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MARRITHIYEL

da language of the Daly River region
of Australia's Northern Territory

IAN GREEN

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Unless otherwise acknowledged in the text this thesis represents the original work of the author.

IAN GREEN
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Bill Parry The Coming of the Europeans

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# Abbreviations and Conventions

**Abbreviations**

1,2,3  
first, second, third person (in interlinear gloss)

ALL  
allative

APP  
apprehensive

AVR  
auxiliary verb root

CA  
lower animate / flesh-food class marker

CH  
human (non-singular) class marker

CONF  
confirmation seeking particle

CP  
plant produce class marker

CVS  
complex verb stem

dl  
dual

E, exc  
first person exclusive

EMPH  
emphatic

ERG  
ergative

G  
goal

GEN  
generic

I, inc  
first person inclusive

Imp  
imperative-hortative-permissive

INDEF  
indefinite

INS  
instrumental

INT  
intentive

Intr  
formally intransitive auxiliary

Ir  
irrealis

ITER  
iterative form of verb root

LOC  
locative-allative

MA  
/ma/ "belly" derivation (cf. 5.6)

Md  
mood

MI  
/mi/ "eye" derivation (cf. 5.6)

MU  
/mu/ transfer of possession/control derivation (cf. 5.6)
NI  static locative derivation (cf. 5.7)
ns  non-singular
O   object
PBP principal body-part term
PERL perlative
pl  plural
POSS possessive
Pr  present
PRO free form pronoun
Pst past
PURP purposive
R   realis
RECIP reciprocal
REDUP reduplicated
REFL reflexive
S   subject
s, sg singular
SCE source
SEQ sequential
Trans formally transitive auxiliary

See also Tables 3-1 and 3-2 (p72) re interlinear glosses for auxiliaries.

Conventions

[ ... ] phonetic transcription
/ ... / phonemic transcription
(X) X is optional
* X X is unacceptable
X/Y X or Y
/X#Y/ auxiliary and CVS combination - e.g. "/Go#wurr/" denotes "the verb formed by the 'go' auxiliary in combination with the verb stem /wurr/".
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ABSTRACT

This is a study of Marrithiyel, a language of the Daly River region of the Northern Territory.

Chapter One presents a brief introduction to the language and its speakers, and outlines my fieldwork methodology. Chapter Two then reviews the phonology, word classes, and the nominal case marking system. These matters are not treated exhaustively, but are rather presented as preliminaries to a study of the verb, the topic to which the major part of this thesis is devoted.

Chapter Three is primarily concerned with the morphology of pronominal verbal affixes. This chapter introduces the basic verbal constituents: the auxiliary, the complex verb stem, the bound-pronominal number markers, and the tense/mood suffixes. The bound pronominals of the auxiliary are identified, and their various functions (including person, number, core role, tense/mood, and transitivity marking) outlined. Three further sets of pronominals, able to appear at a subsequent position in the verb, encoding more peripheral roles, are also examined.

Chapter Four deals with the tense/aspect/mood distinctions carried by the verb, outlining the seven major tense/mood categories, and analysing the aspectual role of the intransitive auxiliaries. The incorporation into the verb of a number of temporal modifiers, tense/mood suffixing of certain non-verbal constituents, and iterative verb-root reduplication are also considered.

Chapter Five investigates the incorporation of noun roots into the verb, a process primarily involving a restricted set of body part terms. Two types of incorporation, "lexical" and "syntactic", are distinguished, and the domain and effect of each type of incorporation looked at in detail. The semantic range of body part terms, which may be incorporated in either literal or classificatory senses, is surveyed, and a number of verb stem derivations involving body part terms are presented.

Chapter Six examines the semantic contribution made by the auxiliary to overall verbal meaning. Three groups of auxiliaries, the "major transitive", the "major intransitive", and the "minors", are identified and discussed. The major transitives are analysed as
essentially instrumental in semantic character, while the major intransitives are seen as having more of a postural-aspectual function.

Detailed exemplification is given throughout, and there is an illustrative text provided at the end of this study.
Based primarily on Biernoff (1982), together with my own field work. Sutton and Palmer (1980), Stanner (1933, 1938)), and Tryon (1974) have also been taken into account. Boundaries are approximate only. Solid lines indicate language, and dotted lines dialect, divisions. The Daly and Moyle Rivers are shown by double lines. Note that the Moyle River constitutes the boundary between Marrisjabin and Marrige; and the Daly River divides Wadyiginy from Tyeraity. Orthographies/spellings for language names are adopted as discussed in 1.4.
1.1. Linguistic Type

Marrithiyel forms part of that solid geographical block of northern Australian languages classified as of the non-Pama-Nyungan prefixing type (cf. Dixon, 1980, pp20-21). That is, it is essentially agglutinating, employing both prefixes and suffixes, and in particular is distinguished from the languages that occupy the major part of the continent through the cross-referencing of core participants with pronominal prefixes attached to the verb. Ordering of clause-level constituents is determined pragmatically rather than grammatically, with SOV (i.e. "subject-object-verb complex") being the unmarked pattern.

Marrithiyel has, by Australian standards, an unusual phonemic inventory, having a fricative at one point of articulation (bilabial), and lacking a nasal corresponding to every stop. Unlike most of the other prefixing languages it has only a four, rather than a five, vowel system, contrasting /i/, /u/, /a/ and /e/. Its twenty consonant phonemes comprise eleven obstruents (at six points of articulation), four nasals, two rhotics, a lateral and two semi-vowels. The obstruent class consists of long stops, short stops and the single contrastive fricative; there is a long-short contrast at four points of articulation (bilabial, velar, alveolar and palatal), and only short obstruents at two further points (dental and post-alveolar). As is the case in languages across the Top End, where contrastive stop length is increasingly being recognised as an areal feature (Cook, 1987), the Marrithiyel length distinction is maintained only in certain word-medial environments. There are no morphophonological processes of any great complexity.

There are several sets of bound, and one set of free form, pronominals. All pronominal sets show essentially the same person and number categorisation. They differentiate first, second and third person, with an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person, and (except for bound subjects) a male/female gender distinction in third singular. Number differentiation is fundamentally on a singular/non-singular basis, and there are dual, trial and plural categories which are based on the non-singular. However, the nature of the first inclusive makes for a somewhat awkward overall number
categorisation. First inclusive is distinguished from the other non-singulars, for example, in having stems which have an unmarked dual, rather than plural, reading. Further, the number cross-referencing system in the verb separates the inclusive from the other non-singular pronominals, treating the first inclusive morphologically in the same way as the singulars. Paradigms of bound verbal pronouns therefore have to be set out in terms of a singular/inclusive vs. non-singular non-inclusive opposition. Except in the case of bound subjects and reflexive/reciprocals, pronouns can only refer to entities of "higher animate" status, a category consisting primarily of humans, spirits, and spiritually significant animals. Free form pronouns behave grammatically like nouns.

Apart from the absence of a genitive, Marrithiyel has a typically Australian case marking system. There are nine major case functions marked by overt NP final suffixes: ergative, instrumental (homophonous with the ergative), purposive, intensive, apprehensive (or "aversive"), source (or "ablative"), locative-allative, allative and perative. The ergative is not obligatorily attached to all transitive subject NPs, but rather appears only for highly marked agenthood. Apart from the ergative, there is no case marking available for core NPs. In addition to the nine case inflections there is a derivational proprietive, or "having", suffix of the type found throughout Australia (cf. Dixon, 1976, p324). The language also has seven major noun classes, marked by NP-initial generics and/or corresponding nominal prefixes.

Marrithiyel has a set of 22 "auxiliaries" with which verbs are constructed. The auxiliary is the obligatory initial constituent of the verb, and typically prefixes to the main verb stem. The auxiliary has essentially a tripartite structure, its initial and final slots being occupied by bound pronouns cross-referencing core participants, and the central slot containing an auxiliary verb root. Auxiliary pronominal inflection is on a nominative-accusative basis, and differentiates three categories of core participant: subject, (non-reflexive) direct object, and goal (encompassing "indirect object"). Other categories of participant may also be pronominally encoded in the verb. These, however, do not appear in the auxiliary, but rather as suffixes to the main verb stem. Roles encoded in this way include benefactives, adversatives and ablatives.

Auxiliary inflection, primarily of the initial bound pronouns, establishes realis vs. irrealis as a basic tense/mood distinction.
This two-way auxiliary inflection combines with a set of 5 verb-final suffixes to generate 7 major tense/mood categories. There are four irrealis categories: future, general past, obligative past, and the present (which also functions as the imperative-hortative-permissive). The three realis categories are: past indicative, present indicative, and apprehensional.

Auxiliaries, and the verbs in which they appear, can be divided into two transitivity classes. The major division, however, is not between one and two place predicates, but rather one of "high" as opposed to "low" transitivity (in the sense of Hopper and Thompson, 1980), with two argument verbs which are low in transitivity being grouped together with the single argument verbs. There are seven auxiliaries in the "low" or "intransitive" group, with the remaining 15 belonging to the "high" or fully transitive class. The intransitive auxiliaries contribute to the determination of aspect, and are serialised with transitive verbs to mark several different imperfective categories.

The auxiliary also has a verbal-semantic component, interacting with the main verb stem to determine overall verbal meaning. The nature of the semantic component differs according to the auxiliary's transitivity class. The transitive auxiliaries have an instrumental function; the intransitives categorise the subject of the clause as being in a particular type of posture or state of motion.

There are two classes of main verb stems: "neutral", the majority of which may form verbs with either transitive or intransitive auxiliaries, and "transitive", which normally combine with the transitive auxiliaries only. There are about 200 monomorphemic verb roots. Verb stems consist minimally either of a verb root, or of an adjectival root. These roots are reduplicated for iteration.

Verb stems may not be systematically derived from nouns. However, one group of nouns, a small set of body part terms, is extensively incorporated into the verb. Incorporation is of two principal types: a lexical process of compounding verb or adjectival roots with body part terms to form new predicates, and a syntactic process of marking as undergoer the whole entity, of which the incorporated body part term denotes a part. Incorporable body part terms have a wide semantic range, and may function in the verb in literal or classificatory senses.

Relations between clauses are not generally marked by subordinating suffixes or other strategies for reducing the finiteness
of verbs. The nominal source suffix, however, may be affixed to the
verb to signify a causal or conditional clause dependency.

The study of the language which follows does not pretend to be an
exhaustive reference grammar. The morphology of the language is
simply too complex to permit any sort of definitive reference grammar
to be contained within a document of this size. The primary focus of
this study is thus on the verb, and within the verb, on the role of
the auxiliary.

1.2. The Language Situation

Marrithiyel was traditionally spoken in the Daly River region of
the Northern Territory, to the south-west of Darwin. The term
"Marrithiyel" literally means "paperbark-tree language". It is a
compound noun, formed from /marri/ "word, language" and /thiyel/
"paperbark tree". As is the normal practice within the Daly region,
the language name also serves to designate the broader group or
"tribe" (in the sense of Stanner, 1933) comprised by its speakers.
The language name no doubt derives from the large stands of paperbark
trees which characterise Marrithiyel country, and which in particular
distinguish Marrithiyel country from that belonging to the speakers of
its southern and western dialects (referred to as the "coolibah-tree"
and "plains" languages respectively, cf. 1.4).

Marrithiyel is also known as /beringken/, commonly adapted into
English as "Brinkin" or "Brinken". Although the term has been applied
to the language and its speakers for at least eighty years, being
recorded by Basedow in 1907, and by an anonymous observer at the Daly
River in 1913 (Sutton and Palmer, 1980, Map 6), informants tell me, as
they told Stanner in 1938 (p101), that it is not a proper Marrithiyel
word. They do, however, accept and employ it themselves as the term
by which most Europeans, and perhaps more distant Aboriginal groups,
recognize them. Stanner's notes suggest that the term comes from one
of the MalakMalak group of languages, with the original meaning of
"alien" or "stranger".

As shown in Map 1 above, the Marrithiyel traditionally controlled
a tract of land between the Daly and Moyle Rivers, in the central
northern section of what is now the Daly River Reserve. In the
southern part of this country is the billabong called /Watjan
Gusrifamfam/, "The dog-water rises", where, according to legend, the
original dingo arose from the water and gave birth to the first
Marrithiyel people. The reader is referred to Basedow (1907), Stanner
(works as cited in the bibliography) and Falkenberg (1962) for descriptions of the traditional life-style and social organisation of the people of the Daly region. In addition, Sutton and Palmer (1980) provides a comprehensive review and analysis of principles of land ownership.

The sources provide no reliable estimate as to the number of Marrithiyel speakers prior to European settlement in the region, a process which began in the late 19th century, and which saw missionaries, miners and farmers establish themselves around the banks of the middle Daly, to the east of Marrithiyel country. Even today it is difficult to determine just how many native speakers of the language there are. The Marrithiyel began to desert their traditional country in the early part of the century in favour of life alongside Europeans, becoming station-hands, mission subjects, domestic workers etc., moving both east towards the Daly, and north towards Darwin, some ultimately joining the camps of fringe-dwellers there. For a number of years the language survived these migrations. Although distributed around various centres of European occupation, the Marrithiyel maintained a group identity, living together in sufficient numbers to ensure the viability of their speech community and the passing on of the language to their children. During the course of my field-work I have made contact with eighty or so people, in their late forties or older, born in these communities, who learnt Marrithiyel as their first language. These represent perhaps a third to a half of the remaining number of native speakers.

Only a dozen or so of these people, however, have continued to use Marrithiyel throughout their adult lives as their major day-to-day language. They live in a few families at different points in the region - Knuckey's Lagoon (in Darwin), Bulkanj (to the north of the Daly), and Wudi Gapil Diyerr (the Marrithiyel Homelands Centre, in traditional country, to which one group have recently returned). Their children exhibit a passive knowledge of the language, but choose not to speak it, having opted instead for the more widely used and thus more functional Kriol, (Aboriginal) English, and/or, in the Daly region, Ngan'gityemeri.

Most of the other native speakers have long since given up any extended usage of Marrithiyel. They have moved away from the camps in which they were raised, and have largely separated from their Marrithiyel kin; they have become affiliated with other language communities and have adopted their forms of speech.
Marrithiyel is thus today a dying language, a situation viewed with concern by its speakers, although they realise that there is little they can do about it. They hope to re-establish the Marrithiyel community through a self-supporting farming and grazing project at Wudi Gapil Diyerr. But they are also keen to see the language recorded, so that future Marrithiyel descendants can gain some understanding of their heritage. For they believe that language, culture and law are inseparable, and that without the Marrithiyel language, true Marrithiyel culture and true Marrithiyel law are unknowable. The technical and, to the layman, inaccessible, study of the language which follows herein is just one small part of their overall plan for language preservation.

1.3. Previous Work

Prior to Tryon's 1974 survey of the Daly languages, no substantial study of Marrithiyel had been published. The information available up until that time is summarised in Tryon (1974, p70), and consists merely of: a short word-list by Basedow (1907), some brief notes by Stanner (1937, 1938), a list of noun classes and some lexical items by Capell (1940), notes by Nekes and Worms (1953), and some preliminary work by Tryon himself (1968, 1970). In addition to the sources cited by Tryon there is an approximately 150 item wordlist, collected by the anthropologist Gerhardt Laves sometime between 1929 and 1931, which is now available at the Australian Institute for Aboriginal Studies, as well as unpublished field notes by Ken Hale. These consist of transcriptions of approximately 300 items; the wordlist is undated, but was probably collected sometime in the late 1950s. In respect of lexical items and grammatical structures, all these sources are in substantial agreement with the Marrithiyel corpus which I have collected. There are, however, some minor phonetic discrepancies, which I deal with in 2.1.

Tryon's 1974 20 page sketch grammar consisted of an overview of basic noun and verb morphology, together with a tentative phonology. This was followed in 1981 by my own description, an M.A. sub-thesis entitled "The phonology and morphology of Marrithiyel: a preliminary study." This 170 page account covered all the features of the language noted in Tryon's study, revising and expanding on the analysis that he had presented.

While my 1981 description represented a considerable advance in our knowledge of Marrithiyel it was nevertheless tentative in many
respects, based as it was on only a few months field work, and relying heavily on material elicited from the one informant (Bill Parry) who was both willing and able to spare the time to consult with me on language matters. And while subsequent field-work established that the 1981 presentation was correct in the general thrust of its analysis, it also revealed that it had been, unfortunately, and to my continuing embarrassment, inaccurate in a number of ways. For example, the phonemic status of the fricative /f/ was missed altogether (p5); the allative suffix was mistranscribed as /than/ rather than /sran/ (p44); the ergative suffix /gin/ was incorrectly characterised as co-occurring with formally transitive verbs only (p44). There is no need to provide a full list of these inaccuracies here; the corrected forms and analyses are all given in the course of the discussion in Chapters 2-7. Ideally, I would have preferred to ignore my 1981 document altogether, presenting this current study as a full replacement for my earlier work. However, as university regulations forbid wholesale duplication of material from a Master's to a Ph.D. thesis, the 1981 document cannot yet be completely forgotten. I have therefore noted in the text wherever examples, paradigms or details of analysis are simply repeated (albeit with a new orthography) from the 1981 study. I have also noted in the text those points on which this presentation is in serious conflict with my earlier views. I have not, however, weighed the text down by noting every minor change in transcription, nor have I annotated repeated general observations about the structure or nature of the language. Equally, where there have been radical revisions of the analysis, resulting from a much larger data-base and a better understanding of the language as a whole, I have not thought it necessary to comment on what are essentially the limitations in the data that was available for the 1981 study. (This is the same approach I adopted to Tryon's work in my 1981 account.) Some aspects of my earlier study, for example, noun classes and much of the nominal morphology, require no major revision and have only been briefly summarised herein. Hopefully at some later stage they will be incorporated into a more complete reference grammar of Marrithiyel.

Of Marrithiyel's neighbouring languages and dialects, Ngan'gityemeri has received the most recent attention, with studies by Reid (1982, in preparation) and Hoddinott and Kofod (1988). A grammar of Marrisjabin, by Hoddinott and Kofod, is also due for completion shortly. For the others, Tryon's works (1970, 1974) remain
the only noteworthy published sources. The MalakMalak language has been described by Birk (1976); MalakMalak is not contiguous with Marrithiyel (cf. Map 1), but is typologically similar and is putatively (Tryon, 1974) a fellow-member of the Daly family.

1.4. Dialects and Surrounding Languages

The Marrithiyel recognise the existence of, and name, three other dialects of their language. These are "Marridan", "Marri Ammu" and "Marrisjabin". "Marridan" and "Marri Ammu" have the basic meanings of "coolibah-tree language" and "plains language" respectively; as with "Marrithiyel", the names derive from a characterising feature of the traditional country to which each of these language varieties belongs. I have been unable to establish a meaning for /sjabin/, which, unlike /dan/ and /ammu/, is not part of the Marrithiyel lexicon. These three are regarded as "dialects" in the sense that they are said to be "one language" (/marri nginjsji/) with Marrithiyel, and in this respect are differentiated from the neighbouring languages Marengar and Maranunggu, which, while categorised as "close" (/widip/) to Marrithiyel, are nevertheless not viewed as "one" with it.

These three dialects have been touched upon by Tryon (1974, pp94-103), and I have little to add to his comments. In the course of my Marrithiyel fieldwork it was simply not possible to undertake research on these Marrithiyel varieties. The Marrisjabin and remaining Marri Ammu were based at Port Keats, at that time inaccessible from the northern part of the Daly reserve where the Marrithiyel Association were establishing outstations. And in the time available to me I was not able to work with the few remaining identifiable Marridan speakers. The Marridan have not lived as a separate group for a number of years, having dispersed into the broader Daly community. The only information I have on the dialects is therefore second-hand, deriving mainly from my Marrithiyel informants, but does largely support Tryon's findings. That is, Marridan appears to be distinguished from Marrithiyel phonologically, showing some neutralisation of the Marrithiyel contrast between /l/ and continuant /r/. In at least a number of common words, Marrithiyel non morpheme-initial /l/ corresponds to /r/ in Marridan. Thus Marrithiyel /ngal/ "mouth", /wali/ "woman's dance" and /musjulng/ "swag" become in Marridan /ngar/, /wari/ and /musjurng/. Because of the paucity of data the extent of this neutralisation, that is, the degree to which it is phonologically conditioned, restricted to certain lexical items
or sub-sets etc., is yet be determined. My Marrithiyel informants are aware of no similar phonological differences with the western dialects, Marrisjabin and Marri Ammu, but say there are some differing lexical items, and point to the use in Marrisjabin of the future tense suffix /ni/ (a form which it shares with the neighbouring Marengar language) in place of Marrithiyel /wa/ (cf. 4.1). Tryon cites cognate densities ranging from 83% to 89% for the four varieties, and evidences no substantial grammatical differences between them.

As shown on Map 1, Marri Ammu and Marrisjabin were spoken in coastal areas to the west of Marrithiyel, while the Marridan occupied a small strip of land to the south, with access to the Moyle River. To the north and east of Marrithiyel, Maranunggu and its dialects, Ami and Manda, were spoken. Further, separated from Marrithiyel by only a narrow strip of Maranunggu country was Matngala. On Marrithiyel's south side were Marengar, Ngan'gikurunggurr and the Maramanandji. The Marrithiyel, as far as can be gathered from informants' recollections of their parents' teachings (corroborated by sources such as Stanner (1933)), would have made regular contact with all these other groups.

Marrithiyel and its surrounding languages, together with several others distributed along the middle and upper reaches of the Daly River, make up a block of nine adjacent languages bearing striking typological and morphological resemblances to each other. Tryon (1974) has provided sketch grammars for these languages, and has presented a prima facie case for them to be considered as constituting a single group, which he has named "the Daly Language Family". In Tryon's 1974 assessment of this family, Marrithiyel is presented as most closely genetically related to Marengar and Maramanandji, the three languages forming the "Brinken" sub-group. Maranunggu is then a sister language of "Brinken" (i.e. proto-Marrithiyel-Marengar-Maramanandji). Ngan'gikurunggurr and Madngala are more distantly connected to Marrithiyel, the three languages being related only at the proto-Daly level. It must be noted, though, that Tryon's groupings are arrived at predominantly through lexico-statistical methods, based on just a 200 word list. In the absence of demonstrated correspondences, the sorting out of diffusional from genetic features, and plausible reconstructions, these groupings must be regarded as tentative. The nature of the relatedness of the languages of the region is not critical to the discussion which follows herein.
The published sources present a bewildering variety of spellings for the names of the Daly languages. Rather than contribute to the confusion by imposing Marrithiyel versions of language names and/or orthography on the other languages of the region, I have in this study adopted Reid's (in preparation) spellings for the "Ngan'gityemerri" (that is, "Ngan'gikurunggurr" and "Ngan'giwumirri") group, and Birk's (1976) for "MalakMalak". For the names of the other Daly languages (except, of course, for Marrithiyel and its dialects) I have retained Tryon's spellings, even where these represent pronunciations in conflict with those of my Marrithiyel informants.

1.5. Fieldwork Methodology

The major fieldwork for this study was conducted during the periods May-September 1981 and July-October 1982. There were supplementary visits to the area in July 1983, September-October 1985, and August-September 1986. This fieldwork followed on from that for my preliminary study of Marrithiyel in March-June 1980.

Much of the field-work took place in traditional Marrithiyel country, under the guidance of my principal informant, Bill Parry. Bill was then president of the Marrithiyel Association, and was attempting to establish farming and fishing projects at various outstation sites. I travelled the country with Bill, his family and his workers. We were constantly on the move, rarely staying at the same camp for more than a few days, and frequently returning to the Daly River township to replenish supplies and organise the developing business of the Association.

My initial field-work was done mostly through elicitation and text recording and analysis with Bill. Bill is a native Marrithiyel speaker who has spent all his life in the Daly region; though also fluent in Ngan'gikurunggurr, he has used Marrithiyel consistently throughout his life. He proved to be an astute and insightful teacher. He is a resourceful and articulate speaker, with a natural affinity for language matters. I owe much of my initial understanding of the language, and much of my current understanding of the semantics and productivity of auxiliaries (cf. Ch 6) to him.

Bill's lessons gave me sufficient grounding in the language to be able to move into more conversational Marrithiyel, and to work productively with the native Marrithiyel speakers travelling with him. Prominent as informants among these people were Yvonne Wombo (Kamkam), the late Topsy Parry (Amukun), and Jack Yanmung (also known as Jack...
Skewes). Jack Yanmung took over as my primary daily language consultant in the later stages of the project, when Bill Parry was occupied with the establishment and development of the Homelands Centre. Jack helped me through the laborious task of checking through much of the data presented in this study, patiently enduring what to him were my inane inquiries as I attempted to resolve a number of the more elusive issues in my understanding of the language. Margaret Parry, although a native Ngan'gityemeri speaker, is fluent in Marrithiyel, and also contributed to my understandings through her demands for phonetic and grammatical precision, and her good-hearted ridicule of my mistakes.

As I travelled around with Bill and the Association, and knowledge of my ambition to learn "proper" Marrithiyel grew within the general community, more Marrithiyel speakers emerged. Most of these people, though having Marrithiyel as a first language, had adopted the language of the families or groups they had married or moved into, and only spoke their own language extensively when meeting with other Marrithiyel people. They were keen to address me in Marrithiyel, and always took great delight in hearing a white stranger stumble through their complex morphology.

The remainder of the field work was conducted on the outskirts of Darwin, at the Knuckey's Lagoon camp at Berrimah. My major informant there was the late Roy Kelly (Gurrpirr). Roy Kelly was again an intelligent and articulate speaker, and an accomplished Marrithiyel narrator. Social conditions at Knuckey's Lagoon at the time were very poor; there was much fighting and constant drunkenness in the camp. (See, for example, Sansom (1980), which is based on field-work at Knuckey's Lagoon.) However, Roy wanted to see Marrithiyel recorded correctly and was eager to teach me whenever he could be spared from the day-to-day business of the camp. While generally able to make more progress in the peace and quiet of the Marrithiyel bush, I made regular return visits to Roy Kelly's camp, talking with the Marrithiyel people there, recording texts and conversations, and attempting to verify the appropriateness of the data and the general applicability of the analysis arising from my work with the Daly Marrithiyel people. Although a few minor lexical variations emerged, and there were some variations in preferred expressions, there were, for the purposes of the material presented in this study, no significant linguistic differences between the two groups.
My field-work consisted of conversational observation and participation, text transcription and analysis, and many long sessions with my principal informants, eliciting material, discussing meanings, testing the acceptability of constructions etc. While the elicitation sessions were illuminating, and led me to many insights into the way in which the language operates, I have not used material from them which has not been verified in more natural language contexts. The illustrative examples in this study thus come, unless otherwise indicated, from conversations or texts, not from the more contrived context of elicitation sessions.

Fieldwork was conducted in accordance with the guidelines of the Australian Linguistics Society. In particular, all references to individuals and their families have been approved both by the individuals concerned, and by the Marrithiyel Society as the body overseeing the conduct of field-work.
NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1 Note that it is phonologically odd by Marrithiyel standards; Marrithiyel has /ngg/ rather than /ngk/ clusters morpheme medially (cf. 2.1).

2 Map 1 is based on Sutton and Palmer (1980), Biernoff (1982) and my own field-work. Stanner (1933, 1938) and Tryon (1974) have also been taken into account. Note that Map 1 varies in interesting ways from that provided by Stanner (as reproduced in Sutton and Palmer, 1980, Map 7), particularly in regard to the placement of Marrithiyel in a more northerly position than that given by him. While this is no doubt worthy of discussion in another context the relevant point here, for more technical linguistic purposes, is that the same contiguities are involved; that is, while there is some disagreement on the exact geographical placements of the languages, there is full agreement on their relative dispositions.

3 I am grateful to David Nash for making these notes available to me.

4 I use the term "Ngan'gityemeri" following Reid (in preparation) to refer to the single language made up of the Ngan'gikurunggurr and Ngan'giwumirri dialects. Note that /n'g/ denotes an apical nasal followed by a velar stop.

5 My informants pronounce "Marri Ammu", unlike the other compound language names, as two phonological words (i.e. with two primary stresses) rather than one.

6 Tryon, however, writes the dialect names, as he does for Marrithiyel, with a continuant rather than a trilled rhotic, as "Maridan", "MareAmmu" and "Marityabin".

7 It is interesting in this respect that Marrithiyel people today characterise the Marridan as speaking "like Americans".
Chapter Two

PRELIMINARIES

2.1. Phonology

2.1.1. Segmental Phonemes

2.1.1.1. Vowels

Marrithiyel has four contrastive vowel phonemes: close front unrounded /i/, half-open front unrounded /e/, close back rounded /u/ and open unrounded /a/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>/i/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-open</td>
<td>/e/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>/a/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following minimal pairs exemplify these contrasts:

2-1) miri ... eye
     meri ... man
     muri ... hand
     ngiwukiya ... I ate it.
     ngawukiya ... I should have eaten it.

2-2) werri ... grass
     warri ... wet season, year

2-3) fundi ... arm
     fandi ... sun

/i/ and /u/ both have two major allophones: tense [i] and [u] occur word-finally and before semi-vowels, and non-tense [I] and [U] elsewhere. Thus:

2-4) /muku/ ---> [mok:u] ... woman
     /midiri/ ---> [midiri] ... ankle
     /amuwa/ ---> [amuwa] ... name
     /afuyiri/ ---> [aβuyuʁi] ... possum
     /fiwerr/ ---> [fiwɛɾ] ... pus
     /thiyel/ ---> [tiyɛl] ... paperbark tree

/a/ has the following allophones:

(a) Unstressed word-final /a/ tends to be realised as [ɛ], that is, tends to a half-open central articulation.
(b) /a/ is realised as the diphthong [al] prior to morpheme-final /nj/, and prior to the long lamina-palatal stop /tj/, and the semi-vowel /y/, in any position in the word, e.g.:

2-5) /adanj-nel/ ---&gt; [ədənənɛl] ...shark + INTENTIVE suffix
    /nanj/ ----&gt; [nənɛ] ...you(sg) (Free Pronoun)
    /batj/ ----&gt; [bɑtʃi] ...lie down (Complex Verb Root)
    /watjan/ ----&gt; [wɛtʃæn] ...dog
    /ma-yuwa/ ----&gt; [maiyuwa] ...those people

Diphthongisation of /a/, however, is not triggered by either non-morpheme-final /nj/, or the short lamina-palatal obstruent /sj/, e.g.:

2-6) /manjsja/ ----&gt; [mɑnʃʃə] ...ready
    /masjafu/ ----&gt; [mɑʃʃə] ...intestines

(c) Except in the environments specified in (a) and (b) above, /a/ is realised as either [æ] or [ɛ] (i.e. is fronted, and may also be raised) following the lamina-palatal consonants (i.e. /tj/, /sj/, /nj/ and /y/)3:

2-7) /afultjarrk/ ----&gt; [æfʊltʃɑrk] ...eaglehawk
    /warrisjat/ ----&gt; [wɑrtʃət] ...(You(sg)) Sit down.
    /ninjawa/ ----&gt; [nɪŋawə] ...You(pl) will be standing.
    /yan/ ----&gt; [jæn] ...nose

(d) In word-initial position, prior to the bilabial obstruents (/p/, /b/ and /f/), and the bilabial nasal /m/, /a/ is also realised as either [æ] or [ɛ].

2-8) /apu/ ----&gt; [æpu] ...that way
    /abugam/ ----&gt; [æbʊɡam] ...white lower animate
    /afuyiri/ ----&gt; [æfʊˈjɛɾi] ...possum
    /amuwa/ ----&gt; [æmuwa] ...bone

In word-initial position, prior to the labio-velar semi-vowel /w/, /a/ is sporadically fronted to [æ] or [ɛ].

(e) Elsewhere /a/ is realised as [æ], an open non-front unrounded vowel.
/e/ has the following realisations:

(a) Prior to any laminal /e/ is raised to [ε], e.g.:

2-9) /feyirr/ \(\rightarrow\) [φeyɪr] \(\text{... (You(sg)) Keep on going.}\)
/benj/ \(\rightarrow\) [beɲ] \(\text{... split (Complex Verb Root)}\)

(b) Elsewhere /e/ is realised as [ɛ], a half-open front unrounded vowel.

2-10) /yerri/ \(\rightarrow\) [yɛrɪ] \(\text{... tail}\)
/melthem/ \(\rightarrow\) [mɛltɛm] \(\text{... sharp}\)

/e/ is occasionally lowered to [æ]. This lowering, however, only takes place in environments where /a/ is not itself fronted and raised to [æ]. That is, it does not involve any neutralisation of the /a/-/e/ distinction.

Table 2-2 shows the range of realisation for each of the vowel phonemes⁴.

**Table 2-2  Vowel Phoneme Realisations**

2.1.1.2. Consonants

As set out in the table below, I analyse 20 consonant phonemes for Marrithiyel. There are 11 obstruents, 4 nasals, a lateral, two rhotics, and two semi-vowels⁵.
### Table 2-3  Consonant Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obstruents</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dorsal</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Laminal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop Long</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>sr</td>
<td>tj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop Short</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>sj</td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhotic</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rr (approximant)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rr (tap/trill)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowels</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) **Obstruents**

The obstruents can be divided into four groups, according to their active articulator. There are three bilabials, three apicals, three laminals, and two dorsals. Further, within the apicals and laminals, there are contrastive points of articulation, the apicals dividing into alveolar and retroflex, and the laminals dividing into palatal and dental.

The bilabials consist of two stops, /p/ and /b/, and the fricative /f/. They are all produced without marked lip-rounding. /f/, in particular, varies freely between a neutral and a spread lip position; in the spread position it acquires a turbulent labio-dental-like quality.

/t/ and /d/ are apico-alveolar stops. /d/ optionally assimilates to a preceding lateral:

2-11) ngil -dut -a  
1sSR l find Pst

(optional) --->/ngil-lut-a/  
*I found it.*

/t/, however, does not assimilate in this environment.

2-12) gil -tik -a  
3sSR l soak up Pst

* --->/gil-lik-a/  
*He soaked/mopped it up (e.g. with a rag).*
The retroflex, /sr/, has a wide range of realisations. It can be produced simply as a retroflex stop, e.g.:

2-13) /sradi/ ---+ [t\adj] ...back

The stop allophone may also be affricated:

2-14) /sradi/ ---+ [t\adj\i] ...back

Further, the transition from the stop to the following vowel may also involve a perceptible retroflex approximant in addition to the fricative. That is, the stop may not only be affricated, but may also acquire a "rhotic" colouring, e.g.:

2-15) /sradi/ ---+ [t\adj\i\i\i] ...back

In addition /sr/ also has a fricative allophone. Like the affricate, the fricative also may have a "rhotic" colouring. That is, it may be realised simply as a retroflex fricative:

2-16) /masri/ ---+ [maz\i] ...belly

Or it may be realised as a retroflex fricative with a clear approximant (i.e. "rhotic") transition to the following vowel:

2-17) /masri/ ---+ [maz\i\i] ...belly

Alternatively, it may be realised just as a retroflex approximant.

2-18) /masri/ ---+ [ma\i\i] ...belly

This approximant realisation of /sr/ is maintained as phonetically distinct from the continuant /r/, which has the tongue tip in the alveolar or immediate post-alveolar region rather than properly retroflexed. Minimal pairs of the type illustrated in (2-19) are thus still phonetically contrastive when /sr/ is realised as an approximant?:

2-19) /yesri/ ---+ [jye\i\i] ...hole
/yeri/ ---+ [je\i\i] ...child

"Rhoticised" retroflexes would appear to be an areal feature of the inner Daly region, being recorded by Tryon for Marrisjabin (1974, p95) and for Maranunggu (1970, p10), and by Reid (in preparation) and Hoddinott and Kofod (1988, p15) for Ngan'gityemerri. Otherwise rhoticised stops have only been reported in Australia by Evans (1985,
p497) for Kayardild, and by Busby (1979, p25) for Yandruwandha in central Australia, and as a minor areal feature in northern Cape York.

/tj/ and /sj/ are lamino-palatal obstruents. /tj/ is always realised as a stop, while /sj/ is realised as a stop or fricative. /th/ is a lamino-dental stop or fricative; it is normally pronounced with the blade of the tongue touching both sets of teeth, and the tongue tip against the lower teeth, but is occasionally realised as a true lamino-inter-dental (i.e. with the blade of the tongue pushed forward between the teeth).

/k/ and /g/ are dorso-velar stops. They cannot be realised as fricatives.

The following pairs illustrate the phonemic contrasts for each of the active-articulator obstruent groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2-20) Obstruents - Contrastive Pairs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilabials /ngipiya/ ...I should have done it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ngibiya/ ...I took it in my mouth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ngifiya/ ...I blew (the flame) out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorsals /ngaka/ ...sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gaga/ ...uncle (i.e. mother's brother)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apicals /gati/ ...good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gadi/ ...we (exc,pl) (Free Form Pronoun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/anjitip/ ... (You(sg)) Pinch it (e.g. between extended fingers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/anjistrip/ ... (You(sg)) Spear it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/amadi/ ...barramundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/amasri/ ...belly-print (e.g. of crocodile)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laminals /nitji/ ...night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/fisjim/ ...alive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ganitjirr/ ...visiting (Particle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ganithirr/ ...It's disappearing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/masjak/ ... (You(sg)) Paint it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mathak/ ... (You(sg)) Pound/squash it.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to these active-articulator/point-of-articulation distinctions, there are two major features by which the obstruents are differentiated: stop-closure duration and frication. The feature of stop-closure duration ([+/- Length]) distinguishes those obstruents which can be realised with comparatively long stop-closure from those which cannot. This latter group consists of those obstruents which either have relatively short stop-closure, or have no complete closure at all; that is, it comprises short stops and fricatives. (It is convenient to refer to this group as the "short", rather than the
"non-long", obstruents; it must be borne in mind, however, that what is relevant for fricatives is not the relative duration of their obstruction of the air-flow, but the fact that they have a zero stop-closure time.) There are contrasting long stops at four points of articulation. In this study I represent these four, with voiceless stop symbols, as /p/, /k/, /t/ and /tj/.

Spectrographic studies of obstruents in intervocalic position support my auditory impression that closure duration is a primary determining feature of the stop contrast. Average closure times for a sample of 173 intervocalic stops (i.e. fricative allophones of the short obstruents have not been considered) are given in Table 2-4 below. Length has been measured from cessation of voicing of the preceding vowel to the release spike. All measurements are in m/secs, with the sample sizes given in parentheses. Although standard deviations have not been calculated, the general direction of the results is clear, with the long stops having twice to three times the mean closure duration of the short stops.

Table 2-4 Intervocalic Stop Duration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long Stops</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Short Stops</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>147 (15)</td>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>45 (20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>135 (14)</td>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>50 (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>120 (14)</td>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>35 (22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tj/</td>
<td>145 (14)</td>
<td>/sj/</td>
<td>45 (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/sr/</td>
<td>43 (19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/th/</td>
<td>55 (16)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These results for the Marrithiyel stop contrast are broadly consistent with those of Jaeger for Jawony (1983), McKay for Rembarrnga (1980), and Butcher for Burarra (1989).

The second contrastive feature for obstruents is frication ([+/-Fric]). This is not of relevance to the long stops, which, as a concomitant feature of their length, are never able to be fricated. This feature, however, divides the short obstruents into three groups. The first group consists of /b/, /g/ and /d/, which are never able to be fricated. The second group consists of /sr/, /sj/ and /th/, which have both stop and fricative allophones, and can be specified as optionally fricatable. The third group consists solely of /f/, the only consonant which can be specified as [+Fric]. I have represented the short, non-fricatable obstruents with voiced stop symbols, and the remainder with voiceless fricative (or in the case of /th/, ambiguously fricative) symbols.
There is a third parameter of obstruent production, voicing, which needs to be mentioned here. Although, arguably, having a limited role to play in word-initial position, voicing is not systematically contrastive in Marrithiyel. As we shall see below, /b/, /d/ and the long stops have largely predictable voicing; for the remaining obstruents voicing is variant, and does not reliably cue either the length or fricative contrast.

We can then draw up the following matrix, displaying the features by which the obstruents are contrasted.

Table 2-5 Obstruent Feature Matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Frication</th>
<th>Voicing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/, /k/, /t/, /tj/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(-)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/, /d/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(+/-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sr/, /sj/, /th/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>(+/-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+/-)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The features length and frication together define a maximal three-way obstruent contrast of long stop, short stop and fricative. At only one point of articulation (bilabial), however, does this full three-way contrast exist. At three further points (velar, alveolar, palatal) there is a two-way contrast between long and short obstruents, and at the remaining two points (retroflex and dental) there is only a short obstruent. The short velar and alveolar obstruents are stops, and lack a corresponding fricative, while the short retroflex and laminals are simply short obstruents, with both stop and fricative allophones.

The contrast between the two, or in the case of the bilabials, three, series of obstruents is not maintained throughout the word. The way in which the contrast is distributed is shown in the following summaries of the realisations of each class of obstruents at the various word-positions.

Long Stops (/p/, /k/, /t/, /tj/)
(a) Intervocally and following liquids (i.e. /l/, /r/ and /rr/) they are long, normally voiceless, and tend to be aspirated. They may, however, sporadically acquire voicing.
(b) Word-finally, syllable-finally (i.e. pre-consonantally, cf. 2.1.2) and following long stops they are long and voiceless. Word-finally they often have a delayed and/or inaudible release. Prior to obstruents of the same active-articulator/point-of-articulation type they may be articulated separately (i.e. may be perceptibly released), but are normally unreleased:

2-21) anji -git -demi -Ø
2sSir nj cut side Imp

   ---> [anŋit'demi]

   (You(sg)) Cut its side off.

c) Word-initially they are voiceless, with /p/ and /t/ tending to be aspirated. In the absence of preceding voicing to signal the beginning of the stop closure, they are not perceptibly long. As discussed below, long stops are rare in this position.

d) Following nasals /p/, /t/ and /k/ are shortened and voiced; /tj/ is shortened, but normally remains voiceless. Thus compare (2-22), in which /p/, the initial segment of the verb root /pirr/ "leave, discard, throw", is realised intervocally as a long voiceless stop, with (2-23) in which, following a nasal, it is realised as [b].

2-22) gani -pirr -a
3sSR go leave Pst

   ---> [kanip:hire]

   He left.

2-23) ngin -pirr -a
1sSR go leave Pst

   ---> [ŋinhire]

   I left.

Short, non-Fricatable Stops (/b/, /d/, /g/)

(a) Intervocally, following liquids /b/ and /d/ are short and always voiced. /g/ is short and tends to be voiced in this environment, but may remain voiceless, especially when morpheme initial.

(b) Word-initially and following long stops /b/ and /d/ are short and voiced. /g/ is short and normally voiceless in this environment.

(c) Following nasals they are all short and voiced.
/b/, /d/ and /g/ do not occur word- or syllable- finally.

**Short, Fricatable Stops (/sr/, /sj/, /th/)**

(a) **Intervocally and following liquids** /sj/ and /th/ may be realised as either short stops or fricatives; /sr/ may be realised as a stop or fricative, both optionally rhoticised, or simply as an approximant. While there is a considerable amount of variation, the fricative/approximant realisations are favoured in morpheme-medial position, and the stop allophones morpheme-initially.

Like frication, voicing in these environments is fairly free. /sr/ tends to be voiced morpheme-medially, but voiceless morpheme-initially, e.g.:

2-24) /wesri/ ---+ [WEZI] ~ [WEZI] ~ [WEZI] ...stringy-bark tree

2-25) /a-sramu/ ---+ [atamu] ~ [at§(a)amu] ...long neck turtle

/sj/ and /th/ tend more to remain voiceless, but can acquire voicing morpheme-medially.

(b) **Word-initially and following long stops** /sr/ and /th/ are normally realised as short voiceless stops, although the fricative/approximant allophones are permitted, and are occasionally heard, here. /sj/ shows free variation between a voiceless stop and fricative in this position.

(c) **Following nasals** /sr/ is normally a short voiced stop; /sj/ and /th/ are short stops, which tend to be voiced morpheme-medially and voiceless morpheme-initially.

/sr/, /sj/ and /th/ do not occur word- or syllable- finally.

**Fricative (/f/)**

(a) **Intervocally and following liquids** /f/ is realised as a fricative. As with the short, fricatable obstruents, voicing varies relatively freely, with the voiced realisation favoured morpheme-medially and the voiceless morpheme-finally. **Following long stops** /f/ is a voiceless fricative.

(b) **Word-initially** /f/ has a variety of realisations; it can be a fricative, it can be prestopped to form an affricate, or it can have the frication deleted altogether, becoming a short, voiceless and, normally, aspirated bilabial stop, e.g.:
(c) **Following nasals** /f/ becomes a voiced bilabial stop. Thus compare (2-27) with (2-28).

2-27) gani -ful -a 3sSR n break Pst  
---→ [kaniʃole] - [kanıβole]  
*He broke it (with his feet).*

2-28) ngin -ful -a 1sSR n break Pst  
---→ [ŋunbôle]  
*He broke it (with his feet).*

/f/ does not occur word- or syllable- finally.

In summary, then, we can say that the contrast between the two, or in the case of the bilabials, three, series of stops, is only maintained in three word-medial environments: intervocalic, following liquids, and following long stops. This is the typical pattern among those Top End languages for which two series of obstruents have been analysed (cf. Cook, 1987). Following nasals the contrast is neutralised, all obstruents being realised as short, non-fricatable (and, except for the laminals, voiced) stops. Equally, in word-final and syllable-final (i.e. preconsonantal) position, there is no contrast, the short obstruents simply not occurring in this position.

The only other position which consonants can occupy is word-initial. In word-initial position the long obstruents are not realised as perceptibly lengthened stops; this environment provides for no reliable or systematic discerning of the commencement of stop closure, and length in itself cannot consequently be contrastive. I therefore analyse the long stops as realised as short voiceless stops word-initially. This results in a partial neutralisation of the obstruent contrasts. While /b/ and /d/ differ from /p/ and /t/ by virtue of their voicing, initial /f/ is only distinguished from initial /p/, and initial /sj/ from initial /tj/, through the option of frication or affrication. /k/ and /g/, however, are fully merged. (2-29) illustrates these overlapping realisations:
2-29) **Word-Initial obstruent allophones**

\[
\begin{align*}
/p/ & \rightarrow [\text{ph}] \\
/\ell/ & \rightarrow [\phi] \sim [p\phi] \sim [\text{ph}] \\
/b/ & \rightarrow [b] \\
/t/ & \rightarrow [\text{th}] \\
/d/ & \rightarrow [d] \\
/k/ & \rightarrow [k] \\
/g/ & \rightarrow [k] \\
/tj/ & \rightarrow [C] \\
/sj/ & \rightarrow [\text{C}] \sim [C]
\end{align*}
\]

Rarely, however, is it necessary to propose underlying long stops in word-initial position. The overwhelming majority of word-initial apico-alveolars in the language, for example, are voiced. Similarly, nearly all word-initial lamino-palatals and voiceless bilabial stops are freely able to be fricated. Further, when these initial segments are moved into word-medial position, they are clearly short obstruents. For example, all words that I have tested that show an initial \([\text{ph}]\)-\([p\phi]\)-\([\phi]\) variation take an initial fricative when placed in word-medial position. Thus compare (2-30) and (2-31):

2-30)  
filfil

\rightarrow [\phi\text{ul}\phi\text{ul}] \sim [p\phi\text{ul}\phi\text{ul}] \sim [\text{phul}\phi\text{ul}]

...dizzy (i.e. "rolling" (eyes))

2-31)  
wadi -filfil -Ø
2sSR see roll Imp

\rightarrow [w\text{adi}\beta\text{ul}\beta\text{ul}]

(You(sg)) Roll it.

Equally, the majority of word-initial voiceless velar stops can be shown to be underlyingly short obstruents because of their behaviour under processes, such as prefixation, which place them word-medially, e.g.:

2-32.a)  
ginim ganngi -Ø
2sSR do 2sSR sit Pr

\rightarrow [k\text{num} k\text{anji}]

You(sg) are (sitting) doing it.
There are, however, a number of word-initial obstruents that are underlyingly long. These are voiceless, and non-fricatable. Many of the examples are onomatopoeic terms relating to animals, e.g.:

Some other word-initial long-stops result from verb roots being adapted into the nominal lexicon. (Note that verb roots are not moved out of their word-medial position by regular grammatical processes.) Thus compare (2-35.a) and (2-35.b):

Generally, then, we can say that the language does not systematically generate long stops word-initially, and there are no grammatically productive processes which result in morphemes with initial long stops being brought from word-medial to word-initial position.

Further, it should be noted that while /f/ and /b/ remain contrastive initially, differing both in voicing and the option of frication for /f/, there are relatively few words (only twenty-five or so in my current corpus) beginning with /b/, e.g.:
In other words, the tendency of the language is to have, for each point of articulation, only one obstruent that occupies word-initial position. A corollary of this is that voicing, which could potentially function to distinguish /d/ from /t/, and /b/ from the other bilabials, in word-initial position, is not exploited as a contrastive feature in its own right; it simply remains as no more than an additional phonetic cue for the length distinction at the bilabial and alveolar points of articulation.

(b) **Nasals**

There are four nasals: bilabial /m/, dorso-velar /ng/, apico-alveolar /n/ and lamino-palatal /nj/. /n/ tends to be retroflexed prior to a retroflex stop, and /nj/ dentalised prior to a dental stop:

2-37) /af-en-sran/

--- > [æβẹn-ɗan] ...where + ALLATIVE suffix

2-38) giniŋ -tharr -Ø -a

1ESR go stop pl Pst

--- > [kuniŋtare]

*We(exc,pl) stopped.*

Prior to /i/, /ng/ has a more forward articulation, and is occasionally realised with secondary palatalization:

2-39) ngiŋiŋ -a

1SRR see Pst

--- > [ŋyidına]

*I saw it.*

(c) **Liquids and Semi-vowels**

There are three liquids, /l/, /rr/ and /r/. /l/ is an apico-alveolar lateral, with dark (i.e. velarized) articulation in syllable final position following back vowels. /rr/ is realised as an apico-alveolar tap or trill intervocalically, and elsewhere as a trill only. /r/ is an apical approximant, articulated in the alveolar to post-alveolar region, and distinct from the retroflex approximant allophone of /sr/ (see (2-19) above). (2-40) gives minimal contrasts for the liquids.
All liquids tend to be devoiced word-finally.

There are two semi-vowels, lamino-palatal /y/ and labio-velar /w/. /w/ may be rounded in the environment of /u/, but otherwise has a neutral lip position. The semi-vowels are not elided word-initially.

2.1.2. Phonotactics
2.1.2.1. The Phonological Structure of the Word

Marrithiyel words are of two structural types. Firstly, there are those which are built on a recurring CV((C)C) structure. These words can be represented formulaically as:

2-41) \[ C_1V_1((C_2)C_3) (C_4V_1((C_2)C_3))^* \]

Some examples of words structured in this way are:

2-42)

\[
\begin{align*}
&C_1V_1 \quad /ma/ \quad \text{...(You(sg)) Paint him.} \\
&C_1V_1C_3 \quad /nang/ \quad \text{...he (3rd sg. masculine Free Pronoun)} \\
&C_1V_1C_2C_3 \quad /yirrng/ \quad \text{...sea turtle} \\
&C_1V_1C_4V_1 \quad /wudi/ \quad \text{...liquid, water} \\
&C_1V_1C_3C_4V_1 \quad /thenggi/ \quad \text{...bottom} \\
&C_1V_1C_4V_1C_3 \quad /srusrut/ \quad \text{...frothy} \\
&C_1V_1C_3C_4V_1C_3 \quad /manbuk/ \quad \text{...woomera} \\
&C_1V_1C_2C_3C_4V_1 \quad /yirrngwa/ \quad \text{...sea turtle + PURPOSE suffix}
\end{align*}
\]

A second CV((C)C), marked as recursive by the asterisk, is included in the formula in (2-41), since slightly fewer consonants can occupy word initial C_1 than can occur at second and subsequent syllable-initial position C_4. The second syllable is bracketed as optional, since consonant-initial monosyllabic words, as illustrated in (2-42), are not systematically prohibited. They are, however, not common, and I have thus far recorded only 40 of them. Note that the formula is structured so that all second and subsequent syllables are consonant-initial; VV sequences are not allowed.

The second structural type is vowel-initial, having either V or a VC sequence in place of the initial syllable in (2-41). Keeping indices consistent with those of (2-41), this type can be represented formulaically as:

2-43) \[ V_2(C_3) (C_4V_1((C_2)C_3))^* \]
(2-44) provides examples of this structuring:

2-44)  
V2 /e/ ...and (Clause conjunction)  
V2C3 /ap/ ...perhaps  
V2C4V1 /awu/ ...meat  
V2C4V1C3 /a-danj/ ...shark  
V2C4V1C2C3 /a-garrk/ ...scavenger hawk

There are several points to note about the formula in (2-43). Firstly, with the exception of the clause conjunction /e/ "and", words can only begin with the vowel /a/; word-initial V2 is therefore distinguished from the unrestricted vowels (V1) of the second and subsequent syllables. Secondly, while the formula allows for monosyllabic vowel-initial words, only the two listed in (2-44) above, /e/ and /ap/, have actually been recorded. Thirdly, word-initial V2C3 syllables are rare, there being only five examples in my current corpus:

2-45) /a-mba/ ...what kind of meat/animal?  
/ambi/ ...NEGATIVE particle  
/ammu/ ...plain, plains country  
/angga/ ...grandfather  
/apma/ ...Shut up!

Further, it should be mentioned that most instances of word-initial V syllables are due to the lower animate/flesh food class marker /a/, which in addition to prefixing to several hundred noun roots to form animal names, is also applied productively to adjectives and demonstratives (cf. 2.4.2), e.g.:

2-46) /a-wak/ ...crow  
/a-gan/ ...this meat, this animal  
/a-thasru/ ...king-brown (snake species)  
/a-gati/ ...good meat

There are, however, many other word-initial V syllables, not attributable to the /a/ class prefix, in diverse areas of the lexicon, e.g.:

2-47) /adi/ ...mate, friend (Address term)  
/anji-/ ...2sS1r nj Auxiliary  
/apu/ ...that way (Deictic)  
/arra/ ...around (Directional adverb)  
/arri-/ ...2sS1r rr Auxiliary  
/arriga/ ...how much? (Interrogative)

(2-41) and (2-43) are not readily combinable into a more general (non-disjunctive) word formula. But, with reference to both formulae,
the general restrictions on the occurrence of phonemes at different positions in the word can be stated as follows:

(1) While medial V₁ can be any vowel, word-initial V₂ can only be /a/.

The one exception to this is the clause conjunction "and", consisting of the single vowel /e/. This conjunction is also found in Marrithiyel's southern neighbour, Ngan'gitjemeri (Reid, in preparation), where the vowel /e/ is systematically allowed in word-initial position, and it may therefore be a borrowing.

Apart from the /i/ initial bound pronominals (cf. 3.2), and one /i/ initial verb root (/it/ "pick up (unitary)"), /a/ is also the only vowel permitted morpheme-initially.

(2) Word-initial C₁ cannot generally be a long stop (cf. 2.1.1.2), a rhotic or the laminal nasal /nj/. In addition, as discussed in 2.1.1.2 above, /b/ is infrequent in this position.

I have recorded one occurrence of word-initial /nj/, in the adverb /njukunjuku/ "untruthfully", and two occurrences of word-initial /r/: /rak/ "local estate group" and /ragun/ "long bent pipe". Otherwise, aside from the temporal suffix /njsjan/ "now, then" (cf. 4.3), and a few instances of morpheme-initial /rr/ and /nj/ in the auxiliary (cf. 3.2), /rr/, /r/ and /nj/ are found neither word- nor morpheme-initially.

(3) C₂, the initial segment of syllable-final clusters, can only be a liquid.

(4) Syllable-final C₃ cannot be a short obstruent, nor, generally, a semi-vowel.

There are, however, four root-final lamino-palatal glides (all forming diphthongs with their preceding vowels) which have been recorded:

2-48) /wakay/ ...complete(ly), finished /wuy/ ...no /yikay/ ...that's great, hooray /yukuy/ ...oh dear

The unusual structuring of these words would appear to be consistent with their status as exclamations or interjections, which, cross-linguistically tend to be phonologically anomalous (cf. Schachter, 1985, p58). Note that the final glide in these four roots cannot be
postulated as reduced from an underlying /yi/ final sequence, since word-final /yi/ is not otherwise systematically reduced to /y/, e.g.:

2-49) /adayi/ \(\rightarrow [adayi], *[aday] \quad \text{...catfish species}

(5) Word-medial syllable-initial \(C_4\) can be any consonant.

Nominal roots in Marrithiyel are normally di- or tri- syllabic, although a number of apparently monomorphemic four-syllable roots have been recorded, e.g.:

2-50) /denjbaragga/ \quad ...large short-neck turtle

/mubunangga/ \quad ...rock python

Reduplication, compounding, class prefixing, case-suffixing etc. can result in nominal words of up to ten syllables, e.g.:

2-51) a -mulirritjmulirritj -sran -nganan
CA cheeky REDUP ALL SCE

...from the vicinity of that very cheeky animal

Verb roots are mono- or di- syllabic; the attachment of the obligatory auxiliary, verb-stem forming procedures such as body-part noun incorporation, together with further suffixing requirements and options, can readily produce verbs of a dozen or so syllables that constitute single phonological words.

2-52) fidin -ning -thenggi -sru -du -nimbini -njsjan -wa
3nsSir see IsO bottom ITER touch trial then Fut

They(3) will push me (repetitively) then.

2.1.2.2. Intersyllabic Diconsonant Clusters

Intersyllabic diconsonant clusters are represented in the word formulae as \(C_3C_4\). These clusters are relatively unconstrained. We can say generally that a \(C_3C_4\) cluster may consist of any long stop, nasal or liquid, followed by any obstruent, any of the nasals /m/, /ng/ or /n/, the lateral /l/ or either semi-vowel. In other words, a \(C_3C_4\) cluster may consist of any consonant systematically permitted at \(C_3\), followed by any consonant other than a rhotic or the nasal /nj/\(^{12}\).

There is in fact one circumstance in which /nj/ appears as the second element of a consonant cluster. This takes place within the auxiliary, when certain /n/-final auxiliary verb-roots select a /nji/ allomorph of the second singular bound object pronominal (cf. 3.2.3). This results in an /n-nj/ cluster, e.g.:
This /n-nj/ cluster is not reduced or altered by any phonological rules, and is preserved in the surface form of the auxiliary. This perhaps suggests that post-consonantal /nj/ should not be regarded as fully systematically excluded; the morpheme structure of Marrithiyel rather determines that it rarely occurs\textsuperscript{13}. Note that the only other circumstance in which post-consonantal /nj/ appears in underlying form arises through the affixation of /njsjan/ "now, then"; in this case /nj/ is elided by the action of the tri-consonant cluster reduction rule (as illustrated in 2.1.4.2). This rule is comparatively general in its scope, and does not exclusively target post-consonantal /nj/ for deletion.

The possibilities for $C_3C_4$ clusters include sequences of identical nasals (apart from /nj/), laterals and long stops. Clusters of identical long stops are not found morpheme-medially, and only infrequently arise across morpheme boundaries. Like other homorganic stop clusters (cf. (2-21) above), the first consonant normally remains unreleased, and they consequently blend into a single lengthened stop\textsuperscript{14}. Geminate nasals and laterals can be realised by either prolonged voicing or by rearticulation of the consonant, i.e. by continuous voicing with two distinct amplitude peaks. Nasal and lateral geminates occur both morpheme-medially and across morpheme boundaries (cf. (2-11) above), e.g.:

2-54) /gilla/  _mother  
/ ammu/  _plains  
/fenni/  _dust  
/anji-purrngpurrng-nginel/  (You(sg)) Boil it for me.

There are only a few instances, confined to the verbal auxiliary (cf. 3.2), of nasal or lateral gemination being responsible for minimal contrasts, e.g.\textsuperscript{15}:

2-55.a)  gani -ya  
3sSR go Pst  
\textit{He went.}  

2-55.b)  gan -ni -ya  
3sSR go 3msG Pst  
\textit{He went to him.}
However, while not often minimally contrastive, nasal and lateral geminates are consistently maintained as phonetically distinct from single consonants.

2.1.2.3. Syllable Final and Triconsonant Clusters

It appears that syllable-final clusters, represented in the word formulae as $C_2C_3$, may consist of any liquid followed by a peripheral nasal or peripheral long stop. This gives 12 possible $C_2C_3$ clusters, only two of which, /lk/ and /rr/, remain unattested:

2-57) /felp/  ...continually
/gagi-mi-wil-mbel-wa/  ...He will warm it up for you(sg).
/musjulng/  ...swag
/ngurrk-ngurrk/  ...snore (reduplicated Complex Verb Root)
/tharr-mba/  ...what kind of tree/thing?
/marrngmarrng/  ...carefree
/yerp/  ...scrape (Complex Verb Root)
/berk/  ...belch (Complex Verb Root)
/ngirr-pur-mbel-a/  ...I carried them for you(sg).
/ngirr-pur-ngel-a/  ...I carried them for her.

Reduplication of, and the attaching of consonant-initial suffixes (e.g. case inflections, verbal affixes) to, morphemes with syllable-final clusters result in tri-consonant clusters, e.g.:

2-58) /musjulng-wa/  ...swag + PURPOSE suffix
/musjulng-sran/  ...swag + ALLATIVE suffix
/musjulng-gin/  ...swag + INSTRUMENTAL suffix

The possible third consonant in such a cluster is covered by the rules above for post-consonantal $C_4$; that is, a $C_2C_3$ cluster may be followed by any consonant other than a rhotic or the nasal /nj/.

2.1.3. Word Stress

Assignment of word stress in Marrithiyel is relatively straightforward. Apart from reduplications, each phonological word has one primary, and, where possible, one secondary stress. Stress is cued by both pitch and loudness, with stressed syllables being perceptibly higher in pitch and louder than unstressed syllables. Secondary is differentiated from primary stress in both respects,
showing a smaller increase in pitch and loudness over unstressed syllables.

Primary stress is normally assigned to the first syllable of a stem, and secondary stress to the second syllable thereafter. For unprefixed nominals this results simply in primary stress falling on the initial syllable of the word, e.g.:

2-59) /mūwun/ ...sore
/sjānjisjī-nēl/ ...fire(wood) + INTENTIVE suffix
/mārriwil/ ...crack, slit
/yūwa-ngānan/ ...there + SOURCE suffix
/dērīfiri/ ...skin

The Marrithiyel class marking system (cf. Appendix B) includes three forms which can act as nominal prefixes: /a/ "flesh food, lower animate", /mi/ "plant produce", and /ma/ "human (non-singular)". Certain grammatical processes, for example, agreement of a modifier with a head generic, attach these prefixes to nominal constituents. When grammatically determined, the prefixing of these class markers has no effect on the stress pattern, and primary stress continues to fall on the first syllable of the nominal stem.

2-60) /a-gāti-yā/ ...It was good meat. (/a/ + good + PAST)
/mi-ngātīn-wā/ ...for unripe bush-tucker (/mi/ + unripe + PURPOSEIVE)
/ma-sjīkim/ ...black people (/ma/ + black)

However, there are a large number of nouns for which /a/ and /mi/ can be considered to be lexically rather than grammatically assigned. These are nouns which are /a/ or /mi/ initial, and clearly semantically belong to the classes marked by the prefixes, but which cannot function as free form nominals in their own right with the /a/ or /mi/ detached, e.g.:

2-61) /mi-ngurra/, */ngurra/ ...bush currant
/mi-wullil/, */wullil/ ...cheeky yam
/a-guwan/, */guwan/ ...snake (generic)
/a-fureng/, */fureng/ ...wallaby

For the purposes of stress placement, the "prefix" in such nouns is normally treated as part of the stem, and thus takes the primary stress.

2-62) /mi-ngurrā/ ...bush currant
/mi-wullil/ ...cheeky yam
/ā-guwan/ ...snake (generic)
/ā-furèng/ ...wallaby

Nominals formed with reduplicated roots, however, have not one, but two primary stresses. Primary stress falls on the first syllable.
of each root. Secondary stress is then assigned to the second (unstressed) syllable after each primary stress. This is illustrated in (2-63) below, with di- and tri-syllabic adjectival roots reduplicated for intensification of meaning\(^8\). (Note that this is the only grammatical process which reduplicates nominal roots.)

\[\begin{align*}
\text{2-63) } /\text{sjápatj-sjápatj/} & \quad \text{...small-small = very small} \\
& /\text{múlirritj-múlirritj/} \quad \text{...cheeky-cheeky = very cheeky} \\
& /\text{sjápatj-sjápatj-wá/} \quad \text{...very small + PURPOSES suffix} \\
& /\text{múlirritj-múlirritj-nganan/} \quad \text{...very cheeky + SOURCE suffix}
\end{align*}\]

There are in addition a number of nominal stems which have the phonological structure of reduplicates (i.e. consist of two identical sequences), but which are never able to appear in non-reduplicated form. These stems show the same pattern as grammatically reduplicated nominals. (There are no recorded examples of trisyllabic roots in this class\(^9\).)

\[\begin{align*}
\text{2-64) } /\text{mákmák/, } & \quad */\text{mak/} \quad \text{...white eagle} \\
& /\text{pútpút/, } \quad */\text{put/} \quad \text{...pregnant} \\
& /\text{márrngmárrng/, } */\text{marrng/} \quad \text{...carefree} \\
& /\text{márrímárrí/, } */\text{marri/} \quad \text{...knife} \\
& /\text{wúltiwúlti/, } */\text{ulti/} \quad \text{...sour, bitter}
\end{align*}\]

Although they take two primary stresses, I identify both types of reduplication as constituting a single word. They are always pronounced as a unit, with no option of a pause between the reduplicated sequences, and nothing may intervene between them.

Further, assignment of primary stress to the first syllable of reduplicating roots takes precedence over the assignment of primary stress to the first syllable of the stem. This is evidenced in (2-65), which provides examples of lower-animate names formed with a non-detachable /a/ prefix followed by a reduplicated sequence. These are all lexically specified reduplications, in the sense that they are never able to appear in non-reduplicated form. In contrast to (2-62) above, primary stress falls not on the /a/, but on the first syllable of each root\(^2\).\(^0\).

\[\begin{align*}
\text{2-65) } /\text{a-púpú/, } & \quad */\text{pu/} \quad \text{...acacia grub} \\
& /\text{a-thírrthírr/, } */\text{thírr/} \quad \text{...woodpecker} \\
& /\text{a-lánbalánba/, } */\text{lánba/} \quad \text{...grass-hopper} \\
& /\text{a-líralíra/, } */\text{líra/} \quad \text{...black cockatoo}
\end{align*}\]

In addition, there are a number of examples of nominal stems, such as (2-66), which contain reduplicated sequences. Again, primary stress falls not on the first syllable of the stem, but on the first syllable
of each reduplicating sequence. (Note that (2-66) is synchronically
unanalysable).

2-66) /a-malikutkut/  ...forest bird species

In examples such as (2-65) and (2-66) secondary stress continues to
fall on the second (unstressed) syllable after each primary stress.
In addition, the first syllable of the word, providing it does not
immediately precede a primary stressed syllable, also takes a
secondary stress, e.g.:

2-67) /a-liralira-nganan/,  
* /a-liralira-nganan/ ...black cockatoo + SOURCE suffix
/a-malikutkut-nganan/ ...forest bird + SOURCE suffix

Stress assignment in the verb works in the same way as nominal
stress placement. Marrithiyel verbs can be divided into two main
structural types, according to whether or not they have a complex verb
stem. "Simple" verbs consist minimally of just an appropriately
suffixed "auxiliary" unit, while "complex" verbs consist minimally of
an auxiliary attached to a complex verb stem, together with the
appropriate suffixes (cf. 3.1). In a Marrithiyel verb, primary stress
is, where possible, placed on the complex verb stem. If, however,
there is no complex verb stem (or if the complex verb stem is not
syllabic) primary stress falls on the first syllable of the verb. (2-
68) is a regular complex verb; the complex verb stem consists simply
of the verb root /pirr/, "leave, discard, throw", which takes the
primary stress.

2-68) gunja -ningin -pirr -fini -ya
  3nsSR stand 1sG throw dl Pst
  [-CVS-]

They(2) threw it to me.

In contrast to (2-68), (2-69) and (2-70) have no complex verb stem.
Primary stress now falls on the first syllable of the verb. In (2-69)
this is the first syllable of the auxiliary. In (2-70) it is the
interrogative prefix /fe/ "what", which attaches to the "do"
 auxiliary.

2-69) gunja -ningin -fini -ya
  3nsSR stand 1sG dl Pst

They(2) were standing by/on me.
What did you(sg) do?

Many of the auxiliaries contain segmentable and syllabic auxiliary verb roots, but these do not count as stems for the purposes of stress placement. Thus the primary stress in (2-71) below falls on the first syllable of the auxiliary, not on the following auxiliary verb root, /fel/ "lie".

2-71) *ngafel -wa gan
       ngafel 1sSSr lie Fut here

   I will be lying here.

The complex verb stem may be made up of a number of morphemes, including incorporated body-part-terms, applicative prefixes (cf. Ch. 5), iterative prefixes (cf. 4.5), etc. Note that it is the first syllable of this stem, and not necessarily the first syllable of the verb root itself, which takes the primary stress, e.g.:

2-72) guninj -mi -sjat -Ø-a
       3nsSR go MI sit down pl Pst

   They(pl) sat down with him.

There is only one circumstance in which a complex verb stem is non-syllabic; this involves the verb root /it/ "pick up (unitary)", the initial vowel of which may be elided following a vowel-final auxiliary form (see 2.1.4.1). When this elision takes place, and the verb stem is made up only of the verb root, stress reverts to the first syllable of the word, e.g.:

2-73) ngumu -it -wa
       1sSSr paint pick up Fut

   --> ngûmulwa (Rule 2, 2.1.4.1)

   I will pick it up.

However, where this root combines with another morpheme to form a syllabic verb stem, it takes the normal primary stress.

2-74) ngumu -it -fundi -wa
       1sSSr paint pick up arm Fut

   --> ngumutfundiwa (Rule 2, 2.1.4.1)

   I will take him.
Complex verb roots, as well as adjectival roots functioning verbally, may be reduplicated for iteration. (See 4.5; note that only roots, not whole verb stems, undergo reduplication.) As is the case with nominals, each root takes a primary stress:

2-75) garri -ing -dudú -ya  
3sSR rr 1sO  touch REDUP Pst  

He touched me (repetitively).

2-76) wadi -thútthút -miri -wa  
2sSîr see blunt REDUP eye Fut  

You(sg) will make it blunt (by repetitive action).

2-77) guwa -pîlkitjpîlkitj -nîsjen -∅  
3sSîr stand twist REDUP now Pr  

It's twisting/revolving now.

Again, in the same way as for nominals, assignment of stress to reduplicating roots takes precedence over the rule placing primary stress on the first syllable of the stem. Thus compare (2-78) below with (2-72) above. (2-78) is the reduplicated form of (2-72); primary stress now has been shifted from the initial syllable of the complex verb stem to the reduplicating roots.

2-78) guninj -mi -sjât -sjât -∅ -a  
3nsSîr go MI sit down sit down pl Pst  

They(pl) use to sit down with him.

Secondary stress in verbs also follows the nominal pattern. That is, secondary stress falls on the second (unstressed) syllable after each primary stress.

2-79) gûnja -ningsi -fini -ya  
3nsSîr stand lsG dl Pst  

They(2) were standing by/on me.

2-80) gil -gêkenjsgêkenjjsji -ya  
3sSîr 1 wet REDUP Pst  

(The rain) wet him repetitively.

In addition, where it does not either take or immediately precede a primary stress, the first syllable of the verb also receives a secondary stress, e.g.: 
The principles of stress assignment can thus be stated as follows:

1. Primary stress is placed on the first syllable of each reduplicating sequence.
2. Otherwise, primary stress falls, for verbs, on the first syllable of the complex verb stem, and, for nominals, on the first syllable of the nominal stem. (The "stem" for nominals is the minimal independent grammatical unit).
3. In the absence of a syllabic stem (as is the case, for example, with "simple" verbs) primary stress falls on the first syllable of the word.
4. Secondary stress is placed on the second unstressed syllable after each primary stress.
5. If the initial syllable of the word is unstressed, and not adjacent to a primary stressed syllable, it also receives a secondary stress.

2.1.4. Morpho-phonological Processes

2.1.4.1. Vowel Cluster Reduction

As indicated in 2.1.2.1, vowel clusters are not permitted in Marrithiyel; underlying VV sequences are reduced to a single segment. In the analysis presented in this study underlying vowel clusters are proposed only within the auxiliary and across the boundary between the auxiliary and the complex verb stem. Such clusters involve /i/, /a/ or /u/ as their first element, and either /i/ or /a/ as their second. This gives six vowel cluster possibilities, /ii/, /ia/, /ai/, /ui/, /aa/, /ua/, all of which are attested. /ii/ and /aa/ are simply reduced to /i/ and /a/ respectively. In clusters which combine either /u/ or /a/ with /i/, it is /i/ which is elided, regardless of its position in the sequence, e.g.:
2-83) guwa -ingin -pirr -a  
3sSR stand 1sG throw Pst  

--->/guwangingpirra/  
He threw it to me.

2-84) gusri -asru -ya  
3sSR sit laugh Pst  

--->/gusrasruya/  
He was (sitting) laughing.

When /u/ and /a/ are combined, /u/, the initial vowel in the sequence, is deleted, e.g.:

2-85) ngumu -asru -wa  
1sSir paint laugh Fut  

--->/ngumasruwa/  
I'll make her laugh.

These vowel deletions are most simply accounted for by two ordered vowel cluster reduction rules; the first deletes a vowel prior to a following back vowel (that is, prior to /u/ or /a/), and the second rule deletes the second vowel of any remaining vowel cluster:

Rule 1:  
V --->/ Ø / -- V  
[+Back]

Rule 2:  
V --->/ Ø / V --

Note: Rule 1 is ordered before Rule 2.

2.1.4.2. Triconsonant Cluster Reduction

There are a number of morphemes in Marrithiyl which have initial consonant clusters; when suffixed to consonant-final morphemes, these may form impermissible tri-consonant sequences. Permissible tri-consonant clusters have been discussed in 2.1.2.3. They consist of any permitted C₂C₃ cluster (i.e. liquid plus peripheral nasal or long stop), followed by any permitted post-consonantal C₄ (i.e. any consonant other than a rhotic or /nj/). Any other type of tri-consonant cluster which arises has its middle consonant deleted. For example, there is a cluster-initial nominal interrogative suffix /mba/, "what kind of". When attached to liquid- or vowel-final nominals its shape remains unaltered, since permissible clusters result:
2-86.a) galirr -mba ---> /galirrmba/ ...what kind of net ?
net what kind

2-86.b) thiyl -mba ---> /thiylmba/ ...what kind of paperbark ?
paperbark what kind
tree

2-86.c) sjandi -mba ---> /sjandimba/ ...what kind of spear ?
spear what kind

However, following nominals ending in other consonants, /mba/ is reduced to /ba/, e.g.:

2-87.a) muwun -mba ---> /muwunba/ ...what kind of sore ?
sore what kind

2-87.b) a -muning -mba ---> /amuningba/ ...what kind of bird ?
CA feather what kind

In contrast, the initial cluster of the suffix /njsjan/ "now, then", can never participate in a permissible tri-consonant cluster, the second element of which must be a peripheral stop or nasal. This suffix thus takes the form /njsjan/ after vowels, and /sjan/ after consonants:

2-88) gani -njsjan -Ø
3sSR go now Pr
--- > /ganinjsjan/
He's going now.

2-89) nginjarr -njsjan -Ø
1sSR go* now Pr
--- > /nginjarrsjan/
I'm going along now.

We thus can propose the following rule.

Rule 3: \( C_1C_2C_k \) ---> \( C_1C_k \)

Condition: \( C_1C_2 \) is not a permissible pre-consonantal cluster

2.1.4.3. Partial Reduplication

There are two synchronic processes which operate to reduce consonant clusters formed at the boundary between reduplicated roots, thus resulting in partially reduplicated forms.

The first process concerns liquid plus semi-vowel sequences. In these clusters the semi-vowels are deleted following /l/ or /rr/, e.g.:

2-90) /wil-wil/ ---> /wilil/ ...make hot, force
There is only one example of an /r/ plus semi-vowel sequence arising through reduplication; in this example it is the liquid rather than the semi-vowel which is elided:

2-91) /nenjsji-wur-wur/ --> /nenjsjiwuwur/ ...be starving

Such clusters are subject to reduction only under reduplication, e.g.:

2-92) ngurr -yirryirr -wa
lsSIr rr scratch REDUP Fut

--> /ngurryirrirrwa/, */ngurrrirrrra/

I will scratch it (repetitively).

2-93) ngurr -pur -wa
lsSIr rr carry Fut ITER

--> /ngurrrpurwa/, */ngurrpuwa/

I will carry them.

This process is attested only for verb, and not nominal, roots, there being no reduplicable nominal roots of the appropriate phonological shape. There is, however, one adjectival root, reduplicated in form, which has a liquid plus semi-vowel cluster that is never reduced. The reduplicated sequence of this adjective cannot function on its own, unlike the verb roots of (2-90) and (2-91), which are reduplicated for iteration by a regular grammatical process (cf. 4.5):

2-94) /yilyil/, */yil/ ...true, honest

It is not possible therefore to determine whether this reduction process applies only to verb roots, or only to grammatically determined reduplication.

The other reduplicative reduction process concerns clusters of peripheral obstruents. Where verb root reduplication brings peripheral obstruents together, the final peripheral of the first root in the sequence may be elided. Because only the long stops may be the first obstruent of a consonant cluster (cf. 2.1.2.2), this means that such clusters can only consist of /p/ or /k/ followed by /p/, /b/, /f/, /k/ or /g/. This reduction is optional, with elision the norm in fast speech, but the clusters being preserved in slower or more careful speech.
These peripheral obstruent clusters are also only reduced under reduplication:

2-96) ngumun -thak -fundi -ya
   lsSR paint squash arm Pst
   ---> /ngumunthakfundiya/, */ngumunthafundiya/
   I squashed his arm.

There are few examples of peripheral obstruent clusters produced through reduplication of nominal rather than verbal roots. And the few available examples are lexically rather than grammatically determined reduplicates (in the sense that they have no independent function in non-reduplicated form). The reduction process does not extend to these examples, e.g.:

2-97) /a-garrak-garrak/
   ---> /agarrakgarrak/, */agarragarrak/ ... kookaburra

We can represent these processes formulaically as follows, noting that it is unclear whether they apply exclusively to verb roots, and bearing in mind that the first rule is based on a single example:

Rule 4:  r ---o Ø / -- #Semi-vowel
Rule 5:  Semi-vowel ---o Ø / Liquid# --
Rule 6 (Optional):
   Peripheral obstruent ---o Ø / -- #Peripheral Obstruent

Note:  Rule 4 is ordered before Rule 5.
Condition : # constitutes the boundary between grammatically reduplicated roots.

2.2. Word Classes

(2-98) lists the principal word-classes which can be established for Marrithiyel:
These word-classes can be established both by semantic characterisation of their prototypical members, and through formal criteria. I take it that the essential semantic distinctions between major word-classes such as noun, adjective, verb and adverb have been well established in the literature, both cross-linguistically (see, for example, Dixon (1982), Langacker (1987), Lyons (1977), Schachter (1985), Talmy (1985), Wierzbicka (1988)) and in the Australian context (cf. Dixon (1977, pp121-124, and 1980, pp271-284), and Goddard (1985, pp30-36)). I therefore focus below on the formal distinctions between the Marrithiyel word-classes, paying attention in particular to their differing range of inflectional possibilities. I simply note here that Marrithiyel has relatively few nouns corresponding to abstract terms, such as "desire", "heat", "fear", "thought" etc., in English, giving expression to such concepts instead through its verbal, and, to a lesser degree, its adjectival, systems.

There are three major open word-classes: nominals, verbs, and adverbs. The primary formal distinguishing feature of nominals is their eligibility for a range of case inflections (2.3). The nominal class itself is made up of two principal sub-classes: nouns and adjectives. Nouns and adjectives show the same inflectional possibilities, but may be grammatically differentiated in that only nouns, and not adjectives, may freely function at the head of an NP. Nouns are further divisible into generics and specifics. A generic and specific noun may both occur in the one NP, with the generic in initial position, immediately preceding the specific.; there is a special sub-set of generics, which I refer to as "class-markers", which have distinctive grammatical properties (App. B). In addition, eligibility for a particular type of incorporation into the verb distinguishes a sub-set of body-part nouns, which I refer to as the "principal body-part terms" (Ch. 5).

Within the NP, adjectives follow the noun(s). It is highly unusual for an NP to contain more than one general adjective.
However, numerals (e.g. /nginjsji/ "one") and quantifiers (e.g. /ngelfu/ "many, much") can be identified as adjectival sub-classes which do not conform to this constraint: they regularly co-occur with general adjectives, and are ordered after them. Similarly, demonstrative and pronominal-possessive adjectives (see below) may co-occur with both general adjectives and numerals/quantifiers. These are also ordered after general adjectives, but show variable ordering with respect to the numerals and quantifiers.

Verbs are formally distinguished by their (obligatory) affixing of an inflectional unit referred to herein as "the auxiliary". This auxiliary provides for verbs to be divided into 22 semantically based conjugations (Ch. 6), and to be categorised as either relatively "high" or relatively "low" in the transitivity continuum (in the sense of Hopper and Thompson, 1980). Verbs may also be classed as either "simple" or "complex", according to whether or not the auxiliary co-occurs with a main verb stem (3.1).

Adverbs are eligible for neither nominal case, nor verbal auxiliary, inflection, and are restricted to appearing in the immediate pre- or post-verbal position. Aspectual adverbs, such as /felp/ "continually" and /wakay/ "completely" (which also functions as an exclamation) occur after the verb, while directionals, such as /gak/ "heading off" and /arra/ "around (i.e. in circular, circuitous motion)", normally occur before the verb. Manner adverbs, such as /wutharri/ "quickly" and /derafu/ "slowly, carefully", appear freely in either position.

The two closed major classes are particles and exclamations. The class of exclamations includes words such as /wuy/ "no", /nada/ "alright", /wakay/ "finished" and /yakarra/ "oh, oh no". Exclamations are fully sentential, constituting complete utterances in their own right, and are syntactically inert.

Particles are operators, whose scope may extend from a single constituent to the clause as a whole, providing for logical or modal qualification (cf. Dixon, 1980, p284), or overtly locating the constituent/clause in the framework of the discourse. This class includes the negative /ambi/, as well as modals such as /ap/ "perhaps, maybe", /arramen/ "possibly", and /nina/, the obligatory irrealis (4.1). Also included in this class are the clause conjunction /e/ "and", and the relativizer /ni/. Particles occur either clause initially, or adjacent to the particular constituent on which they operate. They are normally not able to be inflected. Note, however,
that the negative /ambi/ is eligible for both tense/mood (4.4) and source suffixing.

Two nominal sub-classes, locational qualifiers and temporal qualifiers, which have restricted inflectional possibilities, can be identified. Members of both classes are nouns rather than adjectives, and act as NP heads. Locational qualifiers are relative spatial terms; this class includes words such as /widip/ "close by", /ngatjpirr/ "far away", and /wayeni/ "up high". Such words have an unmarked (i.e. unsuffixed) locative reading. They cannot take the locative case inflection /nanga/, but may take the allative, source (i.e. ablative) or perlative inflections (cf. 2.3) as appropriate, e.g.:

2-99) ap widip (*-nanga) ngiya gusri -ni -manthi -mbel -Ø
   maybe close   LOC  3fsPRO 3sSR sit  NI  neck   2sPURP Pr
   =wait

   Maybe she's waiting for you (sg) close by.

2-100) ngatjpirr -nganan garri -butj -wurri -ya
   far   SCE  3sSR rr  have  towards  Pst

   He brought it here from far away.

Members of this class are otherwise ineligible for case inflection, and do not occupy core roles in the clause.

In their unmarked form, temporal qualifiers locate the event expressed by the clause at a point or period in time; this class includes words such as /yangi/ "now, today", /nitji/ "night", and /deyen/ "a long time from now (past or future)". Like the locationals, temporal qualifiers cannot take the locative suffix, being able to appear only with the allative and source case inflections (2.3), and do not occupy core roles. Temporal qualifiers are, however, eligible for tense/mood inflection (cf. 4.4).

I identify two further closed nominal sub-classes: pronouns and demonstratives. Although it has several series of bound pronominals, in the form of verbal affixes (cf. Ch. 3), Marrithiyel has just the one set of free-form pronouns (App. A). While taking distinctive number suffixes, the free-form pronouns behave grammatically like nouns, and have identical inflectional possibilities. In addition, these free pronominals also function, in their bare form (that is, without any derivational marking), as possessive adjectives. Compare, for example, the role of the first singular free form pronoun, /ygin/, in (2-101.a) and (2-101.b):
The demonstratives are listed in Appendix C. Morphosyntactically they may function either independently or as adjectives. In independent function, i.e. as NP heads, they behave as locational qualifiers, showing identical inflectional constraints and possibilities. As with the free-form pronouns, their adjectival function is not morphologically marked. However, note that both demonstratives and free pronouns functioning adjectivally are subject to the regular adjectival prohibition on operating as heads of NPs. Thus in (2-102) the pronoun /yigin/, in the absence of an overt head noun, cannot be interpreted as a possessive adjective:

2-102) marri ngindim -ini -wa yigin -wa
   words 2sSIR do 3msG Fut 1sPRO Fut
   You(sg) should tell him about me.
   * You(sg) should tell him about mine.

Roots which belong to the general adjectival class may freely form verb stems. This type of derivation is, again, not morphologically marked. Thus compare the role of /melthem/ "sharp" in (2-103.a) and (2-103.b):

2-103.a) ginj -git -a garrila melthem -gin
   3sSR nj cut,sever Pst rock sharp INS
   He cut it off with a sharp rock.

2-103.b) marrimarri ngidin -melthem -a
   knife 1sSR see sharp Pst
   I sharpened the knife.

Equally, semantically appropriate adjectives may be freely used adverbially; that is, they can be used to modify verbs as well as nouns. According to Dixon (1980, p282), this adjective to adverb shift is rarely found in Australian languages:

2-104.a) ma -gati gan firr -nimbi -butj -fundí -Ø -wurri -wa
   CH good this 3nsS Ir rr 2sO have arm pl to here Fut
   These good people(pl) will bring you(sg) here.
2-104.b) gati gidin -melthem -a  
good 3sSR see sharp Pst  

He sharpened it well.

Apart from these multiple class-assignment possibilities, each root in the language can otherwise, with some sporadic exceptions\textsuperscript{23}, be assigned uniquely to a specific word-class.

2.3. Case Inflections

Marrithiyel has a system of eight formally distinct case inflections, encoding nine major case functions. The eight forms, together with the labels and interlinear glosses I have adopted for their functions in this work, are given in Table 2-6. These inflections show no allomorphic variation.

Table 2-6 Nominal Case Suffixes

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<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>

The basic ordering of the NP (cf. 2.2) is to place any generic noun in initial position, followed by the specific noun, and then a general adjective; a numeral/quantifier and either a demonstrative or a pronominal-possessive adjective (demonstrative and possessive adjectives do not co-occur) may then follow, and are not strictly ordered with respect to each other. The case inflections are suffixes, and usually attach to the NP-final constituent. Occasionally, however, where a numeral occurs NP-finally, the case-marking is alternatively attached to the penultimate constituent rather than to the numeral, e.g.:

2-105) malawurr gan sjitjukuni -gin  
axe this two INS  

OR malawurr gan -gin sjitjukuni  
axe this INS two  

...with the two axes

This variant placing of the case inflection appears to have no semantic effect.
Following Dixon (1980, p294), I find it useful to separate the case functions into "core" and "peripheral" sets, and to further divide "peripheral" into "syntactic" and "local" groups. Core cases encode obligatory participant roles, that is, those roles which a particular verb requires to be either specified or understood, and without which it has an incomplete sense. Broadly speaking, intransitive subjects, transitive subjects and their objects, as well as "indirect objects", for example, the goals of verbs such as "give", "tell" and "promise (in marriage)", all fill core roles in Marrithiyel. Peripheral syntactic cases encode roles which are not obligatory to the verb, but which provide supplementary information as to the cause, motivation, purpose etc. of the situation which the verb describes. Peripheral local roles are those which delineate the spatio-temporal setting of the clause, specifying, for example, the physical location, the point of origin or destination of motion etc. We deal with each of these groups in turn below.

(a) Core roles

Core roles in Marrithiyel carry no obligatory case suffixing. Core role marking is instead achieved primarily through cross-referencing by verbally bound pronominal forms (Ch. 3), and, to a lesser extent, through a subject prior to object, and subject prior to verb, word-ordering preference. These mechanisms, however, do not in all cases clearly specify the roles occupied by core NPs, and it is left to context and/or the lexical content of NPs to determine the role interpretation.

Of the core roles, in fact, only transitive subject is eligible for any case marking at all, with the other core roles always unmarked. There are three suffixes available for transitive subject: /gin/ ergative, /nganan/, which otherwise functions as the source marker, and /wurri/, the perative.

The /gin/ ergative suffix is applied, not as a matter of course to canonical transitive subjects occupying their regular verb- and object- prior position in the clause, but to transitive subjects which are semantically or pragmatically marked. Semantically marked transitive subjects are those which by virtue of their lexical content, either in a general sense (i.e. in the sense of Silverstein, 1976), or in association with a specific verb, have a low predisposition to occupy the role. Thus inanimates, which are low on
the agency hierarchy, and are unlikely controlling agents, regularly take /gin/ when they act as transitive subject, e.g.:

2-106) thawurr -gin ginj -ing -git -ferri -ya
tree,stick ERG 3sSR nj 1sO cut foot Pst

The tree (i.e. log) "cut my foot off". 
= The log tripped me./ I tripped on the log.

The transitive verb of (2-107), on the other hand, has an animate (human female) subject. In this case /gin/ is attached not because of the general unlikelihood of this entity functioning as a transitive subject, but rather because the verb depicts an activity not normally engaged in by females:

2-107) ngiya -gin ganbi gani -fifi -ya
3fsPRO ERG bamboo 3sSR go blow REDUP Pst

She was "blowing the bamboo" (i.e. playing the didgeridoo).

Pragmatically marked transitive subjects are of two types. Firstly, there are those which are unusual or unexpected in transitive subject role because of expectations raised in, or assumptions underlying, a particular discourse; these also regularly take /gin/. In (2-108), for example, /gin/ appears to correct mistaken assumptions as to the identity of the agent. And in (2-109) /gin/ signals the transitive action as performed by a surprise subject, not previously present in, nor anticipated by, the narrative:

2-108) A: Yanmung garri -puritj -a nidin duwarr gan
Yanmung 3sSR rr fix,make Pst country full this

B: wuy, yigin -gin ngirr -puritj -a
no 1sPRO ERG 1sSR rr fix,make Pst

A: Yanmung built this camp.
B: No, I (was the one who) built it.

2-109) fitit -a ngidin -mel ngifel -a a -mayirang /
long time Pst 1sSR lie Pst CA magpie goose

ngasja -git -a / nang -fen -gin, nang -fen -gin
1sSRr stand cut,sever Pst 3msPRO INDEF ERG 3msPRO INDEF ERG

gil -kurr -a / thawurr -nanga gani -ngitj -a
3sSR l hit,kill Pst tree LOC 3sSR go hide Pst

I was lying watching the geese for a long time.
I wanted to have a shot at them (but didn't).
Another man, another man shot them.
He was hiding in the trees.

The second type of pragmatically marked transitive subject is that which is placed after the verb. This dislocation of a transitive
subject NP from its preferred position is usually (although not invariably) marked with ergative /gin/; compare, for example, (2-110) with the first clause of (2-108):

2-110) garri -puritj -a nidin duwarr gan Yanmung -gin
3sSR rr fix,make Pst country full this Yanmung ERG
= camp

Yanmung built this camp.

