

# Typological study of word order (15) : Warlpiri, and (16) : Alyawarra

Tasaku TSUNODA

## (15) : Warlpiri

### 0. Introduction

This is the 15th installment of my typological study of word order, following Tsunoda (1988, 1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1990d, 1991a, 1991b, 1991c, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c, 1992d, 1993). (Tsunoda 1988 deals with Japanese.)

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### 1. Name of language

Warlpiri. 'Previously spelled Walbiri, and in other ways' (Nash 1980 : 4).

### 2. Source of information

Hale (1973, 1976) (often abbreviated as 'H 1973' and 'H 1976', respectively), Nash (1980) ('N'), Simpson (1991) ('S 1991') and Simpson (p.c.) ('S, p.c.').

### 3. Genetic affiliation

According to Walsh et al. (1981), Warlpiri belongs to the South-west group of the Pama-Nyungan language family.

### 4. Geographical distribution

Warlpiri 'is spoken by a growing population, upwards of 2,500 people, at a number of centres in the central western area of the Northern Territory

of Australia' (Nash p.8).

## 5. Morphological and other relevant facts

There are two types of pronouns: pronominal enclitics and independent pronouns. Roughly speaking, pronominal enclitics have the nominative-accusative case-marking pattern (St=Si≠O; NOM=NOM≠ACC), whereas independent pronouns and also nouns, etc. have the ergative-absolutive pattern (St≠Si=O; ERG≠ABS=ABS). Pronominal enclitics do not occur under certain conditions; see Hale (1973). Often pronominal enclitics alone occur, with the corresponding independent pronouns being understood.

Regarding the case labels of pronominal enclitics, Simpson (p.c.) notes as follows: - 'I am reluctant to assign NOMINATIVE and ACCUSATIVE case to the pronominal clitics, basically because the non-subject clitics can represent either Dative or Absolutive arguments, but there is a special form for third person singular Dative. I prefer to gloss them as SUBJECT and OBJECT clitics respectively'. Despite Simpson's advice, in this paper I shall use the labels 'nominative' and 'accusative' for pronominal enclitics. This is partly (or largely ?) out of habit.

Warlpiri sentences generally (cf. Hale 1973:333) contain what is termed the auxiliary. It comprises pronominal enclitic(s) and a base to which the pronominal enclitic(s) is/are attached. (The bases indicate tense, aspect or mood in conjunction with verbal inflectional suffixes (Hale 1973:309).) The auxiliary may contain another element, to which the base-plus-pronominal enclitic(s) is attached enclitically. This element is either 'complementizer' (Hale 1973:309), e.g. *kuja* (see 12 on relative clauses), *kaji* (see 23 on conditional clauses), and *yungu/yinga* (see 24 on purpose clauses) or the negation morpheme *kula* (see 22 on negative sentences). 'The Auxiliary, and some Modal Particles [or propositional particles—Simpson, p.c.] [occur—TT] either initially, or else in "second" ... position, after the first "constituent" of the sentence' (Nash p.17). More precisely, the positional possibilities of the auxiliary are as follows (Hale 1973:313, Nash p.186).

[ 1 ] If the portion of the auxiliary preceding pronominal enclitics is less than disyllabic (that is, monosyllabic or phonologically null), then the auxiliary must occur in the second position, i.e. must follow the first constituent. (In other words, the auxiliary can occur in the initial position only if the portion of the auxiliary preceding the pronominal enclitic(s) is disyllabic or longer.)

[ 2 ] An auxiliary of any size may occur in the second position.

In the examples cited below, enclitics are indicated by a preceding equal sign ('='), while other morpheme boundaries are indicated by a hyphen ('-'). Glosses invariably employ hyphens.

The orthography employed below is essentially the one utilized by Nash (1980).

Abbreviations employed include the following: - ABS, absolutive; ACC, accusative; ADV, adverb or adverb phrase; ALL, allative; AUX, auxiliary; CAUS, causative; DAT, dative; DO, direct object; DU, dual; ELA, elative; ERG, ergative; EUPH, euphonious; EXC, exclusive; FUT, future; IMPERA, imperative; INCH, inchoative; INF, infinitive; INST, instrumental; IO, indirect object; IRR, irrealis; LOC, locative; NEG, negation; NOM, nominative; O, object; PERL, perlative; PL, plural; PRES, present; Q, question; REDUP, reduplication; REFL, reflexive; S, subject; SG, singular; Si, intransitive subject; St, transitive subject; TOP, topic; V, verb; Vi, intransitive verb; Vt, transitive verb; 1, first person; 2, second person; 3, third person.

## 6. Subject, object and verb

As noted in 5 above, the auxiliary occurs initially or after the first constituent. (Regarding the concept of constituent in this connection, see 11 below.) Hale (1973:311-12) notes that, apart from this restriction, 'in general, ... the relative order of the major constituents of a sentence is relatively free ... Take, for example, the nonauxiliary constituents of a sentence like' (a):

(a)	ngarrka-ngku	∅=palangu	wawirri-jarra-∅	kurlarda-rlu
	man-ERG	-3DU,ACC	kangaroo-DU-ABS	spear-INST

pantu-rnu.

spear-PAST

(St AUX O ADV Vt) or (SOV)

'The man speared two kangaroos with a spear.' (H 1973 : 311)

(The phonologically zero base is left unglossed in the source. In the examples provided by Simpson (p.c.), the phonologically zero base is not shown and the pronominal clitics are directly attached to (the last word of) the initial constituent, e.g. (g) of 8.)

Hale continues : - 'These constituents can permute freely, subject to conditions having to do, strictly speaking, with considerations of style and the well-formedness of discourses than with the syntax of the sentence. The auxiliary, however, is consistently in second position' [since the base is phonologically zero ; see 5 above -TT] :

(b) wawirri-jarra- $\emptyset$   $\emptyset$ =palangu kurlarda-rlu pantu-rnu  
ngarrka-ngku. (O AUX ADV Vt St) or (OVS)

'As above.' (H 1973 : 312)

(c) kurlarda-rlu  $\emptyset$ =palangu wawirri-jarra- $\emptyset$  pantu-rnu  
ngarrka-ngku. (ADV AUX O Vt St) or (OVS)

'As above.' (H 1973 : 312)

(d) pantu-rnu  $\emptyset$ =palangu ngarrka-ngku wawirri-jarra- $\emptyset$   
kurlarda-rlu. (Vt AUX St O ADV) or (VSO)

'As above.' (H 1973 : 312)

Of the six logically possible combinations of St (or simply S), O and Vt (or simply V), SOV, OVS and VSO have been exemplified above. Examples of the other three orders follow :

(e) nyuntulu-rlu  $\emptyset$ =npa=ju pantu-rnu ngaju- $\emptyset$ .  
2SG-ERG -2SG,NOM-1SG,ACC spear-PAST 1SG-ABS  
'You speared me.' (H 1973 : 336) (St AUX Vt O) or (SVO)

(f) japiya- $\emptyset$  muku ka=lu panu-ngku nga-rni.  
big-ABS all PRES-3PL,NOM many-ERG eat-NONPAST  
(O AUX St Vt) or (OSV)

'Many of them are eating a whole lot.' (N p.54)

(Note that the auxiliary in (f) seems to occur after the SECOND constituent — contrary to the statement by Hale and by Nash cited in 5 that the



With respect to intransitive sentences, both 'Si Vi' and 'Vi Si' orders occur. The 'Si Vi' order seems to be the more common among the examples.

