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Wankupayinguyarntu

(for Algy Paterson)
ALGY PATERSON WITH THE AUTHOR, DEEPDALE 1981

ALGY PATERSON HAFTING A SPEAR, WARRAMBOO 1985
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PREFACE

Martuthunira is an Australian language of the Pama-Nyungan family. Originally spoken by the peoples inhabiting the coastal plain between the Robe and Fortescue rivers in the Pilbara region of Western Australia, the language now has (as this book goes to print) just one remaining speaker. However, the loss of the language is not a consequence of the speakers giving up Martuthunira in favour of some other language. Martuthunira has been lost because its speakers have all died: through misadventure, massive social upheaval, and a plethora of introduced diseases and vices. It is too late to save Martuthunira. Already it is a language serving no social purpose and all too soon will survive only as a collection of tape-recorded and transcribed texts and elicitation sessions.

My approach to description is eclectic – the discussions of phonology and morphosyntax, while informed by theoretical debate, deliberately avoid reference to the constructs of any current theoretical model. My belief is that, as a result, the language will have a better chance of speaking for itself and the grammatical description will have a longer life. For the same reason I make very little use of constructed language examples but have attempted to make maximal use of examples taken from ‘natural’ text. My hope is firstly that something of the idiomatic beauty of the language will reach the reader by osmosis and, secondly, that readers will be given the best possible chance of finding things in the language that I have not, as well as the data from which to question my analyses.

Martuthunira is of general typological interest for a number of reasons. First, like other members of the Ngayarda subgroup of Pama-Nyungan, it has a consistent nominative-accusative pattern of case-marking and a productive passive voice. In this it stands in contrast to the larger number of (ergative) Australian languages. Second, it evidences a high degree of ‘multiple case-marking’, a phenomenon in which nominals bear a sequence of case suffixes, each indicating the role of the marked constituent in increasingly complex levels of structure. Third, it has a particularly rich system (by Australian standards) of multiple-clause syntax, the result of the combination of a number of types of subordinate clause pattern, the voice system and switch-reference. It is one of very few languages in the world which combine switch-reference with the use of an active-passive voice distinction in complex sentences.

The grammatical description presented here is a revised version of my 1987 PhD thesis, research for which was funded by The Australian National University. Since then I have had the support of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Western Australia, and more recently the Centre for Linguistics at UWA. In writing and rewriting the grammar I have had the encouragement and helpful advice of a large number of people (too numerous to list and thank individually here), but in particular I would like to thank Peter Austin, Bob Dixon, Nick Evans, Ken Hale, Shelly Harrison, Rodney Huddleston, Harold Koch and Francesca Merlan.
There are few field linguists who can resist the opportunity to embark on the voyage of discovery represented by a previously uncharted language, but it is only fair to say that recording Martuthunira was not my idea. I first met Algy Paterson in January 1980 when he was introduced to me at an initiation meeting on Peedamullah Station. At the time, I was learning Panyjima and Algy asked me to find the time to record Martuthunira. He saw himself as the last fully competent speaker of his mother's language and was desperate to pass on that knowledge. Two months later he made the hundred-mile journey into Onslow and we made our first recordings. Since then I have made a number of trips to the Pilbara and have lived with Algy and his wife Mabel at Warramboo homestead and travelled with them throughout Martuthunira and Kurrama country. Only a small part of what they have taught me in those fourteen years is represented in this book, and I owe them both an immeasurable debt.

*Alan Dench*

Centre for Linguistics

University of Western Australia
# ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

## Phonological conventions

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<th>Description</th>
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<td>word boundary</td>
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<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>protoform</td>
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<td>/ /</td>
<td>phonemic representation</td>
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<tr>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>phonetic representation</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>consonant</td>
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<td>N</td>
<td>nasal</td>
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<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>stressed syllable /pa/</td>
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<td>pa</td>
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<td>pa</td>
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## Morphological conventions

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>-N</td>
<td>N-conjugation verb stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-NG</td>
<td>NG-subconjugation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(of Ø-conjugation) verb stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-R</td>
<td>R-conjugation verb stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>Ø-conjugation verb stem</td>
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<tr>
<td>-Ø-</td>
<td>empty morph (English glosses)</td>
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<td>+</td>
<td>separates parts of portmanteau morph</td>
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## Syntactic conventions

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<td>V</td>
<td>verb</td>
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## Kin term abbreviations

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<td>child</td>
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<td>D, Da</td>
<td>daughter</td>
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<td>F, Fa</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
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<td>H</td>
<td>husband</td>
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<td>M, Mo</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
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<td>S, So</td>
<td>son</td>
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<td>W</td>
<td>wife</td>
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<td>Z, Si</td>
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### Nominal suffix abbreviations

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<td>conjunction</td>
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<td>distributed plural</td>
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<td>dual</td>
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<td>dweller</td>
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<td>EFF</td>
<td>effector</td>
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<td>direction facing</td>
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<td>proper nominal marker</td>
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Particle and clitic abbreviations

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<td>YK</td>
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Other abbreviations

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MAP 1: MARTUTHUNIRA TERRITORY AND BOUNDARIES
MAP 2: PREVIOUSLY DESCRIBED BOUNDARIES
MAP 3: NEIGHBOURS AND SUBGROUPS
CHAPTER 1
THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

This chapter provides general ethnographic and historical background. Where the language is spoken and how it is related to its neighbours is described in §1.1 and §1.2. Section 1.3 gives a brief description of the traditional life of the Martuthunira people, as gleaned from the limited sources. Section 1.4 describes the post-contact history of the Martuthunira while §1.5 outlines previous investigations of the language. Section 1.6 gives a short biographical sketch of the principal informant – Mr Algy Paterson. His story provides a more personal perspective on the social pressures which have affected the recent history of languages in the Pilbara region. Finally, §1.7 describes the nature of the data on which this description is based.

1.1 NAMES AND LOCATION

The name ‘Martuthunira’ appears in many different forms in the literature. Tindale (1974) uses the spelling Mardudunera, also used by O’Grady et al. (1966) and Oates and Oates (1970), and lists ten alternatives. These are given below together with the source of the spelling.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<tr>
<td>Mardudjungara</td>
<td>(Radcliffe-Brown 1913)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mardudhunera</td>
<td>(Wurm 1970)</td>
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<td>Mardudhunira</td>
<td>(Connelly 1932)</td>
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<td>Mardathoonera</td>
<td>(Daisy Bates)</td>
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<td>Martutunira</td>
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<td>Martutunera</td>
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<td>Marduduna</td>
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<td>Mardathoni</td>
<td>(‘Yabaroo’ 1899)</td>
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<td>Mardatuna</td>
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<td>Maratunia</td>
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To this list can be added von Brandenstein’s (1967) spelling, Martuthunira, which is followed by Wordick (1982). It should be noted that the phonetic representation of the language name differs depending on the main language of the informant. Martuthunira speakers give [maroŋone], Yindjibarndi speakers give [maroŋone], and Thalanyji speakers give [maroŋone]. This grammar employs an orthography based on a voiceless stop series and the new spelling Martuthunira is used in keeping with this. ‘Martuthunira’ derives from the name of the lower reaches of the Fortescue River, Martuthuni, by the
addition of the provenience suffix -ra (§4.8.5). Thus, as a name for the people, *Martuthunira* means ‘those who live around the Fortescue River’.

The reported location and extent of Martuthunira territory also differs from one description to another. Map 1 shows the extent of Martuthunira territory as described by those speakers consulted in preparing this description. Map 2 presents previous representations of the boundaries.

Radcliffe-Brown (1913:175) describes the Martuthunira as occupying “the coast of Western Australia from a point somewhere between the Cane and Robe Rivers as far as the Maitland River”. His map shows the territory extending as far to the south-east as the Hamersley Range. However, his map does not conform to the description in his text and places the south-western boundary between the Fortescue and Robe Rivers (see Map 2). Tindale (1974:248) makes a more confined estimate, giving the area as 2,100 square miles:

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

My information supports Radcliffe-Brown's original estimation. The north-eastern boundary between the Martuthunira, Ngarluma and Yapurarra/Pijurru is marked by a group of three hills – Mount Leopold, Moondle Hill and Mount McLeod – just to the south of the Maitland River. Mount Leopold is described as the ‘cornerpeg’ of Martuthunira country. On the Fortescue River, the Martuthunira extended as far inland as Booloomba Pool, though much of the gorge country was shared with the Kurrama and Yindjibarndi. The ancient river valley linking the Robe and Fortescue Rivers, in the shadow of Mount Elvire, effectively represents the south-eastern boundary with the Kurrama. The Robe River (Jajiwurra), Jimmawurrara Creek and the Buckland Hills were also Martuthunira. Warluru Pool, where the Robe River leaves the Hamersley Range, marks the eastern extent of Martuthunira country. Warluru also marks the eastern boundary between the Kurrama and Pinikura, whose country borders the Martuthunira in the Buckland Hills from Warluru to Chalyarn Pool on the Robe. The Nhuwala and Pinikura meet nearby at Darnell Hill. On the west coast, the grass plains and mudflats between the Robe River and the Cane River were shared with the Nhuwala. Warramboo Creek (Wartampu) is described as the boundary although the Nhuwala foraged as far to the north-east as the Robe River.

The Martuthunira visited the islands of the Dampier Archipelago, which they presumably shared with the Yapurarra/Pijurru, and the Mary Anne Group. Tindale also includes Barrow Island within Martuthunira territory (see Map 2). However, there is no reliable archeological evidence of recent pre-contact occupation of Barrow and certainly no belief on the part of present inhabitants of the Pilbara that the island was ever visited.

Von Brandenstein’s (1967) map of the Pilbara languages gives a quite inaccurate picture of the location of the Martuthunira in relation to other groups. His map restricts the Martuthunira to the coastal plain between the Maitland and Robe Rivers and assigns the uplands between the Fortescue and Robe to the Ja'unmalu, which he describes as a ‘subgroup’ of the Yindjibarndi. The status, linguistic, local or otherwise, of the term ‘subgroup’ is not made clear in his paper although the map implies that the Ja'unmalu were Yindjibarndi speakers. Tindale (1974), presumably on the basis of his own field survey of the area, records Jawunmala as a Yindjibarndi term for the Martuthunira, and this is certainly
supported by the description of boundaries given by Radcliffe-Brown and my informants. Von Brandenstein (1967:3) reports two terms used for people to the south-west of the Martuthunira:

Jardira is a collective name for the Kuarindjarri, the ‘Westerners’ and the Kurrama, the ‘Highlanders’, because they live both ‘on the one side’ as seen from the Martuthunira.

While yarti does occur as a word for ‘side’ in Pilbara languages (Panyjima, for example), it does not occur in Martuthunira. Jardira (Yartira in the present orthography) is most likely a local group term for people living on the Cane River (Yarti). The word given here for ‘west’, kauari, does not occur in Martuthunira, nor does the suffix -ndjarri.

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

1.2 NEIGHBOURS AND LINGUISTIC AFFILIATIONS

Map 3 shows the relative location and genetic relationship between Martuthunira and other languages in the Pilbara area. The earliest classification of the languages of the north-west of Western Australia, O’Grady et al. (1966), lists Martuthunira as a member of the Ngayarda subgroup of the Nyungic group of the Pama-Nyungan language family. The classification was based on a lexicostatistical survey of the languages and, in the case of Martuthunira, involved a simple 100-item word list compared with similar lists for Ngarluma (54% cognacy), Kurrama (64%) and Nhuwala (68%). The Ngayarda subgroup included the following languages: Ngarla, Nyamal, Palyku-Panyjima, Kurrama-Yindjibarndi, Kariyarra-Ngarluma, Martuthunira, Pinikura, Jurruru, and Nhuwala. This classification included three dialect pairs based on cognate densities of 79% for Palyku-Panyjima, 78% for Kurrama-Yindjibarndi, and 79% for Kariyarra-Ngarluma.

O’Grady (1966) lists a number of grammatical features that support the lexicostatistical grouping of the languages. First, the Ngayarda languages show phonological and morphophonemic features which distinguish them from members of the Murngu and Wati subgroups:

1. they have a laminal contrast and have lost a contrast between initial laminals and apicals, only initial laminals being attested in the Ngayarda languages;

2. they preserve a ‘Proto Pama-Nyungan’ morphophonemic alternation in the form of the ‘agent-instrumental’ suffix, *-lu ~ -ngku, conditioned by the length of the word stem;
they have a morphophonemic rule of nasal dissimilation reducing the locative suffix 
-nga to -ka where it is attached to a nominal containing a nasal-stop cluster (in fact this 
rule is restricted to Panyjima, Kurrama, Yindjibarndi and Ngarluma).

O’Grady then lists four morphosyntactic features shared by members of the Ngayarda 
subgroup and which set these apart from other languages of the Nyungic group:

1. The better known languages of the subgroup (viz. Ngarluma and Yindjibarndi) have a 
   productive active/passive voice distinction.

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

3. The ‘Proto Pama-Nyungan’ suffix *-ku has shifted “from the specialized meaning 
   indirect object to the broader meaning object (noncommitally direct/indirect)”.

4. The ‘Proto Pama-Nyungan’ verb suffix *(l)ku has shifted “from future (or optative) to 
   present”.

Oates (1975) presents a different classification, devised by von Brandenstein, which 
distinguishes a Coastal Ngayarda subgroup from an Inland Ngayarda subgroup. Von 
Brandenstein’s classification is based on grammatical criteria similar to those recognised by 
having an “Active Verbal Concept” (AVC) (read ‘accusative case-marking pattern’), those 
having a “Passive Verbal Concept” (PVC) (read ‘ergative case system’), and an intermediate 
type having a combination of both AVC and PVC features. By von Brandenstein’s 
classification, the Coastal Ngayarda languages are AVC and include Ngarla, Kurrama, 
Yindjibarndi, Kariyarra, Ngarluma, Martuthunira, Pinikura, Nhuwala, Jiwarli and Thiin. 
Members of the Inland Ngayarda Subgroup are intermediate between the AVC and PVC 
type. Oates (1975:73) describes these as “being basically accusative languages like the 
coastal group, but also having ergative suffixes like the Western Desert languages (AVC with 
PVC intrusions)” . The group includes Nyamal (including “Widagari” and “Bundjuwanga”, 
described by von Brandenstein as “light” and “heavy” Nyamal respectively), Panyjima, 
Jurruru, Warriyangka, Janadjina and Yinhawangka.

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

Austin (1988) presents a new classification of the languages of the Ashburton and 
Gascoyne districts based on lexical, morphological and syntactic criteria. He places Pinikura 
together with Payungu, Purduna and Thalanyji in the Kanyara group, and Jiwarli. Thiin and 
Warriyangka together with Tharrkari in the Mantharta group. Austin argues that his earlier 
(1981c) classification of Jurruru as a Mantharta language is incorrect and that the language is 
properly of the Ngayarda group. He also notes (Austin 1988) that “von Brandenstein’s 
errors have been reproduced by Wurm and Hattori eds (1981), in their map 20, which 
appears to be based on the same classification as that described by Oates”.

O'Grady's (1966) list of Ngayarda morpho-syntactic features provides the best set of grammatical criteria for a Ngayarda group yet devised. The first three features are the result of a syntactic change in a number of Ngayarda languages such that an accusative case-marking system has developed from a predominantly ergative case-marking system (Dench 1982). This innovation is shared by Panyjima, Jurruru, Yindjibarndi, Kurrama, Ngarluma, Kariyarra and Martuthunira. O'Grady's fourth feature, the shift of a future tense verb suffix to present tense status, occurs only in Panyjima, Kurrama and Yindjibarndi. By itself it cannot be used as a defining criterion for the group as a whole but it is suggestive of a sub-classification of the Ngayarda languages.

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

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

For the purposes of this study then, the Ngayarda group is taken to include Ngarla, Nyamal, Kariyarra, Ngarluma, Yindjibarndi, Kurrama, Panyjima, Yinhawangka, Jurruru, Nhuwala and Martuthunira. Although there are grounds for considering Yindjibarndi-Kurrama and Ngarluma-Kariyarra to be dialect pairs, I prefer to conform to the local socio-political perception of each as a separate language.

1.3 TRADITIONAL LIFE

Unfortunately there is no detailed ethnographic description of the Martuthunira people, and in the present situation it is very difficult to arrive at a clear picture of traditional practices. The first, and effectively last, true ethnographic description appears in Radcliffe-Brown's (1913) paper. Here, in addition to an analysis of the kinship system, he makes a few observations on the organisation of local groups and group totems indicating that, for the most part, the Martuthunira resembled the Kariyarra in these respects. It is also possible to glean some additional information from the reports of early explorers and settlers, and from descriptions in traditional texts. Although a certain amount of detail of traditional life is remembered by people in the Pilbara community today, such information must be treated with care. The traditional practices of the Martuthunira have been dead for a long time and memory can be corrupted by knowledge of the surviving social institutions of other groups in the area. Because of this, Radcliffe-Brown's description possibly remains the most reliable source.
The following sections provide an outline of traditional Martuthunira social organisation and economic life, with a few remarks on aesthetic expression through language. I have not made a detailed study of any of these aspects of Martuthunira culture but, beyond the sources mentioned, base this discussion on an overall impression built up through general discussion with informants and a number of years of participant observation of everyday life and ritual in the semi-traditional Pilbara community. I ask that the reader treat the description with sympathetic skepticism.

1.3.1 THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

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

The Martuthunira kinship system is no longer in use and I was not able to collect extensive or entirely consistent information. For this reason, Radcliffe-Brown's (1913) reported data, gathered from actual genealogies, provides the basis for the present analysis. Radcliffe-Brown's description is generally consistent with my data and in a number of instances helped jog the informant's memory of terms and relationships. Radcliffe-Brown describes the Martuthunira system as of the Arunda type, but this has been successfully questioned by Scheffler (1978) who argues instead that the system is of the Kariera type.

As a Kariera system, the Martuthunira system can be successfully described in terms of just two patrilines (in effect patrimoieties). Table 1.1 presents the basic Martuthunira kinship terminology for a male ego (affinal terminology is presented separately in Table 1.2). Both Radcliffe-Brown's data and my own are seriously deficient in terminology reckoned from the point of view of a female ego and for this reason the charts present relationships from the point of view of a male ego only.

Some additional explanatory notes to Table 1.1 are necessary:

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

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

(c) The superclass terms in the second ascending and second descending generations are *thami* and *kantharri* with no distinction for sex. Presumably, the terms *mayali* and *ngapari* were used specifically for agnatic kin.

(d) Terminology repeats every four generations. Thus kin in the third descending generation are called by the terms used for the first ascending generation, and kin in the third ascending generation are called by the terms of the first descending generation.
1.3.2 ALTERNATE GENERATION SETS AND SECTIONS

The terminological equivalence between the second ascending generation and second descending generation points to a system of merged alternate generation sets. All kin of ego’s own generation, his grandparents and his grandchildren’s generations are in one merged
generation set, while all kin in ego's parents and children's generations are in the other set. In the Pilbara, as in many Australian societies, the alternate generation sets are extremely important in the organisation of ritual, so much so that the division is reified in a number of common Ngayarda grammatical systems (Dench 1987a).

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

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+----------------+----------------+----------------+----------------+
| Panaka          | Karimarra       |
|                 |                 |
| Palyarrri       | Purungu         |
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**FIGURE 1.1: MARTUTHUNIRA SECTIONS**
- indicates marriage
vertical lines indicate patrilineal descent,
diagonal lines indicate matrilineal descent.

A four-section system was shared by all groups in this area but the actual naming of sections differed between groups (see Dench 1987a for details). To the south of the Fortescue River, the Martuthunira, Kurrama and Panyjima shared the system as set out in Figure 1.1. The Nyiyaparli and Mardudjarra (Tonkinson 1991), now mainly at Jigalong, also shared this pattern of section naming. However, Radcliffe-Brown (1913) reports a different arrangement of the section names in Kariyarra and Ngarluma:

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+----------------+----------------+----------------+----------------+
| Palyirri        | Karimarra       |
|                 |                 |
| Panaka          | Purungu         |
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**FIGURE 1.2: N GARLUMA SECTIONS**

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

The current system of translation between the southern Fortescue communities (in particular the Onslow Panyjima community) and the Yindjibarndi/Ngarluma community at Roebourne is somewhat different. The Yindjibarndi arrangement of the section names, in comparison with the southern Fortescue arrangement (Figure 1.1), is presented in Figure 1.3.
This system is identical to the Ngarluma system as described by Radcliffe-Brown but the section correspondence between Panyjima/Kurrana/Martuthunira and Yindjibarndi is quite different from that reported between Martuthunira and Ngarluma. It is probably wrong to draw the inference that the Ngarluma and Yindjibarndi, who have the same pattern of naming, had a complex rule allowing translation from one system to another, or that the translation rule between groups north and south of the Fortescue has changed drastically in the last sixty years. Instead it would seem that different section-naming translation rules applied for different groups, irrespective of whether those groups shared the same system. Such a scenario would presumably reflect differing conventions of exogamous marriage but there is unfortunately no relevant data for either the historical or contemporary situation.

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

1.3.3 MARRIAGE

The important difference between Radcliffe-Brown's description and Scheffler's reanalysis lies in the marriage rule. Radcliffe-Brown assumes an Aranda marriage pattern in which a man would ordinarily marry into the class of kin including his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter. Radcliffe-Brown's conclusion is based on the assumption that two particular named kin, thal.yu and nganyi are WMB/MMBS and WM/MMBD respectively, and so differ from pawu (F) and mukul (FZ). Scheffler argues that these are in fact special members of the pawu and mukul classes. Thus the system corresponds to the typical Kariera pattern of cross-cousin marriage.

Table 1.2 presents the basic affinal terminology assuming Scheffler's treatment. The terms nganyi and thal.yu refer to prospective mother-in-law and prospective or actual mother-in-law's brother respectively. Actual mother-in-law is referred to as nyirti, a term which can be extended to father-in-law (yaji) and brother-in-law (marryanu). These terms are reciprocal and so, for example, nganyi is also used by a woman to her daughter's prospective husband, and by a man to his sister's daughter's prospective or actual husband.
Marriages were typically arranged before birth. Radcliffe-Brown (1913:185) gives an example:

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

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

A marriage arrangement was often determined through a chain of relationships as Radcliffe-Brown (1913:185) points out:

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

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

However, there is clear evidence from traditional texts that the Martuthunira, like the Kariyarra and Ngarluma, sent young men to the Yindjibarndi and Kurrama for circumcision. The two Martuthunira culture heroes travelled up the Fortescue River, were captured by the Yindjibarndi culture heroes who initiated them, and were sent back to the coastal peoples to ‘lay out the law’. The Martuthunira thus looked to the east for the origin of their law and would have sent young men to the eastern peoples for their ‘higher schooling’ in that law. Whether or not this practice was restricted to the most eastern of Martuthunira local groups – that is, to those people who would have had some links through intermarriage to Yindjibarndi and Kurrama clans and country – is not known. The reader is referred to Tonkinson (1991) for discussion of initiation practices involving circumcision. I have recorded a number of Martuthunira terms for particular relationships established during and maintained after the process of initiation, although the Martuthunira did not practise circumcision themselves.

1.3.5 LOCAL GROUPS

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

The country of a local group, with all its products, animal and vegetable, and mineral, belongs to members of the group in common. Any member has the right to hunt over the country of his group at all times. He may not, however, hunt over the country of any other local group without the permission of the owners...Hunting, or collecting vegetable products on the country of another local group constitutes an act of trespass and was in former times liable to be punished by death. Radcliffe-Brown (1913:146)

Although the clan organisation was patrilocal, a woman retained some right to the country of her birth and a man often held some rights to the country of his mother and, often more importantly, his mother’s mother. Radcliffe-Brown (1913:147) notes, however, that such secondary affiliations seemed “to have meant no more than that a man was sure of a welcome in the country of his wife or mother”.

Within the group the basic social unit was the family, consisting of a man and his wife, or wives, and their children. Usually such family groups moved from one camp site to another,
within a man's country and that of his wives, without reference to other families within the local group. However at times of ceremony, or when a particular food source became plentiful in the country of one group, a number of families would meet and camp together, often for some weeks.

In the camp each family had its own hut or shelter with its own fire. The family had its own food supply which was cooked and consumed by the family...A native camp is composed of two parts, the married peoples camp and the bachelors' camp. The latter contains all unmarried men, including widowers; unmarried women and widows live with one or other of the families of the married people. If a visitor comes to the camp and brings his wife with him, he puts his fire and shelter near the married people, on the same side as his own country lies. If he is unmarried, or if he has not brought his wife with him, he goes to the bachelors' camp. Radcliffe-Brown (1913:147)

1.3.6 LOCAL GROUP TOTEMS

Each local clan group had associated with it a number of 'totems' regarding which all members of the group bore the same responsibilities. For each clan totem there was a totemic centre or ceremonial ground, called thalu, within the clan territory. Ceremonies held at the totemic site served to increase the supply of a particular animal or food resource, bring rain or wind or the tide, or affect some human condition such as fertility or sanity. The word thalu is also used to refer to places characterised by an abundance of some resource, such as stone suitable for knives.

Radcliffe-Brown lists the totems for a number of Martuthunira local groups. For example, the totems of a Panaka/Pal.yarri clan centred on Janyjarra pool on the Fortescue River, included the following:

- **wanta**  insanity, craziness
- **walampari**  possum
- **mulyaru**  carpet python
- **kartangu**  edible gum of kanyji bush
- **walyuru**  type of wild bean
- **warrari**  common fly
- **jarmungu**  bardi grub

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

1.3.7 LANGUAGE USE AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Like other Australian groups, the Martuthunira observed strict rules according to respect to in-laws and to people bearing certain relationships established through the processes of male initiation. In particular, a man was expected to avoid all contact with his mother-in-law and with the man responsible for his circumcision, his nhaankurti or mangkalyi. Beyond this, a certain degree of respectful avoidance was accorded to other affines, especially father-in-law, and by members of an initiate's family to members of the mangkalyi's family. Speaking to these people, where permitted at all, usually involved the use of a special avoidance vocabulary called Kurntangka.
The avoidance style, called either *Kurtaka* or *Paathupathu* in other groups, was common to all the Ngayarda languages. Von Brandenstein (1982) notes that much of the avoidance vocabulary was shared by the different Pilbara languages and was most highly elaborated in the verb and demonstrative class (see also Dench 1991:211ff). In each particular language the avoidance style involved the use of special vocabulary – some from the common stock and some language-specific – but with the morphology and syntax of the everyday language. Avoidance styles of this type have been called ‘mother-in-law’ languages or styles (for example Dixon (1972), and see Haviland (1979)), but this label is inappropriate in the Pilbara where the use of the style for ‘mangkalyi avoidance’ was at least as prevalent. I was able to record some Martuthunira *Kurtangka* but not enough to be able to make valid generalisations about the semantic structure of the avoidance vocabulary (see appended word list).

While affinal and ‘mangkalyi’ relationships demand a measure of respect and avoidance involving a special vocabulary, different degrees of relative restraint and familiarity were appropriate to all kin. As a general rule, relationships between members of the same merged alternate generation set were characteristically symmetrical – what I could do/say to/with my ‘brother’ he could do/say to/with me – while those across generation sets were asymmetrical (Dench 1987a, Tonkinson 1991). Of course, the actual behaviour appropriate between particular kin was more specifically defined. For example, between father’s father and father’s son existed a relationship of easy familiarity extending to obscene sexual joking and horseplay. Between classificatory brothers a similar relationship existed although between actual brothers there was greater restraint. These various relationships demanded different ways of speaking; topics which could be discussed and those that were proscribed, words that could be used and those that could not, and forms of address that were either too familiar or too formal for use with particular kin. Such rules of behaviour, and to some extent the styles of speaking appropriate to them, are still observed by some members of the Pilbara community.

1.3.8 ECONOMIC LIFE

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

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

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

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

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

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

Women used digging sticks which doubled as fighting staffs, and winnowing dishes and grindstones, which generally remained at often-visited camping spots. The older men and women wove spinifex rope which was knotted into nets used to trap birds and fish. Baler and conch shells were collected on the seashore and used as cooking utensils and water carriers.
I was unable to get a description of how the Martuthunira travelled between the mainland and the offshore islands but luckily King (1827:43-44) gives a detailed account and description of a log raft:

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

The few needs that were not fulfilled by the resources of their own country the Martuthunira obtained by trade with neighbouring groups. Traditional narratives give clear descriptions of a trade route established between the Martuthunira and their southern neighbours. For example, Text 7 (Appendix 1) tells how chips of snakewood, a very important source of wood for boomerangs, were thrown to the south by a ‘devil’. As a result, no good trees grow in Martuthunira country and the Martuthunira were forced to look to the southern peoples for a source of snakewood boomerangs. In the terms of the story, the southerners knew that the trees originated in the north and so were in effect sending the manufactured implements home. In return, the Martuthunira gave them hairstring belts. The Martuthunira probably also sent such items as baler shells and pearlshell ornaments inland up the Fortescue River.

But manufactured goods and raw materials were not the only things that were actively sought from neighbouring groups. I have recorded stories in Kurrama telling of families travelling into foreign territory to attend the opening of new songs and dances. And, as noted above, young Martuthunira men were sent inland to the Yindjibarndi and Kurrama for initiation.

1.3.9 ART AND LANGUAGE

It is not possible to say very much about the artistic life of the Martuthunira as most of this knowledge has been lost. There is no rock or bark painting in the area and local people report that the numerous rock carvings were ‘laid out by the gods’ rather than being the work of their forebears. Very few of the traditional Martuthunira body-painting designs are remembered. For the most part, the decoration of wooden implements, mainly spearthrowers and shields, resembles that of their neighbours and depicts, in stylistic form, maps of the main watercourses within a man’s own country (see von Brandenstein 1972b).
Musical forms and dance styles also appear to resemble those of neighbouring groups. Together with any memory of male initiation, any knowledge of the songs and dances accompanying that ritual has been lost. I was able to collect only a few secular songs, of which there were essentially two types: jalurra and thawi. Jalurra properly refers to the combination of a song and dance sequence performed by a group of singers and dancers and accompanied by clapping boomerangs (by the men) and the beating of skins stretched over the thighs (by the women). Thawi songs, referred to in the literature as japi, are solo performances sung to the accompaniment of a wooden or bone nhirrimpa rasped against notches carved in the back of a spearthrower, mirru. Examples of these song types are given in Appendix 2.

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

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

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

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

On the basis of the data it is very difficult to say very much about the aesthetics of narrative text style. While this grammar of Martuthunira allows the interpretation of the literal meaning of narrative texts and, to a lesser extent, the texts of songs, a full understanding and evaluation will never be possible. Too much of the cultural context which gives them their deeper meaning has been irretrievably lost.

1.4 POST-CONTACT HISTORY

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

The first European contacts with the Aboriginal people of the north-west region of Western Australia were most likely the brief encounters reported by early maritime explorers. King (1827:38-39) describes at length a meeting with a group of Aboriginal people, probably either Martuthunira or Yapurarra, in the islands of the Dampier Archipelago in February 1818:

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

King (1827:40) goes on to report what may be the first words of Martuthunira, or of Ngarluma, ever to be recorded on paper. Unfortunately, I cannot interpret them.

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

The captive was freed soon afterward and the next day – February 27, 1818 – King (1827:46-47) attempted contact with the main group.

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

In the early 1860s the region was opened to European settlement and it is from this time that we can date the beginning of the decline of the Martuthunira and their neighbours. While it is possible and even likely that actual contact with the settlers was preceded by contact with their diseases, it is difficult to provide evidence of this. The first important contacts were with pastoralists who moved their sheep and cattle into the newly opened grazing lands of the coastal plain. The squatters commandeered waterholes and were intent upon protecting their livestock from local Aborigines who were quite indiscriminate in their hunting. Crowley (1960:48) briefly describes this early period:

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

Despite these early conflicts the transition from the traditional life of the hunter-gatherer to the station life of stockman, kitchenhand and maid, working for rations of flour, sugar and tobacco, blankets and clothing, is remembered as being relatively peaceful. Men and women who grew up in the station camps remember those days with nostalgia and affection. Although many of their parents' traditional practices were lost by then, they remember that they were free to sing their own songs and speak their own languages, and spent long months in the summer off-season, when it was too hot to work cattle and sheep, in 'holiday camps' living off the land, enjoying dance meetings and organising ritual initiation ceremonies. Nancy Withnell Taylor (1980:82) in Yeera-Muk-A-Doo, a history of pioneering families in the Roebourne area, says of the station people:

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

Of course not all pastoral managers were entirely benign, as Taylor (1980:82) points out (the quote is taken from Crowley (1960:48)):
Unfortunately there were the unscrupulous settlers and it is recorded that they treated the Aborigines cruelly and harshly; they considered them lazy and dishonest, scoffed at their tribal habits, interfered with their women and developed a custom of periodically teaching the niggers a lesson with boot, stock-whip and bullet...

Although the move from hunting and gathering to life on the stations resulted in many irrevocable changes in the life of the Aboriginal people in the north-west, station life was reasonably comfortable and was not solely to blame for the rapid decline of the coastal populations. Instead it was the pearling industry, established in 1867, which wreaked total havoc. Young Aboriginal men and women were in great demand as divers and in the lay-up season, pearlers "went nigger hunting as it became known, riding about the countryside recruiting Aborigines for labour" (Taylor 1980:115). Divers were often kidnapped and were taken many miles from their homes with little chance of maintaining contact with their own people. This practice drastically affected the whole fabric of Aboriginal society. Marriages and relationships among participants in the process of male initiation were typically established at birth and these vitally important social systems broke down with the departure of so many young men and women. The burgeoning pearling industry also saw the outbreak of smallpox in 1886. Taylor (1980:115-116) writes:

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

Radcliffe Brown (1913:176) reported on the conditions and numbers of the Kariyarra, Ngarluma and Martuthunira in 1910-11. He estimates the number of surviving Kariyarra at between eighty and ninety with the Ngarluma numbering not more than sixty. He makes reference to the 1886 smallpox epidemic and also mentions an outbreak of measles soon afterwards that caused a further decrease in the Ngarluma population. As for the Martuthunira:

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

Around the turn of the century the prevalence of venereal disease, certainly a problem in the north-west since the advent of the pearling industry, became of serious concern to the authorities. Biskup (1973:112) writes:

[1]In 1905 the Principal Medical Officer made a plea for a strict application of the Contagious Diseases Act to northern areas. Two years later the incidence of the disease reached alarming proportions – up to 15 per cent in certain districts.

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

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

Biskup (1973:112-113)
The breakthrough in controlling the disease did not take place until the eve of the war. After the treatment of some 800 patients in all, the hospitals were closed in 1919 and the remaining patients were transferred to Port Hedland. As well as the immediate deaths, widespread venereal disease probably reduced the fertility rates of Aboriginal populations quite substantially. It is certainly the case that the birthrate in the north of the state was very low in the early part of this century.

During the twenties and early thirties, for instance, children under fourteen accounted for about one-third of the total population of the northwest, and only for about one-tenth in the Kimberleys. Biskup (1973:97)

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

1.5 PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS

Perhaps the earliest reference to the Martuthunira language appears in a pamphlet entitled Aborigines of North-West Australia by ‘Yabaroo’, published in Perth in 1899. This paper lists some two hundred words gathered from Aboriginal people who claim to be Ngarluma or Martuthunira. The name of the group is spelled Mardathoni. Daisy Bates recorded some Martuthunira linguistic data and her series of questionnaires had respondents from stations within Martuthunira territory. However, the importance of this material has decreased with the subsequent collection of more reliable data. From around the same period, Radcliffe-Brown's (1913) description of the Martuthunira kinship system includes vocabulary in the form of kin terms and names for flora and fauna with a totemic association to particular local groups. Radcliffe-Brown's description has led to a prominence in the secondary anthropological literature that is far out of proportion to the amount of primary ethnographic and linguistic data recorded for the Martuthunira.

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

The most extensive investigation of the language prior to the present study was conducted by von Brandenstein, who recorded songs, short texts, vocabulary and sentences in 1965 and 1968. However, apart from mentions in a number of papers (e.g. 1967, 1972a&b, 1973) he has never published a description of his findings on this language. I have been able to consult von Brandenstein's diaries in the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies but because of access restrictions have not been able to include his field notes as part of the data base of this investigation. By observation only then, the
grammatical data collected by von Brandenstein appear to be consistent with those forming the basis for this study.

1.6 INFORMANTS

There were only three remaining speakers of Martuthunira when I began work on the language in 1981, although a handful of other people in Onslow and Roebourne had some very limited knowledge (amounting to a basic vocabulary and a few well-worn everyday phrases). The bulk of the material on which this description is based was collected with the assistance of Algy Paterson, who learnt the language from his mother and mother's mother. He is now the last speaker.

I was not able to check Algy Paterson's Martuthunira extensively with the other two speakers but it became clear that in each case he was more reliable than they as regards knowledge of the language, intuitions concerning grammaticality and awareness of where Martuthunira ended and some other language began. Of course working mainly with just one speaker of a language raises a number of important methodological issues and affects the claims that can be made on the basis of the data. These points are discussed in §1.7 below.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Since then he has worked as a stockman and dingo trapper on pastoral stations mainly in his own Martuthunira and Kurrama country. He has helped develop and maintain the stations of the area while white owners and managers have come and gone, and still points proudly to the windmills, watertanks and miles of fence line he has built. Today he is retired and lives at old Warramboo homestead on Yarraloola Station, having worked for three generations of the Paterson family.

But Algy's skills and knowledge come to no person simply through the accident of an advantageous childhood. While he has always accepted that life for his people must change, he refuses to allow his received knowledge to fade from memory and from public awareness, believing that it is relevant not only to the Aboriginal people living on the pastoral stations and in the towns of the Pilbara today, but also to the wider Australian community. He, rather than any visiting linguist, decided that his language should be preserved in written form for future generations and so sought out someone who could record it. In the same spirit he spends days recording Martuthunira songs on cassette tape so that he can dance to the recordings at the all too infrequent dance meetings held for primary school children at weekend bush camps. No one else knows the dances or the songs that accompany them.

1.7 THE DATA

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

In the case of Martuthunira I was able to check some lexical material and the basic patterns of nominal and verbal morphology with the two other speakers, but beyond this their fluency was limited and I have had to trust that the informant is producing correct Martuthunira. There is no doubt that the Martuthunira data I collected over some five years is internally consistent. Although there are some early irregularities in the data, later data is remarkably free of error.

It must be said that Martuthunira will soon be a dead language, in all senses of the term. It will not be remembered in any detail by any speakers and very few words, if any, will be remembered as words of Martuthunira (with the possible exception of place names). That these remembered words are Martuthunira rather than, say, Panyjima, Kurrama or Yindjibarndi, will mean little to the community of speakers. At present there is no group of young people for whom their Martuthunira origins are particularly important and for whom marking those origins with the use of Martuthunira words would be at all meaningful. But saying that Martuthunira will soon be a dead language does not mean that it is 'dying' in the sense that the phrase 'language death' normally implies. There is no analogical simplification
of paradigms or massive syntactic interference from other languages. The language will not
die, its speakers will; those that remain appear still to speak the traditional language. But
although Martuthunira is understood and spoken by the few remaining speakers, it serves
almost no communicative function in the modern Pilbara community. The only reliable data
that can be obtained comes from text and elicitation, and while this data base is enough for
the discovery of normative rules of grammar it does not allow an investigation of rules of
language use. Most information on language use is gained from the reports of the few
remaining speakers and, since they have little opportunity to demonstrate that usage, must be
assumed to be an idealisation.

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

1. Sentences elicited by translation (trans.)
2. Sentences constructed to check grammaticality (constr.)
3. Elicited text
4. Unelicited text and long narrative text

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

(a) Sentences elicited by translation. These take the form of a request for Martuthunira
translation equivalents of English sentences and are used to fill morphological paradigms, to
test the productivity of syntactic rules and to provide contexts for particular lexical items.
Data of this sort has obvious limitations. The way in which the request is framed and the
grammar of the language of elicitation will, to some extent, determine the form of the
response. Much of the data on which this description of Martuthunira is based was collected
by translation elicitation. In most cases the language of elicitation was a form of non-standard
English. In other cases the language of elicitation was Panyjima, and everyday Martuthunira
was used to elicit Martuthunira avoidance language. Although much of the syntactic analysis
is based on elicited data I have been careful to check the results against unelicited text
material.

(b) Constructed sentences as grammatical tests. The advantage in checking the linguist's
constructed language examples is obviously the building of a database of ungrammatical
utterances which greatly aids the discovery of general syntactic rules. However, I made very
little use of this type of elicitation until I was reasonably well advanced in the data collection
process. While last speakers, if they are consistent, allow the accumulation of a data base
uncluttered by the sort of variation found in a viable speech community, they are not
Chomsky's (1965) ideal speaker-listeners. Because they are isolated from an active
community of speakers constantly reinforcing each other's intuitions about what is and what
is not grammatically acceptable they may tend to overgeneralise rules. It is often the case that
last speakers of languages are the last speakers because of a genuine passion for language.
Such 'amateur linguists' can be very dangerous. An informant who has worked with a
linguist for a long time is likely to begin his or her own analysis and, as time goes on, will
begin to make judgements based more and more on analytical reflection and less and less on
untainted native speaker intuitions.

(c) Elicited text. Most of the data consists of what I call elicited texts; short texts ranging
in length from about ten clauses to ten pages. In each case the text was a continuation of an
elicited translation sentence. For example, Text 3 (Appendix 1) has as its first sentence a response to the elicitation:

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

Algy Paterson then continued to create a story, complete with reported dialogue, with the moral that young people were no longer learning traditional artefact manufacture. The body of such a text can be considered legitimate natural language production although the initial few sentences should perhaps not be. To some extent the introduction of the participants and their relative topic-worthiness is a direct response to a request for translation and may suffer interference from the language of elicitation.

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

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

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

Given the varied nature of the data on which the description is based, illustrative examples are coded for type, based on the discussion presented above. The free English gloss in some examples is followed by the abbreviations (trans.) for sentences elicited by translation (for example Chapter 3, example (3a)) and (constr.) for sentences constructed to check grammaticality (all listed ungrammatical sentences are constructed, needless to say). All other examples are taken from text.
CHAPTER 2
PHONOLOGY

The chapter is organised as follows: §2.1 and §2.2 present the consonant and vowel inventories and give general statements of allophonic variation. Section 2.3 describes the general phonotactic patterns of the language while §2.4 discusses the phonetics and two alternative phonological analyses of what is, given these patterns, a very unusual consonant cluster consisting of the retroflex rhotic glide and an apical stop. Section 2.5 summarises the recurrent morphophonemic processes involved in allomorphic alternations in the language and §2.6 describes the general word-stress pattern. Together, the description of phonotactic and morphophonemic patterns suggests an internal reconstruction of phonological changes affecting Martuthunira consonant clusters and §2.7 presents a brief description of diachronic trends in the languages of the area.

2.1 CONSONANTS

The Martuthunira consonant inventory conforms closely to a common Australian pattern (see Dixon 1980:132ff) with six points of articulation for stops and nasals, four laterals, two rhotics and two glides. Table 2.1 presents the consonant phonemes in a practical orthography.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 2.1: CONSONANT INVENTORY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>peripheral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilabial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhotic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- thami: mother's father
- thuli: tawny frogmouth
- nhartu: what
- patha-L: to blow
- manhamanha: awkward
- yilhi: chip
- kulhuwari: soft
- jami: medicine
- juli: intestine
- nyartu: emu feathers
- pajapajangu: type of bird
- manyarrka: sugar
- yilyilyi: tree type
- ngulyurr: bridge of nose
Despite the contrasts illustrated by the above examples, some variation in laminals occurs in certain lexical items, for example:

\[ \text{nhi} \text{mu} \sim \text{ny} \text{i} \text{mu} \hspace{1em} \text{spinifex mouse} \]
\[ \text{ng} \text{a} \text{na} \text{th} \text{u} \sim \text{ng} \text{a} \text{na} \text{j} \text{u} \hspace{1em} 1 \text{SG.ACC/GEN} \]

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

\[ \text{ny} \text{i} \text{n} \text{a} \text{-} 0 \hspace{1em} \text{to sit} \]
\[ \text{ny} \text{u} \text{u} \text{nu} \hspace{1em} \text{spouse} \]
\[ \text{j} \text{u} \text{n} \text{a} \hspace{1em} \text{spirit} \]
\[ \text{w} \text{i} \text{l} \text{a} \text{w} \text{i} \text{la} \hspace{1em} \text{shaken} \]

Examples below illustrate firstly the contrast between apical stops and then the contrast between the alveolar stop and the alveolar tap/trill.

\[ \text{ma} \text{t} \text{i} \text{m} \text{a} \text{t} \text{i} \hspace{1em} \text{place name} \]
\[ \text{m} \text{i} \text{t} \text{a} \text{w} \text{a} \text{n} \text{t} \text{i} \hspace{1em} \text{place name} \]
\[ \text{p} \text{u} \text{t} \text{a} \text{n} \text{g} \text{a} \text{r} \text{a} \hspace{1em} \text{goanna} \]
\[ \text{t} \text{h} \text{a} \text{a} \text{t} \hspace{1em} \text{place name} \]
\[ \text{w} \text{i} \text{t} \text{i} \text{w} \text{i} \text{t} \hspace{1em} \text{hanging} \]

\[ \text{ma} \text{t} \text{i} \text{m} \text{a} \text{t} \text{i} \hspace{1em} \text{place name} \]
\[ \text{p} \text{u} \text{t} \text{a} \text{n} \text{g} \text{a} \text{r} \text{a} \hspace{1em} \text{goanna} \]
\[ \text{w} \text{i} \text{t} \text{i} \text{w} \text{i} \text{t} \hspace{1em} \text{hanging} \]

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

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

\[ \text{p} \text{i} \text{t} \text{h} \text{a} \text{n} \text{g} \text{a} \text{r} \text{a} \hspace{1em} \text{[p} \text{t} \text{ɕ} \text{o} \text{n} \text{t} \text{ɕ}] \hspace{1em} \text{cork bark tree} \]
\[ \text{m} \text{u} \text{t} \text{h} \text{u} \hspace{1em} \text{[m} \text{o} \text{d} \text{o}] \hspace{1em} \text{cold} \]
\[ \text{m} \text{a} \text{i} \text{t} \text{h} \text{a} \hspace{1em} \text{[m} \text{u} \text{t} \text{ɕ}] \hspace{1em} \text{small python} \]

In other items there is free variation between voiced stop or fricative and the glide:

\[ \text{p} \text{u} \text{u} \text{t} \text{h} \text{u} \text{n} \text{i} \hspace{1em} \text{[p} \text{o} \text{j} \text{ɔ} \text{ŋ} \text{t} \text{ŋ}] \sim \text{[p} \text{o} \text{j} \text{ɔ} \text{ŋ} \text{t} \text{ŋ}] \hspace{1em} \text{hook on spearthrower} \]
\[ \text{w} \text{i} \text{t} \text{h} \text{a} \text{w} \text{i} \text{t} \text{h} \text{a} \hspace{1em} \text{[w} \text{t} \text{ɾ} \text{ə} \text{w} \text{ɪ} \text{ɣ} \text{a}] \sim \text{[w} \text{t} \text{ɾ} \text{ə} \text{w} \text{ɪ} \text{ɣ} \text{a}] \hspace{1em} \text{lost} \]
\[ \text{p} \text{i} \text{t} \text{h} \text{i} \text{r} \text{i} \hspace{1em} \text{[p} \text{ɪ} \text{j} \text{ɛ} \text{ɾ} \text{i}] \sim \text{[p} \text{ɪ} \text{j} \text{ɛ} \text{ɾ} \text{i}] \hspace{1em} \text{chill} \]

And morphemes with the interdental stop in initial position always result in a word with a lenited form of the stop:
In some words the stop loses all laminal definition: in the following examples /th/ is realised as a syllabic break between identical vowels, as the retroflex rhetic continuant [ʃ], as a palatal glide [y], and as a labial/velar glide [w] respectively.

nhulatharra [ŋole-әре] those two
warmtitharninyji [wәŋ dunkәңци] throw-FUT
witiwititharninyji [witwiwytың negotiate] hang up-FUT
thathurninyji [teвoңци] send-FUT

Table 2.2 summarises the most commonly occurring allophones of the stop phonemes in each position.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rt</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Laterals are articulated with slight pre-stopping where they close a syllable:

kurntal [kөңпөll] daughter
pal.ya [pәлиyә] skinny
mirtily [mөtөɨ] neonate kangaroo

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

The retroflex continuant /t/ is relatively invariant in its articulation as [ʃ]. However, it is typically articulated with a degree of lip spread that may affect the quality of adjacent vowels (§2.2).

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngau} & \quad [\eta\text{o}] \sim [\eta\text{ow}] \quad \text{Yes!} \\
\text{ngawurr} & \quad [\eta\text{or}] \sim [\eta\text{owor}] \quad \text{foam} \\
\text{mayiili} & \quad [\text{me:lt}] \sim [\text{mye:lt}] \quad \text{my father's father}
\end{align*}
\]

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

2.2 VOWELS

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 2.3: VOWEL INVENTORY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pamparn} & \quad \text{twenty-eight parrot} \quad \text{paamparn} \quad \text{silly} \\
\text{jamanu} & \quad \text{foot} \quad \text{jaamarnuru} \quad \text{yawn.PRES} \\
\text{punilha} & \quad \text{go.PAST} \quad \text{puniina} \quad \text{plant type} \\
\text{kulhuwari} & \quad \text{soft} \quad \text{kuulhu} \quad \text{tadpole}
\end{align*}
\]

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

| TABLE 2.4: VOWEL ALLOPHONES |
The short high front vowel /i:/ is usually articulated as the lax vowel [ɪ] though this varies with [i] near a palatal consonant. The alveolar consonants /rr/ and, to a lesser extent, /n/ and /l/ have a lowering effect on a preceding /i/, which is often realised as [ɛ] in their proximity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nyinalayi</th>
<th>nyinalayi</th>
<th>sit.FUT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wirrrri</td>
<td>wirrrri</td>
<td>flame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yirra</td>
<td>yirra</td>
<td>tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>martuthunira</td>
<td>martuthunira</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>jiinngu</th>
<th>jiinngu</th>
<th>Grevillea pyramidalis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kiirrkiirr</td>
<td>kiirrkiirr</td>
<td>banded plover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayiili</td>
<td>mayiili</td>
<td>my father's father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warriirri</td>
<td>warriirri</td>
<td>spears</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nhula</th>
<th>nhula</th>
<th>that near you</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thurna</td>
<td>thurna</td>
<td>glans penis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pal.yunyji</td>
<td>pal.yunyji</td>
<td>rock python</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalhuru</td>
<td>yalhuru</td>
<td>tongue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

1. Long vowels are lower than their short counterparts and have a more restricted range of allophonic variation (longer segments have a higher degree of phonetic integrity).
2. Unstressed positions have a centralising effect on vowels.
3. A preceding lamino-dental consonant has the effect of fronting the low vowel /a/ and the back vowel /u/. Interestingly, the long back vowel /uu/ is lowered to [ɔ] in this position.
4. Alveolar consonants, in particular the rhotic /rr/, have a lowering effect on the high front vowel.
2.3 PHONOTACTICS

In §2.3.1 to §2.3.4 the general phonotactic patterns of the language are described. An examination of the frequency of occurrence of different phoneme combinations allows a more general statement of preferred phonotactic patterns than arises simply from a consideration of occurring forms. It is thus possible to class certain lexical items as phonotactically marked.

2.3.1 CONSTRAINTS ON POSITIONS OF OCCURRENCE

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

**TABLE 2.5: PERMITTED INITIAL AND FINAL CONSONANTS**

Table 2.6 lists the frequency of consonants in initial, final and intervocalic positions for a dictionary sample of 1,300 words:

**TABLE 2.6: FREQUENCY OF CONSONANTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#C</th>
<th>C#</th>
<th>V_V</th>
<th>#C</th>
<th>C#</th>
<th>V_V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>lh</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>ly</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>rl</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>rr</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nh</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A number of patterns emerge from the figures listed in Table 2.6. Firstly, those consonants that occur in word-initial position are less common in intervocalic position. The only exceptions are the two glides /w/ and /y/. The difference is most marked for the peripheral stops /pl/ and /kl/, and to a lesser extent the palatal stop /j/, and reflects historical changes affecting stops in intervocalic position (§2.7). Secondly, the alveolar consonants /n/, /l/ and /rl/ are the most common finally (although there is no evidence to suggest a neutralisation of the apical contrast in this position).

Thirdly, the alveolar stop /l/ is very rare. It appears medially in just seven lexical items and does not occur in either initial or final position. By contrast, the retroflex stop /rt/ is among the most common intervocalic segments overshadowed only by the two rhotics /rr/ and /r/. The full set of words in which the intervocalic alveolar stop occurs is:

- Matimati: name of unidentified rockhole
- Mitawanti: name of a hill on the Robe River
- Thaata: name of pool on Fortescue River
- putangara: Gould's Sand Goanna
- kuta: short
- witiwiti: hanging down
- tharratal: type of bird

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

2.3.2 CONSONANT CLUSTERS

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

The set of consonants which may occur as the first member of a heterorganic cluster corresponds to the set of consonants permitted in word-final position. The second member of such a cluster is drawn from the set of peripheral consonants plus the palatal glide /y/; that is, a subset of the consonants permitted in initial position. However, not all possible combinations are attested. Table 2.7 lists the relative frequency of the various heterorganic clusters in a sample of 1,300 (apparently) monomorphemic items. The exceptional /r.t/ cluster is described in §2.4 below.
### Table 2.7: Intramorphenic Consonant Clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C₁</th>
<th>C₂</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>ng</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>y</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ny</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rm</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ly</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rl</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rr</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- **lyp** _walypa_ type of tree (= Ngarluma)
- **lyk** _palykura_ flat (but also _pal.yura_)
- **lp** _wilpilpi_ emu chick
- **lk** _kurlikura_ seagull (= Ngarluma)
- **rlp** _marlpara_ surrounded
- **rlk** _kurlikura_ hair, fur (= Ngarluma)
- **rrp** _jirrpi_ patrimoieties totem
- **rrk** _jarrkurti_ three
- **jurrkirta** moon
- **kurlikura** black-feathered emu
- **manyarrka** sugar
- **yurrkun** mangrove crab

The relative frequencies of clusters involving a lateral plus the palatal glide suggest a defective distribution. Although all three laterals occur together with the glide /w/ (with just one exception, _warlyarra_ 'shiny, smooth'), only the alveolar lateral /l/ occurs in combination with /yl/. This pattern is the result of a historical change merging laterals which precede the palatal glide (§2.7.2).

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

- **ngampalyura** adult head louse
- **ngangka** mother
- **nganthari** tooth
- **nganyjali** proscribed object or food
- **kanta** leg
- **karnta** tear (from eye)
- **ngarnta** wound, injury

As in most Australian languages, these homorganic clusters complicate an otherwise simple statement of phonotactic constraints on consonant clusters and syllable structure conditions (see Dixon 1980:159ff). Although there is no good evidence at present for treating
these clusters as unit-phonemes (for example, Jagst (1973) treats them as a series of prenasalised stops in Ngardilpa), such an analysis would have some advantages. Firstly, it would enable a simpler statement of the phonotactics of consonant clusters. Secondly, treating the homorganic alveolar cluster /nt/ as a unit-phoneme would effectively deny the alveolar stop /t/ phoneme status.

2.3.3 INTERMORPHEMIC CLUSTERS

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 2.8: INTERMORPHEMIC CLUSTERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

1. There are no bound morphemes with an initial bilabial /p/ or initial palatal stop /j/ in the data (§2.7.1).
2. Morphemes with an initial velar stop /k/ have allomorphs with initial /y/ following the non-nasal sonorants (§2.5.2).
3. The only morpheme with an initial /nh/ is the Proper Nominal marker, -nha (§3.1.2). There are few examples in the data of this morpheme occurring on a consonant-final word.
4. Similarly, the only morpheme with initial /y/ is the Vocative clitic, -yi (§7.11). There are few examples involving a consonant-final word.

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

- pirtan-pa-rru
- minthal-wa-rru
- kanparr-wa-rru
- quartz-Ø-NOW
- alone-Ø-NOW
- spider-Ø-NOW
The use of a syllable /pa/ to avoid certain phonotactic constraints is very common in languages of Western Australia, the best known example being the addition of the syllable to consonant final stems in a number of the Western Desert dialects (Dixon 1980:209). Within the Ngayarda group, Panyjima shares this feature (Dench 1991:133).

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

- **minthal-u-lwa**: alone-Ø-ID
- **pirtan-u-nu**: quartz-Ø-QUOT
- **mir.ta-l-u-lwa**: not-THEN-Ø-ID

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

### 2.3.4 REDUPLICATION

Reduplication, not a particularly productive morphological device in Martuthunira, involves the complete reduplication of the lexeme root. As the following examples show, reduplication may affect disyllabic or trisyllabic roots, either vowel-final or consonant-final.

- **jampa-jampa**: near to death
- **witha-witha**: lost
- **manha-manha**: shaky
- **yirti-yirti**: striped
- **warnan-warnan**: overcast
- **purity-purity**: light breeze
- **winyarta-winyarta**: exhausted
- **wurtura-wurtura**: dirty/dusty
- **yar1wanhu-yar1wanhu**: speckled brown and white

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

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

- **kurryu-wurru**: bumpy
- **kulha-wulha**: heaped up
- **pinyja-winyja**: shaken
- **punku-wunku**: rolled up

This lenition is part of a general historical process affecting intervocalic peripheral stops (§2.7.1). However, the rule does not appear to be general for all reduplications. For two words in the data the lenition is optional:
These two cases happen to be the only examples in the data of reduplicated trisyllabic roots with an initial peripheral consonant. The optional status of the peripheral stop lenition thus supports the notion that trisyllabic reduplications have marginal status as unitary words.

2.4 The r.t Cluster

A small number of Martuthunira words reveal an interesting phonetic contrast between apical stops and a consonant cluster consisting of the retroflex rhotic glide followed by an apical stop. The phonetic cluster is represented orthographically as r.t in contrast to the retroflex stop rt. It occurs in just four words in the collected data and these are listed below together with near-minimal pairs involving the apical stops and /rt/.

```
kur.ta  kurta  kuta  kurru
  clever  brother  short  black
mir.ta  mirtamirta  Mitawanti  mirru
  No  white  placename  spearthrower
mir.ruwarra  clever person
thuur.ta  thurtu
  sweet  sister
```

The contrast is most clearly established by the minimal triple kur.ta ‘clever’, kurta ‘elder brother’ and kuta ‘short’. As described in §2.1, the apical stops have quite different phonetic realisations: the retroflex stop is usually realised as a flap in intervocalic position while the alveolar stop, rare between vowels, is voiceless and involves a relatively long period of closure. Because of a lack of good controlled recordings it has not been possible to conduct a thorough instrumental analysis of the data. However, in the few spectrograms analysed, the contrasting length of /rt/ and /t/ and a corresponding (inversely proportional) difference in the length of the preceding vowel are clearly visible.

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

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

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

\[\begin{array}{ll}
  *kuta & \text{short} \\
  *kurta & \text{elder brother} \\
  *kurlta & \text{clever} \\
  *kurnta & \text{shame}
\end{array}\]

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

The phonetic realisation of the unit-phoneme /rt/ as a cluster might then be described as a breaking of the features of one segment into two separate segments: in this case the retroflexion of the stop is unpacked into a separate preceding glide. The following forms illustrate the phonemic contrasts inherent in the unit-phoneme analysis:

\[\begin{array}{ll}
  *kuta & \text{short} \\
  *kurdta & \text{elder brother} \\
  *kurta & \text{clever} \\
  *kurnta & \text{shame}
\end{array}\]

Unfortunately, only two of the four Martuthunira words involving the *r.t* cluster have clear cognates in other Ngayarda languages. The cognate forms are:

\[\begin{array}{ll}
  *mir.ta & \text{vs} & \text{mirta} \\
  \text{thuur.ta} & \text{vs} & \text{thukurta}
\end{array}\] Panyjima, Ngarluma, Yindjibarndi, Panyjima, Ngarluma

These cognates appear to support the unit-phoneme analysis of *r.t* as a retroflex stop and suggest a phonemic split in Martuthunira: while most instances of proto Ngayarda /*rt/ are reflected as flaps in intervocalic position, in some words /*rt/ is reflected as a retroflex stop. However, there are not enough examples to suggest a conditioning environment for the split and the lack of cognates outside of the Ngayarda group argues against borrowing as the basis for the split.
Of course, the Panyjima and Ngarluma cognates need not be taken as incontrovertible evidence against the cluster analysis. It may be that an original cluster has been simplified in these languages and has reflexes independent of the retroflex stop only in Martuthunira. However, at this stage there is no evidence to suggest a reconstruction of homorganic lateral-stop clusters for proto Ngayarda. In addition, although a synchronic analysis of the cluster as /rlt/ simplifies the phonotactics, it also implies a certain regularity – that Martuthunira (and the Ngayarda languages generally) permit homorganic lateral-stop clusters – which obscures the exceptional status of the r.t cluster. On the other hand, the unit-phoneme analysis, while obviating the need for any fancy phonotactic footwork, implies a history-involving (at this stage) unconditioned phonemic split.

On balance, r.t is treated here as a cluster consisting of the retroflex glide followed by the homorganic retroflex stop, represented orthographically as r.t (instead of the potentially confusing rtt, that is r + rt). This approach sacrifices two quite aesthetically pleasing synchronic analyses, but avoids assuming unsubstantiated historical change and remains faithful to the phonetic facts. The r.t cluster thus stands out as an exception to otherwise quite regular phonotactic patterns and begs further diachronic and synchronic investigation.

2.5 MORPHOPHONEMICS

Martuthunira has very few patterns of morphophonemic alternation and those that exist are easily stated. However, the language is not written here in terms of underlying forms; each allomorph of a morpheme is represented no matter how regular, or alternatively, how restricted the morphophonemic processes may be. The one exception to this involves the variation between apicals affecting the future inflection on verbs and the clitics -l and -nu. Because of the degree of apparent free variation here, each morpheme is represented by its most commonly occurring allomorph (§2.5.7).

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

2.5.1 SYLLABLE/MORA-COUNTING ALLOMORPHS

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

The clearest cases of mora counting alternation involve the locative (§4.5) and effector (§4.4) nominal suffixes, which differ only in that the effector forms have final /u/ where the locative forms have final /a/ (§4.1.3). These morphemes follow the common Australian pattern with forms -ngku/a and -lu/a on vowel-final stems. The -ngku/a allomorph occurs on nominal stems of two morae while the -lu/a alternant occurs on all stems of more than two morae (see Hale 1976b):
Similarly, the ‘full-laden’ suffix, -warlaya, (§4.1.6, §4.16) has a shortened form -warla which appears on dimoric stems:

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

The shortened form appears to be motivated by a desire to conform, as nearly as possible, to a disyllabic meter. Possibly the existence of other mora-counting alternations in the language has an analogical effect.

Finally, there are different forms of the collective suffix (§6.1.5, §6.3.2) on L-conjugation verbs depending on the length of the verb stem. On a stem of just two morae the suffix has the form -yarri-Ø while on longer stems the suffix is -lwarri-Ø:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Collective Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k CLRta-yarri-Ø</td>
<td>stab-COLL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thuulwa-lwarri-Ø</td>
<td>pull out-COLL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5.2 LENITION OF PERIPHERAL STOPS

Allomorphs of a number of morphemes show evidence of a conditioned alternation affecting the velar stop /k/. Firstly, the stop is lenited to a laminal glide /y/ following a stem-final lateral or the alveolar rhotic /rr/. The clearest example is given by the various forms of the accusative suffix on consonant final nominal stems (§4.1.1, §4.3):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal Stem</th>
<th>Accusative Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jinkam-ku</td>
<td>mukul-yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukul-yu</td>
<td>kanparr-yu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The identical pattern of lenition is revealed by the ‘body-noise’ verbal derivational suffix -karri-Ø/-yarri-Ø (§6.3.6):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Stem</th>
<th>Collective Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jinkurn-karri-Ø</td>
<td>nhuurrr-yarri-Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By contrast, the ‘belonging’ suffix (§4.1.2, §4.13) shows lenition of /k/ to /w/ where /y/ is predicted:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Stem</th>
<th>Possessive Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jinkarn-kura</td>
<td>mukul-wura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurlany-kura</td>
<td>kanparr-wura</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar lenition of morpheme-initial /k/ to /w/ occurs following a vowel-final stem. Thus the genitive (§4.1.1, §4.12) has forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Genitive Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>on stems with a final nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yu</td>
<td>on stems with a final lateral or rhotic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wu</td>
<td>on stems with a final vowel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Genitive Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>muyi-wu</td>
<td>jinkarn-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pawulu-wu</td>
<td>kanparr-yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tharnta-wu</td>
<td>mukul-yu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This same pattern is shared by the belonging suffix (a) and is also revealed by reduplications (b):

(a) pawulu-wura
    kanyara-wura

(b) kurruy-wurruy
    kulha-wulha

On vowel-final stems the lenition of the accusative suffix extends to loss of the consonant and harmonising of the suffix vowel with the final vowel of the stem (the divergence of the accusative and genitive morphemes is discussed in §4.1.1):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{muyi-i} & \quad \text{dog-ACC} \\
\text{pawulu-u} & \quad \text{child-ACC} \\
\text{tharnta-a} & \quad \text{euro-ACC}
\end{align*}
\]

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

parra-warra
punku-wunku
pulya-wulya

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

2.5.3 Vowel Lengthening

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

Comparative evidence shows that the direct allative -:rta descends from *-karta and so similarly involves, historically, the loss of /k/ and harmonising of the initial vowel with the final vowel of the stem. There are no examples in the data of this allative suffix occurring on consonant-final stems (§4.1.4, §4.7).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wuyu-urta} & \quad \text{river-ALL} \\
\text{ngurra-arta} & \quad \text{camp-ALL} \\
\text{puyi-irta} & \quad \text{far-ALL}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
murti-ingku-Ø & \quad \text{run after} \\
\text{thartu-ungku-Ø} & \quad \text{meet} \\
\text{jina-ngku-Ø} & \quad \text{track}
\end{align*}
\]
Finally, the first person singular kin-possessive suffix (§5.2) may be given an underlying form -\textit{ni} affecting a lengthening of the final vowel of a disyllabic stem. I have been unable to elicit an example involving a consonant-final stem.

- \textit{mura-ani} my son
- \textit{pawu-uni} my father
- \textit{thami-ini} my mother’s father

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

- \textit{kantharri} mother’s mother
- \textit{mayili} father’s father
- \textit{yumuni} father’s brother
- \textit{kanthaarri} my mother’s mother
- \textit{mayiili} my father’s father
- \textit{yumuuni} my father’s brother

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

2.5.4 VOWEL REPLACEMENT

The contemporaneous inflection -\textit{rra} (§6.1.4, §10.1.4), and the related sequential relative suffix -\textit{rawaara}, effects a change in the form of a preceding \textit{Ø}-conjugation verb-stem where that stem has a final /a/ vowel: the final /a/ is replaced with /i/.

- \textit{nyina-rra} \rightarrow \textit{nyininrra}
- \textit{wangka-rra} \rightarrow \textit{wangkirra}

The modern suffix form \textit{-rra} descends from a form *\textit{-yrra}, and so the vowel replacement can be explained, in diachronic terms, as the lingering of the fronting effects of the palatal glide in the original \textit{Ø}-conjugation allomorph. The common verb \textit{nyina-Ø} ‘sit, be’ is similarly affected by the present relative inflection -\textit{nyila}. This change is best described as an analogical extension from the \textit{nyininrra} form affecting, to date, only this one verb stem.

2.5.5 HAPLOLOGY

A number of morpheme combinations result in the dropping of one of two similar syllables. The first such pattern affects the second syllable of the passive derivational suffix -\textit{CM-nguli-Ø} (§6.1.5, §6.3.1) when followed by certain final verb inflections. Here a syllable /li/ is dropped when the following syllable begins with a lateral or the alveolar rhotic /rr/:

- \textit{*-nguli-layi} \rightarrow \textit{-ngu-layi} -PASS-FUT
- \textit{*-nguli-lu} \rightarrow \textit{-ngu-lu} -PASS-PURPss
- \textit{*-nguli-rra} \rightarrow \textit{-ngu-rra} -PASS-CTEMP
A similar pattern involves the dropping of the final /rei/ syllable of the collective (a) and 'body-noise' (b) derivational suffixes preceding the contemporaneous relative inflection -rra:

(a)  
-marri-rra → -marra
-yarri-rra → -yarra
-lwarri-rra → -lwarra

(b)  
-karri-rra → -karra
-yarri-rra → -yarra
-rarri-rra → -rarra

This reduction is optional. Unreduced versions are occasionally heard in text and are usually given in careful response to elicitation.

2.5.6 CONSONANT ASSIMILATION

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

- ta following /n/
- rta following /rn/
- tha following /ny/
- a following a lateral or /tr/

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

2.5.7 APICAL ALTERNATION

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

- rninyji  /-ninyji/  ~  /-rninyji/
- layi  /-layi/  ~  /-rlayi/
- I  /-I/  ~  /-rl/
- nu  /-nu/  ~  /-rnu/  

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

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

**TABLE 2.9 : CONDITIONED APICAL ALTERNATIONS**

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

2.6 STRESS

Martuthunira stress typically conforms to a basic disyllabic metrical pattern with stress falling on the first syllable, but this pattern is confused by non-initial syllables involving long vowels. Historically, most of these dimorphic syllables involved two syllables separated by a since lenited consonant. In the modern language the effects of the original disyllabic stress pattern are still felt.

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

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

Section 2.6.1 describes the basic stress patterns without reference to dimorphic syllables, which are then discussed in §2.6.2. Section 2.6.3 makes a number of observations on the effects of phrasal stress on the preferred word stress patterns.
2.6.1 BASIC STRESS PATTERNS

At the lexical level, all morphemes of more than a single syllable in length have stress on their first syllable. In addition, the monosyllabic verbalisation suffixes -ma-L and -tha-L have lexical stress (stress is indicated by underlining).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{panyu} & \quad \text{good} \\
\text{kanyara} & \quad \text{man, person} \\
\text{-mulyarra} & \quad \text{-ALLative} \\
\text{-ma-L} & \quad \text{-CAUSative} \\
\text{-tha-L} & \quad \text{-Controlled Contact}
\end{align*}
\]

Words which are recognisable as compounds (even though their component morphemes do not necessarily occur as free forms in modern Martuthunira) have a stress pattern in accord with their component morphemes. For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mangkuru(+)} & \quad \text{thuni} \quad \text{Peter Creek} \\
\text{Wangkarta(+)} & \quad \text{muka} \quad \text{Mount Mistake}
\end{align*}
\]

Similarly, a few monomorphemic verbs are stressed as though they involved the lexically stressed verbalisers. In a number of instances this pattern is probably a false segmentation based on the shape of the stem-final syllable rather than on the basis of any perceived morphological or semantic similarity with other verbal forms:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wuruma-L} & \quad \text{to do for (someone)} \\
\text{kulaya-L} & \quad \text{to try out, test} \\
\text{warrama-L} & \quad \text{to make}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
(2.1) & \quad \text{wantha-minyji} \quad \text{lexical stress} \\
& \quad \text{wantharninyji} \\
(2.2) & \quad \text{patha-rnguli-nyila-a} \quad \text{lexical stress} \\
& \quad \text{patharngulinyilaa} \\
(2.3) & \quad \text{kanyara-ngara-la} \quad \text{lexical stress} \\
& \quad \text{kanyarangarala} \\
(2.4) & \quad \text{kanyara-la-nguru} \quad \text{lexical stress} \\
& \quad \text{kanyaralanguru} \quad \text{Rule 2}
\end{align*}
\]
2.6.2 THE EFFECTS OF LONG VOWELS ON STRESS PATTERNS

Just as certain morphophonemic alternations dependent on the length of stems are sensitive to morae rather than to syllables (§2.5.1), to some extent stress patterns are similarly conditioned. But although it is clearly the case that the stress rules treat some dimoronic syllables as if they were disyllabic for the purposes of calculating stress meter, it is not possible to describe the stress system solely in terms of morae counts. The basic unit of phonological structure bearing stress is the syllable, not the mora.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(2.11)} & \quad \text{nhuura-\textit{npa-ra} } & \text{lexical stress} \\
& \quad \text{nhuuran\textit{para} } & \text{Rule 2}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(2.12)} & \quad \text{nhuura-\textit{ma-la-\textit{h}a-ra} } & \text{lexical stress} \\
& \quad \text{nhuuramalalharru } & \text{Rule 1} \\
& \quad \text{nhuuramalalharru } & \text{Rule 2}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(2.13)} & \quad \text{thaapuwa } & \text{rotten mouth} \\
& \quad \text{thaapuw\textit{angara} } & \text{rotten-mouthed fellows-PL}
\end{align*}
\]
This pattern might be expected given the regular rule erasing the second of a pair of stressed syllables. However, where *thaapuwa* is followed by a sequence of unstressed monosyllabic morphemes, stress is assigned to these as if stress were still present on the second syllable of the stem:

\[(2.14) \quad \text{thaapuwa-rru} \quad \text{not: } *\text{thaapuwa-rru} \]
\[\text{thaapuwa-la-rru} \quad *\text{thaapuwa-la-rru} \]

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

\[(2.15) \quad \text{ngurra-arta} \]
\[\text{ngurraarta} \]

\[(2.16) \quad \text{ngurra-arta-npa-rra} \]
\[\text{ngurraartanparra} \]
\[*\text{ngurraartanparra} \]

\[(2.17) \quad \text{muyi-}^{\text{ngku}}-\text{lha} \]
\[\text{muyiingkulha} \]
\[*\text{muyiingkulha} \]

\[(2.18) \quad \text{muyi-}^{\text{ngku}}-\text{ngu-rra-rru} \]
\[\text{muyiingkungurrarru} \]
\[*\text{muyiingkungurrarru} \]

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

Rule 1  \[CV \rightarrow CV/CV\_
\]
Rule 2  \[CV \rightarrow CV/CV\_
\]
Rule 3  \[CV(V) \rightarrow CV(V)/CV(V)\_
\]

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

The issue is further complicated by forms involving the addition of the -:ngku-Ø verbaliser to stems with a final /a/ vowel. In these cases the expected long vowel is reduced and yet the stress pattern remains consistent with what is historically a four-syllable verb stem with stress on the third syllable (2.19). To account for this pattern the rules of stress assignment, as stated, must apply before the vowel is reduced.

\[(2.19) \quad \text{waya-ngku-ngu-rra} \quad \text{lexical stress} \]
\[\text{wayangkungurra} \quad \text{Rule 2} \]
\[*\text{wayangkungurra} \]
Not all examples of a lengthened second syllable arise through the addition of lexically stressed, vowel-initial morphemes to vowel-final stems. For example, the various inflected forms of the verb *waruulwa-L 'keep on trying', show that the long second syllable acts as if it were stressed for the purpose of assigning stress to subsequent unstressed morphemes:

(2.20)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{waruulwa-ngu-rra} & \\
\text{waruulwanngurra} & \\
*\text{waruulwanngurra}
\end{align*}
\]

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

(2.21)  
\[
\begin{align*}
kapun-wirraa-npa-lha-rru & \\
kapunwirraanpalharru & \\
*kapunwirraanpalharru
\end{align*}
\]

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

| Rule 2a | CV  | → | CV/CV_{-}CV |
| Rule 2b | CVV | → | CVV/_{-}CV |

Rule 2 then feeds Rule 3 which erases stress from long syllables immediately preceded by a stressed syllable. The full derivation of (2.21) is then (2.22).

(2.22)  
\[
\begin{align*}
kapun-wirraa-npa-lha-rru & \text{ lexical stress} \\
kapunwirraanpalharru & \text{ Rule 2b} \\
kapunwirraanpalharru & \text{ Rule 2a} \\
kapunwirraanpalharru & \text{ Rule 3}
\end{align*}
\]

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

(2.23)  
\[
\begin{align*}
guyirri-wirraa-ma-minyji & \text{ lexical stress} \\
guyirriwirraamarninyji & \text{ Rule 1}
\end{align*}
\]

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

(2.24)  
\[
\begin{align*}
wántha-rinyji & \\
wángkarnu-marri-lhà-rru & \\
wántharni-mà-rinyji-rru
\end{align*}
\]

2.6.3 PHRASE STRESS AND WORD STRESS

The preferred stress patterns of words are often affected by phrase stress and intonation patterns, syntactic emphasis on particular morphemes, and metrical rhymes. First, there is a tendency to stress final case-markers in certain contexts; usually where some contrast in
syntactic function is being emphasised. The most common example of this occurs with the long vowel allomorph of the accusative suffix on vowel-final nominal stems. This extra stress assignment clearly helps the listener to distinguish nominative forms (with a final short vowel) from accusative forms and so serves an important syntactic function. However, it is by no means an established rule that final accusative case-marking is always stressed.

Second, word stress assignments which result in word-final stress occurring on the antepenultimate syllable may be modified so that stress falls on the penultimate syllable. This shift most often occurs where a word has five syllables. A 3+2metrical stress pattern is generally preferred over a 2+3 pattern.

\[(2.25)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{patha-rralha-rru} & \rightarrow \text{patharralharru} \\
\text{kanarri-lla-rru} & \rightarrow \text{kanarrilharru} \\
\text{mani-ngka-npa-raa} & \rightarrow \text{maningkanparra} \\
\text{yakarrangul-la} & \rightarrow \text{yakarrangula}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[(2.26)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kurryarta-marta-a-rru} & \rightarrow \text{kurryartamarta.rru} \\
\text{yanga-rynji-rru} & \rightarrow \text{yangarnyji.rru}
\end{align*}
\]

Finally, the expected stress pattern for a word may be modified so that it ‘rhymes’ with the stress patterns of other words in a phrase. In (2.27) (from Appendix 1, Text 7:18-19), the preferred stress pattern for the word \text{kanyara-npa-rra-rru} is modified to conform to that of \text{panyu-npa-rra-rru}. The expected pattern of stress for \text{kanyara-npa-rra-rru} occurs in the following sentence of the same text (Text 7:20).

\[(2.27)\]
\[
\text{panyunparraru kanyaranparraru}
\]

Most instances of aberrant stress involve violations of Rule 2, the rule that assigns stress to sequences of unstressed syllables in accordance with a basic disyllabic pattern. However, the unexpected patterns nevertheless conform to the general constraints on possible sequences of stressed and unstressed syllables. Violations of lexical stress assignment are less common.

\section*{2.7 PHONOLOGICAL HISTORY}

The phonological patterns described in the preceding sections make reference to a number of diachronic changes affecting Martuthunira consonants. In particular, the morphophonemic alternations described in §2.5 show evidence of conditioned lenition and loss of the peripheral stops in intervocalic position and in certain consonant clusters. The same changes are reflected in the general phonotactic patterns of the language: firstly /p/ and /k/ occur with relatively low frequency in intervocalic position (Table 2.6), and secondly the set of
permissible intramorphemic consonant clusters (Table 2.7) reveals patterns of lenition similar to those occurring across morpheme boundaries.

Similar changes are described for other Ngayarda languages by O'Grady (1966) and for the Kanyara and Mantharta languages by Austin (1981c). Unfortunately, the only Martuthunira data available to O'Grady at the time of his study was a basic one-hundred item word list and it was not possible for him to do more than note that changes affecting this language were similar to changes affecting Yindjibarndi and Kurrara, the most phonologically innovative languages in the group. With additional data it is possible to extend O'Grady's reconstruction to Martuthunira and thus attempt a reappraisal of the diachronic tendencies affecting other languages in the area. A detailed reconsideration of O'Grady's work is beyond the scope of this description but an initial reformulation is presented as an appendix to Dench (1987b).

2.7.1 LENITION OF STOPS

A number of Martuthunira words show evidence of the loss of */k/ between like vowels:

* 

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{*kakara} & \rightarrow & \text{kaara} & \text{hip bone} \\
\text{*yakan} & \rightarrow & \text{yaan} & \text{spouse} \\
\text{*nhukura} & \rightarrow & \text{nhuura} & \text{know} \\
\text{*nhukunu} & \rightarrow & \text{nhuunu} & \text{spouse of grandparent}
\end{array}
\]

However, there are also a number of words in which this lenition does not take place. Compare the following with the above examples:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{makaran} & \text{type of plant} \\
\text{yakarrangu} & \text{sun, day} \\
\text{thukurtarra} & \text{person who talks out of place}
\end{array}
\]

Similarly, there is widespread evidence of the lenition of */k/ to */w/ (between dissimilar vowels), */p/ to */w/ and */j/ to */y/ intervocally. Although there is also phonetic lenition of */th/ to an interdental glide [y] (§2.1), this does not result in a phonemic split in Martuthunira (effected in Yindjibarndi by the fortition of */lh/ to */th/).

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{*jikurra} & \rightarrow & \text{jiwurra} & \text{bony bream} \\
\text{*puka} & \rightarrow & \text{puwa} & \text{rotten} \\
\text{*warruka} & \rightarrow & \text{warruwa} & \text{devil} \\
\text{*makuntu} & \rightarrow & \text{mawuntu} & \text{punishment spear} \\
\text{*yapan} & \rightarrow & \text{yawan} & \text{hot cooking stone} \\
\text{*pipi} & \rightarrow & \text{piwi} & \text{breast} \\
\text{*jipa} & \rightarrow & \text{jiwa} & \text{shock, surprise} \\
\text{*thapi} & \rightarrow & \text{thawi} & \text{song type} \\
\text{*japorta} & \rightarrow & \text{jawurta} & \text{beard} \\
\text{*kaja} & \rightarrow & \text{kaya} & \text{elder brother} \\
\text{*pajapurtu} & \rightarrow & \text{payawurtu} & \text{savage} \\
\text{*yuja} & \rightarrow & \text{yuya} & \text{spinifex quail} \\
\text{*wajuwarra} & \rightarrow & \text{wayuwarra} & \text{type of marsupial rat}
\end{array}
\]

Once again, there are exceptions to this pattern:
That is, although there are sets of forms which suggest patterns of lenition equivalent to those which have affected Yindjibarndi and Kurrama, there are also numerous forms which appear otherwise identical and in which the changes have not taken place. There are essentially two possible explanations for this state of affairs: either there is some conditioning environment yet to be discovered, or one or other set of forms is exceptional as a result of interference of some kind.

That the changes involve a more particular set of conditioning environments does not seem plausible given the great similarity between forms in both the leniting and non-leniting sets. Because the patterns of lenition do not coincide exactly with those of Yindjibarndi and Kurrama it is probably best to assume that the lenited forms are ‘Martuthunira proper’. The non-lenited forms are the more likely to have been borrowed.

2.7.2 CHANGES AFFECTING CLUSTERS

Proto-Ngayarda consonant clusters involving an initial lateral or */r/ followed by a stop have reflexes in Martuthunira showing lenition of the stop to a glide: */k/ and */j/ are lenited to */y/ and */p/ becomes */w/. A subsequent change has affected the laterals so that the retroflex */r/ and palatal */y/ merge with the alveolar */l/ preceding */y/:

* pulka > pul.ya spinifex resin
* parlkarra > pal.yarra plain
* ngalyka > ngal.ya spike, firestick
* warrkhu > warryu joey kangaroo
* pulpu > pulwu stone axe
* jirlpa > jirlya ashes
* walypa-L > walywa-L detach
* kurrparu > kurrwaru butcher bird
* paljarri > pal.yarri hill kangaroo
* kurrjarta > kurryarta spear

The lenition is equivalent to that occurring in Yindjibarndi and Kurrama in clusters involving */r/ (O’Grady 1966). However, in Martuthunira the lenition extends to clusters involving laterals. By contrast, in Yindjibarndi and Kurrama it is the laterals that show the effects of change in the comparable consonant clusters: they surface as stops in Kurrama and variously as rhotics or glides in Yindjibarndi.
2.7.3 **THE PROBLEM OF INTERVOCALIC $t$**

The effective ban, in Martuthunira, on the alveolar stop $/t/$ in intervocalic position (§2.3.1) suggests that some historical changes might have effected a merger with the tap $/r/\$ in this position. However, the non-occurrence of $/t/$ between vowels is actually very common among the languages of the area and any such change is clearly not restricted to Martuthunira. O'Grady's (1966) reconstruction includes a listing of 465 reconstructed items of which just three include a medial alveolar stop:

- *katama*-L to hit reflexes only in Panyjima and Palyku
- *jitamarra* eye reflexes only in Ngarla and Nyamal
- *kutu* dead reflexes in Ngarla, Nyamal, Palyku and Panyjima

Of these languages, only Panyjima is undeniably a member of the core Ngayarda group, on present evidence (§1.2). While intervocalic $/t/$ is not uncommon in Panyjima it is rare in other Ngayarda languages. A few examples appear in Wordick's (1982) Yindjibarndi dictionary but all of these are identical to Panyjima forms and may be borrowings. Hale's (n.d.) collection of Ngarluma vocabulary includes no example of intervocalic $/t/$.

The situation appears to be similar for the Kanyara and Mantharta languages. Austin's (1981c) reconstruction of proto Kanyara and proto Mantharta phonology includes a list of 475 reconstructed items in which there are no examples of intervocalic $/t/$. There are also no examples of intervocalic $/t/$ in Austin's (1986b) lists of Thalanyji and Jiwarli vocabulary. Although phonological changes have produced intervocalic alveolars in Purduna and Tharrkari, Austin (1981c:312 footnote 12) notes that, for Tharrkari, “the contrast between $t$ and $r$ is not well established synchronically and the two appear to fluctuate freely in a number of forms”.

There appears to be a general tendency in languages of the area to merge the alveolar stop with the alveolar tap between vowels, corresponding to the common phonetic realisation of the retroflex stop as a flap in this position.
CHAPTER 3
OVERVIEW OF MORPHOLOGY

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

3.1 PARTS OF SPEECH

The following parts of speech are defined for Martuthunira:

Nominal An open class of items inflected for number and case. The superclass nominal includes the closed subclasses pronoun, demonstrative and locational nominal, and a set of special temporal nominals.

Verb An open class of items inflected for tense/aspect, mood and voice. Verbs are subcategorised by their argument structure.

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

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

3.1.1 NOUN AND ADJECTIVE

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

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However, the a priori recognition of a semantically based division is not without its problems. The fact that a particular nominal may denote an entity in one noun phrase and yet function as a modifier of a head, denoting properties of an entity, in another noun phrase, means that we may not be able to confidently decide whether the particular lexical item is a noun or an adjective. For this reason, a number of descriptions choose not to distinguish nouns and adjectives, instead recognising that nominals may have different functions in different noun phrases. The contrast between entity-denoting nominal and modifying nominal is then handled by positing a system of functional slots within the noun phrase which may be filled by different nominals (Chapter 8 and see Morphy’s (1983) description of Djapu and McGregor’s (1984) description of Kuniyanti).

Goddard’s (1983) description of Yankunytjatjara combines notional definition with a classification based on functional slots. He subcategorises nominals using semantic criteria reinforced by a consideration of the co-occurrence restrictions of particular nominals. He lists five syntactic frames against which nominals are compared:

1. head of a noun phrase
2. in apposition to another nominal (head) in a noun phrase
3. in apposition to another nominal in a simple ascriptive clause
4. with a copula in a simple ascriptive clause
5. as a second predication on a noun phrase in a verbal clause

Nouns are defined as those nominals which can occur as heads (restricted to slot 1). There are two kinds of adjectives: ‘Active’ adjectives require a copula in simple ascriptive clauses (4) and function as second predications (5); ‘Stative’ adjectives modify noun phrase heads (2) and require no copula in simple ascriptive clauses (3).

The same syntactic tests can be applied to nominals in Martuthunira but, unlike Yankunytjatjara, the tests do not reveal mutually exclusive sets. Martuthunira nominals are distributed among the following groups (although definitive membership cannot be established for all nominals occurring in the data):

A. Nominals which almost always appear as heads (1). These are closest, on notional grounds, to nouns.

B. Nominals which typically function as modifiers of noun phrase heads (2), may appear as heads of phrases (1), and which may occur in apposition to another nominal in a simple ascriptive clause (3). Any nominal which can appear in this last frame can also appear with a copula (5) (where the speaker chooses to provide tense/mood information about some state, for example).

The class includes a large number of what might be considered prototypical adjectives. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>karlara</td>
<td>hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jurirri</td>
<td>sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pangkira</td>
<td>protruding, lump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngapala</td>
<td>mud, muddy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>winparri</td>
<td>long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mirtali</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngarniwurtu</td>
<td>hot-tasting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C. Nominals which may appear in all five slots. Most items in this group can be recognised as prototypical adjectives and include the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jalya</td>
<td>useless, bereaved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panyu</td>
<td>good, well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kur.ta</td>
<td>clever, cleverly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jarruru</td>
<td>slow, slowly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuyil</td>
<td>bad, badly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piyuwa</td>
<td>finished, completely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinkarranyu</td>
<td>dry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>winya</td>
<td>full</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D. Nominals which may not be apposed to another nominal in a simple ascriptive clause but require a copula (5), and which function almost exclusively as second predications of manner (4). These function very like manner adverbs, and are equivalent to ‘active adjective’ in Yankunytjatjara:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nguyirri</td>
<td>asleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yanarra</td>
<td>flat on back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jirruna</td>
<td>stealthily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karluwirraa</td>
<td>excessively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kartarr</td>
<td>firmly, tightly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minthal</td>
<td>alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulurru</td>
<td>straight, directly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puwany</td>
<td>hunting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1 shows the range of functions for a selection of nominals:

**TABLE 3.1: RANGE OF NOMINAL FUNCTIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Function (Head)</th>
<th>Function (Modifier)</th>
<th>Function (Simple Ascriptive)</th>
<th>Function (Copula Ascriptive)</th>
<th>Function (Second Predication)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wirra</td>
<td>boomerang</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tharnta</td>
<td>kangaroo</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wartirra</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngapala</td>
<td>mud</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karlarra</td>
<td>hot</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>winya</td>
<td>full</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panyu</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jalya</td>
<td>useless</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kur.ta</td>
<td>clever</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinkarranyu</td>
<td>dry</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kartarr</td>
<td>firmly</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguyirri</td>
<td>asleep</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puwany</td>
<td>hunting</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The range of functions for two of the more flexible nominals, pinkarranyu ‘dry’ (a), and winya ‘full’ (b), is illustrated in the following examples:
HEAD OF NOUN PHRASE

(3.1) a. Nhuwana-yi pawulu-ngara parrani-Ø yilangu nyina-lu pinkarranyu-la.
   2PL-VOC child-PL return-IMP here sit-PURPss dry-LOC
   You children come back here and stay in the dry.

b. Winya-npa-rra-rru, pintirrijila-rru puni-marri-layi ngurra-arta-rru,
   full-INCH-CTEMP-NOW scattered-NOW go-COLL-FUT camp-ALL-NOW
   pintirrijila wanti-marri-layi-rru ngurra-ngka-rru winya-ngara.
   scattered lie-COLL-FUT-NOW camp-LOC-NOW full-PL
   [We] get full now, and then scatter to [our] camps, each to lie in [our] camps
   then, [we] full ones.
   (No mention of implicit ‘we’ in previous 12 clauses.)

MODIFIER IN NOUN PHRASE

(3.2) a. Nhulaa manku-Ø, pinkarranyu kalyaran!
   near.you grab-IMP dry stick
   Grab that, a dry stick!

b. Nhula manyarrka wantha-rryu nganaju-wu-la parrka-ngka,
   near.you sugar put-IMP 1SG.OBL-GEN-LOC tea-LOC
   kayarra mirntiri winya.
   two spoon full
   Put that (near you) sugar in my tea, two spoons full.

SIMPLE ASCRITPTIVE

(3.3) a. Nhiyu thanuwa pinkarranyu paju nganaju mungka-lwaa.
   this bread dry REAL 1SG.ACC eat-PURPs=o
   This bread is too dry for me to eat. (trans.)

b. Nhiyu kayulumarnu winya-rru.
   this waterbag full-NOW
   This waterbag is full.

COPULA ASCRITPTIVE

(3.4) Ngulangu yirrala-la, jalyuru-la-rru, ngunhu-ngara pawulu-ngara
   there sheet-LOC hole-LOC-NOW that.NOM-PL child-PL
   nyina-layi pinkarranyu waruul-wa-rru.
   be-FUT dry still-Ø-NOW
   Under the sheet, those children will stay dry then.

SECOND PREDICATION

(3.5) a. Nhulaa wartirra wiru thanuwa-a thurnta-minyji kayulu-wirriwa-a,
   near.you woman want damper-ACC knead-FUT water-PRIV-ACC
That woman wants to knead damper (bread) without water, dry.

b. Punga-a-rru winya-ma-rninyji puni-waa winya-rru,
guts-ACC-NOW full-CAUS-FUT go-PURPs=o full-NOW
thuur.ta-a mungka-lalha-nguru.
fruit-ACC eat-PAST-ABL
Then [they] fill their guts so [they] can go full now, having eaten some fruit.

With such wide-ranging patterns of use it is clear that a classification into nominal subclasses is not nearly as neat as that suggested for Yankunytjatjara. There is no set of necessary and/or sufficient conditions which allow the definition of noun versus adjective. They cannot be distinguished by the ability of just one class to function as the head of a noun phrase (that is, unless we argue for radical ellipsis of heads in some noun phrases – see §8.5). This is not to deny the fact that individual nominals have greater or lesser ability to occur in particular frames. However, these possibilities of occurrence cannot be predicted by general syntactic or semantic rule. Such information would need to be stated in the lexical entry for each nominal.

3.1.2 PROPER NOMINALS: THE -ngu AND -nha SUFFIXES

A special -ngu form of the genitive and accusative case suffixes (§4.1.1) occurs on a subset of the class of nominals. Firstly, the form is selected by the second person singular pronoun kartu, the indefinite/interrogative pronouns ngana ‘who’, and nganamarnu ‘anyone’, and the definite demonstrative *ngurnula. Proper names invariably select the -ngu allomorph of the genitive but occasionally select regular allomorphs of the accusative suffix. Other nominals, particularly kin terms and human stage of life terms such as julyu ‘old man’, and jarta ‘old woman’, may select the -ngu genitive or accusative when these are used like proper names. These patterns suggest that the -ngu suffix has the dual function of marking case, on the one hand, and status as a proper name, on the other. The functions of the -ngu case-marker partially overlap those of a suffix -nha which may similarly occur on proper names of persons or places, and on kin terms or human stage of life terms. The suffix occurs only on nominals in nominative case and thus complements the -ngu suffix as a marker of proper name status.

The -nha suffix is widely reported for Australian languages and appears in different languages with a number of different functions. For example, in the Western Desert languages the cognate -nya is often described as an allomorph of absolutive case for proper names and some other nominals, though Glass (1980:39) also notes, for Ngaanyatjarra, that it can be attached to proper names or kin terms when these are called out in greeting, or can be attached to common nominals to mark definiteness. In Thalanyji and Payungu, which have extensive tripartite case-marking patterns (Austin 1981d), -nha is the accusative suffix.

While the use of the suffix in the Western Desert and in Thalanyji and Payungu displays a strong grammaticalisation of the morpheme as a marker of particular morphological categories, in Martuthunira (and similarly in Panyjima and Yindjibarndi) the -nha suffix is never automatically selected by any nominal. Nor is there any strong argument for viewing it
as an allomorph of some case (e.g. the unmarked nominative). The suffix must be ascribed a meaning independent of the case system.

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

(3.6) \textit{Yini-i-rru yungku-layi, “Pantuwarningka-nha nhiyaa”}.
name-ACC-NOW give-FUT Pannawonica.Hill-PNM this.NOM
And then [they] give it a name, “This is Pannawonica”.

(3.7) \textit{Ngayu nhawu-lha nguru Tharlural-ngu yini wangka-nguli-nyila-a.}
1SG.NOM see-PAST that.ACC Deepdale.Pool-ACC call-PASS-PrREL-ACC
I saw that place named \textit{Tharlural}.

In these examples the suffix appears to remove the proper name into some metalinguistic context in which proper names are being discussed: the names are ‘mentioned’ rather than ‘used’ (Lyons 1977:5).

3.1.3 CLOSED NOMINAL CLASSES

The nominal class includes the closed subclasses pronoun, demonstrative and locational nominal. These classes can be defined by certain unique categories encoded within the classes (person for pronouns, types of referential status for demonstratives, and special directional categories for locational nominals), and by some irregular case-marking patterns. The morphology of these classes is presented in Chapter 5. In addition, a paradigm of possessive suffixes marking person and kin-relationship are included with the discussion of pronouns in §5.2, and the irregular nominal \textit{puyi} is discussed together with the locational nominals (§5.8).

Martuthunira has a set of nominals which typically function as temporal adverbs. Although many of the forms appear to have quite different patterns of distribution they form a semantically coherent class and have reasonably predictable morphology. Temporal nominals do not have unique morphological categories (although some might be described as inherently locative) and it is not clear to what extent new temporal nominals may be derived. However, for the purposes of this description it is assumed that the class is closed. Examples are presented in §5.9.

3.1.4 NOMINAL AND VERB

The patterns of multiple case-marking described in §3.3 can lead to a sequence of nominal suffixes appended to an inflected verb form. Given the freedom with which arguments of verbs may be omitted, many of these inflected verbs look very like nominals. However, I refrain from describing extensive nominalisation in Martuthunira. While there are a few verbal inflections which may be used to derive new nominal lexemes (in particular the habitual and passive habitual (§6.2.3)), the majority of nominally inflected verbs retain much of their status as verbal predicates: they may retain their tense specification and may take a
full range of regularly case-marked arguments, including second predications on these arguments.

3.2 WORD STRUCTURE

3.2.1 SUFFIXES

Martuthunira is a suffixing language with a highly analytic agglutinating structure. The visibility of component morphemes in words is most marked in multiply inflected nominals and is a direct result of the following general features:

1. most suffixes conform to the general constraints on permissible phonological word forms (§2.3),
2. morphemes of two or more syllables bear a lexically assigned stress (and some monosyllabic suffixes are lexically stressed) (§2.6),
3. there are relatively few morphophonemic processes and many suffixes have an invariant form.

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

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

warrirti-tharra-marta  warrirti-marta-tharra
spear-DU-PROP  spear-PROP-DU
having two spears  two each having a spear
kanyara-ngara-wu  kanyara-wu-ngara
man-PL-GEN  man-GEN-PL
belonging to the men  things belonging to the man

Although there are general patterns whereby some suffixes (such as possessive markers (§5.2)) mostly occur close to the root, while others (such as the proprietary (§4.10) or genitive (§4.12)) occur at the outer layers of the word, it is not possible to establish classes of suffix based on position of occurrence. How deeply within a multiply inflected word particular suffixes may be found depends partly on their meaning and on their availability for marking syntactic relationships at different levels beyond the word (see §3.3 and Dench & Evans (1988)).

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

(3.8)  
Ngunhaa pawulu puni-layi wangka-lu papu-thurti-i
that.NOM child go-FUT speak-PURPss father-CONJ-ACC

pipi-thurti-i.
mother-CONJ-ACC
That kid will go and speak to his father and mother.
(3.9)  *Ngarnarna nhawu-layi kupiyaji-i wuntu-ngara-a-thurti*
       1PL.EXC see-FUT little.PL-ACC boy-PL-ACC-CONJ
*ngurrinymarta-ngara-a-thurti panyi-mura-a.*
girl-PL-ACC-CONJ dance-PrREL-ACC
We'll see the little ones, the boys and the girls, dancing.

The two suffixes -thurti and -wuyu serve to relate nominals within a noun phrase, while
the accusative usually relates noun phrases to predicates at the clausal level. Thus the
expected order is for the accusative to follow either of the two suffixes and the order
demonstrated in example (3.9) is quite marked. There is no apparent difference in meaning
between the two patterns and it may be that the variation in order reflects a historical stage at
which -thurti and -wuyu were independent words following the noun phrases over which
they had scope. They may be recently captured satellites in a continuing history of
agglutination.

3.2.2 CLITICS

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

Although formal definition of clitic as opposed to independent word is quite straightforward, in the case of one particular clitic, -l ‘THEN’, and certain case suffixes, the
boundary between clitic and suffix is somewhat blurred. As already mentioned, the nominal
suffixes -thurti ‘CONJuction’, and -wuyu ‘SIDE’, may very occasionally follow the
accusative case suffix. In the other direction, the clitic -l is strongly attracted to inner levels of
the word to which it is attached, resulting in some variation in ordering with respect to
nominal suffixes. However, it must be pointed out that sequences of clitics, unlike sequences
of nominal suffixes, have a flat structure. Thus the intrusion of clitics cannot cause any
violations of the principle of concentric scoping for nominal suffixes. Variation in the
placement of -l is illustrated in the following pairs of examples:

(3.10)  a. *Ngayu nguyiriwarla paju, wiruwanti-nguru-l wanti-layi*
       1SG.NOM sleepy.fellow REAL morning-ABL-THEN lie-FUT
       yakarrangu-u yirla tharrwa-waa.
sun-ACC until go-in-PURPs=o
I'm a proper sleepyhead, lying in through the morning until the sun goes down.

b. *Mir.ta-rru wanti-nguru wiruwanti-l-nguru, karlwa-nguru*
       not-NOW lie-PRES moming-THEN-ABL get.up-PRES
       yakarrangu-wirriwa-la-l.
sun-PRIV-LOC-THEN
Now I don't lie in through the morning, I get up when there's no sun.

