USE OF THESES

This copy is supplied for purposes of private study and research only. Passages from the thesis may not be copied or closely paraphrased without the written consent of the author.
MARTUTHUNIRA

A Language of the Pilbara Region of Western Australia

by Alan Charles Dench

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at The Australian National University

August 1987
Declaration

Except where otherwise indicated
this thesis is my own work

[Signature]

Alan Dench
August 1987
Acknowledgements

My greatest debt is to Algy Paterson whose strong desire that his mother's mother's language be recorded for posterity led him initially to approach me with the task of that recording, and whose unflagging enthusiasm for the project throughout the many months that we spent together kept us going when my own occasionally flagged. But to Algy I owe much more than just his assistance in collecting Martuthunira data. Assuming the role of an adoptive yumini (father's elder brother) he has endeavoured to pass on to me as much of the culture of his people as time and an often stubborn student will permit. This thesis is a small, initial step in my attempts to repay that debt.

In the face of my constant efforts to turn our attention away from hunting forays, dingo-trapping runs, the details of initiation business, bush carpentry, and routine station maintenance, towards the very occasional formal elicitation session, Algy determinedly resisted my compartmentalizing of 'language' as something autonomous. In retrospect I have come to realize how meaningless much of what I have recorded of the language would be to me had I not been persuaded, often reluctantly, to participate fully in the life of the wider Pilbara Aboriginal community.

To the whole of that community, but especially to Algy and Mabel Paterson and family, to Ivy Parker and family, to Mipirn Lou, and to the late Herbert Parker, Percy Tucker and Jack Butler, I owe a whole new world
view. Any attempts at thanks I might make would be culturally inappropriate.

This project would not have been possible but for the financial support of The Australian National University and the Australian Commonwealth Department of Education. I also acknowledge the help of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Western Australia in providing material resources in the final stages of production. Thanks also to Viv Forbes, Department of Geography UWA, who drew the maps. The thesis was produced using 'PerfectWriter' and 'dBaseII' software on a Kaypro 4 microcomputer, and was printed on a NEC Spinwriter. The automatic glossing of the appended texts was achieved using John Haviland's 'Transcript' program, with additional software by Philip Dench.

Over the long period that the data forming the basis of this thesis was collected, and during the writing-up process, I have had the support of many friends and colleagues. My thanks to my supervisors at ANU; to Harold Koch for his constant enthusiasm, patience and encouragement, to Bob Dixon for his constant support during my time at ANU and for the restraining hand often required when flights of historical fancy seemed to lead my writing away from the task of producing a complete synchronic description. In addition, I owe an enormous debt to Peter Austin; firstly for introducing me to the study of Australian languages and teaching me the rudiments of field research, and secondly for his support (often financial) and encouragement of this project in particular. Also my thanks to Shelly Harrison for, among other things, unwittingly taking on the role of supervisor in the final months.
For many long and fruitful discussions of the Martuthunira data and drafts of the analysis I thank Avery Andrews, Nicholas Evans, Margaret Florey, Bill Foley, Cliff Goddard, Mark Harvey, Susan Kaldor, Phil Rose, Tim Shopen, Anna Wierzbicka and David Wilkins. For their friendship and guidance while in Onslow I thank Charles and Catriona Hamilton, while along with other friends too numerous to mention, some of the credit for my continued sanity under the stressful conditions of writing-up must go to Gerald Haberkorn and Susan Noble (though perhaps not too much).

Finally, my heartfelt thanks to Joan and Paul Dench and Lily and Bern Richards for their continued moral support. And most importantly to Marguerite for her strength, patience, understanding, insistence that there be an end, and confidence that there would be. Evenda, whose arrival led me finally to come to grips with the vagaries of Martuthunira kinship, will now see more of her father.
Abstract

This thesis is a reference grammar of Martuthunira, an Australian language of the Ngayarda subgroup of Pama-Nyungan, and originally spoken in the locality of the Fortescue River in northwest Western Australia. There are now just three remaining speakers and this thesis is based on the speech of one man - Algy Paterson.

Chapter 1 provides a general introduction to the Martuthunira language and its speakers; the traditional patterns of social organisation of the Martuthunira people, their post-contact history and the wider linguistic affiliations of their language.

Chapter 2 describes Martuthunira phonology. Chapter 3 discusses a number of general theoretical issues raised by the description of Martuthunira morphology. Parts-of-speech classes are defined and the lack of an adjective/noun distinction for nominals discussed. I also argue against the establishment of a form class 'particle', preferring a plethora of idiosyncratic minor parts of speech. This chapter also describes general patterns of word structure and the organising principles of nominal suffixation. The functions of individual nominal suffixes are described in Chapter 4.

Chapter 5 describes the forms and functions of pronouns, demonstratives and the minor nominal subclasses. Chapter 6 describes the inflectional and
derivational morphology of verbs. Chapter 7 describes the class of proposition-modifying adverbs, clitics and the minor parts of speech.

Chapter 8 describes the structure of Martuthunira noun phrases. The analysis of apparent ellipsis is discussed in some detail leading to a quite liberal approach to the identification of endocentric nominal expressions. Chapter 9 discusses the structure of non-verbal clauses and copula constructions. Chapter 10 describes the syntax of verbal clauses: basic clause types are presented according to a classification of predicates. The syntax of the active/passive voice contrast and the implications of double-object constructions for the assignment of grammatical relations are discussed in some detail. Finally, the strong preference for SVO word order is discussed.

Chapter 11 describes complex sentences; the various types of subordinate clause marked by special verbal inflections, and the role of the passive in presenting subordinate clause pivots.

Three appendices are also included. Appendix A details the phonological history of the Ngayarda languages thus setting the phonological discussion in Chapter 2 in a wider context. Appendix B provides a detailed description of the role of anaphoric demonstratives in tracking participants in text. Finally, Appendix C presents a selection of Martuthunira texts. Due to the limitations of space, I have had to leave out a substantial Martuthunira wordlist. However, I anticipate producing a Martuthunira dictionary separately.
Abbreviations and Conventions

Phonological Conventions:

[ ] phonetic representation / / phonemic representation
$ syllable boundary $ word boundary
* proto-form CV stressed syllable
CV primary stress CV secondary stress
C consonant V vowel
G glide

Morphological Conventions:

a. In Martuthunira forms

-∅ -∅-conjugation verb stem -L L-conjugation verb stem
-N N-conjugation verb stem -R R-conjugation verb stem
-CM- verb conjugation marker - morpheme boundary

b. In English glosses

-∅- empty morph
+ separates parts of portmanteau morph

Syntactic Conventions:

A transitive subject S (intransitive) subject
O transitive object V verb
GR grammatical relation NP noun phrase

Kinterm Abbreviations:

F, Fa father M, Mo mother
S, So son D, Da daughter
B, Bro brother Z, Si sister
H husband W wife
C child G generation

Nominal Suffix Abbreviations:

ABL ablative ACC accusative
ALL allative ASSOC associative
BELONG belonging possessive suffix CONJ conjunction
DirALL direct allative DIRECT directional
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DISTRIB</td>
<td>distributed plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFF</td>
<td>effector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FULL</td>
<td>full-laden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNM</td>
<td>proper nominal marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROP</td>
<td>proprietive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>also:</td>
<td>CAUSAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DUAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GROUP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OWNER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PLURAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SIDE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun and Demonstrative Abbreviations:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>definite demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dl</td>
<td>dual pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inc</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominative stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NV</td>
<td>non-visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PATRI</td>
<td>patriline possessive suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb Suffix Abbreviations:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative/factitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTR</td>
<td>counterfactual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABITNOM</td>
<td>habitual nominalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCH</td>
<td>inchoative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASSLEST</td>
<td>passive lest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSYCH</td>
<td>psychological state verbalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURPss</td>
<td>purpose same-subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUT</td>
<td>controlled contact verbalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB</td>
<td>verbalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>also:</td>
<td>LEST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PAST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverb and Clitic Abbreviations:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSERT</td>
<td>assertedly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>contrastively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ID</td>
<td>identification clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IT</td>
<td>dummy presentative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUOT</td>
<td>quotative clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RHET</td>
<td>rhetorically</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YK</td>
<td>'you know' discourse clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>also:</td>
<td>NOW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>THEN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table of Contents

Declaration ii
Acknowledgments iii
Abstract vi
Abbreviations and Conventions viii

Chapter 1 The Language and Its Speakers 1

1.1 Names and location 1
1.2 Neighbours and linguistic affiliations 8
1.3 Traditional life 14
  1.3.1 Introduction 14
  1.3.2 Social organization 16
    1.3.2.1 The kinship system 16
    1.3.2.2 Alternate generation sets and sections 19
    1.3.2.3 Marriage 21
    1.3.2.4 Initiation 25
    1.3.2.5 Local groups 27
    1.3.2.6 Local group totems 28
  1.3.3 Language use and social organization 29
  1.3.4 Economic life 31
  1.3.5 Trade 35
  1.3.6 Art and language 36
1.4 Post-contact history 40
1.5 Language teachers 46
1.6 The data
  1.6.1 Discussion 50
  1.6.2 Working with a single informant 51
  1.6.3 Is Martuthunira a dying language? 52
  1.6.4 Data types 54
    1.6.4.1 Sentences elicited by translation 55
    1.6.4.2 Constructed sentences as grammatical tests 55
    1.6.4.3 Elicited text 57
    1.6.4.4 Unelicited and long narrative texts 57
    1.6.4.5 Situated and non-situated text 58
  1.6.5 Use of examples 58
1.7 Previous investigations 59

Chapter 2 Phonology 62

2.1 Introduction 62
2.2 Inventories
  2.2.1 Consonants 63
  2.2.2 Consonant allophones 65
  2.2.3 Vowels 68
2.2.4 Vowel allophones 69
2.3 Phonotactics 72
  2.3.1 Constraints on positions of occurrence 72
  2.3.2 Consonant clusters 74
    2.3.2.1 Heterorganic clusters 75
    2.3.2.2 Homorganic nasal-stop clusters 76
  2.3.3 Inter-morphemic clusters 77
  2.3.4 Reduplication 79

2.4 The r.t cluster 81
  2.4.1 Phonetic analysis 81
  2.4.2 Phonological analyses 84

2.5 Morphophonemics 87
  2.5.1 Syllable/Mora counting allomorphs 88
  2.5.2 Lenition of peripheral stops 89
  2.5.3 Vowel lengthening 91
  2.5.4 Vowel replacement 93
  2.5.5 Haplogy 94
  2.5.6 Consonant assimilation 95
  2.5.7 Apical alternation 95

2.6 Stress 97
  2.6.1 Basic stress patterns 98
  2.6.2 The effects of long vowels on the basic stress pattern 100
  2.6.3 Primary and secondary stress assignments 104
  2.6.4 The effects of phrase stress on word stress patterns 105

Chapter 3 Morphology: Overview 108
  3.1 Parts of speech 108
    3.1.1 Nominal subclasses 109
      3.1.1.1 Noun and adjective 109
      3.1.1.2 Proper nominals: the -ngu and -nha suffixes 115
      3.1.1.3 Closed classes 118
    3.1.2 Nominal and verb 119
    3.1.3 Against particles 119
  3.2 Word structure 121
    3.2.1 Suffixes 121
    3.2.2 Clitics 124
  3.3 Multiple case-marking 127
    3.3.1 Nominal suffix functions 127
    3.3.2 Morphological coding conventions 129
    3.3.3 Morphological sequence constraints 131

Chapter 4 Nominal Morphology 133
  4.1 Suffix forms 134
    4.1.1 Accusative and genitive suffix forms 134
    4.1.2 The -wura belonging suffix 137
    4.1.3 Locative and effector 137
    4.1.4 Allative 138
    4.1.5 Prative 138
    4.1.6 Characteristic 139
    4.1.7 Summary of alternating suffix forms 139
    4.1.8 Invariant suffixes 141
  4.2 Nominative case 142
  4.3 Accusative 142
    4.3.1 Objects of transitive and ditransitive verbs 143
5.3 Indefinite/Interrogative pronouns
5.3.1 ngana 'who/someone'
5.3.2 nganamarnu 'anyone'
5.3.3 Indefinite/Interrogative nominal nhartu 'what/something'

5.4 Demonstrative forms
5.4.1 Adnominal forms
5.4.2 Adverbial forms
5.4.3 The -la 'particularizing' demonstrative formative

5.5 Adnominal demonstrative functions
5.5.1 Plain demonstratives
5.5.2 Anaphoric demonstratives
5.5.3 Definite demonstratives
5.5.4 Text reference
5.5.5 Temporal reference

5.6 Adverbial demonstrative functions
5.6.1 Locationals: yilangu, ngulangu
5.6.2 Non-specific: yilarla, ngularla
5.6.3 Non-visible: yilarni, ngularni
5.6.4 Allative and ablative forms
5.6.5 'That side' ngulawuyu

5.7 Predicate demonstrative

5.8 Interrogative/Indefinite demonstratives
5.8.1 wantha(la) 'where'
5.8.2 wantharni 'what way/how'
5.8.3 wantharta 'when'
5.8.4 wanthanha 'which'
5.8.5 wantharra 'like'

5.9 Compass terms and locational nominals
5.10 Temporal nominals

Chapter 6 Verb Morphology
6.1 Overview
6.1.1 Inflectional categories
6.1.2 Derivational categories
6.1.3 Transitivity and conjugation classes
6.1.4 Suffix forms
6.1.4.1 Inflectional suffixes
6.1.4.2 Derivational suffixes

6.2 Inflections
6.2.1 Present tense
6.2.2 Future tense
6.2.3 Imperative
6.2.4 Past tense and passive perfective
6.2.5 Habitual inflections
6.2.6 Counterfactuals
6.2.7 Unrealized

6.3 Derivations
6.3.1 Passive
6.3.2 Collective
6.3.3 Inchoative -nqa-
6.3.4 Causative/Factitive -ma-
6.3.5 Involuntary states -rra-
6.3.6 Body noises -karri-
6.3.7 Psychological state -nguli-
6.3.8 Controlled contact -tha-L
6.3.9 The -ngku-Ø verbalizer
6.3.10 Zero derivations
6.3.11 Other possible derivational suffixes
6.3.12 Summary examples

Chapter 7 Adverbs, Clitics and Minor Parts of Speech
7.1 Clitic morphology
7.2 Adverbs
  7.2.1 warnu ASSERTedly
  7.2.2 -nu QUOTative
  7.2.3 wurla MISTakenly thought
  7.2.4 wurtu HYPoThetically
  7.2.5 ngula IGNORantly
  7.2.6 kana RHETorically
  7.2.7 paju REALLY
  7.2.8 warra CONTRastive
  7.2.9 -lpurtu COMplementary
7.3 Adverb syntax
  7.3.1 Scoping patterns
  7.3.2 Adverbs as propositional modifiers
  7.3.3 Interaction of adverbs
7.4 yirla 'only'
7.5 mir.ta 'not'
7.6 wiyaa and wayil 'maybe'
7.7 wii 'if, or'
7.8 -l THEN
7.9 Discourse deictic clitics; -wa, -lwa and -rru
7.10 pala IT
7.11 thana, warrayi and kunti
7.12 Exclamations

Chapter 8 Noun Phrases
8.1 Does Martuthunira have NPs?
8.2 NP structure
  8.2.1 Determiner
  8.2.2 Quantifier
  8.2.3 Classifier
  8.2.4 Entity
  8.2.5 Qualifier
  8.2.6 Part-whole constructions
  8.2.7 Generic-specific constructions
8.3 The problem of NP heads
8.4 Complex NPs
  8.4.1 Embedded NPs
  8.4.2 Embedded conjoined NPs
  8.4.3 Embedded clauses
8.5 Adjoined NP structures
8.6 Exceptions
  8.6.1 Aberrant ordering within the NP
  8.6.2 Number non-agreement
Chapter 9 Non-Verbal Clauses

9.1 Ascriptive/Equative clauses
   9.1.1 Ascriptive clauses
   9.1.2 Equative clauses
   9.1.3 Possessive constructions
   9.1.4 Locational clauses

9.2 Non-verbal clauses with accusative complements
   9.2.1 Complements of kin/human relationship terms
   9.2.2 Complements of psych-predicates
   9.2.3 Complements of (common) nominals

9.3 Copula constructions
   9.3.1 The unmarked copula nyina-D 'sit, stay, be'
   9.3.2 karri-S 'stand' and wanti-a' 'lie' as copulas
   9.3.3 punu-D 'go' as a Copula
   9.3.4 Copulas as markers of continuing activity

Chapter 10 The Syntax of Verbal Clauses

10.1 Basic active argument structures
    10.1.1 Impersonal verbs
    10.1.2 Intransitive states/processes
    10.1.3 Transitive activities
    10.1.4 Verbs of transfer
    10.1.5 Simple motion verbs
    10.1.6 Verbs of induced motion/position
    10.1.7 Perception and cognition verbs
    10.1.8 Verbs of speech and information transfer
    10.1.9 Added accusative arguments
        10.1.9.1 'Ambitransitive' verbs
        10.1.9.2 Accusative benefactive objects
        10.1.9.3 Accusative temporal adjuncts

10.2 Passive clauses

10.3 Grammatical relations

10.4 Case assignment in imperative clauses

10.5 Nominal adjuncts marked with referential case
    10.5.1 Second predicates
    10.5.2 Part-whole constructions

10.6 Questions
    10.6.1 Polar questions
    10.6.2 Information questions

10.7 Constituent order

Chapter 11 Complex Sentences

11.1 Relative clauses
    11.1.1 Finite relative clauses
    11.1.2 Perfect relative clauses
    11.1.3 Present relative clauses
    11.1.4 Contemporaneous relative clauses
    11.1.5 Sequential relative clauses

11.2 Lest clauses

11.3 Purpose clauses

11.4 Clausal complements

11.5 Passive in subordinate clauses

11.6 Subordinate clauses on double object clauses

- xv -
List of Maps

Map 1 Martuthunira territory and boundaries 3
Map 2 Previously described boundaries 4
Map 3 Neighbours and subgroups 9

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Martuthunira sections 19
Figure 1.2 Ngarluma sections 20
Figure 1.3 Yinyijparnti sections 20
Figure 2.1 Acoustic plot of kurta 84
Figure 2.2 Acoustic plot of kuta 84
Figure 2.3 Acoustic plot of kur.ta 84
**List of Tables**

| Table 1.1 | Martuthunira kinship terminology | 17 |
| Table 1.2 | Affinal kinterms | 23 |
| Table 2.1 | Consonant inventory | 64 |
| Table 2.2 | Stop allophones | 67 |
| Table 2.3 | Vowel inventory | 69 |
| Table 2.4 | Vowel allophones | 69 |
| Table 2.5 | Permitted initial and final consonants | 72 |
| Table 2.6 | Frequency of consonants | 73 |
| Table 2.7 | Intra-morphemic consonant clusters | 75 |
| Table 2.8 | Inter-morphemic consonant clusters | 78 |
| Table 2.9 | Conditioned apical alternations | 97 |
| Table 3.1 | Functions of nominal suffixes | 128 |
| Table 4.1 | Accusative and genitive allomorphy | 134 |
| Table 4.2 | Summary of suffix forms | 140 |
| Table 5.1 | Nominative pronoun forms | 205 |
| Table 5.2 | Inflected pronoun forms | 206 |
| Table 5.3 | Inflected genitive forms of 1sg and 2sg | 208 |
| Table 5.4 | Possessed kinterms | 216 |
| Table 5.5 | Demonstrative stems | 222 |
| Table 5.6 | Inflected plain demonstrative forms | 224 |
| Table 5.7 | Anaphoric demonstrative forms | 225 |
| Table 5.8 | Adverbial demonstratives | 226 |
| Table 5.9 | Frequency of demonstrative forms | 234 |
| Table 5.10 | Subject to object ratios for distal demonstratives | 235 |
| Table 5.11 | Compass terms | 263 |
| Table 6.1 | Conjugation membership by transitivity class | 277 |
| Table 6.2 | Verb inflections | 279 |
| Table 6.3 | Collective suffix forms | 283 |
| Table 6.4 | Possible interpretations of the collective suffix | 303 |
| Table 7.1 | Order of clitics | 321 |
| Table 10.1 | Constituent order | 457 |
| Table A.1 | Summary of stop reflexes | 527 |
| Table A.2 | Summary of lateral fortitions | 529 |
| Table B.1 | Anaphoric demonstrative tracking in text | 542 |
Chapter 1

The Language and Its Speakers

1.1 Names and Location

The name 'Martuthunira' appears in many different forms in the literature. Tindale (1974) uses the spelling Mardudunera, also used by O'Grady et al (1966) and Oates and Oates (1970), and lists ten alternatives. These are given below together with the source of the spelling (where I have been able to check this).

- Mardudjungara (Radcliffe-Brown 1913)
- Mardudhunera (Wurm 1970)
- Mardudhunira (Connelly 1932)
- Mardudhoonera (Daisy Bates)
- Mardathoonera
- Mardutunira
- Mardutunera ("Yabaroo" 1899)
- Marduduna
- Mardathoni
- Mardatuna
- Maratunia

To this list can be added von Brandenstein's (1967) spelling, Marduthunira, which is followed by Wordick (1982). It should be noted that the phonetic representation of the language name differs depending on the main language of the informant. Martuthunira speakers give [marud̪uŋerja], Yinyiparnti speakers give [mar̪ud̪̪uŋerja], and Thalanyji speakers give [mar̪ud̪̪onj̪iŋa]. In this
grammar I employ an orthography based on a voiceless stop series and the new spelling Martuthunira is used in keeping with this.

'Martuthunira' derives from the name of the lower reaches of the Fortescue River, Martuthuni, by the addition of the provenience suffix -ra (see section 4.8.5). Thus, as a name for the people, Martuthunira means 'those who live around the Fortescue River'. It may be possible to further analyse the name Martuthuni as a root *martu and a suffix -thuni, which occurs in a handful of Martuthunira place names but I have not recorded a separate word martu in Martuthunira. Wordick (1982) glosses the Yinyjiparnti word martu as 'space, place or spot'. In Panyjima martu is 'back'. Von Brandenstein suggests the language name Martuthunira means "'Flat- or River-landers' showing mardu 'flat, low' which occurs in a similar compound as Marduiddja, the name for the lowlands of the upper Fortescue River." (1967:3). Whatever the etymology, speakers of the language do not consider the name to be analyzeable.

The reported location and extent of Martuthunira territory also differs from one description to another. Map 1 (overleaf) shows the extent of Martuthunira territory as based on my own data. Map 2 presents previous representations of the boundaries.

Radcliffe-Brown describes the Martuthunira as occupying "the coast of Western Australia from a point somewhere between the Cane and Robe Rivers as far as the Maitland River" (1913:175). His map shows the territory extending as far to the southeast as the Hamersley Range. However, the map does not conform to the description in the text and places the southwestern boundary between the Fortescue and Robe Rivers (see Map 2).
Present study
von Brandenstein (1967)
Tindale (1974)
Radcliffe-Brown (1913)

Map 2  Previously Described Boundaries
Tindale (1978) makes a more confined estimate:

Coastal plain of the Fortescue River; north to visited islands of the Dampier Archipelago on log rafts; inland only to foot of ranges. ... [Radcliffe-Brown (1913) gave them a tribal area of 3,500 square miles (9,100 sq. km.) which seems to be an overestimation.

Tindale (1978:248)

Tindale gives the area as 2,100 square miles.

My own information supports Radcliffe-Brown's original estimation. The northeastern boundary between the Martuthunira, Ngarluma and Yapurarra/Pijurru is marked by a group of three hills - Mt. Leopold, Moondle Hill and Mt. McLeod - just to the south of the Maitland River. Mt. Leopold is the 'cornerpeg' of Martuthunira country. On the Fortescue River the Martuthunira extended as far inland as Booloomba Pool though much of the gorge country was shared with the Kurrama and Yinyjiparnti. The ancient river valley linking the Robe and Fortescue Rivers, in the shadow of Mt. Elvire, effectively represents the southeastern boundary with the Kurrama. The Robe River (Jajiwurra), Jimmawurrada Creek and the Buckland Hills were also Martuthunira. Warluru Pool, where the Robe River leaves the Hamersley Range, marks the eastern extent of Martuthunira country. Warluru also marks the eastern boundary between the Kurrama and Pinikura, whose country borders the Martuthunira in the Buckland Hills from Warluru to Chalyarn Pool on the Robe. The Nhuwala and Pinikura meet nearby at Darnell Hill. On the west coast, the grass plains and mudflats between the Robe River and the Cane River were shared with the Nhuwala. Warramboo Creek (Wartampu) is described as the boundary although the Nhuwala foraged as far to the northeast as the Robe River.
The Martuthunira visited the islands of the Dampier Archipelago, which they presumably shared with the Yapurarra/Pijurru, and the Mary Anne Group. Tindale also includes Barrow Island within Martuthunira territory (see Map 2). However, there is no reliable archeological evidence of recent pre-contact occupation of Barrow (Peter Randolf pers. comm.) and certainly no belief on the part of present inhabitants of the Pilbara that the island was ever visited.

Von Brandenstein's (1967) map of the Pilbara languages gives a quite inaccurate picture of the location of the Martuthunira in relation to other groups. His map restricts the Martuthunira to the coastal plain between the Maitland and Robe Rivers and assigns the uplands between the Fortescue and Robe to the Ja'unmalu, which he describes as a 'sub-group' of the Yinyjiparnti. The status, linguistic, local or otherwise, of the term 'sub-group' is not made clear in his paper although the map implies that the Ja'unmalu were Yinyjiparnti speakers. Von Brandenstein reports that he studied both Ja'unmalu and Yinyjiparnti in depth. Tindale (1974), presumably on the basis of his own field survey of the area, records Jawunmala as a Yinyjiparnti term for the Martuthunira and this is certainly supported by the description of tribal boundaries given by Radcliffe-Brown and myself.

Von Brandenstein reports two terms used for people to the southwest of the Martuthunira:

Jardira is a collective name for the Kauarindjarri, the 'Westerners' and the Kurrama, the 'Highlanders', because they live both 'on the one side' as seen from the Marduthunira.

von Brandenstein (1967:3)
While *yarti* does occur as a word for 'side' in Pilbara languages (Panyjima for example), it does not occur in Martuthunira. *Jardira* (*Yartira* in the present orthography) is most likely a local group term for people living on the Cane River (*Yarti*). The word for west *kawari* does not occur in Martuthunira, nor does the suffix *-ndjarri*.

Von Brandenstein's errors appear to arise from a confusion between the names of language groups and the names of local residence groups. This is an understandable error as far as the Martuthunira are concerned because of the etymology of the language name. As we have seen, the name Martuthunira means, literally, 'the people who lived around the Fortescue River'. However, the term is also applied to a language and to a territory that encompasses country that is not in the immediate vicinity of the Fortescue. In many cases this territory includes local residence groups that may be referred to by similarly derived terms: for example the Wartampura on Warramboo Creek and the Yartira of the Cane River (*Yarti*). These residence groups do not represent different linguistic territories or necessarily have any relationship to particular linguistic varieties. Quite likely, some of the groups living on Warramboo Creek had primary linguistic affiliation to Martuthunira while others were primarily Nhuwala.

Merlan (1981) demonstrates clearly that the relationships of language to land, and language to particular groupings of people are usually very complex. She argues that linguists and anthropologists alike have been too eager to accept the other's definitions of terms such as 'tribe' and 'language' in attempting to describe the relationships of a people and a language to an area of land. She points out that language names, such as Martuthunira, are sociolinguistic labels that invoke complex
land/language/group relationships. Her description of the Mangarayi
language/land/people label of the Western Roper River region appears to be
very similar to what I understand of the situation in the Pilbara.

The clearest description that can be given of names like 'Mangarayi' is that they designate large-scale areas (the
definition of which in any specific context is somewhat
flexible, especially towards the peripheries) onto which a
particular sociolinguistic identity has been projected. This
identity, activated through a number of variables including
residence, marriage, language competence and use, totemic
affiliation and scheduling of ceremonial and other events, may
be projected back onto people who recognize and renew their
links with this country. The boundaries of Mangarayi country
are permeable, so that new personnel may be recruited to it.
Today, native language competence, as well as inclination to
use native languages, are declining rapidly among younger
people, but the sociolinguistic identity of the country as
'Mangarayi' persists.

Merlan (1981:145)

1.2 Neighbours and Linguistic Affiliations

Map 3 (overleaf) shows relative location and genetic relationship
between Martuthunira and other languages in the Pilbara area. This
classification represents the current state of thinking but is liable to
change as more information on some of the as yet poorly documented
languages becomes available.

The earliest classification of the languages of the northwest of Western
Australia, O'Grady et al (1966), lists Martuthunira as a member of the
Ngayarda subgroup of the Nyungic group of the Pama-Nyungan language
family.
This classification was based on a lexicostatistical survey of the languages and, in the case of Martuthunira, involved a simple 100-item wordlist compared with similar lists for Ngarluma (54% cognacy), Kurrama (64%) and Nhuwala (68%). The Ngayarda subgroup included the following languages: Ngarla, Nyamal, Palyku-Panyjima, Kurrama-Yinyjiparnti, Kariyarra-Ngarluma, Martuthunira, Pinikura, Jurruru, and Nhuwala. This classification includes three dialect pairs based on cognate densities of 79% for Palyku-Panyjima, 78% for Kurrama-Yinyjiparnti, and 79% for Kariyarra-Ngarluma.

In his 1966 paper, O'Grady lists a number of grammatical features that support the lexicostatistical grouping of the languages. Firstly, the Ngayarda languages show phonological and morphophonemic features which distinguish them from members of the Marngu and Wati subgroups: 1) they have a laminal contrast and have lost a contrast between initial laminals and apicals, only initial laminals are attested in the Ngayarda languages; 2) they preserve a 'Proto-Pama-Nyungan' morphophonemic alternation in the form of the 'agent-instrumental' suffix, *-lu/-ngku, conditioned by the length of the word stem; 3) they have a morphophonemic rule of nasal dissimilation reducing the locative suffix -ngka to -ka where it is attached to a nominal containing a nasal-stop cluster (in fact this rule is restricted to Panyjima, Kurrama, Yinyjiparnti and Ngarluma).

O'Grady then lists four morphosyntactic features shared by members of the Ngayarda subgroup and which set these apart from other languages of the Nyungic group:
1. The better known languages of the subgroup (viz. Ngarluma and Yinyjiparnti) have a productive active/passive voice distinction.

2. With the exception of Palyku and Nyamal, the reflex of 'Proto-Pama-Nyungan *-lu/-ngku is not used as a marker of transitive subject in these languages.

3. The 'Proto-Pama-Nyungan' suffix *-ku has shifted "from the specialized meaning indirect object to the broader meaning object (noncommittally direct/indirect)".

4. The 'Proto-Pama-Nyungan' verb suffix *-(l)ku has shifted "from future (or optative) to present".

Oates (1975) adopts a different classification, devised by von Brandenstein, which distinguishes a Coastal Ngayarda subgroup from an Inland Ngayarda subgroup. Von Brandenstein's classification is based on grammatical criteria similar to those recognised by O'Grady (1966). He distinguishes three types of language (von Brandenstein 1967): those having an 'Active Verbal Concept' (AVC) (read accusative case-marking pattern), those having a 'Passive Verbal Concept' PVC (read ergative case system), and an intermediate type having a combination of both AVC and PVC features. The Coastal Ngayarda languages are AVC and include Ngarla, Kurrama, Yinyjiparnti, Kariyarra, Ngarluma, Martuthunira, Pinikura, Nhuwala, Jiwarli and Thiin. The Inland Ngayarda Subgroup are intermediate between the AVC and PVC type. Oates describes these as "being basically accusative languages like the coastal group, but also having ergative suffixes like the Western Desert languages (AVC with PVC intrusions)"
The group includes Nyamal (including 'Widagari' and 'Bundjuwanga' described by von Brandenstein as 'light' and 'heavy' Nyamal respectively), Panyjima, Jurruru, Warriyangka, Janadjina and Yinhawangka.

Von Brandenstein classifies Palyku as a member of the Wati subgroup (Western Desert), the term 'Palyku' being (correctly by my information) described as the name of a local group speaking the Nyiyaparli language. Unfortunately, von Brandenstein's 1967 paper which introduces the AVC and PVC patterns includes almost no actual language data and provides nothing but very general statements about the purported differences among the various languages. It is thus impossible to evaluate his arguments.

Austin (1985) presents a new classification of the languages of the Ashburton and Gascoyne districts based on lexical, morphological and syntactic criteria. He places Pinikura together with Payungu, Purduna and Thalanyji in the Kanyara group, and Jiwarli, Thiin and Warriyangka together with Tharrkari in the Mantharta group. Austin argues that his earlier (1981c) classification of Jurruru as a Mantharta language is incorrect and that the language is properly of the Ngayarda group. He also notes that "von Brandenstein's errors have been reproduced by Wurm and Hattori eds 1982, in their map 20, which appears to be based on the same classification as that described by Oates" (Austin 1985:6).

O'Grady's (1966) list of Ngayarda morpho-syntactic features provides the best set of grammatical criteria for a Ngayarda group yet devised. The first three features are the result of a syntactic change in a number of Ngayarda languages such that an accusative case-marking system has developed from a predominantly ergative case-marking system (see Dench
1982b). This innovation is shared by Panyjima, Jurruru, Yinyjiparnti, Kurrama, Ngarluma, Kariyarra and Martuthunira.

Nyamal does not appear to have a productive voice distinction (though the data is limited) but shows evidence of a split-ergative case-marking system dependent on tense and polarity (Klokeid 1978). Additional data is likely to be crucial in further determining the nature and scope of the syntactic changes in the Ngayarda group.

Palyku/Nyiyaparli fails a number of O'Grady's tests but is, surprisingly, retained as a Ngayarda language in his classification. Firstly, it lacks a laminal contrast though it does appear to share with its Ngayarda neighbours a restriction against initial apicals. Secondly, it shows no evidence of a voice distinction and appears to have an essentially ergative case-marking pattern. Thirdly, it makes great use of bound pronominal suffixes. Thus despite sharing 79% of basic vocabulary with Panyjima, Palyku/Nyiyaparli is best considered a member of another language group. Von Brandenstein's grouping of this language into the Wati subgroup is correct. As for the other languages - Yinhawangka, Nhuwala and Ngarla - there is not yet enough data to enable confident classification. I have retained them in the Ngayarda group for the time being.

O'Grady's fourth feature, the shift of a future tense verb suffix to present tense status occurs only in Panyjima, Kurrama and Yinyjiparnti. By itself it cannot be used as a defining criterion for the group as a whole but it is suggestive of a sub-classification of the Ngayarda languages. More recent descriptions, including the present study, Wordick (1982) for Yinyjiparnti, and Dench (1981) for Panyjima, allow a more detailed analysis
of both the internal and external genetic relationships of the Ngayarda
languages. Unfortunately, an in-depth historical comparison of these
languages, as important as it is, is a task well beyond the confines of
this thesis.

While initial comparison of Martuthunira with each of its neighbours is
very revealing of possible genetic relationships and of as yet unconsidered
problems in subgrouping the Pilbara languages, detailed comparison is best
left until the various phonological, morphological and syntactic systems of
each language have been described in detail. This grammar of Martuthunira
will provide a basis for further research in this direction. For the
purposes of this study, then, I take the Ngayarda group to include Ngarla,
Nyamal, Kariyarra, Ngarluma, Yinyjiparnti, Kurrama, Panyjima, Yinawangka,
Jurruru, Nhuwala and Martuthunira. Although there is evidence that
Yinyjiparnti-Kurrama and Ngarluma-Kariyarra be considered dialect pairs, I
prefer to conform to the local socio-political perception of each as a
separate language.

1.3 Traditional Life

1.3.1 Introduction

Unfortunately there is no detailed ethnographic description of the
Martuthunira people, and in the present situation it is very difficult to
arrive at a clear picture of traditional practices. The first, and
effectively last, true ethnographic description appears in Radcliffe-Brown's (1913) paper. Here, in addition to an analysis of the kinship system, he makes a few observations on the organization of local groups and group totems indicating that, for the most part, the Martuthunira resembled the Kariyarra in these respects. It is also possible to glean some additional information from the reports of early explorers, settlers and from descriptions in traditional texts. Although a certain amount of detail of traditional life is remembered by people in the Pilbara community today, such information must be treated with care. The traditional practices of the Martuthunira have been dead for a long time and memory can be corrupted by knowledge of the surviving social institutions of other groups in the area. Because of this, Radcliffe-Brown's description possibly remains the most reliable source.

In this section I give a short sketch of traditional Martuthunira social organization, economic life, and a few remarks on aesthetic expression through language. I have not made a detailed study of any of these aspects of Martuthunira culture but, beyond the sources mentioned, base this discussion on an overall impression built up through general discussion with informants and a number of years of participant observation of everyday life and ritual in the semi-traditional Pilbara community. I ask that the reader treat my description with sympathetic skepticism.
1.3.2 Social Organization

1.3.2.1 The kinship system

As in all Australian Aboriginal communities the most important aspect of Martuthunira social organization was the system of kinship ties that allowed every person to reckon a relationship to every other person with whom they would ever have contact. Rights to language, to the land and its resources, performing rights to songs and dances, as well as the simplest of interactions between people were all mediated by the kinship system.

The Martuthunira kinship system is no longer in use and unfortunately much of the kinship terminology I was able to collect showed signs of contamination from the prevailing Panyjima and Yinyjiparnti systems. For this reason, Radcliffe-Brown's (1913) reported data, gathered from actual genealogies, provides the basis for the present analysis. Radcliffe-Brown's description is generally consistent with my data and in a number of instances helped jog Algy Paterson's memory of terms and relationships. However, the conclusions I draw from the data are very different. Radcliffe-Brown describes the Martuthunira system as of the Arunda type, but this has been successfully questioned by Scheffler (1978) who argues instead that the system is of the Kariera type. While I accept this aspect of his analysis, the description offered here differs from Scheffler's in important ways.
Table 1.1: Martuthunira Kinship Terminology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FF</th>
<th>MM/MMB/FFZ</th>
<th>MF/MPZ/FMB</th>
<th>FM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mayili</td>
<td>kantharri</td>
<td>thami</td>
<td>ngapari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pawu</td>
<td>mukul</td>
<td>yaji</td>
<td>piwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kayaa</td>
<td>thurtu</td>
<td>punkali</td>
<td>ngathal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marryara</td>
<td>mari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mura</td>
<td>kurntal</td>
<td>ngajala</td>
<td>ngajala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kantharri</td>
<td>kantharri</td>
<td>ngapari</td>
<td>ngapari</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As a Kariera system, the Martuthunira system can be successfully described in terms of just two patrilines (in effect patrimoieties). Table 1.1 presents the basic Martuthunira kinship terminology for a male ego without indicating marriage or affinal terminology. Both Radcliffe-Brown's data and my own are seriously deficient in terminology reckoned from the point of view of a female ego. For this reason the charts present relationships from the point of view of a male ego only.

Some additional explanatory notes to Table 1.1 are necessary:

1. The terms for mother's brother's children depend on the sex of ego. 
   *Ngathal* is same sex MBC, *punkali* is opposite sex MBC. Thus for a male ego MBS is *ngathal*, for a female ego MBS is *punkali*.

2. Terms for grandchildren are also determined by the sex of ego. For a male ego, son's children are *mayali* while daughter's children are *thami*. For a female ego, son's children are *ngapari* and daughter's children are *kantharri*.

3. The superclass terms in the second ascending and second descending generations are *thami* and *kantharri* with no distinction for sex. The terms *mayali* and *ngapari* are used specifically for agnatic kin.

4. Terminology repeats every four generations. Thus kin in the third descending generation are called by the terms used for the first ascending generation, and kin in the third ascending generation are called by the terms of the first descending generation.
1.3.2.2 Alternate generation sets and sections

The terminological equivalence between the second ascending generation and second descending generation, and a rule of relative age levelling for kin in the first ascending and first descending generations (1.3.2.3), clearly points to a system of merged alternate generation sets. All kin of ego's own generation, his grandparents and his grandchildren's generations are in one merged generation set, while all kin in ego's parents and children's generations are in the other set. As in many Australian societies, the alternate generation sets are extremely important in the organization of ritual in the Pilbara area, so much so that the division is reified in a number of common Ngayarda grammatical systems (see Dench 1987).

The crosscutting of the two patrimoieties and the two merged alternate generation sets defines a system of four named sections. The Martuthunira section system is represented in Figure 1.1:

![Figure 1.1: Martuthunira Sections](image)

The same four section system was shared by all groups in this area but the actual naming of sections differed between groups. To the south of the Fortescue River, the Martuthunira, Kurrama and Panyjima shared the system
as set out in Figure 1.1. The Nyiyaparli and Mardudjarra (Tonkinson 1978), now mainly at Jigalong, also shared this pattern of section naming. However, Radcliffe-Brown (1913) reports a different arrangement of the section names in Kariyarra and Ngarluma:

**Figure 1.2: Ngarluma Sections**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Palyirri</th>
<th>===</th>
<th>Karimarra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panaka</td>
<td>===</td>
<td>Purungu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1.2 can be mapped onto Figure 1.1. That is, a person who is Panaka in Martuthunira will be Palyarri in Ngarluma. In both cases he or she will marry a person who is Karimarra. The difference between the two systems can be seen as a simple 'flip-flop' of the section names in one patrimoieties.

The current system of translation between the southern Fortescue communities (in particular the Onslow Panyjima community) and the Yinyjiparnti/Ngarluma community at Roebourne is somewhat different. The Yinyjiparnti arrangement of the section names, in comparison with the southern Fortescue arrangement (Figure 1.1), is presented in Figure 1.3.

**Figure 1.3: Yinyjiparnti Sections**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purungu</th>
<th>===</th>
<th>Panaka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karimarra</td>
<td>===</td>
<td>Palyirri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This system is identical to the Ngarluma system as described by Radcliffe-Brown but the section correspondence between
Panyjima/Kurrama/Martuthunira and Yinyjiparnti is quite different from that reported between Martuthunira and Ngarluma. I think it is probably wrong to draw the inference from these arrangements that the Ngarluma and Yinyjiparnti, who have the same pattern of naming, had a complex rule allowing translation from one system to another, or that the translation rule between groups north and south of the Fortescue has changed drastically in the last sixty years. Instead it would seem that different section naming translation rules applied for different groups, irrespective of whether those groups shared the same system. Such a scenario would presumably reflect differing conventions of exogamous marriage but there is unfortunately no relevant data for either the historical or contemporary situation.

The sections are relatively unimportant from a sociological point of view. The section system allows the principles of kinship organisation to be easily stated without reference to complex genealogies but cannot be seen as a defining principle of the kinship system itself. Section names are used in reference and address but there are very few contexts in which members of one section will operate together by virtue of their shared section membership.

1.3.2.3 Marriage

Evidence suggests that the Martuthunira did not practise the orthodox Kariera marriage between classificatory mother's brother's children. Instead it appears, from my data, that the usual marriage was between
people two generations removed from one another. Thus by Table 1.1, a man
marries a woman who falls into the class of kin he calls thami, either in
the second ascending or the second descending generations.

A 'grandkin'\(^2\) marriage pattern has one extremely important implication
for the reckoning of kin relationships within the Martuthunira system:
every person has (at least) two possible kin relationships relative to any
other person, depending on whether the relationship is reckoned through one
parent or the other. The apparent indeterminacy in this pattern is checked
by two general rules: firstly, kin relationships may be determined solely
through uterine links; secondly, a rule of relative age levelling allows a
reclassification of any person in the first ascending or first descending
generations depending on their age relative to ego. That is, a man who is
by genealogy in the first descending generation from ego but who is older
than ego will be reclassified into the first ascending generation, and vice
versa.

Table 1.2 (next page) presents the basic affinal terminology. In each
case the (consanguineal) class of kin from among whom the particular affine
is chosen is given in parentheses. The terms nganyi and thal.yu refer to
prospective mother-in-law and prospective or actual mother-in-law's brother
respectively. Actual mother-in-law is referred to as nyirti, a term which
can be extended to father-in-law (yaji) and brother-in-law (marryanu).
These terms are reciprocal and so, for example, nganyi is also used by a
woman to her daughter's prospective husband, and by a man to his sister's
daughter's prospective or actual husband.
There are apparently three contexts in which the term *thurtu* 'elder sister' (or parallel cousin) may be applied to a woman in ego's same generation but opposite patrimoietry (classificatory cross-cousin). Firstly, the term may be used for ego's own mother's brother's daughter, by a rule which treats actual mother's brother's children as siblings. Secondly, an older woman whose brothers have all died may be adopted into a sibling group. Finally, a *punkali* is made *thurtu* so as to obtain rights to her daughter's daughter. While marriage to a member of the *punkali* class was permitted in exceptional circumstances, a man would only have ever been allowed one such marriage in his lifetime.

Marriages were typically arranged before birth. Radcliffe-Brown gives
an example:

Let us take the case of a newly married man, whom we may call A, who has as yet no children. A man C, who is the talyu [thal.yu] ... of A, has a daughter born to him, whom we may call D. It is arranged that this girl D shall be the nganyi ... of the first son born to A. When A has a son born to him this son B is told that the woman D is his nganyi, the man C being his kandari [kantharri]. The woman D grows up and has a daughter E, who is by betrothal the wife of B. He keeps his claim alive by visiting the father of the girl, that is, the husband of his nganyi, and by making him presents. ... The mother's brother of a girl occupies an important position. If there are several claimants for his sister's daughter it is often he who decides which shall be the favoured one. This man is the talyu of the girl's future husband. If a man wishes to obtain a girl in marriage he must therefore pay his attentions not only to the girl's father ... but also to her mother's brother.

Radcliffe-Brown (1913:185)

The relationships are shown in the following diagram (adapted from Radcliffe-Brown 1913:184):

A marriage arrangement was often determined through a chain of relationships as Radcliffe-Brown points out:

A man's nganyi, that is the woman to whose daughter he has the first right, is often the daughter of his own father's own talyu ... In other cases a man A and his wife may ask the woman's father's sister ... to promise her daughter as the nganyi of the yet unborn son of A and his wife. ... Whenever a man is made nganyi to a woman his mother is at the same time made nganyi to this woman's son. ... That is, there is exchange of sisters.

Radcliffe-Brown (1913:185)
From this description it follows that a man's nganyi may be either his own mother's mother's brother's daughter (MMBD) or his own mother's father's sister's daughter (MFZD), each of which would appear to be in the first ascending generation and hence their daughters, ego's prospective spouses, would be in ego's own generation. However, it must be remembered that the assumption of a grandkin marriage system with a rule giving precedence to uterine descent has the effect of shifting every relationship with an apparent agnatic link by two generations. Thus a mother's mother's brother's daughter (MMBD) is also a mother's mother's brother's wife's daughter (MMBWD). Since mother's mother's brother's wife (MMBW) will be in ego's own generation her daughter, ego's nganyi, will be in the first descending generation, and ego's wife will be in the second descending generation.

Finally, it is worth noting that the grandkin marriage rule does not affect the structure of the section system. A Panaka man will still marry a Karimarra woman though not one of his own generation. Instead he marries a woman of the same generation as his grandkin.

1.3.2.4 Initiation

Unlike the inland Yinyjiparnti, Kurrama and Panyjima, the coastal tribes - Ngarluma, Kariyarra, Martuthunira, and Nhuwala - and the tribes of the Ashburton Region - Thalanyji and Jiwarli for example - did not practise initiation by circumcision. Instead, the initiation of young men involved the tying of a string or sinew band around the upper arms just above the bulge of the bicep, and so as to partially sever the muscle. The band was
kept in place often for up to a year during which time the youth was kept in partial seclusion and was forbidden certain foods. Although described by Radcliffe-Brown for the Kariyarra and Ngarluma (1913:167&174), and reported for the southern groups, Algy Paterson maintains that this ritual initiation was not practised by the Martuthunira.

However, there is clear evidence from traditional texts that the Martuthunira, like the Kariyarra and Ngarluma, sent young men to the eastern Yinyjiparnti and Kurrama tribes for circumcision. The two Martuthunira culture heroes travelled up the Fortescue River, were captured by the Yinyjiparnti culture heroes who initiated them, and were sent back to the coastal peoples to 'lay out the law'. The Martuthunira thus looked to the east for the origin of their law and would have sent young men to the eastern peoples for their 'higher schooling' in that law. Whether or not this practice was restricted to the most eastern of Martuthunira local groups - that is, to those people who would have had some links through intermarriage to Yinyjiparnti and Kurrama clans and country - is not known. The reader is referred to Tonkinson (1978) for discussion of initiation practices involving circumcision. I have recorded a number of Martuthunira terms for particular relationships established during and maintained after the process of initiation, although the Martuthunira did not practise circumcision themselves.
1.3.2.5 Local Groups

Radcliffe-Brown describes the Martuthunira as living in a number of local patrilineal groups, or 'clans', each with its own defined territory. These groups were not named but could be referred to by citing the names of the more prominent camping places within the group territory. Radcliffe-Brown notes that the local organization of the Martuthunira clan was "in all respects similar to that of the Kariera [Kariyarra]" (1913:176). Thus his description of the Kariyarra local group can be included here:

The country of a local group, with all its products, animal and vegetable, and mineral, belongs to members of the group in common. Any member has the right to hunt over the country of his group at all times. He may not, however, hunt over the country of any other local group without the permission of the owners. ... Hunting, or collecting vegetable products on the country of another local group constitutes an act of trespass and was in former times liable to be punished by death.

Radcliffe-Brown (1913:146)

In addition it was assumed that hunting success would come only to members of a local group within their own territory. For example, a Purungu man could not guarantee the success of an excursion through country belonging to a Panaka/Pal.yarri patrilineal clan.

Although the clan organization was patrilocal, a woman retained some right to the country of her birth and a man often held some rights to the country of his mother and, often more importantly, his mother's mother. Radcliffe-Brown notes, however, that such secondary affiliations seemed "to have meant no more than that a man was sure of a welcome in the country of his wife or mother" (1913:147).
Within the group the basic social unit was the family, consisting of a man and his wife, or wives, and their children. Usually such family groups moved from one campsite to another, both within a man's country and that of his wives, without reference to other families within the local group. However at times of ceremony, or when a particular food source became plentiful in the country of one group, a number of families would meet and camp together, often for some weeks.

In the camp each family had its own hut or shelter with its own fire. The family had its own food supply which was cooked and consumed by the family. ... A native camp is composed of two parts, the married peoples camp and the bachelors' camp. The latter contains all unmarried men, including widowers; unmarried women and widows live with one or other of the families of the married people. If a visitor comes to the camp and brings his wife with him, he puts his fire and shelter near the married people, on the same side as his own country lies. If he is unmarried, or if he has not brought his wife with him, he goes to the bachelors' camp.

Radcliffe-Brown (1913:147)

1.3.2.6 Local Group Totems

Each local clan group had associated with it a number of 'totems' to which all members of the group shared the same responsibilities. For each clan totem there was a totemic centre or ceremonial ground, called thalu, within the clan territory. Ceremonies held at the totemic site served to increase the supply of a particular animal or food resource, bring rain or wind or the tide, or affect some human condition such as fertility or sanity. The word thalu is also used to refer to places characterized by an abundance of some resource, such as stone suitable for knives.
Radcliffe-Brown lists the totems for a number of Martuthunira local groups. For example, the totems of a Panaka/Pal.yarri clan centred on Janyjarra pool on the Fortescue River, included the following:

- **wanta**
- **walampari**
- **mulyaru**
- **kartangu**
- **walyuru**
- **warrari**
- **jarnungu**

These totems refer to:
- insanity, craziness
- possum
- carpet python
- edible gum of kanyji bush
- type of wild bean
- common fly
- bardi grub

Radcliffe-Brown points out that there is no prohibition on a man eating one of his clan totems.

1.3.3 Language Use and Social Organization

Like other Australian groups the Martuthunira observed strict rules according respect to certain in-laws and people bearing particular relationships through the processes of male initiation. In particular, a man was expected to avoid all contact with his mother-in-law and with the man responsible for his circumcision, his nhaankurti or mangkalyi\(^3\). Beyond this, a certain degree of respectful avoidance was accorded to other affines, especially father-in-law, and by members of an initiate's family to members of the mangkalyi's family. Speaking to these people, where permitted at all, usually involved the use of a special avoidance vocabulary called Kurntangka.

The avoidance style, called either Kurntaka or Paathupathu in other groups, was common to all the Ngayarda languages. Von Brandenstein (1982)
notes that much of the avoidance vocabulary was shared by the different Pilbara languages and was most highly elaborated in the verb and demonstrative class. My own observations bear this out. In each particular language the avoidance style involved the use of special vocabulary, some from the common stock and some language specific, but with the morphology and syntax of the everyday language. Avoidance styles of this type have been called 'mother-in-law' languages or styles (for example Dixon (1972), and see Haviland (1979)), but this label is inappropriate in the Pilbara where the use of the style for 'mangkalyi avoidance' was at least as prevalent. I was able to record some Martuthunira Kurntangka but not enough to be able to make valid generalizations about the semantic structure of the avoidance vocabulary.

While affinal and 'mangkalyi' relationships demand a degree of respect and avoidance involving a special vocabulary, different degrees of relative restraint and familiarity were appropriate to all kin. As a general rule, relationships between members of the same merged alternate generation set were characteristically symmetrical, - what I could do/say to/with my 'brother' he could do/say to/with me - while those across generation sets were asymmetrical (Dench 1987, Tonkinson 1978). Of course the actual behaviour appropriate between particular kin was more particular. For example, between father's father and father's son existed a relationship of easy familiarity extending to obscene sexual joking and horseplay. Between classificatory brothers a similar relationship existed although between actual brothers there was greater restraint. These various relationships demanded different ways of speaking; topics which could be discussed and those that were proscribed, words that could be used and those that could
not, and forms of address that were either too familiar or too formal for use with particular kin.

These rules of behaviour, and to some extent the styles of speaking appropriate to them, are still observed by some members of the Pilbara community. For example, for two months during my last field trip (May - July 1985), Algy Paterson, his wife Mabel and I, were joined by Mabel's widowed sister-in-law as we travelled from camp to camp on the upper Robe River reaping the benefits of a bumper honey season. Algy had initiated one of Mabel's sister-in-law's sons two years before and during the time we were all together never once spoke to her, ate with her, touched her belongings except by accident, or stood or sat near her without some person or object between them. For two weeks we were joined by a seven year old girl who, being Algy's great-granddaughter and thus in the same class as his father's sister, was treated with the respect appropriate to a potential mother-in-law. As my father, a relationship demanding a certain degree of respect and formality, Algy was never particularly keen to provide an insight into Martuthunira verbal abuse and obscenity, but always used the excuse that other members of the camp, none of whom know the language and who were usually out of earshot, would be offended.

1.3.4 Economic Life

The Martuthunira people were lucky to live in a rich and diversified country. Their territory, extending from the coast to the foothills of the Hamersley range, gave them access to the flora and fauna of a wide variety
of habitats. Life in this region was not harsh. The different environments and ecosystems meant that by taking advantage of seasonal abundances in particular resources the Martuthunira were able to live comfortably and relatively peacefully. The few needs that were not fulfilled by the resources of their own country were obtained by trade with neighbouring groups.

In the warm and shallow waters among the islands of the Dampier Archipelago and the Mary Anne Group, and in the mangrove estuaries of the mainland, the Martuthunira fished with spears and lines, and hunted dugong and turtle. The turtle hunter would leave his log raft and swim onto the back of the turtle, turning it over and stabbing it in the throat with a poisoned wooden spike. Dugong were herded up a mangrove creek and, on their return, were ensnared by a loop of spinifex rope positioned by men on either bank of the creek. One man would be towed behind the dugong as it made its way to the open sea, and there would climb on its back, stick it with a poisoned spike, and then paddle the dead animal, like a log raft, back to the beach. Shellfish were collected from the beds of the muddy estuaries and King (1827) reports that the mouths of many of the creeks were planted with fish weirs. On the sandy beaches of the islands the Martuthunira dug for turtle eggs and collected the eggs of seabirds from the many rookeries. Water was obtained from soakages in the sandhills behind the beaches and from rock pools further inland.

Unfortunately I was unable to collect much information on the life and language of the sea-going Martuthunira. Algy Paterson grew up with an inland group on the borders of Kurrama country and has very little firsthand experience of the coastal people's way of life. He knows little
in the way of vocabulary for different species of fish or of the various hunting and trapping methods employed by hunters.

On the mainland, the Martuthunira exploited quite different food resources. The two major rivers, the Robe and Fortescue, hold permanent water in numerous deep and clear pools and these are well stocked with fish which were 'poisoned' or were herded into nets by teams of people clapping rocks together as they swam the length of a pool underwater. The riverbeds were also home to many edible birds and animals and provided a cool and shady watering place for the animals of the open plains or rocky ironstone hills and tablelands. Emu, wild turkey and kangaroo were hunted on the grass plains of the coastal hinterland, and euroes, wallabies, goanna and echidna in the ranges and valleys further inland.

Useful and edible plants were abundant⁴. The women collected mangrove nuts in the coastal creeks, the nuts of rushes in the river pools, and wild beans and various seeds were collected in the grasslands and ground to flour. The wooded sandy banks of the many inland perennial creeks yielded underground tubers and species of succulent vines bearing fruits and berries. Honey, lerps, edible grubs and medicinal vegetable gums were collected from different species of trees in the river beds and wooded flatlands of Jimawurrada Creek. Rope and string were made from the beaten leaves of one species of spinifex (virpinykura) and the resin of another species (mirna), once collected and built into nests by a type of ant, was then gathered and refined for use in the manufacture of various implements.

Although they were hunter-gatherers, the Martuthunira made some attempts
to influence the productivity of their land. For example, hunters stripped
the limbs from saplings or thinned stands of particular species of bush to
ensure straight wood for spears and other implements in future years.
Areas of spinifex sandplain were fired at different times of the year to
promote the growth of different plants. Not all the plants so encouraged
were destined for human consumption. The Martuthunira made sure that
plants forming a basic food source for particular animals were in plentiful
supply so as to ensure numbers in a coming season.

The Martuthunira toolkit resembled that of many Australian
hunter-gatherers with maximum efficiency being gained from a few
all-purpose implements. Long spears with fire-hardened heads were launched
from spearthrowers that doubled as musical instruments. Fishing spears had
barbed heads, like the shorter hand-held punishment spears. A number of
types of throwing stick were employed, including a returning boomerang
which was used to kill flying birds as well as in fighting and as a musical
instrument. Traditional stories recount the innovation of the returning
boomerang and suggest the introduction of the hafted stone axe. Knives
were chipped and pressure flaked from quartz and chert, and the usual red,
white and yellow ochres, together with ash and charcoal were used for the
decoration of the body and various implements.

Women used digging sticks which doubled as fighting staves, winnowing
dishes and grindstones, which generally remained at often visited camping
spots. The older men and women wove spinifex rope which was knotted into
nets used to trap birds and fish. Baler and conch shells were collected on
the seashore and used as cooking utensils and water carriers.
I was unable to get a description of how the Martuthunira travelled between the mainland and the offshore islands but luckily King (1827) gives a detailed account and description of a log raft.

It appears that the only vehicle, by which these savages transport their families and chattals across the water, is a log of wood; that which we had brought alongside with our captive friend was made of the stem of a mangrove tree; but it was not long enough for the purpose, two or three short logs were neatly and even curiously joined together end to end, and so formed one piece that was sufficient to carry and buoyant enough to support the weight of two people. The end is rudely ornamented, and is attached to the extremity by the same contrivance as the joints of the main stem, only that the two are not brought close together. The joint is contrived by driving three pegs into the end of the log, and by bending them, they are made to enter opposite holes in the part that is to be joined on; and as the pegs cross and bend against each other, they form a sort of elastic connexion, which strongly retains the two together. When it is used, they sit astride and move it along by paddling with their hands, keeping their feet upon the end of the log, by which they probably guide its course. Such are the shifts to which the absence of larger timber has reduced these simple savages: they shew that man is naturally a navigating animal; and this floating log, which may be called a marine-velocipede, is, I should suppose, the extreme case of the poverty of savage boat-building all round the world.

King (1827:43-44)

1.3.5 Trade

Traditional narratives give clear descriptions of a trade route established between the Martuthunira and their southern neighbours. For example, The story of which the text presented in Appendix B is part tells how chips of snakewood, a very important source of wood for boomerangs, were thrown to the south by a 'devil'. As a result, no good trees grow in Martuthunira country and the Martuthunira were forced to look to the southern peoples for a source of snakewood boomerangs. In the terms of the story, the southerners knew that the trees originated in the north and so were in
effect sending the manufactured implements home. In return, the Martuthunira gave them hair-string belts. Although I have no information suggesting other well established trade routes, the Martuthunira probably sent such items as baler shells and pearlshell ornaments inland up the Fortescue River.

But manufactured goods and raw materials were not the only things that were actively sought from neighbouring groups. I have recorded stories in Kurrama telling of families travelling many miles into foreign territory to attend the opening of new songs and dances (see 1.3.6 below). And, as noted above, young Martuthunira men were sent inland to the Yinyjiparnti and Kurrama for initiation. It is possible that some of these men then travelled even further to the east (the Panyjima travelled well into the Western Desert) and brought back with them new ideas and new law.

1.3.6 Art and Language

It is not possible to say very much about the artistic life of the Martuthunira as much of this knowledge has been lost. There is no rock or bark painting in the area and local people report that the numerous rock carvings were 'laid out by the gods' rather than being the work of their forbears. Very few of the traditional Martuthunira body painting designs are remembered and such knowledge may, once again, be corrupted by the influence of the prevailing eastern cultures. For the most part, the decoration of wooden implements, mainly spearthrowers and shields, resembles that of their neighbours and depicts, in stylistic form, maps of the main watercourses within a man's own country (see von Brandenstein 1972).
Musical forms and dance styles also appear to resemble those of neighbouring tribes. Together with any memory of male initiation, any knowledge of the songs and dances accompanying ritual has been lost. I was only able to collect a few secular songs and have yet to analyse the language of these in detail. There were essentially two song types: jalurra and thawi. Jalurra properly refers to the combination of a song and dance sequence performed by a group of singers and dancers and accompanied by clapping boomerangs (by the men) and the beating of skins stretched over the thighs (by the women). Thawi songs, referred to in the literature as jepi, are solo performances sung to the accompaniment of a wooden or bone nhirrimpa rasped against notches carved in the back of a spearthrower, mirru.

Neither jalurra nor thawi songs were consciously composed but were 'dreamed'. A particular person (usually a man) may receive the gift of a jalurra, melody, words and choreography, from a spirit in a dream, often over successive nights. The more personal thawi songs recount the exploits of the dream traveller and his impressions of particular places and objects as seen through the dream state. While the text of a jalurra usually consists of just one or two couplets, the text of a thawi song is longer and may incorporate a number of verses. A set of thawi songs may recount a sequence of journeys taken by the spirit songman over successive nights.

Although secular songs became public knowledge, the 'composer' retained special rights and obligations of ownership. The first performance of a new song, especially a jalurra was conducted with some celebration and families would be invited to attend and lend their young men to help
stage-manage the dances. The songman had an obligation to 'open' the song in his own country, to fail to do so was considered a gross insult to his family and would ensure a continuing quarrel. On a man's death his songs, like his name, became proscribed for a time. Eventually, after a sufficient period of mourning had been observed, the family of the man, usually a brother or sister, would announce that the song was to be once again opened to the public. At the opening ceremony the sister or brother who had inherited rights to the song would start to sing as others wailed in mourning for the deceased. The song could then be freely performed by anyone until the current custodian died.

The ceremonial reintroduction of a song has not been practised for a long time and as a result many songs remain locked away in the memories of old men and women. While small groups may sing these to one another, far away from any close family of the deceased custodian, they are often reluctant to have their performances taped or discussed with other members of the community. The irony is that in many cases the current custodians of 'closed' songs do not actually know the songs or have any knowledge of the need for their consent in opening them. To make them aware of the problem would offend propriety as much as the actual performance of the song itself.

The appended texts include an example of a half-sung, half-chanted mourning recitative, delivered as a daily eulogy to a dead brother by an old woman on Mardie Station, remembered from Algy Paterson's childhood (Text C.6). The woman, the last in her family, mourns the loss of her relative and heaps obscenities on the man whom she holds responsible for killing him with sorcery. Although perfectly serious in its delivery,
people fought to contain their mirth at the extremely humorous images conjured by the embittered old lady. The text presents a very good example of an abusive harangue filled with personal criticism and directed obscenities. The ability to produce such abusive outbursts with the required stylistic flair was highly valued by the Martuthunira.

On the basis of the data it is very difficult to say very much about the aesthetics of narrative text style and how it differs from the everyday style of spoken Martuthunira. Algy Paterson's particular style and ability as a storyteller, in English, Kurrama and Yinyjiparnti, is valued and respected by all who know him. His Martuthunira stories are delivered with the same panache but unfortunately there is now no-one who can properly appreciate them.

Halliday (1985) argues that in the analysis of text there are two possible goals to aim at. The first is an understanding of the text, which can be achieved through linguistic analysis providing that a reasonably good grammar of the language is available.

The higher level of achievement is a contribution to the evaluation of the text: the linguistic analysis may enable one to say why the text is, or is not, an effective text for its own purposes – in what respects it succeeds and in what respects it fails, or is less successful. This goal is very much harder to attain. It assumes an interpretation not only of the environment of the text, its 'context of situation' and 'context of culture', but also of how the linguistic features of a text relate systematically to the features of its environment, including the intentions of those involved in its production.

Halliday (1985:xv-xvi)

While this grammar of Martuthunira allows the interpretation of the literal meaning of narrative texts and, to a lesser extent, the texts of songs, I
fear that a full understanding and evaluation will never be possible. Too much of the cultural context which gives them their deeper meaning has been irretrievably lost.

1.4 Post-Contact History

The post-contact history of the Martuthunira is one that has led to their almost complete extinction in little more than a hundred years. Their decline is part of a general pattern which has seen the people of the coastal Pilbara and Ashburton River districts almost completely wiped out while inland groups such as the Panyjima and Yinyjiparnti continue to boast thriving communities. The demise of the coastal groups can be attributed firstly to introduced disease, and secondly to a general despair following the complete breakdown of social structure following European settlement.

The first European contacts with the Aboriginal people of the northwest region of Western Australia were most likely the brief encounters reported by early maritime explorers. King (1827) describes at length a meeting with a group of Aboriginal people, probably either Martuthunira or Yapurarra, in the islands of the Dampier Archipelago in February 1818:

As we advanced, three natives were seen in the water, apparently wading from an island in the centre of the strait towards Lewis island: the course was immediately altered to intercept them, but as we approached, it was discovered that each native was seated on a log of wood, which he propelled through the water by paddling with his hands. ... On the boat coming up with the nearest Indian, he left his log and, diving under the boat's bottom, swam astern; this he did whenever the boat approached him, and it was four or five minutes before he was caught, which was at last effected by seizing him by the hair, in the act of diving, and dragging him into the boat, against which he resisted stoutly, and, even when taken, it
required two men to hold him to prevent his escape. During the interval of heaving to and bringing him aboard, the cutter was anchored near the central island, where a tribe of natives were collected, consisting of about forty persons, of whom the greater number were women and children.

King (1827:38-39)

King goes on to report what may be the first words of Martuthunira, or of Ngarluma, ever to be recorded on paper. Unfortunately, I cannot interpret them.

He was then taken to the side of the vessel from which his companions were visible, when he immediately exclaimed, with much earnestness, and in a loud voice, "coma negra," and repeated the words several times.

King (1827:40)

The captive was freed soon afterward and the next day, February 27, 1818, King attempted contact with the main group.

Upon the boat's touching the beach, I landed, and taking Boongaree [a Sydney Aborigine] with me divested of his clothes, walked towards the natives, who were standing together, a little in the rear of one, who was probably their chief. The whole party were trembling with fear, and appeared quite palsied as we approached and took the chief by the hand. A little coaxing, and the investiture of a red cap upon the chief's head, gradually repossessed them of their senses, and we were soon gabbling each in our own language, and therefore mutually unintelligible. ... The chief ... ridiculed our repugnance to partake of a piece of the raw gut of a turtle which he offered to us, and to expose our folly, ate a piece, which he appeared to think a dainty, although it was quite fetid from putrefaction. Our attempts to collect a vocabulary of their language were quite unsuccessful. An axe, some chisels, and other tools were given to them, but they expressed no pleasure in receiving the presents, or astonishment at their effect. ... We now took leave of these friendly Indians, and went through the ceremony of shaking each other by the hand, a mode of taking leave they appeared perfectly to understand.

King (1827:46-47)

In the early 1860s the region was opened to European settlement and it is from this time that we can date the beginning of the decline of the
Martuthunira and their neighbours. While it is possible and even likely that actual contact with the settlers was preceded by contact with their diseases, it is difficult to provide evidence of this. The first important contacts were with pastoralists who moved their sheep and cattle into the newly opened grazing lands of the coastal plain. The squatters commandeered waterholes and were intent upon protecting their livestock from local Aborigines who were quite indiscriminate in their hunting.

Crowley (1960) briefly describes this early period:

The north-west was the first region in the colony in which the settlers had to face more than inconvenient opposition from the aboriginal people who were being dispossessed of their lands ... for a number of years the pastoralists felt particularly unsafe. They were outnumbered by the aborigines, they were separated from one another often by as much as fifty or a hundred miles, and the hardy north-west natives stole their stock and speared their shepherds and stockmen almost with impunity. Reprisals on both sides led to much brutality, and it was not for thirty years or more that the whole region within some two hundred miles of the coastline had been occupied and the surviving natives absorbed into the pastoral industry.

Crowley (1960:48)

Despite these early conflicts the transition from the traditional life of the hunter-gatherer to the station life of stockman, kitchenhand and maid, working for rations of flour, sugar and tobacco, blankets and clothing, is remembered as being relatively peaceful. Men and women who grew up in the station camps remember those days with nostalgia and affection. Although many of their parents' traditional practices were lost by then, they remember that they were free to sing their own songs and speak their own languages and spent long months in the summer off-season, when it was too hot to work cattle and sheep, in 'holiday camps' living off the land, enjoying dance meetings and organizing ritual initiation ceremonies. Nancy
Withnell Taylor (1980) in Yeera-Muk-A-Doo, a history of pioneering families in the Roebourne area says of the station people,

At the time they appeared happy and contented and the squatter liked to think they were for after all, he did what was expected of him and treated many as his faithful friends. But they were a depressed society, especially the old people who jealously guarded their sacred beliefs and ceremonies, and saw what was happening to them.

Taylor (1980:82)

Of course not all pastoral managers were entirely benign. Taylor also points out that,

Unfortunately there were the unscrupulous settlers and it is recorded that they treated the Aborigines cruelly and harshly; they considered them lazy and dishonest, scoffed at their tribal habits, interfered with their women and 'developed a custom of periodically teaching the niggers a lesson with boot, stock-whip and bullet ...'

Taylor (1980:81)

The quote is taken from Crowley (1960:48).

Although the move from hunting and gathering to life on the stations resulted in many irrevocable changes in the life of the Aboriginal people in the northwest, station life was reasonably comfortable and was not solely to blame for the rapid decline of the coastal populations. Instead it was the pearling industry, established in 1867, which wreaked total havoc. Young Aboriginal men and women were in great demand as divers and in the lay-up season, pearlers "went nigger hunting as it became known, riding about the countryside recruiting Aborigines for labour" (Taylor 1980:115). Divers were often kidnapped and were taken many miles from their homes with little chance of maintaining contact with their own people. This practice drastically affected the whole fabric of Aboriginal society.
Marriages and relationships among participants in the process of male initiation were typically established at birth and these vitally important social systems broke down with the departure of so many young men and women. The burgeoning pearling industry also saw the outbreak of smallpox in 1886. Taylor writes,

_Hundreds of Aborigines died. Bodies could be found in the mangroves and throughout the country for many months. The wailing and howling of the Aborigines around Roebourne at night was eerie. There was no vaccine and no known cure._

Taylor (1980:115-116)

Radcliffe Brown (1913) reported on the conditions and numbers of the Kariyarra, Ngarluma and Martuthunira in 1910-11. He estimates the number of surviving Kariyarra at between eighty and ninety with the Ngarluma numbering not more than sixty. He makes reference to the 1866 smallpox epidemic and also mentions an outbreak of measles soon afterwards that caused a further decrease in the Ngarluma population. As for the Martuthunira:

_Their numbers have decreased greatly during the last fifty years, and there are probably not a hundred members of the tribe now alive._

Radcliffe-Brown (1913:176)

Around the turn of the century the prevalence of venereal disease, certainly a problem in the northwest since the advent of the pearling industry, became of serious concern to the authorities. Biskup (1973:112) reports:
[I]n 1905 the Principal Medical Officer made a plea for a strict application of the Contagious Diseases Act to northern areas. Two years later the incidence of the disease reached alarming proportions - up to 15 per cent in certain districts.

Biskup (1973:112)

It was decided that two 'lock hospitals' be established on Bernier and Dorre islands west of Carnarvon and these were opened in October 1908.

The usual method of collecting prospective patients was to send a police party into an area, catch as many aborigines as appeared afflicted with the disease, put them into chains and take them to Carnarvon for transhipment, ... The death-rate among the patients was so high that in 1910 the hospital superintendent felt justified in ordering a bone-crusher, in order to "utilize all organic matter for the object of improving the nutritive value of the soil".

Biskup (1973:112-3)

The breakthrough in controlling the disease did not take place until the eve of the war. After the treatment of some 800 patients in all, the hospitals were closed in 1919 and the remaining patients were transferred to Port Hedland.

As well as the immediate deaths, widespread venereal disease probably reduced the fertility rates of Aboriginal populations quite substantially. It is certainly the case that the birth rate in the north of the state was very low in the early part of this century.

During the twenties and early thirties, for instance, children under fourteen accounted for about one-third of the total population of the northwest, and only for about one-tenth in the Kimberleys.

Biskup 1973:97)

Many factors contribute to the decline in birth rates and it would be simplistic to assume that venereal disease was the main determinant.
Perhaps as important was a general lack of willingness to carry on. After only sixty years of disease and conflict with an invader, their society in complete disarray, their population dwindling, people who had the closest contact with Europeans, such as the Martuthunira, simply gave up. Algy Paterson does not remember any particular disease among the Martuthunira and gives an explanation for their rapid decline more in keeping with this general idea. He remembers from his childhood that few people lived past the age of thirty; that seemingly strong men and women would succumb to the slightest chill or fever and would die within days. It was as if they had lost the will to live.

1.5 Language Teachers

There are only three remaining speakers of Martuthunira, although a handful of other people in Onslow and Roebourne have some very limited knowledge of the language (amounting to a basic vocabulary and a few well worn everyday phrases). The bulk of the material on which this thesis is based was collected with the assistance of Algy Paterson who learnt the language from his mother and mother's mother. Brothers Mipin Lou and Alfred Boona are Purduna men who learnt Martuthunira as children living on Mardie Station. Although I was able to do some work with Mipin, his encroaching deafness made it very difficult to do much more than simple vocabulary checking. Also, circumstances made it difficult for me to work with Alfred Boona.

I was not able to extensively check Algy Paterson's Martuthunira with
the other two speakers but it became clear that his basic knowledge of the
language, intuitions concerning grammaticality and awareness of where
Martuthunira ended and some other language began, were in each case more
reliable than theirs. Of course working mainly with just one speaker of a
language raises a number of important methodological issues and affects the
claims that can be made on the basis of the data. These points are
discussed in section 1.6.2 below. I hesitate to cast Algy Paterson as 'the
informant' since his role in the study has been much more that of an active
collaborator. Instead I will refer to him, throughout the thesis, by
name.

Algy's unsurpassed knowledge of the customs of his people is partly due
to a childhood very different from that of his peers. While his
contemporaries were growing up in the permanent camps established on
pastoral stations, he was following an almost traditional nomadic existence
living with his grandparents in the hills above the more established
stations. Because his natural father was a European, Algy fell under the
terms of the Aborigines Act of 1905 which gave the Chief Protector the
power to fulfil his stated intention to take part-aboriginal children away
from their mothers and have them placed in institutions.

Where there are no evil influences these half-castes can be
made into good useful workmen and workwomen ... But
unfortunately they are more often found in communities whose
influence is laziness and vice; and I think it is our duty not
to allow these children, whose blood is half British, to grow
up as vagrants and outcasts, as their mothers now are.

Annual Report of the W.A. Aborigines Department (1901:3)
quoted in Biskup (1973:142)

When Daisy Bates left to accompany Radcliffe-Brown on his ethnological
expedition to the northwest, at the time Algy was a young child, she was
given the following instructions by the Chief Protector:

    I am extremely anxious to clear the Native camps of half-caste children and I trust you will be able to do some very good work in this direction. Half-caste children removed from Native camps should be immediately placed in the charge of the nearest police, or, where there are no police some responsible Government official.

notes of Colonial Secretary's Office 1023/10 quoted in Dagmar (1978:53)

For fear of him being stolen away by the constables, Algy was hidden in the bush with his grandparents, travelling with them as they moved from one campsite to another, living off the land rather than off station rations of meat, flour and sugar, and learning the stories and skills of the old people. From the only father he ever knew he learned the language and culture of the Kurrama people. Finally, when he was five years old a sympathetic station manager eventually woke up to the fact that a small boy was being kept away from the settlement and promised to protect him from the Act. Nevertheless, although he then began proudly to wear trousers and learn the skills and way of life of a stockman, his parents' lack of complete trust kept him in the bush. He did not learn any English until he was fifteen.

Since then he has worked as a stockman and dingo trapper on pastoral stations mainly in his own Martuthunira and Kurrama country. He has helped develop and maintain the stations of the area while owners and managers have come and gone, and still points proudly to the windmills, watertanks and miles and miles of fence line he has built. Today he is retired and lives at old Warramboo homestead on Yarraloola station, having worked for three generations of the Paterson family.
But Algy's skills and knowledge come to no person simply through the accident of an advantageous childhood. While he has always accepted that life for his people must change, he refuses to allow his received knowledge to fade from memory and from public awareness, believing that it is relevant not only to the Aboriginal people living on the pastoral stations and in the towns of the Pilbara today, but also to the white community. He, rather than any visiting linguist, decided that his language should be preserved in written form for future generations and so sought out someone who could record it. In the same spirit he spends days recording Martuthunira songs on cassette tape so that he can dance to the recordings at the all too infrequent dance meetings held for primary school children at weekend bush camps. No one else knows the dances or the songs that accompany them.

My collaboration with Algy Paterson began in January 1980 when he asked to be introduced to me at an initiation meeting on the Cane River near Onslow. At the time I was learning Panyjima and Algy asked me to find the time to record Martuthunira. He saw himself as the last fully competent speaker of his mother's language and was keen to pass on that knowledge. Two months later he made the hundred mile journey into Onslow and we made our first recordings. Since then I have made a number of trips to the Pilbara and have lived with Algy and his wife at Warramboo homestead and travelled with them throughout Martuthunira country. Our collaboration goes far beyond the material that forms the basis for this thesis. I have been lucky enough to learn something of Martuthunira bushcraft and music, and have learnt much of the rules by which Aboriginal people in the Pilbara still interact and organize their lives. Having decided that I have
achieved a reasonable grasp of Martuthunira, Algy has started to devise Kurrama language lessons and has begun to send me these on cassette tape.

1.6 The Data

1.6.1 Discussion

In this section I wish to describe in general terms the data on which this grammar of Martuthunira is based. Over recent years the number and depth of grammatical descriptions of Australian languages has been rapidly increasing. To some extent these grammars have come to look very similar, loosely following a pattern of exposition reified in the three volumes of The Handbook of Australian Languages (Dixon & Blake eds, 1979, 1981, 1983) and, because of the theoretical interests of the field, weighting the discussion of certain aspects of grammatical structure over others. Beyond the obvious danger that too strict an adherence to a model can lead to languages coming to resemble 'clones' of one another, this approach ignores the very great differences between language situations. For example, the third volume of The Handbook includes a grammar of Djapu (Morphy 1983), a member of the Yolngu language group numbering 3,000 speakers, and Uradhi (Crowley 1983) described by the author as having probably less than a dozen speakers in 1973. Although the editors point out that Yolngu is a viable language while the other languages described in the volume are moribund, the descriptions differ very little except in the confidence with which the author of each is able to make categorical statements about grammaticality.
and acceptability. One of the aims of The Handbook is to foster detailed comparison of languages. However, the nature of the data on which each description is based must, of necessity, be very different and any comparison must take this into account.

1.6.2 Working with a single informant

As noted in section 1.5, the bulk of the data forming the basis of this study was collected with the help of one speaker. Obviously there are very definite limitations to an analysis based on the speech of just one person. Most importantly, there is no way of knowing whether a particular phenomenon is a general rule of the language or a rather idiosyncratic quirk of the speaker's. Ideally, the linguist should work with a number of speakers and be constantly checking collected data against directly observed usage, but this is not always possible.

In the case of Martuthunira I was able to check some lexical material and the basic patterns of nominal and verbal morphology with other speakers, but beyond this their fluency was limited and I have had to trust that Algy Paterson is producing correct Martuthunira. There is no doubt that the Martuthunira data I have collected from him over some five years is internally consistent. Although there are some early irregularities in the data, as much due to the inexperience of the linguist as to the inexperience of the language teacher, later data is remarkably free of error. Nevertheless, the fact still remains that Algy is probably producing Martuthunira in his own idiosyncratic style. He is widely
regarded as a master story-teller in a number of languages and clearly has his own way of presenting a narrative. The frequency in text of certain constructions, and of certain clitics and particles, is a function of his personal style as much as it is a part of the grammatical system of the language. I can do little more than point this out. With only one speaker giving texts it is impossible to separate individual style from normative grammatical style.

1.6.3 Is Martuthunira a dying language?

It must be said that Martuthunira will soon be a dead language, in all senses of the term. It will not be remembered in any detail by any speakers and very few words, if any, will be remembered as words of Martuthunira (with the possible exception of place names). That these remembered words are Martuthunira rather than, say, Panyjima, Kurrama or Yinyjiparnti, will mean nothing to the community of speakers. At present there is no group of young people for whom their Martuthunira origins are important and for whom marking those origins with the use of Martuthunira words is anything but meaningless.

But saying that Martuthunira will soon be a dead language does not mean that it is at present dying; at least not in the sense that the phrase 'language death' normally implies. There is no analogical simplification of paradigms or massive syntactic interference from other languages. The language is not dying, its speakers are; those that remain appear still to speak the standard language. But as well as Martuthunira is understood and
spoken by the few remaining speakers, it serves almost no communicative function in the modern Pilbara community. The only reliable data that can be obtained comes from text and elicitation and while this data base is enough for the discovery of normative rules of grammar it does not allow an investigation of rules of language use. Most information on language use is gained from the reports of the few remaining speakers and, since they have little opportunity to demonstrate that usage, must be assumed to be an idealisation.

Although Martuthunira is not a dying language in the sense that there is no drastic erosion of the morpho-syntactic systems, Algy's Martuthunira is affected by the lack of constant use; he is losing his lexical fluency. In a situation in which a language is not used and the words for things and actions are rarely heard, speakers can simply forget them. As a result, the incidence of borrowing increases and speakers may rely more heavily on periphrastic constructions, allowing the grammar to do the work of forgotten lexemes. Algy made no secret of the fact that he disliked lexical elicitation sessions; they depressed him and usually ended with him berating himself for forgetting a Martuthunira word which he felt he should have known. In checking texts or lists of previously collected lexical items Algy often recognised and replaced Kurrama or Thalanyji words. I believe that some of this correction was unwarranted and have often not made the corrections in reproducing the texts. From experience of other languages in the area I suspect that words from other languages form a stock of useful synonyms, in this essentially multilingual community, which can be called upon to enhance the style of a text or song.

Nevertheless, actual borrowings and adaptations of borrowed words do
occur and must be recognised. In one particularly interesting case, Algy borrowed a common Pilbara word for 'wild onion', ngal.yu, restructuring it to conform to Martuthunira phonological history. Checking with other speakers reminded him that the 'real' Martuthunira word is partunya and he explained his borrowing by citing the cognate set: Panyjima ngarlku, Kurrama ngartku, therefore Martuthunira ngal.yu. Although it appears he quite consciously constructed this word based on the perception of phonological differences among the languages of the area, he continued to use ngal.yu as a synonym for partunya in later texts.

1.6.4 Data types

The collected data can be classified into five broad categories as follows:

1. Sentences elicited by translation

2. Sentences constructed to check grammaticality

3. Elicited text

4. Unelicited text and long narrative text

In addition I make a cross-cutting distinction between 'situated' and 'non-situated' text. For each of these categories there are certain limits to the sorts of conclusions which can and should be drawn from its examples. In the next few pages I will discuss each class in turn.
1.6.4.1 Sentences elicited by translation

These take the form of a request for Martuthunira translation equivalents of English sentences and are used to fill morphological paradigms, to test the productivity of syntactic rules and to provide contexts for particular lexical items. Data of this sort has obvious limitations. The way in which the request is framed and the grammar of the language of elicitation will, to some extent, determine the form of the response.

Much of the data on which this description of Martuthunira is based was collected by translation elicitation. In most cases the language of elicitation was a form of non-standard English. In other cases the language of elicitation was Panyjima, and everyday Martuthunira was used to elicit Martuthunira avoidance language. Although much of the syntactic analysis is based on elicited data I have been careful to check the results against unelicited text material.

1.6.4.2 Constructed sentences as grammatical tests

The advantage in checking the linguist's constructed language examples is obviously the building of a data base of ungrammatical utterances which greatly aids the discovery of general syntactic rules. However, I made very little use of this type of elicitation until I was reasonably well advanced in the data collection process. While last speakers, if they are consistent, allow the accumulation of a data base uncluttered by the sort of variation found in a viable speech community, they are not Chomsky's
ideal speaker-listeners. Because they are isolated from an active community of speakers constantly reinforcing each other's intuitions about what is and what is not grammatically acceptable they may tend to overgeneralize rules. It is often the case that last speakers of languages are the last speakers because of a genuine passion for language. Such 'amateur linguists' can be very dangerous. An informant who has worked with a linguist for a long time is likely to begin his or her own analysis and, as time goes on, will begin to make judgements based more and more on analytical reflection and less and less on untainted native speaker intuitions.

I was lucky enough to be given an object lesson in the dangers of this approach. I recorded one unelicited example of a same-subject purpose clause controlled by a matrix accusative object. Thinking that this was an error I constructed a set of similar examples, together with the expected purposive different-subject sentences, and put these to Algy Paterson. He tentatively accepted all of the aberrant forms but, on further quizzing, stated that while he wouldn't use the construction himself and had never heard it used, it sounded like good Martuthunira to him. He went on to point out that there were different dialects of the language, some of which he had never heard spoken, and these constructions probably came from a different dialect. Given the possibility of such rationalizations I used specially constructed grammatical tests sparingly in the hope that Algy's grammar would stay 'clean' longer.
1.6.4.3 Elicited Text

Most of the data consists of what I will call elicited texts, which are short texts ranging in length from about ten clauses to ten pages. In each case the text was a continuation of an elicited translation sentence. For example, Text C.3 has as its first sentence a response to the elicited:

How would you say, "This spear broken by you fellas should have been given to my uncle for him to fix it"?

Algy then continued to create a story, complete with reported dialogue, with the moral that young people were not learning traditional artefact manufacture properly. The body of such a text can be considered as a legitimate natural language production although the initial few sentences should perhaps not be. To some extent the introduction of the participants and their relative topic-worthiness is a direct response to a request for translation and may suffer interference from the language of elicitation.

1.6.4.4 Unelicited and long narrative texts

These include texts of varying length which are not a response to elicitation. The 'unelicited texts' vary from short descriptive passages to long stretches of language which can best be described as letters. These are reports on events and feelings about events recorded on tape and sent as messages to other speakers (including the linguist). The 'long narrative texts', on the other hand, are mostly traditional stories or myths, or are personal recollections which through a great number of
retellings have become somewhat formalised. They differ from unelicited texts in being much less spontaneous.

1.6.4.5 Situated and Non-situated Text

In the absence of any reliable conversational Martuthunira data (that is, ignoring the very questionable interactions between the linguist and teacher), I make some use of reported speech in text as a separate data base (see especially 5.5). Reported speech is 'situated' in that it is assumed to take place in some defined extralinguistic context and makes use of deictic categories not available in narrative reporting of events. Of course I make no claim that reported speech is a true reflection of actual conversational style. Non-situated text, on the other hand, is largely divorced from a particular spatio-temporal context and relies on purely linguistic devices in tracking reference and maintaining text cohesion. No oral narrative can be purely non-situated since its recounting takes place in a particular location that may bear some relationship to events in the narrative, and at a particular time in relation to those events.

1.6.5 Use of examples

Where an example serves only to demonstrate a simple morphological or syntactic pattern it is common practice to construct a very simple illustrative sentence. I have avoided using such artificial sentences and instead have, where possible taken real examples from texts. Although they
are often longer and more complicated than is necessary to illustrate the particular point, there are good reasons for making life this little bit more difficult for the reader. Firstly, well chosen examples can give a perspective on the life and language of a people that is usually not otherwise presented in a formal linguistic description. To some extent, the use of real examples lets the language tell its own story. Secondly, real examples increase the total amount of data presented in the thesis and so better allows for secondary reanalyses by interested parties.

1.7 Previous Investigations

Perhaps the earliest reference to the Martuthunira language appears in a pamphlet entitled "Aborigines of North-West Australia" by "Yabaroo", published in Perth in 1899. This paper lists some two hundred words gathered from Aboriginal people who claim to be Ngarluma or Martuthunira. The name of the group is spelled Mardathoni.

Daisy Bates recorded some Martuthunira linguistic data and her series of questionnaires had respondents from stations within Martuthunira territory. However, the importance of this material has decreased with the subsequent collection of more reliable data and I have so far avoided attempting an analysis of her data. From around the same period, Radcliffe-Brown's (1913) description of the Martuthunira kinship system includes vocabulary in the form of kinterms and names for flora and fauna with a totemic association to particular local groups. Radcliffe-Brown's description has led to a prominence in the secondary anthropological
literature that is way out of proportion to the amount of primary ethnographic and linguistic data recorded for the Martuthunira.

More recently, Fink (1958) recorded a number of Martuthunira songs and a basic list of 100 items was recorded independently by Sharpe in 1957 and O'Grady in 1958 (O'Grady et al 1966). O'Grady also recorded a few sentences in 1970. While working on Yinyjiparnti from 1975 on, Wordick was able to record some Martuthunira vocabulary which appears in his dictionary of Yinyjiparnti (1982).

The most extensive investigation of the language prior to the present study was conducted by von Brandenstein who recorded songs, short texts, vocabulary and sentences in 1965 and 1968. However, apart from mentions in a number of papers (eg. 1966, 1972, 1973, 1975) he has never published a description of his findings on this language. I have been able to consult von Brandenstein's diaries in the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies but because of access restrictions have not been able to include his field notes as part of the data base of this investigation. By observation only then, the grammatical data collected by von Brandenstein appear to be consistent with those forming the basis for this study.

Unfortunately, despite the material he managed to gather in just a few hours of work with Martuthunira speakers, von Brandenstein apparently decided that little else could be collected. The entry for Martuthunira in Oates and Oates' (1970) survey of Australian languages based on information supplied by von Brandenstein is dangerously misleading; they give Martuthunira a code classification that reads as, "all language possible has been collected". This thesis and the accompanying texts show how badly
mistaken such conclusions were. It is all too easy to believe a language is forgotten but you can never be sure you have met the right speakers.
Chapter 2

Phonology

2.1 Introduction

In the description of Martuthunira phonology presented in this chapter I have made no attempt to build a theoretically coherent synchronic model of phonological processes. Instead, the phonological description stays reasonably close to the surface phonetic facts. There are two main reasons for this. Firstly, a 'finished' analysis of the data would need to ignore as yet unexplained variation in the data. Certain phonetic details and the possible phonological analyses based on these require the gathering of additional material and extensive instrumental analysis. Secondly, I believe that the most aesthetically pleasing abstract synchronic analyses that might, in a number of instances, be constructed for the data imply particular diachronic analyses. Rather than prejudge the case I prefer to leave the data open to later and more extensive historical comparative analysis.

The chapter is organized as follows: Section 2.2 presents the consonant and vowel inventories and gives general statements of allophonic variation. Section 2.3 describes the general phonotactic patterns of the language while section 2.4 discusses the phonetics and two alternative
phonological analyses of what is, given these patterns, a very unusual consonant cluster consisting of the retroflex rhotic glide and an apical stop. Section 2.5 summarizes the recurrent morphophonemic processes involved in allomorphic alternations in the language and, finally, the general word stress patterns are discussed in section 2.6. Together, the description of phonotactic and morphophonemic patterns suggests an internal reconstruction of phonological changes affecting Martuthunira consonant clusters. However, although there is no room in the body of the thesis for a detailed historical investigation, an initial discussion of diachronic trends in the languages of the area is presented in Appendix A.

2.2 Inventories

2.2.1 Consonants

The Martuthunira consonant inventory conforms closely to a common Australian pattern (see Dixon 1980:132ff) with six points of articulation for stops and nasals, four laterals, two rhotics and two glides. Table 2.1 presents the consonant phonemes. The orthography used here follows that recommended by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
Table 2.1: Consonant Inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>peripheral</th>
<th>lamino-</th>
<th>apico-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bilabial</td>
<td>dental</td>
<td>alveolar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velar</td>
<td>palatal</td>
<td>postalveolar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

stop          | p   | k   | th | j | t | rt |
nasal         | m   | ng  | nh | ny | n | rn |
lateral       | lh  | ly  | l  | rr | r |
rhotic        | w   | y  |

The following sets of (near) minimal pairs illustrate the laminal contrast in initial and intervocalic positions:

- **thami** - mother's father
- **jami** - medicine
- **tbuli** - frogmouth
- **juli** - intestine
- **nhartu** - what
- **nyartu** - emu feathers
- **patha-L** - to blow
- **pajapajangu** - type of bird
- **manhamanha** - awkward
- **manyarrka** - sugar
- **yilhi** - chip
- **yilyilyi** - tree type
- **kulhuwari** - soft
- **ngulyurr** - bridge of nose

Despite the contrasts illustrated by the above examples, some variation in laminals occurs in certain lexical items, for example:

- **nhimu** - spinifex mouse
- **nyimu** - 1sgACC/GEN
- **nganathu** - 1sgACC/GEN
- **nganaju** - 1sgACC/GEN

The following examples establish the apical contrast for nasals and laterals.

