PRONOMINAL CLITIC VARIATION IN THE YAPA LANGUAGES

DAVID NASH

1 INTRODUCTION


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 Warlpiri 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 Warlpiri is in fact independent pronouns which, at some stage in the prehistory of the language, became unstressed and were attached 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 stratal of the -ra and -ra-yiila enclitics with clause arguments in the Dative case.

2 I have met Howard Cook only once: on the afternoon of 26 July 1989, 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 local work in the composition of illustrative sentences.

Warlpiri data is from my own investigation. The source of each Warlpiri datum is cited. All Nguridjana dataset is from Les Casuli and Green 1986. I am grateful to Warlpiri and Warlpiri 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 McConwell, 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 A5695251).

2 See also Mayes 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, 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 in group was dubbed the Ngarka (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 ngarka 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 Ngambin, Pama, Mani, Nyungar and so on.

### Table 1: Free pronouns in the Yapa languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Warlampra</th>
<th>Warlpiri</th>
<th>Ngartily</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ngaaju</td>
<td>ngaaju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nyuntu</td>
<td>nyuntu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(nyarti-)</td>
<td>nyarangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>ngalli-kujarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ngajarma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>nyunta-jarra</td>
<td>nyumpala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>ngalpa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>ngturlupa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>nurrula</td>
<td>very rare</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It appears that Warlampra 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). Warlampra ngaaju 'I' shows derivation from *ngaju, attested in a few other roots; ngaaju is also the Mudburra form.

Warlpiri shows one change: nyumpala shows assimilation from *nyun-pula 'you Dual'. Ngartily has added -ngampurra to the 2nd person plural (cf. Warlpiri ngampurra '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 the non-Yapa Nyungaric languages on the north, and Table 3 for the Western Desert Language on the west.

### Table 2: Pronouns in adjacent Ngumpin languages. (Sources: Gurudji from McConville 1980, Mudburra from McConville 1980 and Nash 1984.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mudburra</th>
<th>Gurudji</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ngaayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nyuntu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>nyari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>ngali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>kujarra 'two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>ngumpula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>ngaliwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>ngaayi-yurt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1222</td>
<td>ngaayi-wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>turtu 'many'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>ngiururu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>333</td>
<td>nurrula</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Table 3: Pronouns in Western Desert languages.**

Evans 1981:11 proposes reconstructed Western Desert pronouns, as in the column *WD* in Table 3. I have added the forms from Warnman, a close relative of the Western Desert language, notable for having innovated the pronominal stems; Warnman data from Jim Marsh, unpublished ms. These forms generally take case suffixes *-nya* Accusative (ACC), *-mpa* Dative (ERG), *-tli* 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 *tli*, 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 *'i* or *'o* to indicate a subject or non-subject form, respectively. Dialectal alternates are separated by a comma, *E* marks Eastern Warlpiri, *W* marks Warnman, and *P* marks PINT, all of which may show different patterns of allomorphy.

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.

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4 The 2nd sg allomorph *ni* occurs when another enclitic follows, thus *ni* + *'i*.
5 Note the combination *pullanya* + *tli* is realised as *pullanyta*. An alternate form may be *pullan* (*Lee Cataldi pers. comm. March 1991*).
6 *mpa* is reported by Mary Laughren (*pers. comm.*), and Bavin & Shopen 1987.
7 *nyarra* is a less common alternate of *nya* (*Hale 1979:326*), and does not occur in Eastern Warlpiri.
Table 5: Proposed pronominal enclitics in proto-Yapa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>3 Dat</th>
<th>Refl</th>
<th>n-rau</th>
<th>nga-nil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nyanu</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nga-nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>ngku</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nyanu</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nga-nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>ngku</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nyanu</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nga-nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>ngku</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nyanu</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nga-nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Wamena, see Simpson 1990; the remaining adjacent languages, the Aradic group, lack bound pronouns.


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 restructuring would thereby be required to be postulated.

