

Nyangumarta
A language of the Pilbara region
of Western Australia

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Nyangumarta
A language of the Pilbara region
of Western Australia

Janet Sharp



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Dedication

Without the help of the Nyangumarta language informants this work could not have been written. Monty Hale has been the most patient and consistent of all the Nyangumarta speakers I have worked with. He has helped me sort through some of the more complex aspects of the Nyangumarta grammar. Monty himself, has completed a great deal of linguistic work on his language and the language of his ancestors making him an excellent Nyangumarta language consultant. His own training in linguistics and his passion for language work has made him one of the most sought after language specialists in the Pilbara. Other Nyangumarta people who have helped me at various times have been the late Frank Thomas, Bruce Thomas, Elsie Ginger (Jititi), Barbara Hale, Sharon Hale, the late Sharon Crow (Murrjirn), Donna Lockyer, Elizabeth Bunwarrie, Roseanne Marney (Any), Beryl Ponce, the late Karlene Ponce, the late Soloman Cocky, the late Rosie Oberdoo, Kenny Thomas and especially the late Fred Bradman (Rurla/Yinyjina) who had an amazing ability to understand complex Nyangumarta grammatical constructions and to illustrate their use. Bradman was an enthusiastic storyteller and has written and illustrated numerous Nyangumarta stories.

*This work is dedicated to you, your language and culture and your families.
May your language live on.*

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Preface

This work is a synchronic description of the Nyangumarta language, a Marrngu language of the north-west of Western Australia. It includes descriptions of the language and the speakers, the phonology, the morphology, word classes including the pronominal systems and the syntactic structure of NPs. It also includes detailed description of Nyangumarta main and complex clauses.

Nyangumarta is of general typological interest. There are many reasons for this. Firstly, the status of word which emerges necessarily in the description of Nyangumarta verbal morphology contributes to the notion of there being a mismatch between what is regarded as a phonological word and what is regarded as a grammatical word in some languages. In Nyangumarta the paradigms of verbal pronouns illustrate a division between morphemes which are phonologically bound and those which are phonologically free; although both sets are grammatically bound to the verb. To add to this there is a class of derivational verbs which appear to be divided according to their phonological/grammatical word status. The inchoative and stative verbs are analysed as having phonological word status whereas the monosyllabic derivational verbs such as the affective and causative and the semantically 'empty' *-pi* are analysed as bound verbalisers. Other related topics describe the function of nominal suffixes, reduplication and compounding processes.

The phonological system of Nyangumarta is of interest because its productive system of vowel assimilation within the verbal morphology is one of the most elaborate of all the Australian languages. The description of the vowel assimilation processes is presented in non-linear terms incorporating distinctive features.

Nyangumarta main clause types and how they function in the grammar is of immense typological interest. There are five types of verbal clauses which differ according to the types of argument structures they select, and in addition to these clause types, there is also the added phenomena of predicates taking external arguments. Animacy determines the registration (by the cross-referencing verbal pronouns) of additional arguments.

Writing a descriptive grammar of a language demands that the linguist conduct primary research usually within the speech community of the language. I worked on this grammar of Nyangumarta in the Pilbara communities of Strelley, Warralong, Woodstock, Tjalku Wara and South Hedland. Many of the community people themselves were and still are involved in language work. Monty Hale is continuing to write Nyangumarta literacy materials for the Nyangumarta community and Fred Bradman is writing and illustrating Nyangumarta stories.

As a field worker, a linguist is also a stalker of language informants—a taxi driver, a firewood collector, a parent, a child and many times an entertainer. As a descriptive linguist, one is involved with analysis of data, checking of data against the current analysis, writing, re-writing and discussing the analysis with anyone who is prepared to listen. It is a very demanding time and without my family, colleagues and friends I would not have been able to achieve this end product.

Firstly, I would like to thank Alan Dench (my supervisor) for his very thorough guidance of the writing and research that has been necessary for the bulk of this work. At times he was my worse nightmare but without his endless comments and queries and push for more analysis I would not have been able to complete the description in the form in which it appears today. He is an extremely skilful linguist and field worker and he has taught me a great deal about the writing of descriptive grammars as well as giving me many insights into methods to use in the checking and elicitation of linguistic data.

Thanks also to the wonderful Shelly Harrison who once said 'The wastepaper bin is your best friend when writing a grammar'. I sometimes took those words too literally and threw out too much troublesome data instead of persevering with it; only to have to deal with it later. At times I wanted the wastepaper bin to have it all! Shelly is a brilliant teacher and a valued friend. He has renewed much of my enthusiasm for linguistic pursuits.

John Henderson with whom I shared an office for part of the process was instrumental in getting me to keep moving forward. His constant response to many of my outbursts was 'Janet, get over it'. This applied to any major or minor glitches which tend to prey on graduate students. I also endured many long hours of Hendo 'talking through' Arrernte issues on the office blackboard.

Brian Geytenbeek and Helen Geytenbeek were excellent resource people during many of the years I spent in the Pilbara. They read the first couple of chapters and provided me with numerous comments and suggestions. I am grateful for their assistance.

I am indebted to Bob Dixon, David Nash and Ken Hale who provided comments and corrections concerning the content of this description. Their comments, ideas and words of encouragement assisted in the revision needed for the publication of this work.

The Bucknall family were my source of support and encouragement. Gwen Bucknall had worked for many years in the Nyangumarta schools so knew the people and had worked on the language. I have benefitted from many long discussions with her, many of which centred around Gwen questioning my analysis of various segments of Nyangumarta data. This was a great help and I thank her for her words of encouragement. John Bucknall was a great source of knowledge concerning the history of the Nyangumarta people and was only too happy to provide me with information I needed. Euan Bucknall, my husband and friend was the perfect PhD partner; always relentlessly supportive of my work. He had to put up with many of my emotional lows and my bad moods. Somehow we even managed to fit a new child, Lachlan into our already busy lives. My other two sons, Gethyn and Rowyn, whose presence reminded me that there is more to life than descriptive linguistics, contributed in their own way during the research years.

My sister Colleen Gilmore, herself a scholar and a remarkable woman was always waiting on the other end of a phone line to give me words of support and encouragement. My younger sister Beverley Bell also constantly offered words of encouragement. My dad, Bob Sharp constantly cheered me by asking, 'Now Janet what exactly are you doing again?' at least a hundred times during the course of the work. I think he is still puzzled about this linguistic process. He passed on all the current information in one form or another to my mother Lorna. I thank all of my family for their support.

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Abbreviations and conventions

Kin term abbreviations

B	brother	M	mother
C	child	S	son
D	daughter	W	wife
F	father	Z	sister
H	husband		

Pronoun abbreviations

1	first person	PL	plural
2	second person	PLEXC	plural exclusive
3	third person	PURP	purposive
AN	anaphoric	RECIP	reciprocal
DU	dual	REFLX	reflexive
EXC	exclusive	SG	singular
INC	inclusive	SUB	subject
OBJ	object		

Nominal suffix abbreviations

ABL	ablative	CONJ	conjunction
ABS	Absolutive	DAT	dative suffix
ALL	allative	DU	dual number
ASS	associative	ERG	ergative
ATTEN	attenuative	FREQ	frequentive
AVERS	aversive	GEN	genitive
BEN	Benefactive	LOC	locative
CAUSAL	causal	NEG	negative word
CHAR	characterised by	OBS	obscured by
COM	comitative	PRIV	privative

Verb suffix abbreviations

ACT	Activity	POT	potential mood
AFF	affective verbaliser	PRS	present tense
ANT	anticipatory mood	PRSCFL	present contrafactual mood
AUX	auxiliary/catalyst	PST	past tense
CAUS	causative verbalise	PSTCFL	past contrafactual mood
CF	Contrafactual	Purp	purpose
FUT	future tense	PurpADV	purposive advisory
IMP	imperative mood	REM	remote
IMPF	imperfective aspect	REMCFL	remote contrafactual mood
INCH	inchoative	REMFUT	remote future
INTNS	intensifier	REMPST	remote past
NFUT	non-future	STAT	stative
NM	nominaliser	TRN	transitive
NPST	non-past	VB	verbaliser

Particles and clitics

EMPH	emphatic	QUES	question
FOC	focus	SPEC	specifier

Phonological conventions

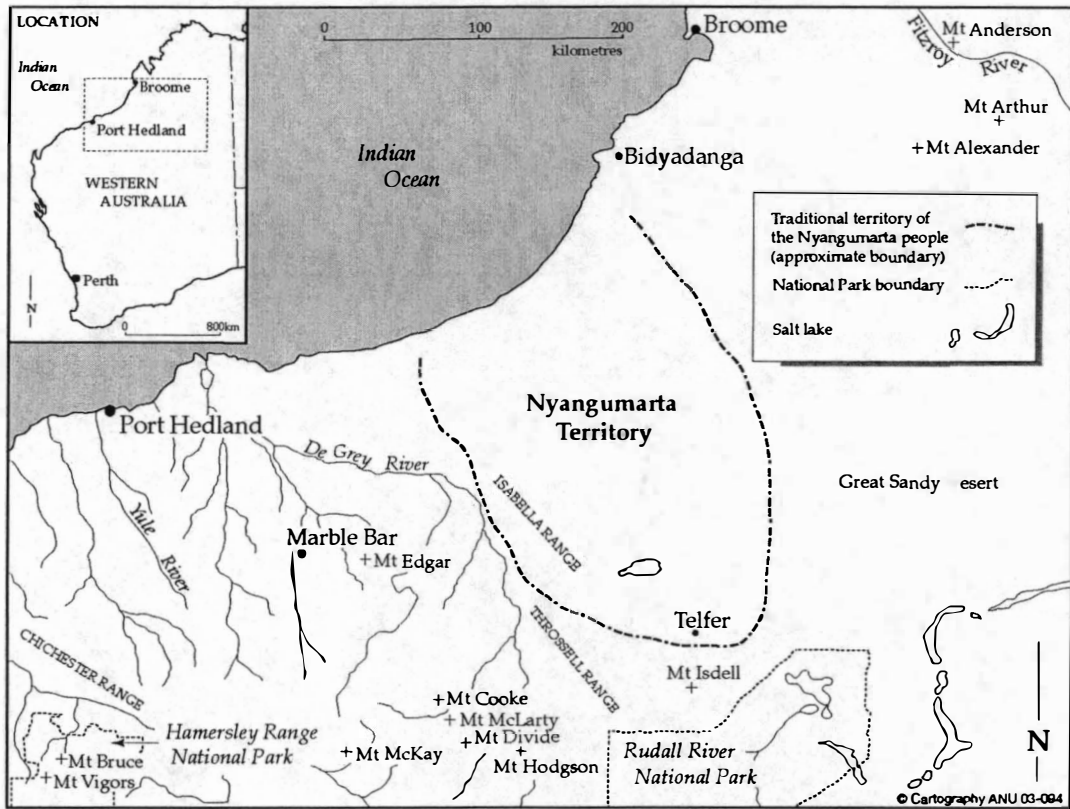
#	word boundary	+bk	back vowel position
*	protoform	C	consonant
//	phonemic representation	+hi	high vowel position
[]	phonetic representation	+lo	low vowel position
+	is marked for that feature	N	nasal
-	unmarked for that feature	pa	stressed syllable
μ	mora	V	vowel
x	privative feature (e.g. labial)	Vp	verbal phonological phrase

Morphological conventions

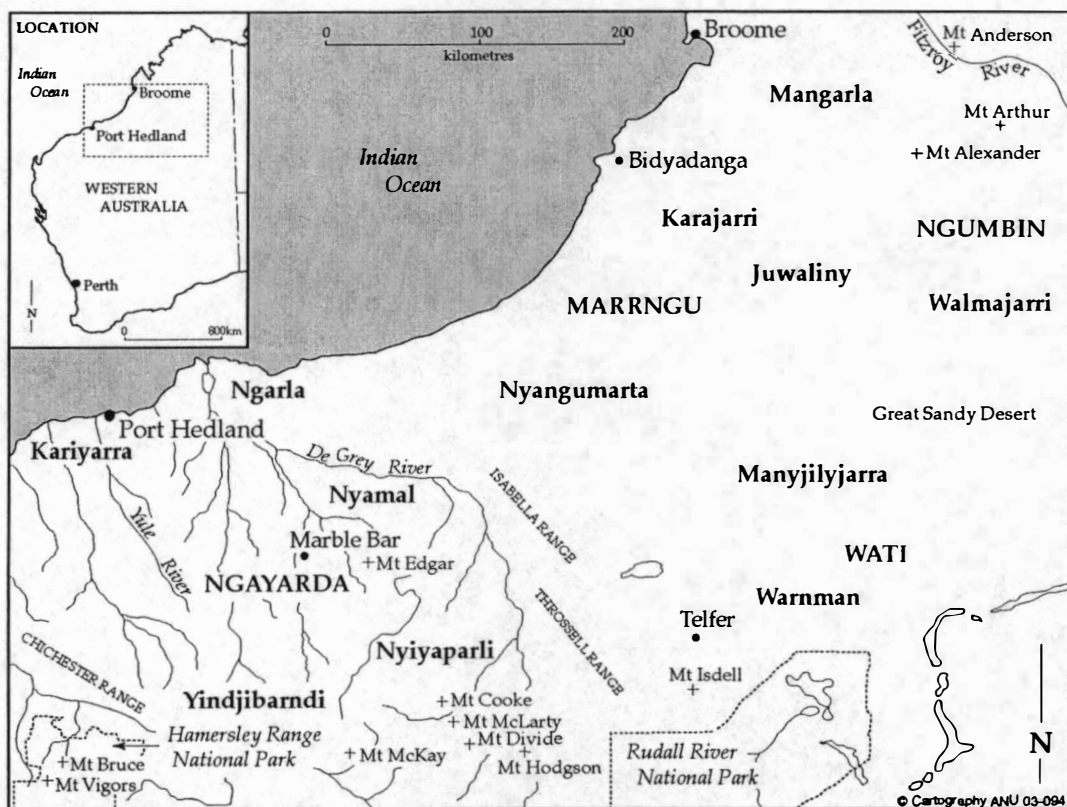
-	morpheme boundary	NY	NY - conjugation verb
N	N - conjugation verb	RN	RN - conjugation verb
NG	NG - conjugation verb	RED	reduplicated
+	separates reduplicants		

Syntactic conventions

A	transitive subject	IO	indirect object
S	intransitive subject	NP	noun phrase
O	transitive object	V	verb
^	strict linear ordering (NP)	()	optional functions (NP)
*	zero or more occurrences		



Map 1: Nyangumarta territory



Map 2: Neighbours and subgroups

1 *Language and speakers*

Nyangumarta is an Australian Aboriginal language of the north-west of Western Australia. Nyangumarta people call themselves *marrngu* meaning ‘person’. The language is divided into two major dialects: a northern coastal dialect and a southern inland dialect. The present study predominantly refers to the southern inland dialect of Nyangumarta particularly to people living in the Port Hedland area, and who call themselves the ‘Strelley Mob’, although as far as possible reference and comparison is made to constructions in the northern dialect.

The name ‘Strelley Mob’ is also interchanged with the ‘Nomads Group’. Its origin comes from the historical pastoral strike on May 1, 1946, when Aboriginal pastoral workers of the Pilbara walked off stations. A large group of these people finally bought their own station (Strelley Station) and set up their own independent school. Today they live on several different stations in the Pilbara and operate several annexes of the Nomad’s Independent Aboriginal school. They have been referred to by themselves and by people who know and work with them as the ‘Strelley Mob’. The term Strelley Mob will be used throughout this work.

This chapter provides a general ethnographic, historical background and current situation account of Nyangumarta and its speakers. Section 1.1 describes the various tribal and language names of the Nyangumarta people; §1.2 describes where the language is spoken (traditionally and currently); §1.3 describes the linguistic classification of Nyangumarta and its relationship to other neighbouring languages including the major dialect differences; §1.4 discusses the present situation of the Nyangumarta people and §1.5 describes the recent history of the Nyangumarta people. Section 1.6 described the cultural context in which the language is used; §1.7 outlines previous investigations of the language and §1.8 describes the nature of the data on which this study is based.

1.1 Names and locations

The language name ‘Nyangumarta’ has many different spellings in the linguistic/ethnographic literature. Tindale (1974) uses the spelling *Njangamarda*, O’Grady (1964) uses the spelling *Nyangumata*, O’Grady and Mooney (1973) use *Nyangumarda*, and Hoard and O’Grady (1976) use the spelling *Nyangumarda*. Some of the alternative spellings for Nyangumarta are given below:

2 Chapter 1

Njangumarda (Capell 1940)
Nangumarda
Nyangumada
Nyangumarda (O'Grady)
Ibarga/Ibarrga/Ibargo
I:baruga, Ngapakarna (a southern Njangamarda name for themselves)
Iparuka (name used by southern hordes)
Kundal (name for coastal Njangumarda of the north)
Nangamada
Nangumada
Nangumurdu
Ngolibardu
Ngulipartu
Nungoo'murdoo
Nya'umada
Nyangumarda

McKelson (1989) has also suggested an alternative name for Nyangumarta itself: *Nyangumurtu* as proposed by the late Tommy Dodd. This latter name implies that the word Nyangumarta is in fact two distinct morphemes: *nyangu* + *marta* with *-marta* being the comparative nominal suffix. The alternating form *-murtu* would be the result of the vowel assimilation process copying the final vowel of the base word *-u* which is very productive in the northern dialect. The form of the comparative suffix in the southern dialect is *-marta* so this explanation could suggest an historical origin of the name (the morpheme *nyangu* is not found elsewhere in the language however).

There is a lot of confusion, both among linguists and speakers of Nyangumarta, regarding the actual names of dialects. The following discussion considers the nature of the confusion:

Tindale (1974:253), based on earlier research states that: 'In the preferred terminology the northern coastal Njangamarda are called *Kundal* and the southern inland ones are *Iparuka*.' Tindale states that the two subtribes use:

different and conflicting arrangements of four-class social organization, preventing intermarriage; a northern, *Nabardu* or *Waljuli*, centred on the salty springs inland from Eighty Mile Beach, and a southern *Ngapakarnu*, centred on [Wa'kali'kali] (Lake Waukarlycarly of maps); together embracing more than twenty-five hordes.

However, since O'Grady's *Nyangumata grammar* (1964) it has been assumed by people working on the language that the two main dialects of Nyangumarta were called Ngurlipartu and Wanyarli. In the introductory statements of O'Grady's grammar of Nyangumarta, these two terms feature as the names of the two major dialects of Nyangumarta:

In 1946 most of the inland *ṅaṅumaṭa* (*ṅulipaṭu*), working on sheep stations in the Warrawagine area, joined with members of tribes to their south and west in a strike against their employers, and in due course established a mining cooperative. Nowadays, the quest for minerals (notably manganese, tantalite, gold, tin, copper, columbite, beryl, and scheelite) and pearl shell takes the *ṅulipaṭu* far afield throughout the Northwest, though for much of the time most of them are to be found in the vicinity of Port Hedland. The more conservative coastal *ṅaṅumaṭa* (*wapaḷi*) have meanwhile tended to continue in their roles of employees of Pardoo, Wallal, and Mandora sheep stations. Those who until 1957 worked on Anna Plains cattle stations have moved either to the Roman Catholic Mission at La Grange, or to the towns of Broome and Port Hedland.

