

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS
Series C – 125

MARTUTHUNIRA
A LANGUAGE OF THE PILBARA REGION
OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

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The editors are indebted to the Australian National University for assistance in the production of this series.

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PACIFIC LINGUISTICS
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Canberra ACT 0200
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Copyedited by Basil Wilson
Printed by ANU Printing Service

First published 1995
Typeset by Jeanette Coombes
Bound by F & M Perfect Bookbinding

This publication was made possible by an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund.
No royalties are paid on this or any other *Pacific Linguistics* publication.

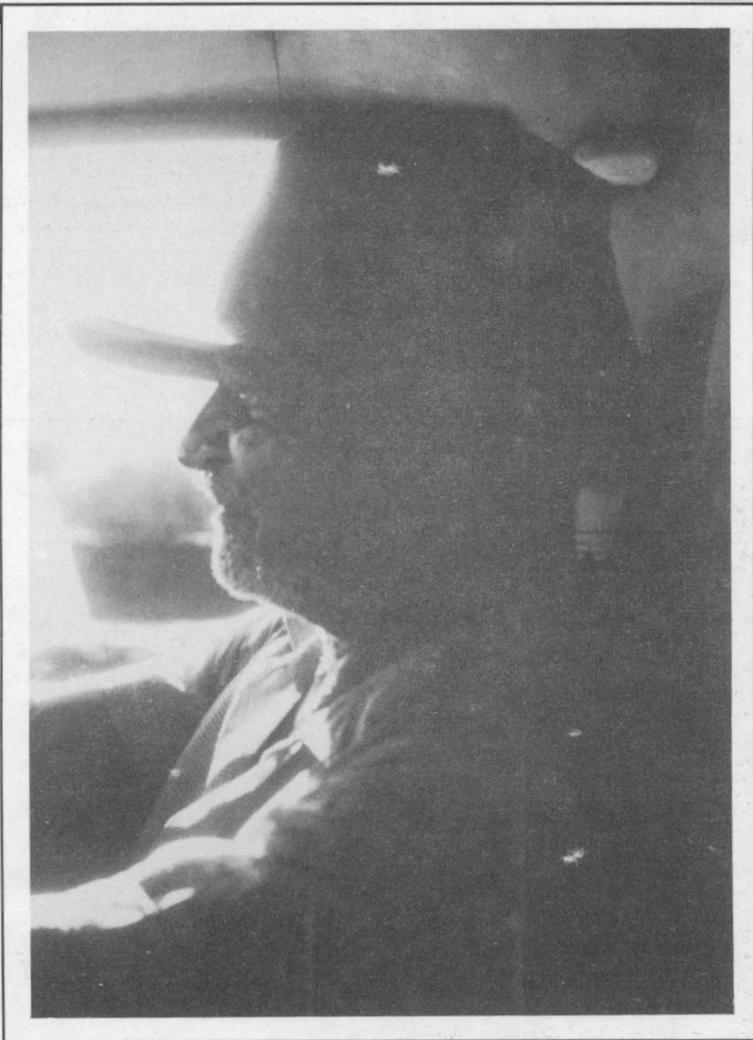
ISSN 0078-7558

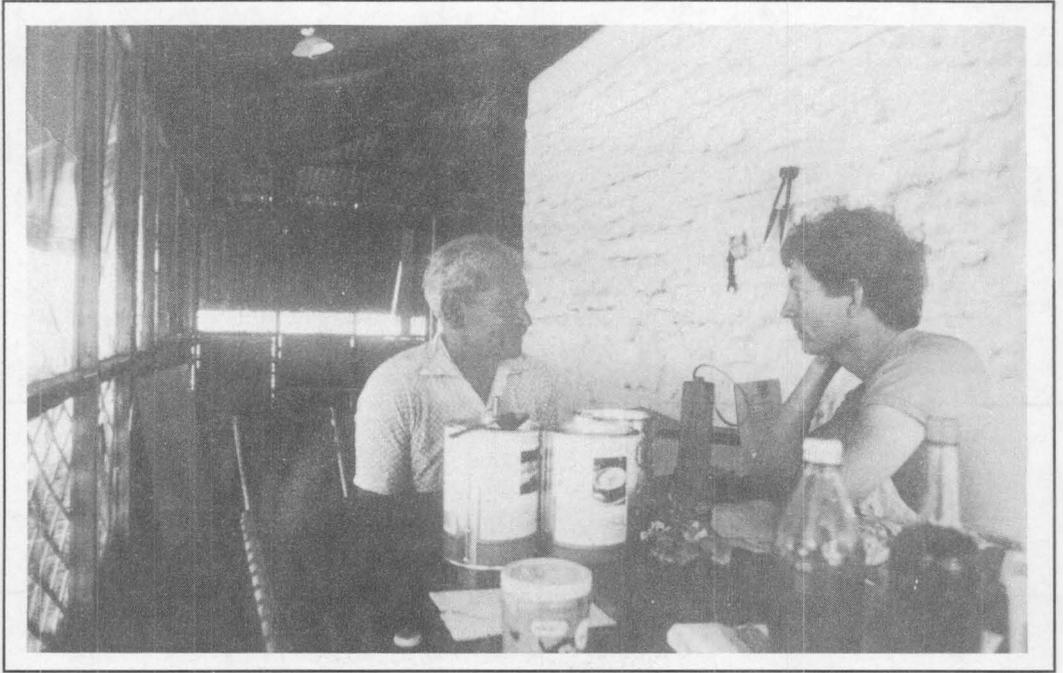
ISBN 0 85883 422 7

DEDICATION

Wankupayingyarntu

(for Algy Paterson)





ALGY PATERSON WITH THE AUTHOR, DEEPDALE 1981



ALGY PATERSON HAFTING A SPEAR, WARRAMBOO 1985

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PREFACE

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

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

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

The grammatical description presented here is a revised version of my 1987 PhD thesis, research for which was funded by The Australian National University. Since then I have had the support of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Western Australia, and more recently the Centre for Linguistics at UWA. In writing and rewriting the grammar I have had the encouragement and helpful advice of a large number of people (too numerous to list and thank individually here), but in particular I would like to thank Peter Austin, Bob Dixon, Nick Evans, Ken Hale, Shelly Harrison, Rodney Huddleston, Harold Koch and Francesca Merlan.

There are few field linguists who can resist the opportunity to embark on the voyage of discovery represented by a previously uncharted language, but it is only fair to say that recording Martuthunira was not my idea. I first met Algy Paterson in January 1980 when he was introduced to me at an initiation meeting on Peedamullah Station. At the time, I was learning Panyjima and Algy asked me to find the time to record Martuthunira. He saw himself as the last fully competent speaker of his mother's language and was desperate to pass on that knowledge. Two months later he made the hundred-mile journey into Onslow and we made our first recordings. Since then I have made a number of trips to the Pilbara and have lived with Algy and his wife Mabel at Warramboos homestead and travelled with them throughout Martuthunira and Kurrama country. Only a small part of what they have taught me in those fourteen years is represented in this book, and I owe them both an immeasurable debt.

Alan Dench

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ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Phonological conventions

#	word boundary	N	nasal
*	protoform	<u>pa</u>	stressed syllable /pa/
//	phonemic representation	pá	syllable /pa/ with primary stress
[]	phonetic representation	pà	syllable /pa/ with secondary stress
C	consonant	V	vowel

Morphological conventions

-	morpheme boundary	-R	R-conjugation verb stem
-L	L-conjugation verb stem	-Ø	Ø-conjugation verb stem
-N	N-conjugation verb stem	-Ø-	empty morph (English glosses)
-NG	NG-subconjugation (of Ø-conjugation) verb stem	+	separates parts of portmanteau morph

Syntactic conventions

A	transitive subject
S	intransitive subject
O	transitive object
V	verb
NP	noun phrase

Kin term abbreviations

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

Nominal suffix abbreviations

ABL	ablative	FACE	direction facing
ACC	accusative	FULL	full-laden
ALL	allative	GEN	genitive
ASSOC	associative	LOC	locative
CONJ	conjunction	OBSCRD	obscured
DIRALL	direct allative	PL	plural
DIRECT	directional	PNM	proper nominal marker
DISTRIB	distributed plural	PRIV	privative
DU	dual	PROP	proprietary
DWELL	dweller	PROV	provenience
EFF	effector	BELONG	belonging possessive suffix
Also:	CAUSAL	OWNER	
	GROUP	SIDE	
	NEAR		

Pronoun and demonstrative abbreviations

1	first person	INC	inclusive
1POSS	first person possessive	MATRI	matriline possessive suffix
2	second person	NOM	nominative stem
2POSS	second person possessive	NS	non-specific demonstrative
3	third person	NV	non-visible demonstrative
3POSS	third person possessive	OBL	oblique stem
CENT	centripetal compass term	PATRI	patriline possessive suffix
DEF	definite demonstrative	POSS	possessive pronoun
DISHARM	disharmonic pronoun	SG	singular
EXC	exclusive		

Verb suffix abbreviations

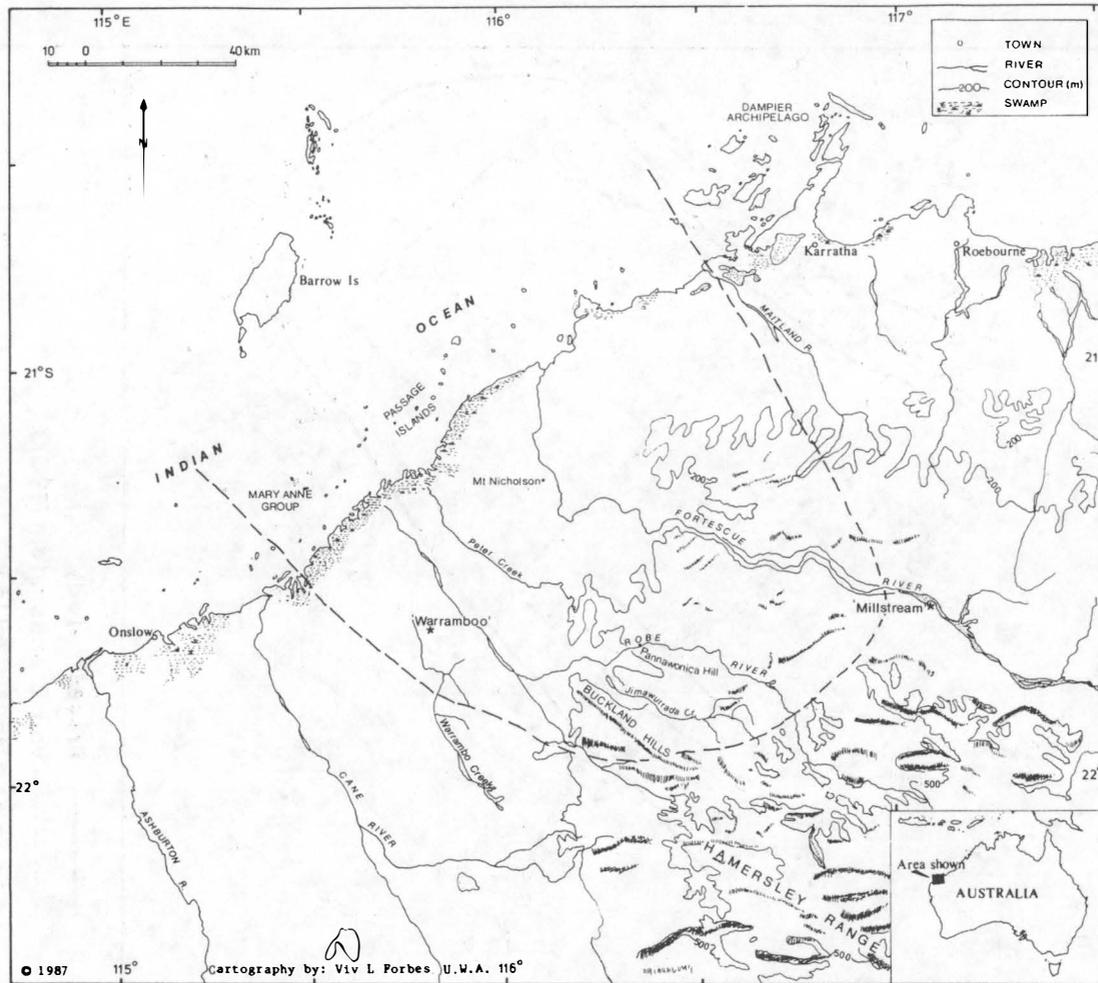
CAUS	causative/factitive	PASSCONTR	passive contrafactual
CM	conjugation marker	PASSLEST	passive lest
COLL	collective	PASSP	passive perfective
CONTR	contrafactual	PRES	present
CTEMP	contemporaneous	PrREL	present relative
FUT	future	PSYCH	psychological state verbaliser
HABIT	habitual	PURPds	purposive different subject
HABITNOM	habitual nominalisation	PURPs=o	purposive subject is matrix object
IMP	imperative	PURPss	purposive same subject
INCH	inchoative	PUT	controlled contact verbaliser
INV	involuntary states	SEQ	sequential
NOISE	body-noise verbaliser	UNREAL	unrealised
PAST	past	VERB	verbaliser
PASS	passive		

Particle and clitic abbreviations

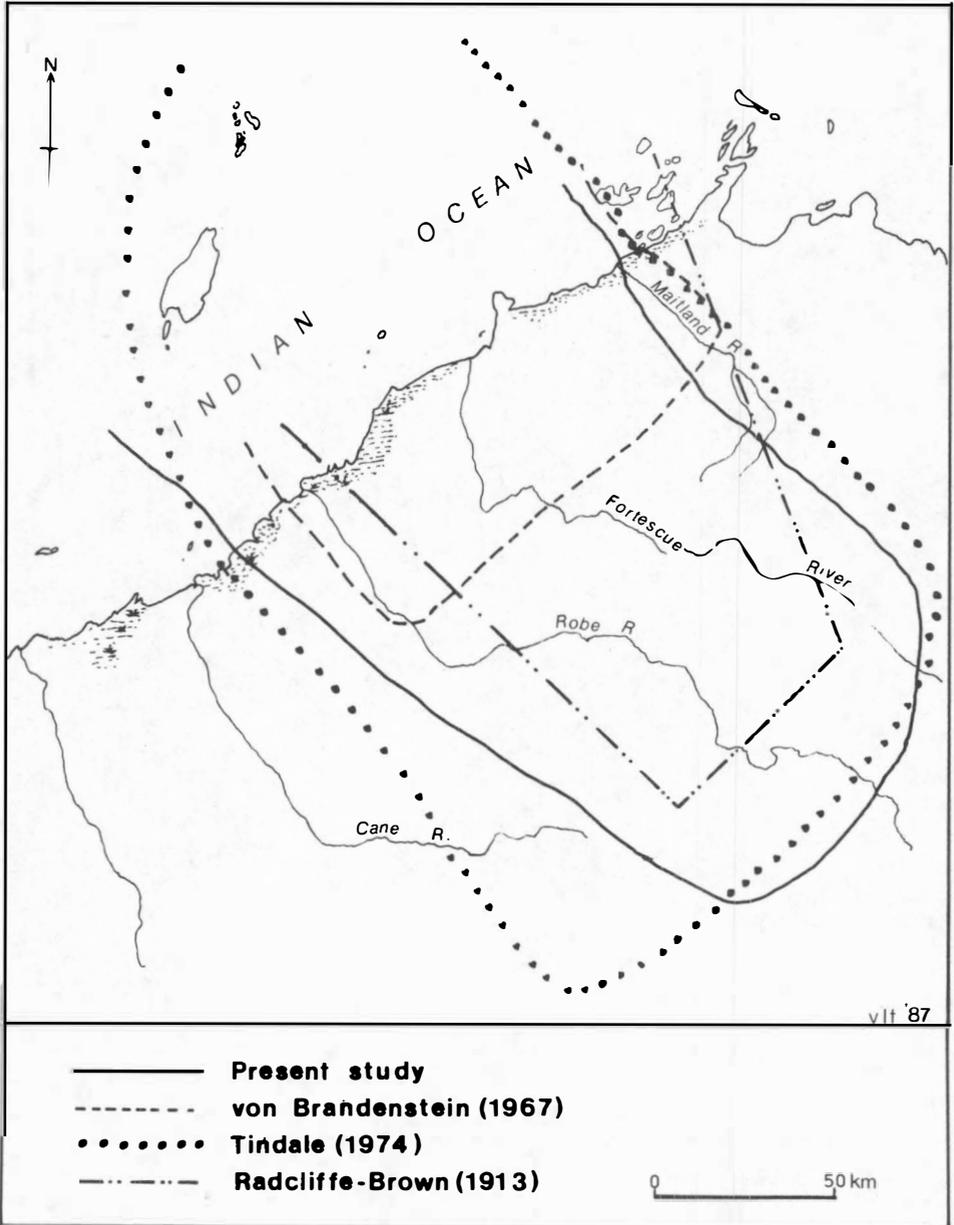
ASSERT	assertedly	NOW	'now' discourse clitic
COMP	complementary	QUOT	quotative
CONT	contrastively	REAL	really
HYPTH	hypothetically	RHET	rhetorically
ID	identification clitic	THEN	temporal clitic
IGNOR	ignorantly	VOC	vocative
IT	presentative particle	YK	'you know' clitic
MIST	mistakenly thought		

Other abbreviations

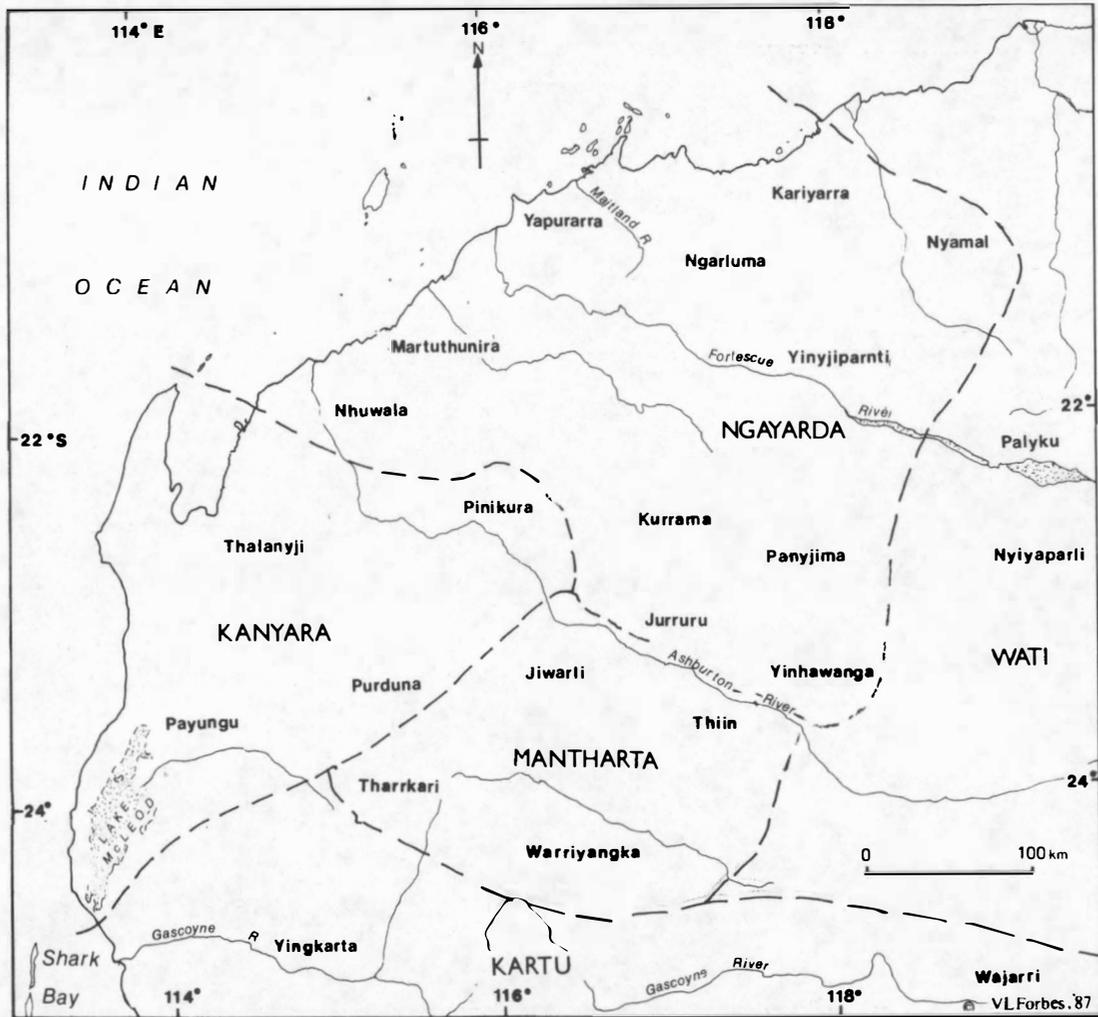
HES	hesitation marker
sp.	species of



MAP 1: MARTUTHUNIRA TERRITORY AND BOUNDARIES



MAP 2: PREVIOUSLY DESCRIBED BOUNDARIES



MAP 3: NEIGHBOURS AND SUBGROUPS

CHAPTER 1

THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

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

1.1 NAMES AND LOCATION

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

<i>Mardudjungara</i>	
<i>Mardudhunera</i>	(Radcliffe-Brown 1913)
<i>Mardudhunira</i>	(Wurm 1970)
<i>Mardudhoonera</i>	(Connelly 1932)
<i>Mardathoonera</i>	(Daisy Bates)
<i>Mardutunira</i>	
<i>Mardutunera</i>	
<i>Marduduna</i>	
<i>Mardathoni</i>	(‘Yabaroo’ 1899)
<i>Mardatuna</i>	
<i>Maratunia</i>	

To this list can be added von Brandenstein’s (1967) spelling, *Marduthunira*, which is followed by Wordick (1982). It should be noted that the phonetic representation of the language name differs depending on the main language of the informant. Martuthunira speakers give [marɔðɔneɹa], Yindjibarndi speakers give [marɔɣɔneɹa], and Thalanyi speakers give [marɔðɔneɹa]. This grammar employs an orthography based on a voiceless stop series and the new spelling *Martuthunira* is used in keeping with this. ‘*Martuthunira*’ derives from the name of the lower reaches of the Fortescue River, *Martuthuni*, by the

addition of the provenience suffix *-ra* (§4.8.5). Thus, as a name for the people, *Martuthunira* means 'those who live around the Fortescue River'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

supported by the description of boundaries given by Radcliffe-Brown and my informants. Von Brandenstein (1967:3) reports two terms used for people to the south-west of the Martuthunira:

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

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

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

1.2 NEIGHBOURS AND LINGUISTIC AFFILIATIONS

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

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

1. they have a laminal contrast and have lost a contrast between initial laminals and apicals, only initial laminals being attested in the Ngayarda languages;
2. they preserve a 'Proto Pama-Nyungan' morphophonemic alternation in the form of the 'agent-instrumental' suffix, **-lu ~ -ngku*, conditioned by the length of the word stem;

3. they have a morphophonemic rule of nasal dissimilation reducing the locative suffix *-ngka* to *-ka* where it is attached to a nominal containing a nasal-stop cluster (in fact this rule is restricted to Panyjima, Kurrama, Yindjibarndi and Ngarluma).

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

1. The better known languages of the subgroup (viz. Ngarluma and Yindjibarndi) have a productive active/passive voice distinction.
2. With the exception of Palyku and Nyamal, the reflex of 'Proto Pama-Nyungan' **lu ~ -ngku* is not used as a marker of transitive subject in these languages.
3. The 'Proto Pama-Nyungan' suffix **-ku* has shifted "from the specialized meaning *indirect object* to the broader meaning *object* (noncommittally direct/indirect)".
4. The 'Proto Pama-Nyungan' verb suffix **(l)ku* has shifted "from *future* (or *optative*) to *present*".

Oates (1975) presents a different classification, devised by von Brandenstein, which distinguishes a Coastal Ngayarda subgroup from an Inland Ngayarda subgroup. Von Brandenstein's classification is based on grammatical criteria similar to those recognised by O'Grady (1966). He distinguishes three types of language (von Brandenstein 1967): those having an "Active Verbal Concept" (AVC) (read 'accusative case-marking pattern'), those having a "Passive Verbal Concept" (PVC) (read 'ergative case system'), and an intermediate type having a combination of both AVC and PVC features. By von Brandenstein's classification, the Coastal Ngayarda languages are AVC and include Ngarla, Kurrama, Yindjibarndi, Kariyarra, Ngarluma, Martuthunira, Pinikura, Nhuwala, Jiwarli and Thiin. Members of the Inland Ngayarda Subgroup are intermediate between the AVC and PVC type. Oates (1975:73) describes these as "being basically accusative languages like the coastal group, but also having ergative suffixes like the Western Desert languages (AVC with PVC intrusions)". The group includes Nyamal (including "Widagari" and "Bundjuwanga", described by von Brandenstein as "light" and "heavy" Nyamal respectively), Panyjima, Jurruru, Warriyangka, Janadjina and Yinhawangka.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.3 TRADITIONAL LIFE

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

The following sections provide an outline of traditional Martuthunira social organisation and economic life, with a few remarks on aesthetic expression through language. I have not made a detailed study of any of these aspects of Martuthunira culture but, beyond the sources mentioned, base this discussion on an overall impression built up through general discussion with informants and a number of years of participant observation of everyday life and ritual in the semi-traditional Pilbara community. I ask that the reader treat the description with sympathetic skepticism.

1.3.1 THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

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

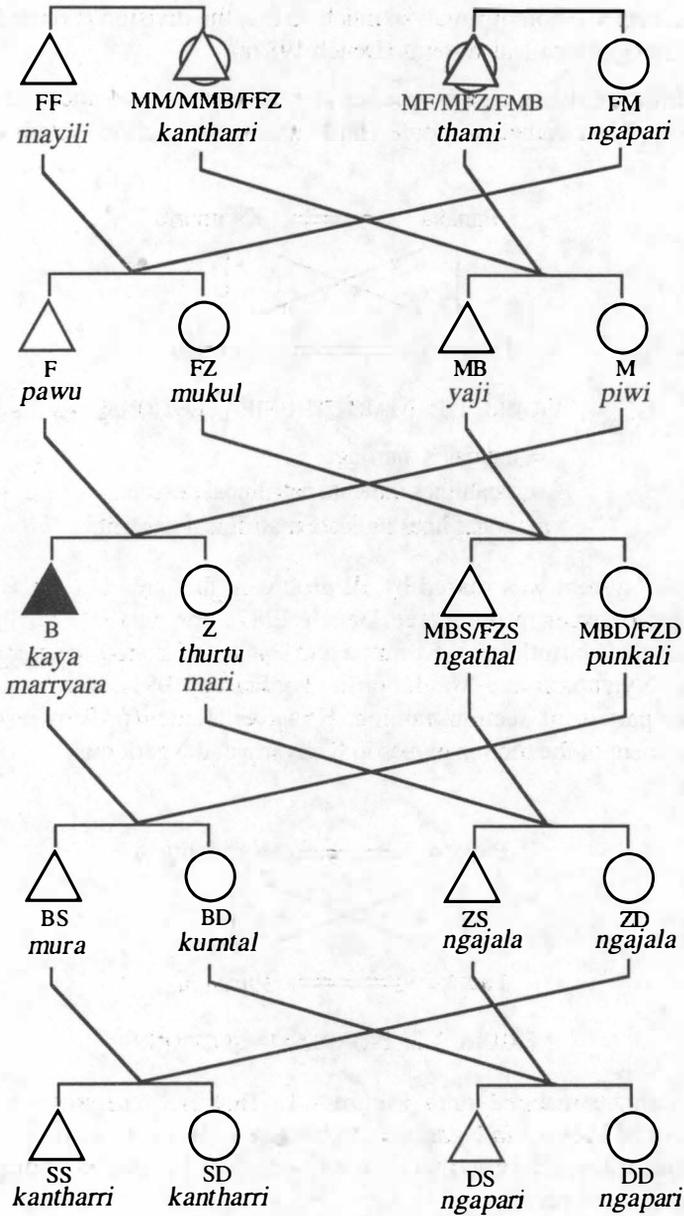
The Martuthunira kinship system is no longer in use and I was not able to collect extensive or entirely consistent information. For this reason, Radcliffe-Brown's (1913) reported data, gathered from actual genealogies, provides the basis for the present analysis. Radcliffe-Brown's description is generally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

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

Some additional explanatory notes to Table 1.1 are necessary:

- (a) The terms for mother's brother's children depend on the sex of ego. *Ngathal* is same sex MBC, *punkali* is opposite sex MBC. Thus for a male ego MBS is *ngathal*, for a female ego MBS is *punkali*.
- (b) Terms for grandchildren are also determined by the sex of ego. For a male ego, son's children are *mayali* while daughter's children are *thami*. For a female ego, son's children are *ngapari* and daughter's children are *kantharri*.
- (c) The superclass terms in the second ascending and second descending generations are *thami* and *kantharri* with no distinction for sex. Presumably, the terms *mayali* and *ngapari* were used specifically for agnatic kin.
- (d) Terminology repeats every four generations. Thus kin in the third descending generation are called by the terms used for the first ascending generation, and kin in the third ascending generation are called by the terms of the first descending generation.

TABLE 1.1: MARTUTHUNIRA KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY



1.3.2 ALTERNATE GENERATION SETS AND SECTIONS

The terminological equivalence between the second ascending generation and second descending generation points to a system of merged alternate generation sets. All kin of ego's own generation, his grandparents and his grandchildren's generations are in one merged

generation set, while all kin in ego's parents and children's generations are in the other set. In the Pilbara, as in many Australian societies, the alternate generation sets are extremely important in the organisation of ritual, so much so that the division is reified in a number of common Ngayarda grammatical systems (Dench 1987a).

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

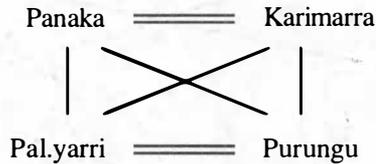


FIGURE 1.1: MARTUTHUNIRA SECTIONS

= indicates marriage

vertical lines indicate patrilineal descent,

diagonal lines indicate matrilineal descent.

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

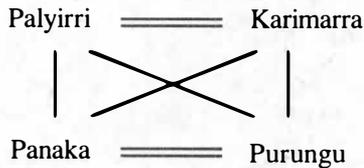


FIGURE 1.2: NGARLUMA SECTIONS

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

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

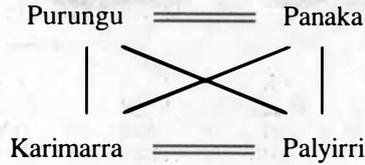


FIGURE 1.3: YINDJIBARNDI SECTIONS

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

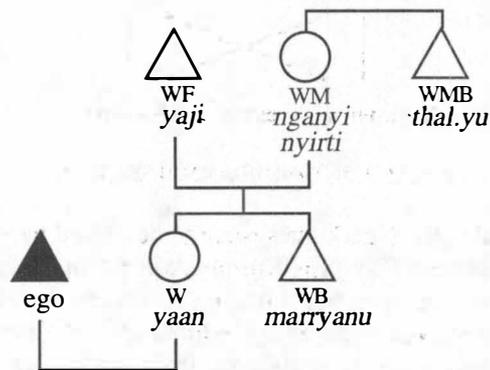
The sections are relatively unimportant from a sociological point of view. The section system allows the principles of kinship organisation to be easily stated without reference to complex genealogies but cannot be seen as a defining principle of the kinship system itself. Section names are used in reference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

1.3.3 MARRIAGE

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

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

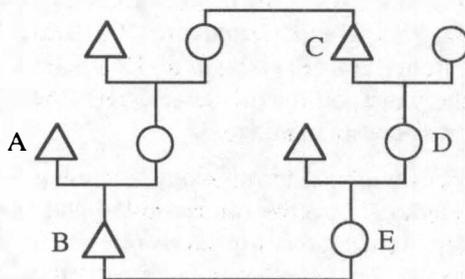
TABLE 1.2: AFFINAL KIN TERMS



Marriages were typically arranged before birth. Radcliffe-Brown (1913:185) gives an example:

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

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



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

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

1.3.4 INITIATION

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

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

1.3.5 LOCAL GROUPS

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

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

Radcliffe-Brown (1913:146)

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

Within the group the basic social unit was the family, consisting of a man and his wife, or wives, and their children. Usually such family groups moved from one camp site to another,

within a man's country and that of his wives, without reference to other families within the local group. However at times of ceremony, or when a particular food source became plentiful in the country of one group, a number of families would meet and camp together, often for some weeks.

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

Radcliffe-Brown (1913:147)

1.3.6 LOCAL GROUP TOTEMS

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

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

<i>wanta</i>	insanity, craziness
<i>walampari</i>	possum
<i>mulyaru</i>	carpet python
<i>kartangu</i>	edible gum of kanyji bush
<i>walyuru</i>	type of wild bean
<i>warrari</i>	common fly
<i>jarnungu</i>	bardi grub

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

1.3.7 LANGUAGE USE AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION

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

The avoidance style, called either *Kurntaka* or *Paathupathu* in other groups, was common to all the Ngayarda languages. Von Brandenstein (1982) notes that much of the avoidance vocabulary was shared by the different Pilbara languages and was most highly elaborated in the verb and demonstrative class (see also Dench 1991:211ff). In each particular language the avoidance style involved the use of special vocabulary – some from the common stock and some language-specific – but with the morphology and syntax of the everyday language. Avoidance styles of this type have been called ‘mother-in-law’ languages or styles (for example Dixon (1972), and see Haviland (1979)), but this label is inappropriate in the Pilbara where the use of the style for ‘*mangkalyi* avoidance’ was at least as prevalent. I was able to record some Martuthunira *Kurntangka* but not enough to be able to make valid generalisations about the semantic structure of the avoidance vocabulary (see appended word list).

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

1.3.8 ECONOMIC LIFE

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

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

the sandy beaches of the islands the Martuthunira dug for turtle eggs and collected the eggs of seabirds from the many rookeries. Water was obtained from soakages in the sandhills behind the beaches and from rock pools further inland. Unfortunately I was unable to collect much information on the life and language of the seagoing Martuthunira. My informant grew up with an inland group on the borders of Kurrama country and has very little first-hand experience of the coastal people's way of life.

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

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

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

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

Women used digging sticks which doubled as fighting staffs, and winnowing dishes and grindstones, which generally remained at often-visited camping spots. The older men and women wove spinifex rope which was knotted into nets used to trap birds and fish. Baler and conch shells were collected on the seashore and used as cooking utensils and water carriers.

I was unable to get a description of how the Martuthunira travelled between the mainland and the offshore islands but luckily King (1827:43-44) gives a detailed account and description of a log raft:

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

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

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

1.3.9 ART AND LANGUAGE

It is not possible to say very much about the artistic life of the Martuthunira as most of this knowledge has been lost. There is no rock or bark painting in the area and local people report that the numerous rock carvings were 'laid out by the gods' rather than being the work of their forebears. Very few of the traditional Martuthunira body-painting designs are remembered. For the most part, the decoration of wooden implements, mainly spearthrowers and shields, resembles that of their neighbours and depicts, in stylistic form, maps of the main watercourses within a man's own country (see von Brandenstein 1972b).

Musical forms and dance styles also appear to resemble those of neighbouring groups. Together with any memory of male initiation, any knowledge of the songs and dances accompanying that ritual has been lost. I was able to collect only a few secular songs, of which there were essentially two types: *jalurra* and *thawi*. *Jalurra* properly refers to the combination of a song and dance sequence performed by a group of singers and dancers and accompanied by clapping boomerangs (by the men) and the beating of skins stretched over the thighs (by the women). *Thawi* songs, referred to in the literature as *japi*, are solo performances sung to the accompaniment of a wooden or bone *nhirrimpa* rasped against notches carved in the back of a spearthrower, *mirru*. Examples of these song types are given in Appendix 2.

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

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

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

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

harangue filled with personal criticism and directed obscenities. The ability to produce such abusive outbursts with the required stylistic flair was highly valued by the Martuthunira.

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

1.4 POST-CONTACT HISTORY

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

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

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

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

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

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

Upon the boat's touching the beach, I landed, and taking Boongaree [a Sydney Aborigine] with me divested of his clothes, walked towards the natives, who were standing together, a little in the rear of one, who was

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

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

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

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

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

Of course not all pastoral managers were entirely benign, as Taylor (1980:82) points out (the quote is taken from Crowley (1960:48)):

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Biskup (1973:112-113)

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

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

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

1.5 PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS

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

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

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

grammatical data collected by von Brandenstein appear to be consistent with those forming the basis for this study.

1.6 INFORMANTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For fear of his being stolen away by the constables, Algy was hidden in the bush with his grandparents, travelling with them as they moved from one camp site to another, living off the land rather than off station rations of meat, flour and sugar, and learning the stories and skills of the old people. From the only father he ever knew he learned the language and

culture of the Kurrama people. Finally, when he was five years old, a sympathetic station manager eventually woke up to the fact that a small boy was being kept away from the settlement and promised to protect him from the Act. Nevertheless, although he then began to learn the skills and way of life of a stockman, his parents' lack of complete trust kept him in the bush. He did not learn any English until he was fifteen.

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

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

1.7 THE DATA

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

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

It must be said that Martuthunira will soon be a dead language, in all senses of the term. It will not be remembered in any detail by any speakers and very few words, if any, will be remembered as words of Martuthunira (with the possible exception of place names). That these remembered words are Martuthunira rather than, say, Panyjima, Kurrama or Yindjibarndi, will mean little to the community of speakers. At present there is no group of young people for whom their Martuthunira origins are particularly important and for whom marking those origins with the use of Martuthunira words would be at all meaningful. But saying that Martuthunira will soon be a dead language does not mean that it is 'dying' in the sense that the phrase 'language death' normally implies. There is no analogical simplification

of paradigms or massive syntactic interference from other languages. The language will not die, its speakers will; those that remain appear still to speak the traditional language. But although Martuthunira is understood and spoken by the few remaining speakers, it serves almost no communicative function in the modern Pilbara community. The only reliable data that can be obtained comes from text and elicitation, and while this data base is enough for the discovery of normative rules of grammar it does not allow an investigation of rules of language use. Most information on language use is gained from the reports of the few remaining speakers and, since they have little opportunity to demonstrate that usage, must be assumed to be an idealisation.

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

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

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

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

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

(c) *Elicited text.* Most of the data consists of what I call elicited texts; short texts ranging in length from about ten clauses to ten pages. In each case the text was a continuation of an

elicited translation sentence. For example, Text 3 (Appendix 1) has as its first sentence a response to the elicitation:

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER 2 PHONOLOGY

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

2.1 CONSONANTS

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

TABLE 2.1: CONSONANT INVENTORY

	peripheral bilabial	velar	lamino- dental	lamino- palatal	apico- alveolar	apico- post-alveolar
stop	<i>p</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>rt</i>
nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>nh</i>	<i>ny</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>rn</i>
lateral			<i>lh</i>	<i>ly</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>rl</i>
rhotic					<i>rr</i>	<i>r</i>
glide	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>		

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

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

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

<i>nhimu</i>	~	<i>nyimu</i>	spinifex mouse
<i>nganathu</i>	~	<i>nganaju</i>	1SG.ACC/GEN

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

<i>nyina-Ø</i>	to sit	<i>yirna</i>	this.ACC
<i>nhuunu</i>	spouse	<i>nyuurnu</i>	grizzle
<i>juna</i>	spirit	<i>jurna</i>	hitting stick
<i>wilawila</i>	shaken	<i>wirlayi</i>	tired

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

<i>matimati</i>	place name	<i>martiju</i>	father's sister
<i>mitawanti</i>	place name	<i>mirtamirta</i>	white
<i>putangara</i>	goanna	<i>putatharta</i>	head ornament
<i>thaata</i>	place name	<i>thaarta</i>	opening
<i>witiwiti</i>	hanging	<i>wirti</i>	pearl shell
<i>matimati</i>	place name	<i>marringkarri-Ø</i>	to wave
<i>putangara</i>	goanna	<i>purra-L</i>	to chop, hit
<i>witiwiti</i>	hanging	<i>wirriiri</i>	flame

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

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

<i>pithangara</i>	[pɪtɪpɪlɛtɪrɛ]	cork bark tree
<i>muthu</i>	[mɔpɔ]	cold
<i>mayitha</i>	[mɪtɪθɛ]	small python

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

<i>puuthuni</i>	[pɔ:ɣɔnɪ]	~	[pɔ:ɖɔnɪ]	hook on spearthrower
<i>withawitha</i>	[wɪɣəwɪɣə]	~	[wɪɖəwɪɖə]	lost
<i>pithirri</i>	[pɪɣerɪ]	~	[pɪɖerɪ]	chill

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

<i>-tharra</i>	-DU	[wɪrɛyɛrɛ]	two boomerangs
<i>-thurti</i>	-CONJ	[pɪwɪyɔɾɪ]	mother-CONJ
<i>-tha-</i>	-VERB	[kɛɾɛyɛŋɪɲci]	chop-FUT

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

<i>nhulatharra</i>	[n̥ɔlɛ·ɛrɛ]	those two
<i>warntitharninyji</i>	[wɛŋɖɪ·ɛŋɪɲci]	throw-FUT
<i>witiwititharninyji</i>	[wɪtɪwɪtɪyɛŋɪɲci]	hang up-FUT
<i>thathurninyji</i>	[t̪ɛwɔŋɪɲci]	send-FUT

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

TABLE 2.2: STOP ALLOPHONES

	#__	N__	V__V		
<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>		
<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>		
<i>t</i>	–	<i>d</i>	<i>t̪</i>		
<i>rt</i>	–	<i>d̪</i>	<i>ɾ</i>		
<i>j</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>		
<i>th</i>	<i>t̪</i>	<i>t̪</i>	<i>d̪</i>	<i>ɔ̃</i>	<i>y</i>
					<i>y</i> <i>witiwititharninyji</i>
					<i>w</i> <i>thathurninyji</i>
					<i>ɻ</i> <i>warntitharninyji</i>
					<i>∅</i> <i>nhulatharra</i>

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

<i>kurntal</i>	[kɔŋɖɛ ^l l]	daughter
<i>pal.ya</i>	[pɛ ^l ɪyɛ]	skinny
<i>mirtily</i>	[mɪɾɪ ^l ɻ]	neonate kangaroo

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

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

The glides /y/ and /w/ suffer some reduction in degree of occlusion in intervocalic position but this varies. Although phonetic vowel clusters or diphthongs occur most often, alternative

pronunciations with intervening glides are also heard. Much depends on the degree of emphasis given to the particular word in a certain context.

<i>ngawu</i>	[ŋɔ̃]	~	[ŋɔ̃w]	Yes!
<i>ngawurr</i>	[ŋɔ̃wɔ̃]	~	[ŋɔ̃wɔ̃ɔ̃]	foam
<i>mayiili</i>	[mæ̃e:li]	~	[mæ̃ye:li]	my father's father

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

2.2 VOWELS

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

TABLE 2.3: VOWEL INVENTORY

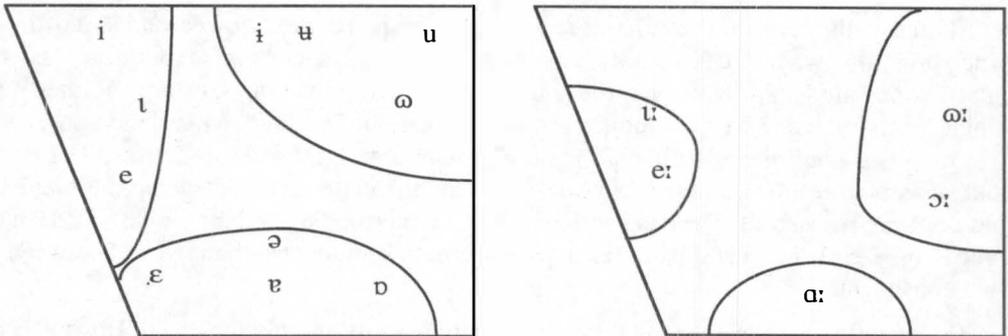
	front	back
high	<i>i, ii</i>	<i>u, uu</i>
low	<i>a, aa</i>	

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

<i>parnparn</i>	twenty-eight parrot	<i>paarnpaarn</i>	silly
<i>jamanu</i>	foot	<i>jaamarnuru</i>	yawn.PRES
<i>punilha</i>	go.PAST	<i>puniina</i>	plant type
<i>kulhuwari</i>	soft	<i>kulhu</i>	tadpole

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

TABLE 2.4: VOWEL ALLOPHONES



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

<i>nyinalayi</i>	[ɲenəleɪ]	sit.FUT
<i>wirriiri</i>	[weɾeɾɪ]	flame
<i>yirra</i>	[yeɾe]	tooth
<i>martuthunira</i>	[mæɾʊðʊneɾe]	Martuthunira

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

<i>jiingu</i>	[ɕi:ŋɔ]	<i>Grevillea pyramidalis</i>
<i>kiirkiirr</i>	[kɪ:rkɪ:r]	banded plover
<i>mayiili</i>	[mæye:li]	my father's father
<i>wariirti</i>	[wære:ɾɪ]	spears

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

<i>nhula</i>	[ɲüle]	that near you
<i>thurna</i>	[t̪i̯u̯ne]	glans penis
<i>pal.yunyji</i>	[pæ ^l lyũɲɕɪ]	rock python
<i>yalhuru</i>	[yäl̪i̯rʊ]	tongue

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

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

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

2.3 PHONOTACTICS

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

2.3.1 CONSTRAINTS ON POSITIONS OF OCCURRENCE

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

TABLE 2.5: PERMITTED INITIAL AND FINAL CONSONANTS

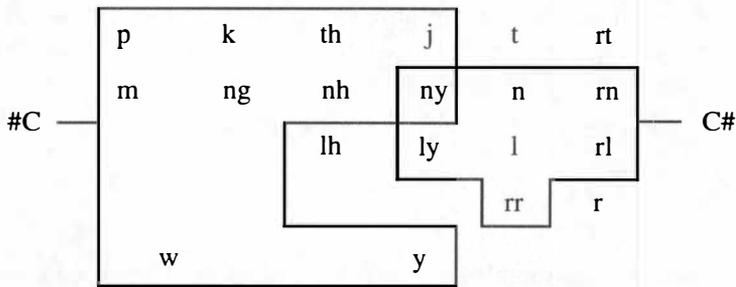


Table 2.6 lists the frequency of consonants in initial, final and intervocalic positions for a dictionary sample of 1,300 words:

TABLE 2.6: FREQUENCY OF CONSONANTS

	#C	C#	V_V		#C	C#	V_V
<i>p</i>	227	—	21	<i>lh</i>	—	—	51
<i>k</i>	217	—	30	<i>ly</i>	—	1	74
<i>th</i>	95	—	48	<i>l</i>	—	25	129
<i>j</i>	122	—	29	<i>rl</i>	—	1	74
<i>t</i>	—	—	7	<i>rr</i>	—	38	323
<i>rt</i>	—	—	209	<i>r</i>	—	—	226
<i>m</i>	194	—	85	<i>w</i>	179	—	185
<i>ng</i>	162	—	53	<i>y</i>	93	—	130
<i>nh</i>	25	—	20				
<i>ny</i>	52	19	32				
<i>n</i>	—	47	99				
<i>m</i>	—	15	50				

A number of patterns emerge from the figures listed in Table 2.6. Firstly, those consonants that occur in word-initial position are less common in intervocalic position. The only exceptions are the two glides /w/ and /y/. The difference is most marked for the peripheral stops /p/ and /k/, and to a lesser extent the palatal stop /j/, and reflects historical changes affecting stops in intervocalic position (§2.7). Secondly, the alveolar consonants /n/, /l/ and /rr/ are the most common finally (although there is no evidence to suggest a neutralisation of the apical contrast in this position).

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

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

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

2.3.2 CONSONANT CLUSTERS

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

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

TABLE 2.7: INTRAMORPHEMIC CONSONANT CLUSTERS

C ₁	C ₂	<i>p</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>
<i>ny</i>	–	–	4	–	–	–	–
<i>n</i>	16	42	4	4	–	–	–
<i>m</i>	4	8	2	–	–	–	–
<i>ly</i>	1	1	–	–	–	6	–
<i>l</i>	1	1	–	–	–	16	42
<i>rl</i>	1	2	–	–	–	13	1
<i>rr</i>	2	5	–	–	–	21	28

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

<i>lyp</i>	<i>walypa</i>	type of tree (= Ngarluma)
<i>lyk</i>	<i>palykura</i>	flat (but also <i>pal.yura</i>)
<i>lp</i>	<i>wilpilpi</i>	emu chick
<i>lk</i>	<i>kurilkura</i>	seagull (= Ngarluma)
<i>rlp</i>	<i>marlpara</i>	surrounded
<i>rlk</i>	<i>kurlkura</i> <i>thurlku</i>	hair, fur (= Ngarluma) boy (common in Mantharta languages)
<i>rp</i>	<i>jirpi</i> <i>warrpurri-Ø</i>	patrimoiety totem to swim, bathe
<i>rrk</i>	<i>jarrkurti</i> <i>jurrkirta</i> <i>kurlurrkura</i> <i>manyarrka</i> <i>yurrkun</i>	three moon black-feathered emu sugar mangrove crab

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

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

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

As in most Australian languages, these homorganic clusters complicate an otherwise simple statement of phonotactic constraints on consonant clusters and syllable structure conditions (see Dixon 1980:159ff). Although there is no good evidence at present for treating

these clusters as unit-phonemes (for example, Jagst (1973) treats them as a series of prenasalised stops in Ngardilpa), such an analysis would have some advantages. Firstly, it would enable a simpler statement of the phonotactics of consonant clusters. Secondly, treating the homorganic alveolar cluster /nt/ as a unit-phoneme would effectively deny the alveolar stop /t/ phoneme status.

2.3.3 INTERMORPHEMIC CLUSTERS

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

TABLE 2.8: INTERMORPHEMIC CLUSTERS

	C ₂	<i>p</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>nh</i>	<i>ny</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>
C ₁											
<i>ny</i>	—	*	*	—	*	*	—	*	*	—	—
<i>n</i>	—	*	*	—	*	*	—	*	*	—	—
<i>m</i>	—	*	*	—	*	*	—	*	*	—	—
<i>ly</i>	—	—	*	—	*	*	—	*	*	—	—
<i>l</i>	—	—	*	—	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>rl</i>	—	—	*	—	*	*	—	*	*	—	—
<i>rr</i>	—	—	*	—	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

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

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

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

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

pirtan-pa-rru
 quartz-Ø-NOW

minthal-wa-rru
 alone-Ø-NOW

kanparr-wa-rru
 spider-Ø-NOW

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

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

<i>minthal-u-lwa</i>	<i>pirtan-u-nu</i>	<i>mir.ta-l-u-lwa</i>
alone-Ø-ID	quartz-Ø-QUOT	not-THEN-Ø-ID

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

2.3.4 REDUPLICATION

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

<i>jampa-jampa</i>	near to death
<i>witha-witha</i>	lost
<i>manha-manha</i>	shaky
<i>yirti-yirti</i>	striped
<i>warnan-warnan</i>	overcast
<i>puriny-puriny</i>	light breeze
<i>winyarta-winyarta</i>	exhausted
<i>wurtura-wurtura</i>	dirty/dusty
<i>yarlwanhu-yarlwanhu</i>	speckled brown and white

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

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

<i>kurryu-wurryu</i>	bumpy
<i>kulha-wulha</i>	heaped up
<i>pinyja-winyja</i>	shaken
<i>punku-wunku</i>	rolled up

This lenition is part of a general historical process affecting intervocalic peripheral stops (§2.7.1). However, the rule does not appear to be general for all reduplications. For two words in the data the lenition is optional:

<i>pirntura-pirntura</i>	ripples
<i>parntalha-parntalha-npa-Ø</i>	become blistered all over

These two cases happen to be the only examples in the data of reduplicated trisyllabic roots with an initial peripheral consonant. The optional status of the peripheral stop lenition thus supports the notion that trisyllabic reduplications have marginal status as unitary words.

2.4 THE *r.t* CLUSTER

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

<i>kur.ta</i>	<i>kurta</i>	<i>kuta</i>	<i>kurrangu</i>
clever	brother	short	black
<i>mir.ta</i>	<i>mirtamirta</i>	<i>Mitawanti</i>	<i>mirru</i>
No	white	placename	spearthrower
<i>mir.tuwarra</i>			
clever person			
<i>thuur.ta</i>	<i>thurtu</i>		
sweet	sister		

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

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

The period of stop closure in *kur.ta* is similar to that of the alveolar stop in *kuta*, ranging between 14 and 21 centiseconds for the examples analysed. The consonant is voiceless and is released with some wide spectrum burst of energy. The preceding formant structure is clearly divisible between a pure vowel component and a structure showing strong retroflex colouring. Each accounts for approximately half the formant structure, which varies in length between 19 and 21 centiseconds. The average length of the closure plus the preceding

formant structure is 36 centiseconds, significantly longer (by a half) than the combined average VC period for either *kuta* or *kurta* and clearly supporting the contention that *r.t* is a cluster.

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

<i>kuta</i>	short
<i>kurta</i>	elder brother
<i>kurlta</i>	clever
<i>kurnta</i>	shame

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

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

<i>kuta</i>	short
<i>kurda</i>	elder brother
<i>kurta</i>	clever
<i>kurnta</i>	shame

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

<i>mir.ta</i>	vs	<i>mirta</i>	Panyjima, Ngarluma, Yindjibarndi
<i>thuur.ta</i>	vs	<i>thukurta</i>	Panyjima, Ngarluma

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

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

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

2.5 MORPHOPHONEMICS

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

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

2.5.1 SYLLABLE/MORA-COUNTING ALLOMORPHS

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

The clearest cases of mora counting alternation involve the locative (§4.5) and effector (§4.4) nominal suffixes, which differ only in that the effector forms have final /u/ where the locative forms have final /a/ (§4.1.3). These morphemes follow the common Australian pattern with forms *-ngku/a* and *-lu/a* on vowel-final stems. The *-ngku/a* allomorph occurs on nominal stems of two morae while the *-lu/a* alternant occurs on all stems of more than two morae (see Hale 1976b):

<i>nguu-ngka</i>	face-LOC	<i>kaara-la</i>	hip bone-LOC
<i>nhamu-ngka</i>	sand-LOC	<i>malarnu-la</i>	shade-LOC
<i>muyi-ngku</i>	dog-EFF	<i>muyira-lu</i>	dingo-EFF
<i>tharnta-ngku</i>	euro-EFF	<i>mimtirimarta-lu</i>	goanna-EFF

Similarly, the ‘full-laden’ suffix, *-warlaya*, (§4.1.6, §4.16) has a shortened form *-warla* which appears on dimoric stems:

<i>murti-warla</i>	fast-FULL	<i>marrari-warlaya</i>	word-FULL
<i>jinyji-warla</i>	fat-FULL	<i>kunkuwarra-warlaya</i>	honey-FULL

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

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

<i>karta-yarri-Ø</i>	stab-COLL	<i>thuulwa-lwarri-Ø</i>	pull out-COLL
<i>thani-yarri-Ø</i>	hit-COLL	<i>kartatha-lwarri-Ø</i>	chop-COLL

2.5.2 LENITION OF PERIPHERAL STOPS

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

<i>jinkarn-ku</i>	<i>mukul-yu</i>
<i>kurlany-ku</i>	<i>kanparr-yu</i>

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

<i>jinkurn-karri-Ø</i>	<i>nhuurr-yarri-Ø</i>
------------------------	-----------------------

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

<i>jinkarn-kura</i>	<i>mukul-wura</i>
<i>kurlany-kura</i>	<i>kanparr-wura</i>

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

<i>-ku</i>	on stems with a final nasal
<i>-yu</i>	on stems with a final lateral or rhotic
<i>-wu</i>	on stems with a final vowel

For example:

<i>muyi-wu</i>	<i>jinkarn-ku</i>
<i>pawulu-wu</i>	<i>kanparr-yu</i>
<i>tharnta-wu</i>	<i>mukul-yu</i>

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

- (a) *pawulu-wura*
kanyara-wura
- (b) *kurryu-wurru*
kulha-wulha

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

<i>muyi-i</i>	dog-ACC
<i>pawulu-u</i>	child-ACC
<i>tharnta-a</i>	euro-ACC

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

parra-warra
punku-wunku
pulya-wulya

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

2.5.3 VOWEL LENGTHENING

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

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

<i>wuyu-urta</i>	river-ALL
<i>ngurra-arta</i>	camp-ALL
<i>puyi-irta</i>	far-ALL

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

<i>murti-ingku-Ø</i>	run after
<i>thartu-ungku-Ø</i>	meet
<i>jina-ngku-Ø</i>	track

Finally, the first person singular kin-possessive suffix (§5.2) may be given an underlying form *-ni* affecting a lengthening of the final vowel of a disyllabic stem. I have been unable to elicit an example involving a consonant-final stem.

<i>mura-ani</i>	my son
<i>pawu-uni</i>	my father
<i>thami-ini</i>	my mother's father

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

<i>kantharri</i>	mother's mother	<i>kanthaarri</i>	my mother's mother
<i>mayili</i>	father's father	<i>mayiili</i>	my father's father
<i>yumuni</i>	father's brother	<i>yumuuni</i>	my father's brother

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

2.5.4 VOWEL REPLACEMENT

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

<i>nyina-rra</i>	→	<i>nyinirra</i>
<i>wangka-rra</i>	→	<i>wangkirra</i>

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

2.5.5 HAPLOLOGY

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

<i>*-nguli-layi</i>	→	<i>-ngu-layi</i>
-PASS-FUT		
<i>*-nguli-lu</i>	→	<i>-ngu-lu</i>
-PASS-PURPss		
<i>*-nguli-rra</i>	→	<i>-ngu-rra</i>
-PASS-CTEMP		

A similar pattern involves the dropping of the final /rri/ syllable of the collective (a) and 'body-noise' (b) derivational suffixes preceding the contemporaneous relative inflection *-rra*:

- (a) *-marri-rra* → *-marra*
-yarri-rra → *-yarra*
-lwarri-rra → *-lwarra*
- (b) *-karri-rra* → *-karra*
-yarri-rra → *-yarra*
-rari-rra → *-rarra*

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

2.5.6 CONSONANT ASSIMILATION

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

- ta* following /n/
-rta following /m/
-tha following /ny/
-a following a lateral or /r/

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

2.5.7 APICAL ALTERNATION

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

- rminyji* /-ninyji/ ~ /-rminyji/
-layi /-layi/ ~ /-rlayi/
-l /-l/ ~ /-rl/
-nu /-nu/ ~ /-rnu/

Although there are clear environments favouring one or other allomorph in each case, these are by no means restricting conditions. For example, a verb bearing the future inflection with an initial retroflex consonant, on one occasion, may occur in different circumstances with an initial alveolar. Because of this relatively free variation I have chosen

not to represent the alternate forms in transcriptions. Instead, the most common form of the morpheme is represented in each case.

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

TABLE 2.9 : CONDITIONED APICAL ALTERNATIONS

	<i>-minyji</i>	<i>-layi</i>	<i>-l</i>	<i>-nu</i>
C _[+apical] V__	<i>-minyji</i>	<i>-rlayi</i>	<i>-rl</i>	<i>-(r)nu</i>
C _[+apical] i__	<i>-(r)ninyji</i>	<i>-layi</i>	<i>-l</i>	<i>-nu</i>
C _[-apical] i__	<i>-(r)ninyji</i>	<i>-layi</i>	<i>-l</i>	<i>-nu</i>
elsewhere	<i>-minyji</i>	<i>-layi</i>	<i>-l</i>	<i>-nu</i>

2.6 STRESS

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

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

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

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

2.6.1 BASIC STRESS PATTERNS

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

<u>panyu</u>	good
<u>kanyara</u>	man, person
- <u>mulyarra</u>	-ALLative
- <u>ma-L</u>	-CAUSative
- <u>tha-L</u>	-Controlled Contact

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

<u>Mangkuru(+)</u> <u>thuni</u>	Peter Creek
<u>Wangkarta(+)</u> <u>muka</u>	Mount Mistake

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

<u>wuruma-L</u>	to do for (someone)
<u>kulaya-L</u>	to try out, test
<u>warrama-L</u>	to make

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

Rule 1	<u>CV</u>	→	CV/ <u>CV</u> __
Rule 2	CV	→	<u>CV</u> / <u>CV</u> __CV

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

- (2.1) wantha-rminyji lexical stress
 wantharninyji
- (2.2) patha-rrnguli-nyila-a lexical stress
 patharrngulinyilaa
- (2.3) kanyara-ngara-la lexical stress
 kanyarangarala
- (2.4) kanyara-la-nguru lexical stress
 kanyaralanguru Rule 2

- | | | |
|--------|---|------------------------------------|
| (2.5) | <u>w</u> angkarnu- <u>m</u> arri- <u>l</u> ha- <u>r</u> ru
<u>w</u> angkarnu <u>m</u> arri <u>l</u> har <u>r</u> u | lexical stress
Rule 2 |
| (2.6) | <u>p</u> anyu- <u>r</u> ri- <u>r</u> ra- <u>r</u> ru
<u>p</u> anyu <u>r</u> ri <u>r</u> ra <u>r</u> ru | lexical stress
Rule 2 |
| (2.7) | <u>n</u> hartu- <u>m</u> a- <u>r</u> minyji
<u>n</u> hartu <u>m</u> ar <u>n</u> inyji | lexical stress
Rule 1 |
| (2.8) | <u>w</u> anthami- <u>m</u> a- <u>r</u> minyji- <u>r</u> ru
<u>w</u> anthami <u>m</u> ar <u>n</u> inyji <u>r</u> ru
<u>w</u> anthami <u>m</u> ar <u>n</u> inyji <u>r</u> ru | lexical stress
Rule 1
Rule 2 |
| (2.9) | <u>m</u> irru- <u>n</u> gka- <u>m</u> a- <u>l</u> alha- <u>r</u> ru
<u>m</u> irru <u>n</u> gka <u>m</u> al <u>l</u> har <u>r</u> u
<u>m</u> irru <u>n</u> gka <u>m</u> al <u>l</u> har <u>r</u> u | lexical stress
Rule 1
Rule 2 |
| (2.10) | <u>k</u> ulaya- <u>r</u> minyji- <u>r</u> ru
<u>k</u> ulaya <u>r</u> minyji <u>r</u> ru
<u>k</u> ulaya <u>r</u> minyji <u>r</u> ru | lexical stress
Rule 1
Rule 2 |

2.6.2 THE EFFECTS OF LONG VOWELS ON STRESS PATTERNS

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

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

- | | | |
|--------|--|------------------------------------|
| (2.11) | <u>n</u> huura- <u>n</u> pa- <u>r</u> ra
<u>n</u> huura <u>n</u> pa <u>r</u> ra | lexical stress
Rule 2 |
| (2.12) | <u>n</u> huura- <u>m</u> a- <u>l</u> alha- <u>r</u> ru
<u>n</u> huura <u>m</u> al <u>l</u> har <u>r</u> u
<u>n</u> huura <u>m</u> al <u>l</u> har <u>r</u> u | lexical stress
Rule 1
Rule 2 |

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

- | | | |
|--------|--|---|
| (2.13) | <u>t</u> haapuwa
<u>t</u> haapuwa <u>n</u> gara | rotten mouth
rotten-mouthed fellows-PL |
|--------|--|---|

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

- (2.14) thaapuwa-rru not: *thaapuwa-rru
 thaapuwa-la-rru *thaapuwa-la-rru

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

- (2.15) ngurra-arta
 ngurraarta
- (2.16) ngurra-arta-npa-rra
 ngurraartanparra
 *ngurraartanparra
- (2.17) muyi-ingku-lha
 muyiingkulha
 *muyiingkulha
- (2.18) muyi-ingku-ngu-rra-rru
 muyiingkungurrarru
 *muyiingkungurrarru

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

Rule 1	<u>CV</u>	→	CV/ <u>CV</u> __
Rule 2	CV	→	<u>CV</u> / <u>CV</u> __CV
Rule 3	<u>CV(V)</u>	→	CV(V)/ <u>CV(V)</u> __

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

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

- (2.19) waya-ngku-ngu-rra lexical stress
 wayangkungurra Rule 2
 not *wayangkungurra

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

- (2.20) waruulwa-nngu-rra
waruulwanngurra
 *waruulwanngurra

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

- (2.21) kapun-wirraa-npa-lha-rru
kapunwirraanpalharru
 not *kapunwirraanpalharru

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

- Rule 2a CV → CV/CV__CV
 Rule 2b CVV → CVV/__CV

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

- (2.22) kapun-wirraa-npa-lha-rru lexical stress
kapunwirraanpalharru Rule 2b
kapunwirraanpalharru Rule 2a
kapunwirraanpalharru Rule 3

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

- (2.23) nguyirri-wirraa-ma-minyji lexical stress
nguyirriwirraamarninyji Rule 1

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

- (2.24) wántha-minyji
wángkarnu-marri-lhà-rru
wántharni-mà-minyji-rru

2.6.3 PHRASE STRESS AND WORD STRESS

The preferred stress patterns of words are often affected by phrase stress and intonation patterns, syntactic emphasis on particular morphemes, and metrical rhymes. First, there is a tendency to stress final case-markers in certain contexts; usually where some contrast in

permissible intramorphemic consonant clusters (Table 2.7) reveals patterns of lenition similar to those occurring across morpheme boundaries.

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

2.7.1 LENITION OF STOPS

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

<i>*kakara</i>	>	<i>kaara</i>	hip bone
<i>*yakan</i>	>	<i>yaan</i>	spouse
<i>*nhukura</i>	>	<i>nhuura</i>	know
<i>*nhukunu</i>	>	<i>nhuunu</i>	spouse of grandparent

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

<i>makaran</i>	type of plant
<i>yakarrangu</i>	sun, day
<i>thukurtarra</i>	person who talks out of place

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

<i>*jikurra</i>	>	<i>jiwurra</i>	bony bream
<i>*puka</i>	>	<i>puwa</i>	rotten
<i>*warruka</i>	>	<i>warruwa</i>	devil
<i>*makuntu</i>	>	<i>mawuntu</i>	punishment spear
<i>*yapan</i>	>	<i>yawan</i>	hot cooking stone
<i>*pipi</i>	>	<i>piwi</i>	breast
<i>*jiipa</i>	>	<i>jiwa</i>	shock, surprise
<i>*thapi</i>	>	<i>thawi</i>	song type
<i>*japurta</i>	>	<i>jawurta</i>	beard
<i>*kaja</i>	>	<i>kaya</i>	elder brother
<i>*pajapurtu</i>	>	<i>payawurtu</i>	savage
<i>*yuja</i>	>	<i>yuya</i>	spinifex quail
<i>*wajuwarra</i>	>	<i>wayuwarra</i>	type of marsupial rat

Once again, there are exceptions to this pattern:

<i>pukarra</i>	firewood
<i>makurra</i>	afternoon
<i>ngapala</i>	mud
<i>kapun</i>	person, body
<i>jipurta</i>	type of fruit
<i>waja</i>	baby
<i>paju</i>	REALly
<i>yaji</i>	mother's brother

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

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

2.7.2 CHANGES AFFECTING CLUSTERS

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

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

The lenition is equivalent to that occurring in Yindjibarndi and Kurrama in clusters involving /*rr/ (O'Grady 1966). However, in Martuthunira the lenition extends to clusters involving laterals. By contrast, in Yindjibarndi and Kurrama it is the laterals that show the effects of change in the comparable consonant clusters: they surface as stops in Kurrama and variously as rhotics or glides in Yindjibarndi.

2.7.3 THE PROBLEM OF INTERVOCALIC *t*

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER 3 OVERVIEW OF MORPHOLOGY

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

3.1 PARTS OF SPEECH

The following parts of speech are defined for Martuthunira:

Nominal	An open class of items inflected for number and case. The superclass nominal includes the closed subclasses pronoun, demonstrative and locational nominal, and a set of special temporal nominals.
Verb	An open class of items inflected for tense/aspect, mood and voice. Verbs are subcategorised by their argument structure.
Particles and Clitics	A closed class of uninflected words and clitics which serve a range of functions. Most modify a proposition by presenting some pragmatic information such as the speaker's state of mind, intentions, or assumptions about the status of the information coded in the proposition.
Interjection	A set of words which may not take suffixes or clitics and which can function as complete utterances.

3.1.1 NOUN AND ADJECTIVE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<i>karlara</i>	hot
<i>jurirri</i>	sharp
<i>pangkira</i>	protruding, lump
<i>ngapala</i>	mud, muddy
<i>winparri</i>	long
<i>mirtali</i>	big
<i>ngarniwurtu</i>	hot-tasting

C. Nominals which may appear in all five slots. Most items in this group can be recognised as prototypical adjectives and include the following:

<i>jalya</i>	useless, bereaved
<i>panyu</i>	good, well
<i>kur.ta</i>	clever, cleverly
<i>jarruru</i>	slow, slowly
<i>kuyil</i>	bad, badly
<i>piyuwa</i>	finished, completely
<i>pinkarranyu</i>	dry
<i>winya</i>	full

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

<i>nguyirri</i>	asleep
<i>yanarra</i>	flat on back
<i>jirruna</i>	stealthily
<i>karluwirraa</i>	excessively
<i>kartarr</i>	firmly, tightly
<i>minthal</i>	alone
<i>mulurru</i>	straight, directly
<i>puwany</i>	hunting

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

TABLE 3.1: RANGE OF NOMINAL FUNCTIONS

		1	2	3	4	5
		head	modifier	simple ascriptive	copula ascriptive	second predication
<i>wirra</i>	boomerang	*				
<i>tharnta</i>	kangaroo	*				
<i>wartirra</i>	woman	*				
<i>ngapala</i>	mud	*	*	*	*	
<i>karlarra</i>	hot	*	*	*	*	
<i>winya</i>	full	*	*	*	*	*
<i>panyu</i>	good	*	*	*	*	*
<i>jalya</i>	useless	*	*	*	*	*
<i>kur.ta</i>	clever	*	*	*	*	*
<i>pinkarranyu</i>	dry	*	*	*	*	*
<i>kartarr</i>	firmly				*	*
<i>nguyirri</i>	asleep				*	*
<i>puwany</i>	hunting				*	*

The range of functions for two of the more flexible nominals, *pinkarranyu* 'dry' (a), and *winya* 'full' (b), is illustrated in the following examples:

HEAD OF NOUN PHRASE

- (3.1) a. *Nhuwana-yi pawulu-ngara parrani-Ø yilangu nyina-lu pinkarranyu-la.*
 2PL-VOC child-PL return-IMP here sit-PURPss dry-LOC
 You children come back here and stay in the dry.
- b. *Winya-npa-rra-rru, pintirrijila-rru puni-marri-layi ngurra-arta-rru,*
 full-INCH-CTEMP-NOW scattered-NOW go-COLL-FUT camp-ALL-NOW
pintirrijila wanti-marri-layi-rru ngurra-ngka-rru winya-ngara.
 scattered lie-COLL-FUT-NOW camp-LOC-NOW full-PL
 [We] get full now, and then scatter to [our] camps, each to lie in [our] camps
 then, [we] full ones.
 (No mention of implicit 'we' in previous 12 clauses.)

MODIFIER IN NOUN PHRASE

- (3.2) a. *Nhulaa manku-Ø, pinkarranyu kalyaran!*
 near.you grab-IMP dry stick
 Grab that, a dry stick!
- b. *Nhula manyarra wantha-rryu nganaju-wu-la parrka-ngka,*
 near.you sugar put-IMP 1SG.OBL-GEN-LOC tea-LOC
kayarra mirtiri winya.
 two spoon full
 Put that (near you) sugar in my tea, two spoons full.

SIMPLE ASCRIPTIVE

- (3.3) a. *Nhiyu thanuwa pinkarranyu paju nganaju mungka-lwaa.*
 this bread dry REAL 1SG.ACC eat-PURPs=o
 This bread is too dry for me to eat. (trans.)
- b. *Nhiyu kayulumarnu winya-rru.*
 this waterbag full-NOW
 This waterbag is full.

COPULA ASCRIPTIVE

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

SECOND PREDICATION

- (3.5) a. *Nhulaa wartirra wiru thanuwa-a thurmta-minyji kayulu-wirriwa-a,*
 near.you woman want damper-ACC knead-FUT water-PRIV-ACC

pinkarranyu-u.

dry-ACC

That woman wants to knead damper (bread) without water, dry.

- b. *Punga-a-rru winya-ma-rminyji puni-waa winya-rru,*
guts-ACC-NOW full-CAUS-FUT go-PURPs=o full-NOW

thuur.ta-a mungka-lalha-nguru.

fruit-ACC eat-PAST-ABL

Then [they] fill their guts so [they] can go full now, having eaten some fruit.

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

3.1.2 PROPER NOMINALS: THE *-ngu* AND *-nha* SUFFIXES

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

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

While the use of the suffix in the Western Desert and in Thalanyji and Payungu displays a strong grammaticalisation of the morpheme as a marker of particular morphological categories, in Martuthunira (and similarly in Panyjima and Yindjibarndi) the *-nha* suffix is never automatically selected by any nominal. Nor is there any strong argument for viewing it

as an allomorph of some case (e.g. the unmarked nominative). The suffix must be ascribed a meaning independent of the case system.

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

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

(3.7) *Ngayu nhawu-lha ngurnu Tharlural-ngu yini*
 1SG.NOM see-PAST that.ACC Deepdale.Pool-ACC name
wangka-nguli-nyila-a.
 call-PASS-PrREL-ACC
 I saw that place named *Tharlural*.

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

3.1.3 CLOSED NOMINAL CLASSES

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

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

3.1.4 NOMINAL AND VERB

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

full range of regularly case-marked arguments, including second predications on these arguments.

3.2 WORD STRUCTURE

3.2.1 SUFFIXES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (3.8) *Ngunhaa pawulu puni-layi wangka-lu papu-thurti-i*
 that.NOM child go-FUT speak-PURPss father-CONJ-ACC
pipi-thurti-i.
 mother-CONJ-ACC
 That kid will go and speak to his father and mother.

- (3.9) *Ngamama nhawu-layi kupiyaji-i wuntu-ngara-a-thurti*
 1PL.EXC see-FUT little.PL-ACC boy-PL-ACC-CONJ
ngurrinymarta-ngara-a-thurti panyi-mura-a.
 girl-PL-ACC-CONJ dance-PrREL-ACC
 We'll see the little ones, the boys and the girls, dancing.

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

3.2.2 CLITICS

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

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

- (3.10) a. *Ngayu nguyirriwarla paju, wiruwanti-nguru-l wanti-layi*
 1SG.NOM sleepy.fellow REAL morning-ABL-THEN lie-FUT
yakarrangu-u yirla tharrwa-waa.
 sun-ACC until go.in-PURPs=o
 I'm a proper sleepyhead, lying in through the morning until the sun goes down.
- b. *Mir.ta-rru wanti-nguru wiruwanti-l-nguru, karlwa-nguru*
 not-NOW lie-PRES morning-THEN-ABL get.up-PRES
yakarrangu-wirriwa-la-l.
 sun-PRIV-LOC-THEN
 Now I don't lie in through the morning, I get up when there's no sun.
- (3.11) a. *Kartu wuraal ngamari-i murlimurli-ma-rminyji mirlimurli-la*
 2SG.NOM all.right tobacco-ACC rolled-CAUS-FUT paper-LOC

nganajumarta-a kayarra-a-l?
 1DU.DISHARM-ACC two-ACC-THEN
 Will you roll cigarettes for both of us?

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

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

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

- (3.12) *Ngayu thani-lalha ngurnu muyi-i* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{kupuyu-l-yu.} \\ \textit{little-THEN-ACC} \\ \textit{*kupuyu-u-l} \\ \textit{little-ACC-THEN} \end{array} \right\}$

I hit that dog when it was little. (trans.)

- (3.13) *Nganarna thani-lalha ngurnu-ngara-a muyi-ngara-a* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{kupiyaji-i-l.} \\ \textit{little.PL-ACC-THEN} \\ \textit{*kupiyaji-l-yu} \\ \textit{little.PL-THEN-ACC} \end{array} \right\}$

We hit those dogs when they were little. (trans.)

- (3.14) *Ngayu puni-wayara thawun-mulyarra* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{kupuyu-mulyarra-l.} \\ \textit{little-ALL-THEN} \\ \textit{*kupuyu-l-mulyarra} \\ \textit{little-THEN-ALL} \end{array} \right\}$

I used to go to town when it was a small place. (trans.)

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

3.3 MULTIPLE CASE-MARKING

Nominal suffixes can be described as predicates which may take as their arguments constituents existing at a number of syntactic levels. Multiple case-marking will occur where individual words are marked by a number of suffixes each of which indicates the role of that word in successively higher constituents. The patterning of multiple case-marking within any particular language depends on a number of factors: (1) what grammatical constituents are

possible arguments of case predicates, (2) the language specific conventions governing how suffixes are to be distributed to words within constituents, and (3) the language specific constraints on certain sequences of morphemes (Dench & Evans 1988).

3.3.1 NOMINAL SUFFIX FUNCTIONS

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

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

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

TABLE 3.2 FUNCTIONS OF NOMINAL SUFFIXES

	Adnominal	Relational	Referential	Complementising	
				C-comp	T-comp
Accusative		*	*	*	
Effector		*	*	*	
Locative	*	*	*	*	*
Ablative	*	*	*	*	*
Associative	*	*			
Proprietary	*				
Privative	*				

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

3.3.2 MORPHOLOGICAL CODING CONVENTIONS

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

- (3.15) *Ngayu nhawu-lha ngurnu tharnta-a mirtily-marta-a*
 1SG.NOM see-PAST that.ACC euro-ACC joey-PROP-ACC

thara-ngka-marta-a.

pouch-LOC-PROP-ACC

I saw that euro (hill kangaroo) with a joey in its pouch. (trans.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

For simple ascriptive non-verbal clauses the head is the predicate noun phrase (§9.1), and embedded ascriptives of this kind have case assigned to all subconstituents of the head noun phrase. Usually the subject of a simple ascriptive is deleted under identity with the controlling matrix noun phrase as in example (3.18). The complex predicate of the ascriptive is underlined.

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

3.3.3 MORPHOLOGICAL SEQUENCE CONSTRAINTS

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

- (3.19) *Ngunhu wartirra puni-lha ngurnu-marta kanyara-marta*
 that.NOM woman go-PAST that.OBL-PROP man-PROP
 { *tharnta-wirriwa-marta.* }
 euro-PRIV-PROP
 { **tharnta-marta-marta.* }
 euro-PROP-PROP
 That woman went with the man { who is without a euro. (constr.) }
 { *who has the euro. }
- (3.20) *Ngayu nhawu-lha ngurnu kanyara-a kapun-marnu-wirriwa-a*
 1SG.NOM see-PAST that.ACC man-ACC body-ASSOC-PRIV-ACC
 { *jirli-marta-wirriwa-a* } *puni-nyila-a.*
 arm-PROP-PRIV-ACC go-PrREL-ACC
 { **jirli-wirriwa-wirriwa-a* }
 arm-PRIV-PRIV-ACC
 I saw that man going along { without the shirt with sleeves. (constr.) }
 { *without the shirt without sleeves. }

The constraint does not apply where one of two adjacent suffixes is part of a derived lexeme. In example (3.21), *mirtirimarta* 'goanna' is derived from *mirtiri* 'claw'. Compare (3.21) with (3.19).

- (3.21) *Ngunhu wartirra puni-lha ngurnu-marta mirtirimarta-marta.*
 that.NOM woman go-PAST that.OBL-PROP goanna-PROP
 That woman went along with a goanna (carrying it).

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

CHAPTER 4
NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

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

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

4.1 SUFFIX FORMS

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

4.1.1 ACCUSATIVE AND GENITIVE SUFFIX FORMS

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

TABLE 4.1: ACCUSATIVE AND GENITIVE ALLOMORPHY

	<i>Accusative</i>	<i>Genitive</i>
<i>proper nominals</i>	-ngu	-ngu
<i>common nominals</i>		
following a nasal	-ku	-ku
following a lateral or rhotic	-yu	-yu
following a vowel _i	-V _i	-wu

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

- *-ngu on proper nominals
- *-ku on common nominals

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

4.1.2 THE *-wura* BELONGING SUFFIX

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

<i>-ngura</i>	on proper nominals, pronouns and demonstratives
<i>-kura</i>	on common nominals following a nasal
<i>-wura</i>	on common nominals following a vowel, lateral or rhotic

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

4.1.3 LOCATIVE AND EFFECTOR

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

<i>-rgka</i>	dimoric stems with final vowel
<i>-la</i>	stems of three or more morae with final vowel
<i>-ta</i>	following <i>n</i>
<i>-rta</i>	following <i>m</i>
<i>-tha</i>	following <i>ny</i> or <i>nh</i>
<i>-a</i>	following a rhotic or lateral

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

4.1.4 ALLATIVE

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

<i>-arta</i>	following a vowel-final stem in <i>a</i>
<i>-irta</i>	following a vowel-final stem in <i>i</i>
<i>-urta</i>	following a vowel-final stem in <i>u</i>

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

4.1.5 PRIVATIVE

The privative suffix (§4.11) has two forms:

- wirriwa*
- wirraa*

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

4.1.6 FULL-LADEN

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

4.1.7 SUMMARY OF SUFFIX FORMS

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

TABLE 4.2: SUMMARY OF SUFFIX FORMS

Nominative Stem	Accusative	Genitive	Belonging	Locative	Effector	Direct Allative
<i>parla</i>	<i>parlaa</i>	<i>parlawu</i>	<i>parlawura</i>	<i>parlangka</i>	<i>parlangku</i>	<i>parlaarta</i>
<i>kanyara</i>	<i>kanyaraa</i>	<i>kanyarawu</i>	<i>kanyarawura</i>	<i>kanyarala</i>	<i>kanyaralu</i>	<i>kanyaraarta</i>
<i>muyi</i>	<i>muyii</i>	<i>muyiwu</i>	<i>muyiwura</i>	<i>muyingka</i>	<i>muyingku</i>	<i>muyiirta</i>
<i>warrirti</i>	<i>warrirtii</i>	<i>warrirtiwu</i>	<i>warrirtiwura</i>	<i>warrirtila</i>	<i>warrirtilu</i>	<i>warrirtiirta</i>
<i>nhartu</i>	<i>nhartuu</i>	<i>nhartuwu</i>	<i>nhartuwura</i>	<i>nhartungka</i>	<i>nhartungku</i>	<i>nhartuurta</i>
<i>pawulu</i>	<i>pawuluu</i>	<i>pawuluwu</i>	<i>pawuluwura</i>	<i>pawulula</i>	<i>pawululu</i>	<i>pawuluurta</i>
<i>kurmtal</i>	<i>kurmtal.yu</i>	<i>kurmtal.yu</i>	<i>kurmtalwura</i>	<i>kurmtala</i>	<i>kurmtalu</i>	—
<i>mirtily</i>	<i>mirtily.yu</i>	<i>mirtily.yu</i>	<i>mirtilywura</i>	<i>mirtilya</i>	<i>mirtilyu</i>	—
<i>kanparr</i>	<i>kanparryu</i>	<i>kanparryu</i>	<i>kanparrwura</i>	<i>kanparra</i>	<i>kanparru</i>	—
<i>kalyaran</i>	<i>kalyaranku</i>	<i>kalyaranku</i>	<i>kalyarankura</i>	<i>kalyaranta</i>	<i>kalyarantu</i>	—
<i>kurlany</i>	<i>kurlanyku</i>	<i>kurlanyku</i>	<i>kurlanykura</i>	<i>kurlanytha</i>	<i>kurlanythu</i>	—
<i>jinkarn</i>	<i>jinkarnku</i>	<i>jinkarnku</i>	<i>jinkarnkura</i>	<i>jinkarntha</i>	<i>jinkarnthu</i>	—

TABLE 4.3: INVARIANT NOMINAL SUFFIXES

Ablative	-nguru
Allative	-mulyarra
Directional	-wurrini
Direction facing	-thartu
Near	-wini
Dweller	-nyungu
Provenience	-ra
Associative	-marnu
Proprietary	-marta
Owner	-waya
Causal	-ngalyarnta
Obscured	-ngurni
Dual	-tharra
Plural	-ngara
Distributed plural	-wartura
Group	-marnu
Side	-wuyu
Conjunction	-thurti

4.2 NOMINATIVE CASE

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

4.3 ACCUSATIVE

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

[A] OBJECTS OF TRANSITIVE AND DITRANSITIVE VERBS

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

- (4.1) *Ngayu panyi-lalha kanparr-yu.*
 1SG.NOM step-PAST spider-ACC
 I stepped on a spider. (trans.)
- (4.2) *Ngunhu-tharra manku-lha-nguru kurlany-ku, parrani-nguru-rru.*
 that.NOM-DU get-PAST-ABL knife-ACC return-PRES-NOW
 Those two, having got a knife, are coming back now.

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

- (4.3) *Ngunhu kanyara ngurnu jinkarn-ku yungku-lha*
 that.NOM man that.ACC digging.stick-ACC give-PAST
ngurnula-ngu-u mimi-i.
 that.DEF-GEN-ACC uncle-ACC
 That man gave his uncle the digging stick. (trans.)
- (4.4) *Kartu marrari-i kuyil-yu mir.ta nhuura-ma-rminyji*
 2SG.NOM word-ACC bad-ACC not knowing-CAUS-FUT
pawulu-ngara-a.
 child-PL-ACC
 Don't you teach the children bad words. (trans.)

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

[B] ALTERNATIVE ARGUMENT STRUCTURES

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

- (4.5) *Nhulaa kanyara thurlanyarrara ngaliwa-mulyarra kanarri-lha*
 near.you man poor.fellow 1PL.INC-ALL come-PAST
wawayi-l.yarra . nganangu-u juwayumarta-a.
 look.for-CTEMP someone.OBL-ACC doctor-ACC
 That poor man came to us looking for a doctor.

- (4.6) *Ngunhu-ngara kanarri-layi nhawani-i-rru, yinki-i ngurra-a-rru.*
that.NOM-PL come-FUT thing-ACC-NOW beach-ACC land-ACC-NOW
Then they came right to the what's-its-name, to the beach, to the land.
- (4.7) *Ngaliya kanarri-lha tharnta-a mungka-rmura-a.*
1DU.EXC come-PAST euro-ACC eat-PrREL-ACC
We came upon a euro feeding.
- (4.8) *Ngunhu pawulu nganaju parla-a warntitha-rralha.*
that.NOM child 1SG.ACC stone-ACC throw-PAST
That child threw a stone at me (hitting me).
- (4.9) *Ngayu parla-a warntitha-rralha ngurnu-ngka muyi-ngka*
1SG.NOM rock-ACC throw-PAST that.ACC-LOC dog-LOC
wanyjarri-wala.
run.away-PURPds
I threw a rock at that dog so it would run away. (trans.)

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

[C] ACCUSATIVE BENEFACTIVE ARGUMENTS

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

- (4.10) *Nganaju yaan pawulu-ngara-a kampa-lalha murla-a.*
1SG.GEN wife child-PL-ACC cook-PAST meat-ACC
My wife cooked meat for the kids.
- (4.11) *Ngayu kangku-lha pukarta-ngara-a ngurnu wartirra-a.*
1SG.NOM carry-PAST firewood-PL-ACC that.ACC woman-ACC
I carried firewood for that woman. (trans.)
- (4.12) *Muyi yanga-lalha tharnta-a kanyara-thurti waruu-lpurtu mirmtiwul*
dog chase-PAST euro-ACC man-CONJ still-COMP together
muyi-ngara-a, mungka-lwaa murla-a.
dog-PL-ACC eat-PURPds meat-ACC
The dog, together with a man, chased a euro for the dogs, so [the dogs]
could eat meat. (trans.)

- (4.13) *Nhiyu warrirti parli-mpa-nguru nganaju.*
 this.NOM spear bent-INCH-PRES 1SG.ACC
 This spear is going bent on me. (trans.)
- (4.14) *Mir.ta yimpala-mpa-marri-layi kartungu-u mapuji-i.*
 not like.that-INCH-COLL-FUT 2SG.GEN-ACC MoFa-ACC
 Don't be like that about/on your grandfather.

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

[D] COMPLEMENTS OF PREDICATE NOMINALS

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

- (4.15) *Nhuwana nhuura nganaju yilangu karri-nyila-a.*
 2PL.NOM knowing 1SG.ACC here stand-PrREL-ACC
 You know I'm standing here.
- (4.16) *Kartu nyina-Ø pawulu jalyuru-la, nyina-Ø waya muyi-i.*
 2SG.NOM sit-IMP child inside-LOC sit-IMP fear dog-ACC
 You sit inside kid, for fear of the dog. (trans.)

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

- (4.17) *Wayil ngula yaan ngurnaa wartirra-a.*
 maybe IGNOR spouse that.ACC woman-ACC
 Maybe he is husband to that woman.
- (4.18) *Oh! Ngunhaa pala mimi ngali-i.*
 Oh that.NOM IT uncle 1DU.INC-ACC
 Oh! You mean that fella who is uncle to us.

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

- (4.19) *Ngunhu paya-nnguntharri ngawurr-marta mir.ta panyu paju*
 that.NOM drink-HABITNOM foam-PROP not good REAL
nganaju-u kurntal-yu.
 1SG.GEN-ACC daughter-ACC
 That beer (lit. thing having foam that is drunk) isn't good for my daughter.
- (4.20) *Nhiyu ngalhangalha ngumu yarta-a kanyara-a.*
 this.NOM clever that.ACC other-ACC man-ACC
 This one is clever compared with the other man.
- (4.21) *Karlarra paju ngaliwa-a puni-waa.*
 hot REAL 1PL.INC-ACC go-PURPs=o
 It's too hot for us to go.

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

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

[E] ACCUSATIVE OF TEMPORAL EXTENT

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

- (4.23) *Yakarrangu-u wanarra-a wanti-layi waruu-lpurtu.*
 day-ACC long-ACC lie-FUT still-COMP
 All day long he'll still be lying like that.
- (4.24) *Yaan nyina-nguru malyarra-mpa-rra puni-lha-nguru jurwalyi-i*
 spouse be-PRES sick-INCH-CTEMP go-PAST-ABL summer-ACC
panyi-l.yarra yakarrangu-u karlarra-a.
 walk-CTEMP day-ACC hot-ACC
 [My] wife is sick from having gone walking through the hot summer's day.
- (4.25) *Wantharni-mpa-layi-lwa? Parnta-rminyji wayil waya-a yirla.*
 how-INCH-FUT-ID rain-FUT maybe dark-ACC until
 How will it go from here? Maybe it will rain right through until it's dark.
 (see (7.103))

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

- (4.26) *Ngunhu tharnta wanti-nguru yakarrangu-la.*
 that.NOM euro lie-PRES day-LOC
 That euro sleeps in the daytime.
- (4.27) *Ngulangu karalu parnta-rmuru muthu-ngka yirla.*
 there south rain-PRES winter-LOC only
 There in the south it only rains in the winter.

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

The use of the accusative to mark a complement of extended time has a clear parallel in a number of Indo-European languages. Kuryłowicz (1964:182) describes the 'accusative of temporal extension' in Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Gothic and Old Church Slavonic. Generally,

“the accusative noun denotes a stretch of time or, secondarily a moment within the given stretch of time”. The accusative of temporal extension in Latin contrasts with the use of the ablative case to mark “the time at or within which” (see Hale and Buck 1903:204 & 230), just as the locative is used in Martuthunira.

[F] DISCUSSION

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

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

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

4.4 EFFECTOR

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

- (4.28) *Nhiyu muyi mir.ta jarruru-lu thani-mu nganaju-wu-lu*
 this.NOM dog not slowly-EFF hit-PASSP 1SG.OBL-GEN-EFF
yaan-tu.
 spouse-EFF
 This dog was thrashed by my wife (lit. hit not slowly).

- (4.29) *Nhiyu nyamina manku-yangu pinyjura-marta-lu.*
 this.NOM dugong grab-PASSP rope-PROP-EFF
 This dugong was caught with a rope. (trans.)
- (4.30) *Ngunhu pawulu kunanyja-nngu-layi kulirr-u, kuyil-u.*
 that.NOM child defecate.on-PASS-FUT galah-EFF bad-EFF
 That kid will get defecated on by a galah, the bad thing. (trans.)
- (4.31) *Kartu jamanu wurmta-nnguli-yirri parla-ngku jurirri-lu.*
 2SG.NOM foot cut-PASS-LEST stone-EFF sharp-EFF
 Your foot might get cut by a sharp stone.

As (4.31) shows, the noun phrase bearing the effector suffix in a passive clause need not denote an agent. The effector noun phrase may denote inanimate objects such as 'stone', 'stick', natural forces such as 'wind', 'rain', 'sun', and abstract mental states as in the following, rather idiomatic, example:

- (4.32) *Nhartu-mpa-lha-lpurtu? Wanta-ngku wiyaa wangka-yangu.*
 what-INCH-PAST-COMP crazy-EFF maybe tell-PASSP
 What happened? I must have been crazy (lit. I was told by insanity).

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

- (4.33) *Palyangu-ma-minyji-rru ngurnaa ngarri-ngku karlarra-lu.*
 closed-CAUS-FUT-NOW that.ACC ashes-EFF hot-EFF
 Now cover it over with hot ashes.
- (4.34) *Puntharri-lha-rru, yartapalyu malwunpa-wala-rru, kayulu-lu-rru*
 bleed-PAST-NOW others help-PURPds-NOW water-EFF-NOW
puntha-lwala.
 wash-PURPds
 [They're] bleeding now, so others rush to help, to wash them with water.
- (4.35) *Ngayu-rru mulhaa-lalha, puuthuni-marta-ma-lalha warrirti-i,*
 1SG.NOM-NOW sharpen-PAST point-PROP-CAUS-PAST spear-ACC
karntara-thurtti-lu manta-lalha, panyu-ma-l.yarra.
 sinew-CONJ-EFF bind-PAST good-CAUS-CTEMP
 Now I sharpened it, fixed a point on the spear, bound it up with sinew and stuff,
 making it good.

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

- (4.36) *Wilyiwilyi-ma-rmu-ngara-a wanta-minyji. Yakarrangu-lu*
 clean-CAUS-PASSP-PL-ACC put-FUT sun-EFF
kampa-rra pinkarranyu-mpa-rra
 burn-CTEMP dry-INCH-CTEMP
 [I'll] put out these cleaned clothes. They'll be heating up from the sun, getting dry.

- (4.37) *Nhiyu pawulu wangka-yangu puni-layi karla-ngku kampa-wirri,*
 this child tell-PASSP go-FUT fire-EFF burn-LEST
mir.ta waruul puni-nguru.
 not still go-PRES
 This child has been told to go lest he gets burnt by the fire, but he still hasn't gone.
- (4.38) *Nganarna punkurri-mpa-wayara maruwarla-lu punkurrimarnu-lu,*
 1PL.EXC covered-INCH-HABIT many-EFF blanket-EFF
wanti-layi punkurri wiruwanti-i yirla.
 lie-FUT covered morning-ACC until
 We used to get covered up with a lot of blankets and lie in until morning.

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

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

- (4.39) *Kuwayi! Nhawu-lu kunti jampa. Nhawu-Ø nhuwana-lu!*
 Look.here look-PURPss stop moment look-IMP 2PL-EFF
 Hey look here! [Come and] look here for a moment. Look you fellows!
- (4.40) *Yilarla kartungku thani-l.yu!*
 this.NS 2SG.EFF hit-IMP
 You hit this (if you can)!

4.5 LOCATIVE

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

- (4.41) *Ngawu. Puni-layi-rru ngali panyu-ngka-a warra*
 yes go-FUT-NOW 1DU.INC good-LOC-ACC CONT
kalyaran-ta-a thuur.ta-a manku-layi.
 tree-LOC-ACC sweet-ACC get-FUT
 Yes. We'll go and get some honey (sweet stuff) that's in a better tree.

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

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

[A] LOCATIVE COMPLEMENTS AND ADJUNCTS

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

<i>tharwa-L</i>	to enter (into)
<i>thanturri-Ø</i>	to go down (onto, into)
<i>pungka-L</i>	to fall (onto, into)
<i>wirta-Ø</i>	to climb (up on)
<i>wantha-R</i>	to place, put (at, in, on)
<i>warntitha-R</i>	to throw (at, into, onto)

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

<i>puni-Ø</i>	go (along on)
<i>kurrarti-Ø</i>	swim (along in, through)

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

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

<i>kampa-L</i>	to cook (on, in)
<i>karlarra-ma-L</i>	to make hot (on, in)
<i>kanyja-L</i>	to keep, hold (in place)
<i>kangku-Ø</i>	to carry (in, on)

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

There are two verbs which might be described as selecting locative complements on semantic grounds. For these verbs, the semantic role filled by the locative marked noun

phrase is not obviously one of location. Firstly, the verb *kuliyampa-Ø* ‘think about’, may occur with a locative noun phrase describing a set out of which the entity denoted by the accusative object of the verb has been chosen:

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

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

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

[B] SPATIAL SETTING

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

- (4.45) *Ngayu tharnta-a nhuwa-lalha parla-ngka.*
 1SG.NOM euro-ACC spear-PAST hill-LOC
 I speared a euro in the hills.
- (4.46) *Ngunhu pawulu nyina-nguru ngaya-rra maya-ngka-rru.*
 that.NOM child sit-PRES cry-CTEMP house-LOC-NOW
 That child is crying in the house now. (trans.)
- (4.47) *Ngali parla-ngka puni-layi jartunmarra-a wawayi-l.yarra.*
 1DU.INC hill-LOC go-FUT wallaby-ACC look.for-CTEMP
 We'll go looking for rock wallabies in the hills.

[C] COMITATIVE

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

- (4.48) *Kuwarri yilangu nyina-nguru ngathala wirta-tharra.*
 now here stay-PRES 1SG.LOC boy-DU
 Now there are two boys staying here with me.
- (4.49) *Ngayu puni-lha nhawu-lu ngurnu kanyara-a ngaliwa-la*
 1SG.NOM go-PAST see-PURPss that.ACC man-ACC 1PL.INC-LOC
puni-layi-i wiruwanti.
 go-FUT-ACC morning
 I went to see that man who'll be going with us in the morning. (trans.)

[D] LOCATIVE STATES

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

- (4.50) *Kartu kanarri-lha nganaju-mulyarra, kartu kanarri-lha*
 2SG.NOM come-PAST 1SG.OBL-ALL 2SG.NOM come-PAST
nganajumarta marrari-la nyina-lu.
 1DU.DISHARM word-LOC be-PURPss
 You came to me, you came so we could talk.
- (4.51) *Parlura-mpa-lha-rru waruu, nyina-marri-layi marrari-la-rru.*
 full-INCH-PAST-NOW still sit-COLL-FUT word-LOC-NOW
 Once [we're] full (of food), [we'll] talk together.

[E] TEMPORAL SETTING

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

- (4.52) *Thana pinkarranyu-mpa-rra kayarra-la wii yakarrangu-la.*
 let dry-INCH-CTEMP two-LOC or day-LOC
 Let it dry for two days or so.
- (4.53) *Panyu-rru nyina-layi ngaliwa, kankurru-wirriwa-la-rru.*
 good-NOW be-FUT 1PL.INC dust-PRIV-LOC-NOW
 We'll be good now while there's no dust.
- (4.54) *Kartu karnkanpa-lha ngaliya-a nganarna-wu-la*
 2SG.NOM get.smart-PAST 1DU.EXC-ACC 1PL.EXC-GEN-LOC
puliyanyja-ngara-la piyuwa-la yirla.
 old.person-PL-LOC finished-LOC only
 You're getting smart with us two only now that our old people are finished.

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

- (4.55) *Ngayu wartawirrinpa-rra parrani-nyila-a-rru*
 1SG.NOM wait.for-CTEMP return-PrREL-ACC-NOW
wanthanha-la wii yakarrangu-la.
 which-LOC or day-LOC
 I'm waiting for [him] to return now, which day will it be.
- (4.56) *Ngunhaa thurla-mpa-layi yakarrangu-la yawurru-rru.*
 that.NOM eye-INCH-FUT sun-LOC west-NOW
 He wakes up once the sun is in the west.

In the same way that a locative expression may describe a period of time in terms of a number of days (example (4.52)), locative expressions are used to describe the number of times that an action takes place.

- (4.57) *Ngayu wangka-lha nhuwana-a kayarra-la-rru!*
 1SG.NOM tell-PAST 2PL-ACC two-LOC-NOW
 I've told you twice now!
- (4.58) *Nhiyu muyi thani-rru kanyara-lu, yarta-ngka-l nhiyaa thani-lalha*
 this dog hit-PASSP man-EFF other-LOC-THEN this hit-PAST
pawulu-u.
 child-ACC
 This dog was hit by that man, the other time he hit a child. (trans.)

[F] LOCATIVE COMPLEMENTISERS

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

4.6 ABLATIVE *-nguru*

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

- (4.59) *Ngayu manku-lha parla-a-rru pariingku-layi ngurnaa*
 1SG.NOM get-PAST rock-ACC-NOW hit-FUT that.ACC
mimtirimarta-a parna-a, punga-waa-rru kalyaran-ta-nguru.
 goanna-ACC head-ACC fall-PURPs=o-NOW tree-LOC-ABL
 I grabbed a rock and hit that goanna in the head so it would fall from the tree.
- (4.60) *Nhiyu kalyaran-ngara wanti-nguru ngulawuyu-la parla-ngka-nguru*
 this stick-PL lie-PRES that.side-LOC hill-LOC-ABL
ngathu kangku-yangu yilangu.
 1SG.EFF carry-PASSP here
 These sticks lying on that side were brought here from the hills by me.
- (4.61) *Ngayu nhawu-lha ngurnu paniya-a nyina-nyila-a karnta*
 1SG.NOM see-PAST that.ACC eye-ACC be-PrREL-ACC tear

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

kuyilwa-nngu-rra.
 spoil-PASS-CTEMP

I saw that one's eyes, tears falling from [his] eyes because of the cold wind.

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

(4.62) *Thawu-rnu warnu pala ngaliwa ngurnu tharnta-a murla-a*
 send-PASSP ASSERT IT 1PL.INC that.ACC euro-ACC meat-ACC

ngarri-ngka-nguru-u?
 ashes-LOC-ABL-ACC

Weren't we sent that euro meat that was cooked in (lit. came out of) the ashes?

(4.63) *Ngunhaa manku-lha-nguru wii panga-a kujawari-la-nguru-u,*
 that.NOM catch-PAST-ABL if itch-ACC whale-LOC-ABL-ACC

puni-layi yurra-l.yarra.
 go-FUT scratch-CTEMP

If he has caught that itch that comes from a whale, he'll be going along scratching.

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

(4.64) *Ngurnaa thuulwa-rminyji karla-ngka-nguru-u, thani-rminyji juwayu-marta.*
 that.ACC pull-FUT fire-LOC-ABL-ACC hit-FUT hand-PROP

Then pull it out of the fire and wipe it down with your hand.

(see example (6.8))

(4.65) *Nhartu-mpa-lha?* What happened?
 what-INCH-PAST

Ngayu kalya-rnu. I've been bitten.
 1SG.NOM bite-PASSP

Nhartu-ngku? What by?
 what-EFF

Parralhara-lu. By a centipede.
 centipede-EFF

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

Examples (4.66) and (4.67) illustrate the use of the ablative to mark the starting point of a period of time.

- (4.66) *Nhartu-ma-rnu-lwa-rru ngula kanyara-nguru, warruwa-nguru?*
 what-CAUS-PASSP-ID-NOW IGNOR person-ABL devil-ABL
 What became of them after the time they were people, devils?
- (4.67) *Nhartu-u wii warnan-ku yirla kuliya-rminyji parnta-mura-a.*
 something-ACC or rain-ACC only hear-FUT rain-PrREL-ACC
Ngurnu-nguru-wa karlwa-lha.
 that.OBL-ABL-YK get.up-PAST
 All I heard was the rain or whatever falling. After that I got up.
- (4.68) *Ngayu nguyirri-warla paju, wiruwanti-nguru-l wanti-layi*
 1SG.NOM asleep-FULL REAL morning-ABL-THEN lie-FUT
yakarrangu-u yirla tharrwa-waa.
 sun-ACC until go.in-PURPs=o
 I'm a real sleepy head, from morning I lie in until the sun goes down.

