on table 2.4 and shows the co-occurrence with the neutral and imperfective suffixes.) It should therefore be possible to relate these forms and categories to the re-write rules and co-occurrence restrictions we have discussed above for those two dialects.

Before we do that, we should make some general observations about what becomes obvious about the Ngaany forms and categories in the light of cross-dialectal comparison. Firstly, it is clear that there has been considerably more re-analysis between proto WD and modern Ngaany in respect of the forms that are related to the nominalized verb forms in the other two dialects than has occurred in those dialects. The clearest evidence of this comes from the traces of the Nom I and Nom II forms from those dialects.

Table T5.9 A summary of Ngaany subordinating forms (after T2.4)

	NEUTRAL	IMPERFV	FORM	CATEGORY
A	[-n]	[-ra]	-nyangka	cause/time
	[-i]	[-ra]	-tjaku	purposive
	[-i]	[-ra]	-tjaku-tarra	aversive
B	[-n]	[-ra]ny	-tja	infinitive
	[-n]	[-ra]ny	-tja-tjanu	consequential
	[-i]	[-ra]nytja	-kitja	purpose
	[-i]	[-ra]nytja	-kitja-munu	neg future
	[-i]	0	-tjarra	cessative
	[-i]	0	-payi	habitual
	[-i]	0	-tjirratja	deprivative

NOTE:

(1) The square brackets in this table represent the suffixes of all classes, even though the suffix of only one class is contained therein. For the complete set of class 20 suffixes consult table T2.2.

(2) Group A forms have a diachronic relationship only to forms in other dialects and group B forms have a synchronic relationship with forms in other dialects.

Secondly, in addition to these traces, there is justification for positing the Nom I and Nom II forms as categories in modern Ngaany, albeit with different distribution from the other dialects. As we shall see, this associates morphological facts that will assist the presentation of a

coherent picture of WD morphology both synchronically and diachronically.

If we consider the rules that we have posited for Pj and Ptpi, we see that some of the Ngaany forms are generated but not all. We will consider the rules that we posited individually and examine which forms they predict for Ngaany.

The rule RR1, in the form that we posited it for Ptpi i.e.

$$NP_{nom} \rightarrow [V_{Nom}]_{CASE}$$

predicts the la-class forms set out in the table below.

Table T5.10 Comparison of la-class forms generated by RR1 and related Ngaany forms

	NEUTRAL	IMPERFECTIVE
SUBJECT _i	mantjinytja (- anya)	mantjiranytja (-anya)
OBJECT	mantjintja	
AGENT	mantjinytja - lu	mantjiranytja - lu
GOAL	*mantjinytja - ku mantjiltjaku	mantjiranytja - ku mantjiratjaku
ADJUNCT	*mantjinytja - ngka mantjinyangka	mantjiranytja-la mantjiranyangka

In plain text are the forms generated by RR1 and * represents the ungrammatical Ngaany forms, underneath which are the grammatical Ngaany forms in bold type.

It appears then that, with respect to the neutral forms, in spite of the obvious formal similarity, we cannot really say that RR1 generates any of the Ngaany forms. It may be possible to propose phonological rules that would generate them, but the surface forms would be too far removed from the underlying forms that we would be forced to posit for us to be confident of the validity of such rules. In fact the wa-class forms that we have tabulated below give an even more gloomy picture in that regard; there is no trace of the initial nasal from the Pj suffix /-nytja/.

Table T5.11 Comparison of wa-class forms generated by RR1

	NEUTRAL
SUBJECT	pungkunya
OBJECT	pungkutja
AGENT	pungkuntjalu
	pungkutjalu
GOAL	pungkuntjaku
	pungkutjaku
ADJUNCT	pungkuntjangka
	pungkunyangka

On the other hand, the imperfective forms are well predicted by this rule. In addition to the core cases, both non-core cases are exemplified below at 5.4a and 5.4b

5.4a ngayu - lu - la ninti - la Tjiitja - nya wana - lpayi - ku
1sg nom 1pl give imp Jesus abs follow hab goal

Tjuturutjalama - la nyina - rranjtja - ku
place adj sit past cont goal

"Let us give money to Jesus' followers at Jerusalem."

5.4b tjillku tjii munga - ngka yula - rranjtja - la kuluny - tja
child there night adj cry past cont adj small adj

wangka - ngu
talk past

"He talked to the little child who was crying all night."

Turning to the other re-write rules, we note that RR2, RR3, RR4 and RR6 do not apply for Ngaany for the same reasons that they did not apply in Ptpi.

RR5 does not apply in Ngaany because, as we discussed above, although there are vestiges, there is no evidence that there is a complete set of

cases for nominalised forms.

On the other hand, RR7 clearly does apply. As for Ptpi, there is a set of relators, REL_N , that cannot be suffixed to NPs with nominalized verbs. Likewise, there are two further sets of relators, REL_1 and REL_2 , that are suffixed in the same way to the same nominalized verb forms, Nom I and Nom II, as they are in the other two dialects. These have all been discussed in chapter 2 where the negating category (/ -maal/, / -munu/ and / -tjarra/), the consequential category /tjanu/, the purposive category /-kitja/, the deprivative suffix /-tjirratja/ and the characteristic suffix /-payi/ were all discussed and exemplified. It should also be noted that the rule RR7 that we have posited for Ngaany differs from this rule in Ptpi in that we have eliminated the CASE node; our Ngaany data does not indicate the sort of case marking which is evident in Ptpi.

These rules are summarised in this way:

- $$RR7 \quad NP_{REL} \longrightarrow \left(\begin{array}{c} NP + REL_N / REL_1 / REL_2 \\ V_{Nom I} + REL_1 \\ V_{Nom II} + REL_2 \end{array} \right)$$
- $$RR8 \quad REL_1 \longrightarrow \{ -maal, -munu, -tjanu, -kitja \}$$
- $$RR9 \quad REL_2 \longrightarrow \{ -kitja, -tjirratja, -tjarra, -payi \}$$

So that, for example the consequential form /nyakunytjatjanu/ in 2.19a would be the manifestation of the NP_{REL} node and we analyse /nyakunytja/ as a NomI form₆ and /tjanu/ as the member of REL_1 .