As of 1960, despite some intermingling of *ṅaṅumaṭa* from various geographical points, it was still possible to distinguish *ṅulipaṭu* and *wapaḷi* as dialects in terms of differences on the lexical, morphophonemic, and morphosyntactic levels. These differences fall far short of being sufficient for the impairment of mutual intelligibility (O'Grady 1964:2).

Kevin McKelson working in the La Grange area for over thirty years has also used these two names for the dialects of Nyangumarta.

The following description illustrates McKelson's (1989:3) use of the two dialect names for Nyangumarta with the additional use of the term *Walyurli*:

These northern Nyangumarta spoke, according to Dr Geoffrey O'Grady, a classical Nyangumarta characterised by vowel euphony. He termed this language Wanyarli. In 1987 Paddy Nardi, a Nyangumarta elder, termed it Walyurli. Whatever the case may be Northern Nyangumarta was spoken for many years at Anna Plains station by many Aboriginals and also at La Grange Mission to the north of Anna Plains where many had sent their children for schooling... Other Nyangumarta stayed in the Pilbara and though they called their language Nyangumarta it is more accurately defined as Ngurlipartu or Southern Nyangumarta.

Brian and Helen Geytenbeek had been working in the Pilbara and southern Kimberley areas for over twenty years and have disputed O'Grady's claim about Ngulipartu and Wanyarli being the names of two Nyangumarta dialects. Brian Geytenbeek has stated:

As far as I have been able to ascertain over a period of 20 years or more, O'Grady was misled about both the terms he used as dialect names. They were only two clan-lect names among many. ...from 1972, when we began our initial survey-work at Marble Bar, no-one knew what I was talking about when I asked who could speak Wanyarli. Everyone knew that *wanyarli* was a small creeper, often known by whites as Native Pear(!) Its Latin name is *Cynanchum floribundum*. Everybody also knew that it was

Mick Blair's name. Then he died so of course the name went *nyaparu* after that. But it was never recognised by anyone I asked as being a language that you could speak. I can therefore only assume that those Aboriginal people who later took up the use of that name did so as a result of feed-back from O'Grady's Grammar. (B. Geytenbeek pers. comm.¹)

Tindale (1974) lists Ngurlipartu (Ngolibardu) as a separate language taken over by the Iparuka in early historical time around the area of Throssell range. There has been no corroboration of this by current language informants though.

When discussing the language names with Aboriginal informants of the Strelley Mob, speakers agree on the following explanation. There are four Nyangumarta dialects: *Ngurlipartu* as spoken to the south by families such as Billy Dunn's, *Pijikala* as spoken to the north near Lake Waukarlykarly and is identified with the families of Billy Thomas and the late Jack Kurala, *Kuntal* spoken by the families associated with Cranky Iti, and *Walyirli*, the dialect spoken at Yandeyarra and the Twelve Mile Reserve on the outskirts of Port Hedland, where it is also referred to as 'coastal' by some people.

In my research I have found there to be two distinct types of Nyangumarta (which is consistent with O'Grady's findings) which I will classify as dialects and which I will label northern coastal Nyangumarta and southern inland (rather than Ngurlipartu and Walyirli). This division is only meant as a linguistic division and is not intended to supplant speakers' constructions of the notion 'dialect'. These will be shortened to northern and southern Nyangumarta in this description.

1.2 Nyangumarta country

The approximate extent of the traditional territory of the Nyangumarta people is shown on Map 1. Traditionally the Nyangumarta people lived in an area that stretched from south and east of Lake Waukarlykarly² (towards Telfer) northwards to a long string of claypans that lie east of Sandfire, and which reach over 120 km into the Great Sandy Desert. Many of the northern Nyangumarta people occupied the Eighty Mile Beach area.

Other accounts (although not entirely accurate) of the traditional territory of the Nyangumarta include Tindale's (1974:253), who locates the territory of the 'traditional' Nyangumarta as: 'Eighty Mile Beach north of Cape Keraudren to Anna Plains; inland about 200 miles (320 km).' Tindale (1974:253) describes the traditional territory of the two subtribes of the Nyangumarta people:

In early historical time the *Iparuka* Njangamarda usurped the territory of the *Ngolibardu* tribe around Throssell Range. Including this, their territory

¹ Brian and Helen Geytenbeek have kindly given me permission to quote them in this work.

² The name for this lake has various spellings. It is officially spelled *Waukarlykarly* but is spelled Lake *Wakalikali* by people working within the Nyangumarta literacy programme of the 'Strelley Mob' using the orthography currently in use for Nyangumarta literature.

extends from Rudall River³ northeast to ['Karbardi] near Swindell Field east of ['Tjandalkuru], (Tindalgoon on maps), thence west to near the eastern border of Warrawagine Station. The Kundal Njangamarda go from this line northwest to ['Manda] (Munda Well on Munro Station) and west to Anna Plains Station, just south of Cape Missiessy, where ['Jawinja], situated beside the present Station homestead, was their northernmost water. Their southwestern boundary lay along the edge of the tableland north of de Grey and Oakover rivers to ['Jalao] (Ullaling Hills on maps). ...Division between the northern and southern groups of the Njangamarda hordes runs approximately along a line drawn between Ullaling Hills and Tjandaljuru. In ancestral times Karbardi was a center for both branches of the tribe.

O'Grady, Wurm and Hale (1966) state that when European settlers arrived at the mouth of the de Grey River in 1864, the Nyangumarta territory extended along the coast for 150 miles (up into the 80 mile beach area), and extended 60 to 80 miles (100–120 km) into the Great Sandy Desert.

According to McKelson (1989:1), the late Dr Helmut Petri (of Cologne University) who worked with the Nyangumarta people from 1954 at Anna Plains Station claims that

the Nyangumarta were once a desert people who had migrated towards the coast. Later some Nyangumarta people confirmed this statement and said they had come from the desert somewhere in the Oakover River area near Warrawagine. Some migrated north as far as Anna Plains station.

After the arrival of Europeans to the north-west (in the late eighteenth century) predominantly as pastoralists, some of the southern, inland Nyangumarta people moved westwards and took up positions as workers on pastoral leases.

My consultants have described the southern inland Nyangumarta as originating from the area around Lake Waukarlykarly with their ancestors either moving westwards towards the coast or northwards towards Anna Plains. Many of the informants consulted have at least one parent who spoke languages such as Mangarla or Warnman as their first language (see Table 1.5).

1.3 Linguistic type

Based on a lexicostatistical survey of languages by O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966), Nyangumarta, was classified as belonging to the Marrngu subgroup of the Nyungic branch of Pama-Nyungan which initially included Nyangumarta and Karajarri (O'Grady 1964) although Mangarla was also added (O'Grady, Voegelin & Voegelin 1966).

³ Tindale's account of traditional Nyangumarta territory is seen widely to be inaccurate by Nyangumarta people.

The Nyangumarta phoneme inventory is identical to many of the surrounding languages to the north and east consisting of five stops and corresponding nasals (bilabial, apico-alveolar, laminal, retroflex, and dorso-velar); three laterals (apico-alveolar, laminal, retroflex); two rhotics (a flap/trill and a retroflex); two semivowels and three vowels.

Word classes consist of nominals, verbs, particles and clitics and exclamations. In addition there are verbal pronouns which cross reference nominals showing person, number and grammatical function of subject, object or indirect object (see Chapter 3).

Free and verbal pronouns (pronouns suffixed or following the verb) distinguish three person (first, second, third) and three numbers (singular, dual and plural) and in the non-singular first person pronouns, there is also an inclusive/exclusive distinction. The other languages in the Marrngu subgroup (Karajarri and Mangarla) also have free and bound pronouns as do languages such as Manyjilyjarra and Warnman in the Wati group. In languages further south (the Ngayarda languages) there are not complete sets of bound pronouns.

The number of verbs is relatively small, about 200. However there are numerous verb complexes which are formed by both derivational suffixes and compounding processes. There are two major conjugational classes which roughly but not consistently coincide with transitivity classes, and two minor conjugational classes.

1.3.1 *Marrngu and neighbouring languages*

As mentioned above Nyangumarta has been classified by O'Grady (1964) and O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966) as a Marrngu language. This classification is based on a lexicostatistical survey of languages in the area (north-west). O'Grady (1964) says the following regarding the relationship between Nyangumarta and Karajarri. See Map 2 which shows Nyangumarta and its nearest neighbours.

Nyangumarta and its northeastern neighbor, Garadjeri, sharing as cognate 57% of the 100 items of a basic vocabulary test list, form the Marngic subgroup of the Southwestern group of the Pama-Nyungan phyllic family...

In that same survey, Mangarla was shown to share 46% cognacy with Nyangumarta and was excluded from the subgroup based on O'Grady's definition of an Australian linguistic subgroup at that time which was:

- (a) No member of a subgroup shares more than 50% of its basic vocabulary with any language outside the subgroup;
- (b) every member of a subgroup shares more than 50% of its basic vocabulary with at least one other member of the same subgroup.

Later, Mangarla was included in the subgroup based on its higher cognacy with Karajarri (O'Grady, Voegelin & Voegelin 1966). However, of the two languages Karajarri has more features and vocabulary in common with Nyangumarta than it has with Mangarla. Hale (1968:174) writes that 'Nyangumarta is most closely related

to Garadjeri (Karajarri), its northeastern neighbor', and O'Grady (1964:v) writes that Capell (1940) noted the close relationship between Garadjeri and Nyangumarta.

Among the surrounding languages (see Map 2), Walmajarri⁴ and Jaru belong to the Ngumpin language subgroup, Manyjilyjarra and Warnman belong to the Wati language subgroup and Ngarla, Nyamal, Panyjima, Nyiyaparli, Yindjibarndi, Martuthunira and Ngarluma belong to the Ngayarda subgroup (O'Grady, Voegelin & Voegelin 1966). Yawuru does not belong to the Pama-Nyungan family, belonging instead to the Nyulnyul language family and classified as non-Pama Nyungan (see Hosakawa 1991).⁵

Table 1.1 shows a lexical comparison of the languages in the region (although it does not include Mangarla and Karajarri as these have already been discussed). The comparison is based on a 166-word list collected from language data stored at Wangka Maya, the Pilbara Aboriginal Language Centre. The lists are based on the AIATSIS word lists.

Table 1.1: Lexical comparison of Nyangumarta and its surrounding languages

Ngarluma							
31	Yindjibarndi						
33	56	Panyjima					
15	21	23	Ngarla				
15	18	19	23	Nyangumarta			
8	15	15	13	35	Warnman		
10	13	16	18	13	50	Manyjilyjarra	
6	6	7	7	19	10	10	Jaru

The percentages of cognates in a 110-item test list conducted by O'Grady (1966) for six of the languages are given below in Table 1.2. The figures differ considerably between the two studies over the time span of 30 years. For the 1966 study, there

⁴ Nyangumarta shares 19% common vocabulary with Walmajarri; while Jaru and Walmajarri share 57%.

⁵ Hosakawa (1991:10), commenting on the linguistic classification of Yawuru, a Nyulnyul language spoken in the Broome area (a northern neighbour of Nyangumarta) states that:

From a grammatical (particularly morphological) point of view, the affiliation of Yawuru to the Nyulnyulan family is obvious, showing a sharp contrast to the Pama-Nyungan neighbours (Karajarri, Mangala, Nyangumarta, etc). A count of 100 items... shows that Yawuru shares 48% with Nyulnyul, 30% with Bardi, and ... 45% with Jawi. In comparison with Pama-Nyungan, Yawuru shares 40% of basic words with Najanaja Karajarri, 31% with Nangunangu Karajarri, 25% with Mangala and 21% with Nyangumarta... In the general lexicon apart from the 'basic' vocabulary, a large number of Karajarri (particularly Najanaja dialect) and Nyangumarta words are found in the Yawuru corpus.

appears to be a much higher number of cognates for most of the pairs. This difference is probably due to the different tests used by the two studies and also by the renewed interest among language groups to keep their language separate from surrounding languages, so borrowings would be more easily identifiable and rejected.

Table 1.2: Lexical comparison of Nyangumarta and its surrounding languages: O'Grady 1966⁶

Ngarluma					
67	Yindjibarndi				
51	66	Panyjima			
41	38	37	Ngarla		
23	31	34	30	Nyangumarta	
20	22	27	21	38	Warnman

Agnew has argued that 'Mangarla is best described as being classified within the Ngumpin subgroup along with Walmajarri and Jaru, rather than being classified as a Marrngu language along with Karajarri and Nyangumarta' (1995 pers. comm.). Agnew, although admitting her study is still inconclusive as all the evidence has not yet been taken into account, bases her decision on the verb morphology and the second position Aux element to which the bound pronouns are attached as in Walmajarri and Jaru.

O'Grady (1966:74–76) includes several grammatical features supporting the lexicostatistical grouping of Marrngu (and Wati) versus Ngayarda languages. The list is not entirely consistent with current research but is still useful as a basic means to present morphosyntactical comparisons for these language groups. Based on some of the findings in O'Grady's 1966 study and information currently available, the following summary shows the contrast between Marrngu and Ngayarta language groups, although it is by no means exhaustive particularly as studies are continuing on Ngayarda languages such as Ngarla and Nyamal by regional language centres and individual researchers.

1. The contrast of laminal-alveolars with laminal-dentals is attested in Ngayarda, Kanyara and Kardu languages, but not in Marrngu and Wati languages.
2. The contrast between initial laminals and apicals is made in Marrngu and Wati languages but not in Ngayarda or Kanyara languages.
3. Whereas Marrngu languages such as Nyangumarta⁷ have lost the 'Proto Pama-Nyungan' morphophonemic alteration of the 'agent-instrument' suffix *-lu ~ngku

⁶ See O'Grady (1966:121) which includes the 27 languages in the study.

⁷ This alternation is still present in Karajarri (see Sands 1989).

which is conditioned by the length of the word stem, the Ngayarda languages retain it.

4. Some Ngayarda languages (e.g. Ngarla, Nyamal, Ngarluma and Yindjibarndi) have a nasal dissimilation morphophonemic rule affecting the locative suffix (-*ngka*) where it is attached to a nominal which contains a nasal-stop cluster, reducing it to -*ka*. This is not attested in Marrngu or Wati languages.
5. Some Ngayarda languages (e.g. Ngarluma, Yindjibarndi and Martuthunira) have active/passive voice distinction; Marrngu languages do not.
6. Marrngu languages have retained the 'Proto Pama-Nyungan' verb suffix *-(l)ku for future tense; in Ngayarda languages (although not Ngarla or Nyamal) this has shifted to present tense.
7. Marrngu languages have retained the 'Proto Pama-Nyungan' dative suffix *-ku; in Ngayarda languages this suffix has a broader meaning of object (non-committally direct/indirect).

Although Marrngu and Wati languages share many of the phonological and morphophonemic features which distinguish them from Ngayarda languages, other features can be used to distinguish them from each other: they differ in their verbal conjugational systems, nominal morphological forms and in the marking of 'person', i.e. bound agreement markers have different hosts. For example, in Wati languages 'person' is marked by bound pronouns typically occurring in second position regardless of the word class whereas in Marrngu languages (Nyangumarta and Karajarri) pronouns occur either attached to the verb or following the verb in a conjunctive sequence.

It is clear that the subgrouping of Nyangumarta as a Marrngu language based on cognate density evidence can be supported independently by phonological, morphological and morpho-syntactical evidence.

1.3.2 *Major dialect differences*

The Nyangumarta which is spoken at La Grange is typically the northern, coastal dialect and the one spoken by the Strelley Mob and other people living around Port or South Hedland and Marble Bar is the southern, inland dialect (although there are speakers of the northern dialect at Tjalku Wara (Twelve Mile)). According to O'Grady (1964:iv)

As of 1960, despite some intermingling of Nyangumarta from various geographical points, it was still possible to distinguish Ngulipartu and Wanyarli as dialects in terms of differences on the lexical, morphophonemic, and morphosyntactic levels. These differences fall far short of being sufficient for the impairment of mutual intelligibility.

The differences between the two dialects is largely shown in the relative productiveness of the vowel assimilation systems (see (1.1), (1.2) and (1.3) below). Another significant difference between the two dialects is the use of an overt third person singular verbal pronoun in the northern dialect *-rri* as distinct from null third person singular in the southern dialect (1.1) and (1.2). The final vowel undergoes vowel assimilation hence: *-rra*, *rri* and *-rru* are all possible surface forms.

(1.1)	Past contrafactual (southern)	Past contrafactual (northern)
a.	<i>yirri-rnama</i> see-PSTCFL 'S/he couldn't see it.'	<i>yirri-rnimi-rri</i> see-PSTCFL-3SG.SUB
b.	<i>kalku-rnama</i> keep-PSTCFL 'S/he couldn't keep it.'	<i>kalku-rnumu-rru</i> keep-PSTCFL-3SG.SUB
c.	<i>wirla-rnama</i> hit-PSTCFL 'S/he couldn't hit it.'	<i>wirla-rnama-rra</i> hit-PSTCFL-3SG.SUB
(1.2)	Present contrafactual (southern)	Present contrafactual (northern)
a.	<i>yirri-rnaka</i> see-PRSCFL 'S/he would like to see it.'	<i>yirri-rniki-rri</i> see-PRSCFL-3SG.SUB
b.	<i>kalku-rnaka</i> keep-PRSCFL 'S/he would like to keep it.'	<i>kalku-rnuku-rru</i> keep-PRSCFL-3SG.SUB
c.	<i>wirla-rnaka</i> hit-PRSCFL 'S/he would like to hit it.'	<i>wirla-rnaka-rra</i> hit-PRSCFL-3SG.SUB
(1.3)	Future tense (southern)	Future tense (northern)
a.	<i>yirri-lama-rna</i> see-FUT-1SG.SUB 'S/he will see it.'	<i>yirri-limi-rni</i> see-FUT-1SG.SUB
b.	<i>kalku-lama-rna</i> keep-FUT-1SG.SUB 'S/he will keep it.'	<i>kalku-lumu-rnu</i> keep-FUT-1SG.SUB
c.	<i>wirla-lama-rna</i> hit-FUT-1SG.SUB 'S/he will hit it.'	<i>wirla-lama-rna</i> hit-FUT-1SG.SUB

Notice that in the northern dialect, the final vowel of the verb stem is copied rightward filling all empty vowel slots in verb suffixes whereas in the southern dialect (in these instances) it is not. Vowel assimilation in the northern dialect is much more widespread than in the southern dialect as these forms illustrate where, in the southern dialect, the vowel of the verb suffixes and person markers remains as the default vowel /a/ (see §2.3.9).

The productiveness of the vowel assimilation system in the northern dialect is also seen in the various forms possible for many of the nominal suffixes in (14)⁸ and (15). Vowel assimilation does not occur in the nominal suffixes of the southern dialect except for the possessive suffix *-mili* in which there is internal vowel assimilation.

