A grammatical sketch of Ngarla

(Ngayarta, Pama-Nyungan)

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Ngarla, a critically endangered Pama-Nyungan language of the Pilbara region, has received very little scholarly attention. This book presents the first grammatical description of the language, and focuses particularly on the complexity of verbs and verbal clauses. The grammar sketch is complemented by a small collection of Ngarla texts, and a word list.

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Asia-Pacific Linguistics

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Nyayi nganarna wangka wanyjarnu mirlimirlingura ngarla wangka pananga warnpartarra.

This language, the Ngarla language, we have written down for the benefit of the Wanbarda people.

Contents

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

Ø	Ø conjugation; zero marked morpheme
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	transitive subject/answer
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ALL	allative
ANT	anticipatory
ANTIP	antipassive
AREA	in the area of
ASSOC	associative
AVERS	aversive
BEN	beneficiary
CAUS	causative
COM	comitative
COMP	completely, exclusively
CPST	continuous past
DAT	dative; also marks genitive
DEM	demonstrative
DOUBT	doubt (particle)
DS	different subject
DU	dual
DWELLER	dweller of
END	sudden end (nominal suffix)
EP	epenthetic morpheme
EPI	episteme
ERG	ergative; also marks instrumental
EX	exactly (at)
EXCL	exclusive
FREQ	frequentive
FUT	future; also marks imperative mood
GEN	genitive
HORT	hortative
IMP	imperative
INCAUS	indirect cause
INCH	inchoative
INCL	inclusive
INSNOM	instrumental nominalisation
INTNS	intensifier

L	L conjugation
LOC	locative
NEG	negation/negative
NMLZ	nominaliser
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
OPT	optative
P	transitive object
p.c.	personal communication
PL	plural
PRIV	privative
PRS	present
PRSCONTRA	present contrafactual
PST	past
PSTCONTRA	past contrafactual
PURP	purposive
Q	question particle/question
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
RELPRS	relative present
RELPST	relative past
REMPST	remote past
RESP	respect
S	intransitive subject
SCE	source
SEQ	sequential
SPEC	speculative
SS	same subject
TAM	tense, aspect and mood
USI	usitative
V	verb

1.   *The community & the material*

1.1   Introduction

This work constitutes a modified version of Westerlund's Ph.D.-thesis *Finite verbs in Ngarla (Pama-Nyungan, Ngayarta)*. The basic grammatical structure of the Ngarla language is described in this volume. It should from the outset be pointed out that Ngarla is not known to have had any dialectal variation (Thieberger 1993). And although a revitalisation programme is underway, it is at present not a living, everyday language in the community (Wangka Maya 2011). Previously, this language has received very scant scholarly attention.

This chapter presents the Ngarla community and their language. In section 1.2 below, the Ngarla community is introduced. The classification of the language is discussed in section 1.3. The decline of the Ngarla language is the focus of section 1.4, and previously collected material in the language of section 1.5. The Ngarla material used in this work is introduced in 1.6, and in 1.7, the language consultant Alexander (Nyapiri) Brown is presented.

1.2   Ngarla – the community and its language

In 1862, when the northwestern part of Western Australia was opened for colonisation, the Ngarla community lived in the northernmost part of the Pilbara region, as indicated in Figure 1 below.[1] The Ngarla community lived around the mouth of the De Grey River, their territory extending inland to Mulyie Station, eastwards beyond Cape Keraudren and westwards toward the present day town of Port Hedland (Thieberger 1993; Tindale 1974).

In available literature, the community and their language have been referred to by a number of different designations. Curr (1886) introduces the terms Ngurla and Ngirla. Davidson (1938) mentions these two terms, and adds Ngarla, Gnalla and Ngerla. In O'Grady, Voegelin & Voegelin (1966; henceforth referred to as OVV), the designations Ngarla and Wanbarda are used. Tindale (1974) lists most of the labels just mentioned, and also includes Nga:la, Ngala, Ngalana and Kujunguru (the last of which is explained to be a Nyamal word meaning 'coastal dweller', by that group used for the Ngarla and Kariyarra communities). Thieberger (1993) also includes most of the designations mentioned above, and adds Ngalawanga, Ngalawarngga and Ngalawonga. It should however be noted that the last three terms in fact usually designate a community with

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[1]   The Pilbara region is located approximately 1200 kilometres north of Perth, the capital city of Western Australia. It covers 505 000 square kilometres and is bordered in the south by the Tropic of Capricorn, in the west by the Indian Ocean, in the north by the Kimberley region, and in the east by the Northern Territory (Walker 2009).

another language. The latter community traditionally lived on the upper Ashburton river, in a territory neighbouring the Panyjima, Wawula, Watjarri and Yinhawangka communities (cf. Horton 1994).

Figure 1: Indigenous Australian languages of the Pilbara region, northwestern Australia.

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1.3   Classification of Ngarla

The first detailed classification of the languages of the Australian continent, utilising a lexicostatistical method, was presented in OVV (1966). In the classification, all Australian languages are presented as being related and belonging to one big macro-phylum. Ngarla was in this classification placed in the Ngayarda subgroup of the larger Pama-Nyungan family. (In modern literature, the preferred spelling of the subgroup name is 'Ngayarta'; Evans & Jones 1997; Koch 2004; Miceli 2004; OVV 1966.)

The OVV classification was revised in later works, e.g. in Wurm (1972) and in Walsh & Wurm (1981), where not only lexical similarities, but also morphosyntactic criteria were taken into consideration (Austin 2008; Koch 2004). On morphosyntactic grounds, Dench (1994) also proposed a subdivision of the Ngayarta languages into a Northern Ngayarta group, consisting of Ngarla and Nyamal, and a Central Ngayarta group, including remaining Ngayarta languages. Some of the classifications of the Ngayarta languages within the Pama-Nyungan family are presented in Table 1.

Table 1 The Ngayarta languages within Pama-Nyungan (Koch 2004:37).

Language	OVV 1966	Wurm 1972	Walsh & Wurm 1981	Koch 2004
Palyku	Ngayarda	Ngayarda	Wati	Ngayarta
Panyjima	Ngayarda	Ngayarda	Inland Ngayarda	Ngayarta
Ngarla	Ngayarda	Ngayarda	Inland Ngayarda	Ngayarta
Nyamal	Ngayarda	Ngayarda	Inland Ngayarda	Ngayarta
Jurruru	Ngayarda	Ngayarda	Inland Ngayarda	Ngayarta
Yinhawangka	-	-	Inland Ngayarda	Ngayarta
Ngarluma-Kariyarra	Ngayarda	Ngayarda	Coastal Ngayarda	Ngayarta
Martuthunira	Ngayarda	Ngayarda	Coastal Ngayarda	Ngayarta
Nhuwala	Ngayarda	Ngayarda	Coastal Ngayarda	Ngayarta
Yinjibarndi-Kurrama	Ngayarda	Ngayarda	Coastal Ngayarda	Ngayarta
Warriyangka	Mantharta	Mantharta	Inland Ngayarda	Mantharta
Thiin	Mantharta	Mantharta	Coastal Ngayarda	Mantharta
Jiwarli	Mantharta	Mantharta	Coastal Ngayarda	Mantharta
Pinikura	Ngayarda	Ngayarda	Coastal Ngayarda	Kanyara

The OVV classification, and later revisions thereof, have been strongly criticised by some linguists (see e.g. Dixon 1980, 2002a), while others have accepted its validity as a genetic classification, albeit with a certain amount of hedging (Evans & Jones 1997; Wurm 1972).

Bowern & Atkinson (2012) presents the results of a phylogenetic Bayesian analysis made with cognate lexical items in Pama-Nyungan languages. The study shows that the languages together labelled Pama-Nyungan are in fact likely to constitute a language family. It is also concluded that the division of the Ngayarta languages in a Central and a Northern group apparently is a valid one. Due to that, Ngarla is described here as a Northern Ngayarta language of the Pama-Nyungan family.

1.4   The decline of the Ngarla language

According to Curr (1886:288), the Ngarla community consisted of 'several hundred souls' in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and presumably the language of the community had at least as many speakers. The 20th century, however, saw a rapid decline in the number of speakers. Thus, O'Grady (1966) states that Ngarla most likely would become extinct within a few years. von Brandenstein (1967) writes that the language at the time of his investigation had ten speakers at the most. We however need to be cautious to rely on these sentiments. The most thorough searches for Ngarla speakers during the past decades have been undertaken by Geytenbeek (p.c.). Geytenbeek's 1985 count indicated that there were 30 speakers of the language at the time. By 1997, 13 of these speakers had passed away. Presently, few of the speakers in the 1985 count remain alive.

1.5   Previously collected Ngarla material

Comparatively little Ngarla linguistic material has earlier been collected, analysed and published. This section describes the available material. Songs, which constitute a linguistic genre separate from the everyday speech-style, are excluded here.[2]

   Concerning lexical and grammatical information, Thieberger (1993) lists four Ngarla vocabularies, one by Harper, published in Curr (1886); one by Davidson (1932)[3], comprising a comparison of vocabulary in 19 Western Australian languages; one by Smith, the 'Ngarla lexical test list', which was included in O'Grady (1959; cf. O'Grady 1966); and Brown & Geytenbeek's dictionary project (including circa 3000 lexical entries).[4] In addition, there are fieldnotes by O'Grady (1954, 1968) containing Ngarla material[5], information about certain Ngarla lexical items in Ray & Betham Rigby (1897) and an anonymous Ngarla-Italian wordlist from the 1860s.[6] Ngarla material was also collected by Dench (p.c.) on two field trips in 1993 and 1994.

   Ngarla vocabulary is also included in Bates's manuscripts 'Initiation – Miscellaneous' (undated), 'Native vocabularies – Miscellaneous' (undated), and 'Outline of grammar [2] – Pronouns' (undated; Thieberger 1993).

1.6   Materials used

All Ngarla material used in this work has Alexander (Nyapiri) Brown as its source. It consists of twelve short stories, eight handwritten pages (written by Brown) and about 4500 sentences (both elicited sentences and sentences volunteered in the fieldwork

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[2]   It is however worth noting that Ngarla songs were recorded at different points in time during the past century. Published Ngarla songs can be found in Brown & Geytenbeek (2003) and in von Brandenstein & Thomas (1974:33), the latter song also being included in Murray (1986:238).

[3]   AIATSIS collection no.: MS 1097.

[4]   Among published wordlists, Goddard & Thieberger (1997) also include Brown & Geytenbeek (1989-90), in which only a short list of Ngarla vocabulary is included.

[5]   AIATSIS collection no.: MS 312.

[6]   AIATSIS collection no.: AILEC 0427.

setting). The data has been collected primarily by Geytenbeek and by Westerlund.[7] Smaller amounts of material have also been contributed by Alan Dench (see above) and Eleonora Deak (the material having been recorded in a session between Brown and Deak in 2009, and in a session between Brown, Deak and Jessica Mathie (née Denniss) in 2010. Both of the latter sessions were performed on behalf of Westerlund. At the time, Deak and Mathie were employed by the Wangka Maya Pilbara Aboriginal Language Centre in South Hedland.)

Note in this context that Brown was frequently reluctant to be recorded, which, in many cases, led to the linguist having to transcribe Brown's Ngarla statements directly when uttered. This means that most of the material used in this work exists in written form only.

1.7   Introducing the consultant

Alexander (Nyapiri) Brown was born in 1930 to Ngarla woman Cissie (Warrjiringu) and the Chinese cook Ah Fong (cf. Hardie 1988; personal information about Brown is, unless otherwise indicated, based on Brown, p.c. and Geytenbeek, p.c.). While growing up, partly on the De Grey Station and partly at Wariyarranya homestead, Brown learnt to speak three Aboriginal languages, Ngarla and the neighbouring Nyamal and Nyangumarta languages. Later on he also learnt English. In December of 1946, Brown joined the strikers of the Pilbara Walkoff. During the years to come, he took part in, for example, hunting and skinning kangaroos and goats together with other strikers (see section B.2 in Appendix B). In May 1949, he participated in a droving trip from Ethel Creek to Meekatharra (B.3 in Appendix B), and from there continued south. After this, he spent most of his time working outside of the Pilbara region, until he eventually returned home in 1970.

From the first half of the 1980s, Brown took a great interest in Ngarla and neighbouring languages. For example, he took part in the translation of the New Testament to Nyangumarta, he did some work on the Nyamal language together with Dench (p.c.), and also worked with SIL-linguist Brian Geytenbeek on documenting his native Ngarla.

Brown had very little active knowledge of Ngarla in 1984 when he and Geytenbeek started to record and discuss material in the language. However, recovery happened when he started describing pictures of friends and family in an old photo album. Brown and Geytenbeek met regularly between 1984 and 2004 to work with Ngarla. Their work together has resulted in the acclaimed book *Ngarla Songs* (2003) and in the *Ngarla-English Dictionary* (interim editions printed in 1990, 1991, 2002, 2004, 2006). Brown died in his home in South Hedland on Friday, 22nd October 2010.

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[7]   Two fieldtrips were undertaken by Westerlund during his time as a Ph.D.-student. The first one, in November-December 2008, was sponsored by Olof Gjerdman's Foundation. The second one, in August-September 2010, which also included a longer stay in Australia, was sponsored by Håkansson's Foundation and Sederholm's Foundation (all three of the aforementioned foundations being associated with Uppsala University, Sweden).

2. *Phonology & prosody*

2.1 Phoneme inventory & transcription conventions

Ngarla has a fairly typical Australian phoneme inventory (cf. Dixon 2002a), which is illustrated in Table 2 – Table 3 below.[8] Ngarla linguistic examples are in this work rendered in the (mostly) phonemic orthography developed for languages of the eastern Pilbara by Geytenbeek, Geytenbeek, Hudson, Marsh, Marsh and Richards (Geytenbeek, p.c.).[9] Table 4 – Table 5 show which letter(s) in the orthography represent which sound.

Table 2 Ngarla consonant phonemes (OVV 1966).

Place of articulation/ Manner	Bilabial	Apico-alveolar	Retroflex	Lamino-palatal	Dorso-velar
Rhotic		ɾ	ʈ		
Lateral		l	ɭ	ʎ	
Nasal	m	n	ɳ	ɲ	ŋ
Stop	p	t	ʈ	c	k
Semi-vowel	w			y	

Table 3 Ngarla vowel phonemes (OVV 1966).

	Front		Back
High	i iː		u uː
Low		a aː	

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[8] Ngarla phonology is discussed in OVV (1966); Sharp & Thieberger (1992); and in Westerlund (2007), albeit not in great detail.

[9] Notes on transcription and glossing occur in a number of sections in this work. They are however all collected in Appendix A.

Table 4 The rendering of Ngarla consonant phonemes in the ortography developed by Geytenbeek, Geytenbeek, Hudson, Marsh, Marsh and Richards (Geytenbeek 2006).

Place of articulation/ Manner	Bilabial	Apico-alveolar	Retroflex	Lamino-palatal	Dorso-velar
Rhotic		rr	r		
Lateral		l	rl	ly	
Nasal	m	n	rn	ny	ng
Stop	p	t	rt	j	k
Semi-vowel	w			y	

Table 5 The rendering of Ngarla vowel phonemes in the ortography developed by Geytenbeek, Geytenbeek, Hudson, Marsh, Marsh and Richards (Geytenbeek 2006).

	Front	Back
High	i ii	u uu
Low	a aa	

There are no words that start with a vowel in the orthography employed here, but it should be noted that some words spelled with an initial *yi* or *wu* frequently are pronounced with initial *i* or *u*. It should also be noted that the syllable *rri* at the end of verb stems of the Ø conjugation (see section 4.2 below for information about verbal conjugations), and also at the end of the irregular verb *karri*- 'carry', 'take', 'bring' (see 4.4.4.2), usually becomes *yi*, when followed by a suffix beginning with the retroflex nasal *rn* or the lamino-palatal nasal *ny*.[10] In all such contexts, the syllable in question is written as *yi*.

As indicated in Table 3 and Table 5, a contrast is made between long and short vowels. Long vowels occur in most monosyllables (which in themselves are very rare, e.g. in *kuu* 'ssh'; *yuu* 'yes', 'look'), and in stems consisting of a monosyllabic root and added material (as in complex verbs, e.g. *wiiny* 'free', 'unrestrained'; *wiiny ja-L* 'release'; *wiiny ngarri-Ø* 'escape'); and in reduplicated items (*muurr~muurr* 'crunchy noise'). There are only a few examples that show that the contrast between long and short vowels is phonemic. These are presented in Table 6.

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[10] A suffix is defined here as a form that belongs to both the same phonological and grammatical word as the root/stem to which it is attached. A clitic, on the other hand, constitutes a grammatical word on its own, while occurring in the same phonological word as another grammatical word (see sections 2.3 and 4.3.1.3; Dench 1999; Dixon & Aikhenvald 2002).

Table 6 Phonemic vowel length: Ngarla minimal pairs.[11]

Lexical items with short vowel	Lexical items with long vowel
jarla 'cheek'	*jaarla* 'nankeen night heron' (*nycticorax caledonicus*); 'heron' (generic)
jarri- INCH- (?; cf. section 4.3.1.2 with footnotes)	*jaa-rri* chop-PRS 'is chopping'
kayi 'lip'	*kaayi* 'song' (specifically the song that begins the performances on a song and dance-night)
kurturtu 'middle', 'partway'	*kuurturtu* 'bar-shouldered dove' (*geopelia humeralis*)
marli 'frog' (generic)	*maarli* reciprocal kin term used in the senses 'father's father', 'son's son', 'son's daughter'[12]
ma-rri CAUS-PRS (cf. section 4.3)	*maa-rri* get-PRS 'is getting'
marti 'vertical headband' (for holding decorations during a corroboree).	*maarti* 'white dragon tree' (*sesbania formosa*)
mukuru 'spotted scat' (*scatophagus argus*)	*muukuru* 'unmarried girl'
nyara-yan burn-PRS 'is burning'	*nyaa-ra-yan* send-ANTIP-PRS 'is sending'
warri 'nappy', 'baby's rug'	*waa-rri* give-PRS 'is giving'

2.2 Phonotactic constraints

According to Dixon (2002a), the basic syllable type in Australian languages is CV(C). Disyllabic words usually have the form CVCCV(C) or CVCV(C). This is thecase also in Ngarla, where most words consist of two or more syllables.[13]

Sharp & Thieberger (1992) state that eleven consonant phonemes can occur word initially in Ngarla, namely those that are here transcribed *m p w l n r ny j y ng k*. However, in my database, *t* also occurs in this position. It should be noted, however, that of the circa 3000 lexical entries in Brown & Geytenbeek (2008), only five have an

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[11] There are no examples of the following disyllabic nominals in Table 6 receiving ergative marking: *jaarla* 'nankeen night heron' (*nycticorax caledonicus*), 'heron' (generic); *kaayi* 'song without accompanying dance'; *maarli* reciprocal kin term (used in the senses 'father's father', 'son's son', 'son's daughter'); *maarti* 'white dragon tree' (*sesbania formosa*). Examples of these nominals receiving ergative marking would have shown if Ngarla is a mora counting language or not, see Table 8- Table 9 below, with footnotes.

[12] This is a kin term employed by a grandchild to refer to his/her father's father, and the term is also used by the grandfather to refer to his son's child(ren; Brown &Geytenbeek 2008). This is thus not a 'reciprocal kin term' in e.g. Read's (2001:246) sense: 'if ego (properly) refers to alter by the kin term *K* then the reciprocal kin term would be *L* that alter (properly) uses to refer to ego'.

[13] Note that Dixon (2002a) does not discuss trisyllabic or longer words.

initial *l*, one an initial *n*, four an initial *r* and ten an initial *t,* at least half of which are loan words from English.[14]

　　All three vowels and the following consonants occur word finally: *l n rl rn ly ny rr* (Sharp & Thieberger 1992).

2.3　　Stress placement rules

Stress in Ngarla is predictable. In Goedemans (1998), a survey of stress types in Australian languages is presented. Ngarla is described as belonging to a group of languages having '[i]nitial main stress, no information available on secondary stress/Initial stress with frequent stress on second, no regularities discovered' (Goedemans 1998:242, 244). The conclusion drawn in Goedemans (1998) probably has a lack of relevant data as its cause. According to Geytenbeek (2006), the stress placement rules of Ngarla are as shown in Table 7. A few longer suffixes (-*kujarra* 'exclusively', 'completely'; -*rukarra* 'similar to'; -*pungkara* 'associated with specific location') however have their own main stress, which invariably falls on the second syllable (Geytenbeek 2006).[15]

Table 7 Ngarla stress placement in words of different length
(Geytenbeek 2006).

Number of syllables	Stress placement
One to three syllable words	Main stress on 1st syllable, no secondary stress.
Four syllable words	Main stress on 1st syllable, secondary stress on 3rd syllable.
Five syllable words	Main stress on 1st syllable, secondary stress on 4th syllable.
Six syllable words	Main stress on 1st syllable, secondary stress on 3rd and 5th syllables.

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[14] The five lexical entries with an initial *l* are *lamu* 'lamb' (from English); *lilyirr* 'rattling noise'; *lilyirr~lilyirr* 'rattling noise'; and *lirrjal* 'greedy'; and *lungkurtu* 'centralian blue-tongued skink' (tiliqua multifasciata; a loan word from coastal Nyangumarta (Brown & Geytenbeek 2008)). The lexical entry with an initial *n* is *ningku* 'straw-necked ibis' (*threskiornis spinicollis*)/ 'sacred ibis' (*threskiornis aethiopica*), the four with an initial *r* *riji~riji* 'cuttlefish shell'; *rimpirr* 'eddy'; *ruku~ruku* 'peacock sole' (*pardachirus pavoninus*) and *rukuru~kuru* 'type of coral'. Initial *t* is found in *tangki* 'donkey'; *tangurungu* 'teenage boy'; *tawn* 'town'; *tayijan* 'station'; *tayimu* 'time'; *tingkiri* 'stingray (generic)'; *tukurrampi* 'heavy tapered hitting stick', 'club'; *turayin* 'train'; *turntarn* 'skink'; *turru~turru* 'rainbow bee-eater' (*merops ornatus*)).

[15] This clearly distinguishes the suffix -*kujarra* 'exclusively', 'completely' from *kujarra* 'two', the latter of which takes main stress on the first syllable, in accordance with the rules given in Table 7.

3.   *Nominals*

3.1   Preamble: Word classes in Australian languages

When defining word classes in languages around the world, semantic, morphological and syntactic criteria are usually considered (cf. Givón 2001a). In Australian languages, however, semantic and syntactic criteria often work poorly in helping to delimit word classes. Consequently, nominals (a class encompassing e.g. nouns, pronouns and demonstratives) are here primarily defined as lexemes that take case (and number) marking and verbs as lexemes taking tense, aspect, mood and person marking in main clauses.[16] (Another characteristic of Ngarla nominals is that they frequently receive derivational, verbalising morphemes, thus becoming part of complex verbs, see section 4.3 below.) The members of the minor word classes particles and interjections do not inflect (Dixon 1980, 2002a).

3.2   Introduction

As indicated above, different types of lexemes taking case marking are in grammars of Australian Aboriginal languages frequently lumped together under the label 'nominals'. According to Dixon (2002a), the types of lexemes that should be considered to belong to this category are proper nouns, common nouns, adjectives, time words, locational words, demonstratives and pronouns. However, based on differences in case marking potential the following nominal subclasses are distinguished for the Ngarla language: (i) common nouns and demonstratives, (ii) proper nouns, (iii) toponyms, (iv) pronouns, (v) adverbs of time and location (i.e. Dixon's time words and locational words), (vii) numerals and (viii) epistemes (interrogatives/indefinites).

In subsection 3.3 below, some notes on the Ngarla case marking system and the glossing of core cases are offered. Typical case marking and other characteristics of the various subclasses are described in 3.4. In section 3.4.8, lexemes frequently functioning as adjectives are discussed. Ngarla being a highly synthetic language, there is a plethora of suffixes attaching predominantly to common nouns and demonstratives. Only the marking of the most central cases is introduced in 3.4 below.

3.3   Core cases, marking and glossing

Some general notes about the Ngarla case system are in order first. According to Goddard (1982), it has been standard practice in descriptions of grammar of Pama-

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[16]   Note however that case marking also occurs on infinite verb forms in subordinate clauses (cf. chapter 8; Dench & Evans 1988; Dench 1999; Dixon 2002a).

Nyungan languages to describe the marking of core grammatical cases as presenting a split picture, with pronouns predominantly taking nominative-accusative case marking and other nominals ergative-absolutive marking. This type of analysis is provided for Ngarla e.g. in Westerlund (2007, 2009, 2011).

In this work, it is however recognised that marking of case must not be confused with the actual case system of a language. Many Pama-Nyungan languages have tripartite marking for at least one subclass of nominals. In Ngarla, this is true for the 1SG and 2SG pronouns (see section 3.4.4). In line with Goddard (1982), the case marking split is therefore here treated as a syncretism of forms across three cases, ergative, the case of the transitive subject (A); nominative, the case of the intransitive subject (S); and accusative, the case of the transitive object (P).[17] Thus, Ngarla pronouns have homonymous ergative and nominative forms (1, 2SG excluded), other nominals having homonymous nominative and accusative forms (the so-called 'absolutive' form of the ergative-absolutive case marking pattern; see 3.4.1.2).

These syncretisms however give rise to practical problems for the glossing of inflected case forms. Instead of adopting Goddard's (1982:171) convention of 'enclosing inter-linear case value symbols in parentheses if a word being analysed is in a form which is not unique to that case value', a number of simplifications are implemented, in line with Dench (1999). The case function of each individual form is thus not represented in the example sentences in this work. Rather, the unmarked forms of nominals that may appear in either intransitive subject or accusative object function are left without case labels. Similarly, pronouns in both transitive and intransitive subject function are consistently labelled 'nominative'. (This is however not the case for the 1, 2SG pronouns; see 3.4.4) In most other instances, the labels given to both nominal suffixes and pronoun forms reflect the appropriate case functions.[18]

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[17]   According to Goddard (1982), 'nominative' is in terminological tradition the case of the S.

[18]   As illustrated in 3.4.1.2, the ergative suffixes also function as markers of the instrumental case. They are nevertheless glossed –ERG in all contexts. The dative case is consistently glossed -DAT, despite also marking genitive. (This is true also for the dative suffixes on pronouns, with the exception of the SG pronouns, which have separate genitive forms, cf. section 3.4.4 below.) While notes on glossing and transcription occur in a number of sections in this volume, they have all been collected in Appendix A.

3.4   Nominal subclasses

3.4.1   Common nouns and demonstratives

3.4.1.1   Introduction

There are three Ngarla demonstratives that indicate position relative to the speaker: *nyayi* (proximate), *palakarni* (mid-distant) and *ngunyi* (distant).[19] Common nouns (i.e. count and mass nouns) and demonstratives are assigned case and number marking following the same set of rules, and that is the reason for discussing them together in this section. Following Blake (2001), case is here divided into grammatical cases, which mark syntactic relations (3.4.1.2), and semantic cases, encoding such things as location and source (3.4.1.3). Number marking is introduced in 3.4.1.4.

3.4.1.2   Grammatical cases

Ngarla common nouns and demonstratives in subject function in transitive clauses obligatorily take ergative case marking. The ergative markers, and the rules by which they are distributed, are listed in Table 8 below.

Table 8 Ergative allomorphs in Ngarla (Westerlund 2009:117).

Ergative allomorph	Distribution
-ngku	with disyllabic stems ending with a vowel, the last syllable of which does not contain a homorganic nasal+stop cluster[20]
-ku	with disyllabic stems ending with a vowel, the last syllable of which contains a homorganic nasal+stop cluster
-lu	with stems of more than two syllables, ending with a vowel
-tu	with nominals that end with an apico-alveolar consonant
-ju	with nominals ending with a palatal consonant

The ergative suffixes also function as markers of the (semantic) instrumental case (but they are nevertheless in this work consistently glossed -ERG; Westerlund 2007, 2009).

Example sentences illustrating the use of the ergative allomorphs are given in (1) – (2). The ergative marked constituents are highlighted. In (1), *-ngku* marks the ergative and *-lu* the instrumental case.

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[19] Very occasionally, *palakarni* is abbreviated to *pala*. The form *palangka* (*pala*-LOC) is however employed on the discourse level, to refer back to something that has been mentioned previously, most frequently a toponym. *Palangka* is in this volume glossed simply as 'there'.

[20] In Westerlund (2009), the distribution of the allomorphs *-ngku*, *-ku* and *-lu* was described in terms of number of mora. Since there is however no clear evidence that Ngarla is a mora counting language, the distribution is here described in terms of the number of syllables. Cf. section 2.1, with footnotes.

(1)   ***Ngunyi-ngku***   ***yawarta-karta-lu***   *warnta*
       DEM (distant)-ERG   horse-COM-ERG   tree
       palarr ma-rri.
       secure CAUS-PRS
       'That one is pulling (a) tree with (a) horse.' (TW10)

(2)   *Kunti+ma-rnu*   *nganya*   ***yukun-tu***.
       choke[+CAUS]-PST   1SG.ACC   smoke-ERG
       '(The) smoke choked me.' (#)

(3)   *Wataku*   *para*   ***partanyal-ku***   ***jilya-rra***
       unimportant   3SG.DAT   one-DAT   child-DAT
       waa-n!
       give-FUT[21]
       '(It's) unimportant, to the one child give (it)!' (#)

(4)   *Palakarni-lu*   *punga-rnu*   *para*   *karlajangu*
       DEM (mid)-ERG   kill-PST   3SG.DAT   cattle
       jarntu   ***Piyita-rra***.
       friendly   Piyita [Peter]-DAT
       'That one killed Piyita's friendly (i.e. pet) cattle.' (#)

3.4.1.3   *Semantic cases*

One Ngarla semantic case, the instrumental, was mentioned above. Six more will be introduced here: locative (marking 'at'/'on'/'under'/'near' etc.), allative ('to'), ablative ('from'), source ('coming/deriving from') and the typical Australian comitative ('having') and privative ('lacking') cases. Locative codes the semantic role of location (Blake 2001). Note that the various locative and ergative allomorphs are identical except for the final vowel (locative allomorphs ending with *a*, ergative allomorphs with *u*; the obvious exception to this pattern being *-lu*/*-ngura*), see Table 9. The allomorphs of the two cases are also distributed following the same set of rules.

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[21]   As shown in this example, the Ngarla Future tense inflection is also employed to create imperatives. In all contexts, the inflection is however glossed -FUT. See section 4.4.3.2.4 below. Note that the label for this category has been changed since the publication of Westerlund (2011).

Table 9 Ergative and locative allomorphs in Ngarla (Westerlund 2009:117).

Ergative allomorph	Locative allomorph	Distribution
-ngku	*-ngka*	with disyllabic stems ending with a vowel, the last syllable of which does not contain a homorganic nasal+stop cluster[22]
-ku	*-ka*	with disyllabic stems ending with a vowel, the last syllable of which contains a homorganic nasal+stop cluster
-lu	*-ngura*	with stems of more than two syllables, ending with a vowel[23]
-tu	*-ta*	with nominals that end with an apico-alveolar consonant
-ju	*-ja*	with nominals ending with a palatal consonant

The locative case is employed in Ngarla in ways that correspond to the use of a number of different prepositions in English. A couple of examples are given in (5) – (6).

(5)　　*Nyini-yan-pi-ya*　　**Kurlijangu-nya-ngura**
　　　　stay-PRS-EP[24]-3PL　　Kurlijangu-AREA-LOC
　　　　yinta-ka.
　　　　permanent.water hole-LOC
　　　　'They are staying by (the) Kurlijangu area permanent water hole.'
　　　　(#)

(6)　　*Mangkuru*　　　　*ngunyi*　　　　　　*nyini-yan*
　　　　kangaroo　　　　DEM (distant)　　　　sit-PRS
　　　　wakurla-ngura.
　　　　boulder-LOC
　　　　'That kangaroo is sitting on (a) boulder.' (AD)

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[22] In Westerlund (2009), the distribution of the allomorphs *-ngku/-ngku*, *-ku/-ka* and *-lu/-ngura* was described in terms of number of mora. However, since there is no clear evidence that Ngarla is a mora counting language, the distribution is here described in terms of the number of syllables. Cf. 2.1, with footnotes.

[23] Compare the conclusion reached here about the use of the *-ngura* locative allomorph with Dench (2001). In Dench, it is stated that this allomorph in Ngarla is employed on dimoraic stems.

[24] *-pi-* is an epenthetic element inserted between TAM suffixes ending on the nasal *n* and the person marker *-ya*, cf. section 4.4.5.

In Australian languages, locative can also be used on nominals denoting different parts of the day or the year, in the sense 'time at' (Dixon 2002a), like on *kunaran* 'winter' in example (7) below.

(7)　　　*Kunu ngayi-nyu*
　　　　hibernation INCH-PST
　　　　maruntu
　　　　Gould's goanna (1. *varanus gouldi*; 2. *varanus panoptes*)
　　　　kunaran-ta.
　　　　winter-LOC
　　　　'(The) goanna hibernated during (the) winter.' (#)

Allative is in Ngarla marked by the suffix *-karni*, and ablative by *-nguru*, as illustrated in (8). While the ablative implies movement away from something (e.g. from a specific location), the case labelled here source marks the point of origin or source of something, see (9).[25] Source is marked by the suffix *-kapu*. For other examples of the use of this case, cf. also sentences (39), (338).

(8)　　　*Ngarta　yaa-nu　　**Kurru-nya-nguru***
　　　　man　　go-PST　　Kurru [DeGrey]-AREA-ABL
　　　　Marapikurri-nya-karni.
　　　　Marapikurri [Port Hedland]-AREA-ALL
　　　　'(A) man went from (the) Kurru area to (the) Marapikurri area.'
　　　　(ED)

(9)　　　***Palakarni-kapu***　　*ngaja*　　　***warnta-kapu***
　　　　DEM (mid)-SCE　　1SG.ERG　　tree-SCE
　　　　maa-rnta　　　　　*kurnkuwarra*.
　　　　get-REMPST　　　　honey
　　　　'From that tree I got honey (long ago).' (#)[26]

In most Australian languages there is a case commonly labelled comitative or proprietive, that marks the presence of an object or state (i.e. 'having'), and a corresponding 'lacking' case called privative/abessive (Blake 2001; Dixon 2002a). These cases are in Dench & Evans (1988) described as filling an adnominal function, i.e. to specify relations within noun phrases. In Ngarla, the cases, labelled here comitative and privative, are marked by *-karta* (10), and *-yanya* (11), respectively.

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[25]　The semantic role source is in Blake (2001:68) defined in the following way: 'The point from which an entity moves or derives'.

[26]　This example includes a discontinuous noun phrase. *Palakarni-kapu* (DEM (mid)-SCE) and *warnta-kapu* (tree-SCE) thus together constitute a noun phrase. *Ngaja* (1SG.ERG) intervenes between the noun phrase constituents. Cf. section 6.1.

(10) *Ngunyi*   *marrungu*   **nyamu~nyamu-karta**
      DEM (distant)   man   moustache-COM
      milpa-yan   *nganyjarra-nga.*
      come-PRS   1PL.INCL-DAT
      'That man with (a) moustache is coming for us.' (TW08)

(11) **Jantu-yanya**   *yanangka-yan*   *pila-karni.*
      weapon-PRIV   go-PRS   fight-ALL
      'Without weapon (he) is going to (the/a) fight.' (TW08)

3.4.1.4   Number marking

Dual and plural markers are suffixed to Ngarla common nouns and demonstratives. Dual is marked by *-jarra*, and plural by *-karrangu, -kurru, -marri, -marta,* and *-nyjarri*. Neither marker is however compulsory. The dual marker is usually employed (12) unless the duality is indicated through the presence of the numeral *kujarra* 'two' (13) or a pronoun (14). (However, the main function of pronouns included in noun phrases with non-pronominal NP heads is not to mark number; see section 6.2.)

(12) **Palakarni-jarra**   **ngarta**   *yaa-n-pula*   *wiyanu.*
      DEM (mid)-DU   man   go-FUT-3DU   hunting
      'Those two men will go hunting.' (TW08)

(13) **Kujarra**   **marrungu**   *yipa-nmarri-yanu-pula.*
      two   man   growl.at-RECP-CPST-3DU
      'Two men kept growling at each other.' (TW08)

(14) **Nyayi-ngku**   *kayi-nyu-pula*   *wula*
      DEM (proximate)-ERG   take-PST-3DU   water
      piyalu   *yukurru-rra*   *para.*
      3DU.NOM   dog-DAT   3SG.DAT
      'These two took water for the dog.' (TW08)

Plural marking however occurs only rarely. Of the five plural markers mentioned above, *-marta* appears to be most versatile, in that it occurs with all demonstratives (15) and also with some common nouns; (16) – (17). *-nyjarri* is used with a few, mostly animate, nominals (e.g. *ngarta* 'man', 'human being'; *pakarli* 'young initiate'; *mirtawari* 'elderly woman'; *mirtanya* 'elderly man') and *-kurru* with a few inanimate ones (e.g. *wurrangkura* 'River red gum tree' (*eucalyptus camaldulensis*)). *-karrangu* is known to create the plural form of *jilya* 'child' only and *-marri* the plural form of *kunyjarta* 'woman'.[27] As shown in (18), number, unlike grammatical case, does not

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[27] There is also a suffix *-malingka* that marks plural on Ngarla kin terms, as in e.g. *Wayirru nyurra ngapari-malingka ngani+ma-nmarri-yan?* Q 2PL.NOM man's.cross.cousin-PL see[+CAUS]-RECP-PRS 'Do you (and your) cross cousins see each other?' (TW08)

have to be marked with all constituents of a noun phrase.[28] (The relevant noun phrases are below highlighted for clarity.)

(15)   ***Palakarni-marta***   *waa-n*   *nganu!*
        DEM (mid)-PL   give-FUT   1SG.DAT
        'Those ones give me!' (#)

(16)   ***Yukurru-marta***   *yanangka-yan-pi-ya.*
        dog-PL   go-PRS-EP-3PL
        '(Several) dogs are going.' (#)

(17)   ***Mungu-marta***   *yaa-nu-ya.*
        alone-PL   go-PST-3PL
        '(Only) a few (people) went.' (#)

(18)   ***Palakarni-jarra***   ***ngarta***   *yaa-n-pula*   *wiyanu.*
        DEM (mid)-DU   man   go-FUT-3DU   hunting
        'Those two men will go hunting.' (TW08)

3.4.2   Proper nouns

Proper nouns in Ngarla do not usually take semantic cases or number markers, but they are assigned overt grammatical cases following the same rules as common nouns and demonstratives. The honorific marker *-marra* is used exclusively with proper nouns, and may be added before any case suffix. As illustrated in (19) - (20) below, it is a stem-forming suffix. Thus, the name *Turru* takes the ergative allomorph *-ngku* in (19),

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[28]   When it comes to the ordering of case and number suffixes, a distinction needs to be made between common nouns and demonstratives. On demonstratives, the dual *-jarra* and the plural *-marta* always follow case marking suffixes, which are attached directly to the stem, as in the following examples: *Nyayi-ngku-jarra karri-Ø-pula yukurru wiyanu.* DEM (proximate)-ERG-DU take-FUT-3DU dog hunting 'These two will take (the) dog hunting.' (TW08); *Minyji+ma-rnu-ya nyinu mantu nyayi-ngku-marta.* steal[+CAUS]-PST-3PL 2SG.DAT meat DEM (proximate)-ERG-PL 'These ones stole your meat.' (TW08) With common nouns, plural suffixes attach directly to the root/stem and thus precede case marking suffixes: *Jilya-karrangu-lu nganarna pilyparr karra+ma-yirnta jimpulyu* child-PL-ERG 1PL.EXCL.NOM unsuccessfully grab[+CAUS]-USI little grebe (*tachybaptus novaehollandiae*) 'We children used to unsuccessfully grab grebe(s) (i.e. used to try to catch grebes).' (#) The dual suffix and case marking suffixes are however distributed in the same way as with demonstratives (demonstrative-case-dual): *Jilya-ngku-jarra warnta yirriny+ma-rri-pula.* child-ERG-DU log lift[+CAUS]-PRS-3DU 'Two children are lifting (the/a) log.' (#) Number and case marking suffixes in Ngarla do thus not occupy fixed slots relative to the nominal root/stem. This would seem to imply that *-marta*, the only plural marker to occur with both demonstratives and common nouns, should in fact be analysed as a clitic rather than as a suffix.

as expected of disyllabic stems. In (20), *Turrumarra* consists of more than two syllables, and is therefore instead marked by the *-lu* allomorph.[29]

(19) **Turru-ngku**   *jipal pi-rri*   *palakarni*
      Turru-ERG   increase CAUS-PRS   DEM (mid)
      pirrjarta.
      vehicle
      'Turru is making that vehicle increase (i.e. is starting up that vehicle).' (TW10)

(20) *Pana-nya*   *wangka*   *wanyja-yinyu*
      3PL-ACC   speech   put-CPST
      mirli~mirli-ngura **Turru-marra-lu**.
      paper-LOC   Turru-RESP-ERG
      'The speech (the) honourable Turru put on paper.' (TW08)

3.4.3   Toponyms

Toponyms are singled out since a group of nominal suffixes attach exclusively or predominantly to them. Two further semantic cases, one denoting 'in the area of' (*-nya*), the other 'exactly (at)' (*-malu*), belong to this group (21). The latter case however occasionally also attaches to other types of nominals, as in (22). The suffix *-jirri*, which creates the sense 'dweller/resident of' occurs exclusively with toponyms (23), and in questions about toponyms (24).