- (j) ngaju- $\emptyset$       ka=rna                      purla-mi.  
 1SG-ABS      PRES-1SG,NOM      shout-NONPAST      (Si AUX Vi)  
 'I am shouting ; I shout.' (H 1973 : 309)
- (k) purla-mi                      ka=rna                      nagju- $\emptyset$ .  
 shout-NONPAST      PRES-1SG,NOM      1SG-ABS      (Vi AUX Si)  
 'As above.' (H 1973 : 309)

## 7. Adposition

There is just one postposition, i.e. *jangkardu* 'against' (Simpson, p.c.).

Warlpiri parts of speech contain a class termed 'preverb' (Nash p.14). Preverbs 'combine with a Verb—normally immediately preceding the V but sometimes immediately following it—to give a complex Verb' (Nash p.16). An example is *jangkardu* 'against' in :

- (a) ngarrka- $\emptyset$       ka=rna                      karnta-ku                      jangkardu-karri-mi.  
 man-ABS      PRES-3DAT      woman-DAT      against-stand-NONPAST  
 'The man is standing against the woman.' (S 1991 : 360)

Among the preverbs, only *jangkardu* 'against' can be used as a postposition, and its object occurs in the dative case (Simpson 1991 : 360-62), e.g. :

- (b) janta-janta-yi-nyi                      ka=nkulu=nyanu                      ngaju-ku  
 lend-give-NONPAST      PRES-2PL,NOM-REFL      1SG-DAT  
 jangkardu.  
 against  
 'You fellows are passing it (knife) to my peril.' (S 1991 : 361)

## 8. Genitive and noun

When the possessor is expressed by a pronoun, it occurs in what appears to be the genitive case. When it is expressed by a noun, it takes the suffix *-kurlangu*, which Simpson (p.c.) glosses as 'poss' and 'belonging'. In either case, the possessor may either precede or follow the possessed. Also, in either case the possessor may take a further case suffix, agreeing

with the possessed in terms of case, e.g. (c), (g). First, examples of pronouns:

- (a) ngajunyangu=ju kurdu=ju  
 my-EUPH child of woman-EUPH  
 'my nieces' (S, p.c.)

(*ju* appears to be an enclitic rather than a suffix. See Nash p.56.)

- (b) nguru ngajunyangu-kurra (c) yuwarli-kirra ngajunyangu-kurra  
 camp my-ALL house-ALL my-ALL  
 'to my country' (S, p.c.) 'to my house' (S, p.c.)

Examples of nouns:

- (d) pinkirra jurpu-kurlangu (e) ngipiri jukujuku-kurlangu  
 feather bird-POSS egg hen-POSS  
 'bird's feather' (S, p.c.) 'hen's egg' (S, p.c.)

- (f) jarrawari-∅ ngula-∅=ju janganpa-kurlangu  
 possum track-ABS that-ABS-EUPH possum-BELONGING  
 yirdiyi-∅  
 track-ABS  
 '“Jarrawari” is the path made by a possum.' (S, p.c.)

- (g) maliki-jarra-rlu=ju=pala wajilipu-ngu  
 dog-DU-ERG-1SG,ACC-3DU,NOM chase-PAST  
 japanangka-kurlangu-jarra-rlu.  
 Japanangka-POSS-DU-ERG  
 'Japanangja's two dogs chased me.' (S, p.c.)

As (g) demonstrates, the possessor and the possessed 'can be discontinuous' (Simpson, p.c.).

There are two derivational suffixes which are added to kinship terms (Nash p.24): *-nyanu* '(someone)'s (kin)', e.g. (g) of 6, and *-puraji* 'your (kin)', e.g. (b) of 18.

## 9. Demonstrative and noun

As is the case with the order of the possessor and the possessed, the position of a demonstrative in relation to the noun it qualifies is not fixed.

That is, it can either precede or follow the latter. It can be either contiguous or non-contiguous with it, but most commonly (in 16 out of the 23 examples) it follows and immediately follows it. Simpson (p.c.) confirms that the order 'Noun+Demonstrative' is more common and less marked than the order 'Demonstrative+Noun'. Examples follow. The demonstrative follows — immediately in (a) and not immediately in (b).

(a) wawirri nyampu- $\emptyset$  kapi=rna purra-mi.  
 kangaroo this-ABS FUT-1SG,NOM cook-NONPAST  
 'I will cook this kangaroo.' (H 1973: 314) (O AUX Vt)

(b) wawirri- $\emptyset$  kapi=rna purra-mi nyampu- $\emptyset$ .  
 kangaroo-ABS FUT-1SG,NOM cook-NONPAST this-ABS  
 'As above.' (H 1973: 314) (O AUX Vt O)

The demonstrative precedes, but not immediately, in (c) and (d).

(c) nyampu- $\emptyset$  kapi=rna purra-mi wawirri- $\emptyset$ .  
 this-ABS FUT-1SG,NOM cook-NONPAST kangaroo-ABS  
 'As above.' (H 1973: 314) (O AUX Vt O)

(d) julyupurr-julyupurrpari-nyayirni nyampu=ju ngapa- $\emptyset$   
 full to the brim-very this-TOP water-ABS  
 kartaku-rla.  
 billycan-LOC

'This water is really up to the top of this billycan.' (S, p.c.)

There is no example available in which the demonstrative immediately precedes, although this ordering, too, is presumably possible. Simpson (p.c.) states that (e), which I composed, is acceptable, but that it is highly marked.

(e) nyampu wawirri- $\emptyset$  kapi=rna purra-mi.  
 this kangaroo-ABS FUT-1SG,NOM cook-NONPAST  
 'I will cook this kangaroo.'

Other examples of demonstratives include 'kangaroo this' in (h) of 6; 'possum-track that' in (f) of 8; 'flood that' in (c) of 11; 'that ... water' in (g) of 16; 'this fruit' in (a) of 20; and, 'book this' in (f) of 20.



## 10. Numeral and noun

Simpson (p.c.) states as follows: - 'The numeral usually follows the noun, but has been recorded preceding it'. Examples in which the numeral follows:

- (a) nyampu-jarra-rlu    yapa-jarra-rlu    jirrama-rlu,  
 this-DU-ERG          person-DU-ERG    two-ERG  
 marlu-jarra-∅=pala=jana                      jirrama-∅=yijjala  
 kangaroo-DU-ABS-3DU,NOM-3PL,ACC    two-ABS-also  
 jarnkupu-ngu.  
 kill-PAST

'These two people each killed two kangaroos each.' (S, p.c.)

- (b) kurdu-ngku    jirrama-rlu  
 child-ERG    two-ERG          (N p.174)

An example in which the numeral precedes:

- (c) jirrama    jinjimarlumarlu-∅    nga-rnu    jipilyaku-rlu.  
 two          butterfly-ABS          eat-PAST    duck-ERG

'The duck ate two butterflies.' (S, p.c.)

In (d) too, the numeral precedes, but it is separated from the noun by the auxiliary.

- (d) jirrama-∅=palangu    pirdijirri-jarra-∅    yirra-rnu.  
 two-ABS-3DU,ACC    cake-DU-ABS    put-PAST

'They put down two seed cakes.' (S, p.c.)

## 11. Adjective and noun

The adjective can either precede or follow the noun it qualifies. It can be either contiguous or non-contiguous with the noun. Most commonly (in 8 out of the 11 examples) it follows and immediately follows the noun. Examples follow. The adjective follows—immediately in (a) and not immediately in (b).

- (a) jarnrtu    wiri-ngki    ∅=ji                      yarlku-rnu.  
 dog          big-ERG          -1SG,ACC              bite-PAST          (St AUX Vt)

'The big dog bit me.' (H 1973: 314)



## 12. Relative clause and noun

Hale (1976) describes relative clauses in Warlpiri as follows: - Clauses that contain the 'complementizer' (something like a conjunction) *kuja* or *ngula* can be used as adverbial clauses expressing time 'while', 'when'.