Under these conditions, any transitive subject is eligible for /gin/ affixation. This needs to be noted because of two factors which potentially complicate the notion of transitive subject: transitivity class, and non-subject core participant categorisation.

Marrithiyel verbs, for example, can be divided into two classes, according to whether they are "high" or "low" in transitivity value. A subject NP's eligibility for ergative /gin/ marking is not, however, determined by this transitivity division. Thus the verb of (2-110) is in the "high" transitivity class, while that of (2-107) is "low" in transitivity; as shown in these examples, both verbs permit ergative /gin/ on their subject NPs.

In addition, pronominal cross-referencing in the verb establishes two categories of core non-subject participant, referred to in this work as Gs and Os, and categorisable broadly as (relatively affected) goals and (non-reflexive) direct-objects (3.2). While the majority of two-place predicates cross-reference the core non-subject participant as an O, there are a number which instead cross-reference it as a G. The minimal pair of (2-111) and (2-112) illustrates this; the verb in (2-111) takes an O pronominal, while that of (2-112) contains a G form. Both the O and the G in these examples are core participants, and cannot take any case marking, the differing role structure being signalled only through the verbal cross-referencing.

2-111) wadi -Ø fiyi winjsjani gagan gidin -nji -ya nanj
male s 3 head bad ANAPH 3sSR see 2sO Pst 2sPRO
=crazy

That crazy man saw you(sg).

2-112) wadi -Ø fiyi winjsjani gagan gidin -bi -ya nanj
male s 3 head bad ANAPH 3sSR see 2sG Pst 2sPRO
=crazy

That crazy man went to see/ find you(sg).

Ergative /gin/ affixation is not, however, dependent on the nature of the transitive relationship, as coded by the differing choice of O and
G bound pronominals, but is possible for the subjects of both (2-111) and (2-112), e.g.:

2-113) nanj gidin -nji -ya wadi -Ø fiyi winjsjani gagan -gin
2sPRO 3sSR see 2sO Pst male s 3 head bad ANAPH ERG

That crazy man saw you(sg).

2-114) nanj gidin -bi -ya wadi -Ø fiyi winjsjani gagan -gin
2sPRO 3sSR see 2sG Pst male s 3 head bad ANAPH ERG

That crazy man went to see/find you(sg).

Ergative /gin/, then, is restricted neither to subjects of high transitive-class verbs, nor to subjects controlling an object-like, as opposed to goal-like, core participant. It is potentially applicable, rather, to the controlling subject of any two- (or three-) place predicate, regardless of its degree of transitivity. In other words, the possibility of /gin/ affixation of the subject NP provides for a formal distinction between fundamentally transitive and fundamentally intransitive verbs. In this work "transitive subjects" and "transitive verbs" are thus formally defined through the option of /gin/ affixation; following Dixon (1979) I shall denote a transitive subject with the abbreviation "A".

Instead of /gin/, the /nganan/ source or /wurri/ perlative inflections may suffix to transitive subjects. The two suffixes are, however, not commonly employed in this function, and it is difficult to determine precisely the semantic effect achieved by them. Broadly, /wurri/ seems to be associated with a sense of the action as in some way transferred or moved from the A to the undergoer; that is, consistent with its local case and directional uses (see 2.3.(c) below) it provides an overt directional sense for the action. I have recorded ergative /wurri/ most frequently with verbs involving some kind of physical transfer, for example, in verbs involving the movement of an instrument (2-115), or ditransitive structures involving the movement of a theme (2-116). It also co-occurs with verbs of speech (2-117), in which there is presumably a conceptual transfer of language from the agent to his addressee.

2-115) nang -wurri ginj -ing -srip -a
3msPRO ERG-PER 3sSR nj lsO spear Pst

He speared me.

2-116) nang -wurri awu gi -iwinj -fufup gani -ya
3msPRO ERG-PER meat 3sSR Ø 3nsG put down 3sSR go Pst REDUP

He went around giving out meat to them(pl).
The old man spoke to them(pl).

This ergative /wurri/ also functions at a higher discourse level as an attributor of responsibility or culpability, singling out and marking an A as the one from which a particular action emanates, e.g.:

2-118) gingim -imbi -njsjan -Ø / muku yigin -wurri garri -butj -a
1sSr do 2sG now Pr woman 1sPRO ERG-PER 3sSR rr have Pst
=POSS

I'm telling you(sg) now. My wife (is the one who) took it.

2-119) ap watjan gan -wurri miyi lawa gi -wuki -ya
perhaps dog this ERG-PER plant produce flour 3sSR Ø eat Pst
=bread

Maybe this dog (was the one who) ate the bread.

/Nganan/ appears to have the semantic effect of marking the A as acting under his/her own initiative or motivation. This usage would appear to be consistent with the causal function of /nganan/ (see (b) below), suggesting the A as providing his/her own internal source or cause for performing the action, rather than being externally motivated, e.g.:

2-120) nanj -nganan ginil -dut -a
2sPRO ERG-SCE 2sSR l find Pst

You(sg) found it (i.e. went out and did it yourself).

Harvey (1987, p210) also reports the possibility of source case-suffixing for transitive subjects in Waray, a language spoken to the east of the Daly region, but does not discuss its semantic effect.

(b) Peripheral Syntactic Roles

The case suffixes /gin/, /wa/, /nel/, /fang/ and /nganan/ all encode syntactic peripheral roles.

(1) Instrumental function is marked by /gin/:

2-121) ngirr -ingin -pit -a wudi -gin
1sSR rr 1sG wash Pst water INS

I washed myself with water.

While instruments are typically inanimate, animates may also occur as instruments, e.g.:
The policeman tracked me with dogs.

Body parts may also be marked as instruments (although they are, in this role, ineligible for verbal incorporation, cf. Ch. 5):

I hit him with (my) foot (= I kicked him).

Note also that the instrumental is the appropriate case for encoding the language in or with which one speaks:

I'll talk to you(sg) in my language, in Marrithiyel.

The instrumental is homophonous with the ergative /gin/, but can be distinguished as a separate case on a number of grounds. For example, as shown in (2-125), it may co-occur with an ergatively marked NP. Further, as distinct from ergative NPs, which, like all subjects, are obligatorily marked on the verb (cf. 3.2), instrumental NPs are never eligible for verbal cross-referencing.

The two women chopped down the trees with the axe.

Ergative and instrumental case homophonies are common in Australian languages (Blake, 1977, p44), and presumably reflect some conception of the instrument as an extension of the agent. But while homophonous, and with clear semantic connections, ergative and instrumental /gin/ in Marrithiyel have different distributions. Instrumental /gin/ occurs most frequently in transitive clauses, but is not confined exclusively to them, and may mark the means, method etc. through which clearly intransitive actions are carried out. The instrumental presupposes the presence simply of an actor\(^{24}\), not necessarily the presence of an actor in a transitive relationship (i.e. an A). Thus in (2-126) below the instrumental, but not the ergative, is permissible. This is a further reason for distinguishing ergative and instrumental cases.
2-126) yeli thawurr -gin gani -wudirr -a
stick GEN tree,stick INS 3sSR go limp Pst

wadi -Ø finthifinthi (*-gin)
male s 3 older REDUP ERG

The old man was limping along with (the aid of) a stick.

The /gin/ suffix is occasionally deleted from an instrumental NP (in any position in the clause) where the instrumental role is conventionally associated with, and therefore predictable from, the verb:

2-127) mi -miri gudin -gi -girr -Ø guninj -Ø -ya
CP eye 3nsSR see nsnIS rub,grind pl 3nsS go pl Pst
=seed

garrila (-gin)
rock INS

They(pl) used to grind seeds with rocks.

In addition, the /gin/ suffix is regularly dropped from single-constituent instrumental NPs in the immediate pre-verbal position. This perhaps represents some option for stripping them of independent NP status and absorbing them into the verbal complex.

2-128) thawurr ginj -ing -git -ferri -ya
tree,stick 3sSR nj lsO cut foot Pst

He "cut my foot off" with a stick.
= He tripped me with a stick.

The deletion of the suffix here results in potential ambiguity between the instrumental and non-case-suffixed core roles. In particular, a clause such as (2-128) could be regarded as ambiguous as to whether /thawurr/ is to be construed as the instrument, or as the agent. However, as has been noted in our discussion of the /gin/ ergative above, inanimates acting as As (a role for which they generally have a low predisposition) are regularly marked with the /gin/ ergative. Thus /thawurr/ in (2-128) is interpreted as instrumental, while /thawurr/ in (2-129) (repeated from (2-106) above) is clearly encoded as A by the /gin/ ergative suffix.

2-129) thawurr -gin ginj -ing -git -ferri -ya
tree,stick ERG 3sSR nj lsO cut foot Pst

The tree (i.e. log) "cut my foot off".
= The log tripped me./ I tripped on the log.
(2) The **purposive** case inflection is /wa/, homophonous with the verbal future tense suffix (cf. 4.1). /Wa/ marks a non-core participant as the principal aim, purpose or goal of the action depicted in the verb, e.g.:

2-130) thawun -srān ngumbun -nim -Ø mani -wa
town ALL 1IS Ir go I pl Imp money PURP

*Let's (inc, pl) go to town for (our) money.*

2-131) a -wētjuwurang -wa wadi -mel Feyīrr -Ø
CA red kangaroo PURP 2sSīr see watch 2sSīr go* Imp

*(You<sg>) Go along watching out for kangaroo.*

2-132) gan -njsja yīgin -wa ngandi -ni -manthi -nginel -Ø
here now 1sPRO PURP 2sSīr sit NI neck 1sPURP Imp

*(You<sg>) Wait for me right here.*

The purposive also expresses the entity on whose behalf an action is performed. Thus a clause such as (2-133)\(^{25}\) can have a number of interpretations:

2-133) sjandi ngumun -dutj -a mana yīgin -wa
spear 1sSR paint pick up Pst brother 1sPRO PURP
ITER =POSS

*I picked up some spears for my brother (to spear him with).*
*I picked up some spears for my brother (to give him).*
*I picked up some spears for my brother (on his behalf, in place of him).*

The purposive also marks that which one knows, thinks, talks, dreams etc. "about":

2-134) wudi -wa sjangi -wedī gani -njsjan -Ø /
water PURP ear having 3sSR go now Pr

nitji-ngani marri ngipi -ini -wa ngata -wa
night body word 1sSīr do 3msG Fut house PURP
=morning

*He knows about the water now.*
*I'll talk to him about the houses in the morning.*

It also denotes those entities functioning as the stimulus-themes (in the sense of Talmy, 1985) of emotional states:

2-135) gumun -ngi -matjarr -Ø yēri gagan -wa
3sSR paint 1s0 sadden Pr child ANAPH PURP

*It makes me sad for that child.*
*I am sad for that child.*
The purposive category marked on nominals by the /wa/ suffix corresponds to three different verbally marked categories. Subject to certain animacy constraints, entities in most of the functions encoded by the nominal purposive may be cross-referenced in the verb with the /el/ bound pronominal set (e.g. as in (2-132) above); the stimulus-themes of undesirable emotions are, however, cross-referenced by the /anga/ bound pronouns. Both these pronominal sets are discussed in 3.3. In addition, there are some purposively marked entities which can be cross-referenced by the G set of verbally bound pronouns; these would appear to be at the more highly affected or involved end of the continuum of roles encoded by the purposive. When purposive NPs are cross-referenced on the verb, the /wa/ suffix may be retained (cf. (2-132)), but it is normally deleted. (2-137) illustrates G cross-referencing of the purposive.

Note that, unlike purposives in a number of other Australian languages (Dixon, 1980, p381), /wa/ does not systematically form purposive subordinate clauses.

(3) I refer to /nel/ as marking the "intentive" case, following Goddard's (1985, p129) treatment of a similar suffix in Western Desert. /Nel/ marks an entity as the primary desire or goal of the subject of the clause; it encodes that entity as something which the subject's mind is fixed on and directed ultimately towards. It is normally associated with actor, rather than undergoer, subjects, and the verb typically describes an action aimed at fulfilling the goal. In this way it commonly functions as a marked form of the purposive. Thus compare (2-138) and (2-139).
An intentive marked NP, however, may co-occur with a purposive marked one:

\[2-140\]
\[
\text{awu} -\text{nel} \quad \text{girrinja} -\text{inimbi} -\text{kap} -\emptyset -\text{a} \quad \text{nanj} -\text{wa} \\
\text{INT} \quad 1\text{ESR} \quad \text{stand} \quad 2\text{sG} \quad \text{call out} \quad \text{pl} \quad \text{Pst} \quad 2\text{sPRO} \quad \text{PURP}
\]

With our minds set on (getting) meat, we (exc,pl) called out for (i.e. came to get) you(sg).

Intensive marked NPs are highly topical, and tend to occur in clause initial position. They have no specific verbal cross-referencing, but may be encoded on the verb by the purposive /el/ pronominals (cf. 3.3), in situations where their function overlaps with the purposive.

(4) The apprehensive case suffix /fang/ has a similar function to the apprehensives or aversives found commonly in Australian languages (cf. Dixon, 1980, p299), and can be translated broadly as "to avoid" or "for fear of". /fang/ signals that an entity is viewed by the subject of the clause as having some undesirable attribute, or the potential to do or cause something undesirable; the verb then indicates the action taken to prevent that entity having its undesirable effect. Such undesirable entities can be both animate (2-141,142) and inanimate (2-143).

\[2-141\]
\[
\text{wanthi} \quad \text{ngun} -\text{wa} \quad \text{ngaka} \quad \text{yigin} -\text{fang} \\
\text{behind} \quad 1\text{sSIr} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{Fut} \quad \text{sister} \quad 1\text{sPRO} \quad \text{APP} \quad \text{=POSS}
\]

I will come afterwards, to avoid my sister (i.e. because we are not allowed by our law to travel together).

\[2-142\]
\[
\text{ambi} -\text{ya} \quad \text{guwa} -\text{wultharri} -\text{ya} \quad \text{gan} \quad \text{duknganan} -\text{fang} \\
\text{NEG} \quad \text{Pst} \quad 3\text{sSR} \quad \text{stand} \quad \text{return} \quad \text{Pst} \quad \text{here} \quad \text{policeman} \quad \text{APP}
\]

He never returned here, for fear of the policeman.

\[2-143\]
\[
\text{fandi} -\text{fang} \quad \text{wadi} -\text{gulil} -\text{masri} -\emptyset \quad \text{ngata} \\
\text{sun} \quad \text{APP} \quad 2\text{sSIr} \quad \text{see} \quad \text{enter} \quad \text{belly} \quad \text{Imp} \quad \text{house}
\]

(You(sg)) Put it inside the house, to avoid (the undesirable effect of) the sun.

Note that /fang/ also functions as a verbal tense/mood suffix (4.1).
(5) As a peripheral syntactic case-marker the source suffix /nganan/ marks an entity as the cause of, or prior or present reason for, the situation described by the verb, e.g.:

2-144) a -furrilli duwarr -njsjan gani -Ø wudi srsrut -nganan CA liver swollen now 3sSR go Pr liquid frothy SCE = beer

He's got a swollen liver now, from beer.

2-145) nang gagan -nganan nidin yigin gu -iningin -fup -Ø -a 3msPRO ANAPH SCE country lsPRO 3nsSR Ø 1sG put down pl Pst =POSS =give

Because of that man they(pl) gave me (back) my country.

This function of /nganan/ is reflected in its affixation to verbs and the negative /ambi/, attached to which it marks causative and conditional dependent clauses (cf. 7.3).

/Nganan/ also marks the source material out of which an object may be made.

2-146) ngata a -winngal ngurr -puritj -mbel -wa house CA mosquito 1sSIR rr fix,make 2sPURP Fut

munjining -nganan paperbark (sheets) SCE

I'll build a mosquito-proof house for you(sg) out of sheets of paperbark.

(6) There is one further syntactic peripheral role of importance in the language, the adversative. This role may only be filled by higher animates (cf. 3.2); it is not coded by NP case inflection, but rather through the /anga/ set of bound verbal pronominals, and is discussed in 3.3.

(c) Peripheral Local Roles

/Nganan/, /nanga/, /sran/, and /wurri/ all encode peripheral local roles.

(1) As a local role-marker /nganan/ can be viewed as primarily an ablative. That is, it can mark the place of origin from which an action proceeds:

2-147) nidin duwarr -nganan mungilyini -nanga murrika country full SCE jungle LOC car

girrigin -gi -tjerr -Ø -a 1ESR claim nsnIS drag pl Pst

We(exc,pl) dragged the car from the camp into the jungle.
2-148) ganbi ngumun -dutj -a thitha yigin -nganan sjandi -wa
bamboo 1sSSR paint pick up Pst father 1sPRO SCE spear PURP
INTER =POSS

I picked up some bamboo from my father, for (i.e. so as to
make) spears.

/nganan/ also has a static orientational function in addition to its
motional one, e.g.:

2-149) werri -nanga ngaful -ngitj -winjanga -fini -ya
grass LOC 1sSSR lie hide 3ns ABL dl Pst

meri yuwa -nganan
man that SCE

I was lying hidden in the grass from those two men.

2-150) milnginj -nganan federr wadi -wa
hill SCE river 2sSIr see Fut

From the hill you(sg) will see the river.

The ablative can be distinguished from the other functions of /nganan/
through the possibility of verbal pronominal cross-referencing (cf.
3.3). This is illustrated in (2-149), in which /-winjanga/ (marked as
dual by the following /fini/ number suffix (3.4.)) in the verb
corresponds to the source-marked NP. In contrast, the causal source-
marked NP of (2-145) is not able to be verbally encoded in this way:

2-151) nang gagan -nganan gu -iningin -fup (*-nanga) -Ø -ya
3msPRO ANAPH SCE 3nsSR Ø 1sG put down 3ms ABL pl Pst
=give

Because of that man they(pl) gave it to me.

/nganan/ also acts as a sequencer, marking the event or time from
which another event proceeds. As shown in (2-153), sequentials formed
with /nganan/ are eligible for tense/mood suffixing (cf. 4.4). Such
tense/mood suffixing denotes /nganan/ as having a specifically
sequential reading, and contributes to the disambiguation of the
sequencing function of /nganan/ from its causal and ablative readings:

2-152) a -wakirr -nganan girrinja -wultharri -Ø -ya gan
CA fish SCE 1ESR stand return pl Pst here

After (an event concerned with) fish, we(exc,pl) returned here.

2-153) gagan -nganan -a gigin -ngi -masri -ya duknganan -gin
ANAPH SCE Pst 3sSR claim 1sO belly Pst policemen INS

After that, the policeman "claimed my belly" (i.e. locked me
in jail).
The case inflection /nanga/ has both locative and locative-allative functions. It can, for example, denote an NP as being at or in a particular locality, e.g. (see also (2-149)):

2-154) ngata -nanga mungarri ngifel -a
        house LOC asleep 1sSR lie Pst

        I was lying asleep in the house.

It also denotes movement towards, with the implication of arrival at, a locality, e.g.:

2-155) thawurr -nganan ngidi -njsjin -a wudi -nanga
        tree SCE 1sSR di fall Pst water LOC

        I fell from the tree into the water.
        *I fell from the tree towards (but not into) the water.

The motional locative-allative function of /nanga/ may be overtly distinguished from its static locative reading by compounding the suffix with the allative /sran/. Thus /sran/ may be added to the /nanga/ marked NP of (2-156.a), but not that of (2-156.b):

2-156.a) ngidi -njsjin -a wudi -nanga (-sran)
        1sSR di fall Pst water LOC ALL

        I fell into the water.

2-156.b) ngidi -njsjin -a nidin duwarr -nanga (*-sran)
        1sSR di fall Pst country full LOC ALL

        I fell down in the camp.

This is purely an optional addition, but is frequently employed; it does not serve a major disambiguating function since the nature of the verb and the lexical content of the /nanga/ suffixed NP will normally, between them, determine whether /nanga/ has a static or motional reading.

/Nanga/ does not suffix to locational qualifiers, either on its own or in combination with /sran/ (cf. 2.2). In addition, /nanga/ (but not the allative /sran/ (see (3) below)) may be omitted from an NP where the verb has an implied locative or allative role, that is, where the locative or allative, while not necessarily constituting an obligatorily specified core role, nevertheless forms part of the semantic or logical structure of the verb itself26. Such verbs include intransitive location and change of location verbs (e.g. "lie", "go", "return"), as well as transitives such as "put down", "bring back", and "insert". /Nanga/, for example, may be readily omitted from a clause such as (2-157), but not from (2-158).
2-157) fillak (-nanga) ngi -fup -a
   ground LOC 1sSR Ø put down Pst
   I put it down on the ground.

2-158) ngata -nanga gumburr -inj -bibi -Ø -ya
   house LOC 1ISR rr RECIP grab I dl Pst
   You and I wrestled ("grabbed each other") on the ground.

The implied locatives and allatives of intransitive verbs are eligible for pronominal cross-referencing in the auxiliary with G forms (cf. 3.2).

(3) The allative suffix is /sran/, which expresses either motion or orientation towards a location. Unlike /nanga-(sran)/ it is neutral as to whether motion extends right up to the specified destination. It is not deletable.

2-159) feyirr -Ø thawun -sran
   2sSIR go* Imp town ALL
   (You(sg)) Keep going towards town.

2-160) yibi -njsja ngata guwa -Ø furingan -sran
   there now house 3sSR stand Pr ocean ALL
   In that place the houses face the ocean ("stand towards the ocean").

In addition to the sense of "facing towards" it can also have a reading of "in the vicinity of":

2-161) thawun -sran marri gim -iwinj -Ø -Ø
   town ALL words 3sSR do 3nsG pl Pr
   He's talking to them(pl) in (the general region of) town.

2-162) nidin duwarr -sran guninj -wurrkama -Ø -ya
   country full ALL 3nsSR go work pl Pst =camp
   They(pl) were working in the vicinity of the camp.

In this latter function, /sran/ may be followed by the /nganan/ source and /wurri/ perlative suffixes, e.g.:

2-163) federr -sran -nganan garri -butj -wurri -ya
   river ALL SCE 3sSR rr have towards Pst
   milnginj yuwa -sran -wurri
   hill there ALL PER
   He brought it here from the general vicinity of the river, through the region of those hills.
/Sran/ also suffixes to temporal qualifiers (cf.2.2), with a durative reading:

2-164) nitji -sran garrginj -kudak -Ø -a
night ALL 1ESR sit drink pl Pst

We(exc,pl) sat drinking during/throughout the night.

In addition, in ascriptive clauses /sran/ may attach to adjectives, resulting in an inchoative reading. This is clearly parallel to its allative NP function, but expressing the orientation or approach of an entity towards a particular state or attribute rather than towards a physical location, e.g.:

2-165) muwun gan gati -njsjan -sran gani -Ø
sore this good now ALL 3sSR go Pr

This sore is coming good now.

/Sran/ also functions as a verbal affix, with related directional, durative and inchoative meanings. Incorporated into the verb, where it appears immediately prior to the tense suffix, /sran/ has the directional function of marking the action of the verb as proceeding away from the speaker (or some other contextually established point of reference). Note that the allative case suffix may co-occur with the verbally incorporated /sran/.

2-166) awu winjsjani garri -butj -sran -a wudi -sradi -sran
meat bad 3sSR rr hold away Pst water back ALL =billabong

He took the bad meat away, in the direction of the billabong.

The durative and inchoative functions and distribution of verbally incorporated /sran/ are examined in 4.3.

(4) As a local case suffix /wurri/ has a perlicative function, expressing the locality through or via which an action proceeds, e.g.:

2-167) themberriduk - gul -inggi -puritj -Ø -a gan -nganan
road 3nsSR l nsnIS fix, make pl Pst here SCE

ammu -wurri furingan -nanga -sran
plains PERL ocean LOC ALL

They(pl) made a road from here, through the plains, right up to the ocean.

Like /sran/, /wurri/ may also be incorporated into the verb, in the penultimate verbal slot, immediately prior to the major tense/mood suffix (4.1). However, it has a different reading when incorporated into the verb, where it functions to indicate the direction of the
action as towards the speaker (or some contextually established point of reference). In this respect it acts as an antonym for verbally incorporated /sran/. (Contrast, for example, (2-163) with (2-166) above).

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1 The phonological analysis which follows differs significantly from that presented in Green (1981, pp5-43) in its recognition of the phonemic status of the long stops and the fricative /f/. While the remainder of the analysis follows essentially the same lines as my earlier presentation, a number of other revisions and amendments (particularly in respect of stress assignment and the simplification of phonological rules) have been made.

I.P.A. conventions have been employed for phonetic transcriptions in this section, with [Y] representing a lamino-palatal approximant, and [j] a voiced lamino-palatal fricative. Consonant length is indicated by [C:], that is, with a colon following the consonant symbol.

2 There are in addition a number of examples, notably /wuy/ "no" and /yukuy/ "oh dear", where the /uy/ sequence is consistently realised as a diphthong. Diphthongisation of /uy/, however, is not a regular phonetic process in Marrithiyel. I assume that the words in which the /uy/ diphthong appears are either borrowings or have a phonological distinctiveness associated with their status as exclamations/interjections (cf. 2.1.3).

3 An exception to this rule is the exclamation /yakarra/ "oh, oh no", in which /a/ is never fronted or raised, but is consistently realised as an open non-front vowel.

4 Note that the centralised vowel postulated as a possible Marrithiyel phoneme by Tryon (1974, p70) is not evidenced in the data I have collected.

5 Apart from some of the obstruents, the symbols for which are discussed in (a) below, standard Australian orthographic conventions have been adopted. Note that /Cj/ rather than /Cy/ is used for the
lamino-palatal series to avoid confusion with sequences of alveolar /t/ or /n/ followed by the glide /y/. /ng/ is used to represent a dorso-velar nasal. Clusters consisting of the alveolar /n/ followed by the velar stop /g/ are permitted in Marrithiyel and are orthographically distinguished from the velar nasal digraph as /n'g/.

6 I represent the retroflex approximant in the phonetic transcript with a voiced symbol, [ŋ]. Its voicing, however, is variant, following the same pattern as the other allophones of /sr/ (see below).

7 Note that, while /sr/ has one rhotic-type allophone, there is no evidence for classing it as a rhotic rather than an obstruent. Phonotactically (cf. 2.1.2), as well as in other respects, it patterns with the (short, fricatable) obstruents, not with /r/ and /rr/.

Because of its rhotic colouring, primarily manifested in the transition to the following, rather than in the transition from the preceding, vowel, I have chosen to represent this retroflex phoneme as /sr/ rather than /rs/ or simply /s/.

8 Hale's Marrithiyel word-list indicates some frication of intervocalic and word-initial /g/ˈs, but I have not recorded any from my Marrithiyel informants. My data is consistent with Laves (ms) and Tryon (1974) in this respect. Ngan'gityemeri (Reid, in preparation), to Marrithiyel's south, has regular frication of short velar obstruents.

9 The following minimal pair shows, further, that the bilabial fricative contrasts with the labio-velar semi-vowel:

/ferri/  foot
/werri/  grass

10 It need not concern us here what phonological features need to be invoked to differentiate the various points of articulation. Marrithiyel follows the typical Australian pattern in distinguishing obstruents at six points of articulation, and the necessary phonological features have all been discussed at length in the literature (e.g. (Dixon, 1980, p180-94). There are no phonotactic constraints, morpho-phonological processes etc. (cf. 2.1.2, 2.1.4) which are sensitive to fine specification of consonantal point-of-articulation features.
11 A corollary of this neutralisation is that nasal plus long-stop, and nasal plus fricative /f/, clusters need only be proposed underlyingly across morpheme boundaries. Such clusters do not occur morpheme-medially.

12 All such C3C4 clusters have been attested.

13 But the fact that /nnj/ is not found morpheme-medially should also be taken into account here.

14 Note that peripheral obstruent clusters generated by reduplication are optionally reduced, cf. 2.1.4.3.

15 These pairs were cited in Green (1981, p23-24).

16 I have encountered no parallel examples of the prefix /ma/ being lexically assigned.

17 Reid's (in preparation) work on similar stress patterns in Ngan'gityemerri first drew my attention to this process in Marrithiyel.

18 I have not encountered any monosyllabic adjectival roots.

19 Two of the roots listed in (2-64), /marri/ and /put/, do in fact occur unreduplicated, but with meanings unrelated to the reduplicated forms listed here. /Marri/ means "word, language", and /put/ is a complex verb root meaning "arise".

20 Again here I have no examples of reduplicated tri-syllabic sequences, nor do I have any parallel examples of reduplicated sequences with a non-detachable initial /mi/. Most of the examples of noun root reduplication in Marrithiyel are lower-animate (animal, bird, fish, insect etc.) names, and appear to be onomatopoeic, representing either the sounds emitted by them, or the characteristic noise of their motion.

21 In this section I deal only with the assignment of "word-lexemes", and not of compound expressions, to particular word-classes. I follow Lyons' (1977, p424) assumption that the classification of compound expressions "depends upon the prior classification of word-lexemes".
Note that /fitit/, "(for) a long (period of) time", is also formally a member of this class.

Two noteworthy exceptions are /fandi/ and /finggal/, which function both as temporal qualifiers, meaning "day(time)" and "month" respectively, and more generally as nouns, with the respective meanings, "sun" and "moon".

Both "actor" and "undergoer" in this work are macro-role terms, used in the sense of Foley and Van Valin (1984), cf.:

...Provisionally, we may characterize the actor as the argument of a predicate which expresses the participant which performs, effects, instigates, or controls the situation denoted by the predicate, and the undergoer as the argument which expresses the participant which does not perform, initiate, or control any situation but rather is affected by it in some way.

(p29)

(2-133) is repeated from Green (1981, p50).

See Talmy (1985) for a cross-linguistic discussion of such issues.
3.1. Basic Verb Categories: Simple and Complex

I identify two basic structural verb types in Marrithiyel: simple and complex. There are only 12 simple verbs in the language; all the others are of the complex type. A complex verb is most conveniently represented as consisting minimally of an auxiliary prefixed to a main verb stem, which is then suffixed, when a non-singular participant is cross-referenced in the verb, both for number and for tense/mood, or, when only singular participants are cross-referenced, just for tense/mood, e.g.:

3-1) Complex Verbs

(a) gambu  -nisja  -nim  -a
   AUX  Verb Stem  Num  Tns
   1IS R sit  eat  I pl  PST

   *We*(inc,pl) *were sitting eating.*

(b) guninj  -wurr  -fini  -ya
   AUX  Verb Stem  Num  Tns
   3nsS R go  die  dl  PST

   *They*(2) *died.*

(c) arringin  -du  -ō
   AUX  Verb Stem  Md
   2sS Ir rr  lsO  feel,touch  Imp

   *(You(sg)) Touch/feel me (with your hands).*

There are, however, some minor complex verb classes which show an inverted ordering, placing the verb stem prior to the auxiliary, which then takes the obligatory (and any other optional) suffixing. In this type of verb the main verb stem has the phonological status of a separate word, e.g.:

3-2) sjiput  garrginj  -fini  -ya  wudi  -nanga
    Verb Stem  AUX  Num  Tns  water  LOC
    bathe  1ES R sit  dl  PST

   *We*(exc) *two were (sitting) bathing in the water.*

The verb classes which allow this inverted ordering are discussed in 6.1.

Each complex verb has at least two verbal elements which collaborate to determine its overall meaning: the main verb stem, and a verbal component in the auxiliary. This auxiliary verbal component
is normally in the form of a discrete verb root, isolatable from the surrounding morphology, and referred to in this study as the "auxiliary verb stem" or "AVR". The AVR in (3-1.b), for example, can be segmented as /n/, and in (3-1.c) as /rr/. Each auxiliary verb may have a number of allomorphs, with the AVR assuming different shapes according to subject number, subject person and/or tense/mood. Further, there are instances in which no discrete auxiliary verb root can be identified. No AVR, for example, is readily segmentable from the auxiliary of (3-1.a); instead, the portmanteau form /gambu/ encodes subject person-number, a tense/mood distinction and the auxiliary verbal component.

Complex verbs show considerable variation in the degree to which their auxiliary verbs contribute to their overall meaning. The class of (formally) intransitive verbs to which (3-1.a) belongs, for example, may take different auxiliaries, either to mark a differing physical orientation of the subject in the performance of the action, or to vary aspect.

3-3) (a) gimbifel -nisja -nim -a
AUX Verb Stem Num Tns
1IS R lie eat I pl Pst

We(inc,pl) were lying down eating.

(b) gumbun -nisja -nim -a
AUX Verb Stem Num Tns
1IS R go eat I pl Pst

We(inc,pl) were going along eating.
OR We(inc,pl) were always eating.

Changing the auxiliary in the transitive complex verb of (3-1.c) above has a different effect on meaning, as illustrated in (3-4) below, where it results in differing interpretations as to what body-part serves as the instrument of the "feeling" action denoted by the main verb stem.

3-4) (a) ngindi -du -Ø awu
AUX Verb Stem Md meat
Z2S Ir Ø feel,touch Imp

(You(sg)) Taste the meat.

(b) wadi -du -Ø themberri
AUX Verb Stem Md track
Z2S Ir see feel,touch Imp

(You(sg)) See what the track is like.
Because these main verb stems cannot stand alone, that is, because they always require some modification or completion of their meaning by the auxiliary verb, and to distinguish them from those auxiliaries which may take on a main verb type function (discussed below), I will refer to them as "complex verb stems" or "CVSs". Some of these complex verb stems are able to combine with just one auxiliary. Others, like /du/ above, are less restricted, and are able to combine with a number of auxiliaries to form various complex verbs. Auxiliaries similarly vary in their ability to combine with CVSs, several of them able to co-occur with only the one complex verb stem, while others are highly productive in this respect. We shall examine the patterns of AVR-CVS co-occurrence in Ch. 6.

Simple verbs are distinguished from complex verbs by the absence of a complex verb stem. A simple verb thus consists minimally of an auxiliary suffixed for number (in the non-singular), and for tense/mood. I distinguish 22 auxiliaries in Marrithiyel. Of the 22, only 12 can function in this reduced structure. I call these "simple" auxiliaries. The auxiliaries of (3-1.a) and (3-1.b) above, for example, can function this way, as evidenced in the simple verbs of (3-6.a) and (3-6.b). (3-1.c), however, does not contain a simple auxiliary: an attempt to form a simple verb from it, in (3-6.c), results in nonsense. This type of auxiliary, which can appear only in complex and not simple verbs, I refer to as a "complex" auxiliary.

3-5) SIMPLE VERB = +Simple AUX -CVS (+ns Number) +Tense/Mood

COMPLEX VERB = +Aux (Simple or Complex) +CVS (+ns Number) +Tense/Mood

3-6) Simple Verbs

(a) gambu -nim -a
Simple AUX Num Tns
1IS R sit pl Pst
We (inc, pl) were sitting.

(b) guninj -fini -ya
Simple AUX Num Tns
3nsS R go dl Pst
They (2) went.
Table 3-1 below lists the AVRs, where segmentable, of the 12 simple auxiliaries, the meanings of the simple verbs they form, and the interlinear glosses used in this study. Note that the semantic component of a simple auxiliary, as manifested in its simple verb usage, is not always immediately apparent in the complex verbs in which it appears. There is no obvious semantic connection, for example, between "paint, write", the simple verb of (3-7), and "be saddened", the complex verb of (3-8) which employs the "paint" auxiliary.

3-7) gumunngi -ya miti
Simple AUX Tns dotted style
3sS R paint 1sO Pst

He painted me dotted style.

3-8) gumunngi -matjarr -Ø yeri gagan -wa
Simple AUX CVS Tns
3sS R paint lsO sadden Fr child ANAPH PURP

It makes me sad for that child.
= I am sad for that child.

Nevertheless, as in (3-8), I consistently gloss all simple auxiliaries with the abbreviated simple meanings given in Table 3-1, whether or not this semantic component is transparent in the overall meaning of the particular complex verb.

The AVRs of the ten complex auxiliaries are give in Table 3-2, along with some general indication of their semantic function (discussed in more detail in Ch. 6), and the interlinear glosses I have adopted for them. One complex auxiliary has no identifiable AVR; it can be analysed as consisting of just person-number-tense forms. I refer to this as the "Ø" auxiliary. I argue in Ch. 6., and have indicated in the table below, that despite the absence of an overt AVR the Ø auxiliary does have an identifiable semantic component; that is, complex verbs formed with the Ø auxiliary constitute a significantly contrastively marked set, and do not simply form a residue class of verbs having no input from an AVR. Each other complex auxiliary is referred to in this study by its predominant or distinctive AVR allomorph.
Table 3-1  Simple Auxiliaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AVR allomorphs</th>
<th>Simple Verb Meaning</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fel, ful</td>
<td>lie</td>
<td>lie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a, sja, wa</td>
<td>stand</td>
<td>stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wu, sri, (gi, ngi#1)</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n, ni, rr, rri</td>
<td>go, come (i.e. general motion)</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njarr, rr, yirr</td>
<td>go, come directly/purposefully</td>
<td>go*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

njsji          | be hanging          | hang  |
|m, mi, pi      | do, say             | do    |
| din, di       | see                 | see   |
| gin           | claim possession of, wear | claim |
|mun, mu, m     | paint, inscribe, write | paint |
|muyi, buyi     | visit, reach        | visit |
| di#2          | heat                | heat  |

Note: #1. Putative AVR allomorphs only, not systematically segmentable.
#2. The "heat" auxiliary occurs in third singular subject form only, and is highly restricted as to what can be constructed as its controlling agents and effectors, cf.6.4.

Table 3-2  Complex Auxiliaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AVR allomorphs</th>
<th>Broad Semantic Function</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>mouth as instrument</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l, li</td>
<td>broad-faced instrument</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rr, rri</td>
<td>hands as instrument</td>
<td>rr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rr, rri</td>
<td>appears only in &quot;want, like&quot; complex verb</td>
<td>rri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nj, nji, gi</td>
<td>edge of elongated instrument</td>
<td>nj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nj, nji</td>
<td>appears only in &quot;arise&quot; complex verb</td>
<td>nji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n, ni, rri</td>
<td>feet as instrument</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njsjin, njsji</td>
<td>appears only in transitive &quot;hanging&quot; verbs</td>
<td>njsjin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muri, buri</td>
<td>appears only in &quot;tie&quot; complex verb</td>
<td>muri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di</td>
<td>appears only in &quot;fall&quot; complex verb</td>
<td>di</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2. The Auxiliary

3.2.1. Auxiliary Structure and Function

In addition to its role in determining verbal meaning, as outlined in 3.1., the auxiliary has three further principal functions:
(a) to encode person and number of particular core arguments,
(b) to contribute to tense/mood marking,
(c) to indicate the transitivity class of the verb.

I analyse the auxiliary as having essentially a three part structure; bound pronominals marking core argument person-number appear in first and third positions, with the middle slot being occupied by the auxiliary verb root. One set of pronominals in the auxiliary final position also carries the specific transitivity marking, while the auxiliary tense/mood variation is primarily coded by inflection of the initial pronominal. The third slot is not always filled.

3-9) \[\text{AUX} = \text{PRO1\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{Tense/Mood}}} - AVR - (PRO2\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{(Transitivity)}}}}}})}}}}\]

3-10) gu -rr -inggi -midim -0 -a garrila
PRO1 RVR PRO2 CVS Num Tns
3nsS R rr Trans steal pl Tns rock,coin

They(pl) stole the money.

There are two riders to be placed on this three-part analysis of the auxiliary. Firstly, as has already been noted in respect of (3-1.1.a) above, there are some portmanteau auxiliary forms for which no segmentation of an initial pronominal from a following AVR can be motivated. (3-11) provides further examples of such portmanteau forms, from the "stand" and "paint" auxiliaries:

3-11.a) gunga -mutjing -a
AUX CVS Tns
1sS R sit listen Tns

I was sitting listening.

3-11.b) ma -git -0
AUX CVS Md
2sS R paint cut,sever Imp

(You(sg)) Cut it off.

Secondly, even where segmentation of the initial pronominal and the AVR can be motivated, the resulting isolated morphemes in many cases show a considerable degree of interdependence. For example, certain AVRs may have contracted, augmented or suppletive allomorphs which occur only with particular initial pronominals. Similarly, some of the initial pronominals vary in form only in conjunction with particular auxiliary verbs. This interdependence is illustrated below in the discussion of subject number and tense/mood marking.
3.2.1.1. The Subject Position

The auxiliary pronominal morphology enables us to establish three major categories of participant role: Subject (S), Goal (G) and Object (O). We can identify the subject as that participant which is cross-referenced in auxiliary initial position. The single core argument of a one-place predicate, irrespective of its thematic role, is always cross-referenced in this subject position. In a two- or three-place predicate it is always the actor which is cross-referenced in the subject slot. There are no syntactic strategies, comparable, for example, to the English passive, which allow for any deviation from this encoding of the actor in subject position\(^3\). The category which we refer to as "subject" in Marrithiyel is thus semantically, rather than syntactically, determined.

Auxiliary subject marking is nominative-accusative in character, and transitive and intransitive subjects, which as NPs can be differentiated by the /gin/ ergative suffix (2.3), are not distinguished. Auxiliary initial subject marking is also obligatory; a subject must appear in every Marrithiyel verb, regardless of the verb type, and regardless of the degree of recoverability of a specific referent for it. Third singular is the unmarked subject form in this respect, being employed for indefinite, unknown, unidentifiable etc. subjects, as well as ambient subjects (3-12), and the agents of impersonal verbs, as in (3-13)\(^4\).

3-12) guwa -wil -njsjan -Ø
3sS R stand be hot now Pr

It is (i.e. "stands") hot now.

3-13) ginj -inj -pitji -ya
3sS R nj 2sO twist, roll up Pst

Literally: It twisted you(sg) up. = You've become emaciated.

3.2.1.2. Subject Person-Number Inflection

The bound subject pronouns inflect for person and number. They have first, second and third person singular stems, and first inclusive, first exclusive, second and third person non-singular stems. The non-singulaters can be further specified for number with dual, trial and plural suffixes positioned later in the verb, following the auxiliary and the complex verb stem (cf. 3.4). For the purposes of this number specification, the inclusive needs to be distinguished from the other non-singulaters. The non-inclusive non-
singulars all take overt dual (/fini/) and trial (/nimbini/) suffixes. Dual marking is obligatory, and trial marking optional. Consequently, in the absence of an overt number suffix, a non-singular non-inclusive subject is understood to be trial or greater in number. This number category (i.e. three or more) constitutes the "plural" in Marrithiyel.

3-14.a) fi -n -inj -sjat -fini -wa 3nsS R go Intrans sit down dl Fut nsnIS

They(2) will sit down.

3-14.b) fi -n -inj -sjat -nimbini -wa 3nsS R go Intrans sit down trial Fut nsnIS

They(3) will sit down.

3-14.c) fi -n -inj -sjat -Ø -wa 3nsS R go Intrans sit down pl Fut nsnIS

They(pl. (i.e. 3 or more) will sit down.

The first inclusive is also optionally marked for trial number by a subsequent /nimbini/ suffix. However, for the inclusive a subsequent zero affix marks the dual, while the plural (i.e. three or more) is marked by an overt suffix (/nim/). That is, in contrast to the other non-singular bound subjects, which are plural in their unaffixed or unmarked form, the unmarked form of the inclusive is the dual. This is identical to the situation with free form pronouns (see Appendix A).

3-15.a) gumbu -n -sjat -Ø -a 1IS R go sit down I dl Pst

We/inc, 2) sat down.

3-15.b) gumbu -n -sjat -nimbini -ya 1IS R go sit down trial Pst

We/inc, 3) sat down.

3-15.c) gumbu -n -sjat -nim -a 1IS R go sit down I pl Pst

We/inc, pl. (i.e. 3 or more)) sat down.

This anomaly would perhaps not be worth pointing out here were it not for the additional subject number cross-referencing which takes place in auxiliary final position. That cross-referencing compounds the separation of the inclusives from the other non-singualr s; first exclusive, second and third non-singular subjects are given overt
marking, leaving inclusive and singular subjects to be classed together as an unmarked set. This is discussed in 3.2.1.6 below.

Only animate subjects are regularly distinguished as singular or non-singular through the choice of the appropriate subject pronominal. Inanimate subjects may be encoded in the verb with non-singular forms, but are normally instead cross-referenced collectively as singulars:

3-16) mulingi ga -sja -dim -0
    leaf 3sS Ir stand bury Imp

    Let the (tea) leaves settle.

(3-17) below illustrates the subject person-number matrix with data from the "claim" auxiliary.

3-17) **Subject Bound Pronouns - "Claim" Auxiliary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>non-singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>realis</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ngi</td>
<td>ngu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>gini</td>
<td>fa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>gi</td>
<td>gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms typify the distinctions and mergers made in the bound pronominal subject system. Third non-singular irrealis, second person irrealis, and all first person forms are unique for both person and number; this is the case throughout the auxiliary paradigms, except for a few instances in which contractional phonological processes have resulted in mergers. (/Ngirri/ first exclusive, for example, in some cases is reduced to /ngi/, falling together with the first singular, cf. 3.2.2.) The only systematic collapse is in second person realis, where /gini/, in all but four auxiliaries ("stand", "sit", "go" and /n/), acts as both singular and non-singular bound subject form. (Note that the "sit" auxiliary, while not employing /gini/, still also fails to make the number distinction in second non-future; it has suppletive /ganngi/ as the indivisible subject-AVR form for both singular and non-singular.)

There are also collapses in third person number marking. The "claim" auxiliary above, for example, has /gu/ for both third singular (irrealis) and third non-singular (realis) subject. Inspection of the other auxiliary paradigms reveals that third singular irrealis subject, third singular realis subject and third non-singular realis subject all have allomorphs /gu/, /ga/ and /gi/. I discuss these allomorphs in 3.2.2., suggesting some general forms for the subject morphemes, and outlining the phonological and other operations that
have apparently taken place on them. But no independently motivated synchronic phonological rules can be stated, and no rigorous underlying forms can be postulated.

Neither the /gV/ third person nor the /gini/ second person subject morphemes can therefore in themselves be attributed with a number function, and some auxiliaries with these subjects can indeed be ambiguous as to number:

3-18) ambi -ya gini -muyi -igid -Ø -ya
NEG Pst 2S R visit 1EO pl Pst

You(sg or pl) didn't visit us(exc,pl).

In the majority of cases, however, subject number is unambiguously encoded within the auxiliary. For example, while the /gV/ third person subject forms are not in and of themselves distinct for number, they may form part of a whole /gV/-AVR sequence which is. Thus /gu/ is unambiguously the third non-singular (realis) subject-AVR sequence of the Ø auxiliary, while /gi/ and /ga/ are the third singular subject-AVR forms.

3-19.a) gu -Ø -iwinj -fup: -Ø -a
3nsS R Ø 3nsG give pl Pst

They(pl) gave it to them(pl).

3-19.b) gi -Ø -iwinj -fup: -Ø -a
3sS R Ø 3nsG give pl Pst

He gave it to them(pl).

3-19.c) ga -Ø -iwinj -fup: -Ø -wa
3nsS Ir Ø 3nsG give pl Fut

He will give it to them(pl).

Similarly, /gu-din/ is uniquely the third non-singular (realis) subject-AVR sequence of the "see" auxiliary, while /gi-din/ and /gu-di/ constitute the third singulars.

3-19.d) gu -din -iwinj -Ø -a
3nsS R see 3nsG pl Pst

They(pl) went to see/find them(pl).

3-19.e) gi -din -iwinj -Ø -a
3sS R see 3nsG pl Pst

He went to see/find them(pl).

3-19.f) gu -di -iwinj -Ø -a
3sS R see 3nsG pl Pst

He should have gone to see/find them(pl).
Subject number may also be disambiguated by auxiliary final morphemes. Thus the first-singular G form /ingin/ in (3-20.a) cross-references the subject as singular or inclusive, while the corresponding form, /iningin/, in (3-20.b), encodes the subject as non-singular non-inclusive:

3-20.a) ambi -ya gini -muyi -ingin -a  
NEG Pst 2S R visit IsG-s/IS Pst  
You(sg) didn't visit me.

3-20.b) ambi -ya gini -muyi -iningin -Ø -a  
NEG Pst 2S R visit IsG-nsnIS pl Pst  
You(pl) didn't visit me.

3.2.1.3. /Nj/ Subject Number: "lie" and "stand" auxiliaries

The possibility of identifying within the bound subject pronoun historic plural and inclusive/exclusive markers is discussed in 3.2.2. These serve no synchronic function and are not relevant here. There is, however, one number morpheme which does need to be singled out from the subject pronominals at this point. The morpheme is /nj/. It can be identified as occurring between the initial subject pronoun and the AVR only in the "lie" and "stand" auxiliaries, and only following first exclusive, second and third non-singular subjects.

3-21.a) girri -nj -fel -Ø -a  
1ES R Intrans lie pl Pst nsnIS  
We(exc, pl) were lying down.

3-21.b) firri -nj -a -Ø -wa  
1ES Ir Intrans stand pl Pst nsnIS  
They(pl) will be standing.

As a number morpheme, /nj/ in this position has a low functional load, being clearly responsible for a minimal number contrast only in one instance, the second-person subject realis form of the "lie" auxiliary:

3-22.a) gini -Ø -fel -a  
2S R IsS lie Pst  
You(sg) were lying down.

3-22.b) gini -nj -fel -Ø -a  
2S R Intrans lie pl Pst nsnIS  
You(pl) were lying down.
There is a morpheme, which I segment as /inj/, which occurs with the same subject number function in three further auxiliaries, "sit", "go" and "go*". In these three auxiliaries, though, it appears not before, but after, the AVR, and, unlike the /nj/ of "lie" and "stand", can only appear in the absence of other auxiliary final morphology. Compare, for example, (3-23.b), in which, in the "stand" auxiliary, the AVR prior /nj/ is retained following the affixing of a goal form to the auxiliary, with (3-24.b), in which, in the "sit" auxiliary, the final /inj/ has been deleted.

3-23.a) gu -nj -a -pirr -fini -ya  
3S R Intrans stand leave,discard d1 Pst nsnIS

They(2) threw it.

3-23.b) gu -nj -a -iningin -pirr -fini -ya  
3S R Intrans stand 1sG-nsnIS leave,discard d1 Pst nsnIS

They(2) threw it to me.

3-24.a) ga -wu -inj -mutjing -fini -ya  
3S R sit Intrans listen d1 Pst nsnIS

They(2) were listening.

3-24.b) ga -wu -iningin -mutjing -fini -ya  
3S R sit 1sG-nsnIS listen d1 Pst nsnIS

They(2) were listening to me.

As we shall see in 3.2.1.6 below, the /inj/ of these intransitive auxiliaries alternates systematically with an /inggi/ morpheme in the transitive auxiliaries, and an /i(n)/ prior to auxiliary encoded objects and goals. The AVR prior /nj/ of "lie" and "stand" forms part of this system, although its occurrence, rather than alternation, with specific auxiliary-final object/goal forms causes us to assign it a slightly broader meaning. This differential placing of the subject number morpheme in "lie" and "stand" would appear to be simply historical in origin, and I can see no synchronic function for it.

3.2.1.4. Subject Tense/Mood Inflection

Except for some first and third singular forms, subjects also show a two-way inflection for tense/mood, having realis (R) and irrealis (Ir) forms. The nature of the realis/irrealis opposition is examined in 4.1. The two way inflection in the auxiliary combines with a verb-final morpheme to fully specify tense/mood. In (3-25),
for example, a realis auxiliary combines with verb final /a/ to form the past indicative, and with verb final /fang/ to form the apprehensive. (3-26) then shows the irrealis form of this auxiliary; the irrealis form also combines with verb final /a/, this time to produce a past irrealis reading, and with final /wa/ to form the future.

3-25.a) gu -n -ning -pirr -Ø -a
   3S R go 1sO-nsnIS leave,discard pl Pst
   They(pl) left me.

3-25.b) gu -n -ning -pirr -Ø -fang
   3S R go 1sO-nsnIS leave,discard pl APP
   I'm afraid they(pl) might leave me.

3-26.a) fi -n -ning -pirr -Ø -a
   3nsS Ir go 1sO-nsnIS leave,discard pl Pst
   They(pl) should have left me.

3-26.b) fi -n -ning -pirr -Ø -wa
   3nsS Ir go 1sO-nsnIS leave,discard pl Fut
   They(pl) will leave me.

(3-27) below gives typical subject pronouns arranged on a realis/irrealis basis; the examples come from the /rr/ auxiliary.

3-27) **Subject Bound Pronouns - /rr/ Auxiliary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REALIS</th>
<th>IRREALIS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>non-sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Inc</td>
<td>gumbu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ngi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Exc</td>
<td>gi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>gini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>gu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Given the predominance of /gV/ initial forms in the realis auxiliary mode it is tempting to try to segment an initial /g/ or /gV/ realis morpheme. Certain minimal contrasts may indeed seem to motivate this, e.g.:

3-28) "do" Auxiliary - 2ns Subject

   (a) gi -ni -m -inggi "do" Auxiliary
       R 2S do Trans nsnIS

   (b) Ø -ni -m -inggi "do" Auxiliary
       Ir 2S do Trans nsnIS
However, this is not a systematically viable segmentation. It cannot, for example, be motivated at all for first and third person singular. And in the first non-singular, as per (3-29) above, it would necessitate the arbitrary postulation of a corresponding /ng/ irrealis marker. Equally, the majority of second singulars (cf. Table 3-4, 3.2.2.1) vary in the manner of (3-27) rather than of (3-28), and mark the realis/irrealis opposition as much through their final vowel as through the presence or absence of an initial /gV/. While initial /g(V)/ then, to a certain degree (that is, with the exception of third singular), signals realis mode, it cannot be identified as a discrete morpheme.

3.2.1.5. AVR and Supplementary /bV/ Irrealis Marking

Although encoding of the realis/irrealis opposition is chiefly the function of the bound subject morpheme, there are further strategies that can be identified. Firstly, in four auxiliaries we can identify a segment /bi/ or /bu/ appearing between the subject and the AVR; this segment specifically marks irrealis mode, and occurs only with first and third singular subject. /Bi/ is found in the "go*" and /nji/ auxiliaries, where it is minimally contrastive, and /bu/ appears in the "claim" and /1/ auxiliaries, where it supplements subject inflection, e.g.:

3-30) gi -njarr ...3sS Realis "go*" auxiliary
   gi -bi -njarr ...3sS Irrealis "go*" auxiliary

3-31) ngi -1 ...lsS Realis /1/ auxiliary
   ngu -bu -1 ...lsS Irrealis /1/ auxiliary

Secondly, as with subject person-number marking, auxiliary tense/mood distinctiveness may be the property of a unique subject-AVR sequence rather than individual morphemes. For example, in five auxiliaries, "lie", "do", "paint", "visit" and /muri/, where the subject fails to inflect, in first and/or third singular, AVR variation results in tense/mood contrastiveness, e.g.:

3-32.a) gu -muyi ...3S Realis "visit" auxiliary
3-32.b) gu -buyi ...3sS Irrealis "visit" auxiliary
3-33.a)  ga -ful  ...3s Realis "lie" auxiliary
3-33.b)  ga -fel  ...3s Irrealis "lie" auxiliary

The AVRs of (3-32.b) and (3-33.a) can be attributed with both a number and tense/mood function. /Ful/ is a suppletive form of the "lie" AVR which only appears in third singular real is, while the /buyi/ allomorph of the "visit" AVR only occurs in first and third singular irrealis (cf. Table 3-4, 3.2.2.1). However, neither /muyi/ in (3-32.a), nor /fel/ in (3-33.b) in themselves carry a tense/mood component; both are the predominant verb root allomorphs for their auxiliaries, appearing for both realis and irrealis modes. But in conjunction with the subject pronominals of (3-32.a) and (3-33.b) they form unique sequences, /gu-muyi/ the unequivocal realis third person subject form of "visit", and /ga-fel/ the unequivocal irrealis third singular subject of "lie".

Note that the AVR variation in the "do", "visit" and /muri/ auxiliaries involves a change from initial /m/ to initial /p/ or /b/ for just the first and third singular irrealis subject, and would seem to be historically related to the AVR prior /bV/ irrealis segment (cf. 3.2.2.).

3.2.1.6. Auxiliary Goal/Object Coding

There are three sets of pronominals available for the auxiliary final position. These pronominals establish, in addition to subject, two further major categories of participant role, and enable us to set up a twofold division in participant type. The major role categories I refer to as "Goal" (G) and "Object" (O). Apart from reflexives and reciprocals, an entity may only be cross-referenced in the auxiliary by a specific G or O form if it is of the "higher order" participant type (cf. 3.2.1.7). Subject to this proviso, it can be stated in general terms that the G forms cross-reference the following participants:

(a) "indirect objects" in ditransitive type structures, e.g. the recipient of "give", the beneficiary of "promise (in marriage)", the goal of "point (something) out to", the target/addressee of "tell (something) to", (e.g. (3-34), (3-35)).

(b) "objects" of transitive (rather than ditransitive) clauses which, for various reasons, may be differentiated from the proto-typical patient-undergoer. These are of several different types. Firstly, there are the presumably non-affected "objects" of experiencer verbs,
such as "hear", "listen", "forget" and "remember" (e.g (3-36); note that visual-perceptual verbs do not belong in this group (cf. (3-43.b)). Secondly, there are participants which seem to be coded as Gs because of anticipated response/activity consequent upon the situation depicted by the verb. This includes the goals of verbs such as "visit", "hurry up", "frighten" and "cause anxiety in" (3-37). Thirdly, there are the goals of speech-act verbs such as "lie (to)", "address" and "incite" (3-38). Fourthly, G forms cross-reference reflexive and reciprocal undergoers (3-39); these would seem to be atypical patients because of their co-referentiality with the agent and consequent necessary involvement in carrying out the action. Finally, there are some additional odd verbs which take the G forms for marked transitive patients; the verb, "to accidentally hit/kill", for example, cross-references its patient with G rather than O forms (3-40).

(c) In single-argument (intransitive) verbs G forms are employed with two functions. Firstly, they can encode a participant as the involved target of an emotional or intellectual state (3-41). Secondly, in intransitives verbs with an implied locative or allative component (cf. 2.3.(c)-2), they can cross-reference a locative or allative participant (3-42).

These functions of the G pronominals are illustrated below. Note that apart from locatives and allatives, as well as some more highly affected or involved purposives (cf. 2.3.(b).2, 7.2), NPs cross-referenced by G forms take no case-marking.

3-34) murrika nanj ngindi -ingin -fup -ō
   car 2sPRO 2sS Ir Ø 1sG-s/IS put down Imp
   =POSS
   (You(sg)) Give me your car.

3-35) marri qingi -m -iwinj -ō -a memerr -wa
   word 1sS R do 3nsG pl Pst meeting PURP
   I told them(pl) about the meeting..

3-36) ambi ngi -ininj -sjang -fini -ō
   NEG 1sS R Ø 2nsG hear dl Pr
   I can't hear you(2).
3-37) ma -iwinj -werrerr -fini -Ø muku sjipel
2sS Ir paint 3nsG move back & dl Imp woman adolescent
forth REDUP female

(You(sg)) Hurry the two teenage girls up.

3-38) gini -rr -ni -perr -a
2sR rr 3msG-s/IS lie Pst

You(sg) lied to him.

3-39) ngi -din -ngin -a
1sS R see 1sG=REFL Pst

I saw myself.

3-40) gi -nj -inj -nenjsjiget -a
3sS R nj 2sO hit by mistake Pst

He inadvertently hit you(sg).

3-41.a) sjangi -wedj gu -n -ningin -Ø -Ø
ear having 3nsS R go 1sG-nsnIS pl Pr

Literally: They(pl) go with ears to me.

3-41.b) wa -rr -ingin -murrmurr -a
2sS R go 1sG-nsnIS friendly Pst

You(sg) should have been friendly to me.

3-42) ga -yirr -iginj -nimbin -wurri -njjsja -Ø
3sS R go* 1EG trial towards now Pr

gadi -nimbin -srna
1E PRO trial ALL

He's coming along towards us(exc, 3) now.

0 forms otherwise cross-reference the (higher-animate) participants controlled, acted upon etc. by a transitive subject.

Note that this includes the objects of visual-perception verbs:

3-43.a) ga -rr -ing -du -ya
3sS R rr 1sO touch Pst

He touched me.

3-43.b) gi -din -ngi -ya
3sS R see 1sO Pst

He saw me.

0 and G pronominals are alternative, and not co-occurring, choices for auxiliary final position, and, in the few verbs which allow for both roles, any participant in G role is always cross-referenced in preference to the one in 0 role. Thus the auxiliary of (3-44) cross-references the second singular goal NP rather than the third non-singular object NP.
3-44) wedi -fini gagan  ngi -l -imbi -sjit -a  nanj
3nsPRO dl  ANAPH  lS l R 1  2sG  point out Pst  2sPRO

* wedi -fini gagan  ngi -l -li -sjit -fini -ya nanj
3nsPRO dl  ANAPH  lS R l  3ns0  point out dl  Pst  2sPRO

I pointed out those two (higher animates) to you(sg).

But in the absence of an entity in G role, the O NP can be cross-referenced on the verb, e.g.:

3-45) wedi -fini gagan  ngi -l -li -sjit -fini -ya
3nsPRO dl  ANAPH  lS l R 1  3ns0  point out dl  Pst

I pointed out those two (higher animates).

It should also be noted here that whether a particular participant is to be encoded as an O or a G is generally specified in the verb; that is, this coding follows from the semantic nature of the verb. It does not present a systematic, grammatical option for speakers to depict the non-subject argument of any particular verb as either typically or atypically patient-like.12

The person-number matrix for the goal and object pronominals is similar to that for the bound subjects. Person marking is for first, second and third person, with an inclusive/exclusive distinction in first non-singular. In addition, the third singular G forms, like the free pronouns, distinguish masculine and feminine gender. In the O forms, second and third person non-singular fall together, and third singular is not specifically marked. Unlike the bound subjects, G and O pronominals are not tense/mood inflected.

The inclusive fits uncomfortably into the G and O number marking system. The non-singular G/O forms are specified for dual, trial and plural in the same way, and with the same set of suffixes, as the bound subject pronouns (cf. 3.4). That is, the first exclusive, second and third non-singulars are marked as dual (obligatorily), and trial (optionally), by overt suffixes in the post-CVS slot of the verb; unmarked they are interpreted as plural (i.e. 3 or more in number). First inclusive, however, has an unmarked dual interpretation, with the trial and plural being encoded by overt number suffixes, e.g.:

3-46) ga -rr -inggi -bibi -Ø -ya
3sS R rr  11O  grab REDUP I dl  Pst

He grabbed us(inc,2).
Further, the inclusive is specifically distinguished from the other non-singualrs via a morpheme of the shape /i)n/; this morpheme appears as the initial segment of singular and inclusive object and goal forms which co-occur with non-singular non-inclusive subjects (cf. Table 3-6, 3.2.3.1). In (3-48), for example, a singular subject acts on a third singular feminine G. The G pronominal here is /ing/.

In (3-49) the subject becomes non-singular; as a result the G form is augmented to /in-ing/:

Inclusive subjects co-occurring with singular Gs or Os, however, are not cross-referenced with the /i)n/ morpheme used for the other non-singular subjects. /Ing/, and not /in-ing/, is thus the correct form for the G pronominal co-occurring with the inclusive subject in (3-50).

Similarly, the inclusive Gs and Os of non-singular non-inclusive subjects are treated in the same way as the singulars, and are marked with /i)n/.

The inclusive is also anomalous in that it does not vary in form for O and G function (cf. 3.2.3). The third set of pronominals available for the auxiliary final position show the same number division. These pronominals cross-
reference subject number and show a correlation with transitivity class. They are used when an entity in G or O role is of the "lower order" participant type (as discussed below) or when, as may be the case with intransitive verbs, there is no participant in either of these roles. Only two non-zero forms are involved: /inggi/ and /inj/. Both cross-reference subject number as non-singular non-inclusive. /Inj/ occurs in three auxiliaries: "sit", "go" and "go*". As discussed above (3.2.1.3), in two further auxiliaries, "lie" and "stand", a morpheme /nj/ having the same number function appears before the AVR and is not repeated auxiliary finally. The remaining auxiliaries (apart from "heat"16) instead take /inggi/. There is no overt corresponding cross-referencing for singular or inclusive subject number17:

\[
\begin{align*}
3-52.a) & \quad ga \quad -wu \quad -inj \quad -sri \quad -\emptyset \quad -ya \\
& \quad 3S \quad R \quad sit \quad Intrans \quad cry \quad pl \quad Pst \\
& \quad nsnIS \\
& \quad They(pl) \quad were \quad sitting \quad crying. \\
3-52.b) & \quad gu \quad -sri \quad -sri \quad -ya \\
& \quad 3Ss \quad R \quad sit \quad cry \quad Pst \\
& \quad He \quad was \quad sitting \quad crying. \\
3-53.a) & \quad firri \quad -muyi \quad -inggi \quad -\emptyset \quad -wa \quad nitji \quad gan \\
& \quad 3nsS \quad Ir \quad visit \quad Trans \quad pl \quad Fut \quad night \quad this \\
& \quad nsnIS \\
& \quad They(pl) \quad will \quad visit \quad tonight. \\
3-53.b) & \quad ngindi \quad -muyi \quad -wa \quad nitji \quad gan \\
& \quad 2sS \quad Ir \quad visit \quad Fut \quad night \quad this \\
& \quad You(sg) \quad will \quad visit \quad tonight. \\
\end{align*}
\]

The five auxiliaries which take either the /inj/ or /nj/ allomorph of the subject number marker (i.e. "sit", "go", "go*", "lie" and "stand") occur in two types of verbs: intransitives, and transitives which are relatively low in transitivity value18. Of the sixteen auxiliaries which take the /inggi/ allomorph, most function in (minimally) two-place predicates of relatively high transitivity value. Two of these /inggi/ selecting auxiliaries ("be hanging" and /di/), however, have the semantic characteristics of the /inj/-/nj/ selecting auxiliaries, and two further auxiliaries ("do" and /nji/) show some ambivalence with respect to the transitivity of the verbs they form (cf. 6.4). It is useful to have a term to distinguish the /inggi/ from the /inj/-/nj/ selecting auxiliaries, and I have chosen in this work to label the /inggi/ taking auxiliaries as "formally
transitive", and the /inj/-/nj/ taking auxiliaries as "formally
intransitive". Table 3-3 shows how the simple and complex auxiliaries
divide into formally transitive and formally intransitive classes.
"Be hanging" and /di/ are starred as being anomalous inclusions in the
formally transitive category. The "heat" auxiliary is not,
technically, formally transitive; it has only third singular subjects,
and can never therefore select either /inj/ or /inggi/. It has been
included in the formally transitive category, however, on semantic
grounds (cf. 6.1, 6.4).

Table 3-3  Formally Transitive and Formally Intransitive Auxiliaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formally Intransitive</th>
<th>Formally Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;lie&quot;</td>
<td>* &quot;be hanging&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;stand&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;do&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;sit&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;see&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;go&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;claim&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;go*&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;paint&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;visit&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;heat&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/0/  /1/
/rr/  /rri/
/nj/  /nji
/n/  /njsjin/
/muri/
* /di/

/(I)n/, /inggi/ and auxiliary-final /inj/ are thus allomorphs of
the subject number marker in a complementary distribution determined
by (non-subject) core-participant type and (with a few anomalies)
transitivity class. They divide the person-number matrix of auxiliary
coded participants into marked non-singular non-inclusive, and
unmarked singular/inclusive, sets. Auxiliary paradigms, which follow
in 3.2.2 and 3.2.3, are therefore set out in terms of this number
opposition.

3.2.1.7. Higher and Lower Order Participant Types

The higher/lower participant type division is largely based on
animacy. Generally the higher animate category consists of humans,
spirits, dingoes (the mythological progenitors of the Marrithiyel
people) and introduced quadrupeds (e.g. other dogs, cattle, horses,
water-buffalo). Naturally, any entity addressed as second person, or
included in the reference of first person, is treated as a higher
animate. Other animate entities are also occasionally accorded higher
animate status and may be denoted by pronominal forms; this happens
particularly when the entity, in a particular discourse, assumes mythological/religious importance, but can occasionally extend to any entity which for other reasons has high discourse salience. (3-54) illustrates the differential cross-referencing of higher and non higher-animates as the themes of the verb "forget". (3-54.a) takes the third non-singular G form, cross referencing the higher animate NP "men". (3-54.b), however, with a non higher-animate entity as its theme, takes no distinct G form; /inggi/ instead fills the auxiliary final slot.

3-54.a) ma-meri dim girri -m -iwinj -sjiangi -Ø -ya
   CH man bury 1ES R do 3nsG ear pl Pst
   We(exc,pl) forgot the men(pl).

3-54.b) sjandi dim girri -m -inggi -sjiangi -Ø -ya
   spear bury 1ES R do Trans ear pl Pst
   We(exc,pl) forgot the spears.

The situation is identical for objects. The higher animate object of (3-55.a) is cross-referenced with /di/, specifically marking O function and person-number (i.e. 2/3 non-singular). The non higher-animate object of (3-55.b), by contrast, takes no specific number or role cross-referencing in the auxiliary-final slot.

3-55.a) gu -dinj -finthifinthi -fini
   3ns CH older REDUP dl
   gu -din -di -fini -ya a -guwan -gin
   3nsS R see 2/3nsO dl Pst CA snake ERG
   The snakes saw the two old men.

3-55.b) gu -dinj -finthifinthi -fini
   3ns CH older REDUP dl
   gu -din -gi -fini -ya a -guwan
   3nsS R see Trans dl Pst CA snake
   The two old men saw the snakes.

Parallel data is available for the three formally intransitive auxiliaries which take final /inj/. (3-56) below is identical structurally to (3-55). In (3-56.a)) the higher-animate object is cross-referenced by the third non-singular O form; substitution of the higher-animate NP with an entity not in this category, in (3-56.b) results in /inj/ appearing auxiliary finally.
The snake(s) were eating the two old men.

The two old men were eating the snake(s).

The same applies to the goals of the /inj/-final formally intransitive auxiliaries:

We(exc,pl) were listening to the women(pl).

We(exc,pl) were listening to the birds.

/Inj/ in these examples thus marks that the verb belongs to the low transitivity class, cross-references subject number, and, in addition, signals the non-subject argument as being a lower-order participant. /Inj/, of course, also appears in these auxiliaries when there is no argument in the clause in a role eligible for O or G coding, e.g.:

We(exc,pl) were sitting in that place again, unable to walk.

In the two auxiliaries ("lie" and "stand") which have the /nj/ subject marker prior to the AVR there is no alternation, as has been shown above (3.2.1.3), between /nj/ and specific O/G forms. This /nj/ thus co-occurs with all non-singular non-inclusive subjects, and has no function in the participant-type division.

We(exc,pl) were standing on the men's(pl) backs.
We(exc, pl) were standing in the back of the car.

Note, however, that reflexives and reciprocals, regardless of animacy considerations, are all coded with auxiliary-final G forms rather than with the /inj/-/inggi/-Ø set of allomorphs. Thus contrast (3-59) with (3-56.b) above. (3-59) has a reflexive object, /a-guwan/, "snakes"; although this object is not of higher-animate status, it is nevertheless cross-referenced on the verb. In (3-56.b), however, as a non-reflexive object, it receives no overt cross-referencing.

The snakes(pl) bit themselves.

Reflexive/reciprocals are discussed further in 3.2.3.2.

There is one major anomaly, concerning third singular objects, in this twofold division of participant type. Unlike third non-singualrs, and third singular goals, third singular objects are not specifically cross-referenced. All third singular objects, regardless of animacy status, trigger the /inj/-/inggi/-Ø auxiliary coding. That is, they are grouped morphologically in this respect with the inanimates and lower animates, e.g.:

3-60) nadi -Ø yeri yigin gini -din -di -Ø -ya
2nsPRO pl child 1sPRO 2S R see 3nsO pl Pst =POSS

Have you(pl) seen my children(pl) ?

3-61) nadi -Ø yeri yigin gini -din -gi -Ø -ya
2nsPRO pl child 1sPRO 2S R see Trans pl Pst =POSS nsnIS

Have you(pl) seen my child?

3-62) nadi -Ø sjandi yigin gini -din -gi -Ø -ya
2nsPRO pl spear 1sPRO 2S R see Trans pl Pst =POSS nsnIS

Have you(pl) seen my spear(s)?

This grouping would appear to result from intersecting semantic and pragmatic criteria. While the animacy division is concerned with whether participants are inherently of sufficient importance or salience to be marked for person-number-role in the auxiliary, the failure to mark any third singular objects at all is a result of an overriding morphosyntactic principle - that third singular direct
object is the unmarked choice for undergoer in a transitive sentence, and that consequently no cross-referencing is required. That is, there are two ordered principles at work here. The first principle says that any type of participant in third singular object role goes unmarked; the second principle takes those participants now still eligible for auxiliary-final coding and eliminates those of insufficient standing in the animacy hierarchy.

Higher-order participants are thus those which by virtue of role and number and animacy status, are of sufficient salience to require auxiliary cross-referencing.

3.2.1.8. Summary

To summarise, I analyse the auxiliary as essentially segmentable into three major parts. A bound subject pronominal obligatorily occupies the leftmost position. This pronominal is generally inflected for person, number and tense/mood. In the second auxiliary slot is the AVR, carrying the verbal component of the auxiliary. The shape of the AVR may also vary for subject number, subject person and/or tense/mood. This variation is not rule-governed. Further, there are some auxiliary forms for which no separation of subject from AVR is possible and which thus encode subject person-number, tense/mood and the auxiliary verbal component in the one indivisible portmanteau unit.

The manner in which the third auxiliary position is filled depends on the nature of the participants. Higher order participants - i.e. higher animates in G or O role, with the exclusion of all third singular Os - are cross referenced with specific forms. Where the two co-occur in one clause, the G is cross-referenced in preference to the O. The G and O pronouns inflect for person and number in a similar fashion to the bound subjects, and, through the distribution of an initial /(i)n/ segment cross-referencing subject number, distinguish the non-inclusive non-singualars as a marked set. Lower order participants - i.e. third singular objects, and lower animates or inanimates in roles other than subject - are not cross-referenced in the auxiliary. When there are no higher order participants, and when the subject is non-singular non-inclusive, the auxiliary-final position is occupied by a marker of transitivity class; /inj/ is the "formally intransitive", and /inggi/ the "formally transitive", allomorph of this marker. In other cases, i.e. with inclusive or
singular subjects and no higher order participants, the auxiliary-final slot remains empty.

Two irregularities in auxiliary structure have been noted. Firstly, two auxiliaries, "lie" and "stand", place their non-singular non-inclusive subject number morpheme between the subject pronoun and the AVR rather than in auxiliary-final position. This /nj/ does co-occur with specific G or O forms. Secondly, in the same position, between subject and AVR, we can in a further four auxiliaries isolate a segment /bi/ or /bu/ which functions to mark irrealis auxiliary mode for first and third singular subject only.

The current Marrithiyl auxiliary system would appear to be in the process of evolution from a more systematically agglutinative structure, with the bound subject pronominals and AVRs, together with previously discrete tense/mood and, perhaps, number markers, tending to be compacted together into a single unit. This, of course, is the general line of development proposed by Dixon (1980) for all of the prefixing languages:

"There has been a tendency for languages in a certain geographical area in northern Australia to develop a more complex verbal morphology, with free-form pronouns, adverbs and the like reducing to become affixes, undergoing a number of phonological contractions, assimilations, and so on."

As a result, while the majority of auxiliary forms are accessible to the essentially tripartite analysis which I have presented above, and while the auxiliary-final morphology is readily segmented out, it is not possible to propose fully independent sets of subject pronouns and AVRs which can be recombined through a coherent set of principles into the correct surface forms; rather it is the whole subject-AVR sequence, rather than subject pronominals and AVRs individually, which in many instances functions as the minimal contrastive unit.

3.2.2. Subject-AVR Sequences
3.2.2.1. Paradigms and General Patterns

Table 3-4, on the following pages, gives the subject-AVR paradigms for the 22 Marrithiyl auxiliaries, segmented according to the criteria discussed in 3.2.1. In this section I consider in more detail the degree to which underlying or general forms can be identified for the subject and AVR morphemes. Before examining this morphology, however, it is necessary to outline some patterns in the structuring of the whole subject-AVR sequence, since such general
structuring principles may need to be taken into consideration in accounting for the shapes of individual morphemes.

Three invariant patterns can be identified:

(a) The first inclusive realis and first inclusive irrealis subject-AVR sequences differ only in their initial consonant, the realis having initial /g/ and the irrealis initial /ng/. e.g.:

3-63) First Inclusive Subject-AVR Sequences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;sit&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;go&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;do&quot;</th>
<th>/l/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Inc. Realis</td>
<td>gambu</td>
<td>gumbu -n</td>
<td>gimbi -m</td>
<td>gumbu -l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Inc. Irrealis</td>
<td>ngambu</td>
<td>ngumbu -n</td>
<td>ngimbi -m</td>
<td>ngumbu -l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) The first exclusive realis, first exclusive irrealis and third non-singular irrealis subject-AVR sequences for each auxiliary also differ only in their initial consonants; the exclusive realis has initial /g/, the exclusive irrealis has initial /ng/ and the third non-singular irrealis initial /f/. e.g.:

3-64) First Exclusive and Third non-sg Irrealis Subject-AVR Sequences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;sit&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;go&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;do&quot;</th>
<th>/l/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Exc. Realis</td>
<td>garrgi</td>
<td>gi -n</td>
<td>girri -m</td>
<td>gil -l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Exc. Irrealis</td>
<td>ngarrgi</td>
<td>ngi -n</td>
<td>ngirri -m</td>
<td>ngil -l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd ns Irrealis</td>
<td>farrgi</td>
<td>fi -n</td>
<td>firri -m</td>
<td>fil -l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) The first singular irrealis and third singular irrealis subject-AVR sequences for each auxiliary again differ only in their initial consonant, the first person taking initial /ng/ and the third initial /g/, e.g.:

3-65) First and Third Singular Irrealis Subject-AVR Sequences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;sit&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;go&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;do&quot;</th>
<th>/l/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st sg. Realis</td>
<td>ngawu</td>
<td>ngu -n</td>
<td>ngi -pi</td>
<td>ngu -bu -l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd sg. Irrealis</td>
<td>gawu</td>
<td>gu -n</td>
<td>gi -pi</td>
<td>gu -bu -l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note also that, apart from one simple verb alternative in second singular realis "go", the subject-AVR sequences of the "go" and /n/ auxiliaries are identical; "go" and /n/ are formally distinguished by the auxiliary-final /inj/-/inggi/ transitivity class markers. The differences in their semantic character are discussed in Chapter 6. Similarly, "go*", /rr/ and /rri/ have identical subject-AVR sequences in the non-singular non-inclusive, as do the /nj/ and /nji/ auxiliaries.
### Table 3-4 Subject-Auxiliary Verb Root Sequences

#### #1 - Singular/Inclusive Subject, Realis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple Formally Intransitive Auxiliaries</th>
<th>1st Inclusive</th>
<th>1st singular</th>
<th>2nd singular</th>
<th>3rd singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lie</td>
<td>gimbi -fel</td>
<td>ngo -fel</td>
<td>gini -fel</td>
<td>ga -ful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand</td>
<td>gumba</td>
<td>guna</td>
<td>gu -wa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>gambu</td>
<td>ganngi</td>
<td>gu -sri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>gumbu -n</td>
<td>ngo -n</td>
<td>gini -n</td>
<td>ga -ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go*</td>
<td>gimbi -njarr</td>
<td>ngi -njarr</td>
<td>gini -njarr</td>
<td>ga -yirr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Simple Formally Transitive Auxiliaries

| be hanging                              | gumbu -njsji  | ngo -njsji   | gini -njsji  | gi -njsji    |
| do                                      | gimbi -m      | gingi -m     | gini -m      | gi -m        |
| see                                     | gumbu -din    | ngo -din     | gini -din    | gi -din      |
| claim                                   | gumbu -gin    | ngo -gin     | gini -gin    | gi -gin      |
| paint                                   | gumbu -mun    | ngu -mun     | gini -mun    | gu -mun      |
| visit                                   | gumbu -muyi   | ngu -muyi    | gini -muyi   | gu -muyi     |
| heat                                    | --------------| --------------| --------------| --------------|

#### Complex Formally Transitive Auxiliaries

| ø                                       | gimbi -ø      | ngo -ø       | gini -ø      | gi -ø         |
| l                                       | gumbu -l      | ngo -l       | gini -l      | gi -l         |
| rr                                      | gumbu -rr     | ngo -rr      | gini -rr     | ga -rr        |
| rri#2                                   | gumbu -rri    | ngo -rri     | gini -rri    | ga -rri       |
| nj                                      | gumbu -nj     | ngo -nj      | gini -nj     | gi -nj        |
| nji                                     | gimbi -nji    | ngo -nji     | gini -nji    | gi -nji      |
| n                                       | gumbu -n      | ngo -n       | gin -n       | ga -n         |
| njsjin                                  | gumbu -njsjin | ngo -njsjin  | gini -njsjin | gi -njsjin    |
| muri                                    | gumbu -muri   | ngu -muri    | gini -muri   | gu -muri      |
| di                                      | gumbu -di     | ngo -di      | gini -di     | gi -di        |

*See Table 3-4#5 for notes on alternative forms.*
### Table 3-4: Subject-Auxiliary Verb Root Sequences

#### #2 - Singular/Inclusive Subject, Irrealis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Inclusive</th>
<th>1st singular</th>
<th>2nd singular</th>
<th>3rd singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SIMPLE FORMALLY INTRANSITIVE AUXILIARIES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lie</td>
<td>ngimbi -fel</td>
<td>nga -fel</td>
<td>ngindi -fel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand</td>
<td>ngumba</td>
<td>nga -sja</td>
<td>ngunda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>ngambu</td>
<td>nga -wu</td>
<td>ngandi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>ngumbu -n</td>
<td>ngu -n</td>
<td>wa -rr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go*</td>
<td>ngimbi -njarr</td>
<td>ngi -bi -njarr</td>
<td>ngindi -njarr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### SIMPLE FORMALLY TRANSITIVE AUXILIARIES

| be | hanging | ngumbu -njsji | ngu -njsji | ngindi -njsji | gu -njsji |
| do | ngimbi -m | ngi -pi | ngindi -m | gi -pi |
| see | ngumbu -din | ngu -di | wa -di | gu -di |
| claim | ngumbu -gin | ngu -bu -gin | fa | gu -bu -gin |
| paint | ngumbu -mun | ngu -mu | ma | gu -mu |
| visit | ngumbu -muyi | ngu -buyi | ngindi -muyi | gu -buyi |
| heat | ----------- | ----------- | ----------- | gu -di |

#### COMPLEX FORMALLY TRANSITIVE AUXILIARIES

| 0 | ngimbi -0 | nga -0 | ngindi -0 | ga -0 |
| l | ngumbu -l | ngu -bu -l | fa -l | gu -bu -l |
| rr | ngumbu -rr | ngu -rr | a -rr | gu -rr |
| rri#2 | ngumbu -rr | ngu -rr | a -rr | gu -rr |
| nj | ngimbi -nj | nga -gi | a -nji | gu -nji |
| nji | ngimbi -nji | ngi -bi -nji | ngindi -nji | gu -nji |
| n | ngumbu -n | ngu -n | wa -rr | gu -n |
| njsjin | ngumbu -njsjin | ngu -njsji | ngindi -njsji | gu -njsji |
| muri | ngumbu -muri | ngu -buri | mari | gu -buri |
| di | ngumbu -di | ngu -di | wa -di | gu -di |

*See Table 3-4#5 for notes on alternative forms.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#3 - non-Singular non-Inclusive Subject, Realis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 3-4 Subject-Auxiliary Verb Root Sequences</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SIMPLE FORMALLY INTRANSITIVE AUXILIARIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Exclusive</th>
<th>2nd non-singular</th>
<th>3rd non-singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lie</td>
<td>girri -nj -fel</td>
<td>gini -nj -fel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand</td>
<td>girri -nj -a</td>
<td>gini -nj -a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>garrgi</td>
<td>ganngi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>gi -n</td>
<td>gi -n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go*</td>
<td>gi -rr</td>
<td>gini -rr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SIMPLE FORMALLY TRANSITIVE AUXILIARIES**

| be hanging    | girri -njsji gini -njsji | gu -njsji |
| do            | girri -m gini -m | gi -m |
| see           | gi -din gini -din | gu -din |
| claim         | girri -gin gini -gin | gu -gin |
| paint         | girri -mun gini -mun | gu -mun |
| visit         | girri -muyi gini -muyi | gu -muyi |
| heat          | ------------ | --------- | --------- |

**COMPLEX FORMALLY TRANSITIVE AUXILIARIES**

|Ø           | girri -Ø gini -Ø | gu -Ø |
|1           | gil -l gini -l   | gu -l |
|rr, rri     | gi -rr gini -rr  | gu -rr |
|nj, nji     | girri -nj gini -nj | gu -nj |
|n           | gi -n gii -n     | gu -n |
|njsjin      | girri -njsjin gini -njsjin | gu -njsjin |
|muri        | girri -muri gini -muri | gu -muri |
|di          | gi -di gini -di  | gu -di |
Table 3-4  
Subject-Auxiliary Verb Root Sequences

#4 - non-Singular non-Inclusive Subject, Irrealis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Exclusive</th>
<th>2nd non-singular</th>
<th>3rd non-singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SIMPLE FORMALLY INTRANSITIVE AUXILIARIES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lie</td>
<td>ngirri -nj -fel</td>
<td>ni -nj -fel#7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand</td>
<td>ngirri -nj -a</td>
<td>ni -nj -a#7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>ngarrgi</td>
<td>na -wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>ngi</td>
<td>na -n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go*</td>
<td>ngi</td>
<td>na -rr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMPLE FORMALLY TRANSITIVE AUXILIARIES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be hanging</td>
<td>ngirri -njsji</td>
<td>na -njsji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>ngirri -m</td>
<td>ni -m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
<td>ngi</td>
<td>ni -din</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>claim</td>
<td>ngirri -gin</td>
<td>na -gin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paint</td>
<td>ngirri -mun</td>
<td>nu -mun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>visit</td>
<td>ngirri -muyi</td>
<td>nu -muyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heat</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPLEX FORMALLY TRANSITIVE AUXILIARIES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>ngirri -Ø</td>
<td>na -Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>ngil</td>
<td>na -l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rr, rri</td>
<td>ngi</td>
<td>na -rr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nj, nji</td>
<td>ngirri -nj</td>
<td>na -nj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>ngi</td>
<td>na -n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njsjin</td>
<td>ngirri -njsjin</td>
<td>na -njsjin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muri</td>
<td>ngirri -muri</td>
<td>nu -muri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di</td>
<td>ngi</td>
<td>na -di</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*See Table 3-4#5 for notes on alternative forms.
Table 3-4 Subject-Auxiliary Verb Root Sequences

#5 - Notes on alternative forms

#1) The subject-AVR sequences of these simple auxiliaries take their contracted forms when in complex verbs, while their longer variants are restricted to appearing in simple verbs, e.g.:

(a) **COMPLEX VERB**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ga</th>
<th>-rr</th>
<th>-warret</th>
<th>-a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>-yirr</td>
<td>3sS R</td>
<td>go*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He walked away.

(b) **SIMPLE VERB**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ga</th>
<th>-yirr</th>
<th>-imbi</th>
<th>-ya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>-rr</td>
<td>3sS R</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He went directly towards you(sg).

(c) **COMPLEX VERB**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gin</th>
<th>-n</th>
<th>-ing</th>
<th>-pirr</th>
<th>-a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*gin</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>2sR</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>1sO-s/IS leave, discard</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

You(sg) left me.

(d) **SIMPLE VERB**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gini</th>
<th>-n</th>
<th>-Ø</th>
<th>-a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*gini</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>2sR</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

You(sg) went.

#2) The shorter forms of these subject-AVR sequences occur prior to auxiliary-final G/O pronominals, while the longer forms occur elsewhere (that is, when the auxiliary-final slot is empty).[^19]

#3) There are two second singular irrealis forms for "go*", the more regular /ngindi-njarr/ and an alternative /fe-yirr/, which shares a suppletive form of the AVR with the third singular realis, /ga- yirr/. These two forms are in free variation.

#4) The first and third singular irrealis subject sequences of the "paint" auxiliary take their contracted form before consonants and their longer form before vowels; the vowel cluster reduction rules (cf. 2.1.4.1) then act on the resultant vowel clusters, eliding the second vowel and preserving the final /u/ of the subject-AVR sequence:

a) **ngu -mu -it -wa**

1sS Ir paint pick up Fut

----> ngumutwa

*I will pick it up.*
b) ngu -m -bu -wa
1sS Ir paint smell Fut

* I will smell it.

#5) I have recorded a few instances of a suppletive variant /srin/ for /ga/ third singular irrealis of the Ø auxiliary. This functions as a collective singular. This form is quite exceptional, being the only example of a third person subject-AVR sequence which is not /gV/ or /fV/ initial.

a) themberriduk srin -fup -wa
road 3sS R put down Fut

They will put down (i.e. make) a road.

I represent /srin/ as a collective singular form because it is not able to be specified for dual or trial number by subsequent verbal affixes, and cannot co-occur with auxiliary-final /inggi/.

b) * themberriduk srin -fup (*-inggi) -nimbi -wa
road 3sS R put down Trans trial Fut

#6) I have also recorded a few instances of /mun/ functioning as an imperative collective singular, alternative to /ma/, second singular irrealis "paint". /Mun/ is used for addressing several people, with the expectation that they will all participate in the action. /Mun/ appears to be simply a bare AVR form, with no preceding subject marker. Like the /srin/ collective singular above, /mun/ can neither be specified for number by subsequent verbal affixes, nor co-occur with auxiliary-final /inggi/.

a) a -nginjsji gi -l -kurr -a / mun -madil -0
CM one 3sS R li hit,kill Pst 2sS Ir paint lift Imp

He's hit one (lower animate), lift it up [out of the water].

I have not discovered any similar special collective singular imperatives in the other auxiliaries.

#7) I have also recorded /nunjfel/ and /nunja/ as alternative second non-singular irrealis forms of "lie" and "stand" from speakers either originating from the southern Marrithiyel area, or having grown up chiefly with speakers from that area. These forms therefore would seem to belong to the Marridan dialect (cf. 1.4).
3.2.2.2. Analysis of Subject Forms

(a) First person

(3-66) below tables the first person forms which can be extracted from the subject-AVR sequences. I discuss the standard forms first, and subsequently consider the more exceptional variants, such as those from the "sit" and "stand" paradigms.

3-66) First Person Bound Subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard Forms</th>
<th>1st Inclusive</th>
<th>1st sg R</th>
<th>1st sg Ir</th>
<th>1st Exclusive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cimbi</td>
<td>ngi</td>
<td>ngu</td>
<td>Cirri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cumbu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Variants       | ngi           | nga       | Ci        |
| "sit" forms    | qangi         | ngi       | Carrgi    |
| "stand" forms  | ganga         | nga       | Cirri     |
|                |               |           |           |

C = /g/ in the Realis, /ng/ in the Irrealis

First exclusive is the most readily dealt with of the first person bound subjects; /Cirri/ is the most common form, with /Ci/ occurring before the /l/ AVR, and /Ci/ occurring before the other alveolar initial AVR's in the "go", "go*", "see", /rr/, /n/ and /di/ auxiliaries. The "sit" auxiliary has an irregular first exclusive /Carrgi/ functioning as a portmanteau subject-AVR sequence. The contracted /Ci/ and /Ci/ forms would appear to have developed from /Cirri/. As a first stage, for example, /Cirri/ perhaps reduced to /Cirri/ before all alveolar initial AVRs. In the /l/ auxiliary this has been followed by assimilation of the /rr/ of the subject pronoun to the following lateral, resulting in a geminate. In the /rr/ auxiliary the impermissible /rr-rr/ cluster resulting from the initial contraction has been reduced simply to /rr/; the remaining alveolar initial auxiliaries have followed this pattern and eliminated the initial consonant from their /rr-[+Alveolar]/ clusters.