(21) *Nyini-yanta*   *nganarna*
      stay-USI   1PL.EXCL.NOM
      Kurru-malu.   *Palangka-nguru*   *ngaya*
      Kurru-EX   there-ABL   1SG.NOM
      yaa-nu   **Marapikurri-nya-karni**.
      go-PST   Marapikurri-AREA-ALL
      'We were staying right at Kurru. From there I went to (the) Marapikurri area.' (TW08)

(22) **Marany-malu**   *yurta*   *nganarna*
      river-EX   fish   1PL.EXCL.NOM
      pana-nya   *maa-rnu.*
      3PL-ACC   get-PST
      'Right at (the) river we got the fish.' (#)

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[29] The dative suffix in its genitive function on a proper noun was illustrated in sentence (4) above.

(23)   ***Mukurri-jirri***   *ngaya.*
Mukurri-DWELLER   1SG.NOM
'(A) Mukurri dweller I (am).' (#)

(24)   ***Wanyjakalu-jirri***   *palakarni*   *marrungu*
EPI (where)-DWELLER   DEM (mid)   man
nyanta marri-yan?
here INCH-PRS
'Where (does) that man (that) is coming here dwell?' (TW08)

3.4.4   Pronouns

As mentioned above, pronouns are included in the nominal class of Australian languages primarily based on the fact that they inflect for case. However, not distinguishing pronouns as a separate word class is also warranted by the fact that the division between pronoun and other nominals is not absolute in Ngarla. Pronouns do not only occur instead of other types of nominals but also together with them, as in e.g. (25). Here, *jilya-karrangu-lu* (child-PL-ERG) and *nganarna* (1PL.EXCL.NOM) together constitute a noun phrase. (See more about noun phrases in chapter 6.)

(25)   ***Jilya-karrangu-lu***   *nganarna*
child-PL-ERG   1PL.EXCL.NOM
pilyparr   *karra+ma-yirnta*
unsuccessfully   grab[+CAUS]-USI
jimpulyu
little grebe (*tachybaptus novaehollandiae*)
'We children used to unsuccessfully grab grebe(s) (i.e. used to try
to catch grebes).' (#)

Ngarla pronouns distinguish three persons (first, second and third) and three numbers (singular, dual and plural), as shown in Table 10. For first person non-singular pronouns, an inclusive/exclusive distinction is also made.

Table 10 Ngarla pronouns and their case inflections (Dench 1994; Westerlund 2007, 2009)

Person	ERG	NOM	ACC	DAT	GEN	LOC
1SG	*ngaja*	*ngaya*	*nganya*	*nganu*	*nganu-nga*	*ngajapa*
1DU.INCL		*ngali*	*ngali-nya*	*ngali-nga*	*ngali-nga*	*ngali-la*
1DU.EXCL		*ngaliya*	*ngaliya-nya*	*ngaliya-nga*	*ngaliya-nga*	*ngaliya-la*
1PL.INCL		*nganyjarra*	*nganyjarra-nya*	*nganyjarra-nga*	*nganyjarra-nga*	*nganyjarra-la*
1PL.EXCL		*nganarna*	*nganarna-nya*	*nganarna-nga*	*nganarna-nga*	*nganarna-la*
2SG	*nyinta*	*nyinpa*	*nyina*	*nyinu*	*nyinu-nga*	*nyintapa*
2DU		*nyumpalu*	*nyumpala-nya*	*nyumpala-nga*	*nyumpala-nga*	*nyumpala-la*
2PL		*nyurra*	*nyurra-nya*	*nyurra-nga*	*nyurra-nga*	*nyurra-la*
3SG		*palura*	*parnu-nya*	*para*	*parnu-nga*	*palu*
3DU		*piyalu*	*piya-nya*	*piya-nga*	*piya-nga*	*piyala-la*
3PL		*panalu*	*pana-nya*	*pana-nga*	*pana-nga*	*panala-la*

All the known Ngarla pronominal case forms are included in Table 10. Something that is obvious is that there are different pronominal forms in intransitive and transitive subject function (i.e. nominative and ergative forms) for 1SG and 2SG only (cf. (26) – (27), which illustrate this for 1SG). Remaining pronouns have the same form (the nominative) in both functions, as illustrated for *palura* (3SG) in (28) – (29).

(26)   *Parni-yan*   ***ngaya****.*
       stay-PRS   1SG.NOM
       'Staying I am.' *(#)*

(27)   ***Ngaja***   *karl~karl ja-rri*   *wula.*
       1SG.ERG   gargle CAUS-PRS   water
       'I am gargling water.' (TW10)

(28)   ***Palura***   *wangka karri-yanu*   *juntu.*
       3SG.NOM   speech INCH-CPST   straight
       'He spoke straight (i.e. rightly).' (#)

(29)   *Kankara*   *wanyja-rnu*   ***palura****.*
       high.up   leave-PST   3SG.NOM
       'High up he left (it).' (#)

Only the singular pronouns have separate dative and genitive forms. This is illustrated for 1SG in (30) below, where *nganu* is the dative and *nganunga* the genitive form.[30] The combined dative/genitive of remaining pronouns is in this work consistently glossed -DAT.

(30)   *Warrukarti*   *ngaja*   *kapukarri ma-rnu*
       night   1SG.ERG   dream CAUS-PST
       nganu-nga   *malya*   *warniya*
       1SG-GEN   father   mother
       milpa-nyu-pula   ***nganu***
       come-PST-3DU   1SG.DAT
       '(In the) night I dreamt (that) my father (and) mother came for (i.e. to) me.' (TW10)

Irregularly inflected pronouns are found in the singular paradigm only. Since pronouns occur very frequently in the example sentences in this work, such pronominal case forms are not exemplified here.

More common than irregular inflections are alternating stems. *Nyumpalu* (2DU.NOM) thus becomes *nyumpala-* when being inflected for case. *Piyalu* (3DU.NOM) and *panalu* (3PL.NOM), similarly become *piyala-* and *panala-* when

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[30]   The forms *nganu/nyinu* are most frequently employed in the dative function, but there are also examples of them being used to mark genitive; see e.g. (97).

taking locative marking. With remaining cases, these stems are however shortened to *piya-* and *pana-*. In the singular paradigm, the 3SG *palura* becomes *parnu-* with accusative and genitive case.

It should be noted that what is here described as the 3SG pronoun is in fact only rarely employed as a pronoun (for information about a major function of this lexical unit, see section 6.2 below). Instead, demonstratives are used to establish third person singular reference in subject and direct object function. Although a lack of linguistic context is a problem in much of the elicited Ngarla material, there is some evidence to suggest that *palura* (and its different case forms) is used as a pronoun only when the identity of the referent has already been established. In (31), reference is thus first established through the proper noun *Nyapiri*. *-yingkal* is an associative nominal suffix.

(31)   ***Nyapiri***   *ngaja*   *wangka nya-rnu,*   ***palura***
       Nyapiri   1SG.ERG   speech CAUS-PST   3SG.NOM
       ngurru-yingkal.
       happiness-ASSOC
       'I spoke to Nyapiri, he (was) happy.' (TW08)

One pronoun not introduced above is the invariant reflexive *pulala*, which is employed in all contexts that express that someone is doing something to or with himself/herself; (32).

(32)   *Ngunyi-ngku*   *ngarta-nyjarri-lu*
       DEM (distant)-ERG   human.being-PL-ERG
       pirri-rri-ya   ***pulala***,   *warlu-ngku*
       scratch-PRS-3PL   REFL   processionary.caterpillar-ERG
       pana-nya   *paji-rri.*
       3PL-ACC   bite-PRS
       'Those people are scratching themselves, processionary caterpillar(s) are biting them.' (#)

3.4.5   Adverbs of time and location

According to Dixon (2002a), there are in most Australian languages small closed classes of locational words and time words which serve a deictic function, in that they refer to points in time or locations relative to the speech situation. These lexemes take only a subset of nominal case markers, predominantly the allative and ablative cases (cf. Dixon 1980; Saaed 2003).

Corresponding lexemes in Ngarla are analysed here as adverbs of time and location. They almost exclusively take allative, ablative and source case marking, as illustrated in sentences (35), (37), (39) below.[31] Verbs are not compulsory in Ngarla statements (cf. examples (38) – (39), but these adverbs nevertheless modify the predicate, i.e. the verb,

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[31]   Occasional examples with the dative case have also been found.

or if a verb is absent, the nominal predicate (Dixon 2004; cf. Schachter & Shopen 2007 and section 7.3 below).[32]

(33)   *Parta-ngku*   *marrungu-lu*
       other-ERG   man-ERG
       yipa-yirnta   *parta*   *marrungu*   **murlurnu**
       growl.at-USI   other   man   long.ago
       'Another (i.e. one) man used to growl at another man long ago.'
       (TW10)

(34)   *Yaa-nu-ya*   **nyangkala**   *yurta-karni.*

       go-PST-3PL   now   fish-ALL
       'They went (just) now to (the) fish (i.e. to go fishing).' (TW08)

(35)   *Marrungu-lu*
       man-ERG
       maruntu
       Gould's goanna (1. *varanus gouldi*, 2. *varanus panoptes*)
       jina ma-rri   *parta-ngka*   *pirri-ngka-kapu,*
       foot CAUS-PRS   other-LOC   afternoon-LOC-SCE
       parta   *ngani+ma-rnu*   *jina*
       other   see[+CAUS]-PST   foot (print)
       nyangkala-kapu   *yijangu.*
       today-SCE   new
       '(The) man is following (a) goanna another (i.e. yesterday) afternoon, (and then he) saw another new footprint (i.e. track) from today.'[33] [Presumably this means that the man was following a goanna track made yesterday, when discovering a track made today.] (#)

(36)   **Warrumurntu**   *nganarna*   *pana-nya*
       next.day   1PL.EXCL.NOM   3PL-ACC
       karri-Ø   *karlajangu*   *parta-karni*
       take-FUT   cattle   other-ALL
       ngurra-karni.
       camp-ALL
       '(The) next day we will take the cattle to another camp.'

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[32]   In (38), the nominal predicate consists of *palu Dirranbandi-ngura* 3SG.LOC Dirranbandi-LOC and in (39) of *malyi~malyi jurtapirri* cold wind.

[33]   Another possible translation of this sentence is 'the man is following (a) goanna (track from) another (i.e. yesterday) afternoon, (and) saw another new footprint (i.e. track) from today.'

(37) **Ngarntaku-karni**   *warni ji-n*   *palakarni*
other.side-ALL   fall CAUS-FUT   DEM (mid)
mankura!
stone
'Make that stone fall (i.e. throw that stone) to (the) other side!' (#)

(38) *Nyayi*   *tayijan*   **panta**   *palu*
DEM (proximate)   station   close   3SG.LOC
Dirranbandi-ngura.
Dirranbandi-LOC
'This station (is) close to the Dirranbandi.' (#)

(39) **Wurruru-kapu-lu**   *nganyjarra-nga*   *malyi~malyi*
south-SCE-ERG   1PL.INCL-DAT   cold
jurtapirri.[34]
wind
'From (the) south (a) cold wind (is blowing) for us.' (TW10)

One characteristic of this subset of Ngarla nominals is that they do not take locative marking, since they are inherently locative (locating the event discussed at a particular time or place; cf. Dixon 2002a.). The Ngarla lexemes of the subset known at the time of writing are listed below, and some are also exemplified in (33) – (39).

Table 11 Adverbs of time.

Adverbs of time	Meaning (+ example sentence)
murlurnu	'previously', 'long ago' (33)
nyangkala	'today', 'now', 'these days' (34) – (35)
warrukarti	'night'
warrumurntu	'morning', 'tomorrow', 'next day' (36) [35]
yarti	'later'

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[34] *Jurtapirri* is employed both for an eastern (hot) wind blowing in the summertime and for a southern (cold) wind blowing in the wintertime.

[35] There is one example of *warrumurntu* taking locative marking: *Palakarni mantu ngaja karri-Ø pala-ngka warrumurntu-ngura.* DEM (mid) meat 1SG.ERG take-FUT DEM (mid)-LOC morning-LOC 'That meat I will take on that morning (i.e. tomorrow morning).' (TW08) Sentences where *warrumurntu* is unmarked for locative, but occurs together with a locative marked constituent, are however more numerous. For this reason, it is here considered likely that the aberrant sentence represents a slip of mind on the part of the language consultant Brown.

Table 12 Adverbs of location.

Adverb	Meaning (+ example sentence)
jajukarra	'distant'
kanarni	'inside', 'underneath'
kanimparra	'downwards', 'north'
kankara	'high up'
kankarni	'on top (of)'
ngalangka	'hereabouts'[36]
ngarntaku	'other side' (37)
nyangu/nyanta	'here'
panta	'close', 'near' (38)
wulyulu	'west'[37]
wurruru	'south' (39)
yapurru	'north'
yarrka	'in the distance'
yiju	'east'

3.4.6   Numerals

In languages in general, numerals are frequently analysed as nominal adjuncts or modifiers (Payne 1997; Schachter & Shopen 2007). According to Dixon (2002a), most Australian languages lack a separate numeral word class. The number of numerals found is usually very restricted. In Ngarla, the numeral subset would appear only to consist of *partanyal* 'one'; *kujarra* 'two'; *purrku* 'three'; and *kulyu* 'many' (cf. also *kurrngal* 'many' below). These lexemes occur with both semantic (40) and grammatical (41) case marking.

(40)   *Kujarra   ngunyi-ngka   ngarta   yini-karta*
         two   DEM (distant)-LOC   man   name-COM
         partanyal-karta.
         one-COM
         'Two men over there have one (i.e. the same) name.' (#)

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[36]   *Ngalangka* would appear to consist of a root *ngala* plus the locative *-ngka*. Synchronically, however, *ngala* is only known in the sense 'different', which appears completely unrelated to the meaning of *ngalangka*. *Ngalangka* is used to denote a more general area than *nyayi-ngka* (DEM (proximate)-LOC); cf. subsection 3.4.1.

[37]   *Wulyulu* only exists as a lexical entry in Brown & Geytenbeek (2006). There are no examples of its use. It is nevertheless very likely that it should be included here, together with remaining compass points.

(41)   **Kujarra-lu**   *pirirri-lu*   *karra+ma-rnu-pula*
       two-ERG   man-ERG   grab[+CAUS]-PST-3DU
       mangkuru.
       kangaroo
       'Two men grabbed (i.e. caught) (a) kangaroo.' (TW08)

One characteristic of the numerals is that they are the only nominals that take the
-*mal/mil* suffix, which encodes the idea of frequency, as in (42) – (43). My language
consultant used the allomorph -*mal* with *partanyal* 'one' and -*mil* with *kulyu* 'many'.
With *kujarra* 'two' and *purrku* 'three' he alternated between the two forms. Logically,
kurrngal 'many' (implying a larger number than *kulyu*) should belong to this category
(44). There are however no instances in the Ngarla database of this nominal taking the
frequentive suffix.

(42)   *Ngani+ma-rnu*   *ngaja*   **partanyal-mal**.
       see[+CAUS]-PST   1SG.ERG   one-FREQ
       'I saw (him) once.' (TW08)

(43)   Person 1   *Jakakurrpu*   *nganu*
                  species.of.grass (with edible grains)   1SG.DAT
                  waa-n!
                  give-FUT
       Person 2   *Nyayi*   *partanyal*   *mara*
                  DEM (proximate)   one   hand
                  winya.
                  full
       Person 1   *Mirta!*   *Waa-n*   *nganu*   **kulyu-mil**!
                  NEG   give-FUT   1SG.DAT   many-FREQ
       Person 1: 'Give me grass(-seeds)!' Person 2: 'Here (is) one handful.'
       Person 1: 'No! Give me many times (more)!'

(44)   *Palakarni*   *mangarrjarra*   *kartu*
       DEM (mid)   aeroplane   big
       murri,   *marrungu*   *pana-nya*   **kurrngal**
       INTNS   man   3PL-ACC   many
       murri   *karri-rri.*
       INTNS   carry-PRS
       'That aeroplane (is) very big, (and it) is carrying lots of people.'
       (TW08)

3.4.7   Epistemes

A common feature of Australian languages is for the same set of lexemes to be
employed both as interrogatives in content questions, and as indefinites in statements of

lack of knowledge. This seems to be the case also in Ngarla, and following Mushin (1995), the lexemes in question are here together labelled epistemes (from the Greek word for 'knowledge'; Mushin 1995).[38] Following Durie (1985:151), epistemes (in Durie labelled 'epistemological classifiers') are defined as follows: 'These are morphemes used in contexts where knowledge is at issue: the knowledge of something's identity, existence or attribute.' In Ngarla, epistemes usually occur statement initially in content questions (see examples (45) – (50) below).[39]

Although no diachronic analysis has been done, it would seem that most Ngarla epistemes consist of the roots *ngana* or *wanyja*, with the addition of different nominal suffixes (see Table 13and Mushin 1995). *Wanyja* means 'which one'. *Ngana* does not have a synchronic meaning in the language, but it means 'who' in other languages in the same part of Australia, e.g. Martuthunira and Warnman (Dench 1995; Wangka Maya 2010). Only the interrogative senses of the epistemes are given below, the reason being that they predominantly occur as interrogatives in the Ngarla material.

Table 13 Ngarla epistemes.

Episteme	Interrogative meaning
nganakapu	'who' (polite)
ngananya	'what'
ngananyakapu	'why'
ngananyakarra	'when'
ngananyawanti	'what for'
wanyja	'which one'
wanyjakalu	'where' (used when requesting specific location of someone/something)
wanyjakarni	'to where' (directional)
ngantu	'who' (less polite)
ngarrala	'how many'

In the existing Ngarla material, *nganakapu* 'who', *ngananya* 'what' and *ngananyakapu* 'why' all take overt grammatical case marking. In questions about a transitive subject, they thus take the ergative -*lu* allomorph; examples (45) – (46). In inquiries about an intransitive subject (47) or a transitive object (48) they are unmarked for case. As illustrated in (49), dative marking (-*rra*) occurs in questions about an indirect object. Note that the episteme *ngantu* 'who' (50) in the Ngarla database is used exclusively in questions about transitive subjects.

(45)   ***Nganakapu-lu***   *punga-rnu*   *yukurru?*
         EPI (who)-ERG   hit-PST   dog
         'Who hit (the) dog?' (AD)

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[38]   In Mushin (1995), these are analysed as constituting a separate word class.
[39]   Concerning Ngarla polar ('yes/no') questions, see section 5.2 below.

(46) ***Ngananya-lu***   *nyinu*   *palakarni*   *jauja*
EPI (what)-ERG   2SG.DAT   DEM (mid)   trousers
kangkarr pi-rnu?
tear CAUS-PST
'What tore those trousers of yours?' (TW08)

(47) ***Ngananya***   *ngunyi*
EPI (what)   DEM (distant)
payiny ngarri-yan?
bang INCH-PRS
'What (is) that (that) is banging?' (TW10)

(48) ***Nganakapu***   *paji-rnu*   *yukurru-lu?*
EPI (who)   bite-PST   dog-ERG
'Who did (the) dog bite?' (AD)

(49) ***Ngananya-rra***   *nyinpa*   *jurni karri-yan?*
EPI (what)-DAT   2SG.NOM   laughter INCH-PRS
'What are you laughing at?' (#)

(50) ***Ngantu***   *nganu*   *kayi-nyu*   *mantu?*
EPI (who)   1SG.DAT   take-PST   meat
'Who took my meat?'

Sentences (51) – (52) exemplify the epistemes *nganakapu* and *nganananya* in indirect questions. Example (53), which shows *wanyjakarni* in its indefinite use, is the only clear example in the Ngarla database of an episteme being used in the indefinite sense.

(51) *Yula+rri-Ø*   *yini*   *ngajapa*
say[+INCH]-FUT   name   1SG.LOC
nganakapu   *murri*   *nyinpa.*
EPI (who)   INTNS   2SG.NOM
'Say (your) name on (i.e. to) me (and) who (it is) you (are).' (#)

(52) ***Ngananya***   *yila*   *ngaja*   *paji-rnu*
EPI (what)   perhaps   1SG.ERG   eat-PST
ngurntily~ngurntily   *jipa-rnu*   *nganya.*
cough   steer-PST   1SG.ACC
'What(ever) I perhaps ate (i.e. whatever I might have eaten) steered me (into a) cough (i.e. made me cough).' (TW10)

(53)   *Karrkarra-nguru*   *ngarta*
       Karrkarra [Perth]-ABL   man
       Kurru-jirri   *milpa-nyu*
       Kurru-DWELLER   come-PST
       Marapikurri-nya-karni.
       Marapikurri-AREA-ALL
       Palangka-nguru   **wanyjakarni**   *yila*
       there-ABL   EPI (to whereever)   perhaps
       yaa-n.
       go-FUT
       'From Karrkarra (a) Kurru-dwelling man came to (the) Marapikurri
       area. From there (he) will perhaps go to wherever (i.e. elsewhere).'
       (ED)

As mentioned above, Ngarla nominals frequently take verbalising derivational morphology, making them part of complex verbs (cf. chapter 4). *Ngananya* is the only episteme in the database to become part of a verb in this way, as shown in (54). The complex verb *ngananya ja-L* has the interrogative sense 'do what'. This sense is also expressed through what appears to be another complex verb, *wanyjarna+ja-Ø* (55). The form **wanyjarna,* most likely based on the root *wanyja*, however only occurs in this verb, and never on its own.

(54)   **Ngananya ja-rri**   *ngunyi-ngku*
       EPI (what) CAUS-PRS   DEM (distant)-ERG
       warnta   *pana-nya?*
       wood   3PL-ACC
       'What is that one doing with the wood?' (#)

(55)   *Ngunyi*   *kalyu-rni-n*
       DEM (distant)   shout-CAUS-FUT
       wayi ma-n   **wanyjarna+ja-rnu**   *yukurru.*
       Q CAUS-FUT   *wanyjarna*[+CAUS]-PST   dog
       'To that one call out (and) ask what (he) did do (i.e. has done) with
       (the) dog.' (TW08)

3.4.8   Adjectives in Ngarla?

Ngarla does not appear to have a separate adjectival word class. While a subset of nominals function as adjectives in relevant contexts (56), the same lexemes can also constitute noun phrase heads in their own right (57). In languages in general, the adjective class, which is usually much smaller than the class of nouns, semantically expresses the most durable physical properties of prototypical nouns: size, shape, color, consistency, texture, weight, smell and taste. Syntactically, adjectives tend to occur as modifiers in the noun phrase (like *fat* in *the fat man*) or as complements in copula

clauses (e.g. *George is fat*; see section 7.3.1.1; Dixon 2004; Givón 2001a). In the Ngarla database, different lexemes functioning as adjectives however occur to very different extents. As a consequence, the analysis in this section is primarily based on the lexemes *kartu* 'big' and *kamparra* 'small', both of which occur in multiple examples. Note in (56) that the lexemes take the same grammatical case marker(s) as the head nominal, when functioning as adjectives. As just mentioned, the fact that these lexemes apparently can constitute noun phrase heads in their own right complicates the picture. In (57), *kartu* and *kamparra* thus mean '(the) big one' and '(the) small one', respectively.

(56) **Yukurru-lu**   **kartu-ngku**   *munti-rnu*
      dog-ERG   big-ERG   remove-PST
      kunyjaru-ngura   **kamparra**   **yukurru**.
      bone-LOC   small   dog
      '(The) big dog removed (the) small dog from (the) bone.' (#)

(57) **Nyayi-ngku**   **kartu-ngku**
      DEM (proximate)-ERG   big-ERG
      punga-yinyu   **kamparra**   *pakurta-pali*.
      hit-CPST   small   bad-INTNS
      'This big one was beating up (the) small one really badly.' (TW10)

In languages where prototypical adjectives do exist, they are frequently compared, the adjectives in such contexts taking comparative and superlative marking (e.g. *fat*, *fatt-er*, *fatt-est*; Dixon 2004; Givón 2001a). In Ngarla, comparative and superlative senses of the lexemes relevant to this discussion are created utilising the intensifier *murri*. Compare (58), where *murri* does not occur, to (59), where the sense 'bigger' is expressed. In (60), the sense 'tallest' is created by enumeration of the entities being compared (in this case three children, *murrkangunya* 'firstborn', *kartapalkuranya* 'middle child' and *nyirtingunya* 'youngest child'), and by singling out the tallest one (lit. the taller one). Sentence (60) thus shows that no special morphology is used in Ngarla to create the superlative sense.

(58) *Nyinpa*   *mara*   **kamparra**.   *Ngaya*
      2SG.NOM   hand   small   1SG.NOM
      mara   **kartu**.
      hand   big
      'Your hand (is) small. My hand (is) big.' (TW08)

(59) *Nyinpa*   *mara*   **kamparra**.   *Ngaya*
      2SG.NOM   hand   small   1SG.NOM
      mara   **kartu**   *murri*.
      hand   big   INTNS
      'Your hand (is) small. My hand (is) bigger.' (TW08)

(60)   *Palakarni*   *panalu*   *jilya-karrangu,*
       DEM (mid)   3PL.NOM   child-PL

       murrkangunya,   *kartapalkuranya,*
       firstborn   middle.child

       nyirtingunya,   *kartapalkuranya*   *piyala-la*
       youngest.child   middle.child   3DU-LOC

       makanu   murri.
       tall   INTNS

       '(Of) those children, (the) firstborn, (the) middle child (and the)
       youngest child, (the) middle child (is) taller on (i.e. than) the two.'
       (TW08)

However, important to point out is the fact that *murri* is not associated exclusively with the nominals that in appropriate contexts function as modifiers. As illustrated below, *murri* also intensifies other types of nominals, such as demonstratives (61), verbs (62) and whole clauses (63). (*Murri* is a particle, cf. section 5.2 below.)

(61)   **Nyayi-rra-marta**   **murri**   *pana-nga.*
       DEM (proximate)-DAT-PL   INTNS   3PL-DAT

       '(It's) only this group's (i.e. only this group owns (it)).' (TW08)

(62)   **Karri-Ø**   **murri**   *palakarni!*
       take-FUT   INTNS   DEM (mid)

       '(You) have to take that!' (TW08)

(63)   *Nyayi-ngka*   *nyinpa*   *nyini-Ø*
       DEM (proximate)-LOC   2SG.NOM   stay-FUT

       mampul   murri   mirta   nyini-kura
       truly   INTNS   NEG   stay-PURP

       nyayi-ngka.
       DEM (proximate)-LOC

       'Here you will stay, (but you) truly (i.e. really) shouldn't stay here.'
       (TW08)

The main dividing line between nominals that are frequently employed in the modifying function and other nominals is the fact that the former are employed in the modifying function much more frequently than they occur as noun phrase heads.[40] Situations similar or identical to the one in Ngarla are found in a great number of Australian languages (Dench 1995).

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[40]   In 29 sentences including *kartu* 'big', the nominal is employed as a modifier in 13. In 5, it instead constitutes the noun phrase head. In 26 sentences with *kamparra* 'small', it has a modifying function in 15, while being the head in 6.

4. *Finite verbs*

4.1 Introduction

In line with Bisang (2007), verbal finiteness is here understood as a discrete binary phenomenon, the finite verb occurring in main clauses and the infinite verb in subordinate clauses. In this chapter, Ngarla finite verbs are described. Infinite verbs will be introduced in chapter 8 below.

From a semantic perspective, verbs in general tend to constitute the part of speech that describes rapid changes, transitory states and other experiences of short duration (Givón 2001a; Payne 1997). However, as indicated above, the word class is defined here primarily as consisting of lexemes taking tense, aspect, mood and person marking in main clauses (Dixon 2002a). In section 4.2, Ngarla verbal conjugations and simple verb roots are introduced. The focus of section 4.3 is complex verbs, i.e. verbs consisting of non-verbal roots (most commonly nominals) and derivational, verbalising, morphemes. Main clause tense, aspect and mood (TAM) distinctions are discussed in 4.4, as well as TAM distinctions made with the two irregular verbs *ya-/yaa-/yana-/yanangka-* 'go' and *karri-* 'carry', 'take', 'bring'. Also discussed in the section is main clause verbal person marking. In 4.5, valency changing derivations are in focus.

4.2 Ngarla conjugations and verb roots

In Dixon (1977), the verbs of the Yidin language are described as consisting of a stem (+ conjugation marker) + inflection. Verbs of most Pama-Nyungan languages have since been described by this formula. The great majority of languages of the family are considered to have between two and six conjugational classes, but according to Dixon (1980), a total of seven or eight such classes need to be distinguished, classes going back to verbal roots that in some proto-language supposedly ended in the consonant sounds *n, m, ng, nj, l, rr, y,* or in a vowel. In this type of description, conjugations are labelled for their respective conjugational markers (Dixon 1980).

Of the conjugations found in any given Pama-Nyungan language, two tend to be open, with a large membership, the remaining being closed, with limited membership. In languages that have two open conjugations, a correlation between conjugation and transitivity is common. While languages with an absolute correlation do exist, it is more common to find that between 60 and 90 per cent of the members of a conjugation share a particular transitivity value (Dixon 1980, 2002a).

Ngarla has two verbal conjugations, labelled here the L and Ø conjugation, respectively. Finite verbs of the two conjugations largely take different sets of TAM suffixes (see section 4.4 below), there being little evidence of so-called conjugation markers. The conjugations are instead labelled for the consistent differences found in certain nominalising and infinite verbal suffixes. One set (the L conjugation infinite suffixes) has an initial *-l* element, an element which is missing in the other set (the Ø

conjugation suffixes).[41] This is illustrated in sentences (64) - (65) below, which show instrumental nominalisation (marked by *-(l)punyjarri*). Example (64) includes the L conjugation *-lpunyjarri*, and *pirri-lpunyjarri* together with *warnta* means 'digging stick'. Sentence (65) illustrates the use of the Ø conjugation *-punyjarri*. It occurs in *jarrari-punyjarri*, which literally means 'something to light with'.

(64)   *Kunyjarta-lu*   *mara ku-rnu*   *parnu-nga*
       woman-ERG   hand CAUS-PST   3SG-GEN

       warnta   **pirri-lpunyjarri**,   *kurni-rnu*   *kunyjarta*
       stick   dig-INSNOM   throw-PST   woman

       kurri
       teenage.girl
       '(The) woman caused her digging stick to be in (the) hand (i.e.
       picked up her digging stick), (and) threw (it) at (the) girl'. (#)

(65)   **Jarrari-punyjarri**   *waa-n*   *ngajapa*   *pinurru*
       light-INSNOM   give-FUT   1SG.LOC   fire

       ngaya   *nyali ja-lu.*
       1SG.NOM   light CAUS-PURP
       '(A) match (lit. something to light with) give on (i.e. to) me, (a) fire
       I intend to light.' (#)

A total of 65 synchronically simple, non-analysable Ngarla verb roots are attested in the database, see Table 14.[42] Most verbs of the language are instead complex verbs, consisting of non-verbal roots (most commonly nominals) and derivational, verbalising, morphemes. Complex verbs are discussed in section 4.3 below. 50 of the 65 simple, non-analysable roots belong to the L conjugation and 15 to the Ø conjugation.

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[41]   This labelling is also in line with the labeling of the two big conjugations in other Ngayarta languages (e.g. Nyamal, Panyjima, Martuthunira; Dench 1991, 1995, 1999).

[42]   The table constitutes an updated version of the Ngarla verb root table in Westerlund (2011). In this version, a few more unanalysable verb roots have been included. The verbs *kuni-L* 'throw' and *yiipa-L* 'rebuke', found in the Ngarla database, have however been excluded since they most likely constitute the same verbs as the included *kurni-L* 'throw' and *yipa-L* 'quarrel'. The decision which of these forms to include and which to exclude was based on the number of corpus tokens of each form. (There are two occurrences of the verb *kurni-L*, but none of *kuni-L*. The latter only exists as a lexical entry in the database. There are three examples of *yiipa-L*, and 10 of *yipa-L*.)

Table 14 Ngarla verb roots by conjugation.

L Conjugation	Ø Conjugation
jaa- 'chop'; *japa-* 'bury', 'cover'	*jalpi-* 'converse'
jinga-'hit fast'; *jinka-* 'trim', 'whittle'	*jarrpi-* 'enter'
jipa- 'steer'; *jumpa-* 'mistrust'	*jurtinti-* 'recede'
jurnti- 'scoop'; *jurrka-* 'rub'	*kulpa-* 'break'
kaju- 'tie'; *kama-* 'cook', 'burn'	*marni-* 'climb'
kanyi- 'be responsible for', 'care for'	*milpa-* 'come'
karntirni- 'bite'; *kupa-* 'singe'	*N garramani-* 'increase'
kurni- 'throw'; *kurrpa-* 'cause trouble'	*ngurru-* 'break'
kurti- 'cut'; *maa-* 'get'	*nyara-* 'burn'
marrani- 'make disturbing noise'	*nyini-* 'sit', 'stay'
mija- 'touch'; *munti-* 'remove from'	*parni-* 'wait', 'stay'
munyju- 'swallow'; *murlka-* 'gather'	*parrara-* 'check', 'inspect'
ngaka- 'prevent', 'obstruct'; *ngumpa-* 'chase'	*piyani-* 'move'
nyaa- 'send'; *nyirri-*'give birth (of animal)'	*warni-* 'fall'
nyirumunyju-'choke'; *paji-* 'bite', 'eat'	*yawilarni-* 'sway'
parni- 'remove'; *parrajampa-* 'hide', 'deny'	
parrpa- 'transfer warmth (with hands)'	
pirri- 'scratch', 'dig'; *pirrpa-* 'shine on'	
pujula- 'puff', 'shoot'; *punga-* 'hit', 'kill'	
punta- 'pluck'; *punyja-* 'drink'	
purrpa- 'rebuke'; *waa-* 'give'	
wanta- 'sort', 'separate'	
wanyja- 'put', 'leave'	
wirrpi- 'evert'; *yaji-* 'spear', 'stitch', 'stab'	
yanga- 'follow'; *yarni-* 'pour'	
yingi- 'annoy'; *yininyi-* 'cart'	
yinya- 'exchange'; *yipa-* 'quarrel', 'growl at'	
yirni- 'pour'	

In Ngarla, the correlation between transitivity and conjugation is unusually strong.[43] The verbs of the L conjugation are transitive or ditransitive. The verbs of the Ø conjugation are intransitive or semi-transitive/middle. In section 7.2 below, verbs, transitivity and associated case frames in Ngarla will be discussed further.

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[43] The language might have an absolute correlation between conjugation and transitivity, but there are a few possible exceptions.

4.3   Complex verbs

4.3.1   Formal features of Ngarla complex verbs

4.3.1.1   Introduction

In this section, formal features of Ngarla complex verbs are described. In 4.3.1.2, the complex verb construction is presented and common verbalisers are listed. The focus of 4.3.1.3 is the phonological and grammatical word status of verbalisers and complex verbs, as well as transcription conventions. In 4.3.1.4, zero verbalised verbs are discussed.

4.3.1.2   Construction of the complex verb

In the Ngarla complex verb, the non-verbal root always comes in first position. In the majority of cases the non-verbal root is an uninflected nominal, as in example (66) below. (In this section, complex verbs are highlighted.)

(66)   ***Kutu ngarri-yan-pi-ya***   *panalu*   *kukurnjayi.*
         dead INCH-PRS-EP-3PL   3PL.NOM   sheep
         'The sheep are dying.' (TW10)

In Ngarla, a number of verbalisers are employed to create complex verbs. These are listed in Table 15- Table 16. The verbalisers in Table 15 create intransitive verbs (i.e. verbs belonging to the Ø conjugation), and the verbalisers in Table 16 transitive (L conjugation) verbs. A couple of further examples are provided in (67) – (68) below.[44]

Table 15 Ngarla Ø conjugation verbalisers, forming intransitive verbs.

Verbaliser	Example
karri-	(76), i.a.
ngarri-	(67), i.a.
-rri-	(71), i.a.

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[44]   There are a number of Ngarla verbs that still lack a clear analysis, in terms of whether they constitute complex verbs or not. In some cases, it is possible to analyse them as complex verbs that include very restricted verbalisers. In other cases, such an analysis is more problematic. The verbs in question are *jurni jarri-Ø* 'make laugh'; *karliny jarri-Ø* 'return'; *marrka+marri-Ø* 'gather'; *mirntily marri-Ø* 'rattle by itself'; *nyanta marri-Ø* 'become (i.e. come) here' (?); *pularn parri-Ø* 'fall silent'; *wangka parri-Ø* 'stop talking ' (i.e. 'fall silent'); *kalyu-rni-Ø* 'call out'; *jarun+tarri-Ø* 'roll from side to side'; *maarn+tarri-Ø* 'float'; *mapan+tarri-Ø* 'sparkle'; *pikun+tarri-Ø* 'dodge'; *yukun tarri-Ø* 'smoke'; *jarnti nyi-L* 'erect'; *jurru~jurru+pinya-L* 'roll (on the ground)'; *kaka+pinya-L* 'tear (in halves)', 'open up'; *maarr+pinya-L* 'stroke'; *payiny pirta-L* 'throw against'.

Table 16 Ngarla L conjugation verbalisers, forming transitive verbs.

Verbaliser	Example
ja-	(68), i.a.
ji-	(96), i.a.
ku-	(93), i.a.
ma-	(85), i.a.
nya-	(98), i.a.
pi-	(100), i.a.
-rni-	(101), i.a.

(67)   *Palakarni*   *panalu*   *jijirr*
        DEM (mid)   3PL.NOM   seed (generic)
        jarnti ngarri-yan-pi-ya.
        vertical INCH-PRS-EP-3PL
        'Those seeds are becoming vertical (i.e. are coming up).' (TW08)

(68)   *Ngunyi*   *pana-nya*   *marrungu-lu*   *jantiti*
        DEM (distant)   3PL-ACC   man-ERG   fence
        jarnti ja-rri.
        vertical CAUS-PRS
        'Those fences (the) man is making vertical (i.e. is erecting those fences).' (TW08)

The majority of Ngarla complex verbs are made up of a known uninflected nominal root and an added verbaliser, but that there are also quite a number of verbs which appear to be combinations of root plus verbaliser, despite the putative root not being a known Ngarla nominal. This phenomenon is illustrated in (69) – (70) below, in which the putative root *purnngu* appears to take the verbalisers *+ngarri-Ø* (69) and *+ma-L* (70). Cf. also *purlu+ngarri-Ø* in (70).

(69)   *Ngayiny*   *ngaya*   **purnngu+ngarri-yan**.
        breath   1SG.NOM   congest[+INCH]-PRS
        'My breath is getting congested.' (TW10)

(70)   *Purlu+ngarri-Ø-ya,*   **purnngu+ma-rri**
        move.back[+INCH]-FUT-2PL   congest[+CAUS]-PRS
        nyurra   *nganya,*   *purlu+ngarri-Ø-ya!*
        2PL   1SG.ACC   move.back[+INCH]-FUT-2PL
        'Move back you two, you are congesting me, move back!' (TW10)

How should verbs like *purnngu+ngarri-Ø* 'congest' and *purnngu+ma-L* 'congest' be analysed? Since they appear to follow the same pattern of formation as complex verbs with known roots, it is here, in line with Dench (1999), suggested that what

appears to be roots of unknown origin might in fact have been borrowed into Ngarla from other languages of the area. Alternatively, the whole putative root + verbaliser unit has been borrowed.[45] Combinations of unknown roots and (possible) verbalisers are thus here described as complex verbs, but the (possible) break between the root and the verbaliser is marked by a plus (+; see also section 4.3.1.3 below).

A count of Ngarla complex verbs (both those with known and those with unknown roots) indicates that around 400 such verbs are known. As mentioned above, there are 65 known simple verb roots. The complex verbs thus outnumber the simple verbs by six to one. As shown in Table 17 below, however, the different verbalisers occur in very different frequencies. The five major verbalisers, i.e. those that occur in the majority of verbs, are *ngarri-Ø/+ngarri-Ø*, *karri-Ø/+karri-Ø* and *-rri-Ø/+rri-Ø*, which create verbs of the Ø conjugation, and *ma-L/+ma-L* and *ja-L/+ja-L*, creating verbs of the L conjugation.

Table 17 The number of complex verbs with each verbaliser.[46]

Verbaliser	Number of complex verbs
karri-/+karri-	21/9
ngarri-/+ngarri-	49/6
-rri-/+rri-	22/17
ja-/+ja-	46/10
ji-/+ji-	3/2
ku-/+ku-	7/2
ma-/+ma-	47/50
nya-/+nya-	4/1
pi-/+pi-	9/11
-rni-/+rni-	3/2
Total number of included complex verbs	**211/110**

4.3.1.3   *Phonological and grammatical word status*

Crosslinguistically, the phonological word has at least one of the following defining properties: (a) segmental features, pertaining to internal syllabic/segmental structure, word boundary phenomena and pause phenomena; (b) prosodic features, relating to e.g. nasalisation, retroflexion and vowel harmony, and also to stress and/or tone assignment; and (c) phonological rules, some of which apply within a phonological word, others of

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[45]   According to Breen (2011), nouns are borrowed much more frequently between Aboriginal languages than verbs. Breen however also quotes Beckwith (2004) to the effect that verbs are borrowed just as easily as nouns in agglutinative languages.

[46]   Included in the count shown in this table are only such verbs for which there are examples that illustrate their semantics and associated case frames. Excluded are thus verbs that exist merely as lexical entries in the Ngarla database, or for which only non-prototypical examples exist (e.g. examples with Purposive mood; see the discussion about Purposive mood and associated case frame(s) in section 7.2.1 below).

which apply across phonological word boundaries (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2002). As described in section 2.3 above, stress is an important criterion for deciding what constitutes a phonological word in Ngarla, since main stress always falls on the first syllable of a word. The first syllable of most Ngarla verbalisers also attracts main stress (something that is also true for the possible verbalisers that occur in complex verbs with unknown roots). Exceptions to this rule are the *-rri-Ø* and *-rni-L* verbalisers, cf. Table 15- Table 16. Most verbalisers can thus be defined as phonological words in their own right, and it would be justified to transcribe them as separate words.

