

Typological Study of Word Order in Languages of the Pacific Region (5) Warrungu (Australia)

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0. Introduction

The present work is the fifth installment of my typological study of word order in languages of the Pacific region, following Tsunoda (1988b, 1989, forthcoming-a, -b). This project has been supported by two special research grants provided by the University of Nagoya.

The field work on Warrungu was conducted three times, from 1971 to 1974, mainly on Palm Island and also in the adjacent area on the main land of north Queensland. It was financed largely by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies and partly by Monash University. The field work was assisted by the Queensland Department of Aboriginal and Island Affairs.

I dedicate this work to the late Mr. Alf Palmer (*tyinpilngkay*), the last fluent speaker of Warrungu. He was my main consultant for this research, and he produced almost all of the existing materials on the language. He was not only extremely intelligent and in possession of detailed knowledge of the language, but also he was always willing to work for me — so that his language would be recorded for future generations. Without his intelligence and patience, his language would have disappeared without being documented in detail.

1. Name of language

Warrungu. Also spelled Warungu.

2. Source of information

My own data including Tsunoda (1974a), supplemented with Walsh et al. (1981) regarding 3 below. Other works on Warrungu are Tsunoda (1974b, 1975, 1976a, 1976b, 1985, 1987b, 1988c). Warrungu is also dealt with in Tsunoda (1986a, 1986b, 1987a,

1988a).

3. Genetic affiliation

According to Walsh et al. (1981), Warrungu is a member of the Maric group of the Pama-Nyungan language family.

4. Geographical distribution

Warrungu used to be spoken in the upper Herbert River area of north Queensland.

5. Morphological and other relevant facts

Warrungu is almost entirely suffixing. Verbs inflect for tense, aspect, mood, etc. and nouns, pronouns, etc. inflect for case.

The case-marking system is, very roughly speaking, ergative-absolutive ($St \neq Si = O$; $ERG \neq ABS = ABS$) for nouns, demonstratives, adjectives, etc. and nominative-accusative ($St = Si \neq O$; $NOM = NOM \neq ACC$) for pronouns.

Verbs such as antipassives, reflexives, reciprocals, etc. are generally excluded in the ensuing discussions, for they would complicate the exposition of Warrungu syntax (but their exclusion will not affect the conclusions/generalizations presented below). For the antipassives, see Tsunoda (1998c).

All the examples cited below are those produced spontaneously — mostly in texts — with one exception, i.e. (3) of 12.

Warrungu discourse is highly elliptical.

Abbreviations employed include the following: A, adjective; ABS, absolutive; ACC, accusative; D, demonstrative; DAT, dative; DO, direct object; DU, dual; ERG, ergative; G, genitive; GEN, genitive; IMPERA, imperative; INST, instrumental; INTVZR, intransitivizer; IO, indirect object; LIG, ligature morpheme; LOC, locative; N, noun; NEG, negation; NEG IMPERA, negative imperative; NOM, nominative; Num, numeral; O, object; PAST/PRES, past/present; PL, plural; POT, potential; PRTCPL, participle; PURP, purposive; Q, question; RECIP, reciprocal; REDUP, reduplication; REPET, repetitive; S, subject; SG, singular; Si, intransitive subject; St, transitive subject; TRVZR, transitivizer; V, verb; Vi, intransitive verb; Vt, transitive verb; 1, first person; 2, second person; 3, third person.

In the examples cited below, morpheme boundaries are indicated by a hyphen ('-'), except that enclitics are marked by a preceding equal sign ('='). The glosses employ hyphens invariably.

6. Subject, object, and verb

(The text 72/31 has been examined regarding subject, object, and verb.)

We shall look at those independent and main clauses which are declarative and affirmative. (Imperative sentences will be dealt with below. Question and negation (inclusive negative imperative) will be discussed in 18 to 21, and in 22, respectively. For the time being, we shall ignore the position of adverbs; it will be investigated in 16.)

The relative order of S, O and V is extremely 'free', and it has not been possible to determine the factors that affect their order. The comments given below regarding such factors are largely tentative.

First, we look at intransitive clauses. The orders attested and the numbers of their examples are as follows:

- (i) Si Vi 167 examples; (ii) Vi Si 26 examples
(iii) Vi 99 examples

Between the orders (i) and (ii), clearly, (i) is unmarked, while (ii) is marked. (In elicitation as well, (i) is the usual order.) An example of (i):

- (1) karri-Ø kalngka-n.

sun-ABS fall-PAST/PRES 'The sun set.' (Si Vi)

It has not been possible to determine the conditions under which the marked order (ii) (Vi Si) occurs, but at least the following two circumstances can be mentioned. First, in 6 examples, the verb seems to be the focus. Perhaps the clearest example is the second sentence in:

- (2) ('Have a rest.')

- (i) nyawa ngaya wumpi-yal.

NEG 1SG,NOM rest-PURP 'I will not rest.' (NEG Si Vi)

- (ii) tyarripa-pi-n ngaya.

good-INTVZR-PAST/PRES 1SG,NOM 'I feel good.' (Vi Si)

(However, a verb in focus does not necessarily cause this order (Vi Si). There are a few examples of the (i) order (Si Vi) in which the verb can be regarded as the focus.)

Second, in 11 examples, a clause with the (ii) order is followed by the same (intransitive) verb; the verb is often repeated. E.g.:

- (3) yani-Ø ngaya yani-Ø yani-Ø yani-Ø yani-Ø.

go-PAST/PRES 1SG,NOM

'I went on, on, and on.'

(Vi Si Vi Vi Vi Vi)

(Again, repetition of the same verb does not necessarily involve this order. A clause with

the (i) order (Si Vi), too, can be followed by the same verb, with the latter being repeated; there are 20 examples.)

We now turn to transitive clauses:

(iv) Vt	56 examples;	(v) St O Vt	46 examples
(vi) St Vt	42 examples;	(vii) O Vt	29 examples
(viii) O St Vt	19 examples;	(ix) St Vt O	16 examples
(x) Vt St	8 examples;	(xi) Vt St O	7 examples
(xii) O Vt St	5 examples;	(xiii) Vt O	4 examples

(In the following, the transitive subject 'St' will often be presented as 'S' and the transitive verb 'Vt' as 'V' — unless it is necessary or helpful to distinguish them from the intransitive subject and verb, respectively.)

In the portion of the texts under study (i.e. text 72/32), all of the six logically possible combinations of S, O and V are attested — except for VOS. But VOS is attested elsewhere in the texts.

The most frequent order is SOV. (In elicitation as well, this is the usual order.) Examples include (3) of 8, the first clause in (5) of 24, and:

- (4) pama-ngku ngali-nya nyaka-lka.
man-ERG 1DU-ACC see-POT '(Some) men might see us.' (SOV)

The most frequent order next to SOV is OSV. Contrary to what might be expected, the O does not seem to be necessarily the focus. Perhaps the best example of O in the focus is the second sentence in:

- (5) (i) wanytya ngayku pirk-Ø?
where 1SG,GEN wife-ABS 'Where is my wife?'
(ii) nyilamu-Ø ngaya muka-lku.
new-ABS 1SG,NOM get-PURP 'I'll get a new (one).' (OSV)

Other examples of OSV include (2) of 8, (13) of 11, and (1) of 22.

The third most frequent order is SVO.

- (6) kayana-ngku kanytyi-n mayntya-Ø yarru-Ø.
father-ERG carry-PAST/PRES food-ABS this-ABS (SVO)
'(My) father brought this food.'

Other examples of SVO include the second clause in (5) of 23, and the first clause in (1) of 24.

The fourth order is VSO. It is not certain if the verb is the focus.

- (7) ('I was standing around, and':)

da (1974a: 349-57).) The following three-place verbs can each take two or three case frames as indicated below.

<i>kuypa</i> - 'give'	giver	gift	recipient	
				ERG or NOM ABS or ACC DAT e.g. (13)
				ERG or NOM ABS or ACC GEN
<i>ngunpaynga</i> - 'show, teach'	shower, teacher	what is shown	person shown to	
				ERG or NOM INST ABS or ACC e.g. (14)
<i>mayka</i> - 'tell'	teller	what is told	person told to	
				ERG or NOM DAT ABS or ACC
				ERG or NOM ABS or ACC DAT

As the number of their non-elliptical examples is very small, it is difficult to comment on the relative order of these constituents. At least, their order is not rigidly fixed. Examples of *kuypa*- are given below.

- (13) *ngaya yinu-n-ku kuypa-lku yarru-Ø.*
 1SG,NOM 2SG-LIG-DAT give-PURP this-ABS (S IO V DO)
 'I will give this to you.'