Clauses with the 'complementizer' *kaji* can be used as adverbial clauses expressing time 'when' or condition 'if'. In addition, when these clauses share a noun or the like coreferential with one in the main clause, they can function as relative clauses. They are not embedded in the main clause, but they are 'adjoined' to it. Hale has termed them 'adjoined relative clauses'. They can either precede or follow the main clause. A pair of examples with *kuja*:

- (a) ngajulu-rlu kapi=rna wawirri-∅ purra-mi,  
 ISG-ERG FUT-1SG,NOM kangaroo-ABS cook-NONPAST  
 [kuja=npa pantu-rnu nyuntulu-rlu].  
 -2SG,NOM spear-PAST 2SG-ERG  
 (St AUX O Vt, [AUX Vt St])

'I will cook the kangaroo you speared.' (H 1976: 79)

- (b) [nyuntulu-rlu kaja=npa wawirri-∅ pantu-rnu],  
 2SG-ERG -2SG,NOM kangaroo-ABS spear-PAST  
 ngajulu-rlu kapi=rna purra-mi.  
 ISG-ERG FUT-1SG,NOM cook-NONPAST  
 'As above.' (H 1976: 79) ([St AUX O Vt], St AUX Vt)

(Relative clauses are indicated with square brackets.) Other examples include:

- (c) ngajulu-rlu ∅=rna yankirri-∅ pantu-rnu, [kuja=lpa  
 1SG-ERG -1SG,NOM emu-ABS spear-PAST -PAST  
 ngapa-∅ nga-rnu].  
 water-ABS drink-PAST (St AUX O Vt, AUX O Vt)  
 'I speared the emu which was (/while it was) drinking water.'  
 (H 1976: 78)

- (d) wawirri-jarra-∅ ka=rna=palangu nya-nyi,  
 kangaroo-DU-ABS PRES-1SG,NOM-3DU,ACC see-NONPAST



- (d) nyuntu-ngurlu ka=rna nyina wiri-∅=ji  
 2SG-ELA PRES-1SG,NOM sit,be big-ABS-TOP  
 ngaju-∅=ju.  
 1SG-ABS-TOP  
 'As ( a ).' (N p.210)

As the examples demonstrate, the relative order of the standard of comparison (attached with the dative, etc. as the marker of comparison) and 'adjective' is not fixed.

### 15. Main verb and auxiliary verb

There are no auxiliary verbs in Warlpiri. (What is termed 'auxiliary' is a combination of pronominal clitics and other element(s), and it is not a verb or a subtype of a verb.)

### 16. Adverb and verb

Apart from modal adverbs (referred to as modal particles by Nash), the position of adverbs(/adverb phrases) is not fixed. (Simpson (p.c.) adds that 'there is no distinct class of adverbs ; they are a subset of nominals.')

Nash (pp.186-87) discusses modal adverbs as follows: - 'The main categories of Modal Particles include the following words' :

- |        |                                 |  |
|--------|---------------------------------|--|
| ( i )  | <i>karinganta</i> 'Declarative' | <i>pangkala</i> 'Permissive'               |
|        | <i>kirli</i> 'Permissive'       | <i>kulanganta</i> 'Present Counterfactual' |
|        | <i>marda</i> 'perhaps'          | <i>kari</i> 'Assertive'                    |
| ( ii ) | <i>japa</i> 'Interrogative'     | <i>nganta</i> 'supposedly'                 |
|        | <i>mayi</i> 'presumably'        | <i>waja</i> 'Emphatic'                     |

'... they occur in positions also favoured by the Auxiliary. Roughly speaking the Modal Particles listed in ( i ) occur in "first position" or "second position" and possibly sentence-finally ; and those listed in ( ii ) cannot begin a sentence, and, prefer to be in "second position". Furthermore, *kulanganta* and *marda*, at least, may occur elsewhere ...'

An example of *marda* 'perhaps'. As noted above, this word 'typically occurs in "2 nd position", as in' (Nash p.240) :

- (a) kapi marda wanti-mi ngapa- $\emptyset$ .  
 FUT maybe fall-NONPAST rain-ABS (AUX ADV Vi Si)  
 'It might rain.' (N p.240)

This word 'may have sentence scope' (Nash p.240), as in (a). 'And, *marda* may have scope over the word to its immediate left. Consider the following pair of sentences' (Nash p.240):

- (b) kurdu- $\emptyset$  marda wanti-ja.  
 child-ABS maybe fall-PAST (Si ADV Vi)  
 'Maybe it was a child that fell.' (N p.240)
- (c) wanti-ja marda kurdu- $\emptyset$ .  
 fall-PAST maybe child-ABS (Vi ADV Si)  
 'Maybe what happened to the child was that it fell.' (N p.240)

Another example of *marda* is in (c) of 18.

An example of *kulanganta* 'counterfactual afterthought':

- (d) kulanganta=rna wawirri- $\emptyset$  pantu-rnu, kala  
 Counterfactual-1SG,NOM kangaroo-ABS spear-PAST but  
 lawa.  
 no (ADV-AUX O Vt ...)  
 'I thought I (actually) speared the kangaroo, but no !' (N p.239)

'A Modal Particle in "second position" requires the Auxiliary to follow it, as in' (Nash p.187, Simpson, p.c.):

- (e) mirnrta-jangka mayi ka=npa  
 flu-ELA presumably PRES-2SG,NOM  
 kiri-jarri-mi waninja- $\emptyset$ .  
 striped-INCH-NONPAST throat-ABS (ADV ADV AUX Vi Si)  
 'Presumably your throat is sore from flu.' (N p.187)

(This relative case (-*jangka*) indicates origin, source, cause or time 'after' (Nash p.31).) Another example of *mayi* is in (e) of 18.

Examples of time adverbs include 'always' and 'all day' in:

- (f) wapa-nja-ngu=rna wirliya- $\emptyset$ =ju wanka- $\emptyset$ =ju  
 walk-INF-result-1SG,NOM foot-ABS-TOP raw-ABS-TOP  
 pardi-ja, yi-ka=rna warrarda  
 rise-PAST Causal-PRES-1SG,NOM always



### 17. Adverb and adjective

Simpson (p.c.) states as follows: - 'The main way of expressing "very" is with the clitic *nyayirni*. Note that it precedes case-markers.' Examples include (d) of 9, and:

- (a) nyampu yurntumu-rla ka=rnalu  
 here Yuendumu-LOC PRES-1PL,EXC,NOM  
 nyina ngapa-wangu-nyayirni-rla.  
 sit, NONPAST water-without-very-LOC  
 'Here in Yuendumu we are living in a very dry (lit. without water) country.' (S, p.c.)
- (b) jurnarrpa-rla jinajina-rla ngurrju-nyayirni-rla  
 clothes-LOC dress-LOC good-very-LOC  
 'on a very nice dress' (S, p.c.)

Furthermore, I have found two derivational suffixes: *-witawangu* 'very' (N p.22) and *-jarlu* 'very' (Nash p.26), e.g.:

- (c) wiri-jarlu (d) panu-jarlu  
 big-very many-very  
 'very big' (N p.26) 'very many' (N p.26)

### 18. General questions

There are two question markers in Warlpiri: the enclitic =*nya* 'emphatic, focus, interrogative' (Nash p.56) and a modal adverb (referred to as a modal particle by Nash) *japa* 'interrogative' (Nash p.186).