First person singular has the shape /ngV/ in all but three cases, where it is augmented to /gVngV/. /NgI/ is the predominant form in the realis, with /ngu/ occuring only prior to the /mu/ initial AVRs. It seems likely therefore that /ngI/ is the original realis form, with /ngu/ having arisen through regressive vowel assimilation, i.e.:

3-67.a) ngi Realis Subject > ngu Realis Subject / -Cu initial AVR

This is suggested only as a putative historical process. There is no independent motivation to warrant proposing (3-67.a) as a synchronic
rule. Assimilation of /ngi/ subject pronouns, for example, is not triggered by a following /mu/ initial CVS, e.g.:

3-67.b)  

\texttt{ngi -Ø -mu -duk -a}  
\texttt{lsS R Ø MU pull from Pst}  

\texttt{----> /ngimuduka/}, */ngumuduka/  

I took it away from him (e.g. by command, decree).

In contrast to the realis there are considerable problems in attempting to identify a single general or historical form for the first singular irrealis. Three different forms occur here: /ngu/, /nga/ and /ngi/. While /ngu/ is the most common, /nga/, which occurs in the Ø auxiliary and has no following AVR as a potential phonological conditioning factor, would seem to be the most likely candidate for the underlying form. However, there are no plausible or independently motivated conditioning factors which would allow us to consistently derive any one of these forms from the others; /ngu/, for example, appears not only before /mu/ and /bu/, but also before /n/, /di/, /njsji/ and /rr/. But it does not occur prior to /wu/. No direct derivation of /ngu/ from /nga/, through the type of assimilation suggested in (3-67.a), can thus be motivated.

There are similar problems with the first inclusive, which has two standard forms /Cimbi/ and /Cumbu/. Again, the distribution of these forms with respect to the following AVRs is such that neither can be derived from the other. It is interesting to note, however, that there is a general relationship between the shape of the vowel in the first inclusive and the vowel of the first singular irrealis; auxiliaries with first singular irrealis /ngu/ have /Cumbu/ inclusives, while those with singular irrealis /nga/ or /ngi/ have /Cimbi/ inclusives. (The three exceptions to this are in the "sit" and "stand" auxiliaries, with irregular inclusives, and in the /nj/ auxiliary, which has a suppletive first singular irrealis.) Future historical work will have to determine whether there is any significance to this correlation. Given the classing together of the singulars and the inclusive in auxiliary final morphology (cf. 3.2.1.6) it is intriguing that there is some vowel shape relationship between the first singular (irrealis) and first inclusive which is not manifest in the first exclusive.

We can now turn to the irregular first person forms. Three auxiliaries, "sit", "stand" and "do", have the shape /gVngV(C)/ in first singular realis, i.e. they have a /gV/ preceding the expected
/ngV/ subject morpheme. In the "do" auxiliary the initial /gi/ simply augments the subject-AVR sequence, while "sit" has nothing in the normal AVR position; "stand", while not having a discrete AVR, nevertheless has a distinctive final /a/ vowel in first singular realis. (Final /a/, of course, is maintained throughout the "stand" paradigm.) What the initial /gV/ would seem to represent, historically, is an extension into first person singular of the /gV/ tense/mood marking now fused into the other realis subject pronominals. The current irregular first person realis forms could be accounted for by proposing that at some stage all three had a three part Tense/Mood-Subject-AVR morphemic structure, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tns/Md (R)</th>
<th>Subject (1s)</th>
<th>AVR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;stand&quot;</td>
<td>gu</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>*AVR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;sit&quot;</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>ngi</td>
<td>*AVR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;do&quot;</td>
<td>gi</td>
<td>ngi</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While "do" has retained its earlier form, "sit" and "stand" would appear to have eliminated their historic AVRs. Comparative data does provide some motivation for this scenario. According to Tyron (1970, 1974), for example, Maranunggu, Marrithiyel's northern neighbour, structures all its first singular realis auxiliary forms in precisely this three part manner. The initial tense/mood marker has the form /ka/ or /ke/, according to the auxiliary to which it attaches, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tns/Md (R)</th>
<th>Subject (1s)</th>
<th>AVR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;sit&quot;</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>nan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;stand&quot;</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;do&quot;</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>nge</td>
<td>me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;go&quot;</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>ni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It remains for further comparative work to determine whether Marrithiyel once had a three fold structure for all its first singular realis forms, in the same way as current Maranunggu, and, if so, to explain why the initial /gV/ was exclusively retained in the "sit", "stand" and "do" auxiliaries. (Alternatively, of course, it may eventuate that Marrithiyel extended a /gV/ realis marker exclusively to these three auxiliaries.) Such work will no doubt have to address itself to irregularities in the vowels of both the tense/mood prefix and the bound subject pronoun. On this point it is worth noting that the three Marrithiyel auxiliaries with /gV/ initial first singular realis forms are those which maintain some degree of vowel distinctiveness in their initial syllables. "Sit", for example, is, apart from third singular irrealis, distinctively /Ca/ initial
throughout its paradigm. "Stand" has irregular /Cu/ initials in second singular, both irrealis and realis, and in third singular irrealis. And although /i/ is the most frequently occurring vowel in the bound subjects "do" is nevertheless distinguished by having /gi/ instead of /gu/ for third non-singular realis, and /ni/ where we might expect /na/ for second non-singular irrealis. Whether this vowel patterning bears any relationship to variations in the shape of the /gV/ tense/mood marker, or can be argued to provide motivation for retention of it in the first singular, remains to be seen.

Of the other irregular first person forms little can be said. The /Cambu/ and /Cumba/ inclusives of "sit" and "stand" continue the characteristic vowel patterning of those paradigms. Since "stand" has AVR forms /a/, /wa/ and /sja/ it is reasonable to suggest that /Cumba/ is derived from a merger of a regular /Cambu/ inclusive with a following /a/ or /wa/ AVR (cf. 3.2.2.4). /Carrgi/, in the "sit" auxiliary, is the only suppletive exclusive form, and functions as the whole subject-AVR sequence.

Synchronically it is not viable to sub-divide these first person subject forms into separate person and number markers. The forms, however, raise interesting historical possibilities. For example, as an initial hypothesis, and leaving aside the problem of the shape of the vowels, one would no doubt postulate /ngV/ as the original first singular root, and suggest /rrV/ as an exclusive suffix, with /mbV/ as the inclusive. Since a number of second singular non-subject bound pronominals also have a shape /mbV/ (cf. 3.2.3.1), this in turn suggests that the inclusive may have been constructed simply by compounding a first and second person root, and may have been a later addition to a system in which /rrV/ functioned as a non-singular rather than as a specifically exclusive suffix. This scenario would postulate the /gV/ initial realis first non-singular forms as then developing, through some paradigmatic reorganisation of the marking of the auxiliary tense/mood opposition, from the /ngV/ initial forms\textsuperscript{21}. 


(b) Second Person

3-70) Second Person Bound Subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard Forms</th>
<th>2nd Re</th>
<th>2nd sg Ir</th>
<th>2nd na Ir</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gini</td>
<td>ngindi</td>
<td>na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a, fa, wa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variants</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gi</td>
<td>fe</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gin</td>
<td>ma, mari</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"sit" forms  
"stand" forms

gannig | ngandii | na
| ganna   | ngunda  | ni

(3-70) tables the second person bound subject forms. As has already been noted (3.2.1) singular is not systematically distinguished from non-singular in second person realis. The standard form is /gini/, which reduces to /gin/ in "go" and /n/ singular, and to /gi/ in "go" and /n/ non-singular. As with the contraction in the first exclusive forms this also involves reduction in the first of consecutive alveolar-initial syllables. The contraction here results in second non-singular realis of "go" and /n/ having the same /gi-n/ subject-AVR sequence as the exclusive realis. The irregular "sit" second realis /gannig/ also seems to consist of a contracted person marker /gan/ followed by /ngi/ in the AVR slot. (The shape of the AVR is discussed in 3.2.2.4.)

/gini/ second realis is transparently composed of a (non-systematically segmentable) /gi/ realis segment and a /ni/ second person form. There are three forms for second non-singular irrealis: /na/, /nu/ and /ni/. /Na/ is the most common, with /nu/ appearing only before the /nu/ initial AVRs, and /ni/ occuring in the "do" auxiliary, which maintains /i/ as the only vowel in its subject forms, and prior to the irregular /nj/ subject number marker in "lie" and "stand". /Na/ is thus the putative original form, with /nu/ derived through assimilation, and /ni/ of the "do" auxiliary through analogical forces. (The /ni/ forms in "lie" and "stand", preceding the irregular /nj/, are not easily accounted for. All I can suggest is that these subject-AVR sequences could have been formed on the basis of the second non-singular realis forms by deletion of the /gi/ realis markers. However I don't know why this strategy would be used in preference to forming the sequences with /na/.)

/Na/ occurs elsewhere in Marrithiyel as the second person free pronominal root /na/, forming singular /nanj/ and non-singular /nadi/ (cf. Appendix A). /Ni/ occurs otherwise as the second non-singular
root of the auxiliary-final G pronominals (3.2.3.1), and of the post-auxiliary pronominal sets (3.3.1)

Second singular irrealis is more problematic. Synchronically within Marrithiyel there is little that can be sorted out from this range of forms. Since second irrealis has an imperative function, the most likely source for these suppletive forms would appear to be imperative markers. /Wa/ and /ba/, for example, show up as imperative prefixes in the Yirram languages to the south of the Daly region (Chadwick, 1985), while /nga/ is a suppletive second singular irrealis/imperative marker in Maranunggu (cf Tryon, 1970, p.39), and /nti/ occurs as a suppletive part of second-singular immediate-future/imperative auxiliaries in MalakMalak (Tryon, 1974, p.11).

(c) Third Person

Third Person Bound Subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3s R</th>
<th>3s Ir</th>
<th>3ns R</th>
<th>3ns Ir</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Standard forms</td>
<td>ga (Intrans)</td>
<td>gu</td>
<td>gu</td>
<td>firri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga (Trans)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can identify two basic shapes for the third person bound subject morpheme, /gV/ and /firri/. /Firri/ is the third non-singular irrealis form, contracting to /fil/ in the /li/ auxiliary, and to /fi/ prior to the other alveolar initial AVRs, in the same way as the first exclusive, whose subject-AVR sequences differ only from the third non-singular irrealis in the choice of initial consonant (cf. 3.2.2.1.). Similarly, the third singular irrealis invariably has a structure parallel to the first singular irrealis, for which no underlying form can be identified (cf. (a) above); /gu/ is the most frequent third singular irrealis marker, but /ga/ appears in five auxiliaries and /gi/ in three, in each case prior to a /pi/ or /bi/ tense/mood marker or AVR.

In the realis /gu/ is the predominant form for the non-singular subject. There are only two variants on this /gu/, with "sit" and "do" employing /ga/ and /gi/, and thus maintaining their relative vowel distinctiveness. In the singular realis we again have /gu/, /ga/ and /gi/ all appearing. But here there are some indications of...
an allomorphy based on the formal transitivity value of the auxiliary. For example, the three more regular formally intransitive auxiliaries, "lie", "go" and "go#", have /ga/, while the formally transitives normally have /gi/, but appear to assimilate to /gu/ before the /mu/ initial AVR's in the same way as I have proposed for the first singular realis forms. There are in addition three formally transitive auxiliaries which take /ga/: the /n/ auxiliary, whose subject-AVR sequences are identical to those of "go", and the /rr/ and /rri/ auxiliaries, which also show some formal identity with an intransitive auxiliary, sharing the same non-singular non-inclusive subject-AVR sequences as "go#". While it remains to be seen whether these formal identities can contribute to an historical explanation for the varying shape of the third singular realis subject vowel I have nevertheless tentatively listed /ga/ as the formally intransitive allomorph, and /gi/ (with an assimilating vowel) as the formally transitive allomorph, with exceptions in the "sit", "stand", /rr/, /rri/ and /n/ auxiliaries.

3.2.2.3. /bV/ and /pV/ Irrealis Marking

As outlined in 3.2.1.5, there are seven auxiliaries which have in first and third singular irrealis a /bV/ or /pV/ segment immediately following the subject morpheme. This segment either functions as a discrete marker of irrealis auxiliary mode, or is fused into an irrealis allomorph of the AVR. The sequences in which this segment appears are tabled below. It can be seen that in the "go*", "visit", /nji/, /muri/ and "do" (3rd singular) sequences the incorporation of this segment maintains the distinction between the realis and irrealis modes.

3-72.a) /bV/ and /pV/ Irrealis Marking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1s R</th>
<th>1s Ir</th>
<th>3s R</th>
<th>3s Ir</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go*</td>
<td>ngi-njarr</td>
<td>ngi-bi-njarr</td>
<td>gi-njarr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>gingi-m</td>
<td>ngi -pi</td>
<td>gi-m(i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>claim</td>
<td>ngi-gin</td>
<td>ngu-bu-(gin)</td>
<td>gi-gin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>visit</td>
<td>ngu-muyi</td>
<td>ngu -buyi</td>
<td>gu-muyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>ngi-l</td>
<td>ngu-bu-l</td>
<td>gi-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nji/</td>
<td>ngi-nji</td>
<td>ngi-bi-nji</td>
<td>gi-nji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/muri/</td>
<td>ngu-muri</td>
<td>ngu -buri</td>
<td>gu-muri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowel of this segment is /i/ before the /nj/ initial AVR's /nji/ and /njarr/, and in the "do" auxiliary, which has /i/ as the only vowel of its subject pronouns, and is /u/ elsewhere. This would suggest /u/ as the underlying form for the vowel, with /i/ derived
through assimilation to the following consonant or, in the case of "do", through paradigmatic reorganisation. The variation in the consonant of this segment, which is long only in the "do" auxiliary, and short elsewhere, is not readily explained.

I have surveyed the role of /pV/ and /bV/ tense marking in some Daly languages in a separate paper (Green, 1982), in which I argue that detailed analysis of auxiliaries in those languages reveals cognate /pV/-/bV/ suppletion and thus provides good evidence of their close genetic relatedness. I suggest there that the erratic appearance in Marrithiyel of the /bV/-/pV/ irrealis marking should be traced back to a suppletive proto-Daly third singular purposive/immediate-future morpheme. This, for example, is the role of /pV/ in present day MalakMalak, as can be seen in (3-72.b), where the purposive marker which immediately follows the subject pronominal is /to/ for first and second singular, but suppletes to /po/ for third masculine singular. Green (1982) suggests that the appearance of this suppletive morpheme in the Marrithiyel first singular irrealis is the result of the auxiliary paradigm structuring principle which makes first and third singular irrealis, but for their initial consonants, identical in form (3.2.2.1).

3-72.b) MalakMalak (Birk, 1976, p59)

Conjugation 3 - The "keep on" auxiliary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJ</th>
<th>PURP1</th>
<th>AVR</th>
<th>PURP2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a_S</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>-rra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a_S</td>
<td>non</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>-rra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms_S</td>
<td>yo-n</td>
<td>-po</td>
<td>-rra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Data from Birk (1976), segmentations as per Green (1982). /o/ represents a "mid close retracted front unrounded" vowel (Birk, 1976, p12.).)

3.2.2.4. AVR Forms

The various allomorphs of each auxiliary verb have been presented at Tables 3-1 and 3-2 (3.2.1) above. In this section I offer some brief comments on these allomorphs; as is the case with the bound subject pronouns the variations are not generally synchronically conditioned. The semantic correlates of the formal variations are dealt with in Chapter 6.

(a) "Lie" has /fel/ as its AVR, except in third singular realis, which has /ful/. This AVR variation maintains the third singular non-
irrealis subject-AVR sequence, /ga-ful/, as distinct from the third singular irrealis, /ga-fel/.

(b) "Stand" has three readily segmentable AVR forms: /wa/ in third singular realis, /sja/ in first and third singular irrealis, and a final /a/, following the irregularly placed /nj/ intransitive subject number marker, in all non-singular non-inclusives. The remaining inclusive forms and singulars, which are additionally distinguished from the other auxiliaries by the /u/ of their initial syllable, are also characterised by final /a/, but are not so systematically divisible into discrete subject and AVR morphemes.

The suppletive /sja/ allomorph may prove to be cognate with the form */DHa (a?)-n/ reconstructed by Dixon (1980, p407) for proto-Australian and thus may represent the more ancestral form of the Marrithiyel AVR. It is possible in fact that the final /a/ of the portmanteau singular and inclusive subject-AVR sequences of "stand" has resulted from the fusion with preceding subject pronominals of an historic AVR with a shape something like /sja/, perhaps as an initial step leniting to /ya/. (/Ya/ is also found in the "stand" auxiliaries of some other Daly languages, for example, in Malak Malak (Birk,1976, p72) and in Tyeraity (Tryon,1974,p32).)

(c) It is difficult to impose consistently on "sit", the most suppletive of the Marrithiyel auxiliaries, the subject-AVR segmentation which generally fits the other paradigms. The "sit" auxiliary is distinctive in being /Ca/ initial, and in first inclusive /Cambu/ and second singular irrealis /ngandi/ this initial vowel distinctiveness functions instead of a following AVR to differentiate the auxiliary. For the remainder of the paradigm we can segment AVR allomorphs /wu/ (first and third singular irrealis, third non-singular realis, and second non-singular irrealis), /sri/ (third singular realis) and possibly /gi/ (first exclusive and third non-singular irrealis). Second realis, in addition, seems to consist of a person marker /gan/ followed by an AVR /ngi/: this in turn might suggest that /ngi/ could have some synchronic status as an AVR in the portmanteau first singular realis form /gangi/, a suggestion that runs counter to the fact that in all other auxiliaries (except "stand") /ngi/ is clearly segmentable as the first singular realis bound subject pronoun.

In purely synchronic terms there is little that can be said about these variations in AVR form. Green (1982) considered this data in a
comparative perspective within the Daly region, concluding that the proto-AVR for "sit", reconstructed as */ni/, has been entirely eliminated in the development of modern Marrithiyel, and that subsequently person and tense markers have been partially reanalysed as AVRs. The /wu/ allomorph, for example, is claimed to have derived from an original first person irrealis tense marker which appeared between the subject pronoun and the AVR; */nga-wu-ni/ then became, with the deletion of the AVR, /nga-wu/. This facilitated a new analysis of /wu/ as having an AVR function, and it became applied to certain other subject proninals. Similarly, the /ngi/ second realis AVR is claimed to have spread from the first singular realis where it had been reanalysed from its previous discrete person marking function. There is some motivation for this proposed scenario, but there is need for considerable further work to substantiate the claims.

(d) "go", /n/ and "go*"

"Go*" has three AVR forms: /rr/ (non-singular non-inclusive, as well as third singular realis (in complex verbs)), /yirr/ (in third singular realis (simple verbs) and as a second singular irrealis variant), and /njarr/ elsewhere. It is possible that all these AVR forms could have derived through contractionary and assimilatory processes from an original /njarr/ AVR. Note that in the non-singular non-inclusive, "go*", /rr/ and /rri/ have the same AVRs, and in fact have identical subject-AVR sequences.

"Go" and /n/, which have identical subject-AVR sequences, can be described as having a predominant AVR form of /n/, with a variant /ni/, and suppleting to /rr(i)/ in second singular irrealis. The suppletive form perhaps originally belonged with, and has been taken over from, the "go*" auxiliary.

(e) The remaining formally transitive auxiliaries have little in the way of noteworthy AVR allomorphy. The irrealis marking function of the variation from an /m/ initial to a /p/ or /b/ initial AVR in "do", "visit" and /muri/ has been discussed in 3.2.2.3. Three further auxiliaries, "see", "paint" and /njsjin/ also have some specific irrealis forms, deleting the final nasal of the AVR in first and third singular irrealis, with "see" and /njsjin/ also deleting the nasal in second singular irrealis. ("Paint" has the suppletive /ma/ or the collective singular /mun/ functioning as the whole subject-AVR sequence here.) There seems to be no synchronic function to this
contraction of the AVR. It does result in some falling together of auxiliaries in the singular irrealis; "see", "heat" and /di/ merge, for example, as do "be hanging" and /njsjin/. Apart from "see", these are all minor auxiliaries (cf. 6.1, 6.4), and their falling together is not highly consequential. The final /n/, which otherwise differentiates the "be hanging" AVR from that of the /njsjin/ auxiliary (which forms transitive verbs of hanging), is perhaps an historic transitivity marker (cf. 6.4).

The AVRs have no independent function and do not appear outside of the auxiliary.

3.2.3. Auxiliary-Final Morphology
3.2.3.1. Paradigms and Analysis

The auxiliary-final morphology is given in Table 3-5. As outlined in 3.2.1, this morphology is divisible into three categories:
(a) higher order Goals (including reflexives and reciprocals),
(b) higher order (non-reflexive) Objects,
(c) markers of subject number and transitivity class.

Only one form from these three categories may appear in any verb, with Gs being coded in preference to Os, and category (c) being the default marking, only able to appear in the absence of G and O forms.

These auxiliary final forms are not systematically divisible into separate person-number and role components. The non-singular non-inclusive Gs, though, are distinguished from their O counterparts by having final /(i)nj/, which also shows up in the special reciprocal marker (cf. 3.2.3.2) and as the formally intransitive subject marker. The non-singular non-inclusive Os have final /di/, a feature they share with the corresponding free-form pronouns (cf. (3-75)). In addition, the first singular G appears to be derived from first singular O through suffixing of /in/, but no systematic goal role marking can be analysed from this. In fact, first inclusive and second singular (for non-singular non-inclusive subject) do not vary for G or O function. This does not result in major ambiguities, since, with the exception of reflexive/reciprocals, verbs are specified as to whether their participants are categorised as Gs or Os and do not productively alternate the cross-referencing of any given participant in the two categories. This is also the case with the homophonous first singular O and third singular feminine G.

Any potential ambiguities that do arise here can be clarified by free form pronouns, e.g.:
3-73.a) yeri sjapatj ga -n -ing -thiti -ya muri - ngiya
child small 3sS R go 3fsG urinate Past hand 3fs PRO
=REFL/EMPH

The small child wet herself (going along).

3-73.b) yeri sjapatj ga -n -ing -thiti -ya yigin
child small 3sS R go 1sO urinate Past 1sPRO

The small child urinated on me.

The only major collapse in the auxiliary-final coding system is in
the non-singular Os, where second and third person are cross-
referenced by /i(di)/; by analogy with the G forms we might expect
/nidi/ and /widi/ to be the appropriate forms here. Instead the non-
singular non-inclusive Os have simply a two-fold person division,
perhaps analogous to the singular objects, which have overt first and
second person forms, but for which no third singular cross referencing
can be analysed (see 3.2.1.).

Note also that the first inclusive G/O form /inggi-gi/ is
homophonous with the auxiliary-final formally transitive subject-
number marker. These forms have a different distribution and cannot
be related synchronically. The inclusive /inggi-gi/ is suffixed to
singular or inclusive subject-AVR sequences only, augmenting to /i(n-
inggi/ for non-singular non-inclusive subject, while the formally
transitive /inggi-gi/ co-occurs with non-singular non-inclusive
subjects only. The two forms can only be confused in the few cases
where subject-AVR sequences are not distinct for number. Again, free
form pronouns readily disambiguate. e.g.:

3-74.a)  mti gu -mun -gi -Ø -ya nganggi -Ø
dotted 3s R paint 1sO-s/IS 1dl Past 1l PRO dl
style

He painted us (inc,2) dotted style.

3-74.b) mti gu -mun -gi -Ø -ya wedi -Ø yuwa -gin
dotted 3s R paint Trans pl Past 3nsPRO pl that ERG
style nsnIS

Those people(pl) painted it dotted style.
Table 3-5  Auxiliary Final Morphology

#1: Higher Order Goals (including Reflexives and Reciprocals)

## Singular/Inclusive Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>with s/Inc Subject</th>
<th>with ns nInc Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>after /Xn/ AVR</td>
<td>elsewhere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1 Inclusive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>standard</strong></td>
<td>-gi</td>
<td>-(i)n-inggi^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sp.recip</strong></td>
<td>AVR becomes /Xnj/</td>
<td>-(i)n-inggi^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1s</strong></td>
<td>-ngi</td>
<td>-(i)n-ngo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2s</strong></td>
<td>-bi</td>
<td>-(i)n-ngo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3ns</strong></td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-(i)n-ngo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3fs</strong></td>
<td>-ngi</td>
<td>-(i)n-ngo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## non-Singular non-Inclusive Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>standard forms</th>
<th>special reciprocal forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>after /Xn/ AVR</td>
<td>elsewhere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1 Exc</strong></td>
<td>-ginj</td>
<td>-ginj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2ns</strong></td>
<td>-ninj</td>
<td>-ninj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3ns</strong></td>
<td>-winj</td>
<td>-winj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## #2: Higher Order Objects

## Singular/Inclusive Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>with s/Inc Subject</th>
<th>with ns nInc Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>after /Xn/ AVR</td>
<td>elsewhere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1 Inc</strong></td>
<td>-gi</td>
<td>-(i)n-inggi^2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1s</strong></td>
<td>-ngi</td>
<td>-(i)n-ngo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2s</strong></td>
<td>-bi</td>
<td>-(i)n-ngo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3ns</strong></td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-(i)n-ngo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## non-Singular non-Inclusive Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>after /Xn/ AVR</th>
<th>elsewhere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1 Exc</strong></td>
<td>-gidi</td>
<td>-gidi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2/3ns</strong></td>
<td>-di</td>
<td>-(i)di^2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## #3: Other

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>with s/Inc subject</th>
<th>with ns nInc Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>after /Xn/ AVR</td>
<td>elsewhere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em><em>&quot;sit&quot;,&quot;go&quot;, &quot;go</em>&quot;</em>*</td>
<td>Ø^6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Formally Trans:</strong></td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>-gi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*See notes 1-6 on following page*
1. The notation "after /Xn/ AVR" is used as an abbreviation for "following a nasal-final syllabic AVR"; thus the forms tabled occur following the formally transitive AVRs /din/, /gin/, /mun/ and /njsjin/, but not following AVRs such as /n/ in "go" or "feet", cf 3.2.3.1.

2. /Ini/ third singular masculine G, /idi/ second/third non-singular O and the /in/ non-singular non-inclusive subject marker reduce to /ni/, /di/ and /n/ respectively after all alveolar final AVR forms. /Di/ in turn assimilates to /li/ following the geminate laterals of the /l/ auxiliary, cf 3.2.3.1.

3. These are the special reciprocal first inclusive forms. This special reciprocal marker is restricted with first inclusive subjects, cf 3.2.3.2.

4. Note that third singular objects are analysed as being grouped with non higher-animate goals and objects in not being cross-referenced by auxiliary-final morphology (3.2.1); they instead trigger the default coding tabled in #3.

5. In the absence of higher order goals and objects the other two formally intransitive auxiliaries, "lie" and "stand", take no final affixes (cf. 3.2.1).

6. Zeroes are tabled here for illustrative purposes only (cf. fn. 17 above).
The G and O pronominals, with the exception of /ing(i)/ first singular and the /imbi/ allomorph of second singular, show a close relationship in consonantal shape to the free form pronouns; in the bound pronominals all vowels have been regularised to /i/ and some other contractions appear to have taken place.

3-75) Free Form and Auxiliary Pronominals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Free</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-inc</td>
<td>CVimbVi</td>
<td>-inggi</td>
<td>nganggi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ngV</td>
<td>-ingin</td>
<td>nanj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>(gi)nV</td>
<td>-imbi24</td>
<td>nanj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>gV</td>
<td>-ini</td>
<td>nang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>gV</td>
<td>-ing</td>
<td>nangiya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-exc</td>
<td>Cirri</td>
<td>-iginj</td>
<td>gadi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ns</td>
<td>(gi)nV</td>
<td>-ininj</td>
<td>nadi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ns</td>
<td>gu-firri</td>
<td>-iwinj</td>
<td>wedi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C = g (Realis auxiliary mode), ng (Irrealis auxiliary mode)
Vi = i or u
V = i, u or a

The morpheme /(i)n/ can be segmented from the G and O forms as a number relations marker. We have already seen in 3.2.1. how /(i)n/ functions systematically with the subject number/transitivity morphemes /inj/ and /inggi/. /(I)n/ has a highly specific function; it only appears when a non-singular non-inclusive subject co-occurs with a singular or inclusive G or O. It is positioned prior to the G/O form, e.g.:

3-76) fi -n -n -ingin -wedi -miri -fini -wa
3nsS Ir go nsnIS 1sG having eye dl Pst
=show

They(2) will take me and show me.

With any numerically different combination of auxiliary coded participants /(i)n/ cannot appear; it cannot precede non-singular non-inclusive goal/object forms, for example, and it cannot co-occur with singular or inclusive subjects regardless of the G or O coding, e.g.:

3-77) fi -n (*-n) -iginj -wedi -miri -fini -wa gadi -Ø
3nsS Ir go nsnIS 1EG having eye dl Pst 1EPRO pl
=show

They(2) will take us(exc,pl) and show us.

3-78) wa -rr (*-n) -ingin/iginj -wedi -miri (-Ø) -Ø
2sS Ir go nsnIS 1sG / 1EG having eye pl Imp

(You(sg)) Take me/us(exc,pl) and show me/us.
We can divide the overall role of /in/ into three separate components. Firstly, like /inggi/ and /inj/, it cross-references non-singular non-inclusive subject. Secondly, it shares with /inggi/ and /inj/ the further function of indicating that there is only one non-singular non-inclusive entity encoded in the auxiliary. Thirdly, in contrast to /inggi/ and /inj/, it signals that the subject co-occurs with a higher order participant. It is not clear to me why the functions shared by /in/, /inggi/ and /inj/ should be of sufficient importance to be selected for such morphological marking. Historically they may have had a greater clarifying or disambiguating role than is currently the case, but further work into the semantic basis of the number system is clearly required to reveal some synchronic motivation for their role.

There are two sets of G/0 allomorphs, each conditioned by the shape of the preceding AVR, that also need to be considered. Firstly, three of the affixes, /ini/ third singular masculine goal, /in/ subject number and /idi/ second/third non-singular object, reduce to /ni/, /n/ and /di/ respectively following all alveolar-final AVR forms, e.g.:

3-79) nadi -ø ngu -rr -di -ø -wa
   2nsPRO pl 1sS Ir rr 2/3nsO grab pl Fut
   I'm going to grab you(pl).

3-80) gu -rr -n -ing -bi -fini -ya
   3nsS R rr nsnIS 1SO grab dl Pst
   They (2) grabbed me.

Where these reduced forms follow consonant clusters, e.g. the geminate nasals of the "go" auxiliary, the triconsonant cluster reduction rule (cf. 2.1.4.2) operates, eliding the middle consonant, as in (3-81).

3-81) gin -n -di -prr -ø -a
   2S R go 2/3nsO leave, discard pl Pst
   -----> /gindipirra/
   You left them(pl).

However, the reduction role does not operate as expected when the putative O form /di/ follows the geminate laterals of the /l/ auxiliary. Instead it appears that the final, rather than the middle, consonant of the derived cluster is deleted, e.g.:
3-82) *gil -l -di -minjirr -Ø -a garrila -gin
1ES R l 2/3nsO knock out pl Pst rock INS

----------> /gilliminjirra/, */gildiminjirra/

We(exc,pl) knocked you/them(pl) out with a rock.

This can be interpreted as the making obligatory of the lateral assimilation which is optional across other /l-d/ clusters in the language (cf. 2.1.1.2), e.g.:

3-83) *ngi -l -di -minjirr -Ø -a garrila -gin
1sS R l 2/3nsO knock out pl Pst rock INS

----------> /ngilliminjirra/ ~ /ngildiminjirra/

I knocked you/them(pl) out with a rock.

There are also reduced auxiliary-final forms which follow those subject-AVR sequences of the "see", "paint", "claim" and /njsjin/ auxiliaries which end in /n/; this excludes only those singular irrealis subject-AVR sequences of these 4 auxiliaries which delete the final consonant of the AVR. (This group is labelled in Table 3-5 as the "/Xn/", meaning "nasal-final syllabic", AVRs). Thus (3-84.a), with the AVR /mun/, does take the reduced 0 affix, whereas (3-84.b), with the irrealis AVR form /mu/, cannot:

3-84.a) *ngu -mun -nji -bung -a
1sS R paint 2sO stab Pst

I stabbed you(sg).

3-84.b) *ngu -mu -inj -bung -wa
1sS Ir paint 2sO stab Fut

I will stab you(sg).

Further, the /n/- and other alveolar-final subject-AVR sequences of other auxiliaries do not take this set of reduced forms e.g.

3-85) *ngi -n -inj -pirr -a
1sS R go 2sO leave,discard Pst

I left you(sg).

3-86) *ngi -fel -imbi -sjinin -a garrila -wa
1sS R lie 2sG ask Pst rock,coin PURP

I asked you(sg) for money.
These /Xn/ AVRs are, of course, a subset of the alveolar-final AVRs, and therefore also take the contracted /ni/ G, /n/ subject-number and /di/ O contracted forms.

Table 3-5 gives only the surface forms of the variants which follow the /Xn/ AVRs. Bearing in mind, however, the operation of the triconsonant cluster reduction rule (cf. 2.1.4.2), we could represent a number of these forms differently. For example, the second singular G could be given as /mbi/ rather than /b/, and the inclusive O/G as /nggi/ rather than /gi/. Triconsonant cluster reduction will then result in the correct surface forms, e.g.:

3-87) gini -gin -mbi -thit -a miri gilatj ?
2S R claim 2sG-s/IS place on Pst eye glass
=REFL =glasses

--->/giniginbithita/ (Triconsonant cluster reduction)

Did you(sg) put on your glasses?

Tabled in this way the /Xn/ AVR variants can be seen as consistently related to the standard forms by elision of the initial vowel. Third singular feminine G, first singular O and second singular O also have an additional final vowel, e.g.:

3-88) Singular/Inclusive G Forms (for singular/Inclusive Subject)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
<th>3ms</th>
<th>3fs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>After/Xn/ AVR</td>
<td>-nggi</td>
<td>-ngin</td>
<td>-mbi</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-ngi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>-inggi</td>
<td>-ingin</td>
<td>-imbi</td>
<td>-(i)ni</td>
<td>-ing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3.2. Reflexives and Reciprocals

Although reflexives and (standard) reciprocals are encoded with G forms, they need to be singled out from the other functions of the goal promominals because they are not subject to the same animacy status restrictions. Any entity, regardless of its animacy, that becomes the subject of a reflexive/reciprocal verb is cross-referenced in auxiliary-final position with G forms. Thus the lower-animate subject, /a-thasru/ "king-brown (snake species)", of the reflexive in (3-89), and the inanimate subject, /miyi/ "plant produce", of the reciprocal in (3-90), take auxiliary-final /iwinj/ and /ini/ respectively.

3-89) a -thasru gu -nj -iwinj -sresretj -fini -ya
CA king brown 3nsS R nj 3nsG unroll dl Pst
=REFL

The two king-browns uncoiled themselves.
The plant produce (watermelons) were rubbing against each other in the car (i.e. as it went along).

Third singular Gs vary for masculine and feminine gender. When third singular entities normally unmarked for gender become the subjects of reflexives, as in (3-89) and (3-90), the unmarked choice of gender is the masculine. Use of the feminine in these circumstances is marked, and constitutes a specific statement as to the sex of that entity (cf. Green, 1981, p 76). Note that these same conditions apply to the determination of the gender of the free-form reflexive/emphatic pronoun (cf. Appendix A).

The reflexive and reciprocal functions of the G forms are not distinguished within the auxiliary, nor indeed by any further morphology, either within or outside of the verb, and it is left to contextual clues or periphrastic clarification to provide any required differentiation of meaning. (Contrary to what Dixon (1980, p.433) reports for some other Australian languages that have the one marker for both reflexive and reciprocal, it is not the case in Marrithiyel that verbs with non-singular subjects are preferentially interpreted as reciprocals). There is, however, an auxiliary-final special reciprocal form; this has the shape /inj/, except following /Xn/ AVRs, and would seem to be derived from the non-singular non-inclusive G pronouns by stripping them of their distinguishing person stems, e.g.:

3-91.a) gu -n -inj -futj -fini -ya
3S R n RECIP hit REDUP dl Pst

They(2) kicked each other

The /Xn/ AVR's have a special reciprocal form in which /nj/ actually replaces the final consonant of the AVR. Compare, for example, (3-91.c) with (3-91.a) and (3-91.b):

3-91.b) gu -din -n -ing -mel -miri -fini -ya
3nsS R see nsnIS lsO watch eye dl Pst.

They(2) stared at me.

3-91.c) gu -dinj -mel -miri -fini -ya
3nsS R see watch eye dl Pst RECIP

They(2) stared at each other.
In formally transitive verbs the special reciprocal is reserved for events conceived of as involving simultaneous, rather than sequential or alternating, reciprocated actions or relationships. Thus a reciprocated action such as that in (3-92), which is not likely to be simultaneous, would normally take auxiliary-final /iwinj/, the third non-singular G form, rather than the special reciprocal.

3-92.a) muku gu -nj -iwinj -werrr -fiyi -fini -inj??
   woman 3nsS R nj 3nsG move back & head dl forth REDUP
   ga -wu -inj -fini -ya
   3nsS R sit Intrans dl Pst
   The two women were sitting combing their/each other's hair.

On the other hand, a necessarily reciprocal orientation, such as that in (3-92.b), invariably takes the special reciprocal rather than the standard G form.

3-92.b) gil -l -inj -sradi -fini -ya
   1ES R 1 RECIP back dl Pst.
   We(exc,2) were back to back.

In many other cases the special reciprocal and the normal G forms can be varied productively to alter the perspective on an event from the marked simultaneous reciprocal to an unmarked reciprocal/reflexive. In verbs of talking, for example, the special reciprocal carries a sense of "talking together", or all contributing to the conversation at the same time, whereas standard G affixes carry more a sense of "talking in turn" or "telling things to each other", e.g.:

3-93.a) gi -rr -inj -yan'gi -Ø garrgi -inj -Ø -a
   1ES R rr RECIP talk pl 1ES R sit Intrans pl Pst
   We (exc,pl) were sitting talking together.

3-93.b) gi -rr -iginj -yan'gi -Ø garrgi -inj -Ø -a
   1ES R rr 1EG talk pl 1ES R sit Intrans pl Pst
   We (exc,pl) were sitting talking to each other (in turn).

Similarly, in example (3-94) below standard G forms are affixed for the sequential reciprocal reading; this sequential reading is
indicated by the suffixes attached to the subject NPs, clearly marking the conception of the action as taking place in two stages.

3-94) wadi nginjsji -na, wadi nginjsji -da -ya,
man one 1st man one again Pst
gu -l -iwinj -thungthung -fiyi -fini -ya
3nsS R l 3nsG puncture REDUP head dl Pst

*First one man, then the other, wounded each other in the head.*

The affixing of the special reciprocal /inj/, however, creates a simultaneous reading, and does not allow temporally differentiated subject NPs:

3-95) (* wadi nginjsji -na, wadi nginjsji -da -ya )
man one 1st man one again Pst
gu -l -inj -thungthung -fiyi -fini -ya
3nsS R l RECIP puncture REDUP head dl Pst

*They(2) wounded each other in the head (i.e. simultaneously).*

The distribution of the /inj/ reciprocal has several interesting features. Firstly, /inj/ seems not to be available for formally intransitive verbs. This avoids ambiguities with the auxiliary-final /inj/ subject number marker, with which the special reciprocal is homophonous. Thus we have the examples of (3-96). (3-96.a) is an acceptable clause, but only with /inj/ understood as the number marker; it cannot be interpreted as a special reciprocal. (3-96.b), similarly, cannot substitute /inj/ for the G form /iginj/ and retain its reflexive/reciprocal meaning:

3.96.a) gi -n -inj -asru -Ø -ya
1ES R go Intrans laugh pl Pst
nsnIS

*We(exc,pl) used to laugh.*

*We(exc,pl) used to laugh at ourselves/each other.*

3.96.b) gi -n -iginj -asru -Ø -ya
* -inj
1ES R go 1EG laugh pl Pst
* RECIP

*We(exc,pl) used to laugh at ourselves/each other.*

Further, (3-97) illustrates a reciprocal verb which is formed with the formally intransitive "stand" auxiliary and which therefore has its subject-number/transitivity-class marker (/nj/) before, rather than after, the AVR (3.2.1.3). Even in this case, where it would not result in ambiguities, the special reciprocal /inj/ cannot replace the standard G affix:
Similarly, although speakers vary in their application of the special reciprocal to the first inclusive (see below), with which the /inj/ subject marker does not co-occur, they are unhesitating in their rejection of it with the first inclusive subjects of formally intransitive verbs:

3-98.a) gumbu -n -inggi -asru -Ø -ya
   1IS R go 1IG laugh I dl Pst.
   *-inj

   We (inc, 2) used to laugh at each other.

3-98.b) gumba -inggi -git -nim -a
   1IS R stand 1IG cut, sever I pl Pst
   *-inj

   We (inc, pl) had a shot at each other.

While reciprocals are semantically appropriate to all non-singulars, Marrithiyel speakers generally restrict the application of the special reciprocal, with the exclusion of one particular verb class, to the non-inclusive non-singulars, employing just the normal /-inggi-gi/ G form for both inclusive dual and inclusive plural reciprocals. There is some variation among speakers in this respect, and there are discrepancies between elicited or citation forms, where first inclusive special reciprocals are disallowed, and everyday speech, where they do sporadically occur. The tendency to restrict the special reciprocal from the first inclusive would keep its distribution parallel to that of the /inj/ final G pronominals and the /-inj/ intransitive number marker, and maintain /-inggi-gi/ as the sole auxiliary final goal/reflexive/reciprocal/object form of the first inclusive.

There is, however, one class of verbs, for which I have discovered five members, which does not have this inclusive restriction. In fact, for these verbs the special reciprocal is obligatory, and the standard G forms cannot be substituted. These verbs are all concerned with "fighting" or "contesting". They can only be constructed with non-singular subjects, and have no meaning otherwise. They would appear to constitute a minor class of inherent reciprocals.
3-99) "Fighting" Verbs: Inherent Reciprocals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CVS</th>
<th>AUX</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>manu</td>
<td>/rr/</td>
<td>wrestle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sjin</td>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>fight (physically)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thiri</td>
<td>&quot;paint&quot;</td>
<td>confront (with weapons)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thudi</td>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>contest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiyi</td>
<td>&quot;paint&quot;</td>
<td>argue, have a domestic row</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3-100) ngumbu -l -inj -thudi -nim -wa awu -wa
*-inggi
1IS Ir 1 RECIP challenge I pl Fut meat PURP

We(inc,pl) will challenge each other for meat.
(i.e. we'll see who's best at getting meat).

3.3 Post-Auxiliary Bound Pronominals

3.3.1 Paradigms

There are three sets of bound pronominals which can occur in the verb between the CVS and the non-singular number-marker slots. I label these sets the /anga/, "purposive" and "follow" pronominals. Paradigms are given in Table 3-6. As is generally the case with Gs and Os encoded in the auxiliary (cf. 3.2.3), these pronominals may only cross-reference higher animates. The /anga/ and "purposive" bound forms are productive, but the "follow" set are irregular, and can appear only in verbs formed with the CVS, /wanthi/.

The purposive and /anga/ forms are generally divisible into person and role morphemes. /El/ marks the purposive function, and its semantic character would suggest that it is historically related to the /nel/ intensive nominal suffix (cf.2.3), although it corresponds functionally to the /wa/ purposive nominal case inflection. The /anga/ forms, as indicated by their label, have /anga/ as the segmentable role marker in first singular and non-singular non-inclusive, with /nga/ or /a/ as a distinguishing final segment elsewhere. The ablative function of the /anga/ pronominals suggests a relationship with the /nganan/ source marker, which operates as both a nominal (2.3) and verbal suffix, while their body part function would seem to be more indicative of a relationship with the /nanga/ nominal locative-allative suffix.

The person stems closely resemble the G bound pronominals (3.2.3). The first singular and non-singular non-inclusive are in fact virtually identical to the Gs, while the /-nganggi/ first inclusive and /nang/ third singular masculine stems are closer to the corresponding free forms, /nganggi/ and /nang/. All the non-singulares are specified for dual, trial or plural by the same set of number markers which
operates on the bound pronouns of the auxiliary; this number marking is described in the following section, 3.4.

Only one of these roles may be coded in any one verb, and when a clause has candidates for both /anga/ and purposive cross-referencing, /anga/ marking takes precedence. Only the "follow" pronouns, however, may occur with the CVS /wanthi/.

Table 3-6 Post-Auxiliary Bound Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/anga/</th>
<th>Purposive</th>
<th>Follow</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Inc</td>
<td>-ngangg -a</td>
<td>-ngangg -el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>-ngin -anga</td>
<td>-ngin -el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>-mb -a</td>
<td>-mb -el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>-n -anga</td>
<td>-n -el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>-ng -anga</td>
<td>-ng -el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Exc</td>
<td>-ginj -anga</td>
<td>-ginj -el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2na</td>
<td>-ninj -anga</td>
<td>-ninj -el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3na</td>
<td>-winj -anga</td>
<td>-winj -el</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.2. "Follow" Bound Pronominals

The follow pronouns have no segmentable role marker. They differ from the G pronouns only in the form of the third singulars and in occurring after, rather than before, the CVS. The CVS, /wanthi/\(^26\), combines with either the "go" or "go*" auxiliary to form a verb meaning "follow", with the post-auxiliary bound pronouns encoding the entity followed. As in English the Marrithiyel verb can range from meaning "moving behind and in the same direction as (someone or something)" to "going to the same destination or via the same path at some unspecified later time". These usages are illustrated in (3-101) below; (3-101.b) also shows the inability of the purposive pronouns to co-occur with /wanthi/.

3-101.a) gu -n -ningin -wedi -miri -Ø -ya wudi -sradi gagan / 3S R go 1sG-nsnIS having eye pl Pst water back ANAPH =show =billabong

gangi -ni -masri -ya murrika / ngi -njarr -wanthi -winj -Ø -a 1sS R sit NI belly Pst car 1sS R go* behind 3s pl Pst FOLL

They(pl) were taking me to show me that billabong. I was sitting in the car, following behind them.

3-101.b) asjirri nanj -wa
later 2sPRO PURP

ngi -rr -inj -wanthi (*-mbel) -nga (*-mbel) -fini -wa 1sS Ir go* Intrans behind 2sPURP 3fs 2sPURP dl Fut nsnIS FOLL

We(exc,2) will follow her there later for you(sg).
Encoding by the "follow" affixes is obligatory for all pronominal participants in the appropriate role; that is, a clause cannot contain a free form pronoun denoting the entity followed unless the corresponding post-auxiliary pronominal is affixed to the verb. In addition, all higher-animate non-singular NPs in this role are obligatorily cross-referenced by "follow" pronominals in the verb, while cross-referencing third singular higher-animate NPs in this role seems to be a matter of free choice. There is, however, no nominal case marking corresponding to, or overlapping with, the verbal "follow" affixing, and NPs, including free form pronominals, in this role are precluded from taking any of the case suffixes that we might expect to be appropriate. (3-102) below, for example, shows the unacceptability of the allative, locative and purposive suffixes in this context.

3-102) gilla nanj (-sran/ -nanga/ -wa)
   mother 2sPRO-POSS ALL LOC PURP
   gi -rr -inj -wanthi -nga -fini -ya
   1ES R go* Intrans behind 3fs FOLL dl Pst
   nsnIS

   We(exc,2) followed your(sg) mother.

The function of the "follow" pronominals, further, can be directly contrasted with that of the G pronominals. Compare, for example, (3-103) with (3-102). In (3-103) the CVS /wanthi/ appears again with the "go*" auxiliary (the "go" auxiliary is the other acceptable alternative), but with a third singular feminine G in the auxiliary in place of the "follow" pronominal after the CVS. Affixed in this way the overall meaning of the verb is something like "to arrive too late for someone that one has been seeking or following".

3-103) gi -rr -ning -wanthi -fini -ya
   1ES R rr 3fsG behind dl Pst

   We(exc,2) arrived too late for her (i.e. we "missed" her).

3.3.3. Purposive Bound Pronominals

Although not cross-referencing the stimulus-themes of undesirable emotional states (a function performed by the /anga/ post-auxiliary pronominals), the bound purposive pronominals otherwise have the same semantic domain as the /wa/ nominal case suffix (2.3). That is, these pronominals encode a non-core participant as the principal aim or purpose of the situation described in the verb, or that participant on whose behalf an action is carried out.
In the absence of participants eligible for coding by the "follow" or /anga/ pronominals, which take precedence, pronominal purposives are normally, but not obligatorily, coded in the verb rather than simply by free form pronouns, while other purposive NPs are optionally given pronominal copies in the verb. Note that in (3-105) the verbal copying of the purposive NP allows for it to have a number specification (through the dual suffix /fini/) which is not reflected in the NP, which contains no free form numeral.

3.3.4. /anga/ Bound Pronominals

The /anga/ pronominals have several distinct functions. Firstly, they operate productively to mark what I label as the "adversative", i.e. they encode an entity directly and adversely affected by the action or event of the main verb, e.g.:

3-107) gu -wa -wil -nginanga -Ø yangi gan
3sS R stand heat 1s ADV Pr now this

It's too hot for me today.

3-108) mana yigin gu -nj -inggi -srip -nginanga -Ø -ya
brother 1sPRO 3nsS R nj Trans spear 1s ADV pl Pst
=POSS

They(pl) speared my brother on me.

In its general adversative function the /anga/ pronominal cannot be coreferential with the subject or O/G of the verb; thus the incorporation of the first singular adversative in (3-109) is unacceptable.
They (pl) speared me.

However, a close relationship, and therefore a direct line of affect, between the /anga/ pronominal and the undergoer of the action is presumed in the use of the adversative. Consequently, while (3-108) is a normal utterance, (3-110) below, in which /mana nang/ "his brother" has been substituted for /mana yigin/ "my brother", has a marginal status, and could only be acceptable where context has specifically established a close link between the NP and the first singular /anga/ pronominal.

They (pl) speared his brother on me.

Further, the adversative can only be employed where the action of the verb is either neutral or has some inherent adverse or undesirable component. Where the verb appears to be inherently good or desirable the /anga/ adversative cannot be used, regardless of whether the context is able to establish that such inherently general actions are capable of having undesirable or unwanted results in particular situations. Thus /anga/pronominals cannot be affixed in (3-111) and (3-112) to the verb stems /puritj/ "fix" and /mifisjim/ "come back to life", despite the untoward effects specified in the sentences.

We (exc, pl) should have done it, (but) they (pl) fixed the houses (on us), and so I'm afraid they won't give us any money.

The devil should have died. I hit him with a big rock. But he came back to life (on me).
Incorporation of /anga/ pronominals into the verb is the only way in which this adversative function is expressed in the clause. As is the case with the "follow" pronominals there is no corresponding nominal case marking. It is possible, for example, to encode the adversely affected entity with a free-form pronoun in addition to the bound /anga/ pronominal. The free-form simply appears without any case marking at all:

3-113) gu -wa -wil -nginanga -Ø yigin(*-nanga/*-wa/*-nganan)
3sS R stand heat 1s ADV Pr 1sPRO LOC PURP SCE

It's too hot for me.

Similarly, adversely affected NPs remain bare of case inflections:

3-114) fusja ga -ni -tjurr -nganga -ya felp
rope 3sS R go cut,sever 3fs ADV Pst continually

ngunggu -Ø sjipel (*-nanga/*-wa/*-nganan)
female s 3 adolescent LOC PURP SCE

The rope kept breaking on the adolescent girl.

The second major function of the /anga/ pronominals I refer to as the "ablative". The /anga/ ablative coresponds to both the motional and static-orientational functions of the /nganan/ "source" case inflection (2.3). This includes both motion and the transfer of a theme away from a higher animate, as in (3-115) and (3-116), as well as separate spatial location defined with respect to a higher animate, as in (3-117). In contrast to the /anga/ adversative, NPs cross-referenced by the /anga/ ablative can be, and in fact are normally, case-marked; /nganan/ is the appropriate suffix here.

3-115) nang gak gi -Ø -tharri -nginanga -ya (yigin -nganan)
3msPRO off,away 3sS R Ø depart 1s ABL Pst 1sPRO SCE

He's already gone off away from me.

3-116) awu ngumbu -mun -it -nanga -nim -Ø gaga -nganan
meat 1FS Ir paint pick up 3ms ABL I pl Imp uncle SCE

Let's(inc,pl) get the meat from uncle.

3-117) mungilyini -nanga ngi -n -ngitj -winjanga -fini -ya
jungle LOC 1sS R go hide 3ns ABL dl Pst

· meri yuwa -nganan
man that SCE

I hid in the jungle from those two men.
The /anga/ ablative is distinguished from the adversative both by the possibility of /nganan/ case-marking on corresponding NPs and by the absence of any necessarily close relationship between a core argument of the verb and the /anga/ marked pronominal. Nevertheless, the verbal pronominal ablatives are not, in their usage, entirely neutral orientational or motional markers. They are not, for example, commonly used simply to specify the relative direction of motion and transfer verbs, but instead are incorporated into the verb to indicate that the motion or orientation has a specific effect on the entity concerned. (3-115) above thus seems to carry the implication that the subject has gone off unexpectedly or abandoned his companion. Similarly (3-116) implies that uncle will have to be forced or persuaded to give up the meat rather than simply being the source of supply. The nature of the ablative, being involved in verbs of removal and separation, perhaps determines that in the most commonly occurring cases its specific effect is untoward or undesirable. Indeed, the ablative and adversative can be indistinguishable:

3-118) wudi srsrut gu -rr -inj -yat -nginanga -Ø -ya liquid frothy 3nsS R go* Intrans sneak 1s ADV/ABL pl Pst
   =beer

   They(pl) sneaked away the beer on/from me.

However, the verbal ablative can also be used to mark a desirable effect, e.g.:

3-119) tharr gan ga -ni -pit -sradi -Ø winjsjani /
   thing this 3sS R go ?? back Pr bad
   =stink

   a -rrj -butj -nginanga -Ø
   2sS Ir rr hold 1s ABL Imp

   This thing stinks badly - (you(sg)) take it away from me.

3-120) duknganan gi -gin -therrful -a /
   policeman 3sS R claim turn back Pst
   nganggi -Ø -nganan ga -yirr -ngangga -Ø -njsjan -Ø
   1I PRO dl SCE 3sS R go* 1I ABL I dl now Pr

   The policemen has turned back.
   He's going away from us(inc,2) now.

The third major role of the /anga/ pronominals is to mark the entity in whom specific body-part, or body-part related, actions and processes are located. As with the ablative, this body-part function of /anga/ may also be ambiguous with its adversative reading. We can divide verbs with this type of /anga/ encoding into two basic groups,
according to whether the body-part is constructed as the undergoer or actor.

/Anga/ encoding is clearly productive in conjunction with undergoer body-parts. Thus we have, for example, (3-121) and (3-122) below, involving operations performed on body parts by external agents. The third singular, or, in the case of (3-121), collective singular, body- or body-related-parts function as undergoers in direct object role and thus take no overt auxiliary-final cross-referencing (cf. 3.2.1).

3-121) sjiringgi gu -rr -sresretj -mba -wa asjirri
string, thread 3sS Ir rr unroll, uncoil 2s BOD Fut later

He will undo your(sg) stitches (i.e. in your wound) later.

3-122) muku gagan sjiyan ngi -l -benjbenj -nganga -ya
woman ANAPH vagina 1sS R l split, stretch 3fs BOD Pst
nguri -gin
penis INS

I stretched that woman's vagina with my penis.

There is a further class of verb of body processes structured like those above, that is, with /anga/ pronorninals and body parts as direct objects, but for which no specific subject is recoverable (cf. 7.2). These verbs always take third singular subject coding, e.g.:

3-123) muwun gi -nj -mitik -nginanga -ya
sore 3sS R nj extinguish 1s BOD Pst

Literally: It extinguished the sore in me.
= : My sore healed up.

These /anga/ pronorninals also co-occur with body parts functioning as the undergoer-subjects of intransitive verbs:

3-124) mungarri ga -ful -a / ngal gu -wa -weng -nanga -ya
asleep 3sS R lie Pst mouth 3sS R stand open 3msBOD Pst

He was lying asleep. His mouth was open.

This type of /anga/ encoding enables the salient body-part possessor to be cross-referenced in the verb without being represented as the actual undergoer; that is, it presents the body-part process as relatively localised, and not affecting its possessor as a whole. This issue is taken up further in the discussion of body-part term incorporation in chapter 5 (cf. 5.3.2).

There are also verbs which are constructed with body-part actor-subjects. These also cross-reference the body-part possessor with
/anga/ pronominals. Although further investigation is required, it appears that this is a lexically specified rather than productive verb construction type. There are both intransitive and transitive verbs of this type. Intransitives are illustrated in (3-125) and (3-126) below.

3-125) wudi -wa manthi ga -ful -kap -nginanga -Ø
water PURP neck,throat 3sS R lie call out 1s BOD Pr

My throat is calling out on me for water (i.e. I'm thirsty).

3-126) mirirrim gu -wa -sru -dup -nganga -ya
heart 3sS R stand ITER thump 3fs BOD Pst

Literally: Heart was standing thumping in her.
= : Her pulse was strong.

The transitives are of two types. Firstly, there is a small group structured as reflexives: I have recorded only three of these, the verbs "to think", "to go into labour" and "to be crazy". The verb "think" in fact, as can be seen from a comparison of (3-127) and (3-128) below, has the same form as the verb "talk", and only carries the specific meaning "think" when /fiyi/ "head" becomes its subject and /anga/ pronominals are affixed.

3-127) nang yuwa ga -rr -ni -yan'gi ga -ni -ya
3msPRO that 3sS R rr 3msG talk 3sS R go Pst
=REFL

That man was (going) talking to himself.

3-128) fiyi ga -rr -ni -yan'gi -nginanga ga -ni -ya
head 3sS R rr 3msG talk 1s BOD 3sS R go Pst
=REFL

gagan -wa
ANAPH PURP

Literally: Head was (going) talking to itself on me for that.
= : I was thinking about that.

3-129) wadi -Ø fiyi gi -l -ni -yirrirr -nanga
male s 3 head 3sS R l 3msG rotate REDUP 3ms BOD
=REFL

ga -ni -ya
3sS R go Pst

Literally: The man's head turns itself around and around on him.
= : The man's crazy.

3-130) sjiyan gu -mun -ngi -butj -miri -nganga -ya
vagina 3sS R paint 3fsG hold eye 3fs BOD Pst
=REFL

Literally: The vagina held herself on her.
= : She went into labour.
These verbs are always structured with third singular subjects, with the /anga/ pronominal specifying the person-number and, in third singular, gender, of the entity in whom the process is taking place. The gender of the auxiliary-final reflexive (i.e. G) pronoun is also determined by the gender of the entity undergoing the process. Thus (3-128) above was spoken by a male, while (3-131) is addressed to a female:

3-131) fiyi gu -rr -ing -yan'gi -mba gu -n -Ø
head 3sS Ir rr 3fsG talk 2s BOD 3sS Ir go Imp =REFL

Literally: Let the head talk to herself on you(sg).
= : You(sg, female) should think (about it).

Changing the clause in (3-131) so as to address a non-singular participant has no effect on the auxiliary cross-referencing. Both subject and the bound reflexive remain in the singular, while the /anga/ pronominal inflects for number.

3-132) fiyi gu -rr -ing -yan'gi -ninjanga -fini gu -n -Ø
head 3sS Ir rr 3fsG talk 2ns BOD dl 3sS Ir go Imp =REFL

Literally: Let the head talk to herself on you(2).
= : You(2 females) should think (about it).

Similarly for the non-singular counterparts of (3-130):

3-133) sjiyan gu -mun -ngi -butj -miri -winjanga -fini -ya
vagina 3sS R paint 3fsG hold eye 3ns BOD dl Pst =REFL

Literally: The vagina held herself on them(2).
= : They(2) went into labour.

In contrast to the reflexives is a much larger group of thirty or so verbs formed with body part subjects, /anga/ pronominals and direct object markers in the auxiliary:

3-134) masri gi -nj -ing -guligulil -nginanga -Ø
belly 3sS R nj 1sO enter,stir 1s BOD Pr REDUP

wuntharran -wa
diarrhoea PURP

Literally: Belly is stirring me up on me for diarrhoea.
= : My bowels are churning because I've got diarrhoea.

3-135) lambu gi -gindi -tjukul -ginjanga -fini -Ø
side 3sS R claim 1E0 cramp 1E BOD dl Pr

Literally: Side is cramping us(exc,2) on us.
= : We(exc,2) have got cramp in the side.
Unlike the other body part functions of the /anga/ pronominal set, these verbs are all concerned with undesirable or untoward body processes. They are, however, distinguished from the general adversative function of the /anga/ set by the double marking of the undergoer, which appears both in the auxiliary and following the CVS. As illustrated in (3-135), the undergoer is fully marked for person and number in both these positions. Apart from reflexive/reciprocals, this is the only instance in Marrithiyel in which an entity occupying a single role in the clause can be cross-referenced in two separate positions in the verb. Note that at the same time the body part subject remains cross-referenced as a third singular, regardless of whether the undergoer is singular or plural. Compare (3-136) with (3-134) above:

3-136) masri gi -nj -inggi -guligulil -ngangga -nim -a
   gu -nj -ninggi
   belly 3sS R nj 1IO enter, stir REDUP 1s BOD I pl Pst
   * 3nsS R

   wuntharran -wa
diarrhoea PURP

   Literally: Belly was stirring us (exc, pl) up on us for diarrhoea.
   =: Our bowels were churning from diarrhoea.

As with the adversatives, there is no nominal case marking corresponding to the body part function of the /anga/ pronominals. Nominals and free form pronouns can appear, without any case marking, immediately to the left of the body part name, which (unless incorporated into the verb, cf. Ch. 5) itself always immediately precedes the verb:

3-137) yigin ngani qa -ni -ing -sjak -nginanga -Ø
   1sPRO body 3sS R go 1sO tap 1s BOD Pr

   Literally: Body is tapping me on me.
   =: I'm restless, discontented.

3-138) ngunggu -Ø guniguni muwun
   female s 3 old woman sore

   ambi gi -nj -mitik -nganga -ya
   NEG 3sS R nj extinguish 3fs BOD Pst

   Literally: It didn't extinguish the sores on the old woman.
   =: The old woman's sores didn't heal.

A possessive phrase may appear elsewhere in the clause, typically following the verb; this phrase repeats the body-part name and indicates the possessor with a free pronoun. This strategy is additional to the nominal juxtaposition of the type illustrated in (3-
138) and may be additional or alternate to the pronominal juxtaposition of (3-137), e.g.:

3-139.a) (yigin) ngani ga -ni -ing -sjak -nginanga -Ø
1sPRO body 3sS R go 1sO tap 1s BOD Pr

ngani yigin
body 1sPRO=POSS

_Literally: Body is tapping me in/on me._
_: I’m restless, discontented._

3-139.b) ngunggu -Ø guniguni muwun
female s 3 old woman sore

ambi gi -nj -mitik -nganga -ya muwun ngiya
NEG 3sS R nj extinguish 3fs BOD Pst sore 3fsPRO=POSS

_Literally: It didn’t extinguish the sores on the old woman._
_: The old woman’s sores didn’t heal._

This post-verbal phrase allows us to distinguish formally between these body-parts which are subjects and those which are objects of transitive verbs. The body-part transitive subjects are able to take the /gin/ ergative suffix (cf. 2.3) on their post-verbal NPs, while no case-marking is possible for objects:

3-140) (yigin) masri gi -nj -ing -gulilgilil -nginanga -Ø
1sPRO belly 3sS R nj 1sO enter, stir 1s BOD Pr REDUP

masri yigin -gin wuntharran -wa
belly 1sPRO ERG diarrhoea PURP
=POSS

_My belly is churning from diarrhoea._

3-141) ngunggu -Ø guniguni muwun ambi
female s 3 old woman sore NEG

gi -nj -mitik -nganga -ya muwun ngiya (*-gin)
3sS R nj extinguish 3fs BOD Pst sore 3fsPRO ERG
=POSS

_Literally: It didn’t extinguish the sores on the old woman._
_: The old woman’s sores didn’t heal._

/Gin/, however, is not able to be suffixed to the body part name which precedes the verb (nor to the NP which precedes the body part name). This, together with its fixed position in the clause, suggests that it is perhaps better analysed as part of the verbal complex rather than as a standard NP.

There is one further productive role for the /anga/ pronominals, in marking the entities which are the stimulus of unpleasant or undesirable feelings. Thus we have /anga/ pronouns affixed to verbs
such as "be jealous", "be angry", "be afraid" and "be resentful", e.g.:

3-142) wedi -fini yuwa ngi -n -werrerr -miri -winjanga -fini -Ø
3nsPRO dl that 1sS R go move back & eye 3ns FEEL dl Pr forth REDUP

Literally: My eyes are moving back and forth for those two.
= I am afraid of/apprehensive about those two.

3-143) ninjsja -nganan gin -n -tjil -yan -ginjanga -Ø -ya ?
what SCE 2sS R go swollen nose 1E FEEL pl Pst

Literally: From what did you(sg) have a swollen nose on us(exc,pl)?
= : Why were you(sg) resentful of us(exc,pl)?

While this emotion-verb role of the /anga/ pronominal set shares
with its general adversative function the component of undesirable or
untoward effect, it must be distinguished from the adversative because
the /anga/ pronominal of the emotional verb does not mark an entity
necessarily affected by the feeling. That is, these /anga/ encoded
Marrithiyel emotional verbs imply no necessary affect in, nor indeed
awareness by, the entities who have aroused the ill-feelings. NPs
corresponding to these /anga/ marked entities are marked (optionally)
with the /wa/ purposive suffix (cf. 2.3). Arguments of unpleasant
emotion verbs cross-referenced by /anga/ pronominials in this way, can
be contrasted with those cross-referenced by G forms. The G form
marks a participant as more undergoer-like, that is, as a direct
recipient of the expression of the emotion, and immediately involved
in the situation described by the verb; in contrast, /anga/ encoding
simply represents the participant as the source or stimulus for the
feeling. This is illustrated with the verb "be angry" in (3-144); the
difference between /anga/ and G encoding in this verb corresponds
broadly to the difference in English between "be angry (in a general
sense) about/with (someone)" and "be angry (directly) to (someone)",
e.g.:

3-144.a) muku nang (-wa) ga -ni -wiyi -miri -nganga -ya
woman 3msPRO PURP 3sS R go angry eye 3fs FEEL Pst

He was angry with/about his wife.

3-144.b) muku nang ga -n -ing -wiyi -miri -ya
woman 3msPRO 3sS R go 3fsG angry eye Pst

He was angry to his wife.
3.4. Bound Pronominal Number Marking

Number suffixes appear in the verb immediately to the right of the position occupied by the post-auxiliary pronouns (3.3). These suffixes specify non-singulars encoded anywhere in the verb — that is, as subject, as auxiliary final G or O, or as one of the post-auxiliary pronominals — for dual, trial or plural number. The suffixes establish the primary number opposition in the non-singulars as one of dual vs. "non-dual", "non-dual" being the category I refer to herein as the "plural", and which denotes participants as 3 or more in number; the trial then constitutes an optionally marked sub-category of the plural.

The number marking position can itself be divided into two slots, the left slot specifying inclusive number, and the following slot non-inclusive number. The suffixes employed here are the same as those that apply to free form pronouns (cf. Appendix A). Those used for the modification of inclusives are: Ø dual, /nim/ plural, and /nimbini/ trial. Those available for non-inclusive number marking are: /fini/ dual, Ø plural, and /nimbini/ trial:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Position 1</th>
<th>Position 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-fini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>-nim</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trial</td>
<td>-nimbini</td>
<td>-nimbini</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/Nim/ and /fini/ may appear together; /nimbini/, however, as we discuss below, may not co-occur with any other overt number marker (including another /nimbini/).

/Nim/ indicates that an inclusive pronominal encoded anywhere in the verb is plural. If any verbally cross-referenced inclusive is plural, then either /nim/, or, where appropriate, /nimbini/ trial, must be used; in the absence of a modifying /nim/ or /nimbini/, bound inclusives are interpreted as dual, e.g.:

3-145.a) awu a-nganggi -nim gi -Ø -wuki -ya / meat CA II PRO pl 3sS R Ø eat Pst
        =POSS
gi -Ø -wanggal -ngangga -nim -a
        3sS R Ø finish 1I ADV I pl Pst.

He ate our(inc,pl) meat — he finished it on us.
3-145.b) gi -Ø -inggi -fup -nimbin -ya
3sS R Ø 1IG put down trial Pst

He gave (it) to us(inc, 3).

3-145.c) gi -Ø -inggi -fup -Ø -a
3sS R Ø 1IG put down I dl Pst

He gave (it) to us(inc, 2).

Since inclusives can only occur simultaneously in more than one of the three bound pronominal slots as reflexive/reciprocals, or under other conditions of co-referentiality (e.g. in /anga/ body-part process marking), there is never any ambiguity as to which pronominal is modified by /nim/31. This, however, is not the case with the non-inclusive dual marker, /fini/. /Fini/ must be suffixed if any verbally encoded pronominal is non-inclusive dual, and its absence marks all bound non-inclusive non-singualrs as plural:

3-146) meri sjitjukuni ngi -rr -di -midim -fini -ya garrila
man two 1sS R rr 2/3nsO rob dl Pst rock, coin

I robbed the two men of their money.

3-147) nadi -fini gini -nj -a -felbatj -ginjanga -fini -ya
2nsPRO dl 2S R Intrans stand run, step 1E ABL dl Ps

You(2) ran away from us(exc, pl).

3-148) ambi -ya na -rr -di -butj -fundi -ginjanga -Ø -ya
NEG Pst 2nsS Ir rr 2/3nsO hold hand 1E ABL pl Pst

You(pl) shouldn't have taken them(pl) away from us(exc, pl).

There is potential confusion here, since there are no constraints on non-inclusive non-singualrs co-occurring in the three pronominal positions in the verb, and it would be theoretically possible for /fini/ to be interpreted as modifying any one, or two, or all three of them. Suffixing of /fini/ to the verb in (3-148) above, for example, would determine that at least one of the preceding non-singular pronominals was dual, and could consequently give rise to seven different interpretations of the numerical relations involved. In actual speech, however, this area of potential ambiguity is rarely a problem. While /fini/ can be interpreted as modifying more than one participant, speakers are reluctant to do so spontaneously, preferring to interpret it as having a single application. And where clarification is required, numerals, or in the case of free pronouns, number suffixes, as in (3-147) above, are attached to the relevant NP.
/Nim/ and /fini/ can co-occur in the verb to modify distinct inclusive and non-inclusive bound prononominals, e.g:

3-149) yeri sjitjukuni ngumbu -rr -di -butj -fundi -nim -fini -wa
child two 1IS Ir rr 2/3ns0 hold hand I pl dl Fut
nganggi -nim -gin diyerr federr -sran
1IPRO I pl ERG teeth river ALL
=river bank

We(inc,pl) will take the two children to the river bank.

/Nimbini/ is the trial suffix. Unlike /nim/ and /fini/, which function exclusively as pronominal number suffixes, /nimbini/ has an independent role in the language as the free form numeral "three", as in (3-150.b). Trial marking is optional, and verbally cross-referenced participants which are trial in number may be marked simply as plural. However, free form pronouns and their bound pronominal counterparts (cf. (3-150.a) normally agree in trial marking:

3-150.a) yeri ngumbu -rr -butj -fundi -nimbini -wa
child 1IS Ir rr hold hand trial Fut
nganggi -nimbini -gin
1IPRO trial ERG

We(inc,3) will take the child

3-150.b) meri nimbini ngi -rr -di -midim -nimbini -ya
man three 1sS R rr 2/3ns0 rob trial/pl Pst

I robbed the three men.

/Nimbini/ can thus modify inclusive or non-inclusive non-singular prononominals. And while it is possible for /nimbini/, like /fini/, to be interpreted as simultaneously applying to more than one of the preceding non-inclusives, speakers do not normally make such interpretations spontaneously.

Trial number marking of a bound pronominal is only permissible where the other bound pronouns take no obligatory number affixes, as is the case with singulars (as in (3-150)), inclusive duals (as in (3-151)), and non-inclusive plurals (as in (3-152)).

3-151) nganggi -Ø wedi -nimbini
1I PRO I dl 3nsPRO trial
ngumbu -din -di -Ø -nimbini -ya
1ES R see 2/3ns0 I dl trial Pst

We(inc,2) saw them(3).
However, where the other bound pronouns obligatorily require number suffixes, as is the case with inclusive plurals and non-inclusive duals, verbal trial marking is not permitted. Thus the verb in (3-153) suffixes /fini/, as determined by the dual first exclusive subject, and not /nimbini/. Similarly in (3-154) the obligatory suffix is /nim/, modifying the plural first inclusive object, and preventing the trial from appearing in the verb.

Similarly, /nimbini/ cannot co-occur with another /nimbini/, even to allow one to modify an inclusive, and the other a non-inclusive, pronoun. In these (rare) circumstances only a single /nimbini/, modifying the inclusive (as required by its non-singular status), appears:

/Nimbini/, then, can appear in either the inclusive or the non-inclusive number-marking slot, but only if the other slot is empty. Where verbal trial marking is not allowed, or where the option to mark
this category is not exercised, trials are treated as plurals for the purpose of verbal cross-referencing.

The verbal number suffixes can only modify pronominals encoded in the verb. They do not apply, for example, to lower order participants in goal or object role, which have no specific verbal cross-referencing (cf. 3.2.1.). Thus we can contrast (3-156) and (3-157) below:

3-156) thawurr sjitjukuni ngi -nj -wawa -ferri -*fini* -ya
   tree two 1sS R nj wet REDUP foot dl Pst
   *I watered the base ("foot") of the two trees.*

3-157) thawurr sjitjukuni ngi -nj -idi -wawa -ferri -fini -ya
   tree two 1sS R nj 2/3nsO wet REDUP foot dl Pst
   *I watered the two trees.*

The difference between (3-156) and (3-157) lies in the treatment of the direct object, /thawurr/ "tree", which behaves as a lower order participant in (3-156) but which in (3-157), presumably due to its salience in the particular discourse (cf. 3.2.1.7), has been accorded higher order status and takes the appropriate auxiliary final cross-referencing. As a result, /fini/ can be suffixed to the verb in (3-157), but cannot be used to provide number specification for the direct object in (3-156). Similarly, higher animates in core roles which are not verbally cross-referenced, such as the objects of ditransitives (which can be prevented from being encoded in the verb because of the preference accorded to the participants in goal role (cf. 3.2.1.6)), are unable to be modified by /fini/.

This is illustrated in (3-158).

3-158) fa -l -ingin -sjit -(*)fini* -Ø
   2sS Ir l 1sG point out dl Imp
   muku sjitjukuni gagan
   woman two ANAPH

   *(You(sg)) Point out those two women to me.*

Note that in examples I represent the inclusive and non-inclusive non-singular number-marking slots as present only when the corresponding non-singular pronominals are encoded in the verb. Thus a verb such as (3-149) above, which cross-references an inclusive as well as a non-singular non-inclusive, is given two verbal number-marking morphemes, while verbs such as those in (3-145) and (3-146) have one. Since the number suffixes have no role in systematically distinguishing singulars from non-singulars, verbs which cross-
NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1 Note that there are several auxiliary pairs which have identical or overlapping sets of AVR forms (e.g. "go" and /n/, /rr/ and /rrii/, /nj/ and /nji/). The way in which such AVR identities may, or may not, lead to lack of formal distinction between the auxiliaries as a whole is revealed in the ensuing discussion in 3.2. (See also the auxiliary paradigms of Table 3-4 (3.2.2.1) and Table 3-5 (3.2.3.1). In Chapter 6 we shall consider possible semantic correlates for these formal relationships.

2 Note that in this study "S" is used in interlinear gloss for all subjects, both transitive and intransitive. Thus A (transitive subject) is a sub-category of S. This varies from the usage established by Dixon (1979, 1980), where S is reserved for intransitive subjects only.

3 But there is an actorless "anti-causative" construction which needs to be taken into account here, cf. 6.3.

4 Impersonal verbs are discussed further in 7.2.

5 In this chapter, in order to properly exemplify the discussion, examples are set out with AVRs segmented, where possible, from the preceding subject pronominals. Where subject number is unambiguously encoded by either the subject pronominal, or the subject-AVR sequence as a whole, subject number is indicated in the usual position in the interlinear gloss, i.e. directly under the subject pronominal. Where subject number is encoded in auxiliary final position, as in (3-20), it is indicated in the gloss for that morpheme. In the other chapters in this study, subject-AVR sequences are not segmented; in addition, to avoid overloading the interlinear gloss, I have adopted the convention in other chapters of marking the subject number in the

reference only singulars are represented as having no number marking slot, e.g.:

3-159)  ngi -din -nji -ya
1ss r see 2so  pst
I saw you (sg).
normal position whenever it is unambiguously encoded within the auxiliary as a whole.

6 (3-22.a) is set out here with a Ø morpheme for illustrative purposes only. Elsewhere (as per fn. 5 above) I simply treat the whole sequence /ginifel/ as the second-singular realis form of the "lie" auxiliary, with /ginininjfel/ as the corresponding non-singular form.

7 It is a relatively arbitrary matter whether this morpheme is in fact segmented as /inj/ or /nj/, that is, whether the /i/ is assigned to the subject number morpheme or to the subject-AVR sequence which must precede it (cf. 3.2.3.1). Note that the vowel cluster reduction rules (2.1.4.1) operate to reduce any VV sequences arising from the affixation of /inj/, as in (3-24.a).

8 In addition, there is also a sense in which realis/irrealis auxiliary mode can be seen as distinguished by auxiliary-final morphology. For example, the third singular irrealis and third non-singular realis subject-AVR sequences of the "go" auxiliary are identical, both having the form /gu-n/. Any auxiliary-final morpheme which functions to determine the subject number of /gu-n/ thus has the additional effect of clarifying the tense/mood status of the auxiliary. This is illustrated below. In (a) the presence of /inj/ (cf. 3.2.1.6) in the auxiliary-final slot cross-references the subject as non-singular (non-inclusive), and therefore determines the auxiliary as realis. By contrast, the lack of overt marking of /gu-n/ in (b) indicates that it is singular, and that the auxiliary is therefore irrealis.

a) gu -n -inj -sjat -Ø -a
   3S go Intrans sit down pl Pst
   nsnIS
   ----REALIS-----

   They(pl) sat down.

b) gu -n -Ø -sjat -a
   3S go s/IS sit down Pst
   ---IRREALIS---

   He should have sat down.

Since there are relatively few instances in which the tense/mood of the auxiliary is determined in this way, I will not adopt a separate indication of it in interlinear gloss; rather I will continue to mark
realis/irrealis status under the subject pronoun whenever this is clearly encoded somewhere within the auxiliary.

9 That is, reflexive and reciprocal verbs encode their subjects in the normal way in the auxiliary initial position, as well as by G forms in the auxiliary-final slot, as in example (3-38) below.

10 Note that transitive and intransitive verbs are defined and distinguished through the eligibility of their subject NPs for /gin/ ergative affixation (cf. 2.3.(a).

11 (3-41.a) should be compared with (2-134), and (3-41.b) with (2-135) and (2-136). These are verbs for which the encoding of an argument with G forms, as opposed to nominal purposive marking, is semantically significant. G cross-referencing marks the argument as more directly involved in the situation depicted by the verb than does the purposive case (see also (3-144.a) and (3-144.b) below).

12 Note that the example of a varying A-Ø and A-G form for the one verb, at (2-111) - (2-114) above, does not represent a typical coding option for verbs.

13 /{(I)n/ is shown as a separate morpheme here, but in examples elsewhere in this study is not segmented from the G or Ø form which it must precede; consequently I do not represent it as having a corresponding Ø singular/inclusive form.

14 The only other role-marking collapse is for second singular O/G co-occurring with a non-singular non-inclusive subject (cf. 3.2.3).

15 /Inggi/ has a reduced variant /gi/ following nasal-final syllabic AVRs, cf. 3.2.3.

16 The "heat" auxiliary can have only third singular subjects (cf. 3.2.2., 6.4); neither /inggi/ nor /inj/, marking subject as non-singular non-inclusive, is therefore appropriate.

17 /Inj/ and /inggi/ are segmented from the preceding subject-AVR sequences in this chapter only. Further, corresponding zero morphemes are shown in examples in this chapter only where /inj/ or /inggi/ are minimally contrastive for subject number within the auxiliary.
Note that the categorisation (achieved by the auxiliary) of a verb as belonging to either the "high" or "low" transitivity class is independent of the categorisation of the non-subject participant as an O or a G.

More generally, this variation could be represented as a final vowel elision, prior to G/O pronominals, of those AVRs which end in a non-obstruent alveolar followed by /i/. Note that this elision applies only to AVRs, and that the /gini-∅/ subject-AVR sequence does not show a similar reduction. Alveolar conditioned contractions are considered further in 3.2.3.1.

Tryon's own label for this tense/mood category is in fact "non-future" rather than "realis".

Further historical work may provide some evidence for this speculative scenario, but would have to take into account the fact that first exclusive non-subject pronominals in Marrithiyel have a /gV/, and not an /ngV/, root form (cf. 3.2.3.1) There is nothing to suggest that the shape of non-subject pronominals has been affected by tense/mood marking considerations; synchronically they are not subject to tense/mood inflection.

Note also that /ngin/ is reconstructed as the proto-Australian second singular root by Dixon (1980, pp. 339-346); he posits /nglNDu/ as the second singular ergative proto-form. The /ngindi/ subject pronominals may therefore prove to be preserved archaic second-singular forms rather than imperative markers taken over for general second singular function.

The AVR /muri/, however, is homophonous with the noun "hand, finger" (cf. 6.4), and there are formal identities between "see" and the inflected human class markers (cf. Appendix B).

The /imbi/ second singular form is reflected neither in free form nor bound subject second person pronouns, but /mbV/ second singulars do occur in the post auxiliary pronominals described in 3.3.

Together with the alveolar-conditioned vowel elision in the AVRs noted at Table 3-4 (note #2) above, this can be seen as a tendency to
reduce, within the auxiliary, consecutive / [+Alveolar] i/ syllables, where the alveolar of the first syllable is a non-obstruent. This "tendency" is best regarded as manifested through allomorphic variation rather than as phonologically conditioned. The /ininj/ second non-singular G, for example, is not reduced to /ninj/ following alveolar-final AVRAs, and there is no reduction of these consecutive alveolar syllables across the boundary between the auxiliary and the CVS. Thus contrast (a) with (b):

a)  
\( \text{ga} \quad -\text{rri} \quad -\text{dim} \quad -a \)  
\( *-\text{rr} \)  
\( 3\text{sS R rr sink Pst} \)  
*He buried it.*

b)  
\( \text{ga} \quad -\text{rr} \quad -\text{di} \quad -\text{dim} \quad -\emptyset \quad -a \)  
\( *-\text{rri} \quad -\text{idi} \)  
\( 3\text{sS R rr 2/3nsO sink pl Pst} \)  
*He buried them (pl).*

Neither does the /gini/ subject-AVR sequence of the \( \emptyset \) auxiliary show any contraction to /gin/. This reduction process is thus confined to a particular morphological domain, and is not simply phonologically conditioned.

26 /Wanthi/ is in fact formally an adjective, meaning "behind, subsequent", and is adapted to both verbal (as in 3-101) and adverbial functions (cf. 2.2).

27 (3-111) and (3-112) both, however, appear to be acceptable with purposive bound pronominals, having an ironic reading, in place of the /anga/ forms.

28 Note also that, for the principal body-part terms, actor-subject can be distinguished from undergoer-subject and object by the ineligibility of actor-subjects for verbal incorporation, cf. Chapter 5.

29 As illustrated here, many of these emotion verbs are formed with incorporated body-part terms. They are not able to be constructed, however, with /anga/ pronominals in the body-part location function discussed above. Instead, the possessor of the body-part in which the
emotion is seen as manifested is obligatorily encoded in the auxiliary.

30 /Nim/, /fini/ and /nimbini/ are possibly historically related; note that /nimbini/ also functions as the free form numeral "three".

31 It is possible to generate verbs such as (a) below, encoding partially co-referential inclusives. Such combinations, however, are regarded as somewhat odd by informants and I have never recorded them used spontaneously.

a) nganggi -Ø nidin gumbu -mun -nganggel -nim -a
   1I PRO pl country 1IS paint 1I PURP I pl Pst

   You and I wrote down (the names of) the country, for all of us(inc,pl).

32 Note that since the fricative /f/ is realised as /b/ following nasals, the sequence /nim-fini/ has the surface form of /nim-bini/, and is thus homophonous with the trial suffix. Any resulting ambiguity can be resolved by appropriately suffixed or enumerated NPs.

33 (3-156) comes from a narrative centred around two mango trees, which grew by the narrator's hut, and on which he lavished special attention.
Chapter Four

Tense, Mood and Aspect

4.1. The Major Tense/Mood Categories

The tense/mood of a Marrithiyel verb is determined primarily through interaction of auxiliary inflection and verb-final suffixes. The auxiliary has a two-way tense/mood variation, the morphology of which has been presented in 3.2.1 and 3.2.2, and which I have labelled as a realis/irrealis opposition. We shall look below at the tense/mood marking achieved by combining each of these auxiliary modes with the inventory of verb-final suffixes, and then, in 4.1.6, return to the question of how we may more precisely characterise the Marrithiyel realis/irrealis distinction.

As shown in Table 4-1, there are, including one zero, five verb-final tense/mood suffixes, and seven available auxiliary-suffix combinations. There are three realis categories: past indicative, present indicative, and the apprehensive. And irrealis auxiliaries can combine with four tense/mood suffixes to mark the future, a general past irrealis, an obligatory past irrealis, present irrealis, and the imperative-hortative-permissive (which I shall refer to generally as the "imperative" category). These latter two categories are both encoded by an irrealis auxiliary with a verb-final zero; reasons for distinguishing them are discussed below (4.1.4). Realis auxiliaries cannot be suffixed with /wa/ or /nina/, and the irrealis does not co-occur with final /fang/.

Table 4-1 - The Major Tense/Mood Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixes</th>
<th>Realis Auxiliary Mode</th>
<th>Irrealis Auxiliary Mode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Present Indicative</td>
<td>(1) Present Irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(2) Imperative/Hortative/Permissive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a / C--</td>
<td>Past Indicative</td>
<td>Past Irrealis (General)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya/ v--</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nina</td>
<td></td>
<td>Past Irrealis (Obligative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fang</td>
<td>Apprehensive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As represented in the formula for verb structure given in 3.1, I analyse verb final tense/mood suffixing as obligatory. That is, every
auxiliary, or auxiliary-CVS combination, requires a co-occurring tense/mood suffix, and there are no processes of subordination, nominalisation etc. which allow for a verbal complex to function without such accompanying marking. But we can identify three specific circumstances in which the marking does not appear as a direct final suffix to the main verb of a clause. Firstly, when verbs are constructed with serialised intransitives (cf. 4.2), the major tense/mood markers /y)a/, /nina/ and /wa/ (i.e. all the overt forms other than the apprehensive /fang/) suffix to the serial and not to the main verb. In this construction the serial functions phonologically as a separate word, occurring immediately following the main verb.

4-1) ngidin -girr -themi (- *ya) gangi -ya
lsS R see rub, grind point Pst 1sS R sit Pst

I was sitting sharpening it (to a point.)

Secondly, where two adjacent verbs share the same subject, deletion of the tense/mood marker from the first verb functions to express the action of the verbs as closely, and typically sequentially, linked, e.g.:

4-2) ngumbun -sjat -Ø ngambu -gudak -Ø -wa
1IS Ir go sit I dl 1IS Ir sit drink I dl Fut

We(inc, 2) will sit down and have a drink.

Such deletion is limited to sequences of two verbs and is not extendable to longer chains.

Thirdly, /fang/ may be omitted from the verb in an apprehensive clause, and be applied instead to certain other constituents. (The conditions under which this takes place are discussed in 4.1.5 and 4.4 below.)

4-3) mani ambi -fang gu -iningin -fup -Ø
money NEG APP 3nsS R Ø 1sG give pl

I'm afraid they(pl) might never give me the money.

4-4) duknganan -fang gidin -gidi -fini
policeman APP 3sS R see 1EO dl

...lest the policeman see us(exc, 2).

While all the verb-final tense/mood morphemes can in fact suffix to other clause level constituents, /fang/ is the only one that allows for optional deletion from the verb in such circumstances.
In addition to these instances of displacement of the final suffix there are two cases in which it may be totally omitted. When either of the two penultimate verbal modifiers, /na/ "next, first" or /da/ "again", are present in a future verb (i.e. the category marked by a combination of an irrealis auxiliary with verb-final /wa/) the final suffix is deleted:

4-5) murrika gagan gibinjarr -na (-*wa), yigin wanthi ngun -wa
car ANAPH 3sS Ir go* first Fut 1s PRO behind 1sS Ir go Fut

That car will go first, I'll go afterwards.

4-6) ngudi -inj -bat -wa / ngindinjiput -nganan -wa
1sS Ir see 2s0 knock Fut 2sS Ir nji SCE Fut

ngudi -inj -bat -da (-*wa)
1sS Ir see 2s0 knock again Fut

I'm going to knock you down; if you get up I'll knock you down again.

This deletion proceeds even though it results in the future form of the verb merging with the imperative and present irrealis forms (i.e. those categories marked by a combination of an irrealis auxiliary with a final zero). The unmarked interpretation of a verb in future mode, which has /na/ or /da/ in its penultimate slot and zero in the final, is clearly that it has a future reading, and specific contextual clues or additional verbal modifiers are required to bring about the imperative or present irrealis interpretations.

We shall now look in more detail at the function of the seven auxiliary mode-tense/mood suffix combinations.

4.1.1. Non-Future Tenses

The realis forms two non-future tenses: the present, made up of the realis auxiliary mode in combination with final zero, and the past, which is formed by combining the realis auxiliary mode with final /a/ (following consonants) or /ya/ (following vowels):

4-7) gil -ing -bawu -Ø / gil -ing -mundirr -Ø
3sS R l 1s0 make cold Pr 3sS R l 1s0 make shiver Pr

Literally: It is making me cold and making me shiver.

= : I'm cold and shivering.

4-8) gil -ing -bawu -ya / gil -ing -mundirr -a
3sS R l 1s0 make cold Pst 3sS R l 1s0 make shiver Pst

I was cold and shivering.
I refer to these combinations as "tenses" since they are concerned with establishing temporal reference, i.e. with relating the time of the action of the verb to the time of the speech event, and are unmarked with respect to mood. That is, they are basically indicative or declarative in nature, presenting the action of the verb as a straightforward statement of fact, and carrying no further qualifications from the speaker. Further, we can classify them, in the terminology of Comrie (1976, p2), as "absolute" tenses; they operate necessarily only to locate the action of the verb as relative to the time of speaking and not as relative to the time frame established by preceding or subsequent verbs. The present thus encodes the action as in-progress at the time of the speech event, while the past denotes the action as having taken place prior to the time of speaking.

The present indicative is also the form employed in what are referred to elsewhere as "timeless", "eternal" (cf. Lyons, 1968, p306), "universal" or "generic" (cf. Goddard, 1983, p187) declarative statements. In such sentences the action of the verb is not strictly contemporaneous with the moment of speech; however, the depicted events are still nevertheless conceptually in progress or on-going, albeit as predictable or inevitable elements of a currently operational cycle of events.

4-9.a) bapalu gani -wut -Ø gan nitji
buffalo 3sS R go walk Pr here night

Buffalo walk here at night.