- (14) *ngaya manytya-ngku kuypa-lku pula-nya.*
 1SG,NOM food-INST give-PURP 3DU-ACC
 'I will give them food, or perhaps, I will present them with food.'

(In (14), *pula-nya* '3DU-ACC' should probably be regarded as the object, and *manytya-ngku* 'food-INST' as an adverb phrase.) Other examples of *kuypa*- 'give' include (23) below (S V IO-GEN DO-ABS); (24) below (DO-ABS IO-GEN S V); (4) of 16 (IO-GEN V DO-ABS), (22) of 20 (S DO IO V) and (2) of 24 (IO-GEN DO-ABS S V).

For examples of *mayka*- 'tell', see (9) of 20, and (18) of 22.

Finally, we look at imperative clauses. Their word order tendency is much the same as that of declarative intransitive clauses discussed above. That is, the 'Si Vi' order, rather than the 'Vi Si' order, is the usual one.

- (15) *yarru-n-ta yupala nyina-ya !*
 here-LIG-LOC 2DU,NOM sit-IMPERA (Si Vi)
 'You two sit down here !'

- (16) yarru-n-ta yinta nyina-ya !
 here-LIG-LOC 2SG,NOM sit-IMPERA (Vi Si)
 'You sit down here !'

Other examples include (1) of 9 (Si Vi).

The word order tendency of transitive imperatives differs from that of declarative transitive clauses in that OSV is the most frequent, being more frequent (with 7 examples) than SOV (with 4 examples), which is the second most frequent. (In declarative counterparts, SOV (with 46 examples) is the most frequent, with OSV being the second (with 19 examples).)

The imperatives in the text 72/32 do not exhibit OVS or VOS, but these two orders are attested elsewhere in the texts. Examples of the six orders:

- (17) yarru-Ø yinta mutya-Ø !
 this-ABS 2SG,NOM eat-IMPERA 'Eat this !' (OSV)
- (18) yinta nguna-Ø mutya-Ø !
 2SG,NOM that-ABS eat-IMPERA 'Eat that !' (SOV)
- (19) yinta kanytyi-ya pirku-Ø nguna-Ø !
 2SG,NOM carry-IMPERA woman-ABS that-ABS (SVO)
 'Take that woman (with you) !'
- (20) yuwu, wanta-Ø yarru-n-ta ngana tyana-nya !
 OK leave-IMPERA here-LIG-LOC 1PL,NOM 3PL-ACC (VSO)
 'OK, let's leave them here.'

(As (20) indicates, when the subject of an imperative clause is the first person dual or plural, the meaning is 'Let's ...')

- (21) mara-Ø muka-Ø yinta !
 hand-ABS get-IMPERA 2SG,NOM 'Grab (his) hand !' (OVS)
- (22) nyakanyaka-Ø yalka-Ø yinta !
 watch-IMPERA road-ABS 2SG,NOM 'Watch the road !' (VOS)

Other examples include the first clause (4) of 24 (OSV).

Examples of the three-place verb *kuypa* 'give' include:

- (23) yinta kuypa-Ø ngali-ngu manytya-Ø !
 2SG,NOM give-IMPERA 1DU-GEN food-ABS (S V IO DO)
 'Give us food !'
- (24) nguna-Ø ngayku yinta kuypa-Ø !
 that-ABS 1SG,GEN 2SG,NOM give-IMPERA (DO IO S V)

'Give me that (food) !'

Note that the verb in imperative clauses does not necessarily occur in the initial position.

As noted above, ellipsis is very common in Warrungu discourse. (It should be noted, however, that I have made efforts to select non-elliptical examples for this paper — in order to illustrate maximal word order possibilities.) For example, in declarative clauses, the subject is deleted in 36% of the examples (188/524). In imperatives, too, the subject is deleted in exactly 36% of the examples (27/74). This indicates that deletion of the subject is NOT the feature of imperatives alone.

7. Adposition

Warrungu lacks both postpositions and prepositions.

8. Genitive and noun

(The texts 72/32 and 72/33 have been examined.)

Possession is generally expressed by the genitive case. (Of all the examples of the genitive at hand, only one involves a noun. e.g. (1), and all the other examples involve a pronoun.) The genitive precedes the possessed noun about 50% more frequently (in 54 examples) than it follows (in 37 examples). Irrespective of whether the genitive precedes or follows the possessed, it is generally (in 74 out of the 91 examples) contiguous with the latter. The genitive precedes in (1), (2), and follows in (3):

- (1) tyumupuru-ngu tyalany-Ø
bullock-GEN tongue-ABS 'the bullocks' tongues'
- (2) ngayku pangkay-Ø nguni yampa-ngka ngaya wanta-n.
1SG,GEN spear-ABS there camp-LOC 1SG,NOM leave-PAST/PRES (OSV)
'I left my spear there in the camp.'
- (3) ngaya kumpu-Ø nyungu muka-n ...
1SG,NOM buttocks-ABS 3SG,GEN get-PAST/PRES (SOV)
'I grabbed her buttocks ...'

Other examples include '1SG,GEN wife-ABS' in (1) in (5) of 6, 'father-kinship-ABS 1SG,GEN' in (9) of 11, 'water-ABS 1PL-GEN' in (4) of 12, '1SG,GEN friend-ABS' in (13) of 18, and '2SG,GEN husband' in (6) of 23.

Where the genitive is not contiguous with the possessed, in about half of the examples (in 7 out of the 16 examples), word(s) that qualifies/qualifyy the same noun — i.e. de-

monstrative and/or adjective — intervene(s). See (13) of 11 ('G D A N'). In the remaining 9 examples, word(s) that do(es) not qualify the same noun — e.g. verb, noun, adverb, pronoun — intervene(s). The genitive precedes in (4), and follows in (5).

- (4) yinu wanytya pirkū-Ø ?
 2SG,GEN where wife-ABS 'Where is your wife ?'
 (5) yampa-Ø kungkarri wanta-Ø ngali-ngu !
 camp-ABS in north leave-IMPERA 1DU-GEN
 'Leave our camp in the north !'

There is one example (in the texts 72/32 and 72/33) in which the dative (rather than the genitive) indicates a possessor. The possessor is a noun. It precedes and is separated from the possessed NP.

- (6) yarru-Ø-wa tyarrukan-ku ngani-Ø yampa-Ø.
 this-ABS-indeed scrub hen-DAT what-ABS nest-ABS
 'This is indeed the scrub hen's whatisname nest.'

(For *ngani* 'whatisname', see 20.) Elsewhere in the texts, there are several examples of the dative indicating a possessor. What are possessed are 'tail', 'footprint', 'name', 'language', 'father', and 'husband'. (See Tsunoda (1974a: 114-15).) The possessor follows in:

- (7) yinta kaya-Ø tyana-ngun-gu.
 2SG,NOM father 3PL-LIG-DAT 'You are their father.'

Note that, since the possessor (i.e. the genitive or the dative) and the possessed are not always contiguous with each other, they do not form a constituent — a noun phrase, in this case — in the usual sense. The same applies to demonstratives, numerals, and adjectives; see 9, 10, and 11 below, respectively. (In discussing the relative order of S, O, and V in 6 above, those instances in which a noun and its qualifier(s) are not contiguous were excluded from consideration.)

Inalienable possession, including whole-part relationship, concerns the possession of body part, footprint, faeces, breath, name, etc. and possibly language (though not kinsfolk). It exhibits a somewhat different syntax from that of alienable possession. As we have just seen, it can be expressed by the genitive or the dative, e.g. (1) ('tongue') and (3) ('buttocks'). (There are 10 examples, including those involving language, in the texts 72/32 and 72/33.) In addition, it can also be expressed by what appears to be the apposition of the possessor and the possessed. (There are about 10 such examples in the texts 72/32 and 72/33.) The possessor and the possessed tend to be contiguous, though they are not always so. The possessor tends to — though not always — precede the posses-

sed. E.g.:

- (8) nyula nganya tyarra-Ø tyupi-n.
 3SG,NOM 1SG,ACC leg-ABS rub-PAST/PRES
 Lit. 'She rubbed me, leg', i.e. 'She massaged my legs.'
- (9) ... nyula tyina-Ø walwantan-Ø.
 3SG,NOM foot-ABS tired-ABS
 Lit. 'She, foot, is tired', i.e. 'Her feet are tired'.

Additional examples, from another text:

- (10) A: ngaya puni-karra-n tyili-Ø.
 1SG,NOM be dizzy-REPET-PAST/PRES eye-ABS
 Lit. 'I eyes, am dizzy', i.e. 'I feel dizzy in my eyes'.
- B: tyili-Ø yinta puni-karra-n ?
 eye-ABS 2SG,NOM be dizzy-REPET-PAST/PRES
 'You feel dizzy in your eyes ?'