With respect to negation, we noted in chapter 2 that the morphological and syntactic patterns expressing negation were the same in both Ngaany and Pj although there is a formal difference between the actual suffixes used. This anticipated the pattern we have found repeated in Ptpi except that the suffixes themselves are formally isomorphic but there are these relatively minor differences to note. Firstly, Ngaany /-maal/ is clearly cognate with Ptpi /-marai/; a phonological rule allowing elision of an intervocalic continuant rhotic is well motivated: c.f. Pj pu|ka /purunypa/ > Pj tjuku-tjuku /piinypa/, for example. Secondly, there has been some

semantic reanalysis of the Ptpi reverser /-munu/. Although we noted the Ptpi use of this suffix to express simple negation, H&H reported its expressing that a quality or an action was reversed, or the opposite of it was referred to. This sense is not evident in the Ngaany data.

To summarise the extent to which the re-write rules generate Ngaany forms, we note:

(i) RR1 does not synchronically operate in Ngaany. Although it would generate some of the imperfective forms because of their isomorphism with Ptpi forms, it does not generate the neutral forms.

(ii) A form of RR7, RR8 and RR9 apply. It is clear that there is strong isomorphism between the dialects with respect to the suffixing of relators.

It is clear then that we have two groups of subordinating forms in Ngaany: those that are synchronically such nominal forms and those that are only diachronically related to such forms. The former are included on our table above at T5.9 in the group B and the latter in group A.

5.3.3 SOME COMMENTS ON THE DIACHRONIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE NOMINAL FORMS

It will be recalled that in chapter 2, where we were first struck by the differences between Ngaany and Pj with respect to these forms, we reserved some questions about their surface forms, their diachronic development and the semantic structures encoded by them. (See s2.2). We will re-state these questions slightly in the light of our consideration of data from other dialects apart from Pj: firstly, are the Ngaany nominal forms phonologically cognate to those in the other dialects? Secondly, can we analyse the process of diachronic change that has taken place? Thirdly, how divergent are the semantic structures encoded by these forms?

Our answer to the first question is that unquestionably they are phonologically cognate. From our consideration of the forms generated by RR1 and the close relationship between them and modern Ngaany forms it is clear that the nominal forms in all dialects are related.

With respect to the second question, on the basis of data that is available, it is possible only to give a very tentative hypothesis which posits proto

forms and hypothesizes diachronic changes. One possible hypothesis has been considered below.

With respect to the third question, our answer is that there is really very little semantic divergence. Each of the cognate Ngaany forms encode essentially the same meanings as their dialectal counterparts.

Let us consider then our hypothesis of proto nominal forms and diachronic phonological and semantic change.

Hypothesis 1 There is a proto-form *-ntja.

Hypothesis 2 There is a proto-form *-nytja.

Hypothesis 3 There is a proto-form *-tja.

We reject the first and the second hypothesis because, although /-nytja/ has synchronic status as a morpheme in some of the dialects, as we have already commented, the adjective forming suffix /-tja/ and its allomorphs occurs more widely and would seem to underly the /-nytja/ suffix.

Equally, we can posit with confidence two proto-nominalized verb forms, *Nom I and *Nom II. This is well motivated because two nominalized verb forms occur in all the dialects we have examined and in some of those dialects they are alternative forms.

*Nom I and *Nom II forms are set out in table T5.12 (It will be observed that the *Nom I forms are a very tentative hypothesis but positing some nasal N as the final segment of the *Nom I form seems the most appropriate means of pursuing this hypothesis.) We are assuming that both these forms were able to take case marking and a set of relators and negating suffixes.

Table T5.12 Proto-forms of nominalized verbs

verb	*Nom II	*Nom I
class		
1a	*mantjiI - (tja) + CASE + NEG - REL ₂	*mantjiN - tja + CASE + NEG - REL ₁

0	*kati - (tja) + CASE + NEG - REL ₂	*katiN - tja + CASE + NEG - REL ₁
rra	*anku - (tja) + CASE + NEG - REL ₂	*ankuN - tja + CASE + NEG - REL ₁
wa	*pungku - (tja) + CASE + NEG - REL ₂	*pungku - tja + CASE + NEG - REL ₁
	*REL ₁ (maal, munu, wiya, tjanu,...)	
	*REL ₂ (-kitja, -tjirratja, NEG,...)	

Table T2.13 Modern Ngaany forms related to proto-nominal forms
(after G&H:21)

	Ng PERF 1	Ng PERF 2
la	mantji - l - kitja - tjirratja - tjaku	manti - n - nyangka - tja - tjanu - maal
0	kati - 0 - kitja - tjirratja - tjaku	kati - ny - nyangka - tja - tjanu - maal
rra	a - nku - kitja - tjirratja - tjaku	a - nku - n - nyangka - tja - tjanu - maal
wa	pu - ngku - kitja - tjirratja - tjaku	pu - ngku - n - nyangka - tja - tjanu - maal

If we consider then the modern forms of Ngaany in table T5.13, we see that these changes have occurred between proto-WD and modern Ngaany:

- (i) *Nom II lost all its case markers except the goal case marker. (This is the weakest part of the analysis because we have no other evidence of Nom II suffixed with /-tja/ + CASE apart from these /-tjaku/ forms in Ftpi and Ngaany.)
- (ii) *Nom II which could be suffixed optionally with /-tja/, retained the goal suffix /-ku/ which became the modern future form.
- (iii) *Nom II lost NEG suffixes (and probably other relator forms) which were retained in other dialects.
- (iv) *Nom I retained all its case markers except the goal.
- (v) *Nom I may have lost other relator forms, but those included in REL₁ have been retained.
- (vi) Proto-suffix N is realized in the following ways in modern Ngaany:

LA	N	→	/n/
0	N	→	/ny/
RRA	N	→	0
WA	N	→	0

These changes have occurred to the proto-forms to give the forms of modern Pj:

- (i) Pj retained all the *Nom I case markers and N was regularized to /ny/ in all dialects.
- (ii) There were some changes to REL₁, some relators may have been lost,
- (iii) All traces of the suffixing of /tja/ + CASE were lost.

The same changes occurred in Ftpi, although there were differences

between that language and Pj in the relators that were lost and retained. (See s3.3.3.2 and s4.6 for the sets of Pj and Ptpi relators.)

Ptpi, unlike Pj, retained the vestige of the Nom II + /tja/ + CASE with the /tjaku(marra)/ form. This has been re-analysed in Ptpi and Ngaany as a relator and, of course, is a member of REL₂.

