

Unity of habit
et actual-ph
game - meat
burrow - fire

REMARKS ON WAPLIRI GRAMMAR AND
THE ANALYSIS OF PHENOMENA

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I. Part-Whole Relations:

- (1) Theme: The identification of a PART of an entity with the WHOLE of the entity.
- (2) (a) Maliki kalaka-npa kati-rni ngirnti (nyuntulu-rlu).
(dog AUX:ADMON-2s tread-NPST tail (you-ERG))
'You are liable to step on the dog's tail.'
(b) Kurdu-ngku ka-ju rdaka-ngku paka-rni (ngaju).
(child-ERG AUX:PRES-1o hand-ERG strike (me))
'The child is striking me with its hand.'
(c) Rdaka ka-rna yuka-mi ngulya-kurra (ngaju).
(hand AUX:PRES-1s enter-NPST burrow-ALL (I))
'I am sticking my hand in the (goanna's) burrow.'
(d) Ngaju 0-rna-rla rdaka maliki-ki yarnka-ja ngirnti-ki.
(I AUX:PERF-1s-rla hand dog-DAT seize-PST tail-DAT)
'I grabbed the dog by the tail with my hand.'
(e) Nama ka langa-kurra yuka-mi kurdu-kurra.
(ant AUX:PRES ear-ALL enter-NPST child-ALL)
'The ant is crawling into the child's ear.'
- (3) (a) Maliki-rli 0-ji wirliya yarlkurnu (ngaju), jarda
nguna-nja-kurra.
(dog-ERG AUX:PERF-1o foot bite-PST (me), sleep
lie-INF-COMP:OBJ)
'The dog bit me in the foot while I was sleeping.'
(b) Maliki nyuntu-nyangu 0-rna purdanya-ngu, warlkurrma-
ninja-kurra.
(dog you-POSS AUX:PERF-1s hear-PST, bark-INF-COMP:OBJ)
'I heard your dog barking.'
(c) Ngajulu-rlu ka-rna-ngku nyuntu nya-nyi, lirra
wantiki-jarri-nja-kurra.
(I-ERG AUX:PRES-1s-2o you see-NPST, mouth
wide-INCHOATIVE-INF-COMP:OBJ)
'I see you opening your mouth (lit. becoming wide
mouth-wise).'
- (4) Example part-whole relations: a body and its parts (as above); a plant and its parts (e.g., wapurnungku 'ghost gum', and wurdamirri 'bark'; an implement and its parts (e.g., karli 'boomerang' and warda 'handle-end'); an entity and its name (where that is referred to by means of the word yirdi 'name'), or its sound (i.e., linpa 'sound')

or jaru, yimi 'speech, language, species-characteristic sound'; an entity and its physical manifestation (palka 'body, physical form, presence'); an entity and its shadow (yame 'shade, shadow'); a part and its parts (e.g., rdaka 'hand' and miyalu 'palm (lit. stomach)', purturlu 'back'); a body and certain excretions, when not fully removed from the body (e.g., minngarli 'tear, lacrimal matter', kurnpu 'nectar, sap'); and others.

(5) An introduction to Warlpiri grammar:

(a) S \rightarrow AUX \bar{X}^* V \bar{X}^* ,
 \bar{X} \rightarrow \bar{X}^* x.

(b) $\begin{matrix} \text{panti-rni} \\ | \\ (\underline{x}\text{ERG}, \underline{y}\text{ABS})\text{V} \\ | \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{x}\text{ERG produces indentation or} \\ \underline{puncture in surface of } \underline{y}\text{ABS,} \\ \text{by point coming into contact} \\ \text{with } \underline{y}. \end{array} \right\} \end{matrix}$ functional
structure

definition

(c) $\begin{array}{cccc} & & \text{S} & & \\ & & / \quad | \quad \backslash & & \\ \text{AUX} & & \bar{\text{N}}/\text{ERG} (i) & & \bar{\text{N}}/\text{ABS} (j) & & \text{V} \\ | & & | & & | & & | \\ \text{0-rna-jana} & & \text{ngajulu-rlu} & & \text{wawirri-patu} & & \text{pantu-rnu} \\ (\text{AUX:PERF-} & & \text{I-ERG} & & \text{kangaroo-PL} & & \text{spear-PST}) \\ \text{ls-333o} & & & & & & \\ \text{FS: } \bar{\text{N}}/\text{ERG} (i) & & \bar{\text{N}}/\text{ABS} (j) & & ((i)\text{ERG}, (j)\text{ABS})\text{V} & & \end{array}$

(c') Ngajulu-rlu 0-rna-jana wawirri-patu pantu-rnu.
 (I-ERG AUX:PERF-ls-333o kangaroo-PL spear-PST)
 'I speared (the) kangaroos.'