9. Demonstrative and noun

(The texts 72/32 and 72/33 have been examined.)

There are two demonstratives: *yarru* 'this, here' and *nguna/nguni* 'that, there'. The demonstratives generally (in 79 out of the 109 examples) precede the noun they qualify. Irrespective of whether the demonstrative precedes or follows the noun, it is generally (in 81 out of the 109 examples) contiguous with the latter. (However, strictly speaking, the genitive is contiguous with the noun more frequently when it follows (in 27 out of the 30 examples) than when it precedes (in 54 out of the 79 examples).) The demonstrative precedes in (1), (2), and follows in (3).

- (1) ngali yarru-n-ta tyulki-ngka nyina-karra-ya !
 1DU,NOM this-LIG-LOC scrub-LOC stay-REPET-IMPERA
 'Let's stay in this scrub !'

(Demonstratives — and also numerals (see 10 below) and adjectives (see 11 below) — generally show agreement in case with the noun they qualify. However, the genitive is severely restricted in inflectional possibilities, and shows agreement only under limited circumstances. See Tsunoda (1974a: 170-75) for details.)

- (2) wanyu-lu kuypa-n nguna-Ø karrman-Ø ?
 who-ERG give-PAST/PRES that-ABS tobacco-ABS
 'Who gave (you) that tobacco ?'

- (3) yuri-Ø yarru-Ø nyina-n.
 kangaroo-ABS this-ABS sit-PAST/PRES 'This kangaroo is sitting.'

Other examples include 'food-ABS this-ABS' in (6) of 6, 'woman-ABS that-ABS' in (19) of 6, 'this-ABS food-ABS' in (1) of 20, 'that-ABS man-ABS' in (8) of 20, and 'this-ABS language-ABS' in (2) of 24.

Where the demonstrative is not contiguous with the noun, in about half of the examples (in 12 out of the 29 examples), a word that qualifies the same noun — i.e. genitive or adjective — intervenes; see (11) of 11 ('D G N'). In the rest of the examples, some other word(s) that do(es) not qualify the same noun — e.g. verb, pronoun, noun — intervene(s). The demonstrative precedes in (4), and follows in (5).

- (4) yarru-wu yinta yampa-wu ?
 this-DAT 2SG,NOM camp-DAT 'Do you belong to this camp ?'
 (5) yampa-Ø ngay-a wanta-n nguna-Ø.
 camp-ABS 1SG,NOM leave-PAST/PRES that-ABS 'I left that camp.'

Other examples include 'this-ABS St water-ABS ...' in (4) of 12.

10. Numeral and noun

(The texts 72/32 and 72/33 have been examined.)

The behaviour of numerals is somewhat different from that of genitives and demonstratives, and also from adjectives (see 11 below). First, numerals generally (in 9 out of the 11 examples) follow, rather than precede, the noun they qualify. Second, where they follow the noun they qualify, they are contiguous with the latter *less frequently* (in 3 examples), e.g. (1), than they are non-contiguous with it (in 5 examples), e.g. (5).

As noted above, when the numeral follows a noun, it is contiguous with the noun less frequently than it is non-contiguous. E.g.:

- (1) ... yani-ya katyarra-wu nyunkul-ku ...
 go-IMPERA possum-DAT one-DAT
 '... go for (i.e. to get) one possum ...'

Of the 5 examples in which the numeral follows and is separated from the noun, in two examples it is separated by word(s) that qualifies/qualify the same noun, e.g. demonstrative, genitive; see (12) of 11 ('G N D Num A'). In the remaining 3 examples, the verb intervenes.

- (2) pampu-Ø tyaympa-n nyunkul-Ø.
 egg-ABS find-PAST/PRES one-ABS '(She) found one egg.'

Where the numeral precedes the noun, it is contiguous with the latter in all of the 3 examples, e.g. (3). (Another example is 'one-ABS plam tree-ABS' in (1) of 24.) However, in an example taken from elsewhere in the texts, the numeral is not contiguous with the noun, i.e. (4).

- (3) nyawa, kantu-Ø pulari-Ø patya-wa-n.
 NEG dog-ABS two-ABS bite-RECIP-PAST/PRES
 'No, two dogs are biting each other.'

- (4) nyunkul-Ø ngaya nyaka-n katarra-Ø.
 one-ABS 1SG,NOM see-PAST/PRES possum-ABS 'I saw one possum.'

To sum up, numerals generally follow the noun. When they follow, they are non-contiguous with the noun more frequently than they are contiguous. In contrast, when they precede, they are contiguous with the noun more frequently than they are non-contiguous.

In compounds, a numeral follows a noun — as does an adjective (see 11):

- (5) tyulay-nyunkul
 tree-one 'One Tree Plain' (a place name)

11. Adjective and noun

(The texts 72/32 and 72/33 have been examined.)

Adjectives precede the noun they qualify about 50% more frequently (in 53 examples) than they follow (in 36 examples). Irrespective of whether the adjective precedes or follows the noun, it is generally (in 58 out of the 89 examples) contiguous with the latter. The adjective precedes in (1), and follows in (2).

- (1) yuwu, patya-lku ngaya tyarripara-Ø kuna-Ø.
 OK bite-PURP 1SG,NOM good-Abs young bee-ABS (VSO)
 'OK, I will eat (lit. bite) nice, young bees.'
- (2) ngalnga pungkurray-Ø kakapara-Ø kuypa-lku!
 Don't snore-ABS big-ABS give-PURP
 'Don't snore loudly!' (NEG O V)

Where the adjective is not contiguous with the noun, in about half of the examples (in 18 out of the 31 examples), they are separated by word(s) that qualifies/qualify the same noun — i.e. genitive, demonstrative, numeral, another adjective; see below (7) below ('A D N'), (8) ('N D A'), and (12) ('G N D Num A'). In the remaining 13 examples, word(s) that do(es) not qualify the same noun — e.g. the verb — intervene(s). The adjective precedes in (3), and follows in (4).

- (3) yinta kakal-Ø watyu-ya puri-Ø !
 2SG,NOM big-ABS burn-IMPERA fire-ABS 'Make a big fire !'
 (4) katarra-Ø nyula kanytyi-n kuman-Ø.
 possum-ABS 3SG,NOM carry-PAST/PRES (an)other-ABS
 'She brought another possum.'

As noted in 10 above, in compounds an adjective follows a noun:

- (5) pama-kuman (6) katya-palkurru
 man-(an)other head-naked
 'another man, other men' 'bald'

The relative order of different types of noun qualifier is not rigidly fixed, and it is difficult to generalize about it. The texts 72/32 and 72/33 have yielded 25 different combinations regarding those instances in which the noun and its qualifiers occur contiguous with one another. The five most frequent patterns and their examples are shown below:

- (i) A D N 5 examples (ii) N D A 4 examples
 (iii) D N A 4 examples (iv) D N G 3 examples
 (v) D G N 3 examples

- (7) wanytya-ngumay-Ø yarru-Ø karrman-Ø yupala kanytyi-n ?
 where-from-ABS this-ABS tobacco-ABS 2DU,NOM carry-PAST/PRES
 'Where did you bring this tobacco from ?' (A D N)

(The words formed by means of the derivational suffix *-ngumay* 'from' are considered as adjectives. They can take a case suffix, agreeing with the noun they qualify.)

- (8) ... puri-Ø nguna-Ø kakal-Ø watyu-n.
 fire-ABS that-ABS big-ABS burn-PAST/PRES
 '(We) made that big fire.' (N D A)

- (9) kaya-na-Ø ngayku mayka-lku yarru-wu yampa-wu
 father-kinship-ABS 1SG,GEN tell-PURP this-DAT camp-DAT
 tyarripa-wu yani-yal.
 good-DAT come-PURP (D N A)
 '(I) will tell (my) father to come to this good camp.'

- (10) yuwu, kantu-ngku patya-lka yarru-Ø katarra-Ø ngali-ngu.
 OK dog-ERG bite-POT this-ABS possum-ABS 1DU-GEN (D N G)
 'That is right, a dog might eat (lit. bite) this possum of ours.' (SVO)

- (11) yarru-Ø ngayku katarra-Ø patya-lka.
 this-ABS 1SG,GEN possum-ABS bite-POT (D G N)

'(The dog) might bite this possum of mine.'