A grammatical word, on the other hand, according to Dixon & Aikhenvald (2002), consists of a number of elements which (a) occur together; (b) occur in a fixed order; and (c) have a conventionalized meaning. The Ngarla verbalisers always follow the root, and turn the root into a verb. This implies that the Ngarla verbalisers can be considered to be part of the same grammatical word as the preceding unit, despite their independent phonological word status. In order to indicate both phonological and grammatical word status, nominals and verbalisers together constituting complex verbs are placed next to each other in the transcription, but are separated by a single space.

4.3.1.4   Zero verbalisation

There is a small number of Ngarla verbs that appear to be created through zero verbalisation. Compare example (71) below, which includes the nominal *jurnti* 'cave', 'gaol', 'room', 'curve', 'billabong' to (72), which exemplifies the use of the verb *jurnti.Ø-L* 'make cave(like)'.[47]

(71)   *Ngunyi-rra*   *para*   *marrungu-rra*   **jurnti**
          DEM (distant)-DAT   3SG.DAT   man-DAT   cave

          jurnti-rri-yan.
          cave-INCH-PRS
          'That man's cave is becoming (a) deeper/longer cave.' (TW08)

(72)   *Kunyjarta-lu*   *murirri*   **jurnti.Ø-rri.**
          woman-ERG   hot.sand   cave.CAUS-PRS
          '(The) woman is caving (out the) hot sand (i.e. is digging out (the)
          hot sand).' (#)

In order to indicate zero verbalization in the transcription, a dot and a zero (.Ø) are, as just illustrated, inserted after the nominal root. The majority of complex verbs created through zero verbalisation are intransitive Ø conjugation verbs, see Table 18. The semi-transitive verb of the group is *wajarri.Ø-Ø* 'want', 'search for' (cf. section

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[47]   The lexical items discussed in this section could alternatively be analysed as verbs that undergo zero nominalisation. It is however here considered more likely that these are cases of zero verbalisation, since it is only the infinite verbs of the language that can be considered to be nominalised. See chapter 8.

7.2) and the three transitive L conjugation verbs *jurnti.Ø-L* (72), *jungka.Ø-L* 'spin' (73) and *nyuka.Ø-L* 'do increase (with)'; (113) – (114).[48]

Of the nominals included in Table 18, half are not known to occur with overt verbalisers. This is true for *jungka* 'strand of spun hair'; *karlakarri* 'guffaw', 'hearty laugh', 'noise'; *maturarri* 'vomit'; *wajarri* 'desire', 'searching'; *wakatarri* 'twisting'; and *wakatarri~wakatarri* 'twisting and turning (?)'.[49] Remaining nominals may take overt verbalisers.

Table 18 Verbs created through zero verbalisation, and corresponding nominals.[50]

Nominal	Verb	Example
jungka 'strand of spun hair'	*jungka.Ø-L* 'spin'	(73)
jurnti 'cave', 'gaol', 'room'; 'curve', 'billabong'	*jurnti.Ø-L* 'make cave(like)'	(72)
karlakarri 'guffaw', 'hearty laugh', 'noise'	*karlakarri.Ø-Ø* 'laugh loudly/heartily'; 'make noise'	
kumarri 'mean', 'stingy', 'tight-fisted'	*kumarri.Ø-Ø* 'be stingy', 'withhold'	
maturarri 'vomit'	*maturarri.Ø-Ø* 'vomit'	
mujurarri 'cloudy'	*mujurarri.Ø-Ø* 'become cloudy'	(74)
nyuka 'increase site', 'increase ceremony'	*nyuka.Ø-L* 'do increase (with)'	(113) – (114)
pularn 'quiet', 'silent'	*pularni.Ø-Ø* 'fall silent all of a sudden'	
wajarri 'desire', 'searching'	*wajarri.Ø-Ø* 'want', 'search for'	(123), (148), (210), (218), (378), (407)
wakatarri 'twisting'	*wakatarri.Ø-Ø* 'circle back'	
wakatarri~wakatarri 'twisting and turning (?)'	*wakatarri~wakatarri.Ø-Ø* 'turn and twist'	
wanyaparri 'awareness'	*wanyaparri.Ø-Ø* 'listen', 'learn'	(211)

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[48]   *Wajarri* 'desire', 'searching' in one instance (123) takes L conjugation morphology. In one example (218), the object of a clause including *wajarri.Ø-Ø* 'want', 'search for' also lacks dative marking. (Cf. section 7.2.)

[49]   The following lexical items are ascribed (non-verbal) semantic content despite their final syllable being *rri* (see Table 18): *karlakarri* 'guffaw', 'hearty laugh', 'noise'; *kumarri* 'mean', 'stingy', 'tight-fisted'; *maturarri* 'vomit'; *mujurarri* 'cloudy'; *wajarri* 'desire', 'searching'; *wakatarri* 'twisting'; *wanyaparri* 'awareness'. The final *rri* syllable might however indicate that they were originally complex verbs verbalised with the *–rri-Ø/+rri-Ø* verbaliser. *Wakatarri~wakatarri* does not occur as a nominal in the existing Ngarla material. However, if *wakatarri* is a nominal, *wakatarri~wakatarri* might well be one too. In many Ngarla reduplicated/non-reduplicated nominal pairs, the semantic difference is one of degree.

[50]   There is also a verb *mirtarri-Ø* 'change colour'. It has however proven impossible to establish if the root of this verb is *mirta* 'grey' or *mirtarri* 'whitish'. The verb *pirrpa~pirrpa.Ø-* 'shine (on)' appears to be a zero verbalised transitive L conjugation verb, but the existing examples of its use are inconclusive. Note also the apparent zero verbalisation of *panta-karni* (close-ALL) in (349) and (356) below.

(73) **Jungka.Ø-rnu**   *parru~parru.*
strand.of.spun.hair.CAUS-PST   fishing.net
'(He) spun (i.e. made) (a) fishing net.' (#)

(74) *Parlparr*   **mujurarri.Ø-yan**.
sky   cloudy.INCH-PRS
'The sky is becoming cloudy.' (#)

4.3.2 Semantic features of Ngarla complex verbs

4.3.2.1 Introduction

In this section, a preliminary analysis of semantic features of complex verbs is discussed. First, some notes on terminology are given in 4.3.2.2. The major verbalisers (those that occur in the majority of complex verbs) are discussed in section 4.3.2.3. The *-rri-Ø/+rri-Ø* verbaliser is discussed in 4.3.2.4. The verbaliser *ku-L/+ku-L* is described in 4.3.2.5. In 4.3.2.6, restricted L conjugation verbalisers with uncertain semantic content are discussed.

4.3.2.2 Inchoative and causative: A note on terminology

Inchoative/causative verb pairs are commonly defined as expressing the same situation, most frequently a change of state, more rarely the Aktionsart Activity (see Table 20 below; Haspelmath 1993; Vendler 1967). In this definition, the causative verb meaning includes an agent participant which is responsible for causing the situation. The inchoative verb describes the situation as occurring spontaneously, and an agent is therefore absent. A clear example of such a Ngarla inchoative/causative verb pair were given in (67) – (68) above. No agent was included with *jarnti ngarri-Ø* 'become vertical' in (67). In (68), *marrungu* 'man' takes ergative marking, and is that way clearly shown to constitute the agent. In that example, the transitive verb is created with the *ja-L* verbaliser.

Most Ngarla complex verbs express either changes of state or Activity. However, I follow Dench (1999) in using the label 'inchoative' for the verbaliser found in all complex verbs of the Ø conjugation, and 'causative' for the verbaliser in all complex L conjugation verbs, regardless of what sense is being expressed.[51] Consider in this context e.g. the verb *kuntu~kuntu ma-L* in (75) below. It is an atypical transitive complex verbs, in that adverbial information is included in the verbal semantics. Thus, *kuntu ma-L*, with the nominal *kuntu* 'good', means 'do well', 'treat well'.

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[51] Dench (1999) however employs the label 'causative/factitive' for the verbaliser in complex L conjugation verbs. While notes on glossing and transcription occur in a number of sections in this volume, they have all been collected in Appendix A.

(75)   *Mirtanya-lu*   **kuntu~kuntu ma-rri**   *parnu-nga*
       old.man-ERG   good CAUS-PRS   3SG-GEN
       yirrkili.
       boomerang
       '(The) old man is treating his boomerang well (i.e. is nursing his
       boomerang).' (#)

Other complex verbs with atypical senses include stative intransitive verbs (cf.
sections 4.3.2.3 – 4.3.2.4), verbs with lexicalised meanings (4.3.2.3) and verbs created
with the verbaliser *ku-L* (4.3.2.5), which denote movement of entities.

4.3.2.3   *The verbalisers* karri-Ø, ngarri-Ø *and* ma-L*, *ja-L *and telicity*

In this section, four verbalisers are discussed, see Table 19. The discussion is focussed
here exclusively on complex verbs with these verbalisers that include known nominal
roots. It seems that what is crucial in understanding the semantic content of the
verbalisers *karri-Ø, ngarri-Ø, ma-L* and *ja-L* is the Aktionsart feature telicity. In the
common definition of telicity, [+telic] denotes a situation that has an inherent end point,
and [-telic] one that does not (cf. Table 20).

Table 19 Ngarla telicity marking verbalisers.

Transitiviy and conjugation/telicity	Telic	Atelic
Intransitive (Ø conjugation)	*ngarri-Ø*	*karri-Ø*
Transitive (L conjugation)	*ja-L*	*ma-L*

Table 20 Equipollent Aktionsart features (Broman Olsen 1994:361).[52]

Aktionsart	Telic	Dynamic	Durative	Examples
State	-	-	+	*know, have*
Activity	-	+	+	*run, paint*
Accomplishment	+	+	+	*destroy*
Achievement	+	+	-	*notice, win*

Ngarla sentences (76) – (77) below include complex verbs with the verbalisers
karri-Ø and *ngarri-Ø*. *Jankan karri-Ø* 'shiver, tremble' in (76) describes an Activity,
i.e. an event that is dynamic and durative, but not telic. *Pampuru ngarri-Ø* 'become

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[52]   The dynamic Aktionsart feature is employed to distinguish events (+dynamic) from states
       (-dynamic). Durativity indicates if a situation is expressed as holding at an interval of time
       (+durative), or not (-durative; Broman Olsen 1994; Vendler 1967).

blind' in (77) instead describes an event that is dynamic and durative, and that also has an inherent end (here, Nyapiri having become blind), i.e. an Accomplishment.

(76) *Yirnta-kapu*   *ngaya*   ***jankan karri-yan***.
       cold-SCE   1SG.NOM   trembly INCH-PRS
       'Because of (the) cold I am shivering.' (TW08)

(77) *Nyapiri*   ***pampuru ngarri-yan***.
       Nyapiri   blind INCH-PRS
       'Nyapiri is going blind.' (TW10)

However, *karri-Ø* does not always code Activities and *ngarri-Ø* not always Accomplishments. See e.g. examples (78) – (79). *Minyja ngarri-Ø* 'close' in (78) describes an Achievement, i.e. an event that is telic and dynamic, but not durative. *Jarnti karri-Ø* 'be vertical' (79), on the other hand, is a stative verb. The verbaliser *karri-Ø* thus seems to create atelic verbs and *ngarri-Ø* telic ones, with the Aktionsart feature telicity being the deciding factor for which of the verbalisers is employed in a certain context.

(78) *Palakarni*   *jirtamarra*   ***minyja ngarri-yan***.
       DEM (mid)   eye   closed INCH-PRS
       'That one is closing (his) eye(s).' (TW10)

(79) *Wurrangkura*
       river red gum tree (*eucalyptus camaldulensis*)
       jarnti karri-yan-pi-ya   *pakarn~parkarn-ngura*.
       vertical INCH-PRS-EP-3PL   uneven.riverbank-LOC
       'River red gum trees are being vertical (i.e. are standing) on (the) rough riverbank.' (TW08)

Ngarri-Ø and *karri-Ø* occur relatively rarely with the same nominals. When they do, the nominals in question mark something punctual, such as *ngaju* 'cry' in (80) – (81). In such complex verbs, *karri-Ø* marks the Aktionsart Activity (80). The language consultant Brown was adamant in asserting that the verbs with *ngarri-Ø* in such contexts take on an inceptive sense, as indicated by the English translation of (81) below.[53]

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[53] It should be noted that there are a number of *ngarri-Ø/karri-Ø* pairs the examples of which are inconclusive. It is for example unclear if *miranu ngarri-Ø* 'learn' (129) could be considered an inceptive.

(80)   *Ngananyakapu   palakarni   jilya*
         EPI (why)   DEM (mid)   child
         ngaju karri-yan*?*
         cry INCH-PRS
         'Why is that child crying?' (TW08)

(81)   *Jukurta   para   waa-n   marrkara-rra,*
         sweet   3SG.DAT   give-FUT   younger.sibling-DAT
         *palakarni   **ngaju ngarri-Ø***!*
         DEM (mid)   cry INCH-FUT
         'Give sweets to (your) younger sibling, that (one) will start to cry
         (otherwise)!' (TW08)

A situation similar to the one described for *karri-Ø* and *ngarri-Ø* is found with the causative verbalisers *ma-L* and *ja-L*. While a number of complex verbs, especially with *ma-L*, have lexicalised senses, as in (82) below (where *juntu ma-L* means 'tell'), *ja-L* is generally employed to code Accomplishments (83)and Achievements (84), and *ma-L* Activities (85). There are no known stative transitive verbs (or inceptive transitive verbs).

(82)   *Nyayi-ngku   ngajapa*
         DEM (proximate)-ERG   1SG.LOC
         *muwarr   **juntu ma-rri***.
         word   straight CAUS-PRS
         'This one is making (the) word (i.e. message) straight on (i.e. for)
         me.' (I.e. 'This one is telling me (the) message.') (TW10)

(83)   *Ngunyi   pana-nya   marrungu-lu   jantiti*
         DEM (distant)   3PL-ACC   man-ERG   fence
         jarnti ja-rri.
         vertical CAUS-PRS
         'Those fences (the) man is making vertical (i.e. is erecting those
         fences).' (TW08)

(84)   *Ngunyi-ngku   marrungu-lu   pinurru*
         DEM (distant)-ERG   man-ERG   fire
         nyali ja-rri.
         light CAUS-PRS
         'That man is lighting (a) fire.' (TW10)

(85)   *Ngunyi-ngku*   *marrungu-lu*
       DEM (distant)-ERG   man-ERG
       ngayiny ma-rri   *parta*   *marrungu.*
       breath CAUS-PRS   other   man
       'That man is helping another man to breathe.' (TW10)

Aside from the complex verbs with *ma-L* that have lexicalised senses, a few other verbs with this verbaliser seem not to fit within the above generalisation (cf. Table 19). The following verbs seem to be telic: *kapukarri ma-L* 'dream' ((30) and (259)); *karliny ma-L* 'bring back'; *kartuwarra ma-L* 'rescue' (86); *purrpi ma-L* 'face' (190); *warlu ma-L* 'frighten'; *wayi ma-L* 'ask' (55); *yini ma-L* 'name'.

(86)   *Nyapiri-lu*   *nganya*   **kartuwarra ma-rnu**.
       Nyapiri-ERG   1SG.ACC   rescuer CAUS-PST
       'Nyapiri rescued me.' (#)

4.3.2.4   The -rri-Ø/+rri-Ø verbaliser

The verbaliser *-rri-Ø/+rri-Ø* occurs in 39 complex verbs, 17 of which have reduplicated roots.[54] Frequently, the verbs formed with this verbaliser express changes of state, as *warti~warti+rri-Ø* 'descend' in (87). This verbaliser also forms a number of stative verbs, e.g. *wurla~wurla-rri-Ø* 'swirl, eddy' (88).

(87)   *Ngunyi*   *marrungu*   *warnta-ka*
       DEM (distant)   man   tree-LOC
       kankara-nguru   **warti~warti+rri-yan**.
       high.up-ABL   descend[+INCH]-PRS
       'From high up, that man in (the) tree is coming down.' (TW10)

(88)   *Wula*   **wurla-wurla-rri-yan**.
       water   turbulent-INCH-PRS
       'The water is swirling.' (#)

Assigning a clear semantic content to this verbaliser is thus difficult. A further complicating factor is that with some nominals, which also occur with either or both of *karri-Ø* and *ngarri-Ø*, *-rri-Ø* appears to be used to create verbs with the same senses as

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[54] Compare this to the fact that only 3 reduplicated roots (10% of the total number of roots) occur with *karri-Ø/+karri-Ø*, and 6 with *ngarri-Ø/+ngarri-Ø* (11%). It should be pointed out here that none of the unknown roots occurring with *+rri-Ø* take any other Ngarla verbaliser (something that might indicate that they and/or the whole complex verbs have been borrowed from another language). The same is true of the following roots: *karntu~karntu* 'itch'; *kunyja~kunyja* 'cheerful'; *mala~mala* 'nauseated'; *mangura* 'something to chew on'; *ngurtu~ngurtu* 'stamping dance'; *nyita~nyita* 'slowing down'; *pampa* 'unaware'; *pinya* 'fight'; *wurla~wurla* 'turbulent'.

the verbs created with either of the other two verbalisers. *Wara~wara-rri-Ø* 'become forgetful' (89) thus apparently has the same meaning as *wara~wara ngarri-Ø* (90).[55]

(89)   *Palakarni*   **wara~wara-rri-Ø**.
         DEM (mid)   forgetful-INCH-FUT
         'That one will forget.' (#)

(90)   *Ngananyakapu*   *nyinpa*   **wara~wara ngarri-yan***?*
         EPI (why)   2SG.NOM   forgetful INCH-PRS
         'Why are you getting forgetful?' (TW08)

With other nominals, *-rri-Ø* might be employed to create verbs with other senses than those created with *ngarri-Ø* or *karri-Ø*. A difference in meaning might thus be implied between *marti~marti-rri-Ø* 'roll', as in (91), and *marti~marti ngarri-Ø* 'start to roll' (92).[56]

(91)   *Yu!*   *Palakarni*   *warnta*   *kartu*
         look.out   DEM (mid)   tree   big
         marti~marti-rri-yan.
         rolling-INCH-PRS
         'Look out! That big log is rolling.' (TW08)

(92)   *Yu!*   *Palakarni*   *warnta*   *kartu*
         look.out   DEM (mid)   tree   big
         marti~marti ngarri-yan.
         rolling INCH-PRS
         'Look out! That big log is starting to roll.' (TW08)

4.3.2.5   *The* ku-L/+ku-L *verbaliser*

There are nine complex verbs created with the verbaliser *ku-L/+ku-L*. This verbaliser is employed to denote movement of entities, as in e.g. (93) – (95). That it can also include a locative semantic component is illustrated in (94) – (95). In these examples, the senses 'put in lap' and 'put in oven' are created by the addition of *ku-L* to *karti* 'lap' and *kunyi* 'oven'.

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[55]   The nominal *wara~wara* 'forgetful' does not occur with *karri-Ø*. Although not exemplified here, *karu~karu-rri-Ø* appears to have the same meaning as *karu~karu-ngarri-Ø* 'feel nausea'. *Karu~karu* 'nausea' does not occur with *karri-Ø*. *Wangka-rri-Ø* 'talk' appears to be a variety of *wangka karri-Ø*. In this case, it seems that the former construction occurs due to haplology (i.e. deletion of one of the two identical *ka* syllables).

[56]   With this nominal, a complex verb with *karri-Ø* is conceivable. There are however no recorded examples of **marti~marti karri-Ø*.

(93)   *Ngunyi-ngku*   *pana-nya*   *marrungu-lu*   *mantu*
       DEM (distant)-ERG   3PL-ACC   man-ERG   meat
       nyanta ku-rri.
       here CAUS-PRS
       'That man is bringing the meat over here.' (TW08)

(94)   *Parnu-nga-lu*   *warniya-lu*   *parnu-nga*
       3SG-GEN-ERG   mother-ERG   3SG-GEN
       jilya   *mirnmanya*   **karti ku-rri**.
       child   baby   lap CAUS-PRS
       'His/her mother is putting her baby in her lap.' (TW08)

(95)   *Palakarni-lu*   *marrungu-lu*
       DEM (mid)-ERG   man-ERG
       kunyi ku-rri   *mangkuru*.
       oven CAUS-PRS   kangaroo
       'That man is putting (the) kangaroo in the oven.' (TW10)

4.3.2.6   *Restricted L conjugation verbalisers*

Ngarla L conjugation verbalisers were included in Table 16 above. In this section, restricted L conjugation verbalisers without a clear semantic content are discussed, namely the verbalisers *ji-L/+ji-L*, *nya-L/+nya-L*, *pi-L/+pi-L* and *rni-L/+rni-L*. They are discussed in alphabetical order.

   Starting with *ji-L/+ji-L*, there are five known complex verbs with this verbaliser. Two of these relate to searching (and likely mark Activities), *mungun ji-L* 'scavenge' in (96); *kankari+ji-L* 'search through'; and two to bodily functions (Accomplishments), *kumpu ji-L* 'urinate' in (97); *kuna ji-L* 'defecate'. The sense 'drag' is created with the unknown root *warrka* and *+ji-L*. (This appears also to be an Activity verb.)

(96)   *Kiru-ngku*   *palakarni*
       crow (*corvus bennetti*)-ERG   DEM (mid)
       mayi   *pana-nya*   **mungun ji-rri**.
       vegetable.food   3PL-ACC   scavenger CAUS-PRS
       '(The) crow is scavenging that food.' (TW10)

(97)   *Yukurru-lu*   *nyinu*   *warnta*
       dog-ERG   2SG.DAT   tree
       kumpu ji-rri.
       urine CAUS-PRS
       '(The) dog is urinating on your (favoured) tree.' (TW08)

   The verbaliser *nya-L/+nya-L* occurs in five complex verbs. It is the only L conjugation verbaliser to be used with *punyjayi* 'blackhead on nose' and *wangka*

'speech' (98). When employed with *jurni* 'laughter', it appears to mean 'laugh at', as in (99). Both verbs illustrated in (98) – (99) may be atelic.[57]

(98)   **Wangka nya-rri**   *ngaja*   *waleji*
       speech CAUS-PRS   1SG.ERG   wireless (radio)
       'I am talking to (i.e. listening to) the radio.' (TW08)

(99)   *Ngunyi-ngku*   *marrungu-lu*   *parta*
       DEM (distant)-ERG   man-ERG   other

       marrungu   **jurni nya-rri**.
       man   laughter CAUS-PRS
       'That man is laughing at another man.' (TW10)

When *nya-L/+nya-L* is combined with *kapukarri* 'dream' and *nyikarri* (unknown), the complex verbs however seemingly have the same semantic content as *kapukarri ma-L* 'dream' (cf. (30) above) and *nyikarri+ma-L* 'assist in fight', respectively.[58] *Kapukarri nya-L and nyikarri+nya*-L both code Accomplishments, as does *punyjayi nya-L* 'smear blackhead paste'.

According to the language consultant Brown, *pi-L/+pi-L* is an abbreviated version of a supposed verbaliser *pinya-L/+pinya-L*. It has however not been possible to corroborate this claim in the material in the Ngarla database, as *+pinya-L* only occurs with three unknown roots. *Pi-L/+pi-L* occurs in 20 complex verbs, which mainly describe Accomplishments and Achievements (100).

(100)   *Turru-ngku*   **jipal pi-rri**   *palakarni*
        Turru-ERG   increase CAUS-PRS   DEM (mid)

        pirrjarta.
        vehicle
        'Turru is starting up that vehicle.' (TW10)

In cases where *pi-L/+pi-L* alternate with other verbalisers on particular nominals, it is often uncertain if the verbs have different semantic content.[59]

Just as verbalisers *ji-L/+ji-L* and *nya-L/+nya-L*, the *-rni-L/+rni-L* verbaliser occurs in five complex verbs. The verbaliser codes both Accomplishments (101) and Activities.

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[57]   Compare *jurni nya-L* to *jurni ja-L*, which means 'make (i.e. cause to) laugh': *Ngananyawanti nyinta mirnmanya jurni ja-rri?* EPI (what.for) 2SG.ERG baby laughter CAUS-PRS 'For what are you making (the) baby laugh?' (TW08) (*Jurni* does not occur together with *ma-L*.)

[58]   *Kapukarri* 'dream' and *nyikarri* (unknown) do not occur with *ja-L/+ja-L*.

[59]   A number of the roots taking *pi-L/+pi-L* occur with this verbaliser only. This is true for *jajarr* (unknown); *jaman* (unknown); *jiiny* (unknown); *jinta* 'some', 'others'; *jipal* 'increase'; *kangkarr* 'tear'; *kura* (unknown); *marra* 'skywards'; *ngamun* (unknown); *pajany* (unknown); *paji* 'forearm', 'wrist'; *purru* 'fish scale'; *warirr* (unknown); *wujarr* (unknown); and *yilyngarr* (unknown).

(101)   *Ngunyi-ngku*   *ngarta-ngku*   *parta*
        DEM (distant)-ERG   man-ERG   other

        ngarta   **kalyu-rni-rri**.
        man   shout-CAUS-PRS

        'That man is calling out to another man.' (TW08)

4.4   Main clause verbal marking

4.4.1   Introduction

In this section, Ngarla main clause verbal morphology is described in terms of the tense, aspect and mood distinctions coded by different sets of suffixes, here referred to as 'TAM inflections'.[60] Person marking, which also occurs on finite verbs, is presented as well, as is irregular TAM marking on the two verbs *ya-/yaa-/yana-/yanangka-* 'go' and *karri-* 'carry', 'take', 'bring'. In section **Error! Reference source not found.**, entral definitions are given. Section 4.4.3 is focused on Ngarla main clause TAM distinctions. Section 4.4.4 describes TAM marking with the two irregular verbs *ya-/yaa-/yana-/yanangka-* 'go' and *karri-* 'carry', 'take', 'bring.' Ngarla person marking on verbs is described in 4.4.5.

4.4.2   Defining tense, aspect and mood

Following Comrie (1985:9), 'tense' is understood here as the 'grammaticalised expression of location in time'. The term 'aspect' is taken to represent 'different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation' (Comrie 1976:3). Aspects that are commonly distinguished include: (i) perfective, which is employed for complete situations, and which involves a lack of explicit reference to the internal temporal constituency of the situation; and (ii) imperfective, an aspect which draws attention to the internal structure of a situation. 'Mood' is here, in line with Palmer (2001), employed for markers of the status of a proposition. A basic modal distinction is made between (i) epistemic modality, concerned with the speaker's judgment of the factual status of a situation; and (ii) deontic modality, pertaining to the kind of compulsion necessary for an event to take place (Bhat 1999).

4.4.3   Ngarla main clause verbal morphology

4.4.3.1   Introduction

This section introduces 12 TAM distinctions taken by verbs in Ngarla main clauses.[61] The different inflections, and the tense/aspect/mood distinctions they mark, are

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[60]   The terms 'TAM distinction' and 'TAM category' are used interchangeably.

[61]   Other morphemes, e.g. *-rna*, also occur with Ngarla verbs. In the Ngarla database, *-rna* occurs exclusively with L conjugation verbs and with the irregular *ya-/yaa-/yana-/yanangka-* 'go'. In some contexts, it appears to mark a dynamic modality. According to the language consultant Brown, this use of *-rna* would require the presence of a larger group of people, and one person who wishes to single himself/herself out: *Mayi nganyjarra-nga kama-rna.* vegetable.food 1PL.INCL-DAT cook-*rna* 'Food I will cook for us.' (TW08) In other

presented in Table 21. Four tenses are marked in Ngarla, Present, past, Remote past and Future tense.[62] In the past, aspectual distinctions are made. In order to facilitate comparison with descriptions of neighbouring languages, the relevant TAM distinctions are here, following Dench (1999), labelled Past, which includes past tense and perfective aspectual information; Continuous past, which describes past tense and imperfective aspect; and Usitative, including past tense and habitual aspectual information (cf. Comrie 1976, 1985). In languages in general, the distinction between tense and mood often becomes blurred with future tense (Dahl 1985). This is the case in Ngarla, where the Future tense inflection also marks imperative, the latter of which can be defined as a deontic mood (Palmer 2001). [63]

The Speculative is an epistemic modality, and the Purposive and Optative deontic modalities.[64] In three distinctions, temporal and (in all cases most likely) epistemic modal information are combined; in the Present contrafactual, the Past contrafactual and the Anticipatory. The labels speculative, purposive, optative and anticipatory have been taken from Dench (1999; the first two are also employed by Palmer 2001), and the labels present contrafactual and past contrafactual from Sharp's (2004) description of Ngarla's neighbouring language Nyangumarta (Marrngu, Pama-Nyungan). Note that there are no known examples of verbs taking more than one of the 12 Ngarla TAM inflections discussed in this section.

Table 21 Ngarla tense, aspect and mood distinctions and inflections.

TAM distinction	Inflection Ø conjugation	Inflection L conjugation
Present tense (PRS)	*-yan*	*-rri*
Remote past tense (REMPST)	*-rnta*	*-rnta*
Past (PST)	*-nyu*	*-rnu*
Continuous past (CPST)	*-yanu*	*-yinyu*
Usitative (USI)	*-yanta*	*-yirnta*
Future tense (FUT)	*-Ø*	*-n*
Speculative (SPEC)	*-mpi*	*-mpi*
Purposive (PURP)	*-kura*	*-lu*
Optative (OPT)	*-mara*	*-nmara*
Present contrafactual (PRSCONTRA)	*-yanma*	*-rrima*
Past contrafactual (PSTCONTRA)	*-marnta*	*-nmarnta*
Anticipatory (ANT)	*-nyamarta*	*-rnamarta*

---

contexts, *-rna* is instead employed as an indicator of regular association with an activity. Due to the fact that Ngarla is now all but extinct, it may prove impossible to produce a coherent analysis for such morphemes.

[62]   The labels for the 12 different TAM categories discussed in this section are all given with an initial capital.

[63]   The label for this category has thus been changed since the publication of Westerlund (2011), cf. subsection 4.4.3.2.4 below.

[64]   While the label purposive is common in descriptions of Australian languages, this modal category basically fills the same functions as the Subjunctive of Latin (Palmer 2001).

TAM distinctions marking tenses, including Future and those categories that combine temporal and aspectual information, are discussed in section 4.4.3.2. In 4.4.3.3, modal TAM marking is introduced, and in 4.4.3.4, categories combining temporal and epistemic modal information. TAM inflections are below consistently given in the following order: Ø conjugation/L conjugation (see section 4.2 for details on conjugations).

4.4.3.2   *Tense*

4.4.3.2.1   *Present tense*

The basic function of the Present tense (*-yan/-rri*) in languages in general, is to locate situations at the time of speaking, i.e. the present moment, as in Ngarla example (102). Characteristically, the Present tense is also employed to make reference to situations that occupy longer time periods that include the present (Comrie 1985), as is the case in (103) (see the English translation). In many languages, the tense also takes on a habitual aspectual meaning (Comrie 1985). This is the case in Ngarla. See example (104), where a habitual meaning is implied. In (105), an iterative meaning might be implied.[65] (The fact that 'biting' is an instant action, while the ache in the joint presumably is not, makes it likely that (105) in fact expresses an iterative meaning. Note that *parralya* 'ache' here is the subject, and functions as the agent. This is obvious from the fact that it is the clausal constituent that takes ergative marking; *-lu*.) In Ngarla, the Present tense may also be used to indicate a speaker's immediate intentions, as in (106). In the examples below, just as in examples throughout this section, the relevant verbs are highlighted. (In some examples relevant noun phrases are also highlighted.)

(102)   *Palakarni*   *ngapurta*   **pilyka ngarri-yan**
             DEM (mid)   melon   cracked INCH-PRS
             'That watermelon is cracking.' (TW08)

(103)   *Ngunyi*   *jimpulyu*
             DEM (distant)   little grebe (*tachybaptus novaehollandiae*)
             jimpayi ngarri-yan.
             hidden INCH-PRS
             'That grebe is hiding (for a long time).' (TW08)

(104)   ***Nyini-yan-pi-ya***   *Kurlijangu-nya-ngura*
             stay-PRS-EP-3PL   Kurlijangu-AREA-LOC
             yinta-ka.
             permanent.water hole-LOC
             'They are staying by (the) Kurlijangu area permanent water hole.'
             (#)

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[65]   Note in section 4.4.3.2.3 below that the Usitative is employed to mark both habits and iterative actions occurring in the past.

(105)   *Jarrumirnti*   **paji-rri**   *nganya*
        joint   bite-PRS   1SG.ACC

        parralya-lu.
        ache-ERG

        '(An) ache is biting my joint (i.e. my joint is aching).' (#)

(106)   **Yanangka-yan**   *ngaya,*   *pirtu*   *yirtirti.*
        go-PRS   1SG.NOM   food.for.journey   visible

        'I'm going (now), (the) food (is) visible (i.e. I've got food for the journey).' (#)

4.4.3.2.2   *Remote past tense*

Degrees of remoteness are often marked in tense systems crosslinguistically (Comrie 1985). The Ngarla Remote past tense (*-rnta/-rnta*) is employed in descriptions of situations, events, etc., that took place a few years ago, or further back in time. As shown in (107) - (108), the Remote past tense is used both in descriptions of 'real life' situations, i.e. situations remembered by the speaker (107) and for mythological events (108). Note that only non-habitual activities that held at remote points in time are expressed with the Remote past tense, cf. example (116) below. This means that the Remote past really is the only pure tense category of the language.

(107)   *Murlurnu*   **jarrpi-rnta**
        long.ago   enter-REMPST

        kanta-ka.
        small.gap-LOC

        'Long ago (he) entered (i.e. went through) (a) small gap.' (TW08)

(108)   *Manguny-ju*   **yarni+ma-rnta**
        manguny (Dreamtime.being)-ERG   make[+CAUS]-REMPST

        '(A) manguny-being made (it) (long ago).' (#)

4.4.3.2.3   *Past tense combined with aspectual information: Past, Continuous past and Usitative*

TAM categories that combine temporal and aspectual information are common crosslinguistically, including in Australian languages (Comrie 1976; Dixon 2002a). Excluding the Remote past, four Ngarla TAM distinctions are employed in descriptions of events that took place prior to the time of speaking. Three of these combine past tense with aspectual information. Following Dench (1999), these distinctions are labelled here Past, Continuous past and Usitative. (The fourth distinction is the Past contrafactual, see 4.4.3.4.1 below.)

The Past category (*-nyu/-rnu*) describes a past time frame and perfective aspect. Continuous past (*-yanu/-yinyu*), on the other hand, has a past time and an imperfective

aspectual interpretation. The label 'usitative' is in descriptions of the Aboriginal languages of the Pilbara region employed for a TAM category the semantic content of which is most easily translated into English as 'used to VERB' (Dench 1995:146). The Ngarla Usitative (*-yanta/-yirnta*) can thus be described as a past habitual distinction.[66]

The Past and Continuous past categories are used in descriptions of events that did not take place far back enough in time to warrant the use of the Remote past tense. That the distinctions include different aspectual information is most obvious when they occur together in a context, as in (109). Here, *paji-yinyu* eat-CPST, describes something that went on for some time, while *wanyja-rnu* leave-PST, denotes the end of the previous activity.

(109) *Palakarni-lu*   *mantu*   **paji-yinyu**   *jinta*
       DEM (mid)-ERG   meat   eat-CPST   some
       wanyja-rnu.
       leave-PST
       'That one was eating meat, (but he) left some.' (TW08)

Including an imperfective aspectual interpretation, the Continuous past is however not only used for events that both began and finished in the past (109), but also for events that started prior to the time of speaking, but which are still ongoing in the present, as in (110) and (112). Compare in this context (111) – (112). According to the language consultant Brown, (111) implies that the speaker has finished fastening the horses to the buggy and is ready to go. Example (112) might on the other hand be taken to indicate e.g. that one horse has been fastened to the buggy, and that the speaker still needs to go back to the stable and get the other one.[67]

(110) *Murlurnu*   *karrapirti*   *nyinpa*
       previously   long.time   2SG.NOM
       wangka karri-yanu.
       speech INCH-CPST
       '(Since) previously, (for a) long time, you (have been) talking (about that).' (#)

(111) *Yawarta*   *ngaja*   *piya-nya*   **jangka ja-rnu**
       horse   1SG.ERG   3DU-ACC   fastened CAUS-PST
       paki-ngka   *nyangkala*.
       buggy-LOC   today
       'The horses I fastened to (a) buggy today.' (TW08)

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[66] Habits and iterative actions holding at the time of speaking are, as illustrated above, expressed through the Present tense inflection.
[67] Compare in this context to sentence (395) below.

(112)   *Yawarta   ngaja   piya-nya   **jangka ja-yinyu***
        horse   1SG.ERG   3DU-ACC   fastened CAUS-CPST
        paki-ngka.
        buggy-LOC
        'The horses I fastened/am (still) fastening to (a) buggy.' (TW08)

Example (113) illustrates another use of the Past category. The construction in this example, with an L conjugation verb (*nyuka.Ø-L* 'do increase with') marked by Past, and only one included noun phrase (*kunyjarta* 'woman') marked by nominative, represents the Ngarla functional/semantic equivalent to the basic passive derivation.[68] This type of equivalent to the basic passive is, according to Keenan & Dryer (2007), common in ergative languages. Usually, *nyuka.Ø-L* is a fully transitive verb. See example (114), where *pirirri* 'man' constitutes the subject, and takes overt ergative marking (*-lu*), while *kunyjarta* 'woman' is the direct object. (Cf. section 4.3.1.4 for more information about this verb.) Increase rituals are central to Aboriginal spirituality. Through these rituals, the numbers of various species are thought to be increased. The female of each species is considered the embodiment of the increase (Grove 2011).)

(113)   ***Nyuka.Ø-rnu***   *purtukarri*   *kunyjarta*
        increase.CAUS-PST   unwilling   woman
        '(The) woman had increase (i.e. sex) unwillingly.' (#)

(114)   *Pirirri-lu*   *ngunyi*   *kunyjarta*
        man-ERG   DEM (distant)   woman
        nyuka.Ø-rri.
        increase.CAUS-PRS
        '(The) man is doing increase with (i.e. having sex with) that woman.' (TW08)

The Usitative category is employed both to express iterative (cf. *marti~marti-rri-yanta* in (115)) and habitual meanings, both denoting situations that held over extended periods of time in the past. Note that the Usitative is employed for all past habits/iterative actions, regardless of remoteness in time. That that which is described in (116) below in fact took place at a remote point in time is specified by the lexical unit *murlurnu* 'long ago'.

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[68]   Characteristic of the verb (or verb phrase) of passive clauses is that it constitutes a syntactically and morphologically modified version of the corresponding transitive verb (phrase). Also, the original P argument becomes S of the passive clause. In a basic passive construction, no agent phrase is ever present (i.e. the A of the corresponding active clause). In a non-basic passive, the agent phrase is present (Keenan & Dryer 2007).

(115) *Kanarni*   *nganarna*
on.top.(of)   1PL.EXCL.NOM
kurnu ngarri-yanta   *taya-ngka.*
curled.up INCH-USI   tyre-LOC
Paka-ngka-nguru   *nganarna*
steep.bank-LOC-ABL   1PL.EXCL.NOM
marti~marti-rri-yanta   *yirri*   *kanimparra*
rolling-INCH-USI   gentle.slope   downwards
nyarukarra-karni-kujarra.
creek.bed-ALL-COMP
'At (the) top we used to double-up inside (the) tyre. We used to roll (over and over) from (the) steep bank down (the) gentle slope all the way to (the) creek bed.' (#)

(116) **Murlurnu**   *nganarna*   *pana-nya*   *yurta*
long.ago   1PL.EXCL.NOM   3PL-ACC   fish
mara ku-yirnta   *mangkurtu-ngura*
hand CAUS-USI   flood-LOC
mulya~mulya-ngura.
incoming.tide-LOC
'Long ago we used to get the fish in the incoming tide.' (#)

4.4.3.2.4 *Future tense combined with imperative mood*

In languages in general, the distinction between tense and mood tends to become blurred with future tense (Dahl 1985). Ngarla belongs among the small group of (non-contiguous) Pama-Nyungan languages in which the same inflection (in Ngarla *-Ø/-n*) is employed to mark both future tense and the deontic imperative mood (cf. Palmer 2001). This TAM distinction is labelled here Future tense.

   Below are examples of the verb *japa-L* 'cover' with the Future inflection. Sentence (117) exemplifies the future tense function of the inflection and (118) the imperative function. In all contexts, the inflection is glossed -FUT. Note that this inflection is only employed for positive commands. Negative commands and hortations are expressed with the Purposive inflection (see section 4.4.3.3.2 below).

(117) *Purntul-tu*   *nganyjarra-nya*   **japa-n**.
dust-ERG   1PL.INCL-ACC   cover-FUT
'(The) dust will cover us.' (#)

(118) *Pinurru*   **japa-n**!
fire   cover-FUT
'Cover (the) fire!' (#)

4.4.3.3   Mood

4.4.3.3.1   Speculative

The Speculative TAM distinction (*-mpi/-mpi*). is employed when a speaker is speculating about what may take place. As shown in (119) – (120), the category appears to correspond most closely to the use of English 'might'. In my database, the Speculative only occurs in clauses with third person subjects. In most examples, an overt subject is missing, as in (119) – (120).[69]

(119)   **Yata+ja-mpi.**
          push[+CAUS]-SPEC
          '(He) might push (it).'

(120)   **Warrumurntu   milpa-mpi.**
          tomorrow   come-SPEC
          'Tomorrow (he) might come.'

4.4.3.3.2   Purposive

The purposive mood, which is common in Pama-Nyungan languages, is employed both in main and subordinate clauses. In main clauses, the purposive distinction is generally used to express obligation (i.e. that the actor 'has to', 'tries to', 'wants to' or 'should' perform the action described by the verb; Dixon 1980, 2002a; Palmer 2001).[70]

    In Ngarla, the Purposive inflection is *-kura/-lu*. For its subordinate clause uses, see section 8.3.3 below. One of its main functions in main clauses is to describe that someone wants or desires some event to come about. There are examples of the Purposive category in this function with first, second and third person subjects; (121) – (123). Examples with second person subjects are generally enquiries about what someone wants or intends to do (122).