1. Lenition *y > y intervocalically, in Ngari/Ngari; yi 1.0, yana 333a; note the variation in the independent pronoun does not correspond exactly: Warlampa ngaju 1 but enclitic ju 1s.
2. Homorganic nasal-stop cluster simplification in Warlampa: *ngk > ng ngtu 2a, jangu 110.
3. *ŋV deletion intervocalically in Warlampa *ŋjarra > ja 11s and *ŋjaranggu > jangu 110. *ŋVnra > nyanu 220.
4. Vowel deletion *ŋpa > ŋpa in Warlampa 122s, possibly also in 11s *ŋjarra > ja with also simplification of the *ŋ to *ŋ.
5. Generalisation of ngu object marking in Warlampa lpa.ngu 120a, nyanu 220a, Bawarri ngaju 120a, NGW ngaju 110a, Warlampa and Warlpiri palu.ngu 330, 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 2a.

A partial exception is 1st sg and 2nd sg fused pronouns in Kaytseye: anyene ‘1s-20’, nsethe ‘2s-10’ (Harold Koch, pers. comm., 12/2/91).

3.2 FORMS IN ADJACENT LANGUAGES

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 /t/) of the enclitics in Table 7 follows a host-final /N/.

### Table 6: Pronominal enclitics in adjacent Ngumpy Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>3 Dat</th>
<th>Refl</th>
<th>n-rau</th>
<th>nga-nil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nyanu</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nga-nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngku</td>
<td>n(nku)</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nyanu</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nga-nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nyanu</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nga-nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>li</td>
<td>(n)jalu</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nyanu</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nga-nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>li</td>
<td>n(jalu)</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nyanu</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nga-nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>li</td>
<td>n(jalu)</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nyanu</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nga-nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>li</td>
<td>n(jalu)</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nyanu</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nga-nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>li</td>
<td>n(jalu)</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nyanu</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nga-nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>li</td>
<td>n(jalu)</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nyanu</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nga-nil</td>
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<td></td>
<td>li</td>
<td>n(jalu)</td>
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<td>li</td>
<td>nyanu</td>
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<td>nga-nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>li</td>
<td>n(jalu)</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nyanu</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nga-nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>li</td>
<td>n(jalu)</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nyanu</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nga-nil</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>li</td>
<td>n(jalu)</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nyanu</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nga-nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>li</td>
<td>n(jalu)</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nyanu</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nga-nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>li</td>
<td>n(jalu)</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nyanu</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nga-nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>li</td>
<td>n(jalu)</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nyanu</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nga-nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>li</td>
<td>n(jalu)</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nyanu</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>nga-nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /t/) of the enclitics in Table 7 follows a host-final /N/.
the clitics contrast with DAT showed remnants of an addition *-ka (other than in 1st and 2nd sg.) and -ngki inversion marker (see Simpson & Withnall 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 clitics with an assignable meaning only in one form: *pala-ngku 330. It is also the optional extension to one object clitics: *ngalit-(ngki) 120, and the final syllable of a few other object clitics: farranggu 110 and ngku 20.

3.5.2 Eastern Warlpiri

Eastern (and Wakhiri) Warlpiri has additional object clitics with -ngu as the final syllable, which furthermore is an addition to the corresponding Western Warlpiri form: ngamangu 110 and ?? -ngalangu 1220.

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 clitics: *pala-ngu 330, *pa-ngu 110, *pa-ngu 1220 and is reinforced by ending two other object clitics (though not as a separable morpheme): *ngku 20 and *ngu 220.