Regarding =*nya*, Simpson (p.c.) notes as follows: - 'this is often used as a focus clitic. As an interrogative it is used mostly in yes-no questions.' Examples:

- (a) karnta-wana-wana=ju ka=lu=jana  
 woman-PERL-REDUP-TOP PRES-3PL,NOM-3PL,ACC  
 jirrama-∅=nya pi-nyi?  
 two-ABS-Q hit-NONPAST (ADV AUX O Vt)  
 'Will they hit two (men) because of the woman?' (N p.129)

(The perlative case expresses 'along, about, in exchange for' (Nash p.31).)  
 (Note that the pronominal clitic referring to the object is plural, although



the noun manifesting the object has a dual referent. For details of this phenomenon, see Hale (1973 : 330.)

- (b) kurdu-na !                      palka = nya    ngangkiri-puraji ?  
 child of woman-my    PRES-Q            husband-your  
 'My niece ! Is your husband here ?' (S, p.c.)

Regarding *japa*, Simpson (p.c.) notes as follows : - It 'questions proposition expressed by part of speech onto which it is suffixed.' As noted in 16, *japa* 'interrogative'—and also other modal adverbs from the group (ii) —'cannot begin a sentence, and, prefer to be in "second position"' (Nash p.186). Examples include :

- (c) ngurrju- $\emptyset$     marda    ka = npa                      nyina,  
 good-ABS    perhaps    PRES-2SG,NOM    sit, NONPAST  
 war-kurra = japa = npa    ya-nu ?  
 war-ALL-Q 2SG,NOM    go-PAST  
 'Maybe you are well or is it that you have gone to war ?' (S, p.c.)
- (d) yali- $\emptyset$  = japa = rna                      panti-rni ?  
 that-ABS-Q 1SG,NOM    spear-NONPAST  
 'It is that one I'll spear ?' (S, p.c.)

Simpson adds that 'There is also the self interrogative *mayi* ...', e.g. :

- (e) nyarrpara    mayi            ya-nu            ngajukupirdangka ?  
 where            I wonder    go-PAST    my brother  
 'Where, I wonder, did my brother go ?' (S, p.c.)

General questions can also be formed by means of a rising intonation alone. This point has been confirmed by Simpson (p.c.).

## 19. Inversion of subject and verb in general questions

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

## 20. Special questions

Interrogative words occur in the initial position. (Nash pp.235-36.)

- (a) ngana-ngku    yirra-rnu    nyampu- $\emptyset$  = ju            jukurru- $\emptyset$   
 who-ERG    put-PAST    this-ABS-EUPH    fruit sp.-ABS

yakajirri-rla ?

fruit sp.-LOC

'Who put these jukurru fruit in with the yakajirri ?' (S, p.c.)

- (b) nyiya-rla kuja kala=lu yirra-rnu  
 what-LOC thus USITATIVE-3PL,NOM put-PAST  
 nyurnu-∅=ju ?  
 dead-ABS-EUPH

'What did they put the dead person on ?' (S, p.c.)

- (c) nyiya-∅=npa jukurr-ma-nu ?  
 what-ABS-2SG,NOM dream-CAUS-PAST  
 'What did you dream about ?' (S, p.c.)

In addition to the usual interrogative words, Warlpiri has two interrogative verbs (Nash pp.235-36), e.g. :

- (d) nyarrpa-jarri-ja=npa ngurra-ngka=ju ?  
 what-become-PAST-2SG,NOM camp-LOC-EUPH  
 'What did you do at home ?' (S, p.c.)
- (e) nyarrpa-ma-ni ka=nkulu ngirnti-∅ ?  
 what-CAUS-NONPAST PRES-2PL,NOM tail-ABS  
 'What do you do to the tail ?' (S, p.c.)

Interrogative words can occur, for instance, with *kula* 'negation', indicating 'no one' or with the indefinite enclitic = *puka*. In such a use, in which they do not form special questions, they occur in a non-initial position. (Nash p.6) (An interrogative word can have an indefinite meaning when it occurs initially; see the comment in the paragraph below ( i ).)

Examples :

- (f) kula=ka ngana-ngku marda-rni puku nyampu-∅.  
 NEG-PRES who-ERG have-NONPAST book this-ABS  
 'No one has the book.' (N p.236) (NEG-AUX St Vt O)
- (g) kapu marlajarra-∅ ya-ni=rni  
 FUT empty-handed-ABS go-NONPAST-hither  
 ngana-∅=puka, kaji japanangka-wana ya-ni  
 who-ABS-even if (name)-PERL go-NONPAST

wirlinyi.

hunting

'Whoever Japanangka goes hunting with will come back empty-handed.' (N p.236)

Nash (p.236) notes that, furthermore, it is possible—though not perfectly acceptable—for interrogative words in a non-initial position to have an indefinite reading (without the co-occurrence of = *puka*), e.g. ( f ), or an interrogative meaning, e.g. ( g ).

( h ) ? puku-∅ ka marda-rni ngana-ngku.  
 book-ABS PRES have-NONPAST who-ERG  
 'Someone has the book.' (N p.236) (O AUX Vt St)

( i ) ? ngampurpa-∅ nyina-rni ka=npa nyiya-ku ?  
 desirous-ABS be-NONPAST PRES-2SG,NOM what-DAT  
 'What do you want ?; You want something ?' (N p.236)

Nash (p.237) adds as follows: - 'It may be possible to give the indefinite reading even to an initial interrogative. However, the normal means of expressing an indefinite is to use a generic noun—so [( f )'s—TT] reading would be usually expressed as':

( j ) puku-∅ ka marda-rni yapa-ngku (or,  
 book-ABS PRES have-NONPAST person-ERG (   
 yapa-kari-rli).  
 person-other-ERG) (N p.237) (O AUX Vt St)

Also, Nash (p.237) notes as follows: - "Non-initial" interrogative words also occur initially in certain "subordinate" finite clauses, where they express indirect questions. These expressions have the syntax of relative clauses'. E.g.:

( k ) yimi-∅ yirri.pura-ja =nyunu nyarrpa-rlu kuja =nyanu  
 story-ABS tell-PAST-REFL how-ERG thus-REFL  
 ma-nu karnta-∅.  
 get-PAST wife-ABS

'He told me a story about how he got himself a wife.' (S, p.c.)



### 23. Conditional clause and main clause

As noted in 12, clauses with *kaji* 'if, when' (Nash p.60) can be used as adverbial clauses of condition or time (and also as relative clauses if they share a coreferential noun or the like, e.g. (a), (b) below). They are not embedded in the main clause, but they are 'adjoined' to it, which they can either precede or follow. (Nash p.240) A pair of examples:

- (a) ngajulu-rlu kapi=rna maliki-∅ rluwa-rni,  
 1SG-ERG FUT-1SG,NOM dog-ABS shoot-NONPAST  
 kaji=∅=ngki yarlki-rni nyuntu-∅.  
 -2SG,ACC bite-NONPAST 2SG-ABS  
 (St AUX O Vt, AUX Vt O)

'I will shoot the dog, if/when it bites you.' (Or, 'I will shoot the dog that bites you/that is going to bite you.') (H 1976 : 80)

- (b) maliki-rli kaji=∅=ngki yarlki-rni nyuntu-∅,  
 dog-ERG -2SG,ACC bite-NONPAST 2SG-ABS  
 ngajulu-rlu kapi=rna rluwa-rni.  
 1SG-ERG FUT-1 SG,NOM shoot-NONPAST  
 'As above.' (H 1976 : 80) (St AUX Vt O, St AUX Vt)

Another pair of examples:

- (c) ngajulu-rlu kapi=rna rluwa-karla wawirri-∅,  
 1SG-ERG FUT-1SG,NOM shoot-IRR kangaroo-ABS  
 kaji=∅=rna marda-karla makiti-∅.  
 -1SG,NOM have-IRR gun-ABS  
 (St AUX Vt O, AUX Vt O)

'I would have shot the kangaroo if I had had a gun.' (H 1976 : 80)

- (d) kaji=∅=rna marda-karla makiti-∅ ngajulu-rlu,  
 -1SG,NOM have-IRR gun-ABS 1SG-ERG  
 kapi=rna rluwa-karla wawirri-∅.  
 FUT-1SG,NOM shoot-IRR kangaroo-ABS  
 'As above.' (AUX Vt O St, AUX Vt O)

Other examples include (g) of 20.