Regardless of the merits or otherwise of this hypothesis of the diachronic development of the modern nominalised forms, which, as we have said, has some weaknesses, there are some clear diachronic processes which are best described generally and which we will discuss by way of conclusion.

There has been extensive re-analysis of various forms in all dialects but the re-analysis has operated in different ways in different dialects. This is particularly observable with the subordinating forms but it is not of course restricted only to them.

One of the strengths of the above analysis of the subordinating forms is the clear, thorough-going evidence for the existence of the proto-nominals. Whatever problems there may be with some of the details of this analysis, there can be no doubt about the synchronic and diachronic validity of positing these two nominal forms; both proto nominal forms can be unquestionably detected in all modern dialects and there are some synchronic clues to the diachronic process of re-analysis of these forms. As we discussed above, the Nom I form /-nytja/ has been re-analysed with the cross dialectal participial form in both Ptpi and Ngaany to express a continuous meaning (-ranytja, -rranytja, -nkulanytja, -ngkulanytja) and the Nom II form has been re-analysed to form the future tense form across the dialects (-lku).

The other area of WD verbal morphology where there has been considerable re-analysis is with the participial forms. On one hand, the participial category is one of the most uniform across the dialects but, on the other, as we noted above, it has also been re-analysed to express a continuous meaning with the Ngaany imperfective and extensive aspects, as well as taking over the Ngaany present tense category, and in Ptpi the participial form of /kati-/ expresses aspectual distinctions as we discussed above.

(Sees 4.3).

Two other interesting examples of re-analysis of the participial form to form a present tense are reported in two westerly dialects of WD. Douglas (1964:140) reports the forms for the present tense in the Mt Margaret dialect which are presented in the table T5.14 below and Glass (pers. comm.) reports the north west Ngaany forms.

Table T5.14 Present tense forms in the Mt Margaret and NW Ngaany dialects

verb class	Mt Margaret	NW Ngaany
la	wakaranyi	watjaranyini
o	wangkarranyi	wangkarranyini
wa	pungkurranyi	pungkulanyini
rra	tjunkulanyi	tjunkulanyini

Both sets of forms are based on the WD participial forms with the interesting variant of the /pungkurra-/ form in the Mt Margaret data. (A possible explanation here is that the wa-class stem has been re-analysed as di-syllabic and included with the o-class.) Further the present tense suffix has been regularised in both sets of forms.

FOOTNOTES

1 (p137) Obviously it would be of interest to compare compounding strategies in the two dialects but such a topic is beyond the scope of this study.

2 (p137) Glass1980 refers to this form as the realis₁ past imperfective non-extensive form. In this study we have not discussed the realis/irrealis distinction employed in Glass1980. For the sake of comparability between the dialects we have used the categories from G&H where the realis/irrealis distinction was not employed. Although we have used the extensive label for the Ngaany form, it is not necessary to refer to the unmarked past imperfective as non-extensive; because of the light functional load of the extensive forms, it is clear that such forms must be non-extensive. Below is a list of the labels used in each of the relevant studies where they have been changed:

Glass 1980	G&H 1970
present study	
aversive	preventative reason/reason
background clause	location-destination tagmeme manifested by <u>-nyangka</u>
circumstantial clause	manner tagmeme manifested by clause marked by <u>-tja</u>
customary mode (Irrealis general forms)	habitual
deprivative	unfulfilled desire
extensive aspect	intensive continuous verb
imperfective irrealis general perfective	continuous (usually) future
irrealis general & modal imperfective	potential
irrealis modal perfective	command
prospective	imminent
purpose clause	benefactive tagmeme manifested by clause marked by -tjaku or manner tagmeme manifested by clause marked by -kitja (lu)
realis past imperfective	past continuous
realis past perfective	past

- distributive
- regressive

(After Appendix V, Glass 1980.)

3 (p142) In this context it is interesting to note 5.3a above where the use of /nyinarranytja/ is subordinate to the matrix verb /mirrawaningu/. Clearly the morphological status of the suffix /-nytja/ is strongly parallel to its use in nominalized clauses in Pj which we have described above and it is a matter of concern that our analysis of subordinate forms in Ptpi should generate such forms.

4 (p146) We perhaps should nominate the habitual and characteristic forms as ones which transcend the boundaries of the supra-categories which we set up initially; the distribution of this form as a verb form expressing habitual aspect and as a subordinating form is sufficiently uniform for it not to be a descriptive problem. However, we do note that the polysemy we have posited for this form (see s4.1) forces us to leave open the question of the diachronic development of this polysemy and further information in this regard may be available from other dialects and neighbouring languages. Such considerations are beyond the scope of the present study.

5 (p150) In this section we use these terms with these meanings:
 "desiderative", a category expressing a mild desire on the part of a speaker that a particular action should occur, or not occur, in the future;
 "hortative", a category expressing a desire on the part of a speaker that a particular action should occur, or not occur, in the future;
 "necessitative" which is a category expressing an overwhelming desire on the part of a speaker that a particular action should occur, or not occur, in the future;
 "admonitory", a category expressing a desire on the part of a speaker that a particular action should occur, or not occur (regardless of tense).

6 (p158) There is little to choose between the label "infinitive" and "V_{Nomi}"; we have retained "V_{Nomi}" here because it indicates the cross-dialectal parallelism, even though the form does not take the same set of case markers in Ngaany as it does in the other dialects.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

We commenced this study with two objectives: firstly, to describe a set of grammatical categories that would enable the comparison of WD with neighbouring languages, and, secondly, to reflect on the nature of grammatical categories. In this chapter we will assess the extent to which we have been successful in attaining these objectives.

When one considers the range of categories, it is clear that there are several degrees of comparability. At one end of the spectrum there are the categories that evince a high degree of formal and semantic isomorphism like the simple imperative, the participle and the past perfect categories. At the other end of the spectrum are categories like the Ngaany extensive aspect and the Ptpi intermittent action compounds to which they are related. (See s5.1 for discussion.) In between are the forms that evince some formal or semantic isomorphism. All the verbal categories are set out in the table T6.1 below. This somewhat subjective separation of the categories requires some justification. This is particularly the case for the categories which we have deemed to have a medium degree of cross-dialectal isomorphism. The categories for which there is either a high or a low degree of formal and semantic isomorphism really require little further justification, their status in this regard having been established by argumentation elsewhere in this study.

