

PRONOMINAL CLITIC VARIATION IN THE YAPA LANGUAGES

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1 INTRODUCTION¹

Simpson & Withgott 1986:164 make one proposal about historical reanalysis in the proto-Warlpiri pronominal clitic template.² They argue (1986:156ff) that 'template morphology' is to be distinguished from 'layered morphology' as word-formation processes, and adopt earlier proposals that the Warlpiri pronominal clitics exemplify 'template morphology' (Hale 1973, Laughren 1977, Nash 1986 [1980], Swartz 1982).

In this paper I wish to propose another similar piece of evidence, my starting position for which being that of Hale 1973:339-40:

... it is instructive to imagine what the historical antecedent of Walbiri agreement might have been like and, if possible, to examine a language which represents synchronically some antecedent stage in the imagined evolution. I think it is reasonable to propose that the source of pronominal clitics in Walbiri is in fact independent pronouns which, at some stage in the prehistory of the language, became unstressed and were attracted into clitic position (that is, second position) ...

I concentrate first on a period not quite so far back in Warlpiri, and attempt to show how variation in present-day Warlpiri provides the basis for further deduction about the development of certain properties of the Warlpiri pronominal clitics, in particular the construal of the *-rla* and *-rla-jinta* enclitics with clause arguments in the Dative case.

¹ I have met Howard Coate only once: on the afternoon of 26 July 1988, when he welcomed Jane Simpson and me into his hut at a gravel yard south of Derby. His good spirits and enthusiasm was infectious, and his dedication to work with Aboriginal languages very apparent.

This paper is also in memory of the late Paddy Patrick Jangala, who died at his home community of Lajamanu in September 1994. Jangala had a marvellous awareness of his native language, shown mostly through his lexical work in the composition of illustrative sentences.

Warlmanpa data is from my own investigation. The source of each Warlpiri datum is cited. All Ngardily data is from Lee Cataldi and Green 1988. I am grateful to Warlpiri and Warlmanpa people for what they have taught me of their languages.

I have benefited from discussion of the topic of this note with Ken Hale, Harold Koch, Mary Laughren, Patrick McConvell, and Jane Simpson. My work on this topic has been partially supported by grants from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, the MIT Lexicon Project (under a grant from the Systems Development Foundation), and the Australian Research Council (Grant number A58932251).

² See also Muysken 1986, and Speas 1990 [in 1989 draft, pp. 253-274, §.3.4.3 The Structure of Warlpiri].

Prior to the discussion of the Dative enclitics, I attempt a reconstruction of the pronominal enclitics of the Yapa subgroup including Warlpiri,³ and survey the earlier documentation of Warlpiri pronouns.

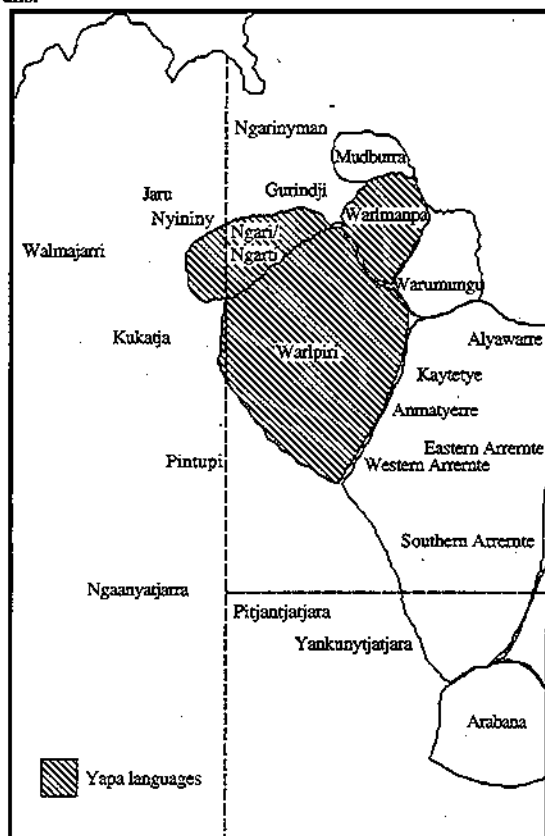


Figure: The Yapa languages and their neighbours

2 THE FORMS OF THE FREE PRONOUNS

Table 1 shows the free form pronouns in the Yapa languages; the numerals refer to the pronominal categories of person and number, following Hale, 1973a:315 and 1974:5 — for instance, '11' means '1st person Exclusive Dual, i.e. I and he/she/it'.

³ The group was dubbed the Ngarrika (Ngargo) languages in classifications of the 1960s, but I propose substituting the name Yapa languages, following more closely the naming principle for other groups: while *ngarrka* is a term in all the languages of the group meaning '(initiated) man', *yapa* is the word meaning '(Aboriginal) person', and so the equivalent of names such as Ngumbin, Pama, Mari, Nyungar and so on.

	Warlmanpa	Warlpiri	Ngartily
1	<i>ngayu</i>		<i>ngaju</i>
2	<i>nyuntu</i>		<i>nyuntu</i>
3	<i>(nyani-)</i>		<i>nyanungu</i>
12		<i>ngali</i>	<i>ngali(-kujarra)</i>
11			<i>ngajarra</i>
22	<i>nyuntu-jarra</i>	<i>nyumpala</i>	<i>nyunpula</i>
122			<i>ngalipa</i>
111			<i>nganimpa</i>
222		<i>nyurrula</i>	<i>nyurrulangampurr</i>

Table 1: Free pronouns in the Yapa languages

It appears that Warlmanpa has undergone the greatest change with respect to free pronouns, in that it has lost the non-singulars (just as has its northern neighbour Mudburra). Warlmanpa *ngayu* 'I' shows lenition from **ngaju*, attested in a few other roots; *ngayu* is also the Mudburra form.

Warlpiri shows one change: *nyumpala* shows assimilation from **nyun-pVla* 'you Dual'.

Ngartily has added *-ngampurr* to the 2nd person plural (cf. Warlpiri *ngampurr.pa* 'desirous'?), and is currently adding Western Desert *kujarra* 'two' to *ngali*.

For comparison, Tables 2 and 3 show pronouns in the next closest languages; Table 2 for the non-Yapa Nyungic languages on the north, and Table 3 for the Western Desert Language on the west.