It is not known whether a conditional clause has a preferred position in relation to the main clause.

## 24. Purpose clause and main clause

Purpose can be expressed by clauses whose auxiliary contains *yungu/yinga* 'motivational, causal, rational, purposive', and they can either precede or follow the main clause (Nash p.240). A pair of examples from Hale (1976 : 81):

- (a) ngarrka-jarra-rlu ka=pala parlku-∅ pangi-rni,  
 man-DU-ERG PRES-3DU,NOM trench-ABS dig-NONPAST  
 yungu=∅=pala wawirri-∅ purra-mi.  
 -3DU,NOM kangaroo-ABS cook-NONPAST  
 (St AUX O Vt, AUX O Vt)

'The two men are digging a trench in order to cook the kangaroo.'

- (b) wawirri-∅ yungu=∅=pala ngarrka-jarra-rlu  
 kangaroo-ABS -3DU,NOM man-DU-ERG  
 purra-mi, parlku-∅ ka=pala pangi-rni.  
 cook-NONPAST trench-ABS PRES-3DU,NOM dig-NONPAST  
 'As above.' (O AUX St Vt, O AUX Vt)

There is one example of negative purpose 'so that ... not', i.e. (e) of 22. This examples does not contain *yungu/yinga*. The purpose clause follows the main clause.

Simpson (p.c.) adds that 'Purpose clauses are also often expressed by the purposive suffix *-ku* attached to the infinitive form of the verb.'

It is not known whether a purpose clause has a preferred position in relation to the main clause.

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Abbreviations employed are the following . - JFLNU, Journal of the Faculty of Letters, Nagoya University , SLLL, Studies in Language and Literature, Language (published by Institute of Literature and Linguistics, University of Tsukuba); and, UNP, University of Nagoya Press.

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## **(16) : Alyawarra**

### **0. Introduction**

This is the 16 th installment of my typological study of word order.

## 1. Name of language

Alyawarra.

## 2. Source of information

Yallop (1977) (often abbreviated as 'Y'). Supplemented with Walsh et al. (1981) regarding 3.

## 3. Genetic affiliation

The Arandic group of the Pama-Nyungan language family (Walsh et al. 1981).

## 4. Geographical distribution

'The home territory of the Arandic people who call themselves and their language *alyawarra* is an area roughly bounded by the Hatches Creek, Utopia, McDonald Downs and Ooratippra', in central Northern Territory, Australia, although 'most Alywarra now live outside this territory' (Yallop, p.3).

## 5. Morphological and other relevant facts

Alyawarra is a suffixing language. It also has enclitics. Nouns and adjectives have the ergative-absolutive case-marking system ( $St \neq Si = O$ ;  $ERG \neq ABS = ABS$ ). The first person and the second person singular pronouns have the tripartite system ( $St \neq Si \neq O$ ;  $ERG \neq NOM \neq ACC$ ), while other pronouns have the nominative-accusative system ( $St = Si \neq O$ ;  $NOM = NOM \neq ACC$ ). There are also cases such as the instrumental (identical with the ergative), the dative, the possessive, the locative, the allative, the ablative, the negative causative, the comitative, etc. Verbs inflect for tense, aspect, mood, etc. Certain pronouns have different forms according to the section membership of the persons referred to, but this will be ignored in the glosses.

The source generally does not indicate morpheme boundaries, and consequently I will generally follow this practice for the examples below.

Abbreviations employed include the following: - ABL, ablative; ABS,



absolutive; ACC, accusative; ADMON, admonitive; ALL, allative; AUX, 'auxiliary verb' (see 15); CAUS, causative; COMIT, comitative; CONT, continuous; DAT, dative; DO, direct object; DU, dual; ERG, ergative; EXC, exclusive; EXCLAM, exclamatory; IMPERA, imperative; INC, inclusive; INST, instrumental; INTENT, intentional; INTVZR, intransitive verb forming suffix; IO, indirect object; ITER, iterative; LIG, ligative; LOC, locative; NEG, negation; NOM, nominative; O, object; PERMISS, permissive; PL, plural; POSS, possessive; PRES, present; PROP, proprietive; PTCPL, participle; PURP, purposive; RECIP, reciprocal; REFL, relative; REL, relative; S, subject; SG, singular; Si, intransitive subject; St, transitive subject; V, verb; 1, first person; 2, second person; 3, third person.

## 6. Subject, object and verb

Yallop notes as follows: - 'The order of morphemes within words and of words within phrases is relatively fixed ...; the order of phrases within a clause or sentence is extremely free. Thus it is possible for a sentence to begin with subject, verb, object or adjunct; it is possible for the subject to precede or follow the verb; and so on.

The most frequent ordering of subject (S), verb (V) and object (O) is

SV (intransitive sentences)

SOV (transitive sentences)

But all orderings are possible and personal pronouns are often next to the verb regardless of function' (Yallop p.129).

By adjuncts, Yallop (p.126) seems to refer to adverbs and NPs marked by a case suffix such as locative, allative, etc. They seem to coincide with what I term adverbs and adverb phrases.

Examples follows. First, we look at transitive sentences. Examples involving no pronoun:

- (a) aringkila amulya utnhika.  
 dog,ERG lizard,ABS bite,PAST (SOV)  
 'The dog bit the lizard.' (Y p.70)

- (b) artula irntirnika aghirra irrtjartila.  
 man,ERG pierce,PAST kangaroo,ABS spear,INST  
 (S V O ADV)  
 'The man speared the kangaroo (with a spear).' (Y p.72)
- (c) amulyanima aringkila utnhika.  
 lizard,ABS,then dog,ERG bite,PAST (OSV)  
 'Then the dog bit a lizard.' (Y p.50)
- (d) aluwatjirra angirniyalhika aringkila.  
 goanna,ABS dig,LIG,AUX,PAST dog,ERG (OVS)  
 'The dog dug up a goanna.' (Y p.125)

Examples of transitive sentences involving a pronoun or pronouns.

The subject is a pronoun and the object a noun in :

- (e) atha atililkira alurnika ...  
 1SG,ERG goanna,ABS chase,PAST (SOV)  
 'I chased a goanna ...' (Y p.50)
- (f) ura atha arrtjika.  
 fire,ABS 1SG,ERG make,PAST (OSV)  
 'I made a fire.' (Y p.50)
- (g) alkutjika atha akira.  
 eat,PURP 1SG,ERG meat (VSO)  
 'I want to eat some meat.' (Y p.53)
- (h) atha athirrililiyla awiya.  
 1SG,ERG laugh,CAUS,AUX,PRES CONT boy,ABS (SVO)  
 'I'm making the boy laugh.' (Y p.61)

The subject is a noun and the object a pronoun in :

- (i) apangula ayinha atuka.  
 rain,ERG 1SG,ACC hit,PAST (SOV)  
 'The rain fell on me.' (Y p.71)
- (j) aringkila utnhima ayinha.  
 dog,ERG bite,PRES 1SG,ACC (SVO)  
 'The dog's biting me.' (Y p.60)

Both subject and object are pronouns in :



- (r) arrkinta atha iliya irrkulya.  
 fun 1SG,ERG tell,PERMISS woman,ABS  
 'As above' (Y p.80) (DO S V IO)

Examples of intransitive sentences involving no pronoun :

- (s) aringka atntirrika.  
 dog run,PAST 'The dog ran.' (Y p.70) (SV)
- (t) apurtila arrukula ayntiyla unima.  
 rock,LOC in front lie,PRES CONT snake (ADV ADV V S)  
 'The snake's lying in front of the rock.' (Y p.102)

Examples of intransitive sentences involving a pronoun :

- (u) aylina alhiyla.  
 1DU,INC,NOM go,PRES CONT  
 'We two are going.' (Y p.52) (SV)
- (v) aynnika ayinga.  
 fall,PAST 1SG,NOM 'I fell over.' (Y p.50) (VS)

## 7. Adposition

Alyawarra appears to have no adpositions.