- **nyina-Ø** - to sit
- **yirna** - thisACC
- **nhuunu** - spouse
- **nyuurnu** - grizzle
- **juna** - spirit
- **jurna** - hitting stick
- **wilawila** - shaken
- **wirlayi** - tired
Examples below illustrate firstly the contrast between apical stops and then the contrast between the alveolar stop and the alveolar tap/trill.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>matimati</th>
<th>place name</th>
<th>martiju</th>
<th>father's sister</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mitawanti</td>
<td>place name</td>
<td>mirtamirta</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>putangara</td>
<td>goanna</td>
<td>purtatharta</td>
<td>head ornament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thaata</td>
<td>place name</td>
<td>thaarta</td>
<td>mouth of hollow log</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>witiwiti</td>
<td>hanging</td>
<td>wirti</td>
<td>pearl shell</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>matimati</th>
<th>place name</th>
<th>marringkarri-Ø</th>
<th>to wave</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>putangara</td>
<td>goanna</td>
<td>purra-Ł</td>
<td>to chop, hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>witiwiti</td>
<td>hanging</td>
<td>wirrirri</td>
<td>flame</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2 Consonant Allophones

As a general tendency, stops are voiceless and unaspirated in word initial position and following a nasal, and voiced between vowels. However, there is a degree of free variation in voicing for all stops in all positions. Firstly, the peripheral stops /p/ and /k/ are most often voiceless, even between vowels. Similarly, the alveolar stop /t/, which is rare in intervocalic position is always voiceless and involves a longer period of closure than is usual for other stops in this position.

By contrast, the apico-postalveolar stop /rt/ is realized as a (voiced) retroflex flap [ɾ] between vowels and both apical stops tend to be voiced following a nasal. The laminal stops are usually voiced in intervocalic position with the interdental /th/ showing the greatest tendency to lenition. This stop is variously realized as a voiced interdental stop [ɹ], a dental fricative [ɾ], or as an interdental glide [ɣ]. The variation appears to be partly determined by the particular lexical item. For example, in some words the interdental stop is never realized as a glide:
In other items there is free variation between voiced stop or fricative and the glide:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{/puuthuni/} & [po\text{-}yonu] & \text{hook on spearthrower} \\
\text{/withawitha/} & [wi\text{-}wewi\text{-}ya] & \text{lost} \\
\text{/pithirri/} & [pi\text{-}eri] & \text{chill}
\end{array}
\]

And morphemes with the interdental stop in initial position always result in a word with a lenited form of the stop:

- tharra - DUAL [wi\text{-}ayara] two boomerangs
- thurti - CONJ [pi\text{-}wewi\text{-}ri] and mother
- tha- - VERB [ka\text{-}ayen\text{-}ni\text{c}i] will chop

In some words the stop loses all laminal definition: in the following examples /th/ is realized as a syllabic break between identical vowels, as the retroflex rhotic continuant [\text{\textit{y}}], as a palatal glide [\text{\textit{y}}], and as a labial/velar glide [\text{\textit{w}}] respectively.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{/nhulatharra/} & [\eta\text{\textit{ola}}\text{-}\text{ara}] \\
\text{/warntitharninyji/} & [\eta\text{\textit{and}}\text{-}\text{\textit{yani}ni\text{c}i}] \\
\text{/witiwiti\text{\textit{tharninyji/}} & [\eta\text{\textit{witiyani}ni\text{c}i}] \\
\text{/thathurninyji/} & [\eta\text{\textit{awani}ni\text{c}i}]
\end{array}
\]

Table 2.2 summarizes the most commonly occurring allophones of the stop phonemes in each position.
Laterals are articulated with slight pre-stopping where they close a syllable. For example:

```
/kurntal/  /pal.ya/  /mirtily/  
[koŋtəːtl]  [paɻiɻa]  [miɾɪɻɪ]  
```

Similarly, the alveolar rhotic /rr/ is realized as a tap [ɾ] between vowels and as a trill [ɾ] in final position, where it is usually voiceless. Preceding a consonant both tap and trill articulations are heard. However, the single tap is not strictly a tap 'gesture'. Rather it is a single vibration made with the tongue in the trill position. The single vibration variant of the trill involves a definite articulatory 'posture', rather than 'gesture' (see Catford 1977:130), and appears to result in a longer period of occlusion than the intervocalic tap (although this has not been measured). The exaggeration of lateral prestopping and the single-vibration trill preceding a glide often results in the apparent

```
\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & \textbf{#} & \textbf{N} & \textbf{V\_V} \\
\hline
p & p & p & p \\
\hline
k & k & k & k \\
\hline
t & - & d & t \\
\hline
rt & - & d & \texttt{ɻ} \\
\hline
j & c & c & j \\
\hline
th & i & i & \texttt{ɻ} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Stop Allophones}
\end{table}
```
insertion of an epenthetic vowel between the two consonants. This has yet to be tested by instrumental analysis.

The retroflex continuant /r/ is relatively invariant in its articulation as [ɾ]. However, it is worth noting at this stage that it is typically articulated with a degree of lip spread that may affect the quality of adjacent vowels (see section 1.2.4 below).

The glides /y/ and /w/ suffer some reduction in degree of occlusion in intervocalic position but this varies. Although phonetic vowel clusters or diphthongs occur most often, alternative pronunciations with intervening glides are also heard\(^2\). Much depends on the degree of emphasis given to the particular word in a certain context.

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{ngawu/} & \quad [ŋpɔ] & \sim & \quad [ŋpɔwɔ] \\
/\text{ngawurr/} & \quad [ŋpɔɾ] & \sim & \quad [ŋpɔwɔɾ] \\
/\text{mayiili/} & \quad [maeːiː] & \sim & \quad [maeʃeːiː]
\end{align*}
\]

Similarly, the palatal glide /y/ need not be articulated in initial position preceding the high front vowel /i/. Loss of initial /w/ preceding /u/ is very rare.

2.2.3 Vowels

Table 2.3 presents the six vowel phonemes, three long and three short. Although the long vowels are not common (accounting for some four percent of vowels in initial syllables) they must be recognised as a separate set of phonemes.
Table 2.3: Vowel Inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i, ii</td>
<td>u, uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>a, aa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following examples demonstrate the length contrast for the three vowel qualities:

- parnparn: twenty-eight parrot
- jamanu: foot
- punilha: go-PAST
- kulhuwari: soft

2.2.4 Vowel Allophones

There is a high degree of variability in the articulation of the vowels. Table 2.4 illustrates the phonetic locus of each of the vowel phonemes:

Table 2.4: Vowel Allophones
The short high front vowel /i/ is usually articulated as the lax vowel [ɨ], though this varies with [ɪ] near a palatal consonant. The alveolar consonants /rr/ and, to a lesser extent, /n/ and /l/ have a lowering effect on a preceding /i/ and it is often realized as [e] in their proximity. For example:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
/\text{nyinalayi}/ & [\text{nenale} ] \\
/\text{wirrirri}/ & [\text{werer} ] \\
/\text{yirra}/ & [\text{yero} ] \\
/\text{martuthunira}/ & [\text{marobone} ] \\
\end{array}
\]

The long high front vowel /ii/ is generally lower than its shorter counterpart. It is realized as [ɻ] in syllables which would regularly take stress (ie. morpheme initial syllables) with the allophone [e·] occurring elsewhere:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
/\text{jiinngu}/ & [\text{ci·nɡo} ] \\
/\text{kiirrkiirr}/ & [\text{ki·rki·ɾ} ] \\
/\text{mayiili}/ & [\text{ma·ye·i]} \\
/\text{wariirti}/ & [\text{wa·rɪɾi} ] \\
\end{array}
\]

The short back rounded vowel /u/ mainly varies between [u] and [o] with the lax vowel most common in unstressed syllables. The vowel is generally fronted to [ʊ] following a lamino-dental consonant but the same fronting occurs in the immediate environment of all laminal consonants to a lesser degree. Preceding the retroflex approximant /ɾ/ the fronted allophone is often the high mid unrounded vowel [ɨ⁺]:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
/\text{nmulha}/ & [\text{nɯlɑ} ] \\
/\text{thurna}/ & [\text{tʊnɑ} ] \\
/\text{palyunyji}/ & [\text{palsɛŋci} ] \\
/\text{yalhuru}/ & [\text{ɣal/+ɔ} ] \\
/\text{parruru}/ & [\text{par/+ɔ} ] \\
\end{array}
\]

Once again the long back rounded vowel is lower than its short
counterpart. The lower allophone [ɔ·] typically occurs following a lamino-dental consonant, elsewhere the vowel is consistently [o·].

The low vowel /a/ has the widest range of allophones. Following a lamino-dental, and to a lesser extent lamino-palatal, consonant the vowel is well fronted and raised, approaching cardinal [ɛ]. Following a back rounded segment (usually /w/) and preceding a velar consonant the vowel is realized as a back rounded [o]. In unstressed positions /a/ is slightly centralized and approaches schwa. Elsewhere, the vowel is an open mid [a]. Finally, preceding a lamino-palatal consonant the mid allophone is typically characterized by a palatal off-glide. The long low vowel /aa/ shows almost no allophonic variation and is consistently realized as [a·].

The different allophonic tendencies of vowels can be summarized as follows:

1. Long vowels are lower than their short counterparts and have a more restricted range of allophonic variation (longer segments have a higher degree of phonetic integrity).

2. Unstressed positions have a centralizing effect on vowels.

3. A preceding lamino-dental consonant has the effect of fronting the low vowel /a/ and the back vowel /u/. Interestingly, the long back vowel /uu/ is lowered to [ɔ·] in this position.

4. Alveolar consonants, in particular the rhotic /rr/, have a lowering effect on the high front vowel.
2.3 Phonotactics

In this section the general phonotactic patterns of the language are described. An examination of the frequency of occurrence of different phoneme combinations allows a more general statement of preferred phonotactic patterns than arises simply from a consideration of occurring forms. It is thus possible to class certain lexical items as phonotactically marked.

2.3.1 Constraints on Positions of Occurrence

All Martuthunira words must begin with a consonant and may end in a consonant or vowel. Permissible initial consonants are restricted to the peripheral and laminal stops and nasals and the peripheral and laminal glides /w/ and /y/. Final consonants are chosen from among the apical nasals and laterals, the lamino-palatal nasal and lateral, and the trill /rr/. All vowels may occur in word final position. Table 2.5 illustrates the permitted initial and final consonants:

Table 2.5: Permitted Initial and Final Consonants

Table 2.6 lists the frequency of consonants in initial, final and intervocalic positions for a dictionary sample of 1300 words.
**Table 2.6: Frequency of Consonants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>C</th>
<th>C#</th>
<th>V_V</th>
<th></th>
<th>C</th>
<th>C#</th>
<th>V_V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>lh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>ly</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>rl</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>rr</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>85</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nh</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>99</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rn</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A number of patterns emerge from the figures listed in Table 2.6. Firstly, those consonants that occur in word initial position are less common in intervocalic position. The only exceptions are the two glides /w/ and /y/. The difference is most marked for the peripheral stops /p/ and /k/, and to a lesser extent the palatal stop /j/, and reflects historical changes affecting stops in intervocalic position (see Appendix A). Secondly, the alveolar consonants /n/, /l/ and /rr/ are the most common finally (although there is no evidence to suggest a neutralization of the apical contrast in this position).

Thirdly, the alveolar stop /t/ is very rare. It appears medially in just six lexical items and does not occur in either initial or final position. By contrast, the retroflex stop /rt/ is among the most common intervocalic segments overshadowed only by the two rhotics /rr/ and /r/.

The full set of words in which the intervocalic alveolar stop occurs is:
Three of these words are names and in at least the two identified cases refer to places which are close to territorial boundaries with the Yinyjiparnti and Kurrama. The words conform to the phonotactic patterns of the neighbouring languages and may originate from these languages. The word *putangara*, although once elicited as the word for goanna, never occurs in text. However, I have not yet found a cognate form in a related language. On the other hand, the words *kuta* and *vitiviti* appear to be borrowed from Panyjima. This leaves *tharratal* as the only word for which some independent exceptional status cannot be given. It is thus possible to assume the non-occurrence of the alveolar stop in medial position as a general phonotactic rule of the language which admits of a very few exceptions (see also Appendix A.4). This discovery immediately calls into question the assumed phonemic status of the alveolar stop. With the exception of the few words mentioned here, the stop only occurs in the homorganic nasal-stop cluster /nt/.

2.3.2 Consonant Clusters

Intramorphemic consonant clusters consist of no more than two consonants and fall into two classes: a set of heterorganic clusters of different kinds, and a full set of homorganic nasal-stop clusters (there are no
homorganic lateral-stop clusters). These are discussed in turn in the following sections.

2.3.2.1 Heterorganic Clusters

The set of consonants which may occur as the first member of a heterorganic cluster corresponds to the set of consonants which may occur in word final position. The second member of such a cluster is drawn from the set of peripheral consonants plus the palatal glide /y/; that is, a subset of the consonants which may occur in initial position. However, not all possible combinations are attested. Table 2.7 lists the relative frequency of the various heterorganic clusters in a sample of 1300 (apparently) mono-morphemic items. The exceptional r.t cluster is described in section 2.4 below.

Table 2.7: Intra-Morphemic Consonant Clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>c_2</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>ng</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>y</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c_1</td>
<td>ny</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rn</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ly</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rl</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rr</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most clusters consist of either nasal plus stop, nasal plus nasal, or a non-nasal sonorant (lateral or rhotic) plus a glide. The few exceptions to this general tendency involve a non-nasal sonorant plus a stop:

- 75 -
The relative frequencies of clusters involving a lateral plus the palatal glide suggest a defective distribution. Although all three laterals occur together with the glide /w/, with just one exception, warlyarra 'shiny, smooth', only the alveolar lateral /l/ occurs in combination with /y/. This pattern is the result of a historical change merging laterals preceding the palatal glide (Appendix A.3.2).

**2.3.2.2 Homorganic Nasal-Stop Clusters**

The following examples illustrate the six homorganic nasal-stop clusters:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngampalyura</td>
<td>adult head louse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngangka</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nganthari</td>
<td>tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nganyjali</td>
<td>proscribed object or food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanta</td>
<td>leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karnta</td>
<td>tear (from eye)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngarnta</td>
<td>wound, injury</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As in most Australian languages, these homorganic clusters complicate an otherwise simple statement of phonotactic constraints on consonant clusters and syllable structure conditions (see Dixon 1980:159ff).

Although there is no good evidence at present for treating these clusters as unit-phonemes (for example, Jagst (1973) treats them as a series of prenasalized stops in Ngardilpa), such an analysis would have some advantages. Firstly, it would enable a simpler statement of the phonotactics of consonant clusters. Secondly, treating the homorganic alveolar cluster /nt/ as a unit-phoneme would effectively deny the alveolar stop /t/ phoneme status. However, before advocating this analysis for Martuthunira I would prefer to further test native-speaker intuitions of the possible phonotactic status of the homorganic clusters and conduct some instrumental analysis.

2.3.3 Inter-Morphemic Clusters

The possibilities for consonant clusters at morpheme boundaries are very open and can be characterized in the most general terms as involving one of the permissible word-final consonants followed by a permissible word-initial consonant. In reality, the set of actually occurring clusters is somewhat smaller. These are presented in Table 2.8 below:
Table 2.8: Intermorphemic Clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>th</th>
<th>j</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>ng</th>
<th>nh</th>
<th>ny</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>y</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ny</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rn</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ly</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rl</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rr</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: * actually occurring
- predicted but not occurring in the data

The gaps in the predicted set can be explained as follows:

1. There are no bound morphemes with an initial bilabial p or initial palatal stop j in the data.

2. Morphemes with an initial velar stop k have allomorphs with initial y following the non-nasal sonorants (2.5.2).

3. The only morpheme with an initial nh is the Proper Nominal marker -nha (3.1.1.2). There are few examples in the data of this morpheme occurring on a consonant-final word.

4. Similarly, the only morpheme with initial y is the Vocative clitic -yi (7.12). There are few examples involving a consonant-final word.

A few morphemes that may be suffixed to consonant final stems violate the usual constraints on word initial consonants. Two different strategies are employed to avoid non-permissible clusters that would otherwise arise in this situation. Firstly, the syllable pa (following a final nasal) or
wa (following a lateral or the alveolar rhotic) is inserted preceding the clitic -rru\(^3\). In the examples presented in this thesis, the 'empty morph' -pa is set apart from the stem to which it is attached and is glossed as zero:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pirtan-pa-rru</th>
<th>Minthal-wa-rru</th>
<th>Kanparr-wa-rru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quartz-∅ -NOW</td>
<td>Alone -∅ -NOW</td>
<td>Spider -∅ -NOW</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Secondly, an epenthetic vowel u is inserted between a stem final l or n and the clitics -l, -lwa and -nu. Similarly, the clitics -lwa or -nu following clitic -l are separated by u:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minthal-u-lwa</th>
<th>Pirtan-u-nu</th>
<th>Mir.ta-l -u-lwa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alone -∅-ID</td>
<td>Quartz-∅-QUOT</td>
<td>Not -THEN-∅-ID</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite the existence of a few bound morphemes with initial consonant clusters, there is little opportunity for these to come together with word-final stems. The only possible situation involves the clitic -lpurtu following a consonant-final nominal. There are no cases in the data collected and examples involving this clitic would be difficult to elicit. However, I would predict that such possibly complex clusters would be avoided by the insertion of the pa/wa syllable between stem and clitic.

2.3.4 Reduplication

Reduplication, not a particularly productive morphological device in Martuthunira, involves the complete reduplication of the lexeme root. As the following examples show, reduplication may affect disyllabic or trisyllabic roots, either vowel-final or consonant-final.
jampa-jampa near to death
witha-witha lost
manha-manha shaky
yirti-yirti striped
warnan-warnan overcast
puriny-puriny light breeze
winyarta-winyarta exhausted
wurtura-wurtura dirty/dusty
yarlwanhu-yarlwanhu speckled brown and white

Trisyllabic reduplications are relatively uncommon and appear to more resemble words in apposition than true reduplications. Although there are no examples in the data of intervening material, the two parts of a trisyllabic reduplication bear an intonation pattern and degree of relative stress more in keeping with their being separate words.

Word-initial /p/ and /k/ are replaced by /w/ in medial position.

kurruw-wurru bumpy
kulha-wulha heaped up
pinyja-winyja shaken
punku-wunku rolled up

This lenition is part of a general historical process affecting intervocalic peripheral stops (Appendix A.3.1). However, the rule does not appear to be general for all reduplications. For two words in the data the lenition is optional:

pirntura-pirntura ripples
parntalha-parntalha-npa-Ø become blistered all over

These two cases happen to be the only examples in the data of reduplicated trisyllabic roots with an initial peripheral consonant. The optional status of the peripheral stop lenition thus supports the notion that
trisyllabic reduplications have marginal status as singulary words. Further checking of this point is clearly necessary. Other apparent exceptions cannot be confidently analysed as reduplications despite their appearance:

pakupaku  bell bird
palhapalbara  mudskipper

2.4 The r.t Cluster

A small number of Martuthunira words reveal an interesting phonetic contrast between apical stops and a consonant cluster consisting of the retroflex rhotic glide followed by an apical stop. In the sections that follow I will describe the phonetics of the cluster and compare alternative phonological treatments. The phonetic cluster is represented orthographically as r.t in contrast to the retroflex stop /rt/.

2.4.1 Phonetic Analysis

The r.t cluster occurs in just four words in the collected data. These are listed below together with near minimal pairs involving the apical stops and /rr/.

kur.ta  kurta  kuta  kurrangu
clever  brother  short  black
The contrast is most clearly established by the minimal triple kur.ta 'clever', kur.ta 'elder brother' and kuta 'short'.

As described in section 2.2.2, the apical stops have quite different phonetic realizations: the retroflex stop is usually realized as a flap in intervocalic position while the alveolar stop, rare between vowels, is typically voiceless and involves a relatively long period of closure. Although, because of a lack of good controlled recordings, it has not been possible to conduct a thorough instrumental analysis of the data, some spectrograms have been made. In the few examples analysed, the contrasting length of /rt/ and /t/, and a corresponding (inversely proportional) difference in the length of the preceding vowel is clearly visible (see Figures 2.1 and 2.2 below).

The successful plots of kur.ta revealed a period ranging from 3 to 4 centiseconds for the flap with a preceding vowel length of between 18 and 20 centiseconds. The plots of kuta revealed a period of voiceless closure, with burst release, varying from 12 to 18 centiseconds for the stop and a preceding vowel length of between 7.5 and 10 centiseconds. If the period of the consonant occlusion and the period of the preceding vowel are combined, the total length remains roughly constant for the two consonants. The average combined length of the closure plus the preceding vowel was 24.5 centiseconds for the alveolar stop in kuta, and was
Figure 2.1: Acoustic plot of *kurta*

Figure 2.2: Acoustic plot of *kuta*

Figure 2.3: Acoustic plot of *kur.ta*
similarly 24.5 centiseconds for the retroflex flap in kurta.

Figure 2.3 presents two versions of kur.ta which can be compared with the plots of kur.ta and kuta. The period of stop closure in kur.ta is similar to that of the alveolar stop in kuta, ranging between 14 and 21 centiseconds for the examples analysed. The consonant is voiceless and is released with some wide spectrum burst of energy. The preceding formant structure is clearly divisible between a pure vowel component and a structure showing strong retroflex colouring. Each accounts for approximately half of the formant structure, which varies in length between 19 and 21 centiseconds. The average length of the closure plus the preceding formant structure is 36 centiseconds, significantly longer (by a half) than the combined average VC period for either kuta or kurta and clearly supporting the contention that r.t is a cluster.

2.4.2 Phonological Analyses

The phonetic cluster might be analysed phonologically as a cluster involving either /r/ or /rl/ followed by the retroflex apical stop /rt/. Either combination would appear to fit the phonetic facts though there are good phonotactic reasons for preferring a phonological cluster /rl/+/rt/. Firstly, the phonotactics of Martuthunira, as already stated, permit laterals in syllable final position but do not permit the retroflex rhotic to occur in this position. Secondly, the retroflex stop may occur following a consonant but only where that consonant is the homorganic nasal. The hypothesized homorganic lateral-stop cluster could be similarly
categorized as a principled exception to the general constraints on intramorphemic clusters. The examples below illustrate the various contrasts under this analysis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kuta</th>
<th>short</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kurta</td>
<td>elder brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurlta</td>
<td>clever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurnta</td>
<td>shame</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Alternatively, the phonetic r.t cluster could be described as a single phoneme in contrast to the retroflex flap. By this analysis, what has heretofore been described as the retroflex stop in intervocalic position would now be described as a separate retroflex flap phoneme (orthographically /rd/), and the r.t cluster would fill its position as the intervocalic allophone of the retroflex stop /rt/. Under this analysis the apical stops share very similar phonotactic and phonetic properties: both are very rare in intervocalic position, occurring in just a handful of words, and both are realized in intervocalic position as relatively long voiceless stops. On the other hand, the retroflex flap /rd/, like the apical tap /rr/, is extremely common in intervocalic position (in fact it only ever occurs in this position).

The phonetic realization of the unit-phoneme /rt/ as a cluster might then be described as an 'unpacking' of the features of one segment into two separate segments: in this case the retroflexion of the stop is unpacked into a separate preceding glide. At present I can offer no good explanation; the few examples in the data are not enough to suggest a phonetic motivation for the unpacking. The following examples illustrate the phonemic contrasts inherent in the unit phoneme analysis:
Unfortunately, only two of the four Martuthunira words involving the r.t cluster have clear cognates in other Ngayarda languages. The cognate forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Martuthunira</th>
<th>Ngayarda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kuta</td>
<td>abort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurda</td>
<td>elder brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurta</td>
<td>clever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurnta</td>
<td>shame</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These cognates appear, at first blush, to support the unit-phoneme analysis of r.t as a retroflex stop and suggest a phonemic split in Martuthunira: while most instances of proto-Ngayarda /$rt/$ are reflected as flaps in intervocalic position, in some words /$rt/$ is reflected as a retroflex stop. However, there are not enough examples to suggest a conditioning environment for the split and the lack of cognates outside of the Ngayarda group argues against borrowing as the basis for the split. I am not prepared to make a case for unconditioned phonemic split.

Of course, the Panyjima and Ngarluma cognates need not be taken as incontrovertible evidence against the cluster analysis. It may be that an original cluster has been simplified in these languages and has reflexes independent of the retroflex stop only in Martuthunira. However, at this stage there is no evidence to suggest a reconstruction of homorganic lateral-stop clusters for proto-Ngayarda. As appealing as the lateral-stop treatment of the r.t cluster is, I have no historical evidence to support it. In addition, although a synchronic analysis of the cluster as /rlt/ simplifies the phonotactics it also implies a certain regularity—that Martuthunira, and the Ngayarda languages generally, permit homorganic
lateral-stop clusters - which obscures the exceptional status of the r.t cluster.

On the other hand, the unit-phoneme analysis, while obviating the need for any fancy phonotactic footwork implies a history involving (at this stage) unconditioned phonemic split. Although I suspect that the ultimate source of the r.t cluster will be found to be some conditioned strengthening of the (phonetically weak) intervocalic retroflex stop, without any clear evidence I do not want to reconstruct the split.

On balance, I have decided to treat r.t as a cluster consisting of the retroflex glide followed by the homorganic retroflex stop and will continue to represent the cluster orthographically as r.t (instead of the potentially confusing rrt, that is /r/+/rt/). This approach sacrifices two quite aesthetically pleasing synchronic analyses, but in this way avoids assuming unsubstantiated historical change and remains faithful to the phonetic facts. The /r.t/ cluster thus stands out as an exception to otherwise quite regular phonotactic patterns and begs further diachronic and synchronic investigation.

2.5 Morphophonemics

Martuthunira has very few patterns of morphophonemic alternation and those that exist are easily stated. I have chosen to represent each allomorph of a morpheme rather than writing the words of the language in terms of underlying forms, no matter how regular or, alternatively, how restricted the processes may be. The one exception to this involves the variation
between apicals affecting the future inflections on verbs and the clitics -1 and -nu. Because of the degree of apparent free variation here I have chosen the most commonly occurring allomorph for each form.

This section is organized by recurring morphophonemic processes. Thus different allomorphs of one and the same morpheme may be discussed in different subsections according to the range of processes involved in the full complement of alternative forms. Full sets of allomorphs for each particular morpheme are given as the set of functions of each morpheme is introduced in following chapters.

2.5.1 Syllable/Mora Counting Allomorphs

All lexical roots in Martuthunira are at least dimoric. Dimoric roots may be mono-syllabic with a long vowel or disyllabic. A number of morphemes have different forms depending on the number of morae in the stem to which they are attached. In all cases, such 'mora counting' alternations are sensitive to a basic contrast between dimoric stems and stems of more than two morae.

The clearest cases of mora counting alternation involve the locative and effector nominal suffixes, which differ only in that the effector forms have final u where the locative forms have final a. These morphemes follow the common Australian pattern with forms -ngku/a and -lu/a on vowel-final stems. The -ngku/a allomorph occurs on nominal stems of two morae while the -lu alternant occurs on all stems of more than two morae (see Hale 1976):
Similarly, the 'full-laden' suffix -warlaya has a shortened form -warla which appears on dimoric stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>murti-warla</th>
<th>fast-FULL</th>
<th>marrari-warlaya</th>
<th>word-FULL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jinyji-warla</td>
<td>fat-FULL</td>
<td>kunkuwarra-warlaya</td>
<td>honey-FULL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The shortened form appears to be motivated by a desire to conform, as nearly as possible, to a disyllabic meter. No doubt the existence of other mora counting alternations in the language has an analogical effect.

Finally, there are different forms of the collective suffix on L-conjugation verbs depending on the length of the verb stem. On a stem of just two morae the suffix has the form -yarri-∅ while on longer stems the suffix is -lwarri-∅:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>karta-yarri-∅</th>
<th>thmulwa-lwarri-∅</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thani-yarri-∅</td>
<td>kartatha-lwarri-∅</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.2 Lenition of Peripheral Stops

Allomorphs of a number of morphemes show evidence of a conditioned alternation affecting the velar stop /k/. Firstly, the stop is lenited to a laminal glide /y/ following a stem-final lateral or the alveolar rhotic /rr/. The clearest example is given by the various forms of the accusative suffix on consonant final nominal stems:
The identical pattern of lenition is revealed by the 'body noise' verbal derivalional suffix -karri/-yarri:

\[ \text{jinkurn-karri} \quad \text{mukul-yu} \]
\[ \text{kurlany-karri} \quad \text{kanparr-yu} \]

By contrast, the 'belonging' suffix shows lenition of /k/ to /w/ where /y/ is predicted:\n
\[ \text{jinkarn-kura} \quad \text{mukul-wura} \]
\[ \text{kurlany-kura} \quad \text{kanparr-wura} \]

Similar lenition of morpheme-initial /k/ to /w/ occurs following a vowel-final stem. Thus the genitive has forms:

\[-ku \quad \text{on stems with a final nasal} \]
\[-yu \quad \text{on stems with a final lateral or rhotic} \]
\[-wu \quad \text{on stems with a final vowel} \]

\[ \text{muyi-wu} \quad \text{jinkarn-ku} \]
\[ \text{pawulu-wu} \quad \text{kanparr-yu} \]
\[ \text{tharnta-wu} \quad \text{mukul-yu} \]

This same pattern is shared by the belonging suffix (a.) and is also revealed by reduplications (b.):

a. \[ \text{pawulu-wura} \]
\[ \text{kanyara-wura} \]

b. \[ \text{kurryu-wurryu} \]
\[ \text{kulha-wulha} \]

On vowel-final stems the lenition of the accusative suffix extends to loss of the consonant and harmonizing of the suffix vowel with the final vowel of the stem:
The divergence of the Accusative and Genitive morphemes is discussed in section 4.1.1.

Morphophonemic lenition of the bilabial stop /p/ to the glide /w/ is shown by a number of reduplications:

parra-warra
punku-wunku
pulya-wulya

There are no bound morphemes with an initial bilabial stop and so it is not possible to discover similar patterns of morphophonemic alternation as exist for the velar stop.

2.5.3 Vowel Lengthening

Vowel assimilations occur with four morphemes; the accusative and direct allative nominal suffixes, the -:ngku-Ø verbalizer, and the first person singular kin possessive suffix. The accusative suffix on vowel-final stems, consisting simply in a lengthening of the final vowel as the result of a complete lenition of *-ku, has already been described in the preceding section.

Comparative evidence shows that the allative -:rta descends from *-karta and so similarly involves, historically, the loss of /k/ and harmonizing of the initial vowel with the final vowel of the stem:
There are no examples in the data of this allative suffix occurring on consonant-final stems (see section 4.8).

The most likely historical source of the verbal derivational suffix \(-:ngku-\emptyset\) involves a verb of form \(kVngku-\emptyset\) (see section 6.3.9) with a similar pattern of lenition and subsequent vowel harmony. Where the stem-final vowel is \(/a/\), the resulting long vowel is reduced:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{murti-} & \text{-ingku-}\emptyset \quad \text{run after} \\
\text{thartu-} & \text{-ungku-}\emptyset \quad \text{meet} \\
\text{jina-} & \text{-ngku-}\emptyset \quad \text{track}
\end{align*}
\]

Finally, the first person singular kin-possessive suffix may be given an underlying form \(-:mi\) affecting a lengthening of the final vowel of a disyllabic stem. I have been unable to elicit an example involving a consonant-final stem.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mura-} & \text{-ani} \quad \text{my son} \\
\text{pauu-} & \text{-uni} \quad \text{my father} \\
\text{thami-} & \text{-ini} \quad \text{my mother's father}
\end{align*}
\]

The suffix does not appear on trisyllabic kinterms but instead the vowel in the second syllable is lengthened:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kantharri} & \quad \text{mother's mother} \\
\text{mayili} & \quad \text{father's father} \\
\text{yumuni} & \quad \text{father's brother}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kanthaarri} & \quad \text{my mother's mother} \\
\text{mayili} & \quad \text{my father's father} \\
\text{yumuni} & \quad \text{my father's brother}
\end{align*}
\]

This process, like the addition of the \(-:mi\) suffix, results in a trisyllabic word with a lengthened second syllable. There seems little value in attempting to reconcile the two morphological processes in the
synchronic grammar since the most likely historical process involved here is the analogical expansion of a paradigm.

2.5.4 Vowel Replacement

The contemporaneous inflection -rra (and the related sequential relative suffix -rrawaara) effects a change in the form of a preceding ə-conjugation verb-stem where that stem has a final /a/ vowel: the final /a/ is replaced with /i/.

nyina-rra > nyinirra
wangka-rra > wangkirra

The modern suffix form -rra descends from a form *-yarra and so the vowel replacement can be explained, in historical perspective, as the lingering of the fronting effects of the palatal glide in the original ə-conjugation allomorph.

The common verb nyina-ə 'sit, be', is similarly affected by the present relative inflection -nyila. This change is best described as an analogical extension from the nyinirra form affecting, to date, only this one verb stem.
2.5.5 Haplology

A number of morpheme combinations result in the dropping of one of two similar syllables. The first such pattern affects the second syllable of the passive derivational suffix -CM-\textit{nguli}-Ø when followed by certain final verb inflections:

\begin{align*}
\text{-nguli-layi} & \rightarrow \text{-ngu-layi} \\
& \text{-PASS -FUT} \\
\text{-nguli-lu} & \rightarrow \text{ngu-lu} \\
& \text{-PASS -PURPss} \\
\text{-nguli-rra} & \rightarrow \text{ngu-rra} \\
& \text{-PASS -CTEMP}
\end{align*}

Here a syllable \textit{li} is dropped when the following syllable begins with a lateral or the alveolar rhotic /\textit{rr}/.

A similar pattern involves the dropping of the final \textit{rri} syllable of the collective (a) and body-noise (b) derivational suffixes preceding the contemporaneous relative inflection -\textit{rra}:\textsuperscript{13}

\begin{align*}
a. \quad \text{-marri-rra} & \rightarrow \text{-marra} \\
& \text{-yarrri-rra} \rightarrow \text{-yarra} \\
& \text{-lwarri-rra} \rightarrow \text{-lwarra} \\
b. \quad \text{-karri-rra} & \rightarrow \text{-karra} \\
& \text{-yarrri-rra} \rightarrow \text{-yarra} \\
& \text{-rarri-rra} \rightarrow \text{-rarra}
\end{align*}

This reduction is optional; unreduced versions are occasionally heard in text and are usually given in careful response to elicitation.
2.5.6 Consonant Assimilation

The forms of the locative and effector nominal suffixes on stems with a final consonant can be described in terms of an assimilation of a non-nasal consonant to certain features of the stem-final consonant. The locative forms are:

- \(-ta\) following \(n\)
- \(-rta\) following \(rn\)
- \(-tha\) following \(ny\)
- \(-a\) following a lateral or \(rr\)

Following an apical nasal the allomorph involves a homorganic stop. Following the only permissible final laminal nasal the suffix involves the laminal stop \(/th/\) resulting in a palatal-dental cluster. While this cluster is often articulated, in fast speech the common phonetic result is a double-articulated dental/palatal nasal/stop cluster. The appearance of the allomorph \(-tha\) (\(-thu\) for the effector suffix) rather than the expected homorganic \(\*-ja\) may preserve an original allophonic variation for the laminals. That is, \(/j/\) only occurred preceding the vowel \(/i/\) while \(/th/\) occurred before vowels \(/a/\) and \(/u/\). This solution is suggested by Austin (1981c:302) for the same pattern of allomorphy in the Kanyara and Mantharta languages (and see also Dixon 1980:153).

2.5.7 Apical Alternation

The initial apical laterals and nasals of some bound morphemes show variation between alveolar and retroflex articulations. The morphemes most often affected are the two (conjugation dependent) forms of the future
inflection; -rninyji and -layi, and the clitics -l and -nu:

-\text{ninyji} \quad /-\text{ninyji}/ \quad - \quad /-\text{rninyji}/
-\text{layi} \quad /-\text{layi}/ \quad - \quad /-\text{rlayi}/
-\text{l} \quad /-\text{l}/ \quad - \quad /-\text{rl}/
-\text{nu} \quad /-\text{nu}/ \quad - \quad /-\text{rnu}/

Although there are clear environments favouring one or other version of the morphemes, these are by no means restricting conditions. Thus, for example, a verb bearing the future inflection with an initial retroflex consonant on one occasion may occur in different circumstances with an initial alveolar. Because of this relatively free variation I have chosen not to represent the alternate forms in transcriptions. Instead, the most common form of the morpheme is represented in each case.

Two factors affect the tendency for one or other apical to occur. Firstly, the retroflex realization is preferred if the final syllable of the stem to which the morpheme is attached includes an apical lateral or nasal. This tendency is strongest where the preceding apical is alveolar and agrees in manner with the morpheme initial consonant. Secondly, the alveolar articulation is preferred following the high front vowel /i/. Of course, these two conflicting conditions may co-occur in which case either articulation is possible. The preferred variants for each morpheme in each of the four possible environments are listed in Table 2.9. Where neither variant is clearly preferred the initial (orthographic indication of the) retroflex is enclosed in parentheses.
Table 2.9 : Conditioned Apical Alternations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-rninyji</th>
<th>-layi</th>
<th>-l</th>
<th>-nu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C V</td>
<td>-rninyji</td>
<td>-layi</td>
<td>-l</td>
<td>-(r)nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+apical]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C i</td>
<td>-(r)ninyji</td>
<td>-layi</td>
<td>-l</td>
<td>-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+apical]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C i</td>
<td>-(r)ninyji</td>
<td>-layi</td>
<td>-l</td>
<td>-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-apical]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elsewhere</td>
<td>-rninyji</td>
<td>-layi</td>
<td>-l</td>
<td>-nu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.6 Stress

Martuthunira stress is very regular and tends to conform to a basic disyllabic metrical pattern with stress falling on the first syllable. However, this pattern is confused by non-initial syllables involving long vowels. Historically, most of these dimoric syllables involved two syllables separated by a since lenited consonant and in the modern language the effects of the original disyllabic stress pattern are still felt.

As in many Australian languages, the stress patterns of words are determined in part by their morphological make-up. However, while it is a simple matter to devise regular stress rules dependent on morpheme boundaries (see Dench 1981:18ff for Panyjima, for example) a number of clear exceptions show that regular rules of stress are better stated as operating on the output of word combination in which stress is already
assigned to component morphemes. That is, certain morphemes are marked for
stress in the lexicon.

It is necessary to recognise three levels of stress assignment. Firstly, morphemes bear a lexical stress mark. Secondly, regular phonological stress rules modify the patterns arising from the combination of stress-marked morphemes in accordance with a general ban on sequences of two stressed syllables or sequences of three unstressed syllables. Thirdly, the preferred word-stress patterns may be modified by the marking of emphatic stress at the phrase level.

Section 2.6.1 describes the basic stress patterns without reference to dimoric syllables, which are then discussed in 2.6.2. Section 2.6.3 describes the assignment of primary and secondary stress marks on the basis of the word stress pattern. Finally, section 2.6.4 makes a number of initial observations on the effects of phrasal stress on the preferred word stress patterns.

2.6.1 Basic Stress Patterns

At the lexical level, all morphemes of more than a single syllable in length have stress on their first syllable. In addition, the monosyllabic verbalization suffixes -ma-L and -tha-L have lexical stress.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pányu</th>
<th>good</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kanyara</td>
<td>man, person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-múlyarra</td>
<td>-ALLative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-má-L</td>
<td>-CAUSative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-thá-L</td>
<td>-Controlled Contact</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Words which are recognizable as compounds (even though their component morphemes do not necessarily occur as free forms in modern Martuthunira) have a stress pattern according to their component morphemes. For example:

\[\text{mångkuru(+)tháni} \quad \text{'Peter Creek'}
\]
\[\text{wangkarta(+)múka} \quad \text{'Mount Mistake'}
\]

Similarly, a few mono-morphemic verbs are stressed as if they involve the stressed verbalizers. In a number of instances this analysis is probably a false segmentation based on the shape of the stem-final syllable rather than on the basis of any perceived morphological or semantic similarity with other verbal forms:

\[\text{wúrumá-L} \quad \text{'to do for (someone)'}
\]
\[\text{kúlayá-L} \quad \text{'to try out, test'}
\]
\[\text{warramá-L} \quad \text{'to make'}
\]

The stress patterns arising from the combination of lexically stressed morphemes are modified by regular phonological rules. The rules firstly remove stress marking from the second of adjacent stressed syllables, and secondly, add stress to any syllable flanked by two unstressed syllables. By convention the rules operate from left to right.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Rule 1} & \quad CV \rightarrow CV / CV \\
\text{Rule 2} & \quad CV \rightarrow CV / CV_{-}CV
\end{align*}
\]

The first rule accounts for aberrations of the basic disyllabic pattern introduced by the lexically stressed monosyllabic verbalizers. The second rule assigns a basic disyllabic stress pattern to sequences of neutral mono-syllabic morphemes or to sequences of three unstressed syllables arising from the operation of the first rule.
The following examples illustrate the regular derivation of stress patterns on morphologically complex words:

1. \textit{wántha-rnínýji} \textit{wántharnínýji} \hspace{1cm} lexical stress
2. \textit{pátha-rngúli-nyíla-a} \textit{patbharrngúlinyílaa} \hspace{1cm} lexical stress
3. \textit{kányara-ngára-la} \textit{kányarangárala} \hspace{1cm} lexical stress
4. \textit{kányara-la-ngúru} \textit{kányarálangúru} \hspace{1cm} Rule 2
5. \textit{wángkarnu-márrí-lha-rru} \textit{wangkarnumárrilhárru} \hspace{1cm} Rule 2
6. \textit{pányu-rrí-rra-rru} \textit{pányurrírrarru} \hspace{1cm} Rule 2
7. \textit{nḥártu-má-rnínýji} \textit{nḥártumárnínýji} \hspace{1cm} Rule 1
8. \textit{wantharni-má-rnínýji-jí-rru} \textit{wantharnimárnínýjíjírru} \hspace{1cm} Rule 1
\hspace{1cm} Rule 2
9. \textit{mirru-ngka-má-láha-rru} \textit{mirrungkamalálahárru} \hspace{1cm} Rule 1
\hspace{1cm} Rule 2
10. \textit{kúlayá-rnínýji-jí-rru} \textit{kúlayárnínýjíjírru} \hspace{1cm} Rule 1
\hspace{1cm} Rule 2

2.6.2 The Effects of Long Vowels on the Basic Stress Pattern

The stress patterns as described so far make no reference to morphemes incorporating long vowels. As we have seen, morphophonemic alternations dependent on the length of stems are sensitive to morae rather than to syllables (2.5.1) and to some extent stress patterns are similarly conditioned. But although it is clearly the case that the stress rules (as
stated in 2.6.1) treat some dimoric syllables as if they were disyllabic for the purposes of calculating stress meter, it is not possible to describe the stress system solely in terms of morae counts. The basic unit of phonological structure bearing stress is the syllable, not the mora.

The effects of long vowels on stress patterning are best described by reference to a number of examples. The simplest cases involve multisyllabic morphemes in which a long vowel appears in the first syllable. For example, the stress patterns of words based on the disyllabic nominal *nhuura* conform to the rules already stated:

11. *nhuura-npa-rra*  
    *nhuuranpárrra*  
    lexical stress  
    Rule 2

12. *nhuura-má-lálha-rru*  
    *nhuuramálalharru*  
    *nhuuramálalhárru*  
    lexical stress  
    Rule 1  
    Rule 2

Where a monosyllabic (dimoric) morpheme is followed immediately by a stressed syllable the situation is more complicated. Consider the nominal compound *thaapuwa* 'rotten mouth'. As a compound this word is expected to have two lexical stress marks on the first and second syllables respectively - *thaapuwa*. When the word occurs in isolation, in nominative (unmarked) case, or is followed by a morpheme with an initial stressed syllable, the second syllable of the stem is unstressed:

13. *thaápupa*  
    *thaápupangará*  
    'rotten mouth'  
    'rotten mouthed fellows'

This pattern might be expected given the regular rule erasing the second of a pair of stressed syllables. However, where *thaapuwa* is followed by a sequence of unstressed monosyllabic morphemes, stress is assigned to these
as if stress were still present on the second syllable of the stem:

14. tháapuwa-rru  
    tháapuwa-lá-rru  

not:  * tháapuwa-rru  
      * tháapuwa-la-rru  

Similar patterns occur where a long vowel (dimoric syllable) results from the addition of a vowel initial (lexically stressed) morpheme to a vowel final stem. For example, the allative suffix -:rta and the verbal derivational suffix -:ngku-∅ both yield a long second syllable when added to a disyllabic root.

15. ngúrra-ártar  
    ngúrraartar  

16. ngúrra-ártanpa-rra  
    ngúrraartanparra  
    * ngúrraartanparra  

17. míyi-íngku-lha  
    míyiíngkulha  
    * míyiíngkúlha  

18. míyi-íngku-ngu-rra-rru  
    míyiíngkungúrraru  
    * míyiíngkungúrraru

These examples suggest that Rule 1 affects only adjacent short stressed syllables and that a late rule removes stress from the second of a pair of adjacent stressed syllables where either involves a long vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rule</th>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Transformation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rule 1</td>
<td>CV</td>
<td>CV / CV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rule 2</td>
<td>CV</td>
<td>CV / CV_CV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rule 3</td>
<td>CV(V)</td>
<td>CV(V) / CV(V)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rule 3 can be seen, from a historical viewpoint, as the reapplication of Rule 1 following a change in which intervening unstressed syllables have
been lost. The change has resulted in trisyllabic stems of four morae which affect the stress patterning of following morphemes as if they still consisted of four syllables, and yet bear a stress pattern consistent with their trisyllabic status.

The issue is further complicated by forms involving the addition of the -\textipa{ngku-} verbalizer to stems with a final a vowel. In these cases the expected long vowel is reduced and yet the stress pattern remains consistent with what is historically a four-syllable verb stem with stress on the third syllable.

19. \vá\textipa{yaa}-\textipa{ngku-}\textipa{ngu-ra}  \textit{lexical stress}
\vá\textipa{yangkungurra}  \text{Rule 2}
\vá\textipa{yangkungurra}  \textit{not}

To account for this pattern the rules of stress assignment, as stated, must apply before the vowel is reduced.

Not all examples of a lengthened second syllable arise through the addition of lexically stressed, vowel-initial morphemes to vowel-final stems. For example, the various inflected forms of the verb \textipa{waruulwa-L} 'keep on trying' show that the long second syllable acts as if it were stressed for the purpose of assigning stress to subsequent unstressed morphemes:

20. \textipa{waruulwa-}\textipa{ngu-ra}
\textipa{waruulwanngurra}  \textit{Rule 2}
* \textipa{waruulwanngurra}

Similarly, a number of disyllabic morphemes have a long second syllable which, when followed by a sequence of unstressed morphemes, acts as if it were stressed. The following example illustrates this for the privative
suffix -wirraa:

21. kapun-wirraa-npa-lha-rru
    kapunwirraanpaharru
    not # kapunwirraanpaharru

These cases can be accounted for by adding to Rule 2 so that any long vowel is stressed when it precedes an unstressed syllable:

\[
\text{Rule 2a} \quad \begin{bmatrix} CV \\ CVV \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} CV_s \\ CVV \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} CV CV \end{bmatrix}
\]

Rule 2 then feeds Rule 3 which erases stress from long syllables immediately preceded by a stressed syllable. The full derivation of the last example is then:

22. kapun-wirraa-npa-lha-rru lexical stress
    kapunwirraanpaharru Rule 2b
    kapunwirraanpaharru Rule 2a
    kapunwirraanpaharru Rule 3

This can be compared with a derivation in which the long vowel in the privative suffix does not receive stress:

23. nguyirri-wirraa-ma-rinyji lexical stress
    nguyirriwirraamirninyji Rule 1

2.6.3 Primary and secondary stress assignments

It is possible to recognize two degrees of stress on top of the metrical stress described in the preceding sections. Words always bear a primary stress assignment and this typically falls on the first stressed syllable. Words that involve more than two stress marks often have a second more
prominent stressed syllable. In most cases this secondary stress falls on the last stressed syllable in the word. However, if the word involves the -ma-L causative suffix and this suffix is not the last stressed syllable then it attracts secondary stress. Examples of each of these patterns are given below:

24. 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wāntha-} & \text{rnīnyji} \\
\text{wāngkarmu-} & \text{marri-} \text{lhā-} \text{rru} \\
\text{wāntharni-} & \text{mā-} \text{rnīnyji-} \text{rru}
\end{align*}
\]

2.6.4 The Effects of Phrase Stress on Word Stress Patterns

The preferred stress patterns of words are often affected by phrase stress and intonation patterns, syntactic emphasis on particular morphemes and metrical rhymes. At this stage of the analysis it is not possible to present a full treatment of this syntactic level of stress and intonation but a number of observations can be made.

Firstly, there is a tendency to stress final case-markers in certain contexts; usually where some contrast in syntactic function is being emphasized. The most common example of this final case stress occurs with the long vowel allomorph of the accusative case on vowel-final nominal stems. This extra stress assignment clearly assists the listener to distinguish nominative forms (with a final short vowel) from accusative forms and so serves an important syntactic function. However, it is by no means an established rule that final accusative case-marking is always stressed.
Secondly, word stress assignments which result in word-final stress occurring on the antepenultimate syllable may be modified so that stress falls on the penultimate syllable. This shift most often occurs where a word has five syllables. A 3+2 metrical stress pattern is generally preferred over a 2+3 pattern. For example:

25. \( \text{páthā-rrālha-rru} \rightarrow \text{pátharralhárru} \)
\( \text{kánarrí-rra-rru} \rightarrow \text{kánarrilhárru} \)
\( \text{mánni-ngka-npa-rra} \rightarrow \text{máningkanpárra} \)
\( \text{yákarrángu-rru} \rightarrow \text{yákarrangula} \)

The preference for penultimate word-final stress occasionally results in stress assignment errors in fast speech. In the following examples, the speaker faltered momentarily and succeeded in breaking the penultimate vowel into an additional stressed syllable. In the first example, the long vowel allomorph of accusative case is broken into two short syllables. In the second example, the second syllable results from the repetition of the short vowel.

26. \( \text{kúrryart-sá-rru} \rightarrow \text{kúrryartamárrta-rru} \)
\( \text{yánga-rninyji-rru} \rightarrow \text{yangarninyji-rru} \)

Finally, the expected stress pattern for a word may be modified so that it ‘rhymes’ with the stress patterns of other words in a phrase. In the following example, the preferred stress pattern for the word \( \text{kanyara-npa-rra-rru} \) is modified to conform to that of \( \text{panyu-npa-rra-rru} \):

27. \( \text{panyu-npá-rra-rru kanyára-npa-rrá-rru} \)
\( \text{panyunpárrarru kanyaranpárrarru} \)

The expected pattern of stress for \( \text{kanyara-npa-rra-rru} \) occurred in the
In most instances aberrant stress patterns involve violations of Rule 2, the rule that functions to assign stress to sequences of unstressed syllables in accordance with a basic disyllabic pattern. However, the unexpected patterns nevertheless conform to the general constraints on possible sequences of stressed and unstressed syllables. Violations of lexical stress assignment are less common.
Chapter 3

Morphology: Overview

This chapter outlines a number of general issues that arise in the description of Martuthunira morphology. Section 3.1 describes the part-of-speech classification assumed in this thesis, concentrating on the question of nominal subclasses such as noun and adjective and arguing against a part-of-speech 'particle'. Section 3.2 presents definitions of suffix and clitic as opposed to independent free forms and discusses some of the consequences of Martuthunira's highly agglutinative structure. Martuthunira is a language which allows multiple case-marking and section 3.3 defines the syntactic levels at which nominal suffixes may operate and the constraints on their occurrence.

3.1 Parts of Speech

The following parts of speech are defined for Martuthunira:

Nominal

An open class of items inflected for number and case. The superclass nominal includes the closed subclasses pronoun, demonstrative and locational nominal, and a set of special temporal nominals.
Verb
An open class of items inflected for tense mood and voice. Verbs are subcategorized by their argument structure.

Adverbs
A closed class of uninflected words and which serve to modify a proposition by presenting some pragmatic information such as the speaker's state of mind, intentions, or assumptions about the status of the information coded in the proposition.

Exclamations
A set of words which may not take suffixes or clitics and which can function as complete utterances.

In addition to these word classes Martuthunira has a number of minor parts-of-speech consisting of a single member. Although formally similar to adverbs, their functions justify their separation into individual parts-of-speech classes (see discussion below in 3.1.3).

Finally, Martuthunira has a set of formally defined enclitics which, depending on their individual functions, are grouped with either the adverbs or constitute separate parts-of-speech. These are described in detail in chapter 7.

3.1.1 Nominal Subclasses

3.1.1.1 Noun and Adjective

In many Australian languages it is difficult to make a strict division between the classes noun and adjective. Firstly, there are often no clear formal criteria for a distinction among subclasses, and secondly, it is often difficult to make discrete classifications based on semantic/functional criteria.
Dixon (1980) argues that noun and adjective classes in Australian languages are justified on semantic grounds even if it is not possible to distinguish between them on formal grounds. He notes that the division often has, in particular languages, certain syntactic (functional) correlates but that these are "of a more/less statistical nature, rather than being either/or properties that could be used as defining criteria" (1980:275). Dixon's confidence is betrayed in the following statement from his grammar of Warrgamay:

Nouns and adjectives have almost the same morphological properties; there is, of course, a clear semantic difference.

Dixon (1981:27)

However, the a priori recognition of a semantically based division is not without its problems. The fact that a particular nominal may denote an entity in one noun phrase and yet function as a modifier of a head, denoting properties of an entity, in another noun phrase, means that we may not be able to confidently decide whether the particular lexical item is a noun or an adjective. For this reason, a number of descriptions choose not to distinguish nouns and adjectives, instead recognizing that nominals may have different functions in different NPs. The contrast between entity-denoting nominal and modifying nominal is then handled by positing a system of functional slots within the NP which may be filled by different nominals.

This approach is evident in Morphy's (1983) description of Djapu. She maps the form classes (noun here corresponds to the class nominal) onto functions in the following way (adapted from Morphy 1983:31, Table 3.1):
### Djapu Word Classes - Form and Function

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun phrase head</td>
<td>Noun, derived noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modifier of Noun phrase head</td>
<td>Noun, derived noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Determiner within Noun phrase</td>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modifier of Predicator</td>
<td>Noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AdverbiaI particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicator</td>
<td>Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Predicate nominal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

McGregor (1984) presents a similar analysis for Kuniyanti. The NP is described as a set of functional slots into which nominals may be placed. Again, nominals may have different functions in different NPs (see discussion in chapter 8). Both approaches recognize that it is not possible to identify formally defined classes of lexemes corresponding to the different functions. Nevertheless, it is possible to say of particular items that they more often occur in one function than another.

Thus watu 'dog' functions almost entirely as an NP head but gurrngan 'dark, darkness' may easily function as either, and yindi 'big' is most often found in modifying function.

Morphy (1983:32)

Goddard's (1983) description of Yankunytjatjara combines notional definition with a classification based on functional slots. He subcategorizes nominals into Noun, Stative Adjective and Active Adjective classes. The criteria for the classification are semantic but are reinforced by a consideration of the co-occurrence restrictions of
particular nominals. He describes five syntactic frames against which nominals are compared. These can be summarized as follows:

1. nominal is head of a NP,

2. nominal occurs in apposition to another nominal (head) in a NP,

3. nominal occurs in apposition to another nominal in a simple ascriptive clause,

4. nominal functions as a second predication on a NP in a verbal clause,

5. nominal occurs with a copula in a simple ascriptive clause.

Nouns may appear in frames 1, 2 and 3, Stative Adjectives in 2 and 3, and Active Adjectives in 4 and 5.

The basic division between noun and adjective appears, from this description, to be that nouns can be heads of NPs while adjectives cannot. Goddard is thus able to use the functional roles of lexical items as criteria for distinguishing noun and adjective despite the fact that there is little direct correspondence between function slots and discrete categories of lexical items.

The same frames are appropriate for Martuthunira, with one minor qualification. While in Yankunytjatjara second predications are only permitted on subjects (where they typically function like adverbs of manner), Martuthunira allows second predications on a range of arguments and these can have either a manner adverbial (corresponding to Goddard's Active Adjective) or an ascriptive (Stative Adjective) function. Similar comparison reveals that Martuthunira nominals fall into the following
groups:

1. Nominals which almost always appear as heads. These can be recognized on notional grounds as nouns.

2. Nominals which typically function as modifiers of NP heads, may appear as heads of phrases, and which may occur in apposition to another nominal in a simple ascriptive clause. These include a large number of what are semantically prototypical adjectives. For example:

   karlara  hot
   jurirri   sharp
   pangkira  protruding, lump
   ngapala   mud, muddy
   winparri  long
   mirtali   big
   ngarniurtu  hot tasting

3. Nominals which may not be apposed to another nominal in a simple ascriptive clause but require a copula, and which function almost exclusively as second predications of manner. The following items are good examples of this group:

   nguyirri   asleep
   martiwana  leg propped on knee
   yanarra    lying flat on back
   jirruna    stealthily
   karluwirraa  excessively
   kartarr    firmly, tightly
   minthal    alone
   mulurru    straight, directly
   puwany     hunting

4. Nominals which may appear in all five slots. Most items in this group can be recognized as prototypical adjectives and include the following:
Obviously, this division into nominal subclasses is not nearly as neat as that suggested for Yankunytjatjara. Firstly, nouns and adjectives cannot be distinguished by the ability of one class to function as the head of a NP, and as a result the classification is again thrown back to notional/statistical criteria. However, it should be pointed out that this conclusion is partly an artefact of the analysis of NP heads, as presented in chapter 8.

Secondly, there is no clear division between two classes of adjective, largely due to the greater flexibility allowed in the formation of second predications in Martuthunira. For example, the interpretation of nominals in class 4 as either stative or active in any particular instance depends on the meaning of the primary predication, the referent of the associated NP, and to some extent on the wider context in which the second predication occurs.

It is clear, then, that there is little value in establishing nominal subclasses such as adjective and noun for Martuthunira. The particular uses of any nominal lexeme are a function of its individual meaning rather than depending on membership of some lexical category. The possible exception here is the set of manner nominals which share the important feature of requiring a copula in ascriptive clauses and which typically function as second predications of manner. I will continue to refer to these nominals
as a distinguishable subclass but it must be remembered that the slots in which these nominals occur are not exclusively associated with this class.

The productive inflectional categories for nominals, such as case and number, are described in detail in chapter 4. The syntax of nominals is described in a number of different places: the structure of NPs in chapter 8, case-marking and the functions of manner nominals in chapter 10, and nominal suffixes as complementizers in chapter 11.

3.1.1.2 Proper Nominals: the -ngu and -nha suffixes

A special -ngu form of the genitive and accusative case suffixes (4.1.1) occurs on a subset of the class of nominals. Firstly, the form is selected by the second person singular pronoun kartu, the indefinite/interrogative pronouns ngana 'who' and nganamarnu 'anyone', and the definite demonstrative ngurnula. Proper names invariably select the -ngu allomorph of the genitive but occasionally select regular allomorphs of the accusative suffix. In addition, other nominals, particularly kin terms and human stage of life terms such as julju 'old man' and jarta 'old woman' may select the -ngu genitive or accusative when these are used like proper names. These patterns suggest that the -ngu suffix has the dual function of marking case, on the one hand, and status as a proper nominal, on the other. For some pronouns and the definite demonstrative the suffix has become grammaticalized as a case-marker: it no longer contrasts with the regular common nominal case allomorphs.

The functions of the -ngu case-marker partially overlap those of a
suffix -nha which may similarly occur on proper names of persons or places, and on kin terms or human stage of life nominals. The suffix occurs only on nominals in nominative case and thus complements the -ngu suffix as a marker of proper nominal status.

The -nha suffix is widely reported for Australian languages and appears in different languages with a number of different functions. For example, in the Western Desert languages the cognate -nya is often described as an allomorph of absolutive case for proper names and some other nominals. Though Glass (1980) also notes, for Ngaanyatjarra, that it can be attached to,

a proper name or relationship term which is called out in a type of joyful greeting, and can be suffixed to a nominal (whose normal absolutive case is zero) as a marker of definiteness.

Glass (1980:39)

In the Kanyara languages Thalanyji and Payungu, which have extensive tripartite case-marking patterns (Austin 1981), -nha is the accusative case suffix. In an earlier description of Panyjima (Dench 1981:39) I described the -nha suffix as a derivational suffix labelled 'proper noun classifier'. The suffix is similarly described in Wordick's (1982) description of Yinyjiparnti.

While the use of the suffix in the Western Desert and in Kanyara languages displays a strong grammaticalization of the morpheme as a marker of particular morphological categories (proper names in Western Desert, accusative case in Thalanyji and Payungu), in Martuthunira the -nha suffix is never automatically selected by any nominal. Nor is there any strong argument for viewing it as an allomorph of some case (for example the
unmarked nominative). The suffix must be ascribed a meaning in the case system.

It is quite clear that the use of the suffix on common nominals elevates these to the status of proper names just as does the -ngu accusative/genitive. However, this does not explain the use of either suffix on nominals which are clearly already proper names. For example:

1. *yini-i -rru yungku-layi, "pantuwarningka -nha nhiyaa."* name-ACC-NOW give -FUT Pannawonica Hill-PNM thisNOM

And then they give it a name, "This is Pantuwarningka".

2. *ngayu nhawu-lha ngurmu tharlural -ngu yini* 1sgNOM see -PAST thatACC Deepdale Pool-ACC name

*wangka-nguli-nyila-a.* call -PASS -PrREL-ACC

I saw that place named Tharlural.

In these examples the suffix in question does not elevate the nominal to the status of a proper name. Rather, it appears to elevate the proper name into some meta-linguistic context in which proper names are being discussed: the names are "mentioned" rather than "used" (Lyons 1977:5).

This function of the -nha and -ngu suffixes is extremely interesting and deserves further investigation\(^1\). Unfortunately the present analysis is based on a very few examples (-nha is very rare in narrative material) bolstered by my admittedly non-native intuitions. It is clear that -nha, especially, transcends language boundaries. It occurs in all the Ngayarda languages and is used as freely in the local varieties of Aboriginal English. Thus the proper treatment of the Martuthunira use of the suffix will ultimately depend on a characterization of its general functions in
the wider speech community. With the exception of some discussion of the morphological structure of demonstratives in chapter 5, the suffixes are not described further in this thesis.

3.1.1.3 Closed Classes

The nominal class includes the closed subclasses pronoun, demonstrative and locational nominal. These classes can be defined by certain unique categories encoded within the classes (person for pronouns, types of referential status for demonstratives, and special directional categories for locational nominals), and by some irregular case-marking patterns. The morphology of these classes is presented in chapter 5. In addition, a paradigm of possessive suffixes marking person and kin-relationship are included with the discussion of pronouns in 5.2, and the irregular nominal puyi is discussed together with the locational nominals.

Martuthunira has a set of nominals which typically function as temporal adverbs. Although many of the forms appear to have quite different patterns of distribution they form a semantically coherent class and have reasonably predictable morphology. Temporal nominals do not have associated with them unique morphological categories (although some might be described as inherently locative) and it is not clear to what extent new temporal nominals may be derived. However, for the present description it is assumed that the class is closed. Examples are presented in 5.10.
3.1.2 Nominal and Verb

The patterns of multiple case-marking described in 3.3 below can lead to a sequence of nominal suffixes appended to an inflected verb form. Given the freedom with which arguments of verbs may be omitted, many of these inflected verbs look very like nominals. However, I refrain from describing extensive nominalization in Martuthunira. While there are a few verbal inflections (in particular the habitual and passive habitual (6.2.5)) which may be used to derive new nominal lexemes, the majority of nominally inflected verbs retain much of their status as verbal predicates: they may retain their tense specification and may take a full range of regularly case-marked arguments, including second predications on these arguments.

3.1.3 Against Particles

It is common in grammars of Australian languages to describe a class of particles: "Australian languages typically have a set of a score or so 'particles' that provide logical/modal type qualification of a complete clause. These are often the only types of words which cannot take any sort of inflection" Dixon (1980:284).

Zwicky (1985) argues strongly against the positing of a syntactic class 'particle' in any grammatical description and suggests that instead an attempt should be made to place the supposed particles into already established parts-of-speech classes.
[T]here is no reason whatever to think that the whole class of particle words in any language constitutes a unified group of items syntactically. ... Once again, the class of 'particles' is distinguished entirely negatively: particles are the words left over when all the others have been assigned to syntactic categories.

Zwicky (1985:292)

Zwicky goes on to investigate a collection of putative particles and clitics in a number of languages. In each case he argues for a reanalysis of the forms as either affixes or independent words of various syntactic categories (rather than bound clitics or acategorial particles). The class into which most of his example particles are found to fall is the adverb class. Thus, in discussing German so-called conversational particles such as ja, eben, denn, doh, Zwicky concludes:

There is, of course, no problem if the conversational particles are adverbs of a special type. Then their privileges of occurrence are matters of syntax... Everything I know about Ger. conversational particles indicates that they are adverbs with special restrictions on their occurrence

Zwicky (1985:297)

Similarly, for Welsh:

I conclude that Welsh 'particles' are independent words (adverbs, presumably, though of a small and distributionally restricted class) with simple clitic variants.

Zwicky (1985:302)

It is debatable whether lumping particles into an adverb class gains much more than just the abolition of an embarrassing particle class. The problems inherent in a clear definition of 'adverb' in English and the extensive description of adverb types throughout the literature shows much the same syntactic and semantic heterogeneity as leads Zwicky to revile 'particle' in the first place.
However, in Zwicky's defence it should be said that, following Gazdar and Pullum (1982), he presumes an elaborated system of parts-of-speech involving a hierarchical arrangement of categories and sub-categories. It is in the adverb class that most commentators are happy to, indeed are forced to accept sub-classes, and so the addition of various particles to this class presents little challenge to entrenched views on the number and composition of distinct parts-of-speech categories.

Following Zwicky, I will not invoke a class 'particle' in this description of Martuthunira. Instead, the collection of non-inflecting words are grouped into a number of minor parts of speech with the majority falling into the adverb class. Other non-inflecting words form the class of exclamations and, in addition, a number of words form parts-of-speech consisting of only one member: wii 'if, or, maybe', a sentence and NP conjunction; pala 'IT', a dummy demonstrative in presentative constructions; and yirla 'only', a quantifier.

3.2 Word Structure

3.2.1 Suffixes

Martuthunira is a suffixing language with a highly analytic agglutinating structure. This high degree of visibility of component morphemes in words is most marked in multiply inflected nominal words and is a direct result of the following general features:
1. most suffixes conform to the general constraints on permissible phonological word forms,

2. morphemes of two or more syllables bear a lexically assigned stress (and some monosyllabic suffixes are lexically stressed),

3. there are relatively few morphophonemic processes and many suffixes have an invariant form.

That is, many morphemes which are nevertheless described as bound suffixes fulfill all the phonotactic requirements necessary for independent word status. They are described as suffixes because they are typically distributed to all constituents within a phrase. To recognize these suffixes as independent words would be to admit a level of 'word phrase' below that of the NP.

Within a nominal word, the order of suffixes is meaningful and is determined by a principle of concentric scoping. That is, items which occur to the left (in a suffixing language) have logical scope over all preceding morphemes. For example:

- **warriri-tharra-marta**: spear -DUAL -PROP
  - 'having two spears'

- **kanyara-ngara-wu**: man -PLURAL-GEN
  - 'belonging to the men'

- **warriri-marta-tharra**: spear -PROP -DUAL
  - 'two each having a spear'

- **kanyara-wu-ngara**: man -GEN-PLURAL
  - 'things belonging to the man'

Although there are general patterns whereby some suffixes (such as possessive markers or number markers) mostly occur close to the root, while
others (such as the proprietive or genitive) occur at the outer layers of the word, it is not possible to establish classes of suffix based on position of occurrence. How deeply within a multiply inflected word particular suffixes may be found depends partly on their meaning and on their availability for marking syntactic relationships at different levels beyond the word (see 3.3 below and Evans and Dench (1986)).

There are two apparent exceptions to this principal of concentric scoping. The suffixes *-thurti* 'CONJunction', and *-wuyu* 'SIDE' typically precede the accusative case suffix but may, on other occasions, follow it. For example:

4. *ngunhaa pawulu puni-layi wangka-lu* papu-thurti-i pipi-thurti-i thatNOM child go -FUT speak-PURPs father-CONJ-ACC mother-CONJ-ACC

That kid will go and talk to his father and mother.

5. *ngarnarna nhawu-layi kupiyaji -i wuntu-ngara-a -thurti* 1pl(exc) see -FUT little(pl)-ACC boy -PLURAL-ACC-CONJ

*ngurrinymarta-ngara-a -thurti panyi-rmura-a.*
girl -PLURAL-ACC-CONJ dance-PrREL-ACC

We'll see the little ones, the boys and the girls, dancing.

The two suffixes *-thurti* and *-wuyu* serve to relate nominals within a NP, while the accusative usually relates NPs to predicates at the clausal level. Thus the expected order is for the accusative to follow either of the two suffixes and the order demonstrated in 5 is quite marked. However, I have been unable to discover any difference in meaning between the two patterns. It may be that the variation in order is evidence of a historical stage at which *-thurti* and *-wuyu* were independent words following the NPs over which they had scope. They may be only recently captured satellites in a continuing history of agglutination.
3.2.2 Clitics

Clitics may occur on any part of speech with the exception of exclamations, and follow any nominal or verbal suffixes attached to a word. The definition of a clitic as phonologically dependent is determined by appeal to the phonotactic constraints on word-formation. If a form does not fulfil the criteria allowing it to be considered an independent word, and because of its syntactic distribution cannot be described as a nominal or verbal suffix, then it is described as a clitic.

Although formal definition of clitic as opposed to independent word is quite straightforward, in the case of one particular clitic, -1 'THEN', and certain case suffixes, the boundary between clitic and affix is somewhat blurred. As already mentioned, the nominal suffixes -thurti 'CONJunction' and -wuyu 'SIDE' may, very occasionally, follow the accusative case suffix. In the other direction, the clitic -1 is strongly attracted to inner levels of the word to which it is attached resulting in some variation in ordering with respect to nominal suffixes. However, it must be pointed out that sequences of clitics, unlike sequences of nominal suffixes, have a flat structure. Thus the intrusion of clitics cannot cause any violations of the principle of concentric scoping for nominal suffixes. Variation in the placement of -1 is illustrated in the following pairs of examples:
6a. ngayu nguyirriwarla paju, wiruwanti-nguru-l wanti-layi
1sgNOM sleepy fellow REAL morning -ABL-THEN lie -FUT

yakarrangu-u yirla tharrwa-waa.
sun -ACC until go in -PURPs=o

I'm a proper sleepy-head, lying-in through the morning until the sun goes down.

b. mir.ta-rnu wanti-nguru wiruwanti-l-nguru, karlwa-nguru
not -NOW lie -PRES morning-THEN-ABL get up-PRES

yakarrangu-wirriwa-la-l.
sun -PRIV -LOC-THEN

Now I don't lie in through the morning, I get up when there's no sun.

7a. kartu wuraal ngamari-i murrimurli-ma-rninji mirrimirli-la
2sgNOM alright tobacco-ACE rolled -CAUS-FUT paper -LOC

nganajumarta-a kayarra-a-l?
1dl(disharm)-ACC two -ACC-THEN

Will you roll cigarettes for both of us?

b. nganaju mimi panyu-ma-lalha warriri-i nganajumarta-wu -u
1sgGEN uncle good-CAUS-PAST spear -ACC 1dl(disharm)-GEN-ACC

kayarra-l-yu puni-layi puwany-pa-rru.
two -THEN-ACC go -FUT hunting-0-NOW

My uncle fixed our two spears and we went hunting.

In 6a and 7a the clitic appears in its expected position following the ablative and accusative suffixes respectively. In 6b and 7b, the clitic precedes these suffixes. Similar variation occurs, not surprisingly, with the -nyu 'SIDE' suffix.

Although the alternative orderings might suggest scoping contrasts of some kind, I have no evidence to support such an analysis. Also, it was not possible to check these patterns with other speakers. However, the improbability of scoping contrasts is revealed in the following set of examples.
These examples show that the placement of the clitic is affected by the choice of a particular lexical item as well as by the nominal suffix. While the lexical item kupuyu 'little' requires the clitic to precede accusative case, kupiyaji 'little(pl)', in an identical construction requires the clitic to follow accusative case. Example 10 shows that the attraction of the clitic following kupuyu is restricted to certain case suffixes and so cannot be explained by setting up a new lexical item kupuyul. Example 7 shows that other lexical items (in this case kayarra 'two') allow both orders.
3.3 Multiple Case-Marking

Nominal suffixes can be described as predicates which may take as their arguments constituents existing at a number of syntactic levels. Multiple case-marking will occur where individual words are marked by a number of suffixes each of which indicates the role of that word in successively higher constituents. The patterning of multiple case-marking within any particular language depends on a number of factors: 1. what grammatical constituents are possible arguments of case predicates, 2. the language specific conventions governing how suffixes are to be distributed to words within constituents, and 3. the language specific constraints on certain sequences of morphemes. In this section I will consider these features of Martuthunira case-marking patterns.

3.3.1 Nominal Suffix Functions

Martuthunira nominal suffixes may have one or more of the following functions:

1. Relational: the prototypical function of case-marking – the coding of argument roles at the clause level,

2. Adnominal: indicating relationships between NPs within the one NP. Inflected words at this level need not be exocentric; as discussed in chapter 8.3 inflected nominals may function as the heads of phrases. In the extreme, adnominal suffixes serve in this way to create new lexemes and so have a derivational function.
3. Referential: nominal adjuncts of various kinds are linked to the arguments of the main predicate in a clause by a system of case copying. In Martuthunira this referential case copying codes second predications and part-whole agreement (10.5).

4. Complementizing: subordinate clause verbs bear a nominal suffix indicating the relationship between the subject of that clause and some argument in the main clause (C-complementizing), or some logical relationship between the two clauses (T-complementizing).

Table 3.1 shows the range of possible functions for some of the more common nominal suffixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Adnominal</th>
<th>Relational</th>
<th>Referential</th>
<th>Complementizing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* Accusative</td>
<td></td>
<td>#</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Effector</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>#</td>
<td>#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Locative</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>#</td>
<td></td>
<td>#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Ablative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Associative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Proprietary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Privative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows that the locative and ablative cover all four functions (and both complementizing functions). At the other end of the scale, the proprietive and privative have only an adnominal use.
3.3.2 Morphological Coding Conventions

At the level of the NP, Martuthunira exhibits complete concord; all constituents of a NP are marked with the suffix indicating the role of that NP in higher structures. For example:

11. ngayu nhau-lha ngurmu tharnta-a mirtily-marta-a
   1sgNOM see -PAST thatACC euro -ACC joey -PROP-ACC

   thara-ngka-marta-a
   pouch-LOC -PROP-ACC

   I saw that euro with a joey in its pouch.

The most highly inflected nominal in this sentence, thara 'pouch', bears three nominal suffixes. The adnominal locative relates 'pouch' and 'joey'. The adnominal proprietive links the NP 'joey in pouch' to 'euro' and here the proprietive is marked on both nominal subconstituents of the NP. Finally, the complex NP 'euro with joey in pouch' is marked with relational accusative case as the object of the clause. Again, the accusative case suffix is distributed to all words within the complex NP.

However, complementizing case on clauses is not distributed to all subconstituents but is marked only on the head of the clause. For verbal clauses the head is the main verb:

12. ngayu wiyaa nhau-layi tharnta-a wanyjarri-nyila-a jarruru.
   1sgNOM maybe see -FUT euro -ACC run -PrREL-ACC slowly

   Maybe I'll see a euro running along slowly.

In this example the subordinate clause includes an unmarked second predicate of manner on the (deleted) subject. The following more complex
example illustrates both coding conventions:

13. ngayu nhawu-ngu-layi ngurmu-ngara -lu kanyara-ngara -lu
   1sgNOM see -PASS-FUT that -PLURAL-EFF man -PLURAL-EFF
   *wirra -a yinka -lalha-ngara -lu.*
   boomerang-ACC chisel-PAST -PLURAL-EFF

   I'll be seen by those men who carved the boomerang.

Here the complex NP, 'men who carved the boomerangs', is marked for number and effector case. The plural and effector suffixes appear on the head of the NP, on the preceding demonstrative, and on the head of the modifying embedded clause. However, the suffixes do not filter down to the accusative marked object of the subordinate clause.

For simple ascriptive non-verbal clauses the head is the predicate NP (9.1). Embedded asscriptives of this kind have case assigned to all subconstituents of the head NP. Usually the subject of a simple ascriptive is deleted under identity with the controlling matrix NP as in the following example. The complex predicate of the ascriptive is underlined.

14. nganangu-rru kana kuliyanpa-layi ngaliwa *mijara-marta-a*
   whoACC -NOW RHET think -FUT 1pl(inc) egg -PROP -ACC
   *panyu-marta-a mungka-nguntharri-marta-a?*
   good -PROP -ACC eat -HABITNOM -PROP -ACC

   Who else [other than the chickens] can we think of that has good eggs that can be eaten?

Unfortunately, I have no examples of a non-verbal subordinate clause in which the predicate takes an accusative complement (see 9.2).
3.3.3 Morphological Sequence Constraints

Martuthunira exercises a general ban on sequences of identical suffixes. The following test examples demonstrate this for the proprietive and privative suffixes:

15. ngunhu wartirra puni-lha ngurnu -marta kanyara-marta
   thatNOM woman go -PAST thatOBL-PROP man -PROP
   tharnta-wirriwa-marta.
   euro -PRIV -PROP
   # tharnta-marta-marta.
   euro -PROP -PROP

   That woman went with the man
   \{ who is without a euro. \}
   \{ * who has the euro. \}

16. ngayu nhawu-lha ngurnu kanyara-a kapun-marnu-wirriwa-a
   1sgNOM see -PAST thatACC man -ACC body -ASSOC-PRIV -ACC
   jirli-marta-wirriwa-a
   arm -PROP -PRIV -ACC
   # jirli-wirriwa-wirriwa-a
   arm -PRIV -PRIV -ACC
   puni-nyila-a.
   go -PrREL-ACC

   I saw that man going along
   \{ without the shirt with sleeves. \}
   \{ * without the shirt without sleeves. \}

The constraint does not apply where one of two adjacent suffixes is part of a derived lexeme. Thus compare 17 below with 15 above.

17. ngunhu wartirra puni-lha ngurnu -marta mirntirimarta-marta
   thatNOM woman go -PAST thatOBL-PROP goanna -PROP

   That woman went along with a goanna (carrying it).³

In reality the possibility of two identical suffixes coming together is very remote. In this respect Martuthunira differs from its Ngayarda relatives Panyjima and Ngarluma. In both these languages complete concord of case-marking extends to complementizing case on subordinate clauses.
Thus there are many possibilities for an accusative or locative complementizing case suffix, for example, to appear on a relational accusative or locative NP in a subordinate clause (see Evans and Dench (1986) for discussion).
Chapter 4

Nominal Morphology

This chapter describes the productive nominal suffixes. Each suffix is presented in turn with a description of its functions (as defined by the typology presented in 3.3.1) and a broad characterization of its meaning in the various contexts in which it may be used, though at this stage I have not set myself the task of providing fully specified semantic definitions.

The suffixes are not grouped into classes either on the basis of their order within nominal words or by appeal to function. Thus I do not distinguish a class of 'inflections' from a class of 'derivations' (see Dixon 1980:292). On the other hand, the multi-functional uses of some suffixes (especially the locative and ablative) argues against establishing a class of adnominal suffixes as opposed to relational suffixes. Following a summary of nominal suffix forms in section 4.1, the suffixes are presented in rough semantic groups.
4.1 Suffix Forms

This section presents a summary of morphophonemic alternations in the forms of the nominal suffixes and the resulting phonotactically defined classes into which nominals fall.

4.1.1 Accusative and Genitive Suffix Forms

The accusative and genitive suffixes are closely related as the following summary of allomorphs shows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>proper nominals:</td>
<td>-ngu</td>
<td>-ngu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>common nominals:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>following a nasal</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>following a lateral or rhotic</td>
<td>-yu</td>
<td>-yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>following a vowel</td>
<td>-v_i</td>
<td>-wu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The morphemes have distinct forms only for vowel-final common nominals and this strongly suggests that both sets of allomorphs are descended from the one suffix:

*-ngu on proper nominals
*-ku on common nominals
Of course, remembering that the modern Martuthunira accusative descends from a dative, the conflation of the two cases is quite understandable. Languages of the Kanyara and Mantharta groups to the south of Martuthunira share both forms as allomorphs of the 'combined' dative/genitive suffix. (By contrast, the other Ngayarda languages Panyjima, Ngarluma and Yinyjiparnti have a separate genitive suffix -tharntu.)

In the long run the best analysis of the accusative/genitive conflation will be a historical account. In particular, this analysis will need to explain how the allomorphs of genitive and accusative on vowel-final common nominal stems came to be different. There are two logically possible solutions. Firstly, one might look for an independent source for one or other allomorph, either within the language but external to this particular paradigm, or from some other language. Alternatively, it can be assumed that both allomorphs descend from the one source with a conditioned divergence into two separate phonological forms. I believe the second of these to be the more plausible.

The divergence in phonological form was most likely a result of the contrasting morphological contexts in which the suffix in its genitive and accusative (or dative - the timing of the change relative to the switch to an accusative case-marking pattern is not possible) functions occurred. As in the modern language, the genitive had a chiefly adnominal function forming a stem which was further inflected for relational case. The accusative functioned as a relational case suffix and was not followed by any further nominal inflection. The more extensive lenition of the accusative may be related to the fact that it usually occurs as the last syllable in the word, a position of reduced stress. The genitive, on the
other hand, is often not the last syllable in the word and is very often the stressed penultimate syllable (when followed by the monosyllabic accusative, effector or locative suffixes for example)\(^1\).

Secondly, syntactic considerations may have blocked any tendency for the genitive suffix to lenite further. Had the genitive and accusative remained homophonous in all environments, nominals with a final vowel and marked with both genitive and accusative case would involve a triple long vowel:

\[
\text{* muyi-} -i
\]
\[
\text{dog -GEN-ACC}
\]

Such a long vowel would not be tolerated and the lenition would likely lead to a breakdown in the marking of genitive. As appealing as this view of the preservation of the genitive form may be, I am not prepared to argue the case for the historical equivalent of a transderivational constraint here.

Finally, it should be noted that both arguments assume that the genitive and accusative functions of the one suffix were, to some extent, distinguished by speakers of the language. Certainly the data argues that any conflation of dative/accusative with genitive in a previous stage of the language was a syncretism of forms rather than a neutralization of the category distinction.
4.1.2 The -wura Belonging Suffix

The belonging suffix (section 4.13) has the following forms:

- **-ngura** on proper nominals, pronouns and demonstratives
- **-kura** on common nominals following a nasal
- **-wura** on common nominals following a vowel, lateral or rhotic

This suffix has a similar pattern of allomorphy to the accusative and genitive suffixes described above. However, it has the form -wura following a lateral or rhotic, rather than the *-yura* form that might be predicted (see section 2.5.2). It is clear then, that the suffix does not involve a simple -ra increment to the genitive, although the contrast between proper and common nominal forms suggests some historical link with the old dative/genitive suffix^2.

4.1.3 Locative and Effector

The locative and effector nominal suffixes have identical allomorphy except that the effector forms have final u where the locative forms have final a.

The locative allomorphs are:

- **-ngka** dimoric stems with final vowel
- **-la** stems of three or more morae with final vowel
- **-ta** following n
- **-rta** following rn
- **-tha** following ny or nh
- **-a** following a rhotic or lateral
This allomorphy conforms to the common Pama-Nyungan pattern with -\textit{ngka/-la} allomorphs on vowel-final stems, homorganic stops following final nasals, and the single vowel following non-nasal consonantal sonorants. There is no -\textit{ja} allomorph following final \textit{ny} and instead the choice of the -\textit{tha} allomorph results in a \textit{nyth} cluster. Although this cluster may be articulated in careful speech, the usual phonetic result is a double-articulated laminal dental/palatal nasal/stop cluster (see section 2.5.6).

4.1.4 Allative

The direct allative suffix -\textit{rta} has allomorphs:

\begin{itemize}
  \item -\textit{arta} following a vowel-final stem in a
  \item -\textit{irta} following a vowel-final stem in i
  \item -\textit{urta} following a vowel-final stem in u
\end{itemize}

So far I have not found an example of the direct allative on a consonant final stem. However, it is clear that the suffix descends from the common Ngayarda -\textit{karta} allative. Like the accusative suffix the lenition of the allative has led to partial vowel harmony between stem and suffix.

4.1.5 Privative

The privative suffix has two forms:

\begin{itemize}
  \item -\textit{wirriwa}
  \item -\textit{wirraa}
\end{itemize}

The conditioning of the two forms is poorly understood at present though
there are clear patterns. Most importantly, the -wirraa allomorph never
precedes the accusative suffix, and is rare preceding the -rru 'NOW'
cletic.

The Martuthunira suffix is cognate with the Purduna privative suffix
-wirriya and the -pirritha privative suffix shared by Thalanyji and
Payungu. The suffix may also be related to the 'LEST' verb
inflection -wirri.

4.1.6 Characteristic

The characteristic suffix -warlaya has a short form -warla which appears on
all dimoric stems. The longer form is preferred on trimoric stems. The
conditioning is based on a preference for an even pattern of
stressed-unstressed syllables in the word.

4.1.7 Summary of Alternating Suffix Forms

The patterns of variation for suffixes result in some phonologically
determined noun declensions where the choice of suffix form is dependent on
the number of morae and the final segment of a nominal stem. These
patterns are illustrated in table 4.2 overleaf.
### Table 4.2: Summary of Suffix Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative Stem</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Belonging</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Effector</th>
<th>Direct Allative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>parla</td>
<td>parlaa</td>
<td>parlawu</td>
<td>parlawura</td>
<td>parlangka</td>
<td>parlangku</td>
<td>parlaarta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanyara</td>
<td>kanyaraa</td>
<td>kanyarawu</td>
<td>kanyarawura</td>
<td>kanyarala</td>
<td>kanyaralu</td>
<td>kanyaraarta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muiy</td>
<td>muyii</td>
<td>muyiwu</td>
<td>muyiwura</td>
<td>muyingka</td>
<td>muyingku</td>
<td>muyiarta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warrirti</td>
<td>warrirtii</td>
<td>warrirtiwu</td>
<td>warrirtiwura</td>
<td>warrirtila</td>
<td>warrirtilu</td>
<td>warrirtiarta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhartu</td>
<td>nhartuu</td>
<td>nhartuwu</td>
<td>nhartuwura</td>
<td>nhartungka</td>
<td>nhartungku</td>
<td>nhartuurta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pawulu</td>
<td>pawuluu</td>
<td>pawuluwu</td>
<td>pawuluwura</td>
<td>pawulula</td>
<td>pawululu</td>
<td>pawuluurta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurntal</td>
<td>kurntal.yu</td>
<td>kurntal.yu</td>
<td>kurntalwura</td>
<td>kurntala</td>
<td>kurntalu</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mirtily</td>
<td>mirtily.yu</td>
<td>mirtily.yu</td>
<td>mirtilywura</td>
<td>mirtilya</td>
<td>mirtilyu</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanparr</td>
<td>kanparryu</td>
<td>kanparryu</td>
<td>kanparrwura</td>
<td>kanparra</td>
<td>kanparru</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalyaran</td>
<td>kalyaranku</td>
<td>kalyaranku</td>
<td>kalyarankura</td>
<td>kalyaranta</td>
<td>kalyarantu</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurlany</td>
<td>kurlanyku</td>
<td>kurlanyku</td>
<td>kurlanykura</td>
<td>kurlanytha</td>
<td>kurlanythu</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jinkarn</td>
<td>jinkarnku</td>
<td>jinkarnku</td>
<td>jinkarnkura</td>
<td>jinkarnta</td>
<td>jinkarntu</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1.8 Invariant Suffixes

The following nominal suffixes have invariant forms:

- Ablative: -nguru
- Allative: -milyarra
- Directional: -wurrini
- Direction Facing: -thartu
- Near: -wini
- Dweller: -nyungu
- Provenience: -ra
- Associative: -maru
- Proprietive: -marta
- Owner: -waya
- Causal: -ngalyarnta
- Obscured: -ngurni
- Dual: -tharra
- Plural: -ngara
- Distributed Plural: -wartura
- Group: -marnu
- Side: -wuyu
- Conjunction: -thurti
4.2 Nominative Case

Transitive and intransitive subjects, and their various adjuncts, are not marked by a special nominal suffix. However, demonstratives and some pronouns do have special nominative forms which differ from forms used in other argument positions. In this description I will not use a zero nominative suffix -∅ in sentence examples but will leave nominals unmarked. However, this does not mean that all nominals appearing without overt case specification are subjects or adjuncts on subjects. Firstly, there are classes of temporal and locational nominals which function as sentence adverbs and which generally bear no overt case marking. These are discussed in 5.9 and 5.10. Secondly, object 'topics' in imperative clauses are in nominative case, involving either unmarked nominals or the nominative forms of pronouns and demonstratives. These are described in 10.4.

4.3 Accusative

The accusative suffix has a number of related relational functions. Firstly, it marks the objects of transitive and ditransitive verbs and the sub-categorized complements of predicates other than transitive verbs. (The differing argument structures of predicates in Martuthunira are
described in 10.1) Secondly, a wide range of predicates may take an additional accusative complement denoting some beneficiary of the action. Although accusative beneficiaries can be described as core arguments, predicates are not subcategorized for these arguments. Finally, the accusative is used to mark a particular kind of temporal adjunct. However, these accusative adjuncts are not core arguments in the clauses in which they occur.

Given this range of functions it is clear that the accusative cannot be described as a purely diacritical suffix marking non-subject core arguments of transitive verbs. The fact that it has functions as a 'semantic' case provides a convincing argument that the accusative be ascribed some meaning.

The following subsections detail the different relational functions of the accusative. The question of the meaning of the suffix is returned to in 4.3.6. The referential and complementizing functions of the accusative are described in 10.5 and 11.

4.3.1 Objects of Transitive and Ditransitive Verbs

The examples below illustrate the use of the accusative suffix to mark the objects of simple transitive verbs.

1. **ngayu panyi-lalha kanparr-yu.**
   1sgNOM step -PAST spider -ACC

   I stepped on a spider.
2. ngunhu-tharra manku-lha-nguru kurlany-ku, parrani-nguru-rru.
thatNOM-DUAL get -PAST-ABL knife -ACC return -PRES -NOW

Those two, having got a knife, are coming back now.

Also, both objects of ditransitive verbs, such as yungku-∅ 'give' and mirnuma-L 'show, teach' take the accusative suffix, although it is rare for both such arguments to appear in the same clause:

3. ngunhu kanyara ngurnu jinkarn -ku yungku-lha
thatNOM man thatACC digging stick -ACC give -PAST

ngurnula-ngu-u mimi -i.
thatDEF -GEN-ACC uncle-ACC

That man gave his uncle the digging stick.

4. kartu marrari-1 kuyil-yu mir.ta nhuura -ma -rninyji
2sgNOM word -ACC bad -ACC not knowing-CAUS-FUT

pauulu-ngara-a.
child-PLURAL-ACC

Don't you teach the children bad words.

The two accusative marked arguments of a ditransitive verb are not strictly ordered with respect to one another. However, the coherent structure of Martuthunira NPs means that there is little danger of modifiers being associated with the wrong heads. Similarly, there is rarely any possibility of ambiguity in the linking of the two accusative arguments to predicate argument structure. In most cases the correct assignment will be clear from context (see 10.3).
4.3.2 Alternative Argument Structures

Most intransitive and transitive motion verbs have alternate argument structures in which some locational complement may be marked either with a locational case suffix or with the accusative suffix. These alternative case assignment patterns are discussed in detail 10.1.5 and 10.1.6.

The examples below illustrate the contrasts for kanarri-∅ 'come' and warntitha-L 'throw, drop'. For kanarri-∅ the goal of motion is typically marked with the allative suffix. For warntitha-L the goal of motion may be marked either with the allative or the locative suffixes.

5. nbulaa kanyara thurlanyarrara ngaliwa -mulyarra kanarri-lha
   near you man poor fellow 1pl(inc)-ALL come -PAST
   wawayi -lyarra nganangu -u juwayumarta-a.
   look for-CTEMP someoneOBL-ACC doctor -ACC

   That poor man came to us looking for a doctor.

6. ngunhu -ngara kanarri-layi nhawani-i-rru, yinki-i ngurra-a-rru.
   thatNOM-PLURAL come -FUT thing-ACC-NOW beach-ACC land-ACC-NOW

   Then they came right to the what's-a-name, to the beach, the edge of the land.

7. ngaliya kanarri-lha tharnta-a mungka-rnura-a.
   1dl(exc) come -PAST euro -ACC eat -PrREL-ACC

   We came upon a euro feeding.

8. ngunhu pawulu nganaju parla-a warntitha-rralha.
   thatNOM child 1sgACC stone-ACC throw -PAST

   That child threw a stone at me (hitting me).

- 145 -
9. **ngayu parla-a warntitha-rralha ngurnu-ngka muyi-ngka**
   1sgNOM rock-ACC throw -PAST thatACC-LOC dog -LOC

   **wanyjarri-wala.**
   run away -PURPds

   I threw a rock at that dog so it would run away.