	Mudburra	Gurindji
1	<i>ngayi</i>	<i>ngayu</i>
2	<i>nyuntu</i>	<i>nyuntu</i>
3	<i>nyani</i>	<i>nyantu</i>
12		<i>ngali</i>
11	<i>kujarra</i> 'two'	<i>ngayirra</i>
22		<i>nyunpula</i>
33		<i>nyanpula</i>
122	<i>ngayi yukartu</i>	<i>ngaliwula</i>
1222		<i>ngaliwa</i>
111	<i>tartu</i> 'many'	<i>ngantipa</i>
222		<i>nyurrulu</i>
333		<i>nyurrulu</i>

Table 2: Pronouns in adjacent Nyungic languages. (Sources: Gurindji from McConvell 1980, Mudburra from McConvell 1980 and Nash 1984.)

	*WD	Warman
1	<i>ngayu</i>	<i>parra</i>
2	<i>nyuntu</i>	<i>parrangku</i>
3		<i>palawarniny</i>
Refl		
12	<i>ngali</i>	<i>parra-kujarra</i>
11		
22	<i>nyupali</i>	<i>parrangku-kujarra</i>
33		<i>palawarniny-kujarra</i>
122	<i>nganama</i>	<i>parrawarta</i>
111		
222	<i>nyurra</i>	<i>parrangkuwarta</i>
333		<i>palawarninywarta</i>

Table 3: Pronouns in Western Desert languages.

Evans 1981:11 proposes reconstructed Western Desert pronominals, as in the column *WD in Table 3. I have added the forms from Warman, a close relative of the Western Desert language, notable for having innovated the pronominal stems; Warman data from Jim Marsh, unpublished ms. These forms generally take case suffixes *-*nya* Accusative (ACC), *-*ku* - *mpa* Dative (ERG), *-*la* Locative (LOC); and *-*lu* Ergative (ERG) on singular pronouns.

3 THE FORMS OF THE PRONOMINAL ENCLITICS

The pronominal enclitics have the forms shown in Table 4. The table does not show the complexities of relative ordering of the enclitics, or of the conditioning of their allomorphy. The anomalous position of *ria*, which can only be construed with an argument if it is Dative, is treated in the second part of this paper.

These may be followed by 's' or 'o' to indicate a subject or non-subject form, respectively. Dialectal alternates are separated by a comma, E marks Eastern Warlpiri; phonologically conditioned allomorphs are separated by a tilde. Parentheses or a slash mark off segments which occur only in a morphologically-conditioned allomorph. Ngartily (Ngardi) forms in square brackets are from Lee Cataldi, pers. comm., March 1991.

	Warlmanpa		Warlpiri		Ngartily	
	subject	object	subject	object	subject	object
1	<i>ma</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>yi</i> [- <i>ju</i>]
2	<i>n(ku)</i> ⁴	<i>ngu</i>	<i>npa/</i> <i>nku</i> ⁵	<i>ngku</i>	<i>n(ku)</i> ⁶ [- <i>an</i> - <i>nta</i>]	<i>ngku</i>
3	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
3 Dat		<i>ria/jinta</i>		<i>ria/jinta</i>		<i>ria/nyinta</i>
Refl		<i>nyanu</i>		<i>nyanu</i>		<i>nyanu</i> [- <i>nguninwali</i>]
12	<i>li</i>	<i>ngali</i>	<i>rii</i>	<i>ngali(ngä)</i> ⁶	(<i>r</i>) <i>li</i>	<i>ngali</i>
11	<i>ja</i>	<i>jangu</i>	<i>rijarra</i>	<i>jarrangku</i>	(<i>r</i>) <i>lijarra</i>	<i>jarrangku</i>
22	<i>n-pala</i>	<i>ngu-pala</i>	<i>n-pala</i>	<i>ngku-pala</i>	<i>npula</i>	[<i>ngkupula</i>]
33	<i>pala</i>	<i>palangu</i>	<i>pala</i>	<i>palangu</i>	<i>pula</i>	<i>pulany</i> ⁵
122	<i>lpa-(lu)</i>	<i>lpangu</i>	<i>riipa</i>	<i>ngalpa,</i> <i>ngalpangu</i> (E)	<i>riipa</i>	<i>ngalpa</i>
111	<i>ma-lu</i>	<i>nganpa</i>	<i>ma-lu</i>	<i>nganpa,</i> <i>nganpangu</i> (E)	<i>ma-lu</i>	[<i>nganpa</i>]
222	<i>nku-lu</i>	<i>nyangu</i>	<i>nku-lu,</i> <i>npa-lu</i> ⁶	<i>nyarra,</i> <i>nyurra</i> ⁷	<i>nta</i> [- <i>-nkulu</i> ~ <i>-nyanta</i>]	<i>nyurra</i> [- <i>-nyirra</i>]
333	<i>lu</i>	<i>jara</i>	<i>lu</i>	<i>jara</i>	<i>lu-li</i>	<i>varu</i>

Table 4: Pronominal enclitics in the Yapa languages.

3.1 PROPOSED RECONSTRUCTION

On the basis of the data in Table 4, one can attempt a reconstruction of the pronominal enclitics of the smallest subgroup including Warlpiri. The subgrouping is itself tentative, and its justification so far rests mainly on the high incidence of shared core vocabulary. This reconstruction is shown in Table 5, where parentheses enclose segments which occur only in a longer form, possibly morphologically conditioned.

⁴ The 2nd sg allomorph *nku* occurs when another clitic follows, thus *nku-lu*, *nku-ria*.

⁵ Note the combination *pulany* + *ria* is realised as *pulanyja*. An alternate form may be *pulan* (Lee Cataldi pers. comm. March 1991).

⁶ *npa-lu* is reported by Mary Laughren (pers. comm.), and Bavin & Shopen 1987.

⁷ *nyurra* is a less common alternate of *-nyarra* (Hale 1973:328), and does not occur in Eastern Warlpiri.

*	proto-Yapa	
	subject	object
1	<i>ma</i>	<i>ju</i>
2	<i>n-</i>	<i>ngku</i>
3	∅	∅
3 Dat		<i>ra</i>
Refi		<i>nyanu</i>
12	<i>li</i>	<i>ngali</i>
11	<i>li-jarra</i>	<i>jarrangku</i>
22	<i>n-pVla</i>	<i>ngku-pVla</i>
33	<i>pVla</i>	<i>pVla-</i>
122	<i>lipa</i>	<i>ngal-pa</i>
111	<i>ma-lu</i>	<i>ngan-pa</i>
222	<i>na(-lu)</i>	<i>nyVrra</i>
333	<i>lu</i>	<i>jana</i>

Table 5: Proposed pronominal enclitics in proto-Yapa.

3.2 FORMS IN ADJACENT LANGUAGES

Table 6 shows pronominal enclitics in languages adjacent to the north-west, and south-west, of the Yapa languages, to show the sources of possible borrowing. For the bound pronouns of Warumungu, see Simpson 1990; the remaining adjacent languages, the Arandic group, lack bound pronouns.⁸

Jaru data from Tsunoda 1981; Mudburra simplified from McConvell 1980, Nash 1984; Gurindji simplified from McConvell 1980.