The longest sequence of a noun and its qualifiers attested in the texts 72/32 and 72/33 is 'G N D Num A':

- (12) ngalnga yinta pintaynga-lku yinu kurngkal-Ø nguna-Ø
 don't 2SG,NOM let go-PURP 2SG,GEN hasband-ABS that-ABS
 nyunkul-Ø tyarripara-Ø.
 one-ABS good-ABS (G N D Num A)
 'Don't let go that, one good husband of yours.' (NEG S V O)

An example with a noun and three qualifiers:

- (13) wuwu, ngayku yarru-Ø tyarripara-Ø wupirri-Ø ngaya
 oh 1SG,GEN this-ABS good-ABS English bee-ABS 1SG,NOM
 patya-lku.
 bite-PURP (G D A N)
 'Oh, I will eat (lit. bite) this nice English bee of mine.' (OSV)

12. Relative clause and noun

The entire corpus — i.e. all the texts and field notes — contains just two examples of what appears to be a relative clause.

- (1) (A man has just come back to his camp, and is going to sing a song.)
 yinta nganya ngawa-yal [nyilakul kulmi yani-ngu-Ø].
 2SG,NOM 1SG,ACC hear-PURP now back come-REL-ABS (SOV [Vi])
 'You will hear me (i.e. my song), who have just come back.'
 (2) nyina-n nguna-wu [yinta kanytyi-ngu-ru-ku].
 sit-PAST/PRES that-DAT 2SG,NOM carry-REL-LIG-DAT.
 '(We) sat (and waited) for that (turtle) you were bringing.'

(When the tape was replayed to him, the late Mr. Alf Palmer replaced the verb in the relative clause with *kanytyi-ngu-ru-ku*. That is, the ligature morpheme was replaced with *-r-*.)

Since there are only two examples, it is impossible to make any generalization about them. At least in these examples, the relative clause follows the antecedent — immediately in (2) and not immediately in (1).

There are three participles: *-nyu*, *-nty*, and *-ntyirru*. They generally describe an event that is anterior to, or simultaneous with, that described by the main clause. They often indicate condition or cause/reason of the main clause. They can be translated like a relative clause when they contain an NP conreferential with one in the main clause. E.g.:

- (3) maytyala-ngku pampu-nyu tyulay-Ø kalngka-n.
 lightning-ERG shoot-PRTCPL tree-ABS fall-PAST/PRES
 'As/when/etc. the lightning struck a tree, it fell down', or, 'The tree that the lightning struck fell down.'

(The ex. (3) is the only example cited in this paper that was obtained through elicitation.) The next example is taken from a myth, in which *pangkarra* 'blue tongue lizard' hid a spring and monopolized the water. A mouse regained the water, and was praised by other animals, who said:

- (4) yarru-Ø yinta kamu-Ø ngana-ngu palpa-n pangkarra-ngku
 this-ABS 2SG,NOM water-ABS 1PL-GEN roll-PAST/PRES b.t.l.-ERG
 kampa-ntyī.
 cover-PRTCPL
 'You let out (lit. rolled) this water of ours that the blue tongue lizard had been hiding (lit. covering).'

Note that the participle clause is not always contiguous with the noun qualified. Participle clauses can either precede, e.g. (3), or follow the main clause, e.g. (4). However, in those instances where they can be translated like a relative clause, they tend to follow.

13. Proper noun and common noun

There does not seem to be a set pattern of a proper noun and a common noun. The nearest to such a pattern I have found is:

- (1) nguni-n-ta kulpila palka-lku tyana kapilkapa-ngka yampa-ngka.
 there-LIG-LOC in south kill-PURP 3PL,NOM Townsville-LOC camp-LOC
 'They will kill (the cattle) there in the south, in the city (lit. camp) of Townsville.'

A Warrungu sentence often contains two or more words that have the same function, and these words do not always occur together, although they may. (See 'you' and 'native doctor' in (14) of 18.) That is, they do not necessarily form a constituent. (Such examples were excluded from the discussion of S, O and V in 6.) (1) is one of such instances. 'Townsville-LOC' and 'camp-LOC' happen to occur adjacent to each other.

14. Comparison

No information is available.

15. Main verb and auxiliary verb

(The texts 72/32 to 72/34 have been examined.)

There are no auxiliary verbs. It is, however, perhaps relevant to mention the existence of the following phenomenon.

Verbs derived by means of a verb-stem-forming suffix (*-pi* 'intransitivizer', *-nga* 'transitivizer', etc.) can be used by themselves, but they often qualify another verb, indicating manners, directions, and so on. They agree in transitivity with the verb qualified.

Verbs with *-nga* precede and follow the verb qualified approximately equally frequently (in 14 examples and 11 examples, respectively). When they precede, they tend to be separated from the latter (in 10 out of the 14 examples). But, when they follow, they tend to be contiguous with it (in 7 out of the 11 examples). These tendencies are nicely illustrated in:

- (1) A: tyarripa-nga-n yinta watyu-n ngali-ngu nguna-Ø.
 good-TRVZR-PAST/PRES 2SG,NOM cook-PAST/PRES 1DU-GEN that-ABS
 'You cooked that (egg) of ours nicely.'
 ngaya watyu-n walwa-nga-n.
 1SG,NOM cook-PAST/PRES bad-TRVZR-PAST/PRES
 'I cooked (it) badly.'
- B: yarru-Ø yama-nga-Ø yinta watyu-ya !
 this-ABS thus-TRVZR-IMPERA 2SG,NOM cook-IMPERA
 'Cook this like this !'

In contrast with verbs formed by means of *-nga* 'transitivizer', those formed with *-pi* 'intransitivizer' follow the verb qualified more frequently (in 5 examples) than they precede (in 2 examples). When they follow, however, they are generally (in 4 out of the 5 examples) contiguous with the verb qualified, e.g. (2) — rather like *-nga* verbs. Preceding the verb qualified, the *-pi* verb is contiguous with the latter in one example, e.g. (3), and separated by another word in the other.

- (2) nguna-ngumay nguna-n-ta ngali wuna-ya! pulari-ngal-pi-ya!
 that-after that-LIG-LOC 1DU,NOM sleep-PURP two-time-INTVZR-PURP
 'After that, we will sleep there twice (i.e. two nights).'

(In 11 above, it was noted that words formed by means of the derivational suffix *-ngumay* 'from' are adjectives, and can take a case suffix. But, *nguna-ngumay* is an exception; when it occurs sentence-initially, it appears to be something like a sentence-introducing adverb 'after that: and then'. Naturally, it can also be used as an adjective.)

- (3) *ngaya yama-pi-n yatyi-karra-n.*
 1SG,NOM thus-INTVZR-PAST/PRES laugh-REPET-PAST/PRES
 'I was laughing like this.'

To sum up, the position of these verbs in relation to the verb qualified is not rigidly fixed. (In discussing the relative order of S, O and V, a combination of such a verb with the verb qualified was regarded as one single verb when they were contiguous with each other, but was excluded from consideration when they were separated from each other.)

16. Adverb and verb

(The text 72/34 and Tsunoda (1974a: 279-93, 298-300) have been examined.)

Of the modal adverbs, *palu* 'non-interference' (Let ...; I don't mind) almost always occurs in the initial position of the clauses. (These clauses are either independent clause or main clauses, and not subordinate clauses.) (Just in one example, it occurs in the second position of the clause.)

- (1) *palu-wa kurngkal-Ø tyana-karra-n.*
 -indeed husband-ABS stand-REPET-PAST/PRES
 'Let (your) husband stand around; I don't mind it.'

kata 'maybe' occurs in the initial position in one example, and in the final position in the other example.

- (2) *yani-yi, nyawa, kata yarru-n-ta nyina-yal.*
 go-PURP NEG maybe here-LIG-LOC stay-PURP
 'I intended to go. But, no. Maybe I will stay here.'

ngalnga 'It appears/appeared as if ..., but in fact it is/was not...' almost always occurs in the initial position. (Just in one example, it occurs in the second position.) The clitic *-katyi* 'It appeared/appears as if ..., but in fact it is/was not ...' is generally attached to *ngalnga* or some other word in the clause. (All the examples concerned are independent clauses.) (The addition of this clitic seems redundant. However, this clitic possibly indicates the focus of the sentence, and this is tentatively reflected in the translation below.)

- (3) *ngalnga yinta-katyi ngayku-n-ku kawali-n.*
 2SG,NOM- 1SG-LIG-DAT call out-PAST/PRES
 'I thought it was you who was calling out, but in fact (it was another man).'

(*ngalnga* also means 'Don't'. See 22 below.)

nguua-ngumay 'that-from/after', when it functions as something like a sentence-introducing adverb ('after that' or 'and then'), always occurs in the sentence-initial position;

see (2) of 15, and (15) of 22.