(121)   **Kalya**   **parni-kura**   **ngaya.**
          remain.in.state.or.process   stay-PURP   1SG.NOM
          'I intend to stay.' (#)

(122)   *Purlparl-ku*   *nyinpa*   *para*   **paji-lu***?*
          food (generic)-DAT   2SG.NOM   3SG.DAT   eat-PURP
          'Do you want to eat the food?'(TW08)

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[69]   The statement in Westerlund (2011), to the effect that there are no examples of the use of this inflection with overt subjects, has thus turned out to be erroneous.

[70]   While the label Purposive is common in descriptions of Australian languages, this modal distinction basically fills the same functions as the Subjunctive of Latin (Palmer 2001).

(123) *Katu ja-rri*   *palakarni-lu*   *parnu-nga*
       kind CAUS-PRS   DEM (mid)-ERG   1SG-GEN

       marrkara.   *Mantu*   ***wajarri.Ø-lu***.[71]
       younger.sibling   meat   desire.INCH-PURP

       'That one is being kind to his younger sibling. (He) wants (his) meat.' (#)

The Purposive distinction also occurs in positive indirect commands with first and second person subjects, i.e. hortations; (124) - (125). The hortations expressed with this construction are milder than positive commands expressed with the Future distinction (cf. sentence (118)). The Purposive is compulsory in all types of negative hortations and commands, as in (126) – (127) (where (126) is a negative hortation and (127) a strong prohibition).

(124) *Nyayi*   *mangkuru*   *kurrpu.*
       DEM (proximate)   kangaroo   heavy

       Karri-kura[72]   *ngali*
       carry-PURP   1DU.INCL.NOM

       jinyji~jinyji-lu.
       alternateing-ERG

       'This kangaroo (is) heavy. Let's carry (it) alternatingly.' (I.e. 'Let's take turns carrying it.') (#)

(125) ***Nyuka pi-lu***   ***nyinpa***
       increase.site/feature CAUS-PURP   2SG.NOM

       jankurna-rra.
       emu (*dromaius novaehollandiae*)-DAT

       'You should do (the) increase ceremony for (the) emu.'

(126) *Nyayi-ngka*   *nyinpa*   *nyini-Ø*
       DEM (proximate)-LOC   2SG.NOM   stay-FUT

       mampul   *murri*   *mirta*   ***nyini-kura***
       true   INTNS   NEG   stay-PURP

       nyayi-ngka.
       DEM (proximate)-LOC

       'Here you will stay, (but you) truly (i.e. really) shouldn't stay here.' (TW08)

---

[71] Note that *wajarri.Ø-Ø* here takes the L conjugation Purposive inflection *-lu*, cf. Table 21 and example sentence (218).

[72] Concerning the form *karri-kura* (carry-PURP), see section 4.4.4.2.

(127)   *Mirta   murri   nyinpa   **nyini-kura***
        NEG   INTNS   2SG.NOM   stay-PURP

        nyayi-ngka!
        DEM (proximate)-LOC
        'Don't you stay here (under any circumstances)!' (TW08)

4.4.3.3.3   Optative

The Ngarla Optative inflection *-mara/-nmara* marks permissive mood.[73] In most contexts, this TAM distinction is employed to express a more or less fatalistic attitude, i.e. that the speaker allows something to happen, as in (128).[74]

(128)   *Wataku   jilya-nkgu   yukurru   **kaju-nmara**.*
        unimportant   child-ERG   dog   tie-OPT
        '(It's) unimportant, let (the) child tie (the) dog up.' (TW08)

Occasionally, the distinction is also used to express that the speaker thinks that someone should or ought to do something (129). These utterances should not be interpreted as commands, but as expressions of the speaker's personal opinion. (Compare these to the use of the Future and Purposive TAM inflections in 4.4.3.2.4 and 4.4.3.3.2.)

(129)   *Palakarni   jilya-karrangu*
        DEM (mid)   child-PL

        ***miranu ngarri-mara-ya**   wangka-rra   ngarla-rra.*
        knowledge INCH-OPT-3PL   speech-DAT   Ngarla-DAT
        'Those children should acquire knowledge (i.e. learn) about Ngarla speech (i.e. the Ngarla language).' (TW08)

4.4.3.4   Combined temporal and modal marking

4.4.3.4.1   Present contrafactual and Past contrafactual

In line with Sharp (2004), contrafactual mood is defined here as the mood expressing what does not/did not happen, but what can/could have or should/should have happened, as in (130) – (131) below. Just as Nyangumarta (Marrngu, Pama-Nyungan), Ngarla has two contrafactual TAM categories, which pertain to different time frames. Following Sharp (2004), they are labelled here Present contrafactual and Past contrafactual. The Present contrafactual (*-yanma/-rrima*) is concerned with the moment of speaking, as in (131) and (133). The Past contrafactual (*-marnta/-nmarnta*) is instead

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[73]   Note that the label for this category has been changed since the publication of Westerlund (2011), where it was called Permissive.

[74]   As illustrated in (128), the lexical unit *wataku* ('unimportant', 'never mind') tends to be present when the Optative distinction expresses a fatalistic attitude. It is included in order to stress that the activity commented on is not considered important by the speaker.

employed to refer to situations that took place prior to the moment of speaking, as in (130) and (132).[75]

However, the Ngarla contrafactual inflections are not only employed as markers of contrafactual mood in the present and past. They are also by default used in negated sentences pertaining either to the past (132) or present. (Note that the negation *mirta* occurs in both examples.) In their latter function, the contrafactuals seem to have been in the process of developing into negated present and past TAM inflections, as illustrated in (133). Here, there is no overt negation, but the language consultant Brown was nevertheless adamant that this utterance should be interpreted negatively, as indicated by the translation.

(130)   ***Wanyja-nmarnta***   *nganya*   *nganu-nga-lu*
        leave-PSTCONTRA   1SG.ACC   1SG-GEN-ERG
        nyampali-lu.
        boss-ERG
        'My boss could have left me (behind).' (I.e. 'My boss almost left me behind.') (#)

(131)   ***Mirta***   ***ngaja***   ***paji-rrima***   ***jinyji,***
        NEG   1SG.ERG   eat-PRSCONTRA   fat
        kampa-lkarra-lu   ***mantu***   ***nganu***   ***waa-rri***
        cook-ACT-ERG   meat   1SG.DAT   give-PRS
        jinyji-yanya
        fat-PRIV
        'I don't eat fat (now/these days), (the) cook (only) gives me fat-free (i.e. lean) meat.' (#)

(132)   *Mirta*   *ngaja*   *nyina*   ***ngani+ma-nmarnta***
        NEG   1SG.ERG   2SG.ACC   see[+CAUS]-PSTCONTRA
        kunaran-ta.
        winter-LOC
        'I did not see you in (the) winter.' (TW08)

(133)   ***Jankan~jankan+ma-ra-yanma.***
        shake[+CAUS]-ANTIP-PRSCONTRA
        '(He) isn't shaking (i.e. shivering).' (TW08)

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[75]   Note that there is no specific Ngarla TAM inflection associated with negated statements about future events. Cf. the following sentence: *Mirta ngaja nyina ngani+ma-n kunaran-ta.* NEG 1SG.ERG 2SG.ACC see[+CAUS]-FUT winter-LOC 'I will not see you in the winter.' (TW08)

4.4.3.4.2   Anticipatory

The Ngarla Anticipatory distinction (-*nyamarta/-rnamarta*) pertains to the present or near future, see (134) – (135).[76] It denotes that the speaker is convinced that the event described by the verb has to/will occur (cf. Palmer 2001). If the mood should be interpreted as a deontic obligative or an epistemic deductive/assumptive is however not entirely clear, due to the fact that the contexts where it occurs are ambiguous (cf. (444)). However, it is here considered likely that it should be interpreted as an epistemic modality, in light of the fact that the TAM inflection occurs exclusively with third person subjects (134) and in statements expressing that what, in the opinion of the speaker, must take place is the effect of some previous event, as in (135). Here, it is the fact that someone will get meat that is considered certain, if the person in question is first kind to the one with the meat.

(134)   **Yinjirtin ngayi-nyamarta.**
          suspended INCH-ANT
          '(It) has to hang.' (Said of something that needs to dry or of a
          carcass.) (#)

(135)   *Katu ja-n*   *palakarni,*   **waa-rnamarta**   *nyinu*
          kind CAUS-FUT   DEM (mid)   give-ANT   2SG.DAT
          mantu.
          meat
          'Be kind to that one, (and he) will surely give you meat.' (#)

4.4.4   TAM marking with the two irregular verbs ya-/yaa-/yana-/yanangka- 'go' and karri- 'carry', 'take', 'bring'

4.4.4.1   ya-/yaa-/yana-/yanangka- *'go'*

The TAM distinctions and inflections of *ya-/yaa-/yana-/yanangka-* 'go' are in Table 22 compared to those of the regular conjugations. Regular Ø/L conjugation inflections also taken by the irregular verb are highlighted.

    As shown in Table 22, the four stems of the verb seem to occur with different types of TAM distinctions. The shortest stem, *ya-*, is the imperative/hortative stem, employed with the Imperative (*ya-rra*) and Hortative distinctions (*ya-ku*). This is the only verb of the language to have separate Imperative and Hortative TAM categories, and they occur in positive commands/hortations only. Positive hortation is with this verb thus not covered by the Purposive inflection.

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[76]   The label for this category has been changed since the publication of Westerlund (2011), where it was called Obligative.

Table 22 Main clause TAM distinctions and inflections with the irregular verb *ya-/yaa-/yana-/yanangka-* 'go' in comparison to Ø/L conjugation TAM distinctions and inflections.

TAM distinction	Inflection, Ø/L conjugation	*ya-/yaa-/yana-/yanangka-* 'go'
Imperative (IMP)	-	*ya-rra*
Hortative (HORT)	-	*ya-ku*
Purposive (PURP)	***-kura***/*-lu*	*yana-kura*
Anticipatory (ANT)	***-nyamarta***/*-rnamarta*	***yana-nyamarta***
Present tense (PRS)	***-yan***/*-rri*	*yanangka-yan*
Usitative (USI)	***-yanta***/*-yirnta*	*yanangka-yanta*
Present contrafactual (PRSCONTRA)	***-yanma***/*-rrima*	*yanangka-yanma*
Future tense (FUT)	***-Ø/-n***	*yaa-n*
Remote past tense (REMPST)	*-rnta/-rnta*	
Past (PST)	*-nyu/-rnu*	
Continuous past (CPST)	*-yanu/-yinyu*	*yaa-nu*
Optative (OPT)	*-mara/-**nmara***	*yaa-nmara*
Past contrafactual (PSTCONTRA)	*-marnta/-**nmarnta***	*yaa-nmarnta*
Speculative (SPEC)	***-mpi/-mpi***	*yaa-mpi*

The stem *yana-* is employed with the deontic Purposive and the deontic or epistemic Anticipatory, two moods that are concerned with what someone intends/desires or ought to do. As with regular verbs, the Purposive is also used for negative commands/hortations. As mentioned above, it is however not employed in positive hortations, like the Purposive of the Ø/L conjugations. Note that the verb here takes regular Ø conjugation inflections *(-kura, -nyamarta)*.

The longest stem, *yanangka-*, evidently formed by *yana-* plus an increment, seems to be the imperfective stem. It is employed with the Present tense and Usitative distinctions, and also with the Present contrafactual category. Once again, the verb takes the regular Ø conjugation inflections (*-yan*, *-yanta*, *-yanma*).

The stem *yaa-* occurs with the largest number of TAM categories. It is employed with two tenses, the Future and Past ((136) – (138)), with the epistemic Speculative and the deontic Optative modal distinctions, as well as with the Past contrafactual category. It thus seems appropriate to analyse it as an irrealis stem, 'irrealis' here implying 'unreal in the present' (i.e. the time of speaking; Comrie 1985; Palmer 2001).

In three out of five cases, regular L conjugation inflections are employed with *yaa-*, with the Future tense, the Optative and the Past Contrafactual (*-n, -nmara, -nmarnta*).[77]

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[77] While it is possible to analyse the Optative (*yaanmara*) and Past contrafactual forms (*yaanmarnta*) as consisting of the stem *yaan-* and the regular Ø conjugation Optative and

The same Speculative marker is used as with regular Ø/L conjugation verbs, *-mpi*. Note however that *yaanu* ((136) – (138)) covers the range that with other verbs is coded by three different TAM distinctions. Thus, (136) illustrates the form in a past perfective sense (i.e. like the Past TAM distinction of the regular conjugations); (137) a continuous past sense; and (140) a remote past sense. Sentence (137) might thus, unlike (136), be taken to describe something that started in the past but that is still ongoing at the time of speaking (cf. section 4.4.3.2.3 above).[78]

(136)   *Parta-ngka*   *pirri-ngka*   **yaa-nu**.
         other-LOC   day-LOC   go-PST
         'On another day (i.e. yesterday) (he) went.' (TW08)

(137)   **Yaa-nu-ya**   *nyangkala*   *yurta-karni*.
         go-PST-3PL   now   fish-ALL
         'They went (just) now to (the) fish (i.e. to go fishing).' (TW08)

(138)   *Murlurnu*   **yaa-nu**.
         long.ago   go-PST
         'Long ago (he) went.' (#)

4.4.4.2   karri- *'carry', 'take', 'bring'*

Table 23 compares the TAM inflections of the regular conjugations to those taken by *karri-* 'carry', 'take', 'bring'. Just as above, regular Ø/L conjugation inflections also taken by *karri-* are highlighted. The stem change that *karri-* undergoes before TAM inflections starting with the retroflex (*rn*) or the lamino-palatal (*ny*) nasal was discussed in 2.1 above.

Past contrafactual inflections (*-mara*, *-marnta*), it is here considered more likely that the stem is in fact *yaa-*, since *yaan* is the future tense form of the verb.

[78] In the following to exceptions the past time reference is however expressed through the form *yanangkayanu*: *Yanangka-yanu-ya wilyparr ngurra-karni panta ngani+ma-ni-ya wula, palangka nyini-nyu-ya.* go-PST-3PL detour camp-ALL close see[+CAUS]-?-3PL water there stay-PST-3PL '(While) they were going on a detour to the camp they saw the waterhole close (by), (and) stopped there.' (#); *Wiyanu ngaya yanangka-yanu warntayi-ngura.* hunting 1SG.NOM go-PST riverbed-LOC 'I went hunting on the riverbed.' (TW10)

Table 23 Main clause TAM distinctions with the irregular verb *karri-* 'carry', 'take', 'bring' in comparison to Ø/L conjugation TAM inflections.

TAM distinction	Inflection, Ø/L conjugation	*karri-* 'carry', 'take', 'bring'
Present tense (PRS)	*-yan/-**rri***	*karri-rri*
Remote past tense (REMPST)	***-rnta/-rnta***	*kayi-rnta*
Past (PST)	***-nyu**/-rnu*	*kayi-nyu*
	-yanu/-yinyu	no examples
Continuous past (CPST)		
Usitative (USI)	*-yanta/-**yirnta***	*karri-yirnta*
Future tense (FUT)	***-Ø**/-n*	*karri-Ø*
Speculative (SPEC)	***-mpi/-mpi***	*karri-mpi*
Purposive (PURP)	*-kura/-**lu***	*karri-kura*
Optative (OPT)	***-mara**/-nmara*	*karri-mara*
Present contrafactual (PRSCONTRA)	*-yanma/-rrima*	*karri-Ø*
Past contrafactual (PSTCONTRA)	***-marnta**/-nmarnta*	*karri-marnta*
Anticipatory (ANT)	*-**nyamarta**/-rnamarta*	*kayi-nyamarta*

Despite the fact that *karri-* is a transitive verb, it only takes two L conjugation TAM inflections, namely those marking Present tense (-*rri*) and Usitative (-*yirnta*). In most cases, the verb instead occurs with Ø conjugation inflections. This is the case in the TAM distinctions Past (-*nyu*), Future (-*Ø*; (139) – (140)), Purposive (-*kura*), Optative (-*mara*), Past contrafactual (-*marnta*) and Anticipatory (-*nyamarta*). Sentence (139) illustrates the future tense use of the Future distinction (*sic!*) and (140) the imperative use.

(139)   *Palakarni*   *kurrpu*   *winyja ja-rri.*
         DEM (mid)   heavy   rejection CAUS-PRS
         *Yarti   yila   **karri-Ø**.*
         later   perhaps take-FUT
         'That heavy thing (the man) rejects. Later (he) will perhaps take (it).' (TW08)

(140)   ***Jirli-ngka***   ***karri-Ø***   ***palakarni***   ***jilya!***
         arm-LOC   take-FUT   DEM (mid)   child
         'By the arm take that child!' (I.e. 'By the hand lead that child!') (#)

Karri- also takes the Remote past and Speculative TAM inflections common to the Ø/L conjugations (-*rnta, -mpi*).

In only one TAM distinction does the Ngarla transitive irregular verb have an inflection that is unique, in the Present contrafactual. With *karri-*, this TAM distinction is marked by *-Ø* (141), i.e. identically to Future tense.

(141)   *Mirta*   **karri-Ø**   *nyangkala,*   *wanyja-rri.*
         NEG   take-PRSCONTRA   now   leave-PRS
         Kurrpu   *murri.*
         heavy   INTNS
         '(He) isn't taking (it) now, (he) is leaving (it). (It is) too heavy.'
         (TW08)

Unfortunately, there are no examples of *karri-* receiving Continuous past marking.

4.4.5   Person marking

Person marking morphemes on verbs are in Australianist literature referred to e.g. as 'bound pronouns' (Blake 1987:100; Dixon 2002a:337) and 'verbal pronouns' (Sharp 2004:244). When Ngarla bound pronouns occur, they are added at the end of the inflected verb. Bound pronouns are employed in main clauses only, in order to mark subject agreement. However, there are only bound pronouns for some persons. This fact is illustrated in Table 24.[79]

Table 24 Ngarla bound pronouns.

Person	In imperatives/ hortations	With other TAM distinctions
1DU.INCL	*-jarra*	
2DU	*-pula*	
3DU		*-pula*
2PL	*-ya*	
3PL		*-ya*

In languages of the western part of Australia, bound pronouns that are typically employed for third person SA, in imperatives/hortatations instead mark second person (Dench 1999; Sharp 2004). This is the case also with Ngarla bound pronouns *-pula* and *-ya*, as shown in Table 24. This phenomenon is discussed below.

The suffix *-jarra*, occurring on the first line of Table 24, is employed as an agreement marker in exhortations to two people, one of whom is the speaker (see example (142) and also (438)). Note in (144) that an identical suffix marks dual on nominals (see also section 3.4.1.4), which leads to the suspicion that the two suffixes have the same diachronic source. Thus, it might in fact be justified to describe the *-jarra* suffix as a number marker rather than a person marker.

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[79]   Note that the picture that emerges in the Ngarla material is a bit more complicated than what is suggested for Ngarla in Dixon (2002a). It is there claimed that the language has bound pronouns in clausal functions for 3DU and 3PL SA only.

(142)   *'Wataku,*   *para*   **wurta+ma-n-jarra**
        unimportant   3SG.DAT   wait[+CAUS]-FUT-1DU
        wangka-ka,   *kurntakarra.'*
        speech-LOC   COMBINATION KIN TERM[80]
        ''(It's) unimportant, let us wait for it in talk, nephew.''

-pula marks second person dual in exhortations, as in (143). In non-exhortations, it is employed for third person dual (144).

(143)   *Palakarni-ngura*   *warlkanti*   **nyini-Ø-pula**   *jarnamani!*
        DEM (mid)-LOC   sitting   stay-FUT-2DU   back.to.back
        'You two, stay there sitting (i.e. sit there), back to back!' (TW08)

(144)   *Jilya-ngku-jarra*   *warnta*   **yirriny+ma-rri-pula**.
        child-ERG-DU   log   lift[+CAUS]-PRS-3DU
        'Two children are lifting (a) log.' (#)

In the same way, *-ya* marks second person plural in exhortations (145) and third person plural in non-exhortations;(146) – (147). An epenthetic *-pi-* is inserted between TAM suffixes ending on the nasal *n* and *-ya*, as in (145) – (146).

(145)   **Jipa-n-pi-ya**   *pana-nya*   *palakarni*   *kukurnjayi!*
        steer-FUT-EP-2PL   3PL-ACC   DEM (mid)   sheep
        'You (pl), steer those sheep!' (TW10)

(146)   *Wurrangkura*
        river red gum tree (*eucalyptus camaldulensis*)
        jarnti karri-yan-pi-ya   *pakarn~parkarn-ngura.*
        vertical INCH-PRS-EP-3PL   uneven.riverbank-LOC
        'River red gum trees are being vertical (i.e. are standing) on (the) uneven riverbank.' (TW08)

(147)   *Warrumurntu*   *karrapirti*   **nyini-yanu-ya**
        morning   long.time   stay-CPST-3PL
        wangka-ka.
        speech-LOC
        'Ever (since) morning they have stayed in talk (i.e. have been talking).' (#)

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[80]   Used by a person to or about his/her spouse and a daughter or son.

Bound pronouns (here including *-jarra*) are compulsory in exhortations to first and second person dual and second person plural, and in non-exhortation clauses discussing actions performed by third person dual and third person plural subjects. Commonly, there are overt subjects in non-exhortation clauses that include a verb taking bound pronous (as in e.g. (144) and (146)).[81] Subjects may however be omitted (cf. (147), and also (5), **(**34**)** and (173)). In exhortations with bound pronouns, overt subjects usually do not occur.

4.5   Valency changing derivations

4.5.1   Introduction

Australian languages commonly allow derivational morphemes, usually suffixes, to be added to verbal roots. Such suffixes are either semantic or syntactic in nature. Syntactic suffixes change the valency of the verb (Dixon 2002a). This situation is found in Ngarla. In this section, valency changing derivations are introduced.

Two valency decreasing derivations found in Ngarla, the antipassive and reciprocal, are described in section 4.5.2 below.[82]

The two types of valency increasing derivations that exist in Australian languages are (i) causative, which changes the S argument of an intransitive clause to the P of a transitive clause; and (ii) applicative, in which S becomes A, and what was previously a peripheral argument is moved into P function. While most Australian languages have causative derivational mechanisms, applicatives are found in some languages only. Most commonly, the suffix that marks the causative/applicative derivation is identical to the causative verbaliser of the language in question (Dixon 2002a). The Ngarla valency increasing derivation is described in 4.5.3.

4.5.2   Valency decreasing derivations

4.5.2.1   Antipassive

An antipassive construction is found in many of the world's ergative languages (Keenan & Dryer 2007). In Australian languages, the alternation between the transitive and the antipassive often signals some general difference in aspect or modality (Blake 2001). According to Blake (1987), the antipassive in Kalkatungu is thus employed to signal ongoing, uncompleted or characteristic activity. In Pitta-Pitta, the antipassive is similarly employed for continuing and characteristic activity, and also for desiderative aspect ('I want to…'; Blake 1987; cf. Dixon 2002a and Hopper & Thompson 1980).[83] It

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[81]   When a non-pronominal nominal subject does occur, it is frequently marked for dual/plural (cf. (13), (16) – (18), (129), (144), (206), (452)), but sometimes not (e.g. (204)).

[82]   The reflexive derivation, commonly found in Australian languages (cf. Dixon 2002a), thus does not exist in Ngarla. Instead, a reflexive pronoun, *pulala*, is employed, cf. section 3.4.4 above. See also 4.4.3.2.3 for a Ngarla semantic equivalent to the passive derivation.

[83]   This type of antipassive construction is labelled a 'backgrounding antipassive' in Foley (2007:433). In a language with an asymmetrical syntactic pivot, the antipassive derivation however has as its primary function to fulfill pivot constraints (the 'foregrounding antipassive'; Foley 2007:430; cf. Dixon 2002a). A pivot is the NP type around which most

is common in antipassives for the argument that occurs in a peripheral function to take the dative case (Blake 2001; Dixon 2002a).

Australian languages exhibiting a fully productive antipassive construction are concentrated to the northeast of the continent. Lexically restricted antipassives, occurring with only a handful of verbs, are however found in a wider range of languages, according to Blake (1987).

In Ngarla, the antipassive derivational suffix *-ra-* is taken by telic L conjugation complex verbs created with the verbalisers *ji-L/+ji-L, ma-L/+ma-L, nya-L/+nya-L, pi-L/+pi-L, +pinya-L* and *-rni-L/+rni-L,* as in (148) and (150). (The only clear example in the Ngarla database of a simple verb root taking the antipassive derivation involves *mija-L* 'touch'; cf. Table 14.) Compare antipassive examples (148) and (150) to the transitive sentences (149) and (151). Antipassive being a valency decreasing derivation, the *-ra-* suffix conditions the use of Ø conjugation verbal morphology. In (149) and (151), the verbs take the expected L conjugation morphology. In these examples, there are also ergative subjects, *kunyjarta-lu* (woman-ERG) in (149) and *ngunyi-ngku ngarta-ngku* (DEM (distant)-ERG man-ERG) 'that man' in (151), as opposed to the nominative subjects of (148) and (150), *ngunyi* (DEM (distant)) and *palakarni* (DEM (mid)).

As indicated by the translations of examples (148) and (150), the Ngarla antipassive is used to indicate that what is described by the verb is stretched out in time. This means that an iterative sense is created with punctual verbs. Compare in this context (150) to (151). The first sentence denotes that someone continues to shout at someone else. The second, transitive example however implies that one man is shouting at another only once.

(148)   Person 1   *Ngananya-rra*   *ngunyi*
                    EPI (what)-DAT   DEM (distant)
                    ngani+ma-ra-yan   *para?*
                    see[+CAUS]-ANTIP-PRS   3SG.DAT
        Person 2   *Ngunyi*   *marrungu*
                    DEM (distant)   man
                    wajarri.Ø-yan   *para*
                    searching.INCH-PRS   3SG.DAT
                    parnu-nga-rra   *pirlumpurr-ku.*
                    3SG-GEN-DAT   spear-DAT
        Person 1: 'For what (thing) is that one looking (around)?' Person 2: 'That man is searching for his spear.' (TW08)

(149)   *Kunyjarta-lu*   ***ngani+ma-rri***   *jilya.*
        woman-ERG   see[+CAUS]-PRS   child
        '(The) woman is seeing (the) child.' (AD)

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grammatical constructions of a language revolve. In an asymmetrical pivot language, the noun phrase expressing either the semantic role of agent or of patient takes on pivot status (Dixon 2002a; Foley 2007).

(150)   *Ngananyakapu*   *palakarni*   **kalyu rni-ra-yan?**
      EPI (why)   DEM (mid)   shout CAUS-ANTIP-PRS
      'Why is that one continuing to shout?' (TW08)

(151)   *Ngunyi-ngku*   *ngarta-ngku*   *parta*
      DEM (distant)-ERG   man-ERG   other
      ngarta   **kalyu-rni-rri**.
      man   shout-CAUS-PRS
      'That man is shouting at another man (once).' (TW08)

The Ngarla antipassive derivation is also employed to indicate general states of affairs.[84] Compare(152), that describes what the horse is doing at the time of speaking, to (153), which states what usually happens after the horse has gone for a swim.

(152)   *Ngunyi-ngku*   *yawarta-lu*
      DEM (distant)-ERG   horse-ERG
      jurru~jurru pinya-rri   *pulala*.
      roll CAUS-PRS   REFL
      'That horse is rolling himself (on the ground).' (TW10)

(153)   *Ngunyi*   *yawarta*   *ngapa+rri-nguru*
      DEM (distant)   horse   swim[+INCH]-RELPST.SS
      jurru~jurru pinya-ra-yan.
      roll CAUS-ANTIP-PRS
      'After swimming, that horse rolls (on the ground).' (TW10)

With a few verbs there are only antipassive examples. Most of these verbs denote iterative actions. A couple of circumstances indicate that the verbs in question have in fact been lexicalised in their intransitive, antipassive senses. One such circumstance is the fact that the language consultant Brown, in the elicitation situation, most frequently refused to create sentences with the transitive versions of the verbs. If he however agreed to try, non-standard sentences like (154) resulted. The verb is here transitive, but the subject is unmarked for case (i.e. marked by nominative). No direct object appears to be implied. The verbs in question are listed in Table 25 below.[85]

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84   Ngarla appears to lack a syntactic pivot and in Foley's (2007) terminology thus has a backgrounding antipassive.

85   There are more verbs which are only attested in the antipassive. Due to Brown's untimely death, it was never investigated whether (some of) these verbs belong among those with a lexicalised antipassive sense. The verbs in question are: *kayirr~kayirr ma-L* 'make grating noise'; *nyaarr ma-L* 'make rushing noise'; *nyanta ma-L* 'gather around'; *parl ma-L* 'thump'; *puurr ma-L* 'snore'; *pila+ma-L* 'flash'. Note in this context also the verb *parramanta-ra-Ø* 'do something wrong/different': *Ngananyakapu nyinpa parramanta-ra-yan?* EPI (why) 2SG.NOM do.something.wrong/different-ANTIP-PRS 'Why are you fiddling around?' (#). It is unclear if *parramanta* should be analysed as a complex verb with a lexicalised

Table 25 Ngarla complex verbs with lexicalised antipassive senses.

Complex verb	Meaning of nominal stem	Example
jimpayi pi-ra-Ø 'hide'	'hidden', 'secret'	
lilyirr~lilyirr pi-ra-Ø 'rattle periodically'	'rattling noise'	
ngurntily~ngurntily ma-ra-Ø 'cough'	'cough'	(155)
nyimpurl ma-ra-Ø 'pulse', 'throb'	'pulse', 'throb'	(156)
wipiny+nga-ra-Ø 'appear now and again'[86]	unknown	

(154)   *Jilya*   *ngurntily~ngurntily ma-n.*
       child   cough CAUS-FUT
       '(The) child will cough.' (#)

(155)   *Nguntu-kapu*   *ngaya*   *makurru*
       cold-SCE   1SG.NOM   long.time
       ngurntily~ngurntily ma-ra-yan.
       cough CAUS-ANTIP-PRS
       'Because of (a) cold I cough all the time.' (TW10)

(156)   *Mirlka*   *ngaya*   **nyimpurl ma-ra-yan.**
       head   1SG.NOM   throb CAUS-ANTIP-PRS
       'My head is throbbing (with a headache).' (TW10)

4.5.2.2   *Reciprocal*

According to Dixon (2002a), many Australian languages that have a reciprocal verbal derivation employ a reflex of a putative proto-language form *-*dharri*-. In Ngarla, the reciprocal derivation is marked by a suffix similar to this one, -*nmarri*-. It attaches to L conjugation verb stems in order to denote reciprocal action, as in (157), (159) – (161) below. A comparison between (157) and the fully transitive sentence (158) shows that the reciprocal suffix is a transitivity decreasing marker. In (158), a subject taking ergative marking is included, *yukurru-lu* (dog-ERG). This is not the case in (157), where the verb takes reciprocal marking. In (157), subject reference is marked on the verb only, by the person marker -*pula* (3DU). In examples (159) – (160), there are overt subjects, *ngali* (1DU.INCL.NOM) in (159) and *nyumpalu* (2DU.NOM) in (160). Verbs with -*nmarri*- take Ø conjugation verbal morphology in all examples.

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    antipassive sense, or if *parramantara* is in fact an unanalysable Ø conjugation verb root (cf. Table 14).

[86] It is uncertain if *wipiny+nga-ra-Ø* and *wurta+ma-ra-Ø* should be analysed as complex verbs. However, the fact that there are also two verbs *wipiny+ja-L* 'make come in and out of vision' and *wurta+rri-Ø* 'stand' seem to imply that this analysis is correct (cf. section 4.3.1.2). The following sentence illustrates the use of *wipiny+ja-L*: *Kurlurlu-lu ngunyi mapal wipiny+ja-rri.* dust-ERG DEM (distant) sun come.in.and.out.of.vision[+CAUS]-PRS '(The) dust storm is making that sun come in and out of vision.' (TW10)

(157)   ***Jinta pi-nmayi-nyu-pula****.*
    others CAUS-RECP-PST-3DU
    'The two became others (i.e. split up from each other).' (#)

(158)   ***Jinta pi-rnu***   *pana-nya*   *yukurru-lu*   *kukurnjayi.*
    others CAUS-PST   3PL-ACC   dog-ERG   sheep
    '(The) dog made the sheep others (i.e. separated the sheep).' (#)

(159)   *Mirta*   *ngali*   ***ngani+ma-nmarri-kura***
    NEG   1DU.INCL.NOM   see[+CAUS]-RECP-PURP
    kunaran-ta,   *yarti.*
    winter-LOC   later
    'We do not intend to see each other in (the) winter, (but) later.'
    (TW08)

(160)   *Mirta*   *nyumpalu*   *witi ja-lu*
    NEG   2DU.NOM   games CAUS-PURP
    palakarni   *piju,*   *yiri-jangu,*
    DEM (mid)   knife   sharp-ASSOC
    yaji-nmarri-Ø   *nyumpalu.*
    stab-RECP-FUT   2DU.NOM
    'Don't you two play with that knife, (it's) sharp, you will stab one
    another.' (#)

The only ditransitive verb that takes the reciprocal suffix in the database is *waa-L* 'give', as in (161) below. No overt object is included in (161), or in other examples of *waa-L* taking reciprocal marking.

(161)   ***Waa-nmarri-yan-pi-ya***   *jinyji~jinyji-lu.*
    give-RECP-PRS-EP-3PL   alternating-ERG
    'They are giving one another (things) in exchange.' (#)

4.5.3   Valency increasing derivation

4.5.3.1   *Causative*

The Ngarla valency increasing derivation is of the causative type. However, it is very restricted, and has been found with four Ø conjugation verbs only, *ngapa+rri-Ø* 'do something in/with water'; *piyani-Ø* 'move'; *warni-Ø* 'fall'; and *wurtura+rri-Ø* 'stretch'.[87] As illustrated in (163) and (165) below, both productive causative verbalisers (*ma-L* and *ja-L*) double as causative derivational markers. They are employed in the same manner as when functioning as verbalisers, *ma-L* creating atelic

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[87]   The semantic content of *ngapa+rri-Ø* is very general. It is employed for different types of activities involving water.

verbs (as in (163)) and *ja-L* telic verbs (as in (165)). Compare to the intransitive examples (162) and (164). (Note that while *ma-L* and *ja-L* are here considered derivational morphemes, they are not suffixes. See the discussion about the phonological word status of the verbalisers *ma-L* and *ja-L* in section 4.3.1.3 above.)

(162)   ***Wurtura+rri-Ø***   *Nyapiri.*
         stretch[+INCH]-FUT   Nyapiri
         'Nyapiri will stretch.' (TW10)

(163)   *Parnu-nga-lu*   *warniya-lu*   *mirnmanya*
         3SG-GEN-ERG   mother-ERG   baby
         parrpa-rnanyuru-lu
         transfer.warmth (with.hands)-RELPRS.SS-ERG
         wurtura+rri ma-rri.
         stretch[+INCH] CAUS-PRS
         'His mother is stretching the baby (i.e. the baby's mother is stretching him) while transferring warmth.' (TW10)

(164)   *Wula*   *yila*   ***warni-Ø***.
         water   perhaps   fall-FUT
         'Water (i.e. rain) will perhaps fall.' (TW08)

(165)   *Ngaja*   *palakarni*   *warnta*
         1SG.ERG   DEM (mid)   tree
         warni ja-rri.
         fall CAUS-PRS
         'I am making that tree fall.' (TW08)

There is only one, possibly lexicalised, example of *ji-L* being used to mark causative derivation, in *warni ji-L* 'throw' ((166); see also (37)). Note also (167) below, where *ma-L* together with *ngapa+rri* appears to create an atelic applicative derivation.

(166)   *Mayangkarrangu-lu*   ***warni ji-rnu***   *pinyjira*
         forceful-ERG   fall CAUS-PST   spear
         marrungu-lu.
         man-ERG
         'With force (i.e. forcefully) (the) man made (the) spear fall (i.e. threw (the) spear).' (#)

(167)   *Ngunyi-ngku*   *marrungu-lu*
        DEM (distant)-ERG   man-ERG
        ngapa+rri ma-rri   *kupan.*
        get.wet[+INCH] APPL-PRS   lawn
        'That man is watering (the) lawn.' (TW08)

5. *Minor word classes*

5.1   Introduction

Minor word classes are defined here as word classes with limited and closed membership. In Dixon's (2002a:66) 'residue set', a set which includes lexical units and clitics in Australian languages that neither qualify as nominals nor as verbs, four minor word classes are distinguished: particles, ideophones, interjections and conjunctions. In the present description, only particles and interjections are however discussed. Conjunctions appear not to exist in Ngarla (according to Dixon 2002a, this lexical class exists in some Australian languages only), and potential ideophones behave like nominals.

Particles are uninflected lexical units or clitics, the meanings of which are associated with propositional modification in Australian languages. The class thus commonly includes evidentials, negatives, adverbial modifiers such as 'only' and 'very', and discourse markers. Interjections make up single word utterances that immediately express what is on the speakers mind (Dench 1995, 1999; Dixon 1980, 2002a; Matthews 2007).

5.2   Particles

In this section, 16 Ngarla particles, two of which are clitics, are introduced. All 16 particles serve to modify propositions.

Ngarla negation particles are *mirta* and *ngurra(pirli)*, which usually (but not invariably) appear clause initially. *Mirta* is the Ngarla standard negation, and is employed in the vast majority of all recorded negative sentences (cf. (43), (127), (131), (132) and (141)). *Ngurra(pirli)* occurs in a smaller number of contexts. Where it is used, however, it appears to negate the clause more emphatically than *mirta*, see (168) – (169).[88]

(168)   ***Ngurra**,   **mirta**   ngaya   yaa-nmarnta.*
        NEG   NEG   1SG.NOM   go-PSTCONTRA
        'No, I didn't go.' (#)

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[88] *Mirta* and *ngurra(pirli)* can constitute utterances on their own, see (43) and (168), and therefore also qualify as interjections. They however most commonly have scope over a whole clause, which is the reason for including them here.

(169)   ***Ngurra***   *murri*   *pilyparr*
        NEG   INTNS   unsuccessfully
        marni-punyjarri   *palakarni*
        climb-INSNOM   DEM (mid)
        yirra.
        row.of.items (e.g. jagged peaks)
        '(There) is no way (that) those jagged peaks can successfully be associated with climbing.' (I.e. 'It is impossible to climb those cliffs.') (#)

There are three particles that express doubt. Two of these, *marangu* and *yila*, appear to be used interchangeably, as in (170) - (171). The third one is the clitic *-pa*. More information about *-pa* is given below.[89]

(170)   *Parlparr*   *nganyjarra-nga*
        sky   1PL.INCL-DAT
        nganta+rri-Ø   ***marangu***.
        cave.in[+INCH]-FUT   perhaps
        '(The) sky will perhaps cave in for us.' (#)

(171)   *Yukurru-lu*   *paji-n*   ***yila***   *ngarta.*
        dog-ERG   bite-FUT   perhaps   man
        '(The) dog will perhaps bite (the) man.' (AD)

The particles *parra* (172)*, wayimpi* (173) and *wayi(rru*)*; (174)) function as question particles, and are employed to create polar questions.[90] They are used interchangeably, but of the three, *wayi(rru)* is by far the most frequent one. Question particles are always placed clause initially.

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[89]   Note the homonym *marangu* 'more', which however does not modify the whole clause: *Mantu nganu waa-n marangu!* meat 1SG.DAT give-FUT more 'Give me more meat!' (TW10)

[90]   According to Dixon (2002a), the most common way of creating polar questions in Australian languages is simply to use a rising final intonation. As stated above, the language consultant Brown was reluctant to be recorded on tape or video. Due to that fact, there is some doubt as to whether this strategy was used in Ngarla. Some written Ngarla examples however seem to indicate that this strategy did indeed exist, alongside the use of question particles. *Nyayi nyinta mantu karri-Ø* in the following example could for instance function just as well as a statement: Person 1: *Nyayi nyinta mantu karri-Ø?* DEM (proximate) 2SG.ERG meat take-FUT Person 2: *Mirta, winyja, nyini-mara.* NEG rejection stay-PERM Person 1: 'Will you take this meat?' Person 2: 'No. Let (it) stay (there).' (#)

(172) **Parra**   *nyayi*   *wula,*
       Q   DEM (proximate)   water
       nyinta   *karri-Ø?*
       2SG.ERG   take-FUT
       'This water, will you take (it)?' (#)

(173) **Wayimpi**   *yaa-nu-ya?*
       Q   go-PST-3PL
       'Did they go?' (#)

(174) **Wayirru**   *nyinta*   *kanyi-rri*   *mantu?*
       Q   2SG.ERG   care.for-PRS   meat
       'Are you caring for (any) meat?' (I.e. 'Do you have (any) meat?')
       (#)

The particle *walyi* (175) denotes that that which is expressed in the clause was in fact only almost accomplished, while *pilyparr* marks failure of accomplishment (176).

(175) *Nyinta*   **walyi**   *wakurr ja-rnu*
       2SG.ERG   almost   secure CAUS-PST
       ngunyi   *karlajangu.*
       DEM (distant)   cattle
       'You almost had that cattle (i.e. cow/bull) secured (i.e. yarded up).'
       (#)

(176) **Pilyparr**   *ngaja*   *yarni+ma-rnu*
       unsuccessfully   1SG.ERG   repair[+CAUS]-PST
       pirrjarta.
       vehicle
       'Unsuccessfully I repaired (the) vehicle.' (I.e. 'I failed to repair the vehicle.') (#)

Purtukarri 'in vain', 'to no avail' indicates that what happened, happened in vain or for no particular reason (177). *Wataku*, on the other hand, is used to stress that the thing talked about is unimportant (178).