(3.11)  a. *Kartu wuraal ngamari-i murlimuri-ma-minyji mirlimiri-la*
       2SG.NOM all.right tobacco-ACC rolled-CAUS-FUT paper-LOC
nganajumarta-a kayarra-a-l?
1DU.DISHARM-ACC two-ACC-THEN
Will you roll cigarettes for both of us?

b. Nganaju mimi panyu-ma-lalha warri-ti nganajumarta-wu-u
1SG.GEN uncle good-CAUS-PAST spear-ACC 1DU.DISHARM-GEN-ACC
kayarra-l-yu puni-layi puwany-pa-rru.
two-THEN-ACC go-FUT hunting-Ø-NOW
My uncle fixed our two spears and we went hunting. (trans.)

In examples (3.10a) and (3.11a) the clitic appears in its expected position, following the ablative and accusative suffixes respectively. In (3.10b) and (3.11b), the clitic precedes these suffixes. Similar variation occurs, not surprisingly, with the -wuyu ‘SIDE’ suffix.

There is no evidence that scoping contrasts of any kind are implied by the alternative orders. The improbability of scoping contrasts is revealed in the following set of examples.

(3.12) Ngayu thani-lalha ngurmuy1-muyi-i kupuyu-l-yu.
1SG.NOM hit-PAST that.ACC dog-ACC little-THEN-ACC
* kupuyu-u-l little-ACC-THEN
I hit that dog when it was little. (trans.)

(3.13) Nganarma thani-lalha ngurnu-ngara-a muyi-ngara-a kupiyaji-i-l.
1PL.EXC hit-PAST that.OBL-PL-ACC dog-PL-ACC little.PL-ACC-THEN
* kupiyaji-l-yu little.PL-THEN-ACC
We hit those dogs when they were little. (trans.)

(3.14) Ngayu puni-wayara thawun-mulyarra kupuyu-mulyarra-l.
1SG.NOM go-HABIT town-ALL little-ALL-THEN
* kupuyu-l-mulyarra little-THEN-ALL
I used to go to town when it was a small place. (trans.)

These examples show that the placement of the clitic is affected by the choice of a particular lexical item as well as by the nominal suffix. While the lexical item kupuyu ‘little’, requires the clitic to precede accusative case, kupiyaji ‘little.PL’, in an identical construction requires the clitic to follow accusative case. Example (3.14) shows that the attraction of the clitic following kupuyu is restricted to certain case suffixes and so cannot be explained by setting up a new lexical item kupuyul. Example (3.11) shows that other lexical items (in this case kayarra ‘two’) allow both orders.

3.3 MULTIPLE CASE-MARKING

Nominal suffixes can be described as predicates which may take as their arguments constituents existing at a number of syntactic levels. Multiple case-marking will occur where individual words are marked by a number of suffixes each of which indicates the role of that word in successively higher constituents. The patterning of multiple case-marking within any particular language depends on a number of factors: (1) what grammatical constituents are
possible arguments of case predicates, (2) the language specific conventions governing how suffixes are to be distributed to words within constituents, and (3) the language specific constraints on certain sequences of morphemes (Dench & Evans 1988).

3.3.1 NOMINAL SUFFIX FUNCTIONS

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

1. Relational: the prototypical function of case-marking – the coding of argument roles at the clause level.
2. Adnominal: indicating relationships between noun phrases within the one noun phrase. Inflected words at this level need not be exocentric; as discussed in §8.4, inflected nominals may function as the heads of phrases. In the extreme, adnominal suffixes serve in this way to create new lexemes and so have a derivational function.
3. Referential: nominal adjuncts of various kinds are linked to the arguments of the main predicate in a clause by a system of case copying. In Martuthunira this referential case copying codes second predications and part-whole agreement (§9.9).
4. Complementising: subordinate clause verbs bear a nominal suffix indicating the relationship between the subject of that clause and some argument in the main clause (C-complementising), or some logical relationship between the two clauses (T-complementising) (Chapter 10).

Table 3.2 shows the range of possible functions for some of the more common nominal suffixes.

| TABLE 3.2 FUNCTIONS OF NOMINAL SUFFIXES |
| Adnominal | Relational | Referential | Complementising |
| Accusative | * | * | * |
| Effector | * | * | * |
| Locative | * | * | * | * |
| Ablative | * | * | * | * |
| Associative | * | * | * | * |
| Proprietary | * | * | * | * |
| Privative | * | * | * | * |

Table 3.2 shows that the locative and ablative cover all four functions (and both complementising functions). At the other end of the scale, the proprietive and privative have only an adnominal use.

3.3.2 MORPHOLOGICAL CODING CONVENTIONS

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

(3.15) *Ngayu nhawu-lha ngurnu thantra-a mirtily-marta-a*
1SG.NOM see-PAST that.ACC euro-ACC joey-PROP-ACC
I saw that euro (hill kangaroo) with a joey in its pouch. (trans.)

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

However, complementising case on clauses is not distributed to all subconstituents but is marked only on the head of the clause (the main verb in verbal clauses) (Chapter 10):

(3.16)  
Ngayu wiya nhawu-layi tharta-a wanyjarri-nyila-a jarruru.  
1SG.NOM maybe see-FUT euro-ACC run-PrREL-ACC slowly  
Maybe I’ll see a euro running along slowly.

In (3.16), the subordinate clause includes an unmarked second predicate of manner on the subject (omitted under coreference). The following more complex example illustrates both coding conventions:

(3.17)  
Ngayu nhawu-ngu-layi nguru-ngara-lu kanyara-ngara-lu  
1SG.NOM see-PASS-FUT that-PL-EFF man-PL-EFF  
wirra-a yinka-lalha-ngara-lu.  
boomerang-ACC chisel-PAST-PL-EFF  
I'll be seen by those men who carved the boomerangs. (trans.)

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

For simple ascriptive non-verbal clauses the head is the predicate noun phrase ($\S9.1$), and embedded ascriptives of this kind have case assigned to all subconstituents of the head noun phrase. Usually the subject of a simple ascriptive is deleted under identity with the controlling matrix noun phrase as in example (3.18). The complex predicate of the ascriptive is underlined.

(3.18)  
Nganangu-rru kana kuliyanpa-layi ngaliwa mijara-marta-a  
who.ACC-NOW RHET think-FUT 1PL.INC egg-PROP-ACC  
panyu-marta-a mungka-nguntharri-marta-a?  
good-PROP-ACC eat-HABITNOM-PROP-ACC  
Who else [other than the chickens] can we think of that has good eggs that can be eaten?

3.3.3 MORPHOLOGICAL SEQUENCE CONSTRAINTS

Martuthunira exercises a general ban on sequences of identical suffixes. The following test examples demonstrate this for the proprietive and privative suffixes:
(3.19) \( \text{Ngunhu wartirra puni-lha ngurnu-marta kanyara-marta} \)
that.NOM woman go-PAST that.OBL-PROP man-PROP

\{ \text{tharnta-wirriwa-marta}. \text{euro-PRIV-PROP} \}
\{ \text{*tharnta-marta-marta}. \text{euro-PROP-PROP} \}

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

(3.20) \( \text{Ngayu nhawu-lha ngurnu kanyara-a kapun-marnu-wirriwa-a} \)
1SG.NOM see-PAST that.ACC man-ACC body-ASSOC-PRIV-ACC

\{ \text{jirli-marta-wirriwa-a} \text{puni-nyila-a}. \text{go-PrREL-ACC} \}
\{ \text{*jirli-wirriwa-wirriwa-a} \text{arm-PROP-PRIV-ACC} \}

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

The constraint does not apply where one of two adjacent suffixes is part of a derived lexeme. In example (3.21), \text{mirntirimarta} 'goanna' is derived from \text{mirntiri} 'claw'. Compare (3.21) with (3.19).

(3.21) \( \text{Ngunhu wartirra puni-lha ngurnu-marta mirntirimarta-marta}. \)
that.NOM woman go-PAST that.OBL-PROP goanna-PROP

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

In reality the possibility of two identical suffixes coming together is very remote. In this respect Martuthunira differs from its Ngayarda relatives Panyjima and Ngarluma. In both these languages complete concord of case-marking extends to complementising case on subordinate clauses. Thus there are many possibilities for an accusative or locative complementising case suffix, for example, to appear on a relational accusative or locative noun phrase in a subordinate clause (see Dench & Evans (1988) for discussion, Dench (1991) for Panyjima examples).
CHAPTER 4
NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

This chapter describes the productive nominal suffixes. Each suffix is presented in turn with a description of its functions (as defined by the typology presented in §3.3.1) and a broad characterisation of its meaning in the various contexts in which it may be used.

The suffixes are not grouped into classes either on the basis of their order within nominal words or by appeal to function. Thus no distinction is made between a class of 'inflections' and a class of 'derivations' (see Dixon 1980:292). On the other hand, the multifunctional uses of some suffixes (especially the locative and ablative) argue against establishing a class of adnominal (or 'pre-case' (Blake 1987)) suffixes as opposed to relational suffixes. Following a summary of forms in §4.1, the suffixes are presented in rough semantic groups.

4.1 SUFFIX FORMS

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

4.1.1 ACCUSATIVE AND GENITIVE SUFFIX FORMS

The accusative (§4.3) and genitive (§4.12) suffixes are closely related as the following summary of allomorphs shows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.1: ACCUSATIVE AND GENITIVE ALLOMORPHY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accusative</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proper nominals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>common nominals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>following a nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>following a vowel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

*-ngu on proper nominals
*-ku on common nominals
Given that the modern Martuthunira accusative descends from a dative, the conflation of the two cases is quite understandable. Languages of the Kanyara and Mantharta groups to the south of Martuthunira share both forms as allomorphs of the dative/genitive suffix. (The other Ngayarda languages Panyjima, Ngarluma and Yindjibarndi have a separate genitive suffix, -tharntu.) However, there is as yet no explanation for the modern Martuthunira contrast between genitive and accusative allomorphs on vowel-final stems. Some discussion appears in Dench (1987b:135-136).

4.1.2 THE -wura BELONGING SUFFIX

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

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

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

4.1.3 LOCATIVE AND EFFECTOR

The locative (§4.5) and effector (§4.4) nominal suffixes have identical allomorphy except that the effector forms have final u where the locative forms have final a. The locative allomorphs are:

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

This allomorphy conforms to the common Pama-Nyungan pattern with -ngkal/-la allomorphs on vowel-final stems, homorganic stops following final nasals, and the single vowel following non-nasal consonantal sonorants. There is no -ja allomorph following final ny and instead the choice of the -tha allomorph results in a nyth cluster. Although this cluster may be articulated in careful speech, the usual phonetic result is a double-articulated dental/palatal nasal+stop cluster (§2.5.6).

4.1.4 ALLATIVE

The direct allative suffix -:rta (§4.7) has allomorphs:

- **-arta** following a vowel-final stem in a
- **-irta** following a vowel-final stem in i
- **-urta** following a vowel-final stem in u
The corpus includes no examples of the direct allative on a consonant-final stem. However, it is clear that the suffix descends from the common Ngayarda *-karta allative. As with the accusative suffix the lenition of the allative has led to partial vowel harmony between stem and suffix.

4.1.5 PRIVATIVE

The privative suffix (§4.11) has two forms:
- *-wirriwa*
- *-wirraa*

The factors conditioning the two forms remain unclear though some patterns are discernible. Most importantly, the *-wirraa* allomorph never precedes the accusative suffix, and is rare preceding the *-rru* 'NOW' clitic. The Martuthunira suffix is cognate with the Purduna privative suffix *-wirriya*, and the *-pirritha* privative suffix shared by Thalanyji and Payungu.

4.1.6 FULL-LADEN

The full-laden suffix, *-warlaya* (§4.16), has a short form *-warla*, which appears on all dimoric stems. The longer form is preferred on trimoric stems. The conditioning is based on a preference for an even pattern of stressed-unstressed syllables in the word (§2.5.1).

4.1.7 SUMMARY OF SUFFIX FORMS

The patterns of variation for suffixes result in some phonologically determined nominal declensions where the choice of suffix form is dependent on the number of morae and the final segment of a nominal stem. These patterns are illustrated in Table 4.2. Table 4.3 lists the nominal suffixes which have invariant forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative Stem</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Belonging</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Effector</th>
<th>Direct Allative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>parla</td>
<td>parlaa</td>
<td>parlawu</td>
<td>parlawura</td>
<td>parlangka</td>
<td>parlangku</td>
<td>parlaarta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanyara</td>
<td>kanyaraa</td>
<td>kanyarawu</td>
<td>kanyarawura</td>
<td>kanyarala</td>
<td>kanyaralu</td>
<td>kanyaraarta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muyi</td>
<td>muyii</td>
<td>muyiwu</td>
<td>muyiwura</td>
<td>muyingka</td>
<td>muyingku</td>
<td>muyiarta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warrirti</td>
<td>warrirtii</td>
<td>warririwua</td>
<td>warririwura</td>
<td>warrirtila</td>
<td>warriritu</td>
<td>warrirituarta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhartu</td>
<td>nhartuu</td>
<td>nhartuwu</td>
<td>nhartuwura</td>
<td>nhartungka</td>
<td>nhartunglu</td>
<td>nharturta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pawulu</td>
<td>pawuluu</td>
<td>pawuluwu</td>
<td>pawuluwura</td>
<td>pawulula</td>
<td>pawuluu</td>
<td>pawuluurta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurntal</td>
<td>kurntal.yu</td>
<td>kurntal.yu</td>
<td>kurntalwura</td>
<td>kurntala</td>
<td>kurntalu</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mirtily</td>
<td>mirtily.yu</td>
<td>mirtily.yu</td>
<td>mirtilywura</td>
<td>mirtilya</td>
<td>mirtilyu</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanparr</td>
<td>kanparryu</td>
<td>kanparryu</td>
<td>kanparrwura</td>
<td>kanparra</td>
<td>kanparru</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalyaran</td>
<td>kalyanku</td>
<td>kalyanku</td>
<td>kalyankura</td>
<td>kalyaranta</td>
<td>kalyarantu</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurlany</td>
<td>kurlanyku</td>
<td>kurlanyku</td>
<td>kurlanykura</td>
<td>kurlanytha</td>
<td>kurlanythu</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jinkarn</td>
<td>jinkarku</td>
<td>jinkarku</td>
<td>jinkarkura</td>
<td>jinkarnta</td>
<td>jinkartu</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 4.3: INVARIANT NOMINAL SUFFIXES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>-nguru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>-mulyarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directional</td>
<td>-wurrini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direction facing</td>
<td>-thartu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near</td>
<td>-wini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dweller</td>
<td>-nyungu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenience</td>
<td>-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associative</td>
<td>-mamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietive</td>
<td>-marta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>-waya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal</td>
<td>-ngalyarnta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obscured</td>
<td>-ngurni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>-tharra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>-ngara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distributed plural</td>
<td>-warnitura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td>-mamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Side</td>
<td>-wuyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunction</td>
<td>-thurti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2 NOMINATIVE CASE

Transitive and intransitive subjects, and their various adjuncts, are not marked by a special nominal suffix and are left unmarked in sentence examples (i.e. no use is made of a -∅ nominative suffix). By contrast, demonstratives and some pronouns do have special nominative forms which differ from forms used in other argument positions. However, not all nominals appearing without overt case specification are subjects or adjuncts on subjects. First, there are classes of temporal and locational nominals which function as sentence adverbs and which generally bear no overt case-marking (§5.8, §5.9, §5.10). Second, object ‘topics’ in imperative clauses are in nominative case, involving either unmarked nominals or the nominative forms of pronouns and demonstratives (§9.8).

4.3 ACCUSATIVE

The accusative suffix has a number of related relational functions. Firstly, it marks the objects of transitive and ditransitive verbs and the subcategorised complements of predicates other than transitive verbs (§9.2). Secondly, a wide range of predicates may take an additional accusative argument denoting some beneficiary of the action. Although accusative beneficiaries have some of the properties of core arguments, predicates are not subcategorised for these arguments (§9.5.9). Finally, the accusative is used to mark a particular kind of temporal adjunct. Given this range of functions it is clear that the accusative cannot be described as a purely diacritical suffix marking non-subject core arguments of transitive verbs. The fact that it has functions as a ‘semantic’ case provides a convincing argument that the accusative be ascribed some meaning. The following subsections detail the different relational functions of the accusative. The referential and complementising functions of the accusative are described in §9.9 and Chapter 10.
[A] OBJECTS OF TRANSITIVE AND DITRANSITIVE VERBS

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

(4.1)  
Ngayu  panyi-lalha kanparr-yu.
1SG.NOM step-PAST spider-ACC
I stepped on a spider. (trans.)

(4.2)  
Ngunhu-tharra manku-Iha-nguru kurlany-ku, parrani-nguru-rru.
that.NOM-DU get-PAST-ABL knife-ACC return-PRES-NOW
Those two, having got a knife, are coming back now.

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

(4.3)  
Ngunhu kanyara nguru jinkam-ku ·yungku-lha
that.NOM man that.ACC digging.stick-ACC give-PAST
ngurnula-ngu-u mimi-i.
that.DEF-GEN-ACC uncle-ACC
That man gave his uncle the digging stick. (trans.)

(4.4)  
Kartu marrari-i kuyil-yu mir.ta nhuura-ma-rinja
2SG.NOM word-ACC bad-ACC not knowing-CAUS-FUT
pawulu-ngara-a.
child-PL-ACC
Don’t you teach the children bad words. (trans.)

The two accusative-marked arguments of a ditransitive verb are not strictly ordered with respect to one another. However, the coherent structure of Martuthunira noun phrases means that there is little danger of modifiers being associated with the wrong heads. Similarly, there is rarely any possibility of ambiguity in the linking of the two accusative arguments to predicate argument structure. In most cases the correct assignment will be clear from context (§9.7).

[B] ALTERNATIVE ARGUMENT STRUCTURES

Most intransitive and transitive motion verbs have alternate argument structures in which some locational complement may be marked either with a locational case suffix or with the accusative suffix. These alternative case assignment patterns are discussed in detail in §9.5.5 and §9.5.6. The examples below illustrate the contrasts for kanarri-Ø ‘come’, and warntitha-L ‘throw, drop’. For kanarri-Ø, the goal of motion is typically marked with the allative suffix. For warntitha-L the goal of motion may be marked either with the allative or the locative suffixes.

(4.5)  
Nhulaa kanyara thurlanyarrara ngaliwa-mulyarra kanarri-Iha
near.you man poor.fellow 1PL.INC-ALL come-PAST
wawayi-l.yarra · nganangu-u juwayumarta-a.
look.for-CTEMP someone.OBL-ACC doctor-ACC
That poor man came to us looking for a doctor.
(4.6) *Ngunhu-ngara kanarri-layi nhawani-i-rru, yinki-i ngurra-a-rru.*
that.NOM-PL come-FUT thing-ACC-NOW beach-ACC land-ACC-NOW
Then they came right to the what's-its-name, to the beach, to the land.

(4.7) *Ngaliya kanarri-lha tharnta-a mungka-mura-a.*
1DU.EXC come-PAST euro-ACC eat-PrREL-ACC
We came upon a euro feeding.

(4.8) *Ngunhu pawulu nganaju parla-a warntitha-rralha.*
that.NOM child 1SG.ACC stone-ACC throw-PAST
That child threw a stone at me (hitting me).

(4.9) *Ngayu parla-a warntitha-rralha ngurnu-ngka muyi-ngka wanyjarri-wala.*
1SG.NOM rock-ACC throw-PAST that.ACC-LOC dog-LOC run.away-PURPds
I threw a rock at that dog so it would run away. (trans.)

For both verbs, the use of an accusative-marked goal usually implies some effect on that goal. Thus in example (4.6), the motion towards the goal is accomplished. In example (4.7) the animate goal is affected by the unexpected and inopportune arrival of the subject of the verb. And similarly in (4.8), the use of the accusative suffix on the goal implies that the eventual end point is reached and generally that the goal, especially if animate, is adversely affected by the thrown object. By contrast, there is no implication in (4.9) that the goal of motion, the dog, is necessarily hit by the stone. The act of throwing it in the general direction of the dog is enough to scare it away.

[C] ACCUSATIVE BENEFECTIVE ARGUMENTS

Both transitive and intransitive verbs may take an added accusative argument denoting a beneficiary of the action (§9.5.9). The referent of the benefactive argument is typically animate and is assumed to be affected in some way by the event or action. Whether or not this effect is interpreted as being of *positive* benefit depends on the meaning of the predicate. Some actions can be assumed to be of general benefit, as in examples (4.10), (4.11), (4.12), while others are malefactive (4.13), (4.14):

(4.10) *Nganaju yaan pawulu-ngara-a kampa-lalha murla-a.*
1SG.GEN wife child-PL-ACC cook-PAST meat-ACC
My wife cooked meat for the kids.

(4.11) *Ngayu kangku-lha pukarta-ngara-a ngurnu wartirra-a.*
1SG.NOM carry-PAST firewood-PL-ACC that.ACC woman-ACC
I carried firewood for that woman. (trans.)

(4.12) *Muyi yanga-lalha tharnta-a kanyara-thurti waruu-lpurtu mirntiwul muyi-ngara-a, mungka-lwaa murla-a.*
dog chase-PAST euro-ACC man-CONJ still-COMP together
dog-PL-ACC eat-PURPds meat-ACC
The dog, together with a man, chased a euro for the dogs, so [the dogs]
could eat meat. (trans.)
(4.13) Nhiyu warriti parli-npa-nguru nganaju.  
this.NOM spear bent-INCH-PRES 1SG.ACC  
This spear is going bent on me. (trans.)

(4.14) Mir.ta yimpala-npa-marri-layi kartungu-u mapuji-i.  
not like.that-INCH-COLL-FUT 2SG.GEN-ACC MoFa-ACC  
Don't be like that about/on your grandfather.

This construction is not the only means of describing beneficial actions in Martuthunira. Most (positive) beneficiaries are coded as the objects of a benefactive verb wuruma-L ‘do for’ (§9.5.4).

[D] COMPLMENTS OF PREDICATE NOMINALS

The complements of the psych-predicate nominals nhuura ‘knowing’, wiru ‘liking, wanting’ and waya ‘fear’ select accusative case (§9.2.2):

(4.15) Nhuwana nhuura nganaju yilangu karri-nyila-a.  
2PL.NOM knowing 1SG.ACC here stand-PrREL-ACC  
You know I'm standing here.

(4.16) Kartu nyina-Ø pawulu jalyuru-la, nyina-Ø waya muyi-i.  
2SG.NOM sit-IMP child inside-LOC sit-IMP fear dog-ACC  
You sit inside kid, for fear of the dog. (trans.)

In addition, kinship nominals may function as non-verbal predicates taking a nominative subject and an accusative complement. As the following examples show, the complement describes the kin possessor (§9.2.1):

maybe IGNOR spouse that.ACC woman-ACC  
Maybe he is husband to that woman.

(4.18) Oh! Ngunhaa pala mimi ngali-i.  
Oh that.NOM IT uncle ID U.I NC-ACC  
Oh! You mean that fell a who is uncle to us.

Finally, many non-verbal ascriptive predications may take an accusative complement which denotes some person or object from whose ‘point of view’ the ascription of some property to the subject of the clause is made (§9.2.3). Usually, the existence of the property is interpreted as somehow affecting the referent of the complement.

(4.19) Ngunhu paya-nguntharri ngawurr-marta mir.ta panyu paju  
that.NOM drink-HABITNOM foam-PROP not good REAL  
nganaju-u kurntal-yu.  
1SG.GEN-ACC daughter-ACC  
That beer (lit thing having foam that is drunk) isn't good for my daughter.

(4.20) Nhiyu ngalhangalha ngurmu yarta-a kanyara-a.  
this.NOM clever that.ACC other-ACC man-ACC  
This one is clever compared with the other man.

(4.21) Karlarra paju ngaliwa-a puni-waa.  
hot REAL 1PL.INC-ACC go-PURPs=o  
It's too hot for us to go.
Ascriptive predications involving a copula (§9.3) may occasionally take similar complements. In the following example the accusative complement, effectively a complement of comparison, has been fronted:

(4.22) \textit{Ngurnu pilakurta-a, yartapalyu kanyara-ngara jalya-ngara-rru nyina-layi.}\footnote{that.ACC carpenter-ACC others man-PL useless-PL-NOW be-FUT}  
Compared to this carpenter, the other men will be useless.

\textbf{[E] ACCUSATIVE OF TEMPORAL EXTENT}

The accusative suffix also marks an adjunct noun phrase of extended time. The accusative noun phrase specifies either a period of time throughout which an action is performed, as in examples (4.23) and (4.24), or the end point of a period of time which is thought to be completely taken up with the action denoted by the verb (4.25).

(4.23) \textit{Yakarrangu-u wanaatra-a wanti-layi waruu-lpurru.}\footnote{day-ACC long-ACC lie-FUT still-COMP}  
All day long he'll still be lying like that.

(4.24) \textit{Yaan nyina-nguru malyarra-npa-rra puni-lha-nguru jurrwalyi-i panyi-l.yarra yakarrangu-u karlarra-a.}\footnote{spouse be-PRES sick-INCH-CTEMP go-PAST-ABL summer-ACC walk-CTEMP day-ACC hot-ACC [My] wife is sick from having gone walking through the hot summer's day.}  
[My] wife is sick from having gone walking through the hot summer's day.

(4.25) \textit{Wantharni-npa-layi-lwa?Parnta-minyji wayil waya-a yirla.}\footnote{how-INCH-FUT-ID rain-FUT maybe dark-ACC until How will it go from here? Maybe it will rain right through until it's dark. (see (7.103))}  
How will it go from here? Maybe it will rain right through until it's dark. (see (7.103))

These examples can be compared with (4.26) and (4.27) below in which a period of time is marked with the locative suffix (and see §4.5).

(4.26) \textit{Ngunhu tharta wanti-nguru yakarrangu-la.}\footnote{that.NOM euro lie-PRES day-LOC}  
That euro sleeps in the daytime.

(4.27) \textit{Ngulangu karalu parnta-muru muthu-ngka yirla.}\footnote{there south rain-PRES winter-LOC only}  
There in the south it only rains in the winter.

In these examples the locative noun phrase describes a period of time for some part of which it may be true to say that the event denoted by the verb is occurring. The accusative temporal adjunct, on the other hand, describes a period of time, or the end point of a period of time, for all parts of which it is true to say that the event described by the verb is occurring.

The use of the accusative to mark a complement of extended time has a clear parallel in a number of Indo-European languages. Kuryłowicz (1964:182) describes the ‘accusative of temporal extension’ in Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Gothic and Old Church Slavonic. Generally,
“the accusative noun denotes a stretch of time or, secondarily a moment within the given stretch of time”. The accusative of temporal extension in Latin contrasts with the use of the ablative case to mark “the time at or within which” (see Hale and Buck 1903:204 & 230), just as the locative is used in Martuthunira.

[F] DISCUSSION

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

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

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

4.4 EFFECTOR

The effector case has a quite idiosyncratic set of functions in Martuthunira. Historically it descends from an ergative suffix used to mark the subjects of transitive verbs and adjuncts of various kinds on these subjects. In the modern language it survives with the principal function of marking passive agents. The effector suffix, used referentially, also marks second predications of manner and instrumental noun phrases in passive clauses. The following examples illustrate these functions:

(4.28) Nhiyu muyi mir.ta jarruru-lu thani-ru nganaju-wu-lu yaan-tu.
    this.NOM dog not slowly-EFF hit-PASSP 1SG.OBL-GEN-EFF spouse-EFF
    This dog was thrashed by my wife (lit. hit not slowly).
As (4.31) shows, the noun phrase bearing the effector suffix in a passive clause need not denote an agent. The effector noun phrase may denote inanimate objects such as ‘stone’, ‘stick’, natural forces such as ‘wind’, ‘rain’, ‘sun’, and abstract mental states as in the following, rather idiomatic, example:

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

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

(4.33) Palyangu-ma-minyji-rru ngurnaa ngarri-ngku karlarra-ru.
closed-CAUS-FUT-NOW that.ACC ashes-EFF hot-EFF
Now cover it over with hot ashes.

(4.34) Puntharri-lha-rru, yartapalyu malwunpa-wala-rru, kayulu-ru-rru
bleed-PAST-NOW others help-PURPds-NOW water-EFF-NOW
puntha-lwala.
wash-PURPds
[They’re] bleeding now, so others rush to help, to wash them with water.

(4.35) Ngayu-rru mulhaa-lalha, puuthuni-marta-ma-lalha warriri-i,
1SG.NOM-NOW sharpen-PAST point-PROP-CAUS-PAST spear-ACC
karntara-thurti-lu manta-lalha, panyu-ma-l.yarra.
sinew-CONJ-EFF bind-PAST good-CAUS-CTEMP
Now I sharpened it, fixed a point on the spear, bound it up with sinew and stuff, making it good.

And in the following examples, the effector noun phrase appears as an adjunct of an intransitive verb.

(4.36) Wilyiwilyi-ma-ngara-a wantha-minyji. Yakarrangu-ru
clean-CAUS-PASSP-PL-ACC put-FUT sun-EFF
kampa-rra pinkarranyu-npa-rra
burn-CTEMP dry-INCH-CTEMP
[I’ll] put these cleaned clothes. They’ll be heating up from the sun, getting dry.
This child has been told to go lest he gets burnt by the fire, but he still hasn't gone.

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

The effector noun phrases in the above examples describe 'instruments' which are conventionally associated with the verb action. The transitive verbs puntha-L 'to wash, bathe', and manta-L 'to bind', imply a washing medium and a binding instrument respectively. Similarly, the intransitive verb kampa-Ø 'to be burning, cooking', unless predicated of 'fire' or 'sun', usually assumes a heat source independent of its subject. Finally, both transitive and intransitive verbs of covering or closing imply the existence of some covering medium. This function of the effector suffix is similar to its function in passive clauses. A passivised transitive verb, taking an 'affected' participant as subject, still implies an agent, effector or force acting upon that subject even if no overt effector noun phrase appears in the clause.

Finally, the effector survives as a marker of transitive subjects in a rare imperative clause construction. This is illustrated in examples (4.39) and (4.40) and is discussed in §9.8.

You hit this (if you can)!

The locative suffix has adnominal, relational, and complementising functions. The suffix also has a referential function marking attributive second predicates on locative adjuncts, though there are few naturally occurring examples of this in the data. With the exception of certain complementising uses (Chapter 10) the suffix retains its basic meaning as a marker of spatial or temporal location in all these functions. Examples (4.43) and (4.44) illustrate the adnominal function of the locative suffix.

Yes. We'll go and get some honey (sweet stuff) that's in a better tree.
(4.42)  
Warryumuntu, wanygul-nguru tharnta parla-nyungu kupuyu-marta
mother.euro call-PASS-PRES euro hill-DWELL little-PROP
thara-ngka-marta.
pouch-LOC-PROP
Warryumuntu, that's what that euro that lives in the hills is called when it has a
little one in its pouch.

In (4.42) the adnominal locative modifier is part of a more complex adnominal modifier
marked with the proprietive suffix.

[A] LOCATIVE COMPLEMENTS AND ADJUNCTS

A number of motion verbs are subcategorised for a locational complement. As already
noted in §4.3 above, these complements may be marked either with a locational suffix or
with the accusative. Intransitive verbs of this class may occur in passive clauses with the
locational complement as subject. Transitive verbs of this class allow a passive either on the
locational complement or on the patient/theme (see §9.6). Verbs selecting a locative marked
goal complement include the following (see §9.5.5, §9.5.6 for examples):

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

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

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

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

Similarly, a number of verbs may occur with locative marked noun phrases which
describe the position in which the object of the verb is held or restrained. These include:

- kemba-L to cook (on, in)
- karlarra-ma-L to make hot (on, in)
- kenyja-L to keep, hold (in place)
- kengku-Ø to carry (in, on)

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

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

(4.43) *Nganangu-rru kuliyanpa-layi pilakurta-a jalya-ngara-la*
who.ACC-NOW think-FUT carpenter-ACC useless-PL-LOC
*kanyara-ngara-la yartapalyu-la?*
man-PL-LOC other.group-LOC
Now who can we think of that is a carpenter out of that other mob of useless men?

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

(4.44) *Ngayu kuliyanpa-lha ngawayu-la kulyama-lalha*
1SG.NOM think-PAST turn-LOC pay.back-PAST
*kartatha-lwayara-a-lpuru ngawayu-la jumpirirri-la.*
chop-HABIT-ACC-COMP turn-LOC sharp-LOC
I thought about my turn, paid him back with a tomahawk in turn for the sharp [knife] (he had given me).

[B] Spatial Setting

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

(4.45) *Ngayu tharnta-a nhuwa-lalha parla-ngka.*
1SG.NOM euro-ACC spear-PAST hill-LOC
I speared a euro in the hills.

(4.46) *Ngunhu pawulu nyina-nguru ngaya-ra maya-ngka-rru.*
that.NOM child sit-PRES cry-CTEMP house-LOC-NOW
That child is crying in the house now. (trans.)

(4.47) *Ngali parla-ngka puni-layi jartunmarra-a wawayi-l.yarra.*
1DU.INC hill-LOC go-FUT wallaby-ACC look.for-CTEMP
We'll go looking for rock wallabies in the hills.

[C] Comitative

A locative noun phrase denoting an animate participant is usually interpreted as a comitative, although the simple locational reading is possible.

(4.48) *Kuwarri yilangu nyina-nguru ngathala wirta-tharra.*
now here stay-PRES 1SG.LOC boy-DU
Now there are two boys staying here with me.

(4.49) *Ngayu puni-lha nhauwu-lu ngurru kanyara-a ngaliwa-la*
1SG.NOM go-PAST see-PURPss that.ACC man-ACC 1PL.INC-LOC
*puni-layi-i wuruwanti.*
go-FUT-ACC morning
I went to see that man who'll be going with us in the morning. (trans.)
[D] LOCATIVE STATES

In the following examples the locative suffix is attached to the nominal marrari ‘word, language, story’. The locative expression here describes a state of activity characterised by talking. This use of the locative has clear parallels in other Ngayarda languages (for Panyjima see Dench (1991:141)). The pattern does not appear to be very productive in Martuthunira.

(4.50) Kartu kanarri-lha nganaju-mulyarra, kartu kanarri-lha
2SG.NOM come-PAST 1SG.OBL-ALL 2SG.NOM come-PAST
nganajumarta marrari-la nyina-lu.
1DU.DISHARM word-LOC be-PURPss
You came to me, you came so we could talk.

full-INCH-PAST-NOW still sit-COLL-FUT word-LOC-NOW
Once [we're] full (of food), [we'll] talk together.

[E] TEMPORAL SETTING

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

(4.52) Thana pinkarranyu-npa-rra kayarra-la wii yakarrangu-la.
let dry-INCH-CTEMP two-LOC or day-LOC
Let it dry for two days or so.

(4.53) Panyu-rru nyina-layi ngaliwa, kankurru-wirriwa-la-rru.
good-NOW be-FUT 1PL.INC dust-PRIV-LOC-NOW
We'll be good now while there's no dust.

(4.54) Kartu kamkanpa-lha ngaliwa-a nganama-wu-la
2SG.NOM get.smart-PAST ID U.EXC-ACC IPL.E XC-GEN-LOC
puliyanja-ngara-la piyuwa-la yirla.
old.person-PL-LOC finished-LOC only
You're getting smart with us two only now that our old people are finished.

Where the verb is non-durative the locative expression describes the point in time at which the event takes place (examples (4.55), (4.56) and (3.10b)).

(4.55) Ngayu wartawirrinpa-rra parrani-nyila-a-rru
1SG.NOM wait.for-CTEMP return-PrREL-ACC-NOW
wanthanha-la wii yakarrangu-la.
which-LOC or day-LOC
I'm waiting for [him] to return now, which day will it be.

(4.56) Ngunhaa thurla-npa-layi yakarrangu-la yawurru-rru.
that.NOM eye-INCH-FUT sun-LOC west-NOW
He wakes up once the sun is in the west.
In the same way that a locative expression may describe a period of time in terms of a number of days (example (4.52)), locative expressions are used to describe the number of times that an action takes place.

(4.57)  
*Ngayu wangka-lha nhuwana-a kayarra-la-rru!*

1SG.NOM tell-PAST 2PL-ACC two-LOC-NOW  
I've told you twice now!

(4.58)  
*Nhiyu muyi thani-rru kanyara-lu, yarta-ngka-l nhyaa thani-ralha pawulu-u.*

child-ACC  
This dog was hit by that man, the other time he hit a child. (trans.)

[F] LOCATIVE COMPLEMENTISERS

The locative occurs as a complementising suffix on the predicate of subordinate clauses functioning as adverbial modifiers of other clauses. This follows logically from its role as a marker of temporal adjunct noun phrases. The locative is also attached to the verb in relative clauses modifying locative noun phrases. In addition, it is used to mark those relative clauses and lest clauses for which there is no controlling argument in the main clause, or where the controlling argument is not a core argument. The syntax of these complex sentence types is described in Chapter 10.

4.6 ABLATIVE -nguru

The ablative suffix marks a point of prior temporal or spatial location. When indicating a point in past time the ablative is usually suffixed directly to the nominal or verb describing that point in time. However, when marking a spatial location, the nominal to which the ablative suffix is added must be either inherently locative (§5.8) or must bear the locative suffix. Like the locative, the ablative has adnominal, relational and complementising functions, although its complementising uses are quite restricted (§10.1.2). The following examples illustrate the use of the ablative to indicate the origin of a motion.

(4.59)  
*Ngayu manku-lha parla-a-rru pariingku-layi ngurnaa*

1SG.NOM get-PAST rock-ACC-NOW hit-FUT that.ACC  
mirtirimarta-a parna-a, pungka-waa-rru kalyaran-ta-nguru.  
goanna-ACC head-ACC fall-PURPs=o-NOW tree-LOC-ABL  
I grabbed a rock and hit that goanna in the head so it would fall from the tree.

(4.60)  
*Nhiyu kalyaran-ngara wanti-nguru ngulawuyu-la parla-ngka-nguru ngathu kangku-yangu yilangu.*

this stick-PL lie-PRES that.side-LOC hill-LOC-ABL  
1SG.EFF carry-PASSP here  
These sticks lying on that side were brought here from the hills by me.

(4.61)  
*Ngayu nhuwu-lha nguru paniya-a nyina-nyila-a karnta*

1SG.NOM see-PAST that.ACC eye-ACC be-PrREL-ACC tear
I saw that one's eyes, tears falling from [his] eyes because of the cold wind.

Ablative expressions with an adnominal function appear as modifiers describing the recent location of the entity denoted by the head of the noun phrase.

(4.62) Thawu-rnu warnu pala ngaliwa ngurnu tharnta-a murla-a
send-PASSP ASSERT IT 1PL.INC that.ACC euro-ACC meat-ACC
ngarri-ngka-nguru-u?
ashes-LOC-ABL-ACC
Weren't we sent that euro meat that was cooked in (lit. came out of) the ashes?

(4.63) Ngunhaa manku-lha-nguru wii panga-a kujawari-la-nguru-u,
that.NOM catch-PAST-ABL if itch-ACC whale-LOC-ABL-ACC
punyay layi yurra-1.yarra.
go-FUT scratch-CTEMP
If he has caught that itch that comes from a whale, he'll be going along scratching.

It is tempting to see the accusative marked ablative expressions in the above examples as second predicates on the accusative objects. However, in both cases the ablative expression is making a restrictive modification of the object rather than describing the particular source from which the subject of the verb, in each case, received the object on this occasion. Thus in example (4.62) the euro meat was not sent from the ashes any more than the child in (4.63) collected the itch directly from a whale (the itching substance floats to shore and is 'contracted' by swimming in the surf). The following two examples illustrate true adverbial second predications in which the adnominal ablative is used to describe the immediate prior location of the linked argument.

(4.64) Ngunraa thuulwa-rninyji karla-ngka-nguru-u, thani-rninyji juwayu-marta.
that.ACC pull-FUT fire-LOC-ABL-ACC hit-FUT hand-PROP
Then pull it out of the fire and wipe it down with your hand.
(see example (6.8))

(4.65) Nharto-npa-lha?
what-INCH-PAST
Nharto-ngku?
what-EFF
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Examples (4.66) and (4.67) illustrate the use of the ablative to mark the starting point of a period of time.

(4.66) \textit{Nhartu-ma-rnu-lwa-rru ngula kanyara-nguru, warruwa-nguru?} \\
what-CAUS-PASSP-ID-NOW IGNOR person-ABL devil-ABL \\
What became of them after the time they were people, devils?

(4.67) \textit{Nhartu-u wii warnan-ku yirla kuliya-minyji parnta-rnura-a.} \\
something-ACC or rain-ACC only hear-FUT rain-PrREL-ACC \\
\textit{Ngurnu-nguru-ya karlwa-lha.} \\
that.OBL-ABL-YK get.up-PAST \\
All I heard was the rain or whatever falling. After that I got up.

(4.68) \textit{Ngayu nguyirri-warla paju, wiruwanti-nguru-I wanti-layi} \\
1SG.NOM asleep-FULL REAL morning-ABL-THEN lie-FUT \\
\textit{yakarrangu-u yirla tharrwa-waa.} \\
sun-ACC until go.in-PURPs=o \\
I'm a real sleepy head, from morning I lie in until the sun goes down.

4.7 ALLATIVE SUFFIXES -\textit{rta} AND -\textit{mulyarra}

Martuthunira, like the other Ngayarda languages, has two allative suffixes. The -\textit{rta} 'direct allative' is cognate with the Panyjima and Yindjibarndi direct allatives which typically encode an attained goal of motion. Panyjima and Yindjibarndi have independently innovated 'indirect' allatives which do not imply that the end point of the motion is necessarily reached. The Martuthunira -\textit{mulyarra} allative suffix is also an independent innovation but is not exactly equivalent to the Yindjibarndi and Panyjima 'indirect' allatives.

The direct allative focuses on the goal of the motion and essentially ignores the process by which participants in the clause arrived at this goal. Where it is used in narrative, it serves simply to get participants from one location in which important action takes place to the next. The -\textit{mulyarra} allative, on the other hand, focuses more on the motion itself. The journey is assumed to have some narrative status. Examples (4.69), (4.70) and (4.71) illustrate the use of the direct allative. Examples of the -\textit{mulyarra} allative include (4.72), (4.73), (4.85), and (5.45).

(4.69) \textit{Jal.yu-u-rru thani-minyji puni-rrawaara ngurra-arta-rru} \\
occiput-ACC-NOW hit-FUT go-SEQ camp-DIRALL-NOW \\
\textit{kampa-ru-rru.} \\
cook-PURPs-NOW \\
Now hit this one in the back of the head and then go home and cook it.

(4.70) \textit{Kangku-lha ngurnu-ngara-a wuyu-urta-rru, kalyaran-ta} \\
take-PAST that.OBL-PL-ACC river-DIRALL-NOW tree-LOC \\
\textit{warntitha-minyji pinyjura-a mil.yi-ngka parlu-ngka.} \\
throw-FUT rope-ACC fork-LOC top-LOC \\
[They] took these men to the river, and threw a rope up into the fork of a tree.

(4.71) \textit{Ngunhu puni-nguru pawu-urta-rru, ngulangu-rru nyina-layi} \\
that.NOM go-PRES father-DIRALL-NOW there-NOW stop-FUT
pawu-u-rru wangka-rra, “Pawu-yi...”
father-ACC-NOW say-CTEMP Dad-VOCA
He goes to his father, and stops there and says to his father, “Dad!...”

(4.72) Kuhawulha waruu ngaliwa puni-layi nharnu-mulyarra, mirntiwul-wa-rru
bunched.up still 1PL.INC go-FUT grave-ALL together-Ø-NOW
wuraal-wa-rru kulhi-ru-rru thungkara-a.
still-Ø-NOW bury-PURPss-NOW earth-ACC
All in a bunch we move to the grave, and now, still all together, we bury [him]
in the earth.

(4.73) Ngayu wayula-rru manhamanha-npa-nguru, kangku-ngu-layi wiru
1SG.NOM legs-NOW awkward-INCH-PRES take-PASS-FUT wanting
nganaju-wu-mulyarra ngurra-mulyarra.
1SG.OBL -GEN-ALL camp-ALL
My legs are unsteady, I want to be helped (lit. taken) home.

Despite these differences in meaning the suffixes show a pattern of defective distribution
which suggests that the direct allative is gradually being replaced by the more commonly
occurring -mulyarra allative suffix. In particular, the direct allative does not occur on
pronouns or on consonant-final nominal stems.

However, although the -mulyarra allative is more common as a marker of goals of
motion, the direct allative has other functions which are not covered by the -mulyarra suffix.
Firstly, the direct allative may be used to mark purposive goals of motion verbs which are
not properly locations (examples (4.74) and (4.75)). Although the -mulyarra suffix is
accepted in this type of construction it never occurs in spontaneous text.

(4.74) Wuraal, kartu nhawungarra-ma-rninji nganaju-u muyi-i?
all.right 2SG.NOM look.after-CAUS-FUT 1SG.GEN-ACC dog-ACC
Ngayu puni-nyila kulhampa-arta.
1SG.NOM go-PrREL fish-DIRALL
Can you look after my dog? I'm going for fish. (trans.)

(4.75) Ngunhu puliyanyja puni-lha marrari-irta.
that.NOM old.man go-PAST word-DIRALL
That old man went for news.

Secondly, nominals bearing the direct allative suffix may serve as stems for the derivation
of verbs (example (4.76)) but, despite this, allative expressions cannot be used as adnominal
modifiers. There are no similar examples involving the -mulyarra allative.

(4.76) Ngaya-lha-rru, karlwa-layi ngurra-arta-npa-layi-rru.
cry-PAST-NOW get.up-FUT camp-DIRALL-INCH-FUT-NOW
Having cried, [they] get up and go home now.

4.8 MINOR LOCATIONAL SUFFIXES
4.8.1 DIRECTIONAL SUFFIX -wurrini

The -wurrini suffix indicates the direction in which some action is oriented. The action
does not involve any motion towards that point.
4.8.2 DIRECTION FACING -thartu

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

(4.79) Kanyara-warntura parlu-thartu nhawu-rra, wayi yakarrangu-u
person-DISTRIB top-FACE look-CTEMP maybe sun-ACC

nhawu-layi.
see-FUT
Each person is looking upwards, maybe they'll see the sun.

(4.80) Wantharni-wuyu ngunhu kapun wanti-lha? Wantharni-wuyu-thartu?
what.way-SIDE that.NOM body lie-PAST what.way-SIDE-FACE
What way was that body lying? Facing what way?

4.8.3 NEAR -wini

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

(4.81) Yawarru waruu, Kawuyu-wini pularna-lwa, wanthala
west still Kawuyu-NEAR 3PL-ID somewhere

Jinpingayinu-wini.
Jinpingayinu-NEAR
Still in the west, they were near Kawuyu (Mount Nicholson), somewhere near Jinpingayinu (Peter Creek).

4.8.4 DWELLER -nyungu

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

(4.82) Nhiyu wanpari kalyaran-ngara-nyungu.
this.NOM bee tree-PL-DWELL
This wanpari bee lives in a number of [different kinds of] trees.

(4.83) Yartapalyu kanyja-rryarra, ngunhu-nyungu-lpurtu
others keep-CTEMP that.NOM-DWELL-COMP
Kurlanypungkunhu-nyungu, Pantuwarnangka-a.
Kurlanypungkunhu-DWELL Pannawonica.Hill-ACC
The others were keeping Pantuwarnangka (Pannawonica Hill), the people who lived at that place, Kurlanypungkunha Island.
(4.84) *Nhiyu martawulyu, palyarri-nyungu, ngunhaa panyu jami.*
This gum-type plant (sp.)-DWELL that.NOM good medicine
This martawulyu gum, which comes from the palyarri tree, it is good medicine.

that.NOM-PL carve-HABIT 'Kawuyu-DWELL-PL-ACC carve-HABIT
send-FUT Wirrawanti-ALL
They used to carve the ones that came from Kawuyu and send them to Wirrawanti.

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

(4.86) *Yarta-lpurtu warnu marrari-wirra-nyungu.*
other-COMP ASSERT word-PRIV-DWELL
He's like a different person altogether, doesn't talk much (lit. lives in not talking).

The suffix occurs in a number of independent lexical items:

- *pal.yarra-nyungu*         plains kangaroo  
plain-DWELL
- *mirta-nyungu*             water serpent   
limbo-DWELL
- *yarrwa-nyungu*            joey kangaroo at age when it follows its mother  
behind-DWELL

4.8.5 PROVENIENCE -ra

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

- *martuthuni-ra*           the people who live on the Fortescue River
Fortescue River-PROV
- *wartampu-ra*             the people who live on the Warramboo Creek
Warramboo Creek-PROV
- *ngamangama-ra*           the people who live on the foothills of the
foothills-PROV
  Hamersley Range
- *thanarti-ra*             seasiders
sea-PROV

4.9 ASSOCIATIVE -marnu

The associative suffix has both adnominal and relational functions and is typically used to mark an entity with which another entity is functionally associated. As an extension of this, associative expressions may function as generics, classifying objects by their usual association with a particular activity. The adnominal function of the associative suffix is illustrated in the following two examples.
(4.87) Pawulu-yi! Nhartu-ma-Ialha kartu nganaju-u
child-VOC what-CAUS-PAST 2SG.NOM 1SG.GEN-ACC
ngurriny-marnu-u jarra-Iwayara-a?
swag-ASSOC-ACC tie-HABIT-ACC
Child! What have you done with my swag strap (lit. thing for a swag, that ties)?

(4.88) Ngayu nhuura-ma-Ialha ngurnu wirta-a wantharni
1SG.NOM know-CAUS-PAST that.ACC youth-ACC how
wantha-rrwaa warangarti-i muyi-marnu-u.
put-PURP=O trap-ACC dog-ASSOC-ACC
I showed that youth how to set traps for dogs. (trans.)

A number of independent lexical items transparently involve the associative suffix:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nyurru-marnu</th>
<th>nostril</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>snot-ASSOC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kayulu-marnu</td>
<td>bladder, waterbag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water-ASSOC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purruru-marnu</td>
<td>waist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belt-ASSOC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karla-marnu</td>
<td>place on thigh where punishment spear is inserted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire-ASSOC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parna-marnu</td>
<td>hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head-ASSOC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wulu-marnu</td>
<td>trousers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leg-ASSOC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punkurri-marnu</td>
<td>blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>covered-ASSOC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like the proprietive, the associative is used to make generic reference to classes of objects which are used for a common purpose. The clearest example of this involves the expression *murla-marnu* ‘meat-ASSOC’, which classifies anything that might be used in catching game. In example (4.89) the expression refers to a dog, in (4.90) to a spear:

(4.89) Thalu-waya panyu-npa-wala-rru wiru ngurnula-ngu-lu-rru
pet-OWNER good-INCH-PURPds-NOW feelings that.DEF-GEN-EFF-NOW
murla-marnu-lu kanarri-yangu.
meat-ASSOC-EFF come-PASSP
The owner will feel good now having his meat-getter come to him.

1SG.EFF put.point-PASSP that.NOM meat-ASSOC spear
That meat spear had a point put on it by me.

The following sentences illustrate the relational use of the associative suffix. Here the associative noun phrase describes an eventual purpose towards which the action described by the predicate is directed. This use of the associative contrasts with the use of the direct allative to mark immediate purpose (§4.7).
(4.91) Yurntura-ma-l.yarra purra-l.yarra parla-ngka thawurra-marnu warrapa-a soft-CAUS-CTEMP hit-CTEMP rock-LOC net-ASSOC spinifex-ACC manku-layi.
get-FUT
One grabs the spinifex, hitting it on a rock, making it soft for (to be made into) a net.

old.man-PL-EFF or fish-ASSOC Wirpinykura, that's the one (type of spinifex) that used to be made into nets for fish by the old men or whoever.


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

The associative expression does not bear referential case in agreement with some other noun phrase and so cannot be described as a second predicate. The passive clause in example (4.92) clearly shows that the associative expression is not linked to the clause actor. Examples (4.91) and (4.94) show that there is no link to an accusative object even when such a link might be expected. The associative expression is thus syntactically equivalent to a locational adjunct modifying the whole clause.

4.10 PROPRIETIVE -marta

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

[A] PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES AND DEFINING CHARACTERISTICS

(4.95) Ngunhu kanyara jawurta-marta.
that.NOM man beard-PROP That man has a beard. (trans.)

covered-CAUS-HABIT that.DEF-GEN-ACC hole-ACC This [nest] of the spider's has a stone. Those spiders cover their holes.
When the body part attributed to some possessor is one which anyone might be expected to have (‘beard’, as in example (4.95), is not of this class), the proprietive expression implies an ability to make productive use of that body part. Such expressions can also be negated. In (4.97) for example, the old man is not described as having no ears in the sense of having had them removed (see discussion of the privative in §4.11), but in that he can no longer make normal use of them.

(4.97) *Ngunhaa kanyara mir.ta kuliya-marta, jalya wantamartu. Wantha-rru*
that.NOM man not ear-PROP useless crazy where-NOW
*ngunhu yaji?*
that.NOM mother’s.brother
That man who doesn’t have ears, the useless crazy fellow. Where is that uncle?

Remonstrations such as that in example (4.98) (and see (7.61)) more clearly illustrate this function of the proprietive suffix.

(4.98) *Nhuwana-yi pawulu-ngara kuliya-l.yu warra, kuliya-marta warnu!*
2PL-VOC child-PL listen-IMP CONT ear-PROP ASSERT
You kids listen for a change, you’ve got ears!

The proprietive expression in (4.99) describes the characteristic ability of hens to produce eggs.

(4.99) *Nganangu-rru kana kuliyanpa-layi ngaliwa mijara-marta-a*
who.ACC-NOW RHET think.of-FUT 1PL.INC egg-PROP-ACC
*panyu-marta-a mungka-anguntharri-marta-a?*
good-PROP-ACC eat-HABIT NOM-PROP-ACC
What else can we think of that has good edible eggs?

In example (4.100) a group of mythical people are characterised by an aspect of their speech; their common use of a meaningless hesitation marker *yirru* (see Appendix 1, Text 7:13ff).

(4.100) *Mirtiwul-wa ngunhu-ngara marrari Martuthunira, nhiyu all-YK that.NOM-PL language Martuthunira this.NOM
ngayal.yu-ngara yirru-marta-lpurtu marrari-marta.
devil-PL *yirru-PROP-COMP word-PROP
They were all Martuthunira speaking, but these devils had the word *yirru*.

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

(4.101) *Nhарту ngunhaа ngaru-marta?*
what that.NOM testicle-PROP
What’s that thing with the balls? (a ram)

(4.102) *Nhарту nhulaa marra-marta?*
what near.you wing-PROP
What’s that winged thing? (a bird)
[B] OBJECT IN CURRENT POSSESSION

A further function of the proprietive is to mark objects which are in the current possession of an entity, or persons who are accompanying another person. The proprietive expression may appear in a simple ascriptive clause, examples (4.103) and (4.104), as an embedded ascriptive clause (4.107) or, more commonly, as an attributive second predication on an argument in a verbal clause, (4.105) and (4.106).

(4.103) Ngunhu-ngara juwayu-la-marta parla-marta, kayarra-marta
that.NOM-PL hand-LOC-PROP stone-PROP two-PROP
parla-marta yirla.
stone-PROP only
They have stones in their hands, just two stones.

(4.104) Nhulaa kanyara wajirr-marta warnu, wantha-a puni-nguru?
near.you man spear-PROP ASSERT where-ACC go-PRES
This man has a fishing spear. Where is he going? (trans.)

1SG.NOM come-PAST news-PROP 2PL-ACC tell-PURPss
I came with news to tell you all.

(4.106) Thuulwa-rninji-rru, karlwa-rawaara. Karlwa-layi ngurnu-marta
pull-FUT-NOW spear-PROP-ACC-NOW chase-FUT-NOW that.OBL-PROP
mirntirimarta-marta.
goanna-PROP
Pull it out and stand up. Get up with that goanna.

see-FUT that.ACC spear-PROP-ACC-NOW chase-FUT-NOW
[I'll] see that that one now has a spear in it, and [I'll] chase it.

[C] INSTRUMENTS

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

(4.108) Nhartu-ma-muru karntarra-a? Mir.ta yirra-marta kalya-rninji,
what-CAUS-PRES sinew-ACC not teeth-PROP bite-FUT
wurnta-l.yu kurlany-marta!
cut-IMP knife-PROP
What are [you] doing to that sinew? Don't bite it with your teeth, cut it with a knife!

dig-FUT-NOW that.OBL-PROP stick-PROP point sharp-PROP
Then dig with that sharp-pointed stick.

In passive clauses the proprietive expression can bear referential effector case in agreement with the agent.
That turtle lying here was stabbed by a man with a fishing spear. (trans.)

The use of proprietive expressions to denote defining characteristics is employed in the derivation of new lexical items. The full range of semantic functions described in the above sections is represented. Firstly, animals or objects may be named for a characteristic physical attribute:

- **mirntiri-marta** claw-PROP
  - Gould's Yellow Sand Goanna
- **jawurta-marta** whisker-PROP
  - type of catfish
- **kalaya-marta** handle-PROP
  - billy-can
- **ngawurr-marta** foam-PROP
  - beer, soap

Similarly, people may be named for a characteristic attribute, either because the body part is characteristic and considered unusual;

- **kuntha-marta** long.chin.beard-PROP
  - Chinaman

or by the same principle that governs the use of proprietive expressions in examples such as (4.97), (4.98) and (4.99) above.

- **pirri-marta** finger-PROP
  - doctor
- **juwayu-marta** hand-PROP
  - doctor

Other expressions name people by their characteristic associated possessions:

- **ngurriny-marta** swag-PROP
  - young woman
- **marntanhu-marta** chain (lit. rope)-PROP
  - policeman
- **marnta-marta** iron(handcuff)-PROP
  - policeman
4.11 PRIVATIVE -wirriwa/-wirraa

The privative typically describes the lack of a body part, possession or kin. In addition, certain privative expressions function as second predicates of manner, or describe the lack of an instrument. These different functions are described in the following subsections.

[A] MISSING BODY PARTS

(4.111) *Ngunhaa mirntirimarta panyu-rru, punga-wirriwa-rru nyina-layi.*
that.NOM goanna good-NOW guts-PRIV-NOW be-FUT
That goanna is good now, now that it has been gutted (lit. has no guts).

(4.112) *Ngayu-lwa wiyaa wuruma-rninjji thurlajinkarri-i, yirra-wirraa-a*
1SG.NOM-ID maybe do.for-FUT poor.fellow-ACC teeth-PRIV-ACC
warnu pala.
ASSERT IT
Maybe I'll do it for the poor fellow, he really hasn't got any teeth.

(4.113) *Yimpala-rru-wa kanarra-lu pampiingku-yangu wanti-layi.*
like that-NOW-YK wind-EFF throw.down-PASSP lie-FUT
*Nyingkurlu-lpurtu warnu pirri-wirraa wantarra.*
firstly-COMP ASSERT hand-PRIV like
Just like that she lay, thrown to the ground by the wind. Firstly one must say it's as if she had no hands.

Example (4.113) can be compared with the use of the proprietive suffix to indicate an ability based on use of a body part. The privative by itself does not imply the same reading of ability and must be modified by the semblative *wantharra*. However, derived verbs based on a body-part privative expression do not necessarily imply the loss of that part.

(4.114) *Kuliyanpa-yaangu kalika-a-lwa kalyaran-ta nyina-wayara-a*
think.of-UNREAL one-ACC-ID tree-LOC sit-HABIT-ACC
*mulha-wirraa-npa-lha-a.*
nose-PRIV-INCH-PAST-ACC
[You] ought to be able to think of it, that one that always sits in a tree (as if) having lost its nose (i.e. a frogmouth owl).

(4.115) *Wantharni paju ngaliwa-a paniya-wirraa-ma-lalha ngaliwa-a?*
how REAL 1PL.INC-ACC eye-PRIV-CAUS-PAST 1PL.INC-ACC
*Kalya-rninjji yirla ngunhaa kartungu, parralhara.*
bite-FUT only that.NOM 2SG.ACC centipede
How did it deceive us (lit. make us be without eyes)? It just bit you, that centipede (and we didn't know it was there).

Possessed parts or physical attributes of inanimate objects may also take the privative suffix, as in the following examples.

(4.116) *Yimpala-rru nhiyu pal.yarra-rru, wanti-wala kalyarran-wirriwa-rru*
like.that-NOW this.NOM plain-NOW lie-PURPds tree-PRIV-NOW
Wirrawanti-rru wangka-ngu-layi.
Wirrawanti-NOW call-PASS-FUT
And now it was like that, this plain. It came to have no trees, and then it was called Wirrawanti.

test-FUT-NOW how-ACC style-ACC boomerang-DU-ACC
Wayii panyu-u ngurnta-a nhawu-layi panyu-u wayii.
maybe good-ACC style-ACC see-FUT good-ACC maybe
Ngurnta-wirriwa-a warntitha-minyji puyila-rru.
style-PRIV-ACC throw-FUT long.way-NOW
[I'll] try out these two boomerangs for their style. Maybe [I'll] see good style.
[I'll] throw away any without style.

[B] LACK OF KIN

(4.118) Nganangu-ngara pawulu-ngara?
who.GEN-PL child-PL
Whose are those children?

Ngurru-ngara-a yaan-wirriwa-wura-a.
that.OBL-ACC spouse-PRIV-BELONG-ACC
They belong to the one who is without a spouse. (see (8.23))

In (4.119) a man is described as being without a wife not because she has died but because she has left him.

that.NOM man-SIDE go-FUT rubbish-NOW spouse-PRIV-NOW
That man of the pair will be nothing, he's got no wife now.

[C] LACK OF POSSESSED OBJECTS

(4.120) Parla-wirraa nganarnarn.
money-PRIV 1P.L.EXC
We've got no money.

(4.121) Ngunhaa kanyara ngurriny-wirraa.
that.NOM man swag-PRIV
That man has no swag. (trans.)

(4.122) Ngayu nhawu-lha mirtali-ngara-a yirla, mir.ta kupuyu-marta-a,
1SG.NOM see-PAST big-PL-ACC only not little-PROP-ACC
mirtily-wirriwa-a.
neonate-PRIV-ACC
I'd seen only big ones (kangaroos), not any with little ones, only those without neonates (in their pouches). (trans.)

In (4.123) the 'used up' contents of a plate are marked with the privative.
(4.123) Jinpi yirla-rru wanti-waa, murla-wirriwa-rru, ngunhaa
plate only-NOW lie-PURPs=O meat-PRIV-NOW that.NOM
nhawu-wala jinpi-i murla-wirriwa-a.
see-PURPds plate-ACC meat-PRIV-ACC
Only the plate will be left, without any meat now. That fellow will see a
plate without meat (I've eaten it all).

[D] PRIVATIVE SECOND PREDICATIONS

In the following examples the privative expression functions as a second predication
describing the manner in which the action is carried out.

(4.124) Marrari-wirraa-wa-nu karlwa-lha, kuyil wiyaa. Ngaliwa-a
word-PRIV-ID-QUOT get.up-PAST bad maybe 1PL.INC-ACC
paya-npa-rra wiyaa. Thana-rru puni-Ø!
angry-INCH-CTEMP maybe let-NOW go-IMP
[He] got up without even a word, maybe something is wrong. Maybe he's
angry with us. Well let him go!

(4.125) Ngunhu julyu wanti-nguru nguyirri-wirraa, thurlajinkarri.
that.NOM old.man lie-PRES asleep-PRIV poor.fellow
That old man is lying without sleeping, the poor fellow. (trans.)

Expressions of this kind may also form the basis of derived verbs:

(4.126) Nhurtu-npa-lha, kartu nyina-nguru-yi marrari-wirraa-npa-lha?
what-INCH-PAST 2SG.NOM sit-PRES-VOC word-PRIV-INCH-PAST
What's the matter, why have you gone quiet?

(4.127) Nhuwana marrari-warlaya-ngara nguyirri-wirraa-ma-nuru-rru
2PL word-FULL-PL asleep-PRIV-CAUS-PRES-NOW
nganarna-a.
1PL.EXC-ACC
You talkative people are preventing us from sleeping.

In (4.128) and (4.129) the privative second predication describes the lack of an
instrument.

(4.128) Nhulaa kanyara nyina-nguru puuthuni-i mulhaa-minyji
that man be-PRES point-ACC affix-FUT
warrirti-la pul.ya-ngku yirla, karntarra-wirriwa.
spear-LOC wax-EFF only sinew-PRIV
That man is putting a point on the spear with just spinifex wax, without
any sinew.

(4.129) Ngunhu wartirra wiru thanuwa-a thurmta-minyji
that.NOM woman wanting damper-ACC knead-FUT
kayulu-wirriwa-a, pinkarranyu-u.
water-PRIV-ACC dry-ACC
That woman wants to knead damper without water, dry. (trans.)
4.12 GENITIVE

The genitive suffix marks the possessor of some object or the propositus of a kin relation. Use of the genitive usually implies alienable possession. Inalienable possession is coded by the simple adposition of possessor and possessed (§8.3).

(4.130) *Ngunhu ngurra tharratal-yu thungkara-la wantha-rnu.*
that.NOM camp bird(sp.-GEN ground-LOC put-PASS
That *tharratal*'s nest is built on the ground. (trans.)

(4.131) *Ngunhaa maan kulirr-yu mungka-rnu pawul-u.*
that.NOM seed galah-GEN eat-PASS eff fowl-EFF
That galah's seed has been eaten by the fowls.

(4.132) *Nhiyu muyi thani-ngu-layi nganaju-wu-lu yaan-tu.*
this.NOM dog hit-PASS-FUT 1SG.OBL-GEN-EFF spouse-EFF
This dog will get hit by my wife. (trans.)

4.13 BELONGING - *wura* and OWNER - *waya*

In addition to the genitive suffix, Martuthunira has two minor suffixes which indicate particular relationships between possessor and possessed. The owner suffix has the invariant form -*waya*, the belonging suffix has the allomorphs -*ngura ~ -kura ~ -wura* (§4.1.2).

The belonging suffix is attached to nominals denoting entities which exert some controlling possessive relationship over another entity. By contrast, the owner suffix is attached to nominals which are controlled by some other entity. While genitive expressions typically function as adnominal modifiers within noun phrases, nominals marked with either of the -*wura* or -*waya* suffixes often occur as the head of a noun phrase (§9.1). In these cases, the -*wura* expression denotes the ‘belongings’ of the referent of the nominal stem while the -*waya* expression denotes the ‘owners’ of the referent of the nominal stem. Examples (4.133) to (4.135) illustrate the -*wura* belonging suffix, while examples (4.136), (4.137) and (4.89), illustrate the -*waya* owner suffix.

(4.133) *Ngurnu-ngura parnpar-kura kupiyaji ngularla waruu*
that.OBL-BELONG budgerigar-BELONG little(PL) there.NV still
*jalyuru-la nyina-marri-nguru parnpar-ngara.*
hole-LOC sit-COLL-PRES budgerigar-PL
Those little ones belonging to that budgerigar are still all together in a hole there somewhere. (trans.)

(4.134) *Ngunhaa kanparr-wura, wantha-rnu kanparr-u, mir.ta nhawu-ngu-layi*
that.NOM spider-BELONG put-PASSP spider-EFF not see-PASS-FUT
*yantharnmarta-ngara-lu, nganyjali, kuyil.*
woman-PL-EFF proscribed bad
That thing of the spider's (a web), built by the spider, shouldn't be seen by women, its bad, proscribed. (trans.)

(4.135) *Ngana-ngura-tharra-a yanga-lalha?*
who-BELONG-DU-ACC chase-PAST
Whose two did [it] chase?
Yirna-tharra-wura-a.
this.OBL-DU-BELONG-ACC
[It chased] the ones belonging to these two. (see example (8.24))

(4.136) Ngayu-rru yanga-lwala ngangka-a, ngurnu-waya-a-lwa
1SG.NOM-NOW chase-PURPs mother-ACC that.OBL-OWNER-ACC-ID
kupuyu-waya-a ngangka-a.
little-OWNER-ACC mother-ACC.
And I chased after the mother, the owner, the mother of that little one.

(4.137) Wangka-layi ngurnaa piwi-i, ngurnula-waya-a ngangka-a,
say-FUT that.ACC mother-ACC that.DEF-OWNER-ACC mother-ACC
"Nhaminha-rru jurrkirta?"
how.many-NOW moon
Say to the mother, the mother of that one, "How many months [old] now?"

An important function of both suffixes is to facilitate reference to particular kin through other kin that stand in either a superordinate or subordinate relationship to them. For example, the -waya owner suffix allows reference to parents through their children while the -wura belonging suffix allows reference to children through their parents. This function is discussed further in §5.2.

The -wura suffix has a secondary function as a marker of inanimate causes of certain bodily states and processes. This is illustrated in the following examples:

(4.138) Ngayu parlura thanuwa-wura.
1SG.NOM full food-BELONG
I'm full of food. (trans.)

(4.139) Ngayu punga pangkira-npa-nguru kayulu-wura.
1SG.NOM guts swollen-INCR-PRES water-BELONG
My guts are swelling up from [drinking] water.

(4.140) Ngayu parna malyarra-npa-nguru kanarra-wura.
1SG.NOM head sick-INCR-PRES wind-BELONG
My head is sore from the wind. (trans.)

The semantic link between this use of the suffix and the more general possessive relation hinges on the notion of controlling relationship. The implication of controlling possession (by an alcoholic 'spirit') is very clear in example (4.141). Alternatively, inanimate causes of this kind may be described in a subordinate clause (4.142).

1PL.INC fight-PAST be-PAST hit-COLL+CTEMP .head-ACC
Nyina-lha-nguru kari-wura, nyingkurlu-lpurtu warnu.
be-PAST-ABL grog-BELONG firstly-COMP ASSERT
We were fighting, hitting each other in the head. We were in the grip of the grog, that's the first thing that must be said.

1SG.NOM sick-INCH-PRES grog-ACC drink-PAST-ABL
I'm sick from drinking grog. (trans.)
4.14 CAUSAL -ngalyarnta

The causal suffix marks an entity which is indirectly responsible for the actions of other participants in the clause. For example:

(4.143) *Pawulu-ngara nyina-lha patharri-rra ngurnu-ngalyarnta-lwa,*
child-PL be-PAST fight-CTEMP that.OBL-CAUSAL-ID

*witter-ngalyarnta-lwa.*
boomerang-CAUSAL-ID

The children were fighting over that, over the boomerang.

(4.144) *Yimpala-rru-wa, mUyi-l ngumu pawulu-tharra thani-lalha*
like.that-NOW-YK dog-ACC that.ACC child-DU hit-PAST

*murla-ngalyarnta.*
meat-CAUSAL

It was like that, two kids were hitting that dog over meat.

As these examples show, the indirect cause of the action can be something that the protagonists expect or intend to acquire in the future (example (4.143)), or something that is associated with a past happening (4.144). Entities which are directly responsible for a state of affairs, such as the cause of a sickness or injury, are not marked with the causal suffix but with the -wura owner suffix (§4.13).

4.15 OBSCURED -ngurni

The obscured suffix has a primarily adnominal function and marks some object or substance which obscures the modified nominal from view. Usually the marked expression functions as a second predicate, as in the following examples:

(4.145) *Ngayu ngurnaa jirruna-npa-lha, panyu-ma-l.yarra, ngurnta*
1SG.NOM that.ACC sneak-INCH-PAST good-CAUS-CTEMP style

*panyu-npa-lha jirruna karra-ngurni.*
good-INCH-PAST sneak scrub-OBSCRD

I sneaked up on that one properly, sneaking up behind the scrub in good style.

(4.146) *Wiyaa yilarla thungkara-ngurni wanti-nguru, mirta nhawu-ngu-layi*
maybe this.NV dirt-OBSCRD lie-PRES not see-PASS-FUT

*ngartil.*
again

Maybe it’s lying under the dirt and won’t be seen again.

(4.147) *Warnan-ngurni kanarri-nguru, parnta-ngu-rra-rru.*
rain-OBSCRD come-PRES rain-PASS-CTEMP-NOW
[He’s] coming along through the rain, getting rained on.

The referent of the modified nominal may be behind or beneath the referent of the nominal marked by the suffix (example (4.145)), or may be completely immersed, embedded or surrounded by the referent of the marked nominal (4.147). In (4.148) and (4.149) the suffix is attached to the ‘value adjective’ nominals *panyu* ‘good’ and *kuyil* ‘bad’, functioning here as second predications of manner.
good-ACC say-FUT not bad-OBSCRD-ACC poor.fellow-PL-ACC
Speak properly, don't talk rudely (lit. in a bad way) to the poor fellows.

(4.149) *Panyu-ngurni nhuura-ma-ru-nguru, panyu waruul nyina-marri-layi!*
good-OBSCRD know-CAUS-PASSP-ABL good still sit-COLL-FUT
You've been taught properly, now stay good!

In these examples the suffix intensifies the degree of the value nominal in much the same
way that the effect of the rain on the subject of (4.147) above is exaggerated. The obscured
expression in (4.150) similarly exaggerates the degree of the value:

(4.150) *Ngunhaa parla-ngka-rru wirta-nguru, kanta mananama paju,*
that.NOM hill-LOC-NOW climb-PRES leg quickly REAL
kuyil-ngurni-la wirta-lha, murti-ma-rru paju.
bad-OBSCRD-LOC climb-PAST fast-CAUS-PRES REAL
He's climbing that hill now, legs [moving] very quickly, he's climbed
up on that difficult place, [but he's still] going really fast.

4.16 FULL-LADEN -warlaya

Nominal expressions formed by the addition of the -warlaya suffix describe an abundance
of the entity or property denoted by the nominal stem. For example:

(4.151) *Ngana nhiyu kanyara thaa nyantu-warlaya?*
who this.NOM man mouth fluff-FULL
Who is this man with his mouth buried in whiskers? (trans.)

(4.152) *Ngunhu kanyara nyina-nguru ngulangu parla-ngka*
that.NOM man sit-PRES there hill-LOC
karra-warlaya-la kuyil-a.
scrub-FULL-LOC bad-LOC
That man is there on that bad (impenetrable) scrub covered hill.

(4.153) *Nhiyu kalyarran kunkuwarra-warlaya.*
this.NOM tree honey-FULL
This tree is full to bursting with honey.

The suffix most often appears as a lexeme-deriving formative, as in the following examples:

- *jinyi-warla* fat, plump, obese
  fat-FULL
- *ngungku-warla* strong
  weight-FULL
- *murti-warla* fast runner, motorcar
  fast-FULL

In each of these words the normally trisyllabic suffix has been shortened to two syllables.
This truncation is probably partly motivated by the general dimoric/disyllabic pattern of stress
meter (§2.5.1). Notice, however, that the same truncation does not occur where the suffix is
used productively, as in examples (4.151) and (4.152) above.
4.17 DUAL -tharra

(4.154) **Ngayu thawu-lalha nganaju-wu-tharra-a pawulu-tharra-a** 1SG.NOM send-PAST 1SG.OBL-GEN-DU-ACC child-DU-ACC
wanirarra-a, kurntal-thurti-i mura-thurti-i, puni-waa
Bro&Si-ACC daughter-CONJ-ACC son-CONJ-ACC go-PURPs=o
nhawu-yarri-i lu mayili-nhanu-nga. see-COLL-PURPss FaFa-3POSS-ACC
I sent my two children, brother and sister, daughter and son, to go and
see their grandfather.

(4.155) **Walyurn-tharra nyina-nguru punkurri waruu muthu-ngu-rra.**
girl-DU be-PRES covered still cold-PSYCH-CTEMP
The two girls are still covered up feeling cold. (trans.)

4.18 PLURAL -ngara

The plural suffix typically denotes a unified group consisting of more than two entities. Some examples of its use are:

(4.156) **Nhiyu warnan panyu-ma-rnuru mirntirimarta-ngara-a.**
this rain good-CAUS-PRES goanna-PL-ACC
This rain will be good for the goannas.

(4.157) **Kartu paya-npa-layi nganarna-a ngalarri-lha-ngara-a**
2SG.NOM angry-INCH-FUT 1PL.EXC-ACC forget-PAST-PL-ACC
wantamartu-ngara-a.
stupid-PL-ACC
You'll get angry with us stupid fellows who forgot.

(4.158) **Ngunhaa puni-lha kunkuwarra-a wawayi-l.yarra jinkayu-rru,**
that.NOM go-PAST honey-ACC look.for-CTEMP upriver-NOW
warnanykura-la-ngara-a kunkuwarra-a.
rivergum-LOC-PL-ACC honey-ACC
That one went looking for honey up river, for honey in rivergum trees.

In example (4.158) the plural following the locative suffix on *warnanykura* implies the possibility that there may be more than one source of honey located in any one tree. In (4.159) and (4.160) the plural suffix is used to group together a set of separate actions which are distributed through time, yet involve the same participants. Here the plural marks a body part which undergoes an action a number of times. The dual suffix cannot be used in this way.

(4.159) **Ngayu kalya-rnu ngulu yiriny-tu, ngayu kalya-rnu**
1SG.NOM bite-PASSP that.EFF mosquito-EFF 1SG.NOM bite-PASSP
nyina-nguru marnta-ngara-a wii, kartara wii, jal.yu wii
sit-PRES arm-PL-ACC maybe cheek maybe neck maybe
I've been bitten by a mosquito. My arms (in a number of places) perhaps, maybe my cheek, maybe my neck et cetera, will be getting lots of itches.

(4.160) *Ngayu* parna-thurti warppuri-layi ngu-u-ngara-thurti jirli-thurti
1SG.NOM head-CONJ bathe-FUT face-PL-CONJ arm-CONJ

*thala-ngara-rru puntha-layi.*
chest-PL-NOW wash-FUT

I'll wash my head and all, my face (i.e. splash it a number of times) and arms, and then wash my chest (i.e. splash it a number of times).

In (4.161) the verb *paya-L* ‘drink’, is marked with the plural suffix and describes a number of acts of drinking grouped together as one event.

(4.161) *Wantha-minyji jampa karri-waa muthu-npa-rra warra.*
leave-FUT moment stand-PURPs=o cold-INCH-CTEMP CONT

*Manyarrka-a-rru wantha-minyji ngulangu-wa,*
sugar-ACC-NOW put-FUT there-YK

*muthumuthu-npa-lha-la-rru nyina-layi wural warra*
cool-INCH-PAST-LOC-NOW sit-FUT still CONT

*paya-l.yarra-ngara-l.*
drink-CTEMP-PL-THEN

Leave it to stand for a moment to get a bit cooler. Now put sugar in it, and when it’s cool sit for a while and sip it.

4.19 DISTRIBUTED PLURAL -wartura

The distributed plural describes a group of things taken together but considered individually. The suffix can be glossed variously as ‘every’ or ‘each’ depending on context.

(4.162) *Kanyara-wartura nyina-lha pintiriijila, wartawirrinpa-rra ngurra-ngka*
person-DISTRIBUT be-PAST scattered wait-CTEMP camp-LOC

*pirriyarta-la.*
own camp-LOC

People were scattered about, waiting each in their own camp.

(4.163) *Ngunhaa puni-marri-nguru kanyara-ngara parnawirri-rra*
that.NOM go-COLL-PRES person-PL head.bobbing-CTEMP

*kurryu-wartura-la.*
hollow-DISTRIBUT-LOC

That group of people are going along, their heads bobbing in and out of view [as they go down] in each hollow.

In the following examples the suffix appears on an inflected verb and indicates a repeated action. Example (4.164) can be compared with (4.161) above. In (4.164) the acts of drinking are seen as separate events taking place over a period of time at different places during a journey. In (4.161) the drinking is a single event made up of a number of different acts.
Nganama kayulu-u puni-lha paya-l.yarra-warntura
1PL.EXC water-ACC go-PAST drink-CTEMP-DISTRIB
karlarr-la warnu pala.
heat-LOC ASSERT IT
We went along drinking water again and again in the heat (and it was so hot!).

(4.165) Ngurnu-marta-wa karta-rninyji karta-rninyji-warntura
that.OBL-PROP-YK thrust-FUT thrust-FUT-DISTRIB
jalyuru-ma-l.yarra-rru.
hole-CAUS-CTEMP-NOW
Now using that one, thrust and thrust again and again making a hole.

(4.166) Ngunhu pawulu nganaju kamu-nguli-nguru-warntura. Kuwarri-l
that.OBL/PROP-YK thrust-FUT thrust-FUT-DISTRIB now-THEN
kuwarri-l puni-layi jinarri-lu murla-a.
now-THEN go-FUT ask-PURP meat-ACC
That child of mine is always getting hungry. Again and again he goes asking for
meat. (trans.)

4.20 GROUP -marnu

The -marnu suffix most often occurs on kin terms and indicates a group of people who are
all of a certain class (4.167), and see also (8.23). In other examples the suffix appears on
terms denoting named groups of people (see Appendix 1, Text 7:36, 39, 374).

1SG.NOM take-PAST SoSo+I POSS-GROUP-ACC fish-ALL
I took a group of my grandchildren for fish.

In (4.168) the group suffix clearly does not mark reference to a group of people. Here it is
used as a polite way of avoiding particular reference to a single person of a certain kin group.

(4.170) Kartu, nhawu-yarri-wayara nyinu-malyura-marnu-ngu?
2SG.NOM see-COLL-HABIT Bro.in.law-2POSS-GROUP-ACC
Have you ever met that brother-in-law of yours?

The suffix also occurs on the interrogative/indefinite pronoun ngana, ‘who/someone’,
which is then interpreted as the more general indefinite ‘anyone’ as below.

(4.169) Ngana-marnu wii pithirri-npa-raa wii, ngurnaa paya-rninyji
who-GROUP if chill-INC-CTEMP if that.ACC drink-FUT
jami-i.
medicine-ACC
If anyone should get a chill, they drink that medicine.

4.21 IDIOSYNCRATIC PLURALS

Only one idiosyncratic plural form has been discovered in Martuthunira to date. All
languages of the area show different plural forms for either or both of the words ‘child’ and
‘little’. In Martuthunira the word kupuyu ‘little’, has the plural form kupiyaji. Although
Panyjima, Kurrama and Yindjibarndi have a number of special plural forms for botanical terms, no such examples have been discovered for Martuthunira.

4.22 SIDE - wuyu

The -wuyu suffix added to a nominal marks the object or person denoted by the nominal as one of a set of contrasting entities. Typically, the suffix marks one of a pair of items, and by its appearance defines a binary opposition.

(4.170)  
yes that.ACC kurara -ACC that.ACC 1SG.NOM take-FUT  
Nhula-a pukarti-wuyu-u ngayu wantha-rmuru.  
near.you-ACC snakewood-SIDE-ACC 1SG.NOM leave-PRES  
Yes. That kurara wood one, I'll take that one. I'll leave that snakewood one of the pair. (trans.)

(4.171)  
Ngayu mir.ta wiru kuliya-l.yarra karri-layi nhuwana-a,  
1SG.NOM not want hear-CTEMP stand-FUT 2PL-ACC  
ngayu yarta-wuyu-lpurtu kanyara.  
1SG.NOM other-SIDE-COMP man  
I don't want to be hearing you two, I'm an in-law (lit. a man of the other side).

(4.172)  
Ngunha karimarra-wuyu puliyanyja kangku-lha ngurmu purungu-u  
that.NOM karimarra-SIDE old.man take-PAST that.ACC purungu-ACC  
wirta-a nhuura-ma-ru yinka-lwaa wirra-a.  
youth-ACC know-CAUS-PURPss carve-PURPss=0 boomerang-ACC  
That karimarra section old man took that purungu section young man to teach him to carve boomerangs. (trans.)

(4.173)  
Ngawu. Kuliyanpa-rra ngayu nhartu-u wiyaa wawayi-minyji,  
yes think-CTEMP 1SG.NOM something-ACC maybe look.for-FUT  
jalya-a-wuyu mirntirimarta-a-rru, thanlwan-ku-wuyu.  
useless-ACC-SIDE goanna-ACC-NOW tame-ACC-SIDE  
Yes. I'm thinking about something I might go looking for, goannas are on the easy to catch (lit. useless) side, on the tame side.

The variable position of the suffix with respect to the relational accusative is discussed in §3.2.1 above.

4.23 CONJUNCTION - thurti

The -thurti suffix functions as a noun phrase conjunction and is typically attached to both nominals in the conjoined expression. Where it is attached to just one of the conjuncts, that nominal is usually understood to be subordinate to the other.

(4.174)  
Nganarna puliyanyja-ngara-thurti jantira-ngara-thurti jalurra-a  
1PL.EXC old.man-PL-CONJ old.woman-PL-CONJ dance-ACC  
hawu-layi.  
watch-FUT  
We old men and old women will watch the dance.
(4.175) *Ngayu kampa-lalha thanuwa-ngara-a wuruma-l.yarra*  
1SG.NOM cook-PAST food-PL-ACC do.for-CTEMP  
pawulu-ngara-a-thurti kanyara-ngara-a-thurti.  
child-PL-ACC-CONJ adult-PL-ACC-CONJ  
I cooked food for the children and the adults. (trans.)

(4.176) *Ngunhu kanyara puni-layi minthal-va-rru kampa-l.yarra*  
that.NOM man go-FUT alone-Ø-NOW cook-CTEMP  
thanuwa-ngara-a murla-thurti-i.  
food-PL-ACC meat-CONJ-ACC  
That man will be cooking all the vegetables and meat by himself.

(4.177) *Ngaliwa thurnta-ru-ngara pawulu-ngara wirta-ngara-thurti.*  
1PL.INC paint-PASSP-PL child-PL youth-PL-CONJ  
We've all been painted up, all the children and the teenagers too.

Nominals bearing the conjunction suffix may appear as sole constituents of noun phrases. In these examples the nominal marked with the suffix is assumed to be linked to some other nominal bearing the identical relational case in the immediate linguistic context.

(4.178) *Ngurnu warrirti-i yungku-lu ngurnu-ngara-a kanyara-ngara-a*  
that.ACC spear-ACC give-PURPss that.OBL-PL-ACC man-PL-ACC  
wurnta-lalha-nguru-u yungku-lu, marrari-i-thurti-rru  
brake-PAST-ABL-ACC give-PURPss word-ACC-CONJ-NOW  
wangka-lu-rru...  
say-PURPss-NOW  
Give that spear to those fellas who broke it, and say this to them too...

(4.179) *Juwayu-la manku-layi jinyji-i thurnta-rinyji parna-a jinyji-marta*  
hand-LOC get-FUT fat-ACC rub-FUT head-ACC fat-PROP  
kuliya-thurti-i.  
ear-CONJ-ACC  
Get some fat in your hand and rub your head with fat, and your ears too.

(4.180) *Muyi yanga-lalha tharnta-a, kanyara-thurti, waruu-lpurtu mirtiwul.*  
dog chase-PAST euro-ACC man-CONJ still-COMP together  
The dog, together with a man, chased a euro, the two of them together. (trans)

Like the side suffix -wuyu, the -thurti conjunction shows some variation in ordering with respect to the relational accusative case suffix. In addition, the -thurti suffix is the only nominal suffix which may be added to the nominative stem of the first and second person singular pronouns; all other suffixes are attached to the oblique stem (§5.1). Together these facts suggest that -thurti has only marginal status as a suffix (§3.2.1).
This chapter describes the forms and functions of the closed nominal subclasses; most importantly, pronouns and demonstratives. Section 5.1 describes the personal pronouns, §5.2 a system of possessive marking inflected for person, and §5.3 describes the indefinite pronouns. Sections 5.4 to 5.7 describe the demonstrative system. Sections 5.8 and 5.9 describe closed classes of locational nominals and temporal nominals respectively, and finally §5.10 describes a range of indefinite locationals and temporals.

5.1 PRONOUN PARADIGMS

Like other Ngayarda languages, Martuthunira has a common Australian pronoun system with three numbers for first and second person. The functions of third person reference are performed largely by the demonstrative system although there is a third person plural form with a very restricted function. There is an inclusive/exclusive distinction for non-singular first person and, as in many other Australian languages, there is also a special set of (non-singular first person) pronoun forms for use with disharmonic kin: those in the opposite generation set. Table 5.1 presents the nominative pronoun forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>INC</td>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>ngaliwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>EXC</td>
<td>ngayu</td>
<td>ngaliya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>nganajumarta</td>
<td>nganajumartangara</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>nhuwala</td>
<td>nhuwana</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pularna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some (historical) analysis of the nominative pronoun forms presented in Table 5.1 is possible. Firstly, Martuthunira retains a number of pronoun forms which Dixon (1980) reconstructs for proto Australian: first person dual inclusive ngali, first person plural exclusive nganarna (<*ngaNa) and second person dual nhuwala (<*NHu[m]paLV). The proto Ngayarda second person singular pronoun *nyinta has been replaced by a form kartu cognate with the Yingkarta and Wajarri word kartu ‘man, person’ (Dench 1979). This loss of the original second person singular may be the result of politeness shifts. Similar replacements of an original second person singular have occurred in the Mantharta subgroup though in these languages the second person singular is replaced by a second person plural form. The first person dual exclusive form ngaliya is based on first person dual inclusive
ngali with the addition of a suffix -ya. First person dual inclusive is based on first person dual inclusive with an added syllable -wa. It is possible that this form is related to the common Ngayarda *ngalikuru, though the phonological changes involved cannot be clearly established for Martuthunira. The second person plural form, nhuwana, appears to be based on the second person dual form nhuwala. The forms suggest a partial analysis of nhuwala as root nhuwa with an added suffix -la. The identified root then forms the basis of the plural form and a suffix -na is added, probably by analogy to the first person plural exclusive form nganarna. Similarly, the third person plural pronoun replaces an original *thana third person plural and is based on the old third person dual *pula with the similar addition of a -rna suffix by analogy with the first person plural exclusive.

With the exception of first person singular, second person singular and first person dual inclusive all pronouns are inflected for case by the regular addition of nominal suffixes. The irregular first person singular, second person singular and first person dual inclusive forms are presented in Table 5.2, in comparison with the forms of the regularly inflected first person plural inclusive.

**TABLE 5.2: INFLECTED PRONOUN FORMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>1DU.INC</th>
<th>1PL.INC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngayu</td>
<td>kartu</td>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>ngaliwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nganaju</td>
<td>kartungu</td>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>ngaliwaa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nganaju</td>
<td>kartungu</td>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>ngaliwuu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngathala</td>
<td>kartungka</td>
<td>ngaali</td>
<td>ngaliwala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngathu</td>
<td>kartungku</td>
<td>ngaali</td>
<td>ngaliwalu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first person dual inclusive pronoun, ngali, differs from the regular patterns of nominal inflection by selecting forms of the locative and effector suffixes usually restricted to stems of more than two morae (the ablative involves the regular addition of the -nguru suffix to the irregular locative stem). The second person singular pronoun kartu selects the ‘proper nominal’ form of the accusative and genitive suffixes (§3.1.2) but takes regular locative and effector inflections. The first person singular pronoun, on the other hand, has four distinct stems with the common syncretism of accusative and genitive forms.

With the exception of the locative ngathala, the forms of the first person singular pronoun do not resemble those of the first person singular paradigm of any other Ngayarda language. The first person singular nominative stem form is identical to the Yindjibarndi and Kurrama first person singular accusative form but a hypothesis that the Martuthunira pronoun was originally accusative would result in a tortuous history of case syncretisms which, given the syntactic history of these languages (Dench 1982) seems very unlikely.

The first person singular accusative/genitive, nganaju, cannot be related to the other first person singular forms. The cognate form also occurs as first person singular accusative/genitive in the Ngayarda language Jurruru, and as a first person singular dative/genitive in the Mantharta languages Jiwarli and Warriyangka. A lenited form, nganayi, occurs in Tharrkari. In these languages also the first person singular dative/genitive form cannot be related to other first person singular forms. The form may be a replacement for an earlier first person singular dative/genitive in all of these languages.

With the exception of the -thurti conjunction suffix (which is attached to the nominative stems) and the ablative (based on the locative stem) all other case forms of first person
singular and second person singular involve the addition of regular suffixes to the stems *nganaju* and *kartungu*. Inflected genitive forms of these pronouns in some cases also involve the genitive suffix -wu, suggesting that the stems be described as 'oblique'. Different genitive forms for first person singular and second person singular are set out in Table 5.3, once again in comparison with the pattern for the regular first person plural inclusive *ngaliwa*. An interlinear gloss is given for each form.

**Table 5.3: Inflected Genitive Forms of 1SG and 2SG**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1SG.GEN</th>
<th>2SG.GEN</th>
<th>1PL.INC-GEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nganaju</td>
<td>kartungu</td>
<td>ngaliwa-wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>nganaju-u</td>
<td>kartungu-u</td>
<td>ngaliwa-wu-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>nganaju-wu-la</td>
<td>kartungu-wu-la</td>
<td>ngaliwa-wu-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFF</td>
<td>nganaju-wu-lu</td>
<td>kartungu-wu-lu</td>
<td>ngaliwa-wu-lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL-NOM</td>
<td>nganaju-wu-ngara</td>
<td>kartungu-wu-ngara</td>
<td>ngaliwa-wu-ngara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The functions of the pronouns are quite straightforward and require little discussion here. Example (5.1) includes a number of pronominal forms and demonstrates quite clearly the use made of the inclusive/exclusive contrast for first person.

(5.1) 
*Ngunhaa, nganarna-lu, yilu ngathu, manku-yangu jarrkurti-lu.* 
that.NOM 1PL.EXC-EFF this.EFF 1SG.EFF grab-PASSP three-EFF

*Ngaliwa-ruu, kartu-thurti-ruu puni-layi, ngaliwa* 
1PL.INC-NOW 2SG.NOM-CONJ-NOW go-FUT 1PL.INC

*mirntiwul-wa-ruu ngurnaa jarraa-ru.* 
all-Ø-NOW that.ACC tie.up-PURPss

That one, by us, by this fellow and me, by three of us, he was grabbed.

All of us now, you as well, we'll all go and tie him up.

The two disharmonic pronouns are used as polite forms when the addressee and speaker are in different alternate generation sets (§1.3.2). The relationship between any included third person referent and either the speaker or the addressee is not relevant. The pronoun forms are synchronically analysable as the first person singular oblique stem with the addition of the proprietive suffix and, in the plural, the further addition of the regular plural suffix. Thus the dual form means, literally, 'the one with me', and the plural means, 'the many with me'. Although the pronouns are ambiguous between an inclusive and an exclusive reading, the use of a form referring to the speaker with another approaches the usual understanding of a first person exclusive pronoun. This implied exclusion of the addressee is quite in keeping with the type of behaviour appropriate between disharmonic kin (see Dench 1987a). In addition, plural pronoun forms, including the disharmonic plural, may be used as a gesture
of politeness to refer to individuals or pairs of individuals. A similar use of the -marnu group suffix on kin terms is described in §4.20.

The third person plural pronoun has the very restricted function of serving as a definite anaphor for plural noun phrases. It refers to a group of entities already established in text and specifically implies that the membership of that group has not changed. This emphasis on no change in group membership is unimportant for anaphoric reference to noun phrases denoting individuals (singular) or pairs of individuals (duals) and it is thus not surprising that pularna has no singular or dual counterparts. In the following examples the third person plural pronoun and the noun phrase making the initial group reference are underlined.

(5.2)  
\[ N\text{ganarna karra-ngka-rru tharrwa-lha nyina-marri-layi puyila, } \]
\[ 1\text{PL.EXC scrub-LOC-NOW enter-PAST stay-COLL-FUT far } \]
\[ ngunhu-ngara patharri-nyila kanyara-ngara wantamartu-ngara. \]
\[ that.NOM-PL fight-PrREL man-PL crazy-PL \]
\[ Wuraal-wa-rru nhuwa-yarri-layi pularna yirla-rru. \]
\[ all.right-Ø-NOW spear-COLL-FUT 3PL only-NOW \]
\[ We'll go off into the scrub and stay away, since they are fighting, \]
\[ the crazy people. Alright, they can be spearing each other and no-one else. \]

(5.3)  
\[ Nh\text{iyu wanpari-ngara, wanthala wii nyina-marri-layi kalyaran-ta,} \]
\[ this.NOM bee-PL where maybe sit-COLL-FUT \]
\[ warrama-lalha pularna-wu-u ngurra-a, kanarri-wala warnu \]
\[ make-PAST 3PL-GEN-ACC camp-ACC come-PURPds ASSERT \]
\[ ngunhu jayimarta, manyu-lpurtu ngunhaa. \]
\[ that.NOM insect(sp.) hungry-COMP that.NOM \]
\[ These bees, wherever [they] camp in a tree, make their home, that jayimarta \]
\[ will come, hungry (wanting to eat honey). \]

(5.4)  
\[ “Nhuwana mirtiwul kanarri-layi pawulu-thurti wartinra-thurti, } \]
\[ 2\text{PL all come-FUT child-CONJ woman-CONJ} \]
\[ ngayu patha-rrwala ngulangu, Kawuyu-nguru. \]
\[ 1\text{SG.NOM throw-PURPds there Kawuyu-ABL} \]
\[ Ng\text{aliwa kati-layi Kawuyu-ngu.” Puni-lha pularna.} \]
\[ 1\text{PL.INC go.up-FUT Kawuyu-ACC go-PAST 3PL} \]
\[ “You all come, children, women and all, and I'll throw it there, from Kawuyu. We'll go up onto Kawuyu.” And so they went. \]

Martuthunira is not the only language in the area to have restricted an old third person pronoun to definite anaphoric reference. In Panyjima, forms based on the third person singular pronoun thana (itself an old plural), are used to make specific anaphoric reference (Dench 1991:158).

5.2 KIN POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS
A number of morphological systems allow special reference to kinship possession. First, there is a special form of the first person singular pronoun, jurti, which is used to indicate possessive kin relationships. Second, suffixes which denote particular categories of kin may
be attached to pronouns. Third, kinship nominals may be inflected by one of a set of suffixes which indicate the person of the possessor. This section describes the interaction of these systems.

The first person singular possessive pronoun *jurti* is illustrated in examples (5.5), (5.6) and (5.7). The form is not reported for any other Ngayarda language but does occur as the general first person singular dative/genitive in Thalanyji (Austin 1981d). Here it appears to have replaced an earlier first person singular dative/genitive form just as the form *nganaju* has done in Martuthunira, Jurruru and the Mantharta languages.

(5.5) \( \text{Ngunhu, jurti kampalalha, nhuwa-lalha tharnta-a yawarru-rru.} \)
\( \text{that.NOM 1SG.POSS uncle spear-PAST euro-ACC missed-NOW} \)
That fellow, my own uncle, threw a spear at a euro and missed it.

(5.6) \( \text{Jurti mirtayi mir.ta-ru mungka-lalha murla-a, parlura paju.} \)
\( \text{1SG.POSS big not-NOW eat-PAST meat-ACC full REAL} \)
My own elder brother (lit. big one) didn't eat any meat, [he was] too full. (trans.)

(5.7) \( \text{Yimpala-rru-wa kartu, jurti marryanu, nyina-layi nhuwala} \)
\( \text{like.that-NOW-YK 2SG.NOM 1SG.POSS Bro-in-law be-FUT 2DU} \)
\( \text{nhuunuwa.} \)
spouse(pair)
That's what you're like, my brother-in-law, the two of you together, husband and wife.

The *jurti* pronoun, along with other pronouns, may take one of two suffixes which denote particular kin relationships. Firstly, two suffixes allow reference specifically to members of a person's own mother's or father's sibling group.

\[-ngulham \quad (-\text{PATRI}) \quad \text{own father('s sibling)} \]
\[-wula \quad (-\text{MATRI}) \quad \text{own mother('s sibling)} \]

The use of these kin-group suffixes on *jurti* is illustrated below.

(5.8) \( \text{Jurti-ngulham wii jurti-wula-thurti.} \)
\( \text{1SG.POSS-PATRI or 1SG.POSS-MATRI-CONJ} \)
\( \text{Jurti-ngulham-tharra-a yaanka-a jurti-wula-tharra} \)
\( \text{1SG.POSS-PATRI-DU-ACC spouse(pair)-ACC 1SG.POSS-MATRI-DU} \)
\( \text{wii panyu wiya nahuwala.} \)
or good maybe 2DU
That's one of your own father's mob together with one of your own mother's mob. Toward those two married people, your father's own people and your mother's own people perhaps, maybe you should behave properly.