Time adverbs, including words in the locative indicating time, occur initially (in 5 examples), medially (in 3 examples) and finally (in 3 examples) in the clauses. Most of the clauses concerned are either independent clauses or main clauses. But in (1) of 12, 'now' occurs in the initial position of a subordinate clause. Other examples include:

- (i) initial position: 'long ago' in (4) below;
 - (ii) medial position: 'long ago' in (14) of 18 and in (2) of 22; 'in the daylight' in (15) of 22, and;
 - (iii) final position: 'recently' in the third sentence in (5) of 22; and 'at night' in (15) of 22.
- (4) yuwu, kanpamara nyungu kuypa-n manytya-Ø.
 yes long ago 3SG,GEN give-PAST/PRES food-ABS (IO V DO)
 'Yes, (I) used to give him food a long time ago.'

Place adverbs, including words in the locative indicating place, occur initially (in 22 examples), medially (in 13 examples), and finally (in 22 examples) — in the clauses. (Most of the clauses concerned are either independent or main clauses, but the rest are subordinate clauses.) Examples include:

- (iv) initial position: 'here' in (15), (16) of 6; 'there in the south' in (1) of 13; 'there' in (5), (7) of 20;
- (v) medial position: 'here' in (20) of 6, in (2) of 16; 'there in the camp' in (2) of 8; 'in the north' in (5) of 8; 'in this scrub' in (1) of 9; 'behind' in (1) of 23, and;
- (vi) final position: 'in the city of Townsville' in (1) of 13; 'under a tree' in (16) of 20; 'behind' in (20) of 22; and 'near the flame' in (4) of 23.

Regarding adverbs of direction, including words in the dative indicating direction, their position in relation to the verb seems fairly relevant, in contrast with other types of adverbs. They generally (in 25 out of the 32 examples) precede the verb. They are generally (in 26 out of the 32 examples) contiguous with the verb — irrespective of whether they precede or follow. That is, direction adverbs most commonly occur immediately preceding the verb. Examples include:

- (vii) preceding the verb: 'to this good camp' in (9) of 11; 'back' in (1) of 12; 'to the fighting ground' in the third sentence in (9) of 18; 'to the west' in B in (20) of 20;
- (viii) following the verb: 'to the south' in (7) of 6; 'to my shoulder' in (19) of 22, and 'high up' in (4) of 24.

Manner adverbs, including words in the instrumental case, are difficult to generalize about, as there are not many examples. At least, contrary to what might be expected, they do not necessarily occur adjacent to the verb, though they often do. E.g.:

- (5) nyula yama kawali-n.
3SG.NOM thus call out-PAST/PRES 'She called out like that.'
- (6) warrngu-wu ngarru nyula tyana-karra-n.
woman-DAT in vain 3SG.NOM stand-REPET-PAST/PRES
'He waited for the woman in vain.'
- (7) waparrgara yani-ya !
fast walk-IMPERA 'Walk fast !'

Other examples include 'on my shoulders' in (3) of 18; and 'with a stick' in (5) of 18.

17. Adverb and adjective

No information is available.

18. General questions

(The texts 72/32 to 72/34 and Tsunoda (1974a: 300-01) have been examined.)

There are two ways to form general questions: (i) use of a rising intonation, and (ii) use of the question word *wayi*. The former method (with about 60 examples) is far more common than the latter (with 5 examples).

Regarding general questions with a rising intonation, their word order does not deviate from that of declarative (and affirmative and main/independent) clauses noted in 6 above. Examples of intransitive general questions:

- (1) karri-Ø kalngka-n ?
sun-ABS fall-PAST/PRES 'Has the sun set yet ?' (Si Vi)
- (2) makuli-yal yinta ngayku-n-ku ?
work-PURP 2SG.NOM 1SG-LIG-DAT 'Will you work for me ?' (Vi Si)

Examples of transitive general questions:

- (3) (You have sore feet.)
ngaya yina kanytyi-lku wantula-ngku ?
1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC carry-PURP shoulder-INST (St O Vt INST)
'Shall I carry you on my shoulders ?'
- (4) katyarra-Ø ngaya mutya-lku ?
possum-ABS 1SG.NOM eat-PURP (O St Vt)
'Shall I eat possum (meat) ?'

In a couple of examples (though not in every example), the focus of question occurs in the initial position.

- (5) (You speared/stabbed the fish very well.)

tyulany-tyu yinta papa-n ?

stick-INST 2SG,NOM stab-PAST/PRES

'Did you stab (them) with a stick ?'

(INST St Vt)

There are about 30 examples without a verb. About half of them are elliptical, but the rest of them are what may be regarded as 'equational sentences'. (Warrungu lacks a copula verb.) Again, the latter's word order does not deviate from that of the corresponding declarative (and affirmative) clauses.

- (6) yinta kuyi-Ø ?

2SG,NOM hungry-ABS 'Are you hungry ?'

Other examples include (4) of 9.

There are about 30 examples which have a sharp fall in their intonation. They are used to express surprise or to confirm what has just been said. Generally, such clauses repeat the preceding statement or part of it. In addition, their word order is often the opposite of the preceding clause, e.g. (8) and (9), although they are not always reversed, e.g. (7). The sharp fall appears to occur on the word that is the focus of surprise/confirmation. The first vowel of the word has a very high pitch, and the last a very low pitch. Examples include (10) of 8: and:

- (7) A: ngaya wula-yngka.

1SG,NOM die-POT 'I might die.'

(Si Vi)

B: yinta wula-yngka ?!

(Si Vi)

'You might *die* ?!' or 'You might *die* !'

- (8) A: mutya-lku watyakan-tu.

eat-PURP crow-ERG

(Vt St)

'Crows will eat (the dead babies).'

B: watyakan-tu mutya-lku ?!

'Crows will eat (them) ?' or 'Crows will eat (them) !'

(St Vt)

- (9) A: wanytya pama-Ø yani-Ø ?

where man-ABS go-PAST/PRES

(Adv Si Vi)

'Where did the men go ?'

B: nguni kungkarri-ngal purun-ku.

there north-to fighting ground-DAT

'There to the north, to the fighting ground.'

A: purun-ku yani-Ø tyana ?!
 f.g.-DAT go-PAST/PRES 3PL,NOM (Adv Vi Si)

'They went to the *fighting ground* ?' or 'They went to the *fighting ground* !'

The focus of surprise/confirmation is expressed by the verb in (7), by the subject in (8), and by an adverb phrase in (9). It often occurs in the initial position, e.g. (8), (9), though not always, e.g. (7).

When such clauses are reversed, the verb tends to occur in the initial position, e.g. (8), (9), though not always, e.g. (7). That is, the relative order of the subject and the verb is not fixed.

With respect to the question word *wayi*, it occurs in the initial position in three examples; as the second word in one example; and as the third word in one example. That is, it occurs in the initial position or near that position. (Regarding (13), it might be suggested that it is more accurate to say 'after the first *'constituent'* ('my friend') than to say 'as the third *word*'. However, as we saw in 8 to 11, in Warrungu a noun and its qualifier(s) do not form a constituent — namely, a noun phrase — in the usual sense, and it is probably more appropriate to talk in terms of words rather than constituents such as noun phrases. See also 20 below in this connection.)

- (10) wayi yinta nyaka-n ?
 Q 2SG,NOM see-PAST/PRES 'Did you see (him) ?' (Q St Vt)
- (11) wayi yinta tyarripa-Ø ?
 Q 2SG,NOM well-ABS 'Are you well ?'
- (12) yinta wayi tyarripa-Ø ?
 2SG,NOM Q good-ABS 'As above.'
- (13) ngayku matyuwarrki-Ø wayi yinta nyaka-n ?
 1SG,GEN friend-ABS Q 2SG,NOM see-PAST/PRES (O Q St Vt)
 'Did you see my mate ?'

Another example is A in (5) of 22 (Q O Vt St).

The first vowel of *wayi* seems to receive the strongest stress and the highest pitch of the clause. *Wayi* is also used in what appear to be special questions: see (17), (18) of 20.

There are three examples of 'tag question'. The tag question marker [ei] (tentatively phonemicized /ay/), which has a rising intonation, is added to declarative clauses, which have the usual falling intonation. E.g.:

- (14) (I think you are a *kupi* 'a native doctor').

tyalkur-Ø yinta kanpamara kupi-ngku mutya-n, ay ?
 meat-ABS 2SG,NOM long ago native doctor-ERG eat-PAST/PRES Q

'You, a native doctor, ate human flesh a long time ago, didn't you ?'

(O St Adv St Vt Q)

General questions do not differ from declarative clauses in terms of word order — except that 'surprise / confirmation questions' are often, though not always, reversed. In such instances, the verb tends to occur in the initial position.

19. Inversion of subject and verb in general questions

See the last paragraph of 18.