(14)	Locative (southern) <i>parirr-ja</i> hand-LOC 'in/on the hand'	(northern) <i>parirr-ji</i> hand-LOC
(15)	Characteriser (southern) <i>marrja-kata</i> fast-CHAR 'fast one'	(northern) <i>marrja-kata</i> fast-CHAR
	<i>kuli-kata</i> savage-CHAR 'cheeky, savage one'	<i>kuli-kiti</i> savage-CHAR
	<i>munu-kata</i> NEG-CHAR 'not the one'	<i>munu-kutu</i> NEG-CHAR

Vowel assimilation is also very productive in the derivational processes related to the verb in the northern dialect. In (1.6) the verbaliser *-karrama-rna*⁹ has only one form in the southern dialect but its form in the northern dialect is dependent on the final vowel of the lexical stem to which it is attached. This is the same for other verbalisers such as the causative *-ma-RN*.

(1.6)	(southern) <i>warr-karrama-rna</i> flap-say-NFUT 'flapping in the wind'	(northern) <i>warr-karrama-rna</i> flap-say-NFUT 'flapping in the wind'
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⁸ Brian and Helen Geytenbeek (working in the Pilbara around Port Hedland and Marble Bar) state that until 1983 they had never heard Nyangumarta speakers use *-ja* as the locative suffix. Speakers would consistently use *-ji* following a consonant rather than *-ja*.

⁹ See §6.2.3 for more discussion of this morpheme.

lirr-karrama-rna
drip-say-NFUT
'it is dripping'

lirr-kirrimi-rni
drip-say-NFUT
'it is dripping'

purlpurl-karrama-rna
boil-say-NFUT
'it is boiling'

purlpurl-kurumu-rnu
boil-say-NFUT
'it is boiling'

There are numerous lexical differences between the two dialects although they share 94% of their basic vocabularies. A few of the dialect distinguishing lexical items are given below in (1.7), that is, if a person says *ngalyun* for 'woman' then that person is recognised as speaking the northern dialect etc.

(1.7)	(southern) <i>mirtawa</i> 'woman'	(northern) <i>ngalyun</i> 'woman'
	<i>mungka</i> 'tree'	<i>wurru</i> 'tree'
	<i>parrka</i> 'leaf'	<i>walyaka</i> 'leaf'

1.4 Present situation

Nyangumarta is spoken by about 400–500 people living in the northern Pilbara and southern Kimberley areas. The area extends to La Grange (Bidyadanga) and Broome and south-west to Port Hedland. A large proportion of speakers who have lived in communities such as Strelley, Warralong, Mijijimaya, Lalla Rookh, and Yandeyarra for the past twenty years now tend to spend more time in the larger surrounding towns of Port and South Hedland and Broome. There are also Nyangumarta speakers living in Marble Bar.

In the 1970s through to the early 1990s, the bilingual programme within the Nomads Schools was one factor which has helped to keep Nyangumarta reasonably strong in all generations of speaker. Everyone in the community was involved in the school in various ways from pre-schoolers, through to people involved in Adult Education. Nyangumarta people were training 'on the job' as the primary teachers and their day did not end until they had done their preparation for the next day's lessons as well as learning literacy skills themselves. As Bucknall (who was one of the first teacher/linguists involved with the Strelley bilingual programme) states: 'The community had stated that they wanted their children to learn "good Nyangumarta" and "good English" at the inaugural meeting of the school' (1996:4).

The older generation of Nyangumarta speakers are very concerned about the young people. One of my main language informants, Mr Monty Hale (Minyjun) (1996:9), recently wrote (translated from Nyangumarta by the author):

In the early days¹⁰ it was good, we were living well and people didn't keep dying continuously like that. People died when they were old, they got weak and sick because they were getting old. Now it's the young people who are taking the lead from us, they are dying before us, before they are getting old and there's almost no-one left... They left us; they never stay with us and they've gone off to live in other communities and towns. The young people went for good and didn't come back and now the parents are living without their children. What good thing did they follow? What are they looking for? They left us, they didn't like us, they're not satisfied to stay with us. They look for sickness, to take fits over and over until they die. We had a good life in the early days.

With the increase of movement of Aboriginal people in the Pilbara and with the increasing need to communicate with people from different backgrounds the use of English as the *lingua franca* has increased. In the Strelley schools there is now a school population with varied language backgrounds and constantly children are on the move from one school in the area to others—many come into the Strelley Schools from an English-only school and find attending the Nyangumarta school quite difficult. The use of Nyangumarta as the main language in the school programme has thus had to decrease in importance. In 1992 when John and Gwen Bucknall were asked to do a review of the bilingual programme they found that an initial literacy programme in Nyangumarta no longer catered for the educational needs of the school population (as it had in the early days of the school). Based on their recommendations, a new form of bilingual/bicultural programme was introduced in 1993 with English being the main language of instruction. Nyangumarta was still to play a role in the education system of the schools but more through a series of concentrated or 'focus' activities over the year which would be reinforced in lessons back in school time. This approach concentrates on an oral method with literacy in Nyangumarta being reinforced at higher levels in the school.

Nyangumarta people in Western Australia are still concerned with the maintenance of their language. Traditional stories are still being told and recorded, Law business is still very strong and Nyangumarta is still spoken in communities which include children. For many Nyangumarta families in the Pilbara, Nyangumarta will continue to be strong for many years to come particularly for those people living in the more remote community situations.

1.5 Recent history

The following discussion outlines some of the recent history which has influenced the Nyangumarta people more than any other Aboriginal group in Western Australia although the ramifications of the 'battle' extend to all Aboriginal people in Western Australia.

¹⁰ Monty is referring here to the lives of Aboriginal people prior to the 1980s and 1990s.

The alleged 'illegal' repudiation of Section 70 (see below) of the Constitution, has been one of the major areas of concern of the Nyangumarta people (in the Pilbara) over the last 50 years. They have recently won a High Court appeal to legally fight for the inclusion of s.70 back into the Constitution. Hess (1994:68) says that the repudiation of s.70

was to have a profound effect on the thinking of at least one member of the white community, Don McLeod. He came to see it as a symbolic starting point for systematic government denial of the rights of the 'beneficial owners' of the land. It also provides a fitting path into consideration of the events in the Pilbara pastoral industry in 1946, when Aboriginal workers asserted their rights against those of their self-styled "protectors".

The events of 1946 led to the general pastoral strike.

The issue of Section 70 began when self-government was granted to the British colony of Western Australia in 1889 by an Act of Parliament. One of the conditions of passage of that particular act was that the new government would take on the responsibility of the providing and caring for the Aboriginal inhabitants of the Western Australian region. This condition was encapsulated in Section 70 of the constitution which states:

There shall be payable to Her Majesty, in every year, out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund a sum of Five Thousand Pounds mentioned in Schedule C to this Act to be appropriated to the welfare of the Aboriginal Natives, and expended in providing them with food and clothing when they would otherwise be destitute, in promoting the education of Aboriginal children (including half castes) and in assisting generally to promote the Preservation and well-being of the Aborigines. The said annual sum shall be issued to the Aborigines Protection Board by the Treasurer on warrants under the hand of the Governor, and may be expended by the said board at their discretion, under the sole control of the Governor...(Statutes of Western Australia, vol 2:384).

The proviso was that in the event that the annual revenue of the Colony exceeded £5000, an amount not less than one per cent of annual revenue (GNP) would have to be substituted—this one per cent is still at the centre of controversy for Aboriginal people today as within a relatively short time (only a few years) John Forrest, the leader of the WA Government, arguing that the clause was never meant to be included in the new government's constitution, repudiated s. 70 (Biskup 1965).

1.5.1 *Working for the pastoralists*

In the 1880s white squatters started sheep and cattle stations in the north-west of Western Australia. Aborigines were used as stockmen, shearers, cooks and servants. In many cases these workers were paid no wages at all. Workers were given food

but this was usually of poor quality. They were given a place to camp but no proper shelter. They were considered the property of the station. These poor conditions continued right up until the Second World War.

Wilson (1979:155) writes this about conditions for Aborigines working on stations in the north-west:

In the late 1920s the station system can be said to have settled down under a somewhat uneasy paternalism on the part of the station managers, and many Aborigines regarded particular stations as home with their local kinship networks very much providing a sense of identity. Also the practice of pastoralists dismissing staff on 'holiday rations' during the summer slack period was convenient for the stations in reducing operating costs and maintaining the morale of the workers. For Aborigines, it provided time for ritual activities, enabling them to visit kinsmen on other stations and to keep viable hunting and gathering skills.

However during the 1930s when various epidemics (Biskup 1973) were having noticeable effects on the Aboriginal population and Aboriginal fertility was becoming affected, both the pastoralists and the Aborigines were experiencing problems. With the gradual movement of people in from the desert and with the problems of illnesses, workers became more transient which put a strain on the station economy. Many key elders who were the holders of sacred knowledge (both of sites and rituals) died in the epidemics. Under normal conditions Aboriginal society could deal with deaths by replacing important people with others to whom knowledge had been passed down. However with the massive depletion of societal elders the society was unable to cope. The other contributing factor was the demands placed on the Aborigines by the pastoral system. The transmission of traditional knowledge was being hampered because people were working rather than being given time off for ceremonial life. Many elders also withheld their teaching because they were not satisfied with the character of many of the younger men. This resulted in a much slower progression through the Law ceremonies and a loss of some sacred knowledge (Wilson 1961, 1979).

1.5.2 *The meeting at Skull Springs 1942*

After many years of working with the pastoralists, Aboriginal station workers of the Pilbara started looking for ways to improve their conditions. They were concerned about their culture, their living conditions and their apparent lack of recognition as people. In the early 1940s a group approached a prospector who had been known and trusted by Aborigines for some time, named Don McLeod. McLeod was invited to a meeting at Skull Springs, on the Davis River.

McLeod has described the meeting at Skull Springs in 1942 as 'an event of great significance, the sort of law meeting which took place traditionally perhaps once every fifty years'. Two hundred representatives from 23 language groups were present and the meeting lasted six weeks. McLeod

records that it was this meeting which decided on taking positive action to improve the situation facing the region's 'Beneficial Owners'; and gave him authority to take decisions in this area as problems arose. This meeting also elected Dooley Binbin ... a traditional lawman, to represent the desert Aborigines in the management of this issue... (Hess 1994:72)

Clancy McKenna was later elected to represent people from the settled areas such as Port Hedland and Marble Bar. McLeod said he could help the mob if they could organise for all of the Aborigines in the north-west as a group to take action. McLeod suggested that a possible way of getting away from the squatters was to walk off the stations and once they had walked off their stations they could work as a group, mining and then make enough money to lease their own land.

The Pilbara Aborigines could do it if they followed his advice, he told them. Withdrawal of labor at shearing time was the best means, and he was willing to head the movement and speak for them and seek changes in the law with a view to preventing further abuses (Max Brown 1976:96).

1.5.3 *The 1946 strike or 'walk off'*

The events of the strike and the situation of Aboriginal people living in the Pilbara during the nineteen hundreds has been described in numerous works. Hess (1994) has written about the strike as a labour movement undertaken by workers who were struggling for rights that were consistently being denied them by sections of management and the state. Max Brown (1976) and Biskup (1973) have described the strike in the context of more general histories specifically in the context of race relations. Wilson (1961, 1979) has presented a more academic account of the strike as it affected one of the post-strike communities (the Strelley Mob), and Mandle (1978) provides a description of the strike and the role Don McLeod, as a champion of Aboriginal rights, undertakes. The two autobiographical accounts (Don McLeod and Clancy McKenna (Palmer & McKenna 1978)) provide valuable records of the strike as perceived by two of the major leaders.

Don McLeod, Clancy McKenna and Dooley Bin Bin with the help of others worked to organise a strike for the first of May 1946. News of the proposed strike spread through all of the stations in the Pilbara. Dooley gave people at each station a calendar that had the number of days marked on it till the strike. The people had to cross off a day each night so that they would know exactly when the strike would begin.

On May 1st, 1946 a large number of Aboriginal workers walked off the stations in the Pilbara. The strike lasted in its first phase until 1949.

Initially, about twenty-five stations were affected, together with a large proportion of the Blackfellows working in the two major Pilbara centres of Port Hedland and Marble Bar. The bare facts of the strike are that labour in the pastoral industry was placed in a state of flux as workers came out on strike, returning to work when they had secured better wages

on individual stations or were forced back by the Police, out again and back again throughout the period. Eventually, a group of 800 people decided to withdraw their labour permanently (McLeod 1984:42).

Even though there was a lot of pressure by the authorities, the strike continued.

In July, some stations, having finished shearing, reduced the wages they had increased in May to get the strikers back to work quickly. Some of these workers rejoined the strike. In other cases, strikers were promised two pounds per week if they returned to work but when they got to the station found they would only be paid one pound, so they too rejoined the strike (Hess 1994:76).

As a direct result of the strike a large proportion (about 400) of Aborigines formed 'an independent, economically self-sufficient community in marked contrast to their formerly dependent state as workers on the European Australians' stations' (Palmer 1981).

As Palmer (1981:17) states, the major demographic consequences of the movement of the strikers throughout the Pilbara were two-fold:

Aborigines whose traditional territorial associations were with country in the east Pilbara region or beyond in the Great Sandy Desert, moved generally north and west. These Aborigines did not later return to their home territories. Secondly, because the Aborigines had to obtain subsistence wherever it could be found, most of them had to settle in areas with which they had no traditional association.

1.5.4 *The mining years*

Under post-war rationing, commodities such as tea, sugar and butter could only be purchased upon production of Government-issued coupons. Previously Aboriginal workers had received these from the stations on which they were employed. Now in the camp outside Port Hedland the strikers were no longer getting these coupons (Hess 1994:77).

McLeod, working on the wharfs in Port Hedland, helped to organise the Australian Workers Union to support the strike.

The strikers worked hard to support themselves through selling kangaroo skins, and working with pearl shells. This was the beginning of the self-supporting ventures Aboriginal people in the Pilbara became engaged in at that time, most notably the mining cooperatives in which minerals such as manganese, tantalite, gold, tin, copper, columbite, beryl and scheelite were mined.

As a result of mining and various pressures the group split into two separate formations with Ernie Mitchell and Peter Coppin supported by Aborigines who had kinship ties with Ngarla and Nyamal people from the de Grey River areas and the Nyangumarta and other desert groups, the Manyjilyjarra, Kartujarra and Warnman

electing to continue working with Don McLeod as their spokesperson.

The group working with McLeod then moved to Tabba Tabba to work alluvial tin. Over the next five to ten years the group began mining ventures at Wodgina, Mt. Francisco, Lalla Rookh, Pinga and Coondina and although there were times when they faced pressure from government and mining companies the 'Mob' maintained their strength and solidarity.

McLeod's Mob, as they were commonly known, continued to take up mining leases in the Pilbara, but as McLeod says they were constantly meeting opposition to their ventures and their attempts to gain independence. 'We decided to get out of mining' McLeod wrote, 'having won social service payments along the road. So we bought Strelley Station, but failed to get the twenty trained men and women we applied for to retrain our work-hardened force of 200 for their new occupancy.' McLeod has continued to live with ... (the Strelley Mob) who number about 600. Over the years, following the purchase of Strelley Station, he has directed the group into buying such stations as Warralong, Carlindi and Coongan (Leonard 1988:56).

1.5.5 *The Strelley Mob*

The purchase of Strelley Station was also the start of the independent Aboriginal school at Strelley in 1976 and with its subsequent expansions to other annexes is known as the Nomads Group of Schools. The school commenced with bilingual programmes in two major languages: Nyangumarta and Manyjilyjarra. In 1983 the Manyjilyjarra school at Panaka (later renamed Punmu) became independent of the Nomads Group (the school at Punmu is called Rawa). Currently the Nomads Group of Schools operate at Strelley Station, Warralong Station and Woodstock in the Pilbara. Nyangumarta is still the major language of the 'Strelley Mob' and is still used in the schools.

1.6 Cultural background

Many of the Nyangumarta people living in the Pilbara region, although Europeanised to some extent, still observe many aspects of their traditional life and there is relatively strict adherence to social sanctions and a substantial amount of ceremonial activity. Nyangumarta people still collect and eat many different types of 'bush tucker' in the area such as bush tomatoes, yams, wild onions, bush honey, berries and grevillea nectar. They also hunt kangaroos, emus, bush turkeys, pythons and goannas. Most of the time these forms of meat are prepared and cooked using traditional methods. They also eat fish, cockles, mud crabs and turtles when visiting coastal regions.

1.6.1 *The Dreaming*¹¹

The Nyangumarta term for dreaming is *manguny* which is used and understood by all members of the Nyangumarta society. The Dreaming for Nyangumarta people depicts an historical creative time as well as a contemporary reality.

During the historical and creative period, mythological characters are believed to have roamed across the countryside having different adventures which resulted in modifications to the landscape. Such modifications are now visible as particular rocks, trees, rivers, clay-pans and other physiographical features. The mythological beings also created water sources, named particular places and demarcated the areas of land to be occupied by designated groups of people. The mythological beings had the form of animals, birds or reptiles but they also appeared as human beings (Palmer 1981:57).

1.6.2 *The Law*

The term *ngurlu* 'Law' is a general term used by Aborigines throughout the Pilbara (and is also a term used throughout Aboriginal Australia). It is a term which has several uses: it can refer to a body of rules as predetermined by the tenets of the Dreaming, it can refer to a specific *rite de passage* (in that young initiates are 'put through the Law') and it can refer to that secret-sacred esoteric knowledge which people can have in their possession (see Palmer 1981 for more discussion).

1.6.3 *Kinship*

As is the case throughout the Australian continent, traditionally the system of kinship ties was the most important aspect of Aboriginal social organisation, which mapped out every person's relationship to every other person in the society.

The Nyangumarta people still regard their system of kinship ties as important. Every Nyangumarta person is born into a 'skin' section which is determined by the section of their mother (in most cases). The kinship system gives everyone guidelines to such things as obligations to marriage, avoidance, respect, cultural performances and participation, land, songs, stories and general everyday responsibilities (see Palmer 1981 for more detail regarding this).

The Nyangumarta kin system is of the Kariyarra type (O'Grady & K. Mooney 1973:1). It has four patriline and four named sections although the configurations of the four named sections differ between the northern and southern dialects (see Figures 1.1 and 1.2 below).

¹¹ 'The literature has fairly generously supplied us with generalised accounts of the Dreaming that are relevant to the whole of Aboriginal Australia (e.g. Elkin 1954:209–11; R. Berndt 1974:1.8; R. & C. Berndt 1977:229–30). Some Nyangumarta concepts of the Dreaming have been discussed by Petri (1965, 1960)' (Palmer 1981:57).

Although the Nyangumarta appear to have a two-patriline system with sister exchange in marriage, they have a Kariera bifurcate-merging type singular kinship terminology as described by Radcliffe-Browne (1913) ... with terminological equivalence of kin in ego's patriline with kin of corresponding generation and sex in ego's mother's mother's patriline, and similarly of kin in ego's mother's patriline with kin in ego's father's father's sister's son's patriline... (O'Grady & K. Mooney 1973:6).

In kinship terminology gender differences are recognised in some areas although not all (see Table 1.3 below).

1.6.4 Section system

The four section names for southern Nyangumarta are Panaka (now known as Jangarla by some Nyangumarta people due to a death), Milangka, Purungu and Karimarra. The northern Nyangumarta section system differs from that of the southern Nyangumarta system. In the southern system the marrying pairs are Karimarra and Panaka, and Milangka and Purungu; whereas in the northern section the marrying pairs are Purungu and Panaka, and Milangka and Karimirri.