4.7 ALLATIVE SUFFIXES *-:rta* AND *-mulyarra*

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

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

- (4.69) *Jal.yu-u-rru thani-rminyji puni-rrawaara ngurra-arta-rru*
 occiput-ACC-NOW hit-FUT go-SEQ camp-DIRALL-NOW
kampa-ru-rru.
 cook-PURPss-NOW
 Now hit this one in the back of the head and then go home and cook it.
- (4.70) *Kangku-lha ngurnu-ngara-a wuyu-urta-rru, kalyaran-ta*
 take-PAST that.OBL-PL-ACC river-DIRALL-NOW tree-LOC
warntitha-rminyji pinyjura-a mil.yi-ngka parlu-ngka.
 throw-FUT rope-ACC fork-LOC top-LOC
 [They] took these men to the river, and threw a rope up into the fork of a tree.
- (4.71) *Ngunhu puni-nguru pawu-urta-rru, ngulangu-rru nyina-layi*
 that.NOM go-PRES father-DIRALL-NOW there-NOW stop-FUT

- pawu-u-rru* *wangka-rra*, “*Pawu-yi!*...”
 father-ACC-NOW say-CTEMP Dad-VOC
 He goes to his father, and stops there and says to his father, “Dad!...”
- (4.72) *Kulhawulha waruu ngaliwa puni-layi nharnu-mulyarra, mirntiwul-wa-rru*
 bunched.up still 1PL.INC go-FUT grave-ALL together-Ø-NOW
wuraal-wa-rru kulhi-ru-rru thungkara-a.
 still-Ø-NOW bury-PURPss-NOW earth-ACC
 All in a bunch we move to the grave, and now, still all together, we bury [him]
 in the earth.
- (4.73) *Ngayu wayula-rru manhamanha-mpa-nguru, kangku-ngu-layi wiru*
 1SG.NOM legs-NOW awkward-INCH-PRES take-PASS-FUT wanting
nganaju-wu-mulyarra ngurra-mulyarra.
 1SG.OBL-GEN-ALL camp-ALL
 My legs are unsteady, I want to be helped (lit. taken) home.

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

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

- (4.74) *Wuraal, kartu nhawungarra-ma-minyji nganaju-u muyi-i?*
 all.right 2SG.NOM look.after-CAUS-FUT 1SG.GEN-ACC dog-ACC
Ngayu puni-nyila kulhampa-arta.
 1SG.NOM go-PrREL fish-DIRALL
 Can you look after my dog? I'm going for fish. (trans.)
- (4.75) *Ngunhu puliyanyja puni-lha marrari-irta.*
 that.NOM old.man go-PAST word-DIRALL
 That old man went for news.

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

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

4.8 MINOR LOCATIONAL SUFFIXES

4.8.1 DIRECTIONAL SUFFIX *-wurrini*

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

- (4.77) *Ngunhaa ngarnngarn-ku kariya-l.yarra nyina-nguru nganaju-wurrini.*
 that.NOM chin-ACC point-CTEMP sit-PRES 1SG.OBL-DIRECT
 That fellow is pointing his chin towards me.
- (4.78) *Ngayu pamararri-lha ngurra-wurrini.*
 1SG.NOM call.out-PAST camp-DIRECT
 I called out towards the camp. (trans.)

4.8.2 DIRECTION FACING -*thartu*

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

- (4.79) *Kanyara-warntura parlu-thartu nhawu-rra, wayi yakarrangu-u*
 person-DISTRIB top-FACE look-CTEMP maybe sun-ACC
nhawu-layi.
 see-FUT
 Each person is looking upwards, maybe they'll see the sun.
- (4.80) *Wantharni-wuyu ngunhu kapun wanti-lha? Wantharni-wuyu-thartu?*
 what.way-SIDE that.NOM body lie-PAST what.way-SIDE-FACE
 What way was that body lying? Facing what way?

4.8.3 NEAR -*wini*

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

- (4.81) *Yawarru waruu, Kawuyu-wini pularna-lwa, want hala*
 west still Kawuyu-NEAR 3PL-ID somewhere
Jinpingayinu-wini.
Jinpingayinu-NEAR
 Still in the west, they were near *Kawuyu* (Mount Nicholson), somewhere near *Jinpingayinu* (Peter Creek).

4.8.4 DWELLER -*nyungu*

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

- (4.82) *Nhiyu wanpari kalyaran-ngara-nyungu.*
 this.NOM bee tree-PL-DWELL
 This *wanpari* bee lives in a number of [different kinds of] trees.
- (4.83) *Yartapalyu kanyja-rryarra, ngunhu-nyungu-lpurtu*
 others keep-CTEMP that.NOM-DWELL-COMP
Kurlanypunkunhu-nyungu, Pantuwarnangka-a.
Kurlanypunkunhu-DWELL Pannawonica.Hill-ACC
 The others were keeping *Pantuwarnangka* (Pannawonica Hill), the people who lived at that place, *Kurlanypunkunha* Island.

- (4.84) *Nhiyu martawulyu, palyarri-nyungu, ngunhaa panyu jami.*
 this gum.type plant (sp.)-DWELL that.NOM good medicine
 This *martawulyu* gum, which comes from the *palyarri* tree, it is good medicine.
- (4.85) *Ngunhu-ngara yinka-lwayara Kawuyu-nyungu-ngara-a yinka-lwayara*
 that.NOM-PL carve-HABIT · *Kawuyu-DWELL-PL-ACC* carve-HABIT
thawu-minyji Wirrawanti-mulyarra.
 send-FUT *Wirrawanti-ALL*
 They used to carve the ones that came from *Kawuyu* and send them to
Wirrawanti.

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

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

The suffix occurs in a number of independent lexical items:

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

4.8.5 PROVENIENCE -ra

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

<i>martuthuni-ra</i> Fortescue River-PROV	the people who live on the Fortescue River
<i>wartampu-ra</i> Warrambo Creek-PROV	the people who live on the Warrambo Creek
<i>ngamangama-ra</i> foothills-PROV	the people who live on the foothills of the Hamersley Range
<i>thanarti-ra</i> sea-PROV	seasiders

4.9 ASSOCIATIVE -marnu

The associative suffix has both adnominal and relational functions and is typically used to mark an entity with which another entity is functionally associated. As an extension of this, associative expressions may function as generics, classifying objects by their usual association with a particular activity. The adnominal function of the associative suffix is illustrated in the following two examples.

- (4.87) *Pawulu-yi! Nhartu-ma-lalha kartu nganaju-u*
 child-VOC what-CAUS-PAST 2SG.NOM 1SG.GEN-ACC
ngurriny-marnu-u jarra-lwayara-a?
 swag-ASSOC-ACC tie-HABIT-ACC
 Child! What have you done with my swag strap (lit. thing for a swag, that ties)?
- (4.88) *Ngayu nhuura-ma-lalha ngurnu wirta-a wantharni*
 1SG.NOM know-CAUS-PAST that.ACC youth-ACC how
wantha-rrwaa warangarti-i muyi-marnu-u.
 put-PURPs=o trap-ACC dog-ASSOC-ACC
 I showed that youth how to set traps for dogs. (trans.)

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

<i>nyurru-marnu</i> snot-ASSOC	nostril
<i>kayulu-marnu</i> water-ASSOC	bladder, waterbag
<i>pururu-marnu</i> belt-ASSOC	waist
<i>karla-marnu</i> fire-ASSOC	place on thigh where punishment spear is inserted
<i>parna-marnu</i> head-ASSOC	hat
<i>wulu-marnu</i> leg-ASSOC	trousers
<i>punkurri-marnu</i> covered-ASSOC	blanket

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

- (4.89) *Thalu-waya panyu-mpa-wala-rru wiru ngurnula-ngu-lu-rru*
 pet-OWNER good-INCH-PURPs-NOW feelings that.DEF-GEN-EFF-NOW
murla-marnu-lu kanarri-yangu.
 meat-ASSOC-EFF come-PASSP
 The owner will feel good now having his meat-getter come to him.
- (4.90) *Ngathu mulhaa-rnu ngunhaa murla-marnu warrirti.*
 1SG.EFF put.point-PASSP that.NOM meat-ASSOC spear
 That meat spear had a point put on it by me.

The following sentences illustrate the relational use of the associative suffix. Here the associative noun phrase describes an eventual purpose towards which the action described by the predicate is directed. This use of the associative contrasts with the use of the direct allative to mark immediate purpose (§4.7).

- (4.91) *Yurntura-ma-l.yarra purra-l.yarra parla-ngka thawurra-marnu warrapa-a*
soft-CAUS-CTEMP hit-CTEMP rock-LOC net-ASSOC spinifex-ACC
manku-layi.
get-FUT
One grabs the spinifex, hitting it on a rock, making it soft for (to be made into)
a net.
- (4.92) *Wirpinykura, ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa marntanhu-ma-nnguli-wayara*
species.name that.NOM-ID that.NOM net-CAUS-PASS-HABIT
puliyanyja-ngara-lu wii kulhampa-marnu.
old.man-PL-EFF or fish-ASSOC
Wirpinykura, that's the one (type of spinifex) that used to be made into nets for
fish by the old men or whoever.
- (4.93) *Ngurra-ngka-mpa-lha-rru karla-marnu-rru purnta-ma-minyji-rru.*
camp-LOC-INCH-PAST-NOW fire-ASSOC-NOW hole-CAUS-FUT-NOW
Having got to camp, make a hole for a fire.
- (4.94) *Ngaliwa karla-a-rru kulhawulha-ma-minyji karlarra-mpa-waa*
1PL.INC fire-ACC-NOW heaped-CAUS-FUT hot-INCH-PURPs=o
thanuwa-marnu.
food-ASSOC
We'll heap up the fire now, to get hot for the food.

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

4.10 PROPRIETIVE *-marta*

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

[A] PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES AND DEFINING CHARACTERISTICS

- (4.95) *Ngunhu kanyara jawurta-marta.*
that.NOM man beard-PROP
That man has a beard. (trans.)
- (4.96) *Nhiyu kanparr-wura parla-marta. Ngunhu-ngara-lwa kanparr-ngara*
this.NOM spider-BELONG stone-PROP that.NOM-PL-ID spider-PL
palyangu-ma-lwayara ngurnula-ngu-u jalyuru-u.
covered-CAUS-HABIT that.DEF-GEN-ACC hole-ACC
This [nest] of the spider's has a stone. Those spiders cover their holes.

When the body part attributed to some possessor is one which anyone might be expected to have ('beard', as in example (4.95), is not of this class), the proprietive expression implies an ability to make productive use of that body part. Such expressions can also be negated. In (4.97) for example, the old man is not described as having no ears in the sense of having had them removed (see discussion of the privative in §4.11), but in that he can no longer make normal use of them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (4.101) *Nhartu ngunhaa ngaru-marta?*
 what that.NOM testicle-PROP
 What's that thing with the balls? (a ram)
- (4.102) *Nhartu nhulaa marra-marta?*
 what near.you wing-PROP
 What's that winged thing? (a bird)

[B] OBJECT IN CURRENT POSSESSION

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

- (4.103) *Ngunhu-ngara juwayu-la-marta parla-marta, kayarra-marta*
that.NOM-PL hand-LOC-PROP stone-PROP two-PROP
parla-marta yirla.
stone-PROP only
They have stones in their hands, just two stones.
- (4.104) *Nhulaa kanyara wajirr-marta warnu. wantha-a puni-nguru?*
near.you man spear-PROP ASSERT where-ACC go-PRES
This man has a fishing spear. Where is he going? (trans.)
- (4.105) *Ngayu kanarri-lha marrari-marta nhuwana-a wangka-lu.*
1SG.NOM come-PAST news-PROP 2PL-ACC tell-PURPss
I came with news to tell you all.
- (4.106) *Thuulwa-rminyji-rru, karlwa-rrawaara. Karlwa-layi ngurnu-marta*
pull-FUT-NOW get.up-SEQ get.up-FUT that.OBL-PROP
mirntirimarta-marta.
goanna-PROP
Pull it out and stand up. Get up with that goanna.
- (4.107) *Nhawu-layi ngurnaa kurryarta-marta-a-rru, yanga-rminyji-rru.*
see-FUT that.ACC spear-PROP-ACC-NOW chase-FUT-NOW
[I'll] see that that one now has a spear in it, and [I'll] chase it.

[C] INSTRUMENTS

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

- (4.108) *Nhartu-ma-rmuru karntarra-a? Mir.ta yirra-marta kalya-rminyji,*
what-CAUS-PRES sinew-ACC not teeth-PROP bite-FUT
wurmta-l.yu kurlany-marta!
cut-IMP knife-PROP
What are [you] doing to that sinew? Don't bite it with your teeth,
cut it with a knife!
- (4.109) *Yurra-rminyji-rru ngurnu-marta kalyarran-marta mulha jurirri-marta.*
dig-FUT-NOW that.OBL-PROP stick-PROP point sharp-PROP
Then dig with that sharp-pointed stick.

In passive clauses the proprietive expression can bear referential effector case in agreement with the agent.

- (4.110) *Nhulaa karta-rnu wanti-nguru majun wajirr-marta-lu kanyara-lu.*
 that stab-PASSP lie-PRES turtle spear-PROP-EFF man-EFF
 That turtle lying here was stabbed by a man with a fishing spear. (trans.)

[D] LEXICAL DERIVATIONS

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

<i>mirtiri-marta</i> claw-PROP	Gould's Yellow Sand Goanna
<i>jawurta-marta</i> whisker-PROP	type of catfish
<i>kalaya-marta</i> handle-PROP	billy-can
<i>ngawurr-marta</i> foam-PROP	beer, soap

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

<i>kuntha-marta</i> long.chin.beard-PROP	Chinaman
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or by the same principle that governs the use of proprietive expressions in examples such as (4.97), (4.98) and (4.99) above.

<i>pirri-marta</i> finger-PROP	doctor
<i>juwayu-marta</i> hand-PROP	doctor

Other expressions name people by their characteristic associated possessions:

<i>ngurriny-marta</i> swag-PROP	young woman
<i>marntanhu-marta</i> chain (lit. rope)-PROP	policeman
<i>marnta-marta</i> iron(handcuff)-PROP	policeman

4.11 PRIVATIVE -*wirriwa/-wirraa*

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

[A] MISSING BODY PARTS

- (4.111) *Ngunhaa mirntirimarta panyu-rru, punga-wirriwa-rru nyina-layi.*
 that.NOM goanna good-NOW guts-PRIV-NOW be-FUT
 That goanna is good now, now that it has been gutted (lit. has no guts).
- (4.112) *Ngayu-lwa wiyaa wuruma-rminyji thurlajinkarri-i, yirra-wirraa-a*
 1SG.NOM-ID maybe do.for-FUT poor.fellow-ACC teeth-PRIV-ACC
warnu pala.
 ASSERT IT
 Maybe I'll do it for the poor fellow, he really hasn't got any teeth.
- (4.113) *Yimpala-rru-wa kanarra-lu pampiangku-yangu wanti-layi.*
 like that-NOW-YK wind-EFF throw.down-PASSP lie-FUT
Nyingkurlu-lpurtu warnu pirri-wirraa wantharra.
 firstly-COMP ASSERT hand-PRIV like
 Just like that she lay, thrown to the ground by the wind. Firstly one must say it's as if she had no hands.

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

- (4.114) *Kuliyampa-yaangu kalika-a-lwa kalyaran-ta nyina-wayara-a*
 think.of-UNREAL one-ACC-ID tree-LOC sit-HABIT-ACC
mulha-wirraa-mpa-lha-a.
 nose-PRIV-INCH-PAST-ACC
 [You] ought to be able to think of it, that one that always sits in a tree (as if) having lost its nose (i.e. a frogmouth owl).
- (4.115) *Wantharni paju ngaliwa-a paniya-wirraa-ma-lalha ngaliwa-a?*
 how REAL 1PL.INC-ACC eye-PRIV-CAUS-PAST 1PL.INC-ACC
Kalya-rminyji yirla ngunhaa kartungu, parralhara.
 bite-FUT only that.NOM 2SG.ACC centipede
 How did it deceive us (lit. make us be without eyes)? It just bit you, that centipede (and we didn't know it was there).

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

- (4.116) *Yimpala-rru nhiyu pal.yarra-rru, wanti-wala kalyarran-wirriwa-rru*
 like.that-NOW this.NOM plain-NOW lie-PURPs tree-PRIV-NOW

Wirrawanti-rru wangka-ngu-layi.

Wirrawanti-NOW call-PASS-FUT

And now it was like that, this plain. It came to have no trees, and then it was called *Wirrawanti*.

- (4.117) *Kulaya-rminyji-rru wantharni-i ngurmta-a wirra-tharra-a.*
test-FUT-NOW how-ACC style-ACC boomerang-DU-ACC

Wayii panyu-u ngurmta-a nhawu-layi panyu-u wayii.
maybe good-ACC style-ACC see-FUT good-ACC maybe

Ngurmta-wirriwa-a warntitha-rminyji puyila-rru.
style-PRIV-ACC throw-FUT long.way-NOW

[I'll] try out these two boomerangs for their style. Maybe [I'll] see good style.
[I'll] throw away any without style.

[B] LACK OF KIN

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

Ngurnu-ngara-a yaan-wirriwa-wura-a.
that.OBL-ACC spouse-PRIV-BELONG-ACC

They belong to the one who is without a spouse. (see (8.23))

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

- (4.119) *Ngunhu kanyara-wuyu puni-layi jalya-rru, yaan-wirriwa-rru.*
that.NOM man-SIDE go-FUT rubbish-NOW spouse-PRIV-NOW
That man of the pair will be nothing, he's got no wife now.

[C] LACK OF POSSESSED OBJECTS

- (4.120) *Parla-wirraa nganarna.*
money-PRIV 1PL.EXC
We've got no money.

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

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

In (4.123) the 'used up' contents of a plate are marked with the privative.

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

[D] PRIVATIVE SECOND PREDICATIONS

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

- (4.124) *Marrari-wirraa-wa-nu karlwa-lha, kuyil wiyaa. Ngaliwa-a*
 word-PRIV-ID-QUOT get.up-PAST bad maybe 1PL.INC-ACC
paya-npa-rra wiyaa. Thana-rru puni-Ø!
 angry-INCH-CTEMP maybe let-NOW go-IMP
 [He] got up without even a word, maybe something is wrong. Maybe he's
 angry with us. Well let him go!
- (4.125) *Ngunhu julyu wanti-nguru nguyirri-wirraa, thurlajinkarri.*
 that.NOM old.man lie-PRES asleep-PRIV poor.fellow
 That old man is lying without sleeping, the poor fellow. (trans.)

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

- (4.126) *Nhartu-npa-lha, kartu nyina-nguru-yi marrari-wirraa-npa-lha?*
 what-INCH-PAST 2SG.NOM sit-PRES-VOC word-PRIV-INCH-PAST
 What's the matter, why have you gone quiet?
- (4.127) *Nhuwana marrari-warlaya-ngara nguyirri-wirraa-ma-muru-rru*
 2PL word-FULL-PL asleep-PRIV-CAUS-PRES-NOW
nganama-a.
 1PL.EXC-ACC
 You talkative people are preventing us from sleeping.

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

- (4.128) *Nhulaa kanyara nyina-nguru puuthuni-i mulhaa-minyji*
 that man be-PRES point-ACC affix-FUT
warrirti-la pul.ya-ngku yirla, karntarra-wirriwa.
 spear-LOC wax-EFF only sinew-PRIV
 That man is putting a point on the spear with just spinifex wax, without
 any sinew.
- (4.129) *Ngunhu wartirra wiru thanuwa-a thurmta-minyji*
 that.NOM woman wanting damper-ACC knead-FUT
kayulu-wirriwa-a, pinkarranyu-u.
 water-PRIV-ACC dry-ACC
 That woman wants to knead damper without water, dry. (trans.)

4.12 GENITIVE

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

- (4.130) *Ngunhu ngurra tharratal-yu thungkara-la wantha-rmu.*
 that.NOM camp bird(sp.)-GEN ground-LOC put-PASSP
 That *tharratal's* nest is built on the ground. (trans.)
- (4.131) *Ngunhaa maan kulirr-yu mungka-rmu pawul-u.*
 that.NOM seed galah-GEN eat-PASSP fowl-EFF
 That galah's seed has been eaten by the fowls.
- (4.132) *Nhiyu muyi thani-nngu-layi nganaju-wu-lu yaan-tu.*
 this.NOM dog hit-PASS-FUT 1SG.OBL-GEN-EFF spouse-EFF
 This dog will get hit by my wife. (trans.)

4.13 BELONGING -wura and OWNER -waya

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

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

- (4.133) *Ngurnu-ngura parnparn-kura kupiyaji ngularla waruu*
 that.OBL-BELONG budgerigar-BELONG little(PL) there.NV still
jalyuru-la nyina-marri-nguru parnparn-ngara.
 hole-LOC sit-COLL-PRES budgerigar-PL
 Those little ones belonging to that budgerigar are still all together in a hole there somewhere. (trans.)
- (4.134) *Ngunhaa kanparr-wura, wantha-rmu kanparr-u, mir.ta nhawu-ngu-layi*
 that.NOM spider-BELONG put-PASSP spider-EFF not see-PASS-FUT
yantharmarta-ngara-lu, nganyjali, kuyil.
 woman-PL-EFF proscribed bad
 That thing of the spider's (a web), built by the spider, shouldn't be seen by women, its bad, proscribed. (trans.)
- (4.135) *Ngana-ngura-tharra-a yanga-lalha?*
 who-BELONG-DU-ACC chase-PAST
 Whose two did [it] chase?

Yirna-tharra-wura-a.

this.OBL-DU-BELONG-ACC

[It chased] the ones belonging to these two. (see example (8.24))

- (4.136) *Ngayu-rru yanga-lwala ngangka-a, ngumu-way-a-lwa*
1SG.NOM-NOW chase-PURPds mother-ACC that.OBL-OWNER-ACC-ID

kupuyu-way-a ngangka-a.

little-OWNER-ACC mother-ACC.

And I chased after the mother, the owner, the mother of that little one.

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

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

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

- (4.138) *Ngayu parlura thanuwa-wura.*
1SG.NOM full food-BELONG
I'm full of food. (trans.)
- (4.139) *Ngayu punga pangkira-mpa-nguru kayulu-wura.*
1SG.NOM guts swollen-INCH-PRES water-BELONG
My guts are swelling up from [drinking] water.
- (4.140) *Ngayu parna malyarra-mpa-nguru kanarra-wura.*
1SG.NOM head sick-INCH-PRES wind-BELONG
My head is sore from the wind. (trans.)

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

- (4.141) *Ngaliwa patharri-lha nyina-lha, thani-yarra parna-a.*
1PL.INC fight-PAST be-PAST hit-COLL+CTEMP head-ACC
Nyina-lha-nguru kari-wura, nyingkurlu-lpurtu warnu.
be-PAST-ABL grog-BELONG firstly-COMP ASSERT
We were fighting, hitting each other in the head. We were in the grip of the grog, that's the first thing that must be said.
- (4.142) *Ngayu malyarra-mpa-nguru kari-i paya-lalha-nguru.*
1SG.NOM sick-INCH-PRES grog-ACC drink-PAST-ABL
I'm sick from drinking grog. (trans.)

4.14 CAUSAL -*ngalyarnta*

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

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

wirra-ngalyarnta-lwa.

boomerang-CAUSAL-ID

The children were fighting over that, over the boomerang.

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

murla-ngalyarnta.

meat-CAUSAL

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

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

4.15 OBSCURED -*ngurni*

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

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

panyu-mpa-lha jirruna karra-ngurni.

good-INCH-PAST sneak scrub-OBSCRD

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

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

ngartil.

again

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

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

The referent of the modified nominal may be behind or beneath the referent of the nominal marked by the suffix (example (4.145)), or may be completely immersed, embedded or surrounded by the referent of the marked nominal (4.147). In (4.148) and (4.149) the suffix is attached to the 'value adjective' nominals *panyu* 'good' and *kuyil* 'bad', functioning here as second predications of manner.

- (4.148) *Panyu-u wangka-layi, mir.ta kuyil-ngurni-i thurlanyarrara-ngara-a.*
 good-ACC say-FUT not bad-OBSCRD-ACC poor.fellow-PL-ACC
 Speak properly, don't talk rudely (lit. in a bad way) to the poor fellows.
- (4.149) *Panyu-ngurni nhuura-ma-rmu-nguru, panyu waruul nyina-marri-layi!*
 good-OBSCRD know-CAUS-PASSP-ABL good still sit-COLL-FUT
 You've been taught properly, now stay good!

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

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

4.16 FULL-LADEN -warlaya

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

- (4.151) *Ngana nhiyu kanyara thaa nyantu-warlaya?*
 who this.NOM man mouth fluff-FULL
 Who is this man with his mouth buried in whiskers? (trans.)
- (4.152) *Ngunhu kanyara nyina-nguru ngulangu parla-ngka*
 that.NOM man sit-PRES there hill-LOC
karra-warlaya-la kuyil-a.
 scrub-FULL-LOC bad-LOC
 That man is there on that bad (impenetrable) scrub covered hill.
- (4.153) *Nhiyu kalyarran kunkuwarra-warlaya.*
 this.NOM tree honey-FULL
 This tree is full to bursting with honey.

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

<i>jinyji-warla</i>	fat, plump, obese
fat-FULL	
<i>ngungku-warla</i>	strong
weight-FULL	
<i>murti-warla</i>	fast runner, motorcar
fast-FULL	

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

4.17 DUAL -*tharra*

- (4.154) *Ngayu thawu-lalha nganaju-wu-tharra-a pawulu-tharra-a*
 1SG.NOM send-PAST 1SG.OBL-GEN-DU-ACC child-DU-ACC
wanirarra-a, kurntal-thurti-i mura-thurti-i, puni-waa
 Bro&Si-ACC daughter-CONJ-ACC son-CONJ-ACC go-PURPs=o
nhawu-yarri-lu mayili-nhanu-ngu.
 see-COLL-PURPss FaFa-3POSS-ACC
 I sent my two children, brother and sister, daughter and son, to go and
 see their grandfather.
- (4.155) *Walyurn-tharra nyina-nguru punkurri waruu muthu-ngu-rra.*
 girl-DU be-PRES covered still cold-PSYCH-CTEMP
 The two girls are still covered up feeling cold. (trans.)

4.18 PLURAL -*ngara*

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

- (4.156) *Nhiyu warnan panyu-ma-rnuru mirntirimarta-ngara-a.*
 this rain good-CAUS-PRES goanna-PL-ACC
 This rain will be good for the goannas.
- (4.157) *Kartu paya-mpa-layi nganama-a ngalarri-lha-ngara-a*
 2SG.NOM angry-INCH-FUT 1PL.EXC-ACC forget-PAST-PL-ACC
wantamartu-ngara-a.
 stupid-PL-ACC
 You'll get angry with us stupid fellows who forgot.
- (4.158) *Ngunhaa puni-lha kunkuwarra-a wawayi-l.yarra jinkayu-rru,*
 that.NOM go-PAST honey-ACC look.for-CTEMP upriver-NOW
warnanykura-la-ngara-a kunkuwarra-a.
 rivergum-LOC-PL-ACC honey-ACC
 That one went looking for honey up river, for honey in rivergum trees.

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

- (4.159) *Ngayu kalya-rnu ngulu yiriny-tu, ngayu kalya-rnu*
 1SG.NOM bite-PASSP that.EFF mosquito-EFF 1SG.NOM bite-PASSP
nyina-nguru marnta-ngara-a wii, kartara wii, jal.yu wii
 sit-PRES arm-PL-ACC maybe cheek maybe neck maybe

panga-ngara-ri-nguru-rru.

itch-PL-INV-PRES-NOW

I've been bitten by a mosquito. My arms (in a number of places) perhaps, maybe my cheek, maybe my neck et cetera, will be getting lots of itches.

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

thala-ngara-rru puntha-layi.

chest-PL-NOW wash-FUT

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

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

- (4.161) *Wantha-rminyji jampa karri-waa muthu-mpa-rra warra.*
leave-FUT moment stand-PURPs=0 cold-INCH-CTEMP CONT

Manyarrka-a-rru wanta-rminyji ngulangu-wa,
sugar-ACC-NOW put-FUT there-YK

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

paya-l.yarra-ngara-l.

drink-CTEMP-PL-THEN

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

4.19 DISTRIBUTED PLURAL - *warntura*

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

- (4.162) *Kanyara-warntura nyina-lha pintirrijila, wartawirripa-rra ngurra-ngka*
person-DISTRIB be-PAST scattered wait-CTEMP camp-LOC

pirriyarta-la.

own camp-LOC

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

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

kurryu-warntura-la.

hollow-DISTRIB-LOC

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

In the following examples the suffix appears on an inflected verb and indicates a repeated action. Example (4.164) can be compared with (4.161) above. In (4.164) the acts of drinking are seen as separate events taking place over a period of time at different places during a journey. In (4.161) the drinking is a single event made up of a number of different acts.

- (4.164) *Nganarna kayulu-u puni-lha paya-l.yarra-warntura*
 1PL.EXC water-ACC go-PAST drink-CTEMP-DISTRIB
karlarra-la warnu pala.
 heat-LOC ASSERT IT
 We went along drinking water again and again in the heat (and it was so hot!).
- (4.165) *Ngurnu-marta-wa karta-rninyji karta-rninyji-warntura*
 that.OBL-PROP-YK thrust-FUT thrust-FUT-DISTRIB
jalyuru-ma-l.yarra-rru.
 hole-CAUS-CTEMP-NOW
 Now using that one, thrust and thrust again and again making a hole.
- (4.166) *Ngunhu pawulu nganaju kamu-nguli-nguru-warntura. Kuwarri-l*
 that.NOM child 1SG.GEN hungry-PSYCH-PRES-DISTRIB now-THEN
kuwarri-l puni-layi jinarril-u murla-a.
 now-THEN go-FUT ask-PURPss meat-ACC
 That child of mine is always getting hungry. Again and again he goes asking for meat. (trans.)

4.20 GROUP -*marnu*

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

- (4.167) *Ngayu kangku-lha mayiili-marnu-ngu kulhampa-arta.*
 1SG.NOM take-PAST SoSo+1POSS-GROUP-ACC fish-ALL
 I took a group of my grandchildren for fish.

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

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

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

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

4.21 IDIOSYNCRATIC PLURALS

Only one idiosyncratic plural form has been discovered in Martuthunira to date. All languages of the area show different plural forms for either or both of the words 'child' and 'little'. In Martuthunira the word *kupuyu* 'little', has the plural form *kupiyaji*. Although

Panyjima, Kurrama and Yindjibarndi have a number of special plural forms for botanical terms, no such examples have been discovered for Martuthunira.

4.22 SIDE -wuyu

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

- (4.170) *Ngawu. Ngurnu pirtiarrangu-u, ngurnaa ngayu kangku-layi.*
 yes that.ACC kurara -ACC that.ACC 1SG.NOM take-FUT
Nhula-a pukarti-wuyu-u ngayu wantha-rmur.
 near.you-ACC snakewood-SIDE-ACC 1SG.NOM leave-PRES
 Yes. That kurara wood one, I'll take that one. I'll leave that snakewood one of the pair. (trans.)
- (4.171) *Ngayu mir.ta wiru kuliya-l.yarra karri-layi nhuwana-a,*
 1SG.NOM not want hear-CTEMP stand-FUT 2PL-ACC
ngayu yarta-wuyu-lpurtu kanyara.
 1SG.NOM other-SIDE-COMP man
 I don't want to be hearing you two, I'm an in-law (lit. a man of the other side).
- (4.172) *Ngunha karimarra-wuyu puliyanyja kangku-lha ngurnu purungu-u*
 that.NOM karimarra-SIDE old.man take-PAST that.ACC purungu-ACC
wirta-a nhuura-ma-ru yinka-lwaa wirra-a.
 youth-ACC know-CAUS-PURPss carve-PURPs=o boomerang-ACC
 That karimarra section old man took that purungu section young man to teach him to carve boomerangs. (trans.)
- (4.173) *Ngawu. Kuliyanpa-rra ngayu nhartu-u wiyaa wawayi-rminyji,*
 yes think-CTEMP 1SG.NOM something-ACC maybe look.for-FUT
jalya-a-wuyu mirntirimarta-a-rru, tharlwan-ku-wuyu.
 useless-ACC-SIDE goanna-ACC-NOW tame-ACC-SIDE
 Yes. I'm thinking about something I might go looking for, goannas are on the easy to catch (lit. useless) side, on the tame side.

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

4.23 CONJUNCTION -thurti

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

- (4.174) *Nganarna puliyanyja-ngara-thurti jantira-ngara-thurti jalurra-a*
 1PL.EXC old.man-PL-CONJ old.woman-PL-CONJ dance-ACC
nhawu-layi.
 watch-FUT
 We old men and old women will watch the dance.

- (4.175) *Ngayu kampa-lalha thanuwa-ngara-a wuruma-l.yarra*
 1SG.NOM cook-PAST food-PL-ACC do.for-CTEMP
pawulu-ngara-a-thurti kanyara-ngara-a-thurti.
 child-PL-ACC-CONJ adult-PL-ACC-CONJ
 I cooked food for the children and the adults. (trans.)
- (4.176) *Ngunhu kanyara puni-layi minthal-wa-rru kampa-l.yarra*
 that.NOM man go-FUT alone-Ø-NOW cook-CTEMP
thanuwa-ngara-a murla-thurti-i.
 food-PL-ACC meat-CONJ-ACC
 That man will be cooking all the vegetables and meat by himself.
- (4.177) *Ngaliwa thurmta-rnu-ngara pawulu-ngara wirta-ngara-thurti.*
 1PL.INC paint-PASSP-PL child-PL youth-PL-CONJ
 We've all been painted up, all the children and the teenagers too.
- Nominals bearing the conjunction suffix may appear as sole constituents of noun phrases. In these examples the nominal marked with the suffix is assumed to be linked to some other nominal bearing the identical relational case in the immediate linguistic context.
- (4.178) *Ngurnu warrirti-i yungku-lu ngurnu-ngara-a kanyara-ngara-a*
 that.ACC spear-ACC give-PURPss that.OBL-PL-ACC man-PL-ACC
wurmta-lalha-nguru-u yungku-lu, marrari-i-thurti-rru
 break-PAST-ABL-ACC give-PURPss word-ACC-CONJ-NOW
wangka-lu-rru...
 say-PURPss-NOW
 Give that spear to those fellas who broke it, and say this to them too...
- (4.179) *Juwayu-la manku-layi jinyji-i thurmta-minyji parna-a jinyji-marta*
 hand-LOC get-FUT fat-ACC rub-FUT head-ACC fat-PROP
kuliya-thurti-i.
 ear-CONJ-ACC
 Get some fat in your hand and rub your head with fat, and your ears too.
- (4.180) *Muyi yanga-lalha tharnta-a, kanyara-thurti, waruu-lpurtu mirntiwul.*
 dog chase-PAST euro-ACC man-CONJ still-COMP together
 The dog, together with a man, chased a euro, the two of them together. (trans)

Like the side suffix *-wuyu*, the *-thurti* conjunction shows some variation in ordering with respect to the relational accusative case suffix. In addition, the *-thurti* suffix is the only nominal suffix which may be added to the nominative stem of the first and second person singular pronouns; all other suffixes are attached to the oblique stem (§5.1). Together these facts suggest that *-thurti* has only marginal status as a suffix (§3.2.1).

CHAPTER 5
PRONOUNS AND DEMONSTRATIVES

This chapter describes the forms and functions of the closed nominal subclasses; most importantly, pronouns and demonstratives. Section 5.1 describes the personal pronouns, §5.2 a system of possessive marking inflected for person, and §5.3 describes the indefinite pronouns. Sections 5.4 to 5.7 describe the demonstrative system. Sections 5.8 and 5.9 describe closed classes of locational nominals and temporal nominals respectively, and finally §5.10 describes a range of indefinite locationals and temporals.

5.1 PRONOUN PARADIGMS

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

TABLE 5.1: NOMINATIVE PRONOUN FORMS

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1.INC		<i>ngali</i>	<i>ngaliwa</i>
1.EXC	<i>ngayu</i>	<i>ngaliya</i>	<i>nganarna</i>
1.DISHARM		<i>nganajumarta</i>	<i>nganajumartangara</i>
2	<i>kartu</i>	<i>nhuwala</i>	<i>nhuwana</i>
3	-	-	<i>pularna</i>

Some (historical) analysis of the nominative pronoun forms presented in Table 5.1 is possible. Firstly, Martuthunira retains a number of pronoun forms which Dixon (1980) reconstructs for proto Australian: first person dual inclusive *ngali*, first person plural exclusive *nganarna* (< **ngaNa*) and second person dual *nhuwala* (< **NHu[m]paLV*). The proto Ngayarda second person singular pronoun **nyinta* has been replaced by a form *kartu* cognate with the Yingkarta and Wajarri word *kartu* 'man, person' (Dench 1979). This loss of the original second person singular may be the result of politeness shifts. Similar replacements of an original second person singular have occurred in the Mantharta subgroup though in these languages the second person singular is replaced by a second person plural form. The first person dual exclusive form *ngaliya* is based on first person dual inclusive

ngali with the addition of a suffix *-ya*. First person dual inclusive is based on first person dual inclusive with an added syllable *-wa*. It is possible that this form is related to the common Ngayarda **ngalikuru*, though the phonological changes involved cannot be clearly established for Martuthunira. The second person plural form, *nhuwana*, appears to be based on the second person dual form *nhuwala*. The forms suggest a partial analysis of *nhuwala* as root *nhuwa* with an added suffix *-la*. The identified root then forms the basis of the plural form and a suffix *-na* is added, probably by analogy to the first person plural exclusive form *nganarna*. Similarly, the third person plural pronoun replaces an original **thana* third person plural and is based on the old third person dual **pula* with the similar addition of a *-ma* suffix by analogy with the first person plural exclusive.

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

TABLE 5.2: INFLECTED PRONOUN FORMS

	1SG	2SG	1DU.INC	1PL.INC
NOM	<i>ngayu</i>	<i>kartu</i>	<i>ngali</i>	<i>ngaliwa</i>
ACC	<i>nganaju</i>	<i>kartungu</i>	<i>ngalii</i>	<i>ngaliwaa</i>
GEN	<i>nganaju</i>	<i>kartungu</i>	<i>ngaliwu</i>	<i>ngaliwawu</i>
LOC	<i>ngathala</i>	<i>kartungka</i>	<i>ngalila</i>	<i>ngaliwala</i>
EFF	<i>ngathu</i>	<i>kartungku</i>	<i>ngalilu</i>	<i>ngaliwalu</i>

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

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

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

With the exception of the *-thurti* conjunction suffix (which is attached to the nominative stems) and the ablative (based on the locative stem) all other case forms of first person

singular and second person singular involve the addition of regular suffixes to the stems *nganaju* and *kartungu*. Inflected genitive forms of these pronouns in some cases also involve the genitive suffix *-wu*, suggesting that the stems be described as 'oblique'. Different genitive forms for first person singular and second person singular are set out in Table 5.3, once again in comparison with the pattern for the regular first person plural inclusive *ngaliwa*. An interlinear gloss is given for each form.

TABLE 5.3: INFLECTED GENITIVE FORMS OF 1SG AND 2SG

	1SG.GEN	2SG.GEN	1PL.INC-GEN
NOM	<i>nganaju</i> 1SG.GEN	<i>kartungu</i> 2SG.GEN	<i>ngaliwa-wu</i> 1PL.INC-GEN
ACC	<i>nganaju-u</i> 1SG.GEN-ACC	<i>kartungu-u</i> 2SG.GEN-ACC	<i>ngaliwa-wu-u</i> 1PL.INC-GEN-ACC
LOC	<i>nganaju-wu-la</i> 1SG.OBL-GEN-LOC	<i>kartungu-wu-la</i> 2SG.OBL-GEN-LOC	<i>ngaliwa-wu-la</i> 1PL.INC-GEN-LOC
EFF	<i>nganaju-wu-lu</i> 1SG.OBL-GEN-EFF	<i>kartungu-wu-lu</i> 2SG.OBL-GEN-EFF	<i>ngaliwa-wu-lu</i> 1PL.INC-GEN-EFF
PL-NOM	<i>nganaju-wu-ngara</i> 1SG.OBL-GEN-PL	<i>kartungu-wu-ngara</i> 2SG.OBL-GEN-PL	<i>ngaliwa-wu-ngara</i> 1PL.INC-GEN-PL

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

- (5.1) *Ngunhaa, nganarna-lu, yilu ngathu, manku-yangu jarrkurti-lu.*
 that.NOM 1PL.EXC-EFF this.EFF 1SG.EFF grab-PASSP three-EFF
- Ngaliwa-rru, kartu-thurti-rru puni-layi, ngaliwa*
 1PL.INC-NOW 2SG.NOM-CONJ-NOW go-FUT 1PL.INC
- mimtiwul-wa-rru ngurnaa jarraa-ru.*
 all-Ø-NOW that.ACC tie.up-PURPss
- That one, by us, by this fellow and me, by three of us, he was grabbed.
 All of us now, you as well, we'll all go and tie him up.

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

of politeness to refer to individuals or pairs of individuals. A similar use of the *-marnu* group suffix on kin terms is described in §4.20.

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

- (5.2) *Nganarna karra-ngka-rru tharrwa-lha nyina-marri-layi puyila,*
 1PL.EXC scrub-LOC-NOW enter-PAST stay-COLL-FUT far
ngunhu-ngara patharri-nyila kanyara-ngara wantamartu-ngara.
 that.NOM-PL fight-PrREL man-PL crazy-PL
Wuraal-wa-rru nhuwa-yarri-layi pularna yirla-rru.
 all.right-Ø-NOW spear-COLL-FUT 3PL only-NOW
 We'll go off into the scrub and stay away, since they are fighting,
the crazy people. Alright, they can be spearing each other and no-one else.
- (5.3) *Nhiyu wanpari-ngara, wanthala wii nyina-marri-layi kalyaran-ta,*
 this.NOM bee-PL where maybe sit-COLL-FUT tree-LOC
warrama-lalha pularna-wu-u ngurra-a, kanarri-wala warnu
 make-PAST 3PL-GEN-ACC camp-ACC come-PURPds ASSERT
ngunhu jayimarta, manyu-lpurtu ngunhaa.
 that.NOM insect(sp.) hungry-COMP that.NOM
These bees, wherever [they] camp in a tree, make their home, that *jayimarta*
 will come, hungry (wanting to eat honey).
- (5.4) “*Nhuwana mirntiwul kanarri-layi pawulu-thurti wartirra-thurti,*
 2PL all come-FUT child-CONJ woman-CONJ
ngayu patha-rrwala ngulangu, Kawuyu-nguru.
 1SG.NOM throw-PURPds there Kawuyu-ABL
Ngaliwa karlwa-layi Kawuyu-ngu.” Puni-lha pularna.
 1PL.INC go.up-FUT Kawuyu-ACC go-PAST 3PL
 “You all come, children, women and all, and I'll throw it there, from *Kawuyu*.
We'll go up onto *Kawuyu*.” And so they went.

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

5.2 KIN POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

A number of morphological systems allow special reference to kinship possession. First, there is a special form of the first person singular pronoun, *jurti*, which is used to indicate possessive kin relationships. Second, suffixes which denote particular categories of kin may

be attached to pronouns. Third, kinship nominals may be inflected by one of a set of suffixes which indicate the person of the possessor. This section describes the interaction of these systems.

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

- (5.5) *Ngunhu, juriti kampalalha, nhuwa-lalha tharnta-a yawarru-rru.*
 that.NOM 1SG.POSS uncle spear-PAST euro-ACC missed-NOW
 That fellow, my own uncle, threw a spear at a euro and missed it.
- (5.6) *Juriti mirtayi mir.ta-rru mungka-lalha murla-a, parlura paju.*
 1SG.POSS big not-NOW eat-PAST meat-ACC full REAL
 My own elder brother (lit. big one) didn't eat any meat, [he was] too full. (trans.)
- (5.7) *Yimpala-rru-wa kartu, juriti marryanu, nyina-layi nhuwala*
 like.that-NOW-YK 2SG.NOM 1SG.POSS Bro-in-law be-FUT 2DU
nhuunuwa.
 spouse(pair)
 That's what you're like, my brother-in-law, the two of you together, husband and wife.

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

- ngulharn* (-PATRI) own father('s sibling)
 -*wula* (-MATRI) own mother('s sibling)

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

- (5.8) *Juriti-ngulharn wii juriti-wula-thurti.*
 1SG.POSS-PATRI or 1SG.POSS-MATRI-CONJ
Juriti-ngulharn-tharra-a yaanka-a juriti-wula-tharra
 1SG.POSS-PATRI-DU-ACC spouse(pair)-ACC 1SG.POSS-MATRI-DU
wii panyu wiyaa nhuwala.
 or good maybe 2DU
 That's one of your own father's mob together with one of your own mother's mob. Toward those two married people, your father's own people and your mother's own people perhaps, maybe you should behave properly.
- (5.9) *Ngayu nhuura-ma-rru juriti-wula-lu, pipi-ngku*
 1SG.NOM know-CAUS-PASSP 1SG.POSS-MATRI-EFF mother-EFF
nganaju-wu-lu, wantharni-i kanpari-i pani-lwaa.
 1SG.OBL-GEN-EFF how-ACC seed-ACC grind-PURPs=o
 I was taught by my own mother's people, by my mother, how to grind seeds.

The suffixes select *jurti* and *kartu* stems of first person singular and second person singular respectively, but for other pronouns the suffixes are attached to a stem with a lengthened final vowel. For example:

<i>ngalii-ngulharn</i>	our (1DU) own father
<i>nhuwanaa-wula</i>	your (2PL) own mother

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

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

<i>ngurnula-ngulharn</i>	<i>pirrjilingu</i>	Pirrjilingu's own father
that.DEF-PATRI	name	

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

	1SG.POSS	1SG	2SG	1DU.INC
BELONG	<i>jurti-ngura</i>	<i>nganaju-wura</i>	<i>kartu-ngura</i>	<i>ngali-ngura</i>
OWNER	<i>jurti-waya</i>	<i>nganaju-waya</i>	<i>kartungu-waya</i>	<i>ngali-ngu-waya</i>

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

(5.10) *Ngunhu-tharra ngurnula-ngu-wura mari-wura pawulu-tharra.*
 that.NOM-DU that.DEF-GEN-BELONG sister-BELONG child-DU
 Those two were his younger sister's children.

(5.11) *Ngana-ngura ngunhu jal.yu wanarra?*
 who-BELONG that.NOM neck long
 Whose is that fellow with the long neck?

Ah! Ngunhaa jurti-ngura-nu, ngunhaa.
 Ah that.NOM 1SG.POSS-BELONG-QUOT that.NOM
 Ah! That's one of my lot.

- (5.12) *Ngayu puni-lha ngurnu nhawu-lu, ngunhu-lwa*
1SG.NOM go-PAST that.ACC see-PURPss that.NOM-ID

ngurnula-waya mayiili-ngu-waya.

that.DEF-OWNER SoSo+1POSS-PNM-OWNER

I went to see that fellow, that one who is the father of that grandchild of mine.

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

- (5.13) *Nganarna-wura-wula wurtu pawulu. Piyuwa wurtu*
1PL.EXC-BELONG-MATRI HYPHTH child nothing HYPHTH

yarta-npa-lha paju kampalha paju. Pirriyarta-wula wurtu
other-INCH-PAST REAL kinsman REAL own-MATRI HYPHTH

kartu pawulu nganarna-wura-wula wurtu.
2SG.NOM child 1PL.EXC-BELONG-MATRI HYPHTH

You're supposedly one of our close kin, one of our 'children' (mother's mob to one of our family), but it seems not, you've gone the other way child.

You're supposed to be one of our mob.

Finally, the first person singular possessive pronoun has a form *juritimpara*, denoting 'own sibling group', for which other pronoun forms have no counterpart.

Martuthunira kin terms may be inflected for the person (though not the number) of the possessor. Table 5.4 presents different possessed forms for a selection of kin terms:

TABLE 5.4: POSSESSED KIN TERMS

	1POSS	2POSS	3POSS
brother-in-law	<i>nyinu-uni</i>	<i>nyinu-malyura</i>	<i>nyinu-nhanu</i>
son	<i>mura-ani</i>	<i>mura-malyura</i>	<i>mura-nhanu</i>
mother's brother	<i>mimi-ini</i>	<i>mimi-malyura</i>	<i>mimi-nhanu</i>
father's father	<i>mayiili</i>	<i>mayili-malyura</i>	<i>mayili-nhanu</i>
father's mother	<i>ngapaari</i>	<i>ngapari-malyura</i>	<i>ngapari-nhanu</i>
daughter	<i>kurntal-yu</i>	<i>kurntal-malyura</i>	<i>kurntal-nhanu</i>

As this paradigm shows, the second and third person possessive forms involve the simple addition of suffixes *-malyura* and *-nhanu* respectively, to the kin term stem. The first person possessive forms, on the other hand, involve three separate processes. Firstly, disyllabic kin terms with a final vowel take a suffix of general form *-:ni*, which involves lengthening of the final vowel of the stem. Secondly, trisyllabic kin terms have their penultimate vowel lengthened and thus conform to the pattern of three syllables with penultimate long vowel established by the addition of the *-:ni* suffix to disyllabic stems. Finally, kin terms with a final consonant take a suffix *-yu*, which can be related to a *-ju* first person singular

possessive suffix in other languages (for example, Jiwari (Austin n.d.)). The following sentences illustrate the use of the possessed kin terms (and see (4.167) and (4.168):

- (5.14) *Mura-ani! Kartu wuraal puni-layi manku-lu ngamari-i?*
 son-1POSS 2SG.NOM all.right go-FUT get-PURPss tobacco-ACC
 My son, can you go and get some tobacco?
- (5.15) *Ngunhaa mimi-malyura puni-nguru, ngunhu-tharra yaanka.*
 that.NOM uncle-2POSS go-PRES that.NOM-DU spouse(pair)
 That uncle of yours is going, he and his wife together. (trans.)
- (5.16) *Ngunhaa kanyara mir.ta kanarri-marri-lha mayili-nhanu-ngu*
 that.NOM man not come-COLL-PAST FaFa-3POSS-ACC
kulhi-lwarri-lu thungkara-a.
 bury-COLL-PURPss ground-ACC
 That man didn't come to bury his grandson in the ground.
- (5.17) *Puliyanyja papu-nhanu paya-mpa-nguru kupuyu-tharra-a.*
 old.man father-3POSS wild-INCH-PRES little-DU-ACC
 That old man, their father, is getting wild with the two little fellows.

5.3 INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

5.3.1 'WHO/SOMEONE' *ngana*

The indefinite pronoun *ngana* 'who/someone' has the following case forms:

NOM	<i>ngana</i>
ACC/GEN	<i>nganangu</i>
LOC	<i>nganala</i>
ABL	<i>nganalanguru</i>
EFF	<i>nganalu</i>

Other case forms are generally attached to the *nganangu* stem. However, unlike the first person singular and second person singular pronouns, further inflected forms of the genitive do not involve the *-wu* suffix. Thus a form like *nganangu-mulyarra* is potentially ambiguous between a reading 'towards whom/someone', where the stem is interpreted as oblique, and 'towards something belonging to whom/someone' where the stem is interpreted as genitive. In fact, there are no unelicited examples of such complex inflected forms of the pronoun in the data and these patterns may be an artefact of elicitation. The general indefinite use of the pronoun is illustrated in examples (5.18), (5.19) and (5.20). When functioning as an interrogative, *ngana* typically appears in sentence-initial position as in (5.21), (5.22) and (5.23).

- (5.18) *Ngayu pamararri-lha ngurra-wurrini, mir.ta waruul ngana wii*
 1SG.NOM call.out-PAST ground-DIRECT not still someone maybe
pamaruwirri-lha nganaju.
 call.back-PAST 1SG.ACC
 I called out towards the camp, and still no-one called back to me. (trans.)

- (5.19) *Ngularla-lwa wiyaa wanyjarri-nguru warinyuwa nganangu*
 there.NS-ID maybe go-PRES Mo&Fa-in-law someone.ACC
puranyi-ru ngularla-lwa karri-nyila-a.
 see-PURPss there.NS-ID stand-PrREL-ACC
 Maybe my mother-in-law and father-in-law are going to see someone somewhere
 over there.
- (5.20) *Ngayu nyina-lha martama-l.yarra palykura-la*
 1SG.NOM sit-PAST press.on-CTEMP groundsheet-LOC
nganangu-la.
 someone.GEN-LOC
 I sat down on someone's groundsheet, holding it down.
- (5.21) *Ngana ngunhu wartirra nyina-nguru karra-ngka muyinu-npi-rra?*
 who that.NOM woman be-PRES scrub-LOC hidden-INCH-CTEMP
 Who is that woman hiding in the scrub? (trans.)
- (5.22) *Nganalu nhiyaa marli wurnta-rnu warrirti-ma-nngu-layi?*
 who.EFF this.NOM cadjeput cut-PASSP spear-CAUS-PASS-FUT
 By whom was this cut cadjeput wood then made into a spear? (trans.)
- (5.23) *Nganangu kupuyu puni-nguru kartawinka-rra?*
 who.GEN little go-PRES unsteady-CTEMP
 Whose is this little fellow going along unsteadily (toddling)? (trans.)

5.3.2 'ANYONE' *nganamarnu*

The *nganamarnu* pronoun is derived by the addition of the *-marnu* group suffix to the indefinite pronoun. Like *ngana*, it takes an accusative/genitive form in *-ngu*.

- (5.24) *Nganamarnu wii pithirri-mpa-rra wii,*
 anyone maybe chill-INCH-CTEMP maybe
ngurnaa paya-rminyji jami-i.
 that.ACC drink-FUT medicine-ACC
 If anyone gets a chill, they drink that *jami* medicine.
- (5.25) *Pawulu, kartu kuliya-rminyji nganaju wangka-nyila-a. Ngayu*
 child 2SG.NOM listen-FUT 1SG.ACC say-PrREL-ACC 1SG.NOM
wangka-layi kartungu panyu-ma-l.yarra mir.ta nyina-waa
 say-FUT 2SG.ACC good-CAUS-CTEMP not be-PURPs=o
wantawanta, mir.ta-l paya-mpa-ngu-layi nganamarnu-lu.
 silly not-THEN wild-INCH-PASS-FUT anyone-EFF
 Kid, you listen to me talking! I'll tell you, make you well behaved so you
 won't be silly and then won't be growled at by anyone.

As examples (5.24) and (5.25) suggest, there is a subtle difference between the two indefinite pronouns *ngana* and *nganamarnu* – *ngana* assumes the existence of some possible referent while *nganamarnu* does not. The following examples illustrate this difference more clearly.

- (5.26) *Nhulaa kanyara thurlanyarrara ngaliwa-mulyarra kanarri-lha*
 near.you man poor.fellow 1PL.INC-ALL come-PAST
wawayi-l.yarra nganangu juwayumarta-a.
 look.for-CTEMP someone.ACC doctor-ACC
 That poor man near you came to us looking for a doctor (assuming there might be one).
- (5.27) *Ngayu kuyil thurlanyarrara, ngayu puni-layi nganamarnu-ngu*
 1SG.NOM bad poor.fellow 1SG.NOM go-FUT anyone-ACC
wii wawayi-l.yarra juwayumarta-a.
 if look.for-CTEMP doctor-ACC
 I'm poorly, I'll go and look for a doctor, if anyone's a doctor.

5.3.3 'WHAT/SOMETHING' *nhartu*

The indefinite and interrogative uses of *nhartu* takes regular nominal suffixes. The following examples illustrate.

- (5.28) *Ngaliwa nhartu-ngara-a wii kanyja-rminyji muyinu-u paju.*
 1PL.INC something-PL-ACC maybe keep-FUT hidden-ACC REAL
 We'll keep things well hidden.
- (5.29) *Panyu-l kupiyaji puni-waa, mir.ta kanta wurnta-rnu*
 good-THEN little(PL) go-PURPs=o not leg cut-PASSP
nhartu-ngku wii, parla-ngara-lu wii.
 something-EFF maybe rock-PL-EFF maybe
 Those little fellows will go well then, won't have [their] legs cut by anything, rocks or whatever.
- (5.30) *Nhartu-u nhuwana pawulu-ngara thaaparinpa-marri-nguru?*
 what-ACC 2PL child-PL argue-COLL-PRES
 What are you kids arguing about? (trans.)

In addition, *nhartu* forms the basis of two indefinite/interrogative verb forms: the intransitive *nhartu-mpa-Ø* 'what/something happen', and the transitive *nhartu-ma-L* 'do what/something'. See §9.10 for further discussion of interrogative clauses.

- (5.31) *Nhartu-mpa-lha-lpurtu? Ngunhaa parna wiyaa kuyil, wantamartu.*
 what-INCH-PAST-COMP that.NOM head maybe bad crazy
 What's happened? Maybe he's bad in the head, crazy.
- (5.32) *Nhartu-ma-rminyji-lwa ngunhaa yirna-ngara-a warrirti-ngara-a?*
 what-CAUS-FUT-ID that.NOM this.OBL-PL-ACC spear-PL-ACC
 What's he going to do with these spears?

5.4 DEMONSTRATIVE FORMS

The demonstrative class can be subdivided into a set of 'adnominal' demonstratives and a set of 'adverbial' demonstratives. Adnominal demonstratives make reference to entities in terms of their relative distance from the speech act participants. They occur as either

modifiers or heads in noun phrases. The adverbial demonstratives, on the other hand, provide locational qualification of a predication. Although the two types of demonstrative differ in function they are semantically and morphologically related. This section describes the forms of the demonstratives; their functions are described in §5.5 and §5.6. The basic demonstrative stems are presented in Table 5.5.

TABLE 5.5: DEMONSTRATIVE STEMS

	Proximal	Distal	'Near you'
NOM	<i>nhiyu</i>	<i>ngunhu</i>	<i>nhula</i>
ACC/OBL	<i>yima</i>	<i>ngurnu</i>	<i>nhula-a</i>
EFF	<i>yilu</i>	<i>ngulu</i>	–
LOC	<i>yila</i>	<i>ngula</i>	–

The distal stems allow further analysis into a base *ngu-* (probably an original monosyllabic root; see Dixon 1980:361) with case-dependent formatives; nominative *-nhu*, accusative/oblique *-mu*, effector *-lu* and locative *-la*. The proximal paradigm shows a nominative form distinct from other case forms which involve the base *yi-*. The proximal and distal forms in this paradigm provide the basis for all adnominal demonstratives described below and discussed in §5.5 below. The adverbial demonstrative forms are based on the locative stems (see Table 5.8 below).

The 'near you' demonstrative has a restricted function and a similarly restricted paradigm. It does not appear in any case other than nominative or accusative and inflects like a regular nominal. It has a topic-tracking counterpart *nhulaa* (indistinguishable from the accusative) but there is no definite demonstrative form and no set of adverbial demonstratives based on a locative stem.

The adnominal demonstratives may take a range of nominal suffixes depending on their function within noun phrases and in wider clausal constituents. Table 5.6 illustrates two extensions of the simple paradigm. In comparison with the marked 'topic-tracking' and definite demonstratives, these are referred to as 'plain' demonstrative forms.

TABLE 5.6: INFLECTED PLAIN DEMONSTRATIVE FORMS

PROXIMAL FORMS

	singular	dual	plural
NOM	<i>nhiyu</i>	<i>nhiiyarra</i>	<i>nhiingara</i>
ACC	<i>yima</i>	<i>yima-tharra-a</i>	<i>yima-ngara-a</i>
EFF	<i>yilu</i>	<i>yima-tharra-lu</i>	<i>yima-ngara-lu</i>
LOC	<i>yila</i>	<i>yima-tharra-la</i>	<i>yima-ngara-la</i>
ABL	<i>yila-nguru</i>	<i>yima-tharra-la-nguru</i>	<i>yima-ngara-la-nguru</i>
GEN	<i>yima-wu</i>	<i>yima-tharra-wu</i>	<i>yima-ngara-wu</i>
ALL	<i>yima-mulyarra</i>	<i>yima-tharra-mulyarra</i>	<i>yima-ngara-mulyarra</i>
PROP	<i>yima-marta</i>	<i>yima-tharra-marta</i>	<i>yima-ngara-marta</i>

DISTAL FORMS

NOM	<i>ngunhu</i>	<i>ngunhu-tharra</i>	<i>ngunhu-ngara</i>
ACC	<i>ngurnu</i>	<i>ngurnu-tharra-a</i>	<i>ngurnu-ngara-a</i>
EFF	<i>ngulu</i>	<i>ngurnu-tharra-lu</i>	<i>ngurnu-ngara-lu</i>
LOC	<i>ngula</i>	<i>ngurnu-tharra-la</i>	<i>ngurnu-ngara-la</i>
ABL	<i>ngula-nguru</i>	<i>ngurnu-tharra-la-nguru</i>	<i>ngurnu-ngara-la-nguru</i>
GEN	<i>ngurnu-wu</i>	<i>ngurnu-tharra-wu</i>	<i>ngurnu-ngara-wu</i>
ALL	<i>ngurnu-mulyarra</i>	<i>ngurnu-tharra-mulyarra</i>	<i>ngurnu-ngara-mulyarra</i>
PROP	<i>ngurnu-marta</i>	<i>ngurnu-tharra-marta</i>	<i>ngurnu-ngara-marta</i>

Firstly, Table 5.6 lists the dual and plural counterparts of the demonstratives presented in Table 5.5. With the exception of the nominative, these involve the addition of the productive number suffixes to the singular oblique stem, followed by the appropriate case suffix. The nominative non-singular forms are based on the singular nominative stem. In the proximal paradigm there has been some historical adjustment of the stem and number suffix combination:

<i>*nhiyu-tharra</i>	>	<i>nhiiyarra</i>
<i>*nhiyu-ngara</i>	>	<i>nhiingara</i>

Secondly, Table 5.6 includes inflected demonstratives for which there is not a unique stem form. With the exception of the ablative, all involve the addition of regular nominal suffixes to the singular oblique stem. The ablative, as expected, is based on the locative stem (but see §5.5.5). Once again, dual and plural extensions in all case forms are built on the oblique stem.

Locative and ablative noun phrases (unlike nominative, accusative and effector noun phrases) can occur as adnominal modifiers in more complex noun phrases and may take further relational case suffixes. Thus the singular locative and ablative demonstrative forms listed in Table §5.6 can be further inflected. However, adnominal locative and ablative demonstratives are in fact not at all common. Martuthunira employs the locational adverbial demonstratives in preference to noun phrases including a locative demonstrative (§5.6.1).

Topic-tracking demonstratives, described in §5.5.2, occur for only the singular forms of nominative and accusative demonstratives. Diachronically, these most likely involve the fusion of a topicalising clitic (**-pa* ~ **-ka*) of some kind to the plain demonstrative stems. As argued in §7.8, these forms are not synchronically analysable as a stem+clitic combination.

TABLE 5.7: TOPIC-TRACKING DEMONSTRATIVE FORMS

	Proximal	Distal
NOM	<i>nhiyaa</i>	<i>ngunhaa</i>
ACC	<i>yirnaa</i>	<i>ngurnaa</i>

The definite demonstratives *yimala* and *ngurnula* are formed by the addition of a *-la* formative to the proximal and distal oblique stems. Inflected forms of the definite demonstratives involve the addition of regular nominal suffixes to these stems. However, the genitive form of the definite distal obligatorily selects the *-ngu* genitive allomorph and has

developed a degree of grammatical specificity suggesting that the form *ngurnulangu* be treated as a special form outside of the general paradigm (§5.5.3).

The adverbial demonstrative forms all involve suffixed additions to the locative adnominal demonstrative stem (Table 5.8):

TABLE 5.8: ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

	proximal	distal
locational	<i>yilangu</i>	<i>ngulangu</i>
non-specific	<i>yilarla</i>	<i>ngularla</i>
non-visible	<i>yilarni</i>	<i>ngularni</i>

Three different demonstrative systems show evidence of a *-la* stem formative: the 'definite' adnominal demonstratives (e.g. *ngurnula*), the 'non-specific' adverbial demonstratives (e.g. *ngularla*), and the indefinite locational *wanthala* (§5.10.1). The identification of the *-la* suffix in the 'non-specific' forms depends on the variable allophonic rule whereby the second of a pair of apical sonorants (separated by a vowel) is realised as a retroflex (§2.5.7). For all of these forms the suffix indicates the speaker's belief that a particular entity or place filling a certain description exists and can be found. The rather different interpretations of demonstratives in the three classes depends on the referential functions of the stems to which *-la* is attached.

5.5 ADNOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

This section discusses the semantics of the adnominal demonstratives, concentrating on the differences among plain, topic-tracking and definite forms. The primary function of the demonstratives is to refer to an entity in terms of its relative proximity to the speaker. However in addition to this, the demonstratives play a crucial role in maintaining text cohesion. Martuthunira has no distinct set of third person pronouns (either as free forms or as bound clitics) and thus much of the burden of 'pronominal' reference is carried by the demonstrative system. It is important to distinguish this 'endophoric' (text-internal) function from the primary 'exophoric' (text-external) function. The meanings which must be attributed to the demonstratives in each case are quite different.

The use of particular demonstrative forms in any text typically involves an interplay of exophoric and endophoric reference. For example, once an object is referred to in terms of its spatial proximity to the speaker it becomes a text item. The subsequent use of a demonstrative to refer to this item will depend partly on the referent's continuing relative proximity to the speaker and partly on standard patterns of cohesive text organisation. However, texts involving very little exophoric reference do occur. In particular, stories describing historical events or the actions of legendary culture heroes are often narrated in a situation that does not allow successful exophoric reference to characters or places. In these texts the patterns of endophoric demonstrative usage are most clearly defined and allow independent definition of endophoric meanings. The following sections describe both exophoric and endophoric functions of the various demonstrative forms.

5.5.1 PLAIN DEMONSTRATIVES

The exophoric functions of the unmarked demonstratives are quite straightforward. The proximal has a basic exophoric function as a presentative 'this', and is very often accompanied by some gesture indicating the referent.

- (5.33) *Nhiyu warnan parnta-muru-rru warnu ngaliwa-a.*
 this.NOM rain rain-PRES-NOW ASSERT 1PL.INC-ACC
 This rain is really coming down on us now.
- (5.34) *Nhawungarra ngaliwa, nhiyu murtimurti-mpa-nyila pirtura.*
 look.out 1PL.INC this.NOM fast-INCH-PrREL wave
 We'd better look out, this wave is coming in quickly.

The proximal is generally used to pick out referents which are relatively close to the speaker while distal forms are used for referents located at some distance. Typically the proximal will cover things that are also close to the addressee; however, the separate 'near you' demonstrative, *nhula*, allows more specific reference to objects within the addressee's sphere of influence:

- (5.35) *Nhula manyarrka wantha-rryu nganaju-wu-la parrka-ngka*
 near.you sugar put-IMP 1SG.OBL-GEN-LOC leaf-LOC
kayarra mirtiri winya.
 two spoon full
 Put that sugar in my tea, two spoonfuls.
- (5.36) *Nhula-tharra pintirri-ma-l.yu, nhula patharri-nguru.*
 near.you-DU separate-CAUS-IMP near.you fight-PRES
 Split those two up, they're fighting.
- (5.37) *Ya! Nhula kanyara manthawarla paju warnu mungka-muru*
 hey near.you man greedy REAL ASSERT eat-PRES
thanuwa-thurti-i, jinyji-warla-mpa-layi paju-rru.
 food-CONJ-ACC fat-FULL-INCH-FUT REAL-NOW
 Hey! That man's very greedy eating the food and everything, he'll be getting very fat.

In non-situated text (§1.7) the proximal demonstrative serves the important function of *introducing* a participant to the action described in the narrative. This function is clearly related to the exophoric function of the demonstrative as a basic presentative. Where a participant is introduced for the first time it is generally assumed that the addressee will be quite able to uniquely identify the person or object referred to – either through familiarity with the story (or at least the events and characters taking part), or through familiarity with the participants and their common roles in stock situations. Very often the speaker provides some additional identifying information following the demonstrative introduction:

- (5.38) *Nhiyu martawulyu, palyarringu-nyungu, ngunhaa panyu jami.*
 this.NOM sap bloodwood-DWELL that.NOM good medicine
 This sap, from a bloodwood tree, that's good medicine. (trans.)

The proximal is also used to reintroduce a participant who for some time has taken a 'back seat' in the progression of events in the narrative. Typically, this reintroduction heralds a

switch in 'discourse-topic': the new character becomes the central participant – the person who, in the narrator's opinion, provides the key to the unfolding of the events in the story.

In comparison with the important presentative function of the proximal, the distal demonstrative as used in non-situated text has very little deictic meaning. Its role in maintaining cohesive narrative is more a function of the contrast between plain and topic-tracking forms than the result of any inherent meaning in the distal stem. In many ways the singular plain distal demonstrative is similar to the English definite article 'the'. It indicates that a referent satisfying a description (if the demonstrative is part of a noun phrase) or satisfying the grammatical role of subject or object or whatever (if the demonstrative is the head of a noun phrase) exists and can be found by the addressee. The identity of the referent is assumed to be retrievable from linguistic context, not by strict syntactic rule but by inference. Of course, the plain demonstrative stem may bear suffixes (such as number markers) which add to the referential content of the demonstrative word as a whole, and so narrow the range of possible antecedents. Also, the demonstrative may occur in a syntactic position which, given certain rules of grammar, leaves no question as to the referential antecedent.

5.5.2 TOPIC-TRACKING DEMONSTRATIVES

The topic-tracking forms of the distal demonstrative play an extremely important role in maintaining text cohesion. Essentially, topic-tracking demonstratives track those participants which form the speaker's current focus of interest. In any portion of narrative typically one of a number of participants will be singled out for special treatment. This may be because that participant's actions are of most interest to the narrator, or are assumed by the narrator to be of most interest to the addressee, or because the actions of the particular participant have the greatest bearing on the unfolding of events in the narrative. Participants singled out in this way may be tracked using topic-tracking demonstrative forms. By contrast, other participants appear with plain forms.

Where the focus of interest moves to a new participant, the change will be reflected in the switching of topic-tracking forms from one participant to another. As mentioned already, such a change may be introduced by a proximal demonstrative though the straightforward switching of topic-tracking demonstrative reference from one participant to another may serve the same function. Table 5.9 provides a summary of the demonstrative forms used in a section of narrative text (Appendix 1, Text 7:165-237), with lines indicating the tracking and switching of topic.

TABLE 5.9: ANAPHORIC DEMONSTRATIVE TRACKING IN TEXT

Man	Devil	Returning boomerangs	New boomerangs
<i>nhiyu</i>	<i>ngunhaa</i> <i>nhiyu</i>		
<i>ngunhaa</i> <i>ngunhaa</i>	<i>ngurnaa</i>	<i>ngurmutharra</i>	
	<i>ngurnu</i> <i>ngurnu</i> <i>nhiyu</i>	<i>ngurmutharra</i>	
<i>yilu</i>	<i>ngunhaa</i>	<i>ngurmutharra</i>	
	<i>ngunhaa</i>	<i>ngurmutharra</i> <i>ngurnu</i> <i>ngurnaa</i> <i>ngurmutharra</i> <i>ngurmutharra</i>	<i>ngurmungara</i>
	<i>ngunhaa</i> <i>ngunhaa</i>	<i>ngunhaa</i>	<i>ngurnu</i> <i>ngurnu</i> <i>ngurnu</i>
<i>ngunhu</i>	<i>ngurnaa</i>	<i>ngunhu</i> <i>ngunhaa</i>	
<i>nhiyaa</i>		<i>ngunhaa</i>	
<i>ngunhaa</i> <i>ngunhaa</i>	<i>ngunhu</i> <i>ngurnu</i>	<i>yirnaa</i> <i>ngunhaa</i>	
	<i>ngunhu</i>	<i>ngunhaa</i>	<i>ngurnu</i>
<i>ngunhaa</i> <i>ngunhaa</i> <i>ngunhu</i>		<i>ngurnula</i> <i>ngurnu</i>	
<i>yima</i>	<i>ngurnaa</i> <i>ngunhaa</i> <i>ngunhaa</i> <i>ngunhaa</i> <i>ngunhaa</i>		

There are essentially four separate participants in the selected part of the narrative, and these form two opposing pairs. On the one hand, the man who made the first returning boomerangs is complemented by the 'devil' who is attempting to trick him into giving them up. On the other hand, the first two returning boomerangs contrast with the new boomerangs that the man is currently producing and which he repeatedly offers the devil in response to the latter's requests.

The narrative proceeds with descriptive statements by the narrator (non-situated text) interspersed with sections of reported speech (situated text) by the man and the devil. Most proximal demonstrative forms occurring in the reported speech make exophoric reference and so are irrelevant to questions of endophoric demonstrative tracking (and are ignored here). The relevant endophoric demonstrative forms are underlined in the text. Table 5.9 lists these and shows the patterns of topic switching effected by shifts in topic-tracking demonstrative reference. Topic-tracking demonstrative forms switch between the man and the devil as one after the other becomes the major instigator of action in the narrative. At the same time, the pair of returning boomerangs is also tracked by topic-tracking forms in contrast to the unmarked set of newly made boomerangs.

Topic-tracking proximal forms are rare in text (but note *nhiyaa* in the sixth entry in the 'man' column, Table 5.9) and occur almost exclusively in situated discourse. In such situations the demonstrative combines exophoric reference to an object or person located nearby with the endophoric reference implicit in the topic-tracking form. That is, the participant located near the speaker is considered to be the focus of interest in the discussion. In example (5.39) the speakers, a group of devils, conspire to steal Pannawonica Hill from a rival group:

- (5.39) *Nhiyu parla panyu paju. Nganarna wiru kangku-layi yirnaa.*
 this.NOM hill good very 1PL.EXC wanting take-FUT this.ACC
 This hill is very nice. We want to take this one away.

Table 5.10 allows a comparison of the frequency of particular demonstrative forms in samples of non-situated narrative and situated reported speech. Only plain forms contrasting with topic-tracking forms were counted (i.e. singular nominative or accusative case forms). The sample also excluded all instances of text reference (§5.5.4) and demonstratives making temporal reference (§5.5.5).

TABLE 5.10: FREQUENCY OF DEMONSTRATIVE FORMS

	Non-situated text	Situated text
PROXIMAL		
plain	87	79
topic-tracking	4	16
subtotal	91	95
DISTAL		
plain	206	32
topic-tracking	251	24
subtotal	457	56
TOTAL	548	151

The special presentative function of proximal demonstratives is reflected by a much smaller proportion of proximal to distal forms in the non-situated text sample (91 to 457). Conversely, the proximal forms outnumber the distal forms in situated text, where they have a clear exophoric function (95 to 56).

Topic-tracking forms account for more than half of the distal forms in the non-situated sample, thus demonstrating the important function these forms play in maintaining a cohesive text. In the situated text sample, topic-tracking demonstratives do not form as large a portion of either distal or proximal forms.

As might be expected, the foregrounding function of the topic-tracking forms results in a higher proportion of subject to object forms for these demonstratives as compared with the plain demonstratives. Figures for the distal demonstratives are shown in Table 5.11.

TABLE 5.11: SUBJECT TO OBJECT RATIOS FOR DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVES

	Subject	Object	S:O ratio
plain	142	64	2.2
topic-tracking	218	39	5.6

Despite their important function, topic-tracking forms contrast with singular plain demonstratives only in nominative and accusative cases. There are no topic-tracking complements to plain demonstratives in other case forms, or to dual and plural demonstrative forms based on the plain stem. This is not at all surprising. First, topic-tracking forms might not be expected to occur in syntactic slots other than the core argument positions of predicates. Second, demonstratives inflected for number are of greater referential content than the simple singular stem (the appearance of a singular demonstrative does not guarantee a singular referent). Dual demonstratives in particular are highly referential and need no topic-tracking counterpart to facilitate their successful tracking in discourse. Thus although it is true to say that typically one participant is tracked by topic-tracking demonstrative forms, other participants, by virtue of their dual or plural marking, may be equally visible in a text.

The non-situated narrative text sample included 53 proximal non-singular demonstrative forms and 137 distal non-singular demonstratives. The situated speech sample included only 4 proximal and 5 distal non-singular forms. These figures can be compared with those presented for singular demonstrative forms in Table 5.10.

5.5.3 DEFINITE DEMONSTRATIVES

The definite demonstrative is used to refer to a particular entity which the speaker assumes the addressee is able to identify. As described in the last two sections, the plain demonstrative form indicates that a referent fulfilling a description, or the syntactic role of the noun phrase in which the form occurs, may be found by the addressee. The topic-tracking form adds the extra information that this referent is 'the thing that the speaker is talking about'. The definite demonstrative, in indicating the existence of a 'particular' referent, reduces the set of possible demonstrative antecedents still further and so assumes almost full referential independence. Of all Martuthunira demonstratives, the definite forms are the closest to cardinal anaphoric third person pronouns.

Simple forms of the definite demonstratives occur relatively infrequently (only five instances in the sample of narrative text and reported speech forming the basis for the sampling for Table 5.10) and most often have an exophoric function, as in example (5.40) and (5.41). In (5.42) and (5.43) the definite demonstrative and its antecedent are underlined.

- (5.40) *Kartu kangku-Ø yirnala-a warrirti-i jankurna-marnu!*
 2SG.NOM take-IMP this.DEF-ACC spear-ACC emu-ASSOC
 You take this particular spear [offering it] for an emu!
- (5.41) *Nhiyu yirru yilhi yirru, mir.ta nhiyu. Ngurnula-a kartu*
 this.NOM HES chip HES not this.NOM that.DEF-ACC 2SG.NOM
kanyja-rnuru wanthala.
 keep-PRES somewhere
 This chip (pointing), not this one (pointing). The one you are keeping hidden somewhere.
- (5.42) *Ngunhaa mir.ta jarrkurti wankama-lalha. Thurlajinkarri-ngara waya*
 that.NOM not few save-PAST poor.fellow-PL fear
puni-wayara yartapalyu, yanga-nngu-rra yarta-ngara-lu,
 go-HABIT others chase-PASS-CTEMP other-PL-EFF
karta-nngu-layi waya, ngurnula-a wirta-lu, nyina-layi
 stab-PASS-FUT fear that.DEF-ACC climb-PURPss sit-FUT
parlu-ngka.
 top-LOC
That [hill] saved not just a few people. Some poor fellows used to go frightened, one mob, being chased by some others, frightened of getting stabbed, and climb it, and sit on top.
- (5.43) *Thurlajinkarri-tharra nganajumarta-la mir.ta waruul kuliya-l.yarra*
 poor.fellow-DU 1DU.DISHARM-LOC not still hear-CTEMP
nganajumarta-a wangkarnu-marri-nyila-a yilangu. Nhartu-u-lwa
 1DU.DISHARM-ACC talk-COLL-PrREL-ACC here what-ACC-ID
kuliyampa-nguru wiyaa, muyiwiya-nngu-rra. mir.ta wurtu
 think-PRES maybe abuse-PASS-CTEMP not HYPH
nganajumarta mir.ta muyiwiya-rnuru yirnala-tharra-a.
 1DU.DISHARM not abuse-PRES this.DEF-DU-ACC
These two poor fellows with us still aren't listening to us talking here. What are they thinking about as they're being abused [by us]. We won't insult them.

By contrast, the genitive form of the distal definite demonstrative, *ngurnula-ngu*, is very common and serves as an anaphoric third person possessive pronoun. In its range of antecedents it is in some ways similar to the Latin indirect reflexive possessive *suus*. Modifying genitive expressions within noun phrases are usually single possessive nominals – either the genitive form of a first or second person pronoun, or the genitive definite demonstrative. In the latter case the noun phrase specifying the possessor appears in the immediate linguistic context.

- (5.44) *Ngunhu kanyara wartawirrinpa-rra ngurnula-ngu-ngara-a*
 that.NOM man wait.for-CTEMP that.DEF-GEN-PL-ACC
wara-ngara-a pinkarranyu-mpa-nyila-a.
 clothes-PL-ACC dry-INCH-PrREL-ACC
 That man is waiting for his clothes to dry.
- (5.45) *Ngunhaa nyina-lha jampa, wiruwarri-lha-rru, kuliyanpa-lha*
 that.NOM stay-PAST while feel.homesick-PAST-NOW think-PAST
parrani-layi-rru ngurnula-ngu-mulyarra warra ngurra-mulyarra.
 return-FUT-NOW that.DEF-GEN-ALL CONT camp-ALL
 He stayed for a while, became homesick, then thought about returning to his camp.
- (5.46) *Jurti mirtayi mir.ta-rru mungka-lalha murla-a, parlura paju.*
 1SG.POSS big not-NOW eat-PAST meat-ACC full REAL
Ngayu-rru mungka-lalha ngurnula-ngu-u murla-a.
 1SG.NOM-NOW eat-PAST that.DEF-GEN-ACC meat-ACC
 My big brother didn't eat any meat, too full. So I ate his meat. (trans.)
- (5.47) *Ngayu nyina-lha ngulangu murna-ngka, tharryitharra ngaliya*
 1SG.NOM be-PAST there close-LOC side.by.side 1DU.EXC
nyina-lha, ngurnula-ngu-lwa pawulu-ngara nyina-lha
 sit-PAST that.DEF-GEN-ID child-PL be-PAST
pamaru-marra nguyirri-wirraa-ma-l.yarra nganarna-a.
 shout-COLL+CTEMP sleep-PRIV-CAUS-CTEMP 1PL.EXC-ACC
 I was there close, the two of us sat side by side, his children were shouting,
 keeping all of us awake.
- (5.48) *Ngayu yanga-lalha ngurnu tharnta-a, ngurnula-ngu kupuyu*
 1SG.NOM chase-PAST that.ACC euro-ACC that.DEF-GEN little
nhuwa-rmu-la yarta-ngku kanyara-lu.
 spear-PASSP-LOC other-EFF man-EFF
 I chased that euro, and its little one was speared by the other man. (trans.)
- (5.49) *Ngunhu-ngara mir.ta nhuura nyina-nyila-a wirta-ngara-a*
 that.NOM-PL not knowing be-PrREL-ACC youth-PL-ACC
ngurnula-ngu-marta-ngara-a nhurmti-ma-minyji ngurnu-ngara-a.
 that.DEF-GEN-PROP-PL-ACC dead-CAUS-FUT that.OBL-PL-ACC
 They_i didn't know that those_j young men keeping those things of theirs_j
 were going to kill them.

These examples illustrate the most common patterns of syntactic relationship between the demonstrative and its antecedent. In examples (5.44) and (5.45) the genitive demonstrative is part of a non-subject noun phrase and the antecedent is the subject of the same clause. In (5.46) however, the first person singular subject of the clause is not a possible antecedent of the third person genitive and here the antecedent is the subject of the preceding clause. In (5.47) the genitive is part of the subject noun phrase and the antecedent is the third person included within the reference set of the first person exclusive pronoun subject of the preceding clause, *ngaliya*. In (5.48), the first person singular subject of the preceding clause

is not a possible antecedent and instead the object of that clause controls the genitive demonstrative. Finally, in (5.49) the genitive definite demonstrative is an endophoric expression embedded within an adnominal proprietive modifier in a complex noun phrase and the antecedent is the head of that noun phrase.

This function of the genitive definite demonstrative is restricted to distal forms. While genitive forms of the proximal definite demonstrative were accepted by the informant, they do not occur in either elicited or unelicited text.

5.5.4 TEXT REFERENCE

The distal adnominal demonstratives can be used to make reference to portions of text allowing comment on the facts or situations described in the narrative. Text deixis (or discourse deixis) (Halliday & Hasan 1976:52, Levinson 1983:85) of this type is a common device in closing or opening episodes in narrative. A number of set phrases asserting the veracity of events appear often in the collected texts. The use of the phrase *palwarru ngunhaa* illustrated in example (5.50) is typical. In (5.51), which presents the closing lines of a long text, the demonstratives refer to the narrative in its entirety.

- (5.50) *Ngaya-lha-nguru-rru karlwa-layi mirntiwul, wuraal-wa-rru*
 cry-PAST-ABL-NOW get.up-FUT all all.right-Ø-NOW
ngurra-arta-npa-layi-rru. Palwarru ngunhaa.
 camp-ALL-INCH-FUT-NOW true that.NOM
Kulii-lalha-nguru-rru ngurra-arta-marri-layi-rru.
 satisfied-PAST-ABL-NOW camp-ALL-COLL-FUT-NOW
Palwarru ngunhaa.
 true that.NOM
 Having cried [they] all get up. All right, head for camp now. That's that.
 Now satisfied [they] go off to camp together. That's that.
- (5.51) *Ngunhaa ngunhaa. Piyuwa-rru ngunhaa, piyuwa-rru ngunhaa*
 that.NOM that.NOM end-NOW that.NOM end-NOW that.NOM
Pantuwarningka.
 Pannawonica.Hill
 That's that. That's the end. That's the end of [the story about] Pannawonica Hill.

The set of narratives of which the Pannawonica story is one episode contains twenty instances of textual reference involving demonstratives (example (5.51) is counted as one instance). Although most of the set phrases employed with this function involve topic-tracking demonstrative forms, plain demonstratives also occur with some frequency (24 topic-tracking to 19 plain forms in the 20 instances cited).

5.5.5 TEMPORAL REFERENCE

Distal demonstrative forms are sometimes used as temporal deictics in narrative. Firstly, the plain nominative form of the definite demonstrative is used to refer to a particular point in time at which an event occurred, thus allowing comment about other things that happened or might have happened at that same time. For example:

- (5.52) *Kartungu muyi murla-a mungka-lalha. Ngayu ngurnu muyi-i*
 2SG.GEN dog meat-ACC eat-PAST 1SG.NOM that.ACC dog-ACC
thani-nmarni ngurnula-l.
 hit-CONTR that.DEF-THEN
 Your dog ate the meat. I should have hit it at that time.

Secondly, the ablative suffix may be added to either the plain or definite demonstrative indicating that the current event is occurring after the completion of the event referred to by the demonstrative. Notice that the ablative suffix with this temporal function selects the accusative form of the plain demonstrative rather than the usual locative. This follows the general pattern of temporal ablative marking described in §4.6.

- (5.53) *Puni-layi ngunhu-ngara mirmtiwul wirta-lu Kawuyu-u-rru*
 go-FUT that-PL all climb-PURPss Kawuyu-ACC-NOW
parla-a. Ngurnu-nguru Ngunhu kanyara yinka-lalha-nguru
 hill-ACC that-ABL that.NOM man carve-PAST-ABL
patha-rralha-rru. Ngunhu-ngara karri-nyila nhawu-rra.
 throw-PAST-NOW that-PL stand-PrREJ watch-CTEMP
 They all go to climb *Kawuyu* hill. After that, the man who carved [the boomerang] threw [it]. They stood watching.

- (5.54) *Ngurra-a ngunhaa kuyilwa-lalha, ngayalyu yirru.*
 country-ACC that.NOM ruin-PAST devil HES
Ngurnula-nguru, ngunhu-ngara nyina-lha mir.ta-rru panyu ngurnu
 that.DEF-ABL that-PL be-PAST not-NOW good that.ACC
kuyilwa-lalha-a yilhi-i.
 ruin-PAST-ACC chips-ACC
 He ruined the country, that devil. From that time on they weren't happy with that one who had ruined the [boomerang] chips.

5.6 ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

5.6.1 LOCATIONALS *yilangu, ngulangu*

The use of either the proximal or distal locational involves an assumption by the speaker that the addressee is able to identify the particular place being referred to. The proximal form typically denotes the location in which the speech act is taking place and a general notion of 'speech act locale' is assumed by both the speaker and the addressee. Thus the proximal most often occurs without any additional identification of the place being described as 'here'. However, where the speaker is making reference to a place which is more particularly located within the speech act locale, some additional information may be given.

- (5.55) *Ngawu, ngali wangkarnu-marri-layi yilangu malarnu-la.*
 yes 1DU.INC talk-COLL-FUT here shade-LOC
 Yes, let's talk here in the shade.
- (5.56) *Kartu pil.yi-npa-layi yilangu kalyaran-ta kuwilyawuyu-la.*
 2SG.NOM flat-INCH-FUT here tree-LOC this.side-LOC
 You crouch down here on this side of the tree.

- (5.57) *Nyina-Ø kartu yilangu ngathala.*
 sit-IMP 2SG.NOM here 1SG.LOC
 Sit here by me. (trans.)

Specific indications of location are often made by gesture thus obviating the need for any further identification in the text. The use of gesture with an adverbial demonstrative also performs a function in non-situated narrative. In the following example the proximal is used together with a gesture to indicate a place near the feet of the narrator.

- (5.58) *Ngunhaa karlwa-lha yilangu, thani-nngu-rra wakupurra-lu*
 that.NOM get.up-PAST here hit-PASS-CTEMP stick-EFF
ngurra yirla.
 ground only

He came up here (pointing), and only the ground got hit by that hitting stick.

Heath (1983:330) cites similar uses of demonstratives in Nunggubuyu, using the term 'perspective shift' for situations in which the speaker's point of view is imposed on locations and events taking place in the narrative. As in Nunggubuyu, instances of this kind of perspective shift in Martuthunira commonly involve a location on a body part, or a location very close to the speaker's person.

The location referred to by means of the proximal may be extended beyond the usual limits of the speech-act locale to include definable areas of territory within which the speech act is taking place, or the area of country with which the interlocutors most identify. Traditional stories include proximal references to the territory in which the language of narration was traditionally spoken. Usually wider reference of this kind is accompanied by a locative phrase defining the particular area. The following examples are taken from texts recorded within Martuthunira boundaries but not within the immediate vicinity of the events recounted.

- (5.59) *Ngayu marrari-ngara-a wantha-rminyji, maral.ya-la-a*
 1SG.NOM story-PL-ACC put-FUT devil-LOC-ACC
jina-ngka-a, wantharni-marri-lha-la-a palalyi-ngara-la,
 track-LOC-ACC how-COLL-PAST-LOC-ACC before-PL-LOC
kuwarri-la-l, ngurra-ngka, yilangu, Martuthuni-la.
 beginning-LOC-THEN country-LOC here Fortescue-LOC
 I'll put down the stories, about the devil's 'tracks', how they were before, in the beginning, in the country, here, on the Fortescue.

- (5.60) *Nhiyu kanyara kanangkalwa-nmarni, ngunhaa yilhi wanti-marni*
 this.NOM man make.clear-CONTR that.NOM chip lie-CONTR
yilangu-rru ... jalya-ngara-rru kalyaran yilangu.
 here-NOW useless-PL-NOW wood here
 That man should have showed [them to him], those chips should be here [in this country]...the wood here is useless now.

The distal locational cannot rely on a received notion of speech act locale for its interpretation. A specific location may be described or implied in the immediately preceding context (examples (5.61), (5.62)), or may be identified by gesture (5.63). More commonly,

the identification of the location is made by some additional description in a locative noun phrase (5.64), (5.65).

- (5.61) *Nganaju mimi wantha-rralha punkurrimarnu-u murtiwarla-la*
 1SG.GEN uncle put-PAST blanket-ACC car-LOC
ngayu nyina-wala ngulangu-lwa.
 1SG.NOM sit-PURPds there-ID
 My uncle put a blanket in the car for me to sit there. (trans.)
- (5.62) *Ngunhu-rru ngunhu puni-nguru pawu-urta-rru.*
 that.NOM-NOW that.NOM go-PRES father-DIRALL-NOW
Ngulangu-rru nyina-layi.
 there-NOW stay-FUT
 That one is going to his father now. He'll stay there now.
- (5.63) *Wantha-rminyji ngulangu-wa!*
 put-FUT there-YK
 Put it there (pointing)!
- (5.64) *Ngunhu pala mirmtirimarta. Parlu-ngka-rru nyina-nguru.*
 that.NOM IT goanna top-LOC-NOW be-PRES
Wirta-lha ngulangu pinkarranyu-la kalyaran-ta.
 climb-PAST there dry-LOC tree-LOC
 That's the goanna. [It's] up there now. It climbed up there, up that dead tree.
- (5.65) *Ngulangu karra-ngka ngayu jamanu karta-rmu kurarra-lu.*
 there scrub-LOC 1SG.NOM foot poke-PASSP thorn-EFF
 There in the the scrub my foot got poked by a *kurarra* thorn.
- The locational demonstratives may take number suffixes with the resulting demonstrative word referring to a number of places located within the usual scope of the demonstrative stem.
- (5.66) *Nhiyyarra wirta-tharra nhuura thalu-ngara-a want hala-a kurlany-ngara-a*
 this.DU youth-DU knowing site-PL-ACC where-ACC knife-PL-ACC
yilangu-ngara-a Martuthuni-i want hala-a.
 here-PL-ACC Fortescue-ACC where-ACC
 These two youths knew the whereabouts of all the stone knife quarries around here in Fortescue country.
- (5.67) *Mayiili-marnu nyina-wayara yilangu-ngara-la wilhu-l.*
 FaFa+1POSS-GROUP sit-HABIT here-PL-LOC penis-THEN
Ngalarri-lha-rru wilhu-u, mir.ta kuliyanpa-layi nganangu
 forget-PAST-NOW penis-ACC not think-FUT who.ACC
wii nhawu-rra nyina-nyila-a.
 maybe see-CTEMP be-PrREL-ACC
 All our grandfathers used to sit all about here, [showing their] penises then. Well they forgot about [their] penises, didn't think about whoever might be looking.

5.6.2 NON-SPECIFIC *yilarla*, *ngularla*

The non-specific demonstrative forms are used to denote a particular place whose exact location is not known but which *is* known to lie within a wider region denoted by the proximal or distal stem. The proximal form indicates that the place is situated somewhere within the speech-act locale while the distal form, like its locational counterpart, requires some additional specification of the area within which the particular place may be found. The English glosses given for the non-specific forms are usually 'somewhere here/there', 'around here/there' or 'hereabouts/ thereabouts'.

The referential content of these complex forms can be described as follows. Firstly, the locative demonstrative stem describes a location which is definite and specific; that is, the speaker has a particular place in mind and assumes that the addressee can identify that particular place. The demonstrative as a whole describes a particular place, within this definite location, which is not known to the speaker (non-specific) and is not necessarily known to the addressee.

- (5.68) *Yilarla wiyaa wanti-nguru marli-ngka kartawura-la.*
 here.NS maybe lie-PRES tree-LOC butt-LOC
 Maybe he's lying around here somewhere at the foot of a paperbark tree.
- (5.69) *Purkuru-lwa thartuungku-marri-layi, yilarla-lwa. Wanthala ngula?*
 true-ID meet-COLL-FUT here.NS-ID where IGNOR
Ngularla-lwa Martuthuni-la.
 there.NS-ID Fortescue-LOC
 True enough, they met up somewhere here (in this country). Where exactly?
 Somewhere there on the Fortescue River.
- (5.70) *Yurlungarrarnu-nguru, ngunhu Kurlanypunkunha wangka-ngu-rra,*
Yurlungarrarnu-ABL that.NOM Kurlanypunkunha call-PASS-CTEMP
ngularla yawurru.
 there.NS west
 From *Yurlungarrarnu* Pool that place called *Kurlanypunkunha* is somewhere there to the west.
- (5.71) *Nhula kayulu jirtinyal thanturri-nguru kayulumarnu-la-nguru.*
 near.you water dripping go.down-PRES water.bag-LOC-ABL
Jalyuru ngularla kayulumarnu-la. Mir.ta wilawilama-minyji.
 hole there.NS water.bag-LOC not shake-FUT
Kal.ya wantha-rryu karri-waa panyu-l.
 still put-IMP stand-PURPs good-THEN
 There's water dripping down from that water bag. There must be a hole in it somewhere there. Don't shake it around. Make it stand still, it will be okay then.

5.6.3 NON-VISIBLE *yilarni*, *ngularni*

These demonstrative forms are extremely rare and are poorly understood. Only one example of a non-visible demonstrative occurred in freely given text (example (5.72)), and

attempts at elicitation were generally unsuccessful. The informant provided the following glosses for the forms in isolation:

yilarni “round the corner, going to turn out here somewhere”

ngularni “coming other side and (we) can't see him, *kurryu-ngka* ('in a hollow')”

These glosses include a semantic component of motion as well as the general idea of lack of visibility, suggesting the possibility of some historical link to the *-rni* ‘centripetal’ forms of the compass points (§5.8) and *wantharni* ‘where’ (§5.10.2), and/or the nominal suffix *-ngurni* ‘obscured’ (§4.15).

- (5.72) *Ngulangu-lwa punkurrimarnu-la wauu-lpurtu. Nyina-lha waruu ngularla*
there-ID blanket-LOC still-COMP be-PAST still there.NS

mir.ta nhawu-ngu-rra ngaliwa-lu.
not see-PASS-CTEMP 1PL.INC-EFF

It's there in the blanket. It was somewhere there and wasn't seen by any of us.

Purrkuru warnu? Ngayu kuliyanpa-lha mir.ta-rru ngularla-wa,
true ASSERT 1SG.NOM think-PAST not-NOW there.NS-YK

parralhara nyina-lha waruu-lpurtu ngularni-wa.
centipede be-PAST still-EMPH there.NV-YK

Is that right? I thought there was nothing anywhere there but a centipede was [hidden] there all along.

- (5.73) *Ngularni-wa, ngayu mir.ta nhuura wantharni-i ngurnu kanyara-a*
there.NV-YK 1SG.NOM not knowing how-ACC that.ACC man-ACC

kanarri-lha-a. Ngayu wangka-yangu yartapalyu-lu ngurnu
come-PAST-ACC 1SG.NOM tell-PASSP others-EFF that.ACC

kanarri-lha-a. Ngularni kanarri-lha.
come-PAST-ACC there.NV come-PAST

From over there, I didn't know how that man came. I was told by the others that he came. He came from over there. (trans.)

5.6.4 ALLATIVE AND ABLATIVE FORMS

The adverbial demonstratives described in the preceding sections may take the allative and ablative suffixes. The meanings of these demonstratives are predictable from the meanings of the stem and the suffix.

- (5.74) *Ngunhu-ngara puni-lha, nhuunuwarnti. Yilangu-nguru-lwa puni-lha.*
that.NOM-PL go-PAST spouses here-ABL-ID go-PAST
They went, those husbands and wives. [They] went away from here.

- (5.75) *Ngunhaa nhawu-layi ngurnu warrirti-i kanyara-lu thawu-mu-u*
that.NOM see-FUT that.ACC spear-ACC man-EFF send-PASSP-ACC

ngulangu-mulyarra puni-nyila-a ngarrawurlu.
there-ALL go-PrREL-ACC away

He'll see that spear sent by the man going away towards that place.

Allative and ablative forms of the non-visible locationals do not occur spontaneously in the data and the informant was reluctant to give forms in elicitation. Although an ablative form *ngulami-nguru* ‘from the other side, can’t see it’ was accepted, the corresponding proximal **yilami-nguru* was rejected as meaningless.

5.6.5 ‘THAT SIDE’ *ngulawuyu*

The *ngulawuyu* ‘that side’ demonstrative clearly involves the *-wuyu* ‘side’ suffix (§4.22) attached to the distal locative stem. However, a proximal form does not occur and instead the locational nominal *kuwilya* ‘this way’ stands in opposition to the demonstrative (5.76). *Ngulawuyu* often occurs with an added locative suffix and may have an adnominal function, as in example (4.60).

- (5.76) *Kayarra-tharra karri-layi kanyja-rryarra, yarta kuwilya-wuyu-la,*
 two-DU stand-FUT hold-CTEMP other this.way-SIDE-LOC
yarta ngulawuyu-la-lpurtu.
 other that.side-LOC-COMP
 Two stand holding [the net], one this side, one on the other side.

5.7 PREDICATE DEMONSTRATIVE

The predicate demonstrative *yimpala* is used to refer to a known property of some participant in the text. The demonstrative may function as a second predication (example (5.77)), or as an adnominal modifier in a noun phrase (5.78).

- (5.77) *Wantharni-rru mungka-minyji yimpala-a-wa, kampa-rnu-u*
 how-NOW eat-FUT like.that-ACC-YK cook-PASSP-ACC
kayulu-wirriwa.
 water-PRIV
 How is she going to eat it like that, cooked without water.
- (5.78) *Ngana ngunhaa wartirra thurlamanta? Ngayu mir.ta wiru*
 who that.NOM woman nose 1SG.NOM not like
yimpala-ngara-a wartirra-ngara-a.
 like.that-PL-ACC woman-PL-ACC
 Who is that nose woman? I don’t like women who are like that. (trans.)

Yimpala is often used in narrative text to sum up the current status of a particular participant prior to further description or detailing of events. In example (5.79) a man has upset his wife by drinking against her wishes:

- (5.79) *Yimpala-rru-wa wiruwirraa-ma-lalha-rru ngurnula-ngu-u*
 like.that-NOW-YK upset-CAUS-PAST-NOW that.DEF-GEN-ACC
yaan-ku. Yimpala-rru-wa ngunhaa kanyara-wuyu puni-layi
 spouse-ACC like.that-NOW-YK that.NOM man-SIDE go-FUT

jalya-rru, yaan-wirriwa-rru.
rubbish-NOW spouse-PRIV-NOW

Now [he's] like that, he's upset his wife. He's like that, the man of the pair will be rubbish, without a wife now.

The demonstrative may make extended reference to situations in text, thus allowing the speaker to comment – to voice an opinion on events or to simply affirm the truth of what is being said. This pattern usually involves a topic-tracking form of the demonstrative, *yimpalaa*, exhibiting the characteristic lengthened final vowel.

(5.80) *Ngayu wurnta-lalha-rru nganaju-u warrirti-i*
1SG.NOM break-PAST-NOW 1SG.GEN-ACC spear-ACC

murla-marnu-u. Kuyil paju yimpalaa.
meat-ASSOC-ACC bad REAL like.that
I broke my hunting spear. That's very bad.

(5.81) *Nhulaa thurlajinkarri puni-nguru ngalyurr thani-rnu. Nhiiyarra*
near.you poor.fellow go-PRES nose hit-PASSP this.DU

patharri-lha walyurn-ngalyarnta. Yimpalaa pala.
fight-PAST girl-CAUSAL like.that IT
That one has a hit nose. These two have been fighting over a girl.
That's how it is.

5.8 COMPASS TERMS AND LOCATIONAL NOMINALS

The Martuthunira compass terms form a closed subclass of the class of nominals. They can be defined as such by the fact that they do not take the locative or allative nominal suffixes and instead have unique locative and allative forms. In addition, the compass terms have a separate 'centripetal' form which indicates direction towards the speaker, away from the compass point (and so contrasts with the simple ablative which indicates direction away from the compass point but not necessarily towards the speaker). The basic paradigm is presented in Table 5.12.

TABLE 5.12 : COMPASS TERMS

	Locative	Allative	Centripetal
North	<i>wartantu</i>	<i>wartantari</i>	<i>wartantarni</i>
South	<i>karalu</i>	<i>karalari</i>	<i>karalarni</i>
East/Upriver	<i>jingkayu</i>	<i>jingkaari</i>	<i>jingkarni</i>
West/Downriver	<i>yawurru</i>	<i>yawurrari</i>	<i>yawurrarni</i>

The actual orientations of the compass terms are flexible as the east/upriver and west/downriver terms immediately suggest. Martuthunira territory is dominated by two major permanent watercourses (the Robe and Fortescue rivers) and numerous minor streams. All of these have a predominantly north-west/south-east orientation. Nevertheless, the sun rises *jingkayu* and sets *yawurru*. Similarly, the coast and the rise of the Hamersley Range, which run from west-south-west to east-north-east, provide the main orienting features for the terms *karalu* 'south' and *wartantu* 'north'. Yindjibarndi and Panyjima have compass terms

for east and west distinct from the (cognate) upriver and downriver locationals. Examples illustrating the use of compass terms include (4.27), (4.56), (4.81), (6.6), (9.53) and (10.57). Example (5.82) below illustrates the use of the centripetal form.

- (5.82) *Yawurrarni kanarri-lha, jalya kanarri-lha yawurrarni.*
west.CENT come-PAST bereaved come-PAST west.CENT

Thaapuwa-tharra manku-yangu, kanyja-rnu pirtuwangu,
big.man-DU grab-PASSP keep-PASSP initiate

parrani-lha-ma-rnu yawurrari.
return-PAST-CAUS-PASSP west.ALL

From the west they came this way, bereaved. Those two heroes were grabbed, kept as initiation prisoners, and then sent back to the west.

In addition to the forms listed in Table 5.12, the locative stem may take a number of regular locational suffixes.

<i>jingkayu-nguru</i>	away from the east
<i>jingkayu-nyungu</i>	dwelling in the the east
<i>jingkayu-ra</i>	belonging to the east
<i>jingkayu-wuyu</i>	the eastern side
<i>jingkayu-ngurni</i>	the eastern side of something obscuring view

- (5.83) *Nhiyu wartantu-nyungu waruul. Ngularla-lwa ngurra ngurmula-ngu.*
this.NOM north.LOC-DWELL still there.NS-ID camp that.DEF-GEN
This [man] is a northerner. His home is somewhere there.

- (5.84) *Ngana-rru kanarri-layi nhawani-i pal.yarra-a Wirawira-a,*
who-NOW come-FUT what's-its-name-ACC plain-ACC *Wirawira-ACC*

yawurru-ra waruu, kartara-a paju Mitawanti-ngu
downriver-PROV still flank-ACC REAL *Mitawanti-ACC*

jingkayu-wuyu-u.
east.LOC-SIDE-ACC

Then they came to what's-its-name plain, *Wirawira*, still in the 'downriver region', on the flank, the east side of *Mitawanti* hill.

In addition to the compass terms a small number of other nominals can be described as inherently locative. These generally function as locational 'adverbs' describing a direction of motion or orientation, or the relative position of some object with respect to the speaker. The locational nominals so far discovered are listed below:

<i>kankarni</i>	above
<i>kuwi(lya)</i>	this way
<i>ngarrawurlu</i>	other way
<i>ngunirmi</i>	up to here, this way (indicating with hand)

There are no regular paradigms for these nominals although the actual forms suggest some relationship with the compass terms. *Kankarni* and *ngunirmi* appear to involve the centripetal formative *-mi*. *Ngarrawurlu* involves a suffix *-wurlu* which is found in the other Ngayarda languages corresponding to the *-thartu* 'direction facing' suffix described in §4.8.2.