For both verbs, the use of an accusative marked goal usually implies some accomplishment of effect on that goal. Thus in 6, the motion towards the goal is accomplished. In 7 the animate goal is affected by the unexpected and inopportune arrival of the subject of the verb. Similarly, in 8 the use of the accusative suffix on the goal implies that the eventual endpoint is reached and generally that the goal, especially if animate, is adversely affected by the arriving object. By contrast, there is no implication in 9 that the goal of motion, the dog, is necessarily hit by the stone. The act of throwing it in the general direction of the dog is enough to scare it away.

4.3.3 Accusative Benefactive Arguments

Both transitive and intransitive verbs may take an added accusative argument denoting a 'beneficiary' of the action (see 10.1.9.2). The referent of the benefactive argument is typically animate and is assumed to be affected in some way by the event or action described by the verb. Whether or not this effect is interpreted as being of positive benefit depends on the meaning of the predicate. Some actions can be assumed to be of general benefit, others are malefactive. Some examples are:
1sgGEN wife child-PLURAL-ACC cook -PAST meat-ACC

My wife cooked meat for the kids.

1sgNOM carry-PAST firewood-PLURAL-ACC thatACC woman -ACC

I carried firewood for that woman.

12. muiy yanga-ralha thanra-a kanyara-thurti waruu-lpurru
dog chase-PAST euro -ACC man -CONJ still-COMP

mirntiwul muiy-nga-ra-a, mungka-lwa mura-l-a.
together dog-PLURAL-ACC eat -PURPds meat-ACC

The dog, together with a man, chased a euro for the dogs, so [the dogs] could eat meat.

13. nhiyu warriirti parli-npa-nguru nganaju.
thisNOM spear bent-INCH-PRES 1sgACC

This spear is going bent on me.

14. mir.ta yimpala -npa-marri-layi kartungu-u mapuji-i.
not like that-INCH-COLL -FUT 2sgGEN-ACC MoFa -ACC

Don't be like that about/on your grandfather.

Notice that the animate accusative goal arguments of motion verbs are in many ways semantically equivalent to benefactive arguments.

Finally, it should be noted that this construction is not the only means of describing beneficial actions in Martuthunira. Most (positive) beneficiaries are coded as the objects of a benefactive verb wuruma-L 'do for' (see 10.1.4).
4.3.4 Complements of Predicate Nominals

The complements of the psych-predicate nominals nahuura 'knowing', wiru 'liking, wanting', and waya 'fear', select accusative case (9.2.2). For example:

15. nahuura nahuura nganaju yilangu karri-nyila-a.
    2p1NOM knowing 1sgACC here stand-PrREL-ACC

You know I'm standing here.

16. kartu nyina-∅ pawulu jalyuru-la , nyina-∅ waya muyi-i.
    2sgNOM sit-IMP child inside-LOC sit-IMP fear dog-ACC

You sit inside kid, for fear of the dog.

In addition, kinship nominals may function as non-verbal predicates taking a nominative subject and an accusative complement. As the following examples shows, the complement describes the kin possessor:

17. wayil ngula yaan ngurnaa wartinra-a.
    maybe IGNOR spouse thatACC woman -ACC

Maybe he is husband to that woman.

18. Oh! ngunbhaa pala mimi ngali -i.
    Oh thatNOM IT uncle 1dl(inc)-ACC

Oh! you mean that fella who is uncle to us.

Finally, many non-verbal ascriptive predications may take an accusative complement which denotes some person or object from whose 'point-of-view' the ascription of some property to the subject of the clause is made. Usually, the existence of the property is interpreted as somehow affecting the referent of the complement. For example:
19. ngunhu paya-nnguntharri ngawurr-marta mir.ta panyu paju
thatNOM drink-HABITNOM foam -PROP not good REAL
nganaju-u kurntal -yu.
1sgGEN-ACC daughter-ACC
That beer (lit. thing having foam that is drunk) isn't good for my
daughter.

20. nhyu ngalhangalha ngurnu yarta-a kanyara-a.
thisNOM clever thatACC other-ACC man -ACC
This one is clever compared with the other man.

21 karlarra paju ngaliwa -a puni-waa.
hot REAL 1pl(inc)-ACC go-PURPs=o
It's too hot for us to go.

Ascriptive predications involving a copula (9.3) may occasionally take
similar complements. In the following example the accusative complement,
effectively a complement of comparison, has been fronted:

22. ngurnu pilakurta-a , yartapalyu kanyara-ngara
thatACC carpenter-ACC others man -PLURAL
jalya -ngara -rru nyina-layi.
useless-PLURAL-NOW be -FUT
Compared to this carpenter, the other men will be useless.

4.3.5 Accusative of Temporal Extent

Finally, the accusative suffix also marks an adjunct NP of extended time.
The accusative NP specifies either a period of time throughout which an
action is performed, as in 23 and 24, or the endpoint of a period of time
which is thought to be completely taken up with the action denoted by the
verb, as in 25.
23. yakarrangu-u wanarra-a wanti-layi waruu-lpurru.
   day -ACC long -ACC lie -FUT still-COMP

All day long he'll still be lying like that.

24. yaan nyina-nguru malyarra-npa-rra puni-lha-nguru
   spouse sit -PRES sick -INCH-CTEMP go -PAST-ABL

   jurrwalyi-i panyi-l.yarra yakarrangu-u karlarra-a.
   summer -ACC walk -CTEMP day -ACC hot -ACC

   [My] wife is sick from having gone walking through the hot
   summer's day.

   how -INCH-FUT -ID rain -FUT maybe dark-ACC until

   How will it go from here? Maybe it will rain right through until
   it's dark.

   These examples can be compared with 26 and 27 below in which a period of
   time is marked with the locative suffix (and see 4.5.5 below).

26. ngunhu tharnta wanti-nguru yakarrangu-la.
   thatNOM euro lie· -PRES day -LOC

   That euro (hill kangaroo) sleeps in the day time.

27. ngulangu karalu parnta-rnuru muthu-ngka yirla.
   there south rain -PRES winter-LOC only

   There in the south it only rains in the winter.

   In these examples the locative NP describes a period of time for some
   part of which it may be true to say that the event denoted by the verb is
   occurring. The accusative temporal complement, on the other hand,
   describes a period of time, or the endpoint of a period of time, for all
   parts of which it is true to say that the event described by the verb is
   occurring. In some sense then, the period of time taken up by the action
   can be described as affected by that action.
4.3.6 Discussion

As noted in the introduction to this section, some of the uses of the accusative can be seen as the automatic and essentially diacritic selection of a suffix to mark the non-subject core argument(s) of a predicate. This is clearly the case where the accusative marks the objects of primary transitive verbs, the objects of ditransitive verbs, and the complements of nominal psych-predicates and kinship terms. However, in other uses the suffix clearly has a meaning independent of its use as a marker of core arguments. Thus where it marks benefactive arguments or the complements of attributive predications it typically implies some notion of affectedness. Similarly, accusative adjuncts of extended time can be seen as more affected than their locative alternatives. Finally, the semantics of affect are most clearly seen in the alternate argument structures of motion verbs. The selection of accusative case rather than a locational case implies the accomplishment of the action and some effect on the referent of the accusative marked NP.

That the accusative should be associated with the notion of affective accomplishment is not surprising. As the normal case of transitive objects it very often marks the patients of typical transitive verbs of affect. Thus the semantics of 'patient-hood' has simply spread to all other uses of the accusative suffix.

However, this association of the accusative with the semantics of 'patient-hood' is interesting given its historical origins. It is clear
that the Ngayarda languages were once morphologically ergative and that the generalization of a nominative-dative case-marking pattern for the arguments of transitive verbs led to a reanalysis of the languages as nominative-accusative (this is argued in detail in Dench (1982)). The modern accusative suffix thus descends from a dative and the modern transitive case-marking pattern from what was essentially an intransitive pattern. Thus a (proto-dative) suffix once selected perhaps to avoid the assumption of affectedness of the object, or to reflect a lack of clear affectedness in particular tenses, aspectual or modal contexts, has now assumed the semantics of patienthood through its association with objects of cardinal transitive verbs.

4.4 Effector

-\texttt{-ngku} dimoric stems with final vowel
-\texttt{-lu} stems of three or more morae with final vowel
-\texttt{-tu} following \texttt{n}
-\texttt{-rtu} following \texttt{rn}
-\texttt{-thu} following \texttt{ny} or \texttt{nh}
-\texttt{-u} following a rhotic or lateral

The effector case has a quite idiosyncratic set of functions in Martuthunira. Historically it descends from an ergative suffix used to mark the subjects of transitive verbs and adjuncts of various kinds on these subjects. In the modern language it survives with the principal function of marking 'demoted' actors in passive clauses. The effector suffix, used referentially, also marks second predications of manner and instrumental NPs in passive clauses. The following examples illustrate these functions:
thisNOM dog not slowly-EFF hit-PASSP 1sgOBL-GEN-EFF spouse-EFF  
This dog was thrashed by my wife (lit. hit not slowly).

29. nhiyu nyamina manku-yangu pinyjura-marta-lu.  
thisNOM dugong grab -PASSP rope -PROP -EFF  
This dugong was caught with a rope.

30. ngunhu pawulu kunanyja-ngu-layi kulirr-u, kuyil-u.  
thatNOM child shit on -PASS-FUT galah-EFF bad-EFF  
That kid will get defecated on by a galah, the bad thing.

31. kartu jamanu wrnta-nnguli-yirri parla-ngku jurirri-lu.  
2sgNOM foot cut -PASS -LEST stone-EFF sharp -EFF  
Your foot might get cut by a sharp stone.

As example 31 shows, the NP bearing the effector suffix in a passive clause need not denote an agent. The effector NP may denote inanimate objects such as 'stone', 'stick' etc., natural forces such as 'wind', 'rain', 'sun', and abstract mental states as in the following, rather idiomatic, example:

what-INCH-PAST-COMP crazy-EFF maybe tell -PASSP  
What happened? I must have been crazy.  
(lit. I was told by insanity).

However, not all uses of the effector suffix can be related to its historical function as a marker of transitive subjects. In the following examples the suffix marks what appear to be instruments in transitive clauses.

33. palyangu-ma-rninyji-rru ngurnaa ngarri-ngku karlla-ru,  
closed -CAUS-FUT -NOW thatACC coals -EFF hot -EFF  
Now cover it over with hot ashes.
They're bleeding now, so others rush to help, to wash them with water.

Now I sharpened it, fixed a point on the spear, bound it up with sinew and stuff, making it good.

In the following examples, the effector NP appears as an adjunct of an intransitive verb.

I'll put out these cleaned clothes. They'll be heating up from the sun, getting dry.

This kid has been told to go lest he gets burnt by the fire, he still hasn't gone.

We used to get covered up with a lot of blankets and lie-in until morning.

The effector NPs in the above examples might be described as 'cognate instruments'. The transitive verbs puntha-L 'to wash, bathe', and manta-L
'to bind', imply a washing medium and a binding instrument respectively. Similarly, the intransitive verb kampa-∅ 'to be burning, cooking', unless predicated of 'fire' or 'sun', usually assumes a heat source independent of its subject. Finally, both transitive and intransitive verbs of covering or closing imply the existence of some covering medium.

This function of the effector suffix is semantically related to its function in passive clauses. A passivized transitive verb, taking an 'affected' participant as subject, still implies an agent, effector or force acting upon that subject, a sort of 'cognate actor', even if no overt effector NP appears in the clause. In the same way, certain verbs imply a 'cognate instrument'.

However, it is not clear that the notion of cognate instrument will account for the following two examples. Here the effector suffix appears on a body-part instrument. Typically such instruments either agree in case-marking with their wholes (10.5.2) or are treated as normal instruments bearing an adnominal proprietive suffix.

   thatNOM-DUAL hit -COLL -PRES hand -EFF not clenched-PAST

   Those two are slapping each other (lit. with their hands not clenched)

40. manku-lu -lpurtu-rru juwayu-lu -rru jal.yu-u -rru
   grab-PURPss-COMP -NOW hand -EFF-NOW neck -ACC-NOW

   So instead you grab its neck with your hand.

   Only these two examples occur in the data and my attempts to elicit information on the use of the effector suffix as a marker of instruments were unrevealing. Algy Paterson was willing to accept every example I could contrive in which the effector was used to mark an instrument -
cognate, body-part or otherwise. He may possibly be affected by his knowledge of other Ngayarda languages here. In both Panyjima and Yinyjiparnti the old ergative/instrumental suffix is the usual marker of body-part instruments (reflecting a historical referential agreement between transitive subject whole and adjunct part). But in Yinyjiparnti the suffix has wider instrumental functions and alternates with the use of the comitative for alienable instruments (Wordick 1982:68-70).

Finally, the effector survives as a marker of transitive subjects in a rare imperative clause construction. This is illustrated in the following two examples and is discussed in 10.4:

41. kuwayi! nhawu-lu kunti jampa. nhawu-∅ nhuwana-lu!
   Look here  look-PURPss  stop  moment  look-IMP  2pl  -EFF
   Hey look here! (Come and) look here for a moment. Look you fellows!

42. yilarla kartungku thani-l.yu!
   thisNS  2sgEFF  hit  -IMP
   You hit this [if you can]!

4.5 Locative

- ngka  dimoric stems with final vowel
- la  stems of three or more morae with final vowel
- ta  following n
- rta  following rn
- tha  following ny or nh
- a  following a rhotic or lateral

The locative suffix has adnominal, relational, and complementizing
functions. The suffix also has a referential function marking attributive second predicates on locative adjuncts, though there are few naturally occurring examples of this in the data. With the exception of certain complementizing uses (to be described in chapter 11) the locative suffix retains its basic meaning as a marker of spatial or temporal location in all these functions.

The following examples illustrate the adnominal function of the locative suffix.

43. ngawu. puni-layi-rru ngali panyu-ngka-a warra
   yes go -FUT -NOW 1dl(incl) good-LOC-ACC CONT
   kalyaran-ta-a thuur.ta-a manku-layi.
   tree -LOC-ACC sweet -ACC get -FUT
   Yes. We'll go and get some honey (sweet stuff) that's in a better (less awkward) tree.

44. "warryumuntu", wangka-nguli-nguru tharnta parla-nyungu
   call -PASS -PRES euro hill -DWELL
   kupuyu-marta thara-ngka-marta.
   little-PROP pouch-LOC -PROP
   "Warryumuntu", that's what that euro that lives in the hills is called when it has a little one in its pouch.

In this second example the adnominal locative modifier is part of a more complex adnominal modifier marked with the proprietive suffix.

4.5.1 Locative Complements and Adjuncts

A number of motion verbs are subcategorized for a locational complement. As already noted in section 4.3.2 above, these complements may be marked
either with a locational suffix or with the accusative. Intransitive verbs of this class may occur in passive clauses with the locational complement as subject. Transitive verbs of this class allow a passive either on the locational complement or on the regularly accusative patient/theme (see 10.2). Verbs selecting a locative marked goal complement include the following (see 10.1.5, 10.1.6 for sentence examples):

- tharrwa-L: to enter (into)
- thanturri-Ø: to go down (onto, into)
- pungka-L: to fall (onto, into)
- wirta-Ø: to climb (up on)
- wantha-R: to place, put (at, in, on)
- warntitha-R: to throw (at, into, onto)

A small number of motion verbs take a locative complement describing the path of motion. These verbs also have an alternate case frame in which the path is marked accusative and admit passives with the path as unmarked subject.

- puni-Ø: go (along on)
- kurrarti-Ø: swim (along in, through)

The verbs wanyjarri-Ø 'run' and kanarri-Ø 'come', may also occur with a locative marked NP denoting the path of motion. However, accusative objects or passive subjects of these verbs unambiguously describe the goal of motion, otherwise marked with the allative suffix. Thus these verbs are subcategorized for an allative goal rather than for a locative path.

Similarly, a number of verbs may occur with locative marked NPs which describe the position in which the object of the verb is held or restrained. These include:
kampa-L to cook (on, in)
karlarrakma-L to make hot (on, in)
kanyja-L to keep, hold (in place)
kangku-∅ to carry (in, on)

However, these locations may not appear as accusative objects or as the subjects of passive clauses. There is thus no reason to suggest that they are part of the particular verb's predicate argument structure. These locative NPs are described as adjuncts rather than complements.

There are two verbs which might be described as selecting locative complements on semantic grounds. For these verbs, the semantic role filled by the locative marked NP is not obviously one of location. Firstly, the verb kuliyanpa-∅ 'think about', may occur with a locative NP describing a set out of which the entity denoted by the accusative object of the verb has been picked.

45. nganangu-rru kuliyanpa-layi pilakurta-aa jalya -ngara -la
whoACC -NOW think -FUT carpenter-ACC useless-PLURAL-LOC

kanyara-ngara-la yartapalyu -la?
man -PLURAL-LOC other group-LOC

Now who can we think of that is a carpenter out of that other mob of useless men?

The locative complement of kulyama-L 'to give in return for', describes the received gift for which the object of the verb is the return gift.

46. ngayu kuliyanpa-lha ngawayu-la kulyama-lalha
1sgNOM think -PAST turn -LOC pay back-PAST

kartatha-lwayara-a-lpurku ngawayu-la jumpirirri-la.
chop -HABIT-ACC-COMP turn -LOC sharp -LOC

I thought about my turn, paid him back with a tomahawk in turn for the sharp knife (he had given me).
4.5.2 Spatial Setting

Many locative adjuncts describe the spatial setting of the whole situation described by the verb and its complements. For example:

47. ngayu tharnta-a nhuwa-lalha parla-ngka.
   1sgNOM euro -ACC spear-PAST hill -LOC
   I speared a euro in the hills.

48. ngunhu pawulu nyina-nguru ngayi-rra maya-ngka-rru.
   thatNOM child sit -PRES cry-CTEMP house-LOC-NOW
   That child is crying in the house now.

49. ngali parla-ngka puni-layi jartunmarra-a wawayi-l.yarra.
   1dl(inc) hill -LOC go -FUT wallaby -ACC look for-CTEMP
   We'll go looking for rock wallabies in the hills.

4.5.3 Comitative

A locative NP denoting an animate participant is usually interpreted as a comitative expression although the simple locational reading is often possible.

50. kuwarri yilangu nyina-nguru ngathala wirta-tharra.
    now here stay -PRES 1sgLOC boy -DUAL
    Now there are two boys staying here with me.

51. ngayu puni-lha nhawu-lu ngurnu kanyara-a ngaliwa -la
    1sgNOM go -PAST see-PURPss thatACC man -ACC 1pl(inc)-LOC
    puni-layi-i wiruwanti.
    go -FUT-ACC morning
    I went to see that man who'll be going with us in the morning.
4.5.4 Locative States

In the following examples the locative suffix is attached to the nominal marrari 'word, language, story'. The locative expression here describes a state of activity characterized by talking. This use of the locative has clear parallels in other Ngayarda languages (for Panyjima see Dench (1981:32)). The pattern does not appear to be very productive in Martuthunira.

52. kartu kanarri-lha nganaju-mulyarra, kartu kanarri-lha
    2sgNOM come -PAST 1sgACC -ALL 2sgNOM come -PAST
    nganajumarta marrari-la nyina-lu.
    1d1(disharm) word -LOC be -PURPss

    You came to me, you came so we could talk.

53. parlura-npa-lha-rru waruu, nyina-marri-layi marrari-la-rru.
    full -INCH-PAST-NOW still sit -COLL -FUT word -LOC-NOW

    Once we're full (of food), we'll talk together.

4.5.5 Temporal Setting

The locative suffix is the usual marker of temporal adverbial phrases indicating the time at which the situation described in a clause occurs. The interpretation of the temporal phrase is largely dependent on the semantics of the particular predicate in the clause. In the following examples the verbs describe durative processes or states. The locative NP delimits the period of time during which the process or state is maintained.
Let it dry for two days or so.

We'll be good now while there's no dust.

You're getting smart on us only now that our old people are finished.

Where the verb is non-durative the locative expression describes the point in time at which the event takes place.

I'm waiting for [him] to return now, which day will it be.

He wakes up once the sun is in the west!

Now I don't lie-in from the morning, I get up before the sun, I'm still good.

In the same way that a locative expression may describe a period of time in terms of a number of days (as in 54), locative expressions are used to describe the number of times that an action takes place.
4.5.6 Locative Complementizers

The locative occurs as a complementizing suffix on the predicate of subordinate clauses functioning as adverbial modifiers of other clauses. This follows logically from its role as a marker of temporal adjunct NPs. The locative is also attached to the verb in a relative clauses modifying locative NPs. In addition, it is used to mark those relative clauses and lest clauses for which there is no controlling argument in the main clause or where the controlling argument is not a core argument. The syntax of these complex sentence types is described in chapter 11.

4.6 Ablative -nguru

The ablative suffix marks a point of prior temporal or spatial location. When indicating a point in past time the ablative is usually suffixed directly to the nominal or verb describing that point in time. However, when marking a spatial location, the nominal to which the ablative suffix
is added must be either inherently locative, such as a compass term, or must bear the locative suffix. Like the locative, the ablative has adnominal, relational and complementizing functions although its complementizing uses are quite restricted (11.1.2).

The following examples illustrate the use of the ablative to indicate the origin of a motion.

62. ngayu manku-lha parla-a -rru pariingku-layi ngurnaa
   1sgNOM get -PAST rock -ACC-NOW hit -FUT thatACC

   mirntirimarta-a parna-a, pungka-waa -rru kalyaran-ta-nguru.
   goanna -ACC head-ACC fall-PURPs=o-NOW tree -LOC-ABL

   I grabbed a rock and hit that goanna in the head so it would fall out of the tree.

63. nhiyu kalyaran-ngara wanti-nguru ngulawuyu-la
   this stick -PLURAL lie -PRES that side-LOC

   parla-ngka-nguru ngathu kangku-yangu yilangu.
   hill -LOC -ABL 1sgEFF carry -PASSP here

   These sticks lying on that side were brought here from the hills by me.

64. ngayu nhawu-lha ngurnu paniya-a nyina-nyila-a karnta
   1sgNOM see -PAST thatACC eye -ACC be -PrREL-ACC tear

   thatsandurri-rra paniya-la-nguru kanarra-lu puntharri-llu
   go down-CTEMP eye -LOC-ABL wind -EFF cold -EFF

   kuyilwa-ngw-rra.
   spoil -PASS-CTEMP

   I saw that man with tears falling from his eyes because of the cold wind.

Ablative expressions with an adnominal function appear as modifiers describing the recent location of the entity denoted by the head of the NP.
It is tempting to see the accusative marked ablative expressions in the above examples as second predicates on the accusative objects. However, in both cases the ablative expression is making a restrictive modification of the object rather than describing the particular source from which the subject of the verb, in each case, received the object on this occasion. Thus in 65 the euro meat was not sent from the ashes any more than the child in 66 collected the itch from a whale (the itching substance floats to shore and is 'contracted' by swimming in the surf).

The following two examples illustrate true adverbial second predications in which the adnominal ablative is used to describe the immediate prior location of the linked argument:

67. ngurnaa thuulwa-rninyji karla-ngka-nguru-u, thani-rninyji
thatACC pull -FUT fire -LOC -ABL-ACC hit -FUT

juwayu-marta.
hand -PROP

Then pull it out of the fire and wipe it down with your hand.
68. nhartu-npa-lha ?
   what -INCH-PAST
   What happened?

   ngayu kalya-rnu.
   1sgNOM bite-PASSP
   I've been bitten.

   nhartu-ngku ?
   what -EFF
   What by?

   parralhara-lu.
   centipede-EFF
   By a centipede.

   wantbala-nguru-lu ?
   where -ABL -EFF
   Where from?

The following examples illustrate the use of the ablative to mark the starting point of a period of time.

69. nhartu-ma-rnu -lwa-rru ngula kanyara-nguru warruwa-nguru?
   what-CAUS-PASSP-ID-NOW IGNOR person -ABL devil -ABL
   What became of them after the time they were people, devils?

70. nhartu -u wii warnan-ku yirla kuliya-rninyji
    something-ACC or rain -ACC only hear -FUT

   parnta-rnura-a. ngurnu-nguru-va karlwa-lha.
   rain-PrREL-ACC thatOBL-ABL -YK get up-PAST

   All I heard was the rain falling. After that I got up.

71. ngayu nguyirri-warla paju, wiruwanti-nguru-l
    1sgNOM asleep -FULL REAL morning -ABL-THEN

   wanti-layi yakarrangu-u yirla tharrwa-waa.
   lie -FUT sun -ACC until go in-PURPs=o

   I'm a real sleepy head, from morning I lie-in until the sun goes down.

72. ngayu mir.ta warnu panyu paju kuliya-rnuru jankul
    1sgNOM not ASSERT good REAL feel -PRES self

   yarta-ngka-nguru-l yakarrangu-la-nguru.
   other-LOC -ABL-THEN day -LOC-ABL

   I really haven't felt very good since that other day.

At present I can offer no explanation for the selection of the locative
case preceding the temporal ablative suffix in 72.

4.7 Allative Suffixes -rta and -mulyarra

Martuthunira, like the other Ngayarda languages, has two allative suffixes. The -rta 'Direct ALLative' is cognate with the Panyjima and Yinyjiparnti direct allatives which typically encode an attained goal of motion. Panyjima and Yinyjiparnti have innovated, separately, 'indirect' allatives which do not imply that the endpoint of the motion is necessarily reached. The Martuthunira -mulyarra 'ALLative' suffix is also an independent innovation but is not exactly equivalent to the Yinyjiparnti and Panyjima 'indirect' allatives.

The direct allative focusses on the goal of the motion and essentially ignores the process by which participants in the clause arrived at this goal. Where it is used in narrative, it serves simply to get participants from one location in which important action takes place to the next. The -mulyarra allative, on the other hand, focusses more on the motion itself. The journey is assumed to have some narrative status. Examples 73, 74 and 75 illustrate the use of the direct allative, 76, 77 and 78 the -mulyarra allative.

73. jal.yu -u -rru thani-rninyji puni-rrawaara
occiput-ACC-NOW hit -FUT go -SEQ

ngurra-arta -rru kampa-ru -rru.
camp -DirALL-NOW cook-PURPss-NOW

Now hit this one in the back of the head and then go home and cook it.
74. **kangku-lha ngurnu -ngara -a wuyu -urt a -rru, kalyaran-ta**
take -PAST thatOBL-PLURAL-ACC river-DirALL-NOW tree -LOC

warntitha-rninji pinyjura-a mil.yi-ngka parju-ngka.
throw -FUT rope -ACC fork -LOC top -LOC

They took these men to the river, and threw a rope up into
the fork of a tree.

75. **ngunbu puni-nguru pawu -urt a -rru, ngulangu-rru nyina-layi**
thatNOM go -PRES father-DirALL-NOW there -NOW stop -FUT

pawu -u -rru wangka-rra "pawu-yi ! ..." 
father-ACC-NOW say -CTEMP Dad-VOC

He goes to his father, and stops there and says to his father, "Dad!...

76. **kulhawulha waruu ngaliwa puni-layi nharmu-111lyarra,**
bunched up still 1pl(inc) go -FUT grave -ALL

mirntiwul-wa-rru wuraal-wa-rru kulhi-ru -rru thungkara-a.
together -Ø -NOW still -Ø -NOW bury-PURPss-NOW earth -ACC

All in a bunch we move to the grave, and now, still all
together, we bury him in the earth.

77. **ngunha nyina-lha jampa, wiruwarri-lha-rru, kuliyanpa-lha**
thatNOM be -PAST while homesick-PAST-NOW think -PAST

parrani-layi-rru ngurmula-ngu-111lyarra-wa-rru ngurra-111lyarra.
return -FUT -NOW thatDEF -GEN-ALL -ID-NOW camp -ALL

He stayed for a while, got homesick, and thought about returning
to his own camp.

78. **ngayu wayula-rru manhamanha-npa-nguru, kangku-ngu-layi**
1sgNOM legs -NOW awkward -INCH-PRES take -PASS-FUT

wiru nganaju-wu-111lyarra ngurra-111lyarra.
wanting 1sgOBL-GEN-ALL camp -ALL

My legs are unsteady, I want to be taken (helped) home.

Despite these differences in meaning the suffixes show a pattern of
defective distribution which suggests that the direct allative is gradually
being replaced by the more commonly occurring -111lyarra allative suffix.
In particular, the direct allative does not occur on pronouns or on
consonant final nominal stems. However, although the -111lyarra allative is
more common as a marker of goals of motion, the direct allative has other functions which are not performed by the `-mulyarra' suffix.

Firstly, the direct allative may be used to mark purposive goals of motion verbs which are not properly locations. This is illustrated in 79 and 80 below.

79. wuraal, kartu nhawungarra-ma-rinyinji nganaju-u muyi-i?
   alright 2sgNOM look after-CAUS-FUT 1sgGEN-ACC dog-ACC

   ngayu puni-nyila kulhampa-arta.
   1sgNOM go -PrREL fish -DirALL

   Can you look after my dog? I'm going for fish.

80. ngunhu puliyanyja puni-lha marrari-irta.
   thatNOM old man go -PAST word -DirALL

   That old man went for news.

Although the `-mulyarra' suffix is accepted in this type of construction it never occurs in spontaneous text.

Secondly, nominals bearing the direct allative suffix may serve as stems for the derivation of verbs. There are no similar examples involving the `-mulyarra' allative.

81. ngayi-lalha-rru, karlwa-layi ngurra-arta -npa-layi-rru.
   cry -PAST -NOW get up-FUT camp -DirALL-INCH-FUT-NOW

   Having cried, [they] get up and go home now.

Despite examples such as this, allative expressions cannot be used as adnominal modifiers.
4.8 Minor Locational Suffixes

4.8.1 Directional Suffix -wurrini

The directional suffix indicates a location in the direction of which some action is oriented. The action does not involve any motion towards that point.

82. ngunhaa ngarnngarn-ku kariya-1.yarra nyina-nguru
    thatNOM chin -ACC point -CTEMP sit -PRES
    nganaju-wurrini.
    1sgOBL -DIRECT
    That fellow pointed his chin towards me.

83. ngayu pamararri-lha ngurra-wurrini.
    1sgNOM call out -PAST camp -DIRECT
    I called out towards the camp.

The suffix is probably cognate with the Payungu allative suffix -kurrunu, and perhaps with the Yinyjiparnti indirect allative suffix -purraa/-wurraa.

4.8.2 Direction Facing -thartu

This suffix describes the particular direction in which some object or person is seen to be facing. The following examples illustrate:

84. kanyara-warnutra parlu-thartu nhau-rra, wayi yakarrangu-u
    person -DISTRIB top -FACE look-CTEMP maybe sun -ACC
    nhau-layi.
    see -FUT
    Each person is looking upwards, maybe they'll see the sun.
85. wantharni-wuyu ngunhu kapun wanti-lha? wantharni-wuyu-thartu?
    what way -SIDE thatNOM body lie -PAST what way -SIDE-FACE

    What way was that body lying? Facing what way?

4.8.3 Near -wini

This suffix is attached to place names and indicates a general locale in close proximity to the named place:

86. yawarru waruu, Kawyu-wini pularna-lwa,
    west still name -NEAR 3pl -ID

    wanthala Jinpingayinu-wini.
    somewhere name -NEAR

    Still in the west, near Kawuyu (Mt. Nicholson), somewhere around about Jinpingayinu (Peter Creek).

4.8.4 Dweller -nyungu

The -nyungu suffix is attached to a nominal describing the habitual dwelling place of a person, animal or, in rare cases, an inanimate object.

87. nhiyu wanpari kalyaran-ngara-nyungu.
    thisNOM bee tree -PLURAL-DWELL

    This wanpari bee lives in a number of different kinds of tree.

88. yartapalyu kanyja-rryarra, ngunhu-nyungu-lpurru
    others keep -CTEMP thatNOM-DWELL-COMP

    Kurlanyungkunhu-nyungu, Pantuwarnangka-a.
    name -DWELL name -ACC

    The others were keeping Pantuwarnangka Hill, the people who lived on that Kurlanyungkunha Island.

89. nhiyu martawulyu, palyarri -nyungu, ngunhaa panyu jami.
    this gum type plant sp.-DWELL thatNOM good medicine

    This martawulyu gum, which comes from the palyarri tree, is good medicine.
They used to carve the ones that came from Kawuyu and send them to Wirrawanti.

The following idiomatic sentence illustrates a metaphorical extension of the use of the suffix:

He's like a different fella altogether, doesn't talk much (lit. lives in not talking).

And the suffix occurs in a number of independent lexical items. For example:

- **pal.yarra-nyungu** plains kangaroo
  - plain -DWELL

- **mirta-nyungu** water serpent
  - limbo-DWELL

- **yarrwa-nyungu** joey kangaroo at age when it follows its mother
  - behind-DWELL

### 4.8.5 Prov- enience -ra

This suffix occurs on place names and nominals referring to locations and derives a nominal which refers to a group of people usually residing in the named location. For example:

- **martuthuni -ra** the people who live on the Fortescue River
  - Fortescue R.-PROV

- **wartampu -ra** the people who live on the Warramboo Creek
  - Warramboo Ck.-PROV
The associative suffix has both adnominal and relational functions and is typically used to mark an entity with which another entity is functionally associated. As an extension of this, associative expressions may function as generics, classifying objects by their usual association with a particular activity\(^6\).

The adnominal function of the associative suffix is illustrated in the following examples:

92. *pawulu-\(\text{\textdagger}\) nhartu-\(\text{\textdagger}\)ma-\(\text{\textdagger}\)lalha kartu nganaju-u*

\(\text{\textdagger}\)child-\(\text{\textdagger}\)what-\(\text{\textdagger}\)CAUS-PAST 2sgNOM 1sgGEN-ACC

\(\text{\textdagger}\)ngurriny-\(\text{\textdagger}\)marnu-u \(\text{\textdagger}\)jarra-\(\text{\textdagger}\)lwayara-a ?

swag -\(\text{\textdagger}\)ASSOC-ACC tie -\(\text{\textdagger}\)HABIT-ACC

Child! What have you done with my swag strap (thing that ties, for a swag).

93. *ngayu nhuura-\(\text{\textdagger}\)ma-\(\text{\textdagger}\)lalha ngurmu wirta-a wantbarni*

1sgNOM know-\(\text{\textdagger}\)CAUS-PAST thatACC youth-ACC how

\(\text{\textdagger}\)wantha-\(\text{\textdagger}\)rrwaa warangarti-\(\text{\textdagger}\)\(\text{\textdagger}\)muyi-\(\text{\textdagger}\)marnu-u.

put -\(\text{\textdagger}\)PURPs=o trap -\(\text{\textdagger}\)ACC dog -\(\text{\textdagger}\)ASSOC-ACC

I showed that youth how to set traps for dogs.

A number of independent lexical items transparently involve the associative suffix:
Like the proprietive, the associative is used to make generic reference to classes of objects which are used for a common purpose. The clearest example of this involves the expression \textit{murla-marnu} 'meat-ASSOC', which classifies anything that might be used in catching game. In 94 the expression refers to a dog, in 95 to a spear:

94. \texttt{thalu-waya panyu-spa-wala -rru wiru ngurnula-ngu-lu -rru}\ 
\texttt{pet -OWNER good-INCH-PURPds-NOW feelings thatDEF -GEN-EFF-NOW} \texttt{murla-marnu-lu kanarri-yangu.} 
\texttt{meat -ASSOC-EFF come -PASSP} \texttt{The owner will feel good now having his meat-getter come to him.} 

95. \texttt{ngathu mulhaa -rru ngunhaa murla-marnu warrirti.}\ 
\texttt{1sgEFF put point-PASSP thatNOM meat -ASSOC spear} \texttt{That game spear had a point put on it by me.} 

At this point it is worth noting the existence of a restricted group plural suffix \texttt{-marnu} which might ultimately be related to the associative through this generic function. The suffix is described in section 4.17.4 below.
The following sentences illustrate the relational use of the associative suffix. In these examples the associative NP describes an eventual purpose towards which the action described by the predicate is directed. The use of the associative here contrasts with the use of the direct allative to mark immediate purpose (4.7).

96. yurntura-ma-1.yarra purra-1.yarra parla-ngka thawurra-marnu
    soft -CAUS-CTEMP hit -CTEMP rock -LOC net -ASSOC
    warrapa -a manku-layi.
    spinifex-ACC get -FUT

    One grabs the spinifex, hitting it on a rock, making it soft for (to be made into) a net.

97. "wirpinykura", ngunhu -lwa ngunhaa marntanhu-ma-nnuli-wayara
    species name thatNOM-ID thatNOM net -CAUS-PASS -HABIT
    puliyanyja-ngara-lu wii kulhampa-marnu.
    old man -PLURAL-EFF or fish -ASSOC

    Wirpinykura, that's the type of spinifex that used to be made into nets for fish by the old men or whoever.

    camp -LOC-INCH-PAST-NOW fire -ASSOC-NOW hole-CAUS-FUT -NOW

    Having got to camp, make a hole for a fire.

99. ngaliwa karla-a -rru kulhawulha-ma-rninyji
    1pl(inc) fire-ACC-NOW heaped -CAUS-FUT
    karlarra-npa-waa thanuwa-marnu.
    hot-INCH-PURPs:o food -ASSOC

    We'll heap up the fire now, to get hot for the food.

As these examples show, the associative expression does not bear referential case in agreement with some other NP and so cannot be described as a second predicate. The passive clause in 97 clearly shows that the associative expression is not linked to the clause actor. Examples 96 and 99 show that there is no link to an accusative object even when such a link
might be expected. The associative expression is thus syntactically equivalent to a locational adjunct modifying the whole clause.

4.10 Proprietary -marta

The Martuthunira proprietary has a range of semantic functions similar to proprietary suffixes described for other Australian languages (Dixon 1976:Topic A). The proprietary expression may denote a physical attribute or a possession, or an accompanying person or object. In addition the suffix fills the important role of marking instruments. These functions are illustrated in the following sections.

4.10.1 Physical Attributes and Defining Characteristics

The simple ascription of physical attributes is illustrated in the following examples:

100. ngunbu kanyara jawurta-marta.
    thatNOM man beard -PROP

    That man has a beard.

101. nhiyu kanparra-wura parla-marta. ngunhu -ngara-lwa kanparra-ngara
    thisNOM spider-BELONG stone-PROP thatNOM-PLURAL-ID spider-PLURAL
    palyangu-ma-lwayara ngurnula-ngu-u jalyuru-u.
    covered -CAUS-HABIT thatDEF -GEN-ACC hole -ACC

    This [nest] of the spider's has a stone.
    Those spiders cover their holes.
When the body-part attributed to some possessor is one which anyone might be expected to have ('beard', as in 100 above, is not of this class), the proprietive expression implies an ability to make productive use of that body-part. Such expressions can also be negated. In 102, for example, the old man is not described as having no ears in the sense of having had them removed (see discussion of the privative in section 4.11.1), but in that he can no longer make normal use of them.

102. ngunhaa kanyara mir.ta kuliya-marta, jalya wantamartu,
thatNOM man not ear -PROP useless crazy

wantha-rru ngunhu yaji ?
where -NOW thatNOM mother's brother

That man who doesn't have ears, the useless crazy fellow,
Where is that uncle?

Remonstrations such as those in 103 and 104 more clearly illustrate this function of the proprietive suffix.

103. minthal warra panyu-ma-rninyji warrirti-i. pirri -marta warnu?
alone CONT good-CAUS-FUT spear -ACC finger-PROP ASSERT

Fix a spear by yourself for a change. You've got fingers haven't you?

104. nbuwana-yi pawulu-ngara kuliya-l.yu warra, kuliya-marta warnu!
2pl -VOE child-PLURAL listen-IMP CONT ear -PROP ASSERT

You kids listen for a change, you've got ears!

The proprietive expression in 105 describes the characteristic ability of hens to produce eggs.
105. nganangu-rru kana kuliyanpa-layi ngaliwa mijara-marta-a
whoACC -NOW RHET think of -FUT 1pl(inc) egg -PROP-ACC

panyu-marta-a mungka-nnguntharri-marta-a?
good-PROP-ACC eat -HABITNOM -PROP-ACC

What else can we think of that has good edible eggs?

In the following example a group of people are characterised by an aspect of their speech - their common use of a meaningless hesitation marker yirru.

106. mirntiwul-wa ngunhu -ngara marrari martuthunira,
all -YK thatNOM-PLURAL language

nhiyu ngayal.yu-ngara "yirru"-marta-lpurtu marrari-marta.
thisNOM devil -PLURAL -PROP -COMP word -PROP

They were all Martuthunira speaking, but these ngayal.yu people had the word yirru.

The notion of defining physical characteristic is often employed in making generic reference. In the following two examples the speaker is attempting to elicit a more specific word for the animal in question:

107. nhartu ngunhaa ngaru -marta ?
what thatNOM testicle-PROP

What's that thing with the balls? (a ram)

108. nhartu nhulaa marrar-marta?
what near you wing -PROP

What's that winged thing? (a bird)
4.10.2 Object in Current Possession

A further function of the proprietive is to mark objects which are in the current possession of an entity, or persons who are accompanying another person. The proprietive expression may appear in a simple ascriptive clause (109 and 110), as an embedded ascriptive clause (113) or, more commonly, as an attributive second predication on an argument in a verbal clause (111 and 112).

109. ngunhu -ngara jwayu-la-marta parla-marta, kayarra-marta
    thatNOM-PLURAL hand -LOC-PROP stone-PROP two -PROP
    parla-marta yirla.
    stone-PROP only
    They have stones in their hands, just two stones.

110. nhulaa kanyara wajirr-marta warnu. wantha-a puni-nguru ?
    near you man spear -PROP ASSERT where-ACC go -PRES
    This man has a fishing spear. Where is he going?

111. ngayu kanarri-lha marrari-marta nhuwana-a wangka-lu.
    1sgNOM come -PAST news -PROP 2pl -ACC tell-PURPss
    I came with news to tell you all.

112. thuulva-rninyji-rru, karlwa-rrawaara. karlwa-layi
    pull -FUT -NOW get up-SEQ get up-FUT
    ngurnu-marta miratirimarta-marta.
    thatOBL-PROP goanna -PROP
    Pull it out and stand up. Get up holding that goanna.

113. nhawu-layi ngurnaa kuryarta-marta-a-rru, yanga-rninyji-rru.
    see -FUT thatACC spear -PROP-ACC-NOW chase-FUT -NOW
    I'll see that that one now has a spear in it, and I'll chase it.
4.10.3 Instruments

A proprietive second predication in a transitive clause is usually understood as an instrument used by the actor subject of the verb.

114. nhartu-ma-rnuru karntarra-a? mir.ta yirra-marta
    what-CAUS-PRES sinew -ACC not teeth-PROP

    kalya-rninjyi, wurnta-1.yu kurlany-marta!
    bite -FUT cut -IMP knife -PROP

    What are you doing to that sinew? Don't bite it with your teeth, cut it with a knife!

115. yurra-rninjyi-rru ngurnu-marta kalyarran-marta mulha jurirri-marta.
    dig -FUT -NOW thatOBL-PROP stick -PROP point sharp -PROP

    Then dig with that sharp-pointed stick.

In passive clauses the proprietive expression can bear referential effector case in agreement with the agent.

116. nhulaa karta-ruu wanti-nguru majun wajirr-marta-lu
    that stab-PASSP lie -PRES turtle spear -PROP-EFF

    kanyara-lu.
    man -EFF

    That turtle lying here stabbed by a man with a fishing spear.

4.10.4 Lexical Derivations

The use of proprietive expressions to denote defining characteristics is employed in the derivation of new lexical items. The full range of semantic functions described in the above sections is represented. Firstly, animals or objects may be named for a characteristic physical attribute:
Similarly, people may be named for a characteristic attribute, either because the body-part is characteristic and unusual;

Similarly, people may be named for a characteristic attribute, either because the body-part is characteristic and unusual;

Similarly, people may be named for a characteristic attribute, either because the body-part is characteristic and unusual;
4.11 Privative -wirriwa/-virraa

The privative typically describes the lack of a body-part, possession or kinsman. In addition, certain privative expressions function as second predicates of manner, or describe the lack of an instrument. These different functions are described in the following subsections.

4.11.1 Missing Body-parts

117. ngunhaa mirntirimarta panyu-rru, punga-wirriwa-rru nyina-layi.
   thatNOM goanna good -NOW guts -PRIV -NOW be -FUT

That goanna is good now, now that it has no guts (has been gutted).

118. ngayu-lwa wiyaa wuruma-rninyji thurlajinkarri-i,
   1sgNOM-ID maybe do for-FUT poor fellow -ACC

yirra-virraa-a warnu pala.
   teeth-PRIV-ACC ASSERT IT

Maybe I'll do it for the poor fellow, he really hasn't got any teeth.

119. yimpala -rru-wa kanarra-lu parnpiingku-yangu wanti-layi.
   like that-NOW-YK wind -EFF throw down -PASSP lie -FUT

nyingkurlu-lpurtu warnu pirri-wirraa wantharra.
   firstly -COMP ASSERT hand -PRIV like

Just like that she was thrown to the ground by the wind and lay there. Firstly one must say it's as if she had no hands.

Example 119 can be compared with the use of the proprieteve suffix to indicate an ability based on use of a body-part. The privative by itself does not imply the same reading of ability and must be modified by the semblative wantharra.

However, derived verbs based on a body-part privative expression do not
necessarily imply the loss of that part.

120. **kuliyんな-pa-yaangu kalika-a-lwa kalyaran-ta nyina-wayara-a**
think of UNREAL one ACC-ID tree LOC sit HABIT-ACC

mulha-wirraa-npa-lha-a.
nose PRIV-INC-PAST-ACC

You ought to be able to think of it, that one that always sits in a tree (as if) having lost its nose.

121. **wantharni paju ngaliwa -a paniya-wirraa-ma-lalha ngaliwa -a?**
how REAL 1pl(inc)-ACC eye PRIV-CAUS-PAST 1pl(inc)-ACC

kalya-rninyji yirla ngunhaa kartungu, parralhara.
bite FUT only thatNOM 2sgACC centipede

How did it deceive us (lit. make us lose our eyes)? It just bit you, that centipede (and we didn't know it was there).

Possessed parts or physical attributes of inanimate objects may also take the privative suffix, as in the following examples.

122. **yimpala -rru nhiyu pal.yarra-rru, wanti-wala**
like that-NOW thisNOM plain NOW lie-PURPds

kalyarran-wirriwa-rru. 'Wirrawanti'-rru wangka-ngu-layi.
tree PRIV NOW NOW say PASS-FUT

And now it was like that, this plain. It came to have no trees, and then it was called 'Wirrawanti'.

123. **kulaya-rninyji-rru wantharni-i ngurnta-a wirra -tharra-a**
test FUT NOW how ACC style-ACC boomerang-DUAL-ACC

wayii panyu-u ngurnta-a nhawu-layi panyu-u wayii,
maybe good-ACC style-ACC see FUT good-ACC maybe

ngurnta-wirriwa-a warnitba-rninyji puyila -rru.
style PRIV ACC throw FUT long way-NOW

I'll try out these two boomerangs for their style. Maybe I'll see good style. I'll throw away any without style.
4.11.2 Kin

The use of the privative to mark deceased relatives is common throughout the Ngayarda language area. In Panyjima and Kurrama the privative suffix appears in certain bereaved kin terms, and in Kurrama the privative may be used as a kind of honorific; marking a participant in a story who has since died. A Martuthunira example is:

124. nganangu-ngara pawulu-ngara?
   whoGEN-PLURAL child-PLURAL
   Whose are those children?

   ngunhu-ngara yaan-wirriwa-wura.
   thatNOM-PLURAL spouse-PRIV-BELONG
   They belong to that one who has lost a husband.

In the following example a man is described as being without a wife not because she has died but since she has left him.

125. ngunhu kanyara-wuyu puni-layi jalya-rru, yaan-wirriwa-rru.
   thatNOM man-SIDE go-FUT rubbish-NOW spouse-PRIV-NOW
   That man of the pair will be nothing, he's got no wife now.

4.11.3 Possessed Objects

In the following examples the privative expression indicates the lack of some possession.

126. parla-wirraa nganarna.
   money-PRIV 1pl(exc)
   We've got no money.
127. ngunhaa kanyara ngurriny-wirraa.
thatNOM man swag -PRIV
That man has no swag.

128. ngayu nhau-lha mirtali-ngara-a yirla, mir.ta
1sgNOM see -PAST big -PLURAL-ACC only not
kupuyu-marta-a, mirtily-wirriwa-a.
little-PROP-ACC foetus -PRIV -ACC
I'd seen only big ones (kangaroos), not any with little ones, only those without the small pink babies in their pouches.

In the following example the 'used up' contents of a 'plate' are marked with the privative.

129. jinpi yirla-rru wanti-waa, murla-wirriwa-rru, ngunhaa
plate only -NOW lie-PURPs=o meat -PRIV -NOW thatNOM
nhawu-wala jinpi-i murla-wirriwa-a.
see-PURPds plate-ACC meat -PRIV -ACC
Only the plate will be left, without any meat. That fellow will see a plate without meat (I've eaten it all).

4.11.4 Privative Second Predications

In the following examples the privative expression functions as a second predication describing the manner in which the action is carried out.

130. marra-wirraa-wa-nu karlwa-lha, kuyil wiya.
word -PRIV -ID-QUOT get up-PAST bad maybe
ngaliwa -a paya-npa -rra wiya. thana-rru puni-0!
1pl(inc)-ACC wild-INCH-CTEMP maybe let -NOW go-IMP
He got up without even a word, maybe something is wrong. Maybe he's angry with us. Well let him go!

131. ngunhu julyu wanti-nguru nguyirri-wirraa, thurlajinkarri
thatNOM old man lie -PRES asleep -PRIV poor fellow
That old man isn't sleeping, the poor fellow.
Expressions of this kind may also form the basis of derived verbs.

132. nhartu-npa-lha ? kartu nyina-nguru-ya
   what-INCH-PAST 2sgNOM sit -PRES-VOC

   marrari-wirraa-npa-lha ?
   word -PRIV-INCH-PAST

   What's the matter, why have you gone quiet?

133. nhuwana marrari-warlaya-ngara nguyirri-wirraa-ma-rnuru-rru
   2pl word -FULL -PLURAL asleep -PRIV-CAUS-PRES -NOW

   nganarna-a.
   1pl(exc)-ACC

   You talkative people are preventing us from sleeping.

In the following examples the privative second predication describes the lack of an instrument. In 134 the missing instrument is presumably a cognate instrument (4.4).

134. nhulaa kanyara nyina-nguru puuthuni-i mulhaa-rninyji
   that man sit -PRES point -ACC affix -FUT

   warrirti-la pul.ya-ngku yirla, karntarra-wirriwa.
   spear -LOC wax -EFF only sinew -PRIV

   That man is putting a point on the spear with just spinifex wax, without any sinew.

135. ngunhu wartirra wiru thanuwa-a thurnta-rninyji
   thatNOM woman wanting damper-ACC roll -FUT

   kayulu-wirriwa-a, pinkarranyu-u.
   water -PRIV -ACC dry -ACC

   That woman wants to make damper without [including any] water, dry.
4.12 Genitive

- ngu on proper nominals
- ku on common nominals following a nasal
- yu on common nominals following a lateral or rhotic
- wu on common nominals following a vowel

The genitive suffix marks the possessor of some object or the propositus of a kin relation. Use of the genitive usually implies alienable possession. Inalienable possession is coded by the simple adposition of possessor and possessed (8.2.6)

136. ngaliwa puni-layi-rru wawayi-l.yarra ngurra-ngara-a -rru
1pl(inc) go -FUT -NOW look for-CTEMP camp-PLURAL-ACC-NOW

mirntirimarta-wu-u .
goanna -GEN-ACC

We'll go looking for goannas' holes now.

137. ngunhu ngurra tharratal-yu thungkara-la wantha-rru .
thatNOM camp bird(sp.)-GEN ground -LOC put -PASSP

That tharratal's nest is built on the ground.

138. ngunhaa ma'an kulirr-yu mungka-rru pawul-u .
thatNOM seed galah-GEN eat -PASSP fowl-EFF

That galah's seed has been eaten by the fowls.

139. nhiyu muyi thani-Ngu-layi nganaju-wu-lu yaan -tu .
thisNOM dog hit -PASS-FUT 1sgOBL-GEN-EFF spouse-EFF

This dog will get hit by my wife.
4.13 Belonging -wura and Owner -waya

In addition to the genitive suffix, Martuthunira has two minor suffixes which indicate particular relationships between possessor and possessed. The owner suffix has the invariant form -waya, the belonging suffix has the following allomorphs:

-ngura
-kura
-wura

on proper nominals, pronouns and demonstratives
on common nominals following a nasal
on common nominals following a vowel, lateral or rhotic

The belonging suffix is attached to nominals denoting entities which exert some controlling 'ownership' over another entity. By contrast, the owner suffix is attached to nominals which are controlled by some other entity. While genitive expressions typically function as adnominal modifiers within NPs, nominals marked with either of the -wura or -waya suffixes often occur as the head of a NP (see 9.1.3). In these cases, the -wura expression denotes the 'belongings' of the referent of the nominal stem while the -waya expression denotes the 'owner' of the referent of the nominal stem.

Examples 140 to 142 illustrate the -wura suffix, examples 143 to 145 illustrate the -waya suffix:

140. ngurnu -ngura parnparn-kura kupiyaji ngularla
thatOBL-BELONG bird sp.-BELONG little(pl) thereNV

waruu jalyuru-la nyina-marri-nguru parnparn-ngara.
still hole -LOC sit -COLL -PRES bird -PLURAL

Those little ones belonging to that shell parrot are still there all together in a hole somewhere.
141. ngunhaa kanparr-wura wantha-rnu kanparr-u mir.ta
thatNOM spider-BELONG put -PASSP spider-EFF not

nhawu-ngu-layi yantharmarta-ngara-lu, nganyjali kuyil.
see -PASS-FUT woman -PLURAL-EFF proscribed bad

That thing of the spider's, built by the spider (a web), shouldn't
be seen by women, it's proscribed.

142. ngana-ngura-tharra-a yanga-lalha?
who -BELONG-DUAL-ACC chase-PAST

Whose were those two who were chased?

yirna-tharra-wura -a.
thisACC-DUAL-BELONG-ACC

They belonged to these two people.

143. ngayu -rru yanga-lwala ngangka-a, ngurnu -waya -a -lwa
1sgNOM-NOW chase-PURPds mother-ACC thatOBL-OWNER-ACC-ID

kupuyu-waya -a ngangka-a.
little-OWNER-ACC mother-ACC.

I chased after the mother, the owner of that little one.

144. wangka-layi ngurnaa piwi -i, ngurnula-waya -a ngangka-a,
say -FUT thatACC mother-ACC thatDEF -OWNER-ACC mother-ACC

"nhamintha-rru jurrkirta?"
how many -NOW moon

Say to the mother, the mother of that one, "How many months old now?"

145. thalu-waya panyu-npa-wala -rru wiru ngurnula-ngu-lu -rru
pet -OWNER good-INCH-PURPds-NOW feelings thatDEF -GEN-EFF-NOW

murla-marnu-lu kanarri-yangu.
meat -ASSOC-EFF come -PASSP

The dog's owner's feelings will be good now having his
meat-getter come to him.

An important function of both suffixes is to facilitate reference to
particular kin through other kin that stand in either a superordinate or
subordinate relationship to them. For example, the -waya suffix allows
reference to parents through their children while the -wura suffix allows
reference to children through their parents. This function is discussed further in 5.2.2 below.

The -wura suffix has a secondary function as a marker of inanimate causes of certain bodily states and processes. This is illustrated in the following examples:

146. ngayu parlura thanuwa -wura.  
1sgNOM full vegetable food-BELONG  
I'm full of food.

147. ngayu punga pangkira-npa-nguru kayulu-wura.  
1sgNOM guts swollen-INCH-PRES water -BELONG  
My guts are swelling up from [drinking] water.

148. ngayu parna malyarra-npa-nguru kanarra-wura.  
1sgNOM head sick -INCH-PRES wind -BELONG  
My head is sore from the wind.

The semantic link between this use of the suffix and the more general possessive relation hinges on the notion of controlling relationship. The implication of controlling possession (by an alcoholic 'spirit') is very clear in the following example:

149. ngaliwa patharri-lha nyina-lha, thani-yarra parna-a.  
1pl(inc) fight -PAST be -PAST hit -COLL+CTEMP head-ACC  
nyina-lha-nguru kari-wura, nyingkurlu-lpurtu warnu.  
be -PAST-ABL grog-BELONG firstly -COMP ASSERT  

We were fighting, hitting each other in the head. We were in the grip of the grog, that's the first thing that must be said.
4.14 Causal -ngalyarnta

The causal suffix marks an entity which is indirectly responsible for the actions of other participants in the clause. For example:

150. pawulu-ngara nyina-lha patharri-rra ngurnu -ngalyarnta-lwa, child-PLURAL sit -PAST fight -CTEMP thatOBL-CAUSAL -ID

\[\text{wirra} \ -\text{ngalyarnta-lwa.}\]
boomerang-CAUSAL -ID

Those kids were fighting over that boomerang.

151. yimpala -rru-\(\text{wa}\), muyi-i ngurnu pawulu-tharra thani-lalha like that-NOW-YK dog-ACC thatACC child -DUAL hit -PAST

\[\text{murla-ngalyarnta.}\]
meat -CAUSAL

It was like that, two kids were hitting that dog over meat.

As these examples show, the indirect cause of the action can be something that the protagonists expect or intend to acquire in the future, as in 150, or something that is associated with a past happening as in 151. Entities which are directly responsible for a state of affairs, such as the cause of a sickness or injury, are not marked with the causal suffix. Inanimate causes of this kind can be marked by the -wura 'belonging' suffix (4.13), or a subordinate clause construction is used:

152. ngayu malyarra-npa-nguru kari-i paya-lalha-nguru.
1sgNOM sick -INCH-PRES grog-ACC drink-PAST-ABL

I'm sick from drinking grog.
4.15 Obscured -ngurni

The obscured suffix has a primarily adnominal function and marks some object or substance which obscures the modified nominal from view. Usually the marked expression functions as a second predicate, as in the following examples:

153. ngayu ngurnaa jirruna-npa-lha, panyu-ma-l.yarra, ngurnta
1sgNOM thatACC sneak-INCH-PAST good-CAUS-CTEMP style

panyu-npa-lha jirruna karra-ngurni.
good-INCH-PAST sneak scrub-OBSCRD

I sneaked up on that one properly, doing it properly, sneaking up behind the bushes.

154. wiyaa yilarla thungkara-ngurni wanti-nguru,
maybe thisNV dirt -OBSCRD lie -PRES

mir.ta nhawu-ngu-layi ngartil.
not see -PASS-FUT again

Maybe it's under the dirt and won't be seen again.

155. warnan-ngurni kanarri-nguru, parnta-nngu-rra -rru.
rain -OBSCRD come -PRES rain -PASS-CTEMP-NOW

He's coming along completely engulfed by the rain.

The referent of the modified nominal may be behind or beneath the referent of the nominal marked by the suffix (as in 153 above), or may be completely immersed, embedded or surrounded by the referent of the marked nominal (as in 155).

In the following sentences the suffix is attached to the 'value adjective' nominals panyu 'good' and kuyil 'bad', functioning here as second predications of manner.
156. panyu-u wangka-layi, mir.ta kuyil-ngurni-i
   good-ACC say -FUT not bad-OBSCRD-ACC

   thurlanyarrara-ngara-a.
   poor fellow-PLURAL-ACC

   Speak properly, don't talk in a bad way (rudely) to the poor fellows.

157. panyu-ngurni nhuura-ma-rnu-nguru, panyu waruul
   good -OBSCRD know-CAUS-PASSP-ABL good still

   nyina-marri-layi!
   sit -COLL -FUT

   You've been taught properly, now stay good!

In these examples the suffix intensifies the degree of the value nominal in
much the same way that the effect of the rain on the subject of 155 above
is exaggerated. The obscured expression in the following example similarly
exaggerates the degree of the value.7

158. ngunhaa parla-ngka-rru wirta-nguru, kanta manamana paju,
    thatNOM hill -LOC -NOW climb-PRES leg quickly REAL

    kuyil-ngurni-la wirta-lha, murti-ma-rnuru paju.
    bad -OBSCRD-LOC climb-PAST fast-CAUS-PRES REAL

    He's climbing that hill now, legs moving very quickly,
    he's climbed up on that difficult place but he's still going fast.

4.16 Full-Laden -warlaya

Nominal expressions formed by the addition of the -warlaya suffix describe
an abundance of the entity or property denoted by the nominal stem. The
following sentence examples illustrate:
159. ngana nhiyu kanyara thaa nyantu-warlaya?
who thisNOM man mouth fluff -FULL

Who is this man with his mouth buried in whiskers?

160. ngunhu kanyara nyina-nguru ngulangu parla-ngka
thatNOM man sit -PRES there hill -LOC
karra-warlaya-la kuyil-a.
scrub-FULL -LOC bad -LOC

That man is there on that bad (impenetrable) scrub covered hill.

161. jina-warlaya-ma-rninyji-nu ngula, jina-warlaya-ma-lalha
track-FULL-CAUS-FUT -QUOT IGNOR track-FULL-CAUS-PAST
thaapuwa, pintirrijila jina-warlaya.
big man scattered track-FULL

And then apparently he made tracks everywhere, he covered the
ground with his footprints, the old bastard, tracks everywhere.

162. nhiyu kalyarran kunkuwarra-warlaya.
thisNOM tree honey -FULL

This tree is full to bursting with honey.

The suffix most often appears as a lexeme deriving formative, as in the
following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jinyji-warla</td>
<td>fat, plump, obese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngungku-warla</td>
<td>strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murti-warla</td>
<td>fast runner, motorcar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In each of these words the normally trisyllabic suffix has been shortened
to two syllables. This truncation is most likely motivated by the general
dimoric/disyllabic pattern of stress meter (see 2.5.1). Notice, however,
that the same truncation does not occur where the suffix is used
productively, as in the above sentence examples.
4.17 Number Suffixes

Martuthunira has a collection of suffixes marking number. These are described in the following subsections.

4.17.1 Dual -tharra

The following examples illustrate the dual suffix:

163. ngayu thawu-lalha nganaju-wu-tharra-a pawulu-tharra-a
1sgNOM send -PAST 1sgOBL-GEN-DUAL-ACC child -DUAL-ACC

wanirarra-a, kurntal-thurti-i mura-thurti-i, puni-waa
Bro & Si-ACC daughter-CONJ-ACC son -CONJ-ACC go-PURPs=o

nhawu-yarri-lu mayili-nhanu-ngu.
see -COLL-PURPs FaFa -3POSS-ACC

I sent my two children, brother and sister, daughter and son, to go and see their grandfather.

164. walyurn-tharra nyina-nguru punkurri waruu muthu-ngu -rra.
girl -DUAL stay -PRES covered still cold-PSYCH-CTEMP

The two girls are still covered up feeling cold.

4.17.2 Plural -ngara

The plural suffix typically denotes a unified group consisting of more than two entities. Some examples of its use are:

165. nhiyu warnan panyu-ma-rnuru mirntirimarta-ngara-a.
this rain good-CAUS-PRES goanna -PLURAL-ACC

This rain will be good for the goannas.
166. kartu paya-npa-layi nganarna-a ngalarri-lha -ngara -a
2sgNOM wild-INCH-FUT 1pl(exc)-ACC forget -PAST-PLURAL-ACC

wantamartu-ngara -a.
crazy -PLURAL-ACC

You'll get wild with us stupid fellows who forgot.

167. ngunhaa puni-lha kunkuwarra-a wawayi-l.yarra jinkayu -rru,
thatNOM go -PAST honey -ACC look for-CTEMP up river-NOW

warnanykura-la-ngara-a kunkuwarra-a.
river gum-LOC-PLURAL-ACC honey -ACC

That one went looking for honey up river, for hives in river-gum trees.

In this last example the plural following the locative suffix on
warnanykura implies the possibility that there may be more than one source
of honey in any one tree.

In the following examples the plural suffix is used to group together a
set of separate actions which are distributed through time yet involve the
same participants. Thus in 168 and 169 the plural marks a body-part which
undergoes an action a number of times. The dual suffix cannot be used in
this way.

168. ngayu kalya-rnu ngulu yiriny -thu, ngayu kalya-rnu
1sgNOM bite-PASSP thatEFF mosquito-EFF 1sgNOM bite-PASSP

nyina-nguru marnta-ngara-a wii, kartara wii, jal.yu wii
sit -PRES arm-PLURAL-ACC maybe cheek maybe neck maybe

panga-ngara-rri-nguru-rru.
itch-PLURAL-INCH-PRES-NOW

I've been bitten by a mosquito. My arms (in a number of places),
my cheek and my neck etc. will be getting lots of itches.
In 170 the verb *paya-L* 'drink' is marked with the plural suffix and describes a number of acts of drinking grouped together as one event:

4.17.3 Distributed Plural -warntura

The distributed plural describes a group of things taken together but considered individually. The suffix can be glossed variously as 'every' or 'each' depending on context.
That group of people are going along, their heads bobbing in and out of view as they go down into each hollow.

In the following examples the suffix appears on an inflected verb and indicates a repeated action. Example 173 can be compared with 170 above. In 173 the acts of drinking are seen as separate events taking place over a period of time at different places during a journey. In 170, the drinking is a single event made up of a number of different acts.

We went along drinking water again and again it was so hot.

Now using that one dig in again and again making a hole.

That kid of mine is always getting hungry. Again and again he goes asking for meat.
The -marnu suffix most often occurs on kinterms and indicates a group of people who are all of a certain class. In other examples the suffix appears on terms denoting named groups of people. Some examples are:

176. ngayu kangku-lha mayiili -marnu-ngu kulhampa-arta.
1sgNOM take -PAST FaFa+1POSS-GROUP-ACC fish -ALL
I took my grandchildren fishing.

177. ngunha wangka-lha, "ngayilyu-marnu, nhuwana kanarri-layi
thatNOM say -PAST cousin -GROUP 2pl come -FUT

  nhuura-npa-ra nhawu-lha wirra -a kayarra-a".
  know-INCB-CTEMP see -PAST boomerang-ACC two -ACC

He said, "Any of you devils can come and find out, having seen those two boomerangs".

178. kartu, nhawu-yarri-wayara nyinu -malyura-marnu-ngu ?
2sgNOM see -COLL -HABIT Bro-in-law-2POSS -GROUP-ACC

Have you ever met that brother-in-law of yours?

In this last example the group suffix clearly does not mark reference to a group of people. Here it is used as a polite way of avoiding particular reference to a single person of a certain kin group.

The suffix also occurs on the interrogative/indefinite pronoun ngana 'who/someone' which is then interpreted as the more general indefinite 'anyone'. For example:

179. ngana-marnu wii pithirri-npa-ra wii, ngurnaa paya-rninyji
who -GROUP if chill-INCB-CTEMP if thatACC drink-FUT

  jami -1.
  medicine-ACC

If anyone should get a chill, they drink that medicine.
It may be possible to link the -marnu group suffix to the generic use of the -marnu associative suffix described in 4.9 above. However, I have refrained from making the connection in this description.

4.17.5 Idiosyncratic Plurals

I have discovered only one idiosyncratic plural form in Martuthunira to date. All languages of the area show different plural forms for either or both of the words 'child' and 'little'. In Martuthunira the word kupuyu 'little' has the plural form kupiyaji. Panyjima and Yinyjiparnti have a number of special plural forms for botanical terms and it is possible that similar classes may also have existed in Martuthunira. Unfortunately, Algy Paterson's knowledge of Martuthunira botanical terms is not extensive.

4.18 Side -muyu

The side suffix added to a nominal marks the object or person denoted by the nominal as one of a set of contrasting entities. Typically, the suffix marks one of a pair of items, and by its appearance defines a binary opposition.
180. ngawu. ngurnu pirtiyarrangu-u, ngurnaa ngayu kangku-layi.
yes thatACC kurara wood-ACC thatACC 1sgNOM take -FUT

nhula -a pukarti -wuyu-u ngayu wantha-rnuru.
ear you-ACC snakewood-SIDE-ACC 1sgNOM leave -PRES

Yes. That kurara wood one, I'll take that one. I'll leave that
snakewood one of the pair.

181. ngayu mir.ta wiru kuliya-l.yarra karri-layi nhuwana-a,
1sgNOM not want hear -CTEMP stand-FUT 2pl -ACC

ngayu yar.ta-wuyu-lpurtu kanyara.
1sgNOM other -SIDE-COMP man

I don't want to be hearing you two, I'm a man of the
other side (affine).

182. ngunha karimarra-wyu puliyanyja kangku-lha ngurnu
thatNOM section -SIDE old man take -PAST thatACC

purungu-u wirta-a nhuura-ma-ru yinka-lwaa wirra -a
section-ACC youth-ACC know-CAUS-PURPss carve-PURPs:o boomerang-ACC

That karimarra old man took the purungu young man to
teach him to carve boomerangs.

183. ngawu. kuliyanpa-rra ngayu nhartu -u wiyaa wawayi-rninji,
yes think -CTEMP 1sgNOM something-ACC maybe look for-FUT

jalya -a -wuyu mirntirimarta-a-rru, tharlwan-ku-wuyu
useless-ACC-SIDE goanna -ACC-NOW tame -ACC-SIDE

Yes. I'm thinking about something I might go looking for, goannas
are on the useless (easy to catch) side, on the tame side.

The variable position of the suffix with respect to the relational
accusative is discussed in section 3.2.1 above.

4.19 Conjunction -thurti

The -thurti suffix functions as a NP conjunction. Typically it is attached
to both nominals in the conjoined expression but may appear on only one.
Where just one nominal bears the conjunction, it is usually understood as subordinate to the other nominal.

184. *ngunhu kanyara puni-layi minthal-va-rru kampa-l.yarra*  
thatNOM man go -FUT alone -γ -NOW cook -CTEMP  
thanuwa-ngara -a murla-thurti-i.  
food -PLURAL-ACC meat -CONJ -ACC  
That man will be cooking all the vegetables and meat by himself.

1pl(inc) paint-PASSP-PLURAL child-PLURAL youth-PLURAL-CONJ  
We've all been painted up, all the kids and the teenagers too.

186. *nganarna puliyanyja-ngara-thurti jantira -ngara-thurti*  
1pl(exc) old man -PLURAL-CONJ old woman-PLURAL-CONJ  
jalurra-a nhawu-layi  
dance-ACC watch-FUT  
We old men and old women will watch the dance.

187. *ngayu kampa-lalha thanuwa-ngara-a wuruma-l.yarra*  
1sgNOM cook -PAST food-PLURAL-ACC do for-CTEMP  
pawulu-ngara-a-thurti kanyara-ngara-a-thurti.  
child-PLURAL-ACC CONJ adult -PLURAL-ACC CONJ  
I cooked food for the children and the adults.

Nominals bearing the conjunction suffix may appear as sole constituents of NPs. In these cases the nominal marked with the suffix is assumed to be linked to some other nominal bearing the identical relational case in the immediate linguistic context. For example:

188. *ngurnu warrirti-i yungku-lu ngurnu -ngara -a kanyara-ngara-a*  
thatACC spear -ACC give-PURPss thatOBL-PLURAL-ACC man -PLURAL-ACC  
wurnta-lalha-nguru-u yungku-lu, marrari-i-thurti-rru wangka-lu -rru,  
brake -PAST -ABL-ACC give-PURPss word -ACC-CONJ -NOW say-PURPss-NOW  
Give that spear to those fellas who broke it, and say this to them too, ...

- 202 -
189. juwayu-la manku-layi jinyji-i thurnta-rninyji parna-a
hand -LOC get -FUT fat -ACC rub -FUT head-ACC

jinyji-marta kuliya-thurti-i.
fat -PROP ear -CONJ-ACC

Get some fat in your hand and rub your head with fat, and your ears too.

190. muyi yanga-lalha tharnta-a, kanyara-thurti, waruu-lpurtu
dog chase-PAST euro -ACC man -CONJ still-COMP

mirntiwul.
together

The dog, together with a man, chased a euro, the two of them together.

There are not enough examples in the data to allow a full study of the possible constraints on this long distance conjunction.

Like the side suffix -wyu, the conjunction shows some variation in ordering with respect to the relational accusative case suffix (3.2.1). On present evidence I am not able to say for certain whether this variation represents a low level violation of the principle of concentric scoping, or whether the different order indicates conjunction of constituents at different syntactic levels.

In addition, the -thurti suffix is the only nominal suffix which may be added to the nominative stem of the first and second person singular pronouns; all other suffixes are attached to the oblique stem (see 5.1 below). Together these facts suggest that -thurti has only marginal status as a suffix.
Chapter 5

Pronouns and Demonstratives

This chapter describes the forms and functions of the closed nominal subclasses; most importantly, pronouns and demonstratives. Sections 5.1 to 5.3 describe the personal pronouns, a system of possessive marking inflected for person, and the indefinite/interrogative pronoun and nominal. Sections 5.4 to 5.8, describe the demonstrative system, and the various interrogative/indefinite demonstrative forms based on the root -wantha 'where'. Finally, sections 5.9 and 5.10 describe the closed classes of locational nominals and temporal nominals respectively.

5.1 Pronouns

Like other Ngayarda languages, Martuthunira has a common Australian pronoun system with three numbers for first and second person. The functions of third person reference are performed largely by the demonstrative system although there is a third person plural form with a very restricted function (see 5.1.3 below). There is an inclusive/exclusive distinction for non-singular first person and, as in many other Australian languages,
there is also a special set of disharmonic pronoun forms for non-singular first person (5.1.2).

5.1.1 Paradigms

Table 5.1 presents the nominative forms of the pronoun paradigm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1(inc)</td>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>ngaliwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1(exc)</td>
<td>ngayu</td>
<td>ngaliya</td>
<td>nganarna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1disharmonic</td>
<td>nganajumarta</td>
<td>nganajumartangara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kartu</td>
<td>nhuwala</td>
<td>nhuwana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>pularna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some (historical) analysis of the pronoun forms is possible. Firstly, Martuthunira retains a number of pronoun forms which Dixon (1980) reconstructs for proto-Australian: 1dl(inc) ngali, 1pl(exc) nganarna (<*ngaNa) and 2dl nhuwala (<*NHu[m]paLV). The proto-Ngayarda 2sg pronoun *nyinta has been replaced by a form kartu cognate with the Yingkarta and Wajarri word kartu 'man, person' (Dench 1979). This loss of the original 2sg may be the result of politeness shifts. Similar replacements of an original 2sg have occurred in the Mantharta subgroup though in these languages the 2sg is replaced by a 2pl form (see Dench 1983). The 1dl(exc)
form ngaliya is based on 1dl(inc) ngali with the addition of a suffix -ya. 1pl(inc) is based on 1dl(inc) with an added suffix -wa. It is possible that this form is related to the common Ngayarda ngalikuru though the phonological changes involved cannot be clearly established for Martuthunira. Nevertheless, the form is very like the Kurrama 1pl(exc) ngaliwu and may have been borrowed from this language. The 2pl form, nhuwana, appears to be partially based on the 2dl form nhuwala. The forms suggest a partial analysis of nhuwala as root nhuwa with an added suffix -la. The identified root then forms the basis of the plural form and a suffix -na is added, probably by analogy to the 1pl(exc) form nganarna. Similarly, the 3pl pronoun replaces an original *thana 3pl and is based on the old 3dl pula with the similar addition of a -rna suffix by analogy with the 1pl(exc).

With the exception of 1sg, 2sg and 1dl(inc) all pronouns are inflected for case by the regular addition of nominal case suffixes. The 1sg, 2sg and 1dl(inc) forms are presented in Table 5.2, in comparison with the forms of the regularly inflected 1pl(inc).

Table 5.2: Inflected Pronoun Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>1dl(inc)</th>
<th>1pl(inc)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ngayu</td>
<td>kartu</td>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>ngaliwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>nganaju</td>
<td>kartungu</td>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>ngaliwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>nganaju</td>
<td>kartungu</td>
<td>ngaliwu</td>
<td>ngaliwaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>ngathala</td>
<td>kartungka</td>
<td>ngalila</td>
<td>ngaliwala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ngathalanguru</td>
<td>kartungkanguru</td>
<td>ngalilanguru</td>
<td>ngaliwalanguru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFF</td>
<td>ngathu</td>
<td>kartungku</td>
<td>ngalilu</td>
<td>ngaliwalu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The irregular forms set out in this table can be described as follows: Firstly, the 1dl(inc) pronoun ngali differs from the regular patterns of nominal inflection by selecting forms of the locative and effector suffixes usually restricted to stems of more than two morae. The 2sg pronoun kartu selects the 'proper nominal' form of the accusative and genitive suffixes but takes regular locative and effector inflections. The 1sg pronoun, on the other hand, has four distinct stems with the common syncretism of accusative and genitive forms, and the ablative involving the regular addition of the -nguru suffix to the locative stem.

With the exception of the locative ngathala, the forms of the 1sg pronoun do not resemble those of the 1sg paradigm of any other Ngayarda language. The 1sgNOM form is identical to the Yinyjiparnti and Kurrama 1sgACC form but a hypothesis that the Martuthunira pronoun was originally accusative would result in a tortuous history of case syncretisms which, given the syntactic history of these languages (Dench (1982b) seems very unlikely. Instead, it might be argued that 1sgNOM derives from a proto-form 1sgERG *ngathu. However, this hypothesis has the source of the modern 1sgNOM (the proto-S form) identical to the modern 1sgEFF (the proto-A form). While the historical syncretism might be expected in a language with an essentially ergative pattern of case-marking (which the proto-language undoubtedly had), phonological changes would not pick out just the S form. It seems most plausible that one or other of the two forms is borrowed from another language.

The 1sgACC/GEN nganaju cannot be related to the other 1sg forms. The cognate form also occurs as 1sgACC/GEN in the Ngayarda language Jurruru,
and as a 1sgDAT/GEN in the Mantharta languages; Jiwarli and Warriyangka. A
lenited form nganayi occurs in Tharrkari. In these languages also the
1sgDAT/GEN form cannot be related to other 1sg forms. The form may be a
replacement for an earlier 1sgDAT/Gen in all of these languages.

With the exception of the conjunction suffix -thurti which is attached
to the nominative stems, all other case forms of 1sg and 2sg involve the
addition of regular suffixes to the stems nganaju and kartungu. Inflected
genitive forms of these pronouns in some cases also involve the genitive
suffix -wu, suggesting that the stems be described as 'oblique'. Different
genitive forms for 1sg and 2sg are set out in table 5.3, once again in
comparison with the regular pattern for the 1pl(inc) ngaliwa. An
interlinear gloss is given for each form.

Table 5.3: Inflected Genitive Forms of 1sg and 2sg

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1sgGEN</th>
<th>2sgGEN</th>
<th>1pl(inc)GEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nganaju</td>
<td>kartungu</td>
<td>ngaliwa -wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sgGEN</td>
<td></td>
<td>2sgGEN</td>
<td>1pl(inc)-GEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>nganaju-u</td>
<td>kartungu-u</td>
<td>ngaliwa -wu -u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sgGEN-ACC</td>
<td></td>
<td>2sgGEN-ACC</td>
<td>1pl(inc)-GEN-ACC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>nganaju-wu -la</td>
<td>kartungu-wu -la</td>
<td>ngaliwa -wu -la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sgOBL-GEN-LOC</td>
<td></td>
<td>2sgOBL-GEN-LOC</td>
<td>1pl(inc)-GEN-LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFF</td>
<td>nganaju-wu -lu</td>
<td>kartungu-wu -lu</td>
<td>ngaliwa -wu -lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sgOBL-GEN-EFF</td>
<td></td>
<td>2sgOBL-GEN-EFF</td>
<td>1pl(inc)-GEN-EFF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLURAL</td>
<td>nganaju-wu -ngara</td>
<td>kartungu-wu -ngara</td>
<td>ngaliwa -wu -ngara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sgOBL-GEN-PLURAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>2sgOBL-GEN-PLURAL</td>
<td>1pl(inc)-GEN-PLURAL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The functions of the pronouns are quite straightforward and require
little discussion here. The following example includes a number of
pronominal forms and demonstrates quite clearly the use made of the
inclusive/exclusive contrast for first person. Other examples can be found throughout the thesis and in the texts presented in Appendix C.

1. ngunhaa, nganarna-lu, yilu ngathu, manku-yangu
   thatNOM 1pl(exc)-EFF thisEFF 1sgEFF grab -PASSP
   jarrkurti-lu. ngaliwa -rru, kartu-thurti-rru puni-layi,
   three -EFF 1pl(inc)-NOW 2sgNOM-CONJ -NOW go -FUT
   ngaliwa mirntiwul-wa-rru ngurnaa jarraa-ru.
   1pl(inc) all -Ø -NOW thatACC tie up-PURPss

   That one, we, this fellow and I, three of us, grabbed him.
   All of us now, you as well, we'll all go and tie him up.

5.1.2 Disharmonic Pronouns

The two disharmonic pronouns are used as polite forms when the addressee and speaker are in different alternate generation sets. The relationship between any other (third person) included referent and either the speaker or the addressee is not relevant. The pronoun forms are synchronically analyseable as the 1sgOBL stem with the addition of the proprietive suffix and, in the plural, the further addition of the regular plural suffix. Thus the dual form means, literally, "the one with me", and the plural means "the many with me". I doubt that speakers have this literal meaning in mind when using the form yet it may reveal something of the way in which interaction between disharmonic kin is viewed.

Although the pronouns are ambiguous between an inclusive and an exclusive reading, the speaker's use of a form referring to the speaker with another approaches the usual understanding of a first person exclusive pronoun. This implied exclusion of the addressee is quite in keeping with
the type of behaviour appropriate between disharmonic kin (see Dench 1987). In addition, plural pronoun forms, including the disharmonic plural, may be used as a gesture of politeness, to refer to individuals or pairs of individuals. A similar use of the -marnu group suffix on kinterms was described in 4.17.4.

5.1.3 Third Person Pronoun pularna

The third person plural pronoun has a very restricted function; it serves as a definite anaphor for plural NPs. It refers to a group of entities already established in text and specifically implies that the membership of that group has not changed. This emphasis on no change in group membership is unimportant for anaphoric reference to NPs denoting individuals (singular) or pairs of individuals (duals) and it is thus not surprising that pularna has no singular or dual counterparts.

In the following examples the 3pl pronoun and the NP making the initial group reference are underlined.

2. nganarna karra-ngka-rru tharrwa-lha nyina-marri-layi puyila,
   1pl(exc) scrub-LOC -NOW enter -PAST sit -COLL -FUT long way

   ngunnu -ngara patharri-nyila kanyara-ngara wantamartu-ngara,
   thatNOM-PLURAL fight -PRREL man -PLURAL crazy -PLURAL

   wuraal -wa-rru nhuwa-yarri-layi pularna yirla-rru.
   alright-\$-NOW spear-COLL -FUT 3pl only -NOW

We'll go off into the scrub and stay a good distance away, since those crazy people are fighting. Alright, they can be spearing each other and no-one else.
3. **Nhiyu wanpari-ngara, wanthala wii nyina-marri-layi kalyaran-ta,** thisNOM bee -PLURAL where -COLL -FUT tree -LOC

**Warrama-lalha pularna-wu -u ngurra-α, kanarri-wala warmu ngunhu**
make -PAST 3pl -GEN-ACC camp-ACC come -PURPds ASSERT thatNOM

**Jayimarta, manyu -lpurtu ngunhas.**
insect(sp.) hungry-COMP thatNOM

These bees, wherever they camp in a tree, make their home, that **Jayimarta** will come, hungry [wanting a feed of honey].

4. **Nhuvana mirntiwl kanarri-layi pawlu-thurti wartirra-thurti,**
2pl all come -FUT child -CONJ woman -CONJ

**Ngayu patha-rrwala ngulangu Kawyu-nguru. ngaliwa karlwa-layi**
1sgNOM throw-PURPds there name -ABL 1pl(inc) go up -FUT

**Kawyu-ngu.** "**Puni-lha pularna.**"
name -ACC go -PAST 3pl

"You all come, children, women and all, and I'll throw it there, from Kawyu. We'll go and climb Kawyu." And so they went.

Martuthunira is not the only language in the area to have restricted an old third person pronoun to definite anaphoric reference. In Panyjima, forms based on the third person singular pronoun thana (itself an old plural) are used to make specific anaphoric reference. Interestingly, where no antecedent occurs, the Panyjima third person pronoun is taken to refer quite unambiguously to a person's father's father or son's son.

5.2 Kin Possessive Pronouns

A number of special morphological systems allow special reference to kinship possession in Martuthunira. Firstly, there is a special form of the first person singular pronoun, **jurti '1sgPOSS'** which is used to indicate possessive kin relationships. Secondly, suffixes which denote particular
categories of kin may be attached to pronouns. Thirdly, kinship nominals may be inflected by one of a set of suffixes which indicate the person of the possessor. This section describes the interaction of these systems.

5.2.1 1sgPOSS jurti

The 1sgPOSS pronoun is illustrated in the following examples:

5. ngunhu, jurti kampalalba, nhuwa-lalha thanrnta-a yawarru-rru.
thatNOM 1sgPOSS uncle spear-PAST euro -ACC missed -NOW

That fellow, my own uncle, speared at a euro and missed it.

6. jurti mirtayi mir.ta-rru mungka-lalha murla-a, parlura paju.
1sgPOSS big not -NOW eat -PAST meat-ACC full REAL

My own elder brother didn't eat any meat, he was too full.

7. yimpala -rru-wa kartu, jurti marryamu, nyina-layi nhuwala
like that-NOW-YK 2sgNOM 1sgPOSS Bro-in-law be -FUT 2dl

nhuunuwa...
spouse(pr.)

That's what you're like, my brother-in-law, the two of you together, husband and wife.

The jurti pronoun is not reported for any other Ngayarda language but does occur as the general first person singular dative/genitive in Thalanyji (Austin 1981d). Here it appears to have replaced an earlier 1sgDAT/GEN form just as the form nganaju has done in Martuthunira, Jurruru and the Mantharta languages.

The jurti pronoun, along with other pronouns may take one of two suffixes which denote particular kin relationships. Firstly, two suffixes allow reference specifically to members of a person's own mother's or father's sibling group:
The following examples illustrate the use of these kin-group suffixes on jurti 1sgPOSS:

8. jurti-ngulharn wii jurti -wula -thurti. jurti-ngulharn-tharra-a 1sgPOSS-PATRI or 1sgPOSS-MATRI-CONJ 1sgPOSS-PATRI -DUAL-ACC

yaanka -a jurti-wula -tharra wii panyu wiyaa nhuwala. spouse(pr.)-ACC 1sgPOSS-MATRI-DUAL or good maybe 2dl

That's one of your own father's mob together with one of your own mother's mob. Toward those two married people, your father's own people and your mother's own people, you should behave properly.

9. ngayu nhuura-ma-rnu jurti -wula -lu, pipi -ngku nganaju-wu-lu, 1sgNOM know-CAUS-PASSP 1sgPOSS-MATRI-EFF mother-EFF 1sgOBL-GEN-EFF

wantharni-i kanpari-i pani -lwaa.
how -ACC seed -ACC grind-PURPs:o

I was taught how to grind seeds by my mother.

The suffixes select jurti and kartu stems of 1sg and 2sg respectively but for other pronoun forms the suffixes are attached to a stem with a lengthened final vowel. For example:

ngalii-ngulharn our (dl) own father

nhuwanaa-wula your (pl) own mother

The pronominal stems in these forms suggest that the suffix was originally a separate word taking an accusative pronoun complement (see 4.3.4 and 9.2.1). However, the patterns of nominal suffixing illustrated in 8 and 9 above make it clear that the forms are now bound to the pronominal stem.

The two suffixes may also be attached to the definite demonstratives ngurnula and yirnala when these occur together with a proper nominal:
ngurnula-ngulbarll pirrjilingu Pirrjilingu's own father

These kin-referring pronoun forms are generally used only between harmonic kin and are considered to be too harsh for use within earshot of disharmonic kin (most importantly, those people to whom the term refers). Instead, the belonging and owner suffixes may be used when talking to disharmonic kin about members of their own generation. The -ngura 'proper nominal' form of the belonging suffix is used on both 2sg and 1sgPOSS stems and on the definite demonstratives, but is optional for other pronouns with the exception of 1sg, where the -wura form is obligatorily attached to the oblique stem. The -waya owner suffix selects the bare stem forms of the 1sgPOSS pronoun and definite demonstratives, but selects the oblique forms of 1sg and 2sg, and usually a stem in -ngu for all other pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1sgPOSS</th>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>1dl(inc)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BELONG</td>
<td>jurti-ngura</td>
<td>nganaju-wura</td>
<td>kartu-ngura</td>
<td>ngali-ngura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OWNER</td>
<td>jurti-waya</td>
<td>nganaju-waya</td>
<td>kartungu-waya</td>
<td>ngali-ngu-waya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The selection of a -ngu stem for pronouns such as ngali which do not otherwise have such a stem form extends on occasions to kinterms human terms and proper nominals which take the -waya suffix. This suggests that the -ngu formative in these pronouns functions as a proper nominal marker rather than as a special oblique stem formative (3.1.1.2).

10. ngunhu -tharra ngurnula-ngu-wura mari -wura pawulu-tharra.
    thatNOM-DUAL thatDEF -GEN-BELONG sister-BELONG child -DUAL

Those two were his younger sister's children.
11. "ngana-ngura ngunhu jal.yu wanarra?"
   who -BELONG thatNOM neck long

   "Ah! ngunhaa jurti -ngura -nu, ngunhaa.
   Ah thatNOM 1sgPOSS-BELONG-QUOT thatNOM

   "Whose is that fellow with the long neck?"
   "Ah! That's one of my lot."

12. ngayu puni-lha ngunmu nhawu-lu, ngunmu -lwa ngurnula-waya
   1sgNOM go -PAST thatACC see-PURFss thatNOM-ID thatDEF -OWNER

   mayiili -ngu-waya.
   SoSo+1POSS-PNM-owner

   I went to see that fellow, that one who is the father of that
grandchild of mine.

   This last example demonstrates a common pattern of reference to
disharmonic kin through their children (who are thus harmonic to the
speaker). Teknonymic reference of this kind, which is also common in the
local variety of Aboriginal English, often involves the addition of the
owner suffix to the name of the eldest child in a family. Reference to
one's own siblings by name is also considered impolite and similar
teknonymic reference is preferred.

   The following example illustrates the use of the kin-group suffixes
together with the belonging suffix:

13. nganarna-wuara -wula wurtu pawulu. piyuwa wurtu yarta-npa -lha
   1pl(exc)-BELONG-MATRI HYPTB child nothing HYPTB other-INCH-PAST

   paju kampaiba paju. pirriyarta-wula wurtu kartu pawulu
   REAL kinsman REAL own -MATRI HYPTB 2sgNOM child

   nganarna-wuara -wula wurtu.
   1pl(exc)-BELONG-MATRI HYPTB

   You're supposedly one of our close kin, one of our 'children'
(mother's mob to one of our family), but it seems not, you've gone
the other way child. You're supposed to be one of our mob.
Finally, the 1sgPOSS pronoun has a form jurtimpara, denoting 'own sibling group', for which other pronoun forms have no counterpart. The form possibly involves an old dative/genitive suffix -mpa (see Dench 1983) with the addition of a -ra suffix which also figures in the -mura/-ngura belonging suffix.

2.2.2 Possessive Suffixes

Martuthunira kinterms may be inflected for the person (though not the number) of the possessor. Table 5.4 presents different possessed forms for a selection of kinterms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1POSS</th>
<th>2POSS</th>
<th>3POSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>brother-in-law</td>
<td>nyimu-uni</td>
<td>nyimu-malyura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>son</td>
<td>mura-ani</td>
<td>mura-malyura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother's brother</td>
<td>mimi-ini</td>
<td>mimi-malyura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father's father</td>
<td>mayiili</td>
<td>mayili-malyura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father's mother</td>
<td>ngapaari</td>
<td>ngapari-malyura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter</td>
<td>kurntal-yu</td>
<td>kurntal-malyura</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As this paradigm shows, the second and third person possessive forms involve the simple addition of suffixes -malyura and -nhanu respectively, to the kinterm stem. The first person possessive forms, on the other hand, involve three separate processes. Firstly, disyllabic kinterms with a final vowel take a suffix of general form -ni, which involves lengthening of the final vowel of the stem. Secondly, trisyllabic kinterms have their
penultimate vowel lengthened and thus conform to the pattern of three syllables with penultimate long vowel established by the addition of the -mi suffix to disyllabic stems. Finally, kinterms with a final consonant take a suffix -yu, which can be related to a -ju first person singular possessive suffix in other languages (for example, Jiwarli (Austin ms)).

The following sentences illustrate the use of the possessed kinterms:

14. mura-sa! kartu wural puni-layi manku-lu ngamari-l?
   son-1POSS 2sgNOM alright go -FUT get-PURPss tobacco-ACC
   My son, can you go and get some tobacco?

15. ngayu kangku-lha mayiili -marnu-ngu kulhampa-arta.
   1sgNOM take -PAST SoSo+1POSS-GROUP-ACC fish -DirALL
   I took my grandchildren fishing.

16. ngunhaa mimi-malyura puni-nguru, ngunhu-tharra yaanka.
   thatNOM uncle-2POSS go -PRES thatNOM-DUAL spouse(pr.)
   That uncle of yours is going, he and his wife together.

17. kartu, nhawu-yarri-wayara nyinu -malyura-marnu-ngu?
   2sgNOM see -COLL -HABIT Bro-in-law-2POSS -GROUP-ACC
   Have you ever met that brother-in-law of yours?