The southern Nyangumarta section system is represented in Figure 1.1:

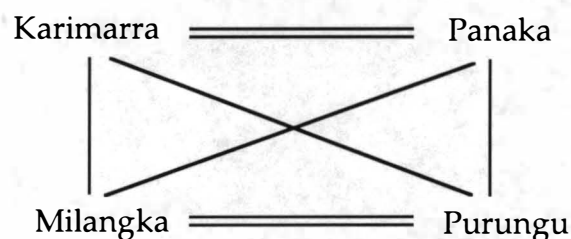


Figure 1. 1: Southern Nyangumarta sections

= indicates marriage
 vertical lines indicate matrilineal descent
 diagonal lines indicate patrilineal descent

The northern dialect follows more closely that of the Karajarri (the traditional owners of the country in the La Grange area (see below)) whereas the southern dialect follows more closely that of the desert groups (see also H. Geytenbeek 1982).

The northern Nyangumarta section system is represented in Figure 1. 2:

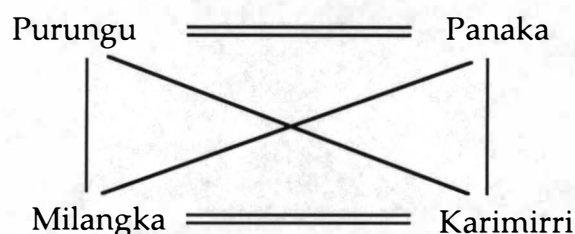


Figure 1. 2: Northern Nyangumarta sections

= indicates marriage
 vertical lines indicate matrilineal descent
 diagonal lines indicate patrilineal descent

These two systems differ predominantly in the sectioning of Purungu and Karimarra/Karimirri. Effectively in the southern system Karimarra people marry Panaka people and have Purungu or Milangka children whereas in the northern system Karimirri people marry Milangka and have Panaka or Purungu children.

The mapping of one system onto the other is as follows: a Purungu person in the southern system would be Karimirri in the northern and a Karimarra person in the southern system would be Purungu in the northern. A Milangka person in the southern system would be Panaka in the northern and a Panaka person in the southern system would be Milangka in the northern system.

The southern Nyangumarta system as seen above in Figure 1.1 is identical to that of the Manyilyjarra and Warnman systems. The northern Nyangumarta however, is more in line with the Karajarri system (McKelson 1989) as represented in Figure 1. 3:

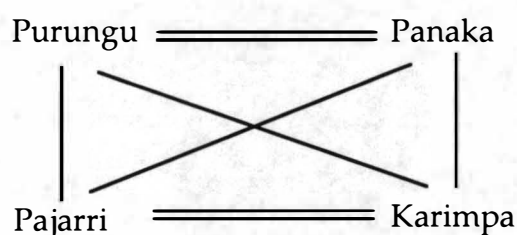


Figure 1. 3: Karajarri sections

= indicates marriage
 vertical lines indicate matrilineal descent
 diagonal lines indicate patrilineal descent

The Karajarri and northern Nyangumarta systems map directly onto one another; Purungu corresponds to Purungu, Panaka to Panaka, Karimirri to Karimpa and Milangka corresponds to Pajarri.

1.6.5 Marriage

O'Grady and Mooney (1973:6) describe the Nyangumarta marriage system:

Like the Karadjeri, the Nyangumarda apparently have marriage with mother's brother's daughter (*nyupaci*), who is not father's sister's daughter, though the two are terminologically equivalent in Nyangumarda. Some mother's brother's daughters may become yinkarni, unmarriageable, though not according to any known pattern.... There is no direct evidence as to how long the Nyangumarda have had their present marriage pattern nor to what extent the pattern may have been influenced by relatively recent post-contact developments such as the common residence of the Nyangumarda, Karadjeri, and Mangala at La Grange.

Marriage can be described in terms of the section system. In the southern Nyangumarta community a Panaka person marries a Karimarra and a Milangka person marries a Purungu and this is dependent largely on the relationship of the people from marriageable sections.

There are two possible correct choices for a marriage partner for a woman. One is the son of her classificatory mother's brother and father's sister. She may not marry the son of her mother's actual brother or the son of her father's actual sister. But she may marry the son of a 'close' mother's brother. The precise meaning of *walyja* 'close' is not understood. The other choice is a man who is a classificatory *jamuji* - MF or FMB. A man who is *jamuji* is still in the same section as one who is MBS or FZS (H. Geytenbeek 1982:27).

Promised spouses still exist although this practice is not as widespread among Nyangumarta people as it was up until ten years ago. A girl who is promised to a man when she is still an infant is called the man's *pilyurr*. Usually it was the girl's parents who arranged marriages for their daughter, based on a lot of discussion within the community, although this is not as common today. Often it was the case that young girls were promised to older men who already had wives. A co-wife who was older would assist the young woman in the duties associated with the marriage. Young women have not always accepted their arranged marriage. The author has witnessed many instances of women being beaten and put into 'punishment camps' when they have refused to marry their chosen husband. In most of the cases, the young woman wins the battle if she is prepared for a long hard fight.

Marriages between people from unmarriageable sections are more common in recent times and although not traditionally tolerated, many of the older community members appear resigned to the fact that enforcement of kinship marriage procedures among the younger generation is almost impossible.

In some circumstances individuals take boyfriends or girlfriends who are not from the marriageable sections although how traditional this practice is, is uncertain.

There is one way that a wrong union (not marriage) can be sanctioned. If a woman's husband gives permission for his wife to have a boyfriend she may have one who is not 'straight' for her, even while she continues living with her husband (H. Geytenbeek 1982:28).

Nyangumarta people argue that divorce is also a modern trend. Many couples, even reasonably advanced in age, have been granted a divorce from their spouse and often move on to marry another person.

Figure 1. 4 presents the basic Nyangumarta kinship terminology for a male ego. Thus reading from the chart, a man's brother can be referred to as either *mamaji* or *marrka* (depending on whether they are older or younger), his sister as *kangkuiji* or *marrka* (again depending on whether they are older or younger), his brother's children as *pujamu* or *kurntal*, his sister's children as *pujamu* or *ngarraya*, his father as *japartu*, his mother as *pipi*, his father's sister as *jinartu* and so on.

As is shown in Figure 1. 4 four terminologically distinguished generation levels are present with the second ascending and second descending generations from ego being terminologically equivalent.

Figure 1. 4 illustrates the direct lines of descent and relationship terms for a male ego and his relatives and indicates the lines of descent (see O'Grady & Mooney 1973 for a more detailed chart and H. Geytenbeek 1982 for a similar chart for a female ego). Figure 1. 5 is a more detailed representation of the information summarised by Figure 1. 4 and shows ego's relationship terms used for ego's immediate family as well as the relationships with the family of his spouse. For a much more detailed discussion of Nyangumarta kinship terminology see O'Grady and Mooney (1973).

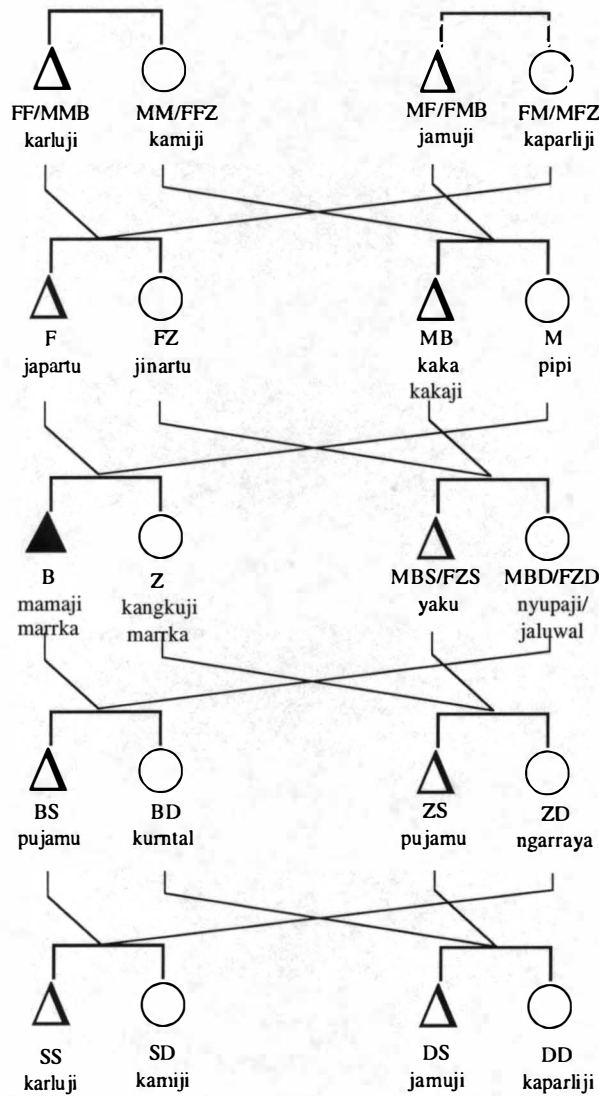


Figure 1. 4: Nyangumarta kinship terminology: male ego

Additional terminology (singular) used in both reference and address appear in Table 1.3. Both male and female egos are represented and the table illustrates the interactiveness of kinship terms. Thus the term *jamuji* is equivalent to 'grandfather' and is used by a man to address or refer to his mother's father, father's mother's brother as well as his daughter's son. For a woman the same term refers to her mother's father, her father's mother's brother and son's son. The table also illustrates that there are gender specific terms. For example, *yaku* is used by males only to refer to brother-in-law type relationships and the female term *yapuyyu* is used by women to refer to sister-in-law relationships (see the table for specific relationships).

Table 1.3: Nyangumarta singular kin terms

Kin term	Translation	Kin types
<i>jaluwal/yinkarni</i>	'cousin'	Man: MBD, FZD (unmarriageable) Woman: MBS, FZS (unmarriageable)
<i>jamuji</i>	'grandfather'	Man: MF, FMB, DS Woman: MF, FMB, SS
<i>japartu</i>	'father'	F, FB, MZH, WMB
<i>jinartu</i>	'aunt'	Man: FZ, MBW Woman: FZ, MBW
<i>kaka/kakaji</i>	'uncle'	MB, FZH
<i>kangkuji</i>	'older sister'	OZ
<i>kamiji/kanyjayi</i>	'grandmother'	Man: MM, FFZ, SD, MFW Woman: MM, FFZ, DD
<i>kaparliji</i>	'grandmother'	Man: FM, MFZ, DD Woman: FM, MFZ, SD
<i>karluji</i>	'grandfather'	Man: FF, MMB, SS Woman: FF, MMB, DS
<i>kurntal</i>	'daughter'	Man: D, ZD, BD Woman: D, ZD
<i>marrka</i>	'younger sibling'	YB, YZ
<i>marruku</i>	'mother-in-law'	Man: WM (mother-in-law), FZ, MBW Woman: BS, DH
<i>ngarraya</i>	'niece'	Man: ZD, SW Woman: BD, SW
<i>nyupa</i>	'spouse'	Man: W, BW, FZD, MBD Woman: H, ZH, MBS, FZS
<i>pipi</i>	'mother'	M, MZ, FBW, WFZ, WMBW
<i>pujamu</i>	'son'	S, ZS, BS
<i>walkawalka</i>	'nephew'	BS, HZS
<i>yaku</i>	'brother-in-law'	ZH, FZS, MBS (men only)
<i>yapuyu</i>	'sister-in-law'	HZ, MBD, FZD, BW (women only)

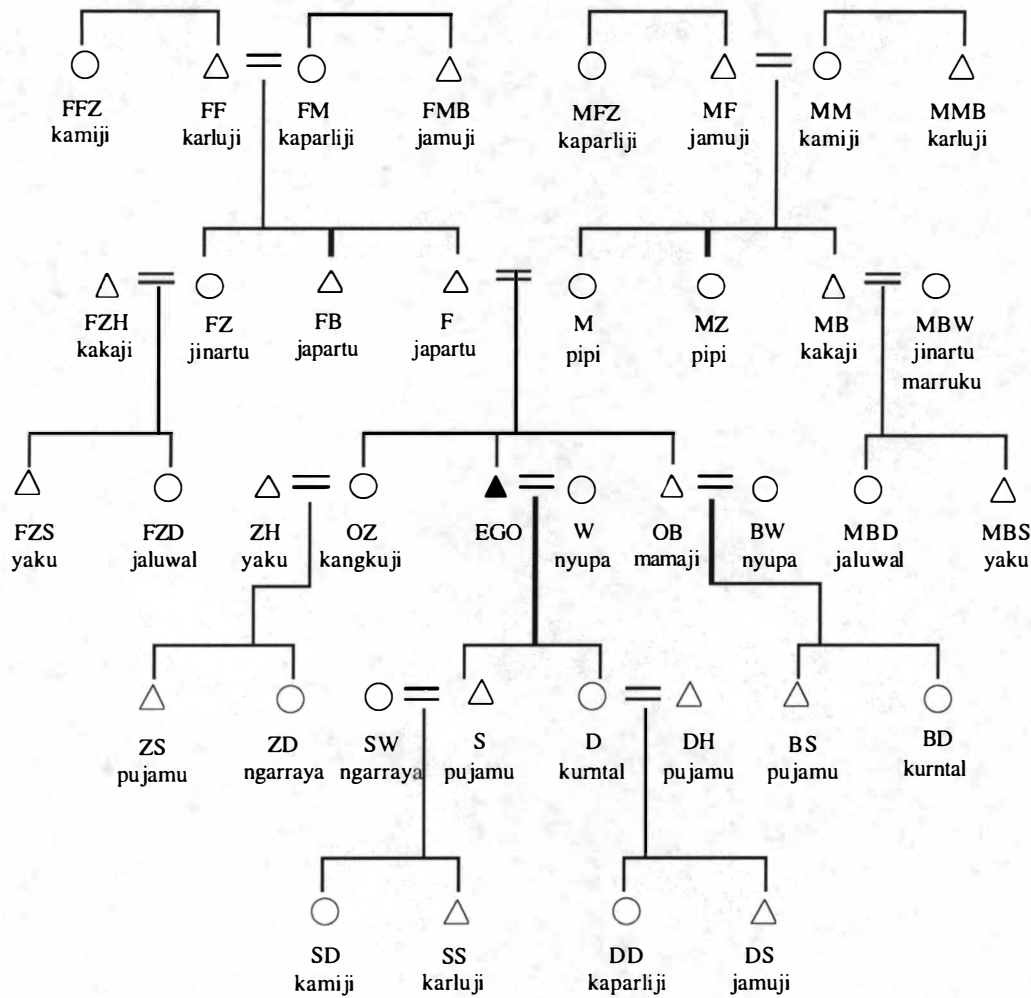


Figure 1. 5: Nyangumarta singular kin terms for reference and address: male ego

There are several comments to be made regarding Figure 1. 5 and Nyangumarta kinship terms in general:

- (a) The term used for 'mother' is also used for 'mother's sisters' (*pipi*) and all other females classified as being of that generation and who are of the same section as the person's mother; the term used for 'father' is also used for 'father's brothers' (*japartu*) and extended to include all other males classified as being of that generation and who belong to the same section as the person's father.
- (b) From an early age children are constantly being reminded who they are related to and who they can marry. Nyangumarta people often refer to other community members according to their relationship with them: *yaku* 'brother-in-law', *kangkuji* 'older sister', *pipi* 'mother', *japartu* 'father' etc.

- (c) Many of the kinship terms (two generations apart) are reciprocal. A man and his MF address each other as *jamuji*. Likewise a man and his DS will address each other as *jamuji*. A woman and her MM address each other as *kamiji*. Likewise a woman and her DD address each other as *kamiji*. A woman and her FM (or SD) address each other as *kaparliji*. A man and his FF or SS address each other as *karluji*. A man and his potential spouse address each other as *nyupa* although if they are considered unmarriageable they call each other *jaluwal*.
- (d) The term for MB is the same as that of WF (*kakaji*); and the term for MBW is the same as WM. The woman in the relationship of *jinartu* to the male ego is in the avoidance relationship *marruku* when it is his WM. In this instance, because of the avoidance restrictions, the term is not used as a term of address, it is simply used as reference. When the relationship between potential mother-in-law and son-in-law is too close for marriage, they refer to each other as *walkawalka*.
- (e) A man calls his son-in-law *pujamu* which is the same term he uses for 'son'. In O'Grady and Mooney's description the term *pujamu* is also used to refer to BD and ZD. In the southern dialect this term is used to refer to males only. In addition to this the term *partany* 'child' is commonly used by parents to refer to either child in the southern dialect.¹²
- (f) The terms used by a man for his grandchildren are different from those used by a woman. A man will call his daughter's children as *kaparliji* (DD) and *jamuji* (DS) and his son's children as *kamiji* (SD) and *karluji* (SS); whereas a woman will call her daughters children *kamiji* (DD) and *karluji* (DS) and her son's children *jamuji* (SS) and *kaparliji* (SD).¹³

Burling's (1970:24) study of Nyamal kinship includes an identical finding:

The assignment of kin-types by sex is somewhat more complicated than for the parental generation since every term can refer both to some males and to some females. The trick is to recognize that it is not always the sex of the person referred to nor the sex of ego that is significant, but rather it is the sex of the *senior* member of the pair, no matter whether he is the referent or ego.

¹² On closer investigation of terms such as *pujamu* and *kurntal* I have come to the conclusion that there is not a uniform use of the terms among people speaking Nyangumarta and other languages such as Ngarla and Nyamal. Much of the usage has to do with individuals and their established relationships with other individuals throughout the area. Some people use *pujamu* generically for 'child' whereas others use *partany* for the same meaning.

¹³ Helen Geytenbeek (1982) states however that people in the southern Nyangumarta group have only two terms for small grandchildren—a man calling his daughter's children as *jamuji* and *karluji* for his son's children; and a woman calling her daughter's children *kamiji* and her son's children *kaparli*. The introduction of the four terms (which show sex distinctions) for the grandparents addressing their grandchildren occurs when the children reach adolescence. In the present study the people living in the Strelley Mob use the four terms regardless of the age of their grandchildren.

Children in a family are given a name according to their birth order. First-born children are called *murrkangunya* or *mukunya*,¹⁴ last-born children are called *nyirti* or *nyirtingunya* and all other children are called *malyurta*. These terms are often used as terms of address as well as reference by all people in the community irrespective of their own personal relationship with the person concerned.

1.6.6 Terms of reference

Nyangumarta also has kin terms which are used as terms of reference when talking about someone to another person who happens to be in the same or different section. Shared reference terms are not used as terms of address.

For example if two men are speaking and they are from marriageable sections such as Purungu and Milangka or Karimarra and Panaka (that is, men who are *yaku* or *jamuji* to each other, and who have married each other's sisters) one would mention the other's wife with the term *nyukunu* (meaning a woman in his own section) and his own wife as *partunguji* (meaning a woman in the other person's section).

Some of the terms listed are inappropriate as terms of reference in certain situations, particularly when referring to one's own or another's spouse. The term *nyupa* 'spouse' is used in conversation between Ego and her mother-in-law or father-in-law to refer to Ego's spouse (their own son). But when a woman's parents talk to her about her spouse they refer to him as *yinini*. O'Grady and Mooney (1973:8) call these terms 'shared' reference terms, because they take into account the relationship of the hearer (the addressee) as well as the relationship of the speaker to the person referred to (H. Geytenbeek 1982:25).