4-9.b) fandi gani -dim -Ø lambu furingan
sun 3sS R go sink Pr side ocean

The sun sets on the salt water side (i.e. in the west).

4-9.c) a -mayirang mi -miri gi -wuki -Ø /
CA goose CA eye 3sS R eat Pr
=seed

wudi-sradi gidi -tik -defen -Ø
water back 3sS R heat soak up until Pr
=billabong

Geese eat the seed until the billabongs dry up.

There is also some usage of the present, that is, zero suffixed non-future, tense in narratives relating past events. This appears to be not simply a process of deletion of the overt final suffix due to redundancy in the specific context, since such processes are not generally productive and have not been observed in other genre, but rather a deliberate switch from the past tense in order to highlight a
particular action, and to lend it a certain presence or immediacy. Such a switch is illustrated in the last two clauses of the following narrative extract.

4-9.d) wadi -Ø finthifinhti gagan miri winjsjani gani -ya / male s 3 old REDUP ANAPH eye no good 3sS R go Pst
derafu a -mayirang -sran gani -man -a / slowly CM goose ALL 3sS R go crawl Pst
ambi -ya gidin -a / gayirr -a /
NEG Pst 3sS R see Pst 3sS R go* Pst
a -mayirang yibi -njsja gawunj -Ø /
CM goose there then 3nsS R sit Pr
fiyi garr -ni -yan'gi -winjanga gani -Ø
head 3sS R rr 3msG=REFL think 3ns BOD 3sS R go Pr
"Wadi -Ø gan fiyi winjsjani !"
male s 3 this head bad

That old man's eyes were no good. He crawled slowly towards the geese. But he didn't see them. He kept on going. The geese are sitting there thinking, "This bloke's crazy."

It should be noted also that the Marrithiyel present tense is strictly confined to depicting action as in-progress and has no future or immediate future function, as has been reported for the present tenses of some other Australian languages.

Further, we should observe that negation, which is a critical factor in the determination of mood categories in a number of other languages in the area (e.g. for Ngan'gityemeri (Reid, in preparation), and Waray (Harvey, 1987)), is not relevant to the Marrithiyel realis/irrealis distinction. Non-future realis verbs may be either affirmative, as illustrated above, or negative, as shown below.

4-10.a) bapalu ambi gani -wut -Ø gan nitji buffalo NEG 3sS R go walk Pst here night

Buffalo don't walk here at night.

4-10.b) ambi gi -imbi -sjang -a NEG 3sS R Ø 2sG hear Pst

He didn't hear you(sg).

4.1.2 The Future

The future in Marrithiyel is encoded through the combination of an irrealis auxiliary with verb-final /wa/. As with the future "tenses" of many languages throughout the world (cf. Lyons, 1968, pp304-11), the Marrithiyel future has both temporal and modal
elements. Apart from one subordinate usage, which I discuss below, the Marrithiyel future, like the past and present indicative, functions as an absolute tense, locating the action of the verb as subsequent to the time of speaking. But rather than acting primarily to indicate the degree of likelihood of the event coming about, its range of interpretation suggests that it carries more a sense of existing laws or forces which will be responsible for bringing the event about. The future is at once a modal of obligation, the unmarked (future) desiderative and a modal of necessity. These various readings are not differentiated within the verb.

4-11) wadi -Ø fiyi gapil gubuyi -inggi -nim -wa nitjingani
male s 3 head big 3ss Ir reach 110 I pl Fut morning

The government man ("big headed man") should visit us(inc,pl)
in the morning
(because he is legally/morally/socially obliged to).
OR The government man wants to visit us in the morning.
OR The government man has to visit us in the morning
(because e.g. it's all been organised and arranged).

The Marrithiyel future, then, as a general category, encompasses actions which the speaker indicates should, subsequent to the time of speaking, come about, through social or moral obligation, through personal desire or intention, or through some kind of natural or logical necessity. Any statement of future events employing this tense/mood category (note that the apprehensive is also used of possible future events) carries with it this nuance of some causality at work.

While, from the English perspective, a wide-ranging and variably translated category, the Marrithiyel future would appear to have as its principal modal element what we could classify, following Lyons (1977, p825)², as a broad operator of deontic modality. Lyons suggests that for the purposes of linguistic analysis the traditional concept of deontic modality needs to be enlarged:

...deontic necessity typically proceeds, or derives, from some source or cause...It may be some person or institution to whose authority he [the performer of the action] submits; it may be some more or less explicitly formulated body of moral or legal principles; it may be no more than some inner compulsion, that he would be hard put to identify and make precise. Philosophers, in their discussion of deontic modality, have been mainly concerned with the notions of moral obligation, duty and right conduct. But it seems preferable for the linguist to take a maximally inclusive view of what constitutes obligation, drawing no distinction, in the first instance at least, between morality, legality and physical necessity.

(1977, p824)
The future suffix /wa/ is homophonous with the nominal purposive case marker (2.3). However, despite this homophony, /wa/ does not function productively as a verbal suffix to produce subordinate purposive clauses. For example, in (4-12), the future verb can only be understood as denoting absolute future time reference, and cannot be read as a past purposive complement of the first clause.

4-12) gunga -wultharri -ya / ngawu -iwinj -kap -Ø -wa
1sS R stand return Pst 1sS Ir sit 3nsG call out pl Fut
muku
woman
I have returned.
I am going to call out for (i.e. collect) the women(pl).
*I returned in order to collect the women.

There is, however, one subordinate construction in which a /wa/ suffixed verb can mark relative future tense within a past time frame. This occurs with verbs acting as the complements of the simple transitive "say, do"; the construction is literally translatable as "X told Y to Z" and functions as the general interpersonal or higher animate causative, e.g.:

4-13) gim -ingin -a muku ngawu -iwinj -kap -Ø -wa
3sS R do 1sG Pst woman 1sS Ir sit 3nsG call out pl Fut
He told me to collect the women(pl).

The difference between the domain of /wa/ in (4-12) and (4-13) is that in (4-12) /wa/ must denote future time reference in relation to the time of speaking; that is, as shown in (4-14.b), /wa/ cannot mark a purposive action which has already been completed or attempted. However, this does not hold for the "tell" causative construction. The sentence of (4-13), for example, as illustrated in (4-14.b), is readily followed by another clause indicating that the ordered action, of the verb marked by /wa/, has indeed already been tried or accomplished.

4-14.a) * gunga -wultharri -ya / ngawu -iwinj -kap -Ø -wa
1sS R stand return Pst 1sS Ir sit 3nsG call out pl Fut
muku / wuy, ambi -ya gingim -a /
woman no NEG Pst 1sS R do Pst
gidi -ing -minjirr -nganan -a
3sS R heat 1sO crumple SCE Pst
* I returned home to collect the women(pl).
But I didn’t do it, because I was "burnt out" (i.e. exhausted).
He told me to collect the women(pl).
But I didn't do it, because I was "burnt out" (i.e. exhausted).

Marrithiyel has few distinct subordinate constructions, and it is not clear why /wa/ suffixed verbs can be fully subordinated only to the interpersonal causative. It is perhaps possible that this is facilitated by what I have interpreted above as the strong causal element in the main clause usage of the future.

The only other subordinate function of /wa/ suffixed verbs is in future conditionals. These are formed by incorporating the nominal source case inflection, /nganan/, into the penultimate slot of the verb stating the condition upon which the subsequent action depends. The verbs in both clauses are constructed as futures.

If you(sg) get lost (literally, "if it makes you lost"), we(exc, pl) will wait for you.

Both future and non-future conditionals are discussed further in 7.3.

4.1.3. Non-Future Irrealis

Non-future irrealis verbs are constructed with an irrealis auxiliary in combination with a zero suffix, for the present, and with /(y)a/ for the past. The imperative-hortative-permissive is structurally identical with present irrealis but has a distinct illocutionary force and a varying intonation pattern; it is discussed separately in 4.1.4 below.

The past irrealis has a wider semantic range than the present. The past irrealis encompasses actions and events which as a product of personal intention or desire, moral or social obligation, or natural propensity, should have occurred, but which did not. That is, the past irrealis takes the deontic modal component of the future tense and places it in a past unrealised frame. Thus the past irrealis of (4-16) below, ranging in interpretation from non-executed desires and
intentions through to non-fulfilled obligations, can be compared to the future verb illustrated in (4-11) above:

4-16) wadi -Ø fiyi gapil gubuyi -inggi -nim -a nitjingani
    male s 3 head big 3sS Ir reach 1lO I pl Pst morning

    The government man ("big headed man") should have visited us (inc, pl) in the morning
    (because he was legally/morally/socially obliged to) (but he didn't).
    OR
    The government man wanted to, but didn't, visit us in the morning.
    OR
    The government should have visited us in the morning
    (because e.g. it was all organised and arranged) (but he didn't).

Equally the past irrealis can refer to actions and events which it seems natural processes should have brought about:

4-17) ngani winjsjani ngin -a fitit / ngun -wurr -a
    body bad 1sS R go Pst long time 1sS Ir go die Pst

    I was sick for a long time. I should/could have died.

4-18) nidin gumbudin -nim gumbun -nim -a / gasja -wil -a /
    country 1IS R see I pl 1IS R go I pl Pst 3sS Ir stand heat
    gudi -inggi -minjirr -nim -a /
    3sS Ir heat 1lO crumple I pl Pst
    gil -inggi -bawu -nim -a
    3sS R 1 1lO make cold I pl Pst

    We (inc, pl) were going around seeing the country. It should have been hot. We should have been "burnt out" (i.e. the heat should have crushed us). But we were cold.

In addition to this type of modal reading the past irrealis also functions to express failed or frustrated attempted action:

4-19) tharr wudit gan ngum -madil -a
    thing heavy this 1sS Ir paint lift Pst

    I tried (but failed) to lift this heavy thing.

4-20) warri nanggana -ya ngata gurr -puritj -a
    wet season before Pst house 3sS Ir rr fix Pst

    He tried (but failed) to fix the house before the wet season.

This is an interesting and, in one way, a contradictory extension of the past irrealis, since the other readings of this tense/mood category clearly imply that the postulated action was not even attempted. And it is more declarative in nature, presenting the incomplete implementation of the action more as a matter of fact. It carries, for example, no suggestion of any obligation to perform the action. Neither does it appear to carry any marked suggestion of desire, intention or a determining force. It can be argued, of course, that attempting an action presupposes a certain minimum degree
of will or intention. But while this may be so, and while the use of the past irrealis for failed action may have originated through some such necessary connection between attempt and intentionality, the contemporary reading of the failed action irrealis is that it is relatively neutral, and no specific desire or intention is assumed in its usage.

While speakers commonly interpret the past irrealis as encoding failed action this reading is more context dependent than the other past irrealis functions. That is, it is a marked rather than spontaneous interpretation, requiring a context in which obligation, desire etc. can be seen as irrelevant or trivial, or have been backgrounded in some way.

The obligative function of the past irrealis can be specifically selected by using /nina/ as the verb final suffix in place of /(y)a/. While the final vowel here might appear to be the past allomorph /a/, the suffix cannot be synchronically decomposed into /nin/ and /a/, since the two proposed components cannot occur separately. For example, there is no corresponding form /nin-∅/ available as a subcategory of the present irrealis. In addition, the process of aspectual serialisation, which otherwise deletes only the verb final suffix from the main verb, in favour of marking it on the serialised intransitive (cf. 5.2), selects the whole form /nina/, and not just /a/, for elision from the main verb.

4-21) * mi -miri gagi -wawa -ferri -nin gun -a
   BUT mi -miri gagi -wawa -ferri gun -nina
   CP eye 3sS Ir nj wet foot 3sS Ir go Oblig
         =seed REDUP

He should have been watering the seedlings.

The /nina/ suffixed irrealis verb encodes actions and events which should have occurred as a result of social or moral obligation. I use the terms "social" and "moral" broadly here, meaning to cover the vast range of culturally determined obligations, including those determined on a day-to-day interpersonal basis as much as those determined by the larger religious-legal framework. /Nina/ does not apply just to non-implemented personal desire or intention, nor simply to events which should have come about as a result of non-human forces. The use of /nina/ implies a value judgement, carrying with it a sense of the rightness or correctness of the action that should have taken place by virtue of the rules and expectations established in society.³
4-22.a) fundi winjsjani gimi -ya / gun -wurr -nina
arm bad 3sS R do Pst 3sS Ir go die Oblig

He did the wrong thing (literally, "he did it with a bad arm")
- he should have died.
* He did the wrong thing - he could have died.

4-22.b) yeri merawu ngudi -idi -mel -miri -Ø -nina
child several 1sS Ir see 3nsO watch eye pl Oblig

* I should have watched over the children(pl).
* I wanted to watch over the children.
* I tried (but failed) to watch over the children.

/Nina/ is not exclusively a verbal suffix, but also functions as
a particle. Rather than attach to the verb, for example, it may
appear, with the same semantic effect, in clause initial position:

4-23.a) nina yeri merawu ngudi -idi -mel -miri -Ø -ya
Oblig child several 1sS Ir see 3nsO watch eye pl Pst

I should have watched over the children.

Alternatively, it may be follow other constituents as an obligative
operator, e.g.:

4-23.b) sjuwu-nganan nina yigin ngipi -ya
dusk SCE Oblig 1sPRO 1sS Ir Pst
= yesterday

I should have done it yesterday (rather than some other time).

4-23.c) sjuwu-nganan yigin nina ngipi -ya
dusk SCE 1sPRO Oblig 1sS Ir Pst
= yesterday

I (rather than someone else) should have done it yesterday.

As a particle, /nina/ only appears in past irrealis clauses.

Note that while the majority of past irrealis examples refer to
events that should have taken place prior to the time of speaking this
category can also apply to postulated future events whose
implementation has already been prevented, e.g.:

4-24) nitji ngumbunj -futj-futj -nim -a /
night 1sS Ir nj hit, kill I pl Pst

REDUP

ngumbul -ni -nenjsjiju -nim -wa / gani -sran -a
1sS Ir l 3msG miss meeting I pl Fut 3sS R go away Pst

We(inc,pl) should have belted him up tonight.
But we'll miss him. He's gone off.

That is, the past irrealis does not require the postulated action of
the verb to be located necessarily prior to the time of speaking, but
only that the conditions determining the non-implementation of that action have already been set in place.

In contrast to the past irrealis the present irrealis has a comparatively narrow domain. In fact, the present irrealis, combining the irrealis auxiliary mode with a zero final inflection, is perhaps best thought of as a present tense version of the past category marked by the /nina/ suffix. That is, it encodes actions which there is some degree of moral or social obligation or expectation to perform, but which are not currently being carried out. The present irrealis carries no implication as to the future probability or possibility of the action being performed, but rather states the speaker's view of its rightfulness in the current circumstances. Note that, as mentioned above, despite the similarity in function, neither /nina/ nor its putative present tense form /nin/ can appear in the clause in particle or verb-suffix function.

4-25) wudi firrinjinggi -purrnpurrng -nginel -vini -Ø
water 3nsS Ir nj bubble, boil 1sPURP dl Pr
They(pl) should be boiling the water for me.

The other functions of the past irrealis are not transported into the realm of the present irrealis. For example, (4-26) below, in contrast with (4-20), shows that the present irrealis does not cover actions in the process of being attempted and failed; nor does it cover currently desired but non-implemented actions. Equally, as can be seen from (4-27) and (4-28), which are parallel to the past irrealis clauses of (4-22) and (4-17) above, events which should be brought about by natural processes, but which are not actually moving to completion, are not in the present irrealis category; thus the use of the present irrealis verb with an obligative function in (4-27) is perfectly acceptable, but the same verb cannot be used in the context of (4-28), where it would have to be understood as being a modal of natural necessity.

4-26) warri nanggana -ya ngata gurr -puritj -Ø
wet season before Pst house 3sS Ir rr fix Pr
He should be fixing the house.
* He is trying unsuccessfully to fix the house.
* He wants to (but isn't) fixing the house.

4-27 a) fundi winjsjani gimi -ya / gun -wurr -njsjjan -Ø
arm bad 3sS R do Pst 3sS Ir go die now Pr
He did the wrong thing. He should be dying now.
He got the flu. He could be dying now.

Like the present indicative (4.1.1) the present irrealis also can be used in a more timeless or generic sense, stating the speaker's opinion as to what should be universally the case, e.g.:

The teenage girls (pl) should bring meat for the old men (pl) every night.

And, again like the present indicative, the present irrealis has, apart from what is implicit in its universal usage, no future or immediate future reference. (4-26) above, for example, is therefore translated as "He should be fixing the house" and is not the equivalent of the English "He should fix the house", which does have future reference, as can be seen from its ability to take temporal modifiers such as "later", "next week" etc. This type of modifier cannot occur with the Marrithiyel present irrealis:

The day after tomorrow he should fix the house.

Negative irrealis sentences, with either present or past time reference, are also readily constructed. The negative irrealis covers that which should not be, but is, occurring, or that which should not have occurred but did.

The policeman should not have questioned you (sg) (but he did). He should not have grabbed you (but he did). That was wrong (i.e. that was (done with) a "bad arm").

The semantic range of the negative non-future irrealis is largely as described above for the affirmative, with the present being restricted to an obligative reading and the past having wider interpretations.
It is difficult to determine, however, whether there is a negative counterpart to the frustrated action function of the past irrealis which is distinct from (that is, more declarative than) the negative desiderative reading:

4-31) ambi -ya ngurr -ful -a
NEG Pst 1sS Ir rr break Pst

*I didn't want/intend to break it (with my hands) (but did).
?? I unsuccessfully tried not to break it.

It is also important to note that the negative operates on the verb rather than on the utterance as a whole; that is, it does not negate the modal but is included within its scope. In (4-30), for example, as indicated by the final comment, the negative irrealis refers specifically to an illegal act; (4-30) must be understood as stating that the policeman had an obligation not to grab and question the addressee. The negative cannot be understood as having the function simply of negating the modal component or the proposition as a whole; (4-30) cannot be translated either as "The policeman was not obliged to grab and question you" or as "It is not the case that policeman was obliged to grab and question you." Similar comments apply to the other functions of the irrealis in the negative. (4-31), for example, expresses the particular desire of the speaker not to have performed the action which he did; it does not mean, less specifically, that there was no desire or intention to perform that action.

4.1.4. Imperative-Hortative-Permissive

The imperative-hortative-permissive, structured with an irrealis auxiliary in combination with a final zero suffix, is, as has been mentioned above, morphologically identical to the present irrealis. It does however have a distinct illocutionary force, adding to the statement of obligation made by the present irrealis a request for consequent action by the addressee. This category is distinguished from the present irrealis by its differing intonation pattern, - a final rising, as opposed to the standard clause-final falling, contour. It is also distinguished by its ability to have future time reference; while its unmarked interpretation is that action is required at the time of speaking it can be placed in a future context. This contrasts with the present irrealis of (4-29) above:

4-32) ngata arri -puritj -Ø nitjima
house 2sS Ir rr fix Imp day after tomorrow

*(You(sg)) Fix the house the day after tomorrow !
Marrithiyel imperatives employ the normal second person auxiliary forms; that is, omission of otherwise obligatory second person subject pronouns, which is characteristic of imperatives both within Australia and cross-linguistically (Lyons, 1977, p746), is not permitted. In addition free form pronouns may also occur with imperative verbs, not only in separate vocative function in apposition to the imperative clause, but also as absorbed into the imperative intonational unit.

4-33) nanj watjan mari -idi -thirr -fini -Ø
2sPRO dog 2sS Ir muri 3nsØ tie up dl Imp

You(sg) tie up the two dogs!

4-34) nadi -Ø watjan numuri -idi -thirr -fini -Ø
2nsPRO pl dog 2nsS Ir muri 3nsØ tie up dl Imp

You(pl) tie up the two dogs!

This imperative type construction is not restricted to second person subjects but is extendable to all persons. Applied to first inclusive subjects, for example, it ranges in illocutionary force from general suggestion, that is, hortative, as in (4-35), to a more direct command function akin to that of the second person imperative, as illustrated in (4-36).

4-35) ngumbumun -it -nim -Ø yangi gan
11S Ir paint pick up I pl Imp now this

Let's(inc,pl) get it right now.

4-36) ambi warri -sjat -Ø /
NEG 2sS Ir go sit down Imp

buluki gan nanj ngumbunj -pirpir -Ø -Ø
bullock this 2sPRO 11S Ir nj pull off I dl Imp
REDUP

(You(sg)) Don't sit down, you and I have to skin this bullock.

As with the second person imperative, free form pronouns readily co-occur with the first inclusive imperative-hortative as part of the single intonation unit; thus the inclusive free forms /nganggi/ (dual) and ngangginim/ (plural) can be added to (4-36) and (4-35) respectively. Second person free pronouns may also co-occur with inclusive auxiliaries, as in (4-36).

When the imperative construction is extended to subjects which do not include the addressee, that is, in third person, first singular and first exclusive, a permissive reading results. In other words, the illocutionary force varies from directly requesting the addressee
to do something to requesting the addressee to facilitate an action by another party (even if the addressee facilitates this action in effect by default, that is, by doing nothing to prevent it continuing). Thus we have (4-37) and (4-38) below, combining third person irrealis auxiliaries with zero final suffixes.

4-37) firringgi -wargal -nganggel -Ø -fini -Ø
3nsS Ir rr finish 1I PURP I dl dl Imp

Let them(2) finish it (by hand) for us(I dl).

4-38) apu gawu -Ø ni manjsji nang
that way 3sS Ir sit Imp where self 3msPRO

Let him sit over there by himself.

Similarly for first non-inclusive subjects :

4-39) awu gan ngirrinja -butj -masri -fini -Ø murrika
meat this 1ks Ir stand hold belly dl Imp car

Let us(exc, dl) load the meat in the ("belly" of the) car.

4-40) ngafel -ni -sjinin -Ø tharr gagan -wa
1sS Ir lie 3msG ask Imp thing ANAPH PURP

Let me ask him about those things.

I have also recorded instances of first person constructions such as (4-40) in situations where the speaker is addressing himself, that is, giving himself orders and directions, reminding himself about the right course of action etc. Because such usage is infrequent it is difficult to state categorically that these instances are to be grouped with the imperatives rather than with the present irrealis. However, on the basis of their illocutionary force, that is, since they are aimed at achieving action, they would be classed as imperatives. Further, it is clear that the second person imperative is not the preferred form for self direction or exhortation :

4-41)?? ambi warri -mi -batj -Ø muku gagan, gingim -ingin -a
NEG 2sS Ir go MI lie Imp woman ANAPH 1sS R do 1sG Pst
down

BUT ambi ngun -mi -batj -Ø muku gagan, gingim -ingin -a
NEG 1sS Ir go MI lie Imp woman ANAPH 1sS R do 1sG Pst
down

I told myself not to camp with that woman.

The permissive construction can be applied to the full range of Marrithiyel verbs, including impersonals, for which no specific subject is recoverable, and other obligatorily third person constructions, such as body-part subject verbs (cf. 3.3.4) :
When first inclusive or second persons become undergoers of these third person subject verbs, either as auxiliary encoded Gs or Os, as in (4-42), or as post-auxiliary pronouns, as in (4-43), the construction remains unchanged. However the verbs now function pragmatically as imperatives or hortatives. Included in this category are some of the culture's commonly used imperatives, such as the impolite (4-45).

4-42) gumu -ing -tharr -srut -Ø sjalwu -nanga gan
   3sS Ir paint 1sO stop float Imp canoe LOC here

  Literally: Let it stop-float me on the water's surface here in the canoe.
  = : Let me float here in the canoe.

4-43) yigin fiyi gurr -ni -yan'gi -nginanga gun -Ø
       1sPRO head 3sS Ir rr 3msG talk 1sBOD 3sS Ir go Imp

  Literally: Let my head go talking to itself on me.
  = : Let me think.

There are in addition other generally idiomatic first non-inclusive and third person subject verbs which function pragmatically as direct imperatives, e.g.:

4-44) nanj derafu gumu -inggi -tharr -srut -Ø -Ø /
       2sPRO careful 3sS Ir paint 1lO stop float I dl Imp
       a -wurrumbun ambi ga -inggi -sjang -Ø -wa
       CA crocodile NEG 3sS Ir Ø 1lG hear I dl Fut

  You(sg) float quietly with me - the crocodile won't hear us.

4-45) gasja -dut -miri -mba -Ø marri
       3sS Ir stand find eye 2sBOD Imp words

  Literally: Let words stand finding (i.e. be inside) an "eye"
  (i.e. orifice) on you(sg).
  = : Keep your words inside yourself! / Shut up!

As with the inclusive and second person imperative-hortative there are no constraints on free form pronouns, nor indeed on full NP's, encoding the subject co-occurring with permissives. In addition, it is also possible for second person free form pronouns to co-occur with permissives even when they have no direct role in the clause; this would appear to function to draw attention to the addressee as the target of the illocutionary force. Again here the
second person pronominal does not occur in apposition to the clause, as would normally be appropriate when the addressee is not a clause level argument, but is rather an integral part of the clausal intonation unit. Note that in the structurally parallel present irrealis second person pronouns can only occur in apposition in such circumstances.

4-47.a) nanj mulingi gasja -dim -Ø
2sPRO leaf 3sS Ir stand sink Imp

You(sg) let the (tea) leaves settle.

4-47.b) nanj / mulingi gasja -dim -njsjan -Ø
2sPRO leaf 3sS Ir stand sink now Pr

Hey you(sg) - those (tea) leaves should be settling now.

4.1.5. Apprehensives

The remaining major tense/mood category is the apprehensive, encoded by a realis auxiliary in combination with verb-final /fang/, which also functions as the nominal apprehensive suffix (2.3). Apprehensives, broadly characterised, carry the notion of uneasiness or concern at the possibility of occurrence of the action of the verb. There are both dependent and independent usages of apprehensive verbs, the two roles being distinguished primarily on semantic grounds, and there being no special morphological marking for dependent status. In its dependent role /fang/ can be translated as "lest", "for fear of" or "to avoid": that is, it operates with the same semantic effect on a clause as it does on an NP (cf. 2.3). The /fang/ subordinate clause describes some anticipated undesirable situation; it is adjoined to, normally following, but also able to precede, a main clause specifying what can or could be done to avoid or prevent the coming about of that situation. The main clause can be in any major tense/mood category, and can even itself be an (independent) apprehensive.

4-48.a) gidin'gi -warrk -nanga -Ø -ya wudi nang yuwa /
1ES R see hide 3msABL pl Pst liquid 3msPRO there

gi -wanggal -fang
3sS R Ø finish APP

We(exc,pl) hid the liquid [alcohol] from that bloke for fear that he would finish it off.

4-48.b) gudin -nimbi -Ø -fang / masri nginjsji warri -batj -Ø
3nsS R see 2sO pl APP belly one 2sS Ir go lie Imp
=other side down

To avoid them(pl) seeing you(sg),
you(sg) camp on the other side.
I'm afraid he might lock me up (literally: "claim my belly"), lest I go to town for beer ("frothy liquid").

In a dependent apprehensive clause, an actor or undergoer NP on whom the concern or unease is focussed may also be marked with /fang/, presumably because of its effective role as an apprehensive argument of the main clause. When an NP is suffixed in this way /fang/ is normally, but not obligatorily, deleted from the verb, e.g.:

4-49.a) muku gagan -fang gudin -nimbi -Ø (-fang) /
        woman ANAPH APP 3nsS R see 2sO pl APP
        masri nginjsji warri -batj -Ø
        belly one 2sS Ir go lie Imp
        =other side down

To avoid those women(pl) seeing you(sg),
you(sg) camp on the other side.

4-49.b) muku gagan -fang ginidin -di -Ø (-fang) /
        woman ANAPH APP 2S R see 2nsO pl APP
        masri nginjsji warri -batj -Ø
        belly one 2sS Ir go lie Imp
        =other side down

To avoid those women(pl), to avoid seeing them,
you(sg) camp on the other side.

The /fang/ subordinate and its associated main clause do not obligatorily share any arguments, e.g.:

4-50) sjitinj girringgi -puritj -Ø gininj -Ø -a /
        branch wall 1ES R rr make pl 1ES R go pl Pst
        guninj -gulilgulil -Ø -fang nidin duwarr
        3nsS R go enter REDUP pl APP country full
        =camp

We(exc,pl) used to make walls of branches for fear of (outsiders) entering the camp.

But the /fang/ subordinate must be understood as reporting the apprehension of the subject, rather than any other core participant, of the main clause. The primary function of a /fang/ subordinate clause is thus to express the apprehension of a main clause subject who is deliberately taking alternative avoiding steps; that is, the main clause subject must be both an actor, an entity exercising some degree of control over the action, and a sentient being, able to be seen as experiencing the required emotion. Consequently impersonal
verbs, for which no specific subjects are recoverable, are unable to take /fang/ subordinates. While they do have some notion of a determining or controlling force there is no entity available to experience the apprehension. Sentences such as (4-51) are ungrammatical; they cannot be interpreted as encoding the apprehension of the undergoer object.

4-51) * nanj derafu gumu -inj -tharr -srut -Ø / 2sPRO quietly 3sS Ir paint 2sO stop float Imp
   a -wurrumbun gi -imbi -sjang -fang
   CA crocodile 3sS R Ø 2sG hear APP

   * Just float quietly lest the crocodile hear you(sg).

The requirement for a sentient main clause subject, however, can be satisfied by a body part rather than whole entity subject NP. Body-part actor-subject verbs (cf. 3.3.4) such as (4-52) are thus fully acceptable.

4-52) fiyi gurr -ni -yan'gi -ninjanga -fini gun -Ø / head 3sS Ir rr 3msG talk 2nsBOD dl 3sS Ir go Imp
   nidin gu -idi -muduk -fini -fang
   country 3nsS R Ø 2nsO take from dl APP

   You two think (about it) (literally - "let the head go talking to itself on you two") lest they(pl) take your country from you.

The subordinate /fang/ construction is unaffected by negation. The negative /ambi/ operates only on the predicate itself, and not on the apprehensive or contingent possibility components of the construction. Modifying a /fang/ subordinate clause with /ambi/ simply means that the non-occurrence of the verbal action is marked for avoidance.

4-53) tharr guwa -mirmirr garri -mitik -a /
   thing 3sS R stand thunder 3sS nF rri extinguish Pst
   = "thundering thing"

   watjan ambi gu -iwinj -sjang -Ø -fang
   dog NEG 3nsS R Ø 3nsG hear pl APP

   He turned off the "thundering thing" (the generator), lest they(pl) not hear the dogs.

Unlike the other major tense/mood suffixes dependent /fang/ maintains no absolute temporal reference, the temporal placement of the complex sentence being determined by the tense/mood of the main clause verb. Equally it should be noted that unlike the irrealis the apprehensive has no truth value. That is, a precondition of the irrealis is that at the time of speaking the action of the marked verb
has not taken place. This is not the case with the apprehensive; compare (4-54) with (4-48.a):

4-54) gidin'gi -warrk -nanga -ø -ya / gi -wanggal -fang / 1ES R see hide 3msABL pl Pst 3sS R Ø finish APP

gi -dut -a / e gi -wanggal -a wakay 3sS R 1 find Pst and 3sS R Ø finish Pst complete

We(exc,pl) hid it from him lest he finish it off, but he found it, and finished it off completely.

/Fang/ suffixation in independent clauses has the same general function as its subordinate counterpart, expressing apprehension towards the possibility of a particular action or event taking place.

4-55) gidi -ing -tjuk -fiyi -ya / wadi - ng gullik ngin -fang 3sS R heat 1sO burn head Pst male s 1 blind 1sS R go APP

My face got burnt. I'm afraid that I might go blind.

4-56) manggin sjisju nang dim gim -ini -sjangi -fang "sweetheart" 3msPRO sink 3sS R do 3msG ear APP =POSS

Unfortunately his sweetheart might forget him.

And, again like its subordinate counterpart, main clause /fang/ has no truth value and no tense function. It is most commonly used to anticipate events subsequent to the time of speaking but can also occur in present and past tense contexts. In the present tense it is conjectural, suggesting concern for events that might currently be occurring:

4-57) Masjita ambi gumun -njsjan gusri -ø / Masjita NEG 3sS R paint now 3sS nF sit Pr
durangka gimi -fang drunk 3sS R do APP

Masjita's not sitting down writing. I'm afraid he might be getting drunk.

In a past tense context independent /fang/ has either a relative future function, as in (4-58), or a past conjectural sense, as in (4-59).

4-58) gidin -ngi -sjat -a themberriduk -nanga / 3sS R see 1sO sit Pst road LOC
duknganan gidin -ngi -fang policeman 3sS R see 1sO APP

He made me sit down on the road. I was afraid the policemen might see me.
We (exc, pl) walked through the jungle for a long time. I was afraid we might have been lost.

There are several major points to be made about the independent, in contrast to the subordinate, usage of /fang/. Firstly, in subordinate /fang/ the speaker simply reports the apprehension of the main clause subject without himself endorsing or otherwise commenting on the feeling. In independent clauses, however, /fang/ expresses the speaker's view that the event is undesirable. This is not to say that it is necessarily seen as bad for the speaker, just that it is in some respect an undesirable occurrence. I translate this component of its meaning, as in the examples above, as "I'm afraid that.." or "Unfortunately..".

Secondly, the possibility aspect of /fang/ should be emphasised. This aspect is complicated by the role of the negative, which I discuss below. But, if we look only at affirmatives for the time being, we can see that in non-future contexts, for example, /fang/ cannot be used to express as undesirable a definite, actually occurring situation. Thus contrast (4-60) with (4-57). (4-60) is unacceptable because, unlike (4-57), the /fang/ marked clause, rather than being a possibility or matter for conjecture, must be interpreted as encoding an actual occurrence.

4-59) fitit mungilyini -nanga ferri gininj -Ø -a / long time jungle LOC foot 1ES R go pl Pst
   ginj -igidi -mitjuk -Ø -fang
   3sS R nj 1EO make lost pl APP

   * I saw it with my own eyes. I'm afraid Masjita was getting drunk.

4-60) * yilyil ngidin -a / Masjita durangka gimi -fang truly 1sS R see Pst Masjita drunk 3sS R do APP

   * I saw it with my own eyes. I'm afraid Masjita was getting drunk.

4-61) * miri winjsjani gani -ya wakay / eye no good 3sS R go Pst complete
   wadi -Ø gullik gani -fang
   male 3 blind 3sS R go APP

   * His eyes have gone bad completely. I'm afraid he's blind.

In addition independent /fang/ is restricted to actions and events that are viewed as outside the control of the speaker and his addressee(s). That is, in contrast to the avoidable action of subordinate /fang/, main clause /fang/ suffixation implies that avoidance of the undesirable situation is outside the power of those involved in the immediate speech situation, and that its occurrence or
non-occurrence will be determined by third parties. (4-62.a) for example, which has a third person subject, represents a normal usage of /fang/. (4-62.b), on the other hand, which differs from (4-62.a) only in having a first person subject, is at best marginal, since one would expect normally that the speaker would himself determine whether or not he carried out the action. (4-62.b) is marginally acceptable only if it can be understood that the speaker-subject is liable to be acting under the sway of powerful emotions, under duress etc.

4-62.a) garri -butj -fundí -fang thawun -srán muku gagan
3sS R rr hold arm APP town ALL woman ANAPH

*I'm afraid he might take that woman to town.*

4-62.b) ?? ngurr -butj -bundí -fang thawun -srán muku gagan
1sS R rr hold arm APP town ALL woman ANAPH

?? *I'm afraid I might take that woman to town.*

This issue of avoidability constitutes an intriguing, and logical, relationship between dependent and independent /fang/. Subordinate /fang/ expresses a contingent possibility; the juxtaposed main clause provides the alternative preventative action, whose implementation will determine the non-occurrence of the action in the /fang/ marked clause. The logical relationship that can be extracted here is thus that the main clause proposition implies that the proposition of the subordinate clause is not the case, i.e. :

4-63) **Dependent Logical Structure:** P ----> not F
P = Preventative Action (main clause)
F = Undesired Action (/fang/ subordinate)

Now if P implies [not F] then, logically, [not [not F]] (i.e. F) implies [not P]. And this is the entailment involved in independent /fang/ usage; /fang/ suffixation in independent clauses carries the implication that, at least within the confines of the speech situation, no preventative action is possible.

4-64) **Independent Logical Structure:** F ----> not P
P = Preventative Action (unstated)
F = Undesired Action (/fang/ main clause)

As with their subordinate counterparts main clause apprehensionals can operate with both affirmative and negative verbs, the negative falling within the scope of both the apprehensive and possibility components:
I'm a sick old man now (i.e. "my body is no good").
I'm afraid I might not see my country again.

Interestingly, however, the negated independent /fang/ may also have aroader function, moving from expressing apprehension of the
possibility that a certain event will not take place to expressing
apprehension towards the impossibility of a particular event. Again,
the implication is that the event has been made impossible by third
parties or through otherwise uncontrollable circumstances.

They(pl) blocked the river (crossing).
Unfortunately you(sg) couldn't keep going.

I'm afraid I can't drink. The doctors(pl) told me so,
because my liver has become swollen.

The impossibility reading is more of a contextually determined than
unmarked interpretation of negated /fang/; it may be specifically
marked by suffixing /fang/ to the negative rather than the verb (4.4).
However, it is a clearly distinct reading rather than a sub-category
of standard /fang/ usage. This reading would seem to arise from the
ability of the negative to operate at different levels. That is, we
can depict the normal function of independent /fang/ as being the
apprehension of the possibility of a particular occurrence, where that
occurrence can be either affirmative or negated :

The impossibility reading then results from the negative operating not
just on the verb, but including the possibility component within its
scope, i.e. :

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occurrence can be either affirmative or negated :

Independent /fang/ - standard reading

Independent /fang/ - impossibility reading

The impossibility reading then results from the negative operating not
just on the verb, but including the possibility component within its
scope, i.e. :
4.1.6 Summary

In summary, then, we analyse the suffixes /(y)a/ and /wa/ as having a tense function independent of the auxiliary mode with which they co-occur, /(y)a/ denoting the past, and /wa/ the future. Apart from the one exception for /wa/ noted above (4.1.2), these markers have an absolute tense function, and locate the action of the verb relative to the time of speaking. Zero verb-final suffixing also basically serves a tense function, denoting the present. This category covers actions actually in progress at the time of speaking as well as those that have a more eternal or universal temporal placement. The imperative is also zero suffixed, but would appear to be semantically based on (4.1.4), and is morphologically identical to, the present irrealis. The imperative may have present or future time reference.

The suffix /nina/ has both a modal and a tense function, specifically selecting the obligative reading of the past irrealis. /Fang/, on the other hand, is primarily modal, marking a possible occurrence as undesirable, and carries no absolute tense reference, the temporal placement of the verb to which it suffixes being determined contextually.

Irrealis auxiliaries can combine with all verb-final suffixes except the apprehensive /fang/. I have suggested above that the Marrithiyel irrealis is a broad deontic modal category, concerned with actions and events having a propensity to come about as a result of particular determining causes or forces. Such determining factors include social and moral-legal obligation, personal desire and intention, and natural processes.

This irrealis mode is appropriate only to predicates whose propensity to occur has not been, or is not being, realized. In combination with /(y)a/, /nina/ and Ø it produces non-future irrealis verbs, that is, predicates whose action the speaker is suggesting, contrary to what is actually the case, should have occurred or should be occurring. The combination with a final zero also produces the imperative; this augments the obligative sense of the irrealis by seeking a consequent response from the addressee(s). The remaining suffix available to verbs with irrealis auxiliaries is /wa/, which produces the future "tense". Statements made about events subsequent to the time of speaking which employ this tense form are essentially
statements of determined propensities rather than acausal predictions or statements of likelihood.

Negation, marked by the particle /ambi/, is not a critical factor in the application of the irrealis; as we have seen, the negative falls within the scope of the modal. The negative past irrealis, for example, is concerned with that which should have not taken place but did, while the negative present irrealis marks that which should not be taking place but is. Negation of the irrealis thus simply involves the non-realisation, at the time of speaking, of a determined propensity not to occur; this requires the action of negated non-future irrealis verbs to actually have happened or be happening.

The Marrithiyel irrealis is thus to be understood not as distinguishing real-world occurrence from non-occurrence, but as denoting the non-realisation, prior to or simultaneous with the time of speaking, of the perceived propensity of a predicate, and regardless of whether the predicate is affirmative or negative.

In contrast to the irrealis, it is not clear that the realis constitutes a single broad semantic category. The realis can co-occur with three verb-final suffixes. In combination with /ya/ and 0 it forms the past and present indicative. The indicative presents events in a straightforward fashion as unqualified matters of fact. It is unaffected by negation, encoding actual occurrences or non-occurrences. Apart from those in the apprehensive category, future events cannot be categorised as actual in this way (they are rather necessarily viewed as having a propensity to occur), and realis auxiliaries consequently cannot co-occur with the future /wa/ suffix.

In combination with /fang/ irrealis auxiliaries form the apprehensive. This category covers undesirable possibilities and may appear in either semantically dependent or independent clauses, corresponding to differing views of the avoidability of the /fang/ marked action. Negated independent /fang/ may also be interpreted as denoting undesirable impossibilities. Since this category, then, deals largely with possibilities rather than actual occurrences, the question to be asked here is why the apprehensives share the auxiliary mode of the indicatives, and why they are not coded with the irrealis auxiliary form, which is otherwise allocated to potential events.

The exclusion of the apprehensives from the general category of potentials in fact underlines that the auxiliary division in Marrithiyel is not simply one of potential versus factual. Because /fang/ marked events are bad, undesirable or to be avoided for some
reason, the speaker would seem to be deliberately removing them from
the class of verbs formed with irrealis auxiliaries and which are
marked as having a propensity to occur; that is, this would seem to
encode a view that apprehensives should not be categorised as deontic
possibilities. We can view the primary modality of a verb formed with
an irrealis auxiliary as being that the action, in a broad sense,
"should" take place, and we have seen that both affirmative and
negative verbs fall within the scope of this general modal operator.
The primary modality of a /fang/ marked verb on the other hand, and
again allowing for both affirmative and negative verbs to fall within
its scope, is that the action is undesirable, that is, that it "should
not" take place. The construction of apprehensionals with other than
irrealis auxiliary forms thus highlights the speaker's view that
/fang/ marked predicates are to be removed from the category of
potential events which forces at work in this world should bring to
 fruition.

In addition, apprehensives can be seen as having some affinity
with the indicatives. Apprehensives of impossibility, for example,
are unequivocal, functioning, even when they have future reference,
like statements of fact. They have no suggestion of optional
scenarios or alternative potentialities; they state the impossibility
of the action straight out. And it is possible that the other
apprehensives share the auxiliary coding of the indicatives because
their undesirability accords them a certain sense of immediacy or
actuality. Subordinate /fang/ clauses present imminent unwanted
possibilities, which must be prevented or avoided by an alternative
course of action. And main clause /fang/, in its standard
interpretation, presents comparatively unavoidable undesirable
possibilities: the speaker would thus seem to be suggesting the need
for the speech situation participants to face the reality of the
marked events. The non-future indicatives, then, together with the
apprehensives, would appear to constitute an extended realis category,
comprising in addition to actual (non-future) occurrences and non-
occurrents, that which is, unfortunately, unequivocally impossible,
and those potential occurrences whose adverse nature demands that they
be treated as very real possibilities.

4.2. Aspectual Functions of Intransitive Auxiliaries
In this section I look at the role played by the intransitive
auxiliaries in encoding verbal aspect. I assume here, following
Comrie (1976), a broad concept of aspect as providing perspectives on the ordering or extension in time of the verbal action, cf. "aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (Comrie, 1976, p3). The study of aspect in a language thus looks ultimately towards the categorisation of verbs according to their temporal makeup, that is, whether they are to be classified as stative, dynamic, punctual, durative, progressive etc. (cf. Lyons, 1977, p708). But in a more particular sense aspect is normally regarded as being concerned with the ways in which these different perspectives may be systematically encoded through grammatical procedures, rather than the ways in which they can be seen as lexicalized or as inherent properties of particular verbs; lexically specified and grammatically determined aspects are of course of necessity interdependent (Lyons, 1977, p706).

In Marrithiyel the primary grammatical means of aspectual marking is through the simple intransitive auxiliaries. The mechanism operates differently for Marrithiyel's two major verb classes. With verbs in the high transitive class (constructed with the regular formally transitive auxiliaries), aspectual marking is achieved by the serialisation of a simple intransitive verb; this is examined in 4.2.1. With verbs which belong to the low transitive class (constructed with the formally intransitive auxiliaries, as well as the anomalous formally transitive auxiliaries, cf. 3.2.1.6), serialisation is not permitted; for certain sub-classes of these low transitivity verbs, however, some aspectual marking can be brought about by substitution of one auxiliary for another; this is reviewed in 4.2.2.

4.2.1. Serialisation with High Transitive Verbs

In its basic structure, comprising an auxiliary, complex verb stem (in the case of complex verbs) and obligatory number and tense/mood suffixes (cf. 3.1), a high transitive verb is unmarked for aspect. The auxiliary and tense/mood suffix together provide information about the realis/irrealis categorisation, and the temporal placement and/or modal status, of the verbal situation (4.1), but there is no specific morphology, at least outside of the complex verb stem, indicating that it has any kind of internal temporal make-up. In such a verb the perspective is of the action as a whole event. While many of these verbs may in fact be capable of being interpreted as extended in time, and may even take durative modifiers, the verb
itself draws no specific attention to the temporal constituency of the action, e.g.:

4-70) awu sjanjsji ngurra -nanga nginj -bi -ya fitit -a
meat fire coals LOC 1sS R nj cook Pst for a Pst
long time

I cooked the meat on the coals for a long time.

Sequences of these verbs are understood as encoding sequential actions; because they are viewed as unitary occurrences other actions may not be embedded in them.

4-71) ginimuyi -ingin -a / awu nginj -bi -ya
2sS R visit 1sG Pst meat 1sS R nj cook Pst

You(sg) came to see me, (and then) I cooked the meat on the coals.

NOT When you came to see me I was cooking the meat on the coals.

Following Comrie (1976, p3) I refer to this aspectually unmarked form of the verb as the "perfective".

The imperfective form of a high transitive verb is then constructed by postposing to the verb a simple intransitive auxiliary. In this imperfective construction the major tense/mood suffixes /y)a/, /nina/ and /wa/ (i.e. all the major suffixes but for the apprehensive /fang/), along with any accompanying temporal modifiers in the preceding verbal slot7 (cf. 4.3), are eliminated from the transitive verb and instead appear on the post-posed intransitive. The verbal action is now specifically marked as having some sort of temporal composition; as a result it may now have other actions occurring within its time span. Contrast for example (4-72), in which the transitive verb of the second clause takes a postposed "sit" auxiliary, with (4-71), in which the transitive verb is in its unmarked or perfective form.

4-72) ginimuyi -ingin -a / awu nginj -bi gangi -ya
2sS R reach 1sG Pst meat 1sS R nj cook 1sS R sit Pst

When you(sg) came to see me, I was cooking the meat on the coals.

This imperfective construction is available to all durative verbs of the high transitive class, both complex, as shown in (4-72), and simple, as illustrated in (4-73) below.

4-73.a) leta gagan ngidin -a
letter ANAPH 1sS R see Pst

I saw that letter.
Marrithiyel has six simple intransitive auxiliaries. Five of these, "lie", "sit", "stand", "go" and "go*", are the regular formally intransitives. The sixth, "be hanging", is anomalous in being "formally transitive", i.e. grouped for the purposes of morphological transitivity marking with the verbs of the high transitive class (cf. 3.2.1.6). All six of these may function as imperfective markers to formally transitive verbs.

The (high) transitive verb and its postposed intransitive form a composite unit. The intransitive functions phonologically, for the purpose of stress assignment, voicing rules etc., as a separate word, but the two verbs are treated intonationally as part of the one clause. Several features of the construction cannot be altered without disrupting the link between the two verbs, thus triggering separate clausal intonation for each and destroying the aspectual modification function of the intransitive. Firstly, the verbs must agree in auxiliary mode (i.e. with respect to their realis/irrealis inflection) and in person and number of subject. We see in (4-74) below the inability of the intransitive to inflect for a different auxiliary mode, even where its tense reference could conceivably be considered to be appropriate.

4-74) mi -miri ngagi -wawa -ferri ngun -a
   CM eye 1sS Ir nj wet foot 1sS Ir go Pst
   *ngin REDUP *1sS R go

   I should have continued watering the (base of) the seedlings.

And (4-75), which contrasts with (4-73.b) above, shows that even partial non-coreferentiality between the main verb and an attempted serial blocks the construction; while (4-73.b) is a normal imperfective (4-75) is ungrammatical nonsense.

4-75) * leta gagan ngidin garrginj -Ø -a
   letter ANAPH 1sS R see 1ES R sit pl Pst
   * I was reading the letter while we sat there.
In addition any post-auxiliary marker which appears in the transitive verb to cross-reference subject number (cf. 3.4) must be copied onto the intransitive. Despite the redundancy of this double marking there is never any contraction or deletion of these number morphemes.

4-76) ngirr -inj -yan'gi -nimbi ngarrginj -nimbi -wa
     IES Ir rr RECIP talk trial IES Ir sit trial Fut

    We(exc, 3) will sit talking together.

No further morphology may appear in the post-posed intransitive; it may consist only of an auxiliary, a number marker, and a tense/mood marker, which may itself be augmented by an incorporated temporal modifier. The intransitive thus cross-references only subjects. It does not copy, even in the case of reflexives, any G or O pronouns in the auxiliary-final position of the transitive verb. Neither can it copy any of the post-auxiliary pronouns (cf. 3.3).

4-77) gininj -Ø -a /
     2nsS R go pl Pst

    duknganan ginj -idi -tharrwuwu -Ø -fang gusri (*-idi)
policeman 3sS R nj 2nsO question pl APP 3sS R sit 2nsO

    You(pl) went, lest the policeman (sit) questioning you.

The post-posed intransitive can thus, in its auxiliary-final slot, take only the appropriate marker for non-singular non-inclusive subject number, that is, /inj/ for the regular intransitives "sit", "go" and "go*", zero for "lie" and "stand", and /inggi/ for the irregular "be hanging" auxiliary (cf. 3.2.3.), e.g.:

4-78) fundi thawurr girr -inggi -girip -fini
     hand tree 1ES R rr nsnIS slip dl

    girrinjsgji -ingqi -fini -ya / ngidi -inggi -njsjin -fini -ya
     1ES R be nsnIS dl Pst 1ES Ir di nsnIS fall down dl Pst

    We(exc,2) were hanging losing our grip on the branches
    - we should have fallen.

Nothing may occur between the two verbs. As we can see from the contrast between (4-79) below and (4-73.b), even the repetition of the tense/mood suffix on each verb disrupts the reading.

4-79) leta gagan ngidin -a gangi -ya
    letter ANAPH 1sS R see Pst 1sS R sit Pst

    * I sat looking at (reading) that letter.
    BUT I saw that letter. I was sitting down.
Further, the two verbs may not be independently modified. In (4-80), for example, the negative can only be understood as applying to the one action extended in time. It cannot be interpreted as able to apply to either one of the verbs separately; such readings, as shown in (4-81) and (4-82), can only be achieved by inflecting each verb separately for tense/mood, and placing the negative prior to the appropriate verb. This strategy then results in two distinct clauses.

4-80) mi -miri ambi -ya ngagi -wawa -ferri ngun -a
CM eye NEG Pst lsS Ir nj wet REDUP foot 1sS Ir go Pst

I should not have continued watering the (base of) the seedlings.
* I should not have watered the seedlings - I should have gone.
* I should have watered the seedlings - I should not have gone.

4-81) mi -miri ambi -ya ngagi -wawa -ferri -ya / ngun -a
CM eye NEG Pst lsS Ir nj wet REDUP foot Pst 1sS Ir go Pst

I should not have watered the seedlings. I should have gone.

4-82) mi -miri ngagi -wawa -ferri -ya / ambi -ya ngun -a
CM eye 1sS Ir nj wet REDUP foot Pst NEG Pst 1sS Ir go Pst

I should have watered the plants. I should not have gone.

Similarly, although the modal suffix /fang/, unlike the other tense/mood suffixes, remains on the main verb in the imperfective construction, it nevertheless has scope over both the main and the intransitive verb. (4-83) below therefore cannot be interpreted as having /fang/ applying independently to either verb.

4-83) gi -inggi -nerri -o -fang gayirr
3sS R Ø lIG search dl APP 3sS R go*

I'm afraid he might be coming along looking for you and me.
* I'm afraid he's looking for you and me. He's coming along.
* He's looking for you and me. I'm afraid he's coming along.

This post-posing of intransitive auxiliaries is clearly to be classified syntactically as a form of verb serialisation since it fulfils all the standard criteria usually employed for this term: obligatory same subject, no independent tense selection, single clause intonation etc. Such serialisation for aspsectual purposes is common crosslinguistically (Foley and Van Valin, 1984, p210-213), although the phenomenon has not yet been widely reported for Australian languages. (Some exceptions are Austin (1981), Eather (in preparation) and Reid (in preparation)). Note that this Marrithiyel serialisation does not, however, have many of the features reported elsewhere for serial verbs; it is not concerned with increasing verb valency, nor does it lead to extended verb chains. Only one transitive verb, and
not a whole preceding sequence, can be given imperfective aspect by
the serialised intransitive.

As imperfective markers, "lie", "stand" and "be hanging" have the
same classificatory role that they exhibit as the initial auxiliaries
of low transitive verbs (as discussed in 6.3), serialising for stance
or posture imperfective aspect. They classify the action of the
transitive verb with respect to the posture of the subject, and
simultaneously draw attention to that action as extended in time, that
is, as continuous or progressive. These serials necessitate a
conception of the subject as performing the action entirely within the
specified physical posture, neither moving into nor out of it. A "be
hanging" imperfective has been illustrated in (4-78) above; "lie" and
"stand" are illustrated in (4-84) and (4-85).

4-84) ferri -gin nginj -ingin -thenggi -sri -du ngifel -a /
foot INS 1sS R nj 1sG=REFL bottom ITER touch 1sS R lie Pst
fundi -gin ngirr -ingin -thenggi -sri -du ngifel -a
hand INS 1sS R rr 1sG=REFL bottom ITER touch 1sS R lie Pst

I was lying pushing myself with my feet, I was lying pushing
myself with my hands. (i.e. I was swimming).

4-85) e nendu ganda gurr -inj -mirrirr gunja -ya
and horse that 3nsS R rr RECIP put together 3nsS R stand Pst

And those horses were "standing" (i.e. in an upright posture)
putting themselves together/in order.
(i.e. They were racing each other)

"Sit" as a serial has a more ambivalent character. Like "lie",
"stand" and "be hanging" it may be interpreted as an orientational
aspectual; this more literal reading of the "sit" comes to the
forefront when it acts contrastively with the other orientational
aspectuals, e.g.:

4-86.a) muku nang ginj -ing -tjurr -fiyi gaful -a
woman 3msPRO 3sS R nj 3fsG=REFL cut head 3sS R lie Pst
ITER

His wife was lying down cutting her hair.

4-86.b) muku nang ginj -ing -tjurr -fiyi guwa -ya
woman 3msPRO 3sS R nj 3fsG=REFL cut head 3sS R stand Pst
ITER

His wife was standing cutting her hair.

4-86.c) muku nang ginj -ing -tjurr -fiyi gusri -ya
woman 3msPRO 3sS R nj 3fsG=REFL cut head 3sS R sit Pst
ITER

His wife was sitting cutting her hair.
At a more general level, however, the "sit" serial functions as the unmarked choice for imperfective for actions conceived of as performed within the one location and within the one continuous time span. In this function "sit" has been grammaticised to some extent and shows some loss of meaning from its independent verbal function. The "sit" serial can apply as a general durative for example to verbs that normally demand "stand" or "lie" and to verbs that are not wholly, or sometimes not at all, performed within the sitting orientation. Thus in (4-87) "sit" is the imperfective used in conjunction with a verb formed with the CVS /futjfutj/, "hit, kill (iterative)" (cf.4.5). It is clear in this example that the subject could not be confined to a sitting orientation.

4-87) ferri gininj -Ø -a wudi winjsjani -wa / foot 1ES R go pl Pst liquid bad PURP
nang gagan gani -ngitj -ginjanga -Ø -ya / 3smPRO ANAPH 3sS R go hide 1E ABL pl Pst
ginj -igidi -futjfutj -Ø -njsjan gusri -ya 3sS R nj 1EO hit pl then 3sS R sit Pst

We (exc, pl) were going on foot, for "bad liquid" (i.e. rum). He was hiding from us. Then he was bashing us up.

Serialisation of "go" and "go*" with (high) transitive verbs has a number of different consequences. Most literally, they categorise actions as extended in time by virtue of their being performed while the subject is in motion, i.e. while the subject can be thought of as changing location and/or orientation. As in its simple verb usage (6.3), serial "go*" here differs from the general movement or change of location/posture auxiliary "go" in denoting more directed, protracted or purposeful motion, e.g.:

4-88.a) murrika -nanga nidin gumun'gi -Ø gurrinj -Ø -a motorcar LOC country 3nsS R paint pl 3nsS R go* pl Pst

They(pl) were going along in the car writing down (the names of) the country.

4-88.b) ferri gininj -fini -sran -a / foot 1ES R go dl away Pst
garr -ingin -yan'gi gani -ya duk -wa 3sS R rr 1sG talk 3sS R go Pst law PURP

We(exc,2) went off on foot. He was going telling me about the law.

The "go" and "go*" serials may also be understood as "going from place to place" imperfectives, carrying a sense of the action of the
transitive verb as made up of repeated instances performed at a number of different locations, e.g.:

4-89) nidin nginjsji nidin nginjsji guninj -batjbatj -Ø -a /
country one country one 3nsS R go lie down pl Pst
REDUP

ngata sjapatj gurringgi -puritjpuritj -Ø guninj -Ø -a
house small 3nsS R rr fix REDUP pl 3nsS R go pl Pst

They(pl) made camp in many different countries.
They were going about fixing up the outstations ("small houses").

Possibly based on their change of location readings is the role of "go" and "go*" serials as continuative imperfectives. Parallel to the "going from place to place" function, which involves instances of the verbal action at different locations, this reading would appear to involve instances of the verbal action being renewed at different points in time; there is no necessary change of location. The use of "go*" here carries a sense of persistence, while "go" is more the unmarked imperfective for renewed or continued action.

4-90.a) nganggi -Ø ngumburr -inj -yan'gi -Ø ngambu -Ø -wa /
1I PRO dl 1IS Ir rr RECIP talk dl 1IS Ir sit dl Fut

fandi gun -dim -defen -wa /
sun 3sS Ir go sink until Fut

nitji nganggi -Ø ngumburr -inj -yan'gi -Ø ngumbun -Ø -wa
night 1I PRO dl 1IS Ir rr RECIP talk dl 1IS Ir go dl Fut

You and I will sit/be talking together until the sun goes down.
In the night we will continue talking.

4-90.b) fall -tjurr feyirr -Ø / gudi -njsjin -wa
2sS Ir l cut ITER 2sS Ir go* Imp 3sS Ir di fall Fut

(You(sg)) Keep on chopping (the tree). It will fall.

A further reading of "go" serialisation (and one for which "go*" is not available) is customary/habitual aspect. This can be seen as an extension of its change of location and continuous meanings, adding to the sense of repeated or renewed action a notion of the regularity, or characteristic nature, of the repetition:

4-91) watjan gagan a -muwa gani -srin -dim gani -ya
dog ANAPH CA bone 3sS R n ITER sink 3sS R go Pst

That dog used to bury bones.
This type of "go" serialisation is a feature of the characteristic construction, which involves a realis zero tense-suffixed (i.e. present indicative) verb embedded under a head noun (typically a class marker), e.g.:

4-92) ngunggu -Ø marri garr -ing -lunglung -miri gani -Ø
female s 3 word 3sS R rr 1sO strike, slap eye 3sS R go Pr
REDUP
=cause headache

Her talking gives me headaches.

It is important to note that with all the imperfective serials any postural/motional categorisation applies only to the subject of the preceding transitive verb, and does not encompass goals, objects or any other non-subject core arguments. "Go*" serialisation is quite permissible in (4-93) below, for example, where, although the subject is in motion, the objects are clearly stationary.

4-93) ngirr -dip ngijnjarr -a a -wetjuwurang /
1sS R rr spear ITER 1sS R go* Pst CA red kangaroo
fandi -fang gawunj -a nginjawul -nanga
sun APP 3nsS R sit Pst shade LOC

I went along spearing kangaroos as they sat in the shade avoiding the sun.

Similarly in (4-94) below, where although the objects are in a "lying" orientation (as specified by the verb of the initial clause), the transitive verb takes a "stand" serial.8

4-94) a -yililki a -wuyanjmi sjanjshi -nanga ngigin -tjuk -a
CA cut of meat CA cooked fire LOC 1sS R claim lie down Pst
gudi -wil gasja -wa
3sS Ir heat warm 3sS Ir stand Fut

I lay the cooked cuts of meat on the fire. It (fire? heat?) will be standing warming them (i.e. they will get warm).

Imperfective serialisation is not available to all formally transitive verbs. In fact the way in which this serialisation operates over the range of transitive verbs allows us to identify three high transitive verb classes, these classes differing according to the aspectual character of their member verb stems.

The first class is that for which any form of imperfective serialisation is not permitted. Verbs formed with the CVS's /kurr/ "hit, kill", /wuki/ "eat up" and /git/ "cut, sever" are members of this class, as is the simple verb "reach". These are punctiliar CVSs; they denote actions which cannot be conceptualised as having any
internal temporal constituency, and cannot therefore be marked as elaborated in time by serialised imperfectives. Note that these cannot take serials simply to categorise the orientation of the subject in performing the action. Neither can they take "go" or "go*" serialisation to encode them as performed with the subject in motion. To be eligible for motional aspectual marking, the action of the transitive must be one which is capable of being extended in time; it cannot be a punctual act performed while on the move. Similarly, a punctiliar CVS cannot be marked for change of location, continuative or characteristic/habitual aspect.

The second class is that for which intransitive serialisation is effectively obligatory. These are inherently imperfective verbs, whose normal expression necessitates drawing some attention to their internal temporal make-up. Members of this class include the verb "think", a special reflexive form of the verb "talk" formed with the CVS /yan'gi/ (cf. 3.3.4), "question", formed with the CVS /tharrwu(wu)/, iterative "hit, kill", formed with the CVS /futjfutj/, and the simple verb "heat". These verbs rarely occur without a serialised intransitive.

The third class, to which the vast majority of the verbs in the language belong, is the neutral group. Verbs in this class may appear in both unserialised and imperfective form, according to the perspective of the speaker.

4.2.2. Substitution in Low Transitive Verbs

Verbs constructed with an initial auxiliary of the low transitive class cannot be serialised for aspect in the manner of the high transitive verbs. This restriction thus covers all formally intransitive verbs, that is, any verb containing an initial "lie", "sit", "stand", "go" or "go*" auxiliary, as well as any verb formed with an initial (formally transitive) "be hanging" or /di/ auxiliary. This restriction applies regardless of whether such a verb can be analysed as having two or more core arguments, and regardless of whether any non-subject argument is actually encoded in the auxiliary.

4-95) * a -wakirr a -ngelfu
CA fish CA much
    gawunj -nisja -Ø gawunj -a nitji -sran
    3nsS R sit eat pl 3nsS R sit Pst night ALL

BUT a -wakirr a -ngelfu gawunj -nisja -Ø -a nitji -sran
CA fish CA much 3nsS R sit eat pl Pst night ALL

They(pl) were sitting eating that mob of fish through the night.
Given that the semantic character of the intransitives as serials is consistent, though not always identical, with their character as verb initial auxiliaries, this restriction is not surprising; unless a greater grammaticisation of the serial took place an intransitive auxiliary post-posed to an intransitive verb could only either repeat or contradict the classificatory and aspectual marking of the initial auxiliary. Aspect in intransitive verbs is determined primarily by the initial auxiliary; each of the intransitive auxiliaries can be analysed as specified for particular aspectual properties. These can then combine with classes of CVS's to produce different types of perspective on the temporal make-up of intransitive verbs. As the analysis of this is bound up with more detailed considerations of AVR and CVS semantics, these aspectual considerations are discussed in Ch. 6.

There are, however, some systematic processes which can be illustrated here. The majority of verbs formed with the "lie", "stand", "sit" and "be hanging" auxiliaries are inherently imperfective. The verbal action is thought of as extended over a single time span, and there is no change of location or orientation. For this class of verbs different aspects can be encoded using the "go*" and "go" auxiliaries. In this case "go" and "go*", rather than serialising, instead substitute for the initial auxiliary. The aspectual consequences are the same as with their serialised counterparts, e.g.:

4-97) awu -nganan gangi/gunga/ngifel -nisja -ya
meat SCE 1sS R sit/stand/lie eat Pst
I was sitting/standing/lying eating (pieces) from the meat.

4-98) awu -nganan ngijnjarr -nisja -ya
meat SCE 1sS R go* eat Pst
I was going along eating from the meat.
I kept on/persisted in eating from the meat.

4-99) awu -nganan ngin -nisja -ya
meat SCE 1sS R go eat Pst
I was going about eating from the meat.
I continued eating from the meat.
I used to eat from the meat.
4.3. Incorporated Temporal Modifiers

There are five temporal modifiers which may be incorporated into the verb immediately prior to the major tense/mood suffix. These five are:

/\text{njsjan}/ ... now, then
/\text{sran}/ ... about to, for a while
/\text{na}/ ... first
/\text{da}/ ... again
/\text{defen}/ ... until

These all have wider roles as clitics or suffixes in the language, and none of them function exclusively as verbal affixes. Incorporation in the verb, however, can have particular semantic consequences, or can be subject to particular restrictions, and it is these that are given particular consideration in this section.

4.3.1. /\text{njsjan}/

/\text{Njsjan - njsja}/ is one of the most commonly occurring morphemes in the day-to-day conversational form of the language. The /\text{njsja}/ allomorph appears following deictics and the /\text{njsjan}/ variant elsewhere.

Both as a clitic and a verbal affix /\text{njsjan}/ has two temporal interpretations: it can be understood as having a relative temporal reference, in which case I gloss it as "then", or it can be understood as having absolute temporal reference, i.e., referring to the time of speaking, in which case I gloss it as "now". As a relative temporal /\text{njsjan}/ acts to sequence and segment the discourse, marking the verb, or whatever other constituent it may attach to, as belonging to a time frame subsequent to that of the preceding discourse.

4-100) gambu -wurrkama -Ø -na -ya / gambu -gudak -Ø -njsjan -a 1IS R sit work dl first Pst 1IS R sit drink dl then Pst

First we(inc,dl) worked, and then we drank.

Relative /\text{njsjan}/ is, however, typically not used merely as a temporal linking device, but rather to signal the existence of some sort of new concern or attribute. Incorporated into the verb /\text{njsjan}/ thus marks the verbal action as constituting a new stage in the discourse, that is, as relating to a new state of affairs (often a culmination or result of events in the preceding discourse), a new focus, a new topic
etc. Adapting the terminology of Wierzbicka (1980, pp185-221) I refer to this role of /njsjan/ as its "new world" function:

4-101) marri nginsji -da ngurr -imbi -yan'gi ngawu -wa / word one again lsS lr rr 2sG talk lsS lr sit Fut
arri -wanggal -wa / 2sS lr rr finish Fut
marri gagan fali -sri -tip -njsjan -wa word ANAPH 2sS lr 1 ITER bite then Fut

I'll be telling (i.e. teaching) you(sg.) different words.
You'll finish. Then you'll really "bite" that language.
(i.e. You'll really have it in your mouth, be in control of it.)

When /njsjan/, as a clitic, rather than as a verbal affix, takes on present time reference its primary reading is as a "new world" marker. In this role it can have a very high frequency of occurrence; indeed, conversations about current activities are often effectively peppered with /njsjan/ as speakers draw successive attention to new actions, events, developments etc. as they come about, or as they switch from topic to topic. In particular, /njsjan/ normally appears with any constituent which denotes some ephemeral attribute or a resultant state; there is such a strong speaker preference for employing /njsjan/ under these conditions, despite the amount of repetition that this can involve, that the morpheme is effectively obligatory here.

Incorporation into the verb of this present time /njsjan/ has particular aspectual consequences. For example, incorporated into the present tense of dynamic (i.e. non-stative) verbs /njsjan/ functions as a type of perfect marker; it turns the perspective towards the endpoint of in-progress actions, and brings about a sense of them as being accomplished or completed as of the present moment. Like certain uses of the English present perfect (cf. McCawley 1971, Wierzbicka, 1980, pp207-210), which I employ to translate this verb form, this /njsjan/ incorporation has a stative quality; the perspective provided by the incorporation is that the action is being completed, and the contextual focus is on the effect of the action - the resulting state of affairs, attribute etc. Thus we can contrast the present indicatives of (4-102.a) and (4-103.a) below, which depict the action as in-progress, with their /njsjan/ affixed counterparts in (4-102.b) and (4-103.b), which provide more of a terminal viewpoint on the action.
The completive function of this /njsjan/ incorporation can be shown more clearly in context. For example, the /njsjan/ affixing verb of (4-103.b) can be followed, as shown in (4-104), by an instruction which assumes that the action of the preceding /njsjan/ marked verb is complete, and would not be given otherwise. (4-104) is therefore a sensible statement, whereas (4-105) is silly.

Equally, the discourse in (4-106) makes sense because of the completive perspective provided by /njsjan/ incorporation in the verb of the initial clause; without the incorporated temporal this first verb would instead be understood as in-progress, and the remaining discourse would fail to follow normally from it.
progress action. This clitic cannot co-occur with /njsjan/ incorporating present tense verbs; contrast (4-107) and (4-108).

4-107) sjitinj garri -puritj -Ø sjirra
       bush wall 3sS R rr fix, make Pr yet

       "He is building the bush wall yet."
       = He is still to finish building the bush wall.

4-108) * sjitinj garri -puritj -njsjan -Ø sjirra
       bush wall 3sS R rr fix, make now Pr yet

The perfect aspect created by present tense /njsjan/ incorporation is fully compatible with the imperfective marking achieved through the serialisation of intransitive verbs (4.2). That is, although the focus is primarily on the end-point and the resulting state of affairs, the preceding action which leads to this can nevertheless be viewed as either perfective, that is, as a single unitary event, or as imperfective, that is, as having had some kind of extension in time. The imperfective is awkward to translate into English, which lacks a straightforward corresponding form, e.g.:

4-109) garri -puritj -njsjan gusri -Ø
       3sS R rr fix, make now 3sS R sit Pr

       He has "been sitting" (i.e. continued for a while) and fixed it now.
       i.e. He's finished fixing it.

4-110) ginj -derafu guwa -njsjan -Ø / anji -thithi -Ø
       3sS R nj dry 3sS R stand now Pr 2sS Ir nj straighten Imp

       It has "been standing" and dried them now.
       (You(sg)) Straighten them.
       i.e. They have finished drying now. (You(sg)) Straighten them.

In the imperfective construction incorporated /njsjan/ can attach either to the main (transitive) verb, as in (4-109), or to the postposed intransitive, as in (4-110). It can even appear twice in the construction, attaching to both verbs. The choice of positioning seems to be largely a stylistic matter, and I've been unable to discover any semantic determinants for it. This behaviour distinguishes /njsjan/ from the other incorporated temporal modifiers, which in the imperfective construction can attach only to the intransitive verb.

Interestingly, /njsjan/ can retain its absolute, or present, time reference when incorporated into non-present verbs. Suffixied to past tense verbs, for example, present time /njsjan/ continues to have the effect of bringing about a perfect type marking. In contrast to its present tense incorporation, which brings about a perspective on events as in completion at the moment of speaking, past tense
incorporation codes the verbal action as having been completed at some previous time, but as constituting information which is in some way new in, relevant to, or consequential for, the world of the present. Thus this construction is commonly employed in answering questions, e.g.:

4-111) awu gagan afen gaful -Ø?
  meat ANAPH where 3sS R lie Pr
  wuy, ambi -ra, ngi -wuki -njsjan -a, wakay -njsjan
  no NEG meat 1sS R Ø eat now Pst finished now

Where's that meat?
Nothing, there's no meat, I've eaten it, it's all gone.

And the past indicative verb of (4-112.a) can be compared with its /njsjan/ suffixed counterpart in (4-112.b), which marks the past event as bearing on the present discussion.

4-112.a) themberriduk gan -sran gunggi -fup -Ø -a
  road here ALL 3nsS R Ø put down pl Pst
  They(pl) put down a road in this direction.

4-112.b) ngindimuyi -iqlnj -Ø -Ø /
  2sS Ir visit 1EG pl Imp
  murrika ambi gawu -git -thiyerr -wa /
  car NEG 3sS Ir sit cut lips Fut
  themberriduk gan -sran gunggi -fup -Ø -njsjan -a
  road here ALL 3nsS R Ø put down pl now Pst
  (You(sg)) Come and visit us (exc,pl). The car won't get bogged.
  They(pl) have put down a road in this direction.

As with the present tense, incorporation of present time /njsjan/ in the past also allows for imperfective marking. That is, the completed past action relevant to the present world is able to be viewed as having had some extension in time, e.g.:

4-113) garri -puritj -njsjan gusri -ya
  3sS R rr fix, make now 3sS R sit Pst
  He has "sat" (i.e. continued for a while) and fixed it.

/njsjan/ may also be suffixed to past, but not present, irrealis verbs. Irrealis verbs thus, unlike the indicatives, do not have distinctive perfect type forms for past and present non-occurrences. Instead there is a single category, the /njsjan/ suffixed past, which codes as of consequence for the world of the present the non-
occurrence of actions that should have taken place at anytime prior to the moment of speaking.

4-114) tharr -gagan winjsjani gani -Ø felp /
thing ANAPH bad 3sS R go Pr continually

firringgi -puritj -Ø -njsjan -a
3nsS Ir rr fix, make pl now Pst

That thing's always on the blink. They(pl) should have fixed it by now.

The /njsjan/ incorporated past tense in Marrithiyel is similar in its semantic character to the English present perfect, which has been described by Jespersen (1931) as "connecting a past occurrence with the present state as having results or consequences bearing on the present moment." More particularly, the Marrithiyel form corresponds most closely to what McCawley (1971) has identified as the present perfect's "stative" function. McCawley says of these: "the stative present perfects would presumably correspond to a semantic representation in which a description of the event is embedded in a context like 'the direct result of ----- continues'"(1971, p108). The Marrithiyel form differs significantly, of course, from the English perfect in allowing for imperfective or progressive verb forms in the construction. Marrithiyel also differs from English in having a parallel construction, incorporating /njsjan/ in present tense verbs, which has a perspective of not relevant past, but rather relevant present, completion of an action.

Present time /njsjan/ can also be incorporated into verbs that have future time reference, that is, the future and the imperative. The primary function of this incorporation is to create a sense of immediate action. Suffixed to future verbs, for example, /njsjan/ indicates that the action should not take place at some unspecified subsequent time, but, rather, now; this is illustrated in both the perfective future of (4-115), and the imperfective in the second clause of (4-116).

4-115) warr -ing -mi -sjat -njsjan -wa /
2sS Ir go 1sO MI sit down now Fut

arr -ingin -yan'gi -wa
2sS Ir rr 1sG talk Fut

You(sg) should sit down with me now. Talk to me.
I don't want to talk to you(sg) tonight.
I want to sit talking to you now, today.

A similar sense of immediacy results from the inclusion of /njsjan/ in imperative verbs. Imperatives differ from future verbs in that, while able to have general future time reference, their unmarked interpretation is that action is required at the time of speaking (cf. 4.1.4). Incorporation of /njsjan/ with imperatives then specifically signals this interpretation, at once precluding the general future reading and underlining the demand for immediate action.

You (sg) Tie up the two dogs tonight.

Otherwise I'll kick them.

The incorporation of /njsjan/ into the future and imperative, in contrast to its role in the non-future, does not result in any particular focus on the completion or consequences, results etc. of the verbal action. Indeed it is difficult to conceive of a verbal category that could somehow relate the results of future events to the present world. The immediate future reading seems rather to be a product of, or perhaps a compromise between, the competing temporal references of the future verb and the incorporated modifier; that is, the result of applying present relevance to an anticipated action is the interpretation that it should occur in the future as close as possible to the present moment, i.e., immediately.

Note that these readings of /njsjan/ are available only when it has present time reference; they are not able to be transported and made relative to other time frames. Thus the incorporated /njsjan/ in (4-118) below is understood as having primarily its discourse sequencing function, denoting the verbal action of the second clause as subsequent to that of the initial clause. However, while it may
also carry some new world marking function, there is no evidence to suggest that /njsjan/ suffixing here has any perfect role analogous to that achieved by its present time reference counterpart:

4-118) girrinja -wultharri -Ø -ya Wudi Gapil Diyerr -nanga / 1ES R stand return pl Pst water big teeth LOC

themberriduk gan -sran gunggi -fup -Ø -njsjan -a road here ALL 3nsS R Ø put down pl then Pst

We (exc, pl) returned to Wudi Gapil Diyerr. Then they (pl) put a road down in this direction.
* By then they had put a road down in this direction.

Similarly, the incorporated /njsjan/ in (4-119) can have a sequencing reading only, and is not interpretable as a relative immediate future.

4-119) ngumba -wultharri -Ø -wa nidin duwarr / 1IS Ir stand return I dl Fut country full =camp

ngumbun -sjat -Ø -wa / 1IS Ir go sit down I dl Fut

ngumburr -inj -yan'gi -Ø ngambu -Ø -njsjan -wa 1IS Ir rr RECIP talk I dl 1IS Ir sit I dl then Fut

You and I will return to camp. We'll sit down. Then (i.e. subsequently) we'll be talking.
* Immediately after that we'll be talking.

/njsjan/ cannot be incorporated into apprehensive (i.e /fang/ marked) verbs.

/njsjan/ may co-occur in the verb with another temporal modifier, /sran/, as discussed below.

4.3.2. /sran/

/sran/, as discussed in 2.3, occurs with nominals as the allative case suffix. In this nominal allative role /sran/ can denote both motion in the direction of, and static orientation towards, an object in space. In addition it has what can be seen as analogous functions in the temporal domain, suffixing to temporal NPs as a durative, and to adjectives as an inchoative (cf.2.3.(c).3), e.g.:

4-120) nitji -sran gumburr -inj -bibi -Ø gumba -Ø -ya night ALL 1IS R rr RECIP grab REDUP I dl 1IS R stand I dl Pst

We (inc,2) were (standing) wrestling each other during the night.

4-121) muwun gan gapil -sran, winsjsjani -njsjan / wananggal wadi -ya sore this big ALL bad now doctor 2sS Ir see Pst

This sore's getting big, it's no good now. You(sg) should have seen the doctor.
These various functions of the nominal suffix /sran/ are all also available to verbally incorporated /sran/, which can appear in verbs in all major tense/mood categories. I illustrate only the temporal functions here.

In its durative role incorporated /sran/ can be translated as "for a while", simply denoting some vague but relatively short-term extension in time of the verbal action. Its incorporation is subject to one major constraint: it may only appear with verbs of the low transitive class. Thus /sran/ durative affixation is permissible for the intransitive verbs in (4-122), but not for the high transitive verb of (4-123).

4-122.a) ngin -wurrkama -sran -a
1SS R go work ALL Pst
-b) ngambu -nim -sran -wa
1IS F sit I pl ALL Fut
*I worked for a while.*

4-123) *ngi -ininj -nerri -Ø -sran -a
1SS R Ø 2nsG search pl ALL Pst 2nsPRO pl INT

*I looked for you(pl) for a while.*

Note that this restriction is dependent on the high/low transitivity class membership of a verb rather than on the actual number of arguments a verb requires or cross-references. The verb of (4-124), for example, is a low transitive verb (constructed with a formally intransitive auxiliary), which encodes the undergoer with Ø forms in the auxiliary; durative /sran/ is readily incorporated here.

4-124) awu gusri -ing -mu -nisja -sran -a
meat 3SS R sit 1sg Mu eat ALL Pst

*He sat there for a while eating my meat.*

The restriction of /sran/ durative incorporation to verbs of low transitivity does not appear to follow from any properties it may have as a general durative marker. /Sran/ occurs freely, for example, as a nominal durative suffix in clauses with either high or low transitive verbs; its co-occurrence with a high transitive is illustrated in (4-120) above. It is possible, though, that this constraint results from /sran/ being incorporated as a durative in order to fill a gap in the verbal aspectual system. As has been discussed in 4.2 above, only high transitive verbs in Marrithiyel have regular perfective and imperfective forms, the imperfective being constructed by postposing a serialised simple intransitive auxiliary to the transitive verb. Use
of this construction, for example, in the high transitive verb in (4-123) above, in place of the attempted /sran/ incorporation, would result in a grammatical imperfective:

4-125) ngi -ininj -nerri -Ø ngin -a nadi -Ø -nel
1sS R Ø 2nsG search pl 1sS R go Pst 2nsPRO pl INT

*I went around looking for you(pl).*

This serial imperfective marking is not, however, available to verbs of the low transitive class (cf. 4.2). And while some degree of aspectual marking is achieved through the initial auxiliaries of the low transitives (cf.4.2.2.), it seems possible that durative /sran/ has developed as a verbal suffix to correspond both functionally and structurally (i.e. in the sense of being placed prior to the major tense/mood suffix) to the serialised aspectual markers of the high transitive verbs.

Durative /sran/ may co-occur in the verb with /njsjan/, which it follows. In this compound /njsjan/ can have only its relative temporal (that is, discourse sequencing) function.

In its verbal role incorporated inchoative /sran/ is even more constrained than is the durative. Inchoative /sran/ only appears in non-controlled (i.e. intransitive subject-undergoer) verbs. With statives, as in (4-126), /sran/ marks the subject of the verb as in the process of coming into or approaching a particular state of being:

4-126) gani -wiyi -miri -nginanga -sran -Ø
3sS R go angry eye 1s ADV ALL Pr

*He's (in the process of) becoming angry with me.*

With dynamic verbs, however, that is, with both non-controlled durative processes and punctiliar events, /sran/ has not so much an inchoative as an imminent meaning, marking the process or event as about to take place.

4-127) nanj ginimuyi -ingin -a / fandi gani -dim -sran -a
2sPRO 2sS R visit 1sG Pst sun 3sS R go sink ALL Pst

*You(sg) came to see me
(when) the sun was about to sink/set.*

4-128) warri -wurri -Ø wutharri /
2sS Ir go to here Imp quickly

*fusja gan gani -git -sran -Ø
rope this 3sS R go sever ALL Pr

*(You(sg)) Come here quickly. This rope's about to break.*
Inchoative /sran/ may also appear in the verb following the incorporated modifier /njsjan/ in its relative temporal function. It does not co-occur in past or future verbs with present time /njsjan/. However, the compounding of present time /njsjan/ and inchoative /sran/ takes on a special meaning when incorporated into present indicative verbs. This occurs in (non-controlled) durative verbs only, where the imminent sense of /sran/ is applied to the perfect or completive aspect provided by /njsjan/ to give a view of the process, not as about to get under way, but rather as almost complete, e.g.:

4-129) fandi gani -dim -njsjan -sran -Ø
sun 3sR go sink now ALL Pst

The sun is almost sunk (i.e. almost completely set).

4.3.3. /na/

The clitic /na/ can attach to a wide variety of non-verbal constituents as a marker of the first (in chronological order) of two consecutive items. While in examples I gloss /na/ as "first" it is sometimes better translated, depending on the context, as "earlier" or (adverbial) "before".

4-130) yigin -na ngidin -a / nanj wanthi
lsPRO first lsR see Pst 2sPRO subsequent

I saw it first, you (saw it) afterwards.

/Na/ has this same function when incorporated into the verb, marking that action or event as the earlier of two consecutive occurrences. Marrithiyel speakers tend to keep verbal /na/ for ordering discrete verbal actions, preferring not to use it, for example, to sequence participants involved in the action and cross-referenced in the verb. (4-131) below, which is an attempt to paraphrase (4-130) using an incorporated /na/, is regarded by my informants as at best dubious. In contrast (4-132), in which incorporated /na/ sequences distinct verbal actions, is quite regular.

4-131)?? yigin ngidin -na -ya / nanj wanthi
lsPRO 1sR see first Pst 2sPRO following

?? I saw it first, you (saw it) afterwards.

4-132) ngidin -sjat -na -ya / ngi -ini -maluluk -a
lsR see sit down first Pst 1sR Ø 3sG persuade Pst

First I made him sit down, then I talked him into it.
/Na/ suffixation of a verb implies the existence of a subsequent action; typically this action is overtly stated, as in (4-132), in the following clause. The iconic ordering of the clause with the /na/ suffixed verb being followed by the clause outlining the subsequent action is rarely disrupted; and when the ordering is reversed the clause with the /na/ marked verb is set aside intonationally as an afterthought or as some sort of parenthetical addition. And while the subsequent action is typically stated overtly it may be left unspecified, either to be understood from context or left open as a matter of conjecture, possibility etc. In particular, in conversational Marrithiyel, past tense verbs with incorporated /na/, and with no specified subsequent action, are relatively common. Here the past event is marked by /na/ as the earlier occurrence, while the later consecutive occurrence appears to be understood as the general events taking place in the world of the present. The /na/ marked verb thus is read as having taken place in the immediate past.

4-133) Masjita, ngindinji -put -Ø / fandi garri -wirr -na -ya
Masjita 2sS Ir nji arise Imp sun 3sS R rr uncover first Pst

Masjita, get up! The sun's just come up.

/Na/ does not appear in verbs suffixed with the apprehensive /fang/. It can be incorporated into verbs in the other major tense/mood categories, but does not, as as has been illustrated in 4.1, actually co-occur with the future suffix /wa/.

4.3.4. /da/

Like /na/, /da/, "again, also", can co-occur with a wide variety of constituents, incorporated into verbs as a suffix and functioning elsewhere as a clitic. The verbal incorporation of /da/ has two readings, each consistent with the more general function of /da/ in the language. Firstly, /da/ affixation can denote a single repetition of the verbal action, e.g. :

4-134) sjuwu -nganan mirritjina dim gingim -sjangi -ya /
sunset SCE medicine sink 1sS R do ear Pst

yangi dim gingim -sjangi -da -ya
today sink 1sS R do ear again Pst

Yesterday I forgot my medicine. Today I forgot again.

4-135) awu sretje ngirri -da -Ø
meat want 1sS R rri again Pr

I want meat again (i.e. I want more meat).
Secondly, it can denote a single repetition of the action by a different subject. (Note that such repetition can alternatively be marked by suffixing /da/ to the subject NP.)

4-136) awu sretje garri -Ø / yigin awu sretje ngirri -da -Ø
meat want 3sS R rr Pr 1sPRO meat want 1sS R rri again Pr

OR yigin -da awu sretje ngirri -Ø
1sPRO again meat want 1sS R rri Pr

He wants meat. I also want meat.

4.3.5. /defen/

As an independent particle in Marrithiyel /defen/ has a variety of meanings. With nominals and temporal qualifiers it can be translated as "only" or "just"; in conjunction with motional verbs it can also express the notion of "all the way to" or "right up to", e.g.:

4-137) wedi -fini gudinj -ma -miri -fini -ya yangi defen
3nsPRO dl 3nsS R see MA eye dl Pst now just RECIP

They (2) saw each other only now.
i.e. They only just saw each other.

4-138) wudi nginjarr -gudak -a felp nidin duwarr defen
liquid 1sS R go* drink Pst continually country full just
camp

I went along drinking continually, all the way to camp.

Incorporated into the verb, however, /defen/ can be translated as "until"; its incorporation produces a temporal subordinate which may either follow or precede the main clause.

4-139) ngawu -ni -manthi -mbel -wa gan /
1sS Ir sit NI neck 2sPURP Fut here
=wait

gurr -ing -wirr -defen -wa
3sS Ir rr 1sO uncover until Fut

I'll sit here waiting for you until day breaks on me
(literally : "until it (the sun?) uncovers me").

4-140) muri -nang gidin -defen -a /
hand 3msPRO 3sS R see until Pst
REFL/EMPH

gan -inj -mu -pirr -a marri
3sS R go 2sO MU discard,leave Pst word

Until he saw it himself he didn't believe you (sg)
(literally: "he discarded your words").
4.4. Non-verbal tense/mood suffixation

The four major (non-zero) tense/mood suffixes (/y)a/, /wa/, /nina/, /fang/) may all appear in the clause outside of the verb. We have noted above (4.1.3), for example, that /nina/, the past obligatory irrealis suffix, also operates on other constituents as an irrealis particle. And /wa/, the future suffix, and /fang/, the apprehensive, both additionally function as nominal suffixes (that is, as the purposive and apprehensive respectively (2.3)). But there are further circumstances in which both /wa/ and /fang/, as well as the past suffix /(y)a/, attach to non-verbal constituents in a manner that can only be attributed to copying from the verb. This copying in Marrithiyel is restricted to particular constituents: the negative /ambi/, interrogatives (and the indefinites that are derived from them) and a closed set of temporal terms. In addition there is tense/mood suffixing of attributive NPs, which takes place in the absence of intransitive verbs with ascriptive-copula-like functions.

Each of these copying procedures is considered below. In general it is only with the negative /ambi/ that tense/mood suffix copying has a significant semantic effect. Elsewhere, as we shall see, it is more pragmatically motivated, giving the constituents to which it attaches clause-like status, and thereby allowing them to be set aside as discrete units while still maintaining the temporal reference of the discourse.

(a) The negative

As a verbal negative the particle /ambi/ occurs either clause initially or immediately prior to the verb. In either position tense/mood suffix copying, of /(y)a/, /wa/ or /fang/, can take place12, e.g.:

4-141) meri ambi -ya gudin'gi -ya meri bugam
man NEG Pst 3nsS R see Pst man white

The (Aboriginal) men never saw white men.

4-142) ambi -ya garrila -wa gaful -ingin -sjinin -da -ya
NEG Pst rock,coin PURP 3sS R lie 1sG ask again Pst

He never asked me for money again.

Unlike tense/mood suffix copying with the other non-verbal constituents, suffixation of the negative in this manner does not result in it being set apart from the rest of the clause; it remains intonationally part of the clausal unit. The effect of this suffixation, with /wa/ and /(y)a/, is to underline the speaker's
commitment to the truth of the negative, that is, to emphasise and reinforce the idea of the verbal action as not occurring throughout the relevant time frame. Thus in (4-141) and (4-142) above /ambi-ya/ carries the sense not of a general negative, which might suggest that the stated actions did not take place in any significant or general sense, but rather of a specific statement that there were not even any isolated or minor instances of those actions. To convey this strong assertion about the prior non-occurrence of the action I translate /ambi-ya/ here as "never". Similarly, in the dialogue in (4-143) we can see how the suffixing of future /wa/ to the negative results in a more thoroughly assertive statement as to future non-occurrences.

4-143) ap nitji ngani mirritjina farringgi -butj -Ø -wurri -wa

Perhaps they(pl) will bring the medicine here in the morning.

Similar effects result from the suffixation of the negative with the apprehensional /fang/. As discussed in 4.1.5, /fang/ has both subordinate and main clause functions; in either role it may attach to the negative. Note that, unlike /(y)a/ and /wa/, when /fang/ does attach to the negative it may be, and normally is, deleted from the verb. Thus in the subordinate clause in (4-144) /fang/ appears only once, suffixed to the initial negative, where it results in a sense of apprehension that the action may never take place.

4-144) ringimap ngindim -iwinj -Ø -Ø /

(You(sg)) Ring them(pl) up, lest they never bring that medicine.

/Fang/ suffixation of the negative in independent apprehensional clauses is associated with what I have referred to in 4.1.5 as the "impossibility" reading of /fang/. As discussed in that section, negated independent apprehensional clauses have two interpretations. The standard interpretation is of apprehension towards the possibility that a particular event will not occur. The other
interpretation is of apprehension that it is not possible that a particular event will occur. I have suggested that this second reading results from the negative being able to operate at a different level and to include the possibility component of /fang/ within its scope. And it is this second reading which is promoted by the direct attachment of /fang/ to the negative. Contrast, for example, (4-145) and (4-146) below.