Kuwi(lya) occurs in the data in two forms: *kuwilya-wuyu* ‘this side’ and *kuwi-thartu* ‘facing this way’.

Ngunirmi is a ‘perspective shifting’ locational (§5.6.1) used to indicate the position of an object by use of some gesture.

- (5.85) *Kanarri-layi kanyara-ngara kayulu-la-ngara, ngunirmi-rru*
 come-FUT man-PL water-LOC-PL up.to.here-NOW

thala-ngka-rru kayulu-marta.
 chest-LOC-NOW water-PROP

And then the men in the water come along, with water up to here (indicates) on their chests.

The irregular nominal *puyi* ‘far’, has the case forms listed below. Examples include (4.117), (5.2), (7.94), (9.38), (9.68), (9.140) and (10.20).

<i>puu</i>	NOMINATIVE and sentential adverb
<i>puyii</i>	ACCUSATIVE
<i>puyila</i>	LOCATIVE
<i>puyiirta</i>	ALLATIVE

5.9 TEMPORAL NOMINALS

Martuthunira has a set of temporal nominals which can be characterised as ‘point-time’ qualifiers. These refer to times of the day or to general points in time located relative to the present of utterance or an established narrative present. They do not take the locative suffix and have the inherent locative sense ‘at time X’.

<i>kuwarri</i>	now, the beginning
<i>wiruwanti</i>	morning, tomorrow
<i>thulharra</i>	afternoon
<i>wayala</i>	night-time
<i>palalyi</i>	before, early in time
<i>mawurru</i>	later on

- (5.86) *Ngayu nguyirri-warlaya paju wiruwanti-nguru-l.*
 1SG.NOM sleep-FULL REAL morning-ABL-THEN
 I've been fast asleep since this morning. (trans.)

- (5.87) *Nhiyu kanyara nyina-nguru malarnu-la nhuwa-lalha-nguru tharnta-a*
 this.NOM man sit-PRES shade-LOC spear-PAST-ABL euro-ACC

yarta-ngka-l thulharra.
 other-LOC-THEN afternoon

This man is sitting in the shade, the one who speared a euro the other afternoon.

By contrast, *jampa* ‘moment’ is a durative temporal qualifier. It indicates that an action or state is maintained for a relatively short period of time and generally signals an impending change from one event to another (examples (5.88), (5.89)). *Jampa* may take the locative suffix and then functions as a point-time qualifier (5.90). *Ngarti* ‘again, next’, is illustrated in (5.91), (5.92) and (5.93).

- (5.88) *Ngunhaa nyina-lha jampa, wiruwarri-lha-rru.*
that.NOM stay-PAST moment homesick-PAST-NOW
He stayed for a short while, and then got homesick.
- (5.89) *Nhawu-Ø kunti jampa ngurnu-wurrini marlarra-wurrini.*
look-IMP stop moment that.ACC-DIRECT road-DIRECT
Stop and look towards the road for a moment.
- (5.90) *Kalayamarta-a wantha-rninyji karla-ngka karri-waa*
billy.can-ACC put-FUT fire-LOC stand-PURPs=o
karlarra-mpa-rra. Jampa-ngka-rru warnu pala.
hot-INCH-CTEMP moment-LOC-NOW ASSERT IT
Put the billy can on the fire to get hot. [It'll be ready] in a moment.
- (5.91) *Tharawi-layi wulu-marnu-u thawuta-a, ngarti-l*
put.on-FUT leg-ASSOC-ACC trousers-ACC next-THEN
tharawi-layi jaat-ku.
put.on-FUT shirt-ACC
Put on trousers, and next put on a shirt.
- (5.92) *Ngayu ngarti-rru wurtu wangka-layi kartungu marrari-i?!*
1SG.NOM again-NOW HYPH tell-FUT 2SG.ACC word-ACC
Do I have to tell you again what I said?!
- (5.93) *Ngayu murnta-lalha wirra-a ngarti-l*
1SG.NOM take.from-PAST boomerang-ACC again-THEN
patharri-wirri-la ngurnu-ngalyarnta-lwa.
fight-LEST-LOC that.ACC-CAUSAL-ID
I took away that boomerang otherwise [you'd] be fighting over it again.
- The nominal *waruul* 'still', indicates the persistence of a state or the continuation of a series of actions (examples (5.94), (5.95)). It also occurs as part of the apparently derived verb *warruulwa-L* 'to continue to be unable to do' (5.96).
- (5.94) *Nhiyu parnta-muru waruul!*
this.NOM rain-PRES still
It's still raining!
- (5.95) *Nhiyu jalya waruul, kartungku mir.ta parlwiya-rnu.*
this.NOM useless still 2SG.EFF not straighten-PASSP
This one is still useless, it hasn't been straightened by you.
- (5.96) *Jalya-mpa-rra-rru puni-rra nhuwa-l.yarra waruulwa-l.yarra.*
useless-INCH-CTEMP-NOW go-CTEMP spear-CTEMP can't.do-CTEMP
[I'm] useless, [I] still can't spear anything.

Various forms of *waruul* occurring in the data suggest a root *waruu-* to which the temporal clitic *-l* 'THEN' (§7.7) is often attached. However, a new *waruul* root is emerging. Table 5.13 shows the expected patterns of nominal plus clitic combination for both roots. The forms are predicted assuming the regular operation of the phonotactic 'cluster-busting' rules (§2.3.3).

TABLE 5.13: FORMS OF WARUU/WARUUL 'STILL'

	<i>waruu</i>	<i>waruul</i>
<i>-lpurtu</i>	<i>waruu-lpurtu</i>	<i>waruul-u-lpurtu</i>
<i>-rru</i>	* <i>waruu-rru</i>	<i>waruul-wa-rru (waruul-u-rru)</i>
<i>-nu</i>	<i>waruu-nu</i>	<i>waruul-u-nu</i>
unmarked	<i>waruu</i>	<i>waruul</i>

Of six predicted possibilities, only *waruu-rru* does not occur in the data. However, a form *waruul-u-rru*, which is not predicted by the regular phonotactic rules, occurs just once. The roots are clearly in competition. First, although both forms of the nominal occur with the *-lpurtu* clitic, that based on *waruul* is quite rare, suggesting that the *waruu* root is winning out. By contrast, the most common form with the clitic *-rru* is *waruul-wa-rru*, suggesting (since *waruu-rru* never occurs) that the *waruul* root is winning out on this front. However, the existence of the unpredicted form *waruul-u-rru* suggests that perhaps the *waruulwaru* form may involve clitics *-lwa* and *-rru* added to the *waruu* root (i.e. *waruu-lwa-rru*). There is no semantic reason for supposing the presence of the *-lwa* clitic in this form. Finally, both root forms are equally common with the *-nu* clitic.

5.10 INDEFINITE LOCATIONALS/TEMPORALS

The indefinite *wantha* 'where' forms the basis for a number of derived indefinite nominals. The functions of these forms are discussed in the following sections.

<i>wantha</i>	(any)where
<i>wanthala</i>	(some)where
<i>wantharni</i>	what way, how
<i>wantharta</i>	when
<i>wanthanha</i>	which
<i>wantharra</i>	like

5.10.1 'WHERE' *wantha(la)*

Wantha(la) is described as indefinite since it refers to a location or locations which are not known to the speaker. The *wantha* 'anywhere' form indicates a generalised notion of unknown location while the *wanthala* 'somewhere' form refers to a particular yet unknown place at which the speaker assumes an entity is located. The *wanthala* form thus corresponds to the non-specific demonstratives and is similarly formed by the addition of the *-la* 'particularising' suffix (§5.4) to the *wantha* root. The following examples illustrate the contrast between the two forms.

- (5.97) *Ngarniyarrangu marnta-lalha martura-la-ma-l.yarra.*
 big.group press.down-PAST middle-LOC-CAUS-CTEMP
Ngunhu-ngara wiru jaya-rminyji wantha-a paju. Piyuwa.
 that.NOM-PL wanting escape-FUT somewhere-ACC REAL nothing
 A big group closed in on them. They wanted to escape somewhere (i.e. anywhere). No chance.

- (5.98) *Ngayu mir.ta nhuura ngurnu pul.ya-a want hala-a.*
1SG.NOM not knowing that.ACC chew-ACC where-ACC
I don't know just where exactly that spinifex wax is.
- (5.99) *Wirra-ngara panyu-ngara want ha-nguru yirla kanarri-lha.*
boomerang-PL good-PL where-ABL only come-PAST
Good boomerangs only came from elsewhere (not from here).
- (5.100) *Ngana nhula kanyara? Want ha-nyungu, mir.ta warnu ngayu*
who near.you man where-DWELL not ASSERT 1SG.NOM
nhawu-wayara yimpala-a-wa kanyara-a. Nhiyaa manyjangu
see-HABIT like.that-ACC-YK man-ACC this stranger
paju-rru. Want hala-nguru-lwa nhiyaa kanyara?
REAL-NOW where-ABL-ID this man
Who is that man? He's from somewhere else, I haven't ever seen a man like that.
This is a real stranger. Where's he from exactly?

Although morphologically unmarked and semantically more general, the *wantha* form is relatively rare and is best considered a semantically marked counterpart to *wanthala*. *Wantha* most commonly appears as a more general attention-grabbing interrogative. This is illustrated in the following examples.

- (5.101) *Want ha-rru, ngaliwa ngurra-arta-rru-layi-rru?*
where-NOW 1PL.INC camp-ALL-INV-FUT-NOW
Well, are we heading home?
- (5.102) *Want ha-rru-nu jur lu? Mirntiwul paju-rru-nu yilangu?*
where-NOW-QUOT all all REAL-NOW-QUOT here
Well is that all or not? Is everyone here now?
- (5.103) *Thana wangka-wala nyinkulu-l ngunhaa. Nhartu-u-lwa marrari-i*
let speak-PURPs first-THEN that.NOM what-ACC-ID word-ACC
ngali kuliya-rminyji. Want ha-rru-wi!?
1DU.INC hear-FUT where-NOW-VOC
Let him speak first. Let's hear what [his] word is. Well!?

5.10.2 'WHAT WAY/HOW' *wantharni*

The main function of *wantharni* is as an indefinite counterpart to the predicate demonstrative *yimpala* (§5.7). That is, it refers to an indefinite predicate, usually of manner:

- (5.104) *Ngayu kangku-yangu nhuura-ma-rmu yanti-i want harni*
1SG.NOM take-PASSP know-CAUS-PASSP dish-ACC what.way
kanyja-rminyji juwayu-la.
hold-FUT hand-LOC
I was taken and shown how to hold a winnowing dish in my hands. (trans.)
- (5.105) *Wantharni-rru kartu nhurnti-ma-rminyji tharnta-a warrirti-wirraa?*
what.way-NOW 2SG.NOM dead-CAUS-FUT euro-ACC spear-PRIV
How are you going to kill a euro without a spear?

- (5.106) *Wantharni malyarra-mpa-nguru?*
 what.way sick-INCH-PRES
 In what way is he sick?
Mir.ta ngalyari nyantarta-mpa-nguru.
 not urine good-INCH-PRES
 His urine isn't right.

Interrogative verbs based on *wantharni* are very common. Examples include (6.26), (6.42) and (6.46). The second function of *wantharni* is as an allative counterpart to the locative *wanthala* as in (4.80), (7.114) and (10.69).

5.10.3 'WHEN' *wantharta*

- (5.107) *Wantharta-rru nhuwana-lu yungku-ngu-layi murla-a ngurnu?*
 when-NOW 2PL-EFF give-PASS-FUT meat-ACC that.ACC
 When am I going to be given that meat by you people?
- (5.108) *Ngaliwa warnan-ngu-layi wiyaa wantharta wii. Ngawu. Nhiyu*
 1PL.INC rain-PASS-FUT maybe when maybe yes this
manta wanti-nguru wantharta-nguru-l. Wantharta paju parnta-rminyji?
 cloud lie-PRES when-ABL-THEN when REAL rain-FUT
 We might get rained in (trapped by floodwaters) sometime. Yes, this cloud cover has been here for some time now (lit. since somewhen then). But just when is it going to rain?
- (5.109) *Kuliyarpa-rra nyina-nguru wantharta-a parrani-waa.*
 think-CTEMP be-PRES when-ACC return-PURPs=o
 [She's] wondering when [he] will come back.

5.10.4 'WHICH' *wanthanha*

Like 'which' in English, *wanthanha* implies a set of clearly defined options – objects or actions – from which a particular object or path of action may be chosen, as in example (5.110) (and see also (4.57), (6.5), (7.87)). In addition, *wanthanha* is commonly used as an exclamation of indecision, or as a rhetorical question – 'What to do next?' – in procedural narratives. A characteristic example of this occurs in (5.111). The sense of the exclamation can be paraphrased as 'There are a number of things we could do now, which shall we do?'

- (5.110) *Wanthala-nguru ngunhu karlwa-lha-rru, parla-ngka,*
 where-ABL that.NOM go.up-PAST-NOW hill-LOC
ngayu mir.ta nhuura wanthanha-la parla-ngka.
 1SG.NOM not knowing which-LOC hill-LOC
 From somewhere he went up [into the sky], [from] on a hill. I don't know on which hill it was.
- (5.111) *Wanthanha-rru-nu? Nganajumarta wangka-layi? Wanthanha-la-nguru*
 which-NOW-QUOTE 1DU.DISHARM talk-FUT which-LOC-ABL

marrari-la-nguru? Jankurna-a mungka-lalha-la-nguru?

word-LOC-ABL emu-ACC eat-PAST-LOC-ABL

What now then? Shall we talk? From which word [in the story shall we start]?

From where [he's] already eaten the emu?

5.10.5 'LIKE' *wantharra*

The *wantharra* form functions as a semblative predicate. Almost without exception it occurs together with a nominal or verb referring to the object or action which some other object or action is seen to resemble. In much the same way that *wanthanha* assumes a defined set of entities from which one is chosen, *wantharra* assumes a defined entity with which some other entity is compared.

- (5.112) *Ngunhaa kampa-lalha murla-a, kuyilwa-l.yarra-rru, puwara*
that.NOM burn-PAST meat-ACC spoil-CTEMP-NOW charcoal

wantharra-rru wanti-waa kumangu-rru.

like-NOW lie-PURPs=0 black-NOW

He burned the meat, spoiling it so that it was like charcoal, black now.

- (5.113) *Kulaya-lalha wiyaa ngula minthal, kunti jampa, nhartu-u*
try.out-PAST maybe IGNOR alone stop moment what-ACC

wantharra-a nhawu-layi. Panyu-u waruu-lpurtu.

like-ACC see-FUT good-ACC still-COMP

[He] probably tried them out by himself, for a while, to see what they were like.

They were good all right.

- (5.114) *Kartu wantharra-nu, mura. Mir.ta-rru kumangu, piyuwa,*
2SG.NOM like-QUOT son not-NOW black nothing

yarta-lpurtu. Ngunhu-tharra walypala wantharra, jiwarra.

other-COMP that.NOM-DU European like white

Apparently [they] were like you, son. Not black, not at all, altogether different.

The two of them were like Europeans, white.

In the following two examples *wantharra* follows a verb. However, it is clear (in (5.115) especially) that the whole situation, rather than just the event denoted by the verb, comprises the semblative expression.

- (5.115) *Nhuwana mir.ta nhuura kalya nyina-layi, kuyil paju,*
2PL not knowing still sit-FUT bad REAL

karimalkarimal paju, karta-nngu-rra wantharra.

jumpy REAL poke-PASS-CTEMP like

Yimpalaa, karta-nngu-rra wantharra milhu.

like.that poke-PASS-CTEMP like bum

You don't know to sit still, [you're] really bad, jumping all over the place, as if you're being poked. That's what it's like, like [your] bum's being poked.

- (5.116) *Ngayu nhawu-nguru ngurnu kanyara-a malyarra-mura-a wantharra-a.*
1SG.NOM see-PRES that.ACC man-ACC sick-PrREL-ACC like-ACC
I saw that man looking sick.

Unlike the other forms based on the *wantha* root, the semblative *wantharra* form itself has little meaning independent of the construction of which it is part. The essential meaning is 'something resembles something else', and it is necessary for both 'somethings' to be identified in some way for a semblative construction to make sense. It is for this reason that the form does not appear as an interrogative without the indefinite nominal *nhartu* standing in for the semblative expression as in (5.113) (and see also (9.157) and (10.59)).

CHAPTER 6

VERB MORPHOLOGY

The discussion of verb morphology presented in this chapter is based on the assumption of a distinction between inflectional and derivational suffixes. The latter class includes those morphemes which have a lexeme-deriving function and produce new verb stems of a particular conjugation class. Where the stem is already verbal, the new stem may be of a different conjugation class. Those derivational suffixes which derive verbs from nominals or nominal expressions are also discussed in this chapter. Inflectional suffixes, on the other hand, comprise a conjugation-determined set of final suffixes which encode categories of tense, aspect, mood, voice and type of clause-linkage.

6.1 OVERVIEW

6.1.1 INFLECTIONAL CATEGORIES

A distinction can be made between inflections which occur only in subordinate clauses and those which occur in main clauses. The former set includes the present relative, contemporaneous relative and sequential relative clause inflections, the lest clause inflections and the purpose inflections (which are marked for switch-reference). A full description of the subordinate clause inflections is left until the discussion of complex sentences in Chapter 10. With the exception of the imperative and present tense, all other inflections can occur in subordinate clauses functioning as finite relative clauses.

There is a passive verb form corresponding to each active verb form, excepting the imperative (but see discussion of imperative clauses in §9.8). Passive verbs involve either the addition of the active inflectional suffixes to a derived passive verb stem, or a special portmanteau passive tense or mood inflection. Special passive inflections correspond to the active past, counterfactual and lest inflections. There is surprisingly little additional semantic difference associated with the voice oppositions. The passive perfective carries a greater implication of a successfully completed action than its active past tense counterpart but there are no restrictions on the appearance of an agent in passive clauses of this type. The passive counterfactual and lest inflections are rarely used and appear to be no different in meaning from the preferred derived passive verbs bearing the corresponding active inflections. The most likely explanation here is that the inflectional passive forms are gradually being replaced by forms based on derived passive stems.

The habitual nominalising suffix is historically related to the passive derivational suffix. Although essentially a nominalising suffix it may still, albeit very rarely, take complements and adjuncts, including an agent. Derived passive verbs bearing the active habitual inflection are preferred in more fully elaborated clauses.

Martuthunira has a three-way tense distinction defined by the past, present and future inflections. Aspect is not an important verbal category in Martuthunira although unmarked aspectual readings are implied by all verb inflections. With the exception of the imperfective present tense, subordinate relative, and habitual inflections, all other verbal categories are essentially perfective. Other syntactic devices, such as the use of copulas (§9.3) and temporal nominals and clitics, conspire to provide additional aspectual specification of events.

Finally, the imperative, counterfactual and unrealised inflections can be described as moods. The imperative mood presents the illocutionary force of a command. Both the counterfactual and unrealised inflections are irrealis moods. The unrealised verb describes a strongly predicted action or event which did not happen, is not happening or will not happen. The counterfactual similarly describes an action or event which was not realised but which might have been if things had been different. Although described and labelled as a tense, the future has an important modal component. It often functions as a mild imperative or hortative, or describes an action which is an expected and/or customary outcome of some situation.

6.1.2 DERIVATIONAL CATEGORIES

Derivational suffixes are divided into two distinct classes: those which attach to a verb stem and derive a new verb stem, and those which derive verbs from nominals and nominal expressions. The first class includes the passive derivational suffix and the collective suffix. The second class includes the inchoative and causative suffixes which derive mainly intransitive and transitive verbs respectively. In addition there are a number of minor derivational suffixes of restricted productivity.

The data suggest a dependence on productive verbal derivational processes rather than on a large store of verb lexemes, but it is difficult to know to what extent this is an artefact of the investigation. The great frequency, in text, of verbs derived by the simple inchoative and causative suffixes may in part be due to the last speaker's loss of verb lexemes. The productive verbalisation processes allow verbs to be built out of the nominals and nominal phrases already introduced in a text. For the last speaker of a language the use of such derived verbs is possibly an easier option than searching memory for an elusive lexeme.

6.1.3 TRANSITIVITY AND CONJUGATION CLASSES

In most Australian languages transitivity is an important grammatical category. Verbs are usually strictly transitive or intransitive and syntactic processes may be sensitive to the difference between transitive and intransitive clauses (see Dixon 1980:378). The relative importance of transitivity in many Australian languages may be directly related to patterns of morphological ergativity. In an ergative language, the transitivity of a predicate (and similarly a clause) is clearly recognisable from the case-marking of its arguments. However, in languages with an accusative pattern of case-marking, such as the Ngayarda languages and the Tangkic languages of the Gulf of Carpentaria (Evans 1985), transitivity contrasts are not so explicitly conveyed by case-marking options and the category of transitivity assumes much less importance in the overall grammar of the language. The difficulty in distinguishing transitive from intransitive predicates in Martuthunira is a result of the following factors:

1. Transitive and intransitive subjects are indistinguishable – both are unmarked nominative.
2. Arguments (including both subject and object) may be freely omitted when understood from context or when already established in previous text.
3. Many motion verbs have alternate case frames in which locational complements can appear as accusative marked objects.
4. Accusative arguments denoting beneficiaries may be freely added to many clause types.

The addition of accusative arguments to a clause was noted in §4.3 and is discussed further in §9.5.9. Although the presence of an accusative beneficiary argument in a clause attests to the transitivity of that clause, it cannot be considered diagnostic evidence of the categorial transitivity of the predicate in that clause.

Verbs with alternate case frames are more problematic. There is no doubt that these verbs must be subcategorised for the locational argument that may appear as an accusative object. However, the verbs most often occur in intransitive clauses. Here I will assume that the optional accusative locational complement not be considered for the purposes of ascribing a predicate to a transitivity class. Thus the class of intransitive verbs includes statives like *nyina-Ø* ‘sit’ and motion verbs such as *puni-Ø* ‘go’ and *kanarri-Ø* ‘come’, some of which may take an accusative argument denoting a locational role. The class of transitive verbs includes the simple transitive verbs of affect, such as *thani-L* ‘hit’, which are always understood as having an object, perception verbs such as *nhawu-Ø* ‘see’, and induced motion verbs such as *wartitha-R* ‘drop, throw’, which may take a second accusative argument denoting a locational role. There is also a small number of ditransitive verbs including *yungku-Ø* ‘give’ and *nhuura-ma-L* ‘teach, show’. There remains a small set of verbs, such as *ngaya-Ø* ‘cry (for)’, which may take an accusative argument but which, if no such argument appears, are not understood as implying this argument. These can be described as ‘ambitransitive’ verbs (cf. Dench 1991:167).

Verbs are strictly categorised into one of three conjugation classes labelled Ø, L and R for the conjugation markers which appear in some verb inflections. Membership of a conjugation determines the choice of inflectional and derivational suffix form. In common with the other Ngayarda languages, Martuthunira has reduced an earlier conjugation system by the incorporation of monosyllabic verbs into the open conjugation classes. However, this incorporation is not complete.

Four monomorphemic verbs of the Ø-conjugation, *yungku-Ø* ‘give’, *kangku-Ø* ‘take, carry’, *manku-Ø* ‘grab, pick up’, and *nhawu-Ø* ‘see’, select special forms of the ‘unrealised’ verb inflection and the ‘collective’ derivational suffix. The same pattern applies for verbs involving the -:*ngku-Ø* derivational suffix (§6.3.9), strongly suggesting that the verbaliser was originally a separate verb. The four mono-morphemic verbs all descend from the future forms of monosyllabic verbs of an original NG/M-conjugation (see Dixon 1980:403-405) and this group is thus described as the NG-subconjugation of the Ø-conjugation.

In all of the Ngayarda languages the R-conjugation has a very limited number of members and there are suggestions that it is, by degrees, being incorporated into the open L-conjugation. In Panyjima this incorporation is complete. In Martuthunira, the remaining R-conjugation verbs often take L-conjugation inflectional forms even though special R-conjugation forms exist. The surviving R-conjugation verbs are:

<i>wantha</i> -R	place, put, leave
<i>patha</i> -R	blow (of wind), hit (with thrown implement), spin (hair)
<i>warntitha</i> -R	throw
<i>kanyja</i> -R	keep, hold

There is a correlation between conjugation membership and transitivity with the Ø-conjugation including mainly intransitive verbs and the L-conjugation including mainly transitive verbs. Table 6.1 gives the numbers of transitive and intransitive verbs for the two major conjugations, based on a sample of 134 monomorphemic verb roots. All four R-conjugation verbs are transitive.

TABLE 6.1: CONJUGATION MEMBERSHIP BY TRANSITIVITY CLASS

	Intransitive	Transitive
L-conjugation	20	63
Ø-conjugation	38	13
TOTAL	58	76

A few verb roots appear in both conjugations but with a corresponding difference in meaning:

<i>kampa</i> -L	cook, burn	<i>kampa</i> -Ø	be burning, cooking
<i>thurnta</i> -L	rub, paint	<i>thurnta</i> -Ø	rub self, paint self
<i>puntha</i> -L	wash, bathe	<i>puntha</i> -Ø	wash, bathe self
<i>yinka</i> -L	chisel	<i>yinka</i> -Ø	thrust body (during intercourse)
<i>tharwi</i> -L	put into	<i>tharwi</i> -Ø	put on (clothes)

The L-conjugation forms are transitive, the corresponding intransitive Ø-conjugation forms are inherently reflexive. This alternation does not occur with any derived verb stems.

6.1.4 INFLECTIONAL SUFFIX FORMS

Table 6.2 lists the forms of the main clause and subordinate clause verb inflections for the three conjugations.

TABLE 6.2: VERB INFLECTIONS

	Ø	L	R
MAIN CLAUSE			
Present	-nguru	-nruru	-nruru
Past	-lha	-lalha	-rralha
Passive perfective	-yangu	-rnu	-rnu
Future	-layi	-rminyji	-rminyji
Imperative	-Ø	-l.yu	-rryu
Habitual	-wayara	-lwayara	-rrwayara
Habitual nominalisation	-nguntharri	-nnguntharri	-rrnguntharri
Unrealised	-yaangu	-laangu/-raangu	-rraangu
Counterfactual	-marni	-nmarni	-nmarni
Passive counterfactual	-ngulaanu	-nngulaanu	-rrngulaanu

SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

Present relative	-nyila	-mura	-mura
Contemporaneous relative	-rra	-l.yarra	-rryarra
Sequential relative	-rrawaara	-l.yarrawaara	-rryarrawaara
Lest	-wirri	-lwirri	-rrwirri
Passive lest	-	-rniyangu	-rniyangu
Purpose same-subject	-lu	-ru	-ru
Purpose subject=object	-waa	-lwaa	-rrwaa
Purpose different-subject	-wala	-lwala	-rrwala

Two classes of inflectional forms can be described on the basis of this table. First, a number of inflections involve an invariant suffix form following a conjugation marker (CM); \emptyset -, *-l-* or *-rr-*. These are:

Habitual	-CM- <i>wayara</i>
Lest	-CM- <i>wirri</i>
Purpose subject=object	-CM- <i>waa</i>
Purpose different-subject	-CM- <i>wala</i>
Past	-CM- <i>a-lha</i>

The L and R-conjugation forms of the past tense inflection involve a vowel *a* following the conjugation marker and preceding the invariant suffix *-lha*. The 'unrealised' inflection also involves the L and R-conjugation markers, with the \emptyset -conjugation form suggesting a conjugation marker *-y-*. The *-raangu* allomorph is selected by verbs of the NG-subconjugation. The counterfactual, passive counterfactual and habitual nominalisation inflections are also included in this first class. For these suffixes the invariant form follows an assimilated *-n-* conjugation marker in the L-conjugation:

Counterfactual	- <i>n-marni</i>
Passive counterfactual	- <i>n-ngulaanu</i>
Habitual nominalisation	- <i>n-nguntharri</i>

The imperative and the contemporaneous relative inflections can be added to this class. The two suffixes can be reconstructed as follows:

Imperative	*-CM- <i>ku</i>
Contemporaneous relative	*-CM- <i>karra</i>

Both suffixes have clear cognates in other languages of the area. The *-CM-*ku* suffix appears as the present tense inflection in the other Ngayarda languages and is ultimately related to a common future/purposive suffix. In the \emptyset -conjugation phonological changes have erased the suffix completely, leaving the bare stem as the imperative form of the verb. The same loss has occurred in Yindjibarndi in which the present tense suffix is \emptyset for \emptyset -conjugation verbs and *-ku* for L, R and N-conjugations.

The *-CM-*karra* suffix functions as the marker of same-subject relative clauses in the Kanyara languages. Thalanyji (Austin 1981d) has L and R-conjugation forms *-lkarra* and *-rrkarra* respectively, and Y-conjugation forms *-yarra* on stems with a final *a* vowel and *-rra* on stems with final *i* or *u*. The Martuthunira \emptyset -conjugation form of the contemporaneous relative is similarly *-rra* on stems with final *i* or *u*. The *a* vowel of *a*-final stems is replaced

with *i* when the suffix *-rra* is attached (§2.5.4). In some environments the *-rra* suffix collapses with a final *rri* syllable of a \emptyset -conjugation verb. For example, the verb *pamararri- \emptyset* ‘call out to’ appears as *pamararra* in contemporaneous relative clauses.

pamararri-rra → *pamararra*
call out-CTEMP

The same reduction occurs in verbs involving the collective derivational suffix (§6.1.5). The sequential relative inflection is apparently built on the contemporaneous inflection by the addition of a suffix *-waara*. This suffix occurs nowhere else in Martuthunira and to date I have found no historical source. Austin (1981d:219) describes a Thalanyji “preparatory” clause inflection *-CM-kurrara* which appears to be cognate with the Martuthunira sequential inflection but which is not so obviously related to the Thalanyji relative same-subject inflection.

The second class of inflections includes those for which the L and R-conjugations share the one form while the \emptyset -conjugation has a different form:

	\emptyset	L/R
Present	<i>-nguru</i>	<i>-rnuru</i>
Passive perfective	<i>-yangu</i>	<i>-rnu</i>
Future	<i>-layi</i>	<i>-rninyji</i>
Passive lest	–	<i>-rniyangu</i>
Present relative	<i>-nyila</i>	<i>-rnura</i>
Purpose same-subject	<i>-lu</i>	<i>-ru</i>

With the exception of the purposive same-subject inflection, the L and R-conjugation forms are based on the suffix **-rnu* (with an assimilation of the vowel to /i/ preceding a palatal). The \emptyset -conjugation forms are not similarly related and there are few clear cognates for any of these suffixes in neighbouring languages.

The informant showed a certain degree of variation in the choice of verbal inflections of the first class for R-conjugation verbs. In many instances the L-conjugation form occurs rather than the R-conjugation form. This tendency to regularise the R-conjugation no doubt reflects the process through which the R-conjugation was lost in Panyjima. For the counterfactual inflection in Martuthunira a separate R-conjugation form appears to have already been lost.

6.1.5 DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX FORMS

The passive and collective have different forms conditioned by the conjugation membership of the stem to which they are attached. With the exception of the ‘body-noise’ (§6.3.6, §2.5.2) and *-:ngku- \emptyset* (§6.3.9, §2.5.3) verbalisers, which have phonologically conditioned allomorpha, all other derivational suffixes have invariant forms.

The passive has a basic form *-nguli- \emptyset* which follows the conjugation markers *- \emptyset -*, *-n-* or *-rr-*. The suffix is shortened to *-CM-ngu-* when followed by the future, contemporaneous (or sequential) relative or purposive same-subject inflections (§2.5.5).

<i>nguli-layi</i>	→	<i>-ngulayi</i>
<i>nguli-rra</i>	→	<i>-ngurra</i>
<i>nguli-lu</i>	→	<i>-ngulu</i>

The passive can also be recognised as historically involved in the passive counterfactual and habitual nominalisation inflections, and the *lest* inflection has taken the first step towards incorporation with the passive derivational suffix. Following the passive, the suffix has the form *-yirri* rather than the general \emptyset -conjugation form *-wirri* and the combination is further reduced in fast speech to *-nguliirri*.

The collective suffix has three separate forms conditioned by the conjugation membership and the length of the verb stem (§2.5.1). The distribution of the forms is set out in Table 6.3:

TABLE 6.3: COLLECTIVE SUFFIX FORMS

	\emptyset	NG-sub	L	R
dimoric stem	<i>-marrri</i>	<i>-yarri</i>	<i>-yarri</i>	<i>-yarri</i>
other	<i>-marrri</i>	<i>-marrri</i>	<i>-lwarri</i>	<i>-lwarri</i>

The *-marrri* form of the collective suffix also appears on nominal stems deriving a collective verb. In all examples found so far the collective verb corresponds to a transitive verb derived by the addition of the causative suffix *-ma-L* to the nominal stem. For example:

<i>karlarra-marrri-\emptyset</i>	heat each other up
<i>karlarra-ma-L</i>	make hot

The simplest description of this distribution is to posit a *-rri- \emptyset* form of the collective suffix following the *-ma-L* causative suffix. Thus the verb ‘heat each other up’ can be glossed:

<i>karlarra-ma-rri-\emptyset</i>
hot-CAUS-COLL

Like the passive, collective suffix forms are reduced when followed by the contemporaneous relative inflection *-rra*. The *-rri* syllable of the collective suffix is lost:

<i>-marrri-rra</i>	→	<i>-marra</i>
<i>-yarri-rra</i>	→	<i>-yarra</i>
<i>-lwarri-rra</i>	→	<i>-lwarra</i>

The results of this reduction are most striking on verbs based on nominal stems. The *-rri- \emptyset* form of the collective following the causative is lost altogether:

<i>muthumuthu-ma-rri-rra</i>	→	<i>muthumuthu-marra</i>
cool-CAUS-COLL-CTEMP		cool-CAUS+COLL+CTEMP

The verb *wangka- \emptyset* ‘say, tell’ has an idiosyncratic stem *wangkarnu- \emptyset* selected only by the collective suffix. The normal \emptyset -conjugation collective suffix form *-marrri* follows an apparent *-rnu* addition to the verb root. Similar idiosyncratic stem forms of this verb occur in collective (or reciprocal) forms in other languages of the area. For example:

Jiwarli *wangkaarni-*
Yindjibarndi *wangkayi-*

6.2 INFLECTIONS

6.2.1 PRESENT TENSE

The present is used in simple declarative or interrogative utterances to indicate that the event or state of affairs described by the predicate is taking place at the time of speaking.

- (6.1) *Jarruru-ma-l.yu warra! Nganaju malyarra-ma-rnuru paju.*
 slow-CAUS-IMP CONT 1SG.ACC pain-CAUS-PRES REAL
 Do it a bit slower! [You're] hurting me.
- (6.2) *Kartu nhawu-nguru?*
 2SG.NOM see-PRES
 Do you see [them]?

The present tense may also be used for events which are not taking place at the exact time of speaking. The present may be used to indicate a speaker's immediate intentions (example (6.3)), as a direction to an addressee to perform some action in the immediate future (6.4), or to imply the continuation of an action just completed (6.5).

- (6.3) *Ngayu puni-nguru-rru.*
 1SG.NOM go-PRES-NOW
 I'm going now.
- (6.4) *Kartu puni-nguru ngurnu-mulyarra kalyarran-mulyarra manku-lu*
 2SG.NOM go-PRES that.OBL-ALL tree-ALL get-PURPss
wurrulywa-a.
 leaves-ACC
 You go to that tree and get some leaves.
- (6.5) *Wanthanha-wuyu-u kartu wangka-nguru jarru-ngku*
 which-SIDE-ACC.2SG NOM say-PRES march.fly-EFF
kalya-rnu-nguru-u?
 bite-PASSP-ABL-ACC
 Which one of them are you saying has been bitten by a march fly?

The present is also used to express generally accepted truths, as in examples (6.6) and (6.7), or assertions of belief, as in (6.8) and (6.9).

- (6.6) *Ngunhaa yakarrangu karlwa-nguru jinkayu.*
 that.NOM sun rise-PRES east
 The sun rises in the east. (trans.)
- (6.7) *Warryumuntu wangka-nguli-nguru tharnta parla-nyungu kupuyu-marta*
 mother.euro call-PASS-PRES euro hill-DWELL little-PROP
thara-ngka-marta.
 pouch-LOC-PROP
Warryumuntu, that's what that hill euro with a little one in its pouch is called.

- (6.8) *Ngunhu kanyara kuliyanpa-nguru nhuura paju-rru.*
 that.NOM man think-PRES knowing REAL-NOW
 That man thinks that he really knows [how to do it].
- (6.9) *Mir.ta wiyaa thalka-nnguli-nguru, thanuwa-a maruwarla-a paju*
 not maybe feed-PASS-PRES food-ACC much-ACC REAL
yungku-nguli-nguru.
 give-PASS-PRES
 Maybe [he] isn't fed, isn't given very much food.

In narrative text the present tense inflections most often occur on the copulas *nyina-Ø* 'sit, be', *kari-Ø* 'stand', *wanti-Ø* 'lie' and *puni-Ø* 'go, be', where these serve to establish or re-establish a narrative present (§9.3). Otherwise, present tense verbs are tied to the present of utterance. These may convey the speaker's comments on the current status of situations or participants discussed in the narrative, or may present general truths.

6.2.2 PAST TENSE AND PASSIVE PERFECTIVE

The past tense and passive perfective inflections complement one another. Both denote events taking place at a time prior to the present of utterance but differ in voice. In addition, both inflections are usually interpreted as coding perfective aspect, although this is most marked with the passive. The following examples illustrate the suffixes in main clauses.

- (6.10) *Ngawu, ngunhu nganaju mimi, ngurnaa yarna-lalha warnu*
 yes that.NOM 1SG.GEN uncle that.ACC dissatisfied-PAST ASSER
ngathu yinka-ru wirra-a. Ngunhaa wangka-lha
 1SG.EFF chisel-PASSP boomerang-ACC that.ACC say-PAST
wirra-a jalya-a, ngurmta-a kuyil-yu.
 boomerang-ACC rubbish-ACC style-ACC bad-ACC
 Yes, that uncle of mine, he was dissatisfied with that boomerang chiselled by me. He said that the boomerang was rubbish, had bad form.
- (6.11) *Ngunhaa nyina-lha jampa, wiruwarri-lha-rru, kuliyanpa-lha*
 that.NOM sit-PAST moment be.homesick-PAST-NOW think-PAST
parrani-layi-rru ngurnula-ngu-mulyarra warra ngurra-mulyarra.
 return-FUT-NOW that.DEF-GEN-ALL CONT camp-ALL
 He stayed for a while, and got homesick now, and thought about returning to his camp.
- (6.12) *Nhula muyi ngulu thani-ru kalyaran-ta nyina-nyila-lu.*
 near.you dog that.EFF hit-PASSP log-LOC sit-PrREL-EFF
 That dog near you was hit by that fellow sitting on the log. (trans.)
- (6.13) *Nganalu kartu yungku-yangu muyi-i?*
 who.EFF 2SG.NOM give-PASSP dog-ACC
 By whom were you given the dog? (trans.)

In many syntactic environments, verbs marked with the past tense and passive perfective suffixes look very like nominalisations. First, the verbs are common in reduced subordinate

clauses. These consist of just the verb word and either immediately follow the head of the noun phrase, as in examples (6.14) and (4.157), or stand in as the head of the noun phrase and bear the nominal suffixes appropriate to that noun phrase in higher constituents (as in (6.15) and (4.36)):

- (6.14) *Nganarna kuliyanpa-nguru kartungu-mulyara yirla warrirti-ngara-a*
 1PL.EXC think-PRES 2SG.OBL-ALL only spear-PL-ACC
wurmta-rmu-ngara-a.
 break-PASSP-PL-ACC
 It's only to you that we think about bringing spears that have been broken.
- (6.15) *Yarta-wuyu juwayu thuulwa-rminyji waruul. Yarta-wuyu juwayu,*
 other-SIDE hand pull-FUT still other-SIDE hand
thaathu-lalha-wuyu juwayu, ngunhaa puni-layi thungku-ngka waruul.
 let.go-PAST-SIDE hand that.NOM go-FUT back-LOC still
 One hand keeps on pulling. The other hand, the one that has let go, that one keeps moving down its back.

Second, past tense verb forms may function as stems for further verbal derivation. In the following examples the causative suffix *-ma-L* (§6.3.4) is added to an intransitive verb inflected with past tense to form an effective transitive verb, as in examples (6.16) and (6.17). In these examples the past tense inflected verb describes a resulting state into which the object of the causative verb will be placed by the actions of the subject of that verb. Similar constructions involving an inflected transitive verb were not accepted by the informant.

- (6.16) *Kartu-lwa nganaju kuyil-nguli-lha-ma-lalha*
 2SG.NOM-ID 1SG.ACC bad-PSYCH-PAST-CAUS-PAST
yimpala-rri-waa drunka-mpa-waa.
 like.that-INV-PURPs=o drunk-INCH-PURPs=o
 You're the one who made me feel bad, to become like that, to get drunk. (trans.)
- (6.17) *Nganarna manku-lha-nguru-rru thawun-ta-a wuruma-l.yarra*
 1PL.EXC get-PAST-ABL-NOW town-LOC-ACC do.for-CTEMP
kartungu. Parrani-lha-ma-rminyji-rru kartungu-mulyarra.
 2SG.ACC return-PAST-CAUS-FUT-NOW 2SG.OBL-ALL
 We got the things that are in town, doing it for you. Then brought [them] back to you.

Finally, there are a few examples of idiomatic phrases involving verbs inflected with either the past tense or passive perfective suffixes which approach lexical status. These idioms all refer to particular kin relationships.

<i>kampa-lalha</i>	my mother's brother
burn-PAST	
<i>ngathu kampa-rnu</i>	my sister's child
1SG.EFF burn-PASSP	

nganaju karri-lha my elder sister, brother
1SG.GEN stand-PAST

yini-ma-mu kampa-rmu my mother's brother's son
name-CAUS-PASSP burn-PASSP

Despite these patterns, the past tense and passive perfective suffixes are not described here as lexical nominalisations. First, there is no strict dividing line between a fully finite clause including a past tense or passive perfective verb and one with a reduced set of arguments embedded within some other constituent. Second, there are no special case assignment rules and no semantic idiosyncracies associated with such reduced clauses.

The Martuthunira past tense essentially corresponds to both past tense and active perfective inflections in the other Ngayarda languages. Yindjibarndi, Panyjima and Ngarluma share a past tense suffix *-nha ~ -rna* which indicates past action and which does not occur in subordinate clauses. In addition, each has a special 'perfective' suffix which, unlike the past tense, implies a completed action and is common in subordinate structures. The Martuthunira past tense suffix is cognate with the Panyjima perfect (see Dench 1991:172).

6.2.3 HABITUAL INFLECTIONS

The habitual inflection marks an action which is understood as occurring on a great number of occasions, so allowing the subject of the verb to be characterisable in terms of that action. The habitual covers the functions of 'usitative' verb inflections found in languages to the south of Martuthunira and has an unmarked usitative reading usually translated with the English 'used to VERB' construction.

(6.18) *Nganarna wanta-rwayara murla-a thana manku-wala minthal muyi.*
1PL.EXC leave-HABIT meat-ACC let grab-PURPs alone dog
We used to leave meat so the dogs could get it themselves. (trans.)

(6.19) *Ngunhu-ngara yinka-lwayara Kawuyu-nyungu-ngara-a yinka-lwayara*
that.NOM-PL chisel-HABIT Kawuyu-DWELL-PL-ACC chisel-HABIT
thawu-rminyji Wirrawanti-mulyarra.
send-FUT Wirrawanti-ALL
They used to carve the ones [boomerangs] from *Kawuyu*, carve them and send them to *Wirrawanti*.

There is no necessary implication that the actions have taken place in the past. Very often, the action is seen as one which the subject of the verb still, and in the future, will continue to perform regularly.

(6.20) *Ngunhu kanyara thani-lwayara muyi-i thurlajinkarri-i*
that.NOM man hit-HABIT dog-ACC poor.fellow-ACC
murla-mamu-u, mir.ta nhawungarra-ma-lwayara panyu.
meat-ASSOC-ACC not look.after-CAUS-HABIT good
That man is always hitting that poor kangaroo dog, [he] doesn't look after it well.

(6.21) *Ngayu puni-lha ngurnu muyi-i kangku-rra thurla*
1SG.NOM go-PAST that.ACC dog-ACC take-CTEMP eye

parra-nnguli-wayara-a.

hit-PASS-HABIT-ACC

I went, taking that dog that's always getting left behind (lit. getting hit in the eye).

- (6.22) *Nhiyu warrunparrun mir.ta kalya-lwayara, murla-a yirla*
 this blowfly not bite-HABIT meat-ACC only

kunanyja-lwayara yirlirli-npa-waa.

excrete-HABIT maggot-INCH-PURPs=o

This blowfly doesn't bite, it just excretes on meat so that it gets maggoty.

The habitual allows definition of objects or persons by their characteristic activities. This is clearly demonstrated in example (6.23) in which the habitual is used in order to describe an object for which no clear Martuthunira word exists (see also (4.87)).

- (6.23) *Ngunhaa kanyja-rnu nhawani-ma-lwayara, thurlwa-nnguli-wayara,*
 that.NOM keep-PASSP thing-CAUS-HABIT pull-PASS-HABIT

parrapari-marnu. Ngunhu wanti-nguru powder-marta waruul,
 rifle-ASSOC that.NOM lie-PRES powder-PROP still

wanti-lha kuwarri thurlwa-rnu. Wanthala parrapari?

lie-PAST now pull-PASSP where rifle

That one was being kept, [the thing that] makes it what's-its-name, the one that gets pulled through, for a rifle. That cloth still has powder on it as if it had just been pulled through. But where's the rifle?

As an extension of this pattern some habitual verb forms have assumed full lexical status as nominals. The specific meaning of the item is often not completely predictable from the meaning of the verb stem.

kartatha-lwayara tomahawk
 chop-HABIT

purra-lwayara tomahawk
 hit-HABIT

yurra-lwayara yam digging stick
 dig-HABIT

The habitual nominalisation inflection allows a characterisation of an entity by its typical 'undergoing' of the action denoted by the verb stem. Some examples are:

wayangku-nguntharri cowering, fearful
 frighten-HABITNOM

mungka-nnguntharri 'eatables' (generic for meat and vegetable food)
 eat-HABITNOM

warryayi-nnguntharri kangaroo tail
 drag-HABITNOM

kampa-nnguntharri kitchen, cookhouse
 cook-HABITNOM

nyina-nguntharri
sit-HABITNOM

chair, saddle

As the last two examples show, the referent of the nominalisation does not necessarily correspond to an object of the corresponding active verb. Nor does it necessarily correspond to a possible subject of the passive verb. *Nyina-Ø* 'sit' does not take an accusative object and does not take either the passive derivational suffix or passive inflections. Similarly, the referent of *kampannguntharri* 'kitchen' is a location which may not appear as either an accusative object or the passive subject of *kampa-L* 'cook'. The nominalised verb may, very rarely, appear in a standard passive clause frame with a nominative subject and an effector argument denoting the agent:

- (6.24) *Wanthanha-a kartu wangka-nguru?*
which-ACC 2SG.NOM talk-PRES
Which one are you talking about?
Ngunhu-lwa ngaliwa-lu muyiwiya-nnguntharri.
that.NOM-ID 1PL.INC-EFF insult-HABITNOM
That one that's always being insulted by us.

6.2.4 FUTURE TENSE

The future is named for its function in the simplest conversational utterances where it contrasts with the present and past tense inflections in indicating that an event is expected to take place at some point in the future:

- (6.25) *Ngaliwa wawayi-rminyji ngurnu kanyara-a.*
1PL.INC look.for-FUT that.ACC man-ACC
We'll look for that man.
(6.26) *Nhiyu ngurra ngapala paju warnu. Wantharni-mpa-layi-rru puni-rra,*
this ground mud REAL EMPH how-INCH-FUT-NOW go-CTEMP
wii tharrwa-layi ngapala-la-rru?
if go.into-FUT mud-LOC-NOW
This ground is very muddy. How are we going to get along if we get stuck in the mud?

However, the future more often functions as a relative tense marker indicating a subsequent event which, given the circumstances, is a generally expected outcome, or is customarily appropriate. Thus, in example (6.27) the future verb indicates that a spear is made after the wood is cut, but does not provide the absolute tense.

- (6.27) *Nganalu nhiyaa marli wurnta-rnu warrirti-ma-nngu-layi?*
who.EFF this.NOM cadjeput cut-PASSP spear-CAUS-PASS-FUT
By whom was this cut cadjeput wood then made into a spear?

Programmatic narratives often consist of a series of future marked verbs, each of which describes the next stage in an established sequence of events. The following portion of text explaining how to cook a kangaroo is typical (example (6.28)). Future forms are underlined.

- (6.28) *Ngurnaa thurlwa-rminyji karla-ngka-nguru-u. Thani-rminyji juwayu-marta.*
 that.ACC pull.out-FUT fire-LOC-ABL-ACC hit-FUT hand-PROP
Palwarru ngunhaa, wurnta-rminyji-rru punga-a-rru, thurlwa-rminyji
 true that.NOM cut-FUT-NOW guts-ACC-NOW pull.out-FUT
nyilyu-u. Palwarru ngunhaa, panyu-ma-rminyji-rru. Ngamari-i
 stomach-ACC true that.NOM good-CAUS-FUT-NOW liver-ACC
thurlwa-rminyji. Karla-ngka-rru wartitha-rminyji, kampa-waa-rru
 pull.out-FUT fire-LOC-NOW throw-FUT cook-PURPs=o-NOW
panyu-npi-rra-rru. Thurlwa-rminyji ngurnaa ngamari-i,
 good-INCH-CTEMP-NOW pull.out-FUT that.ACC liver-ACC
wantha-rminyji wurrulywa-la-rru muthu-npi-rra wanti-waa.
 put-FUT leaves-LOC-NOW cold-INCH-CTEMP lie-PURPs=o
Mungka-rminyji-rru muthu-npa-lha-a-rru. Parlura-rru
 eat-FUT-NOW cold-INCH-PAST-ACC-NOW full-NOW
puni-layj malarnu-la-rru kartutharra wanti-lu.
 go-FUT shade-LOC-NOW on.back lie-PURPs

Then [you] pull it out of the fire, and rub it down with [your] hand. Okay, now cut its guts open and pull out the stomach. Okay, fix it up. Pull out the liver and throw it in the fire to cook, become nice. Then pull out the liver and put it on some leaves to cool down. Then eat it once it's cooled down. Now that you're full, go and lie on [your] back in the shade.

Future verbs with a second person subject are usually interpreted as mild imperatives. Examples include (4.148) and (4.149), (5.4) and (5.25). The negative imperative functions of the future are illustrated here in examples (6.29) and (6.30). With a first person subject, the future often functions as a hortative, as in (4.41), (5.55) and (5.103).

6.2.5 IMPERATIVE

Imperative verbs occur only in positive clauses. The functions of a negative imperative are assumed by negative future clauses. The following examples illustrate both positive imperative clauses, in which the verb bears the imperative inflection, and negative imperatives, involving the future inflection (and see (4.108)).

- (6.29) *Purnumpuru-npa-Ø! Kartu mir.ta wurnta-rminyji nganarna-a.*
 quiet-INCH-IMP 2SG.NOM not upset-FUT 1PL.EXC-ACC
 Be quiet! Don't you upset us. (trans.)
- (6.30) *Manku-Ø-rru yimala-a! Mir.ta nyina-layj nhawu-rra yirla*
 grab-IMP-NOW this.DEF-ACC not sit-FUT watch-CTEMP only
thurlamanta! Karlwa-Ø manku-lu nhula-a!
 staring get.up-IMP grab-PURPs near.you-ACC
 Grab this fellow! Don't just sit staring! Get up and grab him!

Imperative clauses mostly conform to the normal patterns of case marking for transitive and intransitive clauses. However, there are two special patterns of case marking found only in positive imperative clauses. These are described in §9.8.

6.2.6 COUNTERFACTUALS

Martuthunira has both active and passive counterfactual inflections. These indicate events which did not happen, or which are not happening now, but which would have been expected to have taken place or be happening if other events had turned out differently. Examples (6.31) and (6.32) illustrate the active inflection, (6.33) and (6.34) involve the passive inflection.

- (6.31) *Thampa-rru wiyaa manku-lha parla-a parriingku-marni*
 almost-NOW maybe grab-PAST stone-ACC hit-CONTR
warmmalyi-marta, nganaju-u kartara-a-rru pariingku-marni
 stone-PROP 1SG.GEN-ACC jaw-ACC-NOW hit-CONTR
piyuwa-ma-lalha-a ngurmula-ngu-u murla-a.
 finish-CAUS-PAST-ACC that.DEF-GEN-ACC meat-ACC
 [She] almost grabbed a stone and would have hit me with a stone, would have hit me in the jaw, me who finished up her meat.

- (6.32) *Ngawu, thurlajinkarri mayiili, malyarru-wa ngunhaa mir.ta*
 yes poor.fellow FaFa+1POSS good-YK that.NOM not
nhawu-lha ngali-i.
 see-PAST 1DU.INC-ACC
 Yes, our poor old grandfather, good thing he didn't see us.
Ngawu, kuyil, ngunhaa mawuntu-u-rru manku-marni.
 yes bad that.NOM harpoon-ACC-NOW grab-CONTR
 Yes, he's bad, he would have grabbed a harpoon.
Ngawu, purrkuru waruul, ngunhaa karta-nmarni ngali-i.
 yes true still that.NOM stab-CONTR 1DU.INC-ACC
 Yes, true enough, he would have stabbed us.

- (6.33) *Palalyi, kartu thala karta-nngulaanu, nhumira-rru*
 before 2SG.NOM chest stab-PASSCONTR penis-NOW
thaatharra-rru-marni.
 open.mouthed-INV-CONTR
 In the old days you would have been stabbed in the chest and you would have wet yourself (lit. your penis would have opened up like a mouth).

- (6.34) *Nhiingara jalya-ngara yungku-ngulaanu kapalya-ngara-a*
 this.PL scrap-PL give-PASSCONTR pet-PL-ACC
ngaliwa-wu-u mungka-lwaa-lpurtu.
 1PL.INC-GEN-ACC eat-PURPs=o-COMP
 These scraps should have been given to those pets of ours to eat [but for some reason they weren't].

As example (6.34) shows, the attendant circumstances need not be specified but may be implied by the use of the inflection and other grammatical markers, in this instance the ‘complementary’ clitic *-lpurtu* (§7.2.9).

Counterfactuals are also used to refer to future events. Here the speaker predicts that the event described will not happen unless current circumstances change in some way:

(6.35) *Nhuwana wirta-ngara nhuura-mpa-marni jalurra-a piya-minyji.*
2PL youth-PL know-INCH-CONTR song-ACC sing-FUT

Nganarna wuraal-wa-rru nyina-marni mir.ta-rru piya-l.yarra
1PL.EXC all.right-Ø-NOW be-CONTR not-NOW sing-CTEMP

jalurra-ngara-a purnumpuru-rru.

song-PL-ACC quiet-NOW

You boys should learn to sing the songs. All right, we should be staying quiet and not singing the songs now.

(6.36) *Nhiyu warrirti wurnta-rmu nhuwana-lu yungku-nguli-marni*
this spear break-PASSP 2PL-EFF give-PASS-CONTR

nganaju-u mimi-i.

1SG.GEN-ACC uncle-ACC

This spear broken by you should be given to my uncle [to be fixed]. (trans.)

6.2.7 UNREALISED

The unrealised inflection generally indicates that the event denoted by the verb did not happen, is not happening, or will not happen even though there is every expectation that the event *ought* to happen. Usually the speaker is baffled as to the possible cause of the non-occurrence of the event and in this respect the unrealised inflection is quite different from the counterfactual. The following examples were constructed to elicit an English translation, and are presented here with the informant's extended glosses. These make reasonably clear the kinds of implication the suffix encodes. Notice that the paraphrase given for (6.39) involves the counterfactual form of the verb.

(6.37) *Nhiyu murla kampa-yaangu.*
this.NOM meat be.cooking-UNREAL

“This meat should've bin cooked but he's not. He's a meat there not cooking. He's either hard to cook or no fire there.” (constr.)

(6.38) *Kartu jinangku-raangu ngurmaa?*

2SG.NOM track-UNREAL that.ACC

“What's wrong. Why didn't you track 'im?” (constr.)

(6.39) *Ngunhaa kartarawurri-yaangu.*

that.NOM come.around.corner-UNREAL

“Instead he went other way. He didn't come. Fella that supposed to come 'round, *kartarawurri-marni*, he gone somewhere else.” (constr.)

The following examples from unelicited text provide more natural illustration. In (6.40) the speaker has unwittingly seated himself on a bed-roll belonging to people with whom he is required to maintain a relationship of strict avoidance. This avoidance extends to personal

belongings. In (6.41) the speaker is momentarily unable to identify a particular species of bird.

- (6.40) *Ngawu, ngayu puni-lha nyina-lu ngurriny-tha, kurnta-yaangu.*
 yes 1SG.NOM go-PAST sit-PURPss swag-LOC shame-UNREAL
 Yes, I went to sit on that swag, [I] ought to have felt 'shame'.
- (6.41) *Ngayu ngalarrri-lha-rru warnu. Kuliyanpa-yaangu kalika-a-lwa*
 1SG.NOM forget-PAST-NOW ASSERT think-UNREAL one-ACC-ID
kalyarran-ta nyina-wayara-a.
 branch-LOC sit-HABIT-ACC
 I truly forgot. [I] ought to have thought of that one that always sits on a branch,
 [but I didn't].
- (6.42) *Wantharni-npa-lha-lpurtu kuyil.yarri-lha. Panyu nyina-yaangu*
 how-INCH-PAST-COMP become.bad-PAST good be-UNREAL
kur.ta-ngara-lu wankama-rnu. Nhuura-rru nyina-marni.
 clever-PL-EFF raise-PASSP knowing-NOW sit-CONTR
 How did it happen that [she] became bad. [She] ought to be good, having been
 brought up by the clever old people. [She] should know.

6.3 DERIVATIONS

6.3.1 PASSIVE

The passive derivational suffix *-CM-nguli-Ø* is attached to verb stems to produce new stems of the \emptyset -conjugation. The syntax of passive clauses is discussed in §9.6 and §10.5 and is not to be discussed at length here. Basically, the passive serves to reorganise the arguments of a predicate so that an accusative object of the active verb appears as the nominative subject of the passive verb, and the subject of the active verb (optionally) appears as a noun phrase marked with the effector suffix. Thus, compare the passive sentence in (6.43b) with its active counterpart in (6.43a):

- (6.43) a. *Ngunhu kanyara ngurnu muyi-i yanga-lwayara.*
 that.NOM man that.ACC dog-ACC chase-HABIT
 That man is always chasing that dog. (constr.)
- b. *Ngunhu muyi yanga-nnguli-wayara ngulu kanyara-lu.*
 that.NOM dog chase-PASS-HABIT that.EFF man-EFF
 That dog is always being chased by that man. (constr.)

The suffix is shared by all the Ngayarda languages and is probably related, at least historically, to an inchoative suffix *-nguli-Ø* to nominal stems (§6.3.7) which also occurs in the Mantharta and Kanyara languages.

6.3.2 COLLECTIVE

Verb stems derived by the addition of the collective suffix allow three different interpretations. First, the suffix may indicate that the activity described by the verb stem is performed together by the participants denoted by the non-singular subject noun phrase. The

following examples illustrate the collective suffix on intransitive verb stems. The different forms of the suffix are presented in Table 6.3 above.

- (6.44) *Kulhampa-ngara puni-marri-layi tharrwa-lu thawura-la-rru.*
 fish-PL go-COLL-FUT enter-PURPss net-LOC-NOW
 The fish will all swim together into the net.
- (6.45) *Ngaliwa nyina-marri-layi wangkarnu-marra.*
 1PL.INC sit-COLL-FUT talk-COLL+CTEMP
 We'll sit around and have a talk.

Second, where the verb is transitive the suffix often indicates reciprocal action. That is, the participants denoted by the non-singular subject are assumed to be performing the action on one another.

- (6.46) *Nhartu-npa-lha-lwa ngula? Marrari-wirraa ngalal nhawu-yarra*
 what-INCH-PAST-ID IGNOR word-PRIV just look-COLL+CTEMP
marrari-wirraa, kamparta-ma-rrri-nguru. Wantarni-ma-rrri-layi?
 word-PRIV angry-CAUS-COLL-PRES how-CAUS-COLL-FUT
Parrungka-marri-layi wiyaa.
 shout-COLL-FUT maybe
 What happened? They're just looking at each other without a word, making each other angry. What will they do next? Maybe they'll start shouting at each other.

However, in many cases the suffix indicates that the action is performed collectively by the subject participants. An explicit transitive object need not be present.

- (6.47) *Nganama murla-a wantha-lwayara pawulu-ngara-a mungka-yarri-waa.*
 1PL.EXC meat-ACC leave-HABIT child-PL-ACC eat-COLL-PURPs=o
 We used to leave the children meat so they could eat together. (trans.)
- (6.48) *Wiruwanti yirla karlwa-marri-layi, ngartil waruul mungka-yarri-layi*
 morning only get.up-COLL-FUT again still eat-COLL-FUT
ngurnu tharnta-a.
 that.ACC euro-ACC
 In the morning we'll get up together, and we'll still have another feed of that euro.

Third, the collective suffix may be used to emphasise the existence of a particular kin relationship between participants in the clause. Specifically, the suffix indicates that the participants are in the same alternating generation set (§1.3.2).

- (6.49) *Yimpala-rru-wa. Kartu karri-layi*
 like.that-NOW-YK 2SG.NOM stand-FUT
nhurta-npa-marri-ngu-rra-rru. Ngayu wanyjarri-layi.
 wild-INCH-COLL-PASS-CTEMP-NOW 1SG.NOM go-FUT
Mir.ta-rru nhuwana-lu nhuunuwarnti-lu puranyi-lwarri-ngu-layi.
 not-NOW 2PL-EFF spouse.pair-EFF see-COLL-PASS-FUT
 It's like that. [They're] getting angry with you. I'm going. I won't [stay] to be seen by you, husband and wife, in-laws of mine.

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

Mir.ta, ngayu mir.ta nhawu-yarri-wayara.
 not 1SG.NOM not see-COLL-HABIT
 No, I've never seen him.

Ngawu, ngayu kangku-layi kartungu nhawu-yarri-waa
 yes 1SG.NOM take-FUT 2SG.ACC see-COLL-PURPs=0

nyinu-malyura-ngu.
 Bro.in.law-2POSS-ACC
 Okay, I'll take you to see your brother-in-law.

Interaction between members of the same generation set is characterised by a tendency towards collective activity while, by contrast, relations between people in the different generation sets typically involve varying degrees of respectful avoidance. The use of the collective suffix to mark the former relationship is a reflection of these institutionalised patterns of social interaction. For more detailed discussion and an explanation of the relationship between collective activity and particular kin relationships in the Ngayarda language area see Dench (1987a).

To sum up, collective verbs may have three different interpretations: action performed by a group acting together (collective), action involving members of a group each acting on the other (reciprocal), or action involving persons in the same generation set (kin group). The reading of a particular instance of the suffix partly depends on the verb to which it is attached and on the syntactic context in which that verb occurs. The range of contexts and the associated interpretations of the suffix are set out in Table 6.4:

TABLE 6.4: POSSIBLE INTERPRETATIONS OF THE COLLECTIVE SUFFIX

Verb	Subject	Object	Interpretation possible		
			Reciprocal	Collective	Kin group
intransitive	non-singular	—		yes	yes
transitive	non-singular	no	yes	yes	yes
transitive	non-singular	yes		yes	yes
transitive	singular	no			yes
transitive	singular	yes			yes

Where the subject of the clause is singular the suffix may only have the kin group interpretation. This does not imply that the subject of the clause must be one of the participants linked by the use of the suffix. For example, in (6.51) the participants linked by the suffix as belonging to the one generation set do not include the subject of the clause (the speaker). One is the object of the verb and the other a locational argument.

(6.51) *Ngayu kangku-yarri-lha panaka-ngurni karimarra-wuyu-u*
 1SG.NOM take-COLL-PAST section-OBSCRD section-SIDE-ACC

marrari-mulyarra, Martuthunira-a nhuura-mpa-waa.
 language-ALL Martuthunira-ACC know-INCH-PURPs=0
 I took the *karimarra* boy along, after the *panaka* boy, towards the language,
 to learn Martuthunira.
 (I taught two boys who are together in the same generation set.)

There is no syntactic context which forces a reciprocal reading for a verb bearing the collective suffix. Although a reciprocal reading is available where a transitive verb appears with no object and the subject is non-singular, a collective reading is always possible here given the frequent ellipsis of arguments. To some extent, interpretation as reciprocal or collective depends on the particular verb: example (6.52) below will almost always have a collective reading while (6.53) will usually have a reciprocal reading:

(6.52) *Ngaliwa mungka-yarri-nguru.*
 1PL.INC eat-COLL-PRES
 We're eating together. (?? We're eating one another.) (constr.)

(6.53) *Ngaliwa thani-yarri-nguru.*
 1PL.INC hit-COLL-PRES
 We're hitting one another. (?? We're hitting together.) (constr.)

Thus separate collective and reciprocal meanings need not be established for the suffix. Rather, a single collective meaning will allow a reciprocal interpretation in certain contexts and with certain verbs. While a clause with a non-singular subject will allow a kin-group reading as well as a possible collective or reciprocal reading, the suffix itself does not require that members of the group be in the same generation. This is made clear in example (6.54), in which the non-singular subject is a disharmonic pronoun (see §5.1) and hence only the collective (or reciprocal) reading is possible.

(6.54) *Ngunhaa mir.ta waruul kuliya-muru nganajumarta-a*
 that.NOM not still hear-PRES 1DU.DISHARM-ACC
wangkarnu-marri-nyila-a.
 talk-COLL-PrREL-ACC
 He still can't hear us talking together (to one another).

The kin-group meaning of the suffix must be independent of the collective meaning and the suffix must be described as polysemous between these two meanings.

6.3.3 INCHOATIVE *-mpa-Ø*

The *-mpa-Ø* inchoative derives mainly intransitive verbs from nominal stems and is fully productive. Inchoative verbs describe the process of a change in state of the subject of the verb, resulting in the state denoted by the nominal stem. However, in some cases the verb may describe the persistence or maintenance of a state, assumed to be temporary, rather than the inception of that state. Most examples of the inchoative involve nominal stems denoting properties of entities. The subject of the verb thus attains the property denoted by the nominal stem (illustrative sentence examples are indicated in parentheses).

piyuwa-mpa-Ø become finished, die (7.87)
 finished-INCH-

<i>muthumuthu-mpa-Ø</i> cool-INCH-	cool down (4.161), (9.53)
<i>jinyji-warla-mpa-Ø</i> fat-FULL-INCH-	get fat (5.37)
<i>malumalu-mpa-Ø</i> dark-INCH-	get dark (9.57), (10.57)

Where the stem is a nominal which is usually understood to denote an entity, the inchoative verb forces an interpretation whereby this nominal is seen as denoting a property. It is not possible to say that the subject of the verb *becomes* the entity denoted by the nominal stem in all cases.

<i>thurla-mpa-Ø</i> eye-INCH-	wake up, be born (4.56)
<i>nganyurta-mpa-Ø</i> sweat-INCH-	be sweating
<i>puwara-mpa-Ø</i> coal-INCH-	(fire) become coals (7.35), (10.6))
<i>yirlirli-mpa-Ø</i> maggot-INCH-	(meat) become maggoty (6.22)
<i>pawulu-ngara-mpa-Ø</i> child-PL-INCH-	have children (6.55)

(6.55) *Ngayu nhawu-lha kayarra-a tharratal-yu, yaanka wiyaa,*
1SG.NOM see-PAST two-ACC bird(sp.)-ACC spouse.pair maybe

jampa-rru pawulu-ngara-mpa-layi-rru.
moment-NOW child-PL-INCH-FUT-NOW

I saw two *tharratal* birds, maybe husband and wife, they'll soon be getting children.

On locational nominals (either stems involving a locational nominal suffix, inherent locatives, or adverbial demonstratives (6.56)), the inchoative derives a motion verb (§9.5.5).

<i>parlu-ngka-mpa-Ø</i> top-LOC-INCH-	get to the top
<i>kana-ngka-mpa-Ø</i> clear-LOC-INCH-	come into the clear (6.59)
<i>yilangu-mpa-Ø</i> here-INCH-	get to be here
<i>ngurra-arta-mpa-Ø</i> camp-DIRALL-INCH-	move to camp (4.76)
<i>yawurrarni-mpa-Ø</i> west.CENT-INCH-	come here to the west

- (6.56) *Nhiyu-rru-wa murna-ngka-rru. Ngulangu-npa-lha-rru,*
 this-NOW-YK close-LOC-NOW there-INCH-PAST-NOW
murna-ngka-npa-lha-rru thanuwa-ngara-marta, nyina-layi
 close-LOC-INCH-PAST-NOW food-PL-PROP sit-FUT
wangkarnu-marra-rru.
 talk-COLL+CTEMP-NOW

This [mob] is close now. Once they've got there, they come close up with all the food, they stop and talk together.

A number of inchoative verbs take an accusative object. First, the two-place nominal predicates *nhuura* 'knowing', and *wiru* 'wanting', form verbs with two arguments (§9.5.7).

<i>nhuura-npa-Ø</i>	learn (6.35), (6.51)
<i>wiru-npa-Ø</i>	want, like (10.25)

Other inchoative verbs optionally take an accusative argument.

<i>panyu-npa-Ø</i>	become good (4.91)
good-INCH-	be kind to NP (8.36)
<i>paya-npa-Ø</i>	become angry
angry-INCH-	get angry with NP (4.157)
<i>murna-npa-Ø</i>	get closer
close-INCH-	get close to NP

The verb *murna-Ø* 'get close to', implies a changing locative relation between two arguments, the one coming closer to the other. By contrast, the verb *murna-ngka-npa-Ø* 'come close up' (6.56), describes the attainment of a defined locational goal. Finally, some inchoative verbs occur in the data with added 'benefactive' arguments:

<i>pirimanta-npa-Ø</i>	become a fiddler
fiddler-INCH-	fiddle with NP
<i>jirruna-npa-Ø</i>	be sneaky
sneaky-INCH-	sneak up on NP (4.145)

6.3.4 CAUSATIVE/FACTITIVE -ma-L

The suffix typically attaches to a nominal stem and derives a transitive verb. As with the inchoative suffix, the most common nominal stems denote properties of entities. The subject of the causative verb effects a change in state of the object of the verb, the eventual state being denoted by the nominal stem of the verb.

<i>karlara-ma-L</i>	make hot
hot-CAUS-	
<i>jarrala-ma-L</i>	make healthy, heal (8.45)
healthy-CAUS-	
<i>nhurmti-ma-L</i>	kill (5.105)
dead-CAUS-	

punkuwunku-ma-L roll up
rolled.up-CAUS-

When based on a nominal which usually refers to an entity, the verb describes the creation of that entity. The object of the verb (if it appears) describes the materials out of which the referent of the verb stem is made.

karla-ma-L make a fire (out of firewood) (7.107)
fire-CAUS-

marntanhu-ma-L make a net (spinifex) (4.92)
net-CAUS-

ngurriny-ma-L roll a swag (swag)
swag-CAUS-

warrirti-ma-L make a spear (type of wood) (6.27)
spear-CAUS-

pul.yu-ma-L make a chewing quid (of tobacco)
plug-CAUS-

pirtuwangu-ma-L make an initiation prisoner (youth) (7.12)
prisoner-CAUS-

The causative suffix also occurs on inflected nominal stems:

puuthuni-marta-ma-L put a spearhead (on a spear) (4.35)
spearhead-PROP-CAUS-

nguyirri-wirraa-ma-L keep awake, make without sleeping (4.127)
sleep-PRIV-CAUS-

mirru-ngka-ma-L load (spear) onto spearthrower
spearthrower-LOC-CAUS-

wilyara-la-ma-L put (animal carcass) on shoulders
shoulders-LOC-CAUS-

kartara-la-ma-L put (tobacco plug) in cheek
cheek-LOC-CAUS-

Verbs based on locative expressions are especially common. When the locative expression describes a body-part location, the body part is usually associated with the subject:

(6.57) *Ngayu yarta-wuyu-lpurtu kanyara, mir.ta wiru kuliya-la-ma-minyji*
1SG.NOM other-SIDE-COMP man not wanting ear-LOC-CAUS-FUT

nhuwana-wu-u marrari-ngara-a.
2PL-GEN-ACC word-PL-ACC
I'm a man of the other patrimoiety (lit. side), I don't want to get your words in
[my] ear.

On some manner nominals the causative suffix derives a verb which can be glossed as 'do MANNER'. The action described by the verb is assumed to be transitive and an affected accusative object may appear.

jarruru-ma-L do slowly (to NP) (6.1)
slowly-CAUS-

murti-ma-L do quickly (to NP) (6.58)
fast-CAUS-

yimpala-ma-L do like that (to NP)
like.that-CAUS-

(6.58) *Nhula kalayamarta thuulwa-l.yu. kartu murti-ma-muru*
near.you billy.can pull.out-IMP 2SG.NOM fast-CAUS-PRES

karlarra-mpa-wirri-i.
hot-INCH-LEST-ACC

Pull out that billy can [from the fire]. Do it quickly lest it get [too] hot [to hold].

Finally, the causative has a restricted function deriving transitive verbs from the past tense forms of intransitive verbs (§6.2.2).

wanti-lha-ma-L make lie down
lie-PAST-CAUS-

parrani-lha-ma-L bring, send back (5.82), (6.17)
return-PAST-CAUS-

The informant would not accept examples based on transitive verb stems and instead produced analytic causatives using various verbs of coercion .

6.3.5 INVOLUNTARY STATES *-rri-Ø*

The *-rri-Ø* verbalising suffix derives intransitive verbs describing involuntary bodily processes, or the involuntary development of mental states.

parrawarra-rri-Ø shiver
shivering-INV-

nguri-rri-Ø stink, be smelling
odour-INV-

thaatharra-rri-Ø become open-mouthed (6.33)
open.mouthed-INV-

panga-ngara-rri-Ø get itchy (4.159)
itch-PL-INV-

kur.ta-rri-Ø become clever
clever-INV-

ngala-rri-Ø forget (4.157), (6.41)
wrong.thought-INV-

nhuura-rri-Ø realise (9.85)
knowing-INV-

A *-rri-Ø* inchoative is common to the languages of the Pilbara and often has a wider function than the Martuthunira suffix. For example, in Ngarluma the *-rri-Ø* inchoative appears to be the fully productive intransitive verbaliser (corresponding to Martuthunira

-npa-Ø). Perhaps related to this, there are many verbs in Martuthunira which appear to involve a *-rri-Ø* derivational suffix but which do not conform to the semantics of the suffix as described here:

<i>kanarri-Ø</i>	come
cf. <i>kana</i>	clear, open
<i>kartarawurri-Ø</i>	come around a corner
cf. <i>kartara</i>	cheek
<i>karryarri-Ø</i>	crouch down
(cf. Panyjima <i>karrka</i> pelvis)	

6.3.6 BODY NOISES *-karri-Ø*

This suffix appears on a few nominals all of which describe involuntary body noises. The resulting verbs are intransitive.

<i>jinkurn-karri-Ø</i>	sneeze
sneeze-NOISE-	
<i>ngayiny-karri-Ø</i>	breathe
breath-NOISE-	
<i>wuuny-karri-Ø</i>	make a 'wuu' noise
noise-NOISE-	(call of male bustard)
<i>thiirr-yarri-Ø</i>	fart
fart-NOISE-	
<i>nhuurr-yarri-Ø</i>	snore (make a 'nhuurr' noise) (9.135)
noise-NOISE-	
<i>kaal-yarri-Ø</i>	click (of sinuses)
?-NOISE-	

The suffix may be involved in the following verbs also:

<i>pamararri-Ø</i>	call out to (5.18)
cf. <i>pama-L</i>	shout
<i>parntayarri-Ø</i>	explode (10.33)
cf. <i>parnta-L</i>	rain (4.25)
<i>wiruwarrri-Ø</i>	be homesick (6.11)
cf. <i>wiru</i>	feelings, wanting

In the first two cases the suffix (*-rarri* following stem final *a*, *-yarri* following *i*) appears to be attached to a verb stem. However, there are not enough examples in the data to be sure of the relationship between these verb forms.

6.3.7 PSYCHOLOGICAL STATE *-nguli-Ø*

This suffix is common to a number of languages of the area including Panyjima, Yindjibarndi and Jiwarli. In Martuthunira the suffix is normally attached either to nominals

denoting some physical property, or to nominals denoting body parts. The verb based on the physical property nominal describes a psychological awareness of the existence of that state in the body. Based on a body part the verb describes a pain in or lack of function in that part.

<i>punga-nguli-Ø</i> guts-PSYCH-	have stomach ache
<i>kuyil-nguli-Ø</i> bad-PSYCH-	feel bad (6.16)
<i>muthu-nguli-Ø</i> cold-PSYCH-	feel cold
<i>puntharri-nguli-Ø</i> chill-PSYCH-	have a chill

Although the two suffixes have very different functions, this psychological state inchoative is most likely related to the passive derivational suffix at some diachronic level. Example (6.59), which looks very like a passive but which involves a nominal stem other than a physical property or part, suggests a 'missing link':

- (6.59) *Ngaliwa wayi yakarrangu wii nhawu-layi kana-ngka-npa-nyila-a*
 1PL maybe sun maybe see-FUT clear-LOC-INCH-PrREL-ACC
wii warnan-nguli-lha-nguru wii.
 maybe rain-NGULI-PAST-ABL maybe
 Maybe we'll see, if the sun comes out in the clear, that we've been rained in
 maybe.

Although other constructions with the nominal *warnan* 'rain', were accepted, my attempts to elicit similar examples with other nominal stems, or with additional arguments (such as effector noun phrases) failed.

6.3.8 CONTROLLED CONTACT *-tha-L*

This suffix occurs on just a few verb and nominal stems and may be related, ultimately, to the Western Desert verb *thu-N* 'to put' (Dixon 1980:405), which O'Grady (1966) also reconstructs for proto Ngayarda. The derived transitive verb emphasises a controlled bringing into contact of two objects.

<i>witiwiti-tha-L</i> hanging-PUT-	hang up
<i>wurrulywa-tha-L</i> leaves-PUT-	place on leaves
<i>punkurri-tha-L</i> covered-PUT-	cover over
<i>nguri-tha-L</i> odour-PUT-	sniff at (7.83)
<i>karta-tha-L</i> chop-PUT-	chop out (honey), carve (7.40) (cf. <i>karta-L</i> 'stab, poke, chop')

<i>warrpurri-tha-L</i>	bathe (a wound, sore)
wash-PUT-	(cf. <i>warrpurri-Ø</i> 'swim, wash')

6.3.9 THE *-ngku-Ø* VERBALISER

This verbaliser derives transitive verbs of the NG-subconjugation from nominal stems. On the basis of the few examples it is not possible to describe the meaning of the suffix.

<i>jina-ngku-Ø</i>	track (6.38)
foot-VERB-	
<i>waya-ngku-Ø</i>	frighten (7.108)
fear-VERB-	
<i>murti-ingku-Ø</i>	run after
fast-VERB-	
<i>pari-ingku-Ø</i>	squash flat, crush (4.59)
flat-VERB-	

The suffix is also involved in the following verbs:

<i>parmpiingku-Ø</i>	throw on ground
<i>thartuungku-Ø</i>	meet a relative (5.69)

Lengthening of the stem final vowel occurs only where this final vowel is *i* or *u*, suggesting an original suffix of the form:

*-*Cangku-Ø*

Given the patterns of lenition that have affected the language, and the fact that these verbs select the NG-subconjugation form of the 'unrealised' modal inflection, the suffix can be tentatively identified as the result of the historical incorporation of the independent verb *kangku-Ø* 'take, carry'. However, without a better understanding of the meaning of these few verbs it is not possible to take this analysis very far.

6.3.10 ZERO DERIVATIONS

A number of verb stems are identical to nominal stems and suggest a restricted process of zero derivation.

<i>jiwarra-Ø</i>	shine white (of eyes)
white	
<i>kurnta-Ø</i>	speak or feel 'shame' (6.40)
shame	
<i>puntharri-Ø</i>	bleed, break body part (4.34)
chill	
<i>marnjura-L</i>	urinate
urine	
<i>kuliya-L</i>	hear (4.67)
ear	

malyarra-L be feeling sick, unwell (7.83)
pain

All of these verbs refer essentially to body processes but it is not possible to make any more specific generalisations. Choice of conjugation membership does not appear to have any clear motivation from these examples; it does not correlate with the transitivity of the verb. In addition, a number of verbs are based on locative expressions:

murna-ngka-Ø get closer (of sun)
close-LOC-

kana-ngka-l-kana-ngka-Ø become light (of day)
clear-LOC-?-clear-LOC-

parna-ngka-L put on head
head -LOC-

yurti-ngka-L aim at
side -LOC-

Finally, two verbs which appear to involve the locative suffix and which might be grouped with the first set are:

wayangka-Ø be frightened (of) (7.99)
waya fear

puungka-Ø blow with the mouth

6.3.11 OTHER POSSIBLE DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES

A few verb forms suggest other derivational suffixes but not enough examples have been found to allow a clear definition of the range and function of these processes. Two verbs allow identification of a nominal stem with a lengthened final vowel which may descend from a suffix **-ka*, cognate with the Ngarluma productive causative *-ka-L*.

mulha-a-L put a point on (4.35)
point-VERB-

ngal.ya-a-L spin (hair)
spike-VERB-

The following unanalysable verbs may also have been derived by this suffix:

jankaa-L tie up

jarraa-L tie up (5.1)

puraa-L go (avoidance language)

Two verbs involve the addition of a suffix *-nyja* to a nominal stem:

kuna-nyja-L defecate (on) (4.30)
faeces-VERB-

yawurru-nyja-L miss a shot at
west-VERB-

6.3.12 SUMMARY EXAMPLES

A few nominals appear with a range of verbalising suffixes clearly demonstrating the different meanings of the morphemes. Verbs based on *nhuura* 'knowing' and *kuliya* 'ear' are listed below.

<i>nhuura</i>	knowing
<i>nhuura-mpa-Ø</i> knowing-INCH-	learn
<i>nhuura-ma-L</i> knowing-CAUS-	teach, show
<i>nhuura-rrī-Ø</i> knowing-INV-	realise
<i>kuliya</i>	ear
<i>kuliya-L</i>	hear
<i>kuliya-mpa-Ø</i> ear-INCH-	think, believe
<i>kuliya-ma-L</i> ear-CAUS-	remind
<i>kuliya-rrī-Ø</i> ear-INV-	feel, perceive

CHAPTER 7
PARTICLES AND CLITICS

This chapter describes a collection of post-inflectional clitics and a set of uninflected particles. Since the clitics are often semantically and syntactically comparable with certain particles and differ only in that they are phonologically dependent on a preceding word, they will be discussed together with independent forms in the sections that follow.

Section 7.1 describes the relative order of clitics. Section 7.2 describes those clitics and particles which function as propositional modifiers. Their syntax is described in §7.3. Sections 7.4 to 7.10 describe a range of particles and clitics with a range of different functions. Finally, §7.11 describes interjections.

7.1 ORDER OF CLITICS

Clitics may occur on any part of speech, with the exception of interjections, and follow any nominal or verbal suffixes attached to a word. A number of clitics may follow the one word and these typically occur in a fixed order. The ‘clitic cluster’ is a flat structure, unlike the collection of suffixes following a nominal. That is, there is no concentric scoping whereby one clitic is included within the scope of a following clitic and the meaning is a result of an ordered combination of the two. Instead, a number of clitics may have scope over the same syntactic unit. Although complex clitic structures are not particularly common it is possible to work out a preferred sequence from orders betrayed in simpler structures. Table 7.1 shows the relative ordering of the clitics.

TABLE 7.1: ORDER OF CLITICS

<i>-lpurtu</i>	<i>-rtu</i>	<i>-l</i>	<i>-lwa</i>	<i>-nu</i>
		<i>-yi</i> <i>-wa</i>		

The addition of clitics to consonant-final words and the possibility of clitic sequences results in a number of non-permissible consonant clusters. Devices for breaking these clusters are discussed in §2.3.3.

The relative positions of the clitics do not appear to correlate with natural groupings of clitic functions. The clitics *-lpurtu* 'complementary' (§7.2.9), and *-nu* 'quotative' (§7.2.2), are functionally equivalent to the propositional modifying particles described in §7.2. The clitics *-ntu* 'now', *-lwa* 'identification' and *-wa* 'you know' have important text-cohesive functions (§7.8). By contrast, *-l* 'then' (§7.7), has very similar temporal functions to locational nominal suffixes. Finally, the 'vocative' clitic *-wa*, is grouped with interjections (§7.11).

The position of the clitics with respect to other clausal constituents is variable. Although there is some tendency for clitics to occur in second position in noun phrases (attached to the first word) this is by no means a strict rule. As discussed in §7.3, the position of clitics and particles with respect to constituents at a number of syntactic levels is quite meaningful.

7.2 PROPOSITIONAL MODIFIERS

A number of particles function to modify a proposition by giving some pragmatic information such as a speaker's state of mind concerning what is said, his or her intentions in presenting the information, or the status of the information (the interlinear morpheme glosses are indicated in capitals):

<i>wurla</i>	MISTakenly thought
<i>warnu</i>	ASSERTedly
<i>wurtu</i>	HYPoTHetically
<i>ngula</i>	IGNORantly
<i>kana</i>	RHETorically
<i>paju</i>	REALy
<i>warra</i>	CONTRastively

The group also includes the clitics *-nu* 'quotative', and *-lpurtu* 'complement'.

7.2.1 'ASSERTEDLY' *warnu*

Warnu is used to assert the speaker's belief in the truth of what is being said. *Warnu* also indicates a speaker's belief that s/he might not be expected to say what s/he is saying or to present his/her personal viewpoint in such a way. The particle is often used in complaints or admonitions, as in example (7.1) below and (4.98): by making blunt assertions of personal belief the speaker invites contradiction. In other circumstances, *warnu* is used in praising someone (7.2), (7.3).

- (7.1) *Nhuwana panyu-ma-rminyji minthal-wa-rru. Kanyara-lpurtu warnu!*
 2PL good-CAUS-FUT alone-Ø-NOW man-COMP ASSERT
 You fix it on your own now. [You're] men (correct me if I'm wrong)!
- (7.2) *Ngawu! Panyu waruul-wa-rru yimpala, punyjarti warnu kartu.*
 Yes good still-Ø-NOW like.that generous ASSERT 2SG.NOM
 Yes! [You're] still good like that, you're generous (I say).
- (7.3) *Nhulaa tharnta parna warnu paringku-yangu kartungku.*
 near.you euro head ASSERT shoot-PASSP 2SG.EFF
 That euro has been shot right in the head by you (you're a good shot!). (trans.)

Warnu is often used in giving explanations of situations. In this case it is typically followed by *pala* (§7.9), which functions as a dummy demonstrative (hence glossed as dummy 'it') making extended reference to the state of affairs purportedly explained by the *warnu*-marked assertion. The explanations are presented as the speaker's personal inferences and are open to contradiction.

- (7.4) *Nganaju ngunhu muyi yanga-l.yarra puni-lha, pawulu-ngara-lu*
 1SG.ACC that.NOM dog follow-CTEMP go-PAST child-PL-EFF
mir.ta warnu pala jarraa-mu.
 not ASSERT IT tie.up-PASSP
 That dog followed after me, (I'd say) it wasn't tied up by the children. (trans.)
- (7.5) *Ngayu nhuura-ma-lalha nganaju-u mura-a wantharni*
 1SG.NOM know-CAUS-PAST 1SG.GEN-ACC son-ACC how
wantha-rrwaa warangarti-i muyi-marnu-u, manku-layi mujira-a.
 set-PURPs=0 trap-ACC dog-ASSOC-ACC get-FUT dingo-ACC
Parla-marta-a warnu pala, panyu waruul-wa-rru.
 money-PROP-ACC ASSERT IT good still-Ø-NOW
 I showed my son how to set dog traps, to get dingoes. Well they're worth money, and that's good.

7.2.2 'QUOTATIVE' -nu

Like many Australian languages, Martuthunira has a clitic which indicates that the speaker has no direct evidence for the truth of a statement and that instead knowledge of the situation arises from hearsay (Wilkins 1986:585, Laughren 1982:137, Austin 1981a:173).

- (7.6) *Mir.ta-nu jarruru kanarra patha-rralha. Ngunhaa-nu, ngunhaa*
 not-QUOT slowly wind blow-PAST that.NOM-QUOT that.NOM
puulywa-lalha kanarra-la thawu-lalha yilhi-i.
 puff-PAST wind-LOC send-PAST chip-ACC
 The wind didn't blow slowly (so they say). Apparently that fellow puffed and sent the chips away on the wind.
- (7.7) *Jina-nu ngurmaa pal.yarra-ma-lalha, yanga-l.yarra ngurnu-lwa*
 foot-QUOT that.ACC plain-CAUS-PAST chase-CTEMP that.ACC-ID
kayarra-a wirra-tharra-a. Jina-wura-nu ngunhaa
 two-ACC boomerang-DU-ACC foot-BELONG-QUOT that.NOM
pal.yarra wanti-nguru.
 plain lie-PRES
 (It is said) their feet made the plain like that, chasing those two boomerangs.
 That plain is a result of their feet (so it's said).

The use of the clitic in reporting events for which the speaker has no direct evidence is most common in mythological texts. The clitic may also be used in direct orders, suggestions, and in making statements about oneself, to distance oneself from the assertions:

- (7.8) *Nhiyu-nu wirra ngathu yinka-rmu. Nhuwana-nu*
 this.NOM-QUOT boomerang 1SG.EFF chisel-PASSP 2PL-QUOT

kanarri-layi nganaju-mulyarra nhawu-lu-nu wirra-tharra-a.
 come-FUT 1SG.ACC-ALL see-PURPss-QUOT boomerang-DU-ACC
 (It is said) this boomerang was made by me. Perhaps you can come to me and
 see these two boomerangs.

(7.9) *Nhiyu-nu yarta-lpurtu-nu parla-nu panyu paju.*
 this.NOM-QUOT other-COMP-QUOT hill-QUOT good REAL
 (It is said) this hill is different, it's very good apparently.

(7.10) *Kartu-nu, manyka, puni-layi-rru thanuwa-a-rru mungka-ru.*
 2SG.NOM-QUOT son go-FUT-NOW food-ACC-NOW eat-PURPss
 Son, you're supposed to go and eat some food.

7.2.3 'MISTAKENLY THOUGHT' *wurla*

Wurla indicates the speaker's belief that s/he has made a mistake in judgement and feels s/he should have known better.

(7.11) *Ngayu thani-marni wurla ngurnaa muyi-i wiruwanti.*
 1SG.NOM hit-CONTR MIST that.ACC dog-ACC morning
 (I know) I should have hit that dog this morning.

(7.12) *Ngayu nhawu-lha ngurnu wirta-a nyanyji-i.*
 1SG.NOM see-PAST that.ACC boy-ACC pre.initiate-ACC

Purrkuru wurla wurtu manarri-nguli-marni,
 true MIST HYPH capture-PASS-CONTR

purrkuru wurla wurtu pirtuwangu-ma-nnguli-marni?
 true MIST HYPH prisoner-CAUS-PASS-CONTR

I saw that boy who is due for initiation. Shouldn't he have been caught,
 should have been made prisoner, or am I mistaken?

The mistake in judgement is usually, but not always, attributed to the speaker. In example (7.13), a third person is described as mistakenly believing in his ability to repair an engine.

(7.13) *Ngunhaa kuliyanpa-lha panyu-ma-rminyji wurla. Ngulangu-rru*
 that.NOM think-PAST good-CAUS-FUT MIST there-NOW

karri-lha nhawu-rra murtiwarla-a yinyjin-ku. Panyu-ma-rminyji
 stand-PAST see-CTEMP car-ACC engine-ACC good-CAUS-FUT

wurla. Jalya-npa-lha-rru thurlajinkarri.
 MIST useless-INCH-PAST-NOW poor.fellow

He (mistakenly) thought he could fix it. He was standing there looking at that
 car's engine. [He] thought he could fix it. [No] he's useless, that poor fellow.

7.2.4 'HYPOTHETICALLY' *wurtu*

Wurtu indicates that what is being said is the speaker's humble opinion or hypothesis and that s/he wants the addressee to either agree or disagree. *Wurtu* is very similar in many of its uses to the English tag-question construction. However, unlike the tag-question it does not

presume a positive or negative response. In (7.14) and (7.15) the particle indicates a simple polar interrogative:

- (7.14) *Nhuwana puni-layi wurtu thawun-mulyarra?*
 2PL go-FUT HYPTH town-ALL
 Are you going to town?
- (7.15) *Ngawu! Ngayu ngarti-rru wurtu wangka-layi kartungu marrari-i?*
 yes 1SG.NOM next-NOW HYPTH say-FUT 2SG.ACC word-ACC
 Yes! I'll say something next, give you my side of it, shall I?

In the following complaints *wurtu* invokes a challenge to the addressee to confirm or deny an allegation.

- (7.16) *Nhartu! Kartu kuliyanpa-nguru nganaju ngalawangka-nyila-a*
 what 2SG.NOM think-PRES 1SG.ACC tell.lie-PrREL-ACC
wurtu?
 HYPTH
 What! You think I'm lying do you?
- (7.17) *Kartu mir.ta wurtu nhuura-nga-nguru kalika-a-lwa?*
 2SG.NOM not HYPTH know-INCH-PRES one-ACC-ID
 Aren't you waking up to what this one is?

Finally, *wurtu* occurs in mild exclamations that invite the addressee to think about what is being said.

- (7.18) *Mir.ta wantha-rralha yawarnu-u. Piyuwa wurtu!*
 not put-PAST windbreak-ACC not.at.all HYPTH
yimpala-rru-wa kanarra-lu pampiingku-yangu.
 like.that-NOW-YK wind-EFF throw.down-PASSP
 [She] didn't put up a windbreak. Not at all! That's how she came to be
 thrown down by the wind.
- (7.19) *Ngunhu kanyara kuliyanpa-nguru nhuura paju-rru thurlanyarrara.*
 that.NOM man think-PRES knowing REAL-NOW poor.fellow
Ngaa wurtu pala, jalya wurtu, mir.ta nhuura.
 yes HYPTH IT useless HYPTH not knowing
 That man thinks he really knows how to do it, the poor thing. Yes that's it isn't
 it, he's useless isn't he, he doesn't know.

7.2.5 'IGNORANTLY' *ngula*

Ngula occurs in a restricted number of environments. Most often, it follows an interrogative of some kind and affirms that the speaker does not know the answer to the question being asked.

- (7.20) *Ngayu wirra-a yinka-lalha wuruma-l.yarra nganaju-u*
 1SG.NOM boomerang-ACC chisel-PAST do.for-CTEMP 1SG.GEN-ACC
mimi-i. Nhartu-u-lwa ngula kuliyanpa-waa ngathu
 uncle-ACC what-ACC-ID IGNOR think-PURPs=o 1SG.EFF

yinka-mu-u? *Wantharni-i ngula wangka-layi?*
 chisel-PASSP-ACC how-ACC IGNOR say-FUT
 I chiselled a boomerang for my uncle. I wonder what he's going to think of that
 thing chiselled by me. How is he going to say it is?

- (7.21) *Kalika muyi kangku-lha warrayilwayara-a jamurla, wanthala ngula*
 one dog take-PAST kangaroo.tail-ACC mouth where.NS IGNOR
mungka-ru.
 eat-PURPss
 One dog took a kangaroo tail in its mouth to eat somewhere (I don't know
 where).

In addition, *ngula* may follow the modal particle *wayil*, or a word bearing the *-nu* 'quotative' clitic. Following *wayil* it reinforces the notion that the statement is truly uncertain (example (7.22)). Following the quotative, *ngula* reaffirms the speaker's lack of direct personal knowledge about the thing being asserted (7.23).

- (7.22) *Ngunhu-tharra kanyara-tharra patharri-nguru wartirra-ngalyarnta.*
 that.NOM-DU man-DU fight-PRES woman-CAUSAL
Kalika wiyaa, wanthanha-wuyu wii, wayil ngula yaan
 one maybe which-SIDE maybe maybe IGNOR spouse
ngurnaa wartirra-a.
 that.ACC woman-ACC
 Those two men are fighting over the woman. Maybe one of them, but which of
 the two, maybe one is the spouse of that woman (I don't know). (trans.)
- (7.23) *Ngayu panyu-ma-lalha warrirti-i ngurnula-ngu-u*
 1SG.NOM good-CAUS-PAST spear-ACC that.DEF-GEN-ACC
kanyara-wu-u wuruma-l.yarra puni-waa murla-a-rru
 man-GEN-ACC do.for-CTEMP go-PURPs=o meat-ACC-NOW
wawayi-l.yarra tharnta-a nhuwa-minyji-nu ngula.
 look.for-CTEMP euro-ACC spear-FUT-QUOT IGNOR
 I fixed a spear that belonged to that man so he could go looking for meat.
 He'll spear a euro apparently, I don't know.

7.2.6 'RHETORICALLY' *kana*

Like *ngula*, *kana* typically follows indefinites functioning as interrogatives. Unlike *ngula* it indicates that the speaker assumes there to be no answer to the question being posed. In this sense the question is purely rhetorical.

- (7.24) *Ngayu-lwa wiyaa wuruma-minyji thurlajinkarri-i,*
 1SG.NOM-ID maybe do.for-FUT poor.fellow-ACC
yirra-wirriwa-a warnu pala. Wantharni kana kalya-lwaa
 tooth-PRIV-ACC IGNOR IT how RHET bite-PURPs=o
warrirti-ma-minyji, mulhaa-minyji?
 spear-CAUS-FUT point-FUT
 Maybe I'm the one who'll do it for the poor fellow, because he's got no teeth.
 How can he bite [sinew] and make a spear, put a point on a spear?

- (7.25) *Ngayu jirli mir.ta panyu, kuntirri-layi, thana-rru tharnta-ngara-a,*
 1SG.NOM arm not good give.up-FUT let-NOW euro-PL-ACC
wantharta kana nhurnti-ma-rminyji?
 when RHET dead-CAUS-FUT
 My arm is no good, I'll give up (trying to spear them), let those euros be, when
 am I going to kill them? (Never!)

Although *kana* does not follow an indefinite in the following two examples, the construction still has the rhetorical force of a question with no answer.

- (7.26) *Nganarna waruul-wa-rru piya-muru nhuwana-la*
 1PL.EXC still-Ø-NOW sing-PRES 2PL-LOC
nhuura-mpa-nyila-la-wa kana. Jalya waruul-wa-rru.
 know-CAUS-PrREL-LOC-YK RHET useless ill-Ø-NOW
 We're still singing while you are learning. (Are you? Not at all.) [You're]
 still useless.
- (7.27) *Jarruru-wa kana kampa-muru nhiyu yakarrangu? Kuyil paju*
 slowly-YK RHET burn-PRES this.NOM sun bad REAL
nhiyu ngaliwa-a kampa-muru yakarrangu.
 this.NOM 1PL.INC-ACC burn-PRES sun
 Is this sun burning [us] slowly? (Of course not!) It's bad, this sun is cooking us.

7.2.7 'REALLY' *paju*

Paju has a range of interpretations depending on the constituent over which it has scope. First, *paju* may have scope over an entire clause. In such examples it serves to assert the speakers belief in the truth of what is being stated (examples (7.28) and (7.29)).

- (7.28) *Wayil wanti-nyila-a paju yilarla jalyuru-la.*
 maybe lie-PrREL-ACC REAL here.NS hole-LOC
 Maybe there really is something lying somewhere there in the hole.
- (7.29) *Nhuwana nganaju mir.ta paju kuliyanpa-layi.*
 2PL 1SG.ACC not REAL think-FUT
 You really don't think about me.

Following an indefinite functioning as an interrogative, *paju* contrasts with the particles *ngula* and *kana*. Like *kana*, *paju* has much the force of a rhetorical question. However, it does not imply that there is no answer to the question being posed (7.30), (7.31) and (4.115).

- (7.30) *Ngunhaa puni-wayara jinarrri-rra mungka-l.yarra. Wantharta paju*
 that.NOM go-HABIT ask-CTEMP eat-CTEMP when REAL
winya-mpa-layi?
 full-INCH-FUT
 That fellow is always asking for a feed. When, really, is he going to get full?
- (7.31) *Ngayu wiru-warntura-rru-nguru wanthanha-a paju kangku-layi.*
 1SG.NOM like-DISTRIB-INV-PRES which-ACC REAL take-FUT
 I can't decide really which one to take.

Paju most often follows a predicate describing a state or characteristic of some entity. Typically, the predicate is a nominal attributing some property to its argument (examples (7.32), (7.33) and (7.34)). In (7.35) and (7.36), *paju* follows verbal predicates.

- (7.32) *Ngayu manku-layi nganaju-u mimi-i wuruma-l.yarra*
 1SG.NOM get-FUT 1SG.GEN-ACC uncle-ACC do.for-CTEMP
karntarra-a kupuyu-u, mir.ta maruwarla-a paju. Nganaju
 sinew-ACC little-ACC not much-ACC REAL 1SG.GEN
kampalalha thurlajinkarri yirra mir.ta panyu paju.
 uncle poor.fellow tooth not good REAL
 I'll get a little bit of sinew for my uncle, not too much. My poor old uncle's
 teeth aren't really good.
- (7.33) *Wantha ngunhu pawu paju ngurnu-ngara-a?*
 where that.NOM father REAL that.OBL-PL-ACC
 Where's the one who is really father to that lot?
- (7.34) *Mir.ta warruwa paju ngunhaa, ngunhaa kanyara-mpa-rra-rru.*
 not devil REAL that.NOM that.NOM human-INCH-CTEMP-NOW
 They weren't true devils, they were moving towards being human now.
- (7.35) *Karlarra-mpa-lha-la paju-rru, puwara-mpa-lha-la paju-rru,*
 hot-INCH-PAST-LOC REAL-NOW coal-INCH-PAST-LOC REAL-NOW
ngarri-ngka kampa-minyji-rru panyu-ma-minyji-rru ngurnaa.
 ashes-LOC cook-FUT-NOW good-CAUS-FUT-NOW that.ACC
 Once [the fire] has become really hot, when it's really burned down to coals,
 cook that one in the ashes then, make it good.
- (7.36) *Ngali wartawirripa-layi yakarrangu-u kankarni-mpa-waa paju.*
 1DU wait.for-FUT sun-ACC above-INCH-PURPs=o REAL
 We'll wait for the sun to get really right above us.

The derived verbs in examples (7.35) and (7.36) describe progression towards an eventual state of affairs in which the property denoted by the nominal stem of the verb is attributable to the argument of the verb. Here *paju* has semantic scope over the eventual state of affairs described by the nominal stem.

In examples (7.37) and (7.38), *paju* modifies a nominal in a part-whole construction. In (7.37) it has scope over the whole of which the (assumed) argument of the verb is a part. Here the particle emphasises that the argument of the verb is a true part of the whole. In (7.38), on the other hand, *paju* has scope over a part. In this case it emphasises that it is truly the particular part of the whole that is affected by the action of the verb.

- (7.37) *Nhuwala puni-layi manku-lu Kurlanypunkunhu-u-wa paju.*
 2DU go-FUT get-PURPs Kurlanypunkunhu-ACC-YK REAL
 You two go and get [a knife] that is really [from] *Kurlanypunkunhu* [quarry].
- (7.38) *Kanarri-layi kartara-a paju ngurnu parla-a.*
 come-FUT corner-ACC REAL that.ACC hill-ACC
 They come right to the corner of that hill.

Finally, *paju* is commonly found in constructions depicting an excess of some state prohibiting some action.

(7.39) *Ngunhaa murla karlarra paju nganaju mungka-waa.*
 that.NOM meat hot REAL 1SG.ACC eat-PURPs=0
 That meat is too hot for me to eat. (trans.)

(7.40) *Ngayu kartatha-lalha ngurnu mirru-u*
 1SG.NOM chop-PAST that.ACC spearthrower-ACC
kuta-ma-lalha paju.
 short-CAUS-PAST REAL
 I cut that [wood] for a spearthrower too short. (trans.)

In such cases, the understanding that there is an excess of some characteristic (heat or shortness) which has an ‘unwanted’ effect, usually on the speaker, is best treated as an implicature dependent on a particular situation.

7.2.8 ‘CONTRASTIVE’ *warra*

Typically, *warra* follows a predicate describing an action (or state) on the part of some participant (usually the addressee) which the speaker wants to have happen. *Warra* contrasts the situation involving the action denoted by the predicate over which it has scope with another, prior or present, situation in which that action did not or is not taking place.

(7.41) *Yakayi! Jarruru-ma-l.yu. Nganaju malyarra-ma-muru paju.*
 ouch slowly-CAUS-IMP 1SG.ACC pain-CAUS-PRES REAL
Jarruru-ma-l.yu warra thamiini.
 slowly-CAUS-IMP CONT MoFa+IPOSS
 Ouch! Do it slowly. You're really hurting me. Do it slowly for a change
 Grandad.