(177) **Purtukarri**   *ngaya*   *yaa-nu.*
       in.vain   1SG.NOM   go-PST
       'In vain I went.' (I.e. 'I went, but didn't achieve my aim in going.')
       (#)

(178)   **Wataku**,   *ngaja*   *nyina*
        unimportant   1SG.ERG   2SG.ACC
        juka ma-rri.
        trick CAUS-PRS
        '(It's) unimportant, I am (only) tricking you.' (#)

Murntu is employed for inclusion and is best translated 'also, too' (179).

(179)   *Yaku-la*   *nyuka pi-lu*
        let's.go-PL   increase.site/feature CAUS-PURP[91]
        mantu-rra   *mayi-rra*   **murntu**
        meat-DAT   vegetable.food-DAT   also
        karlupurra-karni.
        generic.source-ALL
        'Let's go to (the) source place in order to increase (the) meat (and
        the) vegetable food also.' (#)

Three intensifiers occur in the Ngarla material. Two of these are particles, *murri* and
palka~palka (180). In section 3.4.8 above, *murri* was shown to be very versatile, in that
it is employed to intensify different types of nominals, verbs and whole clauses. In all
existing examples of *palka~palka*, however, it intensifies the verb of the clause, as in
(180) (where *jurni kayi-nyu* (laughter-INCH-PST) constitutes the verb).

(180)   *Jurni kayi-nyu*   *ngaya*   **palka~palka**.
        laughter INCH-PST   1SG.NOM   INTNS
        'I laughed uproariously.' (#)

The clitic *-la* is an emphatic marker, i.e. also an intensifier; (181) – (182). The other
known clitic, *-pa*, (183) – (184), expresses doubt. However, the latter occurs only
occasionally. The particles *marangu* and *yila* are employed more frequently to express
doubt, in the way illustrated above. Where *-pa* is used, it is always attached to the first
constituent of the utterance.

(181)   *Ngananyawanti*   *yanangka-yan*
        EPI (what.for)   go-PRS
        nyinpa-la?
        2SG.NOM-INTNS
        'What are you going for?'

(182)   *Ngananya-la*   *punga-rnu?*
        EPI (what)-INTNS   hit-PST
        'What was it (he) hit?' (#)

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[91]   For more information about this verb, see section 4.4.3.2.3.

(183)   *Purlpi-**pa***   *ngaya*
          well-DOUBT   1SG.NOM

          nyinu   *ngani+ma-lu*   *kurnaran-ta.*
          2SG.DAT   see[+CAUS]-PURP   winter-LOC

          'Well, I might want to see you in (the) winter.' (#)

(184)   *Mantu   nganu*   *waa-n!*
          meat   1SG.DAT   give-FUT

          *Wataku-**pa***   *juka ma-n   nganya!*
          unimportant-DOUBT   lie CAUS-FUT   1SG.ACC

          'Give meat to me! (But I) suppose (it's) unimportant, lie to me (i.e.
          tell me you haven't got any)!' (#)

5.3   Interjections

As indicated above, interjections are units that may function as single word utterances.
In many Australian languages they may be the only monosyllables or the only open
monosyllables (Dench 1999; Dixon 1980). Only a few Ngarla interjections are known,
and these are listed below.[92]

kula   'wait' (185)
kuu   'ssh' (186)
yuu   'look', 'yes'; (187) - (188)

(185)   Person 1   *Wula   nganu   karri-Ø!*
                     water   1SG.DAT   bring-FUT
          Person 2   ***Kula**,   mirli~mirli   jangka ja-rna*
                     wait   paper   fastened CAUS-*rna*[93]

                     piya-nya.
                     3DU-ACC
          Person 1: 'Bring water for me!' Person 2: 'Wait, I will fasten the
          two papers (together first).' (TW08)

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[92] Note that the common Australian form *kapu* 'come', in Dixon (2002a) included among
interjections, is not considered an interjection here. This is because *kapu* in Ngarla can take
verbal person marking. Compare thus the following sentences: *Kapu, yaku-jarra yurta-karni!*
come let's.go-1DU fish-ALL 'Come [said to one person], let's [you and me] go to (the) fish
(i.e. go fishing)!' (TW08); *Kapu-pula, yaku-la yurta-karni!* come-2DU let's.go-INTNS fish-
ALL 'Come [said to two people], let's [all of us together] go to (the) fish (i.e. go fishing)!'
(TW08); *Kapu-ya, yaku-la yurta-karni!* come-2PL let's.go-INTNS fish-ALL 'Come [said to
three or more people], let's [all of us together] go to (the) fish (i.e. go fishing)!' (TW08).

[93] Concerning the *-rna* suffix, see section 4.4.3.1, with footnotes.

(186)   ***Kuu!***   *Pularn*   *nyini-Ø-la*   *palu*
        ssh   silent   stay-FUT-INTNS   3SG.LOC
        wangka kayi-nyjangura.
        speech INCH-REL.DS.LOC[94]
        'Sssh! Stay <u>silent</u> on him while (he) is talking.' (#)

(187)   ***Yuu!***   *Palakarni*   *yukurru-lu*
        look   DEM (mid)   dog-ERG
        kumpu ji-rri   *nyinu*   *pirrjarta*   *taya.*
        urine CAUS-PRS   2SG.DAT   vehicle   tyre
        'Look! (The) dog is urinating (on) that car tyre of yours.' (#)

(188)   Person 1   *Nyayi-rra*   *nyinpa*
                    DEM (proximate)-DAT   2SG.NOM
                    para   *mantu-rra*   *nyaarru?*
                    3SG.DAT   meat-DAT   in.favour.of
        Person 2   ***Yuu****,*   *nyaarru*   *ngaya.*
                    yes   in.favour.of   1SG.NOM
        Person 1: 'Are you in favour of this meat?' (I.e. 'Do you want this
        meat?') Person 2: 'Yes, I am in favour of (it).' (I.e. 'Yes, I want (it).')
        (#)

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[94] *-nyjangura* should be interpreted as consisting of *-nyjangu* (REL.DS) and *-ngura* (LOC).
      Due to haplology, one of the identical *ngu* syllables is however deleted when following each
      other in this way.

6.   *The noun phrase*

6.1   Introduction

The term 'noun phrase' (NP) is used in a traditional sense in this work, i.e. to describe a phrase that has a nominal as its central constituent ('head'), and that can function as an argument of a clause (cf. Payne 1994). The head of the noun phrase may, according to Dryer (2007b), take the following types of modifiers (provided, of course, that these types of modifiers exist in the language under study): articles, demonstratives, numerals, plural words, adjectives, nouns, locative adverbs, interrogative modifiers, as well as other noun modifiers. In Australian languages, generic nouns also need to be considered as noun phrase modifiers (Dixon 2002a).

The most common strategy used in languages of the world to indicate that lexical units belong together in a noun phrase is juxtaposition. Where this strategy is employed, the internal ordering of the units is often governed by constraints (Givón 2001b). Case marking or marking of definiteness with each constituent may also serve to keep an NP together, if its constituents are scattered through a clause (Givón 2001a).

In some Australian languages, the units constituting a noun phrase are kept together, while in others they may be scattered through the clause (Blake 1987; Dixon 2002a; cf. Dixon 1980). According to Dixon (2002a), there are two basic alternatives for the attachment of case marking in languages of the continent. In languages where noun phrases are kept together, case marking occurs at the end of each NP. In the languages where NP constituents may instead be scattered, each constituent is marked for case.

In Ngarla, lexemes from most nominal subclasses can constitute noun phrase heads. The constituents of an NP may be scattered (189) or kept together (190). In the examples below, all relevant NP constituents are highlighted. What constitutes a noun phrase is always clearly indicated by case marking, all constituents taking the same grammatical cases, and also by certain constituent order tendencies.[95] In (190), all constituents of the direct object NP lack overt case marking (i.e. appear in the nominative; the exception being the particle *murri*, which is never case marked). In (189), *nyayi-jarra piya-nya purlparl* (DEM (proximate)-DU 3DU-ACC food) 'these two (types of) food' together constitute one noun phrase (the other NP being *ngaja* 1SG.ERG) 'I'. Typically, Ngarla NPs which do not consist of a pronoun or a demonstrative only, are made up of two to three lexical units, the head constituent (most frequently, a common noun) and one or two of the following modifiers: demonstrative, quantifier, pronoun, modifying nominal filling the adjectival function

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[95]   Note however that in cases of coordination, overt case marking on all constituents appears not to be compulsory. See (410) below, where the nominal *mirtanya* 'old man' is unmarked for case, despite being part of the subject of the clause. Overt ergative marking occurs with *mirtawari-nyjarri-lu* (old.woman-PL-ERG) 'old women' only.

and modifying nominal taking adnominal case marking. *Nyayi-jarra piya-nya purlparl* in (189) is thus a typical Ngarla noun phrase.

(189)   **Nyayi-jarra**   *ngaja*   **piya-nya**
        DEM (proximate)-DU   1SG.ERG   3DU-ACC
        kama-n   **purlparl**.
        cook-FUT   food
        'I will cook these two (types of) food.' (TW08)

(190)   **Palakarni**   *karlajangu*[96]   *marlajangu*
        DEM (mid)   cattle   bull
        paja-jangu   **murri**   *purrpi ma-rri*
        dangerous-ASSOC   INTNS   facing CAUS-PRS
        nyinta.
        2SG.ERG
        'That very dangerous bull you are going to face up to.' (TW10)

The distribution of different types of modifiers which occur in Ngarla NPs is discussed in the following section.

6.2   Modifiers in the Ngarla noun phrase

In this section, modifiers in the Ngarla noun phrase are discussed. While there is no strict ordering of NP constituents, certain types of modifiers are usually placed before the head, while others commonly occur after. Demonstratives, pronouns and modifying nominals marked by gentive, which all frequently occur before the head, are described first. After this, quantifiers, modifying nominals filling the adjectival function and generic nominals are discussed. All of the latter can be placed either before or after the head nominal. Described last are comitative/privative marked modifiers, which are usually placed after the head, and restrictive relative clauses .

When not constituting heads in their own right, the Ngarla demonstratives almost invariably occur directly before the head (191), in cases when the demonstrative and the head nominal make up the whole noun phrase. (See below for information about demonstratives occurring together with other types of modifiers in NPs.)

(191)   **Palakarni-lu**   **marrungu-lu**
        DEM (mid)-ERG   man-ERG
        purru pi-rri   *yurta*.
        fish.scale CAUS-PRS   fish
        'That man is scaling (the) fish.' (TW10)

---

[96] *Karlajangu* and *marlajangu* are lexicalised instances of the associative *-jangu* added to *karla* 'diarrhorea' and *marla* 'balls'.

Pronouns, or at least units that look like pronouns, occur frequently in NPs with non-pronominal head nominals. This is only occasionally the case in NPs in subject function (192), but it is very common in the direct object (193) and indirect object functions, see (194) – (195). In some such contexts, the pronouns, especially the dual and plural pronouns, might be suspected to simply be markers of number (cf. (192)). However, that they predominantly function as number markers becomes less likely if sentences like (193) are taken into account. Here, *pana-nya* (3PL-ACC) together with *jilya-karrangu* (child-PL) constitutes one noun phrase (the other NP being *ngunyi-ngku marrungu-lu* DEM (distant)-ERG man-ERG). The head nominal in this example thus already takes plural marking. A comparison between NPs including such pronominal units and NPs lacking them, e.g. (196), instead indicates that despite also marking number, the units mainly function as definite articles, i.e. to provide specific reference.

(192) **Ngunyi-ngku**   **panalu**
      DEM (distant)-ERG   3PL.NOM
      marrungu-lu   *maya*   *jarnti nyi-rri-ya.*
      man-ERG   house   erect CAUS-PRS-3PL
      'Those men are erecting (i.e. building) (a) house.' (TW08)

(193) **Ngunyi-ngku**   **pana-nya**   **marrungu-lu**
      DEM (distant)-ERG   3PL-ACC   man-ERG
      jilya-karrangu   *ngapa+rri ja-rri.*
      child-PL   get.wet[+INCH] CAUS-PRS
      'That man is causing (here: teaching) the children to swim.'
      (TW08)

(194) *Yurntura*   *ngaja*   **para**   *waa-rnu*
      flour   1SG.ERG   3SG.DAT   give-PST
      kunyjarta-rra   **wula-yanya-rra**.
      woman-DAT   water-PRIV-DAT
      'Flour I gave to the woman without water.' (AD)

(195) *Waa-rnu*   *ngaja*   **palu**   *pirlumpurr*
      give-PST   1SG.ERG   3SG.LOC   spear
      nganu-nga-ngura   **kaja-ngka**.
      1SG-GEN-LOC   older.brother-LOC
      'I gave (the/a) spear to my older brother.' (TW08)

(196) **Kujarra**   **marrungu**   *yipa-nmarri-yanu-pula.*
      two   man   quarrel-RECP-CPST-3DU
      'Two men kept quarrelling with each other.' (TW08)

A situation similar to this one has been described for the closely related Western Desert-varieties Pitjantjatjara (Bowe 1990) and Yankunytjatjara (Goddard 1985), and

also for the northeastern Australian Warrgamay (Dixon 1980). In these languages, the unit that is sometimes employed as a 3SG pronoun, *palu(ru)* in Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara; *nyunga* in Warrgamay, clearly also functions as a marker of definiteness. In Goddard (1985), *palu(ru)* is therefore analysed as constituting a word class of its own, the definite nominal class. Bowe (1990) instead classifies the unit as the 3SG pronoun, since it is employed as such in at least some contexts. In this work, Bowe (1990) is followed, and the relevant units are therefore consistently glossed as pronouns (cf. also Dryer 2007b).[97]

The pronoun marking definiteness is usually (in 87% of all cases) placed before the NP head. Fairly frequently, but not invariably (in 63% of all such cases), it is placed right before the head. When a demonstrative is also part of the noun phrase, this and the pronoun are almost always placed before the head nominal, with the demonstrative taking up first position (192).[98] With head nominals in main argument function, the pronoun takes case marking according to the syntactic function of the head, e.g. nominative in subject function (192), accusative in direct object function (193) and dative or locative marking in indirect object function; (194) - (195).[99] In NPs including genitive constituents, the dative form of the relevant pronoun is however always used, regardless of the syntactic function of the NP. As indicated by (197), the dative (in this case *para* (3SG.DAT)) might be preferred in such contexts in order to avoid confusion with a genitive-marked pronoun (here *parnu-nga* (3SG-GEN)).

(197)   *Marrungu-lu*   *yurnu ja-yinyu*   ***para***
      man-ERG   choice CAUS-CPST   3SG.DAT

      parnu-nga   ***pirlumpurr***   *parta-ngka*
      3SG-GEN   spear   other-LOC

      pirri-ngka   *mangkuru-rra.*
      afternoon-LOC   kangaroo-DAT

      '(The) man was aiming his spear another afternoon (i.e. yesterday afternoon) at the kangaroo.' (TW08)

The genitive is one of the adnominal cases found in Australian languages. As stated above, adnominal case marking is used to specify relations within noun phrases (Dench

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[97]   Marking of definiteness however appears not to exist in other languages of the same region of Australia as Ngarla, e.g. Nyamal, Nyangumarta, Martuthunira (Dench 1995, 1999; Sharp 2004).

[98]   This information comes from the study of Ngarla word order presented in section 7.4 below. 44 clauses in the study included NPs that consisted of non-pronominal NP heads and pronouns. 87% of 44 clauses equals 38 clauses, and 63% of the 38 clauses equals 24 clauses. In only three of the 44 clauses, the relevant NPs were found in subject function. The sentence initial position appears to be topical in Ngarla. This fact, together with the fact that the subject is most frequently placed before the object in Ngarla transitive clauses (very frequently occurring statement initially), might explain why pronouns marking definiteness occur so infrequently with non-pronominal head nominals in subject function and sentence initial position. See section 7.4.

[99]   The 1, 2SG pronouns, which take tripartite case marking (cf. section 3.4.4) appear not to occur in this function.

& Evans 1988). Again, while constituent order is not completely fixed, genitive marked constituents most frequently occur directly before their head nominals. This is shown in (195) and (197) above, and in (198).

(198)   *Palakarni-lu*   **parnu-nga**   **karrumpu**   *jimpayi*
        DEM (mid)-ERG   3SG-GEN   coin   hidden
        kanyi-rri.
        care.for-PRS
        'That one is caring for his hidden coin (i.e. is keeping his coin(s) hidden).' (TW10)

Quantifiers, however, occur either before (196) or after the head nominal ((199); the relevant NP is here made up of *yukurru piya-nya kujarra* (dog 3DU-ACC two)). Where a demonstrative and a quantifier occur together as modifiers, they are most frequently placed before the head nominal, with the demonstrative in first position (43).

(199)   *Nyapiri*   *yaa-n*   *wula-karni.*   **Yukurru**   **piya-nya**
        Nyapiri   go-FUT   water-ALL   dog   3DU-ACC
        kujarra   *karri-Ø.*
        two   take-FUT
        'Nyapiri will go to the water. (The) two dogs (he) will take (with him).' (TW08)

Nominals in the modifying, adjectival, function were discussed in section 3.4.8 above. It needs to be noted here that there appears to be no constraint regulating the internal order of NP head and this type of modifying nominal either. When being employed in the modifying function, the nominals *kartu* 'big'/*kamparra* 'small' thus occur either before their heads (of which there is 1 example with *kartu* and 11 with *kamparra*) or after (8 examples with *kartu* and 3 with *kamparra*). When modifying nominals occur after the head, other elements may intervene between the two, as in (200), where *ngunyi* (DEM distant), a member of the same noun phrase, occurs between *wanangkura* 'whirlwind' and *kartu* 'big'.

(200)   **Wanangkura**   **ngunyi**   **kartu**
        whirlwind   DEM (distant)   big
        murli~murli-rri-yan   *palka~palka,*   *jarurrany.*
        spinning-INCH-PRS   INTNS   move.easily
        'That big whirlwind is spinning hard (and) moving easily (i.e. travelling fast).'

In many Australian languages, a smaller number of nominal lexemes can, according to Dixon (2002a), be used either in a specific sense (e.g. 'fresh water', 'meat'), or function as generics (e.g. 'liquid', 'game animal') or classifiers, in which case they are followed by a 'specific' nominal (Dixon 2002a:59). Wilkins (2000) demonstrates that such generic nominals in a block of Pama-Nyungan languages in the northeast of the

continent serve to classify referents independently of context, which is to say that they function as nominal classifiers. In languages in the central parts of Australia it is instead the referents' role in particular contexts that is being classified. In the westernmost part of the continent, however, such generics are used very infrequently (Wilkins 2000; cf. Dench 1995; Dixon 2002; Sharp 2004). This is true also of Ngarla, and as a consequence I wish here only to acknowledge that apparent generic nominals do occur in spoken discourse; cf. (201) – (202). Since they are infrequent, no attempts will be made here to analyse their function. Just like quantifiers and modifying nominals in the adjectival function, generic nominals in Ngarla can occur either before the specific nominal they belong to (the common Australian pattern, as in (201)) or after (202). The generic nominals in the sentences below are *kunyjarta* 'female' (more frequently used in the sense 'woman') and *mayi* '(vegetable) food', and the specific nominals *kurri* 'teenage girl' and *jakakurrpu* '(a particular) species of grass', respectively.

(201)   *Kunyjarta-lu*   *mara ku-rnu*   *parnu-nga*
        woman-ERG   hand CAUS-PST   3SG-GEN
        warnta   pirri-lpunyjarri,   *kurni-rnu*   **kunyjarta**
        stick   dig-INSNOM   throw-PST   female
        kurri
        teenage.girl
        '(The) woman caused her digging stick to be in (the) hand (i.e. picked up her digging stick), (and) threw (it) at (the) girl'. (#)

(202)   *Palakarni-lu*   *kunyjarta-lu*
        DEM (mid)-ERG   woman-ERG
        yanti ja-rri
        winnowing.dish CAUS-PRS
        jakakurrpu
        species.of.grass (with.edible.grains)
        paji-lwanti   *nganyjarra-nga*
        eat-NMLZi[100]   1PL.INCL-DAT
        mayi.
        (vegetable).food
        'That woman is winnowing (the) grass (for) food for us to eat.' (TW10)

The comitative and the privative are adnominal cases (see section 3.4.1.3 above). As illustrated in (203) – (204), comitative (203) and privative marked constituents (204) occur after the NP head (though not always immediately after).[101]

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[100] *-(l)wanti* is a nominalising suffix that creates a modifier to an NP head. Case marking (or lack thereof) indicates which noun phrase the *–(l)wanti* marked constituent belongs to. See section 8.3.4.

[101] Comitative and privative marked constituents can also constitute noun phrase heads in their own right, as in the following example: *Kupalya-yanya-lu nganyjarra-nya kanyi-rnu.* sleep-

(203) ***Palakarni-ngku***   ***jilya-ngku***   ***murru-karta-ngku***
DEM (mid)-ERG   child-ERG   stone-COM-ERG
yukurru   ***kurni-rri***   ***kalya.***
dog   throw-PRS   still
'That child with (the) stone(s) is still throwing (them) at (the) dog.'
(#)

(204) ***Palakarni***   ***marrungu***   ***mara-yanya***
DEM (mid)   man   hand-PRIV
pukul ma-rri-ya   *jinta-ku.*
caretaker CAUS-PRS-3PL   others-ERG
'That man without (a) hand others are taking care of.' (TW08)

Relative clauses are clauses that function as nominal modifiers. One of the the participant(s) of a relative clause is coreferent with the head nominal (Givón 2001b; Payne 1997). Although there are not many examples of Ngarla restrictive relative clauses (i.e. clauses that are used to ground referents upon their introduction into the discourse), such clauses would appear to constitute main clauses in their own right, like *warlkarnti ngarri-yan warnta-ka yirrpi-ngka* (sitting INCH-PRS tree-LOC shade-LOC) in (205). Thus, they take no marking to indicate dependent status. Only the subject of a clause can take such a relative clause.

(205) *Ngunyi*   *pirirri*   ***warlkarnti ngarri-yan***
DEM (distant)   man   sitting INCH-PRS
warnta-ka   ***yirrpi-ngka***   *nganu-nga*   *kaja.*
tree-LOC   shade-LOC   1SG-GEN   older.brother
'That man sitting in (the) tree shade (is) my older brother.' (TW08)

Ngarla non-restrictive relative clauses are non-finite, and thus behave very differently from restrictive relative clauses. For example, they take switch reference marking and may also take case marking (cf. Austin 1981; Hale 1976). See chapter 8 below.

PRIV-ERG 1PL.INCL-ACC tread.on-PST 'Without sleep (i.e. the one who didn't sleep) trod on us.' (#)

7. *Main clause types and word order*

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the internal structure of simple clauses is discussed. A simple clause is defined here as a clause that does not include another clause (cf. Matthews 2007). Simple clauses tend to consist of nominals and a predicate, the latter of which can be either verbal or non-verbal. A predicate can thus consist of either a verb or a nominal/adjectival/stative constituent (Andrews 2007; Dryer 2007a; Payne 1997). In sections 7.2 and 7.3, Ngarla simple clauses with verbal and nominal predicates are described, and in 7.4, word order in clauses with verbal predicates.

7.2 Clauses with verbal predicates

As mentioned in section 4.2, four transitivity types are distinguished for Ngarla verbs. They are: intransitive, middle/semi-transitive, transitive and ditransitive. The case frames that in the Ngarla case system are associated with the different transitivity types are shown in Table 26. (For more information about the Ngarla case system, see section 3.3)[102]

Table 26 Ngarla major transitivity types and associated case frames and verbal conjugations.

Transitivity type	Case frame(s)	Conjugation
Intransitive	NOM	Ø
Middle/Semi-transitive	NOM DAT	Ø
Transitive	ERG ACC	L
Ditransitive	ERG ACC LOC	L
	ERG ACC DAT	L

As illustrated in the table, Ø conjugation verbs are intransitive or middle/semitransitive. The subjects of Ngarla intransitive clauses can fill the semantic roles of agent (206) or patient (in (207) exemplified with a patient-of-state subject, in

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[102] In addition to the transitivity types that subcategorise for a dative argument, dative noun phrases denoting beneficiaries can apparently be freely added to intransitive and transitive clauses in the following way*: Wula kurlirlira+karri-yan nganu.* water circle[+INCH]-PRS 1SG.DAT '(The) water is circling (around) for me.' (#; intransitive); *Ngaka-rri nyinta nganu, purlu+ngarri-Ø!* obstruct-PRS 2SG.ERG 1SG.DAT move.back[+INCH]-FUT 'You are obstructing (the view) for me, move back!' (#; transitive). (Cf. Dench 1999. There are no examples in existence of semi-transitive clauses with added beneficiaries (i.e. semi-transitive clauses with two dative marked arguments).)

(208) with a patient-of-change subject; Givón 2001a).[103] The subjects of examples (206) – (208) (*jilya-karrangu* (child-PL) in (206), *nganarna* (1PL.EXCL.NOM) in (207) and *palakarni* (DEM (mid)) in (208)), all appear without overt case marking, i.e. in the nominative case.

(206)   **Jilya-karrangu**   *milpa-nyu-ya.*
        child-PL   come-PST-3PL
        'Kids came.' (AD)

(207)   *Ngayi-nyu*   **nganarna.**
        sleep-PST   1PL.EXCL.NOM
        'We slept.' (#)

(208)   **Palakarni**   *warni-nyu*   *nguru~nguru*
        DEM (mid)   fall-PST   almost.immersed
        marta-ngka!
        mud-LOC
        'That one fell (and became) almost immersed in (the) mud!' (#)

Verbs that are labelled 'middle' or 'semi-transitive' in the grammars of Australian languages usually have meanings like 'look for', 'wait for', 'cry for', 'like'/'desire'/'want', 'be angry with', 'be jealous of' and 'be frightened of'. The subject of these verbs commonly expresses the semantic role of experiencer (Blake 1987). The case frame associated with middle/semi-transitive verbs in Australian languages, NOM DAT, however only occurs with three verbs in the Ngarla material, *kunyji~kunyji-rri-Ø* 'stalk' (209); *wajarri.Ø-Ø* 'want', 'search for' (210); and *wanyaparri.Ø-Ø* 'listen', 'learn' (211).[104] Only one of these verbs, *wajarri.Ø-Ø*, however, has a sense commonly associated with the semi-transitive/middle verbs. And with only one of the three verbs, *wanyaparri.Ø-Ø*, the subject expresses the semantic

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[103] Subjects in the dative semantic role are also found in intransitive clauses in many languages (Givón 2001a). This is however not the case in Ngarla, where corresponding clauses are transitive, with an inanimate agent, as in *Pirna-ngku nganya yaji-rri nyiti.* big.pain-ERG 1SG.ACC stab-PRS chest '(A) big (i.e. sharp) pain is stabbing my chest.' (#) Commonly recognised semantic roles include the following ones (Blake 2001; Givón 2001a): Agent: The entity that performs an activity or brings about a change of state; Patient: The participant, either animate or inanimate, that either is in a state or registers a change-of-state as a result of an event; Dative: A conscious participant in the event, typically animate, but not the deliberate initiator; Instrument: A participant, typically inanimate, used by the agent to perform the action; Benefactive/beneficiary: The animate entity for whose benefit an activity is carried out; Manner: The manner in which an event occurs or the agent performed the action; Experiencer: The animate entity experiencing an emotion or perception.

[104] In one example (218), the object of a clause including *wajarri.Ø-Ø* 'want', 'search for' however lacks dative marking. The nominals *wajarri* 'searching' and *wanyaparri* 'awareness' belong among the Ngarla nominals that are verbalised using zero derivation. When functioning as verbs, they belong to the Ø conjugation. Hence the double zero in *wajarri.Ø-Ø* and *wanyaparri.Ø-Ø*. The dot and zero (.Ø) mark the derivation, the hyphen and zero (-Ø) the conjugation. Cf. section 4.3.1.4.

role of experiencer. What appears to condition the use of this case frame with *kunyji~kunyji-rri-Ø* and *wajarri.Ø-Ø* is instead a decreased telicity and/or a reduced affectedness of P, in the terms of Hopper & Thompson (1980). (A reduced affectedness of P seems to be relevant also in the case of *wanyaparri.Ø-Ø*, see (211).) However, the terms middle/semi-transitive are here kept for the transitivity type associated with the case frame NOM DAT. In (209) – (211), the subjects all appear in the nominative case (i.e. are left unmarked; the subjects being *palakarni* (DEM (mid)); *ngaya* (1SG.NOM); *palakarni jilya* (DEM (mid) child, respectively) and the objects are all marked by dative (*pana-nga* (3PL-DAT); *para kukurnjayi-rra* (3SG.DAT sheep-DAT); *ngarta-rra pana-nga* (man-DAT 3PL-DAT)).[105]

(209) **Palakarni**   *kunyji~kunyji-rri-yanta*   **pana-nga.**
       DEM (mid)   sneaking.up-INCH-USIT   3PL-DAT
       'That one used to sneak up on them.' (#)

(210) *Wajarri.Ø-yan*   **ngaya**   **para**
       searching.INCH-PRS   1SG.NOM   3SG.DAT
       kukurnjayi-rra.
       sheep-DAT
       'I am searching for the sheep.' (TW08)

(211) **Palakarni**   **jilya**   **ngarta-rra**   **pana-nga**
       DEM (mid)   child   man-DAT   3PL-DAT
       wanyaparri.Ø-yan.
       awareness.INCH-PRS
       'That child is listening to the men/(group of) people.' (TW08)

Verbs of the L conjugation are transitive or ditransitive, and the case frames associated with such verbs are shown in the last three lines of Table 26. A prototypical transitive verb is one that takes an agentive subject which causes an object (semantically a patient) to undergo some type of change, as in (212) - (214) (Givón 2001a; Payne 1997). In the sentences below, the subjects appear either in their ergative form (*ngaja* (1SG.ERG) in (212)) or take overt ergative marking (*yukurru-lu* (dog-ERG) in (213) – (214)). The accusative case is overtly marked in (214) (*parnu-nya* (3SG-ACC)) only.

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[105] The NOM DAT case frame also occurs with *kumarri.Ø-Ø* 'be stingy', 'withhold', but in sentences with this verb, an NP taking adverse locative marking is also frequently included, as in e.g. *Palakarni marrungu nganyjarra-la kumarri.Ø-yan para mantu-rra.* DEM (mid) man1PL.INCL-LOC stingy.INCH-PRS 3SG.DAT meat-DAT 'That man is withholding the meat on us.' (I.e. 'That man is not giving us the meat.') (TW08) This verb is inherently negative.

(212)   ***Ngaja***   *jaa-rnu*   ***warnta****.*
   1SG.ERG   chop-PST   tree
   'I chopped (the) tree.' (#)

(213)   ***Yukurru-lu***   *paji-rnu*   ***ngarta.***
   dog-ERG   bite-PST   man
   '(The) dog bit (the) man.' (AD)

(214)   ***Yukurru-lu***   ***parnu-nya***   *paji-rnu.*
   dog-ERG   3SG-ACC   bite-PST
   '(The) dog bit him.' (#)

In ditransitive clauses, events are coded in which the subject (agent) causes the movement of the direct object (patient) to or from some location or where one object is a dative or benefactive participant and the other a patient that moves to or from the dative/benefactive (Givón 2001a). As shown in Table 26 above, two case frames are associated with Ngarla ditransitive verbs. The first one, ERG ACC LOC, (215) – (219), is associated with the verbs *munti-L* 'remove from' (215); *waa-L* 'give' (216) (when something concrete is given); *juntu ma-L* 'tell' (217); and *yula+rri-L* 'say', (218) – (219). The subjects (A), direct objects (P) and indirect objects are marked in the examples below. Indirect objects are marked by whichever of the designations LOC, DAT or BEN that is relevant in each case.

(215)   ***Yukurru-lu***   ***kartu-ngku***
   dog-ERG (A)   big-ERG (A)
   munti-rnu   ***kunyjaru-ngura***   ***kamparra***
   remove.from-PST   bone-LOC (LOC)   small (P)
   yukurru*.*
   dog (P)
   '(The) big dog removed (the) small dog from (the) bone.' (#)

(216)   *Waa-rnu*   ***ngaja***
   give-PST   1SG.ERG (A)
   palu   ***pirlumpurr***   ***nganu-nga-ngura***
   3SG.LOC (DAT)   spear (P)   3SG-GEN-LOC (DAT)
   kaja-ngka*.*
   older.brother-LOC (DAT)
   'I gave (the/a) spear to my older brother.' (TW08)

(217)   ***Nyayi-ngku***   ***ngajapa***
       DEM (proximate)-ERG (A)   1SG.LOC (DAT)
       muwarr   *juntu ma-rri.*
       word (P)   straight CAUS-PRS
       'This one is making (the) word (i.e. message) straight on (i.e. for)
       me.' (I.e. 'This one is telling me (the) message.') (TW10)

(218)   *Yula+rri-Ø*   ***palu***
       say[+INCH]-FUT   3SG.LOC (DAT)
       yanangka-yan   *nyinpa*   *yurta*[106]
       go-PRS   2SG.NOM   fish
       wajarri.Ø-Ø!
       searching.INCH-FUT
       'Tell (on) him (that) you're going searching for fish!' (#)

(219)   *Yula+rri-Ø*   ***yini***   ***ngajapa***
       say+[INCH]-FUT   name (P)   1SG.LOC (DAT)
       nganakapu   *murri*   *nyinpa.*
       EPI (whoever)   INTNS   2SG.NOM
       'Say (your) name on (i.e. to) me (and) whoever (it is) you really
       (are).' (#)

The second case frame associated with Ngarla ditranstive verbs, ERG ACC DAT,
occurs with the verbs *nyaa-L* 'send' (220) and *waa-L* 'give', in the latter case when
something that is not concrete is given. *Waa-L* thus occurs with the ERG ACC DAT
frame in statements that express that something abstract is given (221), that something
is 'bestowed' (222) and also that something is not given (223).

(220)   ***Wangka***   ***ngaja***   *nyaa-rri*
       speech (P)   1SG.ERG (A)   send-PRS
       para   ***nganu-nga-rra***
       3SG.DAT (DAT)   3SG-GEN-DAT (DAT)
       kaja-rra.
       older.brother (DAT)
       'Speech (i.e. a message) I am sending to my older brother.' (#)

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[106] Note that *yurta* 'fish' takes no case marking, although this might have been expected, since
     wajarri.Ø-Ø 'want' is a middle/semi-transitive verb, the associated case frame being NOM
     DAT. Cf. table 26

(221) ***Palakarni-rra***   ***ngaja***
       DEM (mid)-DAT (BEN)   1SG.ERG (A)

       para   *waa-rri*   ***kuntu***   ***muwarr***.
       3SG.DAT (BEN)   give-PRS   good (P)   word (P)

       'That one I give (a) good word (i.e. a good recommendation).'
       (TW08)

(222) ***Ngaja***   ***para***   ***yini***
       1SG.ERG (A)   3SG.DAT (DAT)   name (P)

       waa-rnu   ***nganu-nga-rra***
       give-PST   3SG-GEN-DAT (DAT)

       yukurru-rra.
       dog-DAT (DAT)

       'I gave (a) name to my dog.' (TW08)

(223) ***Palakarni-rra***   ***ngarta-rra***
       DEM (mid)-DAT (DAT)   man-DAT (DAT)

       para   ***ngaja***   ***ngurrapirli***
       3SG.DAT (DAT)   1SG.ERG (A)   nothing (P)

       murri   *waa-nmarnta*.
       INTNS (P)   give-PSTCONTRA

       'That man I gave nothing at all.' (I.e. 'I didn't give that man
       anything.') (TW08)

It would appear that the two case marking patterns associated with ditransitive verbs do not correspond to any semantic differences. In all example sentences above, the direct object is inanimate and the indirect object animate. With both types of case frames, the direct object can also either be concrete, as in (215) – (216), or abstract, see (217), (220) – (220).[107] What case frame has come to be associated with what verbs thus appears to be arbitrary.

7.2.1   Purposive clauses: an aberrant case (?)

The case frame(s) taken by NPs in purposive clauses varies to a certain extent. In order to investigate what case frame(s) is associated with Purposive, 111 Ngarla purposive clauses were collated. All these sentences occur in my database, but they do not represent the totality of recorded purposive clauses. Although pains were taken to find clauses with verbs of the semi-transitive and ditransitive types, no other guiding principles were employed in the selection of sentences. For various reasons, 31 of the

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[107] Note that there are examples in existence of the verb *nyaa-L* 'send' occurring with a concrete patient.

111 collated examples later had to be excluded from the study, leaving 80 clauses to be examined.[108]

The study shows that assignment of case is straightforward in clauses with Ø conjugation verbs (20 examples) and with the irregular verb *ya-/yaa-/yana-/yanangka-* 'go' (9 examples). In a number of these examples, only one NP occurs, an NP that is unmarked for case (i.e. marked by nominative). In sentences with two NPs, the subject constituent is unmarked, while the object receives dative marking, as in (224). There are also occasional examples with a Ø conjugation verb, an unmarked subject and a second NP marked by locative, allative or ablative case. Below, the relevant noun phrases are highlighted.

(224) ***Nyinpa***   ***para***   *wangka karri-kura.*
   2SG.NOM   3SG.DAT   speech INCH-PURP
   'You should talk to him.' (#)

In purposive clauses with transitive L conjugation verbs (45 examples) and the irregular verb *karri-* 'carry', 'take', 'bring' (6 examples), two main case frames are however found. Examples (225) – (226) below both include the verb *ngani+ma-L* 'look at', 'see'. In (225), the case frame is NOM DAT. In (226), the frame is instead NOM ACC.

(225) *Yarti* ***ngaya*** ***nyinu*** *ngani+ma-lu.*
    later 1SG.NOM 2SG.DAT see[+CAUS]-PURP
    'Later I intend to see you.' (TW08)

(226) ***Ngaya***   ***nyumpala-nya***
    1SG.NOM   2DU-ACC
    ngani+ma-lu   *warrumurntu.*
    see[+CAUS]-PURP   morning
    'I intend to see you two (in the) morning.' (TW08)

There appears to be no clear semantic difference between the L conjugation verbs occurring with NOM DAT case marking and those occurring with NOM ACC. Four of the transitive L conjugation verbs in the study also occur with both case frames. What conditions the use of the two frames with these four verbs remains unclear.[109]

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[108] Eleven sentences were excluded due to a lack of overt NPs, or unknown lexical items. In the remaining 20 excluded sentences, the purposive marking occurred in dependent clauses.

[109] Following is a list of the transitive L conjugation verbs that occur in the sample. Information about multiple examples of verbs is given within parentheses. (In remaining cases there is only one example of each verb.) Verbs occurring in sentences with NOM DAT case marking: *kalyu-rni-L* 'shout'; *kana~kana ma-L* 'scan'; *karri-* 'carry', 'take', 'bring' (3); *kura+pi-L* 'pretend not to see/know'; *maa-L* 'get'; *mintu ja-L* 'wake up'; *ngani+ma-L* 'look at', 'see' (4); *nyuka pi-L* 'perform increase ritual'; *paji-L* 'bite', 'eat' (2); *para+ma-L* 'test', 'try', 'imitate'; *punga-L* 'hit', 'kill'; *wurta+ma-L* 'wait (for)'. Verbs occurring in sentences with NOM ACC case marking: *japa-L* 'bury', 'cover'; *julya ja-L* 'bury'; *kaju-L* 'tie'; *kama-L* 'cook', 'burn' (2); *karri-* 'carry', 'take', 'bring' (3); *ngani+ma-L* 'look.at', 'see' (4); *paji-L*

The study of purposive clauses included examples of the ditransitive verbs *juntu ma-L* 'tell' (4 examples); *nyaa-L* 'send' (2 examples); and *waa-L* 'give' (5 examples). However, only the examples with *nyaa-L* 'send' are conclusive. With other TAM distinctions, this verb is associated with the ERG ACC LOC case frame. With the Purposive, included NPs instead take NOM ACC DAT marking.

Avenues of explanation other than verb semantics might certainly be pursued when it comes to the different case frames occurring together with Purposive marked L conjugation verbs. A more careful study of the situation however lies outside of the scope of this work.

7.3   Clauses with nominal predicates

7.3.1   Introduction

This section introduces two types of Ngarla nominal predicates. Using terms borrowed from Dench (1999) and Sharp (2004), they are labelled intransitive nominal predicates (section 7.3.1.1) and extended nominal predicates (7.3.1.2), respectively. An intransitive nominal predicate is made up of a single NP. The extended predicate consists of an NP, a nominal predicate, that is not marked for case, and that takes a dative marked argument. Following Dixon (2002b), intransitive nominal predicates will be analysed as expressing relations of identity/equation, attribution, location, possession and existence.

7.3.1.1   Clauses with intransitive nominal predicates

As mentioned above, Dixon's (2002b) definitions of nominal predicate relations are adopted here. The different labels and their definitions are presented in Table 27.[110]

'bite', 'eat'; *palarr ma-L* 'pull'; *para+ma-L* 'test', 'try', 'imitate'; *purru pi-L* 'scale fish'; *yarni+ma-L* 'repair'.

[110] Dixon (2002b) discusses copula clauses, and thus focuses on the relations expressed by what is labelled 'copula complements' (Dixon 2002b:1). Labelling the Ngarla nominal predicates 'copula complements' would however be erroneous, since no copula occurs in the language (cf. Dryer 2007b). Dixon (2002b) also distinguishes a wanting (as in e.g. *Who's for bowling?*)/benefaction function (*This cake is for Mary*) filled by copula clauses (i.e. copula relation (e)). Wanting of the type discussed in Dixon (2002b) however appears not to be expressed at all in Ngarla, and benefaction is expressed in clauses with verbal predicates.