## 8. Genitive and noun

Alyawarra has the possessive case, which is distinct from the dative case. The possessive case suffix is *-ikinha* for nouns, adjectives and certain pronouns, but other pronouns have slightly different suffixes (Yallop, pp.68-69, 94, 95, 97).

The possessive case can indicate possessors (Yallop, p.75). A possessive form generally follows the noun it modifies (Yallop, p.117), e.g. (a) to (e), although it may precede, e.g. (f), (g).

- (a) arrknga arrangikinha (b) arrknga atjinha  
 blood emu,POSS blood 1SG,POSS  
 'emu's blood' (Y p.117) 'my blood' (Y p.117)
- (c) arrknga ikurinha (d) arrknga ngunhikinha  
 blood 3SG,POSS blood who,POSS  
 'his/her/its blood' (Y p.117) 'whose blood' (Y p.117)

- (e) *nhinhila apintiyla akngiya ikurinha.*  
 this,ERG follow,PRES CONT father 3SG,POSS (SVO)  
 'This one is following his father.' (Y p.111)
- (f) *arrangkinha arrknga.*  
 emu,POSS blood,ABS  
 '(It is) emu's blood.' (Y p.75)
- (g) *artukinha mitikila*  
 man,POSS car,LOC  
 'in the man's car' (Y p.75)

When the possessor is expressed by a noun and an adjective, '... the possessive suffix is normally attached only to the adjective' (Yallop, p.117). (An adjective usually follows the noun it qualifies; see 11.)

- (h) *ayliyla artwa ampukinha*  
 boomerang man old,POSS  
 'the boomerang of an old man; the old man's boomerang' (Y p.117)
- (i) *mitika waypila arungkukinha*  
 car whitefellow mad,POSS  
 'the car of the crazy whitefellow; the crazy white fellow's car' (Y p.117)

Possessive forms 'can take further inflectional suffixes, according to the case of the nominal on which it depends ...' (Yallop, p.75). 'The relevant inflectional suffix is attached to the end of the entire NP and consequently normally follows the *-ikinha* [possessive—TT] suffix' (Yallop, p.117).

- (j) *aringka atjinhila akira inika.*  
 dog 1SG,POSS,ERG meat get,PAST (SOV)  
 'My dog got the meat.' (Y p.118)
- (k) *ayinga utnthiyla aringka atjinhika.*  
 1SG,NOM search,PRES CONT dog 1SG,POSS,DAT  
 'I'm looking for my dog.' (Y p.118) (S V IO(?))
- (l) *mitika artukinhakirta alhiyla.*  
 car man,POSS,PROP go,PRES CONT (ADV V)  
 '(We're) going in the (Aboriginal) men's car.' (Y p.118)

Yallop adds as follows: - 'It is theoretically possible for a possessive to be embedded within a possessive, as in English "the grocer's son's house", "the house of the son of the grocer". In Alyawarra this would generally give rise to the sequence *-ikinhihikinha* at the end of the NP and the construction seems to be avoided unless the first (innermost) possessive is one of the pronominal forms which does not end in *-ikinha*, e.g.' (Yallop, p.118):

(m) *nhinha akira aringka atjinhikinha.*  
 this,ABS meat dog 1SG,POSS,POSS

'This is my dog's meat; this is meat belonging to my dog.' (Y p.118)  
 (*atjinha* '1 SG,POSS' does NOT end in *-ikinha*.)

'Two types of possessive constructions do not employ the suffix *-ikinha* or a pronoun marked as possessive' (Yallop, p.118).

First, 'Kinship terms are obligatorily marked for personal relation. The person-marking suffixes are' as follows (Yallop, p.90):

<i>-atja, -itja, -iya</i>	'my'	(cf. <i>atjinha</i> 'my' (1SG,POSS))
<i>-ingkwa</i>	'your'	(cf. <i>ngkunha</i> 'your' (2SG,POSS))
<i>-(iy)ikwa</i>	'his/her/someone's'	(cf. <i>ikurinha</i> 'his/her' (3SG,POSS))

Examples, from Yallop (pp.90-91):

(n) <i>awiyatja</i>	(o) <i>akngiya</i>	(p) <i>anintjinkwa</i>
older brother,my	father,my	wife,your
'my older brother'	'my father'	'your wife'
(q) <i>ayniyikwa</i>		
father,his		
'his father'		

'Normal inflectional suffixes follow the personal suffix' (Yallop, p.91):

(r) <i>awiyatjila</i>	<i>atuka.</i>	
older brother,my,ERG	kill,PAST	(SV)
'My older brother killed (it).' (Y p.91)		

- (s) aringka akngiyikinha.  
 dog father,my,POSS 'The dog is my father's.' (Y p.91)
- (t) anintjingkuwala iliyanga.  
 wife,your,ALL tell,NEG (IO V)  
 'Don't tell (it) to you wife.' (Y p.91)
- (u) ayniyikulalinga alhika.  
 father,his,COMIT go,PAST (ADV V)  
 '(He) went with his father.' (Y p.91)

A person suffix can be followed by a possessive case suffix, indicating 'possessor's possessor'.

- (v) aringka akngiyikinha arnkwayntiyla.  
 dog father,my,POSS sleep,PRES CONT (SV)  
 'My father's dog is sleeping.' (Y p.118)

Such a possessive suffix can be further suffixed with another case suffix :

- (w) aringka akngiyikinhila ayinha utnhika.  
 dog father,my,POSS,ERG 1SG,ACC bite,PAST  
 'My father's dog bit me.' (Y p.118) (SOV)

'The second construction [that does not employ the possessive case—TT] is one in which the "possessed" noun is a part of the whole, e.g. "my head", "your leg", "the boy's arm", etc. As in many other Australian languages, the Alyawarra construction simply juxtaposes the body part and "possessor" ... The two nominals are always in the same case but not necessarily immediately adjacent to each other' (Yallop, p.118).

- (x) atjinga artngika  
 1SG,DAT eye,DAT '(The ointment) is for my eye.' (Y p.118)
- (y) ayinha irrtjartila irntirnika ariyangntiya.  
 1SG,ACC spear,ERG pierce,PAST thigh,ABS (OSVO)  
 'The spear pierced my thigh.' (Y p.71)
- (z) aringkila iltja ayinha utnhika.  
 dog,ERG hand,ABS 1SG,ACC bite,PAST (SOOV)  
 'The dog bit my hand.' (Y p.118)
- (z') aringkila iltja awiya utnhika.  
 dog,ERG hand,ABS boy,ABS bite,PAST (SOOV)

'The dog bite the boy's hand.' (Y p.119)

- (z'') alka atha rinha ariyangantiya.  
 body,ABS 1SG,ERG 3SG,ACC see,NEG,still (OSOV)  
 'I've still not seen its body.' (Y p.119)

The relative order of the 'whole' and the 'part' does not seem fixed. The 'whole' precedes the 'part' in (x) and (y), but follows in (z) to (z'').