(5.9) \( \text{Ngayu nhuura-ma-ru jurti-wula-lu, pipi-ngku} \)
\( \text{1SG.NOM know-CAUS-PASSP 1SG.POSS-MATRI-EFF mother-EFF} \)
\( \text{nganaju-wu-lu, wantharn-i kanpari-i pani-lwaa.} \)
\( \text{1SG.OBL-GEN-EFF how-ACC seed-ACC grind-PURPs=0} \)
I was taught by my own mother's people, by my mother, how to grind seeds.
The suffixes select *jurti* and *kartu* stems of first person singular and second person singular respectively, but for other pronouns the suffixes are attached to a stem with a lengthened final vowel. For example:

- ngalii-ngulham: our (1DU) own father
- nhuwanaa-wula: your (2PL) own mother

The pronominal stems in these forms suggest that the suffix was originally a separate word taking an accusative pronoun complement (see §4.3 and §9.2). However, the patterns of nominal suffixing illustrated in examples (5.8) and (5.9) make it clear that the forms are now bound to the pronominal stem.

The two suffixes may also be attached to the 'definite' demonstratives *ngurnula* and *yirnala* (§5.5.3) when these occur together with a proper nominal:

- ngurnula-ngulham: Pirrji lingu's own father
- that.DEF-PATRI name

These kin-referring pronoun forms are generally used only between kin in the same alternating generation set (§1.3.2) and are considered to be too harsh for use within earshot of kin in the opposite generation set (most importantly, those people to whom the term refers). Instead, the belonging and owner suffixes (§4.13) may be used when talking to these kin about members of their own generation. The -ngura 'proper nominal' form of the belonging suffix is used on both second person singular and first person singular possessive stems and on the definite demonstratives, but is optional for other pronouns with the exception of first person singular, where the -wura form is obligatorily attached to the oblique stem. The -waya owner suffix selects the bare stem forms of the first person singular possessive pronoun and definite demonstratives, but selects the oblique forms of first person singular and second person singular, and usually a stem in -ngu for all other pronouns (e.g. first person dual (inclusive)):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1SG.POSS</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>1DU.INC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BELONG</td>
<td>jurti-ngura</td>
<td>nganaju-wura</td>
<td>kartu-ngura</td>
<td>ngali-ngura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OWNER</td>
<td>jurti-waya</td>
<td>nganaju-waya</td>
<td>kartungu-waya</td>
<td>ngali-ngu-waya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The selection of a -ngu stem for pronouns such as *ngali*, which do not otherwise have such a stem form, extends on occasions to kin terms, human terms and proper nominals which take the -waya suffix. This suggests that the -ngu formative in these pronouns functions as a proper nominal marker rather than as a special oblique stem formative (§3.1.2).

(5.10) Ngunhu-tharra ngurnula-ngu-wura mari-wura pawulu-tharra.

Those two were his younger sister's children.

(5.11) Ngana-ngura ngunhu jal.yu wanarra?

Whose is that fellow with the long neck?

Ah! Ngunhaa jurti-ngura-nu, ngunhaa.

Ah that.NOM 1SG.POSS-BELONG-QUOT that.NOM

Ah! That's one of my lot.
Example (5.12) demonstrates a common pattern of referring to kin in the opposite
generation set through their children (who are thus in the same set as the speaker). Teknonymic reference of this kind, which is also common in the local variety of Aboriginal English, often involves the addition of the owner suffix to the name of the eldest child in a family. Reference to one's own siblings by name is also considered impolite and similar teknonymic reference is preferred. Example (5.13) illustrates the use of the kin-group suffixes together with the belonging suffix.

Finally, the first person singular possessive pronoun has a form juittimpara, denoting ‘own sibling group’, for which other pronoun forms have no counterpart.

Martuthunira kin terms may be inflected for the person (though not the number) of the possessor. Table 5.4 presents different possessed forms for a selection of kin terms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kin Term</th>
<th>1POSS</th>
<th>2POSS</th>
<th>3POSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>brother-in-law</td>
<td>nyinu-uni</td>
<td>nyinu-malyura</td>
<td>nyinu-nhanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>son</td>
<td>mura-ani</td>
<td>mura-malyura</td>
<td>mura-nhanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother's brother</td>
<td>mimi-ini</td>
<td>mimi-malyura</td>
<td>mimi-nhanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father's father</td>
<td>mayili</td>
<td>mayili-malyura</td>
<td>mayili-nhanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father's mother</td>
<td>ngapaari</td>
<td>ngapaari-malyura</td>
<td>ngapaari-nhanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter</td>
<td>kurntal-yu</td>
<td>kurntal-malyura</td>
<td>kurntal-nhanu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As this paradigm shows, the second and third person possessive forms involve the simple addition of suffixes -malyura and -nhanu respectively, to the kin term stem. The first person possessive forms, on the other hand, involve three separate processes. Firstly, disyllabic kin terms with a final vowel take a suffix of general form -ni, which involves lengthening of the final vowel of the stem. Secondly, trisyllabic kin terms have their penultimate vowel lengthened and thus conform to the pattern of three syllables with penultimate long vowel established by the addition of the -ni suffix to disyllabic stems. Finally, kin terms with a final consonant take a suffix -yu, which can be related to a -ju first person singular
possessive suffix in other languages (for example, Jiwarli (Austin n.d.)). The following sentences illustrate the use of the possessed kin terms (and see (4.167) and (4.168):

(5.14)  
*Mura-ani! Kartu wuraal puni-layi manku-lu ngamari-i?*  
son-1POSS 2SG.NOM all.right go-FUT get-PURPss tobacco-ACC  
My son, can you go and get some tobacco?

(5.15)  
*Ngunhaa mimi-malyura puni-nguru, ngunhu-tharra yaanka.*  
that.NOM uncle-2POSS go-PRES that.NOM-DU spouse(pair)  
That uncle of yours is going, he and his wife together. (trans.)

(5.16)  
*Ngunhaa kanyara mir.ta kanarri-mari-lha mayili-nhanu-ngu*  
that.NOM man not come-COLL-PAST FaFa-3POSS-ACC  
*kulhi-lwarri-lu thungkara-a.*  
bury-COLL-PURPss ground-ACC  
That man didn't come to bury his grandson in the ground.

(5.17)  
*Puliyanyja papu-nhanu paya-npa-nguru kupuyu-tharra-a.*  
old.man father-3POSS wild-INCH-PRES little-DU-ACC  
That old man, their father, is getting wild with the two little fellows.

**5.3 INDEFINITE PRONOUNS**

**5.3.1 ‘WHO/SOMEONE’ ngana**

The indefinite pronoun *ngana* ‘who/someone’ has the following case forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td><em>ngana</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC/GEN</td>
<td><em>nganangu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td><em>nganala</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td><em>nganalanguru</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFF</td>
<td><em>nganalu</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other case forms are generally attached to the *nganangu* stem. However, unlike the first person singular and second person singular pronouns, further inflected forms of the genitive do not involve the -wu suffix. Thus a form like *nganangu-mulyarra* is potentially ambiguous between a reading ‘towards whom/someone’, where the stem is interpreted as oblique, and ‘towards something belonging to whom/someone’ where the stem is interpreted as genitive. In fact, there are no unelicited examples of such complex inflected forms of the pronoun in the data and these patterns may be an artefact of elicitation. The general indefinite use of the pronoun is illustrated in examples (5.18), (5.19) and (5.20). When functioning as an interrogative, *ngana* typically appears in sentence-initial position as in (5.21), (5.22) and (5.23).

(5.18)  
*Ngayu pamararri-lha ngurra-wurrini, mir.ta waruul ngana wii*  
1SG.NOM call.out-PAST ground-DIRECT not still someone maybe  
pamaruwirri-lha nganaju.  
call.back-PAST 1SG.ACC  
I called out towards the camp, and still no-one called back to me. (trans.)
(5.19) *Ngularla-lwa wiyaa wanyjarri-nguru warinyuwa nganangu* there.NS-ID maybe go-PRES Mo&Fa-in-law someone.ACC

*puranyi-ru ngularla-lwa karri-nyila-a.*
see-PURPss there.NS-ID stand-PrREL-ACC
Maybe my mother-in-law and father-in-law are going to see someone somewhere over there.

(5.20) *Ngayu nyina-lha cartama-l.yarra palykura-la* 1SG.NOM sit-PAST press.on-CTEMP groundsheet-LOC

*nganangu-la.*
someone.GEN-LOC
I sat down on someone's groundsheet, holding it down.

(5.21) *Ngana ngunhu wartirra nyina-nguru karra-ngka muyinu-npi-rra?* who that.NOM woman be-PRES scrub-LOC hidden-INCH-CTEMP
Who is that woman hiding in the scrub? (trans.)

(5.22) *Nganalu nhiyaa marli wurma-ru warrirrti-ma-nggu-layi?* who.EFF this.NOM cadjeput cut-PASSP spear-CAUS-PASS-FUT
By whom was this cut cadjeput wood then made into a spear? (trans.)

(5.23) *Nganangu kupuyu puni-nguru kartawinka-rra?* who.GEN little go-PRES unsteady-CTEMP
Whose is this little fellow going along unsteadily (toddling)? (trans.)

5.3.2 ‘ANYONE’ *nganamarnu*

The *nganamarnu* pronoun is derived by the addition of the -*marnu* group suffix to the indefinite pronoun. Like *ngana*, it takes an accusative/genitive form in -*ngu.*

(5.24) *Nganamarnu wii pithirri-npa-rra wii,* anyone maybe chill-INCH-CTEMP maybe

*ngurnaa paya-rinyji jami-i.*
that.ACC drink-FUT medicine-ACC
If anyone gets a chill, they drink that *jami* medicine.

(5.25) *Pawulu, kartu kuliya-rinyji nganaju wangka-nyila-a. Ngayu* child 2SG.NOM listen-FUT 1SG.ACC say-PrREL-ACC 1SG.NOM

*wangka-layi kartungu panyu-ma-l.yarra mir.ta nyina-waa* say-FUT 2SG.ACC good-CAUS-CTEMP not be-PURPs=o

*wantawanta, mir.ta-l paya-npa-ngu-layi nganamarnu-lu.* silly not-THEN wild-INCH-PASS-FUT anyone-EFF

Kid, you listen to me talking! I'll tell you, make you well behaved so you won't be silly and then won't be growled at by anyone.

As examples (5.24) and (5.25) suggest, there is a subtle difference between the two indefinite pronouns *ngana* and *nganamarnu* – *ngana* assumes the existence of some possible referent while *nganamarnu* does not. The following examples illustrate this difference more clearly.
5.3.3 ‘WHAT/SOMETHING’ nhartu

The indefinite and interrogative uses of nhartu takes regular nominal suffixes. The following examples illustrate.

(5.28) Ngaliwa nhartu-ngara-a wii kanyja-rninyji muyinu-u paju. 1PL.INC something-PL-ACC maybe keep-FUT hidden-ACC REAL We'll keep things well hidden.

(5.29) Panyu-l kupiyaji puni-waa, mir.ta kanta wurnta-mu good-THEN little(PL) go-PURPs=o not leg cut-PASSP nhartu-ngku wii, parla-ngara-lu wii. something-EFF maybe rock-PL-EFF maybe Those little fellows will go well then, won't have [their] legs cut by anything, rocks or whatever.


In addition, nhartu forms the basis of two indefinite/interrogative verb forms: the intransitive nhartu-npa-Ø ‘what/something happen’, and the transitive nhartu-ma-L ‘do what/something’. See §9.10 for further discussion of interrogative clauses.


(5.32) Nhartu-ma-rninyji-lwa ngunhaa yirna-ngara-a warriirti-ngara-a? what-CAUS-FUT-ID that.NOM this.OBL-PL-ACC spear-PL-ACC What's he going to do with these spears?

5.4 DEMONSTRATIVE FORMS

The demonstrative class can be subdivided into a set of ‘adnominal’ demonstratives and a set of ‘adverbial’ demonstratives. Adnominal demonstratives make reference to entities in terms of their relative distance from the speech act participants. They occur as either
modifiers or heads in noun phrases. The adverbial demonstratives, on the other hand, provide locational qualification of a predication. Although the two types of demonstrative differ in function they are semantically and morphologically related. This section describes the forms of the demonstratives; their functions are described in §5.5 and §5.6. The basic demonstrative stems are presented in Table 5.5.

| TABLE 5.5: DEMONSTRATIVE STEMS |
|---------------------------------
<p>| NOM  |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Distal</th>
<th>‘Near you’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nhiyu</td>
<td>ngunhu</td>
<td>nhula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC/OBL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yirna</td>
<td>ngurnu</td>
<td>nhula-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFF</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yilu</td>
<td>ngulu</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yila</td>
<td>ngula</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distal stems allow further analysis into a base ngu- (probably an original monosyllabic root; see Dixon 1980:361) with case-dependent formatives; nominative -nhu, accusative/oblique -nu, effector -lu and locative -la. The proximal paradigm shows a nominative form distinct from other case forms which involve the base yi-. The proximal and distal forms in this paradigm provide the basis for all adnominal demonstratives described below and discussed in §5.5 below. The adverbial demonstrative forms are based on the locative stems (see Table 5.8 below).

The ‘near you’ demonstrative has a restricted function and a similarly restricted paradigm. It does not appear in any case other than nominative or accusative and inflects like a regular nominal. It has a topic-tracking counterpart nhulaa (indistinguishable from the accusative) but there is no definite demonstrative form and no set of adverbial demonstratives based on a locative stem.

The adnominal demonstratives may take a range of nominal suffixes depending on their function within noun phrases and in wider clausal constituents. Table 5.6 illustrates two extensions of the simple paradigm. In comparison with the marked ‘topic-tracking’ and definite demonstratives, these are referred to as ‘plain’ demonstrative forms.

| TABLE 5.6: INFLECTED PLAIN DEMONSTRATIVE FORMS |
|---------------------------------------------
| PROXIMAL FORMS |
| singular | dual | plural |
| NOM  | nhiyu | nhiiyarra | nhingara |
| ACC  | yirna | yirna-tharra-a | yirna-ngara-a |
| EFF  | yilu | yirna-tharra-lu | yirna-ngara-lu |
| LOC  | yila | yirna-tharra-la | yirna-ngara-la |
| ABL  | yila-nguru | yirna-tharra-la-nguru | yirna-ngara-la-nguru |
| GEN  | yirna-wu | yirna-tharra-wu | yirna-ngara-wu |
| ALL  | yirna-mulyarra | yirna-tharra-mulyarra | yirna-ngara-mulyarra |
| PROP | yirna-marta | yirna-tharra-marta | yirna-ngara-marta |
DISTAL FORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>ACC</th>
<th>EFF</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>ABL</th>
<th>GEN</th>
<th>ALL</th>
<th>PROP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ngunhu</td>
<td>ngunhu-tharra</td>
<td>ngunhu-ngara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ngurnu</td>
<td>ngunhu-tharra-a</td>
<td>ngunhu-ngara-a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFF</td>
<td>ngulu</td>
<td>ngunhu-tharra-lu</td>
<td>ngunhu-ngara-lu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>ngula</td>
<td>ngunhu-tharra-la</td>
<td>ngunhu-ngara-la</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ngula-nguru</td>
<td>ngunhu-tharra-la-nguru</td>
<td>ngunhu-ngara-la-nguru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>ngurnu-wu</td>
<td>ngunhu-tharra-wu</td>
<td>ngunhu-ngara-wu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>ngurnu-mulyarra</td>
<td>ngunhu-tharra-mulyarra</td>
<td>ngunhu-ngara-mulyarra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROP</td>
<td>ngurnu-marta</td>
<td>ngunhu-tharra-marta</td>
<td>ngunhu-ngara-marta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Firstly, Table 5.6 lists the dual and plural counterparts of the demonstratives presented in Table 5.5. With the exception of the nominative, these involve the addition of the productive number suffixes to the singular oblique stem, followed by the appropriate case suffix. The nominative non-singular forms are based on the singular nominative stem. In the proximal paradigm there has been some historical adjustment of the stem and number suffix combination:

\[
\begin{align*}
*nhiyu-tharra & > nhiyarrra \\
*nhiyu-ngara & > nhiiingara
\end{align*}
\]

Secondly, Table 5.6 includes inflected demonstratives for which there is not a unique stem form. With the exception of the ablative, all involve the addition of regular nominal suffixes to the singular oblique stem. The ablative, as expected, is based on the locative stem (but see §5.5.5). Once again, dual and plural extensions in all case forms are built on the oblique stem.

Locative and ablative noun phrases (unlike nominative, accusative and effector noun phrases) can occur as adnominal modifiers in more complex noun phrases and may take further relational case suffixes. Thus the singular locative and ablative demonstrative forms listed in Table §5.6 can be further inflected. However, adnominal locative and ablative demonstratives are in fact not at all common. Martuthunira employs the locational adverbial demonstratives in preference to noun phrases including a locative demonstrative (§ 5.6.1).

Topic-tracking demonstratives, described in §5.5.2, occur for only the singular forms of nominative and accusative demonstratives. Diachronically, these most likely involve the fusion of a topicalising clitic (*-pa ~ *-ka) of some kind to the plain demonstrative stems. As argued in §7.8, these forms are not synchronically analysable as a stem+clitic combination.

**TABLE 5.7: TOPIC-TRACKING DEMONSTRATIVE FORMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Proximal</th>
<th>Distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nhiyaa</td>
<td>ngunhaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>yirnna</td>
<td>ngurnaa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The definite demonstratives *yirnala* and *ngurnula* are formed by the addition of a -la formative to the proximal and distal oblique stems. Inflected forms of the definite demonstratives involve the addition of regular nominal suffixes to these stems. However, the genitive form of the definite distal obligatorily selects the -ngu genitive allomorph and has
developed a degree of grammatical specificity suggesting that the form *ngurnulangu* be treated as a special form outside of the general paradigm (§5.5.3).

The adverbial demonstrative forms all involve suffixed additions to the locative adnominal demonstrative stem (Table 5.8):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 5.8: ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>locational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-specific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-visible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proximal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yilangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yilarla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yilarni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngulangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngularla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngularni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three different demonstrative systems show evidence of a -la stem formative: the 'definite' adnominal demonstratives (e.g. *ngurnula*), the 'non-specific' adverbial demonstratives (e.g. *ngularla*), and the indefinite locational *wanthaJa* (§5.10.1). The identification of the -la suffix in the 'non-specific' forms depends on the variable allophonic rule whereby the second of a pair of apical sonorants (separated by a vowel) is realised as a retroflex (§2.5.7). For all of these forms the suffix indicates the speaker's belief that a particular entity or place filling a certain description exists and can be found. The rather different interpretations of demonstratives in the three classes depends on the referential functions of the stems to which -la is attached.

5.5 ADNOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

This section discusses the semantics of the adnominal demonstratives, concentrating on the differences among plain, topic-tracking and definite forms. The primary function of the demonstratives is to refer to an entity in terms of its relative proximity to the speaker. However in addition to this, the demonstratives play a crucial role in maintaining text cohesion. Martuthunira has no distinct set of third person pronouns (either as free forms or as bound clitics) and thus much of the burden of 'pronominal' reference is carried by the demonstrative system. It is important to distinguish this 'endophoric' (text-internal) function from the primary 'exophoric' (text-external) function. The meanings which must be attributed to the demonstratives in each case are quite different.

The use of particular demonstrative forms in any text typically involves an interplay of exophoric and endophoric reference. For example, once an object is referred to in terms of its spatial proximity to the speaker it becomes a text item. The subsequent use of a demonstrative to refer to this item will depend partly on the referent's continuing relative proximity to the speaker and partly on standard patterns of cohesive text organisation. However, texts involving very little exophoric reference do occur. In particular, stories describing historical events or the actions of legendary culture heroes are often narrated in a situation that does not allow successful exophoric reference to characters or places. In these texts the patterns of endophoric demonstrative usage are most clearly defined and allow independent definition of endophoric meanings. The following sections describe both exophoric and endophoric functions of the various demonstrative forms.
5.5.1 PLAIN DEMONSTRATIVES

The exophoric functions of the unmarked demonstratives are quite straightforward. The proximal has a basic exophoric function as a presentative ‘this’, and is very often accompanied by some gesture indicating the referent.

(5.33) Nhiyu warnan pamta-muru-ruw naru ngaliwa-a.
this.NOM rain rain-PRES-NOW ASSERT 1PL.INC-ACC
This rain is really coming down on us now.

(5.34) Nhawungarra ngaliwa, Nhiyu murtimurti-npa-nyila pintura.
look.out 1PL.INC this.NOM fast-INCH-PrREL wave
We'd better look out, this wave is coming in quickly.

The proximal is generally used to pick out referents which are relatively close to the speaker while distal forms are used for referents located at some distance. Typically the proximal will cover things that are also close to the addressee; however, the separate ‘near you’ demonstrative, nhula, allows more specific reference to objects within the addressee's sphere of influence:

(5.35) Nhula manyarrka wantha-rryu nganaju-wu-la parrka-ngka
near.you sugar put-IMP 1SG.OBL-GEN-LOC leaf-LOC
kayarra mirtiri winya.
two spoon full
Put that sugar in my tea, two spoonfuls.

(5.36) Nhula-tharra pintirri-ma-l.yu, nhula patharri-nguru.
near.you-DU separate-CAUS-IMP near.you fight-PRES
Split those two up, they're fighting.

(5.37) Ya! Nhula kanyara manthawarla paju warnu mungka-muru
hey near.you man greedy REAL ASSERT eat-PRES
thanuwa-thurti-i, jinyji-warla-npa-layi paju-ru.
food-CONJ-ACC fat-FULL-INCH-FUT REAL-NOW
Hey! That man's very greedy eating the food and everything, he'll be getting very fat.

In non-situated text (§1.7) the proximal demonstrative serves the important function of introducing a participant to the action described in the narrative. This function is clearly related to the exophoric function of the demonstrative as a basic presentative. Where a participant is introduced for the first time it is generally assumed that the addressee will be quite able to uniquely identify the person or object referred to – either through familiarity with the story (or at least the events and characters taking part), or through familiarity with the participants and their common roles in stock situations. Very often the speaker provides some additional identifying information following the demonstrative introduction:

(5.38) Nhiyu martawulyu, palyarringu-nyungu, ngunhaa panyu jami.
this.NOM sap bloodwood-DWELL that.NOM good medicine
This sap, from a bloodwood tree, that's good medicine. (trans.)

The proximal is also used to reintroduce a participant who for some time has taken a 'back seat' in the progression of events in the narrative. Typically, this reintroduction heralds a
switch in ‘discourse-topic’: the new character becomes the central participant – the person who, in the narrator's opinion, provides the key to the unfolding of the events in the story.

In comparison with the important presentative function of the proximal, the distal demonstrative as used in non-situated text has very little deictic meaning. Its role in maintaining cohesive narrative is more a function of the contrast between plain and topic-tracking forms than the result of any inherent meaning in the distal stem. In many ways the singular plain distal demonstrative is similar to the English definite article ‘the’. It indicates that a referent satisfying a description (if the demonstrative is part of an noun phrase) or satisfying the grammatical role of subject or object or whatever (if the demonstrative is the head of a noun phrase) exists and can be found by the addressee. The identity of the referent is assumed to be retrievable from linguistic context, not by strict syntactic rule but by inference. Of course, the plain demonstrative stem may bear suffixes (such as number markers) which add to the referential content of the demonstrative word as a whole, and so narrow the range of possible antecedents. Also, the demonstrative may occur in a syntactic position which, given certain rules of grammar, leaves no question as to the referential antecedent.

5.5.2 TOPIC-TRACKING DEMONSTRATIVES

The topic-tracking forms of the distal demonstrative play an extremely important role in maintaining text cohesion. Essentially, topic-tracking demonstratives track those participants which form the speaker's current focus of interest. In any portion of narrative typically one of a number of participants will be singled out for special treatment. This may be because that participant's actions are of most interest to the narrator, or are assumed by the narrator to be of most interest to the addressee, or because the actions of the particular participant have the greatest bearing on the unfolding of events in the narrative. Participants singled out in this way may be tracked using topic-tracking demonstrative forms. By contrast, other participants appear with plain forms.

Where the focus of interest moves to a new participant, the change will be reflected in the switching of topic-tracking forms from one participant to another. As mentioned already, such a change may be introduced by a proximal demonstrative though the straightforward switching of topic-tracking demonstrative reference from one participant to another may serve the same function. Table 5.9 provides a summary of the demonstrative forms used in a section of narrative text (Appendix 1, Text 7:165-237), with lines indicating the tracking and switching of topic.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man</th>
<th>Devil</th>
<th>Returning boomerangs</th>
<th>New boomerangs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nhiyu</td>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td>Ngurnaa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td>Ngurnu</td>
<td>Ngurnutharra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yilu</td>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td>Ngurnutharra</td>
<td>Ngurnungara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngunhu</td>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td>Ngunhu</td>
<td>Ngurnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nhiya</td>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yirna</td>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td>Ngurnu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td>Ngurnu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td>Ngurnu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td>Ngurnu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td>Ngurnu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td>Ngunhaa</td>
<td>Ngurnu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.9: Anaphoric Demonstrative Tracking in Text
There are essentially four separate participants in the selected part of the narrative, and these form two opposing pairs. On the one hand, the man who made the first returning boomerangs is complemented by the 'devil' who is attempting to trick him into giving them up. On the other hand, the first two returning boomerangs contrast with the new boomerangs that the man is currently producing and which he repeatedly offers the devil in response to the latter's requests.

The narrative proceeds with descriptive statements by the narrator (non-situated text) interspersed with sections of reported speech (situated text) by the man and the devil. Most proximal demonstrative forms occurring in the reported speech make exophoric reference and so are irrelevant to questions of endophoric demonstrative tracking (and are ignored here). The relevant endophoric demonstrative forms are underlined in the text. Table 5.9 lists these and shows the patterns of topic switching effected by shifts in topic-tracking demonstrative reference. Topic-tracking demonstrative forms switch between the man and the devil as one after the other becomes the major instigator of action in the narrative. At the same time, the pair of returning boomerangs is also tracked by topic-tracking forms in contrast to the unmarked set of newly made boomerangs.

Topic-tracking proximal forms are rare in text (but note nhiyaa in the sixth entry in the 'man' column, Table 5.9) and occur almost exclusively in situated discourse. In such situations the demonstrative combines exophoric reference to an object or person located nearby with the endophoric reference implicit in the topic-tracking form. That is, the participant located near the speaker is considered to be the focus of interest in the discussion. In example (5.39) the speakers, a group of devils, conspire to steal Pannawonica Hill from a rival group:

\[(5.39) \text{ Nhiyu parla panyu paju. Nganarna wiru kangku-layi yirnaa.} \]
\[\text{this.NOM hill good very } \text{1PL.EXC wanting take-FUT } \text{this.ACC} \]
\[\text{This hill is very nice. We want to take this one away.}\]

Table 5.10 allows a comparison of the frequency of particular demonstrative forms in samples of non-situated narrative and situated reported speech. Only plain forms contrasting with topic-tracking forms were counted (i.e. singular nominative or accusative case forms). The sample also excluded all instances of text reference (§5.5.4) and demonstratives making temporal reference (§5.5.5).

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{PROXIMAL} & \text{Non-situated text} & \text{Situated text} \\
\hline
\text{plain} & 87 & 79 \\
\text{topic-tracking} & 4 & 16 \\
\text{subtotal} & 91 & 95 \\
\hline
\text{DISTAL} & & \\
\hline
\text{plain} & 206 & 32 \\
\text{topic-tracking} & 251 & 24 \\
\text{subtotal} & 457 & 56 \\
\hline
\text{TOTAL} & 548 & 151 \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]
The special presentative function of proximal demonstratives is reflected by a much smaller proportion of proximal to distal forms in the non-situated text sample (91 to 457). Conversely, the proximal forms outnumber the distal forms in situated text, where they have a clear exophoric function (95 to 56).

Topic-tracking forms account for more than half of the distal forms in the non-situated sample, thus demonstrating the important function these forms play in maintaining a cohesive text. In the situated text sample, topic-tracking demonstratives do not form as large a portion of either distal or proximal forms.

As might be expected, the foregrounding function of the topic-tracking forms results in a higher proportion of subject to object forms for these demonstratives as compared with the plain demonstratives. Figures for the distal demonstratives are shown in Table 5.11.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 5.11: SUBJECT TO OBJECT RATIOS FOR DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topic-tracking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Despite their important function, topic-tracking forms contrast with singular plain demonstratives only in nominative and accusative cases. There are no topic-tracking complements to plain demonstratives in other case forms, or to dual and plural demonstrative forms based on the plain stem. This is not at all surprising. First, topic-tracking forms might not be expected to occur in syntactic slots other than the core argument positions of predicates. Second, demonstratives inflected for number are of greater referential content than the simple singular stem (the appearance of a singular demonstrative does not guarantee a singular referent). Dual demonstratives in particular are highly referential and need no topic-tracking counterpart to facilitate their successful tracking in discourse. Thus although it is true to say that typically one participant is tracked by topic-tracking demonstrative forms, other participants, by virtue of their dual or plural marking, may be equally visible in a text.

The non-situated narrative text sample included 53 proximal non-singular demonstrative forms and 137 distal non-singular demonstratives. The situated speech sample included only 4 proximal and 5 distal non-singular forms. These figures can be compared with those presented for singular demonstrative forms in Table 5.10.

5.5.3 DEFINITE DEMONSTRATIVES

The definite demonstrative is used to refer to a particular entity which the speaker assumes the addressee is able to identify. As described in the last two sections, the plain demonstrative form indicates that a referent fulfilling a description, or the syntactic role of the noun phrase in which the form occurs, may be found by the addressee. The topic-tracking form adds the extra information that this referent is 'the thing that the speaker is talking about'. The definite demonstrative, in indicating the existence of a ‘particular’ referent, reduces the set of possible demonstrative antecedents still further and so assumes almost full referential independence. Of all Martuthunira demonstratives, the definite forms are the closest to cardinal anaphoric third person pronouns.
Simple forms of the definite demonstratives occur relatively infrequently (only five instances in the sample of narrative text and reported speech forming the basis for the sampling for Table 5.10) and most often have an exophoric function, as in example (5.40) and (5.41). In (5.42) and (5.43) the definite demonstrative and its antecedent are underlined.

(5.40) Kartu kangku-Ø yirmala-a warriri-i jankurna-marnu!  
2SG.NOM take-IMP this.DEF-ACC spear-ACC emu-ASSOC  
You take this particular spear [offering it] for an emu!

(5.41) Nhiyu yirru yilhi yirru, mir.ta nhiyu. Ngurnula-a kartu  
this.NOM HES chip HES not this.NOM that.DEF-ACC 2SG.NOM  
kanyja-rnuru wanthala.  
keep-PRES somewhere  
This chip (pointing), not this one (pointing). The one you are keeping hidden somewhere.

(5.42) Ngunhaa mir.ta jarrkurti wankama-lalha. Thurlajinkarri-ngara waya  
that.NOM not few save-PAST poor.fellow-PL fear  
puni-wayara yartapalyu, yanga-ngu-rra yarta-ngara-lu,  
go-HABIT others chase-PASS-CTEMP other-PL-EFF  
karta-ngu-layi waya, ngurnula-a wirta-lu, nyina-layi  
stab-PASS-FUT fear that.DEF-ACC climb-PURPss sit-FUT  
parlu-ngkka. 
top-LOC  
That [hill] saved not just a few people. Some poor fellows used to go frightened, one mob, being chased by some others, frightened of getting stabbed, and climb it, and sit on top.

(5.43) Thurlajinkarri-tharra nganjumarta-la mir.ta waruul kuliya-l.yarra  
poor.fellow-DU 1DU.DISHARM-LOC not still hear-CTEMP  
ganjumarta-a wangkaru-marri-nyila-a yilangu. Nhartu-u-lwa  
1DU.DISHARM-ACC talk-COLL-PrREL-ACC here what-ACC-ID  
kuliyanpa-nguru wiyaa, muyiwiya-ngu-rra. mir.ta wurtu  
think-PRES maybe abuse-PASS-CTEMP not HYPTH  
ganjumarta mir.ta muyiwiya-rnuru yirmala-tharra-a.  
1DU.DISHARM not abuse-PRES this.DEF-DU-ACC  
These two poor fellows with us still aren't listening to us talking here. What are they thinking about as they're being abused [by us]. We won't insult them.

By contrast, the genitive form of the distal definite demonstrative, ngurnula-ngu, is very common and serves as an anaphoric third person possessive pronoun. In its range of antecedents it is in some ways similar to the Latin indirect reflexive possessive suus. Modifying genitive expressions within noun phrases are usually single possessive nominals – either the genitive form of a first or second person pronoun, or the genitive definite demonstrative. In the latter case the noun phrase specifying the possessor appears in the immediate linguistic context.
These examples illustrate the most common patterns of syntactic relationship between the demonstrative and its antecedent. In examples (5.44) and (5.45) the genitive demonstrative is part of a non-subject noun phrase and the antecedent is the subject of the same clause. In (5.46) however, the first person singular subject of the clause is not a possible antecedent of the third person genitive and here the antecedent is the subject of the preceding clause. In (5.47) the genitive is part of the subject noun phrase and the antecedent is the third person included within the reference set of the first person exclusive pronoun subject of the preceding clause, ngaliya. In (5.48), the first person singular subject of the preceding clause
is not a possible antecedent and instead the object of that clause controls the genitive demonstrative. Finally, in (5.49) the genitive definite demonstrative is an endophoric expression embedded within an adnominal propriety modifier in a complex noun phrase and the antecedent is the head of that noun phrase.

This function of the genitive definite demonstrative is restricted to distal forms. While genitive forms of the proximal definite demonstrative were accepted by the informant, they do not occur in either elicited or unelicited text.

5.5.4 TEXT REFERENCE

The distal adnominal demonstratives can be used to make reference to portions of text allowing comment on the facts or situations described in the narrative. Text deixis (or discourse deixis) (Halliday & Hasan 1976:52, Levinson 1983:85) of this type is a common device in closing or opening episodes in narrative. A number of set phrases asserting the veracity of events appear often in the collected texts. The use of the phrase *palwarru ngunhaa* illustrated in example (5.50) is typical. In (5.51), which presents the closing lines of a long text, the demonstratives refer to the narrative in its entirety.

(5.50)  
\[
\text{n}g\text{aya-lha-nguru-rru karlwa-layi miritiwul, wuraal-wa-rru cry-PAST-ABL-NOW get.up-FUT all all.right-Ø-NOW ngrurra-arta-npa-layi-rru. Palwarru ngunhaa. camp-ALL-INCH-FUT-NOW true that.NOM Kulii-lalha-nguru-rru ngrurra-arta-marri-layi-rru. satisfied-PAST-ABL-NOW camp-ALL-COLL-FUT-NOW Palwarru ngunhaa. true that.NOM}
\]

Having cried [they] all get up. All right, head for camp now. That's that. Now satisfied [they] go off to camp together. That's that.

(5.51)  
\[
\text{n}g\text{unhaa ngunhaa. Piyuwa-rru ngunhaa, piyuwa-rru ngunhaa that.NOM that.NOM end-NOW that.NOM end-NOW that.NOM Pantuwarriingka. Pannawonica.Hill That's that. That's the end. That's the end of [the story about] Pannawonica Hill.}
\]

The set of narratives of which the Pannawonica story is one episode contains twenty instances of textual reference involving demonstratives (example (5.51) is counted as one instance). Although most of the set phrases employed with this function involve topic-tracking demonstrative forms, plain demonstratives also occur with some frequency (24 topic-tracking to 19 plain forms in the 20 instances cited).

5.5.5 TEMPORAL REFERENCE

Distal demonstrative forms are sometimes used as temporal deictics in narrative. Firstly, the plain nominative form of the definite demonstrative is used to refer to a particular point in time at which an event occurred, thus allowing comment about other things that happened or might have happened at that same time. For example:
Secondly, the ablative suffix may be added to either the plain or definite demonstrative indicating that the current event is occurring after the completion of the event referred to by the demonstrative. Notice that the ablative suffix with this temporal function selects the accusative form of the plain demonstrative rather than the usual locative. This follows the general pattern of temporal ablative marking described in §4.6.

(5.53)  
\[
\text{Puni-layi ngunhu-ngara mirmtiwul wirta-lu Kawuyu-u-rru}
\]
\[
go-FUT that-PL all climb-PURPss Kawuyu-ACC-NOW
\]
\[
\text{parla-a. Ngurnu-nguru Ngunhu kanyara yinka-lalha-nguru}
\]
\[
hill-ACC that-ABL that.NOM man carve-PAST-ABL
\]
\[
\text{patha-rralha-rru. Ngunhu-ngara karri-nyila nhawu-rra.}
\]
\[
\text{throw-PAST-NOW that-PL stand-PrREL watch-CTEMP}
\]

They all go to climb Kawuyu hill. After that, the man who carved [the boomerang] threw [it]. They stood watching.

(5.54)  
\[
\text{Ngurra-a ngunhaa kuyilwa-lalha, ngayalyu yirru.}
\]
\[
country-ACC that.NOM ruin-PAST devil HES
\]
\[
\text{Ngurnula-nguru, ngunhu-ngara nyina-lha mir.ta-rru panyu nguru}
\]
\[
\text{that.DEF-ABL that-PL be-PAST not-NOW good that.ACe}
\]
\[
kuyilwa-lalha-a yilhi-i.}
\]
\[
\text{ruin-PAST-ACC chips-ACC}
\]

He ruined the country, that devil. From that time on they weren't happy with that one who had ruined the [boomerang] chips.

5.6 ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

5.6.1 LOCATIONALS \textit{yilangu, ngulangu}

The use of either the proximal or distal locational involves an assumption by the speaker that the addressee is able to identify the particular place being referred to. The proximal form typically denotes the location in which the speech act is taking place and a general notion of ‘speech act locale’ is assumed by both the speaker and the addressee. Thus the proximal most often occurs without any additional identification of the place being described as ‘here’. However, where the speaker is making reference to a place which is more particularly located within the speech act locale, some additional information may be given.

(5.55)  
\[
\text{Ngawu, ngali wangkamu-marri-layi yilangu malamu-la.}
\]
\[
yes 1DU.INC talk-COLL-FUT here shade-LOC
\]

Yes, let's talk here in the shade.

(5.56)  
\[
\text{Kartu pil.yi-npa-layi yilangu kalyaran-ta kuwilyawuyu-la.}
\]
\[
2SG.NOM flat-INCH-FUT here tree-LOC this.side-LOC
\]

You crouch down here on this side of the tree.
Specific indications of location are often made by gesture thus obviating the need for any further identification in the text. The use of gesture with an adverbial demonstrative also performs a function in non-situated narrative. In the following example the proximal is used together with a gesture to indicate a place near the feet of the narrator.

(5.58) *Ngunhaa karlwa-lha yilangu, thani- ngu-rra wakupurra-lu ngurra yirla.*

He came up here (pointing), and only the ground got hit by that hitting stick.

Heath (1983:330) cites similar uses of demonstratives in Nunggubuyu, using the term ‘perspective shift’ for situations in which the speaker's point of view is imposed on locations and events taking place in the narrative. As in Nunggubuyu, instances of this kind of perspective shift in Martuthunira commonly involve a location on a body part, or a location very close to the speaker's person.

The location referred to by means of the proximal may be extended beyond the usual limits of the speech-act locale to include definable areas of territory within which the speech act is taking place, or the area of country with which the interlocutors most identify. Traditional stories include proximal references to the territory in which the language of narration was traditionally spoken. Usually wider reference of this kind is accompanied by a locative phrase defining the particular area. The following examples are taken from texts recorded within Martuthunira boundaries but not within the immediate vicinity of the events recounted.

(5.59) *Ngayu marrari-ngara-a wantha- minyji, mara y-la-a jina-ngka-a, wantharni-marri-lha-la-a palalyi-ngara-la, kuwarri-la-l, ngurra-ngka, yilangu, Martuthuni-la.*

I'll put down the stories, about the devil's 'tracks', how they were before, in the beginning, in the country, here, on the Fortescue.

(5.60) *Nhiyu kanyara kanangkalwa-nmarni, ngunhaa yilhi wanti-marni yilangu-rru ... jalya-ngara-rru ˈkalyaran yilangu.*

That man should have showed [them to him], those chips should be here [in this country]...the wood here is useless now.

The distal locational cannot rely on a received notion of speech act locale for its interpretation. A specific location may be described or implied in the immediately preceding context (examples (5.61), (5.62)), or may be identified by gesture (5.63). More commonly,
The identification of the location is made by some additional description in a locative noun phrase (5.64), (5.65).

(5.61) \textit{Nganaju mimi wantha-rralha punkurrimarnu-u murtiwarla-la} \\
1SG.GEN uncle put-PAST blanket-ACC car-LOC \\
\textit{ngayu nyina-wala ngulangu-lwa.} \\
1SG.NOM sit-PURPds there-ID \\
My uncle put a blanket in the car for me to sit there. (trans.)

(5.62) \textit{Ngunhu-rru ngunhu puni-nguru pawu-urta-rru.} \\
that.NOM-NOW that.NOM go-PRES father-DIRALL-NOW \\
\textit{Ngulangu-rru nyina-layi.} \\
there-NOW stay-FUT \\
That one is going to his father now. He'll stay there now.

(5.63) \textit{Wantha-minyji ngulangu-wa!} \\
put-FUT there-YK \\
Put it there (pointing)!

(5.64) \textit{Ngunhu pala miritirimarta. Parlu-ngka-rru nyina-nguru.} \\
that.NOM IT goanna top-LOC-NOW be-PRES \\
\textit{Wirta-lha ngulangu pinkarranyu-la kalyaran-ta.} \\
climb-PAST there dry-LOC tree-LOC \\
That's the goanna. [It's] up there now. It climbed up there, up that dead tree.

(5.65) \textit{Ngulangu karra-ngka ngayu jamanu karta-rru kurarra-lu.} \\
there scrub-LOC 1SG.NOM foot poke-PASSP thorn-EFF \\
There in the the scrub my foot got poked by a \textit{kurarra} thorn.

The locational demonstratives may take number suffixes with the resulting demonstrative word referring to a number of places located within the usual scope of the demonstrative stem.

(5.66) \textit{Nhiiyarra wirta-tharra nhuura thalu-ngara-a wanthal-a kurlany-ngara-a} \\
this.DU youth-DU knowing site-PL-ACC where-ACC knife-PL-ACC \\
yilangu-ngara-a Martuthuni-i wanthal-a. \\
here-PL-ACC Fortescue-ACC where-ACC \\
These two youths knew the whereabouts of all the stone knife quarries around here in Fortescue country.

(5.67) \textit{Mayilli-marnu nyina-wayara yilangu-ngara-la wilhu-l.} \\
FaFa+1POSS-GROUP sit-HABIT here-PL-LOC penis-THEN \\
\textit{Ngalarri-lha-rru wilhu-u, mir.ta kuliyanpa-layi nganangu} \\
forget-PAST-NOW penis-ACC not think-FUT who.ACC \\
wii nhawu-rra nyina-nyila-a. \\
maybe see-CTEMP be-PrREL-ACC \\
All our grandfathers used to sit all about here, [showing their] penises then. Well they forgot about [their] penises, didn't think about whoever might be looking.
5.6.2 NON-SPECIFIC yilarla, ngularla

The non-specific demonstrative forms are used to denote a particular place whose exact location is not known but which is known to lie within a wider region denoted by the proximal or distal stem. The proximal form indicates that the place is situated somewhere within the speech-act locale while the distal form, like its locational counterpart, requires some additional specification of the area within which the particular place may be found. The English glosses given for the non-specific forms are usually ‘somewhere here/there’, ‘around here/there’ or ‘hereabouts/thereabouts’.

The referential content of these complex forms can be described as follows. Firstly, the locative demonstrative stem describes a location which is definite and specific; that is, the speaker has a particular place in mind and assumes that the addressee can identify that particular place. The demonstrative as a whole describes a particular place, within this definite location, which is not known to the speaker (non-specific) and is not necessarily known to the addressee.

(5.68) Yilarla wiyaa wanti-nguru marli-ngka kartawura-la.

here.NS maybe lie-PRES tree-LOC butt-LOC

Maybe he's lying around here somewhere at the foot of a paperbark tree.

(5.69) Purrkuru-lwa thattuungku-marri-layi, yilarla-lwa. Wanthala ngula?

true-ID meet-COLL-FUT here.NS-ID where IGNOR

Ngularla-lwa Martuthuni-la.

there.NS-ID Fortescue-LOC

True enough, they met up somewhere here (in this country). Where exactly?

Somewhere there on the Fortescue River.

(5.70) Yurlungarrarnu-nguru, ngunhu Kurlanyungkunha wangka-ngu-rra, Yurlungarrarnu-ABL that.NOM Kurlanyungkunha call-PASS-CTEMP ngularla yawurrwu.

there.NS west

From Yurlungarrarnu Pool that place called Kurlanyungkunha is somewhere there to the west.

(5.71) Nhula kayulu jirtinyal thanturri-nguru kayulumarnu-la-nguru.

near.you water dripping go.down-PRES water.bag-LOC-ABL

Jalyuru ngularla kayulumarnu-la. Mir.ta wilawilama-rinyji.

hole there.NS water.bag-LOC not shake-FUT

Kal.ya wantha-rryu karri-waa panyu-l.

still put-IMP stand-PURPS good-THEN

There's water dripping down from that water bag. There must be a hole in it somewhere there. Don't shake it around. Make it stand still, it will be okay then.

5.6.3 NON-VISIBLE yilarni, ngularni

These demonstrative forms are extremely rare and are poorly understood. Only one example of a non-visible demonstrative occurred in freely given text (example (5.72)), and
attempts at elicitation were generally unsuccessful. The informant provided the following glosses for the forms in isolation:

\[ \text{yilarni} \quad \text{"round the corner, going to turn out here somewhere"} \]

\[ \text{ngularni} \quad \text{"coming other side and (we) can't see him, kurruth-ngka (‘in a hollow’)"} \]

These glosses include a semantic component of motion as well as the general idea of lack of visibility, suggesting the possibility of some historical link to the -\text{mi} ‘centripetal’ forms of the compass points (§5.8) and \text{wantharni} ‘where’ (§5.10.2), and/or the nominal suffix -\text{ngurni} ‘obscured’ (§4.15).

\( (5.72) \) \text{Ngulangu-lwa punkurrimarnu-la wauu-ipurtu. Nyina-lha waruu ngularla} \]
\[ \text{there-ID blanket-LOC still-COMP be-PAST still there.NS} \]
\[ \text{mir.ta nhawu-ngu-rra ngaliwa-llu.} \]
\[ \text{not see-PASS-CTEMP 1PL.INC-EFF} \]
\[ \text{It's there in the blanket. It was somewhere there and wasn't seen by any of us.} \]

\[ \text{Purrkuru warnu? Ngayu kuliyanpa-lha mir.ta-rru ngularla-wa,} \]
\[ \text{true ASSERT 1SG.NOM think-PAST not-NOW there.NS-YK} \]
\[ \text{parralhara nyina-lha waruu-ipurtu ngularni-wa.} \]
\[ \text{centipede be-PAST still-EMPH there.NV-YK} \]
\[ \text{Is that right? I thought there was nothing anywhere there but a centipede was [hidden] there all along.} \]

\( (5.73) \) \text{Ngularni-wa, ngayu mir.ta nhuura wantharni-i ngurnu kanyara-a} \]
\[ \text{there.NV-YK 1SG.NOM not knowing how-ACC that.ACC man-ACe} \]
\[ \text{kanarri-lha-a. Ngayu wangka-yangu yartapalyu-lu ngurnu} \]
\[ \text{come-PAST-ACC 1SG.NOM tell-PASSP others-EFF that.ACC} \]
\[ \text{kanarri-lha-a. Ngularni kanarri-lha.} \]
\[ \text{come-PAST-ACC there.NV come-PAST} \]
\[ \text{From over there, I didn't know how that man came. I was told by the others that he came. He came from over there. (trans.)} \]

### 5.6.4 ALLATIVE AND ABLATIVE FORMS

The adverbial demonstratives described in the preceding sections may take the allative and ablative suffixes. The meanings of these demonstratives are predictable from the meanings of the stem and the suffix.

\( (5.74) \) \text{Ngunhu-ngara puni-lha, nhuunuwarnti. Yilangu-nguru-lwa puni-lha.} \]
\[ \text{that.NOM-PL go-PAST spouses here-ABL-ID go-PAST} \]
\[ \text{They went, those husbands and wives. [They] went away from here.} \]

\( (5.75) \) \text{Ngunhaa nhawu-layi ngurnu warrirt-i kanyara-lu thawu-ru-u} \]
\[ \text{that.NOM see-FUT that.ACC spear-ACC man-EFF send-PASSP-ACC} \]
\[ \text{ngulangu-mulyarra puni-nyila-a ngarrawurlu.} \]
\[ \text{there-ALL go-PrREL-ACC away} \]
\[ \text{He'll see that spear sent by the man going away towards that place.} \]
Allative and ablative forms of the non-visible locationals do not occur spontaneously in the data and the informant was reluctant to give forms in elicitation. Although an ablative form *ngulari-nguru “from the other side, can’t see it” was accepted, the corresponding proximal *yilarni-nguru was rejected as meaningless.

5.6.5 ‘THAT SIDE’ ngulawuyu

The ngulawuyu ‘that side’ demonstrative clearly involves the -wuyu ‘side’ suffix (§4.22) attached to the distal locative stem. However, a proximal form does not occur and instead the locational nominal kuwilya ‘this way’ stands in opposition to the demonstrative (5.76). Ngulawuyu often occurs with an added locative suffix and may have an adnominal function, as in example (4.60).

(5.76) *Kayarra-tharra karri-layi kanyja-ryarra, yarta kuwilya-wuyu-la,
      two-DU stand-FUT hold-CTEMP other this.way-SIDE-LOC

      yarta ngulawuyu-la-lpurru.
other that.side-LOC-COMP
Two stand holding [the net], one this side, one on the other side.

5.7 PREDICATE DEMONSTRATIVE

The predicate demonstrative yimpala is used to refer to a known property of some participant in the text. The demonstrative may function as a second predication (example (5.77)), or as an adnominal modifier in a noun phrase (5.78).

(5.77) Wantharni-rru mungka-minyji yimpala-a-wa, kampa-ru-u
      how-NOW eat-FUT like.that-ACC-YK cook-PASSP-ACC
      kayulu-wirriwa.
      water-PRIV
      How is she going to eat it like that, cooked without water.

(5.78) Ngana ngunhaa wartirra thurlamanta? Ngayu mir.ta wiru
      who that.NOM woman nosey lISG.NOM not like
      yimpala-ngara-a wartirra-ngara-a.
      like.that-PL-ACC woman-PL-ACC
      Who is that nosey woman? I don't like women who are like that. (trans.)

Yimpala is often used in narrative text to sum up the current status of a particular participant prior to further description or detailing of events. In example (5.79) a man has upset his wife by drinking against her wishes:

(5.79) Yimpala-rru-wa wiruwirraa-ma-lalha-rru ngurnula-ngu-u
      like.that-NOW-YK upset-CAUS-PAST-NOW that.DEF-GEN-ACC
      yaan-ku. Yimpala-rru-wa ngunhaa kanyara-wuyu puni-layi
      spouse-ACC like.that-NOW-YK that.NOM man-SIDE go-FUT
Now he's like that, he's upset his wife. He's like that, the man of the pair will be rubbish, without a wife now.

The demonstrative may make extended reference to situations in text, thus allowing the speaker to comment – to voice an opinion on events or to simply affirm the truth of what is being said. This pattern usually involves a topic-tracking form of the demonstrative, *yimpalaa*, exhibiting the characteristic lengthened final vowel.

(5.80) \( Ngayu \) wurnta-lalha-rru nganaju-u warrirti-i
1SG.NOM break-PAST-NOW 1SG.GEN-ACC spear-ACC

murla-marnu-u. Kuyil paju yimpalaa.
meat-ASSOC-ACC bad REAL like.that
I broke my hunting spear. That's very bad.

(5.81) \( Nhulaa \) thurlajinkarri puni-nguru ngalyurr thani-rnu. Nhiiyarra
near.you poor.fellow go-PRES nose hit-PASSP this.DU

patharri-lha walyurn-ngalyarnta. Yimpalaa pala.
fight-PAST girl-CAUSAL like.that IT
That one has a hit nose. These two have been fighting over a girl.
That's how it is.

5.8 COMPASS TERMS AND LOCA TIONAL NOMINALS

The Martuthunira compass terms form a closed subclass of the class of nominals. They can be defined as such by the fact that they do not take the locative or allative nominal suffixes and instead have unique locative and allative forms. In addition, the compass terms have a separate 'centripetal' form which indicates direction towards the speaker, away from the compass point (and so contrasts with the simple ablative which indicates direction away from the compass point but not necessarily towards the speaker). The basic paradigm is presented in Table 5.12.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Allative</th>
<th>Centripetal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>wartantu</td>
<td>wartantari</td>
<td>wartantarni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>karalu</td>
<td>karalari</td>
<td>karalarni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East/Upriver</td>
<td>jingkayu</td>
<td>jingkaari</td>
<td>jingkarni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West/Downriver</td>
<td>yawurr</td>
<td>yawurrari</td>
<td>yawurrarni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The actual orientations of the compass terms are flexible as the east/upriver and west/downriver terms immediately suggest. Martuthunira territory is dominated by two major permanent watercourses (the Robe and Fortescue rivers) and numerous minor streams. All of these have a predominantly north-west/south-east orientation. Nevertheless, the sun rises *jingkayu* and sets *yawurr*. Similarly, the coast and the rise of the Hamersley Range, which run from west-south-west to east-north-east, provide the main orienting features for the terms *karalu* ‘south’ and *wartantu* ‘north’. Yindjibarndi and Panyjima have compass terms...
for east and west distinct from the (cognate) upriver and downriver locationals. Examples illustrating the use of compass terms include (4.27), (4.56), (4.81), (6.6), (9.53) and (10.57). Example (5.82) below illustrates the use of the centripetal form.

(5.82)  
*Yawurrarni kanarri-lha, jalya kanarri-lha yawurrarni.*  
west.CENT come-PAST bereaved come-PAST west.CENT

*Thaapuwa-tharra manku-yangu, kanyja-rnu pirtuwangu,*  
big.man-DU grab-PASSP keep-PASSP initiate

*parrani-lha-ma-rnu yawurrari.*  
return-PAST-CAUS-PASSP west.ALL

From the west they came this way, bereaved. Those two heroes were grabbed, kept as initiation prisoners, and then sent back to the west.

In addition to the forms listed in Table 5.12, the locative stem may take a number of regular locational suffixes.

(5.83)  
*Nhiyu wartantu-nyungu waruuJ. Ngularla-lwa ngurra ngurmula-ngu.*  
this.NOM north.LOC-DWELL still there.NS-ID camp that.DEF-GEN

This [man] is a northerner. His home is somewhere there.

(5.84)  
*Ngana-rru kanarri-layi nhawani-i pal.yarra-a Wirawira-a,*  
who-NOW come-FUT what's-its-name-ACC plain-ACC Wirawira-ACC

*yawurru-ra waruu, kartara-a paju Mitawanti-ngu*  
downriver-PROV still flank-ACC REAL Mitawanti-ACC

*jingkayu-wuyu-u.*  
east.LOC-SIDE-ACC

Then they came to what's-its-name plain, Wirawira, still in the ‘downriver region’, on the flank, the east side of Mitawanti hill.

In addition to the compass terms a small number of other nominals can be described as inherently locative. These generally function as locational ‘adverbs’ describing a direction of motion or orientation, or the relative position of some object with respect to the speaker. The locational nominals so far discovered are listed below:

- **kankami**  
  above

- **kuwi(lya)**  
  this way

- **ngarrawurlu**  
  other way

- **ngunirmi**  
  up to here, this way (indicating with hand)

There are no regular paradigms for these nominals although the actual forms suggest some relationship with the compass terms. *Kankami* and *ngunirmi* appear to involve the centripetal formative -*mi*. *Ngarrawurlu* involves a suffix -*wurlu* which is found in the other Ngayardya languages corresponding to the -*thartu* ‘direction facing’ suffix described in §4.8.2.
Kuwi(lya) occurs in the data in two forms: kuwilya-wuyu ‘this side’ and kuwi-thartu ‘facing this way’.

Ngunirni is a ‘perspective shifting’ locational (§5.6.1) used to indicate the position of an object by use of some gesture.

(5.85)  
Kanarri-layi kanyara-ngara kayulu-la-ngara, ngunirni-rru  
come-FUT man-PL water-LOC-PL up.to.here-NOW

thala-ngka-rru kayulu-marta.  
chest-LOC-NOW water-PROP
And then the men in the water come along, with water up to here (indicates)
on their chests.

The irregular nominal puyi ‘far’, has the case forms listed below. Examples include (4.117), (5.2), (7.94), (9.38), (9.68), (9.140) and (10.20).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Form</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>puu</td>
<td>NOMINATIVE and sentential adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puyii</td>
<td>ACCUSATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puyila</td>
<td>LOCATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puyiirta</td>
<td>ALLATIVE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.9 TEMPORAL NOMINALS

Martuthunira has a set of temporal nominals which can be characterised as ‘point-time’ qualifiers. These refer to times of the day or to general points in time located relative to the present of utterance or an established narrative present. They do not take the locative suffix and have the inherent locative sense ‘at time X’.

kuwarri  now, the beginning
wiruwanti morning, tomorrow
thulharra afternoon
wayala  night-time
palalyi  before, early in time
mawurrur later on

(5.86)  
Ngayu nguyirri-warlaya paju wiruwanti-nguru-l.  
1SG.NOM sleep-FULL REAL morning-ABL-THEN
I’ve been fast asleep since this morning. (trans.)

(5.87)  
Nhiyu kanyara nyina-nguru malarnu-la nhuwa-lalha-nguru tharta-a  
this.NOM man sit-PRES shade-LOC spear-PAST-ABL euro-ACC
yarta-ngka-l thulharra.  
other-LOC-THEN afternoon
This man is sitting in the shade, the one who speared a euro the other afternoon.

By contrast, jampa ‘moment’ is a durative temporal qualifier. It indicates that an action or state is maintained for a relatively short period of time and generally signals an impending change from one event to another (examples (5.88), (5.89)). Jampa may take the locative suffix and then functions as a point-time qualifier (5.90). Ngarti ‘again, next’, is illustrated in (5.91), (5.92) and (5.93).
Ngunhaa nyina-lha jampa, wiruwarri-lha-rru.
that.NOM stay-PAST moment homesick-PAST-NOW
He stayed for a short while, and then got homesick.

Nhawu-Ø kunti jampa ngurnu-wurrini marlarra-wurrini.
look-IMP stop moment that.ACC-DIRECT road-DIRECT
Stop and look towards the road for a moment.

Kalayamarta-a wantha-rninyyji karla-ngka karri-waa
billy.can-ACC put-FUT fire-LOC stand-PURPs=o
hot-INCH-CTEMP moment-LOC-NOW ASSERT IT
Put the billy can on the fire to get hot. [It'll be ready] in a moment.

Tharrwi-layi wulu-marnu-u thawuta-a, ngarti-l
put.on-FUT leg-ASSOC-ACC trousers-ACC next-THEN
tharrwi-layi jaat-ku.
put.on-FUT shirt-ACC
Put on trousers, and next put on a shirt.

Ngayu ngarti-rru wurtu wangka-layi kartungu marrari-i?!
1SG.NOM again-NOW HYPHT tell-FUT 2SG.ACC word-ACC
Do I have to tell you again what I said?!

Ngayu mumta-lalha wirra-a ngarti-l
1SG.NOM take.from-PAST boomerang-ACC again-THEN
patharri-wirri-la ngurnu-ngalyarnta-lwa.
fight-LEST-LOC that.ACC-CAUSAL-ID
I took away that boomerang otherwise [you'd] be fighting over it again.

It's still raining!

This one is still useless, it hasn't been straightened by you.

[I'm] useless, [I] still can't spear anything.

Various forms of waruul occurring in the data suggest a root waruul- to which the temporal clitic -l 'THEN' (§7.7) is often attached. However, a new waruul root is emerging. Table 5.13 shows the expected patterns of nominal plus clitic combination for both roots. The forms are predicted assuming the regular operation of the phonotactic 'cluster-busting' rules (§2.3.3).
TABLE 5.13: FORMS OF WARUU/WARUUL ‘STILL’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>waruu</th>
<th>waruul</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-lpurtu</td>
<td>waruu-lpurtu</td>
<td>waruul-u-lpurtu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rru</td>
<td>*waruu-rru</td>
<td>waruul-wa-rru (waruul-u-rru)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nu</td>
<td>waruu-nu</td>
<td>waruul-u-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>waruu</td>
<td>waruul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of six predicted possibilities, only waruu-rru does not occur in the data. However, a form waruul-u-rru, which is not predicted by the regular phonotactic rules, occurs just once. The roots are clearly in competition. First, although both forms of the nominal occur with the -lpurtu clitic, that based on waruu is quite rare, suggesting that the waruu root is winning out. By contrast, the most common form with the clitic -ITU is waruu1-wa-D11, suggesting (since waruu-D11 never occurs) that the waruu1 root is winning out on this front. However, the existence of the unpredicted form waruul-u-rru suggests that perhaps the waruu1waru form may involve clitics -lwa and -rru added to the waruu root (i.e. waruu-lwa-rru). There is no semantic reason for supposing the presence of the -lwa clitic in this form. Finally, both root forms are equally common with the -nu clitic.

5.10 INDEFINITE LOCATIONALS/TEMPORALS

The indefinite wantha ‘where’ forms the basis for a number of derived indefinite nominals. The functions of these forms are discussed in the following sections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wantha</th>
<th>(any)where</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wanthala</td>
<td>(some)where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wantharni</td>
<td>what way, how</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wantharta</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanthanha</td>
<td>which</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wantharra</td>
<td>like</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.10.1 ‘WHERE’ wantha(la)

Wantha(la) is described as indefinite since it refers to a location or locations which are not known to the speaker. The wantha ‘anywhere’ form indicates a generalised notion of unknown location while the wanthala ‘somewhere’ form refers to a particular yet unknown place at which the speaker assumes an entity is located. The wanthala form thus corresponds to the non-specific demonstratives and is similarly formed by the addition of the -la ‘particularising’ suffix (§5.4) to the wantha root. The following examples illustrate the contrast between the two forms.

(5.97) Ngarniyarrangu marnta-lalha martura-la-ma-l.yarra.
      big.group      press.down-PAST middle-LOC-CAUS-CTEMP

      that.NOM-PL wanting escape-FUT somewhere-ACC REAL nothing
A big group closed in on them. They wanted to escape somewhere (i.e. anywhere). No chance.
Although morphologically unmarked and semantically more general, the *wantha* form is relatively rare and is best considered a semantically marked counterpart to *wanthala*. *Wanthala* most commonly appears as a more general attention-grabbing interrogative. This is illustrated in the following examples.

(5.101) *Wanthara-ru, ngaliwa ngurra-arta-rrri-layi-rrru?*  
where-NOW 1PL. INC camp-ALL-INV-FUT-NOW  
Well, are we heading home?

(5.102) *Wanthara-ru-ru jurlu? Mirntiwul paju-rrru-ru yilangu?*  
where-NOW-QUOT all all REAL-NOW-QUOT here  
Well is that all or not? Is everyone here now?

(5.103) *Thana wangka-wala nyingkulu-l ngunhaa. Nhurtu-u-lwa marrari-i let speak-PURPds first-THEN that.NOM what-ACC-ID word-ACC  
ngali kuliya-rninjyi. Wanthara-ru-wit?*  
1DU. INC hear-FUT where-NOW-VOc  
Let him speak first. Let's hear what [his] word is. Well?

5.102 ‘WHAT WAY/HOW’ *wanthami*

The main function of *wanthami* is as an indefinite counterpart to the predicate demonstrative *yimpala* (§5.7). That is, it refers to an indefinite predicate, usually of manner:

(5.104) *Ngayu kangku-yangu nhuura-ma-ru-yi yanti-i wanthami*  
1SG.NOM take-PASSP know-CAUS-PASSP dish-ACC what.way  
kanyja-rninjyi juwayu-la.  
hold-FUT hand-LOC  
I was taken and shown how to hold a winnowing dish in my hands. (trans.)

(5.105) *Wanthami-ru kartu nhurtti-ma-rninjyi tharrnta-a warrirti-wirraa?*  
what.way-NOW 2SG.NOM dead-CAUS-FUT euro-ACC spear-PRIV  
How are you going to kill a euro without a spear?
Interrogative verbs based on **wantharni** are very common. Examples include (6.26), (6.42) and (6.46). The second function of **wantharni** is as an allative counterpart to the locative **wanthala** as in (4.80), (7.114) and (10.69).

5.10.3 ‘WHEN’ **wantharta**

(5.107) **Wantharta-rru nhuwana-lu yungku-ngu-layi murla-a ngurnu?**
when-NOW 2PL-EFF give-PASS-FUT meat-ACC that.ACC
When am I going to be given that meat by you people?

(5.108) **Ngaliwa warnan-ngu-layi wiyaa wantharta wii. Ngawu. Nhiyu**
1PL.INC rain-PASS-FUT maybe when maybe yes this
**manta wanti-nguru wantharta-nguru-l. Wantharta paju parnta-rninyyji?**
cloud lie-PRES when-ABL-THEN when REAL rain-FUT
We might get rained in (trapped by floodwaters) sometime. Yes, this cloud cover has been here for some time now (lit. since somewhen then). But just when is it going to rain?

(5.109) **Kuliyana-prra nyina-nguru wantharta-a parrani-waa.**
think-CTEMP be-PRES when-ACC return-PURPs=0
[She's] wondering when [he] will come back.

5.10.4 ‘WHICH’ **wanthanha**

Like ‘which’ in English, **wanthanha** implies a set of clearly defined options – objects or actions – from which a particular object or path of action may be chosen, as in example (5.110) (and see also (4.57), (6.5), (7.87)). In addition, **wanthanha** is commonly used as an exclamation of indecision, or as a rhetorical question – ‘What to do next?’ – in procedural narratives. A characteristic example of this occurs in (5.111). The sense of the exclamation can be paraphrased as ‘There are a number of things we could do now, which shall we do?’.

(5.110) **Wanthala-nguru ngunhu karlwa-lha-rru, parla-ngka,**
where-ABL that.NOM go.up-PAST-NOW hill-LOC
**ngayu mir.ta nhuura wanthanha-la parla-ngka.**
1SG.NOM not knowing which-LOC hill-LOC
From somewhere he went up [into the sky], [from] on a hill. I don't know on which hill it was.

(5.111) **Wanthanha-rru-nu? Nganjumarta wiyaa-layi? Wanthanha-la-nguru**
which-NOW-QUOT 1DU.DISHARM talk-FUT which-LOC-ABL
What now then? Shall we talk? From which word [in the story shall we start]? From where [he’s] already eaten the emu?

5.10.5 ‘LIKE’ 

The "wantharra" form functions as a sembJative predicate. Almost without exception it occurs together with a nominal or verb referring to the object or action which some other object or action is seen to resemble. In much the same way that "wanthanha" assumes a defined set of entities from which one is chosen, "wantharra" assumes a defined entity with which some other entity is compared.

(5.112) Ngunhaa kampa-lalha murla-a, kuyilwa-l.yarra-rru, puwara that.NOM burn-PAST meat-ACC spoil-CTEMP-NOW charcoal

wantharra-rru wanti-waa kumangu-rru.

like-NOW lie-PURPs=O black-NOW

He burned the meat, spoiling it so that it was like charcoal, black now.

(5.113) Kulaya-lalha wiyaa ngula minthal, kunti jampa, nhartu-u try.out-PAST maybe IGNOR alone stop moment what-ACC


like-ACC see-FUT good-ACC still-COMP

[He] probably tried them out by himself, for a while, to see what they were like. They were good all right.

(5.114) Kartu wantharra-nu, mura. Mir.ta-rru kurnangu, piyuwa, 2SG.NOM like-QUOT son not-NOW black nothing

yarta-lpurtu. Ngunu-tharra walypala wantharra, jiwarra.

other-COMP that.NOM-DU European like white

Apparently [they] were like you, son. Not black, not at all, altogether different. The two of them were like Europeans, white.

In the following two examples "wantharra" follows a verb. However, it is clear (in (5.115) especially) that the whole situation, rather than just the event denoted by the verb, comprises the sembJative expression.

(5.115) Nhuwana mir.ta nhuura kalya nyina-layi, kuyil paju, 2PL not knowing still sit-FUT bad REAL

karimalkarimal paju, karta-nngu-rra wantharra.

jumpy REAL poke-PASS-CTEMP like

Yimpalaa, karta-nngu-rra wantharra milhu.

like.that poke-PASS-CTEMP like bum

You don’t know to sit still, [you’re] really bad, jumping all over the place, as if you’re being poked. That’s what it’s like, like [your] bum’s being poked.

(5.116) Ngayu nhawu-nguru nguru kanyara-a malyarra-mura-a wantharra-a. 1SG.NOM see-PRES that.ACC man-ACC sick-PrREL-ACC like-ACC

I saw that man looking sick.
Unlike the other forms based on the *wantha* root, the semblative *wantharra* form itself has little meaning independent of the construction of which it is part. The essential meaning is 'something resembles something else', and it is necessary for both 'somethings' to be identified in some way for a semblative construction to make sense. It is for this reason that the form does not appear as an interrogative without the indefinite nominal *nhartu* standing in for the semblative expression as in (5.113) (and see also (9.157) and (10.59)).
CHAPTER 6
VERB MORPHOLOGY

The discussion of verb morphology presented in this chapter is based on the assumption of a distinction between inflectional and derivational suffixes. The latter class includes those morphemes which have a lexeme-deriving function and produce new verb stems of a particular conjugation class. Where the stem is already verbal, the new stem may be of a different conjugation class. Those derivational suffixes which derive verbs from nominals or nominal expressions are also discussed in this chapter. Inflectional suffixes, on the other hand, comprise a conjugation-determined set of final suffixes which encode categories of tense, aspect, mood, voice and type of clause-linkage.

6.1 OVERVIEW

6.1.1 INFLECTIONAL CATEGORIES

A distinction can be made between inflections which occur only in subordinate clauses and those which occur in main clauses. The former set includes the present relative, contemporaneous relative and sequential relative clause inflections, the lest clause inflections and the purpose inflections (which are marked for switch-reference). A full description of the subordinate clause inflections is left until the discussion of complex sentences in Chapter 10. With the exception of the imperative and present tense, all other inflections can occur in subordinate clauses functioning as finite relative clauses.

There is a passive verb form corresponding to each active verb form, excepting the imperative (but see discussion of imperative clauses in §9.8). Passive verbs involve either the addition of the active inflectional suffixes to a derived passive verb stem, or a special portmanteau passive tense or mood inflection. Special passive inflections correspond to the active past, counterfactual and lest inflections. There is surprisingly little additional semantic difference associated with the voice oppositions. The passive perfective carries a greater implication of a successfully completed action than its active past tense counterpart but there are no restrictions on the appearance of an agent in passive clauses of this type. The passive counterfactual and lest inflections are rarely used and appear to be no different in meaning from the preferred derived passive verbs bearing the corresponding active inflections. The most likely explanation here is that the inflectional passive forms are gradually being replaced by forms based on derived passive stems.

The habitual nominalising suffix is historically related to the passive derivational suffix. Although essentially a nominalising suffix it may still, albeit very rarely, take complements and adjuncts, including an agent. Derived passive verbs bearing the active habitual inflection are preferred in more fully elaborated clauses.
Martuthunira has a three-way tense distinction defined by the past, present and future inflections. Aspect is not an important verbal category in Martuthunira although unmarked aspectual readings are implied by all verb inflections. With the exception of the imperfective present tense, subordinate relative, and habitual inflections, all other verbal categories are essentially perfective. Other syntactic devices, such as the use of copulas (§9.3) and temporal nominals and clitics, conspire to provide additional aspectual specification of events.

Finally, the imperative, counterfactual and unrealised inflections can be described as moods. The imperative mood presents the illocutionary force of a command. Both the counterfactual and unrealised inflections are irrealis moods. The unrealised verb describes a strongly predicted action or event which did not happen, is not happening or will not happen. The counterfactual similarly describes an action or event which was not realised but which might have been if things had been different. Although described and labelled as a tense, the future has an important modal component. It often functions as a mild imperative or hortative, or describes an action which is an expected and/or customary outcome of some situation.

6.1.2 DERIVATIONAL CATEGORIES

Derivational suffixes are divided into two distinct classes: those which attach to a verb stem and derive a new verb stem, and those which derive verbs from nominals and nominal expressions. The first class includes the passive derivational suffix and the collective suffix. The second class includes the inchoative and causative suffixes which derive mainly intransitive and transitive verbs respectively. In addition there are a number of minor derivational suffixes of restricted productivity.

The data suggest a dependence on productive verbal derivational processes rather than on a large store of verb lexemes, but it is difficult to know to what extent this is an artefact of the investigation. The great frequency, in text, of verbs derived by the simple inchoative and causative suffixes may in part be due to the last speaker's loss of verb lexemes. The productive verbalisation processes allow verbs to be built out of the nominals and nominal phrases already introduced in a text. For the last speaker of a language the use of such derived verbs is possibly an easier option than searching memory for an elusive lexeme.

6.1.3 TRANSITIVITY AND CONJUGATION CLASSES

In most Australian languages transitivity is an important grammatical category. Verbs are usually strictly transitive or intransitive and syntactic processes may be sensitive to the difference between transitive and intransitive clauses (see Dixon 1980:378). The relative importance of transitivity in many Australian languages may be directly related to patterns of morphological ergativity. In an ergative language, the transitivity of a predicate (and similarly a clause) is clearly recognisable from the case-marking of its arguments. However, in languages with an accusative pattern of case-marking, such as the Ngayarda languages and the Tangkic languages of the Gulf of Carpentaria (Evans 1985), transitivity contrasts are not so explicitly conveyed by case-marking options and the category of transitivity assumes much less importance in the overall grammar of the language. The difficulty in distinguishing transitive from intransitive predicates in Martuthunira is a result of the following factors:
1. Transitive and intransitive subjects are indistinguishable – both are unmarked nominative.

2. Arguments (including both subject and object) may be freely omitted when understood from context or when already established in previous text.

3. Many motion verbs have alternate case frames in which locational complements can appear as accusative marked objects.

4. Accusative arguments denoting beneficiaries may be freely added to many clause types.

The addition of accusative arguments to a clause was noted in §4.3 and is discussed further in §9.5.9. Although the presence of an accusative beneficiary argument in a clause attests to the transitivity of that clause, it cannot be considered diagnostic evidence of the categorial transitivity of the predicate in that clause.

Verbs with alternate case frames are more problematic. There is no doubt that these verbs must be subcategorised for the locational argument that may appear as an accusative object. However, the verbs most often occur in intransitive clauses. Here I will assume that the optional accusative locational complement not be considered for the purposes of ascribing a predicate to a transitivity class. Thus the class of intransitive verbs includes statives like nyina-Ø ‘sit’ and motion verbs such as puni-Ø ‘go’ and kanarri-Ø ‘come’, some of which may take an accusative argument denoting a locational role. The class of transitive verbs includes the simple transitive verbs of affect, such as thani-L ‘hit’, which are always understood as having an object, perception verbs such as nhawu-Ø ‘see’, and induced motion verbs such as warntitha-R ‘drop, throw’, which may take a second accusative argument denoting a locational role. There is also a small number of ditransitive verbs including yungku-Ø ‘give’ and nhuura-ma-L ‘teach, show’. There remains a small set of verbs, such as ngaya-Ø ‘cry (for)’, which may take an accusative argument but which, if no such argument appears, are not understood as implying this argument. These can be described as ‘ambitransitive’ verbs (cf. Dench 1991:167).

Verbs are strictly categorised into one of three conjugation classes labelled Ø, L and R for the conjugation markers which appear in some verb inflections. Membership of a conjugation determines the choice of inflectional and derivational suffix form. In common with the other Ngayarda languages, Martuthunira has reduced an earlier conjugation system by the incorporation of monosyllabic verbs into the open conjugation classes. However, this incorporation is not complete.

Four monomorphemic verbs of the Ø-conjugation, yungku-Ø ‘give’, kangku-Ø ‘take, carry’, manku-Ø ‘grab, pick up’, and nhawu-Ø ‘see’, select special forms of the ‘unrealised’ verb inflection and the ‘collective’ derivational suffix. The same pattern applies for verbs involving the -:ngku-Ø derivational suffix (§6.3.9), strongly suggesting that the verbaliser was originally a separate verb. The four mono-morphemic verbs all descend from the future forms of monosyllabic verbs of an original NG/M-conjugation (see Dixon 1980:403-405) and this group is thus described as the NG-subconjugation of the Ø-conjugation.

In all of the Ngayarda languages the R-conjugation has a very limited number of members and there are suggestions that it is, by degrees, being incorporated into the open L-conjugation. In Panyima this incorporation is complete. In Martuthunira, the remaining R-conjugation verbs often take L-conjugation inflectional forms even though special R-conjugation forms exist. The surviving R-conjugation verbs are:
wantha-R  place, put, leave
patha-R  blow (of wind), hit (with thrown implement), spin (hair)
warntitha-R  throw
kanyja-R  keep, hold

There is a correlation between conjugation membership and transitivity with the Ø-conjugation including mainly intransitive verbs and the L-conjugation including mainly transitive verbs. Table 6.1 gives the numbers of transitive and intransitive verbs for the two major conjugations, based on a sample of 134 monomorphemic verb roots. All four R-conjugation verbs are transitive.

**TABLE 6.1: CONJUGATION MEMBERSHIP BY TRANSITIVITY CLASS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L-conjugation</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø-conjugation</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>58</strong></td>
<td><strong>76</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few verb roots appear in both conjugations but with a corresponding difference in meaning:

- **kampa-L**  cook, burn
- **thumta-L**  rub, paint
- **puntha-L**  wash, bathe
- **yinka-L**  chisel
- **tharrwi-L**  put into

- **kampa-Ø**  be burning, cooking
- **thumta-Ø**  rub self, paint self
- **puntha-Ø**  wash, bathe self
- **yinka-Ø**  thrust body (during intercourse)
- **tharrwi-Ø**  put on (clothes)

The L-conjugation forms are transitive, the corresponding intransitive Ø-conjugation forms are inherently reflexive. This alternation does not occur with any derived verb stems.

### 6.1.4 INFLECTIONAL SUFFIX FORMS

Table 6.2 lists the forms of the main clause and subordinate clause verb inflections for the three conjugations.

**TABLE 6.2: VERB INFLECTIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ø</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>MAIN CLAUSE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>-nguru</td>
<td>-rnuru</td>
<td>-rnuru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>-lha</td>
<td>-lalha</td>
<td>-ralha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive perfective</td>
<td>-yangu</td>
<td>-rnu</td>
<td>-rnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>-layi</td>
<td>-rminyji</td>
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<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
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<td>-l.yu</td>
<td>-ryu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Habitual</td>
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<td>-lwayara</td>
<td>-rwayara</td>
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<tr>
<td>Habitual nominalisation</td>
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<td>-nnguntharri</td>
<td>-rrnguntharri</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unrealised</td>
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<td>-laangu/-raangu</td>
<td>-raangu</td>
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<td>Counterfactual</td>
<td>-marni</td>
<td>-nmarni</td>
<td>-nmarni</td>
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<tr>
<td>Passive counterfactual</td>
<td>-ngulaanu</td>
<td>-nngulaanu</td>
<td>-rrngulaanu</td>
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</table>
SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Present relative</th>
<th>Contemporaneous relative</th>
<th>Sequential relative</th>
<th>Lest</th>
<th>Passive lest</th>
<th>Purpose same-subject</th>
<th>Purpose subject=object</th>
<th>Purpose different-subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present relative</td>
<td>-nyila</td>
<td>-mura</td>
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<td>Sequential relative</td>
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<td>-l.yarrawaara</td>
<td>-rryarrawaara</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lest</td>
<td>-wirri</td>
<td>-lwirri</td>
<td>-rrwirri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive lest</td>
<td></td>
<td>-miyangu</td>
<td>-miyangu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose same-subject</td>
<td>-lu</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose subject=object</td>
<td>-waa</td>
<td>-lwaa</td>
<td>-rrwaa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose different-subject</td>
<td>-wala</td>
<td>-lwala</td>
<td>-rrwala</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two classes of inflectional forms can be described on the basis of this table. First, a number of inflections involve an invariant suffix form following a conjugation marker (CM); -Ø-, -l- or -rr-. These are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td>-CM-wayara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lest</td>
<td>-CM-wirri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose subject=object</td>
<td>-CM-waa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose different-subject</td>
<td>-CM-wala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>-CM-a-lha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The L and R-conjugation forms of the past tense inflection involve a vowel a following the conjugation marker and preceding the invariant suffix -lha. The ‘unrealised’ inflection also involves the L and R-conjugation markers, with the Ø-conjugation form suggesting a conjugation marker -y-. The-raangu allomorph is selected by verbs of the NG-subconjugation. The counterfactual, passive counterfactual and habitual nominalisation inflections are also included in this first class. For these suffixes the invariant form follows an assimilated -n- conjugation marker in the L-conjugation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Counterfactual</td>
<td>-n-marni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive counterfactual</td>
<td>-n-ngulaanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual nominalisation</td>
<td>-n-nguntharri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The imperative and the contemporaneous relative inflections can be added to this class. The two suffixes can be reconstructed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>*-CM-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contemporaneous relative</td>
<td>*-CM-karra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both suffixes have clear cognates in other languages of the area. The *-CM-ku suffix appears as the present tense inflection in the other Ngayarda languages and is ultimately related to a common future/purposive suffix. In the Ø-conjugation phonological changes have erased the suffix completely, leaving the bare stem as the imperative form of the verb. The same loss has occurred in Yindjibarndi in which the present tense suffix is -Ø for Ø-conjugation verbs and -ku for L, R and N-conjugations.

The *-CM-karra suffix functions as the marker of same-subject relative clauses in the Kanyara languages. Thalanyji (Austin 1981d) has L and R-conjugation forms -lkarra and -rrkarra respectively, and Y-conjugation forms -yarra on stems with a final a vowel and -rra on stems with final i or u. The Martuthunira Ø-conjugation form of the contemporaneous relative is similarly -rra on stems with final i or u. The a vowel of a-final stems is replaced...
with i when the suffix -rra is attached (§2.5.4). In some environments the -rra suffix collapses with a final rri syllable of a Ø-conjugation verb. For example, the verb pamararri-Ø ‘call out to’ appears as pamararra in contemporaneous relative clauses.

\[
pamararri-rra \rightarrow \text{pamararra}
\]
call out-CTEMP

The same reduction occurs in verbs involving the collective derivational suffix (§6.1.5). The sequential relative inflection is apparently built on the contemporaneous inflection by the addition of a suffix -waara. This suffix occurs nowhere else in Martuthunira and to date I have found no historical source. Austin (1981d:219) describes a Thalanyji “preparatory” clause inflection -CM-kurrara which appears to be cognate with the Martuthunira sequential inflection but which is not so obviously related to the Thalanyji relative same-subject inflection.

The second class of inflections includes those for which the L and R-conjugations share the one form while the Ø-conjugation has a different form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ø</th>
<th>L/R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>-nguru</td>
<td>-muru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive perfective</td>
<td>-yangu</td>
<td>-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>-layi</td>
<td>-minyji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive less</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-miyangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present relative</td>
<td>-nyila</td>
<td>-mura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose same-subject</td>
<td>-lu</td>
<td>-ru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the exception of the purposive same-subject inflection, the L and R-conjugation forms are based on the suffix *-mu (with an assimilation of the vowel to /i/ preceding a palatal). The Ø-conjugation forms are not similarly related and there are few clear cognates for any of these suffixes in neighbouring languages.

The informant showed a certain degree of variation in the choice of verbal inflections of the first class for R-conjugation verbs. In many instances the L-conjugation form occurs rather than the R-conjugation form. This tendency to regularise the R-conjugation no doubt reflects the process through which the R-conjugation was lost in Panyjima. For the counterfactual inflection in Martuthunira a separate R-conjugation form appears to have already been lost.

6.1.5 DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX FORMS

The passive and collective have different forms conditioned by the conjugation membership of the stem to which they are attached. With the exception of the ‘body-noise’ (§6.3.6, §2.5.2) and -ngku-Ø (§6.3.9, §2.5.3) verbalisers, which have phonologically conditioned allomorphs, all other derivational suffixes have invariant forms.

The passive has a basic form -nguli-Ø which follows the conjugation markers -Ø-, -n- or -rr-. The suffix is shortened to -CM-ngu- when followed by the future, contemporaneous (or sequential) relative or purposive same-subject inflections (§2.5.5).
The passive can also be recognised as historically involved in the passive counterfactual and habitual nominalisation inflections, and the lest inflection has taken the first step towards incorporation with the passive derivational suffix. Following the passive, the suffix has the form \(-yirri\) rather than the general \(\emptyset\)-conjugation form \(-wirri\) and the combination is further reduced in fast speech to \(-nguliirri\).

The collective suffix has three separate forms conditioned by the conjugation membership and the length of the verb stem (§2.5.1). The distribution of the forms is set out in Table 6.3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimorphic Stem</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\emptyset)</td>
<td>(-marri)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-L)</td>
<td>(-marri)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The \(-marri\) form of the collective suffix also appears on nominal stems deriving a collective verb. In all examples found so far the collective verb corresponds to a transitive verb derived by the addition of the causative suffix \(-ma-L\) to the nominal stem. For example:

\[\text{karJarra-marri-} \emptyset\] meaning "heat each other up"
\[\text{karJarra-ma-L}\] meaning "make hot"

The simplest description of this distribution is to posit a \(-rri-\emptyset\) form of the collective suffix following the \(-ma-L\) causative suffix. Thus the verb 'heat each other up' can be glossed:

\[\text{karJarra-marri-} \emptyset\] meaning "hot-CAUS-COLL"

Like the passive, collective suffix forms are reduced when followed by the contemporaneous relative inflection \(-rra\). The \(-rri\) syllable of the collective suffix is lost:

\[-marri-rra \rightarrow -marra\]
\[-yarri-rra \rightarrow -yarra\]
\[-lwarri-rra \rightarrow -lwarra\]

The results of this reduction are most striking on verbs based on nominal stems. The \(-rri-\emptyset\) form of the collective following the causative is lost altogether:

\[\text{muthumuthu-ma-rri-rra} \rightarrow \text{muthumuthu-marra}\]
\[\text{cool-CAUS-COLL-CTEMP} \rightarrow \text{cool-CAUS+COLL+CTEMP}\]

The verb \(\text{wangka-}\emptyset\) ‘say, tell’ has an idiosyncratic stem \(\text{wangkarnu-}\emptyset\) selected only by the collective suffix. The normal \(\emptyset\)-conjugation collective suffix form \(-marri\) follows an apparent \(-rnu\) addition to the verb root. Similar idiosyncratic stem forms of this verb occur in collective (or reciprocal) forms in other languages of the area. For example:
6.2 INFLECTIONS

6.2.1 PRESENT TENSE

The present is used in simple declarative or interrogative utterances to indicate that the event or state of affairs described by the predicate is taking place at the time of speaking.

(6.1) *Jarruru-ma-I.yu warra! Nganaju malyarra-ma-rnuru paju.*
slow-CAUS-IMP CONT 1SG.ACC pain-CAUS-PRES REAL
Do it a bit slower! [You're] hurting me.

(6.2) *Kartu nhawu-nguru?*
2SG.NOM see-PRES
Do you see [them]?

The present tense may also be used for events which are not taking place at the exact time of speaking. The present may be used to indicate a speaker’s immediate intentions (example (6.3)), as a direction to an addressee to perform some action in the immediate future (6.4), or to imply the continuation of an action just completed (6.5).

(6.3) *Ngayu puni-nguru-rru.*
1SG.NOM go-PRES-NOW
I'm going now.

(6.4) *Kartu puni-nguru ngurnu-mulyarra kalyarran-mulyarra manku-lu wurrulywa-a.*
2SG.NOM go-PRES that.OBL-ALL tree-ALL get-PURPss leaves-ACC
You go to that tree and get some leaves.

(6.5) *Wantanha-wuyu-u kartu wangka-nguru jarru-ngku kalya-rnu-nguru-u?*
which-SIDE-ACC.2SG NOM say-PRES march.fly-EFF bite-PASSP-ABL-ACC
Which one of them are you saying has been bitten by a march fly?

The present is also used to express generally accepted truths, as in examples (6.6) and (6.7), or assertions of belief, as in (6.8) and (6.9).

(6.6) *Ngunhaa yakarrangu karlwa-nguru jinkayu.*
that.NOM sun rise-PRES east
The sun rises in the east. (trans.)

(6.7) *Warryumuntu wangka-nguli-nguru tharnta parla-nyungu kupuyu-marta thara-ngka-marta.*
mother.euro call-PASS-PRES euro hill-DWELL little-PROP pouch-LOC-PROP
Warryumuntu, that's what that hill euro with a little one in its pouch is called.
6.8  *Ngunhu kanyara kuliyanpa-nguru nhuura paju-rru.*

That man thinks that he really knows how to do it.

6.9  *Mir.ta wiyaa thalka-nguli-nguru, thanuwa-a maruwarla-a paju yungku-nguli-nguru.*

give-PASS-PRES

Maybe [he] isn’t fed, isn’t given very much food.

In narrative text the present tense inflections most often occur on the copulas *nyina-Ø* ‘sit, be’, *karri-Ø* ‘stand’, *wanti-Ø* ‘lie’ and *puni-Ø* ‘go, be’, where these serve to establish or re-establish a narrative present (§9.3). Otherwise, present tense verbs are tied to the present of utterance. These may convey the speaker’s comments on the current status of situations or participants discussed in the narrative, or may present general truths.

6.2.2 PAST TENSE AND PASSIVE PERFECTIVE

The past tense and passive perfective inflections complement one another. Both denote events taking place at a time prior to the present of utterance but differ in voice. In addition, both inflections are usually interpreted as coding perfective aspect, although this is most marked with the passive. The following examples illustrate the suffixes in main clauses.


Yes, that uncle of mine, he was dissatisfied with that boomerang chiselled by me. He said that the boomerang was rubbish, had bad form.


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

6.12  *Nhula muyi ngulu thani-rru kalyaran-ta nyina-nyila-lu.*

That dog near you was hit by that fellow sitting on the log. (trans.)

6.13  *Nganalu kartu yungku-yangu muyi-i?*  

By whom were you given the dog? (trans.)

In many syntactic environments, verbs marked with the past tense and passive perfective suffixes look very like nominalisations. First, the verbs are common in reduced subordinate
clauses. These consist of just the verb word and either immediately follow the head of the noun phrase, as in examples (6.14) and (4.157), or stand in as the head of the noun phrase and bear the nominal suffixes appropriate to that noun phrase in higher constituents (as in (6.15) and (4.36)):

(6.14) \textit{Nganarna kuliyanpa-nguru kartungu-mulyara yirla warrirti-ngara-a}  
1PL.EXC think-PRES 2SG.OBL-ALL only spear-PL-ACC  
wurnta-ngara-a.  
break-PASS-PL-ACC  
It's only to you that we think about bringing spears that have been broken.

(6.15) \textit{Yarta-wuyu juwayu thuulwa-rninyji waruul. Yarta-wuyu juwayu,}  
other-SIDE hand pull-FUT still other-SIDE hand  
thaathu-lalha-wuyu juwayu, ngunhaa puni-layi thungku-ngka waruul.  
let.go-PAST-SIDE hand that.NOM go-FUT back-LOC still  
One hand keeps on pulling. The other hand, the one that has let go, that one keeps moving down its back.

Second, past tense verb forms may function as stems for further verbal derivation. In the following examples the causative suffix \textit{-ma-L} (§6.3.4) is added to an intransitive verb inflected with past tense to form an effective transitive verb, as in examples (6.16) and (6.17). In these examples the past tense inflected verb describes a resulting state into which the object of the causative verb will be placed by the actions of the subject of that verb. Similar constructions involving an inflected transitive verb were not accepted by the informant.

(6.16) \textit{Kartu-lwa nganaju kuyil-nguli-lha-ma-lalha}  
2SG.NOM-ID 1SG.ACC bad-PSYCH-PAST-CAUS-PAST  
yimpala-rrri-waa drunka-npa-waa.  
like.that-INV-PURPs=o drunk-INCH-PURPs=o  
You're the one who made me feel bad, to become like that, to get drunk. (trans.)

(6.17) \textit{Nganarna manku-lha-nguru-rru thawun-ta-a wuruma-l.yarra}  
1PL.EXC get-PAST-ABL-NOW town-LOC-ACC do.for-CTEMP  
2SG.ACC return-PAST-CAUS-FUT-NOW 2SG.OBL-ALL  
We got the things that are in town, doing it for you. Then brought \[them\] back to you.

Finally, there are a few examples of idiomatic phrases involving verbs inflected with either the past tense or passive perfective suffixes which approach lexical status. These idioms all refer to particular kin relationships.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{kampa-lalha} \hspace{1cm} my mother's brother
  \item burn-PAST
  \item \textit{ngathu kampa-rrnu} \hspace{1cm} my sister's child
  \item 1SG.EFF burn-PASSP
\end{itemize}
Despite these patterns, the past tense and passive perfective suffixes are not described here as lexical nominalisations. First, there is no strict dividing line between a fully finite clause including a past tense or passive perfective verb and one with a reduced set of arguments embedded within some other constituent. Second, there are no special case assignment rules and no semantic idiosyncracies associated with such reduced clauses.

The Martuthunira past tense essentially corresponds to both past tense and active perfective inflections in the other Ngayarda languages. Yindjibarndi, Panyjima and Ngarluma share a past tense suffix -nha - -rna which indicates past action and which does not occur in subordinate clauses. In addition, each has a special ‘perfective’ suffix which, unlike the past tense, implies a completed action and is common in subordinate structures. The Martuthunira past tense suffix is cognate with the Panyjima perfect (see Dench 1991:172).

6.2.3 HABITUAL INFLECTIONS

The habitual inflection marks an action which is understood as occurring on a great number of occasions, so allowing the subject of the verb to be characterisable in terms of that action. The habitual covers the functions of ‘usitative’ verb inflections found in languages to the south of Martuthunira and has an unmarked usitative reading usually translated with the English ‘used to VERB’ construction.

(6.18)   Nganarna wantha-rrwayara murla-a thana manku-wala minthal muyi.  
1PL.EXC leave-HABIT meat-ACC let grab-PURPds alone dog  
We used to leave meat so the dogs could get it themselves. (trans.)

(6.19)   Ngunhu-ngara yinka-lwayara Kawuyu-nyungu-ngara-a yinka-lwayara  
that.NOM-PL chisel-HABIT Kawuyu-DWELL-PL-ACC chisel-HABIT  
thawu-minyji Wirrawanti-mulyarra.  
send-FUT Wirrawanti-ALL  
They used to carve the ones [boomerangs] from Kawuyu, carve them and send them to Wirrawanti.

There is no necessary implication that the actions have taken place in the past. Very often, the action is seen as one which the subject of the verb still, and in the future, will continue to perform regularly.

(6.20)   Ngunhu kanyara thani-lwayara muyi-i thurlajinkarri-i  
that.NOM man hit-HABIT dog-ACC poor.fellow-ACC  
murla-marnu-u, mir.ta nhawungarra-ma-lwayara panyu.  
meat-ASSOC-ACC not look. after-CAUS-HABIT good  
That man is always hitting that poor kangaroo dog, [he] doesn’t look after it well.

(6.21)   Ngayu puni-lha ngurnu muyi-i kangku-rra thurla  
1SG.NOM go-PAST that.ACC dog-ACC take-CTEMP eye
I went, taking that dog that's always getting left behind (lit. getting hit in the eye).

(6.22) *Nhiyu warrunparrun mir.ta kalya-Iwayara, murla-a yirla*
this blowfly not bite-HABIT meat-ACC only

*kunanyja-Iwayara yirliri-npa-waa.*
excrete-HABIT maggot-INCH -PURPs=o
This blowfly doesn't bite, it just excretes on meat so that it gets maggoty.

The habitual allows definition of objects or persons by their characteristic activities. This is clearly demonstrated in example (6.23) in which the habitual is used in order to describe an object for which no clear Martuthunira word exists (see also (4.87)).

(6.23) *Ngunhaa kanyja-mu nhawani-ma-Iwayara, thurlwa-ngunli-wayara,*
that.NOM keep-PASSP thing-CAUS-HABIT pull-PASS-HABIT

*parrapari-marmu. Ngunhu wanti-nguru powder-marta waruul,*
rifle-ASSOC that.NOM lie-PRES powder-PROP still

*wanti-lha kuwarri thurlwa-mu. Wanthala parrapari?*
lie-PAST now pull-PASSP where rifle
That one was being kept, [the thing that] makes it what's-its-name, the one that gets pulled through, for a rifle. That cloth still has powder on it as if it had just been pulled through. But where's the rifle?

As an extension of this pattern some habitual verb forms have assumed full lexical status as nominals. The specific meaning of the item is often not completely predictable from the meaning of the verb stem.

*kartatha-Iwayara*  
tomahawk

*purra-Iwayara*  
hit-HABIT

*yurra-Iwayara*  
yam digging stick

The habitual nominalisation inflection allows a characterisation of an entity by its typical 'undergoing' of the action denoted by the verb stem. Some examples are:

*wayangku-nguntharri*  
cowering, fearful

*mungka-nguntharri*  
'eatables' (generic for meat and vegetable food)

*warryyi-nguntharri*  
kangaroo tail

*kampa-nguntharri*  
kitchen, cookhouse
As the last two examples show, the referent of the nominalisation does not necessarily correspond to an object of the corresponding active verb. Nor does it necessarily correspond to a possible subject of the passive verb. Nyina-Ø ‘sit’ does not take an accusative object and does not take either the passive derivational suffix or passive inflections. Similarly, the referent of kampannguntharri ‘kitchen’ is a location which may not appear as either an accusative object or the passive subject of kampa-L ‘cook’. The nominalised verb may, very rarely, appear in a standard passive clause frame with a nominative subject and an effector argument denoting the agent:

(6.24) Wanthanha-a kartu wangka-nguru?
which-ACC 2SG.NOM talk-PRES
Which one are you talking about?

Ngunhu-lwa ngaliwa-lu muyiwiya-nnguntharri.
that.NOM-ID 1PL.INC-EFF insult-HABITNOM
That one that's always being insulted by us.

6.2.4 FUTURE TENSE

The future is named for its function in the simplest conversational utterances where it contrasts with the present and past tense inflections in indicating that an event is expected to take place at some point in the future:

1PL.INC look.for-FUT that.ACC man-ACC
We'll look for that man.

(6.26) Nhiyu ngurra ngapala paju warnu. Wantharni-npa-layi-rru puni-rra,
this ground mud REAL EMPH how-INCH-FUT-NOW go-CTEMP
wii tharrwa-layi ngapala-la-rru?
if go.into-FUT mud-LOC-NOW
This ground is very muddy. How are we going to get along if we get stuck in the mud?

However, the future more often functions as a relative tense marker indicating a subsequent event which, given the circumstances, is a generally expected outcome, or is customarily appropriate. Thus, in example (6.27) the future verb indicates that a spear is made after the wood is cut, but does not provide the absolute tense.

(6.27) Nganalu nhiyaa marli wurnta-rru warrirti-ma-ngu-rru?
who.EFF this.NOM cadjeput cut-PASSP spear-CAUS-PASS-FUT
By whom was this cut cadjeput wood then made into a spear?

Programmatic narratives often consist of a series of future marked verbs, each of which describes the next stage in an established sequence of events. The following portion of text explaining how to cook a kangaroo is typical (example (6.28)). Future forms are underlined.
Future verbs with a second person subject are usually interpreted as mild imperatives. Examples include (4.148) and (4.149), (5.4) and (5.25). The negative imperative functions of the future are illustrated here in examples (6.29) and (6.30). With a first person subject, the future often functions as a hortative, as in (4.41), (5.55) and (5.103).

6.2.5 IMPERATIVE

Imperative verbs occur only in positive clauses. The functions of a negative imperative are assumed by negative future clauses. The following examples illustrate both positive imperative clauses, in which the verb bears the imperative inflection, and negative imperatives, involving the future inflection (and see (4.108)).

quiet-INCH-IMP 2SG.NOM not upset-FUT 1PL.EXC-ACC
Be quiet! Don’t you upset us. (trans.)

(6.30) Manku-Ø-ru yirrala-a! Mir.ta nyina-layi nhawu-raa yirla
grab-IMP-NOW this.DEF-ACC not sit-FUT watch-CTEMP only
thurlamanta! Karlwa-Ø manku-ru nhula-a!
staring get.up-IMP grab-PURPs=near.you-ACC
Grab this fellow! Don’t just sit staring! Get up and grab him!
Imperative clauses mostly conform to the normal patterns of case marking for transitive and intransitive clauses. However, there are two special patterns of case marking found only in positive imperative clauses. These are described in §9.8.