(7.42) *Purnumpuru warra nyina-Ø.*
 quiet CONT sit-IMP
 Sit quietly for a change.

(7.43) *Kartu pamararri-Ø karluwirraa warra ngurnu-ngara-a*
 2SG.NOM call.out-IMP hard CONT that.ACC-PL-ACC
pawulu-ngara-a.
 child-PL-ACC
 You call out to those kids a bit harder.

7.2.9 ‘COMPLEMENTARY’ *-Ipurtu*

This clitic has two related functions. First, it indicates that the thing to which it is attached is involved in a situation which is seen (by the speaker) as a natural and expected complement of another situation.

(7.44) *Ngayu wawayi-lalha jartunmarra-a, yarta ngunhu*
 1SG.NOM look.for-PAST wallaby-ACC other that.NOM

wawayi-mura-la · tharnta-a-lpurtu.

look.for-PrREL-LOC euro-ACC-COMP

I looked for rock wallabies while that other fellow looked for euros.

- (7.45) *Ngayu wuruma-lalha-lpurtu murla-a, nganaju-wu-lu*
1SG.NOM do.for-PAST-COMP meat-ACC 1SG.ACC-GEN-EFF

mimi-ngku-lpurtu mungka-nnguli-waa.

uncle-EFF-COMP eat-PASS-PURPs=o

I did the meat for him, on the one hand, so it could be eaten by my uncle (not me) on the other hand. (trans.)

- (7.46) *Kanyara-tharra karri-layi kanyja-rryarra, yarta kuwilyawuyu-la,*
man-DU stand-FUT hold-CTEMP other this.side-LOC

yarta ngulawuyu-la-lpurtu.

other that.side-LOC-COMP

Two men hold [the net], one on this side, one on the other side.

Second, the clitic indicates that what is being said about the thing to which it is attached stands in contrast to what has been said before, and (the speaker assumes) is contrary to (the addressee's) expectation:

- (7.47) *Mirntiwul ngunhu-ngara marrari-i Martuthunira. Nhiyu*
all that.NOM-PL language-ACC *Martuthunira* this.NOM

ngayalyu-ngara yirru-marta-lpurtu marrari-marta.

devil-PL yirru-PROP-COMP word-PROP

They all spoke the Martuthunira language. But these devils had [a word] *yirru* (unlike the others).

- (7.48) *Mir.ta nhuura tharnta-a nhuwa-rminyji warrirti-marta.*
not knowing euro-ACC spear-FUT spear-PROP

Jirruna-npa-wayara tharnta-a yungku-ngka-a,
sneak-INCH-HABIT euro-ACC soak-LOC-ACC

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

thani-rminyji murla-a.

hit-FUT meat-ACC

[You] don't know how to spear a euro with a spear. You sneak up on a euro in a soak and grab it instead (not the way anyone would expect someone to catch it), hitting that meat in the neck, with your hand.

- (7.49) *Nganangu wii paya-npa-layi, mir.ta-lpurtu thathu-rminyji.*
who.ACC maybe wild-INCH-FUT not-COMP let.go-FUT

Jirli-i manku-layi, jal.yu-u thani-l.yarrawaara.

arm-ACC grab-FUT neck-ACC hit-SEQ

If they get wild with anyone, we won't let them go (as might be expected). We'll grab their arms and hit them in the neck.

7.3 THE SYNTAX OF PROPOSITIONAL MODIFIERS

Particles and clitics functioning as propositional modifiers usually have scope over an immediately preceding sub-clausal constituent. Thus, consider example (7.50) in which the *-nu* 'quotative' is attached to a body part as subject of the main clause:

- (7.50) *Jina-nu ngurnaa pal.yarra-ma-lalha yanga-l.yarra.*
 foot-QUOT that.ACC plain-CAUS-PAST chase-CTEMP
 [Their] feet made that a plain as [they] chased [it] (they say).

Here the speaker indicates, by using the quotative clitic, that it is not his *own* contention that "Their feet made it a plain," but rather something he has been told. However, *jina* 'foot' is in the immediate scope of the clitic. The neatest explanation would be to argue that the constituent within the immediate scope of the clitic is essentially the thing which the speaker wishes to distance himself from, while the rest of the clause presents an entailed proposition. That is, in uttering (7.50), the speaker makes no attempt to distance himself from the assertion that something created the plain:

Something made it a plain, they say it was feet.

In this way, (7.50) might be seen as containing two (minimal) propositions only one of which is qualified by the particle. However, there remain some problems in determining the precise identity of the constituent over which a particle or clitic has scope. There are some general patterns, as discussed below.

First, a particle may follow a verb and have scope over either the verb word or the clause of which the verb is the head, resulting in some ambiguity, as in the following example.

- (7.51) *Ngayu ngurnaa warrirti-i panyu-ma-rminyji paju.*
 1SG.NOM that.ACC spear-ACC good-CAUS-FUT REAL
 a. Really fix it is what I'll do to that spear.
 b. It's really the case that I'll fix that spear.

Propositional modifying particles may also follow the negative which itself has scope over an entire clause. The negative and the clause within its scope are then included within the scope of the particle. In example (7.52), *paju* has scope over the negated clause while in (7.53), in which the particle follows the predicate, *paju* falls within the scope of the negative:

- (7.52) *Ngayu mir.ta paju nhuura ngurnu kanyara-a.*
 1SG.NOM not REAL knowing that.ACC man-ACC
 I really don't know that man. (constr.)
 (It's really the case that I don't know that man.)
- (7.53) *Ngayu mir.ta nhuura paju ngurnu kanyara-a.*
 1SG.NOM not know REAL that.ACC man-ACC
 I don't really know that man. (constr.)
 (It's not the case that I really know that man.)

Second, a particle may have scope over a preceding noun phrase. Given that multiple embedding of noun phrases is common, this also leads to possible ambiguities. Example (7.54) gives two instances of the particle *warra* 'contrasting' having scope over a preceding noun phrase.

- (7.54) *Tharnta-a jinyjiwarla-a warra nhuwa-rminyji, panyu-u warra*
 euro-ACC fat-ACC CONT spear-FUT good-ACC CONT

murla-a.

meat-ACC

[I'll] speare a fat euro for a change, some good meat for a change.

In the first case, the reading is ambiguous depending on whether *warra* has scope over *jinyjiwarla* 'fat', or over the whole noun phrase *tharnta jinyjiwarla* 'fat euro'. The two different readings are:

- a. I'll speare a euro that is, for a change, fat.
- b. The thing that I'll speare will be, for a change, a fat euro.

In the second case there is no ambiguity. In this noun phrase the modifying nominal precedes the head and functions as a Classifier (§8.1.3). The particle has scope over just the Classifier. It might be argued that the speaker has chosen the Classifier construction partly as a means of avoiding potential ambiguity. The same pattern occurs in the following example.

- (7.55) *Ngali panyu-ngka-a warra kalyaran-ta-a thuur.ta-a manku-layi.*
 1DU.INC good-LOC-ACC CONT tree-LOC-ACC sweet-ACC get-FUT
 We'll get honey in a *good* tree for a change.

This last example introduces another problem. Here the particle has scope over the nominal *panyu* 'good', which functions as a Classifier on *kalyaran* 'tree'. However, the noun phrase *panyu kalyaran* is marked with the locative suffix as an adnominal modifier of *thuur.ta* 'sweet stuff'. Under the interpretation given here the locative case-marking predicate does not fall within the scope of the particle. In (7.56) however, the proprietive marked modifier is included within the scope of the particle.

- (7.56) *Ngayu mirtily-marta-a warra tharnta-a nhuwa-minyji.*
 1SG.NOM joey-PROP-ACC CONT euro-ACC speare-FUT
 I'll speare a euro that, for a change, has a joey.

The available data (which is quite limited on this point) suggests the following explanation: the particle in example (7.55), occurring as it does between two subconstituents of the noun phrase, is within the scope of the locative suffix distributed to words within that noun phrase, while in (7.56), on the other hand, the particle follows all subconstituents of the noun phrase and so may be read as having scope over the adnominal suffix.

The range of meanings of particles functioning as propositional modifiers suggests the possibility of particles being included within the scope of other particles. Although there are too few examples in the data to allow any concrete generalisations it is worth noting a number of preliminary observations. First, consider the following example:

- (7.57) *Panyu paju-nu nhiyu wirra, yilu kanyara-lu*
 good REAL-QUOT this.NOM boomerang this.EFF man-EFF
yinka-rnu?
 carve-PASSP
 It's really good, supposedly, this boomerang carved by this man.

Here the quotative has scope over a preceding constituent including the particle *paju* and indicates that someone other than the speaker is making the statement that the boomerang is 'really' good. This shows that some embedding of particles within the scope of other particles is possible.

However, scoping in (7.58) in which the quotative is followed by the *ngula* 'ignorantly', is not as straightforward:

- (7.58) *Ngunhaa wajirr-marta puni-nguru kulhampa-a-nu ngula*
 that.NOM harpoon-PROP go-PRES fish-ACC-QUOT IGNOR
kuliyampa-rra.
 think-CTEMP
 That [man] going with a harpoon is thinking about fish, perhaps, I don't know myself.

The discussion of *ngula* in §7.2.5 points out that the particle follows interrogatives, the quotative and the modal particle *wayil*, all of which establish contexts in which the speaker is unsure of the truth of some statement. Although the quotative feeds *ngula* it is not clear that the particle actually modifies the meaning of the quotative in any way. Rather, the two operate at a similar level in modifying the speaker's state of knowledge.

7.4 'ONLY' *yirla*

Yirla has two related functions. First, it operates very like the English quantifier 'only'. When it follows a phrase denoting an entity it indicates that that entity is the *only* one of a class of entities about which a particular thing is sayable (examples (7.59) and (7.60)). When *yirla* follows a predicate that predicate describes the *only* thing 'sayable' about some argument of the predicate (7.61). In (7.62), *yirla* has scope over a complex noun phrase (and see example (4.54)).

- (7.59) *Kupuyu puni-layi nhawu-ngu-rra parlu yirla mirtali.*
 little go-FUT see-PASS-CTEMP top only big
 That little fellow looks big only in the top part (his lower body is puny).
- (7.60) *Ngunhaa jami kawurru nhartu-ngara-lu wii mir.ta*
 that.NOM medicine type something-PL-EFF maybe not
mungka-nngu-layi, jankurna-lu yirla.
 eat-PASS-FUT emu-EFF only
 That *kawurru* medicine isn't eaten by hardly anything, only by emus.
- (7.61) *Mir.ta nyina-layi wuruma-nngu-rra yirla, nhuura-npa-layi minthal*
 not sit-FUT do.for-PASS-CTEMP only know-INCH-FUT alone
warra panyu-ma-minyji warrirti-i. Pirri-marta warnu!
 CONT good-CAUS-FUT spear-ACC finger-PROP ASSERT
 Don't just sit around only having it done for you, learn on your own how to fix spears. You've got hands haven't you!
- (7.62) *Ngunhu-ngara juwayu-la-marta parla-marta, kayarra-marta parla-marta*
 that.NOM-PL hand-LOC-PROP rock-PROP two-PROP rock-PROP
yirla, tharryi-ngara ngunhu-ngara kanyara-ngara nyuulanpa-layi.
 only alongside-PL that.NOM-PL man-PL dive-FUT
 They have rocks in their hands, only two rocks, and then those men dive under the water alongside one another.

The second function of *yirla* is to mark the end point of a period of time during which some event is taking place. For example:

- (7.63) *Ngunhu-ngara nyina-marri-nguru wiruwanti-l-nguru yakarrangu-u*
that.NOM-PL sit-COLL-PRES morning-THEN-ABL day-ACC

winparri-i tharrwa-waa yirla.

long-ACC go.in-PURPs=o until

They sit together from morning, through the long day, until [the sun] goes in.

- (7.64) *Ngurnaa kayulu-u jarruru manku-layi warntitha-rminyji*
that.ACC water-ACC slowly get-FUT throw-FUT

panyu-mpa-waa yirla.

good-INCH-PURPs=o until

Get that water out slowly and throw it away until it comes clean.

It is easy to relate this second use of *yirla* to the first. Here an activity continues as long as the condition expressed by the constituent over which *yirla* has scope continues to be not the case. Only once the condition is satisfied does the activity cease. The general pattern illustrated in examples (7.63) and (7.64) probably arose out of expressions involving *yirla* and the verb *kuntirri-Ø* 'to cease doing', similar to the following:

- (7.65) *Ngayu parla-marta-rru pariingku-lha, kulhany-ku yirla kuntirri-layi.*
1SG.NOM rock-PROP-NOW hit-PAST squashed-ACC only cease-FUT
I hit it with a rock, stopping only when it was squashed.

- (7.66) *Ngunhu muyi yanga-rnu pawulu-ngara-lu, ngurra-ngka yirla*
that.NOM dog chase-PASSP child-PL-EFF camp-LOC only

kuntirri-ngu-layi.

cease-PASS-FUT

That dog was chased by the children right into the camp (lit. stopping only when it was in camp). (trans.)

7.5 'NOT' *mir.ta*

Unlike the propositional modifiers, the negative is forward-scoping and usually precedes the predicate in a clause:

- (7.67) *Ngayu mir.ta nhawu-lha ngurnu muyi-i pawulu-u kalya-rmura-a.*
1SG.NOM not see-PAST that.ACC dog-ACC child-ACC bite-PrREL-ACC
I didn't see that dog biting the child. (trans.)

- (7.68) *Ngaliwa mir.ta wiru marrari-warlaya-ngara-a.*
1PL.INC not liking word-FULL-PL-ACC
We don't like talkative people.

Alternatively, the negative may occur as the first word in the clause. This order adds emphasis to the negation and is comparable to the English wording 'It is not the case that...'. In examples (7.69) to (7.71), the negative immediately precedes the object of the verb, which itself occurs in a marked preverbal position (see §9.11). Like other particles, the negative appears to have scope over a sub-clausal constituent in these examples.

- (7.69) *Kartu wanti-layi wuraal kartungu-la ngurra-ngka, thungkara-la.*
 2SG.NOM lie-FUT still 2SG.GEN-LOC home-LOC ground-LOC
Mir.ta-rru kartungu nhawu-layi ngartil.
 not-NOW 2SG.ACC see-FUT again
 You keep lying in your home, in the ground. We won't see *you* again.
- (7.70) *Mir.ta wiyaa ngaliwa-a wiru marrari-wirraa warnu karlwa-lha.*
 not maybe 1PL.INC-ACC liking word-PRIV ASSERT get.up-PAST
 Perhaps he doesn't like us, (that's why he's) getting up without a word.
- (7.71) *Parnta-rnuru, mir.ta-rru karnkurru-u karlwa-waa.*
 rain-PRES not-NOW dust-ACC get.up-PURPs=o
 It's raining, so the dust won't get up.

Mir.ta is also used to negate nominal predications. In example (7.72) (and see (4.148)) it negates a second predicate of manner in a verbal clause, while (7.73) illustrates the negative in an ascriptive non-verbal clause (and see (4.97)).

- (7.72) *Ngunhaa mir.ta jarruru paya-npa-lha nganaju mungka-lalha-a.*
 that.NOM not slowly angry-INCH-PAST 1SG.ACC eat-PAST-ACC
 It wasn't slowly that she got wild with me who had eaten it.
- (7.73) *Ngayu mir.ta manthawarla.*
 1SG.NOM not greedy
 I'm not greedy.

Mir.ta may also precede nominals functioning as sentence adverbs. In these cases the sentence adverbs have scope over the negative together with the rest of the clause. The scoping here is equivalent to that involving the negative followed by particles.

- (7.74) *Mir.ta waruul kartu manthawarla.*
 not still 2SG.NOM greedy
 It's still the case that you're not a greedy fellow.

7.6 MODAL PARTICLES *wiyaa*, *wayil*, *wii*

The modal particles *wiyaa* and *wayil* differ from the propositional modifiers in two respects. First, they do not impart the same sort of speaker-oriented pragmatic information as the propositional particles listed in §7.2. Rather, they code a simple irrealis 'maybe'. Second, although they often follow a constituent over which they have some scope, this is not a strict rule and they may occur at the beginning of a clause. The following examples illustrate the more common *wiyaa* form:

- (7.75) *Tharnta wiyaa panthu-lalha warangari-i ngurnaa.*
 euro maybe touch-PAST dingo.trap-ACC that.ACC
 Maybe it was a euro that set off that dingo trap. (trans.)
- (7.76) *Mir.ta wiyaa thalku-nnguli-nguru thanuwa-a maruwarla-a paju.*
 not maybe feed-PASS-PRES food-ACC much-ACC REAL
 Maybe he isn't fed very much food.
- (7.77) *Wiyaa pawulu nhawu-lha ngurnaa muyi-i.*
 maybe child see-PAST that.ACC dog-ACC
 Maybe the child saw that dog. (trans.)

The *wayil* form is similar to *wiyaa* in all respects except that it can be immediately followed by the *wii* particle. Exactly how *wayil* differs from *wiyaa* is difficult to say on the basis of the data at hand though it seems likely that the *wayil* form incorporates the *-l* temporal clitic at some level. Certainly, some examples involving *wayil* are consistent with the meaning of the temporal clitic. For example:

- (7.78) *Ngayu kartungu-ngara-a pawulu-ngara-a nhuura-ma-rminyji*
 1SG.NOM 2SG.GEN-PL-ACC child-PL-ACC know-CAUS-FUT
marrari-i Martuthunira-a wangka-waa. Kuliya-nnguli-waa
 word-ACC Martuthunira-ACC speak-PURPs=o hear-PASS-PURPs=o
wayil wii nhuura-mpa-lha, kuliya-la-ma-lalha. Ngunhu-ngara
 maybe if know-INCH-PAST ear-LOC-CAUS-PAST that.NOM-PL
kupiyaji wayil wii parna panyu.
 little(PL) maybe if head good
 I'll teach your children to speak the Martuthunira language. Maybe then they'll be heard, if they've learnt it, if they've got it in their ears. If they've got good heads, those little ones.

Wii is related to the modal particles *wiyaa* and *wayil*, though at some diachronic level, and retains something of the irrealis mode of these particles. It generally has scope over an immediately preceding constituent and occurs in three types of construction. First, it occurs in clauses which specify the conditions under which a situation described in some other clause *may* take place. In such cases it may, like *wiyaa* and *wayil*, occur in clause-initial position (example (6.26)). It is glossed 'if' in such conditional constructions.

- (7.79) *Nhula kanyara manthawarla paju warnu. Ngaliwa nhawu-layi*
 near.you man greedy REAL ASSERT 1PL.INC see-FUT
ngurnaa kanyara-a ngartil wii, punga pangkira-a paju-rru.
 that.ACC man-ACC again if guts round-ACC REAL-NOW
 That man is really greedy. If [we] see him again he'll be very round in the guts.
- (7.80) *Ngunhaa pilakurta piyuwa-mpa-lha-la wii,*
 that.NOM carpenter finish-INCH-PAST-LOC if
nhurnti-mpa-lha-la wii. Ngana-rru kana yilhi-i mir.ta
 dead-INCH-PAST-LOC if who-NOW RHET chip-ACC not
wii murnta-lalha ngurnaa pilakurta-a? Jalya-rru
 if take.from-PAST that.ACC carpenter-ACC useless-NOW
nyina-marri-layi mir.ta wii yungku-yangu yilhi-i pilakurta-lu.
 sit-COLL-FUT not if give-PASSP chip-ACC carpenter-EFF
 If once that carpenter has gone, if [he] has died, who will there be if no-one learnt how to carve from the carpenter (lit. took the chips from him). [They'll] all be useless if they weren't given the chips by the carpenter.
- (7.81) *Ngayu ngurnu muyi-i nhawu-lha wii want hala, ngayu*
 1SG.NOM that.ACC dog-ACC see-PAST if somewhere 1SG.NOM
nhuwa-rminyji nyimi-i ngurnaa muyi-i.
 spear-FUT rib-ACC that.ACC dog-ACC
 If I saw that dog anywhere, I'd spear that dog in the ribs. (trans.)

Second, *wii* is used as a conjunction indicating a progressive widening of the set of objects out of which something may be chosen. Often such a conjoined sequence of noun phrases is introduced by an indefinite.

- (7.82) *Nganaju mimi wantha-ralha jumpirri-i nganaju wurnta-lwaa*
 1SG.GEN uncle leave-PAST knife-ACC 1SG.ACC cut-PURPs=0
nhartu-ngara-a wii, mirntirimarta-a wii, tharnta-a wii,
 something-PL-ACC maybe goanna-ACC maybe euro-ACC maybe
jankurna-a wii.
 emu-ACC maybe
 My uncle left me a knife so I could cut things up; goannas maybe, or euros
 maybe, or emus maybe.
- (7.83) *Ngunhaa jami panyu ngurmura-a, thurla-a wii panyu-ma-minyji,*
 that.NOM medicine good cold-ACC eye-ACC maybe good-CAUS-FUT
nhartu-u wii, ngarnta-ngara-a wii, wunungu-u wii
 something-ACC maybe sore-PL-ACC maybe boil-ACC maybe
panyu-ma-minyji, parna-a wii malyarra-mura, ngurnaa
 good-CAUS-FUT head-ACC if sick-PrREL that.ACC
nguritha-minyji.
 smell-FUT
 That medicine is good for colds, or it'll fix eyes maybe, or anything, sores
 maybe, it'll cure boils maybe, or if you have a sick head you sniff it.

Third, *wii* follows indefinites and emphasises the existence of a large set of persons or things which might substitute for the indefinite.

- (7.84) *Mir.ta nganamarnu wii wangka-layi. Mir.ta ngurnaa ngana wii*
 not anyone maybe speak-FUT not that.ACC who maybe
wangka-layi.
 speak-FUT
 Don't anyone speak. Let's not have someone speak to him.
- (7.85) *Ngayu wanti-lha nguyirri, mir.ta nganangu wii kuliya-lalha,*
 1SG.NOM lie-PAST asleep not who.ACC maybe hear-PAST
nhartu-u wii, warnan-ku yirla kuliya-minyji parnta-mura-a.
 what-ACC maybe rain-ACC until hear-FUT rain-PrREL-ACC
 I lay asleep, didn't hear anyone, or anything, until [I] heard the rain falling.

7.7 TEMPORAL -I

This clitic has the important function of indicating a state of affairs that is true within a given time frame. For example, in examples (7.86) and (7.87) the clitic is attached to nominal second predicates which describe the state of a participant at the time when the action described by the main predicate is taking place.

- (7.86) *Nhulaa miyu mungka-ruru wajupi-i wanka-a-l.*
 near.you cat eat-PRES grasshopper-ACC alive-ACC-THEN
 That cat eats grasshoppers when they're alive. (trans.)
 (i.e. When that cat eats grasshoppers they're alive.)
- (7.87) *Ngayu nhuura-rru kuwarri wanthanha-ngara-a kupiyaji-i*
 1SG.NOM knowing-NOW now which-PL-ACC little(PL)-ACC
jalya-ngara-a. Wirta-ngku-l pawu-ngku jalya wantha-rmu.
 bereaved-PL-ACC youth-EFF-THEN father-EFF bereaved leave-PASSP
 I know now which bereaved little fellows you mean. [They] were left bereaved
 by their father dying when he was [still] a young man. (i.e. When their father left
 them he was a young man.)

The following examples illustrate the use of the clitic on a verb (example (7.88)) and the negative (7.89). In these cases the time frame within which the state of affairs described by the verb takes place is established by some adjacent clause.

- (7.88) *Wirriiri-ma-minyji-rru yirna karri-nyila-a karlamarta-a,*
 flame-CAUS-FUT-NOW this.ACC stand-PrREL-ACC lamp-ACC
nhawu-rra-l nyina-layi mungka-l.yarra panyu-rru
 see-CTEMP-THEN sit-FUT eat-CTEMP good-NOW
wirriiri-la-rru.
 light-LOC-NOW
 Light this lamp standing here, then we'll see, we'll sit and eat properly in
 the light.
- (7.89) *Nganaju yaan yungku-lha muyi-i-rru murla-a, mir.ta-l*
 1SG.GEN wife give-PAST dog-ACC-NOW meat-ACC not-THEN
ngayu mungka-lwala.
 1SG.NOM eat-PURPDs
 My wife gave the dog the meat, so then I couldn't eat it. (trans.)

By its function, *-l* is most like a nominal suffix. Also, it interacts with nominal suffixes to cloud the morphological boundary between suffix and clitic (§3.2), and appears frozen in certain temporal nominals (§5.9). However, despite its affix-like function and distribution, the fact that *-l* can be attached to any part of speech argues that it continue to be described as a separate clitic in a functional class of its own.

7.8 DISCOURSE DEICTIC CLITICS *-lwa*, *-wa*, *-rru*

The three clitics *-lwa* 'IDentification', *-wa* 'You Know', and *-rru* 'NOW', contribute to the cohesion of a text by marking their hosts as prominent in some way. The clitics often occur on demonstratives which themselves play an important role in maintaining text cohesion through the tracking of participants and events.

[A] The *-lwa* clitic most often appears on demonstratives or pronouns and serves to identify the item to which it is attached as a particular thing which has been assumed but has not previously been explicitly identified.

- (7.90) *Ngana-lwa ngula thani-lalha nganaju-u muyi-i?*
 who-ID IGNOR hit-PAST 1SG.GEN-ACC dog-ACC
 Who was it that hit my dog? (trans.)
- (7.91) *Kartu-lwa ngumaa marulwa-lalha, manku-nguli-waa*
 2SG.NOM-ID that.ACC make.trouble-PAST grab-PASS-PURPs=o
marntamarta-lu.
 police-EFF
 You're the one who caused trouble for that fellow, so that he was picked up
 by the police. (trans.)
- (7.92) *Nhiyu-lwa nhiyu parla ngaliwa-lu nhawu-yangu kayurtu*
 this.NOM-ID this.NOM hill 1PL.INC-EFF see-PASSP smoke
karlwa-rra.
 go.up-CTEMP
 This is the hill that we saw the smoke going up from.

In example (7.93), the clitic is attached to a verb. Here there is an assumption that the subject of the verb, the receiver of a favour, will reciprocate in some way. The distribution of goods is, in this instance, the anticipated response:

- (7.93) *Ngawu! Ngayu wuruma-rnu nhuwana-lu. Yungku-layi-lwa*
 yes 1SG.NOM do.for-PASSP 2PL-EFF give-FUT-ID
pintirrijila-ma-l.yarra nhuwana-a.
 scattered-CAUS-CTEMP 2PL-ACC
 Yes! I had it done for me by you. What I'll do is give them out, share amongst
 you [the things you got for me].

[B] The *-wa* clitic typically occurs on demonstratives and indicates that the speaker believes the addressee knows what is being referred to. For example:

- (7.94) *Ngayu panyu-ma-lalha ngurnu purra-lwayara-a*
 1SG.NOM good-CAUS-PAST that.ACC chop-HABIT-ACC
nganthari-ma-lalha. Ngunhaa puu-rru puni-lha wartirra
 sharp-CAUS-PAST that.NOM far-NOW go-PAST woman
ngurnu-marta-wa.
 that.ACC-PROP-YK
 I fixed up that chopper, sharpened it. That woman has gone off with that one.
 (You know the one I'm talking about.) (trans.)
- (7.95) *Wantha-rminyji jampa karri-waa muthu-npa-rra warra.*
 leave-FUT moment stand-PURPs=o cold-INCH-CTEMP CONT
Manyarrka-a-rru wantha-rminyji ngulangu-wa.
 sugar-ACC-NOW put-FUT there-YK
 Leave it to stand and get a bit cooler for a moment. Now put some sugar there,
 in it. (You know the location I'm talking about.)

[C] *-rru* is the most commonly occurring clitic and in some texts is present in almost every clause. It is used to foreground the item to which it is attached as something the speaker wishes the addressee to focus on: "As for this one now...". At the same time, the clitic serves to define a kind of narrative present, a statement that what has already been said can be now taken as established, and that the narrative will build from this point. Examples of the use of the clitic abound throughout the description and in the appended texts. The following portion of narrative shows the use of the clitic on various parts of speech:

- (7.96) *Nhiyu warnan parnta-muru-rru warnu ngaliwa-a.*
 this.NOM rain rain-PRES-NOW ASSERT 1PL.INC-ACC
- Muthu-mpa-layi-rru. Nhiyu ngapala-ma-mu-rru warnan-tu.*
 cold-INCH-FUT-NOW this.NOM mud-CAUS-PASSP-NOW rain-EFF
- Nhiyu parnta-muru waruu. Wantharni-mpa-layi-lwa parnta-minyji,*
 this.NOM rain-PRES still how-INCH-FUT-ID rain-FUT
- wayil waya-a yirla? Parnta-muru mir.ta-rru karnkurru-u*
 maybe night-ACC only rain-PRES not-NOW dust-ACC
- karlwa-lwaa. Panyu-rru nyina-layi ngaliwa*
 get.up-PURPs=o good-NOW be-FUT 1PL.INC
- karnkurru-wirriwa-la-rru. Nhiyu warnan panyu-ma-muru*
 dust-PRIV-LOC-NOW this.NOM rain good-CAUS-PRES
- mimtirimarta-ngara-a puni-waa, jalyuru-la-rru tharrwa-lu,*
 goanna-PL-ACC go-PURPs=o hole-LOC-NOW enter-PURPs
- wanti-layi-rru muthu-u-rru waya. Ngaliwa puni-layi-rru*
 lie-FUT-NOW cold-ACC-NOW fear 1PL.INC go-FUT-NOW
- wawayi-l.yarra ngurra-ngara-a-rru mimtirimarta-wu-u.*
 look.for-CTEMP camp-PL-ACC-NOW goanna-GEN-ACC
- It's raining on us now. Now it's getting cold. It's getting muddy now from the rain. It's still raining. What's the rain going to do, it might go until tonight? It's raining and so the dust won't come up. We'll be good while there's no dust now. This rain will make the goannas good, to go into their holes now, and stay there now, for fear of the cold. And now we'll go and look for goanna holes.

The interaction among the clitics and the various demonstratives is most clearly evidenced in a range of presentative constructions. The following examples are culled from a single text:

- (7.97) a. *ngunhaa-rru-wa ngunhu* The one we're talking about now, you know; that's it.
- b. *ngunhu-rru-wa ngunhaa* That one now, you know; the one we're talking about.
- c. *ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa* That's the one; the one we're talking about.
- d. *ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa-wa* That's the one; the one we're talking about, you know.

- e. *yimpala-rru-wa ngunhaa* Like that now, you know; what we're talking about.
- f. *nhiyu-lwa-rru ngunhaa, ngurnula-lwa-rru ngunhaa* This one now, you know; the one we're talking about. That one in particular now, you know; the one we're talking about.

The *-wa* clitic is descended from the same set of 'topic-tracking' suffixes as are involved in the formation of the topic-tracking demonstratives (see §5.5.2). However, it is not possible to analyse the topic-tracking forms as involving the demonstrative stem plus the *-wa* suffix at the synchronic level. First, forms bearing the *-wa* clitic do not track with topic-tracking forms in text, and second, topic-tracking demonstrative forms bearing the *-wa* clitic do occasionally occur (as in examples (7.97a) and (7.97d) above).

-Lwa probably involves the clitics *-l* and *-wa* at some level. However, the fact that *-l* and *-lwa* can co-occur, and the different positioning of *-lwa* and *-wa* with respect to *-rru* argues that the relationship is a historical one.

7.9 PRESENTATIVE *pala*

Pala functions as a presentative dummy taking the place of a demonstrative in a range of constructions. Unlike full demonstratives, *pala* does not imply an independent identification of its referent through some other deictic system. In the following examples it occurs as the complement to a demonstrative or pronoun in a presentative construction like those illustrated in (7.97) above.

- (7.98) *Ah! Ngunhaa pala, mimi ngali-i!*
 ah that.NOM IT uncle 1DU.INC-ACC
 Ah! That's [who] it [is], [the one who is] uncle to us!
- (7.99) *Ngayu kuliyanpa-lha-rru jankul, wayangka-lha-rru warnu.*
 1SG.NOM think-PAST-NOW self frighten-PAST-NOW ASSERT
Yimpalaa paju pala, kuyil paju.
 like.that REAL IT bad REAL
 I thought about myself now, I was frightened (you see). Well that's what it's really like, very bad.
- (7.100) *Ngayu pala, purrkuru waruul, kuyilwa-lalha nganaju-u yaan-ku.*
 1SG.NOM IT true still upset-PAST 1SG.GEN-ACC wife-ACC
 I'm the one, that's true, who upset my wife.

The following examples show *pala* following nominals other than pronouns and demonstratives, (7.101) and (7.102), and a verb (7.103).

- (7.101) *Mir.ta! Piyuwa! Panyu-lwa pala! Thurlajinkarri-tharra kupuyu-tharra*
 no finish good-ID IT poor.fellow-DU little-DU
mir.ta-lwa kalya-rnu muyi-ngku.
 Not-ID bite-PASSP dog-EFF
 No! Not at all! It's all right! The two poor little fellows didn't get bitten by the dog.

- (7.102) *Thana-rru yimpala waruul-wa-rru; nguyirri pala.*
 let-NOW like.that still-Ø-NOW asleep IT
 Let him stay like that now; asleep, that is.
- (7.103) *Nhulaa kanyara warnu ngarrawurlu nyina-nguru. Nhartu-ma-l.yarra?*
 near.you man ASSERT other.way sit-PRES what-CAUS-CTEMP
Wirlayinpa-rra pala!
 on.toilet-CTEMP IT
 That man is sitting the other way. What's he doing? [He's] sitting on the toilet,
 that's what!

As illustrated in §7.2.1, *pala* commonly follows the *warnu* particle where this introduces the speaker's explanation of a state of affairs.

7.10 PERMISSIVE/HORTATIVE *thana*, *warrayi*, *kunti*

The two particles *thana* and *warrayi* have a similar function to the English permissive verb 'let'. *Thana* occurs in clause-initial position and makes the suggestion that the situation described in the clause be allowed to take place.

- (7.104) *Thana-rru wanti-Ø nguyirri, mir.ta marruwa-ma-rminyji.*
 let-NOW lie-IMP asleep not wake-CAUS-FUT.
 Let [him] sleep, don't wake [him] up.
- (7.105) *Thana wanti-waa nguyirri minthal paniya-mpa-layi.*
 let lie-PURPs=o asleep alone eye-INCH-FUT
 Leave [him] to sleep and wake up on his own.
- (7.106) *Warntitha-rminyji yakarrangu-la wanti-waa. Thana pinkarranyu-mpa-rra*
 throw-FUT sun-LOC lie-PURPs=o let dry-INCH-CTEMP
kayarra-la wii yakarrangu-la.
 two-LOC maybe day-LOC
 Throw [them] to lie in the sun. Let [them] dry for two days or so.

Thana typically occurs with imperative or purposive verb inflections. Example (7.106) is the only exception in the data and here *thana* immediately follows a purposive. The choice of verb inflection implies different actions on the part of the addressee.

<i>thana</i> NP Verb-IMP	Let 'NP Verb'
<i>thana</i> NP Verb-PURPs	Do nothing allowing that 'NP Verb'
<i>thana</i> NP Verb-PURPs=o	Do something to NP so that 'NP Verb'
<i>thana</i> NP Verb-PURPs	Do something so that 'NP Verb'

The *thana* particle only ever occurs where the subject of the sentence is third person and thus contrasts with *warrayi* which functions as a hortative, implying some action of the speaker together with the addressee:

- (7.107) *Thana kunti pukarra wanti-Ø. Mir.ta warrayi karla-ma-rminyji.*
 let stop firewood lie-IMP not let's fire-CAUS-FUT
 Let the firewood alone. Let's not make a fire.

- (7.108) *Warrayi ngali wayangku-layi-rru yirna-ngara-a*
 let's 1DU.INC frighten-FUT-NOW this.ACC-PL-ACC
marrari-warlaya-ngara-a.
 word-FULL-PL-ACC
 Let's frighten off these talkative people.

Warrayi is probably related to the particle *warra*, which indicates something which is not happening and which the speaker wants to happen (and possibly by the addition of the vocative clitic *-yi* (§7.11)). However, the different distribution of the two words argues against treating *warrayi* as a form of *warra* in the synchronic description. *Thana* is historically a third person (originally plural) pronoun which has become frozen as the marker of third person permissive clauses.

Kunti suggests an immediate cessation of an activity. Like the actions permitting the situation in a *thana* clause, the action which *kunti* brings to a halt is usually not overtly specified.

- (7.109) *Kunti ngaliwa puni-layi-rru.*
 stop 1PL.INC go-FUT-NOW
 We'll stop what we're doing and go now!
- (7.110) *Nhawu-Ø kunti jampa ngurnu-wurrini marlara-wurrini.*
 look-IMP stop moment that.OBL-DIRECT road-DIRECT
 Stop for a moment and look towards the road.
- (7.111) *Karri-Ø kunti yilangu!*
 stand-IMP stop here
 Stop here!

7.11 INTERJECTIONS

Interjections can be defined as non-inflecting words which, unlike other non-inflecting words, may not take clitics. They often occur as single word minimal utterances. The following interjections have been discovered so far:

<i>ngaa</i>	Yes!, Go on! (continue talking)
<i>ngawu</i>	Yes indeed! (affirmation)
<i>parra</i>	Go on, do it!
<i>yakayi</i>	Ouch! (pain or surprise)
<i>yakartayi</i>	Ouch! (more emphatic than <i>yakayi</i>)
<i>parru</i>	I can see it! (recognition)
<i>ya</i>	Hey!
<i>thawu</i>	Look!, Listen!
<i>kuwayi</i>	I've seen something!
<i>thuwa</i>	You should know!
<i>paparti</i>	Damn!
<i>mir.ta</i>	No!
<i>piyuwa</i>	Not at all!, Nothing!

The clitic *-yi* 'vocative', can be grouped together with the interjections and may be frozen in the forms *yakayi*, *yakartayi* and *kuwayi* (and see *warrayi* §7.10 above). It is used on

pronouns, terms of address, or greetings when calling out to someone to attract their attention. The vocative clitic has the form *-wi* following a *u* vowel.

- (7.112) *Pawulu-ngara-yi! Nganaju kangku-Ø kayulu-u!*
 child-PL-VOC 1SG.ACC bring-IMP water-ACC
 Hey children! Bring me some water!
- (7.113) *Kartu-wi nhawungarra! Mir.ta puni-layi ngulangu-wa, jamanu*
 2SG.NOM-VOC look.out not go-FUT there-YK foot
wurmta-miyangu parla-ngku jurirri-ngara-lu.
 cut-PASS.LEST rock-EFF sharp-PL-EFF
 Hey look out! Don't go there, your feet might get cut by sharp rocks.
- (7.114) *Wantha-rru-wi! Nhwala puni-lha-lwa wanthami wii?*
 where-NOW-VOC 2PL go-PAST-ID what.way maybe
 Hey hello! Did you two go anywhere?

CHAPTER 8

NOUN PHRASES

This chapter describes the syntax of noun phrases. Section 8.1 presents the structure of the noun phrase as an ordered set of functional slots which may be filled by different nominal lexemes (and embedded noun phrases). Part-whole constructions are described in §8.2 and generic-specific constructions in §8.3. Section 8.4 discusses the problems associated with determining the head in a Martuthunira noun phrase and the apparent ellipsis of heads. It is argued that a very liberal approach to defining what may be a head avoids the problems introduced by assuming widespread ellipsis. Section 8.5 describes complex noun phrase structure – the embedding of clauses and phrases of particular types within the various functional slots – while §8.6 describes adjoined noun phrase structures. Finally, §8.7 discusses apparent exceptions to the patterns of noun phrase structure established in previous sections.

8.1 NOUN PHRASE STRUCTURE

Noun phrases in Martuthunira can be defined as follows:

1. Noun phrases are sequences of nominals over which some nominal suffix may be distributed. The distribution of a particular suffix over more than one word defines a noun phrase.
2. Noun phrases consist of a sequence of nominals (or noun phrases) which fill defined functional slots.

Typically one intonation contour covers a noun phrase although complex noun phrases consisting of a number of embedded phrases may be broken up by pauses despite an encompassing nominal inflection. The Martuthunira noun phrase can be described as an ordered arrangement of functional slots in the following order (following McGregor's (1984) analysis of Kuniyanti noun phrases):

(Determiner) ^ (Quantifier) ^ (Classifier) ^ Entity ^ (Qualifier)*

The Entity slot and its filler is the semantic head of the noun phrase. Typically, it is the nominal in this slot that makes the primary reference to some object or person. Nominals preceding the Entity, in Determiner, Quantifier and/or Classifier slots, restrict the reference of the head nominal by narrowing the set of entities from which the referent is chosen. Nominals following the Entity, in Qualifier position, have a non-restrictive modifying function. They provide some additional information about the entity picked out by the noun phrase. Possible fillers of each of the slots are discussed below.

8.1.1 DETERMINER

Nominals filling the Determiner slot serve to narrow the reference of the phrase by contextual identification of the referent. Demonstratives and possessive pronouns (including the genitive definite demonstrative, *ngurnulangu* (§5.5.3)) are the most common fillers of this slot. In addition, the nominals *yarta* 'other one', and *yartapalyu* 'others, other group' typically function as Determiners. These narrow the reference by distinguishing the referent of the noun phrase from some referent already introduced or assumed. *Yartapalyu* in example (8.1) below emphasises that a number of people are grouped together as a unit separate from some other group or individual. The simple form *yarta* may take regular number marking despite the existence of the special group form (8.2).

- (8.1) *Nganaju yaan yungku-lha murla-a yartapalyu-u kanyara-ngara-a.*
 1SG.GEN wife give-PAST meat-ACC others-ACC man-PL-ACC
 My wife gave meat to the other men. (trans.)
- (8.2) *Kartu-lwa puni-nguru kuyil yarta-ngara-a nhuunu-ngara-a.*
 2SG.NOM-ID go-PRES bad other-PL-ACC spouse-PL-ACC
 You're the one who is bad to other spouses of yours.

8.1.2 QUANTIFIER

The Quantifier slot may be filled by one of three number words or by a nominal functioning as a mass quantifier:

<i>kalika</i>	one
<i>kayarra</i>	two
<i>jarrkurti</i>	three, a few
<i>maruwarla</i>	many, much
<i>kupuyu</i>	a little

Only one complex number expression occurs in the data:

- (8.3) *Nhamintha ngula? Kayarra jina, kayarra juwayu wirra-ngara wiyaa.*
 how.many IGNOR two foot two hand boomerang-PL maybe
 How many were there? Maybe twenty boomerangs (lit. two hands and two feet of boomerangs).

The nominal *maruwarla* functions as a Quantifier for all numbers greater than *jarrkurti*, if the entity is inherently countable, or for any relatively large amount of a non-countable substance. The plural suffix may be used to indicate an overly large amount of a usually non-countable entity such as sand, fat or liquid. The nominal *kupuyu* 'little' is used to indicate a small amount of a non-countable substance.

8.1.3 CLASSIFIER

The nominal in Classifier function narrows the reference by picking out a subset of the set of items to which the nominal in Entity function may refer. There are a number of types of subset classification. Firstly, the Classifier may specify a referent by describing a property manifested by a subset of the class of objects denoted by the Entity nominal.

- (8.4) ... *purra-lyarra parla-marta yarta-ngka pilyi-ngka parla-ngka.*
hit-CTEMP stone-PROP other-LOC flat-LOC stone-LOC
...hit with a stone on another *flat* stone.
- (8.5) *Ngayu kuliya-la warntitha-rmgu-rra kuyil-ngara-a*
1SG.NOM ear-LOC throw-PASS-CTEMP bad-PL-ACC
marrari-ngara-a nhuwana-lu.
word-PL-ACC 2PL-EFF
I'm getting *bad* words thrown at me, in [my] ear, by you.
- (8.6) *Kampa-rminyji-rru ngurnaa marli-ngka-a ngamari-i.*
burn-FUT-NOW that.ACC paper-LOC-ACC tobacco-ACC
Now light that 'paper-rolled tobacco' (a cigarette as opposed to a plug
of chewing tobacco).
- (8.7) *Ngunhu kartatha-lalha maruwa-a wirra-a.*
that.NOM chop-PAST snakewood-ACC boomerang-ACC
He chopped a *snakewood* boomerang.

Secondly, the Classifier may name a specific type of entity which forms a subset of the generic class denoted by the nominal in the Entity slot.

- (8.8) *Thatthu-rnu warnu pala ngaliwa ngurnu tharnta-a murla-a.*
send-PASSP ASSERT IT 1PL.INC that.ACC euro-ACC meat-ACC
Well, it's because we were sent that euro meat.

Thirdly, human stage-of-life terms are used as classifying stage-of-life terms with some animals. Animals such as the euro, plains kangaroo, emu and goanna have their own special stage-of-life terms. In example (8.9) *pawulu* 'child', and *julyu* 'old man', are used to classify dogs. *Kupuyuwaja* functions as a Classifier of the first type described above.

- (8.9) *Nganarna yanga-lalha kupuyuwaja-a muyi-i, ngurnula-ngu-u*
1PL.EXC chase-PAST little.one-ACC dog-ACC that.DEF-GEN-ACC
pawulu-u muyi-i. Ngunhu-lwa pawu, julyu muyi.
child-ACC dog-ACC that.NOM-ID father old.man dog
We chased off those little dogs, that one's puppies. That's the father, that
old dog.

8.1.4 ENTITY

The nominal in the Entity slot is the semantic head of the phrase in that it makes the primary reference to some object. Usually this slot is filled by a nominal which is prototypically noun-like but this is not a strict requirement. The Entity slot may be filled by any of the following:

1. simple nominal lexemes
2. part-whole composites (§8.2)
3. embedded clauses (§8.5.3)
4. derived adnominal expressions (§8.5.1)

8.1.5 QUALIFIER

This slot is filled by expressions attributing some characteristic to the referent of the noun phrase. While nominals preceding the Entity slot have the primary function of facilitating successful reference by restricting the class of items to which the noun phrase may refer, nominals following the Entity slot add some additional information about an already identified referent. All nominals which may precede the head of a noun phrase may also function as fillers of the Qualifier slot, and apparently the converse also holds. The most common fillers of the Qualifier slot are nominals functioning as prototypical adjectives. Some of these are listed below by semantic type (following Dixon 1982):

Dimension and shape:	<i>mirtali</i> 'big', <i>kupuyu</i> 'small', <i>ngurrara</i> 'huge', <i>kuruuru</i> 'round', <i>pangkira</i> 'rounded, bulging', <i>pilyi</i> 'flat', <i>wanarra</i> 'long, tall', <i>purnta</i> 'deep'.
Physical property:	<i>wanka</i> 'alive, raw', <i>puwa</i> 'rotten, stinking', <i>nhurnti</i> 'dead', <i>nhungkurn</i> 'stinking', <i>wurtura</i> 'dirty, dusty', <i>warlyarra</i> 'smooth', <i>ngungkuwarla</i> 'heavy'.
Colour:	<i>jiwarra</i> 'white', <i>jurlwin</i> 'grey', <i>kumangu</i> 'black', <i>martamarta</i> 'red' (<i>marta</i> 'blood'), <i>piyulu</i> 'yellow (ochre)', <i>palharra</i> 'green'.
Age:	<i>kuwarrira</i> 'new', <i>kuwarrinyjangu</i> 'young', <i>manyjira</i> 'old'.
Value:	<i>panyu</i> 'good', <i>kuyil</i> 'bad', <i>jalya</i> 'useless', <i>murlurru</i> 'straight, correct'.
Human propensity:	<i>kur.ta</i> 'clever, knowledgeable', <i>payawurtu</i> 'savage, sulky', <i>paya</i> 'angry, wild', <i>thaapuwa</i> 'a person who stands out from the crowd, important, distinguished (not necessarily in a positive way)', <i>thurlajjinkarri</i> 'poor fellow, unfortunate', <i>wantumarta</i> 'crazy', <i>paarnpaarn</i> 'silly', <i>kamparta</i> 'restless, stirred up', <i>jalya</i> 'useless, bereaved'.

Other nominal types which may function as Qualifiers include number nominals (8.10), possessives (8.11) and (4.130), and proper names (8.12) and (8.13).

- (8.10) *Ngayu yungku-layi ngurnaa ngawurmarta-a kalika-a,*
 1SG.NOM give-FUT that.ACC soap-ACC one-ACC
wara-mamu-u.
 clothes-ASSOC-ACC
 I'll give him some laundry soap, one piece (lit. soap for clothes).
- (8.11) *Ngayu kanarri-lha nhuwana-a wangka-lu ngurra-ngka*
 1SG.NOM come-PAST 2PL-ACC speak-PURPss camp-LOC
nhuwana-wu-la nyina-nyila-a.
 2PL-GEN-LOC sit-PrREL-ACC
 I came to talk to you sitting in camp, your camp.

- (8.12) *Nhuwala puni-layi manku-lu kurlany-ku Kurlanypungkunhu-u.*
 2DU go-FUT get-PURPss knife-ACC *Kurlanypungkunhu-ACC*
 You two go and get a knife, a *Kurlanypungkunhu* (placename)knife.
- (8.13) *Ngunhu-tharra thathu-mu puni-lha mimi-ngku Karnuny-thu.*
 that.NOM-DU send-PASSP go-PAST uncle-EFF *Karnuny-EFF*
 Those two went off sent by their uncle *Karnuny*.

A number of qualifying expressions may follow the Entity nominal. However, an extended sequence of Qualifiers does not usually occur under the same intonation contour and instead successive nominals are separated by a noticeable pause. This phenomenon argues that these nominals be treated as independent noun phrases and further suggests that in fact all Qualifiers be considered independent of a separate head-final noun phrase structure. Nevertheless, in this description I prefer to maintain a view of the Martuthunira noun phrase as including a generally tightly bound post-head Qualifier position, though on the basis of the currently available data it is difficult to argue convincingly for one position over the other. The indeterminacy of noun phrase heads is discussed in §8.4.

8.2 PART-WHOLE CONSTRUCTIONS

Part-whole constructions are considered to be complex fillers of the Entity slot – the nominals referring to whole and part are apposed at a subordinate level of structure within the noun phrase. Either order, part-whole or whole-part, is possible as the examples in (8.14) show. (For detailed discussion of the semantic relationships which may be represented by part-whole constructions in Australian languages see Hale (1981) and McGregor (1985).)

- (8.14) a. *marli kartawura* butt of a cadjeput tree
 cadjeput butt
- b. *murtiwarla yinyjin* car engine
 car engine
- c. *mimtirimarta punga* goanna guts
 goanna guts
- d. *ngayu jirli* my arm
 1SG.NOM arm
- e. *jina-ngka ngathala* on my foot
 foot-LOC 1SG.LOC
- f. *jamanu muyi* dog track
 track dog
- g. *yilhi wirra* boomerang chip (the chips of wood
 chip boomerang left after a boomerang has been carved)

Modification of the part in a part-whole construction involves a fixed construction, almost a compound, of part and modifier. For example:

- (8.15) *Ngayu yima murla-a wurmta-minyji mulha jurirri-lu*
 1SG.NOM this.ACC meat-ACC cut-FUT point sharp-EFF

jumpirri-lu.

knife-EFF

I'll cut this meat with a sharp-pointed knife.

- (8.16) *Kupuyu-tharra mir.ta-lwa kalya-mu muyi-ngku, jalya-ngku*
 little-DU not-ID bite-PASSP dog-EFF useless-EFF

waruul, muyi-ngku tharta para-ngku, parna yirla mirtali-lu,
 still dog-EFF crutch hollow-EFF head only big-EFF

jalya-ngku waruul, ngammarr karta-ngku.

useless-EFF still rib.cage bony-EFF

The two little fellows weren't bitten by the dog, the useless thing, hollow-crutched dog, only big in the head, useless thing, bony-ribbed thing.

As these examples show, the usual distribution of case to all elements in a constituent is suspended where a modifying nominal is restricted in its scope to the part. Were the distribution of case allowed to include the part, the scope of the modifier would be taken to include the whole. Compare the following examples.

- (8.17) a. *Ngayu nhawu-lha ngurnu muyi-i jamanu mirtali-i.*
 1SG.NOM see-PAST that.ACC dog-ACC track big-ACC
 I saw the big tracks of a dog. (trans.)
- b. *Ngayu nhawu-lha ngurnu muyi-i jamanu-u mirtali-i.*
 1SG.NOM see-PAST that.ACC dog-ACC track-ACC big-ACC
 I saw the tracks of a big dog. (trans.)

The order of part and modifier is also fixed as the following show:

- (8.18) a. ... *mulha jurirri-lu jumpirri-lu*
 point sharp-EFF knife-EFF
 ...with a sharp-pointed knife (cf. (8.15) above)
- b. **mulha-ngku jurirri jumpirri-lu*
- c. **jurirri-lu mulha jumpirri-lu*
- d. **jurirri mulha-ngku jumpirri-lu*

Despite the blocking of full case agreement and the fixed order, these part-modifier constructions cannot be described as compound lexemes. Firstly, as example (8.16) illustrates, the choice of stem-length-sensitive nominal suffix allomorphs, such as the effector, is dependent on the length of the modifying nominal rather than the combined length of part and modifier. Secondly, particles and clitics may intervene between part and modifier, again illustrated in (8.16). The construction must be treated as a tightly bound constituent existing below the level of the noun phrase, and within which the usual patterns of multiple case-marking do not hold.

8.3 GENERIC-SPECIFIC CONSTRUCTIONS

Martuthunira makes very little use of generic-specific constructions; unlike some Australian languages in which generic classification is almost mandatory. This is not to say, of course, that generic classification does not exist, just that the use of generic classification of a specific object in making primary reference to an entity is rare. Given this situation the

setting up of a special generic-specific construction just to explain the few examples which resemble generic-specific constructions in other languages is hardly justified. The following examples illustrate generic-specific nominal pairs (the generic is underlined).

- (8.19) *Nhurnti-ma-rnu waruul-wa-rru murla warryumuntu jinyji-warla.*
 dead-CAUS-PASSP still-Ø-NOW meat mother.euro fat-FULL
 It's been killed all right, a nice fat euro with a joey.
- (8.20) *Ngaliwa puni-nguru murla-marta jankurna-marta!*
 1PL.EXC go-PRES meat-PROP emu-PROP
 We've got meat, emu!
- (8.21) *Ngayu manku-layi thanuwa-ngara-a maan-ngara-a.*
 1SG.NOM get-FUT vegetable.food-PL-ACC seed-PL-ACC
 I'll get some food, seeds.
- (8.22) *Ngathu mulhaa-rnu ngunhaa murla-marnu warrirti.*
 1SG.EFF sharpen-PASSP that.NOM meat-ASSOC spear
 That meat-getting spear was sharpened by me.

There is some indeterminacy involved in deciding which of the two, generic or specific, is the semantic head of the phrase (see §8.4 below). Examples of specific-generic pairs were described in §8.1.3 as instances of the Classifier-Entity relationship; the specific nominal serving to pick out a particular kind of the generic class in contrast to all other kinds included in that class. However, it is not clear that in examples such as (8.19) to (8.22), the generic performs a similar classifying function. The generic does not convey the notion that the specific is being considered in one sense (an entity of the type defined by the generic) in contrast to any other sense. Rather, the generic also functions as the head in generic-specific constructions, the specific nominal filling the Qualifier slot. Thus the two phrases *murla tharnta* 'meat euro' and *murla panyu* 'meat good' have a similar interpretation. In each, 'meat' is the semantic head, making the primary reference to some entity, and the following nominal describes this entity as 'a euro', on the one hand, and as 'good' on the other. By this analysis the noun phrase, *murla warryumuntu jinyjiwarla*, in (8.19), is interpreted as having 'meat' as its head and both 'mother euro' and 'fat-FULL' as Qualifiers.

8.4 THE INDETERMINACY OF NOUN PHRASE HEADS AND APPARENT ELLIPSIS

The analysis of the noun phrase given in §8.1 assumes an optional post-head Qualifier. However, in that the putative head of any noun phrase is not categorially distinct from other elements in the noun phrase (see §3.1.1) there is a degree of indeterminacy in the analysis. How is one to decide which of the nominals in a noun phrase is in the Entity slot functioning as the head? For example, (8.8) includes the noun phrase *ngurnu tharnta-a murla-a* (that.ACC euro-ACC meat-ACC) for which it is suggested that *murla* 'meat' is the head and *tharnta* 'euro' a Classifier. But this noun phrase could have an alternative reading in which 'euro' is the head and 'meat' a post-head Qualifier. The two readings for sentence (8.8) would be:

- a. We were sent that meat of the euro kind.
- b. We were sent that euro, which is meat.

There are other alternatives. The initial demonstrative might be the head, followed by a post-head modifying noun phrase which contains in turn the two nominals 'euro' and 'meat' in various alternative interpretations:

- c. We were sent that thing, which is euro meat.
- d. ...

Rather than attempt to impose strict interpretations on these structures, it is assumed here that noun phrases are ambiguous. The grammar generates a range of alternative structures for which different semantic interpretations are possible.

As a further complication, there are numerous examples in the data in which a clearly entity-referring nominal appears to be missing from a noun phrase. That is, the noun phrase appears to be without a head. Examples (8.23) and (8.24) illustrate a common pattern in which elliptical responses in a conversation preserve the case-suffixes appropriate to the full clause.

- (8.23) a. *Ngayu kangku-lha mayiili-marnu-ngu kulhampa-arta.*
 I take-PAST SoSo+1POSS-GROUP-ACC fish-ALL
 I took a group of my grandchildren for fish.
- b. *Nganangu-ngara pawulu-ngara?*
 who.GEN-PL child-PL
 Whose children are they?
- c. *Ngumu-ngara-a yaan-wirriwa-wura-a.*
 that.OBL-PL-ACC spouse-PRIV-BELONG-ACC
 [I took] the ones who belong to the one who is without a spouse.
- d. *Ngaa, purkuru pala. Ngarraya-ngu-ngara-a.*
 Yes Okay IT niece-GEN-PL-ACC
 Yes. Okay that's it (I understand). (You took) niece's ones.
- (8.24) a. *Ngunhu muyi yanga-lalha pawulu-tharra-a.*
 that.NOM dog chase-PAST child-DU-ACC
 That dog chased two children.
- b. *Ngana-ngura-tharra-a yanga-lalha?*
 who-BELONG-DU-ACC chase-PAST
 Whose two did it chase?
- c. *Yirna-tharra-wura-a.*
 this.OBL-DU-BELONG-ACC
 [It chased] the ones belonging to these two.

In examples (8.23c) and (8.23d) the response maintains the accusative case-marking of (8.23a), similarly in (8.24b) and (8.24c). However, not all examples of adnominally inflected heads are quite so easily explained by a regular pattern of ellipsis. In (8.25) (occurring also in (4.89) and (10.53)), the two principal protagonists are referred to by transparent adnominal expressions. Neither of these expressions can be thought of as lexical derivations. The expressions *thaluwaya* and *murlamamu* are chosen to emphasise the particular relationship existing between a man and his dog. The man is described solely as the dog's owner, the dog is described by a generic expression often used for grouping together hunting implements (see (8.22) above).

- (8.25) *Thalu-waya panyu-npa-wala-rru wiru ngumulangu-lu-rru*
 pet-OWNER good-INCH-PURPds-NOW feelings that.GEN-EFF-NOW
murla-marnu-lu kanarri-yangu.
 meat-ASSOC-EFF come-PASSP
 The pet-owner will be getting good feelings now that his meat-getter (dog)
 has come to him.

A speaker may choose to use an adnominally expressed attributive as a head where there may not be a specific referent known to either speaker or addressee. Thus in example (8.26), it turns out that the first speaker has a 'camel bush' spike in his foot, but this is not known until later in the conversation. Until then, the spike is referred to by the ascriptive property that it is *in the foot*.

- (8.26) a. *Jina karta-rru want hala?*
 foot poke-PASSP somewhere
 [Your] foot got poked somewhere?
- b. *Ngawu, thuulwa-minyji-nu jina-ngka-a ngathala-a?*
 yes pull-FUT-QUOT foot-LOC-ACC 1SG.LOC-ACC
 Yes, how about pulling out [the thing] in my foot?
- c. *Nyina-Ø kartu ngathala yilangu, ngayu thuulwa-minyji-la jina-ngka-a.*
 sit-IMP you me.LOC here, I pull-FUT-LOC foot-LOC-ACC
 You sit here by me while I then pull out [the thing] in [your] foot.

There are two examples of apparently elliptical expressions in example (8.27). First the noun phrase *thawun-ta* (town-LOCative) (8.27b), which refers to the things bought 'in town', provides a generic reference to a collection of things which are itemised later in the text (when it is discovered that some things have been forgotten). The second expression, *thanuwa-marta-ngara* (food-PROprietive-PLural) (8.27c), referring to the people 'with the food', picks out a particularly relevant property of the shoppers who were sent back to town for the forgotten items.

- (8.27) a. *Nhuwana puni-rra wii thawun-mulyarra, nganaju wuruma-minyji*
 2PL go-CTEMP if town-ALL 1SG.ACC do.for-FUT
yurmtura-a manyarrka-a-thurti wii parrka-a wii?
 flour-ACC sugar-ACC-CONJ maybe tea-ACC maybe
 If you go to town will you get for me some flour and sugar maybe, and
 maybe tea?
- b. *Nganama manku-lha-nguru-rru thawun-ta-a, wuruma-l.yarra*
 1PL.EXC get-PAST-ABL-NOW town-LOC-ACC do.for-CTEMP
kartungu, parrani-lha-ma-minyji-rru kartungu-mulyarra...
 2SG.ACC return-PAST-CAUS-FUT-NOW 2SG.OBL-ALL
 Now having got [the things] in town for you, we then brought them
 back to you...
- c. *Ngayu marlara-a karri-nguru nhawu-rra purrkuru waruul,*
 1SG.NOM road-ACC stand-PRES watch-REL true still
nhula-ngara murma-ngka-rru ngaliwa-a, thanuwa-marta-ngara.
 that (near.you)-PL close-LOC-NOW 1PL.INC-ACC food-PROP-PL

I stand watching the road. True enough, they are close to us now, [those people] with the food.

Rather than treat these constructions as elliptical, the adnominal expressions are assumed here to be fillers of the Entity slot in a complete noun phrase. Under this interpretation, the ascriptive use of adnominal suffixes is seen as a productive device allowing a great deal of creativity in the construction of narrative. An entity can be referred to by any of the properties it is known to have, whether these be inherent, such as determine its being considered a token of a particular nominal type (e.g. 'dog' or 'man'), or whether they be dependent on a particular context (that dog's owners use them in hunting meat) (see (8.24)). Similarly, once a participant has been introduced into a text it can be named by any of the characteristic properties that served to identify it in the first place, by the properties attributed to it by way of qualifying expressions, or by characteristics or properties acquired through its role in the events recounted in the text.

As example (8.28) shows, this pattern of using ascriptive predicates as the heads of nominal referring expressions is not restricted to adnominally marked nominals. Here the underlined expression is a verb bearing plural marking and the accusative suffix. Embedded clauses of this kind are described in §8.5.3 below.

- (8.28) *Thanuwa-ngara-marta nyina-layi wangkarnu-marra-rru nhartu-ngara-a*
 food-PL-PROP sit-FUT talk-COLL+CTEMP-NOW thing-PL-ACC
manku-lha-nguru wuruma-l.yarra nyina-marri-lha-ngara-a.
 get-PAST-ABL do.for-CTEMP stay-COLL-PAST-ABL-ACC
 With all the food they then sit down and talk together, having got the things for
[the ones who] stayed (behind) together.

8.5 COMPLEX NOUN PHRASES

The basic noun phrase consisting of a selection of functional slots filled by simple nominal lexemes can be expanded by filling the slots with more complex structures. These structures are of three types: noun phrases, conjoined noun phrases, and clauses.

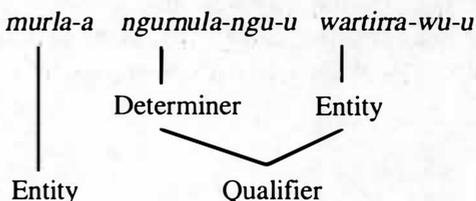
8.5.1 EMBEDDED NOUN PHRASES

Embedded noun phrases occur in each of the positions described in §8.1. The simplest non-basic noun phrases consist of a single nominal bearing an adnominal suffix (example (8.29)). Other embedded noun phrases consist of a number of nominals conforming to the general noun phrase structure (8.30), (8.31). Depending on the relationship between the embedded nominal and the matrix head, some adnominal suffix may be distributed over the embedded noun phrase.

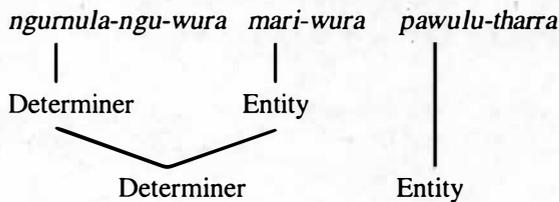
- (8.29) *Ngurnu tharnta-a murla-a ngarri-ngka-nguru-u*
 that.ACC euro-ACC meat-ACC ashes-LOC-ABL-ACC
 that euro meat from out of the ashes (from example (4.62))

<i>ngurnu</i>	<i>tharnta-a</i>	<i>murla-a</i>	<i>ngarri-ngka-nguru-u</i>
Determiner	Classifier	Entity	Qualifier

- (8.30) *murla-a ngurnula-ngu-u wartirra-wu-u*
 meat-ACC that.DEF-GEN-ACC woman-GEN-ACC
 meat belonging to that woman



- (8.31) *ngurnula-ngu-wura mari-wura pawulu-tharra*
 that.DEF-GEN-BELONG sister-BELONG child-DU
 his sister's two children (from example (5.10))



8.5.2 EMBEDDED CONJOINED NOUN PHRASES

The conjunction of noun phrases within a noun phrase structure is achieved with the conjunctive morpheme *-thurti*. As discussed in §4.19, the status of *-thurti* as a nominal suffix is not completely clear: it usually occurs within the scope of a distributed relational nominal suffix (8.32), but may occur following such a suffix (8.33). There are no obvious differences in meaning associated with the different positions.

- (8.32) *Ngayu ngawurri-ma-minyji puwara-thurti-i martarr-thurti-i.*
 1SG.NOM mixed-CAUS-FUT charcoal-CONJ-ACC red.ochre-CONJ-ACC
 I'll mix up charcoal and red ochre.

- (8.33) *Ngayu kampa-lalha thanuwa-ngara-a wuruma-l.yarra*
 1SG.NOM cook-PAST vegetable.food-PL-ACC do.for-CTEMP
pawulu-ngara-a-thurti kanyara-ngara-a-thurti.
 child-PL-ACC-CONJ adult-PL-ACC-CONJ
 I cooked food for the children and the adults.

Occasionally, *-thurti* appears on only the second of two nominals. In such examples there is usually an implication that the second of the two conjuncts is subordinate to the first.

- (8.34) *Mir.ta-l nguyirri-wirraa-ma-minyji yirna-ngara-a*
 not-THEN asleep-PRIV-CAUS-FUT this.OBL-PL-ACC

kanyara-ngara-a wartirra-thurti-i.
 man-PL-ACC woman-CONJ-ACC

Then you won't be keeping awake these men, or women either.

The conjunction suffix may also occur on a nominal in isolation (examples (4.178) to (4.180)). In such cases the *-thurti*-marked nominal may be construed with another noun phrase through case concord, resulting in an effective conjunction of the two noun phrases. Although semantically very similar, this type of conjunction is syntactically very different from that described here.

8.5.3 EMBEDDED CLAUSES

Whole clauses may be embedded within a noun phrase, either in the Entity position or as a Qualifier. The clause appears without a subject and it is the assumed filler of the subject slot that can be understood as the entity to which the noun phrase as a whole refers. The use of subjectless embedded clauses as noun phrases is equivalent to the use of adnominal expressions as the sole constituents of noun phrases as discussed in §8.4. Here reference is made to an entity by describing an action in which that entity has been involved as a central participant.

- (8.35) *Ngayu wara-ngara-a wantha-rminyji, wilyiwilyi-ma-rnu-ngara-a*
 1SG.NOM clothes-PL-ACC put-FUT clean-CAUS-PASSP-PL-ACC

wantha-rminyji.
 put-FUT

I'll put out the clothes, put out [the ones that] have been cleaned.

The verb in an embedded clause usually bears either the past tense or the passive perfective verb inflection and carries the nominal suffixes inherited from the noun phrase structure. The examples chosen here all show the distribution of plural marking to the subordinate clause verb, thus making the embedded structure very clear. In example (8.36) the embedded clause fills the Entity slot while the pronoun is a Determiner. The nominal *wantamartu* 'silly' functions as a Qualifier. In (8.37) and (8.38) the clause is a Qualifier.

- (8.36) *Kartu panyu-npa-layi nganarna-a ngalarri-lha-ngara-a*
 2SG.NOM good-INCH-FUT 1PL.EXC-ACC forget-PAST-PL-ACC

wantamartu-ngara-a.
 silly-PL-ACC

You be good to us forgetful silly people.

- (8.37) *Nhiingara panyu-ngara wirra-a yinka-lalha-ngara ...*
 this.PL good-PL boomerang-ACC chisel-PAST-PL

These good people who carved the boomerang...

- (8.38) *Ngayu nhawu-ngu-layi ngurnu-ngara-lu kanyara-lu puwany*
 1SG.NOM see-PASS-FUT that.OBL-PL-EFF man-EFF hunting

puni-lha-ngara-lu.
 go-PAST-PL-EFF

I'll be seen by those men who have gone hunting.

Given that verbal clauses may be embedded in noun phrase slots, it might be assumed that non-verbal clauses may also be so embedded. However, since an embedded clause usually does service for the nominal which ordinarily fills its subject position, most embedded non-verbal clauses would be indistinguishable from noun phrases. For example, the non-verbal ascriptive clause *ngunhu kanyara / parla-marta* (that.NOM man money-PROP) 'that man has money', would appear as simply *parla-marta* if embedded under some noun phrase.

8.6 ADJOINED NOUN PHRASE STRUCTURES

Complex noun phrases are distinguished from adjoined noun phrase structures. The latter can be considered special cases of a general pattern in which similarly case-marked noun phrases are construed at some higher level of semantic interpretation. Two general functions of adjoined noun phrase structures can be recognised. Firstly, an adjoined noun phrase may provide a fuller description of a group denoted by some noun phrase by specifying the membership of the group:

- (8.39) *Ngunhaa parrani-lha-rru nhawu-lu ngumala-ngu-u*
 that.NOM return-PAST-NOW see-PURPss that.DEF-GEN-ACC
ngarniyarrangu-u, pipi-thurti-i pawu-thurti-i
 family-ACC mother-CONJ-ACC father-CONJ-ACC
mimi-thurti-i.
 uncle-CONJ-ACC
 He went back to see his family; mother, father and uncle.
- (8.40) *Nganarna jalurra-a nhawu-layi kupiyaji-i, wuntu-ngara-a-thurti*
 1PL.EXC dance-ACC see-FUT little(PL)-ACC boy-PL-ACC-CONJ
ngurrinymarta-ngara-a-thurti panyu-ma-rnura-a.
 girl-PL-ACC-CONJ good-CAUS-PrREL-ACC
 We'll watch the little fellows, boys and girls, making a good job of the dance.

The use of an adjoined noun phrase expression to describe the composition of a group is a common device in explicating non-singular pronoun reference. Often adjoined noun phrases specify just one or two of the members of the group, typically specifying the third person included within the reference set of a first person exclusive pronoun. The following example provides a good illustration.

- (8.41) *Ngunhaa nganarna-lu, yilu ngathu, manku-yangu jarrkurti-lu.*
 that.NOM 1PL.EXC-EFF this.EFF 1SG.EFF grab-PASSP three-EFF
Ngaliwa-rru, kartu-thurti-rru puni-layi.
 1PL.INC-NOW 2SG.NOM-CONJ-NOW go-FUT
 That fellow was grabbed by us, by this fellow and me, by three of us all together. We, you included, will go now.

The particle *wii* (§7.6) is very common in adjoined sequences, as seen in examples (8.42) and (4.159).

- (8.42) *Ngunhaa puni-layi thanuwa-ngara-a manku-lu yurntura-a,*
 that.NOM go-FUT food-PL-ACC get-PURPss flour-ACC
manyarrka-a, ngamari-i, minthirriiny-ku wii, wuruma-l.yarra
 sugar-ACC tobacco-ACC rice-ACC maybe do.for-CTEMP

nhuunu-nhanu-ngu, jilyarta-a wii, kayartu-marnu-u,
 spouse-3POSS-ACC pipe-ACC maybe smoke-ASSOC-ACC

piriri-i wii, ngawurrmarta-a wii, parrani-rrawaara
 matches-ACC maybe beer-ACC maybe return-SEQ

ngurnu-ngara-marta.

that.OBL-PL-PROP

That one's going to get food; flour, sugar, tobacco, and rice maybe, doing it for her husband, a pipe maybe, smoking gear, matches perhaps, and beer maybe, then she'll come back with those things.

The second clear type of adjoined noun phrase pattern involves the listing of a number of noun phrases all of which give particular descriptions of some object. As mentioned earlier, this is very like an extension of the Qualifying slot in the basic noun phrase structure. A common device is to list a set of synonyms to emphasise some special characteristic of an object or person.

(8.43) *Nhula wartirra kangku-nguru pawulu-u, purna-a kupuyu-u*
 near.you woman carry-PRES child-ACC baby-ACC little-ACC

purluthan-wirriwa-a.

walk-PRIV-ACC

That woman is carrying a child, a little baby that isn't walking yet.

(8.44) *Mir.ta-l kunti nhuura ngunhu-ngara, wantharni-mpa-waa*
 not-THEN RHET knowing that.NOM-PL how-INCH-PURPs=o

ngurnaa, ngurnu-tharra-a-lwa. thaapuwa-tharra, jiwarra-tharra,
 that.ACC that.OBL-DU-ACC-ID big.man-DU white-DU

mirtamirta-tharra, jurlwin-tharra...

white-DU white-DU

They really didn't know then what those fellows would do, that's those two fellows, the important ones, the white ones...

8.7 APPARENTLY EXCEPTIONAL NOUN PHRASE STRUCTURES

There are some apparent exceptions to the patterns of noun phrase structure described in previous sections. The first class of exceptions includes orders of noun phrase constituents which appear not to conform to the general pattern of functional slots presented in (§8.1). Both (8.45) and (8.46) are examples of a principled exception to normal ordering whereby part of the noun phrase can be preposed for special, contrastive, emphasis.

(8.45) *Jami, ngunhaa kawurru jarrala-ma-minyji, wal.yu-rru*
 medicine that.NOM medicine healthy-CAUS-FUT far-NOW

puni-waa.

go-PURPs=o

As for medicine, that *kawurru* sort makes you healthy, so you can keep on going.

(8.46) *Yirna-tharra-wu kanyara-tharra-wu, ngunhu ngurra parlu-ngka*
 this.OBL-DU-GEN man-DU-GEN that.NOM camp top-LOC

parla-ngka.

hill-LOC

These two men's camp is on top of a hill. (trans.)

The two examples illustrate a pattern in which some nominal precedes a demonstrative in Determiner function. In (8.45), *jami* is a generic and might be expected to fill the Classifier slot, but here the speaker preposes the generic to draw attention to the particular topic of discussion. In (8.46), the genitive noun phrase would be expected to function as a Determiner but would normally follow the demonstrative, which makes a more general determining reference. As well as serving to identify a particular camp, the preposed genitive noun phrase draws attention to the possessor. The two men are certainly unusual in deciding to make their camp on the top of a hill and the speaker goes on to speculate on just what they might be afraid of in building in such a strategic defensive position. To conform with the analysis presented here, the fronted expressions are to be treated as separate noun phrases, apposed to a following noun phrase.

The second class of apparent exceptions involves the lack of number agreement within apparent noun phrases. Number suffixes like other nominal inflections might be expected to be distributed to all elements of a noun phrase, excluding nominals which are inherently specified for number such as numerals, non-singular pronouns, and idiosyncratic plurals like *kupiyaji* 'little ones'. However, it is not uncommon for number marking to appear on some part of an apparent noun phrase rather than on all words in the noun phrase. Firstly, nominals in the Entity slot marked for number may be followed by what appears to be an unmarked Qualifier:

(8.47) *Thurlajinkarri-tharra nganajumarta-la mir.ta kuliya-lalha.*
 poor.fellow-DU 1DU.DISHARM-LOC not hear-PAST
 Those two poor fellows with us didn't listen.

(8.48) *Nhuwana pawulu-ngara kangku-Ø muyi-tharra-a nhuwana-wu-u.*
 2PL child-PL take-IMP dog-DU-ACC 2PL-GEN-ACC
 You children take those two dogs of yours.

Secondly, a number-marked noun phrase may be introduced by a singular demonstrative or singular possessive construction:

(8.49) *Ngunhu kupiyaji karranykarrany-ngara jalya waruu.*
 that.NOM little(PL) comorant-PL useless still
 Those little comorants still can't fly (lit. are still no good).

(8.50) *ngurnu kayarra-a wirra-tharra-a panyu-tharra-a*
 that.ACC two-ACC boomerang-DU-ACC good-DU-ACC
 those two good boomerangs

(8.51) *Ngayu thawu-lalha nganaju-u pawulu-ngara-a thawun-mulyarra.*
 1SG.NOM send-PAST 1SG.GEN-ACC child-PL-ACC town-ALL
 I sent my children to town.

The simple solution to this problem is to stick to the definition that the scope of an inflection defines a noun phrase and so treat the apparent noun phrases in the above examples as adjoined structures. The apparent noun phrases in (8.47) to (8.51) can then be paraphrased as:

- (8.47') ... *thurlajinkarri-tharra, nganajumarta-la* ...
 poor.fellow-DU 1DU.DISHARM-LOC
 ...two poor fellows, with me...
- (8.48') ... *muyi-tharra, nhuwana-wu* ...
 dog-DU 2PL-GEN
 ...two dogs, yours...
- (8.49') ... *ngunhu, kupiyaji karranykarrany-ngara* ...
 that.NOM little(PL) comorant-PL
 ...that, a group of comorants...
- (8.50') ... *ngurnu, kayarra wirra-tharra panyu-tharra* ...
 that.ACC two boomerang-DU good-DU
 ...that, two good boomerangs...
- (8.51') ... *nganaju, pawulu-ngara* ...
 1SG.GEN child-PL
 ...mine, children...

CHAPTER 9

SIMPLE CLAUSES

This chapter describes simple non-verbal and verbal clauses. The first two sections describe two types of non-verbal clause: simple ascriptive predications (§9.1), and clauses in which a nominal predicate takes both a subject and an accusative complement (§9.2). Section 9.3 describes the use of basic intransitive state verbs, and the motion verb *puni-Ø* 'go', as copulas, comparing copula clauses with the non-verbal clause types. Section 9.4 presents an overview of the syntax of verbal clauses, and then §9.5 describes the range of types of active clause, organised by verb class. Passive clauses are described in §9.6 and the issue of grammatical relations in double-object clauses is discussed in §9.7. The special case frames of imperative clauses are described in §9.8. Section 9.9 describes the use of referential case marking in encoding second predications and part-whole constructions, §9.10 briefly describes the structure of interrogative sentences, and finally §9.11 discusses the order of constituents within the clause.

9.1 ASCRIPTIVE NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

The simplest type of non-verbal clause consists of two nominal expressions, one of which functions as a predicate, the other as subject. The following examples consist of a definite subject noun phrase, and a simple nominal predicate.

- (9.1) *Kartungu-ngara pawulu-ngara / murtiwarla paju.*
 2SG.GEN-PL child-PL fast REAL
 Your children are very fast (runners).
- (9.2) *Kalika / nyartu. Kalika, kaya-wuyu, / mayarta.*
 one left.handed one elder.brother-SIDE right.handed
 One is left-handed. One, the older brother, is right-handed.
- (9.3) *Nhiyu / kanparr-wura jalyuru.*
 this spider-BELONG hole
 This is a spider's hole. (trans.)
- (9.4) *Nhiyu yartapalyu-rru / Maral.ya-ngara.*
 this other(PL)-NOW Maral.ya-PL
 This other mob, now, are the *Maral.ya*.

Clauses in which the predicate noun phrase bears some adnominal case suffix are also classed as ascriptives. The most common examples involve the proprietive or privative suffixes.

- (9.5) *Ngunhu-ngara / juwayu-la-marta parla-marta.*
 that-PL hand-LOC-PROP rock-PROP
 They have rocks in their hands. (from example (4.103))
- (9.6) *Ngunhaa kanyara / mir.ta kuliya-marta.*
 that man not ear-PROP
 That man has no ears (won't listen).

In possessive ascriptive clauses, the predicate is a nominal expression marked with either the genitive suffix or one of the minor possessive suffixes (§4.12, §4.13). Some examples are:

- (9.7) *Nhiyu muyi / nganaju.*
 this dog 1SG.GEN
 This dog is mine.
- (9.8) *Nganangu yirru / ngunhu?*
 who.GEN HES that
 Whose is that one?
- Nganaju-wura yirru / ngunhaa yirru.*
 1SG.OBL-BELONG HES that HES
 One of my mob, he is.

Often, possessive relationships are expressed by clauses in which the predicate (and sometimes the subject) is an endocentric genitive noun phrase.

- (9.9) *Ngayala-tharra ngurnula-ngu / ngurnula-ngu-wura*
 nephew-DU that.DEF-GEN that.DEF-GEN-BELONG
mari-wura pawulu-tharra.
 younger.sister-BELONG child-DU
 Those two nephews of his are his younger sister's children.
- (9.10) *Warruwa-ngara-wura / Walter. Kanyara-wura / Karlinpangu.*
 European-PL-BELONG Walter Aboriginal-BELONG Karlinpangu
 His European [name] is Walter. His Aboriginal one is Karlinpangu.

In locational ascriptive clauses the predicate describes a place at which the entity denoted by the subject noun phrase is located. The predicate may be an inherently locative nominal, such as an adverbial demonstrative or compass term, or may be a more complex noun phrase bearing a locative suffix.

- (9.11) *Ngunhu-rru / Minturru-la-rru, karalu-rru.*
 that-NOW Minturru-LOC-NOW south-NOW
Minturru-la / ngunhaa-rru Pintharr.
 Minturru-LOC that-NOW Pintharr
 That is in Minturru country, south. In Minturru country that Pintharr country is.
- (9.12) *Ngulangu-lwa / ngunhaa!*
 there-ID that
 There it is!

The following example illustrates an ablative predicate indicating the original location of the subject of the clause. There is no sense in which the clause implies a particular motion away from this point.

- (9.13) *Ngunhaa / ngula-nguru parlu-ngka-nguru Jarrungkajarrungka-la-nguru.*
 that there-ABL top-LOC-ABL Rocklea.Station-LOC-ABL
 They are from up there on top of Rocklea Station (in the high country).

As example (9.14) shows, non-verbal clauses allow second predications. The ablative expression gives a point of orientation for the compass term predicate of the locational clause.

- (9.14) *Yurlungarrarnu-nguru, ngunhu / ngularla yawurru.*
 Yurlungarrarnu-ABL that there.NS west
 From Yurlungarrarnu Pool, that place is somewhere there to the west.

The usual subject-predicate order in an ascriptive clause may be reversed where some additional emphasis is placed on the particular predicate; typically it introduces new information. Often, although this is not obligatory, there is a slight pause between the fronted predicate and the following subject.

- (9.15) *Mirtali-nu, / ngunhaa Karnuny.*
 big-QUOT that Karnuny
 Apparently he was big, that fellow Karnuny.

- (9.16) *Jalya-ngara-rru, / kalyaran yilangu.*
 rubbish-PL-NOW wood here
 A load of rubbish, the wood here.

- (9.17) *Purmtul-wa-rru / ngunhaa yini.*
 Purmtul-Ø-NOW that name
 Purmtul, that's its name.

As examples (9.18) and (9.19) show, the subject of a non-verbal clause may be ellipsed.

- (9.18) *Ngunhu want hala karri-nguru kuwarri, Pantuwarnangka.*
 that somewhere stand-PRES now Pannawonica
 _____ / *mir.ta-l yini-marta Pantuwarnangka-marta.*
 not-THEN name-PROP Pannawonica-PROP
 That one is somewhere there now, Pannawonica Hill. [It] didn't have the name Pannawonica then (once upon a time).

- (9.19) *Yawurru waruu, Kawuyu-wini / pularna-lwa.*
 west still Kawuyu-NEAR they-ID
 _____ / *want hala Jinpingayinu-wini.*
 somewhere Jinpingayinu-NEAR
 They are in the west, near Kawuyu Hill. (They're) somewhere near Jinpingayinu Pool.

9.2 NON-VERBAL CLAUSES WITH ACCUSATIVE COMPLEMENTS

There are three types of non-verbal clause in which the nominal predicate takes an accusative complement as well as a subject. These three are described in the following sections.

9.2.1 COMPLEMENTS OF KIN/HUMAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS

In most examples of this class a nominal denoting a particular kin relationship functions as the predicate; the propositus of the term is the subject, the possessor is the accusative complement. The construction is preferred over a simple possessive ascriptive clause when the speaker wishes to establish the relationship between two participants and assumes that the addressee may have no knowledge of the relationship. In the following examples the kin term predicate is underlined.

- (9.20) *Ngunhu ngumula-ngu muyi, ngunhu-lwa pawu ngurnu-ngara-a*
 that that.DEF-GEN dog that-ID father that.OBL-PL-ACC

kupiyaji-i.
 little(PL)-ACC

That dog of his, that's the one who is the father of those little ones (puppies).

- (9.21) *Mirntiwul-yu, ngunhaa ngangka ngurnu-ngara-a.*
 all-ACC that mother that.OBL-PL-ACC

That one is mother of all of them.

- (9.22) *Nhiyu puliyanyja ngaliwa-a mimi.*
 this old.man 1PL.INC-ACC MoBro

This old man is mother's brother to us.

In example (9.23) the nominal *winthi* 'enemy', is not a kin term but in a similar way describes a social relationship between subject and accusative complement.

- (9.23) *Ngunhu-ngara winthi ngurnu-ngara-a-lwa.*
 that.NOM-PL enemy that.OBL-PL-ACC-ID

They are enemies to these fellows.

9.2.2 COMPLEMENTS OF PSYCH-PREDICATES

Martuthunira has a small set of predicate nominals denoting psychological states and which may take an accusative complement: *nhuura* 'knowing', *wiru* 'wanting, liking', and *waya* 'fear'.

- (9.24) *Ngayu nhuura ngurnu kanyara-a.*
 1SG.NOM knowing that.ACC man-ACC
 I know that man. (trans.)

- (9.25) *Wuraa-lpurtu nganarna, mir.ta wiru wantamartu-ngara-a.*
 all.right-COMP 1PL.EXC not liking crazy-PL-ACC
 All right, on the other hand there's us, we don't like crazy people.

- (9.26) *Ngunhu waya marntanumarta-a.*
 that fear policeman-ACC
 That fellow is frightened of policemen. (trans.)

Although examples in which the accusative complement is a simple nominal expression, such as the above, do occur in the data, more often these predicate nominals take clausal complements controlled by either the subject or a raised accusative argument (§10.4).

9.2.3 COMPLEMENTS OF (COMMON) NOMINALS

A range of common nominals may take an accusative complement. The nominal predicate ascribes some property to the subject of the clause but this characterisation of the subject is mediated by the accusative complement. That is, the property of the subject is ascribed relative to the particular traits, circumstances, or point of view (if animate) of the referent of the complement. Most examples of this type of complement involve nominal predicates of the prototypical value adjective type.

- (9.27) *Ngunhaa jami panyu ngurntura-a.*
 that.NOM medicine good cold-ACC
 That medicine is good for colds.
- (9.28) *Nhiyu ngurnta kuyil paju warnu nganaju. Wuraal wiyaa panyu*
 this style bad REAL ASSERT 1SG.ACC all.right maybe good
wirta-ngara-a.
 youth-PL-ACC
 The lie (lit. style) [of this hill] is really difficult for me [to climb]. All right, maybe it's fine for young people.
- (9.29) *Ngunhu paya-nnguntharri ngawurr-marta mir.ta panyu paju*
 that.NOM drink-HABITNOM froth-PROP not good REAL
nganaju-u kurntal-yu.
 1SG.GEN-ACC daughter-ACC
 That beer (lit. thing with foam that's drunk) isn't very good for my daughter.

In many cases, the predicate governs a clausal complement describing a set of intended actions which are somehow influenced by the existence of the property ascribed to the subject of the matrix clause.

- (9.30) *Nhiyu marlara mulurru paju ngurnu-ngara-a puni-waa yilangu*
 this road straight REAL that.OBL-PL-ACC go-PURPs=o here
marlara-la.
 road-LOC
 This road is too straight for those fellows [who've been drinking] to walk here on it.

9.3 COPULA CONSTRUCTIONS

The non-verbal clauses described in the preceding sections are effectively tenseless; the ascriptive clauses imply the existence of a permanent characteristic or relationship of identity. The nominal predicates of kin relationship and of psychological state also imply permanent states. However, the use of a verbal copula allows the setting of temporal bounds on the existence of such states, and/or the coding of various modalities.

Martuthunira makes use of three intransitive stance verbs as copulas: *nyina-Ø* 'sit, stay, be', *karri-Ø* 'stand', and *wanti-Ø* 'lie'. Of these, only *nyina-Ø* can be said to function like a true dur.my copula; both *karri-Ø* and *wanti-Ø* retain something of their core meaning in any copula construction. Sections §9.3.1 and §9.3.2 describe the various uses of the unmarked *nyina-Ø* copula and discuss the bases for the choice of one or other marked copula. In addition, the simple motion verb *puni-Ø* 'go' may function as a copula and implies the maintenance of a state throughout the performance of additional activities. This is described in §9.3.3. Finally, §9.3.4 describes briefly the role of the copulas as markers of continuing activity.

9.3.1 THE UNMARKED COPULA *nyina-Ø* 'sit, stay, be'

The copula construction allows the ascription of a property to the subject of the clause relative to some time frame – either the present of utterance or some narrative present – or in relation to some other category normally encoded on the verb, such as modality (example (9.31)) or collective activity/existence (9.32).

- (9.31) *Ngaliwa mirntiwul nyina-marni nhuura!*
 1PL.INC all be-CONTR knowing
 We should all know [that]!
- (9.32) *Pukarti-ngara nyina-marri-nguru jalya-rru.*
 snakewood-PL be-COLL-PRES rubbish-NOW
 The snakewood trees are all rubbish now (they weren't always).
- (9.33) *Ngunhu-ngara nyina-lha mir.ta-rru panyu... Wuraal-wa-rru ngunhaa.*
 that.NOM-PL be-PAST not-NOW good all.right-Ø-NOW that.NOM
Nyina-layi pularna mir.ta-rru panyu.
 be-FUT they not-NOW good
 They weren't good...All right that's how it is now. They aren't going to be good.
- (9.34) *Nhiiyarra-lwa, ngunhaa papungali-tharra paju-rru nyina-layi.*
 this.DU-ID that.NOM deity-DU REAL-NOW be-FUT
 These two would end up being our two gods.
- (9.35) *Nguu nhiyu warnu nganaju kaya nyina-nguru nguu!*
 face this ASSERT 1SG.GEN brother be-PRES face
 This face is my brother's face (sudden realisation)!

There are no non-verbal clauses with an existential function in Martuthunira; all such predications require a copula. For example:

- (9.36) *Warruwa-ngara nyina-lha jarrkurti ngunhu-ngara pintirrijila.*
 devil-PL be-PAST three that.NOM-PL scattered
 There were three groups of devils scattered about.
- (9.37) *Ngunhaa nyina-nguru kuwarri.*
 that.NOM be-PRES now
 That one exists today.

Finally, the small set of manner nominals (§3.1.1) may not function as primary predicates but require a mediating verbal predicate. In the simplest cases these may select a copula, for example:

- (9.38) *Nhartu-npa-lha-lwa? Nhulaa jurlurlu nyina-nguru,*
 what-INCH-PAST-ID near.you crouched be-PRES
mir.ta puyii nhawu-rra.
 not far.ACC see-CTEMP
 What's happened? That one near you is crouching down and won't see
 very far.

9.3.2 *karri-Ø* 'stand' AND *wanti-Ø* 'lie' AS COPULAS

Unlike the unmarked copula *nyina-Ø*, *karri-Ø* 'stand', and *wanti-Ø* 'lie', retain something of their core meaning when functioning as copulas. The choice of copula is dependent on a number of factors. Firstly, many subjects choose a particular copula because of a characteristic stance. Thus trees generally 'stand', plains 'lie'. However, although there is a clear tendency for particular entities to choose one or other of the three copulas, this does not mean that the copulas place selectional restrictions on what their subjects may be.

Karri-Ø 'stand' is chosen when the subject of the clause is perceived as having an essentially vertical aspect. However, the verb strongly implies temporarily arrested motion; thus eagles may 'stand' in the sky before they swoop, and water (which generally 'lies') may 'stand' still and clear before it is muddied (example (9.42)). Perhaps related to this, *karri-Ø* replaces *nyina-Ø* as the unmarked copula in the avoidance style.

- (9.39) *Ngunhu-ngara karri-nguru panyanypa-rru.*
 that.NOM-PL stand-PRES ready-NOW
 They are standing ready now.
- (9.40) *Karri-nguru kuwarri, Pantuwarnangka.*
 stand-PRES now Pannawonica
 It stands there today, Pannawonica Hill.
- (9.41) *Nhartu ngularla karri-nguru pururu-la-nu?*
 what there.NS stand-PRES belt-LOC-QUOT
 What's that hanging there somewhere on his belt?
- (9.42) *Wantharni nhiyu kayulu, panyu? Mir.ta nhartu-marta wii,*
 how this.NOM water good not something-PROP maybe
panyu karri-lha.
 good stand-PAST
 How is this water, good? Maybe it hasn't got anything [in it], has been standing
 good (clear and untainted).

Wanti-Ø is chosen as a copula when the subject of the clause is perceived as having a marked horizontal orientation, either linear or planar. This applies to single entities which lie flat on the ground, and the ground itself, but secondarily to any collection of entities which can be perceived as distributed in (horizontal) space.

- (9.43) *Thal.ya ngunhu wanti-nguru kana-ngka-l, kuwarri wii.*
 track that lie-PRES clear-LOC-THEN now maybe
 That track is clear to see, even today.
- (9.44) *Ngurra-rru yirla wanti-nguru ngulangu.*
 ground-NOW only lie-PRES there
 Only the ground is there (nothing else can be seen).
- (9.45) *Nhiyu pal.yarra wanti-wala kalyaran-wirriwa-rru.*
 this plain lie-PURPds tree-PRIV-NOW
 This plain was to be without trees.

In example (9.46), a swarm of flies 'lie' scattered upon a bed of leaves although flies normally 'sit'. Similarly in (9.47), a large group of people are scattered across a plain although the adverbial nominal *jurlurlu* 'crouching' normally selects the *nyina-Ø* copula (as in (9.38)).

- (9.46) *Nhiyu warrari yirla wanti-nguru wurrulywa-la.*
 this fly only lie-PRES leaves-LOC
 There are only these flies on the leaves (the meat is all gone).
- (9.47) *Nhiingara wanti-nguru yarrwa-ngka jurlurlu.*
 this.PL lie-PRES behind-LOC crouching
 These people were spread out behind it, crouching down.

Just as the ground, or 'country' lies, so customs, laws and stories are 'laid out' or distributed throughout a tract of country or to a widely scattered group of people. Example (9.48) illustrates this use of *wanti-Ø*, in contrast to the unmarked *nyina-Ø* copula.

- (9.48) *Nhiyu wanti-nguru marrari-ngara, maral.ya-wura, wanta-mu*
 this lie-PRES story-PL devil-BELONG place-PASSP
jinangku-yangu, wantarni wanti-lha-la palalyi-l,
 track-PASSP how lie-PAST-LOC before-THEN
nyina-lha-la pukarrpukarr-ngara.
 be-PAST-LOC ancients-PL
 These are the stories of the devils, laid down and followed, of how things were before, when the ancient people were about.

9.3.3 *puni-Ø* 'go' AS A COPULA

The simple motion verb *puni-Ø* 'go' has a restricted function as a copula. This is illustrated in the following examples.

- (9.49) *Yimpala-rru-wa, kanyara-wuyu puni-layi jalya-rru,*
 like.that-NOW-YK man-SIDE go-FUT rubbish-NOW
yaan-wirriwa-rru.
 spouse-PRIV-NOW
 Like that, the husband will be rubbish now, without a wife.
- (9.50) *Panyu-l puni-layi ngathu kul.yakarta-ma-mu.*
 good-THEN go-FUT 1SG.EFF educated-CAUS-PASSP
 Then you'll be good, having been educated by me.

While it is clear that the ascriptive predicates in these two examples, *jalya* ‘rubbish’ and *panyu* ‘good’ respectively, are second predicates on the subject of *puni-Ø*, the use of the verb does not imply any motion on the part of the subject. The use of the *puni-Ø* copula (rather than *nyina-Ø* for example) indicates that the ascribed state will be maintained while other actions are performed. Thus the husband in example (9.49) will be as good as rubbish and without a wife in all the actions he now performs, wherever he goes. Similarly, the child who has been educated properly in (9.50), will behave in a correct manner whatever the task.

9.3.4 COPULAS AS MARKERS OF CONTINUING ACTIVITY

In the same way that the copulas *nyina-Ø* and *puni-Ø* describe the persistence of a state, they can be used to indicate the persistence of actions through a period of time. Typically, the verbs appear together with other verbs marked with the contemporaneous relative subordinate clause inflection (§10.1.4). For example:

- (9.51) *Ngayu jirli mir.ta wii panyu, puni-rra yawarrunyja-l.yarra*
 1SG.NOM arm not if good go-CTEMP miss-CTEMP

murla-ngara-a, tharnta-ngara-a, jalya-mpa-rra
 meat-PL-ACC euro-PL-ACC useless-INCH-CTEMP

puni-rra nhuwa-l.yarra waruul-wa-l.yarra.
 go-CTEMP spear-CTEMP still-CAUS-CTEMP

If my arm is no good, I'll keep on missing meat, euros, I'll continue to be useless, keep on [trying to] spear them.

- (9.52) *Wayil ngula yarnta-warntura wiyaa parrani-rrawaara*
 maybe IGNOR day-DISTRIB maybe return-SEQ

ngurnu-mulyarra-lwa, nyina-layi patha-rryarra.
 that.OBL-ALL-ID sit-FUT throw-CTEMP

Maybe each day, I don't know, they came back to that place and stayed there throwing [boomerangs].

9.4 THE SYNTAX OF VERBAL CLAUSES

Martuthunira shares with its Ngayarda relatives the legacy of a historical reorganisation of basic case-marking patterns from ergative-absolute to nominative-accusative. The modern accusative system emerged through a reanalysis of an intransitive nominative-dative pattern, once available for the arguments of transitive verbs under certain semantic conditions, which then became the standard case frame for all transitive verbs (Dench 1982). Simple transitive clauses in the modern Ngayarda languages thus descend from intransitive clauses and the accusative case suffix descends from a dative case.

It is clear that the Martuthunira accusative has retained a number of functions of the old dative and this has resulted in some confusion of the patterns of transitivity in the language. Blake (1977:35) notes that an important function of the dative in many Australian languages is to mark the complements of any predicate that is not a transitive verb. Thus the dative typically marks the complements of intransitive or middle verbs such as ‘cry for’ or ‘wait for’, and complements of nominal predicates such as ‘knowing’, ‘wanting’ or ‘fear’. In

addition, the dative often marks the recipient argument of verbs of giving, and may introduce noun phrase adjuncts with benefactive or purposive functions.

In Martuthunira, the accusative case covers many of these functions as well as marking the objects of prototypical primary transitive verbs like *thani-L* 'hit' or *wurmta-L* 'cut'. At the same time, the semantics of the cardinal transitive relationship is now inherent in the accusative case marker and has spread to many of the originally dative 'intransitive' uses (§4.3). As a result, there are many types of clause in Martuthunira in which more than one accusative argument occurs, and where more than one accusative argument has associated with it something of the semantics of 'direct objecthood'. In this description these clauses are treated as true double-object constructions.

This situation presents some immediate difficulties for analysis, some of which have been touched on briefly in earlier sections. The categorisation of verbs into transitivity classes is complicated by two factors; firstly, the freedom with which objects of apparently transitive verbs may be omitted, and secondly, the freedom with which many verbs may take additional accusative arguments resembling, semantically at least, direct objects. While there are clearly limits to the selection of additional accusative arguments, these often depend to a great extent on the particular meaning and context of use of the verbs in question. Similarly, the linking of different accusative noun phrases to the semantic roles assumed by the verb depends on the referents of these noun phrases and on their expected roles in particular contexts. However, it is assumed here (and see §6.1.3) that verbs may be successfully subcategorised for their core arguments and that the different case frames of certain verbs may be accounted for by establishing separate lexical entries (presumably linked by regular operations on lexical forms).

The analysis of the passive presents similar difficulties. The subject of a passive clause may correspond to one of a range of possible accusative arguments in the corresponding active clause. Thus the passive does not provide any evidence for the organisation of grammatical relations within active clauses and cannot, itself, be fully described in terms of such underlying grammatical relations. The passive is described in §9.6, and the problem of assigning grammatical relations in Martuthunira is briefly discussed in §9.7.

9.5 ARGUMENT STRUCTURES

The classification of verbs presented in this section is based partly on a semantic characterisation of predicates and partly by the types of argument they allow. Of course, these two factors are intimately related. It is assumed that verbs can be successfully subcategorised by their argument structure: an array of possible core and oblique complements. Alternative case frames are assumed to represent a realignment of these core and oblique arguments and for the purposes of this description it is assumed that this realignment is a lexical operation linking different lexical entries for the verbal predicate in question.

9.5.1 IMPERSONAL VERBS

Verbs denoting processes of the weather or emerging times of the day generally appear in text with no overt, or understood, subject argument.

- (9.53) *Ngumu-nguru-wa thanturri-layi yawurrari-rru,*
 that.OBL-ABL-YK go.down-FUT westward-NOW
thulharra-mpa-rra-rru, jarruru wuraaal-wa-rru
 afternoon-INCH-CTEMP-NOW slowly still-Ø-NOW
muthumuthu-mpa-rra-rru.
 cool-INCH-CTEMP-NOW
 From then, [the sun] goes down in the west, it's becoming afternoon, it slowly continues to get cooler.

Non-verbal clauses with accusative complements (§9.2.3) in which the predicate ascribes some property to the weather may also appear to be subjectless:

- (9.54) *Muthu paju nganaju. Ngayu wayangka-nguru malyarra-mpa-wirri.*
 cold REAL 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM frightened-PRES sick-INCH-LEST
 It's too cold for me. I'm frightened of getting sick.
- (9.55) *Karlarra paju ngaliwa-a mungka-lwaa murla-a.*
 hot REAL 1PL.INC-ACC eat-PURPs=o meat-ACC
 It's too hot for us to eat meat. (trans.)

However, on other occasions these clauses may occur with an overt subject noun phrase; either a nominal referring to the day, or a time of the day, or the demonstratives *nhiyu* 'this' or *ngunhaa* 'that'. The demonstrative subject is equivalent to the use of the English dummy subject 'it'.

- (9.56) *Thulharra jampa-rru muthumuthu-mpa-layi, panyi-lwala-rru.*
 afternoon moment-NOW cool-INCH-FUT dance-PURPs-NOW
 The afternoon will be getting cool soon and we will be able to dance.
- (9.57) *Nhiyu malumalu-mpa-nguru-rru, ngaliwa mir.ta-rru nhawu-layi.*
 this.NOM dark-INCH-PRES-NOW 1PL.INC not-NOW see-FUT
 It's getting dark now, and we won't be able to see.

The verbs illustrated in the preceding section are all derived from nominals referring to times of the day or states of the weather. The only monomorphemic weather verb occurring in the Martuthunira data is *parnta-L* 'rain'. This verb may select a demonstrative subject but is always understood to have the implied subject *warnan* 'rain'. More often, either *warnan*, or one of a set of nominals referring to clouds or storms, appears as the subject. *Parnta-L* may take an added benefactive accusative object, as illustrated in example (9.58). Notice also the use of a dummy demonstrative subject with the passive verb *ngapala-ma-rru* 'make muddy':

- (9.58) *Nhiyu warnan parnta-rru-rru warnu ngaliwa-a.*
 this.NOM rain rain-PRES-NOW ASSERT 1PL.INC-ACC
Muthu-mpa-layi-rru. Nhiyu ngapala-ma-rru-rru
 cold-INCH-FUT-NOW this.NOM mud-CAUS-PASSP-NOW
warnan-tu. Nhiyu parnta-rru waruu.
 rain-EFF this.NOM rain-PRES still
 This rain is certainly setting in on us. It's getting cold. It's muddy from the rain. And it's still raining.