See O'Grady and Mooney (1973) for more detailed descriptions of Nyangumarta kinship terminology and in particular for explanations regarding shared reference terms.

Avoidance behaviour is a very marked form of social interaction in the Nyangumarta community. In the Nyangumarta community there are certain kin relations that demand this marked form of avoidance behaviour. The most common form is mother-in-law/son-in-law relationship. People in this relationship should avoid any form of close contact and may not speak directly to each other under any circumstances.

Nowadays, if there is a need (and where there is no other alternative) for people in avoidance relationships to travel in the same car, they sit as far away from each other as possible and the woman will put something over her head. The avoidance language style is discussed below.

Like most (perhaps all) Aboriginal groups, Nyangumarta has a special 'avoidance' speech style, which is used in the presence of avoidance relatives. This has been described as 'mother-in-law language'. The avoidance language in Nyangumarta has the same phonology and grammar as 'everyday' Nyangumarta and differs in

¹⁴ For some speakers the word *mukunya* means 'little girl'. I have documented this term to also refer to male children.

that it has a number of different lexical forms. The avoidance language of Nyangumarta has not been examined in any depth and the number of avoidance vocabulary elicited to date is no more than twenty words (see Dixon 1980:58–59).

1.6.7 Avoidance relatives

Two women (even if sisters) of the same skin can have a different avoidance relationship with the same man. One may be a 'distant' *marruku* and hence strict avoidance behaviour is compulsory; another may be a 'close' *marruku* and in this case strict avoidance behaviour does not occur. The term *walkawalka* is used as a term of reference between these two (the man and his close *marruku*). Of two sisters, my informant was *marruku* to the older sister, and *walkawalka* to the younger. When asked why this situation occurred, my informant explained that often relationships such as *marruku* or *walkawalka* are decided on shortly after a girl is born. The specific relationships are set by either the parents of the child or the person involved, that is, my informant was able to set the specific relationship between himself and his close and distant *marruku* shortly after their births but the reasoning behind the social declaration is still unclear. Some people in *walkawalka* relationships can actually speak to each other and need not be classified as any type of *marruku*. The avoidance relationships for a male ego is given in Figure 1.6 below.

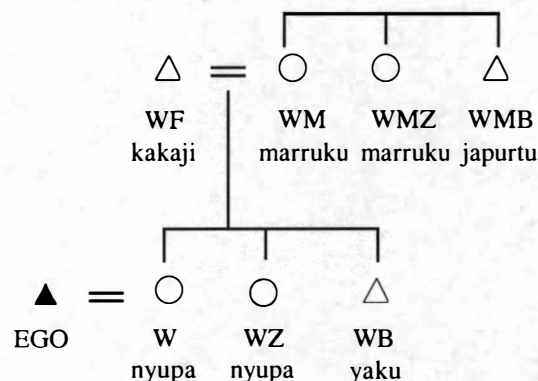


Figure 1. 6: Avoidance relationship for male ego

1.6.8 Avoidance due to Law ceremonies

Initiation ceremonies also generate avoidance relationships (see Palmer 1981 for more detail here). My informant, without disclosing too much private information, explained one such avoidance relationship. The following is a paraphrase of the explanation he gave.

After a *marlurlu* (young initiate) has gone through the 'law' and become a 'man', he remains out in the bush. All the mob involved in the ceremony then come back to camp for a big meeting where relationships between

people are sorted out. In this meeting they decide on who different people are allowed to speak to depending on the specific initiation ceremony. One such sanction is between two men - one involved in the law ceremony and controlling much of the activity, and the other undergoing the initiation ceremony. For example, a *Panaka* man who has been instrumental in the initiation ceremony of a *Purungu* man is now his *mangkalyi* and is henceforth in an avoidance relationship. This is out of respect for the *Panaka* man for his involvement in the ceremony (Monty Hale 1997, conversation with author).

This avoidance sanction is not as severe as the *marruku* taboo and only extends to prohibition of conversation between the two although it does extend to the whole family of both individuals. This avoidance relationship is also called *ngulyungulyu*, *yapurrayapurra*, or *mungapunju*.

1.6.9 Special speech styles

Nyangumarta does make use of an 'avoidance' style although I have not recorded a large amount of it. The avoidance style for Nyangumarta has identical phonology and grammar to that of 'everyday' Nyangumarta. It would appear from the limited data available that inflectional suffixes are the same as for the everyday language.

The following (Table 1.4) shows the difference between the two 'language styles'—many of the examples include the use of the third person singular indirect object suffix *-lu* or *-la* because the informant gave examples of a person getting someone else to do something for a person s/he is in an avoidance relationship with. Thus the style is used whenever someone is near to or referring to another community member who is in avoidance relationship with him/her. The avoidance language does not appear to be widely used and many younger people are not familiar with it.

Table 1.4: Nyangumarta avoidance speech style

Nyangumarta	Avoidance	
<i>kuwarri</i> now	<i>kumarri</i> now	'now, today'
<i>yuwa</i> give-IMP	<i>pukujala</i> give-IMP	'give it'
<i>yu-wa-la</i> give-IMP-3SG.DAT	<i>pukuja-la-la</i> give-IMP-3SG.DAT	'give it to him/her'
<i>ma-rra-lu</i> get-IMP-3SG.DAT	<i>kartija-la-lu</i> get-IMP-3SG.DAT	'get it for him/her'

<i>ya-rra-lu</i> go-IMP-3SG.DAT	<i>wanparima-la-lu</i> go-IMP-3SG.DAT	'go for him'
<i>ya-na</i> go-NFUT	<i>wanparima-rna</i> go-NFUT	'he/she went'
<i>parrja-la-lu</i> look-IMP-3SG.DAT	<i>ngurra</i> camp	<i>yinawara-la-lu</i> look-IMP-3SG.DAT
		<i>parrpa</i> camp
<i>wani-nyi</i> stay-NFUT	<i>kurnakarri-nyi</i> stay-NFUT	'he/she is staying'
<i>miralajalu</i> remove-1SG.DAT-3SG.LOC	<i>miralykarra-la-ja-lu</i> remove-1SG.DAT-3SG.LOC	'get it for me from her'
<i>yaka-la-lu</i> leave-IMP-3SG.LOC	<i>yakalkarra-la-lu</i> leave-IMP-3SG.LOC	'leave it for him/her'
<i>nyupaji</i> spouse	<i>yinini</i> spouse	'spouse'

1.7 Past investigations

Linguistic and anthropological work on Nyangumarta started in the early 1900s when word lists of Nyangumarta (and a number of other Western Australian languages) were collected by Daisy Bates (n.d.) and Davidson (1932). In the 1940s Capell completed a survey of the languages of the north and north-west of Australia which naturally included Nyangumarta. In the 1950s Helmut and Gisela Petri¹⁵ undertook extensive ethnographic research into the people living in the north-west of Australia (Hoard & O'Grady 1976:51 state that Petri and Odermann-Petri compiled a dictionary in excess of 6000 entries although there is no other reference to the work). In the 1960s Lloyd Penrice was engaged in the study of the Nyangumarta language although there is very little known about any data or information collected.

One of the major contributors to the recording and understanding of Nyangumarta has been Geoffrey N. O'Grady (1956, 1957, 1964, 1966, 1970) and G.N. O'Grady and K. Mooney (1973). He first had contact with Nyangumarta people in 1949 when he was employed as a jackeroo on Wallal Downs, then a sheep station in the north-west of Western Australia (along the coast, halfway between Broome and Port Hedland). He became part of a mustering team with Nyangumarta men in the back 'pindan' paddocks. In the next eight weeks, hearing very little English, O'Grady started to learn Nyangumarta and also attempted to transcribe it using a system of notation based on his earlier studies in Latin, German and Russian.

¹⁵ See Olderman (1957, 1958) and Petri (1966, 1980).

Over the next few years O'Grady concentrated his attention on Nyangumarta, attempting to come to terms with the verb morphology and was assisted by Dr Capell who was then working at the University of Sydney.

O'Grady extended his interest in Aboriginal languages in the north-west eliciting material in Yulparija and Warnman (from speakers who had moved in from the Great Sandy Desert to the Eighty Mile Beach in 1947). In 1954 O'Grady recorded Nyangumarta in the Port Hedland area and also began work on several of the languages of the Ngayarda subgroup (Yindjibarndi, Ngarluma, Ngarla, Nyamal and Kariyarra). In 1956 he became a research assistant for Dr Capell at the University of Sydney and continued in that role for the next four years.

O'Grady completed a PhD at Indiana University writing a grammar of Nyangumarta. It was published by the University of Sydney (1964) (*Oceania Linguistic Monograph No. 9, Nyangumata grammar*). The grammar was based on the northern Nyangumarta dialect particularly with Nyangumarta people from the Wallal area. The grammar consists of three chapters: Phonology, Morphophonemics and Morphology. In his review of the grammar, Hale (1968:174–181) pointed out that there was still much to be done in the area of syntax to complete the grammatical picture of the language.

Nyangumarta has also been studied at La Grange Mission (Bidyardanga) by Kevin McKelson who has heavily 'relied on Petri's and O'Grady's pioneering efforts in this field' (McKelson 1989). McKelson has been working on languages in the southern Kimberley since the 1960s and he has produced many valued resources on the languages including his recent *Topical vocabulary in Northern Nyangumarta* (1989). McKelson has worked closely with many Aboriginal informants especially the late Tommy Dodd 'who spoke an impeccable Northern Nyangumarta' (McKelson 1989). McKelson's work on Karajarri concentrates on the inland dialect. He has written a brief sketch grammar which highlights nominal and verbal inflections. Capell (1962) has also worked on Karajarri and included a sketch grammar in his handbook of Australian languages which was based on the coastal dialect. McKelson has also completed word lists and nominal and verbal paradigms for Mangarla, Nyangumarta and Yulparija.

The late Dr Helmut Petri of the Cologne University worked with Nyangumarta people in the Anna Plains area of the north-west of Western Australia in 1954. Both O'Grady (1964) and McKelson (1989) have accessed Petri's work in their own writings.

In the Pilbara, Brian and Helen Geytenbeek have studied Nyangumarta for over twenty years and have written papers on such subjects as the noun phrases (1980), kinship (1982), case (1988), mood, aspect (1997) and the verbalisers (1997). They have also produced a dictionary of Nyangumarta (1991) which has been distributed through Wangka Maya, the Pilbara Aboriginal Language Centre in South Hedland. The dictionary has proven to be a very useful resource in double checking the use of lexical items in this grammar.

Malcolm Brown studied the southern dialect of Nyangumarta in 1975–76 and wrote a report (unpublished) which briefly described the phonology and grammar of Nyangumarta people living at Strelley. Brown also worked as a teacher/linguist in the Strelley Schools from 1979–1983 and completed some early work on the *Nyangumarta dictionary/wordlist* which is used by the Strelley Mob.

Gwen Bucknall started work on the southern dialect of Nyangumarta in 1976, employed as teacher/linguist for the Nyangumarta programme in the Strelley Schools bilingual programme. Bucknall has been responsible for the supervision, production and English annotation of over two hundred Nyangumarta stories which have been predominantly used in the school's Nyangumarta programme. Working closely with Nyangumarta people like Monty Hale, Fred Bradman, the late Solomon Cocky, the late Karlene Ponce and Elsie Ginger during those years, she has documented the use of many Nyangumarta suffixes and given references to their uses within Nyangumarta texts. Bucknall has also produced an annotated bibliography of all the Nyangumarta texts and the bibliography is used in the schools. These resources have been extremely valuable for the completion of this study.

The phonology of Nyangumarta has also been the topic of some in-depth study. Hoard and O'Grady (1976) describe the phonology of the northern dialect of Nyangumarta as spoken at Wallal in the early 1950s. Its main areas of focus are: the phonemics and phonetics of Nyangumarta, noun and verb morphology and a large section of (linear) phonological rules which account for the 'extensive alterations exhibited within the verb and noun paradigms' (Hoard & O'Grady 1976:51). Archangeli (1986) also describes the vowel assimilation of the northern dialect using the data in Hoard and O'Grady's paper. Various points of interest regarding Archangeli's account of Nyangumarta vowel assimilation are discussed in Chapter 2 of this study. Sharp (1986, 1997) gives an account of the more limited vowel assimilation system of the southern Nyangumarta dialect. Some of the findings in those papers are reworked in this study.

To summarise then, at present there has been considerable work completed on Nyangumarta phonology. There is also a detailed description of Nyangumarta kinship terminology (O'Grady & Mooney 1973). The morphology of the northern Nyangumarta dialect is described in O'Grady's grammar (1964). However, Hale's (1968) review of O'Grady's grammar of Nyangumarta indicates that many of the comments and descriptions concerning the morphology of Nyangumarta could be further understood and explained if the syntax had been described as well. This is one of the major goals of this work:

While this study leaves a lot of questions open, it whets the appetite for more information on Nyangumarta. Some of the things O'Grady has said about word morphology will not be completely understandable until a syntax appears (Hale 1968:181).

Although O'Grady's (1964) grammar of Nyangumarta included some very thorough findings on the phonology and the morphology of northern Nyangumarta, it is still largely a reference book listing the numerous morphemes which occur in Nyangumarta. There are many areas of Nyangumarta grammar which need to be described in order for the broader picture to be more easily understood. For example, the explanations of sentence type and how specific morphemes function within sentences is not included in O'Grady's work. There is also no mention of the structure of main clauses or the structure of complex clauses. No details are given as to the complex system of subcategorisation that occurs within Nyangumarta main clauses

and how dative and locative inflections are involved in these types of constructions as either additional arguments or external arguments.

1.8 Present study

Past research on the Nyangumarta language, although extensive in some areas (such as the phonology) still leaves many unanswered questions concerning the language. The present study not only includes reference and clarification of Nyangumarta research documented to date but also supplements the research by presenting a comprehensive grammar which includes chapters on the functions of the Nyangumarta verbal system, the morphology, and the syntax of clause types: main clauses and complex clauses. The grammar includes detailed description of the the pronoun and demonstrative systems, a discussion on the structure of words in Nyangumarta and descriptions of Nyangumarta NPs. There is also a detailed phonology section presented in a non-linear phonological framework which incorporates feature geometry and distinctive aspects.

1.8.1 The data

The author has been associated with Nyangumarta people in the Pilbara since 1981 and has worked for many years as a teacher/linguist in the Strelley Mob's independent bilingual schools. During that time I have assisted in the training of Nyangumarta adults as teachers of their language both in literacy and oral programmes.

The present description is based on materials collected by the author during fieldwork in the years 1985 and 1992–97 which was conducted to specifically undertake research into the language. Apart from elicited text I have also used such resources as literacy material produced for the Strelley Schools and the *Nyangumarta dictionary* as produced by the Geytenbeeks (1991) and the Strelley School. All data used for the southern dialect has been checked with Nyangumarta language informants.

The Nyangumarta literature produced through the Nomads' Schools' bilingual programme has been a tremendously useful source partly because of its depth and also because many of the texts were elicited in the late seventies and include work from older community members who have since died, such as Ngukura Ginger, Jack Kurila and Soloman Cocky. In the early years of the study of Nyangumarta, Elsie Ginger was an extremely valuable informant—all data checked and elicited was examined thoroughly by Elsie. Table 1.5 gives a summary of language informants consulted for this description.

The data used to illustrate findings in the northern dialect has been taken from the *Topical dictionary* produced by McKelson (1989).

As far as possible, the data used has been in the form of complete texts—generally stories or descriptions; relying only on elicited material for checking existing texts, testing hypotheses and filling gaps in paradigms.

1.8.2 *Language informants*

The study has taken place with Nyangumarta people living in Port Hedland, South Hedland, Twelve Mile (Tjalku Wara), Woodstock and the Warralong communities. In 1985 I worked with Monty Hale, Fred Bradman, Elsie Ginger, Barbara Hale and Donna Lockyer. In 1992 I worked with the late Frank Thomas (Mitukata), his wife Kathleen (Kupilya) and his brother Bruce (Turrkuwanti). After Mitukata's death I continued work on Nyangumarta at Warralong with Monty Hale (Minyjun) and Fred Bradman (Rurla). Other Nyangumarta speakers with whom I worked include: Barbara Hale, Elizabeth Bunwarrie, Frances Hale, Beryl Ponce, Roseanne Marney, the late Karlene Ponce, the late Rosie Oberdoo and Sharon Hale.

Working with the 'Strelley Mob' on the Nyangumarta language has shown me that Nyangumarta people use language in a communal capacity. Each language informant is very careful about how they deliver language information and each person knows that this language is representative of all of their community. Whenever there has been doubt about particular constructions or vocabulary, consultants have always suggested that they should check the data with another (specific) member of the community. Therefore, the Nyangumarta in this work is representative of a speech community which has been concerned about the preservation and maintenance of its language and although there are idiolectal differences involving lexical items, the consultants are all aware of these differences and acknowledge the sources with great respect for the people involved. Table 1.5 lists the Nyangumarta language informants consulted throughout this work. It also includes information concerning their individual linguistic background.

Table 1.5: List of Nyangumarta speakers consulted

Name	Age	Skin	Parent's language
Monty Hale (Minyjun)	65+	Panaka	Nyangumarta
Bruce Thomas (Turrkuwanti)	55+	Karimarra	Mangarla/Nyangumarta
Frank Thomas (Mitukata)	55+	Karimarra	Mangarla/Nyangumarta
Kathleen Thomas (Kupilya)	50+	Panaka	Nyangumarta/Warnman
Pitpit Thomas	60+	Panaka	Warnman/ Nyangumarta (Pijikala)
Solomon Cocky	75+	Purungu	Ngurlipartu
Fred Bradman (Rurla)	65+	Milangka	Nyangumarta (Pijikala)/Mangarla
Karlene Ponce	65+	Panaka	Nyangumarta
Elsie Ginger (Jititi)	25+	Karimarra	Nyangumarta
Barbara Hale	25+	Panaka	Warnman/Nyangumarta
Sharon Hale	25+	Panaka	Warnman/Nyangumarta
Beryl Ponce	25+	Purungu	Nyangumarta
Roseanne Marney	18	Panaka	Nyangumarta/Mangarla
Frances Hale	30+	Milangka	Nyangumarta

Donna Lockyer	25+	Karimarra	Nyangumarta/Kartujarra
Elizabeth Bunwarrie (Kartpurту)	30+	Milangka	Nyangumarta/Mangarla
Ngukura Ginger (Ruby's husband)	65+	Purungu	Nyangumarta

2 *Phonology*

This chapter describes the phonological system of Nyangumarta. Section 2.1 presents the consonant and vowel inventories and gives general statements of allophonic variation and includes the distinctive features of Nyangumarta phonemes, §2.2 describes the general phonotactic patterns of the language, and §2.3 summarises the morphophonemic processes involved in the allomorphic alterations including the vowel assimilation processes. Section 2.4 describes the process of reduplication and §2.5 and §2.6 describe the phonological phrase and general word stress patterns.

2.1 **Phonemes and their realisations**

Nyangumarta has seventeen underlying consonant phonemes and three underlying vowel phonemes.