6.2.6 COUNTERFACTUALS

Mart thunira has both active and passive counterfactual inflections. These indicate events which did not happen, or which are not happening now, but which would have been expected to have taken place or be happening if other events had turned out differently. Examples (6.31) and (6.32) illustrate the active inflection, (6.33) and (6.34) involve the passive inflection.

(6.31) Thampa-rru wiyaa manku-lha parla-a parriingku-marni
almost-NOW maybe grab-PAST stone-ACC hit-CONTR
warmallyi-marta, nganaju-u kartara-rru paringku-marni
stone-PROP 1SG.GEN-ACC jaw-ACC-NOW hit-CONTR
piyuwa-ma-lalha-a ngurmula-ngu-u murla-a.
finish-CAUS-PAST-ACC that.DEF-GEN-ACC meat-ACC
[She] almost grabbed a stone and would have hit me with a stone, would have hit me in the jaw, me who finished up her meat.

(6.32) Ngawu, thurlajinkarri mayiili, malyarru-wa ngunhaa mir.ta
yes poor.fellow FaFa+1POSS good-YK that.NOM not
nhawu-lha ngali-i.
see-PAST 1DU.INC-ACC
Yes, our poor old grandfather, good thing he didn't see us.

Ngawu, kuyil, ngunhaa mawuntu-rru manku-marni.
yes bad that.NOM harpoon-ACC-NOW grab-CONTR
Yes, he's bad, he would have grabbed a harpoon.

Ngawu, purrkuru waruul, ngunhaa karta-mmarni ngali-i.
yes true still that.NOM stab-CONTR that.NOM stab-CONTR 1DU.INC-ACC
Yes, true enough, he would have stabbed us.

(6.33) Palalyi, cartu thala karta-ngulaanu, nhumira-rru
before 2SG.NOM chest stab-PASSCONTR penis-NOW
thaatharra-rrri-marni.
open.mouthed-INV-CONTR
In the old days you would have been stabbed in the chest and you would have wet yourself (lit. your penis would have opened up like a mouth).

(6.34) Nhiingara jalya-ngara yungku-ngulaanu kapalya-ngara-a
this.PL scrap-PL give-PASSCONTR pet-PL-ACC
ngaliwa-wu-u mungka-lwaa-lpurru.
1PL.INC-GEN-ACC eat-PURPs=o-COMP
These scraps should have been given to those pets of ours to eat [but for some reason they weren't].
As example (6.34) shows, the attendant circumstances need not be specified but may be implied by the use of the inflection and other grammatical markers, in this instance the 'complementary' clitic -limuru (§7.2.9).

Counterfactuals are also used to refer to future events. Here the speaker predicts that the event described will not happen unless current circumstances change in some way:

2PL youth-PL know-INCH-CONTR song-ACC sing-FUT

Nganarna wuraal-wa-rru nyina-marni mir.ta-rru piya-l.yarra
1PL.EXC all.right-0-NOW be-CONTR not-NOW sing-CTEMP
jalurra-ngara-a purnumpuru-rru.
song-PL-ACC quiet-NOW
You boys should learn to sing the songs. All right, we should be staying quiet and not singing the songs now.

(6.36) Nhiyu warriri wurinta-rru
this spear break-PASSP

Nhuwana-lu yungku-nguli-marni
2PL-EFF give-PASS-CONTR

nganaju-u mimi-i.
1SG.GEN-ACC uncle-ACC
This spear broken by you should be given to my uncle [to be fixed]. (trans.)

6.2.7 UNREALISED

The unrealised inflection generally indicates that the event denoted by the verb did not happen, is not happening, or will not happen even though there is every expectation that the event ought to happen. Usually the speaker is baffled as to the possible cause of the non-occurrence of the event and in this respect the unrealised inflection is quite different from the counterfactual. The following examples were constructed to elicit an English translation, and are presented here with the informant's extended glosses. These make reasonably clear the kinds of implication the suffix encodes. Notice that the paraphrase given for (6.39) involves the counterfactual form of the verb.

this.NOM meat be.cooking-UNREAL
“This meat should've bin cooked but he's not. He's a meat there not cooking. He's either hard to cook or no fire there.” (constr.)

(6.38) Kartu jinangku-raangu ngurnaa?
2SG.NOM track-UNREAL that.ACC
“What's wrong. Why didn't you track 'im?” (constr.)

that.NOM come. around.corner-UNREAL
“Instead he went other way. He didn't come. Fella that supposed to come 'round, kartarawurri-marni, he gone somewhere else.” (constr.)

The following examples from unelicited text provide more natural illustration. In (6.40) the speaker has unwittingly seated himself on a bed-roll belonging to people with whom he is required to maintain a relationship of strict avoidance. This avoidance extends to personal
belongings. In (6.41) the speaker is momentarily unable to identify a particular species of bird.

(6.40) \( Ngawu, ngayu \) \( puni-lha \) \( nyina-lu \) \( ngurriny-tha, kurnta-yaangu. \)
\( \text{yes 1SG.NOM go-PAST sit-PURP ss swag-LOC shame-UNREAL} \)
Yes, I went to sit on that swag, [I] ought to have felt 'shame'.

(6.41) \( Ngayu ngalarri-lha-rru \) \( warnu. \) \( Kuliyanpa-yaangu kalika-a-lwa \)
\( \text{1SG.NOM forget-PAST-NOW ASSERT think-UNREAL one-ACC-ID} \)
\( kalyarran-ta nyina-wayara-a. \)
\( \text{branch-LOC sit-HABIT-ACC} \)
I truly forgot. [I] ought to have thought of that one that always sits on a branch, [but I didn't].

(6.42) \( Wantharni-\text{npa-lha-Ipurru kuyil-yrri-lha.} \)
\( \text{Panyu nyina-yaangu how-INCH-PAST-COMP become.bad-PAST good be-UNREAL} \)
\( \text{kur.ta-ngara-lu wankama-mu. Nhuura-rru nyina-marni.} \)
clever-PL-EFF raise-PASSP knowing-NOW sit-CONTR
How did it happen that [she] became bad. [She] ought to be good, having been brought up by the clever old people. [She] should know.

6.3 DERIVATIONS

6.3.1 PASSIVE

The passive derivational suffix \(-\text{CM-nguli-Ø}\) is attached to verb stems to produce new stems of the \( \emptyset \)-conjugation. The syntax of passive clauses is discussed in §9.6 and §10.5 and is not be discussed at length here. Basically, the passive serves to reorganise the arguments of a predicate so that an accusative object of the active verb appears as the nominative subject of the passive verb, and the subject of the active verb (optionally) appears as a noun phrase marked with the effector suffix. Thus, compare the passive sentence in (6.43b) with its active counterpart in (6.43a):

(6.43) a. \( Ngunhu kanyara nguru muy-i yanga-lwayara. \)
\( \text{that.NOM man that.ACC dog-ACC chase-HABIT} \)
That man is always chasing that dog. (constr.)

b. \( Ngunhu muyi yanga-nguli-wayara nulu kanyara-lu. \)
\( \text{that.NOM dog chase-PASS-HABIT that.EFF man-EFF} \)
That dog is always being chased by that man. (constr.)

The suffix is shared by all the Ngayarda languages and is probably related, at least historically, to an inchoative suffix \(-\text{nguli-Ø}\) to nominal stems (§6.3.7) which also occurs in the Mantharta and Kanyara languages.

6.3.2 COLLECTIVE

Verb stems derived by the addition of the collective suffix allow three different interpretations. First, the suffix may indicate that the activity described by the verb stem is performed together by the participants denoted by the non-singular subject noun phrase. The
following examples illustrate the collective suffix on intransitive verb stems. The different forms of the suffix are presented in Table 6.3 above.

(6.44) Kulhampa-ngara puni-marri-layi tharrwa-lu thawura-la-rru. fish-PL go-COLL-FUT enter-PURPss net-LOC-NOW
The fish will all swim together into the net.

(6.45) Ngaliwa nyina-marri-layi wangkarnu-marra. 1PL.INC sit-COLL-FUT talk-COLL+CTEMP
We'll sit around and have a talk.

Second, where the verb is transitive the suffix often indicates reciprocal action. That is, the participants denoted by the non-singular subject are assumed to be performing the action on one another.

What happened? They're just looking at each other without a word, making each other angry. What will they do next? Maybe they'll start shouting at each other.

However, in many cases the suffix indicates that the action is performed collectively by the subject participants. An explicit transitive object need not be present.

(6.47) Nganama murla-a wantha-lwayara pawulu-ngara-a mungka-yarri-waa. 1PL.EXC meat-ACC leave-HABIT child-PL-ACC eat-COLL-PURPss=0 We used to leave the children meat so they could eat together. (trans.)

(6.48) Wiruwanti yirla karlwa-marri-layi, ngartil waruul mungka-yarri-layi morning only get.up-COLL-FUT again still eat-COLL-FUT ngurnu tharnta-a. that.ACC euro-ACC
In the morning we'll get up together, and we'll still have another feed of that euro.

Third, the collective suffix may be used to emphasise the existence of a particular kin relationship between participants in the clause. Specifically, the suffix indicates that the participants are in the same alternating generation set (§1.3.2).

(6.50) *Kartu nhawu-yarri-wayara nyinu-malyura-marnu-ngu?*  
2SG.NOM see-COLL-HABIT Bro.in.law-2POSS-GROUP-ACC  
Have you ever seen that brother-in-law of yours?  

*Mir.ta, ngayu mir.ta nhawu-yarri-wayara.*  
not 1SG.NOM not see-COLL-HABIT  
No, I've never seen him.  

*Ngayu, ngayu kangku-layi kartungu nhawu-yarri-waa nyinu-malyura-ngu.*  
1SG.NOM take-FUT 2SG.ACC see-COLL-PURPs=o  
Bro.in.law-2POSS-ACC  
Okay, I'll take you to see your brother-in-law.

Interaction between members of the same generation set is characterised by a tendency towards collective activity while, by contrast, relations between people in the different generation sets typically involve varying degrees of respectful avoidance. The use of the collective suffix to mark the former relationship is a reflection of these institutionalised patterns of social interaction. For more detailed discussion and an explanation of the relationship between collective activity and particular kin relationships in the Ngayarda language area see Dench (1987a).

To sum up, collective verbs may have three different interpretations: action performed by a group acting together (collective), action involving members of a group each acting on the other (reciprocal), or action involving persons in the same generation set (kin group). The reading of a particular instance of the suffix partly depends on the verb to which it is attached and on the syntactic context in which that verb occurs. The range of contexts and the associated interpretations of the suffix are set out in Table 6.4:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Interpretation possible</th>
<th>Kin group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td>non-singular</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Reciprocal: no yes yes yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>non-singular</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes yes yes yes yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>non-singular</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes yes yes yes yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes yes yes yes yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes yes yes yes yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where the subject of the clause is singular the suffix may only have the kin group interpretation. This does not imply that the subject of the clause must be one of the participants linked by the use of the suffix. For example, in (6.51) the participants linked by the suffix as belonging to the one generation set do not include the subject of the clause (the speaker). One is the object of the verb and the other a locational argument.

(6.51) *Ngayu kangku-yarri-lha panaka-ngurni karimarra-wuyu-u*  
1SG.NOM take-COLL-PAST section-OBSCRD section-SIDE-ACC
marrari-mulyarra, Martuthunira-a nhuura-npa-waa.
language-ALL Martuthunira-ACC know-INCH-PURPs=o
I took the karimarra boy along, after the panaka boy, towards the language,
to learn Martuthunira.
(I taught two boys who are together in the same generation set.)

There is no syntactic context which forces a reciprocal reading for a verb bearing the collective suffix. Although a reciprocal reading is available where a transitive verb appears with no object and the subject is non-singular, a collective reading is always possible here given the frequent ellipsis of arguments. To some extent, interpretation as reciprocal or collective depends on the particular verb: example (6.52) below will almost always have a collective reading while (6.53) will usually have a reciprocal reading:

(6.52) Ngaliwa mungka-yarri-nguru.
1PL.INC eat-COLL-PRES
We're eating together. (?? We're eating one another.) (constr.)

(6.53) Ngaliwa thani-yarri-nguru.
1PL.INC hit-COLL-PRES
We're hitting one another. (?? We're hitting together.) (constr.)

Thus separate collective and reciprocal meanings need not be established for the suffix. Rather, a single collective meaning will allow a reciprocal interpretation in certain contexts and with certain verbs. While a clause with a non-singular subject will allow a kin-group reading as well as a possible collective or reciprocal reading, the suffix itself does not require that members of the group be in the same generation. This is made clear in example (6.54), in which the non-singular subject is a disharmonic pronoun (see §5.1) and hence only the collective (or reciprocal) reading is possible.

(6.54) Ngunhaa mir.ta waruul kuliya-muru nganajumarta-a
that.NOM not still hear-PRES IDU.DISHARM-ACC
wangkamu-marri-nyila-a.
talk-COLL-PrREL-ACC
He still can't hear us talking together (to one another).

The kin-group meaning of the suffix must be independent of the collective meaning and the suffix must be described as polysemous between these two meanings.

6.3.3 INCHOATIVE -npa-Ø

The -npa-Ø inchoative derives mainly intransitive verbs from nominal stems and is fully productive. Inchoative verbs describe the process of a change in state of the subject of the verb, resulting in the state denoted by the nominal stem. However, in some cases the verb may describe the persistence or maintenance of a state, assumed to be temporary, rather than the inception of that state. Most examples of the inchoative involve nominal stems denoting properties of entities. The subject of the verb thus attains the property denoted by the nominal stem (illustrative sentence examples are indicated in parentheses).

piyuwa-npa-Ø
become finished, die (7.87)
finished-INCH-
Where the stem is a nominal which is usually understood to denote an entity, the inchoative verb forces an interpretation whereby this nominal is seen as denoting a property. It is not possible to say that the subject of the verb becomes the entity denoted by the nominal stem in all cases.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{muthumuthu-npa-Ø} & \quad \text{cool down (4.16), (9.53)} \\
\text{jinyji-warla-npa-Ø} & \quad \text{get fat (5.37)} \\
\text{malumalu-npa-Ø} & \quad \text{get dark (9.57), (10.57)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

On locational nominals (either stems involving a locational nominal suffix, inherent locatives, or adverbial demonstratives (6.56), the inchoative derives a motion verb (§9.5.5).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{thurla-npa-Ø} & \quad \text{wake up, be born (4.56)} \\
\text{nganyurta-npa-Ø} & \quad \text{be sweating} \\
\text{puwara-npa-Ø} & \quad \text{(fire) become coals (7.35), (10.6)} \\
\text{yirliri-npa-Ø} & \quad \text{(meat) become maggoty (6.22)} \\
\text{pawulu-ngara-npa-Ø} & \quad \text{have children (6.55)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{Ngayu nhawu-lha kayarra-a tharratal-yu, yaanka wiyaa, IS G.NOM see-PAST two-ACC bird(sp.)-ACC spouse.pair maybe}
\]

\[\text{jampa-rru pawulu-ngara-npa-layi-rru. moment-NOW child-PL-LOC-FUT-NOW}
\]

I saw two tharratal birds, maybe husband and wife, they'll soon be getting children.
This [mob] is close now. Once they've got there, they come close up with all the food, they stop and talk together.

A number of inchoative verbs take an accusative object. First, the two-place nominal predicates *nhuura* 'knowing', and *wiru* 'wanting', form verbs with two arguments (§9.5.7).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nahuura-npa-Ø} & \quad \text{learn (6.35), (6.51)} \\
\text{wiru-npa-Ø} & \quad \text{want, like (10.25)}
\end{align*}
\]

Other inchoative verbs optionally take an accusative argument.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{panyu-npa-Ø} & \quad \text{become good (4.91)} \\
\text{good-INCH-} & \quad \text{be kind to NP (8.36)} \\
\text{paya-npa-Ø} & \quad \text{become angry} \\
\text{angry-INCH-} & \quad \text{get angry with NP (4.157)} \\
\text{muma-npa-Ø} & \quad \text{get closer} \\
\text{close-INCH-} & \quad \text{get close to NP}
\end{align*}
\]

The verb *muma-Ø* 'get close to', implies a changing locative relation between two arguments, the one coming closer to the other. By contrast, the verb *muma-ngka-npa-Ø* 'come close up' (6.56), describes the attainment of a defined locational goal. Finally, some inchoative verbs occur in the data with added 'benefactive' arguments:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pirrimanta-npa-Ø} & \quad \text{become a fiddler} \\
\text{fiddler-INCH-} & \quad \text{fiddle with NP} \\
\text{jirruna-npa-Ø} & \quad \text{be sneaky} \\
\text{sneaky-INCH-} & \quad \text{sneak up on NP (4.145)}
\end{align*}
\]

### 6.3.4 CAUSATIVE/FACTITIVE -ma-L

The suffix typically attaches to a nominal stem and derives a transitive verb. As with the inchoative suffix, the most common nominal stems denote properties of entities. The subject of the causative verb effects a change in state of the object of the verb, the eventual state being denoted by the nominal stem of the verb.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{karlara-ma-L} & \quad \text{make hot} \\
\text{hot-CAUS-} & \quad \text{make healthy, heal (8.45)} \\
\text{jarrala-ma-L} & \quad \text{healthy-CAUS-} \\
\text{nhurnti-ma-L} & \quad \text{kill (5.105)} \\
\text{dead-CAUS-} & \quad \text{make healthy, heal (8.45)}
\end{align*}
\]
When based on a nominal which usually refers to an entity, the verb describes the creation of that entity. The object of the verb (if it appears) describes the materials out of which the referent of the verb stem is made.

- **karla-ma-L** fire-CAUS- make a fire (out of firewood) (7.107)
- **marntanhu-ma-L** net-CAUS- make a net (spinifex) (4.92)
- **ngurriny-ma-L** swag-CAUS- roll a swag (swag)
- **warrirti-ma-L** spear-CAUS- make a spear (type of wood) (6.27)
- **pul.yu-ma-L** plug-CAUS- make a chewing quid (of tobacco)
- **pirtuwangu-ma-L** prisoner-CAUS- make an initiation prisoner (youth) (7.12)

The causative suffix also occurs on inflected nominal stems:

- **puuthuni-marta-ma-L** spearhead-PROP-CAUS- put a spearhead (on a spear) (4.35)
- **nguyirri-wirraa-ma-L** sleep-PRIV-CAUS- keep awake, make without sleeping (4.127)
- **mirru-ngka-ma-L** spearthrower-LOC-CAUS- load (spear) onto spearthrower
- **wilyara-la-ma-L** shoulders-LOC-CAUS- put (animal carcass) on shoulders
- **kartara-la-ma-L** cheek-LOC-CAUS- put (tobacco plug) in cheek

Verbs based on locative expressions are especially common. When the locative expression describes a body-part location, the body part is usually associated with the subject:

(6.57) *Ngayu yarta-wuyu-lpurru kanyara, mir.ta wiru kuliya-la-ma-minyji*

1SG.NOM other-SIDE-COMP man not wanting ear-LOC-CAUS-FUT

*nhuwana-wu-u marrari-ngara.a.*

2PL-GEN-ACC word-PL-ACC

I'm a man of the other patrimoietty (lit. side), I don't want to get your words in [my] ear.

On some manner nominals the causative suffix derives a verb which can be glossed as 'do MANNER'. The action described by the verb is assumed to be transitive and an affected accusative object may appear.
jarruru-ma-L do slowly (to NP) (6.1)
slowly-CAUS-

murti-ma-L do quickly (to NP) (6.58)
fast-CAUS-
yimpala-ma-L do like that (to NP)
like.that-CAUS-

Nhula kalayamarta thuulwa-l.yu. kartu murti-ma-muru
near. you billy.can pull.out-IMP 2SG.NOM fast-CAUS-PRES

karlarra-npa-wirri-i.
hot-INCH-LEST-ACC
Pull out that billy can [from the fire]. Do it quickly lest it get [too] hot [to hold].

Finally, the causative has a restricted function deriving transitive verbs from the past tense forms of intransitive verbs (§6.2.2).

wanti-lha-ma-L make lie down
lie-PAST-CAUS-
parrani-lha-ma-L bring, send back (5.82), (6.17)
return-PAST-CAUS-

The informant would not accept examples based on transitive verb stems and instead produced analytic causatives using various verbs of coercion.

6.3.5 INVOLUNTARY STATES -rri-Ø

The -rri-Ø verbalising suffix derives intransitive verbs describing involuntary bodily processes, or the involuntary development of mental states.

parrawarra-rri-Ø shiver
shivering-INV-

nguri-rri-Ø stink, be smelling
odour-INV-

thaatharra-rri-Ø become open-mouthed (6.33)
open.mouthed-INV-

panga-ngara-rri-Ø get itchy (4.159)
itch-PL-INV-

kur.ta-rri-Ø become clever
clever-INV-

ngala-rri-Ø forget (4.157), (6.41)
wrong.thought-INV-

nhuura-rri-Ø realise (9.85)
knowing-INV-

A -rri-Ø inchoative is common to the languages of the Pilbara and often has a wider function than the Martuthunira suffix. For example, in Ngarluma the -rri-Ø inchoative appears to be the fully productive intransitive verbaliser (corresponding to Martuthunira
Perhaps related to this, there are many verbs in Martuthunira which appear to involve a -\textit{rri}-Ø derivational suffix but which do not conform to the semantics of the suffix as described here:

\begin{verbatim}
kanarri-Ø     come
cf. kana      clear, open
kartarawurri-Ø come around a corner
cf. kartara   cheek
karryarri-Ø   crouch down
(cf. Panyjima \textit{karrka pelvis})
\end{verbatim}

6.3.6 BODY NOISES -\textit{karri}-Ø

This suffix appears on a few nominals all of which describe involuntary body noises. The resulting verbs are intransitive.

\begin{verbatim}
jinkum-karri-Ø sneeze
sneeze-NOISE-
genayiny-karri-Ø breathe
breath-NOISE-
wuuny-karri-Ø make a ‘wuu’ noise
noise-NOISE-
\thetaiirr-yarri-Ø fart
fart-NOISE-
\nuhurr-yarri-Ø snore (make a ‘nhuurr’ noise) (9.135)
noise-NOISE-
\kaal-yarri-Ø click (of sinuses)
?-NOISE-
\end{verbatim}

The suffix may be involved in the following verbs also:

\begin{verbatim}
pamararri-Ø call out to (5.18)
cf. pama-L shout
parntayarri-Ø explode (10.33)
cf. parnta-L rain (4.25)
wiruwarri-Ø be homesick (6.11)
cf. wiru feelings, wanting
\end{verbatim}

In the first two cases the suffix (-\textit{rarri} following stem final \textit{a}, -\textit{yarri} following \textit{i}) appears to be attached to a verb stem. However, there are not enough examples in the data to be sure of the relationship between these verb forms.

6.3.7 PSYCHOLOGICAL STATE -\textit{nguli}-Ø

This suffix is common to a number of languages of the area including Panyjima, Yindjibarndi and Jiwarli. In Martuthunira the suffix is normally attached either to nominals
denoting some physical property, or to nominals denoting body parts. The verb based on the physical property nominal describes a psychological awareness of the existence of that state in the body. Based on a body part the verb describes a pain in or lack of function in that part.

\[
\begin{align*}
punga-nguli-\Omega & \quad \text{have stomach ache} \\
guts-\text{PSYCH-} & \\
kuyil-nguli-\Omega & \quad \text{feel bad (6.16)} \\
bad-\text{PSYCH-} & \\
muthu-nguli-\Omega & \quad \text{feel cold} \\
cold-\text{PSYCH-} & \\
puntharri-nguli-\Omega & \quad \text{have a chill} \\
\text{chill-PSYCH-} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Although the two suffixes have very different functions, this psychological state inchoative is most likely related to the passive derivational suffix at some diachronic level. Example (6.59), which looks very like a passive but which involves a nominal stem other than a physical property or part, suggests a 'missing link':

(6.59) \( \text{Ngaliwa wayi yakarrangu wii nhawu-layi kana-ngka-nga-nyila-a} \)
\[1\text{PL} \quad \text{maybe sun maybe see-FUT clear-LOC-\text{INCH-PrREL-ACC}} \]
\( wii \text{ warnan-nguli-nga-nguru wii.} \)
\[\text{maybe rain-NGULI-PAST-ABL maybe} \]

Maybe we'll see, if the sun comes out in the clear, that we've been rained in maybe.

Although other constructions with the nominal warnan 'rain', were accepted, my attempts to elicit similar examples with other nominal stems, or with additional arguments (such as effector noun phrases) failed.

6.3.8 CONTROLLED CONTACT -tha-L

This suffix occurs on just a few verb and nominal stems and may be related, ultimately, to the Western Desert verb \( \text{thu-} \) 'to put' (Dixon 1980:405), which O'Grady (1966) also reconstructs for proto Ngayarda. The derived transitive verb emphasises a controlled bringing into contact of two objects.

\[
\begin{align*}
witiwiti-tha-L & \quad \text{hang up} \\
hanging-\text{PUT-} & \\
wurrulywa-tha-L & \quad \text{place on leaves} \\
\text{leaves-PUT-} & \\
punkurri-tha-L & \quad \text{cover over} \\
\text{covered-PUT-} & \\
nguri-tha-L & \quad \text{sniff at (7.83)} \\
\text{odour-PUT-} & \\
karta-tha-L & \quad \text{chop out (honey), carve (7.40)} \\
\text{chop-PUT-} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

(cf. \( \text{karta-L 'stab, poke, chop'} \)
warrpurri-tha-L  bathe (a wound, sore)
wash-PUT-     (cf. warrpurri-Ø 'swim, wash')

6.3.9 THE -ngku-Ø VERBALISER

This verbaliser derives transitive verbs of the NG-subconjugation from nominal stems. On the basis of the few examples it is not possible to describe the meaning of the suffix.

\[jina-ngku-Ø\]       track (6.38)
foot-VERB-

\[waya-ngku-Ø\]       frighten (7.108)
fear-VERB-

\[murti-ingku-Ø\]     run after
fast-VERB-

\[pari-ingku-Ø\]      squash flat, crush (4.59)
flat-VERB-

The suffix is also involved in the following verbs:

\[parrniingku-Ø\]    throw on ground

\[thartuungku-Ø\]    meet a relative (5.69)

Lengthening of the stem final vowel occurs only where this final vowel is \(i\) or \(u\), suggesting an original suffix of the form:

\[*-Cangku-Ø\]

Given the patterns of lenition that have affected the language, and the fact that these verbs select the NG-subconjugation form of the 'unrealised' modal inflection, the suffix can be tentatively identified as the result of the historical incorporation of the independent verb \(kangku-Ø\) 'take, carry'. However, without a better understanding of the meaning of these few verbs it is not possible to take this analysis very far.

6.3.10 ZERO DERIVATIONS

A number of verb stems are identical to nominal stems and suggest a restricted process of zero derivation.

\[jiwarra-Ø\]    shine white (of eyes)
white

\[kurnta-Ø\]    speak or feel 'shame' (6.40)
shame

\[puntharri-Ø\]    bleed, break body part (4.34)
chill

\[marnjura-L\]    urinate
urine

\[kuliya-L\]    hear (4.67)
ear

ear
malyarra-L  
be feeling sick, unwell (7.83)

All of these verbs refer essentially to body processes but it is not possible to make any more specific generalisations. Choice of conjugation membership does not appear to have any clear motivation from these examples; it does not correlate with the transitivity of the verb. In addition, a number of verbs are based on locative expressions:

murra-ngka-Ø  
close-LOC-

kana-ngka-l-kana-ngka-Ø  
become light (of day)

clear-LOC-? clear-LOC-

parma-ngka-L  
put on head

head -LOC-

yurti-ngka-L  
aim at

side -LOC-

Finally, two verbs which appear to involve the locative suffix and which might be grouped with the first set are:

wayangka-Ø  
be frightened (of) (7.99)

waya  
fear

puungka-Ø  
blow with the mouth

6.3.11 Other Possible Derivational Suffixes

A few verb forms suggest other derivational suffixes but not enough examples have been found to allow a clear definition of the range and function of these processes. Two verbs allow identification of a nominal stem with a lengthened final vowel which may descend from a suffix *-ka, cognate with the Ngarluma productive causative -ka-L.

mulha-a-L  
put a point on (4.35)

point-VERB-

ngal.ya-a-L  
spin (hair)

spike-VERB-

The following unanalysable verbs may also have been derived by this suffix:

jankaa-L  
tie up

jarraa-L  
tie up (5.1)

puraa-L  
go (avoidance language)

Two verbs involve the addition of a suffix -nyja to a nominal stem:

kuna-nyja-L  
defecate (on) (4.30)

faeces-VERB-

yawurru-nyja-L  
miss a shot at

west-VERB-
6.3.12 SUMMARY EXAMPLES

A few nominals appear with a range of verbalising suffixes clearly demonstrating the different meanings of the morphemes. Verbs based on nhuura ‘knowing’ and kuliya ‘ear’ are listed below.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{nhuura} & \text{knowing} \\
\text{nhuura-npa-Ø} & \text{learn} \\
\text{nhuura-ma-L} & \text{teach, show} \\
\text{nhuura-rri-Ø} & \text{realise} \\
\text{kuliya} & \text{ear} \\
\text{kuliya-L} & \text{hear} \\
\text{kuliya-npa-Ø} & \text{think, believe} \\
\text{kuliya-ma-L} & \text{remind} \\
\text{kuliya-rri-Ø} & \text{feel, perceive}
\end{array}
\]
CHAPTER 7
PARTICLES AND CLITICS

This chapter describes a collection of post-inflectional clitics and a set of uninflected particles. Since the clitics are often semantically and syntactically comparable with certain particles and differ only in that they are phonologically dependent on a preceding word, they will be discussed together with independent forms in the sections that follow.

Section 7.1 describes the relative order of clitics. Section 7.2 describes those clitics and particles which function as propositional modifiers. Their syntax is described in §7.3. Sections 7.4 to 7.10 describe a range of particles and clitics with a range of different functions. Finally, §7.11 describes interjections.

7.1 ORDER OF CLITICS

Clitics may occur on any part of speech, with the exception of interjections, and follow any nominal or verbal suffixes attached to a word. A number of clitics may follow the one word and these typically occur in a fixed order. The ‘clitic cluster’ is a flat structure, unlike the collection of suffixes following a nominal. That is, there is no concentric scoping whereby one clitic is included within the scope of a following clitic and the meaning is a result of an ordered combination of the two. Instead, a number of clitics may have scope over the same syntactic unit. Although complex clitic structures are not particularly common it is possible to work out a preferred sequence from orders betrayed in simpler structures. Table 7.1 shows the relative ordering of the clitics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-lpurru</th>
<th>-rru</th>
<th>-l</th>
<th>-lwa</th>
<th>-nu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>-wa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The addition of clitics to consonant-final words and the possibility of clitic sequences results in a number of non-permissible consonant clusters. Devices for breaking these clusters are discussed in §2.3.3.
The relative positions of the clitics do not appear to correlate with natural groupings of clitic functions. The clitics -lpurtu ‘complementary’ (§7.2.9), and -nu ‘quotative’ (§7.2.2), are functionally equivalent to the propositional modifying particles described in §7.2. The clitics -rnu ‘now’, -lwa ‘identification’ and -wa ‘you know’ have important text-cohesive functions (§7.8). By contrast, -l ‘then’ (§7.7), has very similar temporal functions to locational nominal suffixes. Finally, the ‘vocative’ clitic -wa, is grouped with interjections (§7.11).

The position of the clitics with respect to other clausal constituents is variable. Although there is some tendency for clitics to occur in second position in noun phrases (attached to the first word) this is by no means a strict rule. As discussed in §7.3, the position of clitics and particles with respect to constituents at a number of syntactic levels is quite meaningful.

7.2 PROPOSITIONAL MODIFIERS

A number of particles function to modify a proposition by giving some pragmatic information such as a speaker's state of mind concerning what is said, his or her intentions in presenting the information, or the status of the information (the interlinear morpheme glosses are indicated in capitals):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wur1a</td>
<td>MISTakenly thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warnu</td>
<td>ASSERTedly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wurtu</td>
<td>HYPoTHetically</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngula</td>
<td>IGNORantly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kana</td>
<td>RHETorically</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paju</td>
<td>REALly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warra</td>
<td>CONTRastively</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The group also includes the clitics -nu ‘quotative’, and -lpurtu ‘complement’.

7.2.1 ‘ASSERTEDLY’ warnu

Warnu is used to assert the speaker's belief in the truth of what is being said. Warnu also indicates a speaker's belief that s/he might not be expected to say what s/he is saying or to present his/her personal viewpoint in such a way. The particle is often used in complaints or admonitions, as in example (7.1) below and (4.98): by making blunt assertions of personal belief the speaker invites contradiction. In other circumstances, warnu is used in praising someone (7.2), (7.3).

(7.1) Nhuwana panyu-ma-ринyji minthal-wa-rru. Kanyara-lpurtu warnu!
2PL good-CAUS-FUT alone-Ø-NOW man-COMP ASSERT
You fix it on your own now. [You're] men (correct me if I'm wrong)!

(7.2) Ngawu! Panyu waruul-wa-rru yimpala, punyjarti warnu kartu.
Yes good still-Ø-NOW like.that generous ASSERT 2SG.NOM
Yes! [You're] still good like that, you're generous (I say).

(7.3) Nhulaa thartta parna warnu pariingku-yangu kartungku.
near.you euro head ASSERT shoot-PASSP 2SG.EFF
That euro has been shot right in the head by you (you're a good shot!). (trans.)
Wamu is often used in giving explanations of situations. In this case it is typically followed by pala (§7.9), which functions as a dummy demonstrative (hence glossed as dummy ‘it’) making extended reference to the state of affairs purportedly explained by the warmu-marked assertion. The explanations are presented as the speaker's personal inferences and are open to contradiction.

(7.4) *Nganaju ngunhu muyi yanga-l.yarra puni-lha, pawulu-ngara-lu*  
1SG.ACC that.NOM dog follow-CTEMP go-PAST child-PL-EFF  
mir.ta warmu pala jarraa-rru,  
not ASSERT IT tie.up-PASSP  
That dog followed after me, (I'd say) it wasn't tied up by the children. (trans.)

(7.5) *Ngayu nhuura-ma-lalha nganaju-u mura-a wantharni*  
1SG.NOM know-CAUS-PAST 1SG.GEN-ACC son-ACC how  
set-PURPs=o trap-ACC dog-ASSOC-ACC get-FUT dingo-ACC  
*Parla-marta-a warmu pala, panyu waruul-wa-rru.*  
money-PROP-ACC ASSERT IT good still-Ø-NOW  
I showed my son how to set dog traps, to get dingoes. Well they're worth money, and that's good.

7.2.2 ‘QUOTATIVE’ -nu

Like many Australian languages, Martuthunira has a clitic which indicates that the speaker has no direct evidence for the truth of a statement and that instead knowledge of the situation arises from hearsay (Wilkins 1986:585, Laughren 1982:137, Austin 1981a:173).

(7.6) *Mir.ta-nu jarruru kanarra patha-rralha. Ngunhaa-nu, ngunhaa*  
not-QUOT slowly wind blow-PAST that.NOM-QUOT that.NOM  
puulywa-lalha kanarra-la thawu-lalha yilhi-i.  
puff-PAST wind-LOC send-PAST chip-ACC  
The wind didn't blow slowly (so they say). Apparently that fellow puffed and sent the chips away on the wind.

(7.7) *Jina-nu ngurnaa pal.yarra-ma-lalha, yanga-l.yarra ngurnu-lwa*  
foot-QUOT that.ACC plain-CAUS-PAST chase-CTEMP that.ACC-ID  
kayarra-a wirra-tharra-a. *Jina-wura-nu ngunhaa*  
two-ACC boomerang-DU-ACC foot-BELONG-QUOT that.NOM  
pal.yarra wanti-nguru.  
plain lie-PRES  
(It is said) their feet made the plain like that, chasing those two boomerangs. That plain is a result of their feet (so it's said).

The use of the clitic in reporting events for which the speaker has no direct evidence is most common in mythological texts. The clitic may also be used in direct orders, suggestions, and in making statements about oneself, to distance oneself from the assertions:

(7.8) *Nhiyu-nu wirra ngathu yinka-rru. Nhuwana-nu*  
this.NOM-QUOT boomerang 1SG.EFF chisel-PASSP 2PL-QUOT
kanarri-layi nganaju-mulyarra nhawu-lu-nu wirra-tharra-a.
come-FUT 1SG.ACC-ALL see-PURPss-QUOT boomerang-DU-ACC
(It is said) this boomerang was made by me. Perhaps you can come to me and
see these two boomerangs.

(7.9) Nhiyu-nu yarta-lpurtu-nu parla-nu panyu paju.
this.NOM-QUOT other-COMP-QUOT hill-QUOT good REAL
(It is said) this hill is different, it's very good apparently.

(7.10) Kartu-nu, manyka, puni-layi-rru thanuwa-a-rru mungka-ru.
2SG.NOM-QUOT son go-FUT-NOW food-ACC-NOW eat-PURPss
Son, you're supposed to go and eat some food.

7.2.3 ‘MISTAKENLY THOUGHT’ wurla

Wurla indicates the speaker's belief that s/he has made a mistake in judgement and feels
s/he should have known better.

(7.11) Ngayu thani-marni wurla ngurmaa muyi-i wiruwanti.
1SG.NOM hit-CONTR MIST that.ACC dog-ACC morning
(I know) I should have hit that dog this morning.

(7.12) Ngayu nhawu-lha ngurma wirta-a nyanyji-i.
1SG.NOM see-PAST that.ACC boy-ACC pre.initiate-ACC
Purrkuru wurla wurtu manarri-nguli-marni,
true MIST HYPTH capture-PASS-CONTR
purrkuru wurla wurtu pirtuwangu-ma-nguli-marni?
true MIST HYPTH prisoner-CAUS-PASS-CONTR
I saw that boy who is due for initiation. Shouldn't he have been caught,
should have been made prisoner, or am I mistaken?

The mistake in judgement is usually, but not always, attributed to the speaker. In example
(7.13), a third person is described as mistakenly believing in his ability to repair an engine.

(7.13) Ngunhaa kuliyanpa-lha panyu-ma-minyji wurla. Ngulangu-rru
that.NOM think-PAST good-CAUS-FUT MIST there-NOW
karri-lha nhawu-rra murtiwarla-a yinyjin-ku. Panyu-ma-minyji
stand-PAST see-CTEMP car-ACC engine-ACC good-CAUS-FUT
MIST useless-INCH-PAST-NOW poor.fellow
He (mistakenly) thought he could fix it. He was standing there looking at that
car's engine. [He] thought he could fix it. [No] he's useless, that poor fellow.

7.2.4 ‘HYPOTHETICALLY’ wurtu

Wurtu indicates that what is being said is the speaker's humble opinion or hypothesis and
that s/he wants the addressee to either agree or disagree. Wurtu is very similar in many of its
uses to the English tag-question construction. However, unlike the tag-question it does not
presume a positive or negative response. In (7.14) and (7.15) the particle indicates a simple polar interrogative:

(7.14)  *Nhuwana puni-layi wurtu thawun-mulyarra?*  
2PL go-FUT HYPTH town-ALL  
Are you going to town?

(7.15)  *Ngawu! Ngayu ngarti-rru wurtu wangka-layi kartungu marrari-i?*  
yes 1SG.NOM next-NOW HYPTH say-FUT 2SG.ACC word-ACC  
Yes! I'll say something next, give you my side of it, shall I?

In the following complaints *wurtu* invokes a challenge to the addressee to confirm or deny an allegation.

(7.16)  *Nhartu! Kartu kuliyanpa-nguru nganaju ngalawangka-nyila-a wurtu?*  
what 2SG.NOM think-PRES 1SG.ACC tell.lie-PrREL-ACC  
HYPTH  
What! You think I'm lying do you?

(7.17)  *Kartu mir.ta wurtu nhuura-npa-nguru kalika-a-lwa?*  
2SG.NOM not HYPTH know-INCH-PRES one-ACC-ID  
Aren't you waking up to what this one is?

Finally, *wurtu* occurs in mild exclamations that invite the addressee to think about what is being said.

(7.18)  *Mir.ta wantha-ralha yawarnu-u. Piyuwa wurtu!*  
not put-PAST windbreak-ACC not.at.all HYPTH  
yimpala-rru-wa kanarra-lu pampiingku-yangu.  
like.that-NOW-YK wind-EFF throw.down-PASSP  
[She] didn't put up a windbreak. Not at all! That's how she came to be thrown down by the wind.

(7.19)  *Ngah wurtu pala, jalya wurtu, mir.ta nhuura.*  
yes HYPTH IT useless HYPTH not knowing  
That man thinks he really knows how to do it, the poor thing. Yes that's it isn't it, he's useless isn't he, he doesn't know.

7.2.5 ‘IGNORANTLY’ *ngula*

*Ngula* occurs in a restricted number of environments. Most often, it follows an interrogative of some kind and affirms that the speaker does not know the answer to the question being asked.

(7.20)  *Ngayu wirra-a yinka-lalha wuruma-l.yarra nganaju-u mimi-i. Nhartu-u-lwa ngula kuliyanpa-waa ngathu*  
1SG.NOM boomerang-ACC chisel-PAST do.for-CTEMP 1SG.GEN-ACC uncle-ACC what-ACC-ID IGNOR think-PURPs=o 1SG.EFF
yinka-ru-u? Wantharni-ngula wankalayi?
chisel-PASSP-ACC how-ACC IGNOR say-FUT
I chiselled a boomerang for my uncle. I wonder what he's going to think of that
thing chiselled by me. How is he going to say it is?

(7.21) Kalika nuvi kanguku-lha warrayilwayara-a jamurla, wanthala ngula
one dog take-PAST kangaroo.tail-ACC mouth where.NS IGNOR
mungka-ru.
eat-PURPss
One dog took a kangaroo tail in its mouth to eat somewhere (I don't know
where).

In addition, ngula may follow the modal particle wayil, or a word bearing the -nu
'quotative' clitic. Following wayil it reinforces the notion that the statement is truly uncertain
(example (7.22)). Following the quotative, ngula reaffirms the speaker's lack of direct
personal knowledge about the thing being asserted (7.23).

(7.22) Ngunhu-tharra kanyara-tharra patharri-nguru wartirra-ngalyarnta.
that.NOM-DU man-DU fight-PRES woman-CAUSAL
Kalika wiya, wanthanha-wuyu wii, wayil ngula yaan
one maybe which-SIDE maybe maybe IGNOR spouse
ngurnaa wartirra-a.
that.ACC woman-ACC
Those two men are fighting over the woman. Maybe one of them, but which of
the two, maybe one is the spouse of that woman (I don't know). (trans.)

(7.23) Ngayu panyu-ma-lalha warrirti-ngurnula-ngu-u
1SG.NOM good-CAUS-PAST spear-ACC that.DEF-GEN-ACC
kanyara-wu-u wuruma-l.yarra puni-waa murla-a-rru
man-GEN-ACC do.for-CTEMP go-PURPs=o meat-ACC-NOW
wawayi-l.yarra tharnta-a nhuwa-minyji-nu ngula.
look.for-CTEMP euro-ACC spear-FUT-QUOT IGNOR
I fixed a spear that belonged to that man so he could go looking for meat.
He'll spear a euro apparently, I don't know.

7.2.6 'RHETORICALLY' kana

Like ngula, kana typically follows indefinites functioning as interrogatives. Unlike ngula
it indicates that the speaker assumes there to be no answer to the question being posed. In
this sense the question is purely rhetorical.

(7.24) Ngayu-lwa wiya wuruma-minyji thurlajinkarri-i,
1SG.NOM-ID maybe do.for-FUT poor.fellow-ACC
yirra-wirriwa-a warnu pala. Wantharni kana kalya-lwa
tooth-PRIV-ACC IGNOR IT how RHET bite-PURPs=o
warrirti-ma-minyji, mulhaa-minyji?
spear-CAUS-FUT point-FUT
Maybe I'm the one who'll do it for the poor fellow, because he's got no teeth.
How can he bite [sinew] and make a spear, put a point on a spear?
(7.25) Ngayu jirli mir.ta panyu, kuntirri-layi, thana-rru tharnta-ngara-a, 1SG.NOM arm not good give.up-FUT let-NOW euro-PL-ACC 
wantharta kana nhurnti-ma-rinyji?
when RHET dead-CAUS-FUT
My arm is no good, I'll give up (trying to spear them), let those euros be, when am I going to kill them? (Never!)

Although kana does not follow an indefinite in the following two examples, the construction still has the rhetorical force of a question with no answer.

(7.26) Nganarna waruul-wa-rru piya-rruru nhuwana-la 
1PL.EXC still-Ø-NOW sing-PRES 2PL-LOC

know-CAUS-PrREL-LOC-YK RHET useless ill-Ø-NOW
We're still singing while you are learning. (Are you? Not at all.) [You're] still useless.

(7.27) Jarruru-wa kana kampa-rruru nhyu yakarrangu? Kuyil paju 
slowly-YK RHET burn-PRES this.NOM sun bad REAL 

nhyu ngaliwa-a kampa-rruru yakarrangu. 
this.NOM 1PL.INC-ACC burn-PRES sun
Is this sun burning [us] slowly? (Of course not!) It's bad, this sun is cooking us.

7.2.7 ‘REALLY’ paju

Paju has a range of interpretations depending on the constituent over which it has scope. First, paju may have scope over an entire clause. In such examples it serves to assert the speakers belief in the truth of what is being stated (examples (7.28) and (7.29)).

(7.28) Wayil wanti-nyila-a paju yilarla jalyuru-la. 
maybe lie-PrREL-ACC REAL here.NS hole-LOC 
Maybe there really is something lying somewhere there in the hole.

(7.29) Nhuwana nganaju mir.ta paju kuliyanpa-layi. 
2PL IS G.A CC not REAL think-FUT
You really don't think about me.

Following an indefinite functioning as an interrogative, paju contrasts with the particles ngula and kana. Like kana, paju has much the force of a rhetorical question. However, it does not imply that there is no answer to the question being posed (7.30), (7.31) and (4.115).

(7.30) Ngunhaa puni-wayara jinarri-rra mungka-l.yarra. Wantharta paju 
that.NOM go-HABIT ask-CTEMP eat-CTEMP when REAL 
winya-npa-layi? 
full-INCH-FUT
That fellow is always asking for a feed. When, really, is he going to get full?

(7.31) Ngayu wiru-warnutra-ri-nguru wanthanha-a paju kangku-layi. 
1SG.NOM like-DISTRIBUT-INV-PRES which-ACC REAL take-FUT
I can't decide really which one to take.
Paju most often follows a predicate describing a state or characteristic of some entity. Typically, the predicate is a nominal attributing some property to its argument (examples (7.32), (7.33) and (7.34)). In (7.35) and (7.36), paju follows verbal predicates.

(7.32) \[\text{Ngayu manku-layi nganaju-u mimi-i wuruma-l.yarra}\]
1SG.NOM get-FUT 1SG.GEN-ACC uncle-ACC do.for-CTEMP
\[\text{karntarra-a kupuyu-u, mir.ta maruwarla-a paju. Nganaju}\]
sinew-ACC little-ACC not much-ACC REAL 1SG.GEN
\[\text{kampalalha thurlajinkarri yirra mir.ta panyu paju.}\]
uncle poor.fellow tooth not good REAL
I'll get a little bit of sinew for my uncle, not too much. My poor old uncle's teeth aren't really good.

(7.33) \[\text{Wantha ngunhu pawu paju ngumu-ngara-a?}\]
where that.NOM father REAL that.OBL-PL-ACC
Where's the one who is really father to that lot?

(7.34) \[\text{Mir.ta warruwa paju ngunhaa, ngunhaa kanyara-nda-ra-ru.}\]
not devil REAL that.NOM that.NOM human-INCH-CTEMP-NOW
They weren't true devils, they were moving towards being human now.

(7.35) \[\text{Karlarra-nda-nda-lha-la paju-ru, puwara-nda-lha-la paju-ru,}\]
hot-INCH-PAST-LOC REAL-NOW coal-INCH-PAST-LOC REAL-NOW
\[\text{ngarri-ngka kampa-minyji-ru panyu-ma-minyji-ru ngurna.}\]
ashes-LOC cook-FUT-NOW good-CAUS-FUT-NOW that.ACC
Once [the fire] has become really hot, when it's really burned down to coals,
cook that one in the ashes then, make it good.

(7.36) \[\text{Ngali wartawirlina-layi yakarrangu-u kankami-nda-waa paju.}\]
1DU wait.for-FUT sun-ACC above-INCH-PURPs=o REAL
We'll wait for the sun to get really right above us.

The derived verbs in examples (7.35) and (7.36) describe progression towards an eventual state of affairs in which the property denoted by the nominal stem of the verb is attributable to the argument of the verb. Here paju has semantic scope over the eventual state of affairs described by the nominal stem.

In examples (7.37) and (7.38), paju modifies a nominal in a part-whole construction. In (7.37) it has scope over the whole of which the (assumed) argument of the verb is a part. Here the particle emphasises that the argument of the verb is a true part of the whole. In (7.38), on the other hand, paju has scope over a part. In this case it emphasises that it is truly the particular part of the whole that is affected by the action of the verb.

(7.37) \[\text{Nhwuala puni-layi manku-lu Kurlanyungkunhu-u-wa paju.}\]
2DU go-FUT get-PURPs Kurlanyungkunhu-ACC-YK REAL
You two go and get [a knife] that is really [from] Kurlanyungkunhu [quarry].

(7.38) \[\text{Kanarry-layi kartara-a paju ngurnu parla-a.}\]
come-FUT corner-ACC REAL that.ACC hill-ACC
They come right to the corner of that hill.
Finally, *paju* is commonly found in constructions depicting an excess of some state prohibiting some action.

(7.39) \[\text{Ngunaahaa murla karlarra paju nganaju mungka-waa.}\]
that.NOM meat hot REAL 1SG.ACC eat-PURPs=o
That meat is too hot for me to eat. (trans.)

(7.40) \[\text{Ngayu kartatha-lalha ngurnu mirru-u}\]
1SG.NOM chop-PAST that.ACC spearthrower-ACC
\[\text{kuta-ma-lalha paju.}\]
short-CAUS-PAST REAL
I cut that [wood] for a spearthrower too short. (trans.)

In such cases, the understanding that there is an excess of some characteristic (heat or shortness) which has an ‘unwanted’ effect, usually on the speaker, is best treated as an implicature dependent on a particular situation.

7.2.8 ‘CONTRASTIVE’ *warra*

Typically, *warra* follows a predicate describing an action (or state) on the part of some participant (usually the addressee) which the speaker wants to have happen. *Warra* contrasts the situation involving the action denoted by the predicate over which it has scope with another, prior or present, situation in which that action did not or is not taking place.

(7.41) \[\text{Yakayi! Jarruru-ma-l.yu. Nganaju malyarra-ma-rnuru paju.}\]
ouch slowly-CAUS-IMP 1SG.ACC pain-CAUS-PRES REAL
\[\text{Jarruru-ma-l.yu warra thamiini.}\]
slowly-CAUS-IMP CONT MoFa+1POSS
Ouch! Do it slowly. You're really hurting me. Do it slowly for a change Grandad.

(7.42) \[\text{Purnumpuru warra nyina-Ø.}\]
quiet CONT sit-IMP
Sit quietly for a change.

(7.43) \[\text{Kartu pamararri-Ø karluwirraa warra ngurnu-ngara-a}\]
2SG.NOM call.out-IMP hard CONT that.ACC-PL-ACC
\[\text{pawulu-ngara-a.}\]
child-PL-ACC
You call out to those kids a bit harder.

7.2.9 ‘COMPLEMENTARY’ -lpurtu

This clitic has two related functions. First, it indicates that the thing to which it is attached is involved in a situation which is seen (by the speaker) as a natural and expected complement of another situation.

(7.44) \[\text{Ngayu wawayi-lalha jartunmarra-a, yarta ngunhu}\]
1SG.NOM look.for-PAST wallaby-ACC other that.NOM
wawayi-rura-la · tharnta-a-lpuru.
look.for-PrREL-LOC euro-ACC-COMP
I looked for rock wallabies while that other fellow looked for euros.

(7.45) Ngayu wuruma-lalha-lpuru murla-a, nganaju-wu-lu
1SG.NOM do.for-PAST-COMP meat-ACC 1SG.ACC-GEN-EFF
mimi-ngku-lpuru mungka-ninguli-waa.
uncle-EFF-COMP eat-PASS-PURPs=0
I did the meat for him, on the one hand, so it could be eaten by my uncle (not me) on the other hand. (trans.)

(7.46) Kanyara-tharra karri-layi kanyja-rryarra, yarta kuwilyawuyu-la,
man-DU stand-FUT hold-CTEMP other this.side-LOC
yarta ngulawuyu-la-lpuru.
other that.side-LOC-COMP
Two men hold [the net], one on this side, one on the other side.

Second, the clitic indicates that what is being said about the thing to which it is attached stands in contrast to what has been said before, and (the speaker assumes) is contrary to (the addressee's) expectation:

(7.47) Mirintiwal ngunhu-ngara marrari-i Martuthunira. Nhiyu
all that.NOM-PL language-ACC Martuthunira this.NOM
ngayalyu-ngara yirru-marta-lpuru marrari-marta.
devil-PL yirru-PROP-COMP word-PROP
They all spoke the Martuthunira language. But these devils had [a word] yirru (unlike the others).

(7.48) Mir.ta nhuura tharnta-a nhuwa-minyji warrirti-marta.
not knowing euro-ACC spear-FUT spear-PROP
Jirruna-npa-wayara tharnta-a yungku-ngka-a,
sneak-INCH-HABIT euro-ACC soak-LOC-ACC
manku-lu-lpuru-rru, juwayu-lu-rru jal.yu-u-rru
grab-PURPss-COMP-NOW hand-EFF-NOW neck-ACC-NOW
thani-minyji murla-a.
hit-FUT meat-ACC
[You] don't know how to spear a euro with a spear. You sneak up on a euro in a soak and grab it instead (not the way anyone would expect someone to catch it), hitting that meat in the neck, with your hand.

(7.49) Nganangu wii paya-npa-layi, mir.ta-lpuru thathu-minyji.
who.ACC maybe wild-INCH-FUT not-COMP let.go-FUT
Jirli-i manku-layi, jal.yu-u thani-l.yarrawaara.
arm-ACC grab-FUT neck-ACC hit-SEQ
If they get wild with anyone, we won't let them go (as might be expected). We'll grab their arms and hit them in the neck.
7.3 The Syntax of Propositional Modifiers

Particles and clitics functioning as propositional modifiers usually have scope over an immediately preceding sub-clausal constituent. Thus, consider example (7.50) in which the -nu ‘quotative’ is attached to a body part as subject of the main clause:

(7.50) Jina-nu ngurnaa pal.yarra-ma-lalha yanga-l.yarra.
      foot-QUOT that.ACC plain-CAUS-PAST chase-CTEMP
      [Their] feet made that a plain as [they] chased [it] (they say).

Here the speaker indicates, by using the quotative clitic, that it is not his own contention that “Their feet made it a plain,” but rather something he has been told. However, jina ‘foot’ is in the immediate scope of the clitic. The neatest explanation would be to argue that the constituent within the immediate scope of the clitic is essentially the thing which the speaker wishes to distance himself from, while the rest of the clause presents an entailed proposition. That is, in uttering (7.50), the speaker makes no attempt to distance himself from the assertion that something created the plain:

Something made it a plain, they say it was feet.

In this way, (7.50) might be seen as containing two (minimal) propositions only one of which is qualified by the particle. However, there remain some problems in determining the precise identity of the constituent over which a particle or clitic has scope. There are some general patterns, as discussed below.

First, a particle may follow a verb and have scope over either the verb word or the clause of which the verb is the head, resulting in some ambiguity, as in the following example.

(7.51) Ngayu ngurnaa warriri-i panyu-ma-minyji paju.
      1SG.NOM that.ACC spear-ACC good-CAUS-FUT REAL
      a. Really fix it is what I’ll do to that spear.
      b. It’s really the case that I’ll fix that spear.

Propositional modifying particles may also follow the negative which itself has scope over an entire clause. The negative and the clause within its scope are then included within the scope of the particle. In example (7.52), paju has scope over the negated clause while in (7.53), in which the particle follows the predicate, paju falls within the scope of the negative:

(7.52) Ngayu mir.ta paju nhuura ngurnu kanyara-a.
      1SG.NOM not REAL knowing that.ACC man-ACC
      I really don’t know that man. (constr.)
      (It’s really the case that I don’t know that man.)

(7.53) Ngayu mir.ta nhuura paju ngurnu kanyara-a.
      1SG.NOM not know REAL that.ACC man-ACC
      I don’t really know that man. (constr.)
      (It’s not the case that I really know that man.)

Second, a particle may have scope over a preceding noun phrase. Given that multiple embedding of noun phrases is common, this also leads to possible ambiguities. Example (7.54) gives two instances of the particle warra ‘contrasting’ having scope over a preceding noun phrase.

(7.54) Tharnta-a jinyjiwarla-a warra nhuwa-minyji, panyu-u warra
      euro-ACC fat-ACC CONT spear-FUT good-ACC CONT
murla-a.
meat-ACC

[I'll] spear a fat euro for a change, some good meat for a change.

In the first case, the reading is ambiguous depending on whether warra has scope over jinyjiwarla ‘fat’, or over the whole noun phrase tharnta jinyjiwarla ‘fat euro’. The two different readings are:

a. I'll spear a euro that is, for a change, fat.

b. The thing that I'll spear will be, for a change, a fat euro.

In the second case there is no ambiguity. In this noun phrase the modifying nominal precedes the head and functions as a Classifier (§8.1.3). The particle has scope over just the Classifier. It might be argued that the speaker has chosen the Classifier construction partly as a means of avoiding potential ambiguity. The same pattern occurs in the following example.

(7.55) Ngali panyu-ngka-a warra kalyaran-ta-a thuur.ta-a manku-layi.
1DU. INC good-LOC-ACC CONT tree-LOC-ACC sweet-ACC get-FUT
We'll get honey in a good tree for a change.

This last example introduces another problem. Here the particle has scope over the nominal panyu ‘good’, which functions as a Classifier on kalyaran ‘tree’. However, the noun phrase panyu kalyaran is marked with the locative suffix as an adnominal modifier of thuur.ta ‘sweet stuff’. Under the interpretation given here the locative case-marking predicate does not fall within the scope of the particle. In (7.56) however, the proprietive marked modifier is included within the scope of the particle.

(7.56) Ngayu mirtily-marta-a warra tharnta-a nhuwa-minyji.
1SG. NOM joey-PROP-ACC CONT euro-ACC spear-FUT
I'll spear a euro that, for a change, has a joey.

The available data (which is quite limited on this point) suggests the following explanation: the particle in example (7.55), occurring as it does between two subconstituents of the noun phrase, is within the scope of the locative suffix distributed to words within that noun phrase, while in (7.56), on the other hand, the particle follows all subconstituents of the noun phrase and so may be read as having scope over the adnominal suffix.

The range of meanings of particles functioning as propositional modifiers suggests the possibility of particles being included within the scope of other particles. Although there are too few examples in the data to allow any concrete generalisations it is worth noting a number of preliminary observations. First, consider the following example:

(7.57) Panyu paju-nu nhiyu wirra, yilu kanyara-lu
good REAL-QUOT this.NOM boomerang this.EFF man-EFF
yinka-nu?
carve-PASSP
It's really good, supposedly, this boomerang carved by this man.

Here the quotative has scope over a preceding constituent including the particle paju and indicates that someone other than the speaker is making the statement that the boomerang is ‘really’ good. This shows that some embedding of particles within the scope of other particles is possible.
However, scoping in (7.58) in which the quotative is followed by the ngula ‘ignorantly’, is not as straightforward:

(7.58) \text{Ngunhaa wajirr-marta puni-nguru kulhampa-a-nu ngula} \\
that.NOM harpoon-PROP go-PRES fish-ACC-QUOT IGNOR \\
kuliyanpa-rra. \\
think-CTEMP \\
That [man] going with a harpoon is thinking about fish, perhaps, I don't know myself.

The discussion of ngula in §7.2.5 points out that the particle follows interrogatives, the quotative and the modal particle wayil, all of which establish contexts in which the speaker is unsure of the truth of some statement. Although the quotative feeds ngula it is not clear that the particle actually modifies the meaning of the quotative in any way. Rather, the two operate at a similar level in modifying the speaker's state of knowledge.

7.4 ‘ONLY’ yirla

Yirla has two related functions. First, it operates very like the English quantifier ‘only’. When it follows a phrase denoting an entity it indicates that that entity is the only one of a class of entities about which a particular thing is sayable (examples (7.59) and (7.60)). When yirla follows a predicate that predicate describes the only thing ‘sayable’ about some argument of the predicate (7.61). In (7.62), yirla has scope over a complex noun phrase (and see example (4.54)).

(7.59) \text{Kupuyu puni-layi nhawu-ngu-rra parlu yirla mirtali.} \\
little go-FUT see-PASS-CTEMP top only big \\
That little fellow looks big only in the top part (his lower body is puny).

(7.60) \text{Ngunhaa jami kawurru nhartu-ngara-lu wii mir.ta} \\
that.NOM medicine type something-PL-EFF maybe not \\
mungka-ngu-layi, jankurna-lu yirla. \\
eat-PASS-FUT emu-EFF only \\
That kawurru medicine isn't eaten by hardly anything, only by emus.

(7.61) \text{Mir.ta nyina-layi wuruma-ngu-rra yirla, nhuura-npa-layi minthal} \\
not sit-FUT do.for-PASS-CTEMP only know-INCH-FUT alone \\
warra panyu-ma-minyji warriti-i. Pirri-marta warnu! \\
CONT good-CAUS-FUT spear-ACC finger-PROP ASSERT \\
Don't just sit around only having it done for you, learn on your own how to fix spears. You've got hands haven't you!

(7.62) \text{Ngunhu-ngara juwayu-la-marta parla-marta, kayarra-marta parla-marta} \\
that.NOM-PL hand-LOC-PROP rock-PROP two-PROP rock-PROP \\
yirla, tharryi-ngara ngunhu-ngara kanyara-ngara nyuulanpa-layi. \\
only alongside-PL that.NOM-PL man-PL dive-FUT \\
They have rocks in their hands, only two rocks, and then those men dive under the water alongside one another.
The second function of *yirla* is to mark the end point of a period of time during which some event is taking place. For example:

(7.63) *Ngunhu-ngara nyina-marri-nguru wiruwanti-l-nguru yakarrangu-u*  
that.NOM-PL sit COLL-PRES morning-THEN-ABL day-ACC  
*winparri-i tharrwa-waa yirla.*  
long-ACC go in PURPs=0 until  
They sit together from morning, through the long day, until [the sun] goes in.

(7.64) *Ngurnaa kayulu-u jarruru manku-layi warntitha-minyji*  
that.ACC water-ACC slowly get-FUT throw-FUT  
*panyu-npa-waa yirla.*  
good INCH PURPs=0 until  
Get that water out slowly and throw it away until it comes clean.

It is easy to relate this second use of *yirla* to the first. Here an activity continues as long as the condition expressed by the constituent over which *yirla* has scope continues to be not the case. Only once the condition is satisfied does the activity cease. The general pattern illustrated in examples (7.63) and (7.64) probably arose out of expressions involving *yirla* and the verb *kuntirri-Ø* ‘to cease doing’, similar to the following:

(7.65) *Ngayu parla-marta-rru paringku-lha, kulhany-ku yirla kuntirri-layi.*  
1SG NOM rock PROP-NOW hit PAST squashed ACC only cease FUT  
I hit it with a rock, stopping only when it was squashed.

(7.66) *Ngunhu muyi yanga-rru pawulu-ngara-lu, ngurra-ngka yirla*  
that NOM dog chase PASSP child PL EFF camp LOC only  
kuntirri-ngu-layi.  
cease PASS FUT  
That dog was chased by the children right into the camp (lit. stopping only when it was in camp). (trans.)

7.5 ‘Not’ *mir.ta*

Unlike the propositional modifiers, the negative is forward-scoping and usually precedes the predicate in a clause:

(7.67) *Ngayu mir.ta nhawu-lha nguru muyi-i pawulu-u kalyla-mura-a.*  
1SG NOM not see PAST that ACC dog ACC child ACC bite PrREL ACC  
I didn’t see that dog biting the child. (trans.)

(7.68) *Ngaliwa mir.ta wiru marrari-warlaya-ngara-a.*  
1PL INC not liking word FULL PL ACC  
We don’t like talkative people.

Alternatively, the negative may occur as the first word in the clause. This order adds emphasis to the negation and is comparable to the English wording ‘It is not the case that...’. In examples (7.69) to (7.71), the negative immediately precedes the object of the verb, which itself occurs in a marked preverbal position (see §9.11). Like other particles, the negative appears to have scope over a sub-clausal constituent in these examples.
Kartu wanti-layi wuraal kartungu-la ngurra-ngka, thungkara-la.
2SG.NOM lie-FUT still 2SG.GEN-LOC home-LOC ground-LOC

Mir.ta-rru kartungu nhawu-layi ngartil.
not-NOW 2SG.ACC see-FUT again
You keep lying in your home, in the ground. We won't see you again.

Mir.ta wiyaa ngaliwa-a wiru marrari-wirraa warnu karlwa-lha.
not maybe 1PL.INC-ACC liking word-PRIV ASSERT get.up-PAST
Perhaps he doesn't like us, (that's why he's) getting up without a word.

Parnta-nuru, mir.ta-rru karnkurru-u karlwa-waa.
rain-PRES not-NOW dust-ACC get.up-PURPs=o
It's raining, so the dust won't get up.

Mir.ta is also used to negate nominal predications. In example (7.72) (and see (4.148)) it negates a second predicate of manner in a verbal clause, while (7.73) illustrates the negative in an ascriptive non-verbal clause (and see (4.97)).

that.NOM not slowly angry-INCR-PAST 1SG.ACC eat-PAST-ACC
It wasn't slowly that she got wild with me who had eaten it.

Ngayu mir.ta manthawarla.
1SG.NOM not greedy
I'm not greedy.

Mir.ta may also precede nominals functioning as sentence adverbs. In these cases the sentence adverbs have scope over the negative together with the rest of the clause. The scoping here is equivalent to that involving the negative followed by particles.

Mir.ta waruul kartu manthawarla.
not still 2SG.NOM greedy
It's still the case that you're not a greedy fellow.

7.6 MODAL PARTICLES wiyaa, wayil, wii

The modal particles wiyaa and wayil differ from the propositional modifiers in two respects. First, they do not impart the same sort of speaker-oriented pragmatic information as the propositional particles listed in §7:2. Rather, they code a simple irrealis 'maybe'. Second, although they often follow a constituent over which they have some scope, this is not a strict rule and they may occur at the beginning of a clause. The following examples illustrate the more common wiyaa form:

Tharnta wiyaa panthu-lalha warangarri-i ngurnaa.
euro maybe touch-PAST dingo.trap-ACC that.ACC
Maybe it was a euro that set off that dingo trap. (trans.)

Mir.ta wiyaa thalku-nguli-nguru thanuwa-a maruwarla-a paju.
not maybe feed-PASS-PRES food-ACC much-ACC REAL
Maybe he isn't fed very much food.

Wiyaa pawulu nhau-lha ngurnaa muyi-i.
maybe child see-PAST that.ACC dog-ACC
Maybe the child saw that dog. (trans.)
The wayil form is similar to wiyaa in all respects except that it can be immediately followed by the wii particle. Exactly how wayil differs from wiyaa is difficult to say on the basis of the data at hand though it seems likely that the wayil form incorporates the -l temporal clitic at some level. Certainly, some examples involving wayil are consistent with the meaning of the temporal clitic. For example:

(7.78)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ngayu} & \quad \text{kartungu-ngara-a} & \quad \text{pawulu-ngara-a} & \quad \text{nhuura-ma-minyji} \\
1SG.NOM & \quad 2SG.GEN-PL-ACC & \quad \text{child-PL-ACC} & \quad \text{know-CAUS-FUT} \\
\text{marrari-i} & \quad \text{Martuthunira-a} & \quad \text{wangka-waa}. & \quad \text{Kuliya-ngnguli-waa} \\
\text{wayil wii} & \quad \text{nhuura-npa-lha}, \quad \text{kuliya-la-ma-lalha}. & \quad \text{Ngunhu-ngara} & \quad \text{maybe if} & \quad \text{know-INCH-PAST} & \quad \text{ear-LOC-CAUS-PAST} & \quad \text{that.NOM-PL} \\
\text{kupiyaji} & \quad \text{wayil} & \quad \text{wii} & \quad \text{parna} & \quad \text{panyu}. & \quad \text{little(PL)} & \quad \text{maybe if head good} \\
\text{I'll teach your children to speak the Martuthunira language. Maybe then they'll be heard, if they've learnt it, if they've got it in their ears. If they've got good heads, those little ones.}
\end{align*}
\]

Wii is related to the modal particles wiyaa and wayil, though at some diachronic level, and retains something of the irrealis mode of these particles. It generally has scope over an immediately preceding constituent and occurs in three types of construction. First, it occurs in clauses which specify the conditions under which a situation described in some other clause may take place. In such cases it may, like wiyaa and wayil, occur in clause-initial position (example (6.26)). It is glossed ‘if’ in such conditional constructions.

(7.79)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nhula} & \quad \text{kanyara manthawarla} & \quad \text{paju warnu}. & \quad \text{Ngaliwa} & \quad \text{nhawu-layi} \\
near\text{.you} & \quad \text{man} & \quad \text{greedy} & \quad \text{REAL ASSERT} & \quad 1PL.INC & \quad \text{see-FUT} \\
\text{ngurnaa} & \quad \text{kanyara-a} & \quad \text{ngartil wii}, & \quad \text{punga pangkira-a} & \quad \text{paju-rru}. & \quad \text{that.ACC} & \quad \text{man-ACC} & \quad \text{again if} & \quad \text{guts round-ACC} & \quad \text{REAL-NOW} \\
\text{That man is really greedy. If [we] see him again he'll be very round in the guts.}
\end{align*}
\]

(7.80)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ngunhaa} & \quad \text{pilikurta piyuwa-npa-lha-la} & \quad \text{wii}, & \quad \text{that.NOM} & \quad \text{carpenter finish-INCH-PAST-LOC} & \quad \text{if} \\
\text{nhurmi-npa-lha-la} & \quad \text{wii}. & \quad \text{Ngana-rru} & \quad \text{kana} & \quad \text{yilhi-i} & \quad \text{mir.ta} & \quad \text{dead-INCH-PAST-LOC} & \quad \text{if} & \quad \text{who-NOW RHET} & \quad \text{chip-ACC} & \quad \text{not} \\
\text{wii} & \quad \text{murnta-lalha} & \quad \text{ngurnaa pilikurta-a}? & \quad \text{Jalya-rru} & \quad \text{if take.from-PAST that.ACC} & \quad \text{carpenter-ACC} & \quad \text{useless-NOW} \\
\text{nyina-marri-layi} & \quad \text{mir.ta} & \quad \text{wii} & \quad \text{yungku-yangu yilhi-i} & \quad \text{pilikurta-lu}. & \quad \text{sit-COLL-FUT} & \quad \text{not if} & \quad \text{give-PASSP} & \quad \text{chip-ACC} & \quad \text{carpenter-EFF} \\
\text{If once that carpenter has gone, if [he] has died, who will there be if no-one learnt how to carve from the carpenter (lit. took the chips from him). [They'll] all be useless if they weren't given the chips by the carpenter.}
\end{align*}
\]

(7.81)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ngayu} & \quad \text{nguru} & \quad \text{muyi-i} & \quad \text{nhawu-lha wii} & \quad \text{wanthala}, & \quad \text{ngayu} \\
1SG.NOM & \quad \text{that.ACC} & \quad \text{dog-ACC} & \quad \text{see-PAST} & \quad \text{if somewhere} & \quad 1SG.NOM \\
\text{nhuwa-minyji nyimi-i} & \quad \text{ngurnaa muyi-i}. & \quad \text{spear-FUT} & \quad \text{rib-ACC} & \quad \text{that.ACC} & \quad \text{dog-ACC} \\
\text{If I saw that dog anywhere, I'd spear that dog in the ribs. (trans.)}
\end{align*}
\]
Second, wii is used as a conjunction indicating a progressive widening of the set of objects out of which something may be chosen. Often such a conjoined sequence of noun phrases is introduced by an indefinite.

(7.82)  \textit{Nganaju mimi\ wantha-ralha\ jumpirirri-i\ nganaju\ wurnta-lwaa}  
1SG.GEN uncle leave-PAST knife-ACC 1SG.ACC cut-PURPs=o  
nhartu-ngara-a\ wii,\ mirntirimarta-a\ wii,\ tharnta-a\ wii,  
something-PL-ACC maybe goanna-ACC maybe euro-ACC maybe  
\textit{jankurna-a\ wii.}  
emu-ACC maybe  
My uncle left me a knife so I could cut things up; goannas maybe, or euros maybe, or emus maybe.  

(7.83)  \textit{Ngunhaa\ jami\ panyu\ ngurntura-a,\ thurla-a\ wii\ panyu-ma-minyji,}  
that.NOM medicine good cold-ACC eye-ACC maybe good-CAUS-FUT  
nhartu-u\ wii,\ ngarnta-ngara-a\ wii,\ wunungu-u\ wii  
something-ACC maybe sore-PL-ACC maybe boil-ACC maybe  
\textit{panyu-ma-minyji,\ parna-a\ wii\ malyarra-mura,\ ngurnaa}  
good-CAUS-FUT head-ACC if sick-PrREL that.ACC  
\textit{nguritha-minyji.}  
smell-FUT  
That medicine is good for colds, or it'll fix eyes maybe, or anything, sores maybe, it'll cure boils maybe, or if you have a sick head you sniff it.

Third, wii follows indefinites and emphasises the existence of a large set of persons or things which might substitute for the indefinite.

(7.84)  \textit{Mir.ta\ nganamarnu\ wii\ wangka-layi.\ Mir.ta\ ngurnaa\ ngana\ wii}  
not anyone maybe speak-FUT not that.ACC who maybe  
\textit{wangka-layi.}  
speak-FUT  
Don't anyone speak. Let's not have someone speak to him.

(7.85)  \textit{Ngayu\ wanti-lha\ nguyirri,\ mir.ta\ nganangu\ wii\ kuliya-lalha,}  
1SG.NOM lie-PAST asleep not who.ACC maybe hear-PAST  
nhartu-u\ wii,\ warnan-ku\ yirla\ kuliya-rinyji\ parnta-mura-a.  
what-ACC maybe rain-ACC until hear-FUT rain-PrREL-ACC  
I lay asleep, didn't hear anyone, or anything, until [I] heard the rain falling.

7.7 TEMPORAL -I  

This clitic has the important function of indicating a state of affairs that is true within a given time frame. For example, in examples (7.86) and (7.87) the clitic is attached to nominal second predicates which describe the state of a participant at the time when the action described by the main predicate is taking place.
Nhulaa miyu mungka-rru wajupi-i wanka-a-l.
that cat eat-PRES grasshopper-ACC alive-ACC-THEN
(i.e. When that cat eats grasshoppers they're alive.)

Ngayu nhuura-rru kuwarri wanthanha-ngara-a kupiyaji-i
1SG.NOM knowing-NOW now which-PL-ACC little(PL)-ACC
bereaved-PL-ACC youth-EFF-THEN father-EFF bereaved leave-PASSP
I know now which bereaved little fellows you mean. [They] were left bereaved
by their father dying when he was [still] a young man. (i.e. When their father left
them he was a young man.)

The following examples illustrate the use of the clitic on a verb (example (7.88)) and the
negative (7.89). In these cases the time frame within which the state of affairs described by
the verb takes place is established by some adjacent clause.

Wirrirri-ma-rninji-rru yima karri-nyila-a karlamarta-a,
flame-CAUS-FUT-NOW this.ACC stand-PrREL-ACC lamp-ACC
nhawu-rra-l nyina-layi mungka-l.yarra panyu-rru
see-CTEMP-THEN sit-FUT eat-CTEMP good-NOW
wirrirri-la-rru.
light-LOC-NOW
Light this lamp standing here, then we'll see, we'll sit and eat properly in
the light.

Ngana ju yaan yungku-lha muyi-i-rru murla-a, mir.ta-l
1SG.GEN wife give-PAST dog-ACC-NOW meat-ACC not-THEN
ngayu mungka-lwala.
1SG.NOM eat-PURPs
My wife gave the dog the meat, so then I couldn't eat it. (trans.)

By its function, -l is most like a nominal suffix. Also, it interacts with nominal suffixes to
cloud the morphological boundary between suffix and clitic (§3.2), and appears frozen in
certain temporal nominals (§5.9). However, despite its affix-like function and distribution,
the fact that -l can be attached to any part of speech argues that it continue to be described as a
separate clitic in a functional class of its own.

7.8 DISCOURSE DEICTIC CLITICS -lwa, -wa, -rru

The three clitics -lwa ‘IDentification’, -wa ‘You Know’, and -rru ‘NOW’, contribute to
the cohesion of a text by marking their hosts as prominent in some way. The clitics often
occur on demonstratives which themselves play an important role in maintaining text
cohesion through the tracking of participants and events.

[A] The -lwa clitic most often appears on demonstratives or pronouns and serves to
identify the item to which it is attached as a particular thing which has been assumed but has
not previously been explicitly identified.
(7.90) *Ngana-lwa ngula thani-lalha nganaju-u muyi-i?*
who-ID IGNOR hit-PAST 1SG.GEN-ACC dog-ACC
Who was it that hit my dog? (trans.)

(7.91) *Kartu-lwa ngurnaa marulwa-lalha, manku-nguli-waa*
2SG.NOM-ID that.ACC make.trouble-PAST grab-PASS-PURPs=o
*marntamarta-lu.*
police-EFF
You're the one who caused trouble for that fellow, so that he was picked up
by the police. (trans.)

(7.92) *Nhiyu-lwa nhiyu parla ngaliwa-lu nhawu-yangu kayurtu*
this.NOM-ID this.NOM hill 1PL.INC-EFF see-PASSP smoke
*karlwa-rra.*
go.up-CTEMP
This is the hill that we saw the smoke going up from.

In example (7.93), the clitic is attached to a verb. Here there is an assumption that the
subject of the verb, the receiver of a favour, will reciprocate in some way. The distribution
of goods is, in this instance, the anticipated response:

(7.93) *Ngawu! Ngayu wuruma-rru nhuwana-lu. Yungku-layi-lwa*
yes 1SG.NOM do.for-PASSP 2PL-EFF give-FUT-ID
*pintirrijila-ma-l.yarra nhuwana-a.*
scattered-CAUS-CTEMP 2PL-ACC
Yes! I had it done for me by you. What I'll do is give them out, share amongst
you [the things you got for me].

[B] The -wa clitic typically occurs on demonstratives and indicates that the speaker believes
the addressee knows what is being referred to. For example:

(7.94) *Ngayu panyu-ma-lalha ngurnu purra-lwayara-a*
1SG.NOM good-CAUS-PAST that.ACC chop-HABIT-ACC
*nganthari-ma-lalha. Ngunhaa puu-rru puni-lha wartirra*
sharp-CAUS-PAST that.NOM far-NOW go-PAST woman
*ngurnu-marta-wa.*
that.ACC-PROP-YK
I fixed up that chopper, sharpened it. That woman has gone off with that one.
(You know the one I'm talking about.) (trans.)

(7.95) *Wantha-rinyji jampa karri-waa muthu-npa-rra warra.*
leave-FUT moment stand-PURPs=o cold-INCH-CTEMP CONT
*Manyarrka-a-rru wantha-rinyji ngulangu-wa.*
sugar-ACC-NOW put-FUT there-YK
Leave it to stand and get a bit cooler for a moment. Now put some sugar there,
in it. (You know the location I'm talking about.)
-rru is the most commonly occurring clitic and in some texts is present in almost every clause. It is used to foreground the item to which it is attached as something the speaker wishes the addressee to focus on: “As for this one now...”. At the same time, the clitic serves to define a kind of narrative present, a statement that what has already been said can be now taken as established, and that the narrative will build from this point. Examples of the use of the clitic abound throughout the description and in the appended texts. The following portion of narrative shows the use of the clitic on various parts of speech:

(7.96) Nhiyu warnan parnta-muru-rru warnu ngaliwa-a.
this.NOM rain rain-PRES-NOW ASSERT 1PL.INC-ACC

cold-INCH-FUT-NOW this.NOM mud-CAUS-PASSP-NOW rain-EFF

Nhiyu parnta-muru waruu. Wantharni-npa-layi-lwa parnta-minyji,
this.NOM rain-PRES still how-INCH-FUT-ID rain-FUT

wayil waya-a yirla? Parnta-muru mir.ta-rru karnkurru-u
maybe night-ACC only rain-PRES not-NOW dust-ACC

karliwa-lwaa. Panyu-rru nyina-layi ngaliwa
get.up-PURPs=o good-NOW be-FUT 1PL.INC

karnkurru-wirriwa-la-rru. Nhiyu warnan panyu-ma-muru
dust-PRIV-LOC-NOW this.NOM rain good-CAUS-PRES

mirntirimarta-ngara-a puni-waa, jalyuru-la-rru tharrwa-lu,
goanna-PL-ACC go-PURPs=o hole-LOC-NOW enter-PURPss

wanti-layi-rru muthu-u-rru waya. Ngaliwa puni-layi-rru
lie-FUT-NOW cold-ACC-NOW fear 1PL.INC go-FUT-NOW

wawayi-l.yarra ngurra-ngara-a-rru mirntirimarta-wu-u.
look.for-CTEMP camp-PL-ACC-NOW goanna-GEN-ACC

It's raining on us now. Now it's getting cold. It's getting muddy now from the rain. It's still raining. What's the rain going to do, it might go until tonight? It's raining and so the dust won't come up. We'll be good while there's no dust now. This rain will make the goannas good, to go into their holes now, and stay there now, for fear of the cold. And now we'll go and look for goanna holes.

The interaction among the clitics and the various demonstratives is most clearly evidenced in a range of presentative constructions. The following examples are culled from a single text:

(7.97) a. ngunhaa-rru-wa ngunhu
The one we're talking about now, you know; that's it.

b. ngunhu-rru-wa ngunhaa
That one now, you know; the one we're talking about.

c. ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa
That's the one; the one we're talking about.

d. ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa-wa
That's the one; the one we're talking about, you know.
e. yimpala-rru-wa ngunhaa  
Like that now, you know; what we're talking about.

f. nhiyu-lwa-rru ngunhaa,  
nurnula-lwa-rru ngunhaa  
This one now, you know; the one we're talking about. That one in particular now, you know; the one we're talking about.

The -wa clitic is descended from the same set of 'topic-tracking' suffixes as are involved in the formation of the topic-tracking demonstratives (see §5.5.2). However, it is not possible to analyse the topic-tracking forms as involving the demonstrative stem plus the -wa suffix at the synchronic level. First, forms bearing the -wa clitic do not track with topic-tracking forms in text, and second, topic-tracking demonstrative forms bearing the -wa clitic do occasionally occur (as in examples (7.97a) and (7.97d) above).

-Lwa probably involves the clitics -l and -wa at some level. However, the fact that -l and -lwa can co-occur, and the different positioning of -lwa and -wa with respect to -rru argues that the relationship is a historical one.

7.9 PRESENTATIVE pala

Pala functions as a presentative dummy taking the place of a demonstrative in a range of constructions. Unlike full demonstratives, pala does not imply an independent identification of its referent through some other deictic system. In the following examples it occurs as the complement to a demonstrative or pronoun in a presentative construction like those illustrated in (7.97) above.

(7.98)  
Ah! Ngunhaa pala, mimi ngali-i!  
ah that.NOM IT uncle 1DU.INC-ACC  
Ah! That's [who] it [is], [the one who is] uncle to us!

(7.99)  
Ngayu kuliyanpa-lha-rru janku, wayangka-lha-rru warnu.  
1SG.NOM think-PAST-NOW self frighten-PAST-NOW ASSERT  
YimpaJa paju pala, kuyi1 paju.  
like.that REAL IT bad REAL  
I thought about myself now, I was frightened (you see). Well that's what it's really like, very bad.

(7.100)  
Ngayu pala, purkuru waruul, kuyilwa-lalha nganaju-u yaan-ku.  
1SG.NOM IT true still upset-PAST 1SG.GEN-ACC wife-ACC  
I'm the one, that's true, who upset my wife.

The following examples show pala following nominals other than pronouns and demonstratives, (7.101) and (7.102), and a verb (7.103).

(7.101)  
Mir.ta! Piyuwa! Panyu-lwa pala! Thurlajinkari-tharra kupuyu-tharra  
no finish good-ID IT poor.fellow-DU little-DU  
mir.ta-lwa kalya-rru muyi-ngku.  
Not-ID bite-PASSP dog-EFF  
No! Not at all! It's all right! The two poor little fellows didn't get bitten by the dog.
Thana-rru yimpala waruul-wa-rru; nguyirri pala.
Let-NOW like that still-Ø-NOW asleep IT
Let him stay like that now; asleep, that is.

Nhulaa kanyara warnu ngarrawurlu nyina-nguru. Nhartu-ma-l.yarra?
near. you man ASSERT other. way sit-PRES what-CAUS-CTEMP

Wirlayinpa-rra pala!
on.toilet-CTEMP IT
That man is sitting the other way. What's he doing? [He's] sitting on the toilet, that's what!

As illustrated in §7.2.1, pala commonly follows the warnu particle where this introduces the speaker’s explanation of a state of affairs.

7.10 PERMISSIVE/HORTATIVE thana, warrayi, kunti

The two particles thana and warrayi have a similar function to the English permissive verb ‘let’. Thana occurs in clause-initial position and makes the suggestion that the situation described in the clause be allowed to take place.

Thana-rru wanti-Ø nguyirri, mir.ta marruwa-ma-minyji.
let-NOW lie-IMP asleep not wake-CAUS-FUT.
Let [him] sleep, don’t wake [him] up.

Thana wanti-waa nguyirri minthal paniya-npa-layi.
let lie-PURPs=o asleep alone eye-INCH-FUT
Leave [him] to sleep and wake up on his own.

Wamtitha-minyji yakarrangu-la wanti-waa. Thana pinkarranyu-npa-rra
throw-FUT sun-LOC lie-PURPs=o let dry-INCH-CTEMP
kayarra-la wii yakarrangu-la.
two-LOC maybe day-LOC
Throw [them] to lie in the sun. Let [them] dry for two days or so.

Thana typically occurs with imperative or purposive verb inflections. Example (7.106) is the only exception in the data and here thana immediately follows a purposive. The choice of verb inflection implies different actions on the part of the addressee.

Thana NP Verb-IMP Let ‘NP Verb’
Thana NP Verb-PURPss Do nothing allowing that ‘NP Verb’
Thana NP Verb-PURPs=o Do something to NP so that ‘NP Verb’
Thana NP Verb-PURPds Do something so that ‘NP Verb’

The thana particle only ever occurs where the subject of the sentence is third person and thus contrasts with warrayi which functions as a hortative, implying some action of the speaker together with the addressee.

Thana kunti pukarra wanti-Ø. Mir.ta warrayi karla-ma-minyji.
let stop firewood lie-IMP not let’s fire-CAUS-FUT
Let the firewood alone. Let’s not make a fire.
let's frighten off these talkative people.

Warrayi is probably related to the particle warra, which indicates something which is not happening and which the speaker wants to happen (and possibly by the addition of the vocative clitic -yi (§7.11)). However, the different distribution of the two words argues against treating warrayi as a form of warra in the synchronic description. Thana is historically a third person (originally plural) pronoun which has become frozen as the marker of third person permissive clauses.

Kunti suggests an immediate cessation of an activity. Like the actions permitting the situation in a thana clause, the action which kunti brings to a halt is usually not overtly specified.

Kunti ngaliwa puni-layi-rru.
We'll stop what we're doing and go now!

Nhawu-Ø kunti jampa nguru-wurrini marlara-wurrini.
Stop for a moment and look towards the road.

Karri-Ø kunti yilangu!
Stop here!

Interjections can be defined as non-inflecting words which, unlike other non-inflecting words, may not take clitics. They often occur as single word minimal utterances. The following interjections have been discovered so far:

ngaa Yes!, Go on! (continue talking)
ngawu Yes indeed! (affirmation)
parra Go on, do it!
yakayi Ouch! (pain or surprise)
yakartayi Ouch! (more emphatic than yakayi)
parru I can see it! (recognition)
ya Hey!
thawu Look!, Listen!
kuwayi I've seen something!
 thuwa You should know!
paparti Damn!
mir.ta No!
piyuwa Not at all!, Nothing!

The clitic -yi 'vocative', can be grouped together with the interjections and may be frozen in the forms yakayi, yakartayi and kuwayi (and see warrayi §7.10 above). It is used on
pronouns, terms of address, or greetings when calling out to someone to attract their attention. The vocative clitic has the form -wi following a u vowel.

(7.112)  *Pawulu-ngara-yi! Nganaju kangku-Ø kayulu-u!*
child-PL-VOC 1SG.ACC bring-IMP water-ACC
Hey children! Bring me some water!

(7.113)  *Kartu-wi nhawungarra! Mir.ta puni-layi ngulangu-wa, jamanu*
2SG.NOM-VOC look.out not go-FUT there-YK foot
*wurnta-miyangu parla-ngku jurirri-ngara-lu.*
cut-PASS.LEST rock-EFF sharp-PL-EFF
Hey look out! Don't go there, your feet might get cut by sharp rocks.

(7.114)  *Wantha-rru-wi! Nhuwala puni-lha-lwa wantharni wii?*
where-NOW-VOC 2PL go-PAST-ID what.way maybe
Hey hello! Did you two go anywhere?
CHAPTER 8
NOUN PHRASES

This chapter describes the syntax of noun phrases. Section 8.1 presents the structure of the noun phrase as an ordered set of functional slots which may be filled by different nominal lexemes (and embedded noun phrases). Part-whole constructions are described in §8.2 and generic-specific constructions in §8.3. Section 8.4 discusses the problems associated with determining the head in a Martuthunira noun phrase and the apparent ellipsis of heads. It is argued that a very liberal approach to defining what may be a head avoids the problems introduced by assuming widespread ellipsis. Section 8.5 describes complex noun phrase structure – the embedding of clauses and phrases of particular types within the various functional slots – while §8.6 describes adjoined noun phrase structures. Finally, §8.7 discusses apparent exceptions to the patterns of noun phrase structure established in previous sections.

8.1 NOUN PHRASE STRUCTURE

Noun phrases in Martuthunira can be defined as follows:

1. Noun phrases are sequences of nominals over which some nominal suffix may be distributed. The distribution of a particular suffix over more than one word defines a noun phrase.

2. Noun phrases consist of a sequence of nominals (or noun phrases) which fill defined functional slots.

Typically one intonation contour covers a noun phrase although complex noun phrases consisting of a number of embedded phrases may be broken up by pauses despite an encompassing nominal inflection. The Martuthunira noun phrase can be described as an ordered arrangement of functional slots in the following order (following McGregor's (1984) analysis of Kuniyanti noun phrases):

\[(\text{Determiner}) \wedge (\text{Quantifier}) \wedge (\text{Classifier}) \wedge \text{Entity} \wedge (\text{Qualifier})^*\]

The Entity slot and its filler is the semantic head of the noun phrase. Typically, it is the nominal in this slot that makes the primary reference to some object or person. Nominals preceding the Entity, in Determiner, Quantifier and/or Classifier slots, restrict the reference of the head nominal by narrowing the set of entities from which the referent is chosen. Nominals following the Entity, in Qualifier position, have a non-restrictive modifying function. They provide some additional information about the entity picked out by the noun phrase. Possible fillers of each of the slots are discussed below.
8.1.1 DETERMINER

Nominals filling the Determiner slot serve to narrow the reference of the phrase by contextual identification of the referent. Demonstratives and possessive pronouns (including the genitive definite demonstrative, ngurmulangu (§5.5.3)) are the most common fillers of this slot. In addition, the nominals yarta ‘other one’, and yartapalyu ‘others, other group’ typically function as Determiners. These narrow the reference by distinguishing the referent of the noun phrase from some referent already introduced or assumed. Yartapalyu in example (8.1) below emphasises that a number of people are grouped together as a unit separate from some other group or individual. The simple form yarta may take regular number marking despite the existence of the special group form (8.2).

(8.1)  
\[
\text{Nganaju yaan yungku-lha murla-a yartapalyu-u kanyara-ngara-a.}
\]
1SG.GEN wife give-PAST meat-ACC others-ACC man-PL-ACC
My wife gave meat to the other men. (trans.)

(8.2)  
\[
\text{Kartu-lwa puni-nguru kuyil yarta-ngara-a nhuunu-ngara-a.}
\]
2SG.NOM-ID go-PRES bad other-PL-ACC spouse-PL-ACC
You're the one who is bad to other spouses of yours.

8.1.2 QUANTIFIER

The Quantifier slot may be filled by one of three number words or by a nominal functioning as a mass quantifier:

- kalika: one
- kayarra: two
- jarrkurti: three, a few
- maruwarla: many, much
- kupuyu: a little

Only one complex number expression occurs in the data:

(8.3)  
\[
\text{Nhaminthia ngula? Kayarra jina, kayarra juwayu wirra-ngara wiyaa.}
\]
how many IGNOR two foot two hand boomerang-PL maybe
How many were there? Maybe twenty boomerangs (lit. two hands and two feet of boomerangs).

The nominal maruwarla functions as a Quantifier for all numbers greater than jarrkurti, if the entity is inherently countable, or for any relatively large amount of a non-countable substance. The plural suffix may be used to indicate an overly large amount of a usually non-countable entity such as sand, fat or liquid. The nominal kupuyu ‘little’ is used to indicate a small amount of a non-countable substance.

8.1.3 CLASSIFIER

The nominal in Classifier function narrows the reference by picking out a subset of the set of items to which the nominal in Entity function may refer. There are a number of types of subset classification. Firstly, the Classifier may specify a referent by describing a property manifested by a subset of the class of objects denoted by the Entity nominal.
... purra-lyarra parla-marta yarta-ngka pilyi-ngka parla-ngka.
hit-CTEMP stone-PROP other-LOC flat-LOC stone-LOC
... hit with a stone on another flat stone.

Ngayu kuliya-la warntitha-rngurra kuyil-ngara-a
1SG.NOM ear-LOC throw-PASS-CTEMP bad-PL-ACC
marrari-ngara-a nhuwana-lu.
word-PL-ACC 2PL-EFF
I'm getting bad words thrown at me, in [my] ear, by you.

Kampa-minyji-rru ngurnaa marli-ngka-a ngamari-i.
burn-FUT-NOW that.ACC paper-LOC-ACC tobacco-ACC
Now light that 'paper-rolled tobacco' (a cigarette as opposed to a plug of chewing tobacco).

Ngunhu kartatha-lalha marruwa-a wirra-a.
that.NOM chop-PAST snakewood-ACC boomerang-ACC
He chopped a snakewood boomerang.

Secondly, the Classifier may name a specific type of entity which forms a subset of the generic class denoted by the nominal in the Entity slot.

Thathu-rru warnu pala ngaliwa nguru mharnta-a murla-a.
send-PASSP ASSERT IT 1PL.INC that.ACC euro-ACC meat-ACC
Well, it's because we were sent that euro meat.

Thirdly, human stage-of-life terms are used as classifying stage-of-life terms with some animals. Animals such as the euro, plains kangaroo, emu and goanna have their own special stage-of-life terms. In example (8.9) pawulu ‘child’, and julyu ‘old man’, are used to classify dogs. Kupuyuwaja functions as a Classifier of the first type described above.

Nganarna yanga-lalha kupuyuwaja-a muyi-i, ngurnula-ngu-u
1PL.EXC chase-PAST little.one-ACC dog-ACC that.DEF-GEN-ACC
pawulu-u muyi-i. Ngunhu-lwa pawu, julyu muyi.
child-ACC dog-ACC that.NOM-ID father old.man dog
We chased off those little dogs, that one's puppies. That's the father, that old dog.

8.1.4 ENTITY

The nominal in the Entity slot is the semantic head of the phrase in that it makes the primary reference to some object. Usually this slot is filled by a nominal which is prototypically noun-like but this is not a strict requirement. The Entity slot may be filled by any of the following:

1. simple nominal lexemes
2. part-whole composites (§8.2)
3. embedded clauses (§8.5.3)
4. derived adnominal expressions (§8.5.1)
8.1.5 QUALIFIER

This slot is filled by expressions attributing some characteristic to the referent of the noun phrase. While nominals preceding the Entity slot have the primary function of facilitating successful reference by restricting the class of items to which the noun phrase may refer, nominals following the Entity slot add some additional information about an already identified referent. All nominals which may precede the head of a noun phrase may also function as fillers of the Qualifier slot, and apparently the converse also holds. The most common fillers of the Qualifier slot are nominals functioning as prototypical adjectives. Some of these are listed below by semantic type (following Dixon 1982):


**Colour:** jiwarra ‘white’, jurwin ‘grey’, kurnangu ‘black’, martamarta ‘red’ (mart ‘blood’), piyulu ‘yellow (ochre)’, palharra ‘green’.

**Age:** kuwarrika ‘new’, kuwarrrinyjangu ‘young’, manyjira ‘old’.

**Value:** panyu ‘good’, kuyil ‘bad’, jalya ‘useless’, murlurru ‘straight, correct’.

**Human propensity:** kur.ta ‘clever, knowledgeable’, payawurtu ‘savage, sulky’, paya ‘angry, wild’, thaapuwa ‘a person who stands out from the crowd, important, distinguished (not necessarily in a positive way)’, thurlajinkarri ‘poor fellow, unfortunate’, wantumarta ‘crazy’, paampaarn ‘silly’, kamparta ‘restless, stirred up’, jalya ‘useless, bereaved’.

Other nominal types which may function as Qualifiers include number nominals (8.10), possessives (8.11) and (4.130), and proper names (8.12) and (8.13).

**(8.10)** Ngayu yungku-layi ngurnaa ngawurrmart-a kalika-a, 1SG.NOM give-FUT that.ACC soap-ACC one-ACC wara-marnu-u. clothes-ASSOC-ACC
I'll give him some laundry soap, one piece (lit. soap for clothes).

**(8.11)** Ngayu kanarri-lha nhuwa-na-a wangka-lu ngurra-ngka 1SG.NOM come-PAST 2PL-ACC speak-PURPss camp-LOC nhuwa-na-wu-la nyina-nyila-a. 2PL-GEN-LOC sit-PrREL-ACC
I came to talk to you sitting in camp, your camp.
A number of qualifying expressions may follow the Entity nominal. However, an extended sequence of Qualifiers does not usually occur under the same intonation contour and instead successive nominals are separated by a noticeable pause. This phenomenon argues that these nominals be treated as independent noun phrases and further suggests that in fact all Qualifiers be considered independent of a separate head-final noun phrase structure. Nevertheless, in this description I prefer to maintain a view of the Martuthunira noun phrase as including a generally tightly bound post-head Qualifier position, though on the basis of the currently available data it is difficult to argue convincingly for one position over the other. The indeterminacy of noun phrase heads is discussed in §8.4.

8.2 PART-WHOLE CONSTRUCTIONS

Part-whole constructions are considered to be complex fillers of the Entity slot – the nominals referring to whole and part are apposed at a subordinate level of structure within the noun phrase. Either order, part-whole or whole-part, is possible as the examples in (8.14) show. (For detailed discussion of the semantic relationships which may be represented by part-whole constructions in Australian languages see Hale (1981) and McGregor (1985).)

(8.14) a. marli kartawura butt of a cadjeput tree
cadjeput butt

b. murtiwarla yinyjin car engine
car engine

c. mirntirimarta punga goanna guts
goanna guts

d. ngayu jirli my arm
1SG.NOM arm

e. jina-ngka ngathala on my foot
foot-LOC 1SG.LOC

f. jamanu muyi dog track
track dog

g. yilhi wirra boomerang chip (the chips of wood
chip boomerang left after a boomerang has been carved)

Modification of the part in a part-whole construction involves a fixed construction, almost a compound, of part and modifier. For example:

(8.15) Ngayu yirma murla-a wurnta-minyji mulha jurirri-lu
1SG.NOM this.ACC meat-ACC cut-FUT point sharp-EFF
jumpirirri-lu.
knife-EFF
I'll cut this meat with a sharp-pointed knife.

(8.16) Kupuyu-tharra mir.ta-lwa kalya-ru muyi-ngku, jalya-ngku
little-DU not-ID bite-PASSP dog-EFF useless-EFF
waruul, muyi-ngku tharta para-ngku, para yirla mirtali-lu,
still dog-EFF crutch hollow-EFF head only big-EFF
jalya-ngku waruul, ngarmarr karta-ngku.
useless-EFF still rib.cage bony-EFF
The two little fellows weren't bitten by the dog, the useless thing, hollow­
crutched dog, only big in the head, useless thing, bony-ribbed thing.