## 9. Demonstrative and noun

Yallop describes the position of adjectives and demonstratives within a noun phrase as follows: - 'A nominal may be followed by one or more attributive adjectives, including demonstratives used adjectivally ... Adjectives usually follow the noun (nominal) and the appropriate inflection is normally attached to the last adjective (although it is not ungrammatical to repeat it after every word in the NP)' (Yallop, p.116).

With respect to demonstratives, as alluded to above, they can either precede or follow the noun they qualify (Yallop, p.112), although they usually follow (Yallop, p.116).

- (a) ura nhinha apmwa.  
 fire,ABS this,ABS bad,ABS  
 'This fire (is) no good.' (Y p.112)
- (b) waylpila yanhila ayinha anthika.  
 whitefellow that,ERG 1SG,ACC give,PAST (S IO V)  
 'That whitefellow gave (it) to me.' (Y p.112)
- (c) waylpila nhinhika angkitjika ?  
 whitefellow this,DAT talk,PURP  
 'Do you intend to talk to this whitefellow ?' (Y p.116) (ADV(?) V)
- (d) apmira nhinhithiya alpika, apmira nhinhuwala  
 place this,ABL go away,PAST place this,ALL  
 apiyalpitjika.  
 come back,PURP (ADV V, ADV V)  
 '(He) went away from this place, (he) will come back to this place.'  
 (Y p.112)



### 10. Numeral and noun

There is only one example, in which the numeral follows and immediately follows the noun it qualifies.

- (a) waylpila      athirra      yanhay !  
 whitefellow    two,ABS      that/there,ABS,EXCLAM  
 '(There are) two whitefellows over there !' (Y p.113)

### 11. Adjective and noun

See 9 above. Examples:

- (a) awiya      akilya      utnthina                      apmirika.  
 boy      small,ABS      search,PAST CONT      camp,DAT  
 'The little boy was looking for the camp.' (Y p.73)      (S V IO(?))
- (b) artuwa      ampula      amirna      alkula.  
 man      old,ERG      food,ABS      eat,PAST      (SOV)  
 'The old man has eaten the food.' (Y p.116)
- (c) apmira      amurra      ikngurila      ayntina.  
 place      good      other,LOC      lie,PAST CONT      (ADV V)  
 '(We) were camping at another good place.' (Y p.116)

The source does not discuss the relative order of different types of attribute of a noun, but at least the following order is attested: Noun+Adjective+Numeral:

- (d) awiya      akilya      athirra      atntirriyalhika.  
 boy      small      two,ABS      run,LIG,AUX,PAST      (SV)  
 'The two little boys ran up.' (Y p.63)

### 12. Relative clause and noun

What would correspond to relative clauses in languages such as English can be expressed either by clauses with a clitic-like conjunction *-ala* or by certain participle clauses.

First, 'The clause connective *-al* ... (labeled "rel") provides a means of binding two clauses together in a syntactic relationship' (Yallop, p.134).

It can express various notions such as 'and', 'but', and 'while'. 'The suffix *-ala* can be said to mark a relative clause where the object of the first



Yallop adds as follows : - 'If the antecedent of a relative clause is an adjunct of the first clause (including indirect object, goal, etc.),... ', then either :

- ( i ) 'the antecedent takes the appropriate case suffix and the first word in the relative clause takes *-ala'*, or ;
- ( ii ) 'the antecedent is replaced by a pronoun, still appropriately marked for case, in the first clause. The antecedent itself then stands at the beginning of the second (relative) clause ... ; the following word takes *-ila'* (Yallop, pp.137-38).

Examples of ( i ) include :

- ( d ) 

angkina	ayinga	artuka,	[urala
talk,PAST	CONT 1SG,NOM	man,DAT	fire,ABS,REL
ayrtirniyla].			
chop,PRES CONT			(V S IO(?),[OV])
'I was talking to the man who chops the firewood.' (Y p.137)			
- ( e ) 

alkuntiyla	ayinga	amirnika,	[irrkulyilala
want,PRES CONT	1SG,NOM	food,DAT	woman,ERG,REL
akngiyalpika].			
carry,LIG,AUX,PAST			(V S IO(?),[SV])
'I want the food which the woman brought back.' (Y p.137)			

Examples of ( ii ) include :

- ( f ) 

inika	atha	ikurithiya,	[artula	bullock=ala
get,PAST	1SG,ERG	3SG,ABL	man,ERG	bullock-REL
atwiyla].				
kill,PRES CONT				(V S ADV,[SOV])
'I got (the meat) from the man who kills the bullocks ; I got (the meat) from him, the man who ...' (Y p.138)				

(As noted in 5 above, the source generally does not indicate morpheme boundaries. One exception is *ala* in ( f ). This is a clitic rather than an affix, and I use an equal sign to indicate the status of clitics ; elsewhere I use hyphens for morpheme boundaries.)

- ( g ) 

awiyirnima	ingkurilhika	ikura,	[akira
boy,ABS,some	rejoice,PAST	3SG,DAT	meat,ABS

athala akngiyinika].  
 ISG,ERG,REL carry,ITER,PAST (S V ADV(?),[OSV])  
 'The boys were happy about the meat which I brought back ; the  
 boys were happy about it, the meat which ...' (Y p.138)

Relative clauses of the type( ii ), e.g. ( f ), ( g ), which contain the head noun within them, are reminiscent of 'head-internal' relative clauses, which are common in the languages of the central USA.

Yallop's description cited above implies that relative clauses always follow the antecedent/head noun (unless they are 'head-internal', as in ( f ), ( g )); the examples above demonstrate this. Furthermore, among the examples available, relative clauses almost always immediately follow the head noun (unless they are 'head-internal'); the only exception I have found is ( c ). That is, the head noun almost always occurs in the last position of the main clause. And perhaps partly because of this (?), the verb of the main clause almost always occurs in the initial position, e.g. ( a ), ( b ), ( d ), ( e ).

Now we turn to participles. *-ila* participles '(while) ...ing' and *-imila* participles '(while) ...ing' qualify a subject. They seem to follow the noun they qualify, but, as Yallop (p.130) notes, they are 'not necessarily immediately next to the subject'.

( h ) kwiathirra atntirrika [artnimilanima].  
 girl,two,ABS run,PAST cry,PTCPL, then (SV,[V])  
 'Then the two girls ran crying.' (Y p.131)

*-intja/ -anintja/ -ilanintja* participles 'are used only in association with an object (direct or indirect), although the object itself is not necessarily overtly expressed' (Yallop p.132). They may precede or follow the object qualified, and they may be contiguous with or separated from it.

( i ) anthinanima ariyahika [iylpurila  
 possum,ABS,then see,LIG,AUX,PAST hollow tree,LOC  
 anilanintja].  
 sit,PTCPL (OV,[ADV V])  
 'Then (I) found a possum (which was) sitting in a hollow tree.' (Y  
 p.136)

- (j) ariyalhikanima                      kwiya    akilya    [ayntilanintja].  
 see,LIG,AUX,PAST,then    girl        small        lie,PTCPL  
(VO,[V])  
 'Then (we) came upon the little girl (who was) lying down.' (Y p.132)
- (k) ariyniyla                                ra                      [ulyila            alpirrtjiya  
 see,ITER,PRES CONT    3SG,NOM        shade,LOC    scattered  
 ayntuwayntanintja]    aghirra.  
 lie around,PTCPL        kangaroo                      (VS,[ADV ADV(?) V S])  
 'As he goes, he sees kangaroos (which are) lying all around in the shade.' (Y p.132)

### 13. Proper noun and common noun

I have found only one example, in which the common noun ('place') precedes the proper noun ('Aghiyrtá'):

- (a) apmira    aghiyrtíla            aytina.  
 place    Aghiyrtá,LOC    lie,PAST CONT                      (ADV S)  
 '(They) were camping at Aghiyrtá.' (Y p.119)

Expressions of a proper noun plus a common noun are presumably uncommon in Alyawarra, as in certain other Australian languages.