4-145) ambi ngidin -da -fang nidin yigin
NEG 1sS R see again APP country 1sPRO=POSS
I'm afraid I might not see my country again.

4-146) ambi -fang ngidin -da nidin yigin
NEG APP 1sS R see again country 1sPRO=POSS
Unfortunately I can't see my country again.

The tense/mood suffixed negative also constitutes a fully grammatical clause in itself, e.g.:

4-147) ambi-ya It never happened.
ambi-wa It will never happen.
ambi-fang Unfortunately it can't happen.

These forms may only be used when the action referred to is understood, that is, when they function anaphorically, or as elliptical versions of clauses from which a specific verb has been deleted; they do not carry more general meanings. /Ambi-ya/, for example, means that an action specified in the context or otherwise known to the hearer did not take place; it is not employed in a more general sense to mean "nothing happened", "there was nothing there" etc.

(b) Interrogatives, Indefinites, Temporals and Sequentials

/(Y)a/ and /wa/, but not /fang/\(^{13}\), can also be copied onto interrogatives and the indefinites based on them. As with the negative, tense/mood suffixed interrogatives and indefinites have sentential status and are fully acceptable utterances in their own right:

4-148.a) ninsja -ya What happened ? What was it ?
what Pst

afen -a Where was it ? Where did it happen ?
where Pst

gumunba -fen -wa I don't know when it will be/happen.
when INDEF Fut
Case inflected interrogative/indefinites may also in general take this suffixing, with the tense/mood suffix occurring after the case inflection. However, the purposive case suffix /wa/ may not be followed by the homophonous future suffix, and the attaching of either /wa/ or /(y)a/ to the apprehensive nominal inflection /fang/ is strongly disfavoured, and rarely heard in practice.

4-148.b) ninsja -gin -a What did it ?
what ERG Pst
afen -sr an -wa Where will it go to ?
where ALL Fut In what vicinity will it be ?
ninjs ja -fen -g in -a (He) did it with something.
what INDEF INS Pst

Consistent with their sentential status, tense/mood suffixed interrogatives and indefinites, unlike the negative, tend to be set apart intonationally as if discrete clauses, adjoined to the clause to which they pertain, and from the verb of which they take their tense marking. Interrogatives, which unsuffixed occur in clause initial position, can then be adjoined before or after (as in (4-149.b)) the main clause. And indefinites, which without tense/mood suffixing can appear anywhere in the clause, are under suffixing taken out of the body of the clause to make up a separate ancillary statement; this is illustrated in (4-150):

4-149.a) ninjsja gumun -nji -kurr -a ?
what 3sS R paint 2sO hit,kill Pst
What hit you(sg) ?

4-149.b) gumun -nji -kurr -a, ninjs ja -ya ?
3sS R paint 2sO hit,kill Pst what Pst
It hit you(sg) - what was it ?

4-150.a) lawa gumunba -fen gudi -girr -wa garrila -gin
flour when INDEF 3sS Ir see rub Fut rock INS
She'll grind up some flour with a rock sometime.

4-150.b) lawa gudi -girr -wa garrila -gin, gumunba -fen -wa
flour 3sS Ir see rub Fut rock INS when INDEF Fut
She'll grind up some flour with a rock - I don't know when.

There are also two sets of temporal terms which may copy the tense/mood suffix. The first of these are the temporal qualifiers (cf. 2.2), which denote the specific time of the action (e.g. /nitji/ "nightime", /fenggurra/ "twilight" etc.), or its relative time or
duration (e.g. /deyen/ "a long time from now", /fitit/ "for a long time", /asjirri/ "later").

4-151) yeri sjapatj miri gusri -kabak -a, deyen -a
child small eye 3sS R sit breed Pst long time Pst
from now

She had a small baby, a long time ago.

4-152) yeri ngelfu gani -kabak -a
child many 3sS R go breed Pst

warri nginjsji warri nginjsji -ya
year one year one Pst

She kept on having children year after year.

In addition to the temporal qualifiers, there are three sequential suffixes for which tense/mood marking is possible. These are /na/ "first, earlier", /da/ "again, also" and /nganan/, the nominal source marker, when in sequential function. (Note, however, that, as in its verbal behaviour (cf. 4.1.), /na/ does not co-occur with the future suffix /wa/.) Tense/mood suffixing can go ahead regardless of the nature of the constituent to which these sequentials are attached. /Nganan/, which has a wide range of meanings (cf. 2.3), can only take tense copying in its sequential function. This is seen frequently in its use in the conjunction /gagan-nganan/ "after that, and then", and in its role as a subordinate marker in causal/conditional clauses, e.g.:

4-153) yeri ngelfu -nganan -wa, farrginj -Ø -wa gan /
children many SCE Fut 3nsS Ir sit pl Fut here

yigin ngawu -wa gan
lsPRO 1sS Ir sit Fut here

If there are a lot of kids sitting here, I'll stay here.

Any /nganan/ suffixed phrase which is functioning to mark temporal sequence can take the tense suffixing; phrases marked with /nganan/ in other functions, however, cannot. Thus /awu-nganan/ in (4-154.a) can take the past tense, whereas the same NP in (4-154.b), which has a non-temporal function, cannot.

4-154.a) awu -na -ya, girringgi -wuki -Ø -ya /
meat 1st Pst 1ES R Ø eat pl Pst

awu -nganan -a, miyi
meat SCE Pst plant produce

First the meat, we(exc,pl) ate it.
After the meat, the other tucker.
Unlike the interrogatives, tense/mood suffixed sequentials retain their initial position in the clause. They are, however, normally separated from what follows by a pause. Tense/mood suffixed temporal qualifiers occupy either initial or final position in the clause. They may be, but are not necessarily, distinguished intonationally from the rest of the clause. The suffixed temporal qualifiers, but not the sequentials, can also have sentential status under the same conditions as the suffixed negative, i.e., when they are understood as modifying a specific verb:

4-155) fitit -wa It will take a long time.
for a long time Fut

deyen -a It happened a long time ago.
long time ago Pst

As can be seen from the discussion above, tense/mood suffixing of interrogative/indefinites and temporals has no large scale semantic effect. And while the procedure does reinforce the tense/mood reference of the verb, this is not its main function; there is no evidence that it has any disambiguating role in this respect. Rather it seems it is an option available to speakers to vary the way in which they package their information. The tense/mood suffixes give to these constituents, for the purposes of intonation and word-ordering, the status of a separate clause, and frame the information they provide as a separate statement about the verbal action. Consequently I think we best paraphrase these tense/mood suffixed constituents as individual clauses relating the constituent to the temporal reference of the main verb. That is, we can translate /nitji-ya/ as "This happened at night", /warri nginjı̂sji warri nginjı̂sji-ya/, from example (4-152), as "This happened year after year", /gagan-nganan-wa/ as "From that event, this will happen" etc.

Note that I refer to the tense/mood as "copied", since it has to agree with the suffix on the verb. It cannot act, for example, to embed an elided verb in a different temporal frame. Thus in (4-156) below the sequential conjunction of the second clause must be suffixed with /wa/, in agreement with its verb; it cannot take the past tense /a/ in agreement with the verb of the first clause to mark a sequence from a past to a future event. The tense copying procedure here can only result in /gagan-nganan-wa/ "after that, this will happen", and
does not produce a form /gagan-nganan-a/ meaning "after that had happened".

4-156) yeri ngelfu guninj -Ø -wurri -njsjan -a / children many 3nsR go pl towards now Pst
gagan -nganan -wa/∗-a yigin ngawu -wa gan ANAPH SCE Fut Pst 1sPRO 1sS Ir sit Fut here

A lot of kids have come here now. From that, this will happen, I'll stay here.

(c) Attributive NPs

Suffixing of /(y)a/, /wa/ and /fang/ also occurs with attributive NPs. By "attributive" I mean any NP in which some property or attribute is ascribed to the head noun by an adjective. Attributive NPs are formed with general adjectives (cf. 2.2), e.g.:

4-157) thawurr sjapatj a small tree, a small thing
      tree, thing small
      a -gati good meat, a good lower animate
      CA good
      wadi -nj gullik you, a blind man
      s male 2 blind

Free-form pronouns functioning as possessive adjectives, and numerals, quantifiers and demonstratives, however, do not belong to the class of property-ascribing adjectives. The NPs of (4-158) are therefore non-attributive, and are not tense/mood suffixable.

4-158.b) a -nanj your(sg) meat,
       CA 2sPRO=POSS your lower animate
       nidin wedi -Ø their(pl) country
       country 3nsPRO pl
       a -gan this meat,
       CA this this lower animate
       thawurr nimbini three trees, three things
       tree, thing three

Tense/mood suffixing of attributive NPs produces ascriptive clauses14, in which the attributive NP functions as the predicate; that is, the predication involves identifying the subject NP as a particular type of entity (as specified by the head noun (or class prefix) of the attributive NP), with a particular property (as specified by the adjective of the attributive NP). In the case of /(y)a/ and /wa/ affixation, this property is attributed in a particular time frame, that is, past and future respectively; in the case of /fang/ affixation, it is the possession of the property by the
subject, in a contextually determined time frame, which is marked as a
cause of apprehension15. As indicated by the parentheses in (4-159),
the subject NP, which is typically either pronominal, or has the same
head noun as the attributive NP, need not be overtly stated:

4-159) thawurr sjapatj -wa (It) will be a small tree.
    tree small Fut

( awu gagan ) a -gati -ya (That) meat was good meat.
    meat ANAPH CA good Pst

(nanj) wadi -nj gullik -fang I'm afraid you might become a blind ma
    2sPRO s male 2 blind APP
    sjandi malika -ya (It) was a long spear.
    spear long Pst

4-160) * a -nanj -a * It was your(sg) meat.
    CA 2sPRO Pst

* a -gan -a * It was this meat.
    CA this Pst

4-161) * thawurr nimbini -wa * There will be three trees.
    tree, thing three Fut

Ascriptive clauses are alternatively structured with a simple
intransitive verb; the intransitive verb here has principally an
ascriptive copula function. However, it does provide some additional
aspectsal information, overtly specifying, for example, the nature of
the time span over which the property is attributed and classifying
the posture of the subject (cf. 6.3). All the simple intransitives
(including the formally transitive "be hanging") may appear in this
construction.

4-162) (nanj) ginin -fang wadi -nj gullik
    2sPRO 2sS R go APP s male 2 blind

I'm afraid you might become a blind man.

4-163) a -gati ginjsji -ya (awu gagan)
    CA good 3sS R be hanging Pst meat ANAPH

(That meat) was good meat (hanging in one place).

Because of the general equivalence in meaning between the tense/mood
suffixed attributive NPs of (4-159) and the intransitive clauses of
(4-162) and (4-163), it would seem reasonable to suggest that the
suffixation of the attributives comes about through a process which
dispenses with the intransitive copula, and attaches the tense/mood
suffix directly to the predicative NP. This process preserves the
construction as an ascriptive clause, but results in some loss of the
specific aspectual information provided by the intransitive verb.
Tense/mood suffixed attributive NPs have the status of independent clauses, and are always given separate clausal intonation. They are unable to function, in the way that unsuffixed attributive NPs are, absorbed into a single clause intonation contour as arguments of its verb. Thus we can compare (4-164) and (4-165). (4-164), containing an unsuffixed NP, constitutes a single clause. Past tense suffixing of this NP as in (4-165), however, forces it to be treated as a separate clause, functioning appositionally to the temporal qualifier /nanggana/, and necessitates intonation breaks.

4-164)

nanggana wadi -ng sjapatj miri
before s male 1 small eye
nidin gan ngin -sjatsjat -a
country this 1sS R go sit REDUP Pst

As a small boy before
I used to sit down (=camp) in this country.

4-165)

nanggana / wadi -ng sjapatj miri -ya /
before s male 1 small eye Pst
nidin gan ngin -sjatsjat -a
country this 1sS R go sit REDUP Pst

Before - I was a small boy -
I used to sit down (=camp) in this country.

Ascriptive clauses formed with tense/mood suffixed attributive NP's alternate freely with their intransitive-verbal counterparts. Presumably the choice of which ascriptive clause form to use depends on how specific the speaker wishes, or is required, to be about the aspectual character of the attribution of the property.

4.5. Iterative Marking in the CVS

4.5.1. Verb Root Reduplication

The standard procedure for marking an iterative action in Marrithiyel is through reduplication of the complex verb root. The majority of complex verb roots are able to be reduplicated\textsuperscript{16}. For this major group the presence of a single root in the verb gives a perspective of the action as being unitary in nature, that is, in the sense of being conceived of as a single instance of the performance of the action. To describe an action which involves any sort of repetition or multiple instances of the action the reduplicated root is then required. This can be seen in (4-166.a) and (4-166.b). In depicting the single act of joining the two pieces of bamboo in (4-166.a) the root /kum/ alone constitutes the CVS. However, in (4-166.b) the plural object necessitates a conception of the action as
being made up of repeated instances of joining; reduplication of the verb root is then obligatory.

4-166.a) *fe -ngipi -wa ngubul -kum -wa
what 1sS Ir do Fut 1sS Ir l join Fut

ganbi tjitjukuni gan ?
bamboo two this

_How shall I join these two pieces of bamboo?_

4-166.b) *fe -ngipi -wa ngubul -kumkum -wa
what 1sS Ir do Fut 1sS Ir l join REDUP Fut

ganbi ngelfu gan ?
bamboo many this

_How shall I join all these pieces of bamboo?_

(4-167.a) and (4-167.b) show a similar contrast. In (4-167.a) the verb root /bat/ "knock down" is in its non-reduplicated form. In combination with the plural subject the single verb root provides a perspective of the two agents acting together in a single performance of the action. (4-167.b) has the same person-number subject marking, but takes the special reciprocal affix /inj/ (cf. 3.2.3.2) in auxiliary final position. Since the reciprocal, with the plural subject, implies a number of repeated instances of the action, and is difficult to conceive of in a unitary sense, the reduplicated form of the verb root is strongly preferred here.

4-167.a) ngumburr -bat -nim -wa wadi -Ø gagan
1IS Ir rr knock down pl Fut s male 3 ANAPH

_We/inc,pl_ will knock down that man.

4-167.b) ngumburr -inj -batbat -nim -wa
1IS Ir rr RECIP knock down I pl Fut REDUP

_We/inc,pl_ will knock each other down.

There are in fact a number of verbs in the language which have roots apparently denoting the single component performances of which certain inherently repetitive actions are composed. Such verbs normally take reduplicated roots, rarely, if ever, appearing in non-reduplicated form. Verbs in this group include: /go#sjaksjak/ "to (gather and break up wood so as to) make a campfire", /heat#purrngpurrng/ "to be bubbling, boiling", /lie#ngurrkngurrk/ "to snore" and /rr#lele/ "to soothe a baby (in one's arms)"17, e.g.:
Reduplication, for this major group of verb roots, is also required when the action, instead of being composed of discrete repetitive instances and having a specific focus, is rather diffused or dispersed over a wider area. Compare, for example, (4-169.a) and (4-169.b). While in (4-169.a) the root /wa/ denotes a single performance action, the presence of the phrase /fiyi yerri defen/ "from head to tail" in (4-169.b) implies that the action, without having to be strictly repetitive, is nonetheless extended over different parts of the object; use of the non-reduplicated root in this context is consequently regarded by speakers as odd.

Reduplication for distribution of action is also illustrated in (4-169.c), where the speaker is describing an operation for the removal of a cataract. The verb root in (4-169.c), /pirpir/, the reduplicated form of /pir/ "pull, lift off", is used generally to denote peeling actions; peeling, like the action of (4-169.b), is not necessarily repetitive, but rather requires the reduplicated root form because it is conceived of as an action of pulling or lifting off over an extended area.

The iteration and spatial extension which is marked through reduplication is naturally related to verbal aspect. In Marrithiyel aspect is grammatically coded through the simple intransitive auxiliaries, either, as is the case with the low transitive verbs, in
their normal verb-initial position, or, in the case of the high transitive verbs, as serialised with the main verb. High transitive verbs thus have both non-serialised, that is, perfective, and serialised, that is, imperfective forms; the only requirement for taking imperfective form is that the verb be non-punctiliar (cf. 4.2). Reduplicated roots carry a conception of the action as made up of repeated or spatially extended performances and as thus having some elaboration in time; the verbs in which they appear are therefore necessarily non-punctiliar. And, just like non-punctiliar verbs with unreduplicated roots, high transitive verbs containing reduplicated roots can take either perfective or imperfective form, depending on the desire or requirement to draw specific attention to the temporal elaboration of the action. Hence we have, in (4-170.a) and (4-170.b), perfective and imperfective forms of the verb "pour out", with the verb stem /bu/, and in (4-171.a) and (4-171.b) corresponding perfective and imperfective constructions with the reduplicated root /bubu/:

4-170.a) wudi ngidin -bu -ya
     water 1sS R see pour Pst
     I poured out the water (in a single action).

4-170.b) wudi ngidin -bu gunga -ya
     water 1sS R see pour 1sS R stand Pst
     I was standing pouring out the water (in a single action).

4-171.a) wudi ngidin -bubu -ya
     water 1sS R see pour REDUP Pst
     I poured out the water (bit by bit).

4-171.b) wudi ngidin -bubu gunga -ya
     water 1sS R see pour REDUP 1sS R stand Pst
     I was standing pouring out the water (bit by bit).

In examining the inter-relation between reduplication and aspect, however, we must distinguish the different types of imperfective marking. The first type is that achieved by the four "static" intransitive auxiliaries (cf. 6.3) - "lie", "sit", "stand" and "be hanging" - which mark duration and provide additional information about the stance of the subject. The other types are encoded by the "go" and "go*" auxiliaries: motional, multi-locational, renewed/continuative/persistent and customary/habitual. The durative and motional aspects, as partially illustrated in (4-170) and (4-171) above, are compatible with either single or repetitive/multiple
performance actions. But the other types (cf. 4.2) are not; they all necessarily involve a conception of the action as consisting of repeated performances. In conjunction with these aspects, the reduplicated form of the root (where it exists) is required. This is illustrated in (4-172)-(4-174) below. The verbs in (4-172) have single roots and are marked as durative by the "sit" auxiliary. In (4-173) the "go" auxiliary has been substituted for the "sit" auxiliary; the verbs can now be interpreted only as having motional aspect, with the other aspeautical functions of the "go" auxiliary, which require a multiple performance interpretation, blocked by the non-reduplication of the roots. In (4-174), however, the roots are reduplicated, and these other functions (e.g. the habitual) can now be understood as conveyed by the auxiliary.

4-172.a) gangi -fi -ya 1sS R sit blow, smoke Pst
     I was having a smoke (while sitting).

4-172.b) mi -miri nginj -wa gangi -ya CM eye 1sS R nj wet 1sS R sit Pst =seed
     I was wetting the seed(bed) (in a single action).

4-173.a) ngin -fi -ya 1sS R go blow, smoke Pst
     I was having a smoke (while going along).
     * I used to smoke.

4-173.b) mi -miri nginj -wa ngin -a CM eye 1sS R nj wet 1sS R go Pst =seed
     I wet the seed(bed) (in a single, non-extended action) while going along.
     * I used to water the seed(bed).

4-174.a) ngin -fifi -ya 1sS R go blow, smoke Pst REDUP
     I smoked (repetitively) while going along.
     I used to smoke.

4-174.b) mi -miri nginj -wawa ngin -a CM eye 1sS R nj wet REDUP 1sS R go Pst =seed
     I wet the seed(bed) (repetitively, in an extended action) while going along.
     I used to water the seed(bed).

There are two further points to be made about the nature of reduplication. Firstly, we must distinguish between verb root
reduplication, which produces predicates of repeated or extended action, and the strategy of repeating whole verbs. Marrithiyel makes extensive use of the latter as well as the former technique, and it is not unusual in narrative texts, for example, to find several consecutive repetitions of a whole verb. Whereas reduplication denotes iteration or distribution in a general sense, each repetition of a whole verb denotes a separate repeated performance of the action. Verb repetition is particular and specific in a way that verb root reduplication is not. Thus compare (4-175.a) and (4-175.b).

4-175.a) diyerr federr ngin -batj -a / ngin -batj -a teeth river 1sS R go lie down Pst 1sS R go lie down Pst =river bank

I spent two nights (i.e. lay down twice) at the river bank.

4-175.b) diyerr federr ngin -batj-batj -a teeth river 1sS R go lie down Pst =river bank REDUP

I camped (repetitively) at the river bank.
I used to camp (customarily, i.e. used to live) at the river bank.

Secondly, for this major group of verb roots for which reduplication is possible, the use of a single root with non-singular core arguments brings about a type of collective perspective on the participation in the action. The combination of the plural subject with the non-reduplicated root /bu/ "pour" in (4-176), for example, necessitates that the agents acted in concert together in a unitary performance of the action. Similarly, in (4-177.a), the combination of this single root with a plural object gives a concept of a single instance of the action simultaneously affecting the individual entities which comprise the plural object; contrast (4-177.a) with the second clause of (4-177.b), in which the nature of the action, necessarily involving one object at a time, would appear to prevent interpretation of simultaneous affect on a number of entities, and in which, as a result, use of the non-reduplicated form of the stem is at best marginal.

4-176) wudi gudin'gi -bu -masri -ya daram -nanga water 3nsS R see pour belly Pst drum LOC

They poured the water into the drum (together, in a single action).

4-177.a) yeru merawu ngidin -di -bu -muri -Ø -ya child several 1sS R see 3ns0 pour hand pl Pst

I poured water on the children's(pl) hands
In practice there are limits on the application of this collective perspective to non-singular core participants. Depending on the nature of the verb, dual, trial and even paucal core participants (this latter category not being verbally cross-referenced but rather expressed through the free-form quantifier /merawu/ "several") can be conceived of as involved in single performance actions as denoted by single verb roots. It is rare, however, for core participants of larger number, those categorisable for example with the free form quantifier /ngelfu/ "much, many, 'big mob'", to co-occur with such verbs; reduplication, where possible, is normally required. The unmarked interpretation of both the plural subject of (4-176) and the plural object of (4-177.a) is thus that they are not large (i.e. that they are trial or paucal) in number.

Note that I describe this procedure as reduplication of the root rather than of the verb stem as a whole. For example, noun roots which are lexically incorporated into the verb and which are clearly to be analysed semantically as forming part of the CVS (cf. Ch 5) nevertheless fail to reduplicate along with the verb roots with which they compound. This applies regardless of whether the incorporated nouns appear before or after the verb root. Thus the verb stem of (4-178), /lung-miri/ "strike-eye", reduplicates in (4-178.b) not to /lungmiri-lungmiri/, but rather to /lunglung-miri/. Similarly, the CVS of (4-179.a), /thenggi-pirr/ "bottom-leave", in which the incorporated noun occurs prior to the verb root, reduplicates in (4-179.b) simply to /thenggi-pirr-pirr/.

4-178.a) awu ngi -ingin -lung -miri -ya
meat 1sS R Ø 1sG=REFL strike eye Pst
I gave myself a headache from (eating too much) beef.

4-178.b) awu ngi -ingin -lunglung -miri ngin -a
meat 1sS R Ø 1sG=REFL strike eye 1sS R go Pst REDUP
I used to give myself headaches from (eating too much) beef.
4-179.a) yibi -njsja guni -ning -thenggi -pirr -a there now 3nsS R go 1sO bottom leave Pst

They detained me there.

4-179.b) guni -iwinj -thenggi -pirrpirr -fini -ya 3nsS R go 3nsG bottom leave REDUP dl Pst

They(2) were keeping each other there.

Equally, the applicative prefixes /mi/, /ma/ and /mu/, which form part of the CVS (cf. 5.6.1-3), are not involved in the reduplicative process, e.g.:

4-180) ngirr -inj -mu -puritjpuritj -a 1sS R rr 2sO MU lose grip on Pst REDUP

I repeatedly missed taking it from you (sg).

In contrast to nouns which are incorporated into the verb and compounded with verb roots, as in (4-178) and (4-179) above, and which do not reduplicate, those nouns which are incorporated into the CVS in the absence of a co-occurring verb root are generally able to reduplicate. Surprisingly, it is not necessary here to distinguish nouns which are employed as verb roots from nouns which occupy identifiable roles in the clause and can therefore be classed as verbally incorporated. (4-181), for example, has a body part noun, /fiyi/ "head", acting as the verb root. The verb here means "to make into heaps, piles etc." (i.e. "to make into a shapes that can be thought of as a head"). /Fiyi/ in this example can thus be seen as verb like in character; it does not cross-reference any argument of the predicate, but rather is itself predicational. In undergoing reduplication in (4-181) it is simply following a normal verb root procedure.

4-181) sjanjsji ngelfu garri -fiyifiyi gani -ya fire(wood) much 3sS R rr head REDUP 3sS R go Pst

He was going about heaping up firewood.

In (4-182), on the other hand, /fiyi/, although still not compounded with a verb root, cannot be regarded as predicational. /Fiyi/ rather cross-references the object, as a classificatory "body" part of it, in the manner of incorporated nouns (cf. Ch. 5), and the predicate is provided by the auxiliary verb. However, although functionally an incorporated noun, /fiyi/ behaves like a verb root for the purpose of iterative reduplication. Thus compare (4-182.a) and (4-182.b).
I banged the head of the nail with a rock (once).

I banged the head of the nail repetitively with a rock.

These types of verb are considered further in 5.5.

4.5.2. Non Reduplicating Roots

While the above discussion applies, as I have stated, to the majority of complex verb roots in the language, special note must be made of other classes for which reduplication is not possible.

(a) Firstly, there are verb roots which specify inherently iterative or extended actions. This class includes most roots of verbs of speech, verbs of eating and drinking, and other odd roots such as: /girr/ "grind", /pudi/ "rub", /ngu/ "exude, leak", /sri/ "cry" and /esru/ "laugh". These roots cannot be reduplicated under any conditions. Contrast /ngu/, for example, in (4-183.a), where reduplication is not permissible, with /bu/ in (4-184.b), which is obligatorily reduplicated to achieve the given meaning.

4-183.a) *ngungu
benjsjin gumun -ngu -ya mirriwi
benzene 3sS R paint exude Pst narrow crack
(i.e. petrol)

Literally: It exuded the petrol through a narrow crack.
= The petrol leaked out through a narrow crack.

4-183.b) wudi gil -bubu -masri -ya wudi-sradi
water 3sS R 1 pour REDUP belly Pst water back
= billabong

Literally: It repetitively poured the water into the billabong.
= The billabong filled with water.

Equally, /ngu/ must remain as a single root in (4-184) despite the habitual aspect marked through the serialised "go" auxiliary:

4-184) *ngungu
garri -ing -ngu -ngal gani -Ø sjidelwirr
3sS R rr 1sO exude mouth 3sS R go Pr saliva

Literally: It habitually makes me exude saliva from my mouth.
= I'm habitually spitting.

(b) There are two further groups of roots which, like the majority type we have discussed above, in their single form imply a single performance of the action, but which are nevertheless constrained from reduplicating. The first of these groups, rather than reduplicating...
to mark repetitive, multiple or distributed action, instead have lexical variants. These, together with the auxiliaries with which they combine, are given in the table below:

4-185) **Lexical Variation for Iteration**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Unitary Form</th>
<th>Iterative Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;cut&quot;</td>
<td>AUXa # git</td>
<td>AUXa # tjurr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;hang up&quot;</td>
<td>AUXb # wut</td>
<td>AUXb # wudit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;hit/kill&quot;</td>
<td>AUXc # kurr</td>
<td>AUXc # futjutj19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;hold&quot;</td>
<td>AUXa # butj</td>
<td>AUXa # pur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;pick up&quot;</td>
<td>paint # it</td>
<td>paint # dutj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;spear&quot;</td>
<td>nj # srip</td>
<td>rr # dip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;throw&quot;</td>
<td>stand # pirr20</td>
<td>stand # butj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AUXa = any major transitive auxiliary (cf. 6.2), AUXb = "paint", /nj/, or /njsjin/, AUXc = "paint", /l/, /nj/, /rr/ or /n/ These verbs would appear to have no common semantic character that would account for their inability to take reduplicated roots. They are all transitive (that is, their subject NPs are eligible for /gin/ ergative affixation (2.3)), although "throw" is of the low transitive class, being constructed with the formally intransitive "stand" auxiliary. And, with the exception of "hold", the verbs formed with the unitary roots are all inherently punctiliar; that is, they are unable to take any form of imperfective aspectual marking (cf. VM 5.2.)21. Note that "spear" obligatorily takes a different auxiliary in addition to lexical root variation for iteration (cf. 6.2). Note also that the root /butj/ appears in two different places in the table in (4-185): with the /rr/ auxiliary as the unitary form of "hold", and with the "stand" auxiliary as the iterative root form of "throw". I can offer no explication of these roots that would account for this behaviour.

The same conditions which govern the choice of single or reduplicated root, as discussed in 4.5.1 above, apply to the choice of the lexical variants tabled in (4-185). Thus the iterative variant is used for repetition; compare (4-186.a) and (4-186.b):

4-186.a) a -wakirr nginjsji nginj -srip -a
        CA fish one 1sS R nj spear Pst
        I speared one fish.

4-186.b) a -wakirr a -ngelfu ngIrr -dip -a
        CA fish CA many 1sS R rr spear Pst
        I speared many fish.
Similarly, the unitary root form cannot be used with large number core participants. Either the unitary root /kurr/ or its iterative variant /futjfsutj/ are permissible in (4-187.a) and (4-187.b), for example, where there are dual subjects and objects. However, the large number non-singular subject of (4-187.c) requires the iterative form of the root to appear in the verb.

4-187. a) gul -ninggi -kurr -0 -fini -ya
3nsS R l 110 hit,kill I dl nI dl Pst

They(2) hit you and me.

4-187. b) gul -ninggi -futjfsutj -0 -fini -wa
3nsS R l 110 hit,kill I dl nI dl Pst

They(2) hit you and me (repetitively).

4-187. c) *kurr
gul -ninggi -futjfsutj -0 -0 -wa ma -ngelfu gagan-gin
3nsS R l 110 hit,kill I dl nI pl Fut CH many ANAPH ERG

That big mob of men might hit you and me.

The second group of roots, instead of reduplicating, take an iterative prefix. This prefix has three forms, /sрин/, /sри/ and /sру/, and I have recorded it co-occurring with only nine roots, as in (4-188). While /sру/ appears prior to four roots, all /ду/ initial, suggesting some vowel assimilation has taken place historically, and /sри/ appears before four roots (all forming their initial syllable with a voiceless non-peripheral stop), neither the form of the prefix, nor the application of the prefix in preference to reduplication, can be predicted by independently motivated rules, and I choose to treat it as lexically determined:

4-188) Iterative Prefix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;sink,bury&quot;</td>
<td>sрин</td>
<td>- dim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;soak,dry&quot;</td>
<td>sри</td>
<td>- tik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;pinch&quot;</td>
<td>sри</td>
<td>- tip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;put down&quot;</td>
<td>sри</td>
<td>- thit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;lay down&quot;</td>
<td>sри</td>
<td>- tjuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;touch&quot;</td>
<td>sру</td>
<td>- ду</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;pull from&quot;</td>
<td>sру</td>
<td>- duk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;beat,pulsate&quot;</td>
<td>sру</td>
<td>- dup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;pick up&quot;</td>
<td>sру</td>
<td>- dutj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prefix is illustrated in (4-189)-(4-191), where, parallel to the verb root reduplication we have seen above, it is associated with
repetitive, spatially extended and habitual iterative meanings respectively.

4-189) thawurr gil -srin -dim -fiyi -ya garrila -gin
thing 3sS R 1 ITER bury head Pst rock INS

*He knocked the thing (tent peg) into the ground with a rock
(i.e. by repeatedly striking it on the top ("head")).*

4-190) wadi -Ø winjsjani wadi -Ø muwun gil -sru -du -ya
s male 3 bad s male 3 sore 3sS R 1 ITER touch Pst

*Literally: He's no good, he's all sores, it touched him all over.
   = He's no good,
   it (i.e. the affliction) has covered him with sores.*

4-191) awu a -wurrumbun girrigin'gi -sri -tjuk -masri -Ø
meat CA salt water 1ES R claim ITER lay down belly pl

*girrigin'gi 1ES R claim
sjalwu -nanga
canoe LOC

*We(exc,pl) used to load the crocodile meat into the
(belly of) the canoe*

One anomaly in the behaviour of this prefix is its attachment to
the root /dutj/. This root, as tabled in (4-185) above, is the
iterative lexical variant of the unitary root /it/ "pick up". The
affixing of /sru/ to the iterative root then appears to intensify its
meaning, giving it, for example, a sense of increased repetition,
wider spatial extension or very large core participant number.
NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1 In my own fieldwork on the Western Desert dialect Papunya Luritja, for example, I have noticed that present tense verbs can be used for future time reference to express either definiteness of intention or a high degree of continuity with current events. Goddard (1983, p187) states that in the Western Desert dialect Yankuntjatjara the present can be used to express the future if the action is definitely going to occur. We have, of course, broader usages of the so-called present tense for future time reference in English (e.g. "I'm fixing the car tomorrow", "I go to town Tuesday"). Marrithyi! speakers, however, do not extend their present tense forms in this way; the use of the present necessitates that an action is under way, that it can be considered to have begun.

2 See also Chung and Timberlake (1985, pp246-250).

3 (4-22.a), and its present irrealis counterpart (4-27.a), come from a story about a man who visits a dangerous and (religiously) prohibited site. Simply entering the site, according to Marrithyi! beliefs, causes a wasting, and ultimately, fatal illness.

4 (4-29), however, with the appropriate intonation, is acceptable as a permissive construction (cf. 4.1.4).

5 Since bound subject pronouns are not always segmentable from the AVR, such omission would not, of course, always be possible anyway.

6 Such an NP, however, remains (intonationally, and in terms of word-ordering) a constituent of the dependent clause. Note that, by contrast, actor and undergoer NPs of independent apprehensive clauses cannot be suffixed with /fang/.

7 An exception is the modifier /njsjan/ "now, then", which can attach either to the transitive or to the postposed intransitive, or, in some cases, can appear on both; see 4.3.

8 The use of the "stand" auxiliaries in examples such as this is discussed in 6.3.
This serialisation thus appears different in character from the "associated motion" aspect reported for some other Australian languages (Koch 1984, Tunbridge 1988, Wilkins (in preparation)). The associated motion aspect of Mparntewe Arrernte, for example, as described by Wilkins, allows for the performance of punctiliar acts in the midst of motion.

Punctiliar roots, however, may be reduplicated to form CVSs which are durative, and are thus eligible for imperfective marking, cf. 4.5.

The directional function of /sran/ in the verb has been illustrated at (2-166) above.

Note that the past obligatory irrealis /nina/ (4.1.3) does not suffix to the negative ambi, but rather, as an independent particle, precedes it, e.g.:

a) nina ambi -ya ngindim -a
   Oblig NEG Past 2sS Ir do Past
   You(sg) shouldn't have done it.

That is to say, /fang/ may suffix to an appropriate interrogative/indefinite with its normal apprehensive nominal case function; it cannot, however, be copied from the verb, in the manner of /(y)a/ and /wa/, onto an interrogative/indefinite not in apprehensive role.

I use the term "ascriptive" in the sense of Lyons (1977, p437).

/Thawurr nimbini-wa/, in (4-161), is of course homophonous with a regular purposive NP having the meaning "for the three trees". It is starred as ungrammatical here as an attempted sentential construction parallel to those of (4-159).

Regular phonological processes operating across the boundary between reduplicated verb roots have been discussed in 2.1.4.3. Reduplicated roots are cited in this section in their standard-speech surface form. The complex verb root in (a), for example, is /kap/; in normal speech this reduplicates to /kakap/, as in (b), eliding the final consonant of the first root. In slower or more careful speech, however, it may be fully reduplicated as /kapkap/.
He called out (once) for his two women.

He called out (more than once) for his two women.

Note that the "#" symbol here is used to denote auxiliary-CVS combinations; /go#sjaksjak/, for example, refers to the verb formed by the "go" auxiliary in combination with the CVS /sjaksjak/.

In addition to the non-reduplicating classes cited here, there is a class of "static locatives" which cannot be reduplicated, cf. 5.7.

There is one non-reduplicated usage of this root; /futj/ combines only with the /n/ auxiliary to form the verb "kick".

In combination with the "stand" auxiliary the root /pirr/ forms the verb "throw", and does not reduplicate. There is also a root /pirr/, which combines with the "go" auxiliary, to form a verb with a basic meaning of "leave" or "discard". This root, as shown in (4-179.b), does reduplicate.

Their punctiliar character, however, does not account for their failure to take reduplicated roots, since other punctiliar verbs (e.g./go#sjat/ "sit down", /see#bat/ "knock down) readily reduplicate.
Chapter Five

Body Part Terms in the Verb

5.1 Categories of Noun Incorporation

The complex verb stem in its minimal form consists simply of a (complex) verb root. There are two major morpheme classes which function as complex verb roots. Firstly, there are those roots which function exclusively in the CVS and have no role elsewhere in the language; these do not generally appear outside of the verb in root form, neither are there any derivational morphological processes which allow them to be adapted to nominal or other non-verbal function. The corpus of verbs which I have collected to date contains approximately 200 such monomorphemic roots; about two-thirds of these are monosyllabic, the remainder disyllabic. Secondly, there are adjectival roots; these, as has been illustrated in 2.2, may be productively employed as verb roots. There are no further systematic procedures for deriving verb roots from other parts of speech. Nouns do occur occasionally as verb roots, but this is a sporadic lexical, rather than systematic grammatical, process. The possible role of some of the principal body part nouns as verb roots is considered in 5.3.5. The usage of other noun roots is illustrated in (5-1), where /fenni/ "dirt" compounds as the verb root with an incorporated body part term, /miri/ "eye", to form the CVS.

5-1) wudi garri -fenni -miri -nginanga -ya
water 3sS R rr dirt eye 1sADV Pst
[Root] [PBP]

He (with his hands) muddied the water on me.

There are a number of ways in which verb roots can be augmented to form CVSs - primarily through reduplication (4.5), and body part noun incorporation. In addition I have recorded about thirty CVS's which are, or appear to be, compounds of two complex verb roots. Only a small number of these are compounded from roots which are both otherwise regularly employed in complex verbs, e.g.:

5-2) diyerr gi -ing -girr -git -diyerr -Ø
tooth 3sS R Ø 1sO rub cut tooth Pr
[Root][Root] [PBP]

My tooth is aching.

5-3) fandi gun -dim -wa / ngasja -wul -tharri -wa
sun 3sS Ir go sink Fut 1sS Ir stand return go towards Fut
[Root] [Root]

When the sun goes down I'll return.
The other apparent compounds, while containing one synchronically regular root, and while having a semantic structure suggesting that compounding has taken place, have as their second constituent roots which are archaic or have marginal status as independent verb roots. One can conclude that verb root compounding is not synchronically productive, and that the compounds, and putative compounds, that we can identify have been lexicalized. Compounding is not considered further in this study.

Of major interest in Marrithiyel, however, is noun incorporation. Most commonly it is a set of body part nouns which may be productively incorporated, in unmarked constructions, into the verb. The following text, for example, in which five consecutive verbs incorporate a body part term, by no means constitutes an unusual or marked usage:

5-4) ngumun -it -fundi -ya / 1sS R paint pick up arm Pst
ngigin -thit -masri -ya murrika -nanga / 1sS R claim put down belly Pst car LOC
ngirr -butj -fundi -ya thawun / ngigin -ferri -thit -a / 1sS R rri have arm Pst town 1sS R claim foot put down Pst
e ngumuyi -masri -ya and 1sS R reach belly Pst

I "picked him up" (i.e. collected him). I put him in the car.
I took him to town. I put him down (i.e. left him there).
And I came out of there.

Incorporation of other types of noun roots is possible, although rare, and can only be regarded as syntactically productive in one marked and infrequently employed construction (cf. 5.3.1.). Marrithiyel thus patterns with the other incorporating languages of northern Australia, where, as observed by Harvey (to appear), the "class of incorporable nouns always includes body parts" (cf. Mara (Heath, 1981), Mayali (Evans, to appear), Ngalakan (Merlan, 1983), Rembarnga (McKay, 1975), Tiwi (Osborne, 1975)). But, in according such prominence to body-part noun incorporation, Marrithiyel more closely resembles its nearer neighbours; in Waray, to the east of the Daly region, body part terms are also the most commonly incorporated noun roots (Harvey, ibid), while in Ngan'gikurunggurr, a southern Daly language, only body part terms may be incorporated (Reid, in preparation).

Before proceeding to examine the nature of incorporation in Marrithiyel there are several distinctions that need to be considered. Firstly, as a preliminary, it is necessary to distinguish nouns which
are incorporated into the verb from those which actually function predicatively, either as independent verb roots in their own right, or as components of compound verb stems. In the absence of any derivational morphology which might differentiate incorporated from predicational noun roots, I follow Harvey (ibid) in categorising as incorporated those nouns which can be understood as functioning in an argument-like manner with respect to the predicate. This approach is essentially an expansion of Mithun (1984, 1986), who also distinguishes incorporation through the argument-like status of the noun, but who in addition suggests restrictions on the roles which the incorporated noun may fill, cf:

_The term "incorporation" is generally used to refer to a particular type of compounding in which a V and N combine to form a new V. The N bears a specific semantic relationship to its host V - as patient, location, or instrument._

(1984, p848)

We have looked briefly at this distinction with respect to body part terms in 4.5 (examples (4-181 and 4-182)) above, and will pursue it further in 5.4.-5. Apart from the minor classes of exceptions discussed there, the body part terms which appear in the Marrithiyel verb are all clearly incorporated rather than predicational. In contrast, most of the small group of noun roots which are able to appear in the verb stem in unmarked constructions (that is, leaving aside for the moment the syntactic incorporation process we will consider in 5.3.1) are predicational in nature.1

The second distinction to be made is that between **lexical** and **syntactic** noun incorporation. This distinction follows from Evans’ (to appear) study of noun incorporation in Mayali, a Gunwingguan (non-Pama-Nyungan) language of north-west Arnhem Land. In Mayali, according to Evans, lexical can be distinguished from syntactic incorporation in several ways, including: its lack of option of paraphrase by extracting the incorporated nominal from the verb and having it instead appear in the clause in NP function, its lack of productivity, and its occupying of a different morphological slot in the verb. Evans brings out the grammatical significance of this distinction by demonstrating that in Mayali syntactically incorporated nouns are highly constrained and fully predictable in the roles they may occupy in the clause, whereas lexically incorporated nouns are comparatively unconstrained, and able to "bear a variety of grammatical relations to the incorporating verb". This lexical/syntactic distinction may be profitably applied to
Marrithiyel. While lexically and syntactically incorporated nouns do not always occupy different positions in the Marrithiyel verb, they can nevertheless be systematically distinguished on the basis of omissibility and close paraphrase. Syntactically incorporated nouns may be deleted from the verb without significantly affecting its meaning; lexically incorporated nouns may not. The argument like status of syntactically incorporated nouns may be explicitly recovered through a paraphrase which has the incorporated noun moved to free nominal position. Lexically incorporated nouns, on the other hand, have an implicit argument-like status; this may be explicated by speakers in a metaphoric or circumlocutory fashion, but it is not accessible to the close paraphrase available to syntactically incorporated nominals. (5-5.a) is thus an example of syntactic incorporation; the incorporated noun, /masri/ "belly", as shown in (5-5.b), can be extracted from the verb and placed in the source NP:

5-5.a) ngata -nganan ngumun -it -masri -ya
   house SCE 1sS R paint pick up belly Pst
   I picked it up from the "belly of" (i.e. inside) the house.

5-5.b) ngata masri -nganan ngumun -it -a
   house belly SCE 1sS R paint pick up Pst
   I picked it up from the "belly of" (i.e. inside) the house.

/Fundi/, the noun in (5-6.a), however, although appearing alongside the same verb root and in the same morphological slot as /masri/ in (5-5.a), is lexically incorporated. Removal of /fundi/ from this verb, as in (5-6.b), radically affects the meaning, and the attempted paraphrase, along the lines of (5-5.b), is somewhat odd, since it necessitates a view of the object arm as separated from its possessor.

5-6.a) mana ngumun -it -fundi -ya
   brother 1sS R paint pick up arm Pst
   I took (my) brother by the arm (i.e. to take him somewhere).
   I "picked up"/collected (my) brother (i.e. to take him somewhere).

5-6.b) ?? mana fundi nang ngumun -it -a
   brother arm 3msPRO 1sS R paint pick up Pst
   =POSS
   ?? I picked up my brother's arm.
   * I took my brother by the arm (i.e. to take him somewhere).
   * I collected my brother (i.e. to take him somewhere).

In 5.3-5. we shall consider further the nature of the lexical/syntactic distinction in Marrithiyel, and the differing range of roles which can be filled by lexically and syntactically
incorporated nouns; this difference is not as extreme in Marrithiyel as Evans claims for Mayali.

Thirdly, we need to single out, from nouns in general, and from the class of body part terms in particular, those which are productively incorporable in unmarked constructions. There are two such groups. Firstly, there is a special subset of body part nouns which I will refer to as the "principal body part terms" (hereafter, PBPs). These are listed in (5-7), together with the basic meanings they carry as independent lexemes. PBPs, whether verbally incorporated or functioning as NP constituents, may have both specific literal and wider metaphoric meanings. Under incorporation some of the PBPs become broader in their literal denotation. The range of meanings carried by PBPs is examined in 5.3.2. Although suppletive incorporated forms have been reported elsewhere in northern Australia (e.g. Ngandi (Heath, 1978), Tiwi (Osborne, 1975)) and are common cross-linguistically (Mithun, 1984, pp876-7), there is only one instance of suppletion (in the supplementary PBPs, as discussed below) and no other significant variation in form involved in Marrithiyel incorporation³.

5-7) The Principal Body Part Terms

diyerr ... teeth
fenbu ... crotch
fenggi ... knee
ferri ... foot
fiyi ... head
fundi ... arm, hand, finger
fuwa ... lower leg
garri ... upper arm & shoulder
manthi ... neck
masri ... belly
miri ... eye
muri ... hand, finger
muwarri ... testicle
ngal ... mouth
ngani ... body
nguri ... penis
sjangi ... ear
sradi ... back
thedirr ... navel
thenggi ... bottom
thiyerr ... lips
wemi ... forehead
wurang ... upper leg, thigh
yan ... nose
yerri ... tail
yesri ... hole, (vagina, anus)

PBPs can be characterised as those roots which denote external, or in the case of "belly" and "testicle" at least externally manifested,
features of the body, and which are employed to varying degrees to classify entities as having body part like relationships or attributes. The list of PBPs, however, does not include all roots denoting external body parts. /Fipen/ "elbow", for example, and /sjiyan/ "vagina" are omitted from the list, as are /derifiri/ "skin" and all terms relating to fur, feathers, and hair. Note, though, that the list does include /ngani/ "body", which depending on the context can include or exclude the head, and the non-human body part term /yerri/ "tail". Also included is one term, /yesri/, which as an independent noun does not function as a specific body part term but rather denotes any type of "hole"; as a free nominal /yesri/ can be employed to denote body orifices, and is used frequently to refer to the vagina and anus, but when verbally incorporated is understood as referring only to the anus.

The incorporability of PBPs, compared to other body part terms, is illustrated in (5-8). The verb in (5-8.a) incorporates /thenggi/ "bottom"; the substitution of any PBP for /thenggi/ here would produce an acceptable verb. Substitution with a non-PBP, however, as illustrated with /midiri/ "ankle" in (5-8.b), is unacceptable.

5-8.a)  ngirr -inj -duk -thenggi -ya sjiri
1sS R rr 2s0 pull from bottom Pst splinter

I pulled the splinter out of your bottom.

5-8.b)  * ngirr -inj -duk -midiri -ya sjiri
1sS R rr 2s0 pull from ankle Pst splinter

In addition to the PBPs listed above there are four supplementary terms which are productively incorporated. These are not particular body part terms, but are rather relative body location specifiers. In this group are two terms which correspond to English "side": /demi/, meaning the "side" or "flank" of a three-dimensional object, and /lambu/, meaning "side" in a more two-dimensional sense, that is, in terms of oppositions such as front and back, left and right, north and south etc. sides. The other two terms are synonymous, /yinggumbu/ and /tharrma/, both meaning "in the central region, in the main body of". /Tharrma/ is the suppletive incorporated variant of /yinggumbu/; it does not occur outside the verb as an independent lexeme, and appears to be the preferred or citation incorporated form. Incorporation of the alternative /yinggumbu/, however, is not uncommon, e.g.:
These supplementary terms are distinguished from the main set of PBPs because they occupy a different position in the verb, being able to follow incorporated PBPs. Constructions such as (5-10) are thus possible, though not frequently employed.

5-10) ngata anji -dim -miri -demi -Ø
house 2sS Ir nj sink eye side Imp

(You (sg)) Shut the side window on the house.

These supplementary terms behave otherwise, for the purposes of incorporation, like the PBPs listed above. In the following discussion, then, I will use the label "principal body part terms" (PBPs) to cover both the body part nouns tabled in (5-7) and the four supplementary locationals.

These distinctions which have been made, in both incorporation type (lexical vs. syntactic) and incorporable noun categories (PBPs vs. the others) make for four possible incorporation processes: syntactic non-PBP, syntactic PBP, lexical PBP, and lexical non-PBP. Although, as noted above, lexical non-PBP incorporation is rare, all four processes are attested in the language. Each incorporation process places a single root, stripped of any class prefixes it may carry as a free nominal, into the verb. Aside from examples such as (5-10), of the four processes, only syntactic non-PBP has been evidenced as compatible with any of the others. Any one verb, then, may carry a maximum of two incorporated roots, only one of which may be a PBP.

Lexically incorporated nouns appear adjacent to the verb root, either preceding or following it, while syntactically incorporated PBPs always appear after the verb root; syntactically incorporated non-PBPs occupy the following verb slot. Syntactic non-PBP incorporation is considered in 5.3.1, syntactic PBP incorporation in 5.3.2. We then proceed to look at lexical incorporation in 5.4-5.

Also requiring consideration in a study of body part terms in the verb are three contracted PBPs, /mu/ from /muri/ "hand", /mi/ from /miri/ "eye", and /ma/ from /masri/ "belly", which operate, with
varying degrees of productivity, as applicative prefixes, attaching to verb roots to derive new predicates. These are discussed in 5.6.1-3. In addition, in 5.7, we look at a special class of complex verb stems, "static locatives", derived through the compounding of body part nouns with the /ni/ relativizer.

5.2 The Semantics of Incorporated PBPs

5.2.1. The Nature of PBP Classification

We can distinguish several different levels of meaning at which incorporated PBPs may operate. On a literal level they may incorporate with the specific meanings they carry as independent lexemes, as with /miri/ "eye" in (1).

5-11) ambi wadi ngandi -Ø / anji -imbi -dim -miri -Ø
NEG 2sS Ir see 2sS Ir sit Imp 2sS Ir nj 2sG sink eye Imp
=REFL

(You(sg)) Don't watch it! Shut your eyes!

PBPs may also acquire extended literal meanings, denoting regions of the body in a more general sense. These extended meanings are normally carried only by incorporated PBPs, although they are also occasionally manifested by their free form counterparts. Under incorporation, for example, the meaning of /fiyi/ "head" is extended to encompass "hair", and /muwarri/ "testicle" is extended to include "external female genitalia". And incorporated /miri/ "eye" can take on the more general sense of "face", e.g.:

5-12) guwa -wil -nginanga -Ø / ngurr -ingin -pit -miri -wa
3sS R stand heat 1sADV Pr 1sS Ir rr 1sG clean eye Fut
=REFL

I'm hot. I want to wash my face.

PBPs also function figuratively: they can, for example, both as free and incorporated forms, act as metaphors for certain types of part-whole relationships. One particular area in which this occurs is in body part terminology itself, where PBPs combine with body part nouns (including other PBPs) to derive compound nouns denoting sub-regions of the body. These are illustrated in (5-13) below, where /ferri/ "foot" has the general meaning of "base", /masri/ "belly" has the general meaning of "underside" and /miri/ "eye" is generalised to "body orifice (and immediate surrounding region)". Note that the ordering in the compounds is always whole followed by the part.
5-13) Whole-Part PBP Compounds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound</th>
<th>Part 1</th>
<th>Part 2</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fundi ferri</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>foot</td>
<td>base of finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manthi ferri</td>
<td>neck</td>
<td>foot</td>
<td>base of neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguri ferri</td>
<td>penis</td>
<td>foot</td>
<td>base of penis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ferri masri</td>
<td>foot</td>
<td>belly</td>
<td>sole of foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fundi masri</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>belly</td>
<td>palm of hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miri masri</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>belly</td>
<td>lower eyelid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thiyerr masri</td>
<td>lips</td>
<td>belly</td>
<td>underside of chin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sjangi miri</td>
<td>ear</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>earhole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sjiyan miri</td>
<td>vagina</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>labia, vaginal opening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiyan miri</td>
<td>shit</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>anus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yangi miri</td>
<td>breast</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>areola, nipple</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These metaphoric PBPs are readily incorporated. Thus in (5-14) incorporated /manthi/ corresponds to the compound /fundi manthi/ "wrist, forearm" in the locative NP, while in (5-15) /miri/ is incorporated in a verb describing the dilation of the vagina in the course of childbirth.

5-14) muku gumuri -iwinj -thirr -manthi -fini -ya
woman 3nsS R muri 3nsG=REFL tie neck dl Pst
fundi manthi -nanga
arm neck LOC

The two women tied (something) around their wrists.

5-15) gumun -ngi -butj -miri -nganga -ya yeri -wa
3sS R paint 3fsG=REFL hold eye 3fsBOD Pst child PURP

Literally: (The vagina?) eye-held itself on her for the child.
= : Her vagina dilated for the birth of the child.

Parts of many other entities are commonly described with PBP metaphors. The branches of a tree, for example, are referred to as /fundi/ "arm", its roots and base as /ferri/ "foot", its top as /fiyi/ "head", and its leaves, depending on their relative shape and size, as /miri/ "eye" or /sjangi/ "ear". Thus in the first clause in (5-16) incorporated /miri/ corresponds to the object NP, /mulingi/ "leaf", while in the second clause the free nominals /fuwa/ and /fiyi/ denote the tree's lower trunk and top respectively:

5-16) mulingi gil -yumburr -miri -ya thawurr /
leaf 3sS R l take off eye Pst tree
ambi mulingi -njsjan fuwa fiyi
NEG leaf now lower leg head

Literally: It knocked down the tree's leaves.
= : The tree shed its leaves.
There's no leaves now, from the top to where the branches stop.
Similarly, the roof of a house can be described as its "back" /sradi/, its rear wall and area as /thenggi/ "bottom", its doorways as /ngal/ "mouth", and its inside area as /masri/ "belly".

However, it is important to note that the metaphorical use of PBPs does not necessarily presuppose some coherent image of a whole body, or even a body section, to which the individual part denoted or classified by the PBP belongs. In fact, if one looks towards establishing coherent body images, one can find the imagery quite confusing. The standard way of referring to a creek, for example, is by /fundí/ "arm". The banks of the creek are, however, referred to as /diyerr/ "teeth", while the bed of the creek is /masri/ "belly". These individually named "body parts" of the creek are thus not arranged relative to each other in the same way as human or animal body parts; they are given PBP classification more because of individual body part like attributes than because of any spatial-structural relationship they may bear to some conceptual whole body. Similarly, the blade-edge of a knife is categorised as /diyerr/ "teeth", while its point is referred to as /mirí/ "eye", as illustrated in the contrasting effect of incorporated /mirí/ and /diyerr/ in (5-17.a) and (5-17.b).

This attributional basis for PBP classification allows for considerable expansion of meaning. Entities conceived of as having eye-like attributes, for example, and therefore classifiable with /mirí/, include the following: any type of orifice, hole, opening, exit or entranceway (including the area bounded by the rims of cups, saucepans etc.); points (in a three-dimensional sense, as in (5-17.a)); central points or spots, particularly those that are physically distinguishable in some way; elliptically shaped objects. These functions of /mirí/ are exemplified in the nominal compounds listed in (5-18). Note that the one compound, as illustrated by /thawurr mirí/ here, can have several different meanings:
This, however, is not the full extent of the classificatory usage of /miri/. It also compounds with /sjanjsji/ "fire" to mean, at a literal level, "camp-fire (flame of campfire, ashes of campfire, immediate locality of camp-fire)". It is difficult to determine the basis for "eye" classification in this compound. It is possible that it is based on a perceived physical similarity, in the sense of camp-fires, as opposed to bush-fires, having a bright and stable glowing eye-like centre; alternatively, it might be considered to arise from the elliptical shape on the ground that camp-fires tend to assume. However, it is perhaps more likely, given the pivotal role of the camp-fire in traditional Marrithiyel social life, that it expresses a concept of the camp-fire area as the centre of day-to-day social activity. Possibly related to this usage, and no doubt also arising from the function of eye-contact and facial or eye expression in social intercourse, /miri/ also occurs in compounds which broadly concern social groupings and values. /Miri nginjsji-da/ "eye one-again (i.e. different)" means "of a different group", for example, and /sjapatj miri/ "small-eye" is a diminutive, used of young higher animates, and expressing a sense of care and protectiveness towards them.7

This range of meaning available to nominal compounding /miri/ is matched by the range of /miri/ incorporating verbs. The "point" function of incorporated /miri/ has been illustrated in (5-17.a) above, and the "elliptical" shape function in (5-16). Examples (5-19) to (5-22) then illustrate /miri/ meaning "hole-opening", "centre", "campfire (ashes)" and "social interaction" respectively.
5-19) garrila gapil girrimun'gi -wut -miri -Ø -ya
rock big IES R paint load eye pl Pst

We(exc,pl) placed a big rock over the (cave) entrance.

5-20) wudi gidin -fenni -miri -ya /
water 3sS R see dirt,dust eye Pst
galirr gidin -fang duknganan
net 3sS R see APP policeman

He muddied up the middle part of the water,
lest the policeman see the net.

5-21) ganggilang wadi -burrburr -miri -ngel -Ø
chewing tobacco 2sS Ir see rub REDUP eye 3fsPURP Imp

(You sg) Rub the chewing tobacco in the ashes for her.

5-22) muku gan gun -ing -sjat -miri -wa
woman this 3sS Ir go lsO sit eye Fut

This woman wants to marry ("eye-sit") me.

While /miri/ is perhaps outstanding in its semantic breadth, many
other PBPs may acquire considerably extended meanings. We consider
the more significant of these in 5.2.2. below.

PBP attributional classification in nominal compounds, as can be
seen from the examples above, typically applies to items that are
either attached to, or inalienably part of, a whole entity. But this
is not universally the case. One exception is the compound, /miyi
miri/ "plant produce eye", which can be used of "seed" generally,
regardless of whether it continues to form part of a plant or not.
Another exception is the use of /fundi/ "arm" for "creek", which can
be used regardless of whether the particular creek in question joins
up with, and can therefore be thought of as part of, a larger body of
water. PBP classification in these two exceptional cases is based on
the physical shapes of the items - elliptical in the case of /miyi
miri/, and relatively long and thin in the case of /fundi/ as used for
"creek" - and not on an extant part-whole relationship. It is more
purely generic, rather than part-whole, classification.

Equally, PBP incorporation, although there are some arguable
exceptions (such as (5-21)), and some indeterminate data (such as (5-
22)) in this respect, is principally about part-whole relations. We
will consider this in detail in 5.3-4.

Note that both in the verb and as independent nominals PBPs play
a fluid classifying role, often enabling speakers to provide different
interpretations of the one situation, rather than functioning to
allocate things into distinct and rigid classes. For example, a cross
section of bamboo could be classified with /miri/ "eye", /ngal/ "mouth" or /thiyerr/ "lips". /Miri/ classification draws attention to it as having a hole- or orifice- like quality. /Ngal/ focusses on it more as the external opening of a mouth-like cavity and a potential point of entry for fluids, while /thiyerr/ draws attention more to the rim of actual bamboo. Similarly, in (5-23)-(5-25), the verb root /du/ "touch" incorporates three different PBPs, providing alternative views of the one real world event. In (5-23) it combines with /muwarri/ which here has the generalised meaning of "external genital area". In (5-24) it instead appears with /nguri/, which has the literal meaning "penis", but which here functions in the more general sense of explicitly denoting sexual activity. And in (5-25) /du/ takes an incorporated /fenbu/ "crotch" to produce a more neutral verb, one that could be used, for example, of a medical examination as much as sexual activity.

5-23) ngirr -inj -sru -du -muwarri -ya sjiyan
1sS R rr 2sO ITER touch testicle Pst vagina
I felt (the external genital area of) your vagina.

5-24) ngirr -inj -sru -du -nguri -ya sjiyan
1sS R rr 2sO ITER touch penis Pst vagina
I felt your vagina (as a sexual act).

5-25) ngirr -inj -sru -du -fenbu -ya sjiyan
1sS R rr 2sO ITER touch crotch Pst vagina
I felt your vagina (i.e. the vaginal area of your crotch).

Further, in their classificatory use of PBPs speakers can assume either a human or a (four-legged) animal body prototype; the spatial-structural meanings of PBPs can consequently vary, depending on whether they are applied to entities conceived of as having human or animal spatial dispositions. Most inanimates are classed with animals in this respect, their essential orientation being thought of as prone rather than upright. Thus /sradi/ "back" is the appropriate classifier for the upper surfaces of things in general, while /masri/ "belly" is used to refer to the underneath or lower side of most three dimensional objects. Similarly, /thenggi/ "bottom" denotes what we would refer to in English as the "back" of something, while a "front" surface could be conveyed as /miri/ "eye", /ngal/ "mouth", /yan/ "nose, snout" or even /thiyerr/ "lips", depending on some physical quality or the attribute being focussed on by the speaker. However, for humans, and for a minority of other entities conceived of as
typically being in upright stances (e.g. trees), /sradi/ "back" denotes the rear surface, while /masri/ "belly" refers to the front surface, that surface which, in contrast to animals, faces towards the direction of motion. These different meanings, arising from the two body prototypes, are considered further in 5.2.2 below.

5.2.2. Meaning Extensions of PBPs

(1) /Ferri/ "foot" has the extended meaning of "base", or bottom portion of something, especially that bottom portion through which something is connected to the ground and supported, e.g.:

5-26) thawurr ngirrimun'gi -sru -duk -ferri -Ø -wa wakay
tree 1ES Ir paint ITER pull out foot 1pl Fut complete

Literally: We(exc,pl) will pull out all the trees at their "feet".

And /ferri/ is incorporated into the verb in (5-27) to denote the action taking place at the base of the neck. Compare this with (5-28), in which /ferri/ is combined with the same verb root in a more literal sense.

5-27) manthi ferri gurr -git -ferri -nginanga -ya
neck foot 3sS Ir rr cut foot 1sBOD Pst =base of neck

Literally: He could have cut the base of my neck off.

= : He could have strangled me.

5-28) gubul -ing -git -ferri -ya thawurr gan -gin
3sS Ir rr 1sO cut foot Pst stick this ERG

Literally: This stick could have foot-cut me.

= : This stick could have tripped me.

Related to its physical sense of "base of support", /ferri/ incorporating verbs can also have the sense, with humans, of "place of residence" (parallel to the English notion of being "based" in a place); the verb in (5-29), this time with the classifier in front of the verb root (cf. 5.4.), consequently has implications that the human undergoer has been permanently left there, to establish himself in a new home.

5-29) yibi -njsja nang ngigin -ferri -thit -a muku -wedi
there now 3msPRO 1sS R claim foot put down Pst woman having

I left him (permanently) in that place with his wife.

(2) /Fiyi/ "head" incorporates into the verb literally for actions involving the whole head, or, more specifically, the back part of the
head (that is, excluding the face, forehead and ears). This includes the hair:

5-30) anji -imbi -werrerr -fiyi -Ø
2sS Ir nj 2sG=REFL move back & forth head Imp] REDUP

(You(sg)) Comb your hair.

The extended meanings of /fiyi/ include upper protruding or rounded parts, and top surfaces of long comparatively thin things, as in (5-31), where the CVS /dim-fiyi/ "sink-head" is employed to describe knocking a stake into the ground, and (5-32), where /fiyi/ refers to the detachable cap of a pen.

5-31) thawurr gan warri -srin -dim -fiyi -Ø
stick this 2sS Ir n ITER sink head Imp

(You (sg)) Knock this stake into the ground (by hitting it repeatedly with your foot).

5-32) anji -puk -fiyi -Ø / gidi -thut -fang
2sS R nj place on head Imp 3sS R heat dry APP

(You(sg)) Put the top on (the pen), lest it dry out.

/Fiyi/ also has associated senses of being the most "obvious" part of the body, and it appears in certain verbs of concealment (hiding, sneaking etc.), e.g.:

5-33) werri -nanga ngil -ingin -yat -fiyi -ya
grass LOC 1sS R l 1sG=REFL sneak away head Pst

I hid myself (sneakily) in the grass.

This usage is extended to more interpersonal concealment and revelation; the verb "to blame", for example, is constructed as "point at (someone's) head", employing the CVS /sjit-fiyi/ "point-head". Similarly, the verb "to be embarrassed, shamed" is apparently based on the concept of head-internal crying; this verb is an impersonal construction which encodes the experiencer in the auxiliary as direct object (i.e. with an O form):

5-34) apu gangi -ya ni muku / garr -ing -sri -fiyi -ya
that way 1sS R sit Pst NI woman 3sS R rr 1sO cry head Pst

I was sitting there, at the women's place. It shamed me.

(3). /Fundi/ "arm" can be used to classify any relatively long and thin limb-like thing, and is commonly used for creeks and tree branches:

5-35) fusja girrimuringgi -thirr -fundi -Ø -a thawurr /
rope 1ES R muri tie arm pl Pst tree
We(exc,pl) tied the rope around the branch of the tree. From that we lifted the bullock up.

The other major classificatory use of /fundi/ is in verbs concerned with leading or directing human movement. Thus to "take someone" somewhere is constructed with /butj-fundi/ "hold-arm", e.g.:

5-36) nitjingani thawun -srans ngirrn -nimbi -butj -fundi -fini -wa
morning town ALL 1ES Ir rr 2sO hold arm dl Fut

In the morning we(exc,2) will take you(sg) to town.

The meaning of /diyerr/ "teeth" can be extended to anything which can be conceptualised as teeth-like insofar as having broad or flat sides with relatively thin edges; /diyerr/ is typically applied to the blades of cutting instruments, as in (5-17.b), and to banks of creeks and rivers, as in (5-37):

5-37) mangayawa daram -nanga guwa -ya/
poison drum LOC 3sS R stand Pst

gurringgi -tjerr -diyerr -Ø -ya/
3nsS R rr drag teeth pl Pst

gil -bubu -masri -fang wudi -nanga
3sS R 1 tip,pour belly APP water LOC REDUP

The poison was (standing) in the drums. They(pl) dragged them from the creek-bank, lest (the poison) seep out into the water.

5) /Sradi/ "back", as noted above (5.2.1.), has two distinct extensions of meaning, according to whether it is applied to human-like prototypically upright bodies or to animal-like prototypically horizontal bodies. Based on the prototypical animal body it becomes the classifier for the relatively broad or elongated upper surfaces of objects, and for surfaces that stand out by virtue of being raised or hump-like, bare or in some other way exposed. Thus both ridges and mounds may be referred to as /sradi/. Similarly, we have /felbatj-sradi/ "step-back" in (5-38) as the unmarked choice for the verb depicting the action of stepping over a protruding object in its normal orientation.

5-38) ngin -felbatj -sradi -ya sjalwu
1sS R go step back Pst canoe

I stepped over (the "back" of) the canoe.
Incorporation of /masri/ "belly" in this verb in place of /sradi/, as in (5-39), indicates that the inanimate object is upside down:

5-39) ngin -felbatj -masri -ya sjalwu
lsS R go step belly Pst canoe

I stepped over (the "belly" of) the canoe.
i.e. I stepped over the upside-down canoe.

And in (5-40) incorporated /sradi/ has the sense of "patch, bandage", i.e. something that forms a covering upper surface for a wound, sore or hole. Note that, as suggested by (5-40), /sradi/ can be used to denote a covering to a sore anywhere on the body; it does not refer to the location of the sore itself. Similarly, the verb in (5-41) can be used of drilling into any broad upper or exposed surface; in this case it is the open plain that is conceptualised as a "back".

5-40) muwun ganda ferri -nanga anji -puk -sradi -ya
sore that foot LOC 2ss Ir nj put on back Pst

You(sg) should have covered (i.e. put a "back on") that sore on your foot.

5-41) ammu gumun'gi -thung -sradi -Ø -ya
plain 3nsS R paint puncture back pl Pst

They(pl) drilled the plain (i.e. for oil).

Applied to human-type upright bodies /sradi/ denotes rear surfaces. Rear surfaces are those which are on the opposite side to the speaker or other contextually determined point of reference, or which are on the opposite side to any actual or conceptual eye, mouth, entranceway etc., or which face away from the normal direction of motion. Thus in (5-42) incorporated /sradi/ has the meaning of "behind".

5-42) gani -thiti -sradi -ya thawurr
3ss R go piss back Pst tree

He pissed behind the tree.

(5-42) can be compared with (5-43.a) and (5-43.b). In (5-43.a) /sradi/ has a literal function, denoting the back of the human undergoer. In (5-43.b) incorporated /sradi/ functions as a classificatory body-part of /ngata/ "house"; because houses are conceptualised as prone rather than upright entities, /sradi/ here can only be interpreted as denoting the upper, and not the rear, surface. The action must thus be understood as taking place on top of rather than behind the house.
My sister pisses on your back.

He pissed on the roof of the house.

He pissed behind the house.

(6) /masri/ "belly" has several different classifying functions. Firstly, like /sradi/, it can function to classify the external surfaces of objects. Applied to entities conceived of as having animal-type bodies it denotes lower surfaces, while applied to human-type bodies it denotes the "front" surface, i.e. the surface facing towards the speaker or point of reference, or facing towards the direction of motion, or the surface containing an entranceway or some other conceptual eye, mouth, lips etc. Thus compare the effect of incorporated /masri/ in (5-44.a) and (5-44.b).

The motor-car is (sitting) here. Let's(inc,pl) turn it upside down.

Don't (you(sg)) turn your back on me. Turn yourself around to face me.

Secondly, deriving from its capacity to refer to the internal section as well as the external face of the "belly", /masri/ is extended to denote the "inside" space of three dimensional objects, e.g.:

I sat down in the "belly" of (i.e. inside) the cave.

/Masri/ is consequently commonly incorporated into verbs involving containment, or insertion into, or removal from, containers, e.g.:
5-46) tharr wiyan afen? /
thing shit where
=tobacco

aya ngidin -gulil -masri -ya fuwawedi -nanga
oh 1sS R see insert belly Pst trousers LOC

Where's the tobacco?
Oh, I put it in the "belly" (=pocket) of my trousers.

However, /masri/ is not restricted to referring to enclosed spaces; in fact any depression, hollow or generally concave shape, such as the claypan in (5-47), is eligible for classification by /masri/.

5-47) guguk sjirra, alele ga -fumbu -masri -wa wudi wait yet claypan 3sS Ir Ø fill belly Fut water (with fluid)

Just wait,
the water will fill the (belly, inside space of the) claypan yet.

/Masri/ also figures in the world of the Marrithiyel as the centre of the emotions, and is incorporated into many verbs concerning emotional processes or emotive behaviour. Thus while the verb in (5-46) is there given a more literal meaning of "placing inside", in (5-48) it becomes a metaphor for persuasion; to incite someone to do something is to "put (the idea) inside" or to "stir up" their "belly". (5-49.a) and (5-49.b) show a similar movement, in the one /masri/ incorporating CVS, this time from the (human) orientational role of /masri/ to its emotive classificatory function. /Purritj-masri/ "lose one's grip - belly", in combination with the "go" auxiliary, means to "lose one's (prototypical human) orientation while in motion", that is, to "fall over"; with the /rr/ auxiliary, however, and with the experiencer now in 0 function, as in (5-49.b) it becomes a metaphor for losing one's desire or care for something. To no longer care for something, it would appear, is to have it "slip one's belly".

5-48) nina ambi -ya ngipi -ya /
Oblig NEG Pst 1sS Ir do Pst

wadi -Ø winjsjani gidin -ngi -gulil -masri -ya
male s 3 no good 3sS R see 1sO insert belly Pst

I shouldn't have done it (but I did). That bad bloke stirred me up (to do it).

5-49.a) fillak ngin -purritj -masri -ya
mud 1sS R go lose grip belly Pst

I fell into the mud.

5-49.b) nanggana -na -ya sretje ngirri -ya /
before 1st Pst want 1sS R rri Pst
I wanted it before. I don't care now.

The applicative verb root prefix /ma/ is a contraction of /masri/, and is discussed in 5.6.3 below.

\((7)\) /Manthi/ has the basic literal meaning of "neck", and can refer either to its internal (i.e. the throat) or external regions.

\[5-50\) gumun -ngi -yirrirr -manthi -Ø
3sS R paint 1sO scratch neck Pr REDUP

Literally: It is scratching my "neck".
= I've got a sore throat.

As illustrated at example (5-14) above, /manthi/ is also involved in body part term compounding, denoting regions of the body conceived of as having neck-like attributes, e.g. /fundi manthi/ "wrist" ("arm-neck"), /ferri manthi/ "ankle region" ("foot-neck").

/Manthi/ has two apparently interrelated, and, in comparison with the other PBPs, highly particular, classificatory functions\(^1\). Firstly, it may be used to refer to any pathway, track, channel, ridge, line of motion etc. which cuts across or through some larger or more diffuse "body". In (5-51), for example, incorporated /manthi/ refers to a channel or pathway through a ridge created by a mythical being. And in (5-52) /manthi/ refers to a track across the river.

\[5-51\) e nidin gan "a -furak gumun -git -manthi -ya"
and country this CA bony bream 3sS R paint cut neck Pst
girimgingi -Ø -Ø
1ES R do pl Pr

And this place we call, "Where the bony bream cut a channel (through the ridge)".

\[5-52\) federr gurringgi -thik -manthi -Ø -ya / ambi-fang ginijnjarr
river 3nsS R rr block neck pl Pst NEG APP 2sS R go*

They(pl) blocked the "neck" of (i.e. the crossing at) the river. Unfortunately you(sg) couldn't keep going.

The other major classificatory use of /manthi/ is as a marker of waiting. This is found in only a few verbs; it is an exclusive function of verbally incorporated /manthi/ and is not apparent in its nominal usage. The evidence suggests that this notion of waiting provided by incorporated /manthi/ is an extension of its line of intersection usage, since speakers tend to conflate the two meanings. The verb in (5-53), for example, in isolation is glossed by speakers
as meaning to "sit down on the track/on the way and wait (for someone)." However, in practice, the verb may be used to refer to any type of waiting, not restricted to any particular type of location, and not restricted to waiting for people, but able to apply to waiting for the appearance of any entity or the occurrence of an event, whether or not this may take place in the vicinity of the waiting subject.\textsuperscript{11}

5-53) ma fiyi gapil sjitjukini
CH head big two
fininj -sjat -manthi -nginel -fini -wa
3nsS Ir go sit down neck 1sPURP dl Fut

The two important (big headed) men will sit down and wait (along the track) for me.

Presumably the sense of "waiting" in verbs such as (5-53) derives from a concept of the subjects creating a "neck", i.e. figuratively forming a line across the track in anticipation of meeting up with people moving along it. The more abstract uses of "waiting" would appear to be based on this metaphor of intersection.

(8) The range of meanings attributable to /miri/ "eye" has been discussed in 5.2.1., and need not be considered further here. The meanings available to /miri/, both as verbally incorporated and as a free nominal, include: eye, face; orifice, hole, opening; elliptical shape; point; central area; social interaction.

The applicative verb root prefix /mi/ is a contraction of /miri/; its role, compared to post verb root incorporated /miri/, is discussed in 5.6.2.

(2) /ngal/ "mouth" has extended meanings covering any entrance or way of access to something, typically, but not necessarily, an enclosed area. Anything which can constitute a means of access, particularly where the access can be either opened or closed, can be classified with /ngal/. In modern times this has been extended to the bonnets of cars, e.g.:

5-54) ambi arri -but -ngal -Ø murrika wudi purrng purrng -fang
NEG 2sS Ir rr open mouth Imp car water boiling APP

(You(sg)) Don't open the bonnet of the car for fear of the boiling water.
/ngal/ is also incorporated into some verbs relating to voluntary or controlled speech.

(10) /Nguri/ has the literal meaning of "penis". It may be incorporated in its literal sense, to mark action on or at the penis, e.g.:

5-55)  garr -ni -fitjel -nguri -ya
      3sS R rr 3msG=REFL pull back penis Pst
( & forth)

   He pulled his foreskin back.

Incorporated into the verb /nguri/ has an additional role as a classifier for sexual activity. In this capacity /nguri/ incorporating verbs imply some type of contact at the undergoer's sexual organs; however, the penis itself need not be the instrument of this contact. This is illustrated at (5-24) above, where /nguri/ classifies an act of sexual contact with the fingers, and in (5-56), where the contact, as indicated by the Ø auxiliary (cf. 6.2), is through the mouth.

5-56)  ngi -inj -yilyil -nguri ngin -a
      1sS R Ø 2s0 true penis 1sS R go Pst
     =cause pleasure

   I used to make you feel pleasure by oral sexual contact.

As noted at example (5-23) above, /muwarri/ "testicles" also has an expanded meaning under incorporation, indicating action on or at the external genital area of either males or females, cf.:

5-57)  gumun -pit -muwarri -Ø muku gan
      3sS R paint pluck, clean testicles Pr woman this

   Literally : It testicle-plucks this woman.
            = : This woman's got no pubic hair.

I have found no evidence in the nominal lexicon of /muwarri/ being able to refer to female sexual organs.

(11) /Fenbu/ refers literally to the general area of the crotch (male or female) and is extended to encompass anything of a V-shaped crotch-like structure. Forks of trees, for example, are commonly classified as /fenbu/, as are the mussel shells, which are viewed as opening up into a crotch shape, in (5-58).

5-58)  arri -but -fenbu -Ø a -firinggi
      2sS Ir rr rr open crotch Imp CA mussel

   (You(sg)) Open up the mussel shell.
In contrast to /muwarri/, /fenbu/ can refer to either the external or internal crotch area. /Fenbu/ is thus the classifier regularly employed for action inside the vaginal area; it can appear in verbs of, but does not necessarily imply, sexual activity.

5-59) mupun pitji wakatj ngidin -ngin -gulil -fenbu -ya
cotton menstruation 1sS R see 1sG=REFL insert crotch Pst

I put period-cotton wool (i.e. a tampon) inside my "crotch".

(12) "Thenggi" has a basic literal meaning of "bottom, buttocks" and is extended, in conformity with the animal body prototype (cf. 5.2.1.), to denote the "rear" or "back" area of non-upright objects. It is incorporated into the verb, following the verb root, in both these functions.

5-60) gunji -iwinj -lunglung -thengi -Ø gawunj -Ø -a
3nsS R nj 3nsG=REFL slap,strike bottom pl 3nsS R sit pl Pst REDUP

They(pl) were sitting slapping themselves on their bottoms.

5-61) sjalwu ngigin -thit -thenggi -ya ngata
canoe 1sS R claim place on bottom Pst house

I leant the canoe against the rear(wall) of the house.

/thenggi/ is also lexically incorporated (cf. 5.4.) into many verbs, where it appears prior to the root. Combined in this way with the verb root /du/ "touch", as in (5-62), for example, it forms the CVS used for verbs of various types of pushing, propulsion or collision.

5-62) gumbudin -thenggi -sru -du -Ø -ya murrika
11S R see bottom ITER touch I dl Pst car

You and I pushed the ("bottom"/rear of the) car.

Lexically incorporated /thenggi/ is also extended to the realm of human social activity, and incorporates into verbs expressing interference into, or disruption of, the social order. Thus to detain someone in a social setting - to prevent them (by gesture, suggestion, order etc. or somehow without overt force) from leaving a meeting, ceremony etc. - is constructed with the CVS /thenggi-pirr/ "buttocks-discard". And to separate a married couple is formed with the CVS /thenggi-git/ "buttocks-cut", as in (5-63).
5-63) ngun -inj -thenggi -git -nanga -wa meri nanj
1sS Ir go 2sO buttocks cut 3ms ADV Fut man 2sPRO=POSS

Literally: I'm going to cut your (sg) buttocks off from your man.

= : I'm going to separate you (sg) from your husband.

It is interesting in this respect that the CVS /thenggi-du/ "push", in combination with the /rr/ auxiliary, is metaphorical for, and the preferred verb for referring to, (non-physically) forcing someone to do something they are not inclined to do.

(13) /Thiyerr/ "lips" has two classificatory usages. Firstly, as mentioned in 5.2.1, it is complementary to /miri/ "eye" and /ngal/ "mouth", in incorporating into verbs where the action occurs at a hole or opening. In distinction to /miri/ and /ngal/, /thiyerr/ focusses on the material that constitutes the perimeter of the opening rather than the entrance or passageway itself. /Thiyerr/ is the preferred incorporated PBP for classifying action generally at openings which have raised, flapped or otherwise protruding lip-like perimeters, such as bottles and tin cups.

5-64) tharr ganda wudi -wedi wadi -mil -thiyerr -Ø
thing that liquid ASSOC 2sS Ir see cover lips Imp

(You (sg) Cover the top of that bottle (that "liquid having thing").

The second classificatory use of /thiyerr/, based on the animal body prototype, is to refer to the blunted end of long, narrow things, e.g.:

5-65) thawurr ginj -git -thiyerr -nginel -a sjanjsji -nanga
stick 3sS R nj cut lips 1sPURP Pst fire LOC

Literally: He lips-cut the stick in the fire for me.

= : He lit the stick at the end for me.

The remaining PBPs are productively incorporated into verbs with their literal denotation but have no major role as classifiers. To six of the PBPs, in fact, no classifying role, as either free nominals or verbal incorporates, can be attributed. These six are: /fenggi/ "knee", /garri/ "shoulder", /ngani/ "body", /wemi/ "forehead", /yesri/ "anus", /yerri/ "tail". In addition /muri/ "hand" has no classificatory function as an incorporated nominal; however, it does have a wider verbal role as an applicative verb root prefix, where it is contracted to /mu/; this is discussed in 5.6.1. Interestingly, /sjangi/ "ear", which functions in the nominal lexic in metaphors for knowledge and memory, appears as an incorporated PBP with this
function in only one verb (in which the main verb root is preposed to the auxiliary):

5-66) dim gingim -iwinj -sjangi -fini -ya  
sink 1sS R do 3nsG ear dl Pst  

(Literally: I ear-buried them(dl).  
= I forgot them(dl).)

/Sjangi/ is otherwise incorporated into the verb in its basic literal meaning of "ear", or a more generalised literal meaning of "side of the head". I have recorded occasional uses of /sjangi/ to classify entities, e.g. broad leaves, as having an ear-like shape; this, however, is rare.

The PBP /yan/ "nose" has a classificatory function complementary to the second ususage of /thiyerr/ listed above, denoting action occurring at the rounded, rather than the cut-off blunted, end of things. /Yan/ is also incorporated into a couple of verbs to do with anger and rejection, e.g.:

5-67) gani -sjirri -yan -nginanga -Ø  
3sS R go be resentful, nose 1s FEEL Pr  
sulky

He's resentful of me

Also appearing as a classifier in just a few verbs is the PBP /thedirr/ "navel". /Thedirr/ in its free nominal form is used generally as a polite way of referring to having a full bladder, or wanting to urinate:

5-68.a) thedirr ngin -Ø  
navel 1sS R go Pr  

(Literally: I'm going navel.  
= I'm going to pass water.)

Consistent with this, /thedirr/ is incorporated into verbs involving the flow of fluid from full containers, e.g.:

5-68.b) wudi apu arri -du -thedirr -Ø /  
water over there 2sS Ir rr touch navel Imp  

ngagi -wawa -ferri -wa  
1sS Ir nj wet REDUP foot Fut

(You(sg)) Turn on the tap over there.  
I want to water the base of (the plants).

/Wurang/ "upper leg, thigh" and /fuwa/ "lower leg" can both be incorporated into the verb in their basic literal functions, with the meaning of /wurang/ able to be extended to denote action on or at the
leg as a whole. In addition, both these terms may be used as classifiers to denote the whole, upper part, or lower part of any columnar or other leg-like supporting member; tree trunks, for example, are regularly classified with these terms, e.g.:

5-60) derifiri  gunjinggi  -pirpir  -wurang  -Ø  -a  thawurr
     skin, bark  3nsS R nj  pull off  leg  pl  Pst  tree
     REDUP

They (pl) peeled the bark from the trunk of the tree (e.g. with a knife).

5.3. The Syntax of Noun Incorporation

5.3.1. General O Incorporation

As outlined in 5.3.1, there are two types of syntactic noun incorporation in Marrithiyel, one involving PBPs, and one involving other noun roots. Syntactic non-PBP incorporation operates only on nouns (pronouns, deictics etc. are exempt) in non-reflexive direct object (i.e. "O") function. Any such object noun is eligible for this process, the root appearing in the verb in the post-CVS position. The procedure is possible regardless of whether the verb is of the high or low transitive class. Thus in (5-61.b) below /ngusra/ "creek" is incorporated as the object of the verb "jump", which is formed with the low transitive auxiliary "go". That "creek" is in O function in this example is demonstrated in (5-61.a), where the pronominal non-subject argument of "jump" is encoded in the auxiliary with the appropriate O forms. Similarly, (5-62.a) and (5-62.b) illustrate syntactic non-PBP incorporation with a high transitive verb.

5-61.a)  gan  -ing  -felbatj  -a
         3sS R  go  1sO  jump  Pst

He jumped over me.

5-61.b)  guninj  -felbatj  -ngusra  -nimbiní  -ya
         3nsS R  go  jump  creek  trial  Pst

They (3) jumped over the creek.

5-62.a)  ginidin  -di  -mel  -Ø  gininjarr  -a
         2sR see  3nsO  watch  pl  2sS R  go*  Pst

You (sg) were (going along) watching them (pl).

5-62.b)  ginidin  -mel  -themberri  gininjarr  -a
         2sS R  see  watch  road  2sS R  go*  Pst

You (sg) were (going along) watching the road.
This type of incorporation also occurs with simple transitive verbs, e.g.:

\[ 5-63) \quad \text{gumbugin} -\text{sandi} -\emptyset -\text{ya} \]
\[ 1\text{IS} \quad \text{R claim} \quad \text{spear} \quad 1\text{dl} \quad \text{Pst} \]

\[ \text{We(inc,2) said we wanted spears.} \]

This general process of incorporation is limited to inserting one root at a time in the verb. The incorporated root appears in its bare form, devoid of any class marking prefixes that may be required in its normal nominal role; in (5-64), for example, the nominal /mi-gungguli/ "long yam" is incorporated simply as /gungguli/, without its usual /mi/ "plant produce" prefix.

\[ 5-64) \quad \text{ngirrimun'gi} -\text{dutj} -\text{gungguli} -\text{fini} \quad \text{ngininj} -\text{fini} -\text{wa} \]
\[ 1\text{ES} \quad \text{Ir paint} \quad \text{pick up long yam} \quad 1\text{dl} \quad 1\text{ES} \quad \text{Ir go} \quad 1\text{dl} \quad \text{Fut} \]

\[ \text{We(exc,dl) will go gathering long yams.} \]

The incorporated root fully replaces the external O NP. It cannot, for example, simply be extracted from a complex O NP; (5-65.b) is thus not an alternative structuring for (5-65.a).

\[ 5-65.a) \quad \text{sjandi malika ngelfu gumbugin} -\emptyset -\text{a} \quad \text{spear long many IS} \quad \text{R claim} \quad 1\text{dl} \quad \text{Pst} \]

\[ \text{We(inc,2) said we wanted the bunch of long spears.} \]

\[ 5-65.b) \quad * \quad \text{malika ngelfu gumbugin} -\text{sandi} -\emptyset -\text{ya} \quad \text{long many IS} \quad \text{R claim} \quad \text{spear} \quad 1\text{dl} \quad \text{Pst} \]

Equally, the incorporated root cannot be duplicated in an O NP outside of the verb:

\[ 5-66) \quad (*\text{mi -gungguli}) \quad \text{ngirrimun'gi} -\text{dutj} -\text{gungguli} -\text{fini} \quad \text{CP} \quad \text{long yam} \quad 1\text{ES} \quad \text{Ir paint} \quad \text{pick up long yam} \quad 1\text{dl} \]

\[ \text{ngininj} -\text{fini} -\text{wa} \quad 1\text{ES} \quad \text{Ir go} \quad 1\text{dl} \quad \text{Fut} \]

\[ \text{We(exc,2) will go gathering the long yams.} \]

\[ 5-67) \quad (*\text{sjandi malika ngelfu}) \quad \text{gumbugin} -\text{sandi} -\emptyset -\text{ya} \quad \text{spear long many IS} \quad \text{R claim} \quad \text{spear} \quad 1\text{dl} \quad \text{Pst} \]

\[ \text{We(inc,2) said we wanted the bunch of long spears.} \]
Neither is it possible to formulate O NPs which are in a part-whole or generic-specific relationship with the incorporated root. Thus while (5-68.a) is a regular construction, (5-68.b), in which the external O NP denotes the whole of which the incorporated root represents a part, is unacceptable. Similarly (5-69), which contrasts with (5-64) above, is rendered unacceptable by the generic /miyi/, which can only be construed as in O function. Note that (5-68.b) and (5-69) are equally unacceptable if one instead incorporates /muning/ or /miyi/ and places the specific or part-denoting nouns in external NP function.

5-68.a) a -muning ngirr -ful -a a -muwa
CA wing 1sS R rr break Pst CA bone

I broke the wing-bone.

5-68.b) * a -muning ngirr -ful -muwa -ya
CA wing 1sS R rr break bone Pst

5-69) (*miyi) ngirimun'gi -dutj -gungguli -fini
plant produce 1ES Ir paint pick up long yam dl

ngininj -fini -wa
1ES Ir go dl Fut

We(exc,dl) will go gathering the long yams.

Clauses with such syntactically incorporated Os are, however, alternatively structured as, and able to be paraphrased by, clauses with the incorporated root taking its normal place as object NP. Thus (5-70.a) and (5-70.b) below are equivalent to (5-61.b) and (5-62.b) respectively.

5-70.a) ngusra guninj -felbatj -nimbini -ya
creek 3nsS R go jump trial Pst

They (3) jumped over the creek.

5-70.b) themberri ginidin -mel gininjarr -a
road 2sS R see watch 2sS R go* Pst

You(sg) were (going along) watching the road.