18. ngunhaa kanyara mir.ta kanarri-marri-lha mayili-nhanu-ngu
   thatNOM man not come -COLL-PAST FaFa -3POSS-ACC
   kulhi-lwarri-lu thungkara-a.
   bury -COLL-PURPss ground -ACC
   That man didn’t come to bury his grandson.

   old man father-SPEC wild-INCH-PRES little-DUAL-ACC
   That old man, their father, is getting wild with the two little fellows.
5.3 Indefinite/Interrogative Pronouns

5.3.1 ngana 'Who/Someone'

The indefinite/interrogative pronoun ngana 'who/someone' has the following case forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ngana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC/GEN</td>
<td>nganangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>nganala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>nganalanguru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFF</td>
<td>nganalu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other case forms are generally attached to the nganangu stem. However, unlike the 1sg and 2sg pronouns, further inflected forms of the genitive do not involve the -wu suffix. Thus a form like nganangu-milyarra is potentially ambiguous between a reading 'towards whom/someone', where the stem is interpreted as oblique, and 'towards something belonging to whom/someone' where the stem is interpreted as genitive. In fact, there are no unelicited examples of such complex inflected forms of the pronoun in the data and these patterns may be an artefact of elicitation.

When functioning as an interrogative ngana typically appears in sentence initial position as in the following examples:

20. ngana ngunhu wartirra nyina-nguru karra-ngka muyimu-npi -rra?
    who thatNOM woman sit -PRES scrub-LOC hidden-INCH-CTEMP

    Who is that woman hiding in the scrub?
21. nganalu nhiyaa marli wurnta-rnu warriri-ma-nggu-layi?  
whoEFF thisNOM cadjeput cut -PASSP spear -CAUS-PASS-FUT  
Who was this cadjeput wood made into a spear by?

22. nganangu kupuyu puni-nguru kartawinka-rra?  
whoGEN little go -PRES unsteady-CTEMP  
Whose is this little fellow who's going along unsteadily [toddling]?  
The following examples illustrate the general indefinite uses of the pronoun:

23. ngayu pamarri-lha ngurra-wurri, mir.ta waruuul ngana wii  
1sgNOM call out-PAST ground-DIRECT not still someone or  
pamaru wirri-lha nganaju.  
call back -PAST 1sgACC  
I called out towards the camp, and still no-one called back to me.

24. ngularla-lwa wiyaa wanyjarri-nguru warinyuwa nganangu  
thereNS -ID maybe go -PRES Mo&Fa-in-law someoneACC  
puranyi-ru ngularla-lwa karri-nyila-a.  
see -PURPss thereNS -ID stand-PrREL-ACC  
Maybe my mother-in-law and father-in-law are going to see someone somewhere over there.

25. ngayu nyina-lha martama -l.yarra palykura -la nganangu -la  
1sgNOM sit -PAST press on-CTEMP groundsheet-LOC someoneGEN-LOC  
I sat down on someone's groundsheet, holding it down.

5.3.2 nganamarnu 'Anyone'  
The nganamarnu pronoun is derived by the addition of the -marnu group suffix to the indefinite/interrogative pronoun. Like ngana, it takes an accusative/genitive form in -ngu.
26. nganamarnu wii pithirri-npa -rra wii, anyone maybe chill -INCH-CTEMP maybe

ngurnaa paya -rninyji jami -i.
thatACC drink-FUT medicine-ACC

If anyone gets a chill, they drink that jami medicine.

27. pawulu, kartu kuliya-rninyji nganaju wangka-nyi-layi-a. ngayu
child 2sgNOM listen-FUT 1sgACC say -PrREL-ACC 1sgNOM

wangka-layi kartungu panyu-ma-l.yarra mir.ta nyina-waa
say -FUT 2sgACC good -CAUS-CTEMP not sit-PURPs:o

wantawanta mir.ta-l paya-npa -ngu -layi nganamarnu-lu.
silly not-THEN wild-INCH-PASS-FUT anyone -EFF

Kid, you listen to me talking! I'll tell you, make you well
behaved so you won't be silly and won't be growled at by anyone.

As these examples suggest, there is a subtle difference between the two
indefinite pronouns ngana and nganamarnu. Ngana assumes a particular
referent who is known to exist but whose identity is not known to the
speaker. However, the nganamarnu pronoun makes no assumption about the
existence of any particular person. The following examples illustrate this
difference more clearly.

28. nhulaa kanyara thurlanyarrara ngaliwa-mulyarra kanarri-lha
near you man poor fellow 1pl{inc)-ALL come -PAST

wawayi-l.yarra nganangu juwayumarta-a.
look for-CTEMP someoneACC doctor -ACC

That man near you came to us looking for a doctor (assuming
there was one).

29. ngayu kuyi.l thurlanyarrara, ngayu puni-layi nganamarnu-ngu
1sgNOM bad poor fellow 1sgNOM go -FUT anyone -ACC

wii wawayi-l.yarra juwayumarta-a.
if look for-CTEMP doctor -ACC

I'm poorly, I'll go and see if there's a doctor, if anyone's a doctor.
5.3.3 Indefinite/Interrogative Nominal nhartu 'What/Something'

The interrogative and indefinite uses of the nominal nhartu are illustrated in the following examples:

30. ngaliwa nhartu -ngara -a wii kanyja-rninyji muyinu-u paju.
   1pl(inc) something-PLURAL-ACC or keep -FUT hidden-ACC REAL
   We'll keep things well hidden.

31. panyu-1 kupiyaji puni-waa, mir.ta kanta wurnta-rnu
   good-THEN little(pl) go-PURPs=o not leg cut -PASSP
   nhartu -ngku wii, parla-ngara-lu wii.
   something-EFF or rock-PLURAL-EFF or
   Those little fellows will be good then, won't have their legs cut by anything, rocks or whatever.

32. nhartu-u nhwana pawulu-ngara thaaparinpa-marri-nguru?
   what-ACC 2pl child-PLURAL argue -COLL -PRES
   What are you kids arguing about?

   In addition, nhartu forms the basis of two interrogative/ indefinite verb forms; the intransitive nhartu-npa-Ø 'what/something happen', and the transitive nhartu-ma-L 'do what/something'. See 10.6 for further discussion of interrogative clauses.

33. nhartu-npa-lha-1purru? ngunhaa parna wiya kuyil, wantamartu.
   what-INCH-PAST-COMP thatNOM head maybe bad crazy
   What's happened? Maybe he's bad in the head, crazy.

34. nhartu-ma-rninyji-lwa ngunhaa yirna -ngara -a warriri-ngara-a?
   what-CAUS-FUT -ID thatNOM thisOBL-PLURAL-ACC spear -PLURAL-ACC
   What's he going to do with these spears?
5.4 Demonstrative Forms

The demonstrative class can be subdivided into a set of 'adnominal' demonstratives and a set of 'adverbial' demonstratives. Adnominal demonstratives make reference to entities in terms of their relative distance from the speech act participants. They occur as either modifiers or heads in NPs. The adverbial demonstratives, on the other hand, provide locational qualification of a predication. Although the two types of demonstrative differ in function they are semantically and morphologically related and so are described together in this chapter. This section describes the forms of the demonstratives, their functions are described in sections 5.5 and 5.6.

The basic demonstrative stems are presented in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Demonstrative Stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Distal</th>
<th>'Near You'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nhiyu</td>
<td>ngunhu</td>
<td>nhula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC/OBL</td>
<td>yirna</td>
<td>ngurnu</td>
<td>nhula-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFF</td>
<td>yilu</td>
<td>ngulu</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>yila</td>
<td>ngula</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distal stems allow further analysis into a base ngu- (probably an original monosyllabic root, see Dixon 1980:361) with case dependent formatives; nominative -nhu, accusative/oblique -rmu, effector -lu and
locative -la. The proximal paradigm shows a nominative form distinct from other case forms which involve the base yi-. The proximal and distal forms in this paradigm provide the basis for all adnominal demonstratives described below and discussed in 5.5 below. The adverbial demonstratives are based on the locative stems and are discussed in section 3.

The 'near you' demonstrative has a very restricted function and a similarly restricted paradigm. It rarely appears in any case other than nominative or accusative and inflects like a regular nominal. It has an anaphoric counterpart nbulaa (indistinguishable from the accusative) but there is no definite demonstrative form and no set of adverbial demonstratives based on a locative stem.

5.4.1 Adnominal Forms

The adnominal demonstratives may take a range of nominal suffixes depending on their function within NPs and in wider clausal constituents. Table 5.6 illustrates two extensions of the simple paradigm. In comparison with the marked anaphoric and definite demonstratives, these are referred to as 'plain' demonstrative forms throughout the thesis.
Firstly, Table 5.6 lists the dual and plural counterparts of the demonstratives presented in Table 5.5. With the exception of the nominative, these involve the addition of the productive number suffixes to the singular oblique stem, followed by the appropriate case suffix. The nominative non-singular forms are based on the singular nominative stem.
In the proximal paradigm there has been some historical adjustment of the stem and number suffix combination:

• DhiJU-tbarra > Dhiiyarra
• Db.1111-ngara > DhiiDgara

Secondly, Table 5.6 includes inflected demonstratives for which there is not a unique stem form. With the exception of the ablative all involve the addition of regular nominal suffixes to the singular oblique stem. The ablative, as expected, is based on the locative stem (but see section 5.5.5). Once again, dual and plural extensions in all case forms are built on the oblique stem.

Locative and ablative NPs (unlike nominative, accusative and effector NPs) can occur as adnominal modifiers in more complex noun phrases and may take further relational case suffixes. Thus the singular locative and ablative demonstrative forms listed in Table 5.6 can be further inflected. However, adnominal locative and ablative demonstratives are in fact not at all common. Martuthunira employs the locational adverbial demonstratives in preference to NPs including a locative demonstrative (see section 5.6.1).

Anaphoric demonstratives, described in section 5.5.2, occur for only the singular forms of nominative and accusative cases.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nhiyaa</td>
<td>ngunhaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>yirnna</td>
<td>ngurnaa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Table 5.7: Anaphoric Demonstrative Forms
These demonstratives show regular formative changes to the stems listed in Table 5.5: the addition of a vowel $a$ and a change in the final vowel of the stem where this was previously $u^2$.

The definite demonstratives $yirnala$ and $ngurnula$ are formed by the addition of the $-la$ 'particularizing' formative (5.4.3) to the proximal and distal oblique stems. Inflected forms of the definite demonstratives involve the addition of regular nominal suffixes to these stems. However, the genitive form of the definite distal obligatorily selects the $-ngu$ genitive allomorph and has developed a degree of grammatical specificity suggesting that the form $ngurnulangu$ be treated as a special form outside of the general paradigm. This is discussed in section 5.5.3.

5.4.2 Adverbial Forms

The adverbial demonstrative forms all involve suffixed additions to the locative adnominal demonstrative stem. These are set out in Table 5.8:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locational</th>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-specific</td>
<td>yilangu</td>
<td>ngulangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-visible</td>
<td>yilarla</td>
<td>ngularla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yilarni</td>
<td>ngularni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The locational forms involve the addition of a suffix $-ngu$ to the locative demonstrative stem but it is difficult to be sure of the origin of this suffix. It is tempting to relate it to the proper nominal marker described in 3.1.1.2, but this will require further detailed historical
analysis. The non-specific forms involve a suffix -rla which can be identified with the -la 'particularizing' formative (5.4.3) The non-visible forms show a suffix -rni which is possibly related to the nominal suffix -ngurni 'OBSCuReD' (4.15).

5.4.3 The -la 'Particularizing' Demonstrative Formative

Three different demonstrative systems show evidence of a -la stem formative: the 'definite' adnominal demonstratives (e.g. ngurnula), the 'non-specific' adverbial demonstratives (e.g. ngularla), and the interrogative/ indefinite demonstrative wantala (5.8.1). The identification of the -la suffix in the 'non-specific' forms depends on the variable allophonic rule whereby the second of a pair of apical sonorants (separated by a vowel) may be realised as a retroflex (see 2.5.7).

For all of these forms the suffix indicates the speaker's belief that a particular entity or place filling a certain description exists and can be found. The rather different interpretations of demonstratives in the three classes depends on the referential functions of the stems to which -la is attached. These are described in following sections.

Other Australian languages show evidence of a -la demonstrative formative with apparently similar functions to the Martuthunira suffix. Dixon (1972) describes variants of the Dyirbal noun markers (corresponding to adnominal demonstratives) involving a lengthening of the root by the addition of -la. For example, the usual paradigm based on a root ba- has a set of variants, "heard only occasionally", based on a bala- root, which:
imply an indefiniteness of locational specification. Thus
*balu* 'to there', implying some specific place, but *balaru* 'to
some place or other over there'.

Dixon (1972:255)

Dixon argues that the *bala-* forms are basic and the shorter and more
common *ba-* forms occur through general elision of the second syllable.
Alternatively, the *ba-* demonstratives might be considered the basic (plain)
forms with the *bala* forms, probably descending from an old locative stem,
being a separate demonstrative class. Without knowing more details of the
semantics of the 'indefinite' Dyirbal forms it is not possible to be sure
that the same particularizing of a location as described in Martuthunira is
occurring here as well. The forms and Dixon's comments are, however, very
suggestive.

Donaldson (1980) describes a Ngiyambaa suffix *-la*: 'established
reference', which is added to demonstratives:

*-*la*: indicates that the reference of the determiner to which
it is attached is already known to the participants in the
conversation, whether as a result of an ostensive gesture, or
of some previous remark, or both.

Donaldson (1980:137)

She notes also that *-la*: is "obligatory where a demonstrative functions
anaphorically as opposed to ostensively" (1980:139). The semantics of this
suffix are not investigated in detail but these comments suggest that the
Ngiyambaa form is similar in some ways to the Martuthunira definite
demonstrative forms. Again, the similarity of the suffix to the general
Australian locative *-la* is intriguing.
5.5 Adnominal Demonstrative Functions

This section discusses the semantics of the adnominal demonstratives, concentrating on the differences among plain, anaphoric and definite forms.

The primary function of the demonstratives is to refer to an entity in terms of its relative proximity to the speaker. However in addition to this, the demonstratives play a crucial role in maintaining text cohesion. Martuthunira has no distinct third person pronouns (either as free forms or as bound clitics) and thus much of the burden of 'pronominal' reference is carried by the demonstrative system. It is important to distinguish this endophoric function from the primary exophoric function. The meanings which must be attributed to the demonstratives in each case are quite different.

The use of particular demonstrative forms in any text typically involves an interplay of exophoric and endophoric reference. For example, once an object is referred to by virtue of its spatial proximity to the speaker it becomes a text item. The subsequent use of a demonstrative to refer to this item will depend partly on the referent's continuing relative proximity to the speaker and partly on guiding patterns of cohesive text organization. However, texts involving very little exophoric reference do occur. In particular, stories describing historical events or the actions of legendary culture heroes are often narrated in a situation that does not allow successful exophoric reference to characters or places. In these
texts the patterns of endophoric demonstrative usage are most clearly defined and allow independent definition of endophoric meanings. The following sections describe both exophoric and endophoric functions of the various demonstrative forms.

5.5.1 Plain Demonstratives

The exophoric functions of the demonstratives are quite straightforward. The proximal has a basic exophoric function as a presentative 'this', and is very often accompanied by some gesture indicating the referent.

35. nhiyu warnan parnta-rnuru-rru warnu ngaliwa -a.
   thisNOM rain rain -PRES -NOW ASSERT 1pl(inc)-ACC
   This rain is really coming down on us now.

36. nhawungarra ngaliwa, nhiyu murtimurti-npa-nyila pirntura.
   look out 1pl(inc) thisNOM fast -INCH-PrREL wave
   We'd better look out, this wave is coming in quickly.

The proximal is generally used to pick out referents which are relatively close to the speaker while distal forms are used for referents located at some distance.

Typically the proximal will cover things that are also close to the addressee, however the separate 'near you' demonstrative, nhula, allows more specific reference to objects within the addressee's sphere of influence. For example:
37. *nhula* manyarrka wantha-rryu nganaju-wu-la parrka-ngka
near you sugar put -IMP 1sgOBL-GEN-LOC leaf -LOC

kayarra mirutiri winya.
two spoon full

Put that sugar in my tea, two spoonfulls.

near you-DUAL separate-CAUS-IMP near you fight -PRES

Split those two up, they're fighting.

39. Ya! *nhula* kanyara manthawarla paju warmu mungka-rnuru
Hey near you man greedy REAL ASSERT eat -PRES

thanuwa-thurti-i, jinyjiwarla-npa-layi paju-rru.
food -CONJ-ACC fat -INCH-FUT REAL-NOW

Hey! That man's very greedy eating the food and everything, he'll be getting very fat.

In non-situated text (1.6.4.5) the proximal demonstrative serves the important function of introducing a participant to the action described in the narrative. This function is clearly related to the exophoric function of the demonstrative as a basic presentative. Where a participant is introduced for the first time it is generally assumed that the addressee will be quite able to uniquely identify the person or object referred to; either through familiarity with the story (or at least the events and characters taking part), or through familiarity with the participants and their common roles in stock situations. Very often the speaker provides some additional identifying information following the demonstrative introduction. For example:

40. *nhiyu* martawulyu, palyarringu-nyungu, ngunhaa panyu jami.
thisNOM sap bloodwood -DWELL thatNOM good medicine

This sap, from a bloodwood tree, that's good medicine.
The proximal is also used to reintroduce a participant who for some time has taken a 'back seat' in the progression of events in the narrative. Typically, this reintroduction heralds a switch in the focus of the narrative: the new character becomes the central participant; the person who, in the narrator's opinion, provides the key to the unfolding of the events in the story.

In comparison with the important presentative function of the proximal, the distal demonstrative as used in non-situated text has very little deictic meaning. Its role in maintaining cohesive narrative is more a function of the contrast between plain and anaphoric forms than the result of any inherent meaning in the distal stem. In many ways the singular plain distal demonstrative is similar to the English definite article 'the'. It indicates that a referent satisfying a description (if the demonstrative is part of an NP) or satisfying the grammatical role of subject or object or whatever (if the demonstrative is the head of a NP) exists and can be found by the addressee. The identity of the referent is assumed to be retrievable from linguistic context, not by strict syntactic rule but by inference. Of course, the plain demonstrative stem may bear suffixes (such as number markers) which add to the referential content of the demonstrative word as a whole, and so narrow the range of possible antecedents. Also, the demonstrative may occur in a syntactic position which, given certain rules of grammar, leaves no question as to the referential antecedent.
5.5.2 Anaphoric Demonstratives

The anaphoric forms of the distal demonstrative play an extremely important role in maintaining text cohesion. Essentially, anaphoric demonstratives track those participants which form the speaker's current focus of interest. In any portion of narrative typically one of a number of participants will be singled out for special treatment. This may be because that participant's actions are of most interest to the narrator, or are assumed by the narrator to be of most interest to the addressee, or because the actions of the particular participant have the greatest bearing on the unfolding of events in the narrative. Participants singled out in this way may be tracked using anaphoric demonstrative forms. All other participants appear with plain forms.

Where the focus of interest moves to a new participant, the change will be reflected in the switching of anaphoric forms from one participant to another. As mentioned already, such a change may be introduced by a proximal demonstrative though the straightforward switching of anaphoric reference from one participant to another may serve the same function. These patterns are illustrated for a lengthy portion of narrative text in Appendix B.

Anaphoric proximal forms are rare in text and occur almost exclusively in situated discourse. In such situations the demonstrative combines exophoric reference to an object or person located nearby with the endophoric reference implicit in the anaphoric form. That is, the participant located near the speaker is considered to be the focus of
interest in the discussion. In 41 the speakers, a group of devils, 
conspire to steal Pannawonica hill from a rival group:

41. nhiyu parla panyu paju. nganarna wiru kangku-layi yirnaa. 
thisNOM hill good very 1pl(excl) wanting take -FUT thisACC

This hill is very nice. We want to take this one away.

Table 5.9 allows a comparison of the frequency of particular 
demonstrative forms in samples of non-situated narrative and situated 
reported speech. Only plain forms contrasting with anaphoric forms were 
counted (i.e. singular nominative or accusative case forms). The sample 
also excluded all instances of text reference (5.5.4) and demonstratives 
making temporal reference (5.5.5).

Table 5.9 : Frequency of Demonstrative Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>non-situated text</th>
<th>situated text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Proximal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plain</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anaphoric</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subtotal</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Distal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plain</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anaphoric</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subtotal</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>548</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Firstly, the special presentative function of proximal demonstratives is 
reflected by a much smaller proportion of proximal to distal forms in the
non-situated text sample (91 to 457). Conversely, the proximal forms outnumber the distal forms in situated text, where they have a clear exophoric function (95 to 56).

Secondly, anaphoric forms account for more than half of the distal forms in the non-situated sample thus demonstrating the important function these forms play in maintaining a cohesive text. In the situated text sample anaphoric demonstratives do not form as large a portion of either distal or proximal forms.

As might be expected, the foregrounding function of the anaphorics results in a higher proportion of subject to object forms for the anaphoric demonstrative as compared with the plain demonstrative. Figures for the distal demonstratives are shown in Table 5.10.

| Table 5.10 : Subject to Object Ratios for Distal Demonstratives |
|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| subject    | object | S:O ratio |
| plain      | 142    | 64          | 2.2           |
| anaphoric  | 218    | 39          | 5.6           |

However, despite their important function, it must be remembered that anaphoric forms contrast with singular plain demonstratives only in nominative and accusative cases. There are no anaphoric complements to plain demonstratives in other case forms, or to dual and plural demonstrative forms based on the plain stem. This is not at all surprising. Firstly, anaphoric forms, in tracking highly topical participants, might not be expected to occur in syntactic slots other than the core argument positions of predicates.
Secondly, demonstratives inflected for number are of greater referential content than the simple singular stem (the appearance of a singular demonstrative does not guarantee a singular referent). Dual demonstratives, in particular, are highly referential and need no anaphoric counterpart to facilitate their successful tracking in discourse. Thus although it is true to say that typically one participant is tracked by anaphoric demonstrative forms, other participants, by virtue of their dual or plural marking, may be equally visible in a text.

The non-situated narrative text sample included 53 proximal non-singular demonstrative forms and 137 distal non-singular demonstratives. The situated speech sample included only 4 proximal and 5 distal non-singular forms. These figures can be compared with those presented for singular demonstrative forms in Table 5.9 above.

5.5.3 Definite Demonstratives

The definite demonstrative is used to refer to a particular entity which the speaker assumes the addressee is able to identify. As described in the last two sections, the plain demonstrative form indicates that a referent fulfilling a description, or the syntactic role of the NP in which the form occurs, may be found by the addressee. The anaphoric form adds the extra information that this referent is "the thing that the speaker is talking about". The definite demonstrative, in indicating the existence of a 'particular' referent, reduces the set of possible demonstrative antecedents still further and so assumes almost full referential
independence. Of all Martuthunira demonstratives, the definite forms are the closest to cardinal anaphoric third person pronouns.

Simple forms of the definite demonstratives occur relatively infrequently (only 5 instances in the sample of narrative text and reported speech forming the basis for the sampling for Tables 5.9 and 5.10) and most often have an exophoric function (as in 42 and 43 below). In 44 and 45 the definite demonstrative and its antecedent are underlined.

42. kartu kangku-ŋ yirnala-a warrirti-i jankurna-marmu !
   2sgNOM take-IMP thisDEF-ACC spear -ACC emu –ASSOC
   You take this particular spear [offering it] for an emu.

43. nhiyu yirru yilhi yirru, mir.ta nhiyu.
   thisNOM chip not thisNOM
   ngurmula-a kartu kanyja-rnuru wanthala.
   thatDEF-ACC 2sgNOM keep -PRES somewhere
   This chip [pointing], not this one [pointing].
   The particular one you are keeping hidden somewhere.

44. ngunhaa mir.ta jarrkurti wankama-lalha. thurlajinkarri-ngara waya
   thatNOM not few save -PAST poor fellow -PLURAL fear
   puni-wayara yartapalyu, yanga-nngu-rra yarta-ngara -lu,
   go -HABIT others chase-PASS-CTEMP other-PLURAL-EFF
   karta-nngu-layi waya, ngurmula-a wirta-lu, nyina-layi parlu-ngka.
   stab -PASS-FUT fear thatDEF-ACC climb-PURPss sit -FUT top -LOC
   That [hill] saved not just a few people. Some poor fellows used to go frightened, one mob, being chased by some others, frightened of getting stabbed, and climb it, and sit on top.
These two poor fellows with us still aren't listening to us talking here. What are they thinking about as they're being abused [by us]. We won't, we won't run them down.

By contrast, the genitive form of the distal definite demonstrative, ngurnula-ngu, is very common and serves as an anaphoric third person possessive pronoun. Modifying genitive expressions embedded within NPs are usually single possessive nominals; either the genitive form of a first or second person pronoun, or the genitive definite demonstrative. In the latter case the NP specifying the possessor appears in the immediate linguistic context.

That man is waiting for his clothes to dry.

He stayed for a while, then thought about returning to his camp.
48. jurti mirtayi mir.ta-rru mungka-lalha murla-a, parlura paju.  
1sgPOSS big not -NOW eat -PAST meat-ACC full REAL

ngayu -rru mungka-lalha ngurnula-ngu-u murla-a.  
1sgNOM-NOW eat -PAST thatDEF -GEN-ACC meat-ACC

My big brother didn't eat any meat, too full. So I ate his meat.

49. ngayu nyina-lha ngulangu murna-ngka, tharryitharra ngaliya  
1sgNOM be -PAST there close-LOC side by side 1dl(exc)

nyina-lha, ngurnula-ngu-lwa pawulu-ngara nyina-lha  
sit -PAST thatDEF -GEN-TOP child-PLURAL be -PAST

pamaru-marra nguyirri-wirraa-ma-l.yarra nganarna-a.  
shout-COLL+CTEMP sleep -PRIV-CAUS-CTEMP 1pl(exc)-ACC

I was there close, the two of us sat side by side, his children were shouting, keeping all of us awake.

50. ngayu yanga-l.al.ba ngurnu tbarnta-a, ngurnula-ngu kupuyu  
1sgNOM chase-PAST thatACC euro -ACC thatDEF -GEN little

n bureaucr -la yarta-ngku kanyara-lu  
spear-PASSP-LOC other-EFF man -EFF

I chased that euro, and its little one was speared by the other man.

51. ngunhu -ngara mir.ta nhuura nyina-nyila-a wirta-ngara -a  
thatNOM-PLURAL not knowing sit -PrREL-ACC youth-PLURAL-ACC

ngurnula-ngu-marta-ngara-a nhurnti-ma-rminyji ngurnungara-a.  
thatDEF -GEN-PROP-PLURAL-ACC dead -CAUS-FUT those -ACC

They, didn't know that those young men keeping those things of theirs were going to kill them.

These examples illustrate the most common patterns of syntactic relationship between the demonstrative and its antecedent. In examples 46 and 47 the genitive demonstrative is part of a non-subject NP and the controlling antecedent is the subject of the same clause. In 48 however, a non-subject genitive is controlled by the subject of the preceding clause; the 1sg subject of the same clause is not a possible antecedent of the third person genitive. In 49, the antecedent of the genitive definite
demonstrative is the third person included in the first person exclusive pronoun ngaliya. The genitive demonstrative is part of the subject NP in one clause and is similarly controlled by the subject of the preceding clause. In 50, the 1sg subject of the preceding clause is not a possible controller and instead the object of that clause controls the genitive demonstrative. Finally, in 51 the genitive definite demonstrative is an endophoric expression embedded within an adnominal proprietive modifier in a complex NP and is controlled by the head of that NP.

However, there are some counter-examples to the general pattern in evidence here. Compare the following two examples:

52. ngunhu kanyara thani-lalha nganaju-u muii-i. ngayu mir.ta
    thatNOM man hit -PAST 1sgGEN-ACC dog-ACC 1sgNOM not

    thani-lwayara ngurnula-ngu-u muii-i.
    hit -HABIT thatDEF -GEN-ACC dog-ACC

    That man hit my dog. I never used to hit his dog.

53. nhulaa pawulu jirruna-npa-lha ngurnu parnparn-ku.
    near you child sneak-INCH-PAST thatACC parrot -ACC

    ngurnula-ngu, nhulaa jalyuru parlu-ngka kalyaran-ta.
    thatDEF -GEN near you hole top -LOC tree -LOC

    That child (near you) was sneaking up on a parrot. Its thing, its hole is in the top of the tree (near you).

Example 52 conforms to the general pattern in which the subject of a preceding clause controls a genitive expression in the following clause (which cannot be controlled by the subject in the same clause). However, in 53 the demonstrative is controlled by the object in the preceding clause. These examples show that the reference of the genitive definite demonstrative is not determined solely by syntactic rule but depends on an understanding of possible antecedents given the particular situation being
described in any utterance.

5.5.4 Text Reference

The distal adnominal demonstratives can be used to make reference to portions of text allowing comment on the facts or situations described in the narrative. Text deixis (or discourse deixis) (Halliday and Hasan 1976:52, Levinson 1983:85) of this type is a common device in closing or opening episodes in narrative. A number of set phrases asserting the veracity of events appear often in the texts I have collected. The use of the phrase *palwarru ngunhaa* illustrated in 54 below is typical. 55 presents the closing lines of a long text. In this example the demonstratives refer to the narrative in its entirety.

54. *ngayi-lha-nguru-rru karlwa-layi mirntiwul,*
    cry -PAST-ABL -NOW get up-FUT all

    *wuraal -wa-rru ngurra-arta-npa-layi-rru.*
    alright -P -NOW camp -ALL-INCH-FUT -NOW

    *palwarru ngunhaa.*
    true thatNOM

    *kulii -lalha-nguru-rru ngurra-arta-marri-layi-rru.*
    satisfied -PAST -ABL -NOW camp -ALL -COLL -FUT -NOW

    *palwarru ngunhaa.*
    true thatNOM

Having cried they all get up. Alright, head for camp now. That's that. Now that they're satisfied they go off to camp together. That's that.
55. ngunhaa ngunhaa, piyuwa-rru ngunhaa,
thatNOM thatNOM end -NOW thatNOM

piyuwa-rru ngunhaa Pantawarningka.
end -NOW thatNOM name

That's that. That's the end. That's the end of [the story about]
Pannawonica Hill

The set of narratives of which the Pannawonica story is one episode
contains twenty instances of textual reference involving demonstratives
(example 55 above is counted as one instance). Although most of the set
phrases employed with this function involve anaphoric demonstrative forms,
plain demonstratives also occur with some frequency (24 anaphoric to 19
plain forms in the 20 instances cited).

5.5.5 Temporal Reference

Distal demonstrative forms are sometimes used as temporal deictics in
narrative. Firstly, the plain nominative form of the definite
demonstrative is used to refer to a particular point in time at which an
event occurred, thus allowing comment about other things that happened or
might have happened at that same time. For example:

56. kartungu mui murla-a mungka-lalha.
2sgGEN dog meat-ACC eat -PAST

ngayu ngurnu mui-i thani-nmarni ngurmula-l.
1sgNOM thatACC dog-ACC hit -CONTR thatDEF-THEN

Your dog ate the meat. I should have hit it at that time.

Secondly, the ablative suffix may be added to either the plain or
definite demonstrative stem indicating that the current event is occurring
after the completion of the event referred to by the demonstrative stem.
Notice that the ablative suffix with this temporal function selects the accusative form of the plain demonstrative rather than the usual locative. This follows the general pattern of temporal ablative marking described in 4.6.

57. puni-layi ngunhu-ngara mirntiwal wirta-lu Kawuyu-u-rru
go -FUT that -PLURAL all climb-PURPss name-ACC-NOW

parla-a. ngurnu-nguru ngunhu kanyara yinka-lalha-nguru
hill-ACC that -ABL thatNOM man carve-PAST -ABL

patha-rralha-rru. ngunhu-ngara karri-nyila nhawu-rra.
throw-PAST -NOW that -PLURAL stand-PrREL watch-CTEMP

They all go to climb Kawuyu hill. And then that man who carved [the boomerang] threw it. They stood and watched.

58. ngurra -a ngunhaa kuyilwa-lalha, ngayalyu yirru.
country-ACC thatNOM ruin -PAST devil

ngurnula-nguru, ngunhu-ngara nyina-lha mir.ta-rru
thatDEF -ABL that -PLURAL sit-PAST not -NOW

panyu ngurnu kuyilwa-lalha-a yilhi-i.
good thatACC ruin -PAST-ACC chips-ACC

He ruined the country, that devil. From that time on they weren't happy with that one who had ruined the [boomerang] chips.

The temporal use of these demonstratives can be seen as an instance of what Halliday and Hasan (1976) call extended reference, "the referent is more than just a person or object, it is a process or sequence of processes" (1976:52). The point in time is established by the event taking place at a particular time and the event described by the clause in which the temporal demonstrative occurs is then situated in time with respect to that event.
5.6 Adverbial Demonstrative Functions

5.6.1 Locationals: yilangu, ngulangu

The use of either the proximal or distal locational involves an assumption by the speaker that the addressee is able to identify the particular place being referred to. The proximal form typically denotes the location in which the speech act is taking place and a general notion of 'speech act locale' is assumed by both the speaker and the addressee. Thus the proximal most often occurs without any additional identification of the place being described as 'here'. However, where the speaker is making reference to a place which is more particularly located within the speech act locale, some additional information may be given.

59. ngawu, ngali wangkarnu-marri-layi yilangu malarnu-la.
   yes 1dl(inc) talk -COLL -FUT here shade -LOC

Yes, we'll talk here in the shade.

60. kartu pil.yi-npa-layi yilangu kalyaran-ta kuwilyawuyu-la.
   2sgNOM flat -INCH-FUT here tree -LOC this side -LOC

You crouch down here on this side of the tree.

61. nyina-Ø kartu yilangu ngathala.
   sit-IMP 2sgNOM here 1sgLOC

Sit here by me.

Specific indications of location are often given by manual gesture thus obviating the necessity for any further identification in the text. The use of gesture with an adverbial demonstrative also performs a function in non-situated narrative. In the following example the proximal is used
together with a gesture to indicate a place near the feet of the narrator.

62. ngunhaa karlwa-lha yilangu, thani-nngu-rra vakupurra-lu
    thatNOM get up-PAST here hit-PASS-CTEMP stick -EFF

    ngurra yirla.
    ground only

    He came up here (pointing), and only the ground got hit
    by that hitting stick.

Heath (1983:330) cites similar uses of demonstratives in Nunggubuyu, using
the term 'perspective shift' for situations in which the speaker's point of
view is imposed on locations and events taking place in the narrative. As
in Nunggubuyu, instances of this kind of perspective shift in Martuthunira
commonly involve a location on a body part, or a location very close to the
speaker's person.

The location referred to by means of the proximal may be extended beyond
the usual limits of the speech act locale. Most often this involves
description of definable areas of territory within which the speech act is
taking place, or the area of country with which the interlocutors most
identify. Traditional stories include proximal references to the territory
in which the language of narration was traditionally spoken. Usually wider
reference of this kind is accompanied by a locative phrase defining the
particular area described as proximal. The following examples are taken
from texts recorded within Martuthunira boundaries but not within the
immediate vicinity of the events recounted.
63. ngayu marrari-ngara-a wantha-rninjji, maral.ya-la-a
1sgNOM story-PLURAL-ACC put -FUT devil -LOC-ACC

jina-ngka-a, wantharni-marri-lha-la-a palalyi-ngara-la,
track-LOC-ACC how -COLL-PAST-LOC-ACC before-PLURAL-LOC

kuwarri -la -l, ngurra-ngka, yilangu, Martuthuni-la.
beginning-LOC-THEN country-LOC here Fortescue -LOC

I'll put down the stories, about the devil's 'tracks', how they were
before, in the beginning, in the country, here, on the Fortescue.

64. nthuu kanyara kanangkalwa-mmarni, ngunhaa yilhi wanti-mmarni
thisNOM man make clear -CONTR thatNOM chip lie -CONTR

yilangu-rru ... jalya -ngara -rru kalyaran yilangu.
here -NOW useless-PLURAL-NOW wood here

That man should have showed [them to him], those chips should be
here [in this country] ... the wood here is useless now.

The distal locational, unlike its proximal counterpart, cannot rely, for
its usual interpretation, on a received notion of speech act locale. In
some instances the speaker can rely on an addressee's shared knowledge of
an event in identifying locations, but more often reference to what is
assumed to be a known location depends on the independent identification of
that location. This identification may be achieved in three ways.
Firstly, identification may be by gesture (simple pointing with the hands
or lips):

65. wantha-rninjji ngulangu-wa!
put -FUT there -YK

Put it there!

Secondly, and most commonly, the demonstrative occurs together with a
locative NP describing the particular location.
66. *ngunmu pala mirntirimarta. parlu-ngka-rru nyina-nguru.*
   thatNOM IT goanna top -LOC -NOW be -PRES

   *wirta-lha ngulangu pinkarranyu-la kalyaran-ta.*
   climb-PAST there dry -LOC tree -LOC

   That's that goanna. It's up there now. It climbed up there, up that dead tree.

   there scrub-LOC 1sgNOM foot poke-PASSP thorn -EFF

   There in the the scrub my foot got poked by a *kurarra* thorn.

Constructions of this type are greatly preferred over phrases involving a locative adnominal demonstrative. This accounts for the paucity of locative adnominal forms in the data.

Finally, a specific location may be described, or implied, in the immediately preceding text.

68. *nganaju mimi wantha-rralha punkurrimarnu-u murtiwarla-la*
   1sgGEN uncle put -PAST blanket -ACC car -LOC

   *ngayu nyina-wala ngulangu-lwa.*
   1sgNOM sit-PURPds there -ID

   My uncle put a blanket in the car for me to sit there.

69. *ngunmu -rru ngunmu puni-nguru pawu -urta -rru.*
   thatNOM-NOW thatNOM go -PRES father-DirALL-NOW

   *ngulangu-rru nyina-layi.*
   there -NOW stay -FUT

   That one is going to his father now.
   He'll stay there now.

The locational demonstratives may take number suffixes with the resulting demonstrative word referring to a number of places located within the usual scope of the demonstrative stem7.
70. **nhiyarra wirta-tharra nhuura thalu-ngara-a wanthala-a** these two youth-DUAL knowing site-PLURAL-ACC where -ACC

kurlany-ngara-a yilangu-ngara-a Martuthuni-i wanthala-a. knife -PLURAL-ACC here-PLURAL-ACC Fortescue-ACC where -ACC

These two youths knew the whereabouts of all the stone knife quarries around here in this Fortescue country.

71. **mayili -marnu nyina-wayara yilangu-ngara-la wilhu-l.** FaFa+1POSS-GROUP sit -HABIT here -PLURAL-LOC penis-THEN

ngalarri-lha-rru wilhu-u, mir.ta kuliyanpa-layi nganangu forget -PAST-NOW penis-ACC not think -FUT whoACC

wii nhawu-rra nyina-nyila-a. or see-CTEMP be -PrREL-ACC

All our grandfathers used to sit all about here, their penises, well they forgot about them, didn't think about whoever might be looking.

5.6.2 Non-Specific: **yilarla, ngularla**

The non-specific forms are used to denote a particular place whose exact location is not known but which is known to lie within a wider region denoted by the proximal or distal stem. The proximal form indicates that the place is situated somewhere within the speech act locale while the distal form, like its locational counterpart, requires some additional specification of the exact location of the area within which the place may be found. The English glosses given for the non-specific forms are usually 'somewhere here/there', 'around here/there' or 'hereabouts/thereabouts'.

72. **yilarla wiyaas wanti-nguru marli-ngka kartawura-la.** hereNS maybe lie -PRES tree -LOC butt -LOC

Maybe he's lying around here somewhere at the foot of a paperbark tree.
73. *purkuru-lwa thartuungku-marrri-layi, yilarla-lwa.*
   true -ID meet -COLL-FUT hereNS -ID

   *wanthala ngula? ngularla-lwa Martuthuni-la.*
   where IGNOR thereNS -ID Fortescue-LOC

   True enough, they met up somewhere here (in this country),
   Where exactly? Somewhere there on the Fortescue River.

74. *Yurlungarrarnu-nguru, ngunhu Kurlanypungkunha*
   place name -ABL thatNOM place name

   *wangka-ngu-rra, ngularla yawurru.*
   call-PASS-CTEMP thereNS west

   From Yurlungarrarnu Pool that place called Kurlanypungkunha
   is somewhere there in the west.

75. *nhula kayulu jirtinyal thanturri-nguru kayulumarnu-la-nguru.*
   near you water dripping go down -PRES water bag -LOC-ABL

   *jalyuru ngularla kayulumarnu-la. mir.ta wilawilama-rninyji.*
   hole thereNS water bag -LOC not shake -FUT

   *kal.ya wantha-rryu karri-waa panyu-l*
   still put -IMP stand-PURPds good-THEN

   There's water dripping down from that water bag. There must be a
   hole in it somewhere there. Don’t shake it around. Make it stand
   still, it will be okay then.

The label 'non-specific' is not entirely descriptive of the referential
characteristics of these demonstratives. The semantics of the derived
demonstrative forms can not be fully captured by the simple assignation of
straightforward terminology such as definite/indefinite or specific/
non-specific. In this case the demonstrative encodes reference to a number
of locations. Firstly, the locative demonstrative stem describes a
location which is definite and specific; that is, the speaker has a
particular place in mind and assumes that the addressee can identify that
particular place. The demonstrative as a whole describes a particular
place, within this definite location, which is not known to the speaker
(non-specific) and is not necessarily known to the addressee.
5.6.3 Non-Visible: yilarni, ngularni

These demonstrative forms are extremely rare and are poorly understood. Only one example of a non-visible demonstrative occurred in freely given text (76 below) and attempts at elicitation were generally unsuccessful. The following glosses were provided for the forms in isolation:

yilarni    round the corner, going to turn out here somewhere,
ngularni   coming other side and (we) can't see him, kurryu-ngka ('in a hollow').

These glosses include a semantic component of motion as well as the general idea of lack of visibility. It is possible that Algy Paterson was glossing the forms by analogy with the -rni 'centripetal' forms of the compass-points (5.9) and the wantharni indefinite demonstrative (5.8.2). I think it is more likely that the demonstratives derive from forms involving the nominal suffix -ngurni 'OBSCuRed'. However, without many more instances of the demonstratives in free text it is impossible to give a confident semantic analysis of these forms let alone a clear morphological history.

76. *ngulangu-lwa punkurrimarnu-la waruu-lpurru. nyina-lha waruu
there -ID blanket -LOC still-COMP sit -PAST still
ngularla mir.ta nhawu-ngu-rra ngaliwa-lu."
thereNS not see -PASS-CTEMP 1pl(inc)-EFF

*purrkuru waruu? ngayu kuliyanpa-lha mir.ta-rru ngularla-wa
true ASSERT isgNOM think -PAST not -NOW thereNS -YK
parralhara nyina-lha waruu-lpurru ngularni-wa."
centipede sit -PAST still-EMPH thereNV -YK

"It's there in the blanket. It was somewhere there and wasn't seen by any of us."
"Is that right? I thought there was nothing anywhere there but a centipede was there, hidden, all along."
From over there, I didn't know how that man came. I was told by the others that he came. He came from over there.

5.6.4 Allative and Ablative Forms

The adverbial demonstratives described in the preceding sections may take the ablative and allative suffixes. The meanings of these demonstratives are predictable from the meanings of the stem and the suffix.

They went, those husbands and wives. They went away from here.

He'll see that spear sent by the man going away towards that place.

Allative and ablative forms of the non-visible locationals do not occur spontaneously in the data and Algy Paterson was reluctant to give forms in elicitation. Although an ablative form *ngularni-nguru "from the other side, can't see it" was accepted, the corresponding proximal *yilarni-nguru was rejected as meaningless.
5.6.5 'That Side' ngulawyu

The ngulawyu 'that side' demonstrative clearly involves the -wuyu SIDE suffix attached to the distal locative stem ngula. However, a proximal form does not occur and instead the locational nominal kuwilya 'this way' stands in opposition to the demonstrative (82 below)

The demonstrative often occurs with an added locative suffix and may have an adnominal function.

80. ngunhaa kurryu-u thurtini-lha. ngulawyu
thatNOM gully-ACC go down -PAST that side

kapun-wirras-npa-lha-rru. wantharni-npa-lha
body -PRIV-INCH-PAST-NOW how -INCH-PAST

ngulangu-wa kurryu-ngka?
there -YK gully -LOC

He went down in the gully. 'Became as if no body' (no sign of him on the other side). What happened there in the gully?

81. nhwana ngulawyu-la -ngara pawulu-ngara jayinkul
2pl that side-LOC-PLURAL child-PLURAL loosely

kanyja-rninyji.
hold -FUT

You children on that side hold on loosely.

82. kayarra-tharra karri-layi kanyja-rryarra,
two -DUAL stand-FUT hold -CTEMP

yarta kuwilya -wuyu-la, yarta ngulawyu-la-lpurru.
other this way-SIDE-LOC other that side-LOC-COMP

Two men stand holding (the net), one this side, one on the other side.
5.7 Predicate Demonstrative

The predicate demonstrative *yimpala* is used to refer to a known property of some participant in the text. This property may be ascribed by primary predication of the subject in a clause (ie. the fact of performing the action ascribes to that participant the property of having performed the action), or by nominal second predication of an argument in a clause. It is assumed that the addressee can clearly determine the antecedent.

As the following examples show, the demonstrative may function as a second predication or as an adnominal modifier in a NP.

83. *ngunhaa warntitha-rralba, thaapua warruwa, yimpala*
thatNOM throw -PAST big man devil like that

  *wanti-waa. ngurra karalu yirla wirra -ngara panyu-ngara.*
  lie-PURP=so country south only boomerang-PLURAL good-PLURAL

  He threw [the wood chips], that devil, so it would be like that: only the south country has good boomerangs.

84. *wantharni puni-warni jina-warnu-wirraa yimpala -la,*
how go -CONTR foot-ASSOC-PRIV like that-LOC

  *jurrwalyi-la kampa-rnura-la ?*
  heat -LOC burn -PrREL-LOC

  How could he go without something for his feet when it's like that, when the heat is burning down?

85. *ngana ngunhaa wartirra thurlamanta?*
who thatNOM woman nosey

  *ngayu mir.ta wiru yimpala -ngara -a wartirra-ngara-a.*
  1sgNOM not like like that-PLURAL-ACC woman-PLURAL-ACC

  Who is that nosey woman? I don't like women like that.
86. *wantharni-rru mungka-rninyyji yimpala -a -wa*
   how -NOW eat -FUT like that-ACC-YK

   *kampa-rru -u kayulu-wirriwa.*
   cook-PASSP-ACC water -PRIV

   How is she going to eat it like that, cooked without water.

The demonstrative is often used in narrative text to sum up the current
status of a particular participant and lead on to further description or
detailing of events. In 87 a man has upset his wife through drinking
against her wishes:

87. *yimpala -rru-wa wiru wirraa-rru ngurnula-ngu-u*
   like that-NOW-YK upset -CAUS-PAST -NOW thatDEF -GEN-ACC

   *yaan -ku. yimpala -rru-wa ngunhaa kanyara-wuyu puni-layi*
   spouse-ACC like that-NOW-YK thatNOM man -SIDE go -FUT

   *jalya -rru, yaan-wirriwa-rru.*
   rubbish-NOW spouse-PRIV -NOW

   Now he's like that, he's upset his wife. He's like that, the
   man of the pair is going along as if he's rubbish, he's got
   no wife now.

The demonstrative may make extended reference to situations in text,
allowing the speaker to comment on the situation; to voice an opinion on
events or to simply affirm the truth of what is being said. This pattern
usually involves an anaphoric form of the demonstrative exhibiting the
characteristic lengthened final vowel.

88. *ngayu wurnta-lalha-rru nganaju-u warrirti-i*
   1sgNOM break -PAST -NOW 1sgGEN-ACC spear -ACC

   *murla-marnu-rru. kuyil paju yimpala.*
   meat -ASSOC-ACC bad REAL like that

   I broke my hunting spear. That's very bad.
89. nhulaa thurlajinkarri puni-nguru ngalyurr thani-rnu.  
near you poor fellow go -PRES nose hit-PASSP

nhiyarra patharri-lha walyurn-ngalyarnta. yimpala pala.  
these two fight -PAST girl -CAUSAL like that IT

That one has a hit nose. These two have been fighting over a
girl. That's how it is.

5.8 Interrogative/Indefinite Demonstratives

The indefinite demonstrative wantha 'where' forms the basis for a number of
derived indefinite/interrogative nominals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wantha</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wantha</td>
<td>(any)where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanthala</td>
<td>(some)where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wantharni</td>
<td>what way, how</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wantharta</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanthanha</td>
<td>which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wantharra</td>
<td>like</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The functions of these forms are discussed in the following sections.

5.8.1 wantha(la) 'where'

The demonstrative is described as indefinite since it refers to a location
or locations which are not known to the speaker. However, although a
location is not known it is possible for the speaker to assume that there
is a particular place at which an object or person is located. The wantha
'anywhere' demonstrative indicates a generalized notion of unknown location
while the wanthala 'somewhere' form refers to a particular, yet unknown,
place at which the speaker assumes an entity is located. The wanthala form
thus corresponds to the 'non-specific' demonstratives and is similarly formed by the addition of the 'particularizing' suffix to the wantha root.

The following examples illustrate the contrast between the two forms.

90. **ngarniyarrangu marnta -lalha martura-la-ma-l.yarra.**
big group press down-PAST middle-LOC-CAUS-CTEMP

ngunmu -ngara wiru jaya-rinyji wantha -a paju. piyuwa.
thatNOM-PLURAL wanting escape-FUT somewhere-ACC REAL nothing

A big group closed in on them. They wanted to escape somewhere. No chance.

91. **ngayu mir.ta nhuura ngurnu pul.ya-a wantbala-a.**
1sgNOM not knowing thatACC chew-ACC where -ACC

I don't know where that tobacco-chew is.

92. **wirra -ngara panyu-ngara wantha-nguru yirla kanarri-lha.**
boomerang-PLURAL good-PLURAL where -ABL only come -PAST

Good boomerangs only came from elsewhere (not from here).

93. **ngana nhula kanyara? wantha-nyungu, mir.ta warmu ngayu**
who near you man where -DWELL not ASSERT 1sgNOM

nhau-wayara yimpala -a -wa kanyara-a. nhiyaa manyjangu
see -HABIT like that-ACC-YK man -ACC this stranger

paju-rru. wantbala-nguru-lwa nhiyaa kanyara?
REAL-NOW where -ABL -ID this man

Who is that man? He's from somewhere else, I haven't ever seen a man like that. He's a real stranger. Where's he from?

Although morphologically unmarked and semantically more general, the wantha form is relatively rare and is best considered a semantically marked counterpart to wantbala. Wantha most commonly appears as a more general attention grabbing interrogative. This is illustrated in the following examples.
94. wantha-rru, ngaliwa ngurra-arta-rrri-layi-rru?  
where -NOW 1pl(inc) camp -ALL-INCH-FUT -NOW  
Well, are we thinking about heading home?

95. wantha-rru-nu jurlu? mirntiul paju-rrru-nu yilangu?  
where -NOW-QUOT all all REAL-NOW-QUOT here  
Well is that all or not? Is everyone here now?

96. thana wangka-wala nyingkulu-l ngunhaa. nhartu-u-lwa  
let speak-PURPds first -THEN thatNOM what-ACC-ID  
marrari-i ngali kuliya-rninji. wantha-rru-wil?  
word -ACC 1dl(inc) hear -FUT where -NOW-VOC  
Let him speak first. We'll hear what it is he's going to say. Well!?

5.8.2 wantarni 'what way/how'

The main function of the demonstrative is as an indefinite counterpart to 
the predicate demonstrative yimpala. That is, the demonstrative refers to 
an indefinite predicate, usually of manner:

97. ngayu kangku-yangu nhuura-ma-rnu yanti-i wantarni  
1sgNOM take -PASSP know-CAUS-PASSP dish-ACC what way  
kanyja-rninji juwayu-la.  
hold -FUT hand -LOC  
I was taken and shown how to hold a winnowing dish in my hands.

98. wantarni-rru kartu nhurnti-ma-rninji tharnta-a  
what way -NOW 2sgNOM dead -CAUS-FUT euro -ACC  
warrirti-wirraa?  
spear -PRIV  
How are you going to kill a euro without a spear?
99. wantharni malyarra-npa-nguru?
what way sick -INCH-PRES

mir.ta ngalyari nyantarta-npa-nguru.
not urine good -INCH-PRES

In what way is he sick?
His urine isn't right.

Interrogative verbs based on wantharni are very common. Examples 100 and 101 illustrate inchoative and causative forms:

100. kanyara-warntura nyina-lha pintirrijila
man -DISTR sit -PAST scattered

wartawirrinpa-rra warnan-ku wantharni-npa-waa.
wait for -CTEMP rain -ACC what way -INCH-PURPs=0

Each man sat, scattered about, waiting for how the rain was going to continue.

101. thawul wantharni-ma-lalha? ngayu nganaju-u kurlany-ku
Hey what way-CAUS-PAST 1sgNOM 1sgGEN-ACC knife -ACC

withawitha-ma-lalha.
lost -CAUS-PAST

Hey! How did I do that? I've lost my knife.

The second function of the demonstrative is as an allative counterpart to the locative wanthala.

102. nhwana puni-lha-lwa wantharni wii?
2pl go -PAST-ID what way or

mir.ta, ngaliya nyina-lha waruu-lpurtu yilangu.
no 1dl(exc) stay-PAST still-COMP here

mir.ta puni-lha wantharni wii.
not go -PAST what way or

Did you go somewhere or other?
No, we stayed right here. Didn't go anywhere.
103. *wantharni-rru kartu puni-nguru?*  
what way -NOW 2sgNOM go -PRES

Where are you going?

5.8.3 *wantharta* 'when'

The indefinite temporal is illustrated in the following examples.

104. *wantharta-rru nhwana-lu yungku-ngu-layi murla-a ngurma?*  
when -NOW 2pl -EFF give -PASS-FUT meat-ACC thatACC

When am I going to be given that meat by you people?

105. *ngaliwa warnan-ngu-layi wiyaa wantharta wii.*  
1pl(inc) rain -PASS-FUT maybe when maybe

*ngawu. nhiyu manta wanti-nguru wantharta-nguru-l.*  
yes this cloud lie -PRES when -ABL-THEN

*wantharta paju parnta-rninyji ?*  
when REAL rain -FUT

We might get rained in [trapped by floodwaters] sometime.  
Yes, this cloud cover has been here for sometime now.  
But just when is it going to rain?

106. *kuliyanpa-rra nyina-nguru wantharta-a parrani-waa.*  
think -CTEMP be -PRES when -ACC return-PURPs=o

[She's] wondering when he will come back.

5.8.4 *wanthanha* 'which'

Like 'which' in English, this demonstrative implies a set of clearly defined options, objects or actions, from which a particular object or path of action may be chosen. In addition, *wanthanha* is commonly used as an
exclamation of indecision or as a rhetorical question - "What to do next?" - in procedural narratives. A characteristic example of this occurs in 108 below. The exclamation is best glossed as "there are a number of things we could do now, which shall we do?"

107. wantala-nguru ngunhu karlwa-lha-rru, parla-ngka, where -ABL thatNOM go up-PAST-NOW hill -LOC

ngayu mir.ta nhuura wantanha-la parla-ngka. 1sgNOM not knowing which -LOC hill -LOC

From somewhere he went up [into the sky], [from] on a hill. I don't know on which hill it was.

108. wantanha-rru-nu? nganajullarta wanguka-layi? which -NOW-QUOT 1dl(disharm) talk -FUT

wantanha-la-nguru marrari-la-nguru ? which -LOC-ABL word -LOC-ABL

jankurna-a wungka-lalha-la-nguru ? emu -ACC eat -PAST-LOC-ABL

What now then? Shall we talk? From which word [in the story shall we start]? From where he's already eaten the emu?

5.8.5 wantarrra 'like'

The wantarrra form functions as a semblative predicate. Almost without exception it occurs together with a nominal or verb referring to the object or action which some other object or action is seen to resemble. In much the same way that wantanha assumes a defined set of entities from which one is chosen, wantarrra assumes a defined entity with which some other entity is compared.
He burned the meat, spoiling it so that it was like charcoal, black.

He probably tried them out by himself, for a while, to see what they were like. They were good alright.

Apparently they were like you, son. Not black, not at all, altogether different. The two of them were like Europeans, white.

In the following two examples wantharra follows a verb. However, it is clear (in example 112 especially) that the whole situation, rather than just the event denoted by the verb, comprises the semblative expression.

You don't know how to sit still, you're really bad, jumping all over the place, as if you're being poked. That's what it's like, like you're being poked in the bum.

I saw that man looking sick.
Unlike the other forms based on *wantha*, the semblative *wantharra* form itself has little meaning independent of the construction of which it is part. The essential meaning is "something resembles something else" and it is necessary for both 'somethings' to be identified in some way for a semblative construction to make sense. It is for this reason that the form does not appear as an interrogative without the indefinite nominal *nhartu* standing in for the semblative expression (as in 110 above).

5.9 Compass Terms and Locational Nominals

The Martuthunira compass terms form a closed subclass of the class of nominals. They can be defined as such by the fact that they do not take the locative or allative nominal suffixes and instead have unique locative and allative forms. In addition, the compass terms have a separate 'centripetal' form which indicates direction towards the speaker, away from the compass point (and so contrasts with the simple ablative which indicates direction away from the compass point). The basic paradigm is presented in Table 5.11.
Table 5.11: Compass Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Allative</th>
<th>Centripetal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>wartantu</td>
<td>wartantari</td>
<td>wartantarni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>karalu</td>
<td>karalari</td>
<td>karalarni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East/Upriver</td>
<td>jingkayu</td>
<td>jingkaari</td>
<td>jingkarni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West/Downriver</td>
<td>yawurru</td>
<td>yawurrari</td>
<td>yawurrarni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The actual orientations of the compass terms are flexible as the east/upriver and west/downriver terms immediately suggest. Martuthunira territory is dominated by two major permanent watercourses (the Robe and Fortescue) and numerous minor streams. All of these have a predominantly northwest/southeast orientation. Nevertheless, the sun rises jingkayu and sets yawurru. Similarly, the coast and the rise of the Hamersley Range, which run from west-southwest to east-northeast, provide the main orienting features for the terms karalu 'south' and wartantu 'north'. Yinyjiparnti and Panyjima have compass terms for east and west distinct from the (cognate) upriver and downriver locationals.

114. ngunhaa puulywa-lalha, kanarra-la thathu-lalha yilhi-l, thatNOM puff -PAST wind -LOC send -PAST chip-ACC

warmtitha-rralha karalu -rru.
throw -PAST southLOC-NOM

He puffed, sending the chips on the wind, throwing them south.
115. yawurrarni kanarri-lha, jalya kanarri-lha yawurrarni.
westCENT come -PAST bereaved come -PAST westCENT

thaapuma-tharra manku-yangu, kanyja-rnu pirtuwangu,
big man -DUAL grab -PASSP keep-PASSP initiate

parrani-lha-ma -rnu yawurrari.
return-PAST-CAUS-PASSP westALL

From the west to here they came, bereaved. Those two heroes were
grabbed, kept as initiation prisoners, and then sent back to
the west.

116. nhyu murna-ngka-rru puni-nguru jingkarni yilhi-marta.
thisNOM close-LOC -NOW go -PRES upriverCENT chip -PROP

This one is close now coming from upriver with some chips.

In addition to the demonstrative forms listed in Table 5.11, the locative
stem may take a number of regular locational suffixes. For example:

jingkayu-nguru from the east
jingkayu-nyungu dwelling in the the east
jingkayu-ra belonging to the east
jingkayu-wuyu the eastern side
jingkayu-nguruni the eastern side of something
obscurring view.

117. nhyu wartantu-nyungu waruul. ngularla-lwa ngurra ngurmula-ngu.
thisNOM northLOC-DWELL still thereNS-ID camp thatDEF -GEN

This man still lives in the north. His home is somewhere there.

118. ngana-rru kanarri-layi nhawani -i pal.yarra-a
who -NOW come -FUT what’s a name-ACC plain -ACC

Wirawira-a, yawurr -ra waruu, kartara-a paju
name -ACC downriver-PROV still flank-ACC REAL

Mitawanti-ngu jingkayu-wuyu-u.
name -ACC eastLOC -SIDE-ACC

They came to what’s-its-name plain, Wirawira, still downriver, on
the east side of Mitawanti hill.

In contrast with some other Australian languages, Martuthunira makes
very little use of compass terms as determiners (relying more on the
demonstrative systems described in this chapter). The limited morphological possibilities of the compass terms and the collapse of the east/west and upriver/downriver distinction in Martuthunira reflects this light burden of function.

In addition to the compass terms a small number of other nominals can be described as inherently locative. These generally function as locational 'adverbs' describing a direction of motion or orientation, or the relative position of some object with respect to the speaker. The locational nominals so far discovered are listed below:

- **kankarni**  
  above

- **kuwi(lya)**  
  this way

- **ngarrawurlu**  
  other way

- **ngunirni**  
  up to here (indicating with hand)

There are no regular paradigms for these nominals although the actual forms suggest some relationship with the compass terms. **Kankarni** and **ngunirni** appear to involve the centripetal formative **-rni**, **ngarrawurlu** involves a suffix **-wurlu** which is found in the other Ngayarda languages corresponding to the 'facing' suffix described in 4.8.2. **Kuwi(lya)** occurs in the data in two forms: **kuwilya-wuyu** 'this side' and **kuwi-thartu** 'facing this way'.

**Ngunirni** is a 'perspective shifting' locational (see 5.6.1 above) used to indicate the position of some object by use of some gesture:
119. *kanarri-layi kanyara-ngara kayulu-la-ngara, ngunirni -rru* 
come -FUT man -PLURAL water-LOC-PLURAL up to here-NOW 

*thala-ngka-rru kayulu-marta.* 
chest-LOC -NOW water -PROP 

And then the men in the water come along, with water up to here 
(indicates) on their chests.

The irregular nominal *puyi* 'far' has the following case forms:

- *puu* nominative and sentence adverb
- *puyii* accusative
- *puyila* locative
- *puyiirta* allative

120. *puu-rru ngayu wanyjarri-layi!* 
far-NOW 1sgNOM go -FUT

I'm off!

121. *nhartu-npa-lha, ngunhu puni-nguru ngarravurlu, puyila-rru* 
what -INCH-PAST thatNOM go -PRES other way farLOC-NOW

What's happened, he's going away, he's a long way off now.

122. *mir.ta-rru puyii nhawu-layi, jalyuru-la nyina-marrri-layi.* 
not -NOM farACC see -FUT jail -LOC sit -COLL -FUT

You won't see far sitting in jail.

---

5.10 Temporal Nominals

Martuthunira has a set of temporal nominals which Dixon (1980:283) characterizes as 'point-time' qualifiers. These refer to times of the day
or to general points in time located relative to the present of utterance or an established narrative present. These may not take the locative suffix and have the inherent locative sense 'at time X'.

kuwarri  now, the beginning
wiruwanti  morning, tomorrow
thulharr  afternoon
wayala  nighttime
palalyi  before, early in time
mawurr  later on

123. ngayu nguyirri-warlaya paju wiruwanti-nguru-l.
1sgNOM sleep -FULL REAL morning -ABL-THEN

I've been fast asleep since this morning.

124. nhiyu kanyara nyina-nguru malarnu-la nhuwa-lalha-nguru
thisNOM man sit -PRES shade -LOC spear-PAST -ABL

tharnta-a yarta-ngka-l thulharr.
euro -ACC other-LOC-THEN afternoon

This man is sitting in the shade, the one who speared a euro the other afternoon.

By contrast, Jampa 'moment' is a durative temporal qualifier. It indicates that an action or state is maintained for a relatively short period of time and generally signals an impending change from one event to another.

125. ngunhaa nyina-lha jampa, wiruwarri-lha-rru.
thatNOM stay-PAST moment homesick-PAST-NOW

He stayed for a short while, and then got homesick.

126. nhawu-f kunti jampa ngurnu-wurrini marlarr-awurrini
look-IMP stop moment thatACC-DIRECT road -DIRECT
Stop and look towards the road for a moment.

jampa may take the locative suffix and then functions as a point-time
Put the billy-can on the fire to get hot. [It'll be ready] in a moment.

Ngarti 'again, next', is illustrated in the following examples:

128. tharrvi-layi wulu-marnu-u thawuta -a,
put on -FUT leg -ASSOC-ACC trousers-ACC

ngarti-l tharrvi-layi jaat -ku.
next-THEN put on -FUT shirt-ACC

Put on trousers, and next put on a shirt.

129. ngayu ngarti-rru wurtu wangka-layi kartungu mrrari-i?!
1sgNOM again -NOW HYPTH tell -FUT 2sgACC word -ACC

Do I have to tell you what I said again?!

130. ngayu mirnta -lalha wirra -a ngarti-l
1sgNOM take from-PAST boomerang-ACC again-THEN

patharri-wirri-la ngurru-ngalyarnta-lwa.
fight -LEST-LOC thatACC-CAUSAL -ID

I took away that boomerang otherwise you'd be fighting over it again.

The nominal waruul 'still', indicates the persistence of a state or the continuation of a series of actions. It also occurs as part of the apparently derived verb warruulwa-L 'to continue to be unable to do'.

131. mhiyu parnta-rnuru waruul!
thisNOM rain -PRES still

It's still raining!
132. nhiyu jalya waruul, kartungku mir.ta parliya -rmu.
   thisNOM useless still 2sgEFF not straighten-PASSP

   This one is still useless, it hasn't been straightened by you.

133. jalya -npa -rra -rru puni-rra nhuwa-1.yarra waruulwa-1.yarra.
   useless-INCH-CTEMP-NOW go-CTEMP spear-CTEMP can't do-CTEMP

   I'm useless, still can't spear anything.
This chapter discusses the forms and functions of inflectional and derivational verb morphology. Suffixes which have an important syntactic function (such as the passive derivational suffix and the various subordinate clause inflections) are mentioned only briefly and will be discussed in detail in chapters 10 and 11.

The first section presents an overview of the verbal system, outlining the inflectional and derivational categories, discussing transitivity classes and conjugations, and presenting a summary of suffix forms. The inflectional system is of great historical interest since it is most likely that the syntactic changes evidenced by the Ngayarda languages were triggered by the reorganization of verbal inflectional categories. However, a reasonable discussion of this aspect of the data would require the exposition of the inflectional systems of the other languages in the group as well and so is well beyond the confines of the present study. Rather than give an impoverished account I will largely avoid the historical analysis in this description.
6.1 Overview

6.1.1 Inflectional Categories

The Martuthunira verbal inflectional paradigm presents a complex set of tense, mood and voice interactions. In the following paragraphs the categories represented in the paradigm are discussed. The sections which follow will describe and exemplify each inflection in more detail.

Firstly, a distinction can be made between inflections which occur only in subordinate clauses and those which occur in main clauses. The former set includes the present relative, contemporaneous relative and sequential relative clause inflections, the lest clause inflections and the purpose inflections, which are marked for switch-reference. A full description of the subordinate clause inflections is left until the discussion of complex sentences in chapter 11. With the exception of the imperative and present tense, all other inflections can occur in subordinate clauses functioning as finite relative clauses.

There is a passive verb form corresponding to each active verb form excepting the imperative (but see discussion of imperative clauses in 10.4). Passive verbs involve either the addition of the active inflectional suffixes to a derived passive verb stem, or a special portmanteau passive tense or mood inflection. Special passive inflections correspond to the active past, counterfactual and lest inflections. There is surprisingly little additional semantic difference associated with the voice
oppositions. The passive perfective carries a greater implication of a successfully completed action than its active past tense counterpart but there are no restrictions on the appearance of an agent in passive clauses of this type. The passive counterfactual and lest inflections are rarely used and appear to be no different in meaning to the preferred derived passive verbs bearing the corresponding active inflections. The most likely explanation is that the inflectional passive forms are gradually being replaced by forms based on derived passive stems.

The habitual nominalizing suffix is historically related to the passive derivational suffix. Although essentially a nominalizing suffix it may still, albeit very rarely, take adjuncts and arguments including an agent. Derived passive verbs bearing the active habitual inflection are preferred in fully finite clauses.

Martuthunira has a three way tense distinction defined by the past, present and future inflections. Aspect is not an important verbal category in Martuthunira although unmarked aspectual readings are implied by all verb inflections. With the exception of the imperfective present tense, subordinate relative, and habitual inflections, all other verbal categories are essentially perfective. Other syntactic devices, such as the use of copulas (9.3) and temporal nominals and clitics, conspire to provide additional aspectual specification of events.

Finally, the imperative, counterfactual and unrealized inflections can be described as moods. The imperative mood presents the illocutionary force of a command. Both the counterfactual and unrealized inflections are irrealis moods. The unrealized verb describes a strongly predicted action
or event which did not, is not or will not happen. The counterfactual similarly describes an action or event which was not realized but which might have been if other things had been different.

6.1.2 Derivational Categories

The derivational suffixes can be divided into two distinct classes: those which attach to a verb stem and derive a new verb stem, and those which derive verbs from nominals. The first class includes the passive derivational suffix and the collective suffix. The second class includes the inchoative and causative suffixes which derive mainly intransitive and transitive verbs respectively. In addition there are a number of minor derivational suffixes of restricted productivity.

The data suggest a dependence on productive verbal derivational processes rather than on a large store of verb lexemes, but it is difficult to know to what extent this is an artefact of the investigation. The great frequency, in text, of verbs derived by the simple inchoative and causative suffixes is probably due, in part, to Algy Paterson's loss of verb lexemes. Certainly I have had greater difficulty eliciting lists of verbs than nouns and this is true in almost all semantic fields. The productive verbalisation processes allow verbs to be built out of the nominals and nominal phrases already introduced in a text. For the last speaker of a language the use of such derived verbs is no doubt an easier option than searching memory for an elusive lexeme.
6.1.3 Transitivity and Conjugation Classes

In most Australian languages transitivity is an important grammatical category. Verbs are usually strictly transitive or intransitive and syntactic processes may be sensitive to the difference between transitive and intransitive clauses (see Dixon 1980:378). The relative importance of transitivity in many Australian languages may be directly related to patterns of morphological ergativity. In an ergative language, the transitivity of a predicate (and similarly a clause) is clearly recognizable from the case-marking of its arguments. However, in languages with an accusative pattern of case-marking, such as the Ngayarda languages and the Tangkic languages of the Gulf of Carpentaria (Evans 1985), transitivity contrasts are not so explicitly conveyed by case-marking options and the category of transitivity assumes much less importance in the overall grammar of the language.

The difficulty in distinguishing transitive from intransitive predicates in Martuthunira is a result of the following factors:

1. Transitive and intransitive subjects (A and S) are indistinguishable; both are unmarked nominative.

2. Arguments (including both subject and object) may be freely omitted when understood from context or when already established in previous text.

3. Many motion verbs have alternate case frames in which locational complements can appear as accusative marked objects.
4. Accusative objects denoting beneficiaries may be freely added to many clause types.

The addition of accusative arguments to a clause was first introduced in 4.3 and will be discussed further in chapter 10. Although the presence of an accusative beneficiary argument in a clause attests to the transitivity of that clause, it cannot be considered diagnostic evidence of the transitivity of the predicate in that clause.

Verbs with alternate case frames are more problematic. There is no doubt that these verbs must be subcategorized for the locational argument that may appear as an accusative object. However, the verbs most often occur in intransitive clauses. Here I will assume that the optional accusative locational complement not be considered for the purposes of ascribing a predicate to a transitivity class.

Thus the class of intransitive verbs includes statives like nyina-% 'sit', and motion verbs such as puni-% 'go' and kanarri-% 'come', some of which may take an accusative argument denoting a locational role.

The class of transitive verbs includes the simple transitive verbs of affect, such as thani-L 'hit', which are always understood as having an object, perception verbs such as nhau-n % 'see', and induced motion verbs such as warntitha-% 'drop, throw', which may take a second accusative argument denoting a locational role. There is also a small number of ditransitive verbs including yungku-% 'give' and nhuura-ma-% 'teach, show'.

There remains a small set of verbs, such as ngayi-% 'cry (for)', which
may take an accusative argument but which, if no such argument appears, are not understood as implying this argument. These can be described as 'ambitransitive' verbs.

Verbs are strictly categorized into one of three conjugation classes labelled 0, L and R for the conjugation markers which appear in some verb inflections. Membership of a conjugation determines the choice of inflectional and derivational suffix form. In common with the other Ngayarda languages, Martuthunira has reduced an earlier conjugation system by the incorporation of monosyllabic verbs into the open conjugation classes. However, this incorporation is not complete.

Four mono-morphemic verbs of the 0-conjugation, yungku-0 'give', kangku-0 'take, carry', manku-0 'grab, pick up', and nhawu-0 'see', select special forms of the 'unrealized' verb inflection and the collective derivational suffix. The same pattern applies for verbs involving the -:ngku-0 derivational suffix (6.3.9), strongly suggesting that the verbalizer was originally a separate verb. It is clear that the four mono-morphemic verbs all descend from the future forms of mono-syllabic verbs of an original NG/M-conjugation (see Dixon 1980:403-5) and this group is thus described as the NG-subconjugation of the 0-conjugation.

In all of the Ngayarda languages the R-conjugation has a very limited number of members and there are suggestions that it is, by degrees, being incorporated into the open L-conjugation. In Panyjima this incorporation is complete. In Martuthunira, the remaining R-conjugation verbs often take L-conjugation inflectional forms even though special R-conjugation forms exist. The remaining R-conjugation verbs are:
There is a correlation between conjugation membership and transitivity with the \( \phi \)-conjugation including mainly intransitive verbs and the L-conjugation including mainly transitive verbs. Table 6.1 gives the numbers of transitive and intransitive verbs for the two major conjugations, based on a sample of 134 monomorphemic verb roots. All four R-conjugation verbs are transitive.

Table 6.1: Conjugation Membership by Transitivity Class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L-conjugation</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \phi )-conjugation</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few verb roots appear in both conjugations but with a corresponding difference in meaning:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L-conjugation</th>
<th>( \phi )-conjugation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kampa</td>
<td>cook, burn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thurnta</td>
<td>rub, paint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puntha</td>
<td>wash, bathe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yinka</td>
<td>chisel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tharrwi</td>
<td>put into</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The L-conjugation forms are transitive, the corresponding intransitive \( \phi \)-conjugation forms are inherently reflexive. This alternation does not
occur with any derived verb stems.

6.1.4 Suffix Forms

6.1.4.1 Inflectional Suffixes

Table 6.2 (overleaf) lists the forms of the main clause and subordinate clause verb inflections for the three conjugations.

It is possible to describe two classes of inflectional forms on the basis of this table. Firstly, a number of inflections involve an invariant form following a conjugation marker (CM) -∅-, -l- or -rr-. These are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Habitual</th>
<th>-CM-wayara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lest</td>
<td>-CM-wirri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose subject=object</td>
<td>-CM-waa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose different-subject</td>
<td>-CM-wala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>-CMa-lha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The L and R-conjugation forms of the past tense inflection involve a vowel /a/ following the conjugation marker and preceding the invariant suffix lha. The 'unrealized' inflection also involves the L and R-conjugation markers, with the ∅-conjugation form suggesting a conjugation marker -γ-. The -raangu allomorph is selected by verbs of the NG-subconjugation.

The counterfactual, passive counterfactual and habitual nominalization inflections are also included in this first class. For these suffixes the invariant form follows an assimilated -n- conjugation marker in the L-conjugation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Counterfactual</th>
<th>-n-marni</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passive Counterfactual</td>
<td>-n-ngulaamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual Nominalization</td>
<td>-n-nguntharri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.2: Verb Inflections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>φ</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Main Clause</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>-nguru</td>
<td>-rnuru</td>
<td>-rnuru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>-lha</td>
<td>-lalha</td>
<td>-rralha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive Perfective</td>
<td>-yangu</td>
<td>-rou</td>
<td>-rou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>-layi</td>
<td>-rninyji</td>
<td>-rninyji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>-l.yu</td>
<td>-rryu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td>-wayara</td>
<td>-lwayara</td>
<td>-rrwayara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual Nominalization</td>
<td>-nguntharri</td>
<td>-nnguntharri</td>
<td>-rrnguntharri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrealized</td>
<td>-yaangu</td>
<td>/-raangu</td>
<td>-laangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counterfactual</td>
<td>-marni</td>
<td>-nmarni</td>
<td>-nmarni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive Counterfactual</td>
<td>-ngulaanu</td>
<td>-nngulaanu</td>
<td>-rrngulaanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subordinate Clause</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Relative</td>
<td>-nyila</td>
<td>-rnura</td>
<td>-rnura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contemporaneous Relative</td>
<td>-rra</td>
<td>-l.yarra</td>
<td>-rryarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequential Relative</td>
<td>-rrawaara</td>
<td>-l.yarrawaara</td>
<td>-rryarrawaara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lest</td>
<td>-wirri</td>
<td>-lwirri</td>
<td>-rrwirri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive Lest</td>
<td>no form</td>
<td>recorded</td>
<td>-rniyangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose same-subject</td>
<td>-lu</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose subject=object</td>
<td>-waa</td>
<td>-lwaa</td>
<td>-rrwaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose different-subject</td>
<td>-wala</td>
<td>-lwala</td>
<td>-rrwala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The imperative and the contemporaneous relative inflections can also be added to this class. The two suffixes can be reconstructed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Contemporaneous Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>-CH-ku</strong></td>
<td><strong>-CH-karra</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both suffixes have clear cognates in other languages of the area. The **-CH-ku** suffix appears as the present tense inflection in the other Ngayarda languages and is ultimately related to a common future/purposive suffix. In the Ø-conjugation phonological changes have erased the suffix completely, leaving the bare stem as the imperative form of the verb. The same loss has occurred in Yinyjiparnti. The present tense forms in this language are **-Ø** for Ø-conjugation verbs and **-ku** for L, R and N-conjugations.

The **-CM-karra** suffix functions as the marker of same-subject relative clauses in the Kanyara languages. Thalanyji (Austin 1981d) has L and R-conjugation forms **-lkarra** and **-rrkarra** respectively, and Y-conjugation forms **-yarra** on stems with a final a vowel and **-rra** on stems with final i or u. The Martuthunira Ø-conjugation form of the contemporaneous relative is similarly **-rra** on stems with final i or u. The a vowel of a-final stems is replaced with i when the suffix **-rra** is attached (2.5.4). In some environments the **-rra** suffix collapses with a final rri syllable of a Ø-conjugation verb. For example, the verb pamararri-Ø 'call out to' appears as pamararra in contemporaneous relative clauses.

```
pamararri-rra --> pamararra
```

call out-CTEMP

The same reduction occurs in verbs involving the collective derivational
suffix (see below).

The sequential relative inflection is apparently built on the contemporaneous inflection by the addition of a suffix -waara. This suffix occurs nowhere else in Martuthunira and to date I have found no historical source. Austin (1981:219) describes a Thalanyji 'preparatory' clause inflection -CM-kurrara which appears to be cognate with the Martuthunira sequential inflection but which is not so obviously related to the Thalanyji relative same-subject inflection.

The second class of inflections includes those for which the L and R-conjugations share the one form while the Ø-conjugation has a different form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ø</th>
<th>L/R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>-nguru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive Perfactive</td>
<td>-yangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>-layi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive Lest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Relative</td>
<td>-nyila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose same-subj.</td>
<td>-lu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the exception of the purposive same-subject inflection, the L and R-conjugation forms are based on the suffix -rnu (with an assimilation of the vowel to i preceding a palatal). The Ø-conjugation forms are not similarly related and there are few clear cognates for any of these suffixes in neighbouring languages.

Algy Paterson's speech shows a certain degree of variation in the choice of verbal inflections of the first class for R-conjugation verbs. In many instances the L-conjugation form occurs rather than the R-conjugation form. This tendency to regularize the R-conjugation no doubt reflects the
process through which the R-conjugation was lost in Panyjima. For the counterfactual inflection in Martuthunira a separate R-conjugation form appears to have already been lost.

6.1.4.2 Derivational Suffixes

The passive and collective have different forms conditioned by the conjugation membership of the stem to which they are attached. With the exception of the 'body noise' (6.3.6 & 2.5.2) and -ngku-∅ (6.3.9 & 2.5.3) verbalizers, which have phonologically conditioned allomorphs, all other derivational suffixes have invariant forms.

The passive has a basic form -nguli-∅ which follows the conjugation markers -∅-, -n- or -rr-. In addition, as described in 2.5.5, the suffix is shortened to -CM-ngu- when followed by the future, contemporaneous (or sequential) relative or purposive same-subject inflections.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nguli-layi} & \quad \rightarrow \quad -\text{ngulayi} \\
\text{nguli-rra} & \quad \rightarrow \quad -\text{ngurra} \\
\text{nguli-lu} & \quad \rightarrow \quad -\text{ngulu}
\end{align*}
\]

The passive can also be recognised as historically involved in the passive counterfactual and habitual nominalization inflections, and the least inflection has taken the first step towards incorporation with the passive derivational suffix. Following the passive, the suffix has the form -yirri rather than the general ∅-conjugation form -wirri and the combination is further reduced in fast speech to -ngulirri.

The collective suffix has three separate forms conditioned by the conjugation membership and the length of the verb stem (2.5.1). The
distribution of the forms is set out in Table 6.3:

Table 6.3: Collective Suffix Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NG-sub.</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>-marri</td>
<td>-yarri</td>
<td>-yarri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dimoric stem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>-marri</td>
<td>-marri</td>
<td>-lwarri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The -marri form of the collective suffix also appears on nominal stems deriving a collective verb. In all examples found so far the collective verb corresponds to a transitive verb derived by the addition of the causative suffix -ma-L to the nominal stem. For example:

karlarra-marri-∅    | heat each other up
karlarra-ma-L       | make hot

The simplest description of this distribution is to posit a -rri-∅ form of the collective suffix following the -ma-L causative suffix. Thus the verb 'heat each other up' can be glossed:

karlarra-ma -rri-∅  | hot -CAUS-COLL

Like the passive, collective suffix forms are reduced when followed by the contemporaneous relative inflection -rra. The -rri syllable of the collective suffix is lost.

-marri-rra --> -marra
-yarri-rra --> -yarra
-lwarri-rra --> -lwarra

The results of this reduction are most striking on verbs based on nominal stems. The -rri-∅ form of the collective following the causative is lost
altogether:

\[
\text{muthumuthu-ma} \rightarrow \text{muthumuthu-marra} \\
\text{cool} \rightarrow \text{cool-CAUS+COLL+CTEMP}
\]

The verb \text{wangka-}'say, tell' has an idiosyncratic stem \text{wangkarnu-} selected only by the collective suffix. The normal \text{p-} conjugation collective suffix form \text{-marri} follows an apparent \text{-rnu} addition to the verb root. Similar idiosyncratic stem forms of this verb occur in collective (or reciprocal) forms in other languages of the area. For example:

\begin{align*}
\text{Jiwarli} & \quad \text{wangkaarni-} \\
\text{Yinyjiparnti} & \quad \text{wankayi-}
\end{align*}

6.2 Inflections

6.2.1 Present Tense

The present tense forms of verbs occur in three basic contexts. Firstly, the present is used in simple declarative or interrogative utterances to indicate that the event or state of affairs described by the predicate is taking place at the time of speaking.

1. \text{jarruru-} \rightarrow \text{nganaju malyarra-} \rightarrow \text{paju.}
   \text{slow} \rightarrow \text{1sgACC pain} \rightarrow \text{CAUS-PRES REAL}
   
   Do it a bit slower! you're hurting me.

2. \text{kartu nhawu-nguru ?}
   
   Do you see them?

The present tense may also be used to indicate a speaker's immediate
intentions (3) or as a direction to an addressee to perform some action in the immediate future (4). Similarly, the present can be used to imply a continuing state of affairs even though that state of affairs does not hold at the time of speaking (5).

3. ngayu puni-nguru-rru.
   1sgNOM go -PRES -NOW
   I'm going now.

4. kartu puni-nguru ngurru-mulyarra kalyarran-mulyarra
   2sgNOM go -PRES thatOBLS-ALL tree -ALL
   manku-lu wurrulywa-a.
   get-PURPSs leaves -ACC
   You go to that tree and get some leaves.

5. wanthanha-wuyu-u kartu wangka-nguru jarru -ngku kalya-rru-nguru-u?
   which -SIDE-ACC 2sgNOM say -PRES marchfly-EFF bite-PASSP-ABL-ACC
   Which one of them are you saying has been bitten?

Secondly, the present is used to make statements of fact:

6. ngunbaa yakarrangu karlwa-nguru jinkayu.
   thatNOM sun rise -PRES east
   The sun rises in the east.

7. 'warryumuntu' wangka-nguli-nguru tharnta parla-nyungu
   call -PASS -PRES euro hill -DWELL
   kupuyu-marta thara-ngka-marta.
   little-PROP pouch-LOC -PROP
   'Warryumuntu', that's what that hill kangaroo with a little one in its pouch is called.

8. ngunhu kanyara kuliyanpa-nguru nhuura paju-rru.
   thatNOM man think -PRES knowing REAL-NOW
   That man thinks that he really knows [how to do it].
9. mir.ta wiyaanga thalka-nguli-nguru, thanuwa-a maruwarla-a
   not maybe feed -PASS -PRES food -ACC much -ACC

   paju yungku-nguli-nguru.
   REAL give -PASS -PRES

   Maybe he isn't fed, isn't given very much food.

In narrative text the present tense inflections most often occur on the
copulas nyina-∅ 'sit, be', karri-∅ 'stand', wanti-∅ 'lie', and puni-∅ 'go,
be', where these serve to establish or re-establish a narrative present.
Otherwise, present tense verbs refer to the present of utterance. These
may convey the speaker's comments on the current status of situations or
participants discussed in the narrative, or may present universally
accepted truths such as those illustrated in examples 6 and 7 above.

6.2.2 Future Tense

The future is named for its function in simple conversational utterances.
In such contexts it indicates that an event is expected to take place at
some future point in time. For example:

10. ngaliwa wawayi-rninji ngurmu kanyara-a.
    1pl(inc) look for-FUT thatACC man -ACC

    We'll look for that man.

11. nhyu ngurra ngapala paju warnu. wantharni-npa-layi-rru
    this ground mud REAL EMPH how -INCH-FUT -NOW

    puni-rra, wii tharrwa-layi ngapala-la-rru?
    go-CTEMP if go into-FUT mud -LOC-NOW

    This ground is very muddy. How are we going to get along if
    we get stuck in the mud?

    The future has an important function in non-situated text. The main
    event line in any part of a text involving a step-like sequence of actions,
such as a programmatic discourse, generally consists of a series of future clauses each of which describes the next stage in a process. The following portion of text explaining how to cook a kangaroo is typical. Verbs inflected for future tense are underlined.

Then you pull it out of the fire, and rub it down with your hand. Okay, now cut its guts open and pull out the stomach. Okay, fix it up. Pull out the liver and throw it in the fire to cook. Then pull it out and then put it on some leaves to cool down. Then eat it once it's cooled down. Once you're full, go and lie on your back in the shade.

6.2.3 Imperative

Imperative verbs occur only in positive clauses. The functions of a negative imperative are assumed by negative future clauses. Indeed all future clauses with a second person subject are generally interpreted as mild imperatives. The following examples illustrate both positive imperative clauses, in which the verb bears the imperative inflection, and
negative imperatives, involving the future inflection.

13. nhartu-\textit{ma-r}nuru karntarra-\textit{a} ? mir.ta yirra-marta  
what-CAUS-PRES sinew -ACC not teeth-PROP

\textit{kalya-rninyji, wurnta-1.yu kurlany-marta.}

bite -FUT cut -IMP knife -PROP

What are you doing with that sinew? Don't bite it with your teeth, cut it with a knife.

14. \textit{purnumpuru-npa-riendly kartu mir.ta wurnta-rninyji nganarna-\textit{a}}  
quiet -INCH-IMP 2sgNOM not upset -FUT 1pl(exc)-ACC

Be quiet! Don't upset us.

15. \textit{manku-\textit{u} -rru yirmala-\textit{a} mir.ta nyina-layi nhawu-r}ra yirla
grab -IMP-NOW thisDEF-ACC not sit -FUT watch-CTEMP only

\textit{thurlamanta! karlwa-\textit{u} manku-\textit{l}u nhula -\textit{a}}!
watching get up-IMP grab -PURPss near you-ACC

Grab this fellow! Don't just sit watching! Get up and grab him!

As well as the regular transitive and intransitive clause patterns illustrated in these examples, there are two special patterns of case-marking found only in positive imperative clauses. These are described in 10.4.

6.2.4 Past Tense and Passive Perfective

The past tense and perfective passive inflections complement one another. Both denote events taking place at a time prior to the present of utterance but differ in voice. In addition, both suffixes are usually interpreted as coding perfective aspect, although this is most marked with the passive\textsuperscript{2}. The following examples illustrate the suffixes in main clauses.
16. ngawu, ngunhu nganaju mimi ngurnas yarna — lalha warnu
   yes thatNOM 1sgGEN uncle thatACC dissatisfied-PAST ASSERT

   ngathu yinka -ruu wirra — a, ngunhaa wangka-lha
   1sgEFF chisel-PASSP boomerang-ACC thatNOM say -PAST

   wirra — a jalya — a, ngurnta-a kuyil-yu.
   boomerang-ACC rubbish-ACC style-ACC bad -ACC

   Yes, that uncle of mine was dissatisfied with that boomerang chiselled
   by me. He said that the boomerang was rubbish, had bad form.

17. ngunhaa nyina-lha jampa, wiruwarri — lha — ruu, kuliyanpa-lha
    thatNOM sit -PAST moment be homesick-PAST-NOW think -PAST

    parrani-layi-ruu ngurmula-ngu-mulyarra warra ngurra-mulyarra.
    return -FUT -NOW thatDEF -GEN-ALL CONT camp -ALL

    He stayed for a while and then got homesick, thought about
    returning to his camp.

18. nhula muyi ngulu thani-ruu kalyaran-ta nyina-nyila-lu.
    near you dog thatEFF hit-PASSP log -LOC sit -PrREL-EFF

    That dog near you was hit by that fellow sitting on the log.

19. nganalu kartu yungku-yangu muyi-1?
    whoEFF 2sgNOM give -PASSP dog-ACC

    By whom were you given the dog?

In many syntactic environments, verbs marked with the past tense and
passive perfective suffixes look very like nominalizations. Firstly, the
verbs are common in reduced subordinate clauses. These consist of just the
verb word and either immediately follow the head of the NP (as in 20 and
21), or stand in as the head of a NP and bear the nominal suffixes
appropriate to the function of that NP in higher constituents (22 and 23):

20. kartu panyu-mpa-layi nganarna-a ngalarri-lha-ngara-a
    2sgNOM good -INCH-FUT 1pl(exc)-ACC forget-PAST-PLURAL-ACC

    wantamartu-ngara-a.
    crazy -PLURAL-ACC

    You be good to us crazy people who forgot.
21. nganarna kuliyanpa-nguru kartungu-mulyarra yirla
1pl(exc) think -PRES 2sgACC -ALL only

warrirti-ngaru-a wurnts-rnu -ngaru -a.
spear-PLURAL-ACC break -PASSP-PLURAL-ACC

We think about bringing spears that have been broken only to you.

22. yarta-wuyu juwayu thuulwa-rninyji waruul. yarta-wuyu juwayu,
other-SIDE hand pull -FUT still other-SIDE hand

thathu-lalha-wuyu juwayu, ngunbaa puni-layi thungku-ngka waruul.
let go-PAST -SIDE hand thatNOM go -FUT back -LOC still

One hand keeps on pulling. The other hand, the one that has let
go, that one continues to moves down its back.

23. wantha-rninyji wilyiwillyi-ma -rnu -ngaru -a yakarrangu-lu
put -FUT clean -CAUS-PASSP-PLURAL-ACC sun -EFF

kampa-rra.
burn-CTEMP

Then lay out the things that have been cleaned (clothes) to dry in
the sun.

Secondly, past tense verb forms may function as stems for further verbal
derivation. In the following examples the causative suffix -ma-L (see
section 6.3.4) is added to an intransitive verb inflected with past tense,
to form an effective transitive verb. Algy Paterson would not accept
similar constructions involving an inflected transitive verb.

24. kartu-lwa nganaju kuyil-nguli-lha -ma -lalha
2sgNOM-ID 1sgACC bad -PSYCH-PAST-CAUS-PAST

yimpala -rri -waa "drunk"-npa-waa.
like that-INCH-PURPs=o drunk-INCH-PURPs=o

You're the one who made me go bad, to become like that, to
get drunk.
In these examples the past tense inflected verb describes a resulting state into which the object of the causative verb will be placed by the actions of the subject of that verb.

Finally, there are a few examples of idiomatic phrases involving verbs inflected with either the past tense or passive perfective suffixes which approach lexical status. These idioms all refer to particular kin relationships. I do not know what the semantic connection is between the various verbs and the particular relationships encoded in this way.

Despite these patterns, I do not believe that the past tense or passive perfective suffixes can be described as lexical nominalizations. There is no strict dividing line between a fully finite clause including a past tense or passive perfective verb and one with a reduced set of arguments embedded within some other constituent. There are no special case assignment rules and no semantic idiosyncracies. At the same time it is
not clear that an appeal to the notion of clausal nominalization (Comrie and Thompson 1985:391ff) will be any more revealing.

The problem here is reminiscent of the difficulties in grouping nominals into separate adjective (predicate) and noun (argument) classes and will be touched on again in the discussion of endocentric adnominal expressions in 8.3.

6.2.5 Habitual Inflections

The habitual inflection marks an action which is understood as occurring on a great number of occasions and so which allows the subject of the action to be characterizable in terms of that action. The habitual covers the functions of usitative verb inflections found in languages to the south of Martuthunira and has an unmarked usitative reading usually translated with the English 'used to VERB' construction. For example:

26. nganarna wantha-rrwayara murla-a thana manku-wala minthal muyi.
    1pl(exc) leave -HABIT meat-ACC let grab-PURPds alone dog

    We used to leave meat so the dogs could get it themselves.

27. nganarna punkurri-npa-wayara maruwarla-lu punkurrimarnu-lu.
    1pl(exc) covered-INCH-HABIT many -EFF blanket -EFF

    We used to cover up with lots of blankets.