As these examples show, the usual distribution of case to all elements in a constituent is
suspended where a modifying nominal is restricted in its scope to the part. Were the
distribution of case allowed to include the part, the scope of the modifier would be taken to
include the whole. Compare the following examples.

1SG.NOM see-PAST that.ACC dog-ACC track big-ACC
I saw the big tracks of a dog. (trans.)

b. Ngayu nhawu-lha ngumu muyi-i jamanu-u mirtali-i.
1SG.NOM see-PAST that.ACC dog-ACC track-ACC big-ACC
I saw the tracks of a big dog. (trans.)

The order of part and modifier is also fixed as the following show:

(8.18) a. ... mulha jurirri-lu jumpirirri-lu
 ... with a sharp-pointed knife (cf. (8.15) above)

b. *mulha-ngku jurirri jumpirirri-lu

c. *jurirri-lu mulha jumpirirri-lu

d. *jurirri mulha-ngku jumpirirri-lu

Despite the blocking of full case agreement and the fixed order, these part-modifier
constructions cannot be described as compound lexemes. Firstly, as example (8.16)
illustrates, the choice of stem-length-sensitive nominal suffix allomorphs, such as the
effector, is dependent on the length of the modifying nominal rather than the combined length
of part and modifier. Secondly, particles and clitics may intervene between part and modifier,
again illustrated in (8.16). The construction must be treated as a tightly bound constituent
existing below the level of the noun phrase, and within which the usual patterns of multiple
case-marking do not hold.

8.3 GENERIC-SPECIFIC CONSTRUCTIONS

Martuthunira makes very little use of generic-specific constructions; unlike some
Australian languages in which generic classification is almost mandatory. This is not to say,
of course, that generic classification does not exist, just that the use of generic classification
of a specific object in making primary reference to an entity is rare. Given this situation the
setting up of a special generic-specific construction just to explain the few examples which resemble generic-specific constructions in other languages is hardly justified. The following examples illustrate generic-specific nominal pairs (the generic is underlined).

(8.19) \textit{Nhurnti-ma-ru} waruul-wa-ru \textit{murla} warryumuntu jinyji-warla.
dead-CAUS-PASSP still-Ø-NOW meat mother.euro fat-FULL
It's been killed all right, a nice fat euro with a joey.

(8.20) \textit{Ngaliwa} puni-nguru \textit{murla-marta} jankurna-marta!
IPL.EXC go-PRES meat-PROP emu-PROP
We've got meat, emu!

(8.21) \textit{Ngayu} manku-layi \textit{thanuwa-ngara-a} maan-ngara-a.
1SG.NOM get-FUT vegetable.food-PL-ACC seed-PL-ACC
I'll get some food, seeds.

(8.22) \textit{Ngathu} mulhaa-mu ngunhaa \textit{murla-maru} warriri.
1SG.EFF sharpen-PASSP that.NOM meat-ASSOC spear
That meat-getting spear was sharpened by me.

There is some indeterminacy involved in deciding which of the two, generic or specific, is the semantic head of the phrase (see §8.4 below). Examples of specific-generic pairs were described in §8.1.3 as instances of the Classifier-Entity relationship; the specific nominal serving to pick out a particular kind of the generic class in contrast to all other kinds included in that class. However, it is not clear that in examples such as (8.19) to (8.22), the generic performs a similar classifying function. The generic does not convey the notion that the specific is being considered in one sense (an entity of the type defined by the generic) in contrast to any other sense. Rather, the generic also functions as the head in generic-specific constructions, the specific nominal filling the Qualifier slot. Thus the two phrases \textit{murla tharnta} ‘meat euro’ and \textit{murla panyu} ‘meat good’ have a similar interpretation. In each, ‘meat’ is the semantic head, making the primary reference to some entity, and the following nominal describes this entity as ‘a euro’, on the one hand, and as ‘good’ on the other. By this analysis the noun phrase, \textit{murla warryumuntu jinyjiwarla}, in (8.19), is interpreted as having ‘meat’ as its head and both ‘mother euro’ and ‘fat-FULL’ as Qualifiers.

8.4 THE INDETERMINACY OF NOUN PHRASE HEADS AND APPARENT ELLIPSIS

The analysis of the noun phrase given in §8.1 assumes an optional post-head Qualifier. However, in that the putative head of any noun phrase is not categorically distinct from other elements in the noun phrase (see §3.1.1) there is a degree of indeterminacy in the analysis. How is one to decide which of the nominals in a noun phrase is in the Entity slot functioning as the head? For example, (8.8) includes the noun phrase \textit{ngurru tharnta-a murla-a} (that.ACC euro-ACC meat-ACC) for which it is suggested that \textit{murla} ‘meat’ is the head and \textit{tharnta} ‘euro’ a Classifier. But this noun phrase could have an alternative reading in which ‘euro’ is the head and ‘meat’ a post-head Qualifier. The two readings for sentence (8.8) would be:

\begin{itemize}
\item a. We were sent that meat of the euro kind.
\item b. We were sent that euro, which is meat.
\end{itemize}
There are other alternatives. The initial demonstrative might be the head, followed by a post-head modifying noun phrase which contains in turn the two nominals ‘euro’ and ‘meat’ in various alternative interpretations:

c. We were sent that thing, which is euro meat.

d. ...

Rather than attempt to impose strict interpretations on these structures, it is assumed here that noun phrases are ambiguous. The grammar generates a range of alternative structures for which different semantic interpretations are possible.

As a further complication, there are numerous examples in the data in which a clearly entity-referring nominal appears to be missing from a noun phrase. That is, the noun phrase appears to be without a head. Examples (8.23) and (8.24) illustrate a common pattern in which elliptical responses in a conversation preserve the case-suffixes appropriate to the full clause.

   I take-PAST SoSo+1POSS-GROUP-ACC fish-ALL
   I took a group of my grandchildren for fish.

b. *Nganangu-ngara pawulu-ngara?*
   who.GEN-PL child-PL
   Whose children are they?

c. *Ngurnu-ngara yaan-wirriwa-wura-a.*
   that.OBL-PL-ACC spouse-PRIV-BELONG-ACC
   [I took] the ones who belong to the one who is without a spouse.

   Yes Okay IT niece-GEN-PL-ACC
   Yes. Okay that's it (I understand). (You took) niece's ones.

   that.NOM dog chase-PAST child-DU-ACC
   That dog chased two children.

b. *Ngana-ngura-tharra-a yanga-lalha?*
   who-BELONG-DU-ACC chase-PAST
   Whose two did it chase?

c. *Yirna-tharra-wura-a.*
   this.OBL-DU-BELONG-ACC
   [It chased] the ones belonging to these two.

In examples (8.23c) and (8.23d) the response maintains the accusative case-marking of (8.23a), similarly in (8.24b) and (8.24c). However, not all examples of adnominally inflected heads are quite so easily explained by a regular pattern of ellipsis. In (8.25) (occurring also in (4.89) and (10.53)), the two principal protagonists are referred to by transparent adnominal expressions. Neither of these expressions can be thought of as lexical derivations. The expressions *thaluwaya* and *murlamarnu* are chosen to emphasise the particular relationship existing between a man and his dog. The man is described solely as the dog’s owner; the dog is described by a generic expression often used for grouping together hunting implements (see (8.22) above).
(8.25) **Thalu-waya** panyu-npa-wala-rru wiru ngurnulangu-ru-ru pet-OWNER good-INCH-PURPds-NOW feelings that.GEN-EFF-NOW
murja-marna-ru kananri-yanggu.
meat-ASSOC-EFF come-PASSP
The *pet-owner* will be getting good feelings now that his *meat-getter* (dog) has come to him.

A speaker may choose to use an adnominally expressed attributive as a head where there may not be a specific referent known to either speaker or addressee. Thus in example (8.26), it turns out that the first speaker has a 'camel bush' spike in his foot, but this is not known until later in the conversation. Until then, the spike is referred to by the ascriptive property that it is *in the foot*.

(8.26) a. **Jina karta-rru wanthala?**
foot poke-PASSP somewhere
[Your] foot got poked somewhere?

b. **Ngawu, thuulwa-minyji-nu jina-ngka-a ngathala-a?**
yes pull-FUT-QUOT foot-LOC-ACC 1SG.LOC-ACC
Yes, how about pulling out [the thing] in my foot?

c. **Nyaina-∅ kartu ngathala yilangu, ngayu thuulwa-minyji-la jina-ngka-a.**
sit-IMP you me.LOC here, I pull-FUT-LOC foot-LOC-ACC
You sit here by me while I then pull out [the thing] in [your] foot.

There are two examples of apparently elliptical expressions in example (8.27). First the noun phrase *thawun-ta* (town-LOCative) (8.27b), which refers to the things bought 'in town', provides a generic reference to a collection of things which are itemised later in the text (when it is discovered that some things have been forgotten). The second expression, *thanuwa-marta-ngara* (food-PROPrietive-PLural) (8.27c), referring to the people 'with the food', picks out a particularly relevant property of the shoppers who were sent back to town for the forgotten items.

(8.27) a. **Nhuwana puni-rra wii thawun-mulyarra, nganaju wuruma-minyji**
2PL go-CTEMP if town-ALL 1SG.ACC do.for-FUT
yurntura-a manyarrka-a-thurti wii parrka-a wii?
flour-ACC sugar-ACC-CONJ maybe tea-ACC maybe
If you go to town will you get for me some flour and sugar maybe, and maybe tea?

b. **Nganarna manku-lha-nguru-rru thawun-ta-a, wuruma-l-yyarra**
1PL.EXC get-PAST-ABL-NOW town-LOC-ACC do.for-CTEMP
kartungu, parrani-lha-ma-minyji-rru kartungu-mulyarra...
2SG.ACC return-PAST-CAUS-FUT-NOW 2SG.OBL-ALL
Now having got [the things] in town for you, we then brought them back to you...

c. **Ngayu marlara-a kari-nguru nhawu-rra. purrkuru waruul,**
1SG.NOM road-ACC stand-PRES watch-REL true still
nhula-ngara murna-ngka-rru ngaliwa-a, thanuwa-marta-ngara.
that (near.you)-PL close-LOC-NOW 1PL.INC-ACC food-PROP-PL
I stand watching the road. True enough, they are close to us now, [those people] with the food.

Rather than treat these constructions as elliptical, the adnominal expressions are assumed here to be fillers of the Entity slot in a complete noun phrase. Under this interpretation, the ascriptive use of adnominal suffixes is seen as a productive device allowing a great deal of creativity in the construction of narrative. An entity can be referred to by any of the properties it is known to have, whether these be inherent, such as determine its being considered a token of a particular nominal type (e.g. ‘dog’ or ‘man’), or whether they be dependent on a particular context (that dog's owners use them in hunting meat) (see (8.24)). Similarly, once a participant has been introduced into a text it can be named by any of the characteristic properties that served to identify it in the first place, by the properties attributed to it by way of qualifying expressions, or by characteristics or properties acquired through its role in the events recounted in the text.

As example (8.28) shows, this pattern of using ascriptive predicates as the heads of nominal referring expressions is not restricted to adnominally marked nominals. Here the underlined expression is a verb bearing plural marking and the accusative suffix. Embedded clauses of this kind are described in §8.5.3 below.

get-PAST-ABL do.for-CTEMP stay-COLL-PAST-ABL-ACC
With all the food they then sit down and talk together, having got the things for [the ones who] stayed (behind) together.

8.5 COMPLEX NOUN PHRASES

The basic noun phrase consisting of a selection of functional slots filled by simple nominal lexemes can be expanded by filling the slots with more complex structures. These structures are of three types: noun phrases, conjoined noun phrases, and clauses.

8.5.1 EMBEDDED NOUN PHRASES

Embedded noun phrases occur in each of the positions described in §8.1. The simplest non-basic noun phrases consist of a single nominal bearing an adnominal suffix (example (8.29)). Other embedded noun phrases consist of a number of nominals conforming to the general noun phrase structure (8.30), (8.31). Depending on the relationship between the embedded nominal and the matrix head, some adnominal suffix may be distributed over the embedded noun phrase.

(8.29) Ngurnu : thanhta-a murla-a ngarri-ngka-nguru-u
that.ACC euro-ACC meat-ACC ashes-LOC-ABL-ACC
that euro meat from out of the ashes (from example (4.62))

Determiner Classifier Entity Qualifier
8.5.2 EMBEDDED CONJOINED NOUN PHRASES

The conjunction of noun phrases within a noun phrase structure is achieved with the conjunctive morpheme -thurti. As discussed in §4.19, the status of -thurti as a nominal suffix is not completely clear: it usually occurs within the scope of a distributed relational nominal suffix (8.32), but may occur following such a suffix (8.33). There are no obvious differences in meaning associated with the different positions.

(8.32)  \textit{Ngayu ngawurri-ma-minyji puwara-thurti-i martarr-thurti-i.}  
1SG.NOM mixed-CAUS-FUT charcoal-CONJ-ACC red.ochre-CONJ-ACC  
I'll mix up charcoal and red ochre.

(8.33)  \textit{Ngayu kampa-lalha thanuwa-ngara-a wuruma-l.yarra}  
1SG.NOM cook-PAST vegetable.food-PL-ACC do.for-CTEMP  
pawulu-ngara-a-thurti kanyara-ngara-a-thurti.  
child-PL-ACC-CONJ adult-PL-ACC-CONJ  
I cooked food for the children and the adults.

Occasionally, -thurti appears on only the second of two nominals. In such examples there is usually an implication that the second of the two conjuncts is subordinate to the first.

(8.34)  \textit{Mir.ta-l nguyiirri-wirraa-ma-minyji yirma-ngara-a}  
not-THEN asleep-PRIV-CAUS-FUT this.OBL-PL-ACC
The conjunction suffix may also occur on a nominal in isolation (examples (4.178) to (4.180)). In such cases the -thurti-marked nominal may be construed with another noun phrase through case concord, resulting in an effective conjunction of the two noun phrases. Although semantically very similar, this type of conjunction is syntactically very different from that described here.

8.5.3 EMBEDDED CLAUSES

Whole clauses may be embedded within a noun phrase, either in the Entity position or as a Qualifier. The clause appears without a subject and it is the assumed filler of the subject slot that can be understood as the entity to which the noun phrase as a whole refers. The use of subjectless embedded clauses as noun phrases is equivalent to the use of adnominal expressions as the sole constituents of noun phrases as discussed in §8.4. Here reference is made to an entity by describing an action in which that entity has been involved as a central participant.

(8.35)  *Ngayu  wara-ngara-a  wanta-minnyji, wilyiwyi-ma-mu-ngara-a*  
1SG.NOM clothes-PL-ACC put-FUT clean-CAUS-PASS-PL-ACC  
*wanta-minnyji.*  
put-FUT  
I'll put out the clothes, put out [the ones that] have been cleaned.

The verb in an embedded clause usually bears either the past tense or the passive perfective verb inflection and carries the nominal suffixes inherited from the noun phrase structure. The examples chosen here all show the distribution of plural marking to the subordinate clause verb, thus making the embedded structure very clear. In example (8.36) the embedded clause fills the Entity slot while the pronoun is a Determiner. The nominal wantamartu ‘silly’ functions as a Qualifier. In (8.37) and (8.38) the clause is a Qualifier.

(8.36)  *Kartu  panyu-npa-layi  nganarna-a  ngalarri-lha-ngara-a*  
2SG.NOM good-INCH-FUT IP L.EXC-A CC forget-PAST-PL-ACC  
wantamartu-ngara-a.  
silly-PL-ACC  
You be good to us forgetful silly people.

(8.37)  *Nhiingara  panyu-ngara  wirra-a  yinka-lalha-ngara ...*  
this.PL good-PL boomerang-ACC chisel-PAST-PL  
These good people who carved the boomerang...

(8.38)  *Ngayu  nhawu-ngu-layi  ngurnu-ngara-lu  kanyara-lu  puwany*  
1SG.NOM see-PASS-FUT that.OBL-PL-EFF man-EFF hunting  
puni-lha-ngara-lu.  
go-PAST-PL-EFF  
I'll be seen by those men who have gone hunting.
Given that verbal clauses may be embedded in noun phrase slots, it might be assumed that non-verbal clauses may also be so embedded. However, since an embedded clause usually does service for the nominal which ordinarily fills its subject position, most embedded non-verbal clauses would be indistinguishable from noun phrases. For example, the non-verbal ascriptive clause *ngunhu kanyara / parla-marta* (that.NOM man money-PROP) ‘that man has money’, would appear as simply *parla-marta* if embedded under some noun phrase.

### 8.6 ADJOINED NOUN PHRASE STRUCTURES

Complex noun phrases are distinguished from adjoined noun phrase structures. The latter can be considered special cases of a general pattern in which similarly case-marked noun phrases are construed at some higher level of semantic interpretation. Two general functions of adjoined noun phrase structures can be recognised. Firstly, an adjoined noun phrase may provide a fuller description of a group denoted by some noun phrase by specifying the membership of the group:

(8.39)  

*nghunhaa parrani-lha-rru nhawu-lu ngurnala-ngu-u*  
that.NOM return-PAST-NOW see-PURPSs that.DEF-GEN-ACC  
ngarniyarrangu-u, pipi-thurti-i pawu-thurti-i  
family-ACC mother-CONJ-ACC father-CONJ-ACC  
mimi-thurti-i.  
uncle-CONJ-ACC  
He went back to see his family; mother, father and uncle.

(8.40)  

*nghanama jalurra-a nhawu-layi kupyayai-i, wuntu-ngara-a-thurti*  
1PL.EXC dance-ACC see-FUT little(PL)-ACC boy-PL-ACC-CONJ  
ngurrinymarta-ngara-a-thurti panyu-ma-mura-a.  
girl-PL-ACC-CONJ good-CAUS-PrREL-ACC  
We’ll watch the little fellows, boys and girls, making a good job of the dance.

The use of an adjoined noun phrase expression to describe the composition of a group is a common device in explicating non-singular pronoun reference. Often adjoined noun phrases specify just one or two of the members of the group, typically specifying the third person included within the reference set of a first person exclusive pronoun. The following example provides a good illustration.

(8.41)  

*nghunhaa nganarna-lu, yihu ngathu, manku-yangu jarrkurti-lu.*  
that.NOM 1PL.EXC-EFF this.EFF 1SG.EFF grab-PASSP three-EFF  
*nghaliwa-rru, kartu-thurti-rru puni-layi.*  
1PL.INC-NOW 2SG.NOM-CONJ-NOW go-FUT  
That fellow was grabbed by us, by this fellow and me, by three of us all together. We, you included, will go now.

The particle *wii* (§7.6) is very common in adjoined sequences, as seen in examples (8.42) and (4.159).

(8.42)  

*nghunhaa puni-layi thanuwa-ngara-a manku-lu yurntura-a,*  
that.NOM go-FUT food-PL-ACC get-PURPSs flour-ACC  
manyarrka-a, ngamari-i, minthirriny-ku wii, wuruma-l.yarra  
sugar-ACC tobacco-ACC rice-ACC maybe do.for-CTEMP
The second clear type of adjoined noun phrase pattern involves the listing of a number of noun phrases all of which give particular descriptions of some object. As mentioned earlier, this is very like an extension of the Qualifying slot in the basic noun phrase structure. A common device is to list a set of synonyms to emphasise some special characteristic of an object or person.

(8.43)  
Nhula wartirra kangku-nguru pawulu-u, purna-a kupuyu-u  
near.you woman carry-PRES child-ACC baby-ACC little-ACC  
purluthan-wirriwa-a.  
walk-PRIV-ACC  
That woman is carrying a child, a little baby that isn't walking yet.

(8.44)  
Mir.ta-l kunti nhuura ngunhu-ngara, wanthami-npa-waa  
not-THEN RHET knowing that.NOM-PL how-INCH-PURPs=o  
ngurnaa, ngurnu-tharra-a-lwa. thaapuwa-tharra, jiwarra-tharra,  
that.ACC that.OBL-DU-ACC-ID big.man-DU white-DU  
mirtamirta-tharra, jurlwin-tharra...  
white-DU white-DU  
They really didn't know then what those fellows would do, that's those two fellows, the important ones, the white ones...

8.7 APPARENTLY EXCEPTIONAL NOUN PHRASE STRUCTURES

There are some apparent exceptions to the patterns of noun phrase structure described in previous sections. The first class of exceptions includes orders of noun phrase constituents which appear not to conform to the general pattern of functional slots presented in (§8.1). Both (8.45) and (8.46) are examples of a principled exception to normal ordering whereby part of the noun phrase can be preposed for special, contrastive, emphasis.

(8.45)  
Jami, ngunhaa kawurru jarrala-ma-minyji, wal.yu-rru  
medicine that.NOM medicine healthy-CAUS-FUT far-NOW  
puni-waa.  
go-PURPs=o  
As for medicine, that kawurru sort makes you healthy, so you can keep on going.

(8.46)  
Yirna-tharra-wu kanyara-tharra-wu, ngunhu ngurra parlu-ngka  
this.OBL-DU-GEN man-DU-GEN that.NOM camp top-LOC
These two men's camp is on top of a hill. (trans.)

The two examples illustrate a pattern in which some nominal precedes a demonstrative in Determiner function. In (8.45), _jami_ is a generic and might be expected to fill the Classifier slot, but here the speaker preposes the generic to draw attention to the particular topic of discussion. In (8.46), the genitive noun phrase would be expected to function as a Determiner but would normally follow the demonstrative, which makes a more general determining reference. As well as serving to identify a particular camp, the preposed genitive noun phrase draws attention to the possessor. The two men are certainly unusual in deciding to make their camp on the top of a hill and the speaker goes on to speculate on just what they might be afraid of in building in such a strategic defensive position. To conform with the analysis presented here, the fronted expressions are be treated as separate noun phrases, apposed to a following noun phrase.

The second class of apparent exceptions involves the lack of number agreement within apparent noun phrases. Number suffixes like other nominal inflections might be expected to be distributed to all elements of a noun phrase, excluding nominals which are inherently specified for number such as numerals, non-singular pronouns, and idiosyncratic plurals like _kupiyaji_ 'little ones'. However, it is not uncommon for number marking to appear on some part of an apparent noun phrase rather than on all words in the noun phrase. Firstly, nominals in the Entity slot marked for number may be followed by what appears to be an unmarked Qualifier:

(8.47)  _Thurlajinkarri-tharra nganajumarta-la mir.ta kuliya-lalha._
        poor.fellow-DU 1DU.DISHARM-LOC not  hear-PAST
        Those two poor fellows with us didn't listen.

(8.48)  _Nhuwana pawulu-ngara kangku-Ø muyi-tharra-a nhuwana-wu-u._
        2PL child-PL take-IMP dog-DU-ACC 2PL-GEN-ACC
        You children take those two dogs of yours.

Secondly, a number-marked noun phrase may be introduced by a singular demonstrative or singular possessive construction:

(8.49)  _Ngunhu kupiyaji karranyakarrany-ngara jalya waruu._
        that.NOM little(PL) comorant-PL useless still
        Those little comorants still can't fly (lit. are still no good).

(8.50)  _ngunu kayarra-a wirra-tharra-a panyu-tharra-a_ 
        that.ACC two-ACC boomerang-DU-ACC good-DU-ACC
        those two good boomerangs

(8.51)  _Ngayu thawu-lalha nganaju-u pawulu-ngara-a thawun-mulyarra._
        1SG.NOM send-PAST 1SG.GEN-ACC child-PL-ACC town-ALL
        I sent my children to town.

The simple solution to this problem is to stick to the definition that the scope of an inflection defines a noun phrase and so treat the apparent noun phrases in the above examples as adjoined structures. The apparent noun phrases in (8.47) to (8.51) can then be paraphrased as:
(8.47') ... *thurlajinkarri-tharra, nganajumarta-la* ... poor.fellow-DU 1DU.DISHARM-LOC
...two poor fellows, with me...

(8.48') ... *muyi-tharra, nhuwanawu* ... dog-DU 2PL-GEN
...two dogs, yours...

(8.49') ... *ngunhu, kupiyaji karranykarrany-ngara* ... that.NOM little(PL) comorant-PL
...that, a group of comorants...

(8.50') ... *ngumu, kayarra wirra-tharra panyu-tharra* ... that.ACC two boomerang-DU good-DU
...that, two good boomerangs...

(8.51') ... *nganaju, pawulu-ngara* ... 1SG.GEN child-PL
...mine, children...
This chapter describes simple non-verbal and verbal clauses. The first two sections describe two types of non-verbal clause: simple ascriptive predications (§9.1), and clauses in which a nominal predicate takes both a subject and an accusative complement (§9.2). Section 9.3 describes the use of basic intransitive state verbs, and the motion verb punu-Ø ‘go’, as copulas, comparing copula clauses with the non-verbal clause types. Section 9.4 presents an overview of the syntax of verbal clauses, and then §9.5 describes the range of types of active clause, organised by verb class. Passive clauses are described in §9.6 and the issue of grammatical relations in double-object clauses is discussed in §9.7. The special case frames of imperative clauses are described in §9.8. Section 9.9 describes the use of referential case marking in encoding second predications and part-whole constructions, §9.10 briefly describes the structure of interrogative sentences, and finally §9.11 discusses the order of constituents within the clause.

9.1 ASCRIPITIVE NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

The simplest type of non-verbal clause consists of two nominal expressions, one of which functions as a predicate, the other as subject. The following examples consist of a definite subject noun phrase, and a simple nominal predicate.

(9.1) Kartungu-ngara pawulu-ngara / murtiwarla paju.
2SG.GEN-PL child-PL fast REAL
Your children are very fast (runners).

one left-handed one elder.brother-SIDE right-handed
One is left-handed. One, the older brother, is right-handed.

(9.3) Nhiyu / kanparr-wura jalyuru.
this spider-BELONG hole
This is a spider’s hole. (trans.)

(9.4) Nhiyu yartapalyu-rru / Maral.ya-ngara.
this other(PL)-NOW Maral.ya-PL
This other mob, now, are the Maral.ya.

Clauses in which the predicate noun phrase bears some adnominal case suffix are also classed as ascriptives. The most common examples involve the proprietive or privative suffixes.
(9.5) *Ngunhu-ngara / juwayu-la-marta parla-marta.*
that-PL hand-LOC-PROP rock-PROP
They have rocks in their hands. (from example (4.103))

(9.6) *Ngunhaa kanyara / mir.ta kuliya-marta.*
that man not ear-PROP
That man has no ears (won't listen).

In possessive ascriptive clauses, the predicate is a nominal expression marked with either the genitive suffix or one of the minor possessive suffixes (§4.12, §4.13). Some examples are:

(9.7) *Nhiyu muyi / nganaju.*
this dog 1SG GEN
This dog is mine.

(9.8) *Nganangu yirru / ngunhu?*
who GEN HES that
Whose is that one?

*Nganaju-wura yirru / ngunhaa yirru.*
1SG OBL-BELONG HES that HES
One of my mob, he is.

Often, possessive relationships are expressed by clauses in which the predicate (and sometimes the subject) is an endocentric genitive noun phrase.

(9.9) *Ngayala-tharra ngurnula-ngu / ngurnula-ngu-wura*
nephew-DU that DEF GEN that DEF GEN BELONG
*mari-wura pawulu-tharra.*
younger sister-BELONG child-DU
Those two nephews of his are his younger sister's children.

European PL BELONG Walter Aboriginal BELONG Karlinpangu
His European [name] is Walter. His Aboriginal one is Karlinpangu.

In locational ascriptive clauses the predicate describes a place at which the entity denoted by the subject noun phrase is located. The predicate may be an inherently locative nominal, such as an adverbialex demonstrative or compass term, or may be a more complex noun phrase bearing a locative suffix.

(9.11) *Ngunhu-rru / Minturru-la-rru, karalu-rru.*
that-NOW Minturru LOC NOW south-NOW
*Minturru-la / ngunhaa-rru Pintharr.*
*Minturru-LOC that-NOW Pintharr*
That is in Minturru country, south. In Minturru country that Pintharr country is.

(9.12) *Ngulangu-lwa / ngunhaa!*
there ID that
There it is!
The following example illustrates an ablative predicate indicating the original location of
the subject of the clause. There is no sense in which the clause implies a particular motion
away from this point.
that there-ABL top-LOC-ABL Rocklea.Station-LOC-ABL
They are from up there on top of Rocklea Station (in the high country).

As example (9.14) shows, non-verbal clauses allow second predications. The ablative
expression gives a point of orientation for the compass term predicate of the locational
clause.
(9.14) Yurlungarrarnu-nguru, ngunhu / ngularla yawurrut.
Yurlungarrarnu-ABL that there.NS west
From Yurlungarrarnu Pool, that place is somewhere there to the west.

The usual subject-predicate order in an ascriptive clause may be reversed where some
additional emphasis is placed on the particular predicate; typically it introduces new
information. Often, although this is not obligatory, there is a slight pause between the fronted
predicate and the following subject.
(9.15) Mirtali-nu, / ngunhaa Karnuny.
big-QUOT that Karnuny
Apparently he was big, that fellow Karnuny.
(9.16) Jalya-ngara-rut, / kalyaran yilangu.
rubbish-PL-NOW wood here
A load of rubbish, the wood here.
(9.17) Purntul-wa-rut, / ngunhaa yini.
Purntul-0-NOW that name
Purntul, that's its name.

As examples (9.18) and (9.19) show, the subject of a non-verbal clause may be ellipsed.
(9.18) Ngunhu wanthala karri-nguru kuwarri, Pantuwarnangka.
that somewhere stand-PRES now Pannawonica
_____ / mir.ta-l yini-marta Pantuwarnangka-marta.
not-THEN name-PROP Pannawonica-PROP
That one is somewhere there now, Pannawonica Hill. [It] didn't have the name
Pannawonica then (once upon a time).
(9.19) Yawurrut waruu, Kawuyu-wini / pularna-lwa.
west still Kawuyu-NEAR they-ID
_____ / wanthala Jinpingayinu-wini.
somewhere Jinpingayinu-NEAR
They are in the west, near Kawuyu Hill. (They're) somewhere near Jinpingayinu Pool.
9.2 NON-VERBAL CLAUSES WITH ACCUSATIVE COMPLEMENTS

There are three types of non-verbal clause in which the nominal predicate takes an accusative complement as well as a subject. These three are described in the following sections.

9.2.1 COMPLEMENTS OF KIN/HUMAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

In most examples of this class a nominal denoting a particular kin relationship functions as the predicate; the propositus of the term is the subject, the possessor is the accusative complement. The construction is preferred over a simple possessive ascriptive clause when the speaker wishes to establish the relationship between two participants and assumes that the addressee may have no knowledge of the relationship. In the following examples the kin term predicate is underlined.

(9.20) *Ngunhu ngumula-ngu muyi, ngunhu-lwa pawu ngurnu-ngara-a kupiyaji-i.*

That dog of his, that's the one who is the father of those little ones (puppies).

(9.21) *Mirntiwul-yu, ngunhaa ngangka ngurnu-ngara-a.*

That one is mother of all of them.

(9.22) *Nhiyu puliyanyja ngaliwa-a mimi.*

This old man is mother's brother to us.

In example (9.23) the nominal *winthi* ‘enemy’, is not a kin term but in a similar way describes a social relationship between subject and accusative complement.

(9.23) *Ngunhu-ngara winthi ngurnu-ngara-a-lwa.*

They are enemies to these fellows.

9.2.2 COMPLEMENTS OF PSYCH-PREDICATES

Martuthunira has a small set of predicate nominals denoting psychological states and which may take an accusative complement: *nhuura* ‘knowing’, *wiru* ‘wanting, liking’, and *waya* ‘fear’.

(9.24) *Ngayu nhuura ngurnu kanyara-a.*

I know that man. (trans.)


All right, on the other hand there's us, we don't like crazy people.

(9.26) *Ngunhu waya marntanumarta-a.*

That fellow is frightened of policemen. (trans.)
Although examples in which the accusative complement is a simple nominal expression, such as the above, do occur in the data, more often these predicate nominals take clausal complements controlled by either the subject or a raised accusative argument (§10.4).

9.2.3 COMPLEMENTS OF (COMMON) NOMINALS

A range of common nominals may take an accusative complement. The nominal predicate ascribes some property to the subject of the clause but this characterisation of the subject is mediated by the accusative complement. That is, the property of the subject is ascribed relative to the particular traits, circumstances, or point of view (if animate) of the referent of the complement. Most examples of this type of complement involve nominal predicates of the prototypical value adjective type.

(9.27)  Ngunhaa jami panyu ngurntura-a.
that.NOM medicine good cold-ACC
That medicine is good for colds.

(9.28)  Nhiyu ngurta kuyil paju warnu nganaju. Wuraal wiyaa panyu
this style bad REAL ASSERT 1SG.ACC all.right maybe good
wirta-ngara-a.
youth-PL-ACC
The lie (lit. style) [of this hill] is really difficult for me [to climb]. All right,
maybe it's fine for young people.

(9.29)  Ngunhu paya-nguntharri ngawurr-marta mir.ta panyu paju
that.NOM drink-HABITNOM froth-PROP not good REAL
nganaju-u kurntal-yu.
1SG.GEN-ACC daughter-ACC
That beer (lit. thing with foam that's drunk) isn't very good for my daughter.

In many cases, the predicate governs a clausal complement describing a set of intended actions which are somehow influenced by the existence of the property ascribed to the subject of the matrix clause.

(9.30)  Nhiyu marlara mulurru paju ngurnu-ngara-a puni-waa yilangu
this road straight REAL that.OBL-PL-ACC go-PURPs=o here
marlara-la.
road-LOC
This road is too straight for those fellows [who've been drinking] to walk here
on it.

9.3 COPULA CONSTRUCTIONS

The non-verbal clauses described in the preceding sections are effectively tenseless; the ascriptive clauses imply the existence of a permanent characteristic or relationship of identity. The nominal predicates of kin relationship and of psychological state also imply permanent states. However, the use of a verbal copula allows the setting of temporal bounds on the existence of such states, and/or the coding of various modalities.
Martuthunira makes use of three intransitive stance verbs as copulas: *nyina-* 'sit, stay, be', *karri-* 'stand', and *wanti-* 'lie'. Of these, only *nyina-* can be said to function like a true dummy copula; both *karri-* and *wanti-* retain something of their core meaning in any copula construction. Sections §9.3.1 and §9.3.2 describe the various uses of the unmarked *nyina-* copula and discuss the bases for the choice of one or other marked copula. In addition, the simple motion verb *puni-* 'go' may function as a copula and implies the maintenance of a state throughout the performance of additional activities. This is described in §9.3.3. Finally, §9.3.4 describes briefly the role of the copulas as markers of continuing activity.

### 9.3.1 THE UNMARKED COPULA *nyina-* 'sit, stay, be'

The copula construction allows the ascription of a property to the subject of the clause relative to some time frame – either the present of utterance or some narrative present – or in relation to some other category normally encoded on the verb, such as modality (example (9.31)) or collective activity/existence (9.33).

(9.31) \[ \text{Ngaliwa mirntiwul nyina-marni nhuural} \]
\[ \text{1PL.INC all be-CONTR knowing} \]
\[ \text{We should all know [that]!} \]

(9.32) \[ \text{Pukarti-ngara nyina-marri-nguru jalya-rru.} \]
\[ \text{snakewood-PL be-COLL-PRES rubbish-NOW} \]
\[ \text{The snakewood trees are all rubbish now (they weren't always).} \]

(9.33) \[ \text{Ngunhu-ngara nyina-lha mir.ta-rru panyu... Wuraal-wa-rru ngunhaa.} \]
\[ \text{that.NOM-PL be-PAST not-NOW good all.right-Ø-NOW that.NOM} \]
\[ \text{Nyina-layi pularna mir.ta-rru panyu.} \]
\[ \text{be-FUT they not-NOW good} \]
\[ \text{They weren't good...All right that's how it is now. They aren't going to be good.} \]

(9.34) \[ \text{Nhiiyarr-arwa, ngunhaa papungali-tharra paju-rru nyina-layi.} \]
\[ \text{this.DU-ID that.NOM deity-DU REAL-NOW be-FUT} \]
\[ \text{These two would end up being our two gods.} \]

(9.35) \[ \text{Nguu nhiyu warmu nganaju kaya nyina-nguru nguu!} \]
\[ \text{face this ASSERT 1SG.GEN brother be-PRES face} \]
\[ \text{This face is my brother's face (sudden realisation)!} \]

There are no non-verbal clauses with an existential function in Martuthunira; all such predications require a copula. For example:

(9.36) \[ \text{Warruwa-ngara nyina-lha jarrkurti ngunhu-ngara pintirrijila.} \]
\[ \text{devil-PL be-PAST three that.NOM-PL scattered} \]
\[ \text{There were three groups of devils scattered about.} \]

(9.37) \[ \text{Ngunhaa nyina-nguru kuarri.} \]
\[ \text{that.NOM be-PRES now} \]
\[ \text{That one exists today.} \]
Finally, the small set of manner nominals (§3.1.1) may not function as primary predicates but require a mediating verbal predicate. In the simplest cases these may select a copula, for example:

(9.38)  
\[ \text{Nhartu-npa-lha-lwa? Nhulaa jurlulu nyina-nguru,} \]
\[ \text{what-INCH-PAST-ID near.you crouched be-PRES} \]
\[ \text{mir.ta puyii nhauw-rra.} \]
not far.ACC see-CTEMP

What's happened? That one near you is crouching down and won't see very far.

9.3.2 karri-Ø ‘stand’ AND wanti-Ø ‘lie’ AS COPULAS

Unlike the unmarked copula nyina-Ø, karri-Ø ‘stand’, and wanti-Ø ‘lie’, retain something of their core meaning when functioning as copulas. The choice of copula is dependent on a number of factors. Firstly, many subjects choose a particular copula because of a characteristic stance. Thus trees generally ‘stand’, plains ‘lie’. However, although there is a clear tendency for particular entities to choose one or other of the three copulas, this does not mean that the copulas place selectional restrictions on what their subjects may be.

Karri-Ø ‘stand’ is chosen when the subject of the clause is perceived as having an essentially vertical aspect. However, the verb strongly implies temporarily arrested motion; thus eagles may ‘stand’ in the sky before they swoop, and water (which generally ‘lies’) may ‘stand’ still and clear before it is muddied (example (9.42)). Perhaps related to this, karri-Ø replaces nyina-Ø as the unmarked copula in the avoidance style.

(9.39)  
\[ \text{Ngunhu-ngara karri-nguru panganypa-rru.} \]
\[ \text{that.NOM-PL stand-PRES ready-NOW} \]
They are standing ready now.

(9.40)  
\[ \text{Karri-nguru kuwarri, Pantuwarmangka.} \]
\[ \text{stand-PRES now Pannawonica} \]
It stands there today, Pannawonica Hill.

(9.41)  
\[ \text{Nhartu ngularla karri-nguru purruru-la-nu?} \]
\[ \text{what there.NS stand-PRES belt-LOC-QUOT} \]
What's that hanging there somewhere on his belt?

(9.42)  
\[ \text{Wantharni nhiyu kayulu, panyu? Mir.ta nhartu-marta wii,} \]
\[ \text{how this.NOM water good not something-PROP maybe} \]
\[ \text{panyu karri-lha.} \]
\[ \text{good stand-PAST} \]
How is this water, good? Maybe it hasn't got anything [in it], has been standing good (clear and untainted).

Wanti-Ø is chosen as a copula when the subject of the clause is perceived as having a marked horizontal orientation, either linear or planar. This applies to single entities which lie flat on the ground, and the ground itself, but secondarily to any collection of entities which can be perceived as distributed in (horizontal) space.
Thalya ngunhu wanti-nguru kana-ngka-l, kuwarri wii. track that lie-PRES clear-LOC-THEN now maybe That track is clear to see, even today.

Ngurraru yirla wanti-nguru ngulangu. ground-NOW only lie-PRES there Only the ground is there (nothing else can be seen).

Nhiyu pal.yarra wanti-wala kalyaran-wirriwa-rru. this plain lie-PURPds tree-PRIV-NOW This plain was to be without trees.

In example (9.46), a swarm of flies ‘lie’ scattered upon a bed of leaves although flies normally ‘sit’. Similarly in (9.47), a large group of people are scattered across a plain although the adverbial nominal jurlurlu ‘crouching’ normally selects the nyina-Ø copula (as in (9.38)).

Nhiyu warrari yirla wanti-nguru wurrulywa-la. this fly only lie-PRES leaves-LOC There are only these flies on the leaves (the meat is all gone).

Nhiingara wanti-nguru yarrwa-ngka jurlurlu. this.PL lie-PRES behind-LOC crouching These people were spread out behind it, crouching down.

Just as the ground, or ‘country’ lies, so customs, laws and stories are ‘laid out’ or distributed throughout a tract of country or to a widely scattered group of people. Example (9.48) illustrates this use of wanti-Ø, in contrast to the unmarked nyina-Ø copula.

Nhiyu wanti-nguru marrari-ngara, maral.ya-wura, wantha-ru this lie-PRES story-PL devil-BELONG place-PASSP

jinangku-yangu, wantharni wanti-lha-la palalyi-l, track-PASSP how lie-PAST-LOC before-THEN

nyina-lha-la pukarrpukarr-ngara. be-PAST-LOC ancients-PL These are the stories of the devils, laid down and followed, of how things were before, when the ancient people were about.

9.3.3 puni-Ø ‘go’ AS A COPULA

The simple motion verb puni-Ø ‘go’ has a restricted function as a copula. This is illustrated in the following examples.

Yimpala-rru-wa, kanyara-wuyu puni-layi jalya-ru, like.that-NOW-YK man-SIDE go-FUT rubbish-NOW

yaan-wirriwa-rru. spouse-PRIV-FUT

Like that, the husband will be rubbish now, without a wife.

Panyu-l puni-layi ngathu kul.yakarta-ma-ru. good-THEN go-FUT 1SG.EFF educated-CAUS-PASSP Then you'll be good, having been educated by me.
While it is clear that the ascriptive predicates in these two examples, **jalya** ‘rubbish’ and **panyu** ‘good’ respectively, are second predicates on the subject of **puni-0**, the use of the verb does not imply any motion on the part of the subject. The use of the **puni-0** copula (rather than **nyina-0** for example) indicates that the ascribed state will be maintained while other actions are performed. Thus the husband in example (9.49) will be as good as rubbish and without a wife in all the actions he now performs, wherever he goes. Similarly, the child who has been educated properly in (9.50), will behave in a correct manner whatever the task.

### 9.3.4 COPULAS AS MARKERS OF CONTINUING ACTIVITY

In the same way that the copulas **nyina-0** and **puni-0** describe the persistence of a state, they can be used to indicate the persistence of actions through a period of time. Typically, the verbs appear together with other verbs marked with the contemporaneous relative subordinate clause inflection (§10.1.4). For example:

(9.51)  
Ngayu jirli mir.ta wii panyu, puni-rra yawarrunyja-l.yarra  
1SG.NOM arm not if good go-CTEMP miss-CTEMP

murla-ngara-a, tharnta-ngara-a, jalya-npa-rra  
meat-PL-ACC euro-PL-ACC useless-INCH-CTEMP

puni-rra nhuwa-l.yarra waruul-wa-l.yarra.  
go-CTEMP spear-CTEMP still-CAUS-CTEMP

If my arm is no good, I'll keep on missing meat, euros, I'll continue to be useless, keep on [trying to] spear them.

(9.52)  
Wayil ngula yarnta-warmura wiyaa parrani-rrawaara  
maybe IGNOR day-DISTRIB maybe return-SEQ

ngurnu-mulyarra-Iwa, nyina-Iayi patha-rryarra.  
that.OBL-ALL-ID sit-FUT throw-CTEMP

Maybe each day, I don't know, they came back to that place and stayed there throwing [boomerangs].

### 9.4 THE SYNTAX OF VERBAL CLAUSES

Martuthunira shares with its Ngayarda relatives the legacy of a historical reorganisation of basic case-marking patterns from ergative-absolutive to nominative-accusative. The modern accusative system emerged through a reanalysis of an intransitive nominative-dative pattern, once available for the arguments of transitive verbs under certain semantic conditions, which then became the standard case frame for all transitive verbs (Dench 1982). Simple transitive clauses in the modern Ngayarda languages thus descend from intransitive clauses and the accusative case suffix descends from a dative case.

It is clear that the Martuthunira accusative has retained a number of functions of the old dative and this has resulted in some confusion of the patterns of transitivity in the language. Blake (1977:35) notes that an important function of the dative in many Australian languages is to mark the complements of any predicate that is not a transitive verb. Thus the dative typically marks the complements of intransitive or middle verbs such as ‘cry for’ or ‘wait for’, and complements of nominal predicates such as ‘knowing’, ‘wanting’ or ‘fear’. In
addition, the dative often marks the recipient argument of verbs of giving, and may introduce noun phrase adjuncts with benefactive or purposive functions.

In Martuthunira, the accusative case covers many of these functions as well as marking the objects of prototypical primary transitive verbs like thani-L 'hit' or wurnta-L 'cut'. At the same time, the semantics of the cardinal transitive relationship is now inherent in the accusative case marker and has spread to many of the originally dative 'in transitive' uses (§4.3). As a result, there are many types of clause in Martuthunira in which more than one accusative argument occurs, and where more than one accusative argument has associated with it something of the semantics of 'direct objecthood'. In this description these clauses are treated as true double-object constructions.

This situation presents some immediate difficulties for analysis, some of which have been touched on briefly in earlier sections. The categorisation of verbs into transitivity classes is complicated by two factors; firstly, the freedom with which objects of apparently transitive verbs may be omitted, and secondly, the freedom with which many verbs may take additional accusative arguments resembling, semantically at least, direct objects. While there are clearly limits to the selection of additional accusative arguments, these often depend to a great extent on the particular meaning and context of use of the verbs in question. Similarly, the linking of different accusative noun phrases to the semantic roles assumed by the verb depends on the referents of these noun phrases and on their expected roles in particular contexts. However, it is assumed here (and see §6.1.3) that verbs may be successfully subcategorised for their core arguments and that the different case frames of certain verbs may be accounted for by establishing separate lexical entries (presumably linked by regular operations on lexical forms).

The analysis of the passive presents similar difficulties. The subject of a passive clause may correspond to one of a range of possible accusative arguments in the corresponding active clause. Thus the passive does not provide any evidence for the organisation of grammatical relations within active clauses and cannot, itself, be fully described in terms of such underlying grammatical relations. The passive is described in §9.6, and the problem of assigning grammatical relations in Martuthunira is briefly discussed in §9.7.

9.5 ARGUMENT STRUCTURES

The classification of verbs presented in this section is based partly on a semantic characterisation of predicates and partly by the types of argument they allow. Of course, these two factors are intimately related. It is assumed that verbs can be successfully subcategorised by their argument structure: an array of possible core and oblique complements. Alternative case frames are assumed to represent a realignment of these core and oblique arguments and for the purposes of this description it is assumed that this realignment is a lexical operation linking different lexical entries for the verbal predicate in question.

9.5.1 IMPERSONAL VERBS

Verbs, denoting processes of the weather or emerging times of the day generally appear in text with no overt, or understood, subject argument.
(9.53)  
\[ \text{Nguru} \text{-nguru-}wa \text{ thanturri-layi yawurrari-}rru, \]  
\[ \text{that.OBL-ABL-YK go.down-FUT westward-NOW} \]  
\[ \text{thulharra-npa-rra-}rru, \quad \text{jaruru wuraal-wa-}rru \]  
\[ \text{afternoon-INCH-CTEMP-NOW slowly still-Ø-NOW} \]  
\[ \text{muthumuthu-npa-}rra-rru.} \]  
\[ \text{cool-INCH-CTEMP-NOW} \]

From then, [the sun] goes down in the west, it's becoming afternoon, it slowly continues to get cooler.

Non-verbal clauses with accusative complements (§9.2.3) in which the predicate ascribes some property to the weather may also appear to be subjectless:

(9.54)  
\[ \text{Muthu paju nganaju. Ngayu wayangka-nguru malyarra-npa-wirri.} \]  
\[ \text{cold REAL 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM frightened-PRES sick-INCH-LEST} \]  
\[ \text{It's too cold for me. I'm frightened of getting sick.} \]

(9.55)  
\[ \text{Karlarra paju ngaliwa-}a \text{ mungka-lwaa murla-}a. \]  
\[ \text{hot REAL IPL.INC-ACC eat-PURP=ø meat-ACC} \]  
\[ \text{It's too hot for us to eat meat. (trans.)} \]

However, on other occasions these clauses may occur with an overt subject noun phrase; either a nominal referring to the day, or a time of the day, or the demonstratives nhiyu 'this' or ngunhaa 'that'. The demonstrative subject is equivalent to the use of the English dummy subject 'it'.

(9.56)  
\[ \text{Thulharra jampa-}rru \text{ muthumuthu-npa-layi, panyi-lwala-}rru.} \]  
\[ \text{afternoon moment-NOW cool-INCH-FUT dance-PURPds-NOW} \]  
\[ \text{The afternoon will be getting cool soon and we will be able to dance.} \]

(9.57)  
\[ \text{Nhiyu malumalu-npa-nguru-}rru, \text{ ngaliwa mir.ta-}rru \text{ nhawu-layi.} \]  
\[ \text{this.NOM dark-INCH-PRES-NOW 1PL.INC not-NOW see-FUT} \]  
\[ \text{It's getting dark now, and we won't be able to see.} \]

The verbs illustrated in the preceding section are all derived from nominals referring to times of the day or states of the weather. The only monomorphic weather verb occurring in the Martuthunira data is parrera-L 'rain'. This verb may select a demonstrative subject but is always understood to have the implied subject warnan 'rain'. More often, either warnan, or one of a set of nominals referring to clouds or storms, appears as the subject. Parrera-L may take an added benefactive accusative object, as illustrated in example (9.58). Notice also the use of a dummy demonstrative subject with the passive verb ngapala-ma-rru 'make muddy':

(9.58)  
\[ \text{Nhiyu warnan parrera-muru-}rru \text{ warnu ngaliwa-}a.} \]  
\[ \text{this.NOM rain-PRES-NOW ASSERT 1PL.INC-ACC} \]
\[ \text{Muthu-npa-layi-}rru. \quad \text{Nhiyu ngapala-ma-}rru \text{ rruru} \]  
\[ \text{cold-INCH-FUT-NOW this.NOM mud-CAUS-PASSP-NOW} \]
\[ \text{warnan-tu. Nhiyu parrera-muru waruu.} \]  
\[ \text{rain-EFF this.NOM rain-PRES still} \]  
\[ \text{This rain is certainly setting in on us. It's getting cold. It's muddy from the rain. And it's still raining.} \]
9.5.2 INTRANSITIVE STATES/PROCESSES

A number of predicates select a single subject argument, with the possibility of one or more optional adjuncts. The class includes some monomorphemic verbs, for example:

- **warrpurri-Ø** bathe (4.160)
- **malyarra-L** be in pain, be ill (4.24), (5.106)
- **nyuni-Ø** drowned (10.42)
- **kampa-Ø** be burning, be cooking (4.36), (4.37)
- **partni-Ø** be smelling, emitting odour
- **jaama-Ø** yawn

However, simple verbs of this type are not numerous. Most expressions of the existence of a state, either in inanimate or animate entities, involve a copula construction incorporating one of the three verbs **nyina-Ø** 'sit, stay, be', **karri-Ø** 'stand' and **wanti-Ø** 'lie' (§9.3). These three verbs also occur as simple verbs of stance falling into the basic intransitive category:

(9.59) 
_Nhiyu nyina-nguru wuraal kanyara, wirra-a yinka-l.yarra_  
this.NOM sit-PRES all.right man boomerang-ACC chisel-CTEMP  
yartapalyu-u-rru. Thungkara-la nyina-nguru, marli-ngka-rru  
others-ACC-NOW ground-LOC sit-PRES cadjeput-LOC-NOW  
_kartawura-la, malaru-la._  
butt-LOC shade-LOC  
This fellow, the man, is sitting chiselling another lot of boomerangs. [He's] sitting on the ground, at the foot of a cadjeput tree, in the shade.

(9.60) 
_Ngunhu-tharra wulu-wirriwa kuryu-ngka martura-la, wantharra,_  
that.NOM-DU leg-PRIV trench-LOC middle-LOC like  
wanti-rra-la, _ngunhu-tharra nyuju-tharra tharryi-tharra._  
lie-PAST-LOC that.NOM-DU initiate-DU alongside-DU  
It was like those two had no legs while they were lying in the trenches, those two initiates, side-by-side.

With few exceptions, predicates denoting processes are derived from nominals through the addition of one of a number of verbalising suffixes. Firstly, a range of verbs incorporating the derivational suffixes -rri-Ø (§6.3.5), -karri-Ø (§6.3.6) or -nguli-Ø (§6.3.7), describe bodily states: for example, **parrawarrari-Ø** 'shiver', **jinkurnkarri-Ø** 'sneeze', **punganguli-Ø** 'have stomach ache'. These control a single-subject argument.

Secondly, a virtually unlimited number of process predicates can be derived by the addition of the inchoative suffix -npa-Ø to a nominal stem (§6.3.3). However, the argument structures of these predicates depend crucially on the nominal stem in each case – there is no set of frames common to all inchoative verbs. While many inchoative verbs take single-subject core arguments, others may freely take a range of accusative noun phrase arguments or clausal complements on the subject or accusative object. These are illustrated in the following sections.

9.5.3 TRANSITIVE ACTIVITIES

A large class contains prototypical transitive verbs of affect which take a subject argument, usually denoting the actor, and an accusative argument typically denoting a
patient. Clauses involving these verbs often include instrumental noun phrase adjuncts (marked with the proprietive suffix) and/or second predications of manner:

(9.61) Mir.ta jarruru ngayu thani-lalha nganaju-u muyi-i, 
not slowly 1SG.NOM hit-PAST 1SG.GEN-ACC dog-ACC
kalyaran-marta.
stick-PROP
I thrashed my dog with a stick. (trans.)
(lit. Not slowly I hit that dog with a stick.)

None of the verbs in this class have alternate case frames whereby some otherwise non-core argument appears as an accusative object. However, most of these verbs may freely take an additional benefactive accusative argument. The class includes:

thani-L hit (4.48), (10.1)
purra-L hit with a (thrown) stone (4.93), (9.148)
yinka-L chisel (4.85), (4.172), (10.70)
karta-L stab, poke, chop (6.32), (6.33), (10.74)
kampa-L cook, burn (5.112), (8.33), (10.20)
kanpi-L winnow
wumta-L cut, break (4.31), (5.29), (5.80), (9.142)
kanyja-L hold, keep (9.137), (9.147)
manku-Ø get, grab, pick up (4.2), (4.59), (5.1)
nhuwa-L spear (5.5), (5.48), (7.48), (7.81)

The class also includes the majority of verbs derived by the addition of the -ma-L causative suffix to a nominal stem (§6.3.4).

9.5.4 VERBS OF TRANSFER

The verb yungku-Ø ‘give’ selects two accusative arguments, denoting the recipient and the theme. There are no alternate case frames for this verb and it is the best example of a true monomorphemic ditransitive predicate to be found in Martuthunira. The potential ambiguity of double-object constructions is discussed in §9.7.

(9.62) Ngayu yungku-lha nganaju-u muyi-i murla-a mungka-lwaa. 
1SG.NOM give-PAST 1SG.GEN-ACC dog-ACC meat-ACC eat-PURPs=o
I gave my dog meat to eat. (trans.)

Mumta-L ‘take from’ also takes two accusative objects, denoting the theme and the source (examples (5.93) and (7.80)). However, unlike other verbs of this class it does not allow the source to appear as the subject of a passive clause (9.123) and (9.124).

Kulyama-L ‘pay back, give in return’ takes two accusative arguments denoting the recipient and the theme. It also takes a locative complement which denotes the object for which the theme is a pay-back gift (9.63). However, there are no examples in the data in which all arguments are represented.

(9.63) Ngayu kulyama-lalha kartatha-lwayara-a-lpurru ngawayu-la 
1SG.NOM pay.back-PAST chop-HABIT-ACC-COMP turn-LOC
I paid [him] back with a chopper in turn for a knife.

The benefactive verb wuruma-L 'do for' is included in this class. Typically this verb appears in a subordinate clause controlled by the matrix subject, with a single accusative argument denoting the beneficiary of the action described in the main clause.

Ngayu wirra-a yinka-lalha wuruma-l.yarra nganaju-u
1SG.NOM boomerang-ACC carve-PAST do.for-CTEMP 1SG.GEN-ACC
mimi-i.
uncle-ACC
I carved a boomerang, doing it for my uncle.

However, when wuruma-L appears in a main clause it may occur with a second accusative object denoting the entity upon which some ultimately beneficial action is performed (example (8.27a)). The best classification of wuruma-L, on the basis of the data at hand, is as a ditransitive verb selecting two accusative arguments. Then the most common examples of the verb, in which the patient/theme does not appear, might be explained as 'double-equi': the coreferential omission of both subject and patient/theme in subordinate clauses. Examples such as (9.65), in which the benefactive clause appears to be embedded within the matrix clause, can be used to support this argument.

Ngayu jarraa-lalha nganaju-u papu-u wuruma-l.yarra
1SG.NOM tie.up-PAST 1SG.GEN-ACC father-ACC do.for-CTEMP
warrirrti-ngara-a...
spear-PL-ACC
I tied up, for my father, the spears...

Here warrirrti-ngara 'spears', the patient noun phrase of jarraa-L 'tie up', occurs on the far margin of this particular complex sentence rather than immediately following the main verb. However, if warrirrti-ngara is described as a second argument of the subordinate verb wuruma-L, then the formal representation of such patterns is considerably simplified: the 'double-equi' here affects the object in the main clause and the subject in the subordinate clause.

9.5.5 SIMPLE MOTION VERBS

With few exceptions, simple (intransitive) motion verbs have an alternative argument frame in which some locational role appears as an accusative marked argument. However, verbs differ as to which of a number of possible locational noun phrases may otherwise appear with accusative case-marking. The patterns represented here suggest that motion verbs are subcategorised for a locational complement which may appear either as an accusative object or as an oblique noun phrase bearing some locational case suffix.

The two verbs puni-Ø 'go' and kurrarti-Ø 'swim' most often occur with a nominative subject and with one or more optional locational noun phrases: locative denoting the path of the motion (9.66), (9.67), (6.15), allative marking goal (9.68), (4.71), (4.72), or ablative marking source (5.74).
(9.66) Parla-ngara-la-rru puni-layi.
hill-PL-LOC-NOW go-FUT
[They] travel in the hills then.

(9.67) Ngunhaa kurrarti-lha kayulu-la.
that.NOM swim-PAST water-LOC
That fellow swam in the water.

(9.68) Nhiyaa kurrarti-layi puyiirta wii, kurrarti-layi.
this.NOM swim-FUT far.ALL maybe swim-FUT
This fellow can swim a long way.

While the ablative and allative noun phrases are adjuncts, the locative denoting path is a complement. Both verbs occur in an alternate case frame with the path of motion marked as an accusative object, as in examples (9.69), (9.70) and (4.104).

(9.69) Ngayu nhawu-lha parralha-a kurrarti-nyila-a ngurnu
1SG.NOM see-PAST turtle-ACC swim-PrREL-ACC that.ACC
ngawurr-yu.
foam-ACC
I saw a turtle swimming through the foam. (trans.)

(9.70) Nhungara puni-lha parla-a.
this.PL go-PAST hill-ACC
These fellows went along in the hills.

The three verbs kanarri-Ø 'come', parrani-Ø 'return' and wanyjarri-Ø 'run' take much the same set of locational noun phrases as 'go' and 'swim', but for these verbs it is the goal of motion, otherwise marked allative, that appears as an accusative argument in the alternate case frame. Thus compare examples (5.82), (6.11) and (7.8) with (5.84), (7.38), (9.71) and (9.72), (and see (4.5) to (4.7)).

(9.71) Wantala ngunhu-ngara kanarri-lha thanarti-la-nguru ...
somewhere that.NOM-PL come-PAST sea-LOC-ABL
warutharra-a-rru kanarri-lha.
marsh-ACC-NOW come-PAST
Somewhere there they came out of the sea...and came to the marshes then.

(9.72) Parrani-layi ngunhaa ngurnu Kawuyu-u-lwa, pungka-lu karti-ngka.
return-FUT that.NOM that.ACC Kawuyu-ACC-ID fall-PURPss side-LOC
It comes right back to that Kawuyu hill, and falls at his side.

Five motion verbs have alternate frames in which the accomplished end point of motion may be marked locative or accusative. Firstly, thanturri-Ø 'descend, go down', tharrwa-Ø 'enter' and pungka-Ø 'fall' may occur with a locative complement indicating the eventual end point of the moving body, or with this complement marked accusative.

The verb karlwa-Ø 'arise, go up, get up' is similar though in this case there is often a conflation of path and goal. The end point of the motion may be marked allative and the path may be marked locative as in the following example.

(9.73) Kartu karlwa-layi kaya-arta-rru. ... wanthala-nguru ngunhu
2SG.NOM go.up-FUT brother-DIRALL-NOW where-ABL that
karlwa-lha-rru, parla-ngka?
go.up-PAST-NOW hill-LOC
You go up to your brother now... Where did he go up? On which hill?

When the verb appears with an accusative argument, this argument generally denotes both the path taken and the eventual end point of the motion (example (9.74)). Karlwa-Ø in this frame describes an accomplishment. The verb wirta-Ø 'climb' follows the same pattern, thus compare (4.152) and (5.64) with (5.42) and (5.53). These two verbs can also be described as having the goal of motion as a complement.

(9.74) Ngaliwa karlwa-layi Kawuyu-ngu.
1PL.INC go.up-FUT Kawuyu-ACC
We'll go up onto Kawuyu.

There are a number of derived motion verbs in the data and these fall into two classes. First, there are those verbs derived from an inherently locative nominal (e.g. yilangu-npa-Ø (here-INCH-Ø) 'come here'), or from a nominal inflected with a locational case suffix (e.g. ngurra-arta-npa-Ø (camp-DIRALL-INCH-Ø) 'come to camp'). These verbs describe motion towards the place denoted by the stem nominal and, understandably, do not have locational complements (nor alternative argument structures). By contrast, the verb muma-npa-Ø 'get close to' requires an accusative argument denoting the goal of motion. This is expected since the nominal on which it is based, muma 'close', denotes a transitive spatial relationship. The verb muma-ngka-npa-Ø 'come up close', on the other hand, may take only a subject argument.

9.5.6 VERBS OF INDUCED MOTION/POSITION

Verbs of induced motion or induced position have alternate case frames in which the complement goal can appear either as an oblique locational noun phrase or as an accusative object. The theme argument is marked accusative in both frames. Thathu-L 'let go, send' corresponds to the simple motion verb kanarri-Ø 'come'. It most often occurs with an allative noun phrase denoting the goal of motion (example (9.75)), but has an alternate frame with the goal marked accusative (9.76).

(9.75) Ngaliwa thathu-minyji kulhampa-ngara-a nguru-nu-ngara-arta
1PL.INC send-FUT fish-PL-ACC that.OBL-PL-DIRALL
kanyara-ngara-arta.
person-PL-DIRALL
We'll send fish to those people.

word-ACC send-COLL-PAST that.OBL-PL-ACC
[They] sent word to those people.

The two verbs wantha-R 'place, put, leave' and warntitha-L 'throw, drop', like the motion verbs thanturri-Ø 'go down, descend', and pungka-Ø 'fall', have an end point of motion, or induced position, which is generally marked locative but which can appear as an accusative argument. Thus compare examples (5.35) and (5.90) with (9.77). Similarly, tharrwi-L 'put into' corresponds to tharrwa-Ø 'enter'. The theme argument of such verbs is always accusative.
Just as the inchoative suffix may be added to locative nominals to derive ‘inert' motion verbs, so the causative may be added to such nominals to derive ‘inert' induced motion verbs. That is, verbs such as wilyara-la-ma-L ‘put on the shoulders' do not take either an oblique noun phrase or a second accusative noun phrase denoting the goal of motion. Finally, a few induced motion verbs do not have a locational complement. For example, second accusative arguments appearing with the verbs kangku-Ø ‘carry, bring' and parrani-lha-ma-L ‘bring back, return' are always interpreted as benefactives.

9.5.7 PERCEPTION AND COGNITION VERBS

The perception verbs nhawu-Ø ‘see' and kuliya-L ‘hear' occur with a nominative subject and an accusative object. They also commonly take accusative clausal complements (examples (7.67) and (7.85)). The range of possible complement types and their syntax is discussed in §10.4. Both verbs may also take a reflexive clausal subject complement. Nhawu-Ø is used in this way to present a person's opinion of their own appearance (9.78), kuliya-L presents a personal opinion of one's state of health (9.79).


(9.79) Ngayu mir.ta warnu panyu paju kuliya-rnuru jankul ISG.NOM not ASSERT good REAL hear-PRES self yarta-ngka-nguru-l yakarrangu-la-nguru. other-LOC-ABL-THEN day-LOC-ABL I haven't felt very well since the other day. (lit. I hear myself not well...)

Nguyi-ma-L ‘dream, dream about (oneself performing an action)' follows the same pattern, taking an accusative noun phrase or clausal object and a reflexive clausal complement on the subject. Verbs of cognition select either simple nominative and accusative noun phrase arguments or clausal complements on subject and object. The most common such verb is kuliya-npa-Ø ‘think, believe’.

(9.80) Nhartu! Kartu kuliyanpa-nguru nganaju ngalawangka-nyila-a what 2SG.NOM think-PRES 1SG.ACC lie-PrREL-ACC wurtu? HYPTH What! You think that I'm lying?

(9.81) Mir.ta kuliyanpa-layi minthal yirla kur.ta kayulu-la not think-FUT alone only clever water-LOC
murtimurti-la paju.
fast-LOC REAL
Don't [you] think that [you're] the only one who is clever [enough] to swim in fast flowing water.

Like speech act verbs (§9.5.8), kuliyanpa-Ø can introduce thoughts as direct speech. However, this is quite rare and in most instances, as in example (9.82), a demonstrative fills the accusative argument slot.

(9.82) Kuliyanpa-layi ngurnaa, “Palwarru, wiyaa nhiyu kampa-lha-rru”.
think-FUT that.ACC all.right maybe this.NOM cook-PAST-NOW
He thinks, “All right, maybe this is cooked now”.

The cognition verbs nhuura-npa-Ø ‘work out, learn’ (examples (7.17), (7.78), (10.68)), nhuura-rii-Ø ‘realise, understand’ (9.83), ngalarri-Ø ‘forget’, and wiru-npa-Ø ‘want’ (9.84), follow the same pattern.

(9.83) Nhurnti-ma-rninji ngurnaa, yartapalyu kanyara-ngara
dead-CAUS-FUT that.ACC others person-PL
nhuurarri-wala wanthami-i ngurnta-a jiwarra-ngara-wu-u.
realise-PURPs what.way-ACC style-ACC white-PL-GEN-ACC
[We'll] kill this fellow so this mob of blackfellows will understand the way of [us] white people.

(9.84) Ngunhaa mir.ta wiru-npa-lha yirna wirta-tharra-a mungka-lwaa.
that.NOM not want-INCH-PAST this.ACC youth-DU-ACC eat-PURPs=o
He didn't want this pair of boys to eat [any of it].

The verb wayangka-Ø ‘be frightened’ may take an accusative object (example (10.23)), but may also take an accusative complement describing a situation which the subject of the verb fears may happen. Where the situation described in the complement is to be interpreted in the affirmative, the verb is negated (9.85). There are no examples in the data in which the complement is to be interpreted in the negative.

(9.85) Nganaju yaaan yungku-lha ngawurr-marta-a yartapalyu-u-rru
1SG.GEN spouse give-PAST foam-PROP-ACC others-ACC-NOW
kanyara-ngara-a. Ngunhaa wayangka-lha nganaju mir.ta
person-PL-ACC that.NOM frightened-PAST 1SG.ACC not
paya-lwaa.
drink-PURPs=o
My wife gave the beer to the other people. She was frightened I would drink.

9.5.8 VERBS OF SPEECH AND INFORMATION TRANSFER

As in many Australian languages, the verb wangka-Ø ‘speak, tell, talk about’ has a number of senses. To some extent these depend on the arguments it takes and on the referents of those arguments. Firstly, wangka-Ø ‘make a (species-characteristic) noise’, takes a simple subject noun phrase typically describing an animal. There are no examples in the data of accusative arguments with the verb used in this sense. With human subjects wangka-Ø ‘speak, tell’ may take a single accusative argument denoting the addressee (example (4.105)), or two accusative arguments, one of which denotes the addressee and the
other the ‘speech act’, for example ‘tell a story’, ‘speak a word, language’ (9.86), ‘hold a meeting’ (9.87). There are no alternate case frames for these arguments.

(9.86) *Ngunhaa marrari-i yimpala-lwa wangka-nguru ngurnu-ngara-a,* that.NOM word-ACC like.that-ID speak-PRES that.OBL-PL-ACC 
kuliya-lwaa-I wiyyaa ngula. 
hear-PURPs=o-THEN maybe IGNOR 
He talked like that, spoke that word (*yirru*) to them, so then they would hear (understand) maybe, I don’t know.

(9.87) *Ngaliwa yilangu milyangkul-yu wangkarnu-marri-layi.* 
IPL.INC here meeting.type-ACC discuss-COLL-FUT 
We’ll hold a Milyangkul meeting here.

*Wangka-Ø* ‘say’ introduces a passage of direct speech into a narrative. An accusative argument denoting the addressee may also occur:

(9.88) *Ngunhaa wangka-layi yartapalyu-u, “ Nhiyu-nu wirra* 
that.NOM say-FUT others-ACC this.NOM-QUOT boomerang 
ngathu yinka-rru”. 
1SG.EFF chisel-PASSP 
He says to the others, “This is a boomerang made by me”.

More rarely, *wangka-Ø* ‘say’ introduces ‘indirect speech’ complements, either nominative or accusative. In either instance, an accusative noun phrase denoting the addressee is possible, although not common.

(9.89) *Ngayu wangka-layi nhuwala-a, nganaju-wu-lu mimi-ngku yarna-rru.* 
1SG.NOM tell-FUT 2DU-ACC 1SG.OBL-GEN-EFF uncle-EFF 
disappointed-PASSP 
I tell you that my uncle was disappointed in me.

(9.90) *Yartapalyu wangka-nguru parna-ngka-rru kangku-lha-a,* 
others say-PRES head-LOC-NOW carry-PAST-ACC 
yartapalyu wangka-nguru warryayi-lalha-a. 
others say-PRES drag-PAST-ACC 
Some say they carried it on their heads, others say they dragged it.

*Wangka-Ø* ‘call, name’ takes an accusative argument controlling a complement denoting the name ascribed to the referent of the argument (example (9.91)). Very often, the named referent appears as the subject of an agentless passive clause; the name is a complement on the subject (3.2), (4.42), (4.116), (9.111).

(9.91) *Ngunhaa, ngunhu wartirra ngayalyu, ngunhaa, ngunhu kaya-a* 
that.NOM that.NOM woman devil that.NOM that.NOM brother-ACC 
wangka-nguru kanyara-a, yirna nyina-nyila-a, 
call-PRES man-ACC this.ACC sit-PrREL-ACC 

*hartu-marta-a, nyampali-wuyu-u.* 
thing-PROP-ACC leader-SIDE-ACC
That one, that woman devil, that one, she calls that man kaya (elder brother),
this man sitting down, the one with the thing, the leader of the group.

Finally, wangka-Ø ‘tell’ is used as a manipulative predicate, in which case the accusative argument controls a purposive subordinate clause.

(9.92) \textit{Ngayu wangka-lha pawulu-u manku-waa nganaju-u}
\textit{IS G.NOM tell-PAST child-ACC get-PURPs=o IS G.GEN-ACC}
\textit{ngamari-i.}
tobacco-ACC
I told the child to get my tobacco. (trans.)

There are few other utterance predicates and none with the complete range of uses illustrated for \textit{wangka-Ø}. Jinarri-Ø ‘ask’ occurs in only a few examples in the data but introduces direct speech and appears to take similar complements. However, it cannot be used as a manipulative predicate. Jilampirra-Ø ‘brag’ may take an accusative argument denoting the addressee and a subject complement:

(9.93) \textit{Ngunhaa jilampa-rra wantharni kurrarti-lha, jilampa-rra nyina-lha}
\textit{that.NOM brag-CTEMP how swim-PAST brag-CTEMP be-PAST}
\textit{pipi-thurti-i-rru pawu-thurti-i-rru.}
mother-CONJ-ACC-NOW father-CONJ-ACC-NOW
He bragged about how he had swum, bragged to his mother and father.

The verb jurrura-L ‘point out’ describes the act of drawing someone’s attention to some physically present object and usually takes two accusative arguments denoting, respectively, the thing pointed out and the person so informed. However, there is one example in the data of jurrura-L used as a verb ‘to blame, point out that’. Here it takes a single accusative complement.

(9.94) \textit{Ngunhaa wartirra nganaju-rru jurrura-muru warrnaluyi-i}
\textit{that.NOM woman IS G.ACC-NOW point.out-PRES knife-ACC}
\textit{withawitha-ma-lalha-a.}
cover.over-CAUS-PAST-ACC
That woman is blaming me for covering over (losing) the knife. /
That woman is pointing out that I covered the knife.

The most common transfer of information predicate is nhuura-ma-L ‘teach, show’. As the causative counterpart to nhuura-npa-Ø ‘learn’, this verb takes two accusative arguments: the experiencer and a noun phrase or clausal complement denoting the thing learnt or presented (examples (4.4), (7.5), (7.78)).

(9.95) \textit{Julyu thurlanyarrara, nganarna-wu, puliyanyija, nhuura-ma-lalha}
\textit{old poor.fellow 1PL.EXC-GEN old.man know-CAUS-PAST}
\textit{nganaju yirna marrari-i.}
1SG.ACC this.ACC story-ACC
The poor old fellow, of our people, an old man, taught me this story.

(9.96) \textit{Ngunhaa nganaju nhuura-ma-lalha wantharni-i}
\textit{that.NOM 1SG.ACC know-CAUS-PAST how-ACC}
He taught me about how the devils once fought here (in this country).

The superficially similar verb *kariya-L* 'show, point or thrust out body part' describes the act of (often provocatively) placing an object or body part in the view of some person (example (4.77)). Like *nhuura-ma-L* it takes two accusative arguments but does not control clausal complements.

### 9.5.9 Added Accusative Arguments

A number of the verb types described in the preceding sections have the ability to optionally take an accusative argument of some kind. Simple motion and induced motion verbs have alternate case frames in which some role, usually path or goal, may appear either as an oblique argument marked with some locational case or as an accusative object. For these predicates the added accusative argument can be seen as marking a role which is implicit in the situation evoked by the verb. That is, these verbs are subcategorised for a path or goal complement.

However, accusative arguments which do not instantiate implicit roles may be added quite freely to a number of predicate case frames. There are three situations in which verbs may appear with an added accusative argument. First, a small group of 'ambitransitive' verbs occur either with or without an accusative object. The following examples illustrate the alternative case-marking patterns of the verb *panyu-npa-Ø* 'be good (to)'.

(9.97) *Ngunhaa wartawirrinpa-rra karla-a panyu-npa-waa,*

that.NOM wait.for-CTEMP fire-ACC good-INCH-PURPs=o

*puwara-npa-waa, karlarra-npa-waa paju.*

coals-INCH-PURPs=o hot-INCH-PURPs=o REAL

He waits for the fire to become good, to burn down to the coals, to get really hot.

(9.98) *Ngayu wiru-rru wiyaa panyu-npa-layi paya-lalha-nguru*

1SG.NOM feelings-NOW maybe good-INCH-FUT drink-PAST-ABL

*ngurnu jami-i.*

that.ACC medicine-ACC

Perhaps my feelings will become good after drinking that medicine.

(9.99) *Ngayu ngurnaa wiru-rru panyu-npa-lha, thurlanyarrara-a.*

that.NOM that.ACC feelings-NOW good-INCH-PAST poor.fellow-ACC

I feel good towards him, the poor fellow.

(9.100) *Kartu panyu-npa-layi nganarna-a ngalarri-lha-ngara-a.*

2SG.NOM good-INCH-FUT 1PL.EXC-ACC forget-PAST-PL-ACC

You be good to us fellows who forgot.

There is no sense in which the verb *panyu-npa-Ø* in either example (9.97) or (9.98) implies an object. However, an object is clearly implied by the use of verb in (9.99) and (9.100). This suggests that *panyu-npa-Ø* be given two separate lexical entries, one intransitive and the other transitive. The same obtains for *paya-npa-Ø* ‘become angry, get angry at, “growl” at’, and *ngaya-Ø* ‘cry, cry for’. When *ngaya-Ø* appears with a single subject argument it generally describes an act of uncontrolled weeping. However, with an
accusative object it describes an act of weeping for some deceased relative, often in some ritualised mourning context.

Secondly, added benefactive accusative arguments denote a person who is affected by the actions of the, usually human, subject of the verb in a beneficial way (examples (3.11a), (9.101) and (9.102)). These arguments correspond to ‘ethical datives’ in some other Australian languages (e.g. Warlpiri, as in Hale 1982).

(9.101) *Nganaju yanga-lalha murla-a.*
1SG.GEN wife cook-PAST meat-ACC
My wife cooked meat for the kids. (trans.)

(9.102) *Muyi yanga-lalha tharmta-a muyi-ngara-a mungka-lwaa murla-a.*
dog chase-PAST euro-ACC dog-PL-ACC eat-PURPs=o meat-ACC
The dog chased a euro so all the dogs could eat meat. (trans.)

In the following examples the referent of the benefactive noun phrase is seen to suffer some unpleasantness as a result of the action denoted by the verb. In most of these ‘malefactive’ cases the subject of the verb is inanimate.

(9.103) *Nhiyu warrirti parli-npa-nguru nganaju.*
this.NOM spear bend-INCH-PRES 1SG.ACC
This spear is going bent on me. (trans)

(9.104) *Mir.ta yimpala-npa-marri-layi kartungu-u mapuji-i.*
not like.that-INCH-COLL-FUT 2SG.GEN-ACC MoFa-ACC
Don’t be like that about/on your grandfather.

(9.105) *Nganaju murtiwarla ngapala-la ngarrani-lha nganaju.*
1SG.GEN car mud-LOC get.stuck-PAST 1SG.ACC
My car got stuck in the mud on me. (trans.)

Although there is little sense in subcategorising verbs such as *ngarrani-0* ‘get stuck’ or *parli-npa-Ø* ‘be bent’ for a benefactive argument, these accusative noun phrases do share many of the semantic features of true direct objects and can appear as the subjects of passive clauses. Thus, they are more than simple adjuncts and might best be handled by a general lexical rule which adds a benefactive object to a verb’s ‘basic’ argument structure.

Finally, accusative marked noun phrases describing a period of extended time may be added to a clause (§4.3). Unlike all other accusative arguments appearing with verbal predicates, these temporal accusative noun phrases may not occur as subjects of passive verbs. By this criterion they can safely be described as adjuncts. While the ability to appear as a passive subject is not a sufficient condition for core argument status, it is a necessary condition.

9.6 Passive Clauses

Passive main clauses in text can be interpreted on the basis of the two interrelated semantic/pragmatic strategies:

1. The passive presents a non-agent argument in a highly topical position.
2. The passive clause allows the description of an event without the specification of an agent.
Particular cases will often involve both of these factors as the examples below demonstrate: (9.106) illustrates the role of passive clauses in presenting non-agent arguments as topics of discourse, while in (9.107) the passive clauses also allow the speaker to avoid reference to specific agents.

(9.106) Wirpinykura, ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa marntanthu-ma-anguli-wayara spinifex.type that.NOM-ID that.NOM net-CAUS-PASS-HABIT puliyanyjia-ngara-lu jantira-ngara-lu wii kulhampa-marmu. old.man-PL-EFF old.woman-PL-EFF maybe fish-ASSOC Ngunhaa warrapa marntanthu-ma-anguli-wayara. that.NOM grass net-CAUS-PASS-HABIT Wirpinykura spinifex, that's the one that used to be made into nets by the old men and women or whoever, for fish. That's the [type of] grass that was made into nets.

(9.107) Nhurtu-npa-lha-lwa ngula thurlanyarrara kupuyu, mir.ta wiyaa what-INCH-PAST-ID IGNOR poor.fellow little not maybe thalka-anguli-nguru thanuwa-a maruwarla-a paju feed-PASS-PRES food-ACC much-ACC REAL yungku-anguli-nguru. Thurlajinkarri kupuyu yimpala-rru-wa give-PASS-PRES poor.fellow little like.that-NOW-YK puni-layi nhawu-ngu-rra parlu yirla mirtali. go-FUT see-PASS-CTEMP top only big What's wrong with that poor little fellow, maybe he isn't being fed, maybe he isn't being given very much [to eat]. The poor little fellow will be going along like that now, looking big only up top.

In a sample of 150 passive clauses in a long stretch of narrative text of which 57% were subordinate clauses, 58% of passive main clauses were agentless while agentless passives made up 70% of passive subordinate clauses. Sixty-five per cent of all passive clauses were agentless.

Verbs in Martuthunira can be marked for passive in one of two ways. Firstly, a verb may be inflected with a suffix which encodes passive voice as well as other categories such as tense aspect and mood. The most prevalent of these suffixes is the passive perfective -yangu/-ru (-§6.2.2). Secondly, the passive derivational suffix, -CM-anguli-O (-§6.3.1), may be added to active verb stems deriving a passive verb of the Ø-conjugation. This verb then takes regular (active) verb inflections. On the same sample of 150 passive clauses, 45% involved the passive derivational suffix and 74% of these were agentless. By contrast, 52% of the inflectional passives occurred without an agent. Sixty-six per cent of the derivational passives occurred in subordinate clauses as opposed to 60% of inflectional passives.

Verbs formed with either the derivational passive or one of the inflectional passives have equivalent case frames. The following examples illustrate the differences between the passive and active forms of a transitive activity verb, and the differences between the clauses in which the forms of the verb may appear.

(9.108) Pawulu-ngara pukarra-a manku-layi/lha. child-PL firewood-ACC get-FUT/PAST The children will get/got firewood. (trans.)
In this set of examples the different case frames of the transitive verb *manku-∅* ‘get, grab, take’, are quite clear. The agent of the verb is in the unmarked nominative case in example (9.108), but in the effector case in (9.109) and (9.110). The patient/theme is in accusative case in (9.108) but in nominative case in (9.109) and (9.110). As a general rule, those roles of a given verbal predicate which may be marked accusative in active clauses can appear as nominative subject arguments of corresponding passive verb forms. In the simplest of cases, transitive activity verbs have passive counterparts with a patient as the subject (as in the preceding examples). For simple motion verbs the subject of the passive clause is the path or goal; that is, the subcategorised locational complement of the active verb. The passive subject thus corresponds to the optional accusative argument in an active clause frame.

(9.111)  *Parlapuni wangka-ngu-rra, Parlapuni parla-ngku puni-yangu,*  
*Parlapuni call-PASS-CTEMP Parlapuni hill-EFF go-PASSP*  

*ngunhu wanti-nguru kuwarri.*  
that.NOM lie-PRES now  
“Parlapuni”, it's called. Parlapuni is [the track] where the hill went along.  
It's still there today.

(9.112)  *Yilangu nyina-wayara Pantuwarnangka-l julyu-ngara patharri-lu,*  
*here sit-HABIT Pantuwarnangka-LOC old.man-PL fight-PURPss*  
*kanarri-nguli-yirri.*  
come-PASS-LEST  
Here on Pannawonica Hill the old people used to stop to fight, lest they be come upon by anyone.

The accusative arguments of the ambitransitive verbs *panyu-npa-∅* ‘become good (to)’, and *paya-npa-∅* ‘get angry (with)’ can appear as the subjects of passive forms of these verbs (9.113). And benefactive arguments can appear as the subjects of otherwise intransitive process verbs such as *ngarrani-∅* ‘get stuck’ (9.114).

(9.113)  *Mir.ta panthu-minyji, paya-npa-nguli-yirri ngulu kanyara-lu.*  
not touch-FUT angry-INCH-PASS-LEST that.EFF man-EFF  
Don't touch or the man will get angry [with you].

(9.114)  *Ngayu thurlajinkarri, ngayu murtiwarla-lu ngarrani-yangu.*  
1SG.NOM poor.fellow 1SG.NOM car-EFF stick-PASS  
I'm a poor fellow, I had my car get stuck on me. (trans.)

Verbs which regularly take two accusative arguments, such as *yungku-∅* ‘give’, have two passive argument frames: either the recipient or the theme may appear as the subject of the passive verb form. Usually, the other non-agent role is omitted, but if occurs it retains its status as an accusative object. In both frames the agent is marked with the effector case.
In the same way, those verbs which allow a second accusative argument of some kind have two possible passive argument frames. The following examples illustrate passives on the various arguments of induced motion verbs, (9.117) and (9.118), and of transitive verbs permitting an added benefactive argument, (9.119) and (9.120).

(9.117) \[\text{Thathu-mu warnu pala ngaliwa nguru thu-thamta-a murla-a} \]
\[\text{ngarri-ngka-nguru-u.}\]
We were sent that euro meat from the ashes.

(9.118) \[\text{Nhiyu murla thathu-mu nganarna-a nguru-ngara-lu} \]
\[\text{kanyara-ngara-lu.}\]
This meat was sent us by those men.

(9.119) \[\text{Nhiyu murla kampa-ruu nganaju-wu-lu wartirra-lu.}\]
This meat was cooked by my woman. (trans.)

(9.120) \[\text{Ngunhu mimi murla-a kampa-ngu-layi wartirra-lu.}\]
That uncle will have meat cooked for him by the woman. (trans.)

The difference between clauses such as (9.115) and (9.116) lies simply in the choice of case-marking on the various noun phrase arguments; there is no additional change in the form of the verb. The syntax of passive clauses thus involves two interacting factors:

1. the marking of the verb as passive, either by derivational suffix or by inflection, and
2. the choice of case-marking for the arguments of the verb.

The passive verb form dictates an argument frame in which noun phrases other than the agent may appear as the subject of the clause (the agent is optionally deleted). To use derivational phraseology, the passive removes the agent from subject position, and from the core case frame, so that subject position can be filled by one of a number of other possible arguments. The choice of subject is then shown by the choice of case-marking on the remaining arguments.

Martuthunira differs from its Ngayarda relatives in allowing both objects of a ditransitive verb as possible subjects of passive clauses. In both Panyjima and Yindjibarndi only the recipient argument of a verb like yungku-Ø ‘give’ may appear as the subject of a passive clause. In these languages it is possible to state the passive quite neatly in terms of grammatical relations. Thus in Panyjima the recipient object of a ditransitive can be assigned
the primary object relation (Dench 1991:194) and the passive refers to the noun phrase bearing this relation. This analysis is clearly not available in Martuthunira.

Instead, the Martuthunira passive might be described as a lexical rule which selects any non-subject argument in the subcategorisation frame of a verb and assigns it to the subject position of a corresponding passive verb form. However, there is just one exception to this pattern. The verb *murnta-L ‘take from’ has two accusative arguments, denoting the theme and source (example 9.121), but only the source may appear as the subject of a passive clause (9.122). *Murnta-L is the only verb found so far for which this constraint applies and would need to be marked as an exception to a passive rule which presents non-subject complements as subjects.

(9.121)  *Ngayu murnta-lalha murla-a ngurnu pawulu-u.  
1SG.NOM take.from-PAST meat-ACC that.ACC child-ACC  
I took meat away from the child. (trans.)

(9.122)  Ngunhu pawulu thuur.ta-a murnta-mu.  
that.NOM child sweet-ACC take.from-PASSP  
That child had sweets taken away from him. (trans.)

(9.123)  *Ngunhaa jumpirirri ngurnu pawulu-u murnta-mu.  
that.NOM knife that.ACC child-ACC take.from-PASSP  
*That knife was taken from the child. (constr.)  
(“Kid bin taken away from knife ???”)

That the passive rule is not restricted simply to accusative non-subject arguments is demonstrated by the verb *jarraa-L ‘tie up’ and its synonym *jankaa-L. Both verbs take a single accusative argument denoting the patient and may optionally take a locative noun phrase describing the object to which the patient is tied (example 9.124). The location may not be coded as an accusative argument of the active verb but may appear as the subject in a passive clause (9.125).

(9.124)  *Ngayu jarraa-lalha ngulangu kalyaran-ta nganaju-u muyi-i.  
1SG.NOM tie.up-PAST there tree-LOC 1SG.GEN-ACC dog-ACC  
I tied up my dog there on the tree. (trans.)

(9.125)  Nhiyu-lwa kalyaran ngathu muyi-i jarraa-mu.  
this.NOM-ID tree 1SG.EFF dog-ACC tie.up-PASSP  
This is the tree I tied the dog to. (trans.)

It is assumed here that *jarraa-L is subcategorised for a locative complement. However, in this instance the locational complement may not be coded as an accusative object (perhaps this privilege is reserved for paths and goals) and the verb must be marked as an exception to a general lexical rule.

9.7 DOUBLE-OBJECT AMBIGUITIES

It will be clear from the preceding sections that there is some difficulty in the identification of a unique grammatical relation ‘Direct Object’ in Martuthunira. The problem lies in the fact that verbs may control more than one accusative argument and that there are no formal tests (such as passive, for example) which distinguish among these arguments. The problem is
just as real for those verbs which accept an optional second accusative argument as it is for true ditransitives like *yungku-∅* ‘give’, which are always understood as having two objects.

But if two accusative arguments are not formally distinguished, how is the unique assignment of particular noun phrases to particular thematic roles in the argument structure of the predicate accomplished? For example in (9.126), in which the verb *thathu-L* ‘send, let go’ appears with two accusative arguments, which is to be linked to the theme role and which to the goal?

(9.126)  

\[\text{Ngayu thathu-lalha ngurnu muyi-i kartungu-u pawulu-u.}\]  
\[1SG.NOM \text{send-PAST that.ACC dog-ACC 2SG.GEN-ACC child-ACC}\]  
I sent...that dog...your child.

The assignment of roles in potentially ambiguous sentences like this depends on the semantic content of the noun phrases and on the speaker's perception of the most likely situation, both in general terms and in particular contexts. An unmarked interpretation of example (9.126) would have *muyi* ‘dog’ as the theme and *pawulu* ‘child’ as the goal. The assignment is not affected by the relative order of the accusative arguments nor their position relative to the verb. This is demonstrated by the following set of test examples.

(9.127) a.  

\[\text{Ngayu ngurnu kanyara-a thathu-lalha nganaju-u kurntal-yu.}\]  
\[1SG.NOM that.ACC man-ACC send-PAST 1SG.GEN-ACC daughter-ACC\]  
I sent that man my daughter. (constr.)

b.  

\[\text{Ngayu nganaju-u kurntal-yu ngurnu muyi-i thathu-lalha.}\]  
\[1SG.NOM 1SG.GEN-ACC daughter-ACC that.ACC dog-ACC send-PAST\]  
I sent my daughter that dog. (constr.)

c.  

\[\text{Ngayu ngurnu muyi-i nganaju-u kurntal-yu thathu-lalha.}\]  
\[1SG.NOM that.ACC dog-ACC 1SG.GEN-ACC daughter-ACC send-PAST\]  
I sent my daughter that dog. (constr.)

d.  

\[\text{Ngurnu muyi-i, ngayu nganaju-u pawulu-u thathu-lalha.}\]  
\[\text{that.ACC dog-ACC 1SG.NOM 1SG.GEN-ACC child-ACC send-PAST}\]  
I sent my child that dog. (constr.)

e.  

\[\text{Kartungu-u kurntal-yu, ngayu ngurnu pawulu-u thathu-lalha.}\]  
\[\text{2SG.GEN-ACC daughter-ACC 1SG.NOM that.ACC child-ACC send-PAST}\]  
I sent your daughter the child. (constr.)

In this set of sentences, including (9.126), the rudiments of a ranking of the type commonly referred to in the broadest possible sense as a hierarchy of ‘animacy’ (see Comrie 1989:197) are quite evident. In most cases this involves distinctions of the gross animate/inanimate, or human/non-human kind, but where both the referents are human more fine-grained decisions based on culture specific notions of social dominance – such as age, gender and kin relationship – become crucially important. But it must be remembered that cases of potential ambiguity requiring such delicate decisions rarely if ever occur in free discourse. In addition, the assignment of roles is often quite obvious from a given context. It is only in unnatural discourse situations, like linguistic elicitation sessions, that speakers need to rely on some ‘default context’.
9.8 CASE ASSIGNMENT IN IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

For the most part, imperative clauses follow the normal patterns of case-marking for active clauses: the addressee is the nominative subject and any objects of the verb are marked accusative:

(9.128) *Pamarri-Ø kartu ngurnu-ngara-a pawulu-ngara-a!*
Call.out-IMP 2SG.NOM that.OBL-PL-ACC child-PL-ACC
You call out to those children!

(9.129) *Pawulu-ngara-yi, nganaju kangku-Ø kayulu-u!*
Child-PL-VOC 1SG.NOM bring-IMP water-ACC
Hey children, bring me some water!

However, there is an alternative case-marking pattern available for imperative clauses in which the object appears as an unmarked topic. A number of other features of such examples are noteworthy: (1) the addressee subject is usually omitted; (2) the unmarked object generally appears in the leftmost position; and (3) the object is introduced by the ‘near you’ demonstrative form *nhula*. For example:

(9.130) *Nhula kalayamarta thuulwa-l.yu! Kartu murti-ma-muru karlarra-npa-wirri-i.*
Near.you billy.can pull-IMP 2SG.NOM fast-CAUS-PRES hot-INCH-LEST-ACC
Pull that billy can [off the fire]! You do it quickly or it’ll get too hot [to hold].

(9.131) *Nhula murla wantha-rryu thungkara-la, muyi-ngku mungka-nguli-waa.*
Near.you meat put-IMP ground-LOC dog-EFF eat-PASS-PURP=0
Put that meat on the ground so it can be eaten by the dog. (trans.)

Examples such as (9.131) show that the lack of accusative marking on the topicalised patient/theme noun phrase does not reflect any reallocation of grammatical relations in the clause. The preposed and unmarked object continues to control the -CM-waa ‘lower subject=main clause object’ purpose clause inflection (§10.3).

A more interesting deviant pattern is illustrated in example (9.132): the speaker dares the addressee to attempt to deflect a thrown spear.

(9.132) *Yilarla kartungku thani-l.yu!*
Here.NS 2SG.EFF hit-IMP
You hit this [if you can]!

The surprising feature of this example is the marking of the subject with the effector case, which is generally reserved for the agent noun phrase in a passive construction (§4.4). This is one of a number of similar sentences occurring quite freely (though rarely) in text but attempts to elicit imperatives conforming to the same pattern have met with limited success. One such elicited example is (9.133).

(9.133) *Kartungku nhawu-Ø ngunhu muyi. Nhartu-u kartu kuliyanpa-layi?*
2SG.EFF see-IMP that.NOM dog what-ACC 2SG.NOM think-FUT
You have a look at that dog. What are you going to think about it? (trans.)

Here the presumed object of the imperative verb is unmarked and the whole sentence appears to conform to a standard Australian ergative case-marking pattern. Interestingly, the
rather unsuccessful attempts to test the grammaticality of constructed examples revealed only
one piece of relevant information: imperative clauses of this kind are grudgingly acceptable
with transitive verbs but are not at all acceptable with intransitive verbs.

While examples such as (9.133) appear on the surface to be clear relics of earlier ergative
active clauses, given the case-marking patterns of modern Martuthunira, they look very like
passives. Unfortunately, the data does not throw any light on this issue. There are no
examples in which either the effector ‘subject’ or unmarked ‘object’ control subordinate
clauses.

9.9 NOMINAL ADJUNCTS MARKED WITH REFERENTIAL CASE

Referential case-marking (Dench & Evans 1988) serves a number of different functions in
Martuthunira. As noted in §3.3.1, referential case is used to link second predicates to their
arguments and to link part and whole where the part functions as an instrument or is the
locus of effect. These patterns are described in the following sections.

The identification of second predicates as separate constituents presents few difficulties in
Martuthunira. Firstly, by the analysis presented here, nominals bearing the same final case
inflection but which are separated by some phrasal constituent (that is, excepting separation
by post-inflectional clitics or particles) are described as separate noun phrases. Secondly,
second predicates in subordinate clauses bear suffixes consistent with referential case
agreement with an absent subject, and are not raised out of such clauses (but see §10.4) or
deleted under identity along with their controlling arguments. Only where a nominal
functioning as a second predicate occurs adjacent to its controlling argument is there a
possibility of any ambiguity between a ‘merged’ and ‘unmerged’ interpretation (Simpson
1983:346), and such constructions are usually avoided.

9.9.1 SECOND PREDICATES

The two main types of second predication in Martuthunira are firstly ‘attributives’, which
describe the state of some referent during the time at which the main clause predication holds,
and secondly ‘manner’ predications, which describe the manner in which the main
predication is performed by an agent. The interpretation of a second predicate as either an
attributive or a manner predication depends on the semantic content of the particular nominal
and that of the main predicate. Consider the following example:

(9.134) Thurlanyarrara-ngara kupiyaji panyu waruul nyina-marri-layi,
poor.fellow-PL little(PL) good still sit-COLL-FUT
panyu-ngku wangka-yangu nhuura-ma-mu.
good-EFF tell-PASSP know-CAUS-PASSP
Those poor little fellows will continue to be well behaved once they are told,
taught properly.

This sentence includes two uses of the nominal panyu ‘good’, as a second predicate. In
the first instance panyu describes an attribute, ‘good’ in the sense of ‘well behaved’. In the
second case panyu is marked with the effector suffix in agreement with an absent passive
agent, and here is interpreted as a manner predication ‘(tell, teach) properly’. The following
examples provide further illustration. As (9.136) shows, the second predication may be negated.

(9.135)  
Ngaliwa puni-layi purnumpuru. Thana ngunhaa nhuurryarri-wala.  
1PL.INC go-FUT quiet let that.NOM snore-PURPds  
We'll go quietly, and let him keep snoring.

(9.136)  
Ngunhu-ngara pawulu-ngara mir.ta jarruru-lu parrungkarri-yangu  
that.NOM-PL child-PL not slow-EFF shout.at-PASSP  
gulu wartirra-lu.  
that.EFF woman-EFF  
Those children were shouted at by that woman, not slowly.

(9.137)  
Nhiyu thuur.ta kanyja-rru juwayu-la kartarr-u paju,  
this.NOM fruit hold-PASSP hand-LOC tight-EFF REAL  
nyunyja-ma-rru-rru. Wantharni-rru mungka-rninyyi  
squashed-CAUS-PASSP-NOW how-NOW eat-FUT  
yimpala-a-wa, kulhany-ku-rru?  
like.that-ACC-YK squashed-ACC-NOW  
This fruit has been held in the hand really tightly, it's been squashed. How are [we] to eat it like that, squashed?

Example (9.137) involves a number of second predications. Firstly, the manner nominal kartarr ‘tightly’, which is marked with the effector suffix in agreement with a passive agent, describes a simple manner predication. The indefinite/interrogative wantarni ‘how, what way’, also functions as a manner predication on the subject of the verb mungka-L ‘eat’, while the predicate demonstrative yimpala ‘like that’, and the nominal kulhany ‘squashed’, make ascriptive predications on the (absent but understood) accusative object.

Example (9.138) illustrates what might be called a ‘compound second predication’, in which a group of similar manner-type nominals combine to describe, in this case, a particular bodily posture. Example (9.139) is very similar. Here the compound predication describes a manner of action rather than a stance.

(9.138)  
Wanti-rrawaara malarnu-la, wanti-lu yanarra murtiwana  
lie-SEQ shade-LOC lie-PURPss on.back leg.on.knee  
wartawirrinpa-rra mirtirimarta-a kampa-nyila-a.  
wait.for-CTEMP goanna-ACC cook-PrREL-ACC  
Then [I] go and lie in the shade, to lie on my back with one leg propped on my knee, waiting for the goanna which is cooking.

(9.139)  
Ngaliwa puni-layi jarruru jirrura paju, marruwa-ma-lwirri  
1PL.INC go-FUT slowly creeping REAL awake-CAUS-LEST  
gnurnaa nguyniri wanti-nyila-a, mayili-ngu.  
that.ACC asleep lie-PrREL-ACC FaFa+1POSS-ACC  
We'll go along really creeping slowly, lest we wake up that fellow lying asleep, our grandfather.

Nominals inflected with an adnominal case suffix may also function as second predicates of manner. The use of proprietive expressions as instrumental manner second predications is
illu strated in §4.10. Privative second predications are illustrated in §4.11. Locative expressions may also be used as second predications as in the following examples:

(9.140) \textit{Kartu pamaru panyu kuliya-nga\-guy-layi puyila-lu.} 2SG.NOM loud good hear-PASS-FUT far.LOC-EFF
You are good and loud and will be heard [from] far off.