9.5.2 INTRANSITIVE STATES/PROCESSES

A number of predicates select a single subject argument, with the possibility of one or more optional adjuncts. The class includes some monomorphemic verbs, for example:

<i>warrpurri-Ø</i>	bathe (4.160)
<i>malyarra-L</i>	be in pain, be ill (4.24), (5.106)
<i>nyuni-Ø</i>	drown (10.42)
<i>kampa-Ø</i>	be burning, be cooking (4.36), (4.37)
<i>parnti-Ø</i>	be smelling, emitting odour
<i>jaama-Ø</i>	yawn

However, simple verbs of this type are not numerous. Most expressions of the existence of a state, either in inanimate or animate entities, involve a copula construction incorporating one of the three verbs *nyina-Ø* 'sit, stay, be', *karri-Ø* 'stand' and *wanti-Ø* 'lie' (§9.3). These three verbs also occur as simple verbs of stance falling into the basic intransitive category:

- (9.59) *Nhiyu nyina-nguru wuraaal kanyara, wirra-a yinka-l.yarra*
 this.NOM sit-PRES all.right man boomerang-ACC chisel-CTEMP

yartapalyu-u-rru. Thungkara-la nyina-nguru, marli-ngka-rru
 others-ACC-NOW ground-LOC sit-PRES cadjeput-LOC-NOW

kartawura-la, malarnu-la.
 butt-LOC shade-LOC

This fellow, the man, is sitting chiselling another lot of boomerangs. [He's] sitting on the ground, at the foot of a cadjeput tree, in the shade.

- (9.60) *Ngunhu-tharra wulu-wirriwa kurryu-ngka martura-la, wantharra,*
 that.NOM-DU leg-PRIV trench-LOC middle-LOC like

wanti-lha-la, ngunhu-tharra nyuju-tharra tharryi-tharra.
 lie-PAST-LOC that.NOM-DU initiate-DU alongside-DU

It was like those two had no legs while they were lying in the trenches, those two initiates, side-by-side.

With few exceptions, predicates denoting processes are derived from nominals through the addition of one of a number of verbalising suffixes. Firstly, a range of verbs incorporating the derivational suffixes *-rri-Ø* (§6.3.5), *-karri-Ø* (§6.3.6) or *-nguli-Ø* (§6.3.7), describe bodily states: for example, *parrawarrari-Ø* 'shiver', *jinkumkarri-Ø* 'sneeze', *punganguli-Ø* 'have stomach ache'. These control a single-subject argument.

Secondly, a virtually unlimited number of process predicates can be derived by the addition of the inchoative suffix *-npa-Ø* to a nominal stem (§6.3.3). However, the argument structures of these predicates depend crucially on the nominal stem in each case – there is no set of frames common to all inchoative verbs. While many inchoative verbs take single-subject core arguments, others may freely take a range of accusative noun phrase arguments or clausal complements on the subject or accusative object. These are illustrated in the following sections.

9.5.3 TRANSITIVE ACTIVITIES

A large class contains prototypical transitive verbs of affect which take a subject argument, usually denoting the actor, and an accusative argument typically denoting a

patient. Clauses involving these verbs often include instrumental noun phrase adjuncts (marked with the propriative suffix) and/or second predications of manner:

- (9.61) *Mir.ta jarruru ngayu thani-lalha nganaju-u muyi-i,*
 not slowly 1SG.NOM hit-PAST 1SG.GEN-ACC dog-ACC
kalyaran-marta.
 stick-PROP
 I thrashed my dog with a stick. (trans.)
 (lit. Not slowly I hit that dog with a stick.)

None of the verbs in this class have alternate case frames whereby some otherwise non-core argument appears as an accusative object. However, most of these verbs may freely take an additional benefactive accusative argument. The class includes:

<i>thani-L</i>	hit (4.48), (10.1)
<i>purra-L</i>	hit with a (thrown) stone (4.93), (9.148)
<i>yinka-L</i>	chisel (4.85), (4.172), (10.70)
<i>karta-L</i>	stab, poke, chop (6.32), (6.33), (10.74)
<i>kampa-L</i>	cook, burn (5.112), (8.33), (10.20)
<i>kanpi-L</i>	winnow
<i>wurta-L</i>	cut, break (4.31), (5.29), (5.80), (9.142)
<i>kanyja-L</i>	hold, keep (9.137), (9.147)
<i>manku-Ø</i>	get, grab, pick up (4.2), (4.59), (5.1)
<i>nhuwa-L</i>	spear (5.5), (5.48), (7.48), (7.81)

The class also includes the majority of verbs derived by the addition of the *-ma-L* causative suffix to a nominal stem (§6.3.4).

9.5.4 VERBS OF TRANSFER

The verb *yungku-Ø* 'give' selects two accusative arguments, denoting the recipient and the theme. There are no alternate case frames for this verb and it is the best example of a true monomorphemic ditransitive predicate to be found in Martuthunira. The potential ambiguity of double-object constructions is discussed in §9.7.

- (9.62) *Ngayu yungku-lha nganaju-u muyi-i murla-a mungka-lwaa.*
 1SG.NOM give-PAST 1SG.GEN-ACC dog-ACC meat-ACC eat-PURPs=o
 I gave my dog meat to eat. (trans.)

Murmta-L 'take from' also takes two accusative objects, denoting the theme and the source (examples (5.93) and (7.80)). However, unlike other verbs of this class it does not allow the source to appear as the subject of a passive clause (9.123) and (9.124).

Kulyama-L 'pay back, give in return' takes two accusative arguments denoting the recipient and the theme. It also takes a locative complement which denotes the object for which the theme is a pay-back gift (9.63). However, there are no examples in the data in which all arguments are represented.

- (9.63) *Ngayu kulyama-lalha kartatha-lwayara-a-lpurtu ngawayu-la*
 1SG.NOM pay.back-PAST chop-HABIT-ACC-COMP turn-LOC

jumpirri-la.

knife-LOC

I paid [him] back with a chopper in turn for a knife.

The benefactive verb *wuruma-L* ‘do for’ is included in this class. Typically this verb appears in a subordinate clause controlled by the matrix subject, with a single accusative argument denoting the beneficiary of the action described in the main clause.

- (9.64) *Ngayu wirra-a yinka-lalha wuruma-l.yarra nganaju-u*
1SG.NOM boomerang-ACC carve-PAST do.for-CTEMP 1SG.GEN-ACC

mimi-i.

uncle-ACC

I carved a boomerang, doing it for my uncle.

However, when *wuruma-L* appears in a main clause it may occur with a second accusative object denoting the entity upon which some ultimately beneficial action is performed (example (8.27a)). The best classification of *wuruma-L*, on the basis of the data at hand, is as a ditransitive verb selecting two accusative arguments. Then the most common examples of the verb, in which the patient/theme does not appear, might be explained as ‘double-equi’: the coreferential omission of both subject and patient/theme in subordinate clauses. Examples such as (9.65), in which the benefactive clause appears to be embedded within the matrix clause, can be used to support this argument.

- (9.65) *Ngayu jarraa-lalha nganaju-u papu-u wuruma-l.yarra*
1SG.NOM tie.up-PAST 1SG.GEN-ACC father-ACC do.for-CTEMP

warrirti-ngara-a...

spear-PL-ACC

I tied up, for my father, the spears...

Here *warrirti-ngara* ‘spears’, the patient noun phrase of *jarraa-L* ‘tie up’, occurs on the far margin of this particular complex sentence rather than immediately following the main verb. However, if *warrirti-ngara* is described as a second argument of the subordinate verb *wuruma-L*, then the formal representation of such patterns is considerably simplified: the ‘double-equi’ here affects the object in the main clause and the subject in the subordinate clause.

9.5.5 SIMPLE MOTION VERBS

With few exceptions, simple (intransitive) motion verbs have an alternative argument frame in which some locational role appears as an accusative marked argument. However, verbs differ as to which of a number of possible locational noun phrases may otherwise appear with accusative case-marking. The patterns represented here suggest that motion verbs are subcategorised for a locational complement which may appear either as an accusative object or as an oblique noun phrase bearing some locational case suffix.

The two verbs *puni-Ø* ‘go’ and *kurrarti-Ø* ‘swim’ most often occur with a nominative subject and with one or more optional locational noun phrases: locative denoting the path of the motion (9.66), (9.67), (6.15), allative marking goal (9.68), (4.71), (4.72), or ablative marking source (5.74).

- (9.66) *Parla-ngara-la-rru puni-layi.*
hill-PL-LOC-NOW go-FUT
[They] travel in the hills then.
- (9.67) *Ngunhaa kurrarti-lha kayulu-la.*
that.NOM swim-PAST water-LOC
That fellow swam in the water.
- (9.68) *Nhiyaa kurrarti-layi puyiirta wii, kurrarti-layi.*
this.NOM swim-FUT far.ALL maybe swim-FUT
This fellow can swim a long way.

While the ablative and allative noun phrases are adjuncts, the locative denoting path is a complement. Both verbs occur in an alternate case frame with the path of motion marked as an accusative object, as in examples (9.69), (9.70) and (4.104).

- (9.69) *Ngayu nhawu-lha parralha-a kurrarti-nyila-a ngumu*
1SG.NOM see-PAST turtle-ACC swim-PrREL-ACC that.ACC
ngawurr-yu.
foam-ACC
I saw a turtle swimming through the foam. (trans.)
- (9.70) *Nhiingara puni-lha parla-a.*
this.PL go-PAST hill-ACC
These fellows went along in the hills.

The three verbs *kanarri-Ø* 'come', *parrani-Ø* 'return' and *wanyjarri-Ø* 'run' take much the same set of locational noun phrases as 'go' and 'swim', but for these verbs it is the goal of motion, otherwise marked allative, that appears as an accusative argument in the alternate case frame. Thus compare examples (5.82), (6.11) and (7.8) with (5.84), (7.38), (9.71) and (9.72), (and see (4.5) to (4.7)).

- (9.71) *Wanthala ngunhu-ngara kanarri-lha thanarti-la-nguru ...*
somewhere that.NOM-PL come-PAST sea-LOC-ABL
warutharra-a-rru kanarri-lha.
marsh-ACC-NOW come-PAST
Somewhere there they came out of the sea...and came to the marshes then.
- (9.72) *Parrani-layi ngunhaa ngumu Kawuyu-u-lwa, punga-lu karti-ngka.*
return-FUT that.NOM that.ACC Kawuyu-ACC-ID fall-PURPss side-LOC
It comes right back to that *Kawuyu* hill, and falls at his side.

Five motion verbs have alternate frames in which the accomplished end point of motion may be marked locative or accusative. Firstly, *thanturri-Ø* 'descend, go down', *tharwa-Ø* 'enter' and *pungka-Ø* 'fall' may occur with a locative complement indicating the eventual end point of the moving body, or with this complement marked accusative.

The verb *karlwa-Ø* 'arise, go up, get up' is similar though in this case there is often a conflation of path and goal. The end point of the motion may be marked allative and the path may be marked locative as in the following example.

- (9.73) *Kartu karlwa-layi kaya-arta-rru. ... wantala-nguru ngunhu*
2SG.NOM go.up-FUT brother-DIRALL-NOW where-ABL that

karlwa-lha-rru, parla-ngka?

go.up-PAST-NOW hill-LOC

You go up to your brother now...Where did he go up? On which hill?

When the verb appears with an accusative argument, this argument generally denotes both the path taken and the eventual end point of the motion (example (9.74)). *Karlwa-Ø* in this frame describes an accomplishment. The verb *wirta-Ø* 'climb' follows the same pattern, thus compare (4.152) and (5.64) with (5.42) and (5.53). These two verbs can also be described as having the goal of motion as a complement.

- (9.74) *Ngaliwa karlwa-layi Kawuyu-ngu.*
 1PL.INC go.up-FUT Kawuyu-ACC
 We'll go up onto Kawuyu.

There are a number of derived motion verbs in the data and these fall into two classes. First, there are those verbs derived from an inherently locative nominal (e.g. *yilangu-npa-Ø* (here-INCH-Ø) 'come here'), or from a nominal inflected with a locational case suffix (e.g. *ngurra-arta-npa-Ø* (camp-DIRALL-INCH-Ø) 'come to camp'). These verbs describe motion towards the place denoted by the stem nominal and, understandably, do not have locational complements (nor alternative argument structures). By contrast, the verb *murna-npa-Ø* 'get close to' requires an accusative argument denoting the goal of motion. This is expected since the nominal on which it is based, *murna* 'close', denotes a transitive spatial relationship. The verb *murna-ngka-npa-Ø* 'come up close', on the other hand, may take only a subject argument.

9.5.6 VERBS OF INDUCED MOTION/POSITION

Verbs of induced motion or induced position have alternate case frames in which the complement goal can appear either as an oblique locational noun phrase or as an accusative object. The theme argument is marked accusative in both frames. *Thathu-L* 'let go, send' corresponds to the simple motion verb *kanarri-Ø* 'come'. It most often occurs with an allative noun phrase denoting the goal of motion (example (9.75)), but has an alternate frame with the goal marked accusative (9.76).

- (9.75) *Ngaliwa thathu-rminyji kulhampa-ngara-a ngurnu-ngara-arta*
 1PL.INC send-FUT fish-PL-ACC that.OBL-PL-DIRALL

kanyara-ngara-arta.

person-PL-DIRALL

We'll send fish to those people.

- (9.76) *Marrari-i thathu-yarri-lha ngurnu-ngara-a.*
 word-ACC send-COLL-PAST that.OBL-PL-ACC
 [They] sent word to those people.

The two verbs *wantha-R* 'place, put, leave' and *wartitha-L* 'throw, drop', like the motion verbs *thanturri-Ø* 'go down, descend', and *pungka-Ø* 'fall', have an end point of motion, or induced position, which is generally marked locative but which can appear as an accusative argument. Thus compare examples (5.35) and (5.90) with (9.77). Similarly, *tharwi-L* 'put into' corresponds to *tharwa-Ø* 'enter'. The theme argument of such verbs is always accusative.

- (9.77) *Nganama murla-a wantha-lwayara pawulu-ngara-a.*
 1PL.EXC meat-ACC leave-HABIT child-PL-ACC
 We used to leave meat with/for the children. (trans.)

Just as the inchoative suffix may be added to locative nominals to derive ‘inert’ motion verbs, so the causative may be added to such nominals to derive ‘inert’ induced motion verbs. That is, verbs such as *wilyara-la-ma-L* ‘put on the shoulders’ do not take either an oblique noun phrase or a second accusative noun phrase denoting the goal of motion. Finally, a few induced motion verbs do not have a locational complement. For example, second accusative arguments appearing with the verbs *kangku-Ø* ‘carry, bring’ and *parrani-lha-ma-L* ‘bring back, return’ are always interpreted as benefactives.

9.5.7 PERCEPTION AND COGNITION VERBS

The perception verbs *nhawu-Ø* ‘see’ and *kuliya-L* ‘hear’ occur with a nominative subject and an accusative object. They also commonly take accusative clausal complements (examples (7.67) and (7.85)). The range of possible complement types and their syntax is discussed in §10.4. Both verbs may also take a reflexive clausal subject complement. *Nhawu-Ø* is used in this way to present a person's opinion of their own appearance (9.78), *kuliya-L* presents a personal opinion of one's state of health (9.79).

- (9.78) *Ngartil tharwi-layi jaat-ku, puni-rrawaara karnka-rru,*
 next put.on-FUT shirt-ACC go-SEQ pleased-NOW
ngurangura-rru jankul-wa-rru nhawu-rra.
 stylish-NOW self-Ø-NOW see-CTEMP
 Next [I] put on a shirt and go off pleased with myself, looking stylish.
- (9.79) *Ngayu mir.ta warnu panyu paju kuliya-rmuru jankul*
 1SG.NOM not ASSERT good REAL hear-PRES self
yarta-ngka-nguru-l yakarrangu-la-nguru.
 other-LOC-ABL-THEN day-LOC-ABL
 I haven't felt very well since the other day.
 (lit. I hear myself not well...)

Nguyi-ma-L ‘dream, dream about (oneself performing an action)’ follows the same pattern, taking an accusative noun phrase or clausal object and a reflexive clausal complement on the subject. Verbs of cognition select either simple nominative and accusative noun phrase arguments or clausal complements on subject and object. The most common such verb is *kuliya-mpa-Ø* ‘think, believe’.

- (9.80) *Nhartu! Kartu kuliyanpa-nguru nganaju ngalawangka-nyila-a*
 what 2SG.NOM think-PRES 1SG.ACC lie-PrREL-ACC
wurtu?
 HYPTH
 What! You think that I'm lying?
- (9.81) *Mir.ta kuliyanpa-layi minthal yirla kur.ta kayulu-la*
 not think-FUT alone only clever water-LOC

murtimurti-la paju.

fast-LOC REAL

Don't [you] think that [you're] the only one who is clever [enough] to swim in fast flowing water.

Like speech act verbs (§9.5.8), *kuliyampa-Ø* can introduce thoughts as direct speech. However, this is quite rare and in most instances, as in example (9.82), a demonstrative fills the accusative argument slot.

- (9.82) *Kuliyampa-layi ngurnaa, "Palwaru, wiyaa nhiyu kampa-lha-rru".*
 think-FUT that.ACC all.right maybe this.NOM cook-PAST-NOW
 He thinks, "All right, maybe this is cooked now".

The cognition verbs *nhuura-mpa-Ø* 'work out, learn' (examples (7.17), (7.78), (10.68)), *nhuura-iri-Ø* 'realise, understand' (9.83), *ngalarri-Ø* 'forget', and *wiru-mpa-Ø* 'want' (9.84), follow the same pattern.

- (9.83) *Nhurnti-ma-rninyji ngurnaa, yartapalyu kanyara-ngara*
 dead-CAUS-FUT that.ACC others person-PL
nhuurari-wala wantharni-i ngurnta-a jiwarra-ngara-wu-u.
 realise-PURPs what.way-ACC style-ACC white-PL-GEN-ACC
 [We'll] kill this fellow so this mob of blackfellows will understand the way of
 [us] white people.
- (9.84) *Ngunhaa mir.ta wiru-mpa-lha yirna wirta-tharra-a mungka-lwaa.*
 that.NOM not want-INCH-PAST this.ACC youth-DU-ACC eat-PURPs=o
 He didn't want this pair of boys to eat [any of it].

The verb *wayangka-Ø* 'be frightened' may take an accusative object (example (10.23)), but may also take an accusative complement describing a situation which the subject of the verb fears may happen. Where the situation described in the complement is to be interpreted in the affirmative, the verb is negated (9.85). There are no examples in the data in which the complement is to be interpreted in the negative.

- (9.85) *Nganaju yaan yungku-lha ngawurr-marta-a yartapalyu-u-rru*
 1SG.GEN spouse give-PAST foam-PROP-ACC others-ACC-NOW
kanyara-ngara-a. Ngunhaa wayangka-lha nganaju mir.ta
 person-PL-ACC that.NOM frightened-PAST 1SG.ACC not
paya-lwaa.
 drink-PURPs=o
 My wife gave the beer to the other people. She was frightened I would drink.

9.5.8 VERBS OF SPEECH AND INFORMATION TRANSFER

As in many Australian languages, the verb *wangka-Ø* 'speak, tell, talk about' has a number of senses. To some extent these depend on the arguments it takes and on the referents of those arguments. Firstly, *wangka-Ø* 'make a (species-characteristic) noise', takes a simple subject noun phrase typically describing an animal. There are no examples in the data of accusative arguments with the verb used in this sense. With human subjects *wangka-Ø* 'speak, tell' may take a single accusative argument denoting the addressee (example (4.105)), or two accusative arguments, one of which denotes the addressee and the

other the 'speech act', for example 'tell a story', 'speak a word, language' (9.86), 'hold a meeting' (9.87). There are no alternate case frames for these arguments.

- (9.86) *Ngunhaa marrari-i yimpala-lwa wangka-nguru ngurnu-ngara-a,*
 that.NOM word-ACC like.that-ID speak-PRES that.OBL-PL-ACC
kuliya-lwaa-l wiyaa ngula.
 hear-PURPs=o-THEN maybe IGNOR
 He talked like that, spoke that word (*yirru*) to them, so then they would hear
 (understand) maybe, I don't know.
- (9.87) *Ngaliwa yilangu milyankul-yu wangkarnu-marri-layi.*
 1PL.INC here meeting.type-ACC discuss-COLL-FUT
 We'll hold a Milyankul meeting here.

Wangka-Ø 'say' introduces a passage of direct speech into a narrative. An accusative argument denoting the addressee may also occur:

- (9.88) *Ngunhaa wangka-layi yartapalyu-u, "Nhiyu-nu wirra*
 that.NOM say-FUT others-ACC this.NOM-QUOT boomerang
ngathu yinka-rnu".
 1SG.EFF chisel-PASSP
 He says to the others, "This is a boomerang made by me".

More rarely, *wangka-Ø* 'say' introduces 'indirect speech' complements, either nominative or accusative. In either instance, an accusative noun phrase denoting the addressee is possible, although not common.

- (9.89) *Ngayu wangka-layi nhuwala-a, nganaju-wu-lu mimi-ngku*
 1SG.NOM tell-FUT 2DU-ACC 1SG.OBL-GEN-EFF uncle-EFF
yarna-rnu.
 disappointed-PASSP
 I tell you that my uncle was disappointed in me.
- (9.90) *Yartapalyu wangka-nguru parna-ngka-rru kangku-lha-a,*
 others say-PRES head-LOC-NOW carry-PAST-ACC
yartapalyu wangka-nguru worryayi-lalha-a.
 others say-PRES drag-PAST-ACC
 Some say they carried it on their heads, others say they dragged it.

Wangka-Ø 'call, name' takes an accusative argument controlling a complement denoting the name ascribed to the referent of the argument (example (9.91)). Very often, the named referent appears as the subject of an agentless passive clause; the name is a complement on the subject (3.2), (4.42), (4.116), (9.111).

- (9.91) *Ngunhaa, ngunhu wartirra ngayalyu, ngunhaa, ngunhu kaya-a*
 that.NOM that.NOM woman devil that.NOM that.NOM brother-ACC
wangka-nguru kanyara-a, yirna nyina-nyila-a,
 call-PRES man-ACC this.ACC sit-PrREL-ACC
nhartu-marta-a, nyampali-wuyu-u.
 thing-PROP-ACC leader-SIDE-ACC

That one, that woman devil, that one, she calls that man *kaya* (elder brother), this man sitting down, the one with the thing, the leader of the group.

Finally, *wangka-Ø* 'tell' is used as a manipulative predicate, in which case the accusative argument controls a purposive subordinate clause.

- (9.92) *Ngayu wangka-lha pawulu-u manku-waa nganaju-u*
 1SG.NOM tell-PAST child-ACC get-PURPs=o 1SG.GEN-ACC
ngamari-i.
 tobacco-ACC
 I told the child to get my tobacco. (trans.)

There are few other utterance predicates and none with the complete range of uses illustrated for *wangka-Ø*. *Jinari-Ø* 'ask' occurs in only a few examples in the data but introduces direct speech and appears to take similar complements. However, it cannot be used as a manipulative predicate. *Jilampirra-Ø* 'brag' may take an accusative argument denoting the addressee and a subject complement:

- (9.93) *Ngunhaa jilampa-rra wantharni kurrarti-lha, jilampa-rra nyina-lha*
 that.NOM brag-CTEMP how swim-PAST brag-CTEMP be-PAST
pipi-thurti-i-rru pawu-thurti-i-rru.
 mother-CONJ-ACC-NOW father-CONJ-ACC-NOW
 He bragged about how he had swum, bragged to his mother and father.

The verb *jurrura-L* 'point out' describes the act of drawing someone's attention to some physically present object and usually takes two accusative arguments denoting, respectively, the thing pointed out and the person so informed. However, there is one example in the data of *jurrura-L* used as a verb 'to blame, point out that'. Here it takes a single accusative complement.

- (9.94) *Ngunhaa wartirra nganaju-rru jurrura-rmuru warnmalyi-i*
 that.NOM woman 1SG.ACC-NOW point.out-PRES knife-ACC
withawitha-ma-lalha-a.
 cover.over-CAUS-PAST-ACC
 That woman is blaming me for covering over (losing) the knife./
 That woman is pointing out that I covered the knife.

The most common transfer of information predicate is *nhuura-ma-L* 'teach, show'. As the causative counterpart to *nhuura-npa-Ø* 'learn', this verb takes two accusative arguments: the experiencer and a noun phrase or clausal complement denoting the thing learnt or presented (examples (4.4), (7.5), (7.78)).

- (9.95) *Julyu thurlanyarrara, nganarna-wu, puliyanyja, nhuura-ma-lalha*
 old poor.fellow 1PL.EXC-GEN old.man know-CAUS-PAST
nganaju yirna marrari-i.
 1SG.ACC this.ACC story-ACC
 The poor old fellow, of our people, an old man, taught me this story.
- (9.96) *Ngunhaa nganaju nhuura-ma-lalha wantharni-i*
 that.NOM 1SG.ACC know-CAUS-PAST how-ACC

ngurnu-ngara-a warruwa-ngara-a patharri-lha-a yilangu-wa.
 that.OBL-PL-ACC devil-PL-ACC fight-PAST-ACC here-YK
 He taught me about how the devils once fought here (in this country).

The superficially similar verb *kariya-L* 'show, point or thrust out body part' describes the act of (often provocatively) placing an object or body part in the view of some person (example (4.77)). Like *nhuura-ma-L* it takes two accusative arguments but does not control clausal complements.

9.5.9 ADDED ACCUSATIVE ARGUMENTS

A number of the verb types described in the preceding sections have the ability to optionally take an accusative argument of some kind. Simple motion and induced motion verbs have alternate case frames in which some role, usually path or goal, may appear either as an oblique argument marked with some locational case or as an accusative object. For these predicates the added accusative argument can be seen as marking a role which is implicit in the situation evoked by the verb. That is, these verbs are subcategorised for a path or goal complement.

However, accusative arguments which do not instantiate implicit roles may be added quite freely to a number of predicate case frames. There are three situations in which verbs may appear with an added accusative argument. First, a small group of 'ambitransitive' verbs occur either with or without an accusative object. The following examples illustrate the alternative case-marking patterns of the verb *panyu-npa-Ø* 'be good (to)'.

- (9.97) *Ngunhaa wartawirrinpa-rra karla-a panyu-npa-waa,*
 that.NOM wait.for-CTEMP fire-ACC good-INCH-PURPs=o
puwara-npa-waa, karlarra-npa-waa paju.
 coals-INCH-PURPs=o hot-INCH-PURPs=o REAL
 He waits for the fire to become good, to burn down to the coals, to get really hot.
- (9.98) *Ngayu wiru-rru wiyaa panyu-npa-layi paya-lalha-nguru*
 1SG.NOM feelings-NOW maybe good-INCH-FUT drink-PAST-ABL
ngurnu jami-i.
 that.ACC medicine-ACC
 Perhaps my feelings will become good after drinking that medicine.
- (9.99) *Ngayu ngurnaa wiru-rru panyu-npa-lha, thurlanyarrara-a.*
 that.NOM that.ACC feelings-NOW good-INCH-PAST poor.fellow-ACC
 I feel good towards him, the poor fellow.
- (9.100) *Kartu panyu-npa-layi nganama-a ngalarri-lha-ngara-a.*
 2SG.NOM good-INCH-FUT 1PL.EXC-ACC forget-PAST-PL-ACC
 You be good to us fellows who forgot.

There is no sense in which the verb *panyu-npa-Ø* in either example (9.97) or (9.98) implies an object. However, an object is clearly implied by the use of verb in (9.99) and (9.100). This suggests that *panyu-npa-Ø* be given two separate lexical entries, one intransitive and the other transitive. The same obtains for *paya-npa-Ø* 'become angry, get angry at, "growl" at', and *ngaya-Ø* 'cry, cry for'. When *ngaya-Ø* appears with a single subject argument it generally describes an act of uncontrolled weeping. However, with an

accusative object it describes an act of weeping for some deceased relative, often in some ritualised mourning context.

Secondly, added benefactive accusative arguments denote a person who is affected by the actions of the, usually human, subject of the verb in a beneficial way (examples (3.11a), (9.101) and (9.102)). These arguments correspond to 'ethical datives' in some other Australian languages (e.g. Warlpiri, as in Hale 1982).

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

(9.102) *Muyi yanga-lalha tharnta-a muyi-ngara-a mungka-lwaa murla-a.*
 dog chase-PAST euro-ACC dog-PL-ACC eat-PURPs=0 meat-ACC
 The dog chased a euro so all the dogs could eat meat. (trans.)

In the following examples the referent of the benefactive noun phrase is seen to suffer some unpleasantness as a result of the action denoted by the verb. In most of these 'malefactive' cases the subject of the verb is inanimate.

(9.103) *Nhiyu warrirti parli-npa-nguru nganaju.*
 this.NOM spear bent-INCH-PRES 1SG.ACC
 This spear is going bent on me. (trans)

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

(9.105) *Nganaju murtiwarla ngapala-la ngarrani-lha nganaju.*
 1SG.GEN car mud-LOC get.stuck-PAST 1SG.ACC
 My car got stuck in the mud on me. (trans.)

Although there is little sense in subcategorising verbs such as *ngarrani-Ø* 'get stuck' or *parli-npa-Ø* 'be bent' for a benefactive argument, these accusative noun phrases do share many of the semantic features of true direct objects and can appear as the subjects of passive clauses. Thus, they are more than simple adjuncts and might best be handled by a general lexical rule which adds a benefactive object to a verb's 'basic' argument structure.

Finally, accusative marked noun phrases describing a period of extended time may be added to a clause (§4.3). Unlike all other accusative arguments appearing with verbal predicates, these temporal accusative noun phrases may not occur as subjects of passive verbs. By this criterion they can safely be described as adjuncts. While the ability to appear as a passive subject is not a sufficient condition for core argument status, it is a necessary condition.

9.6 PASSIVE CLAUSES

Passive main clauses in text can be interpreted on the basis of the two interrelated semantic/pragmatic strategies:

1. The passive presents a non-agent argument in a highly topical position.
2. The passive clause allows the description of an event without the specification of an agent.

Particular cases will often involve both of these factors as the examples below demonstrate: (9.106) illustrates the role of passive clauses in presenting non-agent arguments as topics of discourse, while in (9.107) the passive clauses also allow the speaker to avoid reference to specific agents.

- (9.106) *Wirpinykura, ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa marntanhu-ma-nnguli-wayara*
 spinifex.type that.NOM-ID that.NOM net-CAUS-PASS-HABIT
puliyanyja-ngara-lu jantira-ngara-lu wii kulhampa-marnu.
 old.man-PL-EFF old.woman-PL-EFF maybe fish-ASSOC
Ngunhaa warrapa marntanhu-ma-nnguli-wayara.
 that.NOM grass net-CAUS-PASS-HABIT
Wirpinykura spinifex, that's the one that used to be made into nets by the old men and women or whoever, for fish. That's the [type of] grass that was made into nets.
- (9.107) *Nhartu-nga-lha-lwa ngula thurlanyarrara kupuyu, mir.ta wiyaa*
 what-INCH-PAST-ID IGNOR poor.fellow little not maybe
thalka-nnguli-nguru thanuwa-a maruwarla-a paju
 feed-PASS-PRES food-ACC much-ACC REAL
yungku-nguli-nguru. Thurlajinkarri kupuyu yimpala-rru-wa
 give-PASS-PRES poor.fellow little like.that-NOW-YK
puni-layi nhawu-ngu-rra parlu yirla mirtali.
 go-FUT see-PASS-CTEMP top only big
 What's wrong with that poor little fellow, maybe he isn't being fed, maybe he isn't being given very much [to eat]. The poor little fellow will be going along like that now, looking big only up top.

In a sample of 150 passive clauses in a long stretch of narrative text of which 57% were subordinate clauses, 58% of passive main clauses were agentless while agentless passives made up 70% of passive subordinate clauses. Sixty-five per cent of all passive clauses were agentless.

Verbs in Martuthunira can be marked for passive in one of two ways. Firstly, a verb may be inflected with a suffix which encodes passive voice as well as other categories such as tense aspect and mood. The most prevalent of these suffixes is the passive perfective *-yangu/-rmu* (§6.2.2). Secondly, the passive derivational suffix, *-CM-nguli-Ø* (§6.3.1), may be added to active verb stems deriving a passive verb of the \emptyset -conjugation. This verb then takes regular (active) verb inflections. On the same sample of 150 passive clauses, 45% involved the passive derivational suffix and 74% of these were agentless. By contrast, 52% of the inflectional passives occurred without an agent. Sixty-six per cent of the derivational passives occurred in subordinate clauses as opposed to 60% of inflectional passives.

Verbs formed with either the derivational passive or one of the inflectional passives have equivalent case frames. The following examples illustrate the differences between the passive and active forms of a transitive activity verb, and the differences between the clauses in which the forms of the verb may appear.

- (9.108) *Pawulu-ngara pukarra-a manku-layi/-lha.*
 child-PL firewood-ACC get-FUT/PAST
 The children will get/got firewood. (trans.)

- (9.109) *Pukarra manku-ngu-layi pawulu-ngara-lu.*
 firewood get-PASS-FUT child-PL-EFF
 The firewood will be gathered by the children. (trans.)
- (9.110) *Pukarra manku-yangu pawulu-ngara-lu.*
 firewood get-PASSP child-PL-EFF
 The firewood was gathered by the children. (trans.)

In this set of examples the different case frames of the transitive verb *manku-Ø* 'get, grab, take', are quite clear. The agent of the verb is in the unmarked nominative case in example (9.108), but in the effector case in (9.109) and (9.110). The patient/theme is in accusative case in (9.108) but in nominative case in (9.109) and (9.110). As a general rule, those roles of a given verbal predicate which may be marked accusative in active clauses can appear as nominative subject arguments of corresponding passive verb forms. In the simplest of cases, transitive activity verbs have passive counterparts with a patient as the subject (as in the preceding examples). For simple motion verbs the subject of the passive clause is the path or goal; that is, the subcategorised locational complement of the active verb. The passive subject thus corresponds to the optional accusative argument in an active clause frame.

- (9.111) *Parlapuni wangka-ngu-rra, Parlapuni parla-ngku puni-yangu,*
Parlapuni call-PASS-CTEMP Parlapuni hill-EFF go-PASSP
ngunhu wanti-nguru kuwarri.
 that.NOM lie-PRES now
 "Parlapuni", it's called. *Parlapuni* is [the track] where the hill went along.
 It's still there today.
- (9.112) *Yilangu nyina-wayara Pantuwarnangka-l julyu-ngara patharri-lu,*
 here sit-HABIT *Pantuwarnangka-LOC* old.man-PL fight-PURPss
kanarri-nguli-yirri.
 come-PASS-LEST
 Here on Pannawonica Hill the old people used to stop to fight, lest they be
 come upon by anyone.

The accusative arguments of the ambitransitive verbs *panyu-mpa-Ø* 'become good (to)', and *paya-mpa-Ø* 'get angry (with)' can appear as the subjects of passive forms of these verbs (9.113). And benefactive arguments can appear as the subjects of otherwise intransitive process verbs such as *ngarrani-Ø* 'get stuck' (9.114).

- (9.113) *Mir.ta panthu-rminyji, paya-mpa-nguli-yirri ngulu kanyara-lu.*
 not touch-FUT angry-INCH-PASS-LEST that.EFF man-EFF
 Don't touch or the man will get angry [with you].
- (9.114) *Ngayu thurlajinkarri, ngayu murtiwarla-lu ngarrani-yangu.*
 1SG.NOM poor.fellow 1SG.NOM car-EFF stick-PASSP
 I'm a poor fellow, I had my car get stuck on me. (trans.)

Verbs which regularly take two accusative arguments, such as *yungku-Ø* 'give', have two passive argument frames: either the recipient or the theme may appear as the subject of the passive verb form. Usually, the other non-agent role is omitted, but if it occurs it retains its status as an accusative object. In both frames the agent is marked with the effector case.

- (9.115) *Ngunhu pawulu yungku-yangu murla-a nganaju-wu-lu yaan-tu.*
 that.NOM child give-PASSP meat-ACC 1SG.OBL-GEN-EFF wife-EFF
 That child was given meat by my wife. (trans.)
- (9.116) *Nhiyu murla yungku-yangu yirna kanyara-a ngulu wartirra-lu.*
 this.NOM meat give-PASSP this.ACC man-ACC that.EFF woman-EFF
 This meat was given to this man by that woman. (trans.)
- In the same way, those verbs which allow a second accusative argument of some kind have two possible passive argument frames. The following examples illustrate passives on the various arguments of induced motion verbs, (9.117) and (9.118), and of transitive verbs permitting an added benefactive argument, (9.119) and (9.120).
- (9.117) *Thathu-rnu warnu pala ngaliwa ngurnu tharnta-a murla-a*
 send-PASSP ASSERT IT 1PL.INC that.ACC euro-ACC meat-ACC
ngarri-ngka-nguru-u.
 ashes-LOC-ABL-ACC
 We were sent that euro meat from the ashes.
- (9.118) *Nhiyu murla thathu-rnu nganarna-a ngurnu-ngara-lu*
 this.NOM meat send-PASSP 1PL.EXC-ACC that.OBL-PL-EFF
kanyara-ngara-lu.
 man-PL-EFF
 This meat was sent us by those men.
- (9.119) *Nhiyu murla kampa-rnu nganaju-wu-lu wartirra-lu.*
 this.NOM meat cook-PASSP 1SG.OBL-GEN-EFF woman-EFF
 This meat was cooked by my woman. (trans.)
- (9.120) *Ngunhu mimi murla-a kampa-nngu-layi wartirra-lu.*
 that.NOM uncle meat-ACC cook-PASS-FUT woman-EFF
 That uncle will have meat cooked for him by the woman. (trans.)

The difference between clauses such as (9.115) and (9.116) lies simply in the choice of case-marking on the various noun phrase arguments; there is no additional change in the form of the verb. The syntax of passive clauses thus involves two interacting factors:

1. the marking of the verb as passive, either by derivational suffix or by inflection, and
2. the choice of case-marking for the arguments of the verb.

The passive verb form dictates an argument frame in which noun phrases other than the agent may appear as the subject of the clause (the agent is optionally deleted). To use derivational phraseology, the passive removes the agent from subject position, and from the core case frame, so that subject position can be filled by one of a number of other possible arguments. The choice of subject is then shown by the choice of case-marking on the remaining arguments.

Martuthunira differs from its Ngayarda relatives in allowing both objects of a ditransitive verb as possible subjects of passive clauses. In both Panyjima and Yindjibarndi only the recipient argument of a verb like *yungku-Ø* 'give' may appear as the subject of a passive clause. In these languages it is possible to state the passive quite neatly in terms of grammatical relations. Thus in Panyjima the recipient object of a ditransitive can be assigned

the primary object relation (Dench 1991:194) and the passive refers to the noun phrase bearing this relation. This analysis is clearly not available in Martuthunira.

Instead, the Martuthunira passive might be described as a lexical rule which selects any non-subject argument in the subcategorisation frame of a verb and assigns it to the subject position of a corresponding passive verb form. However, there is just one exception to this pattern. The verb *murnta-L* 'take from' has two accusative arguments, denoting the theme and source (example (9.121)), but only the *source* may appear as the subject of a passive clause (9.122). *Murnta-L* is the only verb found so far for which this constraint applies and would need to be marked as an exception to a passive rule which presents non-subject complements as subjects.

(9.121) *Ngayu murnta-lalha murla-a ngurnu pawulu-u.*
 1SG.NOM take.from-PAST meat-ACC that.ACC child-ACC
 I took meat away from the child. (trans.)

(9.122) *Ngunhu pawulu thuur.ta-a murnta-rnu.*
 that.NOM child sweet-ACC take.from-PASSP
 That child had sweets taken away from him. (trans.)

(9.123) **Ngunhaa jumpirri ngurnu pawulu-u murnta-rnu.*
 that.NOM knife that.ACC child-ACC take.from-PASSP
 *That knife was taken from the child. (constr.)
 ("Kid bin taken away from knife ???")

That the passive rule is not restricted simply to accusative non-subject arguments is demonstrated by the verb *jarraa-L* 'tie up' and its synonym *jankaa-L*. Both verbs take a single accusative argument denoting the patient and may optionally take a locative noun phrase describing the object to which the patient is tied (example (9.124)). The location may *not* be coded as an accusative argument of the active verb but may appear as the subject in a passive clause (9.125).

(9.124) *Ngayu jarraa-lalha ngulangu kalyaran-ta nganaju-u muyi-i.*
 1SG.NOM tie.up-PAST there tree-LOC 1SG.GEN-ACC dog-ACC
 I tied up my dog there on the tree. (trans.)

(9.125) *Nhiyu-lwa kalyaran ngathu muyi-i jarraa-rnu.*
 this.NOM-ID tree 1SG.EFF dog-ACC tie.up-PASSP
 This is the tree I tied the dog to. (trans.)

It is assumed here that *jarraa-L* is subcategorised for a locative complement. However, in this instance the locational complement may not be coded as an accusative object (perhaps this privilege is reserved for paths and goals) and the verb must be marked as an exception to a general lexical rule.

9.7 DOUBLE-OBJECT AMBIGUITIES

It will be clear from the preceding sections that there is some difficulty in the identification of a unique grammatical relation 'Direct Object' in Martuthunira. The problem lies in the fact that verbs may control more than one accusative argument and that there are no formal tests (such as passive, for example) which distinguish among these arguments. The problem is

just as real for those verbs which accept an optional second accusative argument as it is for true ditransitives like *yungku-Ø* 'give', which are always understood as having two objects.

But if two accusative arguments are not formally distinguished, how is the unique assignment of particular noun phrases to particular thematic roles in the argument structure of the predicate accomplished? For example in (9.126), in which the verb *thathu-L* 'send, let go' appears with two accusative arguments, which is to be linked to the theme role and which to the goal?

- (9.126) *Ngayu thathu-lalha ngurnu muyi-i kartungu-u pawulu-u.*
 1SG.NOM send-PAST that.ACC dog-ACC 2SG.GEN-ACC child-ACC
 I sent...that dog...your child.

The assignment of roles in potentially ambiguous sentences like this depends on the semantic content of the noun phrases and on the speaker's perception of the most likely situation, both in general terms and in particular contexts. An unmarked interpretation of example (9.126) would have *muyi* 'dog' as the theme and *pawulu* 'child' as the goal. The assignment is not affected by the relative order of the accusative arguments nor their position relative to the verb. This is demonstrated by the following set of test examples.

- (9.127) a. *Ngayu ngurnu kanyara-a thathu-lalha nganaju-u kurntal-yu.*
 1SG.NOM that.ACC man-ACC send-PAST 1SG.GEN-ACC daughter-ACC
 I sent that man my daughter. (constr.)
- b. *Ngayu nganaju-u kurntal-yu ngurnu muyi-i thathu-lalha.*
 1SG.NOM 1SG.GEN-ACC daughter-ACC that.ACC dog-ACC send-PAST
 I sent my daughter that dog. (constr.)
- c. *Ngayu ngurnu muyi-i nganaju-u kurntal-yu thathu-lalha.*
 1SG.NOM that.ACC dog-ACC 1SG.GEN-ACC daughter-ACC send-PAST
 I sent my daughter that dog. (constr.)
- d. *Ngurnu muyi-i, ngayu nganaju-u pawulu-u thathu-lalha.*
 that.ACC dog-ACC 1SG.NOM 1SG.GEN-ACC child-ACC send-PAST
 I sent my child that dog. (constr.)
- e. *Kartungu-u kurntal-yu, ngayu ngurnu pawulu-u thathu-lalha.*
 2SG.GEN-ACC daughter-ACC 1SG.NOM that.ACC child-ACC send-PAST
 I sent your daughter the child. (constr.)

In this set of sentences, including (9.126), the rudiments of a ranking of the type commonly referred to in the broadest possible sense as a hierarchy of 'animacy' (see Comrie 1989:197) are quite evident. In most cases this involves distinctions of the gross animate/inanimate, or human/non-human kind, but where both the referents are human more fine-grained decisions based on culture specific notions of social dominance – such as age, gender and kin relationship – become crucially important. But it must be remembered that cases of potential ambiguity requiring such delicate decisions rarely if ever occur in free discourse. In addition, the assignment of roles is often quite obvious from a given context. It is only in unnatural discourse situations, like linguistic elicitation sessions, that speakers need to rely on some 'default context'.

9.8 CASE ASSIGNMENT IN IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

For the most part, imperative clauses follow the normal patterns of case-marking for active clauses: the addressee is the nominative subject and any objects of the verb are marked accusative:

- (9.128) *Pamararri-Ø kartu ngurnu-ngara-a pawulu-ngara-a!*
 call.out-IMP 2SG.NOM that.OBL-PL-ACC child-PL-ACC
 You call out to those children!
- (9.129) *Pawulu-ngara-yi, nganaju kangku-Ø kayulu-u!*
 child-PL-VOC 1SG.ACC bring-IMP water-ACC
 Hey children, bring me some water!

However, there is an alternative case-marking pattern available for imperative clauses in which the object appears as an unmarked topic. A number of other features of such examples are noteworthy: (1) the addressee subject is usually omitted; (2) the unmarked object generally appears in the leftmost position; and (3) the object is introduced by the 'near you' demonstrative form *nhula*. For example:

- (9.130) *Nhula kalayamarta thuulwa-l.yu! Kartu murti-ma-rnuru*
 near.you billy.can pull-IMP 2SG.NOM fast-CAUS-PRES
karlarra-mpa-wirri-i.
 hot-INCH-LEST-ACC
 Pull that billy can [off the fire]! You do it quickly or it'll get too hot [to hold].
- (9.131) *Nhula murla wanta-rryu thungkara-la, muyi-ngku mungka-nnguli-waa.*
 near.you meat put-IMP ground-LOC dog-EFF eat-PASS-PURPs=0
 Put that meat on the ground so it can be eaten by the dog. (trans.)

Examples such as (9.131) show that the lack of accusative marking on the topicalised patient/theme noun phrase does not reflect any reassignment of grammatical relations in the clause. The preposed and unmarked object continues to control the -CM-*waa* 'lower subject=rmain clause object' purpose clause inflection (§10.3).

A more interesting deviant pattern is illustrated in example (9.132): the speaker dares the addressee to attempt to deflect a thrown spear.

- (9.132) *Yilarla kartungku thani-l.yu!*
 here.NS 2SG.EFF hit-IMP
 You hit this [if you can]!

The surprising feature of this example is the marking of the subject with the effector case, which is generally reserved for the agent noun phrase in a passive construction (§4.4). This is one of a number of similar sentences occurring quite freely (though rarely) in text but attempts to elicit imperatives conforming to the same pattern have met with limited success. One such elicited example is (9.133).

- (9.133) *Kartungku nhawu-Ø ngunhu muyi. Nhartu-u kartu kuliyanpa-layi?*
 2SG.EFF see-IMP that.NOM dog what-ACC 2SG.NOM think-FUT
 You have a look at that dog. What are you going to think about it? (trans.)

Here the presumed object of the imperative verb is unmarked and the whole sentence appears to conform to a standard Australian ergative case-marking pattern. Interestingly, the

rather unsuccessful attempts to test the grammaticality of constructed examples revealed only one piece of relevant information: imperative clauses of this kind are grudgingly acceptable with transitive verbs but are not at all acceptable with intransitive verbs.

While examples such as (9.133) appear on the surface to be clear relics of earlier ergative active clauses, given the case-marking patterns of modern Martuthunira, they look very like passives. Unfortunately, the data does not throw any light on this issue. There are no examples in which either the effector 'subject' or unmarked 'object' control subordinate clauses.

9.9 NOMINAL ADJUNCTS MARKED WITH REFERENTIAL CASE

Referential case-marking (Dench & Evans 1988) serves a number of different functions in Martuthunira. As noted in §3.3.1, referential case is used to link second predicates to their arguments and to link part and whole where the part functions as an instrument or is the locus of effect. These patterns are described in the following sections.

The identification of second predicates as separate constituents presents few difficulties in Martuthunira. Firstly, by the analysis presented here, nominals bearing the same final case inflection but which are separated by some phrasal constituent (that is, excepting separation by post-inflectional clitics or particles) are described as separate noun phrases. Secondly, second predicates in subordinate clauses bear suffixes consistent with referential case agreement with an absent subject, and are not raised out of such clauses (but see §10.4) or deleted under identity along with their controlling arguments. Only where a nominal functioning as a second predicate occurs adjacent to its controlling argument is there a possibility of any ambiguity between a 'merged' and 'unmerged' interpretation (Simpson 1983:346), and such constructions are usually avoided.

9.9.1 SECOND PREDICATES

The two main types of second predication in Martuthunira are firstly 'attributives', which describe the state of some referent during the time at which the main clause predication holds, and secondly 'manner' predications, which describe the manner in which the main predication is performed by an agent. The interpretation of a second predicate as either an attributive or a manner predication depends on the semantic content of the particular nominal and that of the main predicate. Consider the following example:

- (9.134) *Thurlanyarrara-ngara kupiyaji panyu waruul nyina-marri-layi,*
 poor.fellow-PL little(PL) good still sit-COLL-FUT
panyu-ngku wangka-yangu nhuura-ma-rnu.
 good-EFF tell-PASSP know-CAUS-PASSP
 Those poor little fellows will continue to be well behaved once they are told,
 taught properly.

This sentence includes two uses of the nominal *panyu* 'good', as a second predicate. In the first instance *panyu* describes an attribute, 'good' in the sense of 'well behaved'. In the second case *panyu* is marked with the effector suffix in agreement with an absent passive agent, and here is interpreted as a manner predication '(tell, teach) properly'. The following

examples provide further illustration. As (9.136) shows, the second predication may be negated.

(9.135) *Ngaliwa puni-layi purnumpuru. Thana ngunhaa nhuurryarri-wala.*
 1PL.INC go-FUT quiet let that.NOM snore-PURPds
 We'll go quietly, and let him keep snoring.

(9.136) *Ngunhu-ngara pawulu-ngara mir.ta jarruru-lu parrungkarri-yangu*
 that.NOM-PL child-PL not slow-EFF shout.at-PASSP
ngulu wartirra-lu.
 that.EFF woman-EFF
 Those children were shouted at by that woman, not slowly.

(9.137) *Nhiyu thuur.ta kanyja-rru juwayu-la kartarr-u paju,*
 this.NOM fruit hold-PASSP hand-LOC tight-EFF REAL
nyunyja-ma-rru-rru. Wantharni-rru mungka-minyji
 squashed-CAUS-PASSP-NOW how-NOW eat-FUT
yimpala-a-wa, kulhany-ku-rru?
 like.that-ACC-YK squashed-ACC-NOW
 This fruit has been held in the hand really tightly, it's been squashed. How are
 [we] to eat it like that, squashed?

Example (9.137) involves a number of second predications. Firstly, the manner nominal *kartarr* 'tightly', which is marked with the effector suffix in agreement with a passive agent, describes a simple manner predication. The indefinite/interrogative *wantharni* 'how, what way', also functions as a manner predication on the subject of the verb *mungka-L* 'eat', while the predicate demonstrative *yimpala* 'like that', and the nominal *kulhany* 'squashed', make ascriptive predications on the (absent but understood) accusative object.

Example (9.138) illustrates what might be called a 'compound second predication', in which a group of similar manner-type nominals combine to describe, in this case, a particular bodily posture. Example (9.139) is very similar. Here the compound predication describes a manner of action rather than a stance.

(9.138) *Wanti-rrawaara malarnu-la, wanti-lu yanarra murtiwana*
 lie-SEQ shade-LOC lie-PURPss on.back leg.on.knee
wartawirrinpa-rra mirmtirimarta-a kampa-nyila-a.
 wait.for-CTEMP goanna-ACC cook-PrREL-ACC
 Then [I] go and lie in the shade, to lie on my back with one leg propped on my
 knee, waiting for the goanna which is cooking.

(9.139) *Ngaliwa puni-layi jarruru jirruna paju, marruwa-ma-lwirri*
 1PL.INC go-FUT slowly creeping REAL awake-CAUS-LEST
ngurnaa nguyirri wanti-nyila-a, mayiili-ngu.
 that.ACC asleep lie-PrREL-ACC FaFa+1POSS-ACC
 We'll go along really creeping slowly, lest we wake up that fellow lying asleep,
 our grandfather.

Nominals inflected with an adnominal case suffix may also function as second predicates of manner. The use of proprietive expressions as instrumental manner second predications is

illustrated in §4.10. Privative second predications are illustrated in §4.11. Locative expressions may also be used as second predications as in the following examples:

(9.140) *Kartu pamaru panyu kuliya-nngu-layi puyila-lu.*
 2SG.NOM loud good hear-PASS-FUT far.LOC-EFF
 You are good and loud and will be heard [from] far off.

(9.141) *Ngayu nhawu-lha ngurnu-ngara-a kanyara-ngara-a*
 1SG.NOM see-PAST that.ACC-PL-ACC man-PL-ACC
Kawuyu-la-nguru.
Kawuyu-LOC-ABL
 I saw those people, from *Kawuyu* hill.

A large class of 'attributive' second predications bear the temporal clitic *-l* (§7.7). As with all second predications, the property ascribed by the second predicate is held to be true during the time at which the main predication holds, but in these cases the focus is shifted. These predications provide a temporal orientation for the whole clause (examples (9.142), (3.12) to (3.14), and (7.86) to (7.87)).

(9.142) *Mir.ta karlarra-a-l wurnta-rminyji, juwayu kampa-wirri.*
 not hot-ACC-THEN cut-FUT hand burn-LEST
Muthumuthu-u wurnta-rminyji, panyu-u-l.
 cool-ACC cut-FUT good-ACC-THEN
 Don't cut it when it's hot or [you'll] burn [your] hand. Cut it cold, when it's good.

Martuthunira is quite permissive in the range of arguments it allows as controllers of secondary predicates. While manner predicates are controlled either by the subject or the passive agent, and attributives are generally controlled either by the subject or an accusative object, these temporals may be controlled by locational adjuncts (example (3.14)). Other Australian languages are more restrictive. For example, Yankunytjatjara allows second predicates only on subjects, Kayardild (Evans 1985:246) allows second predicates only on subjects and objects.

Finally, it is worth noting that Martuthunira does not make use of 'resultative' second predications (such as English 'He painted the fence white.'). Instead, resultatives typically involve a verb derived by the addition of the causative suffix to a nominal stem denoting the emerging state. The accomplishment of a result is then coded by an attributive second predication on the verb *kuntirri-Ø* 'cease doing'. For example:

(9.143) *Kartatha-lalha ngayu ngurnu wirra-a*
 chop-PAST 1SG.NOM that.ACC boomerang-ACC
nyarranyarra-ma-l.yarra. Nyarranyarra-a-rru kuntirri-layi.
 light-CAUS-CTEMP light-ACC-NOW cease-FUT
 I chopped that boomerang, making it light. I'll stop when it is light.

(9.144) *Ngayu yurrwi-rminyji ngurnaa kurlany-marta. Mawu-lwa*
 1SG.NOM shave-FUT that.ACC knife-PROP later-ID
kuntirri-layi panyu-u-rru warlyarra-a-rru.
 cease-FUT good-ACC-NOW smooth-ACC-NOW
 I'll shave it with a knife. I'll stop later when it's good and smooth. (trans.)

9.9.2 PART-WHOLE CONSTRUCTIONS

Part-whole constructions in which the part functions as an instrument (example (9.145)) or is the locus of effect of some action ((9.146), and see (4.160)) follow the same syntactic patterns as second predications.

- (9.145) *Karnti-i waruul-wa-rru manku-layi, kayarra juwayu*
 tail-ACC all.right-Ø-NOW grab-FUT two hand
thuulwa-rminyji ngurnaa.
 pull-FUT that.ACC
 All right, then grab its tail, pull it with two hands.

- (9.146) *Ngunhaa nhawu-lha wii ngali-i karri-lha-a,*
 that.NOM see-PAST if 1DU.INC-ACC stand-PAST-ACC
ngunhaa warta-a-rru purra-rminyji ngali-i.
 that.NOM forehead-ACC-NOW hit-FUT 1DU.INC-ACC
 If he had seen that we were standing there, he would have hit us both in the forehead.

However, body parts filling the role of instrument also appear in the usual proprietive construction (example (6.28)), and parts may be dissociated from their wholes and treated as separate arguments (4.77). These uses are not as common as the part-whole construction illustrated here.

9.10 QUESTIONS

Polar questions are identical in form to normal declaratives but have a characteristic final rising intonation. In some cases the focus of the interrogation may be fronted to clause-initial position, as in example (9.148) below.

- (9.147) *Kartu kanyja-muru wirra-tharra-a?*
 2SG.NOM keep-PRES boomerang-DU-ACC
 You have two boomerangs?
- (9.148) *Yirnaa nhawu-lha?*
 this.ACC see-PAST
 Was it *this* [you] saw?
- (9.149) *Nhuwana puni-layi wurtu thawun-mulyarra?*
 2PL go-FUT HYPH town-ALL
 Are you going to town?

Example (9.149) includes the particle *wurtu* 'hypothetically' (see §7.2.4), which most often occurs in polar interrogatives. Typically it indicates the speaker's hypothesis about a particular situation and invites confirmation or disconfirmation from the addressee. The very polite request in (9.150) is reported speech occurring in a long narrative text. The use of past tense forms of the verb is possibly intended to suggest a situation that has happened and so is out of the speaker's humble control. The form *yirru* is a semantically null hesitation marker.

- (9.150) *Ngayu yirru kartungu yirru ngayu yirru kanarri-lha? Ngayu,*
 1SG.NOM HES 2SG.ACC HES 1SG.NOM HES come-PAST 1SG.NOM

ngayalyu yirru, kartungu kanarri-lha yirru? Ngayu yirru
 cousin HES 2SG.ACC come-PAST HES 1SG.NOM HES
kanarri-lha yirru, ngayalyu yirru, kartungu yirru nhawu-lu?
 come-PAST HES cousin HES 2SG.ACC HES see-PURPss
 Can I come over to you? Can I come over to you, my cousin? Can I come over
 there and see you?

Information questions involve one of a set of indefinite/interrogative word forms as described in §5.3 and §5.10. In questions these forms almost always occur in clause initial position. The illocutionary force of an information question can be modified by the presence of certain particles, in particular, *ngula* 'ignorantly' (§7.2.5), *kana* 'rhetorical' (§7.2.6), *paju* 'really' (§7.2.7), and the 'quotative' clitic *-nu* (§7.2.2).

Questions concerning the identity of a person or thing involve *ngana* 'who' and *nhartu* 'what'. For example:

(9.151) *Nganangu-nu ngayu nhuwa-ruru-wa?*
 who.ACC-QUOT 1SG.NOM spear-PRES-YK
 Who am I supposed to be spearing?

(9.152) *Nhartu-u nhuwana nhawu-lha?*
 what-ACC 2PL see-PAST
 What have you seen?

Nhartu 'what' also forms the basis for intransitive and transitive interrogative verbs derived by the addition of either the inchoative *-npa-Ø* or causative *-ma-L* to the nominal stem:

(9.153) *Nhartu-ma-rnu-lwa-rru ngula, kanyara-nguru warruwa-nguru?*
 what-CAUS-PASSP-ID-NOW IGNOR human-ABL devil-ABL
 What was done to them, after the time they were human devils?

(9.154) *Nhartu-npa-lha nhuwana pawulu-ngara, mir.ta-rru panyi-ruru*
 what-INCH-PAST 2PL child-PL not-NOW step-PRES
jalurra-a?
 dance-ACC
 What's happened to you children, [you're] not dancing?

Other questions make use of the variety of indefinite/interrogative nominal and verbal forms based on *wantha* 'where' (§5.10):

(9.155) *Wanthala-rru ngunhu kanyara ngulangu nyina-lha-nguru?*
 somewhere-NOW that.NOM man there sit-PAST-ABL
 Now where is that man who was there?

(9.156) *Wantharni-i ngula, wanka-a-l, kampa-lalha wiyaa?*
 how-ACC IGNOR raw-ACC-THEN cook-PAST maybe
 How was it, was it raw then, or maybe it was cooked?

(9.157) *Nhartu-u wantharra-a nhawu-layi?*
 what-ACC like-ACC see-FUT
 What will it look like? (lit. [We'll] see it looking like what?)

- (9.158) *Wanthala-ma-lalha kartu? Kartu kanyja-rmur.*
 where-CAUS-PAST 2SG.NOM 2SG.NOM keep-PRES
 What have you done with them? You're keeping them [hidden].
- (9.159) *Wantharni-ma-rminyji ngali?*
 how-CAUS-FUT 1DU.INC
 How are we two going to do it?
- (9.160) *Nganaju kaya wantharni-mpa-lha-rru. Wantharni-mpa-lha?*
 1SG.GEN brother how-INCH-PAST-NOW how-INCH-PAST
 My brother has changed somehow. What's happened [to him]?

9.11 CONSTITUENT ORDER

Unlike some Australian languages which are characterised by particularly free constituent order, Martuthunira has a basic SVO pattern. Table 9.1 presents a count of the frequencies of constituent orders in a lengthy Martuthunira text. The figures are extracted from tables presented in Nathan (1986).

TABLE 9.1: CONSTITUENT ORDER

	Type	Number	Percentage
Transitive (N=80)	SVO	28	35.00
	SOV	2	2.50
	OSV	5	6.25
	OVS	—	—
	VSO	1	1.25
	VOS	1	1.25
	SV	10	12.50
	VS	1	1.25
	OV	7	8.75
	VO	18	22.50
Intransitive (N=65)	V	7	8.75
	SV	49	75.38
	VS	14	21.54
Generalised	V	2	3.08
	S precedes V	94	84.70
	V precedes S	17	15.30
	S precedes O	31	83.78
	O precedes S	6	16.22
	V precedes O	48	77.42
O precedes V	14	22.58	

These figures clearly illustrate the predominance of patterns in which the subject precedes both object and verb, and to a slightly lesser extent, the regularity with which the object follows the verb. Deviations from the unmarked SVO pattern are the result of two general

factors. Firstly, in information questions the interrogative occurs in sentence-initial position regardless of whether it is the subject, object, verb or some noun phrase adjunct. Secondly, objects may be placed in an immediate preverbal position of focus. Where the subject is omitted for some reason (a common occurrence in chains of clauses in texts, or in imperatives) the object may appear in clause-initial position. Some examples of this second pattern are:

- (9.161) *Ngayu ngurnaa karntarra-a yirla thuulwa-lalha.*
 1SG.NOM that.ACC sinew-ACC only pull-PAST
 I pulled out only the sinew (and left the rest).
- (9.162) *Kartu nganaju mir.ta paju kuliyanpa-layi.*
 2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC not REAL think-FUT
 You really don't think about me!
- (9.163) *Ngayu yartapalyu-u-rru wawayi-l.yarra, tharnta-a*
 1SG.NOM others-ACC-NOW look.for-CTEMP euro-ACC
jinyji-warla-a warra.
 fat-FULL-ACC CONT
 I'll go look for something else, a fat euro for a change.

Once questions are removed from consideration, clauses in which the object precedes the subject, and/or the verb precedes the subject, are extremely rare. Example (9.164), the only unambiguous example of a clause displaying OSV order in the data, is a highly marked answer to a choice question. The VSO pattern illustrated in (9.165) is clearly influenced by the subordinate clause structure. There are no clear examples of VOS or OVS ordering in the data.

- (9.164) *Kartu kuliyanpa-lha-rru wanthanha-a paju wirra-a*
 2SG.NOM think-PAST-NOW which-ACC REAL boomerang-ACC
kangku-layi?
 take-FUT
 Have you decided just which boomerang to take?
Ngawu! Ngurnu pirtiyarrangu-u, ngurnaa ngayu kangku-layi.
 yes that.ACC kurara-ACC that.ACC 1SG.NOM take-FUT
Nhula-a pukarti-wuyu-u ngayu wantha-rmur.
 near.you-ACC snakewood-SIDE-ACC 1SG.NOM leave-PRES
 Yes! That kurara one, that one I'll take. That snakewood one I'm leaving.
- (9.165) *Ngunhaa kayarra-lwa ngulangu, kulhi-rmura-la ngaliwa*
 that.NOM two-ID there bury-PrREL-LOC 1PL.INC
puliyanyja-a thurlajinkarri-i.
 old.man-ACC poor.fellow-ACC
 Those two stayed there while we were burying the poor old man.

With regard to constituents other than core arguments, the ordering is more flexible. Typically, locational adjuncts occur towards the end of clauses but may occur in initial topic position where they provide important background information. It is rare for such adjuncts to be interposed between core arguments and the predicate. In passive clauses the effector noun phrase, denoting the agent, typically occurs after the verb although it may occur between subject and verb.

CHAPTER 10

COMPLEX SENTENCES

The first sections of this chapter describe the various types of subordinate clause. Relative clauses, described in §10.1, provide information about a noun phrase in the main clause, or specify the temporal or logical conditions under which the main clause event occurs. That is, these clauses have both ‘NP-relative’ and ‘T-relative’ interpretations (Hale 1976a). Section 10.2 describes ‘lest’ clauses. These set forth the unfavourable consequences of a main clause event and involve verbs bearing a special lest inflection followed by either the accusative or locative complementising suffixes. Section 10.3 describes ‘purpose’ clauses, which depict an intended result of the event denoted by a main clause. Verbs in purpose clauses select one of a set of three inflections specifying coreference and necessary causal relationships between main and subordinate clause. Of all Martuthunira subordinate clause patterns, the system of purpose clause inflection most closely resembles canonical switch-reference. Section 10.4 then discusses the use of relative clauses and purpose clauses as sentential complements of predicates of cognition, perception and information transfer. All complex sentence constructions share the following general syntactic features:

1. Subordinate clauses are adjoined (rather than embedded, in the sense used by Hale 1976a) to the main clause and occur adjacent to it. Reduced (NP-)relative clauses may appear in an embedded position adjacent to the controlling noun phrase in the main clause.
2. Where the subordinate clause and the main clause share a noun phrase argument, this noun phrase is omitted from either the subordinate clause or the main clause, usually from whichever of the two clauses follows the other.
3. The head of the subordinate clause, the verb, typically bears a complementising nominal suffix indicating the relationship between the subject of the clause and an argument of the main clause, or a particular logico-temporal link between the two clauses. By the case-marking domain conventions described in §3.3.2 the complementising suffix is not distributed to constituents of the subordinate clause.

Martuthunira interclausal syntax is further complicated by the interaction of these patterns of multi clause sentence formation with the productive voice system. Section 10.5 describes the role of the passive in complex clause constructions. Section 10.6 once again considers the problems posed by double object constructions (§9.7); in this context the ambiguous control of accusative subordinate clauses. In conclusion, §10.7 presents a number of more complex examples involving multiple subordination.

10.1 RELATIVE CLAUSES

A number of types of relative clause can be recognised. 'Finite relative' clauses (§10.1.1) are defined by the presence on the subordinate clause verb of a regular main clause tense/aspect/mood inflection. 'Perfect relative' clauses (§10.1.2) involve an ablative complementising suffix attached to a finite verb form and describe a past event having some continuing relevance to a main clause event. In contrast to these two types, 'present relative' (§10.1.3), 'contemporaneous' (§10.1.4) and 'sequential' clauses (§10.1.5) are marked by special subordinate verb inflections.

10.1.1 FINITE RELATIVE CLAUSES

Verbs in finite relative clauses are most often inflected with either the past, passive perfective or habitual inflections. Examples involving the future inflection or the counterfactual inflection occur, but very rarely. Importantly, the main clause present tense inflection may not occur in finite relative clauses and this functional gap is filled by the present relative clause described in §10.1.3.

The subordinate clause verb is then further inflected either with the accusative suffix, indicating the coreference of the relative clause subject with an accusative argument of the main clause, or with the locative suffix. Although finite relative clauses marked with other case suffixes (in agreement with main clause arguments in other than accusative or locative case) are possible, they rarely occur in unelicited text. Finite relative clauses on subjects are effectively ruled out by the lack of a nominative complementiser. Clearly such clauses would be indistinguishable from finite main clauses.

Finite relative clauses marked in agreement with a controlling accusative noun phrase function to restrict the reference of that noun phrase. The temporal axis for the subordinate clause tense specification is the present of utterance or some established 'narrative present'.

- (10.1) *Ngayu yanga-lalha-rru ngurnu pawulu-u muyi-i*
 1SG.NOM chase-PAST-NOW that.ACC child-ACC dog-ACC
thani-lalha-a.
 hit-PAST-ACC
 I chased that kid who hit the dog. (trans.)
- (10.2) *Ngayu nhawu-layi thanuwa-ngara-a-rru kampa-rmu-u*
 1SG.NOM see-FUT food-PL-ACC-NOW cook-PASSP-ACC
nganaju-wu-lu wartirra-lu.
 1SG.OBL-GEN-EFF woman-EFF
 I'll see food that's been cooked by my wife. (trans.)
- (10.3) *Ngayu puni-lha nhawu-lu ngurnu kanyara-a ngaliwa-la*
 1SG.NOM go-PAST see-PURPss that.ACC man-ACC 1PL.INC-LOC
puni-layi-i wiruwanti.
 go-FUT-ACC morning
 I went to see that man who will be going with us tomorrow. (trans.)
- (10.4) *Ngayu nhawu-lha ngurnu kanyara-a nyina-marni-i*
 1SG.NOM see-PAST that.ACC man-ACC sit-CONTR-ACC

ngurnula-ngu-la ngurra-ngka.
 that.DEF-GEN-LOC camp-LOC
 I saw that man who should be in his own camp. (trans.)

Finite relative clauses marked with a locative complementiser suffix have a number of functions. First, they may have an NP-relative function on a locative argument in the main clause (example (10.5)). However, they more often function as temporal adverbial clauses providing a setting for the events described by the main clause (10.6) and (10.7). In these cases the orienting tense axis for the subordinate clause is the time at which the main clause event is occurring.

(10.5) *Panyu-ngurni ngaliwa puni-layi kuyilwa-nnguli-yirri kuyil-a*
 good-OBSCRD 1PL.INC go-FUT make.bad-PASS-LEST bad-LOC
kayulu-la ngurnta kuyilwa-lwayara-la.
 water-LOC style make.bad-HABIT-LOC.
 We'll go carefully lest we get drowned (lit. badly affected) in this water which is generally treacherous.

(10.6) *Karlarra-mpa-lha-la paju-rru, puwara-mpa-lha-la paju-rru,*
 hot-INCH-PAST-LOC REAL-NOW coals-INCH-PAST-LOC REAL-NOW
ngarri-ngka kampa-rninyji-rru ngurnaa.
 ashes-LOC cook-FUT-NOW that.ACC
 Once [the fire] has become really hot, burned right down to coals, cook that one in the ashes.

(10.7) *Ngunhaa pilakurta piyuwa-mpa-lha-la wii, nhurnti-mpa-lha-la*
 that.NOM carpenter finish-INCH-PAST-LOC if dead-INCH-PAST-LOC
wii, ngana-rru kana yilhi, mir.ta wii murnta-lalha
 if who-NOW RHET chips not if take.from-PAST
ngurnaa pilakurta-a?
 that.ACC carpenter-ACC
 If when that carpenter is finished, when he has died, who will have the chips (will have the skill to carve) if they didn't take them from that carpenter.

Locative-marked finite relative clauses have a further function. In each of the following examples the subordinate clause provides some additional information about a noun phrase argument of the main clause, but that argument is *not* the subject of the relative clause. In approximately half of the total sample of this kind of locative marked finite relative clause, the linking argument appears as a possessive modifier of the subordinate subject noun phrase. Such sentences are often translated as English possessive relative constructions (example (10.8)) or as simple conjoined constructions (10.9).

(10.8) *Ngayu wangka-lha ngurnu kanyara-a, murtiwarla ngurnula-ngu*
 1SG.NOM speak-PAST that.ACC man-ACC motor.car that.DEF-GEN
muya-rru-la pawulu-ngara-lu.
 steal-PASSP-LOC child-PL-EFF
 I spoke to that man whose car was stolen by the children. (trans.)

(10.9) *Ngayu nyina-nguru kanyara-la, ngurnula-ngu pawulu thani-lalha-la*
 1SG.NOM stay-PRES man-LOC that.DEF-GEN child hit-PAST-LOC

muyi-i nganaju-u.
dog-ACC 1SG.GEN-ACC

I'm staying with this man and his child hit my dog. (trans.)

In example (10.10), the omitted subject of the main clause surfaces as a locative argument of the subordinate clause. In contrast to the case in (10.8) and (10.9) above, the relative clause in this example cannot be construed as a NP-relative on a main clause argument. Instead it describes a situation involving the common argument and which serves as an explanation of the state of affairs described in the main clause. Example (10.11) is similar, though here the shared argument does not appear in the relative clause.

(10.10) *Wiyaa yilarla thungkara-ngurni wanti-nguru, mir.ta nhawu-ngu-layi*
maybe here.NV dirt-OBSCRD lie-PRES not see-PASS-FUT

ngartil. Yimpalaa pala, nhiyu kanyara nyina-lha-la kurlany-tha.
again like.that IT this.NOM man sit-PAST-LOC knife-LOC

Maybe it's lying under the dirt here out of sight, and won't be seen again. That's how it is, this man was sitting on that knife.

(10.11) *Ngayu wurnta-lalha-rru ngurnu kalyarran-ku muyi-i*
1SG.NOM break-PAST-NOW that.ACC stick-ACC dog-ACC

thani-lalha-a. ngana thani-lalha-la?
hit-PAST-ACC who hit-PAST-LOC

I broke that stick which hit the dog. But who hit [him with it]?

In (10.11), 'the stick' is inferred as an instrument in the relative clause. This instrument provides a link between the event described in the accusative marked relative clause modifying 'that stick', and a question about the identity of an implied agent in that event.

The degree of syntactic linkage between main clause and subordinate clause in this type of construction is clearly quite low. While the two clauses share an argument there are no apparent constraints on what roles that argument may fulfil in either clause. Also, as examples (10.10) and (10.11) illustrate, the argument need not be made explicit in both clauses. Rather, the locative complementiser indicates a relationship between two clauses. The identity of the linking argument is generally inferred from context.

10.1.2 PERFECT RELATIVE CLAUSES

The perfect relative clause can be recognised as a specialised finite relative clause involving an ablative complementiser added to a verb inflected with either the past or passive perfective suffixes. It describes a completed event which has some continuing relevance to the action described in the main clause, usually precedes the main clause, and shares the same subject. The difference between the perfect relative construction and a simple past tense relative clause is the strong sense of completion of the subordinate clause event. Perfect relative clauses figure prominently in programmatic discourse. In many such texts the various participants maintain the same roles throughout and so a sequence of clauses may consist solely of verbs. Where the perfect relative clause follows the main clause there is a strong implication that the main clause event is a direct result of the situation described in the subordinate clause. For example:

- (10.12) *Ngayu jina-rru malyarra-muru puni-lha-nguru jurwalyi-la.*
 1SG.NOM foot-NOW sore-PRES go-PAST-ABL heat-LOC
 My foot is sore from having gone in the heat.

Perfect relative clauses occasionally occur as NP-relatives on non-subject arguments of a controlling clause, in which case the appropriate case suffix follows the ablative inflection on the subordinate clause verb (examples (10.13) and (4.178)).

- (10.13) *Ngaliwa withawitha-ma-minyji-rru thurlanyarrara-a*
 1PL.INC covered-CAUS-FUT-NOW poor.fellow-ACC
wantha-lalha-nguru-u-rru ngaliwa-a.
 leave-PAST-ABL-ACC-NOW 1PL.INC-ACC
 We'll bury the poor fellow who has now left us.

10.1.3 PRESENT RELATIVE CLAUSES

Present relative clauses, marked by a special verbal inflection, have very similar functions to finite relatives: they fill a gap left by the non-occurrence of the present tense inflection in such clauses. Their most important function is as NP-relatives restricting reference by describing the role of a person or object in some currently occurring activity. Like finite relatives, present relatives may not be controlled by nominative subjects.

- (10.14) *Ngali nyina-layi wawayi-l.yarra kampa-nyila-a.*
 1DU.INC sit-FUT wait.for-CTEMP cook-PrREL-ACC
 We'll sit waiting for the one that is cooking.
- (10.15) *Ngayu nhawu-ngu-layi kanyara-lu jalayuru-ma-mura-lu.*
 1SG.NOM see-PASS-FUT man-FUT hole-CAUS-PrREL-EFF
 I'll be seen by the man who is digging a hole. (trans.)
- (10.16) *Ngayu ngurnu muyi-i parla-marta pariingku-lha,*
 1SG.NOM that.ACC dog-ACC stone-PROP hit-PAST
yima-marta thungkara-la wanti-nyila-marta.
 this.OBL-PROP ground-LOC lie-PrREL-PROP
 I hit that dog with a stone, with this one lying on the ground. (trans.)
- (10.17) *Ngayu ngurnu murla-a wanta-rralha ngulangu,*
 1SG.NOM that.ACC meat-ACC place-PAST there
murtiwarla-la karri-nyila-la pal.yarra-la.
 car-LOC stand-PrREL-LOC plain-LOC
 I put that meat there, in the car which is standing on the flat. (trans.)

In examples (10.18) and (10.19), the present tense relative clause functions as a temporal adverbial clause. The subordinate clause verb bears the expected locative complementiser.

- (10.18) *Ngayu wawayi-lha jartuntarra-a, yarta ngunhu*
 1SG.NOM look.for-PAST rock.wallaby-ACC other that.NOM
wawayi-mura-la tharnta-a-lpurtu.
 look.for-PrREL-LOC euro-ACC-COMP
 I looked for wallabies while that other man was looking for euros. (trans.)

- (10.19) *Kampa-nyila-la-rru karla, nyina-layi thuulwa-l.yarra*
burn-PrREL-LOC-NOW fire sit-FUT pull.out-CTEMP

mirtirimarta-a punga-a.
goanna-ACC guts-ACC

While the fire is burning, sit and pull out the goanna's guts.

Present relative clauses also occur without a complementising case suffix. Examples of this kind most often occur in narrative text where they provide some parenthetical comment on events or situations which are occurring or obtain at the same time, and incidental to, the events described in the main event line. For example, (10.20) below is a portion of a narrative describing how a wicked uncle eats a whole emu after sending his two nephews to get a stone knife from a distant quarry. The audience is reminded of the current circumstances of the two nephews in the (underlined> present relative clause.

- (10.20) *Ngunhu kampa-lalha jankurna-a, thaapuwa. Wanthanha-rru kana?*
that.NOM cook-PAST emu-ACC big.man which-NOW RHET

Thuulwa-rminyji mirmtiwul-yu, thuulwa-rminyji kampa-lha-a.
pull.out-FUT all-ACC pull.out-FUT cook-PAST-ACC

Ngunhu-rru puni-nyila, wirta-tharra, puu-rru,
that.NOM-NOW go-PrREL youth-DU far.NOM-NOW

puyila-rru. Thaapuwa mungka-rminyji. Ngunhaa
far.LOC-NOW big.man eat-FUT that.NOM

manurri-yaangu-rru. minthal jankurna-a ngurnu
hold.back-UNREAL-NOW alone emu-ACC that.ACC

kalyaalya-ma-lalha.
feast-CAUS-PAST

He cooked the emu, the big man. What now? [He] pulled it all out, pulled out that thing which was cooked. [In the meantime] they were travelling, the two youths, far away, they were at some far away place. The big man ate it. He ought to have held back. He made a feast of that emu on his own now.

Example (10.21), from the same text, is very similar. Here the two brothers set out to spear an emu. However, one of the two holds back and lets his brother make the shot.

- (10.21) *Jirruna-npa-layi ngurnaa wanti-nyila-a, jankurna-a miyara-la-a,*
sneak-INCH-FUT that.ACC lie-PrREL-ACC emu-ACC egg-LOC-ACC

nhuwa-rminyji. Yarta warra, yarta ngunhu karri-nyila,
spear-FUT other CONT other that.NOM stand-PrREL

marryara-wuyu nyartu-wuyu. Karri-nyila ngunhu
young.brother-SIDE left.handed-SIDE stand-PrREL that.NOM

wartawirrinpa-rra. Nhiyu mirtali-wuyu kaya-wuyu
wait-CTEMP this.NOM big-SIDE older.brother-SIDE

nhuwa-lalha ngurnaa wanti-nyila-a.
spear-PAST that.ACC lie-PrREL-ACC

[They] sneak up on that one lying down, an emu on [its] eggs, and spear it. One stays, the younger brother, the left-handed one, he stands waiting. This big one [of the two], the older brother, spears that [emu] lying down.

Example (10.22) is taken from a narrative describing events in the mythical past. A group of devils have stolen a hill from a rival group who live on an island and are carrying it, across sea and land, to its current resting place. The present relative clause provides the background information that the sea was shallow at this time.

- (10.22) *Kanarri-lha-nu, nhiingara, puni-lha-nguru thanarti-la. Warutharra*
 come-PAST-QUOT this.PL go-PAST-ABL sea-LOC marsh

kayulu ngunhu yirla-l, wanti-nyila mir.ta purnta paju.
 water that.NOM only-THEN lie-PrREL not deep very

ngunhu-ngara puni-lha kanarri-lu.
 that.NOM-PL go-PAST come-PURPss

It's said they came [this way], these people, having travelled through the sea. It was only marsh water then, wasn't very deep. They travelled [through it] to come [this way].

In examples of this kind it is not immediately clear that the present relative clauses are subordinate clauses. Apart from the fact that they involve a verbal inflection not usually found in main clauses (and here the argument can very easily become circular), they bear none of the general formal characteristics of Martuthunira subordinate clauses. There is no complementising case suffix and no obvious syntactic relationship between arguments of this and any adjacent clause. Nor is it obvious that present relative clauses of this kind are, in more subtle ways, semantically dependent on an adjacent clause, although it is quite clear that they are in some way 'subordinate' to the main event line of the narrative.

However, similar examples do occur, albeit rarely, in general conversational discourse, and in such cases the unmarked present relative clause is semantically dependent on an adjacent main clause. As the following examples illustrate, the present relative clause typically conveys something of the speaker's own opinions, inferences, explanations or evidence for the state of affairs described in the main clause.

- (10.23) *Ngayu wayangka-lha ngurnu muyi-i, nganaju marryara*
 1SG.NOM frightened-PAST that.ACC dog-ACC 1SG.GEN young.brother

wayangka-nyila ngurnu.
 frightened-PrREL that.ACC

I was frightened of that dog [because] my brother is frightened of it.

- (10.24) *Nganarna waruul piya-rmuru nhuwana-la nhuura-npa-nyila-la kana.*
 1PL.EXC still sing-PRES 2PL-LOC know-INCH-PrREL-LOC RHET

Jalya waruul-wa-rru nyina-nyila. Mir.ta nhuura manku-layi jalurra-a.
 bad still-Ø-NOW sit-PrREL not knowing get-FUT song-ACC

We're still singing while you are learning. [Yet] you're still useless. You don't know how to perform (lit. grasp) the songs.

- (10.25) *Kartu-wi wuraal nhuwa-rminyji tharnta-a, ngayu*
 2SG.NOM-VOC all.right spear-FUT euro-ACC 1SG.NOM

kamungu-mpa-nyila, murla-a wiru-mpa-nyila.

hungry-INCH-PrREL meat-ACC wanting-INCH-PrREL

You'll spear euros (so you say), [yet] I'm getting hungry, wanting meat.

- (10.26) *Thawu! Karla kampa-nyila, nhuwana murna-ngka-rru.*
 good fire burn-PrREL 2PL.NOM close-LOC-NOW
 Good! There's a fire burning (which I assume you have lit), you are close by now.

To some extent, examples of this kind resemble locative marked finite relative clauses of the type illustrated in examples (10.8) to (10.11) above. In each case it is possible to infer some link, in the form of a common participant, between the situations described in the main and subordinate clauses.

10.1.4 CONTEMPORANEOUS CLAUSES

Subordinate contemporaneous clauses are marked by a special verbal inflection and typically have the same subject as the controlling clause. The events described in the two clauses are temporally co-extensive and are often causally interdependent. Contemporaneous clauses are non-finite; they assume the tense, aspect and mood specification of the controlling clause.

- (10.27) *Ngayu karlarra-mpa-nguru-rru yakarrangu-la nyina-rra.*
 1SG.NOM hot-INCH-PRES-NOW sun-LOC sit-CTEMP
 I'm getting hot sitting in the sun.
- (10.28) *Ngayu puni-nguru-rru kalyaran-ngara-a pukarti-ngara-a*
 1SG.NOM go-PRES-NOW stick-PL-ACC snakewood-PL-ACC
wawayi-l.yarra.
 look.for-CTEMP
 I'm going along looking for snakewood sticks. (trans.)
- (10.29) *Nganamarnu wii pithirri-mpa-rra wii, ngurnaa*
 anyone if chill-INCH-CTEMP if that.ACC
paya-minyji jami-i.
 drink-FUT medicine-ACC
 If anyone has a chill, they drink that medicine.

In a few rare cases, the subject of the contemporaneous clause is not coreferential with the subject of the main clause. In example (10.30), the subject of the subordinate clause is coreferential with the matrix accusative object. Notice that there is no complementising suffix on the subordinate verb.

- (10.30) *Ngartil wii nhuwana puni-rra thawun-mulyarra, ngartil waruul*
 again if 2PL.NOM go-CTEMP town-ALL again still
ngayu yungku-layi nhuwana-a warnmalyi-i.
 1SG.NOM give-FUT 2PL-ACC money-ACC
 If you go to town again, I'll give you money yet again.

Extended sequences of verbs bearing the contemporaneous inflection occasionally occur in text. In example (10.31), a sequence of contemporaneous verbs describes the melting of coagulated fish fat into a gravy as it warms in hot sand.

- (10.31) *Wantha-rninyji ... ngurnu kampa-waa-rru,*
 put-FUT that.ACC cook-PURPs=o-NOW
wirlukuru-mpa-rra panyu-mpa-rra karlarra-mpa-rra.
 gravy-INCH-CTEMP good-INCH-CTEMP hot-INCH-CTEMP
 Put that [fish fat in hot sand] to cook, turn into gravy, become good,
 become hot.

While it is perfectly possible to describe such sequences of contemporaneous clauses as chains of subordination (with, say, each successive clause subordinate to its predecessor) this seems quite inappropriate here. Rather, the set of predicates functions as a composite describing essentially one event.

Similarly in example (10.32), a group of devils undergo a transformation into the human state. The contemporaneous predicates clustered together here are 'become human', 'become good' and the motion verb *puni-Ø* 'go', which functions as a copula (§9.3.3) emphasising the gradual nature of the change and implying that it occurs throughout (and ultimately perhaps due to) the performance of a number of activities to be detailed later in the narrative.

- (10.32) *Pintirrijila ngunhu-ngara nyina-lha, ngartil panyu-rru-rra-rru,*
 scattered that.NOM-PL be-PAST next good-INV-CTEMP-NOW
panyu-rru-rra-rru kanyara-mpa-rra-rru puni-rra.
 good-INV-CTEMP-NOW human-INCH-CTEMP-NOW go-CTEMP
Warruwa-ngara-lwa, warruwa-ngara panyu-mpa-rra-rru
 devil-PL-ID devil-PL good-INCH-CTEMP-NOW
puni-rra kanyara-mpa-rra-rru.
 go-CTEMP human-INCH-CTEMP-NOW
 They were scattered about. Then [they] became good, became good, gradually
 became human. The devils that is, the devils gradually became good, became
 human.

However, there is a subtle difference between the sequences of predicates illustrated here and that exemplified in example (10.31). In (10.32), the verbs 'become good' and 'become human' bear the temporal clitic *-rru*, and this effectively marks the two as making separate assertions. The devils became good and also became human; the two resulting states are not necessarily interdependent. While examples like (10.31) suggest that the overlap between a contemporaneous clause and some other clause extends as far as verb serialisation, it would be a mistake to view this as the cardinal function of the contemporaneous verbal inflection. Although the inflection indicates that the verb has the same tense, mood and aspect as the verb in some controlling clause, it does not require that the two verbs have the same set of core arguments.

10.1.5 SEQUENTIAL CLAUSES

Sequential clauses describe an event which follows the main clause event, often as an immediate consequence of that event. Sequential clauses are marked by a special subordinate

clause inflection involving an increment, *-waara*, to the contemporaneous verb inflection. Like contemporaneous clauses, sequential clauses typically have the same subject as the main clause and so do not take complementising case suffixes, as in examples (10.33) to (10.35), (4.69), (4.106), (7.49) and (9.78).

- (10.33) *Ngunhaa punga pangkira-rrilha parntayarri-rrawaara.*
 that.NOM guts bulging-INV-PAST explode-SEQ
 His guts swelled up and then exploded.
- (10.34) *Nhuwa-ru puni-layi murla-a. Nhuwa-rminyji ngurnaa,*
 spear-PURPss go-FUT meat-ACC spear-FUT that.ACC
manku-rrawaara jimpu-ngara-a.
 grab-SEQ egg-PL-ACC
 Go and spear that emu (lit. meat). Spear it and then grab the eggs.
- (10.35) *Winya-ma-lalha nhumira-a-rru ... tharrwi-lalha jarraa-l.yarrawaara*
 full-CAUS-PAST penis-ACC-NOW put.in-PAST tie.up-SEQ
nhawani-i, pirriyarta-a pinyjulu-u ngurnu, pungka-wirri-la ngunhu.
 thing-ACC own-ACC rope-ACC that.ACC fall-LEST-LOC that.NOM
 He filled his penis [with the emu eggs]...put them in and then tied up that thing,
 his own rope, lest they fall out.

10.2 LEST CLAUSES

Lest clauses describe a state of affairs considered unpleasant by the speaker and which could be expected to occur as a result of the situation described by an adjacent and usually controlling clause. The verb in the lest clause bears a special verbal inflection which may then be further inflected with an accusative or a locative complementising suffix. There are separate active and passive forms of the lest inflection (§6.1.4) even though the active inflection freely occurs on derived passive verbs. There is no obvious difference in meaning between the two patterns of inflection.

Examples (10.36) and (10.37) illustrate lest clauses which have the same subject as the controlling clause. No complementising case suffix is appropriate here. An accusative complementiser indicates that the subject of the lest clause is coreferential with an object of the main clause (10.38) and (10.39).

- (10.36) *Ngayu wangka-layi mir.ta-rru yinka-rminyji wirra-a ngartil*
 1SG.NOM say-FUT not-NOW chisel-FUT boomerang-ACC again
yarna-miyangu. Ngayu kuntirri-nguru-rru. Nhartu-mpa-lha
 dissatisfied-PASS.LEST 1SG.NOM give.up-PRES-NOW what-INCH-PAST
kuntirri-nguru? Waruul-wa-rru ngartil yarna-nnguli-yirri kartungku.
 give.up-PRES still-Ø-NOW again dissatisfied-PASS.LEST 2SG.EFF
 I'll say that I won't chisel a boomerang again in case [he's] dissatisfied with me.
 I'm giving up now. Why am I giving up? Lest you be dissatisfied with me again.
- (10.37) *Ngayu puni-layi-rru nyina-wirri manhamanha-ma-l.yarra nhuwala-a.*
 1SG.NOM go-FUT-NOW be-LEST awkward-CAUS-CTEMP 2DU-ACC
 I'll go now lest I be making it awkward for you.

(10.38) *Mir.ta wantha-rminyji murla-a yakarrangu-la puwa-mpa-wirri-i.*
 not leave-FUT meat-ACC sun-LOC rotten-INCH-LEST-ACC
 Don't leave the meat in the sun or it'll go rotten.

(10.39) *Kartu kangku-layi yirnaa pawulu-u panyu paju.*
 2SG.NOM carry-FUT this.ACC child-ACC good REAL

Mir.ta wilawila-ma-rminyji thurla-mpa-wirri-i.
 not shake-CAUS-FUT eye-INCH-LEST-ACC

You carry this child very carefully. Don't shake him or he'll wake up. (trans.)

A locative complementiser indicates that the subject of the clause is not coreferential with either the subject or an accusative marked object of the controlling clause. Instead, the subject may be coreferential with some other non-core participant of the main clause (10.40), or may introduce a new participant (10.41).

(10.40) *Nyina-Ø nganaju-wu-la ngurriny-tha martama-l.yarra*
 sit-IMP 1SG.OBL-GEN-LOC swag-LOC press.on-CTEMP
puni-wirri-la karra-ngka-a-rru kurti-l.yarra, kanarra-lu
 go-LEST-LOC scrub-LOC-ACC-NOW collect-CTEMP wind-EFF

kuyilwa-rnu-u pintirrijila-rru.
 spoilt-PASSP-ACC scattered-NOW

Sit on my swag, hold it down, or I'll have to go collecting the things that are in the scrub, that have been spoilt and scattered about by the wind.

(10.41) *Kartu wankuma-lalha paju, walyi-lalha ngurnu punkurrimarnu-u*
 2SG.NOM check-PAST REAL uncover-PAST that.ACC blanket-ACC

purntura-a wanti-lha-a, wayil wii nhartu-ngara, parralhara-ngara
 rolled-ACC lie-PAST-ACC maybe if something-PL centipede-PL

wii, wayil wii wanti-wirri-la mirtungkura-la punkurrimarnu-la?
 maybe maybe maybe lie-LEST-LOC underneath-LOC blanket-LOC

Did you check carefully and undo that blanket lying rolled up, lest there should be something, a centipede or whatever, lying underneath it?

There is an important difference between accusative marked lest clauses and those marked locative. Where the clause is marked accusative, the predicted unfortunate actions of the subject of the clause are a direct result of an action (or inaction) on the part of the subject of the main clause on the subordinate clause subject. There is no such direct responsibility where the clause is marked locative.

In most Australian languages in which lest clauses are found, they can occur independently of a controlling main clause. For example, Austin (1981a:229) describes such lest clauses in Diyari but suggests that these be considered structurally subordinate since a wider context of circumstances leading to the situation described by the lest clause is always understood.

Some fifteen per cent of the lest clauses occurring in the Martuthunira data appear to be effectively independent of a main clause. That is, they do not bear a complementising suffix and yet do not have the same subject as some adjacent clause. In most cases these unmarked lest clauses describe a situation that is considered unfavourable but there is no strong

implication that the situation will necessarily follow if the events described in some preceding clause are not carried out. For example:

- (10.42) *Mir.ta thaawu-rminyji. Pawulu puni-wirri kayulu-la-rru*
 not let.go-FUT child go-LEST water-LOC-NOW

nyuni-lu-rru.

drown-PURPss-NOW

Don't let him go. The child might go in the water and drown.

- (10.43) *Ngayu wiru kartungu pukarra-a ngurnaa*
 1SG.NOM wanting 2SG.ACC firewood-ACC that.ACC

piyuwa-ma-lwaa kayulu-marta. Kampa-lwirri ngurra-a.

finish-CAUS-PURPs=o water-PROP burn-LEST camp-ACC

I want you to put out that (smouldering) firewood with water. It could burn out the camp otherwise.

In these examples the subject of the lest clause is coreferential with an accusative argument of the preceding clause. However, the accusative complementiser would imply that the unpleasant situation was a direct consequence of the addressee's actions or inaction. The option of leaving the lest clause unmarked allows the speaker to choose not to imply this degree of responsibility.

10.3 PURPOSE CLAUSES

Purpose clauses describe a situation which occurs after the event described in the main clause and which is usually a direct result of the main clause event, or the purpose for which the event was performed.

In Martuthunira, as in many Australian languages, purpose clauses select a verbal inflection conditioned by coreference relations between main clause and subordinate clause subjects. That is, they are inflected for switch-reference (Austin 1981b). However, unlike the binary same-subject/different-subject contrast found in most of these languages (Dench 1988), Martuthunira has three separate verb inflections (Table 10.1).

TABLE 10.1: SWITCH-REFERENCE IN PURPOSE CLAUSES

-lu/-ru	Subject of purpose clause is coreferential
-PURPss	with subject of main clause.
-CM-waa	Subject of purpose clause is coreferential
-PURPs=o	with an accusative object of the main clause.
-CM-wala	Subject of purpose clause is not coreferential
-PURPds	with the subject of the main clause.

The -PURPs=o and -PURPds inflections quite transparently involve the addition of the accusative and locative complementisers respectively to a suffix *-wa. The different functions of the two inflections similarly reflect the different functions of the two complementisers. The -PURPss inflection is not related to the other suffixes.

Same-subject purpose clauses describe the intended outcome of an action performed by the subject of the main clause:

- (10.44) *Kayarra kanarri-lha nganaju nhawu-lu.*
 two come-PAST 1SG.ACC see-PURPss
 Two people came to see me.
- (10.45) *Kartu puni-layi minthal-wa-rru nhuwa-ru jankurna-a.*
 2SG.NOM go-FUT alone-Ø-NOW spear-PURPss emu-ACC
 You can go by yourself to spear an emu.

Same-subject purpose constructions reveal clearly the rules of set inclusion by which arguments are considered referentially 'same' or 'different'. As (10.46) and (10.47) illustrate, where the subject of either the subordinate clause or the main clause is included within the reference set of the subject of the other clause, the two clauses are considered to have the same subject. This pattern holds for all other constructions organised on the basis of the coreference of arguments.

- (10.46) *Nganaju mimi warrirti-i panyu-ma-lalha, ngaliya puni-lu*
 1SG.GEN uncle spear-ACC good-CAUS-PAST 1DU.EXC go-PURPss
murla-a manku-lu.
 meat-ACC get-PURPss
 My uncle fixed a spear so we two could go to get meat.
- (10.47) *Ngaliya, nganaju mimi, nhuwa-lalha tharnta-a, nganaju mimi*
 1DU.EXC 1SG.GEN uncle spear-PAST euro-ACC 1SG.GEN uncle
mungka-ru.
 eat-PURPss
 We two, my uncle and I, speared a euro so my uncle could have a feed.

Where the subject of the purpose clause is not coreferential with the subject of the main clause, there are two possible marking choices for the verb. Generally, where the subject of the purpose clause is coreferential with an accusative object of the main clause the *-waa* inflection may be chosen; otherwise, the *-wala* inflection is chosen. In examples (10.48) and (10.49), the subject of the subordinate clause is coreferential with an accusative argument of the main clause (possible control ambiguities are discussed in §10.6 below).

- (10.48) *Ngayu kartungu parla-marta purra-rminyji pal.ya-a,*
 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC stone-PROP hit-FUT temple-ACC
pungka-waa-rru.
 fall-PURPs=o-NOW
 I'll hit you in the temple with a stone, so you fall down. (trans.)
- (10.49) *Ngunhu wartirra murla-a kampa-lalha ngurnu-ngara-a*
 that.NOM woman meat-ACC cook-PAST that.OBL-PL-ACC
pawulu-ngara-a mungka-lwaa.
 child-PL-ACC eat-PURPs=o
 That woman cooked those kids some meat to eat. (trans.)

The following examples illustrate the functions of the *-wala* purpose inflection. The subject of a purpose clause marked with the *-wala* inflection may be coreferential with an

argument of the main clause (examples (10.50) and (10.51)), or may introduce another participant (10.52).

- (10.50) *Nhulaa murla kangku-Ø ngurnu-mulyarra kanyara-mulyarra kampa-lwala*
 near.you meat take-IMP that.OBL-ALL man-ALL cook-PURPds
wuruma-l.yarra nganarna-a.
 do.for-CTEMP 1PL.EXC-ACC
 Take that meat to that man so he can cook it for us. (trans.)
- (10.51) *Ngayu nhawungarra-ma-rmuru thamiini-ngu pawulu-u,*
 1SG.NOM look.after-CAUS-PRES DaSo+IPOSS-GEN child-ACC
nguyirri-l wanti-wala.
 asleep-THEN lie-PURPds
 I'm looking after my grandson's child so then he (grandson) can have a sleep.
- (10.52) *Ngawu, ngaliwa wuraal puni-layi purnumpuru, thana ngunhaa*
 yes 1PL.INC still go-FUT quiet let that.NOM
nhuurryarri-wala marli-ngka kartawura-la.
 snore-PURPds paperbark-LOC butt-LOC
 Yes, we'll keep going quietly so that that one can keep on snoring at the foot of that paperbark.

There is a strong implication that a purpose clause marked with the *-waa* inflection depicts an outcome of the event described in the controlling main clause and intended by the subject of the main clause. However, the link between a main clause and a purpose clause marked with *-wala* is weaker. The event described is seen as an outcome of the main clause but not as a direct result of the controlling actions of the subject of the main clause.

In example (10.53), the subject of the purpose clause is in fact coreferential with an accusative object of the preceding clause. Here, the use of the *-wala* inflection indicates that while the event is an outcome of the controlling clause, it is not an outcome *intended* by the subject of that clause. By contrast, in (10.54) the *-waa* inflection is controlled by an allative noun phrase in the matrix clause.

- (10.53) *Ngunhaa muyi, jarraa-rmu-nguru, jaya-lalha-nguru, puni-lha muluru*
 that.NOM dog tie-PASSP-ABL escape-PAST-ABL go-PAST straight
waruul-wa-rru kanarri-lu nyina-nyila-a thalu-way-a.
 still-Ø-NOW come-PURPss sit-PrREL-ACC pet-OWNER-ACC
Thalu-way-a panyu-npa-wala-rru wiru ngurmula-ngu-lu
 pet-OWNER good-INCH-PURPds-NOW feelings that.DEF-GEN-EFF
murla-marnu-lu kanarri-yangu.
 meat-ASSOC-EFF come-PASSP
 That dog, having been tied up, having escaped, went straight to come to his owner sitting there. And so the owner was very pleased having his meat-getter come to him.
- (10.54) *Ngaliwa thathu-rminyji kulhampa-ngara-a ngurnu-ngara-arta*
 1PL.INC send-FUT fish-PL-ACC that.OBL-PL-DIRALL

kanyara-ngara-arta, ngawayu-l ngarti-rru wurtu,
 person-PL-DIRALL turn-THEN again-NOW HYPTH

kulhampa-a-lpurtu mungka-lwaa.
 fish-ACC-COMP eat-PURPs=o

We'll send fish to those people, in return, so they can eat fish [while we eat the kangaroo meat they sent us].

The following examples, involving the verb *wangka-Ø* 'speak, tell', further demonstrate that the contrast between the two different-subject inflections is not an automatic response to the case-marking of the controlling noun phrase. Where the verb is interpreted as an information transfer predicate the accusative addressee typically controls the *-wala* inflection (example (10.55) – but see (9.86)). Where *wangka-Ø* is interpreted as a manipulative predicate the accusative addressee controls the *-waa* inflection (10.56).

- (10.55) *Kartu wangka-Ø nganaju wanthala-a kartu*
 2SG.NOM say-IMP 1SG.ACC where-ACC 2SG.NOM
withawitha-ma-lalha-a kartungu-u muyi-i, ngayu
 lost-CAUS-PAST-ACC 2SG.GEN-ACC dog-ACC 1SG.NOM

puni-wala wawayi-ru.
 go-PURPds look.for-PURPds

You tell me where you lost your dog and I'll go and look for it. (trans.)

- (10.56) *Ngayu wangka-lha ngurnu pawulu-u wawayi-waa*
 1SG.NOM say-PAST that.ACC child-ACC look.for-PURPds
muyi-i ngurnula-ngu-u.
 dog-ACC that.DEF-GEN-ACC
 I told that kid to look for his dog. (trans.)

Contrastive use of the two choices of purpose clause marking is not restricted to situations involving animate instigating participants. There are no such participants in the following portion of text, in which the main event line involves ambient verbs with forces of nature as their subjects.

- (10.57) *Yakarrangu thanturri-layi yawurrari-rru, thulharra-mpa-rra*
 sun descend-FUT westward-NOW afternoon-INCH-NOW
jarruru wuraal-wa-rru muthumuthu-mpa-rra-rru
 slow all.right-Ø-NOW cool-INCH-CTEMP-NOW
thanturri-rra-rru. Ngunhaa malumalu-mpa-waa-rru
 descend-CTEMP-NOW that.NOM dark-INCH-PURPs=o-NOW
jarruru-u waruul. Ngartil malumalu-mpa-layi paju-rru,
 slow-ACC still next dark-INCH-FUT REAL-NOW
mir.ta paju-rru nhawu-wala wayala paju-rru.
 not REAL-NOW see-PURPds night REAL-NOW

The sun is going down in the west, it's afternoon, it's slowly getting cool now as [it] goes down. That will make everything go dark slowly. Next it gets really dark, so [we] really won't be able to see anything in the night.

The process of getting dark in the *-waa* clause is interpreted as a direct result of the sun going down. However, there is no accusative object controlling the purpose clause. No subject for the *-wala* marked verb appears anywhere in the text but since it requires an animate 'perceiver' a generalised 'we' is assumed.

Finally, purpose clauses introduced by the permissive, *thana*, can appear independently of a controlling main clause (§7.10). Such constructions usually have the illocutionary force of a mild imperative and imply an action that would otherwise be described in a controlling clause (examples (7.105) and (7.106)).

10.4 CLAUSAL COMPLEMENTS

Verbs of perception, cognition and information transfer, and the predicate nominals *nhuura* 'knowing', *wiru* 'wanting' and *waya* 'fear', select clausal complements of various kinds. Clausal complements occur either on subject position or on an accusative argument position and are usually non-verbal ascriptive clauses or relative clauses. However, the purpose clause inflection *-waa* is used to mark object complements of 'subsequent time' for some predicates.

The predicate noun phrase or verb in an object complement clause bears an accusative complementising suffix and this accusative marking extends to the subject of the clausal complement. But, as described in §3.3.2, subordinate clauses typically bear complementising case only on the head verb (or nominal predicate); noun phrase arguments and adjuncts on these arguments remain unmarked for complementising case. Even though the subject argument of a subordinate clause is generally omitted, surviving second predications on that subject remain unmarked. Thus it is possible to argue that the subjects of clausal complements are 'raised' into object position in the matrix clause. For example:

- (10.58) *Nhuwana nhuura* { *nganaju yilangu karri-nyila-a purnumpuru.* }
 2PL knowing { 1SG.ACC here stand-PrREL-ACC quiet }
 { **ngayu yilangu karri-nyila-a purnumpuru.* }
 { 1SG.NOM here stand-PrREL-ACC quiet }

You know that I'm standing here quietly.