20. Special questions

(The texts 72/32 to 72/34, and Tsunoda (1974a: 242-47, 300-01, 308-09, 406-09, 445) have been examined.)

There are interrogative words such as *wanyu* 'who', *ngani* 'what' and *wanytya* 'where', and those derived from the latter two. In addition, there are interrogative verbs: they are formed by adding the verb-stem-forming suffix *-pi* 'intransitivizer' or *-nga* 'transitivizer' (cf. 15 above) to interrogative words. Special questions generally have a falling intonation at the end.

In discussing special questions, it is important to distinguish between main / independent and subordinate clauses. (This distinction was in effect irrelevant in the discussions of general questions; the latter concerned only main or independent clauses, at least in the examples available.)

First, we look at independent and main clauses. Special questions can consist of just an interrogative word. (There are 47 examples.) Otherwise, the interrogative word generally (in 160 out of the 187 examples) occurs in the initial position. Occasionally (in 24 examples), the interrogative word occurs as the second word, and even as the third word (in 7 examples). Elsewhere in the texts, I have found one example in which the interrogative word occurs as the fourth word. In sum, the interrogative word tends to occur in the initial position, and is increasingly unlikely to occur as we move away from that position.

Examples in which the interrogative word occurs initially include:

- (1) ngani-Ø yarru-Ø manytya-Ø ?
 what-ABS this-ABS food-ABS 'What is this food ?'

- (2) ngani-ngku ngaya tyaynytya-lku ?
 what-INST 1SG,NOM copulate with-PURP (INST St Vt)
 'With what shall I copulate with (her) ?'
- (3) ngani-nga-lku nguna-Ø yinta ?
 what-TRVZR-PURP that-ABS 2SG,NOM (Vt O St)
 'What are you going to do with that (water container) ?'
- (4) ngani-pi-n yinta ?
 what-INTVZR-PAST/PRES 2SG,NOM (Vi Si)
 'What did you do ?', 'What is wrong with you ?', etc.

Additional examples are 'where' in (i) of (5) of 6, 'who' (St) in (2) of 9, 'where-from' in (7) of 11, 'where' in A of (9) of 18, and A in (21) below (what(DO) St Vt).

Examples in which the interrogative word occurs as the second word include:

- (6) nguni wanyu-lu puri-Ø watyu-n ?
 there who-ERG fire-ABS burn-PAST/PRES (Adv St O Vt)
 'Who made a fire there ?'
- (7) yarru-ngumay-Ø wanytya pama-Ø yani-Ø ?
 here-from-ABS where man-ABS go-PAST/PRES (Si Adv Si Vi)
 Lit. 'Where did the man from here go ?'

Another example is 'where' in (4) of 8.

Examples in which the interrogative word occurs as the third word include:

- (8) nguni kawali-n wanytya-ngumay-Ø pama-Ø ?
 there call out-PAST/PRES where-from-ABS man-ABS
 Lit. 'A man from where is calling out there ?', i.e. 'A man is calling out there. Where did he come from ?'
- (9) nguna-Ø pama-Ø wanytyarru ?
 that-ABS man-ABS where to
 'Where is that man (going) to ?'

The example in which the interrogative word occurs as the fourth word is:

- (10) nyula nganya mayka-lku ngani-wu ?
 3SG,NOM 1SG,ACC tell-PURP what-DAT
 'What will he tell me about ?'

In talking about the position of interrogative words, I talked in terms of 'word' rather than 'constituent'. This is because as noted in 8 to 11, and also in 18, in Warrungu a noun and its qualifier(s) do not form a constituent — namely, a noun phrase — in the

usual sense, and the concept of 'constituent' such as noun phrase is not always appropriate. Thus, regarding (8), it is possible to say that the interrogative word occurs after the first 'constituent' ('that man'). However, in (6), and also in (4) of 8, the interrogative word intervenes the noun and its modifier.

Apart from the fact that the interrogative word generally occurs in the initial position, special questions do not deviate from declaratives as far as independent or main clauses are concerned.

We now turn to subordinate clauses. First, we look at clauses whose predicate verb is in a purposive form (*-lku* or *-yal*). They indicate an event posterior to that described by the main clause, expressing purpose, consequence or successive action. As we shall see in 24, they almost always follow the main clause. In five examples of purposive clause at hand, the predicate verb is the interrogative word *ngani-nga* 'what-transitivizer'. In contrast with the usual purposive forms, which almost always follow the main clause, they all precede the main clause. Furthermore, they occur in the initial position of the entire sentences. E.g.:

- (11) *ngani-nga-lku nganya yinta wanta-n?*
 what-TRVZR-PURP 1SG,ACC 2SG,NOM leave-PAST/PRES (Vt O St Vt)
 Lit. 'So that you would do what, did you leave me?'

Another example is the second sentence in (11) below.

Those subordinate clauses whose predicate verb is in a participle form (*-nyu* or *-ntyī*) describe an event that is anterior to, or simultaneous with, the event described by the main clauses. (That is, semantically, these participle clauses are in complementary distribution with purposive clauses.) In most instances, they indicate condition or cause/reason. They can either precede or follow the main clause. Examples include the first sentence in (11), in which the participle clause precedes the main clause.

- (11) *ngaya kumpu-Ø muka-nyu nyula kuli-Ø waka-n.*
 1SG,NOM bottom-ABS grab-PRTCPL 3SG,NOM angry-ABS rise-PAST/PRES
 'Because I grabbed (her) bottom, she got angry.'
 (And she said to me:)
ngani-nga-lku yinta kumpu-Ø muka-n?
 what-TRVZR-PURP 2SG,NOM bottom-ABS grab-PAST/PRES
 Lit. 'So that you would do what, did you grab (my) bottom?'

Additional examples are given in 23. Now, there are two examples in which an interrogative verb has a participle form.

- (12) ngani-pi-nyu yinta wanta-n ?

what-INTVZR-PRTCPL 2SG,NOM leave-PAST/PRES

Lit. 'Because you became what, did you leave (the spear in the camp) ?'

- (13) yinta ngani-pi-nyu walwantan-Ø ?

2SG,NOM what-INTVZR-PRTCPL sick-ABS

Lit. 'Because you became what, you are sick ?' Informant's translation: 'What's wrong with you ?'

In both examples, the interrogative verb precedes the main clause. Furthermore, in (12), the interrogative word occurs in the initial position not only of the participle clause but also of the entire sentence.

That is, these two types of subordinate clauses precede the main clause when their predicate is an interrogative word.

As far as the examples discussed above are concerned, it is possible to say that interrogative words tend to occur in the initial position of the entire sentences (although it looks as if they occur in the initial position of the clauses, for instance, when they occur in independent clauses, as in most of the examples given above). This applies even when the interrogative word is a member of the subordinate clause and even if that particular type of subordinate clause otherwise follows the main clause.

The three interrogative words *ngani* 'what', *ngani-pi* 'what-intransitivizer' and *ngani-nga* 'what-transitivizer' have another use. That is, when the speaker cannot recollect a word, he often substitutes one of these interrogative words. (The speaker will usually supply the appropriate word later in the same clause.) They can be translated 'what-isname'.

- (14) गया कान्ति-न ... ngani-Ø winkar-Ø.

1SG,NOM carry-PAST/PRES what-ABS fish-ABS

'I carried, whatisname, fish.'

(In this examples '...' indicates a pause. Similarly for (16).)

- (15) ngani-nga गया न्का-न तुलान्-त्या कान्-न्का.

what-LOC 1SG,NOM see-PAST/PRES tree-LOC under-LOC

'I saw (fish) under, whatisname, trees.'

- (16) गया पुरि-Ø ... ngani-nga-न कुयपराम्पा-न.

1SG,NOM wood-ABS what-TRVSR-PAST/PRES heap up-PAST/PRES

'I did whatisname, heaped up the wood.'

Additional examples are (6) of 8, and the third sentence in (5) of 22.

In this use, these interrogative words do not necessarily occur in the initial position; they occur where the speaker cannot recollect the word. (This use has been attested with these three interrogative words only, and not with any other interrogative words.)

We saw in 18 that the question marker *wayi* is used to form general questions. Furthermore, in several examples, *wayi* seems to require not a yes/no answer, but information on 'how', 'where', etc. E.g.:

(17) yinta wayi ?

2SG,NOM Q

'How are you (feeling) ?', 'What are you doing ?', etc.

(18) nyula wayi yarru-ngumay-Ø pama-Ø ?

3SG,NOM Q this-from-ABS man-ABS

'Where is he, the man from here ?'

As we saw in 18, when forming general questions, *wayi* generally occurs in the initial position. In contrast, it seems to (always ?) occur in the second position when it forms questions such as (17) and (18).