Table T6.1 Formal and semantic isomorphism of WD verbal categories

degree of formal and semantic isomorphism		
high	medium	low
past	present	Ptpi future continuous
habitual/characteristic	MA-form	Ngaany extensive
future	past imperfective	Ptpi hortative (-wa)
simple imperative	hortative (-nytjaku)	Ptpi admonitory (-mara)
participles	nominals and relators	

Looking then at these categories, we note that the present category has a high degree of semantic isomorphism across the dialects but that there is a different form in each dialect. Similarly, the past imperfective category has various forms across the dialects but the semantic space encoded by these different forms is very similar.

With the other categories in this group, the MA-form, the hortative and the nominals and relators, the opposite is the case: there is a high degree of formal isomorphism but a low degree of semantic isomorphism. As we have seen, the MA-form encodes a quite bewildering array of semantic space.

With respect to the nominals and associated relators, it is one of the strengths of this study that the patterning of the nominals and relators across the dialects is tied together together into a relatively coherent framework which enables the dialectal variations to be seen as either re-analysis of earlier forms or as forms which can be generated from underlying structures, rather than as disparate phenomena.

We have included the hortative category in this group although its membership is a little more problematic. It could equally well be regarded as the desubordination_j of a nominal form. We noted above the isomorphism between the Pj and Ptpi hortative categories.

There are several observations to be made on the basis of the foregoing: firstly, there is no single set of categories that will suffice for all dialects. Most of the categories with a low and medium degree of isomorphism in table T6.1 prevent that for different reasons in the case of different categories. There seem to be two diachronic forces at work: one is the re-analysis of already existing forms, particularly the participial form, and the other is areal diffusion. The present and the past imperfective categories are the result of re-analysis of different forms within the WDL, as are the different functions of the MA-form. On the other hand, the Ptpi future continuous, hortative (-wa) and admonitory forms seem to have been borrowed from elsewhere. (It is possible that they were lost in all the other dialects but this seems a far less attractive hypothesis.)

The only exception to this seems to be the nominals and relators which, as we have seen, obey a set of rules across the dialects, even if there is

some variation in surface form.

We have attempted to portray in the table T6.2 the source of the variations across the dialects. Predictably the categories which evince the highest degree of formal and semantic isomorphism are deemed as common to all dialects and the categories which evince the least isomorphism, with the exception of the Ngaany extensive, are hypothesized as being the result of areal diffusion.

Table T6.2 Categories by source of variation

common	re-analysis	areal diffusion
past	present	Ptpi future continuous
habitual/characteristic	MA-form	Ptpi hortative (-wa)
future	past imperfective	Ptpi admonitory (-mara)
simple imperative	nominals and relators	
participles	Ngaany extensive	

A further observation that should be made at this stage is that the categories of tense/aspect, mood and subordinating forms have proved to be essentially a descriptive convenience and not to be generally valid in any thorough-going grammatical sense. There is too much evidence of forms crossing over the boundaries between these categories for them to be able to claim any grammatical validity. The clearest example of this is the MA-forms which cross over from the mood category to the declarative tense/aspect category.

The only distinction which would seem to be well motivated seems to be that between the subordinating and non-subordinating forms. Although some forms have been re-analysed across this boundary diachronically, as in the case of the participle and the nominal /-nytja/ suffix, and although it is often difficult to work out why the re-analysis has occurred, there

is, as we have discussed in the relevant section of this study, always a clear, well-motivated test for the re-analysis at any synchronic state of a dialect i.e. is the form able to stand alone in a sentence? (See, for example, ch 2 for the discussion of the Ngaany present.)

This brings us to the second of our general concerns in this study and that is the question of the relationship between grammatical categories and the linguistic forms. Given that the objective of linguistic analysis is the description of the native speaker's categories, we are forced to confess partial failure. The analytic basis of this study has been that we set up one category for each form; where there is a well-motivated reason for doing so we set up more than one category for each form. For example, the /-nytja/ suffix as a nominaliser is a different category from its past imperfective usages in Ptpi and Ngaany.

What we have deemed to be unacceptable has been the attribution of various, unrelated functions to one form and lumping them all together in one category; but this is precisely what we have been forced to do in the case of the MA-forms. In s5.2.2 we analysed at least six functions for the MA form. Clearly, it would be descriptively inconvenient to set up a separate category for each function of the MA-form. Our conclusion therefore is that on the basis of the data available we are forced in the case of this category to conclude with the approximation of a description of the various functions performed by the MA form in the belief that further data will enable us to set up a category that will tie together the various functions in one. (The device of labelling the MA form on the basis of the central function of continuous imperative is simply a descriptive convenience and cannot be regarded as theoretically acceptable.)

The final issue to be considered is the direction of further investigation. This study has been restricted in various ways; although my initial interest was a grammatical comparison of the two languages spoken in my electorate, it was decided to restrict the study to verbal morphology. Initial investigation showed that a further restriction to WD data would provide a more than ample field of endeavour and throughout the course of this study it has been necessary to further restrict the direction and not follow down certain by-ways that appeared alluring.

Apart from the questions that have been asked and not answered in the body of the study, it would amplify this study if consideration were to be given to the languages bordering on WD, of which of course Aranda is one.

It would be most interesting to find how the verbal categories in these languages compare with those of WD. Looking at Walmatjari, Jaru or Waripiri for example we may find traces of the Ptpi forms that we hypothesized were the result of areal diffusion.

Another direction for further study would be closer consideration of the semantic structure of the categories in various dialects. Such investigation may, for example, yield a more satisfactory description of the category or categories expressed by the MA-form.

FOOTNOTE:

1 (p167) "desubordination" refers to the propensity in some Australian languages for a subordinating form to be raised to the status of a matrix verb. Evans refers to this in his study of the language of the Bentinck Islanders of North-West Queensland. A further example of it amongst the WD dialects is the desubordination of the /-kitja/ form in Ngaany. G&H (see G&H:23) analyse a negative future category and an imminent category which is encoded by a nominal + /-kitja/ form.

TEXT

This is a section of a text spoken by Maurine Kunari about her life as a child in the vicinity of what is now Angas Downs Station. The text was recorded in July, 1980.