(9.141) \textit{Ngayu nhawu-lha ngunu-ngara-a kanyara-ngara-a} 1SG.NOM see-PAST that.ACC-PL-ACC man-PL-ACC
\textit{Kawuyu-la-nguru.} Kawuyu-LOC-ABL
I saw those people, from Kawuyu hill.

A large class of ‘attributive’ second predications bear the temporal clitic -\(\tilde{1}\) (§7.7). As with all second predications, the property ascribed by the second predicate is held to be true during the time at which the main predication holds, but in these cases the focus is shifted. These predications provide a temporal orientation for the whole clause (examples (9.142), (3.12) to (3.14), and (7.86) to (7.87)).

(9.142) \textit{Mir.ta kar1arra-a-\(\tilde{1}\) wurnta-rinyji, juwayu kampa-wirri.} not hot-ACC-THEN cut-FUT hand burn-LEST
\textit{Muthumuthu-u wurnta-rinyji, panyu-u-\(\tilde{1}\).} cool-ACC cut-FUT good-ACC-THEN
Don't cut it when it's hot or [you'll] burn [your] hand. Cut it cold, when it's good.

Martuthunira is quite permissive in the range of arguments it allows as controllers of secondary predications. While manner predicates are controlled either by the subject or the passive agent, and attributives are generally controlled either by the subject or an accusative object, these temporals may be controlled by locational adjuncts (example (3.14)). Other Australian languages are more restrictive. For example, Yankunytjatjara allows second predicates only on subjects, Kayardild (Evans 1985:246) allows second predicates only on subjects and objects.

Finally, it is worth noting that Martuthunira does not make use of ‘resultative’ second predications (such as English ‘He painted the fence white.’). Instead, resultatives typically involve a verb derived by the addition of the causative suffix to a nominal stem denoting the emerging state. The accomplishment of a result is then coded by an attributive second predication on the verb \textit{kuntirri-\(\tilde{\}\)} ‘cease doing’. For example:

(9.143) \textit{Kartatha-lalha ngayu ngurnu wirra-a} chop-PAST 1SG.NOM that.ACC boomerang-ACC
I chopped that boomerang, making it light. I'll stop when it is light.

(9.144) \textit{Ngayu yurrwi-rinyji ngurnaa kurlany-marta. Mawu-lwa} 1SG.NOM shave-FUT that.ACC knife-PROP later-ID
\textit{kuntirri-layi panyu-u-rru warlyarra-a-rru.} cease-FUT good-ACC-NOW smooth-ACC-NOW
I'll shave it with a knife. I'll stop later when it's good and smooth. (trans.)
9.9.2 Part-whole constructions

Part-whole constructions in which the part functions as an instrument (example (9.145)) or is the locus of effect of some action ((9.146), and see (4.160)) follow the same syntactic patterns as second predications.

(9.145) Karnti-i waruul-wa-rru manhak-layi, kayarra juwayu
   tail-ACC all.right-Ø-NOW grab-FUT two hand
   thuuulwa-minyji ngurnaa.
   pull-FUT that.ACC
   All right, then grab its tail, pull it with two hands.

(9.146) Ngunhaa nhawu-lha wii ngali-i karri-lha-a,
   that NOM see-PAST if 1DU.INC-ACC stand-PAST-ACC
   ngunhaa warta-rru purra-minyji ngali-i.
   that NOM forehead-ACC-NOW hit-FUT 1DU.INC-ACC
   If he had seen that we were standing there, he would have hit us both in the forehead.

However, body parts filling the role of instrument also appear in the usual proprietive construction (example (6.28)), and parts may be dissociated from their wholes and treated as separate arguments (4.77). These uses are not as common as the part-whole construction illustrated here.

9.10 Questions

Polar questions are identical in form to normal declaratives but have a characteristic final rising intonation. In some cases the focus of the interrogation may be fronted to clause-initial position, as in example (9.148) below.

(9.147) Kartu kanyja-ruru wirra-tharra-a?
   2SG.NOM keep-PRES boomerang-DU-ACC
   You have two boomerangs?

(9.148) Yirnaa nhawu-lha?
   this.ACC see-PAST
   Was it this [you] saw?

(9.149) Nhuwana puni-layi wurtu thawun-mulyarra?
   2PL go-FUT HYPTH town-ALL
   Are you going to town?

Example (9.149) includes the particle wurtu ‘hypothetically’ (see §7.2.4), which most often occurs in polar interrogatives. Typically it indicates the speaker's hypothesis about a particular situation and invites confirmation or disconfirmation from the addressee. The very polite request in (9.150) is reported speech occurring in a long narrative text. The use of past tense forms of the verb is possibly intended to suggest a situation that has happened and so is out of the speaker's humble control. The form yirru is a semantically null hesitation marker.

(9.150) Ngayu yirru kartungu yirru ngayu yirru kanarri-lha? Ngayu,
   1SG.NOM HES 2SG.ACC HES 1SG.NOM HES come-PAST 1SG.NOM
Information questions involve one of a set of indefinite/interrogative word forms as described in §5.3 and §5.10. In questions these forms almost always occur in clause initial position. The illocutionary force of an information question can be modified by the presence of certain particles, in particular, ngula ‘ignorantly’ (§7.2.5), kana ‘rhetorical’ (§7.2.6), paju ‘really’ (§7.2.7), and the ‘quotative’ clitic -nu (§7.2.2).

Questions concerning the identity of a person or thing involve ngana ‘who’ and nhartu ‘what’. For example:

(9.151) Nganangu-nu ngayu nhuwa-ruru-wa?
who.ACC-QUOT 1SG.NOM spear-PRES-YK
Who am I supposed to be spearing?

(9.152) Nhartu-u nhuwanu nhawu-lha?
what-ACC 2PL see-PAST
What have you seen?

Nhartu ‘what’ also forms the basis for intransitive and transitive interrogative verbs derived by the addition of either the inchoative -npa-∅ or causative -ma-L to the nominal stem:

(9.153) Nhartu-ma-ru-lwa-ruru ngula, kanyara-nguru warrua-nguru?
what-CAUS-PASSP-ID-NOW IGNOR human-ABL devil-ABL
What was done to them, after the time they were human devils?

(9.154) Nhartu-npa-lha nhuwanu pawulu-ngara, mir.ta-ruru panyi-muru jalurra-a?
what-INCH-PAST 2PL child-PL not-NOW step-PRES dance-ACC
What's happened to you children, [you're] not dancing?

Other questions make use of the variety of indefinite/interrogative nominal and verbal forms based on wantha ‘where’ (§5.10):

(9.155) Wanthala-ru nguNhuno kanyara ngulangu nyina-lha-nguru?
somewhere-NOW that.NOM man there sit-PAST-ABL
Now where is that man who was there?

(9.156) Wantharni-i ngula, wanka-a-t, kampa-lalha wiyaa?
how-ACC IGNOR raw-ACC-THEN cook-PAST maybe
How was it, was it raw then, or maybe it was cooked?

(9.157) Nhartu-u wantharra-a nhawu-layi?
what-ACC like-ACC see-FUT
What will it look like? (lit. [We'll] see it looking like what?)
where-CAUS-PAST 2SG.NOM 2SG.NOM keep-PRES
What have you done with them? You're keeping them [hidden].

Wantharni-ma-rinyji ngali?
how-CAUS-FUT 1DU.INC
How are we two going to do it?

Nganaju kaya wantharni-npa-lha-rru. Wantharni-npa-lha?
1SG.GEN brother how-INCH-PAST-NOW how-INCH-PAST
My brother has changed somehow. What's happened [to him]?

9.11 CONSTITUENT ORDER
Unlike some Australian languages which are characterised by particularly free constituent order, Martuthunira has a basic SVO pattern. Table 9.1 presents a count of the frequencies of constituent orders in a lengthy Martuthunira text. The figures are extracted from tables presented in Nathan (1986).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(N=80)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>28</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOS</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>8.75</td>
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<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N=65)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>75.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21.54</td>
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<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.08</td>
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<td>Generalised</td>
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<td>S precedes V</td>
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<tr>
<td>V precedes S</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15.30</td>
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<tr>
<td>S precedes O</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>83.78</td>
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<tr>
<td>O precedes S</td>
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<tr>
<td>V precedes O</td>
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<td>77.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O precedes V</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>22.58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures clearly illustrate the predominance of patterns in which the subject precedes both object and verb, and to a slightly lesser extent, the regularity with which the object follows the verb. Deviations from the unmarked SVO pattern are the result of two general
factors. Firstly, in information questions the interrogative occurs in sentence-initial position regardless of whether it is the subject, object, verb or some noun phrase adjunct. Secondly, objects may be placed in an immediate preverbal position of focus. Where the subject is omitted for some reason (a common occurrence in chains of clauses in texts, or in imperatives) the object may appear in clause-initial position. Some examples of this second pattern are:

(9.161) *Ngayu ngurnaa karntarra-a yirla thuulwa-lalha.*
1SG.NOM that.ACC sinew-ACC only pull-PAST
I pulled out only the sinew (and left the rest).

(9.162) *Kartu nganaju mir.ta paju kuliyanpa-layi.*
2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC not REAL think-FUT
You really don’t think about me!

(9.163) *Ngayu yartapalyu-u-rru wawayi-l.yarra, tharnta-a jinyji-warla-a warra.*
1SG.NOM others-ACC-NOW look.for-CTEMP euro-ACC
fat-FULL-ACC CONT
I’ll go look for something else, a fat euro for a change.

Once questions are removed from consideration, clauses in which the object precedes the subject, and/or the verb precedes the subject, are extremely rare. Example (9.164), the only unambiguous example of a clause displaying OSV order in the data, is a highly marked answer to a choice question. The VSO pattern illustrated in (9.165) is clearly influenced by the subordinate clause structure. There are no clear examples of VOS or OVS ordering in the data.

(9.164) *Kartu kuliyanpa-lha-rru wanthanha-a paju wirra-a kangku-layi?*
2SG.NOM think-PAST-NOW which-ACC REAL boomerang-ACC
take-FUT
Have you decided just which boomerang to take?

*Ngawu! Ngurnu pirtiyarrangu-u, ngurnaa ngayu kangku-layi.*
yes that.ACC kurara-ACC that.ACC 1SG.NOM take-FUT
*Nhula-a pukarti-wuyu-u ngayu wantha-rnruru.*
near.you-ACC snakewood-SIDE-ACC 1SG.NOM leave-PRES
Yes! That kurara one, that one I'll take. That snakewood one I'm leaving.

(9.165) *Ngunhaa kayarra-lwa ngulangu, kulhi-rnura-la ngaliwa puliyanyja-a thurlajinkarri-i.*
that.NOM two-ID there bury-PrREL-LOC 1PL.INC
old.man-ACC poor.fellow-ACC
Those two stayed there while we were burying the poor old man.

With regard to constituents other than core arguments, the ordering is more flexible. Typically, locational adjuncts occur towards the end of clauses but may occur in initial topic position where they provide important background information. It is rare for such adjuncts to be interposed between core arguments and the predicate. In passive clauses the effector noun phrase, denoting the agent, typically occurs after the verb although it may occur between subject and verb.
CHAPTER 10
COMPLEX SENTENCES

The first sections of this chapter describe the various types of subordinate clause. Relative clauses, described in §10.1, provide information about a noun phrase in the main clause, or specify the temporal or logical conditions under which the main clause event occurs. That is, these clauses have both ‘NP-relative’ and ‘T-relative’ interpretations (Hale 1976a). Section 10.2 describes ‘lest’ clauses. These set forth the unfavourable consequences of a main clause event and involve verbs bearing a special lest inflection followed by either the accusative or locative complementising suffixes. Section 10.3 describes ‘purpose’ clauses, which depict an intended result of the event denoted by a main clause. Verbs in purpose clauses select one of a set of three inflections specifying coreference and necessary causal relationships between main and subordinate clause. Of all Martuthunira subordinate clause patterns, the system of purpose clause inflection most closely resembles canonical switch-reference. Section 10.4 then discusses the use of relative clauses and purpose clauses as sentential complements of predicates of cognition, perception and information transfer. All complex sentence constructions share the following general syntactic features:

1. Subordinate clauses are adjoined (rather than embedded, in the sense used by Hale 1976a) to the main clause and occur adjacent to it. Reduced (NP-)relative clauses may appear in an embedded position adjacent to the controlling noun phrase in the main clause.

2. Where the subordinate clause and the main clause share a noun phrase argument, this noun phrase is omitted from either the subordinate clause or the main clause, usually from whichever of the two clauses follows the other.

3. The head of the subordinate clause, the verb, typically bears a complementising nominal suffix indicating the relationship between the subject of the clause and an argument of the main clause, or a particular logico-temporal link between the two clauses. By the case-marking domain conventions described in §3.3.2 the complementising suffix is not distributed to constituents of the subordinate clause.

Martuthunira interclausal syntax is further complicated by the interaction of these patterns of multi-clause sentence formation with the productive voice system. Section 10.5 describes the role of the passive in complex clause constructions. Section 10.6 once again considers the problems posed by double object constructions (§9.7); in this context the ambiguous control of accusative subordinate clauses. In conclusion, §10.7 presents a number of more complex examples involving multiple subordination.
10.1 RELATIVE CLAUSES

A number of types of relative clause can be recognised. ‘Finite relative’ clauses (§10.1.1) are defined by the presence on the subordinate clause verb of a regular main clause tense/aspect/mood inflection. ‘Perfect relative’ clauses (§10.1.2) involve an ablative complementising suffix attached to a finite verb form and describe a past event having some continuing relevance to a main clause event. In contrast to these two types, ‘present relative’ (§10.1.3), ‘contemporaneous’ (§10.1.4) and ‘sequential’ clauses (§10.1.5) are marked by special subordinate verb inflections.

10.1.1 FINITE RELATIVE CLAUSES

Verbs in finite relative clauses are most often inflected with either the past, passive perfective or habitual inflections. Examples involving the future inflection or the counterfactual inflection occur, but very rarely. Importantly, the main clause present tense inflection may not occur in finite relative clauses and this functional gap is filled by the present relative clause described in §10.1.3.

The subordinate clause verb is then further inflected either with the accusative suffix, indicating the coreference of the relative clause subject with an accusative argument of the main clause, or with the locative suffix. Although finite relative clauses marked with other case suffixes (in agreement with main clause arguments in other than accusative or locative case) are possible, they rarely occur in unelicited text. Finite relative clauses on subjects are effectively ruled out by the lack of a nominative complementiser. Clearly such clauses would be indistinguishable from finite main clauses.

Finite relative clauses marked in agreement with a controlling accusative noun phrase function to restrict the reference of that noun phrase. The temporal axis for the subordinate clause tense specification is the present of utterance or some established ‘narrative present’.

(10.1) *Ngayu yanga-lalha-rru nguru pawulu-u muyi-i*
     1SG.NOM chase-PAST-NOW that.ACC child-ACC dog-ACC
     thani-lalha-a.
     hit-PAST-AC
     I chased that kid who hit the dog. (trans.)

(10.2) *Ngayu nhawu-layi thanuwa-ngara-a-rru kampa-rnu-u*
     1SG.NOM see-FUT food-PL-ACC-NOW cook-PASSP-ACC
     nganaju-wu-lu wartirra-lu.
     1SG.OBL-GEN-EFF woman-EFF
     I'll see food that's been cooked by my wife. (trans.)

(10.3) *Ngayu puni-lha nhawu-lu nguru kanyara-a ngaliwa-la*
     1SG.NOM go-PAST see-PURPss that.ACC man-ACC 1PL.INC-LOC
     puni-layi-i wiruwanti.
     go-FUT-ACC morning
     I went to see that man who will be going with us tomorrow. (trans.)

(10.4) *Ngayu nhawu-lha nguru kanyara-a nyina-marni-i*
     1SG.NOM see-PAST that.ACC man-ACC sit-CONTR-ACC
Finite relative clauses marked with a locative complementiser suffix have a number of functions. First, they may have an NP-relative function on a locative argument in the main clause (example (10.5)). However, they more often function as temporal adverbial clauses providing a setting for the events described by the main clause (10.6) and (10.7). In these cases the orienting tense axis for the subordinate clause is the time at which the main clause event is occurring.

(10.5) *Panyu-ngurni ngaliwa puni-layi kuyilwa-nguli-yirri kuyil-a good-OBSCRD 1PL.INC go-FUT make.bad-PASS-LEST bad-LOC*  
*kayulu-la ngurnta kuyilwa-lwayara-la.*  
water-LOC style make.bad-HABIT-LOC.  
We’ll go carefully lest we get drowned (lit. badly affected) in this water which is generally treacherous.

(10.6) *KarJarra-npa-lha-la paju-rru, puwara-npa-lha-la paju-rru, hot-INCH-PAST-LOC REAL-NOW coals-INCH-PAST-LOC REAL-NOW*  
*ngarri-ngka kampa-rninyji-rru ngurnaa.*  
ashes-LOC cook-FUT-NOW that.ACC  
Once [the fire] has become really hot, burned right down to coals, cook that one in the ashes.

(10.7) *Ngunhaa pilakurta piyuwa-npa-lha-la wii, nhuntu-npa-lha-la that.NOM carpenter finish-INCH-PAST-LOC if dead-INCH-PAST-LOC*  
*wii, ngana-rru kana yilhi, mir.ta wii murnta-lalha*  
if who-NOW RHET chips not if take.from-PAST  
*ngurnaa pilakurta-a?*  
that.ACC carpenter-ACC  
If when that carpenter is finished, when he has died, who will have the chips (will have the skill to carve) if they didn’t take them from that carpenter.

Locative-marked finite relative clauses have a further function. In each of the following examples the subordinate clause provides some additional information about a noun phrase argument of the main clause, but that argument is not the subject of the relative clause. In approximately half of the total sample of this kind of locative marked finite relative clause, the linking argument appears as a possessive modifier of the subordinate subject noun phrase. Such sentences are often translated as English possessive relative constructions (example (10.8)) or as simple conjoined constructions (10.9).

(10.8) *Ngayu wangka-lha nguru kanyara-a, murtiwarla ngurnula-ngu 1SG.NOM speak-PAST that.ACC man-ACC motor.car that.DEF-GEN*  
muya-rru-la pawulu-ngara-lu.  
esteal-PASS-LOC child-PL-EFF  
I spoke to that man whose car was stolen by the children. (trans.)

(10.9) *Ngayu nyina-nguru kanyara-la, ngurnula-ngu pawulu thani-lalha-la 1SG.NOM stay-PRES man-LOC that.DEF-GEN child hit-PAST-LOC*
In example (10.10), the omitted subject of the main clause surfaces as a locative argument of the subordinate clause. In contrast to the case in (10.8) and (10.9) above, the relative clause in this example cannot be construed as a NP-relative on a main clause argument. Instead it describes a situation involving the common argument and which serves as an explanation of the state of affairs described in the main clause. Example (10.11) is similar, though here the shared argument does not appear in the relative clause.

(10.10) *Wiyaa yilarla thungkara-ngurni wanti-nguru, mir.ta nhawu-ngu-layi ngartil. Yimpalaa pala, nhiyu kanyara nyina-tha-lha kurlany-tha.*

maybe here.NV dirt-OBSCRD lie-PRES not see-PASS-FUT again like.that IT this.NOM man sit-PAST-LOC knife-LOC

Maybe it's lying under the dirt here out of sight, and won't be seen again. That's how it is, this man was sitting on that knife.

(10.11) *Ngayu wurma-lalha-rru ngurnu kalyaran-ku muyi-i thani-lalha-a. ngana thani-lalha-la? I broke that stick which hit the dog. But who hit [him with it]?*

In (10.11), ‘the stick’ is inferred as an instrument in the relative clause. This instrument provides a link between the event described in the accusative marked relative clause modifying ‘that stick’, and a question about the identity of an implied agent in that event.

The degree of syntactic linkage between main clause and subordinate clause in this type of construction is clearly quite low. While the two clauses share an argument there are no apparent constraints on what roles that argument may fulfil in either clause. Also, as examples (10.10) and (10.11) illustrate, the argument need not be made explicit in both clauses. Rather, the locative complementiser indicates a relationship between two clauses. The identity of the linking argument is generally inferred from context.

10.1.2 PERFECT RELATIVE CLAUSES

The perfect relative clause can be recognised as a specialised finite relative clause involving an ablative complementiser added to a verb inflected with either the past or passive perfective suffixes. It describes a completed event which has some continuing relevance to the action described in the main clause, usually precedes the main clause, and shares the same subject. The difference between the perfect relative construction and a simple past tense relative clause is the strong sense of completion of the subordinate clause event. Perfect relative clauses figure prominently in programmatic discourse. In many such texts the various participants maintain the same roles throughout and so a sequence of clauses may consist solely of verbs. Where the perfect relative clause follows the main clause there is a strong implication that the main clause event is a direct result of the situation described in the subordinate clause. For example:
(10.12) *Ngayu jina-rru malyarra-rruru puni-lha-nguru jurrwalyi-la.*
1SG.NOM foot-NOW sore-PRES go-PAST-ABL heat-LOC
My foot is sore from having gone in the heat.

Perfect relative clauses occasionally occur as NP-relatives on non-subject arguments of a controlling clause, in which case the appropriate case suffix follows the ablative inflection on the subordinate clause verb (examples (10.13) and (4.178)).

(10.13) *Ngaliwa withawitha-ma-rninji-rru thurlanyarrara-a*
1PL.INC covered-CAUS-FUT-NOW poor.fellow-ACC
*wantha-lalha-nguru-u-rru ngaliwa-a.*
leave-PAST-ABL-ACC-NOW 1PL.INC-ACC
We'll bury the poor fellow who has now left us.

10.1.3 PRESENT RELATIVE CLAUSES

Present relative clauses, marked by a special verbal inflection, have very similar functions to finite relatives: they fill a gap left by the non-occurrence of the present tense inflection in such clauses. Their most important function is as NP-relatives restricting reference by describing the role of a person or object in some currently occurring activity. Like finite relatives, present relatives may not be controlled by nominative subjects.

(10.14) *Ngali nyina-layi wawayi-l.yarra kampa-nyila-a.*
1DU.INC sit-FUT wait.for-CTEMP cook-PrREL-ACC
We'll sit waiting for the one that is cooking.

(10.15) *Ngayu nhawu-ngu-layi kanyara-lu jalyuru-ma-mura-lu.*
1SG.NOM see-PASS-FUT man-FUT hole-CAUS-PrREL-EFF
I'll be seen by the man who is digging a hole. (trans.)

(10.16) *Ngayu ngurnu mui-i parla-marta paringku-lha,*
1SG.NOM that.ACC dog-ACC stone-PROP hit-PAST
*yirma-marta thungkara-la wanti-nyila-marta.*
this.OBL-PROP ground-LOC lie-PrREL-PROP
I hit that dog with a stone, with this one lying on the ground. (trans.)

(10.17) *Ngayu ngurnu murla-a wantha-rralha ngulangu,*
1SG.NOM that.ACC meat-ACC place-PAST there
*murtiwarla-la karri-nyila-la pal.yarra-la.*
car-LOC stand-PrREL-LOC plain-LOC
I put that meat there, in the car which is standing on the flat. (trans.)

In examples (10.18) and (10.19), the present tense relative clause functions as a temporal adverbial clause. The subordinate clause verb bears the expected locative complementiser.

(10.18) *Ngayu wawayi-lha jartuntarra-a, yarta ngunhu*
1SG.NOM look.for-PAST rock.wallaby-ACC other that.NOM
*wawayi-rnura-la tharnta-a-ipuru.*
look.for-PrREL-LOC euro-ACC-COMP
I looked for wallabies while that other man was looking for euros. (trans.)
Kampa-nyila-la-rru karla, nyina-layi thuulwa-l.yarra
burn-PrREL-LOC-NOW fire sit-FUT pull.out-CTEMP
miritirimarta-a punga-a.
goanna-ACC guts-ACC
While the fire is burning, sit and pull out the goanna's guts.

Present relative clauses also occur without a complementising case suffix. Examples of this kind most often occur in narrative text where they provide some parenthetical comment on events or situations which are occurring or obtain at the same time, and incidental to, the events described in the main event line. For example, (10.20) below is a portion of a narrative describing how a wicked uncle eats a whole emu after sending his two nephews to get a stone knife from a distant quarry. The audience is reminded of the current circumstances of the two nephews in the (underlined) present relative clause.

Ngunhu kampa-lalha jankurna-a, thaapuwa. Wantanha-rru kana?
that.NOM cook-PAST emu-ACC big.man which-NOW RHET
pull.out-FUT all-ACC pull.out-FUT cook-PAST-ACC
Ngunhu-rru puni-nyila, wirta-tharra, puu-rru, that.NOM-NOW go-PrREL youth-DU far.NOM-NOW
puyila-rru. Thaapuwa mungka-rinyji. Ngunhaa
far.LOC-PAST big.man eat-FUT that.NOM
manurri-yaangu-rru. mirthal jankurna-a ngurnu
hold.back-UNREAL-PAST alone emu-ACC that.ACC
kalyaalaa-ma-lalha.
feast-CAUS-PAST
He cooked the emu, the big man. What now? [He] pulled it all out, pulled out that thing which was cooked. [In the meantime] they were travelling, the two youths, far away, they were at some far away place. The big man ate it. He ought to have held back. He made a feast of that emu on his own now.

Example (10.21), from the same text, is very similar. Here the two brothers set out to spear an emu. However, one of the two holds back and lets his brother make the shot.

Jirruna-npa-layi ngumaa wanti-nyila-a, jankurna-a miyara-la-a,
sneak-INCH-FUT that.ACC lie-PrREL-ACC emu-ACC egg-LOC-ACC
nhuwa-rinyji. Yarta warra, yarta ngunhu karri-nyila,
spear-FUT other CONT other that.NOM stand-PrREL
marryara-wuyu nyartu-wuyu. Karri-nyila ngunhu
young.brother-SIDE left.handed-SIDE stand-PrREL that.NOM
wartawirrinpa-rra. Nhiyu mirtali-wuyu kaya-wuyu
wait-CTEMP this.NOM big-SIDE older.brother-SIDE
nhuwa-lalha ngurnaa wanti-nyila-a.
spear-PAST that.ACC lie-PrREL-ACC
[They] sneak up on that one lying down, an emu on [its] eggs, and spear it. One stays, the younger brother, the left-handed one, he stands waiting. This big one [of the two], the older brother, spears that [emu] lying down.

Example (10.22) is taken from a narrative describing events in the mythical past. A group of devils have stolen a hill from a rival group who live on an island and are carrying it, across sea and land, to its current resting place. The present relative clause provides the background information that the sea was shallow at this time.

(10.22) Kanarri-lha-nu, nhiingara, puni-lha-nguru thanarti-la. Warutharra come-PAST-QUOT this.PL go-PAST-ABL sea-LOC marsh
kayulu ngunhu yirla-l, _wanti-nyila_ mir.ta purnta paju. water that.NOM only-THEN lie-PrREL not deep very
ngunhu-ngara puni-lha kanarri-lu. that.NOM-PL go-PAST come-PURPs
It's said they came [this way], these people, having travelled through the sea. It was only marsh water then, wasn't very deep. They travelled [through it] to come [this way].

In examples of this kind it is not immediately clear that the present relative clauses are subordinate clauses. Apart from the fact that they involve a verbal inflection not usually found in main clauses (and here the argument can very easily become circular), they bear none of the general formal characteristics of Martuthunira subordinate clauses. There is no complementising case suffix and no obvious syntactic relationship between arguments of this and any adjacent clause. Nor is it obvious that present relative clauses of this kind are, in more subtle ways, semantically dependent on an adjacent clause, although it is quite clear that they are in some way ‘subordinate’ to the main event line of the narrative.

However, similar examples do occur, albeit rarely, in general conversational discourse, and in such cases the unmarked present relative clause is semantically dependent on an adjacent main clause. As the following examples illustrate, the present relative clause typically conveys something of the speaker's own opinions, inferences, explanations or evidence for the state of affairs described in the main clause.

(10.23) Ngayu wayangka-lha ngumu muyi-i, nganaju marryara 1SG.NOM frightened-PAST that.ACC dog-ACC 1SG.GEN young.brother
wayangka-nyila nguru. frightened-PrREL that.ACC
I was frightened of that dog [because] my brother is frightened of it.

(10.24) Nganarna waruul piya-muru nhuwana-la nhuura-npa-nyila-la kana. 1PL.EXC still sing-PRES 2PL-LOC know-INCH-PrREL-LOC RHET
Jalya waruul-wa-rru _nvina-nyila_. Mir.ta nhuura manku-layi jalurra-a. bad still-Ø-NOW sit-PrREL not knowing get-FUT song-ACC
We're still singing while you are learning. [Yet] you're still useless. You don't know how to perform (lit. grasp) the songs.

(10.25) Kartu-wi wuraal nhuwa-rninji thannta-a, ngayu 2SG.NOM-VOC all.right spear-FUT euro-ACC 1SG.NOM
You'll spear euros (so you say), [yet] I'm getting hungry, wanting meat.

Good! There's a fire burning (which I assume you have lit), you are close by now.

To some extent, examples of this kind resemble locative marked finite relative clauses of the type illustrated in examples (10.8) to (10.11) above. In each case it is possible to infer some link, in the form of a common participant, between the situations described in the main and subordinate clauses.

10.1.4 CONTEMPORANEOUS CLAUSES

Subordinate contemporaneous clauses are marked by a special verbal inflection and typically have the same subject as the controlling clause. The events described in the two clauses are temporally co-extensive and are often causally interdependent. Contemporaneous clauses are non-finite; they assume the tense, aspect and mood specification of the controlling clause.

I'm getting hot sitting in the sun.

I'm going along looking for snakewood sticks. (trans.)

If anyone has a chill, they drink that medicine.

If you go to town again, I'll give you money yet again.
Extended sequences of verbs bearing the contemporaneous inflection occasionally occur in text. In example (10.31), a sequence of contemporaneous verbs describes the melting of coagulated fish fat into a gravy as it warms in hot sand.

(10.31) \[\text{Wantha-ninyi ... nguru \ kampa-waa-rru,} \]
\[\text{put-FUT \ that.ACC \ cook-PURPs=o-NOW} \]
\[\text{wirluku-npa-rra \ panyu-npa-rra \ karlarra-npa-rra.} \]
\[\text{gravy-INCH-CTEMP \ good-INCH-CTEMP \ hot-INCH-CTEMP} \]

Put that [fish fat in hot sand] to cook, turn into gravy, become good, become hot.

While it is perfectly possible to describe such sequences of contemporaneous clauses as chains of subordination (with, say, each successive clause subordinate to its predecessor) this seems quite inappropriate here. Rather, the set of predicates functions as a composite describing essentially one event.

Similarly in example (10.32), a group of devils undergo a transformation into the human state. The contemporaneous predicates clustered together here are ‘become human’, ‘become good’ and the motion verb puni-∅ ‘go’, which functions as a copula (§9.3.3) emphasising the gradual nature of the change and implying that it occurs throughout (and ultimately perhaps due to) the performance of a number of activities to be detailed later in the narrative.

(10.32) \[\text{Pintirijila ngunhu-ngara nyina-lha, ngartil panyu-rra-rra-rru,} \]
\[\text{scattered that.NOM-PL \ be-PAST \ next good-INV-CTEMP-NOW} \]
\[\text{panyu-rra-rra-rru \ kanyara-npa-rra-rru \ puni-rra.} \]
\[\text{good-INV-CTEMP-NOW \ human-CTEMP-NOW \ go-CTEMP} \]
\[\text{Warruwa-ngara-lwa, warruwa-ngara panyu-npa-rra-rru} \]
\[\text{devil-PL-ID \ devil-PL \ good-INV-CTEMP-NOW} \]
\[\text{panyu-rra \ kanyara-npa-rra-rru.} \]
\[\text{go-CTEMP \ human-CTEMP-NOW} \]

They were scattered about. Then [they] became good, became good, gradually became human. The devils that is, the devils gradually became good, became human.

However, there is a subtle difference between the sequences of predicates illustrated here and that exemplified in example (10.31). In (10.32), the verbs ‘become good’ and ‘become human’ bear the temporal clitic -rru, and this effectively marks the two as making separate assertions. The devils became good and also became human; the two resulting states are not necessarily interdependent. While examples like (10.31) suggest that the overlap between a contemporaneous clause and some other clause extends as far as verb serialisation, it would be a mistake to view this as the cardinal function of the contemporaneous verbal inflection. Although the inflection indicates that the verb has the same tense, mood and aspect as the verb in some controlling clause, it does not require that the two verbs have the same set of core arguments.

10.1.5 SEQUENTIAL CLAUSES

Sequential clauses describe an event which follows the main clause event, often as an immediate consequence of that event. Sequential clauses are marked by a special subordinate
clause inflection involving an increment, -waara, to the contemporaneous verb inflection. Like contemporaneous clauses, sequential clauses typically have the same subject as the main clause and do not take complementising case suffixes, as in examples (10.33) to (10.35), (4.69), (4.106), (7.49) and (9.78).

(10.33) *Ngunhaa punga pangkira-ri-lha parntayarri-rrawaara.*
that.NOM guts bulging-INV-PAST explode-SEQ
His guts swelled up and then exploded.

(10.34) *Nhuwa-ru puni-layi murla-a. Nhuwa-rninyji ngurnaa,*
spear-PURPss go-FUT meat-ACC spear-FUT that.ACC
*manku-rrawaara jimpu-ngara-a.*
grab-SEQ egg-PL-ACC
Go and spear that emu (lit. meat). Spear it and then grab the eggs.

(10.35) *Winya-ma-lalha nhumira-a-rru ... tharrwi-lalha jarraa-l.yarrawaara*
full-CAUS-PAST penis-ACC-NOW put.in-PAST tie.up-SEQ
*nhawani-i, pirriyarta-a pinyjulu-u ngurnu, pungka-wirri-la ngunhu.*
thing-ACC own-ACC rope-ACC that.ACC fall-LEST-LOC that.NOM
He filled his penis [with the emu eggs]... put them in and then tied up that thing, his own rope, lest they fall out.

10.2 LEST CLAUSES
Lest clauses describe a state of affairs considered unpleasant by the speaker and which could be expected to occur as a result of the situation described by an adjacent and usually controlling clause. The verb in the lest clause bears a special verbal inflection which may then be further inflected with an accusative or a locative complementising suffix. There are separate active and passive forms of the lest inflection (§6.1.4) even though the active inflection freely occurs on derived passive verbs. There is no obvious difference in meaning between the two patterns of inflection.

Examples (10.36) and (10.37) illustrate lest clauses which have the same subject as the controlling clause. No complementising case suffix is appropriate here. An accusative complementiser indicates that the subject of the lest clause is coreferential with an object of the main clause (10.38) and (10.39).

(10.36) *Ngayu wangka-layi mir.ta-rru yinka-rninyyji wirra-a ngartil*
1SG.NOM say-FUT not-NOW chisel-FUT boomerang-ACC again
*yarna-riyangu. Ngayu kuntirri-nguru-rru. Nhartu-npa-lha*
dissatisfied-PASS.LEST 1SG.NOM give.up-PRES-NOW what-INCH-PAST
*kuntirri-nguru? Waruul-wa-rru ngartil yarna-ngaulli-yirri kartungku.*
give.up-PRES still-Ø-NOW again dissatisfied-PASS-LEST 2SG.EFF
I'll say that I won't chisel a boomerang again in case [he's] dissatisfied with me. I'm giving up now. Why am I giving up? Lest you be dissatisfied with me again.

(10.37) *Ngayu puni-layi-rru nyina-wirri manhamanha-ma-l.yarra nhuwala-a.*
1SG.NOM go-FUT-NOW be-LEST awkward-CAUS-CTEMP 2DU-ACC
I'll go now lest I be making it awkward for you.
Mir.ta wantha-ri nyi murla-a yakarrang-lu puwa-npa-wirri-i.
not leave-FUT meat-ACC sun-LOC rotten-INCH-LEST-ACC
Don't leave the meat in the sun or it'll go rotten.

Kartu kanku-layi yirraa pawu-u panyu paju.
2SG.NOM carry-FUT this-ACC child-ACC good
Mir.ta wilawila-ma-ri nyi thurla-npa-wirri-i.
not shake-CAUS-FUT eye-INCH-LEST-ACC
You carry this child very carefully. Don't shake him or he'll wake up. (trans.)

A locative complementiser indicates that the subject of the clause is not coreferential with
either the subject or an accusative marked object of the controlling clause. Instead, the subject
may be coreferential with some other non-core participant of the main clause (10.40), or may
introduce a new participant (10.41).

Nyina-0 nganaju-wu-la ngurriny-tha martama-1.yarra
sit-IMP 1SG.OBL-GEN-LOC swag-LOC press.on-CTEMP
puni-wirri-la karra-ngka-a-rru kurti-1.yarra, kanarra-lu
go-LEST-LOC scrub-LOC-ACC-NOW collect-CTEMP wind-EFF
kuyilwa-ru-u pintirrijila-rru.
spoilt-PASS-ACC scattered-NOW
Sit on my swag, hold it down, or I'll have to go collecting the things that are
in the scrub, that have been spoilt and scattered about by the wind.

Kartu wankuma-lalha paju, walyi-lalha nguru punkurrimarrru-u
2SG.NOM check-PAST REAL uncover-PAST that-ACC blanket-ACC
purntura-a wanti-lha-a, wayil wii nhartu-ngara, parralhara-ngara
rolled-ACC lie-PAST-ACC maybe if something-PL centipede-PL
wii, wayil wii wanti-wirri-la mirtungkura-la punkurrimarrru-lu?
maybe maybe maybe lie-LEST-LOC underneath-LOC blanket-LOC
Did you check carefully and undo that blanket lying rolled up, lest there should
be something, a centipede or whatever, lying underneath it?

There is an important difference between accusative marked lest clauses and those marked
locative. Where the clause is marked accusative, the predicted unfortunate actions of the
subject of the clause are a direct result of an action (or inaction) on the part of the subject
of the main clause on the subordinate clause subject. There is no such direct responsibility
where the clause is marked locative.

In most Australian languages in which lest clauses are found, they can occur
independently of a controlling main clause. For example, Austin (1981a:229) describes such
lest clauses in Diyari but suggests that these be considered structurally subordinate since a
wider context of circumstances leading to the situation described by the lest clause is always
understood.

Some fifteen per cent of the lest clauses occurring in the Martuthunira data appear to be
effectively independent of a main clause. That is, they do not bear a complementising suffix
and yet do not have the same subject as some adjacent clause. In most cases these unmarked
lest clauses describe a situation that is considered unfavourable but there is no strong
implication that the situation will necessarily follow if the events described in some preceding clause are not carried out. For example:

(10.42) \textit{Mir.ta thaawu-minyji. Pawulu puni-wirri kayulu-la-rru}  
\textit{nyuni-lu-rru.}  
\text{not let.go-FUT child go-LEST water-LOC-NOW}  
\text{drown-PURPss-NOW}  
Don’t let him go. The child might go in the water and drown.

(10.43) \textit{Ngayu wiru kartungu pukarra-a ngurnaa}  
\textit{piyuwa-ma-lwaa kayulu-marta. Kampa-lwirri ngurra-a.}  
\text{1SG.NOM wanting 2SG.ACC firewood-ACC that.ACC}  
\text{finish-CAUS-PURPs=o water-PROP burn-LEST camp-ACC}  
I want you to put out that (smouldering) firewood with water. It could burn out the camp otherwise.

In these examples the subject of the lest clause is coreferential with an accusative argument of the preceding clause. However, the accusative complementiser would imply that the unpleasant situation was a direct consequence of the addressee’s actions or inaction. The option of leaving the lest clause unmarked allows the speaker to choose not to imply this degree of responsibility.

10.3 PURPOSE CLAUSES

Purpose clauses describe a situation which occurs after the event described in the main clause and which is usually a direct result of the main clause event, or the purpose for which the event was performed.

In Martuthunira, as in many Australian languages, purpose clauses select a verbal inflection conditioned by coreference relations between main clause and subordinate clause subjects. That is, they are inflected for switch-reference (Austin 1981b). However, unlike the binary same-subject/different-subject contrast found in most of these languages (Dench 1988), Martuthunira has three separate verb inflections (Table 10.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 10.1: SWITCH-REFERENCE IN PURPOSE CLAUSES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-\text{lu/-ru}</td>
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<tr>
<td>-\text{PURPss}</td>
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<tr>
<td>-\text{CM-waa}</td>
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<tr>
<td>-\text{PURPs=o}</td>
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<tr>
<td>-\text{CM-wala}</td>
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<td>-\text{PURPds}</td>
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The -\text{PURPs=o} and -\text{PURPds} inflections quite transparently involve the addition of the accusative and locative complementisers respectively to a suffix *-wa. The different functions of the two inflections similarly reflect the different functions of the two complementisers. The -\text{PURPss} inflection is not related to the other suffixes.
Same-subject purpose clauses describe the intended outcome of an action performed by the subject of the main clause:

(10.44) *Kayarra kanarri-lha nganaju nhawu-lu.*
         two come-PAST 1SG.ACC see-PURP
Two people came to see me.

(10.45) *Kartu puni-layi minthal-wa-rru nhuwa-ru jankurna-a.*
         2SG.NOM go-FUT alone-Ø-NOW spear-PURP emu-ACC
You can go by yourself to spear an emu.

Same-subject purpose constructions reveal clearly the rules of set inclusion by which arguments are considered referentially ‘same’ or ‘different’. As (10.46) and (10.47) illustrate, where the subject of either the subordinate clause or the main clause is included within the reference set of the subject of the other clause, the two clauses are considered to have the same subject. This pattern holds for all other constructions organised on the basis of the coreference of arguments.

(10.46) *Nganaju mimi warriti-i panyu-ma-lalha, ngaliya puni-lu*
         1SG.GEN uncle spear-ACC good-CAUS-PAST 1DU.EXC go-PURP
         murla-a manku-lu.
         meat-ACC get-PURP
My uncle fixed a spear so we two could go to get meat.

(10.47) *Ngaliya, nganaju mimi, nhuwa-lalha tharnta-a, nganaju mimi*
         1DU.EXC 1SG.GEN uncle spear-PAST euro-ACC 1SG.GEN uncle
         mungka-ru.
         eat-PURP
We two, my uncle and I, speared a euro so my uncle could have a feed.

Where the subject of the purpose clause is not coreferential with the subject of the main clause, there are two possible marking choices for the verb. Generally, where the subject of the purpose clause is coreferential with an accusative object of the main clause the -*waa* inflection may be chosen; otherwise, the -*waia* inflection is chosen. In examples (10.48) and (10.49), the subject of the subordinate clause is coreferential with an accusative argument of the main clause (possible control ambiguities are discussed in §10.6 below).

(10.48) *Ngayu kartungu parla-marta purra-minyji pal.ya-a,
         1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC stone-PROP hit-FUT temple-ACC
         pungka-waa-rru.
         fall-PURP=Ø-NOW
I’ll hit you in the temple with a stone, so you fall down. (trans.)

(10.49) *Ngunhu wartirra murla-a kampa-lalha ngurnu-ngara-a*
         that.NOM woman meat-ACC cook-PAST that.OBL-PL-ACC
         pawulu-ngara-a mungka-lwaa.
         child-PL-ACC eat-PURP=Ø
That woman cooked those kids some meat to eat. (trans.)

The following examples illustrate the functions of the -*wala* purpose inflection. The subject of a purpose clause marked with the -*wala* inflection may be coreferential with an
argument of the main clause (examples (10.50) and (10.51)), or may introduce another participant (10.52).

(10.50) *Nhulaa murla kangku-Ø ngurnu-mulyarra kanyara-mulyarra kampa-lwala near.you meat take-IMP that.OBL-ALL man-ALL cook-PURPds wuruma-l.yarra nganarna-a.*
do.for-CTEMP 1PL.EXC-ACC
Take that meat to that man so he can cook it for us. (trans.)

(10.51) *Ngayu nhawungarra-ma-rnuru thamiini-ngu pawulu-u, 1SG.NOM look.after-CAUS-PRES DaSo+1POSS-GEN child-ACC nguyirri-l wanti-wala.*
asleep-THEN lie-PURPds
I'm looking after my grandson's child so then he (grandson) can have a sleep.

(10.52) *Ngawu, ngaliwa wural puni-layi purnumpuru, thana ngunhaa yes 1PL.INC still go-FUT quiet let that.NOM nhuururrayarri-wala marli-ngka kartawura-la.*
snore-PURPds paperbark-LOC butt-LOC
Yes, we'll keep going quietly so that that one can keep on snoring at the foot of that paperbark.

There is a strong implication that a purpose clause marked with the -waa inflection depicts an outcome of the event described in the controlling main clause and intended by the subject of the main clause. However, the link between a main clause and a purpose clause marked with -wala is weaker. The event described is seen as an outcome of the main clause but not as a direct result of the controlling actions of the subject of the main clause.

In example (10.53), the subject of the purpose clause is in fact coreferential with an accusative object of the preceding clause. Here, the use of the -wala inflection indicates that while the event is an outcome of the controlling clause, it is not an outcome intended by the subject of that clause. By contrast, in (10.54) the -waa inflection is controlled by an allative noun phrase in the matrix clause.

That dog, having been tied up, having escaped, went straight to come to his owner sitting there. And so the owner was very pleased having his meat-getter come to him.

(10.54) *Ngaliwa thathu-minyji kulhampa-ngara-a ngurnu-ngara-arta 1PL.INC send-FUT fish-PL-ACC that.OBL-PL-DIRALL*
We'll send fish to those people, in return, so they can eat fish [while we eat the kangaroo meat they sent us].

The following examples, involving the verb *wangka-∅* ‘speak, tell’, further demonstrate that the contrast between the two different-subject inflections is not an automatic response to the case-marking of the controlling noun phrase. Where the verb is interpreted as an information transfer predicate the accusative addressee typically controls the -wala inflection (example (10.55) – but see (9.86)). Where *wangka-∅* is interpreted as a manipulative predicate the accusative addressee controls the -waa inflection (10.56).

(10.55)  
*Kartu* wangka-∅ nganaju wanthal-a kartu  
2SG.N OM say-IMP 1SG.ACC where-ACC 2SG.NOM  
withawitha-ma-lalha-a kartungu-u muyi-i, ngayu  
lost-CAUS-PAST-ACC 2SG.GN ACC dog-ACC 1SG.NOM  
puni-wala wawayi-ru.  
go-PURPds look.for-PURPss  
You tell me where you lost your dog and I'll go and look for it. (trans.)

(10.56)  
*Ngayu* wangka-lha ngurnu pawulu-u wawayi-waa  
1SG.NOM say-PAST that.ACC child-ACC look.for-PURPds  
muyi-i ngumula-ngu-u.  
dog-ACC that.DEF-GEN-ACC  
I told that kid to look for his dog. (trans.)

Contrastive use of the two choices of purpose clause marking is not restricted to situations involving animate instigating participants. There are no such participants in the following portion of text, in which the main event line involves ambient verbs with forces of nature as their subjects.

(10.57)  
Yakarrangu thanturri-layi yawurrari-rru, thulharra-npa-rra  
sun descend-FUT westward-NOW afternoon-INCH-NOW  
jarruru wuraal-wa-rru muthumuthu-npa-rra-rra  
slow all.right-∅-NOW cool-INCH-CTEMP-NOW  
thanturri-rra-rru. Ngunhaa malumalu-npa-waa-rru  
descend-CTEMP-NOW that.NOM dark-INCH-PURP=o-NOW  
jarruru-u waruul. Ngartil malumalu-npa-layi paju-rru,  
slow-ACC still next dark-INCH-FUT REAL-NOW  
mir.ta paju-rru nhawu-wala wayala paju-rru.  
not REAL-NOW see-PURPds night REAL-NOW  
The sun is going down in the west, it's afternoon, it's slowly getting cool now as [it] goes down. That will make everything go dark slowly. Next it gets really dark, so [we] really won't be able to see anything in the night.
The process of getting dark in the -waa clause is interpreted as a direct result of the sun going down. However, there is no accusative object controlling the purpose clause. No subject for the -wala marked verb appears anywhere in the text but since it requires an animate 'perceiver' a generalised 'we' is assumed.

Finally, purpose clauses introduced by the permissive, thana, can appear independently of a controlling main clause (§7.10). Such constructions usually have the illocutionary force of a mild imperative and imply an action that would otherwise be described in a controlling clause (examples (7.105) and (7.106)).

10.4 CLAUSAL COMPLEMENTS

Verbs of perception, cognition and information transfer, and the predicate nominals nhuura 'knowing', wiru 'wanting' and waya 'fear', select clausal complements of various kinds. Clausal complements occur either on subject position or on an accusative argument position and are usually non-verbal ascriptive clauses or relative clauses. However, the purpose clause inflection -waa is used to mark object complements of 'subsequent time' for some predicates.

The predicate noun phrase or verb in an object complement clause bears an accusative complementising suffix and this accusative marking extends to the subject of the clausal complement. But, as described in §3.3.2, subordinate clauses typically bear complementising case only on the head verb (or nominal predicate); noun phrase arguments and adjuncts on these arguments remain unmarked for complementising case. Even though the subject argument of a subordinate clause is generally omitted, surviving second predications on that subject remain unmarked. Thus it is possible to argue that the subjects of clausal complements are 'raised' into object position in the matrix clause. For example:

(10.58) Nhuwana nhuura (nganaju yilangu karri-nyila-a puntumpuru.) 2PL knowing {1SG.ACC here stand-PrREL-ACC quiet}
           *ngayu yilangu karri-nyila-a puntumpuru. 1SG.NOM here stand-PrREL-ACC quiet

You know that I'm standing here quietly.

There are a number of examples in the data that suggest that second predications may be raised out of complement clauses along with the subject of the clause. All such examples involve interrogative/indefinite second predications of manner as in the following example.

(10.59) Ngayu nhawu-layi nhartu-u wantharra-a yirna muyi-i
1SG.NOM see-FUT what-ACC like-ACC this.ACC dog-ACC
murti-i, yanga-rnura-a tharnta-a.
fast-ACC chase-PrREL-ACC euro-ACC
I'll see what this dog's speed is like, chasing kangaroos.

The choice of verb inflection in complement clauses is not entirely free but depends in part on the matrix predicate. Firstly, the perception verbs nhawu-Ø 'see', kuliya-L 'hear', and nguyi-ma-L 'dream' take only complements which can be interpreted as having non-future temporal reference. As noted in §9.5.7, the subject complement constructions involve the reflexive nominal jankul 'self', which is best described as an adjunct on the matrix subject as in (10.60) below.
(10.60) \( Ngayu \ nguyi-ma-lalha \ ngurnu \ muyi-i \ jankul \)
1SG.NOM dream-CAUS-PAST that.ACC dog-ACC self

\( yanga-lalha-nguru. \)
chase-PAST-ABL

I dreamt that I had been chasing that dog. (trans.)
(lit. I dreamt about myself that I had been chasing that dog).

(10.61) \( Ngayu \ nhawu-lha \ ngurnu \ pawulu-u \ thani-rnura-a \)
1SG.NOM see-PAST that.ACC child-ACC hit-PrREL-ACC

\( wirra-marta \ ngurnu \ muyi-i. \)
boomerang-PROP that.ACC dog-ACC

I saw that child hitting the dog with a boomerang. (trans.)

On the other hand, complements of the predicate nominals \textit{wiru} ‘wanting’ and \textit{waya} ‘fear’, and the derived verbs \textit{wiru-npa-0} ‘come to want’ and \textit{wayangka-0} ‘be frightened’, take only ‘subsequent time’ complements. Subject complements bear the future tense inflection, object complements bear the -\textit{waa} PURPs=0, inflection. Examples (10.62) and (10.63) illustrate for \textit{wiru}.

(10.62) \( Ngayu \ wiru \ yungku-ngu-layi \ ngurnu-tharra-a \)
1SG.NOM wanting give-PASS -FUT that.OBL-DU-ACC

\( wirra-tharra-a. \)
boomerang-DU-ACC

I want to be given those two boomerangs.

(10.63) \( Ngunhaa \ mir.ta \ wiru \ yirna-tharra-a \ ngayala-tharra-a \)
that.NOM not want this.OBL-DU-ACC nephew-DU-ACC

\( nhurnti-ma-lalha-a \ jankurna-a \ mungka-Iwaa \ ngurnaa. \)
dead-CAUS-PAST-ACC emu-ACC eat-PURPs=0 that.ACC

He didn't want these two nephews who had speared the emu to eat it.

The cognition verb \textit{kuliyanpa-0} ‘think, believe’ allows both non-future and subsequent time complements on both subject (10.64), and object (10.65) and (10.66).

(10.64) \( Ngayu \ kuliyanpa-lha \ nhartu-u \ ngawayu \ yungku-layi \)
1SG.NOM think-PAST something-ACC in.turn give-FUT

\( nganaju-u \ mimi-i. \)
1SG.GEN-ACC uncle-ACC

I thought about giving my uncle something in return.

(10.65) \( Kartu \ kuliyanpa-nguru \ nganaju \ ngalawangka-nyila-a \ wurtu? \)
2SG.NOM think-PRES 1SG.ACC tell.lie-PrREL-ACC HYPOTH

Do you think that I'm lying?

(10.66) \( Ngunhaa \ nganaju \ kuliyanpa-lha \ paya-lalha-nguru \)
that.NOM 1SG.ACC think-PAST drink-PAST-ABL

\( nhurnti-npa-waa \ paju-rru. \)
dead-INCH-PURPs=0 REAL-NOW

She thinks that I'm really going to die from drinking.
The predicate nominal *nhuura* 'knowing' and its inchoative counterpart *nhuura-npa-*Ø 'learn' similarly take both subsequent time and non-future complements on subject and object.

(10.67) _Nhuura-npa-layi_ minthal warra panyu-ma-rninji warrirti-i.'
know-INCH-FUT alone CONT good-CAUS-FUT spear-ACC
Learn to fix a spear on your own for a change.

(10.68) _Ngunhu_ kanyara mir.ta _nhuura_ wantharni-ma-lwaa ngurnaa
that.NOM man not knowing what.way CAUS-PURPs=o that.ACC
_thanu-no_. _Ngunhaa-nu_ kuyil ngunhaa. _Nhuura-npa-layi_
bad.fellow-ACC that.NOM QUOT bad that.NOM know-INCH-FUT
_nhartu-u_ wii _mil.yirri-nguli-nyila-a_. ... _Ngunhaa_ _nhuura_
something-ACC maybe hide-PASS-PrREL-ACC that.NOM knowing
_waruu-lpurtu_ _yirna_ _mil.yirri-nyila-a_, _kanyara-a_.
still-COMP this.ACC hide-PrREL-ACC man-ACC
That man didn't know what that bad fellow was going to do. He was bad
that one. He was waking up to the fact that something or other was being
hidden...He knew this man was hiding something all right.

Complements of the information transfer verbs *wangka-*Ø 'speak, tell', and *nhuura-ma-L* 'teach show' are illustrated in §9.5.8. *Nhuura-ma-L* typically takes object complements while *wangka-*Ø may take either subject or object complements. Subject complements are illustrated in the two following examples.

(10.69) _Mir.ta_ _wangka-lha_, _nganaju_ _mimi_, _wantharni_ _puni-ra_.
not say-PAST 1SG.GEN uncle what.way go-CTEMP
He didn't say, my uncle, which way he was going.

(10.70) _Ngayu_ _wangka-layi_ _mir.ta-rru_ _yinka-rninji_ _wirra-a_ ngartil.
1SG.NOM tell-FUT not-NOW chisel-FUT boomerang-ACC again
I'll tell [him] that I won't chisel a boomerang again.

As example (10.70) shows, *wangka-*Ø permits subsequent time complements on the subject. However, for both *wangka-*Ø and *nhuura-ma-L*, subordinate clauses involving the -waa PURPs=o inflection are interpreted as regular purpose clauses as below.

(10.71) _Ngayu_ _wangka-lha_ _kartungu_ _manku-waa_ _nganaju-u_
1SG.NOM tell-PAST 2SG.ACC get-PURPs=o 1SG.GEN-ACC
ngamari-i!
tobacco-ACC
I told you to get my tobacco!

(10.72) _Ngayu_ _kartungu-ngara-a_ _pawulu-ngara-a_ _nhuura-ma-rninji_
1SG.NOM 2SG.GEN-PL-ACC child-PL-ACC know-CAUS-FUT
marrari-i _Martuthunira-a_ _wangka-waa_.
language-ACC _Martuthunira-ACC_ speak-PURPs=o
I'll teach your children to speak Martuthunira.
10.5 PASSIVE IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

The description of subordinate clause types in the preceding sections of this chapter demonstrates that Martuthunira has no general constraint requiring coreference between the subject of a subordinate clause and some argument of the matrix clause. There are many complex sentence patterns in which one clause is subordinate to another but where the two share no arguments. Thus it should not be surprising that the choice of a passive subordinate clause is not dictated by strict syntactic rule. Many Australian languages have similar systems of clausal subordination and yet function perfectly well without a productive voice system.

As noted in §9.6, a passive main clause is used either to present a non-subject argument in a highly topical position, or to turn attention away from the agent. The same pragmatic/semantic considerations are relevant to the choice of passive subordinate clauses. However, the choice of a passive clause is also dependent on the particular relationship between main and subordinate clause indicated by subordinate verb inflection and complementising case.

The most common subordinate passive clauses occur in contemporaneous relative clauses and in -waa purpose clauses. Passive contemporaneous clauses are usually agentless, have the same subject as the controlling main clause, and typically describe a general state characterising that subject. In many cases no specific agent can be understood.

(10.73) Nhuwana panyu-ma-ominji minthal-wa-rru, kanyarra-ipurtu warnu?
2PL good-CAUS-FUT alone-Ø-NOW man-COMP ASSERT
Mir.ta nyina-layi wuruma-ngu-ra yirla.
not be-FUT do.for-PASS-CTEMP only
You fellows do it on your own, you're men aren't you? Don't just have it done for you all the time.

(10.74) Nhuwana mir.ta nhuura kalya nyina-layi, kuyil paju,
2PL not knowing still sit-FUT bad REAL
karimalkarimal paju karta-ngu-ra wantheta
jumpy REAL poke-PASS-CTEMP like
yimpalaa karta-ngu-ra wantharra milhu.
like.that poke-PASS-CTEMP like bum
You don't know to sit still, really bad, jumpy as if you were being poked in the bum.

(10.75) Ngunhu jantira wangka-ngu-ra Tharnturrany thani-lalha muyi-i.
that.NOM old.woman say-PASS-CTEMP Tharnturrany hit-PAST dog-ACC
That old woman called Tharnturrany hit the dog. (trans.)

By contrast, passive subordinate clauses marked with the -waa purpose inflection rarely occur without an explicit agent. The choice of a passive clause here is largely motivated by the particular semantic properties of the purpose construction. The -waa inflection implies an effective action in the main clause, typically directed at a participant which functions as the subject of the subordinate clause. The object in the main clause may be prodded into action in the subordinate clause, in which case the subordinate clause is active. Alternatively, the referent of the main clause object may be placed in a situation in which it is further affected by a subordinate clause agent. In this case the subordinate clause is passive. For example:
Nganarna warrirti-i kangku-nguru kartungu-mulyarra yirla, kartungku 1PL.EXC spear-ACC bring-PRES 2SG.OBL-ALL only 2SG.EFF yirla panyu-ma-nnguli-waa, thaapuwa-ngku kur.ta-ngku. only good-CAUS-PASS-PURPs=o bastard-EFF clever-EFF We bring spears only to you, to be fixed by you alone, you clever old bastard.

Ngaliwa nhartu-ngara-a wii kanyja-minyji muyinu-u paju 1PL.INC something-PL-ACC maybe keep-FUT hidden-ACC REAL mir.ta paju nhawu-nguli-waa muyal.yi-ngara-lu. not REAL see-PASS-PURPs=o thief-PL-EFF We'll keep all the things well hidden so they won't be seen by any thieves.

Kartu-lwa ngurnaa maruwa-lalha manku-nguli-waa 2SG.NOM-ID that.ACC make.trouble-PAST grab-PASS-PURPs=o marmtamarta-lu. policeman-EFF You're the one who made trouble for that fellow so that he was grabbed by the police. (trans.)

Although passive same-subject purpose clauses are accepted as grammatical, no examples occur in free text. Instead a construction involving a passive verb inflected for future tense is used. Example (10.79) illustrates the elicited pattern while (10.80) presents the preferred pattern.

Ngayu puni-layi thawun-mulyarra nhawu-ngu-lu pulhanyji-lu. 1SG.NOM go-FUT town-ALL see-PASS-PURPs doctor-EFF I'll go to town to be seen by the doctor. (trans.)

Ngayu puni-layi pulhanyji-lu nhawu-ngu-layi. 1SG.NOM go-FUT doctor-EFF see-PASS-FUT I'll go and be seen by the doctor.

Where the purpose clause has the same subject as the main clause the two situations are typically seen as being intended and controlled by the one participant. However, since the subject of a passive clause is not an instigating and controlling participant, the choice of a passive is contrary to the expected reading of a same-subject purpose clause. It is not surprising that the construction illustrated in example (10.80) is more natural in free text.

The choice of a passive form of a NP-relative clause is partly dependent on a grammaticalisation of the topicalising function of the passive. If a relative clause has a non-subject core argument which is coreferential with a core argument of the main clause, and if the subject of the subordinate clause is NOT coreferential with a core argument of the main clause, then the subordinate clause is presented as a passive with the coreferential argument in subject/pivot position.

Mir.ta-nu yanga-muru purrkuru paju wantharni-i not-QUOT follow-PRES truly REAL what.way-ACC yungku-yangu-u nhiiyarra-lu puni-layi-lu. give-PASS-ACC this.DU-EFF go-FUT-EFF Apparently they didn't follow the law (lit. way) given to them by these two who were going to go [away].
Clearly, this strategy will not account for the choice of passive clauses in object complement clauses of verbs of perception, for example. Here the choice of a passive is purely determined by pragmatic considerations; compare (10.83) with (10.84).

(10.83) *Ngayu nhawu-lha pawulu-ngara-a puliyanyja-ngara-lu*
1SG.NOM see-PAST child-PL-ACC old.people-PL-EFF

*nhuura-ma-ninguli-nyila-a.*
know-CAUS-PASS-PrREL-ACC

I saw the children being taught by the old people. (trans.)

(10.84) *Ngayu nhawu-lha puliyanyja-ngara-a nhuura-ma-rru-a*
1SG.NOM see-PAST old.people-PL-ACC know-CAUS-PrREL-ACC

*pawulu-ngara-a.*
child-PL-ACC

I saw the old people teaching the children. (trans.)

There are very few examples in the data of passive forms of the more weakly linked locative finite relative or unmarked present relative clauses. Since these clauses are not bound by the constraint placing coreferential non-subject arguments in pivot position, this is not at all surprising. At the same time, since they often constitute parenthetical comment on events or participants in the narrative they do not have the topic presentation function of passive main clauses. All examples occurring in the data are agentless passives. For example:

(10.85) *Puyi paju, ngunhaa thanarti-la Kurlanyungkunhu,*
far.NOM REAL that.NOM sea-LOC Kurlanyungkunhu

*ngunhu ngunhu-lwa Pantuwarnangka muya-mu-la.*
that.NOM that.NOM-ID Pannawonica steal-PASSP-LOC

*Thalu-ngara ngularla kurlany-ngara.*
site-PL there.NS knife-PL

It's a long way off, in the sea, that Kurlanyungkunhu Island. That's the one Pannawonica Hill was stolen from. There are lots of increase sites somewhere there, knife quarries.

(10.86) *Walywanti-lha-rru yila-ngara pungka-lha ngurra-ngka-rru,*
come.off-PAST-NOW this.LOC-PL fall-PAST ground-LOC-NOW

*jal.yu-rru thani-ninguli-nyila, karla-ngka warnitha-ninguli-nyila.*
eck-NOW hit-PASS-PrREL fire-LOC throw-PASS-PrREL

All these things here (pointing to private parts) came off and fell onto the ground, and they were being hit in the [back of the] neck, and being thrown in the fire.

Similarly, passive -*wala* purpose clauses are quite uncommon. Once again, the choice of a passive clause in this construction is motivated by the same principles as explain main clause passives: a decision to topicalise the patient, and/or to ignore the agent. For example:
In both of these examples the situation denoted by the subordinate clause could easily have been described with an active verb bearing the same - *wala* purpose inflection. However, in both cases the children are the focus of interest and so a passive is chosen.

### 10.6 Subordinate Clauses on Double-Object Clauses

Verbs which allow more than one accusative object similarly permit subordinate clauses on more than one argument. In fact there are few examples in the data in which two accusative arguments, one controlling a subordinate clause, both occur in the same clause. And there are no examples in which two accusative arguments each control separate subordinate clauses.

Nevertheless, it is clear from elicited and test data that there is little room for ambiguity in the interpretation of control relations between accusative arguments and subordinate clauses. Correct assignment of control relations is facilitated by a number of factors. Firstly, the controlling accusative argument typically occurs at the matrix clause margin adjacent to the subordinate clause. Secondly, possible coreference relationships are inferred from knowledge of the semantic roles of the main clause and subordinate clause predicates and knowledge of the likely roles of the participants. For example, consider the following pair of test examples which were given the same English gloss.

(10.89) *Ngayu ngurnu muyi-i kartungu-u kurntal-yu yungku-lha,*
1SG.NOM that.ACC dog-ACC 2SG.GEN-ACC daughter-ACC give-PAST

*nhawungarra-ma-lwaa.*
look.after-CAUS-PURPs=0

I gave your daughter the dog so she could look after it. (constr.)

(10.90) *Ngayu ngurnu muyi-i kartungu-u kurntal-yu yungku-lha,*
1SG.NOM that.ACC dog-ACC 2SG.GEN-ACC daughter-ACC give-PAST
I gave your daughter the dog so she could look after it. (constr.)
(lit. I gave your daughter the dog so it could be looked after by her.)

It is clear that the subject of the subordinate clause is linked to different matrix accusative arguments in each sentence. Such examples have an unmarked interpretation in which the participant higher on some scale of relative animacy is left 'looking after' the lower. To force a reading of a sentence such as (10.89), in which the dog is left looking after the child, the noun phrase 'your daughter' must appear in the subordinate clause. The following examples involving nhuura-ma-L 'show' illustrate this.

(10.91) *Ngayu ngurnu muyi-i nhuura-ma-lalha kartungu-u*
1SG.NOM that.ACC dog-ACC know-CAUS-PAST 2SG.GEN-ACC

*pawulu-u, nhawungarra-ma-lwaa.*
child-ACC look.after-CAUS-PURPs=0
I showed that dog to the child so he would look after it. (trans.)

(10.92) *Ngayu nhuura-ma-lalha ngurnu muyi-i kartungu-u*
1SG.NOM know-CAUS-PAST that.ACC dog-ACC 2SG.GEN-ACC

*pawulu-u, nhawungarra-ma-lwaa ngurnu pawulu-u.*
child-ACC look.after-CAUS-PURPs=0 that.ACC child-ACC
I showed that dog to the child (or the child to the dog) so it would look after the child. (trans.)

10.7 MULTIPLE SUBORDINATION

The following examples illustrate more complex sentences involving a number of subordinate clauses. As these show, the coreference relationships marked by verbal inflection and complementising case allow sequences of clauses in which the core arguments of the verb need not appear. Clause boundaries are marked by a slash (/):

(10.93) *Ngayu jarraa-lalha / nganaju-u pawu-u wuruma-l.yarra*
1SG.NOM tie.up-PAST 1SG.GEN-ACC father-ACC do.for-CTEMP

*warrirti-ngara-a / wanti-waa / wartawirrinpa-raa nganaju-u*
spear-PL-ACC lie-PURPs=o wait.for-CTEMP 1SG.GEN-ACC

*pawu-u / wantharta kanarri-waa / manku-lu*
father-ACC sometime come-PURPs=o get-PURPss

*yirma-ngara-a / warrirti-ngara-a.*
this.OBL-PL-ACC spear-PL-ACC
I tied up [the spears] / doing the spears for my father / so they would be
/ waiting for my father / to come sometime / to get these spears.

(10.94) *Thurlanyarrara mir.ta wiyaa nhuura ngali-i / karri-nyila-a*
poor.fellow not maybe knowing 1DU.INC-ACC stand-PrREL-ACC

/* nhawu-raa ngurnaa yimpala-a-lwa / nyina-nyila-a /
watch-CTEMP that.ACC like.that-ACC-ID sit-PrREL-ACC
The poor fellow didn't know we were standing / watching him like that / sitting / eating.

(10.95) Nyina-Ø nganaju-wu-la ngurriny-tha / martama-l.yarra / sit-IMP 1SG.OBL-GEN-LOC swag-LOC press.down-CTEMP
karra-ngka-a-rru kurti-l.yarra / kanarra-lu
scrub-LOC-ACC-NOW gather-CTEMP wind-EFF
kuyil-wa-rnu-u.
bad-CAUS-PASSP-ACC
Sit on my swag / press down on it / lest it get blown away by the wind / get thrown about / lest I have to go / and gather all the things that are in the scrub / ruined by the wind.

These examples consist of a simple chain of adjoined subordinate clauses each dependent on the previous clause. In (10.96) a set of three purpose clauses is controlled by the one matrix clause.

(10.96) Nhuwana! Marrari wangka-lha nhuwana-a / mir.ta patharri-waa / 2PL word say-PAST 2PL-ACC not fight-PURPs=o
panyu nyina-waa / mir.ta patharri-waa. / Patharri-rra wii / good be-PURPs=o not fight-PURPs=o fight-CTEMP if
nhuwana mir.ta panyu nyina-rra / ngulu-ya ngarniwurtu-ru / 2PL not good be-CTEMP that.EFF-YK policeman-EFF
manku-ngu-layi paju-rru.
grab-PASS-FUT REAL-NOW
You fellows! The law (lit. word) tells you / not to fight / to be good / not to fight. / If you fight / you aren't good / you'll be grabbed by the policeman for sure.

In example (10.97), the clause paya-lalha-nguru 'having been drinking', is dependent on the following -waa marked purpose clause, not on the preceding complement taking predicate wayangka-Ø 'fear'.

(10.97) Ngunhaa nganaju kuliyanpa-lha / paya-lalha-nguru / that.NOM 1SG.ACC think-PAST drink-PAST-ABL
nhurtti-nga-waa paju-rru.
dead-INCH-PURPs=o REAL-NOW
She thinks that I'm really going to die from drinking.
APPENDIX 1: TEXTS

TEXT 1: HUNTING AND COOKING AN EMU

1. *Ngayu jirruna-npa-lha jankuma-a kulha-ngka-a,*
   1SG.NOM creep.up-INCH-PAST emu-ACC scrub-LOC-ACC

2. *karri-nyila-a mungka-l.yarra marrwalany-ku. Ngayu ngurnaa*
   stand-PrREL-ACC eat-CTEMP cockroach.bush-ACC 1SG.NOM that.ACC

3. *jirruna-npa-lha, panyu-ma-l.yarra ngurnta panyu-npa-lha*
   creep.up-INCH-PAST good-CAUS-CTEMP style good-INCH-PAST

4. *jirruna karra-ngurin.*
   creep.up scrub-OBSCRD
   I crept up on an emu in the scrub, standing eating cockroach bush. I crept up on it, doing it properly. I crept along with good style, in the shelter of the bushes.

5. *Purrkurru-lwa, murna-npa-lha mirru-ngka-ma-minyji-rru*
   true-ID close-INCH-PAST spearthrower-LOC-CAUS-FUT-NOW

   straight-CAUS-PAST-NOW look.after-CAUS-FUT all.right that.NOM
   All right, having come close [I] put [a spear] on the spearthrower. Once [I] have made it straight [I] check it. That's right.

7. *Murna-ngka-nguru warra, ngayu thathu-lalha mulurru thanturri-waa*
   close-LOC-ABL CONT 1SG.NOM send-PAST straight go.down-PURPs=o

   side-LOC still see-FUT that.ACC spear-PROP-ACC-NOW

   chase-FUT-NOW
   From close up I sent the spear straight so [it] goes down into the emu's side. Then I see that it has a spear in it now, and now I chase it.

    true all.right-Ø-NOW grab-CONTR that.NOM fall-PAST-NOW dead-NOW

    1SG.NOM that.ACC grab-PAST-NOW shoulder-LOC-CAUS-PAST
All right now, [I] would have grabbed [it] (I was about to grab it) but it fell down dead. I grabbed it and put it on [my] shoulder.

12. *Wuraal, mulurr-umu-lalha ngurra-arta-rru, kanarri-lha* all.right straight-CAUS-PAST ground-DIRALL-NOW come-PAST


All right, I went straight home, came to the camp and shouted out [to the people in camp] so that [their] feelings would become good.

14. *Ngula-a warntitha-rinyji, palwarru, kanarri-wala maruwarla-rru* there-ACC throw-FUT true come-PURPds many.people-NOW


gather-PASS-PrREL-NOW there-ABL hole-LOC-NOW throw-PASS-FUT

Then I throw it down on the ground there, all right, so people come and dig, make a trench for that emu. Meanwhile firewood is being gathered from around there and is then thrown in the hole.


18. *wartawirrinpa-layi nhawu-layi puwara-nya-nya-lalha.* Manku-layi wait.for-FUT see-FUT charcoal-INCH-PrREL-ACC grab-FUT

hot.stone-ACC-NOW true that.ACC put-FUT hot.stone-PL-ACC

All right, I light the firewood so that it bursts into flame and then wait and watch it burning down to the coals. Then get the hot cooking stones. All right, I put the hot cooking stones inside it (the emu).


leg-DU-ACC tie.up-FUT head-CONJ-ACC true that.NOM

throw-FUT-NOW hole-LOC-NOW
That's right. Close it up, tie the two legs together and tie up the head as well. That's that. I throw it in the hole now.

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24. *kuwirthu-ma-nya* *Nharu-ngara-a warntita-nya* 
this-way-CAUS-FUT sand-PL-ACC throw-FUT

25. *palyangu-ma-l.yarra ngurna*. 
cover-CAUS-CTEMP that.ACC
That's right. Cook it now. Cover it over. Move the sand in this direction (out of the bottom of the hole to make room for the emu). Then throw sand over the emu covering it.

let-NOW lie-PURPss=o emu-ACC cook-CTEMP-NOW lie-PURPss=o

27. *Puni-layi malarnu-la-rru nyina-lu wartawirrpa-rra jankurna-a* 
go-FUT shade-LOC-NOW sit-PURPss wait-for-CTEMP emu-ACC

28. *kampa-nya-lla*. 
cock-PrREL-ACC
Now I let that emu cook. Go off to sit in the shade and wait for the emu that's cooking.

29. *Kampa-lha-rru, puni-layi thuulwa-ru-rru palykura-a* 
cock-PAST-NOW go-FUT pull.out-PURPss-NOW flat-ACC

30. *wurrulywa-ngara-a wanti-nya-lla palykura-maru*. Palwarru, jankurna-a 
leaves-PL-ACC lie-PrREL-ACC plate-ASSOC true emu-ACC

pull.out-FUT put-FUT groundcover-LOC-NOW

all.right-Ø-NOW cut-FUT-NOW true that.NOM
Once it's cooked, go and pull down some branches, brush, for a plate. All right, I pull out the emu and put it on the groundcover. All right, cut it up. That's that.

33. *Mungka-yaari-layi-rru winya-npa-rra-rru, puni-rrawara* 
eat-COLL-FUT-NOW full-INCH-CTEMP-NOW go-SEQ

34. *malarnu-mulyara-rru wanti-lu-rru, parlura-ngara-rru*. 
shade-ALL-NOW lie-PURPss-NOW full-PL-NOW

35. *Palwarru ngunhaa, palwarru yimpala*. 
true that.NOM true like.that
Now we all eat together and fill up, and then we go to the shade and lie down, all full up now. That's that. That's how it's done.

**TEXT 2: CATCHING A GOANNA**

1. *Ngayu jirli mir.ta wii panyu, puni-rra yawarrunyja-l.yarra* 
1SG.NOM arm not if good go-CTEMP miss-CTEMP
2. *murla-ngara-a tharnta-ngara-a, jalya-npa-rra, puni-rra*
   meat-PL-ACC euro-PL-ACC useless-INCH-CTEMP go-CTEMP

3. *nhuwa-l.yarra waruulwa-l.yarra.*
   spear-CTEMP unable-CTEMP
   If my arm is not good, I'll keep missing all the game, euros, I'll be useless, I'll keep
   on being unable to spear them.

   1SG.NOM give.up-FUT-NOW euro-PL-ACC look.for-FUT

   what-NOW RHET keep.trying-INCH-CTEMP go-FUT give.up-FUT

   let-NOW euro-PL-ACC when RHET dead-CAUS-FUT
   I give up looking for euros. Why bother to keep on trying? I'll give up on euros, let
   them be. When am I going to kill one? Never.

7. *Ngawu! Kuliyanpi-rra ngayu nhartu-u wiyaa wawayi-minyji,*
   yes think-CTEMP 1SG.NOM something-ACC maybe look.for-FUT

8. *jalya-a-wuyu, mirntirmarta-a-rru, tharlwan-ku-wuyu. Panyu-l*
   useless-ACC-SIDE goanna-ACC-NOW tame-ACC-SIDE good-THEN

   track-FUT that.ACC
   Yes, I'll think about looking for something else, something on the easy (lit. useless)
   side, goannas for example, something on the tame side. Then I'll be all right, tracking
   them.

    all.right still see-FUT true still here-NOW enter-PAST

11. * nhiyu jina, tharrwa-lha waruul yilangu jalyuru-la, wayil kunti.*
    this.NOM track enter-PAST still here hole-LOC maybe stop
    Okay, I'll see a track. True enough, it went in here, this track, it went in and is still
    here in the hole, maybe.

12. *Nhulaa mankind-Ø pinkarranyu kalyaran, nyuwi-minyji, wayil*
    near.you grab-IMP dry stick poke-FUT maybe

    lie-PrREL-ACC REAL here.NV hole-LOC know-INCH-FUT-THEN
    You grab a dry stick, poke it in at whatever is maybe lying here in the hole. Find out
    then.
14. Nyuwi-ngu-rra jalyuru-la, ngunhaa thurtinti-layi
poke-PASS-CTEMP hole-LOC that.NOM move.away-FUT

15. paya-npa-rra-rru nyuwi-ngu-rra. Ngunhaa paya-npa-rra
angry-INCH-CTEMP-NOw poke-PASS-CTEMP that.NOM angry-INCH-CTEMP

16. wuuny-karri-layi-rru, nhuura-ma-l.yarra-rru kanyara-a ngurnu.
wuuny-NOISE-FTU-CTEMP know-CAUS-CTEMP-NOw man-ACC that.ACC
The thing in the hole getting poked, it moves away then, getting wild as it's being
poked. It makes a *wuuny* noise, as it gets wild, showing a person that it's there.

17. Purkuru waruul, pala yilarla waruul wanti-nguru, murla. Ngayu
ture still IT here.NV still lie-PRES meat 1SG.NOM

grab-FUT-NOw this.ACC meat-ACC maybe this.NOM fat-FULL
True enough. It's still here, the meat. I'll get this meat now. It might be a fat one.

grab-FUT stick-ACC dry-ACC point-ACC sharp-CAUS-FUT-NOw

dig-FUT-NOw that.OBL-PROP stick-PROP point sharp-PROP
Then get a dry stick. Sharpen up the point. And dig with that sharp-pointed stick.

all.right that.OBL-PROP-YK poke-FUT poke-FUT-DISTRIB

22. jaiyuru-ma-l.yarra-rru. Thungkara-a wamtitha-rninjyi juwayu-marta.
hole-CAUS-CTEMP-NOw dirt-ACC throw-FUT hand-PROP

dig-FUT again see-FUT-NOw
Okay, jab the ground with it, jab again and again, making a hole. Throw the dirt
away with your hand. Then dig again. Now have a look.

this.NOM-ID goanna lie-PRES clear-LOC-IT which-NOW RHET

25. murla-a kanangkalwa-lalha? Waruul-wa-rru, murla-a
meat-ACC make.clear-PAST still-0-NOW meat-ACC

26. manku-rrawara ngurnaa.
grab-SEQ that.ACC
This is the goanna, lying in the clear now. What now that you've uncovered the meat?
Keep going, grab hold of that meat.

28. juwayu thuulwa-minyji ngurmaa murna-npa-nyila-a-rru hand pull.out-FUT that.ACC close-INCH-PrREL-ACC-NOW

29. jalyuru-la-nguru-u thuulwa-l.yarra. hole-LOC-ABL-ACC pull.out-CTEMP
What now? Grab the tail. Pull it with two hands, it'll be coming closer as you pull it out of the hole.


31. thuulwa-minyji waruul. Yarta-wuyu juwayu, thathu-lalha-wuyu juwayu, pull.out-FUT still other-SIDE hand let.go-PAST-SIDE hand

32. ngunhaa puni-layi, juwayu yarta-wuyu, thungku-ngka waruul. Nhiyu that.NOM go-FUT hand other-SIDE back-LOC still this.NOM

33. yarta-wuyu juwayu thuulwa-rnura waruul. other-SIDE hand pull.out-PrREL still
Then let go with one hand. The other hand keeps pulling. The other hand, the one that has let go, it keeps going, that other hand, along its back. This other hand is still pulling.

34. Yarta-l-wuyu juwayu puni-layi thungku-ngka waruul. other-THEN-SIDE hand go-FUT back-LOC still

35. Ngurnu parna-a murna-npa-nyila-a, wangkarr-yu-rru manku-layi that.ACC head-ACC close-INCH-PrREL-ACC throat-ACC-NOW grab-FUT
The other hand keeps going along its back. Grab its throat now as its head is coming closer.

36. Palwarru ngunhaa, thuulwa-rninji-rru karlwa-rrawaara. Karlwa-layi true that.NOM pull.out-FUT-NOW get.up-SEQ get.up-FUT

37. ngunru-marta mirntirimarta-marta, manku-lha-nguru wanku-ma-l.yarra. that.OBL-PROP goanna-PROP grab-PAST-ABL sure-CAUS-CTEMP
That's right, now pull it out and stand up. Get up with that goanna having made sure you've got hold of it.


39. yarta-wuyu juwayu manku-rra parla-a-rru. Paringku-layi other-SIDE hand grab-CTEMP stone-ACC-NOW hit-FUT

40. parna-a-rru ngurnu mirntirimarta-a. Puni-rrawaara, head-ACC-NOW that.ACC goanna-ACC go-SEQ
41. *wuraal-wa-rru ngurra-arta-rru murla-wari.*
   all.right-Ø-NOW camp-DIRALL-NOW meat-PROP
   All right, put it on the ground now. Press down on the back of its neck while your
   other hand picks up a rock. Then smash its head, that goanna. And then go to the
   camp with some meat.

42. *Ngurra-ngka-npa-lha-rru, karla-mamu-rru purnta-ma-minyji-rru*
   camp-LOC-INCH-PAST-NOW fire-ASSOC-NOW hole-CAUS-FUT-NOW

43. *nharnu-u. Pukarra-ngara-a-rru manku-layi. Ngulangu-rru*
   sand-ACC firewood-PL-ACC-NOW grab-FUT there-NOW

44. *wantha-minyji purnta-ngka-rru, wirrirri-ma-minyji-rru.*
   put-FUT hole-LOC-NOW flame-CAUS-FUT-NOW
   Having got back to camp, dig a hole in the sand for a fire. Get some firewood. Put it
   there in the hole, and then light it.

45. *Kampa-nyila-la-rru karla, nyina-layi thuulwa-l.yarra*
   cooking-PrREL-LOC-NOW fire sit-FUT pull.out-CTEMP

46. *miintirimarta-a punga-a. Palwarru ngunhaa, panyu-rru*
   goanna-ACC guts-ACC all.right that.NOM good-NOW

47. *punga-wirriwa-rru wanti-layi ngunhaa wartawirrinpa-ra karla-a*
   guts-PRIV-NOW lie-PUT that.NOM wait.for-CTEMP fire-ACC

   good-INCH-PURPs=o charcoal-INCH-PURPs=o hot-INCH-PURPs=o REAL
   While the fire's burning, sit down and pull out the goanna's guts. Okay, now it's
   gutted, ready and waiting for the fire to be ready, to burn down to coals, to get really
   hot.

49. *Karlarra-npa-lha-la paju-rru, puwara-npa-lha-la paju-rru,
   hot-INCH-PAST-LOC REAL-NOW charcoal-INCH-PAST-LOC REAL-NOW

50. *ngarri-ngka kampa-minyji-rru. Panyu-ma-minyji-rru ngurnaa,
   ashes-LOC cook-FUT-NOW good-CAUS-FUT-NOW that.ACC

51. *pa/yangu-ma-minyji-rru ngurnaa ngarri-ngku karlarra-lu. Thana-rru*
   cover-CAUS-FUT-NOW that.ACC ashes-EFF hot-EFF let-NOW

52. *wanti-waa kampi-rra.*
   lie-PURPs=o cooking-CTEMP
   Once it's really hot, once it's burnt right down to the coals, cook the goanna in the
   ashes. Do it properly, cover it with hot ashes. Now let it lie there cooking.

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1 The proprietive suffix, -wari, is a borrowing from Ngarluma which occasionally occurs in text.
   Although the narrator corrected this in questioning, he does not consider it bad Martuthunira. The
   limited borrowing of lexemes and some morphemes serves an important stylistic function in text
   construction (much like the selection of synonyms in English).
53. **Wanti-layi wartawirrinpa-rra kampa-nyila-a nguru mumirrir militar-a.**
   Lie-FUT wait.for-CTEMP cooking-PrREL-ACC that.ACC goanna-ACC

54. **Kuliyanpa-layi ngurraaa, palwarra, wiyaa nhiiyu kampa-lha-rru!**
   Think-FUT that.ACC all.right maybe this.NOM cooking-PAST-NOW
   Lie down and wait for the goanna while it cooks. And think this: “All right, maybe this is cooked now!”

55. **Thuulwa-minyji-rru. Wurrulyla-la-rru wantha-minyji. Thana kunti**
   Pull.out-FUT-NOW leaves-LOC-NOW put-FUT let stop

56. **wanti-waa muthumuthu-npa-rra. Mir.ta karlarra-l wurnta-minyji**
   Lie-PURPs=0 cool-INCH-CTEMP not hot-THEN cut-FUT

57. **juwayu kampa-wirri. Muthumuthu-u wurnta-minyji panyu-u-l,**
   Hand cook-LEST cool-ACC cut-FUT good-ACC-THEN

58. **mir.ta juwayu kampa-layi. Nyini-waara mungka-l.yarra-rru.**
   Not hand burn-FUT sit-SEQ eat-CTEMP-NOW
   Now pull it out. Put it on some leaves. Let it lie there and cool down. Don't cut it while it's hot or you'll burn your hand. Cut it cool, it'll be good then, you won't burn your hand. And then sit and eat it.

59. **Juwayu-la manku-layi jinyji-i, thurnta-minyji parna-a jinyji-marta**
   Hand-LOC grab-FUT fat-ACC rub-FUT head-ACC fat-PROP

60. **kuliya-thurti-i. Panyu ngunhaa. Yimpala-a**
   Ear-CONJ-ACC good that.NOM like.that-ACC

61. **yimpala-ma-lwayara puliyanyja-ngara.**
   Like.that-CA US-HABIT old.person-PL
   Get some fat in your hand and rub your head with the fat, and ears too. That's good. That's just what the old people used to do.

**TEXT 3: FIXING A BROKEN SPEAR**

1. **Nhiyu warrirrii wurnta-rru nhuwana-lu yungku-nguli-marni**
   This.NOM spear break-PASSP 2PL-EFF give-PASS-CONTR

2. **nganaju-u mimii-i, wayil wii panyu-ma-lwaa**
   1SG.GEN-ACC MoBro-ACC maybe maybe good-CAUS-PURPs=0

3. **ngurraaa warrirri-i.**
   That.ACC spear-ACC
   This spear that's been broken by you fellows should be given to my uncle, so perhaps he can fix that spear.
That fellow, my uncle, fixed the one that had been broken. Fixed it and then went off, taking the spear to give it to the fellows who had broken it, and to give them a message too, to say to them,

“Don’t you break spears again, look after hunting implements properly. If you break it again, don’t bring it to me.”

“I’m giving up fixing spears broken by you lot. You fix them yourselves. You’re men aren’t you?”

“Don’t just have it done for you! Learn to fix spears yourselves. You’ve got hands haven’t you?”
Those men speak to me then, so I listen to their answer, just how it will come out I don't know. I'll keep quiet for just a moment. Take a turn to listen to how they feel. All right, I'm keeping quiet now.

“Ngawu! Nga mana warrirni-lu ngarnguru kurtungu-mulyarra yirla. Yes 1PL.EXC spear-ACC bring-PRES 2SG.OBL-ALL only

Nganangu-lu kana kur.ta-a yimpala-lu-wa ngarnguru? who.ACC-NOW RHET clever-ACC like.that-ACC-NOW-YK bring-PRES

Kurtu-ngku yirla panyu-ma-nguli-waa, thaaupwa-ngku kur.ta-ngku.” 2SG.NOM-EFF only good-CAUS-PASS-PURPs=0 big.man-EFF clever-EFF “Yes! We bring spears to you only. Who is there, clever like that, who we can take them to? You're the only one they can be fixed by, you clever old bastard.”

“Nga manamuru-ngu-lu kana kuliyana-layi panyu-u kanya-ra anyone-ACC-NOW RHET think-FUT good-ACC man-ACC

Pilakurta-a, yungku-layi panyu-wa-lwaa?” carpenter-ACC give-FUT good-CAUS-PURPs=o “Whoever can we think of who is a good carpenter, who we can give them to, to fix them?”

“Yimpala-lu-wa. Nga mana kuliyana-nguru kurtungu-mulyarra yirla like.that-NOW-YK 1PL.EXC think-PRES 2SG.OBL-ALL only

Warrirni-ngara-lu wurnta-ngu-ngara-lu, kurtungu yirla yungku-lu spear-PL-ACC break-PASS-PL-ACC 2SG.ACC only give-PURPss

Panyu-wa-lwaa.” good-CAUS-PURPs=o “It's like that. We think that it's only to you that we can bring broken spears. You're the only one we can give them to, to fix them.”

“Nga mana-lu kana kanya-ra kuliyana-layi jalya-ngara-lu yirla who.ACC-NOW RHET man-ACC think-FUT useless-PL-ACC only

Warnu kanya-ngara-lu yartapalyu-u?” ASSERT man-PL-ACC others-ACC “What other man can we think of out of the other people who are only useless?”


33. kanyara-ngara-la yartapalyu-la?” man-PL-LOC others-LOC
“So it’s like that. We’re tiring you, you poor fellow. Who can we think of as a carpenter when all the other men are useless?”

34. “Palwarru ngunhaa. Ngawu! Ngayu ngarti-rru wurtu wangka-layi all.right that.NOM yes 1SG.NOM next-NOW HYPTH say-FUT

35. kartungu marrari-i.” 2SG.ACC word-ACC
“That’s all right. Yes! I’ll say something to you next, all right?”


37. nganaju, pinhu-ma-l.yarra paju, panyu-ma-l.yarra paju, 1SG.ACC pleased-CAUS-CTEMP very good-CAUS-CTEMP REAL

38. thurlajinkarri-i nganaju. Ngayu mir.ta ngalangala-npa-layi kartungu poor.fellow-ACC 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM not forget-INCH-FUT 2SG.ACC

39. marrari-i. Panyu kanyara. Palwarru ngunhaa.” word-ACC good man all.right that.NOM
“Okay. You spoke making me feel very good, pleasing me properly, making me feel very good, poor fellow that I am. I won’t forget your word. You’re good people. All right, that’s that.”

TEXT 4: A SHOPPING EXPEDITION


2. thawun-mulyarra, nganaju wuraal wurtu, nganaju wuruma-minyji town-ALL 1SG.ACC all.right HYPTH 1SG.ACC do.for-FUT

3. yurntura-a manyarra-a-thurti wii parrka-a wii?” flour-ACC sugar-ACC-CONJ maybe tea.leaf-ACC maybe “Are you going to town? If you’re going to town would you get for me some flour, and maybe some sugar and maybe some tea?”

4. “Ngawu! Ngunarna wuruma-minyji kartungu. parla-wirriwa nganarna. yes 1PL.EXC do.for-FUT 2SG.ACC money-PRIV 1PL.EXC
5. Kartu-lwa yungku-layi nganarna-a parla-a manku-waa.”
2SG.NOM-ID give-FUT 1PL.EXC-ACC money-ACC get-PURPs=o
“Yes! We'll do that for you. But we've got no money. You give us some money so we
can get the things.”

6. “Nganarna manku-lha-nguru-rru thawun-ta-a wuruma-l.yarra kartungu,
1PL.EXC get-PAST-ABL-NOW town-LOC-ACC do.for-CTEMP 2SG.ACC
    “Yes! We'll do that for you. But we've got no money. You give us some money so we
    can get the things.”

7. parrani-lha-ma-minyji-rru kartungu-mulyarra yungku-lu-rru.”
return-PAST-CAUS-FUT-NOW 2SG.OBL-ALL give-PURPss-NOW
    “Once we've got the things that are in town, doing it for you, we'll bring them back to
you to give them to you.”

camp-LOC-INCH-PAST-NOW
They've arrived back in camp now.

9. “Ngawu! Ngayu wuruma-ru nhuwana-lu. Yungku-layi-lwa,
yes 1SG.NOM do.for-PASSP 2PL-EFF give-FUT-ID
    “Yes! That's very good. You're certainly generous to do that.”

10. pintirrijila-ma-l.yarra nhuwana-a kangku-lha-nguru-ngara-a.”
scattered-CAUS-CTEMP 2PL-ACC bring-PAST-ABL-PL-ACC
    “Yes, I've had the favour done for me by you. What I'll do is give out, share around
the things among you who brought them.”

yes good still-O-NOW like that generous ASSERT IT 2SG.NOM
    “Yes! That's very good. You're certainly generous to do that.”

12. “Ngawu, ngayu mir.ta manthawarla.”
yes 1SG.NOM not greedy
    “Yes, I'm not a greedy fellow.”

yes 1PL.EXC knowing 2SG.ACC not still 2SG.NOM greedy

14. Panyu kartu thurlajinkarri. Panyu-u warnu kartungu nganarna
good 2SG.NOM poor.fellow good-ACC ASSERT 2SG.ACC 1PL.EXC

15. wuruma-minyji nhartu-u wii wiru-npa-nyila-a.”
do.for-FUT something-ACC maybe want-INCH-PrREL-ACC
    “Yes, we know you. You're not a greedy fellow. You're a good fellow. Because
you're good we'll do anything for you, should you want anything.”

16. “Ngawu! Ngartil wii nhuura puni-rra thawun-mulyarra, ngartil waruul,
yes again if 2PL go-CTEMP town-ALL again still
17. ngayu yungku-layi nhuwana-a warnmalyi-i.  
   1SG.NOM give-FUT 2PL-ACC money-ACC  
   "Yes! If you go to town again, I'll give you money."

   yes good still like that 1SG.NOM sit-PURPDs wait.for-CTEMP

19. parrani-nyila-a-rru wantanha-la wii yakarrangu-la, wanthartara  
   return-PrREL-ACC-NOW which-LOC maybe day-LOC when

20. parrani-waa.  
   return-PURPs=o  
   Yes, they're always good like that. So I'll wait for them to come back, on whichever  
   day it is, whenever they return.

   smoke-ACC maybe see-FUT get.up-PrREL-ACC light-PASSP-ACC

   1SG.NOM smoke-ACC see-PAST-ABL-NOW feelings-NOW good-INCH-FUT  
   I'll see smoke or something going up, smoke that's been purposely lit. Having seen  
   the smoke I'll get happy (lit. my feelings will become good).

   Look! fire burn-PrREL 2PL close-LOC-NOW food-PREP

24. Palwarru, ngaliwa malwu-marri-ayi. Wiru-rru ngayu  
   all.right 1PL.INC cheer.up-COLL-FUT feelings-NOW 1SG.NOM

25. panyu-npa-nguru.  
   good-INCH-PRES  
   Look! There's a fire burning, you must be close now with the stores. All right, we'll  
   be cheering each other up. I'll be feeling good.

26. Ngayu wii, ngaliwa karla-rru kulhawulha-ma-nyji  
   1SG.NOM maybe 1PL.INC fire-ACC-NOW heaped.up-CAUS-FUT

27. karlara-npa-rra thanuwa-marnu. Karlayamarta-a wii wantha-nyji  
   hot-INCH-PURPs=o food-ASSOC billy.can-ACC maybe put-FUT

   fire-LOC stand-PURPs=o hot-INCH-CTEMP  
   Maybe me, all of us, we'll build a fire to heat up for a meal. We'll put the billy or  
   whatever on the fire to warm up.

29. Jampa-ngka-rru warnu pala, ngurnu ngayu marlara-a  
   moment-LOC-NOW ASSERT IT that.ACC 1SG.NOM road-ACC
30. karri-nguru nhawu-rra.
stand-PRES see-CTEMP
Now and again, I take a look down the road.

31. “Purrkuru waruul, nhula-ngara murna-ngka-rru ngaliwa-a,
true still near.you-PL close-LOC-NOW 1PL.INC-ACC

32. thanuwa-marta-ngara.”
food-PROP-PL
“True enough, they are close to us now, the people with the stores.”

33. “Purrkuru waruul, kartu nhawu-nguru?”
ture still 2SG.NOM see-PRES
“Is that right, you can see them?”

34. “Parru! Nhartu! Kartu kuliyanpa-nguru nganaju ngalawangka-nyila-a
go.on what 2SG.NOM think-PRES 1SG.ACC lie-PrREL-ACC

35. wuru? Nhawu-Ø kunti jampa nguru-wurrini marlara-wurrini! Kartu
HYPTH see-IMP stop moment that.OBL-DIRECT road-DIRECT 2SG.NOM

36. nhawu-nguru-rru? Ngunhaa puni-marri-nguru kanyara-ngara,
see-PRES-NOW that.NOM go-COLL-PRES man-PL

37. parna-wirraa-rra kurryu-wamrura-la. Nhiyu-rru-wa
head-PRIV -INCH+CTEMP hollow-DISTRIB-LOC this.NOM-NOW-YK

38. murna-ngka-rru.”
close-LOC-NOW
“Go on! What! Do you think I’m lying? Stop and look in the direction of the road for a
moment! You see them? That’s them going along together, their heads going in and out
of view as they go down into each hollow. They are close now.”

39. Ngulangu-npa-lha-rru murna-ngka-npa-lha-rru, thanuwa-ngara-marta,
there-INCH-PAST-NOW close-LOC-INCH-PAST-NOW food-PL-PROP

40. nyina-layi wangkarmu-marra-rru nhartu-ngara-a manku-lha-nguru
sit-FUT talk-COLL+CTEMP-NOW something-PL-ACC grab-PAST-ABL

41. wuruma-l.yarra nyina-marri-lha-ngara-a. Wangkarmu-marri-layi mawu-rru,
do.for-CTEMP stay-COLL-PAST-PL-ACC talk-COLL-FUT later-NOW
Once they’ve got there, once they’ve come close, the people with the stores, they sit
and discuss the things, having got them for the ones who stayed behind. Later they are
all talking together,

42. “Nhuwana, nhartu-ngara-a nganarna-lu wuruma-rru-u,
2PL something-PL-ACC 1PL.EXC-EFF do.for-PASSP-ACC
43. nhartu-u wii mir.ta manku-lha-a wii wangka-layi, something-ACC maybe not grab-PAST-ACC if say-FUT
44. ngalarri-lha-a wii.”
forget-PAST-ACC if
“You fellows, of all the things that were brought for you by us, if there's anything we didn't get, say so, if we forgot anything.”

45. “Ngawu! Ngayu nhawu-layi. Purrkuru waruul, kartu mir.ta, yes 1SG.NOM look-FUT true still 2SG.NOM not
46. nhuwana ngalarri-lha waruul ngathu wangka-yangu.”
2FL forget-PAST still 1SG.EFF say-PASSP
“Yes! I'll look. True enough, you didn't, you still forgot something I told you.”

Look! what-ACC-ID IGNOR this.NOM say-FUT 1PL.INC-ACC not
grab-PAST-ACC go.on 2SG.NOM say-IMP-NOW
“Look! What is it? This fellow is saying we didn't get something. Go on! You tell us!”

foam-PROP-ACC not-NOW grab-PAST forget-PAST-NOW
“Soap, you didn't get. You forgot.”