It is not clear to me precisely what semantic or pragmatic factors underlie general (i.e. non-PBP) O incorporation. Certainly there appear to be no significant differences in meaning between pairs such as (5-61.b) and (5-70.a), and (5-62.b) and (5-70.b) above. And while this type of incorporation is fully productive, it is nevertheless highly marked, and so infrequently employed that it is difficult to generalise about the discourse features that most favour it. There are indications, however, that general O incorporation is a strategy for backgrounding objects that the speaker wishes to mention,
but which nevertheless do not constitute new or especially important information. According to Mithun (1984) this "manipulation of discourse structure" is, cross-linguistically, a common function of noun incorporation. Mithun explains its motivation in polysynthetic languages in general as follows:

...In such languages V's - which carry most of the information - may of course be qualified by N's indicating the type of patient, instrument, or location involved in the action or state. However, the qualifying N's often represent known or incidental information, rather than significant new entities. A separate nominal constituent would sidetrack the attention of the listener; the solution is [noun incorporation]. [Incorporated nouns] are not salient constituents in themselves, whose presence might obstruct the flow of information. They simply ride along with their host V's. (1984, p859)

5.3.2. The Syntax of PBP Incorporation

Syntactic PBP incorporation is wider in scope than general O incorporation, applying not only to direct objects, but also to reflexive/reciprocals, certain locatives and ablative-sources, and to intransitive undergoer subjects. Verbs with syntactically incorporated PBPs may be paraphrased by removing the PBP from the verb and placing it in NP function; this results in pairs of sentences which at first sight appear to be similar in nature to the examples we have presented above for general incorporation. (5-71) and (5-72) below illustrate this for PBPs in O function. (5-71.a) and (5-72.a) each have an O NP consisting of a PBP. (These are not case marked, as is normal for core NPs (cf. 2.3); we know, however, that they are in O function by virtue of their substitutability with higher order participants for whom O and G roles are distinguished by auxiliary final bound pronouns (cf. 3.2)). In (5-71.b) and (5-72.b) the object PBP has then been incorporated in the verb following the verb root. Note that in (5-72) /sradi/ "back" functions in the metaphoric sense of "patch" (i.e. as providing a "back" for a hole, indentation, sore etc.)

5-71.a) fiyi ngil -thung -a
head lSS R li put hole in, Pst puncture

I put a hole in his head.
I made a hole in the top (of something).
5-71.b) ngil -thung -fiyi -ya
1sS R l put hole in, head Pst
 puncture
I put a hole in his head.
I made a hole in the top (of something).

5-72.a) sradi nginj -puk -a
back 1sS R nj put down Pst
 on top of
I put down a patch (on top of something).
I patched it.

5-72.b) nginj -puk -sradi -ya
1sS R nj put down back Pst
 on top of
I put down a patch (on top of something).
I patched it.

As with non-PBP incorporation PBP objects are eligible for incorporation regardless of whether the verb is of the high or low transitive class. Thus /masri/ "belly", the object of the low transitive verb in (5-73.a), is readily incorporated, as shown in (5-73.b).

5-73.a) masri gani -felbatj -a
belly 3sS R go jump Pst
He jumped over (his) "belly".
= He jumped over his front (i.e. as he was lying on his back).

5-73.b) gani -felbatj -masri -ya
3sS R go jump belly Pst
He jumped over (his) "belly".
= He jumped over his front (i.e. as he was lying on his back).

PBP incorporation is also possible with simple verbs, as shown in (5-74). Simple verb PBP incorporation is considered further in 5.5.

5-74.a) sradi ngirrimun'gi -Ø -wa
back 1ES Ir paint pl Fut
We(exc,pl) will paint (his) back.

5-74.b) ngirrimun'gi -sradi -Ø -wa
1ES Ir paint back pl Fut
We(exc,pl) will paint (his) back.

PBP O incorporation is also extended to include body parts, either literal or classificatory, functioning as the objects of reflexive or reciprocal actions. Such reflexive-reciprocal objects are not included in the scope of general O incorporation. PBP reflexive/reciprocal incorporation is anomalous in two respects.
Firstly, reflexive/reciprocals are cross-referenced in the verb with G rather than 0 bound pronominals (cf. 3.2.1.6, 3.2.3.2); as we shall see below, PBP incorporation is not normally compatible with verbal G coding. Secondly, PBP incorporating reflexive/reciprocals are not so readily paraphrasable by extracting the noun root from the verb. Thus while (5-75.a) is possible it is nevertheless highly marked, and (5-75.b) is the standard construction. Note that in (5-75.a) the auxiliary final G, marking the action as reflexive, is obligatory.

5-75.a) ?? muri anji -imbi -purrk -Ø
hand 2sS Ir nj 2sG=REFl clap Imp

(You(sg)) Clap your hands together (once).

5-75.b) anji -imbi -purrk -muri -Ø
2sS Ir nj 2sG=REFl clap hand Imp

(You(sg)) Clap your hands together (once).

Despite the marginal status of (5-75.a) I still treat the reflexive/reciprocal verbs such as illustrated in (5-75.b) as syntactically, rather than lexically, incorporating the PBP; this is motivated by their productive incorporation of non-reflexive PBP objects. Compare, for example, the non-reflexive clauses in (5-76) with those of (5-75).

5-76.a) thenggi ginj -purrrpurrk gusri -ya muri -gin
bottom 3sS R nj clap REDUP 3sS R sit Pst hand INS

He was (sitting) clapping the bottom (of a tin) with his hands.

5-76.b) ginj -purpurpurk -thenggi gusri -ya muri -gin
3sS R nj clap REDUP bottom 3sS R sit Pst hand INS

He was (sitting) clapping the bottom (of a tin) with his hands.

Syntactic incorporation also takes place with PBPs functioning as the implied arguments of transitive change of location verbs. These implied arguments, depending upon the characteristics of the verb, specify either the location/termination point or source/point of origin of the entity made to undergo the movement. Locative change of location verbs in Marrithiyel include, for example, /see#gulil/ "insert", /see#bu/ "tip, pour", /claim#thit/ "put down (in an upright position)" and /muri#thirr/ "tie (around, onto)", e.g.:

5-77.a) ferri -nanga wudi ngidin -bu -ya
foot LOC water 1sS R see pour Pst

I poured water onto (his) foot.
5-77.b)  wudi ngidin -bu -ferri -ya
water 1sS R see pour foot Pst

I poured water onto (his) foot.

5-78.a)  fusja gumuri -thirr -a wemi -nanga
rope 3sS R muri tie Pst forehead LOC

He tied the rope around (someone's) forehead.

5-78.b)  fusja gumuri -thirr -wemi -ya
rope 3sS R muri tie forehead Pst

He tied the rope around (someone's) forehead.

Source change of location verbs include /rr#duk/ "pull out", /paintlit/ "pick up" and /rr#pir/ "pull off", e.g.:

5-79.a)  miri -nganan garri -duk -a yeri
eye SCE 3sS R rr pull out Pst child

Literally: She pulled the baby (by hand) from the "eye" (i.e. vagina).

= : She delivered the baby.

5-79.b)  garri -duk -miri -ya yeri
3sS R rr pull out eye Pst child

Literally: She pulled the baby (by hand) from the "eye" (i.e. vagina).

= : She delivered the baby.

Locative/source incorporation is possible only for those arguments which, while not necessarily obligatorily specified in the clause, are nevertheless implied by the verb itself, and constitute part of the understanding of the nature of the action. Locative/source incorporation does not apply to more peripheral, scene-setting arguments. (5-80.a), for example, in which the locative NP provides the background location for the action, is not paraphrasable with an incorporated locative, as attempted in (5-80.b).

5-80.a)  ngumun -bung -a thawurr sradi -nanga
1sS R paint stab Pst tree back LOC

I stabbed him behind the tree.

5-80.b)  * ngumun -bung -sradi -ya thawurr -nanga
1sS R paint stab back Pst tree LOC

Note the locative/source incorporation can be ambiguous with object incorporation, e.g.:

5-80.c)  ngirr -duk -miri -ya
1sS R rr pull out eye Pst

I pulled its eye out.
I removed (something) from his eye/face (with my hands).
No disambiguation is provided by the verb in such cases. In those few cases in which both an object and a locative/source PBP are eligible for incorporation either may be transported into the verb (see, for example, (5-89) below).

The third category of syntactically incorporating PBPs is intransitive undergoer subject, e.g.:

5-81.a) miri gusri -weng -Ø
      eye 3sS R sit open Pr
      (His) eyes are open.

5-81.b) gusri -weng -miri -Ø
      3sS R sit open eye Pr
      (His) eyes are open.

5-82.a) yinggumbu gani -tjurr -a felp
      middle 3sS R go cut Pst continually
      ITER
      It was always breaking in the middle.

5-82.b) gani -tjurr -tharrma -ya felp
      3sS R go cut in the middle Pst continually
      ITER
      It was always breaking in the middle.

PBPs in other roles, e.g. as agents, instruments, intransitive actor subjects, benefactives etc., may not be syntactically incorporated. Thus inserting either of the PBPs constituting the instrumental NP of (5-83.a) into the verb results in the unacceptable (with the given meaning) (5-83.b).

5-83.a) gumun -fafa gusri -ya fundi rnasri -gin
      3sS R paint wipe 3sS R sit Pst hand belly INS
      =palm
      He was (sitting) wiping it with the palm of his hand.

5-83.b) * gumun -fafa -fundi/masri gusri -ya
      3sS R paint wipe hand/belly 3sS R sit Pst

* He was (sitting) wiping it with the palm of his hand.

Equally, /fiyi/ "head", referring to a body part of the agent in (5-84.a), and /ferri/ "foot", denoting a body part of the actor-subject of the intransitive (5-84.c), are unable to be transported into the verb:

5-84.a) fiyi arri -butj warri -wa
      head 2sS Ir rr hold 2sS Ir go Fut
      Literally: (Your) head will keep on holding it.
      = : You will continue to understand/remember it.
Similarly, body parts of agents functioning as locatives or sources in (non-reflexive/reciprocal) change of location verbs may not be incorporated, e.g.:

5-85.a) wiyan ngirr -yilik -a muri -nganan shit 1sS R rr drop Pst hand SCE =tobacco
I dropped the tobacco out of my hands.

5-85.b) * wiyan ngirr -yilik -muri -ya shit 1sS R rr drop hand Pst
* I dropped the tobacco out of my hands.

Since PBPs of reflexive/reciprocals can be treated as referring either to the agent or its co-referential undergoer, reflexive/reciprocal incorporation constitutes a potential counter-example to the principal that PBPs of agents may not be syntactically incorporated. It is clear, however, that in Marrithiyel reflexive/reciprocal incorporation is an extension of PBP O incorporation, and not an exceptional instance of agent body part incorporation. Verbs which allow reflexive/reciprocal PBP incorporation also allow it for objects which are not co-referential with the agent, but they do not allow it for non-reflexive/reciprocal agents. Thus the incorporating reflexive verb of (5-75.b) above has a non-reflexive O incorporating counterpart, as illustrated in (5-76.b). It does not, however, have a non-reflexive counterpart which incorporates a body part of the agent. (5-76.a), for example, cannot give rise to the body-part of agent/instrumental incorporating (5-85.c).

5-85.c) * thenggi ginj -purppurrk -muri gusri -ya bottom 3sS R nj clap REDUP hand 3sS R sit Pst
* He was (sitting) clapping the bottom (of the tin) with his hands.

The (a) and (b) pairs presented in (5-71)-(5-80) above are broadly equivalent semantically, and bear certain superficial similarities to the pairs presented in our discussion of syntactic
non-PBP incorporation in 5.3.1. However, syntactic PBP incorporation can be contrasted with general O incorporation in several significant ways, viz.: through the verbal position occupied by the incorporated root, compatibility with G arguments, verb class restrictions, undergoer focus and case-frame variation, and markedness. These are discussed in turn below.

(a) **Positioning within the verb**

Syntactically incorporated PBPs occupy a different position in the verb to, and may (although this is rare) co-occur with, syntactically incorporated non-PBPs. PBPs appear immediately after the verb root, preceding any other incorporated noun root. Thus (5-86.a)-(5-86.c) are all broadly equivalent. In (5-86.b) the PBP /muwarri/ "testicles" is incorporated. In (5-86.c) the external O NP of (5-86.b), the noun root /buluki/ "bull, cow", is then incorporated following /muwarri/.

5-86.a) buluki muwarri ngirrinjinggi -git -fini -wa
  bull testicles 1ES Ir nj cut dl Fut
  *We(exc,dl) will cut (off) the bull's testicles.*

5-86.b) buluki ngirrinjinggi -git -muwarri -fini -wa
  bull 1ES Ir nj cut testicles dl Fut
  *We(exc,dl) will cut (off) the bull's testicles.*

5-86.c) ngirrinjinggi -git -muwarri -buluki -fini -wa
  1ES Ir nj cut testicles bull dl Fut
  *We(exc,dl) will cut (off) the bull's testicles.*

The four supplementary locational PBPs, which may appear in the verb following the other body part terms (cf. 5.3.1.), can also be shown, as in (5-87), to occupy a different verbal position to incorporated general noun roots.

5-87) arri -fesjirr -demi -ngata -ya
  2sS Ir rr clean side house Pst
  *You(sg) should have cleaned up around the side of the house.*

Further, PBPs may not be incorporated into the verbal slot assigned to general O incorporation. For example, general O incorporation is able to proceed in a clause such as (5-79.b) above, resulting in (5-88).
5-88) garri -duk -miri -yeri -ya
3sS R rr pull out eye child Pst

Literally: She pulled the baby (by hand) from the vagina.
= : She delivered the baby.

However, attempts at structures parallel to (5-88) which place a PBP in the position occupied by /yeri/ are unacceptable. Thus in (5-89.a) we have PBPs in both O and Source function. (5-89b) and (5-89.c) are alternative structures to (5-89.a), incorporating either the O or the source PBP. But (5-89.d), although structurally parallel to (5-88), is not acceptable:

5-89.a) muwarri garri -duk -a fenbu -nganan
testicle 3sS R rr pull out Pst crotch SCE

He pulled out the testicles from the crotch area.

5-89.b) garri -duk -muwarri -ya fenbu -nganan
3sS R rr pull out testicle Pst crotch SCE

He pulled out the testicles from the crotch area.

5-89.c) muwarri garri -duk -fenbu -ya
testicle 3sS R rr pull out crotch Pst

He pulled out the testicles from the crotch area.

5-89.d) * garri -duk -muwarri -fenbu -ya
3sS R rr pull out testicle crotch Pst

(b) Compatibility with G Arguments

General O incorporation is not constrained by the presence of arguments in G role. (5-90.a) can be paraphrased with the incorporated structure of (5-90.b):

5-90.a) awu gi -ingin -fup -a
meat 3sS R Ø 1sG put down Pst =give

He gave me the meat.

5-90.b) gi -ingin -fup -awu -ya
3sS R Ø 1sG put down meat Pst =give

He gave me the meat.
PBP incorporation, however, cannot take place where the verb is specified as taking an argument in G role\(^{15}\). Thus (5-90.c) is a regular construction in which /masri/ "belly" is incorporated as the locative argument of the verb "put down"; /masri/ here represents a metaphorical body part of the noun /sjalwu/ "canoe" in the locative NP. (5-90.d) gives the paraphrase which has /masri/ as a constituent of this locative NP.

5-90.c) a -wurrumbun giringgni -fup -masri -Ø -ya sjalwu -nanga
CA crocodile 1ES R Ø put down belly pl Pst canoe LOC salt water sp.

\(\text{We(exc, pl) put the crocodile down in the "belly" (bottom) of the canoe.}\)

5-90.d) a -wurrumbun giringgni -fup -Ø -a sjalwu masri -nanga
CA crocodile 1ES R Ø put down pl Pst canoe belly LOC salt water sp.

\(\text{We(exc, pl) put the crocodile down in the "belly" (bottom) of the canoe.}\)

The same verb root, /fup/, when specified for a G argument forms the complex verb "give". (That is, "give" in Marrithiyel is morphologically composed as "put something down to someone".) Functioning as the verb "give", and affixing the appropriate G forms to the auxiliary, /fup/ cannot now take incorporated PBPs in locative function. Thus (5-91) is unacceptable:

5-91) * awu giri -inimbi -fup -masri -Ø -ya sjawu -nanga
meat 1ES R Ø 2sG put down belly pl Pst canoe LOC

\(\text{We(exc, pl) gave you meat (by putting it down) in the canoe.}\)

Reflexive/reciprocals, which are coded in the auxiliary with G forms, constitute an exception to the exclusion of PBP incorporation from G specified verbs. It is important to observe, however, that with reflexive/reciprocals only PBPs which denote body parts of the undergoer/agent may be incorporated. In (5-92), for example, the (high) transitive verb /see#ngitj/ "hide", which in Marrithiyel classes with the change of location verbs, incorporates the locative functioning PBP /sradi/ "back":

5-92.a) wudi srsrut gidin -ngitj -a thawurr sradi -nanga
water frothy 3sS R see hide Pst tree back LOC
\(=\) beer
\(\text{He hid the beer behind the tree.}\)

5-92.b) wudi srsrut gidin -ngitj -sradi -ya thawurr -nanga
water frothy 3sS R see hide back Pst tree LOC
\(=\) beer
\(\text{He hid the beer behind the tree.}\)
Structuring of this verb as a reflexive now blocks incorporation of the locative. Thus (5-93.a) is possible, but not (5-93.b).

5-93.a)  gidin -ni -ngitj -a thawurr sradi -nanga
         3sS R see 3msG hide Pst tree back LOC
         =REFL
         He hid himself behind the tree.

5-93.b)  * gidin -ni -ngitj -sradi -ya thawurr -nanga
         3sS R see 3msG hide back Pst tree LOC
         =REFL
         * He hid himself behind the tree.

The difference in incorporability between (5-92.b) and (5-93.b) would suggest that the constraint on the co-occurrence of G pronominals and PBP incorporation in examples such as (5-91) stems from the lack of any part-whole or classificatory relationship between the bound pronominal and the PBP. We shall return to this point in (d) below.

(c) Verb Class Restrictions

Thirdly, there are verbs for which we might expect PBP incorporation to be possible, but which for which it does not in fact occur. Such verbs include those formed with the roots /kurr/ "hit, kill (unitary)", /srip/ "spear (unitary)", /nisja/ "eat" and /minjirr/ "crush, (cause to) collapse". Thus contrast the (a) and (b) examples in (5-94) and (5-95) below.

5-94.a)  fiyi nalinggi -kurr -fini -ya
         head 2nsS Ir 1 hit, kill dl Pst
         You two should have hit him on the head.

5-94.b)  * nalinggi -kurr -fiyi -fini -ya
         2nsS Ir 1 hit, kill head dl Pst

5-95.a)  a -mayirang fuwa gangi -nisja -ya
         CA magpie goose upper leg 1sS R sit eat Pst
         I ate the leg of the magpie goose.

5-95.b)  * a -mayirang gangi -nisja -fuwa -ya
         CA magpie goose 1sS R sit eat leg Pst

But for all these verbs general O incorporation is permitted, e.g.:

5-96.a)  ginj -srip -wurrumbun -a
         3sS R nj spear crocodile Pst
         salt water sp
         He speared the crocodile.
(d) **Undergoer Focus and Case Frame Variation**

The motivation behind the restrictions on PBP incorporation illustrated in (b) and (c) above becomes clearer when we consider the undergoer focus and role structure of PBP incorporating clauses. Syntactic PBP incorporation is essentially a strategy for shifting the focus from a literal or classificatory body part to the whole entity. In other words, it is primarily a means for encoding the view that what can be thought of as happening to or at a part can be thought of as happening to or at the whole. The part in question, as denoted by a PBP, is incorporated, while the corresponding whole can be expressed overtly in an external NP or by pronominal affixes on the verb. This shift of focus is often, but not necessarily, associated with affectivity, that is, with viewing the whole entity as affected by something which affects a part. However, incorporation is not absolutely determined by affectivity; another contributing factor is the salience or discourse prominence of the part in question, and the option available to the speaker of presenting it as a separate entity in its own right.

It is the difference in focus which means that superficially equivalent pairs such as those presented in (5-71)-(5-80) above are not in fact identical in meaning. A distinguishing feature between such pairs, for example, is the possibility of interpreting the PBP in verb external NP function as separated from the whole. This separable interpretation is not possible for incorporated PBPs, since separation would prevent anything happening to the part being thought of as happening to the whole. (5-97.a), for example, can denote the action of cutting through the bullock's testicles after they have already been detached from the beast; this can be seen in the final verb of (5-97.c), in which incorporation is not permitted. The incorporating verb in (5-97.b), however, has as its undergoer not the individual part /muwarri/ but rather the whole entity /buluki/; it is parallel in focus to English "castrate", and cannot be applied to detached parts.

5-97.b)  
 gangi -nisja -mayirang -a  
 1sS R sit eat  goose  Pst  

*I ate the magpie goose.*  

5-97.a)  
 buluki muwarri ngirrinjinggi -git -fini -wa  
 bull  testicles 1ES Ir nj  cut  dl  Fut  

*We(exc,dl) will cut (off) the bull's testicles.*
5-97.b) buluki ngirrinjinggi -git -muwarri -fini -wa
bull 1ES Ir nj cut testicles dl Fut

*We*(exc,dl) will castrate the bull.

5-97.c) buluki girrinjinggi -git -muwarri -fini -ya /
bull 1ES R nj cut testicles dl Pst

wayitpela girri -inin -fup -fini -ya /
whitefella 1ES R Ø 3msG put down dl Pst

muwarri ginj -git -a
testicle 3sS R nj cut Pst

*We*(exc,dl) castrated the bull, and gave the testicles to the whitefella. He cut through them.

The above depiction of syntactic PBP incorporation as essentially concerned with part-whole relationships would suggest that PBPs functioning as generic rather than part-whole classifiers are not productively incorporated. This indeed is generally the case. In (5-98.a), for example, /fundi/ "arm" functions metaphorically to refer to a "creek". As outlined in 5.2.1., /fundi/ here is a generic-attributional classifier, categorising "creek" as a comparatively long and thin limb-like entity; there are no indications that it is viewed as constituting any part of some entity. As a result the attempted incorporation of (5-98.b) is at best marginally acceptable. (Note that the direct object status of "creek" here has been demonstrated at example (5-61).above.)

5-98.a) fundi guninj -felbatj -nimbini -ya
arm 3nsS R go jump trial Pst
=creek

They(3) jumped over the creek.

5-98.b) ?? guninj -felbatj -fundi -nimbini -ya
3nsS R go jump arm trial Pst

They(3) jumped over the creek.

There are, nevertheless, a few cases of syntactic PBP incorporation which, on the basis of my current evidence, cannot be demonstrated to be based on part-whole classifications. Chief among these is the use of /miri/ "eye" for "camp-fire (locality)". It is possible, as I have suggested (5.2.1.), that /miri/ here is a part-whole classifier, involved in the conceptualisation of the camp-fire as central to social life, but this suggestion is yet to be supported by linguistic data. /Miri/ is readily incorporated in this capacity, e.g.:
The notion of undergoer focus provides for a categorisation of Marrithiyel verbs along a continuum. At one end of this continuum we have verbs which are specified as necessarily directed at a whole entity, not at a part. In this class are verbs such as /l#kurr/ "hit, kill", /nj#srip/ "spear" and /l#minjirr/ "destroy", as well as the majority of verbs which take (non-reflexive/reciprocal) G arguments, which denote whole beings towards whom particular actions are directed (cf. 7.2). At the other end of the continuum are verbs which are solely concerned with isolated parts, either treating them as detached from, or having no transfer of affect to, the whole entity. The prime examples of this in Marrithiyel are verbs of eating, such as /0#wuki/ "consume" and /sittnisja/ "eat". Because these verbs at each end of the continuum allow for no shift of focus between direction to the part and direction to the whole PBP incorporation does not proceed. For verbs in the mid-range of the spectrum, however, such a variation of perspective is possible, and PBP incorporation does take place.

The concept of focus in PBP incorporation becomes clearer when we examine the associated patterns of verbal cross-referencing. In PBP incorporating constructions the whole entity, of which the PBP denotes the part, has core status; it is in fact the most prominent or salient non-subject argument in the clause. This salience accounts for the unacceptability, as we have seen in (c) above, of incorporation where the PBP has no relationship to an auxiliary...
encoded G argument; the salience implied in the appearance of the G argument in the auxiliary is incompatible with the salience of the non-coreferential whole entity achieved through incorporation. This salience is manifested in the verb through obligatory coding of higher order (cf. 3.2.1.6) participants functioning as the whole entity arguments of PBP incorporating verbs. There are two construction types available here, one involving auxiliary pronominal cross-referencing, the other post-auxiliary /anga/ (cf. 3.3.4) pronominal cross-referencing. The more common construction is with auxiliary cross-referencing.

The auxiliary cross-referencing method shows the familiar pattern of so-called "possessor ascension" (cf. Baker, 1988) constructions, with incorporation of PBPs obliging their corresponding whole entities, subject to the usual animacy etc. constraints (cf. 3.2.1.6), to be cross-referenced as undergoers. For objects and the implied arguments of change of location verbs this is achieved with auxiliary final O forms. Thus we can compare the examples in (5-100). (5-100.a) is odd for the same reason as discussed for the reflexive of (5-75.a): because of the incompatibility of focussing simultaneously on the whole and the part. (5-100.b) is the standard construction. (5-100.c), however, in which there is no verbal cross-referencing of the undergoer, is ungrammatical. The incorporating verb of (5-100.c) takes the whole entity as its object, and since it is here a higher order participant it must be marked in the verb.

(5-100.a) ?? fiyi ngil -inj -thung -a
head 1sS R 1 2sO put hole in, Pst puncture

I put a hole in your head.

(5-100.b) ngil -inj -thung -fiyi -ya
1sS R 1 2sO put hole in, head Pst puncture

I put a hole in your head.

(5-100.c) * nanj ngil -thung -fiyi -ya
2sPRO 1sS R 1 put hole in, head Pst puncture

(5-101) shows the same range of marking options, although in this case with a more distanced relationship between the PBP and its whole. (5-101) employs the verb /nj#puk/ "put down (on top of)", as illustrated in (5-72) above. Although not apparent from nominal case marking, constituent ordering etc. the undergoer focus of (5-101.a) is on the
PBP /sradi/ "back, patch" whereas the focus of (5-101.b) is /muwun/ "sore", the whole entity for which /sradi/ denotes a part (albeit a part formed by the action of the verb).

5-101.a) muwun sradi nginj -puk -a
sore back 1sS R nj put down Pst
on top of
I put down a patch on the sore.

5-101.b) muwun nginj -puk -sradi -ya
sore 1sS R nj put down back Pst
on top of
I patched the sore.

The difference in focus is shown by the ability of (5-100.b), but not (5-100.a), to affix bound pronominals.

5-101.c) * muwun sradi nginj -inj -puk -a
sore back 1sS R nj 2sO put down Pst
on top of

5-101.d) muwun nginj -inj -puk -sradi -ya
sore 1sS R nj 2sO put down back Pst
on top of
I patched you/patched your sore.

In the auxiliary cross-referencing construction, incorporated locatives and sources also require their corresponding whole entities (which have the status of higher participants) to be coded as undergoers with auxiliary final 0 forms. The contrasting examples in (5-102) and (5-103) below are thus parallel to those in (5-100) and (5-101), in which cross-referencing of the whole entity in the non-incorporating verb is at best marginal.

5-102.a) ?? nanj ferri -nanga wudi ngidin -nji -bu -ya
2sPRO foot LOC water 1sS R see 2sO pour Pst
I poured water onto your foot.

5-102.b) nanj -nanga wudi ngidin -nji -bu -ferri -ya
2sPRO LOC water 1sS R see 2sO pour foot Pst
I poured water onto your foot.

5-103.a) ?? miri -nganan ginj -inj -duk -a sjiri
eye SCE 3sS R nj 2sO pull out Pst splinter
She removed a splinter from your eye.

5-103.b) ginj -inj -duk -miri -ya sjiri
3sS R nj 2sO pull out eye Pst splinter
She removed a splinter from your eye.

PBP incorporation here can thus be viewed as resulting in ditransitive structures in which the locative/source argument of the original verb
has been promoted to undergoer status. In this derived undergoer role the locative/source argument, as I have stated above, is the most salient non-subject argument. This can be demonstrated by the unacceptability of locative/source incorporation in conjunction with higher animate themes. For example, as we have seen at (5-92.b), the verb /see#ngitj/ "hide" is of the class that permits locative incorporation, e.g.:

5-104.a=5-92.b) wudi srusrut gidin -ngitj -sradi -ya thawurr -nanga water frothy 3sS R see hide back Pst tree LOC =beer

He hid the beer behind the tree.

This is also a verb which can take higher animate objects, e.g.:

5-104.b) yeri sjapatj gidin -di -ngitj -fini -ya child small 3sS R see 3ns0 hide dl Pst

thawurr sradi -nanga
tree back LOC

She hid the two babies behind the tree.

However, in the presence of these higher animate objects, which require cross-referencing in the auxiliary with 0 pronominals, locative incorporation cannot proceed. (5-104.c) is thus ungrammatical.

5-104.c) * yeri sjapatj gidin -di -ngitj -sradi -fini -ya child small 3sS R see 3ns0 hide back dl Pst

thawurr -nanga
tree LOC

Incorporation is blocked in (5-104.c) because in the presence of such highly salient objects (as indicated by their verbal cross-referencing) the locative argument cannot assume the status of most prominent non-subject argument.

"Possessor ascension" cross-referencing is also exhibited by PBP incorporating intransitive verbs. In these verbs the whole entity undergoer is encoded as auxiliary initial subject. Again here, as can be seen from comparison of the (a) and (b) examples in (5-105) and (5-106)\textsuperscript{18}, the non-incorporating verb does not allow for cross-referencing of the whole entity.

5-105.a) ?? miri gangi -weng -Ø

eye 1sS R sit open Pr

My eyes are open.
Note that cross-referencing of undergoer subjects is constrained by the incomplete paradigms of certain derived intransitive predicates. For example, the verb root /ful/ "break" can function as an intransitive only with third person inanimate subject-AVR sequences. Both (5-107.a), in which the speaker is telling how his leg broke on him as a result of its failure to mend properly following an earlier accident, and (5-107.b), which refers to the tree trunk breaking as a result of a storm, are regular constructions.

5-107.a) wurang yigin gani -ful -da -ya
          (upper) leg 1sPRO  3sS R go break again Pst
          My leg broke (i.e. as a result of natural forces).

5-107.b) thawurr wurang gani -ful -a
          tree (upper) leg 3sS R go break Pst
          The trunk ("upper leg") of the tree broke (i.e. as a result of natural forces).

However, while incorporation can take place in (5-107.b), it is blocked in (5-107.a). Incorporation in (5-107.a) would require the first singular whole entity to be cross-referenced as subject; however, since the verb cannot take first singular subjects this is not possible.

5-108.a) * ngin -ful -wurang -da -ya
          1sS R go break (upper) leg again Pst

5-108.b) thawurr gani -ful -wurang -a
          tree 3sS R go break (upper) leg Pst
          The tree broke in its trunk (i.e. as a result of natural forces).

These derived intransitives are discussed further in 6.3.

The other strategy for cross-referencing the whole entities of PBP incorporating verbs is with the post-auxiliary (and post-CVS) /anga/ pronominals. (/Anga/ pronominals are examined in 3.3.4, where
I analyse four major roles for them: adversative, ablative, person-location of bodily process, and target of unpleasant feelings. /Anga/ pronomininals representing the whole entities of PBP incorporating verbs belong in the third group (as marked by "BOD" in the interlinear gloss). /Anga/ encoding, for object, locative and undergoer subject respectively, is illustrated in (5-109.a-c)

5-109.a) ngil -thung -fiyi -mba -ya
1sS R l put hole in, head 2sBOD Pst puncture
I put a hole in your head.

5-109.b) ginj -duk -miri -mba -ya sjiri
3sS R n j pull out eye 2sBOD Pst splinter
She removed a splinter from your eye.

5-109.c) gani -ful -wurang -nginanga -da -ya
3sS R go break (upper) leg 1sBOD again Pst
My leg broke.

The /anga/ construction is not available for PBP incorporating reflexive/reciprocals. Reflexive/reciprocals are obligatorily marked with auxiliary final G pronominals; once marked in this position they cannot be marked by co-referential /anga/ forms19.

The /anga/ PBP incorporating construction is not compatible, any more than is the auxiliary cross-referencing construction (cf. (5-104) above), with undergoers of higher salience than the whole entity containing the PBP. (5-110.a), for example, can take an incorporated form, as in (5-110.b).

5-110.a) miri -nganan garri -duk -a yeri
eye SCE 3sS R rr pull out Pst child
Literally: She pulled the baby (by hand) from the "eye" (i.e. vagina).

= : She delivered the baby.

5-110.b) garri -duk -miri -nganga -ya yeri
3sS R rr pull out eye 3fsBOD Pst child
Literally: She pulled the baby (by hand) from herj vagina.

= : She delivered her baby.

However, (5-111.a), with a higher animate object requiring auxiliary cross-referencing, cannot:

5-111.a) miri -nganan garri -di -duk -fini -ya yeri
eye SCE 3sS R rr 3nsO pull out dl Pst child
She delivered the two babies.
The semantic difference between the /anga/ and auxiliary cross-referencing constructions appears to be that the /anga/ construction allows for the action at the part to be thought of as more distanced from the whole entity\(^\text{20}\). While the /anga/ construction appears to be an option for all non-reflexive/reciprocal PBP incorporating verbs it is more commonly used, for example, in verbs where the effect on the whole is not quite so extreme or radical, or can be conceived of as more localised. Thus (5-109.a) is fully grammatical, but somewhat unusual in its view of the action of puncturing someone's head being distanceable from the individual concerned. More typical uses of the /anga/ construction are (5-109.b) and (5-112), which is the /anga/ variant of (5-101.d) above:

\begin{align*}
5-112) & \quad \textit{I patched you/ patched your sore.}
\end{align*}

This /anga/ variant for PBP incorporating constructions appears broadly similar to an indirect object variant of possessor ascension/incorporating constructions described by Harvey (to appear) for Waray, a language spoken to the east of the Daly River region. These variants are intermediate in character between the non-incorporating constructions, focussing on externalised individual parts, and the incorporating constructions which fully identify the parts with wholes, cross-referencing those wholes in the normal undergoer positions.
Undergoer focus, as manifested in the verb in the options for PBP incorporation and cross-referencing, cannot be regarded as systematically marked through NP case suffixing. Since objects and intransitive subjects have no overt case marking, and since body-part possession, like other possession types, is coded through juxtaposition rather than morphologically (cf. Appendix A), shift of focus from a body-part to its possessor has no morphological consequences for NPs. Locatives and sources, however, are a different matter, being expressed through the /nanga/ and /nganan/ case suffixes respectively (2.3). Both suffixes may be deleted when the NP corresponds to an incorporated PBP; in (5-113), for example, the locative is omitted following /thawurr/ "tree", and in (5-114) the source suffix has been deleted following /ngata/ "house":

5-113) sjandi ngigin -tjuk -wurang -a thawurr
spear 1sS R claim put down leg Pst tree

I leant the spear against the "leg" (lower trunk) of the tree.

5-114) ngata ngumun -it -masri -ya biliken
house 1sS R paint pick up belly Pst billycan

I got the billy-can from the house.

For the source suffix, which is not generally omissible, failure to appear in clauses such as (5-114) is clearly consistent with raised undergoer status under incorporation. However, for the locative, which may be, and is often, deleted when locative function is implied by the verb (cf. 2.3), omission cannot be regarded as especially significant. Further, neither the locative nor source suffix is obligatorily deleted in conjunction with incorporation. While deletion is the unmarked strategy, the case suffixing may be retained; retention tends to occur under emphasis, demand for specificity, topicalisation etc., that is, when attention is specifically drawn to the locative/source role of the NP.

It should also be noted that while in this section we have been chiefly concerned with establishing the differences between constructions which syntactically incorporate PBPs and those which have them as free nominals, it is in fact possible, though not common, for a PBP to appear simultaneously in and outside of the verb. In all cases I have recorded of this simultaneous appearance with syntactically incorporated PBPs the verb continues to have the morpho-syntactic character of a normal incorporating verb, while the NP containing the independent PBP appears either clause initially or
clause finally, and may constitute a separate intonation unit. These NPs act appositionally to the incorporating clause, highlighting the PBP as may be determined by the need for clarity or specificity, or marking it as new to the discourse, or simply emphasising it as relevant in the clause, e.g.:

5-115) wurang gan deven ginji -ing -ful -wurang -a murrika -gin leg this until 3sS R nj 1sO break leg Pst car ERG...
unti this leg, a car broke my leg.

5-116) ferri wulkisrim nging -ngu -ferri -ya foot blood 1sS R go exude foot Pst

My foot, I was bleeding from the foot.

(e) Markedness

The final difference between general O incorporation and syntactic PBP incorporation is in the markedness of the constructions. While the incorporation of general noun roots is highly marked, incorporation of PBPs, under the conditions we have discussed above, is the unmarked construction choice; that is, within the class of verbs capable of the part-whole shift in undergoer focus the standard perspective is to view actions happening at or to a part as happening at or to the whole.

Syntactic PBP incorporation in Marrithiyel would appear to fit into the category typified by Mithun (1984) in her cross-linguistic survey of incorporation as being primarily concerned with "manipulating case relations within clauses" (p839). Mithun cites data from Blackfoot which is broadly parallel to Marrithiyel, illustrating how noun incorporation can be used "to promote an affected argument into subject or direct object position" and how "[noun incorporation] of body parts allows affected persons to assume a primary case role, such as subject or direct object, rather than merely oblique possessor" (p838). However, Mithun's general characterisation of case manipulation is not entirely appropriate to Marrithiyel. Mithun states, for example:

...[This type of noun incorporation] advances an oblique argument into the case position vacated by the [incorporated noun]. When a transitive V incorporates its direct object, then an instrument, location, or possessor may assume the vacated object role. (p836)

...[noun incorporation] permits another argument of the clause to occupy the role vacated by the [incorporated noun]. (p839)
This characterisation is not applicable to locative/source incorporation. Locative/sources are not promoted to undergoer status through incorporation of the object, but rather through incorporation of a PBP denoting a literal or classificatory part of that locative or source. With locative/sources core position is assumed by, not vacated by, the incorporating noun root.

5.4. Lexical Incorporation

Lexical incorporation, as defined in 5.1, differs from syntactic incorporation in its lack of option of paraphrase through removing the incorporated root from the verb and instead structuring it as a free nominal. Such movement of a lexically incorporated PBP radically alters the verbal meaning and may even render the clause meaningless. Lexical incorporation, then, is essentially a process which compounds a verb root and a PBP to derive a new predicate; the PBP continues to bear an argument-like relationship with the verb, but its incorporation changes the verb's semantic character. These changes are not predictable but are rather required to be lexically specified. Lexical incorporation is thus not productive in the manner of syntactic incorporation; each verb root-PBP combination must be learnt as a separate lexical item\(^2\). This is not, of course, to claim that new combinations cannot be coined. However, new compounds (as have arisen from time to time, for example, in my recordings of the more inventive story-tellers) tend to be singled out and identified as such by Marrithiyel speakers. In this way lexical, but not syntactic, incorporation in Marrithiyel accords with Mithun's (1984,p863) observation: "if speakers use a new combination, they are creating a new word and are aware of that fact".

I have argued, in 5.3.2. above, that syntactic PBP incorporation is available only to verbs which are capable of a part to whole shift in undergoer focus. The majority of lexically incorporating verbs, however, do not come from this group. Thus compare (5-117) and (5-118). In (5-117) the PBP /miri/ "eye" is lexically incorporated with the verb root /sjit/ "point out (something) to (someone)". The resultant verb can be translated into English as "to tell someone to their face" (that is, to confront someone with information which you expect them to find unpleasant or offensive); this verb is transitive, cross-referencing its undergoer with 0 pronominals. The verb root /sjit/, from which this compound is formed, does not allow for part-whole undergoer focus shift and cannot syntactically incorporate PBPs.
Thus the meaning of /sjit-miri/ as a lexical compound cannot, as indicated by the translations provided in (5-117), be confused with any meaning derived through the process of syntactic incorporation; (5-117) cannot be understood as referring to the action of pointing out someone through pointing out (something about) their eyes. (5-118.a) shows the ungrammatical clause which results from transferring /miri/ from the verb to external NP position. The ungrammaticality of (5-118.a) stems from the inability to understand the zero case-marked /miri/ as occupying any appropriate semantic role in the clause. This is improved in (5-118.b), where the deletion of the 0 pronominal of (5-118.a) now allows /miri/ to be understood as the object; however, although the clause is now acceptable, the meaning achieved in (5-117) by incorporation of the PBP has been lost. Finally, in (5-118.c) we see that the verb root /sjit/ has a different role structure to the compound /sjit-miri/, being ditransitive, able to take both a G and an O argument. In contrast, /sjit-miri/ cannot take G arguments.

5-117) ngil -inj -sjit -miri -ya
1sS R 1 2sO point out eye Pst

*I told you(sg) to your face.

5-118.a) * miri ngil -inj -sjit -a
eye 1sS R 1 2sO point out Pst

5-118.b) miri nanj ngil -sjit -a
eye 2sPRO 1sS R 1 point out Pst =POSS

*I pointed out your eye.

5-118.c) nanj ngil -iwinj -sjit -Ø -a
2sPRO 1sS R 1 3nsG point pl Pst

*I pointed you(sg) out to them (pl).

While lexical incorporation does not permit paraphrase through removal of the PBP from the verb, neither does it generally allow, as can occur with syntactic incorporation, duplication of the PBP outside of the verb22. (5-119) is thus not an alternative to (5-117).

5-119) * miri ngil -inj -sjit -miri -ya
eye 1sS R 1 2sO point out eye Pst

While not common, it is, however, possible for lexical incorporation to occur with verb roots which also show syntactic incorporation, and for their meanings to overlap. This is the case in (5-120) below, where the verb root /lung/ "strike", which can
syntactically incorporate, is combined with the PBP /miri/ "eye". In (5-120.a) the verb may be understood either in its lexically compounded sense of "give (someone) a headache" (the means by which the headache is caused being given by the auxiliary, cf.Ch. 6) or as syntactically incorporating a PBP in O function. But in (5-120.b), with /miri/ removed from the verb, the lexically compounded meaning is no longer available.

5-120.a)  ngumun -nji -lung -miri -ya
1sS R paint 2sO strike eye Pst

*I gave you(sg) a headache (e.g. through sexual activity).
*I struck you(sg) in the eye/face (e.g. with my elbow).

5-120.b)  ngumun -lung -a miri nanj
1sS R paint strike Pst eye 2sPRO =POSS

A similar differentiation between homophonous lexically and syntactically incorporating verbs is illustrated in (5-121). The verb in (5-121), containing the stem /du-nguri/ "touch-penis" can be interpreted in its lexical sense of "touch (someone) in the genital region (in the course of sexual activity)" or, more literally, as a syntactic O incorporating construction meaning "touch (the region of) the penis":

5-121)  ngirr -inj -du -nguri -ya
1sS R rr 2sO touch penis Pst

*I touched you(sg) in the genital region (sexually).
*I touched you(sg) on the penis.

That this verb should be treated as having two distinct meanings (i.e. lexically vs. syntactically determined), rather than as vague or broad in its semantic character, is established by the existence of a non-incorporating paraphrase for the second, but not the first, meaning provided above. (5-122) below thus can only be applied to males and carries no necessary sexual overtones; it could be said, for example, in the context of a medical examination or certain ceremonial activity.

5-122)  nguri nanj ngirr -du -ya
penis 2sPRO 1sS R rrri touch Pst =POSS

*I touched you(sg) in the genital region (sexually).
*I touched your penis.
The majority of lexically incorporated PBPs occupy the same position in the verb as syntactically incorporated PBPs, that is, immediately following the complex verb root. However, there are a number of verbs, 24 in my present data23, in which a PBP appears prior to the verb root, e.g.:

5-123)  watjan gan sjapatj gaful -a / 
dog this small 3sS R lie Pst
ngirringgi -yan -dim -Ø -a
1ES Ir rr nose sink pl Pst

Literally: This dog was lying small.
We(exc,pl) should have drowned him.
= : We(exc,pl) should have drowned this dog when it was a puppy.

All the examples I have collected of root prior PBPs are lexical rather than syntactic incorporates. The verbs are all either transitive or reflexive/reciprocal, and in all but one case (the verb /n#thenggi-dil/, cf. (5-138) below)) the PBP is construed as referring to part of the object. There are no instances in which the PBP can be understood as in locative, source or intransitive subject function.

Ten of these involve the PBP /thenggi/ "bottom". It is in this root-prior position that /thenggi/ takes on its more classificatory functions, related to pushing/propulsion and to social disruption, that have been outlined in 5.2.2.(section (12)) above. Thus (5-124) and (5-125) contrast the root-prior lexically incorporated /thenggi/ with the post verb-root syntactically incorporated /thenggi/.

5-124.a)  ninjsja -wa gan nanj
what PURP here 2sPRO
ginn -ing -thenggi -pirr -njsjan -Ø ?
2sS R go 1sO bottom leave now Pr
= detain

For what purpose are you(sg) keeping me here now ?

5-124.b)  * ninjsja -wa gan nanj
what PURP here 2sPRO
ginn -pirr -njsjan -Ø thenggi yigin
2sS R go leave now Pr bottom 1sPRO=POSS

5-125.a)  ginj -ing -wulit -thenggi -ya
3sS R nj 1sO tie on bottom Pst
clothing

He tied the clothing (e.g. loin cloth) around my bottom.
In acquiring these specialised meanings here /thenggi/ broadly resembles the applicative prefixes, /mu/, /mi/ and /ma/, which are contracted PBPs with more grammaticised functions (see 5.6.1-3.). It is therefore possible that these current examples of /thenggi/ represent remnants of, or perhaps a movement towards, a more systematic and productive usage of this PBP in root prior position.

A further half dozen of these irregularly placed PBPs involve the verb root /thit/ "place down (in an upright position)". /Thit/ is one of the minority of verb roots which appears with both lexically and syntactically incorporated PBPs. Its lexically incorporated roots, all in O function, appear before the verb root, as in (5-126). Syntactically it commonly incorporates locatives into the normal post root position, as in (5-127).

5-126) ngubul -yan -thit -wa watjan yigin a -mundingirr -wa place down Fut dog 1sPRO CA goanna PURP upright

I will put my dog on the goanna's scent.

5-127) sjalwu ngigin -thit -thenggi -ya ngata canoe 1sS R claim place down bottom Pst house upright

I leant the canoe against the rear(wall) of the house.

But syntactic incorporation of Os of this verb does also occur:

5-128) sjalwu gugin'gi -thit -yan -Ø -a manjirr -nanga canoe 3nsS R claim place down nose pl Pst sand LOC upright

They(pl) stood the canoes nose-down in the sand.

Assuming that these irregularly structured verbs are preserved archaic forms, the hypothesis that then arises is that PBP incorporation was originally lexical in nature, originally applied only to objects (probably including reflexive/reciprocals) and occupied a position in the verb prior to the root. Syntactic PBP incorporation, and the expansion in the range of incorporable roles, were later developments, and were targeted on the post verb root slot. Constraints on the appearance of more than one PBP in the verb, and the falling of syntactically and lexically incorporating verbs into (largely) mutually exclusive classes, resulted in a regularisation which allocated incorporated PBPs of both types to the same verbal
slot, that is, following the root. However, in the process of regularisation established lexical compounds, some of which remain today, maintained their original ordering. Considerably more data is required to give this speculative scenario plausibility. But note that it is broadly in accord with the rules Mithun (1984, pp874-5) posits universally for noun incorporation, viz., that it originates in lexical compounding, and that "if a language incorporates [nouns] of only one semantic case, they will be patients of transitive [verbs]."

In addition, one should observe that in Ngan'gityemeri, Marrithiyel's southern neighbour, which also shows extensive body-part term incorporation, the regular ordering in the verb is to place the incorporated noun prior to the verb root (Reid, in preparation). Before assigning archaic status to the irregular Marrithiyel forms, then, one must investigate the possibility that they are simply anomalies somehow based on or borrowed from regular Ngan'gityemeri constructions.

In terms of their role structuring and pronominal cross-referencing the majority of lexically incorporating verbs conform to the pattern we have seen for syntactic PBP incorporation in 5.2.2. That is, lexically incorporated PBPs can be construed as in object (including reflexive/reciprocal object), locative/source and intransitive non-controlling subject roles. Non-reflexive/reciprocal direct objects have been illustrated in (5-117), (5-120.a) and (5-121) above. (5-129)-(5-131) then exemplify reflexive, locative and undergoer subject respectively.

5-129)
\[
\text{arr -imbi -ful -sradi }\theta \text{ ani gan gimin}
\]
\[
2\text{S } \text{Ir } \text{rr} \quad 2\text{S } \text{G} \quad \text{break back } \text{Imp} \quad \text{like this like}
\]
\[
(\text{You(sg)}) \text{ Bend over (forwards), like this.}
\]

5-130)
\[
\text{mi -sjapatj fill -inggi -wul -masri }\emptyset \text{ -}\emptyset -\emptyset -\text{wa}
\]
\[
\text{CP } \text{small} \quad 3\text{sS } \text{Ir } \text{l } \quad 1\text{IO} \quad \text{return belly I dl I pl Fut}
\]
\[
\text{They(pl) should give us(inc,dl) (i.e.cause to return to our bellies) a little of the (non-flesh) food.}
\]

5-131)
\[
\text{gunga -dim -demi -nanga -ya}
\]
\[
1\text{sS } \text{R stand sink side } 3\text{ms ABL Pst}
\]
\[
\text{I was (standing) hidden from him.}
\]

As with syntactic incorporation, for the majority of lexically incorporating verbs the whole, of which the incorporated PBP denotes a part, is in undergoer focus as the most salient non-actor argument in the clause; these whole entities which have the status of higher order participants are cross-referenced, in the case of transitive verbs,
with auxiliary final 0 forms or, in the case of intransitives, with auxiliary initial subject pronouns. These lexically incorporating verbs, for example, simply do not take G arguments which would be required to be coded in the auxiliary at the expense of 0 forms co-referential with the PBP. (This is the converse to the blocking of syntactic incorporation in the presence of non-reflexive/reciprocal G forms, cf. 5.3.2.) Unlike the syntactic process, however, lexically incorporating verbs have no alternative construction in which the undergoer is coded with /anga/ pronominals; they thus don't have the option of the shift in perspective to a more localisable action at the body part which the /anga/ pronominals convey.

Aside from the exceptional cases which we consider below, lexically incorporated PBPs cannot be construed (in non-reflexive/reciprocal constructions) as denoting body parts of actors (that is, of controlling subjects). But they may imply involvement of a controlling subject's body part, and they may convey information about the manner of the performance. (5-132) and (5-133) below are examples of this. In (5-132) /miri/ "eye" is incorporated, and in the second clause of (5-133) /nguri/ "penis" is incorporated. Note that in the first clause of (5-133) the PBP /masri/ "belly", which refers to a body part of the transitive subject in a metaphor for strong desire (that is, "to be picking up something in/with one's belly"), cannot be incorporated.

5-132) muku ganda gidin -ngi -mel -miri gusri -ya
woman over there 3sS R see 1sO watch eye 3sS R sit Pst
That woman was (sitting) catching my eye/eyeing me off.

5-133) masri ngumun -it -Ø /
belly 1sS R paint pick up Pr
ngubul -wurr -nguri -wa
1sS Ir l place totally penis Fut
inside
I must have (her). (i.e. My belly is picking her up.)
I want to fully penetrate (her) sexually, e.g. with my penis).

At first sight it may appear that the incorporates in (5-132) and (5-133) can in fact be interpreted as referring to body parts of the agents. Such an interpretation, however, is not borne out by wider data. For example, the verb of (5-132) can only be employed with human objects. With non-human objects the incorporated PBP is not appropriate, e.g.
That woman was going along watching the road.

The use of the lexical compound in (5-133) is equally dependent on the object. Thus compare (5-135) with (5-133). In (5-135), where the change of auxiliary encodes a different type of agent/instrument-undergoer contact (cf. Ch. 6), incorporated /nguri/ cannot be understood, as shown by the English translation, as a body part of the agent.

I want to fully penetrate (her) (sexually, with my fingers).

And this verb cannot be used at all where the incorporated PBP is required to be understood as co-referential with the agent rather than the undergoer. It cannot be employed, for example, to describe the traditional post-circumcision practice of placing the penis inside a hole in the ground.

* He fully penetrated the hole (with his penis).

Thus while /miri/ in (5-132) and /nguri/ in (5-133) do attribute some manner and/or body part involvement to the agent they do so only insofar as they are coreferential with the undergoers of the verb. /Nguri/ acts as a classifier attributing sexual intent to the agent only when it can be understood as denoting a body part (namely, the genital region) of the object.

There are, however, a number of lexically incorporating verbs in which the PBP occupies a role normally disallowed for incorporated roots. There is, for example, one minor verb class, the "static human locatives", which permits incorporation of G arguments. These verbs are structured without a complex verb root and they are therefore discussed in our examination of "auxiliary incorporation" in 5.5, and are considered further in 5.7. There are also a few instances of lexical incorporation extending to controlling (i.e. actor-like) intransitive subjects; the examples I have of this involve
incorporation by the "go" and "go*" auxiliaries of /masri/ "belly" and /sradi/ "back", which are also considered in 5.5.

In addition, there are some equivocal examples of lexical incorporation of PBPs denoting body parts of transitive subjects. The seven complex verbs formed with the "do" auxiliary are all of this type. These verbs have an irregular structure, with the complex verb root appearing before the auxiliary, e.g.:

5-137) dim gingim -sjangi -ya
sink 1s$ R do ear Pst
I forgot it.

While formally (i.e. morphologically) transitive, these verbs are ambivalent in their semantic character; they are transitive metaphors for what can be viewed as non-controlled non-volitional experiences (cf. 6.4). It seems possible, therefore, that PBP incorporation is allowed here because the subjects are classed more as undergoers than as transitive agents.

The few other instances of transitive subject PBP incorporation are also ambivalent as to the semantic role which those subjects occupy. (5-138) and (5-139) below are typical of these. They are formally transitive verbs, but have no recoverable object. They are not structured as reflexives, in which the subject acts directly on himself, but they nevertheless carry a view of the subject as simultaneously being involved in performing and undergoing the action. Again it seems likely that it is this view of the subject as experiencer-undergoer which has permitted PBP incorporation.

5-138) yibi -njsja gininggi -thenggi -dil -Ø -a
there now 1ES R n bottom lift pl Pst
We(exc,pl) grew up in that place.

5-139) duwarr ngil -sjil -fiyi -ya
full 1s$ R li ?? head Pst
I was so full I had pain right up to my head.

In summary, lexical incorporation is generally restricted to the same range of roles as syntactic incorporation. There are, however, anomalous cases and minor classes where roles not eligible for syntactic incorporation are lexically incorporated into verbs. Some of these anomalies at least (and see further discussion in 5.5.) are associated with irregular or ambivalent verbal coding. Since lexical PBP compound verbs, then, cannot be regarded as systematically making use of a wider range of semantic roles in their incorporated roots
than syntactically incorporating verbs, one would not make the same claims for the analysis of Marrithiyel incorporation that Evans (to appear), from whose work we have taken the lexical/syntactic distinction, makes for the analysis of Mayali, cf:

...It is clear that if lexical incorporation is not systematically distinguished from syntactic incorporation, the range of grammatical relations [contracted between an incorporated root and its verb (IG)] would be wide enough to support the view that there are no syntactic constraints on generic or body part incorporation.

The range of syntactically and lexically incorporable roles is not so sharply differentiated in Marrithiyel. In Marrithiyel the analytic value of distinguishing the two processes lies instead in its accounting for why some PBPs may be productively transferred into and out of the verb, while others are irremovable, semantically and morphologically bonded to it. The existence of a syntactic process of noun incorporation, grammatically differentiated from lexical compounding, is also relevant to general linguistic theory, given the insistence by commentators such as Mithun on incorporation's universally lexical nature. For example, following a discussion of Mohawk, Mithun concludes:

...[Noun incorporation] may appear to be a syntactic process simply because of its tremendous productivity; the number of NV combinations that occur seems unlimited. However, speakers are keenly aware of the lexical status of all such combinations... Speakers remember who uses a word not used by others, even when it is a perfectly transparent combination of two highly productive stems. (1984, p872)

This conclusion is not borne out by syntactic incorporation in Marrithiyel (nor by syntactic incorporation in Nan'gityemeri, cf. Reid (in preparation)). While there is a finite number of possible syntactic incorporations (i.e. a closed set of PBPs combining with a finite number of verb roots specified for part-whole undergoer focus shift) there is no evidence to suggest that speakers accord these fully predictable combinations the same status as the semantically non-predictable lexical compounds. On the contrary, syntactic incorporation is a regular process which, under the appropriate conditions, speakers expect to occur, and which, even with less frequently used verb roots or PBPs, they seem to find unremarkable.

5.5. Auxiliary Incorporation

There are a number of verbs which are formed with PBPs in the CVS slot, but which have no co-occurring verb root²⁶, e.g.:
5-140) gagan -njsja wadi -Ø /
ANAPH now 2sS Ir see Imp

a -madi gusri -yerri -njsjan -Ø
CA barramundi 3sS R sit tail now Pr

That's it now, (you(sg)) look!
The barramundi's flicking its tail now.

5-141) ngifel -fiyi -ya garrila -nanga
1sS R lie head Pst rock LOCAL

I was lying down with my head on a rock.

5-142) ngumbudin -di -muri -Ø -Ø -Ø
1IS Ir see 3ns0 hand I dl nI pl Imp

Let's(inc,dl) see what they(pl) have got.

Despite the absence of any complex verb root there are only a few examples among such verbs where the PBPs themselves are the main verbal elements, that is, where they act essentially as predicates rather than as arguments of a predicate. The employment of the term /fiyi/ "head" in the verb "to make a pile, to make into a ball", as in (5-143), is perhaps the clearest example of PBP predicative function:

5-143) lava garri -fiyi -nginel -a
flour 3sS R rr head 1sPURP Pst

He rolled the flour (dough) into a ball for me.

/Fi yi/ in (5-143) does not constitute an argument of the verb; it instead depicts the verbal action itself, denoting what was done to one of the arguments. In contrast, /fiyi/ in (5-144), does transparently cross-reference an argument of the verb.

5-144) garrila -gin ngil -fiyi -ya tharr niyil
rock INS 1sS R li head Pst thing nail

I banged the head of the nail with a rock (once).

/Yerri/ "tail" in (5-140) above is also an example of a predicative rather than strictly incorporated (in the sense discussed in 5.1.) PBP. /Yerri/ here is used as a verb root which denotes the sudden flexing or tail-swinging like action by which fish turn or set themselves in motion in the water. (The verb can only be used of the movement of fish, crocodiles etc.; it cannot be applied, for example, to dogs or cattle swinging their tails.) This use of /yerri/ is no doubt understood as deriving from its reference to a body part of the intransitive subject; nevertheless /yerri/ cannot be construed in any straightforward way as an argument of the verb "sit", and can
therefore not be considered as incorporated. /Yerri/ in (5-140), for example, can be contrasted with /yerri/ in (5-145), where it is understood as an incorporated argument of the verb.

5-145) a -balaritj gaful -yerri -ya minawur -nanga
CA small lizard sp. 3sS R lie tail Pst ant hill LOC

The lizard was lying with its tail poking out of the ant-hill.

These predicative PBPs form verbs that are not of the part-whole focus shifting type which facilitates incorporation (cf. 5.3.2.) and they consequently do not co-occur in the verb with syntactically incorporated PBPs.

Aside from these few predicative examples, PBPs which appear in the verb without a co-occurring verb root can be categorised as incorporated. These PBPs have an argument-like relationship, not with a complex verb, but rather with the auxiliary verb. I shall therefore refer to this phenomenon as "auxiliary incorporation" of PBPs. Auxiliary incorporation generally conforms to the patterns we have discussed in 5.3.-4. for complex verb incorporation. Thus there is both syntactic and lexical auxiliary incorporation; this involves PBPs in object, reflexive/reciprocal, locative/source (of change of location verb) and undergoer subject role. (5-141) above illustrates syntactic auxiliary incorporation of an intransitive non-controlling subject; (5-141) is paraphrasable, albeit in a marked construction, by (5-146):

5-146) fiyi yigin gaful -a garrila -nanga
head 1sPRO 3sS R lie Pst rock LOC

My head was lying on a rock.

Similarly, (5-147) shows syntactic auxiliary incorporation, and the consequent possessor pronominal cross-referencing, of the object of the auxiliary verb "paint".

5-147.a) nanj sradi ngirrimun'gi -Ø -wa
2sPRO back 1ES Ir paint pl Fut

We(exc,pl) will paint your back.

5-147.b) ngirrimun -nimbi -sradi -Ø -wa
1ES Ir paint 2sO back pl Fut

We(exc,pl) will paint you(sg) on the back.

Lexical auxiliary incorporation, in which the PBP maintains an argument-like relationship with the verb but is unable to be removed
from it (without significantly altering the meaning), is shown in (5-142) and (5-149). In (5-142) the PBP denotes a part of the object of the auxiliary verb "see". The verb in (5-142) means "to see what someone has/possesses/intends" and is built on a metaphor of "seeing someone's hands". This metaphoric meaning is not available from the non-incorporating form of the verb.

\[ \text{Let's(inc,dl) see their(pl) hands.} \]

\[ \text{NOT Let's(inc,dl) see what they(pl) have got.} \]

In (5-149.a) the PBP is in source role, as indicated by the case marking on the external NP. The lexical nature of the incorporation of (5-149.a) is demonstrated in the change of meaning brought about by omitting the PBP from the verb, as in the marginal (5-149.b).27

\[ \text{Nitjingani firrimuyinggi -masri -fini -wa} \]
\[ \text{morning 3nsS Ir visit belly dl Fut} \]
\[ \text{sjiyil (masri) -nganan} \]
\[ \text{jail belly SCE} \]

\[ \text{Tomorrow they(2) will come out of gaol.} \]

\[ \text{Nitjingani firrimuyinggi -fini -wa} \]
\[ \text{morning 3nsS Ir visit dl Fut} \]
\[ \text{sjiyil (masri) -nganan} \]
\[ \text{jail belly SCE} \]

\[ \text{?? Tomorrow they(2) will arrive from (inside) the gaol.} \]

Auxiliary incorporation is, however, anomalous in certain respects. Firstly, we can observe that auxiliary PBP incorporation is not restricted to the simple auxiliaries. The simple auxiliaries, as outlined in 3.1, are those which are able to function independently as verbs in the absence of a co-occurring complex verb root. Seven of the formally transitive auxiliaries, including "paint", "see" and "visit" in (5-147)-(5-149) above, and all five formally intransitive auxiliaries ("lie", "sit", "stand", "go" and "go") are classified in this way as simple. Any ability they show to take incorporated PBPs is not surprising; it simply follows from their capacity to function as main verbs.28 Auxiliary PBP incorporation, however, also extends to the complex auxiliaries. Complex auxiliaries have no independent verbal function and are otherwise unable to appear without a co-occurring complex verb root. There are ten complex auxiliaries. Five of these are minor complex auxiliaries, which have no productive role
in the system of auxiliary-CVS combinations. They must always co-
occurs with particular complex verb roots and therefore do not exhibit
auxiliary PBPs incorporation. The other five complex auxiliaries, the
"major" group - Ø, ʃ, jʃ, nj and n (cf. 6.2) - however, are
highly productive; these five do show PBP incorporation. This is
illustrated in (5-150)-(5-152) below, which incorporate PBPs in O,
reciprocal and locative functions respectively.

5-150) ngata ngagi -miri -wa
house 1sS Ir nj eye Fut

I'll hit the window ("eye") of the house (once)
(e.g. with a stick).

5-151) gill -iwinj -sradi -fini garrginj -fini -ya
1ES R l 1EG back dl 1ES R sit dl Pst

We(exc,2) were sitting back to back.

5-152) fundi manthi -nanga fali -ing -manthi -Ø
arm neck LOC 2sS Ir li 1sO neck Imp

(You(sg)) Put it on/around my wrist/forearm.

Because complex auxiliaries cannot stand on their own as verbs,
removal of the incorporated PBP in examples such as (5-150)-(5-152)
results in nonsense. Thus technically, that is, according to the
definition set out in 5.1., complex auxiliary incorporation can be
categorised as of the lexical type.

5-153) * ngata miri ngagi -wa
house eye 1sS Ir nj Fut

5-154) * sradi gadi -fini gill -iwinj -fini garrginj -fini -ya
back 1E PRO dl 1ES R l 1EG dl 1ES R sit dl Pst

5-155) * fundi manthi yigin -nanga fali -ing -Ø
arm neck 1sPRO LOC 2sS Ir li 1sO Imp

However, semantically it has more the character of the syntactic type;
PBPs, for example, are productively incorporated, and the resulting
verbal meanings are fully predictable rather than lexically specified.
Thus compare (5-156) and (5-157) with (5-150) and (5-151). (5-156)
and (5-157) differ from (5-150) and (5-151) both in auxiliary and
incorporated PBP.

5-156) ngata ngun -sradi -wa
house 1sS Ir n back Fut

I'll stamp on the roof ("back") of the house (once)
(i.e. with my feet).
The major complex auxiliaries cannot be attributed with specific verbal meanings in the same way as the simple auxiliaries; their function is rather the more general one of classifying the nature of the agent/instrument/undergoer contact (cf. 6.2.2). This PBP incorporation, which requires no co-occurring complex verb root, is the only process in the language which allows the major complex auxiliaries to assume any type of main verb role. The existence of this PBP incorporation perhaps therefore suggests that complex auxiliaries historically had more specific verbal meanings, like the present-day simple auxiliaries.

The second anomaly in auxiliary incorporation is in the roles eligible for it. One category of auxiliary incorporation, for example, violates the normal constraints on the incorporability of (non reflexive/reciprocal) arguments in G role. Verbs in this category I refer to as "static human locatives"; they denote location of a subject at or by a human body part. They are constructed with the "static" intransitive auxiliaries (6.3), that is, with either "lie", "stand", "sit" or "be hanging"; the body part location is indicated by an incorporated PBP, and its possessor marked with auxiliary final G pronominals, e.g.:

5-158) yeri sjapatj mungarri gaful -ingin -garri -ya
      child small asleep 3sS R lie 1sG shoulder Pst

The baby was lying asleep on/by my shoulder.

5-159) wedi -fini yuwa gawu -inimbi -sradi -fini -ya
      3nsPRO dl that 3nsS R sit 2sG back dl Pst

Those two were sitting on/by your back.

As with the complex auxiliaries above, this construction can be categorised as a lexical incorporation type because the PBP cannot be removed from the verb. Again, however, the incorporation here is fully productive and predictable in meaning.

Note that this construction applies only to human locatives. Parallel constructions involving non-human locatives of static simple verbs take a special marker, /ni/, in the normal verb root position prior to the incorporated PBP (cf. 5.7). These /ni/ marked verbs, the "static locatives", cannot affix G pronominals to the auxiliary. /Ni/
static locatives are illustrated in (5-160), which can be contrasted with (5-159).

5-160) wedi -fini yuwa gawunj -ni -sradi -fini -ya nendu -nanga
3nsPRO dl that 3nsS R sit NI back dl Pst horse LOC

Those two were sitting on the horse’s back.

G incorporation with static human locatives is further anomalous in being compatible with (non-controlling) subject incorporation. This results in the incorporation of two PBPs in a single verb, as in (5-161).

5-161) gusri -ingin -sradi -masri -ya
3sS R sit 1sG back belly Pst

He was sitting with his belly (i.e. front) towards my back.

This is the only construction which permits simultaneous incorporation of two PBPs\textsuperscript{29}. The two PBPs must appear in the order shown in (5-161), with the G PBP preceding the subject PBP. Note that simultaneous incorporation is not a possibility in non-human locatives, e.g.:

5-162) * gawunj -ni -sradi -masri -fini -ya nendu -nanga
3nsS R sit NI back belly dl Pst horse LOC

* Those two were lying belly-down on the back of the horse.

We examine static locative verbs in general, and the aberrant behaviour of the human static locatives, in 5.7.

There are a few further irregularities in the selection of roles for auxiliary incorporation. Firstly, the two dynamic intransitive auxiliaries, "go" and "go*", are exceptional in being able to lexically incorporate PBPs of controlling subjects. This takes place with two PBPs: /masri/ "belly" and /sradi/ "back". The resultant verbs denote the visible motion of a human subject "towards", i.e. directing his "belly" to, or "away from", i.e. directing his "back" to, either the speaker or a contextually established point of reference\textsuperscript{30}, e.g.:

5-163) gani -masri -njsjan -Ø
3sS R go belly now Pr

He’s coming now (and I can see him).

5-164) ambi -ya feyirr -sradi -nginanga -ya
NEG Pst 2sS Ir go* back 1s ABL Pst

You(sg) shouldn’t have gone straight off from me.
In contrast, complex intransitive verbs of motion, as shown in (5-165), do not normally permit corresponding incorporation of their controlling subjects.

5-165) ambi -ya feyirr -warret (*-sradi) -nginanga -ya
NEG Pst 2sS Ir go* walk away back Is ABL Pst

You(sg) shouldn't have walked away from me.

It is perhaps possible, then, that incorporation of these two controlling subject PBPs with the dynamic intransitive auxiliaries has come about as a result of analogy with the stative subject PBP incorporation in the static intransitive auxiliaries. That is, examples such as (5-163) and (5-164) may have developed through analogy with constructions such as (5-141) above, generalising auxiliary incorporation to all subjects of simple intransitive verbs.

There is one other case of auxiliary incorporation of a controlling subject PBP, again involving /masri/ "belly", but this time in conjunction with the "do" auxiliary. The verb /do#masri/ means "go (towards)"; it can be applied to human or non-human, controlling or non-controlling subjects. The verb is formally transitive, and although it lacks a recoverable object its subject NPs are eligible for ergative /gin/ affixation (cf. 6.4). /Masri/ is lexically incorporated here:

5-166) afen thawurr gipi -masri -wa ?
where tree 3sS R do belly Fut

Which way will the tree fall?

5-167) diyerr federr -nanga apu
teeth river LOC that way

ngirriminggi -masri -nimbini -wa
1ES Ir do belly trial Fut

We(exc, 3) will go that way, to the river bank.

The ambivalent character of complex verbs of the "do" class, and associated anomalous incorporation, has been touched upon above (5.4., see also 6.4). It seems likely that here, too, the ambivalent nature of the verb, that is, as indicated in (5-166) and (5-167), its failure to differentiate between controlling and undergoer subjects, results in the incorporated PBP being able to extend from its regular undergoer to an exceptional actor role.

There is one further verb which should be mentioned in our discussion of role coding anomalies. This is the verb "to hear", /0#sjang/. The complex verb root here, /sjang/, is undoubtedly
related to the PBP /sjangi/ "ear". /Ø#sjang/ is a formally transitive verb, taking subjects that can be marked with ergative /gin/ and coding (subject to the normal animacy constraints) with G pronouns for the entities heard, e.g.:

5-160) ambi ngi -imbi -sjang -njsjan -Ø
NEG 1sS R Ø 2sG hear now Pr

tharr guwa -mirrmirr -nganan yigin -gin
thing 3sS R stand thunder SCE 1sPRO ERG
REDUP

I can't hear you(sg) now, because of that "thundering" thing (i.e. the generator).

Assuming that we can't attribute to /sjang/ here a predicative rather than incorporated function, this might appear to be an instance of (lexical) auxiliary incorporation of a PBP of a transitive subject. However, it should be noted that there is no independent evidence, in strict phonological terms, for suggesting a synchronic relation between the PBP /sjangi/ "ear" and the verbal /sjang/. While PBPs which end in /ri/ sporadically drop their final vowels under incorporation (cf. 5.1.), those which end in /+[nasal]i/ do not; incorporated /sjangi/ is not optionally contracted to /sjang/. Furthermore, the verbal /sjang/ does not have an alternative form /sjangi/. This verb "hear", then, is not a straight-forward case of PBP incorporation.

The final anomaly in auxiliary incorporation lies in the ability of the PBPs to reduplicate. This has been illustrated already, in 4.5. PBPs which appear in the verb without a co-occurring complex verb root, regardless of whether they are predicative or incorporated, are all treated like verb roots for the purposes of reduplication for iterative/distributed action. (5-169), which can be compared to (5-142) above, shows reduplication of the lexically incorporated /muri/ "hand", while (5-170) (cf.(5-147.b)) shows reduplication of syntactically incorporated /sradi/ "back"; (5-171) (cf.(5-156)) illustrates reduplication in complex auxiliary incorporation.

5-169) gudin -gidi -murimuri -Ø guninj -Ø -a
3nsS R see 1EO hand REDUP pl 3nsS R go pl Past

They(pl) went around seeing what we(exc,pl) had.

5-170) miti girrimun -di -garrigarri -Ø gininj -Ø -a
dotted style 1ES R paint 3ns0 shoulder pl 1ES R go pl Past
REDUP

We(exc,pl) used to paint their(pl) shoulders.
5.6. Applicative Verbal Prefixes

There are three verbal prefixes, /mu/, /mi/ and /ma/, which, with varying degrees of productivity, can be applied to Marrithiyel verb roots. It is clear from the semantics of these prefixes that they are all contracted forms of PBPs, /mu/ being reduced from /muri/ "hand", /mi/ from /miri/ "eye", and /ma/ from /masri/ "belly". These applicative prefixes, which may not co-occur with each other, occupy the initial slot of the verb stem, appearing immediately after the auxiliary. As has been shown in 4.5, they do not reduplicate with the rest of the verb stem, and appear prior to the suppletive iterative morpheme affixed by some verb roots. The position occupied in the verb by these prefixes is thus in fact the same as that taken up by the irregular lexically incorporated PBPs which we have looked at in 5.4. Since these prefixes appear in the same position as incorporated PBPs, have essentially the same syntactic and semantic character, and are generally incompatible with further (lexical or syntactic) incorporation, they can be regarded as grammaticised forms of lexically incorporated roots. This will be examined further, in 5.6.1.-3., as we consider each prefix in turn.

5.6.1. /Mu/ Transfer of Possession/Control Derivations

The prefix /mu/ may be applied to any transitive complex verb which can be understood as involving change of location of its object. The resultant verbs are ditransitives, in which the agent is conceptualised as transferring something either into, or out of, the "hands" of the undergoer. Consistent with the use of /muri/ "hands" in the nominal lexicon as indexical of ownership, agency or responsibility, this transfer functions as a metaphor for the agent's passing on to the undergoer, or assuming from him, possession and/or control. This is a transparent metaphor for Marrithiyel speakers; in both explicating /mu/ derivations for me in Marrithiyel, and in translating them into English, they represent the possession/control transfers as mediated through the hands of the undergoer, even where the undergoer's hands could not be involved in any literal sense in the real world situation being depicted. It is clear therefore that there is a psychologically real relationship between the PBP /muri/
and the contracted form /mu/ for Marrithiyel speakers. This is further evidenced in speakers' occasional use of /muri/ as an alternative form for the verbal prefix. /Mu/ derivations subcategorise for human undergoers only.

A simple example of /mu/ attachment can be found in (5-172) below, where it is applied to the verb root /thit/ "place down (in an upright position)". (5-172.a) illustrates the unprefixed verb root combining with a syntactically incorporated locative PBP; the verbal action involves a straightforward change of location. In (5-172.b), however, /mu/ has been applied to the verb root; the verb now no longer describes merely a change of location, but associates with the physical movement a change of ownership or custodianship. Since verbs formed with /thit/ involve movement towards, rather than away from, a particular location, and are specified for locative rather than source arguments, the reading of (5-172.b) is that the possession/control passes on to the object.

```
5-172.a) sjandi ngigin -thit -wurang -a thawurr (-nanga) 
spear 1sS R claim place down (upper) leg Pst tree LOC 
upright

I leant the spear against the trunk of the tree.
```

```
5-172.b) sjandi ngigin -nji -mu -thit -a 
spear 1sS R claim 2sO MU place down Pst upright

I left the spear with you(sg) (i.e. in your "hands", for you to have/take care of).
```

(5-173), on the other hand, illustrates /mu/ prefixing of a change of location verb specified for a source argument. In (5-173.a) the verb root is again unprefixed, and has its source argument, /muri/ "hand", syntactically incorporated. As can be seen in (5-173.b), the effect of /mu/ prefixing with this source specified verb is now to encode possession as passing not to, but rather from, the undergoer. Note that in (5-173.a) and (5-173.b) the interpretation of the agent's "hands" as instruments derives not from the presence of /muri/ or /mu/ in the verb, but rather from the /rr/ auxiliary (cf. 6.2). Thus compare (5-173.b) with (5-173.c), in which the use of the Ø auxiliary with the same /mu/ prefixed verb root brings about a different instrumental reading.

```
5-173.a) sjiri ngurr -inj -duk -muri -wa 
splinter 1sS Ir rr 2sO remove hand Fut

I'll remove the splinter from your hand (e.g. with my hands).
```
5-173.b) wiyan ngurr -inj -mu -duk -wa shit 1sS Ir rr 2sO MU remove Fut =tobacco

*I'll take your tobacco off you(sg) (i.e. out of your "hands") (e.g. with my hands).

5-173.c) nidin gi -ing -mu -duk -fang country 3sS R Ø 1sO MU remove APP

*I'm afraid he might take (my) country from me (i.e. out of my "hands") (e.g. by talking, order, decree).

/Mu/ derivations have the semantic and syntactic characteristics of verbs which lexically incorporate locative/sources. That is, they are ditransitive constructions presenting the locative/source argument of the original verb as the undergoer of the derived verb. The entity which is transferred remains in the clause with zero case marking, and with no possibility for verbal cross-referencing. The undergoer, on the other hand, is required (subject to the usual animacy etc. constraints) to be cross-referenced in the auxiliary with O forms; no other options, e.g. for encoding with G or post-CVS /anga/ pronominals, are available. Thus the syntactically incorporating verb of (5-173.a) has a corresponding /anga/ construction (cf. VM 6.3.3.2.), but the /mu/ prefixing verb of (5-173.b) does not:

5-174.a) sjiri ngurr -duk -muri -mba -wa splinter 1sS·Ir rr remove hand 2sBOD Fut

*I'll remove the splinter from your hand (with my hands).

5-174.b) * wiyan ngurr -mu -duk -mba -wa shit 1sS Ir rr MU remove 2sBOD Fut

Further, as with lexically incorporated PBPs, there is a semantic bonding between /mu/ and the undergoer which it functions as a conceptual body part of. The special meaning achieved through this application of /mu/ is not available through the syntactic incorporation of its counterpart /muri/. (5-173.a) above thus remains as a literal change of location verb, while (5-173.b) can only be understood as a transfer of possession.

/Mu/ derivations have been illustrated above with respect to transitive change of location verbs, that is, with respect to the class of verbs which are able also to syntactically incorporate locative/source PBPs. However, /mu/ may be applied to a wider range of verbs than this. While syntactic locative/source incorporation requires that the locative/source argument be implied in the verbal structure (cf. 5.3.2.) /mu/ derivation appears to require only that
some change of location of the object be involved as a normal feature of the verbal action. For example, the verb, /rr#bi/ "grab", is, as shown in (5-175.a), able to take a peripheral source NP, but cannot, as we see in (5-175.b) syntactically incorporate such arguments. Nevertheless, /mu/ prefixing can proceed, in (5-175.c), because a change of location for the object is understood as a consequence of the action.

5-175.a) fuwawedi ngirr -bi -ya muri nanj -nganan trousers 1sS R rr grab Pst hand 2sPRO SCE
   I grabbed the trousers out of your(sg) hands.
5-175.b) * fuwawedi ngirr -inj -bi -muri -ya trousers 1sS R rr 2sO grab hand Pst
5-175.c) fuwawedi ngirr -inj -mu -bi -ya trousers 1sS R rr 2sO MU grab Pst
   I grabbed the trousers off you(sg) (i.e. out of your "hands", assuming possession myself) (e.g. with my hands).

Similarly, the verb in (5-176.a.), /sit#gudak/ "drink", which does not normally class with change of location verbs, has a sufficient concept of object movement to permit /mu/ prefixing. In this respect /sit#gudak/ is typical of verbs of eating and drinking in general.

5-176.a) wudi winjsjani gusri -gudak -a water bad 3sS R sit drink Pst =rum
   He was sitting drinking rum.
5-176.b) wudi winjsjani gusri -ing -mu -gudak -a water bad 3sS R sit 1sO MU drink Pst =rum
   He was sitting drinking my rum (without my consent) (i.e. he was drinking it out of my "hands").

/mu/ derivations do not always depict a literal transfer. For example, the verb of (5-175.c) above, /rr#mu-bi/, with /marri/ "words, language" in the role of transferred entity, functions as the common verb for "believe". "Believing" in Marrithiyel is thus conceptualised as "grabbing (so as to take possession of) the words from someone's hands". This is exemplified in the last clause of (5-177):

5-177) duknganan garr -di -bi -fini -ya nadi -fini / policeman 3sS R rr 2sS0 grab dl Pst 2sS0 PRO 2
gigin -di -masri -fini -ya / 3sS R claim 2sS0 belly dl Pst
The policeman grabbed you two and put you inside (jail). He didn't believe you.

In the second clause of (5-178) there is similarly no tangible entity which changes location. Rather it is the undergoer's plan of action, expressed in the first clause of (5-178), which is, to use a corresponding English metaphor, taken out of his hands, and which functions as the theme of the second clause.

(5-178) gubul -igidi -futj futjuj -Ø gawu -ya /
3sS Ir l 1EO hit ITER pl 3sS Ir sit Pst

gurringi -mu -yilik -Ø -a
3nsS R rr MU drop pl Pst

He wanted to belt us(exc,pl) up (but he didn't).
They(pl) prevented him (i.e. "dropped it from his hands").

I have recorded some further examples of /mu/ derivations which raise the possibility that, in addition to these transitive complex verbs, the prefix may be productively applied to adjectival roots. (Note that adjectival roots are productively, and without any derivational morphology, employed as complex verb roots, cf. 2.2.) Applying /mu/ to an adjectival root has generally the same semantic effect as with the roots we have discussed above, but results in a transitive, rather than ditransitive, transfer of control/possession verb. The undergoer, whose "hands" provide the point of reference of the transfer, continues to be cross-referenced with auxiliary-final O forms. But the theme of the transfer, instead of being expressed by a separate argument, is given by the adjectival root; that is, it is the attribute itself which is depicted as being transferred here. Consequently in (5-179) the attribute of "sleepiness" is passed onto the undergoer, while in (5-180) it is the quality of "being nauseous" which is taken over from the undergoer:

(5-179) yeri sjapatj miri ngurr -di -mu -puding -fini -wa
child small eye 1sS Ir rr 2nsO MU sleepy dl Fut

I'll put those two small children to sleep (i.e."transfer sleepiness into their hands") (e.g. by rubbing them with my hands)

(5-180) gul -ning -mu -wulitj -Ø -a /
guninj -wewe -Ø -Ø felp
3nsS R l 1sO MU nauseous pl Pst 3nsS R go vomit pl Pr continually

They(pl) caught that nausea from me (i.e. took it from my "hands"). They're still vomitting.
Since adjectival roots have no inbuilt directional component one might expect the direction of transfer in a verb formed with a /mu/ prefixed adjectival root to be variable, and to be determined through context. This, however, is not the case. The /mu/ derivation in (5-179) always has the reading of transferring the attribute to the undergoer, while that in (5-180) is always understood as a taking over of the attribute from the undergoer. This seems to be an arbitrary assignation of directionality, which one assumes is simply lexically specified.

5.6.2. /Mi/ "Eye" Derivations

Two productive functions can be identified for the /mi/ prefix. Firstly, /mi/ may be applied to the roots of a set of formally intransitive verbs of prototypically human bodily action. The verbs in this set are all punctiliar, and, since all involve for their subjects (as do the transitive roots eligible for /mu/ prefixing for their objects) some change of location, are constructed with the "go" auxiliary. Like other transfer or change of location verbs, the verbs in this set are either locative or source specified: that is, they fall into two groups, according to whether their change of location is conceived of as primarily "to" or "away from" a point of reference. The locative verbs in this group include, for example, /gofsjat/ "sit down (on)" and /gofbatj/ "lie down (on)", while examples of source verbs are /gofngitj/ "go and hide (from)" and /gofwarret/ "get up and walk away (from)", e.g.:

5-181) nang ganda gani -sjat -a manjirr -nanga
3smPRO that 3sS R go sit down Pst sand LOC

That man sat down on the sand.

5-182) gani -warret -a nidin duwarr -nganan
3sS R go walk away Pst country full SCE
= camp

He got up and walked away from the camp.

Application of /mi/ to the locative verbs results in a transitive human-associative verb. There is no change of auxiliary, but the verb now takes as its undergoer, which is cross-referenced (except in the case of the unmarked third singular) with the appropriate O forms, the human entity in whose company the action is performed. The implication of these /mi/ derivations is that the action is performed not just simply in the company of the undergoer, but in order to associate, socialise etc. with him or her. This can give rise to metaphorical readings, as with (5-183.a), where the act of a woman
sitting down with a man is representative of her accepting him as a spouse.

5-183.a) nang ganda gan -ing -mi -sjat -a / 3smPRO that 3sS R go 1sO MI sit down Pst

marri garrginj -ngureng -fini -ya
word 1ES R sit talk dl Pst

That man sat down with me, and we had a talk.

5-183.b) muku gagan gun -inj -mi -sjat -wa / woman ANAPH 3sS Ir go 2sO MI sit down Fut

muku arri -butj -wa
woman 2sS Ir rr have Fut

Literally: That woman should sit down with you(sg).
You should have a woman.

= : That woman should marry you, so you have a wife.

5-184) gun -ninggi -mi -batj -nim -Ø -a
3nsS R go 1IO MI lie down I pl nI dl Pst

They(pl) camped with us(exc,pl).

It is more difficult to translate into English the /mi/ derived source verbs. These are morpho-syntactically parallel to the locatives, requiring O cross-referencing of their human undergoers. Semantically they are perhaps best characterised, in opposition to /mi/ derived locatives, as human-dissociative verbs, carrying the sense of the disruption, rather than the creation, of social bonds. Thus contrast (5-185) with (5-182):

5-185) gan -igidi -mi -warret -fini -ya
3sS R go 1EO MI walk away dl Pst

He walked away and left us(exc,2).

The semantic nature of these /mi/ derived verbs requires that, like /mu/ derivations, they take both human subjects and human object-undergoers.

It is not clear from the /mi/ derivations above that /mi/ is in fact a contracted form of /miri/ "eye"; indeed, even if one assumes that it is a contraction, it is difficult to determine for which core participants, if any at all, the contracted form denotes a body part. In relating /mi/ to /miri/ here I am relying on the understandings of informants, who explicate /mi/ derivations in terms of the subject being thought of as performing the action in the "eye" of the object. This is consistent with the undergoer reference of incorporated PBPs. This use of "eye" as symbolic of social cohesion has been considered earlier (cf. 5.2.1.). The relationship is further evidenced by
speakers' sporadic substitutions of the full form /miri/ for the prefix. Additional minor evidence comes from an alternative structuring for the verb of (5-183.b), which has /miri/ as a lexically incorporated source PEP in the regular post verb-root position.

5-186) muku gan gun -ing -sjat -miri -wa
woman this 3sS Ir go 1sO sit eye Fut

This woman wants to "sit in my eye" (i.e. to marry me).

(Note that the verb of (5-186) has the specific meaning of "marrying", and cannot be used in a general associational sense in the same way as /mi-sjat/. (5-186) is a unique alternative structuring; /mi/ derivations are not systematically paraphrasable with a post verb-root lexically incorporated /miri/.)

The second productive function of the /mi/ prefix is as a causative of actions which occur, or are thought of as occurring, at the eye. In this role /mi/ operates on single argument subject-undergoer predicates. These target verbs are structured with intransitive auxiliaries, and many of them take a post verb-root incorporated /miri/. This group includes verbs such as /go#sri/ "cry"; /stand#bik/ "be awake, have an eye open"; /sit#jisjim/ "be alive"; and "be afraid", formed through undergoer-subject incorporation of /miri/ into the verb /go#werr/ "move back and forth", e.g.:

5-187) guninj -sri -nel -Ø -Ø /
3nsS R go cry 3msPURP pl Pr

garri -wanggal -njsjan -Ø mubungandi
3sS R rr finish now Pr poor fellow

They(pl) are crying for him, that poor bugger who's finished up (i.e died).

5-188) ambi arri -butj -wurri -ya /
NEG 2sS R rr have towards Pst

ngin -werrerr -miri -nanga -Ø
1sS R go move back & eye 3ms FEEL Pr forth REDUP

You(sg) shouldn't have brought him here. I'm afraid of him.

Application of /mi/ to the roots of these verbs results in a transitive causative construction. Unlike the /mi/ derivations above, however, the causative derivations require a change of auxiliary; in place of the intransitives of the original verbs they employ one of the major transitive auxiliaries, the actual choice of auxiliary being determined by the manner or type of instrument of causation (cf. 6.2).
Thus /mi-sri/ "cause to cry" in (5-189) combines with the /l/ auxiliary, suggesting causation, for example, through personal confrontation, while /mi-werrerr/ "cause to be frightened" in (5-190) takes the "see" auxiliary, which allows for less direct causation by the agent. Note that /mi/- derived causatives are strictly two argument (agent-undergoer) predicates. The /mi/- prefixed verbs of (5-189) and (5-190) cannot affix the purposive or /anga/ marked (for "target of unpleasant feelings", cf. 3.3.4) pronoun which readily appear in their non-prefixed counterparts in (5-187) and (5-188). These causatives simply encode "making someone cry", "making someone afraid" etc., not "making someone cry for something", "making someone afraid of something".

5-189) ninjsja -nganan yeri nang ginil -di -mi -sri -fini -ya ?
what SCE child 3msPRO 2sS R l 3nsO MI cry dl Pst =POSS
Why (because of what) did you(sg) make his two children cry?

5-190) gidin -ngi -mi -werrerr -a
3sS R see 1sO MI move back Pst & forth REDUP
He made me frightened.

Other intransitive subject-undergoer predicates, which are not conceived of as taking place at the eye, are not eligible for /mi/ causative derivation. Thus /gofasru/ "laugh" and /gofsjiwin/ "be anxious, afraid" are unable to take the /mi/ prefix in the same way as "cry" and "be afraid", e.g.:

5-191) * ginil -di -mi -asru -fini -ya
2sS R l 3nsO MI laugh dl Pst

5-192) * gidin -ngi -mi -sjiwin -a
3sS R see 1sO MI be anxious Pst

/MI/ appears in a further dozen or so verbs where, on semantic grounds, one would wish to segment it from a following complex verb root. These are again all transitive verbs, in which /mi/, functioning as a contracted form of /miri/ "eye", is coreferential with the undergoer, and which have their undergoers encoded with auxiliary final O forms. There are too few consistencies apparent in the semantic effect of /mi/ on the following verb root to justify treatment of it as a possibly productive prefix, and it is better analysed here as a lexically incorporated PBP. (5-193) and (5-194) below, in which /mi/ has the classificatory "eye" functions (cf.
5.2.1.) of "campfire" and "water-hole", provide examples of this group.

5-193) sjanjsji arri -mi -tik -Ø
fire 2sS Ir nj eye soak up Imp

(You<sg> Put out the fire.

5-194) fillak nanjinggi -mi -tjirr -Ø -ya
ground 2nsS Ir nj eye flow pl Pst

You<pl> should have made a hole(i.e."eye") in the ground
(for the soakage water).

Although there are circumstances where it could be considered
semantically plausible, PBP incorporation may not co-occur with /mi/
derivation. For example, the verb /go#sjat/ "sit down (on)", which,
as we have seen in (5-183.a) above, may form an associative /mi/
derivative, also qualifies as a transitive change of location verb
(cf. 5.3.2.). This verb can consequently incorporate locative PBPs, as
in (5-195), where incorporated /masri/ refers to the "belly" of the
canoe:

5-195) guninj -sjat -masri -fini -ya sjalwu (-nanga)
3nsS R go sit down belly dl Pst canoe LOC

They<2> sat down in (the "belly" of) the canoe.

However, the /mi/ prefix and the incorporated locative may not both
appear, e.g.:

5-196) * gun -ing -mi -sjat -masri -fini -ya sjalwu (-nanga)
3nsS R go 1sS MI sit down belly dl Pst canoe LOC

* They<2> sat down in (the "belly" of) the canoe with me.

Similarly, those verbs which are eligible for /mi/ causative
derivation, and which normally incorporate /miri/ in the post verb-
root position, must delete the incorporated noun when the prefix is
applied. Thus while (5-197) and (5-198.a) are regular constructions,
(5-198.b) is ungrammatical:

5-197) guguk sjirra ambi guwa -bik -miri -Ø
wait yet NEG 3sS R stand awake eye Pr

Hold on, he's not awake yet.