1

ngayu-lu kuwarri wangka-nyi ngayu-lu waaka-rri-payi-ngku,
1sg erg now say pres 1sg erg work incho hab erg

tjakumunu-ngku * ngayu-ku ngunytju, ngayu-ku mama nganana
stockman erg 1sg goal mother 1sg goal father 1pl nom

Walara-la nyina-payi titutjarra. walpala panya ... ngana-la?
place adj sit hab always whitefeller that which adj

Litula-la. munu-la tjiyipi kanyi-lpayi, tjiyipi tjuṭa-la
name adj andss 1pl sheep care for hab sheep many 1pl

kanyi-lpayi, munu-la kapi kutu ngalya kati-payi. yaata-ngka
care for hab andss 1pl water to towards carry hab yard adj

tjarrpa-tju-nkula ngurra-kutu a-nkupayi munu-la mayi
enter put part home to go hab andss 1pl non meat food

mantji-lpayi tiyitji-ngka, tiyitji-ngka nganana-nya u-nkupayi,
get hab dish adj dish adj 1pl acc give char

puriyiti tjuṭa kunti-ra, tjapa panya, ngalku-nytja-ku.
bread many cook part supper that eat nom goal

I will now tell the story about when I used to work as a stockman. My mother, my father and I used to live all the time at Walara. With ... what was that whitefeller's name? With Liddle. We used to look after the sheep. We used to look after a lot of sheep and take them to the watering point. We'd put them in the yard and then go to our place where we got some food in a dish. We used to be given bread (freshly) cooked for supper, to eat.

2

munu-la munga winki kutjupa ala-ra kati-payi, tjiyipi tjuṭa
andss 1pl night complete another open part carry hab sheep many

ukiri-ku, ukiri u-ngkul-i-nkupayi. tina-la ngalku-payi,
grass goal grass give part go hab dinner 1pl eat hab

ukiri-ngka, ukiri tjuṭa-ngka kanyi-ra, ngurra kutjupa-ngka.
grass adj grass many adj care for part place different adj

munu-la piruku kati-payi antjaki, ukiri kutu. yaata tju-nkula-la,
andss 1pl again carry hab (see note) grass to yard put part 1pl

yaata parra tju-nkula, ngayu-ku mama-ngku yaata palya-ra
 yard around put part 1sg goal father erg yard make part

tjiyipi tjuta tjarrpa-tju-nkupayi, yaata-ngka. munu-la
 sheep many enter put hab yard adj andss 1pl

ngarri-rra paka-ra, wali kutu kati-payi, ngurra kutu.
 lie part stand part house to carry hab place to

The next morning we would open (the gate) and take all the sheep to grass; we would move them about to grassy places. We used to eat dinner out on the pasture, looking after them on different grassy patches. And again we would take them away camping out from the station to grassy places. We'd build a yard, a round yard, and my father, when he'd finished building the yard would put the sheep inside. Then, having slept, we'd get up and take the sheep back to the homestead, back home.

ka tjilpi Litula-nya ngurra-ngka nyina-payi. Nginytja-ku
 andss old man Liddle abs place adj sit hab name goal

ngunytju, Tunula-nya ngana-ku panya? Kilpina ... ngana-ku?
 mother name abs who goal that name who goal

Dixon-ku paapa tjana nyina-payi ngurra-ngka, ngurra-ngka-ya
 name goal father 3pl sit hab place adj place adj 3pl

waaka-rra-payi, ka nganana tjiyipi kati-payi ngayu-ku
 work incho hab andss 1pl sheep carry hab 1sg goal

mama-ngku, ngayu-ku ngunytju-ngku pula ukiri, ukiri kutu
 father erg 1sg goal mother erg 3du grass grass to

kati-payi, ukiri wiya-ngka. munu-la piruku a-nkupayi, ngurra
 carry hab grass no adj andss 1pl again go hab place

kutjupa kutu kati-payi. kapi panya punka-nya-ngka-la
 another to carry hab water that fall nom adj 1pl

a-nkupayi, ngurra kutjupa-ngka ukiri pulka kutu kati-payi-la.
 go hab place another adj grass big to carry hab 1pl

Old Liddle used to stay at home. Nginytja's mother, Donald, whose? Kilpin's? ... whose? Dixon's rather, and those people, used to stay and work at the homestead but our people, my mother and father, we used to take the sheep about. They used to take them to well grassed places when there was no grass (near the homestead). We would all go again and take (the sheep) to a different place. When the rain fell we would go to the grassy area in a different place.

nyina-rra nyina-rra-la tjilpi-nya nya-ngu, ka tjilpi-nya
 sit part sit part 1pl old man abs see past andss old man abs

ngayu-ku mayutju Andrew-nya. nyina-payi. ngana-la? Irawa-la.
 1sg goal boss name abs sit hab which adj name adj

palu-ru Irawa-la nyina-payi ka ngayu-lu palu-la-ita
 3sg nom name adj sit hab andds 1sg nom 3sg adj then

waaka-rri-payi, tjiyipi wanti-rra.
 work incho hab sheep leave part

After we'd stayed for quite a while, we saw that old man. That old man, my boss, Andrew, used to stay ... where was it? At Irawa. He used to stay at Irawa and I gave the sheep work away at that stage and used to work there.

5

munu-na tjakumunu a-nkupayi ngali, kungkawara tjuku-tjuku,
 andss 1sg stockman go hab 1du young woman small

ngana-nya? Glady Cartwright-nya, palu-ru ngali nyina-payi
 who abs name abs 3sg nom 1du sit hab

munu ... ngana-nya? palu-mpa cousin, ngana-nya? Joan-nya.
 andss who abs 3sg goal cousin who abs name abs

palu-ru nganana-la waaka-rri-payi, a-nkupayi, ngali a-nkupayi
 3sg nom 1pl 1pl work incho hab go hab 1du go hab

puluka tjuta ngalya kati-payi, puluka aapa, mankurrrpa. puluka
 bullock many towards carry hab bullock half few bullock

mankurrrpa palu-mpa ngara-payi. palu-la nguru-li ngarri-payi,
 few 3sg goal stand hab 3sg adj from 1du lie hab

kulpi-ngka-li tjarrpa-ra ngarri-payi, Glady-nya ngali,
 cave adj 1du enter part lie hab name abs 1du