4 Records of Warlpiri Pronominal Clitics

Before embarking on study of the pattern of Warlpiri pronominal clitics, it is relevant to survey the evidence available to us, especially given the paucity of native-speaker linguistic 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 floodplain, and spoken at Alekarenga (Ali Barunga) and Tennant Creek) is quite distinct from the Warlpiri spoken at Wiluroa, Lajamanu, or Yuendumu. Second, it appears that the speech differences between younger and older Warlpiri encompass differences in form of the pronominal clitics. This is most clearly recognised at Alekarenga, where the younger people's variety has its own name, 'Wakhiri Warlpiri' (wakiri '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 Warlipiri 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 Warlipiri country (and now represented primarily by Yuendumu Warlipiri). The early records are consistent with the Warlipiri documented by Hale in 1959-67, which I refer to as ‘classic’ Warlipiri. ‘Classic’ Warlipiri is not pristine — it has many assimilated English loans, for instance — but it represents the language of Warlipiri whose English, if it existed, presumably had less interference with their native language than subsequently, and few of whom were literate. This Warlipiri is that of the current old generation, the averted standard.

The oldest extant record of Warlipiri 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 Warlipiri vocabulary from the period 1952-44, while Howard H.J. Coate’s 1949 notes are the oldest extant record of grappling with the complexities of Warlipiri sentence grammar, in particular the pronominal enclitics.

4.1.1 H.H. Coate

Coate’s study of Warlipiri 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. The Flemings were long-serving Baptist missionaries, and associates of Mr Laurie Reece, who later published a grammar (1970) and dictionary (1979) of Warlipiri, and who independently began his study of Warlipiri at Yuendumu about the same time as Mr Coate.

I first heard that Coate had made a study of Warlipiri 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 Warlipiri notes show that he received some linguistic advice at the time from the Rev. R.M. Treidinger, who knew Pitjantjatjara. The notes use for Warlipiri an orthography which differs from the Pitjantjatjara one, however, and which differs from the modern Warlipiri orthography in the following correspondences:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modern Warlipiri</th>
<th>Coate’s orthography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>free pronoun</td>
<td>free pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaju</td>
<td>gaju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyutu</td>
<td>njundu, njindu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyurangu</td>
<td>njuranu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyurangu-ku</td>
<td>njuranpu</td>
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<td>n galeri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n ngurara</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyumalpa</td>
<td>njumala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyurangurla</td>
<td>njura.</td>
</tr>
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<td>njururla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyurangurla</td>
<td>njururla</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Pronouns in Yuendumu Warlipiri, 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 Warlipiri vocabulary: Capell’s 1952 sketch grammar, vocabulary from the ethnographers particularly Nancy Mann, Mervyn Meggitt, and Nicholas and Roschild Peterson, and grammar and vocabulary from the missionaries Laurie Reece and Lothar Jags. 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.

The plural suffix -bandji (sc. -panji) is recorded by Coate also on the stem jali (sc. yali) ‘that’. This suffix occurs in modern Warlipiri only in certain kin expressions, such as ngurarra-panji ‘group of members of mother’s mother’s subservices’ and kulu-panji ‘group of members of sister’s child’s subservices’.

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9 I have examined Pink’s vocabulary file, and it contains a few examples of only one pronominal clitic that she recognised: rna ‘I’, as in yam’gumer karlakarrer (sc. yamka-arna kabarrar) ‘I go east (from here)’. There is also one example of -tu ‘they’: bugan’tu (sc. paha-nu-tu) ‘killed’.

10 I have only seen a small fraction of Miss Pink’s extensive notebooks and manuscript material from her time among the Warlipiri, 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 Warlipiri verbal and pronominal morphology. Terry, Tindale, Fry and Long, it seems, recorded none.