2.1.1 *Nyangumarta consonants*

Nyangumarta has a typical consonant inventory which conforms to a common Australian pattern. It has five paired stops and nasals that can be grouped into peripheral, apical and laminal articulations. There are no phonemic fricatives, there is no voicing contrast, there are two rhotics and there are three non-peripheral laterals. The orthography employed in this grammar is the one decided on and used by the 'Strelley Mob' in their Nyangumarta literacy programme. This orthography is also used for Karajarri and Mangarla.

Table 2.1 presents the consonant phonemes using the practical orthography and phonetic symbols.

Table 2.1: Nyangumarta consonant phoneme inventory

	peripheral	apical		laminal	peripheral
	bilabial	alveolar	post-alveolar	palatal	velar
stop	p /p/	t /t/	rt /ɽ/	j /c/	k /k/
nasal	m /m/	n /n/	rn /ɳ/	ny /ɲ/	ng /ŋ/
lateral		l /l/	rl /ɭ/	ly /ʎ/	
rhotic		rr /r/	r /ɻ/		
approximant				y /j/	w /w/

The following sets of minimal pairs (or subminimal pairs) illustrate the apical contrast in word-medial position firstly for stops (2.1); then nasals (2.2) and finally laterals (2.3):

- (2.1) Apical stops:
- | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|---------------|------------------------|
| <i>miti</i> | 'tick' | <i>mirti</i> | 'run' |
| <i>kata</i> | 'scrub' | <i>karta</i> | 'asleep' |
| <i>piti</i> | 'carrying dish' | <i>pirti</i> | 'hole (in the ground)' |
| <i>nyiti</i> | 'chest' | <i>nyirti</i> | 'last child born' |
- (2.2) Apical nasals:
- | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>kanka</i> | 'above' | <i>kaarnka</i> | 'crow' |
| <i>jakun</i> | 'only' | <i>jakurn</i> | 'in a circle' |
| <i>wunta</i> | 'burnt country' | <i>wurnta</i> | 'light shield' |
- (2.3) Apical laterals:
- | | | | |
|--------------|---------|---------------|-----------------|
| <i>kuli</i> | 'angry' | <i>kurli</i> | 'sheet of bark' |
| <i>kulu</i> | 'louse' | <i>kurlu</i> | 'bad' |
| <i>ngali</i> | 1DU.INC | <i>ngarlu</i> | 'stomach' |

The following sets of minimal pairs illustrate the contrast between alveolar and palatal stops in initial and medial positions (2.4):

- (2.4) Apical and laminal stops:
- | | | | |
|---------------|------------|---------------|--------------|
| <i>tirrka</i> | 'kingfish' | <i>jirrku</i> | 'thorn-bush' |
| <i>kata</i> | 'scrub' | <i>kaja</i> | 'a long way' |
| <i>purnta</i> | 'ashes' | <i>jurnti</i> | 'cave' |

Examples below illustrate the contrast between alveolar and palatal laterals (2.5) followed by post-alveolar and palatal laterals (2.6). In addition the contrast between apical and laminal nasals is also given (2.7).

- (2.5) Apical and laminal laterals:
- | | | | |
|----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>ngali</i> | 1DU.INC | <i>ngalyi</i> | 'side of neck' |
| <i>kalarru</i> | 'bush.species' | <i>kalyarra</i> | 'moiety term' |
| <i>kuli</i> | 'fight' | <i>kulyi</i> | 'beggar' |
- (2.6) Apical (post-alveolar) and laminal laterals:
- | | | | |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|
| <i>purlku</i> | 'tobacco' | <i>pulyku</i> | 'tendon' |
| <i>pirlurr</i> | 'spirit' | <i>pilyurr</i> | 'promise' |
| <i>ngurlu</i> | 'Law business' | <i>ngulyu</i> | 'stolen item' |
- (2.7) Apical and laminal nasals:
- | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| <i>kamparni</i> | 's/he cooked it' | <i>kampanyi</i> | 'it burned' |
| <i>warna</i> | 'sated with water' | <i>wanyi</i> | 'joey' |

The following examples show contrast between velar and palatal nasals in initial position (2.8) followed by contrasts between alveolar and velar nasals in intervocalic position and word-medially preceding a velar consonant (2.9).

- (2.8) Velar and laminal nasals:
- | | | | |
|---------------|--------|---------------|-----|
| <i>ngurra</i> | 'camp' | <i>nyurra</i> | 2PL |
|---------------|--------|---------------|-----|
- (2.9) Apical and velar nasals:
- | | | | |
|--------------|---------|---------------|-----------|
| <i>jana</i> | 'they' | <i>janga</i> | 'spit' |
| <i>wanka</i> | 'alive' | <i>wangka</i> | 'near' |
| <i>pinka</i> | 'shell' | <i>pingka</i> | 'hunting' |

Below are examples of contrasts between the two rhotics [r] and [ɻ]:

- (2.10) Post-alveolar approximant and alveolar tap/trill
- | | | | |
|-------------|--------|--------------|-------------|
| <i>kara</i> | 'west' | <i>karra</i> | 'like this' |
| <i>wiru</i> | 'worm' | <i>wirru</i> | 'wing' |

2.1.2 Nyangumarta vowels

Nyangumarta has two high vowels and one low. Vowel length is not distinctive although single (open) syllable words must have a long vowel (in contrast to bisyllabic or polysyllabic words which do not occur with long vowels).

Table 2.2: Nyangumarta vowel phoneme inventory

	front	back
high	i /i/	u /u/
low	a /ə/	

(2.11) Vowel contrasts:

<i>piju</i>	'creek, river'	<i>paju</i>	'sorrowful'	<i>puju</i>	'if'
<i>kari</i>	'bitter'	<i>kara</i>	'west'	<i>karu</i>	'spear'

As discussed below (§2.2.2.4) the minimal word in Nyangumarta is mono-syllabic but dimoric. Monosyllabic words ending in sonorant consonants have two morae with the vowel representing one mora and the final consonant the other. This is significant in the application of the phonetic rule of vowel reduction (see §2.3.8 below).

2.1.3 Allophones

2.1.3.1 Consonant allophones

In Nyangumarta consonant phonemes (except for /c/) do not exhibit a great deal of allophonic variation regarding position of articulation – consonants' allophones occur in manner of articulation.

The three most common environments in which allophonic variation occurs are in word-initial position, intervocalically and following a nasal (although see O'Grady¹ 1964:4 for a more detailed account of allophony in the northern dialect).

Generally stops are voiceless and unaspirated in word-initial position and voiced between vowels and following a nasal. Table 2.3 gives a summary of the allophones of the stop phonemes. The palatal stop /c/ has a fricative allophone when it occurs intervocalically [ʒ]—this is in free variation with the voiced stop allophone [ʒ]. This is also true of the velar stop which has a fricative allophone [ɣ]:

/wajapi/	[wɔʒəbɪ]	[wɔʒəbɪ]	'grasshopper'
/takI/	[təɣɪ]	[təɣɪ]	'back of neck'

¹ Statements concerning the distribution of phones are made, where necessary, within two broad frames of reference—slow tempo (as occurring in citation forms or the enumeration of lists), and fast tempo. The latter is distinguished from the former by: (a) a rate of delivery, for many speakers, ranging from 20 to 30 phonemes per second in bursts; (b) relatively little lip movement; (c) the zeroing out in certain environments of vowel phonemes present in speech of slow tempo (O'Grady 1964:3). The discussion here includes and summarises his findings.

Table 2.3: Stop allophones

	#	N_	V_ V
p	p	b	b
t	t	d	d
c	c	ʃ	ʃ ~ ʒ
k	k	g	g ~ ɣ
t	t	dʒ	dʒ

<i>pipi</i>	[pibɪ]	'mother'
<i>tili</i>	[tɪlɪ]	'flame, fire'
<i>jipi</i>	[cibɪ]	'finish, that's it'
<i>kuta</i>	[kædɐ]	'small piece'
<i>pirti</i>	[pidʒɪ]	'hole (in the ground)'

In Table 2.3 it can be seen that the palatal stop does not have lamino-dental allophones. This contrasts with neighbouring Ngayarta and Western Desert languages which have lamino-dental phonemes and/or allophones

In word-initial position there is a neutralisation of the apical contrast and the resulting segment is post-alveolar.

<i>lirri</i>	[lɪrɪ]	'soak'
<i>taki</i>	[tɛgɪ]	'back of neck'

The glides /j/ and /w/ may be reduced in intervocalic position leaving phonetic vowel clusters or diphthongs.

<i>ngawu</i>	[ŋəwɪ] ~ [ŋɐu]	'deaf, ignorant'
<i>mayi</i>	[mɛji] ~ [mɛi]	'vegetable food'
<i>maya</i>	[mɛ.jə] ~ [mɛ.iə]	'house, shelter'

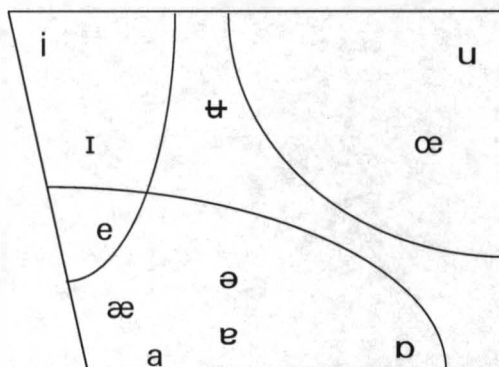
The palatal glide /j/ need not be articulated in the word-initial position when it precedes the high front vowel /i/. Likewise the velar glide /w/ need not be articulated when it precedes the high back vowel /u/.

<i>yini</i>	[jinɪ] ~ [inɪ]	'name'
<i>wuju</i>	[wucɛ] ~ [ucɛ]	'gap'

2.1.3.2 Vowel allophones

There is a high degree of variability in the articulation of Nyangumarta vowels particularly the low, open mid vowel /ɐ/. Table 2.4 illustrates the most common vowel allophones for each phoneme.

Table 2.4: Vowel allophones



The high vowels /i u/ (unrounded and rounded respectively) oppose in tongue-height the low unrounded vowel /a/. All three vowels have lax allophones. Allophonic variation of vowels is determined by two factors: the position of the vowel within words (because of stress) and the neighbouring consonants. All vowels can be slightly nasalised when adjacent to nasal consonants.

The short high front vowel /i/ is articulated as the lax vowel [ɪ] in most positions but as the tense vowel in stressed syllables. Following a palatal consonant in word-initial position and following the rhotic consonant /r/ it may be articulated as [e].

<i>pipi</i>	[pɪbɪ]	'mother'
<i>yirra</i>	[jɛrɛ]	'tooth'
<i>pirirri</i>	[pɾɛrɪ]	'man'

The short back rounded vowel /u/ varies between [u] and [ʊ] with the lax vowel occurring more frequently in (word-final) unstressed syllables (stress is indicated by underlining). Between palatal consonants it is fronted to [ɥ].

<i>paru</i>	[p <u>ɛ</u> ɾœ]	'spinifex'
<i>kunarri</i>	[k <u>u</u> nəɾɪ]	'eel'
<i>junyuly</i>	[cɥɲɥɥ]	'squeeze'

The low vowel /a/ shows the following allophonic variation. Following a palatal consonant it is fronted and raised [æ]. Following a back rounded segment /w/ it is realised as back and round [ɔ]. Before /w/ and /ng/ it is pronounced [ɔ]. In unstressed positions /a/ is more centralised, approaching schwa [ə], when it precedes a palatal consonant or when it is the second syllable of the word and the vowel of the first syllable is /i/ it is pronounced [a]. It may be fronted to [e] in unstressed syllables when the next syllable begins with the palatal consonant /j/. Elsewhere, the vowel is an open mid [ɐ].

<i>nyaparu</i>	[ɲæbɐɹæ]	'substitute name'
<i>wanka</i>	[wɔŋgə]	'alive'
<i>jawa</i>	[cɔwɐ]	'mouth'
<i>kara</i>	[kɐɹɐ]	'west'
<i>partany</i>	[pɐɹɔɹ]	'child'
<i>miranu</i>	[miɹɔnɐ]	'knowledgeable'
<i>yanayi</i>	[jænɐji]	'they (plural) went'

2.1.3.3 Distinctive features

In order to account for the phonological processes in Nyangumarta, particularly the vowel assimilation phenomena, the following distinctive features for consonants (Table 2.5) and vowels (Table 2.6) are posited. The feature geometry of the vowels is given in Figure 2.1 (see §2.3.9.1).

Table 2.5: Nyangumarta consonant distinctive features²

	p	t	rt	j	k	l	rl	ly	m	n	rn	ny	ng	r	rr	w	y
consonant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
sonorant	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
nasal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
coronal		x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x		x
lateral		-	-	-		+	+	+		-	-	-		-	-		-
anterior		+	-	-		+	-	-		+	-	-		-	+		-
distributed		-	-	+		-	-	+		-	-	+		-	-		+
labial	x								x								x
high				+				+				+					+
back																	+

² X notation is used for privative features such as coronal and labial.

Table 2.6: Nyangumarta vowel distinctive features

	i	u	a
high	+	+	(-) ³
low	(-)	(-)	+
back	(-)	+	(+)
round	(-)	(+)	(-)

2.2 Phonotactics

This section deals with the possible sequential arrangements of phonological units as they occur in Nyangumarta.

2.2.1 Phonological structure of the word

A Nyangumarta phonological word must have at least two morae and can be of the shape: CVCV, CVC, or CVV (see §2.2.2.4 below for discussion of the Nyangumarta minimal word).

All Nyangumarta words must begin with a consonant. Words can either end with a consonant or a vowel.

Words can begin with the following consonants: **p, k, j, m, ng, n, l, ny, t, w, y, r**. Words do not begin with: **ly** or **rr**. The apical contrast (alveolar and post-alveolar (retroflex)) is neutralised word-initially and initial apicals are realised phonetically as retroflex. A word can end in any vowel or the following consonants: **n, rn, ny, l, rl, ly, rr**.

Words do not begin with vowels, phonemically, although in sequences where there is an initial glide such as 'y' or 'w' followed by the corresponding vowel equal in height and/or backness ('i' or 'u'), the initial consonant can be dropped by some speakers.⁴

There are no consonant clusters occurring in word-initial position. However phonetically, consonant clusters /pr/, /kr/, /kw/, /tr/, /pw/ and /tw/ can occur as a result of a vowel elision rule (see §2.3 below).

Table 2.7 illustrates the permitted initial and final consonants for Nyangumarta.

³ Parenthesis notation is used to denote features which are not distinctive underlyingly in Nyangumarta. These features are filled in by default rules and/or redundancy rules later in the phonology.

⁴ This is the same for Ngayarda languages such as Yindjibarndi and Panyjima.

Table 2.7: Permitted initial and final consonants

#C—	p	k	t	j	rt	
	m	ng	n	ny	rn	
			l	ly	rl	
		w		y		
			rr		r	

p	k	t	j	rt	
m	ng	n	ny	rn	— C#
		l	ly	rl	
	w		y		
		rr		r	

Table 2.8 lists the frequency of consonants in initial, final and intervocalic positions—the list is based on a dictionary sample of free form words (roots) from the northern and southern dialects, a total of 3203 words.

Table 2.8: Frequency of consonants (3203 words)

	#C	C#	V_V		#C	C#	V_V
p	509	—	282	n	12	43	236
t	110	—	176	ny	76	80	364
j	441	—	266	l	66	41	256
k	561	—	382	ly	—	39	286
m	466	—	214	rr	—	100	292
r	58	—	292	rl	—	42	534
w	449	—	145	rn	—	48	517
y	290	—	137	rt	—	—	463
ng	165	—	236				

2.2.2 Consonant clusters

2.2.2.1 Intramorphemic clusters

Intramorphemic consonant clusters (consisting of no more than two consonants) fall into four classes: a complete set of homorganic nasal-stop clusters (mp, ngk, nt, rnt, and nyj); a set of heterorganic lateral-stop clusters (lp, rlp, rlk, lk, lyp and lyk); a set of heterorganic clusters involving the rhotic tap [rr] and stops and nasals (rrp, rrj, rrk, rrm, rrng) and a set of heterorganic clusters involving nasal-stop clusters and nasal-nasal clusters (np, nk, nj, nng and rnng).

The set of consonants which may occur word-finally is a subset of the set of consonants which may occur as the first member of a consonant cluster (therefore /m/ and /ng/ which can close a syllable, do not occur word-finally). The set of consonants which occur as the second member of a consonant cluster is a subset of the set of consonants permitted in initial position. Table 2.9 lists the relative frequency of the possible consonant clusters in a sample of 3200 words which are (apparently) monomorphemic.

The homorganic nasal-stop clusters are by far the most common. The post alveolar nasal-stop cluster rnr is written as rnt for orthographic simplification as is given in the following minimal (or near minimal) pairs:

<i>jirnta</i>	'sparks'	<i>jinta</i>	'other'
<i>warnti</i>	'tail'	<i>wanta</i>	'stay/stop'

Table 2.9: Intramorphemic consonant clusters

	C ₂	p	t	j	k	m	n	ny	ng
C ₁									
m		94	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ng		—	—	—	136	—	—	—	—
n		26	126	17	44	13	—	—	5
rn		22	160	15	31	7	—	—	8
ny		15	—	103	15	7	—	—	—
l		50	—	18	50	7	—	—	—
rl		50	—	—	103	—	—	—	—
ly		32	—	8	20	—	—	—	—
rr		98	—	56	100	12	—	—	12

Some examples of the less common combinations are given below:

<i>rrng</i>	<i>marrngu</i>	'person'
	<i>kurrngal</i>	'many'
	<i>jarrnga</i>	'very big'
<i>rrm</i>	<i>jirmirl</i>	'perspiration'
<i>rrng</i>	<i>narrngula</i>	'bush honey'
<i>nm</i>	<i>kunmu</i>	'united'
	<i>yinma</i>	'song'
<i>lyj</i>	<i>milyjirr</i>	'species of Melaleuca'
<i>rrm</i>	<i>wurnmanya</i>	'he broke it'
<i>nng</i>	<i>jannganka</i>	'shake/tremble'

2.2.2.2 Intermorphemic clusters

Consonant clusters at morpheme boundaries are very common with many possibilities of combinations. The cluster can consist of any of the permissible word-final consonants followed by a permissible syllable-initial consonant.

As some of the bound morphemes have consonants which are not permissible word-initial consonants, the occurrence of consonant clusters not found elsewhere in the language are attested.

The combination of most C_1 consonants in the table and the C_2 consonant *ny* is not attested as an intermorphemic consonant cluster (see Table 2.10). However as there is a nominal suffix *nyuku*⁵ 'on target' which is attached to body-part words, the possibility of uncommon consonant clusters occurring increases:

<i>rny</i>	<i>pirrirn-nyuku</i>	'on the forehead'
<i>nyny</i>	<i>ngayiny-nyuku</i>	'on the internal organs'
<i>rlny</i>	<i>nyunyjurl-nyuku</i>	'on the thigh bone'
<i>rr</i>	<i>ngirrngirr-nyuku</i>	'on the cheek, jaw'

Table 2.10 gives the attested intermorphemic consonant clusters. C_1 consonants represent the sonorant consonants which can occur word-finally and C_2 represents a subset of the consonants which occur word-initially. Bold highlighting indicates usual permissible intramorphemic consonant clusters.

⁵ This suffix has been borrowed from Ngarla but it is becoming more widely used in Nyangumarta.