Table 27 Nominal predicate relations (Dixon 202b:5-6).

Relation type	Description and examples
a) Identity/Equation	The nominal predicate is an NP. Examples: identity: *she is a teacher;* equation: *that man is my uncle.*
b) Attribution	The nominal predicate consists of an adjective or a derived adjectival expression, as in *I am sick* and *that painting is beautiful.*
c) Location	A local adverb or an NP marked with a local case or adposition constitutes the nominal predicate, e.g. *he is there*; *Susan is from Wales*; *the cat is in the garden.*
d) Possession[111]	Here, a genitive marked NP occurs as nominal predicate, as in: *That car is Wayne's.*

Sentences (227) – (230) below exemplify Ngarla nominal predicates expressing relations (a) identity (227) and equation (228); (b) attribution (229); and (d) possession (230) in a present time frame. The nominal predicates are highlighted. (As has been stated above, Ngarla however has no adjectival word class, lexemes that can occur as modifiers of other nominals instead being analysed as nominals themselves.)

(227)   *Palakarni*   ***jukarinya***.
        DEM (mid)   orphan
        'That one (is an) orphan.' (TW08)

(228)   *Ngunyi*   *pirirri*
        DEM (proximate)   man
        warlkanti ngarri-yan   *warnta-ka*   *yirrpi-ngka*
        sitting INCH-PRS   tree-LOC   shade-LOC
        nganu-nga   ***kaja***.
        1SG-GEN   older.brother
        'That man sitting in (the) tree shade (is) my older brother.' (TW08)

(229)   ***Mulyi***   *palakarni*   *wula*.
        deep   DEM (mid)   water
        'Deep (is) that water.'

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[111] This relation is in Dryer (2007a) considered a marginal nominal predicate relation. Included among main nominal predicate relations is instead 'existential clauses for expressing predicate possession' (Dryer 2007a:244), e.g. *He has money; I have a new car*. This type of relation is in Ngarla expressed through the verb *kanyi-L* 'be responsible for', 'look after', 'care for'; see (174) and (198).

(230)   *Nyayi*   *pirrjarta*
DEM (proximate)   vehicle
piya-nga   **nyayi-rra-jarra.**
3DU-DAT   DEM (proximate)-DAT-DU
'This vehicle belongs to these two.' (TW08)

No copulas occur in the examples above. There are languages in which copulas are employed only if other tenses than the present are implied (Comrie 1985; Dryer 2007a). That Ngarla is however not such a language can be seen in sentences (231) – (233) below, which exemplify the expression of (a) identity/equation (231); (b) attribution (232); and (d) possession (233) in a past time frame.[112]

(231)   *Ngarturr+mayi-nyu*   *nganarna*
unaware[+INCH]-PST   1PL.EXCL.NOM
partamurri   **marlkarrimanu**!
INTNS   killer
'We were unaware (that it was a) killer (i.e. a very dangerous thing)!' (#)

(232)   *Mirta*   *karri-marnta,*   *wanyja-rnu.*
NEG   take-PSTCONTRA   leave-PST
Kurrpu   **murri**.
heavy   INTNS
'(He) didn't take (it), (he) left (it). (It was) too heavy.' (TW08)

(233)   *Palakarni*   *ngurrupaya*   **para**
DEM (mid)   horse   3SG.DAT
murrkangu-kurturl-ku.
firstborn-END-DAT
'That horse belonged to (the) firstborn (who) died suddenly.' (#)

The verb *nyini-Ø* 'stay', 'sit' is sometimes employed in clauses expressing relation (c) location and appears to be compulsory in expressions of (f) existence. Following Dixon's (2002b) definition, however, a verb, in order to qualify as a copula verb, needs to be employed for at least relations (a) and (b) in Table 27 above. *Nyini-Ø* is here thus not considered a copula verb.

To express location, two different constructions are used. One, which is verbless, is employed for temporary states and partial affectedness, as in (234) and (236). If durable states or complete affectedness is instead implied, the verb *nyini-Ø* 'sit', 'stay' is included in the clause; (235) and (237). In all expressions of relation (c), locative case marking occurs. Relation (f) is exemplified in sentence (238), where *nyini-Ø* has an existential sense (cf. Dixon 2002b; Dryer 2007a).

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[112] Due to a shortage of good examples, these relations cannot be exemplified in a future time frame.

(234)   *Ngunyi*   *marra~marra-ngura*
        DEM (distant)   very.high-LOC
        'That (thing is) very high up.' (ED)

(235)   *Ngunyi*   ***nyini-yan*   *marra~marra-ngura*.**
        DEM (distant)   stay-PRS   very.high-LOC
        'That (thing is) always very high up.' (ED)

(236)   ***Wankaly~wankaly-ja***   ***mantu-ka***
        half.cooked-LOC   meat-LOC
        marlungu.
        maggot
        'On (the) half-cooked meat (there are some) maggot(s).' (TW08;
        ED)

(237)   *Marlungu*   ***nyini-yan*   *wankaly~wankaly-ja***
        maggot   stay-PRS   half.cooked-LOC
        mantu-ka.
        meat-LOC
        'Maggot(s) (are swarming) all over (the) half-cooked meat.' (ED)

(238)   *Nyayi*   *mangkuru*   *parlkarra-kapu*   ***nyini-yan***
        DEM (proximate)   kangaroo   plain-SCE   stay-PRS
        kalya   warrarn-ta.
        still   country-LOC
        'This kangaroo from (the) plain(s) (i.e. this plains kangaroo) still
        exists in (the/this) country.' (ED)

7.3.1.2   *Clauses with extended nominal predicates*

The extended nominal predicate is defined here as consisting of an NP, a nominal
predicate, which is unmarked for case, and which takes an argument. This argument, in
turn, receives dative case marking. The extended nominal predicate is in Ngarla
occasionally found with the predicate *nyaarru* ('positive', 'in favour of'; (239)), and
frequently with *miranu* ('knowledge'; (240)). In (239), *nyaarru* is the nominal
predicate, while the dative marked argument is made up of *nyayi-rra para mantu-rra*
(DEM (proximate)-DAT 3SG.DAT meat-DAT) 'this meat'. In (240), the nominal
predicate is *miranu*, its argument being *ngunyi-rra para kunyjarta-rra* (DEM (distant)
-DAT 3SG.DAT woman-DAT) 'that woman'.

(239)   Person 1   *Nyayi-rra*   *nyinpa*
                    DEM (proximate)-DAT   2SG.NOM
                    para   *mantu-rra*   **nyaarru***?*
                    3SG.DAT   meat-DAT   in.favour.of
        Person 2   *Yuu,*   **nyaarru**   *ngaya.*
                    yes   in.favour.of   1SG.NOM
        Person 1: 'Do you want this meat?' Person 2: 'Yes, I want (it).' (#)

(240)   *Ngunyi-rra*   *ngaya*   *para*
        DEM (distant)-DAT   1SG.NOM   3SG.DAT
        kunyjarta-rra   **miranu**.
        woman-DAT   knowledge
        'I know that woman.' (TW08)

7.4   Word order

When it comes to the ordering of constituents in clauses with verbal predicates, there are two logically possible orders of the subject (S) and verb (V) of an intransitive clause. In transitive clauses, the six different possible orders of the subject, object and verb are: APV, AVP, VAP, VPA, PAV, PVA. In ditransitive clauses, many different orders of subject, direct object, verb and indirect object are of course conceivable. A basic order of these constituents can nevertheless be found in many languages (Payne 1997).

   However, identifying the syntactic function of a clausal constituent from its position within the clause is not possible in all languages. In Australian languages, word order is unconstrained (Dixon 2002a; cf. Payne 1997), and Blake (1983) has proposed that sentences in at least some languages are organised in the following way: (focus) - topic - (rest of) comment.[113]

   The language consultant Brown asserted that Ngarla sentences (241) - (246) below all mean the same thing despite the differences in word order, something that would be in line with Dixon's (2002a) statements to the effect that word order is unconstrained in Australian languages. In Ngarla prototypical transitive sentences, all possible orders of subject, object and verb are also found.[114] (Note that continuous noun phrases is what is being discussed here. Discontinuous noun phrases have been excluded for the sake of simplicity.)

(241)   *Turru*   *warni-nyu*   *murti-kurturl.*
        Turru   fall-PST   run-END
        'Turru fell (and) stopped running.' (TW10)

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[113] 'Topic' refers to what is being talked about, 'comment' to what is said about the topic, and 'focus' constitutes the essential part of the comment (Blake 1983).

[114] The suffix *-kurturl* in (241) - (246) attaches exclusively to nominals, in order to denote the sudden end of something, most frequently some activity or process.

(242) *Turru   murti-kurturl   warni-nyu.*
　　　 Turru   run-END   fall-PST
　　　 'Turru fell (and) stopped running.' (TW10)

(243) *Warni-nyu   Turru   murti-kurturl.*
　　　 fall-PST   Turru   run-END
　　　 'Turru fell (and) stopped running.' (TW10)

(244) *Warni-nyu   murti-kurturl   Turru.*
　　　 fall-PST   run-END   Turru
　　　 'Turru fell (and) stopped running.' (TW10)

(245) *Murti-kurturl   Turru   warni-nyu.*
　　　 run-END   Turru   fall-PST
　　　 'Turru fell (and) stopped running.' (TW10)

(246) *Murti-kurturl   warni-nyu   Turru.*
　　　 run-END   fall-PST   Turru
　　　 'Turru fell (and) stopped running.' (TW10)

Despite Brown's assertion, there are some clear word order tendencies; see Table 28. Word order in clauses with pronominal and non-pronominal subjects need to be distinguished. In transitive clauses with pronominal subjects, a distinction also needs to be made between clauses with pronominal and non-pronominal objects. Unfortunately, not much can be said about word order in Ngarla ditransitive clauses.[115]

Table 28 Word order in Ngarla intransitive and transitive clauses.

Clause type, subject and object type	Dominant order(s); incidence
Intransitive clause, non-pronominal subject	SV (81%)
Intransitive clause, pronominal subject	VS (76%)
Transitive clause, non-pronominal subject	APV (41%) ; AVP (35%)
Transitive clause, pronominal subject, non-pronominal object	AVP, VAP (33.3% each)
Transitive clause, pronominal subject and pronominal object	VAP (80%)

[115] The information included in this section is based on a more careful study than that in Westerlund (2007). In the present study, a total of 345 clauses were included. The clauses that were chosen all have overt arguments. In the case of the intransitive and transitive clauses, all argument NPs are also continuous. A total of 39 intransitive clauses were included in the study, 238 transitive clauses and 68 ditransitive ones.

As indicated in Table 28, SV is the strongly preferred word order (81% of all cases) in intransitive clauses with non-pronominal subjects (247). If the subject is instead pronominal, the opposite order, VS, dominates (76%; (248)).

(247)   *Nyunyi*   *marrungu*   *ngapa+rri-yan.*
        DEM (distant)   man   get.wet[+INCH]-PRS
        'That man is getting wet (i.e. is washing himself).' (TW10)

(248)   *Parni-yan*   *ngaya.*
        stay-PRS   1SG.NOM
        'I am staying.' (#)

All six possible combinations of subject, object and verb are found in transitive clauses with non-pronominal subjects. There is however a preference for the subject to be placed before the object, in one of the two orders APV (41%; (249)) and AVP (35%; (250)). The frequency of occurence of the remaining four word orders is as follows: VAP and VPA 7% each; PAV 6%; PVA 4%.

(249)   *Ngunyi-ngku*   *marrungu-lu*   *wula*
        DEM (distant)-ERG   man-ERG   water
        nyarntarr ku-rri.
        gulping CAUS-PRS
        'That man is gulping water.' (TW10)

(250)   *Yukurru-lu*   *paji-rnu*   *ngarta.*
        dog-ERG   bite-PST   man
        '(The) dog bit (the) man.' (AD)

As indicated in Table 28, a distinction needs to be made between transitive clauses with pronominal subjects and objects, and clauses with pronominal subjects but non-pronominal objects. If the object is non-pronominal, the word orders AVP (251) and VAP (252) occur in equal numbers (33.3% each). Remaining word orders occur to the following extents: PVA (13.3%), PAV (13.3%), APV (7%), VPA (no examples; 0%).

(251)   *Ngaja*   *jaa-rnu*   *warnta.*
        1SG.ERG   chop-PST   tree
        'I chopped (the) tree.' (#)

(252)   *Wangka nya-rri*   *ngaja*   *waleji.*
        speech CAUS-PRS   1SG.ERG   wireless (radio)
        'I am talking to (i.e. listening to) (the) radio.' (TW08)

Unfortunately, only a few (five) examples have been found of sentences with both an overt pronominal subject and an overt pronominal object, third person pronouns in

subject or direct object function commonly being left out if otherwise understood through the speech context (cf. (253)). In the existing examples with overt subjects and objects, VAP is however strongly preferred ((254); in four of the five examples). The only other word order found here is AVP.

(253)   *Juka ma-rri.*
        lie CAUS-PRS
        '(He) is lying (to him).' (#)

(254)   *Warlakura ma-rri*   *nyinta*   *nganya!*
        interruptor CAUS-PRS   2SG.ERG   1SG.ACC
        'You are interrupting me!' (#)

Discontinuous noun phrases are very common in clauses including ditransitive verbs, and that in effect makes it impossible to say anything definite about word order tendences in such clauses. In the few sentences that have non-pronominal subjects and continuous NPs only, five different word orders are attested (ADAT(/BEN/LOC)PV 37.5%; AVPDAT 25%; AVDATP 12.5%; APDATV 12.5%; PDATVA 12.5%). There is only one example of a clause that includes a ditransitive verb, a pronominal subject and only continuous noun phrases. The word order in that clause is PAVDAT.

According to Dixon (2002a), few detailed studies have been done on what conditions word order in discourse in Australian languages. In the case of Ngarla, the shortage of longer recorded discourses sadly renders such a study impossible. Discourse factors are probably responsible for the word order variations in the texts in Appendix B, although it is difficult to know for sure.[116] A number of clauses with non-pronominal subjects however seem to indicate that topicalisation is accomplished by placing the topicalised noun phrase statement initially (255), and at times also by repeating it ((256); in which the noun phrase *ngunyi marrungu* (DEM (distant) man) occurs statement initially, and once more within the statement. Cf. also the dedication at the beginning of this volume.) There is also a tendency in Ngarla, exemplified in (257), to place longer lexical units/phrases in the beginning and the end of statements, with shorter units/phrases taking up the middle position (cf. also (249)). The tendency to place subjects and objects after the verb, which is strongest if both are pronominal however might indicate that Ngarla, at the time when children stopped learning it, was developing towards binding the free pronouns to the verb (cf. Dixon 2002a).

(255)   **Palakarni**,   *yipa-rnu*
        DEM (mid)   growl.at-PST
        parnu-nga-lu   *malya-ngku*   *kurnta-rri-kura.*
        3SG-GEN-ERG   father-ERG   shame-INCH-PURP
        'That one, his father growled (at him) in order for (him) to feel ashamed.' (#)

---

[116] Cf. Dixon 2002a:78: 'constituent order is to some extent at the whim of the speaker'.

(256) ***Ngunyi***   ***marrungu***   *wula-ngka*   *palu*
      DEM (distant)   man   water-LOC   3SG.LOC
      ngunyi   ***marrungu***   *pujapa-rni-yan* *jurnti-ka*
      DEM (distant)   man   dry-INCH-PRS   cave-LOC
      maya-ngka.
      house-LOC
      'That man, because of the water (i.e. rain), that man is being dry in (the) house.' (TW08)

(257) ***Wangirrimanya-lu***   *punga-rri*
      strongest.part.of.cyclone-ERG   hit-PRS
      nganarna-nya*.*
      1PL.EXCL-ACC
      '(The) strongest part of (the) cyclone is hitting us.' (#)

8.   *Coordination & Subordination*

8.1   Introduction

In Australia, languages exhibiting extreme cases of multiple case marking are found in two areas, in the Pilbara region and in north Queensland (Dench 2009). Ngarla has a complex system of multiple case marking of the same type as the one described for Nyamal in Dench (2009). However, since the Ngarla multiple case marking is still not understood in all its detail, it will not be discussed in this work. In this final chapter, clauses that are more complex than those described earlier, in that they include coordination or subordination, will instead be introduced. Section 8.1 is focused on coordination, and section 8.2 on subordination.

8.2   Coordination

The term 'coordination' is generally understood to refer to constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into larger units. In languages in general, coordination is commonly accomplished through juxtaposition, i.e. by placing coordinated units next to each other (Haspelmath 2007).[117] This is the dominant strategy in Ngarla. As illustrated in (258) - (260) below, it is for example employed when verbs (258), noun phrases (259) and clauses (260) are coordinated. In the case of verbs, however, a non-verbal element is frequently inserted between two verbs, which are nevertheless interpreted as being coordinated, as in (261). Here, *kuntu~kuntu-lu* (careful-ERG) occurs between *jipa-n* (steer-FUT) and *waka~waka+rni-n* (turn[+CAUS]-FUT). (Relevant clausal constituents are highlighted in some, but not all, examples below.)

(258)   *Kalyartu-lu*   *nyinu-nga-lu*
        totem.animal-ERG   2SG-GEN-ERG
        nganarna-nya   *wirnu ja-rri.*   *Ya-rra*
        1PL.EXCL-ACC   hot CAUS-PRS   go-IMP
        nyuka pi-lu
        increase site/ceremony CAUS-PURP
        malyi~malyi ja-lu.
        wind CAUS-PURP
        'Your totem animal is heating us (i.e. making it hot for us). Go do increase (and) make (it) windy!' (#)

---

[117] In Haspelmath (2007), this type of coordination is also called 'asyndetic coordination'.

(259)   *Warrukarti*   *ngaja*   *kapukarri ma-rnu*
        night   1SG.ERG   dream CAUS-PST
        nganu-nga   ***malya***   ***warniya***
        1SG-GEN   father   mother
        milpa-nyu-pula   *nganu*
        come-PST-3DU   1SG.DAT
        '(In the) night I dreamt (that) my father (and) mother came for (i.e.
        to) me.' (TW10)

(260)   *Jurru*   *ngani+ma-rnu*   *jina-ngka*
        snake (generic)   see[+CAUS]-PST   foot-LOC
        murri,   jartun ngayi-nyu.
        INTNS   leap INCH-PST
        'He saw (the) snake very close to (his) foot, (and) he leapt (out of
        the way).' (#)

(261)   *Jipa-n,*   *kuntu~kuntu-lu*
        steer-FUT   careful-ERG
        waka~waka+rni-n!
        turn[+CAUS]-FUT
        'Drive (it), (and) turn (it) carefully!' (#)

When people and animals are concerned, a strategy in Haspelmath (2007) labelled 'inclusory conjunction' is frequently employed in Ngarla. In this type of construction, the member(s) of one NP is already included in another NP. The NP including another NP is always made up of a non-singular pronoun. This NP is therefore here, in line with Lichtenberk (2000), labelled an 'inclusory pronominal'.[118] See sentences (262) – (263) below. In (262) the sense 'Nyapiri and I' is created with the first person dual exclusive pronoun (*ngaliya*) in conjunction to the name *Nyapiri*. The sense 'the dog and I' are in (263) similarly created with *ngaliya* and *yukurru* 'dog'. (Cf. also (266).)

(262)   ***Nyapiri   ngaliya***   *yaa-n*
        Nyapiri   1DU.EXCL.NOM   go-FUT
        Kurru-nya-karni.
        Kurru-AREA-ALL
        'Nyapiri and I will go to Kurru.' (TW08)

(263)   ***Ngaliya***   *yaa-n*   ***yukurru***   *wula-karni.*
        1DU.EXCL.NOM   go-FUT   dog   water-ALL
        'The dog and I will go to (the) water.' (TW08)

---

[118] The inclusory pronominal is in Lichtenberk (2000:2) defined as follows: 'a pronominal form that identifies a total set of participants, a subset of which is identified by a lexical NP'.

The construction in (264) below, which is a Ngarla alternative to mere juxtaposition of coordinated NPs, can possibly also be described as constituting inclusory conjunction. Here, the inclusory pronominal is inserted between two coordinated NPs, similarly to how the conjunction 'and' is used in English.

(264)   *Jarrurn*   **piyalu**   *kunyjarta*
        man   3DU.NOM   woman
        kumpungu ngayi-nyu-pula.
        married INCH-PST-3DU
        'The man and the woman got married.' (#)

The particle *murntu*, introduced in section 5.2 above, should also be mentioned in this context. It occurs in many statements the English translations of which frequently include an 'and' (cf. (265) below). However, if sentences like (266) are taken into account, it becomes clear that it should not be considered a conjunction. Here, an inclusory pronominal (*piyalu*; 3DU.NOM) is inserted between the names *Nyapiri* and *Brian*. This example shows that the senses 'also, too', given for *murntu* in section 5.2 above, are correct.

(265)   *Yaku-la*   *nyuka pi-lu*
        let's.go-PL   increase.site/feature CAUS-PURP[119]
        mantu-rra   *mayi-rra*   **murntu**
        meat-DAT   vegetable.food-DAT   also
        karlupurra-karni.
        generic.source-ALL
        'Let's go to (the) source place in order to increase (the) meat (and the) vegetable food also.' (#)

(266)   *Nyayi*   *ngaliya*   *yaa-n*
        DEM (proximate)   1DU.EXCL.NOM   go-FUT
        Marapikurri-nya-karni.
        Marapikurri-AREA-ALL
        Nyapiri   **piyalu**   *Brian*   **murntu**
        Nyapiri   3DU.NOM   Brian   too
        milpa-Ø-pula.
        come-FUT-3DU
        'This one and I will go to (the) Marapikurri area. Nyapiri and Brian will come too.' (TW08)

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[119] For more information about this verb, see section 4.4.3.2.3.

8.3   Subordination

8.3.1   Introduction

When it comes to subordinate clauses, Hale (1976) describes an adjoined (non-restrictive) relative clause, claimed to be found in a large number of Australian languages. This type of relative clause is marginal to the main clause, rather than being embedded. In general, relative clauses can be defined as subordinate clauses that delimit the reference of a main clause NP (Givón 2001b; Payne 1997). The adjoined relative clause may however be used either to supply additional information about an argument in the main clause (the 'NP-relative interpretation') or to make a subsidiary comment holding at the time specified by the main clause (the 'T-relative interpretation'; Hale 1976). Austin (1981) describes purposive subordinate clauses in Australian languages which temporally follow the situation described in the main clause, often with a purposive semantic relationship. According to Austin (1981), switch-reference marking languages are in Australia found in an area stretching from the central parts of the continent, out to the western and southern coasts. In switch-reference marking languages in the central parts of the country, such marking occurs in both purposive and relative clauses, in marginal areas in relative clauses only.

   Ngarla non-finite verbal suffixes, employed on verbs in subordinate clauses, are shown in Table 29 below. Relative clauses are introduced in section 8.3.2 and purposive clauses in section 8.3.3. Other (nominalising) verbal suffixes are discussed in section 8.3.4.

Table 29 Ngarla non-finite verbal suffixes.

TAM distinction	Inflection Ø conjugation	Inflection L conjugation
Relative Present, same subject (RELPRS.SS)	*-nyuru*	*-rnanyuru*
Relative Past, same subject (RELPST.SS)	*-nguru*	*-rnanguru*
Relative , different subject (REL.DS)	*-nyjangu*	*-ntangu*
Purposive (PURP)	*-yartara*	*-lyartara*
Purposive (PURP)	*-kura*	*-lu*

8.3.2   Non-restrictive relative clauses

In almost all Australian switch-reference languages, a binary contrast is made between referential identity or non-identity of main and subordinate subjects (Austin 1981). Ngarla is located right at the edge of the part of Australia in which languages, according to Austin (1981), have switch-reference marking. And, as illustrated below, Ngarla does indeed have switch-reference marking in non-restrictive relative clauses. (Concerning restrictive relative clauses, see section 6.2 above.) However, the Ngarla non-restrictive relative clauses are not necessarily adjoined (cf. Nordlinger 2007). They predominantly occur before or after the main clause, but they may also be embedded, as in e.g. example (153). Here, the relative clause *ngapa+rri-nguru* (swim[+INCH]-RELPST.SS)

occurs directly after the subject (*ngunyi yawarta* DEM (distant) horse 'that horse'). Neither is Hale's (1976) division between relative clauses with NP-relative and T-relative interpretations supported in the Ngarla material. While there is only one set of different subject markers, same subject markers are employed depending on time frame. Compare examples (267) - (268). Sentence (267) pertains to the past and sentence (268) to the present. The different subject marker nevertheless stays the same. (In (269) - (270), the different subject marking on the irregular verbs *karri-* 'carry, take, bring' and *ya-/yaa-/yana-/yanangka-* 'go' is shown.) In (271) – (279), the same subject marker changes with the time frame, examples (271) - (274) pertaining to the present and (275) - (279) to the past.[120] Note in (276) - (277) that the relative past same subject markers are used in clauses expressing general states of affairs, the Present tense being employed in the main clauses which the relative clauses are subordinate to (compare to sections 4.4.3.2.1 and 4.5.2.1 above). (Examples (273) - (274) show the irregular verbs *karri-* 'carry, take, bring' and *ya-/yaa-/yana-/yanangka-* 'go' with relative present same subject markers, sentences (278) - (279) with relative past markers.)

(267) *Paparn+ma-rnu*   *nyinta*   *nga-nya,*
       interrupt[+CAUS]-PST   2SG.ERG   1SG-ACC
       wula-rra   ***punyja-ntangu***.
       water-DAT   drink-REL.DS
       'You interrupted me as I (was about to) drink water.' (#)

(268) *Nyayi-ngku*   *ngajapa*   *muwarr*
       DEM (proximate)-ERG   2SG.LOC   word
       juntu ma-rri   *nyampali-kapu*
       straight CAUS-PRS   boss-SCE
       nyaa-ntangu.
       send-REL.DS
       'This one is telling me the word (i.e. message) that the boss sent to me.' (TW10)

(269) *Punga-rnu*   *ngaja*   *yukurru*   *mantu-rra*
       hit-PST   1SG.ERG   dog   meat-DAT
       kayi-nyjangu.
       take-REL.DS
       'I hit the dog while he was taking it away.' (TW08)

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[120] One possible exception occurs in (412). It was my intention to go through this story in detail with Brown, in order to check all the sentences. However, Brown died right before this could take place.

(270)   *Punga-rnu*   *ngaja*   *parnu-nya*
        hit-PST   1SG.ERG   3SG-ACC
        ***yana-nyjangu**.*
        go-REL.DS
        'I hit him while he was walking (past me).' (#)

(271)   *Jilya   jartun ngarri-yan*
        child   leap INCH-PRS
        warlalka-rra
        bush caper (*capparis lasiantha*)-DAT
        ***maa-rnanyuru**.*
        get-RELPRS.SS
        '(The) child is leaping (upwards), (trying) to pick (the) bush caper
        fruit.' (#)

(272)   ***Warni-nyuru**   yanangka-yan.*
        fall-RELPRS.SS   go-PRS
        '(He) goes (along) while keeping on falling.' (i.e. ' He keeps on
        falling (while) going along.') (#)

(273)   *Yanangka-yan*   *ngaya*   *purnu-ka-rra*
        go-PRS   1SG.NOM   lower.back-LOC-DAT
        mantu-rra   ***karri-nyuru**.*
        meat-DAT   carry-RELPRS.SS
        'I'm going (along), carrying the meat on my back.' (TW08)

(274)   *Ngalya ngarri-yan*   ***yana-nyuru**.*
        song INCH-PRS   go-RELPRS.SS
        '(He) is singing as (he) is going (along).' (#)

(275)   *Wanyjakalu*   *yaa-nu-ya*
        EPI (where)   go-PST-3PL
        manara
        completer.of.something.significant
        ***yarni+ma-rnanguru**   para*
        make[+CAUS]-RELPST.SS   3SG.DAT
        nyayi-rra   *yantilypara-rra?*
        DEM (proximate)-DAT   boat-DAT
        'Where did the builders go after making this boat?' (#)

(276)　*Ngunyi*　　　　　*yawarta*　　　**ngapa+rri-nguru**
　　　　DEM (distant)　　horse　　　　swim[+INCH]-RELPST.SS
　　　　jurru~jurru pinya-ra-yan.
　　　　roll CAUS-ANTIP-PRS
　　　　'After swimming, that horse rolls (on the ground).' (TW10)

(277)　*Yurta-rra*　　　　**paji-rnanguru**　　　　*ngaya*
　　　　fish-DAT　　　　eat-RELPST.SS　　　　　1SG.NOM
　　　　mala~mala-rri-yan.
　　　　nauseating-INCH-PRS
　　　　'When eating fish, I feel nauseated.' (#)

(278)　*Palakarni-rra*　*para*　　*mantu-rra*　　*nga-nya*
　　　　DEM (mid)-DAT　3SG.DAT　meat-DAT　　1SG-ACC
　　　　yipa-rnu-ya　　　　　　　**karri-nguru.**
　　　　growl.at-PST-3PL　　　　　take-RELPST.SS
　　　　'They growled at me for taking their meat.' (TW08)

(279)　**Yana-nguru**　　　*karliny jayi-nyu.*
　　　　go-RELPST.SS　　　returning INCH-PST
　　　　'(The one) that went away came back (again).' (#)

　　　The *-nyuru/-rnanyuru* suffixes are however not only employed as relative present same subject markers. They are also subject to insubordination, which can be defined as 'the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses' (Evans 2007:367). Note in (280) – (281) that the suffixes are employed with the verb in clauses that stand alone, i.e. that would appear not to be subordinate. This construction is similar to the antipassive derivation (see section 4.5.2.1), but since it is employed with both transitive and intransitive verbs with the same effect, it would be wrong to describe it as an antipassive derivation. (The same number of NPs commonly included in sentences with other TAM distinctions are also included in sentences with a main verb marked by *-nyuru/-rnanyuru*. The subject NP in sentences that include intransitive verbs still appears in the nominative form, but the two NPs occurring with transitive verbs here take NOM-DAT case marking.) In main clauses, *-nyuru/-rnanyuru* are employed to mark continuous activity. With punctual verbs, the verbs take on an iterative sense, as in (281). Compare in this context (281) to (282). In (282), it is implied that one man hit another only once, in (281) that he did it repeatedly.

(280)　*Nyayi*　　　　　　*marrungu*　　*kukurnjayi-rra*
　　　　DEM (proximate)　man　　　　sheep-DAT
　　　　kurlku ja-rnanyuru.
　　　　cropped.close CAUS-RELPRS.SS
　　　　'This man is shearing (the) sheep.' (TW08)

(281)   *Nyayi-rra*   *marrungu-rra*
        DEM (proximate)   man-DAT
        punga-rnanyuru   *parta*   *marrungu.*
        hit-RELPRS.SS   other   man
        'This man another man hit repeatedly.' (TW08)

(282)   *Nyayi*   *marrungu*   *punga-rnu*   *parta-ngku*
        DEM (proximate)   man   hit-PST   other-ERG
        marrungu-lu.
        man-ERG
        'This man another man hit (once).' (TW08)

8.3.3   Purposive clauses

As mentioned above, purposive subordinate clauses in Australian languages temporally follow the situation described in the main clause, often with a purposive semantic relationship (Austin 1981). The Ngarla Purposive TAM distinction (marked by *-kura/ -lu*) occurs in both main and subordinate clauses (cf. section 4.4.3.3.2). In line with Austin (1981), the Ngarla *-kura/-lu* markers in subordinate clauses most commonly seem to correspond to the use of English 'in order to', as in (283) − (284) below. However, the non-finite verbal suffixes *-yartara/-lyartara* are used in the same way, as shown in (285) − (286). Consequently, both sets of suffixes are glossed here as -PURP. It remains unclear if there is a semantic difference between them. (Examples (287) − (288) show the irregular verbs *karri-* 'carry, take, bring' and *ya-/yaa-/yana-/yanangka-* 'go' with the *-yartara* suffix.)

(283)   *Palangka-nguru*   *karlangkal*   *ngaya*
        there-ABL   first   1SG.NOM
        yaa-nu   *Mukurri-nya-karni*   *piya-nga*
        go-PST   Mukurri-AREA-ALL   3DU-DAT
        mara ku-lu   *kalyarra-rra.*
        hand CAUS-PURP   COMBINATION KIN TERM-DAT[121]
        'From there first I went to (the) Mukurri area to pick up my sister's son and his son.' (#)

(284)   *Nyayi*   *martarra*   *wirnti~wirnti*
        DEM (proximate)   wounded   nankeen kestrel
        ngaja   *wanyja-rnu*   *kankara*   *warnta-ka*
        1SG.ERG   leave-PST   high.up   tree-LOC
        mila+ngarri-kura.
        convalesce[+INCH]-PURP
        'This wounded kestrel I left high up (a) tree in order to convalesce.'

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[121] The combination kin term *kalyarra* is used in the sense '(one's) sister's son and his son'.

(285)   *Jijirr   nganarna   jurrka-yirnta*
        seed   1PL.EXCL.NOM   rub-USI
        *majarra-ngura   **paji-lyartara-lu**.*
        millstone-LOC   eat-PURP-ERG
        '(The) seed(s) we used to rub on millstone(s) in order to eat
        (them).' (#)

(286)   *'Purlpi   wataku   wurta+ma-n-jarra*
        well   unimportant   wait[+CAUS]-FUT-1DU
        *pana-nga   yurta-rra   **jangka ngarri-yartara-rra**.'*
        3PL-DAT   fish-DAT   fastened INCH-PURP-DAT
        ''Well, (it's) unimportant, let us wait for the fish(es) to become
        entangled.'' (#)

(287)   *Wara~wara-yi-nyu   wula-rra*
        forget-INCH-PST   water-DAT
        karri-yartara.
        take-PURP
        '(He) forgot to take (the) water.' (#)

(288)   *Pirri-ngka   nganarna   pana-nya*
        afternoon-LOC   1PL.EXCL.NOM   3PL-ACC
        karlajangu   turayin-ta   wanyja-n
        cattle   train-LOC   put-FUT
        ***yana-yartara**   Karrkarra-karni.*
        go-*yartara*   Karrkarra [Perth]-ALL
        'In (the) afternoon we will put the cattle on the train, in order (for
        them) to go to Karrkarra.' (#)

As illustrated above, one obvious difference between the two sets of suffixes is that verbs marked by -*yartara/-lyartara* take associating case marking, unlike verbs marked by -*kura/-lu*. Associating case marking associates the verb with an NP (Dench & Evans 1988). In (285), the ergative marker on *paji-lyartara* (eat-PURP) associates the verb with the subject *nganarna* (which, being a pronoun, in fact occurs in the nominative form). In (286), *jangka ngarri-yartara-rra* (fastened INCH-PURP-DAT) is similarly associated with *pana-nga yurta-rra* (3PL-DAT fish-DAT) 'the fish(es)'. Thus verbs taking the Purposive -*kura/-lu* can have either a same subject (283) or a different subject (284) interpretation, with confusions as to which interpretation is the intended one being possible. Below, (289) is an example of both types of purposive markers occuring in the same statement.

(289)   *Mampul*   *murri*   *nyinpa*   *palu*   **karri-kura**
      truly   INTNS   2SG.NOM   3SG.LOC   carry-PURP

      nyayi   *mantu*   **waa-lyartara-lu**.
      DEM (proximate)   meat   give-PURP-ERG

      'You really should carry this meat, in order to give (it) to him.' (#)

8.3.4   (Pure) nominalising suffixes

While non-finite verbal suffixes can be considered to constitute nominalising suffixes, since verbs marked by them in different contexts also take case marking (the Purposive *-kura/-lu* constituting an exception), this section discusses two sets of 'pure' nominalising suffixes. The word 'pure' should here be taken to mean that the suffixes in question are clearly employed to derive nominals. Instrumental nominalisation, marked by *-punyjarri/-lpunyjarri*, was introduced already in section 4.2 above. Two examples are given below. In (290), a word with the sense 'puller(s)' is created by the addition of *-lpunyjarri* to *palarr ma-* (secure CAUS), i In (291), a word meaning 'match' by the addition of *-punyjarri* to *jarrari* 'light'.

(290)   *Yawarta*   *tangki*   *piyalu*   **palarr ma-lpunyjarri**.
      horse   donkey   3DU.NOM   secure CAUS-INSNOM

      '(The) horse (and) donkey (were the) pullers.' (I.e. '(The) horse (and) donkey were pulling (the cart).') (#)

(291)   **Jarrari-punyjarri**   *waa-n*   *ngajapa*   *pinurru*
      light-INSNOM   give-FUT   1SG.LOC   fire

      ngaya   *nyali ja-lu*.
      1SG.NOM   light CAUS-PURP

      '(A) match (lit. something to light with) give on (i.e. to) me, (a) fire I intend to light.' (#)

Another set of suffixes, *-wanti/-lwanti*, creates modifiers to a noun phrase head. In all existing examples of the use of the suffixes, the constituent marked by *-wanti/-lwanti* is placed statement finally. Case marking however shows that the suffixes create modifiers to the head of the direct object NP (with which the verb taking *-wanti/-lwanti* is frequently discontinuous). In (292), dative marking thus shows that *kama-lwanti-rra* (cook-NMLZ-DAT) belongs together with *mantu-rra* (meat-DAT). In (293), both *ngurra* (camp) and *ngarri-wanti* (sleep-NMLZ) are left unmarked (i.e. marked by nominative). (Example (294) shows the irregular verb *karri-* 'carry, take, bring' with the *-wanti* suffix. There are no examples of the irregular verb *ya-/yaa-/yana-/yanangka-* 'go' taking *-wanti/-lwanti*.) The suffixes are glossed here simply as 'nominaliser' (NMLZ).

(292)   *Ngaya*   *wajarri-yanu*   **mantu-rra**
        1SG.NOM   look.for-CPST   meat-DAT
        kama-lwanti-rra.
        cook-NMLZ-DAT
        'I was looking for meat for cooking.' (#)

(293)   Person 1   *Ngananya*   *nyinta*
                   EPI (why)   2SG.ERG
                   jurnti ja-rri?
                   cave CAUS-PRS
        Person 2   *Ngurra*   *nganu-Ø*   **ngarri-wanti**.
                   camp   1SG-DAT   sleep-NMLZ
        Person 1: 'Why are you making a cave?' Person 2: '(As) a camp for
        sleeping for me.' (i.e. 'As a camp for me to sleep in.') (TW10)

(294)   *Nganyjarra-nga-lu*   *malya-ngku*   *waa-rnu*
        1PL.INCL-DAT-ERG   father-ERG   give-PST
        mayi   *nyumpala-la*
        vegetable.food   2DU-DAT
        karri-wanti.
        take-NMLZ
        'Our father gave you two food to take away.' (TW08)

That *-wanti/-lwanti* suffixes create modifiers to the head of the direct object NP is
indicated also in sentences where the suffixes attach directly to known nominals, as in
(295). Here, the sense 'firewood' is created with *jirtarr* (foliage) and *pinurru-wanti*
(fire-NMLZ).

(295)   *Marrungu-lu*   *kuru+ma-rri*   *jirtarr*
        man-ERG   gather[+CAUS]-PRS   foilage
        pana-nya   **pinurru-wanti**.
        3PL-ACC   fire-NMLZ
        'The man is gathering sticks for (the) fire (i.e. firewood).' (TW10)

In this context, it should be noted that certain of the suffixes that have above been
described as non-finite verbal suffixes are at times are also found to attach directly to
known nominals, like *-yartara* in (296) below. This is a further indication that non-
finite verbs could/should be analysed as being nominalised (the ability to take case
marking being the first one).

(296)   *Wula*   *ngaja*   *punyja-rnu*
        water   1SG.ERG   drink-PST
        kupalya-yartara-lu.
        sleep-PURP-ERG
        'I drank water in readiness for a sleep.' (#)

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Appendix A: Transcription & glossing conventions

A.1   Introduction

Notes on transcription and glossing occur in a number of sections above. Here, all the information has been collected. However, the abbreviations employed in the glossing are listed in the beginning of the volume.

A.2   Transcription of Ngarla phonemes

Ngarla phonemes were shown in Table 2 – Table 3above. Ngarla linguistic examples are in this volume rendered in the (mostly) phonemic orthography developed for languages of the eastern Pilbara by Geytenbeek, Geytenbeek, Hudson, Marsh, Marsh and Richards (Geytenbeek, p.c.). In Table 4 – Table 5 it was shown which letter(s) in the orthography represent which sound. These are repeated as Table 30 – Table 31 below. Note that in the following cases two adjacent letters together represent one sound: the long vowels (*ii*, *aa* and *uu*); the retroflex consonant phonemes *rl* [ɭ], *rn* [ɳ], *rt* [ʈ]; the lamino-palatal *ly* [ʎ], *ny* [ɲ]; and the dorso-velar *ng* [ŋ].

Table 30 The rendering of Ngarla consonant phonemes in the orthography developed by Geytenbeek, Geytenbeek, Hudson, Marsh, Marsh and Richards (Geytenbeek 2006).

Place of articulation/ Manner	Bilabial	Apico-alveolar	Retroflex	Lamino-palatal	Dorso-velar
Rhotic		rr	r		
Lateral		l	rl	ly	
Nasal	m	n	rn	ny	ng
Stop	p	t	rt	j	k
Semi-vowel	w			y	

Table 31 The rendering of Ngarla vowel phonemes in the orthography developed by Geytenbeek, Geytenbeek, Hudson, Marsh, Marsh and Richards (Geytenbeek 2006).

	Front	Back
High	i ii	u uu
Low	a aa	

There are no words that start with a vowel in the orthography employed here, but certain words spelled with an initial *yi* or *wu* frequently are pronounced with initial *i* or *u*. It should also be noted that the syllable *rri* at the end of verb stems of the Ø

conjugation (see section 4.2), and also at the end of the irregular verb *karri-* 'carry', 'take', 'bring' (4.4.4.2), usually becomes *yi*, when followed by a suffix beginning with the retroflex nasal *rn* or the lamino-palatal nasal *ny*. In all such contexts, the syllable in question is written as *yi*.