5-198.a) ngurr -inj -mi -bik -wa nitjingani
1sS Ir rr 2sO MI awake Fut morning

I'll wake you<sg> up in the morning
(e.g. with my hands, by shaking you).

5-198.b) * ngurr -inj -mi -bik -miri -wa nitjingani
1sS Ir rri 2sO MI awake eye Fut morning
In this respect /mi/ continues to behave like a lexically incorporated PBP. Given its (for native speakers at least) transparent "eye" semantic character, and its incorporated-root-like syntax, this is not surprising. In fact, the principal reason for distinguishing /mi/ (as well as /mu/) from the general group of lexical incorporates is in the productivity and semantic predictability of its attachment to particular sets of verb roots; productivity and predictability are not otherwise features of lexical incorporation. This provides a contrast with the situation in Ngan'gityemeri, Marrithiyel's typologically similar, and body part term incorporating, neighbour. Ngan'gityemeri, as described by Reid (in preparation), has applicative prefixes in the same verbal slot, that is, immediately following the auxiliary, as Marrithiyel. While it can be argued that these applicative prefixes are diachronically derived from body part terms, they have no synchronic semantic function as such. Consequently, in Ngan'gityemeri, which otherwise has the same constraint as Marrithiyel on the appearance of two body part terms in the verb, the applicative prefix can co-occur with at least syntactically incorporated body part terms. Reid (pers. comm.) has provided the following example, in which the applicative prefix /mi/, diachronically related to /muy/ "eye", can only be synchronically analysed as a general valence increaser, and is followed in the verb by a lexically incorporated body part term.

5-199) *Ngan'gityemeri* (Reid, pers. comm.)

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{dangim} & -fi & -mi & -tyerr & -tit \\
\text{3sS Perfective} & \text{Prefix} & \text{Valence} & \text{mouth} & \text{put} \\
\text{Auxiliary 13} & \text{Prefix}
\end{array}
\]

*He taught me how to do it.*

Ngan'gityemeri /mi/ is thus more grammaticised than Marrithiyel /mi/ or /mu/, which, while productive, have as yet retained their semantic integrity.

5.6.3. /Ma/ "Belly" Derivations

One productive derivational role can be identified for the /ma/ prefix. This is as a causative of emotion. In this role /ma/ attaches to adjectival roots denoting emotional states; as with the /mi/ causatives above, these are transitive (undergoer cross-referenced as object) derivations which select one of the major complex auxiliaries, as determined by the manner or instrument of the
causation (6.2). In (5-200), for example, the emotion is marked by the Ø auxiliary as brought about by speech; the impersonal verb of (5-201) employs instead the "paint" auxiliary to depict the causation as more repetitive or nagging in nature (cf. 6.2).

5-200) gininggi -ma -lerri -Ø -ya
2nsS R Ø MA happy pl Pst
You(pl) made him happy (by saying something).

5-201) gumun -ngi -ma -tjarr -Ø mana yigin -wa mubungandi
3sS R paint 1sO MA sad Pr brother 1sPRO PURP poor fellow
=POSS
LITERALLY: It makes me sad for my brother, poor bugger.
    = I feel sad for my brother, poor bugger.

This use of /ma/ is semantically consistent with it being a contraction of the PBP /masri/ "belly"; the belly, as has been discussed above (5.2.2. section (6)), is for the Marrithiyel the centre of the emotions, and /masri/ is incorporated, following the verb root, into many verbs of emotional processes and emotive behaviour. But it is not clear that /ma/, unlike /mu/ and /mi/, has for Marrithiyel speakers a psychological reality as the reduced form of a PBP. For example, speakers do not explicate /ma/ derivatives as involving action occurring "at the belly" in the same way that they explicate /mu/ and /mi/ derivatives as concerning the "hands" and the "eyes". Speakers do, as in (5-202), juxtapose comments about the state of the "belly" (that is, the emotions) with /ma/ derived verbs, but nevertheless never indicate awareness of any connection between the free nominal form and the verbal morpheme.

5-202) masri winjsjani gumun -ngi -ma -tjarr -Ø
belly no-good 3sS R paint 1sO MA sad Pr

LITERALLY: It makes me sad, no-good in the belly.
    = : I feel no-good, I feel sorry.

There are also a number of verbs formed with /ma/ prefixed to the verb root which class semantically with the productive /ma/ emotion causatives; in these verbs, however, the emotional causative reading is not a result of the juxtaposition of a causative morpheme with a discrete emotional attributive root, but is rather a lexically determined reading of the compound as a whole. It seems likely, although it is not explicated as such by informants, that the emotion causative reading here has arisen historically from metaphors of affect on the undergoer's "belly", constructed with /ma/ (as a
contraction of /masri/) incorporating verbs. (5-203), in which the
notion of causing someone irritation through excessive or persistent
noise appears to be constructed morphologically as to "clap
(repetitively) on their belly", is an example:

5-203) yeri merawu gunj -ining -ma -purpurrk -Ø -Ø
child several 3nsS R nj 1so belly? clap REDUP pl Pr
=irritate with noise

The children(pl) are making me upset with their noise.

It is possible that the productive role of /ma/ as a grammatical
morpheme in verbs such as (5-200) and (5-201) has come about as a
generalisation of its once more literal role as an incorporated PBP in
examples such as (5-203).

As is the case with /mi/, there are a further dozen or so verbs
in which a /ma/, which can be semantically related to "belly", occurs
prior to the root, but which provide too small and varied a database
for analysis of /ma/ as a productive prefix. Such verbs include (5-
204), in which /ma/ has the function of "human direction", and (5-
205), in which /ma/ refers to the "belly" (i.e. "concave surface of
the banks") of the river. Note that in (5-206), which has a different
and non-belly like object, /ma/ cannot be applied to the verb:

5-204) themberriduk fal -igidi -ma -tik -Ø -wa
road 2sS Ir l 1EO belly soak up pl Fut

You(sg) will meet us(exc,pl) along the road.
(??You will soak up our bellies on the road.)

5-205) federr gininj -ma -piritj -fini -ya
river 1ES R go belly ascend dl Pst

We(exc,dl) climbed up the river bank
(i.e. the "belly" of the river).

5-206) thawurr gininj (*-ma) -piritj -fini -ya
tree 1ES R go belly ascend dl Pst

We(exc,dl) climbed the tree.

Again, as with /mi/, insofar as metaphoric usages allow us to clearly
establish referents for /ma/ in these verbs, it has the cross-
referencing patterns of a regular lexically incorporated PBP38.

5.7. Static Locative Verbs

Static locative verbs are formed with CVSs made up of the
morpheme /ni/ followed by a PBP. This is a fully productive
derivation, for which all PBPs are eligible39. Thus (5-207.a), in
which the CVS contains the principal BP /sradi/ "back" is a regular
static locative construction, while (5-207.b), an attempt to derive a corresponding verb with the non-principal BP /a-muwa/ "bone", is totally unacceptable (with or without the inclusion of the /a/ class marker in the verb stem):

5-207.a) gangi -ni -sradi -ya nendu -nanga
   lsS R sit NI back Pst horse LOC
   I was sitting on the horse's back.

5-207.b) * gangi -ni -(a)muwa -ya
   lsS R sit NI bone Pst

There is a morpheme /ni/ which functions elsewhere in Marrithiyel as a relative pronoun, introducing non-restrictive relative clauses; such "clauses" can take full verbal form, as in (5-208), but may consist, as in (5-209), of a single noun, e.g.:

5-208) e ngidin -a Meli / ni muku gunga -ini -pirr -a
   and lsS R see Pst Meli NI woman lsS R stand 3msG throw Pst
   And I saw Meli, to whom I have given a wife.

5-209) apu gangi -ya / ni muku / garr -ing -sri -fiyi -ya
   that way lsS R sit Pst NI woman 3sS R rri 1sO cry head Pst
   I was sitting there, where the women (go). It shamed me.

/Ni/ does not, however, otherwise appear as a verb root or a component of the CVS. In this respect static locative verbs cannot strictly be classed as incorporating constructions, since, by definition (cf. 5.1.), in incorporating constructions PBPs are compounded with items that do have independent verbal status.

CVSs formed in this way may only co-occur with the "static" intransitive auxiliaries. There are four static auxiliaries, "lie", "sit", "stand" and "be hanging". The verb which results from combining one of these auxiliaries with a /ni+PBP/ CVS specifies the location of the subject; the auxiliary denotes the subject's posture or stance, while the PBP, in either a literal or classificatory sense, denotes the place in which the subject has taken up that posture. Static locatives are thus readily paraphrasable as sums of their constituent parts, and in explicating them we need only attribute to /ni/ its independent relativizing function. A static locative may by paraphrased as: "The subject lies (or sits, stands or hangs) in a place which is denoted by this PBP."
There are several features to note about this construction. Firstly, it is essentially locative in character. Static locative verbs require a locative NP in the clause. Note that the NP must be strictly locative, rather than in the allative type of role also marked by the /nanga/ locative case inflection (2.3). (As outlined in 2.3, the /nanga/ suffix itself need not necessarily appear to mark the locative status of the NP). The locative NP may only be deleted from the clause where clearly understood from context, as in (5-211) above. As is the case with regular PBP incorporation, the PBP in the verb stands in a part-whole (or, more rarely, purely specific-generic) relationship with the external NP. It is not impossible for the PBP to co-occur as part of the external locative NP, as in (5-212.a), but such co-occurrence is rare, and highly marked. It is not possible, however, in the manner of syntactic incorporation, to construct an acceptable paraphrase by transferring the PBP from the verb to the locative NP (even with /ni/ subsequently deleted). Static location at a place denoted by a PBP must be expressed with the PBP included in the verb; (5-212.b) is consequently ungrammatical.

The locative nature of these verbs limits the range of classificatory meanings possible for the PBPs in the verb stem. Less literal classificatory meanings are only available insofar as they are built on locative metaphors. In (5-213), for example, /manthi/ "neck" is employed as a classifier for the attitude of "waiting"; this is a possible static locative construction (it is in fact the standard verb to describe "waiting") because this notion of waiting arises
through a locative metaphor, that is, through the image of being situated in the "neck" or "line of intersection" (cf. 5.2.2.).

5-213) mungilyini -nanga gangi -ni -manthi -mbel -wa jungle LOC 1sS R sit NI neck 2sPURP Fut

I will sit in the "neck/intersection-place" in the jungle for you(sg). i.e. I will wait in the jungle for you.

In contrast to (5-213) we have (5-214.a) and (5-214.b). In (5-214.a) /miri/ "eye" is used in a social-cohesive classificatory sense. But there is no locative sense here, and (5-214.b) can therefore not be used to describe the situation of the object of (5-214.a).

5-214.a) ngidin -mel -miri gangi -ya 1sS R see watch eye 1sS R sit Pst

I was sitting catching her eye/"eyeing her off".

5-214.b) muku gagan gusri -ni -miri -Ø -ya woman ANAPH 3sS R sit NI eye pl Pst

That woman was sitting in the "eye" (e.g. by the camp-fire).

Secondly, it should be emphasised that these /ni/ derived verbs are static (rather than dynamic) in nature. This is a feature they share with the simple (i.e. CVS lacking) verbs formed by the "lie", "sit", "stand" and "be hanging" auxiliaries. The encoding of static vs. dynamic situations in Marrithiyel is discussed in more detail in 6.3. In brief, the static simple verbs denote situations that are homogeneous and unchanging with respect to the posture they describe for their subjects. They cannot be used to describe the action of the subject taking up that particular posture. Thus we can contrast the dynamic verb in (5-215), which employs the "go" auxiliary, with the static verb in (5-216), which uses the "sit" auxiliary.

5-215) guninj -sjat -Ø -a nginjawul -nanga 3nsS R go sit down pl Pst shade LOC

They(pl) sat down in the shade.

5-216) gawunj -Ø -a nginjawul -nanga 3nsS R sit pl Pst shade LOC

They(pl) were sitting in the shade.
/ni/ derived locative verbs are, equally, static in character. They ascribe an unchanging posture to the subject; they do not describe the movement that brings about the posture. This can be seen in the contrast of the dynamic verb in (5-217), which incorporates a locative PBP, and the static /ni/ derivation of (5-218).

5-217) guninj -sjat -masri -Ø -ya sjalwu -nanga
3nsS R go sit down belly pl Pst canoe LOC

They(pl) sat down in the "belly" of the canoe.

5-218) gawunj -ni -masri -Ø -ya sjalwu -nanga
3nsS R sit NI belly pl Pst canoe LOC

They(pl) were sitting in the "belly" of the canoe.

One aspect of their static quality is that /ni/ derived verbs apply strictly over a single continuous time span. They cannot be manipulated to mark repeated instances of the subject being in the described posture. Iterative reduplication (cf. 4.5) is thus not possible, e.g.:

5-219) gawunj -ni -masri (*-ni)(*-masri) -Ø -ya sjalwu -nanga
3nsS R sit NI belly NI belly pl Pst canoe LOC

Equally, /ni/ derivations are not eligible for the habitual, continuative etc. aspectual marking which is achieved in other classes of low transitive verbs by replacing the auxiliary with "go" or "go*", and which presumes a series of subsequent time intervals (cf. 4.5). (5-220) shows this aspectual marking for the complex verb /sit*fifi/ "smoke (tobacco)", with the "go" auxiliary in (5-220.b) substituted for the "sit" of (5-220.a) to bring about an habitual reading.

5-220.a) tharr mutj gawunj -fifi -Ø -ya thing bush tobacco 3nsS R sit blow REDUP pl Pst

They(pl) were sitting smoking bush-tobacco.

5-220.b) tharr mutj guninj -fifi -Ø -ya thing bush tobacco 3nsS R go blow REDUP pl Pst

They(pl) used to smoke bush-tobacco.

But this aspectual marking through auxiliary substitution is not possible for static locatives. (5-221), an attempt to derive an habitual reading from the static locative of (5-218), therefore contrasts with (5-220) as unacceptable:

5-221) * guninj -ni -masri -Ø -ya sjalwu -nanga
3nsS R go NI belly pl Pst canoe LOC
The habitual counterpart of (5-218) must instead be formed on the corresponding dynamic verb, as in (5-222), reduplicated to mark iteration. That is, the habitual counterparts of static locatives are constructed by depicting the subject as repeatedly taking up the described posture and location. The habitual reading in these verbs is based on, and morphologically not distinguished from, the iterative; the habitual reading would therefore arise from an interpretation of the action as repeated regularly over an extended period of time.

5-222) guninj -sjatsjat -masri -Ø -ya sjalwu -nanga
3nsS R go sit down REDUP belly pl Pst canoe LOC

They (pl) repeatedly sat down in the "belly" of the canoe.
They used to sit down in the "belly" of the canoe.

A further feature of static locatives has been partially illustrated in our discussion of auxiliary incorporation (5.5.) above. This is that /ni/ derived verbs should more properly be referred to as "static non-human locatives"; they cannot denote location at a human body part. In this respect /ni/ derivations contrast with the simple static verbs, "lie", "sit", "stand" and "be hanging", which are able to ascribe a human location to their subjects, employing auxiliary-final G pronominals, e.g.:

5-223) gusri -ingin -a
3sS R sit 1sG Pst

He was sitting on/by me.

Location at a human body part can then be specified with a (lexically) incorporated PBP. Although such verbs would seem, in general semantic terms, to belong to the category of /ni/ derived static locatives, /ni/ is not able to appear here. (Note that (5-226) illustrates that this restriction on /ni/ derivations arises from the human/non-human nature of the location, and does not instead hinge on whether the location is only given pronominal expression in the clause.)

5-224) yeri sjapatj gawu -iringin (*-ni) -sradi -fini -ya
child small 3nsS R sit 1sG NI back dl Pst

The two little kids were sitting on my back.

5-225) a -winngal guwa -imbi (*-ni) -garri -Ø
CA mosquito 3sS R stand 2sG NI shoulder Pr

A mosquito is standing on your shoulder.
(i.e. There is a mosquito on your shoulder.)
5-226) gawu -inin (*-ni) -wurang -fini -ya wadi -nanga
3nsS R sit 3msG NI (upper) leg dl Pst man LOC

They(2) were sitting on the man's leg.

As has been illustrated in 5.5., the human locative, but not the non-human locative, may take a further body part term, syntactically incorporating the PBP of the subject. Thus contrast the acceptability of (5-227) and (5-228).

5-227) gusri -ingin -sradi -masri -ya
3sS R sit 1sG back belly Pst

He was sitting with his belly (i.e. front) towards my back.

5-228) * wedi -fini yuwa gawunj -ni -sradi -masri -fini -ya
3nsPRO dl that 3nsS R sit NI back belly dl Pst
nendu -nanga
horse LOc

* Those two were lying belly-down on the back of the horse.

Finally, one further feature of /ni/ derived verbs, and one again in which they differ from the static simple verbs, is that they are able to denote a state of location for a subject that is actually in motion. That is, static (non-human) locatives ascribe to their subjects an unchanging stance or posture at a particular location; whether that location is moving or not is simply not relevant. This is illustrated in (5-229), where the disposition of the two people (children in the story) being pushed along the river is described in the first clause using a static locative verb. Similarly, in (5-230) the /ni/ derivation of the first clause describes the location of a person being driven along in the back ("belly") of a car.

5-229) gawunj -ni -sradi -fini -ya thawurr -nanga / 3nsS R sit NI back dual Pst tree LOC
    gidin -di -fil -vini gani -ya
3sS R see 3ns0 roll dual 3sS R go Pst

They(2) were sitting on the back of a log.
It (the current) was pushing ("rolling") them along.

5-230) wudi -wedi gaful -ni -masri -ya / liquid having 3sS R lie NI belly Pst =drunk
    benjsjin gidin -bubu gayirr -a petrol ("benzene") 3sS R see tip out 3sS R go* Pst REDUP

He was lying drunk in the "belly" (of the car).
He was going along pouring out the (jerricans of) petrol
Static simple verbs, on the other hand, have an absolute non-motional denotation; they can never be applied to a subject that is actually in motion. In (5-231) above, for example, we cannot, given the context provided by the second clause, employ the simple verb "lie" as a less specific form of the static locative in the first clause. The resulting statement would be grammatical, but the subject of the first verb could no longer be interpretable as coreferential with the subject of the second:

5-231) wudi -wedi qaful -a / liquid having 3sS R lie Pst
benjsjin gidin -bubu gayirr -a petrol ("benzene") 3sS R see tip out 3sS R go* Pst REDUP

He_a was lying down drunk.
He_b kept on pouring out the (jerricans of) petrol as he_b went along.

Given the importance in the language of the marking of stance/posture, this is a highly functional attribute of the static (non-human) locatives, in which they act in a complementary fashion to the static simple verbs.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1 I have in fact recorded only one case where such a noun has an argument like status in the predicate. This is in the verb stem /butj-thawurr/, a compound of the complex verb root /butj/ "possess" and the generic /thawurr/ "tree, stick, thing", which forms a verb meaning "to lead with a stick (e.g. as one would lead a blind man)". The possibility of repeating the incorporated noun root outside the verb in an instrumental NP, as in (a), perhaps suggests that, in line with the English gloss, the incorporated noun should be regarded as in an instrumental role. However, it is also possible to view /thawurr/ here in effect as a defacto body part, an extension of the body of the object. Seen in this way /butj-thawurr/ would be analogous with a stem such as /butj-fundi/ "possess-arm", which means, as in (b), "to lead by the arm, to take someone", and would be in conformity with the general principles of object body part incorporation rather than constituting one of the language's few putative examples of instrumental incorporation.
By contrast, the noun /yeri/ "child", which appears in the verb stem in (c), this time preceding a complex verb root, is predicational in nature; the complex reflexive verb /yeri-batj/, a compounding of /yeri/ with the root /batj/ "lie down", can be translated as "to sleep together (as man and wife, with the consequence of having children)". In contrast to /thawurr/ in example (b), there is no readily paraphrasable role for /yeri/ as an NP in the clause.

We (exc, pl) and those women (pl) will camp together.

In Evans' study he in fact offers a broad definition of lexical incorporation which embraces both incorporated nouns (with argument-like status with respect to the verb) and predicative nouns as well as incorporated adverbs and compounded verb roots, cf: "Lexical incorporation involves the compounding of a root (usually nominal or adjectival but sometimes verbal or adverbal) with a verbal root to form a new verb lexeme." The failure to distinguish lexically incorporated roots which have an argument like relationship with the verb from other lexically incorporated items is surprising in a study which addresses the difference in the range of thematic relations possible for lexically as opposed to syntactically incorporated nominals.

PBPs do show some sporadic elision of final /i/ vowels, the environment for which can best be expressed as following consonantal continuants (i.e. following nasals, /l/ and /r/).

There are also three PBPs which take contracted forms when compounded, rather than incorporated, with verb roots – see 5.3.6.-8.
Interestingly, the one suppletive incorporated form reported by Reid for Ngan'gityemerri, /mi/ "eye", corresponding to the free form /(da)muy/, would appear to be cognate with the Marrithiyel PBP /miri/ "eye", which has a contracted form /mi/.

4 In 5.7, I discuss one minor verb class, "static human locatives", which constitute a possible counter-exception to this claim.

5 I merely note this as a feature of Marrithiyel PBP usage and make no claim that it is any way unique or surprising. We have of course broadly similar constructs in English - the "eye" of a cyclone, the "mouth" of a river, the "foot" of a mountain" etc. - which presuppose no coherent whole-body image.

6 Note also that, due to the differing nature of the agent/instrument-object contact implied in (5-17.a) and (5-17.b), different auxiliaries are required - cf. Ch. 6.

7 Note here that /sjapatj miri/, the diminutive compound, does not literally mean (although it may imply the possession of) "small eye". To convey the meaning "small eye" the compound must be reversed so that the normal ordering of noun followed by adjective is adhered to. Thus /miri sjapatj/ is the phrase which refers to the size of the eye, while in /sjapatj miri/ "eye" takes on a more classificatory meaning.

8 (5-43.a) comes from the Marrithiyel divorce ritual, as described to me by Bill Parry.

9 This use of /masri/ to classify concave surfaces would appear to be based on the four-legged animal rather than human body prototype. In fact it seems plausible that the use of /masri/ for concave surfaces derives from the channels and depressions made in the ground or mud by the bellies of larger reptiles (not to mention similar indentations characteristically produced in the wetlands by introduced quadrupeds such as pigs and water buffalo). Crocodile belly slides for example are commonly referred to as /a-masri/, with the term for belly preceded by the flesh-food/lower animate class prefix.
I owe much of my understanding of this classificatory use of /manthi/ to Nick Reid, who assisted me with comparative Ngan'gityemeri data, and an accompanying insightful analysis.

See also the discussion of the static locative CVS /ni-manthi/ "to wait" in 5.7.

There is, however, a verb root /sjang/ (which combines with the 0 auxiliary to form the verb "hear") which would appear to be a contracted form of /sjangi/ - see 5.5.

Implied arguments of transfer verbs are also relevant to the operation of the /mu/ "hands" applicative prefix, cf. 5.6.1.

As stated in 5.1, incorporation is restricted to a maximum of two roots for any one verb. I have neither recorded, nor been able to generate, verbs in which a PBP, a supplementary spatial term and a non-PBP 0 all appear.

In 5.7 I discuss one minor verb class, "static human locatives", which in fact do allow for incorporated roots denoting PBPs of G arguments.

i.e. These are verbs for which PBP incorporation has never been recorded spontaneously, and for which it is regarded as either exceedingly odd or unacceptable when presented to informants.

I suggest this as a specific Marrithiyel, and not universally applicable, reason. There are other Australian languages, for example, which allow for nouns denoting separated body parts to be incorporated (cf. Mayali (Evans, to appear), Ngan'gityemeri (Reid, in preparation)).

The verb in (46), although it may appear to have both an A (effector) argument /ferri/ and an O argument /wulkisrim/, is not transitive but rather a non-controlled intransitive verb in which /wulkisrim/ acts as a verbal modifier, and is in a sense compounded with the verb (cf. 7.2).
Except for one special construction, involving body part subjects, /anga/ and auxiliary encoded pronominals are systematically constrained from being co-referential, cf. 3.3.4.

This is consistent with the functions of /anga/ pronominals in non PBP-incorporating constructions, cf. 3.3.4.

There are a few verb roots, though, which lexically incorporate identifiable subsets of PBPs. The verb "to have a cramp", as illustrated in fn#22 below, for example, incorporates all semantically appropriate PBPs.

I am aware of one class of exceptions to this generalisation, viz.: lexically incorporating verbs of body processes. This class is illustrated in (a), with the verb /paint#it-wurang/. The lexical nature of this incorporation is shown in (b) and (c) through the change of meaning brought about by removal of the incorporated PBP.

\[
\begin{align*}
a) \quad & \text{menjsjitjirr wurang gumun -ngi -it -wurang -a} \\
& \quad \text{cramp cramp 3sS R paint lsO pick up (upper) leg Pst}
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{I got a cramp in the leg.}\]

\[
\begin{align*}
b) \quad & * \text{menjsjitjirr wurang gumun -ngi -it -a} \\
& \quad \text{cramp leg 3sS R paint lsO pick up Pst (upper)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
c) \quad & \text{wurang gumun -it -a} \\
& \quad \text{leg 3sS R paint pick up Pst}
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{He picked up a leg.}\]

This number excludes verbs formed with the contracted /mi/, /mu/, /ma/ body-part terms, cf. 5.1-3.

It is possible that there was mutual influence at work. Reid (in preparation) reports a small number (a half dozen or so) irregular incorporations in Ngan'gityemeri which place the noun after the verb root. He suggests that these may be based on the Marrithiyel forms.

These holes had hot rocks placed in them, and water was poured over them to create steam. This was believed to aid the healing process.

I exclude from this those complex verbs formed with the "do" auxiliary which have discontinuous CVSs consisting of a verb root
preposed to the auxiliary together with a PBP in the normal post-auxiliary CVS slot (cf. 6.4).

27 It is the source NP which makes (5-149.b) odd. The simple verb "visit (someone), arrive at (somewhere)" does not subcategorize for source NPs expressing the place from which the movement originates. Informants consequently rate clauses such as (5-149.b) as acceptable only when the source NP is distinguished intonationally from the rest of the clause, in apposition to it, providing additional information.

28 This is not to imply that all simple verbs are able to syntactically incorporate PBPs. As is the case with complex verbs, syntactic incorporation is possible only for simple verbs that are capable of a part-whole shift in undergoer focus (cf. 5.3.2.). Syntactic incorporation is possible, for example, for PBP objects of "paint" and "see", but not for PBP objects of "claim" and "visit".

29 PBPs can, however, of course co-occur in the verb with one of the set of four supplementary body locational terms - cf. 5.1.

30 These verbs may also be used of motion of non-human entities, such as cars and planes, where the motion represents or necessitates human movement.

31 /Sjang/ also combines with the /li/ auxiliary to form the verb "to promise (someone) in marriage". There is not such a transparent relationship between this /sjang/ and the body part term /sjangi/.

32 Since /mu/ derived verbs take exclusively human undergoers, it is only their third singular objects which will fail to be cross-referenced in the auxiliary. (Third singulars are the only higher animate objects which do not belong in the "higher order participant" category and are thus not coded in the verb, 3.2.1.6.)

33 There is, however, one anomalous /mu/ derivation, based on the verb root /tjuk/ "put down", which selects goal bound pronominals only. Note here that the meaning of the derivation, "pick out, choose (in ceremonial context)" is not predictable according to the normal rules of /mu/ derivations. (One would instead expect /mu-tjuk/ to mean something like "leave something with someone"; it is not clear if the
act of selecting someone for ceremonial purposes is based literally or metaphorically on such an act.)

a) ngil -imbi -mu -tjuk -∅ / wangga ma -it -nginel -∅ /
   2sS R l 2sG MU put down Fr dance 2sS Ir paint pick up 1sPURP Imp
   ma -it -nginel -∅
   2sS Ir paint pick up 1sPURP Imp
   
   I'm picking you(sg) out. Do two dances for me.

34 Subsumed in the notion of "change of location" here is the notion of "change of classificatory posture", which is critical in the assignation of auxiliaries to intransitive verbs - see 6.3.

35 There are, however, occasional examples of /mi/ derivations with non-human subjects. It appears that these involve a concept of the subject as acting as if human; such conceptualisation accounts for the jocular nature of (a) below, in which the speaker is seeking to avoid responsibility for the loss of his clothing:

(a) fuwawedi gan -ing -mi -ngitj -a
   trousers 3sS R go 1sG MI hide Pst
   
   My trousers went and hid on me.

36 The verb /rr#mi-yerri/ "dream (about someone)" is a possible counter-example to this generalisation, since it encodes the person dreamt about with G rather than 0 forms. However, it is not clear that this verb can be considered as /mi/ prefixed, since the putative verb root /yerri/, which is the PBP "tail", and is used in the nominal lexicon as symbolic of dreaming, has no independent function as a verb.

37 Note that in (5-202) /masri winjsjani/ functions in apposition to the object, and cannot be analysed as subject of the clause; for example, it cannot take ergative /gin/.

38 One verb, however, /∅#ma-luluk/ "persuade", takes auxiliary final G rather than 0 cross-referencing for the entity persuaded.

I have also recorded one verb in which, contrary to the constraints applying to regular incorporated body part terms (cf. 5.3.1.), /ma/ co-occurs with another PBP. This is perhaps a result of
a process in which, while its "belly" type semantics have been retained, the conscious connection between /ma/ itself, and the actual body part denoting term, /masri/, has been lost to speakers; /ma/ becomes a classificatory verbal morpheme rather than a conscious PBP-as-undergoer construct. Thus /ma/ in (b) below brings to the verb of (a) (which is an example of lexical auxiliary incorporation) the same sense of "human direction" as manifested in (5-204) above.

a) ngidin -di -miri -Ø -na
   1ES Ir see 3s0 eye pl first
   *We(exc,pl) should visit them(pl) (i.e. "see their eyes") first.*

b) gidinj -ma -miri -Ø -ya yangi defen
   1ES Ir see belly? eye pl Pst now only
   *We(exc,pl) only just came across each other.*

39 I have recorded instances of the four supplementary spatial terms, /demi/ "side", /lambu/ "side", /tharrma-yinggumbu/ "in the main body of", being employed in this derivation. These supplementary terms normally categorise with the regular PBPs (cf. 5.1.) Their use in static locative verbs, which is not common, tends to be assessed by speakers as somewhat marginal:

a) ?? gangi -ni -tharrma -ya sjanjsji -nanga
   1sS R sit NI centre Pst fire(wood) LOC
   *I was sitting amongst the firewood.*

40 The "be hanging" auxiliary here refers to hunters supporting themselves as if hanging from the branches (that is, with their arms extended upwards onto branches, taking most of their weight) as they stand on their hunting platforms.

41 I do not know what conditions give rise to such co-occurrence.

42 Note that it is humans, rather than higher animates in general, which are excluded from the static locative construction.
6.1. The Verbal Component of the Auxiliary

As has been outlined in 3.1-2, the Marrithiyel auxiliary is an obligatory verbal constituent; as such it encodes person-number of certain core participants (3.2), inflects for a two-way tense/mood variation (4.1), and divides verbs into "formally intransitive" and "formally transitive" classes, this formal marking being broadly correlate with "low", as opposed to "high", transitivity value (cf. 3.2.1.6). In addition it has a verbal component; that is, each auxiliary has a particular semantic character which is significant in the determination of overall verbal meaning. It is this semantic character which we will examine in this chapter.

The auxiliary verbal component can, in most cases, be attributed to a segmentable auxiliary verb root (AVR). As discussed in 3.2.1., the auxiliary can be represented as typically tripartite in structure. It has an initial slot filled obligatorily by a bound subject pronoun, and a final slot which may be occupied by either "goal" or "object" or subject-number bound forms, or may simply remain vacant. In the central slot of this typical auxiliary structure is the AVR. This structure is exemplified in (6-1) below.

6-1) wa -di -ing -bu -sradi -ø
2S S Ir see 1sO pour out back Imp
Su   AVR   0
-----AUX-----

(You(sg)) Pour it over my back.

The isolatable AVR allomorphs are discussed in 3.2.4.

But while the final pronominal is readily segmented from the auxiliary, there are a number of instances in which no division of a subject pronominal from a following AVR can be made, and we have instead an unanalysable portmanteau form performing the functions of both morphemes, e.g.:

6-2) ngunda -iginj -wul -ø nitji
2S S Ir stand 1EG return Imp night
Su+AVR   G
-----AUX------

(You(sg)) Come back to us(exc,pl) tonight.

In addition, it is clear, looking at the auxiliary system as a whole, that paradigmatic contrastiveness cannot be attributed independently
to either the set of subject pronominals or to the set of AVRs. Rather, even when they can be identified as separate morphemes, each subject pronominal, together with the allomorph of the AVR with which it co-occurs, constitutes for the purposes of synchronic analysis a minimal contrastive unit (cf. 3.2.1). For these reasons, we discuss auxiliaries in terms of whole "subject-AVR sequences", rather than in terms of individual AVR and subject allomorphs. For these reasons, we discuss auxiliaries in terms of whole "subject-AVR sequences", rather than in terms of individual AVR and subject allomorphs. For these reasons, we discuss auxiliaries in terms of whole "subject-AVR sequences", rather than in terms of individual AVR and subject allomorphs. For these reasons, we discuss auxiliaries in terms of whole "subject-AVR sequences", rather than in terms of individual AVR and subject allomorphs.

The auxiliary, as outlined in 3.1, normally precedes the CVS. However, there are several verb classes which show an inverted ordering, and have a verb root occurring not immediately after, but rather, immediately before, the auxiliary. Transitive verbs which have this structure are the complex verb "want, like", formed with the root /sretje/ prepessed to the /rri/ auxiliary, as in (6-3), and complex verbs formed with the "do" auxiliary, as illustrated in (6-4). With the verb "want, like" the CVS consists solely of the initial complex verb root. In "do" complex verbs, however, the CVS is discontinuous, being made up of the initial root together with an incorporated body-part term in the normal post-auxiliary position. Root-initial structuring is obligatory for these verbs. (Semantic correlates for this anomalous ordering are considered in 6.4.)

6-3) sretje garr -inj -Ø marri ngindim -ini -wa
want 3sS R rri 2sO Pr word 2sSF do 3sG Fut
[Root]

He wants you(sg) - you should talk to him.
= He wants you(sg) to talk to him.

6-4) dim gingim -iwinj -sjangi -fini -ya
sink 1sS R do 3sG ear dl Pst
[Root] [-PBP-]

I forgot about them (2).

There are also two groups of verbs formed with the simple intransitive auxiliaries (i.e. "lie", "stand", "sit", "go", "go*" and "be hanging") which show this inverted structure. With these verbs, however, the inverted structure operates simply as an alternative option to the regular ordering. For example, ascriptive verbs formed with an adjectival root in combination with a simple intransitive auxiliary show free variation between the inverted and regular structure. (6-5.a) and (6-5.b) are thus fully equivalent in meaning.

6-5.a) nanggana -na ma -meri lerri guninj -Ø -a mitjin -nanga
before first CH man happy 3nsS R go pl Pst mission mission

The men (=people) used to be happy at the mission before.
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6-5.b) nanggana -na ma -meri gunij -lerri -Ø -ya mitjin -nanga before first CH man 3nsS R go happy pl Pst mission LOC

The men (=people) used to be happy at the mission before.

Note, however, that the inverted structure is not a possible alternative for transitive complex verbs formed with adjectival verb roots. The verb in (6-6.a), for example, which takes the formally transitive /l/ auxiliary, and employs the adjective /fesjirr/ "clean" as its verb root, is a standard construction, but the attempted inversion in (6-6.b) is unacceptable.

6-6.a) themberriduk fillinggi -fesjirr -Ø -wa road 3nsS Ir 1 clean pl Fut

tharr gapil -gin,"grader" gimminggi -Ø
ting big INS grader 3nsS R do Pr

They(pl) will clean up the road with that big thing, a "grader" they call it.

6-6.b) * themberriduk fesjirr fillinggi -Ø -wa road clean 3nsS Ir 1 pl Fut

There are also a number of verbs formed with the simple intransitive auxiliaries, common verbs of body or body-related action (e.g. "sit down", "lie down", "bathe", "laugh"), which are sporadically inverted, e.g.:

6-7) batj warri -Ø / gigin -nji -tji -Ø lie down 2sS Ir go Imp 3sS R claim 2sO tire Pr [Root]

(You(sg)) Lie down. You're tired.

6-8) gagan -nganan -a sjiput gangi -ya wudi-sradi ANAPH SCE Pst bathe 1sS R sit Pst water-back [Root] =billabong

After that I bathed in the billabong.

Preposing of the verb root with this group of verbs, however, is predominantly a conversational phenomenon, and speakers with whom I've discussed it have classified it as a substandard or colloquial usage.

A preposed verb root and the following auxiliary (together with the incorporated nominals and various suffixes which the auxiliary may then be attached to) constitute phonologically separate words. The root and auxiliary, however, remain tightly bonded together, and nothing may appear between them.

We can formally distinguish 22 auxiliaries in Marrithiyel. For most auxiliaries this formal differentiation lies in their having a unique set of subject-AVR sequences. These have been tabled in 3.2.2.
There are, however, two auxiliary pairs which are not differentiated at all through their subject-AVR sequences. One pair, the "go" and /n/ auxiliaries, are instead distinguished only in the form of the auxiliary-final subject-number marker which they select. This morpheme cross-references subject number as non-singular non-inclusive, and appears in the auxiliary only if no G or O coding is required. It takes the form /inj/ in formally intransitive auxiliaries, and /inggi/ in formally transitive auxiliaries (cf. 3.2.1.6, 3.2.3). "Go" is formally intransitive, and takes the /inj/ allomorph, while /n/ is formally transitive, selecting the /inggi/ form, e.g.:

\[\text{*-inggi}\]

6-9) guni -inj -mi -sjat -fini -ya  
3nsS R go nsnIS MI sit down dl Pst  

They(2) sat down with him.

\[\text{*-inj}\]

6-10) guni -inggi -futj -fini -ya  
3nsS R feet nsnIS hit,kick dl Pst  

They(2) kicked him.

Since /n/ is the "feet as instrument" auxiliary (cf. 6.2.2.3), and "going" can be thought of as an action prototypically performed with the feet, the formal relationship between the "go" and /n/ auxiliaries would appear to have a semantic basis; verbs formed with the /n/ auxiliary can be seen as constituting a special subset of two-argument "feet" actions which are formally marked, with /inggi/, as being relatively high in transitivity.

The other pair which share subject-AVR sequences are "heat" and /di/. The "heat" auxiliary (cf. 6.4) has a restricted paradigm consisting of just the two third singular subject forms, /gi-di/ (realis) and /gudi/ (irrealis). These are also the third singular subject-AVR sequences of the "fall" auxiliary. Thus compare (6-11) and (6-12) below:

\[6-11\]  
gudi -wil -a sjanjsji -nanga  
3sS Ir heat warm Pst fire LOC  

It should have become warm in the fire.

\[6-12\]  
gudi -njsjin -a fundi -nganan  
3sS Ir di fall Pst arm SCE  
=branch  

He could have fallen from the branch.
Unlike "go" and /n/, "heat" and /di/ cannot be distinguished through the markers of formal transitivity. While the /di/ auxiliary occurs in just the one complex verb, "fall", a single argument verb, encoding its undergoer-experiencer as subject, and would therefore be expected to class with the intransitive verbs, it is nevertheless formally transitive, selecting the /inggi/ subject number allomorph, e.g.:

6-13) ngidi -inggi -njsjn -Ø -a fundi -nganan
1ES Ir di nsnIS fall pl Pst arm SCE
=branch

We(exc,pl) could have fallen from the branch.

On the basis of its role coding (cf. 6.4), I class "heat" with the formally transitive auxiliaries. Note, however, that since "heat" only has singular subjects it can never take in final position the non-singular non-inclusive subject number morphemes which overtly mark the verb as formally transitive or formally intransitive. "Heat" can instead be formally differentiated from /di/ on the basis of its ability to function as a simple verb, that is, to appear, with the appropriate number and tense/mood suffixes, as a verb in its own right. /Di/ on the other hand, cannot be categorised as a simple auxiliary; /di/ must always appear with a co-occurring CVS. Thus (6-14) below, in which the "heat" auxiliary takes on a main verb function, is grammatical, whereas (6-15), an attempt to construct a simple verb from the /di/ auxiliary (that is, by applying number and tense suffixes to the second non-singular subject realis form), is meaningless.

6-14) gudi gasja -Ø
3sS Ir heat 3sS Ir stand Imp

Literally: Let it stand "heating" it.
= : Let it cook/boil etc.

6-15) * ginidi -fini -ya
2S R di dl Pst

Because they can be formally differentiated in this way, I represent these two as distinct auxiliaries, one simple and the other complex. I have not discovered any language-specific semantic connections between "heating" and "falling" which would motivate a revision of this representation. In addition, one can observe that since "fall" is a minor auxiliary, able to combine with only one CVS, its status as a separate auxiliary is not a crucial analytic issue.

It should be noted that there are also several auxiliaries, with no obvious semantic connections, which show close formal similarities.
"See", for example, differs from "fall" and /di/ only through the final /n/ of its predominant AVR allomorph. Similarly, /rr/ and /rri/ differ only in the consistent presence of a final /i/ in the singular and inclusive AVR allomorphs of the /rri/ auxiliary. And /nj/ and /nji/ have identical non-singular non-inclusive subject forms. In 6.4 below we consider some issues raised by these formal relationships. Again one should observe that both /rri/ and /nji/, like /di/, are minor auxiliaries, each occurring in only one complex verb, and the question of whether we represent them as separate auxiliaries in their own right or as sub-classes of /rr/ and /nj/, as possible semantic relations might allow, is not of great consequence 4.

Auxiliaries, then, constitute 22 formally distinct sets of obligatory verbal inflections. Marrithiyel, like the other languages of the Daly River region (cf. Birk (1976), Tryon (1974), Reid (in preparation)), is among the minority of Australian languages in which the attachment to verbs of these inflectional sets has some semantic basis (cf. Dixon, 1980, ch.12). I have described in 3.1, in distinguishing between simple and complex verbs, the two principal ways in which this semantic component of the auxiliary is manifested in Marrithiyel. Simple verbs are those in which the auxiliary has a main verb function; they have no complex verb stem, and consist minimally just of an auxiliary followed by the required number and tense/mood suffixes. 12 of the 22 auxiliaries, including all 5 formally intransitives, can form simple verbs; I refer to these as the "simple" auxiliaries. (6-14) above and the formally intransitive (6-16) below illustrate.

6-16) afen farrgi -inj -Ø -wa
where 3nsS Ir sit nsnIS pl Fut

Where will they(pl) be sitting ?

Complex verbs, on the other hand, have a main, or "complex", verb stem to which the auxiliary is juxtaposed. In complex verbs the auxiliary acts more as a classifier, providing a categorisation of the manner in which the verbal action is carried out. The complex verb of (6-17), for example, employs the same simple auxiliary, "sit", as (6-16) above; this auxiliary in (6-17) now specifies the subjects as being in a "sitting" posture throughout the performance of the action denoted by the CVS. At the same time it marks the verb as imperfective (cf. 4.2).
Maybe they(pl) won't listen (i.e. "sit listening") to you(sg).

Similarly, the complex verb of (6-18) is constructed with the simple auxiliary of (6-14), "heat", combined with the CVS /minjirr/ "crumple, collapse, crush". In this complex verb the role of the auxiliary is to denote "heat" as the means through which the undergoer is caused to "collapse". /Heat#minjirr/ thus means "to be incapacitated through exposure to the sun (or other heat source)". (Note that I analyse (6-18) as an impersonal verb; the issue of whether any specific subjects may be recovered for this auxiliary is taken up in 6.4.)

The heat from the sun could have knocked me out.

All 22 auxiliaries can form complex verbs. Those 10 which can only form complex verbs, that is, which cannot function independently as main verbs, I refer to as "complex" auxiliaries. All complex auxiliaries are formally transitive.

The AVR allomorphs, broad semantic functions, and interlinear glosses of the 22 auxiliaries have been listed in tables 3-1, 3-2 and 3-3. In order to clarify auxiliary categorisation, table 3-3 is repeated below, showing the labels I have adopted for the auxiliaries, and their division into simple/complex and formally intransitive/transitive classes. (Note that the "be hanging" and /di/ auxiliaries are starred as being intransitive auxiliaries which take an anomalous formally-transitive marking).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formally Intransitive</th>
<th>Formally Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;lie&quot;</td>
<td>* &quot;be hanging&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;stand&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;do&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;sit&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;see&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;go&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;claim&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;go*&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;paint&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;visit&quot;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>&quot;heat&quot;</td>
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<td>Simple</td>
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<tr>
<td>Complex</td>
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<tr>
<td>/Ø/</td>
<td>/1/</td>
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<tr>
<td>/rr/</td>
<td>/rr/i/</td>
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<tr>
<td>/nj/</td>
<td>/nji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>/njsjin/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/muri/</td>
<td>* /di/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Before proceeding to examine the semantic character of individual auxiliaries, in 6.2-4 below, there are some general points that need to be made about the nature of auxiliary verb classification. Firstly, while the simple verbs naturally provide considerable information about the semantic character of the 12 auxiliaries with which they can be formed, the simple verb meaning of an auxiliary is not necessarily carried over in any straightforward way to its classificatory complex verb role. The simple verb of (6-19), "see", and the complex verb of (6-20), "make (someone) sit down", for example, share the same auxiliary. It is not immediately clear, however, that "seeing" someone has anything to do with causing that person to "sit down", and without further evidence we would not expect to be able to postulate the simple perceptual verb as a component in the explication of the complex causative.

6-19) gidin -ngi -ya
3sS R see lsO Pst

*He saw me.*

6-20) gidin -ngi -sjat -a
3sS R see lsO sit down Pst

*He made me sit down.*

We cannot assume therefore that the same semantic explication will be appropriate for an auxiliary in both its simple and complex verb functions. The nature of the relation between the two is rather a matter for investigation after each is independently assessed.

Secondly, auxiliaries do not function to divide the set of CVSs into 22 semantically based, mutually exclusive classes. It is not the case, that is, that each CVS in the language selects one, and only one, auxiliary, and the auxiliary cannot generally be analysed as simply providing an overt morphological marking of some inherent semantic property of the CVS. On the whole it is more appropriate, rather, to view auxiliaries and CVSs as separate entities, with independent semantic characteristics which can be productively combined together. However, not all auxiliaries are fully productive in this respect, and it is necessary in fact to divide the auxiliaries into two groups, according to their ability to combine with CVSs. I refer to these groups as the "major" and "minor" auxiliaries; this division is shown in table 6-2.
There are 13 major auxiliaries: the five formally intransitives, and eight of the formally transitives. These are relatively unconstrained in their ability to attach to CVSs; they can, with semantically compatible CVSs, be productively interchanged, with broadly predictable consequences. The major (high) transitive auxiliaries are examined in 6.2, and the simple intransitives (i.e. the formally intransitives together with the "be hanging" auxiliary) in 6.3. The nine remaining minor auxiliaries, on the other hand, are those which are restricted in their ability to attach to CVSs, and for which productive inter-relationships cannot be identified. Six minor auxiliaries, "visit", /rr/, /n/, /nji/, /njsjin/, /muri/ and /di/, combine with only one CVS each. Three further minors, "do", "heat" and "claim", take a larger set of CVSs, up to a maximum of 15 in my present data for the "heat" auxiliary. These are discussed in 6.4.

CVSs, likewise, exhibit a range of abilities to co-occur with different auxiliaries. There are a number of CVSs which can combine with just one auxiliary. But these are in the minority, accounting for less than 10% of CVSs in my current corpus. A few of these are lexically restricted, and occur only in association with the minor auxiliaries. The other CVSs in this group, it would appear, do have some inherent semantic property that makes a combination with any other auxiliary impossible. One example of this is the CVS /mel/. This CVS itself can be attributed with a specific perceptual meaning, viz. "watch, stare". This inbuilt perceptual component determines that /mel/ may only take the "see" auxiliary (cf. 6.2), and that combinations with other auxiliaries are semantically implausible; it
would be inconceivable, for example, for /mel/ to co-occur with the /rr/ auxiliary, resulting in a nonsensical meaning of "stare, watch (with one's hands)", or with the Ø auxiliary, which would produce a verb with a meaning such as "stare, watch (with one's mouth)".

The majority of CVSs, however, are not like /mel/, and do not have specific semantic characteristics which prevent them from taking more than one auxiliary. Most CVSs are clearly able to co-occur, in the sense of forming common or readily accepted and understood verbs, with at least several auxiliaries. Further, for most CVSs there exist creative possibilities for combination with (major) auxiliaries with which they are not usually found. That is, in between the common and semantically implausible auxiliary-CVS combinations there is a middle area: combinations which, while unusual, are nonetheless semantically possible, and may be put together by speakers, perhaps as motivated by unusual circumstances, or perhaps simply through a desire to exploit the creative resources of the language. The CVS /kurr/ "hit, kill (unitary)", for example, commonly occurs, as we shall see in 6.2 below, with most of the major transitive auxiliaries. The choice of auxiliary here determines the particular instrumental reading of the verb, e.g.:

6-21) gil -ing -kurr -a
    3sS R l lsO hit,kill Pst

   He hit me (e.g. with a rock).

6-22) ginj -ing -kurr -a
    3sS R nj lsO hit,kill Pst

   He hit me (e.g. with a stick).

While /l#kurr/ and /nj#kurr/ are frequently used verbs, the combination of this CVS with the Ø auxiliary, /Ø#kurr/, which would mean "hit, kill (with one's mouth)", is not. But given the appropriate context, as interpreted by a linguistically resourceful speaker, the combination can be employed:

6-23) ngidinj -ma -miri -fini -wa /
    1ES Ir see belly eye dl Fut
    RECIP

    masri gumu -ing -it -wa /
    belly 3sS Ir paint lsO pick up Fut
The use of rare or exotic auxiliary-CVS combinations, such as /0#kurr/ above, is one of the features through which the inventiveness and linguistic richness of narrators is judged by their Marrithiyel audiences. Listeners often remark on such combinations, discussing their legitimacy and range of possible meanings. And when presented with strange combinations, as in elicitation sessions and general discussions of the language, my principal informants will often seek for a possible context, or sometimes a less literal interpretation, that will make sense of them. Such behaviour is supportive of the view of the auxiliary and the CVS as each having a semantic integrity, that is, as having some sort of psychological reality for speakers of the language as distinct semantic units.

6.2. The Major Transitive Auxiliaries
6.2.1. Simple Verb Functions

Only two of the major formally transitive auxiliaries, "see" and "paint", form simple verbs, as outlined below. The question of the relationship between the simple and complex verb functions of these auxiliaries is considered in 6.2.2.

(a) "see": As a simple verb, "see" has two principal meanings, as marked through differing auxiliary-coded syntactic frames. With a canonical transitive frame this simple verb has a straight-forward visual perceptual sense, i.e. it simply means "to see (something)". It takes agent-subjects, to whom /gin/ ergative suffixing may be applied (2.3), and its undergoers (i.e. the entities which are "seen"), which as NPs have no overt case marking, are eligible for coding with auxiliary final O forms, e.g.:

6-24) nanj ngidin -nji -ya yigin -gin / ganngi -ya werri -nanga
2sPRO 1sS R see 2sO Pst 1sPRO ERG 2sS R sit Pst grass LOC

I saw you(sg). You were sitting in the grass.

In Marrithiyel, as in English, the use of the verb "see", with human objects, may carry implications of social interaction. That is, one may talk of "seeing a relative", "seeing a doctor" etc. to describe
not only the act of perception but to suggest that conversation subsequently took place. This involves no change in syntactic frame:

6-25) nitjingani wadi -Ø fiyi gapil wadi -wa

You(sg) should see (i.e. so as to talk to) the boss in the morning.

G pronominals, however, may instead be suffixed to the auxiliary; with this frame the meaning of the simple verb is changed from "see (something)" to "(go to) see (if someone (or some other higher animate) is present)". This variation of meaning is signalled only through the change in auxiliary final morphology; the verb continues to take agent-subjects, and no overt case marking is available for the NP cross-referenced by the G pronominal. Thus compare the first clause of (6-26) with the first clause of (6-24). Note also how in (6-26) "see" takes its two different simple verb meanings in consecutive clauses.

6-26) nanj ngidin -mbi -ya yigin -gin / 2sPRO 1sS R see 2sG Pst 1sPRO ERG

I went to see if you(sg) were there. But no, I didn't see you.

This simple verb can only be used of seeing whether higher animates, rather than other types of entities, are present in a particular place. That is, it sub-categorizes strictly for higher animate Gs, which are obligatorily cross-referenced in the auxiliary. This prevents ambiguity in examples such as (6-27). /Murrika/ "car", the non higher-animate undergoer NP of (6-27), can only be understood as the direct object of the simple verb "see", not as occupying a non cross-referenced G role⁵, e.g.:

6-27) murrika gudin -nggi -Ø -ya car 3nsS R see nsnIS pl Pst

They(pl) saw the car.

NOT They(pl) went to see if the car was there.

Note that "see" is one of the few verbs in the language for which the variation from an A-Ø to an A-G syntactic frame is semantically significant in this way.
In both its simple verb functions "see" is aspectually neutral, and may optionally take serialised intransitives (cf. 4.2):

6-28) nanj ngidin -mbi gunga -ya /
2sPRO 1sS R see 2sG 1sS R stand Pst

duknganan gumuyi -ya
policeman 3sS R visit Pst

(While) I was (standing) seeing if you (sg) were there, the policeman arrived.

(b) "paint": The simple verb formed with this auxiliary has the meanings "paint, draw, write". It denotes the traditional activities of burning patterns onto a message board (using a smouldering stick), drawing in the sand or dirt, and ceremonial (body, artefact, rock wall etc.) painting, executed with the fingers, sticks or similar instruments dipped into ochre:

6-29) gagan -nganan miti ngumbumun -di -nim -Ø -wa wangga -wë
ANAPH SCE dotted 1IS Ir paint 3nsØ I pl pl Fut men's dance PUF style

After that we-inc(pl) will paint them(pl) up dotted style, for the (men's) dance.

This simple verb is now also used of modern European style writing, as performed with a pen or pencil.

6-30) guguk, nidin nginjesji -da ngelfu gumun gusri -Ø /
wait country one again many 3sS R paint 3sS R sit Pr

3sS Ir paint finish Imp

Hang on, he's writing down many different (names of) countries. Let him finish.

"Paint" is a regular A-O transitive verb, and, like "see" is aspectually neutral, having both perfective (as in (6-29)) and imperfective (as in the serialised (6-30)) forms.

6.2.2. Complex Verb Functions
6.2.2.1. Instrumental Character and Domain

In complex verbs the role of the seven major transitive auxiliaries is to classify the verb according to the means by which the agent makes contact with, or addresses him- or herself towards, the undergoer. They can be viewed as essentially instrumental in character, contributing to the verb some specification as to the nature of the implement through which the undergoer is manipulated or affected. Three of these auxiliaries, Ø, /rr/, /n/, and, to a degree,
a fourth, "see", can be regarded as basically body-part instrument classifiers. The remaining three, /l/, /nj/ and "paint", are wider in scope; they apply to all manner of instruments, classifying their relative dimensions in their orientation towards the undergoer. They are, however, also associated with a set of typical body part instruments. In a broad sense, then, the major transitive auxiliaries, in their capacity to encode in the verb information about body parts of agents, constitute for transitive subjects a type of functional equivalent to the undergoer oriented processes of classificatory body part incorporation (cf. Ch. 5).

CVSs in Marrithiyel can be designated as either transitive or neutral; the neutral class consists of single argument, including adjectival, verb stems, as well as two-argument stems having a low transitivity value. Subject to the requirements of semantic plausibility, as discussed in 6.1 above, the major transitive auxiliaries can be productively applied to transitive CVSs, resulting in standard transitive verbs, and to single argument neutral CVSs, resulting in causative readings. (6-31) below, with the neutral (adjectival) verb root /sjatma/ "straight" in combination with the /rr/ and /n/ auxiliaries, illustrates this causative function.

(6-31)  
\[ sjanjsji -nganan -wa arri -sjatma -Ø / fire SCE Fut 2sS Ir rr straight Imp \]  
\[ e warri -sjatma -Ø and 2sS Ir n straight Imp \]  

After (the bamboo has been in) the fire, (you(sg)) straighten it with your hands, and straighten it with your feet.

However, the transitive auxiliaries cannot be applied to those neutral stems which are specified for two arguments; that is, the major transitives are not used productively to derive ditransitives or higher causatives from neutral stems. Thus (6-32) below, which attempts to combine the two-argument neutral stem /mutjing/, "listen", with the "see" auxiliary is ungrammatical. In contrast, (6-33), which applies the "see" auxiliary to the single argument neutral stem /asru/, "laugh", is a regular causative construction.

(6-32)  *  
\[ ngidin -mutjing -a lsS R see listen Pst \]  
(6-33)  
\[ ngidin -asru -ya lsS R see laugh Pst \]  

I made him laugh.
(6-34) below illustrates the differing semantic consequences of combining each of the major transitive auxiliaries with the CVS /git/, to which we can attribute a core meaning of "cut, sever (unitary)". Each of (6-34.a–g) requires a different understanding as to the means by which the action is performed.

6-34.a) with "paint" auxiliary

ngumun -git -a a -sramu -wa
1s$ R paint cut, sever Pst CA long-neck PURP
turtle

I poked (in the mud) for long-neck turtle (e.g. with a digging-stick).

6-34.b) with /nj/ auxiliary

a -muwa -nganan a -yililki ngingj -git -a
CA bone SCE CA cut of meat 1s$ R nj cut, sever Pst

I cut a slice of meat from the bone (e.g. with a knife).

6-34.c) with /l/ auxiliary

ngil -git -manthi -ya a -fureng
1s$ R l cut, sever neck Pst CA wallaby

I cut off the wallaby's neck (e.g. with an axe).

6-34.d) with Ø auxiliary

ngl -git -a awu
1s$ R Ø cut, sever Pst meat

I cut some meat off with my mouth (i.e. I bit off some meat).

6-34.e) with /rr/ auxiliary

awu a -wyanjml ngrir -git -a
meat CA cooked 1s$ R rr cut, sever Pst

I broke off some cooked meat with my hands.

6-34.f) with /n/ auxiliary

fundi thawurr nging -git -a
arm tree 1s$ R n cut, sever Pst =branch

I broke off the branch of the tree (with my feet).

6-34.g) with "see" auxiliary

meri ngidin -git -a
man 1s$ R see cut, sever Pst

I let the man go off in the canoe.

(6-35) shows a similar series of applications, this time with the verb root /gurr/ "hit, kill [unitary]" co-occurring with five of the major transitive auxiliaries. The verbs in (6-35.a)–(e) are accompanied by specific instrumental NPs.
6-35.a) with "paint" auxiliary

\[ \text{gumun -ngi -kurr -a fipen -gin} \]

3sS R paint 1sO hit,kill Pst elbow INS

He hit me with his elbow.

6-35.b) with /nj/ auxiliary

\[ \text{ginj -ing -kurr -a sjandi -gin} \]

3sS R nj 1sO hit,kill Pst spear INS

He hit me with (the side, shaft of) a spear.

6-35.c) with /1/ auxiliary

\[ \text{gil -ing -kurr -a garrila -gin} \]

3sS R l 1sO hit,kill Pst rock INS

He hit me with a rock.

6-35.d) with /rr/ auxiliary

\[ \text{garr -ing -kurr -a muri -gin} \]

3sS R rr 1sO hit,kill Pst hand INS

He hit me with his hands (e.g. with palms of hands and outstretched fingers, in pushing type motion).

6-35.e) with /n/ auxiliary

\[ \text{gan -ing -kurr -a ferri -gin} \]

3sS R feet 1sO hit,kill Pst feet INS

He hit me with his feet (i.e. jabbed me with his feet).

Note that in (6-35.a-c) the instrumental NPs largely determine auxiliary choice. The instrumental NP of (6-35.c), for example, simply cannot co-occur with the verb of (6-35.b), since it is incompatible with the instrumental classification provided by (6-35.b)'s /nj/ auxiliary. The same applies to the instrumental NP of (6-35.a), e.g.:

6-36.a) * \[ \text{ginj -ing -kurr -a garrila -gin} \]

3sS R nj 1sO hit,kill Pst rock INS

6-36.b) * \[ \text{ginj -ing -kurr -a fipen -gin} \]

3sS R nj 1sO hit,kill Pst elbow INS

On the other hand, the instrumental NP of (6-35.b) can co-occur with the verb of (6-35.a). However, it is now the end, rather than the side, of the instrument which is viewed as effecting the action.

6-37) \[ \text{gumun -ngi -kurr -a sjandi -gin} \]

3sS R paint 1sO hit,kill Pst spear INS

He hit me with the end (i.e. butt or point) of a spear.

We shall now consider individually the complex verb functions of each of the major transitive auxiliaries.
6.2.2.2. "Paint", /nj/ and /l/

(a) "**paint**": "Paint" complex verbs can be divided, on semantic grounds, into two main groups. The first group we shall look at consists of those verbs denoting actions which are understood as effected instrumentally. For these verbs classification by the "paint" auxiliary carries a concept of the instrument as "elongated". By "elongated" I mean that these instruments are thought of as comparatively long and thin, and as having no salient broad or extended surfaces; that is, they either simply do not possess such surfaces, or, if they do, have no significant contact with the undergoer at them. Typical instruments of such verbs are spears, sticks, poles and knives. Similarly, body parts typically employed in these verbs are the arms, forearms, the legs, the penis and the body itself (i.e. conceptualised as a whole elongated entity). Provided the instrument can be thought of as essentially elongated, the actual shape of its ends, whether they be pointed, blunt, rounded, barbed etc., is irrelevant.

Both the "paint" and /nj/ auxiliaries are associated with the conceptualisation of instruments as "elongated", and differ in this respect from the /l/ auxiliary, which is concerned instead with "broad" instruments, that is, those conceived of as having significant surface extension (see 6.2.2.(c) below). "Paint" complex verbs, however, are distinguished from those constructed with /nj/ by the salience of the end, as opposed to the length or shaft, of the instrument. There are a number of ways in which such end salience may be achieved. Typically it is through the instrument being handled so that one of its end points or faces is directed towards, and makes first contact with, the undergoer. Consequently, in citing "spears" and "knives", for example, as typical instruments of "paint" complex verbs, we need also to specify that they are understood as used in a thrusting or stabbing, rather than in a swinging or chopping, fashion; their points (typically, although their butt ends are also encompassed by "paint" classification), rather than their shafts or blades, are the parts of the instrument making the significant contact with the undergoer.

(6-34.a) above presents one such "paint" complex verb, /paint#git/. In association with the specific purposive NP given in (6-34.a), /paint#git/ takes on a specialized meaning, "to poke (i.e. 'cut the ground') (e.g. for turtle, lizards)"; "ground" or "mud"
(/fillak/) is the understood object, and "(digging) stick" (/yeli/) the understood instrument. In this context the verb denotes the action of thrusting the sharpened end of the stick into the ground. Without the type of purposive NP illustrated in (6-34.a), /paint#git/ has a more general sense of "cut/sever (with the end of an elongated instrument)". This is illustrated in (6-38), which has /sjandi/ "spear" as its instrumental NP:

6-38) sjandi gumun -git -tharrma -ya a -guwan spear 3sS R paint cut,sever in body of Pst CA snake

He severed the body of the snake with a spear (i.e. by throwing, thrusting it).

If the cutting action described in (6-38) was to be performed with a non-elongated instrument, "paint" would no longer be the appropriate classifying auxiliary for this CVS. For example, carrying out the action with a traditional axe would have to be described using the /l/, rather than the "paint", auxiliary. With such an instrument directionality is unimportant; regardless of whether the axe is used in its normal chopping manner, or instead thrust by its handle so that its upper surface is its leading edge (i.e. in the directional manner of "paint" complex verbs), the conceptualisation of the axe head as "broad" rather than "elongated" determines that /l/ is the only auxiliary choice. Thus contrast (6-39) and (6-40):

6-39) malawurr gil -git -tharrma -ya a -guwan axe 3sS R l cut,sever in body of Pst CA snake

He severed the body of the snake with an axe.

6-40) * malawurr gumun -git -tharrma -ya a -guwan axe 3sS R paint cut,sever in body of Pst CA snake

Equally, if the cutting action of (6-38) was performed with an instrument in the "elongated" class, but in a side-on chopping, rather than an end-on jabbing, manner, the "paint" auxiliary could again not be used. In this case the /nj/ auxiliary (cf. (b) below) would instead be appropriate. (6-41) and (6-42), for example, both have the "elongated" class member, /guba/ "crowbar", as their instruments, but take different auxiliaries according to the way in which the instrument is oriented towards the undergoer, e.g.:

6-41) guba gumun -git -manthi -ya a -guwan crowbar 3sS R paint cut,sever neck Pst CA snake

He severed the neck of the snake with a crowbar (i.e. by jabbing, thrusting the crowbar chiselled-end first).
6-42) thawurr -gin -git -tharrma -ya guba -gin
    stick 3sS R nj cut, sever in body of Pst crowbar INS

    He cut the stick into two pieces with a crowbar
    (i.e. by swinging the crowbar onto it).

These properties shown by /paint#git/, in respect of the shape
and directionality permitted of its instruments, can readily be
demonstrated to be shared by a large group of "paint" classified verbs
denoting various types of jabbing, thrusting, poking, chiselling etc.
actions. (6-43.a) and (6-43.b), for example, contrast in the same way
as (6-38) and (6-39) above. The instrument of (6-43.a) is in the
"elongated" class, and does allow for the verb to be formed with the
"paint" auxiliary; the instrument of (6-43.b), however, is viewed as
non-elongated, and does not permit "paint" classification of the verb.
(6-44.a) and (6-44.b), on the other hand, do both have elongated
instruments; but, as is the case with (6-41) and (6-42), their
differing auxiliary choice is determined by the contrasting
instrument-to-undergoer orientation.

6-43.a) thawurr -gin gumun -thung -lambu -ya tharr murrika
    stick ERG 3sS R paint make hole side Pst thing car
in
    The stick punctured the car's "side" (=tyre)

6-43.b) gil -inj -thung -fiyi -ya yeri misjamba -gin
    3sS R l 2sO make hole head Pst club heavy-ended INS
    in
    GEN club

    He "made a hole in your head" (i.e. "smashed your head in"
with a heavy-ended club.

6-44.a) sjandi girrimunj -thiri -fini -ya
    spear 1ES R paint strike at dl Pst
    RECIP

    We(exc., 2) had a shot at each other with spears
    (i.e. by throwing them in the normal way, jabbing,
thrusting with them etc.).

6-44.b) yeli batbat gunj -inj -thiri -fini -ya
    stick digging 3nsS R nj RECIP strike at dl Pst
    muku guniguni -gin
    woman old woman ERG

    The two old women had a swipe at each other
    with their digging sticks (i.e. by swinging them).

These properties are also shared by those "paint" complex verbs
whose action is effected with body parts rather than with separate
instruments. The arms, forearms, legs, penis, and whole body, as I
have stated above, can all be classed as "elongated" instruments, but
in order to be eligible for description with a "paint" rather than
/nj/ classified verb, the actions which they perform must involve their ends, rather than their lengths, being directed towards the undergoer. (6-35.a) above, which has /fipen/ "elbow" as its instrument, and which denotes the action of jabbing with this end of the forearm, is one example of this orientation. The "paint" classified verb of (6-35.a) can in fact take a variety of instruments. (6-45), for example, with /fundi manthi/ "forearm" (literally, "arm neck"), as its instrument, is a more general form of (6-35.a); it denotes a jabbing motion with the forearm, either end of which (i.e. the hand or the elbow) could be interpreted as directed towards the patient.

6-45) gumun -ngi -kurr -a fundi manthi -gin
3sS R paint 1sO hit,kill Pst arm neck INS
=forearm

He hit me with his forearm
(i.e. in a jabbing motion, with either the elbow or the hand).

However, (6-45) could not be understood as involving a lateral blow with the forearm. Contact with the patient along the length of the forearm would instead have to be described with the /nj/ auxiliary, as in (6-46).

6-46) ginj -ing -kurr -a fundi manthi -gin
3sS R nj 1sO hit,kill Pst arm neck INS
=forearm

He hit me with his forearm (i.e. in a lateral motion).

The verb of (6-35.a) could also take /ngani/ "body" as its instrument, as in (6-47). Like (6-45), (6-47) is interpreted as describing a jabbing action in which either end of the elongated instrument, that is, in this case either the head or the feet, is directed towards the undergoer. (Note that the unmarked interpretation of (6-47) would be of the head as the instrument, since the use of the feet in the action would normally be described with the /n/ auxiliary (cf. 6.2.2.3 below)). Note also that the concept of the body as an elongated instrument is unaffected by whether the body has to bend or be contracted in some way in order to perform this action).

6-47) gumun -ngi -kurr -a ngani -gin
3sS R paint 1sO hit,kill Pst body INS

He hit me with his body
(i.e. in a jabbing motion, with either the head or the feet).

(6-47), however, is not appropriate where the side of the agent's body is the part employed in the action. A blow or bump executed with the hip and the shoulders instead takes /nj/ classification:
6-48) ginj -ing -kurr -a ngani -gin
3sS R nj 1sO hit, kill Pst body INS

He hit me with his body
(i.e. side on, with the hip and shoulders).

Consequently, the verb of (6-48), but not that of (6-47), can take the body-part /demi/ "side" as its instrument:

6-49.a) ginj -ing -kurr -a demi -gin
3sS R nj 1sO hit, kill Pst side INS

He hit me with the side (of his body).

6-49.b) * gumun -ngi -kurr -a demi -gin
3sS R paint 1sO hit, kill Pst side INS

In addition, (6-47) can not be used of a blow or bump executed with the agent's chest or back, since these two body parts belong in the "broad" (i.e. "extended surface") instrument category. Performing the action with either of these two body parts can be expressed as in (6-50.a), retaining /ngani/ "body" as the instrument, but replacing the "paint" with the /l/ auxiliary; the use of the /l/ auxiliary brings about a concept of the instrument as now having salient broad surface contact with the undergoer. However, while (6-50.a), creating an alternative categorisation of /ngani/, is certainly possible, it is not a common variant. Marrithiyel people prefer to maintain /ngani/ in the "elongated" class, and (6-50.a) would normally be expressed, as in (6-50.b), with a more specific instrumental NP.

6-50.a) gil -ing -kurr -a ngani -gin
3sS R l 1sO hit, kill Pst body INS

He hit me with his body
(e.g. bumped me with his chest, backed into me).

6-50.b) gil -ing -kurr -a masri -gin
3sS R l 1sO hit, kill Pst belly INS

He hit me with his "belly" (i.e. bumped me with his chest).

While the majority of instrumental "paint" complex verbs are of the thrusting action type, there are a number of verbs for which the end salience required for "paint" classification is achieved differently. There are a few verbs, for example, in which the typical directionality of the "paint" class is simply reversed. This is illustrated in (6-51), with the verb /paint#madil/ "lift (e.g. with extended arms)".
Further, there are other verbs for which instrumental end salience is derived through the action being effected at the end of the shaft of an elongated instrument, rather than specifically at its end point or face. Achievement of end salience in this way appears to require some physical or functional differentiation of the end region of the shaft. This is illustrated in the second clause of (6-52) below, where the verb of (6-51) is employed, but where the instrument is now understood to be used as a lever:

6-52) murrika guari -git -thiyerr -njsjan -Ø / car 3sS R sit cut, sever lips now Pr
ngumbumun -madil -nim -wa guba malika -gin
1IS Ir paint lift I pl Fut crowbar long INS

The car is bogged (i.e. its front is "cut off") now. We(inc, pl) will lift it (i.e. lever it up) with the long crowbars.

"Paint" classification is only possible here because the levering action functionally distinguishes the end of the instrument. If the lifting instead involves contact along the length of the instrument, then the /nj/ auxiliary must be used. Thus contrast the /nj/ auxiliary attachment of the CVS /madil/ in the last clause of (6-53) with that of (6-52):

6-53) a -gagan wudit ngirimun'gi -madil -Ø -a
CA ANAPH heavy 1ES Ir paint lift pl Pst
nadi -Ø defen / fundi thawurr girringgi -fufup -Ø -a /
1E PRO pl only arm tree 1ES Ir Ø put down dl Pst REDUP

e awu girrigin'gi -tjerr -Ø -a/
and meat 1ES R claim drag pl Pst
gati -njsjan nada girrinjinggi -madil -Ø -a
good then O.K. 1ES R nj lift pl Pst

The animal was too heavy for just us(exc, pl) to lift up (by hand). So we put some branches down, and dragged the meat (i.e. the animal) onto them. Alright, it was good then, we lifted it up (with the branches).

Equally, if the end of the shaft of the instrument were to be employed, but could not be functionally distinguished, the /nj/ auxiliary would again be required. Thus contrast the classification, with /nj/, of the direct lifting action of (6-54) with the "paint" classification of the levering action of (6-52). In a levering
action, presumably, the lifting end is differentiated through its moving in an opposite direction to the rest of the shaft. This is not the case in a direct lifting action, where the shaft and lifting end of the instrument move in the same direction and are therefore thought of as essentially a single unit:

6-54) a -madi a -gapil gumun -bung -a sjandi gagan -gin / CA barramundi CA big 3sS R paint stab Pst spear ANAPH INS

sjandi gagan, sjandi "fibreglass" wurra,
spear ANAPH spear fibreglass CONF

ginj -madil -a wudi -nganan
3sS R nj lift Pst water SCE

He stabbed the big barramundi with the spear.
With that spear - a fibreglass one, you know - he lifted (the barramundi) up right out of the water.

Another example of this type of end salience can be seen in the possibility of classifying "slap" as a "paint" auxiliary complex verb. This verb is structured with the CVS /kurr/ "hit, kill (unitary)" (cf. examples (6-35) and (6-45)-(6-50) above) and takes /muri/ "hand" as its instrument, as in (6-55) below. Note that (6-55) has two readings. It can be understood as denoting either "slapping", or a more typical "paint" classified action, i.e. one in which the hand is jabbed or thrust towards the victim. "Slapping" appears to be the unmarked reading, perhaps because it is the more common action.

6-55) gumun -ngi -kurr -a muri -gin
3sS R paint lso hit, kill Pst hand INS

He slapped me with his hand.
OR He hit me with his hand (in a jabbing motion).

The combination of this "paint" classified verb with this particular instrumental NP results in a focus on the hand as the end of an elongated instrumental body part. (6-55) describes a slapping action viewed as a lateral movement of the forearm or whole arm. While lateral movements of this type are normally structured as /nj/ complex verbs, it is the salience of the end of the body part, together with the functional and physical differentiation of the hand from the rest of the arm, that would appear to account for the classing of this action with the "paint" auxiliary. This conceptual differentiation of the end of the instrument is an important criterion; if the hitting action of (6-55) was instead performed with the hand turned on the side (so that the edge, rather than the palm or back, of the hand made
the principal contact with the undergoer) the /nj/ auxiliary would be preferred. Thus (6-56.a) is appropriate, while (6-56.b) is marginal.

6-56.a) ginj -ing -kurr -a muri demi-gin
3sS R nj 1sO hit, kill Pst hand side INS

He hit me with the side of his hand (in a lateral motion).

6-56.b) ?? gumun -ngi -kurr -a muri demi-gin
3sS R paint 1sO hit, kill Pst hand side INS

He hit me with the side of his hand.

The apparent reason for this classification is that the side of the hand is thought of as forming a continuous edge with the rest of the arm; hitting in this manner is not therefore classed as functionally different from hitting along the length of the forearm.

There is one further way in which the end salience required for "paint" classification may be achieved. This can be illustrated with the CVS /git/ "cut, sever (unitary)", which we have looked at in (6-34) and (6-38)-(6-42) above. In (6-34.b) above, and in a similar example, (6-57) below, /git/ is classified with the /nj/ auxiliary.

6-57) a -ngaliya nginj -git -yerri -ya marrimarri -gin
CA small lizard 1sS R nj cut, sever tail Pst knife INS

I cut off the lizard's tail with a knife (in a slicing motion).

If the object of (6-57), however, is replaced with something like /ganbi/ "bamboo" or /a-wetjuwurang/ "red kangaroo", /nj/ classification is rejected by informants, and the "paint" auxiliary is instead prefixed to the verb root.

6-58.a) * ganbi nginj -git -tharrma -ya marrimarri -gin
bamboo 1sS R nj cut, sever in body of Pst knife INS

6-58.b) ganbi ngumun -git -tharrma -ya marrimarri -gin
bamboo 1sS R paint cut, sever in body of Pst knife INS

I cut the bamboo into two pieces with a knife.

6-59.a) * a -wetjuwurang nginj -git -yerri -ya marrimarri -gin
CA red kangaroo 1sS R nj cut, sever tail Pst knife INS

6-59.b) a -wetjuwurang ngumun -git -yerri -ya marrimarri -gin
CA red kangaroo 1sS R paint cut, sever tail Pst knife INS

I cut off the kangaroo's tail with a knife.

The different classification of (6-57) and (6-58.b)-(6-59.b) derives from the impossibility (in normal circumstances) of slicing bamboo or a comparatively large and tough object such as a kangaroo's tail with a simple downward motion of the knife, as is the case in (6-34.b) or
Informants account for the difference in auxiliary attachment by pointing to the need, in cases such as (6-58) and (6-59), for pushing the knife backwards and forwards as well as downwards. That is, what they seem to be doing is differentiating (6-58.b) and (6-59.b) as essentially sawing rather than slicing actions. It does not appear to matter that it is the blade, and not the point, of the instrument that is chiefly responsible for actually making the cut. In fact, the knife point is not necessarily in contact at all with the undergoer. It is rather the end salience, deriving from the necessary end-directed thrusting of the knife, which determines classification by the "paint" auxiliary here.

There is one important set of "paint" complex verbs which need to be mentioned in this respect. These are verbs of sexual intercourse, many of which are impolite. The verb "to fuck", for example, is formed with the CVS /bap/ and the "paint" auxiliary.

6-60) nitji -sran yibi -njesja ginimun -bap ginifel -a
night ALL there now 2sS R paint fuck 2sS R lie Pst
You(sg) were lying there fucking her through the night.

Verbs such as (6-60), in terms of the shape and directionality of the understood body part instrument (i.e. the penis), clearly fulfill all the requirements for "paint" classification, and can be thought of, in terms of their manner of performance, as classing with "paint" complex verbs involving sawing type actions, as in (6-58.b) and (6-59.b). The necessary association with the penis as instrument for this verb is shown by its inability to take female subjects, e.g.:

6-61) * nitji -sran muku (-gin) gumun -bap gaful -a
night ALL woman ERG 3sS R paint fuck 3sS R lie Pst

The prominence of sexual intercourse as typifying "paint" complex verbs is demonstrated by the tendency for informants to give a sexual interpretation to less specific verbs formed with the "paint" auxiliary. The verb of (6-62), for example, has a general causative meaning of "give someone a headache (through a "paint" classified activity)". The unmarked interpretation, however, which is made by both men and women, is of sexual activity as the cause.

6-62) ngumun -ngin -lung -miri -ya
1sS R paint 1sG strike eye Pst
=cause headache

I gave myself a headache through sexual activity.
OR I gave myself a headache through sawing something.
OR I gave myself a headache through painting, etc.
Before we look at the second main group of "paint" complex verbs, some comments on the nature of instrumental/body-part auxiliary classification are in order. Firstly, the division of instruments into "elongated" and "broad" categories is one which is revealed only through auxiliary behaviour; it is deduced from the appropriateness of "paint", /nj/ and /l/ verbs with particular instruments used in particular ways, and is not borne out elsewhere in the lexicon. Secondly, the categorisation of any one instrument as "elongated" or "broad" is partly a matter of inherent physical properties and partly a matter of which section of the instrument is viewed as relevant. Sticks and crowbars, for example, are inherently elongated; they are seen as simply not possessing any broad surfaces, and do not appear as instruments of /l/ complex verbs. Rocks and axes, on the other hand, do appear as instruments of /l/ complex verbs, but not normally as instruments of verbs formed with the "paint" and /nj/ auxiliaries. This indicates that they are thought of as inherently broad; that is, they are viewed as necessarily having extended surfaces through which the action is transmitted, and cannot be seen as elongated in general shape. In between these extremes are entities for which either an elongated or broad instrumental conceptualisation is possible. This has been illustrated in the treatment of /ngani/ "body" in (6-47)-(6-50) above. As shown in those examples, /ngani/ is conventionally regarded as elongated; broad body surfaces, such as the back and chest, however, may be marked as instrumentally salient by the /l/ auxiliary. Another example is /gunjsjungunj/ "boomerang", which may appear as an instrument of the "paint", /nj/ or /l/ auxiliaries, according to whether its ends, edges, or flat surfaces respectively are seen as making the significant contact.

The second group of "paint" complex verbs for which some semantic invariant can be identified consists of verbs which have no specific instrumental construct, but rather denote actions which are rhythmic or cyclic in nature. I have not as yet found any evidence to suggest that the verbs of this group should be attributed with any "elongated" instrument construct or "end" salience, even at a metaphorical level, and it remains for further investigation to determine whether they are in fact semantically related to the instrumental "paint" group. Only a few of these verbs are formed with recoverable subjects. Compare, for example, (6-63.a) and (6-63.b). (6-63.a), with the /rr/ auxiliary, denotes the action of putting someone (typically a child) to sleep.
"with the hands", i.e. by rubbing, patting, hugging etc. (6-63.b) is less specific in meaning. The action can be understood as performed in any regular rhythmic fashion; this includes rocking up and down, rocking back and forth, rubbing rhythmically and, in particular, music.

6-63.a) angga  gurr  -mu -puding -wa  yeri sjapatj  
grandfather  3sS  Ir  rr  MU  sleepy  Fut  child small

Grandfather will put the baby to sleep
(i.e. with his hands, by rubbing, hugging it etc.).

6-63.b) angga  gum  -mu -puding -wa  yeri sjapatj  
grandfather  3sS  Ir  paint  MU  sleepy  Fut  child small

Grandfather will put the baby to sleep
(e.g. by rocking it, through music etc.).

The majority of non-instrumental cyclic "paint" verbs, however, do not have recoverable subjects, but are instead structured as impersonals. (6-64)-(6-66) provide typical examples of a group of verbs denoting bodily processes of a recurrent or cyclic nature which are constructed with the "paint" auxiliary.

6-64) gumun  -ngi -da  -ya  
3sS  R  paint  1sO  be  itchy  Pst

thawurr  gagan  ngirr  -du  -nganan -a  
tree  ANAPH  1sS  R  rr  touch  SCE  Pst

It made me itchy (i.e. I got itchy) from touching that tree.

6-65) gumun  -nji  -yirr  -manthi -Ø  
3sS  R  paint  2sO  scratch  neck  Pr

Literally: Is it scratching your throat ?

=  : Have you(sg) got a tickle/irritation in your throat?

6-66) derafu  gangi  -kudak -Ø / gumun  -ngi  -mayit -fang  
slow  1sS  R  sit  drink  Pr  3sS  R  paint  1sO  cause  APP  
hiccups

I'm drinking slowly, to avoid getting hiccups.

Note that in these examples the sense of repetitiveness is encoded in the auxiliary itself, and verb root reduplication, which is otherwise required to mark iteration (cf. 4.5), is not obligatory.

What is the relationship, we may then ask, between the complex and simple verb functions of the "paint" auxiliary ? In attempting to deal with this question one could perhaps first observe that the semantic character of the simple verb "paint", as outlined in 6.2.1. above, is not in conflict with its role as a complex verb classifier. The activities denoted by the simple verb - traditional painting and
drawing, as well as writing - all involve elongated instruments (sticks, fingers etc.) oriented to the undergoer in the manner of typical instrumental "paint" complex verbs. One might also speculate that ceremonial painting in particular - a repetitive and often long process, accompanied by singing, of laying down patterns of lines and dots - could be viewed as rhythmic or cyclic in nature. But I think there is little more that can be said. No real significance, semantically, can be attributed to the fact that "painting, drawing, writing" are expressed through a simple rather than a complex verb. That is, there is no evidence to suggest that the actions denoted by the simple verb constitute the prototypical or archetypal actions for the whole class of "paint" complex verbs. There is no reason to believe that speakers would wish to explicate "paint" complex verbs in terms of, or as prototypically analogous with, the actions of painting, drawing or writing. Indeed, it seems unlikely that speakers would have such actions in mind when talking of "stabbing", "having sexual intercourse with" or "being itchy", and informants have never employed them in explaining "paint" complex verbs to me. The simple verb formed with "paint", then, cannot be regarded as a semantic building block for complex verbs formed with the auxiliary. It is rather just another manifestation, although marked through an absent rather than overt CVS, of the general semantic features that can be attributed to the "paint" auxiliary.

(b) /nj/ : As with the "paint" auxiliary, we can divide /nj/ classified complex verbs into two main groups, according to whether or not the actions they denote are effected instrumentally. The characteristics of instrumental /nj/ verbs have already been indicated to some degree in our above discussion of the "paint" auxiliary. /Nj/ complex verbs, like those formed with "paint", take instruments conceptualised as "elongated" (i.e. comparatively long and thin, with no significant extended surfaces). The instruments of /nj/ verbs, however, in contrast to those associated with "paint" classified verbs, have no end salience. That is, the significant contact with the undergoer is thought of as taking place along the length, and not at the end, of the instrument, and the instrument is thought of as moving laterally with respect to the undergoer; as we have seen in (a) above, neither end of the instrument can be conceptualised as physically, functionally or directionally differentiated from its length in any way which is relevant to the action. /Nj/ complex
verbs, then, can be regarded as having essentially a one-dimensional instrumental construct (cf. Green, 1981, p130), focussing on a single line or length making contact with the undergoer.

Thus /nj/ verbs are associated with the same typical instruments as "paint" verbs - e.g. sticks, spears, poles, knives - and with a similar set of body parts - the arm, forearm, legs, the body itself13 - but focus particularly on their lengths rather than their ends, i.e. on the shaft of a spear, the edge of a knife or boomerang, the side of the body etc. From an English perspective we can identify two principal ways in which these instruments may be manipulated to achieve such "length", as opposed to "end", salience. Firstly, the instrument may simply be presented laterally at the undergoer, as is the case with the slicing action depicted by /nj#git/ in (6-34.b) and (6-57) above, and with the blows executed with the forearm and the side of the body, both depicted by /nj#kurr/, in (6-46) and (6-48). Also included in this group of simple lateral movements are examples such as /nj#madil/ "lift" in (6-53) and (6-54). Secondly, rather than directed in a straight-forward lateral motion, the instrument may instead be swung or thrown sideways. /Nj/ classified swinging actions have been illustrated above, with /nj#git/ in (6-42), and /nj#thiri/ in (6-44.b). (6-67) below, where "swimming" is depicted as "pushing oneself (by swinging the legs towards each other)", is a similar example14:

6-67) wudi -nanga nginj -ingin -thenggi -sru -du
water LOC 1sS R nj 1sG=REFL bottom ITER touch

ngifel -a  fuwa -gin
1sS R lie Pst lower leg INS

I was (lying down) pushing myself along in the water
with my legs (i.e. in a lateral, swinging motion).

/Nj/ auxiliary classification is not concerned with the difference between these various swinging, sideways throwing or lateral directions of the instrument. Thus a verb such as /nj#kurr/ (cf. examples (6-35.b), (6-46), (6-48)) can have a number of different interpretations, e.g.:

6-68) ginj -ing -kurr -a yeri gunjsjungunj -gin
3sS R nj 1sO hit,kill Pst club boomerang INS

He hit me with a boomerang
(e.g. by swinging it so the edge hit me)
OR (e.g. by throwing it so the edge hit me)
OR (e.g. with a lateral movement, by jabbing its edge at me).
In all the interpretations of (6-68) the salient instrumental feature of the boomerang is its edge. Replacing the /nj/ with the "paint" auxiliary, as in (6-69), instead results in instrumental "end" salience, and produces a different set of readings.

(6-69) gumun -ngi -kurr -a yeri gunjsjungunj -gin
3sS R paint 1sO hit, kill Pst club boomerang INS GEN

He hit me with a boomerang
(e.g. by thrusting it so the end/point hit me)
OR (e.g. by throwing it so the end/point hit me)

Further, since boomerangs are instruments for which both "elongated" and "broad" conceptualisations are possible, the /l/ may also replace /nj/ classification in (6-68), resulting in interpretations of the boomerang's flat surfaces as carrying out the action:

(6-70) gil -ing -kurr -a yeri gunjsjungunj -gin
3sS R l 1sO hit, kill Pst club boomerang INS GEN

He hit me with (the flat surface of) a boomerang
(either holding it or by throwing it).

Consistent with the "length" focus of instrumental /nj/ verbs, the majority of non-instrumental /nj/ verbs have in common a concept of the action as having a linear result or manner of performance. Such linear verbs are shown in (6-71) and (6-72).

(6-71) a -guwan ginj -ini -sresretj -a
CA snake 3sS R nj 3msG untwist Pst

The snake uncoiled itself.

(6-72) ngambatj ginj -fumbu -ya federr
tide 3sS R nj fill up Pst river

Literally: The tide filled up the river (in a linear manner).

(6-71) can be contrasted with (6-73), which contains the same CVS, but which has no associated linear concept, and employs /rr/ (see 6.2.2.3.(b) below) in place of the /nj/ auxiliary. Similarly, (6-72) can be contrasted with (6-74). (6-72) has the linear conception of the tide moving along the length of the river; however, no such view is possible for the filling of the broad or rounded claypan in (6-74), and consequently the Ø (see 6.2.2.3.(a) below) auxiliary replaces /nj/.

(6-73) musjulng garri -sresretj -a
swag 3sS R rr untwist Pst

He untied the swags.
6-74.a)  wudi alele gi -fumbu -masri -ya  
water claypan 3sS R Ø fill up belly Pst

The water filled up the ("belly" of) the claypan.

6-74.b) * wudi alele ginj -fumbu -masri -ya  
water claypan 3sS R nj fill up belly Pst

(c) /l/ : Like verbs formed with "paint" and /nj/, /l/ complex verbs can be divided into two classes, according to whether they have a specific instrumental sense. As has been outlined in (a) and (b) above, the instrumental conceptualisation of the /l/ auxiliary contrasts with that of the "paint" and /nj/ auxiliaries as "broad" rather than "elongated". That is, the /l/ auxiliary focusses on instruments having broad or extended surfaces making the significant contact with the undergoer. The broad surface focus of the /l/ auxiliary, in contrast to "paint" and /nj/, has been illustrated in both (a) (examples (6-38)-(6-40)) and (b) (examples (6-68)-(6-70)) above. (6-75) below provides a similar three-way opposition, showing how contrasting instrumental end, length and surface salience can be achieved by applying the "paint", /nj/ and /l/ auxiliaries (respectively) to the one CVS. The CVS in (6-75) consists of the neutral root /gulil/ "go in", reduplicated for iteration. In (6-75.a), which has the "paint" auxiliary, the action is effected at the end of the (elongated) crowbar. In (6-75.b), however, the /nj/ auxiliary is employed to depict the stirring in of the sugar as caused through lateral movements, involving contact with it along the length of the instrument. (6-75.c) refers to an action also conceptualised, through the use of the same CVS, as causing a solid to enter into a liquid, but the extended surface contact involved in employing /garrila/ "rock" as the instrument now requires /l/ auxiliary classification of the verb.

6-75.a) watjan ngata gumun -gulilgulil -a guba -gin  
dog house 3sS R paint enter REDUP Pst crowbar INS

He made the dog go in to the house with the crowbar (e.g. by jabbing at him with the end of the crowbar).