ngarri-payi-li piruku, nyantju kutjarra tayimapi-ra
 lie hab 1du again horse two tie up part

kapula-tju-ra wanti-rra iya-lpayi, munu-li wana-ra
 hobble put part leave part send hab andss 1du follow part

mantjil-payi, ali. kulpi-ngka-li puli-ngka ngarri-payi, puli
 take hab early cave adj 1du rock adj lie hab rock

tjuku-tjuku-ngka alatji, kulpi nyangatja pupa-payi. *
 small adj thus cave here kneel hab

pulangkita-li piyita-tju-ra kulpi-ngka ngarri-payi, tiyi
 blanket 1du bed put part cave adj lie hab tea

kutja-ra, tiyi tjampita-ngka kutja-ra pilikana tjuku-tjuku-ngka.
 cook part tea billycan adj cook part billycan small adj

ngali ngarri-payi, palu-ru ngarri-payi nyangatja ngayu-lu.
 Idu lie hab 3sg nom lie hab here 1sg nom

puli-ngka-li ngarri-payi pilku, ngana-mpa ngurra titu puli
 rock adj Idu lie hab poor thing₂ 1pl goal place always rock

nganana puluka-ku panya rawuna-rra-rra ngarri-payi, nyangatja
 1pl bullock goal that around incho part lie hab here

ngayu-lu ngarri-payi kala watalpi.
 1sg nom lie hab OK finished

I used to go off as stockman, two of us, two young teenagers ... who was it? Gladys Cartwright, she and I used to be together and who else? Her cousin ... what was her name? ... Joan. All three of us used to work, going about; the two of us used to go and drove the bullocks, a few of them anyway. He had a few bullocks. Then we would sleep; we used to go into one of the caves and sleep, Gladys and I. And again we'd tie up the horses or put the hobbles on them, let them go and go and lie down (to rest). Early (the next morning) we'd follow them and catch them. Yes, we used to lie down in a cave amongst the rocks; there was cave amongst the small rocks here. We'd put our blankets down for a bed, make some tea in a billycan. The two of us used to lie down to rest, she would lie down here and I would lie down here. We used to stay amongst the rocks; that was our home all the time when we were going around for the bullocks. That's the end of that part.

6

ngarri-rra-li alatji rawuna-rra-payi, puluka nya-kul-i-nkupayi,
 lie part Idu thus around incho hab bullock see part go hab

tjina panya a-nkuntja-ku tawarra, paka-ra a-nkuntja-ku
 foot that go nom goal aversv stand up part go nom goal

tawarra. tjarrpa-ra-li ngurra nguru nyina-rra a-nkupayi piruku,
 aversv enter part Idu place from sit part go hab again

kutjupa ngurra kutu, Irawa-la kutu. Irawa-la-li kapi-ngka
 another place to name adj to place adj Idu water adj

ngarri-payi, kapi-ngka itingka. puluka parra nya-kula nyaku-la
 lie hab water adj near bullock around see part see part

ngalya rawuna-rra-payi puluka tjuṭa ma untu-lpayi
 towards around incho hab bullock many away push hab

a-nkuntja-ku tawarra, nyantju kutjarra-tjarra-ngku, *
 go nom goal aversv horse two having erg

ngali-mpa nyantju kutjarra ngara-payi.

1du goal horse two stand hab

After we slept there, we used to go around looking for bullocks here and there, to stop them going (too far), to stop them getting up and going. Having gone back to camp and stayed (for a while), we used to go again to a different place, to Irawa. At Irawa we camped by the bore. We used to go around, look at the bullocks, and go around them in this direction to stop them going (too far); we did that with two horses.

7

a-nkula-li mantji-lpayi uutju kutjarra. kalpa-rra-li

go part 1du get hab horse two mount part 1du

piyipayiki-ngka pitja-payi munu-li tjatala tju-nkupayi.

bareback adj come hab andss 1du saddle put hab

tjatala tju-nkula-li kalpa-rra a-nu. a-nkula-li ngurra

saddle put part 1du mount part go past go part 1du place

kutjupa-ngka Irawa-la parra rawuna-rra-pitja-la

another adj place adj around around incho part come part

ngarri-payi, ngurra panya palu-la-tu, nyangatja itara

lie hab place that 3sg adj actually here redgum

ngara-payi, itara kutjupa ka uru nyangatja ngarri-payi.

stand hab redgum another andss lake here lie hab

We had two horses. We used to go and get those two horses and we used to get on them and ride them bareback and then put saddles on them; we'd put a saddle on, mount and go. We'd go and, when we'd arrived at another place, at Irawa, and gone around the cattle, we'd sleep, right there at that place - there's a red gum here, another red gum and a water hole here.

8

watermelon-li pawu-ra ngalku-payi mayi wiya-ngka

watermelon 1du cook part eat hab non-meat food no adj

(laughter) mayi ngali-mpa tjuku-tjuku, ka-li pawu-ra

non-meat food 1du goal small andss 1du cook part

ngalku-payi. watermelon panya nyaa? puutji-tja panya, palu-ru

eat hab watermelon that what bush of that 3sg nom

tjana tju-nkuntja paka-nytja, ukiri-ngka paka-nytja, kapi-ngka

3pl put nom stand nom grass adj stand nom water adj

paka-nytja, palu-ru ngali pawu-ra-li ngalku-payi. palu-ru

stand nom 3sg nom 1du cook part 1du eat hab 3sg nom

ngalku-payi-tu pawu-ra, minyma nyarra palu-ru, Glady-lu
 eat hab actually cook part woman there 3sg nom name erg

pawu-ra nga-ikupayi, kungkawara-ngku. (laughter)
 cook part eat hab young woman erg

We'd cook and eat watermelon when we had no food; there was only a little food for us so we cooked and ate watermelon - what was it? - it was bush tucker; they grow here if you put (the seed down); they grow in the grass when it's wet; the two of us used to cook and eat it. She'd cook it too, that woman; Glady used to cook and eat it when she was a teenager.