3.3 DEVELOPMENTS IN EACH OF THE YAPA LANGUAGES

In the following scenario I have tried to avoid postulating borrowing as a source of the modern language forms, unless there is specific contrary evidence, so as to see what phonological changes and paradigm restructurings would thereby be required to be postulated.

1. Lenition *j > y intervocalically, in Ngari / Ngarti: *yi* 1o, *yanu* 333o; note the variation in the independent pronoun does not correspond exactly: Warlmanpa *ngayu* 1 but enclitic *ju* 1s.
2. Homorganic nasal-stop cluster simplification in Warlmanpa: **ngk* > *ng ngu* 2o, *jangu* 11o.
3. *rrV* deletion intervocalically in Warlmanpa **ijarra* > *ja* 11s and **jarrangku* > *jangu* 11o, **nyVrra* > *nya ngu* 222o.
4. Vowel deletion **lipa* > *lpa* in Warlmanpa 122s, possibly also in 11s **ijarra* > *ja* with also simplification of the **lj* to *j*.
5. Generalisation of *ngu* object marking in Warlmanpa *lpa ngu* 122o, *nya ngu* 222o, EWarlpiri *ngalpa ngu* 122o, EWarlpiri *nganpa ngu* 111o, Warlmanpa and Warlpiri *pala ngu* 33o. Warlpiri *ngali ngki* may be a more recent generalisation, since (i) it is still optional and (ii) the form still has the stop *k*; alternatively, it may contain *-ngki* 2o.

⁸ A partial exception is 1st sg and 2nd sg fused pronouns in Kaytetye: *aryene* '1s-2o', *nethe* '2s-1o' (Harold Koch, pers.comm., 12/2/91).

6. Spread of **lu* 333s as a plural subject marker on *ma-lu* 111s (Warlmanpa, Warlpiri, Ngari / Ngarti) prior to the divergence of the Yapa languages, and subsequently optionally in Warlmanpa *lpa(lu)* 122s.
7. **pula* > *pala* in Warlmanpa, Warlpiri, in 33s, 33o, 22s.
8. *pa*-augmentation on consonant-final words in Warlpiri **n* > *n.pa* 2s; cf. Ngaria *nyin* you (sg.). Less likely in Warlpiri and Warlmanpa *nganpa* 111o and Warlpiri *ngalpa* 122o, where the *pa* may be older (Ngarti data lacking).
9. Only in Warlpiri, vowel harmony developed, and note also Ngari/Ngarti *lu* - *li* 333s.

The relative ordering of the pronominal enclitics varies from language to language, and needs to be incorporated in the proposed historical development (see McConvell 1993).

	Jaru		Mudburra		Gurindji	
	subject	object	subject	object	subject	object
1	<i>ma</i>	<i>yi, nya</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>yi</i>
2	<i>n(i)</i>	<i>ngku</i>	<i>n(ku)</i>	<i>ngku</i>	<i>n(ku)</i>	<i>ngku</i>
3	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
3 Dat		<i>la</i>		<i>(r)la / jinta</i>		<i>ra</i>
Refi		<i>nyanu, nyunu</i>		<i>pu(r)na, nyanu, nyunu</i>		<i>nyunu</i>
12	<i>li</i>	<i>(ng)aliry</i>	<i>rli, ?riaangulu</i>	<i>ngali(nyu)</i>	<i>rli</i>	<i>ngali</i>
11	<i>lija(rra)</i>	<i>(nga)jarrang(u)</i>	<i>li - lya</i>	<i>ngaliya</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>ngayirra</i>
22	<i>npula</i>	<i>ngkupula, ngkawula</i>	<i>npula, npa</i>	<i>ngku-wula</i>	<i>npula</i>	<i>ngku-wula</i>
33	<i>pula, wula</i>	<i>pulany, wulany, etc</i>	<i>wula</i>	<i>puli - wuli</i>	<i>wula</i>	<i>wuliny</i>
122	<i>lipa, liwa</i>	<i>(ng)ali(m)pa</i>	<i>ra(w)a</i>	<i>ngala(wa)</i>	<i>ra(a)</i>	<i>ngala</i>
111	<i>ma-lu</i>	<i>(ng)anampa, etc</i>	<i>lya, (r)nali</i>	<i>nganta, ?ngalinyju</i>	<i>malu</i>	<i>ngantipa</i>
222	<i>na(lu)</i>	<i>nyurra</i>	<i>na, n...lu</i>	<i>nyjurra(ngu)</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>nyjurra</i>
333	<i>lu</i>	<i>(y)anu, janu</i>	<i>lu - li</i>	<i>yina(ngu)</i>	<i>lu</i>	<i>yina</i>

Table 6: Pronominal enclitics in adjacent Ngumpin languages.

3.4 WARLPIRI DIALECTAL VARIATION

In addition to the dialect variants in some forms as listed in Table 4, there are other developments peculiar to Warlpiri (or for which the detail of the Warlpiri data goes beyond our knowledge of the other languages).

Warlpiri vowel assimilation produces two forms of any (subject or object) enclitic with a high vowel. The high front vowel form (i.e. in *li*) of the enclitics in Table 7 follows a host-final *li*.

	enclitic
12	- <i>ri</i> ~ - <i>riu</i>
11	- <i>ri-jarra</i> ~ - <i>riu-jarra</i>
122	- <i>ri-pa</i> ~ - <i>ri-pa</i>
222	- <i>n-ku-lu</i> ~ - <i>nkili</i>
333	- <i>lu</i> ~ - <i>li</i>
1o	- <i>ju</i> ~ - <i>ji</i>
2o	- <i>ngku</i> ~ - <i>ngki</i>
22o	- <i>ngku-pala</i> ~ - <i>ngki-pala</i>

Table 7: Eastern Warlpiri pronominal enclitics with a high vowel
(after Simpson et al 1990:x-xi)

Reflexive/reciprocal *-nyanu* never occurs with 1 sg subject, and usually not with the singular imperative; the singular object enclitic occurs instead.

In addition, the process of Dual Neutralisation applies, to a greater extent in eastern dialects, but never allowing the subject-object clitic combination of two dual clitics. One or both is expressed by the plural.