There are a number of examples in the data that suggest that second predications may be raised out of complement clauses along with the subject of the clause. All such examples involve interrogative/indefinite second predications of manner as in the following example.

- (10.59) *Ngayu nhawu-layi nhartu-u wantharra-a yirna muyi-i*
 1SG.NOM see-FUT what-ACC like-ACC this.ACC dog-ACC
murti-i, yanga-rnura-a tharnta-a.
 fast-ACC chase-PrREL-ACC euro-ACC
 I'll see what this dog's speed is like, chasing kangaroos.

The choice of verb inflection in complement clauses is not entirely free but depends in part on the matrix predicate. Firstly, the perception verbs *nhawu-Ø* 'see', *kuliya-L* 'hear', and *nguyi-ma-L* 'dream' take only complements which can be interpreted as having non-future temporal reference. As noted in §9.5.7, the subject complement constructions involve the reflexive nominal *jankul* 'self', which is best described as an adjunct on the matrix subject as in (10.60) below.

- (10.60) *Ngayu nguyi-ma-lalha ngurnu muyi-i jankul*
 1SG.NOM dream-CAUS-PAST that.ACC dog-ACC self
yanga-lalha-nguru.
 chase-PAST-ABL
 I dreamt that I had been chasing that dog. (trans.)
 (lit. I dreamt about myself that I had been chasing that dog).
- (10.61) *Ngayu nhawu-lha ngurnu pawulu-u thani-rnura-a*
 1SG.NOM see-PAST that.ACC child-ACC hit-PrREL-ACC
wirra-marta ngurnu muyi-i.
 boomerang-PROP that.ACC dog-ACC
 I saw that child hitting the dog with a boomerang. (trans.)

On the other hand, complements of the predicate nominals *wiru* 'wanting' and *waya* 'fear', and the derived verbs *wiru-mpa-Ø* 'come to want' and *wayangka-Ø* 'be frightened', take only 'subsequent time' complements. Subject complements bear the future tense inflection, object complements bear the *-waa* PURPs=0, inflection. Examples (10.62) and (10.63) illustrate for *wiru*.

- (10.62) *Ngayu wiru yungku-ngu-layi ngurnu-tharra-a*
 1SG.NOM wanting give-PASS-FUT that.OBL-DU-ACC
wirra-tharra-a.
 boomerang-DU-ACC
 I want to be given those two boomerangs.
- (10.63) *Ngunhaa mir.ta wiru yirna-tharra-a ngayala-tharra-a*
 that.NOM not want this.OBL-DU-ACC nephew-DU-ACC
nhurnti-ma-lalha-a jankurna-a mungka-lwaa ngurnaa.
 dead-CAUS-PAST-ACC emu-ACC eat-PURPs=0 that.ACC
 He didn't want these two nephews who had speared the emu to eat it.

The cognition verb *kuliyanpa-Ø* 'think, believe' allows both non-future and subsequent time complements on both subject (10.64), and object (10.65) and (10.66).

- (10.64) *Ngayu kuliyanpa-lha nhartu-u ngawayu yungku-layi*
 1SG.NOM think-PAST something-ACC in.turn give-FUT
nganaju-u mimi-i.
 1SG.GEN-ACC uncle-ACC
 I thought about giving my uncle something in return.
- (10.65) *Kartu kuliyanpa-nguru nganaju ngalawangka-nyila-a wurtu?*
 2SG.NOM think-PRES 1SG.ACC tell.lie-PrREL-ACC HYPH
 Do you think that I'm lying?
- (10.66) *Ngunhaa nganaju kuliyanpa-lha paya-lalha-nguru*
 that.NOM 1SG.ACC think-PAST drink-PAST-ABL
nhurnti-mpa-waa paju-rru.
 dead-INCH-PURPs=0 REAL-NOW
 She thinks that I'm really going to die from drinking.

The predicate nominal *nhuura* 'knowing' and its inchoative counterpart *nhuura-mpa-Ø* 'learn' similarly take both subsequent time and non-future complements on subject and object.

- (10.67) *Nhuura-mpa-layi minthal warra panyu-ma-rninyji warrirti-i.*
 know-INCH-FUT alone CONT good-CAUS-FUT spear-ACC
 Learn to fix a spear on your own for a change.
- (10.68) *Ngunhu kanyara mir.ta nhuura wantharni-ma-lwaa ngurnaa*
 that.NOM man not knowing what.way-CAUS-PURPs=o that.ACC
thaapuwa-a. Ngunhaa-nu kuyil ngunhaa. Nhuura-mpa-layi
 bad.fellow-ACC that.NOM-QUOT bad that.NOM know-INCH-FUT
nhartu-u wii mil.yirri-nguli-nyila-a. ... Ngunhaa nhuura
 something-ACC maybe hide-PASS-PrREL-ACC that.NOM knowing
waruu-lpurtu yirna mil.yirri-nyila-a, kanyara-a.
 still-COMP this.ACC hide-PrREL-ACC man-ACC
 That man didn't know what that bad fellow was going to do. He was bad
 that one. He was waking up to the fact that something or other was being
 hidden...He knew this man was hiding something all right.

Complements of the information transfer verbs *wangka-Ø* 'speak, tell', and *nhuura-ma-L* 'teach show' are illustrated in §9.5.8. *Nhuura-ma-L* typically takes object complements while *wangka-Ø* may take either subject or object complements. Subject complements are illustrated in the two following examples.

- (10.69) *Mir.ta wangka-lha, nganaju mimi, wantharni puni-rra.*
 not say-PAST 1SG.GEN uncle what.way go-CTEMP
 He didn't say, my uncle, which way he was going.
- (10.70) *Ngayu wangka-layi mir.ta-rru yinka-rninyji wirra-a ngartil.*
 1SG.NOM tell-FUT not-NOW chisel-FUT boomerang-ACC again
 I'll tell [him] that I won't chisel a boomerang again.

As example (10.70) shows, *wangka-Ø* permits subsequent time complements on the subject. However, for both *wangka-Ø* and *nhuura-ma-L*, subordinate clauses involving the *-waa* PURPs=o inflection are interpreted as regular purpose clauses as below.

- (10.71) *Ngayu wangka-lha kartungu manku-waa nganaju-u.*
 1SG.NOM tell-PAST 2SG.ACC get-PURPs=o 1SG.GEN-ACC
ngamari-i!
 tobacco-ACC
 I told you to get my tobacco!
- (10.72) *Ngayu kartungu-ngara-a pawulu-ngara-a nhuura-ma-rninyji*
 1SG.NOM 2SG.GEN-PL-ACC child-PL-ACC know-CAUS-FUT
marrari-i Martuthunira-a wangka-waa.
 language-ACC Martuthunira-ACC speak-PURPs=o
 I'll teach your children to speak Martuthunira.

10.5 PASSIVE IN SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

The description of subordinate clause types in the preceding sections of this chapter demonstrates that Martuthunira has no general constraint requiring coreference between the subject of a subordinate clause and some argument of the matrix clause. There are many complex sentence patterns in which one clause is subordinate to another but where the two share no arguments. Thus it should not be surprising that the choice of a passive subordinate clause is not dictated by strict syntactic rule. Many Australian languages have similar systems of clausal subordination and yet function perfectly well without a productive voice system.

As noted in §9.6, a passive main clause is used either to present a non-subject argument in a highly topical position, or to turn attention away from the agent. The same pragmatic/semantic considerations are relevant to the choice of passive subordinate clauses. However, the choice of a passive clause is also dependent on the particular relationship between main and subordinate clause indicated by subordinate verb inflection and complementising case.

The most common subordinate passive clauses occur in contemporaneous relative clauses and in *-waa* purpose clauses. Passive contemporaneous clauses are usually agentless, have the same subject as the controlling main clause, and typically describe a general state characterising that subject. In many cases no specific agent can be understood.

- (10.73) *Nhuwana panyu-ma-minyji minthal-wa-rru, kanyarra-lpurtu warnu?*
 2PL good-CAUS-FUT alone-Ø-NOW man-COMP ASSERT

Mir.ta nyina-layi wuruma-nngu-rra yirla.
 not be-FUT do.for-PASS-CTEMP only

You fellows do it on your own, you're men aren't you? Don't just have it done for you all the time.

- (10.74) *Nhuwana mir.ta nhuura kalya nyina-layi, kuyil paju,*
 2PL not knowing still sit-FUT bad REAL

karimalkarimal paju karta-nngu-rra wantharra
 jumpy REAL poke-PASS-CTEMP like

yimpalaa karta-nngu-rra wantharra milhu.
 like.that poke-PASS-CTEMP like bum

You don't know to sit still, really bad, jumpy as if you were being poked in the bum.

- (10.75) *Ngunhu jantira wangka-ngu-rra Tharnturrany thani-lalha muyi-i.*
 that.NOM old.woman say-PASS-CTEMP Tharnturrany hit-PAST dog-ACC
 That old woman called *Tharnturrany* hit the dog. (trans.)

By contrast, passive subordinate clauses marked with the *-waa* purpose inflection rarely occur without an explicit agent. The choice of a passive clause here is largely motivated by the particular semantic properties of the purpose construction. The *-waa* inflection implies an effective action in the main clause, typically directed at a participant which functions as the subject of the subordinate clause. The object in the main clause may be prodded into action in the subordinate clause, in which case the subordinate clause is active. Alternatively, the referent of the main clause object may be placed in a situation in which it is further affected by a subordinate clause agent. In this case the subordinate clause is passive. For example:

- (10.76) *Nganarna warrirti-i kangku-nguru kartungu-mulyarra yirla, kartungku*
 1PL.EXC spear-ACC bring-PRES 2SG.OBL-ALL only 2SG.EFF
yirla panyu-ma-nnguli-waa, thaapuwa-ngku kur.ta-ngku.
 only good-CAUS-PASS-PURPs=o bastard-EFF clever-EFF
 We bring spears only to you, to be fixed by you alone, you clever old bastard.
- (10.77) *Ngaliwa nhartu-ngara-a wii kanyja-rminyji muyinu-u paju*
 1PL.INC something-PL-ACC maybe keep-FUT hidden-ACC REAL
mir.ta paju nhawu-nguli-waa muyal.yi-ngara-lu.
 not REAL see-PASS-PURPs=o thief-PL-EFF
 We'll keep all the things well hidden so they won't be seen by any thieves.
- (10.78) *Kartu-lwa ngurnaa maruwa-lalha manku-nguli-waa*
 2SG.NOM-ID that.ACC make.trouble-PAST grab-PASS-PURPs=o
marntamarta-lu.
 policeman-EFF
 You're the one who made trouble for that fellow so that he was grabbed
 by the police. (trans.)

Although passive same-subject purpose clauses are accepted as grammatical, no examples occur in free text. Instead a construction involving a passive verb inflected for future tense is used. Example (10.79) illustrates the elicited pattern while (10.80) presents the preferred pattern.

- (10.79) *Ngayu puni-layi thawun-mulyarra nhawu-ngu-lu pulhanyji-lu.*
 1SG.NOM go-FUT town-ALL see-PASS-PURPs doctor-EFF
 I'll go to town to be seen by the doctor. (trans.)
- (10.80) *Ngayu puni-layi pulhanyji-lu nhawu-ngu-layi.*
 1SG.NOM go-FUT doctor-EFF see-PASS-FUT
 I'll go and be seen by the doctor.

Where the purpose clause has the same subject as the main clause the two situations are typically seen as being intended and controlled by the one participant. However, since the subject of a passive clause is not an instigating and controlling participant, the choice of a passive is contrary to the expected reading of a same-subject purpose clause. It is not surprising that the construction illustrated in example (10.80) is more natural in free text.

The choice of a passive form of a NP-relative clause is partly dependent on a grammaticalisation of the topicalising function of the passive. If a relative clause has a non-subject core argument which is coreferential with a core argument of the main clause, and if the subject of the subordinate clause is NOT coreferential with a core argument of the main clause, then the subordinate clause is presented as a passive with the coreferential argument in subject/pivot position.

- (10.81) *Mir.ta-nu yanga-muru purrkuru paju wantharni-i*
 not-QUOT follow-PRES truly REAL what.way-ACC
yungku-yangu-u nhiiyarra-lu puni-layi-lu.
 give-PASSP-ACC this.DU-EFF go-FUT-EFF
 Apparently they didn't follow the law (lit. way) given to them by these two who
 were going to go [away].

- (10.82) *Puni-lha ngunhaa manku-lu yilhi-i-rru ngurnu kayarra-a*
 go-PAST that.NOM grab-PURP_{ss} chip-ACC-NOW that.ACC two-ACC
wirra-tharra-a yinka-rnu-u.
 boomerang-DU-ACC chisel-PASSP-ACC
 He went to get the chips of those two boomerangs that had been carved.

Clearly, this strategy will not account for the choice of passive clauses in object complement clauses of verbs of perception, for example. Here the choice of a passive is purely determined by pragmatic considerations; compare (10.83) with (10.84).

- (10.83) *Ngayu nhawu-lha pawulu-ngara-a puliyanyja-ngara-lu*
 1SG.NOM see-PAST child-PL-ACC old.people-PL-EFF
nhuura-ma-nnguli-nyila-a.
 know-CAUS-PASS-PrREL-ACC
 I saw the children being taught by the old people. (trans.)
- (10.84) *Ngayu nhawu-lha puliyanyja-ngara-a nhuura-ma-rnura-a*
 1SG.NOM see-PAST old.people-PL-ACC know-CAUS-PrREL-ACC
pawulu-ngara-a.
 child-PL-ACC
 I saw the old people teaching the children. (trans.)

There are very few examples in the data of passive forms of the more weakly linked locative finite relative or unmarked present relative clauses. Since these clauses are not bound by the constraint placing coreferential non-subject arguments in pivot position, this is not at all surprising. At the same time, since they often constitute parenthetical comment on events or participants in the narrative they do not have the topic presentation function of passive main clauses. All examples occurring in the data are agentless passives. For example:

- (10.85) *Puyi paju, ngunhaa thanarti-la Kurlanypunkunhu,*
 far.NOM REAL that.NOM sea-LOC *Kurlanypunkunhu*
ngunhu ngunhu-lwa Pantuwarnangka muya-rnu-la.
 that.NOM that.NOM-ID Pannawonica steal-PASSP-LOC
Thalu-ngara ngularla kurlany-ngara.
 site-PL there.NS knife-PL
 It's a long way off, in the sea, that *Kurlanypunkunhu* Island. That's the one Pannawonica Hill was stolen from. There are lots of increase sites somewhere there, knife quarries.
- (10.86) *Walywanti-lha-rru yila-ngara punga-lha ngurra-ngka-rru,*
 come.off-PAST-NOW this.LOC-PL fall-PAST ground-LOC-NOW
jal.yu-rru thani-nnguli-nyila, karla-ngka warntitha-nnguli-nyila.
 neck-NOW hit-PASS-PrREL fire-LOC throw-PASS-PrREL
 All these things here (pointing to private parts) came off and fell onto the ground, and they were being hit in the [back of the] neck, and being thrown in the fire.

Similarly, passive *-wala* purpose clauses are quite uncommon. Once again, the choice of a passive clause in this construction is motivated by the same principles as explain main clause passives: a decision to topicalise the patient, and/or to ignore the agent. For example:

- (10.87) *Ngayu panyu-ma-lalha warrirti-ngara-a maruwarla-a, wuruma-l.yarra,*
 1SG.NOM good-CAUS-PAST spear-PL-ACC many-ACC do.for-CTEMP
ngulu kanyara-lu mirtuwarra-lu kur.ta-ngku pawulu-ngara
 that.EFF man-EFF teacher-EFF clever-EFF child-PL
nhuura-ma-nnguli-wala ngulu.
 know-CAUS-PASS-PURPds that.EFF
 I fixed a lot of spears, doing a favour, so that the children could be taught [about them] by that clever teacher.
- (10.88) *Ngunhu wartirra karra-ngka-rru thurtinti-lha, yarrwa-ngka-rru*
 that.NOM woman scrub-LOC-NOW disappear-PAST behind-LOC-NOW
ngurnula-ngu-ngara pawulu-ngara nhawungarra-ma-nnguli-wala
 that.DEF-GEN-PL child-PL look.after-CAUS-PASS-PURPds
yarta-ngara-lu.
 other-PL-EFF
 That woman disappeared into the scrub and now, behind [her], her children have to be looked after by other people.

In both of these examples the situation denoted by the subordinate clause could easily have been described with an active verb bearing the same *-wala* purpose inflection. However, in both cases the children are the focus of interest and so a passive is chosen.

10.6 SUBORDINATE CLAUSES ON DOUBLE-OBJECT CLAUSES

Verbs which allow more than one accusative object similarly permit subordinate clauses on more than one argument. In fact there are few examples in the data in which two accusative arguments, one controlling a subordinate clause, both occur in the same clause. And there are no examples in which two accusative arguments each control separate subordinate clauses.

Nevertheless, it is clear from elicited and test data that there is little room for ambiguity in the interpretation of control relations between accusative arguments and subordinate clauses. Correct assignment of control relations is facilitated by a number of factors. Firstly, the controlling accusative argument typically occurs at the matrix clause margin adjacent to the subordinate clause. Secondly, possible coreference relationships are inferred from knowledge of the semantic roles of the main clause and subordinate clause predicates and knowledge of the likely roles of the participants. For example, consider the following pair of test examples which were given the same English gloss.

- (10.89) *Ngayu ngurnu muyi-i kartungu-u kurmtal-yu yungku-lha,*
 1SG.NOM that.ACC dog-ACC 2SG.GEN-ACC daughter-ACC give-PAST
nhawungarra-ma-lwaa.
 look.after-CAUS-PURPs=o
 I gave your daughter the dog so she could look after it. (constr.)
- (10.90) *Ngayu ngurnu muyi-i kartungu-u kurmtal-yu yungku-lha,*
 1SG.NOM that.ACC dog-ACC 2SG.GEN-ACC daughter-ACC give-PAST

nhawungarra-ma-nnguli-waa.

look.after-CAUS-PASS-PURPs=o

I gave your daughter the dog so she could look after it. (constr.)

(lit. I gave your daughter the dog so it could be looked after by her.)

It is clear that the subject of the subordinate clause is linked to different matrix accusative arguments in each sentence. Such examples have an unmarked interpretation in which the participant higher on some scale of relative animacy is left 'looking after' the lower. To force a reading of a sentence such as (10.89), in which the dog is left looking after the child, the noun phrase 'your daughter' must appear in the subordinate clause. The following examples involving *nhuura-ma-L* 'show' illustrate this.

- (10.91) *Ngayu ngurnu muyi-i nhuura-ma-lalha kartungu-u*
 1SG.NOM that.ACC dog-ACC know-CAUS-PAST 2SG.GEN-ACC

pawulu-u, nhawungarra-ma-lwaa.

child-ACC look.after-CAUS-PURPs=o

I showed that dog to the child so he would look after it. (trans.)

- (10.92) *Ngayu nhuura-ma-lalha ngurnu muyi-i kartungu-u*
 1SG.NOM know-CAUS-PAST that.ACC dog-ACC 2SG.GEN-ACC

pawulu-u, nhawungarra-ma-lwaa ngurnu pawulu-u.

child-ACC look.after-CAUS-PURPs=o that.ACC child-ACC

I showed that dog to the child (or the child to the dog) so it would look after the child. (trans.)

10.7 MULTIPLE SUBORDINATION

The following examples illustrate more complex sentences involving a number of subordinate clauses. As these show, the coreference relationships marked by verbal inflection and complementising case allow sequences of clauses in which the core arguments of the verb need not appear. Clause boundaries are marked by a slash (/):

- (10.93) *Ngayu jarraa-lalha / nganaju-u pawu-u wuruma-l.yarra*
 1SG.NOM tie.up-PAST 1SG.GEN-ACC father-ACC do.for-CTEMP

warrirti-ngara-a / wanti-waa / wartawirrinpa-rra nganaju-u
 spear-PL-ACC lie-PURPs=o wait.for-CTEMP 1SG.GEN-ACC

pawu-u / wantharta kanarri-waa / manku-lu
 father-ACC sometime come-PURPs=o get-PURPs

yima-ngara-a warrirti-ngara-a.
 this.OBL-PL-ACC spear-PL-ACC

I tied up [the spears] / doing the spears for my father / so they would be / waiting for my father / to come sometime / to get these spears.

- (10.94) *Thurlanyarrara mir.ta wiyaa nhuura ngali-i / karri-nyila-a*
 poor.fellow not maybe knowing 1DU.INC-ACC stand-PrREL-ACC
 / *nhawu-rra ngurnaa yimpala-a-lwa / nyina-nyila-a /*
 watch-CTEMP that.ACC like.that-ACC-ID sit-PrREL-ACC

mungka-l.yarra.

eat-CTEMP

The poor fellow didn't know we / were standing / watching him like that / sitting / eating.

- (10.95) *Nyina-Ø nganaju-wu-la ngurriny-tha / martama-l.yarra /*
 sit-IMP 1SG.OBL-GEN-LOC swag-LOC press.down-CTEMP
kanarra-lu patha-rnguli-yirri / warntitha-rniyangu / puni-wirri-la /
 wind-EFF blow-PASS-LEST throw-PASSLEST go-LEST-LOC
karra-ngka-a-rru kurti-l.yarra / kanarra-lu
 scrub-LOC-ACC-NOW gather-CTEMP wind-EFF

kuyil-wa-rnu-u.

bad-CAUS-PASSP-ACC

Sit on my swag / press down on it / lest it get blown away by the wind / get thrown about / lest I have to go / and gather all the things that are in the scrub / ruined by the wind.

These examples consist of a simple chain of adjoined subordinate clauses each dependent on the previous clause. In (10.96) a set of three purpose clauses is controlled by the one matrix clause.

- (10.96) *Nhuwana! Marrari wangka-lha nhuwana-a / mir.ta patharri-waa /*
 2PL word say-PAST 2PL-ACC not fight-PURPs=o
panyu nyina-waa / mir.ta patharri-waa. / Patharri-rra wii /
 good be-PURPs=o not fight-PURPs=o fight-CTEMP if
nhuwana mir.ta panyu nyina-rra / ngulu-wa ngarniwurtu-lu
 2PL not good be-CTEMP that.EFF-YK policeman-EFF
manku-ngu-layi paju-rru.
 grab-PASS-FUT REAL-NOW
 You fellows! The law (lit. word) tells you / not to fight / to be good / not to fight.
 / If you fight / you aren't good / you'll be grabbed by the policeman for sure.

In example (10.97), the clause *paya-lalha-nguru* 'having been drinking', is dependent on the following -*waa* marked purpose clause, not on the preceding complement taking predicate *wayangka-Ø* 'fear'.

- (10.97) *Ngunhaa nganaju kuliyanpa-lha / paya-lalha-nguru /*
 that.NOM 1SG.ACC think-PAST drink-PAST-ABL
nhurmti-npa-waa paju-rru.
 dead-INCH-PURPs=o REAL-NOW
 She thinks that I'm really going to die from drinking.

APPENDIX 1: TEXTS

TEXT 1: HUNTING AND COOKING AN EMU

1. *Ngayu jirruna-mpa-lha jankurna-a kulha-ngka-a,*
1SG.NOM creep.up-INCH-PAST emu-ACC scrub-LOC-ACC
2. *karri-nyila-a mungka-l.yarra marrwalany-ku. Ngayu ngurnaa*
stand-PrREL-ACC eat-CTEMP cockroach.bush-ACC 1SG.NOM that.ACC
3. *jirruna-mpa-lha, panyu-ma-l.yarra ngurnta panyu-mpa-lha*
creep.up-INCH-PAST good-CAUS-CTEMP style good-INCH-PAST
4. *jirruna karra-ngurni.*
creep.up scrub-OBSCRD
I crept up on an emu in the scrub, standing eating cockroach bush. I crept up on it, doing it properly. I crept along with good style, in the shelter of the bushes.
5. *Purkuru-lwa, murna-mpa-lha mirru-ngka-ma-rminyji-rru*
true-ID close-INCH-PAST spearthrower-LOC-CAUS-FUT-NOW
6. *mulurru-ma-lalha-rru nhawungarra-ma-rminyji. Palwarru ngunhaa.*
straight-CAUS-PAST-NOW look.after-CAUS-FUT all.right that.NOM
All right, having come close [I] put [a spear] on the spearthrower. Once [I] have made it straight [I] check it. That's right.
7. *Murna-ngka-nguru warra, ngayu thathu-lalha mulurru thanturri-waa*
close-LOC-ABL CONT 1SG.NOM send-PAST straight go.down-PURPs=o
8. *yanti-ngka waruul. Nhawu-layi ngurnaa kurryarta-marta-a-rru,*
side-LOC still see-FUT that.ACC spear-PROP-ACC-NOW
9. *yanga-rminyji-rru.*
chase-FUT-NOW
From close up I sent the spear straight so [it] goes down into the emu's side. Then I see that it has a spear in it now, and now I chase it.
10. *Purkuru wuraaal-wa-rru, manku-marni, ngunhaa pungka-lha-rru nhurnti-rru.*
true all.right-Ø-NOW grab-CONTR that.NOM fall-PAST-NOW dead-NOW
11. *Ngayu ngurnaa manku-lha-rru wilyara-la-ma-lalha.*
1SG.NOM that.ACC grab-PAST-NOW shoulder-LOC-CAUS-PAST

All right now, [I] would have grabbed [it] (I was about to grab it) but it fell down dead. I grabbed it and put it on [my] shoulder.

12. *Wuraal, mulurru-ma-lalha ngurra-arta-rru, kanarri-lha*
all.right straight-CAUS-PAST ground-DIRALL-NOW come-PAST
13. *ngurra-arta pamararri-lha-rru wiru-rru panyu-nga-waa.*
camp-DIRALL shout.out-PAST-NOW feelings-NOW good-INCH-PURPs=o
All right, I went straight home, came to the camp and shouted out [to the people in camp] so that [their] feelings would become good.
14. *Ngula-a warntitha-rminyji, palwarru, kanarri-wala maruwarla-rru*
there-ACC throw-FUT true come-PURPs many.people-NOW
15. *yurra-rminyji ngurnaa kulyu-ma-l.yarra jankurna-marnu. Karla-ngara*
dig-FUT that.ACC hole-CAUS-CTEMP emu-ASSOC fire-PL
16. *kurti-nnguli-nyila-rru ngula-nguru, kulyu-ngka-rru warntitha-nngu-layi.*
gather-PASS-PrREL-NOW there-ABL hole-LOC-NOW throw-PASS-FUT
Then I throw it down on the ground there, all right, so people come and dig, make a trench for that emu. Meanwhile firewood is being gathered from around there and is then thrown in the hole.
17. *Palwarru, kampa-rminyji-rru ngurnaa, wirrirri-nga-lwaa-rru. Ngurnu*
true light-FUT-NOW that.ACC flame-INCH-PURPs=o-NOW that.ACC
18. *wartawirrinpa-layi nhawu-layi puwara-nga-nyila-a. Manku-layi*
wait.for-FUT see-FUT charcoal-INCH-PrREL-ACC grab-FUT
19. *yawan-ku-rru. Palwarru, ngurnaa wantha-rminyji yawan-ngara-a.*
hot.stone-ACC-NOW true that.ACC put-FUT hot.stone-PL-ACC
All right, I light the firewood so that it bursts into flame and then wait and watch it burning down to the coals. Then get the hot cooking stones. All right, I put the hot cooking stones inside it (the emu).
20. *Wuraal-wa-rru ngunhaa. Kurni-ma-rminyji-rru jankaa-rminyji-rru*
all.right-Ø-NOW that.NOM closed.up-CAUS-FUT-NOW tie.up-FUT-NOW
21. *wirta-tharra-a, jankaa-rminyji parna-thurti-i. Palwarru ngunhaa.*
leg-DU-ACC tie.up-FUT head-CONJ-ACC true that.NOM
22. *Warntitha-rminyji-rru purnta-ngka-rru.*
throw-FUT-NOW hole-LOC-NOW
That's right. Close it up, tie the two legs together and tie up the head as well. That's that. I throw it in the hole now.
23. *Palwarru ngunhaa. Kampa-rminyji-rru. Palyangu-ma-rminyji. Nharnu-ngara-a*
true that.NOM cook-FUT-NOW cover-CAUS-FUT sand-PL-ACC

24. *kuwithartu-ma-minyji. Nharmu-ngara-a wantitha-minyji*
this.way-CAUS-FUT sand-PL-ACC throw-FUT
25. *palyangu-ma-l.yarra ngurnaa.*
cover-CAUS-CTEMP that.ACC
That's right. Cook it now. Cover it over. Move the sand in this direction (out of the bottom of the hole to make room for the emu). Then throw sand over the emu covering it.
26. *Thana-rru wanti-waa jankurna-a kampi-rra-rru wanti-waa.*
let-NOW lie-PURPs=0 emu-ACC cook-CTEMP-NOW lie-PURPs=0
27. *Puni-layi malarnu-la-rru nyina-lu wartawirrinpa-rra jankurna-a*
go-FUT shade-LOC-NOW sit-PURPss wait.for-CTEMP emu-ACC
28. *karnpa-nyila-a.*
cock-PrREL-ACC
Now I let that emu cook. Go off to sit in the shade and wait for the emu that's cooking.
29. *Kampa-lha-rru, puni-layi thuulwa-ru-rru palykura-a*
cock-PAST-NOW go-FUT pull.out-PURPss-NOW flat-ACC
30. *wurulywa-ngara-a wanti-nyila-a palykura-marnu. Palwarru, jankurna-a*
leaves-PL-ACC lie-PrREL-ACC plate-ASSOC true emu-ACC
31. *thuulwa-minyji wantha-minyji manyjan-ta-rru.*
pull.out-FUT put-FUT groundcover-LOC-NOW
32. *Wuraal-wa-rru, wurnta-minyji-rru. Palwarru ngunhaa.*
all.right-Ø-NOW cut-FUT-NOW true that.NOM
Once it's cooked, go and pull down some branches, brush, for a plate. All right, I pull out the emu and put it on the groundcover. All right, cut it up. That's that.
33. *Mungka-yarri-layi-rru winya-mpa-rra-rru, puni-rrawaara*
eat-COLL-FUT-NOW full-INCH-CTEMP-NOW go-SEQ
34. *malarnu-mulyarra-rru wanti-lu-rru, parlura-ngara-rru.*
shade-ALL-NOW lie-PURPss-NOW full-PL-NOW
35. *Palwarru ngunhaa, palwarru yimpalaa.*
true that.NOM true like.that
Now we all eat together and fill up, and then we go to the shade and lie down, all full up now. That's that. That's how it's done.

TEXT 2: CATCHING A GOANNA

1. *Ngayu jirli mir.ta wii panyu, puni-rra yawarrunyja-l.yarra*
1SG.NOM arm not if good go-CTEMP miss-CTEMP

2. *murla-ngara-a tharnta-ngara-a, jalya-npa-rra, puni-rra*
meat-PL-ACC euro-PL-ACC useless-INCH-CTEMP go-CTEMP
3. *nhuwa-l.yarra waruulwa-l.yarra.*
spear-CTEMP unable-CTEMP
If my arm is not good, I'll keep missing all the game, euros, I'll be useless, I'll keep on being unable to spear them.
4. *Ngayu kuntirri-layi-rru tharnta-ngara-a wawayi-rminyji.*
1SG.NOM give.up-FUT-NOW euro-PL-ACC look.for-FUT
5. *Nhartu-rru kana parilha-npa-rra puni-layi? Kuntirri-layi,*
what-NOW RHET keep.trying-INCH-CTEMP go-FUT give.up-FUT
6. *thana-rru tharnta-ngara-a. Wantharta kana nhurmti-ma-rminyji?*
let-NOW euro-PL-ACC when RHET dead-CAUS-FUT
I give up looking for euros. Why bother to keep on trying? I'll give up on euros, let them be. When am I going to kill one? Never.
7. *Ngawu! Kuliyanpi-rra ngayu nhartu-u wiyaa wawayi-rminyji,*
yes think-CTEMP 1SG.NOM something-ACC maybe look.for-FUT
8. *jalya-a-wuyu, mirtirimarta-a-rru, tharlwan-ku-wuyu. Panyu-l*
useless-ACC-SIDE goanna-ACC-NOW tame-ACC-SIDE good-THEN
9. *jinangku-layi ngurnaa.*
track-FUT that.ACC
Yes, I'll think about looking for something else, something on the easy (lit. useless) side, goannas for example, something on the tame side. Then I'll be all right, tracking them.
10. *Wuraal waruul, nhawu-layi. Purrkuru waruul, yilangu-rru tharrwa-lha,*
all.right still see-FUT true still here-NOW enter-PAST
11. *nhiyu jina, tharrwa-lha waruul yilangu jalyuru-la, wayil kunti.*
this.NOM track enter-PAST still here hole-LOC maybe stop
Okay, I'll see a track. True enough, it went in here, this track, it went in and is still here in the hole, maybe.
12. *Nhulaa manku-Ø pinkarranyu kalyaran, nyuwi-rminyji, wayil*
near.you grab-IMP dry stick poke-FUT maybe
13. *wanti-nyila-a paju yilarla jalyuru-la. Nhuura-npa-layi-l.*
lie-PrREL-ACC REAL here.NV hole-LOC know-INCH-FUT-THEN
You grab a dry stick, poke it in at whatever is maybe lying here in the hole. Find out then.

14. *Nyuwi-nggu-rra jalyuru-la, ngunhaa thurtinti-layi*
poke-PASS-CTEMP hole-LOC that.NOM move.away-FUT
15. *paya-npa-rra-rru nyuwi-nggu-rra. Ngunhaa paya-npa-rra*
angry-INCH-CTEMP-NOW poke-PASS-CTEMP that.NOM angry-INCH-CTEMP
16. *wuuny-karri-layi-rru, nhuura-ma-l.yarra-rru kanyara-a ngurnu.*
wuuny-NOISE-FUT-NOW know-CAUS-CTEMP-NOW man-ACC that.ACC
The thing in the hole getting poked, it moves away then, getting wild as it's being poked. It makes a *wuuny* noise, as it gets wild, showing a person that it's there.
17. *Purrkuru waruul, pala yilarla waruul wanti-nguru, murla. Ngayu*
true still IT here.NV still lie-PRES meat 1SG.NOM
18. *manku-layi-rru yirnaa murla-a. Wayil nhiyaa jinyji-warla.*
grab-FUT-NOW this.ACC meat-ACC maybe this.NOM fat-FULL
True enough. It's still here, the meat. I'll get this meat now. It might be a fat one.
19. *Manku-layi kalyaran-ku pinkarranyu-u. Mulha-a jurirri-ma-rminyji-rru.*
grab-FUT stick-ACC dry-ACC point-ACC sharp-CAUS-FUT-NOW
20. *Yurra-rminyji-rru ngurnu-marta kalyaran-marta mulha jurirri-marta.*
dig-FUT-NOW that.OBL-PROP stick-PROP point sharp-PROP
Then get a dry stick. Sharpen up the point. And dig with that sharp-pointed stick .
21. *Palwarru. Ngurnu-marta-wa karta-rminyji, karta-rminyji-warntura*
all.right that.OBL-PROP-YK poke-FUT poke-FUT-DISTRIB
22. *jalyuru-ma-l.yarra-rru. Thungkara-a warntitha-rminyji juwayu-marta.*
hole-CAUS-CTEMP-NOW dirt-ACC throw-FUT hand-PROP
23. *Yurra-rminyji ngartil. Nhawu-layi-rru.*
dig-FUT again see-FUT-NOW
Okay, jab the ground with it, jab again and again, making a hole. Throw the dirt away with your hand. Then dig again. Now have a look.
24. *Nhiyu-lwa mirntirimarta wanti-nguru kana-ngka-lwa. Wanthanha-rru kana*
this.NOM-ID goanna lie-PRES clear-LOC-IT which-NOW RHET
25. *murla-a kanangkalwa-lalha? Waruul-wa-rru, murla-a*
meat-ACC make.clear-PAST still-Ø-NOW meat-ACC
26. *manku-rrawaara ngurnaa.*
grab-SEQ that.ACC
This is the goanna, lying in the clear now. What now that you've uncovered the meat?
Keep going, grab hold of that meat.

27. *Wanthanha-rru kana? Karnti-i waruul-wa-rru manku-layi. Kayarra*
which-NOW RHET tail-ACC still-Ø-NOW grab-FUT two
28. *juwayu thuulwa-minyji ngurnaa murna-mpa-nyila-a-rru*
hand pull.out-FUT that.ACC close-INCH-PrREL-ACC-NOW
29. *jalyuru-la-nguru-u thuulwa-l.yarra.*
hole-LOC-ABL-ACC pull.out-CTEMP
What now? Grab the tail. Pull it with two hands, it'll be coming closer as you pull it out of the hole.
30. *Yarta-wuyu-l juwayu-l thathu-minyji-rru, yarta-wuyu juwayu*
other-SIDE-THEN hand-THEN let.go-FUT-NOW other-SIDE hand
31. *thuulwa-minyji waruul. Yarta-wuyu juwayu, thathu-lalha-wuyu juwayu,*
pull.out-FUT still other-SIDE hand let.go-PAST-SIDE hand
32. *ngunhaa puni-layi, juwayu yarta-wuyu, thungku-ngka waruul. Nhiyu*
that.NOM go-FUT hand other-SIDE back-LOC still this.NOM
33. *yarta-wuyu juwayu thuulwa-mura waruul.*
other-SIDE hand pull.out-PrREL still
Then let go with one hand. The other hand keeps pulling. The other hand, the one that has let go, it keeps going, that other hand, along its back. This other hand is still pulling.
34. *Yarta-l-wuyu juwayu puni-layi thungku-ngka waruul.*
other-THEN-SIDE hand go-FUT back-LOC still
35. *Ngurnu parna-a murna-mpa-nyila-a, wangkarr-yu-rru manku-layi.*
that.ACC head-ACC close-INCH-PrREL-ACC throat-ACC-NOW grab-FUT
The other hand keeps going along its back. Grab its throat now as its head is coming closer.
36. *Palwarru ngunhaa, thuulwa-minyji-rru karlwa-rrawaara. Karlwa-layi*
true that.NOM pull.out-FUT-NOW get.up-SEQ get.up-FUT
37. *ngurnu-marta mirntirimarta-marta, manku-lha-nguru wanku-ma-l.yarra.*
that.OBL-PROP goanna-PROP grab-PAST-ABL sure-CAUS-CTEMP
That's right, now pull it out and stand up. Get up with that goanna having made sure you've got hold of it.
38. *Palwarru, wantha-minyji thungkara-la-rru. Martama-minyji jal.yu-u*
all.right put-FUT dirt-LOC-NOW press.on-FUT occiput-ACC
39. *yarta-wuyu juwayu manku-rra parla-a-rru. Pariingku-layi*
other-SIDE hand grab-CTEMP stone-ACC-NOW hit-FUT
40. *parna-a-rru ngurnu mirntirimarta-a. Puni-rrawaara,*
head-ACC-NOW that.ACC goanna-ACC go-SEQ

41. *wuraal-wa-rru ngurra-arta-rru murla-wari.*¹
all.right-Ø-NOW camp-DIRALL-NOW meat-PROP
All right, put it on the ground now. Press down on the back of its neck while your other hand picks up a rock. Then smash its head, that goanna. And then go to the camp with some meat.
42. *Ngurra-ngka-mpa-lha-rru, karla-marnu-rru purnta-ma-minyji-rru*
camp-LOC-INCH-PAST-NOW fire-ASSOC-NOW hole-CAUS-FUT-NOW
43. *nharnu-u. Pukarra-ngara-a-rru manku-layi. Ngulangu-rru*
sand-ACC firewood-PL-ACC-NOW grab-FUT there-NOW
44. *wantha-minyji purnta-ngka-rru, wirriiri-ma-minyji-rru.*
put-FUT hole-LOC-NOW flame-CAUS-FUT-NOW
Having got back to camp, dig a hole in the sand for a fire. Get some firewood. Put it there in the hole, and then light it.
45. *Kampa-nyila-la-rru karla, nyina-layi thuulwa-l.yarra*
cooking-PrREL-LOC-NOW fire sit-FUT pull.out-CTEMP
46. *mirntirimarta-a punga-a. Palwarra ngunhaa, panyu-rru*
goanna-ACC guts-ACC all.right that.NOM good-NOW
47. *punga-wirriwa-rru wanti-layi ngunhaa wartawirrinpa-rra karla-a*
guts-PRIV-NOW lie-FUT that.NOM wait.for-CTEMP fire-ACC
48. *panyu-mpa-waa, puwara-mpa-waa karlarra-mpa-waa paju.*
good-INCH-PURPs=o charcoal-INCH-PURPs=o hot-INCH-PURPs=o REAL
While the fire's burning, sit down and pull out the goanna's guts. Okay, now it's gutted, ready and waiting for the fire to be ready, to burn down to coals, to get really hot.
49. *Karlarra-mpa-lha-la paju-rru, puwara-mpa-lha-la paju-rru,*
hot-INCH-PAST-LOC REAL-NOW charcoal-INCH-PAST-LOC REAL-NOW
50. *ngarri-ngka kampa-minyji-rru. Panyu-ma-minyji-rru ngurnaa,*
ashes-LOC cook-FUT-NOW good-CAUS-FUT-NOW that.ACC
51. *pa!yangu-ma-minyji-rru ngurnaa ngarri-ngku karlarra-lu. Thana-rru*
cover-CAUS-FUT-NOW that.ACC ashes-EFF hot-EFF let-NOW
52. *wanti-waa kampi-rra.*
lie-PURPs=o cooking-CTEMP
Once it's really hot, once it's burnt right down to the coals, cook the goanna in the ashes. Do it properly, cover it with hot ashes. Now let it lie there cooking.

¹ The proprietive suffix, *-wari*, is a borrowing from Ngarluma which occasionally occurs in text. Although the narrator corrected this in questioning, he does not consider it bad Martuthunira. The limited borrowing of lexemes and some morphemes serves an important stylistic function in text construction (much like the selection of synonyms in English).

53. *Wanti-layi wartawirrinpa-rra kampa-nyila-a ngurnu mirntirimarta-a.*
lie-FUT wait.for-CTEMP cooking-PrREL-ACC that.ACC goanna-ACC
54. *Kuliyarpa-layi ngurnaa, palwarra, wiyaa nhiyu kampa-lha-rru!*
think-FUT that.ACC all.right maybe this.NOM cooking-PAST-NOW
Lie down and wait for the goanna while it cooks. And think this: "All right, maybe this is cooked now!".
55. *Thuulwa-minyji-rru. Wurrulywa-la-rru wantha-minyji. Thanu kunti*
pull.out-FUT-NOW leaves-LOC-NOW put-FUT let stop
56. *wanti-waa muthumuthu-mpa-rra. Mir.ta karlarral wurnta-minyji*
lie-PURPs=o cool-INCH-CTEMP not hot-THEN cut-FUT
57. *juwayu kampa-wirri. Muthumuthu-u wurnta-minyji panyu-u-l,*
hand cook-LEST cool-ACC cut-FUT good-ACC-THEN
58. *mir.ta juwayu kampa-layi. Nyini-rrawaara mungka-l.yarra-rru.*
not hand burn-FUT sit-SEQ eat-CTEMP-NOW
Now pull it out. Put it on some leaves. Let it lie there and cool down. Don't cut it while it's hot or you'll burn your hand. Cut it cool, it'll be good then, you won't burn your hand. And then sit and eat it.
59. *Juwayu-la manku-layi jinyji-i, thurnta-minyji parna-a jinyji-marta*
hand-LOC grab-FUT fat-ACC rub-FUT head-ACC fat-PROP
60. *kuliyathurti-i. Panyu ngunhaa. Yimpala-a*
ear-CONJ-ACC good that.NOM like.that-ACC
61. *yimpala-ma-lwayara puliyanyja-ngara.*
like.that-CAUS-HABIT old.person-PL
Get some fat in your hand and rub your head with the fat, and ears too. That's good. That's just what the old people used to do.

TEXT 3: FIXING A BROKEN SPEAR

1. *Nhiyu warrirti wurnta-rru nhuwana-lu yungku-nguli-marni*
this.NOM spear break-PASSP 2PL-EFF give-PASS-CONTR
2. *nganaju-u mimi-i, wayil wii panyu-ma-lwaa*
1SG.GEN-ACC MoBro-ACC maybe maybe good-CAUS-PURPs=o
3. *ngurnaa warrirti-i.*
that.ACC spear-ACC
This spear that's been broken by you fellows should be given to my uncle, so perhaps he can fix that spear.

4. *Ngunhaa, nganaju mimi, panyu-ma-lalha waruul-wa-rru*
that.NOM 1SG.GEN MoBro good-CAUS-PAST still-Ø-NOW
5. *wurnta-mu-nguru-u. Panyu-ma-lalha waruul-wa-rru,*
break-PASSP-ABL-ACC good-CAUS-PAST still-Ø-NOW
6. *puni-rrawaara kangku-rra ngurnu warrirti-i yungku-lu*
go-SEQ take-CTEMP that.ACC spear-ACC give-PURPss
7. *ngurnu-ngara-a kanyara-ngara-a wurnta-lalha-nguru-u,*
that.OBL-PL-ACC man-PL-ACC break-PAST-ABL-ACC
8. *yungku-lu marrari-i-thurtti-rru, wangka-lu-rru,*
give-PURPss word-ACC-CONJ-NOW say-PURPss-NOW
That fellow, my uncle, fixed the one that had been broken. Fixed it and then went off,
taking the spear to give it to the fellows who had broken it, and to give them a message
too, to say to them,
9. *“Nhuwana mir.ta wurnta-rminyji ngartil warrirti-i, panyu-rru*
2PL not break-FUT again spear-ACC good-NOW
10. *nhawungarra-ma-rminyji murla-marnu-u. Ngartil wii wurnta-lalha-nguru,*
look.after-CAUS-FUT meat-ASSOC-ACC again if break-PAST-ABL
11. *mir.ta-rru kangku-layi nganaju-mulyarra.*
not-NOW bring-FUT 1SG.OBL-ALL
“Don't you break spears again, look after hunting implements properly. If you break it
again, don't bring it to me.”
12. *“Ngayu kuntirri-nguru-rru panyu-ma-rminyji wurnta-mu-ngara-a*
1SG.NOM give.up-PRES-NOW good-CAUS-FUT break-PASSP-PL-ACC
13. *warrirti-i nhuwana-lu. Nhuwana panyu-ma-rminyji minthal-wa-rru.*
spear-ACC 2PL-EFF 2PL good-CAUS-FUT alone-Ø-NOW
14. *Kanyarra-lpurtu warnu?”*
man-COMP ASSERT
“I'm giving up fixing spears broken by you lot. You fix them yourselves. You're men
aren't you?”
15. *“Mir.ta nyina-layi wuruma-nngu-rra yirla! Nhuura-npa-layi minthal*
not be-FUT do.for-PASS-CTEMP only know-INCH-FUT alone
16. *warra panyu-ma-rminyji warrirti-i. Pirri-marta warnu?”*
CONT good-CAUS-FUT spear-ACC hands-PROP ASSERT
“Don't just have it done for you! Learn to fix spears yourselves. You've got hands
haven't you?”
17. *Ngunhu-ngara kanyara-ngara nganaju wangka-layi, ngayu*
that.NOM-PL man-PL 1SG.ACC say-FUT 1SG.NOM

18. *kuliya-lwala marrari-i wantharni-i-lwa ngula. Ngayu*
listen-PURPds word-ACC how-ACC-ID IGNOR 1SG.NOM
19. *purnumpuru-mpa-layi jampa kunti. Ngawayu-rru kuliya-rminyji*
quiet-INCH-FUT moment stop turn-NOW listen-FUT
20. *wantharni-i-lwa. Wuraal-wa-rru, ngayu purnumpuru-mpa-nguru-rru.*
how-ACC-ID all.right-Ø-NOW 1SG.NOM quiet-INCH-PRES-NOW
Those men speak to me then, so I listen to their answer, just how it will come out I don't know. I'll keep quiet for just a moment. Take a turn to listen to how they feel. All right, I'm keeping quiet now.
21. “*Ngawu! Nganarna warrirti-i kangku-nguru kartungu-mulyarra yirla.*
yes 1PL.EXC spear-ACC bring-PRES 2SG.OBL-ALL only
22. *Nganangu-rru kana kur.ta-a yimpala-a-rru-wa kangku-nguru?*
who.ACC-NOW RHET clever-ACC like.that-ACC-NOW-YK bring-PRES
23. *Kartu-ngku yirla panyu-ma-nnguli-waa, thaapuwa-ngku kur.ta-ngku.”*
2SG.NOM-EFF only good-CAUS-PASS-PURPs=o big.man-EFF clever-EFF
“Yes! We bring spears to you only. Who is there, clever like that, who we can take them to? You're the only one they can be fixed by, you clever old bastard.”
24. “*Nganamarnu-ngu-rru kana kuliyanpa-layi panyu-u kanyara-a*
anyone-ACC-NOW RHET think-FUT good-ACC man-ACC
25. *pilakurta-a, yungku-layi panyu-ma-lwaa?”*
carpenter-ACC give-FUT good-CAUS-PURPs=o
“Whoever can we think of who is a good carpenter, who we can give them to, to fix them?”
26. “*Yimpala-rru-wa. Nganarna kuliyanpa-nguru kartungu-mulyarra yirla*
like.that-NOW-YK 1PL.EXC think-PRES 2SG.OBL-ALL only
27. *warrirti-ngara-a wurnta-rmu-ngara-a, kartungu yirla yungku-lu*
spear-PL-ACC break-PASS-PL-ACC 2SG.ACC only give-PURPs
28. *panyu-ma-lwaa.”*
good-CAUS-PURPs=o
“It's like that. We think that it's only to you that we can bring broken spears. You're the only one we can give them to, to fix them.”
29. “*Nganangu-rru kana kanyara-a kuliyanpa-layi jalya-ngara-a yirla*
who.ACC-NOW RHET man-ACC think-FUT useless-PL-ACC only
30. *warnu kanyara-ngara-a yartapalyu-u?”*
ASSERT man-PL-ACC others-ACC
“What other man can we think of out of the other people who are only useless?”

31. *“Yimpala-rru-wa. Nganarna winyarta-ma-muru kartungu thurlajinkarri-i.*
like.that-NOW-YK 1PL.EXC tired-CAUS-PRES 2SG.ACC poor.fellow-ACC
32. *Nganangu-rru kuliyanpa-layi pilakurta-a jalya-ngara-la*
who.ACC-NOW think-FUT carpenter-ACC useless-PL-LOC
33. *kanyara-ngara-la yartapalyu-la?”*
man-PL-LOC others-LOC
“So it's like that. We're tiring you, you poor fellow. Who can we think of as a carpenter when all the other men are useless?”
34. *“Palwarru ngunhaa. Ngawu! Ngayu ngarti-rru wurtu wangka-layi*
all.right that.NOM yes 1SG.NOM next-NOW HYPH say-FUT
35. *kartungu marrari-i.”*
2SG.ACC word-ACC
“That's all right. Yes! I'll say something to you next, all right?”
36. *“Purrkuru waruul. Kartu wangka-lha panyu-ma-l.yarra paju*
true still 2SG.NOM say-PAST good-CAUS-CTEMP REAL
37. *nganaju, pinhu-ma-l.yarra paju, panyu-ma-l.yarra paju,*
1SG.ACC pleased-CAUS-CTEMP very good-CAUS-CTEMP REAL
38. *thurlajinkarri-i nganaju. Ngayu mir.ta ngalangala-mpa-layi kartungu*
poor.fellow-ACC 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM not forget-INCH-FUT 2SG.ACC
39. *marrari-i. Panyu kanyara. Palwarru ngunhaa.”*
word-ACC good man all.right that.NOM
“Okay. You spoke making me feel very good, pleasing me properly, making me feel very good, poor fellow that I am. I won't forget your word. You're good people. All right, that's that.”

TEXT 4: A SHOPPING EXPEDITION

1. *“Nhuwana puni-layi wurtu thawun-mulyarra? Nhuwana puni-rra wii*
2PL go-FUT HYPH town-ALL 2PL go-CTEMP if
2. *thawun-mulyarra, nganaju wuraal wurtu, nganaju wuruma-minyji*
town-ALL 1SG.ACC all.right HYPH 1SG.ACC do.for-FUT
3. *yurntura-a manyarrka-a-thurti wii parrka-a wii?”*
flour-ACC sugar-ACC-CONJ maybe tea.leaf-ACC maybe
“Are you going to town? If you're going to town would you get for me some flour, and maybe some sugar and maybe some tea?”
4. *“Ngawu! Nganarna wuruma-minyji kartungu. parla-wirriwa nganarna.*
yes 1PL.EXC do.for-FUT 2SG.ACC money-PRIV 1PL.EXC

5. *Kartu-lwa yungku-layi nganama-a parla-a manku-waa.*
2SG.NOM-ID give-FUT 1PL.EXC-ACC money-ACC get-PURPs=o
“Yes! We’ll do that for you. But we’ve got no money. You give us some money so we can get the things.”
6. *“Nganama manku-lha-nguru-rru thawun-ta-a wuruma-l.yarra kartungu,*
1PL.EXC get-PAST-ABL-NOW town-LOC-ACC do.for-CTEMP 2SG.ACC
7. *parrani-lha-ma-rminyji-rru kartungu-mulyarra yungku-lu-rru.*
return-PAST-CAUS-FUT-NOW 2SG.OBL-ALL give-PURPs=NOW
“Once we’ve got the things that are in town, doing it for you, we’ll bring them back to you to give them to you.”
8. *Ngurra-ngka-mpa-lha-rru.*
camp-LOC-INCH-PAST-NOW
They’ve arrived back in camp now.
9. *“Ngawu! Ngayu wuruma-rru nhuwana-lu. Yungku-layi-lwa,*
yes 1SG.NOM do.for-PASSP 2PL-EFF give-FUT-ID
10. *pintirrijila-ma-l.yarra nhuwana-a kangku-lha-nguru-ngara-a.*
scattered-CAUS-CTEMP 2PL-ACC bring-PAST-ABL-PL-ACC
“Yes, I’ve had the favour done for me by you. What I’ll do is give out, share around the things among you who brought them.”
11. *“Ngawu! Panyu waruul-wa-rru yimpala. Punyjarti warnu pala kartu.”*
yes good still-Ø-NOW like.that generous ASSERT IT 2SG.NOM
“Yes! That’s very good. You’re certainly generous to do that.”
12. *“Ngawu, ngayu mir.ta manthawarla.”*
yes 1SG.NOM not greedy
“Yes, I’m not a greedy fellow.”
13. *“Ngawu, nganama nhuura kartungu. mir.ta waruul kartu manthawarla.*
yes 1PL.EXC knowing 2SG.ACC not still 2SG.NOM greedy
14. *Panyu kartu thurlajinkarri. Panyu-u warnu kartungu nganama*
good 2SG.NOM poor.fellow good-ACC ASSERT 2SG.ACC 1PL.EXC
15. *wuruma-rminyji nhartu-u wii wiru-mpa-nyila-a.*
do.for-FUT something-ACC maybe want-INCH-PrREL-ACC
“Yes, we know you. You’re not a greedy fellow. You’re a good fellow. Because you’re good we’ll do anything for you, should you want anything.”
16. *“Ngawu! Ngartil wii nhuwana puni-rra thawun-mulyarra, ngartil waruul,*
yes again if 2PL go-CTEMP town-ALL again still

17. *ngayu yungku-layi nhuwana-a warmmalyi-i.*
 1SG.NOM give-FUT 2PL-ACC money-ACC
 “Yes! If you go to town again, I’ll give you money.”
18. *Ngawu, panyu waruul yimpala. Ngayu nyina-wala wartawirrinpa-rra*
 yes good still like.that 1SG.NOM sit-PURPds wait.for-CTEMP
19. *parrani-nyila-a-rru wanthanha-la wii yakarrangu-la, wantharta*
 return-PrREL-ACC-NOW which-LOC maybe day-LOC when
20. *parrani-waa.*
 return-PURPs=o
 Yes, they’re always good like that. So I’ll wait for them to come back, on whichever day it is, whenever they return.
21. *Kayurtu-u wii nhawu-layi karlwa-nyila-a kampa-rnu-u.*
 smoke-ACC maybe see-FUT get.up-PrREL-ACC light-PASSP-ACC
22. *Ngayu kayurtu-u nhawu-lha-nguru-rru wiru-rru panyu-mpa-layi.*
 1SG.NOM smoke-ACC see-PAST-ABL-NOW feelings-NOW good-INCH-FUT
 I’ll see smoke or something going up, smoke that’s been purposely lit. Having seen the smoke I’ll get happy (lit. my feelings will become good).
23. *Thawu! Karla kampa-nyila, nhuwana murna-ngka-rru thanuwa-marta.*
 Look! fire burn-PrREL 2PL close-LOC-NOW food-PROP
24. *Palwarru, ngaliwa malwu-marri-layi. Wiru-rru ngayu*
 all.right 1PL.INC cheer.up-COLL-FUT feelings-NOW 1SG.NOM
25. *panyu-mpa-nguru.*
 good-INCH-PRES
 Look! There’s a fire burning, you must be close now with the stores. All right, we’ll be cheering each other up. I’ll be feeling good.
26. *Ngayu wii, ngaliwa karla-a-rru kulhawulha-ma-rminyji*
 1SG.NOM maybe 1PL.INC fire-ACC-NOW heaped.up-CAUS-FUT
27. *karlarra-mpa-waa thanuwa-marnu. Karlayamarta-a wii wantha-rminyji*
 hot-INCH-PURPs=o food-ASSOC billy.can-ACC maybe put-FUT
28. *karla-ngka karri-waa karlarra-mpa-rra.*
 fire-LOC stand-PURPs=o hot-INCH-CTEMP
 Maybe me, all of us, we’ll build a fire to heat up for a meal. We’ll put the billy or whatever on the fire to warm up.
29. *Jampa-ngka-rru warnu pala, ngurnu ngayu marlara-a*
 moment-LOC-NOW ASSERT IT that.ACC 1SG.NOM road-ACC

30. *karri-nguru nhawu-rra.*
stand-PRES see-CTEMP
Now and again, I take a look down the road.
31. *"Purrkuru waruul, nhula-ngara murna-ngka-rru ngaliwa-a,*
true still near.you-PL close-LOC-NOW 1PL.INC-ACC
32. *thanuwa-marta-ngara."*
food-PROP-PL
"True enough, they are close to us now, the people with the stores."
33. *"Purrkuru waruul, kartu nhawu-nguru?"*
true still 2SG.NOM see-PRES
"Is that right, you can see them?"
34. *"Parru! Nhartu! Kartu kuliyanpa-nguru nganaju ngalawangka-nyila-a*
go.on what 2SG.NOM think-PRES 1SG.ACC lie-PrREL-ACC
35. *wurtu? Nhawu-Ø kunti jampa ngurnu-wurrini marlara-wurrini! Kartu*
HYPTH see-IMP stop moment that.OBL-DIRECT road-DIRECT 2SG.NOM
36. *nhawu-nguru-rru? Ngunhaa puni-marri-nguru kanyara-ngara,*
see-PRES-NOW that.NOM go-COLL-PRES man-PL
37. *pama-wirraa-rra kurryu-warntura-la. Nhiyu-rru-wa*
head-PRIV-INCH+CTEMP hollow-DISTRIB-LOC this.NOM-NOW-YK
38. *murna-ngka-rru."*
close-LOC-NOW
"Go on! What! Do you think I'm lying? Stop and look in the direction of the road for a moment! You see them? That's them going along together, their heads going in and out of view as they go down into each hollow. They are close now."
39. *Ngulangu-mpa-lha-rru murna-ngka-mpa-lha-rru, thanuwa-ngara-marta,*
there-INCH-PAST-NOW close-LOC-INCH-PAST-NOW food-PL-PROP
40. *nyina-layi wangkarnu-marra-rru nhartu-ngara-a manku-lha-nguru*
sit-FUT talk-COLL+CTEMP-NOW something-PL-ACC grab-PAST-ABL
41. *wuruma-l.yarra nyina-marri-lha-ngara-a. Wangkarnu-marri-layi mawu-rru,*
do.for-CTEMP stay-COLL-PAST-PL-ACC talk-COLL-FUT later-NOW
Once they've got there, once they've come close, the people with the stores, they sit and discuss the things, having got them for the ones who stayed behind. Later they are all talking together,
42. *"Nhuwana, nhartu-ngara-a nganarna-lu wuruma-mu-u,*
2PL something-PL-ACC 1PL.EXC-EFF do.for-PASSP-ACC

43. *nhartu-u wii mir.ta manku-lha-a wii wangka-layi,*
something-ACC maybe not grab-PAST-ACC if say-FUT
44. *ngalarri-lha-a wii."*
forget-PAST-ACC if
"You fellows, of all the things that were brought for you by us, if there's anything we didn't get, say so, if we forgot anything."
45. *"Ngawu! Ngayu nhawu-layi. Purrkuru waruul, kartu mir.ta,*
yes 1SG.NOM look-FUT true still 2SG.NOM not
46. *nhuwana ngalarri-lha waruul ngathu wangka-yangu."*
2PL forget-PAST still 1SG.EFF say-PASSP
"Yes! I'll look. True enough, you didn't, you still forgot something I told you."
47. *"Thawu! Nhartu-u-lwa ngula? Nhiyu wangka-layi ngaliwa-a mir.ta*
Look! what-ACC-ID IGNOR this.NOM say-FUT 1PL.INC-ACC not
48. *manku-lha-a. Parru! Kartu wangka-Ø-rru."*
grab-PAST-ACC go.on 2SG.NOM say-IMP-NOW
"Look! What is it? This fellow is saying we didn't get something. Go on! You tell us!"
49. *"Ngawurr-marta-a mir.ta-rru manku-lha, ngalarri-lha-rru."*
fcam-PROP-ACC not-NOW grab-PAST forget-PAST-NOW
"Soap, you didn't get. You forgot."
50. *"Purrkuru-l waruul pala! Ngalarril-lha waruul-wa-rru, thurlajinkarri-lu*
true-THEN still IT forget-PAST still-Ø-NOW poor.fellow-EFF
51. *wangka-yangu. Wuraal-wa-rru, kartu panyu-mpa-layi nganarna-a*
say-PASSP all.right-Ø-NOW 2SG.NOM good-INCH-FUT 1PL.EXC-ACC
52. *ngalarri-lha-ngara-a wantamartu-ngara-a."*
forget-PAST-PL-ACC crazy-PL-ACC
"Well that's right! We forgot what we were told by you, poor fellow. All right, you be good to us crazy fellows who forgot."
53. *"Nhiyu yarta kanyja-rnuru-lwa ngawurr-marta-a kayarra-a mirtali-tharra-a.*
this.NOM other hold-PRES-ID foam-PROP-ACC two-ACC big-DU-ACC
54. *Kartu wuraal yungku-yarri-layi yarta-a yimala-a?*
2SG.NOM all.right give-COLL-FUT other-ACC this.DEF-ACC
55. *Kayarra-marta warnu. Kalika-a yungku-layi kalika-a."*
two-PROP ASSERT one-ACC give-FUT one-ACC
"This other fellow has two big cakes of soap. How about you give one to this fellow? You've got two! Give him one!"

56. "Ngawu! Ngayu yungku-layi ngurnaa ngawurr-marta-a kalika-a
yes 1SG.NOM give-FUT that.ACC foam-PROP-ACC one-ACC
57. wara-marnu-u. Panyu-lpurtu!"
clothes-ASSOC-ACC good-COMP
"Yes! I'll give him one piece of soap for washing clothes. Good!"

TEXT 5: KURNTANGKA

The bulk of this text is a complaint by a man who has been offended by his sister and her husband arguing close by. The degree of respectful avoidance normally expected between a man and his sister, and between a man and his sister's husband, makes this kind of behaviour unacceptable. The offended party launches a strong rebuke at his relatives but for the most part observes a degree of politeness in the style of speaking he adopts.

Respectful speech – *Kurntangka* (lit. shame-LOC) – is indicated in this text by a number of features. The most obvious cue is the choice of special replacement vocabulary: the verb *kanpari-Ø* replaces the everyday verb *wangka-Ø* 'speak, say' in line 12, the nominal *kanpari* replaces the nominal *marrari* 'word' in line 21, and *puranyi-L* replaces *nhawu-Ø* 'see' in line 23. The everyday verb *wanyjarri-Ø* 'run away' serves as the respectful style replacement for *puni-Ø* 'go' in lines 20, 23 and 26. The prevalence of the verb *karri-Ø* 'stand, be' is also typical of Kumtangka speech and it generally replaces the more common copula *nyina-Ø* 'sit, be'. *Karri-Ø* often suggests a temporary state preceding imminent departure (§9.3.2) and is overtly used in this sense in line 20.

The extensive use of indefinite plural reference is common in the Kurntangka style of speaking. Although throughout the text the speaker is never addressing more than two people, many references to the addressees involve plural rather than dual pronoun or nominal forms. The first example occurs in the form of a second person plural pronoun in line 8, referring to the arguing married couple, and is repeated throughout. Other examples include the plural spouse group term *nhuunuwarnti* in lines 16 and 25, and the brother-in-law's reply to the complaint in line 26, in which the plural pronoun refers to a single addressee. First person references to himself and his wife are also in the plural throughout this utterance.

Finally, the collective suffix appears on a number of verbs with the important function of indicating the harmonic kin relationship between the various protagonists (§6.3.2). Clear examples of this occur in lines 2, 5, 23 and 29.

1. "Kartu-lwa puni-nguru kuyil, yarta-ngara-a nhuunu-ngara-a
2SG.NOM-ID go-PRES bad other-PL-ACC spouse-PL-ACC
2. wiru-npa-marra. Yimpala-rru-wa kartu karri-layi
feel-INCH-COLL+CTEMP like.that-NOW-YK 2SG.NOM stand-FUT
3. nhurta-npa-marri-ngu-rra-rru. Nyingurlu-lpurtu warnu
wild-INCH-COLL-PASS-CTEMP-NOW firstly-CONT ASSERT
4. kuyilya-rra, puni-rra yartapalyu-u nhuunu-ngara-a
bad-INCH+CTEMP go-CTEMP others-ACC spouse-PL-ACC

5. *paniya-la-marra.*
eye-LOC-CAUSE+COLL+CTEMP
“You’re bad, upsetting the feelings of others, in-laws of yours. As you are like that, (your harmonic relatives) will get wild with you. Firstly, you’re bad, you get in the eyes of other people, your in-laws.”
6. “*Yimpala-rtu-wa kartu, jurti marryanu, nyina-layi, nhuwala*
like.that-NOW-YK 2SG.NOM 1SG.POSS Bro-in-law sit-FUT 2DU
7. *nhuunuwa, nhurta-mpa-marra. Mir.ta kuliyanpa-layi nganaju wii*
spouse.DU wild-INCH-COLL+CTEMP not think-FUT 1SG.ACC maybe
8. *karri-nyila-a yilangu. Nhuwana nganaju mir.ta paju kuliyanpa-layi.*
stand-PrREL-ACC here 2PL 1SG.ACC not REAL think-FUT
9. *Nhuwana nhuura nganaju yilangu karri-nyila-a.*
2PL knowing 1SG.ACC here stand-PrREL-ACC
“That’s how it is with you, my brother-in-law, the two of you, husband and wife arguing with each other. You don’t think that I might be standing here. You really don’t think about me. You know I’m standing here.”
10. “*Ngayu mir.ta wiru kuliya-l.yarra karri-layi nhuwana-a. Ngayu*
1SG.NOM not wanting listen-CTEMP stand-FUT 2PL-ACC 1SG.NOM
11. *yarta-wuyu-lpurtu kanyara. Mir.ta wiru kuliya-la-ma-rminyji*
other-SIDE-COMP man not wanting ear-LOC-CAUS-FUT
12. *nhuwana-wu-u marrari-ngara-a, kanpari-marri-nyila-a.*
2PL-GEN-ACC word-PL-ACC say-COLL-PrREL-ACC
“I don’t want to be listening to you. I’m a man of the other side (affine). I don’t want to get your words in my ears, don’t want to hear you speaking to each other.”
13. “*Nhuwana kuliyanpa-layi yarta-lpurtu nganaju wii karri-nyila-a*
2PL think-FUT other-COMP 1SG.ACC maybe stand-PrREL-ACC
14. *yilangu, kurnta-marta wii, nhuwana. Ngayu wurtu nhiyu?*
here shame-PROP maybe 2PL 1SG.NOM HYPH this.NOM
“You think a different way about me being here. Have shame or something, you people. Isn’t this me?”
15. “*Kuliyanpa-marni warra ngawayu. Nhuwana karri-nguru kuwarri*
think-CONTR CONT turn 2PL stand-PRES now
16. *nhurta-mpa-marra, nhuunuwarnti. Ngayu yarta-wuyu-lpurtu*
wild-INCH-COLL+CTEMP spouses 1SG.NOM other-SIDE-COMP
17. *kanyara, kurnta panyu. Nhuwana wiyaa kurnta-wirraa karri-layi*
man shame good 2PL maybe shame-PRIV stand-FUT

18. *yilangu ngathala karri-nyila-la yilangu, nhurta-mpa-marra.*
 here 1SG.LOC stand-PrREL-LOC here wild-INCH-COLL+CTEMP
19. *Kuliyampa-yaangu nganaju thurlanyarrara-a.*
 think-UNREAL 1SG.ACC poor.fellow-ACC
 "You should think for a change. You're arguing right now, husband and wife. I'm a man of the other side, I've got proper respect. Perhaps you have no shame to be here, while I'm here, arguing with each other. You ought to think about me, poor old fellow that I am."
20. "Ngayu karri-nguru wanyjarri-layi karri-wirri yilangu kuliya-la
 1SG.NOM stand-PRES go-FUT stand-LEST here ear-LOC
21. *warntitha-rrngu-rra kuyil-ngara-a kanpari-ngara-a nhuwana-lu*
 throw-PASS-CTEMP bad-PL-ACC word-PL-ACC 2PL-EFF
22. *nhuunuwarnti-lu kurnta-wirriwa-lu warnu. Puu-rru ngayu*
 spouse(PL)-EFF shame-PRIV-EFF ASSERT far-NOW 1SG.NOM
23. *wanyjarri-layi mir.ta-rru nhuwana-lu nhuunuwarnti-lu puranyi-lwarri-ngu-layi.*
 go-FUT not-NOW 2PL-EFF spouse(PL)-EFF see-COLL-PASS-FUT
 "I'm going to go lest I be here having bad words thrown in my ears by you married people, shameless people! I'm going away and then I won't be seen by you."
24. "Nhuwana nganaju-tharra wii karturra-tharra, kartu wii, jurti
 2PL 1SG.GEN-DU maybe sisters-DU 2SG.NOM maybe 1SG.POSS
25. *marryanu, karri-layi waruul-wa-rru, nhuwana nhuunuwarnti.*
 Bro-in-law stand-FUT still-Ø-NOW 2PL spouse(PL)
 "You people are two of my relatives, two of my sister's group, and you, my own brother-in-law still, you married people."
26. "Ngawu! wuraal-wa-rru wanyjarri-layi. Nhuwana jurti marryanu,
 yes all.right-Ø-NOW go-FUT 2PL 1SG.POSS Bro-in-law
27. *nyingkurly-lpurtu warnu, nganarna-a karri-nyila-a patharri-rra,*
 firstly-COMP ASSERT 1PL.EXC-ACC stand-PrREL-ACC fight-CTEMP
28. *wantamartu-ngara, kartungka nyini-nyila-la, patharri-rra nganarna.*
 crazy-PL 2SG.LOC be-PrREL-LOC fight-CTEMP 1PL.EXC
 "Yes, all right, we'll go. You are my brother-in-law, that's the first thing. You are brother-in-law to us crazy people fighting, while you're here, we're fighting."
29. "Wuraal-wa-rru kartu, jurti marryanu, wanta-yarri-layi,
 all.right-Ø-NOW 2SG.NOM 1SG.POSS Bro-in-law leave-COLL-FUT
30. *wantamartu-ngara.*
 crazy-PL
 "All right, my brother-in-law, you crazy people, leave!"

TEXT 6: MOURNING CHANT

This text is a transcription of a long haranguing mourning chant remembered from Algy's childhood. The speaker, an old woman, blames a younger man for killing her younger brother by magic. The first paragraph of the text as presented below is Algy's hypothetical reconstruction of a complaint the deceased brother might have made to his sister before his death. I have added it as an introduction. The now deceased brother, now gravely ill, blames the spirit traveller (*juna*) for catching and harming his soul. The brother was well known for his use of the meaningless hesitation marker *wilangayi*.

The body of the text is a progressive series of insults delivered in a plaintive wailing chant. Every morning the old woman would rise with the sun and perform this harangue to the hidden amusement of everyone in the camp. Needless to say, the object of her derision was never present. Algy's rendition of the text in something approximating the old woman's tearful and cracking voice was a difficult performance often interrupted by his uncontrollable bursts of laughter at the strong images it conjures up.

The man criticised in the text was a well-known trouble-maker and revenge killer with a very short temper. The story has it that he met his end in typical fashion. Caught stealing from an army supply depot during the Second World War, he fought with and abused his captors at great lengths. Eventually they doused him with aircraft fuel and set it alight before shooting him, or so the story goes.

1. *Ngunhu waruul wilangayi Purripurri-ngura waruul wilangayi, ngunhaa*
that.NOM still HES Purripurri-BELONG still HES that.NOM
2. *waruul juna-rr-i-lha nganaju wilangayi. Ngayu nhawu-lha-nguru*
still spirit-INV-PAST 1SG.ACC HES 1SG.NOM see-PAST-PRES
3. *ngurnaa mangkarn-ku wilangayi. Malyarra-mpa-lha-rru wilangayi. Ngunhu*
that.ACC spirit-ACC HES sick-INCH-PAST-NOW HES that.NOM
4. *waruul ngunhaa wilangayi juna-rr-i-nguru nganaju wilangayi. Ngayu*
still that.NOM HES spirit-INV-PRES 1SG.ACC HES 1SG.NOM
5. *mir.ta-rru panyu wilangayi. Nyina-nguru malyarra-mpa-rra-rru wilangayi.*
not-NOW good HES sit-PRES sick-INCH-CTEMP-NOW HES
That fellow, who is one of Purripurri's mob, he came to me as a spirit. I saw his ghost. And now I've gotten sick. He came to me as a spirit. I'm not good now. I'm getting sick.
6. *Nganarna-wura-wula wurtu pawulu kartu. Kuntirri-lha*
1PL.EXC-BELONG-MATRI HYPH child 2SG.NOM give.up-PAST
7. *paju ngaliya-a thurlajinkarri-tharra-a. Wiru kampa-lha paju,*
REAL 1DU.EXC-ACC poor.fellow-DU-ACC feelings burn-PAST REAL
8. *yarta-mpa-lha paju, wiru kampa-lha paju,*
other-INCH-PAST REAL feelings burn-PAST REAL
9. *yarta-mpa-lha paju.*
other-INCH-PAST REAL

Aren't you our own mother's family, boy? You've given up on us, we two poor old fellows. You've turned passionately against us (lit. feelings burning), you've changed, you're passionately, really changed.

10. *Payawurtu-lwa wii, kartu pawulu. Nganarna-wura-wula wurtu*
savage-ID maybe 2SG.NOM child 1PL.EXC-BELONG-MATRI HYPTH
11. *pawulu? Piyuwa wurtu! Yarta-mpa-lha paju, kampa-lha paju.*
child nothing HYPTH other-INCH-PAST REAL burn-PAST REAL
12. *Pirriyarta-wurla wurtu, kartu pawulu,*
own-MATRI HYPTH 2SG.NOM child
13. *nganarna-wura-wula wurtu.*
1PL.EXC-BELONG-MATRI HYPTH
You're savage or something, my boy. Aren't you one of our family? Oh no, not at all!
You've changed violently. We thought you were one of our own people, boy, one of
our own mother's family.
14. *Yimpala-rru-wa ngayu nyina-wala jalya-rru. Ngayu nyina-wala,*
like.that-NOW-YK 1SG.NOM sit-PURPs bereft-NOW 1SG.NOM sit-PURPs
15. *jurti marryara, ngaliya tharratharra-mpa-lha. Yimpala-rru-wa*
1SG.POSS brother 1DU.EXC separate-INCH-PAST like.that-NOW-YK
16. *puni-layi ngayu jalya-rru, jurti marryara-ngu*
go-FUT 1SG.NOM useless-NOW 1SG.POSS brother-ACC
17. *withawitha-ma-lalha-rru.*
lost-CAUS-PAST-NOW
And that's how I come to be grieving. Me and my own younger brother, we've
become separated. That's how I come to be grieving, I've lost my younger brother.
18. *Ngaliya tharratharra-mpa-lha-rru. Nhartu-ma-ruru? Ngayu nyina-layi*
1DU.EXC separate-INCH-PAST-NOW what-CAUS-PRES 1SG.NOM sit-FUT
19. *wanka parilha, nyurmti-mpa-yaangu. Ngayu yirla nhawu-ngu-layi jalya*
alive still dead-INCH-UNREAL 1SG.NOM only see-PASS-FUT useless
20. *waruul, ngurmta kuyil, thurlajinkarri, jurti marryara-ngu-wirriwa-rru*
still style bad poor.fellow 1SG.POSS brother-PNM-PRIV-NOW
21. *ngurangura-a withawitha-ma-lalha.*
stylish-ACC lost-CAUS-PAST
We've become separated. What am I to do? I'm still alive and I should have died. It's
only me who can be seen, a useless poor old woman, I've lost my good dead brother,
that fine man.
22. *Jalya yirla nyina-layi wanka, jal.yu thani-nnguli-yaangu nganalu.*
rubbish only be-FUT alive occiput hit-PASS-UNREAL someone.EFF

23. *Nhawu-ngu-layi jalya waruul, thunkuwartutu.*
 see-PASS-FUT useless still humpback
 It's just useless me still alive, I should have been hit in the back of the head by someone (I should have been killed). Instead I appear as a useless old hunchbacked woman.
24. *Payawurtu yirla, kartu yirla nhawu-ngu-layi kanyara-ngara-lu.*
 savage only 2SG.NOM only see-PASS-FUT man-PL-EFF
25. *Wantharni-wuyu? Jalya waruul, parlu yirla mirtali, pirlu thawurra,*
 how-SIDE rubbish still top only big buttock skinny
26. *perna ngurrara, jina mirtali, mulha kurnangu.*
 head gross foot big nose black
 And you're the only one who is seen by all the people, the only savage one. And how do you look? You're rubbish, only your head is big, you've got a skinny arse, a huge head, big feet and a black nose.
27. *Kurrinyji nyina-layi nhawu-rra, thurla yirla jiwarra-l.yarra, wakurra*
 this.way sit-FUT see-CTEMP eye only shine-CTEMP crow
28. *wantharra, jalya kurnangu, punga kuruuru, kanta jurirri waruul, jalya*
 like rubbish black guts round leg sharp still useless
29. *waruul, wirlurlu wantharra.*
 still curlew like
 And then you sit looking this way and only your eyes shine white out of the black, you're like a crow, useless black thing, pot belly, skinny thighs sharp like a knife, completely useless, like the stick legs of a curlew.
30. *Yirrapuwa mir.ta nhuura tharnta-a nhuwa-rminyji warrirti-marta.*
 bad.hunter not know euro-ACC spear-FUT spear-PROP
31. *Jalya! Jiruna-npa-wayara tharnta-a yungku-ngka-a,*
 useless sneak-INCH-HABIT euro-ACC soak-LOC-ACC
32. *manku-lu-lpurtu-rru juwayu-lu-rru. Jal.yu-u-rru thani-rminyji*
 grab-EFF-COMP-NOW hand-EFF-NOW occiput-ACC-NOW hit-FUT
33. *murla-a.*
 meat-ACC
 You're a poor provider! You don't know how to spear a euro with a hunting spear. Useless! You always sneak up on euros when they are in soaks, to grab them instead, with your hands. Then you hit that meat in the back of the neck.
34. *Yimpala-lpurtu nhurnti-ma-lwayara tharnta-a. Mir.ta nhuwa-lwayara,*
 like.that-COMP dead-CAUS-HABIT euro-ACC not spear-HABIT

35. *jalya warnu pala. Mir.ta nhuura, purrkuru paju, warrirti-i*
useless ASSERT IT not know truly REAL spear-ACC
36. *warntitha-minyji, nhuwa-minyji. Jalya!*
throw-FUT spear-FUT useless
That's how you kill euroes. You don't spear them, because you're useless. You don't know, truly, how to throw a hunting spear, how to spear them. You're useless!
37. *Thanarti-ra warnu pala. Majun-ngara-a, manku-wayara majun-ngara-a,*
sea-PROV ASSERT IT turtle-PL-ACC grab-HABIT turtle-PL-ACC
38. *karta-lwayara kulhampa-ngara-a thanartira-a. Thanartira-ngara-lpurtu*
stab-HABIT fish-PL-ACC sea.PROV-ACC sea.PROV-PL-COMP
39. *kanyara. Nyamina-thurti-i karta-lwayara.*
man dugong-CONJ-ACC stab-HABIT
That's because you're a seasider. Turtles are what you catch, you harpoon turtles and fish, all the sea things. You're a man for all the sea creatures. And you stab dugong too.
40. *Kartu, yarrwa-ngka-rru puliyanyja-ngara-la piyuwa-la yirla-rru,*
2SG.NOM after-LOC-NOW old.man-PL-LOC finish-LOC only-NOW
41. *nganaju-ngara-la, yarrwa-ngka-rru, mirntiwul-wa-rru*
1SG.GEN-PL-LOC after-LOC-NOW all-YK-NOW
42. *piyuwa-mpa-lha-la-rru, ngaliya-a tharratharra-ma-lalha, jurti*
finish-INCH-PAST-LOC-NOW 1DU.EXC-ACC separate-CAUS-PAST 1SG.POSS
43. *marryara-ngu, wayarri-lha.*
brother-ACC finish-PAST
As for you, it's only now, after all my old people are finished, only after they've all died, that you separate the two of us, finish off my own younger brother.
44. *Kartu mir.ta yimpala-ma-nmarni-lwa, tharratharra-ma-nmarni*
2SG.NOM not like.that-CAUS-CONTR-ID separate-CAUS-CONTR
45. *ngaliya-a nganarna-wayala ngaliya-wayala*
1DU.EXC-ACC 1PL.EXC-OWNER-LOC 1DU.EXC-OWNER-LOC
46. *wanka-ngka-l. Kartu mir.ta jayi-nmarni.*
alive-LOC-THEN 2SG.NOM not escape-CONTR
You wouldn't have been able to do that, wouldn't have separated us when our people were alive. You wouldn't have escaped then.
47. *Kartu payawurtu wangka-nguru yarrwa-ngka-rru ngaliya-wayala*
2SG.NOM savage say-PRES after-LOC-NOW 1DU.EXC-OWNER-LOC
48. *piyuwa-la-rru yirla. Palalyi, kartu thala karta-nngulaanu*
finish-LOC-NOW only before 2SG.NOM chest stab-PASSCONTR

49. *nhumira-rru thaatharra-rru-marni.*
penis-NOW open.mouthed-INV-CONTR
You say you're dangerous only now that our family is gone. Before, you would have been skewered in the chest so that your penis would have opened like a mouth with the shock.
50. *Jalya waruul. Kartu wartirra-a wiru kanyara yirla. Payawurtu*
rubbish still 2SG.NOM woman-ACC liking man only savage
51. *wartirra-a paju nhawu-lha. Karri-wayara kalya-lalha martura-a*
woman-ACC REAL see-PAST stand-HABIT bite-PAST middle-ACC
52. *yalhuru-u, wartirra-a nhawu-rra. Thurla karima-lha,*
tongue-ACC woman-ACC see-CTEMP eye jump-PAST
53. *ngunya-ngu-rra-rru. Ngunhaa tharra-rminyji. Ngunhaa jarnkalya*
semen-PSYCH-CTEMP-NOW that.NOM ejaculate-FUT that.NOM penis
54. *pawa waruul.*
stinking still
You're good for nothing. The only thing you're interested in is women. You go wild when you've seen a woman. You stand and bite your tongue in half, watching a woman. Your eyes pop out as you're filling up with semen getting randy. And then it goes off, that stinking penis of yours.
55. *Muraani, kartu nganama-wura pawulu.*
son+1POSS 2SG.NOM 1PL.EXC-BELONG child
56. *Yimpala-ma-nnguli-Ø-rru-wa! Nyingkurlul-purtu warnu kuyil,*
like.that-CAUS-PASS-IMP-NOW-YK firstly-COMP ASSERT bad
57. *palwaru wiyaa.*
truly maybe
My son, you're my own family. Well let that happen to you like that then! The first thing to say is that you're bad, that's true.
58. *Jampa kuliyanpa-layi ngartil ngurangura-mpa-rra. Kartu puni-wayara*
moment think-FUT again stylish-INCH-CTEMP 2SG.NOM go-HABIT
59. *ngurra-warntura-la karri-rra, nganalu nhawu-ngu-layi, pirlu*
country-DISTRIB-LOC stand-CTEMP who.EFF see-PASS-FUT buttock
60. *thawurra, parlu yirla mirtali, kanta jurirri, kati wurturtu, kal.ya karta,*
skinny top only big leg sharp waist narrow pelvis bony
61. *jalya, nhumira ngurrara, jalya, punhu jalyuru.*
rubbish penis gross rubbish anus cave
And in a moment you'll be thinking you're handsome again. You go from camp to camp and stand there. And you'll be seen, skinny-arsed fellow, only big up top, skinny legs, narrow waist, bony hips, useless, huge penis, arsehole like a cave.

62. *Jalya waruul kanyara. Kartu yanha-a wiru. Mir.ta*
rubbish still man 2SG.NOM vagina-ACC like not
63. *kuntirri-wayara. Kartu tharra-l.yarra nhumira-a kartungu-u*
give.up-HABIT 2SG.NOM copulate-CTEMP prick-ACC 2SG.GEN-ACC
64. *nhawu-rra nyina-wayara. Tharrwi-lalha nguu-nguu-ma-l.yarra nhawu-rra*
see-CTEMP sit-HABIT enter-PAST face-face-CAUS-CTEMP see-CTEMP
65. *wantharni-nu nyina-rra. Kartawura-la-ma-lalha!?*
how-QUOT be-CTEMP butt-LOC-CAUS-PAST
You're good for nothing. You like sex. Never give up on it. Can't get enough. You sit and watch your prick while you're copulating. Once it's in you're twisting your head from side to side watching it to see how its sitting. Is it in up to the butt?

TEXT 7: THE FIRST BOOMERANG

1. *Ngayu marrari-ngara-a wantha-rminyji, maral.ya-la-a jina-ngka-a*
1SG.NOM story-PL-ACC put-FUT devil-LOC-ACC track-LOC-ACC
2. *wantharni-marri-lha-la-a, palalyi-ngara-la, kuwarri-la-l*
how-COLL-PAST-LOC-ACC before-PL-LOC beginning-LOC-THEN
3. *ngurra-ngka, yilangu, Martuthuni-la. Nhiyu wanti-nguru, marrari-ngara*
country-LOC here Fortescue-LOC this.NOM lie-PRES story-PL
4. *maral.ya-wura wantha-rnu, jinangku-yangu, puliyanyja-ngara-lu, wantharni*
devil-BELONG put-PASSP traced-PASSP old.man-PL-EFF how
5. *wanti-lha-la palalyi-l nyina-lha-la, pukarrpukarr-ngara.*
lie-PAST-LOC before-THEN sit-PAST-LOC old.ones-PL
6. *Jinangku-layi ngurnaa nyina-nguru ngayu, kuwarri, pawulu-marta.*
track-FUT that.ACC sit-PRES 1SG.NOM now child-PROP
7. *Wayil wii ngayu murhuru puni-layi ngulangu marrari-ngara-la*
maybe maybe 1SG.NOM straight go-FUT there story-PL-LOC
8. *wantharni ngayu yungku-yangu puliyanyja-ngara-lu.*
how 1SG.NOM give-PASSP old.man-PL-EFF
I'll put down the stories that follow the tracks of how the devils went in the early days, how it was in the beginning, in this country, here on the Fortescue River. This story that belongs to the devils and was followed up by the old people, is about how things were before, very early in the history, when the ancient people were about. I'll follow it up now, as I sit here with my son. I think I'll be able to do it right, to go through the stories the way I was given them by the old people.
9. *Yila martuthuni-la, wantharni ngunhu kuwarri-l paju,*
this.LOC Fortescue-LOC how that.NOM beginning-THEN REAL
10. *wanti-lha. Warruwa-ngara nyina-lha jarrkurti ngunhu-ngara pintirrijila.*
lie-PAST devil-PL be-PAST three that.NOM-PL scattered

11. *Yartapalyu, nhartu wangka-ngu-rra maral.ya, yartapalyu warruwa,*
 others what call-PASS-CTEMP devil others devil
12. *ngayalyu. Pintirrijila ngunhu-ngara. Mirntiwul ngunhu-ngara*
 devil scattered that.NOM-PL together that.NOM-PL
13. *marrari-i Martuthunira. Nhiyu ngayalyu-ngara yirru-marta-lpurtu*
 language-ACC Martuthunira this.NOM devil-PL yirru-PROP-COMP
14. *marrari-marta. Ngunhu-ngara kuyil-ngara. Nhiingara yartapalyu warruwa-ngara*
 wrd-PROP that.NOM-PL bad-PL this.PL others devil-PL
15. *panyu-ngara mir.ta wiru ngurnu-lwa. Kuyil ngunhaa, kuyil ngunha*
 good-PL not liking that.ACC-YK bad that.NOM bad that.NOM
16. *ngayalyu-ngara nyina-lha.*
 devil-PL be-PAST

Here on the Fortescue, how was it now? It was right at the beginning. There were three different groups of devils. One group was called *maral.ya*, another group was *ngayalyu*. They were separate mobs but they all had the Martuthunira language. But on the one hand, these *ngayalyu* had a word 'yirru'. They were bad fellows. The other group of devils were good. They didn't like the other mob because they were really bad, that *ngayalyu* group.

17. *Ngurnu-nguru-wa, pintirrijila ngunhu-ngara nyina-lha.*
 that.OBL-ABL-YK scattered that.NOM-PL be-PAST
18. *Ngartil, panyu-rra-rra-rru, panyu-rra-rra-rru*
 again good-INV-CTEMP-NOW good-INV-CTEMP-NOW
19. *kanyara-npa-rra-rru puni-rra, warruwa-ngara-lwa warruwa-ngara.*
 human-INCH-CTEMP-NOW go-CTEMP devil-PL-YK devil-PL
20. *Panyu-npa-rra-rru puni-rra kanyara-npa-rra-rru.*
 good-INCH-CTEMP-NOW go-CTEMP human-INCH-CTEMP-NOW
21. *Kalika ngunhu purrkuru-lwa kartatha-lalha marruwa-a wirra-a,*
 one that.NOM truly-YK carve-PAST snakewood-ACC boomerang-ACC
22. *wanthala ngula. Puni-layi nyina-lu ngunhaa yinka-l.yarra.*
 somewhere IGNOR go-FUT sit-PURPss that.NOM chisel-CTEMP
23. *Wanthala ngula jingkayu, kunti jampa. Puni-layi ngurnu-marta-wa*
 somewhere IGNOR upriver stop moment go-FUT that.OBL-PROP-YK
24. *wirra-marta ngunhaa. Wangka-layi yartapalyu-u.*
 boomerang-PROP that.NOM tell-FUT others-ACC

From that time they were all separate. They were starting to come good now. They were getting good and getting closer to being human. The devils were coming to be sort of human. One of them carved a snakewood boomerang, somewhere there (but I don't know exactly where). He went and sat somewhere there up-river carving it. After a while he went with that boomerang and spoke to the other mob.

25. *"Nhiyu-nu wirra ngathu yinka-rnu. Ngayu kulaya-rminyji."*
 this.NOM-QUOT boomerang 1SG.EFF chisel-PASSP 1SG.NOM try-FUT
 "This is a boomerang I have made. I'm going to try it out."
26. *Ngunhaa kulaya-lalha wiyaa ngula minthal, kunti jampa,*
 that.NOM try-PAST maybe IGNOR alone stop moment
27. *nhartu-u wantharra-a nhawu-layi, panyu-u waruul-purtu ngurnu-tharra-a*
 what-ACC like-ACC see-FUT good-ACC still-COMP that.OBL-DU-ACC
28. *wirra-tharra-a. Ngunhaa thuurti-layi yartapalyu-u-rru*
 boomerang-DU-ACC that.NOM call-FUT others-ACC-NOW
29. *warruwa-ngara-a-thurti-rru yirna-ngara-a ngayalyu-ngara-a puni-waa*
 devil-PL-ACC-CONJ-NOW this.OBL-PL-ACC devil-PL-ACC go-PURPs=o
30. *nhawu-lu ngurnu wirra-a patha-rrnguli-nyila-a ngulu-lwa.*
 see-PURPs that.ACC boomerang-ACC throw-PASS-PrREL-ACC that.EFF-YK
31. *Ngunhaa thawu-lalha marrari-i-rru,*
 that.NOM send-PAST word-ACC-NOW
 He had probably tried it out himself, for a while, to see what it was like. Well it was good all right, those two boomerangs. He called the others together, all the devils, the *ngayalyu* mob, to go and see him throw that boomerang. He sent a message now,
32. *"Nhuwana-nu kanarri-layi, nganaju-mulyarra nhawu-lu-nu*
 2PL-QUOT come-FUT 1SG.OBL-ALL see-PURPs-QUOT
33. *wirra-tharra-a ngathu yinka-rnu-u. Panyu-u wayi,*
 boomerang-DU-ACC 1SG.EFF chisel-PASSP-ACC good-ACC maybe
34. *nhartu-u kuliyanpa-layi?"*
 what-ACC think-FUT
 "How about you all come here to me to see the two boomerangs carved by me. They might be all right. See what you think."
35. *Kanarri-lha-l nhiingara kuyil-ngara. Ngunhaa wangka-lha,*
 came-PAST-THEN this.PL bad-PL that.NOM say-PAST
 Then they came, these bad fellows. He said,
36. *"Ngayalyu-marnu, nhuwana kanarri-layi yirru."*
 cousin-GROUP 2PL come-FUT HES
 "All you cousins of mine, you come."
37. *Ngunhaa marrari-i yimpala-lwa wangka-nguru ngurnu-ngara-a,*
 that.NOM word-ACC like.that-YK say-PRES that.OBL-PL-ACC

38. *kuliya-lwaa-l wiyaa ngula.*
hear-PURPs=o-THEN maybe IGNOR
He talked like that to them so that they would understand him.
39. “*Ngayalyu-marnu, nhuwana yirru kanarri-layi yirru nhuura-mpa-rra*
cousin-GROUP 2PL HES come-FUT HES know-INCH-CTEMP
40. *nhawu-lha yirru wirra-a yirru kayarra-a yirru*
see-PAST HES boomerang-ACC HES two-ACC HES
41. *yinka-rnu yirru ngathu yirru.*”
chisel-PASSP HES 1SG.EFF HES
“All my cousins, you come and find out, see the two boomerangs chiselled by me.”
42. “*Purrkuru warnu yirru ngayalyu yirru panyu yirru*
truly ASSERT HES cousin HES good HES
43. *kartu yirru kanyja-ruru wirra-tharra-a yirru?*”
2SG.NOM HES keep-PRES boomerang-DU-ACC HES
“Is that right cousin? Good. Do you have two boomerangs?”
44. “*Ngawu. Nhuwana mirntiwul kanarri-layi pawulu-thurti wartirra-thurti*
yes 2PL together come-FUT child-CONJ woman-CONJ
45. *nhawu-lu. Ngayu patha-rrwala ngulangu Kawuyu-nguru.*
see-PURPs 1SG.NOM throw-PURPs there Kawuyu-ABL
46. *Ngaliwa karlwa-layi Kawuyu-ngu.*”
1PL.INC go.up-FUT Kawuyu-ACC
“Yes. You all come to see, children and women and all. I’ll throw them there, from Kawuyu hill. We’ll all go up on Kawuyu.”
47. *Puni-lha-rru pularna. Kanarri-lha-rru nhiingara*
go-PAST-NOW they come-PAST-NOW this.PL
48. *ngayalyu-yirru-ngara. Puni-layi ngunhu-ngara mirntiwul wirta-lu*
devil-yirru-PL go-FUT that.NOM-PL together climb-PURPs
49. *Kawuyu-u-rru parla-a. Ngurnu-nguru, ngunhu kanyara*
Kawuyu-ACC-NOW hill-ACC that.OBL-ABL that.NOM man
50. *yinka-lalha-nguru patha-rralha-rru. Ngunhu-ngara karri-nyila nhawu-rra.*
chisel-PAST-ABL throw-PAST-NOW that.NOM-PL stand-PrREL see-CTEMP
51. *Mir.ta kupuyu, nganiyarrangu. maruwarla ngayalyu-ngara, maruwarla.*
not little big.group many devil-PL many
52. *Ngunhaa patha-rralha thaapuwa, wirra-a puni-waa ngurnu,*
that.NOM throw-PAST big.man boomerang-ACC go-PURPs=o that.ACC

53. *yawurtari. Ngunhaa kanarri-lha-rru. Puni-lha ngunhaa, wirra*
west.ALL that.NOM come-PAST-NOW go-PAST that.NOM boomerang
54. *parrani-layi, ngulangu-lwa karti-ngka pungka-lu. Manku-ngu-layi.*
return-FUT there-YK side-LOC fall-PURPss grab-PASS-FUT
55. *Kuwarri-l paju ngunhaa, ngunhu-ngara nhawu-wala,*
beginning-THEN REAL that.NOM that.NOM-PL see-PURPds
So they went. These *ngayalyu* came and they went together to climb *Kawuyu* hill.
From there, that man who had chiselled the boomerang threw it. They stood and
watched, no little group, a big mob, many people. He threw it, that big man, to go
west. It came, it went, that boomerang, and it came back right there and fell down
alongside, and was picked up again. That was the first time a boomerang had been sent
and these fellows were watching,
56. “*Panyu paju-nu nhiyu. Panyu paju-nu nhiyu wirra,*
good REAL-QUOT this.NOM good REAL-QUOT this.NOM boomerang
57. *yilu kanyara-lu yinka-rmu.*”
this.EFF man-EFF chisel-PASSP
“That boomerang is very good. It’s very good, that boomerang made by this man.”
58. *Yarta-a ngartil-u-lwa ngurnaa thuulwa-rminyji, wirra-a.*
other-ACC again-Ø-YK that.ACC pull.out-FUT boomerang-ACC
59. *Patha-rminyji ngartil waruul yawurtari ngurnu.*
throw-FUT again still west.ALL that.ACC
60. *Puni-waa ngunhaa yawurru Yurlungarrarnu kuwilyawula parrani-layi*
go-PURPs=o that.NOM west Yurlungarrarnu this.side return-FUT
61. *ngunhaa ngurnu Kawuyu-u-lwa. Pungka-lu karti-ngka,*
that.NOM that.ACC Kawuyu-ACC-YK fall-PURPss side-LOC
62. *manku-ngu-layi ngulu-wa, ngartil. Ngunhu-ngara mirtuwarra-rru*
grab-PASS-FUT that.EFF-YK again that.NOM-PL clever-NOW
63. *warruwa-ngara,*
devil-PL
Next he pulled out the other boomerang. Again he threw it westwards and it went
west, this side of *Yurlungarrarnu*. It came back right to *Kawuyu* to fall alongside. It
was picked up by that man again. These *ngayalyu* are clever,
64. “*Panyu paju yirru wirra yirru ngayalyu yirru. Panyu paju yirru*
good REAL HES boomerang HES cousin HES good REAL HES
65. *nhula-tharra yirru kayarra wirra-tharra yirru, ngayalyu yirru.*”
near.you-DU HES two boomerang-DU HES cousin HES
66. *Panyu paju yirru kartungku yirru yinka-rmu yirru.*
good REAL HES 2SG.EFF HES chisel-PASSP HES

“It’s good this boomerang, cousin. Those two boomerangs are good. [They’re] good, these things carved by you.”

67. *Wuraal-wa-rru. Ngunhu-ngara parilha-mpa-layi ngurnaa.*
well-YK-NOW that.NOM-PL keep.trying-INCH-FUT that.ACC
All right. They kept on at him.
68. “*Ngartil ngurnu kartu patha-rryu!*”
again that.ACC 2SG.NOM throw-IMP
“You throw it again!”
69. *Patha-rralha ngurnaa ngartil waruu, ngunhu-ngara nhawu-rra.*
throw-PAST that.ACC again still that.NOM-PL see-CTEMP
70. *Nhamintha-la ngula pularna nyina-lha ngulangu yakarrangu-la,*
how.many-LOC IGNOR they stay-PAST there day-LOC
71. *patha-rryarra. Wayil ngula yarnta-warntura wiyaa*
throw-CTEMP maybe IGNOR day-DISTRIB maybe
72. *parrani-rra-warntura ngurnu-mulyarra-lwa. Nyina-layi patha-rryarra.*
return-CTEMP-DISTRIB that.OBL-ALL-YK stay-FUT throw-CTEMP
73. *Ngunhu-ngara wangkarnu-marri-lha-rru, warruwa-ngara. Ngayalyu-ngara*
that.NOM-PL talk-COLL-PAST-NOW devil-PL devil-PL
74. *wangkarnu-marri-lha-rru.*
talk-COLL-PAST-NOW
So he threw it again and they watched. How many days they stayed there I don’t know. Perhaps each day they went back to the same place and threw it. The mob of *ngayalyu*, those devils, talked amongst themselves.
75. “*Ngaliwa manku-layi ngurnaa wirra-a. Manku-layi ngurnaa.*
1PL.INC grab-FUT that.ACC boomerang-ACC grab-FUT that.ACC
76. *Ngaliwa-rru kanyja-rminyji.*”
1PL.INC-NOW keep-FUT
“We’ll get that boomerang. We’ll get it and we’ll keep it then.”
77. *Ngartil waruu ngunhu-ngara kanarri-lha. Ngunhu-ngara puni-rra*
again still that.NOM-PL come-PAST that.NOM-PL go-CTEMP
78. *wangkarnu-marri-lha-rru.*
talk-COLL-PAST-NOW
Again they came. They went and talked amongst themselves.