However, there is no necessary implication that the actions have taken place in the past. Very often, the action is seen as one which the subject of the verb still, and in the future, will continue to perform regularly.
28. ngunhu kanyara thani-lwayara mui-i thurlajinkarri-i
thatNOM man hit -HABIT dog-ACC poor fellow -ACC
murla-marnu-u mir.ta nhawungarra-ma-lwayara panyu.
meat-ASSOC-ACC not look after-CAUS-HABIT good

That man is always hitting that poor kangaroo dog, doesn't
look after it well.

29. ngayu puni-lha ngurnu mui-i kangku-rra
1sgNOM go -PAST thatACC dog-ACC take-CTEMP
thurla parra-nnguli-wayara-a.
eye hit -PASS -HABIT -ACC

I went, taking that dog that's always getting left behind.
(lit. hit in the eye)

30. nhiyu warrunparrun mir.ta kalya-lwayara, murla-a yirla
this blowfly not bite -HABIT meat-ACC only
kunanyja-lwayara yirlirli-npa-waa.
excrete -HABIT maggot-INCH-PURPs:o

This blowfly doesn't bite, it just excretes on meat so that it
gets maggoty.

The habitual allows definition of objects or persons by their
characteristic activities. This is clearly demonstrated in the following
two examples in which the speaker makes use of the habitual to describe an
object for which no clear Martuthunira word exists.

31. ngunhaa kanyja-rnu nhawani-ma-lwayara, thurlwa-nnguli-wayara,
thatNOM keep-PASSP thing-CAUS-HABIT pull -PASS -HABIT
parrapari-marnu, ngunhu wanti-nguru 'powder'-marta waruul,
rifle -ASSOC thatNOM lie -PRES powder -PROP still
wanti-lha kuwarri thurlwa-rrnu. wanthala parrapari?
lie-PASSP now pull -PASSP where rifle

That one was being kept, the one that makes it what's-a-name, the
one that gets pulled through, that thing for a rifle. That cloth
still has powder on it as if it had just been pulled through.
But where's the rifle?
32. pawlu-yi, nhartu-ma-lalha kartu nganaju-u
child-VOC what=CAUS-PAST 2sgNOM 1sgGEN-ACC

ngurriny-narnu-u jarras-lwyara-a.
swag -ASSOC-ACC tie up-HABIT-ACC

Kid, what have you done with my swag strap?
(lit. thing that ties up, for a swag)

As an extension of this pattern some habitual verb forms have assumed full lexical status as nominals. The specific meaning of the item is often not predictable from the meaning of the verb stem.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nominals</th>
<th>meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kartatha-lwayara</td>
<td>chop -HABIT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purra-lwayara</td>
<td>hit -HABIT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yurra-lwayara</td>
<td>dig -HABIT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karthathalwayara</td>
<td>tomahawk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purralwayara</td>
<td>tomahawk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yurrilwayara</td>
<td>yam stick</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The habitual nominalization inflection allows a characterization of an entity by its typical 'undergoing' of the action denoted by the verb stem. Some examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nominals</th>
<th>meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wayangku-nguntharri</td>
<td>frighten-HABITNOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mungka-nguntharri</td>
<td>eat -HABITNOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warryayi-nguntharri</td>
<td>drag -HABITNOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kampa-nguntharri</td>
<td>cook -HABITNOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyina-nguntharri</td>
<td>sit -HABITNOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cowering, fearful</td>
<td>'eatables' (generic for both meat and vegetable food)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kangaroo tail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kitchen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chair, saddle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As these last two examples show, the referent of the nominalization does not necessarily correspond to an object of the corresponding active finite
verb. Nor does it necessarily correspond to a possible subject of the passive finite verb. *Nyina-∅ 'sit' does not take an accusative object and does not take either the passive derivational suffix or passive inflections. Similarly, the referent of *kampannguntharri is a location which may not appear as either an accusative object or the passive subject of *kampa-L 'cook'.

However, the nominalized verb may, very rarely, appear in a standard passive clause frame with a nominative subject and an effector argument denoting the agent:

33. wanthanha-a kartu wangka-nguru?
   which -ACC 2sgNOM talk -PRES
   ngunhu -lwa ngaliwa -lu muyiwiya-nguntharri.
   thatNOM-ID 1pl(inc)-EFF insult -HABITNOM

Which one are you talking about?
That one that's always being rubbishied by us.

Interestingly, the Martuthunira habitual nominalization is apparently cognate with a Ngarluma and Yinyjiparnti suffix (-CM)-puntharri which Wordick (1982:110) glosses as 'thing for'. The suffix occurs both on nouns and verbs and despite similar semantics does not appear to involve the passive derivational suffix. Some Yinyjiparnti examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>thurla</th>
<th>-wuntharri</th>
<th>depression in base of spear spearthrower peg -'thing for'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>warlima-npuntharri</td>
<td>sweep -'thing for'</td>
<td>broom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parni-wuntharri</td>
<td>sit -'thing for'</td>
<td>chair</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.2.6 Counterfactuals

Martuthunira has both active and passive counterfactual inflections. These indicate events which did not happen or which are not happening but which would have been expected to have taken place or be happening if other events had turned out differently. Examples 34 and 35 illustrate the active inflection, 36 and 37 involve the passive inflection.

34. thampa-rru wiya manku-lha parla-a parriingku-marni
   almost-NOW maybe grab -PAST stone-ACC hit -CONTR

   warmmalyi-marta, nganaju-u kartara-a-rru parriingku-marni
   stone -PROP 1sgGEN-ACC jaw -ACC-NOW hit -CONTR

   piyuwa-ma -lalha-a ngurnula-ngu-u murla-a.
   finish-CAUS-PAST-ACC thatDEF -GEN-ACC meat-ACC

   [She] almost grabbed a stone and would have hit me with a stone, would have hit me, who finished up her meat, in the jaw.

35. ngawu, thurlajinkarri mayilli, malyarru-wa ngunhaa mir.ta
   yes poor fellow FaFa+1FOSS good -YK thatNOM not

   nhawu-lha ngali -i.
   see -PAST 1dl(inc)-ACC

   ngawu, kuyiil, ngunhaa mawuntu-u -rru manku-marni.
   yes bad thatNOM harpoon-ACC-NOW grab -CONTR

   ngawu, purrkuwul ngunhaa karta-mmarni ngali -i.
   yes true still thatNOM stab -CONTR 1dl(inc)-ACC

   Yes, our poor old grandfather, good thing he didn't see us. Yes, he's bad, he would have grabbed a harpoon. Yes, true enough, he would have stabbed us.

36. palalyi, kartu thala karta-mngulaamu, nhumira-rru
   before 2sgNOM chest stab -PASSCONTR penis -NOW

   thaatharra -rru-marni.
   open mouthed-INCH-CONTR

   In the old days you would have been stabbed in the chest and your penis would have opened up like a mouth [you would have wet yourself].
37. Nhiingara jalya-ngara yungku-ngulaenu kapalya-ngara -a
thisPLURAL scrap-PLURAL give -PASSCONTR pet -PLURAL-ACC

ngaliwa -wu -u mungka-lwaa -lpurtu.
1pl(inc)-GEN-ACC eat -PURPs:o-COMP

These scraps should have been given to those pets of ours to eat.
[but for some reason they weren't].

As 37 shows, the attendant circumstances need not be specified but may be
implied by the use of the inflection and other grammatical markers, in this
instance the 'complementary' adverbial clitic -lpurtu (7.2.9).

Counterfactuals are also used to refer to future events. Here the
speaker predicts that the event described will not happen unless things as
they are now change in some way:

2pl youth-PLURAL know -INCH-CONTR song -ACC sing-FUT

nganarna wuraal -wa-rru nyina-marni mir.ta-rru piya-l.yarra
1pl(exc) alright-Ø -NOW stay -CONTR not -NOW sing-CTEMP

jalurra-ngara-a purnumpuru-rru.
song-PLURAL-ACC quiet -NOW

You boys should learn to sing the songs. Alright, we should be staying
quiet and not singing now.

41. Njiyu warrirti wurnts-rru nhuwa-lu yungku-nguli-marni
this spear break-PASSP 2pl -EFF give -PASS -CONTR

nganaju-u mimi -i.
1sgGEN-ACC uncle-ACC

This spear broken by you should be given to my uncle [to be fixed].

6.2.7 Unrealized

The unrealized inflection is poorly represented in the data and I am not
completely confident of my semantic characterization of the suffix at this
time. It generally indicates that the event denoted by the verb did not,
is not, or will not happen even though there is every expectation that the event ought to happen. Usually the speaker is baffled as to the possible cause of the non-occurrence of the event and in this respect the unrealized inflection is quite different from the counterfactual.

The following examples were constructed to elicit an English translation, and are presented here with Algy Paterson’s extended glosses. These make reasonably clear the kinds of implication the suffix encodes. Notice that the paraphrase given for 42 involves the counterfactual form of the verb.

40. nhiyu murla kampa -yaangu.
   thisNOM meat be cooking-UNREAL
   "This meat should've bin cooked but he's not. He's a meat there not cooking. He's either hard to cook or no fire there."

41. kartu jinangku-raangu ngurnaa.
   2sgNOM track -UNREAL thatACC
   "What's wrong. Why didn't you track 'im?"

42. ngunhaa kartarawurri -yaangu.
   thatNOM come around corner-UNREAL
   "Instead he went other way. He didn't come. Fella that supposed to come around, kartarawurri-marni, he gone somewhere else."

The following examples from unelicited text provide more natural illustration. In 43, the speaker has unwittingly seated himself on a bedroll belonging to a pair of people with whom he is required to maintain a relationship of strict avoidance. This avoidance extends to personal belongings. In 44, the speaker is momentarily unable to identify a particular species of bird.
Yes, I went to sit on that swag, I ought to have felt 'shame'.

I truly forgot. I ought to have thought of that one that always sits on a branch, but I didn't.

How did it happen that [she] became bad. She ought to be good, being brought up by the clever old people. She should know.

6.3 Derivations

6.3.1 Passive

The passive derivational suffix, (-CM-nguli-) is attached to verb stems to produce new stems of the ∅-conjugation. The syntax of passive clauses is discussed in sections 10.3 and 11.5. It need not be discussed at length here. Basically, the passive serves to reorganize the arguments of a predicate so that an accusative object of the active verb appears as the nominative subject of the passive verb, and the subject of the active verb (optionally) appears as an NP marked with the effector suffix. For example, compare the passive sentence in 46b with its active counterpart.

46a.

ngunhu kanyara ngurmu mui-i yanga-lwayara.
thatNOM man thatACC dog-ACC chase-HABIT

That man is always chasing that dog.

b. ngunhu mui yanga-nguli-wayara ngulu kanyara-lu.
thatNOM dog chase-PASS -HABIT thatEFF man -EFF

That dog is always being chased by that man.

The suffix is shared by all the Ngayarda languages (though the Ngarluma form is -CM-nngali- as a result of phonological changes) and is probably related, at least historically, to an inchoative suffix -nguli- to nominal stems (6.3.7) which also occurs in the Mantharta and Kanyara languages.

6.3.2 Collective

Verb stems derived by the addition of the collective suffix allow three different interpretations. Firstly, the suffix may indicate that the activity described by the verb stem is performed together by the participants denoted by the non-singular subject NP. The following examples illustrate the collective suffix on intransitive verb stems. The different forms of the suffix are presented in Table 6.3, section 6.1.4.2 above.

47. kulhampa-ngara puni-marri-layi tharrwa-lu thawura-la-ruu.
fish -PLURAL go -COLL -FUT enter-PURPss net -LOC-NOW

The fish will all swim together into the net.

48. ngaliwa nyina-marri-layi wangkarnu-marra.
1pl(inc)NOM sit -COLL -FUT talk-COLL+CTEMP

We'll sit around and have a talk.
Secondly, where the verb is transitive the suffix often indicates reciprocal action. That is, the participants denoted by the non-singular subject are assumed to be performing the action on one another. For example:

49. nhartu-npa-lha-lwa ngula? marrari-wirraa ngalal nhawu-yarra
   what-INCH-PAST-ID IGNOR word -PRIV just look-COLL+CTEMP

   marrari-wirraa, kamparta-ma-rrri-nguru.
   word -PRIV angry-CAUS-COLL-PRES

   wantharni-ma-rrri-layi? parrungka-marri-layi wiyaa.
   how -CAUS-COLL-FUT shout -COLL-FUT maybe

What happened? They're just looking at each other without a word, making each other angry. What will they do next? Maybe they'll start shouting at each other.

However, in many cases the suffix indicates that the action is performed collectively by the subject participants. An explicit transitive object need not be present.

50. nganarna murla-a wantha-lwayara pawulu-ngara-a
   1pl(exc)NOM meat-ACC leave -HABIT child-PLURAL-ACC

   mungka-yarri-waa.
   eat -COLL-PURPs=o

We used to leave the children meat so they could eat together.

51. wiruwanti yirla karlwa-marri-layi, ngartil waruul
   morning only get up-COLL-FUT again still

   mungka-yarri-layi ngurnu tharnta-a.
   eat -COLL-FUT thatACC euro -ACC

In the morning we'll get up together, and we'll still have another feed of that euro.

Thirdly, the collective suffix may be used on a verb to emphasise the existence of a particular kin relationship between participants in the clause. In particular, the suffix indicates that the participants are in
the same alternating generation set (see section 1.3.2.2).

52. yimpala -rru-wa. kartu karri-layi nhurta-npa -marri-ngu-rra-rru
like that-NOW-YK 2sgNOM stand-FUT wild-INC-COLL-PASS-CTEMP-NOW

ngayu wanyjarri-layi. mir.ta-rru nhuwana-lu nhuumuwarnti-lu
1sgNOM go -FUT not -NOW 2pl -EFF spouse pair-EFF

puranyi-lwarri-ngu-layi.
see -COLL -PASS-FUT

That's how it is. You're being gotten wild with. I'm going. I won't
[stay where I can] be seen by you two, husband and wife, in-laws of mine.

53. kartu nhawu-yarri-wayara nyinu -malyura-marnu-ngu?
2sgNOM see -COLL -HABIT Bro-in-law-2POSS -GROUP-ACC

mir.ta, ngayu mir.ta nhawu-yarri-wayara.
not 1sgNOM not see -COLL -HABIT

ngawu, ngayu kangku-layi kartungu nhawu-yarri-waa
yes 1sgNOM take -FUT 2sgACC see-COLL-PURPs=0

nyinu -malyura -ngu.
Bro-in-law-2POSS -ACC

Have you ever seen that brother-in-law of yours?
No, I've never seen him.
Okay, I'll take you to see your brother-in-law.

The relationship between the collective and reciprocal functions of the
suffix and this marking of kin group is not immediately obvious. However,
it can be argued that interaction between members of the same generation
set is characterized by a tendency towards collective activity, while by
contrast, relations between people in the different generation sets
typically involves varying degrees of respectful avoidance. The use of the
collective suffix to mark the former relationship is a reflection of these
institutionalized patterns of social interaction. For more detailed
discussion and an explanation of the relationship between collective
activity and particular kin relationships in the Ngayarda language area see
To sum up, collective verbs may have three different interpretations: action performed by a group acting together (collective), action involving members of a group each acting on the other (reciprocal), or action involving persons in the same generation set (kin group). The reading of a particular instance of the suffix partly depends on the verb to which it is attached and on the syntactic context in which that verb occurs. The range of syntactic contexts and associated interpretations of the suffix are set out in Table 6.4:

Table 6.4: Possible Interpretations of the Collective Suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>subject</th>
<th>object</th>
<th>interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>non-singular</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>non-singular</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>non-singular</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where the subject of the clause is singular the suffix may only have the kin group interpretation. This does not imply that the subject of the clause must be one of the participants linked by the use of the suffix. For example, in the following sentence the participants linked by the suffix as belonging to the one generation set do not include the subject of the clause (the speaker). One is the object of the verb and the other a locational argument.
54. ngayu kangku-yarri-lha panaka -ngurni karimarra-wuyu-u
1sgNOM take -COLL-PAST section-OBSCRD section -SIDE-ACC
marrari -milyarra, martuthunira-a nhuura-upa -was.
language-ALL -ACC know -INCH-PURPs:o

I took the karimarra boy along, after the panaka boy, towards the language, to learn Martuthunira. (I taught two boys who are together in the same generation set.)

There is no syntactic context which forces a reciprocal reading for a verb bearing the collective suffix. Although a reciprocal reading is available where a transitive verb appears with no object and the subject is non-singular, a collective reading is always possible here given the frequent ellipsis of arguments. To some extent, interpretation as reciprocal or collective depends on the particular verb. For example, 55 below will almost always give a collective reading while 56 will usually yield a reciprocal reading:

55. ngaliwa mungka-yarri-nguru.
1pl(inc) eat -COLL -PRES

We're eating together.
( ?? We're eating one another.)

56. ngaliwa thani-yarri-nguru.
1pl(inc) hit -COLL -PRES

We're hitting one another.
( ?? We're hitting together.)

This suggests that separate collective and reciprocal meanings need not be established for the suffix. Rather, a single collective meaning will allow a reciprocal interpretation in certain syntactic contexts and with certain verbs.

While a clause with a non-singular subject will allow a kin group reading as well as a possible collective or reciprocal reading, the suffix
itself does not require that members of the group be in the same
generation. This is made clear in the following example in which the
non-singular subject is a disharmonic pronoun (5.1.2) and hence only the
collective (or reciprocal) reading is possible.

57. ngunbaa mir.ta waruul kuliya-rnuru nganajumarta -a
thatNOM not still hear -PRES 1dl(different)-ACC

   wangkarnu-marri-nyila-a.
talk -COLL -PrREL-ACC

He still can't hear us talking together (to one another).

Clearly, the kin group meaning of the suffix must be independent of the
collective meaning and the suffix must be described as polysemous between
these two meanings.

6.3.3 Inchoative -npa-Ø

The -npa-Ø inchoative derives mainly intransitive verbs from nominal stems
and is fully productive. Inchoative verbs describe the process of a change
in state of the subject of the verb resulting in the state denoted by the
nominal stem. However, in some cases the verb may describe the persistence
or maintenance of a state, assumed to be temporary, rather than the
inception of that state.

Most examples of the inchoative involve nominal stems which usually
denote properties of entities. The subject of the verb thus attains the
property denoted by the nominal stem.
piyuwa -npa-∅  
become finished, die,  
finished-INCH-

mathumathu-npa-∅  
cool down  
cool -INCH-

jinyji-warla-npa-∅  
get fat  
fat -FULL -INCH-

malumalu-npa-∅  
get dark  
dark -INCH-

Where the stem is a nominal which is usually understood to denote an entity, the inchoative verb forces an interpretation whereby this nominal is seen as denoting a property. It is not possible to say that the subject of the verb becomes the entity denoted by the nominal stem in all cases.

thurla-npa-∅  
wake up, be born  
eye -INCH-

nganyurta-npa-∅  
be sweating  
sweat -INCH-

puwara-npa-∅  
(fire) become coals  
coal -INCH-

yirlirli-npa-∅  
(meat) become maggotty  
maggot -INCH-

pawulu-ngara-npa-∅  
have children  
child-PLURAL-INCH-

This last verb is illustrated in the following example:

58. ngayu nhawu-lha kayarra-a tharratal-yu, yaanka wiyaa,  
1sgNOM see -PAST two -ACC bird(sp.)-ACC spouse(pr.) maybe

jampa -rru pawulu-ngara-npa-layi-rru.  
moment-NOW child-PLURAL-INCH-FUT-NOW

I saw two tharratal birds, maybe husband and wife, they'll soon be getting children.

On locational nominals, either stems involving a locational nominal
suffix or inherent locatives, the inchoative derives a motion verb

(10.1.5).

\[ \text{parlu-ngka-npa-hipster \quad get to the top} \]
\[ \text{kana-ngka-npa-hipster \quad get into the clear} \]
\[ \text{yilangu-npa-hipster \quad get to be here} \]
\[ \text{ngurra-arta-npa-hipster \quad move to camp} \]
\[ \text{yawurrarni-npa-hipster \quad come here to the west} \]

59. \text{nhiyu-rru-wa murna-ngka-rru, ngulangu-npa-lha-rru,}
\text{this -NOW-YK close-LOC -NOW there -INCH-PAST-NOW}
\[ \text{murna-ngka-npa-lha -rru thanuwa-ngara-marta,}
\text{close-LOC-INCH-PAST-NOW food -PLURAL-PROP}
\[ \text{nyina-layi wangkarnu-marra -rru.}
\text{sit -FUT talk -COLL+CTEMP-NOW}

They're close now. Once they've got there, come close up with all the food, they stop and talk together.

A number of inchoative verbs take an accusative object. Firstly, the two-place nominal predicates \text{nhuura} 'knowing' and \text{wiru} 'wanting', form verbs with two arguments (10.1.7).

\[ \text{nhuura-npa-hipster \quad learn} \]
\[ \text{wiru-npa-hipster \quad want, like} \]

Other inchoative verbs optionally take an accusative argument.

\[ \text{panyu-npa-hipster \quad become good, be kind to NPacc} \]
\[ \text{paya -npa-hipster \quad become angry, get angry with NPacc} \]
The verb murna-∅ 'get close to' implies a changing locative relation between two arguments, the one coming closer to the other. By contrast, the verb murna-ngka-∅ 'come close up' exemplified in 59 above, describes the attainment of a fixed locational goal defined in terms of the 'close' relation.

Finally, some inchoative verbs occur in the data with added 'benefactive' arguments. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inchoative Verb</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pirrimanta-∅</td>
<td>become a fiddler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jirruna-∅</td>
<td>be sneaky</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.4 Causative/Factive -ma-L

The suffix typically attaches to a nominal stem and derives a transitive verb. As with the inchoative suffix, the most common nominal stems denote properties of entities. The subject of the causative verb effects a change in state of the object of the verb, the eventual state being denoted by the nominal stem of the verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causative Verb</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>karlara-∅</td>
<td>make hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jarrala-∅</td>
<td>make healthy, heal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhurnti-∅</td>
<td>kill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
punkwunku--ma-L roll up
rolled up--CAUS--

When based on a nominal which usually refers to an entity the verb describes the creation of that entity. The object of the verb describes the materials out of which the referent of the verb stem is manufactured although such an object often does not appear. The examples below are given with a typical object in parentheses.

karla--ma-L fire--CAUS--
make a fire (firewood)

marntanhu--ma-L net -CAUS--
make a net (spinifex)

ngurriny--ma-L swag -CAUS--
roll a swag (swag)

warrirti--ma-L spear -CAUS--
make a spear (type of wood)

pul.yu--ma-L plug -CAUS--
make a plug (tobacco)

pirtuwangu--ma-L prisoner -CAUS--
make an initiation prisoner (youth)

60. ngunbaa warrapa marntanhu--ma-nguli-wayara.
thatNOM spinifex net -CAUS-PASS-HABIT
That spinifex used to be made into fishing nets.

61. ngayu nhawu--lha ngurmu wirta-a.
1sgNOM see -PAST thatACC youth-ACC
ngunbaa pirtuwangu--ma-nguli-marni.
thatNOM prisoner-CAUS-PASS -CONTR
I saw that youth. He should have been taken prisoner.

The causative suffix also occurs on inflected nominal stems, for example:
puuthuni -marta-ma-L  
put a spearhead (on a spear)

nguyirri-wirraa-ma-L  
keep awake, make without sleeping

mirru -ngka-ma-L  
load (spear) onto spearthrower

wilyara -la -ma-L  
put (animal carcass) on shoulders

kartara-la-ma-L  
put (tobacco plug) in cheek

Verbs based on locative expressions are especially common. When the locative expression describes a bodypart location the body part is usually associated with the subject. Whether or not this is a strict rule is yet to be checked. Consider the following examples:

62. ngayu yarta-wuyu-lpurru kanyara, mir.ta wiru
1sgNOM other-SIDE-COMP man not wanting

kuliya-la-ma-rninyji nhuwana-wu-u marrari-ngara-a.
ear -LOC-CAUS-FUT 2pl -GEN-ACC word-PLURAL-ACC

I'm a man of the other side (patrimoity), I don't want to get your words in [my] ear.

On some manner nominals the causative suffix derives a verb which can be glossed as 'do MANNER'. The action described by the verb is assumed to be transitive and an affected accusative object may appear.

jarruru-ma-L  
do slowly (to NPacc)
slowly-CAUS-

murti-ma-L  
do quickly (to NPacc)
fast-CAUS-

yimpala -ma-L  
do like that (to NPacc)
like that-CAUS-
Pull out that billycan [from the fire]. Do it quickly lest it get too hot (to hold).

Finally, the causative has a restricted function deriving transitive verbs from the past tense forms of intransitive verbs (6.2.4).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Algy Paterson would not accept examples based on transitive verb stems and produced analytic causatives using various verbs of coercion instead.}
\end{align*}
\]

6.3.5 Involuntary States -rri-∅

The -rri-∅ verbalizing suffix derives intransitive verbs describing involuntary bodily processes, or the involuntary development of mental states.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{shiver} & \quad \text{parrawarra-rri-∅} & \quad \text{shivering-INCH-} \\
\text{stink, be smelling} & \quad \text{nguri-rri-∅} & \quad \text{odour-INCH-} \\
\text{become open-mouthed} & \quad \text{thaa-tharra-rri-∅} & \quad \text{mouth-open-INCH-} \\
\text{get itchy} & \quad \text{panga-ngara-rri-∅} & \quad \text{itch-PLURAL-INCH-} \\
\text{become clever} & \quad \text{kur.ta-rri-∅} & \quad \text{clever-INCH-}
\end{align*}
\]
A -rri-Ø inchoative is common to the languages of the Pilbara and often has a wider function than the Martuthunira suffix. For example, in Ngarluma the -rri-Ø inchoative appears to be the fully productive intransitive verbalizer (corresponding to Martuthunira -npa-Ø). Perhaps related to this, there are many verbs in Martuthunira which appear to involve a -rri-Ø derivational suffix but which do not conform to the semantics of the suffix as described here. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ngarluma</th>
<th>Martuthunira</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngala -rri-Ø</td>
<td>forget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nnuura -rri-Ø</td>
<td>realize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ji.nkurn-karri-d</td>
<td>sneeze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaJiny-karr14</td>
<td>breath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wu.uny-karri-0</td>
<td>make a 'wuuny' noise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thiirr-yarri-Ø</td>
<td>fart</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This suffix appears on a few nominals all of which describe involuntary body noises. The resulting verbs are intransitive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ngarluma</th>
<th>Martuthunira</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kanarri-Ø</td>
<td>come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kartarawurri-Ø</td>
<td>come around a corner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karryarri-Ø</td>
<td>crouch down (cf. Panyjima karrka pelvis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jinkurn-karri-Ø</td>
<td>sneeze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngayiny-karri-Ø</td>
<td>breathe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuuny-karri-Ø</td>
<td>make a 'wuuny' noise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
  (call of male bustard)
The suffix may be involved in the following verbs also:

- **nbuurr-yarri-Ø**  
  snore (make a 'nbuurr' noise)

- **kaal-yarri-Ø**  
  click (of sinusses)

In the first two cases the suffix (-rarri following stem final a, -yarri following i) appears to be attached to a verb stem. However, there are not enough examples in the data to be sure of the relationship between these verb forms.

### 6.3.7 Psychological State -nguli-Ø

This suffix is common to a number of languages of the area including Panyjima, Yinyjarnti and Jiwarli. In Martuthunira the suffix is normally attached either to nominals denoting some physical property or to nominals denoting body-parts. The verb based on the physical property nominal describes a psychological awareness of the existence of that state in the body. Based on a body-part the verb describes a pain in or lack of function in that part.

- **punga-nguli-Ø**  
  have stomach ache

- **guts -PSYCH-**
Although the two suffixes have very different functions, this psychological state inchoative is probably related to the passive derivational suffix at some diachronic level. The following example, which looks very like a passive but involves a nominal stem other than a physical property or part, suggests that a 'missing link' might exist:

71. ngaliwa wayi yakarrangu wii nhawu-layi
   1pl maybe sun if see -FUT

   kana-ngka-npa -nyila-a wii warnan-nguli-lha-nguru wii.
   clear-LOC-INC-FrREL-ACC if rain -NGULI-PAST-ABL if

   Maybe we'll see, if the sun comes out in the clear, if we've been rained in.

Although similar examples with the nominal warnan 'rain' were accepted, my attempts to elicit similar examples with other nominal stems, or with additional arguments (such as effector NPs) failed.

6.3.8 Controlled Contact -tha-L

This suffix occurs on just a few verb and nominal stems and may be related, ultimately, to the Western Desert verb thu-ŋ 'to put' (Dixon 1980:405) and which O'Grady (1966) reconstructs for proto-Ngayarda. The derived transitive verb emphasizes a controlled bringing into contact of two objects.
witiwiti-tha-L
hanging -PUT-

wurrulywa-tha-L
leaves -PUT-

punkurri-tha-L
covered -PUT-

nguri-tha-L
odour-PUT-

karta-tha-L
karta-L

warrpurri-tha-L
warrpurri-∅

hang up
place on leaves
cover over
sniff at
chop out (honey), carve (an artefact)
stab, poke, chop
bathe (a wound, sore)
swim, wash

6.3.9 The -rngku-∅ Verbalizer

This verbalizer derives transitive verbs of the NG-subconjugation from nominal stems. On the basis of the few examples it is not possible to describe the meaning of the suffix.

jina-rngku-∅
foot-VERB-

waya-rngku-∅
fear-VERB-

murti-ingku-∅
fast -VERB-

pari-ingku-∅
flat-VERB-

track
frighten
run after
squash flat, crush

The suffix is also involved in the following verbs.

parrmpiingku-∅
thartuungku-∅
throw on ground
meet a relative
Lengthening of the stem final vowel occurs only where this final vowel is i or u, suggesting an original suffix of the form:

-Cangku-∅

Given the patterns of lenition that have affected the language, and the fact that these verbs select the NG-subconjugation form of the unrealized inflectional suffix, the suffix can be tentatively identified as the result of the historical incorporation of the independent verb *kangku-∅* 'take, carry'. However, without a better understanding of the meaning of these few verbs it is not possible to take this analysis any further.

6.3.10 Zero Derivations

A number of verb stems are identical to nominal stems and suggest a restricted process of zero derivation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stems</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jiwarra-∅</td>
<td>shine white (of eyes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurnta-∅</td>
<td>speak or feel 'shame'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puntharri-∅</td>
<td>bleed, break body part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marnjura-L</td>
<td>urinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuliya-L</td>
<td>hear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malyarra-L</td>
<td>be feeling sick, unwell</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All of these verbs refer essentially to body processes but it is not possible to make any more specific generalizations. Choice of conjugation membership does not appear to have any clear motivation from these examples, it does not correlate with the transitivity of the verb.

In addition, a number of verbs are based on locative expressions:

- **murna-ngka-ŋ** get closer (of sun)
  close-LOC-

- **kana-ngka-l-kana-ngka-ŋ** become light (of day)
  clear-LOC-?-clear-LOC-

- **parna-ngka-L** put on head
  head -LOC-

- **yurti-ngka-L** aim at
  side -LOC-

Finally, two verbs which appear to involve the locative suffix and which might be grouped with the first set are:

- **wayangka-ŋ** be frightened (of)
  fear

- **puungka-ŋ** blow with the mouth

6.3.11 Other Possible Derivational Suffixes

A few verb forms suggest other derivational suffixes but at this stage not enough examples have been found to allow a clear definition of the range and function of these processes.

Firstly, two verbs allow identification of a nominal stem with a lengthened final vowel which may descend from a suffix ə-ka cognate with the Ngarluma productive causative -ka-L
The following unanalysable verbs may also have been derived by this suffix:

- jankaa-L: tie up
- jarraa-L: tie up
- puraa-L: go (avoidance lg.)

Finally, two verbs involve the addition of a suffix -nyja to a nominal stem:

- kuna-nyja-L: defecate (on)
- yawurru-nyja-L: miss a shot at

6.3.12 Summary Examples

A few nominals appear with a range of verbalizing suffixes clearly demonstrating the different meanings of the morphemes. Verbs based on nhuura 'knowing' and kuliya 'ear' are listed below.

- nhuura: knowing
- nhuura-npa-Ø: learn
- nhuura-ma-L: teach, show
- nhuura-rri-Ø: realize
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kuliya</td>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuliya-L</td>
<td>hear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuliya-npa-∅</td>
<td>think, believe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear -INCH-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuliya-mla-L</td>
<td>remind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear -CAUS-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuliya-rri-∅</td>
<td>feel, perceive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear -INCH-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In this chapter I describe a collection of post-inflectional clitics and a collection of minor parts of speech including adverbs and exclamations (3.1.3). Since the clitics are semantically and syntactically comparable with the other parts of speech and differ only in that they are phonologically dependent on a preceding word, they will be discussed together with independent forms in the sections that follow.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. Section 7.1 describes the relative order of clitics. Section 7.2 describes the adverb classes in detail while section 7.3 discusses adverb syntax. The remaining sections describe each of the minor parts of speech.

7.1 Clitic Morphology

As defined in 3.2.2, clitics may occur on any part of speech with the exception of exclamations, and follow any nominal or verbal suffixes attached to a word. A number of clitics may follow the one word and these typically occur in a fixed order. The 'clitic cluster' is a flat structure, unlike the collection of suffixes following a nominal. That is,
there is no concentric scoping whereby one clitic is included within the scope of a following clitic and the meaning is a result of an ordered combination of the two. Instead, a number of clitics may have scope over the same syntactic unit.

Although complex clitic structures are not particularly common it is possible to work out a preferred sequence from orders betrayed in simpler structures. Table 7.1 shows the relative ordering of the clitics.

Table 7.1: Order of Clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-lpurtu</th>
<th>-rru</th>
<th>-l</th>
<th>-lwa</th>
<th>-nu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-wa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relative positions of the clitics does not appear to correlate with natural groupings of clitic functions. The clitics -lpurtu 'complementary' (7.2.9) and -nu 'quotative' (7.2.2) are functionally equivalent to the propositional adverbs described in 7.2. The clitics -rru 'now', -lwa 'identification' and -wa 'you know', have important text-cohesive functions (7.9). By contrast, -l 'then', has very similar temporal functions to locational nominal suffixes. Finally, the 'vocative' clitic -wa is grouped with exclamations (7.12).

The position of the clitics with respect to other clausal constituents is variable. Although there is some tendency for clitics to occur in second position in NPs (attached to the first word) this is by no means a
strict rule. As discussed in section 7.3, the position of clitics and adverbs with respect to constituents at a number of syntactic levels is quite meaningful.

7.2 Adverbs

The adverb class consists of a group of items which modify a proposition by giving some pragmatic information such as the speaker's state of mind concerning what is said, his intentions in presenting the information, or the status of the information:

```
wurla     MISTakenly thought
warmu     ASSERTedly
wurtu     HYPoTHetically
ngula     IGNORantly
kana      RHETorically
paju      REALly
warra     CONTRastively
```

The group also includes the clitics -nu 'QUOTative' and -lpurtu 'COMPlement'. Adverbs have scope over an immediately preceding constituent and present some interesting problems for syntactic description. These are discussed in section 7.3.

7.2.1 warmu ASSERTedly

This adverb is used to assert the speaker's belief in the truth of what he is saying. Warmu also indicates the speaker's belief that he might not be expected to say what he is saying or to present his personal viewpoint in such a way.
The adverb is often used in complaints or admonitions (1 and 2): by making blunt assertions of personal belief the speaker invites contradiction. In other circumstances the adverb is used in praising someone (3 and 4).

1. nhuwana-1.yi pawulu-ngara kuliya-1.yu warra. kuliya-marta warnu!
   2pl -VOC child-PLURAL listen-IMP ear -PROP ASSERT
   Hey you kids listen for a change. You've got ears (correct me if I'm wrong)!

2. nhuwana panyu-ma-rninji minthal-wa-rru. kanyara-lpuru warnu!
   2pl good-CAUS-FUT alone -Ø -NOW man -COMP ASSERT
   You fix it yourselves now. You're men!

3. ngawu! panyu waruul-wa-rru yimpala, punyjarti warnu kartu.
   Yes good still -Ø -NOW like that generous ASSERT 2sgNOM
   Yes! You're still good like that, you're generous I say.

4. nhulaa tharnta parna warnu pariingku-yangu kartungku.
   near you euro head ASSERT shoot -PASSP 2sgEFF
   That euro has been shot right in the head by you (you're a good shot!)

Warmu is often used in giving explanations of situations. In this case it is typically followed by pala 'IT' (7.10) which functions as a dummy demonstrative making extended reference to the state of affairs purportedly explained by the warnu-marked assertion. The explanations are presented as the speaker's personal inferences and are open to contradiction.

5. nganaju ngunhu wuyi yanga-1.yarra puni-lha, pawulu-ngara-lu
   1sgACC thatNOM dog follow-CTEMP go -PAST child-PLURAL-EFF
   mir.ta warnu pala jarraa-rru.
   not ASSERT IT tie up-PASSP
   That dog followed after me, I'd say it wasn't tied up by the children.
6. ngayu nhuura-ma-lalha nganaju-u mira-a wantharni wantha-rrwaa
   1sgNOM know-CAUS-PAST 1sgGEN-ACC son-ACC how set -PURPs=o
   warangarti-i muyi-marnu-u, manku-layi mujira-a,
   trap -ACC dog -ASSOC-ACC get -FUT dingo-ACC
   parla-marta-a warnu pala,panyu waruul-wa-rru.
   money-PROP-ACC ASSERT IT good still -Ø -NOW

   I showed my son how to set dog traps to get dingoes.
   Well they're worth money, and that's good.

7.2.2 -nu QUOTative

   Like many Australian languages, Martuthunira has a clitic which indicates
   that the speaker has no direct evidence for the truth of a statement and
   instead knowledge of the situation arises from hearsay (Wilkins 1985:12,

7. mir.ta-nu jarruru ka.narra patha-rralha. ngunhaa-nu,
   not -QUOT slowly wind blow -PAST thatNOM-QUOT
   ngunhaa puulywa-lalha ka.narra-la thauw-lalha yilhi-i.
   thatNOM puff -PAST wind -LOC send -PAST chip-ACC

   The wind didn't blow slowly, so they say. And apparently that
   fellow puffed and sent the chips away on the wind.

8. jina-nu ngurnaa pal.yarra ma-lalha yanga-l.yarra, ngurmu-lwa
   foot-QUOT thatACC plain -CAUS-PAST chase-CTEMP thatACC-ID
   kayarra-a wirra -tharra-a. jina-wura -nu ngunhaa
   two -ACC boomerang-DUAL-ACC foot-BELONG-QUOT thatNOM
   pal.yarra wanti-nguru.
   plain lie -PRES

   It is said their feet made the plain like that, chasing those two
   boomerangs. That plain is a result of their feet, so it's said.

The use of the clitic in reporting events for which the speaker has no
direct evidence is most common in mythological texts (Wilkins reports the
same for Mparntwe Arrernte (1985:12)).
The clitic may also be used in direct orders, suggestions and in making statements about oneself, to distance oneself from the assertions. For example:

9. **nhiyu -nu wirra ngathu yinka -rnu. nhuwana-mu**
   thisNOM-QUOT boomerang 1sgEFF chisel-PASSP 2pl -QUOT

   **kanarri-layi nganaju-mulyarra nhawu-lu -nu wirra -tharra-a.**
   come -FUT 1sgACC -ALL see-PURPss-QUOT boomerang-DUAL-ACC

   It is said this boomerang was made by me. Perhaps you can come to me and see these two boomerangs.

10. **nhiyu -nu yarta-lpurtu-mu parla-mu panyu paju.**
    thisNOM-QUOT other-COMP-QUOT hill-QUOT good REAL

    It is said this hill is different, it's very good apparently.

11. **kartu -nu, manyka, puni-layi-rru thanuwa-a-rru mungka-ru.**
    2sgNOM-QUOT son go -FUT -NOW food -ACC-NOW eat-PURPss

    Son, you're supposed to go and eat some food.

7.2.3 **wurla** MISTakenly thought

This adverb indicates the speaker's belief that he has made a mistake in judgement and feels he should have known better.

12. **ngayu thani-marni wurla ngurnaa muyi-i wiruwaiti.**
    1sgNOM hit -CONTR MIST thatACC dog-ACC morning

    I know I should have hit that dog this morning.

13. **ngayu nhawu-lha ngurnu wirta-a nyanyji -i.**
    1sgNOM see -PAST thatACC boy-ACC pre-initiate-ACC

    **purrkuru wurla wurtu manarri-nguli-marni,**
    true MIST HYPTH capture-PASS -CONTR

    **purrkuru wurla wurtu pirtuwangu-ma-nguli-marni?**
    true MIST HYPTH prisoner-CAUS-PASS -CONTR

    I saw that boy who is due for initiation. Shouldn't he have been caught, should have been made prisoner, or am I mistaken?
Although the mistake in judgement is usually attributed to the speaker, this is not always the case. In the following example a third person is described as mistakenly believing in his ability to repair an engine.

14. ngunhaa kuliyanpa-lha panyu-ma-rrninjiyji wurla. ngulangu-rru
thatNOM think -PAST good-CAUS-FUT MIST there -NOW
karri-lha nhauw-a ru murtiwarla-a yinyjin-ku. panyu-ma-rrninjiyji
stand-PAST see-CTEMP car -ACC engine-ACC good-CAUS-FUT
wurla. jalya -nps -lha -rru thurlajinkarri.
MIST useless-INCH-PAST-NOW poor fellow

He mistakenly though he could fix it. He was standing there looking at that car's engine. He thought he could fix it. No he's useless that poor fellow.

7.2.4 wurtu HYPoTHetically

This adverb indicates that what is being said is the speaker's humble opinion or hypothesis and that he wants the addressee to either agree or disagree. Wurtu is very similar in many of its uses to the English tag-question construction. However, unlike the tag-question, it does not 'pre-guess' a positive or negative response.

In examples 15 and 16 the adverb indicates a simple polar interrogative:

15. nhuwana puni-layi wurtu thawun-malyarra?
2pl go -FUT HYPTH town -ALL

Are you going to town?

16. ngawu I ngayu ngarti-rru wurtu wangka-layi kartungu marrari-i?
yes 1sgNOM next -NOW HYPTH say -FUT 2sgACC word -ACC

Yes! I'll say something next, give you my side of it, shall I?

In the following complaints the adverb invokes a challenge to the addressee
to confirm or deny an allegation.

17. nhartu! kartu kuliyanpa-nguru nganaju ngalawangka-nyila-a wurtu?
what 2sgNOM think -PRES 1sgACC tell lie -PrREL-ACC HYPTH

What! You think I'm lying do you?

18. kartu mir.ta wurtu nhuura-npa-nguru kalika-a-lwa?
2sgNOM not HYPTH know -INCH-PRES one -ACC-ID

Aren't you waking up to what this one is?

Finally, the adverb occurs in mild exclamations that invite the addressee
to think about what is being said.

19. mir.ta wantha-rralha yawarnu -u. piyuwa wurtu!
not put -PAST windbreak-ACC not at all HYPTH

yimpala -rru-wa kanarra-in parnpingku-yangu.
like that-NOW-YK wind -EFF throw down -PASSP

She didn't put up a windbreak. Not at all!
That's how she came to be thrown about by the wind.

20. ngunhu kanyara kuliyanpa-nguru nhuura paju-rru thurlanyarrara.
thatNOM man think -PRES knowing REAL-NOW poor fellow

ngaa wurtu pala, jalya wurtu, mir.ta nhuura.
yes HYPTH IT useless HYPTH not knowing

That man thinks he really knows how to do it the poor thing.
Yes that's it isn't it, he's useless isn't he, he doesn't know.

7.2.5 ngula IGNORantly

This adverb occurs in a restricted number of environments. Most often, it
follows an interrogative of some kind and affirms that the speaker does not
know the answer to the question being asked.

21. nhartu-npa-lha-lwa ngula thurlanyarrara kupuyu?
what-INCH-PAST-ID IGNOR poor fellow little

What's the matter with that poor little fellow?
22. ngayu wirra -a yinka-lalha wuruma-l.yarra nganaju-u
1sgNOM boomerang-ACC chisel-PAST do-for-CTEMP 1sgGEN-ACC

mimi -i. nhartu-u-lwa ngula kuliyanpa-waa ngathu
uncle-ACC what-ACC-ID IGNOR think-PURPs=0 1sgEFF

yinka -rmu -u? wantarni-i ngula wangka-layi?
chisle-PASSP-ACC how -ACC IGNOR say -FUT

I chiselled a boomerang for my uncle. I wonder what he's going to
think of that thing chiselled by me. How is he going to say it is?

23. kalika muyi kangku-lha warryayilwayara-a jamurla,
one dog take -PAST kangaroo tail-ACC mouth

wantala ngula mungka-ru.
whereNS IGNOR eat-PURPss

One dog took a kangaroo tail in it's mouth to eat it someplace, I
don't know where.

In addition, ngula may follow the modal wayil 'maybe' (as in 24) or a
word bearing the -nu 'QUOTative' clitic. Following wayil it reinforces the
notion that the statement is truly uncertain. Following the quotative,
ngula reaffirms the speaker's lack of direct personal knowledge about the
thing being asserted.

24. ngunhu-tharra kanyara-tharra patharri-nguru wartirra-ngalyarnta
thatNOM-DUAL man -DUAL fight -PRES woman -CAUSAL

kalika wiya, wantanha-wyu wii, wayil ngula yaan ngurnaa
one maybe which -SIDE or maybe IGNOR spouse thatACC

wartirra-a.
woman-ACC

Those two men are fighting over the woman. Maybe one of them, but
which of the two, maybe one is the spouse of that woman, I don't know.
25. ngayu panyu-ma-lalha warriri-ti ngurnula-ngu-u kanyara-wu-u  
   isgNOM good-CAUS-PAST spear -ACC thatDEF-GEN-ACC man -GEN-ACC

   wuruma-l.yarra puni-waa murla-a -rru wayayi-l.yarra
   do for-CTEMP go-PURPs:o meat-ACC-NOW look for-CTEMP

   tharnta-a nhuwa-rninjji-nu ngula.
   euro -ACC spear-FUT -QUOT IGNOR

   I fixed a spear that belonged to that man so he could go looking
   for meat. He'll spear a euro apparently, I don't know.

7.2.6 kana RHETorically

Like ngula this adverb typically follows interrogatives. Unlike ngula it
indicates that the speaker assumes there to be no answer to the question
being posed. In this sense the question is purely rhetorical.

26. ngayu-lwa wiya wuruma-rninjji thurlajinkarri-ti,
   isgNOM-ID maybe do for-FUT poor fellow -ACC

   yirra-wirriwa-a warmu pala. wantharni kana kalya-lwa
   tooth-PRIV -ACC IGNOR IT how RHET bite-PURPs:o

   warriri-ma-rninjji, iurlhaa-rninjji?
   spear -CAUS-FUT point -FUT

   Maybe I'm the one who'll do it for him, because he's got no teeth.
   How can he bite (sinew) and make a spear, put a point on a spear?

27. ngayu jirli mir.tal panyu, kuntirri-layi, thana-rru
   isgNOM arm not good give up -FUT let -NOW

   tharnta-ngara -a, wantharta kana nhurnti-ma-rninjji?
   euro -PLURAL-ACC when RHET dead -CAUS-FUT

   My arm is no good, I'll give up (trying to spear them), let those
   euros be, when am I going to kill them? (Never)

Although the adverb does not follow an interrogative in the following
two examples, the construction still has the rhetorical force of a question
with no answer.
28. nganarna waruul-wa-rru piya-rnuru nhuwana-la
   1pl(exc) still -Ø -NOW sing-PRES 2pl -LOC

   nhuura-npa-nyila-la-wa kana. jalya waruul-wa-rru.
   know-CAUS-PrREL-LOC-YK RHET useless still -Ø -NOW

   We're still singing while you are learning. [Are you? Not at all.]
   You're still useless.

29. jarruru-wa kana kampa-rnuru nhiyu yakarrangu? kuyil paju
   slowly -YK RHET burn -PRES thisNOM sun bad REAL

   nhiyu ngaliwa -a kampa-rnuru yakarrangu.
   thisNOM 1pl(inc)-ACC burn -PRES sun

   Is this sun burning slowly? It's bad, this sun is cooking us.

7.2.7 paju REALly

The adverb paju has a range of interpretations depending on the word over
which it has scope. Firstly, paju may have scope over an entire clause.
In such examples it serves to assert the speakers belief in the truth of
what is being stated. For example:

30. ... wayil wanti-nyila-a paju yilarla jalyuru-la.
   maybe lie -PrREL-ACC REAL hereNS hole -LOC

   Maybe there really is something lying somewhere there in the hole.

31. nhuwana nganaju mir.ta paju kuliyampa-layi.
   2pl 1sgACC not REAL think -FUT

   You really don’t think about me.

   Secondly, following an indefinite/interrogative, it contrasts with the
adverbs ngula 'IGNORantly' and kana 'RHETorically'. Like kana, paju has
much the force of a rhetorical question. However, it does not imply that
there is no answer to the question being posed.
32. ngunhaa puni-wayara jinarri-rra mungka-l.yarra.
thatNOM go -HABIT ask -CTEMP eat -CTEMP

wantharta paju winya-npa-layi?
when REAL full -INCH-FUT

That fellow is always going asking for a feed.
When, really, is he going to get full?

33. wantharni paju ngaliwa -a paniya-wirraa-ma-lalba?
how REAL 1pl(inc)-ACC eye -PRIV-CAUS-PAST

How, really, did it deceive us? (lit. make us to be without eyes)

34. ngayu wiru-warntura-rri-nguru wanthanha-a paju kangku-layi.
1sgNOM like-DISTRIBUT-INCH-PRES which -ACC REAL take -FUT

I can't decide really which one to take.

Paju most often follows a predicate describing a state or characteristic of some entity. Typically, the predicate is a nominal attributing some property to its argument:

35. ngayu manku-layi nganaju-u mimi-i wuruma-l.yarra karntarra-a
1sgNOM get -FUT 1sgGEN-ACC uncle-ACC do for-CTEMP sinew -ACC

kupuyu-u, mir.ta maruwarla-a paju nganaju kampalalha
little-ACC not much -ACC REAL 1sgGEN uncle

thurlajinkarri yirra mir.ta panyu paju.
poor fellow tooth not good REAL

I'll get a little bit of sinew for my uncle, not too much. My poor old uncle's teeth really aren't good.

36. wantha ngunhu pawu paju ngurmu -ngara -a?
where thatNOM father REAL thatOBL-PLURAL-ACC

Where's the one who is really father to that lot?

37. mir.ta warruwa paju ngunhaa, ngunhaa kanyara-npa-rra -rru.
not devil REAL thatNOM thatNOM human -INCH-CTEMP-NOW

They weren't true devils, they were moving towards being human now.

In these examples paju changes a description of some object from a simple evaluation by the speaker to the assertion that the evaluation is
universally true. For example, if the speaker describes something as panyu paju 'truly good', he makes the evaluation that that thing is 'good' as far as he is concerned, and in addition asserts that that evaluation will be acceptable to anyone; everyone would agree that the thing is 'good'.

In the following examples paju follows verbal predicates.

38. karlarra-npa-lha-la paju-rru, puwara-npa-lha-la paju-rru,
hot -INCH-PAST-LOC REAL-NOW coal-INCH-PAST-LOC REAL-NOW
ngarri-ngka kampa-rninji-rru panyu-ma-rninji-rru ngurnaa.
ashes -LOC cook -FUT -NOW good-CAUS-FUT -NOW thatACC

Once [the fire] has become really hot, when it's really burned down to coals, cook that one in the ashes then, make it good.

1dl wait for -FUT sun -ACC above-INCH-PURPS=0 REAL

We'll wait for the sun to get really right above us.

The derived verbs in 38 and 39 describe progression towards an eventual state of affairs in which the property denoted by the nominal stem of the verb is attributable to the argument of the verb. Following such a verb paju not only indicates the successful accomplishment of that eventual state of affairs, but implies that the eventual state is 'really' described by the nominal stem.

In examples 40 and 41 below, paju modifies a nominal in a part whole construction. In 40, it has scope over the whole of which the (assumed) argument of the verb is a part. Here the adverb emphasises that the argument of the verb is a true part of the whole. In 41, on the other hand, paju has scope over a part. In this case it emphasises that it is truly the particular part of the whole that is affected by the action of the verb.
40. nбуwala puni-layi manku-lu Kurlanypungkunhu-u-wa paju.
   2dl  go -FUT get-PURPss place name -ACC-YK REAL

   You two go and get [a knife] that is really [from] Kurlanypungkunhu [quarry].

41. kanarri-layi kartara-a paju ngurnu parla-a.
    come -FUT corner-ACC REAL thatACC hill-ACC

   They come right to the corner of that hill.

Finally, paju is commonly found in constructions depicting an excess of some state prohibiting some action. For example:

42. ngunhaa murla karlarra paju nganaju mungka-waa.
    thatNOM meat hot REAL 1sgACC eat-PURPs=o

   That meat is too hot for me to eat.

43. ngayu kartatha-lalha ngurnu mirru -u
    1sgNOM chop -PAST thatACC spearthrower-ACC

    kuta -ma -lalha paju.
    short-CAUS-PAST REAL

   I cut that [wood for a] spearthrower too short.

In such cases, the understanding that there is an excess of some characteristic (heat or shortness) which has an unwanted effect, usually on the speaker, is best treated as an implicature dependent on a particular situation.

7.2.8 warra CONTRastive

Typically, this adverb follows a predicate describing an action (or state) on the part of some participant (usually the addressee) which the speaker wants to have happen. Warra contrasts the situation involving the action
denoted by the predicate over which it has scope with another, prior or present, situation in which that action did not or is not taking place.

44. yakayi! jarruru-ma-l.yu. nganaju malyarra-ma-rnuru paju.
Ouch slowly-CAUS-IMP 1sgACC pain -CAUS-PRES REAL

jarruru-ma-l.yu warra thamini.
slowly-CAUS-IMP CONT MoFa+1POSS

Ouch! Do it slowly. You're really hurting me.
Do it slowly for a change Grandad.

45. purnumpuru warra nyina-∅.
quiet CONT sit-IMP

Sit quietly for a change.

46. kartu pamararr-∅ karluwirraa warra ngurnu -ngara -a
2sgNOM call out-IMP hard CONT thatACC-PLURAL-ACC

pawulu-ngara-a.
child-PLURAL-ACC

You call out to those kids a bit harder.

7.2.9 -lputu COMPLEMENTARY

This clitic has two related functions. Firstly, it indicates that the thing to which it is attached is involved in a situation which is seen (by the speaker) as a natural and expected complement of another situation.

47. ngayu wawayi -lalha jartunmarra-a, yarta ngunhu
1sgNOM look for-PAST wallaby -ACC other thatNOM

wawayi -rnura-la tharnta-a-lputu.
look for-PrREL-LOC euro -ACC-COMP

I looked for rock wallabies while that other fellow looked for euros.
48. ngayu wuruma-lalba-lpurtu murla-a, 
1sgNOM do for-PAST -COMP meat-ACC

nganaju-tu -lu mimi-ngku-lpurtu mungka-nguli-waa. 
1sg-ACC-GEN-EFF uncle-EFF-COMP eat -PASS-PURPs:o

I did the meat for him, on the one hand, so it could be eaten by my uncle (not me) on the other hand.

49. kanyara-tharra karri-layi kanyja-rryarra, 
man -DUAL stand-FUT hold -CTEMP

yarta kuwilyawyu-la, yarta ngulawyu-la-lpurtu. 
other this side -LOC other that side-LOC-COMP

Two men hold [the net], one on this side, one on the other side.

Secondly, the clitic indicates that what is being said about the thing to which it is attached stands in contrast to what has been said before, and (the speaker assumes) is contrary to (the addressee's) expectation. For example:

50. mirntiwul ngunhu -ngara marrari -i Martuthunira. 
all thatNOM-PLURAL language-ACC

nhiyu ngayalyu-ngara 'yirru'-marta-lpurtu marrari-marta. 
thisNOM devil -PLURAL -PROP -COMP word -PROP

They all spoke the Martuthunira language. But these devils had a word yirru, unlike the others.

51. mir.ta nhuura tharnta-a nhuwa-rninjyi warriri-marta. 
not knowing euro -ACC spear-FUT spear -PROP

jirruna-npa-wayara tharnta-a yungku-ngka-a, manku-lu -lpurtu-rru, 
sneak -INCH-HABIT euro -ACC soak -LOC-ACC grab-PURPsss-COMP-NOW

hand -EFF-NOW neck-ACC-NOW hit -FUT meat-ACC

You don't know how to spear a euro with a spear. You sneak up on a euro in a soak and grab it instead (not the way anyone would expect someone to catch it), hitting that meat in the neck, with your hand.
7.3 Adverb Syntax

The range of distribution and scope of the adverbs and clitics described in the previous sections raises a number of interesting syntactic problems. These are discussed in the following sections.

7.3.1 Scoping Patterns

Examples in the sections above show that adverbs and the clitics -nu and -lpurtu can follow any part of speech and have scope over a syntactic constituent of some type. However, there are some problems in determining just what the constituent over which an adverb or clitic has scope is. There are some general patterns.

Firstly, an adverb may follow a verb and have scope over either the verb word or the clause of which the verb is the head, resulting in some ambiguity. For example³:
53. ngayu ngurnaa warrirti-i panyu-ma-rninyji paju.
1sgNOM thatACC spear -ACC good-CAUS-FUT REAL

a. Really fix it is what I'll do to that spear.
b. It's really the case that I'll fix that spear.

Adverbs may also follow the negative which itself has scope over an entire clause. The negative and the clause within its scope are then included within the scope of the adverb. For example, in 54 paju has scope over the negated clause while in 55, in which the adverb follows the predicate, paju falls within the scope of the negative:

54. ngayu mir.ta paju nbuura ngurnu kanyara-a.
1sgNOM not REAL knowing thatACC man -ACC

I really don't know that man.
(It's really the case that I don't know that man.)

55. ngayu mir.ta nbuura paju ngurnu kanyara-a.
1sgNOM not know REAL thatACC man -ACC

I don't really know that man.
(It's not the case that I really know that man.)

Secondly, an adverb may have scope over a preceding NP. Given that multiple embedding of NPs is common, this also leads to possible ambiguities. Example 56 gives two instances of the adverb 'CONTrasting', with scope over a preceding NP.

56. tharnta-a jinyjiwarla-a warra nbuwa-rninjyi, panyu-u warra murla-a.
euro -ACC fat -ACC CONT spear-FUT good-ACC CONT meat-ACC

I'll spear a fat euro for a change, some good meat for a change.

In the first case, the reading is ambiguous depending on whether the adverb has scope over jinyjiwarla 'fat', or over the whole NP tharnta jinyjiwarla 'fat euro'. The two different readings are:
I'll spear a euro that is, for a change, fat.
The thing that I'll spear will be, for a change, a fat euro.

In the second case there is no ambiguity. In this NP the modifying nominal precedes the head and functions as a classifier (see 8.2). The adverb has scope over just the classifier. It might be argued that the speaker has chosen the classifier construction partly as a means of avoiding potential ambiguity. The same pattern occurs in the following example:

57. ngali panyu-ngka-a warra kalyaran-ta-a thuur.ta-a manku-layi.
    1dl(inc) good -LOC-ACC CONT tree -LOC-ACC sweet -ACC get -FUT

We'll get honey in a good tree for a change.

This last example introduces another problem. Here the adverb has scope over the nominal panyu 'good' which functions as a classifier on kalyaran 'tree'. However, in this example the NP panyu kalyaran is marked with the locative suffix as an adnominal modifier of thuur.ta 'sweet stuff'. Under the interpretation given here the locative case-marking predicate does not fall within the scope of the adverb. In the following example, however, the proprietive marked modifier is included within the scope of the adverb:

58. ngayu mirtily-marta-a warra tharnta-a nhuwa-rninyji.
    1sgNOM joey -PROP-ACC CONT euro -ACC spear-FUT

I'll spear a euro that, for a change, has a joey.

It is not clear to me at present how these different patterns are to be accounted for. It may be that the adverb in 57, occurring as it does between two subconstituents of the NP is within the scope of the locative suffix distributed to words within that NP. In 58, on the other hand, the adverb follows the nominal subconstituents of the NP and so may be read as having scope over the adnominal suffix. If adverbs are to be considered
subconstituents of NPs in some way then the rules of case distribution will need to be modified to prevent them receiving nominal suffixes. Finally, it is worth noting that a sentence like 58 may also be potentially ambiguous. If the adverb is read as having scope over the nominal stem of the proprietive expression the interpretation is:

I'll spear a euro that has a joey for a change, rather than something else.

Clearly, there is a need for more detailed investigation of this aspect of adverb syntax.

7.3.2 Adverbs as Propositional Modifiers

In the introductory discussion of this section it was suggested that the adverbs are modifiers at the propositional level - they indicate something of the speaker's feelings towards, belief in, evidence for, etc. the situation described in the clause - and it might be assumed from this that the proposition modified by the adverb is in fact the clause in which it occurs. However, this does not sit easily with the contention that adverbs have scope over constituents at different levels within the clause. Consider the following sentence in which the -nu 'QUOTative' is attached to a body-part as subject of the main clause:

59. jina-nu ngurnaa pal.yarra-ma-lalha yanga-l.yarra, foot-QUOT thatACC plain -CAUS-PAST chase-CTEMP

They say their feet made it a plain as they chased it.

In this sentence, the speaker indicates that it is not his own contention
that "Their feet made it a plain", but rather something he has been told. However, jina 'foot' is the focus of the adverbial modification. The neatest explanation would be to argue that the constituent within the scope of the clitic is essentially the thing which the speaker wishes to distance himself from, while the rest of the clause presents a presupposition. That is, in uttering 75 above, the speaker makes no attempt to distance himself from the statement that something created the plain:

Something made it a plain, they say it was feet.

In this way, 59 might be seen as containing two (minimal) clauses (= propositions) only one of which is modified by the adverb. Unfortunately, I do not have the data (or the intuitions) to support a detailed analysis of the presuppositions that may exist in clauses containing adverbs.

7.3.3 Interaction of Adverbs

The range of adverbial meanings suggests the possibility of adverbs being included within the scope of other adverbs. Although there are too few examples in the data to allow any concrete generalizations it is worth noting a number of preliminary observations. Firstly, consider the following example:

60. panyu paju-nu nhiyu wirra, yilu kanyara-lu yinka-rnu?
good REAL-QUOT thisNOM boomerang thisEFF man -EFF carve-PASSP

It's really good, supposedly, this boomerang carved by this man.

Here the quotative has scope over a preceding constituent including the adverb paju and indicates that someone other than the speaker is making the
statement that the boomerang is 'really' good. This shows that some embedding of adverbs under other adverbs is possible.

However, scoping in the following example in which the quotative is followed by the adverb ngula 'IGNORantly', is not as straightforward:

61. ngunbaa wajirr -marta puni-nguru kulhampa-a-nu ngula kuliyanpa-rra. thatNOM harpoon-PROP go -PRES fish-ACC-QUOT IGNOR think -CTEMP

That man going with a harpoon is thinking about fish, perhaps, I don't know myself.

The discussion of ngula in section 7.2.5 pointed out that the adverb follows interrogatives, the quotative and the modal adverb wayil, all of which establish contexts in which the speaker is unsure of the truth of some statement. Although the quotative feeds ngula it is not clear that the adverb actually modifies the meaning of the quotative in any way. Rather, the two operate at a similar level in modifying the speaker's state of knowledge. Without expanding on this any further it is clear that the interaction between Martuthunira adverbs is both semantically and syntactically complex and warrants a detailed study in its own right.

7.4 yirla 'only'

Yirla has two related functions. Firstly, it operates very like the English logical operator 'only'. When it follows a phrase denoting an entity it indicates that that entity is the only one of a class of entities about which a particular thing is sayable.
62. **kupuyu puni-layi nhawu-ngu-rra parlu yirla mirtali.**
That little go -FUT see-PASS-CTEMP top only big

That little fellow looks big only in the top part (his lower body is puny).

63. **ngunhaa jami kawurru nhartu -ngara -lu wii mir.ta**
thatNOM medicine species something-PLURAL-EFF or not

**mungka-ngu-layi, jankurna-lu yirla.**
eat -PASS-FUT emu -EFF only

That **kawurru** medicine (which is inhaled) is eaten by hardly anything, only by emus.

64. **thana wanti-waa karta yirla wurrulywa-la.**
let lie-PURPs:o bone only leaves -LOC

Leave only the bones lying on the leaves.

When **yirla** follows a predicate that predicate describes the only thing sayable about some argument of the predicate.

65. **mir.ta nyina-layi wuruma-ngu-rra yirla, nhuura-npa-layi**
not sit -FUT do for-PASS-CTEMP only know -INCH-FUT

**minthaal warra panyu-ma-rninyji warriri-ti. pirri-marta warru!**
alone CONT good-CAUS-FUT spear -ACC finger-PROP ASSERT

Don't just sit around only having it done for you, learn yourself how to fix spears. You've got hands haven't you!

In the following examples **yirla** has scope over a complex NP. Like the adverbs **paju** and **warra** described in the last section, constituents at different levels may be interpreted as within the scope of the operator.

66. **kartu karnkanpa-lha ngaliya -a ngnararna-wu -la**
2sgNOM boast -PAST 1dl(exc)-ACC 1pl(exc)-GEN-LOC

**puliyanja-ngara -la piyuwa-la yirla.**
old person-PLURAL-LOC finish-LOC only

You got boastful with us only once our old people were all finished.
They have rocks in their hands, only two rocks, those men dive under the water alongside one another.

The second function of yirla is to mark the endpoint of a period of time during which some event is taking place. For example:

They sit together from morning, through the long day, until [the sun] goes in.

Get that water out slowly and throw it away until it comes clean.

It is easy to relate this second use of yirla to the first. Here an activity continues as long as the condition expressed by the constituent over which yirla has scope continues to be not the case. Only once the condition is satisfied does the activity cease. The general pattern illustrated in 68 and 69 probably arose out of expressions involving yirla and the verb kuntirri-ŋa' to cease doing', similar to the following:

I hit it with a rock stopping only when it was squashed.
71. ngunhu mui yanga-rnu pawulu-ngara-lu, ngurra-ngka yirla
thatNOM dog chase-PASSP child-PLURAL-LOC

kuntirri-ngu-layi.
cease -PASS-FUT

That dog was chased by the children right into the camp
(stopping only when it was in camp).

7.5 mir.ta 'not'

Unlike adverbs the negative is forward-scoping and usually precedes the
predicate in a clause:

72. ngayu mir.ta nhawu-lha ngurnu mui-i pawulu-u kalya-rnura-a.
1sgNOM not see -PAST thatACC dog-ACC child-ACC bite-PrREL-ACC

I didn't see that dog biting the child.

73. ngaliwa mir.ta wiru marrari-warlaya-ngara-a.
1pl(inc) not liking word -FULL -PLURAL-ACC

We don't like talkative people.

Alternatively, the negative may occur as the first word in the clause.
This order adds emphasis to the negation and is comparable to the English
wording, "It is not the case that ...".

In the following examples the negative immediately precedes the object
of the verb which itself occurs in a marked preverbal position (see 10.7).
Like the adverbs, the negative appears to have a narrow scope over a
sub-clausal constituent in these examples."
Mir.ta is also used to negate nominal predications. In 77 and 78, it negates a second predicate of manner in a verbal clause while 79 and 80 illustrate the negative in an ascriptive non-verbal clause.

77. panyu-u wangka-layi, mir.ta kuyi.l-ngurni-1, thurlanyarrara-a.
    good-ACC talk -FUT not bad -BEHIND-ACC poor fellow -ACC
    Talk to that poor fellow properly, not in a bad way.

78. ngunhaa mir.ta jarruru paya -npa -lha nganaju mungka-lalha-a.
    thatNOM not slowly angry-INCH-PAST 1sgACC eat -PAST-ACC
    It wasn't slowly that she got wild with me who had eaten it.

79. ngayu mir.ta manthawarla.
    1sgNOM not greedy
    I'm not greedy.

80. ngunhaa kanyara mir.ta kuliya-marta.
    thatNOM man not ear -PROP
    That man's got no ears (he doesn't listen).

Mir.ta may also precede nominals functioning as sentence adverbs. In these cases the sentence adverbs have scope over the negative together with the rest of the clause. The scoping here is equivalent to that involving the
negative followed by adverbs.

81. mir.ta waruul kartu manthawarla.
not still 2sgNOM greedy

It's still the case that you're not a greedy fellow.

7.6 wiya and wayil 'maybe'

The two words wiya and wayil differ from adverbs in two respects. Firstly, they do not impart the same sort of speaker-oriented pragmatic information as the adverbs do. Secondly, although they often follow a constituent over which they have some scope, this is not a strict rule; they may occur at the beginning of a clause. The following examples illustrate the more common wiya form:

82. tharnta wiya panthu-lalha warangarri-i ngurnaa.
euro maybe touch -PAST dingo trap-ACC thatACC

Maybe it was a euro that set off that dingo trap.

83. mir.ta wiya thalku-nguli-nguru thanuwa-a maruwarla-a paju.
not maybe feed -PASS -PRES food -ACC much -ACC REAL

Maybe he isn't fed very much food.

84. wiya pawulu nhawu-lha ngurnaa muyi-i.
maybe child see -PAST thatACC dog-ACC

Maybe the child saw that dog.

The wayil form is similar to wiya in all respects except that it can be immediately followed by the wii conjunction (see next section). Exactly how wayil differs from wiya is difficult to say on the basis of the data.
at hand though it seems likely that the wayil form incorporates the -l 'THEN' clitic at some level. Certainly, some examples involving wayil are consistent with the meaning of the temporal clitic.

85. ngayu kartungu-ngara-a pawulu-ngara-a nhuura-ma-rninji
1sgNOM 2sgGEN -PLURAL-ACC child-PLURAL-ACC know-CAUS-FUT

marrari-i Martuthunira-a wangka-waa. kuliya-nguli-waa
word -ACC -ACC speak-PURPs:o hear -PASS-PURPs:o

wayil wii nhuura-npa-lha, kuliya-la-ma-lalha. ngunhu-ngara
maybe if know -INCH-PAST ear -LOC-CAUS-PAST thatNOM-PLURAL

kupiyaji wayil wii parna panyu.
little(pl) maybe if head good

I'll teach your children to speak the Martuthunira language. Maybe then they'll be heard, if they've learnt it, if they've got it in their ears. If they've got good heads, those little ones.

7.7 wii 'if, or'

Wii has scope over an immediately preceding constituent and occurs in three types of construction. Firstly, it occurs in clauses which specify the conditions under which a situation described in some other clause may take place. It is glossed 'if' in conditionals.

86. nhmla kanyara manthawarla paju warnu. ngaliwa nhawu-layi
near you man greedy REAL ASSERT 1pl(inc) see -FUT

ngurnaa kanyara-a ngartil wii, punga pangkira-a paju-rru.
thatACC man -ACC again if guts round -ACC REAL-NOW

That man is really greedy. If we see him again he'll be very round in the guts.
If once that carpenter has gone, has died, who will there be if no-one took the chips from him (learnt how to carve from him). They'll all be useless if they weren't given the chips by the carpenter.

Secondly, wii is used as a conjunction (glossed as 'or' in the examples). The conjunction operates like the (Boolean) set operator OR, indicating a progressive widening of the set of objects out of which something may be chosen. Often a conjoined sequence of nominals is introduced by an indefinite.

My uncle left me a knife so I could cut things up; goannas or euros, or emus or anything.
90. ngunhaa jami panyu ngurultura-a, thurla-a wii
thatNOM medicine good cold -ACC eye -ACC or

panyu-ma-rninyji, nhartu -u wii, ngarnta-ngara-a wii,
good-CAUS-FUT something-ACC or sore -PLURAL-ACC or

wunungu-u wii panyu-ma-rninyji, parna-a wii malyarra-rnura,
boil -ACC or good-CAUS-FUT head-ACC or sick -PrREL

ngurumaa nguritha-rninyji.
thatACC smell -FUT

That jami medicine is good for colds, or it'll fix eyes, or
anything, any sores, or it'll cure boils, or if you have a sick
head you sniff it.

Thirdly, wii follows indefinites and emphasises the existence of a large
set of persons or things that might substitute for the indefinite. This
use of wii is clearly derivative of its function as a set-union
conjunction.

91. mir.ta nganamarnu wii wangka-layi. mir.ta ngurnaa ngana wii
not anyone or speak -FUT not thatACC who or

wangka-layi.
speak -FUT

Don't anyone speak. Let's not have someone speak to him.

92. ngayu wanti-lha nguyirri, mir.ta nganangu wii kuliya-lalha,
1sgNOM lie -PAST asleep not whoACC or hear -PAST

nhartu-u wii, warnan-ku yirla kuliya-rninyji parnta-rnura-a.
what-ACC or rain -ACC until hear -FUT rain -PrREL-ACC

I lay asleep, didn't hear anyone or anything, until I heard the rain.

Wii is no doubt related to wiyya and wayil. Perhaps an original
sentential modifier 'wiya 'maybe' survives in this function as wiyya, has
assumed a conjunctive function in the reduced form wii, and has fused into
a separate form wayil with the clitic -1.
This clitic has the important function of indicating a state of affairs that is true within a given time frame. For example, in 93 and 94 the clitic is attached to nominal second predicates which describe the state of a participant at the time when the action described by the main predicate is taking place.

93. *nhulaa miyu mungka-rnuru wajupi -i wanka-a -l.*
   near you cat eat -PRES grasshopper-ACC alive-ACC-THEN

That cat eats grasshoppers when they're alive.
(When that cat eats grasshoppers they're alive.)

94. *ngayu nhuura -rru kuvarr1 wantanha-ngara-a kupiyaji -i 1sgNOM knowing-NOW now which -PLURAL-ACC little(pl)-ACC

I know which bereaved little fellows you mean. Those left bereaved by their father dying when he was still a young man.
(When their father left them he was a young man.)

The following examples illustrate the use of the clitic on verbs and the negative *mir.ta*. In these cases the time frame within which the state of affairs described by the verb takes place is established by some adjacent clause.

95. *wirrirri-ma-rninyji-rru yirna karri-nyila-a karla-marta-a,*
   flame -CAUS-FUT -NOW thisACC stand-PrREL-ACC fire-PROP-ACC
   *nhawu-rra-l nyina-layi mungka-l.yarra panyu-rru wirrirri-la-rru.*
   see-CTEMPTHEN sit -FUT eat -CTEMP good -NOW light -LOC-NOW

Light this lamp standing here, then we'll see, we'll sit and eat properly in the light.
96. nganaju yaan yungku-lha muyi-i -rru murla-a, mir.ta-l ngayu
1sgGEN wife give -PAST dog-ACC-NOW meat-ACC not-THEN 1sgNOM
mungka-lvala.
eat -PURPds
My wife gave the dog the meat, so then I couldn't eat it.

It is difficult to group the clitic together with any other clitic or independent word. By its function it is most like a nominal suffix and, as we have seen, it interacts with nominal suffixes to cloud the morphological boundary between suffix and clitic (3.2). Also, as discussed in 5.10, it appears frozen in certain temporal nominals. However, despite its affix like function and distribution, the fact that -1 can be attached to any part of speech argues that it continue to be described as a separate clitic in a functional class of its own.

7.9 Discourse Deictic Clitics

The three clitics -lwa 'Identification', -wa 'You Know' and -rru 'NOW', contribute to the cohesion of a text by marking their hosts as prominent in some way. The clitics often occur on demonstratives which themselves play an important role in maintaining text cohesion through the tracking of participants and events.

The -lwa clitic most often appears on demonstratives or pronouns and serves to identify the item to which it is attached as a particular thing which has been assumed but has not been previously identified.
97. ngana-lwa ngula thani-lalha nganaju-u muyi-i?
who -ID IGNOR hit -PAST 1sgGEN-ACC dog=ACC

Who was it that hit my dog?

98. kartu -lwa ngurnaa marulwa -lalha, manku-nguli-waa
2sgNOM-ID thatACC make trouble-PAST grab -PASS-PURPs=o

marntamarta-lu.
police -EFF

You're the one who caused the trouble for that fellow, so that he was picked up by the police.

99. nhiyu -lwa nhiyu parla ngaliwa -lu nhawu-yangu kayurtu
thisNOM-ID thisNOM hill 1pl(inc)-EFF see -PASSP smoke

karlwa-rra.
go up-CTEMP

This is the hill that we saw the smoke going up from.

In 100, the clitic is attached to a verb. Here there is an assumption that the subject of the verb, the receiver of a favour, will reciprocate in some way. The distribution of goods is, in this instance, the anticipated response:

100. ngawu! ngayu wuruma-rnu nhuwa-lu. yungku-layi-lwa
Yes 1sgNOM do for-PASSP 2pl -EFF give -FUT -ID

pintirrijila-ma-l.yarra nhuwa-a.
scattered -CAUS-CTEMP 2pl -ACC

Yes! I had it done for me by you. What I'll do is give out, share amongst you [the things you got for me].

-wa typically occurs on demonstratives and indicates that the speaker believes the addressee knows what is being referred to. For example:
101. ngayu panyu-ma-lalba ngunru purra-lwayara-a nganthari-ma-lalba.
1sgNOM good-CAUS-PAST thatACC chop -HABIT-ACC sharp -CAUS-PAST

ngunhaa puu-rru puni-lha wartirra ngunru-marta-wa.
thatNOM far-NOW go -PAST woman thatACC-PROP-YK

I fixed up that chopper, sharpened it. That woman has gone off with that one. (You know the one I'm talking about.)

102. wantha-rninyji jampa karri-waa mutnu-npa-rra warra.
leave -FUT moment stand-PURPs:o cold-INCH-CTEMP CONT

manyarrk-a-rru wantha-rninyji ngulangu-wa.
sugar -ACC-NOW put -FUT there -YK

Leave it to stand and get a bit cooler for a moment. Now put some sugar there, in it. (You know the location I'm talking about)

-RRu is the most commonly occurring clitic and in some texts is present in almost every clause. It is used to foreground the item to which it is attached as something the speaker wishes the addressee to focus on: "As for this one now ...". At the same time, the clitic serves to define a kind of narrative present, a statement that what has already been said can be now taken as established, and that the narrative will from here on build on things as they are.

Examples of the use of the clitic abound throughout the thesis and in the appended texts. The following portion of narrative shows the use of the clitic on various parts of speech:

103. nhiyu warnan parnta-rnuru-rru warnu ngaliwa -a. mutnu-npa-layi-rru.
thisNOM rain rain -PRES -NOW ASSERT 1pl(inc)-ACC cold-INCH-FUT -NOW

nhiyu ngapala-ma-rru warnan-tu. nhiyu parnta-rnuru waruu.
thisNOM mud-CAUS-PASSP-NOW rain -EFF thisNOM rain -PRES still

how -INCH-FUT -ID rain -FUT maybe night-ACC only

parnta-rnuru mir.ta-rru karnkurru-u karlwa-wa.
rain -PRES not -NOW dust -ACC get up-PURPs:o
panyu-rru nyina-layi ngaliwa karnkurru-wirriwa-la -rru.  
good -NOW sit -FUT 1pl(inc) dust -PRIV -LOC-NOW

nhiyu warnan panyu-ma -rmuru mirntirimarta-ngara-a puni-waa,  
thisNOM rain good -CAUS-PRES goanna -PLURAL-ACC go-PURPs=0

jalyuru-la -rru tharrwa-lu, wanti-layi-rru muthu-u -rru waya.  
hole -LOC-NOW enter-PURPs lie -FUT -NOW cold -ACC-NOW fear

ngaliwa puni-layi-rru wawayi -l.yarra ngurra-ngara -a -rru  
1pl(inc) go -FUT -NOW look for-CTEMP camp -PLURAL-ACC-NOW

mirntirimarta-wu -u.  
goanna -GEN-ACC

It's raining on us now. Now it's getting cold. It's getting muddy now from the rain. It's still raining. What's the rain going to do? It might go until tonight. It's raining so the dust isn't coming up. We'll be good while there's no dust now. This rain will make the goannas go into their holes now, and stay there, now, frightened of the cold. We'll go now and look for goanna holes.

The interaction among the clitics and the various demonstratives is most clearly evidenced in a range of presentative constructions. The following examples are culled from one text:

104a. ngunhaa-rru-wa ngunhu,  
The one we're talking about now, you know; that's it.

b. ngunhu-rru-wa ngunhaa,  
That one now, you know; the one we're talking about.

c. ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa,  
That's the one; the one we're talking about.

d. ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa-wa,  
That's the one; the one we're talking about, you know.

e. yimpala-rru-wa ngunhaa,  
Like that now, you know; what we're talking about.

f. nhiyu-lwa-rru ngunhaa, ngurmula-lwa-rru ngunhaa,  
This one now, you know; the one we're talking about.  
That one in particular now, you know; the one we're talking about.

- 354 -
The -wa clitic is descended from the same set of 'anaphoric' suffixes as that involved in the formation of the anaphoric demonstratives (see section 5.4.1). However, it is not possible to analyze the anaphoric forms as involving the demonstrative stem plus the -wa suffix at the synchronic level. Firstly, forms bearing the -wa clitic do not track with anaphoric forms in text, and secondly, anaphoric demonstrative forms bearing the -wa clitic do occasionally occur (as in 104a and d above).

-lwa probably involves the clitics -l 'THEN' and -wa at some level. However, the fact that -l and -lwa can co-occur, and the different positioning of -lwa and -wa with respect to -rru suggests that the relationship is a historical one.

7.10 pala IT

Pala functions as a presentative dummy taking the place of a demonstrative in a range of constructions. Unlike full demonstratives, pala does not imply some independent identification of its referent through some other deictic system. In the following examples it occurs as the complement to a demonstrative or pronoun in a presentative construction like those illustrated in example 104 above.

105. Ah! ngunhaa pala, mimi ngali -i!
    thatNOM IT uncle 1dl(inc)-ACC

Ah! That's him, our uncle!
106. ngunhu pala mirntirimarta, parlu-ngka-rru nyina-nguru wirta-lha
thatNOM IT goanna top -LOC NOW sit -PRES climb-PAST
ngulangu pinkarranyu-la kalyaran-ta.
there dry -LOC tree -LOC

That's that goanna, now it's up there having climbed up the dead tree.

1sgNOM think -PAST-NOW self frighten-PAST-NOW ASSERT
yimpalaa paju pala, kuyil paju.
like that REAL IT bad REAL

I thought about myself now, I was frightened you see. Well that's what it's really like, very bad.

108. ngayu pala, purrkuru waruul, kuyilwa-lalha nganaju-u yaan-ku.
1sgNOM IT true still upset -PAST 1sgGEN-ACC wife-ACC

I'm the one, that's true, who upset my wife.

The following examples show pala following nominals other than pronouns and demonstratives (109 and 110), and a verb (111).

109. mir.ta! piyuva! panyu-lwa pala! thurlajinkarri-tharra
no finish good -ID IT poor fellow -DUAL
kupuyu-tharra mir.ta-lwa kalya-rru muyi-ngku.
little-DUAL not -ID bite-PASSP dog -EFF

No! Not at all! It's all right! The two poor little fellows didn't get bitten by the dog.

110. thana-rru yimpala waruul-wa-rru, nguyirri pala.
let -NOW like that still -Ø -NOW asleep IT

Let him stay like that now; asleep, that is.

111. nhulaa kanyara warnu ngarrawurlu nyina-nguru.
near you man ASSERT other way sit -PRES

nhartu-ma-1.yarra? wirlayinpa-rra pala!
what-CAUS-CTEMP on toilet-CTEMP IT

That man is sitting the other way. What's he doing? He's sitting on the toilet, that's what.
As illustrated in section 7.2.1, pala commonly follows the warnu adverb where this introduces the speaker's explanation of a state of affairs.

7.11 thana, warrayi and kunti

The two words thana and warrayi have a similar function to the English permissive verb 'let'. Thana occurs in clause initial position and makes the suggestion that the situation described in the clause be allowed to take place:

112. thana-ru wanti-∅ nguyirri, mir.ta marruwa-ma-rninjji.
    let -NOW lie -IMP asleep not wake -CAUS-FUT.

    Let him sleep, don't wake him up.

113. thana wanti-waa nguyirri minthal paniya-npa -layi.
    let lie -PURPS=0 asleep by self eye -INCH-FUT

    Leave him to sleep and wake up by himself.

114. warntitha-rninjji yakarrangu-la wanti-waa.
    throw -FUT sun -LOC lie-PURPS=0

    thana pinkarranyu-npa-rra kayarra-la wii yakarrangu-la.
    let dry -INCH-CTEMP two -LOC or day -LOC

    Throw them to lie in the sun. Let them dry for two days or so.

Thana typically occurs with imperative or purposive verb inflections. Example 114 is the only exception in the data and here thana immediately follows a purposive. The choice of verb inflection implies different actions on the part of the addressee allowing the situation described in the clause:
There are very few examples of *warrayi* in the data. It appears to function as a hortative counterpart to *thana*, suggesting some action on the part of the speaker together with the addressee:

115. *thana* kunti pukarra *wanti-Ø* mir.ta *warrayi* karla-ma-rninji.  
let stop firewood lie-IMP not let's fire-CAUS-FUT  
Leave the firewood. Let's not make a fire.

116. *warrayi* ngali wayangku-layi-rru yirna -ngara -a  
let's 1dl(inc) frighten-FUT -NOW thisACC-PLURAL-ACC  
*marrariwarlaya-ngara -a.*  
talkative -PLURAL-ACC  
Let's frighten off these talkative people.

*warrayi* is probably related to the adverb *warra* 'CONTRastive' which indicates something which is not happening and which the speaker wants to happen. However, the different distribution of the two words argues against treating *warrayi* as a form of *warra* in the synchronic description.

*Kunti* suggests an immediate cessation of an activity. Like the actions permitting the situation in a *thana* clause, the action which *kunti* brings to a halt is usually not described in the text.

117. *kunti* ngaliwa puni-layi-rru.  
stop 1pl(inc) go -FUT -NOW  
We'll stop what we're doing and go now!

118. *nhawu-Ø* *kunti* jampa nguruw-wurrini marlara-wurrini.  
look-IMP stop moment thatOBL-DIRECT road -DIRECT  
Stop for a moment and look towards the road.
7.12 Exclamations

Exclamations can be defined as non-inflecting words which, unlike other non-inflecting words, may not take clitics. They often occur as single word minimal utterances. The following exclamations have been discovered so far:

- ngaa: Yes!, Go on! (continue talking)
- ngawu: Yes indeed! (affirmation)
- parra: Go on, do it!
- yakayi: Ouch! (pain or surprise)
- yakartayi: Ouch! (more emphatic than yakayi)
- parru: I can see it! (recognition)
- ya: Hey!
- thawu: Look!, Listen!
- kuwayi: I've seen something!
- thuwa: You should know!
- paparti: Damn!
- mir.ta: No!
- piyuwa: Not at all!, Nothing!

The clitic -yi 'VOCative' can be grouped together with the exclamations and appears frozen in the forms yakayi, yakartayi and kuwayi. It is used on pronouns, terms of address or greetings when calling out to someone to attract their attention. The -yi clitic takes the form -wi following a u vowel.
120. **pawulu-ngara -yi! nganaju kangku-ŋ kayulu-u!**
child -PLURAL-VOC 1sgACC bring-IMP water-ACC

Hey kids! Bring me some water.

143. **kartu -wi nhawungarra! mir.ta puni-layi ngulangu-wa, jamanu**
2sgNOM-VOC look out not go -FUT there -YK foot

**wurnta-riyangu para-ŋku jurirri-ngara -lu.**
cut -PASSLEST rock -EFF sharp -PLURAL-EFF

Hey look out! Don't go there, your feet might get cut by sharp rocks.

144. **wantha-rru-wi! nhuwala puni-lha-lwa wantharni wii?**
where-NOW-VOC 2pl go -PAST-ID what way or

Hey hello! Did you two go anywhere?
Chapter 8

Noun Phrases

This chapter describes the syntax of noun phrases. Firstly, section 8.1 presents arguments for identifying a noun phrase constituent in Martuthunira. Section 8.2 presents the structure of the NP as an ordered set of functional slots which may be filled by different nominal lexemes (and embedded NPs). Part-whole constructions are described in section 8.2.6 and generic-specific constructions in 8.2.7. Section 8.3 discusses the problems associated with seemingly headless NPs in Martuthunira. It is argued that a very liberal approach to defining what may be a semantic head avoids the problems introduced by assuming wide-spread ellipsis. Section 8.4 describes complex NP structure - the embedding of clauses and phrases of particular types within the various functional slots - while section 8.5 describes adjoined NP structures. Finally, section 8.6 discusses apparent exceptions to the rules of NP structure established in previous sections.

8.1 Does Martuthunira have NPs?

Recent descriptions of a number of Australian languages (Kalkatungu (Blake 1983), Warlpiri (Hale 1983, Simpson 1983)) have argued that it is not necessary to set up a NP constituent in these languages. Where the
language appears to have a relatively high incidence of discontinuous (apparent) NPs, rules of case concord are required to link similarly marked nominals together at some level of semantic/functional structure. These same rules can be used to handle adjacent nominals thus obviating the need for any mediating syntactic constituent such as NP; "where an argument is represented by more than one word we have nominals in parallel or in apposition" (Blake 1983:145).

Evans (1985:181) shows how this 'apposition analysis' is inappropriate for Kayardild. Two of his arguments are valid for Martuthunira: firstly, ordering restrictions and the usual contiguity of words in an NP are easily stateable in terms of a NP; and secondly, the apposition analysis would, incorrectly, treat phrasal inflection and lexical derivation as equivalent. To these two arguments we can add a third for Martuthunira: the apposition analysis would have great difficulty in coping with the appearance of more than one accusative marked argument in a clause. Extra rules would need to be introduced to ensure the correct integration of a collection of accusative marked nominals.

NPs in Martuthunira can be recognised by a number of properties. Firstly, they consist of a sequence of nominals (or NPs) which fill defined functional slots. Secondly, NPs are sequences of nominals over which some nominal suffix may be distributed. The distribution of a particular suffix over more than one word defines a NP. Thirdly, typically one intonation contour covers a NP although complex NPs consisting of a number of embedded phrases may be broken up by pauses despite an encompassing nominal inflection.
8.2 NP Structure

I follow McGregor's (1984) insightful analysis of Kuniyanti NPs in describing the Martuthunira NP as an ordered arrangement of functional slots\(^1\). The sequence of functions within the NP is:

\[(\text{Determiner}) \Rightarrow (\text{Quantifier}) \Rightarrow (\text{Classifier}) \Rightarrow \text{Entity} \Rightarrow (\text{Qualifier})\]

The Entity slot and its filler is the semantic head of the NP. Typically, it is the nominal in this slot that makes the primary reference to some object or person. Nominals preceding the Entity, in Determiner, Quantifier and/or Classifier slots, restrict the reference of the head nominal by narrowing the set of entities from which the referent is chosen. Nominals following the Entity, in Qualifier position, have a non-restrictive modifying function. They provide some additional information about the entity picked out by the NP.

8.2.1 Determiner

Nominals filling the Determiner slot serve to narrow the reference of the phrase by contextual identification of the referent. Demonstratives and possessive pronouns (including the genitive form of the definite demonstrative ngurmula (5.5.3)) are the most common fillers of this slot. In addition, the nominals yarta 'other one', and yartapalyu 'other group', typically function as Determiners. These narrow the reference by distinguishing the referent of the NP from some referent already introduced.
or assumed. Yartapalyu emphasises that a number of people are grouped together as a unit separate from some other group or individual. The simple form yarta may take regular number marking despite the existence of the special group form. For example:

1. ngunhaa pawlu nyina-nguru ngayi-rra thani-rnu yarta-ngku pawlu-lu.
   thatNOM child sit -PRES cry-CTEMP hit-PASSP other-EFF child-EFF
   That child is crying having been hit by another child.

2. nganaju yaan yungku-lha murla-a yartapalyu-u kanyara-ngara-a.
   1sgGEN wife give -PAST meat-ACC others -ACC man -PLURAL-ACC
   My wife gave meat to the other men.

   2sgNOM-ID go -PRES bad other-PLURAL-ACC spouse-PLURAL-ACC
   You're the one who is bad to other spouses of yours.

8.2.2 Quantifier

The Quantifier slot may be filled by one of three number words or by a nominal functioning as a mass quantifier:

- kalika: one
- kayarra: two
- jarrkurti: three, a few
- maruwarla: many, much
- kupuyu: a little

Only one complex number expression occurs in the data:

4. nbam1ntba ngula? kayarra jina, kayarra juwayu wirra -ngara wiya.
   how many IGNOR two foot two hand boomerang-PLURAL maybe
   How many were there? Maybe twenty boomerangs (two hands and two feet of boomerangs).
The nominal maruwarla functions as a Quantifier for all numbers greater than jarrkurti, if the entity is inherently countable, or for any relatively large amount of a non-countable substance. The plural suffix may be used to indicate an overly large amount of a usually non-countable entity such as sand, fat or liquid. The nominal kupuyu 'little' is used as to indicate a small amount of a non-countable substance.

8.2.3 Classifier

The nominal in Classifier function narrows the reference by picking out a subset of the set of items to which the nominal in Entity function may refer. There are a number of types of subset classification.

Firstly, the Classifier may specify a referent by describing a property manifested by a subset of the class of objects denoted by the Entity nominal. For example:

5. ... purra-ljarrap harla-marta yarta-ngka pilyi-ngka parla-ngka.
   hit -CTEMP stone-PROP other-LOC flat -LOC stone-LOC

   ... hit with a stone on another flat stone.

6. ngayu kuliya-la warntitha-rrngu-rra kuyiil-ngara-a
   1sgNOM ear -LOC throw -PASS-CTEMP bad-PLURAL-ACC

   marrari-ngara-a nhuwana-lu.
   word-PLURAL-ACC 2pl -EFF

   I'm getting bad words thrown in my ear by you.

7. kampa-rnyji-rru ngurnaa marli-ngka-a ngamari-l.
   burn -FUT -NOW thatACC paper-LOC-ACC tobacco-ACC

   Now light that 'paper-rolled tobacco' (a cigarette as opposed to a plug of chewing tobacco).
8. ngunhu kartatha-lalha marruwa -a wirra -a.
thatNOM chop -PAST snakewood-ACC boomerang-ACC

He chopped out a snakewood boomerang.