9
ka-li nyina-payi, pawu-ra nga-ikula-li a-nkupayi,
 andds ldu sit hab cook part eat part ldu go hab

wanti-kati-rra ka ngali-mpa ngarri-payi. mayi
 leave kati; part andds ldu goal lie hab non-meat food

tjuku-tjuku-tjarra-li pitja-l-i-inkupayi. munu-li puluka tjuta
 small having ldu come part go hab andss ldu bullock many

ngurri-ra nyarra palu-la-tu-li ngarri-payi, nyina-payi, ngurra,
 look for part there 3sg adj actually ldu lie hab sit hab place

puluka tjuta nya-kula, ka-li-nya puluka-ngku munga-ngka
 bullock many see part andds ldu acc bullock erg night adj

pitja-la, kapi tjiki-ra-li-nya panti-ningi, tjawa-ningi-lta pana,
 come part water drink part ldu acc smell pimperf dig pimperf then ground

pana tjawa-ningi ngali-nya pu-ngkunyti-kitja-ngku, ka-li
 ground dig pimperf ldu acc hit nom goal erg andds ldu

paka-ra kutitjaka-ngu puli kutu, puli tjuku-tjuku kutu.
 stand part run past rock to rock small to

paka-ra-li kutjarra kutitjaka-ngu, puluka ngulu-ra-li pitja-la
 stand part ldu two run past bullock fear part ldu come part

ngarri-rra.
 lie part

And we'd stay there and having cooked and eaten (the watermelon) we'd leave (that place) behind us and there we'd rest. with only a little food we'd travel around and we'd look for bullocks and sleep where they were, stay there at a camp when we saw bullocks. One night one bullock came to drink water and could smell us; then he pawed at the ground and he was pawing the ground with the idea of butting us but we got up and ran off to a hill, to a little hill; yes, the two of us got up and ran, having frightened the bullock we went and slept (there on the hill).

10

alatji-li piruku a-nkupayi, Irawa Bore-la panya alatji,
 thus 2du again go hab name adj that thus

pulayina-ngka ma ngurri-lpayi, puluka tjuta. ngurri-rra-li
 plain adj away look for hab bullock many look for part 2du

alatji-kutu-ngku untu-lpayi ngana-la kutu? Tjulu-la kutu, Tjulu
 thus to erg push hab which adj to name adj to name

kata, ngurra panya ngana-la kutu? ... ngana-la kutu? Walara-la
 wrong place that which adj to which adj to name adj

tjana-la kutu-li ngalya untu-lpayi alatji-kutu-ngku ma
 3pl adj to 2du towards push hab thus to erg away

untu-lpayi, palu-mpa puluka mankurr-pa ngara-payi,ka puluka
 push hab 3sg goal bullock few abs stand hab andds bullock

palu-ru tjana kaap-itja ma tjuta-rring-nga-lta, mayi
 3sg nom 3pl calf advsr away many incho past then non-meat food

wiya-ngka palu-ru, mayi tjuku-tjuku-li payiki-ngka
 no adj 3sg nom non-meat food small 2du bag adj

mantji-lpayi, a-nkula ngana-lu? Mr Andrew-lu, tjilpi-lu,
 get hab go part 1pl nom name erg old man erg

mantji-lpayi, Glady-ku tjamu-ngku, mantji-lpayi a-nkula.
 get hab name goal grandfather erg get hab go part

a-nkula payiki kutju-ngka mantji-lpayi Liddle-la, Walara-la
 go part bag one adj get hab name adj name adj

nyina-nya-ngka, tjiyipi-tjarra-ngku mantu palu-ru
 sit nom adj sheep having erg of course 3sg nom

mayi pulka mantji-lpayi, tjiyipi panya wuula-ngka, mantji-lpayi
 non-meat food big get hab sheep that wool adj get hab

ka a-nkula palu-ru pulawa kutju, tjuku kutju, tiyilipi kutju
 andds go part 3sg nom flour one sugar one tealeaf one

mantji-ra, palu-ru mayi palu-nya tjayipa-mila-lpayi mulapa.
 get part 3sg nom non-meat food 3sg acc save incorp hab really

munu purrkara-ngku runga-lpayi mayi palu-nya nganana-nya
 andds carefully erg grind hab non-meat food 3sg acc 1pl acc

kanyi-lpayi wiyiki kutjupa, wiyiki kutjupa, wiyiki
 care for hab week another week another week

kutjupa. wiya-ra kutju piruku a-nkula mantji-lpayi palu-ru,
 another finish part one again go part get hab 3sg nom

tjilpi palu-ru, wakina-ngka-la pitja-l-i-nkupayi, wakina-ngka
 old man 3sg nom wagon adj 1pl come part go hab wagon adj

kulu-kulu-la pitja-l-i-nkupayi ka tjiyita-ngka-la
 as well 1pl come part go hab andds shade adj 1pl

nyina-payi-lta, ngana-la? Ulanga-la. Ulanga-la kutu-la
 sit hab then which adj name adj name adj to 1pl

untu-lpayi, irawa-la nguru parra matjura-mila-ra,
 push hab name adj from around muster incorp part

kati-payi wati untu-lpayi, puluka panya aapa ma tjuta-rri-ngu
 carry hab across push hab bullock that few away many incho past

kuluny-itja pulka-rri-ngu palu-mpa, panya pulka-lta ngara-ngi,
 small advsr big incho past 3sg goal that big then stand imperf

Tjula-la, palu-mpa puluka.
 name adj 3sg goal bullock

We travelled round like that again, this way from Irawa Bore. We used to look for bullocks on the plain; we used to look for them and then herd them in this direction - where to? - to Tjulu; no, not to Tjulu - where to? To Wallara and those places; we used to herd them in this direction (and) in that direction we used to herd them away. He had a few bullocks but those bullocks had calves and multiplied. When there was no feed he used to get feed in a bag. Who used to go and get it? Mr Andrew, the old man, used to get it, Gladys's grandfather; he used to go and get it; he used to go and get it in one bag from Liddle when Liddle was staying at Wallara (he had sheep and he used to get a lot of feed for them, he used to get it for the sheep which were kept for their wool. And he (Gladys's grandfather, Andrew) used to go and get one (sack of) flour, one of sugar and one of tea; he used to really eke out that food; he'd carefully make up bread and look after us, week after week after week. When one lot was finished, he'd go and get some more, that old man; we'd go in the wagon, we'd go as well. And then we'd stay in the shade - where was that? At Ulanga. We herded (the cattle) to Ulanga; we mustered them around from Irawa, took them, herded them across; the few bullocks had multiplied there and his young cattle had grown and were then big; he had mature bullocks at Tjulu.

