

On Warlpiri Correlative Clauses

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Warlpiri adjoined finite CPs with the structure in (1) exhibit a range of interpretations, as discussed in detail by Hale (1976):

(1) [_{TP} TP CP]

When TP and CP share nominal reference (i.e., contain co-referring nominals), CP (marked by the complementizer *kuja*) can be construed as a relative clause (2).

(2) ngajulu-rlu kapi-rna wawiri pura-mi [_{CP} **kuja**-npa pantu-rnu nyuntulu-rlu]
I-ERG AUX kangaroo cook-NPST **COMP-AUX** spear-PST you-ERG
'I will cook the kangaroo **which you speared**' (= (4), Hale 1976)

When TP and CP share temporal reference (i.e., contain co-referring tenses), CP can be construed as a temporal adverbial clause (3).

(3) ngajulu-rlu lpa-rna kali jarntu-rnu [_{CP} **kuja**-∅-npa ya-nu-rnu njuntu]
I-ERG AUX boomerang trim-PST **COMP-AUX** walk-PST-HITHER you
'I was trimming a boomerang, **when you came up**' (= (5), Hale 1976)

When they share both, CP can be ambiguous between the two (4).

(4) ngatjulu-rlu ∅-na yankiri pantu-rnu, [_{CP} **kuja**-lpa ngapa nya-nu]
I-ERG AUX emu spear-PST, **COMP-AUX** water drink-PST
a. 'I speared the emu **which was drinking water**'
b. 'I speared the emu **while it was drinking water**' (= (1), Hale 1976)

When they share neither, CP can be construed in a variety of adverbial functions including locative, concessive and enabling clauses (5a-c), resp.:

(5) a. ngarka ka nyina-mi [_{CP} **kuja**-∅ wanti-ja kurdu]
man AUX sit-NPST **COMP-AUX** fell-PST child
'The man is sitting **where the child fell**'
b. [_{CP} **kuja**-ka-lu yuwali nganti-rni julpu panu-kari-rli kankarlu watiya-rla]
COMP-AUX nest build-NPST bird many-other-ERG up tree-LOC
marna-ngka ka-nyanu jinjiwarnu-rlu nganti-rni yujuku pardu
spinifex-LOC **COMP-AUX** jinjiwarnu-ERG build-NPST shelter-DIMIN
'**Whereas many other birds build a nest up in a tree**, the jinjiwarnu bird
builds itself a small shelter in spinifex grass.' (= (24), Hale 1976)
c. [_{CP} nyampu **kuja**-ka-rna junma marda-rni ngajulu-rlu]
this **COMP-AUX** knife have-NPST I-ERG
ngula kapi-rna-ju ngatjulu-rlu-lku paji-ni
so AUX-REFLEX I-ERG-NOW/THEN cut-NPST
'**Now that I have this knife**, I am going to cut myself' (= (25), Hale 1976)

In this talk I discuss two issues raised by Warlpiri correlatives for the theory of modification.

- The fact that relative and adverbial clause readings cohere in a single structure in Warlpiri suggests a semantic commonality – one that current semantic analyses do not capture. Can we give a unified semantics for what Warlpiri presents as a single construction?
- The varying interpretations in (1)-(5) are not reflected in formal marking; the single complementizer *kuja* occurs throughout. What does this imply about “subordinating conjunctions,” which are the normally assumed source of connective meaning in languages like English. Should Warlpiri be analyzed as containing zero connectives (i.e., null *when/while, whereas/ although, etc.*)? Or should subordinating conjunctions themselves be reanalyzed?