6-75.b) manjirr thawurr ginj -gulilgulil -a thi -nanga  
sugar stick 3sS R nj enter REDUP Pst tea LOC

He stirred the sugar into the tea with a stick.

6-75.c) wunumbuk garrila gil -gulilgulil -a  
white ochre rock 3sS R l enter REDUP Pst

He ground in the white-ochre (i.e. into water, to make a paste) with a rock.
It is this surface salience which provides for rocks, clubs, hammers and axes as the typical instruments of /l/ complex verbs. These are seen, it would appear, as having planes (cf. Green, 1981, p130), rather than simply lengths or end points, of functional significance. Thus clubs, which either have large rounded ends or are flared in some way, are differentiated from spears and more elongated fighting sticks. In the same way axes are differentiated from knives. Similarly, typical /l/ instrumental body-parts are the front or chest (as denoted by /masri/ "belly", cf. 5.1.), the shoulders, the back, the forehead, and the palm or back of the hand. Interestingly, the teeth are viewed as more like axes than like knives, and are classed as broad instruments; verbs of biting (that is, verbs of biting which focus specifically on the teeth rather than the mouth as instrument - see 6.2.2.3. below) are consequently constructed with the /l/ auxiliary, e.g.:

6-76) watjan sjapatj miri gil -di -sri -tip gani -Ø / dog small eye 3sS R l 3nsO ITER bite,pinch 3sS R go Pr yangi gani -wanggal -nganga -ya wakay -njsgjan milk 3sS R go finish 3fsBOD Pst finish now

(The mother) is biting the pups (because) her milk's completely run out.

/l/ verbs which have no specific instrumental sense still share the instrumental verbs' quality of surface salience. That is, they are verbs in which the agent has a broad surface orientation towards the undergoer. This is illustrated in (6-77) and (6-78):

6-77) yeri -gagan sradi -nanga gulinggi -piritj -fini child ANAPH back LOC 3nsS R l ascend dl gurrinj -fini -ya furingan -nganan gan defen dakata -wa 3nsS R go* dl Pst ocean SCE here up to doctor PURP

They(2) kept right on carrying that child on their backs (literally, "causing him to be raised onto their backs") from the ocean to here, in order to see the doctor.

6-78) wudi gil -ing -gakenjsji -ya / wudi gani -tjel -a water 3sS R l 1sO wet Pst water 3sS R go rain Pst

Literally: The water wet me. The water rained. = : I got wet from the rain.

In (6-77) it is the human back which is seen as the extended surface, while in (6-78) the basis for /l/ classification would appear to be the perception of the water (the agent of the /l/ verb in (6-78)) coming from the broad expanse of perhaps rain clouds or possibly the
sky in general. The /l/ auxiliary is only appropriate to the CVSs of these verbs where the agent can be thought of as having such surface orientation. For example, carrying a child on one's side rather than on one's back is viewed as lateral rather than surface orientation and consequently can be described, using the same CVS as (6-77), with the /nj/ in place of the /l/ auxiliary:

6-79) yeri demi -nanga gunjinggi -piritj -fini gurrinj -fini -ya child side LOC 3nsS R l ascend dl 3nsS R go* dl Pst

They(2) kept right on carrying that child on their sides.

Similarly, substituting a linear for the broad agent of (6-78) also requires the replacement of /l/ with the /nj/ auxiliary, as in (6-80).

6-80) yakarra, ginj -gakenjsji -ya musjulng mirriwi -wurri oh no 3sS R nj wet Pst swag crack PERL

Oh no, (the water) from the crack (in the ceiling) wet the swag.

One notable subset of these /l/ verbs has agent surface orientation manifested through human "belly" orientation. As has been discussed in 5.2. the "belly", /masri/, has a number of important associations in Marrithiyel; in particular, it is regarded as the seat of the emotions. Consequently, the /l/ auxiliary is the normal choice for verbs involving emotional confrontation by the agent, e.g.:

6-81) ninjsja -nganan ginil -ing -sja guna -Ø what SCE 2sS R l 1sO provoke 2sS R stand Pr

Why (from what) are you (standing) provoking me?

6.2.2.3. Ø, /rr/, /n/ and "see"

(a) Ø: Although the Ø auxiliary has no overt AVR (cf. 3.2.2.), we can identify three groups of complex verbs in which it does appear to have a positive semantic content.

The first, and perhaps the basic, function of the Ø auxiliary is to mark the mouth as instrument. We have seen this exemplified in (6-34.d) above, with /Ø#git/ "sever (with the mouth)", and in (6-23), with the unusual combination of the Ø auxiliary with the verb root /kurr/ to produce a verb meaning "to hit (with the mouth)". The first clause of (6-82) below presents a similar example; the CVS of this verb is /butj/, which commonly combines with the /rr/ auxiliary with the meaning "to hold, carry, possess". Combining instead with the Ø auxiliary it has the meaning of "to hold (with the mouth)".


6-82) marrimari gi -butj gaful -a / knife 3sS R Ø have 3sS R lie Pst

3nsS R rri RECIP grab dl 3nsS R lie dl Pst REDUP

He was (lying) holding a knife (in his mouth)
(as) they(2) wrestled (i.e. "lay grabbing") each other.

The Ø auxiliary here encodes the "mouth" as instrument in a general sense, and may be used where the tongue, the teeth, the lips etc. are either overtly stated, or understood to be, the specific instruments. Thus this group of Ø verbs includes: /Ø#lak/ "lick", /Ø#murmur/ "chew up", /Ø#ping/ "kiss". This general sense of the mouth as instrument encompasses direct contact of the mouth with the undergoer, and includes the taking of things into the mouth, as in verbs of ingestion (cf. Green, 1981, p131), consumption etc., e.g.:

6-83) yangi ngindi -tik -Ø / wadi -nj lurritj warri -wa milk 2sS Ir Ø dry up Imp male s 2 strong 2sS Ir go Fut

(You(sg)) Drink up the milk (so that) you'll be a strong man.

6-84) watjan gapil gagan awu gi -wuki -ngangga -nim -a dog big ANAPH meat 3sS R Ø consume 1I ADV I pl Pst

That big dog has eaten all the meat on us(exc,pl).

"Mouth" instrumental verbs can be employed metaphorically, and can be applied to inanimate agents thought of as consuming or absorbing things. The verb /Ø#tik/, for example, which with a human or animal agent means "drink up completely", as in (6-83), has a more general sense of "soak up", e.g.:

6-85) mupun gan wulkisrim ga -tik -wa cotton wool this blood 3sS Ir Ø dry up Fut

This cotton wool will soak up the blood.

A further function of the Ø auxiliary is to classify verbs of total containment. These verbs have a common concept of the particular space or container being fully occupied; that is, they depict it as being filled up, blocked, or swollen to the point of bursting. The majority of the commonly used Ø verbs of this group are verbs of bodily containment; these are structured as impersonals.
6-86.a) a -muwa gi -ing -thit -manthi -ya /
CA bone 3sS R Ø 1sO stand upright neck Pst

ngun -wurr -a
1sS Ir go die Pst

Literally: It placed the bone in my neck (i.e. blocking it).
= : The bone choked me. I could have died.

6-86.b) gi -idi -wik -yan -fini -ya wudi-sradi -nanga
3sS R Ø 3nsO take in water nose dl Pst water back LOC
             = billabong

Literally: It caused them(2) to take in water,
filling their noses, in the billabong.
= : They(2) drowned in the billabong.

6-86.c) gi -ing -thenggi -Ø
3sS R Ø 1sO bottom Pr

Literally: It is occupying my bottom.
= : "I'm busting to go to the toilet".

This function of the Ø auxiliary, however, is not restricted in its
domain to human or animal bodies, and may be applied to the full
occupation of any type of container or delimited space (e.g. pathways,
plains, cupped hands etc.) :

6-87) wudi alele gi -fumbu -masri -ya
water claypan 3sS R Ø fill up belly Pst

The water filled up the ("belly" of) the claypan.

Note that these containment verbs constructed with the Ø auxiliary
have to be analysed as a separate group to the "mouth" instrument
verbs because of their differing role coding. (6-86) and (6-87), as
clearly shown by the pronominal cross-referencing of (6-86), have the
entity which is occupied encoded as object, not as agent; this entity
cannot consequently be construed, in the manner of (6-83)-(6-85), as
performing the action with its mouth in either a literal or metaphorical
sense.

The third function of the Ø auxiliary is in classifying verbs of
speech. This function is consistent with the role of this auxiliary
as a "mouth" as instrument classifier. Ø classified speech verbs fall
into two categories. Firstly, there are verbs describing speech acts;
these have A-G syntactic frames.

6-88.a) nga -imbi -maluluk -wa
1sS Ir Ø 2sG persuade Fut

I want to persuade you.
They(pl) told me it was all right (for me to do something).

Secondly, there are verbs which can be described as causatives of speech; that is, they depict speech as the means through which the action is effected. No specific type of speech is encoded by the Ø auxiliary in these verbs, and the specific interpretation, as determined by context, can range from command or decree to persistent talking or nagging (cf. (6-90.b) below). These verbs are structured with A-Ø syntactic frames, e.g.:

They(pl) took the women from us(exc,pl) (by command, decree etc.).

There are three other auxiliary classifications of speech verbs in Marrithiyel: the "do" (cf. 6.4) and /rr/ auxiliaries (cf. (b) below) each form one specific speech verb, while a number of speech verbs of low transitivity value are constructed with formally intransitive auxiliaries (cf. 6.3). Ø, however, remains the productive auxiliary for forming transitive speech act and speech causative verbs of the type illustrated in (6-88) and (6-89).

(b) /rr/: The /rr/ auxiliary classifies actions as carried out by manipulation of the undergoer in the hands of the agent. It necessitates direct hand contact by the agent, and does not function in a more general sense to mark actions as performed with hand-held instruments. The /rr/ auxiliary has been illustrated above, with /rr#git/ "sever, cut off (with the hands)" in (6-34.e) and /rr#kurr/ "hit (with the hands)" in (6-35.d). This latter combination, of /rr/ with the verb root /kurr/, is unusual, since informants find the sense of "handling" provided by the auxiliary slightly at odds with the sense of "hitting" given by the verb root; nevertheless, it is an acceptable verb, understood by informants as simultaneously grabbing and pushing something. More common applications of the /rr/ auxiliary are to stems such as /bi/ "grab", /minjirr/ "crush, collapse", /dut/ "shake", /tip/ "pinch", and /pilkitj/ "twist". Contrast in (6-90), for example, the /rr/, Ø and /l/ auxiliary classifications of the verb root /minjirr/.

He crumpled the paper (with/in his hands).
6-90.b) gini -ing -minjirrminjirr ginin -Ø
2sS R Ø 1sO collapse REDUP 2sS R go Pr

"Literally: You(sg) habitually make me collapse (through speech).
= : "You talk me to death".

6-90.c) mi -miri guilingi -minjirrminjirr -Ø
CP eye 3nsS R 1 crumple, crush pl
=seed REDUP

guninj -Ø -a garrila -gin
3nsS R go pl Pst rock INS

They(pl) used to crush the seed with a rock.

Note that (6-90.c), with its specific instrumental NP, may not
alternatively form its verb with the /rr/ auxiliary 19.

6-91) * gurringi -minjirrminjirr -Ø guninj -Ø -a garrila -gin
3nsS R rr crush REDUP pl 3nsS R go pl Pst rock INS

(c) /n/: The /n/ auxiliary marks the verb as involving direct action
by the agent's feet (and specifically the feet rather than the leg or
lower leg) on the undergoer. /N#git/ in (6-34.f), "sever (with the
feet)", /N#kurr/ "hit (with the feet)" in (6-35.e) above, and /N#futj/
"kick" in (6-10) illustrate this auxiliary. In addition, contrast
/N#minjirr/ in (6-92) with the examples in (6-90) above.

6-92) a -ngatji ambi warri -minjirr -Ø /
CA scorpion NEG 2sS Ir go crush Imp

gumin -nji -thik -fang
3sS Ir paint 2sO sting APP

(You(sg)) Don't squash the scorpion with your foot,
lest it sting you.

(d) "see": The "see" auxiliary forms complex verbs which can be
allocated to three semantic classes. Firstly, as reported in Green
(1981, pl29), and as one might anticipate from its semantically more
basic simple-verb meaning of "see" (6.2.1) 20, this auxiliary appears in
verbs of perception; this class includes verbs such as /see#mel/ "to
watch, stare", /see#mangani/ "search for", /see#sjisji/ "look
through", and /see#yilyil/ "recognise (i.e. by sight)", e.g.:

6-93) ngudi -inj -mel ngawu -wa / fitj
1sS Ir see 2sO watch 1sS Ir sit Fut make right 2sS Ir do hand Imp

I'll (sit) watching you(sg). Do it properly.
The senior men (pl) are (sitting) looking through their papers.

In addition to relatively straight-forward perceptual verbs such as (6-93) and (6-94) above, this auxiliary forms verbs of action which require a degree of perceptual skill and monitoring. This includes verbs such as "sharpen" and "pour":

6-95)
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6-96)
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For these types of verbs, "see" acts as a type of default auxiliary; it classifies the actions as perceptually monitored, and treats as irrelevant the characteristics of the instrument (where there is one) employed. However, other specific instrumental auxiliaries may be applied to these CVSs. The action of (6-95), for example, can alternatively be described using the /nj/ or /l/ auxiliaries; the lateral action component brought by the /nj/ auxiliary would be appropriate for describing using a steel to grind the object, while the /l/ auxiliary would focus on a broad surface of, say, a sharpening stone in contact with the object.

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6-97.a)
6-97.b)
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The CVS of (6-96) can similarly take other auxiliaries:

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6-98.a)
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He tipped the water out (repetitively) with his foot.
6-98.b)  wudi  garri  -bubu  -ya  
water  3sS  R  rr  pour  REDUP  Pst

He poured the water out (repetitively) from his hands (i.e. he was carrying the water cupped in his hands).

Two significant sub-categories of this "perceptual monitoring" group of verbs are concerned with "exposure" and "concealment"; that is, they are concerned (in a non-specific instrumental sense) with making things visible or invisible, spreading things out, placing things in containers, hiding things etc., e.g.:

6-99)  awu  wadi  -mil  -sradi  -Ø  mulingi  -gin  
meat  2sS  Ir  see  cover  back  Imp  leaf  INS

(You(sg)) Cover the ("back" of the) meat with leaves.

Secondly, "see" appears in verbs in which the agent, through physical contact, causes motion in, or a change of stance or location of, the undergoer. Again, here it functions as a default auxiliary, focussing simply on the act of causation, and with no specific instrumental sense.  

6-100)  murrika  ngidin  -thenggi  -du  -mbel  -Ø  -wa  
car  1ES  Ir  see  bottom  touch  2sPURP  pl  Fut  = push

We(exc,pl) will push the car for you(sg).

Thirdly, the "see" auxiliary functions as a classifier of interpersonal dominance and control. It marks the human agent as effecting the action, typically on a human undergoer, through his or her own authority, powers, presence etc. It would appear that these verbs are classified by the "see" auxiliary because the eyes are thought of as the primary means through which one's dominance and/or authority are manifested. (6-34.g) above is a verb of this type, as are (6-101) and (6-102).

6-101)  ngani  winjsjani  -njsjan  /  ap  gidin  -nggi  -thedel  -Ø  -a  
body  no  good  now  maybe  3sS  R  see  l1O  sing  I  dl  Pst

(You and I) are sick now (i.e. "no good in the body"). Perhaps he has "sung" us (i.e. cursed us through singing).

6-102)  gidin  -gidi  -werrerr  -miri  -Ø  -ya
3sS  R  see  lEO  move  back  &  eye  pl  Pst
forth  REDUP  =be  frightened

He made us(exc,pl) frightened.
6.3. The Simple Intransitive Auxiliaries
6.3.1. Simple Verb Functions

There are six auxiliaries which can form simple intransitive verbs\(^2\), and which I consequently refer to as the "simple intransitive" auxiliaries. The six are: "lie", "stand", "sit", "go", "go*" and "be hanging". The first five of these (i.e. all but "be hanging") are formally distinguished from the other auxiliaries in the language through their selection of the /nj/ or /inj/, rather than /inggi/, allomorph of the subject-number marker. As outlined in 3.2 (cf. 3.2.1.3, 3.2.1.6), in two auxiliaries, "lie" and "stand", this morpheme appears between the subject pronominal and the AVR; in the "sit", "go" and "go*" auxiliaries, however, it appears in auxiliary-final position, e.g.:

6-103.a) afen \(\text{ni}\) -nj -a -Ø -wa ?
   where 2nsS Ir nsnIS stand pl Fut
   Where will you(pl) be standing ?

6-103.b) afen \(\text{nawu}\) -inj -Ø -wa ?
   where 2nsS Ir sit nsnIS pl Fut
   Where will you(pl) be sitting ?

These five /nj/ or /inj/ selecting auxiliaries are referred to in this work as the "formally intransitives". The formally intransitive auxiliaries are all clearly to be categorised as "major", in the sense defined in 6.1; that is, they all combine productively with sets of CVSs to form complex verbs.

"Be hanging" is not morphologically distinguished in the same way as the other simple intransitives. It is instead to be categorised as "formally transitive", as it selects the auxiliary-final /inggi/ allomorph of the non-singular non-inclusive subject-number marker, e.g.:

6-103.c) thawurr thiyel -nanga gunjsji -inggi -fini -ya
   tree paperbark LOC 3nsS R nsnIS dl Pst
   be hanging

   They(2) were hanging in (i.e. from) the paperbark tree.

"Be hanging", however, does not share the semantic and syntactic properties of the class of /inggi/ selecting verbs, and in all other respects behaves like the formally intransitives. For example, the simple verb which it forms is a single place predicate. The entity which "is hanging" is cross-referenced as subject, and
there is no conceivable O NP. Further, its subject NPs cannot take the /gin/ ergative suffix.

6-104) yibi -njasja nginjsji -ya yigin (*-gin)
there now lsS R Pst lsPRO ERG
ANAPH be hanging

I was hanging in that place.

In addition, we have seen previously that "be hanging" behaves grammatically like the formally intransitives, e.g. for the purposes of aspectual serialisation (4.2) and static locative derivations (5.7). Its selection of the /inggi/ subject-number allomorph would therefore appear to be simply an anomaly, and not synchronically functional.

I categorise "be hanging" not only as a simple intransitive, but as a major intransitive auxiliary; that is, it has the same productive potential, in terms of its ability to combine with CVSs, as the formally intransitive auxiliaries. It is perhaps an unusual addition to the set of primary stance or posture verbs, and its semantic character no doubt determines that it does not occur as commonly as the formally intransitives; there are a limited number of situations in which things are viewed as "hanging", for example, compared to the great variety of situations in which entities are viewed rather as "lying", "standing", "sitting" etc. However, in contrast to the minor auxiliaries (6.4), it does not show arbitrary constraints on its possible combinations with CVSs.

The six simple auxiliaries have, in structural terms, three principal roles: as simple intransitive verbs, as the classifiers of low-transitivity complex verbs, and as serialised aspectuals. We examine their simple verb functions below, and their complex verb roles in 6.3.2. Their serial-aspectual function has been examined in 4.2, and is not treated further in this chapter.

The simple verbs formed by the six simple intransitive auxiliaries can be divided into two groups: the static intransitives ("lie", "sit", "stand", "be hanging"), and the dynamic intransitives ("go" and "go*”). I use this terminology after Lyons (1977, p483):

A static situation (or state-of-affairs, or state) is one that is conceived of as existing, rather than happening, and as being homogeneous, continuous and unchanging throughout its duration. A dynamic situation, on the other hand, is something that happens (or occurs, or takes place): it may be momentary or enduring; it is not necessarily either homogeneous or continuous.
The simple verbs "lie", "sit", "stand" and "be hanging" have a number of features which show their "static" nature. Firstly, as discussed in our examination of static locative constructions (5.7), they apply to entities which are in a state of rest; they cannot be used of any subject which is thought of as in motion or changing location. Secondly, they ascribe to their subjects an unchanging stance or posture; that is, they denote their subjects simply as being in the described posture, and cannot refer to them moving into or adopting such positions. To describe such actions there are corresponding dynamic verbs. The dynamic verbs corresponding to "lie" and "sit", for example, are /go#batj/ "lie down" and /go#sjat/ "sit down". Thus compare the (a) and (b) examples in (6-105) and (6-106) below:

6-105.a) giminuyi -ingin -a gan / mungarri ngifel -a 2sS R visit 1sG Pst here sleep 1sS R lie Pst

(When) you(sg) came to visit me here, I was lying asleep.

6-105.b) mamak, Masjita, gigin -ngi -tji -njsjan -Ø / goodbye Masjita 3sS R claim 1sO tire now Pr

ngun -batj -wa 1sS Ir go lie down Fut

Goodnight Masjita, I'm tired now, I want to lie down.

6-106.a) fandi -sran garrginj -Ø -a / ginj -igidi -tharrwuwu -Æ sun ALL 1ES R sit pl Pst 3sS R nj 1EO question pl

gusri -ya nidin gagan -wa 3sS R sit Pst country ANAPH PURP

We(exc,pl) were sitting there all day. He was (sitting) questioning us about that country.

6-106.b) gani -sjat -a /-gininj -sjat -Ø -a 3sS R go sit down Pst 1ES R go sit down pl Pst

(When) he sat down, we(exc,pl) sat down.

"Stand" has no specific corresponding dynamic verb. There is a verb /nji#put/ (cf. 6.4), however, which has the broad meaning of "arise", and which is used in a range of contexts, including the dynamic "stand up". The specific "stand up" meaning can be achieved by juxtaposing the simple verb "stand" to the clause containing /nji#put/.

6-107.a) girrinja -Ø -a themberriduk -nanga 1ES R stand pl Pst road LOC

We(exc,pl) were standing on the road.
The dynamic verb corresponding to "be hanging" is constructed as a reflexive complex verb, employing the /njsjin/ auxiliary; /njsjin/, in a minor way, functions as the transitive counterpart of the "be hanging" auxiliary, appearing in the complex verb "to hang (something)" (cf. 6.4). Thus compare (6-108) with (6-104):

6-108) yibi -njsja nginjsjin -ngin -wut -a yigin -gin there now 1sS R njsjin 1sG=REFL hang up Pst 1sPRO ERG ANAPH

I hung myself up in that place.

The static simple verbs have, in the sense we have discussed in 4.2, an inherently imperfective aspectual character; they must be understood as describing situations which have an internal temporal constituency, in the sense of continuing for a period of time. Note that, in Marrithiyel, as has been noted for the static locatives (5.7.), the static simple verbs are, further, restricted to denoting a single continuous period of duration of the posture ascribed to their subjects. That is, they cannot be manipulated to mark repeated instances of the subject being in the described posture; they cannot consequently acquire iterative or habitual readings. Thus the simple verb "sit" is acceptable in (6-109.a) and (6-109.b), in which it is understood as denoting a single uninterrupted time span; the iterative/habitual meaning of (109.c), however, must instead be expressed with the corresponding dynamic verb.

6-109.a) warri nginjsji -na -ya gan ganngi -ya year one first Pst here 2sS R sit Pst

One year ago you(sg) were sitting here.

6-109.b) nanggana -na -ya gan ganngi -ya before first Pst here 2sS R sit Pst

You(sg) were sitting here before.

6-109.c) nanggana -na -ya gan ginn -sjatsjat -a before first Pst here 2sS R go sit down Pst REDUP

You(sg) used to sit here before (repetitively, habitually).
Of the four static simple verbs, "sit" is normally used only of animate subjects, and describes them generally as being in an upright, bent-legged pose. It has an unmarked interpretation of the subject being in what would be described as a "sitting" position in English, but is also appropriate to subjects which are squatting, crouching, kneeling down etc. There is also a marked usage of "sit" with inanimate subjects, where it has a contrastive state-of-rest function, emphasising that a previously moving inanimate is now stationary, e.g.:

6-110) sjalwu gagan gidin -fil gani -ya / canoe ANAPH 3sS R see roll 3sS R go Pst
    gidin -fil gani -ya / tuy / gani -tharr -a / 3sS R see roll 3sS R go Pst no 3sS R go stop Pst
    gusri -njsjan -a / ngambatj gani -wanggal -a 3sS R sit then Pst tide 3sS R go finish Pst

(The tide) was rolling (pushing) that canoe along, pushing it along. (Then) nothing. It stopped. It was sitting then. The tide had ceased.

The remaining three simple static verbs can be applied freely to both animate and inanimate subjects. Any entity which is supported on (straight) legs, or otherwise has a salient height dimension, that is, anything which is raised up significantly, is categorised as "standing". In addition, anything whose height dimension exceeds its width is also classified as "standing". Thus trees, blades of grass, mountains, ridges, houses and (stationary) cars all characteristically "stand"; equally, the sun, stars, clouds and birds hovering in the sky are viewed as "standing". Invisible ambient entities (e.g. wind, heat) are also normally categorised as "standing" (i.e. when they are viewed as being in the one place for a single period of time, rather than as moving about), as are more abstract subjects, such as "situations" and "ideas", e.g.:

6-111) gumuyi -inimbi -Ø -ya / afen fandi guwa -ya 3nsS R visit 2sG pl Pst where sun 3sS R stand Pst

(When) they(pl) visited you(sg), where was the sun standing (i.e. what time was it) ?

6-112) ninjsja -nganan fiyi garr -ni -yan'gi -mba gani -ya what SCE head 3sS R rr 3msG talk 2sBOD 3sSR go Pst
gagan -wa / winjsjani guwa -Ø tharr gagan ANAPH PURP bad 3sS R stand Pr thing ANAPH

Why (from what reason) did you(sg) think of/about that ? That thing "stands" bad. (i.e. That idea is no good.)
By contrast, any entity that is not supported on legs, or lacks a salient height dimension, "lies" rather than "stands". For example, billabongs, plains, claypans, one's country, boats, roads all "lie"; similarly, snakes, lizards, crocodiles, in their typical state of rest, are described as "lying".

6-113.a) apu gafel -wa themberriduk
that way 3sS Ir lie Fut road
The road will lie over that way.

6-113.b) sjalwu wudi -nanga gaful -a
canoe water LOC 3sS R lie Pst
The canoe was lying in the water.

"Be hanging" is the least common of the simple intransitive verbs. It describes anything suspended or held so that it hangs downwards: it applies, for example, to meat hung up in trees (where it is placed to keep it from dogs), to vines hanging down in forests, snakes suspended from branches, and to young children held on adults' backs, and viewed as "hanging" by their hands from the adults' shoulders. Hunters situated on hunting platforms (/fulinmi/, on which they would characteristically maintain their balance by clinging to upper branches) are also viewed as "hanging" in the trees, e.g.:

6-114) ambi warri -wut -Ø gan nitji / a -guwan
ginjsji -fang
NEG 2sS Ir go walk Imp here night CA snake 3sS R APP
be hanging

(You(sg)) Don't walk about here at night, for fear of the snakes hanging down (from the trees).

6-115) sjuwu thawurr gani -piritj -a / yibi -njsja
sunset tree 3sS R go ascend Pst there now
ANAPH

fulinimi -nanga ginjsji -ya a -mayirang -nel
hunting platform LOC 3sS R be hanging Pst CA magpie INT
goose

At sunset he climbed the tree. There, on his hunting platform, he "was hanging", intent on (getting) magpie geese.

In contrast to the four static simple intransitives, "go" and "go*" are dynamic verbs, describing situations that "happen", rather than simply exist or endure at the one time and in the one location. The simple intransitive verbs which I gloss as "go" and "go*" in fact function fundamentally as motion/change of location verbs unspecified for direction, and can be used for both motion "towards" and motion "away" from the speaker (or some other contextually established point of reference). Their unmarked interpretation, however, is of motion
away, and motion towards the speaker is more commonly indicated by the use of a directional or deictic, often with verbally incorporated /wurri/ (cf. 2.3).

6-116.a) gani -ya nidin gagan -nganan
3sS R go Pst country ANAPH SCE

unmarked interpretation : He went from that country.
alternatively : He came from that country.

6-116.b) gani -wurri -ya nidin gagan -nganan
3sS R go towards Pst country ANAPH SCE

He came (towards here) from that country.

"Go" is the general motion verb, while "go*" (as indicated in Green (1981, p126)) describes more purposeful, directed, undeviating or faster motion.

6-117) murrika -gin feyirr -wa / ambi ferri warri -Ø
car INS 2sS Ir go* Fut NEG foot 2sS Ir go Imp

You(sg) should go by car, don't go on foot.

6-118) gayirr -ingin -a / ambi -ya themberri gani -sjat -a
3sS R go* 1sG Pst NEG Pst track 3sS R go sit down Pst

He came straight to me. He didn't sit down (i.e. to rest) on the way.

Unlike the static simple intransitives, "go" and "go*" have a range of aspectual interpretations, largely as determined by context. For example, they can be construed as perfective change of location verbs, simply describing a movement from one place to another as a single event, and with no attention necessarily drawn to them as having any sort of internal temporal make-up. But they are also employed in contexts where imperfective interpretations are appropriate, e.g.:

6-119) girrinj -Ø -a / murrika gumun -thung -lambu -ya
1ES go* pl Pst car 3sS R paint puncture side Pst

As we(exc,pl) were going along, (something) punctured the side (=tyre) of the car.

Further, "go" and "go*", unlike the simple static verbs, are not confined to describing single continuous periods of duration of the situation described by the verb, but may be used to refer to repeated or renewed motion. Such usages are consistent with the roles of "go" and "go*" as the serialised imperfectives of the high transitive verbs, as outlined in (4.2). Thus "go" and "go*" may both have the sense of "move about (generally)" or "move from place to place":
He went (directly, purposefully) to many different camps, to different language groups, (looking) for his child.

They are also both used in the sense of "continue moving":

I don't want to stop now. I want to keep on going.

In addition, "go" can be used to denote habitual or customary motion:

Before, (Aboriginal) men used to go for fish and wallaby, they didn't go to the shop for whiteman's meat and vegetables.

We can distinguish three primary functions, which I refer to as "literal", "existential" and "ascriptive", for the six simple intransitive verbs. In their "literal" uses the lexical content of the verb is of salience in the discourse; that is, there is some relevant or significant point being made about the actual stance/posture/motion of the subject of the verb. (6-123), in which the sitting posture of the subjects of the second clause causes them not to be seen (and which would presumably contrast with a more prominent "standing" posture), is an example of a literal use of a simple intransitive:

He didn't see us(exc,pl), because we were sitting.
"existential" uses of the simple intransitives are semantically, rather than formally, distinguished. In these clauses, the emphasis is taken off the literal lexical content (which is frequently predictable from the nature of the subject entity) of the simple verbs, and they instead acquire more of a copula-like function, providing primarily tense/mood/aspect information concerning the location of the subject, e.g.:

6-124) **Existential**

```
6-124) Existential
wudi -sradi  gaful -∅ lambu furingan
water back  3sS R lie Pr side ocean
= billabong
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The billabong is (i.e. "lies") on the ocean (i.e. "western") side.

In existential constructions, inanimate subjects take the appropriate static verb, as determined by the factors outlined above. Thus /wudi-sradi/ "billabong", the subject of (6-121) takes "lie", whereas the subject of (6-125), /sjitinj/ "branch wall", takes the simple verb "stand", e.g.:

6-125) gan -njsja sjitinj gagan guwa -ya deyen
here now branch wall ANAPH 3sS R stand Pst long time from now

A long time ago that branch wall was (i.e. stood) here.

Statements about the general existence of animate subjects in a place are constructed with the "go" auxiliary, e.g.:

6-126.a) menumeleri ambi -njsjan guninj -∅ -∅ milningin -nanga
pigmy men NEG now 3nsS R go pl Pr hill LOC

Literally: Menumeleri (pigmy men) do not go about in the hills now.

= : There are no menumeleri in the hills now.

6-126.b) a -wurrumbun gani -ya wudi gan -nanga
CA salt-water 3sS R go Pst water this LOC crocodile

Literally: Salt water crocodiles used to go in this water.

= : There used to be salt-water crocodiles in this water.

However, the existence of animate subjects in the one location, over the one continuous time span, is instead described with the appropriate simple static verb. For human subjects, "sit" is the normal choice here.

6-127) ma -Marrithiyel gawunj -∅ -a Sjillak warri -sran /
CH Marrithiyel 3nsS R sit pl Pst Sjillak wet season ALL
The Marrithiyel people were (sat) at Sjillak for the wet season. In that creek there was (i.e. lay) a crocodile.

"Go*" is not employed in existential constructions.

The simple intransitives also have a copula-like function in "ascriptive" clauses, marking the ascription of a particular property or attribute to their subjects. There are two main structural types of ascriptive clause in Marrithiyel: those which attribute a property to a referent with an adjective, or adjectival expression, and those which do so with an attributive NP. (6-128) illustrates an adjectival ascriptive clause, and (6-129) an attributive-NP ascriptive clause.

6-128) Ascriptive (Adjectival)

That man was angry.

6-129) Ascriptive (Attributive NP)

That man was a small boy then.

In both types of ascriptive construction the four static verbs function to mark their subjects as possessing the particular property or attribute over the single time span, and at the one location, for which the subjects are in the described posture. For inanimates, which (more or less) permanently remain in the one posture, the statics bring no particular sense of the ascribed property being either permanent or transitory. Thus compare (6-130.a) and (6-130.b).

6-130.a) The ocean is (lies) big.

6-130.b) The fruit was (standing) green.

Inanimate subjects do not take the dynamic simple verbs to encode possession of an attribute:

6-130.c) * The ocean is (lies) big.
For animates, however, ascriptive clauses describing the possession of an attribute may be constructed with either the static verbs, or the dynamic "go". The static verbs, because they apply only to a single time span in a single location, attribute their subjects only with the particular property over that period of time; and carry no implication of more general applicability; that is, they have no necessary reading that the property can be attributable to the subject once the subject changes posture/location. Instead, for animate subjects, more generally applicable properties (that is, those that are not confined to the one localised situation) are ascribed with "go", e.g.:

6-131) wadi -ng gullik ngin -Ø
male s 1 blind 1sS R go Pr

I'm a blind man.

Static auxiliaries may be employed for attributes which are generally applicable, but this is normally where the static auxiliary has a contrastive literal function. For example, in the ascriptive clause in (6-132) either the "go" or "sit" auxiliary is permissible. The "go" auxiliary makes a statement about the general applicability of the property; the "sit" auxiliary, on the other hand, indicates the posture adopted by the speaker, and emphasises his incapacities, e.g.:

6-132) wulkuman, awu, wadi -ng gullik gangi -Ø
old woman meat male s 1 blind 1sS R sit Pr

Old woman, (bring me) meat, I'm (sitting) blind.

Thus the principal opposition, for animate subjects, is between ascription of properties over a single time span in a single location, and ascription of properties which one can be viewed as "going about with", that is, which one possesses over different locations and different time periods. Thus compare (6-133) and (6-134); (6-133) attributes its subject with the quality at the present moment, with no implications of general applicability. By contrast (6-134), which employs the "go" auxiliary as the ascriptive copula, suggests that it is more generally true, e.g.:

6-133) murrmurr gusri -ingin -Ø
friendly 3sS R sit 1sG Pr

Literally: He's sitting friendly to me.
"Go" and "go*" also function in ascriptive clauses in the sense of "become", i.e. to describe the acquisition of a property or attribute. "Go" is the normal choice here, but I have recorded "go*" used on occasions where it seems to denote a sudden or dramatic development of an attribute (as in the second clause of (6-137)). While this function is generally only contextually distinguished from the "general applicability" ascriptive reading, both "go" and "go*" are employed with this sense where they are not literally appropriate; in the second clause of (6-135), for example, a sore is described as "going" bad while its possessor is stationary, lying asleep:

6-135) mungarri ngifel -a / muwun gan winjsjani gani -ya, sleep 1sS R lie Pst sore this bad 3sS R go Pst
gapil gani -ya
big 3sS R go Pst

(While) I was lying asleep, this sore went bad, it got big.

6-136) nidin gagan -njsja gangi -ya / wadi -ng gullik ngin -a country ANAPH now 1sS R sit Pst male s l blind 1sS R go Pst

(While) I was (sitting) in that country, I went blind.

6-137) wadi -Ø marrngmarrng gani -ya / male s 3 carefree 3sS R go Pst
e mulirritj -njsjan gayirr -a yeri -nganan and cheeky then 3sS R go* Pst child SCE

He used to be a carefree bloke.
But then he suddenly got "cheeky" (i.e. irascible, volatile), because of (losing) his child.

Further, inanimate subjects may also be described by the dynamic simple verbs as acquiring an attribute:

6-138.a) yukuy, thawurr gan malika gani -ya oh dear tree this tall 3sS R go Pst

Oh dear, this tree's got tall.

6-138.b) miyi disjimu gani -ya plant produce sweet 3sS R go Pst

The fruit became sweet (i.e. ripened).

6.3.2. Complex Verb Functions

Complex verb stems in Marrithiyel, as noted in 6.2.2 above, fall into two principal classes, which I refer to as "transitive" and
"neutral". The major transitive auxiliaries are able to combine with both transitive and single-argument neutral CVSs (6.2.1). The simple intransitives, on the other hand, combine productively only with CVSs from the neutral class (this class consisting of single argument and low-transitivity two argument CVSs). There is, however, one construction, the "anticausative", which allows some limited combination of the simple intransitive auxiliaries with transitive CVSs; this is discussed below.

The role of the simple intransitives in complex verbs is generally consistent with their function as simple verbs. That is, they categorise the stance/motion of the subject in the situation described by the verb, as well as providing aspectual information.

Consistent with the division of simple auxiliaries into "static" and "dynamic" sub-classes, neutral CVSs can themselves be divided into two basic sets. The first set consists of CVSs which have a marked dynamic character; these are CVSs which describe or imply a change of location, a change of stance/posture, or a change of state. Complex verbs constructed with these CVSs in combination with a dynamic simple auxiliary normally appear in contexts where they are construed as perfective, that is, as single whole events. Change of location CVSs include /warret/ "walk away", /pirr/ "leave", /piritj/ "ascend", /gulil/ "enter", and /kut/ "descend"; these CVSs may combine with either of the dynamic auxiliaries, according to the type of motion being described for their subjects, e.g.:

6-139.a) milning -nganan gani -kut -a
    mountain SCE 3sS R go descend Pst

    He came down from the mountain.

6-139.b) milning -nganan gayirr -kut -a
    mountain SCE 3sS R go* descend Pst

    He came straight/purposefully/quickly down from the mountain.

It appears that change of location verbs are able to combine with the static auxiliaries, although such co-occurrence is relatively infrequent; this combination has a resultant-state type of reading, indicating the subject has achieved a certain position through the movement described by the CVS, e.g.:
I climbed the tree. I was sitting up (in the tree). I was sitting up (in the tree) (when) I saw them(pl).

Change of posture/stance CVSs have been illustrated above ((6-105.b) and (6-106.b)). These CVSs denote actions necessarily involving a movement into or out of the postures/stances described by the static simple verbs. These CVSs form low-transitive complex verbs only in combination with "go", and do not appear with either "go*" or the static simple auxiliaries, e.g.:

6-141) ngin -sjat -a
1sS R go sit down Pst
I sat down.

6-142.a) * nginjarr -sjat -a
1sS R go* sit down Pst
6-142.b) * gangi -sjat -a
1sS R sit sit down Pst

Neutral CVSs which describe a change of state also form low-transitive complex verbs only in combination with the "go" auxiliary26. This class includes /wurr/ "die", /srulu/ "become sleepy", and /gukup/ "become rotten":

6-143.a) nada, ngin -srulu -njsjan -Ø / ngun -batj -wa
alright 1sS R go become now Pr 1sS Ir go lie Fut
sleepy 1sS R go lie Fut
Alright, I've become sleepy now. I want to lie down.

6-143.b) * nginjarr -srulu -Ø
1sS R go* become sleepy Pr
6-143.c) * gangi -srulu -Ø
1sS R sit become sleepy Pr

The second set of neutral CVSs are the unmarked group; they have no inherent dynamic character that restricts their ability to combine with the static auxiliaries. CVSs in this set include two-argument roots such as /mutjing/ "listen", /nisja/ "eat" and /sjinin/ "ask for", and single-argument roots27 such as /sjiput/ "bathe, be in water", /berra/ "make a rustling noise", /asru/ "laugh", /minjirr/ "collapse" and /weng/ "(be) open"28. CVSs from this unmarked set generally freely select either the dynamic or static auxiliaries to form low-transitivity complex verbs.
For this set of CVSs combination with a static simple auxiliary has the aspecral function of encoding the action as performed within the one continuous time span, and within the one location²⁹. Complex verbs formed with the static simple auxiliaries thus have an unmarked imperfective interpretation, the situation described by the verb being understood as having an internal temporal constituency, e.g.:

6-144.a) gangi -imbi -mutjing -a
1sS R sit 2sG listen Pst
I was sitting listening to you(sg).

6-144.b) gunga -imbi -mutjing -a
1sS R stand 2sG listen Pst
I was standing listening to you(sg).

6-144.c) nginjsji -imbi -mutjing -a
1sS R be hanging 2sG listen Pst
I was "hanging" listening to you(sg).

However, not all the CVSs in this class are necessarily durative in their lexical aspecral character. There are, for example, a number of punctiliar verb roots in this set. These are exemplified in (6-145.a) and (6-145.b) below; their punctiliar nature is shown by their inability to take /sran/, incorporated into the verb as a durative modifier (cf. 4.3).

6-145.a) gangi -guluk (*-sran) -a
1sS R sit cough ALL Pst
I coughed (once) (while sitting).

6-145.b) gaful -berra (*-sran) -a werri -nanga
3sS R lie make rustling ALL Pst grass LOC noise
Something made a (single) rustling sound (while lying) in the grass.

Such complex verbs are not strictly imperfective; neither are they, however, strictly punctiliar. They are rather verbs in which the punctiliar action, described by the CVS, is set into the durative framework provided by the auxiliary. Further, it should be observed that these constructions are not favoured by Marrithiyel speakers, and constitute a marked usage. For examples such as (6-145.a) and (6-145.b), the reduplicated (and therefore durative (cf. 4.5)) forms of the root are the preferred standard choices, e.g.:

6-145.c) gangi -guluguluk -a
1sS R sit cough REDUP Pst
I coughed (while sitting).
Something was rustling (while lying) in the grass.

The static auxiliaries also provide for some classification of the posture of the subject in performing the action. Posture classifications are determined largely by the factors we have outlined in 6.3.1 above\(^3\). However, as is the case in the aspectual-serial functions of the simple intransitives (4.2.1), while "lie", "stand" and "be hanging" overtly encode the action as performed by the subject while remaining in the described posture, "sit" has a more ambivalent character. The "sit" auxiliary does appear in complex verbs in contexts where it has the literal (and typically, within the discourse, contrastive) function of classifying the posture of the subject, but is otherwise the unmarked static-auxiliary choice, having primarily an aspectual, rather than a classificatory postural, role.

This second set of neutral CVSs select "go" or "go*" to mark the action as performed in motion, as performed while moving about from place to place, or as renewed/continued; they may also combine with "go" for customary/habitual aspect. These functions of the dynamic simple auxiliaries have been outlined in 4.2, and have been illustrated with respect to low-transitive complex verbs in (4-97)-(4-99). Unlike high-transitive complex verbs, which must be durative in order to be eligible for simple intransitive serialisation (4.2.1), punctiliar neutral CVSs, of the type illustrated in (6-145.a) and (6-145.b) above, may (although they rarely do) co-occur with the dynamic auxiliaries to denote the performance of a single punctiliar action while the subject is in motion, e.g.:

6-146.a) nginjarr -guluk -a
1sS R go* cough Pst

I coughed (once) (while going along directly/purposefully).

6-146.b) ngin -berra -a
1sS R go make rustling Pst noise

I made a (single) rustling sound (while moving).

The simple intransitive auxiliaries, with the exception of "go*", may also form one complex verb type in combination with CVSs of the transitive class. This combination results in agentless counterparts to high-transitive verbs. I follow Comrie (1981, p161) in referring
to this type of construction as the "anti-causative". Anti-causatives are most commonly constructed with the "go" auxiliary, the resulting verb having a dynamic change-of-state reading; they may also be productively formed with the static auxiliaries to give a resultant state reading. Compare, for example, the (a) and (b) examples in (6-147) and (6-148) below31.

6-147.a) fundi thawurr ngumun -git -a
arm tree 1sS R paint cut,sever Pst
=branch

I cut the rope (e.g. with a knife, in a lateral action).

6-147.b) fundi thawurr gani -git -a
arm tree 3sS R go cut,sever Pst
=branch

The branch of the tree broke off (spontaneously, as a result of internal forces).

6-148.a) fusja ngirr -pilkitjpilkitj -a
rope 1sS R rr twist REDUP Pst

I twisted the rope (repetitively) with my hands.

6-148.b) fusja gan winjsjani gaful -Ø / gaful -pilkitjpilkitj -Ø
rope this bad 3sS R lie Pr 3sS R lie twist REDUP Pr

This rope is no good. Its all twisted.

In the anti-causative the undergoer functions as subject. This is not usually obvious from the verbal cross-referencing, since the inanimate subject-undergoers in the anti-causatives of (6-147.b) and (6-148.b) are not typically cross-referenced for number within the verb (3.2.1.2). However, under conditions of high discourse salience subject-number cross-referencing of inanimates does occur; this results in examples such as (6-149.a), which clearly establish the undergoer as subject of examples such as (6-147.b). Note that, as shown in (6-149.b), the undergoer cannot be cross-referenced as object, while retaining the anti-causative reading, e.g.:

6-149.a) fundi thawurr guninj -git -fini -ya
arm tree 3nsS R go cut,sever dl Pst
=branch

The two branches of the tree broke off (spontaneously, as a result of internal forces).

6-149.b) fundi thawurr gan -di -git -fini -ya
arm tree 3sS R go 3nsØ cut,sever dl Pst
=branch

NOT  The branch of the tree broke off (spontaneously, as a result of internal forces).
BUT  He broke off the two branches of the tree (with his feet).
While apparently enabling the undergoer of a transitive verb to be marked as subject, the anti-causative cannot, however, be regarded, in syntactic terms, as a passive; that is, it is not a construction which allows for a controlling agent to be shifted out of its normal subject role (i.e. as defined through cross-referencing in the initial slot of the auxiliary, cf. 3.2.1.1). The anti-causative instead encodes the action as coming about spontaneously, as a result of natural internal forces; the semantic effect of the construction is in fact that there is no agent or external force responsible for the action. Thus CVSs which must involve the action of an agent, or an instrument, on an undergoer, cannot appear in the anticausative. /Kurr/ "hit, kill", for example, necessitates an entity in agentive (or instrumental) role. Thus (6-150.b) is unacceptble as an anti-causative.

6-150.a) garrila gil -kurr -a  
rock 3sS R 1 hit Pst  
He hit the rock (with a broad instrument).

6-150.b) garrila gani -kurr -a  
rock 3sS R go hit Pst  
NOT The rock was hit.

Equally, the anti-causative of (6-147.b) is incompatible with a /gin/ suffixed ergative or instrumental NP.

6-151) * fundi thawurr gani -git -a marrawuk -gin  
arm tree 3sS R go cut,sever Pst wind INS/ =branch ERG

A further feature of the anti-causative is that it may take only inanimate third-person subjects. Thus (6-152), which differs from the anti-causative of (6-148.b) only in having a first, rather than third, person subject, is ungrammatical.

6-152) * ngifel -pikitj-pikkitj -Ø  
1sS R lie twist REDUP Pr  
* I'm all twisted.

(6-153), an attempt to construct (6-152) with a third person animate subject, is equally unacceptable.

6-153) * wadi -Ø yuwa gaful -pikitj-pikkitj -Ø  
male s 3 that 3sS R lie twist REDUP Pr

It is this reduced paradigm which allows us to distinguish transitive CVSs which are eligible for the anti-causative construction from neutral CVSs, which can have causative type readings in
combination with the major transitive auxiliaries. Thus compare the transitive CVS /ful/ "break" with the neutral CVS /fil/ "roll". Both can combine with the "go" auxiliary to form verbs with undergoer-subjects, e.g.:

6-154.a) wurang yigin gani -ful -a
   leg 1sPRO 3sS R go break Pst
   My leg broke (i.e. as a result of internal forces).

6-154.b) garrila gani -fil -a wudi -nanga
   rock 3sS R go roll Pst water LOC
   The rock rolled into the water.

Both may also combine with the major transitive auxiliaries to form two argument verbs:

6-155.a) a -fureng wurang ngirr -ful -a
   CA wallaby leg 1sS R rr break Pst
   I broke the wallaby's leg (with my hands).

6-155.b) garrila ngidin -fil -a wudi -nanga
   rock 1sS R see roll Pst water LOC
   I rolled the rock into the water.

However, while /fil/ forms low-transitive complex verbs with full paradigms, /ful/ may only combine with simple intransitive auxiliaries in the anti-causative (i.e. third-person inanimate subject) construction. Thus (6-156.a) is unacceptable, while (6-156.b) is a regular verb:

6-156.a) * ngin -ful -wurang -a
   1sS R go break leg Pst
   * My leg broke (i.e. as a result of internal forces).

6-156.b) ngin -fil -a wudi -nanga
   1sS R go roll Pst water LOC
   I rolled into the water.

6.4. The Minor Auxiliaries

As outlined in 6.1 above, there are nine auxiliaries which, because they show arbitrary restrictions in their abilities to combine with CVSs, are categorised as "minor". Apart from "heat", which can be assigned no formal transitivity value (cf. 6.1), these are all formally transitive auxiliaries, selecting the /inggi/ form of the auxiliary-final subject number-marker. Five of the minors, /rri/, /nji/, /njsjin/, /muri/ and /di/, are complex auxiliaries, and must
always co-occur with a CVS; each in fact forms just the one complex verb. The remaining four, "do", "claim", "visit" and "heat", are simple auxiliaries, able to function as verbs in their own right. While the simple verbs formed by these auxiliaries have some interesting morphological and semantic idiosyncrasies, they cannot be dealt with adequately in the space available here, and in the following discussion I simply summarise their complex verb functions.

(a) "do":

I have recorded the "do" auxiliary as forming only seven complex verbs. All seven are constructed with lexically incorporated body-part terms in the regular post-auxiliary position. As stated in 6.1, six of these have the further anomalous (for formally transitive verbs) property of having the verb root, not in the regular CVS slot, but rather verb-initial, preposed to the auxiliary. These seven "do" verbs are tabled in (6-157) below:

6-157) Complex "do" Auxiliary Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposed Verb Root</th>
<th>Incorporated BP</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dim</td>
<td>sink</td>
<td>sjangi ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weng</td>
<td>be open</td>
<td>sjangi ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bik</td>
<td>wake</td>
<td>miri eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>filfil</td>
<td>roll (REDUP)</td>
<td>miri eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purrk</td>
<td>clap</td>
<td>masri belly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fitj</td>
<td>?? ??</td>
<td>muri hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>masri belly</td>
<td>go towards</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The anomalous positioning of the verb root would appear to mark these verbs as having an ambivalent transitive character in terms of the interpretation of their subjects as actors or undergoers; regular formally transitive verbs do not permit undergoers to be cross-referenced as subject. These appear to be verbs in which the subject is represented as an actor, that is, as doing something in respect of a body-part, but in which the subject may be ultimately understood as an undergoer-experiencer of a non-controlled process. That is, these verbs would seem to provide active, or controlling subject, metaphors for uncontrolled processes; thus "to forget" appears to be constructed as "to sink/bury one's ear (concerning something) (i.e. to make
oneself no-longer knowledgeable about it)", while "to become dizzy" is constructed as "to cause one's eyes to roll". And the "do" complex verb formed with the root /bik/ and the PBP /miri/, for example, has both active meanings, viz., "open one's eye, keep an eye (on something/someone), and a non-active meaning, which can be seen as a non-controlled form of "open one's eye", viz, "wake up". Note that the entities functioning as the themes of these verbs are in G role, e.g.:

6-158.a) bik ngindim -ini -miri warri -∅ wadi -∅ gagan awake 2sS Ir do 3msG eye 2sS Ir go Pr male s 3 ANAPH
(You(sg)) Keep an eye on that man.

6-158.b) watjan gusri -bek -nganan -a / bik gingim -miri -ya
dog 3sS R sit howl SCE Pst awake 1sS R do eye Pst

I woke up because the dog was howling.

The fundamentally transitive nature of these "do" verbs is shown by the eligibility of their subject NPs for ergative /gin/ affixation:

6-159) wuy, yigin -gin dim gingim -iwinj -sjangi -∅ -ya
no 1sPRO ERG sink 1sS R do 3msG ear pl Pst

No, I forgot them(pl).

(b) "claim":

I have recorded "claim" as able to form only a dozen complex verbs. Ten of these have in common that they describe the agent bringing about, through physical contact, a change of location in the undergoer. These are verbs such as /claim#tjerr/ "drag", /claim#thit/ "place down (in an upright position)" and /claim#tjuk/ "place down (against something)". e.g.:

6-160) wudi -nganan nagin'gi -tjerr -fini -∅
water SCE 2nsS Ir claim drag dl Imp

(You(2)) Drag it out of the water.

6-161) sjandi thawurr gigin -thit -wurang -a
spear tree 3sS R claim place down upper leg Pst

He placed the spear down against the trunk ("leg") of the tree.

As stated in our discussion of the major transitive auxiliaries above (6.2.2.3.(d)), this type of transitive change of location verb is otherwise productively formed using the "see" auxiliary.
(c) "visit":

The "visit" auxiliary forms only one complex verb, through the lexical incorporation of the body-part term /masri/ "belly", which has an implicit source role (cf. 5.5., example (5-149)). The verb means "to come out, emerge", and is used of coming out of any enclosed, contained, or otherwise "belly"-like (cf. 5.2) place.

6-162) gumuyi -masri -ya ngata -nganan
3sS R visit belly Pst house SCE

He came out from (the "belly" of) the house.

(d) "heat":

I have recorded the "heat" auxiliary as able to form only fifteen complex verbs, all concerned with changes of state effected through heat. "Heat" should be understood broadly here, as involving heating through fire (and contemporary heating methods), the sun and as involving in addition to getting hot, processes concerned with drying out, ripening fruit etc. "Heat" stands out amongst Marrithiyel auxiliaries in having a paradigm consisting of just two subject-AVR sequences, third singular realis /gi-di/ and third singular irrealis /gu-di/37, and may only take as its subjects /sjanjsji/ "fire (or other heat source)" and /fandi/ "sun". "Heat" complex verbs can thus be considered as verbs of relatively autonomous heating processes; they are not actions which are viewed as being able to be directly performed or controlled by animate subjects38.

The "heat" auxiliary combines, for example, with the complex verb roots /tjuk/, /tik/ and /minjirr/ to form verbs meaning "burn", "dry up (of surface water)" and "be exhausted, worn out (through exposure to heat (typically, the sun)" respectively, and with the adjectives /derafu/ "dry" and /wuyanjmi/ "cooked, ripe" to form verbs meaning "dry out" and "cook through, ripen" respectively.

6-163) ambi arri -du -Ø / gidi -inj -tjuk -muri -fang NEG 2sS Ir rri touch Imp 3sS R heat 2sO put down hand APP

(You(sg)) Don't touch it, lest it hand-burn you (i.e. lest you burn your hand).

6-164) thawurr gan gudi -derafu -wa sjanjsji -gin / tree this 3sS Ir heat dry Fut fire ERG

The fire will dry out this tree. It will burn it to ashes (literally: "finish it off").
Verbs of "heating", "burning", "cooking" etc. with similar subject restrictions are found in other Australian languages. Hansen and Hansen (1974, p16), for example, cite the verb /kampa-∅/ "burn, heat", from the Western Desert dialect Pintupi, which has "usually only two agents, the sun or fire". Similarly, Dixon (1977, pp257-8) reports that Yidiny has one transitive verb, /guba-n/ which he glosses as "burn", whose A NP "must be 'something burning' ('fire', 'flame', 'sun', etc.)"; there is a corresponding verb /wadju-l/ "burn, cook", which permits animate controlling subject NPs.

(e) /rr/: 

The subject-AVR sequences of the minor /rri/ auxiliary differ from those of the major transitive /rr/ auxiliary only in the singular/inclusive, and then only insofar as employing /rri/, rather than /rr/, as the AVR form when the auxiliary-final slot is unoccupied (cf. Table 3-4). Accompanying this AVR difference is a structural anomaly: in the single complex verb formed by the /rri/ auxiliary the CVS /sretje/ occurs in verb-initial position, preposed to, rather than following, the auxiliary. This CVS co-occurs with no other auxiliary in Marrithiyel. The resulting verb means "want, like". It is structured as a transitive verb; the entity experiencing the emotion is cross-referenced as subject, with the corresponding NP able to be marked with ergative /gin/, while the entity to whom the feeling is directed is cross-referenced with 0 forms.  

6-166) nang yuwa sretje ngirri -∅ yigin -gin 
3msPRO there want, like 1sS R rri Pr 1sPRO ERG 

I like that bloke.

6-167) nanggana -na -ya miyi gagan ambi -ya 
before first Pst plant produce ANAPH NEG Pst 

sretje ngirringgi -∅ -ya miyi wayitpela nang 
want,like 1ESR rri pl Pst plant whiteman 3msPRO 
produce =POSS 

We(exc,pl) never liked that tucker, whiteman's tucker, before.

6-168) sretje garr -inj -∅ / ngindimuyi -ini -wa 
want,like 3sS R rri 2sO Pr 2sS Ir visit 3msG Fut 

He wants you(sg). You should visit him. 
= He wants you to visit him.
"Want" shares with the CVS-initial "do" complex verbs (as in (a) above) both an anomalous formal structure and an outstanding semantic irregularity, among transitive verbs, in coding in subject position an entity interpretable as experiencer-undergoer of an emotional process. In this respect "want" is even more outstanding in the corpus of Marrithiyel verbs in having the entity towards whom the emotion is directed in O, rather than G, role.

(f) /nji/:

As with /rri/ and /rr/, the subject-AVR sequences of the (minor) /nji/ and (major) /nj/ auxiliaries differ formally only in the singular/inclusive. The /nji/ auxiliary forms only one complex verb, /nji#put/, meaning "arise, get up, stand up". This is a formally transitive verb (i.e. selects the /inggi/ subject-number allomorph), but constitutes a single argument predicate; the entity which "arises" is cross-referenced as subject, and there is never any associated object-like argument.

6-169) fandi sjuwu ngirrinjinggi -put -Ø -wa / e ngininj -Ø -wa sun sunset 1ES Ir nji get up pl Fut and 1ES Ir go pl Fut

At sunset we(exc,pl) will get up and go.

Note also that there is no apparent reflexive construct here; G forms, which mark the reflexive, may not be affixed to the auxiliary, e.g.:

6-170) nginji (*-ingin) -put -a 1sS R nji 1sG=REFL arise Pst

I got up.

Further, /nji#put/ is, for the purposes of /gin/ ergative suffixation, in an indeterminate category. Speakers are simply inconsistent in their judgements as to whether /gin/ is appropriate here. (Speakers vary in their assessment of its acceptability from day to day, or admit to being unsure as to its acceptability; I have recorded the ergative used spontaneously with the subject NPs of this verb, but this has been subsequently judged as sub-standard.

6-171) ?? nginji -put -a yigin -gin 1sS R nji arise Pst 1sPRO ERG

I got up.
According to Reid (in preparation), Ngan'gityemeri, Marrithiyel's southern neighbour, has a number of what he calls "inherently reflexive" auxiliaries corresponding to the transitive auxiliaries. He refers to these as "reflexives" because, although not actually taking the reflexive bound pronominals, they form verbs in which the subject "manipulates" his own body in actions such as "getting up", "bending over", "turning around" etc. The /nji/ auxiliary in Marrithiyel is perhaps then the surviving remnant of a former system of reflexive auxiliaries of the type found in current Ngan'gityemeri.

The formal similarities between the regular /nj/ and the /nji/ auxiliary are perhaps indicative of a semantic connection. The /nj/ auxiliary is concerned, broadly, with linear action, and it is therefore possible that the notion of "getting up" is somehow linked to performing an action using an elongated instrument, prototypically the human body.

(g) /muri/:

The "tie" auxiliary combines with only one CVS, /thirr/, to produce a complex transitive verb meaning "to tie (up)".

6-172) mari -imbi -thirr -manthi -Ø fundi manthi -nanga
2S S Ir tie 2S G=REFL tie neck Imp arm neck LOC
=forearm, wrist

(You(sg)) Tie it around your wrist.

(h) /di/:

The /di/ auxiliary forms only one complex verb, in combination with the CVS /njsjin/41, the resulting verb meaning "to fall". This verb has one noteworthy extension of meaning, as the preferred polite form of the verb "to be born". Like all the minor auxiliaries, this is a formally transitive verb. But, like "be hanging" (6.3), it is clearly anomalous in this morphological classing with the transitive verbs. "Fall" encodes its experiencer-undergoer in subject position. It is a single argument predicate, associated with no object-like NP, and its NP subjects are unable to take the /gin/ ergative marker.

6-173) ngidi -njsjin -a thawurr -nganan yigin (*-gin)
1s S R di fall Past tree SCE 1sPRO ERG

I fell out of the tree.

6-174) ambi widip naninj -fini -Ø / ginidinggi -njsin -fini -fang
NEG close 2nsS Ir go dl Imp 2nsS R di fall dl APP

(You(2)) Don't go (too) close, lest you fall.
(i)  /njsjin/

The /njsjin/ auxiliary forms only the one complex verb, "to hang up". This verb has lexically varied unitary and iterative CVS forms (cf. 4.5), with /wut/ as the unitary, and /wudit/ as the iterative stem, e.g.:

6-176) awu gunjsjin'gi -wut -firi -ya thawurr -nanga
meat 3nsS R hang hang up dl Pst tree LOC
(unitary)

They(2) hung the meat up in the tree (in a single action).

6-177) awu ngelfu gunjsjin'gi -wudit -firi -ya thawurr -nanga
meat much 3nsS R hang hang up dl Pst tree LOC
(ITER)

They(2) hung a lot of meat up in the tree.

While a minor auxiliary, /njsjin/ is thus the transitive counterpart of the simple intransitive "be hanging" auxiliary, discussed in 6.3 above. Except for the singular irrealis forms, where they fall together, the paradigms of these two auxiliaries differ only through the presence of a final /n/, perhaps historically a productive transitivizing morpheme, in the transitive AVR.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1 Note that the term "subject-AVR sequence" also embraces the suppletive tense/mood morphemes and the irregularly placed /nj/ subject number marker (of the "lie" and "stand" auxiliaries), which occur between the subject pronominal and the AVR (cf. 3.2.1).

2 Note that /sretje/ is the only verb root which can combine with the /rri/ auxiliary, and that there are only six verb roots which combine with the "do" auxiliary, cf. 6.4.

3 "Lie" and "stand" are exceptional in this respect. They have the subject number marker placed prior to the AVR; consequently it is not displaced by G or O bound pronouns, and co-occurs with all non-singular non-inclusive subjects (cf. 3.2.1.3).
4 The "be hanging" and /njsjin/ auxiliaries also show close formal similarities, but are obviously semantically related, the /njsjin/ auxiliary being the transitive counterpart of the intransitive "be hanging" (cf. 6.4).

5 Ambiguity between the two meanings of the simple verb can only arise when O and G forms are identical; this is the case for the first inclusive, and for second singular O/Gs of non-singular non-inclusive subjects, e.g.:

a) nanj gudin -nimbi -Ø -ya
   2sPRO 3nsS R see 2sO/G pl Pst nsnIS

   They saw you(sg).
   OR They went to see you(sg).

This ambiguity cannot be resolved through case marking on the corresponding NPs, which can take no role coding suffixes.

6 As noted in 6.1 (example (6-23)), the verb /Ø#kurr/ "hit with the mouth", has been recorded, but is for obvious semantic reasons not commonly found; I have recorded no spontaneous use of /see#kurr/, nor have I ever had it judged possible by informants. There appears to be no function of the "see" auxiliary (see 6.2.2.3) which allows for the verb /see#kurr/ to be semantically plausible.

7 /Sjandi/ in (6-38) does not take the instrumental case suffix /gin/.
   This is normal for instrumental NPs appearing immediately before the verb (cf. 2.3).

8 (6-40) could perhaps be considered acceptable if the handle, rather than the head of the axe, was construed as the instrument. One would not normally expect, however, an axe handle to be sufficiently sharp to be capable of effecting such a cutting action.

9 The paint classification of (6-55) brings about a view of the hand as moving in alignment with the forearm. If the slapping action were to involve instead movement at the wrist, the hand would be viewed as an instrument in itself (rather than the end of an elongated instrument), and the action would be classified with the /l/ "broad instrument" auxiliary, e.g.:
He slapped me with (the palm of) his hand.

10 Note that, as discussed above, /paint#git/ is also open to being interpreted in (6-58.b) and (6-59.b) with the knife point directed at (i.e. with the blade perpendicular to) the undergoers. In this context, this is a rather unlikely interpretation.

11 /Paint#bap/, in terms of both its syntactic patterns and its status as an impolite term, strikes me as a direct equivalent of English "fuck". I therefore choose to gloss it with the English term, rather than with an inaccurate or misleading euphemism.

12 This primary sexual reading of the "paint" auxiliary is an often used means of double entendre in Marrithiyel conversation.

13 Note that "penis", which is included among the typical "paint" verb instrumental body parts in (a) above, is absent from this list, for the obvious reason that it has no normal lateral instrumental function.

14 Note that the verb of (6-67) can also be constructed with the /rr/ auxiliary (cf. 6.2.2.3) to depict "swimming" as a hand instrumental action, e.g.:

a) wudi -nanga ngirr -ingin -thenggi -sru -du
   water LOC 1sS R rr 1sG=REFL bottom ITER touch =push
   ngifel -a muri -gin /
   1sS R lie Pst hand INS

wudi -nanga nginj -ingin -thenggi -sru -du
   water LOC 1sS R nj 1sG=REFL bottom ITER touch =push
   ngifel -a fuwa -gin
   1sS R lie Pst lower leg INS

I was (lying down) pushing myself along in the water with my hands.
I was (lying down) pushing myself along in the water with my legs (i.e. in a lateral, swinging motion).

= I was swimming.
It should also be mentioned that included in the set of /nj/ instrumental verbs is /nj#srip/ "spear [unitary]". Given the normal way in which spears are thrust at or thrown towards their targets, and the consequent end salience which should result, one would instead expect this verb to be formed with the "paint" auxiliary. However, "paint" is not the normal nor even a possible classifier of the CVS /srip/, which co-occurs only with the /nj/ auxiliary:

\begin{verbatim}
a) ambi anji -ing -srip -Ø
    NEG 2sS Ir nj 1sØ spear Imp
    (You(sg)) Don't spear me.

b) * ma -ing -srip -Ø
    2sS Ir paint 1sØ spear Imp
\end{verbatim}

It may be that this is simply an anomalous classification. However, given the "length" significance that has been demonstrated for the other /nj/ verbs above, it is possible that the conceptualisation here is not of the point-undergoer contact as the salient part of the action, but rather of the length (or a section of the length) of the instrument situated inside the patient's body. That is, it is possible here that the focus of this verb is more on the end result of spearing something rather than on the point of the instrument passing into the body.

It should be noted that there are two further small groups of /nj/ complex verbs which are not accounted for by the analysis presented here. The first of these consists of verbs of heating, cooking etc. over camp-fires. This group includes verbs such as /nj#bi/ "cook (on an open fire)", /nj#miwil/ "warm up (on an open fire), and /nj#purrngpurrng/ "boil". These verbs, which take human agents, may be compared with verbs formed with the "heat" auxiliary, which cannot be constructed with controlling human subjects (cf. 6.4). The second group consists of verbs generally to do with ignorance or deceit, and includes /nj#perr/ "tell lies (to someone)", /nj#tharrwu(wu)/ "question (someone)" and /nj#butj/ "to be ignorant of (something)". I have no good evidence that there is any linear element or instrumental length salience involved in these verbs, and further investigation into the reasons for their classification with the /nj/ auxiliary is clearly warranted.
17 It would seem likely, given that we can identify a verbal semantic component for this auxiliary, that the auxiliary did historically have an overt AVR, and that this AVR has been eliminated through phonological processes, paradigmatic re-organisation etc. In relation to this point I note that in addition to the semantically-based groups of Ø complex verbs discussed here, there are a few commonly occurring Ø verbs which I have neither been able to relate to the other Ø verbs nor identify as a separate semantic class. These verbs are formed with roots that co-occur with the Ø auxiliary only, and include /Ø#fup/ "put down, give", /Ø#nerri/ "look around for" and /Ø#tharri/ "depart, head off (towards)". It is possible that further investigation will establish a good reason for Ø classification of these verbs. However, there is also the possibility that these verbs have no auxiliary verbal input at all. They are possibly remnants from an earlier stage of the auxiliary system, in which auxiliaries could be constructed simply with the appropriate bound pronominals, tense/mood markers etc., and without an obligatory AVR.

18 Note that there is some overlap here with the /1/ auxiliary; "lick", for example, may also be viewed as a broad instrument action, and constructed as /1#lak/. As discussed in 6.2.2.2(c) above, biting actions may also be viewed more specifically as chopping actions performed with the teeth; /Ø#murmur/ and /1#murmur/ can thus both be used to describe chewing something up. However, application of the /1/ auxiliary results in a less specific verb, with /1#murmur/ meaning generally "to smash up (with a broad instrument)". Thus the Ø classification is the normal one to describe the action of chewing.

19 The /rr/ auxiliary has few extensions of meaning beyond its literal sense of "hands as instruments"; however, the following /rr/ complex verbs are worthy of note.

(1) As indicated in 6.2.2.3.(a) above, the /rr/ auxiliary, in combination with the CVS /yan'gi/, forms a verb meaning "talk, discuss". /Rr/ classification of this verb perhaps reflects the use of the hands in gesture, demonstration and touching during the course of discussion. (Note that this verb carries the sense of directed or purposeful conversation, rather than of casual chatting), e.g.:
a) ngurr -imbi -yan'gi ngibinjarr -wa
   1sS Ir rr 2sG talk 1sS Ir go* Fut

   I'll keep on talking to you(sg).

(2) The /rr/ auxiliary combines with the roots /butj/ (unitary) and
   /pur/ (iterative) to form verbs with a basic meaning of "hold,
   bring/take, carry", but which also take on the meaning of "have,
   possess". Both /rr#butj/ and /rr#pur/ can be applied as verbs of
   possession to objects which cannot be literally held in the hands,
   e.g.:

b) ngata nginjsji ngirr -butj -Ø
   house one 1sS R rr hold Pr

   I have one house.

c) nendu nimbinin garr -di -pur -nimbinin gani -ya
   horse three 3sS R rr 3nsO hold trial 3sS R go Pst

   He used to have three horses.

(/Butj/ and /pur/ also combine with the Ø auxiliary to form possession
verbs; classified with the Ø auxiliary in this way, possession would
appear to be based not on a metaphor of "holding with one's hands",
but rather on a notion of "holding through speech", i.e. possessing
something by "saying that one has/holds it").

20 That is, one would reasonably expect verbs such as "watch, stare",
"search for" etc. to be semantically more complex than "see", and to
have "see" as an element of their semantic explication.

21 These perhaps constitute a class of verbs which, in the absence of a
specific instrumental construct, are thought of as actions in which
the subject brings about changes in his visual field. Other than
this, admittedly rather vague, putative connection, I cannot see how
this complex verb function of the auxiliary is related to its simple
verb role.

22 By "simple intransitive" I mean a single argument verb (that is, one
whose subject NPs are not eligible for /gin/ ergative marking (cf.
2.3)) formed without a CVS (cf. 3.1).

23 As far as I have been able to determine, "go*" (as in its role as a
serialised aspectual, cf. 4.2) has no corresponding habitual function.
I use the term "ascriptive" after Lyons (1977, pp469-75). Ascriptive clauses are formed with the simple intransitive auxiliaries in both simple (as in (6-129)) and complex verb structures. For example, as illustrated in 6.1, ascriptive clauses constructed with adjectival roots place the root either immediately prior to the simple intransitive verb (as in (6-128)), or in the regular post-auxiliary CVS slot. These structural variants are of no semantic consequence, and the discussion which follows covers ascriptive clauses formed with either simple or complex verbs.

There is some discussion of the role of attributive NPs in ascriptive clauses in 4.4.(c). As discussed there, attributive-NP ascriptive clauses may be formed without any simple verb, tense/mood marking attaching instead to the attributive NP.

As shown by the unacceptability of (6-143.b), I have found no usage of the "go*" auxiliary here, parallel to its role in ascriptive clauses (cf. (6-137) above), in encoding a sudden or dramatic change of state.

These are categorised as fundamentally "single argument" roots because they productively form single-argument verbs in combination with the simple intransitive auxiliaries. They do, in addition, form two-argument verbs in combination with the major transitive auxiliaries (cf. 6.2.1). These are to be distinguished from fundamentally two argument CVSs of the transitive class which may form single argument anti-causative verbs, which have restricted paradigms, as discussed below.

Note that /weng/, although adjectival in semantic character, is formally a complex verb root, and not an adjective; it has no independent function, for example, in the adjectival slot of the NP. Thus (a) is a normal verb construction, but the NPs of (b) and (c) are unacceptable:

a) ngata guwa -weng -miri -ya
   house 3sS R stand open eye Pst
   The "eye" (i.e. door/window) of the house was (i.e. stood) open.
b) * miri weng
eye open

* ...(an) open eye

c) * ngata (miri) weng
house eye open

* ...(an) open house (door/window)

But there are some examples of complex verbs formed with static auxiliaries which are used as de-facto change of location verbs. The verb /stand#wultharri/, for example, appears to have a basic meaning something like "to stand (making oneself obvious) at the edge of the camp (as is considered to be correct behaviour upon returning to camp after a journey, significant absence etc.)", but is used generally to mean simply "to return (to a place)", e.g.:

a) nitjima nidin duwarr -nanga ngasja -wultharri -wa
day after country full LOC 1sS Ir stand return Fut
tomorrow "camp"

I will return to camp the day after tomorrow.

There are, however, some metaphoric, rather than literal, assignments of the static auxiliaries to complex verbs. For example, verbs to do with making requests, seeking favours etc. are normally assigned the "lie" auxiliary, regardless of the posture of their subjects. This perhaps reflects some concept of the subject placing himself in a prostrate begging position, e.g.:

a) ngifel -ni -sjinin -a awu -wa
1sS R lie 3msG ask Pst meat Fut

I was (lying) asking him for meat.

Note that, because of the identity of the subject-AVR sequences of the "go" and /n/ auxiliaries (cf. Table 3-4), the verb of (6-147.b) is ambiguous, and may also be construed as an /n/ complex verb, e.g.:

a) fundi thawurr gani -git -a
arm tree 3sS R n cut,sever Pst
=branch

He broke off the branch with his foot.
As shown below (6-149.b), the anti-causative and /n/ complex verb readings are disambiguated through non-singular subject cross-referencing.

32 Note that this includes body-parts of animate subjects, cf. 5.3, examples (5-107) and (5-108).

33 I have recorded the preposed verb root /fitj/ as occurring only in the complex "do" verb listed in (6-157), and, as indicated in (6-157), am therefore unable to determine any independent semantic structure for it. The other verb roots listed in (6-157) all occur with a number of other auxiliaries, and can be assigned independent meanings. I assume that /fitj/ is to be analysed as a verb root both by analogy with the other "do" complex verbs given here, and because I have no evidence that it can function elsewhere as an adverb, nominal etc.

34 See also the discussion of the usage of /do#masri/ in 5.5., at examples (5-166) and (5-167).

35 In the other two "claim" complex verbs, /claim#tji/ and /claim#masri/, the role of the "claim" auxiliary seems to be semantically consistent with its simple verb sense of "saying that one wants, claiming possession of". /Claim#tji/ is an impersonal verb (that is, encoding its experiencer as object, and with no specific recoverable subject NP) meaning "to become tired". /Claim#masri/, formed with the lexically incorporated body-part term /masri/ "belly", means "to take someone into custody"; traditionally applicable to elders taking control of initiates for the purposes of teaching them Aboriginal law, it now also refers to the European legal process of being arrested and taken to jail. In both verbs there would appear to be a sense of "claiming" or "taking possession of" (that is, allowing for some metaphor of a person being "claimed" or "taken over" by tiredness in the verb /claim#tji/), e.g:

a) 
gigin -ngi -tji -njsjan -Ø / ngun -batj -wa
3sS R claim 1sO tire now Pr 1sS Ir go lie down Fut

I'm tired now. I want to lie down.

b) 
duknganan nadi -Ø firrigin -di -masri -Ø -wa
policeman 2nsPRO pl 3nsS Ir claim 2nsO belly pl Fut

The policeman is going to take you(pl) into custody.
This might suggest that the "claim" auxiliary was formerly the productive auxiliary for this function, possibly replaced by "see" in the process of a general reduction in the number of productive transitive auxiliaries, and allowing only a few of the more common "claim" change of location complex verbs to survive into contemporary Marrithiyel.

As noted in 6.1 above, these are identical to the corresponding subject-AVR sequences in the "fall down" auxiliary; however, I have found no evidence to suggest a semantic link between these two auxiliaries.

Other auxiliaries are employed for complex-verbs of "heating" which can take animate subjects; see, for example, fn#16 in 6.2.2.2.(b) below.

Note that I have no good evidence that the formal similarity between the /rr/ and /rri/ auxiliaries has any semantic basis, that is, that "wanting" and "liking" are conceived of, at some level, as mediated through or in the hands of the subject.

I have not made the space available in this work to discuss the syntax of "want" and its complements. It should be observed, however, that what are interpreted semantically as "want" complements take the syntactic form in Marrithiyel of independent clauses. As shown in (6-170) want complementation does involve what can be interpreted as subject-raising.

This CVS is homophonous with the predominant AVR allomorph of the /njsjin/ auxiliary, but does not appear to be synchronically relatable to it.

There are also indications of a transitivizing final /n/ in another auxiliary pair, "see" and /di/. The "see" and /di/ auxiliaries have effectively the same relation as the /njsjin/ and "be hanging" auxiliaries with respect to their transitivity and the presence/absence of a final /n/ in the AVR. Since the "see" auxiliary forms transitive complex verbs to do with change of stance/location of
the undergoer (6.2.2.3.(c), example (6-100)), it would be possible to regard the "fall" verb formed with the /di/ auxiliary as an intransitive "see" verb.
APPENDICES

Appendix A: Free Form Pronouns

(a) Singular                       Dual                        Trial                        Plural
   1st inc: nganggi -Ø             nganggi -nimbini             nganggi -nim
   1st exc: gadi -fini             gadi -nimbini               gadi -Ø
   2nd: nadi -fini                 nadi -nimbini               nadi -Ø
   3rd mas.: nang                  3rd ns: wedi -fini          wedi -nimbini             wedi -Ø
   3rd fem.: ngiya

(b) A free-form emphatic and/or reflexive pronoun is derived by prefixing the free-form pronouns with /muri/ "hand", e.g.:

1) muri -yigin ngidin -ngin -a
   hand 1sPRO 1sS R see 1sG=REFL Pst
   \textit{I saw myself.}

2) gudin'gi -fini -ya muri -wedi -fini -gin
   3nsS R see dl Pst hand 3nsPRO dl ERG
   \textit{They (2) saw it.}

Appendix B: Class Markers

Pronominally Inflected Forms

\begin{tabular}{ll}
Human - male singular & Human - female singular \\
1st & 1st \\
   wadi -ng & ngunggu -ng \\
2nd & 2nd \\
   wadi -nj & ngunggu -nj \\
3rd & 3rd \\
   wadi -Ø & ngunggu -Ø \\
\end{tabular}

Human - non-singular

\begin{tabular}{ll}
1st inc & gumbu -dinj \\
1st exc & gi -dinj \\
2ns & gini -dinj \\
3ns & gu -dinj \\
\end{tabular}

(Note that pronominally inflected human non-singular NPs are suffixed for number in the same way as free form pronouns, cf. Green (1981, p60).
Prefixes

Human non-singular ma-
Flesh food, lower animate a-
Plant produce mi-

Generic Nouns

Human - male meri
Human - female muku
Flesh food awu
Plant produce miyi
Trees, "things" thawurr - tharr
Clubs & Boomerangs yeri
Digging sticks yeli

Appendix C: Demonstratives

this, here gan
that, there (mid or prominent) ganda
that, there (distant or non-prominent) yuwa
that, there (as indicated by gesture) apu

GENERAL ANAPHORIC gagan
ANAPHORIC LOCATIVE yibi
The following story comes from Bill Parry. It was recorded at the Marrithiyel Homelands Centre at Wudi Gapil Dyierr on 28/8/85, and has been transcribed and translated in consultation with Bill Parry and Jack Yanmung. Italics indicate English words which were not phonologically adapted into Marrithiyel by the narrator. In order to convey the spirit of the narratives, I have at various points provided fairly free, rather than strict literal, English translations.

1) yugimiya nidin gan, wadi -Ø gan wayitpela bugam
   long ago country this male s 3 this whiteman white
   dathamal ginj -bat -a,
   large wooden 3sS R nj knock down Pst
   raft/boat
   garri -puritj -a ani sjalwu gimin
   3sS R rr make Pst like canoe like

   This story is about this country long ago.
   That white-man had knocked down trees and fashioned
   a large wooden boat, like the canoes that we make.

2) sjalwu gapil gagan -njsja gidin -fil gani -ya
   canoe big ANAPH now 3sS R see roll 3sS R go Pst

   The current carried the big canoe to this place.

3) gani -tharr -a / meri yeri merawu gidin -ni -mubel -a
   3sS R go stop Pst man child several 3sS R see 3msG spread Pst
   =REFL out

   They stopped here. They spread out and multiplied.

4) nidin gan "thawun" ganda giminggi -Ø -Ø,
   country this town, Darwin that 3nsS R do pl Pr
   ambi wayitpela nidin, ma -sjikim wedi -Ø,
   NEG whiteman country CH black 3nsPRO pl
   =POSS
   nidin gadi -Ø ma -sjikim nidin gan ambi wayitpela
   country 1EPRO pl CH black country this NEG whiteman

   This country, that place they call "Darwin",
   it doesn't belong to the whites, it belongs to the blacks,
   this is our country, blacks' country, not whites' country.

5) wadi -Ø gan -njsja "Captain Cook" giminggi -Ø -Ø
   male s 3 this now 3nsS R do pl Pr

   That whiteman, they call him "Captain Cook".

6) wadi -Ø ganda mirr gumun'gi -it -a photograph -nganan,
   male s 3 that shadow 3nsS R paint pick up Pst
   SCE
They know what he looks like because of the photograph, his "shadow" (image) is on the paper.

And that paper they call "money", that's where Captain Cook is.

He's the man who made that big boat, and sailed to this country.

He made contact with Aboriginal people. They'd never seen white men before.

"What's this, who has come here, is it a ghost?" they said, "He's a strange man, from another country".

"He's come to us now, what shall we do?"

"Oh, just let him be," they said.... Alright, then.

At the town of Adelaide River, the whites went about setting up farms alongside the river.
16) ambi -ya wayitpela gani -srapsrap -a, meri defen
NEG Pst whiteman 3sS R go step REDUP Pst man just

Whites had never travelled there before, just Aboriginal men.

17) guwa -wul -a ni nidin nang
3sS R stand return Pst NI country 3msPRO=POSS

Captain Cook returned to his own country.

18) gim -iwinj -Ø -a meri nang
3sS R do 3msG pl Pst man 3msPRO

He spoke to his people.

19) gim -iwinj -Ø -a "nidin ngidin -a
3sS R do 3msG pl Pst country 1sS R see Pst

"wayitpela giminggi -Ø -Ø 'Northern Territory', ngidin -a,
whiteman 3nsS R do pl Pr
1sS R see Pst

He told them: "I've seen a new country, they call it
the 'Northern Territory'.

20) "ngil -dut -a nidin, nidin ma -sjikim wedi -Ø,
1sS R l find Pst country country CH black 3nsPRO pl

meri guninj -Ø -Ø ganda ambi wayitpela bugam gimin
man 3nsS R go pl Pr that NEG whiteman white like
ma -sjikim masri"
CH black belly

"I discovered that country, black people's country. The people
there are not like white people, they're black."

21) "yu" giminggi -Ø -ya, "ngumbun -nim -njsjan -wa", nada.
es3s S R do pl Pst 1sS Ir go I pl now Fut alright

"Yes," they said, "we'll go there straight away".

22) thawun -njsjan wayitpela gani -mitjuk -a
town now whitefella 3sS R go make camp Pst

Whitemen made camp in Darwin then.

23) thawun, thawun -njsjan gurringgi -puritpuritj -Ø guninj -Ø -a
town town now 3nsS R rr make REDUP pl 3nsS R go pl Pst

ngata, ngata gapil
house house big

They built many big houses there.

24) gani -ya murrika train
3sS R go Pst car

Cars and trains came then.

25) nada, wayitpela, nada
alright whiteman alright

Alright, that was the whitemen.
meri gan -nganan, ni nidin gadi -Ø, "Moil Reserve"
man here SCE NI country 1EPRO pl

giminggi -Ø -Ø, nada gak -njsjan gininj -Ø -a yuwa -njsjan,
3nsS R do pl Pr alright off now 1ES R go pl Pst there now

ni wayitpela -njsjan -sran
NI whiteman now ALL

The people from here, from our country, the "Moil Reserve",
went there, to where the whites were.

MalakMalak -na gul -iwijnj -tim -Ø -a
MalakMalak first 3nsS R 1 3msG join with pl Pst

The MalakMalak were the first to join them.

wayitpela guninj -Ø -a thawun -nganan,
whiteman 3nsS R go pl Pst town SCE

"Coppermine" giminggi -Ø -Ø
3nsS R do pl Pr

The whitemen came from town to that place called the "Coppermine".

thawurr copper gulinggi -dut -Ø -a
thing 3nsS R 1 find pl Pr

They discovered copper.

yesri gunjinggi -kuritj -Ø -a tharr copper -wa
hole 3nsS R nj dig a well pl Pst thing PURP

They dug a shaft for that copper stuff.

tharr ninjsja -fen -wa tharr gan copper
thing what INDEF PURP thing this

sretje gurringgi -Ø -ya
want 3nsS R rri pl Pst

I don't know what they wanted that copper for.

gadi -Ø girinjinggi -butj -Ø -a, meri gunjinggi -butj -Ø -a
1EPRO pl 1ES R nj hold pl Pst man 3nsS R nj hold pl Pst

We didn't know, Aboriginal people didn't know.

amri sjangi -wedi guninj -Ø -a tharr gagan copper,
NEG ear having 3nsS R go pl Pst thing ANAPH

wayitpela defen
whiteman only

They didn't understand about that copper stuff,
only the whitemen understood.

ap ninjsja -fen -wa gunjinggi -butj -Ø guninj -Ø -a
perhaps what INDEF PURP 3nsS R nj hold pl 3nsS R go pl Pst

They didn't know what it was for.

nada, ambi -ra mitjitj bugam, muku bugam,
alright NEG CA wife ("missus") white woman white
Alright, the whitemen had no white wives, no-one to sleep with, they had no women.

They joined up with the MalakMalak, with black people.

Alright, the whitemen were wrong then.

The whitemen called out, asking for women.

"No, these are our women, where are your wives?

"You should have brought your wives here," the Aboriginal men told them.

"No, we want to sleep with those women," they told the Aboriginal men.

The whitemen were insistent - they demanded the women, and they took the women off the Aboriginal men.

And they slept with those women at the coppermine.

Alright, the MalakMalak were pining for their women, they were without their women.
47) gak -njsjan guninj -Ø -a sjandi -wedi, off then 3nsS R go pl Pst spear having
gunj -idi -srip -Ø -a wayitpela, nada, 3nsS R nj 3nsO spear pl Pst whiteman alright (unitary)
gurr -di -dip -Ø -a 3nsS R rr 3nsO spear ITER pl Pst

They went off with their spears. They speared the whitemen. They speared them all up.

48) marri guwa -yirrirr -a thawun word 3sS R stand rotate Pst town

The news of the killing spread around town.

49) wayitpela -njsjan gudin -di -sri -tjuk -Ø -a whiteman then 3nsS R see 3nsO ITER put down pl Pst

The whitemen sent a lot of people then.

50) yeri shotgun -njsjan rifle, wayitpela ambi nginjsji club GEN then whiteman NEG one

gani -ya, nada 3sS R go Pst alright

Not just a few whiteman, a large group came then with shotguns and rifles.

51) gul -di -futjfutj -Ø -a meri, ambi ma -nginjsji, 3nsS R l 3nsO hit,kill ITER pl Pst man NEG CH one

MalakMalak Werat Matngela wakay gul -di -wanggal -Ø -a MalakMalak Werat Matngela completely 3nsS R l 3nsO finish pl Pst

They killed the Aboriginal men then. Not just a few, they finished off the MalakMalak, Werat and Matngela completely.

52) yeri meruwu -da gudin -di -thunghung -fiyi -ya child GEN several again 3nsS R see 3nsO put hole in head Pst REDUP
garrila -nanga, nidin apu gaful -Ø, rock LOC country over there 3sS R lie Pr

wayitpela giminggi -Ø -Ø "Blackfella Creek" whiteman 3nsS R do pl Pr

They smashed the children's heads against the rocks, in that place over there, that the whites call "Blackfella Creek".

53) nidin fundi gagan, gagan -njsja yeri country arm=creek ANAPH ANAPH then child
gul -di -futjfutj -Ø guninj -Ø -a 3nsS R l 3nsO hit,kill ITER pl 3nsS R go pl Pst

In the area of that creek they went about killing children.
They shouldn't have done the wrong thing.

They killed them for women.

They should have brought their own women.

They broke the law.

After that, in that time long ago, my mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, just the Marrithiyel people together, they took off.

We left this country and went there, where the whites were.

My mother found a whiteman, she fell in love with him.

After that I was born, and my sister was born.

I'm half-Aboriginal, I'm a brown man, I'm not a white.
My father planted trees.

The whitemen call that tree "cotton".

But we call it "mupun".

He planted those trees.

But the wind uprooted them.

The wind blew them out of my father's hands.

Alright, he said, "This is no good".

After that he put pigs on the farm.

They spread out and multiplied.

They kept on breeding. There were many pigs.

And then the Aboriginal men went around spearing them.
They ate them all up, they finished them off.

"Oh, no, I don't know what I will do," said my father.

Alright, my father tried peanuts then.

He didn't have a car - a horse dragged the plough for him.

And water-buffalo also dragged it.

And then, he taught me how to grow peanuts.

"Do it like this, plant them like this.

"I'm an old man now.

"I'm planting these peanuts.

"I'm planting mangos."
He went on planting them, he went on teaching me.

I was big, I was a young man, just able to grow a moustache,

when my father died.

He left that country for the three of us, my brother and sister and I.

Just us Aboriginal people then, we kept on planting those peanuts.

No whitefellas, we Aboriginal people were planting the peanuts.

We used to eat damper – we only had flour, sugar, tea and tobacco.

We used to eat wallaby, fish, flying fox and wild honey.
And then the wet season started.

We pulled up the peanuts.

We broke them up.

We put them into bags.

We sent them to the whitemen.

We got money. And we got more money.

Not for anything else, just for flour - we bought flour, sugar and tobacco.

We went on and on like that.

Those whitemen didn't like black people.

Yes, but they used to call out for black women, those whitemen.
Those women refused to go with the whitemen.

So the whitemen went about killing children with their rifles.

And the Aboriginal men, they wanted white women.

And the whitemen did the wrong thing. We were like fish to them, like fish or wallabies. The whitemen did the wrong thing.

The whitemen were not good people, they were bad people.
This country is our country, it belongs to black men, this is not the white's country, it is ours.

Alright, they took the country from us.

They said to us, "This is our country now, whitemen's country, it's not your country".

Alright, it continued on like that, year after year.
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