A.3   Hyphens, tildes, dots and pluses

In the Ngarla examples in this work, suffixes and clitics are separated by hyphens from the roots/stems to which they are attached. Verbalisers, derivational morphemes employed to create complex verbs, however constitute an exception. Most verbalisers attract main stress, and can thus be considered to constitute phonological words in their own right, despite being part of the same grammatical word as the preceding units. In order to indicate both phonological and grammatical word status, non-verbs and verbalisers together constituting complex verbs are in all relevant cases adjacent in the transcription, while being separated by a single space. In the cases of combinations of unknown roots and (possible) verbalisers, the (possible) break between the root and the verbaliser is marked by a plus (+; see section 4.3 above).

A small number of Ngarla verbs appear to be created through zero verbalisation (see section 4.3.1.4). In order to indicate zero verbalization in the transcription, a dot and a zero (.Ø) are inserted after the nominal root.

The tilde (~) is employed in reduplicated lexical items, to connect the copied element to the root/stem.

A.4   Notes on glossing

A.4.1   Glossing of nominals: Case marking

It has been standard practice in descriptions of grammar of Pama-Nyungan languages to describe the marking of core grammatical cases in many of the languages as presenting a split picture, with pronouns predominantly taking nominative-accusative case marking and other nominals ergative-absolutive marking (Goddard 1982). This type of analysis is provided for Ngarla in e.g. Westerlund (2007, 2009, 2011).

In this work, it is however recognised that marking of case must not be confused with the actual case system of a language. Many Pama-Nyungan languages have tripartite marking for at least one subclass of nominals. In Ngarla, this is true for the 1SG and 2SG pronouns (see section 3.4.4). In line with Goddard (1982), the case marking split is therefore here treated as a syncretism of forms across three cases, ergative, the case of the transitive subject (A); nominative, the case of the intransitive subject (S); and accusative, the case of the transitive object (P). Thus, Ngarla pronouns have homonymous ergative and nominative forms (1, 2SG excluded), other nominals having homonymous nominative and accusative forms (the so-called 'absolutive' form of the ergative-absolutive case marking pattern; see section 3.4.1.2).

These syncretisms however give rise to practical problems for the glossing of inflected case forms. Following Dench (1999), a number of simplifications are implemented. The case function of each individual form is not represented in the example sentences. Rather, the unmarked forms of nominals that may appear in either

intransitive subject or accusative object function are left without case labels. Similarly, pronouns in both transitive and intransitive subject function are consistently labelled 'nominative'. (This is however not the case for the 1, 2SG pronouns; see section 3.4.4) In most other instances, the labels given to both nominal suffixes and pronoun forms reflect the appropriate case functions. However, the ergative suffixes also function as markers of the (semantic) instrumental case, but are nevertheless consistently glossed -ERG. The dative suffixes, both those being employed with pronouns and those occurring with other types of nominals, also mark genitive (the SG pronouns, which have separate genitive forms, being excluded here). However, in all contexts, they are glossed -DAT (see sections 3.4.1.2 and 3.4.4).

A.4.2   Glossing of verbs

A.4.2.1   *Glossing of TAM categories*

The same TAM inflection (*-Ø/-n*) is in Ngarla employed to mark both future tense and imperative mood. The inflection is labelled here Future tense, and is in all contexts glossed -FUT.

A.4.2.2   *Complex verbs: Inchoative and causative*

Following Dench (1999), the label 'inchoative' is in this thesis employed for the verbaliser found in all complex verbs of the Ø conjugation, and 'causative' for the verbaliser in all complex L conjugation verbs. Inchoative/causative verb pairs are commonly defined as expressing the same situation, most frequently a change of state, more rarely the Aktionsart Activity (see Table 20; Haspelmath 1993; Vendler 1967). According to this definition, the causative verb meaning includes an agent participant which is responsible for causing the situation. The inchoative verb describes the situation as occurring spontaneously, and an agent is therefore absent. Most Ngarla complex verbs express either changes of state or Activity. However, it needs to be pointed out that atypical intransitive and transitive complex verbs exist. Consider in this context e.g. the verb *kuntu~kuntu ma-L* in (297) below. It is an atypical transitive complex verbs, in that adverbial information is included in the verbal semantics. Thus, *kuntu ma-L*, with the nominal *kuntu* 'good', means 'do well', 'treat well'.

(297)   *Mirtanya-lu*   **kuntu~kuntu ma-rri**   *parnu-nga*
         old.man-ERG   good CAUS-PRS   3SG-GEN
         yirrkili.
         boomerang
         '(The) old man is treating his boomerang well (i.e. is nursing his
         boomerang).' (#)

Other complex verbs with atypical senses include verbs with lexicalised meanings, cf. section 4.3.2.3, and verbs created with the verbaliser *ku-L* (4.3.2.5), which denote movement of entities.

Note that the causative verbalisers, creating L conjugation verbs from non-verbs, should not be confused with the Ngarla causative valency increasing derivation (despite

the fact that two morphemes, *ma-L* and *ja-L,* occur in both functions; see section 4.5.3.1). With the causative valency increasing derivation, the S argument of an intransitive clause becomes the P of a transitive clause (Dixon 2002a).

Appendix B: Annotated stories

B.1   Text 1: My Life Story, page 1

This text is a purely literary product (as is text 2, section B.2), in that it was written down by Brown himself. The spelling has been standardised by Westerlund and Geytenbeek, who have also provided the English translation.

(298)   *Nyapiri   ngaya   yini.*
Nyapiri   1SG.NOM   name
'Nyapiri (is) my name.'

(299)   *Ngarta ngayi-rnta   ngaya*
man INCH-REMPST   1SG.NOM
Kurru-malu.
Kurru [De Grey]-EX
'I became (a) man (i.e. was born) (long ago) right at Kurru.'

(300)   *Palangka   kalya   ngaya*
there   still   1SG.NOM
yarru ngayi-rnta   nganarna-nga-ngura
big INCH-REMPST   1PL.EXCL-DAT-LOC
yinta-ka   Kurru-nya-ngura.
waterhole-LOC   Kurru [DeGrey]-AREA-LOC
'There I still (i.e. also) became big (i.e. grew up), at our waterhole Kurru.'

(301)   *Warrarn   nganarna-nga   wanparta-nyjarri-rra*
country   1PL.EXCL-DAT   Wanbarta [tribe]-PL-DAT
Kurru-nya.
Kurru [DeGrey]-AREA
'Our, Wanbarta's [the Ngarla group's own name for itself] country (was the) Kurru area.'

(302)   *Wangka   nganarna   ngarla,*
speech   1PL.EXCL.NOM   Ngarla
wangka-rri-yan   wanparta-nyjarri.
speech-INCH-PRS   Wanbarta-PL
'Our speech (i.e. language) (is) Ngarla, (the) Wanbartas speak (it).'

(303) *Nganarna-nga-lu*   *malya-ngku*   *warniya-lu*
1PL.EXCL-DAT-ERG   father-ERG   mother-ERG
kanyi-yirnta-pula   *Kurru-malu.*
care.for-USI-3DU   Kurru [DeGrey]-EX
'Our mother (and) father cared for (i.e. raised) (us) right at Kurru.'

(304) *Jilya-karrangu*   *nganarna*
child-PL   1PL.EXCL.NOM
purrku-marta (7).
three-PL (7)
'A bunch of children (were) we (7).'

(305) *Kurru-jirri*   *nganarna*
Kurru [DeGrey]-DWELLER   1PL.EXCL.NOM
jilya-karrangu   *kulyu*   *nyini-yanta*
child-PL   many   stay-USI
Kurru-malu.
Kurru [DeGrey]-EX
'We were many children staying right at Kurru.'

(306) *Malya-nyjarri-ngku*   *warniya-nyjarri-ngku*
father-PL-ERG   mother-PL-ERG
karri-yirnta-ya   *nganarna-nya*   *mantu-karni,*
take-USI-3PL   1PL.EXCL-ACC   meat-ALL
yurta-karni,   *jukurta-karni*
fish-ALL   fruit-ALL
murlka-lu   *paki-ngka.*
gather-PURP   buggy-LOC
'(The) fathers (and) mothers would take us to (the) meat, to (the) fish (and) to (the) fruit (i.e. to hunt, fish and gather fruit) by buggy.'

(307) *Pakarr-ta*   *yawarta-ngura*   *jali-ngka*
       cart-LOC   horse-LOC   ride-LOC
       nganarna-ngku   *malya*   *warniya-lu*
       1PL.EXCL-ERG   father   mother-ERG
       karri-yirnta-pula *nganarna-nya*
       take-USI-3DU   1PL.EXCL-ACC
       pingkayi-lu   *Punta-nya*
       holiday-ERG   Punta-AREA
       Piparnkarra-karni *Marapikurri-nya-karni*
       Piparnkarra-ALL   Marapikurri [Port Hedland]-AREA-ALL
       murntu.
       also
       'By cart (and) horse riding, our father (and) mother would take us
       on holiday to (the) Punta, Piparnkarra (and to the) Port Hedland
       area also.'

(308) *Palangka-nguru*   *nganarna*
       there-ABL   1PL.EXCL.NOM
       karliny jayi-nyu   *Punta-nya-karni.*
       return INCH-PST   Punta-AREA-ALL
       'From there we would return to (the) Punta area.'

(309) *Palangka*   *nganarna-nya*
       there   1PL.EXCL-ACC
       kanyi-rnu-pula   *makurru*   *kujarra*   *wiyiki.*
       care.for-PST-3DU   long.time   two   week
       'There for us they cared for a long time, two weeks.' (I.e. 'We were
       there for a long time, two weeks.')

(310) *Palangka-nguru*   *karliny ja-rnu-pula*
       there-ABL   return CAUS-PST-3DU
       nganarna-nya   *Kurru-nya-karni.*
       1PL.EXCL-ACC   Kurru [De Grey]-AREA-ALL
       'From there (they) returned us to (the) Kurru area.'

(311) *Yawarta   tangki   piyalu   palarr ma-lpunyjarri.*
       horse   donkey   3DU.NOM   secure CAUS-INSNOM
       '(The) horse (and) donkey (were the) pullers.' (I.e. '(The) horse
       (and) donkey were pulling (the cart).')

B.2   Text 2: My Life Story, page 6

(312)   *Nyayi*   *kunaran*   *1947.*
          DEM (proximate)   winter   1947
          'This (was in the) winter/year 1947.'[122]

(313)   *Nyayi-ngka*   *kunaran-ta*   *ngaya*
          DEM (proximate)-LOC   winter-LOC   1SG.NOM
          mutu.
          small.boy
          'In this winter I (was) a boy.'[123]

(314)   *Nyini-yanta*   *Mukurri-malu.*
          stay-USI   Mukurri [Tjalku Wara Community]-EX
          '(I) was staying right at Mukurri.'

(315)   *Yantilypara*   *kanyi-yirnta*
          boat   care.for-USI
          Ngarnka-ngku   *Marapikurri-malu*
          beard-ERG   Marapikurri [Port Hedland]-EX
          purrku.
          three
          '(The) Beard [Don McLeod] was taking care of (i.e. had) three
          boats right at Marapikurri.'

(316)   *Partanyal-karta-ngku*   *nganarna-nya*
          one-COM-ERG   1PL.EXCL-ACC
          wii+ma-rnu
          take[+CAUS]-PST
          Kanyintingurrpa-nya-karni.
          Kanyintingurrpa [Little Turtle Island]-AREA-ALL
          'With one of them (he) took us to Kanyintingurrapa.'

(317)   *Nyini-nyu*   *nganarna*   *palangka*
          stay-PST   1PL.EXCL.NOM   there
          4   wiyiki   mangkuru-karra.
          4   week   kangaroo-ACT
          'We stayed there four weeks working with kangaroos (i.e. killing
          kangaroos).'

---

[122] *Kunaran* has the two senses 'winter' and 'year'. It is unclear what is the correct
      interpretation of the word in this context.

[123] Brown might here be referring to the fact that he in 1947 still had not been initiated in the
      Aboriginal way (Brown, p.c.).

(318)   *Kapurn   mangkuru   kulyu   pana-nya   maa-rnu.*
       skin   kangaroo   many   3PL-ACC   get-PST
       '(We) got many kangaroo skins.'

(319)   *Nganarna   purlpi*
       1PL.EXCL.NOM   well
       martumurri-yanya ngarri-yan.
       food-PRIV INCH-PRS
       'Well, we are becoming without food (i.e. running out of food).'

(320)   *Nganarna   purlpi,   'ya-ku-la*
       1PL.EXCL.NOM   well   go-HORT-INTNS
       Mukurri-nya-karni!'
       Mukurri-AREA-ALL
       'Well, we (said to each other), 'Let us go to (the) Mukurri area!''

(321)   *Palangka   kartu~kartu ma-rnu   pana-nya*
       there   big CAUS-PST   3PL-ACC
       nganarna-nga.
       1PL.EXCL-DAT
       'There (he) made them big (i.e. gathered them) for us.' [N.B.: This
       presumably refers to the kangaroo skins.]

(322)   *Yalya   ngurra-ngka-nguru   kapurn*
       belongings   camp-LOC-ABL   skin
       nganarna   pana-nya   pirtu+ja-rnu
       1PL.EXCL.NOM   3PL-ACC   sort[+CAUS]-PST
       ngarta-ngka   yajarri   karri-yartara-lu.
       man-LOC   same   take-*yartara*-ERG
       'In (?) camp we sorted the skins in order for (each) man to take
       (the) same (amount)'. [Translation uncertain.]

(323)   *Purrku-marta (6)   marrungu   nganarna*
       three-PL (6)   man   1PL.EXCL.NOM
       100   kapurn.
       100   skin
       'A bunch of us men (6) (with) a hundred skin(s).'

(324)   *Jinta   kapurn   panalu   kamparra,   jinta*
       some   skin   3PL.NOM   small   some

       kartu,   mirta   kurrpu   murri.
       big   NEG   heavy   INTNS

       'Some of the skins (were) small, some (were) big, (but they were) not very heavy.'

(325)   *Karri-yirnta   jinyji-lu*
       carry-USI   stages-ERG

       Mukurri-nya-karni
       Mukurri [Tjalku Wara Community]-AREA-ALL

       (5 mapal - 50 miles).
       5 sun - 50 miles

       '(We) carried (the skins) in stages to (the) Mukurri area (5 days - 50 miles).'

(326)   *Walykari   ngayi-rnta   manyjarl*
       nape.of.neck   sleep-REMPST   tired

       murri,   parta   marrungu   jina   punpal
       INTNS   other   man   foot   sick

       kayi-rnta.
       take-REMPST

       '(The) nape of the neck slept, (it was) very tired, (and) another (i.e. one) man carried (with a) sick (i.e. injured) foot.'

B.3   Text 3: Droving trip from Ethel Creek to Meekatharra, June 1949 (#)

This story, told by the language consultant Brown, relates his recollections of a droving trip he took part in from Ethel Creek to Meekatharra, both in Western Australia, in June 1949.

(327)   *Marapikurri-nya-nguru*
       Marapikurri [Port Hedland]-AREA-ABL

       nganarna   yaa-nu   turayin-ta
       1PL.EXCL.NOM   go-PST   train-LOC

       Piparn-nya-karni.
       Piparn [Marble Bar]-AREA-ALL

       'From Marapikurri we went on (the) train to (the) Piparn area.'

(328)   *Palangka-nguru*   *nganarna*   *yaa-nu*
        there-ABL   1PL.EXCL.NOM   go-PST
        mayilturaka-ngura   *Yirrangkaji-karni.*
        mail.truck-LOC   Yirrangkaji [Nullagine]-ALL
        'From there we went on (the) mail truck to Yirrangkaji.'

(329)   *Ngayi-nyu*   *nganarna.*
        sleep-PST   1PL.EXCL.NOM
        'We slept.'

(330)   *Warrumurntu*   *nganarna*   *yaa-nu*
        next.day   1PL.EXCL.NOM   go-PST
        Yijilkuriki-karni.
        Yijilkuriki [Ethel Creek]-ALL[124]
        '(The) next day we went to Ethel Creek (Station).'

(331)   *Karlajangu*   *pana-nya*   *kanyi-nyu-ya*
        cattle   3PL-ACC   care.for-PST-3PL
        yana-yartara.
        go-*yartara*
        'The cattle (they) cared for for the purpose of going.'

(332)   *Warrumurntu*   *nganarna*   *pana-nya*
        next.day   1PL.EXCL.NOM   3PL-ACC
        karri-Ø   *jinangu.*
        take-FUT   on.foot
        '(The) next day we will take (i.e. bring) them on foot.'

(333)   *Nyampali*   *nganarna-nga*
        boss   1PL.EXCL-DAT
        Pinjint.
        Pinjint [Vincent]
        'Our boss (was) Pinjint.'

(334)   *Yawarta*   *panalu*   *parnu-nga,*   *pirrjarta*
        horse   3PL.NOM   3SG-GEN   vehicle
        murntu.
        also
        'The horses (were) his (and the) vehicle (i.e. cart) too.'

---

[124] The name Yijilkuriki is the Ngarla version of the English Ethel Creek.

(335) *Yaa-nu   nganarna   Jilpayiniya-karni.*
go-PST   1PL.EXCL.NOM   Jilpayiniya [Sylvania]-ALL[125]
'We went to Jilpayiniya.'

(336) *Partanyal   wiyiki   nganarna*
one   week   1PL.EXCL.NOM
pana-nya   karri-Ø
3PL-ACC   take-FUT
'(For) one week we will take them.'

(337) *Warrukarti   nganarna   pana-nya*
night   1PL.EXCL.NOM   3PL-ACC
japartamu ja-n   jinyji~jinyji-lu
shepherder CAUS-FUT   alternating-ERG
karlajangu   kupalya-yanya-ngku.
cattle   sleep-PRIV-ERG
'(In the) night(s) we will shepherd the cattle alternatingly (i.e. take
turns herding the cattle) without sleep.'

(338) *Wula   nganarna   pana-nga*
water   1PL.EXCL.NOM   3PL-DAT
palarr ma-yirnta   karlajangu-rra
securely CAUS-USIT   cattle-DAT
punyja-lwanti   yawarta-karta-lu
drink-NMLZ[126]   horse-COM-ERG
yungku-kapu.
well-SCE
'Water for drinking we used to pull from a well, with a horse, for
the cattle.'

(339) *Warrumurntu   nganarna   pana-nya*
next.day   1PL.EXCL.NOM   3PL-ACC
karri-Ø   ngurra-karni
take-FUT   camp-ALL
kurturtu-karni.
partway-ALL
'(The) next day we will take them to a partway camp.'

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[125] The name Jilpayiniya is the Ngarla version of the English Sylvania.

[126] As has been pointed out earlier, *-(l)wanti* is a nominalising suffix that creates a modifier to
an NP head. Case marking (or lack thereof) indicates which noun phrase the *–(l)wanti*
marked constituent belongs to.

(340)   *Pirlurru*   *nganarna*
             path   1PL.EXCL.NOM
             jina ma-rri   *partanyal*   *kalya.*
             foot CAUS-PRS   one   still
             'We are following (the) one path still.'

(341)   *Nyangkala*   *nganarna*   *ngarri-Ø*
             now   1PL.EXCL.NOM   sleep-FUT
             Mantawinti-ngura.
             Mantawinti [Mundawindi]-LOC
             'Now we will sleep at Mantawinti.'

(342)   *Warrumurntu*   *nganarna*   *yaa-n.*
             next.day   1PL.EXCL.NOM   go-FUT
             '(The) next day we will go (again).'

(343)   *Kujarra*   *wiyiki*
             two   week
             Kumari-nya-karni.
             Kumari [Kumarina]-AREA-ALL
             'Two weeks to (the) Kumari area.'

(344)   *Nyangkala*   *nganarna*
             now   1PL.EXCL.NOM
             warlkanti ngayi-nyu   *Kumari-malu.*
             sitting INCH-PST   Kumari [Kumarina]-EX
             'Now we sat right at Kumari.' (I.e. 'Now we had arrived at Kumari.')

(345)   *Warrumurntu*   *nganarna*   *pana-nya*
             next.day   1PL.EXCL.NOM   3PL-ACC
             karri-Ø   *karlajangu*   *parta-karni*
             take-FUT   cattle   other-ALL
             ngurra-karni.
             camp-ALL
             '(The) next day we will take the cattle to another camp.'

(346)   *Warrumurntu*   *karri-Ø*   *nganarna*
        next.day   take-FUT   1PL.EXCL.NOM
        pana-nya   *ngurra-karni*
        3PL-ACC   camp-ALL
        Juriyiripa-karni.
        Juriyiripa [Three Rivers]-ALL[127]
        '(The) next day we will take them to Juriyiripa.'

(347)   *Nyayi-ngka*   *nganarna*
        DEM (proximate)-LOC   1PL.EXCL.NOM
        pana-nya   *kanyi-rnu*   *mapal*
        3PL-ACC   care.for-PST   sun
        kujarra.
        two
        'Here we cared for (i.e. looked after) them for two suns (i.e. two
        days).'

(348)   *Wula*   *punyja-rri-ya*   *mangkurtu.*
        water   drink-PRS-3PL   flowing.water
        'They are drinking flowing water.'

(349)   *Warrarn*   *nganarna-nga*
        country   1PL.EXCL-DAT
        panta-karni.Ø-yan   *Mikajarra.*
        close-ALL.INCH-PRS   Mikajarra [Meekatharra]
        '(The) Mikajarra country is getting close on us.' (I.e. 'We are
        approaching Mikajarra country.')

(350)   *Warrumurntu*   *nganarna*   *pana-nya*
        next.day   1PL.EXCL.NOM   3PL-ACC
        karri-Ø   *karlajangu*   *ngurra-karni*
        take-FUT   cattle   camp-ALL
        kurturtu-karni.
        partway-ALL
        '(The) next day we will take the cattle to a partway camp.'

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[127] The name Juriyiripa is the Ngarla version of the English Three Rivers.

(351)   *Palangka-nguru*   *karri-Ø*   *nganarna*
there-ABL   take-FUT   1PL.EXCL.NOM
pana-nya   *Puraya-karni*
3PL-ACC   Puraya [Briah]-ALL[128]
ngurra-karni.
camp-ALL
'From there we will take them to (the) Puraya camp.'

(352)   *Warrumurntu*   *nganarna*   *pana-nya*
next.day   1PL.EXCL.NOM   3PL-ACC
karri-Ø   *partanyal*   *wiyiki.*
take-FUT   one   week
'(The) next day we will take them (for) one week.' (I.e. 'The next
day we will set out with them for one week.')

(353)   *Nyangkala*   *nganarna*   *nyini-yan*
now   1PL.EXCL.NOM   stay-PRS
Pilyuwin-ngura.
Pilyuwin [Bilyuin]-LOC
'Now we are staying at Pilyuwin.'

(354)   *Warrumurntu*   *nganarna*   *yaa-nu*
next.day   1PL.EXCL.NOM   go-PST
ngurra-karni   *kurturtu-karni.*
camp-ALL   partway-ALL
'(The) next day we went to a camp partway.'

(355)   *Palangka-nguru*   *nganarna*   *pana-nya*
there-ABL   1PL.EXCL.NOM   3PL-ACC
karri-Ø   *karlajangu*   *ngurra-karni.*
take-FUT   cattle   camp-ALL
'From there we will take the cattle to (a) camp.'

(356)   *Warrumurntu*   *nganarna-nga*   *ngurra*
next.day   1PL.EXCL-DAT   camp
panta-karni.Ø-yan   *Jarawutu.*
close-ALL.INCH-PRS   Jarawutu [Sherwood][129]
'(The) next day (the) Jarawutu camp is getting close on us.' (I.e.
'(The) next day we are approaching (the) Jarawutu camp.')

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[128] The name Puraya is the Ngarla version of the English Briah.
[129] The name Jarawutu is the Ngarla version of the English Sherwood.

(357)   *Nyayi-ngka*   *nganarna*
      DEM (proximate)-LOC   1PL.EXCL.NOM
      pana-nya   *kanyi-n*   *purrku*
      3PL-ACC   care.for-FUT   three
      mapal.
      sun
      'Here we will care for (i.e. look after) them for three suns (i.e. three days).'

(358)   *Warrumurntu*   *nganarna*   *pana-nya*
      next.day   1PL.EXCL.NOM   3PL-ACC
      karri-Ø   *karlajangu*
      take-FUT   cattle
      turakinyaarta-karni   *Mikajarra-karni.*
      trucking.yard-ALL   Mikajarra [Meekatharra]-ALL
      '(The) next day we will take the cattle to (the) Mikajarra trucking yard.'

(359)   *Pirri-ngka*   *nganarna*   *pana-nya*
      afternoon-LOC   1PL.EXCL.NOM   3PL-ACC
      karlajangu   *turayin-ta*   *wanyja-n*
      cattle   train-LOC   put-FUT
      yana-yartara   *Karrkarra-karni.*
      go-*yartara*   Karrkarra [Perth]-ALL
      'In (the) afternoon we will put the cattle on the train, in order (for them) to go to Karrkarra.'

B.4   Text 4: We were playing with a dangerous thing (#)

Here, Brown is also relating an event experienced by himself.

(360)   *Yaa-nu*   *nganarna*
      go-PST   1PL.EXCL.NOM
      Mukurri-nya-nguru   *yurta-karni,*
      Mukurri [Tjalku Wara Community]-AREA-ABL   fish-ALL
      Mangkuruyayilan-karni.
      Mangkuruyayilan [Kangaroo Island]-ALL
      'We went from (the) Mukurri area to (the) fish (i.e. to go fishing), to Mangkuruyayilan.'

(361)   *Kurturtu-ngura*   *nganarna*   *paamu*
        partway-LOC   1PL.EXCL.NOM   bomb
        ngani+ma-rnu.
        see[+CAUS]-PST
        'Partway we saw (a) bomb.'

(362)   *Pilatayimu*   *warni ji-rnta-ya*
        fight.time   fall CAUS-REMPST-3PL
        kajungu-lu   *mangarrjarra-ngura-lu.*
        Japanese/Chinese-ERG   aeroplane-LOC-ERG
        '(In the) war time, (the) Japanese made (it) fall (i.e. dropped (it))
        with (i.e. from) a plane.'

(363)   *Warni ji-ntangu*   *nyini-yanta*   *mulya*   *kankara.*
        fall CAUS-REL.DS   stay-USI   nose   high.up
        'After having fallen (i.e. being dropped), (it) was staying (with its)
        nose upwards.'

(364)   *Mirta*   *payiny ngarri-marnta*   *paamu.*
        NEG   bang INCH-PSTCONTRA   bomb
        '(The) bomb didn't explode.'

(365)   *Nganarna*   *witi ja-yirnta*
        1PL.EXCL.NOM   games-CAUS-USI
        pakarli-nyjarri-lu.
        young.male-PL-ERG
        'We young men were playing (with it).'

(366)   *Nganu-nga-lu*   *kaja-ngku*
        1SG-GEN-ERG   older.brother-ERG
        maa-rnanguru   *pilyparr*
        get-RELPST.SS   unsuccessfully
        yirriny+ma-yirnta.
        lift[+CAUS]-USI
        'Having got hold (of it), my older brother was unsuccessfully
        lifting (it) (i.e. was trying and failing to lift it).'

(367)   *Mampul-pa*   *payiny ngarri-marnta,*
        truly-DOUBT   bang INCH-PSTCONTRA
        punga-nmarnta   *nganarna-nya*   *kutu.*
        hit-PSTCONTRA   1PL.EXCL-ACC   dead
        'Truly, had it exploded, it might have hit us dead (i.e. killed us).'

(368) *Palangka-nguru*   *nganarna*   *yaa-nu*
      there-ABL   1PL.EXCL.NOM   go-PST
      yurta-karni.
      fish-ALL
      'From there we went to (the) fish (i.e. went fishing).'

(369) *Mirta*   *nganarna*   *yurta*
      NEG   1PL.EXCL.NOM   fish
      maa-nmarnta.
      get-PSTCONTRA
      'We didn't get (any) fish.'

(370) *Karliny jayi-nyu*   *nganarna*   *para*
      returning INCH-PST   1PL.EXCL.NOM   3SG.DAT
      paamu-rra   *ngani+ma-lu.*
      bomb-DAT   see[+CAUS]-PURP
      'We returned in order to look at the bomb.'

(371) *Karliny-ju*   *nganarna*   *panala-la*
      returning-ERG   1PL.EXCL.NOM   3PL-LOC
      mirta   *juntu ma-nmarnta.*
      NEG   straight CAUS-PSTCONTRA
      'On returning, we didn't make (it) straight on them.' (I.e. 'When we returned we didn't tell anyone about it.')

(372) *Makurru*   *murri*   *nyini-nyu.*
      long.time   INTNS   stay-PST
      'A very long time (it) stayed (there).'

(373) *Mirta*   *ngani+ma-nmarnta-ya.*
      NEG   see[+CAUS]-PSTCONTRA-3PL
      'They didn't see it.'

(374) *Yarti*   *jinta-ku*   *murri*
      later   others-ERG   INTNS
      ngani+ma-rnu-ya   *paamu,*   *muwarr*
      see[+CAUS]-PST-3PL   bomb   word
      pana-nga   *nyaa-rnu-ya*   *yatilpa-rra.*
      3PL-DAT   send-PST-3PL   leader-DAT
      'Much later others saw (the) bomb, word they sent to the leaders (i.e. to the authorities).'

(375)   *Milpa-nyu-ya*   *yatilpa*   *para*
           come-PST-3PL   leader   3SG.DAT

           payiny   *jipa-lu.*
           bang   steer-PURP
           '(The) leaders (i.e. authorities) came in order to steer it (into) banging (i.e. to explode it).'

(376)   *Ngarturr+mayi-nyu*   *nganarna*
           unaware[+INCH]-PST   1PL.EXCL.NOM

           partamurri   *marlkarrimanu*
           INTNS   killer (?)
           'We were unaware (that it could have) killed (us).' [Translation uncertain.]

B.5   Text 5: The mouse and the kestrel had a fight (#)

This story relates an event experienced by Brown.

(377)   *Wirnti~wirnti*   *ngaja*
           nankeen kestrel (*falco cenchroides*)   1SG.ERG

           piya-nya   *ngani+ma-rnu*   *kujarra.*
           3DU-ACC   see[+CAUS]-PST   two
           'I saw the two kestrels.'

(378)   *Marra*   *yanangka-yan-pula*   *mantu*
           skywards   go-PRS-3DU   meat

           wajarri.Ø-Ø.
           searching.INCH-FUT
           '(The) meat (i.e. the birds) are going skywards (i.e. flying) searching.'

(379)   *Mampul*   *ngani+ma-rnu-pula*   *karlurtu.*
           truly   see[+CAUS]-PST-3DU   mouse (generic)
           'Truly they saw (a) mouse.'

(380)   *Parta*   *para*   *purlpi*   *kuntu~kuntu-yi-nyu*
           other   3SG.DAT   well   good-INCH-PST

           karra+ma-lyartara
           grab[+CAUS]-*lyartara*
           'Well, another (i.e. one of them) was careful in order to grab it.'

(381)   *Mampul*   *karra+ma-rnu*   *walykari-nguru.*
           true   grab[+CAUS]-PST   nape.of.neck-ABL
           'Truly (he) grabbed (it) from (i.e. by the) nape.'

(382)   *Parta-la*   *para*   *jipa-rnu*[130]   *warlu-rra,*
      other-INTNS   3SG.DAT   steer-PST   fright-DAT
      parta-la   *punga-nmayi-nyu-pula*   *makurru.*
      other-INTNS   hit-RECP-PST-3DU   long.time
      '(The) other one steered (i.e. drove) it into fright (i.e. into action),
      those two were fighting each other (for) a long time.' [Translation
      uncertain.]

(383)   *Parta-ngku*   *piya-nya*   *wirnti~wirnti-lu*
      other-ERG   3DU-ACC   nankeen kestrel-ERG
      wanyja-rnu,   *pila-ngka-kapu.*
      leave-PST   fight-LOC-SCE
      '(The) other kestrel left them because (they were) in (the) fight.'

(384)   *Mampul*   *palu*   *walykari*
      true   3SG.LOC   nape.of.neck
      karra+ma-ntangu   *wiiny ngayi-nyu.*
      grab[+CAUS]-REL.DS   free INCH-PST
      'Truly, while having been grabbed (by the) nape of the neck, (the
      mouse) got free on him.'

(385)   *Murnaju*   *palu*   *marni-nyu*   *purlpi*
      exchange   3SG.LOC   climb-PST   well
      junku-ka.
      back-LOC
      '(In) exchange, well (he) climbed onto its (i.e. the kestrel's) back.'

(386)   *Karlurtu-lu*   *murnaju*   *paji-yinyu,*
      mouse-ERG   exchange   bite-USI
      jangka ngayi-nyu   *palu*   *wartarra-ngura*   *murri.*
      fastened INCH-PST   3SG.LOC   shoulder-LOC   INTNS
      '(The) mouse, (in) exchange, was biting (the kestrel), (it) was
      tightly fastened to its shoulder (i.e. wing-muscle roots).'

(387)   *Mampul*   *murri*   *piyalu*   *pila-ngka*   *nyangkala.*
      true   INTNS   3DU.NOM   fight-LOC   now
      'Very truly, the two (are) in (the) fight now.'

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[130] This is a transitive verb, but the noun phrases in this sentence do not take the case marking
    expected in transitive clauses.

(388)   *Karlurtu*   *palu*   *jangka*   *nyini-yan*
         mouse   3SG.LOC   fastened   stay-PRS
         kurturtu-ngura   *murri*   *junku-ka.*
         middle-LOC   INTNS   back-LOC
         '(The) mouse is staying tightly fastened to (the) middle of its back.'

(389)   *Mampul*   *murri*   *piyalu*   *pila-ngka*
         true   INTNS   3DU.NOM   fight-LOC
         marti~marti-rri-yan-pula   *nganyja-ka.*
         rolling-INCH-PRS-3DU   sand-LOC
         'Very truly (those) two in (the) fight are rolling over and over in (the) sand.'

(390)   *Wirnti~wirnti*   *para*   *jilykari*   *murri,*
         nankeen kestrel   3SG.DAT   determined   INTNS
         mampul   *murri*   *yila*   *wungka.*
         true   INTNS   perhaps   hunger
         '(The) kestrel (was) very determined (to get) it, very truly (he) perhaps (had) hunger.'

(391)   *Wanyja-rnu*   *ngaja*   *piya-nya*
         leave-PST   1SG.ERG   3DU-ACC
         pirtu-karni-lu   *pila-ngka*   *kalya.*
         food.for.journey-ALL-ERG   fight-LOC   still
         '(When) I left them to go for food (in this context: lunch), (they were) in (the) fight still.'

(392)   *Karliny jayi-nyu*   *ngaya*   *pirtu-jarra,*[131]
         return INCH-PST   1SG.NOM   food.for.journey-DU(?)
         nyayi   *kalya*   *piyalu*   *pila-ngka.*
         DEM (proximate)   still   3DU.NOM   fight -LOC
         '(When) I returned from lunch, they (were) still in (the) fight here.'

(393)   *Nyayi-yingkal*   *ngaja*   *mirta*
         DEM (proximate)-ASSOC   1SG.ERG   NEG
         ngani+ma-nmarnta   *murlurnu*   *karlurtu.*
         see[+CAUS]-PSTCONTRA   previously   mouse
         'I have previously never seen a mouse like this (one).'

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[131] The ablative suffix could have been expected on *pirtu*. Instead, *-jarra* occurs here, the use of which is not understood in this context.

(394)   *Paja-jangu*   *murri.*
      dangerous-ASSOC   INTNS
      '(It's) very dangerous.'

(395)   *Nyayi*   *pila-ngka*   *nyini-yanu-pula*
      DEM (proximate)   fight-LOC   stay-CPST-3DU
      warrumurntu   *karrapirti.*
      morning   long.time
      'They have been here in (the) fight (since) morning, (for) a long time.'

(396)   *Ngananyakarra*   *kulpa-Ø-pula?*
      EPI (when)   break-FUT-3DU
      'When will they break (off)?'

(397)   *Purlpi*   *mapal*   *piyala-la*   *warni-yan*
      already   sun   3DU-DAT   fall-PRS
      pila-ngka-ngura   *kalya.*
      fight-LOC-LOC   still
      'Already (the) sun is falling on them (and they are) still in (the) fight.'

(398)   *Purlpi*   *wirnti~wirnti*   *manyjarl ngarri-yan.*
      already   nankeen kestrel   tired-INCH-PRS
      'Already (the) kestrel is becoming tired.'

(399)   *Karlurtu-lu*   *purlpi*   *pakurta ja-rri.*
      mouse-ERG   already   bad CAUS-PRS
      '(The) mouse is already making (it) bad (i.e. tired).'

(400)   *Kari ngayi-nyu*   *ngaya*   *piya-nga.*
      sympathetic INCH-PST   1SG.NOM   3DU-DAT
      'I felt sympathy for them.'

(401)   *Wanta-lu.*
      separate-PURP
      '(I) intended to separate (them).'

(402)   *Nyayi*   *piyalu*   *wirnti~wirnti*
      DEM (proximate)   3DU.NOM   nankeen kestrel
      ngalangka-jirri,   *ngurrara.*
      hereabouts-DWELLER   local.inhabitant
      'These two kestrels dwell hereabouts, (they are) local inhabitants.'

(403)   *Nyayi*   *martarra*   *wirnti~wirnti*
        DEM (proximate)   wounded   nankeen kestrel

        ngaja   *wanyja-rnu*   *kankara*   *warnta-ka*
        1SG.ERG   leave-PST   high.up   tree-LOC

        mila+ngarri-kura.
        convalesce[+INCH]-PURP

        'This wounded kestrel I left high up (a) tree in order to convalesce.'

(404)   *Nyini-nyu*   *kujarra*   *mapal*   *warnta-ka.*
        stay-PST   two   sun   tree-LOC

        '(It) stayed two suns (i.e. days) in (the) tree.'

(405)   *Yarti*   *ngaya*   *para*   *wajayi.Ø-nyu,*
        later   1SG.NOM   3SG.DAT   searching.INCH-PST

        ngurra   *ngani+ma-rnu*[132]   *ngaja*   *para.*
        NEG   see[+CAUS]-PST   1SG.ERG   3SG.DAT

        'Later I searched for it, (but) I did not see it.'

(406)   *Yaa-nu*   *yila*   *ngarrarti.*
        go-PST   perhaps   very.long.time

        'Perhaps (it) went (for a) long time (i.e. for good).'

(407)   *Palangka-nguru*   *ngaya*   *yaa-nu*
        there-ABL   1SG.NOM   go-PST

        wajarri.Ø-kura   *para*   *karlurtu-rra.*
        searching.INCH-PURP   3SG.DAT   mouse-DAT

        'From there I went in order to search for the mouse.'

(408)   *Palura*   *ngajapa*   *murti ngayi-nyu*
        3SG.NOM   1SG.LOC   run INCH-PST

        parnu-nga-karni   *pirli-karni,*   *jarrpi-nyu*   *palangka.*
        3SG-GEN-ALL   hole-ALL   enter-PST   there

        'He ran to his hole on me, (and) entered there.'

(409)   *Purlpi*   *ngaja*   *wanyja-rnu*   *paja-jangu-mpuli.*
        well   1SG.ERG   leave-PST   dangerous-ASSOC-INCAUS

        'Well, I left (it) because (it was) (a) dangerous (one).'

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[132] Note the use of the past category on *ngani+ma-L*, where the past contrafactual might have
been expected.

B.6   Text 6: Purslane (#)[133]

This is a mythological story.

(410)   *Nyayi*   *nganarna-la*   *muwarr*
    DEM (proximate)   1PL.EXCL-LOC   word
    juntu ma-yirnta-ya   *nganarna-nga-lu*
    straight CAUS-USI-3PL   1PL.EXCL-DAT-ERG
    mirtanya   mirtawari-nyjarri-lu.
    old.man   old.woman-PL-ERG
    'This word our old men (and) women used to make straight on us.'
    (I.e. 'Our old men and women used to tell us this story.')

(411)   *Parta   ngarta   wungka-purta*   *murri*
    other   man   hunger-ASSOC   INTNS
    yanangka-yanta   ngurra-partu-karni.
    go-USI   camp-SEQ-ALL
    'Another (i.e. one) very hungry man used to go from one camp to
    another.'

(412)   *Mayi-rra*   *jaaya ma-rnanyuru*
    food-DAT   mouth CAUS-RELPRS.SS
    yanangka-yanta   pana-nga   parta-rra   ngarta-rra.
    go-USI   3PL-DAT   other-DAT   man-DAT
    'Hungry for food, (he) used to go to the other men.'

(413)   *Wangka   punga-rnu-ya*   *para*
    speech   hit-PST-3PL   3SG.DAT
    pala-rra   *ngarta-rra,*
    DEM (mid)-DAT   man-DAT
    'They hit speech (i.e.decided) (regarding) that man, (saying)'

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[133] The purslane (*portulaca oleracea*) is a species of succulent plant that is common in the Pilbara. It used to be a regular food-source among Aboriginal people (Brown & Geytenbeek 2006).

(414)   *'Nyayi*   *ngarta*   *wungka-murri-jangu*[134]
      DEM (proximate)   man   hunger-INTNS-ASSOC

      kumarri ma-lu   *nganyjarra*   *para*
      stingy CAUS-PURP   1PL.INCL.NOM   3SG.DAT

      nyayi-rra   *ngarta-rra.* '
      DEM (proximate)-DAT   man-DAT

      ''This very hungry man, we intend to withhold this man (from it; presumably food).''