3.4.1 EASTERN WARLPIRI

Table 8 shows the forms where Eastern (and Wakirti) Warlpiri shows variation from the Yuendumu Warlpiri pronominals in the table above.

	subject	object
1		<i>ji</i>
2		<i>ngu</i>
12	<i>ri</i>	<i>ngali</i>
11	<i>rijarra</i> ~ <i>rjarra</i>	<i>jarrangu</i>
122	<i>ri-pa</i> ~ <i>lpa</i>	<i>ngalpangu</i>
111		<i>nganpa(ku)</i> ~ <i>npangu</i>
22		<i>ngu-pala</i>

Table 8: Distinctive Eastern (and Wakirti) Warlpiri pronominal enclitics
(after Simpson et al 1990:x-xi)

The variation involves several factors:

1. underlying *ji*, occurring as *ju* after *u*
2. nasal-stop cluster simplification in Yuendumu Warlpiri *ngku* sequence
 - (i) stop deletion in *jarrangu*, *npangu*, and in *ngu(pala)*
 - (ii) no nasal in suffix on *nganpa-ku*; though *nganpangu* is the form used by older speakers of Eastern Warlpiri (as in Table 4).

3.5 *-NGKU OBJECT MARKER ?

Warlpiri oblique clitics (especially construed with DAT) have all but lost the nominal Dative *-*ku*, assuming this has descended as *-ng(k)V* (Simpson 1990). Compare Warumungu, where

the clitics construed with DAT showed remnants of an addition *-*ku* (other than in 1st and 2nd sg.) and *-ngkki* inversion marker (see Simpson & Withgott 1986:161). Relevant forms may be seen in Table 4.

3.5.1 WESTERN WARLPIRI

Western Warlpiri has *-ng(k)V* as a separable part of pronominal enclitics with an assignable meaning only in one form: *pala-ngu* 33o. It is also the optional extension to one object enclitic: *-ngali(-ngki)* 12o, and the final syllable of a few other object enclitics: *jarrangu* 11o and *ngku* 2o.

3.5.2 EASTERN WARLPIRI

Eastern (and Wakirti) Warlpiri has additional object enclitics with *-ngu* as the final syllable, which furthermore is an addition to the corresponding Western Warlpiri form: *-nganpangu* 111o and ?? *-ngalpangu* 122o.

3.5.3 WARLMANPA.

Of the Yapa languages, it is in Warlmanpa that the *-ngu* has spread the most: It occurs as a simple enclitic to the subject pronominal form in three Warlmanpa object enclitics: *-pala-ngu* 33o, *-ja-ngu* 11o, *-lpa-ngu* 122o and is reinforced by ending two other object clitics (though not as a separable morpheme): *-ngu* 2o and *-nyangu* 222o.

4 RECORDS OF WARLPIRI PRONOMINAL ENCLITICS

Before embarking on study of the patterning of Warlpiri pronominal enclitics, it is relevant to survey the evidence available to us, especially given the paucity of native-speaker linguist commentary.

Warlpiri pronominal clitics exhibit geographical and generational variation. First, there is variation among the various communities which speak Warlpiri, along with many other properties of the language, which allow us to speak of Warlpiri having geographical dialects. For instance, the Eastern dialect (associated with the Hanson River and its floodout, and spoken at Alekarenge (Ali Curung) and Tennant Creek) is quite distinct from the Warlpiri spoken at Willowra, Lajamanu, or Yuendumu. Second, it appears that the speech differences between younger and older Warlpiri encompass differences in form of the pronominal enclitics. This is most clearly recognised at Alekarenge, where the younger people's variety has its own name, 'Wakirti Warlpiri' (*wakirti* 'tip, fringe').

4.1 'CLASSIC' WARLPIRI

It is difficult to know to what extent the age differences in pronominal clitic use reflect a change in the language over time. The direct evidence for what constituted recent forms of Warlpiri are

the contemporary recordings, so I first survey the extent of these. Partly no doubt because of the scarcity of documentation of Warlpiri prior to Hale's work in 1959, one can form a simple picture of the language, at least as spoken in the south-west of Warlpiri country (and now represented primarily by Yuendumu Warlpiri). The early records are consistent with the Warlpiri documented by Hale in 1959-67, which I refer to as 'classic' Warlpiri. 'Classic' Warlpiri is not pristine — it has many assimilated English loans, for instance — but it represents the language of Warlpiri whose English, if it existed, presumably had less interference with their native language than subsequently, and few of whom were literate. This Warlpiri is that of the current old generation, the avowed standard.

The oldest extant record of Warlpiri language is Michael Terry's 1928 list of 24 words (Terry 1930:342 Walmulla). N.B. Tindale, H.K. Fry, O.M. Pink and W.A. Long have left a record of Warlpiri vocabulary from the period 1932-44, while Howard H.J. Coate's 1949 notes are the oldest extant record of grapplings with the complexities of Warlpiri sentence grammar,⁹ in particular the pronominal enclitics.

4.1.1 HHJ COATE

Coate's study of Warlpiri occurred during his time at Yuendumu in its earliest years. The Yuendumu Settlement can be said to date from the first church service held there, in February 1947. The settlement was on a government Reserve and technically under the Northern Territory Administration (NTA) who employed Coate as a Patrol Officer at Yuendumu for over a year. He left Yuendumu the day before the Flemings arrived in 1949.¹⁰ The Flemings were long-serving Baptist missionaries, and associates of Mr Laurie Reece, who later published a grammar (1970) and dictionary (1979) of Warlpiri, and who independently began his study of Warlpiri at Yuendumu about the same time as Mr Coate.

I first heard that Coate had made a study of Warlpiri from Mr and Mrs W.A. Long when I met them in Alice Springs in 1978. Mary Laughren, the Northern Territory Education Department Linguist at Yuendumu School, contacted Coate and he sent her a copy of the notes, which he also deposited at the AIAS Library in April 1979 (Coate 1949). This material is written or typed on foolscap sheets, some with the NTA (Northern Territory Administration) letterhead.

Coate's Warlpiri notes show that he received some linguistic advice at the time from the Rev. R.M. Trudinger, who knew Pitjantjatjara. The notes use for Warlpiri an orthography which differs from the Pitjantjatjara one, however, and which differs from the modern Warlpiri orthography in the following correspondences:

⁹ I have examined Pink's vocabulary file, and it contains a few examples of only one pronominal clitic that she recognised: *-ma* 'I', as in *yan'gooner' karkurrerer!* (sc. *yanku-ma kakarrara*) 'I go east (from here)'. There is also one example of *-lu* 'they': *bug'un'oo'loo* (sc. *paka-rnu-lu*) 'killed'.

I have only seen a small fraction of Miss Pink's extensive notebooks and manuscript material from her time among the Warlpiri, virtually none of which has been published, and it might be that further study of her material will show that she too had already made an analysis of Warlpiri verbal and pronominal morphology. Terry, Tindale, Fry and Long, it seems, recorded none.