In one example, *wayi* occurs — rather redundantly — in a sentence which already contains an interrogative word. (It occurs in the second position.)

(19) wanytya-n-ta wayi parrpira-Ø watyu-lku ?

where-LIG-LOC Q echidna-ABS cook-PURP

'Where shall (I) cook the echidna ?'

To sum up the main points, interrogative words tend to occur in the initial position. Subordinate clauses with an interrogative verb precede the main clauses (at least, in the examples at hand). The question marker *wayi* occurs in the second position (at least, in the examples at hand) when it forms special questions. In addition, the three interrogative words noted above can occur in a position (not necessarily in the initial position) where the speaker cannot recollect a word.

The interrogative word in a special question is by definition the focus of the question (cf. Comrie 1984: 3). Similarly, the word(s) providing the required information is/are the focus in the answer. Since the interrogative word tends to occur in the initial position of special questions, this position tends to indicate their focus. In the corresponding manner, the initial position in the answers tends to indicate their focus. For example, we shall look at the answers to the special questions in which the interrogative word occurs in the initial position. The word(s) providing the required answer occur(s) in the initial position in 20 examples, e.g. (20); in the second position in 8 examples, e.g. (21); in the third

position in 4 examples; and in the fourth position in two examples. (When the answer consists of just the word(s) providing the required answer, naturally the focus occurs in the initial position, i.e. the only possible position.) That is, the focus in the answers tends to occur in the initial position, and it is less likely to occur as we move away from that position.

(20) A: wanytyarri ngali ?

which way 1DU,NOM 'Which way (shall) we go ?'

B: kuwa-ngal yani-ya !

west-to go-IMPERA 'Let's go west.'

(21) A: ngani-Ø yinta kuypa-lku ?

what-ABS 2SG,NOM give-PURP 'What will you give (me) ?'

B: ngaya tyumupuru-Ø yinu kuypa-lku.

1SG,NOM beef-ABS 2SG,GEN give-PURP

(St DO IO V)

'I will give you beef.'

21. Inversion of subject and verb in special questions

This is irrelevant, since the subject can either precede or follow the verb in declarative sentences.

22. Negative sentences

(The texts 72 / 32 to 72 / 34 and Tsunoda (1974a: 282-84, 293-98) have been examined.)

There are two main words that express negation: *nyawa* 'general negation ('not') and *ngalnga* 'prohibition ('Don't', '... should not'). In addition, words such as *ngarru* 'in vain, unsuccessfully', too, can express negation.

nyawa is the most common negation marker. It can complete a sentence, i.e. 'No.', by itself, e.g. the third sentence in (5) below. It can also occur in clauses — both in those with the predicate verb and those without. We shall deal with these two types of clause separately. We shall also distinguish independent/main and subordinate clauses.

First, we look at independent/main clauses. With respect to those with a verb, *nyawa* often (in 31 out of the 55 examples) occurs in the initial position, and less frequently (in 21 examples) as the second word, and seldom (in 3 examples) as the third word, and so on. It may even occur as the fourth word, e.g (3). In sum, *nyawa* is increasingly unlikely to occur as we move away from the initial position. It has not been possible to ascertain

any correlation between the position of *nyawa* and the focus of negation. It might be expected that *nyawa* immediately precedes the focus of negation. This does appear to be the case in certain examples, but not so in others. For example, it is clear that *nyawa* immediately precedes the focus of negation in:

- (1) kapul-Ø ngali mutya-n nyawa winkar-Ø.
 carpet snake-ABS 1DU,NOM eat-PAST/PRES NEG fish-ABS
 'We ate a carpet snake, not a fish.' (O St Vt, NEG O)

(But it is possible to consider (1) as consisting of two clauses, the second being an elliptical clause.) Also, in examples such as the following, what *nyawa* immediately precedes seems to be the focus of negation, i.e. 'long ago' in (2), and 'sit-IMPERA' in (3):

- (2) (I have seen your camp for the first time.)
 ngaya nyawa kanpamara nyaka-n.
 1SG,NOM NEG long ago see-PAST/PRES (St NEG Adv Vt)
 'I did not see (it) a long time ago.'
 (3) yinta nyawa nyina-ya !
 2SG,NOM NEG sit-IMPERA 'Don't sit down !' (Si NEG Vi)

However, in some other samples, *nyawa* does not seem to immediately precede the focus of negation, e.g. 'steal-PAST/PRES' in (4), and 'go-PURP' in B of (5).

- (4) ('You stole this woman.')
- nyawa ngaya yupaynga-n.
 NEG 1SG,NOM steal-PAST/PRES (NEG St Vt)
 'I did not steal (her).'

Another example is 'rest-PURP' in (i) of (2) of 6.

In a few examples, *nyawa* seems to follow (and immediately follow), rather than precede, the focus of negation, e.g. 'man-ABS' in the second sentence of:

- (5) A: wayi pama-Ø ngawa-lku yinta ?
 Q man-ABS hear-PURP 2SG,NOM (Q O Vt St)
 'Can you hear a man (calling out) ?'
 B: pama-Ø nyawa kawal-kawali-n.
 man-ABS NEG call out-REDUP-PAST/PRES (Si NEG Vi)
 'It is not a man that is calling out.'
 B: nyawa. ka ... ngani-Ø kantaru-Ø kawali-n nyalay.
 NEG what-ABS -ABS call out-PAST/PRES recently
 'No. It is *ka* ... whatisname, *kantaru* (an imaginary, human-like being) that is call-

ing out now.'

In most instances, *nyawa* seems to negate the whole clause or the verb. (But, it is difficult to distinguish between clause negation and verb negation in specific examples.)

- (6) ('Take this woman for your wife.')

ngaya nyawa pintaynga-lku nyunya.

1SG,NOM NEG let go-PURP 2SG,ACC

(St NEG Vt O)

'I will not let her go.'

nyawa can also occur in 'verbless' clauses.

- (7) nyawa ngaya kupi-Ø.

NEG 1SG,NOM native doctor 'I'm not a native doctor.'

- (8) tyana nyawa pikin-tyi-Ø.

3PL,NOM NEG shield-having-ABS 'They have no shield.'

Again, *nyawa* occurs in the initial or the second position.

nyawa is used in expressions 'There is/was no ...':

- (9) puri-Ø nyawa.

firewood-ABS NEG 'There is no firewood.'

- (10) nyawa katyarra-Ø.

NEG possum-ABS 'There are no possums (in this area).'

It seems that in such expressions, *nyawa* tends to follow (7 examples), e.g. (9), rather than precede (2 examples), e.g. (10), what is negated.

Now, we turn to subordinate clauses. In at least one example, it is clearly the subordinate clause, not the main clause, that is negated.

- (11) yinta nyunya tyapi-n nyawa yani-yal.

2SG,NOM 2SG,ACC stop-PAST/PRES NEG go-PURP

Lit. 'You stopped him so that he could not go.'

(For 'so that' clauses, see 23.) Note that *nyawa* (immediately) precedes what is negated, and that it does NOT negate what precedes it.

In contrast to (11), when *nyawa* occurs in the main clause, its scope of negation seems to be limited to the main clause, and is not extended to the subordinate clause. E.g.:

- (12) nyawa ngaya mayka-lku yinta kupi-Ø.

NEG 1SG,NOM tell-PURP 2SG,NOM native doctor-ABS

'I will not tell (them) that you are a native doctor.'

To sum up, it has not been possible to determine any correlation between the position of *nyawa* and the focus of negation. At least, its scope of negation seems to be limited

within the clause in which it occurs. In addition, to the extent that *nyawa* tends to occur in the initial position of the clause or in a position close to that position, it tends to be followed by what is negated — whatever that may be. The only exceptions are 'There is/ no ...' clauses, in which *nyawa* tends to follow what is negated.

ngalnga 'prohibition' generally (in 50 examples) occurs in clauses with a predicate verb. It seldom (in 4 examples) occurs in 'verbless' clauses. (It can complete an (elliptical?) clause by itself, i.e. 'Don't!'.) It can occur not only with the imperatives but also past/present and purposive forms of verbs. Furthermore, it can occur with the negative imperative — rather redundantly. It negates main or independent clauses only, and not subordinate clauses. It always occurs in the initial position. (In just one example, *ngalnga* occurred in the final position, but when the tape was replayed to him, the late Mr. Alf Palmer corrected it and placed it in the initial position.) Generally, *ngalnga* seems to negate the verb or the whole clause. (It is difficult to make this distinction in specific instances.)

- (13) ('You go and have a look.' 'No.')

ngalnga nganya yinta pirri-lmu !
 NEG 1SG,ACC 2SG,NOM send-NEG IMPERA (NEG O St Vt)
 'Don't make me go !' ('We will go together.')