Secondly, the Classifier may name a specific type of entity which forms a subset of the generic class denoted by the nominal in the Entity slot.

send-PASSP ASSERT IT ipl(inc) thatACC euro -ACC meat-ACC

Well it's because we were sent that euro meat.

Thirdly, human stage-of-life terms are used as classifying stage-of-life terms with some animals. Animals such as the euro, plains kangaroo, emu and goanna have their own special stage-of-life terms. In the following example pawulu 'child' and julyu 'old man' are used to classify dogs. Kupuyuwaja functions as a classifier of the first type described above:

10. nganarna yanga-lalha kupuyuwaja-a muyi-i, ngurnula-ngu-u
1pl(exc) chase-PAST little one-ACC dog-ACC thatDEF -GEN-ACC

pawulu-u muyi-i. ngunhu-lwa pawu, julyu muyi.
child-ACC dog-ACC thanOM-ID father old man dog

We chased off those little dogs, his puppies. That's the father, that old man dog.

8.2.4 Entity

The nominal in the Entity slot is the semantic head of the phrase in that it makes the primary reference to some object. Usually this slot is filled by a nominal which is proto-typically noun-like but this is not a strict requirement. The Entity slot may be filled by any of the following:
1. simple nominal lexemes: pronouns, demonstratives, common nominals,
2. part-whole composites (8.2.6),
3. embedded clauses (8.4.3).
4. derived adnominal expressions (8.4.1),

8.2.5 Qualifier

This slot is filled by expressions attributing some characteristic to the referent of the NP. While nominals preceding the Entity slot have the primary function of facilitating successful reference by restricting the class of items to which the NP may refer, nominals following the Entity slot add some additional information about an already identified referent. All nominals which may precede the head of a NP may also function as fillers of the Qualifier slot, and apparently the converse also holds.

The most common fillers of the Qualifier slot are nominals functioning as proto-typical adjectives. Some of these are listed below by semantic type (following Dixon 1982):

**Dimension and shape:**
- mirtali 'big', kupuyu 'small', ngurrrara 'huge', kuruuru 'round', pangkira 'rounded, bulging', pilyi 'flat', wanarra 'long, tall', purnta 'deep'.

**Physical property:** wanka 'alive, raw', puwa 'rotten, stinking', nburnti 'dead', nhungkur 'stinking', wurtura 'dirty, dusty', warlyarra 'smooth', ngungkuwarla 'heavy'.

**Colour:** jiwarra 'white', jurlwin 'grey', kurnangu 'black', martamarta 'red' (marta 'blood'), piyulu 'yellow (oohre)', palharra 'green'.

**Age:** kuwarrika 'new', kuwarrinyjangu 'young', manyjira 'old'.

- 367 -
Value: panyu 'good', kuyil 'bad', jalya 'useless', murluru 'straight, correct'.

Human propensity: kur.ta 'clever, knowledgable', payawurtu 'savage, sulky', paya 'angry, wild', thaapuwa 'a person who stands out from the crowd, important, distinguished (not necessarily in a positive way)', thurlajinkarri 'poor fellow, unfortunate', wantumarta 'crazy', paarnpaarn 'silly', kamparta 'restless, stirred up', jalya 'useless, bereaved'.

Other nominal types which may function as Qualifiers include:

Number:

11. ngayu yungku-layi ngurnaa ngawurr-marta-a kalika-a,
    1sgNOM give -FUT thatACC soap -PROP-ACC one -ACC
    wara -marnu-u.
    clothes-ASSOC-ACC

    I'll give him some soap, one piece, laundry soap.

Possessives:

12. ngayu kanarri-lha nhwana-a wangka-lu ngurra-ngka
    1sgNOM come -PAST 2pl -ACC speak-PURPss camp -LOC
    nhwana-wu-la nyina-nyila-a.
    2pl -GEN-LOC sit -PrREL-ACC

    I came to talk to you sitting in your camp.

13. ngunnu ngurra tharratal-yu thungkara-la wantha-rnu.
    thatNOM camp bird type-GEN ground -LOC put -PASSP

    That camp that belongs to the tharratal bird is built on the ground.

Proper Names:

    2dl go -FUT get-PURPss knife -ACC place name -ACC

    You two go and get a Kurlanypungkunhu knife.

15. ngunhu-tharra thatbu-rnu puni-lha mimi-ngku Karnuny-thhu.
    thatNOM-DUAL send-PASSP go -PAST uncle-EFF name -EFF

    Those two went off sent by their uncle Karnuny.

A number of qualifying expressions may follow the entity nominal.
However, an extended sequence of qualifiers does not usually occur under the same intonation contour and instead successive nominals are separated by a noticeable pause. This argues that they be treated as independent NPs and further suggests that in fact all qualifiers be considered independent of a separate head-final NP structure. Nevertheless, in this description I prefer to maintain a view of the Martuthunira NP as including a generally tightly bound post-head Qualifier position though I recognise that on the basis of the currently available data it is difficult to argue convincingly for one position over the other.

8.2.6 Part-Whole Constructions

Part-whole constructions are analysed as complex fillers of the Entity slot. This conforms with Evans' (1985) analysis of Kayardild but differs from McGregor's (1984) analysis of part-whole constructions in Kuniyanti where they are treated as instances of the Classifier-Entity construction. By the present analysis, the nominals referring to whole and part are apposed at a subordinate level of structure within the NP. Either order part-whole or whole-part is possible as the following examples show:

16a.  
\[ \text{marli kartawura} \]  
cadjeput butt  
butt of a cadjeput tree

b.  
\[ \text{murtiwarla yinyjin} \]  
car engine

c.  
\[ \text{mirntirimarta punga} \]  
goanna guts

d.  
\[ \text{ngayu jirli} \]  
1sgNOM arm

16e.  
\[ \text{jina-ngka ngathala} \]  
foot-LOC 1sgLOC

on my foot
f. jamanu muyi
   track dog

g. yilbi wirra
   chip boomerang

For detailed discussion of the semantic relationships which may be represented by part-whole constructions in Australian languages see Hale (1981) and McGregor (1985).

Modification of the part in a part-whole construction involves a fixed construction, almost a compound, of part and modifier. For example:

17. ngayu yirna murla-a wurnts-rminyiji mulha jurirri-lu
    1sgNOM thisACC meat-ACC cut -FUT point sharp -EFF

   jumpirirri-lu.
   knife -EFF

   I'll cut the meat with a sharp-pointed knife.

18. kupuyu-tharra mir.ta-lwa kalya-rnu mui-ngku, jalya -ngku
    little-DUAL not -ID bite-PASSP dog -EFF useless-EFF

   varuli, mui-ngku tharta para -ngku, parna yirla mirtali-lu,
   still dog -EFF crutch hollow-EFF head only big -EFF

   xalya -ngku varul, ngarmarr karta-ngku.
   useless-EFF still rib cage bony -EFF

   The two little fellows weren't bitten by the dog, the useless thing, hollow-crutched, only big in the head, it's good for nothing the bony-ribbed thing.

As these examples show, the usual distribution of case to all elements in a constituent is suspended where a modifying nominal is restricted in its scope to the part. Were the distribution of case allowed to include the part, the scope of the modifier would be taken to include the whole.

Consider the following pair of examples:
19a. ngayu nhawu-lha ngurnu mui-i jamanu mirtali-i.
I saw the big tracks of a dog.

b. ngayu nhawu-lha ngurnu mui-i jamanu-u mirtali-i.
I saw the tracks of a big dog.

The order of part and modifier is also fixed as the following show:

20a. mulha jurirri-lu jumpirirri-lu
with a sharp pointed knife

b. * mulha-ngku jurirri jumpirirri-lu

c. * jurirri-lu mulha jumpirirri-lu

d. * jurirri mulha-ngku jumpirirri-lu

Despite the blocking of full case distribution and the fixed order, these part-modifier constructions cannot be described as compound lexemes. Firstly, as example 18 illustrates, the choice of stem-length-sensitive nominal suffix allomorphs, such as the effector, is dependent on the length of the modifying nominal rather than the combined length of part and modifier. Secondly, adverbs and clitics may intervene between part and modifier, again illustrated in 18.

Presumably then, the construction must be treated as a tightly bound constituent existing below the level of the NP and within which case-marking is not distributed. Alternatively, it may be possible to devise some principled rule which blocks nominal suffix distribution as a means of encoding the restricted scope of certain kinds of modifiers. Such a rule might also be employed in the description of adverb scoping.
discussed in 7.3 above. A further alternative was suggested to me by Nicholas Evans. If it is argued that the part-modifier constructions are embedded clauses in which the modifier is the predicate and the part an adjunct on the whole, the (omitted) subject, then the normal rules of case distribution to subordinate clauses will automatically mark the modifier but not the part. As appealing as this analysis is, I do not have any data which test the hypothesis. Further investigation of this question will involve the elicitation of more specific test data and must await a more formalized model of Martuthunira syntax than I have attempted to present in this thesis.

8.2.7 Generic-Specific Constructions

Martuthunira makes very little use of generic-specific constructions, unlike some Australian languages in which generic classification is almost mandatory. This is not to say, of course, that generic classification does not exist, just that the use of generic classification of a specific object in making primary reference to an entity is very rare. Given this situation the setting up of a special generic-specific construction just to explain the few examples which resemble generic-specific constructions in other languages is hardly justified. The following examples illustrate generic-specific nominal pairs (the generic is underlined):

21. nburnti-ma-rnu waruul-wa-rru murla warryumuntu jinyji-warla.
dead-CAUS-PASSP still -9 -NOW meat mother euro fat -FULL

It's been killed alright, a nice fat euro with a joey.

22. ngaliwa puni-nguru murla-marta jankurna-marta!
1pl(exc) go -PRES meat -PROP emu -PROP

We've got meat, emu.
1sgNOM get -FUT vegetable-PLURAL-ACC seed-PLURAL-ACC
I'll get some food, seeds.

24. ngathu mulhaa -rnu ngunhaa murla-marnu warrirti. 
1sgEFF sharpen-PASSP thatNOM meat -ASSOC spear
That meat-getting spear was sharpened by me.

The difficulty in dealing with these examples lies in deciding which of the two nominals is the semantic head of the phrase, i.e. which of the two stands in the Entity slot\(^3\). Specific-generic pairs were described in section 8.2.3 as instances of the Classifier-Entity relationship; the specific nominal serving to pick out a particular kind of the generic class in contrast to all other kinds included in that class. However, it is not clear that in examples such as 21 to 24 above, the generic performs a similar classifying function. The generic does not convey the notion that the specific is being considered in one sense (an entity of the type defined by the generic) in contrast to any other sense\(^4\). Instead, I would argue that the generic nominal fills the Entity slot while the specific nominal is aQualifier. Thus the two phrases

\[ \text{murla tharnta} \quad '\text{meat euro}' \]
\[ \text{murla panyu} \quad '\text{meat good}' \]

have an identical structure. In each 'meat' is the semantic head, making the primary reference to some entity, and the following nominal describes this entity as 'a euro', on the one hand, and as 'good' on the other. By this analysis the NP, \text{murla warryumuntu jinyjiwarla}, in 21, has 'meat' as its head and both 'mother euro' and 'fat-FULL' are Qualifiers.
8.3 The Problem of NP Heads

There are numerous examples in the data in which a clearly entity-referring nominal appears to be missing from an NP. For example, consider the following extracts from a single text:

25a. *nhuwna puni-rra wii thawun-mulyarra, nganaju wuruma-rninyji*

\[\text{2pl go-CTEMP if town -ALL 1sgACC do for-FUT}\]

\[\text{yurntura-a manyarrka-a-thurti wii parrka-a wii?} \ldots \text{flour -ACC sugar -ACC-CONJ or tea -ACC or} \]

If you go to town will you get some flour and sugar and tea for me? \ldots

b. *nganarna manku-lha-nguru-rru thawun-ta-a, wuruma-l.yarra*

\[\text{1pl(exc) get -PAST-ABL -NOW town-LOC-ACC do for-CTEMP}\]

\[\text{kartungu, parrani-lha-ma-rninyji-rru kartungu-mulyarra.} \ldots \text{2sgACC return-PAST-CAUS-FUT -NOW 2sgOBL -ALL}\]

Now having got the things that are in town for you, we bring them back to you. \ldots

c. *ngayu marlara-a karri-nguru nhawu-rra. purrkuru waruul,} *

\[\text{1sgNOM road -ACC stand-PRES watch-CTEMP true still}\]

\[\text{nhula -ngara murna-ngka-rru ngaliwa -a, thanuwa-marta-ngara.} \text{near you-PLURAL close-LOC -NOW 1pl(inc)-ACC food -PROP-PLURAL}\]

I stand watching the road. True enough, they are close to us now, those people with the food.

In these examples the NPs *thawun-ta*, referring to the things bought 'in town', and *thunuwa-marta-ngara*, referring to the people 'with the food', appear, at first blush, to be incomplete\(^5\).

There are a number of possible solutions to this problem. Firstly, such NPs can be described as elliptical with an Entity nominal having been
omitted. While this analysis seems well motivated in the light of the above text examples, any discussion of ellipsis must place restrictions on the extent to which ellipsis may operate. Once the ellipsis of heads is allowed, putative heads can be resurrected at will. For instance, it could be argued that the demonstrative *nhala-ngara* in 25c fills the Determiner slot in an NP with an omitted Entity nominal. Of course we can get around this by letting demonstratives function as anaphoric pronouns and hence possible fillers of the Entity slot. However, if an ellipsis analysis can be avoided we can also avoid the somewhat arbitrary restrictions that accompany it.

Alternatively, it might be argued that some NPs are fully formed despite the lack of an Entity nominal. I think this will probably only work if it is also assumed that all slots in the NP are independent; that there are no semantic dependencies among slots. I would rather avoid a claim that there is no semantic head in a phrase.

Instead, I suggest that every NP has an expression fulfilling the Entity function and that this expression is the head of the phrase. In the above text examples, the adnominal expressions *thawun-ta* and *thanuwa-marta-ngara* are in the Entity slot making primary reference to some object or person. In the same way, demonstratives and proto-typical adjectives, such as 'good', 'red', 'dead' etc., can be the sole constituents of semantically and syntactically complete NPs.

Few would argue with allowing demonstratives and adjectival nominals to be entity referring but there is an immediate reluctance to accept adnominal constructions as complete referring expressions because they
appear to be so obviously exocentric. However, we have seen already that nominal suffixes which can operate with adnominal or relational functions may also appear as derivational morphemes in new lexemes. For example:

| mirntiri-marta | Gould's yellow sand goanna |
| claw -PROP |

| marrari-marnu | tape-recorder |
| word -ASSOC |

This process is not restricted to lexical derivation but is a productive device that allows for a great deal of creativity in the construction of narrative. Once a participant has been introduced into a text it can be named by any of the characteristic properties that served to identify it in the first place (for example, the classifiers or determiners introduced in the first expression), by the properties attributed to it by way of qualifying expressions, or by characteristics or properties acquired through its role in the events recounted in the text (for example, reduced verbal clauses as NP heads (8.4.3 below)).

In defending an analysis of proto-Austronesian demonstratives and 'adjectival' elements in NPs as nouns, Starosta et al (1981) come to similar conclusions:

This is not to deny that semantically, NP's like ang bantog ['the famous'] are similar to pronouns in being anaphoric elements which presuppose an identifiable antecedent. They are. However, this is due to the fact that they have very little semantic content of their own, and serve as icing on the discourse, not the whole cake. This does not, however, alter the fact that, like English 'one' in 'the famous one', which has a similar anaphoric function, such words occur in the syntactic environments characteristic of nouns.

Starosta, Pawley and Reid (1981:47)
8.4 Complex NPs

The basic NP consisting of a selection of functional slots filled by simple nominal lexemes can be expanded by filling the slots with more complex structures. These structures are of three types: NPs, conjoined NPs, and clauses.

8.4.1 Embedded NPs

NPs can be embedded under each of the functional slots described in section 8.2. The simplest non-basic NPs consist of a single nominal bearing an adnominal suffix. Other embedded NPs consist of a number of nominals conforming to the general NP structure. Depending on the relationship between the embedded nominal and the matrix head, some adnominal suffix may be distributed over the embedded NP. Some examples are:

26. ngurnu tharnts-a murla-a ngarri-ngka-nguru-u
    thatACC euro -ACC meat-ACC ashes -LOC -ABL-ACC
    Determiner Classifier Entity Qualifier

That euro meat from out of the ashes

27. murla-a ngurnula-ngu-u wartirra-wu-u
    meat-ACC thatDEF -GEN-ACC woman -GEN-ACC
    Determiner Entity
    Entity Qualifier

Meat belonging to that woman
28. ngurnula-ngu-wura mari -wura pawulu-tharra
   thatDEF -GEN-BELONG sister-BELONG child -DUAL

   Determiner Entity
   Determiner Entity

   His sister's two children

8.4.2 Embedded Conjoined NPs

The conjunction of NPs within an NP structure is achieved with the
conjunctive morpheme -thurti. As discussed in 4.19, the status of -thurti
as a nominal suffix is not completely clear. It usually occurs within the
scope of a distributed relational nominal suffix but may occur following
such a suffix. There is no obvious difference in meaning and whether or
not the different positions should be taken as reflecting conjunction at
different levels of constituent structure is unclear at present.

29. ngayu ngawurri-ma-rninyji puwara-thurti-i martarr-thurti-i.
   1sgNOM mixed -CAUS-FUT charcoal-CONJ-ACC red ochre-CONJ-ACC

   I'll mix up charcoal and red ochre.

30. ngayu kampa-laJha thanuwa -ngara -a wuruma-l.yarra
    1sgNOM cook -PAST vegetable-PLURAL-ACC do for-RELs

    pawulu-ngara-a-thurti kanyara-ngara-a-thurti.
    child-PLURAL-ACC-CONJ adult -PLURAL-ACC-CONJ

    I cooked food for the children and the adults.

   Occasionally, -thurti appears on only the second of two nominals. In
   such examples there is usually an implication that the second of the two
   conjuncts is subordinate to the first. For example:
31. mir.ta-l nguyirri-wirraa-ma-rninyji yirna -ngara -a  
       not-THEN asleep -PRIV-CAUS-FUT thisOBL-PLURAL-ACC  
       kanyara-ngara-a  wartirra-thurti-i.  
       man -PLURAL-ACC woman -CONJ-ACC  
       Then you won't be keeping these men, and the women too, awake.

The conjunction suffix may also occur on a nominal in isolation. In such cases the -thurti-marked nominal may be construed with another NP through case concord resulting in an effective conjunction of the two referents. Although semantically very similar, this type of conjunction is syntactically very different from that described here.

8.4.3 Embedded Clauses

Whole clauses may be embedded within an NP, either in the head position or as a qualifier. The clause often appears without a subject and it is the assumed filler of the subject slot that can be understood as the entity to which the NP as a whole refers. The use of subject-less embedded clauses as heads of NPs is equivalent to the use of adnominal expressions as heads of NPs discussed in section 8.3 above. Here reference is made to an entity by describing an action in which that entity has been involved as a central participant.

32. ngayu wara -ngara -a wantha-rninyji,  
       1sgNOM clothes-PLURAL-ACC put -FUT  
       wilywilyi-ma-rnu-ngara-a wantha-rninyji.  
       clean-CAUS-PASSF-PLURAL-ACC put -FUT  
       I'll put out the clothes, put out the ones that have been cleaned.
The verb in an embedded clause usually bears either the past tense or the passive perfective verb inflection and carries the nominal suffixes inherited from the NP structure.

The examples chosen here all show the distribution of plural marking to the subordinate clause verb, thus making the embedded structure very clear. In example 33 the embedded clause functions as the head while the pronoun is a determiner. The nominal wantamartu 'crazy' functions as a qualifier. In 34 and 35 the clause is a qualifier. The subject of the clause appears as the head of the NP in 35.

33. kartu panyu-npa-layi nganarna-a ngarljarri-lha-ngara-a
   2sgNOM good-INCH-FUT 1pl(exc)-ACC forget -PAST-PLURAL-ACC
   wantamartu-ngara-a.
   silly -PLURAL-ACC
   You be good to us crazy people who forgot.

34. nhiingga panyu-ngara wirra-a yinka-lhalha-ngara ...
   thisNOM-PLURAL good-PLURAL boomerang-ACC chisel-PAST-PLURAL
   These good people who carved the boomerang ...

35. ngayu nhawu-ngu-layi ngurru-ngara-lu kanyara-lu puwany
   1sgNOM see -PASS-FUT thatOBL-PLURAL-EFF man -EFF hunting
   puni-lha-ngara-lu.
   go -PAST-PLURAL-EFF
   I'll be seen by those men who have gone hunting.

Given that verbal clauses may be embedded in NP slots, it might be assumed that non-verbal clauses may also be so embedded. However, since an embedded clause usually does service for the nominal which ordinarily fills its subject position, most embedded non-verbal clauses would be indistinguishable from NPs. For example, the non-verbal ascriptive clause;
That man has money.

would appear as simply *parla-marta* if embedded under some NP.

### 8.5 Adjoined NP Structures

Complex NPs should not be confused with adjoined NP structures. These can be considered special cases of a general pattern in which similarly case-marked NPs are construed at some higher level of semantic interpretation. Two general functions of adjoined NP structures can be recognized. Firstly, an adjoined NP may provide a fuller description of a group denoted by some NP by specifying the membership of the group:

36. *ngunhaa parrani-lha-rru nhawu-lu ngurnala-ngu-u*

    *thatNOM return-PAST-NOW see-PURPss thatDEF-GEN-ACC*

    *ngarniyarrangu-u, pipi-thurti-i pawu-thurti-i mini-thurti-i.*

    *family -ACC mother-CONJ-ACC father-CONJ-ACC uncle-CONJ-ACC*

    He went back to see his family; mother, father and uncle.

37. *nganarma jalurra-a nhawu-layi kupiyaji -i, wuntu-ngara-a-thurti 1pl(exc) dance-ACC see -FUT little(pl)-ACC boy-PLURAL-ACC-CONJ*

    *ngurrinymarta-ngara-a-thurti panyu-ma -rnura-a.*

    *girl -PLURAL-ACC-CONJ good-CAUS-PrREL-ACC*

    We'll watch the little fellows, boys and girls, making a good job of the dance.

The use of an adjoined NP expression to describe the composition of a group is a common device in explicating non-singular pronoun reference.
Often adjoined NPs specify just one or two of the members of the group, typically specifying the third person included within the reference set of a first person exclusive pronoun. The following example provides a good illustration.

38. *ngunhaa nganarna-lu, yilu ngatu, manku-yangu jarrkurti-lu.*
    thatNOM 1pl(exc)-EFF thisEFF 1sgEFF grab -PASSP three -EFF
    ngaliwa-rru, kartu-thurti-rru puni-layi.
    1pl(inc)-NOW 2sgNOM-CONJ -NOW go -FUT

That fellow was grabbed by us, this fellow and me, three of us all together. We, you included, will go now.

The *wii* 'or' conjunction (7.7) is very common in adjoined sequences:

39. *ngayu kalya-rnu ngulu yiriny -thu marnta-ngara wii,*
    1sgNOM bite-PASSP thatEFF mosquito-EFF arm -PLURAL or
    kartara wii, jal.yu wii.
    cheek or temple or

I've been bitten by that mosquito all over my arms, and my cheek, and my temple.

40. *ngunhaa puni-layi thanuwa-ngara-a manku-lu yurntura-a,*
    thatNOM go -FUT food-PLURAL-ACC get-PURPss flour -ACC
    manyarrka-a, ngamari-i, minthirriny-ku wii, wuruma-l.yarra
    sugar -ACC tobacco-ACC rice -ACC or do for-CTEMP
    nhunu-nhanu-ngu, jilyarta-a wii kayartu-marnu-u pirrirri-i wii,
    spouse-3POSS-ACC pipe -ACC or smoke-ASSOC-ACC matches-ACC or
    ngawurrmarta-a wii, parrani-rrawaara ngurnu-ngara-marta.
    beer -ACC or return -SEQ thatOBL-PLURAL-PROP

That one's going to get stores; flour, sugar, tobacco, and rice maybe, doing it for her husband, a pipe, smoking gear, matches perhaps, and beer, then she'll come back with those things.

The second clear type of adjoined NP pattern involves the listing of a number of NPs all of which give particular descriptions of some object. As mentioned earlier, this is very like an extension of the Qualifying slot in
the basic NP structure. A common device is to list a set of synonyms to emphasise some special characteristic of an object or person.

41. nhula wartirra kangku-nguru pawulu-u, purna-a kupuyu-u
near you woman carry -PRES child-ACC baby-ACC little-ACC
purluthan-wirriwa-a.
walk -PRIV -ACC

That woman is carry a child, a little baby that isn't walking yet.

42. mir.ta-l kunti nhuura ngunhu -ngara, wantharni-npa-waa ngurnaa,
not-THEN RHET knowing that NOM-PLURAL how INCH-PURPs=o that ACC
ngurnu-tharra-a-lwa. thaapwa-tharra, jiwarra-tharra,
thatOBL-DUAL-ACC-ID big man -DUAL white -DUAL
mirtamirta-tharra, jurlwin-tharra.
white -DUAL white -DUAL

They really didn't know then what those fellows would do, that's those two fellows, the important ones, the white ones ...

8.6 Exceptions

There are some apparent exceptions to the rules of NP structure described in previous sections.

8.6.1 Aberrant Ordering within the NP

The first class of exceptions includes orders of NP constituents which appear not to conform to the general pattern of functional slots presented in section 8.2 above. Both 43 and 44 below are examples of a principled exception to normal ordering whereby part of the NP can be preposed for special, contrastive, emphasis.
43. jami ngunhaa kawrru jarrala-ma-rninyji, wal.yu-rru puni-waa. medicine thatNOM medicine healthy-CAUS-FUT far -NOW go-PURPs=o

That jami medicine makes you healthy, so you can keep on going.

44. yirna-tharra-wu kanyara-tharra-wu ngunhu ngurra parlu-ngka
thisOBL-DUAL-GEN man -DUAL -GEN thatNOM camp -DUAL -GEN thatNOM camp top -LOC

parla-ngka.
hill -LOC

These two men's camp is on top of a hill.

The two examples illustrate a pattern in which some nominal precedes a demonstrative in Determiner function. In 43, jami is a medicine of a particular type and properly fills the Classifier slot. In this text the speaker is emphasizing the virtues of this particular species of medicinal plant in contrast to other types. In 44, the genitive NP functions as a Determiner but would normally follow the demonstrative, which makes a more general determining reference. As well as serving to identify a particular camp, the preposed genitive NP draws attention to the possessor. The two men are certainly unusual in deciding to make their camp on the top of a hill and the speaker goes on to speculate on just what they might be afraid of in building in such a strategic defensive position.

The preposing and splitting of NPs is discussed in a recent paper by Siewierska (1984). She finds that phrasal discontinuity in Polish operates in order to place contrastive emphasis on some element of the NP. In concluding she makes the following plea:

Perhaps a detailed investigation of speaker preferences in relation to discontinuous phrases in some of the Australian languages such as Walpíri or Kalkatungu (which has not to my knowledge been done) will confirm the existence of a correlation between contrast and phrasal discontinuity.

Siewierska (1984:70)
Perhaps in response to this Laughren (1985) discusses factors influencing the order of nominal constituents in Warlpiri and makes similar generalizations.

The analysis of Martuthunira NP structure and distribution presented here essentially defines away the phenomenon of phrasal discontinuity. Firstly, unlike Polish, which has an otherwise strong tendency for all modifiers to occur together with their heads, Martuthunira allows a number of similarly case-marked NPs to occur in a clause, all of which contribute something to the description and definition of a particular participant. These are not instances of phrasal discontinuity since each is itself a fully specified NP. In Warlpiri, on the other hand, the similarly case-marked NPs are linked together into an NP constituent at some level and so can be considered instances of phrasal discontinuity. Nevertheless, with respect to NPs which apparently break the normal ordering pattern of functional constituents, Siewierska's generalizations do hold for Martuthunira.

8.6.2 Number Non-Agreement

Number suffixes like other nominal inflections are usually distributed to all elements of an NP, excluding nominals which are inherently specified for number such as numerals, non-singular pronouns, and idiosyncratic plurals like kupiyaji 'little ones'. However, it is not uncommon for number marking to appear on some part of an apparent NP rather than on all words in the NP. The exceptions are of two types.
The first pattern involves NP heads marked for number but with an unmarked Qualifier. For example:

45. thurlajinkarri-tharra nganajumarta-la mir.ta kuliya-lalha.
    poor fellow -DUAL 1dl(disharm)-LOC not hear -PAST

Those two poor fellows with us didn't listen.

46. nihuana pawulu-ngara kangku-Ø myi-tharra-a nihuana-wu-u.
    2pl child-PLURAL take-IMP dog -DUAL-ACC 2pl -GEN-ACC

You children take those two dogs of yours.

Secondly, a number marked NP may be introduced by a singular demonstrative or singular possessive construction in the Determiner slot:

47. ngunhu kupiyaji karranyakarrany-ngara jalya waru-u.
    thatNOM little(pl) comorant -PLURAL useless still

Those little comorants are still no good (can't fly).

48. ngurnu kayarra-a wirra -tharra-a panyu-tharra-a
    thatACC two -ACC boomerang-DUAL-ACC good -DUAL-ACC

Those two good boomerangs

49. ngayu thawu-lalha nganaju-u pawulu-ngara-a thawun-mulyarra.
    1sgNOM send -PAST 1sgGEN-ACC child-PLURAL-ACC town -ALL

I sent my children to town.

The simple solution to this problem is to stick to the definition that the scope of an inflection defines an NP and so treat the apparent NPs in the above examples as appositional structures. The apparent NPs in examples 45 to 49 can then be represented as:

45. ... thurlajinkarri-tharra, nganajumarta-la ... 
    poor fellow -DUAL 1dl(disharm)-LOC

... two poor fellows, with me ...
46. ... muyi-tharra, nhuwana-wu ...
dog -DUAL 2pl -GEN
... two dogs, yours ...

47. ... ngunmu, kupiya karranykarrany-ngara ...
thatNOM little(pl) comorant -PLURAL
... that, a group of comorants ...

48. ... ngurnu, kayarra wirra -tharra panyu-tharra ...
thatACC two boomerang-DUAL good -DUAL
... that, two good boomerangs ...

49. ... nganaju, pawulu-ngara ...
... 1sgGEN child -PLURAL
... mine, children ...

- 387 -
Chapter 9

Non-Verbal Clauses

Martuthunira has two basic non-verbal clause patterns. In the first type the clause consists of two nominal expressions, one of which functions as the subject and the other as the predicate. The second type involves a nominal predicate which takes a nominal subject and an accusative case-marked complement. The two clause types are described in the sections 9.1 and 9.2 respectively.

Section 9.3 describes the use of basic intransitive state verbs, and the motion verb puni-Ø 'go', as copulas, comparing copula clauses with the non-verbal clause types.

9.1 Ascriptive/Equative Clauses

The simplest clause type consists of two nominal expressions, one of which functions as a predicate, the other as subject. These clauses may be either ascriptive or equative. In the former, the nominal expression functioning as predicate describes some general property ascribed to the entity denoted by the subject NP. The predicate in the equative clause is a nominal expression making definite reference to some entity with which the
referent of the subject NP is identified.

As discussed in 3.1.1.1, the boundary between noun and adjective is a fuzzy one in Martuthunira and it is possible for almost any nominal expression to be interpreted either as referring to a particular entity or to be describing a general property. As a result, the distinction between ascriptive and equative non-verbal predication is similarly blurred. Where the predicate is a single common nominal lexeme there is always some room for ambiguity and very often the difference in interpretation depends on the definiteness of reference of the predicate nominal. If the predicate can be interpreted as referring to some known entity then the clause is effectively an identifying equative clause. Otherwise, the clause can be read as ascriptive.

However, this ambiguity can extend to clauses in which the predicate is a more complex NP. In 8.3 I discussed the problem of apparently headless NPs bearing some adnominal suffix, and decided to treat these as complete referring expressions. In the same way, predicate NPs inflected with an adnominal suffix may, in some circumstances, function as endocentric referring expressions. Clauses containing such endocentric predicates are interpreted as equatives.

9.1.1 Ascriptive Clauses

The simplest ascriptive clauses consist of a definite subject NP, and a simple nominal predicate:
1. **kartungu-ngara pawlu-ngara / murtiwarla paju.**
   2sgNOM -PLURAL child -PLURAL fast REAL

   Your children are very fast (runners).

2. **kalika / nyartu. kalika, kaya -wuyu, / mayarta.**
   one lefthanded one elder brother-SIDE righthanded

   One is lefthanded. One, the older brother, is righthanded.

3. **ngayu jirli / mir.ta wii panyu ...**
   1sgNOM arm not if good

   If my arm is no good ...

   Many clauses in which the predicate NP bears some adnominal case suffix can also be classed as ascriptives. The most common examples involve the proprietive or privative suffixes. Genitive and locative predicates are discussed in separate sections below.

4. **ngunhu-ngara / juwayu-la-marta parla-marta.**
   that -PLURAL hand -LOC-PROP rock -PROP

   They have rocks in their hands.

5. **ngunhaa kanyara / mir.ta kuliya-marta.**
   that man not ear -PROP

   That man has no ears (won't listen).

   The usual subject-predicate order may be reversed where some additional emphasis is placed on the particular predicate; typically it introduces new information. Often, although this is not obligatory, there is a slight pause between the fronted predicate and the following subject.

6. **mirtali-nu, / ngunhaa Karmuny.**
   big -QUOT that

   Apparently he was big, that fellow Karmuny.
7. jalya -ngara -rru, / kalyaran yilangu.
rubbish-PLURAL-NOW wood here

A load of rubbish, the wood here.

8. parla-wirriwa / nganarna.
money-PRIV 1pl(exc)

We’ve got no money.

The subject of a non-verbal clause may be ellipsed. For example,

9. ngunhu wanthala karri-nguru kuwarri, Pantuwarangka.
that somewhere stand-PRES now

_____ / mir.ta-1 yini-marta Pantuwarangka-marta.
not-THEN name-PROP

That one is somewhere there now, Pannawonica Hill.
(It) didn't have the name Pannawonica once.

9.1.2 Equative clauses

Simple equative clauses serve to identify some known referent with some
other known referent. The subject is typically a demonstrative, usually
the singular proximal nhiyu or the anaphoric distal ngunhaa, both of which
serve to introduce or reintroduce a definite participant into the discourse
(5.5).

10. nhiyu / kanparr-wura jalyuru.
this spider-BELONG hole

This is a spider's hole.

11. nhiyu yartapalyu-rru / Maral.ya-ngara.
this other(pl) -NOW -PLURAL

This other mob are the Maral.ya.
12. nhiyu / mir.ta kurlany nhawani-la-nguru,
this not knife thing -LOC-ABL

Kurlanypungkunhu-la-nguru.
-LOC-ABL

This isn't a knife from what's-its-name, Kurlanypungkunhu.

13. ngunhaa / ngunhaa marrari.
that that story

That's that story.

The order of subject and predicate can be reversed but with the equative clause type it is occasionally difficult to be sure which of the two definite nominal expressions is the subject. As a general rule, if one of the two NPs is a demonstrative then it is the subject and the remaining NP is the predicate. The reversal in usual order is most common where the predicate is a proper name.

name -PNC this

Pannawonica, this is.

name -Ø -NOW that name

Purntul, that's its name.

9.1.3 Possessive constructions

In this sub-class of the ascriptive clause type the predicate is a nominal expression marked with either the genitive suffix or one of the minor possessive suffixes (4.12, 4.13). Some examples are:

16. ngunhaa / nganarna-wu -lpurtu.
that 1pl(exc)-GEN-COMP

That fellow is one of ours.
17. **nhiyu muyi / nganaju.**  
   *This dog 1sgGEN*

   This dog is mine.

18. **nganangu yirru / ngunhu?**  
   *whoGEN that*

   **nganaju-wura yirru / ngunhaa yirru.**  
   *1sgOBL -BELONG that*

   Whose is that one?  
   He's one of my mob.

Often, possessive relationships are expressed by equative clauses in which the predicate, and sometimes the subject, is an endocentric genitive NP.

19. **ngayala-tharra ngurmula-ngu / ngurmula-ngu-wura**  
   *nephew -DUAL thatDEF -GEN thatDEF -GEN-POSS*

   **mari -wura pawulu-tharra.**  
   *younger sister-POSS child -DUAL*

   Those two nephews of his are his younger sister's children.

Although the following example appears to conform to the ascriptive possessive construction illustrated in 16 to 18, the possessive predicates are interpreted as endocentric and thus the constructions are equivalent to the equative clause in 19.

20. **warruwa-ngara-wura / Walter. kanyara-wura / Karlinpangu.**  
   *devil -PLURAL-BELONG person -BELONG*

   His European [name] is Walter. His Aboriginal one is Karlinpangu.

9.1.4 Locational Clauses

The predicate in this clause type describes a place at which the entity denoted by the subject NP is located. The predicate may be an inherently
locative nominal, such as an adverbial demonstrative or compass term, or may be a more complex NP bearing a locative suffix.

21. ngunhu-rru / Minturru-la-rru, karalu-rru.
   that -NOW name -LOC-NOW south -NOW

   Minturru-la / ngunhaa-rru Pintharr.
   name -LOC that -NOW name

   That is in Minturru country, south. In Minturru country that Pintharr country is.

22. yawrru varuu, Kawuyu-wini / pularna-lwa.
   west still near -NEAR they -ID

   ___ / wanthala Jinpingayinu-wini.
   somewhere near -NEAR

   They are in the west, near Kawuyu Hill.
   (They're) somewhere near Jinpingayinu Pool.

23. ngulangu-lwa / ngunhaa
   there -ID 'that

   There it is!

   The following example illustrates an ablative predicate indicating the original location of the subject of the clause. However, there is no sense in which the clause implies a particular motion away from this point.

   that there-ABL top -LOC -ABL Rocklea Station -LOC-ABL

   They are from up there in the high country on top of Rocklea Station.

   As the following example shows, non-verbal clauses allow second predications. In 25, the ablative expression gives a point of orientation for the compass term predicate of the locational clause:

   name -ABL that thereNS west

   From Yurlungarrarnu Pool, that place is somewhere there to the west.
9.2 Non-verbal Clauses with Accusative Complements

There are three types of non-verbal clause in which the nominal predicate takes an accusative complement as well as a subject. These three are described in the following sections.

9.2.1 Complements of Kin/Human Relationship Terms

In most examples of this class a nominal denoting a particular kin relationship functions as the predicate; the propositus of the term is the subject, the possessor is the accusative complement. The construction is preferred over a simple possessive ascriptive/equative clause when the speaker wishes to establish the relationship between two participants and assumes that the addressee may have no knowledge of the relationship. In the following examples the kinterm predicate is underlined.

26. ngunhu ngurnula-ngu muyi, ngunhu-lwa pawu ngurnu -ngara -a
   kupiyaji -i.
   little(pl)-ACC
   That dog of his, that's the one that is the father of those little fellows (puppies).

27. mirntiwul-yu, ngunhaa ngangka ngurmu -ngara -a.
   all -ACC that mother thatOBL-PLURAL-ACC
   That one is mother to all of them.
28. **nhiyu puliyanyja ngaliwa -a mimi.**  
this old man 1pl(inc)-ACC uncle  

This old man is mother's brother to us.

In the following example, the nominal winthi 'enemy', is not a kinterm but in a similar way describes a social relationship between subject and accusative complement.

29. **ngunhu -ngara winthi ngurnu -ngara -a -lwa.**  
thatNOM-PLURAL enemy thatOBL-PLURAL-ACC-ID  

They are enemies to these fellows.

9.2.2 Complements of Psych-Predicates

Martuthunira has a small set of predicate nominals denoting psychological states and which may take an accusative complement: nhuura 'knowing', wiru 'wanting, liking', and waya 'fear'.

30. **ngayu nhuura ngurnu kanyara-a.**  
1sgNOM knowing thatACC man -ACC  

I know that man.

31. **wuraa -lpurtu nganarna, mir.ta wiru wantamartu-ngara-a.**  
alright-COMP 1pl(exc) not liking crazy -PLURAL-ACC  

Alright, we're different, we don't like crazy people.

32. **ngunhu waya marntanumarta-a.**  
that fear policeman -ACC  

That fellow is frightened of policemen.

Although examples in which the accusative complement is a simple nominal expression, such as the above, do occur in the data, more often these predicate nominals take clausal complements controlled by either the subject or a raised accusative argument (11.4).
9.2.3 Complements of (Common) Nominals

A range of common nominals may take an accusative complement. The nominal predicate ascribes some property to the subject of the clause but this characterisation of the subject is mediated by the accusative complement. That is, the property of the subject is ascribed relative to the particular traits, circumstances, or point-of-view (if animate) of the referent of the complement.

Most examples of this type of complement involve nominal predicates of the proto-typical value adjective type. For example:

33. ngunhhaa jami panyu ngurntura-a.
   thatNOM medicine good cold -ACC

   That jami medicine is good for colds.

34. nhiyu ngurnta kuyil paju warnu nganaju. wuraal wiyaal panyu
   this style bad REAL ASSERT 1sgACC alright maybe good

   wirta-ngara -a.
youth-PLURAL-ACC

   The lie of this hill is really difficult for me [to climb].
   Okay, maybe it's alright for young people.

35. ngunhu paya-nguntharri ngawurr-marta mir.ta panyu paju
   thatNOM drink-HABITNOM froth -PROP not good REAL

   nganaju-u kurntal -yu.
   1sgGEN-ACC daughter-ACC

   That beer isn't good for my daughter.

In many cases the predicate governs a clausal complement describing a set of intended actions which are somehow influenced by the existence of the property ascribed to the subject of the matrix clause.
36. mhiyu marlara mulurrur paju nguru -ngara -a
this road straight REAL thatOBL-PLURAL-ACC

paya-lalha-nguru-ngara-a puni-waa yilangu marlara-la.
drink-PAST-ABL -PLURAL-ACC go-PURPs=o here road -LOC

This road is too straight for those fellows who have been drinking
to walk here on it.

9.3 Copula Constructions

The non-verbal clauses described in the preceding section are effectively
tenseless; the ascriptive/equative clauses imply the existence of a
permanent characteristic or relationship of identity. The nominal
predicates of kin relationship and of psychological state also imply
permanent states. However, the use of a verbal copula allows the setting
of temporal bounds on the existence of such states, and/or the coding of
various modalities.

Martuthunira makes use of three intransitive stance verbs as copulas:
nyina-Ø 'sit, stay, be', karri-Ø 'stand', and wanti-Ø 'lie'. Of these, only
nyina-Ø can be said to function like a true dummy copula, both karri-Ø and
wanti-Ø retain something of their core meaning in any copula construction.
Sections 9.3.1 and 9.3.2 describe the various uses of the unmarked nyina-Ø
copula and discuss the bases for the choice of one or other marked copula.
In addition, the simple motion verb puni-Ø 'go' may function as a copula
and implies the maintenance of a state throughout the performance of
additional activities. This is illustrated in 9.3.3. Finally, section
9.3.4 describes briefly, the role of the copulas as markers of continuing
activity.

9.3.1 The unmarked copula nyina-∅ 'sit, stay, be'

Firstly, the copula construction allows the ascription of a property to the subject of the clause relative to some time frame - either the present of utterance or some narrative present - or in relation to some other category normally encoded on the verb; such as modality (40) or collective activity/existence (37).

37. pukarti -ngara nyina-marri-nguru jalya -rru.
   snakewood-PLURAL be -COLL -PRES rubbish-NOW

The snakewood trees are all rubbish now (they weren't always).

38. ngunhm -ngara nyina-lha mir.ta-rru panyu. ...
   thatNOM-PLURAL be -PAST not -NOW good

   wuraal-wa-rru ngunhaa. nyina-layl pularna mir.ta-rru panyu.
   alright-∅-NOW thatNOM be -FUT they not -NOW good

They weren't good ... Alright that's how it is now, they aren't going to be good.

39. ngunhm nyina-nguru kurnangu-rru.
   thatNOM be -PRES black -NOW

That one is black now (he used to be white).

40. ngaliwa mirntiwul nyina-marni nhuural
   1pl(inc) all be -CONTR knowing

We should all know that!

In the same way, the copula can be used to present equative predications with some temporal perspective. For example:

41. ngunhaa warruwa-1 nyina-lha -nguru.
   thatNOM devil-THEN be -PAST-ABL

They were devils then.
42. **nhiiyarra-lwa, ngunhaa papungali-tharra paju-rru nyina-layi.**
   thisDUAL-ID thatNOM deity -DUAL REAL-NOW be -FUT

   These two, would end up being our two gods.

43. **nguu nhiyu warnu nganja kaya nyina-nguru nguu!**
   face this ASSERT 1sgGEN brother be -PRES face

   This face is my brother's face (sudden realization)!

There are no non-verbal clauses with an existential function in Martuthunira; all such predications require a copula. For example:

44. **warrwa-ngara nyina-lha jarrkurti ngunhu-ngara pintirrijila.**
   devil -PLURAL be -PAST three thatNOM-PLURAL scattered

   There were three groups of devils scattered about.

45. **ngunhaa nyina-nguru kuwarri.**
   thatNOM be -PRES now

   That one exists today.

Finally, the small set of manner nominals (3.1.1.1) may not function as primary predicates but require a mediating verbal predicate. In the simplest cases these may select a copula, for example:

46. **nhartu-npa-lha-lwa? nhulaa jurlulu nyina-nguru, what -INCH-PAST-ID near you crouched be -PRES**

   **mir.ta puyii nhaw-rra.**
   not farACC see-CTEMP

   What's happened? That one nearer you is crouching down and won't be able to see very far.

9.3.2 **karri-∅ 'stand' and wanti-∅ 'lie', as copulas**

Unlike the unmarked copula **nyina-∅**, **karri-∅ 'stand' and wanti-∅ 'lie' retain something of their core meaning when functioning as copulas. The choice of copula is dependent on a number of factors. Firstly, many
subjects typically choose a particular copula because of a characteristic stance. Thus trees generally 'stand', plains 'lie'. However, although there is a clear tendency for particular entities to choose one or other of the three copulas, this does not mean that the copulas place selectional restrictions on what their subjects may be (by contrast Simpson (1983:433) argues for selectional restrictions for Warlpiri copulas).

Karri-Ø is chosen when the subject of the clause is perceived as having an essentially vertical aspect. However, the verb strongly implies temporarily arrested motion; thus eagles may 'stand' in the sky before they swoop, and water (which generally 'lies') may 'stand' still and clear before it is muddied (50). Perhaps related to this, karri-Ø replaces nyina-Ø as the unmarked copula in the avoidance style.

47. ngunhu -ngara karri-nguru panganypa-rru.
   thatNOM-PLURAL stand-PRES ready -NOW

   They are standing ready now.

48. karri-nguru kuwarri, Pantuwarnangka.
   stand-PRES now

   It stands there today, Pannawonica Hill.

49. nhartu ngularla karri-nguru pururu-la-nu?
   what thereNS stand-PRES belt -LOC-QUOT

   What's that hanging there somewhere on his belt?

50. wantbarni nhiyu kayulu, panyu? mi.r.ta nhartu -marta wii,
   how thisNOM water good not something-PROP or

   panyu karri-lha.
   good stand-PAST

   How is this water, good? Maybe it hasn’t got anything [in it], has been standing good (clear and untainted).

Wanti-Ø is chosen as a copula when the subject of the clause is
perceived as having a marked horizontal orientation, either linear or
planar. This applies firstly to single entities which lie flat on the
ground, and the ground itself, but secondarily to any collection of
entities which can be perceived as distributed in (horizontal) space.

51. thal.ya ngunhu wanti-nguru kana-ngka-1, kuwarri wii.
   track that lie -PRES clear-LOC-THEN now or
   That track is clear to see, even today.

52. ngurra-rru yirla wanti-nguru ngulangu.
   ground-NOW only lie -PRES there
   Only the ground is there (nothing else can be seen).

53. nhiyu pal.yarra wanti-wala kalyaran-wirriwa-rru.
   this plain lie-PURPds tree -PRIV -NOW
   This plain was to be without trees.

   In example 54, a swarm of flies 'lie' scattered upon a bed of leaves
although flies normally 'sit'. Similarly, in example 55, a large group of
people are scattered across a plain although the adverbial nominal jurlurlu
'crouching', normally selects the nyina-∅ copula (see example 46 above).

54. nhiyu warrari yirla wanti-nguru wurrulywa-la.
   this fly only lie -PRES leaves -LOC
   There are only these flies on the leaves (the meat is all gone).

55. nhingara wanti-nguru yarrwa-ngka jurlurlu.
   theseNOM lie -PRES behind-LOC crouching
   These people were spread out behind it, crouching down.

   Just as the ground, or 'country' lies, so customs, laws and stories are
'laid out' or distributed throughout a tract of country or to a widely
scattered group of people. Example 57 illustrates this use of wanti-∅, in
contrast to the unmarked nyina-∅ copula.
56. mir.ta-1 Purntul wanti-nyila.
not -THEN name lie -CTEMP

The Purntul ceremony didn't exist then.

57. nhiyu wanti-nguru marrari-ngara, maral.ya-wura, wantha-rnu
this lie -PRES story -PLURAL devil -FOSS place-PASSP

jinangku-yangu, wantharni wanti-lha -la palalyi-l,
track -PASSP how lie -PAST-LOC before -THEN

nyina-lha -la pukarrpukarr-ngara.
be -PAST-LOC ancients -PLURAL

These are the stories of the devils, laid down and followed, about how things were before, when the ancient people were about.

9.3.3 puni-∅ 'go' as a Copula

The simple motion verb puni-∅ 'go', has a restricted function as a copula. This is illustrated in the following examples:

58. yimpala -rru-va, kanyara-wyu puni-layi jalya -rru,
like that-NOW-YK man -SIDE go -FUT rubbish-NOW

yaan -wirriwa-rru.
spouse-PRIV -NOW

Like that, the husband will be rubbish now, without a wife.

59. panyu-1 puni-layi ngathu kul.yakarta-ma-rnu.
good-THEN go -FUT 1sgEFF educated -CAUS-PASSP

Then you'll be good, having been educated by me.

While it is clear that the ascriptive predicates in these two examples, jalya 'rubbish' and panyu 'good' respectively, are second predicates on the subject of puni-∅, the use of the verb does not imply any motion on the part of the subject. Instead, the use of the puni-∅ copula, rather than nyina-∅ for example, indicates that the ascribed state will be maintained while other actions are performed. Thus the husband in 58 will be as good
as rubbish and without a wife in all the actions he now performs, wherever he goes. Similarly, the child who has been educated properly in 59, will behave in a correct manner whatever the task.

9.3.4 Copulas as Markers of Continuing Activity

In the same way that the copulas nyina-§ and puni-§ describe the persistence of a state, they can be used to indicate the persistence of actions through a period of time. Typically, the verbs appear together with other verbs marked with the contemporaneous relative subordinate clause inflection (11.1.4). For example:

60. ngayu jirli mir.ta wii panyu, puni-rra yawarrunyja-l.yarra
   1sgNOM arm not if good go-CTEMP miss -CTEMP

   murla-ngara-a tharnta-ngara-a, jalya -npa -rra puni-rra
   meat-PLURAL-ACC euro -PLURAL-ACC useless-INCB-CTEMP go-CTEMP

   nhuwa-l.yarra waruul-wa-l.yarra.
   spear-CTEMP still -CAUS-CTEMP

   If my arm is no good, I'll keep on missing game, euros, I'll continue to be useless, keep on trying to spear them.

61. vayil ngula yarnta-wartnura wiya parrani-rrawaara
   maybe IGNOR day -DISTRIB maybe return -SEQ

   ngurnu-uluiyara-lwa, nyina-layi patha-rryarra.
   thatOBL-ALL -ID sit -FUT throw-CTEMP

   Maybe each day they came back to that place and stayed there throwing (boomerangs).
Martuthunira shares with its Ngayarda relatives the legacy of a historical reorganization of basic case-marking patterns from ergative-absolutive to nominative-accusative. The modern accusative system emerged through a reanalysis of an intransitive nominative/dative pattern, once available for the arguments of transitive verbs under certain semantic conditions, which then became the standard case-frame for all transitive verbs (see Dench 1982). Simple transitive clauses in the modern Ngayarda languages thus descend from intransitive clauses and the accusative case suffix descends from a dative case.

It is clear that the Martuthunira accusative has retained a number of functions of the old dative and this has resulted in some confusion of the patterns of transitivity in the language. Blake (1977:35) notes that an important function of the dative in many Australian languages is to mark the complements of "any predicator that is not a transitive verb". Thus the dative typically marks the complements of intransitive or middle verbs such as 'cry for' or 'wait for', and complements of nominal predicates such as 'knowing', 'wanting' or 'fear'. In addition, the dative often marks the recipient argument of verbs of giving, and may introduce NP adjuncts with benefactive or purposive functions (for descriptions of dative functions in
other Australian languages see especially Hale (1982) for Warlpiri and Goddard (1983) for Yankunytjatjara).

In Martuthunira, the accusative case covers many of these functions as well as marking the objects of proto-typical primary transitive verbs like thani-L 'hit', or wurnta-L 'cut'. At the same time, the semantics of the cardinal transitive relationship is now inherent in the accusative case-marker and has spread to many of the originally dative 'intransitive' uses (4.3). As a result, there are many types of clause in Martuthunira in which more than one accusative argument occurs, and where more than one accusative argument has associated with it something of the semantics of direct object-hood. In this description I will maintain that these clauses are true double-object constructions.

This situation presents some immediate difficulties for analysis, some of which have been touched on briefly in earlier sections. The categorization of verbs into transitivity classes is complicated by two factors: firstly, the freedom with which objects of apparently transitive verbs may be omitted, and secondly, the freedom with which many verbs may take additional accusative arguments resembling, semantically at least, direct objects. While there are clearly limits to the selection of additional accusative arguments, these often depend to a great extent on the particular meaning and context of use of the verbs in question. Similarly, the linking of different accusative NPs to the semantic roles assumed by the verb depends on the referents of these NPs and on their expected roles in particular contexts. However, I will assume (as in 6.1.3) that verbs may be successfully subcategorized for their core arguments and that the different case frames of certain verbs may be
accounted for by establishing separate lexical entries (presumably linked by regular operations on lexical forms) ¹.

The analysis of the passive presents similar difficulties. The subject of a passive clause may correspond to one of a range of possible accusative arguments in the corresponding active clause. Thus the passive does not provide any evidence for the organization of grammatical relations within active clauses and cannot, itself, be fully described in terms of such underlying grammatical relations.

The Martuthunira data, then, is of considerable theoretical interest. It is clear that the analysis to be presented here is relevant to the testing of those theories of syntactic structure which assume the universal applicability of distinct grammatical relations such as Direct Object and Indirect Object. However, while the Martuthunira double-object constructions may prove embarrassing to approaches assuming certain forms of the Relational Grammar 'Stratal Uniqueness Law', it is nevertheless possible to assign a unique grammatical relation to each core accusative argument. These theoretical issues are discussed briefly in 10.3.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 10.1 introduces the range of types of active clause organized according to identifiable classes of verbs while section 10.2 describes the Martuthunira passive and discusses possible analyses of the passive rule. Section 10.3 discusses the question of grammatical relations in double-object clauses. Section 10.4 describes the special case frames of imperative clauses. Section 10.5 describes the use of referential case marking in encoding second predications and part-whole constructions. Section 10.6 briefly describes the structure of
interrogative sentences and finally 10.7 discusses the order of constituents within the clause.

10.1 Basic Active Argument Structures

The classification of verbs presented in this section is based partly on a semantic characterization of predicates and partly by the types of argument they allow. Of course, these two factors are intimately related. It is assumed that verbs can be successfully subcategorized by their argument structure: an array of possible core and oblique complements (the use of these terms follows Andrews (1985)). Alternative case frames are assumed to represent a realignment of these core and oblique arguments and for the purposes of this description it is assumed that this realignment is a lexical operation linking different lexical entries for the verbal predicate in question.

10.1.1 Impersonal Verbs

Verbs denoting processes of the weather or emerging times of the day generally appear in text with no overt, or understood, subject argument. For example:


   jarruru wuraal-wa-rru wuthumuthu-npa -rra -rru.
   slowly still -Ø -NOW cool -INCH-CTEMP-NOW

   From then, [the sun] goes down in the west, it's becoming afternoon, and it slowly continues to get cooler.
Non-verbal clauses with accusative complements in which the predicate ascribes some property to the weather may also appear to be subjectless:

2. *mutmu* paju nganaju. ngayu wayangka -nguru malyarra-npa-wirri.
   cold REAL 1sgACC 1sgNOM frightened-PRES sick -INCH-LEST
   It's too cold for me. I'm frightened of getting sick.

3. karlarrra paju ngaliwa -a mungka-lwa呼唤 murla-a.
   hot REAL 1pl(inc)-ACC eat -PURPst:o meat-ACC
   It's too hot for us to eat meat.

However, on other occasions these clauses may occur with an overt subject NP; either a nominal referring to the day, or a time of the day, or the demonstratives *nhiyu* 'this' or *ngunhaa* 'that'. The demonstrative subject is equivalent to the use of the English dummy subject 'it'.

   afternoon moment-NOW cool -INCH-FUT dance-PURPds-NOW
   The afternoon will be getting cool soon and we will be able to dance.

   thisNOM dark -INCH-PRES-NOW 1pl(inc) not -NOW see -FUT
   It's getting dark now, we won't be able to see.

The verbs illustrated in the preceding section are all derived from nominals referring to times of the day or states of the weather. The only monomorphemic weather verb occurring in the Martuthunira data is *parnta-L* 'rain'. This verb may select a demonstrative subject but is always understood to have the implied subject *warnan* 'rain'. More often, either *warnan*, or one of a set of nominals referring to clouds or storms appears as the subject. *Parnta-L* may take an added benefactive accusative object, as illustrated in the following example. Notice also the use of an ambient demonstrative subject with the passive verb *ngapala-ma-rru* 'make muddy':
6. nhiyu warnan parnta-rnuru-rru warnu ngaliwa -a.
   thisNOM rain rain -PRES -NOW ASSERT 1pl(inc)-ACC

   muthu-npa-layi-rru. nhiyu ngapala-ma -rru -rru warnan-tu.
   cold-INCH-FUT -NOW thisNOM mud -CAUS-PASSP-NOW rain -EFF

   nhiyu parnta-rnuru waruu.
   thisNOM rain -PRES still

   This rain is certainly setting in on us. It's getting cold. It's
   muddy from the rain. And it's still raining.

10.1.2 Intransitive States/Processes

A number of predicates select a single subject argument, with the
possibility of one or more optional adjuncts. The class includes some
monomorphemic verbs, for example:

- warppurr14
- malyarra-L
- nyuni-Ø
- kampa-Ø
- parnti-Ø
- jaama-Ø

   'bathe'
   'be in pain, be ill'
   'drown'
   'be burning, be cooking'
   'be smelling, emitting odour'
   'yawn'

However, simple verbs of this type are not numerous. Most expressions
of the existence of a state, either in inanimate or animate entities
involve a copula construction incorporating one of the three verbs nyina-Ø
'sit, stay, be', karri-Ø 'stand', and wanti-Ø 'lie' (9.3). Of course these
three verbs also occur as simple verbs of stance falling into the basic
intransitive category. For example:
7. *nhiyu nyina-nguru wuraal kanyara, wirra -a yinka-1.yarra*
   thisNOM sit -PRES alright man boomerang-ACC chisel-CTEMP
   
   *yartapalyu-u-rru. thungkara-la nyina-nguru, marli -ngka-rru*
   others -ACC-NOW ground -LOC sit -PRES cadjeput-LOC -NOW
   
   *kartawura-la, malarnu-la.*
   butt -LOC shade -LOC
   
   This fellow, the man, is sitting carving another load of boomerangs. He's sitting on the ground, at the foot of a cadjeput tree, in the shade.

8. *ngunhu-tharra wulu-wirriwa kurryu-ngka martura-la, wantharra,*
   thatNOM-DUAL leg -PRIV trench-LOC middle-LOC like
   
   *wanti-lha-la, ngunhu-tharra nyuju -tharra tharryi -tharra.*
   lie -PAST-LOC thatNOM-DUAL initiate-DUAL alongside-DUAL
   
   It was as if they had no legs while they were lying in the trenches, those two initiates, side-by-side.

With few exceptions, predicates denoting processes are derived from nominals through the addition of one of a number of verbalizing suffixes.

Firstly, a range of verbs incorporating the derivational suffixes -rri-∅ (6.3.5), -karri-∅ (6.3.6) or -nguli-∅ (6.3.7), describe bodily states: for example, *parrawarrri-∅* 'shiver', *jinjurnkarri-∅* 'sneeze', *punganguli-∅* 'have stomach ache'. These control a single subject argument.

Secondly, a virtually unlimited number of process predicates can be derived by the addition of the inchoative suffix -npa-∅ to a nominal stem (6.3.3). However, the argument structures of these predicates depends crucially on the nominal stem in each case; there is no set of frames common to all inchoative verbs. Thus, as described in following sections, while many inchoative verbs take single subject core arguments, others may freely take a range of accusative NP arguments or clausal complements on the subject or accusative object.
10.1.3 Transitive Activities

A large class contains proto-typical transitive verbs of affect which take a subject argument usually denoting the actor and an accusative argument typically denoting a patient. Clauses involving these verbs often include instrumental NP adjuncts (marked with the proprietive suffix) and/or second predications of manner.

not slowly 1sgNOM hit -PAST 1sgGEN-ACC dog-ACC stick -PROP

I thrashed my dog with a stick.
(lit. Not slowly I hit that dog with a stick.)

None of the verbs in this class have alternate case frames whereby some otherwise non-core argument appears as an accusative object. However, most of these verbs may freely take an additional benefactive accusative argument. Some examples of verbs in this class are:

- thani-L 'hit'
- yinka-L 'chisel'
- kampa-L 'cook'
- wurnta-L 'cut'
- nhunrnti-wa-L 'kill'
- nhuwa-L 'spear'
- karla-wa-L 'make a fire (out of wood)'
- purra-L 'hit with a thrown stone'
- karta-L 'chop, stab, poke'
- kampi-L 'winnow'
- kanyja-L 'hold, keep'
- manku-∅ 'get, grab, pick up'

As the list suggests, the class also includes the majority of verbs derived by the addition of the -ma-L causative suffix to a nominal stem (6.3.4).

10.1.4 Verbs of Transfer

The verb yungku-∅ 'give', selects two accusative arguments, denoting the recipient and the theme. There are no alternate case frames for this verb.
and it is the best example of a true monomorphemic ditransitive predicate to be found in Martuthunira. The potential ambiguity of double-object constructions is discussed in 10.3.

10. *ngayu yungku-lha nganaju-u muyi-i murla-a mungka-lwaa.*  
1sgNOM give -PAST 1sgGEN-ACC dog-ACC meat-ACC eat -PURPs=o  
I gave my dog meat to eat.

*Murnta-L* 'take from' also takes two accusative objects denoting the theme and the source. However, unlike other verbs of this class it does not allow the source to appear as the subject of a passive clause.

*Kulyama-L* 'pay back, give in return', takes two accusative arguments denoting the recipient and the theme. It also takes a locative complement which denotes the object for which the theme is a pay-back gift. However, there are no examples in the data in which all arguments are represented:

1sgNOM pay back-PAST chop -HABIT-ACC-COMP turn -LOC  
jumpirirri-la.  
knife -LOC  
I paid [him] back with a chopper in return for a knife.

Finally, the benefactive verb *wuruma-L* 'do for', can be included in this class. Typically this verb appears in a subordinate clause controlled by the matrix subject with a single accusative argument denoting the beneficiary of the action described in the main clause.

1sgNOM boomerang-ACC carve-PAST do for-CTEMP 1sgGEN-ACC uncle-ACC  
I carved a boomerang, doing it for my uncle.
However, when wuruma-L appears in a main clause it may occur with a second accusative object denoting the entity upon which some ultimately beneficial action is performed.

13. nhuwana puni-rra wi thawun-mulyarra, nganaju wuruma-rninyji
2pl go-CTEMP if town -ALL 1sgACC do for-FUT

yurntura-a manyarrka-a-thurti?
flour -ACC sugar -ACC-CONJ

If you go to town, will you [get] some flour and sugar for me?²

The best classification of wuruma-L, on the basis of the data at hand, is as a ditransitive verb selecting two accusative arguments. Then the most common examples of the verb, in which the patient/theme does not appear, might be explained as 'double-equi': the coreferential omission of both subject and patient/theme in subordinate clauses. Examples such as the following, in which the benefactive clause appears at first blush to be embedded within the matrix clause, can be used to support this argument.

14. ngayu jarraa-lalha nganaju-u papu -u wuruma-1.yarra
1sgNOM tie up-PAST 1sgGEN-ACC father-ACC do for-CTEMP

warrirti-ngara -a, ...
spear -PLURAL-ACC

I tied up, for my father, the spears ...

Here the patient NP controls a number of following subordinate clauses and it is for this reason that it occurs on the far margin of this particular complex sentence rather than immediately following the main verb. However, if 'the spears' is described as a second argument of the subordinate verb wuruma-L, then the formal representation of such patterns is considerably simplified: the 'double-equi' affects the object in the main clause and the subject in the subordinate clause.
10.1.5 Simple Motion Verbs

With few exceptions, simple (intransitive) motion verbs have an alternative argument frame in which some locational role appears as an accusative marked argument. However, verbs differ as to which of a number of possible locational NPs may otherwise appear with accusative case marking. The patterns represented here suggest that motion verbs are subcategorized for a locational complement which may appear either as an accusative object or as an oblique NP bearing some locational case suffix.

The two verbs puni-Ø 'go' and kurrarti-Ø 'swim', most often occur with a nominative subject and with one or more optional locational NPs: locative denoting the path of the motion, allative marking goal, or ablative marking source.

15. kulhawulha waruu, ngaliwa puni-layi nharmu-malyarra.
heap still 1pl(inc) go -FUT grave -ALL
Still heaped together, we go to the grave.

16. ... parla-ngara -la -rru puni-layi.
hill -PLURAL-LOC-NOW go -FUT
They travel in the hills then.

17. nhiyaa kurrarti-layi puyiirta wii, kurrarti-layi.
thisNOM swim -FUT farALL or swim -FUT
This fellow can swim a long way.

18. ngunhah kurrarti-lha kayulu-la.
thatNOM swim -PAST water -LOC
That fellow swam in the water.

However, while the ablative and allative NPs are clearly adjuncts, the locative denoting path is arguably a complement. Both verbs occur in an
alternate case frame with the path of motion marked as an accusative object:

   1sgNOM see -PAST turtle-ACC swim -PrREL-ACC thatACC foam -ACC

I saw a turtle swimming through the foam.

20. nhiingara puni-lha parla-a.
    this(pl)NOM go -PAST hill-ACC

These fellows went along in the hills.

The three verbs kanarri-Ø 'come', parrani-Ø 'return' and wayjarri-Ø 'run' take much the same set of locational NPs as 'go' and 'swim', but for these verbs it is the goal of motion, otherwise marked allative, that appears as an accusative argument in the alternate case frame.

21. ngunhaa kanarri-layi-lwa ngaliwa -milyarra, nhawu-lu.
    thatNOM come -FUT -ID 1pl(inc)-ALL see -PURPss

That fellow will come to us, to see us.

22. wanthala ngunbu -ngara kanarri-lha thanarti-la-nguru ...
    somewhere thatNOM-PLURAL come -PAST sea -LOC-ABL

warutharra-a -rru kanarri-lha.
marsh -ACC-NOW come -PAST

Somewhere there they came out of the sea ... and came to the marshes then.

23. wayil ngula yarnta-warntura wiyaa parrani-rra-warntura
    maybe IGNOR day -DISTRIBUT maybe return-CTEMP-DISTRIBUT

ngurnu-milyarra-lwa.
thatOBL-ALL -ID

Maybe they came back each day to that place.

    return -FUT thatNOM thatACC name-ACC-ID fall-PURPss side -LOC

It comes right back to that Kawuyu hill, and falls at his side.
Five motion verbs have alternate frames in which the accomplished endpoint of motion may be marked locative or accusative. Firstly, thanturri-Ø 'descend, go down', tharrwa-Ø 'enter', and pungka-Ø 'fall', may occur with a locative complement indicating the eventual endpoint of the moving body, or with this complement marked accusative.

The verb karlwa-Ø 'arise, go up, get up', is similar though, in this case there is often a conflation of path and goal. The endpoint of the motion may be marked allative and the path may be marked locative as in the following examples:

25. kartu karlwa-layi kaya -arta -rru. ...
   2sgNOM go up -FUT brother-DirALL-NOW
   wanthala-ABL ngunu karlwa-lha-rru, parla-ngka?
   where -ABL that go up-PAST-NOW hill -LOC

   You go up to your brother now. ...
   Where did that fellow go up [from], on which hill?

When the verb appears with an accusative argument, this argument generally denotes both the path taken and the eventual endpoint of the motion. Karlwa-Y in this frame describes an accomplishment. The verb wirta-L 'climb', follows the same pattern. Thus, these two verbs can also be described as having the goal of motion as a complement.

26. ngaliwa karlwa-layi Kawuyu-ngu.
   1pl(inc) go up -FUT name -ACC

   We'll go up onto Kawuyu.

27. puni-layi ngunu -ngara, mirntiwul wirta-lu
   go -FUT thatNOM-PLURAL all climb-PURPss

   Kawuyu-u-rru parla-a.
   name-ACC-NOW hill-ACC

   Off they go, all to climb Kawuyu hill.
28. ngunmu -rru ngunhu, parla-ngka-rru wirta-nguru. kanta manamana
thatNOM-NOW thatNOM hill -LOC -NOW climb-PRES leg quickly

paju, kuyil-ngurni-la wirta-lha murti-ma-rnuru paju
REAL bad -OBSRED-LOC climb-PAST fast-CAUS-PRES REAL

That's him, climbing the hill now. His legs are moving really quickly, and he's climbed up on a difficult place very quickly.

There are a number of derived motion verbs in the data and these fall into two classes. Firstly, there are those verbs derived from an inherently locative nominal (e.g. yilangu-npa-∅ [here-INCH-∅] 'come here'), or from a nominal inflected with a locational case suffix (e.g. ngurra-arta-npa-∅ [camp-ALL-INCH-∅] 'come to camp'). These verbs describe motion towards the place denoted by the stem nominal and, understandably, do not have locational complements (nor alternative argument structures).

By contrast, the verb murna-npa-∅ 'get close to', requires an accusative argument denoting the goal of motion. This is expected since the nominal on which it is based, murna-∅ 'close', denotes a transitive spatial relationship. The verb murna-ngka-npa-∅ 'come up close', on the other hand, may take only a subject argument.

Finally, it should be noted that two motion verbs do not have associated locational complements. Thurtinti-∅ 'move away, disappear', and yanga-∅ 'move, make a movement', may occur with an accusative object but this argument denotes a benefactive rather than some locational role.

10.1.6 Verbs of Induced Motion/Position

Verbs of induced motion or induced position have alternate case frames in which the complement goal can appear either as an oblique locational NP or
as an accusative object. The theme argument is marked accusative in both frames.

Thatmu-L 'let go, send', corresponds to the simple motion verb kanarrɨ-ˀ 'come'. It most often occurs with an allative NP denoting the goal of motion, but has an alternate frame with the goal marked accusative:

29. ngaliwa thatmu-rninji kulhampa-ngara-a ngurmu-ngara-arta
   1pl(inc) send -FUT fish -PLURAL-ACC thatOBL-PLURAL-DirALL

   kanyara-ngara-arta.
   person -PLURAL-DirALL

   We'll send fish to those people.

30. ... marrari-i thatmu-yarri-lha ngurmu-ngara-a.
    word -ACC send -COLL-PAST thatOBL-PLURAL-ACC

    They sent word to those people.

The two verbs wantha-R 'place, put, leave', and warntitha-L 'throw, drop', like the motion verbs thanturri-ˀ 'go down, descend' and pungka-ˀ 'fall' have an endpoint of motion, or induced position, which is generally marked locative but which can appear as an accusative argument. Similarly, tharrvi-L 'put into' corresponds to tharrwa-ˀ 'enter'. Once again, the theme argument of such verbs is always accusative:

31. ngayu puni-lha, yilangu-ruru nyina-lu, ngamari-i-ru
    1sgNOM go -PAST here -NOW sit-PURPss tobacco-ACC-NOW

    wantha-rnyarra marli-ngka.
    put -CTEMP paper-LOC

    I came to sit here and put tobacco in paper (roll a cigarette).

32. nganarna murla-a wantha-lwayara pawulu-ngara-a.
    1pl(exc) meat-ACC leave -HABIT child -PLURAL-ACC

    We used to leave meat with/for the kids.
Just as the inchoative suffix may be added to locative nominals to derive 'inert' motion verbs, so the causative may be added to such nominals to derive 'inert' induced motion verbs. That is, verbs such as *wilyara-la-ma-L* 'put on the shoulders', do not take either an oblique NP or a second accusative NP denoting the goal of motion. And, finally, a few induced motion verbs do not have a locational complement. For example, second accusative arguments appearing with the verbs *kangku-L* 'carry, bring', and *parrani-lha-ma-L* 'bring back, return', are always interpreted as benefactives.

10.1.7 Perception and Cognition Verbs

The perception verbs *nhauw-L* 'see' and *kuliya-L* 'hear' occur with a nominative subject and an accusative object. They also commonly take accusative sentential complements. The range of possible complement types and their syntax is discussed in 11.4.

forehead-ACC-NOW hit -FUT 1dl(inc)-ACC

*If he saw that we were standing there he would hit us in the forehead.*

34. *mir.ta nganangu wii kuliya-lalha, nhartu -u wii.*
not someoneACC or hear -PAST something-ACC or

*warnan-ku yirla kuliya-rninyji parnta-rnura-a.*

*rain -ACC only hear -FUT rain -PrREL-ACC*

*[I] haven't heard anyone or anything, and will [continue to] hear just the rain falling.*

Both verbs may also take a reflexive sentential subject complement.

*Nhauw-L* is used in this way to present a person's opinion of their own
appearance, kuliya-L presents a personal opinion of one's state of health.

35. ngartil tharrwi-layi jaat -ku, puni-rrawaara karnka -rru,
next put on -FUT shirt-ACC go -SEQ pleased-NOW

ngurangura-rru jankul-wa-rru nhamu-rra.
stylish -NOW self -Ø -NOW see -CTEMP

Next I put on a shirt and go off pleased with myself, looking stylish.

36. ngayu mir.ta warmu panyu paju kuliya-rnuru jankul
1sgNOM not ASSERT well REAL hear -PRES self

yarta-ngka-nguru-la-nguru.
other-LOC-ABL-THEN day -LOC-ABL

I haven't felt very well since the other day.
(lit. I hear myself not well ...)

nguya-ma-L 'dream, dream about (oneself performing an action)', follows the same pattern; taking an accusative NP or clausal object and a reflexive clausal complement on the subject.

Verbs of cognition select either simple nominative and accusative NP arguments or sentential complements on subject and object. The most common such verb is kuliya-npa-Ø 'think, believe':

37. nhartu? kartu kuliyanpa-nguru nganaju ngalawangka-nyila-a wurtu.
what 2sgNOM think -PRES 1sgACC lie -PrREL-ACC HYPOTH

What! You think that I'm lying?

38. mir.ta kuliyanpa-layi minthal yirla kur.ta kayulu-la
not think -FUT alone only clever water-LOC

murtimurti-la paju.
fast -LOC REAL

Don't [you] think that [you're] the only one who is clever [enough to swim] in fast flowing water.
Like the speech act verbs described in 10.1.8 below, kuliyanpa-ŋ can introduce thoughts as direct speech. However this is quite rare and in most instances, as in the following example, a demonstrative fills the accusative argument slot:

39. kuliyanpa-layi ngurnaa, "palwarru, wiyaa nhiyu kampa-lha-rru." 
   think -FUT thatACC alright maybe thisNOM cook-PAST-NOW

   He thinks this: "Alright, maybe this is cooked now."

The cognition verbs nhuura-npa-ŋ 'work out, learn', nhuura-rri-ŋ 'realize, understand', ngalarri-ŋ 'forget', and wiru-npa-ŋ 'want', follow the same pattern. Some examples are:

40. ngayu njuuranpa-lha ngurnu jalurra-a. 
   1sgNOM learn -PAST thatACC song -ACC
   I learnt that song.

41. ngunhaa njuuranpa-layi nhartu -u wii mil.yirri-nguli-nyila-a. 
   thatNOM learn -FUT something-ACC or hide -PASS -PrREL-ACC
   He's working out that something or other is being hidden.

42. nhurnti-ma-rninji ngurnaa, yartapalyu kanyara-ngara 
   dead -CAUS-FUT thatACC others person -PLURAL
   njuurarri-wala wantanmari-i ngurnta-a jiarra-ngaara -wu -u. 
   realize -PURPds what way-ACC style-ACC white -PLURAL-GEN-ACC
   We'll kill this fellow so this mob of blackfellows will understand the way of [us] white people.

43. ngunhaa mir.ta wirunpa-lha yirna wirta-tharra-a mungka-lwaa. 
   thatNOM not want -PAST thisACC youth-DUAL-ACC eat-PURPs=0
   He didn't want this pair of boys to eat [any of it].

The verb wayangka-ŋ 'be frightened' may take an accusative object as in the following example:
44. nhulaa pawalu ngaya-nguru wayangka -rra waya-a.  
   near you child cry -PRES frightened-CTEMP night-ACC

That child is crying [because he's] scared of the dark.

Wayangka-Ø may also take an accusative complement describing a situation 
which the subject of the verb fears may happen. Where the situation 
described in the complement is to be interpreted in the affirmative, the 
verb is negated. For example:

45. nganaju yaan yungku-lha ngawurr-marta-a yartapalyu-u-rru  
   1sgGEN spouse give -PAST foam -PROP-ACC others -ACC-NOW

   kanyara-ngara-a. ngunhaa wayangka -lha nganaju mir.ta paya-lwaa.  
   person-PLURAL-ACC thatNOM frightened-PAST 1sgACC not drink-PURPs=a

My wife gave the beer to the other people. She was frightened I 
would drink.

Unfortunately, there are no examples in the data in which the complement is 
to be interpreted negatively.

10.1.8 Verbs of Speech and Information Transfer

As in many Australian languages, the verb wayangka-Ø 'speak, tell, talk 
about', has a number of senses. To some extent these depend on the 
arguments it takes and on the referents of those arguments. Firstly, 
wayangka-Ø 'make a (species characteristic) noise' takes a simple subject NP 
describing an animal. There are no examples in the data of accusative 
arguments with the verb used in this sense. With human subjects wayangka-Ø 
'speak, tell', may take a single accusative argument denoting the 
addressee, or two accusative arguments, one of which denotes the addressee 
and the other the 'speech act', for example 'tell a story', 'speak a word,
language', 'hold a meeting' (47). There are no alternate case frames for these arguments.

46. ngunhaa marrari-1 yimpala -lwa wangka-nguru ngurnu -ngara -a, thatNOM word -ACC like that-ID speak -PRES thatOBL-PLURAL-ACC
    kuliya-lwaa -1 wiya ngula.
    hear -PURPs=o-THEN maybe IGNOR

    He talked like that, spoke that word to them, so then they would hear (understand) maybe, I don't know.

47. ngaliwa yilangu milyangkul -yu wangkarnu-marri-layi.
    1pl(inc) here meeting type-ACC discuss -COLL -FUT

    We'll hold a Milyangkul meeting here.

Wangka 'say', introduces a passage of direct speech into a narrative. An accusative argument denoting the addressee may also occur:

48. ngunhaa wangka-lha, "ngayalyu-marnu, nhuwana kanarri-layi yirru."
    thatNOM say -PAST cousin -GROUP 2pl come -FUT

    He said, "Hey cousins, you come [with me]."

49. ngunhaa wangka-layi yartapalyu-u, "nhiyu -nu wirra
    thatNOM say -FUT others -ACC thisNOM-QUOT boomerang
    ngathu yinka -rnu."
    1sgEFF chisel-PASSP

    He says to the mob, "This is a boomerang I have made."

More rarely, wangka-Ø 'say, tell' introduces 'indirect speech' complements, either nominative or accusative. In either case, an accusative NP denoting the addressee is possible, although not common.

50. ngayu wangka-layi nhuwala-a, nganalju-wu-lu mimi-ngku
    1sgNOM tell -FUT 2dl -ACC 1sgOBL-GEN-EFF uncle-EFF
    yarna -rnmu.  disappointed-PASSP

    I tell you that my uncle was disappointed in me.
51. *yartapalyu wangka-nguru parna-ngka-rru kangku-lha-a*,
others say -PRES head -LOC -NOW carry-PAST-ACC

*yartapalyu wangka-nguru warryayi-lalha-a.*
others say -PRES drag -PAST-ACC

Some say they carried it on their heads, others say they dragged it.

Wangka-∅ 'call, name' takes an accusative argument which controls a complement denoting the name ascribed to the referent of the argument. Very often, the named referent appears as the subject of an agentless passive clause; the name is a complement on the subject.

52. *thawu-lalha "kuyurr•-yu -rru wangka-nguli-nyila-a.*
send -PAST bundle -ACC-NOW call -PASS-PrREL-ACC

They send what's called kuyurr (boomerangs bundled as a gift).

53. *ngunhaa, ngunhu wartirra ngayalyu, ngunhaa, ngunhu "kaya" -a*
thatNOM thatNOM woman devil thatNOM thatNOM brother-ACC

*wangka-nguru kanyara-a, yirna nyina-nyila-a, nhartu-marta-a,*
call -PRES man -ACC thisACC sit -PrREL-ACC thing -PROP-ACC

*nyampali-wuyu-u.*
leader -SIDE-ACC

That one, that woman devil, that one, she calls that man kaya (elder brother), this man sitting down, the one with that thing, the leader of the group.

Finally, *wangka-∅* 'tell' is used as a manipulative predicate, in which case the accusative argument controls a purposive subordinate clause. For example:

54. *ngayu wangka-lha pawlu-u manku-waa nganaju-u ngameri-i.*
1sgNOM tell -PAST child-ACC get-PURPs:o 1sgGEN-ACC tobacco-ACC

I told the child to get my tobacco.

There are few other utterance predicates and none with the complete range of uses illustrated for *wangka-∅*. *Jinarrri-∅* 'ask' occurs in only a
few examples in the data but introduces direct speech and appears to take similar complements. However, it cannot be used as a manipulative predicate. Jilampirra-∅ 'brag' may take an accusative argument denoting the addressee and a subject complement:

55. ngunhaa jilampa-rra wanthurri kurrarti-lha, jilampa-rra
thatNOM brag -CTEMP how swim -PAST brag -CTEMP

nyina-lha pipi -thurti-i -rru pawu -thurti-i -rru.
be -PAST mother-CONJ -ACC-NOW father-CONJ -ACC-NOW

He bragged about how he had swum, bragged to his mother and father.

The verb jurrura-L 'point out' describes the act of drawing someone's attention to some physically present object and usually takes two accusative arguments denoting, respectively, the thing pointed out and the person so informed. However, there is one example in the data of jurrura-L used as a verb 'to blame, point out that'. Here it takes a single accusative complement.

56. ngunhaa wartirra nganaju-rru jurrura -rnuru warmmalyi-i
thatNOM woman 1sgACC -NOW point out-PRES knife -ACC

withawitha-ma -lalha-a.
cover over-CAUS-PAST-ACC

That woman is blaming me for covering over (losing) the knife./ That woman is pointing out that I covered the knife.

The most common transfer of information predicate is nhuura-ma-L 'teach, show'. As the causative counterpart to nhuura-npa-∅ 'learn', this verb takes two accusative arguments: the experiencer and a NP or clausal complement denoting the thing learnt or presented:
57. julyu thurlanyarrara, nganarna-wu, puliyanyja, nhuura-ma-lalha
old poor fellow 1pl(exc)-GEN old man know-CAUS-PAST

nganaju yirna marrari-i.
1sgACC thisACC story-ACC

The poor old fellow, one of our people, an old man, taught me this story.

58. ngunhaa nganaju nhuura-ma-lalha wantharni-i ngurnu -ngara -a
thatNOM 1sgACC know-CAUS-PAST how -ACC thatOBL-PLURAL-ACC

warruwa-ngara -a patharri-lha-a yilangu-wa.
devil -PLURAL-ACC fight -PAST-ACC here -YK

He taught me about how the devils once fought here [in this country].

The superficially similar verb kariya-L 'show, thrust out body part' describes the act of (often provocatively) placing an object or body part in the view of some person. Like nhuura-ma-L it takes two accusative arguments but does not control clausal complements.

10.1.9 Added Accusative Arguments

A number of the verb types described in the preceding sections have the ability to optionally take an accusative argument of some kind. Simple motion and induced motion verbs have alternate case frames in which some role, usually path or goal, may appear either as an oblique argument marked with some locational case or as an accusative object. For these predicates the added accusative argument can be seen as marking a role which is implicit in the situation evoked by the verb. That is, motion verbs are subcategorized for a path or goal complement.

However, accusative arguments which do not instantiate implicit roles may be added quite freely to a number of predicate case frames. The interpretation of these arguments depends to a varying degree on the

- 427 -
particular predicate. For some verbs the added accusative argument approaches the status of a true subcategorized direct object and suggests a lexical derivation whereby the basic argument array of a predicate is expanded. For other verbs, the interpretation of any added accusative NP is completely predictable suggesting that these arguments have much the status of optional adjuncts.

10.1.9.1 'Ambitransitive' Verbs

Consider the following examples illustrating the verb *panyu-npa-*:

59. ngunhaa wartawirrinpa-rra karla-a panyu-npa-waa, thatNOM wait for -CTEMP fire-ACC good-INCH-PURPs:o

puwara-npa-waa, karlarra-npa-waa paju.
coals-INCH-PURPs:o hot -INCH-PURPs:o REAL

He waits for the fire to become good, to burn down to the coals, to get really hot.

60. ngayu wiru -rru wiyaa panyu-npa-layi paya -lalha-nguru
1sgNOM feelings-NOW maybe good-INCH-FUT drink-PAST-ABL

ngurnu jami -i.
thatACC medicine-ACC

Perhaps my feelings will become good after drinking that medicine.

61. ngayu ngurnaa wiru -rru panyu-npa-lha, thurlanyarrara-a.
thatNOM thatACC feelings-NOW good-INCH-PAST poor fellow -ACC

I feel good towards him, the poor fellow.

2sgNOM good-INCH-FUT 1pl(exc)-ACC forget-PAST-PLURAL-ACC

You be good to us fellows who forgot.

There is no sense in which the verb *panyu-npa-* in either 59 or 60 implies an object. However, an object is clearly implied by the use of verb in examples 61 and 62. This strongly suggests that the verb *panyu-npa-* be
given two separate lexical entries, one intransitive and the other transitive. The same obtains for paya-npa-ŋ 'become angry, get angry at, "growl" at'.

The verb ngaya-ŋ 'cry' has a similar ambivalent status. When the verb appears with a single subject argument it generally describes an act of uncontrolled weeping. However, with an accusative object it describes an act of weeping for some deceased relative, often in some ritualized mourning context. Again it might be argued that there are two verbs ngaya-ŋ; one intransitive and one transitive. There is no general rule deriving one from the other. In a description of Panyjima verb classes (Dench 1981:92) I used the label 'ambitransitive' to cover a collection of verbs which displayed a similar ambivalent status as either transitive or intransitive predicates. Most of the Martuthunira equivalents of the Panyjima list are assumed to have implicit arguments (many are motion verbs and verbs of speech, for example). The few verbs described in this section continue to defy such a classification and if the option of establishing separate lexemes were ignored, the ambitransitive classification might be retained.

10.1.9.2 Accusative Benefactive Objects

The most general characterization of benefactive accusative arguments is that they denote a person who is in some way affected by the actions of the subject of the verb. These arguments correspond to 'ethical datives' in some other Australian languages (eg. Warlpiri, Hale 1982). As a general rule, benefactive arguments added to transitive verbs describing some activity on the part of a human subject, denote a person who is viewed as
benefitting from the results of the activity. For example:

63. nganaju yaan pawulu-ngara-a kampa-lalba murla-a.
1sgGEN wife child-PLURAL-ACC cook -PAST meat-ACC

My wife cooked meat for the kids.

64. muyi yanga-lalha tharnta-a muyi-ngara-a mungka-lwaa murla-a.
dog chase-PAST euro -ACC dog-PLURAL-ACC eat-PURPs:o meat-ACC

The dog chased a euro so all the dogs could eat meat.

65. kartu wuraal ngamari-i murlimurli-ma-rninjji murlimirli-la
2sgNOM alright tobacco-ACC twisted -CAUS-FUT paper -LOC

nganajumarta-a kayarra-a-l.
idl(disharm)-ACC two -ACC-THEN

You roll some cigarettes for the two of us.

In the following examples the referent of the benefactive NP is seen to suffer some unpleasantness as a result of the action denoted by the verb.

66. nhiyu warrirti parli-npa-nguru nganaju.
thisNOM spear bent-INCH-PRES 1sgACC

This spear is going bent on me (while attempting to straighten it).

67. mir.ta yimpala -npa-marri-layi kartungu-u mapuji-i.
not like that-INCH-COLL-FUT 2sgGEN-ACC MoFa-ACC

Don't be like that about/on your grandfather.

68. nganaju murtiwarla ngapala-la ngarrani -lha nganaju.
1sgGEN car mud -LOC get stuck-PAST 1sgACC

My car got stuck in the mud on me.

In most of these cases the subject of the verb is either an inanimate object or, if animate, the action is not purposefully directed at some accomplishment which may be of benefit to some third person.

The status of these added benefactive arguments is an interesting problem. Clearly, we would not want to subcategorize verbs such as
ngarrani-∅ 'get stuck' or parli-npa-∅ 'bend' for a benefactive argument, yet these arguments share many of the semantic features of true direct objects. What is more, added benefactive arguments can appear as the subjects of passive versions of these verbs (10.3), which argues strongly that they not be considered simple adjuncts.

The analysis I prefer is to establish a 'basic' argument structure for these verbs upon which a general lexical rule may operate to produce a new argument array with an added benefactive object. The difference between these verbs and the ambitransitive verbs is, then, that the benefactive argument is added by general rule.

10.1.9.3 Accusative Temporal Adjuncts

Finally, accusative marked NPs describing a period of extended time (4.3.5) should be mentioned here. Unlike all other accusative arguments appearing with verbal predicates, these may not occur as subjects of passive verbs. By this criterion they can safely be described as adjuncts. While the ability to appear as a passive subject does not prove the core status of an argument (as we shall see), the inability to appear as a passive subject certainly invalidates any claim to core status.

10.2 Passive Clauses

Passive main clauses in text can be interpreted on the basis of the two interrelated semantic/pragmatic strategies.
1. The passive presents a non-agent argument in a highly topical position.

2. The passive clause allows the description of an event without the specification of an agent.

Particular cases will often involve both of these factors as the examples below illustrate. Passive verbs are underlined.

69. *wirpinykura, ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa marntanbu-ma-nnguli-wayara* spinifex type thatNOM-ID thatNOM net -CAUS-PASS -HABIT

*puliyanyja-ngara-lu jantira -ngara -lu wii kulhampa-marmu.*
old man -PLURAL-EFF old woman-PLURAL-EFF or fish -ASSOC

*ngunhaa warrapa marntanbu-ma-nnguli-wayara.*
thatNOM grass net -CAUS-PASS -HABIT

*Wirpinykura* spinifex, that's the one that used to be made into nets by the old men and women or whoever, for fish. That's the [type of] grass that was made into nets.

This example clearly illustrates the role of passive clauses in presenting non-agent arguments as topics of discourse. In the following example, the passive clauses also allow the speaker to avoid reference to specific agents.

70. *nbartu-lpa-lha-lwa ngula thurlanyarrara kupuyu , mir.ta wiyaa*
what-INCH-PAST-ID IGNOR poor fellow little not maybe

*thalka-nnguli-nguru thanuwa-a maruwarla-a paju*
feed -PASS -PRES food -ACC much -ACC REAL

*yungku-nguli-nguru. thurlajinkarri kupuyu yimpala -rru-wa*
give -PASS -PRES poor fellow little like that-NOW-YK

*puni-layi nbawu-ngu-rra parlu yirla mirtali.*
go -FUT see-PASS-CTEMP top only big

What's wrong with that poor little fellow, maybe he isn't being fed, maybe he isn't being given very much [to eat]. The poor little fellow will be going along like that now, looking only big up top.
In a sample of 150 passive clauses in a long stretch of narrative text, 65 percent of all passive clauses were agentless. Agentless passives made up 70 percent of passive subordinate clauses while 58 percent of passive main clauses were agentless. Overall, 57 percent of passive clauses in the sample were subordinate clauses.

Verbs in Martuthunira can be marked for passive in one of two ways. Firstly, a verb may be inflected with a suffix which encodes passive voice as well as other categories such as tense aspect and mood. The most prevalent of these suffixes is the passive perfective -yangu/-rnu (6.3.1). Secondly, the passive derivational suffix -CM-nguli-ŋ may be added to active verb stems deriving a passive verb of the ŋ-conjugation. This verb then takes regular (active) verb inflections (6.6.1). On the same sample of 150 passive clauses, 45 percent involved the passive derivational suffix and 74 percent of these were agentless. By contrast, 52 percent of the inflectional passives occurred without an agent. 66 percent of the derivational passives occurred in subordinate clauses as opposed to 60 percent of inflectional passives.

Verbs formed with either the derivational passive or one of the various inflectional passives have equivalent case frames. The examples below illustrate the differences between the passive and active forms of a transitive activity verb, and the differences between the clauses in which the forms of the verb may appear.