¹⁰ Mrs K. Fleming, pers.comm., Yuendumu, 19 April 1987. See also Long 1992.

modern Warlpiri orthography	p	t, rt	j	k	m	ny	ng	π, r	y
Coate's orthography	b	d	dj	g	ɲ	ny	ŋ	r	j

Table 9 shows some of the pronouns (bound and free) discernible in Coate's notes, preserving his spellings. The modern free pronouns are added for comparison; for the modern bound pronouns, see Table 4. In this table parentheses enclose segments which occur only in a longer form; alternates are listed separated by comma (,); ... links halves of a discontinuous morpheme.

	Modern Warlpiri	Coate Warlpiri (in original orthography)		
	free pronoun	free pronoun	subject	object
1	<i>ngaju</i>	<i>ɲadju</i>	<i>na, na</i>	<i>dju</i>
2	<i>nyuntu</i>	<i>njundu, njindu</i>	<i>npa</i>	<i>ggu</i>
3	<i>nyanungu</i>	<i>njanugu, njanagu</i>	∅	∅
3 Dat Refl	<i>nyanungu-lu</i>	<i>njanagugu</i>		<i>n(y)anu</i>
12	<i>ngali</i>	<i>gali</i>	<i>li</i>	
11	<i>ngajarra</i>	<i>ɲadjara</i>	<i>na</i>	
22	<i>nyumpala</i>	<i>njumbala, njundudjara</i>		
33	<i>nyanungu-jarra</i>	<i>njanagudjara</i>		
122	<i>ngaliɲa</i>	<i>ɲalimba</i>	<i>liba(lu), li:ba</i>	
111	<i>nganimpa</i>	<i>ɲanimba</i>	<i>na...lu</i>	<i>ɲanba, nimba</i>
222	<i>nyurrula</i>	<i>njurula, njarula</i>		
333	<i>nyanungu-patu</i>	<i>njanagubandji¹¹, njanagubadu</i>	<i>lu[?]</i>	

Table 9: Pronouns in Yuendumu Warlpiri, after Coate 1949

4.1.2 SOURCES 1950-74

In the period before the advent of bilingual education in 1974, a few more researchers left a record of Warlpiri vocabulary: Capell's 1952 sketch grammar, vocabulary from the ethnographers particularly Nancy Munn, Mervyn Meggitt, and Nicholas and Rosalind Peterson, and grammar and vocabulary from the missionaries Laurie Reece and Lothar Jagst. Apart from Capell 1952 and Reece 1970, these sources generally consist of vocabulary and short expressions, and do not include grammar, or in particular the pronominal paradigm.

¹¹ The plural suffix *-bandji* (sc. *-panji*) is recorded by Coate also on the stem *jali* (sc. *yali*) 'that'. This suffix occurs in modern Warlpiri only in certain kin expressions, such as *ngarrka-panji* 'group of members of mother's mother's subsection' and *kulu-panji* 'group of members of sister's child's subsection'.

gloss	Modern Warlpiri	Capell Warlpiri (in original orthography)		
	free pronoun	free pronoun	subject	object
1	<i>ngaju</i>	<i>gadju</i>	<i>-ga</i>	<i>-dja, -dju, -dji</i>
2	<i>nyuntu</i>	<i>njundu</i>	<i>-nba</i>	<i>-nggu</i>
3	<i>nyanungu</i>	<i>jali</i>	<i>-ø</i>	<i>-la or -ø</i>
Refl				<i>-njanu</i>
12	<i>ngali</i>	<i>gali</i>	<i>-li</i>	<i>-gali</i>
11	<i>ngajarra</i>	<i>gadjara</i>	<i>-lidjara</i>	<i>-djaragu</i>
22	<i>nyumpala</i>	<i>njumbala</i>	<i>-mbula</i>	<i>-gubula</i>
33	<i>nyanungu-jarra</i>	<i>jaliidjara</i>	<i>-bala</i>	<i>-bala, -balagu</i>
122	<i>ngalipa</i>	<i>galiba</i>	<i>-liba</i>	<i>-liba</i>
111	<i>nganimpa</i>	<i>ganimba</i>	<i>-nalu</i>	<i>-nalu</i>
222	<i>nyurrula</i>	<i>njura</i>	<i>-ngulu</i>	<i>-njara</i>
333	<i>nyanungu-patu</i>	<i>jaliidjara, jalibardii</i>	<i>-lu ~ -li</i>	<i>-djara</i>

Table 10: *Pronouns in Warlpiri, after Capell 1962 [1952]:34, 48*
(Recorded in 1952 at Yuendumu and Phillip Creek (on the east of Warlpiri country, a precursor to Alekareng)).

The pre-1974 textual material is mainly the voluminous transcriptions of Kenneth Hale, 1959-67. Lothar Jagst also recorded texts at Lajamanu, some of which were converted to machine-readable form (no longer extant) in Oklahoma, 1971.

4.2 CONTEMPORARY WARLPIRI

4.2.1 CHILDREN

Bavin & Shopen 1987 report on a study of Yuendumu children's speech, principally the results of a questionnaire. See also Bavin (forthcoming), Bavin & Shopen 1991. For instance, Bavin & Shopen 1987 found that in their sample the free pronoun *nyuntu-jarra* 'you-Dual' was used by children 30% of the time as opposed to the older form *nyumpala* 70% of the time. Note that Coate was taught in 1947 both *njumbala* (sc. *nyumpala*) and *njundudjara* (sc. *nyuntu-jarra*) for 'you-Dual', so the analytic form of the pronoun has been in use for more than a generation.

Table 11 also shows the bound pronominal forms where Yuendumu children's Warlpiri is simplified from the adult Warlpiri pronominals (repeated for comparison). The changes exhibited by the children's forms follow expected lines of language change, as discussed by Bavin & Shopen 1987, 1991:108. They refer to tendencies noted by Watkins and Kurytowicz; note however that those tendencies have usually been observed of verbal paradigms. Further, the way in which the 3sg enclitic spreads in the levelling of the pronominal paradigm is not strictly as a base, in that the child *-pala* simply supplants adult portmanteau morphs, and *-lu* spreads only through generalisation of the existing adult form *-ma-lu*.