(c'') Construal: ((i)l/ERG, (j)333/ABS)V

(6) (a) Ngajulu-rlu 0-rna-jana wawirri-patu pantu-rnu wiri-patu.
 (I-ERG AUX:PERF-ls-333o kangaroo-PL spear-PST big-PL)
 (i) 'I speared (the) big kangaroos.'
 (ii) 'I speared (the) kangaroos, and they were big.'

(b) Wawirri wiri-patu 0-rna-jana pantu-rnu.
 (kangaroo big-PL AUX:PERF-ls-333o spear-PST)
 'I speared (the) big kangaroos.'

(7) Predication: ... wiri-patu
 |
 (j) $\bar{\text{N}}/\text{ABS}$

- (8) The integration of Part-Whole relations into the grammar of Warlpiri.
- (a) PR (Predicate Formation): $\bar{N}/\text{CASE}(i) \rightarrow \underline{\quad}(\bar{N}/\text{CASE}(i))$
- (b) PW (The Part-Whole Relation):
 The relevant part of $(\alpha)_n/\text{CASE}$ is (i) , where (i) is the entity denoted by the PART nominal expression predicated of $(\alpha)_n/\text{CASE}$.
- (9) (a) Rdaka ka-rna yukami ngulya-kurra ngaju.
 (hand AUX:PRES-1s enter burrow-ALL I)
 'I am sticking my hand into the burrow.'
 FS: $\bar{N}/\text{ABS}(i) ((k)1/\text{ABS}, (j)\text{ALL})V \bar{N}/\text{ALL}(j) \bar{N}/\text{ABS}(k)$.
 PF: $(k)(\bar{N}/\text{ABS}(i))$.
 PW: The relevant part of $(k)1/\text{ABS}$ is (i) .
- (b) Minngarli ka-rna karli milpa-ngurlu.
 (tear AUX:PRES-1s flow:NPST eye-EL)
 'Tears are flowing out of my eyes.'
 FS: $\bar{N}/\text{ABS}(i) ((k)1/\text{ABS}, (k)\text{EL})V \bar{N}/\text{EL}(j)$.
 PF: $(k)(\bar{N}/\text{ABS}(i)), (k)(\bar{N}/\text{EL}(j))$.
 PW: The relevant part of $(k)1/\text{ABS}$ is (i) , and of $(k)\text{EL}$, (j) .
- (c) Pirli 0-ji yaarl-wanti-ja rdaka-ku.
 (stone AUX:PERF-1o onto-fall-PST hand-DAT)
 'The stone fell onto my hand.'
 FS: $\bar{N}/\text{ABS}(i) ((i)3/\text{ABS}, (k)1/\text{DAT})V \bar{N}/\text{DAT}(j)$.
 PF: $(k)(\bar{N}/\text{DAT}(j))$.
 PW: The relevant part of $(k)1/\text{DAT}$ is (j) .

II. Coincidence: a Warlpiri Semantic Category:

- (10) Theme: The definition of spatial and temporal relations in terms of Central and Terminal Coincidence.
- (11) Warlpiri Locational Cases:

Central	Terminal
LOC <i>at</i>	ALL <i>to</i>
PERL <i>along</i>	EL <i>from</i>

- (a) Waya ka pirli-ngka nguna-mi.
 (wire AUX:PRES stone-LOC lie-NPST)
 'The wire is lying on the stone.'

- (b) Waya ka pirli-wana nguna-mi.
(wire AUX:PRES stone-PERL lie-NPST)
'The wire is lying along the stone.'
- (c) Waya ka pirli-kirra nguna-mi.
(wire AUX:PRES stone-ALL lie-NPST)
'The wire extends to the stone.'
- (d) Waya ka pirli-ngirli nguna-mi.
(wire AUX:PRES stone-EL lie-NPST)
'The wire extends from the stone.'
- (e) Nantuwu ka karru-ngka parnka-mi.
(horse AUX:PRES creek-LOC run-NPST)
'The horse is running in the creek.'
- (f) Nantuwu ka karru-wana parnka-mi.
(horse AUX:PRES creek-PERL run-NPST)
'The horse is running along/through the creek.'
- (g) Nantuwu ka karru-kurra parnka-mi.
(horse AUX:PRES creek-ALL run-NPST)
'The horse is running to the creek.'
- (h) Nantuwu ka karru-ngurlu parnka-mi.
(horse AUX:PRES creek-EL run-NPST)
'The horse is running from the creek.'

(12) The Directional Enclitics:

Central	Terminal
(-yi 'durative')	-rni 'centripetal'
-mpa 'perlative'	-rra 'centrifugal'

(13) The Finite Complementizers:

Central	Terminal
kuja- (kaji-)	yungu- (yinga- ~ yi-)
T-Relative,	Purposive,
NP-Relative,	Reason,
...	...

(14) The Infinitive Complementizers:

Central	Terminal
-karra 'prox.'	-ku 'jussive/purposive'
-kurra 'obj.'	-rla 'subsequential'
-LOC-jinta 'refl.'	
-LOC-rni 'obv.'	

(15) Other cases (e.g., the aspectual system).