71. pawulu-ngara pukarra -a manku-layi/-lha.
   child-PLURAL firewood-ACC get -FUT /-PAST

   The kids will get/got firewood.
72. *pukarra manku-ngu-layi pawulu-ngara-lu.*
    firewood get -PASS-FUT child-PLURAL-EFF

    The firewood will be gathered by the kids.

73. *pukarra manku-yangu pawulu-ngara-lu.*
    firewood get -PASSP child-PLURAL-EFF

    The firewood was gathered by the kids.

In this set of examples the different case frames of the transitive verb *manku-∅*, 'get, grab, take', are quite clear. The agent of the verb is in the unmarked nominative case in 71, but in the effector case in 72 and 73. The patient is in accusative case in 71 but in nominative case in 72 and 73.

As a general rule, those roles of a given verbal predicate which may be marked accusative in active clauses can appear as nominative subject arguments of corresponding passive verb forms. In the simplest of cases, transitive activity verbs have passive counterparts with a patient as the subject (as in the preceding examples). For simple motion verbs the subject of the passive clause is the path or goal; that is, the subcategorized locational complement of the active verb. The passive subject thus corresponds to the optional accusative argument in an active clause frame.

74. *parlapuni wangka-ngu-rra,* *parlapuni parla-ngku puni-yangu,*
    name call -PASS-CTEMP name hill -EFF go -PASSP

    ngunnu wanti-nguru kuwarri.
    thatNOM lie -PRES now

    "Parlapuni", it's called. Parlapuni is [the track] where the hill went along. It's still there today.
Here on Pannawonica Hill the old people used to stop to fight, lest anyone come upon them.

Similarly, the 'added' arguments of panyu-npa-∅ 'become good', and paya-npa-∅ 'get angry' can appear as the subjects of passive forms of these verbs (76). And benefactive arguments can appear as the subjects of otherwise intransitive process verbs such as ngarrani-∅ 'get stuck' (77):

Verbs which regularly take two accusative arguments, such as yungku-∅ 'give', have two passive argument frames: either the recipient or the theme may appear as the subject of the passive verb form. Usually, the other non-agent role is omitted, but if it occurs it retains its status as an accusative object. In both frames the agent is marked with the effector case.

That kid was given meat by my wife.

This meat was given to this man by that woman.
In the same way, those verbs which allow a second accusative argument of some kind have two possible passive argument frames. Again, it is rare for an accusative argument to appear in clauses of this type although examples do occur. The following illustrate passives on the various arguments of induced motion verbs (80 and 81), and of transitive verbs permitting an added benefactive argument (82 and 83).

80. thathu-rnu warnu pala ngaliwa ngurnu tharnta-a murla-a
    send-PASSP ASSERT IT 1pl-inc) thatACC euro -ACC meat-ACC
    ngarri-ngka-nguru-u.
    ashes -LOC -ABL -ACC

    We were sent that euro meat from the ashes.

81. nhiyu murla thathu-rnu nganarna-a ngurnu -ngara -lu
    thisNOM meat send-PASSP 1pl-inc-ACC thatOBL-PLURAL-EFF
    kanyara-ngara -lu.
    man -PLURAL-EFF

    This meat was sent to us by those men.

82. nhiyu murla kampa-rnu nganaju-wu-lu wartirra-lu.
    thisNOM meat cook-PASSP 1sgOBL-GEN-EFF woman -EFF

    This meat was cooked by my woman.

83. ngunbu mimi murla-a kampa-ngu-layi wartirra-lu.
    thatNOM uncle meat-ACC cook -PASS-FUT woman -EFF

    That uncle will have meat cooked for him by the woman.

The difference between clauses such as 78 and 79 lies simply in the choice of case-marking on the various NP arguments. There is no additional change in the form of the verb. The syntax of passive clauses thus involves two interacting factors:
1. the marking of the verb as passive, either by derivational suffix or by inflection, and

2. the choice of case marking for the arguments of the verb.

The passive verb form dictates an argument frame in which NPs other than the agent may appear as the subject of the clause (the agent is optionally deleted). To use derivational phraseology, the passive removes the agent from subject position, and from the core case frame, so that subject position can be filled by one of a number of other possible arguments. The choice of subject is then shown by the choice of case marking on the remaining arguments.

Martuthunira differs from its Ngayarda relatives in allowing both objects of a ditransitive verb as possible subjects of passive clauses. In both Panyjima and Yinyjiparnti only the recipient argument of a verb like yungku-ŋ 'give', may appear as the subject of a passive clause (see Dench 1982:159 for discussion). In these languages it is possible to state the passive quite neatly in terms of grammatical relations. Thus in Panyjima, the recipient object of a ditransitive can be assigned the primary object relation (see 10.3 below) and the passive refers to the NP bearing this relation, converting it to subject. This analysis is clearly not available in Martuthunira.

Simpson (1980), working within the morphology-driven W-Grammar framework, suggests that a rule linked to accusative case could be devised to account for double-object passives in Ngarluma, were it found to have them (unfortunately her sources do not provide crucial data on this point):
Now, if Ngarluma does allow Direct Objects/Themes to passivize, then we could state PASSIVE as a lexical rule which picks any ACCUSATIVE linked thematic role in the predicate argument structure of a verb, and links it instead to NOMINATIVE.

Simpson (1980:72)

While such a rule might be made to work for Martuthunira there are a few exceptions to the generalization that any (core) accusative argument can be the subject of a passive. For example, it appears some verbs have accusative objects which may not occur as subjects in passive clauses. Murnta-L 'take from', takes two accusative arguments, denoting the theme and source respectively.

84. ngayu murnta -lalha murla-a ngurnu pawulu-u.
   1sgNOM take from-PAST meat-ACC thatACC child-ACC
   I took meat away from the child.

However, only the source may appear as the subject of a passive clause:

85. ngunhu pawulu thuur.ta-a murnta -rnu.
   thatNOM child sweet-ACC take from-PASSP
   That child had his sweets taken from him.

86. * ngunhaa jumpiriri ngurnu pawulu-u murnta -rnu.
    thatNOM knife thatACC child-ACC take from-PASSP
    * That knife was taken from the child.
    ("Kid bin taken away from knife ??" AP)

Murnta-L is the only verb found so far for which this constraint applies and may need to be marked as an exception to a passive rule which presents non-subject complements as subjects.

By contrast, the verb jarras-L 'tie up, bind', and its synonym jankaa-L, both take a single accusative argument denoting the patient and may
optionally take a locative NP describing the object to which the patient is tied.

87. ngayu jarraa-lalha ngulangu kalyaran-ta nganaju-u muyi-i.
   1sgNOM tie up-PAST there tree -LOC 1sgGEN-ACC dog-ACC

   I tied up my dog there on the tree.

The location may not be coded as an accusative argument of the active verb but may appear as the subject in a passive clause.

88. nhiyu -lwa kalyaran ngathu muyi-i jarraa-rmu.
   thisNOM-ID tree 1sgEFF dog-ACC tie up-PASSP

   This is the tree I tied the dog to.

To account for the passive on jarraa-L 'tie up' we would first have to assume that the verb is subcategorized for a locative complement. However, in this instance the locational complement may not be coded as an accusative object (perhaps this privilege is reserved for paths and goals) and the verb must be marked as an exception to a general lexical rule. The passive can then be maintained as a general rule applying to the complements (subcategorized arguments) of a predicate: any non-subject complement of an active verb may appear as a subject argument of a passive form of that verb.
10.3 Grammatical Relations

It will be clear from the preceding sections that the identification of a unique grammatical relation 'Direct Object' presents some difficulties in Martuthunira. The problem lies in the fact that verbs may control more than one accusative argument and that there are no formal tests (such as passive, for example) which distinguish among these arguments. The problem is just as real for those verbs which accept an optional second accusative argument as it is for ditransitives like *yungku*-ŋ 'give', which are always understood as having two objects.

But if two accusative arguments are not formally distinguished, how is the unique assignment of particular NPs to particular thematic roles in the argument structure of the predicate accomplished? For example, in a clause such as the following in which the verb *thatbu*-L 'send, let go', appears with two accusative arguments, which is to be linked to the theme role and which to the goal? 5

89. ngayu thatbu-lalha ngurnu muyi-i kartungu-u pawulu-u.
   1sgNOM send -PAST thatACC dog-ACC 2sgGEN-ACC child-ACC

The assignment of roles in potentially ambiguous sentences like this depends on the semantic content of the NPs and on the speaker's perception of the most likely situation, both in general terms and in particular contexts. An unmarked interpretation of 89 would have *muyi* 'dog', as the theme and *pawulu* 'child', as the goal. The assignment is not affected by the relative order of the accusative arguments nor their position relative
to the verb. This is demonstrated by the following set of test examples.

90a. ngayu ngurnu kanyara-a thathu-lalha nganaju-u kurntal -yu.  
1sgNOM thatACC man -ACC send -PAST 1sgGEN-ACC daughter-ACC

I sent that man my daughter.

b. ngayu nganaju-u kurntal -yu ngurnu muyi-i thathu-lalha.  
1sgNOM 1sgGEN-ACC daughter-ACC thatACC dog-ACC send -PAST

I sent my daughter that dog.

c. ngayu ngurnu muyi-i nganaju-u kurntal -yu thathu-lalha.  
1sgNOM thatACC dog-ACC 1sgGEN-ACC daughter-ACC send -PAST

I sent my daughter that dog.

d. ngurnu muyi-i, ngayu nganaju-u pawulu-u thathu-lalha.  
thatACC dog-ACC 1sgNOM 1sgGEN-ACC child-ACC send -PAST

I sent my child that dog.

e. kartungu-u kurntal -yu, ngayu ngurnu pawulu-u thathu-lalha.  
2sgGEN-ACC daughter-ACC 1sgNOM thatACC child-ACC send -PAST

I sent your daughter the child.

In this set of sentences, including 89 above, the rudiments of a ranking of the type commonly referred to in the broadest possible sense as a hierarchy of 'animacy' (see Comrie 1981:190) are quite evident. In most cases this involves distinctions of the gross animate/inanimate, or human/non-human kind, but where both the referents are human more fine-grained decisions based on culture specific notions of social dominance - such as age, gender and kin relationship - become crucially important. Although it would be interesting to investigate Algy Paterson's Martuthunira hierarchy, it must be remembered that cases of potential ambiguity requiring such delicate decisions rarely if ever occur in free discourse. In addition, the assignment of roles is often quite obvious from a given context. It is only in unnatural discourse situations, like linguistic elicitation
sessions, that speakers need to rely on some 'default context'.

The mapping from the 'animacy' hierarchy to the argument positions of particular predicates must also depend on a hierarchy of thematic roles. For a verb like yungku-∅ 'give', for example, the recipient role outranks the theme role. Thus given two accusative arguments denoting participants X and Y, and given the two ranked roles recipient and theme, if X outranks Y on the animacy hierarchy then it is linked to the recipient role and Y is linked to the theme role. The same ranking of thematic roles can be applied to all verbs admitting two accusative arguments. Given this, it is possible to assign grammatical relations (GRs) to the accusative arguments of ditransitive verbs by a very simple procedure. The higher role is assigned one GR, the lower role is assigned another.

Now that the question of possible GR assignments for Martuthunira clauses has been raised, it is worth mentioning in passing the implications of this data for particular theories of syntactic structure. The discussion of accusative case-marking in 4.3, and the description of alternate argument frames earlier in this chapter show that it is impossible to decide on purely semantic grounds that one of two accusative arguments is more a 'direct object' and the other more an 'indirect object'. Both arguments approach direct object status. It is also clear that there are no syntactic tests which distinguish the two arguments.

At first blush this suggests that Martuthunira double-object constructions constitute a counter-example to those theories of syntactic structure which assume a biunique mapping between GRs and NPs: the 'stratal uniqueness law' in Relational Grammar (Perlmutter and Postal 1983), the
principle of the 'biuniqueness of function-argument assignments' in Lexical Functional Grammar (Bresnan and Kaplan 1983:163). However, I prefer to consider GRs as simply a formal representation of the link between thematic roles (in the argument structure of predicates) and the surface features of the grammar (be these morphological marking, order constraints or syntactic rules). It is clear that in Martuthunira the mapping of a set of accusative-marked arguments to a set of thematic roles for a given predicate in any clause is not undecideable. Therefore it must be possible to construct an interlevel of GRs which are linked from a unique argument position to a single NP. What these GRs are called is not important although there is an expectation that they will reflect the thematic roles with which they are linked. Thus the GR linked to agent will be the Subject relation, that linked to Patient will be the Object relation.

For Martuthunira it is possible to establish two Object relations which are nevertheless distinct: Object₁ and Object₂. These relations can then be linked to thematic roles by fiat: the Object₁ relation is assigned to an accusative recipient, goal, path, experiencer or benefactive, if one is present, otherwise to a patient or theme. If the Object₁ relation has already been assigned, the patient or theme is assigned the Object₂ relation. The mapping from GRs to accusative NPs in a clause is then quite straightforward: that NP which is higher on the 'animacy' hierarchy is mapped onto the Object₁ relation, the lower is mapped onto the Object₂ relation.
10.4 Case Assignment in Imperative Clauses

For the most part imperative clauses follow the normal patterns of case-marking for active clauses: the addressee is the nominative subject and any objects of the verb are marked accusative:

91. pamarri-ŋ kartu ngurnu -ngara -a pawulu-ngara-a! call out-IMP 2sgNOM thatOBL-PLURAL-ACC child-PLURAL-ACC

You call out to those children!

92. pawulu-ngara -ŋi, nganaju kangku-ŋ kayulu-u! child -PLURAL-VOC 1sgACC bring-IMP water-ACC

Hey kids, bring me some water!

However, there is an alternative case-marking pattern available for imperative clauses in which the object appears as unmarked nominative topic. A number of other features of such examples are noteworthy: 1. the addressee subject is usually omitted, 2. the unmarked object generally appears in the leftmost position, and 3. the object is introduced by the 'near you' demonstrative form nhula. For example:

93. nhula kalayamarta thmulwa-l.yu! kartu murti-ma-rnuru near you billycan pull -IMP 2sgNOM fast-CAUS-PRES

karlarra-npa-wirri-i.
hot -INCH-LEST -ACC

Pull that billycan [off the fire]! Do it quickly or it'll get too hot [to hold].
94. nhula murla wantha-rryu thungkara-la, mui-ngku near you meat put -IMP ground -LOC dog -EFF

mungka-nguli-waa.
eat -PASS -PURP\#o

Put that meat on the ground so it can be eaten by the dog.

Examples such as 94 suggest that the lack of accusative marking on the patient/theme NP is not reflected by any difference in the grammatical relations of the clause. The preposed and unmarked object continues to control the -CM-waa 'lower subject=main clause object' purpose clause inflection (11.3)^9.

A more interesting deviant pattern is illustrated in the following example. In this utterance the speaker dares his addressee to attempt to deflect a thrown spear:

95. yilarla kartungku thani-1.yu! hereNS 2sgEFF hit -IMP

You hit this [if you can]!

The surprising feature of this example is the marking of the subject with the effector case, which is generally reserved for the agent NP in a passive construction (4.4). This is one of a number of similar sentences occurring quite freely (though rarely) in text but my attempts to elicit imperatives conforming to the same pattern have met with limited success. One such elicited example is:

96. kartungku nhawu-ŋ ngunhu mui. nhartu-ŋ kartu kuliyanpa-layi? 2sgEFF see-IMP thatNOM dog what-ACC 2sgNOM think -FUT

You have a look at that dog. What are you going to think about it?

Here the presumed object of the imperative verb is in unmarked nominative
case and the whole sentence appears to conform to a standard Australian ergative case-marking pattern. Interestingly, my rather unsuccessful attempts to test the grammaticality of constructed examples revealed only one piece of relevant information: imperative clauses of this kind are grudgingly acceptable with transitive verbs but are not at all acceptable with intransitive verbs.

It is not clear to me how this pattern should be analysed. While examples such as 96 appear on the surface to be clear relics of earlier ergative active clauses, given the case-marking patterns of modern Martuthunira, they might be analysed as passives. Unfortunately, the data does not throw any light on this issue. There are no examples in which either the effector 'subject' or nominative 'object' control subordinate clauses. But more importantly, I have no idea how examples such as 95 and 96 differ in meaning from the more common imperative clause pattern illustrated in 91 and 92 above.

10.5 Nominal Adjuncts Marked With Referential Case

Referential case-marking serves a number of different functions in Martuthunira (for a more general discussion of referential case-marking see Evans & Dench 1986). As noted in 3.3.1, referential case is used to link second predicates to their arguments and to link part and whole where the part functions as an instrument or is the locus of effect. These patterns are described in the following sections.

The identification of second predicates as separate constituents
presents few difficulties in Martuthunira. Firstly, by the analysis presented here, nominals bearing the same final case inflection but which are separated by some phrasal constituent (that is, excepting separation by post-inflectional clitics or adverbs) are described as separate NPs. Secondly, second predicates in subordinate clauses bear suffixes consistent with referential case agreement with an absent subject, and are not raised out of such clauses (but see 11.4) or deleted under identity along with their controlling arguments. Only where a nominal functioning as a second predicate occurs adjacent to its controlling argument is there a possibility of any ambiguity between a 'merged' and 'unmerged' interpretation (Simpson 1983:346), and such constructions are usually avoided.

10.5.1 Second Predicates

The two main types of second predication in Martuthunira are firstly, 'attributives', which describe the state of some referent during the time at which the main clause event is being performed, and secondly 'manner' predications which describe the manner in which the main predication is performed by an agent. The interpretation of a second predicate as either an attributive or a manner predication depends on the semantic content of the particular nominal and that of the main predicate. Consider the following example:
Those poor little fellows will continue to be well behaved once they are told, taught properly.

This sentence includes two uses of the nominal *panyu* 'good', as a second predicate. In the first instance *panyu* describes an attribute, 'good' in the sense of 'well behaved'. In the second case, *panyu* is marked with the effector suffix in agreement with an absent passive agent, and here is interpreted as a manner predication 'tell, teach properly'.

The following examples provide further illustration. As 99 shows, the second predication may be negated.

98. *ngaliwa puni-layi purnumpuru. thana ngunhaa nhuurrayarri-wala.*

1pl(inc) go -FUT quiet let thatNOM snore -PURPds

We'll go quietly, and let him keep snoring.


thatNOM-PLURAL child-PLURAL not slow -EFF shout at -PASSP

Those children weren't half shouted at by that woman.

100. *nhiyu thuur.ta kanyja-ru ru juwayu-la karrarr-u paju, thisNOM fruit hold-PASSP hand -LOC tight-EFF REAL

nyunyja -ma -ru ru -rru. wantharni-rru mungka-rninji squashed-CAUS-PASSP-NOW how -NOW eat -FUT

yimpala -a -wa, kulhany -ku -rru? like that-ACC-YK squashed-ACC-NOW

This fruit has been held in the hand too tightly, it's been squashed. How are we to eat it like that, squashed?
Example 99 involves a number of second predications. Firstly, the manner nominal *kartarr* 'tightly', which is marked with the effector suffix in agreement with a passive agent, describes a simple manner predication. The indefinite/interrogative *wantharni* 'how, what way', also functions as a manner predication on the subject of the verb *mungka-L* 'eat', while the predicate demonstrative *yimpala* 'like that', and the nominal *kulhany* 'squashed', make ascriptive predications on the (absent but understood) accusative object.

Example 101 illustrates what might be called a 'compound second predication', in which a group of similar manner-type nominals combine to describe, in this case, a particular bodily posture.

101. *wanti-rrawaara malarnu-la, wanti-lu yanarra murtiwana*
lie -SEQ shade -LOC lie-PURPss on back legs crossed

*wartawirrinpa-rra mirntirimarta-a kampa-nyila-a.*
wait for -CTEMP goanna -ACC cook -PrREL-ACC

Then I go and lie in the shade, to lie on my back with one leg propped on my knee, waiting for the goanna which is cooking.

Example 102 is very similar. In this case the compound predication describes a manner of action rather than a stance:

102. *ngaliwa puni-layi jarruru jirruna paju, marruwa-ma-lwirri*
1pl(inc) go -FUT slowly creeping REAL awake-CAUS-LEST

*ngurnaa nguyirri wanti-nyila-a, mayiili -ngu.*
thatACC asleep lie -PrREL-ACC FaFa+1POSS-ACC

We'll go along, really creeping slowly lest we wake up that fellow lying asleep, our grandfather.

Nominals inflected with an adnominal case suffix may also function as second predicates of manner. The privative is a good example:
103. wantbarni–rru kartu nhurnti–ma–rninyji tharnta–a warrirti–wirraa?
   how NOW 2sgNOM dead CAUS–FUT euro ACC spear PRIV

   How are you going to kill a euro without a spear?

The use of proprietive expressions as instrumental manner second predications is illustrated in 4.10.3. Locative expressions may also be used as second predications as in the following examples:

   2sgNOM loud good hear PASS–FUT farLOC–EFF

   You are good and loud and will be heard a long way off.

   1sgNOM see PAST that ACC–PLURAL ACC man PLURAL ACC name LOC ABL

   From Kawuyu hill I saw the people.

A large class of 'attributive' second predications bear the temporal clitic -1 'THEN' (7.8). As with all second predications, the property ascribed by the second predicate is held to be true during the time at which the main predication holds, but in these cases the focus is shifted. These predications provide a temporal orientation for the whole clause. For example:

   not hot ACC–THEN cut FUT hand burn LEST

   cool ACC cut FUT good ACC THEN

   Don't cut it when it's hot or you'll burn your hand. Cut it cold, when it's good.

   1sgNOM go HABIT town ALL little ALL THEN

   I used to go into town when it was a small place.
Those little fellows were left bereaved by their father dying when he was still a young man.

As these examples show, Martuthunira is quite permissive in the range of arguments it allows as controllers of secondary predicates. While manner predicates are controlled either by the subject or the passive agent, and attributives are generally controlled either by the subject or an accusative object, these temporals may be controlled by locational adjuncts (107). Other Australian languages are more restrictive. For example, Yankunytjatjara allows second predicates only on subjects, Kayardild (Evans 1985:246) allows second predicates only on subjects and objects.

Finally, it is worth noting that Martuthunira does not make use of 'resultative' second predications (such as English "He painted the fence white."). Instead, resultatives typically involve a verb derived by the addition of the causative suffix to a nominal stem denoting the emerging state. The accomplishment of a result is then coded by an attributive second predication on the verb kuntirri-∅ 'cease doing'. For example:

109. kartatha-lalha ngayu ngurnu wirra -a
chop -PAST 1sgNOM thatACC boomerang-ACC
nyarranyarra-ma-l.yarra, nyarranyarra-a -ru kuntirri-layi.
light -CAUS-CTEMP light -ACC-NOW cease -FUT
I chopped that boomerang, making it light, and will stop when it is light.
I'll shave it with a knife. I'll stop doing that later when it's good and smooth.

10.5.2 Part-Whole Constructions

Part-whole constructions in which the part functions as an instrument (111) or is the locus of effect of some action (112) follow the same syntactic patterns as second predications. For example:

111. karnti-i waruul-wa-rru manku-layi, kayarra juwayu
tail-ACC alright-~NOW grab -FUT two hand

thuulwa-rninyji ngurnaa.
pull -FUT thatACC

Alright, grab its tail, pull it with both hands.

112. ngunhaa nhawu-lha wii ngali -i karri-lha -a,
thatNOM see -PAST if 1dl(inc)-ACC stand-PAST-ACC

ngunhaa warta -a -rru purra-rninyji ngali -i.
thatNOM forehead-ACC-NOW hit -FUT 1dl(inc)-ACC

If he had seen that we were standing there, he would have hit us both in the forehead.

However, it should be noted that body-parts filling the role of instrument also appear in the usual proprietary construction, as in the following example:

113. ngurnaa thuulwa-rninyji karla-ngka-nguru-u, thani-rninyji
thatACC pull -FUT fire -LOC -ABL-ACC hit -FUT

juwayu-marta.
hand -PROP

Then pull it out of the fire and wipe it down with your hand.
And parts may be dissociated from their wholes and treated as separate arguments, as in the following:

114. ngunhaa ngarnngarn-ku kariya-l.yarra nyina-nguru nganaju-wurrini.
    ThatNOM chin -ACC point -CTEMP sit -PRES 1sgOBL -DIRECT

That fellow is pointing his chin towards us.

10.6 Questions

10.6.1 Polar Questions

Polar questions are identical in form to normal declaratives but have a characteristic final rising inflection. In some cases the focus of the interrogation may be fronted to clause initial position, as in 116 below.

115. kartu kanyja-rnuru wirra -tharra-a?
    2sgNOM keep -PRES boomerang-DUAL -ACC

You have two boomerangs?

116. yirnaa nhawu-lha?
    thisACC see -PAST

Was it this you saw?

117. nhuwana puni-layi wurtu thawun-wniyarra?
    2pl go -FUT HYPTH town -ALL

Are you going to town?

Example 117 includes the adverb wurtu 'HYPoTHeTically' (7.2.4) which most often occurs in polar interrogatives. Typically it indicates the speaker's hypothesis about a particular situation and invites confirmation or disconfirmation from the addressee.
The very polite request illustrated in example 118 is reported speech occurring in a long narrative text. The use of past tense forms of the verb is possibly intended to suggest a situation that has happened and so is out of the speaker’s humble control. The word yirru is a semantically null hesitation marker.

118. ngayu yirru kartungu yirru ngayu yirru kanarri-lha? ngayu, 1sgNOM 2sgACC 1sgNOM come -PAST 1sgNOM

ngayalyu yirru, kartungu kanarri-lha yirru? ngayu yirru kanarri-lha cousin 2sgACC come -PAST 1sgNOM come -PAST

yirru, ngayalyu yirru, kartungu yirru nhawa-lu yirru? cousin 2sgACC see-PURPss

Can I come over to you? Can I come over to you, my cousin? Can I come over there and see you?

10.6.2 Information Questions

Information questions involve one of a set of interrogative/indefinite word forms as described in chapter 5. In questions these interrogative forms almost always occur in clause initial position. As noted in chapter 7, the illocutionary force of an information question can be modified by the presence of certain adverbs, in particular, kana 'RHETorical', ngula 'IGNORantly', and paju 'REALly', and the 'QUOTative' clitic -nu.

Questions concerning the identity of a person or thing involve ngana 'who' and nhartu 'what'. For example:

119. nganangu-nu ngayu nhuwa-rnuw-ya? 1sgNOM spear-PRES -YK

Who am I supposed to be spearing?
120. **nhartu-u nhuwana nhawu-lha?**
what -ACC 2pl see -PAST

What have you seen?

Nhartu 'what' also forms the basis for intransitive and transitive interrogative verbs derived by the addition of either the inchoative -npa-∅ or causative -ma-L to the nominal stem:

121. **nhartu-ma-rnu -lwa-rru ngula, kanyara-nguru warruwa-nguru?**
what-CAUS-PASSP-ID-NOW IGNOR man -ABL devil -ABL

What was done to them, after the time they were human devils?

122. **nhartu-npa-lha nhuwana pawulu-ngara, mir.ta-rru panyi-rnuru jalurra-a?**
what-INCH-PAST 2pl child-PLURAL not -NOW step -PRES dance-ACC

What's happened to you kids, you're not dancing?

Other questions make use of the variety of interrogative and indefinite forms based on *wantha* 'where' (see 5.8).

123. **wanthala -rru ngunbu kanyara ngulangu nyina-lha -nguru?**
somewhere-NOW thatNOM man there sit -PAST-ABL

Now where is that man who was there?

124. **wantharni-i ngula, wanka-a-1, kampa-lalha wiya?**
how -ACC IGNOR raw-ACC-THEN cook -PAST maybe

How was it, was it raw then, or maybe it was cooked?

125. **nhartu-u wantharra-a nhawu-layi?**
what -ACC like -ACC see -FUT

What will it look like? (lit. We'll see it looking like what?)

The following examples illustrate verbs based on these interrogatives:

126. **wanthala-ma-lalha kartu? kartu kanyja-rnuru.**
where -CAUS-PAST 2sgNOM 2sgNOM keep -PRES

What have you done with them? You're keeping them [hidden].

- 455 -
127. *wantarni-ma-rninyji ngali?*

`how -CAUS-FUT 1dl(inc)`

How are we going to do it?

128. *nganaju kaya wantarni-npa-lha -rru. wantarni-npa-lha?*

`1sgGEN brother how -INCH-PAST-NOW how -INCH-PAST`

My brother has changed somehow. What's happened to him?

### 10.7 Constituent Order

Unlike some Australian languages which are characterized by particularly free constituent order, Martuthunira has a basic SVO pattern. This relatively fixed order is surprising in the light of the clear morpho-syntactic similarities between Martuthunira and excessively free word order languages like Warlpiri. However, Warlpiri has a rich system of case inflection for NPs and a complex pronominal cross-referencing system. Together these ensure that in any clause the (re)construction of predicate-argument relationships is quite straightforward. By contrast, Martuthunira has no cross-referencing system and has an impoverished array of case markers for core arguments. Recognizing these facts, Nathan (1986), in a La Trobe University Honours dissertation, uses Martuthunira data to illuminate a discussion of theories of configurationality, in particular the criteria by which languages can be characterized as 'non-configurational'. It is clear from his discussion that the word order patterns of the Ngayarda languages deserve detailed investigation.

Table 10.1 presents a count of the frequencies of constituent orders in a lengthy Martuthunira text. The figures are extracted from tables presented in Nathan (1986:73 & Appendix 1)\(^\text{12}\).
Table 10.1: Constituent Order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N=80)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>35.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOV</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSV</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OVS</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VSO</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OV</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VO</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N=65)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>75.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalized</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S precedes V</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>84.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V precedes S</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S precedes O</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>83.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O precedes S</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V precedes O</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>77.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O precedes V</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>22.58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures clearly illustrate the predominance of patterns in which the subject precedes both object and verb, and to a slightly lesser extent, the regularity with which the object follows the verb.

Deviations from the unmarked SVO pattern arise from two general patterns. Firstly, in information questions the interrogative occurs in sentence initial position regardless of whether it is the subject, object,
verb or some NP adjunct (see examples in previous section). Secondly, objects may be placed in an immediate preverbal position of focus. Where the subject is omitted for some reason (a common occurrence in chains of clauses in texts, or in imperatives) the object may appear in clause initial position. Some examples of this second pattern are:

129. *ngayu ngurnaa karntarra-a yirla thuulwa-lalha.*
1sgNOM thatACC sinew -ACC only pull -PAST

I only pulled out the sinew (and left the rest).

130. *kartu nganaju mir.ta paju kuliyanpa-layi.*
2sgNOM 1sgACC not REAL think -FUT

You really don't think about me!

131. *ngayu yartapalyu-u -rru wawayi-l.yarra, tharnta-a jinyji-warla-a warra.*
1sgNOM others -ACC-NOW look for-CTEMP euro -ACC fat -FULL-ACC CONT

I'll go look for something else, a fat euro for a change.

Once questions are removed from consideration, clauses in which the object precedes the subject, and/or the verb precedes the subject, are extremely rare. Example 132, the only unambiguous example of a clause displaying OSV order in the data, is a highly marked answer to a choice question. The VSO pattern illustrated in 133 is clearly influenced by the subordinate clause structure. There are no clear examples of VOS or OVS ordering in the data.
Have you decided just which boomerang to take?

Yes! That kurara one, that one I'll take. That snakewood one I'm leaving.

With regard to constituents other than core arguments, the ordering is more flexible. Typically, locational adjuncts occur towards the end of clauses but may occur in initial topic position where they provide important background information. It is rare for such adjuncts to be interposed between core arguments and the predicate. In passive clauses the effector NP, denoting the agent, typically occurs after the verb although it may occur between subject and verb.
The first sections of this chapter describe the various types of subordinate clause. Relative clauses, described in 11.1, provide information about a NP in the main clause, or specify the temporal or logical conditions under which the main clause event occurs. That is, these clauses have both 'NP-relative' and 'T-relative' interpretations (Hale 1976). Section 11.2 describes 'lest clauses'. These set forth the unfavourable consequences of a main clause event and involve verbs bearing a special lest inflection followed by either the accusative or locative complementizing suffixes. Section 11.3 describes 'purpose clauses', which depict an intended result of the event denoted by a main clause. Verbs in purpose clauses select one of a set of three inflections specifying coreference and necessary causal relationships between main and subordinate clause. Of all Martuthunira subordinate clause patterns, the system of purpose clause inflection most closely resembles canonical switch-reference. Section 11.4 then discusses the use of relative clauses and purpose clauses as sentential complements of predicates of cognition, perception and information transfer. These particular complex sentence constructions involve the raising of subordinate clause subjects into matrix object position.
All complex sentence constructions share the following general syntactic features:

1. Subordinate clauses are typically adjoined (rather than embedded, in the sense used by Hale 1976) to the main clause and occur adjacent to it. Reduced (NP-)relative clauses may appear in an embedded position adjacent to the controlling NP in the main clause.

2. Where the subordinate clause and the main clause share a NP argument, this NP is omitted from one or other of the subordinate clause or the main clause, typically from whichever of the two clauses follows the other.

3. The head of the subordinate clause, the verb, typically bears a complementizing nominal suffix indicating the relationship between the subject of the clause and an argument of the main clause, or a particular logico-temporal link between the two clauses. By the case-marking domain conventions described in 3.3.2 the complementizing suffix is not distributed to subconstituents of the subordinate clause.

Martuthunira interclausal syntax is further complicated by the interaction of these patterns of multi-clause sentence formation with the productive voice system. Section 11.5 describes the role of the passive in subordinate clause constructions. Section 11.6 once again considers the problems posed by double object constructions; in this context the ambiguous control of accusative subordinate clauses. In conclusion, 11.7 presents a number of more complex examples involving multiple subordination.
11.1 Relative Clauses

A number of types of relative clause can be recognised. 'Finite relative' clauses (11.1.1) are defined by the presence on the subordinate clause verb of a regular main clause tense/aspect/mood inflection. 'Perfect relative' clauses (11.1.2) involve an ablative complementizing suffix attached to a finite verb form and describe an event having some continuing relevance to a main clause event. In contrast to these two types, 'present relative' (11.1.3), 'contemporaneous' (11.1.4) and 'sequential' clauses (11.1.5) are marked by special subordinate verb inflections.

11.1.1 Finite Relative Clauses

Verbs in finite relative clauses are most often inflected with either the past, passive perfective or habitual inflections. Examples involving the future inflection or the counterfactual inflection occur, but very rarely. Importantly, the main clause present tense inflection may not occur in finite relative clauses and this functional gap is filled by the present relative clause described in 11.1.3.

The subordinate clause verb is then further inflected either with the accusative suffix, indicating the coreference of the relative clause subject with an accusative object of the main clause, or with the locative suffix. Although finite relative clauses marked with other case suffixes, in agreement with main clause arguments in other than accusative or locative case are possible, they rarely occur in unelicited text. Finite
Relative clauses on subjects are effectively ruled out by the lack of a nominative complementizer. Clearly such clauses would be indistinguishable from finite main clauses.

Finite relative clauses marked in agreement with a controlling accusative NP function to restrict the reference of that NP. The temporal axis for the subordinate clause tense specification is the present of utterance or some established 'narrative present'.

1. ngayu yanga-lalha-rru ngurnu pawulu-u myi-i thani-lalha-a. 1sgNOM chase-PAST -NOW thatACC child-ACC dog-ACC hit -PAST-ACC

I chased that kid who hit the dog.

2. ngayu nhau-layi thanuwa-ngara-a-rru kampa-rru-u 1sgNOM see -FUT food-PLURAL-ACC-NOW cook-PASSP-ACC nganaju-wu-lu wartirra-lu. 1sgOBL-GEN-EFF woman -EFF

I'll see food that's been cooked by my wife.

3. ngayu punu-lha nhau-lu ngurnu kanyara-a 1sgNOM go -PAST see-PURPss thatACC man -ACC ngaliwa -la punu-layi-i wiruwanti. 1pl(inc)-LOC go -FUT-ACC morning

I went to see that man who will be going with us tomorrow.

4. ngayu nhau-lha ngurnu kanyara-a nyina-marni-i 1sgNOM see -PAST thatACC man -ACC sit -CONTR-ACC ngurnula-ngu-la ngurra-ngka. thatDEF -GEN-LOC camp -LOC

I saw that man who should be in his own camp.

Finite relative clauses marked with a locative complementizer suffix have a number of functions. Firstly, they may have a NP-relative function on a locative argument in the main clause.
We'll go carefully lest we get badly affected (drowned) in this water which is habitually treacherous.

However, they more often function as temporal adverbial clauses providing a temporal setting for the events described by the main clause. In these cases the orienting tense axis for the subordinate clause is the time at which the main clause event is occurring.

Locative marked finite relative clauses have a further function. In each of the following examples the subordinate clause provides some additional information about a NP argument of the main clause, but that argument is not the subject of the relative clause. In approximately half of the total sample of this kind of locative marked finite relative clause, the linking argument appears as a possessive modifier of the subordinate subject NP. This is illustrated in 8 and 9. Such sentences are often translated as English possessive relative constructions (as in 8) otherwise
as simple conjoined constructions (as in 9).

8. ngayu wanka-lha ngurnu kanyara-a , murtiwarla
   1sgNOM say -PAST thatACC man -ACC motor car
   ngurnula-ngu mya -ru -la pawulu-ngara-lu.
   thatDEF -GEN steal-PASSP-LOC child-PLURAL-EFF

   I spoke to that man whose car was stolen by the kids.

9. ngayu nyina-nguru kanyara-la , ngurnula-ngu pawulu
   1sgNOM sit -PRES man -LOC thatDEF -GEN child
   thani-lalha-la muyi-i nganaju-u.
   hit -PAST-LOC dog-ACC 1sgGEN-ACC

   I'm staying with this man and his kid hit my dog.

In 10, the omitted subject of the main clause surfaces as a locative argument of the subordinate clause. In contrast to 8 and 9 above, the relative clause in this example cannot be construed as a NP-relative on a main clause argument. Instead it describes a situation involving the common argument and which serves as an explanation of the state of affairs described in the main clause.

10. wiyaay yilarla thungkara-ngurni wanti-nguru, mir.ta nhawu-ngu-layi
    maybe hereNV dirt -OBSCRD lie -PRES not see -PASS-FUT
    ngartil. yimpalaa pala, nbhiy u kanyara nyina-lha-la kurlany-tha.
    again like that IT thisNOM man sit-PAST-LOC knife -LOC

    Maybe it's lying under the dirt here out of sight, and won't be seen again. That's how it is, this man was sitting on that knife.

Example 11 is similar. Here the shared argument, 'that stick', does not appear in the relative clause.
In 11 'the stick' is inferred as an instrument in the relative clause. This instrument provides a link between the event described in the accusative marked relative clause modifying 'that stick', and a question about the identity of an implied agent in that event.

The degree of syntactic linkage between main clause and subordinate clause in this type of construction is clearly quite low. While the two clauses share an argument there are no apparent constraints on what roles that argument may fulfil in either clause. Also, as 10 and 11 illustrate, the argument need not be made explicit in both clauses. Rather, the locative complementizer indicates a relationship between two clauses. The identity of the linking argument is generally inferred from context.

11.1.2 Perfect Relative Clauses

The perfect relative clause can be recognized as a specialized finite relative clause involving an ablative complementizer added to a verb inflected with either the past or passive perfective suffixes. It describes a completed event which has some continuing relevance to the action described in the controlling main clause, usually precedes the main clause, and shares the same subject. Perfect relative clauses figure...
prominently in programmatic discourse. In many such texts the various participants maintain the same roles throughout and so a sequence of clauses may consist solely of verbs.

12. **ngayu kayurtu-ub nhawu-lha-nguru-rru, wiru -rru panyu-npa-layi.**
   1sgNOM smoke-ACC see -PAST-ABL -NOW feelings-NOW good-INCH-FUT

   Now that I've seen the smoke, my feelings will become good [I'll cheer up].

13. **kulhawulha-npa-lha-nguru, ngayi-lha-nguru-rru,**
   piled up -INCH-PAST-ABL cry -PAST-ABL -NOW

   **karlwa-layi mirntiwul ngurra-arta -npa-layi-rru.**
   get up-FUT all camp -DirALL-INCH-FUT-NOW

   **kulii -lalha-nguru-rru, ngurra-arta-marri-layi-rru.**
   satisfied-PAST-ABL-NOW camp-DirALL-COLL -FUT-NOW

   Having come together in a heap, now that we've cried, we all get up and move to camp. Now that we're satisfied, we'll head for camp together.

   Where the perfect relative clause follows the main clause there is a strong implication that the main clause event is a direct result of the situation described in the subordinate clause. For example:

14. **ngayu jina-rru malyarra-rnuru puni-lha-nguru jurrwalyi-1a.**
   1sgNOM foot-NOW sore -PRES go -PAST-ABL heat -LOC

   My foot is sore from having gone in the heat.

   Perfect relative clauses occasionally occur as NP-relatives on non-subject arguments of a controlling clause, in which case the appropriate C-complementizing case suffix follows the ablative inflection on the subordinate clause verb.
15. ngaliwa withawitha-ma-rninji-rru thurlanyarrara-a 1pl(inc) covered -CAUS-FUT -NOW poor fellow -ACC
wantha-lalha-nguru-u-rru ngaliwa -a. leave -PAST -ABL-ACC-NOW 1pl(inc)-ACC

We'll bury the poor fellow who has now left us.

16. nguru warrirti-i yungku-layi nguru -ngara -a thatACC spear -ACC give -FUT thatACC-PLURAL-ACC
kanyara-ngara-a wurnta-lalha-nguru-u. man -PLURAL-ACC break -PAST -ABL-ACC

Give that spear to those men who broke it.

The difference between this construction and that involving a simple past tense relative clause is the strong sense of completion of the subordinate clause event.

11.1.3 Present Relative Clauses

As already noted, present relative clauses, marked by a special verbal inflection, have very similar functions to finite relatives: they fill a gap left by the non-occurrence of the present tense inflection in such clauses. Their most important function is as NP-relatives restricting reference by describing the role of a person or object in some currently occurring activity. Like finite relatives, present relatives may not be controlled by nominative subjects.

17. ngali nyina-layi wawayi-l.yarra kampa-nyila-a. 1dl(inc)NOM sit -FUT wait for-CTEMP cook -PrREL-ACC.

We'll sit waiting for this one that is cooking.

18. ngayu nhawu-ngu-layi kanyara-lu jalyuru-ma-rmura-lu. 1sgNOM see -PASS-FUT man -FUT hole -CAUS-PrREL-EFF

I'll be seen by the man who is digging a hole.
19. ngayu ngurnu muyi-i parla-marta paringku-lha,
   1sgNOM thatACC dog-ACC stone-PROP hit -PAST

   yirna -marta thungkara-la wanti-nyila-marta.
   thisOBL-PROP ground -LOC lie -PrREL-PROP

   I hit that dog with a stone, with this one lying on the ground.

20. ngayu ngurnu murla-a wantha-rralha ngulangu,
   1sgNOM thatACC meat-ACC place -PAST there

   murtiwarla-la karri-nyila-la pal.yarra-la.
   car -LOC stand-PrREL-LOC plain -LOC

   I put that meat there, in the car which is standing on the flat.

   In the following examples the present tense relative clause functions as
   a temporal adverbial clause. The subordinate clause verb bears the
   expected locative complementizer:

21. ngayu wawayi -lha jartuntarra -a, yarta ngunbu
   1sgNOM look for-PAST rock wallaby-ACC other thatNOM

   wawayi -rnura-la tharnta-a-lpurru.
   look for-PrREL-LOC euro -ACC-COMP

   I looked for rock wallabies while that other man was looking for euros.

22. kampa-nyila-la -rru karla, nyina-layi thuulwa -l.yarra
   burn -PrREL-LOC-NOW fire sit -FUT pull out-CTEMP

   mirntirimarta-a punga-a.
   goanna -ACC guts-ACC

   While the fire is burning, sit and pull out the goanna's guts.

   Present relative clauses also occur without a complementizing case
   suffix. Examples of this kind most often occur in narrative text where
   they provide some parenthetical comment on events or situations which are
   occurring or obtain at the same time, and incidental to, the events
   described in the main event line.

   For example, 23 below is a portion of a narrative describing how a
wicked uncle eats a whole emu after sending his two nephews to get a stone knife from a distant quarry. The audience is reminded of the current circumstances of the two nephews in the (underlined) present relative clause:

23. ngunbu kampa-lalha jankurna-a, thaapuwa. wanthanha-rru kana?
thatNOM burn -PAST emu -ACC big man which -NOW RHET

pull out-FUT all -ACC pull out-FUT cook -PAST-ACC

ngunbu -rru puni-nyila, wirta-tharra, puu -rru, puyila-rru.
thatNOM-NOW go -PrREL youth-DUAL farNOM-NOW farLOC-NOW

thaapuwa mungka-rninyji. ngunhaa manurri -yaangu-rru.
big man eat -FUT thatNOM hold back-UNREAL-NOW

minthal jankurna-a ngurnu kalyaalya-ma -lalha.
alone emu -ACC thatACC feast -CAUS-PAST

He cooked the emu, the big man. What now? He pulled it all out, pulled that thing which was cooked out. [In the meantime] they were travelling, the two youths, far away, they were at some far away place. The big man ate it. He ought to have held back. He made a feast of that emu all by himself.

Example 24 is very similar. Here two brothers set out to spear an emu.

However, one of the two holds back and lets his brother make the shot:

24. jirruna-npa-layi ngurnaa wanti-nyila-a, jankurna-a miyara-la -a,
sneak -INCH-FUT thatACC lie -PrREL-ACC emu -ACC egg -LOC-ACC

nhuwa-rninyji. yarta warra, yarta ngunbu karri-nyila, marryara -wuyu
spear-FUT other CONT other thatNOM stand-PrREL young Bro-SIDE

nyartu -wuyu. karri-nyila ngunbu wartawirrinpa-rra. nhiyu
lefthanded-SIDE stand-PrREL thatNOM wait -CTEMP thisNOM

mirtali-wuyu kaya -wuyu nhuwa-lalha ngurnaa wanti-nyila-a.
big -SIDE older Bro-SIDE spear-PAST thatACC lie -PrREL-ACC

They sneak up on that one lying down, an emu on its eggs, and spear it. One stays, the younger brother, the lefthanded one, he stands waiting. The bigger one, the older brother, spears that one which is lying down.
Example 25 is taken from a narrative describing events in the mythical past. A group of devils have stolen a hill from a rival group who live on an island and are carrying it, across sea and land, to its current resting place. The present relative clause provides the background information that the sea was shallow at this time.

   come -PAST-QUOT thisPLURAL go -PAST-ABL sea -LOC

   warutharra kayulu ngunhu yirla-l, wanti-nyila mir.ta purnta paju.
   marsh water thatNOM only-THEN lie -PrREL not deep very

   ngunhu -ngara puni-lha kanarri-lu.
   thatNOM-PLURAL go -PAST come -PURPss

   It's said they came [this way], these people, having travelled through the sea. It was only marsh water then, wasn't very deep. They travelled [through it] to come [this way].

In examples of this kind it is not at all clear that the present relative clauses are subordinate clauses. Firstly, apart from the fact that they involve a verbal inflection not usually found in main clauses (and here the argument can very easily become circular), they bear none of the general formal characteristics of Martuthunira subordinate clauses. There is no complementizing case suffix and no obvious syntactic relationship between arguments of this and any adjacent clause. Nor is it obvious that present relative clauses of this kind are, in more subtle ways, semantically dependent on an adjacent clause, although it is quite clear that they are in some way 'subordinate' to the main event line of the narrative.

However, similar examples do occur, albeit rarely, in general conversational discourse, and in such cases the unmarked present relative clause is semantically dependent on an adjacent main clause. As the
following examples illustrate, the present relative clause typically conveys something of the speaker's own opinions, inferences, explanations or evidence for the state of affairs described in the main clause.

26. ngayu wayangka -lha ngurnu muyi-i, nganaju marryara
1sgNOM frightened-PAST thatACC dog-ACC 1sgGEN young brother

\[\text{wayangka -nyila ngurnu.}\]
frightened-PrREL thatACC

I was frightened of that dog [because] my brother is frightened of it.

27. nganarna varuul piya-rnuru nhuwana-la
1pl(exc)NOM still sing-PRES 2pl -LOC

\[\text{nhuura-npa-nyila-la kana, jalya waruul-wa-rru}\]
know-INCH-PrREL-LOC RHET bad still -ß -NOW

\[\text{nyina-nyila, mir.ta nhuura manku-layi jalurra-a.}\]
sit -PrREL not knowing get -FUT song -ACC

We're still singing while you are learning. [Yet] you're still useless. You don't know how to get [perform] the songs.

28. kartu -wi wuraal nhuwa-rninyyi tharnta-a,
2sgNOM-VOC alright spear-FUT euro -ACC

\[\text{ngayu kamungu-npa-nyila, murla-a wiru -npa-nyila.}\]
1sgNOM hungry-INCH-PrREL meat-ACC wanting-INCH-PrREL

You'll spear euros [so you say], [yet] I'm getting hungry, wanting meat.

29. thauw ! karla kampa-nyila, nhuwana murna-ngka-rru.
good fire burn -PrREL 2plNOM close-LOC -NOW

Good! There's a fire burning [which I assume you have lit], you are close-by now.

To some extent, examples of this kind resemble locative marked finite relative clauses of the type illustrated in 8 to 11 above. In each case it is possible to infer some link, in the form of a common participant, between the situations described in the main and subordinate clauses^2.
11.1.4 Contemporaneous Clauses

Subordinate contemporaneous clauses are marked by a special verbal inflection and typically have the same subject as the controlling clause. The events described in the two clauses are temporally co-extensive and are often causally interdependent. Contemporaneous clauses are non-finite; they assume the tense, aspect and mood specification of the controlling clause.

30. ngayu karlarrera-npa-nguru-rru yakarrangu-la nyina-rra.
   1sgNOM hot -INCH-PRES-NOW sun -LOC sit -CTEMP

   I'm getting hot sitting in the sun.

31. ngayu puni-nguru-rru kalyaran-ngara-a
   1sgNOM go -PRES -NOW stick-PLURAL-ACC

   pukarti -ngara-a wawayi-1.yarra.
   snakewood-PLURAL-ACC look for-CTEMP

   I'm going along looking for snakewood.

32. nganamarnu wii pithirri-npa-rra wii, ngurnaa
    anyone if chill-INCH-CTEMP if thatACC

    paya-rninjji jami -i.
    drink-FUT medicine-ACC

    If anyone gets a chill, they drink that medicine.

In a few rare cases, the subject of the contemporaneous clause is not coreferential with the subject of the main clause. For example, in 33 the subject of the subordinate clause is coreferential with the matrix accusative object. Notice that there is no complementizing suffix on the subordinate verb.
Extended sequences of verbs bearing the contemporaneous inflection occasionally occur in text. In 34 for example, a sequence of contemporaneous verbs describes the melting of coagulated fish fat into a gravy as it warms in hot sand.

While it is perfectly possible to describe such sequences of contemporaneous clauses as chains of subordination (with, say, each successive clause subordinate to its predecessor) this seems quite inappropriate here. Rather, the set of predicates functions as a composite describing essentially one event.

Similarly in 35, a group of devils undergo a transformation into the human state. The contemporaneous predicates clustered together here are 'become human', become good' and the motion verb puni-∅ 'go', which functions as a copula (9.3.5) emphasizing the gradual nature of the change and implying that it occurs throughout (and ultimately perhaps due to) the performance of a number of activities to be detailed later in the narrative.
They were scattered about. Then [they] became good, [they] became good, [they] gradually became human. The devils that is, the devils gradually became good, [they] became human. However, there is a subtle difference between the sequences of predicates illustrated here and that exemplified in 34. Here the verbs 'become good' and 'become human' bear the temporal clitic -rru 'NOW' and this effectively marks the two as making separate assertions. The devils became good and also became human; the two resulting states are not necessarily interdependent.

While examples like 34 suggest that the degree of overlap between a contemporaneous clause and some other clause extends as far as verb serialisation (see Foley & Van Valin 1984), it would be a mistake to view this as the cardinal function of the contemporaneous verbal inflection. Although the inflection indicates that the verb has the same tense, mood and aspect as the verb in some controlling clause, it does not require that the two verbs have the same set of core arguments.

11.1.5 Sequential Clauses

Sequential clauses describe an event which follows the main clause event, often as an immediate consequence of that event. Sequential clauses are
marked by a special subordinate clause inflection involving an increment -waara to the contemporaneous verb inflection. Like contemporaneous clauses, sequential clauses typically have the same subject as the main clause and so do not take complementizing case suffixes.

36. ngunhaa punga pangkira-rri -lha parntayarri-rrawaara.
thatNOM guts bulging -INCH-PAST explode -SEQ

His guts swelled up and then exploded.

37. nhuwa-ru puni-layi murla-a. nhuwa-rninji ngurnaa,
spear-PURPss go -FUT meat -ACC spear-FUT thatACC

manku-rrawaara jimpu-ngara -a.
grab -SEQ egg -PLURAL-ACC

Go and spear that meat (emu). Spear it and then grab the eggs.

38. winya-ma -lalha nhumira-a -rru ... tharrwi-lalha
full -CAUS-PAST penis -ACC-NOW enter -PAST

jarraa-l.yarrawaara nhawani-i, pirriyarta-a pinyulu-u ngurnu,
tie up-SEQ thing-ACC own -ACC rope -ACC thatACC

pungka-wirri-la ngunhu.
fall -LEST -LOC thatNOM

He filled his penis [with the emu eggs] ... put them in and then tied up that thing, his own rope, lest they fall out.

39. palwarru, warnta-rninji-rru ngurnaa mirntirimarta-a,
also cut -FUT -NOW thatACC goanna -ACC

nyina-rrawaara mungka-l.yarra-rru ngali
sit -SEQ eat -CTEMP -NOW 1dl(inc)NOM

wartakartara, karlwa-rrawaara winya-rru.
face get up-SEQ full -NOW

Okay, cut up that goanna and then we sit eating it facing one another, and then get up now, [we're] full.
11.2 Lest Clauses

Lest clauses describe a state of affairs considered unpleasant by the speaker and which could be expected to occur as a result of the situation described by an adjacent and usually controlling clause. The verb in the lest clause bears a special verbal inflection which may then be further inflected with an accusative or a locative complementizing suffix.

As noted in 6.1.4 and illustrated in the following examples, there are separate active and passive forms of the lest inflection even though the active inflection freely occurs on derived passive verbs. There is no obvious difference in meaning between the two patterns of inflection.

Examples 40 to 42 illustrate lest clauses which have the same subject as the controlling clause. No complementizing case suffix is appropriate here.

40. ngayu wangka-layi mir.ta-rru yinka -rninyji wirra -a
   1sgNOM say -FUT not NOW chisel-FUT boomerang-ACC

   ngartil yarna -rniyangu. ngayu kuntirri-nguru-rru.
   again dissatisfied-PASSLEST 1sgNOM give up -PRES -NOW

   *nhartu-npa -lha kuntirri-nguru? waruul-wa-rru
   what -INCH-PAST give up -PRES still -O -NOW

   ngartil yarna -nnguli-yirri kartungku.*
   again dissatisfied-PASS -LEST 2sgEFF

   I'll tell [him] that I won't chisel a boomerang again in case [he's] dissatisfied with me: "Why have I chucked it in? You might be dissatisfied with me again."

- 477 -
I'll go now lest I be making it awkward for you.

Don't go there lest [your] foot get cut on the sharp stones.

The choice of an accusative complementizer indicates that the subject of the lest clause is coreferential with an object of the main clause:

Don't leave the meat in the sun or it'll go rotten.

You carry this child very carefully. Don't shake him or he'll wake up.

The choice of a locative complementizer indicates that the subject of that clause is not coreferential with either the subject or an accusative marked object of the controlling clause. Instead, the subject may be coreferential with some other non-core participant of the main clause, or may introduce a new participant.
As these examples illustrate, there is an important difference between accusative marked lest clauses and those marked locative. Where the clause is marked accusative, the predicted unfortunate actions of the subject of the clause are a direct result of an action (or inaction) on the part of the subject of the main clause on the subordinate clause subject. There is no such direct responsibility where the clause is marked locative.

In most Australian languages in which lest clauses are found, these can occur independently of a controlling main clause. For example, Austin (1981a:229) describes such lest clauses in Diyari but suggests that these be considered structurally subordinate since a wider context of circumstances leading to the situation described by the lest clause is
always understood.

Some fifteen percent of the lest clauses occurring in the Martuthunira data appear to be effectively independent of a main clause. That is, they do not bear a complementizing suffix and yet do not have the same subject as some adjacent clause. In most cases these unmarked lest clauses describe a situation that is considered unfavourable but there is no strong implication that the situation will necessarily follow if the events described in some preceding clause are not carried out. For example:

47. mir.ta thaaawu-rmnjji. pawulu puni-wirri kayulu-la-rru
not let go-FUT child go -LEST water-LOC-NOW

nyuni-lu -rru.
drown-PURPs-NOW

Don't let him go. The child might go in the water and drown.

48. ngayu wiru kartungu pukarra-a ngurnaa piyuwa-ma -lwaa
1sgNOM wanting 2sgACC firewood-ACC thatACC finish-CAUS-PURPs:o

kayulu-marta. kampa-lwirri ngurra-a.
water -PROP burn -LEST camp-ACC

I want you to put out that [smouldering] firewood with water. It could burn out the camp otherwise.

In these two examples the subject of the lest clause is coreferential with an accusative argument of the preceding clause. However, the accusative complementizer would imply that the unpleasant situation were a direct consequence of the addressee's actions or inaction. The option of leaving the lest clause unmarked allows the speaker to choose not to imply this degree of responsibility.
11.3 Purpose Clauses

Purpose clauses describe a situation which occurs after the event described in the main clause and which is usually related to the main clause either as a direct result of the main clause event, or as the purpose for which the main clause event was performed.

In Martuthunira, as in many Australian languages, purpose clauses select a verbal inflection conditioned by coreference relations between main clause and subordinate clause subjects. That is, they are inflected for switch-reference (Austin 1981b). However, unlike the binary same-subject/different-subject contrast found in most of these languages, Martuthunira has three separate verb inflections:

- **-ln/-ru** Subject of purpose clause is coreferential with subject of main clause.
- **-PURPss**
- **-CM-waa** Subject of purpose clause is coreferential with an accusative object of the main clause.
- **-PURPso**
- **-CM-wala** Subject of purpose clause is not coreferential with the subject of the main clause.
- **-PURPds**

The **-PURPso** and **-PURPds** inflections quite transparently involve the addition of the accusative and locative complementizers respectively to a suffix *-wa*. The different functions of the two inflections similarly reflect the different functions of the two complementizers. The **-PURPss** inflection is not related to the other suffixes.

The same-subject purpose clause describes the intended outcome of the
action performed by the subject of the main clause. For example:

49. *kayarra kanarri-lha nganaJu nhawu-lu.*
   Two come -PAST 1sgACC see-PURPss

Two people came to see me.

50. *kartu puni-layi minthal-wa-rru nhuwa-ru jankurna-a.*
   2sgNOM go -FUT alone -Ø -NOW spear-PURPss emu -ACC

You can go by yourself to spear an emu.

Same-subject purpose constructions reveal clearly the rules of set inclusion by which arguments are considered referentially 'same' or 'different'. As the following pair of examples illustrates, where the subject of either the subordinate clause or the main clause is included within the reference of the subject of the other clause, the two clauses are considered to have the same subject. This pattern holds for all other constructions organised on the basis of the coreference of arguments. The coreferential NPs are underlined in the following examples.

51. *nganaJu mimi warrirti-1 panyu-wa-lalha, ngaliya.*
   1sgGEN uncle spear -ACC good-CAUS-PAST 1dl(exc)N<1
   puni-lu murla-a manku-lu.
   go-PURPss meat-ACC get-PURPss

   My uncle fixed up a spear so we two could go to get meat.

52. *ngaliya, nganaJu mimi, nhuwa-lalha tharnta -a,*
   1dl(exc)NOM 1sgGEN uncle spear-PAST kangaroo-ACC
   *nganaJu mimi mungka-ru.*
   1sgGEN uncle eat-PURPss

   We two, my uncle and me, speared a kangaroo so my uncle could have a feed.

Where the subject of the purpose clause is not coreferential with the subject of the main clause, there are two possible marking choices for the
verb. Generally, where the subject of the purpose clause is coreferential with an accusative object of the main clause then the -waa inflection may be chosen. Otherwise, the -wala inflection is chosen. In the following examples the subject of the subordinate clause is coreferential with an accusative argument of the main clause (possible control ambiguities are discussed in section 11.4 below).

53. ngayu kartungu parla-marta purra-rmnyji pal.ya-a, 1sgNOM 2sgACC stone-HAVE hit -FUT temple-ACC

   pungka-waa -rru.
   fall-PURPso-NOW

   I'll hit you in the temple with a stone so you fall down.

54. ngunbu wartirra murla-a kampa-lalha ngurnu -ngara -a thatNOM woman meat-ACC cook -PAST thatOBL-PLURAL-ACC

   pawulu-ngara-a mungka-lwaa.
   child-PLURAL-ACC eat-PURPso

   That woman cooked those kids some meat to eat.

The following examples illustrate the functions of the -wala purpose inflection. The subject of a purpose clause marked with the -wala inflection may be coreferential with an argument of the main clause, or may introduce another participant.

55. nhulaa murla kangku-ŋ ngurnu-mulyarra kanyara-mulyarra near you meat carry-IMP thatOBL-ALL man -ALL

   kampa-lwala wuruma-l.yarra nganarna-a.
   cook-PURPds do for-CTEMP 1pl(exc)-ACC

   Take this meat here to that man so he can cook it for us.
56. ngayu nhawungarra-ma-rnuru thamiini -ngu pawulu-u,
1sgNOM look after-CAUS-PRES DaSo+1POSS-GEN child-ACC

nguyirri-1 wanti-wala.
asleep-THEN lie-PURPds

I'm looking after my grandson's kid so he can have a sleep then.

57. ngawu, ngaliwa wuraal puni-layi purnumpuru,
yes 1pl(inc)NOM still go -FUT quiet

thana ngunhaa nhurryarri-wala marli -ngka kartawura-la
let thatNOM snore away-PURPds paperbark-LOC butt -LOC

Yes, we'll keep going quietly so that that one can keep on snoring
away at the foot of that paperbark.

While there is a strong implication that a purpose clause marked with
the -waa inflection depicts an outcome of the event described in the
controlling main clause and intended by the subject of the main clause, the
bond between a main clause and a purpose clause marked with -wala is rather
weak. The event described is seen as an outcome of the main clause but not
as a direct result of the controlling actions of the subject of the main
clause.

In the following example the subject of the purpose clause is in fact
coreferential with an accusative object of the preceding clause. Here, the
use of the -wala marked clause indicates that while the event is an outcome
of the controlling clause, it is not an outcome intended by the subject of
the controlling clause.
That dog, having been tied up, having escaped, went straight to his owner sitting there. And so the owner was very pleased having his meat-getter come to him.

By contrast, in 59 the -waa inflection is controlled by an allative NP in the matrix clause:

We'll send fish to those people in return, so they can eat fish (while we eat the kangaroo meat they sent us).

The following examples, involving the verb wangka-Ø 'speak tell', further demonstrate that the contrast between the two different-subject inflections is not an automatic response to the case-marking of the controlling NP. Where the verb is interpreted as an information transfer predicate the accusative addressee typically controls the -wala inflection (but see example 46 in 10.1.8). Where wangka-Ø is interpreted as a manipulative predicate the accusative addressee controls the -waa inflection.
You tell me where you lost your dog and I'll go and look for it.

I told that kid to look for his dog.

Contrastive use of the two choices of purpose clause marking is not restricted to situations involving animate instigating participants. There are no such participants in the following portion of text in which the main event line involves ambient verbs with forces of nature as their subjects.

The sun is going down in the west, it's afternoon, it's slowly getting cool now as the sun goes down. That will make everything go dark slowly. Next it gets really dark, so [we] really won't be able to see anything in the night.

The process of getting dark in the -waa clause is interpreted as a direct result of the sun going down. However, there is no accusative object controlling the purpose clause. No subject for the -wala marked verb appears anywhere in the text but since it requires an animate 'perceiver' a
Finally, purpose clauses introduced by the minor part of speech thana can appear independently of a controlling main clause (7.11). Such constructions usually have the illocutionary force of a mild imperative and imply an action that would otherwise be described in a controlling clause.

11.4 Clausal Complements

Verbs of perception, cognition and information transfer, and the predicate nominals nhuura 'knowing', wiru 'wanting' and waysa 'fear', select clausal complements of various kinds. Clausal complements occur either on subject position or on an accusative argument position and are usually non-verbal ascriptive clauses or relative clauses. However, the purpose clause inflection -waa PURPs=o is used to mark object complements of 'subsequent time' for some predicates.

The predicate NP or verb in an object complement clause bears an accusative complementizing suffix and this accusative marking extends to the subject of the clausal complement. However, as described in 3.3.2, subordinate clauses typically bear complementizing case only on the head verb (or nominal predicate). NP arguments and adjuncts on these arguments remain unmarked for complementizing case. Even though the subject argument of a subordinate clause is generally omitted, surviving second predications on that subject remain unmarked. Thus it is possible to argue that the subjects of clausal complements are raised into object position in the matrix clause. For example,
You know that I'm standing here quietly.

There are a number of examples in the data that suggest that second predications may be raised out of complement clauses along with the subject of the clause. All such examples involve interrogative/indefinite second predications of manner as in the following sentence:

64. ngayu nhawu-layi nhartu-u wanbarra-a yirna muyi-i wurti-i,  
    1sgNOM see -FUT what-ACC like -ACC thisACC dog-ACC fast-ACC 
    yanga-rnura-a tharrnta-a.  
    chase-PrREL-ACC euro -ACC 

I'll see what this dog's speed is like chasing kangaroos.

The choice of verb inflection in complement clauses is not entirely free but depends in part on the matrix predicate. Firstly, the perception verbs nhawu-∅ 'see', kuliya-L 'hear' and nguyi-ma-L 'dream', take only complements which can be interpreted as having non-future temporal reference. As noted in 10.1.7, the subject complement constructions involve the reflexive nominal jankul 'self', which is best described as an adjunct on the matrix subject. For example:

65. ngayu nguyi-ma -lalba ngurnu muyi-i jankul yanga-lalha-nguru.  
    1sgNOM dream-CAUS-PAST thatACC dog-ACC self chase-PAST -ABL 

I dreamt that I had been chasing that dog.  
(lit. I dreamt about myself that I had been chasing that dog).
I saw that child hitting the dog with a boomerang.

On the other hand, complements of the predicate nominals wiru 'wanting' and waya 'fear', and the derived verbs wiru-npa-∅ 'come to want' and wayangka-∅ 'be frightened', take only 'subsequent time' complements. Subject complements bear the future tense inflection, object complements bear the -waa PURPs:o inflection. The following examples illustrate for wiru.

    1sgNOM wanting give -PASS-FUT thatOBL-DUAL-ACC boomerang-DUAL-ACC
    I want to be given those two boomerangs.

68. ngunbaa mir.ta wiru yirna -tharra-a ngayala-tharra-a
    thatNOM not want thisOBL-DUAL -ACC nephew -DUAL ACC
    nhurnti-ma-lalha-a jankurna-a mungka-lwaa ngurnaa.
    dead -CAUS-PAST-ACC emu -ACC eat-PURPs:o thatACC
    He didn't want these two nephews who had speared the emu to eat it.

The cognition verb kuliyanpa-∅ 'think, believe' allows both non-future and subsequent time complements on both subject and object:

69. ngayu kuliyanpa-lha nhartu -u ngawayu yungku-layi
    1sgNOM think -PAST something-ACC in turn give -FUT
    nganaju-u mimi -1.
    1sgGEN-ACC uncle-ACC
    I thought about giving my uncle something in return.

70. kartu kuliyanpa-nguru nganaju ngalawangka-nyila-a wurtu?
    2sgNOM think -PRES 1sgACC tell lie -PrREL-ACC HYPTH
    Do you think I'm lying?
The predicate nominal nhuura 'knowing', and its inchoative counterpart nhuura-npa-∅ 'learn', similarly take both subsequent time and non-future complements on subject and object.

Learn to fix a spear by yourself for a change.

That man didn't know what that bad fellow was going to do. He was bad that one. He was waking up to the fact that something or other was being hidden. He knew this man was hiding something alright.

Complements of the information transfer verbs wangka-∅ 'speak, tell' and nhuura-ma-L 'teach show' were illustrated in 10.1.8. nhuura-ma-L typically takes object complements while wangka-∅ may take either subject or object complements. Subject complements are illustrated in the following two examples:

He didn't say, my uncle, which way he was going.
75. ngayu wangka-layi mir.ta-rru yinka -rninyji wirra -a ngartil.
   1sgNOM tell -FUT not -NOW chisel-FUT boomerang-ACC again

   I'll tell [him] that I won't chisel a boomerang again.

As 75 shows, wangka-Ø permits subsequent time complements on the subject. However, for both wangka-Ø and nhuura-ma-L, subordinate clauses involving the -waa PURPs=o inflection are interpreted as regular purpose clauses:

76. ngayu wangka-lha kartungu manku-waa nganaju-u ngamari-il
   1sgNOM tell-PAST 2sgACC get-PURPs=o 1sgGEN-ACC tobacco-ACC

   I told you to get my tobacco!

77. ngayu kartungu-ngara -a pawulu-ngara -a nhuura-ma-rninyji
   1sgNOM 2sgGEN -PLURAL-ACC child -PLURAL-ACC know-CAUS-FUT

   marrari -i Martuthunira-a wangka-waa.
   language-ACC -ACC speak -PURPs=o

   I'll teach your children to speak Martuthunira.

11.5 Passive in Subordinate clauses

The description of subordinate clause types in the preceding sections of this chapter demonstrate that Martuthunira has no general constraint requiring coreference between the subject of a subordinate clause and some argument of the matrix clause. There are many complex sentence patterns in which one clause is subordinate to another but where the two share no arguments. Thus it should not be surprising that the choice of a passive subordinate clause is not dictated by strict syntactic rule. It is worth remembering that many Australian languages have similar systems of clausal subordination and yet function perfectly well without a productive voice system.
As noted in section 10.2, a passive main clause is used to either present a non-subject argument in a highly topical position, or to turn attention away from the agent. The same pragmatic/semantic considerations are relevant to the choice of passive subordinate clauses. However, the choice of a passive clause is also dependent on the particular relationship between main and subordinate clause indicated by subordinate verb inflection and complementizing case.

The most common subordinate passive clauses occur in contemporaneous relative clauses and in -waa PURPs=o purpose clauses. Passive contemporaneous clauses are usually agentless, have the same subject as the controlling main clause, and typically describe a general state characterizing that subject. In many cases no specific agent can be understood.

78. nhuwana panyu-ma-rninyji minthal-wa-rru kanyarra-lpurru warnu?
   2pl    good-CAUS-FUT    alone -$ -NOW man -COMP ASSERT

   mir.ta nyina-layi wuruma-ngu-rra yirla.
   not    sit  -FUT do for-PASS-CTEMP only

   You fellows do it yourselves, you're men aren't you?
   Don't just have it done for you all the time.

79. nhuwana mir.ta nhuura kalya nyina-layi,
   2pl    not knowing still sit -FUT

   kuyil paju, karimalkarimal paju karta-ngu-rra
   bad    REAL jumpy          REAL poke -PASS-CTEMP

   wantarra yimpalaa karta-ngu-rra wantarra milhu.
   what like like that poke -PASS-CTEMP what like bum

   You don't know to sit still, really bad, jumpy as if you were being poked in the bum.
That old woman called Tharnturrany hit the dog.

By contrast, passive subordinate clauses marked with the -waa purpose inflection rarely occur without an explicit agent. The choice of a passive clause here is largely motivated by the particular semantic properties of the purpose construction. The -waa inflection implies an effective action in the main clause, typically directed at a participant which functions as the subject of the subordinate clause. The object in the main clause may be prodded into action in the subordinate clause, in which case the subordinate clause is active. Alternatively, the referent of the main clause object may be placed in a situation in which it is further affected by a subordinate clause agent. In this case the subordinate clause is passive. For example:

81. nganarna warrirti-i kangku-nguru kartungu-malyarra yirla,
   1pl(exc) spear -ACC bring -PRES 2sgOBL -ALL only
   kartungku yirla panyu-nga-nnguli-waa, thapa-wa -ngku kur.ta-ngku.
   2sgEFF only good-CAUS-PASS-PURPs:o bad fellow-EFF clever-EFF

We bring spears only to you, to be fixed only by you, you clever old bastard.

82. ngaliwa nhartu -ngara -a wii kanyja-rninyji muyinu paju
   1pl-inc something-PLURAL-ACC or keep -FUT hidden REAL
   mir.ta paju nhawa-nguli-waa muyal.yi-ngara -lu.
   not REAL see-PASS-PURPs:o thief -PLURAL-EFF

We'll keep all the things well hidden so they won't be seen by any thieves.

83. kartu -lva ngurnaa maruwa -lalha manku-nguli-waa marntamarta-lu.
   2sgNOM-ID thatACC make trouble-PAST grab-PASS-PURPs:o policeman -EFF

You're the one who made trouble for that man so that he was grabbed by the police.
Interestingly, although passive same-subject purpose clauses are accepted as grammatical, no examples occur in free text. Instead a construction involving a passive verb inflected for future tense is used. Example 84 illustrates the elicited pattern while 85 presents the preferred pattern:

84. ngayu puni-layi thawun-malyarra nhawu-ngu-lu pulhanyji-lu.
   1sgNOM go -FUT town -ALL see-PASS-PURPss doctor -EFF
   I'll go to town to be seen by the doctor.

85. ngayu puni-layi pulhanyji-lu nhawu-ngu-layi.
   1sgNOM go -FUT doctor -EFF see -PASS-FUT
   I'll go and be seen by the doctor.

Where the purpose clause has the same subject as the main clause the two situations are typically seen as being intended and controlled by the one participant. However, since the subject of a passive clause is not an instigating and controlling participant, the choice of a passive is contrary to the expected reading of a same-subject purpose clause. It is not surprising that the construction illustrated in 85 is more natural in free text.

The choice of a passive form of a NP-relative clause is partly dependent on a grammaticalization of the topicalizing function of the passive. If a relative clause has a non-subject core argument which is coreferential with a core argument of the main clause, and if the subject of the subordinate clause is NOT coreferential with a core argument of the main clause, then the subordinate clause is presented as a passive with the coreferential argument in subject/pivot position.
Apparently they didn't follow the way (law) given to them by these two who were going to go [away].

He went to get the chips of those two boomerangs that had been carved.

Clearly, this strategy will not account for the choice of passive clauses in object complement clauses of verbs of perception, for example. Here the choice of a passive is purely determined by pragmatic considerations:

There are very few examples in the data of passive forms of the more weakly linked locative finite relative or unmarked present relative clauses. Since these clauses are not bound by the constraint placing coreferential non-subject arguments in pivot position, this is not at all surprising. At the same time, since they often constitute parenthetical
comment on events or participants in the narrative they do not have the
topic presentation function of passive main clauses. All examples
occurring in the data are agentless passives. For example:

90. puyi paju, ngunhaa thanarti-la Kurlanypungkunhu,
    farNOM REAL thatNOM sea -LOC name

    ngunhu ngunhu -lwa Pantuwarnangka muya -rnu -la.
    thatNOM thatNOM-ID name steal-PASSP-LOC

    thalu-ngara ngularla kurlany-ngara.
    site -PLURAL thereNS knife -PLURAL

    It's a long way off, out to sea, that Kurlanypungkunhu Island.
    That's the one Pannawonica Hill was stolen from. There are lots
    of increase sites somewhere there, knife quarries.

91. walywanti-lha -rru yila -ngara pungka-lha ngurra-ngka-rru,
    come off -PAST-NOW thisLOC-PLURAL fall -PAST ground-LOC -NOW

    neck -NOW hit -PASS -PrREL fire -LOC throw -PASS -PrREL

    All these things here [pointing to private parts] fell off onto
    the ground, and they were being hit in the back of the neck, and
    being thrown in the fire.

Similarly, passive -wala PURPds purpose clauses are quite uncommon.
Once again, the choice of a passive clause in this construction is
motivated by the same principles as explain main clause passives: a
decision to topicalize the patient, and/or to ignore the agent. For
example:

92. ngayu panyu-ma-lalha warriri-ngara-a maruwarla-a,
    1sgNOM good-CAUS-PAST spear-PLURAL-ACC many -ACC

    wuruma-l.yarra, ngulu kanyara-ln mirtuwarra-ln
    do for-CTEMP thatEFF man -EFF teacher -EFF

    kur.ta-ngku pawulu-ngara nthura-ma-nnguli-wala ngulu.
    clever-EFF child-PLURAL know-CAUS-PASS-PURPds thatEFF

    I fixed a lot of spears, doing a favour, so that the children
    could be taught [about them] by that clever teacher.
That woman disappeared into the scrub and so now her kids have to be looked after by other people.

In both of these examples the situation denoted by the subordinate clause could easily have been described with an active verb bearing the same –vala purpose inflection. However, in both cases the children are the focus of interest and so a passive is chosen.

11.6 Subordinate Clauses on Double Object Clauses

Verbs which allow more than one accusative object similarly permit subordinate clauses on more than one argument. In fact there are few examples in the data in which two accusative arguments, one controlling a subordinate clause, both occur in the same clause. And there are no examples in which two accusative arguments each control separate subordinate clauses.

Nevertheless, it is clear from elicited and test data that there is little room for ambiguity in the interpretation of control relations between accusative arguments and subordinate clauses. Correct assignment of control relations is facilitated by a number of factors. Firstly, the controlling accusative argument typically occurs at the matrix clause margin adjacent to the subordinate clause. Secondly, possible coreference
relationships are inferred from knowledge of the semantic roles of the main clause and subordinate clause predicates and knowledge of the likely roles of the participants.

For example, consider the following pair of test examples which were given the same English gloss.

94. ngayu ngurnu m.yi-i kartungu-u kurntal -yu yungku-lha,  
1sgNOM thatACC dog-ACC 2sgGEN-ACC daughter-ACC give -PAST  
nhawungarra-ma -lwaa.  
look after -CAUS-PURPs=o  
I gave your daughter the dog so she could look after it.

95. ngayu ngurnu m.yi-i kartungu-u kurntal -yu yungku-lha,  
1sgNOM thatACC dog-ACC 2sgGEN-ACC daughter-ACC give -PAST  
nhawungarra-ma -nguli-waa.  
look after -CAUS-PASS -PURPs=o  
I gave your daughter the dog so she could look after it.  
(lit. I gave your daughter the dog so it could be looked after by her.)

It is clear that the subject of the subordinate clause is linked to different matrix accusative arguments in each sentence. Such examples have an unmarked interpretation in which the participant higher on some scale of relative animacy is left 'looking after' the lower. To force a reading of a sentence such as 94 in which the dog is left looking after the child, the NP 'your daughter' must appear in the subordinate clause. The following examples involving nhuura-ma-L 'show', illustrate this.

96. ngayu ngurnu m.yi-i nhuura-ma-lalha kartungu-u pawulu-u,  
1sgNOM thatACC dog-ACC know-CAUS-PAST 2sgGEN-ACC child-ACC  
nhawungarra-ma -lwaa.  
look after -CAUS-PURPs=o  
I showed that dog to the child so he would look after it.
97. ngayu nhuura-ma-lalha ngurnu mui-i kartungu-u pawulu-u, 1sgNOM know-CAUS-PAST thatACC dog-ACC 2sgGEN-ACC child-ACC

   nhawungarra-ma -lwaa ngurnu pawulu-u.
   look after -CAUS-PURPss=0 thatACC child-ACC

   I showed that dog to the child (or the child to the dog) so it would look after him.

11.7 Multiple Subordination

The following examples illustrate more complex sentences involving a number of subordinate clauses. As these show, the coreference relationships marked by verbal inflection and complementizing case allow sequences of clauses in which the core arguments of the verb need not appear. Clause boundaries are marked by a slash '/':

98. ngayu jarraa-lalha / nganaju-u pawu -u wuruma-l.yarra 1sgNOM tie up-PAST 1sgGEN-ACC father-ACC do for-CTEMP

   warrirti-ngara-a / wanti-waa / wartawirrinpa-rra nganaju-u spear -PLURAL-ACC lie-PURPss=0 wait for -CTEMP 1sgGEN-ACC

   pawu -u / wantharta kanarri-waa / manku-lu yirna -ngara -a father-ACC somewhen come-PURPss=0 get-PURPss thisOBL-PLURAL-ACC

   warrirti-ngara -a.
   spear -PLURAL-ACC

   I tied up [the spears] / doing the spears for my father / so they would be / waiting for my father / to come sometime / to get these spears.
99. *thurlanyarrara mir.ta wiya nhuura ngali -i / karri-nyila-a /*
   poor fellow not maybe knowing 1dl(inc)-ACC stand-PrREL-ACC

   nhawu-rra ngurnaa yimpala -a -lwa / nyina-nyila-a /
   watch-CTEMP thatACC like that-ACC-ID sit -PrREL-ACC

   mungka-l.yarra.
   eat -CTEMP

   The poor fellow didn't know we / were standing / watching him like
   that / sitting / eating.

100. *nyina-ŋ nganaju-wu-la ngurriny-the / martama-l.yarra / kanarra-lu*

   sit-IMP 1sgOBL-GEN-LOC swag -LOC press down-CTEMP wind -EFF

   patha-rrnguli-yirri / warntitha-rniyangu / puni-wirri-la
   blow -PASS -LEST throw -PASSLEST go -LEST -LOC

   karra-ngka-a -rru kurti-l.yarra / kanarra-lu kuyil-wa-rnu -u.
   scrub-LOC -ACC-NOW gather-CTEMP wind -EFF bad-CAUS-PASSP-ACC

   Sit on my swag / press down on it / lest it get blown away by the
   wind / get thrown about / lest I have to go / and gather all the
   things that are in the scrub / ruined by the wind.

These examples consist of a simple chain of adjoined subordinate clauses
each dependent on the previous clause. In the following examples, a set of
three purpose clauses are controlled by the one matrix clause:

101. *nhuwana! marrari wangka-lha nhuwana-a / mir.ta patharri-waa /*

   2pl law say -PAST 2pl -ACC not fight-PURPs:o

   panyu nyina-waa / mir.ta patharri-waa. // patharri-rra wi
   good be-PURPs:o not fight-PURPs:o fight -CTEMP if

   nhuwana mir.ta panyu nyina-rra / ngulu -wa ngarniwartu-lu
   2pl not good be -CTEMP thatEFF-YK policeman -EFF

   manku-ngu-rayi paju-rru.
   grab -PASS-FUT REAL-NOW

   You fellows! The law tells you / not to fight / to be good/ not to
   fight. // If you fight / aren't good / you'll be grabbed by the
   policeman for sure.

Finally, in the following example the clause *paya-lalha-nguru 'having
been drinking', is dependent on the following -waa marked purpose clause,
not on the preceding complement taking predicate wayangka-∅ 'fear'.

102. ngunhaa nganaju kuliyanpa-lha // paya-lalha-nguru /
thatNOM 1sgACC think -PAST drink-PAST-ABL

nburnti-npa-waa paju-rru.
dead -INCH-PURPs:o REAL-NOW

She thinks that I'm really going to die from drinking.
Footnotes

Footnotes to Chapter 1

1. The existence of merged alternate generation sets can be derived by considering the crosscutting patrimoieties and matrimoieties implicit in the Kariera system. This yields four classes (that is, sections) which may, logically, be grouped into pairs in three ways; the original pair of patrimoieties, the pair of matrimoieties, and a pair of merged alternate generation sets (see Heath 1982). Here I choose to describe the merged alternate generation sets independently of this calculation for the principal reason that they appear to be far more important in the organisation of Pilbara society than either of the moiety pairs. There does not seem to be any good sociological reason for deriving the merged alternate generation sets from moieties (see also White 1981).

2. I have chosen to call marriage across two generations 'grandkin marriage'. Scheffler (1978) describes such marriages as 'intergenerational' but this tends to suggest marriage between people in different merged alternate generation sets and so can be misleading. In fact grandkin marriage takes place between people in the same generation set.

3. Algy Paterson gave me the term nhaankurti for 'circumcisor', noting that although it was a Kurrama word it was the word used by the Martuthunira for this relationship. The word mangkalyi 'circumcisor' is originally Panyjima but is widely used in the Pilbara area as a term summing up the relevant avoidance relationships established at initiation. The phrase, 'my mangkalyi mob' can refer to the family of the man who was my (or my brother's) mangkalyi, or to the family of a boy (wurntaja) to whom I am mangkalyi.

4. A hundred years of introduced stock have wreaked havoc on many of the more succulent varieties of creeper and fruit bearing plants. Introduced species have replaced much of the indigenous riverbed vegetation and are starting to encroach on the grasslands away from the rivers. There is no doubt that the plant resources of the area have dwindled. To European eyes there may appear to be no change in what has always been seen as a harsh and forbidding environment, but many Aboriginal people still react with surprise and shock on returning, perhaps some thirty or forty years later, to the places of their youth and finding once plentiful food sources gone and buried under a sea of South African grasses.

5. Folk memory of the Yinikutira on North West Cape suggests they were affected by an epidemic of some highly contagious disease before
European contact but I have recorded no similar stories relating to the Martuthunira, Nhuwala or Ashburton peoples.

6. On a similar point, a recent article by Eades (1982) criticises many grammars of Australian languages as being caught up in the description of normative grammatical rules to the exclusion of descriptions of language use. She argues that in producing such grammars of what often turn out to be highly individuated and artificial styles of speaking, often appropriate only to elicitation sessions, linguists are ignoring the ethnography of speaking. In a number of cases, she argues, this has led linguists to misrepresent the sociolinguistic status of a particular language variety; "this assumption has led linguists to incorrectly describe some languages as dead" (1982:62).

Although her point is valid I believe that Eades does some of the linguists responsible for these normative descriptions a grave injustice. In many cases it is not possible to produce more than a set of normative rules based on the remembered utterances of a few speakers. Languages do die and remembered languages are often socially moribund. However, Eades' criticism makes it clear that linguists should make a greater effort to describe and critically evaluate their methodology and to make clear the limits of the data so collected. In what follows I will attempt to do just this.

Footnotes to Chapter 2

1. Phonetic symbols presented in this section conform, for the most part, to standard IPA usage. The symbol [ɾ], properly for retroflex flap, has often been used in the description of Australian languages to represent the rhotic glide [ɾ]. Here I will use the standard symbols for rhotics. However, I will make the following departures from IPA: the symbol [ɾ] will be used to denote a voiced palatal stop, and [y] will be used for the palatal glide. The symbol [æ] will be used for the low mid vowel rather than the standard IPA [ɤ].

2. Wordick (1982:19) chooses to distinguish vowel clusters from vowel+glide+vowel sequences in Yinyjiparnti and reports that informants were able to provide near minimal pairs establishing the contrasts. It is common practice in the description of Australian languages to treat phonetic vowel clusters phonologically as involving an intervening glide. In many languages this may be a trivial matter. However, the Ngayarda languages have undergone a series of historical processes resulting in the loss and lenition of intervocalic stops and in these circumstances a regularized phonological description may obscure phonetic contrasts which point directly to historical processes.

3. The use of a syllable pa to avoid certain phonotactic constraints is very common in languages of Western Australia, the best known example being the addition of the syllable to consonant final stems in a number of the Western Desert dialects (Dixon 1980:209). Within the
Ngayarda group, Panyjima shares this feature (see Dench 1981:17)

4. The two words *kuta* and *kurta* are not strictly Martuthunira but were offered by Algy Paterson in an attempt to demonstrate the phonetic difference between /r.t/, /rt/ and /t/. *Kuta* is a borrowing from Panyjima while *kurta* is a word which is common to all languages/speech communities in the area as a general word for 'brother'. The articulation of the apical stops in these forms corresponds to that in other Martuthunira forms.

5. I am very grateful to Phil Rose for his help in making the spectrographic plots and in discussing their implications with me. I absolve him of any responsibility for the conclusions arrived at here.

6. Evans (1985) describes a similar pattern for Kayardild. In discussing the various phonetic cues associated with different points of articulation for consonants he notes that:

> The length of the preceding vowel is inversely proportional to stop length, being shortest with /th/ and longest with /rd/ (as well as being r-coloured). In other words the sequence $C_1V_C_2$ has the same total duration for all $C_2$, but the relative length of $V$ and $C_2$ vary with the place of articulation.

Evans (1985:500)

Evans also cites Bradley’s (1980) study of Yanyuwa stops in which similar correlations between relative consonant and vowel lengths are found. Unfortunately, I do not have the instrumental data to make a confident claim for a similar pattern in Martuthunira, even though the little data given here is very suggestive.

7. Interestingly, Figure 2.3 shows a very clear second formant discontinuity for the r.t closure. However, there is evidence from other Australian languages showing that F2 values are not distinctive for the dental, alveolar and retroflex consonant positions (Busby (1979), Bradley (1980)). Thus, although the discontinuity is an interesting feature begging further investigation, it should perhaps not be taken as evidence of a non-homorganic retroflex-alveolar articulation.

To my ear, the cluster sounds most like a retroflex glide followed by the alveolar stop. However, the perception of the stop as alveolar rather than retroflex may be influenced by the very different intervocalic realizations of the two apical stops: the lengthened period of closure with some burst release suggests the alveolar rather than the retroflex. Aural perception is, of course, highly suggestible and it is possible to decide to hear the rhotic as a retroflex lateral rather than as a glide. These differences need have no bearing on alternative phonological analyses of the cluster.
8. O'Grady lists both *thukurta* and *mirta* as proto-Ngayarda reconstructions and indicates that he knows of cognates for *thukurta* in the Marnngu group and for *mirta* in the Kanyara group. He does not specify which languages of the group in either case.

9. Warlpiri has effectively developed a separate retroflex flap phoneme as a result of borrowing. In Pre-Warlpiri, the retroflex stop was realized as a flap intervocalically and the subsequent borrowing of foreign words with a stop realization between vowels led to the reassignment of original stops to a new flap phoneme (see Dixon 1980:483).

10. Evans (1985) describes a very similar Kayardild consonant cluster consisting of the retroflex glide followed by the retroflex stop. However, in this case there is clear evidence that the cluster descends from an original homorganic lateral-stop cluster. Evans decides to represent the cluster orthographically as if it were still a lateral-stop cluster.

11. There is no obvious motivation for this alternation in forms. Comparative evidence suggests that two separate suffixes may need to be reconstructed to account for the full range of collective suffix forms in languages of the area. This suggests that two, once functionally distinct, suffixes have fallen together in all the languages with a subsequent 'remorphemicization' of the various allomorphs. In this case, two varying forms have been rationalized via the prevalent mora-counting metric.

12. This pattern of lenition conforms to historical changes in Kurrama (see Appendix A.2) and suggests that this morpheme was either borrowed into Martuthunira from Kurrama or somehow otherwise influenced by Kurrama patterns. It is always possible of course that Algy Paterson has borrowed a Kurrama morpheme into his last-speaker's Martuthunira.

13. Notice also that the vowel replacement involving the *-rra* inflection does not affect the reduced versions of the collective and body-noise suffixes. This could be accounted for simply by ordering the morphophonemic rules so that vowel replacement precedes haplology. Alternatively, the haplology might be assumed to obscure the identity of the suffixes and thus bleeds a rule dependent on the identification of the *-rra* suffix. The difference is trivial.

---

Footnotes to Chapter 3

1. To my mind, this function of *-nha* in marking the status of nominals as proper names is likely to underlie the use of the *-nha* suffix in many of the languages in which it is found, including those for which it serves primarily as an accusative case marker. However, this thesis is not the place to present the argument.
2. The description of nominal suffix functions presented in this thesis follows the typology of case functions developed in Evans and Dench (1986). This typology grew out of the authors' work in the analysis of Australian languages with quite extensive multiple case-marking, especially the languages of the Ngayarda and Tangkic groups, and is developed most fully in Evans' (1985) description of Kayardild. Although the Martuthunira data has been of great importance in the development of this typology I will not present detailed supporting arguments here. The reader is asked to trust that the typology is sufficiently defended in other work.

3. Though to further confuse matters Algy Paterson accepted the following test example with a reparsing:

```
ngunhu wartirra puni-lha ngurnu -marta kanyara-marta
thatNOM woman go -PAST thatACC-PROP man -PROP
{# mirntirimarta-marta-marta.
goanna -PROP -PROP
}
mirntiri martamarta-marta.
{fingernail red -PROP
}
# That woman went with the man who has a goanna.
That woman went with the man with red fingernails.
```

Notice that in this reparsing the body-part mirntiri 'fingernail' is followed by a modifier and so escapes case-marking (8.2.6).

Footnotes to Chapter 4

1. However, the allative suffix -:rta (see 2.5.3) shows the complete lenition of the initial consonant of a syllable which is very often found in a stressed penultimate position. This is damaging evidence.

2. The suffix has an apparent cognate in Jiwarli. The Jiwarli suffix has a consistent -kura allomorph and so similarly contrasts with the dative/genitive suffix in that language.

3. The use of the accusative to mark a complement of extended time has a clear parallel in a number of Indo-European languages. Kurylowicz describes the "accusative of temporal extension" in Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Gothic and Old Church Slavonic. Generally, "the accusative noun denotes a stretch of time or, secondarily a moment within the given stretch of time," Kurylowicz (1964:182). The accusative of temporal extension in Latin contrasts with the use of the ablative case to mark "the time at or within which", just as the locative is used in Martuthunira. For example (Hale and Buck 1903:204 & 230):
This they were engaged in doing during a large part of the summer.

had learned the previous summer

4. By analogy to the term "cognate object" for the objects of verbs which are effectively implied by the choice of the predicate, such as 'dance (a dance)', sing (a song)' (see Austin (1982) for example).

5. At this point I appeal to Hale's discussion of locative adjuncts in Warlpiri:

It does not make sense to classify the verbs in terms of the spatial case they select. Since the spatial cases are themselves meaningful, it is sufficient to know the meaning of a verb to determine whether or not it will be compatible with a particular spatial case expression.