11

ka-li nyina-payi, mankurra-la a-nkupayi, kungkawara
 andds 1du sit hab few 1pl go hab young woman

mankurra, Gladys-nya, palu-mpa cousin nyarra ngana-nya?
 few name abs 3sg goal loan there who abs

Joan-nya ka tjuku-tjuku tjuṭa nyina-payi ngana-nya?

name abs andds small many sit hab who abs

Valerie-nya panya ngana-la nyina-ngi? ngurra nyaratja

name abs that who adj sit imperf place there

Ayers Rocka-la. palu-ru nganana, palu-ru tjana tjuku-tjuku

name adj 3sg nom 1pl 3sg nom 3pl small

nyina-payi, tjuku-tjuku panya kungkawara wangka-payi

sit hab small that young woman talk hab

kungkawara-tu. nyina-payi ngurra-ngka kapali palu-mpa-ngka,

young woman emph sit hab place adj grandmother 3sg goal adj

ulkumunu ngana-la? Mrs Andrew-la, nyina-payi, tjilpi kutjarra

old woman who adj name adj sit hab old man two

pula , mayita-rarra.

3du spouse pair

We two stayed there until the three of us went off, three teenage girls: (me), Gladys and her cousin -what was her name?- Joan. The little ones used to stay behind -who was there? - Valerie. Where were they staying? At that place, at Ayers Rock. We ... they were the young ones, little girls but teenagers almost, (actually) they were teenagers. She used to stay at home with her grandmother - what was her name, that old lady? Mrs Andrew, she used to stay with her, those two old people, a married couple.

12

nganana Walara-la nyina-payi, Tjilka Well-la piruku nyina-payi,

1pl name adj sit hab name adj again sit hab

Tjilka Wella-nya panya wiyila tjawa-lpayi munu kapi-la

name abs that well dig hab andss water 1pl

uri-tjinga-lpayi, winmila wiya-ngka nyaa-ngka?

move cause hab windmill no adj what adj

Ala-tjinga-lpayi-la. kapi tjuti-lpayi, kapi palu-ru kurra-kurra
 thus cause hab 1pl water pour hab water 3sg nom bad

nyaa panya? nyaa nguwanpa? kurra nguwanpa. *kapi palu-ru
 what that what like bad like water 3sg nom

panya kurra-kurra nguwanpa ka-la kutja-ra tjiki-lpayi, kapi
 that bad like andds 1pl heat part drink hab water

aata, ngati-ngka panya ngati ngara-ngi. ngati panya ngara-ngi ka
 hot hole adj that hole stand imperf hole that stand imperf
 andds

punu tju-nu palu-ru, punu tjuku-tjuku tjuta, punu panya itara
 wood put past 3sg nom wood small many wood that gum type

ngara-tju-nkula ngati panya, palu-la kutja-lpayi paluru, kapi
 stand put part hole that 3sg adj heat hab 3sg water

aata, aata kutja-ra ka kapi palu-ru rain water
 hot hot heat part andds water 3sg nom loan

nguwan-arri-payi, kapi kutja-nu tjalta, kapi tjalta-tjarra.
 like incho hab water heat past salt water salt having

rainwater nguwanpa-lta ngara-payi, tjuti-ra panya nyaa?
 loan like then stand hab pour part that what

payipi-ngka tju-nkunya-ngka. turama kutju nyangatja, turama
 pipe adj put nom adj drum one here drum

kutjupa ka turama nyanga palu-la nguru watja-lpayi ka turama
 another andds drum here 3sg adj from direct hab andds drum

nyanga nguru a-nkupayi kapi nyarra kutjupa-ngka. rainwater-lta
 here from go hab water there another adj loan then

nyangatja, pulapa-rrri-payi. nyanga nguru puyila-rrri-rra ka
 here full up incho hab here from boil incho part andds

a-nkupayi nyarra-ku, rain water.
go hab there goal loan

We stayed at Wallara; we stayed again at Tjilika Well. Tjilika Well was that place where a well had been dug and we brought up water without a windmill - what was it like? We used to do this and the water poured out. It wasn't good water - what was it like? It was poor. The water there was quite poor and we used to heat it for drinking. There was hot water in one drum that stood up. One drum was standing and they put wood under it, kindling red-gum; they put it under the drum to heat it. They heated the water and it came out like rain water; they cooked up the salt water, the water that contained salt. Something like rainwater was the result and they poured it - what was it? In a pipe that they put in place. There was one drum here, another drum and from this drum it used to pour, while from this drum there came that different water. Then, there was rain water here, it used to fill up. Having boiled it up from here, it would go over there, as rain water.

General notes

1 An extended version of this text without inter-linear gloss, footnotes or translation was printed in a newsletter "Areyonga Tjakulpa" in 1980.
2 I have made a subjective judgement about the transliteration of loan words on a phonetic basis and on the basis of its incorporation in the speech community with which I am familiar. What are deemed to be "conscious" loan words have been rendered as in English, while what are deemed to be "incorporated" loan words are rendered in [P] phonology. cf /aapa/ and /cousin/

3 The use of full stops, commas and paragraphing is also subjective. It would be an interesting study to analyse and attempt to justify those judgements but it is beyond the scope of this study.
I have not used upper case following a full stop to reflect these subjective judgements.

4 An asterisk * indicates places where an interruption occurred during recording.

5 "andds/ands" gloss sentence connectives, "ss" glossing the connective which indicates the same subject for the following clause as for the preceding and "ds" glossing the connective which indicates a different subject.

6 Some nouns have not been glossed for case. With common nouns this indicates the absolutive case, with pronouns the nominative case.

7 Like most if not all narrative texts, there are associated diagrams drawn in the sand by the speaker which indicate directions; without these, some of the deictic references are difficult to convey.

Notes by section

32 antjaki: This term is not easily glossed. It means the action is carried out away from where the actors are living or are principally camped at a particular time.

35 aapa: "a few" in respect of countables, "a bit of" in respect of non-countables, from Eng "half", it has also become a dialect variant for "nguwampa"

39 For explanation of verbs compounded with /kati-/ refer to S3.4

310 kata: This is an interesting unglissable device for correcting a mistake during narrative. It is interesting that there is no interruption to the phonological pattern of the sentence when it is used.

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