79. *“Yanga-minyji-rru ngurnu wirra-a, wirra-tharra-a*
chase-FUT-NOW that.ACC boomerang-ACC boomerang-DU-ACC
80. *manku-layi-rru. Wuraal-wa-rru kangku-layi. Pularna-rru kanyja-minyji.”*
grab-FUT-NOW well-YK-NOW carry-FUT they-NOW keep-FUT
“We'll chase that boomerang, the two boomerangs, and grab them. We'll take them then and we'll keep them.”
81. *Kanarri-lha ngunhu-ngara ngartil. Ngunhu-ngara karri-nyila panyanypa-rru,*
come-PAST that.NOM-PL again that.NOM-PL stand-PrREL ready-NOW
82. *pawulu-thurti wartirra-ngara-thurti. Jampa ngunhu kanyara thawu-lalha*
child-CONJ woman-PL-CONJ moment that.NOM man send-PAST
83. *ngurnu ngarti wirra-a. Ngunhu wangka-lha,*
that.ACC again boomerang-ACC that.NOM say-PAST
They came again. They stood ready, children and women and all. After a while that man sent the boomerang again. The devil said,
84. *“Kartu yirru ngayalyu yirru patha-rryu yirru wirra-a yirru*
2SG.NOM HES cousin HES throw-IMP HES boomerang-ACC HES
85. *ngartil yirru, ngaliya, nganarna nhawu-wala.”*
again HES 1DU.EXC 1PL.EXC see-PURPd
“You chuck that boomerang again, cousin, so we can watch.”
86. *Nhiyu kanyara wirrawalha, ngunhaa mir.ta nhuura*
this.NOM man boomerang.maker that.NOM not know
87. *wantharni-ma-minyji-rru nhiingara, warruwa-ngara, ngayalyu-ngara.*
how-CAUS-FUT-NOW this.PL devil-PL devil-PL
88. *Jampa ngunhaa thawu-lalha ngurnu wirra-a patha-rralha.*
moment that.NOM send-PAST that.ACC boomerang-ACC throw-PAST
89. *Thaapuwa nhawu-rra warruwa-ngara yanga-rmuru-rru. Yanga-lalha*
big.man see-CTEMP devil-PL chase-PRES-NOW chase-PAST
90. *ngurnu wirra-a. Ngunhu yawurrari kunti.*
that.ACC boomerang-ACC that.NOM west.ALL stop
91. *Puni-nyila ngunhu thawurra, wirra, nyingkurlu waruul-purtu.*
go-PrREL that.NOM boomerang boomerang first still-COMP
92. *Nhiingara wanti-nguru yarrwa-ngka jurlurlu wantharra-l thurlajinkarri-ngara.*
this.PL lie-PRES behind-LOC crouched like-THEN poor.fellow-PL
93. *Yanga-minyji ngumaa, thani-minyji-nu, murti-i kuyilwa-minyji,*
chase-FUT that.ACC hit-FUT-QUOT speed-ACC spoil-FUT
94. *manku-layi-l. Piyuwa ngunhu, puni-nyila ngunhu waruul.*
grab-FUT-THEN finish that.NOM go-PrREL that.NOM still

95. *Thampa-rru jirli wurnta-nngu-rra yartapalyu. Yanga-lalha ngurnaa.*
almost-NOW arm cut-PASS-CTEMP others chase-PAST that.ACC
96. *Ngunhaa puni-nyila nyingkurlu waruu, ngulangu pungka-lu.*
that.NOM go-PrREL in.front still there fall-PURPss
97. *Karti-ngka manku-ngu-layi-warnu.*
side-LOC grab-PASS-FUT-EMPH
This man, the boomerang-maker, he didn't know what these *ngayalyu* devils were going to do. The moment he sent that boomerang, threw it, the devils watching chased it now. They chased that boomerang. It went westwards. That boomerang is travelling, still in front and these devils are behind, stooping down, the poor fellows. They chase it, hit at it, try to weaken the speed, so they can grab it then. But there's no chance, it's still travelling. Some others almost get their arms cut off. They chased it and that boomerang is still in front and falls right there, and is picked up once more.
98. *"Panyu paju yirru ngayalyu yirru nhula yirru wirra yirru."*
good REAL HES cousin HES near.you HES boomerang HES
"That boomerang is good, cousin."
99. *Mir.ta-l ngunhu-ngara, yanga-mura kuwarri-la-l. Ngunhu wanti-lha*
not-THEN that.NOM-PL chase-PrREL now-LOC-THEN that.NOM lie-PAST
100. *yawurrari, karra-nu ngula, ngurra. Nhiingara yanga-l.yarra-ngara,*
west.ALL scrub-QUOT IGNOR country this.PL chase-CTEMP-PL
101. *jina-wari panyi-lalha ngurnaa kalyaran-wirriwa-a nhawani-i*
foot-PROP tread-PAST that.ACC tree-PRIV-ACC thing-ACC
102. *pal.yarra-ma-l.yarra. Ngunhu-lwa ngunhu pal.yarra-ma-mu*
plain-CAUS-CTEMP that.NOM-YK that.NOM plain-CAUS-PASSP
103. *jina-ngku wanti-nguru Wirrawanti-rru wangka-ngu-layi. Yilangu-lwa ngunhaa,*
foot-EFF lie-PRES Wirrawanti-NOW call-PASS-FUT here-YK that.NOM
104. *yilangu-lwa ngunhaa marrari-la, nhiyu kuwarri, kuwarri-l paju*
here-YK that.NOM story-LOC this.NOM now beginning-THEN REAL
105. *ngunhu wirra, wanthami-ma-mu-la. Ngartil thawu-lalha.*
that.NOM boomerang how-CAUS-PASSP-LOC again send-PAST
106. *Ngartil waruul-purtu ngunhu-ngara yanga-lwala. Yimpala-nu*
again still-COMP that.NOM-PL chase-PURPds like.that-QUOT
107. *wanti-nguru kankurru yirla. Wirra ngunhu puni-nyila.*
lie-PRES dust only boomerang that.NOM go-PrREL
108. *Waruulwa-nngu-rra pularna-lu, thani-nngu-rra. Pawulu-ngara-thurti*
can't.do-PASS-CTEMP they-EFF hit-PASS-CTEMP child-PL-CONJ
109. *yanga-mura thani-l.yarra mani-ngka-npa-rra, manku-marni wurla.*
chase-PrREL hit-CTEMP front-LOC-INCH-CTEMP grab-CONTR MIST

110. *Thampa-rru nhanka thani-nngu-rra, yartapalyu puni-nyila ngunhu*
almost-NOW neck hit-PASS-CTEMP others go-PrREL that.NOM
111. *thawurra, wirra. Puni-nyila ngunhaa, parrani-layi ngulangu*
boomerang boomerang go-PrREL that.NOM return-FUT there
112. *pungka-lu. Ngunhu-ngara wiru-nga-lha paju ngurnu*
fall-PURPss that.NOM-PL want-INCH-PAST REAL that.ACC
113. *thawurra-a manku-layi. Wirra-a manku-layi.*
boomerang-ACC grab-FUT boomerang-ACC grab-FUT
114. *Ngunhu-ngara paju kanyja-rminyji. Nhiyu kanyara mir.ta wiru*
that.NOM-PL REAL keep-FUT this.NOM man not wanting
115. *yimpala-ma-nnguli-waa-lwa. Ngunhu puni-nyila panyu waruul-purtu*
like.that-CAUS-PASS-PURPs=o-YK that.NOM go-PrREL good still-COMP
116. *wirra. Mir.ta waruul kuntarra-ma-nngu-rra wii*
boomerang not still slow.up-CAUS-PASS-CTEMP maybe
117. *ngurnu-ngara-lu thani-mura-lu thani-mura-lu wurrulywa-marta.*
that.OBL-PL-EFF hit-PrREL-EFF hit-PrREL-EFF leaves-PROP
118. *Nhartu wiyaa ngula wurrulywa-ngara, wurnta-rnu juwayu-la.*
what maybe IGNOR leaves-PL cut-PASSP hand-LOC
It wasn't yesterday that they chased that thing, no it was long ago. The scrub that lay there out to the west, well these people chasing trampled it with their feet and so there are no trees there now, they made a plain of it. That's that plain that was trampled, the one that's called *Wirrawanti* now. This is it here now in this story, the one that was made like this as a result of that boomerang. Again he sent it, and yet again they chased it, only the dust left behind them, that boomerang is still going. They kept trying at it but couldn't do it. Children and all chased it and hit at it, thinking they should be able to get it, and almost getting hit in the neck. But it's still going, that boomerang, and it came back to fall down in the same place. They badly wanted to get hold of this boomerang. They wanted to keep it for themselves. This man didn't want things to turn out like that, and that boomerang was still going at full strength. It still wasn't getting slowed down by those fellows hitting it with gum leaves. I don't know what sort of leaves, they had cut brush and held it in their hands.
119. *"Thani-muru nhuwana wirra-a."*
hit-PRES 2PL boomerang-ACC
"You people hit that boomerang!"
120. *Wiru nhartu-ma-rminyji wularla-ma-rminyji. Piyuwa waruu, ngunhu*
want what-CAUS-FUT weak-CAUS-FUT finish still that.NOM
121. *thawurra puni-nyila ngunhila-rru ngunhaa waruul-wa ngunhaa*
boomerang go-PrREL same.speed-NOW that.NOM still-YK that.NOM
122. *wirra puni-nyila, thaapuwa. Pungka-lu ngulangu waruu.*
boomerang go-PrREL big.man fall-PURPss there still

123. *Ngurnula-ngu-la waruul-u-rru nhartu-ngka, warrama-lalha-la,*
that.DEF-GEN-LOC still-Ø-NOW what-LOC make-PAST-LOC
124. *yirka-lalha-la. Waruulwa-lalha ngunhu-ngara.*
chisel-PAST-LOC can't.do-PAST that.NOM-PL
They wanted to weaken that boomerang. But no chance, that boomerang kept going at the same speed. It kept going and fell down at the right place as usual. It fell down right there by its owner, the man who had made it, had carved it out. They couldn't manage to get it.
125. “*Ngaa, piyuwa paju-nu. Ngaliwa-nu mir.ta*
yes finish REAL-QUOT 1PL.INC-QUOT not
126. *panyu-ma-nngu-layi ngurnaa.”*
good-CAUS-PASS-FUT that.ACC
“Well that's it, we're no good at all. We're not going to get on right with that boomerang. Might as well give up hope.”
127. *Puni-marri-layi wuraal-wa-rru.*
go-COLL-FUT well-Ø-NOW
128. *Ngunhaa mir.ta-rru manku-lha ngurnu-tharra-a thawurra-tharra-a.*
that.NOM not-NOW grab-PAST that.OBL-DU-ACC boomerang-DU-ACC
So they went off. They didn't get those two boomerangs.
129. “*Ah, panyu paju yirru thawurra yirru nhula yirru ngayalyu yirru.*
ah good REAL HES boomerang HES near.you HES cousin HES
130. *Nganarna waruulwa-lalha-lwa yirru.”*
1PL.EXC can't.do-PAST-YK HES
“Ah. Good that boomerang you've got, cousin. We just couldn't manage it.”
131. *Wuraal-wa-rru puni-marri-layi.*
well-YK-NOW go-COLL-FUT
All right, they went off together.
132. *Ngunhu nhawani-wuyu, ngunhaa mirntiwul-yu paju,*
that.NOM thing-SIDE that.NOM together-ACC REAL
133. *nhartu-nu wangka-ngu-rra? Ngunhu-lwa.*
what-QUOT call-PASS-CTEMP that.NOM-YK
134. *Ngayalyu ngunhu mirtali paju. Wantharni-nu wangka-ngu-layi?*
devil that.NOM big REAL how-QUOT call-PASS-FUT
That what's-his-name, that one on his own. What's he called now? That one. That big *ngayalyu* boss. How is he called?

135. *Ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa mirmtiwul-u marrari kuliya-nngu-layi.*
that.NOM-YK that.NOM together-EFF word listen-PASS-FUT
136. *Puliyanyja ngunhu ngayalyu. Ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa kuyil.*
old.man that.NOM devil that.NOM-YK that.NOM bad
137. *Ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa parilha-nga-lha ngurnu wirra-a. Puni-lha*
that.NOM-YK that.NOM try-INCH-PAST that.ACC boomerang-ACC go-PAST
138. *ngunhaa nyina-lu ngularla kuliyanpa-rra, puni-rrawaara ngurnu.*
that.NOM sit-PURPss there.NS think-CTEMP go-SEQ that.ACC
139. *Puni-rrawaara ngurnu. Wanthala ngunhu kuwarri-l paju*
go-SEQ that.ACC somewhere that.NOM beginning-THEN REAL
140. *kanyara nyina-nyila nyina-lha-la, yinka-l.yarra ngurnu kayarra-a*
man sit-PrREL sit-PAST-LOC chisel-CTEMP that.ACC two-ACC
141. *wirra-tharra-a panyu-tharra-a. Ngunhaa puni-lha yilhi-i-rru*
boomerang-DU-ACC good-DU-ACC that.NOM go-PAST chip-ACC-NOW
142. *manku-lu ngularla.*
grab-PURPss there.NS
That one who all the other ones have to listen to. That old man *ngayalyu*. He's bad that one. That's the one that kept on at that boomerang. He went, thought for a while about somewhere there, and then went there. He thought about that place, somewhere, where that man first sat and chipped out those two good boomerangs. He went to pick up some wood chips there somewhere.
143. *Thaapuwa-nu ngunhaa mirtuwarra, ngunhu-lwa,*
big.man-QUOT that.NOM clever that.NOM-YK
144. *ngayalyu, ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa nhawani paju, jurlu-u mirmtiwul-yu*
devil that.NOM-YK that.NOM thing REAL all-ACC together-ACC
145. *nhawani wangka-layi nhartu-ma-lwaa. Mirmtiwul paju kuliya-rminyji*
thing say-FUT what-CAUS-PURPs=0 together REAL hear-FUT
146. *ngurnu-lwa marrari-i ngayalyu-ngara yirla pularna.*
that.ACC-YK word-ACC devil-PL only they
147. *Ngunhaa mirtali paju wangka-layi nhartu-ma-lwaa wii,*
that.NOM big REAL say-FUT what-CAUS-PURPs=0 maybe
148. *ngurnula-ngu-la marrari-la nhartu-ma-rminyji wii.*
that.DEF-GEN-LOC word-LOC what-CAUS-FUT maybe
He was a crafty old bastard, that *ngayalyu*. He's that what's-his-name. The one who tells all of the others what to do. They all listen to his word, only those *ngayalyu* of course. He's the big boss who tells them to do this and do that when he says so.
149. *"Mir.ta yartapalyu nganamarnu minthalwa-lwarri-layi."*
not others anyone get.together-COLL-FUT
"Don't anyone get together on one side. We've got to be together."

150. *Puni-lha ngunhaa manku-lu yilhi-i-rru ngurnu kayarra-a*
go-PAST that.NOM grab-PURPss chip-ACC-NOW that.ACC two-ACC
151. *wirra-tharra-a yinka-rnu-u. Ngunhu wirrawalha, nyina-nyila*
boomerang-DU-ACC chisel-PASSP-ACC that.NOM boomerang-maker sit-PrREL
152. *yartapalyu-u-rru thani-lalha, yinka-l.yarra, Thaarta-la, Pilharnu-la jingkayu.*
others-ACC-NOW hit-PAST chisel-CTEMP *Thaarta-LOC Pilharnu-LOC* upriver
153. *Wanthala ngunhu Yirranti, parlu. Jingkayu-npa-nguru ngulangu-lwa.*
somewhere that.NOM *Yirranti* cliff upriver-INCH-PRES there-YK
154. *Ngunhaa nyina-lha-rru, yartapalyu-u-rru yinka-l.yarra.*
that.NOM sit-PAST-NOW others-ACC-NOW chisel-CTEMP
155. *Kanyja-rmurur ngurnu-tharra-a-lwa wii kayarra-a.*
keep-PRES that.OBL-DU-ACC-YK maybe two-ACC
He went to get some chips from those two boomerangs that had been chiselled out. That boomerang-maker, he was sitting hitting another lot, chiselling away at *Thaarta* Pool, upriver from *Pilharnu* Pool. Where that *Yirranti* cliff is, the cliff heads upriver right there. He was sitting there now, chiselling another load of boomerangs, and probably keeping those other two as well.
156. *Ngaa wurtu pala nhiyu, murna-ngka-rru puni-nguru jingkarri,*
yes HYPH IT this.NOM close-LOC-NOW go-PRES upriver.CENT
157. *yilhi-marta. Ngurnu kayarra-a yinka-rnu-tharra-a nyingkurlul*
chip-PROP that.ACC two-ACC chisel-PASSP-DU-ACC first
158. *panyu-tharra-a mara. Manku-lha-rru puni-nguru ngunhaa ngulangu,*
good-DU-ACC hand grab-PAST-NOW go-PRES that.NOM there
159. *wanthala ngunhaa yinka-lalha-la kuwarri-l.*
somewhere that.NOM chisel-PAST-LOC beginning-THEN
160. *Jingkayu ngula wanthala-l ngula.*
upriver IGNOR somewhere-THEN IGNOR
Okay. This one is getting close now, coming from upriver with the chips, the ones from those two boomerangs that had been chopped first, in his hand. He's going now, having picked them up at the place where they were carved in the beginning. Upriver I guess, somewhere but I don't know where.
161. *Ngurnu yini-i ngurnu ngayu ngalarri-nguru.*
that.ACC name-ACC that.ACC 1SG.NOM forget-PRES
162. *Ngunhu julyu warrayi, wayil wii nhuura, Mipim.*
that.NOM old.man like.me maybe maybe know *Mipim*
163. *Ngunhaa wiyaa wangka-layi nganaju mulurru paju*
that.NOM maybe tell-FUT 1SG.ACC straight REAL
164. *wanthala-a ngunhaa ngula kuwarri paju nyina-lha-la.*
somewhere-ACC that.NOM IGNOR now REAL sit-PAST-LOC

I've forgotten the name of that place. That old man like me might know, *Mipirn*. He should be able to put me straight, wherever it is he is staying now.

165. *Ngunhaa puni-lha, yilhi-i-rru manku-lha nhiyu ngayalyu,*
that.NOM go-PAST chip-ACC-NOW grab-PAST this.NOM devil
166. *jinkarni. Nhiyu nyina-nguru wuraaal, kanyara, wirra-a*
upriver.CENT this.NOM sit-PRES well man boomerang-ACC
167. *yinka-l.yarra yartapalyu-u-rru. Thungkara-la nyina-nguru, marli-ngka-rru*
chisel-CTEMP others-ACC-NOW dirt-LOC sit-PRES tree-LOC-NOW
168. *kartawura-la, malarnu-la. Nhawu-layi purrkuru-rru ngurnaa*
butt-LOC shade-LOC see-FUT truly-NOW that.ACC
169. *kanarri-nyila-a.*
come-PrREL-ACC
He went having picked up the chips now, this *ngayalyu*, from upriver. This man is still sitting carving another lot of boomerangs. He's sitting on the ground, at the base of a cadjeput tree, in the shade. He sees this fellow coming all right.
170. "Ah, *nhiyu-rru pala-nu nhiyu kuyil, ngayalyu*
a h this.NOM-NOW IT-QUOT this.NOM bad cousin
171. *kanarri-nguru-rru."*
come-PRES-NOW
"Ah, this one now. This is that bad *ngayalyu* coming."
172. *Ngunhaa tharrwi-lalha thungkara-la-rru. Wanthala ngunha nyina-lha,*
that.NOM enter-PAST dirt-LOC-NOW somewhere that.NOM sit-PAST
173. *thungkara-la tharrwi-lalha ngurnu-tharra-a panyu-tharra-a,*
dirt-LOC enter-PAST that.OBL-DU-ACC good-DU-ACC
174. *wirra-tharra-a. Nhuura ngurnu-nu kanyara-a puni-nyila-a-wa*
boomerang-DU-ACC know that.ACC-QUOT man-ACC go-PrREL-ACC-YK
175. *nhawu-rra ngurnu wawayi-l.yarra. Tharrwi-lalha nharnu-ngka-rru.*
see-CTEMP that.ACC look.for-CTEMP put.in-PAST sand-LOC-NOW
176. *Yartapalyu-la kana-ngka-l wanti-waa, yinka-nngu-rra,*
others-LOC clear-LOC-THEN lie-PURPs=o chisel-PASS-CTEMP
177. *kankanmayijila. Nhiyu kanarri-layi,*
piled.up this.NOM come-FUT
He put them under the sand then. Somewhere there where he was sitting on the ground he put those two good boomerangs away. Apparently he knows that man is coming looking, looking for that. He puts them under the sand while another carved lot are lying quite open, all piled up. This fellow is coming. [He says]

178. "Ngayu yirru kartungu yirru ngayu kanarri-lha.
1SG.NOM HES 2SG.ACC HES 1SG.NOM come-PAST
179. Ngayu, ngayalyu yirru, kartungu kanarri-lha yirru?
1SG.NOM cousin HES 2SG.ACC come-PAST HES
180. Ngayu yirru kanarri-lha yirru, ngayalyu yirru,
1SG.NOM HES come-PAST HES cousin HES
181. kartungu yirru nhawu-lu yirru."
2SG.ACC HES see-PURPss HES
"I've come, cousin. Can I come over to you? I'll come and see you, cousin."
182. "Ngawu, panyu waruul-purtu, ngayalyu yirru.
yes good still-COMP cousin HES
183. Minthal-yu nganaju yirru nyina-nyila-a, ngayalyu yirru."
alone-ACC 1SG.ACC HES sit-PrREL-ACC cousin HES
"Yes, that's okay, cousin. Come and see me, I'm sitting here all alone, cousin."
184. "Ah! Ngayalyu yirru, nganaju yirru kartu yirru yungku-layi yirru
ah cousin HES 1SG.ACC HES 2SG.NOM HES give-FUT HES
185. wirra-a yirru ngurnu-tharra-a-lwa yirru,
boomerang-ACC HES that.OBL-DU-ACC-YK HES
186. kayarra-a panyu-tharra-a yirru, ngayalyu yirru."
two-ACC good-DU-ACC HES cousin HES
"Ah, cousin. You give me those two boomerangs, those two good ones, cousin."
187. Kanyja-rryarra ngunhaa thaapuwa juwayu-la wurtu yilhi-i,
keep-PrREL that.NOM big.man hand-LOC HYPth chip-ACC
188. ngurnu-tharra-a wirra-tharra-a. Manku-lha ngularla wanhala
that.OBL-DU-ACC boomerang-DU-ACC grab-PAST there.NS somewhere
189. yinka-rnu kuwarri-l paju yilu, kanyara-lu.
chisel-PASSP beginning-THEN REAL this.EFF man-EFF
190. Karri-layi ngunhaa wangka-rra,
stand-FUT that.NOM say-CTEMP
That crafty old bastard's keeping the chips of those two boomerangs in his hand. He
picked them up somewhere there where they were first chopped out by that man, in the
beginning. He says,
191. "Ngayu yirru wiru yirru yungku-ngu-layi yirru ngurnu-tharra-a yirru
1SG.NOM HES wanting HES give-PASS-FUT HES that.OBL-DU-ACC HES
192. wirra-tharra-a yirru, ngayalyu yirru, ngurnu yirru ngulangu yirru
boomerang-DU-ACC HES cousin HES that.ACC HES there HES

193. *yanga-rnu-u yirru, yanga-rnu-u yirru.*
chase-PASSP-ACC HES chase-PASSP-ACC HES
194. *Pal.yarra-ma-lwala-rru nganarna yanga-l.yarra ngurnaa,*
plain-CAUS-PURPds-NOW 1PL.EXC chase-CTEMP that.ACC
195. *ngurnu-tharra-a wirra-tharra-a yirru.*
that.OBL-DU-ACC boomerang-DU-ACC HES
“I want to be given those two boomerangs, cousin, that were chased around over there. We made a plain out of that place chasing those two boomerangs.”
196. “Ngawu. *ngurnu-tharra-a kartu wiru-mpa-nguru?*”
yes that.OBL-DU-ACC 2SG.NOM want-INCH-PRES
“Yes. You want those two boomerangs?”
197. *Ngawu!*
yes
Yes!
198. *Manku-layi ngurnu-ngara-a wanti-nyila-a kankanmayi-i.*
grab-FUT that.OBL-PL-ACC lie-PrREL-ACC piled.up-ACC
He grabs those lying there in a heap.
199. “Nhiyu *yirru ngunhaa yirru, ngayalyu yirru.*”
this.NOM HES that.NOM HES cousin HES
“This is the one, cousin.”
200. *Warntitha-rminyji ngunhaa nhawu-waa. thaapuwa ngunhaa*
throw-FUT that.NOM see-PURPs=o big.man that.NOM
201. *manku-wala nhawu-layi ngurnu.*
grab-PURPds look-FUT that.ACC
202. *Nhawu-layi yilhi-i-l juwayu-la-a. nhawu-layi wirra-a.*
look-FUT chip-ACC-THEN hand-LOC-ACC look-FUT boomerang-ACC
He throws it so he can see, and so that devil picks it up and looks at it. He looks at the chips in his hand. Looks at the boomerang.
203. “Piyuwa *yirru, ngayalyu yirru. Nhiyu yarta yirru.*”
finish HES cousin HES this.NOM other HES
“No fear, cousin. This is another one.”
204. *Warntitha-rminyji. Ngartil warntitha-rminyji ngurnu.*
throw-FUT again throw-FUT that.ACC
He throws it down. The man throws across another one.

205. *"Ngurnu-rru-nu!*
that.ACC-NOW-QUOT
206. *Yarta waruul yirru nhiyu yirru, ngayalyu yirru.*
other still HES this.NOM HES cousin HES
207. *Nhiyu paju yirru, ngayalyu yirru, yilhi yirru.*
this.NOM REAL HES cousin HES chip HES
"That's still the wrong one, this one here, cousin. This is the one, cousin, these chips."
208. *Nhiyu mir.ta-lpurtu wiru yungku-layi ngurnaa.*
this.NOM not-COMP wanting give-FUT that.ACC
209. *Wuraal, ngunhu wirra nharnu-ngurni yirla, tharrwi-rmu.*
well that.NOM boomerang sand-OBSCRD only put.in-PASSP
This one didn't want to give it to him. Well, that boomerang was just under the sand, had been put away.
210. *"Nhiyu ngunhaa."*
this.NOM that.NOM
"This is it."
211. *Ngartil waruul manku-layi ngunhu kanyara.*
again still grab-FUT that.NOM man
Once again that man grabs one.
212. *"Nhiyu ngunhaa ngayalyu."*
this.NOM that.NOM cousin
"This is it, cousin."
213. *Nhiyaa warntitha-minyji manku-wala thaapuwa. Nhawu-layi ngunhu.*
this.NOM throw-FUT grab-PURPs big.man look-FUT that.NOM
He throws it down so the other can look at it. He looks at it.
214. *"Piyuwa yirru, ngayalyu yirru. Nhiyu yarta waruu yirru."*
finish HES cousin HES this.NOM other still HES
"No it isn't, cousin. This is the wrong one."
215. *Warntitha-minyji, yungku-layi, ngartil waruu.*
throw-FUT give-FUT again still
Chucks it away. Gives another one.

216. “*Kartu mil.yirri-nguru yirru, ngayalyu yirru, nhiyu paju yirru*
2SG.NOM hide-PRES HES cousin HES this.NOM REAL HES
217. *yilhi-rru. Nhiyu paju kartungku yinka-rru ngulangu.*
chip-NOW this.NOM REAL 2SG.EFF chisel-PASSP there
218. *Wanthala-ma-lalha kartu, kartu kanyja-muru.*
somewhere-CAUS-PAST 2SG.NOM 2SG.NOM keep-PRES
219. *Ngayu wiru yirnaa paju yilhi-i-rru, ngayalyu yirru.*
1SG.NOM wanting this.ACC REAL chip-ACC-NOW cousin HES
“You’re hiding it, cousin. These are the chips now. This is the very one you chopped over there. What have you done with it? You’re keeping it there somewhere. I want *this* one, that *these* chips come from, cousin.”
220. “*Nhiyu-rru ngunhaa.*”
this.NOM-NOW that.NOM
“This is it.”
221. *Ngulangu wanti-lha thawurra-ngara. Nhamintha ngula,*
there lie-PAST boomerang-PL how.many IGNOR
222. *kayarra jina, kayarra juwayu wirra-ngara.*
two foot two hand boomerang-PL
223. *Warntitha-rralha ngunhaa ngunhu thaapuwa nhuura-mpa-nyila.*
throw-PAST that.NOM that.NOM big.man know-INCH-PrREL
Boomerangs were lying there. I don’t know how many, maybe ten, maybe twenty. He threw them across but that fellow was waking up.
224. “*Piyuwa, ngayalyu yirru yarta waruu nhiyu yirru, ngayalyu yirru.*”
finish cousin HES other still this.NOM HES cousin HES
“Nothing, cousin. This is still the wrong one.”
225. *Ngunhaa warntitha-rralha ngurnu thawurra-ngara-a nhawu-waa.*
that.NOM throw-PAST that.ACC boomerang-PL-ACC look-PURPs=o
He threw the boomerangs across to him so he could see them.
226. “*Nhiyu ngunhaa!*”
this.NOM that.NOM
“This is it!”
227. *Manku-wala ngunhu, ngayalyu. Nhawu-layi ngurnu, panyu-ma-l.yarra.*
grab-PURPs that.NOM devil see-FUT that.ACC good-CAUS-CTEMP
He picks it up, that *ngalyu*, looks at it, checks it.

228. *“Piyuwa ngayalyu. Nhiyu paju yirru yilhi yirru.*
finish cousin this.NOM REAL HES chip HES
229. *Nhiyu yirru yilhi yirru, mir.ta nhiyu.*
this.NOM HES chip HES not this.NOM
230. *Ngurnula-a kartu kanyja-rnuru want hala. Nhiyu paju!”*
that.DEF-ACC 2SG.NOM keep-PRES somewhere this.NOM REAL
“No cousin. This chip is the one I want. This chip, not this one. You're keeping it
somewhere. *This one!*”
231. *Waa! Ngunhaa kanyara mir.ta waruul-purtu ngurnu kanangkalwa-lalha,*
oh.dear that.NOM man not still-COMP that.ACC make.clear-PAST
232. *piyuwa. Wantharni ngunhaa kuyilwa-lalha. Kuyilwa-lalha-rru ngurnaa*
finish how that.NOM spoil-PAST spoil-PAST-NOW that.ACC
233. *ngulangu-lwa, ngunhu kanyara. Mir.ta nhuura want harni-ma-lwaa*
there-YK that.NOM man not know how-CAUS-PURPs=0
234. *ngurnaa thaapuwa-a. Ngunhaa-nu, kuyil ngunhaa.*
that.ACC big.man-ACC that.NOM-QUOT bad that.NOM
235. *Ngunhaa nhuura-mpa-layi nhartu-u wii mil.yirri-nguli-nyila-a.*
that.NOM know-INCH-FUT what-ACC maybe hide-PASS-PrREL-ACC
236. *Ngunhaa nhuura-mpa-layi, warruwa kuyil.*
that.NOM know-INCH-FUT devil bad
237. *Ngunhaa nhuura waruul-purtu yirna mil.yirri-nyila-a kanyara-a.*
that.NOM know still-COMP this.ACC hide-PrREL-ACC man-ACC
238. *Mir.ta wiru ngunhaa nhuura-ma-lalha ngurnu nhuura-mpa-nyila.*
not wanting that.NOM know-CAUS-PAST that.ACC know-INCH-PrREL
Oh dear. That man just wouldn't bring them out in the open, not at all. That's how he
spoiled everything. He ruined it right there, that man. He didn't know what that devil
was going to do. He was certainly bad that fellow. He woke up to the fact that
something was being hidden. He woke up, that devil. He knew this man was hiding
something. He didn't work out that that man was waking up to it.
239. *“Nhiyu paju yirru, ngayalyu yirru, ngunhu paju yirru*
this.NOM REAL HES cousin HES that.NOM REAL HES
240. *pal.yarra-ma-lalha yirru Wirrawanti-i. Wirrawanti-i-rru wangka-nguli-waa.*
plain-CAUS-PAST HES Wirrawanti-ACC Wirrawanti-ACC-NOW call-PASS-PURPs=0
241. *Nganarna-lu jina-ngku panyi-rnu ngunhu pal.yarra-rru wanti-nguru*
1PL.EXC-EFF foot-EFF tread-PASSP that.NOM plain-NOW lie-PRES
242. *yanga-rnura-lu. Yirna yilhi-i, kartu mil.yirri-nguru yirru,*
chase-PrREL-EFF this.ACC chip-ACC 2SG.NOM hide-PRES HES
243. *ngayalyu yirru.”*
cousin HES

“This one, cousin! That very one that made a plain out of *Wirrawanti*, and so now it's called *Wirrawanti*. That one that was trampled by our feet as we chased about. These chips here. You're hiding them, cousin.”

244. *Nhiyu wangka-nguru paya-mpa-nguru.*
this.NOM talk-PRES angry-INCH-PRES
He's getting angry as he talks.
245. “*Kartu mil.yirri-nguru, ngayalyu yirru. Yirna paju yirru*
2SG.NOM hide-PRES cousin HES this.ACC REAL HES
246. *yilhi-i yirru ngayu wiru-mpa-lha yirru. Kartu nganaju*
chip-ACC HES 1SG.NOM want-INCH-PAST HES 2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC
247. *mir.ta yungku-layi. Ngayu puni-layi jalya. Wuraal.*
not give-FUT 1SG.NOM go-FUT rubbish well
248. *Ngayu wantarni-ma-minyi.*
1SG.NOM how-CAUS-FUT
“You're hiding them, cousin. I want those boomerangs that belong to these chips. You won't give them to me. I've got to go off with nothing. Okay. I'll do something about it.”
249. *Payawirri-lha-rru ngunhaa. Warali-rrawaara kurntarra-rru. Yilhi-marta*
angry-PAST-NOW that.NOM move-SEQ give.up-NOW chip-PROP
250. *waruul, juwayu-la-marta, ngunhaa kanyja-rnura. Thana, ngunhaa*
still hand-LOC-PROP that.NOM keep-PrREL let that.NOM
251. *puni-lha-rru paya-mpa-lha-rru. Puni-lha-rru ngunhaa.*
go-PAST-NOW angry-INCH-PAST-NOW go-PAST-NOW that.NOM
He had gotten angry now and moved away in a sulk. He still had the chips, still had them in his hand. Well let him go off angry now. And off he went.
252. “*Ngawu! Kartu mil.yirri-nguru nganaju. Ngayu puni-nguru-rru.*”
yes 2SG.NOM hide-PRES 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM go-PRES-NOW
“Yes. You're hiding them on me. I'm going now.”
253. *Thaapuwa puni-lha ngunhaa ngurnu-marta yilhi-marta juwayu-la-marta,*
big.man go-PAST that.NOM that.OBL-PROP chip-PROP hand-LOC-PROP
254. *Kawuyu-u wirta-lu, parla-a. Ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa,*
Kawuyu-ACC climb-PURPss hill-ACC that.NOM-YK that.NOM
255. *ngayalyu yirru thaapuwa, kuyil. Wirta-lha nhawu-lha-nguru-wa.*
devil HES big.man bad climb-PAST see-PAST-ABL-YK

256. *Kuyil parru warruwa. Thuulwa-rminyji kanarra-a ngurnu-nguru.*
bad devil devil pull-FUT wind-ACC that.OBL-ABL
257. *Mir.ta-nu jarruru kanarra patha-rralha. Ngunhaa-nu, ngunhaa*
not-QUOT slowly wind blow-PAST that.NOM-QUOT that.NOM
258. *puulywa-lalha kanarra-la thawu-lalha yilhi-i. Warntitha-rralha karalu-rru.*
puff-PAST wind-LOC send-PAST chip-ACC throw-PAST south-NOW
That devil went off with the chips in his hand, to climb *Kawuyu* hill. That's him, that *ngayalyu*, a proper bad old bastard. He climbed up the hill after he had seen the other fellow. A really bad devil. He pulled the wind, called it up then. The wind didn't blow slowly. Then he puffed and sent the chips on the wind, throwing them south.
259. *Kanarra-lu ngunhaa kangku-yangu panyu wirra yilhi pungka-lha,*
wind-EFF that.NOM carry-PASSP good boomerang chip fall-PAST
260. *ngunhu-rru Minturru-la-rru karalu-rru. Minturru-la ngunha-rru*
that.NOM-NOW Minturru-LOC-NOW south-NOW Minturru-LOC that.NOM-NOW
261. *Pintharr, ngurnu-ngara-la-lwa-rru ngurra-ngara-la Kuwinywartu-wuyu-la.*
Pintharr that.OBL-PL-LOC-YK-NOW country-PL-LOC *Kuwinywartu*-SIDE-LOC
262. *Yilhi-ngara panyu patha-rnu kangku-yangu kanarra-lu Kawuyu-la-nguru.*
chip-PL good blow-PASSP carry-PASSP wind-EFF *Kawuyu*-LOC-ABL
They were carried by the wind, those good boomerang chips, and fell down there in the south in *Minturru* country. They fell in *Minturru* and *Pintharr* country, in all the country on that *Kuwinywartu* (Carnarvon) side. Those chips were blown and carried by the wind right from *Kawuyu*.
263. *Palwarru ngunhaa, kuyilwa-lalha-rru. Jalya-ngara-rru nhiyu,*
truly that.NOM spoil-PAST-NOW rubbish-PL-NOW this.NOM
264. *wirra wanti-lha yilangu pukarti-ngara nyina-marri-nguru*
boomerang lie-PAST here snakewood-PL be-COLL-PRES
265. *jalya-rru. Ngunhaa warntitha-rralha-la thaapuwa warruwa,*
rubbish-NOW that.NOM throw-PAST-LOC big.man devil
266. *yimpala wanti-waa, ngurra karalu yirla wirra-ngara panyu-ngara.*
like.that lie-PURPs=0 country south only boomerang-PL good-PL
267. *Ngunhaa parilha jinangu-yangu ngurnu-ngara-lu kanyara-ngara-lu,*
that.NOM still track-PASSP that.OBL-PL-EFF man-PL-EFF
268. *parilha jinangu-yangu wantha-nguru yirla kanarri-lha.*
still track-PASSP where-ABL only come-PAST
269. *Ngunhu-ngara wantharni-ma-lwayara-rru?*
that.NOM-PL how-CAUS-HABIT-NOW
270. *Ngunhu-ngara ngula yinka-lwayara wirra-ngara-a.*
that.NOM-PL that.LOC chisel-HABIT boomerang-PL-ACC

271. *Ngunhu-ngara nhuura ngurnu yilhi-i warntitha-mu-u-rru*
that.NOM-PL know that.ACC chip-ACC throw-PASSP-ACC-NOW
272. *ngulangu-nguru, Kawuyu-la-nguru, wirra-a panyu-u.*
there-ABL Kawuyu-LOC-ABL boomerang-ACC good-ACC
Well that's how he spoiled things. The boomerangs that grow here, the snakewood in this country is useless. When that old bastard of a devil threw them so they would be like that, only the south country has good boomerangs. But it's still traced back by the people there. They traced where the boomerangs came from. And what did they used to do? They used to carve a lot of boomerangs. They knew that the chips, all the good boomerangs, had been thrown from there on *Kawuyu*.
273. *Nhiyu, ngayu kuwarri wanta-muru, marrari-i ngurnu*
this.NOM 1SG.NOM now put-PRES word-ACC that.ACC
274. *ngayalyu-rru wantarni-ma-mu. Kawari mirmtiwul nhuura ngurnaa.*
devil-NOW how-CAUS-PASSP south together know that.ACC
275. *Kuwinywartu yirla, jurlu, mirmtiwul waruul. Ngunhu-ngara nhuura*
Kuwinywartu only all together still that.NOM-PL know
276. *wanthala-nguru yilhi kanarri-lha-la. Ngunhu-ngara yinka-lwayara-wa*
where-ABL chip come-PAST-LOC that.NOM-PL chisel-HABIT-YK
277. *wirra-ngara-a, yinka-lwayara thawu-rminyji. Thawu-rminyji*
boomerang-PL-ACC chisel-HABIT send-FUT send-FUT
278. *Wirrawanti-mulyarra-l. Wanthala-nguru ngurnu kuwarri-l*
Wirrawanti-ALL-THEN somewhere-ABL that.ACC beginning-THEN
279. *warntitha-mu-la yilhi. Panyu-ngara kalyaran-ngara ngulu*
throw-PASSP-LOC chip good-PL tree-PL that.EFF
280. *growem-ma-mu. Ngunhu yirla-rru karalu yirla-rru wanti-lha*
grow-CAUS-PASSP that.NOM only-NOW south only-NOW lie-PAST
281. *karlwa-marri-lha kalyaran-ngara panyu-ngara, yilhi panyu warntitha-mu.*
grow.up-COLL-PAST tree-PL good-PL chip good throw-PASSP
This story that I'm putting down now about what the *ngayalyu* did, well all the people in the south know this. In the Gascoyne area, all of them together, they know just where these chips came from. They used to carve a lot of boomerangs and send them back to *Wirrawanti*. That's where they were thrown from in the first place. All the good trees were grown by them. Only there in the south did the good trees come up after the boomerang chips had been thrown there.
282. *Nhuura-nu waruu, ngunhu-ngara yinka-lwayara*
know-QUOT still that.NOM-PL chisel-HABIT
283. *Kawuyu-nyungu-ngara-a yinka-lwayara thawu-rminyji Wirrawanti-mulyarra.*
Kawuyu-DWELL-PL-ACC chisel-HABIT send-FUT *Wirrawanti*-ALL
They still know it, apparently, and used to carve all the ones that came from *Kawuyu* and send them back home to *Wirrawanti*.

284. "Nhiyu-rru-nu nhuwana-wu-la-nguru ngurra-ngka-nguru
this.NOM-NOW-QUOT 2PL-GEN-LOC-ABL country-LOC-ABL
285. *yilhi warntitha-rmu warruwa-lu. Nhuwana...*
chip throw-PASSP devil-EFF 2PL
"These are from your country, the chips thrown by the devils. You..."
286. *Mir.ta-l-u-lwa mil.yirri-lha wii, nhuura warnu.*
not-THEN-ACC-YK hide-PAST maybe know ASSERT
287. *Ngunhu-ngara thawu-lalha kuyurr-yu-rru wangka-nguli-nyila-a.*
that.NOM-PL send-PAST bundle-ACC-NOW tell-PASS-PrREL-ACC
288. *Ngunhu kuyilwa-lalha-rru warruwa. Panyu waruul wurtu wanti-lha*
that.NOM spoil-PAST-NOW devil good still HYPH lie-PAST
289. *kanyara-tharra ngunhu. Panyu waruul wanti-lha yilhi-ngara warntitha-rmu*
people-DU that.NOM good still lie-PAST chip-PL throw-PASSP
290. *kalyaran kuyil-u-ngara yila-rru karlwa-lha-rru ngurra-ngka.*
tree bad-Ø-PL this.LOC-NOW grow.up-PAST-NOW country-LOC
291. *Yimpala-rru-wa. Nhiyu manku-wayara waruu, ngumu-ngara-a*
like.that-NOW-YK this.NOM grab-HABIT still that.OBL-PL-ACC
292. *thawu-ru yilhi-i warntitha-rmu-ngara-a. Kuwarri-kuwarri-rru,*
send-PURPss chip-ACC throw-PASSP-PL-ACC now-now-NOW
293. *kanyara-rru nhiyu panyu-rru nyina-rra. Ngunhaa wanti-nguru*
man-NOW this.NOM good-NOW sit-CTEMP that.NOM lie-PRES
294. *waruul kuwarri wii yimpaia. Ngunhaa ngunhaa marrari.*
still now maybe like.that that.NOM that.NOM story
They don't hide them away, they know all right. They sent what are called bundles of boomerangs. That devil spoiled it all. Well that was all right, the two peoples were good about that. It was okay that the chips had been thrown and that only useless trees grew up in the country. That's how it was. These people used to pick them up and send back the chips that had been thrown their way. And not long ago now, they were still doing that, things were okay. It's still like that now. That's that story.
295. *Jina-nu ngurnaa pal.yarra-ma-lalha yanga-l.yarra*
foct-QUOT that.ACC plain-CAUS-PAST chase-CTEMP
296. *ngurnu-lwa kayarra-a wirra-tharra-a.*
that.ACC-ID two-ACC boomerang-DU-ACC
297. *Ngurmula-lwa, warruwa-ngara, yanga-lalha, yimpala-rru nhiyu*
that.DEF-ID devil-PL chase-PAST like.that-NOW this.NOM
298. *pal.yarra-rru wanti-wala, kalyaran-wirriwa-rru, Wirrawanti-rru wangka-ngu-layi.*
plain-NOW lie-PURPds tree-PRIV-NOW Wirrawanti-NOW call-PASS-FUT
299. *Wirra-a yanga-lalha-la, warruwa-ngara, panyi-lalha nhartu-ngara-a*
boomerang-ACC chase-PAST-LOC devil-PL tread-PAST what-PL-ACC

300. *kalyaran-ngara-a, mirntiwul-yu, piyuwa-ma-l.yarra. Jina-wura-nu*
tree-PL-ACC together-ACC finish-CAUS-CTEMP foot-BELONG-QUOT
301. *ngunhaa pal.yarra wanti-nguru, Wirrawanti-rru wangka-ngu-rra.*
that.NOM plain lie-PRES Wirrawanti-NOW call-PASS-CTEMP
So apparently it was their feet that made a plain of it as they were chasing after those two boomerangs. It was those devils who chased it. And so this plain is like that, hasn't got any trees, and is called *Wirrawanti*. While they were chasing the boomerang, these devils, they trampled over everything, all the trees, and finished them all up. It's said it was from their feet that that plain came to be and its now called *Wirrawanti*.
302. *Kawuyu-la-nguru nyina-lha-la patha-rryarra*
Kawuyu-LOC-PRES be-PAST-LOC throw-CTEMP
303. *ngurnu-tharra-a-lwa kayarra-a. Kuwarri-l paju wirra-tharra,*
that.OBL-DU-ACC-ID two-ACC now-THEN REAL boomerang-DU
304. *yinka-rnu ngulu kanyara-lu. Wuraal-wa-rru ngunhaa.*
chisel-PASSP that.EFF man-EFF still-Ø-NOW that.NOM
305. *Yilhi karalu warntitha-rnu, thawu-marri-yangu, karalu-nyungu-ngara*
chip south throw-PASSP send-COLL-PASSP south-DWELL-PL
306. *jurlu mirntiwul, yinka-lwayara thawu-minyji, ngurnu-l.*
all together chisel-HABIT send-FUT that.ACC-THEN
307. *Parilha, ngunhu-ngara manku-wayara. Jalya-ngara-a-rru ngurnu*
still that.NOM-PL grab-HABIT rubbish-PL-ACC-NOW that.ACC
308. *kalyaran-ku-rru murti. Jalya-ngara-l karlwa-lalha yilangu*
tree-ACC-NOW bad rubbish-PL-THEN grow.up-PAST here
309. *yilhi-i warntitha-rralha puyila-lpurtu-l.*
chip-ACC throw-PAST far-COMP-THEN
That was the time those two boomerangs were thrown from *Kawuyu* hill, the very first boomerangs, made by that man. That's how it was. The chips were thrown south and were sent back again. All the southern people used to carve them and send them then, they still used to get them. The trees here are good for nothing. They grow up to be rubbishy since all the chips were thrown a long way away.
310. *Ngawayi-npa-lha ngunhaa, warruwa thaapuwa, kuyilwa-lalha-rru.*
thing-INCH-PAST that.NOM devil big.man spoil-PAST-NOW
311. *Nhiyu kanyara, kanangkalwa-nmarni, panyu. Ngunhaa yilhi wanti-marni*
this.NOM man make.clear-MODAL good that.NOM chip lie-MODAL
312. *yilangu-rru. Ngunha kuyilwa-lalha thaapuwa ngawayi-npa-rra.*
here-NOW that.NOM spoil-PAST big.man thing-INCH-CTEMP
313. *Yimpala-rru-wa wanti-waa, jalya-ngara-rru kalyaran yilangu.*
like.that-NOW-YK lie-PURPs=o rubbish-PL-NOW tree here

314. *Ngurra-a ngunhaa kuyilwa-lalha, ngayalyu yirru.*
country-ACC that.NOM spoil-PAST cousin HES
That's just what he did, that devil. He ruined everything. This man should have shown them to him, should have done the right thing. The chips could have been here in this country now. But he spoiled it by doing that thing so that the wood here is useless. That devil ruined the country.
315. *Ngurmula-nguru, ngunhu-ngara nyina-lha mir.ta-rru panyu,*
that.DEF-PRES that.NOM-PL be-PAST not-NOW good
316. *ngurnu kuyilwa-lalha-a yilhi-i. Mir.ta-rru nyina-lha panyu.*
that.ACC spoil-PAST-ACC chip-ACC not-NOW be-PAST good
317. *Ngunhu-ngara nhuura-mpa-lha-rru, ngunhu yinka-rnu-nguru.*
that.NOM-PL know-INCH-PAST-NOW that.NOM chisel-PASSP-PRES
318. *Ngunhaa nhuura-mpa-lha-rru, wantharni-ma-lalha-a ngurnu,*
that.NOM know-INCH-PAST-NOW how-CAUS-PAST-ACC that.ACC
319. *ngayalyu-u.*
cousin-ACC
From that time on they weren't very good friends, this man and the one who threw the chips. He woke up to what was going on, this man who carved them. He worked out what this devil had done.
320. "Ah! *Yimpala-ma-lalha kartu. Piyuwa-ma-lalha.*"
ah like.that-CAUS-PAST 2SG.NOM finish-CAUS-PAST
"Ah! You've made it like that. Finished everything."
321. *Ngurnu-nguru-wa, nyina-marri-lha mir.ta-rru panyu, kuyil-wa-rru.*
that.OBL-ABL-YK be-COLL-PAST not-NOW good bad-YK-NOW
322. *Wiru nhurnti-ma-rminyji yirna-ngara-a ngayalyu-ngara-a*
wanting dead-CAUS-FUT this.OBL-PL-ACC cousin-PL-ACC
323. *warruwa-ngara-a, nhiingara panyu-ngara wirra-a,*
devil-PL-ACC this.PL good-PL boomerang-ACC
324. *wirra-a nhawani-ma-lalha-ngara. Kuyil-wa-rru nyina-lha.*
boomerang-ACC thing-CAUS-PAST-PL bad-Ø-NOW sit-PAST
From there they weren't very good with one another. They wanted to kill these *ngayalyu* devils, these fellas, the ones who had made the two good boomerangs. They were upset.
325. *Wuraal-wa-rru ngunhaa nyina-layi pularna mir.ta-rru panyu.*
well-YK-NOW that.NOM sit-FUT they not-NOW good
326. *Kuyil-wa-rru. Patharri-rra-rru, kuwarri-l kuwarri-l patharri-rra,*
bad-YK-NOW fight-CTEMP-NOW now-THEN now-THEN fight-CTEMP

327. *ngunhu-tharra. Ngunhu-tharra paju ngunhu,*
that.NOM-DU that.NOM-DU REAL that.NOM
328. *wirra-waya ngunhaa yinka-lalha-nguru,*
boomerang-OWN that.NOM chisel-PAST-PRES
329. *ngunhu, ngunhu ngurnu-ngara-a-lwa yilhi-i wartitha-rralha.*
that.NOM that.NOM that.OBL-PL-ACC-ID chip-ACC throw-PAST
330. *Yilarla-lwa wanthala Martuthuni-la, ngunhu-tharra thartuungku-marri-lha.*
here.NS-ID somewhere Fortescue-LOC that.NOM-DU meet-COLL-PAST
331. *Kurryarta-marta-nu puni-rra thaapuwa, mirru-ngka-marta.*
spear-PROP-QUOT go-CTEMP big.man spearthrower-LOC-PROP
332. *Yarta wurnta-thurti-marta. Nhiyu kanyara yimpala-mpa-nguru.*
other shield-CONJ-PROP this.NOM man like.that-INCH-PRES
333. *Purrkuru-lwa thartuungku-marri-layi. Yilarla-lwa, wanthala ngula,*
truly-ID meet-COLL-FUT here.NS-ID somewhere IGNOR
334. *ngularla-lwa Martuthuni-la.*
there.NS-ID Fortescue-LOC

All right, they weren't very happy. They were very unhappy. And so they fought. Again and again they fought, those two fellows, the one who had carved the boomerang and the one who threw away the chips. It was somewhere here on the Fortescue that they met up together. They say one went with a spear, loaded on a spearthrower, the other one had a shield and everything. All right, they met up together, somewhere here, I don't know exactly where myself, somewhere there on the Fortescue River.

335. *"Ngayalyu yirru, nhulaa yirru kartu yirru nhawu-Ø*
cousin HES near.you HES 2SG.NOM HES watch-IMP
336. *nhiyu-lwa yirru, ngayalyu yirru, ngayalyu yirru."*
this.NOM-ID HES cousin HES cousin HES
"Cousin, you watch that! This one, cousin!"
337. *"Ah! Ngayalyu yirru, ngali yirru patharri-layi yirru."*
ah cousin HES 1DU.INC HES fight-FUT HES
"Ah cousin, we'll fight!"
338. *Thaapuwa-tharra nhuwa-yarri-lha-rru.*
big.man-DU spear-COLL-PAST-NOW
339. *Ngunhaa warra-yi kanyara-wuyu mirrunyjangu-lu.*
that.NOM CONT-? human-SIDE load.spear-PURPss
The two of them threw spears at one another. The human one loaded up his spearthrower.

340. *“Yilarla kartungku thani-l.yu! Kanyara manku-wala ngularla*
here.NS 2SG.EFF hit-IMP man grab-PURPDs there.NS
341. *puni-Ø nhuwala-wa!”*
go-IMP 2DU-YK
“Take this! See if you can hit this away from you!”
342. *Ngawayu ngarti-rru wurtu thaapuwa ngurnaa yurtingka-rminyji*
turn again-NOW HYPH big.man that.ACC aim-FUT
343. *ngurnu ngayalyu-ngu.*
that.ACC cousin-ACC
Taking his turn that man drilled a spear towards that devil.
344. *“Yimpalaa pala yirru, ngayalyu yirru, kartu yirru!*
like.that IT HES cousin HES 2SG.NOM HES
345. *Yilarla thani-l.yu kartungku!”*
here.NS hit-IMP 2SG.EFF
“What’s that like, cousin! See if you can hit that away!”
346. *Ngunhaa-nu ngula-nguru piyuwa-mpa-nguru. Ngurra-rru wanti-nguru.*
that.NOM-QUOT there-ABL finish-INCH-PRES ground-NOW lie-PRES
347. *Kuyil parru, kuyil, warruwa. Ngurra yirla wanti-nguru ngulangu.*
bad devil bad devil ground only lie-PRES there
348. *Yilarla-rru karlwa-nyila. Nhawu-layi ngurnu warrirti-i kanyara-lu*
here.NS-NOW go.up-PrREL see-FUT that.ACC spear-ACC man-EFF
349. *thawu-rmu-u ngulangu-mulyarra, puni-nyila-a ngarrawurlu.*
send-PASSP-ACC there-ALL go-PrREL-ACC away
But apparently he was gone from there. Only the ground was hit. He was really bad that devil. Only the ground was lying there and he came up here alongside and watched that spear sent by that man heading straight for the place he had been standing.
350. *“Paa! Wirrili yirru kartungu, yirru, ngayalyu yirru, kuyil paju yirru!”*
paa swift HES 2SG.GEN HES cousin HES bad REAL HES
“Paa! Too fast, that one of yours, cousin! Really dangerous!”
351. *Piyuwa-mpa-layi ngunha ngula-nguru piyuwa yila-rru karlwa-lu.*
finish-INCH-FUT that.NOM there-PRES finish here(pointing)-NOW go.up-EFF
352. *Ngurra-a yirla nhuwa-lalha. Jampa-nu, jampa-nu*
ground-ACC only spear-PAST moment-QUOT moment-QUOT
353. *ngunhaa piyuwa-mpa-layi yilangu-rru ngunhu-rru karri-nguru*
that.NOM finish-INCH-FUT here-NOW that.NOM-NOW stand-PRES

354. *kanarri-layi yurtingka-l.yarra, kurryarta-a, ngumula-ngu-u. Nhuwa-minyji*
 come-FUT aim-CTEMP spear-ACC that.DEF-GEN-ACC spear-FUT
355. *kanyara-a karri-nyila-a. Ngunhaa manku-wala ngurnaa.*
 man-ACC stand-PrREL-ACC that.NOM grab-PURPs that.ACC
356. *Ngunhaa ngawayu yurtingka-minyji ngurnu nhuwa-minyji,*
 that.NOM turn aim-FUT that.ACC spear-FUT
357. *ngurra-a yirla. Ngurra-rru wanti-nguru, kurryarta puni-nguru.*
 ground-ACC only ground-NOW lie-PRES spear go-PRES
358. *Mir.ta ngana karri-nyila ngula, nhiyu-rru karri-nyila karlwa-lha.*
 not who stand-PrREL IGNOR this.NOM-NOW stand-PrREL go.up-PAST
 There was nothing there. He was gone from there and came up here. Only the ground
 got speared he was so quick. In an instant he was gone, they say, and here he was. He
 just came as that man was sending the spear to where he was standing, so he could
 grab it. Again he threw one and it only hit the ground. Only the ground is lying there
 and the spear is gone. Who is standing there? He's just coming up here.
359. “*Ngayalyu yirru, nhartu paju yirru?*”
 cousin HES what REAL HES
 “Hey cousin, what was that ?”
360. *Kuyil paju-nu ngunhaa, warruwa parru. Kuyil. Kuyil. Ngurra yirla*
 bad REAL-QUOT that.NOM devil devil bad bad ground only
361. *nhuwa-ngu-rra. Kanyara-lwa, ngayalyu jirli-i parlwiya-minyji.*
 spear-PASS-CTEMP man-ID devil arm-ACC hold-FUT
 He was really bad, that devil. Really bad. Only the ground got speared and this man
 is holding himself in the arm.
362. “*Nganangu-nu ngayu nhuwa-muru-wa?*”
 who.ACC-QUOT 1SG.NOM spear-PRES-YK
 “Just who am I going to spear?”
363. *Ngawayu yirla nhuwa-ngu-layi manku-layi. Thani-minyji ngunhaa*
 turn only spear-PASS-FUT grab-FUT hit-FUT that.NOM
364. *wakupurra-marta. Ngayalyu ngunha karlwa-lha yilangu*
 hitting.stick-PROP cousin that.NOM come.up-PAST here
365. *thani-nngu-rra wakupurra-lu ngurra yirla. Ngunhu-rru karri-nguru,*
 hit-PASS-CTEMP hitting.stick-EFF ground only that.NOM-NOW stand-PRES
366. *kuyil, kuyil. Piyuwa waruu. Mir.ta waruu ngunhaa pithirri-ma-lalha,*
 bad bad finish still not still that.NOM unwell-CAUS-PAST
367. *puni-rrawaara wuraal. Ngartil, waruulwa-lwarri-wayara yimpala,*
 go-SEQ still again unable-COLL-HABIT like.that

368. *nhuwa-yarri-wayara ngunhu-tharra want hala wii thartuungku-marri-lha.*
spear-COLL-HABIT that.NOM-DU where maybe meet-COLL-PAST
369. *Piyuwa paju, piyuwa paju. Mir.ta ngungku-ma-rminyji ngurnaa.*
finish REAL finish REAL not heavy-CAUS-FUT that.ACC
He tries again. He hits at him with a club. That devil comes up here again and only the ground is hit by that club. He's standing here now, the bad thing. He couldn't hurt him, not at all, so he gave up and went away. Now and again they would keep going at it like that. The two of them would try to spear one another if ever they met up together somewhere, but to no avail. He couldn't hurt him.
370. *Wuraal ngunhaa, wuraal ngunhaa, nyina-layi yimpala ngartil.*
still that.NOM still that.NOM sit-FUT like.that again
It was still like that, it stayed like that.
371. *Ngartil ngunhu-ngara wangkarnu-marri-lha-rru, nhiingara panyu-ngara-wuyu,*
again that.NOM-PL talk-COLL-PAST-NOW these.NOM good-PL-SIDE
372. *nhiyu wirra-a yinka-lalha.*
this.NOM boomerang-ACC chisel-PAST
Once again they talked together, these good fellows, the ones who made the boomerangs.
373. *"Ngaliwa nhurnti-ma-rminyji, yirna-ngara-a warruwa-ngara-a, ngayalyu-u,*
1 PL.INC dead-CAUS-FUT this.OBL-PL-ACC devil-PL-ACC cousin-ACC
374. *ngayalyu-yirru-marnu-u, ngaliwa nhurnti-ma-rminyji."*
cousin-yirru-GROUP-ACC 1PL.INC dead-CAUS-FUT
"We'll kill these devils, these cousins, the whole lot of them. We'll kill them in the end."
375. *Mawurru ngunhaa, jampa kunti ngurnu-nguru-wa,*
later that.NOM moment stop that.OBL-ABL-YK
376. *ngunhu-ngara puni-marri-lha...*
that.NOM-PL go-COLL-PAST
Later then, they went from there, very soon afterwards...

APPENDIX 2: SONGS

As noted in §1.3.9 there are two named song types: *jalurra* and *thawi*. *Jalurra* songs are more generally full performances including song, boomerang percussion accompaniment, dance choreography and body ornamentation. The entire form is 'dreamed' – 'composed' unconsciously in the dream state, often as the gift of some spirit, either animal or ex-human. *Jalurra* songs typically consist of a few lines of text repeated with minor variation. The subject matter is closely related to a visual representation in dance, often describing the movements of the dancers.

Thawi songs, on the other hand, might be compared to ballads. They are sung to the accompaniment of the rhythmic scraping of grooves cut in the back of a spearthrower with a *mirrimpa*, often the fibula of a kangaroo with a counterbalance of spinifex wax attached to one end. *Thawi* songs are longer pieces than *jalurra* and usually depict a series of events or journeys taking place in the dream state.

Transliteration and interpretation of song texts is far from straightforward. They typically consist of a few chosen phrases, place names, archaic turns of phrase, all of which evoke complex feelings and understandings. The forms are highly poetic and rely for their immediate interpretation on a deep cultural knowledge of, most especially, the spirit world viewed in the dream state. Because my own understanding of this context is extremely limited, in presenting the examples below I have included the explanatory comments of the singer (Algy Paterson) as well as a literal translation of each line and grammatical notes.

Songs are typically performed as a series of coupled lines with some couplets repeated a number of times. I have indicated the sequence in which the lines of the text were repeated in the recorded performance.

2.1 JALURRA SONGS

Jalurra songs are given to the dreamer by a spirit being and, in many cases, the song describes a vision of one of the spirit beings, *wanta*, who are responsible for the song. Dances accompanying the song often mimic the motions of the *wanta* in the dream.

Songs consist of couplets repeated a number of times. In contrast to the *thawi* songs described below the performance of a *jalurra* may begin midway through a line. The two songs given here were recorded twice and show some of the possible variations. A lengthened syllable *ngaa* is occasionally added to fit a line to the metre of the song, and in the examples below demonstrates the difference in metre due to different starting positions in the text.

In introducing the first song, Algy Paterson explains the role of the spirit beings, *wanta*, in creating the song:

“All right, they was the fellas that make songs, you know, giv'em man songs, when they give 'em in the dream. You sleeping, in the dream, and you sing it like, you know? Well this one, there must a been a two of them, *wanta*, they didn't like to go to this *Kunaarna* just because they frightened there something there.”

I

- A. *puyila warra ngali puniwala*
- B. *ngamarri ngayu kurtunngulinyila*
- A. *puyila warra ngaa ngali puniwala*
- B. *ngamarri ngayu kurtunngulinyila*
- A. *puyila warra ngaa ngali puniwala*
- B. *ngamarri ngayu kurtunngulinyila*
- C. *kartawinkarra ngaa kunarnamalu*
- D. *kartawinkarra ngaa mirrwangkanhawari*
- C. *kartawinkarrakunarnamalu*

II

- B. *ngamarri ngayu kurtunngulinyila*
- A. *puyila warra ngaa ngali puniwala ngaa*
- B. *ngamarri ngayu kurtunngulinyila*
- A. *puyila warra ngali puniwala ngaa*
- B. *ngamarri ngayu kurtunngulinyila ngaa*
- C. *kartawinkarra kunarnamalu*
- D. *kartawinkarra ngaa mirrwangkanhawari*
- C. *kartawinkarra kunarnamalu*

- A. *puyila warra, ngali puni-wala*
far CONT 1DU.INC go-PURPds
“You and I, we'd better go little bit long way.”
(lit. Further away, [something makes it that] we go.)
- B. *ngamarri ngayu kurtun-nguli-nyila*
liver 1SG.NOM fear-PSYCH-CTEMP
“I'm frightened of something in that hill.”
(lit. My liver gets full of fear.)
- C. *kartawinkarra Kunarna-malu*¹
across Kunarna-malu
(lit. Kunarnamalu moves across.)

1. The *-malu* suffix typically occurs on placenames. The derived form is used as a name for a person who is the birthright custodian of that place.

D. *kartawinkarra mirrpangkanha*¹-*wari*²

across 'long stick'-PROP

"Seen this fella walking across on top of the hill, with a *mirrpangkanha*, something like a crowbar [digging-stick, staff], *mirrpangkanha*."

1. The *rrp* cluster in *mirrpangkanha* is lenited to *rrw* when sung.

2. The *-wari* proprietary is a borrowing from Ngarluma.

The second song describes a bull moving through scrub towards a waterhole. Two performances of the song were recorded:

I

- A. *yilangu ngali kuliya ru karrilu ngaa*
- B. *nhartu yilarla karra wurmtamura*
- C. *thanturrinyila mamumarta mulurru*
- D. *thanturrinyila ngaa Kunthurrumulyarra*
- C. *thanturrinyila marnu ...*

II

- A. *...kuliya ru karrilu ngaa*
- B. *nhartu yilarla karra wurmtamuraaaa*
- A. *yilangu ngali nguu kuliya ru nguu karrilu ngaa*
- B. *nhartu yilarla karra wurmtamuraaaa*
- A. *yilangu ngali kuliya ru ngaa karrilu ngaa*
- B. *nhartu yilarla ngaa karra wurmtamura*
- C. *thanturrinyila mamumarta mulurru*
- D. *thanturrinyila Kunthurrumulyarra ngaa*
- C. *thanturrinyila marnuma ...*

A. *yilangu ngali kuliya-ru karri-lu*
 here 1DU hear-PURPss stand-PURPss
 You and I will stand here listening.

B. *nhartu yilarla karra wurmta-mura*
 what somewhere.here thicket break-CTEMP
 Something is here breaking [sticks] in the thicket.

- C. *thanturri-nyila marnu-marta murlurru*
 go.down-CTEMP mark-PROP straight
 Going down, the thing with a stripe.
- D. *thanturri-nyila Kunthurru-mulyarra*
 go.down-CTEMP Kunthurru.pool-ALL
 It is going down towards Kunthurru pool.

2.2 THAWI SONGS

Toby Winarrany, the composer of the following *thawi* songs, was paid £12 to track, through the dream state, a man who had been shot. The songs describe the routes he takes. Algy Paterson explains:

“He got paid to go *mangkarn* [dream spirit state], to find out, travel, *juna* [spirit travel], *wangkarla* [spirit traveller]. All right, he started that way though. He was going to come 'round that way, 'stead of that come back this way. When he get up here, *Winthu*, they found the man, the policeman and them. They found it and sent a message to Yarraloola [Station], let the old fella know, see, this fella that got twelve pound, paid, to look *mangkarnpa*. All right, he stop travelling then, spirit, he stop then.

“Well he started off in *Jalyarnu*...looking for a man that got shot, Alec Hughes the fella, shot him, here at the range. All right, and this fella got ([of] course he's a doctor man) and he got paid, to look for it, look for this man, where he is, [paid] from [by] the brothers [of the shot man]. And they wanted to know, they couldn't find him see. And, he supposed to be very clever man, this fella. His name was Toby, old *Winarrany*, my old people again, you know, *Martuthunira*.”

In the first song, *Winarrany* chases two other dream travellers who have attempted to harm him by sending a whirlwind against him.

- A. *murliliny wanti Jalyarnula*
- B. *yirra muntarra parlu muntarirri*
- C. *Kalalha jurti winkartirti yila*
- B. *yirra muntarra parlu muntarirri*
- C. *Kalalha jurti winkartirti yila*
- B. *yirra muntarra parlu muntarirri*
- C. *Kalalha jurti winkartirti yila*
- D. *kawankurala tharta ngarirrilha*
- E. *kartu wurntarnu Jilyiliwaalu nyina*
- D. *kawankurala tharta ngarirrilha*

A whirlwind at *Jalyarnu*.
 The edge engorged with blood, the cliff spattered.
 At *Karlatha* something whistling to(wards) me, somewhere here.
 On the south wind, lifted up between the legs.
 You get cut by *Jilyiliwaa*, stop.

The five lines are repeated in the following sequence:

A B C B C B C D E D ...

A. *murliliny wanti*¹ *Jalyarnu-la*
 whirlwind lie *Jalyarnu.pool-LOC*

1. Verbs often appear either without inflectional suffixes at all or with suffixes edited to fit the metre.

Algy Paterson explains that the incident begins outside the dream state. Toby Winarrany is attacked by a whirlwind while checking sheep. He follows the attackers in the dream state that night, and is also, presumably, seeking the man who has been shot.

“They tried to mesmerise him with the *winingarra* [whirlwind]...They tried to catch him, yeah, they bin bad friends. That old fella is a very high *maparnkarra* [doctor/magic man], old *Winarrany*. And a lotta fellas had a go at him. But these two, I don't know, two I think, I don't know where they from, this side I think. Somebody trying to have a go at him, but no, he's too good.

“Daytime. He had a one fella called Cassy, my boys again, my family, my nephew boys. All right, he [the boy] was a lame fella and he tell him, tell this boy, they riding, looking for sheep...When they got to *Jalyarnu*, before the *winingarra* [whirlwind] start, he told him something, let him know, he's a *maparn* [doctor/magic man]. That's him, the old fella himself. “*Janta* [lame], *karri kunti kartu!*” [*Janta*, stand-IMP stop 2SG.NOM] Something let him know, “Something after you”. Soon as he pulled up and he see, little *winingarra*, start in front of 'em. Then he got bigger quick...He seen it what's gonna start there. He span it [the whirlwind] off. He sent a *maparn* [spirit familiar] to that fella [the attacking magic man] shift it, off *winingarra* went.

“All right, he frighten 'em [the two attackers] anyhow. In the night-time he followed 'em, he finish up, he finish him off in *Jilyiliwaa*.”

B. *yirra muntarra* *parlu muntarirri*
 edge engorged.with.blood cliff blood.specks

The traveller has fought back and wounded the two malevolent spirits.

“Them two that getting chased around, they musta landed there for him to make a song about it. That's the man bin caught, blood coming out. He was chasing him, drive him round, pick him up from there, oh wind pick him up, you know?”

C. *Kalalha*¹ *jurit*² *winkartirti yila*³
Karlatha.mill 1SG.POSS whistling somewhere.here

1. The name *Karlatha* is rendered in the song as *Kalalha*, to “make it better with the tune”.
2. While *jurit* is described in the grammar as a possessive pronoun (see §5.2), it is given a gloss here as ‘for me’.
3. The bare root form *yila* is unacceptable in spoken Martuthunira. The expected inflected form here would be *yilarla*.

D. *kawankura-la tharta ngarirri-lha*
 south.wind-LOC crutch lift.up-PAST

“Wind got into him here and lift him up sort of a like a feather, carried him away. Lift him up and land him where the old fella wanted him to be, finish off. ‘Cos he was, this fella, this old fella, he got paid to look for this man got shot you know. S’posed to be really for that. But I don’t know who this fella come across, two of them, wanted to catch **him**, some enemies bin bad friend for long time.

“Bin lift up with the south wind...But back to front though – from *Karlatha* he’s other way round. Must be the *winingarra* [rather than the south wind], and finished him off in this *Jilyiliwaa* rockhole, that’s straight behind of *Jalyarnu*, there.

E. *kartu wurnta-rnu Jilyiliwaa-lu*¹ *nyina*
 2SG cut-PASSP *Jilyiliwaa*.rockhole-EFF stop

1. The traveller succeeds in finishing off the two spirits at *Jilyiliwaa*. Literally, the phrase reads that the place itself has cut the spirits, though the singer explains that this is poetic licence.

“He had’a catch them to save himself, they was after him, other mob, from this way somewhere. He catch ‘em with the *maparn*. Finish ‘em off at *Jilyiliwaa* then.

“‘You bin cut up, in *Jilyiliwaa*, is the finish of ‘im.”

“From *Jalyarnu*, he went back to *Karlatha*, that windmill. From there he pulled up, and he come back to *Jilyiliwaa*. When the south wind was blowing he landed back in *Jilyiliwaa*, spirit you know. He couldn’t find anything that way. From there he move that way, further, towards *Kanarrakuri* way. *Walirnu* means traveller, he’s looking for it, you know, spirit looking for it...”

“He start on ‘im, that two man now, chopped off in this *Jilyiliwaa*, he meet him there, you know. He was ready to look for that other fella but, give him a start on that *thawi* now, he keep going ‘cos he was looking for this man that got shot down here, what he got paid for see? And he keep going then.

- A. *walimu yirrka walhawartu-ngurni*
 B. *panyi-mu ngali ngurra wangkam-karra nhaa*
 A. *walimu yirrka walhawartu-ngurni*
 C. *Kanarrakuri tharu wurmta-mu nhaa*
 D. *Martimarti-la kuthurrungu nyina*
 C. *Kanarrakuri tharu wurmta-mu nhaa*
 D. *Martimarti-la kuthurrungu nyina*
 C. *Kanarrakuri tharu wurmta-mu nhaa*
 D. *Martimarti-la kuthurrungu nyina*
 E. *Nyinyanharranha yilhi muntamunta*
 F. *Piririthuni mangkam-tu karlwi-mu*
 E. *Nyinyanharranha yilhi muntamunta*
 F. *Piririthuni mangkam-tu karlwi-mu*
 E. *Nyinyanharranha yilhi muntamunta*
 F. *Piririthuni mangkam-tu karlwi-mu*
 G. *jimti yirntili ngarringarri jurti*
 H. *Yaramarta-la thaninharra karlwa*
 G. *jimti yirntili ngarringarri jurti*

.....

A traveller flies obscured by mist.
 We two walk on the ground. Light.
 At *Kanarrakuri* the deceased is cut.
 At *Martimarti* the paths narrow. Stop.
 At *Nyinyanharranha*, corroboree sticks full of blood.
 At *Piririthuni* Gap the spirit is lifted.
 The lopsided sky, "something is hot for me".
 At *Yaramarta* pool a spirit ray shoots up.

The eight lines are sung in the following sequence:

A B A C D C D C D E F E F E F G H G...

- A. *walimu yirrka*¹ *walhawartu-ngurni*
 stranger vehicle mist-OBSCRD

1. *yirrka* is a 'stick' which the spirit traveller straddles and uses as a flying vehicle.

- B. *panyi-mu*¹ *ngali*² *ngurra* *wangkam-karra*³ *nhaa*⁴
 step-PrREL 2DU ground light-karra this

1. *panyi-rnu* is a shortened form of *panyi-rnura*.

2. Algy Paterson explains that the traveller is joined by another spirit and guesses that this might be the traveller's friend:

“Him and someone else, might be his old man's spirit, with him. No, but he couldn't a say *ngali*. Mighta been some of his friend, *maparnkarra* [magic man] again somewhere.”

[The pronoun *ngali* implies that the two are in the same generation set. Thus the other spirit could not be the traveller's father]

3. *-karra* is a nominal suffix which although not a regularly segmentable morpheme in Martuthunira, occurs productively in (at least) Panyjima and is common as a kin term dual formative in all languages of the area. On ordinary nominals *-karra* indicates that some other thing is intimately related to the *-karra* marked thing (or property).

4. *nhaa* is presumably a modified form of the demonstrative *nhiyu/nhiyaa*.

“They're walking, the ground seems hollow, inside. He reckon he walking on the ground that you can hear a sound is hollow, inside. Light, you know, he can hear it going “bhup, bhup” just like going to cave-in sorta. That's a *wangkarnkarra*, light one.”

C. *Kanarrakuri tharu¹ wurnta-rnu nhaa*
Kanarrakuri.pool deceased cut-PPERF this

1. *Tharu* means ‘deceased’, but is not polite. It ought not be used within earshot of mourning relatives, as Algy Paterson explains:

“You know what the *tharu* used for? Anybody lose his life, passed away somewhere, well then that *tharu* can be used, see? Anybody come along, or even talking...you know, people like to talk little bit hard way for somebody died, not relation or anything. If he don't like to say very good way, just little bit rough, he can say that *tharu*. You can't call'em name, you say *tharu*. But he's not bad, but not the proper nice answer that one, for anyone passed away, you know...for the people that lose the fella that died, he can't say that word. He gotta say something a bit better, otherway he hurt the people feeling. Not very good.”

D. *Martimarti-la kuthurrungu nyina*
Martimarti.pool narrow stop

“*Martimarti*, he's in the *Pangarru* river that *Martimarti*, 'nother big pool, up in the gorge, gullys too. Right in the bluff.

“Something come in, make it narrow. The spirit. Spirit got narrow to pull up there for a while I s'pose, you know, before he come back to this *Nyinyanharra*. That's the traveller's spirit travelling. Musta had a drink of water or something [at *Martimarti*]. They got together more to make it, you know, close up [to] one another. Close together, and stop there for a while. Two of them.”

- E. *Nyinyanharranha yilhi¹ muntamunta*
Nyinyanharranha corroboree.sticks bloody

1. *Yilhi*, with the primary sense 'chip/shaving of wood' is used as a generic term for shaved wood ornaments worn in dances and in ritual business. Here, the ornament is painted with blood:

"Well they used that blood for painting, you know, to make it pretty. Well he seen it [the ornament] there, you know, seen it there and gotta come down to this place called Yarramarta then."

- F. *Piririthuni mangkarn-tu karlwi-rnu*
Pirirtinnha.gap spirit-EFF lift-PPERF

"That's that *Pirirtin* gap but he couldn't make it *Pirirtin* [a Kurrama name], 'cos he Martuthunira, he made it *Piririthuni*. He made it *Piririthuni* 'stead of *Pirirtinnha*. But he can't pronounce it...like he's a Martuthunira [speaker] this one. But that is the place."

- G. *jirnti yirntili ngarringarri jurti*
 sky lop-sided hot 1SG.POSS

"You know what the *jirnti yirntili*? Sky [horizon?] lop-sided. Sky, whole lot they reckon he sorta sideways, you know, turned, sort of. I don't know how come about, that's in the travel time see? *Yirntili*, just like going to fall down, went over *jirnti yirntili*.

"*Ngarringarri*'s hot! *Ngarringarri* is something hot. Something hot enough to burn you, something in the spirit, *jurti*, for him, for me."

- H. *Yaramarta-la thaninharra karlwa*
Yaramarta.pool spirit.ray rise

"*Thaninharra*. Oh he's a dangerous, danger that one. That chop things off. Whatever in front of that traveller now, they chucked it, finish! Chopped it off there. That *thaninharra* – you know this cross-cut saw? Something like that got up to cut this enemy belong to them, what they chasing after, *marlpa* [person] you know *mangkarnpa* [dream spirit state]. Pretty rough, in't it? *Thaninharra karlwa*. He bin get up from the ground. He get up and chop this fella, finish. *Mangkarn*, you know? The thing shoot up like this bloomin' whats-a-name.

"Same time that double there, *thani-ma* [hit/chop-PAST], *thaninharra* [spirit ray]. He chopped it off, you know, same time he's a *thaninharra*, that *yirra* [edged/sharp] thing. He can chop a man off, finish." [Algy Paterson explains here that *thaninharra* evokes the word *thani-ma*.]

“Now he shift from there, he going this way now. He was going to come 'round on the coast side. He gotta wait 'til night time, you know, before he, *marlimpa* work, spirit go, looking for it. He was going to head that-a-way now, he could'a find it all right, where this fella was heading. He's a place called *Winthu*, down here. That's a where he landed to take off, but he went that way, looking for him, you know, up *Malurari* way, just in case he's bin run away and, you know, something happen this way.”

- A. *Marlurarrinha thurnti pinkanarri*
- B. *Mulhawurula karla nguyali nyina*
- A. *Marlurarrinha thurnti pinkanarri*
- C. *warithurriny~~nya~~ wartantun~~ha~~ nhawu*
- D. *parlura karlwa karralhangu ngunhu*
- C. *warithurriny~~nya~~ wartantun~~ha~~ nhawu*
- D. *parlura karlwa karralhangu ngunhu*
- C. *warithurriny~~nya~~ wartantun~~ha~~ nhawu*
- D. *parlura karlwa karralhangu ngunhu*
- E. *puwala-rarri thantururrawirti*
- F. *pananypa nyina Wanaranyku ngali*
- E. *puwala-rarri thantururrawirti*

At *Marlurarrinha* a cork bark tree, the sound of wood on wood.

At *Mulhawuru* separate fires.

See spirit cut in half to the north.

The high tide comes up, the blue sea there.

Sandhills and dune grass.

At the edge of the sand we two are together at *Wanarany*.

The lines are sung in the following sequence:

A B A C D C D C D E F E ...

- A. *Marlurarri-nha thurnti pinkanarri*
Marlurarri-PNM cork.tree sound.of.tree.being.hit
- B. *Mulhawuru-la*¹ *karla nguyali nyina*
Mulhawuru-LOC fire separate stop
1. *Mulhawuru* is the pool at the mouth of the Robe River.
- C. *warithurriny*¹-*nha*² *wartantu-nha nhawu*
“spirit.cut.in.half” north see
1. I can provide no good explanation for *warithurriny* except the gloss given by the singer.

2. I have no explanation for the *-nha* addition to this, or the next word. It may be the Proper Nominal marker (§3.1.2) or simply a syllable added to assist the metre.

D. *parlura karlwa karralhangu ngunhu*
high.tide go.up blue.sea that

E. *puwala-rarri¹ thantururra-wirti²*
sandhill-PL dune.grass-PL

1. *-rarri* is an idiosyncratic plural suffix such as occurs in Panyjima, Kurrama and Yindjibarndi but which is rare in the Martuthunira data (see §4.21). Idiosyncratic plurals typically indicate an undifferentiated group of some object, such as an expanse of grass, or a clump of trees. Here it implies a stretch of sandhills.
2. Algy Paterson described the form *-wirti* as a Yindjibarndi marker for a 'mob' of grasses. Thus it is presumably an idiosyncratic plural also.

F. *pananypa¹ nyina Wanaranyku² ngali*
hard.sand stop Wanarany IDU

1. *pananypa* is the wet, hard beach, washed by the waves, between high-water and low-water marks.
2. *Wanarany* appears to have an accusative suffix here. I have no convincing explanation for this.

“Word come they found him, that man [the murdered man]. Finished travelling then. One more [song] I think. I can read that now, he [the song] is in that line. He had enough look around back there, but he made that song when he's coming back over to Yarraloola.”

- A. *jijarr ngurirri Karlangarringula*
- B. *kamal wangkarla kartiyiririla*
- A. *jijarr ngurirri Karlangarringula*
- B. *kamal wangkarla kartiyiririla*
- A. *jijarr ngurirri Karlangarringula*
- B. *kamal wangkarla kartiyiririla*
- A. *jijarr ngurirri Karlangarringula*
- C. *marala jurti Jintiyumpurrula*
- D. *kartikarlingku Kartuwarrala ngali*
- C. *marala jurti Jintiyumpurrula*

The smell of burning fat at *Karlangarringu*.
 A vision of a camel as the traveller cuts across.
 An echo comes to me at *Jintiyumpurru*.
 Come back by *Kartuwarra*.

The lines are sung in the following sequence:

A B A B A B A C D C ...

- A. *jijarr ngurirri Karlangarringu-la*
 burning.fat smell Karlangarringu-LOC

“*Jijarr ngurirri*, smelling grease. ‘Stead of calling ‘fat’, that’s in the *juna* travel. And the fat smell. Just like burning. They call it a *jijarr*. Just for that travelling time, you know.

[*jijarr* is used to refer to fat or grease specifically in the dream state. As a traveller flies he leaves behind the smell of burning kidney fat.]

“*Karlangarringu-la*, that’s that four mile tabletop, that way from Red Hill [station homestead]. ‘Sposed to be very danger hill, you know, when a *maparn-ngarni marlpa* [spirit-familiar-PROP man (Panyjima)], they all aim for that one. They reckon he’s a, *maparnkarra* [magic] man, he see that sort of a, like a light inside of him [the hill]. And any traveller, traveller from anywhere, if they got the *mangkarn* [spirit], going to finish another fellas off, they take ‘em there [into the heart of the hill] and cook ‘em there, finish ‘em. That’s what it is, *Karlangarringu*.”

[*Karlangarringu*, literally ‘fire-lying’, is thus named for its appearance in the dream state.]

- B. *kamal wangkarla kartiyiririla*
 camel traveller cutting.across

“*Kamal wangkarla*. Picture of camel you can see, in a way. Just like seeing things? Like a camel showing on your eyes? Like that now. *Wangkarla*, that’s that traveller now. That *maparn-ngarni*, you know, *wangkarla*.”

- C. *marala jurti Jintiyumpurru-la*
 echo 1SG.POSS Jintiyumpurru-LOC

“Echo, on the *Jintiyumpurru* hill, he’s a hill five mile from Red Hill that way, razorbacks, that’s a *Jintiyumpurru*. *Marala*’s the echo. I don’t know what, ..something. Might be like a ‘cock-eye bob’ (whirlwind), sort of like, you know, making noise.”

- D. *kartikarlingku Kartuwarra-la ngali...*
 come.back Ten-mile mill-LOC 1DU

APPENDIX 3: MARTUTHUNIRA-ENGLISH WORD LIST

This list incorporates all Martuthunira lexical items recorded to date (excluding members of the closed nominal classes *pronoun* and *demonstrative* and the verbs based on these). Verb forms derived by the productive addition of Inchoative (§6.3.3) and Factitive/Causative (§6.3.4) suffixes are included (though this set does not exhaust the data).

Derived and compound words are indicated (where the etymology can be trusted). For example:

- kalayamarta* (n) [*kalaya-marta* 'handle-PROP'] 'billy can'
yirrapuwa (n) [*yirra+puwa* 'teeth+rotten'] 'poor hunter'

Word class membership is indicated by the following abbreviations:

- (int) Interjection (§7.11)
 (nloc) inherent locative nominal (§5.8)
 (ntemp) inherent locative (temporal) nominal (§5.9)
 (npred) nominal predicate taking an accusative object (§9.2.2)
 (part) particle (Chapter 7)
 (va) ambitransitive verb (optionally takes an object) (§6.1.3, §9.5.9)
 (vd) ditransitive verb (takes two accusative objects) (§6.1.3)
 (vi) intransitive verb (typically selects a single argument) (§6.1.3)
 (vt) transitive verb (regularly takes an accusative object) (§6.1.3)

J

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p><i>jaama-L</i> (vi)
to yawn
 <i>jaarnpama-L</i> (vt)
to stop someone doing
 <i>jaat</i> (n)
shirt
 <i>jakajakara</i> (n)
type of lizard; barking gecko
 <i>jal.yarran</i> (n)
frog
 <i>jal.yu</i> (n)
occiput
 <i>jalaparra</i> (n)
type of lizard</p> | <p><i>jalurra</i> (n)
type of song; corroboree
 <i>jalwarr</i> (n)
type of plant; river bluebell
 <i>jalwinyjarr</i> (n)
grey-martin
 <i>jalya</i> (n)
no good; rubbish; bereaved
 <i>jalya-ma-L</i> (vt)
to make bad
 <i>jalya-npa-Ø</i> (vi)
to be bad; to become bad
 <i>jalyuru</i> (n)
cave; hole; opening</p> |
|---|---|

- jalyuru-ma-L* (vt)
 to make hole (in)
jalyuru-npa-Ø (vi)
 to become open; to open up
jamanu (n)
 foot
jami (n)
 bush; medicine
jampa (ntemp)
 moment; short while; little while
jampajampa (n)
 close to death
jamulu (n)
 mouth
jamulungkura (n)
 moustache
jankaa-L (vt)
 to tie up
jankalwayara (n)
 [jankaa-lwayara 'tie up-HABIT']
 policeman
jankul (r)
 self
jankurna (n)
 emu
jankurna^{lu} (int)
 We have an emu, get ready!
jankutharra (n)
 two brothers
janta (n)
 crippled; lame
jantira (n)
 old woman
jantiyinti (n)
 waterhen
janyjin (n)
 dance ornament; shavings of wood
janyju (n)
 arrogant
jarntakanangkal (n)
 liar (a vicious accusation)
jarntany (n)
 liar
jarra (n)
 whistling kite
jarraa-L (vt)
 to tie up
jarraalwayara (n)
 [jarraa-lwayara 'tie up-HABIT']
 swag strap
jarrala (n)
 healthy; high-pitched voice; well; clear
 (of voice)
- jarrala-ma-L* (vt)
 to heal; to make healthy
jarrkurti (n)
 three
jarrkurti-ma-L (vt)
 to make three
jarru (n)
 march fly
jarruru (n)
 blue-winged kookaburra; kingfisher
jarruru (n)
 half-hearted; gentle; slow
jarruru-ma-L (vt)
 to do quietly; to do slowly; to do gently
jarruru-npa-Ø (vi)
 to do gently; to do slowly
jarrwayu (n)
 jamwood tree
jartunmarra (n)
 rock wallaby
jawa-L (vt)
 to suck
jawartu (n)
 bereaved mother
jawi-L (vt)
 to bite at
jawurlamarta (n)
 [jawurla-marta 'beard-PROP']
 cobbler (catfish)
jawurta (n)
 beard
jaya-L (vt)
 to escape to; to get free
jayinkul (n)
 sticking out
jiinngu (n)
 corkbark tree
jil.yarta (n)
 pipe
jilampirra (n)
 clever
jilimanthu (n)
 cormorant
jilimpilyura (n)
 mudlark
jilingka (n)
 on horseback
jimpu (n)
 egg
jina (n)
 track; footprint; foot
jina-ngku-NG (vt)
 to track

- jinamirtali* (n)
 [jina+mirtali 'foot+big']
 camel
- jinarri-Ø* (vt)
 to ask
- jingkaari* (nloc)
 eastwards; upriver-wards
- jingkarni* (nloc)
 easterly; from upriver
- jingkayu* (nloc)
 east; upriver
- jingkilwa* (n)
 type of lizard; spinifex lizard
- jinkarn* (n)
 crowbar; walking stick; digging stick
- jinkirti* (n)
 spouse of grandparent/child
- jinkurn-karri-Ø* (vi)
 to sneeze
- jinpi* (n)
 plate
- jinpililinykura* (n)
 swallow
- jinpirtin* (n)
 sandpiper
- jintijinti* (n)
 Willie wagtail
- jintiyarra* (n)
 high tide
- jinyjanungu* (n)
 workers in initiation business; activists
 in initiation business
- jinyji* (n)
 fat; grease; free passage through
 initiation law
- jinyjiwarla* (n)
 fat person
- jipurta* (n)
 melon-like fruit of 'jalwarr' plant
- jiri* (n)
 spine; prickle; spike; thorn
- jirli* (n)
 upper arm; fin of turtle; fin of fish; arm
- jirlwa* (n)
 white; white ochre; ashes
- jirrijirri* (n)
 Willie wagtail
- jirpi* (n)
 hunting site useless for speaker's
 patrimoiety
- jirruna* (n)
 sneaky
- jirruna-npa-Ø* (vt)
 to sneak up on
- jirti* (n)
 spark
- jirtinyal* (n)
 dripping water
- jirtupakura* (n)
 crayfish; prawn
- jiruna* (n)
 pelican
- jiwa* (n)
 surprised; shocked; upset
- jiwa-npa-Ø* (vi)
 to be surprised; to be shocked
- jiwarra* (n)
 white
- jiwarra-L* (vi)
 to shine (whitely)
- jiwurra* (n)
 bony-bream fish
- julingara* (n)
 intestines
- julyu* (n)
 old man
- julyumarta* (n)
 blowfly
- jumpily-yarri-Ø* (vi)
 to click fingers and blow raspberry
- jumpirirri* (n)
 knife; steel knife
- junyi-L* (vt)
 to squeeze
- jurirri* (n)
 thin; sharp
- jurirri-ma-L* (vt)
 to make sharp
- jurlu* (n)
 all
- jurlurlu* (n)
 stooped; bowed (of head); crouching
 down
- jurlwin* (n)
 grey hair; white man; white; European
- jurnawartu* (n)
 type of marsupial
- juriny* (n)
 person who ignores avoidance
 relationships
- jurrkirta* (n)
 moon
- jurrura-L* (vd)
 to point out something to someone;
 to blame someone for something

jurrwalyi (n)
summer
juritiriri (n)
blue-winged kingfisher
juwayu (n)
hand
juwayumarta (n)
[*juwayu-marta* 'hand-PROP']
doctor

K

kaal-yarri-Ø (vi)
to click (of sinuses)
kaara (n)
hip
kaju (n)
axe
kal.ya (n)
still; quiet
kal.yarra-L (vi)
to urinate [impolite]
kal.yatharra (n)
gully
kalaya (n)
handle
kalayarnarta (n)
[*kalaya-marta* 'handle-PROP']
billy can
kalharr (n)
earthworm
kalhawa-Ø (vi)
to finish doing
kalika (n)
one
kalwa (n)
crested pigeon
kalya (n)
waist
kalyaalya-ma-L (vt)
to make a big job of it (meal)
kalya-L (vt)
to bite
kalyaran (n)
tree; stick; wood
kalyarramarnu (n)
bladder
kalyarti (n)
lizard
kamarangka (n)
salmon; whiskered salmon
kamari (n)
mother's younger sister

kampa-L (vt)
to burn; to cook
kampa-Ø (vi)
to be cooking; to be burning
kampalalha (n)
uncle [idiom: *kampa-lalha*
'burn-PAST']
kampannguntharri (n)
[*kampa-nnguntharri* 'cook-
HABITNOM']
kitchen
kamparnu (n)
nephew
kamparta (n)
angry; restless
kamparta-ma-L (vt)
to make angry
kamparta-mpa-Ø (vi)
to be angry
kamungu (n)
hungry; lusting
kana (part)
Rhetorically
kana (n)
visible; light; clear (of sky)
kanangkalwa-L (vt)
to make visible; to uncover
kanangka-mpa-Ø (vi)
to come into the clear
kanangkal-kanangka-Ø (vi)
to become daylight
kanarra (n)
wind
kanarri-Ø (vi)
to come
kangku-NG (vt)
to carry; to take; to bring
kangkurrya (n)
cobbler; type of fish
kanka (n)
happy; satisfied
kanka-mpa-Ø (vi)
to boast; to show off
kankarni (n)
on top; above
kankarni-mpa-Ø (vi)
to be above; to get to the top
kankarnmayi (n)
piled up
kanpari-Ø (vt)
to call out to [avoidance language for
wangka-L 'speak']

- kanparr* (n)
 spider
kanpi-L (vt)
 to winnow
kanta (n)
 leg; shin
kantathurna (n)
 bandy-legged
kantawanarra (n)
 [kanta+wanarra 'leg+long']
 tall; tall person
kantinmarta (n)
 type of snake
kantungarra (n)
 storm cloud
kanu (n)
 stingray; shark; elasmobranch fishes
kanyara (n)
 man; person; human being; Aboriginal
 person
kanyara-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to become human
kanyja-R (vt)
 to hold; to keep
kapaja (n)
 bird
kapalya (n)
 bird
kaparli (n)
 mother's father's sister
kapukurta (n)
 owlet-nightjar
kapul (n)
 body
kapulmarnu (n)
 [kapul-marnu 'body-ASSOC']
 shirt
kapun (n)
 person; man [avoidance language]
karalu (nloc)
 south
karalari (nloc)
 southwards
karalarni (nloc)
 southerly
kari (n)
 bitter; grog; liquor
karijingu (n)
 drunkard
karima-L (vi)
 to jump
karimal-karimal (n)
 jumpy; jumping up and down
karimarra (n)
 section name
kariya-L (vd)
 to thrust out body part; to show
karla (n)
 fire; firewood; matches
karla-ma-L (vt)
 to light; to make a fire (of firewood)
karlamana (n)
 whistling kite
karlamarnu (n)
 [karla-marnu 'fire-ASSOC']
 place on thigh where punishment spear
 is inserted
karlarra (n)
 hot
karlarra-ma-L (vt)
 to heat
karlarra-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to be hot; to get hot
karlawirruwa (n)
 dragonfly
karli (n)
 cheek bone
karlumpu (n)
 type of plant; wild tomato
karluwirra (n)
 excessively; enthusiastically
karluyu (n)
 diamond dove
karlwa-Ø (vi)
 to go up; to get up; to rise; to climb
karnka (n)
 clever; inventive
karnka-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to be inventive; to show off
karnkamarra (n)
 inventive person; clever man
karnku (n)
 bosses in initiation business; mourners
 in initiation business
karnkurru (n)
 dust
karnta (n)
 tears
karntarra (n)
 sinew; root of tree above ground;
 Achilles tendon
karnti (n)
 tail
karnturr (n)
 mulga

- karra* (n)
 thicket; scrub
karrany-karrany (n)
 black-faced cormorant
karri-Ø (vi)
 to stand
karrulyu (n)
 shingle; money
karrwanyja (n)
 rock partridge; rock pigeon
karwiji (n)
 bullet
karrya (n)
 kite hawk
karryari-Ø (vi)
 to crouch on haunches
karta (n)
 thigh bone; bony; bone
karta-L (vt)
 to harpoon; to poke; to chop; to stab
karta-tha-L (vt)
 to chop; to carve
kartara (n)
 jaw bone
kartara-la-ma-L (vt)
 to put in cheek
kartarapuka (n)
 whale
katarawurri-Ø (vi)
 to come around (a corner)
kartarr (n)
 firmly; tightly
kartarri (n)
 conch; bailer shell
kartathalwayara (n)
 [kartatha-lwayara 'chop-HABIT']
 tomahawk; axe
kartathurruthurru (n)
 penis
katawura (n)
 root of tongue; butt of tree
kartayarrwara (n)
 type of plant; ground creeper
kartayu (n)
 nasal bone
kartingka (nloc)
 alongside; beside
katurra (n)
 sister [avoidance language]
kartutharra (n)
 lie on one's back
kartuwarli (n)
 straight-tailed burrowing marsupial
- karunyunyja* (n)
 wether
kawankura (n)
 wind from south
kawarli (n)
 father's mother
kawungka (n)
 sitting on eggs
kawurru (n)
 type of medicine
kaya (n)
 elder brother
kayarra (n)
 two
kayawurru (n)
 coppertail snake
kayiri (n)
 dance ornament
kayulu (n)
 water
kayulumarnu (n)
 [kayulu -marnu 'water-ASSOC']
 hollow in shoulder
kayulumarnu (n)
 son's wife
kayurtu (n)
 smoke
kiirrkirr (n)
 banded plover
kujawari (n)
 whale
kukunyjayi (n)
 sheep
kul.ya (n)
 thinking; deep in thought
kul.yakarta (n)
 socialised; understanding; civilised
kul.yakarta-ma-L (vt)
 to make civilised
kul.yakarta-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to become civilised
kul.yawurta (n)
 type of acacia with edible seeds
kulaya-L (vt)
 to test; to try out; to feel; to taste
kulha (n)
 type of plant
kulhamarra (n)
 calf of leg
kulhampa (n)
 fish
kulhany (n)
 squashed; crushed

- kulhany-ma-L* (vt)
 to squash; to crush
kulhawulha (n)
 heaped up; grouped together
kulhawulha-ma-L (vt)
 to heap up; to round up
kulhawulha-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to come together into a group
kulhi-L (vt)
 to bury; to put away
kulhuwari (n)
 soft
kulhuwari-ma-L (vt)
 to make soft
kulirr (n)
 galah
kuliya (n)
 ear
kuliya-L (vt)
 to hear
kuliya-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to think; to believe
kuliya-rr-i-Ø (vi)
 to feel; to be aware of state of health
kuliyawanarra (n)
 [kuliya+wanarra 'ear+long']
 donkey
kuluwirri (n)
 type of snake
kulyama-L (vd)
 to pay back; to give someone
 something in return for something
kulyirri (n)
 shell parrot; budgerigar
kumi (n)
 shaking chest in dance
kumingkari-Ø (vi)
 to shake chest while dancing
kumin (n)
 mosquito
kuna (n)
 faeces
kunanyja-L (vt)
 to defecate on
kungala (n)
 bereaved father
kunhan (n)
 nipple
kunhu (n)
 still; at rest
kuni (n)
 clenched; closed up
kuni-ma-L (vt)
 to clench (fist); to close up
kunkuwarra (n)
 honey
kunmayirti (n)
 reliable hunter; good hunter
kuntha (n)
 long beard
kunthamarta (n)
 [kuntha-marta 'beard-PROP']
 Chinaman
kuntharri (n)
 blackduck
kuntharti (n)
 tail
kuntarra (n)
 stopping; giving up; finishing
kuntarra-ma-L (vt)
 to stop doing
kunti (part)
 stop doing
kunti-rr-i-Ø (vt)
 to stop doing; to give up; to leave
 behind
kuntilywa (n)
 hot sand (for cooking)
kunyjankura (n)
 whirlwind
kupiyaji (n)
 small ones; little ones
kupiyaji-ma-L (vt)
 to make into small pieces
kupuyu (n)
 small; little
kupuyu-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to become small
kupuyuwaja (n)
 little one (diminutive)
kur.ta (n)
 expert; talented; clever
kur.ta-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to become talented; to be expert
kur.ta-rr-i-Ø (vi)
 to become talented; to be expert
kur.tamparra (n)
 old fellow
kurarra (n)
 camel bush
kurilkura (n)
 Pacific gull; seagull
kurlany (n)
 stone knife; knife

kurlkura (n)
 hair
kurlu (n)
 hot
kurlu-ŋpa-Ø (vi)
 to get hot
kurlurkura (n)
 blackemu
kurluwa (n)
 rock cod
kurlwurr (n)
 rock pigeon; topknot pigeon
kurnangu (n)
 black
kurnangu-ma-L (vt)
 to make something black
kurnkurn (n)
 blowfish
kurnta (n)
 shame; respect language style
kurnta-Ø (vi)
 to speak respectfully; to show respect;
 to be ashamed
kurntal (n)
 daughter
kurnturu (n)
 puffball fungus
kurntuwurmtu (n)
 down of bird
kurra (n)
 dance ornament
kurrau (n)
 elbow
kurrayi (n)
 pink schnapper
kurrinyji (nloc)
 this way
kurrwarru (n)
 magpie
kurrwaya (n)
 type of tree; cassia
kurryaria (n)
 spear; hunting spear
kurryu (n)
 hole; trench; hollow
kurryu-ma-L (vt)
 to make a hole; to make a trench
kurryuwurru (n)
 bumpy
kurtamarringka (n)
 pair of brothers
kurtan (n)
 bag

kurtarti-Ø (vi)
 to swim
kurti (n)
 bandicoot
kurti-L (vt)
 to collect; to gather
kuulhu (n)
 tadpole
kuurra (n)
 dance ornament
kuurtu (n)
 spotted dove
kuwari (ntemp)
 now; beginning
kuwarrira (n)
 new
kuwayi (int)
 Hey, I've spotted something!
kuwithartu (nloc)
 this direction; this way
kuwithartu-ma-L (vt)
 to move something this way
kuwilya-wuyu (nloc)
 this side of
kuyil (n)
 bad
kuyil.yarri-Ø (vi)
 to feel bad
kuyilarrri-Ø (vi)
 to become bad; to go bad
kuyilwa-L (vt)
 to make bad; to ruin
kuyuranguru (n)
 other side (of river)
kuyurr (n)
 bundle of implements

M

maan (n)
 seed
maawurrangu (n)
 storm cloud; southern storm front
majun (n)
 turtle
makaran (n)
 type of plant
mal.yan (n)
 stone dead
mal.yarru (n)
 very good

- malarnu* (n)
 shade
malaya (n)
 mullamalla bush
malha (n)
 crushed; flattened
malha-ma-L (vt)
 to crush
malhangu (n)
 sandpaper fig
malhurta (n)
 middle brothers; middle fingers; middle child
malumalu (n)
 darkness
malumalu-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to become dark
malwuma-L (vt)
 to make happy; to cheer up
malwunpa-Ø (vt)
 to help
malyarra (n)
 sick; pain
malyarra-L (vi)
 to be sick; to be hurting; to be in pain
malyarra-ma-L (vt)
 to make sick; to hurt
malyarra-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to become sick; to get sick
malyun (n)
 type of fish
mama (n)
 father's brother
manamana (n)
 swift of foot
manamana-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to hurry
manarra (n)
 sea mullet
manarri-Ø (vt)
 to shake hand; to take hand
mangi (n)
 marsupial mouse
mangkalyi (n)
 circumciser
mangkarn (n)
 spirit; soul
mangkurtura (n)
 spearthrower
mangu (n)
 cheek bone
mangumangu (n)
 barbed spear
manguwa-ma-L (vt)
 to put in cheek
manhamanha (n)
 awkward; shaky
manhamanha-ma-L (vt)
 to make awkward
manhamanha-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to do awkwardly
manhurru (n)
 brave; game
maningka (nloc)
 in front of
manku-NG (vt)
 to grab; to pick up
manku-lha-ma-L (vt)
 to make grab
manpur (n)
 knee
manta-L (vt)
 to bind up; to tie up; to wrap up
mantarriwarnti (n)
 group of sons; group of father's brothers
mantarriya (n)
 pair of sons; pair of father's brothers
mantha (n)
 greedy
manthamarnu (n)
 [mantha-marnu 'greedy-ASSOC']
 palm of hand
manthawarla (n)
 greedy person
manthu (n)
 termite
manurri-Ø (vi)
 to slow down
manurru (n)
 type of tree
manyarrka (n)
 sugar
manyjan (n)
 groundcover
manyjangu (n)
 stranger
manyjilyura (n)
 type of lizard
manyjupi (n)
 echidna
mara (n)
 hand
maral.ya (n)
 devil

- mararta* (n)
 eldest sibling; eldest child
mari (n)
 younger sister
marirri (n)
 tame; quiet
marlara (n)
 road
marlawiji (n)
 type of shark
marli (n)
 cadjeput tree; paper; paperbark
marlpara (n)
 surrounded
marlwalany (n)
 cockroach bush
marnmarnkarlalu (n)
 wedgebill
marnpi (n)
 bronzewing pigeon
marnta (n)
 lower arm
marntan:irra (n)
 eel
marntani:u (n)
 fishing net
marntani:u-ma-L (vt)
 to make a fishing net (of spinifex)
marntan:humarta (n)
 [marntanhu-marta 'net-PROP']
 policeman
marntura (n)
 urine
marntura-L (vi)
 to urinate [polite term]
marnturu (n)
 littleboy
marra (n)
 wing; flipper of turtle
marrari (n)
 voice; news; word; story
marrari-wirraa-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to keep quiet
marringkarri-Ø (vt)
 to wave to
marruwa (n)
 snakewood
marruwama-L (vt)
 to wake up
marryanu (n)
 wife's brother; brother-in-law [man speaking]
- marryara* (n)
 younger brother
martama-L (vt)
 to press down on
martarr (n)
 red ochre
martiju (n)
 father's sister
martiwarti (n)
 unwrapped; unrolled
martiwarti-ma-L (vt)
 to unwrap; to unroll
martungkura (n)
 ibis; island
martura (n)
 middle; centre; genitals; middle
 brothers; middle child; middle finger
martura-la-ma-L (vt)
 to gang up on; to put in the middle
martuwari (n)
 type of rushes
marulwa-L (vt)
 to cause trouble for
marumaru (n)
 dusk
marumaru-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to become dusk
maru(warla) (n)
 many; some
mawarnkarra (n)
 magic man; doctor
mawuntu (n)
 punishment spear
mawurarra (n)
 dance ornament; headpiece
mawurru (ntemp)
 later; afterwards
mayarta (n)
 right-handed
mayawurlu (n)
 boss of fishing party
mayili (n)
 father's father
mayiliya (n)
 pair of father's fathers
mayitha (n)
 Children's Python
mijara (n)
 egg
mil.ya (n)
 fork of tree; groin
mil.yiran (n)
 pregnant