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

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4.2 CONTEMPORARY WARLPIDI

4.2.1 CHILDREN

Bavin & Shopen 1987 report on a study of Yandamu 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 nyumuda 'you-Dual' was used by children 30% of the time as opposed to the older form nyumuda 'you-Dual' 70% of the time. Note that Coate was taught in 1947 that nyumuda (sc. nyumpyala) and nyumutjara (sc. nyamadda) 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 Yandamu children's Warlpiri is simplified from the adult Warlpiri pronominals (expected 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 Karayowicz; 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 pormeante morphs, and -lu spreads only through generalisation of the existing adult form -rusa-lu.
5 THE WARLPIRI PRONOMINAL ENCLITICS TEMPLATE

The pronominal enclitics are one of the more complicated areas of Warlpiri grammar. They are set out in Hale 1973, and the role in clause structure is also in Hale 1978. Of particular interest is the form that certain Dative be registered in the Auxiliary (Hale, 1978:48-50), and that first and second person arguments must be represented in the Auxiliary. In trying to understand these forms, I proposed a morpheme order chart, or 'template' (Simpson & Withgott 1986), for the Warlpiri Auxiliary.

Complementiser Person/Modal Base Subject Object rna  

Here the Auxiliary ends with slot s for the pronominal enclitics, the forms of which are given in Table 4 above. I added that "the further Dative clitic rna may occur after rna, and only occurs with rna immediately preceding." (1986:59) This was the analysis of template (A):

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

Tense Nom Dat/Acc rna rna (Perlmutter 1971:89 (9))

Note that this formulation of the template allows a combination with a non-zero non-subject clitic before -rna such as:

-rna jinta rna rna
1s 333D 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 rna

12 Perlmutter, 1971:89-95 discusses Warlpiri pronominal enclitics, and in particular the possible co-occurrence of enclitics conjoined with ABS and DAT, but he does not consider -rna and -jinta. Costandi 1975:106,113 also addresses the data on -rna 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 (clampNom) (clampDAT) (clampDAT) but also the invalid sequence (clampNom) (clampAcc) (clampDAT).

PRONOMINAL CLITIC VARIATION IN THE YAPA LANGUAGES

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

A cooccurrent difference between templates (A) and (B) is the status of -ra. Under (A), -ra 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, *eteris 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 -RA-JINTA

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

1 Pronominal enclitic combination

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

2 Double Dative conduction

The pronominal enclitic sequence -ra-jinta occurs in the Auxiliary in the Double Dative construction with 3rd person argument. This is a derived dithesia available to certain verbs, as described by Hale 1978 (1982). A simple example is in the sentence:

(1) Lawa-mu -ra-ra-jinta.
    shoot-Past 1s-Con
    'I shot at it.'

Hale & Laughran 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-agra-jinta on disyllabic roots

4 Circumstantial Complementiser on Infinitive (nominalised verb) stems, -ra-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 -ra and -ra-jinta of 1 and 2 might descend from the Locative case -ra (the Locative allomorph on stems of more than two syllables). The speculation sees Comitative -ra-jinta arising from N-[jinta]...
compounding with nominal root jinta 'one', as in modern expressions like ngarra-jinta "countryman" (ngarra 'country'), but with the first element of the compound being a Locative nominal, with structure *(n-)*ra-)*jinta, reanalysed as N-(ra-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 *(n-)*ra-)*INA-RAL-)*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 *(n-)*ra 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 *(n-)*ra-)*jinta.

The approximately 60,000 lines of Warlpiri material available in machine-readable form conform absolutely to the generalisation that *(n-)*ra-)*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 Jarnangkala Granites’ speech, in not allowing the optional *(n-)*jinta when the object clitic is overt (non-zero).17 In Robin Granites’ judgement, *(n-)*ra is added just to make a (non-zero) object clitic be construed with a DAT argument.

(2) Wati-ngki ka-raja-)*jinta marla-ku lwarni.
man-ERG Aux-Dat-)*jinta kangaroo-DAT he’s/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 Arnhem-Wangkanguru which has both Benefactive (‘althus!’) and Causative uses. Hercus compares the causative use of -(la) with Pass-Pitta -(la, and Arunta -(ba, -(la and -(bke.

The -(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 *(n-)*la are that of pronominal enclitics in the Yapa, Ngambin and Murrinh languages, whereas -(la) is a verbal aspect suffix in the SA and Queensland languages.