	modern Warlpiri	Yuendumu children's Warlpiri	
	free pronoun	free pronoun	subject object
1	<i>ngaju</i>		
2	<i>nyuntu</i>		
3	<i>nyanungu</i>		
3 Dat	<i>nyanungu-ku</i>		
Refl			
12	<i>ngali</i>		<i>ma-pala</i>
11	<i>ngajarra</i>		<i>ma-pala ju-pala</i>
22	<i>nyumpala</i>	<i>nyuntu-jarra</i>	<i>npa-pala</i>
33	<i>nyanungu-jarra</i>		
122	<i>ngalipa</i>		<i>ma-lu ngapa ~ ngarpa</i>
111	<i>nganimpa</i>		<i>ma-lu ngapa ~ ngarpa</i>
222	<i>nyurrula</i>	<i>nyuntu-rra</i>	<i>npa-lu</i>
333	<i>nyanungu-patu</i>		

Table 11: *Pronouns in Yuendumu children's Warlpiri*
(after Bavin & Shopen 1987:(Table 9, 10))

As Bavin & Shopen 1987 note, Laughren 1977 had reported *-ma-pala* as an alternate of *-rijarra* 11s; neither form occurs in Coate's notes. Reece 1970:74 and Reece 1979:192 have both forms (but assigns to *-mapala* a meaning 'we three, two others and I, but not you', a purported 1st person excl trial contrasting with incl *-manpala* meaning 'we three, you and another and I'). Reece 1970:72-74 and Reece 1979:201-202 have *nyumpala* and *nyuntujara*, both 'you two'; but contrast *-npala* 'you two' with *-npapala* 'you three'. Tellingly, the table of free and bound pronouns given by Reece 1970:74 lacks a free or an object form only for the purported 'triple' meanings.

4.2.2 WAKIRTI WARLPIRI

Of the variant Eastern and Wakirti Warlpiri forms listed above in Table 8, the ones that appear to have developed recently are in Table 12.

	subject	object
11	<i>rijarra</i>	
122		<i>ngalpangu</i>
111		<i>npangu</i>
		<i>nganpaku</i>

Table 12: *New variant pronominal enclitics in Wakirti Warlpiri*
(after Simpson et al 1990:x-xiii)

The forms of Table 12 do not occur in the earlier records of Eastern Warlpiri, of which Wakirti is a modern development. The *rijarra* form appears to be by vowel elision from *rijarra*, cf. the spelling *Warlpiri* preferred by some younger speakers of Wakirti Warlpiri.

5 THE WARLPIRI PRONOMINAL ENCLITICS TEMPLATE

The pronominal clitics are one of the more complicated areas of Warlpiri grammar. The details of their morphology, rules of forms, and construable arguments are set out in Hale 1973, and the role in clause structure also in Hale 1978. Of particular interest is the requirement that certain Datives be registered in the Auxiliary (Hale, 1978:48-50); and that 1st and 2nd person arguments must be represented in the Auxiliary.¹² In trying to understand these patterns, I proposed a 'morpheme order chart', or 'template' (Simpson & Withgott 1986), for the Warlpiri Auxiliary.

Complementiser Tense/Modal Base Subject Object *rla* (Nash 1986:59)

Here the Auxiliary ends with slots for the pronominal enclitics, the forms of which are given in Table 4 above. I added that "the further Dative clitic *jinta* may occur after *rla*, and only occurs with *rla* immediately preceding." (1986:60). This was the analysis of template (A):

(A) The clitics are subject to the following surface structure constraint:

Tense Nom Dat/Acc *rla jinta* (Perlmutter 1971:89 (9))¹³

Note that this formulation of the template allows a combination with a (non-zero) non-subject clitic before *-rla-jinta* such as:

-ma -jana -rla -jinta
1s 333o Dat Dat

The alternative template, that of Hale 1973:336-7, excludes such a combination; Hale's generalisation is stated as a template triple (B) (which can be captured also by phrase-structure rules):

(B) subject - object
subject - dative
subject - dative-*rla*¹⁴

¹² Perlmutter, 1971:89-95 discusses Warlpiri pronominal clitics, and in particular the possible co-occurrence of clitics construed with ABS and DAT, but he does not consider *-rla* and *-jinta*. Costandi 1975:106,113 also addresses the data on *-rla*, in terms of a Turing machine model.

¹³ Tense is in the schema representing the Auxiliary base as part of the environment of the constraint, unlike the remaining items which represent pronominal enclitics subject to the constraint.

¹⁴ Based on this, Jelinek 1984:64 writes a "rough PS rule" which generates not only the valid sequence (clitic_{NOM}) (clitic_{DAT}) (clitic_{DAT}) but also the invalid sequence (clitic_{NOM}) (clitic_{ACC}) (clitic_{DAT}).

with *-jinta* arising only through "a late morphological rule which replaces a basic sequence **-rla-rla* by *-rla-jinta*."¹⁵ Note that subject-object-*rla* is not a possibility in (B).

A concomitant difference between templates (A) and (B) is the status of *-rla*. Under (A), *-rla* is not a possible 'Dat/Acc' clitic, whereas under (B) it is a possible filler of the 'dative' slot. If a template is to be preferred, *ceteris paribus*, when it avoids the filling of more than one slot by the same morph, then (A) is to be preferred.

As will be seen below, there is Warlpiri data favouring each of these alternatives.

5.1. THE POLYSEMY OF *-RLA-JINTA*

Warlpiri *-rla-jinta* has at least four meanings, some pairs more relatable than others.

• 1 Pronominal enclitic combination

The pronominal enclitic sequence *-rla-jinta* occurs on the Auxiliary when there are two separate 3rd person Dative arguments; this is the combination discussed above.

• 2 Double Dative construction

The pronominal enclitic sequence *-rla-jinta* occurs on the Auxiliary in the Double Dative construction with 3rd person argument. This is a derived diathesis available to certain verbs, as described by Hale 1978 [1982]. A simple example is in the sentence:

(1) *Luwa-rnu -ma-rla-jinta*
shoot-Past 1s-Con
'I shot at it.'

Hale & Laughren 1986 analyse this construction as a further instance of two Dative arguments, a sub-type of 1.

• 3 Comitative semantic case on N stems; allomorph *-ngka-jinta* on disyllabic roots

• 4 Circumstantial Complementiser on Infinitive (nominalised verb) stems, *-rla-jinta* has a restricted occurrence with the meaning that the event of the Infinitive is a circumstance of the main event.

The relationship between 3 and 4 fits a general Warlpiri pattern relating endings on nominals and on infinitives. It is tempting to further speculate that pronominal enclitic *-rla* and *-rla-jinta* of 1 and 2 might descend from the Locative case *-rla* (the Locative allomorph on stems of more than two syllables).¹⁶ The speculation sees Comitative *-rla-jinta* arising from *N-[jinta]*

¹⁵ The *-rla-rla* → *-rla-jinta* rule is also used by Swartz 1982:70,78; his analysis predicts exactly the same surface clitic combinations as Hale's. Swartz's analysis differs in not including *-rla* in the subject-object template, but instead adding it to the template by a rule, ordered before the *-rla-rla* → *-rla-jinta* rule.