Table 2.10: Intermorphemic consonant clusters

C_1	C_2	p	j	k	m	ny ⁶	ng	w
n		*	*	*	*	*	*	*
rn		*	*	*	*	*	*	*
ny		*	*	*	*	*	*	*
l		*	*	*	*	*	*	*
rl		*	*	*	*	*	*	*
ly		*	*	*	*	*	*	*
rr		*	*	*	*	*	*	*

2.2.2.3 Reduplication and consonant clusters

Unusual consonant clusters can occur as a result of the reduplication process in Nyangumarta (see §3.4.2 for a discussion of the morphology of the productive reduplication process).

Reduplication within morphological words

There are also numerous lexemes which of themselves constitute two phonological words (because each part has main stress) although there is no independent meaning of each part and in fact they are classified as morphological words only in the reduplicated form.

The following nominals⁷ illustrate permissible consonant clusters occurring as a result of (inherent) reduplication:

<i>rrk</i>	<i>kurr+kurr</i>	'owl'
	<i>kantirr+kantirr</i>	'frail, fragile'
	<i>kirr+kirr</i>	'Black shouldered Kite'
	<i>kirtirr+kirtirr</i>	'Pratincole'
	<i>kurirr+kurirr</i>	'erratically'

⁶ Consonant clusters involving the palatal nasal /ny/ are only included here because of the increasing use of the Ngarla suffix *-nyuku*. But as this is really Ngarla so these combinations of clusters are not natural combinations for speakers of Nyangumarta. Furthermore the cluster /lny/ would occur in sequences involving the remote past morpheme /-l/ followed by the 2DU and 2PL pronouns (*nyurru* and *nyumpulu*). However in this work these pronouns have been classified as word pronouns (although syntactically bound) and as such are not attached to the verb.

⁷ The use of the '+' in these lists of inherently reduplicated lexemes is to show the phonological word boundaries. However whenever reduplicated lexemes occur in text examples which are not the result of the morphological reduplicative process, hyphens will not be used.

<i>nk</i>	<i>kuran+kuran</i>	'spinifex—very hard and spiny'
<i>nyk</i>	<i>kartany+kartany</i>	'Little Pied Cormorant'
<i>lyk</i>	<i>kartaly+kartaly</i>	'cormorant'
<i>nyj</i>	<i>juwiny+juwiny</i>	'storm bird'
<i>lyj</i>	<i>jaly+jaly</i>	'weakly'
	<i>jily+jily</i>	'goosebumps'
<i>rrj</i>	<i>jikirr+jikirr</i>	'jagged, spiky'
	<i>jintirr+jintirr</i>	'Willie Wagtail'
<i>rlt</i>	<i>taparl+taparl</i>	'patterned with spots'
<i>lt</i>	<i>tapal+tapal</i>	'patterned with spots'
<i>rnt</i>	<i>tarn+tarn</i>	'firm, hard'
<i>lp</i>	<i>palal+palal</i>	'one who is waiting'
	<i>pal+pal</i>	'bush (species)'
<i>rnp</i>	<i>pirn+pirn</i>	'bird (species)'
<i>rrp</i>	<i>putirr+putirr</i>	'goanna (species)'

The following examples show nominals with consonant clusters resulting from (inherent) reduplication that are not attested outside of the reduplication process:

<i>rrl</i>	<i>lamparr+lamparr</i>	'bush (species)'
<i>rnr</i>	<i>rungarn+rungarn</i>	'mirage'
<i>rlw</i>	<i>wirl+wirl</i>	'pulsing, throbbing'
<i>lw</i>	<i>warrul+warrul</i>	'twilight'
<i>rll</i>	<i>lirl+lirl</i>	'a yelp'
<i>rlp</i>	<i>parl+parl</i>	'noise of repeated hitting'
<i>nyp</i>	<i>piny+piny</i>	'shin bone'
<i>rlng</i>	<i>ngamparl+ngamparl</i>	'face downwards'
<i>nyng</i>	<i>ngilyany+ngilyany</i>	'nuisance'
<i>nny</i>	<i>nyilan+nyilan</i>	'confusion, a babble'
<i>rnyy</i>	<i>nyirr+nyirr</i>	'tapping noise'

Table 2.11 gives the attested consonant clusters which occur in reduplicated words.

Table 2.11: Intramorphemic consonant clusters: reduplication

	C ₂	p	t	j	k	m	n	ny	ng	w	y	r
C ₁												
n			*	*	*	*		*	*	*		*
rn		*	*	*		*		*	*	*		*
ny				*	*			*				
l		*	*							*	*	
rl		*	*						*	*		
ly				*	*				*			
rr		*		*	*			*		*		

Reduplication of inflected words

Consonant clusters resulting from the process of reduplication of inflected morphemes follow the permissible consonant cluster patterns as those found in other morphological processes such as suffixation. The major difference is the introduction of the phonemes /w/ and /y/ occurring as the second consonant in the cluster. This is given in Table 2.12 below:

Table 2.12: Intermorphemic consonant clusters: reduplication

	C ₂	p	t	j	k	m	ny	ng	w	y	r
C ₁											
n		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
rn		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
ny		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
l		*	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
rl		*	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ly		-	-	-	-	*	-	-	*	-	-
rr		-	-	-	*	-	-	-	*	*	-

* = attested forms

- = predicted forms not yet found in the data

C₂ consonants are the set of permissible word-initial consonants in Nyangumarta—the absence of the consonants /l/ and /n/ is due to their relative rarity.

Examples of reduplicated nominals are given below:

<i>yawurr+yawurr</i>	'rather shaky, trembling'
<i>warruly+warruly</i>	'green'
<i>wirrkirr+wirrkirr</i>	'crooked, zigzag'
<i>jirrjal+jirrjal</i>	'tangled (hair of head)'
<i>lakan+lakan</i>	'blistered'
<i>mampuly+mampuly</i>	'hairy'
<i>kurtan+kurtan</i>	'baggy, a bit oversized'
<i>mantaly+mantaly</i>	'gluey, sticky'

Examples of reduplicated verb stems in the RN conjugation follow:

<i>parntirn</i> ⁸ + <i>parnti-rni</i>	'S/he sniffed it.'
<i>kulurn+kulu-rnu</i>	'S/he joined together, met together.'
<i>jirnkarn+jirnka-rna</i>	'S/he whittled away at it.'
<i>malyarn+malya-rna</i>	'S/he chopped it several times.'
<i>ngartarn+ngarta-rna</i>	'S/he broke it lots of times.'
<i>wirlarn>wirla-rna</i>	'S/he patted it, he tapped it.'
<i>yarntarn+yarnta-rna</i>	'S/he prodded it.'

2.2.2.4 Minimal words

The formula for the minimal word constraint is given in (2.12) below with (2.12a) indicating the requirement for a minimal word and (2.12b) indicating a minimal word violation.

Phonological rules operate over the domain of the phonological word (as is seen in §2.3 below). However there is not always a match up between phonological words and morphological words. (This will be discussed in Chapter 3.)

(2.12) Minimal word constraint

- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| a) $[\mu \mu]_{\text{word}}$ | b) $*[\mu]_{\text{word}}$ |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|

(2.13) Nyangumarta minimal words (μ = mora)

a) C V C (C) V	b) C V V	c) C V C
μ μ	$\mu \mu$	$\mu \mu$

As predicted by this representation (2.13c) there are words of the form CVC where the final consonant is sonorant in Nyangumarta (see (2.14) below). In these forms also, vowel length is not required because the final sonorant consonant fulfills the minimal word requirement of a word consisting of at least two morae.

(2.14) CVC words

<i>lurn</i>	'kingfisher'	<i>larr</i>	'crack, tear'
<i>jarr</i>	'noise of footsteps'	<i>tarr</i>	'species of frog'
<i>muny</i>	'rump bone'	<i>ngurr</i>	'growl'
<i>tily</i>	'a cracking noise'	<i>jirr</i>	'spread out'
<i>nyirr</i>	'small species of cicada'	<i>tul</i>	'stamping noise'
<i>jiny</i>	'stomach gas'	<i>parl</i>	'noise of a thump'
<i>tarl</i>	'noise of gunshot'		

⁸ Brian Geytenbeek says that the *-rn* segment in these examples is optional for some speakers although I have no forms without them in my data.

Single syllable words of the form CVV are given in (2.15). These are written with the long vowel.

(2.15) CVV words

<i>raa</i>	'intensely'	<i>yuu</i>	'Yes!'
<i>paa</i>	'Oops!'	<i>nyaa</i>	'Here you are!'

2.3 Morphophonemics

Nyangumarta has a number of phonological rules which determine surface forms—allomorphs—occurring within the verbal and nominal morphology. The following discussion describes these morphophonemic processes involving the most common patterns of alternations resulting from consonant vowel alternations, vowel elision, nasal assimilation, epenthesis, vowel reductions and vowel assimilation processes.

2.3.1 Consonant alternations

A restricted morphophonemic process involves the alternation of a 'l' to a 'j' conditioned by the final segment of a word. For the ergative suffix, there are two allomorphs: *-lu* when following a vowel and *-ju* when following a consonant (see §4.1.1). The locative suffix also has a consonant alternating depending on whether the last segment of the base word is consonant or vowel. The form is *-ngV* when following a vowel and *-jV* when following a consonant (see §4.1.2). The causal suffix has an identical alternation as the locative (see §4.1.3).

2.3.2 Vowel elision

A rule of vowel elision operates in the Nyangumarta phonology; the first vowel of a sequence of two adjacent vowels is deleted. This is seen clearly in the NY conjugation forms of the imperative and the potential mood in the southern Nyangumarta dialect. Example (2.16) gives forms of the imperative (IMP) and potential mood (POT) where vowel elision has occurred, it also gives forms of the non-future (NFUT) where the final vowel of the verb stem remains unchanged.

Rule 1 Vowel elision rule

$$V \longrightarrow \emptyset / \text{ ______ } V$$

(2.16)	Underlying forms	Surface forms	
a.	<i>ngalpa-a</i>	<i>ngalpa</i>	enter-IMP
	<i>ngalpa-u</i>	<i>ngalpu</i>	enter-POT
	<i>ngalpa-nyi</i>	<i>ngalpanyi</i>	enter-NFUT

b.	<i>karnti-a</i>	<i>karnta</i>	climb-IMP
	<i>karnti-u</i>	<i>karntu</i>	climb-POT
	<i>karnti-nyi</i>	<i>karntinyi</i>	climb-NFUT
c.	<i>karli-a</i>	<i>karla</i>	dig-IMP
	<i>karli-u</i>	<i>karlu</i>	dig-POT
	<i>karli-nyi</i>	<i>karlinyi</i>	dig-NFUT

2.3.3 Nasal assimilation

Nasal assimilation is not a productive rule in general Nyangumarta phonology; it occurs only in the future tense morpheme. The nasal assimilation rule is given below. Example (2.17) shows a contrast between two forms of the future tense: *-lVpV* when followed by a non-nasal consonant: (2.17a) and (2.17c); and *-lVmV* when followed by a nasal: (2.17b) and (2.17d). The future tense morpheme is extremely complex in Nyangumarta with a variety of possible forms occurring depending on verb conjugation and the pronouns which follow it (See §5.3.4 for more discussion on the forms of the future tense morpheme).

Rule 2 Nasal assimilation

[+labial, -sonorant] \longrightarrow [+nasal] / V ___ V [+nasal] (in future tense)

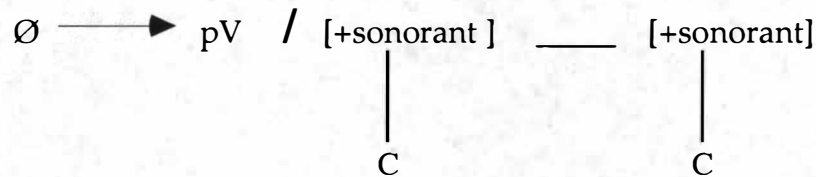
(2.17)	Underlying forms	Surface forms
a.	<i>ya-nkulVpV-li</i> go-FUT-1DU.INC.SUB	<i>ya-nkulupa-li</i>
b.	<i>ya-nkulVpV-nyV</i> go-FUT-1PL.INC.SUB	<i>ya-nkulumi-nyi</i>
c.	<i>wirla-lVpV-yV</i> hit-FUT-3PL.SUB	<i>wirla-lapi-yi</i>
d.	<i>wirla-lkulVpV-rnV</i> hit-FUT-1SG.SUB	<i>wirla-lkuluma-rna</i>

2.3.4 Epenthesis

Many forms of the verbal morphemes are determined by a general rule of epenthesis which inserts *-pV* whenever two sonorant consonants are juxtaposed across morpheme boundaries; preventing non-permissible consonant clusters. The second singular subject morpheme *-n* appears as *-npV* when a suffix containing a syllable-initial sonorant consonant is attached to it. The remote past morphemes *-nyVl*, *-rnVl* and

-nVI also occur as *-nyVlpV*⁹, *-rnVlpV* and *-nVlpV* preceding suffixation of morphemes beginning with a sonorant consonant. Examples of these forms can be seen below:

Rule 3 Epenthetic pV rule



- (2.18) Second person singular subject *-n*
- | | Underlying forms | Surface forms |
|----|---|-----------------------|
| a. | <i>ngalpa-nyV-n</i>
enter-NFUT-2SG.SUB | <i>ngalpa-nyi-n</i> |
| b. | <i>ngalpa-a-n-IV</i>
enter-ANT-2SG.SUB-ANT | <i>ngalp-a-npi-li</i> |

Thus in (2.18) the rule prevents the cluster 'nl' and in (2.19) it prevents the clusters 'll', and 'lrn'.

- (2.19) Remote past
- | | Underlying forms | Surface forms |
|----|--|-------------------------|
| a. | <i>wirla-rnVI</i>
hit-REMPST | <i>wirla-rnal</i> |
| b. | <i>wirla-rnVI-li</i>
hit-REMPST-1DU.INC.SUB | <i>wirla-rnalpa-li</i> |
| c. | <i>wirla-rnVI-rnV</i>
hit-REMPST-1SG.SUB | <i>wirla-rnalpa-rna</i> |

In (2.20) the rule prevents the non-permissible clusters: 'ny ng' and 'ny l'.

- (2.20) Future tense
- | | Underlying forms | Surface forms |
|----|--|----------------------|
| a. | <i>wirla-lkulVny</i>
hit-FUT
'S/he will hit it.' | <i>wirla-lkuliny</i> |

⁹ The remote past inflection has several allomorphs depending on the verbal conjugation. In the NY class it occurs as *-nyil*, in the RN class it occurs as *-rnVI*, and in the N class it occurs as *-nVI*.

- b. *wirla-lkulVny-ngu* *wirla-lkulinypa-ngu*
hit-FUT-2SG.DAT
'S/he will hit it for you.'
- c. *wirla-lkulVny-lu* *wirla-lkulinypa-lu*
hit-FUT-3SG.DAT
'S/he will hit it for him/her.'

2.3.5 Back assimilation

A rule of back assimilation accounts for the alternate forms of the third person plural subject bound pronoun: *-yi* ~ *-wi*. The rule is written below.

Rule 4 Back assimilation¹⁰

$$y \longrightarrow w / u \text{ ____ } V$$

The following forms illustrate the contrast between the third person subject marker *-yi* (2.21a) and (2.21c) which can surface as *-wi* when it follows a vowel with the features [+high +back] (2.21b) and (2.21d):

- | (2.21) | Underlying forms | Surface forms |
|--------|---|----------------------|
| a. | <i>ngalpa-nyV-yV</i>
enter-NFUT-3PL.SUB
'They entered it.' | <i>ngalpa-nyi-yi</i> |
| b. | <i>ngalpa-u-yV</i>
enter-POT-3PL.SUB
'They might enter it.' | <i>ngalp-u-wi</i> |
| c. | <i>wirla-rnV-yV</i>
hit-NFUT-3PL.SUB
'They hit it.' | <i>wirla-rni-yi</i> |
| d. | <i>wirla-lku-yV</i>
hit-POT-3PL.SUB
'They might hit it.' | <i>wirla-lku-wi</i> |

¹⁰ This rule was originally entitled 'Glide Adjustment' by Hoard and O'Grady (1976:72).

2.3.6 Consonant insertion

The form given in (2.22) is an example of a rule of consonant insertion in the event that three vowels occur together in underlying form. The rule of consonant insertion is given below.

(2.22)	Underlying forms <i>ngalpa-u-a</i> enter-POT-PURP 'S/he might enter it.'	Surface forms <i>ngalpuwa</i>
--------	---	----------------------------------

Rule 5 Consonant insertion

$$\emptyset \longrightarrow C / \text{VV} ___ V$$

In order to arrive at the surface form as seen in (2.23), the rule ordering would be as follows:

(2.23)	<i>ngalpa-u-a</i>	Underlying form
	<i>ngalpa-u-Ca</i>	Consonant insertion
	<i>ngalp-u-Ca</i>	Vowel elision
	<i>ngalp-u-wa</i>	Progressive assimilation

The consonant slot surfaces as the /w/ phoneme. The rule of consonant insertion generally targets V (vowel) slots although in this instance it is used to target C slots as well. The situation of assimilation rules targetting C slots is still unresolved for Nyangumarta as there is very little evidence to suggest that this is a productive process in modern Nyangumarta. C slots in this description, apart from the form given above, do not exist with unspecified features and so cannot be the target of progressive assimilation rules.

2.3.7 Palatal cluster reduction

An external sandhi rule of palatal cluster reduction (rule 6 below) accounts for some of the morphophonemic processes of the future tense morpheme and the imperfective aspect morpheme. In the future tense paradigm, for example, there are forms which alternate between *-lkuliny*, and *-lkulu* when they precede various verbal pronouns. When there is no following verbal pronoun, the allomorph is *lkuliny*. When there is a palatal nasal consonant following, such as *nyumpulu* '2DU.SUB' or *nyurru* '2PL.SUB', the allomorph is *-lkulu*. However when *pulu* '3DU.SUB' follows, the surface form is *-lkuliny*. These differences can be described in terms of a palatal reduction rule.

The palatal reduction rule operates across word boundaries so in this specific instance, it involves the verbal pronouns (see §3.2.1.1). The verbal pronouns in

Nyangumarta are divided into two distinct groups: affixes and phonological words. Although all are fixed in their positioning and ordering, the two types can be distinguished by the way they operate in the phonology. This rule accounts for some of the differences in the form of the future tense and the imperfective aspect.

Rule 6 Palatal cluster reduction

[+distributed, +nasal] \longrightarrow \emptyset / [+distributed, +nasal] (V_o)# _____

Example (2.24) shows several surface forms of the future tense morpheme: *-lama*, *-lapa*, *-limi*, *-lipi*, *-lkuliny*, and *-lkulu*. We have already accounted for the differences between *-lama*, and *-lapa* with the nasal assimilation rule (§2.3.3). Other forms such as *-limi* and *-lipi* will be explained in terms of progressive and regressive assimilation rules (§2.3.9).