Another possible source for la is the *(n-)*ra ‘nominal oblique’ of Western Desert pronominals.18

5.2.2 GJ ROBERTSON

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

(5) *(w=48)* Ngaju karnara-jinta Japangalakku kurduta malarja-wangkami.

‘Japangala is causing me to speak to the child.’

(6) *(w=49)* Ngaju karnara-kurra-jinta maliikku nyuntuku malarja-wangkami.

‘Japangala 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 Japangala (because he/who the child to me).
(6) was understood as ... nyuntuku=Japangalakku 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) Lanna-mu-la-jana-ra-)*jinta (yapa-ku),

shook-NPast-3s-3s-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 -ra-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 ma 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).

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{I} & \\
\text{proto} & X-ma \\
& X-ma-\phi \\
& X-(ma)-jana \\
& X-(ma)-\{jana-ria\} \\
& X-(ma)-\{jana-`ra-jinta\} \\
& NO X-(ma)-\{`ra-\phi, jinta\} \\
\text{II} & \\
\text{pre-modern} & X-(ma)-\{`ra-\phi\} \\
& X-(ma)-\{`ra-\phi, ria\} \\
& X-(ma)-jana \\
& X-(ma)-\{`ra-jinta\} \\
& X-(ma)-\{`ra-\phi, ria\} \\
& X-(ma)-\{`ra-\phi, jinta\} \\
\text{III} & \\
\text{pre-modern} & X-ma-`ra-jinta \\
& X-ma-`ra \\
& X-(ma)-`ra-jinta \\
& X-(ma)-`ra-jinta \\
\end{array}
\]

In other words, at stage II, -(ra-jinta) extensions are allowable on any object enclitic 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. Kuryłowicz'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 -(ra) is not here incorporated into the stem, it does in my proposal replace an immediately preceding zero-morpheme.

IV modern/ classic: X-ma-`ra-jinta

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 elision of such sentences as (ber (21)):

(8) \text{Ngajula-`ra? ka-na-ngku-\text{ra} yi-nyi nyampa-k\text{a}.
}

1-ERG Pres-1s-2o-3DAT give-NPast this-DAT

\text{I am giving you 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:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{V} & \\
\text{modern `post- classic: X-ma-`ra-\{jana-`ra\} \\
& X-ma-`ra-\{jana-`ra\} \\
& X-(ma)-`ra-\{jana-`ra\} \\
& X-(ma)-\{jana-`ra\} \\
\end{array}
\]

In any case, as soon as -(ra) is taken as the 3sg DAT form, in the object slot of -jana etc., the possibility of -(ra-`ra-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 -(ra) can occur where object clitics occur, as well as in the immediately following slot; hence -(ra-ria) would arise. But there is a prohibition on -(ra-`ra), presumably an instance of the potentially universal Repeated Morph Constraint (Mann & MacWhitney 1984), and consequently a morphological rule arises: -(ra-`ra) \rightarrow -(ra-jinta).

At stage III, X-(ma)-`ra-jinta 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-(ma)-`ra-jana-`ra-jinta, at stage III it is not crucial whether there is the possibility of construal of -jana 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.

V modern 'post- classic: X-ma-`ra-`ra-jinta

which shows the emergence of another stage, V, for those speakers where the object enclitic construed with ABS is 1st or 2nd person:
in ‘I sat with him/her’ and marilia, as in ‘I chpped 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 Ngardji) *ria* always immediately precedes. As to the phonological correspondence, a possible development is Walmajarri *nyanta* ≠ *nyanta* ≠ *jinta*. For the nasalisation of the stop, note Walmajarri 3rd person plural object enclitic *nyanta*, 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 - *RIA*

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, *mariaja* Causal ‘thanks to’), but where the preverb is not expressed.

(b) ‘environmental -*ria*’ (a term due to Hale), as in

(9) *Kalu-ria ranguurr-ranguurr-wangi-ja* [ML] Aux-3DAT dawn-Redup-fall-Past
‘The rain fell right up to day break.’

‘She was still there when 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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