50. “Purrkuru-l waruul pala! Ngalarri-lha waruul-ruu, thurlajinkarri-lu
true-THEN still IT forget-PAST still-Ø-NOW poor.fellow-EFF
51. wangka-yangu. Wuraal-ruu, kartu panyu-npa-layi nganarna-a
say-PASSP all.right-Ø-NOW 2SG.NOM good-INCH-FUT 1PL.EXC-ACC
52. ngalarri-lha-ngara-a wantamartu-ngara-a.”
forget-PAST-PL-ACC crazy-PL-ACC
“Well that's right! We forgot what we were told by you, poor fellow. All right, you be good to us crazy fellows who forgot.”

this.NOM other hold-PRES-ID foam-PROP-ACC two-ACC big-DU-ACC
54. Kartu wuraal yungku-yarri-layi yarta-a yimala-a?
2SG.NOM all.right give-COLL-FUT other-ACC this.DEF-ACC
two-PROP ASSERT one-ACC give-FUT one-ACC
“This other fellow has two big cakes of soap. How about you give one to this fellow? You've got two! Give him one!”
TEXT 5: KURNTANGKA

The bulk of this text is a complaint by a man who has been offended by his sister and her husband arguing close by. The degree of respectful avoidance normally expected between a man and his sister, and between a man and his sister's husband, makes this kind of behaviour unacceptable. The offended party launches a strong rebuke at his relatives but for the most part observes a degree of politeness in the style of speaking he adopts.

Respectful speech – Kurntangka (lit. shame-LOC) – is indicated in this text by a number of features. The most obvious cue is the choice of special replacement vocabulary: the verb kanpari-Ø replaces the everyday verb wangka-Ø ‘speak, say’ in line 12, the nominal kanpari replaces the nominal marrari ‘word’ in line 21, and puranyi-L replaces nhawu-Ø ‘see’ in line 23. The everyday verb wayjarri-Ø ‘run away’ serves as the respectful style replacement for puni-Ø ‘go’ in lines 20, 23 and 26. The prevalence of the verb karri-Ø ‘stand, be’ is also typical of Kurntangka speech and it generally replaces the more common copula nyina-Ø ‘sit, be’. Karri-Ø often suggests a temporary state preceding imminent departure (§9.3.2) and is overtly used in this sense in line 20.

The extensive use of indefinite plural reference is common in the Kurntangka style of speaking. Although throughout the text the speaker is never addressing more than two people, many references to the addressees involve plural rather than dual pronoun or nominal forms. The first example occurs in the form of a second person plural pronoun in line 8, referring to the arguing married couple, and is repeated throughout. Other examples include the plural spouse group term nhuunuwarnti in lines 16 and 25, and the brother-in-law's reply to the complaint in line 26, in which the plural pronoun refers to a single addressee. First person references to himself and his wife are also in the plural throughout this utterance.

Finally, the collective suffix appears on a number of verbs with the important function of indicating the harmonic kin relationship between the various protagonists (§6.3.2). Clear examples of this occur in lines 2, 5, 23 and 29.

1. "Kartu-lwa puni-nguru kuyil, yarta-ngara-a nhuunu-ngara-a 
   2SG.NOM-ID go-PRES bad other-PL-ACC spouse-PL-ACC

2. wiru-npa-marra. Yimpala-rru-wa kartu karri-layi 
   feel-INCH-COLL+CTEMP like.that-NOW-YK 2SG.NOM stand-FUT

3. nhurta-npa-marri-ngu-rra-rru. Nyingurlu-rru punu 
   wild-INCH-COLL-PASS-CTEMP-NOW firstly-CONT ASSERT

4. kuyilya-rra, puni-rra yartapalyu-u nhuunu-ngara-a 
   bad-INCH+CTEMP go-CTEMP others-ACC spouse-PL-ACC
5. *paliya-la-marra.*

eye-LOC-CAUSE+COLL+CTEMP

“You're bad, upsetting the feelings of others, in-laws of yours. As you are like that, (your harmonic relatives) will get wild with you. Firstly, you're bad, you get in the eyes of other people, your in-laws.”

6. "*Yimpala-ru-wa kartu, jurti marryanu, nyina-layi, nhuwa-la like.that-NOW-YK 2SG.NOM 1SG.POSS Bro-in-law sit-FUT 2DU*

7. *nhuunuwa, nhurta-npa-marra.*

spouse.DU wild-INCH-COLL+CTEMP not think-FUT 1SG.ACC maybe


stand-PrREL-ACC here 2PL 1SG.ACC not REAL think-FUT


2PL knowing 1SG.ACC here stand-PrREL-ACC

“That's how it is with you, my brother-in-law, the two of you, husband and wife arguing with each other. You don't think that I might be standing here. You really don't think about me. You know I'm standing here.”

10. “*Ngayu mir.ta wiru kuliya-la-yrara karri-layi nhuwana-a. Ngayu 1SG.NOM not wanting listen-CTEMP stand-FUT 2PL-ACC 1SG.NOM*

11. *yarta-wuyu-lpurtu kanyara. Mir.ta wiru kuliya-la-mrayyi other-SIDE-COMP man not wanting ear-LOC-CAUS-FUT*


2PL-GEN-ACC word-PL-ACC say-COLL-PrREL-ACC

“I don't want to be listening to you. I'm a man of the other side (affine). I don't want to get your words in my ears, don't want to hear you speaking to each other.”

13. “*Nhuwana kuliyanpa-layi yarta-lpurtu nganaju wii karri-nyila-a 2PL think-FUT other-COMP 1SG.ACC maybe stand-PrREL-ACC*


here shame-PROP maybe 2PL 1SG.NOM HYPHT this.NOM

“You think a different way about me being here. Have shame or something, you people. Isn't this me?”

15. “*Kuliyanpa-marni warra ngawayu. Nhuwana karri-nguru kuwarri think-CONTR CONT turn 2PL stand-PRES now*

16. *nhurta-npa-marra, nhuunuwarri. Ngayu yarta-wuyu-lpurtu wild-INCH-COLL+CTEMP spouses 1SG.NOM other-SIDE-COMP*

17. *kanyara, kurnta panyu. Nhuwana wiyaa kurnta-wirraa karri-layi man shame good 2PL maybe shame-PRIV stand-FUT*
28. It's a real change. You're arguing now, husband and wife. I'm a man of the other side, I've got proper respect. Perhaps you have no shame to be here, while I'm here, arguing with each other. You ought to think about me, poor old fellow that I am.

29. "Ngayu karri-nguru wanyjarri-layi karri-wirri yilangu kuliya-la 1SG.NOM stand-PRES go-FUT stand-LEST here ear-LOC

30. "Wuraal-wa-rru kartu, jurti marryanu, wantha-yarri-layi, all.right-Ø-NOW 2SG.NOM 1SG.POSS Bro-in-law leave-COLL-FUT

31. "Nhuwana nganaju-tharra wii karturra-tharra, kartu wii, jurti 2PL 1SG.GEN-DU maybe sisters-DU 2SG.NOM maybe 1SG.POSS

32. marryanu, karri-layi waruul-wa-rru, nhuwana nhuunuwarnti. Bro-in-law stand-FUT still-Ø-NOW 2PL spouse(PL) "You people are two of my relatives, two of my sister's group, and you, my own brother-in-law still, you married people."


34. nyingkurlu-lpurtu warnu, nganarna-a karri-nyila-a patharri-rra, firstly-COMP ASSERT 1PL.EXC-ACC stand-PrREL-ACC fight-CTEMP

35. wantamartu-ngara, kartungka nyini-nyila-la, patharri-rra nganarna." crazy-PL 2SG.L.OCC be-PrREL-LOC fight-CTEMP 1PL.EXC "Yes, all right, we'll go. You are my brother-in-law, that's the first thing. You are brother-in-law to us crazy people fighting, while you're here, we're fighting."

36. "Wuraal-wa-rru kartu, jurti marryanu, wantha-yarri-layi, all.right-Ø-NOW 2SG.NOM 1SG.POSS Bro-in-law leave-COLL-FUT

37. wantamartu-ngara." crazy-PL "All right, my brother-in-law, you crazy people, leave!"
TEXT 6: MOURNING CHANT

This text is a transcription of a long haranguing mourning chant remembered from Algy's childhood. The speaker, an old woman, blames a younger man for killing her younger brother by magic. The first paragraph of the text as presented below is Algy's hypothetical reconstruction of a complaint the deceased brother might have made to his sister before his death. I have added it as an introduction. The now deceased brother, now gravely ill, blames the spirit traveller (juna) for catching and harming his soul. The brother was well known for his use of the meaningless hesitation marker wilangayi.

The body of the text is a progressive series of insults delivered in a plaintive wailing chant. Every morning the old woman would rise with the sun and perform this harangue to the hidden amusement of everyone in the camp. Needless to say, the object of her derision was never present. Algy's rendition of the text in something approximating the old woman's tearful and cracking voice was a difficult performance often interrupted by his uncontrollable bursts of laughter at the strong images it conjures up.

The man criticised in the text was a well-known trouble-maker and revenge killer with a very short temper. The story has it that he met his end in typical fashion. Caught stealing from an army supply depot during the Second World War, he fought with and abused his captors at great lengths. Eventually they doused him with aircraft fuel and set it alight before shooting him, or so the story goes.

1. *Ngunhu waruul wilangayi Purripurri-ngura waruul wilangayi, ngunhaa* that.NOM still RES Purripurri-BELONG still HES that.NOM
2. *waruul juna-rrii-lha nganaju wilangayi. Ngayu nhawu-lha-nguru* still spirit-INV-PAST 1SG.ACC HES 1SG.NOM see-PAST-PRES
4. *waruul ngunhaa wilangayi juna-rrii-nguru nganaju wilangayi. Ngayu* still that.NOM HES spirit-INV-PRES 1SG.ACC HES 1SG.NOM

That fellow, who is one of Purripuri's mob, he came to me as a spirit. I saw his ghost. And now I've gotten sick. He came to me as a spirit. I'm not good now. I'm getting sick.

8. *yarta-npa-lha paju, wiru kampa-lha paju,* other-INCH-PAST REAL feelings burn-PAST REAL
9. *yarta-npa-lha paju.* other-INCH-PAST REAL
Aren't you our own mother's family, boy? You've given up on us, we two poor old fellows. You've turned passionately against us (lit. feelings burning), you've changed, you're passionately, really changed.

11. pawulu? Piyuwa wurtu! Yarta-npa-lha paju, kampa-lha paju. child nothing HYPHT other-INCH-PAST REAL burn-PAST REAL
12. Pirriyarta-wurla wurtu, kartu pawulu, own-MATRI HYPHT 2SG.NOM child
13. nganarnu-wura-wula wurtu. 1PL.EXC-BELONG-MATRI HYPHT
You're savage or something, my boy. Aren't you one of our family? Oh no, not at all! You've changed violently. We thought you were one of our own people, boy, one of our own mother's family.

15. jurti marryara, ngaliya tharratharra-npa-lha. Yimpala-rru-wa 1SG.POSS brother 1DU.EXC separate-INCH-PAST like.that-NOW-YK
16. puni-layi ngayu jalya-rru, jurti marryara-ngu go-FUT 1SG.NOM useless-NOW 1SG.POSS brother-ACC
17. withawitha-ma-lalha-rru. lost-CAUS-PAST-NOW
And that's how I come to be grieving. Me and my own younger brother, we've become separated. That's how I come to be grieving, I've lost my younger brother.

19. wanka parilha, nyurnti-npa-yaangu. Ngayu yirla nhawu-ngu-layi jalya alive still dead-INCH-UNREAL 1SG.NOM only see-PASS-FUT useless
20. waruul, ngurnta kuyil, thurlajinkarri, jurti marryara-ngu-wirriwa-rru still style bad poor.fellow 1SG.POSS brother-PNM-PRIV-NOW
21. ngurangura-a withawitha-ma-lalha. stylish-ACC lost-CAUS-PAST
We've become separated. What am I to do? I'm still alive and I should have died. It's only me who can be seen, a useless poor old woman, I've lost my good dead brother, that fine man.

22. Jalya yirla nyina-layi wanka, jal.yu thani-nguli-yaangu nganalu. rubbish only be-FUT alive occiput hit-PASS-UNREAL someone.EFF
see-PASS-FUT useless still humpback
It's just useless me still alive, I should have been hit in the back of the head by
someone (I should have been killed). Instead I appear as a useless old hunchbacked
woman.

savage only 2SG.NOM only see-PASS-FUT man-PL-EFF
25. Wantharri-wuyu? Jalya waruul, parlu yirla mirtali, pirlu thawurra,
how-SIDE rubbish still top only big buttock skinny
26. perna ngurrara, jina mirtali, mulha kurnangu.
head gross foot big nose black
And you're the only one who is seen by all the people, the only savage one. And how
do you look? You're rubbish, only your head is big, you've got a skinny arse, a huge
head, big feet and a black nose.

27. Kurriyi nyina-layi nhawu-rra, thurla yirla jiwarra-l.yarra, wakurra
this.way sit-FUT see-CTEMP eye only shine-CTEMP crow
28. wantarra, jalya kurnangu, punga kuruuru, kanta jurirri waruul, jalya
like rubbish black guts round leg sharp still useless
29. waruul, wirrurlu wantharra.
still curlew like
And then you sit looking this way and only your eyes shine white out of the black,
you're like a crow, useless black thing, pot belly, skinny thighs sharp like a knife,
completely useless, like the stick legs of a curlew.

bad.hunter not know euro-ACC spear-FUT spear-PROP
31. Jalya! Jirruna-npa-wayara tharnta-a yungku-ngka-a,
useless sneak-INCH-HABIT euro-ACC soak-LOC-ACC
32. manku-lu-lpurru juwayu-lu-rru. Jal.yu-u-rru thani-minji
grab-EFF-COMP-NOW hand-EFF-NOW occiput-ACC-NOW hit-FUT
33. murla-a.
meat-ACC
You're a poor provider! You don't know how to spear a euro with a hunting spear.
Useless! You always sneak up on euros when they are in soaks, to grab them instead,
with your hands. Then you hit that meat in the back of the neck.

34. Yimpala-lpurru nhurnti-ma-lwayara tharnta-a. Mir.ta nhuwa-lwayara,
like.that-COMP dead-CAUS-HABIT euro-ACC not spear-HABIT
35. jalya warnu pala. Mir.ta nhuura, purruru paju, warririt-i
useless ASSERT IT not know truly REAL spear-ACC

36. wartitha-rinyji, nhuwa-rinyji. Jalya!
throw-FUT spear-FUT useless
That's how you kill euros. You don't spear them, because you're useless. You don't
know, truly, how to throw a hunting spear, how to spear them. You're useless!

37. Thanarti-ra warnu pala. Majun-ngara-a, manku-wayara majun-ngara-a,
sea-PROV ASSERT IT turtle-PL-ACC grab-HABIT turtle-PL-ACC

38. karta-lwayara kulhampa-ngara-a thanartira-a. Thanartira-ngara-lpurru
stab-HABIT fish-PL-ACC sea-PROV ACC sea-PROV-PL-COMP

man dugong-CONJ-ACC stab-HABIT
That's because you're a seasier. Turtles are what you catch, you harpoon turtles and
fish, all the sea things. You're a man for all the sea creatures. And you stab dugong
too.

40. Kartu, yarrawa-ngka-ru puliwayja-ngara-lapiyuwa-la yirla-ruu,
2SG.NO M after-LOC-NOW old.man-PL-LOC finish-LOC-PAST only-NOW

41. nganaju-ngara-la, yarrawa-ngka-ruu, mirntiwul-wa-ruu
1SG.GEN-PL-LOC after-LOC-NOW all-YK-NOW

42. piyuwa-npa-lha-la-ruu, ngaliya-a tharratharra-ma-lalha, jurti
finish-INCH-PAST-LOC-NOW 1DU.EXC-ACC separate-CAUS-PAST 1SG.POSS

43. marryara-ngu, wayarri-lha.
brother-ACC finish-PAST
As for you, it's only now, after all my old people are finished, only after they've all
died, that you separate the two of us, finish off my own younger brother.

44. Kartu mir.ta yimpala-ma-nmarni-lwa, tharratharra-ma-nmarni
2SG.NOM not like-CAUS-CONTR-ID separate-CAUS-CONTR

45. ngaliya-a nganarna-waya-la ngaliya-waya-la
1DU.EXC-ACC 1PL.EXC-OWNER-LOC 1DU.EXC-OWNER-LOC

46. wanka-ngka-l. Kartu mir.ta jayi-nmarni.
alive-LOC-THEN 2SG.NOM not escape-CONTR
You wouldn't have been able to do that, wouldn't have separated us when our people
were alive. You wouldn't have escaped then.

47. Kartu payawurtu wangka-nguru yarrawa-ngka-ruu ngaliya-waya-la
2SG.NOM savage say-PRES after-LOC-NOW 1DU.EXC-OWNER-LOC

48. piyuwa-la-ruu yirla. Palalyi, kartu thala karta-nngulaanu
finish-LOC-NOW only before 2SG.NOM chest stab-PASSCONTR
49. "ninumira-rru thaatharra-rri-marni.
penis-NOW open.mouthed-INV-CONTR
You say you're dangerous only now that our family is gone. Before, you would have been skewered in the chest so that your penis would have opened like a mouth with the shock.

rubbish still 2SG.NOM woman-ACC liking man only savage

51. wartirra-a paju nhawu-lha. Karri-wayara kalya-lalha martura-a
woman-ACC REAL see-PAST stand-HABIT bite-PAST middle-ACC

52. yalhuru-u, wartirra-a nhawu-rra. Thurla karima-lha,
tongue-ACC woman-ACC see-CTEMP eye jump-PAST

semen-PSYCH-CTEMP-NOW that.NOM ejaculate-FUT that.NOM penis

54. pawa waruul.
stinking still
You're good for nothing. The only thing you're interested in is women. You go wild when you've seen a woman. You stand and bite your tongue in half, watching a woman. Your eyes pop out as you're filling up with semen getting randy. And then it goes off, that stinking penis of yours.

55. Muraani, kartu nganarna-wura pawulu.
son+1POSS 2SG.NOM 1PL.EXC-BELONG child

56. Yimpala-ma-nnguli-Ø-rru-wa! Nyingkurlul-purtu warnu kuyil,
like.that-CAUS-PASS-IMP-NOW-YK firstly-COMP ASSERT bad

57. palwarru wiyaa.
truly maybe
My son, you're my own family. Well let that happen to you like that then! The first thing to say is that you're bad, that's true.

moment think-FUT again stylish-INCH-CTEMP 2SG.NOM go-HABIT

59. ngurra-warturra-la karri-rra, nganalu nhawu-ngu-layi, pirlu
country-DISTRIB-LOC stand-CTEMP who.EFF see-PASS-FUT buttock

60. thawurra, parlu yirla mirtali, kanta jurirri, kati wururtu, kal.ya karta,
skinny top only big leg sharp waist narrow pelvis bony

61. jalya, nhumira ngurrara, jalya, punhu jalyuru.
rubbish penis gross rubbish anus cave
And in a moment you'll be thinking you're handsome again. You go from camp to camp and stand there. And you'll be seen, skinny-arsed fellow, only big up top, skinny legs, narrow waist, bony hips, useless, huge penis, arsehole like a cave.
rubbish still man 2SG.NOM vagina-ACC like not
63. kuntiri-wayara. Kartu tharra-l.yarra nhumira-a kartungu-u
give.up-HABIT 2SG.NOM copulate-CTEMP prick-ACC 2SG.GEN-ACC
64. nhawu-ra nyina-wayara. Tharrwi-lalha nguu-nguu-ma-l.yarra nhawu-ra
see-CTEMP sit-HABIT enter-PAST face-face-CAUS-CTEMP see-CTEMP
65. wantarni-nu nyina-ra. Kartawura-la-ma-lalha!
how-QUOT be-CTEMP butt-LOC-CAUS-PAST
You're good for nothing. You like sex. Never give up on it. Can't get enough. You sit
and watch your prick while you're copulating. Once it's in you're twisting your head
from side to side watching it to see how its sitting. Is it in up to the butt?

TEXT 7: THE FIRST BOOMERANG

1. Ngayu marrari-ngara-a wantha-minyji, maral.ya-la-a jina-ngka-a
1SG.NOM story-PL-ACC put-FUT devil-LOC-ACC track-LOC-ACC
2. wantarni-mari-lha-la-a, palalyi-ngara-la, kuwarri-la-l
how-COLL-PAST-LOC-ACC before-PL-LOC beginning-LOC-THEN
3. ngurra-ngka, yilangu, Martuthuni-la. Nhiyu wanti-nguru, marrari-ngara
country-LOC here Fortescue-LOC this.NOM lie-PRES story-PL
4. maral.ya-wura wantha-mu, jinangku-yangu, puliyanyja-ngara-lu, wantarni
devil-BELONG put-PASSP traced-PASSP old. man-PL-EFF how
5. wanti-lha-la palalyi-l nyina-lha-la, pukarrpukarr-ngara.
lie-PAST-LOC before-THEN sit-PAST-LOC old. ones-PL
track-FUT that.ACC sit-PRES 1SG.NOM now child-PROP
7. Wayil wii ngayu murlurru puni-layi ngulangu marrari-ngara-la
maybe maybe 1SG.NOM straight go-FUT there story-PL-LOC
8. wantarni ngayu yungku-yangu puliyanyja-ngara-lu.
how 1SG.NOM give-PASSP old. man-PL-EFF
I'll put down the stories that follow the tracks of how the devils went in the early days,
how it was in the beginning, in this country, here on the Fortescue River. This story
that belongs to the devils and was followed up by the old people, is about how things
were before, very early in the history, when the ancient people were about. I'll follow
it up now, as I sit here with my son. I think I'll be able to do it right, to go through the
stories the way I was given them by the old people.
9. Yila martuthuni-la, wantarni ngunhu kuwarri-l paju,
this.LOC Fortescue-LOC how that.NOM beginning-THEN REAL
lie-PAST devil-PL be-PAST three that.NOM-PL scattered
11. Yartapalyu, nhartu wangi-nga-rra maral.ya, yartapalyu warruwa, others what call-PASS-CTEMP devil others devil


15. Panyu-ngara mir.ta wiru ngurnu-lwa. Kuyil ngunhaa, kuyil ngunha good-PL not liking that.ACC-YK bad that.NOM bad that.NOM


Here on the Fortescue, how was it now? It was right at the beginning. There were three different groups of devils. One group was called maral.ya, another group was ngayalyu. They were separate mobs but they all had the Martuthunira language. But on the one hand, these ngayalyu had a word ‘yirru’. They were bad fellows. The other group of devils were good. They didn’t like the other mob because they were really bad, that ngayalyu group.

17. Nguru-nguru-wa, pintirijila ngunhu-ngara nyina-lha. that.OBL-ABL-YK scattered that.NOM-PL be-PAST


22. Wantatha ngula. Punilayi nyina-lu ngunhaa yinka-l.yarra. somewhere IGNOR go-FUT sit-PURPss that.NOM chisel-CTEMP

23. Wantatha ngula jingkayu, kunti jampa. Punilayi nguru-marta-wa somewhere IGNOR upriver stop moment go-FUT that.OBL-PROP-YK

24. Wirra-marta ngunhaa. Wangka-layi yartapalyu-u. boomerang-PROP that.NOM tell-FUT others-ACC

From that time they were all separate. They were starting to come good now. They were getting good and getting closer to being human. The devils were coming to be son of human. One of them carved a snakewood boomerang, somewhere there (but I don’t know exactly where). He went and sat somewhere there up-river carving it. After a while he went with that boomerang and spoke to the other mob.
This.NOM-QUOT boomerang 1SG.EFF chisel-PASSP 1SG.NOM try-FUT  
"This is a boomerang I have made. I'm going to try it out."

26. Ngunhaa kulaya-lalha wiyaa ngula minthal, kunti jampa,  
that.NOM try-PAST maybe IGNOR alone stop moment

27. nhartu-u wantharra-a nhawu-layi, panyu-u waruul-purtu nguru-tharra-a  
what-ACC like-ACC see-FUT good-ACC still-COMP that.OBL-DU-ACC

boomerang-DU-ACC that.NOM call-FUT others-ACC-NOW

29. warruwa-ngara-a-thurti-rru yirna-ngara-a ngayalyu-ngara-a puni-waa  
devil-PL-ACC-CONJ-NOW this.OBL-PL-ACC devil-PL-ACC go-PURPs=o

30. nhawu-lu nguru wirra-a patha-rnguli-nyila-a ngulu-lwa.  
see-PURPss that.ACC boomerang-ACC throw-PASS-PrREL-ACC that.EFF-YK

31. Ngunhaa thawu-lalha marrari-i-rru,  
that.NOM send-PAST word-ACC-NOW  
He had probably tried it out himself, for a while, to see what it was like. Well it was  
good all right, those two boomerangs. He called the others together, all the devils, the  
ngayalyu mob, to go and see him throw that boomerang. He sent a message now,

32. "Nhuwana-nu kanarri-layi, nganaju-mulyarra nhawu-lu-ru  
2PL-QUOT come-FUT 1SG.OBL-ALL see-PURPss-QUOT

33. wirra-tharra-a ngathu yinka-ru-u. Panyu-u wayi,  
boomerang-DU-ACC 1SG.EFF chisel-PASSP-ACC good-ACC maybe

34. nhartu-u kuliyanpa-layi?"  
what-ACC think-FUT  
"How about you all come here to me to see the two boomerangs carved by me. They  
might be all right. See what you think."

35. Kanarri-lha-l nhiingara kuyil-ngara. Ngunhaa wangka-lha,  
came-PAST-THEN this.PL bad-PL that.NOM say-PAST  
Then they came, these bad fellows. He said,

36. "Ngayalyu-marnu, nhuwana kanarri-layi yirru."  
cousin-GROUP 2PL come-FUT HES  
"All you cousins of mine, you come."

37. Ngunhaa marrari-i yimpala-lwa wangka-nguru nguru-ngara-a,  
that.NOM word-ACC like.that-YK say-PRES that.OBL-PL-ACC
38. *kuliya-lwaatl wiyaa ngula.*

Hear-PURPs=o-THEN maybe IGNOR

He talked like that to them so that they would understand him.

39. "**Ngayalyu-mamu, nhuwana yirru kanarri-layi yirru nhuura-npa-rra**

cousin-GROUP 2PL HES come-FUT HES know-INCH-CTEMP

40. *nhawu-lha yirru wirra-a yirru kayarra-a yirru*

see-PAST HES boomerang-ACC HES two-ACC HES

41. *yinka-nru yirru ngathu yirru."

chisel-PASSP HES 1SG.EFF HES

"All my cousins, you come and find out, see the two boomerangs chiselled by me."

42. "**Purrkuru warnu yirru ngayalyu yirru panyu yirru**

truly ASSERT HES cousin HES good HES

43. *kartu yirru kanyja-muru wirra-tharra-a yirru?"

2SG.NOM HES keep-PRES boomerang-DU-ACC HES

"Is that right cousin? Good. Do you have two boomerangs?"

44. "**Ngawu. Nhuwana mirntiwul kanarri-layi pawulu-thurti wartirra-thurti**

yes 2PL together come-FUT child-CONJ woman-CONJ


see-PURPss 1SG.NOM throw-PURPds there Kawuyu-ABL

46. **Ngaliwa karlwa-layi Kawuyu-ngu.**"

1PL.INC go.up-FUT Kawuyu-ACC

"Yes. You all come to see, children and women and all. I'll throw them there, from Kawuyu hill. We'll all go up on Kawuyu."

47. *Puni-lha-rru pularna. Kanarri-lha-rru nHINGara*

go-PAST-NOW they come-PAST-NOW this.PL

48. *ngayalyu-yirru-ngara. Puni-layi ngunhu-ngara mirntiwul wirta-lu*

devil-yirru-PL go-FUT that.NOM-PL together climb-PURPss

49. **Kawuyu-u-rru parla-a. Ngurmu-nguru, ngunhu kanyakara**

Kawuyu-ACC-NOW hill-ACC that.OBL-ABL that.NOM man


chisel-PAST-ABL throw-PAST-NOW that.NOM-PL stand-PrREL see-CTEMP

51. **Mir.ta kupuyu, nganiyarrangu. maruwarla ngayalyu-ngara, maruwarla.**

not little big group many devil-PL many

52. *Ngunhaa patha-rralha thaapuwa, wirra-a puni-waa ngurnu,*

that.NOM throw-PAST big man boomerang-ACC go-PURPs=o that.ACC
53. yawurtari. Ngunhaa kanarri-lha-rru. Puni-lha ngunhaa, wirra west.ALL that.NOM come-PAST-NOW go-PAST that.NOM boomerang

54. parrani-layi, ngulangu-lwa karti-ngka pungka-lu. Manku-ngu-layi. return-FUT there-YK side-LOC fall-PURPs grab-PASS-FUT

55. Kuwarri-l paju ngunhaa, ngunhu-ngara nhawu-wala, beginning-THEN REAL that.NOM that.NOM-PL see-PURPds
So they went. These ngayalyu came and they went together to climb Kawuyu hill. From there, that man who had chiselled the boomerang threw it. They stood and watched, no little group, a big mob, many people. He threw it, that big man, to go west. It came, it went, that boomerang, and it came back right there and fell down alongside, and was picked up again. That was the first time a boomerang had been sent and these fellows were watching,

56. “Panyu paju-nu nhiyu. Panyu paju-nu nhiyu wirra, good REAL-QUOT this.NOM good REAL-QUOT this.NOM boomerang

57. yilu kanyara-lu yinka-rnu.”
This.EFF man-EFF chisel-PASSP
“That boomerang is very good. It’s very good, that boomerang made by this man.”

58. Yarta-a ngartil-u-lwa ngurnaa thuulwa-rninji, wirra-a. other-ACC again-Ø-YK that.ACC pull.out-FUT boomerang-ACC

59. Patha-rninji ngartil waruul yawurtari ngurnu. throw-FUT again still west.ALL that.ACC

60. Puni-waa ngunhaa yawurru Yurlungarrarnu kuwilyawula parrani-layi go-PURPs=o that.NOM west Yurlungarrarnu this.side return-FUT

61. ngunhaa ngurnu Kawuyu-u-lwa. Pungka-lu karti-ngka, that.NOM that.ACC Kawuyu-ACC-YK fall-PURPs side-LOC


63. warruwa-ngara, devil-PL
Next he pulled out the other boomerang. Again he threw it westwards and it went west, this side of Yurlungarrarnu. It came back right to Kawuyu to fall alongside. It was picked up by that man again. These ngayalyu are clever,

64. “Panyu paju yirru wirra yirru ngayalyu yirru. Panyu paju yirru good REAL HES boomerang HES cousin HES good REAL HES

65. nhula-tharra yirru kayarra wirra-tharra yirru, ngayalyu yirru.”
near.you-DU HES two boomerang-DU HES cousin HES

66. Panyu paju yirru kartungku yirru yinka-rnu yirru. good REAL HES 2SG.EFF HES chisel-PASSP HES
"It's good this boomerang, cousin. Those two boomerangs are good. [They're] good, these things carved by you."

well-YK-NOW that.NOM-PL keep.trying-INCH-FUT that.ACC
All right. They kept on at him.

68. **"Ngartil nguru kartu patha-rryu!"**
again that.ACC 2SG.NOM throw-IMP
"You throw it again!"

69. **Patha-rralha ngurnaa ngartil waruu, ngunhu-ngara nhawu-rra.**
throw-PAST that.ACC again still that.NOM-PL see-CTEMP

70. **Nhaminha-la ngula pularna nyina-lha ngulangu yakarrangu-la,**
how many-LOC IGNOR they stay-PAST there day-LOC

71. **patha-rryarra. Wayil ngula yarnta-wantura wiya.**
throw-CTEMP maybe IGNOR day-DISTRIBUT maybe

72. **parrani-rra-wantura ngurnu-mulyarra-lwa. Nyina-layi patha-rryarra.**
return-CTEMP-DISTRIBUT that.OBL-ALL-YK stay-FUT throw-CTEMP

73. **Ngunhu-ngara wangkarnu-marri-lha-rru, warruwa-ngara. Ngayalyu-ngara**
that.NOM-PL talk-COLL-PAST-NOW devil-PL devil-PL

74. **wangkarnu-marri-lha-rru.**
talk-COLL-PAST-NOW

So he threw it again and they watched. How many days they stayed there I don't know. Perhaps each day they went back to the same place and threw it. The mob of *ngayalyu*, those devils, talked amongst themselves.

75. **"Ngaliwa manku-layi ngurnaa wirra-a. Manku-layi ngurnaa.**
1PL.INC grab-FUT that.ACC boomerang-ACC grab-FUT that.ACC

76. **Ngaliwa-rru kanyja-minyji.**
1PL.INC-NOW keep-FUT
"We'll get that boomerang. We'll get it and we'll keep it then."

77. **Ngartil waruu ngunhu-ngara kanarri-lha. Ngunhu-ngara puni-rra**
again still that.NOM-PL come-PAST that.NOM-PL go-CTEMP

78. **wangkarnu-marri-lha-rru.**
talk-COLL-PAST-NOW

Again they came. They went and talked amongst themselves.
“Yanga-minyji-rru ngurnu wirra-a, wirra-tharra-a chase-FUT-NOW that.ACC boomerang-ACC boomerang-DU-ACC
grab-FUT-NOW well-YK-NOW carry-FUT they-NOW keep-FUT
“We’ll chase that boomerang, the two boomerangs, and grab them. We’ll take them then and we’ll keep them.”

Kanarri-lha ngunhu-ngara ngartil. Ngunhu-ngara karri-nyila panganypa-rru, come-PAST that.NOM-PL again that.NOM-PL stand-PrREL ready-NOW
pawulu-thurti wartirra-ngara-thurti. Jampa ngunhu kanyara thawu-lalha child-CONJ woman-PL-CONJ moment that.NOM man send-PAST
ngurnu ngarti wirra-a. Ngunhu wangka-lha, that.ACC again boomerang-ACC that.NOM say-PAST
They came again. They stood ready, children and women and all. After a while that man sent the boomerang again. The devil said,

“Kartu yirru ngayalyu yirru patha-rryu yirru wirra-a yirru 2SG.NOM HES cousin HES throw-IMP HES boomerang-ACC HES
ngartil yirru, ngaliya, nganama nhawu-wala.”
again HES 1DU.EXC 1PL.EXC see-PURPds
“You chuck that boomerang again, cousin, so we can watch.”

Nhiyu kanyara wirrawalha, ngunhaa mir.ta nhuura this.NOM man boomerang-maker that.NOM not know
wantharni-ma-minyji-rru nhiingara, warruwa-ngara, ngayalyu-ngara. how-CAUS-FUT-NOW this.PL devil-PL devil-PL
Jampa ngunhaa thawu-lalha ngurnu wirra-a patha-rralha. moment that.NOM send-PAST that.ACC boomerang-ACC throw-PAST
Thaapuwa nhawu-ra warruwa-ngara yanga-rruru-rru. Yanga-lalha big.man see-CTEMP devil-PL chase-PRES-NOW chase-PAST
ngurnu wirra-a. Ngunhu yawurrari kunti. that.ACC boomerang-ACC that.NOM west.ALL stop
Puni-nyila ngunhu thawurra, wirra, nyingkurlu waruul-purtu. go-PrREL that.NOM boomerang boomerang first still-COMP
Nhiingara wanti-nguru yarrwa-ngka jurlurlu wanharra-l thurlajinkarri-ngara. this.PL lie-PRES behind-LOC crouched like-THEN poor.fellow-PL
Yanga-minyji ngurnaa, thani-minyji-nu, murti-i kuyilwa-minyji, chase-FUT that.ACC hit-FUT-QUOT speed-ACC spoilwa-FUT
manku-layi-l. Piyuwa ngunhu, puni-nyila ngunhu waruul. grab-FUT-THEN finish that.NOM go-PrREL that.NOM still
Thampa-rru jirli wurnta-ngu-rra yartapalyu. Yanga-lalha ngurnaa. almost-NOW arm cut-PASS-CTEMP others chase-PAST that.ACC

Ngunhaa puni-nyila nyingkurlu waruu, ngulangu pungka-lu. that.NOM go-PrREL in.front still there fall-PURPss

Karti-ngka manku-ngu-layi-warnu. side-LOC grab-PASS-FUT-EMPH
This man, the boomerang-maker, he didn't know what these ngayalyu devils were going to do. The moment he sent that boomerang, threw it, the devils watching chased it now. They chased that boomerang. It went westwards. That boomerang is travelling, still in front and these devils are behind, stooping down, the poor fellows. They chase it, hit at it, try to weaken the speed, so they can grab it then. But there's no chance, it's still travelling. Some others almost get their arms cut off. They chased it and that boomerang is still in front and falls right there, and is picked up once more.

"Panyu paju yirru ngayalyu yirru nhula yirru wirra yirru." good REAL HES cousin HES near.you HES boomerang HES
"That boomerang is good, cousin."

Mra.ta-l ngunhu-ngara, yanga-rrura kuwarri-la-l. Ngunhu wanti-lha not-THEN that.NOM-PL chase-PrREL now-LOC-THEN that.NOM lie-PAST

yawurrari, karra-nu ngula, ngurra. Nhiingara yanga-l.yarra-ngara, west.ALL scrub-QUOT IGNOR country this.PL chase-CTEMP-PL

jina-wari panyi-lalha ngurnaa kalyaran-wirriwa-a nhawani-i foot-PROP tread-PAST that.ACC tree-PRIV-ACC thing-ACC

pal.yarra-ma-l.yarra. Ngunhu-lwa ngunhu pal.yarra-ma-mu plain-CAUS-CTEMP that.NOM-YK that.NOM plain-CAUS-PASSP


yiyangu-lwa ngunhaa marrari-la, nhiyu kuwarri, kuwarri-l paju he-e-YK that.NOM story-LOC this.NOM now beginning-THEN REAL

ngunhu wirra, wanthari-ma-rru-la. Ngartil thawu-lalha. that.NOM boomerang how-CAUS-PASS-LOC again send-PAST

Ngartil warul-purtu ngunhu-ngara yanga-lwala. Yimpala-nu again still-COMP that.NOM-PL chase-PURPds like.that-QUOT

wanti-nguru kankurru yirla. Wirra ngunhu puni-nyila. lie-PRES dust only boomerang that.NOM go-PrREL


yanga-rrura thani-l.yarra mani-ngka-npa-rra, manku-marni wurla. chase-PrREL hit-CTEMP front-LOC-INCH-CTEMP grab-CONTR MIST
It wasn't yesterday that they chased that thing, no it was long ago. The scrub that lay there out to the west, well these people chasing trampled it with their feet and so there are no trees there now, they made a plain of it. That's that plain that was trampled, the one that's called WilTawanti now. This is it here now in this story, the one that was made like this as a result of that boomerang. Again he sent it, and yet again they chased it, only the dust left behind them, that boomerang is still going. They kept trying at it but couldn't do it. Children and all chased it and hit at it, thinking they should be able to get it, and almost getting hit in the neck. But it's still going, that boomerang, and it came back to fall down in the same place. They badly wanted to get hold of this boomerang. They wanted to keep it for themselves. This man didn't want things to turn out like that, and that boomerang was still going at full strength. It still wasn't getting slowed down by those fellows hitting it with gum leaves. I don't know what sort of leaves, they had cut brush and held it in their hands.

"Thani-nuru nhuwa Wirra-a."
hit-PRES 2PL boomerang-ACC
"You people hit that boomerang!"

Wiru nhartu-ma-minyji wularla-ma-minyji. Piyuwa waruu, ngunhu want what-CAUS-FUT weak-CAUS-FUT finish still that.NOM

thawurra puni-nyila ngunhila-rru ngunhila waruul-wa ngunhila boomerang go-PrREL same.speed-NOW that.NOM still-YK that.NOM

Wirra puni-nyila, thaapuwa. Pungka-ru ngulangu waruu. boomerang go-PrREL big.man fall-PURPss there still
Ngurnula-ngu-la waruul-u-rru nhartu-ngka, warrama-lalha-la, that.DEF-GEN-LOC still-Ø-NOW what-LOC make-PAST-LOC

yinka-lalha-la. Waruulwa-lalha ngunhu-ngara.
chisel-PAST-LOC can't.do-PAST that.NOM-PL
They wanted to weaken that boomerang. But no chance, that boomerang kept going at the same speed. It kept going and fell down at the right place as usual. It fell down right there by its owner, the man who had made it, had carved it out. They couldn't manage to get it.

"Ngaa, piyuwa paju-nu. Ngaliwa-nu mir.ta yees finish REAL-QUOT 1PL.INC-QUOT not

panyu-ma-ingu-layi ngurnaa."
good-CAUS-PASS-FUT that.ACC
"Well that's it, we're no good at all. We're not going to get on right with that boomerang. Might as well give up hope."

Puni-marri-layi wuraal-wa-rru.
go-COLL-FUT well-Ø-NOW

Ngunhaa mir.ta-rru manku-lha ngurnu-tharra-a thawurra-tharra-a. that.NOM not-NOW grab-PAST that.OBL-DU-ACC boomerang-DU-ACC
So they went off. They didn't get those two boomerangs.

"Ah, panyu paju yirru thawurra yirru nhula yirru ngayalyu yirru. ah good REAL HES boomerang HES near.you HES cousin HES

Ah. Good that boomerang you've got, cousin. We just couldn't manage it."

Wuraal-wa-rru puni-marri-layi.
good-YK-NOW go-COLL-FUT
All right, they went off together.

Ngunhu nhawani-wuyu, ngunhaa mirntiwul-yu paju, that.NOM thing-SIDE that.NOM together-ACC REAL

nhartu-nu wangka- ngu-rra? Ngunhu-lwa. what-QUOT call-PASS-CTEMP that.NOM-YK

Ngayalyu ngunhu mirtali paju. Wantharni-nu wangka- ngu-layi?
devil that.NOM big REAL how-QUOT call-PASS-FUT
That what's-his-name, that one on his own. What's he called now? That one. That big ngayalyu boss. How is he called?
that.NOM-YK that.NOM together-EFF word listen-PASS-FUT

old.man that.NOM devil that.NOM-YK that.NOM bad

137. Ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa parilha-npa-lha ngurnu wirra-a. Puni-lha 
that.NOM-YK that.NOM try-INCH-PAST that.ACC boomerang-ACC go-PAST

138. ngunhaa nyina-lu ngularla kuliyanpa-ra. puni-rrawaara ngurnu. 
that.NOM sit-PURPss there.NS think-CTEMP go-SEQ that.ACC

139. Puni-rrawaara ngurnu. Wanthalu ngunhu kuwarri-l paju 
go-SEQ that.ACC somewhere that.NOM beginning-THEN REAL

140. kanyara nyina-nyila nyina-lha-la, yinka-l.yarra ngurnu kayarra-a 
man sit-PrREL sit-PAST-LOC chisel-CTEMP that.ACC two-ACC

141. wirra-tharra-a panyu-tharra-a. Ngunhaa puni-lha yilhi-i-rru 
boomerang-DU-ACC good-DU-ACC that.NOM go-PAST chip-ACC-NOW

142. manku-lu ngularla. 
grab-PURPss there.NS

That one who all the other ones have to listen to. That old man ngayalyu. He's bad that one. That's the one that kept on at that boomerang. He went, thought for a while about somewhere there, and then went there. He thought about that place, somewhere, where that man first sat and chipped out those two good boomerangs. He went to pick up some wood chips there somewhere.

143. Thaapuwa-nu ngunhaa mirtuwarra, ngunhu-lwa, 
big.man-QUOT that.NOM clever that.NOM-YK

144. ngayalyu, ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa nhawani paju, jurlu-u mirntiwul-yu 
devel that.NOM-YK that.NOM thing REAL all-ACC together-ACC

145. nhawani wangka-layi nhartu-ma-lwaa. Mirntiwul paju kuliya-nyinji 
thing say-FUT what-CAUS-PURPs=o together REAL hear-FUT

146. ngurnu-lwa marrari-i ngayalyu-ngara yirla pularna. 
that.ACC-YK word-ACC devil-PL only they

147. Ngunhaa mirtali paju wangka-layi nhartu-ma-lwaa wii, 
that.NOM big REAL say-FUT what-CAUS-PURPs=o maybe

148. ngurnula-ngu-la marrari-la nhartu-ma-nyinji wii. 
that.DEF-GEN-LOC word-LOC what-CAUS-FUT maybe

He was a crafty old bastard, that ngayalyu. He's that what's-his-name. The one who tells all of the others what to do. They all listen to his word, only those ngayalyu of course. He's the big boss who tells them to do this and do that when he says so.

149. “Mir.ta yartapalyu nganamarmu minthalwa-lwarri-layi.”
not others anyone get.together-COLL-FUT

“Don't anyone get together on one side. We've got to be together.”
He went to get some chips from those two boomerangs that had been chiselled out. That boomerang-maker, he was sitting hitting another lot, chiselling away at Thaarta Pool, upriver from Pilhamu Pool. Where that Yirranti cliff is, the cliff heads upriver right there. He was sitting there now, chiselling another load of boomerangs, and probably keeping those other two as well.

Okay. This one is getting close now, coming from upriver with the chips, the ones from those two boomerangs that had been chopped first, in his hand. He's going now, having picked them up at the place where they were carved in the beginning. Upriver I guess, somewhere but I don't know where.
I've forgotten the name of that place. That old man like me might know, Mipirn. He should be able to put me straight, wherever it is he is staying now.

165. *Ngunhaa* puni-lha, yilhi-i-rru manku-lha *nhiyu* ngayalyu, that.NOM go-PAST chip-ACC-NOW grab-PAST this.NOM devil

166. *jinkarni*. *Nhiyu* nyina-nguru wuraal, kanyara, wirra-a upriver.CENT this.NOM sit-PRES well man boomerang-ACC


168. *kartawura-la, malarnu-la*. Nhawu-layi purrkuru-rru *ngurnaa* butt-LOC shade-LOC see-FUT truly-NOW that.ACC

169. *kanarri-nyila-a*. come-PrREL-ACC

He went having picked up the chips now, this *ngayalyu*, from upriver. This man is still sitting carving another lot of boomerangs. He's sitting on the ground, at the base of a cadjeput tree, in the shade. He sees this fellow coming all right.

170. "Ah, *nhiyu-rru* pala-nu *nhiyu* kuyil, ngayalyu a h this.NOM-NOW IT-QUOT this.NOM bad cousin

171. *kanarri-nguru-rru."

come-PRES-NOW

"Ah, this one now. This is that bad *ngayalyu* coming."

172. *Ngunhaa* tharrwi-lalha thungkara-la-rru. Wanthala *ngunha* nyina-lha, that.NOM enter-PAST dirt-LOC-NOW somewhere that.NOM sit-PAST

173. *thungkara-la tharrwi-lalha* *ngurnu-tharra-a* panyu-tharra-a, dirt-LOC enter-PAST that.OBL-DU-ACC good-DU-ACC

174. *wirra-tharra-a*. *Nhuura* *ngurnu-nu* kanyara-a puni-nyila-a-wa boomerang-DU-ACC know that.ACC-QUOT man-ACC go-PrREL-ACC-YK

175. *nhawu-rra* *ngurnu* wawayi-l.yarra. Tharrwi-lalha nharnu-ngka-rru. see-CTEMP that.ACC look.for-CTEMP put.in-PAST sand-LOC-NOW


177. *kankanmayijila. *Nhiyu* kanarri-layi, piled.up this.NOM come-FUT

He put them under the sand then. Somewhere there where he was sitting on the ground he put those two good boomerangs away. Apparently he knows that man is coming looking, looking for that. He puts them under the sand while another carved lot are lying quite open, all piled up. This fellow is coming. [He says]
178. "Ngayu yirru kartungu yirru ngayu kanarri-lha.
   1SG.NOM HES 2SG.ACC HES 1SG.NOM come-PAST

179. Ngayu, ngayalyu yirru, kartungu kanarri-lha yirru?
   1SG.NOM cousin HES 2SG.ACC come-PAST HES

180. Ngayu yirru kanarri-lha yirru, ngayalyu yirru,
   1SG.NOM HES come-PAST HES cousin HES

181. kartungu yirru nhawu-lu yirru."
   2SG.ACC HES see-PURP HES
   "I've come, cousin. Can I come over to you? I'll come and see you, cousin."

182. "Ngawu, panyu waruul-purtu, ngayalyu yirru.
   yes good still-COMP cousin HES

183. Minthal-yu nganaju yirru nyina-nyila-a, ngayalyu yirru."
   alone-ACC 1SG.ACC HES sit-PrREL-ACC cousin HES
   "Yes, that's okay, cousin. Come and see me, I'm sitting here all alone, cousin."

184. "Ah! Ngayalyu yirru, nganaju yirru kartu yirru yungku-layi yirru
   ah cousin HES 1SG.ACC HES 2SG.NOM HES give-FUT HES

185. wirra-a yirru ngurmu-tharra-a-lwa yirru,
   boomerang-ACC HES that.OBL-DU-ACC-YK HES

186. kayarra-a panyu-tharra-a yirru, ngayalyu yirru."
   two-ACC good-DU-ACC HES cousin HES
   "Ah, cousin. You give me those two boomerangs, those two good ones, cousin."

187. Kanyja-rryarra ngunhaa thaapuwa juwayu-la wurtu yilhi-i,
   keep-PrREL that.NOM big man hand-LOC HYP TH chip-ACC

188. ngurmu-tharra-a wirra-tharra-a. Manku-lha ngularla wantala
   that.OBL-DU-ACC boomerang-DU-ACC grab-PAST there.NS somewhere

189. yinka-rnu kuwarri-l paju yilu, kanyara-lu.
   chisel-PASS beginning-THEN REAL this.EFF man-EFF

190. Karri-layi ngunhaa wangka-rta,
   stand-FUT that.NOM say-CTEMP
   That crafty old bastard's keeping the chips of those two boomerangs in his hand. He
   picked them up somewhere there where they were first chopped out by that man, in
   the beginning. He says,

191. "Ngayu yirru wiru yirru yungku-ngu-layi yirru ngurmu-tharra-a yirru
   1SG.NOM HES wanting HES give-PASS-FUT HES that.OBL-DU-ACC HES

192. wirra-tharra-a yirru, ngayalyu yirru, ngurmu yirru ngulangu yirru
   boomerang-DU-ACC HES cousin HES that.ACC HES there HES
"I want to be given those two boomerangs, cousin, that were chased around over there. We made a plain out of that place chasing those two boomerangs."

"Yes. You want those two boomerangs?"

"Yes!"

"This is the one, cousin."

"No fear, cousin. This is another one."

"He throws it down. The man throws across another one."
205. "Ngurnu-rru-nu!"
that.ACC-NOW-QUOT

206. Yarta waruul yirru nhiyu yirru, ngayalyu yirru.
other still HES this.NOM HES cousin HES

207. Nhiyu paju yirru, ngayalyu yirru, yilhi yirru."
this.NOM REAL HES cousin HES chip HES
“That's still the wrong one, this one here, cousin. This is the one, cousin, these chips.”

this.NOM not-COMP wanting give-FUT that.ACC

209. Wuraal, ngunhu wirra nharnu-ngurni yirla, tharrwi-rrnu.
well that.NOM boomerang sand-OBSCRD only put.in-PASSP
This one didn’t want to give it to him. Well, that boomerang was just under the sand, had been put away.

210. “Nhiyu ngunhaa.”
this.NOM that.NOM
“This is it.”

211. Ngartil waruul manku-layi ngunhu kanyara.
again still grab-FUT that.NOM man
Once again that man grabs one.

212. “Nhiyu ngunhaa ngayalyu.”
this.NOM that.NOM cousin
“This is it, cousin.”

this.NOM throw-FUT grab-PURPds big.man look-FUT that.NOM
He throws it down so the other can look at it. He looks at it.

finish HES cousin HES this.NOM other still HES
“No it isn't, cousin. This is the wrong one.”

throw-FUT give-FUT again still
Chucks it away. Gives another one.
"Kartu mil.yirri-nguru yirru, ngayalyu yirru, nhiyu paju yirru
2SG.NOM hide-PRES HES cousin HES this.NOM REAL HES

chip-NOW this.NOM REAL 2SG.EFF chisel-PASSP there

Wanthala-ma-lalha kartu, kartu kanyja-rnuru.
somewhere-CAUS-PAST 2SG.NOM 2SG.NOM keep-PRES

Ngayu wiru virnaa paju yilhi-i-ru, ngayalyu yirru.”
1SG.NOM wanting this.ACC REAL chip-ACC-NOW cousin HES
“You're hiding it, cousin. These are the chips now. This is the very one you chopped
over there. What have you done with it? You're keeping it there somewhere. I want
this one, that these chips come from, cousin.”

“Nhiyu-ru ngunhaa.”
this.NOM-NOW that.NOM
“This is it.”

Ngulangu wanti-Iha thawurra-ngara. Nhamintha ngula,
there lie-PAST boomerang-PL how.many IGNOR

kayarra jina, kayarra juwayu wirra-ngara.
two foot two hand boomerang-PL

Wamtitha-rralha ngunhaa ngunhu thaapuwa nhuura-npa-nyila.
throw-PAST that.NOM that.NOM big.m an know-INCH-PrREL
Boomerangs were lying there. I don't know how many, maybe ten, maybe twenty. He
threw them across but that fellow was waking up.

“Piyuwa, ngayalyu yirru yarta waruu nhiyu yirru, ngayalyu yirru.”
finish cousin HES other still this.NOM HES cousin HES
“Nothing, cousin. This is still the wrong one.”

Ngunhaa warntitha-rralha ngurnu thawurra-ngara-a nhawu-waa.
that.NOM throw-PAST that.ACC boomerang-PL-ACC look-PURPs=0
He threw the boomerangs across to him so he could see them.

“Nhiyu ngunhaa!”
this.NOM that.NOM
“This is it!”

grab-PURPds that.NOM devil see-FUT that.ACC good-CAUS-CTEMP
He picks it up, that ngayalyu, looks at it, checks it.
304

finish cousin this.NOM REAL HES chip HES

229. Nhiyu yirru yilhi yirru, mir.ta nhiyu.
this.NOM HES chip HES not this.NOM

that.DEF-ACC 2SG.NOM keep-PRES somewhere this.NOM REAL
“No cousin. This chip is the one I want. This chip, not this one. You’re keeping it
somewhere. This one!”

231. Waa! Ngunhaa kanyara mir.ta waruul-purtu ngurnu kanangkalwa-lalha,
oh.dear that.NOM man not still-COMP that.ACC make.clear-PAST

232. piyuwa. WANTHARNI ngunhaa kuyilwa-lalha. Kuyilwa-lalha-rru ngurnaa
finish how that.NOM spoil-PAST spoil-PAST-NOW that.ACC

233. ngulangu-lwa, ngunhu kanyara. Mir.ta nhuura wantharni-ma-lwaa
there-YK that.NOM man not know how-CAUS-PURPs=o

that.ACC big.man-ACC that.NOM-QUOT bad that.NOM

that.NOM know-INCH-FUT what-ACC maybe hide-PASS-PrREL-ACC

236. Ngunhaa nhuura-npa-layi, warruwa kuyil.
that.NOM know-INCH-FUT devil bad

that.NOM know still-COMP this.ACC hide-PrREL-ACC man-ACC

238. Mir.ta wiru ngunhaa nhuura-ma-lalha ngurnu nhuura-npa-ngula.
not wanting that.NOM know-CAUS-PAST that.ACC know-INCH-PrREL
Oh dear. That man just wouldn’t bring them out in the open, not at all. That’s how he
spoiled everything. He ruined it right there, that man. He didn’t know what that devil
was going to do. He was certainly bad that fellow. He woke up to the fact that
something was being hidden. He woke up, that devil. He knew this man was hiding
something. He didn’t work out that that man was waking up to it.

239. “Nhiyu paju yirru, ngayalyu yirru, ngunhu paju yirru
this.NOM REAL HES cousin HES that.NOM REAL HES

240. pal.yarra-ma-lalha yirru Wirrawanti-i. Wirrawanti-i-rru wangka-nguli-waa.
plain-CAUS-PAST HES Wirrawanti-ACC Wirrawanti-ACC-NOW call-PASS-PURPs=o

241. Nganarna-lu jina-ngku panyi-rru ngunhu pal.yarra-rru wanti-nguru
1PL.EXC-EFF foot-EFF tread-PASSP that.NOM plain-NOW lie-PRES

242. yanga-mura-lu. Yirna yilhi-i, kartu mil.yirri-nguru yirru,
chase-PrREL-EFF this.ACC chip-ACC 2SG.NOM hide-PRES HES

243. ngayalyu yirru.”
cousin HES
“This one, cousin! That very one that made a plain out of Wirrawanti, and so now it's called Wirrawanti. That one that was trampled by our feet as we chased about. These chips here. You're hiding them, cousin.”

244. Nhiyu wangka-nguru paya-npa-nguru. 
   this.NOM talk-PRES angry-INCH-PRES
   He's getting angry as he talks.

245. “Kartu mil.yirri-nguru, ngayalyu yirru. Yirna paju yirru
   2SG.NOM hide-PRES cousin HES this.ACC REAL HES

246. yilhi-i yirru ngayu wiru-npa-lha yirru. Kartu nganaju
   chip-ACC HES 1SG.NOM want-INCH-PAST HES 2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC

   not give-FUT 1SG.NOM go-FUT rubbish well

248. Ngayu wantarni-ma-minyji.”
   1SG.NOM how-CAUS-FUT
   “You're hiding them, cousin. I want those boomerangs that belong to these chips. You won't give them to me. I've got to go off with nothing. Okay. I'll do something about it.”

   angry-PAST-NOW that.NOM move-SEQ give.up-NOW chip-PROP

250. waruul, juwayu-la-marta, ngunhaa kanyja-rura. Thana, ngunhaa
   still hand-LOC-PROP that.OBL-PROP that.NOM keep-PrREL let that.NOM

   go-PAST-NOW angry-INCH-PAST-NOW go-PAST-NOW that.NOM
   He had gotten angry now and moved away in a sulk. He still had the chips, still had them in his hand. Well let him go off angry now. And off he went.

   yes 2SG.NOM hide-PRES 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM go-PRES-NOW
   “Yes. You're hiding them on me. I'm going now.”

253. Thaapuwa puni-lha ngunhaa ngurru-marta yilhi-marta juwayu-la-marta,
   big.man go-PAST that.NOM that.OBL-PROP chip-PROP hand-LOC-PROP

254. Kawuyu-u wirta-lu, parla-a. Ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa,
   Kawuyu-ACC climb-PURPss hill-ACC that.NOM-YK that.NOM

255. ngayalyu yirru thaapuwa, kuyil. Wirta-lha nhawu-lha-nguru-wa.
   devil HES big.man bad climb-PAST see-PAST-ABL-YK
Kuyil paru warruwa. Thuulwa-rinyji kanarra-a ngurnu-nguru.
bad devil devil pull-FUT wind-ACC that.OBL-ABL

*Mir.ta-nu jarruru kanarra patha-rralha. Ngunhaa-nu, ngunhaa*
not-QUOT slowly wind blow-PAST that.NOM-QUOT that.NOM

*puulywa-lalha kanarra-la thawu-lalha yilhi-i. Warntitha-rralha karalu-rru.*
puff-PAST wind-LOC send-PAST chip-ACC throw-PAST south-NOW
That devil went off with the chips in his hand, to climb Kawuyu hill. That's him, that ngayalyu, a proper bad old bastard. He climbed up the hill after he had seen the other fellow. A really bad devil. He pulled the wind, called it up then. The wind didn't blow slowly. Then he puffed and sent the chips on the wind, throwing them south.

Kanarra-lu ngunhaa kangku-yangu panyu wirra yilhi pungka-lha,
wind-EFF that.NOM carry-PASSP good boomerang chip fall-PAST

ngunhu-rru Minturru-la-rru karalu-rru. Minturru-la ngunha-rru
that.NOM-NOW Minturru-LOC-NOW south-NOW Minturru-LOC that.NOM-NOW

Pintharr, ngurnu-ngara-la-lwa-rru ngurra-ngara-la Kuwinywartu-wuyu-la.
Pintharr that.OBL-PL-LOC-YK-NOW country-PL-LOC Kuwinywartu-SIDE-LOC

Yilhi-ngara panyu patha-rru kangku-yangu kanarra-ru Kawuyu-la-nguru.
chip-PL good blow-PASSP carry-PASSP wind-EFF Kawuyu-LOC-ABL
They were carried by the wind, those good boomerang chips, and fell down there in the south in Minturru country. They fell in Minturru and Pintharr country, in all the country on that Kuwinywartu (Carnarvon) side. Those chips were blown and carried by the wind right from Kawuyu.

Palwarro ngunhaa, kuyiija-lalha-rru. Jalya-ngara-rru nhyiu,
truly that.NOM spoil-PAST-NOW rubbish-PL-NOW this.NOM

wirra wanti-lha yilangu pukarti-ngara nyina-marri-nguru
boomerang lie-PAST here snakewood-PL be-COLL-PRES

jalya-rru. Ngunhaa warntitha-rralha-la thaapuwa warruwa,
rubbish-NOW that.NOM throw-PAST-LOC big.man devil

yimpala wanti-waa, ngurra karalu yirla wirra-ngara panyu-ngara.
like.that lie-PURPs=o country south only boomerang-PL good-PL

Ngunhaa parilha jinangku-yangu ngurnu-ngara-ru kanyara-ngara-ru,
that.NOM still track-PASSP that.OBL-PL-EFF man-PL-EFF

parilha jinangku-yangu wantha-nguru yirla kanarri-lha.
still track-PASSP where-ABL only come-PAST

Ngunhu-ngara wantharni-ma-lwayara-rru?
that.NOM-PL how-CAUS-HABIT-NOW

Ngunhu-ngara ngula yinka-lwayara wirra-ngara-a.
that.NOM-PL that.LOC chisel-HABIT boomerang-PL-ACC
271. Ngunhu-ngara nhuura ngurnu yilhi-i warntitha-mu-u-rru that.NOM-PL know that.ACC chip-ACC throw-PASSP-ACC-NOW

272. ngulangu-nguru, Kawuyu-la-nguru, wirra-a panyu-u.
there-ABL Kawuyu-LOC-ABL boomerang-ACC good-ACC
Well that’s how he spoiled things. The boomerangs that grow here, the snakewood in this country is useless. When that old bastard of a devil threw them so they would be like that, only the south country has good boomerangs. But it’s still traced back by the people there. They traced where the boomerangs came from. And what did they used to do? They used to carve a lot of boomerangs. They knew that the chips, all the good boomerangs, had been thrown from there on Kawuyu.

273. Nhiyu, ngayu kuwarri wantha-ruru, marrari-i ngurnu this.NOM 1SG.NOM now put-PRES word-ACC that.ACC

274. ngayalyu-rru wanthami-ma-rnu. Kawari mirtiwul nhuura ngurnaa. devil-NOW how-CAUS-PASSP south together know that.ACC

275. Kuwinywartu yirla, jurlu, mirtiwul waruul. Ngunhu-ngara nhuura Kuwinywartu only all together still that.NOM-PL know


277. wirra-ngara-a, yinka-lwayara thauw-minyji. Thauw-minyji boomerang-PL-ACC chisel-HABIT send-FUT send-FUT

278. Wirrawanti-mulyarra-l. Wanthala-nguru ngurnu kuwarri-l Wirrawanti-ALL-THEN somewhere-ABL that.ACC beginning-THEN

279. warntitha-mu-la yilhi. Panyu-ngara kalyaran-ngara ngulu throw-PASSP-LOC chip good-PL tree-PL that.EFF

280. growem-ma-rnu. Ngunhu yirla-rru karalu yirla-rru wanti-lha grow-CAUS-PASSP that.NOM only-NOW south only-NOW lie-PAST

281. karlwa-marri-lha kalyaran-ngara panyu-ngara, yilhi panyu warntitha-rnu. grow.up-COLL-PAST tree-PL good-PL chip good throw-PASSP This story that I’m putting down now about what the ngayalyu did, well all the people in the south know this. In the Gascoyne area, all of them together, they know just where these chips came from. They used to carve a lot of boomerangs and send them back to Wirrawanti. That’s where they were thrown from in the first place. All the good trees were grown by them. Only there in the south did the good trees come up after the boomerang chips had been thrown there.

282. Nhuura-nu waruu, ngunhu-ngara yinka-lwayara know-QUOT still that.NOM-PL chisel-HABIT

283. Kawuyu-nyungu-ngara-a yinka-lwayara thauw-minyji Wirrawanti-mulyarra. Kawuyu-DWELL-PL-ACC chisel-HABIT send-FUT Wirrawanti-ALL They still know it, apparently, and used to carve all the ones that came from Kawuyu and send them back home to Wirrawanti.
These are from your country, the chips thrown by the devils. You...

They don't hide them away, they know all right. They sent what are called bundles of boomerangs. That devil spoiled it all. Well that was all right, the two peoples were good about that. It was okay that the chips had been thrown and that only useless trees grew up in the country. That's how it was. These people used to pick them up and send back the chips that had been thrown their way. And not long ago now, they were still doing that, things were okay. It's still like that now. That's that story.
So apparently it was their feet that made a plain of it as they were chasing after those two boomerangs. It was those devils who chased it. And so this plain is like that, hasn't got any trees, and is called Wirrawanti. While they were chasing the boomerang, these devils, they trampled over everything, all the trees, and finished them all up. It's said it was from their feet that that plain came to be and its now called Wirrawanti.

That was the time those two boomerangs were thrown from Kawuyu hill, the very first boomerangs, made by that man. That's how it was. The chips were thrown south and were sent back again. All the southern people used to carve them and send them then, they still used to get them. The trees here are good for nothing. They grow up to be rubbishy since all the chips were thrown a long way away.
314. Ngurra-a ngunhaa kuyilwa-lalha, ngayalyu yirru.
country-ACC that.NOM spoil-PAST cousin HES
That's just what he did, that devil. He ruined everything. This man should have shown
them to him, should have done the right thing. The chips could have been here in this
country now. But he spoiled it by doing that thing so that the wood here is useless.
That devil ruined the country.

315. Ngurmula-nguru, ngunhu-ngara nyina-lha mir.ta-rru panyu,
that.DEF-PRES that.NOM-PL be-PAST not-NOW good

316. nguru kuyilwa-lalha-a yilhi-i. Mir.ta-rru nyina-lha panyu.
that.ACC spoil-PAST-ACC chip-ACC not-NOW be-PAST good

that.NOM-PL know-INCH-PAST-NOW that.NOM chisel-PASSP-PRES

318. Ngunhaa nhuura-npa-lha-rru, wantharni-ma-lalha-a nguru,
that.NOM know-INCH-PAST-NOW how-CAUS-PAST-ACC that.ACC

319. ngayalyu-u.
cousin-ACC
From that time on they weren't very good friends, this man and the one who threw the
chips. He woke up to what was going on, this man who carved them. He worked out
what this devil had done.

ah like.that-CAUS-PAST 2SG.NOM finish-CAUS-PAST
“Ah! You've made it like that. Finished everything.”

that.OBL-ABL-YK be-COLL-PAST not-NOW good bad-YK-NOW

322. Wiru nhurnti-ma-rninyji yimna-ngara-a ngayalyu-ngara-a
wanting dead-CAUS-FUT this.OBL-PL-ACC cousin-PL-ACC

323. warruwa-ngara-a, nthingara panyu-ngara wirra-a,
devil-PL-ACC this.PL good-PL boomerang-ACC

boomerang-ACC thing-CAUS-PAST-PL bad-Ø-NOW sit-PAST
From there they weren't very good with one another. They wanted to kill these
ngayalyu devils, these fellas, the ones who had made the two good boomerangs. They
were upset.

325. Wuraal-rru ngunhaa nyina-layi pularna mir.ta-rru panyu.
well-YK-NOW that.NOM sit-FUT they · not-NOW good

326. Kuyil-rru. Patharri-rru, kuwarri-l kuwarri-l patharri-rra,
bad-YK-NOW fight-CTEMP-NOW now-THEN now-THEN fight-CTEMP
All right, they weren't very happy. They were very unhappy. And so they fought. Again and again they fought, those two fellows, the one who had carved the boomerang and the one who threw away the chips. It was somewhere here on the Fortescue that they met up together. They say one went with a spear, loaded on a spearthrower, the other one had a shield and everything. All right, they met up together, somewhere here, I don't know exactly where myself, somewhere there on the Fortescue River.

“Ngayalyu yirru, nhulaa yirru kartu yirru nhawu-∅
cousin HES near.you HES 2SG.NOM HES watch-IMP

“Cousin, you watch that! This one, cousin!”

“Ah! Ngayalyu yirru, ngali yirru patharri-layi yirru.”
ah cousin HES 1DU.INC HES fight-FUT HES
“Ah cousin, we’ll fight!”

Thaapuwa-tharra nhuwa-yarri-lha-rru.
big.man-DU spear-COLL-PAST-NOW

Ngunhaa warra-yi kanyara-wuyu mirrunyjangu-lu.
that.NOM CONT-? human-SIDE load.spear-PURPss
The two of them threw spears at one another. The human one loaded up his spearthrower.
340. "Yilarla kartungku thani-l.yu! Kanyara manku-wala ngularla here.NS 2SG.EFF hit-IMP man grab-PURPds there.NS

341. puni-Ø nhuwala-wa!" go-IMP 2DU-YK
"Take this! See if you can hit this away from you!"

342. Ngawayu ngarti-rru wurtu thaapuwa ngurnaa yurtingka-rninyji turn again-NOW HYPTH big.man that.ACC aim-FUT

343. nguru ngayalyu-ngu. that.ACC cousin-ACC
Taking his turn that man drilled a spear towards that devil.

344. "Yimpalaa pala yirru, ngayalyu yirru, kartu yirru! like.that IT HES cousin HES 2SG.NOM HES

345. Yilarla thani-l.yu kartungku!" here.NS hit-IMP 2SG.EFF
"What's that like, cousin! See if you can hit that away!"


347. Kuyil parru, kuyil, warnuwa. Ngurra yirla wanti-nguru ngulangu. bad devil bad devil ground only lie-PRES there

348. Yilarla-rru karlwa-nyila. Nhawu-layi ngurru waririti-i kanyara-lu here.NS-NOW go.up-PrREL see-FUT that.ACC spear-ACC man-EFF

349. thawu-rru-u ngulangu-mulyarra, puni-nyila-a nggarawurlu. send-PASSP-ACC there-ALL go-PrREL-ACC away
But apparently he was gone from there. Only the ground was hit. He was really bad that devil. Only the ground was lying there and he came up here alongside and watched that spear sent by that man heading straight for the place he had been standing.

350. "Paa! Wirrili yirru kartungu, yirru, ngayalyu yirru, kuyil paju yirru!" paa swift HES 2SG.GEN HES cousin HES bad REAL HES
"Paa! Too fast, that one of yours, cousin! Really dangerous!"

351. Piyuwa-npa-layi ngunha ngula-nguru piyuwa yila-rru karlwa-lu. finish-INCH-FUT that.NOM there-PRES finish here(pointing)-NOW go.up-EFF

352. Ngurra-a yirla nhuwa-lalha. Jampa-nu, jampa-nu ground-ACC only spear-PAST moment-QUOT moment-QUOT

353. ngunhaa piyuwa-npa-layi yilangu-rru ngunhu-rru karri-nguru that.NOM finish-INCH-FUT here-NOW that.NOM-NOW stand-PRES
There was nothing there. He was gone from there and came up here. Only the ground got speared he was so quick. In an instant he was gone, they say, and here he was. He just came as that man was sending the spear to where he was standing, so he could grab it. Again he threw one and it only hit the ground. Only the ground is lying there and the spear is gone. Who is standing there? He’s just coming up here.

“Hey cousin, what was that?”

He was really bad, that devil. Really bad. Only the ground got speared and this man is holding himself in the arm.

“Just who am I going to spear?”

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM

Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-nngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM
nhuwa-yarri-wayara ngunhu-tharra wanthala wii thartuungku-marri-lha. spear-COLL-HABIT that.NOM-DU where maybe meet-COLL-PAST

He tries again. He hits him with a club. That devil comes up here again and only the ground is hit by that club. He's standing here now, the bad thing. He couldn't hurt him, not at all, so he gave up and went away. Now and again they would keep going at it like that. The two of them would try to spear one another if ever they met up together somewhere, but to no avail. He couldn't hurt him.

Wuraal ngunhaa, wuraal ngunhaa, nyina-layi yimpala ngartil.
It was still like that, it stayed like that.

Ngartil ngunhu-ngara wangkarnu-marri-lha-rru, nhiingara panyu-ngara-wuyu, again that.NOM-PL talk-COLL-PAST-NOW these.NOM good-PL-SIDE

Once again they talked together, these good fellows, the ones who made the boomerangs.

"Ngaliwa nhurnti-ma-minyji, yirna-ngara-a warruwa-ngara-a, ngayalyu-u, 1PL.INC dead-CAUS-FUT this.OBL-PL-ACC devil-PL-ACC cousin-ACC

"We'll kill these devils, these cousins, the whole lot of them. We'll kill them in the end."

Mawurr ngunhaa, jampa kunti ngurnu-nguru-wa, later that.NOM moment stop that.OBL-ABL-YK

Later then, they went from there, very soon afterwards...
APPENDIX 2: SONGS

As noted in §1.3.9 there are two named song types: jalurra and thawi. Jalurra songs are more generally full performances including song, boomerang percussion accompaniment, dance choreography and body ornamentation. The entire form is ‘dreamed’ – ‘composed’ unconsciously in the dream state, often as the gift of some spirit, either animal or ex-human. Jalurra songs typically consist of a few lines of text repeated with minor variation. The subject matter is closely related to a visual representation in dance, often describing the movements of the dancers.

Thawi songs, on the other hand, might be compared to ballads. They are sung to the accompaniment of the rhythmic scraping of grooves cut in the back of a spearthrower with a mirrimpa, often the fibula of a kangaroo with a counterbalance of spinifex wax attached to one end. Thawi songs are longer pieces than jalurra and usually depict a series of events or journeys taking place in the dream state.

Transliteration and interpretation of song texts is far from straightforward. They typically consist of a few chosen phrases, place names, archaic turns of phrase, all of which evoke complex feelings and understandings. The forms are highly poetic and rely for their immediate interpretation on a deep cultural knowledge of, most especially, the spirit world viewed in the dream state. Because my own understanding of this context is extremely limited, in presenting the examples below I have included the explanatory comments of the singer (Algy Paterson) as well as a literal translation of each line and grammatical notes.

Songs are typically performed as a series of coupled lines with some couplets repeated a number of times. I have indicated the sequence in which the lines of the text were repeated in the recorded performance.

2.1 JALURRA SONGS

Jalurra songs are given to the dreamer by a spirit being and, in many cases, the song describes a vision of one of the spirit beings, wanta, who are responsible for the song. Dances accompanying the song often mimic the motions of the wanta in the dream.

Songs consist of couplets repeated a number of times. In contrast to the thawi songs described below the performance of a jalurra may begin midway through a line. The two songs given here were recorded twice and show some of the possible variations. A lengthened syllable ngaa is occasionally added to fit a line to the metre of the song, and in the examples below demonstrates the difference in metre due to different starting positions in the text.

In introducing the first song, Algy Paterson explains the role of the spirit beings, wanta, in creating the song:
"All right, they was the fellas that make songs, you know, giv'em man songs, when they give 'em in the dream. You sleeping, in the dream, and you sing it like, you know? Well this one, there must a been a two of them, wanta, they didn't like to go to this Kunaarma just because they frightened there something there."

I
A. puyila warra ngali puniwala
B. ngamarri ngayu kurtunngulinyila
A. puyila warra ngaa ngali puniwala
B. ngamarri ngayu kurtunngulinyila
A. puyila warra ngaa ngali puniwala
B. ngamarri ngayu kurtunngulinyila
C. kartawinkarra ngaa kunarnamalu
D. kartawinkarra ngaa mirrwangkanhawari
C. kartawinkarrakunarnamalu

II
B. ngamarri ngayu kurtunngulinyila
A. puyila warra ngaa ngali puniwala ngaa
B. ngamarri ngayu kurtunngulinyila ngaa
A. puyila warra ngali puniwala ngaa
B. ngamarri ngayu kurtunngulinyila ngaa
C. kartawinkarra kunarnamalu
D. kartawinkarra ngaa mirrwangkanhawari
C. kartawinkarra kunarnamalu

A. puyila warra, ngali puni-wala
far CONT 1DU.INC go-PURPds
“You and I, we'd better go little bit long way.”
(lit. Further away, [something makes it that] we go.)

B. ngamarri ngayu kurtun-nguli-nyila
liver 1SG.NOM fear-PSYCH-CTEMP
“I'm frightened of something in that hill.”
(lit. My liver gets full of fear.)

C. kartawinkarra Kunarna-malu
across Kunarna-malu
(lit. Kunarnamalu moves across.)

1. The -malu suffix typically occurs on placenames. The derived form is used as a name for a person who is the birthright custodian of that place.
D. kartawinkarra mirrpangkanha1-wari2 across 'long stick' PROP

"Seen this fella walking across on top of the hill, with a mirrpangkanha, something like a crowbar [digging-stick, staff], mirrpangkanha."

1. The rrp cluster in mirrpangkanha is lenited to rrw when sung.

2. The -wari proprietive is a borrowing from Ngarluma.

The second song describes a bull moving through scrub towards a waterhole. Two performances of the song were recorded:

I
A. yilangu ngali kuliya-ru karrilu ngaa
B. nhartu yilarla karra wurta-nura
C. thanturrinyila marnumarta mulurru
D. thanturrinyila ngaa Kunthurrumulyarra
C. thanturrinyila marnu...

II
A. ...kuliya-ru karrilu ngaa
B. nhartu yilarla karra wurta-nura
A. yilangu ngali nguu kuliya-ru nguu karrilu ngaa
B. nhartu yilarla wurta-nura
A. yilangu ngali kuliya-ru ngaa karrilu ngaa
B. nhartu yilarla ngaa karra wurta-nura
C. thanturrinyila marnumarta mulurru
D. thanturrinyila Kunthurrumulyarra ngaa
C. thanturrinyila marnuma...

A. yilangu ngali kuliya-ru karri-lu
here 1DU hear-PURPss stand-PURPss
You and I will stand here listening.

B. nhartu yilarla karra wurta-mura
what somewhere here thicket break-CTEMP
Something is here breaking [sticks] in the thicket.
2.2 THAWI SONGS

Toby Winarrany, the composer of the following *thawi* songs, was paid £12 to track, through the dream state, a man who had been shot. The songs describe the routes he takes. Algy Paterson explains:

“He got paid to go mangkarn [dream spirit state], to find out, travel, juna [spirit travel], wangkarla [spirit traveller]. All right, he started that way though. He was going to come ‘round that way, ‘stead of that come back this way. When he get up here, Winthu, they found the man, the policeman and them. They found it and sent a message to Yarraloola [Station], let the old fella know, see, this fell a that got twelve pound, paid, to look mangkarmpa. All right, he stop travelling then, spirit, he stop then.

“Well he started off in Jalyamu...looking for a man that got shot, Alec Hughes the fella, shot him, here at the range. All right, and this fella got (of course he’s a doctor man) and he got paid, to look for it, look for this man, where he is, [paid] from [by] the brothers [of the shot man]. And they wanted to know, they couldn’t find him see. And, he supposed to be very clever man, this fella. His name was Toby, old Winarrany, my old people again, you know, Martuthunira.”

In the first song, *Winarrany* chases two other dream travellers who have attempted to harm him by sending a whirlwind against him.

A. *murliliny wanti Jalyarnula*
B. *yirra muntarra parlu muntarirri*
C. *Kalalha jurti winkortirti yila*
D. *kawankurala tharta ngarirrilha*
E. *kartu wurntarnu Jilyiliwaalu nyina*
D. *kawankurala tharta ngarirrilha*
A whirlwind at Jalyarnu.
The edge engorged with blood, the cliff spattered.
At Karlatha something whistling to(wards) me, somewhere here.
On the south wind, lifted up between the legs.
You get cut by Jilyiliwaa, stop.

The five lines are repeated in the following sequence:

A B C B C D E D ...

A. murliliny wanti1 Jalyarnu-la
   whirlwind lie Jalyarnu.pool-LOC

1. Verbs often appear either without inflectional suffixes at all or with suffixes edited to fit the metre.

Algy Paterson explains that the incident begins outside the dream state. Toby Winarrany is attacked by a whirlwind while checking sheep. He follows the attackers in the dream state that night, and is also, presumably, seeking the man who has been shot.

"They tried to mesmerise him with the winningarra [whirlwind]...They tried to catch him, yeah, they bin bad friends. That old fella is a very high mapamkarra [doctor/magic man], old Winarrany. And a lotta fellas had a go at him. But these two, I don't know, two I think, I don't know where they from, this side I think. Somebody trying to have a go at him, but no, he's too good.

"Daytime. He had a one fella called Cassy, my boys again, my family, my nephew boys. All right, he [the boy] was a lame fella and he tell him, tell this boy, they riding, looking for sheep...When they got to Jalyarnu, before the winningarra [whirlwind] start, he told him something, let him know, he's a maparn [doctor/magic man]. That's him, the old fella himself. "Janta [lame], karri kunti kartu!" [Janta, stand-IMP stop 2SG.NOM] Something let him know, "Something after you". Soon as he pulled up and he see, little winningarra, start in front of 'em. Then he got bigger quick...He seen it what's gonna start there. He span it [the whirlwind] off. He sent a maparn [spirit familiar] to that fella [the attacking magic man] shift it, off winningarra went.

"All right, he frighten 'em [the two attackers] anyhow. In the night-time he followed 'em, he finish up, he finish him off in Jilyiliwaa."

B. yiirra muntarra parlu muntarirri
   edge engorged.with.blood cliff blood.specks

The traveller has fought back and wounded the two malevolent spirits.

"Them two that getting chased around, they musta landed there for him to make a song about it. That's the man bin caught, blood coming out. He was chasing him, drive him round, pick him up from there, oh wind pick him up, you know?"
C. Kalalha\textsuperscript{1} \textit{jurti}\textsuperscript{2} \textit{winkartirti yila}\textsuperscript{3}
Karlatha.mill 1SG.POSS whistling somewhere.here

1. The name Karlatha is rendered in the song as Kalalha, to “make it better with the tune”.

2. While \textit{jurti} is described in the grammar as a possessive pronoun (see §S.2), it is given a gloss here as ‘for me’.

3. The bare root form \textit{yila} is unacceptable in spoken Martuthunira. The expected inflected form here would be \textit{yilarla}.

D. kawankura-la tharta ngarirri-lha
south.wind-LOC crutch lift.up-PAST

“Wind got into him here and lift him up sort of a like a feather, carried him away. Lift him up and land him where the old fella wanted him to be, finish off. ‘Cos he was, this fella, this old fella, he got paid to look for this man got shot you know. S’posed to be really for that. But I don’t know who this fella come across, two of them, wanted to catch him, some enemies bin bad friend for long time.

“Bin lift up with the south wind... But back to front though – from Karlatha he’s other way round. Must be the \textit{winingarra} [rather than the south wind], and finished him off in this Jilyiliwaa rockhole, that’s straight behind of Jalyarnu, there.

E. kartu wurnta-ruu Jilyiliwaa-lu\textsuperscript{1} nyina
2SG cut-PASSP Jilyiliwaa rockhole-EFF stop

1. The traveller succeeds in finishing off the two spirits at Jilyiliwaa. Literally, the phrase reads that the place itself has cut the spirits, though the singer explains that this is poetic licence.

“He had’a catch them to save himself, they was after him, other mob, from this way somewhere. He catch ‘em with the \textit{maparn}. Finish ‘em off at Jilyiliwaa then.

“‘You bin cut up, in Jilyiliwaa’, is the finish of ‘im.”

“From Jalyarnu, he went back to Karlatha, that windmill. From there he pulled up, and he come back to Jilyiliwaa. When the south wind was blowing he landed back in Jilyiliwaa, spirit you know. He couldn’t find anything that way. From there he move that way, further, towards Kanarrakuri way. Walirnu means traveller, he’s looking for it, you know, spirit looking for it…”

“He start on ‘im, that two man now, chopped off in this Jilyiliwaa, he meet him there, you know. He was ready to look for that other fella but, give him a start on that \textit{thawi} now, he keep going ‘cos he was looking for this man that got shot down here, what he got paid for see? And he keep going then.
A traveller flies obscured by mist. 
We two walk on the ground. Light.
At Kanarrakuri the deceased is cut.
At Martimarti the paths narrow. Stop.
At Nyinyanharranha, corroboree sticks full of blood.
At Pirririthuni Gap the spirit is lifted.
The lopsided sky, “something is hot for me”.
At Yaramarta pool a spirit ray shoots up.

The eight lines are sung in the following sequence:

A B A C D C D C D E F E F E F G H G...

A. *walirnu yirrka* walhawartu-ngurni
   stranger vehicle mist-OBSCRD
   1. *yirrka* is a ‘stick’ which the spirit traveller straddles and uses as a flying vehicle.

B. *panyi-rnu* ngali ngurra wangkarn-karra nhaa
   step-PrREL 2DU ground light-karra this
1. *panyi-rrnu* is a shortened form of *panyi-rrnura*.

2. Algy Paterson explains that the traveller is joined by another spirit and guesses that this might be the traveller's friend:

   "Him and someone else, might be his old man's spirit, with him. No, but he couldn't a say *ngali*. Mighta been some of his friend, *maparnkarra* [magic man] again somewhere."

   [The pronoun *ngali* implies that the two are in the same generation set. Thus the other spirit could not be the traveller's father]

3. *-karra* is a nominal suffix which although not a regularly segmentable morpheme in Martuthunira, occurs productively in (at least) Panyjima and is common as a kin term dual formative in all languages of the area. On ordinary nominals *-karra* indicates that some other thing is intimately related to the *-karra* marked thing (or property).

4. *nhaa* is presumably a modified form of the demonstrative *nhiyu/nhiyaa*.

   "They're walking, the ground seems hollow, inside. He reckon he walking on the ground that you can hear a sound is hollow, inside. Light, you know, he can hear it going “bhup, bhup” just like going to cave-in sorta. That's a *wangkarnkarra*, light one."

C. *Kanarrakuri tharu*K wurnta-rrnu *nhaa*  
*Kanarrakuri.pool deceased cut-PPERF this*

1. *Tharu* means ‘deceased’, but is not polite. It ought not be used within earshot of mourning relatives, as Algy Paterson explains:

   "You know what the *tharu* used for? Anybody lose his life, passed away somewhere, well then that *tharu* can be used, see? Anybody come along, or even talking...you know, people like to talk little bit hard way for somebody died, not relation or anything. If he don't like to say very good way, just little bit rough, he can say that *tharu*. You can't call'em name, you say *tharu*. But he's not bad, but not the proper nice answer that one, for anyone passed away, you know...for the people that lose the fella that died, he can't say that word. He gotta say something a bit better, otherway he hurt the people feeling. Not very good."

D. *Martimarti-la kuthurrungu nyina*  
*Martimarti.pool narrow stop*

   "*Martimarti*, he's in the *Pangarru* river that *Martimarti*, 'nother big pool, up in the gorge, gullies too. Right in the bluff.

   "Something come in, make it narrow. The spirit. Spirit got narrow to pull up there for a while I s'pose, you know, before he come back to this *Nyinyanharra*. That's the traveller's spirit travelling. Musta had a drink of water or something [at *Martimarti*]. They got together more to make it, you know, close up [to] one another. Close together, and stop there for a while. Two of them."
E. *Nyinyanharranha yilhi* muntamunta
*Nyinyanharranha* corroboree.sticks bloody

1. *Yilhi*, with the primary sense ‘chip/shaving of wood’ is used as a generic term for shaved wood ornaments worn in dances and in ritual business. Here, the ornament is painted with blood:

“Well they used that blood for painting, you know, to make it pretty. Well he seen it [the ornament] there, you know, seen it there and gotta come down to this place called Yarramarta then.”

F. *Pirririthuni mangkam-tu karlwi-mu*
*Pirrirtin* gap spirit-EFF lift-PPERF

“That's that Pirrirtin gap but he couldn't make it Pirrirtin [a Kurrama name], 'cos he Martuthunira, he made it Pirririthuni. He made it Pirririthuni 'stead of Pirririthinna. But he can't pronounce it...like he's a Martuthunira [speaker] this one. But that is the place.”

G. *jirnti yirtili ngarringari jurti*
sky lop-sided hot 1SG.POSS

“You know what the *jirnti yirtili*? Sky [horizon?] lop-sided. Sky, whole lot they reckon he sorta sideways, you know, turned, sort of. I don't know how come about, that's in the travel time see? Yirtili, just like going to fall down, went over *jirnti yirtili*.

“Ngarringari's hot! Ngarringari is something hot. Something hot enough to burn you, something in the spirit, *jurti*, for him, for me.”

H. *Yaramarta-la thaninharra karlwa*
*Yaramarta.pool spirit.ray rise*

“*Thaninharra*. Oh he's a dangerous, danger that one. That chop things off. Whatever in front of that traveller now, they chucked it, finish! Chopped it off there. That *thaninharra* – you know this cross-cut saw? Something like that got up to cut this enemy belong to them, what they chasing after, marlpa [person] you know mangkampa [dream spirit state]. Pretty rough, in't it? *Thaninharra karlwa*. He bin get up from the ground. He get up and chop this fella, finish. Mangkarn, you know? The thing shoot up like this bloomin' whats-a-name.

“Same time that double there, *thani-ma* [hit/chop-PAST], *thaninharra* [spirit ray]. He chopped it off, you know, same time he's a *thaninharra*, that *yirra* [edged/sharp] thing. He can chop a man off, finish.” [Algy Paterson explains here that *thaninharra* evokes the word *thani-ma.*]
“Now he shift from there, he going this way now. He was going to come 'round on the coast side. He gotta wait 'til night time, you know, before he, marlimpa work, spirit go, looking for it. He was going to head that-a-way now, he could'a find it all right, where this fella was heading. He's a place called Winthu, down here. That's a where he landed to take off, but he went that way, looking for him, you know, up Malurari way, just in case he's bin run away and, you know, something happen this way.”

A. Marlurarri-nha thurnti pinkanarri
B. Mulhawuru-la karla nguyali nyina
A. Marlurarri-nha thurnti pinkanarri
C. warithurrinynha wartantunha nhawu
D. parlura karlwa karralhangu ngunhu
C. warithurrinynha wartantunha nhawu
D. parlura karlwa karralhangu ngunhu
C. warithurrinynha wartantunha nhawu
D. parlura karlwa karralhangu ngunhu
E. puwala-rarri thanturrrawirri
F. pananypa nyina Wanaranyku ngali
E. puwala-rarri thanturrrawirri
F. pananypa nyina Wanaranyku ngali
E. puwala-rarri thanturrrawirri
F. pananypa nyina Wanaranyku ngali

At Marlurarri a cork bark tree, the sound of wood on wood.
At Mulhawuru separate fires.
See spirit cut in half to the north.
The high tide comes up, the blue sea there.
Sandhills and dune grass.
At the edge of the sand we two are together at Wanarany.

The lines are sung in the following sequence:

A B A C D C D C D E F E ...

A. Marlurarri-nha thurnti pinkanarri
Marlurarri-PNM cork.tree sound.of.tree.being.hit

B. Mulhawuru-la ¹ karla nguyali nyina
Mulhawuru-LOC fire separate stop
   1. Mulhawuru is the pool at the mouth of the Robe River.

C. warithurrinynha ² wartantunha nhawu
   “spirit.cut.in.half” north see
   1. I can provide no good explanation for warithurrinynha except the gloss given by the singer.

¹ 2
2. I have no explanation for the -nha addition to this, or the next word. It may be the Proper Nominal marker (§3.1.2) or simply a syllable added to assist the metre.

D. parlura karlwa karralhangu ngunhu
    high.tide go.up blue.sea that

E. puwala-rarri\(^1\) thantururra-wirti\(^2\)
    sandhill-PL dune.grass-PL

1. -rarri is an idiosyncratic plural suffix such as occurs in Panyjima, Kurrama and Yindjibarndi but which is rare in the Martuthunira data (see §4.21). Idiosyncratic plurals typically indicate an undifferentiated group of some object, such as an expanse of grass, or a clump of trees. Here it implies a stretch of sandhills.

2. Algy Paterson described the form -wirti as a Yindjibarndi marker for a ‘mob’ of grasses. Thus it is presumably an idiosyncratic plural also.

F. pananypa\(^1\) nyina Wanaranyku\(^2\) ngali
    hard.sand stop Wanarany IDU

1. pananypa is the wet, hard beach, washed by the waves, between high-water and low-water marks.

2. Wanarany appears to have an accusative suffix here. I have no convincing explanation for this.

“Word come they found him, that man [the murdered man]. Finished travelling then. One more [song] I think. I can read that now, he [the song] is in that line. He had enough look around back there, but he made that song when he's coming back over to Yarraloola.”

A. jijarr ngurirri Karlangarringula
B. kamal wangkarla kartiyirririla
A. jijarr ngurirri Karlangarringula
B. kamal wangkarla kartiyirririla
A. jijarr ngurirri Karlangarringula
B. kamal wangkarla kartiyirririla
A. jijarr ngurirri Karlangarringula
C. marala jurti Jintiyumpurrula
D. kartikarlingku Kartuwarrala ngali
C. marala jurti Jintiyumpurrula
The smell of burning fat at Karlangarringu.
A vision of a camel as the traveller cuts across.
An echo comes to me at Jintiyumpurrur.
Come back by Kartuwarra.

The lines are sung in the following sequence:

A B A B A B A C D C ...

A. jijarr ngurirri Karlangarringu-la
burning.fat smell Karlangarringu-LOC

"Jijarr ngurirri, smelling grease. 'Stead of calling 'fat', that's in the juna travel. And the fat smell. Just like burning. They call it a jijarr. Just for that travelling time, you know.

[jijarr is used to refer to fat or grease specifically in the dream state. As a traveller flies he leaves behind the smell of burning kidney fat.]

"Karlangarringu-la, that's that four mile tabletop, that way from Red Hill [station homestead]. 'Sposed to be very danger hill, you know, when a maparn-ngarni marlpa [spirit-familiar-PROP man (Panyjima)], they all aim for that one. They reckon he's a, maparnkarra [magic] man, he see that sort of a, like a light inside of him [the hill]. And any traveller, traveller from anywhere, if they got the mangkarn [spirit], going to finish another fellas off, they take 'em there [into the heart of the hill] and cook 'em there, finish 'em. That's what it is, Karlangarringu."

[Karlangarringu, literally 'fire-lying', is thus named for its appearance in the dream state.]

B. kamal wangkarla kartiyirririla
camel traveller cutting.across

"Kamal wangkarla. Picture of camel you can see, in a way. Just like seeing things? Like a camel showing on your eyes? Like that now. Wangkarla, that's that traveller now. That maparn-ngarni, you know, wangkarla."

C. marala jurti Jintiyumpurrur-la
echo 1SG.POSS Jintiyumpurrur-LOC

"Echo, on the Jintiyumpurrur hill, he's a hill five mile from Red Hill that way, razorbacks, that's a Jintiyumpurrur. Marala's the echo. I don't know what, ..something. Might be like a 'cock-eye bob' (whirlwind), sort of like, you know, making noise."

D. kartikarlingku Kartuwarra-la ngali...
come.back Ten-mile mill-LOC 1DU
APPENDIX 3: MARTUTHUNIRA-ENGLISH WORD LIST

This list incorporates all Martuthunira lexical items recorded to date (excluding members of the closed nominal classes pronoun and demonstrative and the verbs based on these). Verb forms derived by the productive addition of Inchoative (§6.3.3) and Factitive/Causative (§6.3.4) suffixes are included (though this set does not exhaust the data).