¹⁶ The Locative as origin is also proposed for a similar verbal suffix *-la* in the Marragu language Karajarri, by Sands 1989:100-103. Sands proposes one of three meanings for Karajarri *-la*:

compounding with nominal root *jinta* 'one', as in modern expressions like *ngurra-jinta* 'countryman' (*ngurra* 'country'), but with the first element of the compound being a Locative nominal, with structure *[N-*rla*]-[*jinta*], reanalysed as N-[*rla-jinta*]. This is more plausibly semantically than morphologically, as the compounding with *jinta* is not productive in modern Warlpiri, and is not observed with inflected nominals, only nominal roots.

5.2 STATUS OF -RNA-JANA-RLA-JINTA COMBINATIONS

We saw in the discussion above on the Warlpiri pronominal clitics template that it is possible to extrapolate in two different directions from simpler Warlpiri pronominal clitic sequences. The *-rla* Dative enclitic can be thought of as occurring principally in the slot of the other Object enclitics, or as immediately following the Object enclitic slot. The two extrapolations make different predictions about the occurrence of the twin Dative enclitics *-rla-jinta*.

The approximately 60,000 lines of Warlpiri material available in machine-readable form conform absolutely to the generalisation that *-rla-jinta* cannot follow any (non-zero) non-subject pronominal clitic.

Yet several Warlpiri speakers on different occasions have agreed that such a combination is well-formed and interpretable. Here is the data from three young adult Warlpiri who have been interviewed on this topic.

5.2.1 RJ GRANITES

The analysis of Hale 1973, valid for the speech of Hale's Yuendumu consultants to that date, is too restrictive for Robin Japanangka Granites' speech, in not allowing the optional *-jinta* when the object clitic is overt (non-zero).¹⁷ In Robin Granites' judgement, *-rla* is added just to make a (non-zero) object clitic be construed with a DAT argument.

- (2) *Wati-ngki ka-rla-jinta marlu-ku luwarni.*
 man-ERG Aux-*rla-jinta* kangaroo-DAT he.is:shooting
 'The man is shooting at the kangaroo.' OR 'The man is trying to shoot the kangaroo.'

Added to any verb (whether or not with the object suffix) to indicate a cause or affected noun. (1989:100)

Hercus describes a verbal suffix *-la* in Arabana-Wangkangurru which has both Benefactive ('altruistic') and Causative uses. Hercus compares the causative use of *-la* with Pitta-Pitta *-la*, and Arrernte *-ile* and *liihe*.

[T]he *-la* causative conveys only minimal or no participation from the person or object that is targeted. (Hercus 1991:146)

Note that the privileges of occurrence of *-(r)la* are that of pronominal enclitics in the Yapa, Ngumbin and Marrngu languages, whereas *-la* is a verbal aspect suffix in the SA and Queensland languages.

Another possible source for *la* is the *-ra* 'nominal oblique' of Western Desert pronominals.

¹⁷ Hale passed on these observations in an MIT class, March 1st 1976.

- (3) *Wati-ngki ka-palangu-rla-jinta marlu-jarra-ku luwarni.*
 man-ERG Aux-dual-*rla-jinta* kangaroo-dual-DAT he.is:shooting
 'The man is shooting at the kangaroos (two).' OR 'The man is trying to shoot the kangaroos (two).'
- (4) *Wati-ngki ka-ju-rla-jinta ngaju-ku luwarni.*
 man-ERG Aux-1sgO-*rla-jinta* 1sg-DAT he.is:shooting
 'The man is shooting at me.' OR 'The man is trying to shoot at me.'

Granites, Hale & Odling-Smee 1976:14 (II The Case System, <A> Basic Grammatical Relations, Section 6 Addenda to the Basic Case System)

Verbs of perception *can* take *-rla(-jinta)* to mean 'try to V'; so *see* becomes *look for*, etc. The *-jinta* is optionally dropped with apparently no meaning change.

5.2.2 GJ ROBERTSON

In his comments on Carrier 1976:34¹⁸, George Jampijinpa Robertson provided these examples:

- (5) [= (48)] *Ngaju karnariajinta Japanangkaku kurduku mariaja-wangkami.*
 'Japanangka is causing me to speak to the child.'
- (6) [= (49)] *Ngaju karnangkurlajinta malikiki nyuntuku mariaja-wangkami.*
 'Japanangka caused me to speak to your dog.'

"Two datives but NOT three would seem acceptable"

- (5) = I am speaking for the child in place of Japanangka (because he confided the child to me).
 (6) was understood as ... *nyuntuku* = *Japanangkaku* This sentence with *jinta* is not accepted.

5.2.3 P PATRICK JANGALA

When I asked him about them, the late Paddy Patrick Jangala (pers. comm., Tennant Creek, 23 October 1986) accepted sentences such as:

- (7) *Luwa-mu-lu-jana-rla-jinta (yapa-ku).*
 shoot-NPast-333s-333o-DAT-DAT (person-DAT)

and gave an interpretation like 'They were throwing things at them because of it (e.g. to see if they were there)'. In sentences such as these, in other words, each non-subject enclitic is given a Dative argument interpretation.

¹⁸ Laughren's letter of 9 May 1977 to Hale.

5.3. HISTORICAL REMARKS ON THE PRONOMINAL ENCLITICS TEMPLATE

As mentioned in the previous section, the overwhelming textual evidence is that pronominal enclitic combination *-ria-jinta* cannot follow any (non-zero) non-subject pronominal clitic, yet linguistically trained Warlpiri speakers have agreed that such a combination is well-formed and interpretable. This divergence recapitulates the analytic difference between templates (A) and (B) above (at the beginning of section 5).

The difference between the two analyses can be seen as a jump of Dative enclitic *ria* between its own slot and the adjacent Object/Dative slot.

For the purpose of discussing the combinations proposed to be grammatical at each historical stage, I use in this section the notation X for any word hosting pronominal clitics at the relevant stage (possibly restricted to verbs, possibly any category); and *rna* stands for any subject enclitic, *jana* for any non-zero object enclitic.

I would like to sketch one possible progression from earlier stages which might give the attested array of possibilities, more in the spirit of re-presenting a problem than proposing a solution. The suggestion is that an earlier stage I was a precursor of a stage II, where stage II allows combinations consistent with template (A).