(415)   *Kumarri ma-ntangu*   *palura*   *yaa-nu*
      stingy CAUS-REL.DS   3SG.NOM   go-PST

      yurntiri.
      offended

      'Being withheld (from it), he went (i.e. left) offended.'

(416)   *Wajayi.Ø-nyu*   *para*
      searching.INCH-PST   3SG.DAT

      pala-rra   *patalyi-rra*
      DEM (mid)-DAT   vegetation-DAT

      kulpurru-rra.
      purslane (*portulaca oleracea*)-DAT

      ' (He) searched for that vegetation, purslane.'

(417)   *Pala*   *nganarna-nga*   *patalyi*
      DEM (mid)   1PL.EXCL-DAT   vegetation

      paji-lpunyjarri.
      eat-INSNOM

      'That vegetation for us (became) food.'

(418)   *Pala-kapu*   *patalyi*   *nganarna*
      DEM (mid)-SCE   vegetation   1PL.EXCL.NOM

      kartu~kartu ma-yirnta   *jijirr.*
      big CAUS-USI   seed (generic)

      'Because of that, we used to cause (the) vegetation seed to be big (i.e. caused the vegetation seed to grow).'

---

[134] *Murri* is a particle, and as such, supposedly does not take any inflections. This is the only known exception; cf. sections 3.1 and 5.2 above.

(419)   *Jijirr   nganarna   jurrka-yirnta*
         seed   1PL.EXCL.NOM   rub-USI
         majarra-ngura   paji-lyartara-lu.
         millstone-LOC   eat-*lyartara*-ERG
         '(The) seed(s) we used to rub on millstone(s) in order to eat
         (them).'

(420)   *Pala   ngarta   yarti*
         DEM (mid)   man   later
         karliny jayi-nyu   nganarna-nga
         return INCH-PST   1PL.EXCL-DAT
         kumarri ma-rnanguru-rra
         stingy CAUS-RELPST.SS-DAT
         mara-kapu-karta   kulpurru-karta,
         hand-SCE-COM   purslane-COM
         wangka kayi-nyu   nganarna-nga,
         speech INCH-PST   1PL.EXCL-DAT
         'That man that was withheld later returned for us with purslane
         from (i.e. in) (the) hand, (and) said to us,' [Translation uncertain]

(421)   *'Nyurra   ngarta   kumarri ma-rnu*
         2PL.NOM   man   stingy CAUS-PST
         nyurra   nganya   mayi-ngka.
         2PL.NOM   1SG.ACC   vegetable.food-LOC
         ''You people, you withheld me from (the) food.'

(422)   *Nyayi   ngaja   warni ji-rri*
         DEM (proximate)   1SG.ERG   fall CAUS-PRS
         pinurru-ngura   kulpurru.'
         fire-LOC   purslane
         'This purslane I make fall (i.e. throw) in (the) fire.''

(423)   *Nyayi   muwarr   murlurnu-kapu   murri*
         DEM (proximate) word   long.ago-SCE   INTNS
         manguny-kapu   juntu ma-ntangu
         manguny (Dreamtime.being)-SCE   straight CAUS-REL.DS
         muwarr.
         word
         'This word, very long ago (the) word was made straight (i.e. told) by
         a manguny-being.'

(424) *Pala-ngku*   *ngarta-ngku*
DEM (mid)-ERG   man-ERG

kumarri ma-ntangu-lu   *kulpurru*
stingy CAUS-REL.DS-ERG   purslane

warni ji-rnta   *pinurru-ngura.*
fall CAUS-REMPST   fire-LOC
'That man that (we) withheld (long ago) made purslane fall in (the) fire (i.e. threw purslane in (the) fire).'

(425) *Wujapali*   *marrungu*
all.together   man

murru+ngayi-rnta-ya   *Kutu~kutu-malu.*
escape[+INCH]-REMPST-3PL   Kutu~kutu-EX
'All men escaped exactly at Kutu~kutu.' [Translation uncertain.]

(426) *Pala-kapu*   *nyangkala*   *nganarna*
DEM (mid)-SCE   now   1PL.EXCL.NOM

mirta   *kulpurru-rra*   *pakurta ja-lu,*
NEG   purslane-DAT   bad CAUS-PURP

kuntu ma-rri   *murri*   *nganarna.*
good CAUS-PRS   INTNS   1PL.EXCL.NOM
'Because of that, we now don't intend to make purslane bad, we make it very good.' (I.e. 'Because of that, we now don't intend to treat purslane poorly, we treat it very well.')

B.7   Text 7: Let's go fishing, boy! (#)

(427) *Warrumurntu*   *ngaliya*   *yaa-nu*
next.day   1DU.EXCL.NOM   go-PST

Yirramakartu-karni   *mapal-ta*
Yirramakartu [Roebourne]-ALL   sun-LOC

warni-nyjangura.
fall-REL.DS.LOC
'One day the two of us went to Yirramakartu as (the) sun was falling (i.e. setting).'

(428) *Ngaliya*   *warlkanti ngayi-nyu.*
1DU.EXCL.NOM   sitting INCH-PST
'We sat.'

(429)   *Purlpi   ngaliya   yanangka-yan   jarurrukarti*
        well   1DU.EXCL.NOM   go-PRS   twilight

        murri,   ngurra   ngaliya
        INTNS   camp   1DU.INCL.NOM

        yarni+ma-rnu   warru~warru-ngura   murri.
        make[+CAUS]-PST   twilight (almost dark)-LOC   INTNS

        'Well, we are going (until) deep twilight, we made camp (when it)
        was almost dark.'

(430)   *'Pinurru   ngali-nga   kartu~kartu ma-n,*
        fire   1DU.INCL-DAT   big CAUS-FUT

        purlparl   ngaya   kama-lu
        food (generic)   1SG.NOM   cook-PURP

        ngali-nga   paji-lwanti.'
        1DU.INCL-DAT   eat-NMLZ[135]

        ''Make (the) big fire for us, food for eating I intend to cook for us.''

(431)   *'Purlpi   paji-n-jarra.'*
        well   eat-FUT-1DU
        'Well, let us eat.'

(432)   *'Wayirru   nyinta   paji-rnu   ngungku,   nganu-nga*
        Q   2SG.ERG   eat-PST   appropriate   1SG-GEN

        warrku?'
        nephew
        ''Did you eat (an) appropriate (amount; i.e. enough), my nephew?''

(433)   *'Wayirru   kujungurru   ngajapa*
        Q   ocean   1SG.LOC

        wanyaparri ma-n   kaniyingu?'
        awareness CAUS-FUT   incoming.tide
        ''Can (you) listen to (the) incoming tide on me?'' [Translation
        uncertain.]

(434)   *'Ngurra   kalya.   Wirlarra   nyini-yan   kankara*
        NEG   still   moon   stay-PRS   high.up

        kalya.'
        still
        ''Still nothing. (The) moon is still staying high up.''

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[135] As has been pointed out earlier, *-(l)wanti* is a nominalising suffix that creates a modifier to
   an NP head. Case marking (or lack thereof) indicates which noun phrase the *–(l)wanti*
   marked constituent belongs to.

(435)   *'Wataku,*   *para*   *wurta+ma-n-jarra*
        unimportant   3SG.DAT   wait[+CAUS]-FUT-1DU
        wangka-ka,   *kurntakarra.'*
        speech-LOC   COMBINATION KIN TERM[136]
        ''(It's) unimportant, let us wait fot ir in talk, nephew.''

(436)   *'Purlpi   ngunyi*   *wirlarra*   *warni-yan.*
        well   DEM (distant)   moon   fall-PRS
        ''Well, that moon is falling (i.e. setting).'

(437)   *Ngani+ma-n,*   *purlpi*   *kujungurru*
        see[+CAUS]-FUT   well   ocean
        mulya-mulya+rri-yan.'
        come.in (of tide)[+INCH]-PRS
        'Look, well, the sea is already coming in.''

(438)   *'Purlpi   pana-nga*   *ya-ku-jarra*
        well   3PL.DAT   go-HORT-1DU
        palarr ma-lu   *yurta-rra*   *kartu-nyjarri-rra!'*
        secure CAUS-PURP   fish-DAT   big-PL-DAT
        ''Well, let us go in order topull in the big fish!'

(439)   *''Wayirru   warrku,   paji-rri-ya*   *nyinu*
        Q   nephew   bite-PRS-3PL   2SG.DAT
        jakalka?''
        hook
        ''Nephew, are they biting your hook?''

(440)   *'Ngurrapirli,*   *karna.*   *Mirta*
        NEG   mother's.brother   NEG
        yila   panalu   *wungka*
        perhaps   3PL.NOM   hunger
        nyayi   *yurta.*
        DEM (proximate)   fish
        ''No, uncle. Perhaps these fish (are) not hungry.'

(441)   *Purlpi   ngaya   nyintapa   wungka-rri-yan.'*
        well   1SG.NOM   2SG.LOC   hunger-INCH-PRS
        'Well, I'm getting hungry on you.''

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[136] Used by a person to or about his/her spouse and a daughter or son.

(442)   *'Kapu   purlpi   wanyja-n-jarra*   *jakurra.*
         come   well   put-FUT-1DU   net
         ''Well, come, let us put (in the) net.''

(443)   *Karri-Ø   nyinta   ngarntaku-karni.*
         take-FUT   2SG.ERG   other.side-ALL
         'You take (it) to (the) other side!'

(444)   *Wataku   nyina   paji-rnamarta-ya*
         unimportant   2SG.ACC   bite-ANT-3PL
         yirrajarnangka-lu.
         shark (generic)-ERG
         '(It's) unimportant (that/if the) sharks have to bite you.'
         [Translation uncertain.]

(445)   *Ngarlpu   panala-la   karliny jarri-Ø*
         haste   3PL-DAT   returning INCH-FUT
         paji-lkatangka-ngura!
         bite-AVERS-LOC
         'Return quickly for fear of the biters!'

(446)   *Yirrajarnangka   panalu   palakarni   wungka,*
         shark (generic)   3PL.NOM   DEM (mid)   hunger
         marangu   nyina   paji-n-pi-ya.
         perhaps   2SG.ACC   bite-FUT-EP-3PL
         'Those sharks (have) hunger, perhaps they will bite you.'

(447)   *Wungka   kalya.'*
         hunger   continuing.in.state.or.process
         '(They) always (have) hunger.''

(448)   *'Purlpi   wataku   wurta+ma-n-jarra*
         well   unimportant   wait[+CAUS]-FUT-1DU
         pana-nga   yurta-rra   jangka ngarri-yartara-rra.'
         3PL-DAT   fish-DAT   fastened INCH-*yartara*-DAT
         ''Well, (it's) unimportant, let us wait for the fish(es) to become
         entangled.''

(449)   *Mampul   ngaliya   pana-nya   maa-rnu.*
         truly   1DU.INCL.NOM   3PL-ACC   get-PST
         'Truly we got them.'

(450) *Purrku-marta*   *yurta*   *kartu-nyjarri.*
       three-PL   fish   big-PL
       'A bunch of big fish.'

(451) *Wataku*   *ngaliya*   *wanyja-rnu*
       unimportant   1DU.INCH.NOM   put-PST
       wungka-kapu-lu   *parru~parru.*
       hunger-SCE-ERG   net
       '(It's) unimportant (that) we put (out the) net because of hunger.'

B.8   Text 8: Yukurru Wangka ('Dog Talk')

This fictitious story, told by Brown, was published in 1999. It was written down by Cooke, a younger relative. Cooke had no linguistic training, and spelling and word breaks in this story are partly different from those occurring in texts/elicited sentences written down by myself, Deak, Dench and Geytenbeek. It was my intention to go through this story with Brown, in order to check all the sentences. However, Brown died right before this could take place. My own interpretations of how the sentences should be parsed and glossed, as well as my own translations, are given below. The sentences and direct English translations, as they appear in Brown & Cooke, are given in footnotes.

(452) *Nyayi-ngku-jarra*   *kurlkarri+ma-rri-pula*
       DEM (proximate)-ERG-DU   think[+CAUS]-PRS-3DU

       mantu.
       meat
       'These two are thinking about meat.'[137]

(453) *Malya-ngku*   *kurlkarri+ma-rri*   *yukurru*
       father-ERG   think[+CAUS]-PRS   dog
       para   *yanga-lyartara*
       3SG.DAT   chase-*lyartara*
       mangkuru-rra.
       kangaroo-DAT
       '(The) father is thinking about (the) dog, (about) having (it) chase the kangaroo.'[138]

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[137] *Nyayingku jarra kurlkarrimarripula mantu.* 'The two of them are thinking about meat.'
[138] *Malyaku kurlkarri marri yukurrupara yangal yarta mangku.* 'Dad is thinking about getting the dog to chase the kangaroo.'

(454)   *Yukurru*   *yaa-nu*   *malyarnu*   *jakarn*
         dog   go-PST   slow   with.care
         para   *mangkuru-rra.*
         3SG.DAT   kangaroo-DAT
         '(The) dog went slowly (and) carefully for (i.e. towards) the
         kangaroo.'[139]

(455)   *Jilya-ngku*   *ngani+ma-rnu*   *mangkuru*
         child-ERG   see[+CAUS]-PST   kangaroo
         nyini-nyjangu   *yirrpi-ngka.*
         sit-REL.DS   shade-LOC
         '(The) child saw (the) kangaroo sitting in the shade.'[140]

(456)   *Yukurru*   *yanangka-yan*
         dog   go-PRS
         parlkarra-ngura.
         plain-LOC
         '(The) dog is walking on (the) plain.'[141]

(457)   *Mangkuru*   *palu*   *nyini-yan*   *watapirti*
         kangaroo   3SG.LOC   sit-PRS   unaware
         yukurru-ngura.
         dog-LOC
         '(The) kangaroo is sitting, (being) unaware on (i.e. of) the dog.'[142]

(458)   *Yukurru-lu*   *yirtiwarra*   *yirtiwarra*   *mangkuru*
         dog-ERG   fast.pursuit   fast.pursuit   kangaroo
         murti ngarri-yan.
         run INCH-PRS
         '(The) dog is chasing the kangaroo, rapidly, rapidly.'[143]

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[139] *Yukurru yanu malyarnu jakarn para mangkururra.* 'The dog is slowly creeping to the
kangaroo.'

[140] *Jilyangku nganimarnu mangkuru nyininy jangu yirrpingka.* 'The boy saw the kangaroo
sitting in the shade.'

[141] *Yukurru yanangkayan parlkarrangura.* 'The dog is walking fast on the flat.'

[142] *Mangkuru palu nyiniyan watapirti yukurrungura.* 'The kangaroo is sitting not seeing the
dog.'

[143] *Yukurrulu yirtiwarra yirtiwarra mangkuru murtingangarriyan.* 'Then the dog starts chasing
the kangaroo, running running so fast.'

(459)   *Yukurru-lu*   *kutu ja-rnu*   *mangkuru.*
        dog-ERG   dead CAUS-PRS   kangaroo

        Malya   piyalu   jilya   ngurru.
        father   3DU.NOM   child   happiness

        '(The) dog killed (the) kangaroo. (The) father and (the) child (are) happy.'[144]

(460)   *Yukurru-lu*   *punyja-rri   wula.*
        dog-ERG   drink-PRS   water

        '(The) dog is drinking water.'[145]

(461)   *Yukurru*   *kupalya   kankarni*
        dog   sleep   on.top.of

        yirrpi-ngka.
        shade-LOC

        '(The) dog (is) asleep on top of (i.e. in) (the) shade.'[146]

(462)   *Nyayi-ngku-jarra*   *kama-rri-pula*
        DEM (proximate)-ERG-DU   cook-PRS-3DU

        wirnu-ngka   *pinurru-ngura*   *mangkuru.*
        hot-LOC   fire-LOC   kangaroo

        'These two are cooking (the) kangaroo on the hot fire.'[147]

(463)   *Malya   piyalu*   *jilya*
        father   3DU.NOM   child

        paji-rnu-pula   *paji-rnu-pula*
        eat-PST-3DU   eat-PST-3DU

        paji-rnu-pula,   *ngarlu   winya   murri.*
        eat-PST-3DU   stomach   full   INTNS

        '(The) father and (the) child ate (and) ate (and) ate (until their) stomachs (were) full.'[148]

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[144] *Yukurrulu kutujarnu mangkuru malya piyalu jilyangurru.* 'The dog killed the kangaroo. The father and the boy are happy.'

[145] *Yukurru punyjarri wula.* 'The dog is drinking the water.'

[146] *Yukurru kupalya kanarni yirrpi.* 'The dog is sleeping underneath the shade.'

[147] *Nyayingku jarra kamarripula wirnungka pirnurrungura mangkuru.* 'Those two cooked the kangaroo on the hot fire.'

[148] *Malya piyalu jilya pajirnupula pajirnupula pajirnupula, ngarluwinya murri.* 'The father and the boy ate, ate and ate till their stomachs was full.'

Appendix C: Lexicon

Included in this lexicon are all Ngarla lexemes occuring in the linguistic examples, as well as those mentioned in tables and footnotes. Clitics are included, but not suffixes. Nominals are given in the absolutive or, in the case of pronouns, nominative forms. Information about verbal conjugation (Ø or L) is included with all relevant verb stems. Since the citation form of the verb should not be interpreted as an infinitive, the 'to' of English infinitives has not been included in the sense field.

Ngarla lexeme	Sense
J	
jaa-L	'chop'
jaarla	1. 'nankeen night heron' (*nycticorax caledonicus*); 2. 'heron' (generic)
jaaya	'mouth'
jaaya ma-L	'be/become/make hungry' (?)
jajukarra	'distant'
jakakurrpu	'species of grass (with edible grains)'
jakalka	'hook (for fishing)'
jakarn	'with care'
jakurra	'fishing net'
jali	'ride'
jalpi-Ø	'converse'
jangka	'fastened'
jangka ja-L	'fasten'
jangka ngarri-Ø	'become fastened'
jankan	'trembly'
jankan~jankan-ma-L	'shake'
jankan karri-Ø	'tremble', 'shiver'
jankurna	'emu' (*dromaius novaehollandiae*)
jantiti	'fence'
jantu	'weapon'
japa-L	'bury', 'cover'
japartamu	'shepherder'
japartamu ja-L	'shepherd'
jarla	'cheek'
jarnamani	'back to back'
jarnti	'erect', 'upright'

Ngarla lexeme	Sense
jarnti ja-L	'erect'
jarnti karri-Ø	'be vertical'
jarnti ngarri-Ø	'become vertical'
jarnti nyi-L	'erect' (i.e. 'make vertical')
jarntu	'friendly'
jarrari	'light'
jarrpi-Ø	'enter'
jarrumirnti	'joint'
jarrurn	'man'
jartun	'jump', 'leap'
jartun ngarri-Ø	'leap'
jarun+tarri-Ø	'roll from side to side'
jarurrany	'move easily'
jarurrukarti	'twilight'
jauja	'trousers'
jijirr	'seed'
jilya	'child'
jilykari	'determined'
jimpayi	'hidden'
jimpayi ngarri-Ø	'hide'
jimpayi pi-ra-Ø	'hide' (see chapter 4)
jimpulyu	'little grebe' (*tachybaptus novaehollandiae*)
jina	'foot', 'foot print'
jina ma-L	'follow'
jinangu	'on foot'
jinga-L	'hit fast'
jinka-L	'trim', 'whittle'
jinta	'some', 'others'
jinta pi-L	'split', 'separate'
jinyji	1. 'fat'; 2. 'stages'
jinyji~jinyji	'alternating'
jipa-L	'steer'
jipal	'increase'
jipal pi-L	'do increase'
jirli	'arm'
jirtamarra	'eye'
juka	'trick', 'lie'
juka ma-L	'trick', 'lie'
jukarinya	'orphan'
jukurta	'fruit', 'sweet'

Ngarla lexeme	Sense
julya ja-L	'bury'
jumpa-L	'mistrust'
jungka	'strand of spun hair'
jungka.Ø-L	'spin'
junku	'back'
juntu	'straight'
juntu ma-L	'tell' (lit. 'make straight')
jurni	'laughter'
jurni jarri-Ø	'make laugh'
jurni karri-Ø	'laugh'
jurni nya-L	'laugh at'
jurnti	1. 'cave', 'gaol', 'room'; 2. 'curve'; 3. 'billabong'
jurnti.Ø-L	'scoop/dig out' (i.e. 'make cave(like)')
jurnti ja-L	'make (a) cave'
jurnti ngarri-Ø	'become (a) deeper cave' (?)
jurnti-rri-Ø	'become (a) deeper cave' (?)
jurrka-L	'rub'
jurru	'snake' (generic)
jurru~jurru+pinya-L	'roll (on the ground)'
jurtapirri	'wind'
jurtinti-Ø	'recede'

K

kaayi	'song' (specifically the song that begins the performances on a song and dance- night)
kaja	'older brother'
kaju-L	'tie'
kajungu	'Chinese/Japanese (person)'
kaka+pinya-L	'tear (in halves)', 'open up'
kalya	'still', 'remain in state or process'
kalyarra	combination kin term (used by a person about his/her sister's son and his son)
kalyartu	'totem animal'
kalyu	'shout'
kalyu-rni-L	'shout'
kama-L	'cook', 'burn'

Ngarla lexeme	Sense
kamparra	'small'
kana~kana ma-L	'scan'
kanarni	'inside', 'underneath'
kangkarr	'tear'
kangkarr pi-L	'tear'
kanimparra	'downwards', 'north'
kaniyingu	'incoming tide'
kankara	'high up'
kankarni	'on top (of)'
kanta	'small gap'
kanyi-L	'care for', 'be responsible for'; 'tread on'
kapu	'come!' (see footnote 92)
kapukarri	'dream'
kapukarri ma-L	'dream'
kapukarri nya-L	'dream'
kapurn	'skin'
kari	'sympathetic'
kari ngarri-Ø	'feel sympathy'
karla	'diahorrea'
karlajangu	'cattle' (lit. 'diahorrea-having')
karlakarri	'guffaw', 'hearty laugh', 'noise'
karlakarri.Ø-Ø	'laugh loudly/heartily'; 'make noise'
karlangkal	'first'
karliny	'returning'
karliny jarri-Ø	'return'
karliny ma-L	'bring back'
karl~karl	'gargle'
karl~karl ja-L	'gargle'
karlupurra	'generic source'
karlurtu	'mouse' (generic)
karna	'mother's brother'
karntirni-L	'bite'
karntu~karntu	'itch'
karra+ma-L	'grab'
karrapirti	'long time'
karri-	'carry', 'take', 'bring' (irregular verb)
karrumpu	'coin'

Ngarla lexeme	Sense
kartapalkuranya	'middle child'
karti	'lap'
karti ku-L	'put in lap'
kartu	'big'
kartu~kartu	'big'
kartu~kartu ma-L	'make big'
kartuwarra	'rescuer'
kartuwarra ma-L	'rescue'
karu~karu	'nausea'
karu~karu ngarri-Ø	'feel nausea'
karu~karu-rri-Ø	'feel nausea'
katu	'kind'
katu ja-L	'be kind'
kayi	'lip'
kayirr~kayirr ma-L	'make grating noise'
kiru	'crow' (*corvus bennetti*)
kujarra	'two'
kujungurru	'ocean'
kukurnjayi	'sheep'
kula	'wait' (interjection)
kulpa-Ø	'break'
kulpurru	'purslane' (*portulaca oleracea*)
kulyu	'many'
kumarri	'mean', 'stingy', 'tight-fisted'
kumarri.Ø-Ø	'be stingy', 'withhold'
kumarri ma-L	'withhold (from)'
kumpu	'urine'
kumpu ji-L	'urinate'
kumpungu	'married'
kumpungu ngarri-Ø	'get married'
kunaran	1. 'winter'; 2. 'year'
kunti+ma-L	'choke'
kuntu	'good'
kuntu~kuntu	'good', 'careful'
kuntu~kuntu ma-L	'treat well'
kuntu~kuntu-rri-Ø	'be careful'
kunu	'hibernation'
kunu ngarri-Ø	'hibernate'
kunyi	'oven'
kunyi ku-L	'put in oven'

Ngarla lexeme	Sense
kunyja~kunyja	'cheerful'
kunyjarta	'woman'
kunyjaru	'bone'
kunyji~kunyji	'sneaking up', 'stalking'
kunyji~kunyji-rri-Ø	'sneak up'
kupa-L	'singe'
kupalya	'sleep'
kupan	'lawn'
kura+pi-L	'pretend not to see/know'
kurlirlira+karri-Ø	'circle'
kurlkarri+ma-L	'think'
kurlku	'cropped close'
kurlku ja-L	'shear (sheep)'
kurlurlu	'dust'
kurni-L	'throw'
kurnkuwarra	'honey'
kurnta	'shame'
kurntakarra	combination kin term (used by a person about his/her spouse and a daughter or son)
kurnta-rri-Ø	'feel ashamed'
kurnu	'curled up'
kurnu ngarri-Ø	'curl up'
kurri	'teenage girl'
kurrngal	'many'
kurrpa-L	'cause trouble'
kurrpu	'heavy'
kurti-L	'cut'
kurturtu	'partway', 'middle'
kuru+ma-L	'gather'
kutu	'dead'
kutu ja-L	'kill'
kutu ngarri-Ø	'die'
kuu	'ssh' (interjection)
kuurturtu	'bar-shouldered dove' (*geopelia humeralis*)

<u>L</u>

-la	intensifying clitic
lamu	'lamb'

Ngarla lexeme	Sense
lilyirr	'rattling noise'
lilyirr~lilyirr	'rattling noise'
lilyirr~lilyirr pi-ra-Ø	'rattle periodically' (see chapter 4)
lirrjal	'greedy'
lungkurtu	'centralian blue-tongued skink' (*threskiornis spinicollis*)

M

maa-L	'get'
maarli	reciprocal kin term (used in the senses 'father's father', 'son's son' and 'son's daughter)
maarn+tarri-Ø	'float'
maarr+pinya-L	'stroke'
maarti	'white dragon tree' (*sesbania formosa*)
majarra	'(lower) millstone'
makanu	'tall'
makurru	'long time'
mala~mala	'nauseated'
mala~mala-rri-Ø	'feel nauseated'
malya	'father'
malyarnu	'slow'
malyi~malyi	'wind'
malyi~malyi ja-L	'make windy'
mampul	'truly'
manara	'completer of something significant'
mangarrjarra	'aeroplane'
mangkurtu	'flood', 'flowing water'
mangkuru	'kangaroo'
manguny	'(type of) Dreamtime being'
mangura	'something to chew on'
mankura	'stone'
mantu	'meat'
manyjarl	'tired'
manyjarl ngarri-Ø	'become tired'
mapal	'sun'
mapan+tarri-Ø	'sparkle'
mara	'hand'

Ngarla lexeme	Sense
mara ku-L	'put in hand' (i.e. 'pick up')
marangu	'perhaps'
marany	'river'
marlajangu	'bull' (lit. 'ball(s)-having')
marli	'frog' (generic)
marlkarrimanu	'killer'
marlungu	'maggot'
marni-Ø	'climb'
marra	'skywards'
marra~marra	'very high'
marrani-L	'make disturbing noise'
marrka+marri-Ø	'gather'
marrkara	'younger sibling'
marrungu	'man'
marta	'mud'
martarra	'wounded'
marti	'vertical headband'
marti~marti	'rolling'
marti~marti ngarri-Ø	'start to roll'
marti~marti-rri-Ø	'roll'
martumurri	'food'
maruntu	'Gould's goanna' (1. *varanus gouldi*; 2. *varanus panoptes*)
maturarri	'vomit'
maturarri.Ø-Ø	'vomit'
maya	'house'
mayangkarrangu	'forceful'
mayi	'vegetable food'
mayilturaka	'mail truck'
mija-L	'touch'
mila+ngarri-Ø	'convalesce'
milpa-Ø	'come'
mintu ja-L	'wake up'
minyja	'closed'
minyja ngarri-Ø	'close'
minyji+ma-L	'steal'
miranu	'knowledge'
miranu ngarri-Ø	'acquire knowledge'
mirli~mirli	'paper'
mirlka	'head'

Ngarla lexeme	Sense
mirnmanya	'baby'
mirntily marri-Ø	'rattle by itself'
mirta	1. 'no', 'not'; 2. 'grey'
mirtanya	'old man'
mirtarri	'whitish'
mirtarri-Ø	'change colour'
mujurarri	'cloudy'
mujurarri.Ø-Ø	'become cloudy'
mukuru	'spotted scat' (*scatophagus argus*)
mulya	'nose'
mulya~mulya	'incoming tide'
mulya~mulya-rri-Ø	'come in' (about tide)
mulyi	'deep'
mulyi~mulyi	'spinning'
mulyi~mulyi-rri-Ø	'spin'
mungu	'alone'
mungun	'scavenger'
mungun ji-L	'scavenge'
munti-L	'remove'
munyju-L	'swallow'
murirri	'hot sand'
murlka-L	'gather'
murlurnu	'previously', 'long ago'
murnaju	'exchange'
murntu	'also', 'too'
murri	intensifier
murri+ngarri-Ø	'escape' (?)
murrkangu(nya)	'firstborn (child)'
murru	'stone'
murti	'run'
murti ngarri-Ø	'run'
mutu	'small boy'
muukuru	'unmarried girl'
muurr~muurr	'crunchy noise'
muwarr	'word'

N

ngaju	'cry'
ngaju karri-Ø	'cry'
ngaju ngarri-Ø	'start to cry'

Ngarla lexeme	Sense
ngaka-L	'prevent'; 'obstruct'
ngalangka	'hereabouts'
ngali	1 dual inclusive pronoun
ngaliya	1 dual exclusive pronoun
ngalya	'song' (generic)
nganakapu	'who (polite)'
ngananya	'what'
ngananya ja-L	'do what'
ngananyakapu	'why'
ngananyakarra	'when'
ngananyawanti	'what for'
nganarna	1 plural exclusive pronoun
ngani+ma-L	'see'
nganta+rri-Ø	'cave in'
ngantu	'who'
nganyja	'sand'
nganyjarra	1 plural inclusive pronoun
ngapa+rri-Ø	'do something in/with water'
ngapurta	'melon'
ngarla	'Ngarla' (specifically the language)
ngarlpu	'haste'
ngarlu	'stomach'
ngarnka	'beard'
ngarntaku	'other side'
ngarrala	'how many'
ngarramani-Ø	'increase'
ngarrarti	'very long time'
ngarri-Ø	'sleep'
ngarta	'man', 'human being'
ngarta ngarri-Ø	'be born'
ngarturr+marri-Ø	'be unaware'
ngaya	1 singular pronoun
ngayiny	'breath'
ngayiny ma-L	'help breathe'
ngumpa-L	'chase'
ngungku	'appropriate'
nguntu	'cold'
ngunyi	demonstrative (distant)
ngurntily~ngurntily	'cough'

Ngarla lexeme	Sense
ngurntily~ngurntily ma-ra-Ø	'cough' (see chapter 4)
ngurra	'camp'
ngurra(pirli)	'no', 'not', 'nothing' (emphatic)
ngurrara	'local inhabitant'
ngurru	'happiness'
ngurru-Ø	'break'
ngurrupaya	'horse' (onomatopoeic)
ngurtu~ngurtu	'stamping dance'
nguru~nguru	'almost immersed'
ningku	1. 'straw-necked ibis' (*threskiornis spinicollis*); 2. 'sacred ibis' (*threskionis aethiopica*)
nyaa-L	'send'
nyaarr ma-L	'make rushing noise'
nyaarru	'in favour of'
nyali	'light'
nyali ja-L	'light'
nyampali	'boss'
nyamu~nyamu	'moustache'
nyangkala	'now', 'today', 'these days'
nyangu	'here'
nyanta	'here'
nyanta ku-L	'bring here'
nyanta marri-Ø	'come here' (?)
nyara-Ø	'burn'
nyarntarr	'gulping'
nyarntarr ku-L	'gulp'
nyarukarra	'creek bed'
nyayi	demonstrative (proximate)
nyimpurl	'pulse', 'throb'
nyimpurl ma-ra-Ø	'pulse', 'throb'
nyini-Ø	'sit', 'stay'
nyinpa	2 singular pronoun
nyirri-L	'give birth' (of animal)
nyirtingunya	'youngest child'
nyirumunyju-L	'choke'
nyita~nyita	'slowing down'
nyiti	'chest'
nyuka	'increase site/ceremony'

Ngarla lexeme	Sense
nyuka.Ø-L	'do increase (with)'
nyuka pi-L	'perform increase ritual'
nyumpalu	2 dual pronoun
nyurra	2 plural pronoun

P

-pa	clitic expressing doubt
paamu	'bomb'
paja	'dangerous'
paji	'forearm', 'wrist'
paji-L	'bite', 'eat'
paka	'steep bank'
pakarli	'young male'
pakarn~pakarn	'uneven riverbank'
pakarr	'cart'
paki	'buggy'
pakurta	'bad'
pakurta ja-L	'make bad'
pala(karni)	demonstrative (mid)
palangka	demonstrative, used anaphorically on the discourse level
palarr	'secure'
palarr ma-L	'pull'
palka~palka	intensifier
palura	3 singular pronoun
pampa	'unaware'
pampuru	'blind'
pampuru ngarri-Ø	'become blind'
panalu	3 plural pronoun
panta	'close', 'near'
panta-karni.Ø-Ø	'get close'
paparn+ma-L	'interrupt'
para+ma-L	'test', 'try', 'imitate'
parlkarra	'plain'
parl ma-L	'thump'
parlparr	'sky'
parni-Ø	'wait', 'stay'
parni-L	'remove'
parra	question particle
parrajampa-L	'hide', 'deny'

Ngarla lexeme	Sense
parralya	'ache'
parramanta-ra-Ø/parramantara-Ø	'do something wrong/different' (see footnote 85)
parrara-Ø	'check', 'inspect'
parrpa-L	'transfer warmth (with hands)'
parru~parru	'fishing net'
parta	'other'
partamurri	intensifier
partanyal	'one'
patalyi	'vegetation'
payiny	'bang (sound of explosion)'
payiny ngarri-Ø	'bang'; 'explode'
payiny pirta-L	'throw against'
piju	'knife'
pikun+tarri-Ø	'dodge'
pila	'fight'
pila+ma-L	'flash'
pilatayimu	'fight time' (i.e. 'war time')
pilyka	'cracked'
pilyka ngarri-Ø	'crack'
pilyparr	'unsuccessfully'
pingkayi	'holiday'
pinurru	'fire'
pinya	'fight'
pinyjira	'spear'
pirirri	'man'
pirli	'hole'
pirlumpurr	'spear'
pirlurru	'path'
pirna	'big pain'
pirri	'afternoon'
pirri-L	'scratch', 'dig'
pirrjarta	'vehicle'
pirrpa-L	'shine on'
pirtu	'food for journey'
pirtu+ja-L	'sort'
piyalu	3 dual pronoun
piyani-Ø	'move'
pujapa	'dry'
pujapa-rni-Ø	'be dry'

Ngarla lexeme	Sense
pujula-L	'puff', 'shoot'
pukul	'caretaker'
pukul ma-L	'take care of'
pulala	reflexive pronoun
pularn	'quiet', 'silent'
pularni.Ø-Ø	'fall silent all of a sudden'
pularn ja-L	'make silent'
pularn ngarri-Ø	'be silent'
pularn parri-Ø	'fall silent'
punga-L	'hit', 'kill'
punpal	'sick'
punta-L	'pluck'
punyja-L	'drink'
purlparl	'food'
purlpi	1. 'well'; 2. 'already'
purlu+ngarri-Ø	'move back'
purnngu+ma-L	'congest'
purnngu+ngarri-Ø	'become congested'
purntul	'dust'
purnu	'lower back'
purrku	'three'
purrpa-L	'rebuke'
purrpi ma-L	'face'
purru	'fish scale'
purru pi-L	'scale fish'
purtukarri	'in vain, unwillingly'
puurr ma-L	'snore'

R

riji~riji	'cuttlefish shell'
rimpirr	'eddy'
ruku~ruku	'peacock sole' (*pardachirus pavoninus*)
rukuru~kuru	'(type of) coral'

T

tangki	'donkey'
tangurungu	'teenage boy'
tawn	'town'
taya	'tyre'

Ngarla lexeme	Sense
tayijan	'station'
tayimu	'time'
tingkiri	'stingray' (generic)
tukurrampi	'heavy tapered hitting stick', 'club'
turakinyaarta	'trucking yard'
turayin	'train'
turntarn	'skink'
turru~turru	'rainbow bee-eater' (*merops ornatus*)

W

waa-L	'give'
wajarri	'desire', 'searching'
wajarri.Ø-Ø	'want', 'search for'
waka~waka-rni-L	'turn'
wakatarri	'twisting'
wakatarri.Ø-Ø	'circle back'
wakatarri~wakatarri.Ø-Ø	'turn and twist'
wakurla	'boulder'
wakurr	'secure'
wakurr ja-L	'secure'
waleji	'radio' ('wireless')
walyi	'almost'
walykari	'nape of neck'
wanangkura	'whirlwind'
wangirrimanya	'strongest part of cyclone'
wangka	'language', 'speech'
wangka karri-Ø	'talk'
wangka nya-L	'talk'
wangka parri-Ø	'stop talking' (i.e. 'fall silent')
wangka-rri-Ø	'talk'
wankaly~wankaly	'half cooked'
wanparta	'Wanbarda' (the Ngarla community's name for itself)
wanta-L	'sort', 'separate'
wanyaparri	'awareness'
wanyaparri.Ø-Ø	'listen', 'learn'
wanyaparri ja-L	'teach', 'submit knowledge'
wanyaparri ma-L	'be aware of', 'pay attention to'

Ngarla lexeme	Sense
wanyaparri ngarri-Ø	'listen', 'learn'
wanyja	'which one'
wanyja-L	'put', 'leave'
wanyjakalu	'where'
wanyjakarni	'to where' (directional)
wara~wara	'forgetful'
wara~wara ngarri-Ø	'forget'
wara~wara-rri-Ø	'forget'
warlakura	'interruptor'
warlakura ma-L	'interrupt'
warlalka	'bush caper' (*capparis lasiantha*)
warlkarnti	'sitting'
warlkarnti ngarri-Ø	'sit'
warlu	1. 'processionary.caterpillar'; 2. 'fright'
warlu ma-L	'frighten'
warni-Ø	'fall'
warni ji-L	'make fall'
warniya	'mother'
warnjarna+ja-L	'do what'
warnta	'tree', 'wood'
warrarn	'country', 'land'
warri	'nappy', 'baby's rug'
warrka+ji-L	'drag'
warrku	'nephew'
warrukarti	'night'
warrumurntu	'morning', 'tomorrow', 'next day'
warru~warru	'twilight (almost dark)'
wartarra	'shoulder'
warti~warti+rri-Ø	'descend'
wataku	'unimportant', 'never mind'
watapirti	'unaware'
wayi ma-L	'ask'
wayimpi	question particle
wayi(rru)	question particle
wii+ma-L	'take'
wiiny	'free'
wiiny ja-L	'release' (i.e. 'make free')
wiiny ngarri-Ø	'escape' (i.e. 'become free')
winya	'full'

Ngarla lexeme	Sense
winyja	'rejection'
winyja ja-L	'reject'
wipiny+ja-L	'make come in and out of vision'
wipiny+nga-ra-Ø	'appear now and again' (see chapter 4)
wirlarra	'moon'
wirnti~wirnti	'nankeen kestrel' (*falco cenchroides*)
wirnu	'hot'
wirnu ja-L	'make hot'
wirrpi-L	'evert'
witi	'fun', 'games'
witi ja-L	'play'
wiyanu	'hunting'
wiyiki	'week'
wujapali	'all together'
wula	'water'
wulyuru	'west'
wungka	'hunger'
wungka-rri-Ø	'become hungry'
wurla~wurla	'turbulent'
wurla~wurla-rri-Ø	'swirl'
wurrangkura	'river red gum tree' (*eucalyptus camaldulensis*)
wurruru	'south'
wurta+ma-L	'wait (for)'
wurta+rri-Ø	'stand'
wurtura+rri-Ø	'stretch'

Y

ya-/yaa-/yana-/yanangka-	'go' (irregular verb)
yajarri	'same'
yaji-L	'spear', 'stab', 'stitch'
yalya	'belongings'
yanga-L	'follow', 'chase'
yanti	'winnowing dish'
yanti ja-L	'winnow'
yantilypara	'boat'
yapurru	'north'
yarni-L	'pour'

Ngarla lexeme	Sense
yarni+ma-L	'repair'
yarrka	'in the distance'
yarru	'big'
yarru ngarri-Ø	'become big'
yarti	'later'
yata+ja-L	'push'
yatilpa	'leader'
yawarta	'horse'
yawilarni-Ø	'sway'
yijangu	'new'
yiju	'east'
yila	'perhaps'
yingi-L	'annoy'
yini	'name'
yini ma-L	'name'
yininyi-L	'cart'
yinjirtin	'suspended'
yinjirtin ngarri-Ø	'hang'
yinta	'permanent water hole'
yinya-L	'exchange'
yipa-L	'growl at', 'quarrel with'
yiri	'sharp'
yirni-L	'pour'
yirnta	'cold'
yirra	'row of items'
yirrajarnangka	'shark' (generic)
yirri	'gentle slope'
yirriny+ma-L	'lift'
yirrkili	'boomerang'
yirrpi	'shade'
yirtirti	'visible'
yirtiwarra	'fast pursuit'
yukun	'smoke'
yukun tarri-Ø	'smoke'
yukurru	'dog'
yula+rri-Ø	'say'
yungku	'well'
yurntiri	'offended'
yurntura	'flour'
yurnu	'choice'

Ngarla lexeme	Sense
yurnu ja-L	'choose'; also 'aim at'
yurta	'fish'
yuu	1. 'look'; 2. 'yes' (interjection)