### 14. Comparison

No information is available.

### 15. Main verb and auxiliary verb

Alyawarra has no auxiliary verbs. (What is termed 'auxiliary verb' in the source are really the second of two verbs in a compound verb; see Yallop (pp.48, 62). Many examples have already been given above, e.g. (i),(j) of 12.)

### 16. Adverb and verb

The source does not discuss the position of adverbs(/adverb phrases). But, as is the case with subject, object, and verb, their position seems not

rigidly fixed. Examples follow.

(i) Time.

- (a) ngularnga ngkunguwala ayinga angkiyika.  
 tomorrow 2SG,ALL 1SG,NOM talk,PURP  
 'I want to talk to you tomorrow.' (Y p.54) (ADV ADV(?) S V)

(ii) Place, goal, source, etc.

- (b) apmirila ayinga anyila.  
 camp,LOC 1SG,NOM sit,PRES CONT (ADV S V)  
 'I'm staying in the camp.' (Y p.77)

Other examples include 'on the rock' and 'in front' in(t) of 6; 'from this place' and 'to this place' in(d) of 9; 'at another good place' in(c) of 11; 'in a hollow tree' in(c),(i) of 12; 'from him' in(f) of 12; 'in the shade' in(k) of 12; 'at Aghiyrtá' in(a) of 13; and 'to the camp' in(j) of 18.

(iii) Instrument, means, manner, etc., e.g. 'with a spear' in(b) of 6; 'with an axe' in(m) of 6; 'in the men's car' in(l) of 8; 'with his father' in(u) of 8; and possibly 'scattered' in(k) of 12.

## 17. Adverb and adjective

In the only example available, the adverb *innga* 'truly, really' follows the adjective it qualifies.

- (a) irrtjarta alpuntja innga.  
 spear long,ABS truly  
 'The spear's really long; the spear's long indeed.' (Y p.101)

## 18. General questions

'Yes-no questions are characterised by distinct intonation ... and are otherwise syntactically identical with statements' (Yallop, p.127). That is, Alyawarra seems to lack a question marker and general questions in Alyawarra do not seem to differ from declarative sentences in terms of word order.

Declarative sentences normally have a falling intonation, whereas general questions have a rise at the end (Yallop, pp.35-36). Thus, examples from Yallop (p.36):

- ( a ) aghirra artula atuka.  
 kangaroo,ABS man,ERG kill,PAST (OSV)  
 'The man killed a kangaroo.'
- ( b ) aghirra artula atuka ? (OSV)  
 'Did the man kill a kangaroo ?'

Another pair of examples, again from Yallop (p.36) :

- ( c ) ra alyawarra.  
 3SG,NOM Alyawarraa 'He's Alyawarra.'
- ( d ) ra alyawarra ?  
 'Is he Alyawarra ?'

Additional, two pairs of examples, from Yallop (p.128) :

- ( e ) unta aghirra arika ?  
 2SG,ERG kangaroo,ABS see,PAST (SOV)  
 'You saw a kangaroo.'
- ( f ) unta aghirra arika ? (SOV)  
 'Did you see a kangaroo ?'
- ( g ) awiya alpika ?  
 boy,ABS go away,PAST 'The boy's gone.' (SV)
- ( h ) awiya alpika ? (SV)  
 'Has the boy gone ?'

Further examples :

- ( i ) nga irrkulyika angkina ?  
 2SG,NOM woman,DAT talk,PAST CONT (S IO(?) V)  
 'Were you talking to a woman ?' (Y p.74)
- ( j ) wakuwala nga alpiyla ?  
 hut,ALL 2SG,NOM go back,PRES CONT (ADV S V)  
 'Are you going back to the camp ?' (Y p.79)

## 19. Inversion of subject and verb in general questions

This issue is irrelevant, since both in declarative sentences and general questions the subject can either precede or follow the verb.

## 20. Special questions

The source does not discuss the position of interrogative words, but in the examples provided they almost always occur in the initial position, e.g. (a) to (e); an exception is (f). (Interrogatives can have an indefinite meaning as well (Yallop p.109).)

- (a) ngunhila akngiyla ura ampuka ?  
 who,ERG carry,PRES CONT fire old,DAT (S V O ADV(?))  
 'Who's taking firewood for the old man?' (Y p.73)
- (b) ilika unta alkuka ?  
 what,ABS 2SG,ERG eat,PAST (OSV)  
 'What have you eaten?' (Y p.128)
- (c) ngunha apiyalhiyla ?  
 who,ABS come,PRES CONT (SV)  
 'Who is coming?' (Y p.128)
- (d) ilingira ra apiyalpima ?  
 when 3SG,NOM come back,PRES (ADV S V)  
 'When will he return?' (Y p.114)
- (e) nthinhila aniyla ra ?  
 where sit,PRES CONT 3SG,NOM (ADV V S)  
 'Where is he staying?' (Y p.114)
- (f) ura nthinhay ?  
 fire,ABS where,EXCLAM (S ADV)  
 'Where's some firewood?' (Y p.114)

The interrogative 'who,POSS' follows the possessed noun, as do possessive forms generally. Examples include (d) of 8; and:

- (g) aringka ngunhikinhay ?  
 dog,ABS who,POSS,EXCLAM 'Whose dog (is it)?' (Y p.109)

## 21. Inversion of subject and verb in special questions

This issue is irrelevant, since both in declarative sentences and special questions the subject may either precede or follow the verb—except that in special questions if the interrogative word is the subject, it almost always precedes the verb, e.g. (a).



## 22. Negative sentences

Verbs are negated by the negative inflection *-iyana*, 'which represents a neutralisation of all other inflectional categories of the verb', i.e. it 'indicates present negative, past negative, imperative negative, etc.' (Yallop, p.56). Examples include (t), (z'') of 8; and:

- (a) alhiyangantiya ayinga.  
 go,NEG,still 1SG,NOM (V-NEG S)  
 'I still haven't gone.' (Y p.56)
- (b) atha arirnta awiyanga.  
 1SG,ERG Aranta understand,NEG] (S O V-NEG)  
 'I don't understand the Aranda language.' (Y p.59)
- (c) iliyanga irrkulyuwalithina ampuwalithina !  
 tell,NEG woman,ALL,and child,ALL,and (V-NEG IO IO)  
 'Don't tell (it) to the women and children.' (Y p.106)

In negative sentences, the position of the verb does not seem fixed.

An example in which a negative verb occurs in a subordinate clause:

- (d) ilika atha rinhathirra aturriyanga.  
 tell,PAST 1SG,ERG 3DU,ACC hit,RECIP,NEG  
 (VSO, V-NEG)  
 'I told the two of them not to hit each other; I told them not to fight.' (Y p.56)

## 23. Conditional clause and main clause

The conditional inflection (*-imira*) can indicate condition (Yallop, p.56).

In the only example available, the conditional clause precedes the main clause.

- (a) ayinga arntitjirimiranimala work-irayntima  
 1SG,NOM sick,INTVZR,COND,then,REL work-AUX,PRES  
 atjinga.  
 1SG,DAT (SV, V ADV(?))  
 'Then if I get sick (he'll) do (my) work for me.' (Y p.56)



### References

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