Derived and compound words are indicated (where the etymology can be trusted). For example:

kalayamarta (n)  [kalaya-marta ‘handle-PROP’]  ‘billy can’  
yirrapuwa (n)  [yirra+puwa ‘teeth+rotten’]  ‘poor hunter’

Word class membership is indicated by the following abbreviations:

(int)  Interjection (§7.11)  
(nloc)  inherent locative nominal (§5.8)  
(ntemp)  inherent locative (temporal) nominal (§5.9)  
(npred)  nominal predicate taking an accusative object (§9.2.2)  
(part)  particle (Chapter 7)  
(va)  ambitransitive verb (optionally takes an object) (§6.1.3, §9.5.9)  
(vd)  ditransitive verb (takes two accusative objects) (§6.1.3)  
(vi)  intransitive verb (typically selects a single argument) (§6.1.3)  
(vt)  transitive verb (regularly takes an accusative object) (§6.1.3)

J

jaama-L (vi)  to yawn  
jaarnpama-L (vt)  to stop someone doing  
jaat (n)  shirt  
jaka jakara (n)  type of lizard; barking gecko  
jal.yarran (n)  frog  
jal.yu (n)  occiput  
jalaparra (n)  type of lizard  
jalurra (n)  type of song; corroboree  
jalwarr (n)  type of plant; river bluebell  
jalwinyjarr (n)  grey-martin  
jalya (n)  no good; rubbish; bereaved  
jalya-ma-L (vt)  to make bad  
jalya-npa-O (vi)  to be bad; to become bad  
jalyuru (n)  cave; hole; opening

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jalyunu (n)  
to make hole (in)

jalyurnpä-∅ (vi)  
to become open; to open up

jamana (n)  
foot

jami (n)  
bush medicine

jampa (n/temp)  
moment; short while; little while

jampajampa (n)  
close to death

jamulu (n)  
mouth

jamulungkura (n)  
moustache

jankalwayara (n)  
[to tie up HABIT] policeman

jankul (n)  
self

jankurna (n)  
emu

jankurnalu (int)  
We have an emu, get ready!

jankutharra (n)  
two brothers

janta (n)  
crippled; lame

jantira (n)  
old woman

jantiyinti (n)  
waterhen

janyjin (n)  
dance ornament; shavings of wood

janyju (n)  
arrogant

jartunmarra (n)  
rock wallaby

jawa (n)  
to suck

jawartu (n)  
bereaved mother

jawi (n)  
to bite at

jawurlamarta (n)  
[to beard-PROP] cobbler (catfish)

jawurta (n)  
beard

jaya (n)  
to escape to; to get free

jayinkul (n)  
sticking out

jiingku (n)  
corkbark tree

jil.yarta (n)  
pipe

jilampirra (n)  
clever

jilimantju (n)  
cormorant

jilimpilyura (n)  
mudlark

jilingka (n)  
on horseback

jimpu (n)  
egg

jina (n)  
track; footprint; foot

jina-nngku-NG (vt)  
to track
jinamirtali (n)  
   [jina+mirtali ‘foot+big’]  
camel  
jinari-Ø (vt)  
to ask  
ingkaari (nloc)  
   eastwards; upriver-wards  
ingkarni (nloc)  
   easterly; from upriver  
ingkayu (nloc)  
   east; upriver  
ингkilwa (n)  
   type of lizard; spinifex lizard  
jinkarn (n)  
   crowbar; walking stick; digging stick  
jinkirti (n)  
   spouse of grandparent/child  
jinkum-karri-Ø (vi)  
to sneeze  
jinpil (n)  
   plate  
jinpilinykura (n)  
   swallow  
jinpirtin (n)  
   sandpiper  
jintjinti (n)  
   Willie wagtail  
jintiyarra (n)  
   high tide  
jinyjanungu (n)  
   workers in initiation business; activists in initiation business  
jinyji (n)  
   fat; grease; free passage through initiation law  
jinyjiwarla (n)  
   fat person  
jipurta (n)  
   melon-like fruit of ‘jalwarr’ plant  
jiri (n)  
   spine; prickle; spike; thorn  
jirli (n)  
   upper arm; fin of turtle; fin of fish; arm  
jirlwa (n)  
   white; white ochre; ashes  
jirrijirri (n)  
   Willie wagtail  
jirri (n)  
   hunting site useless for speaker’s patrimoiey  
jirruna (n)  
   sneaky  
jirruna-npa-Ø (vt)  
to sneak up on  
jirti (n)  
   spark  
jirtinyal (n)  
   dripping water  
jirtupakura (n)  
   crayfish; prawn  
jiruna (n)  
   pelican  
jiwa (n)  
   surprised; shocked; upset  
jiwa-npa-Ø (vi)  
to be surprised; to be shocked  
jiwarra (n)  
   white  
jiwarra-L (vi)  
to shine (whitely)  
jiwurrara (n)  
   bony-bream fish  
julingara (n)  
   intestines  
julyu (n)  
   old man  
julyumarta (n)  
   blowfly  
jumpily-yarri-Ø (vi)  
to click fingers and blow raspberry  
jumpirirri (n)  
   knife; steel knife  
junyi-L (vt)  
to squeeze  
jurrri (n)  
   thin; sharp  
jurrri-ma-L (vt)  
to make sharp  
jurlu (n)  
   all  
jurlurlu (n)  
   stooped; bowed (of head); crouching down  
jurlwin (n)  
   grey hair; white man; white; European  
jurnawartu (n)  
   type of marsupial  
jurriny (n)  
   person who ignores avoidance relationships  
jurrkirta (n)  
   moon  
jurrura-L (vd)  
to point out something to someone; to blame someone for something
jurrrwalyi (n)
summer

jurrtiriri (n)
blue-winged kingfisher

juwayu (n)
hand

juwayumarta (n)
[juwayu-marta ‘hand-PROP’]
doctor

K

kaal-yarri-Ø (vi)
to click (of sinuses)

kaara (n)
hip

kaju (n)
axe

kal.ya (n)
still; quiet

kal.yarra-L (vi)
to urinate [impolite]

kal.yatharra (n)
gully

kalaya (n)
handle

kalayanarta (n)
[kalaya-marta ‘handle-PROP’]
billy can

kalharr (n)
earthworm

kalhawa-Ø (vi)
to finish doing

kalika (n)
one

kalwa (n)
crested pigeon

kalya (n)
waist

kalyaalya-ma-L (vt)
to make a big job of it (meal)

kalya-L (vt)
to bite

kalyaran (n)
tree; stick; wood

kalyarrarrarnu (n)
bladder

kalyarti (n)
lizard

kamarangka (n)
salmon; whiskered salmon

kamari (n)
mother’s younger sister

kampa-L (vt)
to burn; to cook

kampa-Ø (vi)
to be cooking; to be burning

kampalalha (n)
uncle [idiom: kampa-lalha ‘burn-PAST’]

kamparranguntharri (n)
[kampa-nnguntharri ‘cook-HABITNOM’]
kitchen

kampamu (n)
nephew

kamparta (n)
angry; restless

kamparta-ma-L (vt)
to make angry

kamparta-npa-Ø (vi)
to be angry

kamungu (n)
hungry; lusting

kana (part)
Rhetorically

kana (n)
visible; light; clear (of sky)

kanangkalwa-L (vt)
to make visible; to uncover

kanangka-npa-Ø (vi)
to come into the clear

kanangkal-kanangkaa-Ø (vi)
to become daylight

kanarrra (n)
wind

kanarri-Ø (vi)
to come

kangku-NG (vt)
to carry; to take; to bring

kangkurrya (n)
cobbler; type of fish

kanka (n)
happy; satisfied

kanka-npa-Ø (vi)
to boast; to show off

kankarni (n)
on top; above

kankarni-npa-Ø (vi)
to be above; to get to the top

kankarmayi (n)
piled up

kanpari-Ø (vt)
to call out to [avoidance language for wangka-L ‘speak’]
kanparr (n)
spider

kanpi-L (vt)
to winnow

kanta (n)
leg; shin

kantathuma (n)
bandy-legged

kantanarra (n)
[kanta+wanarra ‘leg+long’]
tall; tall person

kantinmarta (n)
type of snake

kantungarra (n)
storm cloud

kanu (n)
stingray; shark; elasmobranch fishes

kanyara (n)
man; person; human being; Aboriginal person

kanyara-npa-Ø (vi)
to become human

kanyja-R (vt)
to hold; to keep

kapajya (n)
bird

kapalya (n)
bird

kaparli (n)
mother's father's sister

kapukurta (n)
owlet-nightjar

kapul (n)
body

kapulmarnu (n)
[kapul-marnu ‘body-ASSOC’]
shirt

kapun (n)
person; man [avoidance language]

karalu (nloc)
south

karalari (nloc)
southwards

karalarni (nloc)
southerly

kari (n)
bitter; grog; liquor

karijingu (n)
drunkard

karima-L (vi)
to jump

karimal-karimal (n)
jumpy; jumping up and down

karimarra (n)
section name

kariya-L (vi)
to thrust out body part; to show

karla (n)
fire; firewood; matches

karla-ma-L (vt)
to light; to make a fire (of firewood)

karlamara (n)
whistling kite

karlamarnu (n)
[karla-marnu ‘fire-ASSOC’]
place on thigh where punishment spear is inserted

karlarra (n)
hot

karlarra-ma-L (vt)
to heat

karlarra-npa-Ø (vi)
to be hot; to get hot

karlawirruwa (n)
dragonfly

karli (n)
cheek bone

karlumpu (n)
type of plant; wild tomato

karluwirra (n)
excessively; enthusiastically

karluyu (n)
diamond dove

karlwa-Ø (vi)
to go up; to get up; to rise; to climb

karnka (n)
clever; inventive

karnka-npa-Ø (vi)
to be inventive; to show off

karnkamarra (n)
inventive person; clever man

karnku (n)
bosses in initiation business; mourners in initiation business

karnkurrurru (n)
dust

karnta (n)
tears

karntarra (n)
sinew; root of tree above ground; Achilles tendon

karnti (n)
tail

karnturr (n)
mulga
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>karra</td>
<td>thicket; scrub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karri-Ø</td>
<td>to stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karrulyu</td>
<td>shingle; money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karrwanyja</td>
<td>rock partridge; rock pigeon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karrwijji</td>
<td>bullet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karrya</td>
<td>kite hawk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karryari-Ø</td>
<td>to crouch on haunches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karta</td>
<td>thigh bone; bony; bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karta-L</td>
<td>to harpoon; to poke; to chop; to stab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kartara</td>
<td>jaw bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kartara-la-ma-L</td>
<td>to put in cheek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kartarapuka</td>
<td>whale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kartarawurri-Ø</td>
<td>to come around (a corner)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kartarr</td>
<td>firmly; tightly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kartari</td>
<td>conch; bailer shell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kartathalwayara</td>
<td>tomahawk; axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kartawura</td>
<td>penis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kartawurru</td>
<td>root of tongue; butt of tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kartayarwara</td>
<td>type of plant; ground creeper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kartayu</td>
<td>nasal bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kartingka</td>
<td>alongside; beside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karturra</td>
<td>sister [avoidance language]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kartutharra</td>
<td>lie on one's back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kartuwarli</td>
<td>straight-tailed burrowing marsupial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karunyunyja</td>
<td>wether</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawankura</td>
<td>wind from south</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawarli</td>
<td>father's mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawungka</td>
<td>sitting on eggs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawurru</td>
<td>type of medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaya</td>
<td>elder brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kayarra</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kayawurru</td>
<td>copper tail snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kayiri</td>
<td>dance ornament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kayulu</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kayulumarnu</td>
<td>hollow in shoulder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kayulumarnu</td>
<td>son's wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kayurtu</td>
<td>smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiirrkiirr</td>
<td>banded plover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kujawari</td>
<td>whale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukunyjayi</td>
<td>sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kul.ya</td>
<td>thinking; deep in thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kul.yakarta</td>
<td>socialised; understanding; civilized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kul.yakarta-ma-L</td>
<td>to make civilised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kul.yakarta-npa-Ø</td>
<td>to become civilised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kul.yawurta</td>
<td>type of acacia with edible seeds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulaya-L</td>
<td>to test; to try out; to feel; to taste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulha</td>
<td>type of plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulhamarra</td>
<td>calf of leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuhlampa</td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulhany</td>
<td>squashed; crushed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kulhany-ma-L (vt)
to squash; to crush

kulhawulha (n)
heaped up; grouped together

kulhawulha-ma-L (vt)
to heap up; to round up

kulhawulha-npa-Ø (vi)
to come together into a group

kulhi-L (vt)
to bury; to put away

kulhuwari (n)
soft

kulhuwari-ma-L (vt)
to make soft

kulirr (n)
galah

kuliya (n)
ear

kuliya-L (vt)
to hear

kuliya-npa-Ø (vi)
to think; to believe

kuliya-ri-Ø (vi)
to feel; to be aware of state of health

kuliyaawanarra (n)
[kuliya+w Narrar ‘ear+long’]
donkey

kuluwirri (n)
type of snake

kulyama-L (vd)
to pay back; to give someone something in return for something

kulyirri (n)
shell parrot; budgerigar

kumi (n)
shaking chest in dance

kuningkarri-Ø (vi)
to shake chest while dancing

kumin (n)
mosquito

kuna (n)
faeces

kunanyja-L (vt)
to defecate on

kungala (n)
bereaved father

kunhan (n)
nipple

kunhu (n)
still; at rest

kuni (n)
clenched; closed up

kuni-ma-L (vt)
to clench (fist); to close up

kunkuwarr (n)
honey

kunmayirti (n)
reliable hunter; good hunter

kuntha (n)
long beard

kunthamarta (n)
[kuntha-marta ‘beard-PROP’]
Chinaman

kuntharri (n)
blackduck

kuntharti (n)
tail

kuntarra (n)
halting; giving up; finishing

kuntarra-ma-L (vt)
to stop doing

kunti (part)
stop doing

kunti-ri-Ø (vt)
to stop doing; to give up; to leave behind

kuntilywa (n)
hot sand (for cooking)

kunyjankura (n)
whirlwind

kupiyaji (n)
small ones; little ones

kupiyaji-ma-L (vt)
to make into small pieces

kupuyu (n)
small; little

kupuyu-Ø (vi)
to become small

kupuyuwaja (n)
little one (diminutive)

kur.ta (n)
expert; talented; clever

kur.ta-Ø (vi)
to become talented; to be expert

kur.ta-ri-Ø (vi)
to become talented; to be expert

kur.tamparra (n)
old fellow

kurarra (n)
camel bush

kurilkura (n)
Pacific gull; seagull

kurlany (n)
stone knife; knife
kurlkura (n)  
hair
kurlu (n)  
hot
kurlu-npa-Ø (vi)  
to get hot
kurlurrkura (n)  
blackemu
kurluwa (n)  
rock cod
kurlwurr (n)  
rock pigeon; topknot pigeon
kurnangu (n)  
black
kurnangu-ma-L (vt)  
to make something black
kurnta (n)  
shame; respect language style
kurnta-Ø (vi)  
to speak respectfully; to show respect;  
to be ashamed
kurntal (n)  
daughter
kurnturu (n)  
puffball fungus
kurntuwurntu (n)  
down of bird
kurra (n)  
dance ornament
kurrau (n)  
elbow
kurrayi (n)  
pink schnapper
kurrinyyi (nloc)  
this way
kurrawurru (n)  
magpie
kurrawaya (n)  
type of tree; cassia
kurryaria (n)  
spear; hunting spear
kurryu (n)  
hole; trench; hollow
kurryu-ma-L (vt)  
to make a hole; to make a trench
kurryuwwurryu (n)  
bumpy
kurramarringka (n)  
pair of brothers
kuratan (n)  
bag

kurtarti-Ø (vi)  
to swim
kurti (n)  
bandicoot
kurti-L (vt)  
to collect; to gather
kuulhu (n)  
tadpole
kuurra (n)  
dance ornament
kuurtu (n)  
spotted dove
kuwarri (nloc)  
now; beginning
kuwarriwa (n)  
new
kuwayi (int)  
Hey, I've spotted something!
kuwithartu (nloc)  
this direction; this way
kuwithartu-ma-L (vt)  
to move something this way
kuwilya-wuyu (nloc)  
this side of
kuyil (n)  
bad
kuyil.yarri-Ø (vi)  
to feel bad
kuyilarrri-Ø (vi)  
to become bad; to go bad
kuyilwa-L (vt)  
to make bad; to ruin
kuyuranguru (n)  
other side (of river)
kuyurr (n)  
bundle of implements

maan (n)  
seed
maawurrangu (n)  
storm cloud; southern storm front
majun (n)  
turtle
makaran (n)  
type of plant
mal.yan (n)  
stone dead
mal.yarru (n)  
very good
malarnu (n)
shade

malaya (n)
mullamulla bush

malha (n)
crushed; flattened
malha-ma-L (vt)
to crush

malhangu (n)
sandpaper fig

malhurta (n)
middle brothers; middle fingers; middle child

malumalu (n)
darkness
malumalu-npa-Ø (vi)
to become dark

malwuma-L (vt)
to make happy; to cheer up

malwunpa-Ø (vt)
to help

malyarra (n)
sick; pain
malyarra-L (vi)
to be sick; to be hurting; to be in pain
malyarra-ma-L (vt)
to make sick; to hurt
malyarra-npa-Ø (vi)
to become sick; to get sick

malyun (n)
type of fish

mama (n)
father's brother

manamana (n)
swift of foot
manamana-npa-Ø (vi)
to hurry

manarra (n)
seamullet

manarri-Ø (vt)
to shake hand; to take hand

mangi (n)
marsupial mouse

mangkalyi (n)
circumciser

mangkarn (n)
spirit; soul

mangkurtura (n)
spearthrower

mangu (n)
cheek bone

mangumangu (n)
barbed spear

manguwa-ma-L (vt)
to put in cheek

manhamanha (n)
awkward; shaky

manhamanha-ma-L (vt)
to make awkward

manhamanha-npa-Ø (vi)
to do awkwardly

manhurr (n)
brave; game

maningka (nloc)
in front of

manku-NG (vt)
to grab; to pick up

manku-lha-ma-L (vt)
to make grab

manpurr (n)
knee

manta-L (vt)
to bind up; to tie up; to wrap up

mantarriwarrti (n)
group of sons; group of father's brothers

mantarriya (n)
pair of sons; pair of father's brothers

mantha (n)
greedy

manthamarnu (n)
[mantha-marnu 'greedy-ASSOC']
palm of hand

manthawarla (n)
greedy person

manthu (n)
termite

manurri-Ø (vi)
to slow down

manurru (n)
type of tree

manyarra (n)
sugar

manyjan (n)
groundcover

manyjangu (n)
stranger

manyjilyura (n)
type of lizard

manyjupi (n)
echidna

mara (n)
hand

maralya (n)
devil
mararta (n)  
eldest sibling; eldest child
mari (n)  
younger sister
mariri (n)  
tame; quiet
marlara (n)  
road
marlawiji (n)  
type of shark
marli (n)  
cadjeput tree; paper; paperbark
marlpara (n)  
surrounded
marlwalany (n)  
cockroach bush
marmmarankarla (n)  
wing
marnpi (n)  
bronzewing pigeon
marra (n)  
lower arm
marntamirra (n)  
eel
marnthanu (n)  
fishing net
marnthanu-ma (vt)  
to make a fishing net (of spinifex)
marnthanumarta (n)  
[paminthu-marta 'net-PROP']
policeman
marnthura (n)  
urine
marnthura-ma (vt)  
to urinate [polite term]
marnthuru (n)  
little boy
marra (n)  
wing; flipper of turtle
marrari (n)  
voice: news; word; story
marran-wirra-npa (vi)  
to keep quiet
marringkari (vt)  
to wave to
marruwa (n)  
snakewood
marruwama (vt)  
to wake up
marryara (n)  
younger brother
mартма (vt)  
to press down on
martarr (n)  
red ochre
martiju (n)  
father's sister
martiwarti (n)  
unwrapped; unrolled
martiwarti-ma (vt)  
to unwrap; to unroll
martungkura (n)  
ibis; island
martura (n)  
middle; centre; genitals; middle brothers; middle child; middle finger
martura-la (vt)  
to gang up on; to put in the middle
martuwari (n)  
type of rushes
marulwa (vt)  
to cause trouble for
marumaru (n)  
dusk
marumaru-npa (vi)  
to become dusk
maruwarla (n)  
many; some
mawarrrkara (n)  
magic man; doctor
mawuntu (n)  
punishment spear
mawurarra (n)  
dance ornament; headpiece
mawurruru (vt)  
later; afterwards
mayarta (n)  
right-handed
mayawurru (n)  
boss of fishing party
mayili (n)  
father's father
mayilinya (n)  
pair of father's fathers
mayitha (n)  
Children's Python
mijara (n)  
egg
mil.yara (n)  
fork of tree; groin
mil.yiran (n)  
pregnant
to hide
parallel cousin
buttocks
type of fish
type of fish

parallel cousin

type of fish

meeting to sort out kin relationships

clean
red schnapper
mother's brother

mother's brother and sister's child pair;
uncle and sister's child

centipede
ant

hipbone
kite hawk

alone

two alone

they (PL) alone

type of plant; rice

type of plant; type of creeper

type of spinifex; soft spinifex

dry leaves; tinder; plant rubbish;
flotsam; seaweed
to shoot

hammerhead shark

fingernail; claw; spoon

Gould's Sand Goanna
together

fingernail; claw
type of tree
caterpillar

rasp for speargun; stick used as
musical rasp with speargun

shovel-nose shark

spearthrower

No!

not

dee (of voice); thick; big
to become big

white

water snake (mythical); rainbow
serpent

big brother

neonate marsupial; initiand; foetus

underneath; beneath

clever; good teacher

cat

nose; point (of implement)
to appear to have no nose
to sharpen; to fix a point to

[mulha+jurirri ‘nose+sharp’]
fox

stripe; direct; straight; correct
to straighten; to make straight; to correct
mulurru-ma-L (vi)
to go straight; to go direct
mulyangku (n)
meeting
mulyaru (n)
carpet snake
mulyira (n)
dingo
mungka-L (vt)
to eat
mungka-nguntharri (n)
edible animal
mungkangu (n)
red ochre
muntungara (n)
wife's family
mura (n)
son
murla (n)
meat; game
murlimurli (n)
twisted; stirred
murlimurli-ma-L (vt)
to twist; to stir
murlun (n)
gizzard of emu
murra (n)
close; nearby
murra-npa-Ø (vt)
to get closer to
murra-ngka-npa-Ø (vt)
to come up close to
murra-ngka-Ø (vi)
to come up (of sun)
murti-L (vt)
to take from
murrimurri (n)
curly (of hair)
murruwanti (n)
bereaved sister
murryamurrya (n)
dance style; dance step with knee lifting
murti (n)
膝; fast
murti-ina-L (vt)
to make go fast
murti-tingku-NG (vt)
to run behind; to run after
murtinurli (n)
very fast; swift (of current)
murtiwana (n)
sitting with one leg crossed
murtiwarla (n)
fast; motorcar
murtiwarla-npa-Ø (vi)
to become a fast runner
murtiwarriwiwa (n)
[murti-warrriwa 'fast-PRIV']
child before it can walk
murrru (n)
type of plant
muthu (n)
cold
muthu-nguli-Ø (vi)
to feel cold
muthu-npa-Ø (vi)
to become cold; to get cold
muthumuthu (n)
cool
muthumuthu-npa-Ø (vt)
to make cool
muthumuthu-npa-Ø (vi)
to become cool; to cool down
muya-L (vt)
to steal
muyal,yi (n)
thief
muyi (n)
dog
muyinu (n)
hidden; stolen
muyinu-ma-L (vt)
to hide
muyinu-npa-Ø (vi)
to hide
muyiwiya-L (vt)
to gossip about; to slander
muyiwiya-nguntharri (n)
butt of gossip

ngaa (int)
Yes, go on!
ngaantangu (n)
lower grindstone
ngajaju (n)
mother's brother's son
ngajala (n)
sister's child; mother's brother's son's child
ngalangala (n)
thinking about nothing
ngalangala-npa-L (vt)
to forget about

ngalarri-Ø (vt)
to forget

ngalathathu-L
to send wrongly; to send deceivingly

ngalawangka-Ø (vt)
to lie; to tell lies

ngalhung-ngalhung (n)
kidney; earlobe

ngalirr (n)
sharp spine

ngalirrmarta (n)
[ngalirr-marta ‘spine-PROP’]
cobbler

ngal.ya (n)
fire-hardened sharp stump; firestick

ngal.yaa-L (vt)
to spin (firestick)

ngalyantara (n)
type of tree

ngalyari (n)
urine

ngalyurti (n)
sit holding knees

ngamari (n)
tobacco

ngamarrri (n)
liver

nganangka-L (vt)
to fail to recognise

ngangka (n)
mother

ngangkari (n)
own mother's brother's daughter

ngangkariyarra (n)
mantaray

nganiyarrangu (n)
group of kin; large family group

ngankiyanhu (n)
thumb; eldest child

nganthari (n)
tooth; sharp

nganthari-ma-L (vt)
to sharpen

nganthirr (n)
fast asleep

nganturla (n)
at nest

nganyi (n)
mother-in-law; sister's son's wife

nganyjali (n)
proscribed object

nganyjalyura (n)
octopus

nganyurta (n)
sweating

nganyurta-npa-Ø (vi)
to sweat

ngapala (n)
mud; muddy; boggy

ngapala-ma-L (vt)
to make mud

ngapari (n)
father's mother; daughter's child

ngaranti (n)
black duck

ngaruwany (n)
nut of rush

ngarnawarra (n)
Little Corella

ngarningka (n)
gathering food

ngarniwurtu (n)
hot to taste; savage; policeman; type of fish

ngarmmarr (n)
belly (hollow of); midriff

ngarnngarn (n)
chin

ngarnta (n)
sore; wound

ngarnta-ma-L (vt)
to make sore

ngartalu (n)
bream; seabream

ngartarrwa-Ø (vt)
to recognise

ngarrami-Ø (vi)
to get stuck

ngarrawurlu (n)
facing other way

ngarraya (n)
daughter's sister; son's wife

ngarrawyija (n)
mythical giant dingo

ngarta (n)
blank; raw material for implement

ngartawirri (n)
long-necked tortoise

ngarti (ntemp)
again; next

ngaru (n)
scrotum
ngatha kamparnu (n)
own daughter's sister

ngathal (n)
mother's brother's son

ngathalwarnti (n)
group of cross-cousins

ngawayi (n)
thing

ngawayi-npa-Ø (vi)
to do something; to become something

ngawayu (n)
turn

ngawayu-npa-Ø (vt)
to do in turn to

ngawu (int)
Yes indeed!

ngawurr (n)
froth; foam

ngawurri (n)
mixed up

ngawirri-ma-L (vt)
to mix up

ngawurri-npa-Ø (vi)
to become mixed up

ngawurrtmarta (n)

[ngawurr-marta ‘froth-PROP’]

soap; beer

ngawurtn (n)
wild cucumber; type of creeper

ngaya-Ø (va)
to cry

ngayalyu: (n)
devil; cousin

ngayiny (n)
breath

ngayiny-karri-Ø (vi)
to breathe

ngayurrwa (n)
mangrove

nginingini (n)
type of crab; small brown crab

ngukara-npa-Ø (vi)
to not want

ngula (part)
Ignorantly particle

ngulyun (n)
omentum

ngulyurr (n)
bridge of nose

ngunarr (n)
type of medicinal plant

ngungku (n)
strong; heavy

ngunirmi (n)
this way; up to here

ngurangura (n)
handsome; stylish

ngurangura-npa-Ø (vi)
to be stylish; to swagger

ngurirri-Ø (vi)
to emit odour; to smell; to stink

nguritha-L (vt)
to sniff; to smell

ngurnta (n)
style; character

ngurnta-ma-L (vt)
to give character to

ngurnta-npa-Ø (vi)
to go or move in a particular way

ngurntura (n)
cold virus; cold in head

ngurra (n)
camp; ground; country

ngurra-arta-npa-Ø (vi)
to go towards camp

ngurra-ma-L (vi)
to make camp

ngurra-ngka-npa-Ø (vi)
to arrive in camp; to get to camp

ngurrara (n)
big

ngurra-yurralwayara (n)

[ngurra+yurra-lwayara ‘ground+dig-HABIT’]
digging stick

ngurriny (n)
swag; things; belongings

ngurriny-ma-L (vt)
to make a swag; to roll a swag

ngurrinymarta (n)

[ngurrinymarta ‘belongings-PROP’]

little girl

ngurrungurrura (n)
hornet

nguthina (n)
lightning; thunder

nguu (n)
face

nguyi (n)
dream

nguyi-ma-L (vt)
to dream about

nguyirri (n)
asleep

nguyirri-ma-L (vt)
to put to sleep
nguyirri-npa-∅ (vi)
to fall asleep
nguyirri-warlaya-npa-∅ (vi)
to become a sleepy person
nguyirri-wiraa-ma-L (vt)
to prevent from sleeping
nguyirrimaru (n)
    [nguyirri-maru 'sleep-ASSOC']
        Sunday
nhaankurti (n)
circumciser
nhaarnji (n)
circumcisee; initiate
nhakajiyarra (n)
    uncle and niece married couple
nhamali (n)
    rock cod
nhanka (n)
    nape of neck
nhamu (n)
    grave; sand; dirt
dead adder
nharra (n)
    lip
nharryarrangu (n)
    ti-tree
nhawani (n)
    clean; clear
    nhawani-ma-L (vt)
        to make clear; to make clean
    nhawani-npa-∅ (vi)
        to become clear
    nhawu-NG (vt)
        to see; to look at
nhawungarra (n)
    looking out for oneself; looking after
    nhawungarra-ma-L (vt)
        to look out for oneself; to look after; to see clearly
nhimu (n)
    spinifex mouse
nhinha (n)
    foreskin
nhuka (n)
    devil
nhumira (n)
    penis [impolite]
nhungkurn (n)
    rotten; stinking
nhuniri (n)
    type of rushes
nhurrti (n)
    dead

nhurrti-npa-∅ (vi)
    to die
nhurrti-ma-∅ (vt)
    to kill
nhurirra (n)
    stinking; smelly
nhurta (n)
    savage; angry; wild
nhurta-npa-∅ (va)
    to be angry (with)
nhuunu (n)
    spouse of grandparent

nhuunuwa (n)
    married couple [generation ± 2]
nhuura (npred)
    knowing
    nhuura-ma-L (vd)
        to teach; to show
    nhuura-npa-∅ (vt)
        to learn
    nhuura-tri-∅ (vt)
        to realise

nhuurr-yarri-∅ (vi)
    to snore

nhuwa-L (vt)
    to spear

nhuwarra (n)
    married couple [generation ± 1]
nyalinyali (n)
    dressed up; handsome

nyalyu (n)
    pubic hair
nyamarr (n)
    pearl shell
nyamina (n)
    dugong

nyamiyarri-∅ (vi)
    to chew

nyangkurri-∅ (vi)
    to play
    nyangkurri-ingku-NG (vt)
        to play through (a ceremony)
    nyangkurri-tha-L (vt)
        to play with

nyanti (n)
    eyebrow

nyanyji (n)
    initiand; pre-initiate

nyarranyarra (n)
    light
    nyarranyarra-ma-L (vt)
        to make light
nyarri (n) eyebrow
nyarrimanthu (n) eyelash
nyartu (r) left-handed
nyartu (n) feathers of emu
nyil.yi (n) breastbone; sternum
nyil.yu (n) stomach
nyimari (n) zebra finch
nyimi (n) rib; side of hill
nyimu (n) mouse
nyina-O (vi) to sit; to be; to stay
nyinanguntharri (n) [nyina-nguntharri ‘sit-HABITNOM]
chair; saddle
nyinarri (n) type of plant
nyingkurlu (n) first; front
nyingkurluwinparri (n) [nyinkurlu+winparri ‘front+long’] horse
nyintirri (n) hip
nyinu (n) brother-in-law
nyinungarranthi (n) group of brothers-in-law
nyinuwa(rra) (n) pair of brothers-in-law
nyinuwarriti (n) group of brothers-in-law
nyiri (n) zebra finch
nyirri (n) type of bush
nyirringu (n) youngest child; little finger
nyirrya (n) half red bloodwood tree
nyirti (n) avoidance relative; in-law
nyirtiwa (n) married couple [where one is nyirti to speaker]; wife’s brother/sister’s husband [through daughter exchange]
nyirtimalingka (n) group of kin related through daughter exchange
nyirtimangkurru (n) poor fellow
nyitha (n) navel
nyiju (n) wrist
nyiyini-initial [jinyjanungu speaking]
nyululu (n) [karnku speaking]
yuni-O (vi) to drown
nyurrta (n) [grandparents speaking]
yurru (n) mucus
nyurrumarnu (n) [nyurru-marnu ‘mucus-ASSOC’] nostril
nyuulu (n) underwater
nyuulu-npa-O (vi) to dive underwater
nyuwi-L (vt) to poke with a stick; to feel with a stick

P

paalhu (n) crane
paampaarn (n) silly
pajapajangu (n) type of seagull
paju (part) very; really
pajura-O (vi) to go; to walk well
pakanta (n) cyclone
pakuypaku (n) bellbird
pal.ya (n)  
    temple

pal.yarra (n)  
   clearing; plain; bald

pal.yarranyungu (n)  
   [pal.yarra-nyungu 'plain-DWELL']
   plains kangaroo

pal.yarrawutinyjiir (n)  
    pipit

pal.yarri (n)  
    section name

pal.yarringu (n)  
    bloodwood tree

pal.yu (n)  
    piece of something

pal.yunyji (n)  
    rock python

pal.yura (n)  
    flat

pala  
    Identification particle

palalyi (ntemp)  
    before; early in time

palha (n)  
    younger brother [female speaking]

palharra (n)  
    parrot fish; green

palwarru (n)  
    truly

palwarrmarta (n)  
    gecko

palya (n)  
    skinny; thin

palyangu (n)  
    closed; covered

palyangu-ma-L (vt)  
    to close; to cover

palyangu-npa-0 (vi)  
    to become covered; to become closed

palykura (n)  
    flat

palykura-ma-L (vt)  
    to lay flat

pamara-rri-Ø (vt)  
    to call out to

panaka (n)  
    section name

panga (n)  
    itch

panga-ngara-rri-Ø (vi)  
    to be itchy

panganypa (n)  
    ready waiting

pangkalha (n)  
    bark; foreskin; skin of snake

pangkira (n)  
    protruding; bite of insect; lump

pani-L (vi)  
    to grind

paniya (n)  
    eye

paniya-la-ma-L (vt)  
    to offend

paniya-npa-Ø (vi)  
    to wake up

paniya-wirraa-ma-L (vt)  
    to make not to see

pankirti (n)  
    short one-piece practice spear

pannga (n)  
    dish

panthawari (n)  
    black goanna

panthu-L (vt)  
    to feel; to touch

panyi-L (vt)  
    to kick; to dance; to step

panyjuna (n)  
    young goanna

panyu (n)  
    good

panyu-ma-L (vt)  
    to make good

panyu-npa-Ø (va)  
    to become good; to be good to

panyu-rri-Ø (vi)  
    to become good

panyurarra (n)  
    pair of step-brothers

panyurawarmi (n)  
    group of step-brothers

paparti (int)  
    Oh damn!

papu (n)  
    father

papungali (n)  
    our father

papuyi (n)  
    father's sister

pari (n)  
    flat; lying flat

pari-ingku-NG (vt)  
    to hit; to crush; to smash
parilha (ntemp)
still
parilha-npa-Ø (vt)
to keep trying; to keep on doing
parla (n)
money; rock; stone; hill
parlu (n)
top; high; head and thorax; cliff
parlu-ngka-npa-Ø (vt)
to become high up
parlu-thartu (n)
facing upwards; vertical; pointing upwards
parlunyungu (n)
[parlu-nyungu ‘high-DWELL’]
aeroplane; bird
patura (n)
full
patura-ma-L (vt)
to fill
patura-npa-Ø (vi)
to become full
parlwarrumarta (n)
gecko; barking gecko
parlwiya-L (vt)
to straighten
parna (n)
head
parna-ngka-L (vt)
to put on head
parnangarti (n)
head ornament worn by men at initiation business
parnanti (n)
blue-tongue lizard
parnparn (n)
twenty-eight parrot
parnpingku-NG (vt)
to throw on ground
parnta-L (vt)
to rain on
parntalha (n)
blister
parntalha-warntalha-npa-Ø (vi)
to become blistered
parntayarrri-Ø (vi)
to explode
parnti-Ø (vt)
to smell
parra (int)
Go on, do it!
parra-L (vt)
to leave behind; to hit (in eye)
parralha (n)
type of turtle
parralhara (n)
centipede
parrani-Ø (vi)
to return
parrani-lha-ma-L (vt)
to bring back
parrara (n)
wide
parrarta (n)
dance ornament
parrawarra (n)
shivering; shaking
parrawarra-rii-Ø (vi)
to shiver; to shake
parriminti (n)
mythical water-serpent
parru (int)
I can see it!
parru (n)
devil; enemy
parrun (n)
barking
parrungkarri-Ø (vt)
to growl at
parrunta-parrunta(n)
barking continuously
parruwuru (n)
upper grindstone; kneecap
parrwuri (n)
wet
parrwuri-ma-L (vt)
to make wet
parryara (n)
shoulder-blade; flat
partanyji (n)
big
partara (n)
ankle
partarapari (n)
rifle
partararra (n)
horn
partiwarti (n)
windpipe
partunya (n)
wild onion
paru (n)
buck spinifex
patha-R (vt)
to blow; to hit (with thrown implement)
patharri-Ø (vi)
to fight
pawulu (n)
child
pawulu-ngara-npa-Ø (vi)
to be about to have children
pawurra (n)
father and son couple
paya (n)
wild; cheeky; angry
paya-npa-Ø (va)
to become angry (at); to growl at; to be angry (at)
paya-L (vt)
to drink
payamalu (n)
type of snake
payiwanarra (n)
plains kangaroo
pil.yawirri (n)
windstorm from south-west
pil.yi (n)
sitting cross-legged; flat rock
pil.yi-npa-Ø (vi)
to flatten down
pilakurta (n)
carpenter; expert
pilamurrya (n)
type of tree
pilarna (n)
cloud
pilharni (n)
galah
pilurru (n)
correct
pil.yu (n)
Children's Python
pinhu (n)
feel good
pinhu-ma-L (vt)
to call by a kinship term; to make feel good; to thank
pinkarranyu (n)
dry
pinkarranyu-ma-L (vt)
to dry
pinkarranyu-npa-Ø (vi)
to become dry
pinkarranyu-rri-Ø (vi)
to feel dry (in throat)
pintiri (n)
beach above highwater mark
pintirrijila (n)
scattered; spread out
pintirrijila-ma-L (vt)
to share out; to distribute; to scatter about
pintura (n)
wave
pintura-pintura (n)
ripples
pinyjakunti (n)
spinifex head-pad; windmill
pinyjawinyja (n)
shaken
pinyjawinyja-ma-L (vt)
to shake
pinyjulu (n)
penis [polite]
pinyjura (n)
rope
pinyjuramarta (n)
shark
pipi (n)
mother
pirirri (n)
initiated; passed through law
pirlu (n)
buttocks; upper buttocks
pidunyji (n)
square-tailed kite
pirri (n)
finger
pirrimanta (n)
light-fingered; fiddler
pirrimanta-npa-Ø (vt)
to play with; to fiddle with
pirri (n)
stalk of spinifex; matchstick
pirriyarta (n)
belongings; own thing; genitals
pirrupirru (n)
rainbow bird
pirrya (n)
eggshell
pirryin (n)
native cat; mulgara
pirta (n)
nest
pirtiarrangu (n)
kurara bush
pirtu (n)
fingernail; claw
pirtumanthu (n)
good hunter
pirtuwangu (n)  
prisoner; initiate

pirtuwangu-ma-L (vt)  
to capture an initiate; to make prisoner

pithangara (n)  
cork tree

pithirri (n)  
chill; cold

pithirri-npa-Ø (vi)  
to catch a chill

piwi (n)  
milk; breast

piya-L (vt)  
to sing

piyaa (ini)  
On the contrary!

piyulu (n)  
yellow ochre

piyulunykarta (n)  
yolk of egg

piyuwa (int)  
Not at all!; Nothing!

piyuwa (n)  
finished

piyuwa-ma-L (vt)  
to finish off; to destroy; to kill

piyuwa-npa-Ø (vi)  
to die; to finish

pukanyjarti (n)  
potbelly

pukarra (n)  
firewood

pukarra-ma-L (vi)  
to build a fire

pukarrpukarr (n)  
old ones; ancients; old people

pukarti (n)  
snakewood

pukurra (n)  
device

pul.ya (n)  
wax of spinifex

pul.yan (n)  
pelvis

pul.yu (n)  
chewing quid

pulhanyji (n)  
doctor

pulhapulhara (n)  
mudskipper fish

pulhurrungu (n)  
wind from east

puliyanyja (n)  
old person

pulwu (n)  
axe

pulyawulya (n)  
shaken

pulyawulya-ma-L (vt)  
to shake

punawurru (n)  
type of spinifex; coarse spinifex

punga (n)  
stomach; guts

punga-nguli-Ø (vi)  
to have a stomach ache

pungapangkira (n)  
[punga+pangkira ‘guts+protruding’]  
flagon; potbelly

pungajarti (n)  
pot-gutted; potbelly

pungka-Ø (vi)  
to fall; to sink

pungkanyu (n)  
woman

punhalangu (n)  
small of back

punhu (n)  
anus

punhukunkurru (n)  
upended; upside down

punhukunkurru-wa-L (vt)  
to upend

puni-Ø (vi)  
to go

punina (n)  
type of plant

punkali (n)  
sister-in-law; mother's brother's daughter

punkurri (n)  
covered

punkurri-ma-L (vt)  
to cover (over)

punkurri-npa-Ø (vi)  
to be covered

punkurri-tha-L (vt)  
to cover over

punkurrimarnu (n)  
[punkurri-marnu ‘covered-ASSOC’]  
blanket

punkuwunku (n)  
rolled up
punkuwunku-ma-L (vt)
to roll up
puntha-Ø (vi)
to swim; to wash
puntha-L (vt)
to wash
puntharri-Ø (vi)
to bleed; to break (body part)
puntharri-nguli-Ø (vi)
to feel cold
punyjalu (n)
mist; dew; fog
punyjarti (n)
generous
puraa-L (vi)
to go
puranyi-L (vt)
to see
puri (n)
lungs
purinypuriny (n)
breeze
puriya (n)
sea
purlu (n)
coccyx
purluthan (n)
walking
purnijji (n)
spine; back
purnijikarta (n)
[‘purnijji+karta’ ‘back+bony’]
shell of turtle;
shell of tortoise
purnijipangkira (n)
[‘purnijji+pangkira’
‘back+protruding’]
camel
punta (n)
hole
punta-ma-L (vt)
to make hole
purntura (n)
rolled up
pumumpuru (n)
quiet
pumumpuru-npa-Ø (vi)
to become quiet
purra-L (vt)
to hit; to shoot
purralwayara (n)
[‘purra-lwayara’ ‘hit-HABIT’]
axe
purrkuru (n)
truly
purruru (n)
hairstring belt
pururu-marnu (n)
[‘pururu-marnu’ ‘belt-ASSOC’]
waist
purtatharta (n)
dance ornament
purtuwarri (n)
curlybark tree
puruwurru (n)
together
purula (n)
heart
purungu (n)
section name
putangara (n)
Gould's Sand Goanna
puu (nloc)
gone; going; far.NOM
puyii (nloc)
far.ACC
puyiirta (nloc)
far.ALL
puyila (nloc)
far.LOC
puungka-L (vt)
to blow (with mouth)
puuthuni (n)
head of spear
puuuthuni-marta-ma-L (vt)
to attach a spearhead to
puwa (n)
rotten
puwala (n)
sandhill
puwany (n)
hunting for meat
puwara (n)
charcoal
puwara-npa-Ø (vi)
to burn down to coals
puwari (n)
type of rushes
puyalangu (n)
cork tree
puyirriyirri (n)
blue wren
thaapari (n)
argumentative
thaapari-ma-L (vt)
to argue with
thaapari-npa-Ø (vi)
to become argumentative
thaapuwu (n)
[thaap+puwa ‘mouth+rotten’]
exceptional person [insult or praise]
thaarta (n)
mouth of hollow stump
thaatharra (n)
open-mouthed
thaatharra-ri-Ø (vi)
to open up
thal.ya (n)
footprint
thal.yu (n)
mother's mother's brother's son; wife's mother's brother
thala (n)
chest
thala-L (vt)
to feed
thalapaju (n)
pad of foot
thaliman (n)
horsemam
thalu (n)
pet; increase site
thami (n)
daughter's son; mother's father
thampa (part)
almost
thampaliwaranu (n)
wind from (north)west
thampalyi (n)
type of plant
thana (part)
let
thanarri (n)
sea; salt
thangkaruwa (n)
father and son couple (in opposite patrimoiety)
thangkula (n)
type of tree
thani-L (vt)
to scrape; to hit; to smell (for emu)
thanta-Ø (vi)
to go on all fours; to crawl along on hands and knees
thanturri-Ø (vi)
to descend; to go down
thanturru (n)
low tide
thanuwa (n)
vegetable food; bread; damper
tharlwan (n)
quiet; tame
tharnta (n)
hill kangaroo; euro
tharratal (n)
type of bird
tharratharra (n)
separated by death
tharratharra-ma-L (vt)
to separate by killing
tharrwa-L (vt)
to put into; to insert
tharrwa-Ø (vi)
to enter; to go into; to put on clothes
tharrwi-L (vt)
to bury; to go down
tharryarran (n)
frog
tharryitharra (n)
side-by-side
tharryunpirri (n)
kangaroo with joey in pouch
tharta (n)
between legs; crutch
thartapara (n)
skinny-legged; open crutch (insult)
thartungku-NG (vt)
to meet
thatharruka (n)
tortoise
thathu-L (vt)
to send; to let go
thawu (int)
Look!; Listen!
thawu-L (vt)
to send; to let go
thawartu (n)
bereaved mother
thawi (n)
type of song
thawu (int)
Look!
thawun (n)
town
thawurra (n)  
flat; net; boomerang  
thawurra-npa-Ø (vi)  
to become flat  
thawutha (n)  
trousers  
thiirr (n)  
fart  
thiirr-yarri-Ø (vi)  
to fart  

thukurtarra (n)  
troublemaker; tactless  
thulharra (ntemp)  
afternoon  
thulharra-npa-Ø (vi)  
to become afternoon  
thuli (n)  
Tawny Frogmouth  
thungkara (n)  
dirt; ground  
thungku (n)  
back  
thungkupangkira (n)  
[thungku+pangkira ‘back+ protruding’]  
camel; humpbacked  
thuntuwurra (n)  
dune grass  
thunungkuyu (n)  
lie on one’s stomach  
thupayu (n)  
ashes for tobacco plug  
thuriyal (n)  
nut of mangrove; mangrove nut  
thurla (n)  
eye  
thurla-wirraa-ma-L (vt)  
to prevent from seeing  
thurlajaka (n)  
bardie grub  
thurlajinkarri (n)  
poor fellow  
thurlamanta (n)  
nosy person  
thurlanyarrara (n)  
poor fellow  
thurlapaniya (n)  
[thurla+paniya ‘eye+eye’]  
pupil of eye  
thurlatharra (n)  
eye socket  
thurlku (n)  
little boy  

thurlunngu (n)  
wave-hill grass  
thurlwa-L (vt)  
to pull out  
thurna (n)  
glans penis  
thurnijarri-Ø (vi)  
to laugh at  
thurniiwii-ma-L (vt)  
to make laugh  
thurnta-L (vt)  
to rub; to roll  
thurnuwuru (n)  
type of tree  
thurtinti-Ø (vi)  
to move away; to move down; to drop down  
thurtu (n)  
elder sister  
thuthurti (n)  
dog with short tail  
thuuwa-L (vt)  
to pull out; to sing  
thuumaya (n)  
store; shop  
thuur.ta (n)  
fruit; sweet; sugar  
thurti-Ø (vt)  
to call together  
thuwa (int)  
You should know!  

W  

Waa!  
Alas!  
waari (n)  
fish  
wajirr (n)  
fish spear  
wakupurra (n)  
fighting stick; nulla-nulla  
wakurra (n)  
crow  
wal.yu (n)  
long way; far away  
wal.yun (n)  
girl  
walampari (n)  
possum
walartnta-L (vt)
to go past
walartnti-Ø (va)
to look back (at)
wahawara (n)
type of plant
wahurri (n)
girl; teenage girl; marriageable girl
walyi-L (vt)
to uncover
walyurru (n)
wild bean
walywanti-Ø (vi)
to peel off; to come off
walywari (n)
root
wamila (n)
type of spinifex
wanaharrrika (n)
son and daughter couple
wanarra (n)
long; tall
wanarra-nta-Ø (vi)
to become long
wanarrra (n)
black swan
wangka-Ø (vt)
to talk; to speak; to emit noise; to make species-characteristic sound; to say; to tell
wangkarnu-marri-Ø (vi)
to talk to one another
wangkarr (n)
throat
wangarrre (n)
brother and sister couple
wanka (n)
alive; raw; unripe
wanka-nta-L (vt)
to rear; to deliver a child; to save life of
wankuma-L (vt)
to make sure of
wannya-L (vi)
to worry
wanta (n)
dream spirit; devil
wanta (n)
silly; crazy
wanta-wanta-nta-Ø (vi)
to become silly; to become excited
wantamartu (n)
crazy person
wantamartu-nta-Ø (vi)
to become a crazy person
wantan-R (vt)
to place; to put
wanti-Ø (vi)
to lie
wantinguntharrri (n)
[wantinguntharrri ‘lie-HABITNOM’]
bedroom
wanjakarrri (n)
navel
wanjarri-Ø (vi)
to run [avoidance language for puni-Ø ‘go’]
wara (n)
clothing; cloth
warra (n)
garfish
warali-Ø (vi)
to move away
warangarrri (n)
dingo trap
waranharri (n)
flyimg fox
warinyu (n)
mother's brother's wife
warinyuwa (n)
parents-in-law
warla (n)
heel
warlanykura (n)
river gum tree
warli (n)
bottom lip
warlu (n)
snake
warluru (n)
umbilical cord
warnan (n)
rain
warnan-nguli-Ø (vi)
to be rained in
warnan-warnan (n)
cloudy; cloudy impending rain
warnanykura (n)
river gum tree
warniki (n)
type of spider; ground spider
warnmalyi (n)
stone
warnta (n)
turn back on
wartsawarnta (n)  
tree python  
wartitha-R (vt)  
to throw  
warnu (part)  
Assertedly particle  
warra (part)  
Contrastive particle  
warrama-L (vt)  
to make  
warrapa (n)  
grass; spinifex  
warrari (n)  
fly  
warrayi (part)  
Let's!  
warrijii (n)  
meatant  
warrinyan (n)  
spinifex finch; painted finch  
warrirta (n)  
eaglehawk; wedge-tailed eagle  
warriri (n)  
spear  
warriri-ma-L (vt)  
to make a spear  
warrirri-Ø (vi)  
to bathe; to swim  
warrirri-tha-L (vt)  
to bathe; to wash  
warrunparrun (n)  
blowfly  
warrurryura (n)  
type of goanna; tree goanna  
warruwa (n)  
ghost; European; white man; devil  
wardariyai-L (vt)  
to drag  
wardaryayiwayara (n)  
[wardaryi-lwayara 'drag-HABIT']  
tail of kangaroo  
wardaryayinnguntharri (n)  
[wardaryi-nguntharri  
'drag-HABITNOM']  
tail of kangaroo  
wardari-L (vt)  
to tear; to rip  
warduyu (n)  
joey  
wardyumuntu (n)  
kangaroo with joey behind  
warda (n)  
forehead  
wartakartara (n)  
facing one another  
wartakartara-rii-Ø (vi)  
take in turns  
wartankura (n)  
north wind  
wartantu (nloc)  
north  
wartantarri (nloc)  
northwards  
wartantami (nloc)  
northerly  
wartarta (n)  
annoyed  
wartarta-ma-L (vt)  
to annoy  
wartawirrinpa-Ø (va)  
to wait (for)  
wartirra (n)  
woman  
wartiwarti (n)  
rolling  
wartiwarti-npa-Ø (vi)  
to roll; to break (waves)  
warungku-Ø (vt)  
to say goodbye to  
warutharra (n)  
grog; bitter; marsh; salt  
waruul(l) (ntemp)  
continuing;still  
waruulwa-L (vt)  
to be unable to do  
watharri (n)  
fisherman  
wawayi-L (vt)  
to look for  
wawurtu (n)  
armpit  
wawuthu-L (vt)  
to farewell; to say goodbye  
waya (npred)  
frightened; fear  
waya-ngku-NG (vt)  
to frighten  
wayala (n)  
night  
wayamirta (n)  
savage; wild  
wayangka-Ø (vi)  
to be frightened
wayil (part) maybe
wayilha-wayilha (n) pester
wayilha-wayilha-ma-L (vt) to pester
wayula (n) unsteady
wayuwarra (n) type of marsupial
wii (part) maybe; if
wil.ya (n) gap in hills; pass
wil.yawu-Ø (vi) to go through a pass
wilawila (n) shaken
wilawila-ma-L (vt) to shake
wilharri (n) type of tree; wattle tree
wilhu (n) penis (impolite, insulting)
wilinyja (n) little corella
wilinykarra (n) at once
wilpilpi (n) emu chick
wilu (n) saliva; spit
wilyara (n) shoulders; yoke
wilyiwilyi (n) clean
wilyiwilyi-ma-L (vt) to wash (clothes); to make clean
winkarra (n) torn
winparri (n) long
winthi (n) enemy; bad friend
winya (n) full
winya-ma-L (vt) to fill
winyamara (n) sea eagle
winyarr(angu) (n) type of fig; rock fig
winyarri (n) tired
winyarri-npa-Ø (vi) to become tired
winyarta (n) tired
winyarta-ma-L (vt) to make tired
winyarta-winyarta (n) feel bad
wirlayi (n) defecating
wirlayi-npa-Ø (vi) to be at toilet
wirlwiirri (n) fishing hook; fishing line
wirlu (n) blackheart tree
wirlukuru (n) gravy; dripping
wirlurlu (n) curlew
wirlwara (n) eaglehawk
wirrka (n) jewfish; dhufish
wirrtiwrnti (n) type of bird; skyhawk
wirrnuungu (n) dance ornament
wirra (n) boomerang
wirrawalha (n) boomerang maker
wirrili (n) fast moving
wirrirri (n) firelight; flame
wirrirri-ma-L (vt) to light
wirrirri-npa-Ø (vi) to become alight
wirta (n) teenage boy; youth
wirta-Ø (vt) to go up; to climb
wirtawirta (n) swaying
wirtawirta-npa-Ø (vi) to sway
wirti (n) pearl shell
wiru (n) cockatiel
wiru (n rpred) want; feel
wiru-npa-Ø (vt) to like
wiru-warruwa-ri-Ø (vi) to be undecided
wiru-wirraa-ma-L (vt) to make feel bad
wiruwanti (ntemp) morning; tomorrow
wiruwarra (n) middle of river
wiruwarri-Ø (vi) to feel homesick
wiruwartu (n) yellowtail fish
withawitha-ma-L (vi) to lose someone (who has died)
witiwititha-L (vt) to hang up
wiyaa (part) maybe
wiyartu (n) long-necked tortoise
wularla (n) weak
wulura-L (vt) to dislocate knee (of kangaroo)
wuluwarli (n) thigh
wungku (n) windbreak
wuntarri (n) bustard; breeze
wuntu (n) little boy
wunungu (n) boil
wuraa(l) (part) All right; Okay now
wurawura (n) partially severed; cut half-way through
wurawura-npa-Ø (vi) to become partially severed
wurinyjangu (n) handfed
wurla (part) Mistakenly Thought particle
wurnta (n) shield
wurnta-L (vt) to cut; to give bad luck; to break
wurnta-lwayara (n) [wurnta-lwayara 'cut-HABIT'] knife
wurrulywa (n) leaf; bough of leaves; tea leaf
wurrulywa-tha-L (vt) to put on leaves
wurruru (n) midwife
wurrwara-L (vt) to spin (hair)
wurta (n) emu chick
wurtu (part) Hypothetically particle
wurtu (n) dusty; dirty
wurtura (n) dusty; dirty
wurtura-ma-L (vt) to make dusty
wurruma-L (vt) to do for
wuruwuru (n) big wave; breaker
wuruya (n) upset
wuuny-karri-Ø (vt) to make 'wuu' noise
wuyu (n) river

Y

ya (int) Hey!
yaan (n) spouse
yaanka (n) married couple [generation ± 1]
yaanwarnti (n) married couples [generation ± 1]
yaji (n) wife's father; father-in-law
yakarrangu (n) day; sun
yakartayi (int) Ouch!
yakayi (int) Ouch!
yal.yirri (n) headband
yal.yuwarri (n)  
type of plant; type of tobacco
yalarn (n)  
hairy caterpillar
yalhuru (n)  
tongue
yalyun (n)  
tune; voice
yampa (n)  
sea shell
yamparla (n)  
type of plant
yamparna (n)  
manta ray
yanga-L (vt)  
to follow; to chase
yanha (n)  
vagina
yankiyanru-rii-Ø (vi)  
to laugh; to fool about
yantha (n)  
scorpion
yathan (n)  
swag; belongings
yanthanmarta (n)  
woman (avoidance language)
yanti (n)  
winnowing dish; hollow log; dish
yanta (n)  
target on body; side
yarluyarlungu (n)  
cabbage gum; mycum tree
yarna-L (vt)  
to ignore; to be unsatisfied with; to be unhappy with
yarnarra (n)  
lying on back
yartna (n)  
day
yarramirtangka (n)  
type of fish
yarrwa (n)  
after; behind
yarrawanyungu (n)  
[yarrawa-nyungu 'behind-DWELL']
    euro with joey following
yarta (n)  
another; other
yartapalyu (n)  
others
yartirirringu (n)  
avoiding; dodging
yartirirringu-npa-Ø (vi)  
to dodge; to be evasive
yaruka-L (n)  
mother's elder sister
yathumpa (n)  
flathead fish
yawar (n)  
hot cooking stones
yawarnu (n)  
shelter
yawarri (n)  
missed; wide of the mark
yawarrungja-L (vt)  
to miss
yawunhungu (n)  
breeze from sea; summer sea-breeze; sea-breeze
yawurr (nloc)  
west; downriver
yawurrari (nloc)  
westwards; downriver-wards
yawurrarni (nloc)  
westerly; from downriver
yawurrarni-npa-Ø (vi)  
to move from the west
yawurrara (n)  
westerner
yilhi (n)  
chip of wood
yiluylu (n)  
type of tree; type of gum tree
yilyirti (n)  
piece of something; small piece
yilyiwartu (n)  
type of marsupial
yini (n)  
name
yinka-L (vt)  
to chisel; to carve
yinka-Ø (vi)  
to thrust in intercourse
yinki (n)  
land; shore
yinkiwulyarru (n)  
lopsided
yinjinyi (n)  
type of marsupial
yirri (n)  
point of spear
yiriny (n)  
mosquito
yirla (part)
only; until
yirlil (n)
flat rock
yirliri (n)
maggot
yirliri-npa-Ø (vi)
tobecome maggoty
yirra (n)
tooth; edge; ridge of hill; easterly storm front
yirraana (n)
skipjack fish
yirrala (n)
ground sheet
yirraman (n)
deep sea mullet
yirrapiripiri (n)
spotted stingray
yirrapuwa (n)
[yirra+puwa ‘teeth+rotten’]
poor hunter
yirrathanangka (n)
shark
yirrawuyu (n)
storm cloud
yirriya-Ø (va)
to play (with)
yirtiyirti (n)
striped
yirtiyirti-ma-L (vt)
to paint in different coloured stripes

yithirri (n)
chip of wood; splinter
yukarta (n)
hot coals; hot ashes
yumini (n)
father's elder brother
yungkartanyu (n)
blood
yungku-NG (vd)
to give
yurntura (n)
powder; flour
yurntura-ma-L (vt)
to make powder
yurra-L (vt)
to dig; to scratch
yurrkun (n)
type of crab; mangrove crab
yurtingka-L (vt)
to aim spear at; to lift spearthrower
yuru (n)
milk
yuruntu (n)
type of sea shell
yuurr-yarri-Ø (vi)
to make slurping noise
yuwinyma-L (vt)
to do completely; to finish
yuya (n)
quail; spinifex quail
### APPENDIX 4: ENGLISH-MARTUTHUNIRA FINDERLIST

#### A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Angry, to become  | {}
| Nhurta-npa-Ø     | Assertedly particle warnu at once wilinykarra at rest kunhu attach a spearhead to, to puuthuni-marta-ma-L avoidance relative nyirti avoiding yartirirringu awkward manhamanha axe kaju; kartathalwayara; pulwu; purralwayara
| Ankle            | {}
| Partara          | {}
| Annoy, to        | wartarta-ma-L annoyed wartarta another yarta ant nest nganturla ant minga anus punhu appear to have no nose, to mulha-wirraa-npa-Ø argue with, to thaapari-ma-L argumentative thaapari arm (upper) jirli armpit wawurtu arrive in camp, to ngurra-ngka-npa-Ø arrogant janyju ashamed, to be kurnta-Ø ashes jirlwa ashes or coals, hot yukarta ashes for tobacco plug thupayu ask, to jinarri-Ø asleep nguyirri
| Aboriginal person| kanyara above kankarni acacia type with edible seeds kul.yawurta Achilles tendon karntarra aeroplane parlunyungu after yarrwa afternoon thulharra after wards mawurruru again ngarti aim spear at, to yurtingka-L alight, to become wirriri-npa-Ø alive wanka all jurlu all right wura(l) almost thampa alone minthal alongside kartingka ancients pukarr pukarr angry kamparta; nhurta; paya

#### B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Back             | purniji; thungku bad friend winthi bad kuyil bad, to be jalya-npa-Ø bad luck, to give wurnta-L bag kurtan bailer shell kartarri bald pal.yarra banded plover kiirkiir bandicoot kurti
bandy-legged
kantathurna
barbed spear
mangumangu
bardie grub
thurlajaka
bark
pangkalha
barking continuously
parrunta-parrunta
barking gecko
jakajakara;
parlwarrumarta
barking
parrun
bathe, to
warrpurri-tha-L;
warrpurri-Ø
be about to have children, to
pawulu-ngara-npa-Ø
be above, to
kankarni-npa-Ø
be angry, to
kamparta-npa-Ø
be angry (at), to
paya-npa-Ø
be ashamed, to
kurnta-Ø
be at toilet, to
wirlayi-npa-Ø
be aware of state of health, to
kuliya-rrri-Ø
be bad, to
jalaya-npa-Ø
be burning, to
kampa-Ø
be cooking, to
kampa-Ø
be covered, to
punkurri-npa-Ø
be evasive, to
yartirirringu-npa-Ø
be expert, to
kur.ta-npa-Ø;
kur.ta-rrri-Ø
be frightened, to
wayangka-Ø
be good to, to
panyu-npa-Ø
be hot, to
karlarrna-npa-Ø
be hurting, to
malyarra-L
be in pain, to
malyarra-L
be inventive, to
karnka-npa-Ø
be itchy, to
panga-ngara-rrri-Ø
be like this, to
yimpala-npa-Ø
be rained in, to
warman-nguli-Ø
be shocked, to
jiwa-npa-Ø
be sick, to
malyarra-L
be stylish, to
ngurangura-npa-Ø
be surprised, to
jiwa-npa-Ø
be unable to do, to
waruulwa-L
be undecided, to
wiru-warrtura-rrri-Ø
be unhappy with, to
yarna-L
be unsatisfied with, to
yarna-L
beach above high-water mark
pintiri
beard
jawurta
become a crazy person, to
wantamartu-npa-Ø
become a fast runner, to
murtiwarla-npa-Ø
become a sleepy person, to
nguyirri-warlaya-npa-Ø
become afternoon, to
thulharra-npa-Ø
become alright, to
wirriri-npa-Ø
become angry (at), to
paya-npa-Ø
become angry (with), to
nhurta-npa-Ø
become argumentative, to
thaapari-npa-Ø
become bad, to
jalaya-npa-Ø; kuyilarri-Ø
become big, to
mirtali-npa-Ø
become blistered, to
parntalha-warntalha-npa-Ø
become civilised, to
kul.yakarta-npa-Ø
become clear, to
nhawani-npa-Ø
become closed, to
palyangu-npa-Ø
become cold, to
muthu-npa-Ø
become cool, to
muthumuthu-npa-Ø
become covered, to
palyangu-npa-Ø
become dark, to
malumalu-npa-Ø
become daylight, to
kanangkal-kanangkaa-Ø
become dry, to
pinkarranyu-npa-Ø
become dusk, to
marumaru-npa-Ø
become excited, to
wanta-wanta-npa-Ø
become flat, to
thawurrna-npa-Ø
become full, to
parlura-npa-Ø
become good, to
panyu-npa-Ø;
panyu-rrri-Ø
become high up, to
parlu-ngka-npa-Ø
become human, to
kanyara-npa-Ø
become like this, to
yimpala-npa-Ø
become long, to
wanarra-npa-Ø
become maggoty, to
yirlirli-npa-Ø
become mixed up, to
ngawurri-npa-Ø
become open, to
jalyruru-npa-Ø
become partially severed, to wurawura-npa-Ø
become quiet, to purnu/npuru-npa-Ø
become sick, to malyarra-npa-Ø
become silly, to wanta-wanta-npa-Ø
become small, to kupuyu-npa-Ø
become something, to ngawayi-npa-Ø
become talented, to kur.ta-npa-Ø; kur.ta-ri-Ø
become tired, to winyarrri-npa-Ø
bedroom wanti-nguntharri
beer ngawurrmarta
before palalyi
beginning kuwarri
behind yarrawa
believe, to kuliya-npa-Ø
bellbird pakupaku
belly (hollow of) ngarmarr
belongings ngurriny; pirriyarta; yanthan
beneath mirtungkura
bereaved father kungala
bereaved mother jawartu; thawartu
bereaved sister murruwanti
bereaved jalya
beside kartingka
between legs tharta
big mirtali; ngurrara; partanyji
big brother mirtayi
big wave wuruwuru
billy can kalayamarta
bind up, to manta-L
bird kapaja; kapalya; parlunyungu
bird types jinpirtin; karrwanyja; pajapajangu; tharratal; wirntiwirnti
bite, to kalya-L
bite at, to jawi-L
bite of insect pangkira
bitter kari; warutharra
black kurnangu
blackduck kuntharri; ngaranti
black emu kurlurkura
black goanna panthawari
black swan wanarrya
black-faced cormorant karrany-karrany
black-faced cuckoo-shrike nyurrila
blackheart tree wirlu
bladder kalyarramarnu
blame someone for something, to jurrura-L
blank ngarta
blanket punkurrimarnu
bleed, to puntharri-Ø
blister parntalha
blood yungkartanyu
bloodwood tree pal.yarringu
blow (with mouth), to puungka-L
blow, to patha-R
blowfish kurrkurn
blowfly julyumarta; warrunparrun
blue wren payirriyirri
blue-tongue lizard parnanti
blue-winged kingfisher jurtirirri
blue-winged kookaburra jarrurru
boast, to kanka-npa-Ø
body kapul
boggy ngapala
boil wunungu
bone karta
bony karta
bony bream fish jiwurra
boomerang thawurru; wirra
boomerang maker wirrawalha
boss of fishing party mayawurlu
bosses in initiation karaku
broughtlip warli
bough of leaves wurrulywa
bowed (of head)
  jururlu
brave
  manhurru
bread
  thanuwa
break, to
  wurnta-L
break (body part), to
  puntharri-Ø
break (waves), to
  wartiwarti-npa-Ø
breaker
  wuruwuru
bream
  ngarntalu
breast
  piwi
breastbone
  nyil.yi
breath
  ngayiny
breathe, to
  ngayiny-karri-Ø
breeze from sea
  yawunhungu
breeze
  purinypuriny; wuntarri
bridge of nose
  nguluryr
bring, to
  kangku-Ø
bring back, to
  parrani-lha-ma-L
bronzewing pigeon
  marnpi
brother and sister couple
  wanirarra
brother-in-law
  nyinu
brother-in-law (man speaking)
  marryyanu
buck spinifex
  paru
budgerigar
  kulyirri
build a fire, to
  pukarra-ma-L
bullet
  karrwiji
bumpy
  kurruwurryu
bundle of implements
  kuyurr
burn, to
  kampa-L
burn down to coals, to
  puwara-npa-Ø
bury, to
  kulhi-L; tharrwi-L
bush, types of
  malaya; miluma; nyirri
bush medicine
  jami
bustard
  wuntarri
butt of gossip
  muyiwyia-nnguntharri
butt of tree
  kartawura
buttocks
  milhu; pirlu
carry, to
  kangku-Ø
carve, to
  karta-tha-L; yinka-L
cassia
  kurrwaya
cat
  miyu
catch a chill, to
  pithirri-npa-Ø
caterpillar
  mirriminyja
cause trouble for, to
  marulwa-L
cave
  jalyuru
centipede
  minarrangu; parralhara
centre
  martura
chair
  nyinanguntharri
character
  ngurnta
charcoal
  puwara
chase, to
  yanga-L
cheek bone
  karli; mangu
cheeky
  paya
cheer up, to
  malwuma-L
chest
  thala
chew, to
  nyamiyarri-Ø
chewing quid
  pul.yu
child
  pawulu
child before it can walk
  murtiwrirwa
children, to be about to have
  pawulu-ngara-npa-Ø
Children's Python
  mayitha; pil.yu
chill
  pithirri
chinese

kunthamarta

chip of wood

yilhi; yithirri

chisel, to

yinka-L

chop, to

karta-L; karta-tha-L

circumcise

haarrj;

circumciser

mangkalyi; nhaankurti

civilised

kul.yakarta

claw

mirntiri; mirntulu; pirtu

clean

milyimilyi; nhawani; wilyiwilyi

clear

nhawani

clear (of sky)

kana

clear (of voice)

jarrala

clearing

pal.yarra

clench (fist), to

kuni-ma-L

clenched

kuni

clever

jilampirra; karnka; kur.ta; mirtuwarra

clever man

karnkanarra

click (sinuses), to

kaal-yarri-Ø

click fingers and blow raspberry, to

jumpily-yarri-Ø

cliff

parlu

climb, to

karlwa-Ø; wirta-Ø

close

murna
crazy person
dance ornament
creeper, type of
crested pigeon
crippled
crouch on haunches, to
crouching down
crow
crowbar
crush, to
crushed
crutch
cry, to
cuckoo-shrike
curl
curly (of hair)
curlybark tree
cut, to
cut half-way through
cyclone

damper
dance, to
dhufish
diamond dove
die, to
dig, to
digging stick
dingo
dingo trap
direct
dirt
dirty
dish
divest,
do awkwardly,
do completely,
do for,
do gently,
do like this,
do quietly,
do slowly,
do something,
dance step with knee
lifting
dance style
darkness
day
daylight, to become
dead
deathadder
deep (of voice)
deep in thought
defecate on, to
defecating
deliver a child, to
descend, to
destroy, to
devil
dew
descendant

doctor
  juwayumarta; pulhanyji
dodge, to
yartirirringu-npa-Ø
dodging
yartirirringu
dog
muyi
dog with short tail
thuthurti
donkey
kuliya
of bird
kurntuwurru
donw, to go
thanturri-Ø
downriver
yawuru
downriver-wards
yawurrari
drag, to
warrryu-Ø
dragonfly
karlawirruwa
dream
nguyi
dream about, to
nguyi-Ø
dream spirit
wanta
dressed up
nyalinyali
drink, to
paya-Ø
dripping
wirlukuru
dripping water
jirtinyi
drop down, to
thurtinti-Ø
drown, to
nyuni-Ø
drunkard
karjingu
dry
pinkarranyu
dry, to
pinkarranyu-Ø
dry leaves
mirtili
dugong
nyamina
dune grass
thuntuwurru
dusk
marumaru
dust
karkurru
dusty
wurtura
dugong
nyamina
dune grass
thuntuwurru
dusk
marumaru
dust
karkurru
dusty
wurtura
eaglehawk
warrirta; wirlwara
ear
kuliya
earlobe
ngalhung-ngalhung
early in time
palalyi
earthworm
kalharr
east
jinkayu
easterly
jingkani
easterly storm front
yirra
eastwards
jingkaari
eat, to
mungka-Ø
echidna
manyjupi
drop down, to
thurtinti-Ø
drown, to
nyuni-Ø
drunkard
karjingu
dry
pinkarranyu
dry, to
pinkarranyu-Ø
dry leaves
mirtili
dealer
kaya
dealer
thurtu
deal child
mararta; ngankiyanganhu
deal sibling
mararta
defeat, to
angka-Ø
defeat odour, to
ngurirri-Ø
deacon
jankurna
demuchick
wilpilpi; wurta
devil
parru; winthi
desire
yingynj
enter, to
tharrwa-Ø
delightfully
karlawirru
escape to, to
jaya-Ø
euro
tharnta
euro with joey following
yarrwanyungu
European
jurlwin; warruwa
European axe
kaaju
evasive, to be
yartirirringu-npa-Ø
exceptional person
thaapuwa
excessively
karlawirru
excited, to become
wanta-wanta-Ø
expert
kur.ta; pilakurtu
explode, to
parntayarri-Ø
eye
paniya; thurla
eyebrow
nyanti; nyarri
fishing line
wirliwirli
fishing net
marrthu
fix a point to, to
mulhaa-L
flagon
punga-pangkira
flame
wiriri
flat
pal.yura; palykura;
pari; parryara; thawurra
flat rock
pil.yi; yirril
flathead fish
yahumpa
flatten down, to
pil.yi-npa-Ø
flattened
malha
flipper of turtle
marra
flotsam
mirtily:
fly
yurrnurta
fly
warrari
flying fox
warangamungka
foam
ngawur
foetus
mirtily
fog
punyjalu
follow, to
yanga-L
fool about, to
yanku-yanku-rii-Ø
foot
jamanu; jina
footprint
jina; thael.ya
forehead
warta
foreskin
nhinha; pangkalha
forget, to
ngalarri-Ø
forget about, to
ngalarangala-npa-L
fork of tree
mil.ya
fox
mulhajuriiri
free, to get
jaya-L
free passage through
initiation law
jinyi
frighten, to
wayangku-L
frightened
waya
frog
jal.yarran; tharyarran
from downriver
yawurrami
from upriver
jingkarni
front
ningkuru
froth
ngawur
fruit
thuur.ta
fruit, type of
jipurta
full
parlura; winya
fungus, type of
kurnturu
gecko
palwarrmarta;
parlwarrumarta
generous
punyjarti
genital
pimriyarta; martura
gentile
jarruru
get closer to, to
murna-npa-Ø
get cold, to
muthu-npa-Ø
get free, to
jaya-L
get hot, to
karlarr-na-npa-Ø;
kurlu-npa-Ø
get sick, to
malyarra-npa-Ø
get stuck, to
ngarrarni-Ø
get to camp, to
ngura-ngka-npa-Ø
get to the top, to
kankarni-npa-Ø
get up, to
karlwa-Ø
ghost
warruwa
girl
wal.yun; walhurri
give, to
yungku-Ø
give bad luck, to
wurnta-Ø
give character to, to
ngurnta-ma-Ø
give someone something
in return, to
kulyama-L
give up, to
kuntirri-Ø
giving up
kunftara
gizzard of emu
murlun
glans penis
thurna
go, to
grease
jinyji
greedy
mantha
greedy person
manthawarla
green
palharra
grey hair
jurlwin
grey-martin
jalwinyjar
grind, to
pani-L
grindstone, lower
ngaantangu
grindstone, upper
parruwurr
grug
kari; warutharra
groin
mil.ya
ground
ngurra; thungkara
ground creeper
kartayarrwara
ground sheet
yirrala
ground spider
warniki
group of brothers-in-law
nyinungarranthi;
ninyinuwarnti
group of cross-cousins
ngathalwarnti
group of father's brothers
mantarrirwarnti
group of kin related
through daughter
exchange
nyirtimalingka
group of kin
nganiyarrangu
group of sons
mantarrirwarnti
group of step-brothers
panyurarwanti
grouped together
kulhawulha
growl at, to
parrungkarri-O;
paya-npa-O
gully
kal.yatharra
gum tree, type of
yilyilyi
guts
punga

H

hair
kurlkura
hairstring belt
purruru
hairy caterpillar
yalarn
half-hearted
jarruru
half red bloodwood
nyirra
hammerhead shark
mirntira
hand
juwayu; mara
handfed
wurinyjangu
handle
kalaya
handsome
ngurangura; nyalinyali
hang up, to
witwititha-L
happy
kanka
happy, to make
malwuma-L
harpoon, to
karta-L
have a stomach ache, to
punga-nguli-O
head
parna
head and thorax
parlu
head of spear
puuthuni
head ornament worn by men at initiation business

parangarti

headband

yal.yirri

headpiece

mawurarra

heal, to

jarrala-ma-L

healthy

jarrala

heap up, to

kulhawulha-ma-L

heaped up

kulhawulha

hear, to

kuliya-L

heart

purula

heat, to

karlarra-ma-L

heavy

ngungku

heal

warla

help, to

malwupa-Ø

Hey!

ya

Hey I've spotted something!

kuwayi

hidden

muyinu

hide, to

mil.yirri-Ø; muyinu-ma-L; muyinu-npa-Ø

high

parlu

high tide

jintiyarra

high-pitched voice

jarrala

high-water mark

pintiri

hill

parla

hill kangaroo

tharrta

head ornament worn by hip hungry men at initiation business

kamungu

hit, to

kaara; nyintirri

hipbone

minhi

hit (to)

pari-ingku-L; purra-L; thani-L

hit (in eye), to

parra-L

hit (with thrown implement), to

patha-R

hold, to

kanyja-R

hole

jalyuru; kurryu; purnta

hollow

kurryu

hollow in shoulder

kayulumarnu

hollow log

yanti

homesick, to feel

wiruwarri-Ø

honey

kunkuwarra

horn

partararra

hornet

ngurrungurrura

horse

nyingkurluwinparri

horseman

thaliman

Hortative particle

warrayi

hot

karlarra; kuru

hot ashes or coals

yukarta

hot cooking stones

yawan

hot sand (for cooking)

kuntilywa

hot to taste

ngarniwurtu

human being

kanyara

humpbacked

thungkupangkira

hungry

kunmayirti; pirtumanthu

hunter, good

yirrapuwa

hunting for meat

puwany

hunting site useless for speaker's patrimoity

jirri

hunting spear

kurryarta

hurry, to

manamana-npa-Ø

hurt, to

malyarra-ma-L

I

I can see it!

parru

ibis

martungkura

Identification particle

pala

if

wii

ignore, to

yarna-L

in front of

manningka

increase site

thalu

initiand

mirtily; nyanyji: nyuju; nyulyu; nyurnta; pirtuwangu

initiate

nhaarnji

initiated

pirirri

in-law

nyirri

insert, to

tharrwa-L; tharrwi-L

intestines

julingara
inventive kingfisher, Let's kamka jarrurru wararrayi
inventive person kitchen, Let's go! kamkamarra kampa-nnguntharri
island kite hawk liar, martungkura karrya; minpirrirti jarntakanangkal;
itch knee, panga

J
jamwood tree jarrwayu
jaw bone kartara
jewfish wirnka
joey warryu
jump, to karima-L
jumping up and down karimal-karimal
jumpy karimal-kanimal

K
kangaroo with joey behind warryumuntu
kangaroo with joey in pouch tharrunpirri
keep, to kanyja-R
keep on doing, to parilha-npa-Ø
keep quiet, to marrari-wirraa-npa-Ø
keep trying, to parilha-npa-Ø
kick, topanyi-L
kidney ngalhung-ngalhung
kill, to nhurnti-ma-Ø; piyuwa-ma-L
kingfisher jarrurru
kitchen kampa-ninguntharri
kite hawk kanyra; minpirrirti
knee manpurru; murti
kneecap parruwurru
knife jumpirri; kurlany; wurnta-lwayara
knowing nhuura
kurara bushpiritiyarrangu

L
lame janta
land yinki
large family group nganiyarrangu
later mawurru
laugh, to yanku-yanku-rii-Ø
laugh at, to thurminyjarri-Ø
lay flat, to palykura-ma-L
leaf wurrulywa
learn, to nhuura-npa-Ø
leave behind, to kunti-rii-Ø; parra-L
left-handed nyartu
leg kanta
let thana
let go, to thanu-L; thawu-L
Let's warrayi
Let's go! parra
liar jarntakanangkal; jarntany
lie, to wanti-Ø; ngalawangka-Ø
lie on one's back kartutharra
lie on one's stomach thunungkuyu
lift spearthrower, to yurtingka-L
light kana; nyarranyarra
light, to karla-ma-L; wirriri-ma-L
light-fingered pirimanta
lightning nguthina
like this yimpala
like, to wiru-npa-Ø
lip nharra
liquor kari
Listen! thawu
little kupuyu
little boy mamturr; thurlku; wuntu
little corella ngarnawarra; wilinyja
little finger nyirringu
little girl ngurinymarta
little one (diminutive) kupuyuwaja
little ones kupiyaji
little while

ngamarri

kalyarti

lizard type of

jakajakara; halaparra;

jingkiwa; manyiilyura

long

wanarra; winparri

long beard

kuntha

long way

wal.yu

long-necked tortoise

ngartawirri; wiyaardu

Look!

thawu

look after, to

nhawungarra-ma-L

look at, to

nhawu-Ø

look back (at), to

walarnti-Ø

look for, to

wawayi-L

look out for oneself, to

nhawungarra-ma-L

looking after

nhawungarra

looking out for oneself

nhawungarra

lopsided

yinkiwulyarru

lose someone (who has died), to

withawitha-ma-L

low tide

thanturru

lower arm

marnta

lower grindstone

ngaantangu

lump

pangkira

lungs

puri

lusting

kamungu

lying flat

pari

lying on back

yarnarra

maggot

yirliri

magic man

mawarnkarra

magpie

kurrwarru

make, to

warrama-L

make ‘wuu’ noise, to

wuny-karri-Ø

make a big job of it (meal), to

kalyaalya-ma-L

make a fire (of firewood), to

karla-ma-L

make a fishing net (of spinifex), to

martanhu-ma-L

make a hole, to

kurryu-ma-L

make a spear, to

warriri-ma-L

make a swag, to

ngurriny-ma-L

make a trench, to

kurryu-ma-L

make angry, to

kampara-ma-L

make awkward, to

manhamanka-ma-L

make bad, to

jalya-ma-L; kuyiltwa-L

make camp, to

ngurra-ma-L

make civilised, to

kul.yakarta-ma-L

make clean, to

nhawani-ma-L; wilyi-wileriya-ma-L

make clear, to

nhawani-ma-L

make cool, to

muthumuthu-ma-L

make dusty, to

wurtura-wurtura-ma-L

make feel bad, to

wiru-wirraa-ma-L

make feel good, to

pinhu-ma-L

make go fast, to

murti-ma-L

make good, to

panyu-ma-L

make grab, to

mankulha-ma-L

make happy, to

malwuma-L

make healthy, to

jarrala-ma-L

make hole, to

jalyunu-ma-L; purnta-ma-L

make into small pieces, to

kupyaaji-ma-L

make laugh, to

thurniwi-ma-L

make light, to

nyarranyarra-ma-L

make like this, to

yimpala-ma-L

make mud, to

ngapala-ma-L

make not to see, to

panyacitya-wirraa-ma-L

make powder, to

yurtura-ma-L

make prisoner, to

pirtuwangu-ma-L

make sharp, to

juriiri-ma-L

make sick, to

malyarra-ma-L

make slurping noise, to

yuurr-yarrirri-Ø

make soft, to

kulhuwani-ma-L

make something black, to

kurrangu-ma-L

make sore, to

ngarnta-ma-L
mouth of hollow stump
thaarta
move away, to
thurtinti-Ø; warali-Ø
move down, to
thurtinti-Ø
move from the west, to
yawurrarni-npa-Ø
move something this way
kuwithartu-ma-L
mucus
nyurru
mud
ngapala
muddy
ngapala
mudlark
jilimpilyura
mudskipper fish
pulhapulhara
mulga
karnturr
mulgara
pirryin
mullamulla
malaya
mullet
manarra
mycum tree
yarlyarlungu
mythical giant dingo
ngarrwanyja
mythical water-serpent
parriminti

N
name
yini
nape of neck
nhanka
nasal bone
kartayu
native cat
pirryin
navel
nyitha; wanyjakarri
nearby
murna
neonate marsupial
mirtily
nephew
kamparnu
nest
pirta
net
thawurra
new
kuwarri
news
marrari
next
ngarti
night
wayala
nipple
kunhan
No!
mir.ta
no good
jalya
noise, to emit
wangka-Ø
north
wartantu
north wind
wartankura
northerly
wartantarni
northwards
wartantari
nose
mulha
nostril
nyurru-marnu
nosy person
thurlamanta
not
mir.ta
Not at all!
piyuwa
not want, to
ngukara-npa-Ø
Nothing!
piyuwa
now
kuwarri
nulla-nulla
wakupurra
nut of mangrove
thuriyal
nut of rush
ngarluwany

O
occiput
jal.yu
octopus
nganyjalyura
odour, to emit
ngurirri-Ø
offend, to
paniya-la-ma-L
Oh damn!
paparti
Okay now!
wuraa(l)
old fellow
kur.tamparra
old man
julyu
old ones, old people
pukarrpukarr
old person
puliya.nyja
old woman
jantira
omentum
ngulyun
on horseback
jilingka
On the contrary!
piyaa
on top
kankarni
one
kalika
only
yirla
open crutch
thartapara
open up, to
jalyuru-npa-Ø;
thaatharra-ri-Ø
open-mouthed
thaatharra
opening
jalyuru
other
yarta
others
yartapalyu
other side (of river)
kuyuranguru
Ouch!
yakartayi; yakayi
our father
papungali
owlet-nightjar
kapukuurta
own daughter's sister
ngatha
own mother's brother's
daughter
ngangkari
own thing
pirriyarta

P
Pacific Gull
kurlikura
pad of foot
thalapaju
pain
malyarra
paint in different coloured
stripes, to
yirtiyirti-ma-L
Painted Finch
warrinyan
pair of brothers
kurrammingka
pair of brothers-in-law
nyinuwa(ra)
pair of father's brothers
mantarriya
pair of father's fathers
mayiliya
pair of sons
mantarriya
pair of step-brothers
panyurarra
palm of hand
manthamarnu
paper, paperbark
marli
parallel cousin
milara
parents-in-law
warinyuwa
parrot fish
palharra
partially severed
wurawura
pass
wil.ya
passed through law
pirri
pay back, to
kulyama-L
pearl shell
nyamarr; wirti
peel off, to
walywanti-Ø
pelvis
pul.yan
penis
kartathurruthurru;
nhumira; pinyjulu; wilhu
person
kanyara; kapun
person who ignores
avoidance relationships
jurriny
pester, to
wayilha-wayilha-ma-L
pestering
wayilha-wayilha
pet
thalu
pick up, to
manku-Ø
piece of something
pal.yu; yilyirti
piled up
kankarmayi
pink schnapper
kurrayi
pipe
jil.yarta
pipit
pal.yarrawutinyjirr
place on thigh where
punishment spear is
inserted
karlamarnu
place, to
wantha-R
plain
pal.yarra
plains kangaroo
pal.yarranyungu;
payiwanarra
plant, type of
jalwarr; karlumpu;
kartayarrwara; kulha;
makaran;
mintirrirminy;
minyjurlu; mururr;
nyinarri; puniina;
thampalyi; walhawara;
yal.yuwarri; yampalra
plant rubbish
mirntili
plate
jinpi
play, to
nyangkurri-Ø
play through (a ceremony),
to
nyangkurri-ingku-Ø
play (with), to
yirriya-Ø
play with, to
nyangkurri-tha-L;
pirrimanta-npa-Ø
point (of implement)
mulha
point of spear
yiri
point out something to
someone, to
jurrura-L
pointing upwards
parlu-thartu
poke with a stick, to
nyuw-L
poke, to
karta-L
policeman
jankalwayara;
mantahumarta;
ngarniwrutu
poor fellow
nyirtimangkurtu; thurlajinkarri; thurlanyarrara
poor hunter
yirrapuwa
possum
walampari
pot-gutted
pungajarti
potbelly
pukanyjarti; pungapangkira; pungajarti
powder
yurntura
prawn
jiirtupakura
pre-initiate
nyanyji
pregnant
mil.yiran
press down on, to
martama-L
prevent from seeing, to
thurla-wirraa-ma-L
prevent from sleeping, to
nguyirri-wiraa-ma-L
prickle
jiri
prisoner
pirtuwangu
proscribed object
nganyjali
protruding
pangkira
pubic hair
nyalyu
puffball fungus
kurturu
pull out, to
thurlwa-L; thuulwa-L
punishment spear
mawuntu
pupil of eye
thurlapaniya
put, to
wanthu-R
put away, to
kulhi-L
put in cheek, to
kartara-la-ma-L; manguwa-ma-L
put in the middle, to
martura-la-ma-L
put into, to
tharrwa-L; tharrwi-L
put on clothes, to
tharrwa-Ø
put on head, to
parna-ngka-L
put on leaves, to
wurrulywa-tha-L
put to sleep, to
nguyirri-ma-L
rear, to
wanka-ma-L
recognise, to
ngarntarrwa-Ø
red ochre
martarr; mungkangu
red schnapper
milyingkura
reliable hunter
kunmayirti
respect language style
kunnta
restless
kamparta
return, to
parrani-Ø
rhetorically
kana
rib
nyimi
rice
minthirriminy
ridge of hill
yirra
rifles
partarapari
right-handed
mayarta
rip, to
warryi-L
ripples
pintura-pintura
rise, to
karlwa-Ø
river
wuyu
river blue-bell
jalwarr
river gum tree
warlanykura; warnanykura
road
marlara
rock
parla
rock cod
kurluwa; nhamali
rock fig
winyarr(angu)
rock partridge
karrwanyja

Q
quail
yuya
quiet
kal.ya; marirri;
purnumpuru; tharlwan
quietly, to do
jarruru-ma-L

R
rain
warnan
rain on, to
parnta-L
rainbow bird
pirruperri
rainbow serpent
mirtanyungu
rasp for spearthrower
mirrimpa
raw
wanka
raw material for implement
ngarta
ready waiting
panganya
realise, to
nhuura-ri-Ø
really
pa. ju
rock pigeon
   karrwanyja; kurlurr
rock python
   pal.yunyji
rock wallaby
   jarumarrar
roll, to
   thurnta-L;
   wartiwarti-npa-Ø
roll a swag, to
   ngurriny-ma-L
roll up, to
   punkuwunku-ma-L
rolled up
   punkuwunku; purntura
rolling
   wartiwarti
root
   walywari
root of tongue
   kartawura
root of tree above ground
   karntarra
rope
   pinyjura
rotten
   nhungkurn; puwa
round up, to
   kulhawulha-ma-L
rub, to
   thurnta-L
rubbish
   jalya
ruin, to
   kuyilwa-L
run, to
   wanyjarri-Ø
run after/behind, to
   murti-ingku-Ø
rushes, type of
   martuwari; nhuniri; puwari

S
saddle
   nyinanguntharri
saliva
   wilu
salmon
   kamarangka
salt
   thanarri; warutharra
sand
   nharnu
sandhill
   puwala
sandpaper fig
   malhangu
sandpiper
   jinpiritin
satisfied
   kanka
savage
   ngarniwurtu; nhurta;
   wayamirta
save life of, to
   wanka-ma-L
say, to
   wanga-Ø
say goodbye, to
   wawuthu-L
say goodbye to, to
   warungku-Ø
scatter about, to
   pintirrijila-ma-L
scattered
   pintirrijila
scorpion
   yantha
scrape, to
   thani-L
scratch, to
   yurra-L
scrotum
   ngaru
scrub
   karra
sea
   puriya; thanarri
sea bream
   ngamtalu
sea eagle
   winyamara
sea mullet
   manarra
sea shell
   yampa; yuruntu
sea-breeze
   yawunhungu
seagull
   kurilkura
seagull, type of
   pajapajangu
seaweed
   miritili
section name
   karimarra; pal.yarri;
   panaka; purungu
see, to
   nhawu-Ø; puranyi-L
see clearly, to
   nhawungarra-ma-L
seed
   maan
self
   jankul
send, to
   thathu-L; thawu-L
send deceivingly, to
   ngala-thathu-L
send wrongly, to
   ngala-thathu-L
separate by killing, to
   tharratharra-ma-L
separated by death
   tharratharra
severed, to become
   partially
   wurawura-Ø
shade
   malarnu
shake, to
   parrawarra-ri-Ø;
   pinyjawinja-ma-L;
   pulyawulya-ma-L;
   wilawila-ma-L
shake chest while dancing, to
   kumingkarri-Ø
shake hand, to
   manarri-Ø
shaken
   pinyjawinya;
   pulyawulya; wilawila
shaking chest in dance
   kumi
shaking
   parrawarra
shaky
   manhamanha
shame
   kurnta
share out, to

pintirrijila-ma-L

shark

kunu; pinyjuramarta; yirrathanangka

shark, type of

marlawiji; mirrin

sharp

jurirri; nganthari

sharp spine

ngaliirr

sharpen, to

mulhau-L; nganthari-ma-L

shavings of wood

janyjin

sheep

kukunyjayi

shell of tortoise

purnijji-karta

shell of turtle

purnijji-karta

shell parrot

kulyirri

shelter

yawaru

shield

warnta

shin

kanta

shine (whitely), to

jiwarra-L

shingle

karrulyu

shirt

jaat; kepulmarnu

shiver, to

parrawarra-rii-Ø

shivering

parrawarra

shocked

jiwa

shoot, to

miritilywa-L; purra-L

shop

thuumaya

shore

yinki

short while

jampa

shoulder-blade

parryara

shoulders

wilyara

shovel-nose shark

mirrin

show, to

kariya-L; nhuura-ma-L

show off, to

kanka-npa-Ø; karnda-npa-Ø

show respect, to

kurna-Ø

sick

malarra

side

yanti

side of hill

nyimi

side-by-side

tharryitharra

silly

paarnpaarn; wanta

sinew

karrarra

sing, to

piya-L; thuulwa-L

sink, to

pungka-Ø

sister's child

ngajala

sister's son's wife

nganyi

sister

karrurra

sister-in-law

punkali

sit, to

nyina-Ø

sit holding knees

ngalyurti

sitting cross-legged

piyiyi

sitting on eggs

kawungka

sitting with one leg crossed

murtiwa

skin of snake

pangkalha

skinny

palya

skinny-legged

thartapara

skipjack fish

yirraana

skyhawk

wirntiwirnti

slander, to

muyiwiya-L

sleepy person, to become a

nguyirri-warlaya-nya-Ø

slow

jaruru

slow down, to

manurri-Ø

slowly, to do

jaruru-ma-L; jarruru-nya-Ø

slurping noise, to make

yuurr-yarri-Ø

small

kupuuyu

small brown crab

nginingini

small of back

punhalangu

small ones

kupiyagi

smallpiece

yilyirti

smash, to

pari-ingku-L

smell, to

ngurirri-Ø; nguritha-L; parnti-Ø

smell (for emu), to

than-Ø

smelly

nhurrirra

smoke

kayurtu

snake

warlu

snake, type of

kantjinmarta; kuluwirri; payamalu

snakewood

marruwa; pukarti

sneak up on, to

jirrurna-nya-Ø
sneaky
jirruna

sneeze, to
jinkurn-karri-Ø

sniff, to
nguritha-L

snore, to
nhuurr-yarri-Ø

soap
ngawurrrmarta

socialised
kul.yakarta

socket of eye
thurlatharra

soft
kulhuwari

soft spinifex
mirna

some
maru(warla)

son
mura

son and daughter couple
wanamarrika

son's wife
kayulumaru; ngarraya

song, type of
jalurra; thawi

sore
ngarnta

soul
mangkarn

south
karalu

southerly
karalarni

southern storm front
maawurrangu

southwards
karalari

spark
jirti

speak, to
wangka-Ø

speak respectfully, to
kurnta-Ø

spear
kurryarta; pankirti; warrirti

spear, to
nhuwa-L

spearthrower
mangkurtura; mirru

spider
kamparr

spider, type of
warniki

spike
jiri

spin (firestick), to
ngal.yaa-L

spin (hair), to
wurrwarra-L

spine
jiri; purniji

spinifex
warrapa

spinifex, type of
mirna; punawuru; warmla

spinifex Finch
warrinyan

spinifex head-pad
pinyjakunti

spinifex lizard
jingkilwa

spinifex Mouse
nhimu

spinifex Quail
yuya

spirit
mangkarn

spit
wilu

splinter
yithirri

spoon
mirntiri

spotted dove
kuurtu

spotted stingray
yirrapiripiri

spouse
yaan

spouse of grandparent
nhuunu

spouse of grandparent/child
jinkirti

spread out
pintirrjila

square-tailed kite
pirkunyji

squash, to
kulhany-ma-L

squashed
kulhany

squeeze, to
juni-L

stab, to
karta-L

stalk of spinifex
pirriri

stand, to
karri-Ø

steal, to
muya-L

steelknife
jumpirirri

step, to
panyi-L

sternum
nyil.yi

stick
kalyaran

stick used as musical rasp
with spearthrower
mirimpa

sticking out
jayinkul

still
kal.ya; kunhu; parilha; waruu(l)

stingray
kanu

stingray, type of
yirrapiripiri

stink, to
ngirirri-Ø

stinking
nhungkurn; nhurrirra

stir, to
murlimurla-ma-L

stirred
murlimurla

stolen
muyinu

stomach
nyil.yu; punga

stomach ache, to have a
punga-nguli-Ø
stone
parla; warnmalyi
stone dead
mal.yan
stone knife
kurlany
stooped
jururlu
stop doing
kunti
stop doing, to
kuntarra-ma-L;
kunti-ri-O
stop someone doing, to
jaarpama-L
stopping
kuntarra
store
thuumaya
storm cloud
kantungarra;
maawurrangu;
yirrawuyu
story
marrari
straight
mulurru
straight-tailed burrowing
marsupial
kartuwarli
straighten, to
mulurru-ma-L;
parlwiya-L
stranger
manyjangu
stripe
mulurru
striped
yirtiyirti
strong
ngungku
stuck, to get
ngarrarni-O
style
ngurnta
stylish
ngurangura
suck, to
jawa-L
sugar
manyarra; thuur.ta
summer
jurralyi
summer sea-breeze
yawunhungu
sun
yakarrangu
Sunday
nguyirrimarnu
sure of, to make
wankuna-L
surprised
jiwa
surrounded
marlpara
swag
ngurriny; yanthan
swag strap
jarraalwayara
swagger, to
ngurangura-npa-O
swallow
jinpillinykura
sway, to
wirtawirta-npa-O
swaying
wirtawirta
sweat, to
nganyurta-npa-O
sweating
nganyurta
sweet
thuur.ta
swift (of current)
murtimurti
swift of foot
manamana
swim, to
kurtarti-O; puntha-O;
warrpurri-O
tail of kangaroo
warryayiwayara;
warryayinnguntharri
take, to
kangku-O
take from, to
munta-L
take hand, to
manarri-O
take in turns
wartakartara-ri-O
talented
kur.ta
talk, to
wangka-O
talk to one another, to
wangkarnu-marri-O
tall
kantawanarra; wanarra
tall person
kantawanarra
tame
marri; thrarln
target on body
yanti
taste, to
kulaya-L
Tawny Frogmouth
thuli
tea leaf
wurrulywa
teach, to
nahuura-ma-L
teacher, good
mir.tuwarra
tear, to
warryi-L
tears
karta
teenage boy
wirta
teenage girl
walhurri
tell, to
wangka-O
tell lies, to
ngalawangka-O
temple
pal.ya
termite
manhu
test, to
to

thunder

guthina

ti-tree

nharryarrangu

tie up, to

jankaa-L; jarraa-L;
manta-L

tightly

kartarr

timid

wayangku-nguntharri

tinder

mirnti

tired

winyarri; winyarta

tobacco

ngamari

tobacco, type of

yal.yuwarri

tobacco chewing quid

pul.yu

together

mirntiwul; purtuwurtu

toilet, to be at

wirlayi-npa-Ø

tomahawk

kartathalwayara

tomorrow

wiruwanti

tongue

yalhuru

tooth

nganthari; yirra

top

parlu

topknot pigeon

kurlwurr

torn

winkarra

tortoise

thatarruka

touch, to

panthu-L

town

thawun

track

jina

track, to

jinangku-Ø

tree

kalyaran; see also ‘type’

tree goanna

warrurryura

tree python

wartaawarta

trench

kurru

troublemaker

thukurtarra

trousers

thawutha

truly

palwarru; purrkuru

try out, to

kulaya-L

tune

yalyun

turn

ngawayu

turn back on

warta

turtle

majun

twenty-eight parrot

pamparn

twist, to

murlimurli-ma-L

twisted

murlimurli

two

kayarra

two alone

minthatharra

two brothers

jankutharra

type of acacia with edible

seeds

kul.yawurta

type of bird

jinpritin; karrwanyja;
pajapajangu; tharratal;
wirinti

type of bush

malaya; miluma; nyirri

type of crab

nginingini; yurrkun

type of creeper

minyjurru; ngawurtan

type of fig

winyarr(angu)
type of fish
kangkurra; malyun;
milinya; ngarniwurtu;
wiruwartu;
yarramirtangka

type of fruit
jipurta

type of fungus
kurnturu

type of goanna
warrunyura

type of grass
thurlungu

type of gum tree
yilyilyi

type of lizard
jakajakara; jalaparra;
jingkilwa; manyjilyura

type of marsupial
jurnawarti; kartuwarli;
wayuwarra; yilyiwartu

type of medicinal plant
ngunarr

type of medicine
kawurrri; miluma

type of plant
jalwarr; karlumpu;
kartayarrawara; kulha;
makaran;
minthirriminy;
minjyurlu; mururr;
nyinarri; puniina;
thampaulyi; walhawara;
yal.yuwarri; yamparla

type of rushes
martuwarri; nhuniri;
puwari

type of sea shell
yuruntu

type of seagull
pajapajangu

type of shark
marlawiji

type of snake
kantinmarta; kuluwirri;
payamalu

type of song
jalurra; thawi

type of spider
wamiki

type of spinifex
mirra; punawurrri;
wamila

unrolled
martiwarti

unsatisfied with, to be
yarna-L

unsteady
wayula

until
yirla

unwrap, to
martiwarti-ma-L

unwrapped
martiwarti

up, to go
wirta-Ø; karlwa-Ø

up to here
ngunirri

up-end, to
punhukunkurru-wa-L

up-ended
punhukunkurru

upper arm
jirli

upper buttocks
pirlu

upper grindstone
parruwurru

upriver
jinjarri-Ø; jinkayu

upriver-wards
jingkaari

upset
jiwa; wuruya

upside down
punhukunkurru

urinate, to
kal.yarra-L; marntura-L

urine
marntura; ngalyari

U

umbilical cord
warlurarri

unable to do, to be
waruulwa-L

uncle and nephew/niece
mimiyyarra

uncle and niece married
couple
nhakajiyarra

uncle
kampalalha

uncover, to
kanangkalwa-L; walyi-L

undecided, to be
wiru-warnitura-rrri-Ø

underneath
mirtungkura

understanding
kul.yakarta

underwater
nyulu

unhappy with, to be
yarna-L

unripe
wanka

unroll, to
martiwarti-ma-L

V

vegetable food
thanuwa

vertical
parluthartu

very fast
murtimurti

very good
mal.yarru
very
paju
visible
kana
voice
marrari; yalyun

W

waist
kalya; purrumarnu
wait (for), to
wartawirrinpa-Ø
wake up, to
marruwama-L;
paniya-npa-Ø
walk well, to
pajura-Ø
walking stick
jinkarn
walking
purluthan
want
wiru
wash, to
puntha-L; puntha-Ø;
warrpurri-tha-L
wash (clothes), to
wilyiwilyi-ma-L
water
kayulu
water snake (mythical)
mirtanyungu
waterhen
jantiyinti
wattle tree
wilharri
wave
pintura
wave to, to
marringkarri-Ø
wave-hill grass
thurlungu
wax of spinifex
pul.ya
We have an emu, get ready!
jankurnalu
weak
wularla

wedge-tailed eagle
warrirta
wedgebill
marnmarnkarlalu
well
jarrala
west
yawurruru
westerly
yawurrarni
westerner
yawurrura
westwards
yawurrari
wet
parrwuri
wether
karununyja
whale
kartarapuka; kujawari
whirlwind
kunyjankura
whiskered salmon
kamarangka
whistling kite
jarra; karlamana
white
jirlwa; jiwarra; jurlwin;
mirtamirta
white man
jurlwin; warruwa
white ochre
jirlwa
wide of the mark
yawurruru
wide
parrara
wife's brother
marryanu
wife's brother/sister's husband
nyirtiwala
wife's family
muntungara
wife's father
yaji
wife's mother's brother
thalyu
wild
nhurta; paya; wayamirta

wild bean
walyurruru
wild cucumber
ngawurtan
wild onion
partunya
wild tomato
karlumpu
Willie wagtail
jintijinti; jirrijiri
wind
kanarra
wind from east
pulhurrungu
wind from north-west
thampaliwarranu
wind from south
kawankura
windbreak
wungku
windmill
pinyjakunti
windpipe
pariwarti
windstorm from south-west
pilyawirri
wing
marra
winnow, to
kanpi-L
winnowing dish
yanti
woman
pungkanyu; wartira;
yanthanmarta
wood
kalyaran
word
marrari
worry, to
wannga-L
wound
ngarna
wrap up, to
manta-L
wrist
nyuju
yawn, to
jaama-L
yellow ochre
piyulu
yellow-tail fish
wiruwartu
Yes indeed!
ngawu

Yes, go on!
ngaa
yoke
wilyara
yolk of egg
piyulunykarta
You should know!
 thuwa
young goanna
 panyjuna

younger brother
marryara;palha
younger sister
mari
youngest child
nyiriringu
youth
wirta
zebra finch
nyimari;nyiri
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