Hale (1982:264)

As shown in the text, it is necessary to specify some locational complements in Martuthunira where these display particular syntactic behaviours (optional accusative case-marking) but the line must be drawn somewhere. While, there is a difference between locative adjuncts which are interpreted as specifying the location of a particular argument and those which specify the spatial or temporal location of the whole situation, I will not draw a formal distinction in this description.

6. The suffix does not occur in Panyjima or Yinyjiparnti and its adnominal functions are covered, in Panyjima, by the suffix -tharntu, which also functions as the genitive and marks benefactives (see Dench 1981). Data for other Ngayarta languages is incomplete. The -marnu suffix also occurs in Tharrkari, Jiwarli and Yingarta. In all of these languages it appears to be restricted to the adnominal (and lexeme deriving) function.

7. The -ngurni suffix has a semantic cognate in the Panyjima -puru 'BEHIND' suffix (Dench 1981:36) and which also marks periods of extended time when attached to nominals describing seasons or states of the weather. Wordick's (1982) Yinyjiparnti dictionary lists a word ngurni which is glossed as 'at same time, simultaneous'. Given the Panyjima semantic field this Yinyjiparnti word may be cognate with the Martuthunira suffix.
Footnotes to Chapter 5

1. An apparently anaphoric form of the distal effector demonstrative occurs in data collected in the earlier stages of the investigation. This has a form ngulu with a form ngulu occurring with a following -wa clitic. There are only the two examples in the whole data base. No similar form of the proximal effector occurs and my attempts to elicit anaphoric forms of either the distal or proximal effector demonstratives have been unsuccessful. I now suspect that my previous recognition of the anaphoric effector form was in error, presumably due to a too narrow transcription of vowel length.

2. Historically, the anaphoric forms involve the incorporation of a separate suffix. The most likely candidate is a -ka/-ga suffix found among the languages of the Southern Pilbara, and also surfacing in the Panyjima nominative anaphoric demonstrative forms (see Dench 1981:80-81). Austin (1981d:215) describes a Tharrkari 'deictic suffix' -ga (from -ka) which is added to demonstratives stems while Klokeid (1969) describes a -pa suffix in another dialect of Tharrkari "which seems to be a definitizer and to single out a particular NP". Warriyangka (closely related to Tharrkari) has a suffix -nka while Jiwarli has a suffix -pa. Austin (pers. comm.) suggests that these all seem to indicate definiteness or prior mention.

The Martuthunira -wa clitic (7.9) is most likely related to the same set of suffixes and it's ability to appear on anaphoric demonstratives suggests that the two have different sources (as well as demonstrating that the anaphoric forms are not synchronically analyzable as plain forms with an added -wa clitic). Given the patterns of consonant lenition in the area, my guess is that the anaphoric demonstratives have incorporated a -ka suffix while the -wa clitic is a reflex of a -pa form. Reconstruction of the various suffixes must await a more detailed analysis of their functions in each of the Pilbara languages than is currently available.

3. Wierzbicka (1972) includes a presentative 'this' as one of a set of indefinable semantic primitives. She argues that these primitives cannot be further decomposed and that any attempt to otherwise portray their meaning leads to eventual circularity in definition. The Martuthunira proximal demonstrative, especially the suppletive nominative form nhiyu, includes 'this' as part of its meaning but is named for an extension of this meaning to refer to entities within close proximity to the speaker.

4. The endophoric use of the Martuthunira proximal is similar to certain uses of English 'this' in utterances such as, for example, "There was this man ....". Halliday and Hasan (1976) suggest that this use of the English demonstrative is, not strictly 'phoric' at all ... 'this man' is present neither in the text nor in the situation but only in the speaker's mind. The context is one of highly coded in-group speech, and the effect is to emphasize common experience and a common interest. (1976:61)
I assume Halliday and Hasan are arguing that in English it is the use of the demonstrative that invokes common interest since the English construction implies that the addressee is not able to identify the new participant. In Martuthunira, on the other hand, the use of the proximal relies on shared knowledge or experience and assumes that successful identification of the referent by the addressee is possible.

5. The semantic bleeding of a distal demonstrative in endophoric function is reported for other Australian languages. Morphy (1983) describes a Djapu demonstrative ngunhi used almost entirely for discourse deixis and thus contrasting with exophoric demonstratives dhuwal 'proximate', dhuwali 'near' and ngunha 'distant'. She cites a suggestion by Heath (1980) that the 'near' demonstrative dhuwali may be the result of a combination of the 'proximate' dhuval and an anaphoric suffix -yi, and goes on to note that ngunhi might be similarly derived from ngunha. Although this analysis may be historically correct, Morphy argues that it has no place in a synchronic description of Djapu.

Not only has ngunhi a full and separate paradigm, but its function as a discourse deictic differentiates it from ngunha, which is almost always used as a context deictic.

Morphy (1983:61)

6. This possessive pronominal function is apparently restricted to distal definite forms. Although genitives based on the proximal stem were accepted by Algy Paterson they do not occur in either elicited sentences or unelicited text.

7. Donaldson (1980:136) notes that the plural marking of Ngiyambaa demonstratives "which would normally translate as 'here' or 'there'" leads to forms with a usual translation 'hereabouts' or 'thereabouts'.

8. Algy Paterson offered a proximal form yilangu-wyu but as this never occurs in free text or elicited sentences and involves the locational stem rather than the locative root, it is probably best ignored.

9. Various forms of waruul occurring on the data suggest a root waruu- to which the temporal clitic -l is often attached. However, a new waruul root is emerging. The following table shows the expected patterns of nominal plus clitic combination for both roots. The forms are predicted assuming the regular operation of the phonotactic 'cluster-busting' rules.

- 509 -
Of six predicted possibilities, only \textit{waruu-rru} does not occur in the data. However, a form \textit{waruul-u-rru} which is not predicted by the regular phonotactic rules occurs just once. The roots are clearly in competition. Firstly, although both forms of the particle occur with the -lpurtu clitic, that based on \textit{waruul} is quite rare, suggesting that the \textit{waruu} root is winning out. By contrast, the most common form with the clitic -rru is \textit{waruul-va-rru}, suggesting (since \textit{waruu-rru} never occurs) that the \textit{waruul} root is winning out on this front. However, the existence of the unpredicted form \textit{waruul-u-rru} suggests that perhaps the \textit{waruulwaru} form may involve clitics -lwa and -rru added to the \textit{waruu} root (that is, \textit{waruu-lwa-rru}). There is no semantic reason for supposing the presence of the -lwa clitic in this form. Finally, both root forms are equally common with the -nu clitic.

Footnotes to Chapter 6

1. The imperative inflection in the other languages is uniformly -CM-ma which might therefore be reconstructed for proto-Ngayarda. This would suggest that Martuthunira lost an original \textit{#-CM-ma} imperative suffix, its functions being assumed by the #-CM-ku future suffix. The role of this suffix in marking future tense was then assumed by new future forms (sources for the suppletive Martuthunira future suffixes have yet to be discovered) resulting in the restriction of the suffix to imperative mood. I have assumed elsewhere (Dench 1982) that the shift from future to present tense in the Ngayarda languages is of crucial importance in understanding the development of accusative syntax in these languages. A clearer understanding of Ngayarda historical syntax will depend on a detailed comparison of the reanalysis of verbal inflections in each of the Ngayarda languages.

2. The Martuthunira past tense essentially corresponds to both past tense and active perfective suffixes in the other Ngayarda languages. Yinyjiparnti, Panyjima and Ngarluma share a past tense suffix -nha/-rna which indicates past action and which does not occur in subordinate clauses. In addition, each has a special 'perfective' suffix which, unlike the past tense, implies a completed action and is common in subordinate structures. The Martuthunira past tense suffix is cognate with the Panyjima perfect.

\begin{itemize}
  \item Yinyjiparnti perfective \textit{-(a)ayi/-kaayi}
  \item Ngarluma active participle \textit{-nguru/-rnuru}
  \item Panyjima perfect \textit{-CM-lha}
\end{itemize}
Also in contrast to Martuthunira, the past tense suffix in Panyjima, Yinyjiparnti and Ngarluma can occur on a derived passive verb. Such a construction fulfils the past tense functions of the passive perfective in Martuthunira. In addition, the three languages have special passive perfective inflections corresponding to the active perfective inflections.

Yinyjiparnti perfective passive -yangaarnu/-rnaarnu
Ngarluma passive perfective -nhakurla/rnakurla
Panyjima -jangaanu/-rnaanu

The Panyjima and Yinyjiparnti forms can be reconstructed as *-jangu/-rnu with an added ablative suffix *-janu (not occurring as an ablative in any Ngayarda language but found in this function in the Western Desert language Mantjiltjara immediately to the east of the Ngayarda language area). A pattern of ablative marked subordinate clauses is well established as an areal feature extending from (at least) Yingkarta (Kartu group), through the Kanyara and Mantharta families, and throughout the Ngayarda languages (and see the Martuthunira 'Perfect' relative clause construction in 11.1.2). The Ngarluma forms are based on the past tense and involve the addition of a suffix -kurla, as yet unidentified. It is important to note that the past tense performs the functions in Ngarluma of the relative clause inflection -(ja)ngu/-rnu in Panyjima and Yinyjiparnti.

This comparison of forms explains the unusual cognacy between the Martuthunira passive perfective suffix and the Panyjima and Yinyjiparnti relative clause inflections:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Martuthunira PASSP</th>
<th>Panyjima relative clause</th>
<th>Yinyjiparnti relative clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-yangu/-rnu</td>
<td>-jangu/-rnu</td>
<td>-yangu/-rnu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The original suffix can be reconstructed as a subordinate non-finite clause marker *-(ja)ngu/-rnu where the *-jangu version of the g-conjugation form was selected when the subordinate clause subject differed from the main clause subject. The passive meaning associated with some of the reflexes of this suffix arose through a reinterpretation of the pivot NP (see Dench 1982) in certain subordinate clause types. In Panyjima and Yinyjiparnti this reinterpretation occurred in those subordinate clauses marked with the ablative suffix. The same explanation can be offered for the Ngarluma passive perfective based on the past tense suffix. In Martuthunira the reinterpretation of pivot appears to have extended to simple relative clauses. Thus the -yangu suffix in Martuthunira is passive, while in its bare form in the other languages it remains active.

3. The passive counterfactual suffix -CM-ngulaanu is clearly based on the passive derivational suffix -CM-nguli-$^g$ (6.1.4.2). It also
closely resembles the Panyjima and Yinyiparnti passive perfective inflections -rnaanu/-jangaanu which involve an ablative suffix *-janu (see footnote 2 above). We can suggest, then, that the Martuthunira passive counterfactual suffix also involves a frozen ablative suffix. The form of the active counterfactual in Panyjima lends some support to this hypothesis. In Panyjima, the counterfactual inflection is transparently derived by the addition of the ablative suffix -nguru to the future form of the verb (see Dench 1981:108). If the original future form of ß-conjugation verbs simply involved the bare stem (through the lenition of *-ku), the development of the passive counterfactual suffix might be reconstructed as:

*CM-nguli-ß-janu > CM-ngulaanu
-PASS-FUT-ABL

Footnotes to Chapter 7

1. The addition of clitics to consonant-final words and the possibility of clitic sequences results in a number of non-permissible consonant clusters. The breaking of these clusters is discussed in 2.3.3.

2. Adverbs must be distinguished from manner nominals. Nominals may function as second predications on actors to describe the manner in which an action is carried out (10.5.1). In addition, a collection of nominals function as sentential modifiers conveying a range of temporal meanings. Although these do not bear case-marking (since they do not agree with a case-marked constituent), there are reasons for setting them apart from adverbs (see 5.10).

3. Since most of the data I have on this topic relates to the adverbs paju 'REALLY' and warra 'CONTRastive' I will illustrate with these alone. This will serve to give some idea of the complexities of adverb scope in Martuthunira but I do not claim that the issues can necessarily be generalized to other adverbs and clitics.

4. Although these examples are suggestive, the data does not appear to support the description of a VP constituent for Martuthunira. However, I have not investigated scoping in detail and it may be that relevant arguments for a VP constituent can be made on the basis of the scoping characteristics of words like the negative, yirla 'only' and assorted adverbs.

Footnotes to Chapter 8

1. The present analysis differs from McGregor's in two important respects. Firstly, I recognise a head corresponding to the Entity slot in the functional array, and which must appear in any NP (8.3 and footnote 6 below). Secondly, I treat part-whole constructions as complex fillers of the Entity slot rather than as instances of the
Classifier-Entity relation (8.2.6). This allows a neater definition of the Classifier function (though to be fair it no longer fully resembles McGregor's Classifier). I choose to use Evans' (1985) label 'Determiner' rather than McGregor's 'Deictic'. Otherwise the labels are identical to those used by McGregor. With these qualifications, Martuthunira is almost identical to Kuniyanti in the arrangement and relationships among the functional slots.

2. In choosing to describe part-whole constructions as apposed NPs embedded in the Entity slot I avoid the problem of having to determine which of the two is head of the construction. Before deciding on a similar analysis for Kayardild, Evans (1985) discusses the problems inherent in identifying a semantic head of the part-whole construction and describes semantic tests with give conflicting results. These tests give similarly conflicting results in Martuthunira.

3. Evans (1985) treats generic-specific pairs in Kayardild like part-whole pairs as composite fillers of the entity slot. He notes that there are no tests which show one or other of the generic and specific to be the head of the structure and so describes them as nominals in apposition.

4. McGregor's analysis of Kuniyanti treats generic-specific pairs and part-whole pairs as instances of the Classifier-Entity pattern. To my mind this introduces a number of difficulties not the least of which is the clear definition of the nature of the Classifier relationship to the Entity slot. Removing part-whole and generic-specific from the Classifier function allows a cleaner definition of the slot in Martuthunira.

5. Even though the expression thanuwa-marta-ngara is an afterthought which will be construed with nhula-ngara at some level, by the analysis developed here it is a separate NP and as such must be accounted for.

6. McGregor's description of NPs in Kuniyanti allows the possibility of ellipsis and this leads to some confusion in his analysis. There is no functional slot which must be represented in every NP and there is always the possibility of ambiguity depending on how the nominals in the NP are viewed in relation to the possible slots they may fill. However, McGregor also mentions the possibility of ellipsis.

An NP need not have constituents realizing each of these functions. Any subset of the functions may be realized in an NP, but they invariably occur in the order indicated. Constituents of the NP may also be ellipsed, if given.

McGregor (1984:211)

If a well-formed NP can freely involve any subset of the functions then apparent ellipsis is already accounted for. It appears to me that McGregor has stumbled over the problem that the nominal in the
Entity slot is arguably the semantic head of the NP. Thus an NP with no Entity nominal appears to have something missing and an appeal is made to ellipsis.

Footnotes to Chapter 10

1. My position owes much to the lexicalist approach of, for example, Lexical Functional Grammar. However, I make no firm commitment to the 'correctness' of this analysis of Martuthunira syntax and do not wish to argue the relative merits of rival theories of grammatical representation in this thesis. I hope that the reader will not find this use of a lexicalist perspective too prejudicial.

2. While it may be tempting to argue that this construction is the result of a simple ellipsis of a verb specifying the beneficent action (of which the additional accusative argument is the object), there are clear arguments against this position. Firstly, as in the example given in text, wuruma-L is very often a finite main verb. Secondly, and more importantly, the NP denoting the patient/theme may appear as the nominative subject of a passive form of wuruma-L.

Only once was Algy Paterson obliged to give an English gloss for wuruma-L, preferring to contrive a gloss for a complete benefactive sentence. In this one instance the 'verb was translated as 'to heap up (something)'. While this reading is certainly possible for many of the benefactive sentences in which wuruma-L is used, it is not compatible with all uses of the verb. Most likely, we are looking at a stage in the development of a verb 'to heap up', taking an accusative patient and an optional accusative beneficiary, towards a semantically bleached verb which takes as its main non-subject argument a beneficiary and which typically stands in a subordinate position to some other predicate.

3. For a discussion of the complements of verbs of fearing see Noonan (1985:119). The marking of such affirmative complements as negative is not uncommon. Noonan cites Latin and Russian as examples.

4. Interestingly, the same pattern applies for double-object constructions in Sanskrit (Hock ms.). Given two objects of a verb, that which is higher on the animacy hierarchy may appear as the subject of the passive, the other may not. As discussed in 10.3 below, it is possible to assign grammatical relations to the arguments of such double-object constructions. Perhaps, then, the passive in Sanskrit can similarly be defined in terms of grammatical relations.

5. It should be remembered that examples such as this are extremely rare and most of the data on such constructions comes in the form of elicited examples, constructed test examples and the initial sentences of elicited texts. Generally, only one of the two possible object arguments appears in any clause.
6. Martuthunira is by no means unique in this respect. The most celebrated apparent counterexample to the 'stratal uniqueness law' is Kinyarwanda (Gary and Keenan 1977) which similarly displays active clauses in which two arguments share direct object properties. As in Martuthunira, both may also be passivized. However, while the Kinyarwanda debate centres on the status of the Bantu objects, it also questions the processes of promotion of non-core arguments to object status and the presumed subsequent demotion of displaced objects to chomeur status.

The Martuthunira data allow the construction of similar arguments. Those readers who are interested in such issues will already have considered the possibility of describing the alternate case frames of induced motion verbs, for example, in terms of a promotion of locational complements to object status. Such a promotion could then feed the passive. These readers will also have noted that examples such as 81 in 10.2, in which the 'promoted' locational complement co-occurs with a passive on the theme are crucial to such an analysis.

To some extent the difficulties of the Bantu, and now Martuthunira, data are 'created' by the particular derivational/transformational assumptions of Relational Grammar. I believe that the lexicalist approach of LFG may avoid many of these difficulties. However, this thesis is not the place to pursue a detailed evaluation of the relative strengths of the two models in the face of the Martuthunira data. I prefer to leave this to a separate paper.

7. In this regard it is interesting to note Dryer's (1986) recent comments on the use of GRs in LFG:

The literature on Lexical-Functional Grammar does not make it clear what considerations are relevant in identifying the OBJ and OBJ2 in other languages; they might as well be ad-hoc grammatical relations used in the grammar of English, and it is quite unclear what relation they bear to more familiar grammatical relations like DO and IO.  

Dryer (1986:815)

8. Here I am following the LFG use of two object relations (Bresnan 1983). Deciding to call one relation Direct Object and the other Indirect Object prejudices the interpretation of the formal representation.

9. The lack of accusative case marking on imperative objects has a near parallel in a small set of elicited passive clauses. In the following examples the theme argument appears in the leftmost position and is usually separated from the body of the clause by a slight pause:
1. nhiingara marrari-ngara, ngayu nhuura-ma-rnu
   thisPLURAL story -PLURAL 1sgNOM know-CAUS-PASSP

   nganaju-wu-lu mimi-ngku.
   1sgACC-GEN-EFF uncle-EFF

   These stories were taught me by my uncle.

2. ngunhu murla, nganaju kurntal yungku-yangu ngulu
   thatNOM meat 1sgGEN daughter give -PASSP thatEFF

   kanyara-lu kampa-lwaa.
   man -EFF cook-PURPs:o

   That meat was given my daughter to cook.

Example 2 shows that despite its adjacency to the verb and the apparent separation of the theme into a prominent topic position, the recipient still controls the -CH-waa purpose clause inflection, and this is good evidence that it remains an object. The subject of the clause is in fact the theme. Thus this pattern is probably best seen as a focussing strategy for surviving objects. Here the recipient object is placed in an immediate preverbal position, the position of primary focus for new information, and is stripped of its case-marking. An alternative construction in which the recipient functions as subject and the theme is an unmarked and focussed object was not accepted by Algy Paterson as grammatical. Nor is it possible to strip accusative arguments of their case-marking in active clauses, other than in the imperative.

It must be stressed that these double-nominative passive constructions were accidental elicitations. No examples appear in spontaneous text. I would suggest that the reader not accord them too much importance in the analysis of Martuthunira syntax.

10. Passive imperatives also occur in Maori (Chung 1978), though in this language corresponding active imperatives are not permitted. While it is clear that Martuthunira is an accusative case-marking language that has developed out of a previously ergative case-marking language, the status of the Polynesian proto-language is still the subject of much debate. Chung's position is that the passive is a recent development in languages such as Maori and by this reasoning the passive imperatives are an innovation. By contrast, Clark (1974) takes the position that proto-Polynesian was ergative. From this point of view the Maori imperatives might be seen as ergative relics.

Imperative clauses in the other Ngayarda languages also exhibit traces of historical ergativity. In both Panyjima and Yinyjiparnti, with the exception of pronouns, the object in an imperative is usually unmarked. Interestingly, an accusative marked object in a Yinyjiparnti imperative clause is interpreted as partitive (Wordick 1982:169-170). While in terms of the modern case-marking patterns this is unusual (an apparent overt marking of transitivity should not
indicate a partitive object), in terms of a historical ergative case-marking pattern it is quite understandable: the unmarked transitive pattern has an absolutive object but a partitive interpretation may be indicated by marking this object with the dative case. This pattern survives only in imperative clauses.

11. Evans (1985), in a discussion of referential case-marked NPs in Kayardild gives a clear definition of a 'genuine' second predicate:

An ascriptive NP, which could appear alone as a nominal clause ... is incorporated within the main clause, and serves to give manner-type information about the subject. Semantically, it makes a predication about the subject that is only asserted to be true during the time of the main predicate.

Evans (1985:295)

He then argues that part-whole constructions in which the body-part describes the 'locus of effect' of some action, while syntactically identical to second predications, are not true second predications since the NPs referring to part and to whole may not be placed together as a simple ascriptive predication in a non-verbal clause.

Unfortunately this strict definition cannot be used in Martuthunira. While there are many manner-type second predications which can be expressed as independent ascriptive non-verbal clauses, most manner nominals may not occur except as second predications on some verbal predicate. However, rather than use the term 'second predicate' to cover effectively all referential nominal adjuncts (see for example Simpson 1983:363) I will follow Evans' lead and treat part-whole constructions separately.

12. In the body of his thesis Nathan (1986:41) makes certain generalizations on the raw figures. In particular he collapses VO and SVO patterns as (S)VO, VS and VSO as VS(O), and OSV and OV as O(S)V. While I would accept the first two generalizations as valid I question the third. If the OV pattern is to be collapsed with any other pattern then I believe a collapse with the SOV pattern to be preferable. This alteration in some ways weakens Nathan's arguments for a relatively rigid word order. He notes that "a major alternation between, say, pragmatically neutral SVO and SOV orders would argue for some doubt in suggesting a basic order" (1986:43). However, I would contend that the SOV order is pragmatically marked and thus the conclusion that Martuthunira has a strong tendency to basic SVO order can be defended. It is certainly reflected in the generalized figures presented in Table 10.1 (in text).
Footnotes to Chapter 11

1. The analysis of subordinate clause patterns set out in this chapter postdates that presented in Dench (forth.). The present analysis exhibits a number of minor revisions though the core of the analysis remains unchanged. The main theme of the previous paper was to demonstrate that Martuthunira did not have a system of switch-reference for relative clauses and the data were presented in such a way as to emphasize the points of similarity and complementarity between what are here described as present relative clauses and contemporaneous relative clauses. I have also benefitted from Nathan's (1985) reorganization and discussion of the material presented in that paper. In this thesis the two clause types are described independently and the glosses for the verbal inflections have been similarly revised.

2. I suspect that the present relative inflections -nyila and -rmura may ultimately be found to involve a frozen locative complementizing suffix. This would explain the different-subject constraint and the apparent subordinate status of the unmarked present relative clause. However, I have yet to investigate the history of these inflections in any detail.

3. The passive clauses involving the verb yarna-L in example 40 have been translated as active. The verb is very similar in meaning to the English 'be dissatisfied with' or 'be disappointed in', neither of which allow a passive in English. My attempts to find a comparable English transitive verb allowing a passive have failed.

4. This pattern of inclusion is quite symmetrical and so contrasts with patterns reported for a number of other Australian languages with a switch-reference system. In Diyari (Austin 1981a) for example, the inclusion principle allows same-subject marking only where the subject of the main clause is included in the reference set of the subject of the subordinate clause. The opposite pattern occurs in Yankunytjatjara (Goddard 1983); same-subject marking occurs only where the subject of the subordinate clause is included in the reference set of the subject of the main clause.

5. The following rather contrived elicited example shows that the reflexive nominal can be divorced from its controlling subject argument in much the same way, I would argue, as body parts can be syntactically separated from wholes.

ngayu nguyi-ma -lalha jankul-yu -nu kalyaran-ta-nguru
1sgNOM dream-CAUS-PAST self -ACC-QUOT tree -LOC-ABL

nhawu-rra nyina-lha -nguru.
watch-RELss sit -PAST-ABL

I dreamt that I was watching myself from up in a tree.
Appendix A

The Phonological History of the Ngayarda Languages

A.1 Introduction

The phonological patterns described in Chapter 2 point to a number of diachronic changes affecting Martuthunira consonants. In particular, the morphophonemic alternations described in 2.5 show evidence of conditioned lenitions and loss of the peripheral stops in certain consonant clusters and in intervocalic position. The same changes are reflected in the general phonotactic patterns of the language: firstly the set of permissible intra-morphemic consonant clusters reveals patterns of lenition similar to those occurring across morpheme boundaries, and secondly p and k occur with relatively low frequency in intervocalic position.

Similar changes are described for other Ngayarda languages by O'Grady (1966) and for the Kanyara and Mantharta languages by Austin (1981c). Unfortunately, the only Martuthunira data available to O'Grady at the time of his study was a basic one hundred item wordlist and it was not possible for him to do more than note that changes affecting this language were similar to changes affecting Yinyjiparnti and Kurrama, the most phonologically innovative languages in the group. With additional data it is possible to extend O'Grady's reconstruction to Martuthunira and thus
attempt a reappraisal of the diachronic tendencies affecting languages in the area.

In some instances, O'Grady's formulations need to be reconsidered in the light of additional data collected by both myself, for Kurrama, and Wordick (1982) for Yinyjiparnti. In the sections that follow I will present O'Grady's description of the changes affecting stops and laterals in Yinyjiparnti and Kurrama, pointing out where this description can be updated, and then comparing the changes with those seen to have taken place in Martuthunira. A summary of the changes occurring in the Ngayarda languages and a comparison with similar changes in the Mantharta and Kanyara language groups is given in A.4. Finally, A.5 discusses the status of the alveolar stop $t$ in intervocalic position across the languages of the wider Pilbara area.

A.2 Phonological Changes in Yinyjiparnti

A.2.1 Lenition of Stops

Loss of consonants: the peripheral and laminal stops are lost between identical vowels in disyllabic verb roots and in nominal words of three or more syllables (restated by Austin 1981c:317). The stop $k$ is also lost following the alveolar rhotic trill/tap $rr$.

The peripheral stops $p$ and $k$ lenite to $w$ and the laminal stops $j$ and $th$ lenite to $y$ and $yh$ (an interdental glide) respectively in other intervocalic environments except where; a) the preceding vowel is long; b)
the word initial consonant is a glide identical to that which would arise if lenition took place (only relevant for *p, *k and *j); c) the preceding syllable in proto-Ngayarda involves a peripheral or laminal stop followed by a vowel (which might itself suffer some lenition). Together these patterns suggest general constraints on sequences of 'weak' syllables. Sequences involving successive glides, or the combination of long vowels and glides are not tolerated. Lenition of *p to w, and *j to y, also occurs following *rr.

A number of examples cited by Wordick (1982) suggest that the loss of *k following *rr does not occur in all cases:

*warʁku > warrwu  joey kangaroo
*jarrkurti > jarrwurti  three
*thurrkuny > thurrwiny  white gooseberry shrub

Although O'Grady noted the exceptional form jarrwurti he was unable to confidently reconstruct the *rrk cluster in this word. The proto-form given here is identical to the Panyjima form. At this stage it is not clear which pattern is the more usual and/or whether separate conditioning environments need to be recognised.

Á.2 Changes Affecting Laterals

O'Grady's original formulation describes the following conditioned changes affecting the four proto-Ngayarda laterals:

The apical laterals descend unchanged in intervocalic position while the laminal laterals merge with the laminal stops. In word final position all
laterals merge with the corresponding, homorganic, stops.

In pre-consonantal position the retroflex lateral is always reflected as the retroflex rhotic glide r. The alveolar lateral, on the other hand, has a set of reflexes: t preceding *p, and rr preceding *k unless immediately preceded by a productive morpheme boundary in which environment the lateral is lost. This last condition accounts for the loss of the *-l- verb conjugation marker in the Yinyjarra inflections -ku (<*-lk-ku) and -kaji (<*-lk-aji). This loss must follow the lenition of intervocalic peripheral stops.

O'Grady suggests that the palatal lateral is lost preceding a consonant. However, Wordick's (1982) dictionary includes examples suggesting lenition of *ly to y preceding *k, and fortition of *ly to j preceding *p:

- *malykan > maykan mountain gum
- *pilyparra > pijparra dry
- *walypa-L > wajpa-L remove

A.3 Phonological Changes in Kurram

The lenition of Kurrama stops completely parallels that described for Yinyjarra. However, there are a number of differences between the two languages in the reflexes of proto-Ngayarda laterals.

Firstly, the fortition of Yinyjarra laterals in word final position effectively extends to all syllable final laterals in Kurrama. Thus the retroflex lateral merges unconditionally with the stop rt, *lh with th and
\*1y with j. The alveolar lateral is similarly reflected as t preceding consonants in apparent contrast to the Yinyiparnti rr reflex preceding \*k. The Kurrama data I have collected also suggest that the fortition of \*1 extends to those morphological environments which in Yinyiparnti show loss of the lateral.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>proto-Ngayarda</th>
<th>Yinyiparnti</th>
<th>Kurrama</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*pulka</td>
<td>purrka</td>
<td>putka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*wilkara</td>
<td>wirkaa</td>
<td>wirtkaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*-lkaji</td>
<td>-kayi</td>
<td>-tkayi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A.4 Phonological Changes in Martuthunira**

**A.4.1 Lenition of Stops**

Firstly, a number of Martuthunira words show evidence of the loss of \*k between like vowels:

- \*kakara > kaara, hip bone
- \*yakan > yaan, spouse
- \*nhukura > nhuura, know
- \*nhukunu > nhuunu, spouse of grandparent

However, there are also a number of words in which this lenition does not take place. Compare the following with the above examples:

- makaran, type of plant
- yakarrangu, sun, day
- thukurtarra, person who talks out of place

Similarly, there is widespread evidence of the lenition of \*k to w (between dissimilar vowels), \*p to w and \*j to y intervocalically.
Although there is also phonetic lenition of th to an interdental glide yh (see 2.2.2) this does not result in a phonemic split in Martuthunira (effected in Yinyjiparnti by the fortition of *lh to th).

| *jikurra  | jiwurra  | bony bream |
| *puka     | puwa     | rotten     |
| *warruka  | warruwa  | devil      |
| *makuntu  | mawuntu  | punishment spear |
| *yapan    | yawan    | hot cooking spear |
| *pipi     | piwi     | breast     |
| *jipa     | jiwa     | shock, surprise |
| *thapi    | thavi    | song type  |
| *japurta  | jawurta  | beard      |
| *kaja     | kaya     | elder brother |
| *pajapurtu | payawurtu | savage |
| *yuja     | yuya     | spinifex quail² |
| *wajuwarra | wayuwarra | type of marsupial rat |

Once again, there are exceptions to this pattern:

- pukarra: firewood
- makurra: afternoon
- ngapala: mud
- kapun: person, body
- jipurta: type of fruit
- waja: baby
- paju: REALly
- yaji: mother's brother

That is, although there are sets of forms which suggest patterns of lenition equivalent to those which have affected Yinyjiparnti and Kurrama, there are also numerous forms which appear otherwise identical and in which the changes have not taken place. There are essentially two possible explanations for this state of affairs: either there is some conditioning environment yet to be discovered, or one or other set of forms is exceptional as a result of interference of some kind.
That the changes involve a more particular set of conditioning environments does not seem plausible given the great similarity between forms in both the leniting and non-leniting sets. I have yet to seek possible cognates in a wide range of languages and so cannot evaluate a hypothesis that certain forms are borrowed. Because the patterns of lenition do not coincide exactly with those of Yinyjiparnti and Kurrama it is probably best to assume that the lenited forms are 'Martuthunira proper' while, if any forms are borrowed, then the non-lenited forms are.

A.4.2 Changes Affecting Clusters

Proto-Ngayarda consonant clusters involving an initial lateral or *rr followed by a stop have reflexes in Martuthunira showing lenition of the stop to a glide: *k and *j are lenited to y and *p becomes w. A subsequent change has affected the laterals so that the retroflex *rl and palatal *ly merge with the alveolar l preceding y:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proto-Ngayarda</th>
<th>Martuthunira</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pulka</td>
<td>pul.ya</td>
<td>spinifex resin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parlkarra</td>
<td>pal.yarra</td>
<td>plain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngalyka</td>
<td>ngal.ya</td>
<td>spike, firestick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warrku</td>
<td>warryu</td>
<td>joey kangaroo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pulpu</td>
<td>pulwu</td>
<td>stone axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jirlpa</td>
<td>jirlwa</td>
<td>ashes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walypa-L</td>
<td>walywa-L</td>
<td>detach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurrparu</td>
<td>kurrwaru</td>
<td>butcher bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paljarri</td>
<td>pal.yarri</td>
<td>hill kangaroo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurrjarta</td>
<td>kurrayarta</td>
<td>spear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The lenition is equivalent to that occurring in Yinyjiparnti and Kurrama in clusters involving *rr. However, in Martuthunira the lenition extends to clusters involving laterals. Recall that in the other two languages it is the laterals that show the effects of change in the comparable consonant
clusters: they surface as stops in Kurrama and variously as rhotics or glides in Yinyjiparnti.

A.5 Summary of Changes

The sets of changes described in the preceding sections suggest two interacting diachronic tendencies: lenition and loss of non-apical stops, and the fortition of laterals. In this section I will summarize the comparison of the three Ngayarda languages and note Austin's (1981c) findings on similar changes in the Kanyara and Mantharta language groups.

A.5.1 Lenition of Non-Apical Stops

In Yinyjiparnti and Kurrama lenition of all non-apical stops occurs intervocalically, depending on certain other conditions. Loss of the stops occurs between like vowels in all languages but affects only ːk (and ːth phonetically) in Martuthunira. In Yinyjiparnti and Kurrama all non-apical stops are lost in this environment. In both Yinyjiparnti and Kurrama stops are lenited or lost following ːrr but are retained following (what are historically) laterals. In Martuthunira lenition occurs following ːrr and the laterals.

Austin (1981c) describes the lenition and loss of intervocalic stops in Purduna (Kanyara) and Tharrkari (Mantharta), and compares these with the changes in Yinyjiparnti and Kurrama. In Purduna all non-apical stops lenite
to glides (*th surfaces as y in this language) under conditions similar to those described by O'Grady for Yinyjiparnti and Kurrama. In addition, the peripheral stops *p and *k are lost between like vowels under certain conditions. In Tharrkari, *p is always lenited to w, *j is lenited to y in the environment of *i, and *k is sporadically reflected as w. There is no lenition of *th. In both Purduna and Tharrkari the loss of a conditioning environment has led to the phonemicization of a contrast between voiced and voiceless stops in intervocalic position. Austin describes the lenitions and losses as a three stage process involving first the voicing of all intervocalic stops, the subsequent lenition of various non-apical stops, and finally the loss of peripheral stops between like vowels. The patterns of loss and lenition are summarized in Table A.1 below.

Table A.1: Summary of Stop Reflexes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>*p</th>
<th>*th</th>
<th>*k</th>
<th>*j</th>
<th>*th</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V_i—V_i</td>
<td>²p</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>²k</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>²j</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>²th</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;G&gt;V_i—V_j</td>
<td>²p</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>²k</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>²j</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>²th</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V_i—V_j</td>
<td>²p</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>²k</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>²j</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>²th</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rr</td>
<td>²p</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>²k</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>²j</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lc</td>
<td>²p</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
<td>²θ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a sporadic phonetic loss between like vowels
b this is the class of exceptional environments detailed earlier and generally involving a preceding glide
c any lateral

A.5.2 Lateral Fortition

The historical fortition of laterals is most pervasive in Kurrama in which the laminal laterals merge with homorganic stops in all environments and the apical laterals merge with the apical stops in all syllable-final positions. In Yinyjiparnti all laterals merge with the stops in word-final position and the alveolar and palatal laterals also merge with the stops preceding *p (and, though there are few clear examples, preceding *j). By contrast, the changes affecting Yinyjiparnti laterals preceding *k may best be described as lenitions: *l is either lost or surfaces as the rhotic rr, and *ly is reflected as the glide y. The retroflex lateral *rl is lenited to the rhotic glide r in all pre-consonantal environments.

There is no similar lateral fortition in Martuthunira, however, laterals are generally articulated with prestopping in word-final position and preceding a consonant. Similarly, in Panyjima lateral-stop clusters often involve glottal closure of the lateral preceding stop release. These phonetic patterns no doubt reflect the same general tendencies which have led to the fortition of laterals in Yinyjiparnti and Kurrama.

Unconditioned fortition of laterals occurs in one dialect of Tharrkari also. Here the laterals surface as voiced stops between vowels and as voiceless stops preceding a non-homorganic stop. Interestingly, those
nasals which may occur as the first member of a non-homorganic nasal stop cluster also surface as stops in Tharrkari. Nasals preceding a homorganic stop are lost. There is no fortition of laterals in Purduna but nasals are similarly realized as stops preceding a non-homorganic stop and are lost in homorganic nasal-stop clusters. Table A.2 summarizes the changes affecting laterals in the three Ngayarda languages.

Table A.2 : Summary of Lateral Fortitions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>Yinyjiparnti</th>
<th>Kurrama</th>
<th>Martuthunira</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V__V</td>
<td>#l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#rl</td>
<td>rl</td>
<td>rl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#ly</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>ly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#lh</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>lh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>___#</td>
<td>#l</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#rl</td>
<td>rt</td>
<td>rl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#ly</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>ly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>___p</td>
<td>#l</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#rl</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>rt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#ly</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>___k</td>
<td>#l</td>
<td>rr/∅</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#rl</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>rt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#ly</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5.3 Rule Orderings

On the basis of this comparison it is possible to suggest relative orderings of the rules of lenition and fortition. Firstly, consider the difference in post-consonantal lenitions between Martuthunira, on the one hand, and Yinyjiparnti and Kurrama. In Martuthunira, lenition occurs following #rr and the laterals while in the other two languages it occurs following #rr only. If the same rule is involved then this suggests that the changes affecting laterals preceded consonant lenitions thus bleeding
the lenition rules of post-lateral environments.

However, there is a complication here: in Yinyjiparnti some */lk clusters surface as */rrk. If the rule effecting the change in the lateral preceded consonant lenition then we would expect such clusters to suffer the ultimate fate of original */rrk clusters and surface as */rr. One solution is to assume that Yinyjiparnti laterals have been affected by two separate historical changes. Firstly, laterals preceding consonants were strengthened to stops (as in Kurrama) (Rule 1 below). Then, following post-consonantal lenitions (2), these stops have fallen subject to a weakening rule (3):

1. Lateral > Stop / $_$  
2. Stop > Glide / Liquid  
3. Stop > <Liquid> / Stop  
   <apical> <Glide>  
   <laminal>  

Rule 3 makes generalizations beyond the Yinyjiparnti data. In reality the alveolar and laminal stops only fall subject to the rule preceding */k while the retroflex stop is also affected preceding */p. Both rules 1 and 2 have applied in Kurrama while only rule 2 has applied in Martuthunira. Nevertheless, the phonetic pre-stopping of syllable-final laterals in Martuthunira might be considered an allophonic precursor to rule 1.
A.6 The Problem of Intervocalic \( t \)

The effective ban, in Martuthunira, on the alveolar stop \( t \) in intervocalic position suggests that some historical changes might have effected a merger with the tap \( rr \) in this position. However, the non-occurrence of \( t \) between vowels is actually very common among the languages of the area and any such change is clearly not restricted to Martuthunira.

O'Grady's (1966) reconstruction includes a listing of 465 reconstructed items of which just three include a medial alveolar stop.

- *katama-L* to hit reflexes only in Panyjima and Palyku
- *jitamarra* eye reflexes only in Ngarla and Nyamal
- *kutu* dead reflexes in Ngarla, Nyamal, Palyku and Panyjima

Of these languages, I would argue that only Panyjima, on present evidence, is undeniably a member of the Ngayarda group (see 1.2). While intervocalic \( t \) is not uncommon in Panyjima it is rare in other Ngayarda languages. A few examples appear in Wordick's (1982) Yinyjiparnti dictionary but all of these are identical to Panyjima forms and may be borrowings. Hale's (ms.) collection of Ngarluma vocabulary includes no example of intervocalic \( t \). Cognates between Panyjima and other languages in the group suggest some historical relationship with the tap \( rr \) although I have yet to investigate this in any detail.

The situation appears to be similar for the Kanyara and Mantharta languages. Austin's (1981c) reconstruction of proto-Kanyara and
proto-Mantharta phonology includes a list of 475 reconstructed items in which there are no examples of intervocalic \#t. There are also no examples of intervocalic t in Austin's (ms.) lists of Thalanyji and Jiwarli vocabulary. Nevertheless, he describes the phonotactics of proto-Kanyara (to which the phonotactics of proto-Mantharta are identical) as allowing all consonants to occur in intervocalic position (1981c:300). Although phonological changes have produced intervocalic alveolars in Purduna and Tharrkari, Austin notes that, for Tharrkari, "the contrast between t and rr is not well established synchronically and the two appear to fluctuate freely in a number of forms" (1981c:312 footnote 12).

Clearly there is a general tendency in languages of the area to merge the alveolar stop with the alveolar tap between vowels, corresponding to the common phonetic realization of the retroflex stop as a flap in this position.

Footnotes

1. Wordick (1982) describes a class of 'retroflex' nominals which take a particular set of case allomorphs. The items falling into this class are demonstratives of one kind or another and the variant allomorphs can be explained by assuming the historical presence of a deictic stem formative -1 which has subsequently been lost preceding nominal suffixes with initial k. Comparison of the Yinyjiparnti, Kurrama and
Panyjima demonstrative systems allows the reconstruction of these forms. Unfortunately there is no room to expand on the description here.

2. This example is an apparent counter-example to the constraints on intervocalic lenition described by O'Grady. Lenition is not expected to occur where the word-initial consonant is a glide identical to that which would arise through lenition of the following consonant.
Appendix B

Anaphoric Demonstrative Tracking

The patterns of anaphoric demonstrative tracking described in 5.5.2 are here illustrated with reference to a length of narrative text. The text sample given below is a portion of a traditional story describing the creation of the first pair of returning boomerangs by a Martuthunira culture hero.

Having demonstrated these boomerangs to a rival group of Martuthunira speaking peoples, described as devils in the stories and later to be completely annihilated by the relatives of the boomerang-maker, the culture hero returns to a place on the Fortescue River to continue making boomerangs. The leader of the group of devils, intent on securing the two returning boomerangs for himself, collects a handful of wood chips, the wastage from the carving of the first two good boomerangs, and makes his way to where the culture hero is working. With the chips in his hand he asks for the boomerang maker to give him the boomerangs which match the chips. Unwilling to give them up, the man continues to pass him boomerangs he has only recently made.

There are basically four separate participants in this part of the narrative and these form two opposing pairs. On the one hand, the man who made the boomerangs is complemented by the devil who is attempting to trick
him into giving them up. On the other hand, the first two good returning boomerangs contrast with the new boomerangs that the culture hero is currently producing and which he repeatedly offers the devil in response to the latter's requests.

The narrative proceeds with descriptive statements by the narrator (non-situated text) interspersed with sections of reported speech (situated text) by the boomerang-maker and the devil. Most proximal demonstrative forms occurring in the reported speech make exophoric reference and so are irrelevant to questions of endophoric demonstrative tracking. The relevant endophoric demonstrative forms are underlined in the text and Table B.1 lists these and shows the patterns of topic switching effected by shifts in anaphoric demonstrative reference. Anaphoric demonstrative forms switch between the man and the devil as one after the other becomes the major instigator of action in the narrative. At the same time, the pair of good boomerangs are also tracked by anaphoric forms in contrast to the unmarked set of newly made boomerangs.

Extract from "The First Boomerang"

1 ngunhaa puni-lha yilhi-i -rru manku-lha, nhiyu ngayalyu, thatNOM go -PAST chip -ACC-NOW grab -PAST thisNOM devil

2 jinkarni. nhyu nyina-nguru, wuraal, kanyara, wirra -a up riverCENT thisNOM sit -PRES alright man boomerang-ACC

3 yinka -l.yarra yartapalyu-u -rru. thungkara-la nyina-nguru, chisel-CTEMP others -ACC-NOW ground -LOC sit -PRES

4 marli -ngka-rru kartawura-la, malarnu-la. nhauw-layi cadjeput-LOC -NOW butt -LOC shade -LOC see -FUT

5 purrkuru-rru ngurnaa kanarri-nyila-a. truly -NOW thatACC come -PrREL-ACC
He went having got the [boomerang] chips, this devil, [came] this way from up-river. Alright, this fellow is carving boomerangs, another lot. He's sitting on the ground, at the butt of a cadjeput tree, in the shade. He sees that fellow coming alright.

6 "Ah! nhiyu -rru pala-nu, nhiyu kuyil ngayalyu
thisNOM-NOW IT -QUOT thisNOM bad cousin

7 kanarri-nguru-rru."
come -PRES -NOW

"Ah, it's this fellow. This is that bad cousin coming."

8 ngunhaa tharrwi-lalha thungkara-la -rru, wanthala. ngunhaa nyina-lha
thatNOM put in -PAST dirt -LOC-NOW somewhere thatNOM sit -PAST

9 thungkara-la, tharrwi-lalha ngurru -tharra-a panyu-tharra-a
dirt -LOC put in -PAST thatOBL-DUAL -ACC good -DUAL -ACC

10 wirra -tharra-a. nhuura ngurru -nu kanyara-a
boomerang-DUAL -ACC knowing thatACC-QUOT person -ACC

11 puni-nyila-a -wa nhawu-rra, ngurru wawayi -1.yarra.
go -PrREL-ACC-YK look -CTEMP thatACC look for-CTEMP

He put [them] under the sand then, somewhere there. He was sitting on the ground and put those two good boomerangs away. Apparently he knew that person was looking around, looking for them.

12 tharrwi-lalha nharnu-ngka-rru. yartapalyu-la kana -ngka-l
put in -PAST sand -LOC -NOW others -LOC clear -LOC -THEN

13 wanti-waa yinka -nnu-rra kankarnmayijila.
lie -PURPS:o chisel-PASS-CTEMP piled up

14 nhiyu kanarri-layi,
thisNOM come -FUT

He put them under the sand, while [leaving] others quite clear then. [He] let the ones being carved pile up. This fellow is coming.

15 *ngayu yirru kartungu yirru ngayu kanarri-lha. ngayu, ngayalyu
1sgNOM 2sgACC 1sgNOM come -PAST 1sgNOM cousin

16 yirru, kartungu kanarri-lha yirru? ngayu yirru kanarri-lha, yirru
2sgACC come -PAST 1sgNOM come -PAST
"I've come to you, cousin. Can I come over to you? I've come to see you, cousin."

"Yes, that's okay, cousin. [Come and see me] sitting here all alone, cousin."

"Ah, cousin. You give me those two boomerangs, the two good ones, cousin."

[He's] keeping [them], that big fellow, in his hand it seems, the chips of those two boomerangs. He picked them up somewhere there where they were chopped out by that man, in the beginning. He says,
ngurnu yirru ngulangu yirru yanga-rnu -u yirru, yanga-rnu -u
thatACC there chase-PASSP-ACC chase-PASSP-ACC

pal.yarra-ma -lwala -rru nganarna yanga-l.yarra ngurnaa,
plain -CAUS-PURPds-NOW 1pl(exc) chase-CTEMP thatACC

ngurnu -tharra-a wirra -tharra-a yirru."
thatOBL-DUAL -ACC boomerang-DUAL -ACC

"I want to be given those two boomerangs, cousin, that were
chased around over there. [And which as a result] we made a
plain [out of that place] chasing those two boomerangs."

ngawu. ngurnu -tharra-a kartu wiru-npa -nguru? "ngawu !"
yes thatOBL-DUAL -ACC 2sgNOM want-INCH-PRES yes

"Yes. You want those two boomerangs?" "Yes."

manku-layi ngurnu -ngara -a wanti-nyila -a kankarmmayi-i.
grab -FUT thatOBL-PLURAL-ACC lie -PrREL-ACC piled up -ACC

"nhiyu yirru ngunhaa yirru, ngayalyu yirru." warmntitha-nyinyji
thisNOM thatNOM cousin throw -FUT

ngunhaa nhau-waaw.
thatNOM see -PURPs-o

He grabs [one of] those boomerangs that are piled up. "This
is the one, cousin." He throws [it] so that fellow can see,

thaapuva, ngunhaa manku-wala nhau-layi ngurnu. nhau-layi
big man thatNOM grab -PURPds see -FUT thatACC see -FUT

yilhi-i -l juwayu-la -a. nhau-layi wirra -a. *piyuwa
chip -ACC-THEN hand -LOC-ACC see -FUT boomerang-ACC nothing

yirru, ngayalyu yirru. nhiyu yarta yirru." warmntitha-nyinyji.
cousin thisNOM other drop -FUT

So the devil, he picks it up and looks at it. Looks at the
chips in his hand then. Looks at the boomerang. "Nothing,
cousin. This is another one." He drops it.

ngartil warnntitha-nyinyji ngurnu. *ngurnu -rru-nu yarta waruul
again throw -FUT thatACC thatACC-NOW-QUOT other still

yirru! nhiyu yirru, ngayalyu yirru! nhiyu paju yirru, ngayalyu
thisNOM cousin thisNOM REAL cousin
yirru, yilhi yirru.*

chip

[The man] throws across another one. "That's still the wrong one, this one here, cousin. This is the one, cousin, these chips."

nhiyu mir.ta-tpurtu wiru yungku-layi ngurnaa, wuraal. ngunbu
thisNOM not -COMP wanting give -FUT thatACC alright thatNOM

wirra nbarmu-ngurni yirla tharrwi-ru.
boomerang sand -OBSCRD only put in -PASSP

But this fellow didn't want to give [it] to him. That boomerang had only been put under the sand.

"nhiyu ngunbaa." ngartil waruu manku-layi, ngunbu kanyara. "
thisNOM thatNOM again still grab -FUT thatNOM man

This is the one. Yet again he grabs one, that man. "This is the one, cousin."

nhiyu ngunhaa, ngayalyu.*
thisNOM thatNOM cousin

"This is the one." Yet again he grabs one, that man. "This is the one, cousin."

nhiyaa warntitha-rninyji, manku-wala thaapuwa. nhawu-layi kunti.
thisNOM throw -FUT grab -PURPds big man look -FUT stop

"piyuwa yirru, ngayalyu yirru. nhiyu yarta waruu yirru."
nothing cousin thisNOM other still

warnntitha-rninyji. yungku-layi ngartil waruu.
throw -FUT give -FUT again still

This fellow throws [one across to him], so that big fellow can grab it. He has a look. "Nothing, cousin. This is yet another one." Drops it. [The man] gives [him] another.

"kartu mil.yirri-nguru yirru, ngayalyu yirru! nhiyu paju yirru
2sgNOM hide -PRES cousin thisNOM REAL

yilhi-rru nhiyu paju kartungku yinka -ruu ngulangu.
chip -NOW thisNOM REAL 2sgEFF chisel-PASSP there

wanthala-ma -lalha kartu? kartu kanyja-ruuru. ngayu wiru
where -CAUS-PAST 2sgNOM 2sgNOM keep -PRES 1sgNOM wanting

yirnaa paju yilhi-i -rru, ngayalyu yirru.*
thisACC REAL chip -ACC-NOW cousin
"You're hiding it, cousin. These are the chips! These are the ones that were chiselled by you at that place. Where have you put [them]? You're keeping [them]. I want these chips, cousin."

53 "nhiyu -rru ngunbaa."
thisNOM-NOW thatNOM

"This is the one now"

54 ngulangu wanti-lha thawurra -ngara. nhamintha ngula, kayarra jina, there lie -PAST boomerang-PLURAL how many IGNOR two foot

55 kayarra juwayu wirra -ngara? warntitha-rralha ngunbaa, ngunbu two hand boomerang-PLURAL throw -PAST thatNOM thatNOM

56 thaapuwa nhuura-npa -nyila.
big man know -INCH-PrREL

A lot of boomerangs were lying there. I don't know how many, twenty (two feet, two hands) boomerangs perhaps? He throws one across. That big fellow is starting to realize [what is going on].

57 "piyuwa, ngayalyu yirru! yarta waruu nhiyu yirru, ngayalyu yirru."
nothing cousin other still thisNOM cousin

"Nothing, cousin! This is still the wrong one, cousin."

58 ngunbaa warntitha-rralha ngurnu thawurra -ngara -a nhawu-waa.
thatNOM throw -PAST thatACC boomerang-PLURAL-ACC look -PURPs=o

59 "nhiyu ngunbaa!"
thisNOM thatNOM

He threw the boomerangs across to him so he could see them. "This is the one!"

60 manku-wala ngunhu, ngayalyu. nhawu-layi ngurnu,
grab -PURPs thatNOM devil look -FUT thatACC

61 panyu-ma -l.yarra.
good -CAUS-CTEMP

He picks it up, the devil, looks at it, makes sure.

62 "piyuwa ngayalyu! nhiyu paju yirru yilhi yirru. nhiyu yirru
nothing cousin thisNOM REAL chip thisNOM

- 540 -
"No cousin. This chip is the one I want. This chip, not this one. You're keeping that particular one somewhere. This one!"
Table B.1: Anaphoric Demonstrative Tracking in Text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man</th>
<th>Devil</th>
<th>Boomerangs</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nhyu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngoonaha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The extract begins as the narrator is returning to the main story line after discussing the location of a number of sites on the Fortescue River and so at this point reintroduces both the main characters.

1. The first sentence introduces the devil, or ngayalyu. The word is used to refer to the rival group of Martuthunira who are described in English as 'devils'. As a term of address, as it appears in much of this text, it is glossed as 'cousin'. The word is no doubt related to the modern Martuthunira word for cousin ngathal. Notice that in this first sentence, the proximal demonstrative reintroducing the devil occurs after an initial distal anaphoric reference in a reversal of the usual order of presentation. The anaphoric form here is effectively cataphoric.

2. In the next sentence, line 2, the boomerang-maker is reintroduced to the narrative with a proximal demonstrative. However, the switch in focus to this participant is not immediate, the devil still warrants an anaphoric form on his next appearance (ln 5).

3. The man then speaks (ln 6) and, as the story describes his actions in preparing for the approach of the devil, he is tracked with anaphoric forms.

4. At line 14, the devil is again brought back into the picture and for quite some time becomes the focus of the narrative as he attempts to convince the man to hand over the two returning boomerangs.

5. At the same time, the pair of good boomerangs are the focus of the actions of both the boomerang-maker and the devil. As soon as the
devil has made it clear to the boomerang-maker just which two boomerangs he is interested in (lns 29-31), these are then tracked by anaphoric forms in contrast to the newly made boomerangs that are being offered instead.

6. At line 42 the spotlight swings back to the boomerang-maker. He is reintroduced with a proximal demonstrative at line 42, and then with an anaphoric proximal form at line 46.

7. Finally, at line 66, there is a shift back to the devil leading into events that follow this particular extract.

As a postscript, notice that the last word on line 66 is an anaphoric distal demonstrative which has escaped underlining. This particular demonstrative does not refer to any of the participants in the text but instead makes 'text reference' (5.5.4) to events which occur after this part of the narrative. Later, the devil calls up a strong wind to carry the boomerang chips far to the south into Thalanyji country, thus ensuring that no good boomerang wood would ever again grow in Martuthunira territory.
Appendix C

Texts

In this appendix I have included six examples of Martuthunira text. The first four of these are 'elicited texts' (1.6.4.3). That is, the first sentence of the text is a response to a request for a Martuthunira translation of a preferred English sentence. The rest of the narrative is constructed from this seed of an idea. Texts C.5 and C.6, on the other hand, are unelicited.

Texts C.1 and C.2, which describe procedures for catching and cooking an emu and a goanna respectively, are typical of Martuthunira programmatic discourse. The texts progress through a sequence of clearly defined actions and activities. Past tense and perfect relative (11.1.2) clauses typically describe completed steps while verbs bearing future or purpose clause inflections present the next steps to be undertaken. Most clauses have no overt subject and I have reflected this in the gloss. Programmatic texts are typically ambiguous between a first person actor and a generalized second person actor. For example, both Texts C.1 and C.2 begin in the first person but the choice of a 'near you' demonstrative form in an imperative clause in line 12 of Text C.2 suggests a shift to the second person point-of-view in this text.

Texts C.3, C.4 and C.5 are quite different and consist of a reported
dialogue involving a number of participants occasionally broken by some linking commentary from the narrator. In presenting texts of this sort, Algy always assumed the role of one of the protagonists and quite often the point-of-view, the persona of the narrator, shifts within the text. For example, in Text C.3 the narrator begins as a man suggesting that broken spears be taken to his uncle for repairs. However, in the connecting passage beginning at line 17 Algy has assumed the persona (quite justifiably, given his skills as a carpenter) of the uncle and maintains this point-of-view for the remainder of the text.

Almost all the texts Algy presented in this dialogue genre are moral tales of one kind or another. The exchanges between speakers present models for polite and acceptable Martuthunira behaviour, especially language behaviour. They are lessons that go beyond the simple illustration of grammatically correct sentence and text forms, and provide instruction, by example, in expected patterns of language use. Text C.5, a complaint against an offending brother-in-law, is the clearest example of this genre and is discussed in more detail below.

Similarly, I discuss Text C.6, an abusive harangue, separately (see below). Finally, the reader is referred back to Appendix B for an example of a long narrative text.
Text C.1: Hunting and Cooking an Emu

1. ngayu jirruna -npa -lha jankurna-a kulha -ngka-a, karri-nyila-a
   1sgNOM creep up-INCH-PAST emu -ACC plant(sp)-LOC -ACC stand-PrREL-ACC

2. mungka-1.yarra marrwalany -ku. ngayu ngurnaa jirruna -npa -lha,
   eat -CTEMP cockroach bush-ACC 1sgNOM thatACC creep up-INCH-PAST

3. panyu-ma -1.yarra ngurnta panyu-npa -lha jirruna karra-ngurni.
   good -CAUS-CTEMP style good -INCH-PAST creep up scrub-OBSCRD

   I crept up on an emu in the scrub, standing eating cockroach bush. I crept up on it, doing it properly. I crept along properly in the shelter of the bushes.

4. purrkuru-lwa, murna-npa -lha mirru -ngka-ma -rninyji-rru
   true -ID close-INCH-PAST woomera-LOC -CAUS-FUT -NOW

5. mulurru -ma -lalha-rru nhawungarrama-rninyji. palwarru ngunhaa.
   straight-CAUS-PAST -NOW aim -FUT alright thatNOM

   Alright, when I've come close I load up the spearthrower. Once it's straight I aim it. That's right.

6. murna-ngka-nguru warra ngayu thathu-lalha mulurru thanturri-waa
   close-LOC -ABL CONT 1sgNOM send -PAST straight go down -PURPs:o

7. yanti-ngka waruul. nhawu-layi ngurnaa kurryarta-marta-a -rru,
   side -LOC still see -FUT thatACC spear -PROP -ACC-NOW

8. yanga-rninyji-rru.
   chase-FUT -NOW

   From close up I send [the spear] straight so it goes down into [the emu's] side. I see that it (the emu) has a spear in it, and I chase it.

9. purrkuru wuraal -ma-rru, manku-marni, ngunhaa pungka-lha -rru
   true alright-Ø -NOW grab -CONTR thatNOM fall -PAST-NOW

10. nhurnti-rru. ngayu ngurnaa manku-lha -rru wilyara -la -ma -lalha.
    dead -NOW 1sgNOM thatACC grab -PAST-NOW shoulder-LOC-CAUS-PAST

   Alright, I would have grabbed it (I was about to grab it) but it fell down dead. I picked it up and put it on my shoulder.
Alright, I went straight home, came to the camp and shouted out so that their feelings (the people in camp) would become good.

Then I throw it down on the ground there, alright, so people come and dig, make a trench for that emu. Meanwhile firewood is being gathered from around there and is then thrown in the hole.

Alright, I light [the firewood] so that it bursts into flame and then wait and watch it burning down to the coals. Then get the hot cooking stones. Alright, I put the hot cooking stones inside it (the emu).

That's right. Close it up, tie the two legs together and tie up the head as well. That's that. I throw it in the hole now.
22 palwarru ngunhaa. kampa-rninji-rru. palyangu-ma -rninyji.
true thatNOM cook -FUT -NOW cover -CAUS-FUT

23 nharnu-ngara -a kuwithartu-ma -rninyji. nharnu-ngara -a
sand -PLURAL-ACC this way -CAUS-FUT sand -PLURAL-ACC

24 warnittha-rninji palyangu-ma -l.yarra ngurnaa.
throw -FUT cover -CAUS-CTEMP thatACC

That's right. Cook it now. Cover it over. Move the sand
in this direction [indicating] (out of the bottom of the hole
to make room for the emu). Then throw sand [over the emu]
covering it.

25 thana-rru wanti-waa jankurna-a kampi -rra -rru wanti-waa.
let -NOW lie -PURPs:o emu -ACC cooking-CTEMP-NOW lie -PURPs:o

26 puni-layi malarnu-la -rru nyina-lu wartawirrampa-rra jankurna-a
go -FUT shade -LOC-NOW sit -PURPs:o wait for -CTEMP emu -ACC

27 kampa-nyila-a.
cook -PrREL-ACC

Now I let that emu cook. Go off to sit in the shade and
wait for the emu that's cooking.

28 kampa-lha -rru, puni-layi thuulwa -ru -rru palykura-a
cook -PAST-NOW go -FUT pull out-PURPs-NOW flat -ACC

29 wurulywa-ngara -a wanti-nyila-a palykura-marnu. palwarru,
leaves -PLURAL-ACC lie -PrREL-ACC plate -ASSOC true

30 jankurna-a thuulwa -rninyji wantha-rninji manyjan -ta -rru.
emu -ACC pull out-FUT put -FUT ground cover-LOC-NOW

31 wuraal -wa-rru, wurnta-rninji-rru. palwarru ngunhaa.
 alright -@ -NOW out -FUT -NOW true thatNOM

Once it's cooked, go and pull down some branches, brush, for
a plate. Alright, I pull out the emu and put it on the
groundcover. Alright, cut it up. That's that.

32 mungka-yarri-layi-rru winya-npa -rra -rru, puni-rrawara
eat -COLL -FUT -NOW full -INCH-CTEMP-NOW go -SEQ

33 malarnu-mulyarra-rru wanti-lu -rru, parlura-ngara -rru.
shade -ALL -NOW lie -PURPs-NOW full -PLURAL-NOW
palwarru ngunhaa, palwarru yimpalaa.
true thatNOM true like that

Now we all eat together and fill up, and then we go to the shade and lie down, all full up now. That's that. That's how it's done.
Text C.2: Catching a Goanna

1 ngayu jirli mir.ta wii panyu, puni-rra yawarrunyja-l.yarra
   1sgNOM arm not if good go -CTEMP miss -CTEMP

2 murla-ngara -a tharnta-ngara -a, jalya -npa -rra, puni-rra
   meat -PLURAL-ACC euro -PLURAL-ACC useless-INCH-CTEMP go -CTEMP

3 nhwa-l.yarra waruulwa-l.yarra.
   spear-CTEMP unable -CTEMP

   If my arm is not good, I'll keep missing all the game, euroes, I'll be useless, I'll keep on being unable to spear them.

4 ngayu kuntirri-layi-rru tharnta-ngara -a wawayi -rninyji.
   1sgNOM cease -FUT -NOW euro -PLURAL-ACC look for-FUT

5 nhartu-rru kana parilha -npa -rra puni-layi? kuntirri-layi,
   what -NOW RHET keep trying-INCH-CTEMP go -FUT cease -FUT

6 thana-rru tharnta-ngara -a. wantharta kana nhurnti-wa -rninyji?
   let -NOW euro -PLURAL-ACC when RHET dead -CAUS-FUT

   I'll give up looking for euroes. Why bother to keep on trying? I'll give up on euroes, let them be. When am I going to kill one? [Never.]

7 ngawu! kuliyanpi-rra ngayu nhartu -u wiya wawayi -rninyji,
   yes think -CTEMP 1sgNOM something-ACC maybe look for-FUT

8 jalya -a -wuyu, mirtirimarta-a -rru, tharlwan-ku -wuyu. panyu-l
   useless-ACC-SIDE goanna -ACC-NOW tame -ACC-SIDE good -THEN

9 jinangku-layi ngurnas.
   track -FUT thatACC

   Yes, I'll think about looking for something else, something on the useless (easy) side, goannas for example, something on the tame side. Then I'll be alright, tracking them.

10 wuraal waruul, nhawa-layi. purrkuru waruul, yilangu-rru tharrwa-lha,
   alright still see -FUT true still here -NOW enter -PAST

11 nhiyu jina, tharrwa-lha waruul yilangu jalyuru-la, wayil kunti.
   thisNOM track enter -PAST still here hole -LOC maybe stop
Okay, I'll see [a track]. True enough, it went in here, this track, it went in and is still here in the hole, maybe.

12 nhulaa manku-ŋ pinkarranyu kalyaran, nyuwi-rrnyji. wayil near you grab -IMP dry stick poke -FUT maybe

13 wanti-myila-a paju yilarla jalyuru-la. nhuura-npa -layi-l. lie -PrREL-ACC REAL hereNV hole -LOC know -INCH-FUT -THEN

You grab a dry stick, poke it in at whatever is maybe lying here in the hole. Find out then.

14 nyuwi-ngu-rra jalyuru-la, ngunhaa thurtinti-layi poke -PASS-CTEMP hole -LOC thatNOM move away-FUT

15 paya-npa -rra -rru nyuwi-ngu-rra. ngunhaa paya-npa -rra wild-INCH-CTEMP-NOW poke -PASS-CTEMP thatNOM wild-INCH-CTEMP

16 wunykarri-layi-rru, nhuura-ma -l.yarra-rru kanyara-a ngurmu. make noise-FUT -NOW know -CAUS-CTEMP -NOW man -ACC thatACC

The thing in the hole getting poked, it moves away then, getting wild as it's being poked. It makes a "wuny" noise, as it gets wild, showing a person that [it's there].

17 purrkururu waruul, pala yilarla waruul wanti-nguru, murla. ngayu true still IT hereNV still lie -PRES meat isgNOM

18 manku-layi-rru yirnnaa murla-a. wayil nhiyaa jinyji-warla. grab -FUT -NOW thisACC meat -ACC maybe thisNOM fat -FULL

True enough. It's still here, the meat. Get this meat now. It might be a fat one.

19 manku-layi kalyaran-ku pinkarranyu-u. mulha-a grab -FUT stick -ACC dry -ACC point-ACC

20 jurirri-ma -rrnyji-rru. yurrna-rnyji-rru ngurnu -marta sharp -CAUS-FUT -NOW dig -FUT -NOW thatOBL-PROP

21 kalyaran-marta mulha jurirri-marta. stick -PROP point sharp -PROP

Then get a dry stick. Sharpen up the point. And dig with that sharp-pointed stick.

22 palwarru. ngurnu -marta-wa karta-rnyji, karta-rnyji-warntura alright thatOBL-PROP -YK jab -FUT jab -FUT -DISTRIB
Okay, jab the ground with it, jab again and again, making a hole. Throw the dirt away with [your] hand. Then dig again. Now have a look.

This is the goanna, lying in the clear now. What now that [you've] uncovered the meat? Keep going, grab hold of that meat.

What now? Grab the tail. Pull it with two hands, it'll be coming closer as [you] pull it out of the hole.

Then let go with one hand. The other hand keeps pulling. The other hand, the one that has let go, it keeps going, that other hand, along its back. This other hand is still pulling.
The other hand keeps going along its back. Grab its throat now as its head is coming closer.

That's right, now pull it out and stand up. Get up with that goanna having made sure [you've] got hold of it.

Alright, put it on the ground now. Press down on the back of its neck while, your other hand picks up a rock. Then smash its head, that goanna. And then go to the camp with some meat.

Having got back to camp, dig a hole in the sand for a fire. Get some firewood. Put it there in the hole, and then light it.
While the fire's burning, sit down and pull out the goanna's guts. Okay, now it's gutted, ready and waiting for the fire to be ready, to burn down to coals, to get really hot.

Once it's really hot, once it's burnt right down to the coals, cook [the goanna] in the ashes. Do it properly, cover it with hot ashes. Now let it lie there cooking.

Lie down and wait for the goanna while it cooks. And think this: "Alright, maybe this is cooked now!"
Now pull it out. Put it on some leaves. Let it lie there and cool down. Don't cut it while it's hot or [you'll] burn [your] hand. Cut it cool, it'll be good then, [you] won't burn [your] hand. And then sit and eat it.

Get some fat in [your] hand and rub [your] head with the fat, and ears too. That's good. That's just what the old people used to do.

1. The proprietive suffix -vari is a borrowing from Ngaluma which occasionally occurs in text. Although Algy will replace this upon questioning he does not consider it bad Martuthunira. The limited borrowing of lexemes and some morphemes serves an important stylistic function in text construction (much like the selection of synonyms in English).
Text C.3: Fixing a Broken Spear

1 nhiyu warrirti wurnts-rnu nhuwana-lu yungku-nguli-marni
thisNOM spear break -PASSP 2pl -EFF give -PASS -CONTR

2 nganaju-u mimi -i, wayil wii panyu-ma -lwa ngurnaa
1sgGEN -ACC MoBro-ACC maybe or good -CAUS-PURPs=o thatACC

3 warrirti-i.
spear -ACC

"This spear that's been broken by you fellows should be
given to my uncle, so perhaps he can fix that spear."

4 ngunhaa, nganaju mimi, panyu-ma -lalha waruul-wa-rru
thatNOM 1sgGEN MoBro good -CAUS-PAST still -Ø -NOW

5 wurnts-rnu -nguru-u. panyu-ma -lalha waruul-wa-rru,
break -PASSP-ABL -ACC good -CAUS-PAST still -Ø -NOW

6 puni-rrawaara kangku-rra ngurnu warrirti-i yungku-lu
go -SEQ take -CTEMP thatACC spear -ACC give -PURPss

7 ngurnu -ngara -a kanyara-ngara -a wurnts-lalha-nguru-u,
thatOBL-PLURAL-ACC man -PLURAL-ACC break -PAST -ABL -ACC

8 yungku-lu marrari-i -thurti-rru, wangka-lu -rru,
give -PURPss word -ACC-CONJ -NOW say -PURPss-NOW

That fellow, my uncle, fixed the one that had been broken.
Fixed it and then went off, taking the spear to give it to the
fellows who had broken it, and to give them a message too, to
say to them,

9 nhuwana mir.ta wurnts-rninji ngartil warrirti-i, panyu-rru
2pl not break -FUT again spear -ACC good -NOW

10 nhawungarra-ma -rninji murla-marnu-u. ngartil wii
look after -CAUS-FUT meat -ASSOC-ACC again if

11 wurnts-lalha-nguru, mir.ta-rru kangku-layi nganaju-mulyarra.
break -PAST -ABL not -NOW bring -FUT 1sgOBL -ALL

"Don't you break spears again, look after hunting implements
properly. If you break it again, don't bring it to me."
12 ngayu kuntirri-nguru-rru panyu-ma -rninyji wurnta-rru -ngara -a
1sgNOM leave it-PRES -NOW good -CAUS-FUT break -PASSP-PLURAL-ACC

13 warrirti-i nhuwana-lu. nhuwana panyu-ma -rninyji minthal-wa-rru.
spear -ACC 2pl -EFF 2pl good -CAUS-FUT alone -Ø -NOW

14 kanyarra-ipurtu warnu?
man -COMP ASSERT

"I'm giving up fixing spears broken by you lot. You fix them yourselves. You're men aren't you?"

15 mir.ta nyina-layi wuruma-nggu-rra yirla! nhuura-npa -layi minthal
not sit -FUT do for-PASS-CTEMP only know -INCH-FUT alone

16 warra panyu-ma -rninyji warrirti-i. pirri-marta warnu?
CONT good -CAUS-FUT spear -ACC hands-PROP ASSERT

"Don't just have it done for you! Learn to fix spears yourselves. You've got hands haven't you?"

17 ngunhu -ngara kanyara-ngara nganaju wangka-layi¹, ngayu
thatNOM-PLURAL man -PLURAL 1sgACC say --FUT 1sgNOM

18 kuliya-lwala marrari-i wantarni-i -lwa ngula. ngayu
listen-PURPds word -ACC how -ACC-ID IGNOR 1sgNOM

19 purnumpuru-npa -layi jampa kunti. ngawayu-rru kuliya-rninji
quiet -INCH-FUT moment stop turn -NOW listen-FUT

20 wantarni-i -lwa. wuraal -wa-rru, ngayu purnumpuru-npa -nguru-rru.
how -ACC-ID alright-Ø -NOW 1sgNOM quiet -INCH-PRES -NOW

Those men speak to me then, so I listen to [their] answer, just how [it will come out] I don't know. I'll keep quiet for just a moment. Take a turn to listen to how [they feel]. Alright, I'm keeping quiet now.

21 ngawu! nganarna warrirti-i kangku-nguru kartungu-miyarra yirla.
yes 1pl(exc) spear -ACC bring -PRES 2sgOBL -ALL only

22 nganangu-rru kana kur.ta-a yimpala -a -rru-wa kangku-nguru?
whoACC -NOW RHET clever-ACC like that-ACC-NOW-YK bring -PRES

23 kartu -ngku yirla panyu-ma -nguli-waa, thaapuwa-ngku
2sgNOM-EFF only good -CAUS-PASS -PURPs=o big man -EFF

24 kur.ta-ngku.
clever -EFF
"Yes! We bring spears to you only. Who is there, clever like that, who we can take them to? You're the only one they can be fixed by, you clever old bastard.

25 nganamarnu-ngu-rru kana kuliyanpa-layi panyu-u kanyara-a anyone -ACC-NOW RHET think -FUT good -ACC man -ACC

26 pilakurta-a, yungku-layi panyu-ma -lwaa? carpenter-ACC give -FUT good -CAUS-PURPs=o

"Whoever can we think of who is a good carpenter, who we can give them to, to fix them?

27 yimpala -rru-wa. nganarna kuliyanpa-nguru kartungu-milyarra yirla like that-NOW-YK 1pl(exc) think -PRES 2sgOBZ -ALL only

28 warrirti-ngara-a -a wurnta-rru -ngara -a, kartungu yirla spear -PLURAL-ACC break -PASSP-PLURAL-ACC 2sgACC only

29 yungku-lu panyu-ma -lwaa. give -PURPss good -CAUS-PURPs=o

"It's like that. We think that it's only to you that we can [bring] broken spears. You're the only one we can give them to, to fix them.

30 nganangu-rru kana kanyara-a kuliyanpa-layi jalya -ngara -a yirla whoACC -NOW RHET man -ACC think -FUT useless-PLURAL-ACC only

31 warnu kanyara-ngara -a yartapalyu-u? ASSERT man -PLURAL-ACC others -ACC

"What other man can we think of out of the other people who are only useless?

32 yimpala -rru-wa. nganarna winyarta-ma -rnuru kartungu like that-NOW-YK 1pl(exc) tired -CAUS-PRES 2sgACC

33 thurlajinkarri-i. nganangu-rru kuliyanpa-layi pilakurta-a poor fella -ACC whoACC -NOW think -FUT carpenter-ACC

34 jalya -ngara -la kanyara-ngara -la yartapalyu-la? useless-PLURAL-LOC man -PLURAL-LOC others -LOC

"So it's like that. We're tiring you, you poor fellow. Who can we think of as a carpenter when all the other men are useless?"
35 palwarru ngunhaa. ngawul ngayu ngarti-rru wurtu wangka-layi kartungu alright thatNOM yes 1sgNOM next -NOW HYPTH say -FUT 2sgACC

36 marrari-i. word -ACC

"That's alright. Yes! I'll say something to you next, alright?

37 purrkuru waruul. kartu wangka-lha panyu-ma -l.yarra paju nganaju, true still 2sgNOM say -PAST good -CAUS-CTEMP REAL 1sgACC

38 pinhu -ma -l.yarra paju, panyu-ma -l.yarra paju, thurlajinkarri-i pleased-CAUS-CTEMP very good -CAUS-CTEMP REAL poor fellow -ACC

39 nganaju. ngayu mir.ta ngalangala-npa -layi kartungu marrari-i. panyu 1sgACC 1sgNOM not forget -INCH-FUT 2sgACC word -ACC good

40 kanyara. palwarru ngunhaa. man alright thatNOM

"Okay. You spoke making me feel very good, pleasing me properly, making me feel very good, poor fellow that I am. I won't forget your word. You're good people. Alright, that's that."
Text C.4: A Shopping Expedition

1. nhuwana puni-layj wurtu thawun-milyarra? nhuwana puni-rra wii
   2pl go -FUT HYPTH town -ALL 2pl go -CTEMP if

2. thawun-milyarra , nganaju wuraal wurtu, nganaju wuruma-rninyji
town -ALL 1sgACC alright HYPTH 1sgACC do for-FUT

3. yurntura-a manyarrka-a -thurti wii parrka -a wii?
   flour -ACC sugar -ACC-CONJ or tealeaf-ACC or
   "Are you going to town? If you're going to town would you
get for me some flour, some sugar and some tea?"

4. ngawu! nganarna wuruma-rninyji kartungu. parla-wirriwa nganarna.
   yes 1pl(exc) do for-FUT 2sgACC money-PRIV 1pl(exc)

5. kartu-lwa yungku-layj nganarna-a parla-a manku-waa.
   2sgNOM-ID give -FUT 1pl(exc)-ACC money-ACC grab -PURPso
   "Yes! We'll do that for you. But we've got no money. You
give us some money so we can get [the things]."

6. nganarna manku-lha -nguru-rru thawun-ta -a wuruma-l.yarra kartungu,
   1pl(exc) grab -PAST-ABL -NOW town -LOC-ACC do for-CTEMP 2sgACC

   return -PAST-CAUS-FUT -NOW 2sgACC -ALL give -PURPss-NOW
   "Once we've got the things that are in town, doing it for
you, we'll bring them back to you to give them to you."

8. ngurra-ngka-npa -lha -rru.
   camp -LOC -INCH-PAST-NOW
   They've arrived back in camp now.

9. ngawu! ngayu wuruma-rru nhuwana-lu. yungku-layj-lwa,
   yes 1sgNOM do for-PASSP 2pl -EFF give -FUT -ID

    scattered -CAUS-CTEMP 2pl -ACC bring -PAST-ABL -PLURAL-ACC
    "Yes, I've had [the favour] done for me by you. What I'll
do is give out, share around [the things] among you who brought
them."
"Yes! That's very good. You're certainly generous to do that."

"Yes, I'm not a greedy fellow."

"Yes, we know you. You're not a greedy fellow. You're a good fellow. Because you're good we'll do anything for you, should you want anything."

"Yes! If you go to town again, I'll give you money."

Yes, [they're] always good like that. So I'll wait for them to come back, on whichever day it is, whenever they return.
I'll see smoke or something going up, [smoke] that's been purposely lit. Having seen the smoke my feelings will become good (I'll get happy).

Look! There's a fire burning, you must be close now with the stores. Alright, we'll be cheering each other up. I'll be feeling good.

[We'll] put the billy or whatever on the fire to warm up.

"True enough, they are close to us now, [the people] with the stores."
"Is that right, you can see them?"

"Go on! What! Do you think I'm lying? Stop and look in the direction of the road for a moment! You see them? That's them going along together, their heads going in and out of view as they go down into each hollow. They are close now."

Once they've got there, once they've come close, the people with the stores, they sit and discuss the things, having got them for the ones who stayed behind.

Later they are all talking together,
"You fellows, of all the things that were brought for you by us, if there's anything we didn't get, say so, if we forgot anything."

"Yes! I'll look. True enough, you didn't, you still forgot [something] I told you."

"Look! What is it? This fellow is saying we didn't get something. Go on! You tell us!"

"Soap, you didn't get. You forgot."

"Well that's right! We forgot [what] we were told by you, poor fellow. Alright, you be good to us crazy fellows who forgot."

thisNOM other hold -PRES -ID foam -PROP -ACC two -ACC
56 mirtali-tharra-a. kartu wuraal yungku-yarri-layi yarta-a
big -DUAL -ACC 2sgNOM alright give -COLL -FUT other-ACC

thisDEF-ACC two -PROP ASSERT one -ACC give -FUT one -ACC

"This other fellow has two big cakes of soap. How about you give one to this fellow? You've got two! Give him one!"

58 ngawu ! ngayu yungku-layi ngurnaa ngawurr-marta-a kalika-a
yes 1sgNOM give -FUT thatACC foam -PROP -ACC one -ACC

59 wara -marmu-u. panyu-lpurul!
clothes-ASSOC-ACC good -COMP

"Yes! I'll give him one piece of soap for [washing] clothes. Good!"
Text C.5: "Kurntangka"

The bulk of this text is a complaint by a man who has been offended by his sister and her husband arguing closeby. The degree of respectful avoidance normally expected between a man and his sister, and between a man and his sister's husband, makes this kind of behaviour unacceptable. The offended party launches a strong rebuke at his relatives but for the most part observes a degree of politeness in the style of speaking he adopts.

Respectful speech - 'Kurntangka' (lit. shame-LOC) - is indicated in this text by a number of features. The most obvious cue is the choice of special replacement vocabulary: the verb kanpari-Ø replaces the everyday verb wangka-Ø 'speak, say' in lines 13, the nominal kanpari replaces the nominal marrari 'word' in line 2, and puranyi-L replaces nbawu-Ø 'see' in line 25. The everyday verb wanyjarri-Ø 'run away' serves as the respectful style replacement for puni-Ø 'go' in lines 21, 24 and 28. The prevalence of the verb karri-Ø 'stand, be' is also typical of Kurntangka speech and it generally replaces the more common copula nyina-Ø 'sit, be'. Karri-Ø often suggests a temporary state preceding imminent departure (see 9.3.2) and is overtly used in this sense in line 21.

The extensive use of indefinite plural reference is common in the Kurntangka style of speaking. Although throughout the text the speaker is never addressing more than two people, many references to the addressees involve plural rather than dual pronoun or nominal forms. The first example occurs in the form of a second person plural pronoun in line 8, referring to the arguing married couple, and is repeated throughout. Other examples include the plural spouse group term nmuunuwarnti in lines 17 and
27, and the brother-in-law's reply to the complaint in line 28, in which the plural pronoun refers to a single addressee. First person references to himself and his wife are also in the plural throughout this utterance.

Finally, the collective suffix appears on a number of verbs with the important function of indicating the harmonic kin relationship between the various protagonists (see 6.3.2). Clear examples of this occur in lines 2, 5, 25 and 31.

1 kartu -lwa puni-nguru kuyil, yarta-ngara -a nhuumu-ngara -a
2sgNOM-ID go -PRES bad other-PLURAL-ACC spouse-PLURAL-ACC

2 wiru-npa -mara. yimpala -rru-wa kartu karri-layi
feel-INCB-COLL+CTEMP like that-NOW-YK 2sgNOM stand-FUT

3 nhurta-npa -marri-ngu -rra. rru. nyingurlu-lpurru warnu
wild -INCH-COLL -PASS-CTEMP-NOW firstly -CONT ASSERT

4 kuyilya-rra, puni-rra yartapalyu-u nhuumu-ngara -a
bad-ING+CTEMP go -CTEMP other mob -ACC spouse-PLURAL-ACC

5 paniya-la -mara.
eye -LOC-CAUSE+COLL+CTEMP

"You're bad, upsetting the feelings of others, in-laws [of yours]. [As you are] like that, you'll be gotten wild with (by your harmonic relatives). Firstly, you're bad, you get in the eyes of other people, your in-laws.

6 yimpala -rru-wa kartu, jurti marryamu, nyina-layi, nhwala
like that-NOW-YK 2sgNOM 1sgPOSS Bro-in-law sit -FUT 2dl

7 nhuunuwa, nhurta-npa -mara. mir.ta kuliyanpa-layi
spouse(dl) wild -INCH-COLL+CTEMP not think -FUT

8 nganaju wii karri-nyila-a yilangu. nhuwana nganaju mir.ta
1sgACC if stand-PrREL-ACC here 2pl 1sgACC not

9 paju kuliyanpa-layi. nhuwana nhuura nganaju yilangu
REAL think -FUT 2pl knowing 1sgACC here

10 karri-nyila-a.
stand-PrREL-ACC
"That's how it is with you, my brother in law, the two of you, husband and wife arguing with each other. You don't think that I might be standing here. You really don't think about me. You know I'm standing here.

11 ngayu mir.ta wiru kuliya-la, yarra karri-layi ntwana-a. ngayu
1sgNOM not wanting listen-CTEMP stand-FUT 2pl -ACC 1sgNOM

12 yarta-wuyu-lpurtu kanyara. mir.ta wiru kuliya-la -ma -ruinyji
other-SIDE-COMP man not wanting ear -LOC-CAUS-FUT

2pl -GEN-ACC word -PLURAL-ACC say -COLL -PRREL-ACC

I don't want to be listening to you. I'm a man of the other side (affine). I don't want to get your words in my ears, [don't want to hear] you speaking to each other.

14 ntwana kuliyanpa-layi yarta-lpurtu ngana nu wui karri-nyila-a
2pl think -FUT other-COMP 1sgACC if stand-PRREL-ACC

15 yilangu, kurnta-marta wui, ntwana. ngayu wurtu nhyu?
here shame -PROP or 2pl 1sgNOM HYPOTH thisNOM

"You think a different way about me being here. Have shame or something, you people. Isn't this me?

16 kuliyanpa-marni warra ngawayu. ntwana karri-nguru kuwarri
think -CONTR CONT turn 2pl stand-PRES now

17 nhurta-npa -marra, nhuunuwarnti. ngayu yarta-wuyu-lpurtu
wild -INCH-COLL+CTEMP spouse(pl) 1sgNOM other -SIDE-COMP

18 kanyara, kurnta panyu, ntwana wiyaa kurnta-wirraa karri-layi
man shame good 2pl maybe shame -PRIV stand-FUT

19 yilangu ngathala karri-nyila-la yilangu, nhurta-npa -marra.
here 1sgLOC stand-PRREL-LOC here wild -INCH-COLL+CTEMP

20 kuliyanpa-yaangu nganaju thurlanyarrara-a.
think -UNREAL 1sgACC poor fellow -ACC

"You should think for a change. You're arguing right now, husband and wife. I'm a man of the other side, [I've got] proper respect. Perhaps you have no shame to be here, while I'm here, arguing with each other. You ought to think about me, poor old fellow that I am.

21 ngayu karri-nguru wanyjarri-layi karri-wirri yilangu kuliya-la
1sgNOM stand-PRES go -FUT stand-LEST here ear -LOC
I'm going to go lest I be here having bad words thrown in my ears by you married people, shameless people! I'm going away and then I won't be seen by you.

You people are two of my relatives, two of my sister's group, and you, my own brother-in-law still, you married people.

Yes, alright, we'll go. You are my brother-in-law, that's the first thing, [You are brother-in-law] to us crazy people fighting, while you're here, we're fighting.

Alright, my brother-in-law, you crazy people, leave!
Text C.6: Mourning Chant

This text is a transcription of a long haranguing mourning chant remembered from Algy's childhood. The speaker, an old woman, blames a younger man for killing her younger brother by magic. The first paragraph of the text as presented below is Algy's hypothetical reconstruction of a complaint the deceased brother might have made to his sister before his death. I have added it as an introduction. The now deceased brother, now gravely ill, blames the spirit traveller (juna) for catching and harming his soul. The brother was well known for his use of the meaningless hesitation marker wilangayi, represented in the free gloss as "Umm".

The body of the text is a progressive series of insults delivered in a plaintive wailing chant. Every morning the old woman would rise with the sun and perform this harangue to the hidden amusement of everyone in the camp. Needless to say, the object of her derision was never present. Algy's rendition of the text in something approximating the old woman's tearful and cracking voice was a difficult performance often interrupted by his uncontrollable bursts of laughter at the strong images it conjures up.

The man criticised in the text was a well known trouble-maker and revenge killer with a very short temper. The story has it that he met his end in typical fashion. Caught stealing from an army supply depot during the second world war, he fought with and abused his captors at great lengths. Eventually they doused him with aircraft fuel and set it alight before shooting him, or so the story goes.
That fellow, ummm, who is one of Purripurri's mob, he came to me as a, umm, spirit. I saw his, umm, ghost. And now I've gotten, umm, sick. He, umm, came to me as a, umm, spirit. I'm not good, umm, now. I'm getting, umm, sick.

Aren't you our own mother's family, boy? You've given up on us, we two poor old fellows. You've turned against us [feelings burning], you've changed, you're against us [feelings burning], really changed.
You're savage or something, my boy. Aren't you one of our family? Oh no, not at all! You've changed, feelings burning. We thought you were one of our own people, boy, one of our own mother's family.

And that's how I come to be grieving. Me and my own younger brother, we've become separated. That's how I come to be grieving, I've lost my younger brother.

We've become separated. What am I to do? I'm still alive and I should have died. It's only me who can be seen, a useless poor old woman, I've lost my good dead brother, that fine man.
It's just useless me still alive, I should have been hit in the back of the head by someone [I should have been killed]. [Instead] I appear as a useless old hunchbacked woman.

And you're the only one who is seen by all the people, the only savage one. And how [do you look]? You're rubbish, only your head is big, you've got a skinny arse, a huge head, big feet and a black nose.

And then you sit looking this way and only your eyes shine [white out of the black], you're like a crow, useless black thing, pot belly, skinny thighs [sharp like a knife], completely useless, like [the stick legs of] a curlew.
You're a poor provider! You don't know how to spear a euro with a hunting spear. Useless! You always sneak up on euroes when they are in soaks, to grab them instead, with your hands. Then you hit that meat in the back of the neck.

34 yimpala -lpurtu nhuurti-ma -lwayara tharnta-a. mir.ta nhuwa-lwayara,
like that-COMP dead -CAUS-HABIT euro -ACC not spear-HABIT

35 jalya warnu pala. mir.ta nhuura, purrkuru paju, warriri-i
useless ASSERT IT not know truly REAL spear -ACC

36 warntitha-rninyji, nhuwa-rninyji. jalya!
throw -FUT spear-FUT useless

That's how you kill euroes. You don't spear them, because you're useless. You don't know, truly, how to throw a hunting spear, how to spear them. You're useless!

37 thanartira warnu pala. majun -ngara -a, manku-wayara
sea dweller ASSERT IT turtle-PLURAL-ACC grab -HABIT

38 majun -ngara -a, korta-lwayara kulhampa-ngara -a thanartira -a.
turtle-PLURAL-ACC stab -HABIT fish -PLURAL-ACC sea dweller-ACC

39 thanartira -ngara -lpurtu kanyara. nyamina-thurti-i korta-lwayara.
sea dweller-PLURAL-COMP man dugong -CONJ -ACC stab -HABIT

That's because you're a seasider. Turtles are what you catch, you harpoon turtles and fish, all the sea things. You're a man for all the sea creatures. And you stab dugong too.

40 kartu, yarrwa-ngka-rru puliyanjya-ngara -la piyuwa-la yirla-rru,
2sgNOM after -LOC -NOW old man -PLURAL-LOC finish-LOC only -NOW

41 nganaju-ngara -la. yarrwa-ngka-rru, mirntiwul-ma-rru
1sgGEN -PLURAL-LOC after -LOC -NOW all -YK-NOW

42 piyuwa-npa -lha -la -rru, ngaliya -a tharratharra-ma -lalha, jurti
finish-INCH-PAST-LOC-NOW 1dl(exc)-ACC separate -CAUS-PAST 1sgPOSS

43 marryara-ngu, wayarri-lha.
brother -ACC finish -PAST

As for you, it's only now, after all my old people are finished, only after they've all died, that you separate the two of us, finish off my own younger brother.
You wouldn't have been able to do that, wouldn't have separated us when our people were alive. You wouldn't have escaped then.

You say you're dangerous only now that our family is gone. Before, you would have been skewered in the chest so that your penis would have opened like a mouth [with the shock].

You're good for nothing. The only thing you're interested in is women. You get savage when you've seen a woman. You stand and bite your tongue in half, watching a woman. Your eyes pop out as you're filling up with semen [getting randy]. And then it goes off, that stinking penis of yours.
References


--- (1981b) 'Switch reference in Australia,' Language 57, 309-34.
--- (1981d) 'Case-Marking in Southern Pilbara languages,' AJL 1:211-226


--- (1972b) 'The symbolism of the north-western Australian zigzag design'. Oceania 42:223-238.


--- (1982a) 'Kin terms and pronouns of the Panyjima language of northwest Western Australia,' Anthropological Forum 5:105-120.
(1982b) 'The development of an accusative case marking pattern in the Ngayarda languages of Western Australia,' AJL 2:43-59.


(forth) 'Complex Sentences in Martuthunira,' in P. Austin (ed.) Complex Sentence Constructions in Australian Languages, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.


(ed.) (1976) Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages, Canberra: AIAS.


Fink, K. (1958) unpublished fieldnotes on Western Australian languages, held by The Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.


(ms.) unpublished Kurrama and Ngarluma fieldnotes.


---


---

(1983) A Functional Grammar of Nunggubuyu, Canberra: AJAS.

Jock, H.H. (ms.) 'Sanskrit double-object constructions: Will the real Object please stand up?,' unpublished University of Illinois manuscript.


Jagst, L. (1973) 'Ngardilpa Phonology'. SIL manuscript.


---


---


Radcliffe-Brown, A. (1913) 'Three Tribes of Western Australia,' *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 43:141-195.