- (14) ngalnga yinta kawali-ya !

NEG 2SG,NOM call out-IMPERA (NEG Si Vi)
 'Don't call out !'

In certain examples, it seems to be a word/words other than the verb that is/are negated. E.G. 'sun-LOC' in the second sentence of:

- (15) nguna-ngumay katyarra-Ø watyu-ya kunta-ngka !

after-that possum-ABS cook-IMPERA night-LOC
 'Then, cook the possum at night.'
 ngalnga karri-ngka watyu-ya !
 NEG sun-LOC cook-IMPERA (NEG LOC Vt)
 'Don't cook (it) in the daylight (lit. sun).'

Examples of verbless clauses include:

- (16) ngalnga yinta walwantan-Ø.

NEG 2SG,NOM sick, not well-ABS
 Informant's translation: 'Don't get no good. !'

As noted above, *ngalnga* occurs in independent or main clauses only, and not in sub-

ordinate clauses. When functioning as the main clause, a *ngalnga* clause may precede the subordinate clause, e.g. (17), or follow, e.g. (18). In each instance, the scope of negation is limited to the main clause, and is not extended to the subordinate clause.

- (17) pama-ngku ngali-nya nyaka-lka ngalnga yinta tyuka-nga-lku.
 man-ERG 1DU-ACC see-POT NEG 2SG,NOM smoke-TRVZR-PURP
 'Don't make smoke in case (other) men see us.'
- (18) ngalnga yinta mayka-Ø ngalingu-n-ku ngali kulpilka-ngal !
 NEG 2SG,NOM tell-IMPERA 1DU-LIG-DAT 1DU,NOM south-to
 'Don't tell (them) about us that we (are going) south.'

Other examples of *ngalnga* include (2) of 11 (NEG O Vt) and (12) of 11 (NEG St Vt O).

There is a difference between affirmative imperatives and clauses with *ngalnga* 'prohibition'. As we saw in 6, the subject is often (in 36% of the examples) deleted in affirmative imperatives (and also in affirmative declaratives). In contrast, the subject is much less frequently (in 10 out of the 54 examples, i.e. in 19% of the examples) deleted in the clauses with *ngalnga*.

ngarru '(try) in vain, unsuccessfully, cannot, could not', which was classified as a manner adverb in 16 above, can express negation. It occurs in the initial or second position:

- (19) ngarru ngarru wakampa-n ngaya pinta-wu.
 lift-PAST/PRES 1SG,NOM shoulder-DAT
 'I (tried but) could not lift (the kangaroo) to (my) shoulder.'
- (20) (I speared a kangaroo. But, as I had sore feet:)
 ngaya ngarru watali-n kulmamali.
 1SG,NOM run-PAST/PRES behind
 'I could not run after (it).'

Apart from the addition of a negation word, negative sentences do not deviate from affirmative sentences in terms of word order — except that the subject is deleted in sentences with *ngalnga* 'prohibition' much less frequently than in affirmative imperatives.

23. Conditional clause and main clause

(The texts 72/32 to 72/34 and Tsunoda (1974a: 242-47, 369, 445, 461-64) have been examined.)

There are several ways to express condition. First, as noted in 18, two of the three participles, i.e. *-nyu* and *-nty*, describe an event that is anterior to, or simultaneous with,

that described by the main clause. In most instances, they indicate reason / cause, time 'when' or condition. Generally, they can either precede or follow the main clause. In at least three examples the participle clearly indicates condition (or future time) rather than cause / reason. The participle precedes the main clause in two of them, and follows in the third. E.g.:

- (1) pama-Ø kulmamali yani-ntyi pula ngali-n-ku watali-yal.
man-ABS behind come-PRTCPL 3DU,NOM 1DU-LIG-DAT run-PURP
'If a man comes behind, they will run to us.'
- (2) (It is cold in your country, i.e. Japan. So:)
ngaya wula-yngka yarru-ngumay-Ø yani-ntyi.
1SG,NOM die-POT here-from-ABS go-PRTCPL
'I might die if I went from here (to Japan).'

In 8 examples a past / present verb indicates condition (or future time). The conditional clause precedes the main clause in all of them.

- (3) nyula nyara-Ø nyaka-n nyula wanpali-yal nyara-ngka.
3SG,NOM flame-ABS see-PAST / PRES 3SG,NOM be afraid-PURP flame-LOC
'If he sees the light, he will be afraid of the light.'
- (4) nyara-Ø nyaka-n tyana-ngku nganya papa-lka nyara-ngka.
flame-ABS see-PAST / PRES 3PL-ERG 1SG,ACC stab-POT flame-LOC
'If they see (this) flame, (they) might stab me near (this) flame.'

In at least two examples, a purposive verb indicates condition. It precedes the main clause in both examples. E.g.:

- (5) yina tyana-ngku palka-lku ngali palka-lku nyunkul-Ø
2SG,ACC 3PL-ERG hit-PURP 1DU,NOM hit-PURP one-ABS
nguna-ngumay-Ø.
that-from-ABS (OSV, SVO)
'If they hit you, we will hit one of them.'

In at least 4 examples, a 'verbless' clause indicates condition or the like. The conditional clause precedes the main clause in all of them.

- (6) yinu kurngal-Ø kuliyi-Ø, yinta katya-Ø kipa-Ø!
2SG,GEN husband-ABS angry-ABS 2SG,NOM head-ABS scratch-IMPERA
'If / when your husband gets angry, scratch your head (to let me know).'

These condition clauses — perhaps except for the participle clauses — have a slightly rising intonation at the end, with a brief pause intervening between them and the main

clauses.

To sum up, conditional clauses almost always precede the main clauses.

24. Purpose clause and main clause

(The texts 72 / 32 to 72 / 34 and Tsunoda (1974a: 221-36, 450-59) have been examined.)

Purposive verbs can be used as the main-clause predicate, expressing intention, future, etc. e.g. the second clause of (1), (3), (5) of 23. But, they can also be used as the subordinate-clause predicate, in which case they describe an event that is posterior to the event describe by the main clause. (That is, as noted in 20, semantically they are in complementary distribution with the participles discussed in 23.) Specifically, they indicate purpose, consequence, or successive action. As noted in 20, they precede the main clause when the verb is an interrogative verb. Otherwise, they almost always follow the main clause. E.g.:

- (1) *ngaya kunma-n nyunkul-Ø kupunkara-Ø nyula mutya-lku.*
 1SG,NOM cut-PAST/PRES one-ABS pam tree-ABS 3SG,NOM eat-PURP
 'I cut down one palm tree so that she could eat (it).' (St Vt O, St Vt)
- (2) *yinu yarru-Ø kuku-Ø ngaya kuypa-n yinta*
 2SG,GEN this-ABS language-ABS 1SG,NOM give-PAST/PRES 2SG,NOM
yarru-ngumay-Ø kanytyi-lku.
 here-from-ABS carry-PURP
 'I teach (lit. give) you this language so that you can take (it) from here.'
 (IO DO St Vt, St O Vt)

Out of more than 130 examples, there are only three in which the purposive clause precedes the main clause. E.g. (6) below and:

- (3) *yani-yal pirri-ya !*
 go-PURP send-IMPERA
 'Let go (of him) so that (he) can go away.'

Potential verbs can be used as the main-clause predicate or as the independent-clause predicate: they indicate that something might happen — often implying an unpleasant consequence, e.g. the first clause in (2) of 23, and the second clause in (4) of 23. They can also be used as the subordinate-clause predicate, in which case they indicate the opposite of purpose, i.e. 'so that ... not', 'in case', 'lest'. They almost always follow the main verb, e.g.:

- (4) yarru-Ø yinta wanti-ya ngarra kantu-ngku pitya-lka.
 this-ABS 2SG,NOM hand-IMPERA high dog-ERG drink-POT
 'Hang this (water) high up so that the dog can't drink (it).' (OSV, SV)
- (5) ngaya yarru-Ø karpi-n yinta nyaka-lka.
 1SG,NOM this-ABS hide-PAST/PRES 2SG,NOM see-POT
 'I hid this in case you saw (it).' (SOV, SV)

In just two out of the 30 examples, the potential clause precedes the main clause, e.g. (17) of 22.

Negation of a purposive clause indicating purpose is equivalent to a potential clause. Thus, compare (5) with:

- (6) nyawa ngaya nyaka-lku yinta karpi-ya !
 NEG 1SG,NOM see-PURP 2SG,NOM hide-IMPERA
 'Hide this so that I cannot see (it).'

Another examples is (11) of 22.

To sum up, clauses indicating purpose — both 'so that' clauses and 'so that ... not' clauses — almost always follow the main clauses.

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