- mil.yirri-Ø* (vt)
to hide
- milara* (n)
parallel cousin
- milhu* (n)
buttocks
- milinyja* (n)
type of fish
- miluma* (n)
type of medicine; type of bush
- milyangu* (n)
meeting to sort out kin relationships
- milyimilyi* (n)
clean
- milyingkura* (n)
red schnapper
- mimi* (n)
mother's brother
- mimiyarra* (n)
mother's brother and sister's child pair;
uncle and sister's child
- minarrangu* (n)
centipede
- minga* (n)
ant
- minhi* (n)
hipbone
- minpirriti* (n)
kite hawk
- minthal* (n)
alone
- minthatharra* (n)
two alone
- minthawul.yu* (n)
they (PL) alone
- minthirriminy* (n)
type of plant; rice
- minyjurlu* (n)
type of plant; type of creeper
- mirna* (n)
type of spinifex; soft spinifex
- mirntili* (n)
dry leaves; tinder; plant rubbish;
flotsam; seaweed
- mirntilywa-L* (vt)
to shoot
- mirntira* (n)
hammerhead shark
- mirntiri* (n)
fingernail; claw; spoon
- mirntirimarta* (n)
[*mirntiri-marta* 'claw-PROP']
Gould's Sand Goanna
- mirntiwul* (n)
together
- mirntulu* (n)
fingernail; claw
- mirntumkura* (n)
type of tree
- mirriminyja* (n)
caterpillar
- mirrimpa* (n)
rasp for spearthrower; stick used as
musical rasp with spearthrower
- mirrin* (n)
shovel-nose shark
- mirru* (n)
spearthrower
- mir.ta* (int)
No!
- mir.ta* (part)
not
- mirtali* (n)
deep (of voice); thick; big
- mirtali-mpa-Ø* (vi)
to become big
- mirtamirta* (n)
white
- mirtanyungu* (n)
water snake (mythical); rainbow
serpent
- mirtayi* (n)
big brother
- mirtily* (n)
neonate marsupial; initiand; foetus
- mirtungkura* (n)
underneath; beneath
- mir.tuwarra* (n)
clever; good teacher
- miyu* (n)
cat
- mulha* (n)
nose; point (of implement)
- mulha-wirraa-mpa-Ø* (vi)
to appear to have no nose
- mulhaa-L* (vt)
to sharpen; to fix a point to
- mulhajuriri* (n)
[*mulha+juriri* 'nose+sharp']
fox
- mulurru* (n)
stripe; direct; straight; correct
- mulurru-ma-L* (vt)
to straighten; to make straight; to
correct

muluru-ma-L (vi)
 to go straight; to go direct
mulyangku (n)
 meeting
mulyaru (n)
 carpet snake
mulyira (n)
 dingo
mungka-L (vt)
 to eat
mungka-nnguntharri (n)
 edible animal
mungkangu (n)
 red ochre
muntungara (n)
 wife's family
mura (n)
 son
murla (n)
 meat; game
murlimurli (n)
 twisted; stirred
murlimurli-ma-L (vt)
 to twist; to stir
murlun (n)
 gizzard of emu
murna (n)
 close; nearby
murna-npa-Ø (vt)
 to get closer to
murna-ngka-npa-Ø (vt)
 to come up close to
murna-ngka-Ø (vi)
 to come up (of sun)
murnta-L (vd)
 to take from
murrimurri (n)
 curly (of hair)
murruwanti (n)
 bereaved sister
murryamurra (n)
 dance style; dance step with knee lifting
murti (n)
 knee; fast
murti-ma-L (vt)
 to make go fast
murti-ingku-NG (vt)
 to run behind; to run after
murtimurti (n)
 very fast; swift (of current)
murtiwana (n)
 sitting with one leg crossed

murtiwarla (n)
 fast; motorcar
murtiwarla-npa-Ø (vi)
 to become a fast runner
murtiwirriwa (n)
 [murti-wirriwa 'fast-PRIV']
 child before it can walk
mururr (n)
 type of plant
muthu (n)
 cold
muthu-nguli-Ø (vi)
 to feel cold
muthu-npa-Ø (vi)
 to become cold; to get cold
muthumuthu (n)
 cool
muthumuthu-ma-L (vt)
 to make cool
muthumuthu-npa-Ø (vi)
 to become cool; to cool down
muya-L (vt)
 to steal
muyal.yi (n)
 thief
muyi (n)
 dog
muyinu (n)
 hidden; stolen
muyinu-ma-L (vt)
 to hide
muyinu-npa-Ø (vi)
 to hide
muyiwiya-L (vt)
 to gossip about; to slander
muyiwiya-nnguntharri (n)
 butt of gossip

N

ngaa (int)
 Yes, go on!
ngaantangu (n)
 lower grindstone
ngajaju (n)
 mother's brother's son
ngajala (n)
 sister's child; mother's brother's son's
 child
ngalangala (n)
 thinking about nothing

- ngalangala-mpa-L* (vt)
 to forget about
ngalarri-Ø (vt)
 to forget
ngalathathu-L
 to send wrongly; to send deceptively
ngalawangka-Ø (vt)
 to lie; to tell lies
ngalhung-ngalhung (n)
 kidney; earlobe
ngalirr (n)
 sharp spine
ngalirrmarta (n)
 [ngalirr-marta 'spine-PROP']
 cobbler
ngal.ya (n)
 fire-hardened sharp stump; firestick
ngal.yaa-L (vt)
 to spin (firestick)
ngalyantara (n)
 type of tree
ngalyari (n)
 urine
ngalyurti (n)
 sit holding knees
ngamari (n)
 tobacco
ngamarri (n)
 liver
nganangka-L (vt)
 to fail to recognise
ngangka (n)
 mother
ngangkari (n)
 own mother's brother's daughter
ngangkariyarra (n)
 mantaray
nganiyarrangu (n)
 group of kin; large family group
ngankiyanhu (n)
 thumb; eldest child
nganthari (n)
 tooth; sharp
nganthari-ma-L (vt)
 to sharpen
nganthirr (n)
 fast asleep
nganturla (n)
 ant nest
nganyi (n)
 mother-in-law; sister's son's wife
nganyjali (n)
 proscribed object
nganyjalyura (n)
 octopus
nganyurta (n)
 sweating
nganyurta-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to sweat
ngapala (n)
 mud; muddy; boggy
ngapala-ma-L (vt)
 to make mud
ngapari (n)
 father's mother; daughter's child
ngaranti (n)
 black duck
ngarluwany (n)
 nut of rush
ngamawarra (n)
 Little Corella
ngarningka (n)
 gathering food
ngarniwurtu (n)
 hot to taste; savage; policeman; type of fish
ngarmarr (n)
 belly (hollow of); midriff
ngarmngarn (n)
 chin
ngarnta (n)
 sore; wound
ngarnta-ma-L (vt)
 to make sore
ngarntalu (n)
 bream; sea bream
ngarntarrwa-Ø (vt)
 to recognise
ngarrarni-Ø (vi)
 to get stuck
ngarrawurlu (n)
 facing other way
ngarraya (n)
 daughter's sister; son's wife
ngarrwanyja (n)
 mythical giant dingo
ngarta (n)
 blank; raw material for implement
ngartawirri (n)
 long-necked tortoise
ngarti (ntemp)
 again; next
ngaru (n)
 scrotum

- ngatha kamparnu* (n)
 own daughter's sister
ngathal (n)
 mother's brother's son
ngathalwarnti (n)
 group of cross-cousins
ngawayi (n)
 thing
ngawayi-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to do something; to become something
ngawayu (n)
 turn
ngawayu-mpa-Ø (vt)
 to do in turn to
ngawu (int)
 Yes indeed!
ngawurr (n)
 froth; foam
ngawurri (n)
 mixed up
ngawurri-ma-L (vt)
 to mix up
ngawurri-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to become mixed up
ngawurrmarta (n)
 [ngawurr-marta 'froth-PROP']
 soap; beer
ngawurtan (n)
 wild cucumber; type of creeper
ngaya-Ø (va)
 to cry
ngayalyu (n)
 devil; cousin
ngayiny (n)
 breath
ngayiny-karri-Ø (vi)
 to breathe
ngayurrwa (n)
 mangrove
nginingini (n)
 type of crab; small brown crab
ngukara-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to not want
ngula (part)
 Ignorantly particle
ngulyun (n)
 omentum
ngulyurr (n)
 bridge of nose
ngunarr (n)
 type of medicinal plant
ngungku (n)
 strong; heavy
ngunirmi (n)
 this way; up to here
ngurangura (n)
 handsome; stylish
ngurangura-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to be stylish; to swagger
ngurirri-Ø (vi)
 to emit odour; to smell; to stink
nguritha-L (vt)
 to sniff; to smell
ngurnta (n)
 style; character
ngurnta-ma-L (vt)
 to give character to
ngurnta-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to go or move in a particular way
ngurntura (n)
 cold virus; cold in head
ngurra (n)
 camp; ground; country
ngurra-arta-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to go towards camp
ngurra-ma-L (vi)
 to make camp
ngurra-ngka-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to arrive in camp; to get to camp
ngurrara (n)
 big
ngurra-yurralwayara (n)
 [ngurra+yurra-lwayara 'ground+
 dig-HABIT']
 digging stick
ngurriny (n)
 swag; things; belongings
ngurriny-ma-L (vt)
 to make a swag; to roll a swag
ngurrinymarta (n)
 [ngurrinymarta 'belongings-PROP']
 little girl
ngurrungurrura (n)
 hornet
nguthina (n)
 lightning; thunder
nguu (n)
 face
nguyi (n)
 dream
nguyi-ma-L (vt)
 to dream about
nguyirri (n)
 asleep
nguyirri-ma-L (vt)
 to put to sleep

- nguyirri-mpa-Ø* (vi)
 to fall asleep
nguyirri-warlaya-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to become a sleepy person
nguyirri-wiraa-ma-L (vt)
 to prevent from sleeping
nguyirrimamu (n)
 [nguyirri-mamu 'sleep-ASSOC']
 Sunday
nhaankurti (n)
 circumciser
nhaamji (n)
 circumcisee; initiate
nhakajiyarra (n)
 uncle and niece married couple
nhamali (n)
 rock cod
nhanka (n)
 nape of neck
nharnu (n)
 grave; sand; dirt
 death adder
nharra (n)
 lip
nharryarrangu (n)
 ti-tree
nhawani (n)
 clean; clear
nhawani-ma-L (vt)
 to make clear; to make clean
nhawani-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to become clear
nhawu-NG (vt)
 to see; to look at
nhawungarra (n)
 looking out for oneself; looking after
nhawungarra-ma-L (vt)
 to look out for oneself; to look after; to
 see clearly
nhimu (n)
 spinifex mouse
nhinha (n)
 foreskin
nhuka (n)
 devil
nhumira (n)
 penis [impolite]
nhungkurn (n)
 rotten; stinking
nhuniri (n)
 type of rushes
nhurmti (n)
 dead
nhurmti-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to die
nhurmti-ma-Ø (vt)
 to kill
nhurritra (n)
 stinking; smelly
nhurta (n)
 savage; angry; wild
nhurta-mpa-Ø (va)
 to be angry (with)
nhuunu (n)
 spouse of grandparent
nhuunuwa (n)
 married couple [generation ± 2]
nhuura (npred)
 knowing
nhuura-ma-L (vd)
 to teach; to show
nhuura-mpa-Ø (vt)
 to learn
nhuura-ri-Ø (vt)
 to realise
nhuurr-yarri-Ø (vi)
 to snore
nhuwa-L (vt)
 to spear
nhuwarra (n)
 married couple [generation ± 1]
nyalinyali (n)
 dressed up; handsome
nyalyu (n)
 pubic hair
nyamarr (n)
 pearl shell
nyamina (n)
 dugong
nyamiyarri-Ø (vi)
 to chew
nyangkurri-Ø (vi)
 to play
nyangkurri-ingku-NG (vt)
 to play through (a ceremony)
nyangkurri-tha-L (vt)
 to play with
nyanti (n)
 eyebrow
nyanyji (n)
 initiand; pre-initiate
nyarranyarra (n)
 light
nyarranyarra-ma-L (vt)
 to make light

- nyarri* (n)
 eyebrow
nyarrimanthu (n)
 eyelash
nyartu (r)
 left-handed
nyartu (n)
 feathers of emu
nyil.yi (n)
 breastbone; sternum
nyil.yu (n)
 stomach
nyimari (n)
 zebra finch
nyimi (n)
 rib; side of hill
nyimu (n)
 mouse
nyina-Ø (vi)
 to sit; to be; to stay
nyinanguntharri (n)
 [nyina-nguntharri 'sit-
 HABITNOM]
 chair; saddle
nyinarri (n)
 type of plant
nyingkurlu (n)
 first; front
nyingkurluwinparri (n)
 [nyinkurlu+winparri 'front+long']
 horse
nyintirri (n)
 hip
nyinu (n)
 brother-in-law
nyinungarranthi (n)
 group of brothers-in-law
nyinuwa(tra) (n)
 pair of brothers-in-law
nyinuwarnti (n)
 group of brothers-in-law
nyiri (n)
 zebra finch
nyirri (n)
 type of bush
nyirringu (n)
 youngest child; little finger
nyirrya (n)
 half red bloodwood tree
nyirti (n)
 avoidance relative; in-law
nyirtiwała (n)
 married couple [where one is *nyirti* to
 speaker]; wife's brother/sister's
 husband [through daughter
 exchange]
nyirtimalingka (n)
 group of kin related through daughter
 exchange
nyirtimangkurtu (n)
 poor fellow
nyitha (n)
 navel
nyuju (n)
 wrist
 initiand [*jinyjanungu* speaking]
nyulyu (n)
 initiand [*karnku* speaking]
nyuni-Ø (vi)
 to drown
nyurnta (n)
 initiand [grandparents speaking]
nyurrila (n)
 black-faced cuckoo-shrike
nyurru (n)
 mucus
nyurrumarnu (n)
 [nyurru-marnu 'mucus-ASSOC']
 nostril
nyuulu (n)
 underwater
nyuulu-npa-Ø (vi)
 to dive underwater
nyuwi-L (vt)
 to poke with a stick; to feel with a stick

P

- paalhu* (n)
 crane
paarnpaarn (n)
 silly
pajapajangu (n)
 type of seagull
paju (part)
 very; really
pajura-Ø (vi)
 to go; to walk well
pakanta (n)
 cyclone
pakupaku (n)
 bellbird

- pal.ya* (n)
temple
- pal.yarra* (n)
clearing; plain; bald
- pal.yarranyungu* (n)
[*pal.yarra-nyungu* 'plain-DWELL']
plains kangaroo
- pal.yarrawutinyjirr* (n)
pipit
- pal.yarri* (n)
section name
- pal.yarringu* (n)
bloodwood tree
- pal.yu* (n)
piece of something
- pal.yunyji* (n)
rock python
- pal.yura* (n)
flat
- pala* (part)
Identification particle
- palalyi* (ntemp)
before; early in time
- palha* (n)
younger brother [female speaking]
- palharra* (n)
parrot fish; green
- palwarru* (n)
truly
- palwarrmarta* (n)
gecko
- palya* (n)
skinny; thin
- palyangu* (n)
closed; covered
- palyangu-ma-L* (vt)
to close; to cover
- palyangu-npa-Ø* (vi)
to become covered; to become closed
- palykura* (n)
flat
- palykura-ma-L* (vt)
to lay flat
- pamararri-Ø* (vt)
to call out to
- panaka* (n)
section name
- panga* (n)
itch
- panga-ngara-rrri-Ø* (vi)
to be itchy
- panganypa* (n)
ready waiting
- pangkalha* (n)
bark; foreskin; skin of snake
- pangkira* (n)
protruding; bite of insect; lump
- pani-L* (vi)
to grind
- paniya* (n)
eye
- paniya-la-ma-L* (vt)
to offend
- paniya-npa-Ø* (vi)
to wake up
- paniya-wirraa-ma-L* (vt)
to make not to see
- pankirti* (n)
short one-piece practice spear
- pannga* (n)
dish
- panthawari* (n)
black goanna
- panthu-L* (vt)
to feel; to touch
- panyi-L* (vt)
to kick; to dance; to step
- panyjuna* (n)
young goanna
- panyu* (n)
good
- panyu-ma-L* (vt)
to make good
- panyu-npa-Ø* (va)
to become good; to be good to
- panyu-rrri-Ø* (vi)
to become good
- panyurarra* (n)
pair of step-brothers
- panyurawarnti* (n)
group of step-brothers
- paparti* (int)
Oh damn!
- papu* (n)
father
- papungali* (n)
our father
- papuyi* (n)
father's sister
- pari* (n)
flat; lying flat
- pari-ingu-NG* (vt)
to hit; to crush; to smash

- parilha* (ntemp)
 still
parilha-mpa-Ø (vt)
 to keep trying; to keep on doing
parla (n)
 money; rock; stone; hill
parlu (n)
 top; high; head and thorax; cliff
parlu-ngka-mpa-Ø (vt)
 to become high up
parlu-thartu (n)
 facing upwards; vertical; pointing
 upwards
parlunyungu (n)
 [parlu-nyungu 'high-DWELL']
 aeroplane; bird
padura (n)
 full
padura-ma-L (vt)
 to fill
padura-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to become full
parlwarrumarta (n)
 gecko; barking gecko
parlwiya-L (vt)
 to straighten
parna (n)
 head
parna-ngka-L (vt)
 to put on head
parnangarti (n)
 head ornament worn by men at
 initiation business
parnanti (n)
 blue-tongue lizard
parnarn (n)
 twenty-eight parrot
parpiingku-NG (vt)
 to throw on ground
parnta-L (vt)
 to rain on
parntalha (n)
 blister
parntalha-warntalha-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to become blistered
parntayari-Ø (vi)
 to explode
parnti-Ø (vt)
 to smell
parra (int)
 Go on, do it!
parra-L (vt)
 to leave behind; to hit (in eye)
- parralha* (n)
 type of turtle
parralhara (n)
 centipede
parrani-Ø (vi)
 to return
parrani-lha-ma-L (vt)
 to bring back
parrara (n)
 wide
parrarta (n)
 dance ornament
parrawarra (n)
 shivering; shaking
parrawarra-iri-Ø (vi)
 to shiver; to shake
parriminti (n)
 mythical water-serpent
parru (int)
 I can see it!
parru (n)
 devil; enemy
parrun (n)
 barking
parrungkarri-Ø (vt)
 to growl at
parrunta-parrunta (n)
 barking continuously
parruwuru (n)
 upper grindstone; kneecap
parrwuri (n)
 wet
parrwuri-ma-L (vt)
 to make wet
parryara (n)
 shoulder-blade; flat
partanyji (n)
 big
partara (n)
 ankle
partarapari (n)
 rifle
partararra (n)
 horn
partiwarti (n)
 windpipe
partunya (n)
 wild onion
paru (n)
 buck spinifex
patha-R (vt)
 to blow; to hit (with thrown implement)

- patharri-Ø* (vi)
to fight
- pawulu* (n)
child
- pawulu-ngara-mpa-Ø* (vi)
to be about to have children
- pawurra* (n)
father and son couple
- paya* (n)
wild; cheeky; angry
- paya-mpa-Ø* (va)
to become angry (at); to growl at; to be angry (at)
- paya-L* (vt)
to drink
- payamalu* (n)
type of snake
- payiwanarra* (n)
plains kangaroo
- pil.yawirri* (n)
windstorm from south-west
- pil.yi* (n)
sitting cross-legged; flat rock
- pil.yi-mpa-Ø* (vi)
to flatten down
- pilakurta* (n)
carpenter; expert
- pilamurra* (n)
type of tree
- pilarna* (n)
cloud
- pilharnti* (n)
galah
- pilurru* (n)
correct
- pil.yu* (n)
Children's Python
- pinhu* (n)
feel good
- pinhu-ma-L* (vt)
to call by a kinship term; to make feel good; to thank
- pinkarranyu* (n)
dry
- pinkarranyu-ma-L* (vt)
to dry
- pinkarranyu-mpa-Ø* (vi)
to become dry
- pinkarranyu-rrri-Ø* (vi)
to feel dry (in throat)
- pintiri* (n)
beach above highwater mark
- pintirrijila* (n)
scattered; spread out
- pintirrijila-ma-L* (vt)
to share out; to distribute; to scatter about
- pintura* (n)
wave
- pintura-pintura* (n)
ripples
- pinyjakunti* (n)
spinifex head-pad; windmill
- pinyjawinyja* (n)
shaken
- pinyjawinyja-ma-L* (vt)
to shake
- pinyjulu* (n)
penis [polite]
- pinyjura* (n)
rope
- pinyjuramarta* (n)
shark
- pipi* (n)
mother
- pirirri* (n)
initiated; passed through law
- pirlu* (n)
buttocks; upper buttocks
- pirlunyyji* (n)
square-tailed kite
- pirri* (n)
finger
- pirrimanta* (n)
light-fingered; fiddler
- pirrimanta-mpa-Ø* (vt)
to play with; to fiddle with
- pirriri* (n)
stalk of spinifex; matchstick
- pirriyarta* (n)
belongings; own thing; genitals
- pirrupirru* (n)
rainbow bird
- pirrya* (n)
eggshell
- pirryin* (n)
nativecat; mulgara
- pirta* (n)
nest
- pirtiyarrangu* (n)
kurara bush
- pirtu* (n)
fingernail; claw
- pirtumanthu* (n)
good hunter

- pirtuwangu* (n)
prisoner; initiand
pirtuwangu-ma-L (vt)
to capture an initiand; to make prisoner
- pithangara* (n)
cork tree
- pithirri* (n)
chill; cold
pithirri-npa-Ø (vi)
to catch a chill
- piwi* (n)
milk; breast
- piya-L* (vt)
to sing
- piyaa* (int.)
On the contrary!
- piyulu* (n)
yellow ochre
- piyulunykartá* (n)
yolk of egg
- piyuwa* (int)
Not at all!; Nothing!
- piyuwa* (n)
finished
piyuwa-ma-L (vt)
to finish off; to destroy; to kill
piyuwa-npa-Ø (vi)
to die; to finish
- pukanyjarti* (n)
potbelly
- pukarra* (n)
firewood
- pukarra-ma-L* (vi)
to build a fire
- pukarrpukarr* (n)
old ones; ancients; old people
- pukarti* (n)
snakewood
- pukurra* (n)
devil
- pul.ya* (n)
wax of spinifex
- pul.yan* (n)
pelvis
- pul.yu* (n)
chewing quid
- pulhanyji* (n)
doctor
- pulhapulhara* (n)
mudskipper fish
- pulhurrungu* (n)
wind from east
- puliyanyja* (n)
old person
- pulwu* (n)
axe
- pulyawulya* (n)
shaken
pulyawulya-ma-L (vt)
to shake
- punawurru* (n)
type of spinifex; coarse spinifex
- punga* (n)
stomach; guts
punga-nguli-Ø (vi)
to have a stomach ache
- pungapangkira* (n)
[*punga+pangkira* 'guts+protruding']
flagon; potbelly
- pungajarti* (n)
pot-gutted; potbelly
- pungka-Ø* (vi)
to fall; to sink
- pungkanyu* (n)
woman
- punhalangu* (n)
small of back
- punhu* (n)
anus
- punhukunkurru* (n)
upended; upside down
punhukunkurru-wa-L (vt)
to upend
- puni-Ø* (vi)
to go
- puniina* (n)
type of plant
- punkali* (n)
sister-in-law; mother's brother's
daughter
- punkurri* (n)
covered
punkurri-ma-L (vt)
to cover (over)
punkurri-npa-Ø (vi)
to be covered
punkurri-tha-L (vt)
to cover over
- punkurrimarnu* (n)
[*punkurri-marnu* 'covered-
ASSOC']
blanket
- punkuwunku* (n)
rolled up

- punkuwunku-ma-L* (vt)
 to roll up
puntha-Ø (vi)
 to swim; to wash
puntha-L (vt)
 to wash
puntharri-Ø (vi)
 to bleed; to break (body part)
puntharri-nguli-Ø (vi)
 to feel cold
punyjalu (n)
 mist; dew; fog
punyjarti (n)
 generous
puraa-L (vi)
 to go
puranyi-L (vt)
 to see
puri (n)
 lungs
purinypuriny (n)
 breeze
puriya (n)
 sea
purlu (n)
 coccyx
purluthan (n)
 walking
purmiji (n)
 spine; back
purmijikarta (n)
 [purmiji+karta 'back+bony']
 shell of tortoise; shell of turtle
purmijipangkira (n)
 [purmiji+pangkira
 'back+protruding']
 camel
purmta (n)
 hole
purmta-ma-L (vt)
 to make hole
purmtura (n)
 rolled up
purmumpuru (n)
 quiet
purmumpuru-npa-Ø (vi)
 to become quiet
purra-L (vt)
 to hit; to shoot
purralwayara (n)
 [purra-lwayara 'hit-HABIT']
 axe
- purrkuru* (n)
 truly
purrruru (n)
 hairstringbelt
purrrurumarnu (n)
 [purrruru-marnu 'belt-ASSOC']
 waist
putatharta (n)
 dance ornament
purtuwari (n)
 curlybark tree
purtuwurtu (n)
 together
purula (n)
 heart
purungu (n)
 section name
putangara (n)
 Gould's Sand Goanna
puu (nloc)
 gone; going; far.NOM
puyii (nloc)
 far.ACC
puyiirta (nloc)
 far.ALL
puyila (nloc)
 far.LOC
puungka-L (vt)
 to blow (with mouth)
puuthuni (n)
 head of spear
puuthuni-marta-ma-L (vt)
 to attach a spearhead to
puwa (n)
 rotten
puwala (n)
 sandhill
puwany (n)
 hunting for meat
puwara (n)
 charcoal
puwara-npa-Ø (vi)
 to burn down to coals
puwari (n)
 type of rushes
puyalangu (n)
 cork tree
puyirriyirri (n)
 blue wren

T

- thaapari* (n)
 argumentative
thaapari-ma-L (vt)
 to argue with
thaapari-npa-Ø (vi)
 to become argumentative
thaapuwa (n)
 [*thaa+puwa* 'mouth+rotten']
 exceptional person [insult or praise]
tharta (n)
 mouth of hollow stump
thaatharra (n)
 open-mouthed
thaatharra-ri-Ø (vi)
 to open up
thal.ya (n)
 footprint
thal.yu (n)
 mother's mother's brother's son; wife's
 mother's brother
thala (n)
 chest
thala-L (vt)
 to feed
thalapaju (n)
 pad of foot
thaliman (n)
 horsenail
thalu (n)
 pet; increase site
thami (n)
 daughter's son; mother's father
thampa (part)
 almost
thampaliwarranu (n)
 wind from (north)west
thampalyi (n)
 type of plant
thana (part)
 let
thanarri (n)
 sea; salt
thangkaruwa (n)
 father and son couple (in opposite
 patrimoiety)
thangkula (n)
 type of tree
thani-L (vt)
 to scrape; to hit; to smell (for emu)
- thanta-Ø* (vi)
 to go on all fours; to crawl along on
 hands and knees
thanturri-Ø (vi)
 to descend; to go down
thanturru (n)
 low tide
thanuwa (n)
 vegetable food; bread; damper
tharlwan (n)
 quiet; tame
tharnta (n)
 hill kangaroo; euro
tharratal (n)
 type of bird
tharratharra (n)
 separated by death
tharratharra-ma-L (vt)
 to separate by killing
tharrwa-L (vt)
 to put into; to insert
tharrwa-Ø (vi)
 to enter; to go into; to put on clothes
tharrwi-L (vt)
 to bury; to insert; to put into
tharryarran (n)
 frog
tharryitharra (n)
 side-by-side
tharryunpirri (n)
 kangaroo with joey in pouch
tharta (n)
 between legs; crutch
thartapara (n)
 skinny-legged; open crutch (insult)
thartuungku-NG (vt)
 to meet
thatharruka (n)
 tortoise
thathu-L (vt)
 to send; to let go
thawu (int)
 Look!; Listen!
thawu-L (vt)
 to send; to let go
thawartu (n)
 bereaved mother
thawi (n)
 type of song
thawu (int)
 Look!
thawun (n)
 town

thawurra (n)
 flat; net; boomerang
thawurra-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to become flat
thawutha (n)
 trousers
thiirr (n)
 fart
thiirr-yarri-Ø (vi)
 to fart
thukurtarra (n)
 troublemaker; tactless
thulharra (ntemp)
 afternoon
thulharra-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to become afternoon
thuli (n)
 Tawny Frogmouth
thungkara (n)
 dirt; ground
thungku (n)
 back
thungkupangkira (n)
 [thungku+pangkira 'back+
 protruding']
 camel; humpbacked
thuntuwurra (n)
 dune grass
thunungkuyu (n)
 lie on one's stomach
thupayu (n)
 ashes for tobacco plug
thuriyal (n)
 nut of mangrove; mangrove nut
thurla (n)
 eye
thurla-wirraa-ma-L (vt)
 to prevent from seeing
thurlajaka (n)
 bardie grub
thurlajinkarri (n)
 poor fellow
thurlamanta (n)
 nosy person
thurlanyarrara (n)
 poor fellow
thurlapaniya (n)
 [thurla+paniya 'eye+eye']
 pupil of eye
thurlatharra (n)
 eye socket
thurlku (n)
 little boy

thurlunngu (n)
 wave-hill grass
thurlwa-L (vt)
 to pull out
thurna (n)
 glans penis
thurninyjarri-Ø (vi)
 to laugh at
thurniwii-ma-L (vt)
 to make laugh
thurmta-L (vt)
 to rub; to roll
thurnuwuru (n)
 type of tree
thurtinti-Ø (vi)
 to move away; to move down; to drop
 down
thurtu (n)
 elder sister
thuthurti (n)
 dog with short tail
thulwa-L (vt)
 to pull out; to sing
thumaya (n)
 store; shop
thuur.ta (n)
 fruit; sweet; sugar
thuurti-Ø (vt)
 to call together
thuwa (int)
 You should know!

W

Waa!
 Alas!
waari (n)
 fish
wajirr (n)
 fish spear
wakupurra (n)
 fighting stick; nulla-nulla
wakurra (n)
 crow
wal.yu (n)
 long way; far away
wal.yun (n)
 girl
walampari (n)
 possum

- walarnta*-L (vt)
 to go past
walarnti-Ø (va)
 to look back (at)
walhawara (n)
 type of plant
walhurri (n)
 girl; teenage girl; marriageable girl
walyi-L (vt)
 to uncover
walyurru (n)
 wild bean
walywanti-Ø (vi)
 to peel off; to come off
walywari (n)
 root
wamila (n)
 type of spinifex
wanamarrika (n)
 son and daughter couple
wanarra (n)
 long; tall
wanarra-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to become long
wanarrya (n)
 black swan
wangka-Ø (vt)
 to talk; to speak; to emit noise; to make
 species-characteristic sound; to say;
 to tell
wangkarnu-marri-Ø (vi)
 to talk to one another
wangkarr (n)
 throat
wanirarra (n)
 brother and sister couple
wanka (n)
 alive; raw; unripe
wanka-ma-L (vt)
 to rear; to deliver a child; to save life of
wankuma-L (vt)
 to make sure of
wangga-L (vi)
 to worry
wanta (n)
 dream spirit; devil
wanta (n)
 silly; crazy
wanta-wanta-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to become silly; to become excited
wantamartu (n)
 crazy person
wantamartu-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to become a crazy person
wantha-R (vt)
 to place; to put
wanti-Ø (vi)
 to lie
wantinguntharri (n)
 [*wanti-nguntharri* 'lie-
 HABITNOM']
 bedroom
wanyjakarri (n)
 navel
wanyjarri-Ø (vi)
 to run [avoidance language for *puni*-Ø
 'go']
wara (n)
 clothing; cloth
waraa (n)
 garfish
warali-Ø (vi)
 to move away
warangarri (n)
 dingo trap
waranharnungka (n)
 flying fox
warinyu (n)
 mother's brother's wife
warinyuwa (n)
 parents-in-law
warla (n)
 heel
warlanykura (n)
 river gum tree
warli (n)
 bottomlip
warlu (n)
 snake
warlurarri (n)
 umbilical cord
warnan (n)
 rain
warnan-nguli-Ø (vi)
 to be rained in
warnan-warnan (n)
 cloudy; cloudy impending rain
warnanykura (n)
 river gum tree
warniki (n)
 type of spider; ground spider
warnmalyi (n)
 stone
warnta (n)
 turn back on

- wartawarnta* (n)
 tree python
wartitha-R (vt)
 to throw
warnu (part)
 Assertedly particle
warra (part)
 Contrastive particle
warrama-L (vt)
 to make
warrapa (n)
 grass; spinifex
warrari (n)
 fly
warrayi (part)
 Let's!
warriji (n)
 meatant
warrinyan (n)
 spinifex finch; painted finch
warrirta (n)
 eaglehawk; wedge-tailed eagle
warrirti (n)
 spear
warrirti-ma-L (vt)
 to make a spear
warrpurri-Ø (vi)
 to bathe; to swim
warrpurri-tha-L (vt)
 to bathe; to wash
warrunparrun (n)
 blowfly
warrurryura (n)
 type of goanna; tree goanna
warruwa (n)
 ghost; European; white man; devil
warryayi-L (vt)
 to drag
warryayilwayara (n)
 [warryayi-lwayara 'drag-HABIT']
 tail of kangaroo
warryayinnguntharri (n)
 [warryayi-nnguntharri
 'drag-HABITNOM']
 tail of kangaroo
warryi-L (vt)
 to tear; to rip
warryu (n)
 joey
warryumuntu (n)
 kangaroo with joey behind
warta (n)
 forehead
- wartakartara* (n)
 facing one another
wartakartara-rrri-Ø (vi)
 take in turns
wartankura (n)
 north wind
wartantu (nloc)
 north
wartantari (nloc)
 northwards
wartantarni (nloc)
 northerly
wartarta (n)
 annoyed
wartarta-ma-L (vt)
 to annoy
wartawirrinpa-Ø (va)
 to wait (for)
wartirra (n)
 woman
wartiwarti (n)
 rolling
wartiwarti-npa-Ø (vi)
 to roll; to break (waves)
warungku-Ø (vt)
 to say goodbye to
warutharra (n)
 grog; bitter; marsh; salt
waruu(l) (ntemp)
 continuing; still
waruulwa-L (vt)
 to be unable to do
watharri (n)
 fisherman
wawayi-L (vt)
 to look for
wawurtu (n)
 armpit
wawuthu-L (vt)
 to farewell; to say goodbye
waya (npred)
 frightened; fear
waya-ngku-NG (vt)
 to frighten
wayala (n)
 night
wayamirta (n)
 savage; wild
wayangka-Ø (vi)
 to be frightened

wayil (part)
 maybe
wayilha-wayilha (n)
 pestering
wayilha-wayilha-ma-L (vt)
 to pester
wayula (n)
 unsteady
wayuwarra (n)
 type of marsupial
wii (part)
 maybe; if
wil.ya (n)
 gap in hills; pass
wil.yawu-Ø (vi)
 to go through a pass
wilawila (n)
 shaken
wilawila-ma-L (vt)
 to shake
wilharri (n)
 type of tree; wattle tree
wilhu (n)
 penis (impolite, insulting)
wilinyja (n)
 little corella
wilinykarra (n)
 at once
wilpilpi (n)
 emu chick
wilu (n)
 saliva; spit
wilyara (n)
 shoulders; yoke
wilyiwilyi (n)
 clean
wilyiwilyi-ma-L (vt)
 to wash (clothes); to make clean
winkarra (n)
 torn
winparri (n)
 long
winthi (n)
 enemy; bad friend
winya (n)
 full
winya-ma-L (vt)
 to fill
winyamara (n)
 sea eagle
winyarr(angu) (n)
 type of fig; rock fig

winyarri (n)
 tired
winyarri-npa-Ø (vi)
 to become tired
winyarta (n)
 tired
winyarta-ma-L (vt)
 to make tired
winyarta-winyarta (n)
 feel bad
wirlayi (n)
 defecating
wirlayi-npa-Ø (vi)
 to be at toilet
wirliwirli (n)
 fishing hook; fishing line
wirlu (n)
 blackheart tree
wirlukuru (n)
 gravy; dripping
wirlurlu (n)
 curlew
wirlwara (n)
 eaglehawk
wirnka (n)
 jewfish; dhufish
wirntiwirnti (n)
 type of bird; skyhawk
wirnunungu (n)
 dance ornament
wirra (n)
 boomerang
wirrawalha (n)
 boomerang maker
wirrili (n)
 fast moving
wirrirri (n)
 firelight; flame
wirrirri-ma-L (vt)
 to light
wirrirri-npa-Ø (vi)
 to become alight
wirta (n)
 teenage boy; youth
wirta-Ø (vt)
 to go up; to climb
wirtawirta (n)
 swaying
wirtawirta-npa-Ø (vi)
 to sway
wirti (n)
 pearl shell

wiru (n)
 cockatiel
wiru (npred)
 want; feel
*wiru-*npa*-Ø* (vt)
 to like
*wiru-warntura-*ri*-Ø* (vi)
 to be undecided
*wiru-wirraa-*ma*-L* (vt)
 to make feel bad
wiruwanti (ntemp)
 morning; tomorrow
wiruwarra (n)
 middle of river
wiruwarr-i-Ø (vi)
 to feel homesick
wiruwartu (n)
 yellowtail fish
*withawitha-*ma*-L* (vt)
 to lose someone (who has died)
*witiwiti*tha*-L* (vt)
 to hang up
wiyaa (part)
 maybe
wiyartu (n)
 long-necked tortoise
wularla (n)
 weak
wulura-L (vt)
 to dislocate knee (of kangaroo)
wuluwarli (n)
 thigh
wungku (n)
 windbreak
wuntarri (n)
 bustard; breeze
wuntu (n)
 littleboy
wunungu (n)
 boil
wuraa(*l*) (part)
 All right; Okay now
wurawura (n)
 partially severed; cut half-way through
*wurawura-*npa*-Ø* (vi)
 to become partially severed
wurinyjangu (n)
 handfed
wurla (part)
 Mistakenly Thought particle
wurmta (n)
 shield

wurmta-L (vt)
 to cut; to give bad luck; to break
*wurmta-*lwayara** (n)
 [*wurmta-*lwayara** 'cut-HABIT']
 knife
wurrulywa (n)
 leaf; bough of leaves; tea leaf
*wurrulywa-*tha*-L* (vt)
 to put on leaves
wurruru (n)
 midwife
wurrwara-L (vt)
 to spin (hair)
wurta (n)
 emu chick
wurtu (part)
 Hypothetically particle
wurtura (n)
 dusty; dirty
*wurtura-wurtura-*ma*-L* (vt)
 to make dusty
wuruma-L (vt)
 to do for
wuruwuru (n)
 big wave; breaker
wuruya (n)
 upset
*wuuny-*karr-i*-Ø* (vt)
 to make 'wuu' noise
wuyu (n)
 river

Y

ya (int)
 Hey!
yaan (n)
 spouse
yaanka (n)
 married couple [generation ± 1]
yaanwarnti (n)
 married couples [generation ± 1]
yaji (n)
 wife's father; father-in-law
yakarrangu (n)
 day; sun
yakartayi (int)
 Ouch!
yakayi (int)
 Ouch!
yal.yirri (n)
 headband

- yal.yuwarri* (n)
 type of plant; type of tobacco
yalarn (n)
 hairy caterpillar
yalhuru (n)
 tongue
yalyun (n)
 tune; voice
yampa (n)
 sea shell
yamparla (n)
 type of plant
yamparna (n)
 manta ray
yanga-L (vt)
 to follow; to chase
yanha (n)
 vagina
yankuyar.ku-rri-Ø (vi)
 to laugh; to fool about
yantha (n)
 scorpion
yanthan (n)
 swag; belongings
yanthanmarta (n)
 woman (avoidance language)
yanti (n)
 winnowing dish; hollow log; dish
yanti (n)
 target on body; side
yarluyarlungu (n)
 cabbage gum; mycum tree
yarna-L (vt)
 to ignore; to be unsatisfied with; to be
 unhappy with
yarnarra (n)
 lying on back
yarnta (n)
 day
yarramirtangka (n)
 type of fish
yarrwa (n)
 after; behind
yarrwanyungu (n)
 [yarrwa-nyungu 'behind-DWELL']
 euro with joey following
yarta (n)
 another; other
yartapalyu (n)
 others
yartirringu (n)
 avoiding; dodging
yartirringu-npa-Ø (vi)
 to dodge; to be evasive
yarukal (n)
 mother's elder sister
yathumpa (n)
 flathead fish
yawan (n)
 hot cooking stones
yawarnu (n)
 shelter
yawarru (n)
 missed; wide of the mark
yawarrunyja-L (vt)
 to miss
yawunhungu (n)
 breeze from sea; summer sea-breeze;
 sea-breeze
yawurru (nloc)
 west; downriver
yawurrari (nloc)
 westwards; downriver-wards
yawurarni (nloc)
 westerly; from downriver
yawurarni-npa-Ø (vi)
 to move from the west
yawurrura (n)
 westerner
yilhi (n)
 chip of wood
yilyilyi (n)
 type of tree; type of gum tree
yilyirti (n)
 piece of something; small piece
yilyiwartu (n)
 type of marsupial
yini (n)
 name
yinka-L (vt)
 to chisel; to carve
yinka-Ø (vi)
 to thrust in intercourse
yinki (n)
 land; shore
yinkiwulyarru (n)
 lopsided
yinyjin (n)
 engine
yiri (n)
 point of spear
yiriny (n)
 mosquito

- yirla* (part)
 only; until
yirlil (n)
 flat rock
yirlirli (n)
 maggot
yirlirli-mpa-Ø (vi)
 to become maggoty
yirra (n)
 tooth; edge; ridge of hill; easterly storm
 front
yirraana (n)
 skipjack fish
yirrala (n)
 ground sheet
yirraman (n)
 deep sea mullet
yirrapiripiri (n)
 spotted stingray
yirrapuwa (n)
 [yirra+puwa 'teeth+rotten']
 poor hunter
yirathanangka (n)
 shark
yirrawuyu (n)
 storm cloud
yirriya-Ø (va)
 to play (with)
yirtiyirti (n)
 striped
yirtiyirti-ma-L (vt)
 to paint in different coloured stripes
- yithirri* (n)
 chip of wood; splinter
yukarta (n)
 hot coals; hot ashes
yumini (n)
 father's elder brother
yungkartanyu (n)
 blood
yungku-NG (vd)
 to give
yurmtura (n)
 powder; flour
yurmtura-ma-L (vt)
 to make powder
yurra-L (vt)
 to dig; to scratch
yurrkun (n)
 type of crab; mangrove crab
yurtingka-L (vt)
 to aim spear at; to lift spearthrower
yuru (n)
 milk
yuruntu (n)
 type of sea shell
yuurr-yarri-Ø (vi)
 to make slurping noise
yuwinyma-L (vt)
 to do completely; to finish
yuya (n)
 quail; spinifex quail

APPENDIX 4: ENGLISH-MARTUTHUNIRA FINDERLIST

A

Aboriginal person	angry, to become	Assertedlyparticle
<i>kanyara</i>	<i>nhurta-npa-Ø</i>	<i>warnu</i>
above	ankle	at once
<i>kankarni</i>	<i>partara</i>	<i>wilinykarra</i>
acacia type with edible seeds	annoy, to	at rest
<i>kul.yawurta</i>	<i>wartarta-ma-L</i>	<i>kunhu</i>
Achilles tendon	annoyed	attach a spearhead to, to
<i>karntarra</i>	<i>wartarta</i>	<i>puuthuni-marta-ma-L</i>
aeroplane	another	avoidance relative
<i>parlunyungu</i>	<i>yarta</i>	<i>nyirti</i>
after	ant nest	avoiding
<i>yarrwa</i>	<i>nganturla</i>	<i>yartirirringu</i>
afternoon	ant	awkward
<i>thulharra</i>	<i>minga</i>	<i>manhamanha</i>
afterwards	anus	axe
<i>mawurru</i>	<i>punhu</i>	<i>kaju; kartathalwayara;</i>
again	appear to have no nose, to	<i>pulwu; purralwayara</i>
<i>ngarti</i>	<i>mulha-wirraa-npa-Ø</i>	
aim spear at, to	argue with, to	B
<i>yurtingka-L</i>	<i>thaapari-ma-L</i>	back
alight, to become	argumentative	<i>pujni; thungku</i>
<i>wirriiri-npa-Ø</i>	<i>thaapari</i>	bad friend
alive	arm (upper)	<i>winthi</i>
<i>wanka</i>	<i>jirli</i>	bad
all	armpit	<i>kuyil</i>
<i>jurlu</i>	<i>wawurtu</i>	bad, to be
all right	arrive in camp, to	<i>jalya-npa-Ø</i>
<i>wuraa(l)</i>	<i>ngurra-ngka-npa-Ø</i>	bad luck, to give
almost	arrogant	<i>wurnta-L</i>
<i>thampa</i>	<i>janyju</i>	bag
alone	ashamed, to be	<i>kurtan</i>
<i>minthal</i>	<i>kurnta-Ø</i>	bailer shell
alongside	ashes	<i>kartarri</i>
<i>kartingka</i>	<i>jirlwa</i>	bald
ancients	ashes or coals, hot	<i>pal.yarra</i>
<i>pukarrpukarr</i>	<i>yukarta</i>	banded plover
angry	ashes for tobacco plug	<i>kiirkiir</i>
<i>kamparta; nhurta; paya</i>	<i>thupayu</i>	bandicoot
	ask, to	<i>kurti</i>
	<i>jinarri-Ø</i>	
	asleep	
	<i>nguyirri</i>	

- bandy-legged
kantathurna
- barbed spear
mangumangu
- bardie grub
thurlajaka
- bark
pangkalha
- barking continuously
parrunta-parrunta
- barking gecko
jakajakara;
parlwarrumarta
- barking
parrun
- bathe, to
warrpurri-tha-L;
warrpurri-Ø
- be about to have children,
to
pawulu-ngara-mpa-Ø
- be above, to
kankarni-mpa-Ø
- be angry, to
kamparta-mpa-Ø
- be angry (at), to
paya-mpa-Ø
- be ashamed, to
kurmta-Ø
- be at toilet, to
wirlayi-mpa-Ø
- be aware of state of health,
to
kuliyari-ri-Ø
- be bad, to
jalya-mpa-Ø
- be burning, to
kampa-Ø
- be cooking, to
kampa-Ø
- be covered, to
punkurri-mpa-Ø
- be evasive, to
yartirringu-mpa-Ø
- be expert, to
kur.ta-mpa-Ø;
kur.ta-ri-Ø
- be frightened, to
wayangka-Ø
- be good to, to
panyu-mpa-Ø
- be hot, to
karlarra-mpa-Ø
- be hurting, to
malyarra-L
- be in pain, to
malyarra-L
- be inventive, to
karnka-mpa-Ø
- be itchy, to
panga-ngara-ri-Ø
- be like this, to
yimpala-mpa-Ø
- be rained in, to
waman-nguli-Ø
- be shocked, to
jiwa-mpa-Ø
- be sick, to
malyarra-L
- be stylish, to
ngurangura-mpa-Ø
- be surprised, to
jiwa-mpa-Ø
- be unable to do, to
waruulwa-L
- be undecided, to
wiru-warntura-ri-Ø
- be unhappy with, to
yama-L
- be unsatisfied with, to
yama-L
- beach above high-water
mark
pintiri
- beard
jawurta
- become a crazy person, to
wantamartu-mpa-Ø
- become a fast runner, to
murtiwarla-mpa-Ø
- become a sleepy person, to
nguyirri-warlaya-mpa-Ø
- become afternoon, to
thulharra-mpa-Ø
- become alight, to
wirirri-mpa-Ø
- become angry (at), to
paya-mpa-Ø
- become angry (with), to
nhurta-mpa-Ø
- become argumentative, to
thaapari-mpa-Ø
- become bad, to
jalya-mpa-Ø; *kuyilarri-Ø*
- become big, to
mirtali-mpa-Ø
- become blistered, to
parntalha-warntalha
-mpa-Ø
- become civilised, to
kul.yakarta-mpa-Ø
- become clear, to
nhawani-mpa-Ø
- become closed, to
palyangu-mpa-Ø
- become cold, to
muthu-mpa-Ø
- become cool, to
muthumuthu-mpa-Ø
- become covered, to
palyangu-mpa-Ø
- become dark, to
malumalu-mpa-Ø
- become daylight, to
kanangkal-kanangkaa-Ø
- become dry, to
pinkarranyu-mpa-Ø
- become dusk, to
marumaru-mpa-Ø
- become excited, to
wanta-wanta-mpa-Ø
- become flat, to
thawurra-mpa-Ø
- become full, to
parlura-mpa-Ø
- become good, to
panyu-mpa-Ø;
panyu-ri-Ø
- become high up, to
parlu-ngka-mpa-Ø
- become human, to
kanyara-mpa-Ø
- become like this, to
yimpala-mpa-Ø
- become long, to
wanarra-mpa-Ø
- become maggoty, to
yirlirli-mpa-Ø
- become mixed up, to
ngawurri-mpa-Ø
- become open, to
jalyuru-mpa-Ø

- become partially severed,
to
wurawura-mpa-Ø
- become quiet, to
purnu:mpuru-mpa-Ø
- become sick, to
malyarra-mpa-Ø
- become silly, to
wanta-wanta-mpa-Ø
- become small, to
kupuyu-mpa-Ø
- become something, to
ngawayi-mpa-Ø
- become talented, to
kur.ta-mpa-Ø;
kur.ta-rrri-Ø
- become tired, to
winyarri-mpa-Ø
- bedroom
wanti-nguntharri
- beer
ngawurrmarta
- before
palalyi
- beginning
kuwarri
- behind
yarrwa
- believe, to
kuliya-mpa-Ø
- bellbird
pakupaku
- belly (hollow of)
ngarnmarr
- belongings
ngurriny; *pirriyarta*;
yanthan
- beneath
mirtungkura
- bereaved father
kungala
- bereaved mother
jawartu; *thawartu*
- bereaved sister
murruwanti
- bereaved
jalya
- beside
kartingka
- between legs
tharta
- big
mirtali; *ngurrara*;
partanyji
- big brother
mirtayi
- big wave
wuruwuru
- billy can
kalayamarta
- bind up, to
manta-L
- bird
kapaja; *kapalya*;
parlunyungu
- bird types
jinpirtin; *karrwanyja*;
pajapajangu; *tharratal*;
wirntiwirnti
- bite, to
kalya-L
- bite at, to
jawi-L
- bite of insect
pangkira
- bitter
kari; *warutharra*
- black
kurnangu
- blackduck
kuntharri; *ngaranti*
- black emu
kurlurrkura
- blackgoanna
panthawari
- black swan
wanarrya
- black-faced cormorant
karrany-karrany
- black-faced cuckoo-shrike
nyurrila
- blackheart tree
wirlu
- bladder
kalyarramarnu
- blame someone for
something, to
jurrura-L
- blank
ngarta
- blanket
punkurrimarnu
- bleed, to
puntharri-Ø
- blister
parntalha
- blood
yungkartanyu
- bloodwood tree
pal.yarringu
- blow (with mouth), to
puungka-L
- blow, to
patha-R
- blowfish
kurnkurn
- blowfly
julyumarta;
warrunparrun
- blue wren
puyirriyirri
- blue-tongue lizard
parnanti
- blue-winged kingfisher
jurtirirri
- blue-winged kookaburra
jarrurru
- boast, to
kanka-mpa-Ø
- body
kapul
- boggy
ngapala
- boil
wunungu
- bone
karta
- bony
karta
- bony bream fish
jiwurra
- boomerang
thawurra; *wirra*
- boomerang maker
wirrawalha
- boss of fishing party
mayawurlu
- bosses in initiation
karnku
- bottomlip
warli
- bough of leaves
wurrulywa

bowed (of head)
jurlurlu
 brave
manhurru
 bread
thanuwa
 break, to
wurnta-L
 break (body part), to
puntharri-Ø
 break (waves), to
wartiwarti-mpa-Ø
 breaker
wuruwuru
 bream
ngarntalu
 breast
piwi
 breastbone
nyil.yi
 breath
ngayiny
 breathe, to
ngayiny-karri-Ø
 breeze from sea
yawunhungu
 breeze
purinypuriny; wuntarri
 bridge of nose
ngulyurr
 bring, to
kangku-Ø
 bring back, to
parrani-lha-ma-L
 bronzewing pigeon
marnpi
 brother and sister couple
wanirarra
 brother-in-law
nyinu
 brother-in-law (man
 speaking)
marryanu
 buck spinifex
paru
 budgerigar
kulyirri
 build a fire, to
pukarra-ma-L
 bullet
karrwiji

bumpy
kurrywurru
 bundle of implements
kuyurr
 burn, to
kampa-L
 burn down to coals, to
puwara-mpa-Ø
 bury, to
kulhi-L; tharrwi-L
 bush, types of
malaya; miluma; nyirri
 bush medicine
jami
 bustard
wuntarri
 butt of gossip
muyiwiyi-nnguntharri
 butt of tree
kartawura
 buttocks
milhu; pirlu

C

cabbage gum
yarluyarlungu
 cadjeput tree
marli
 calf of leg
kulhamarra
 call by a kinship term, to
pinhu-ma-L
 call out to, to
kanpari-Ø; pamararri-Ø
 call together, to
thuurti-Ø
 camel
jinamirtali;
purniji-pangkira;
thungkupangkira
 camel bush
kurarra
 camp
ngurra
 capture an initiand, to
pirtuwangu-ma-L
 carpenter
pilakurta
 carpet snake
mulyaru

carry, to
kangku-Ø
 carve, to
karta-tha-L; yinka-L
 cassia
kurrwaya
 cat
miyu
 catch a chill, to
pithirri-mpa-Ø
 caterpillar
mirriminyja
 cause trouble for, to
marulwa-L
 cave
jalyuru
 centipede
minarrangu; parralhara
 centre
martura
 chair
nyinanguntharri
 character
ngurnta
 charcoal
puwara
 chase, to
yanga-L
 cheek bone
karli; mangu
 cheeky
paya
 cheer up, to
malwuma-L
 chest
thala
 chew, to
nyamiyarri-Ø
 chewing quid
pul.yu
 child
pawulu
 child before it can walk
murtiwirriwa
 children, to be about to
 have
pawulu-ngara-mpa-Ø
 Children's Python
mayitha; pil.yu
 chill
pithirri

- chin
ngarnngarn
- Chinaman
kunthamarta
- Chinese
kunthamarta
- chip of wood
yilhi; yithirri
- chisel, to
yinka-L
- chop, to
karta-L; karta-tha-L
- circumcisee
nhaarrji
- circumciser
mangkalyi; nhaankurti
- civilised
kul.yakarta
- claw
mirntiri; mirntulu; pirtu
- clean
milyimulyi; nhawani; wilyiwilyi
- clear
nhawani
- clear (of sky)
kana
- clear (of voice)
jarrala
- clearing
pal.yarra
- clench (fist), to
kuni-ma-L
- clenched
kuni
- clever
jilampirra; karnka; kur.ta; mirtuwarra
- clever man
karnka.marra
- click (sinuses), to
kaal-yarri-Ø
- click fingers and blow raspberry, to
jumpily-yarri-Ø
- cliff
parlu
- climb, to
karlwa-Ø; wirta-Ø
- close
murna
- close, to
palyangu-ma-L
- close to death
jampa.jampa
- close up, to
kuni-ma-L
- closed
palyangu
- closed up
kuni
- cloth, clothing
wara
- cloud
pilarna
- cloudy (impending rain)
warnan-warnan
- coarse spinifex
punawurru
- cobbler (catfish)
jawurlamarta; kangkurrya; ngalirrmarta
- coccyx
purlu
- cockatiel
wiru
- cockroach bush
marlwalany
- cold
mutu; pithirri
- cold in head
ngurntura
- cold virus
ngurntura
- collect, to
kurti-L
- come, to
kanarri-Ø
- come around (a corner), to
kartarawurri-Ø
- come into the clear, to
kanangka-mpa-Ø
- come off, to
walywanti-Ø
- come together into a group, to
kulhawulha-mpa-Ø
- come up (sun), to
murna-ngka-Ø
- come up close to, to
murna-ngka-mpa-Ø
- conch
kartarri
- continuing
waruu(l)
- Contrastive particle
warra
- cook, to
kampa-L
- cool
muthumuthu
- cool down, to
muthumuthu-mpa-Ø
- coppertail snake
kayawurru
- cork tree
pithangara; puyalangu
- corkbark tree
jiinngu
- cormorant
jilimanthu; karrany-karrany
- correct
mulurru; pilurru
- correct, to
mulurru-ma-L
- corroboree
jalurra
- country
ngurra
- cousin
ngayalyu
- cover (over), to
punkurri-ma-L; punkurri-tha-L; palyangu-ma-L
- covered
palyangu; punkurri
- cowardly
wayangku-nnguntharri
- crab, type of
nginingini; yurrkun
- crane
paalhu
- crawl along on hands and knees, to
thanta-Ø
- crayfish
jirtupakura
- crazy
wanta

crazy person
wantamartu
creeper, type of
minyjurlu; ngawurtan
crested pigeon
kalwa
crippled
janta
crouch on haunches, to
karryarri-Ø
crouching down
jurllurlu
crow
wakurra
crowbar
jinkarn
crush, to
kulhany-ma-L;
malha-ma-L;
pari-ingku-L
crushed
kulhany; malha
crutch
tharta
cry, to
ngaya-Ø
cuckoo-shrike
nyurrila
curlew
wirlurlu
curly (of hair)
murrimurri
curlybark tree
purtuwari
cut, to
wurmta-L
cut half-way through
wurawura
cyclone
pakanta

D

damper
thanuwa
dance, to
panyi-L

dance ornament
janyjin; kayiri; kurra;
kuurra; mawurarra;
parrarta; purtatharta;
wimunungu
dance step with knee
lifting
murryamurrya
dance style
murryamurrya
darkness
malumalu
daughter
kurmtal
daughter's child
ngapari
daughter's sister
ngaraya
daughter's son
thami
day
yakarrangu; yarnta
daylight, to become
kanangkal-kanangkaa-Ø
dead
nhurmti
deathadder
nharnu
deep (of voice)
mirtali
deep in thought
kul.ya
deep sea mullet
yiraman
defecate on, to
kunanyja-L
defecating
wirlayi
deliver a child, to
wanka-ma-L
descend, to
thanturri-Ø
destroy, to
piyuwa-ma-L
devil
maral.ya; ngayalyu;
nhuka; parru; pukurra;
wanta; warruwa
dew
punyjalu

dhufish
wirnka
diamond dove
karluyu
die, to
nhurmti-mpa-Ø;
piyuwa-mpa-Ø
dig, to
yurra-L
digging stick
jinkarn;
ngurra-yurralwayara
dingo
mulyira
dingo trap
warangarri
direct
mulurru
dirt
nharnu; thungkara
dirty
wurtura
dish
pannga; yanti
dislocate knee (of
kangaroo), to
wulura-L
distribute, to
pintirrijila-ma-L
dive underwater, to
nyuulu-mpa-Ø
do awkwardly, to
manhamanha-mpa-Ø
do completely, to
yuwinyma-L
do for, to
wuruma-L
do gently, to
jarruru-ma-L;
jarruru-mpa-Ø
do in turn to, to
ngawayu-mpa-Ø
do like this, to
yimpala-ma-L
do quietly, to
jarruru-ma-L
do slowly, to
jarruru-ma-L;
jarruru-mpa-Ø
do something, to
ngawayi-mpa-Ø

doctor
juwayumarta; pulhanyji
 dodge, to
yartiriringu-nga-Ø
 dodging
yartiriringu
 dog
muyi
 dog with short tail
thuthurti
 donkey
kuliyawanarra
 down of bird
kurntuwurntu
 down, to go
thanturri-Ø
 downriver
yawuru
 downriver-wards
yawurrari
 drag, to
warryayi-L
 dragonfly
karlawirruwa
 dream
nguyi
 dream about, to
nguyi-ma-L
 dream spirit
wanta
 dressed up
nyalinyali
 drink, to
paya-L
 dripping
wirlukuru
 dripping water
jirtinyal
 drop down, to
thurtinti-Ø
 drown, to
nyuni-Ø
 drunkard
karijingu
 dry
pinkarranyu
 dry, to
pinkarranyu-ma-L
 dry leaves
mirttili

dugong
nyamina
 dune grass
thuntuwurra
 dusk
marumaru
 dust
karnkurru
 dusty
wurtura

E

eaglehawk
warrirta; wirlwara
 ear
kuliyi
 earlobe
ngalhung-ngalhung
 early in time
palalyi
 earthworm
kalharr
 east
jinkayu
 easterly
jingkarni
 easterly storm front
yirra
 eastwards
jingkaari
 eat, to
mungka-L
 echidna
manyjupi
 edge
yirra
 edible animal
mungka-nnguntharri
 eel
marntamirra
 egg
jimpu; mijara
 eggshell
pirrya
 elasmobranch fishes
kanu
 elbow
kurraru

elder brother
kaya
 elder sister
thurtu
 eldest child
mararta; ngankiyanhu
 eldest sibling
mararta
 emit noise, to
wangka-Ø
 emit odour, to
ngurirri-Ø
 emu
jankurna
 emu chick
wilpilpi; wurta
 enemy
parru; winthi
 engine
yinyjin
 enter, to
tharrwa-Ø
 enthusiastically
karluwirra
 escape to, to
jaya-L
 euro
tharnta
 euro with joey following
yarrwanyungu
 European
jurlwin; warruwa
 European axe
kaju
 evasive, to be
yartiriringu-nga-Ø
 exceptional person
thaapuwa
 excessively
karluwirra
 excited, to become
wanta-wanta-nga-Ø
 expert
kur.ta; pilakurta
 explode, to
parntayarri-Ø
 eye
paniya; thurla
 eyebrow
nyanti; nyarri

eyelash
nyarri manthu
eye socket
thurlatharra

F

face
nguu
facing one another
wartakartara
facing other way
ngarrawurlu
facing upwards
parlu-thartu
faeces
kuna
fail to recognise, to
nganangka-L
fall asleep, to
nguyirri-mpa-Ø
fall, to
pungka-Ø
far.ACC
puyii
far.ALL
puyiirta
far.LOC
puyila
far.NOM
puu
far away
wal.yu
farewell, to
wawuthu-L
fart
thiirr
fart, to
thiirr-yarri-Ø
fast
murti; murtiwarla
fast asleep
nganthiirr
fast moving
wirrili
fast runner, to become a
murtiwarla-mpa-Ø
fat
jinyji

fat person
jinyjiwarla
father
papu
father and son couple
pawurra; thangkaruwa
father's brother
mama
father's elder brother
yumini
father's father
mayili
father's mother
kawarli; ngapari
father's sister
martiju; papuyi
father-in-law
yaji
fear
waya
feathers of emu
nyartu
feed, to
thala-L
feel
wiru
feel, to
kulaya-L; kuliya-ri-Ø;
panthu-L
feel bad, to
kuyil.yarri-Ø;
winyarta-winyarta
feel cold, to
muthu-nguli-Ø;
puntharri-nguli-Ø
feel dry (in throat), to
pinkarranyu-ri-Ø
feel good
pinhu
feel homesick, to
wiruwarrri-Ø
feel with a stick, to
nyuwi-L
fiddle with, to
pirrimanta-mpa-Ø
fiddler
pirrimanta
fig, type of
winyarr(angy)
fight, to
patharri-Ø

fighting stick
wakupurra
fill, to
parlura-ma-L;
winya-ma-L
fin of fish
jirli
fin of turtle
jirli
finger
pirri
fingernail
mimntiri; mimntulu; pirtu
finish, to
piyuwa-mpa-Ø;
yuwinyma-L
finish doing, to
kalhawa-Ø
finish off, to
piyuwa-ma-L
finished
piyuwa
finishing
kuntarra
fire
karla
fire-hardened sharp stump
ngal.ya
firelight
wirriiri
firestick
ngal.ya
firewood
karla; pukarra
firmly
kartarr
first
nyingkurlu
fish
kulhampa; waari
fish spear
wajirr
fish types
kangkurrya; malyun;
milinyja; ngarniwurtu;
wiruwartu;
yarramirtangka
fisherman
watharri
fishing hook
wirliwirli

fishing line
wirliwirli
fishing net
marntanhu
fix a point to, to
mulhaa-L
flagon
punga-pangkira
flame
wirriiri
flat
pal.yura; palykura;
pari; parryara; thawurra
flat rock
pil.yi; yirlil
flathead fish
yathumpa
flatten down, to
pil.yi-mpa-Ø
flattened
malha
flipper of turtle
marra
flotsam
mirntili
flour
yurntura
fly
warrari
flying fox
waranhamungka
foam
ngawurr
foetus
mirtily
fog
punyjalu
follow, to
yanga-L
fool about, to
yanku-yanku-ri-Ø
foot
jamanu; jina
footprint
jina; thal.ya
forehead
warta
foreskin
nhinha; pangkalha
forget, to
ngalari-Ø

forget about, to
ngalangala-mpa-L
fork of tree
mil.ya
fox
mulhajuriri
free, to get
jaya-L
free passage through
initiation law
jinyji
frighten, to
wayangu-L
frightened
waya
frog
jal.yarran; tharyarran
from downriver
yawurrarni
from upriver
jingkarni
front
nyingkurlu
froth
ngawurr
flour
thuur.ta
fruit, type of
jpurta
full
parlura; winya
fungus, type of
kurnturu

G

galah
kulirr; pilharnti
game
manhurru; murla
gang up on, to
martura-la-ma-L
gap in hills
wil.ya
garfish
waraa
gather, to
kurti-L
gathering food
ngarningka

gecko
palwarrmarta;
parlwarrumarta
generous
punyjarti
genitals
pirriyarta; martura
gentle
jarruru
get closer to, to
murna-mpa-Ø
get cold, to
muthu-mpa-Ø
get free, to
jaya-L
get hot, to
karlarra-mpa-Ø;
kurlu-mpa-Ø
get sick, to
malyarra-mpa-Ø
get stuck, to
ngarrarni-Ø
get to camp, to
ngurra-ngka-mpa-Ø
get to the top, to
kankarni-mpa-Ø
get up, to
karlwa-Ø
ghost
warruwa
girl
wal.yun; walhurri
give, to
yungku-Ø
give bad luck, to
wurnta-L
give character to, to
ngurmta-ma-L
give someone something
in return, to
kulyama-L
give up, to
kunti-ri-Ø
giving up
kuntarra
gizzard of emu
murlun
glans penis
thurna

go, to
pajura-Ø; puni-Ø; puraa-L
 go direct, to
muluru-ma-L
 go down, to
thanturri-Ø
 go in a particular way, to
nguruta-npa-Ø
 go into, to
tharrwa-Ø
 go on all fours, to
thanta-Ø
 Go on, do it!
parra
 go past, to
walarnta-L
 go straight, to
muluru-ma-L
 go through a pass, to
wil.yawu-Ø
 go towards camp, to
ngurra-arta-npa-Ø
 go up, to
wirta-Ø; karlwa-Ø
 goanna, type of
warruryura
 going, gone
puu
 good
panyu
 good, feel
pinhu
 good hunter
kunmayirti; pirtumanthu
 good teacher
mir.tuwarra
 gossip about, to
muyiwija-L
 Gould's Sand Goanna
mimtirimarta; putangara
 grab, to
manku-Ø
 grass
warrapa
 grass, type of
thurlunngu
 grave
nharnu
 gravy
wirlukuru

grease
jinyji
 greedy
mantha
 greedy person
manthawarla
 green
palharra
 grey hair
jurlwin
 grey-martin
jalwinyjarr
 grind, to
pani-L
 grindstone, lower
ngaantangu
 grindstone, upper
paruwurru
 grog
kari; warutharra
 groin
mil.ya
 ground
ngurra; thungkara
 ground creeper
kartayarrwara
 ground sheet
yirralla
 ground spider
warniki
 group of brothers-in-law
nyinungarranti;
nyinuwarnti
 group of cross-cousins
ngathalwarnti
 group of father's brothers
mantarriwarnti
 group of kin related
 through daughter
 exchange
nyirtimalingka
 group of kin
nganiyarrangu
 group of sons
mantarriwarnti
 group of step-brothers
panyurawarnti
 grouped together
kulhawulha

growl at, to
parrungkarri-Ø;
paya-npa-Ø
 gully
kal.yatharra
 gum tree, type of
yilyilyi
 guts
punga

H

hair
kurlkura
 hairstringbelt
pururu
 hairy caterpillar
yalarn
 half-hearted
jarruru
 half red bloodwood
nyirrya
 hammerhead shark
mirtira
 hand
juwayu; mara
 handfed
wurinyjangu
 handle
kalaya
 handsome
ngurangura; nyalinyali
 hang up, to
witiwititha-L
 happy
kanka
 happy, to make
malwuma-L
 harpoon, to
karta-L
 have a stomach ache, to
punga-nguli-Ø
 head
parna
 head and thorax
parlu
 head of spear
puuthuni

- head ornament worn by
men at initiation
business
pamangarti
- headband
yal.yirri
- headpiece
mawurra
- heal, to
jarrala-ma-L
- healthy
jarrala
- heap up, to
kulhawulha-ma-L
- heaped up
kulhawulha
- hear, to
kuliyal
- heart
purula
- heat, to
karlarra-ma-L
- heavy
ngungku
- heel
warla
- help, to
malwunpa-Ø
- Hey!
ya
- Hey I've spotted
something!
kuwayi
- hidden
muyinu
- hide, to
mil.yirri-Ø;
muyinu-ma-L;
muyinu-mpa-Ø
- high
parlu
- high tide
jintiyarra
- high-pitched voice
jarrala
- high-water mark
pintiri
- hill
parla
- hill kangaroo
tharnta
- hip
kaara; nyintirri
- hipbone
minhi
- hit, to
pari-ingku-L; purra-L;
thani-L
- hit (in eye), to
parra-L
- hit (with thrown
implement), to
patha-R
- hold, to
kanyja-R
- hole
jalyuru; kurryu; purnta
- hollow
kurryu
- hollow in shoulder
kayulumarnu
- hollow log
yanti
- homesick, to feel
wiruwarrri-Ø
- honey
kunkuwarra
- horn
partarra
- hornet
ngurrungurrura
- horse
nyingkurluwinparri
- horseman
thaliman
- Hortative particle
warrayi
- hot
karlarra; kurlu
- hot ashes or coals
yukarta
- hot cooking stones
yawan
- hot sand (for cooking)
kuntilywa
- hot to taste
ngarniwurtu
- human being
kanyara
- humpbacked
thungkupangkira
- hungry
kamungu
- hunter, good
kunmayirti; pirtumanthu
- hunter, poor
yirrapuwa
- hunting for meat
puwany
- hunting site useless for
speaker's patrimoiety
jirpi
- hunting spear
kurryarta
- hurry, to
manamana-mpa-Ø
- hurt, to
malyarra-ma-L

I

- I can see it!
parru
- ibis
martungkura
- Identification particle
pala
- if
wii
- ignore, to
yarna-L
- in front of
maningka
- increase site
thalu
- initiaand
mirtily; nyanyji; nyuju;
nyulyu; nyurmta;
pirtuwangu
- initiate
nhaarnji
- initiated
pirirri
- in-law
nyirti
- insert, to
tharrwa-L; tharrwi-L
- intestines
julingara

inventive
karnka
inventive person
karnkamarra
island
martungkura
itch
panga

J

jamwood tree
jarrwayu
jaw bone
kartara
jewfish
wirnka
joey
warryu
jump, to
karima-L
jumping up and down
karimal-karimal
jumpy
karimal-karimal

K

kangaroo with joey behind
warryumuntu
kangaroo with joey in
pouch
tharryunpirri
keep, to
kanyja-R
keep on doing, to
parilha-mpa-Ø
keep quiet, to
marrari-wirraa-mpa-Ø
keep trying, to
parilha-mpa-Ø
kick, to
panyi-L
kidney
ngalhung-ngalhung
kill, to
nhurmti-ma-Ø;
piyuwa-ma-L

kingfisher
jarrurru
kitchen
kampa-nnguntharri
kite hawk
karrya; minpirirrti
knee
manpurrr; murti
kneecap
paruwurru
knife
jumpirirri; kurlany;
wurmta-lwayara
knowing
nhuura
kurara bush
pirtiyarrangu

L

lame
janta
land
yinki
large family group
nganiyarrangu
later
mawurru
laugh, to
yanku-yanku-rrri-Ø
laugh at, to
thurninyjarri-Ø
lay flat, to
palykura-ma-L
leaf
wurrulywa
learn, to
nhuura-mpa-Ø
leave behind, to
kunti-rrri-Ø; parra-L
left-handed
nyartu
leg
kanta
let
thana
let go, to
thathu-L; thawu-L

Let's
warrayi
Let's go!
parrayi
liar
jarntakanangkal;
jarntany
lie, to
wanti-Ø: (tell lies)
ngalawangka-Ø
lie on one's back
kartutharra
lie on one's stomach
thunungkuyu
lift spearthrower, to
yurtingka-L
light
kana; nyarranyarra
light, to
karla-ma-L;
wirrirri-ma-L
light-fingered
pirrimanta
lightning
nguthina
like this
yimpala
like, to
wiru-mpa-Ø
lip
nharra
liquor
kari
Listen!
thawu
little
kupuyu
little boy
marnturru; thurlku;
wuntu
little corella
ngarnawarra; wilinyja
little finger
nyirringu
little girl
ngurrinymarta
little one (diminutive)
kupuyuwaja
little ones
kupiyaji

little while
jampa
 liver
ngamarri
 lizard
kalyarti
 lizard, type of
jakajakara; jalaparra;
jingkiwa; manyjilyura
 long
wanarra; winparri
 long beard
kuntha
 long way
wal.yu
 long-necked tortoise
ngartawirri; wiyartu
 Look!
thawu
 look after, to
nhawungarra-ma-L
 look at, to
nhawu-Ø
 look back (at), to
walarnti-Ø
 look for, to
wawayi-L
 look out for oneself, to
nhawungarra-ma-L
 looking after
nhawungarra
 looking out for oneself
nhawungarra
 lopsided
yinkiwulyarru
 lose someone (who has
 died), to
withawitha-ma-L
 low tide
thanturru
 lower arm
marnta
 lower grindstone
ngaantangu
 lump
pangkira
 lungs
puri
 lusting
kamungu

lying flat
pari
 lying on back
yarnarra

M

maggot
yirlirli
 magic man
mawarnkarra
 magpie
kurrwaru
 make, to
warrama-L
 make 'wuu' noise, to
wuuny-karri-Ø
 make a big job of it (meal),
 to
kalyaalya-ma-L
 make a fire (of firewood),
 to
karla-ma-L
 make a fishing net (of
 spinifex), to
marntanhu-ma-L
 make a hole, to
kurryu-ma-L
 make a spear, to
warrirti-ma-L
 make a swag, to
ngurriny-ma-L
 make a trench, to
kurryu-ma-L
 make angry, to
kamparta-ma-L
 make awkward, to
manhamanha-ma-L
 make bad, to
jalya-ma-L; kuyilwa-L
 make camp, to
ngurra-ma-L
 make civilised, to
kul.yakarta-ma-L
 make clean, to
nhawani-ma-L;
wilyiwilyi-ma-L
 make clear, to
nhawani-ma-L

make cool, to
muthumuthu-ma-L
 make dusty, to
wurtura-wurtura-ma-L
 make feel bad, to
wiru-wirraa-ma-L
 make feel good, to
pinhu-ma-L
 make go fast, to
murti-ma-L
 make good, to
panyu-ma-L
 make grab, to
mankulha-ma-L
 make happy, to
malwuma-L
 make healthy, to
jarrala-ma-L
 make hole, to
jalyuru-ma-L;
purmta-ma-L
 make into small pieces, to
kupiyaji-ma-L
 make laugh, to
thurniwii-ma-L
 make light, to
nyarranyarra-ma-L
 make like this, to
yimpala-ma-L
 make mud, to
ngapala-ma-L
 make not to see, to
paniya-wirraa-ma-L
 make powder, to
yurmtura-ma-L
 make prisoner, to
pirtuwangu-ma-L
 make sharp, to
jurirri-ma-L
 make sick, to
malyarra-ma-L
 make slurping noise, to
yuurr-yarri-Ø
 make soft, to
kulhuwari-ma-L
 make something black, to
kurnangu-ma-L
 make sore, to
ngarnta-ma-L

- make species-characteristic sound, to
wangka-Ø
- make straight, to
mulurru-ma-L
- make sure of, to
wankuma-L
- make three, to
jarrkurti-ma-L
- make tired, to
winyarta-ma-L
- make visible, to
kanangkalwa-L
- make wet, to
parrwuri-ma-L
- man
kanyara; kapun
- mangrove
ngayurrwa
- mangrove crab
yurrkun
- mangrove nut
thuriyal
- manta ray
ngangkariyarra; yamparna
- many
maru(warla)
- march fly
jarru
- marriageable girl
walhurri
- married couple
(generation ± 1)
nhuwarra
- married couple
(generation ± 2)
nhuunuwa
- married couple in first
ascending/descending
generation
yaanka
- married couple where one
is *nyirti* to speaker
nyirtiwala
- married couples in first
ascending/descending
generation
yaanwarnti
- marsh
warutharra
- marsupial, type of
jurnawartu; kartuwarli; wayuwarra; yilyiwartu
- marsupial mouse
mangi
- matches
karla
- matchstick
pirriri
- maybe
wayil; wii; wiyaa
- meat
murla
- meatant
warriji
- medicinal plant, type of
ngunarr
- medicine, type of
kawurru; miluma
- meet, to
thartuungku-Ø
- meeting to sort out kin
relationships
milyangku
- middle
martura
- middle brothers
malhurta; martura
- middle child
malhurta; martura
- middle finger
martura
- middle fingers
malhurta
- middle of river
wiruwarra
- midriff
ngarnmarr
- midwife
wurruru
- milk
piwi; yuru
- miss, to
yawarrunyja-L
- missed
yawarru
- mist
punyjalu
- Mistakenly Thought
particle
wurla
- mix up, to
ngawurri-ma-L
- mixed up
ngawurri
- moment
jampa
- money
karrulyu; parla
- moon
jurkirta
- morning
wiruwanti
- mosquito
kumin; yiriny
- mother
ngangka; pipi
- mother-in-law
nganyi
- mother's brother
mimi
- mother's brother and
sister's child pair
mimiyarra
- mother's brother's daughter
punkali
- mother's brother's son
ngajaju; ngathal
- mother's brother's son's
child
ngajala
- mother's brother's wife
warinyu
- mother's elder sister
yarukal
- mother's father
thami
- mother's father's sister
kaparli
- mother's mother's brother's
son
thal.yu
- mother's younger sister
kamari
- motorcar
murtiwarla
- mouse
nyimu
- moustache
jamulungkura
- mouth
jamulu

mouth of hollow stump
thaarta
move away, to
thurtinti-Ø; warali-Ø
move down, to
thurtinti-Ø
move from the west, to
yawurrarni-mpa-Ø
move something this way
kuwithartu-ma-L
mucus
nyurru
mud
ngapala
muddy
ngapala
mudlark
jilimpilyura
mudskipper fish
pulhapulhara
mulga
kamtur
mulgara
pirryin
mullamulla
malaya
mullet
manarra
mycum tree
yarluyarlungu
mythical giant dingo
ngarrwanyja
mythical water-serpent
parriminti

N

name
yini
nape of neck
nhanka
nasal bone
kartayu
native cat
pirryin
navel
nyitha; wanyjakarri
nearby
murna

neonate marsupial
mirtily
nephew
kamparnu
nest
pirta
net
thawurra
new
kuwarrira
news
marrari
next
ngarti
night
wayala
nipple
kunhan
No!
mir.ta
no good
jalya
noise, to emit
wangka-Ø
north
wartantu
north wind
wartankura
northerly
wartantarni
northwards
wartantari
nose
mulha
nostril
nyurru-marmu
nosy person
thurlamanta
not
mir.ta
Not at all!
piyuwa
not want, to
ngukara-mpa-Ø
Nothing!
piyuwa
now
kuwarri
nulla-nulla
wakupurra

nut of mangrove
thuriyal
nut of rush
ngarluwany

O

occiput
jal.yu
octopus
nganyjaluyura
odour, to emit
ngurirri-Ø
offend, to
paniya-la-ma-L
Oh damn!
paparti
Okay now!
wuraa(1)
old fellow
kur.tamparra
old man
julyu
old ones, old people
pukarrpukarr
old person
puliyanyja
old woman
jantira
omentum
ngulyun
on horseback
jilingka
On the contrary!
piyaa
on top
kankarni
one
kalika
only
yirla
open crutch
thartapara
open up, to
jalyuru-mpa-Ø; thaatharra-ri-Ø
open-mouthed
thaatharra
opening
jalyuru

other
yarta
 others
yartapalyu
 other side (of river)
kuyuranguru
 Ouch!
yakartayi; yakayi
 our father
papungali
 owlet-nightjar
kapukurta
 own daughter's sister
ngatha
 own mother's brother's
 daughter
ngangkari
 own thing
pirriyarta

P

Pacific Gull
kurilkura
 pad of foot
thalapaju
 pain
malyarra
 paint in different coloured
 stripes, to
yirtiyirti-ma-L
 Painted Finch
warrinyan
 pair of brothers
kurtamarringka
 pair of brothers-in-law
nyinuwa(rra)
 pair of father's brothers
mantarriya
 pair of father's fathers
mayiliya
 pair of sons
mantarriya
 pair of step-brothers
panyurarra
 palm of hand
manthamarnu
 paper, paperbark
marli

parallel cousin
milara
 parents-in-law
warinyuwa
 parrot fish
palharra
 partially severed
wurawura
 pass
wil.ya
 passed through law
pirirri
 pay back, to
kulyama-L
 pearl shell
nyamarr; wirti
 peel off, to
walywanti-Ø
 pelican
jiruna
 pelvis
pul.yan
 penis
kartathurruthurru;
nhumira; pinyjulu; wilhu
 person
kanyara; kapun
 person who ignores
 avoidance relationships
jurriny
 pester, to
wayilha-wayilha-ma-L
 pestering
wayilha-wayilha
 pet
thalu
 pick up, to
manku-Ø
 piece of something
pal.yu; yilyirti
 piled up
kankarnmayi
 pink schnapper
kurtayi
 pipe
jil.yarta
 pipit
pal.yarrawutinyjirr

place on thigh where
 punishment spear is
 inserted
karlamarnu
 place, to
wantha-R
 plain
pal.yarra
 plains kangaroo
pal.yarranyungu;
payiwanarra
 plant, type of
jalwarr; karlumpu;
kartayarrwara; kulha;
makaran;
minthirriminy;
minyjurru; mururr;
nyinarri; puniina;
thampalyi; walhawara;
yal.yuwarri; yamparla
 plant rubbish
mirntili
 plate
jinpi
 play, to
nyangkurri-Ø
 play through (a ceremony),
 to
nyangkurri-ingku-Ø
 play (with), to
yirriya-Ø
 play with, to
nyangkurri-tha-L;
pirrimanta-npa-Ø
 point (of implement)
mulha
 point of spear
yiri
 point out something to
 someone, to
jurrura-L
 pointing upwards
parlu-thartu
 poke with a stick, to
nyuwi-L
 poke, to
karta-L
 policeman
jankalwayara;
marntanhumarta;
ngarniwurtu

poor fellow
nyirtimangkurtu;
thurlajinkarri;
thurlanyarrara
 poor hunter
yirrapuwa
 possum
walampari
 pot-gutted
pungajarti
 potbelly
pukanyjarti;
pungapangkira;
pungajarti
 powder
yurntura
 prawn
jirtupakura
 pre-initiate
nyanyji
 pregnant
mil.yiran
 press down on, to
martarna-L
 prevent from seeing, to
thurla-wirraa-ma-L
 prevent from sleeping, to
nguyirri-wiraa-ma-L
 prickle
jiri
 prisoner
pirtuwangu
 proscribed object
nganyjali
 protruding
pangkira
 pubic hair
nyalyu
 puffball fungus
kurntu.ru
 pull out, to
thurlwa-L; thuulwa-L
 punishment spear
mawuritu
 pupil of eye
thurlapaniya
 put, to
wantha-R
 put away, to
kulhi-L

put in cheek, to
kartara-la-ma-L;
manguwa-ma-L
 put in the middle, to
martura-la-ma-L
 put into, to
tharrwa-L; tharrwi-L
 put on clothes, to
tharrwa-Ø
 put on head, to
parna-ngka-L
 put on leaves, to
wurrulywa-tha-L
 put to sleep, to
nguyirri-ma-L

Q

quail
yuya
 quiet
kal.ya; marirri;
purnumpuru; tharlwan
 quietly, to do
jarruru-ma-L

R

rain
warnan
 rain on, to
parnta-L
 rainbow bird
pirrupirru
 rainbow serpent
mirtanyungu
 rasp for spearthrower
mirrimpa
 raw
wanka
 raw material for implement
ngarta
 ready waiting
panganypa
 realise, to
nhuura-ri-Ø
 really
paju

rear, to
wanka-ma-L
 recognise, to
ngarntarrwa-Ø
 red ochre
martarr; mungkangu
 red schnapper
milyingkura
 reliable hunter
kunmayirti
 respect language style
kurmta
 restless
kamparta
 return, to
parrani-Ø
 rhetorically
kana
 rib
nyimi
 rice
minthirriminy
 ridge of hill
yirra
 rifle
partarapari
 right-handed
mayarta
 rip, to
warryi-L
 ripples
pintura-pintura
 rise, to
karlwa-Ø
 river
wuyu
 river blue-bell
jalwarr
 river gum tree
warlanykura;
warnanykura
 road
marlara
 rock
parla
 rock cod
kurluwa; nhamali
 rock fig
winyarr(angy)
 rock partridge
karrwanyja

- rock pigeon
karrwanyja; kurlwurr
 rock python
pal.yunyji
 rock wallaby
jartunmarra
 roll, to
thurnta-L;
wartiwarti-npa-Ø
 roll a swag, to
ngurriny-ma-L
 roll up, to
punkuwunku-ma-L
 rolled up
punkuwunku; purntura
 rolling
wartiwarti
 root
walywari
 root of tongue
kartawura
 root of tree above ground
karntarra
 rope
pinyjura
 rotten
nhungkurn; puwa
 round up, to
kulhawulha-ma-L
 rub, to
thurnta-L
 rubbish
jalya
 ruin, to
kuyilwa-L
 run, to
wanyjarri-Ø
 run after/behind, to
murti-ingku-Ø
 rushes, type of
martuwari; nhuniri;
puwari
- S**
- saddle
nyinanguntharri
 saliva
wilu
 salmon
kamarangka
- salt
thanarri; warutharra
 sand
nharnu
 sandhill
puwala
 sandpaper fig
malhangu
 sandpiper
jinpirtin
 satisfied
kanka
 savage
ngarniwurtu; nhurta;
wayamirta
 save life of, to
wanka-ma-L
 say, to
wangka-Ø
 say goodbye, to
wawuthu-L
 say goodbye to, to
warungku-Ø
 scatter about, to
pintirijila-ma-L
 scattered
pintirijila
 scorpion
yantha
 scrape, to
thani-L
 scratch, to
yurra-L
 scrotum
ngaru
 scrub
karra
 sea
puriya; thanarri
 sea bream
ngarntalu
 sea eagle
winyamara
 sea mullet
manarra
 sea shell
yampa; yuruntu
 sea-breeze
yawunhungu
 seagull
kurilkura
- seagull, type of
pajapajangu
 seaweed
mirntili
 section name
karimarra; pal.yarri;
panaka; purungu
 see, to
nhawu-Ø; puranyi-L
 see clearly, to
nhawungarra-ma-L
 seed
maan
 self
jankul
 send, to
thathu-L; thawu-L
 send deceptively, to
ngala-thathu-L
 send wrongly, to
ngala-thathu-L
 separate by killing, to
tharratharra-ma-L
 separated by death
tharratharra
 severed, to become
 partially
wurawura-npa-Ø
 shade
malarnu
 shake, to
parrawarra-nri-Ø;
pinyjawinyja-ma-L;
pulyawulya-ma-L;
wilawila-ma-L
 shake chest while dancing,
 to
kumingkarri-Ø
 shake hand, to
manarri-Ø
 shaken
pinyjawinyja;
pulyawulya; wilawila
 shaking chest in dance
kumi
 shaking
parrawarra
 shaky
manhamanha
 shame
kurnta

- share out, to
pintirrijila-ma-L
- shark
kanu; pinyjuramarta; yirrathanangka
- shark, type of
marlawiji; mirrin
- sharp
jurirri; nganthari
- sharp spine
ngaliri
- sharpen, to
mulhaa-L; nganthari-ma-L
- shavings of wood
janyjin
- sheep
kukunyjayi
- shell of tortoise
punji-karta
- shell of turtle
punji-karta
- shell parrot
kulyirri
- shelter
yawarnu
- shield
wurmta
- shin
kanta
- shine (whitely), to
jiwarra-L
- shingle
karrulyu
- shirt
jaat; kapulmarnu
- shiver, to
parrawarra-ri-Ø
- shivering
parrawarra
- shocked
jiwa
- shoot, to
mirntilywa-L; purra-L
- shop
thuumaya
- shore
yinki
- short while
jampa
- shoulder-blade
parryara
- shoulders
wilyara
- shovel-nose shark
mirrin
- show, to
kariya-L; nhuura-ma-L
- show off, to
kanka-mpa-Ø; karnka-mpa-Ø
- show respect, to
kurmta-Ø
- sick
malyarra
- side
yanti
- side of hill
nyimi
- side-by-side
tharryitharra
- silly
paarnpaarn; wanta
- sinew
karntarra
- sing, to
piya-L; thuulwa-L
- sink, to
pungka-Ø
- sister's child
ngajala
- sister's son's wife
nganyi
- sister
karturra
- sister-in-law
punkali
- sit, to
nyina-Ø
- sit holding knees
ngalyurti
- sitting cross-legged
pil.yi
- sitting on eggs
kawungka
- sitting with one leg
crossed
murtiwana
- skin of snake
pangkalha
- skinny
palya
- skinny-legged
thartapara
- skipjack fish
yirraana
- skyhawk
wirntiwirnti
- slander, to
muyiwiyala-L
- sleepy person, to become a
nguyirri-warlaya-mpa-Ø
- slow
jarruru
- slow down, to
manurri-Ø
- slowly, to do
jarruru-ma-L; jarruru-mpa-Ø
- slurping noise, to make
yuurr-yarri-Ø
- small
kupuyu
- small brown crab
nginingini
- small of back
punhalangu
- small ones
kupiyaji
- small piece
yilyirti
- smash, to
pari-ingu-L
- smell, to
ngurirri-Ø; nguritha-L; parnti-Ø
- smell (for emu), to
thani-L
- smelly
nhurrirra
- smoke
kayurtu
- snake
warlu
- snake, type of
kantinmarta; kuluwirri; payamalu
- snakewood
marruwa; pukarti
- sneak up on, to
jiruna-mpa-Ø

- sneaky
jirruna
- sneeze, to
jinkurn-karri-Ø
- sniff, to
nguritha-L
- snore, to
nhuurr-yarri-Ø
- soap
ngawurrmarta
- socialised
kul.yakarta
- socket of eye
thurlatharra
- soft
kulhuwari
- soft spinifex
mirma
- some
maru(warla)
- son
mura
- son and daughter couple
wanamarrika
- son's wife
kayulumarnu; ngarraya
- song, type of
jalurra; thawi
- sore
ngarnta
- soul
mangkarn
- south
karalu
- southerly
karalami
- southern storm front
maawurrangu
- southwards
karalari
- spark
jirti
- speak, to
wangka-Ø
- speak respectfully, to
kurmta-Ø
- spear
kurryarta; pankirti; warrirti
- spear, to
nhuwa-L
- spearthrower
mangkurtura; mirru
- spider
kanparr
- spider, type of
warniki
- spike
jiri
- spin (firestick), to
ngal.yaa-L
- spin (hair), to
wurrwara-L
- spine
jiri; purniji
- spinifex
warrapa
- spinifex, type of
mima; punawurru; wamila
- spinifex finch
warrinyan
- spinifex head-pad
pinyjakunti
- spinifex lizard
jingkilwa
- spinifex mouse
nhimu
- spinifex quail
yuya
- spirit
mangkarn
- spit
wilu
- splinter
yithirri
- spoon
mirntiri
- spotted dove
kuurtu
- spotted stingray
yirrapiripiri
- spouse
yaan
- spouse of grandparent
nhuunu
- spouse of grandparent/child
jinkirti
- spread out
pintirrijila
- square-tailed kite
pirlunyji
- squash, to
kulhany-ma-L
- squashed
kulhany
- squeeze, to
junyi-L
- stab, to
karta-L
- stalk of spinifex
pirriri
- stand, to
karri-Ø
- steal, to
muya-L
- steel knife
jumpiriri
- step, to
panyi-L
- sternum
nyil.yi
- stick
kalyaran
- stick used as musical rasp with spearthrower
mirrimpa
- sticking out
jayinkul
- still
kal.ya; kunhu; parilha; waruu(1)
- stingray
kanu
- stingray, type of
yirrapiripiri
- stink, to
ngurirri-Ø
- stinking
nhungkurn; nhurirra
- stir, to
murlimurli-ma-L
- stirred
murlimurli
- stolen
muyinu
- stomach
nyil.yu; punga
- stomach ache, to have a
punga-nguli-Ø

stone
parla; warmmalyi
stone dead
mal.yan
stone knife
kurlany
stooped
jurlurlu
stop doing
kunti
stop doing, to
kuntarra-ma-L;
kunti-ri-Ø
stop someone doing, to
jaampama-L
stopping
kuntarra
store
thuumaya
storm cloud
kantungarra;
maawurrangu;
yirrawuyu
story
marrari
straight
mulurru
straight-tailed burrowing
marsupial
kartuwarli
straighten, to
muluru-ma-L;
parlwiya-L
stranger
manyjangu
stripe
mulurru
striped
yirtiyirti
strong
ngungku
stuck, to get
ngarrami-Ø
style
ngurmta
stylish
ngurangura
suck, to
jawa-L
sugar
manyarrka; thuur.ta

summer
jurrwalyi
summer sea-breeze
yawunhungu
sun
yakarrangu
Sunday
nguyirrimarnu
sure of, to make
wankuma-L
surprised
jiwa
surrounded
marlpara
swag
ngurriny; yanthan
swag strap
jarraalwayara
swagger, to
ngurangura-mpa-Ø
swallow
jinpilinykura
sway, to
wirtawirta-mpa-Ø
swaying
wirtawirta
sweat, to
nganyurta-mpa-Ø
sweating
nganyurta
sweet
thuur.ta
swift (of current)
murtimurti
swift of foot
manamana
swim, to
kurtarti-Ø; puntha-Ø;
warrpurri-Ø

T

tactless
thukurtarra
tadpole
kuulhu
tail
karnti; kuntharti

tail of kangaroo
warryayilwayara;
warryayinnguntharri
take, to
kangku-Ø
take from, to
murnta-L
take hand, to
manarri-Ø
take in turns
wartakartara-rii-Ø
talented
kur.ta
talk, to
wangka-Ø
talk to one another, to
wangkarnu-marri-Ø
tall
kantawanarra; wanarra
tall person
kantawanarra
tame
marirri; tharlwan
target on body
yanti
taste, to
kulaya-L
Tawny Frogmouth
thuli
tea leaf
wurrulywa
teach, to
nhuura-ma-L
teacher, good
mir.tuwarra
tear, to
warryi-L
tears
karnta
teenage boy
wirta
teenage girl
walhurri
tell, to
wangka-Ø
tell lies, to
ngalawangka-Ø
temple
pal.ya
termite
manthu

test, to <i>kulaya-L</i>	thunder <i>nguthina</i>	tree goanna <i>warruryura</i>
thank, to <i>pinhu-ma-L</i>	ti-tree <i>nharryarrangu</i>	tree python <i>warntawarnta</i>
they alone <i>minthawul.yu</i>	tie up, to <i>jankaa-L; jarraa-L;</i> <i>manta-L</i>	trench <i>kurryu</i>
thick <i>mirtali</i>	tightly <i>kartarr</i>	troublemaker <i>thukurtarra</i>
thicket <i>karra</i>	timid <i>wayangku-nnguntharri</i>	trousers <i>thawutha</i>
thief <i>muyal.yi</i>	tinder <i>mimtili</i>	truly <i>palwarru; purrkuru</i>
thigh <i>wuluwarli</i>	tired <i>winyarri; winyarta</i>	try out, to <i>kulaya-L</i>
thigh bone <i>karta</i>	tobacco <i>ngamari</i>	tune <i>yal.yun</i>
thin <i>jurirri; palya</i>	tobacco, type of <i>yal.yuwarri</i>	turn <i>ngawayu</i>
thing <i>ngawayi</i>	tobacco chewing quid <i>pul.yu</i>	turn back on <i>warnta</i>
things <i>ngurriny</i>	together <i>mimtiwul; purtuwurtu</i>	turtle <i>majun</i>
think, to <i>kuliyā-npa-Ø</i>	toilet, to be at <i>wirlyai-npa-Ø</i>	twenty-eight parrot <i>pamparn</i>
thinking about nothing <i>ngalangala</i>	tomahawk <i>kartathalwayara</i>	twist, to <i>murlimurli-ma-L</i>
thinking <i>kul.ya</i>	tomorrow <i>wiruwanti</i>	twisted <i>murlimurli</i>
this direction <i>kuwithartu</i>	tongue <i>yalhuru</i>	two <i>kayarra</i>
this side of <i>kuwilya-wuyu</i>	tooth <i>nganthari; yirra</i>	two alone <i>minthatharra</i>
this way <i>kurrinyji; kuwithartu;</i> <i>ngunirmi</i>	top <i>parlu</i>	two brothers <i>jankutharra</i>
thorn <i>jiri</i>	topknot pigeon <i>kurlwurr</i>	type of acacia with edible seeds <i>kul.yawurta</i>
three <i>jarrkurti</i>	torn <i>winkarra</i>	type of bird <i>jinpirtin; karrwanyja;</i> <i>pajapajangu; tharratal;</i> <i>wimtiwirnti</i>
throat <i>wangkarr</i>	tortoise <i>thatharruka</i>	type of bush <i>malaya; miluma; nyirri</i>
throw, to <i>warntitha-R</i>	touch, to <i>panthu-L</i>	type of crab <i>nginingini; yurrkun</i>
throw on ground, to <i>parnpiingku-Ø</i>	town <i>thawun</i>	type of creeper <i>minyjurly; ngawurtan</i>
thrust in intercourse, to <i>yinka-Ø</i>	track <i>jina</i>	type of fig <i>winyarr(angy)</i>
thrust out body part, to <i>kariya-L</i>	track, to <i>jinangku-Ø</i>	
thumb <i>ngankiyanhu</i>	tree <i>kalyaran; see also 'type'</i>	

type of fish
*kangkurrya; malyun;
 milinyja; ngamiwurtu;
 wiruwartu;
 yarramirtangka*

type of fruit
jipurta

type of fungus
kurnturu

type of goanna
warrunyura

type of grass
thurlunngu

type of gum tree
yilyilyi

type of lizard
*jaka jakara; jalaparra;
 jingkilwa; many jilyura*

type of marsupial
*jumawartu; kartuwarli;
 wayuwarra; yilyiwartu*

type of medicinal plant
ngunari

type of medicine
kawurnu; miluma

type of plant
*jalwarr; karlumpu;
 kartayarrwara; kulha;
 makaran;
 minthirriminy;
 minyjurlu; mururr;
 nyinarri; puniina;
 thampalyi; walhawara;
 yal.yuwarri; yamparla*

type of rushes
*martuwarri; nhuniri;
 puwari*

type of sea shell
yuruntu

type of seagull
pajapajangu

type of shark
marlawiji

type of snake
*kantinmarta; kuluwirri;
 payamalu*

type of song
jalurra; thawi

type of spider
warniki

type of spinifex
*mirma; punawurtu;
 wamila*

type of stingray
yirrapiripiri

type of tobacco
yal.yuwarri

type of tree
*jarrwayu; jiinngu;
 kurrwaya; manurru;
 mirturnkura;
 ngalyantara;
 nharryarrangu; nyirrya;
 pilamurrya; pithangara;
 purtuwari; puyalangu;
 thangkula; thumuwuru;
 wilharri; yilyilyi*

type of turtle
parralha

U

umbilical cord
warlurari

unable to do, to be
waruulwa-L

uncle and nephew/niece
mimiyarra

uncle and niece married
 couple
nhakajiyarra

uncle
kampalalha

uncover, to
kanangkalwa-L; walyi-L

undecided, to be
wiru-warntura-ri-Ø

underneath
mirtungkura

understanding
kul.yakarta

underwater
nyuulu

unhappy with, to be
yarna-L

unripe
wanka

unroll, to
martiwarti-ma-L

unrolled
martiwarti

unsatisfied with, to be
yarna-L

unsteady
wayula

until
yirla

unwrap, to
martiwarti-ma-L

unwrapped
martiwarti

up, to go
wirta-Ø; karlwa-Ø

up to here
ngunirmi

up-end, to
punhukunkurru-wa-L

up-ended
punhukunkurru

upper arm
jirli

upper buttocks
pirlu

upper grindstone
paruwurru

upriver
jinarri-Ø; jinkayu

upriver-wards
jingkaari

upset
jiwa; wuruya

upside down
punhukunkurru

urinate, to
kal.yarra-L; marntura-L

urine
marntura; ngalyari

V

vegetable food
thanuwa

vertical
parluthartu

very fast
murtimurti

very good
mal.yarru

very
paju
 visible
kana
 voice
marrari; yalyun

W

waist
kalya; purrurumarnu
 wait (for), to
wartawirrinpa-Ø
 wake up, to
marruwama-L;
paniya-npa-Ø
 walk well, to
pajura-Ø
 walking stick
jinkarn
 walking
purluthan
 want
wiru
 wash, to
puntha-L; puntha-Ø;
warpurri-tha-L
 wash (clothes), to
wilyiwilyi-ma-L
 water
kayulu
 water snake (mythical)
mirtanyungu
 waterhen
jantiyinti
 wattle tree
wilharri
 wave
pintura
 wave to, to
marringkarri-Ø
 wave-hill grass
thurlunngu
 wax of spinifex
pul.ya
 We have an emu, get
 ready!
jankurnalu
 weak
wularla

wedge-tailed eagle
warrirta
 wedgebill
marnmarnkarlalu
 well
jarrala
 west
yawurru
 westerly
yawurrarni
 westerner
yawurrura
 westwards
yawurrari
 wet
parrwuri
 wether
karunyunyja
 whale
kartarapuka; kujawari
 whirlwind
kunyjankura
 whiskered salmon
kamarangka
 whistling kite
jarra; karlamana
 white
jirlwa; jiwarra; jurlwin;
mirtamirta
 white man
jurlwin; warruwa
 white ochre
jirlwa
 wide of the mark
yawarru
 wide
parrara
 wife's brother
marryanu
 wife's brother/sister's
 husband
nyirtiwala
 wife's family
muntungara
 wife's father
yaji
 wife's mother's brother
thal.yu
 wild
nhurta; paya; wayamirta

wild bean
walyurru
 wild cucumber
ngawurtan
 wild onion
partunya
 wild tomato
karlumpu
 Willie wagtail
jintijinti; jirrijirri
 wind
kanarra
 wind from east
pulhurungu
 wind from north-west
thampaliwarranu
 wind from south
kawankura
 windbreak
wungku
 windmill
pinyjakunti
 windpipe
partiwarti
 windstorm from south-
 west
pil.yawirri
 wing
marra
 winnow, to
kanpi-L
 winnowing dish
yanti
 woman
pungkanyu; wartirra;
yanthanmarta
 wood
kalyaran
 word
marrari
 worry, to
wannga-L
 wound
ngarnta
 wrap up, to
manta-L
 wrist
nyuju

Y

yawn, to	<i>jaama-L</i>	Yes, go on!	<i>ngaa</i>	younger brother	<i>marryara; palha</i>
yellow ochre	<i>piyulu</i>	yoke	<i>wilyara</i>	younger sister	<i>mari</i>
yellow-tail fish	<i>wiruwartu</i>	yolk of egg	<i>piyulunykata</i>	youngest child	<i>nyiringu</i>
Yes indeed!	<i>ngawu</i>	You should know!	<i>thuwa</i>	youth	<i>wirta</i>
		young goanna	<i>panyjuna</i>	zebra finch	<i>nyimari; nyiri</i>

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