I	proto	<i>X-rna</i> <i>X-rna-φ</i>	(intransitive clause) (transitive clause, 3sgABS or DAT object)
		<i>X-(rna)-jana</i> <i>X-(rna)-[jana-ria]</i> <i>X-(rna)-[jana-ria-jinta]</i> NO <i>X-(rna)-φ-ria-jinta</i> NO <i>X-(rna)-φ-ria</i>	<i>jana</i> not construed as ABS <i>jana</i> not construed as ABS
II	pre-/modern	<i>X(-rna)-φ-ria-jinta</i> <i>X(-rna)-φ-ria</i> <i>X-(rna)-jana-ria</i> <i>X-(rna)-jana-[ria-jinta]</i>	OCCURS OCCURS REANALYSIS: <i>jana</i> may be construed as ABS
III	pre-/modern	<i>X-rna-ria-jinta</i> <i>X-rna-ria</i> <i>X-(rna)-jana-ria</i> <i>X-(rna)-jana-[ria-jinta]</i>	REANALYSIS

In other words, at stage II, *-ria(-jinta)* extensions are allowable on any object clitic to mark the use of a particular diathesis, and has the possibilities allowed by the consultants of section 5.2. The motivation for the progression from stage I to stage II is akin to Watkins' Law (Collinge 1985:239-40, cf. Kurytowicz's Third Law, Collinge 1985:249-52), that the 3rd person singular is basic in verbal paradigm change, and that any 3rd person-singular ending is susceptible to being incorporated into the stem. Here we are not considering a verbal paradigm *per se*, but pronominal enclitics (which may be hosted by a constituent of various grammatical categories). And while the 3rd person ending (*-ria*) is not here incorporated into the stem, it does in my proposal replace an immediately preceding zero-morpheme.

In any case, as soon as *-ria* is taken as the 3sg DAT form, in the object slot of *-jana* etc., the possibility of *-ria-ria(-jinta)* arises. This is the 'jump' of *ria* into the slot to its left, the move from stage II to stage III.

At stage III *-ria* can occur where object clitics occur, as well as in the immediately following slot; hence *-ria-ria* would arise. But there is a prohibition on *-ria-ria-*, presumably an instance of the potentially universal Repeated Morph Constraint (Menn & MacWhinney 1984), and consequently a morphological rule arises: *-ria-ria → -ria-jinta*.

At Stage III, *X-(rna)-jana-ria* is possible in the interpretation where *-jana* is construed with one DAT argument, and *-ria* with another DAT argument in the same clause, since *-ria* by itself can now support construal with a DAT argument. As for the sequence *X-(rna)-jana-ria-jinta*, at stage III it is not crucial whether there is the possibility of construal of *-jinta* with a third DAT argument.

The scenario so far described necessitates an extra stage, IV, wherein reanalysis has occurred allowing only two non-subject clitic positions.

IV	modern/ classic	<i>X-rna-ria-jinta</i> <i>X-rna-ria</i> <i>X-(rna)-jana-ria</i> NO <i>X-(rna)-jana-[ria-jinta]</i>
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Stage IV allows combinations consistent with template (B) above.

The generalisation holds to this point that "a phonologically constituted direct object clitic cannot co-occur with a dative clitic" (Hale 1973:333-334).

However, beginning with Laughren 1977:11, there has been elicitation of such sentences as (her (21)):

- (8) *Ngajulu-riu ka-rna-ngku-ria yi-nyi nyampu-ku.*
I-ERG Pres-1s-2o-3DAT give-NPAST this-DAT
'I am giving you to this one.'

which shows the emergence of another stage, V, for those speakers where the object enclitic construed with ABS is 1st or 2nd person:

V	modern 'post- classic'	<i>X-rna-jana-ria</i> <i>jana</i> is construed with ABS; <i>ria</i> is construed with DAT
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Some problems with the above scenario are immediately apparent. There is no evidence of the earlier stages I and II: they are just one inference from later stages. Stage III is attested only in a small amount of elicited material (section 5.2). And the change from stage III to stage IV is merely the otherwise unmotivated activation of template (B) instead of (A).

There is little comparative data to throw light on possible histories. Ngarti has an "Allative bound pronoun *rlanyinta ~ rlajinta*" (Lee Cataldi, pers.comm., 12/7/1995). Similarly, Walmajari has special 3rd person Dative and Oblique cross-referencing enclitics *manyanta*, as

in 'I sat with him/her' and *marlanyanta*, as in 'I chopped it for her/him' (Richards & Hudson 1990:373).

Note that Walmajarri is more diverse, in allowing the *nyanta* without a preceding *ria*, whereas in Warlpiri (and Ngarti?) *ria* always immediately precedes. As to the phonological correspondence, a possible development is Walmajarri *nyanta* < *nyinta* < *jinta*. For the nasalisation of the stop, note Walmajarri 3rd person plural object enclitic *nyana*, compare Warlpiri, etc *jana*. The implication is that the earlier stages of the above scenario are common to the history of Walmajarri and Warlpiri, and, unless borrowed, to Ngumpin and Yapa languages.

5.4. ASIDE: OTHER USES OF ENCLITIC -RLA

It may be relevant to mention that Warlpiri enclitic *-ria* has, as well as the usage just considered of cross-referencing a Dative argument (whether overt or not) of the predicate of a clause, other uses where it is not clearly a co-referencing pronominal. These include:

- (a) reference to an oblique participant, which may have the meaning of an argument added by a Dative Adjunct Preverb (such as *kaji* Benefactive, *marlaja* Causal 'thanks to'), but where the preverb is not expressed.
- (b) 'environmental *-ria*' (a term due to Hale), as in

(9) *Kala-ria rangkarr-rangkarr-wanti-ja*. [ML]
 Aux-3DAT dawn-Redup-fall-Past
 'The rain fell right up to day break.'

(10) *Yalirla-jukw-lpa-ria rangkarr-ka-ngu*. [Winnie-Y]
 there-still-Past-3DAT dawn-carry-Past
 'She was still there when day dawned on her.'

6 CONCLUSION

I propose that in the variation in modern Warlpiri pronominal enclitic possibilities, we see the tension between competing models, seen either as two templates, or a template model and a phrase-structure rule model. It is suggested that the evidence is genuinely equivocal, in the spirit of a generalisation made elsewhere by Jeffrey Heath:

I often suggest that two or more distinct models, whether or not they make distinct factual predictions, may have some degree of psychological validity for native speakers. Essentially, I argue for the extension of variation models from the study of the social distribution of low-level surface forms (as in the quantitative sociolinguistics of W. Labov) to the study of abstract phonological representations and rules (even in some cases where the surface forms are perfectly stable). One justification for this approach is that it provides an important link between synchronic description and the analysis of historical change. (Heath 1987:5)

The inferred evolutionary history of Warlpiri pronominal enclitic sequences shows the tensions in the suggested reanalyses.

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