(2.24) Future tense paradigm (*-lVpV/-lkulVny* are the two basic allomorphs)
paji-RN 'bite'

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
2	<i>paji-lama-n</i>	<i>paji-lkulu nyumpulu</i>	<i>paji-lkulu nyurru</i>
3	<i>paji-lkuliny</i>	<i>paji-lkulinypulu</i>	<i>paji-lipi-yi</i>

Thus the surface forms are:

- (2.25)
- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| | Underlying form | Surface form |
| a. | <i>paji-lkulVny nyumpulV</i>
bite-FUT 2DU.SUB
'You two will bite it.' | <i>pajilkulu nyumpulu</i> ¹¹ |
| b. | <i>paji-lkulVny nyurruV</i>
bite-FUT 2PL.SUB
'You all will bite it.' | <i>pajilkulu nyurru</i> |

The palatal cluster reduction rule has applied to the string *paji-lkulVny nyumpulu* and *paji-lkulVny nyurru* to derive the surface form of *paji-lkulu nyumpulu* and *paji-lkulu nyurru*.

The palatal cluster deletion rule does not operate within the verbal phonological word as is shown below where first person plural inclusive, first person plural exclusive and third person plural have not undergone palatal cluster reduction in contrast with second persons dual and plural. Expected forms (•) are also given.

¹¹ Brian Geytenbeek informs me that some Nyangumarta people retain *-liny* in this environment (all the time) indicating that for some speakers at least, this rule is optional in this context.

(2.26)	<i>paji-RN</i> 'bite'			
	Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
	1IN		<i>paji-rnikinya-li</i> • <i>paji-rniki-nyi</i>	<i>paji-rnikinyi-nyi</i>
	1EXC	<i>paji-rnikinyi-rni</i>	<i>paji-rnikinya-layi</i>	<i>paji-rnikinyi-yirni</i> • <i>paji-rniki-yirni</i>
	2	<i>paji-rnikinyi-n</i>	<i>paji-rniki nyumpulu</i>	<i>paji-rniki nyurru</i>
	3	<i>paji-rnikinyi</i>	<i>paji-rnikinyi pulu</i>	<i>paji-rnikinyi-yi</i> • <i>paji-rniki-yi</i>

Other situations in which the rule of palatal cluster deletion accounts for surface forms showing a reduction in palatals are given below. In these examples also, the rule operates as an external sandhi rule. The expected surface forms (•) given below are also possible, showing that the rule is optional.

(2.27)	Underlying forms	Surface forms
a.	<i>yaja-rnV-nyV</i> <i>nyurrV</i> follow-NFUT-1SG.OBJ 2PL.SUB 'You two will follow me.'	<i>yaja-rni</i> <i>nyurru</i> • <i>yaja-rni-nyi</i> <i>nyurru</i>
b.	<i>ka-ngkulV-nyV</i> <i>nyurrV</i> take-FUT-1SG.OBJ 2PL.SUB 'You two will take him/her/it.'	<i>ka-ngkulumi</i> <i>nyurru</i> • <i>ka-ngkumi-nyi</i> <i>nyurru</i>
c.	<i>ka-ngkulV-jV</i> <i>nyurrV</i> take-FUT-1SG.DAT 2PL.SUB 'You two will take him/her/it for me.'	<i>ka-ngku-lupi</i> <i>nyurru</i> • <i>ka-ngku-lupi-ji</i> <i>nyurru</i>

In some forms in the northern dialect, a palatal cluster deletion rule optionally deletes the second of two consecutive palatal consonants (see Hoard & O'Grady 1976:74). The forms given in (2.28) below are northern Nyangumarta. These forms are not found in the southern dialect although some language informants do recognise them. Younger speakers generally do not.

(2.28)	Underlying forms	Surface forms
a.	<i>ka-ngkulVpV-jV</i> <i>nyurrV</i> take-FUT-1SG.DAT 2PL.SUB 'You (plural) will take it for me.'	<i>ka-ngku-lupi-j-urru</i> * <i>ka-ngku-lupi-ji nyurru</i>
b.	<i>ka-ngkulVpV-jV</i> <i>nyumpulV</i> take-FUT-1SG.DAT 2DU.SUB 'You two will take it for me.'	<i>ka-ngku-lupi-j-umpulu</i> * <i>ka-ngku-lupi-ji nyumpulu</i>

2.3.8 *Vowel reduction*

A common phonetic rule found in languages in the Pilbara (for example, Ngarla, Nyamal) and extensively in the languages of the Western Desert (Manyjilyjarra, Kartujarra, and Warnman) and southern languages such as Wajarri, is a rule of vowel reduction (rule 7) (see B. Geytenbeek 1991).

The rule applies when a [+high] vowel follows a -sonorant consonant such as /p/, /t/ or /k/ and precedes /r/ or /w/. A vowel gets either deleted or reduced when a phonological word is greater than two morae. The rule targets words formed by the morphological process of reduplication but not derivational processes. Structure preservation prevents the vowel being either reduced or deleted when the resulting phonological form is less than a minimal word which includes both elements of a reduplicant¹² (see §2.2.2.4 above). This rule can involve the shifting of stress to the next syllable if the vowel that is reduced is in the first syllable. When the rule applies the vowel which receives stress can also be lengthened although this is not always the case.

Example (2.29) gives cases where the rule of vowel reduction has applied and (2.30) shows a contrast between reduplicated forms. In (2.30a) and (2.31a) the rule does not apply even though the reduplicated form would fit the structural description of the rule. Inherently reduplicated words operate as two phonological words with each part receiving its own stress; thus the rule would not apply because it is targeting each phonological word within the complex word. In (2.30b) and (2.31b) the rule applies to each word in the compound form (underlining indicates stress).

Rule 7 Vowel reduction

$u/i \longrightarrow \emptyset / [-\text{sonorant}] \text{ ______ } [+-\text{sonorant, -nasal, -lateral}]$

- | | | |
|-----------|----------------|----------------------|
| (2.29) a. | <i>kuwarri</i> | <i>kw<u>arri</u></i> |
| | 'now' | |
| b. | <i>pirirri</i> | <i>pr<u>irri</u></i> |
| | 'man' | |
| c. | <i>purungu</i> | <i>pr<u>ungu</u></i> |
| | 'skin.section' | |
| d. | <i>yunturi</i> | <i>yu<u>ntri</u></i> |
| | 'sulky' | |
-
- | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|------------------------|
| (2.30) a. | <i>kurakura</i> | <i>ku<u>ra</u>kura</i> |
| | place.name | |

¹² Brian Geytenbeek (1997:3–4), using examples (2.29)–(2.31) formulates this rule over the domain of five phonemes.

- b. *kurankuran* *krankran*
species.of.spinifex
- (2.31) a. *pirupiru* *pirupiru*
‘uninhabited’
- b. *pirirrpirirr* *pirirrpirr*
‘saw-shark’

2.3.9 Vowel assimilation

Since the publication of O’Grady’s grammar (1964) and Hoard and O’Grady’s Nyangumarta phonology (1976), vowel assimilation in Nyangumarta has attracted some attention. Vowel assimilation is a process which occurs in all dialects of Nyangumarta although it is a much more productive component of the northern, coastal dialect spoken by people mainly living in the La Grange area. The analysis by Hoard and O’Grady incorporated a traditional linear analysis where progressive and regressive assimilation was described by a complicated linear rule.

Non-linear accounts have been given by van der Hulst and Smith (1985), Archangeli (1986), Archangeli and Pulleyblank (1986) and Sharp (1986). In these accounts the morphemes undergoing assimilation are analysed with completely unspecified vowel slots with the /i/ and /u/ vowels triggering vowel alternations. van der Hulst and Smith use the features [+high, -back] for /i/, [+high, +back] for /u/ and [-high] for /a/. Archangeli (1986) and Sharp (1986) introduced a more restricted theory of underspecification where the vowel /a/ was analysed with no feature specifications underlyingly. That analysis also stipulated that all features of /a/ were left unspecified for any vowel: [-high], [+low], [-labial] and [+back]. This left the features [+high] for /i/ and [+high, +round] for /u/.

Both van der Hulst and Smith (1985) and Archangeli (1986) assumed that in instances where vowels in verb stems did not trigger assimilation, the vowel is extrametrical (the /a/ vowel in *kalkulumurnu*) or else the vowel matrix itself is extrametrical (the /a/ vowel in *wirlalamarna*).

My earlier analysis (Sharp 1986) of the southern Nyangumarta dialect incorporates much the same use of vowel representations and rule formulations as Archangeli’s. Because the /a/ vowel was represented as the default vowel, the analysis for the southern Nyangumarta data (which consists of many instances of idiosyncratic lack of assimilation in morphemes that in other circumstances undergo assimilation) required that non-alternating /a/ vowels were underlyingly V slots connected to a featureless vowel matrix.

Archangeli and Pulleyblank’s (1986) account differed from the earlier analysis (Archangeli 1986) in the representation of the /u/ vowel as [+round] underlyingly with a redundancy rule filling in the value of [+high] before the application of the spread rule. The feature geometry also differed. In the latter account, spread was triggered by a Secondary Place Node spreading the features [+high] or [+high, +round].

In this present account the feature hierarchy is incorporated in the analysis of the

assimilation process making it distinct from previous accounts where consonants and vowels were represented on separate planes. In this account also, feature specifications for vowels differs from previous accounts (see Table 2.13 below).

Archangeli (1986), Archangeli and Pulleyblank (1986) and Sharp (1986) all invoked the Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP) (McCarthy 1986) to explain the appearance of buffer vowels between two assimilation domains. This is maintained within the current analysis.

There are two types of vowel alternations in Nyangumarta. An unbounded rule of progressive assimilation and a local rule of regressive assimilation. Rightward assimilation is triggered by the final vowel of a verb or nominal stem, vowels within specific bound morphemes and by consonants. Leftward assimilation is consonant-induced generally, although in one special case there is leftward assimilation triggered by a vowel. Vowel positions are the targets of both rules. Both vowels and consonants can block progressive assimilation but regressive assimilation is not blocked. The next section looks at the types of vowel assimilation that occur generally in Nyangumarta.

2.3.9.1 *Progressive assimilation*

There are many morphemes which are the triggers of progressive vowel assimilation:

(2.32) Triggers of assimilation

1. Last vowel of the nominal stem, (2.33) and (2.34).
2. Last vowel of the verb stem, (2.35).
3. Bound morphemes with specified +high vowels (2.39), (2.43) and (2.44)

The following rule accounts for the unbounded progressive assimilation of vowel features. V^* notation refers to any number of featureless vowel slots and the X notation¹³ refers to either a consonant or a vowel specified for [+high]. The feature geometry used in the analysis of the Nyangumarta data is given in Figure 2.1. Only relevant nodes have been included.

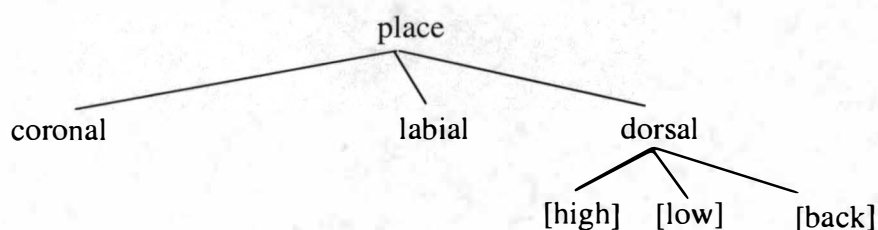
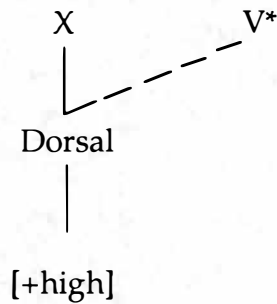


Figure 2.1: Feature Geometry

¹³ See Levin (1985) for a discussion of the use of X notation to refer to both vowels and consonants.

Rule 8 Progressive assimilation

The progressive assimilation rule as given above predicts that spreading is triggered by the vowels /i/ and /u/ as these two vowels are both specified with the feature [+high] underlyingly as well as the palatal consonants: /j/, /ny/, /y/ and /ly/ (see Table 2.5 on page 43). Table 2.13 gives the minimal distinguishing features for vowels.

Table 2.13: Minimal distinguishing vowel features

	i	u	a
high	+	+	
back		+	+

If we were to assume that /a/ is totally unspecified in underlying representation then the features for Nyangumarta vowels would be as presented in Table 2.14.¹⁴

Table 2.14: Alternative minimal distinguishing vowel features

	i	u	a
high	+	+	
back		+	

However this degree of underspecification is not invoked in this analysis because the minimal underlying vowel features as presented in Table 2.14 do not address the question of why there are surface forms with a non-alternating /a/ vowel such as in the ablative suffix *-ja*. As there are numerous examples of unalternating /a/ vowels in morphemes, a representation as that given in Table 2.14 cannot be correct for this analysis and instead the analysis in Table 2.13 is adopted. Table 2.14 does however cover the phonological phenomena of the northern dialect (it does not cover both).

¹⁴ The difference between this specification and that of Archangeli (1986) is that Archangeli uses [+round] for /u/ not [+back]; [+back] is an unspecified feature for /a/.

Assimilation from the final vowel of nominal stems

In the following examples it is shown that assimilation is triggered by the final vowel of the nominal stem. The vowels in the affix morphemes are unspecified for vowel features and hence take their feature specifications from the preceding vowel of the nominal stem. Example (2.33) shows that the locative suffix $-ngV^{15}$ occurs as $-ngi$, $-ngu$, or $-nga$. The vowel qualities of the suffix are determined by the final vowel of the word stem to which it is added. Example (2.34) illustrates vowel assimilation in the characteriser suffix $-kVtV$. The nominal characteriser morpheme (2.34) undergoes assimilation in the northern dialect but does not in the southern dialect. Thus the nominal characteriser suffix occurs as $-kata$ in the southern dialect although it can occur as $-kiti$, $-kutu$ or $kata$ in the northern dialect.

- (2.33) Nominal morphology: locative suffix
- | | Underlying forms | Surface forms |
|----|--|------------------|
| a. | <i>pirti-ngV</i>
hole-LOC
'in the hole' | <i>pirtingi</i> |
| b. | <i>paru-ngV</i>
spinifex-LOC
'in the spinifex' | <i>parungu</i> |
| c. | <i>ngurra-ngV</i>
camp-LOC
'in the camp' | <i>ngurranga</i> |
- (2.34) Nominal morphology: characteriser¹⁶
- | | Underlying forms | Surface forms |
|----|--|--------------------|
| a. | <i>kuli-kVtV</i>
cheeky-CHAR
'cheeky one' | <i>kulikiti</i> |
| b. | <i>ngalypa-kVtV</i>
good-CHAR
'good one' | <i>ngalypakata</i> |
| c. | <i>ngalyu-kVtV</i>
larrikin-CHAR
'rough one' | <i>ngalyukutu</i> |

¹⁵ V is representative of featureless vowel positions within a word.

¹⁶ The underlying form for this morpheme is $-kVtV$ in the northern dialect and $-kata$ in the southern dialect.

Figure 2.2 below gives the derivation for *pirti-ngi* ‘hole-LOC’ (2.33a). The final vowel of the nominal string triggers assimilation even though the first vowel of the stem is underlyingly /i/; in this analysis it does not trigger assimilation and the fact that the nominal has two V slots each specified for +hi is not a violation of the OCP as the representation is underlying and has not been effected by any phonological rule. Notice also that when a suffix with a +hi vowel (-ku) is attached to *pirti* the resulting form is *pirtiku* not *pirtaku* which is what would be expected if the first vowel of the nominal was the trigger for assimilation.

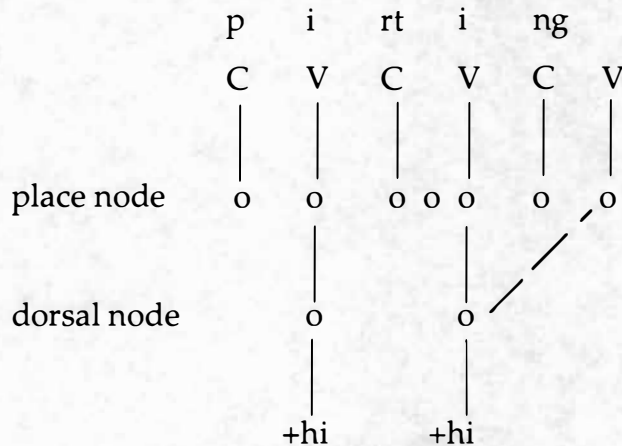


Figure 2.2: Progressive assimilation: *pirti-ngi* ‘hole-LOC’

*Assimilation from the final vowel of verb stems*¹⁷

It is common in both dialects of Nyangumarta to find spreading of vowel features triggered by the final vowel of the verb stem. This is seen in (2.35) below where the non-future morpheme *-rnV* can occur as *-rni*, *-rnu*, or *-rna* depending on the final vowel of the verb stem.

- (2.35) Verbal morphology: non-future
- | Underlying forms | Surface forms |
|---|-----------------|
| a. <i>yirri-rnV</i>
see-NFUT
'S/he saw it.' | <i>yirrirni</i> |
| b. <i>paji-rnV</i>
bite-NFUT
'S/he bit it.' | <i>pajirni</i> |
| c. <i>kalku-rnV</i>
keep-NFUT
'S/he kept it.' | <i>kalkurnu</i> |

¹⁷ See Appendix 2 for an overview of this rule in the context of relevant verb paradigms.

- d. *wirla-rnV* *wirlarna*
 hit-NFUT
 'S/he hit it.'

The vowel assimilation continues rightward wherever there are vowel positions to fill. Example (2.36) gives the vowel alterations occurring when verbal pronouns with featureless vowel slots are affixed to the verb. Example (2.37) illustrates vowel alterations occurring in the imperative morpheme and (2.38) in the remote past. The derivations for (2.35b) and (2.35c) are given below:

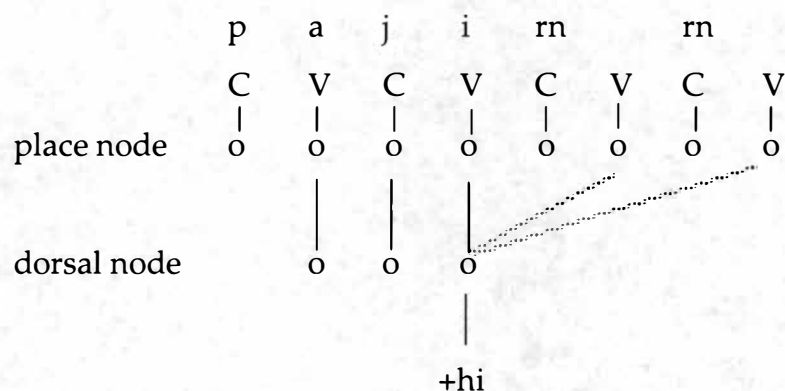


Figure 2.3: Progressive assimilation: *paji-rni-rni*¹⁸ 'I bit it.'

- (2.36) Verbal morphology: verbal pronouns
- | | Underlying forms | Surface forms |
|----|---|----------------------|
| a. | <i>yirri-rnV-rnV</i>
see-NFUT-1SG.SUB | <i>yirri-rni-rni</i> |
| b. | <i>paji-rnV-rnV</i>
bite-NFUT-1SG.SUB | <i>paji-rni-rni</i> |
| c. | <i>kalku-rnV-rnV</i>
keep-NFUT-1SG.SUB | <i>kalku-rnu-rnu</i> |
| d. | <i>wirla-rnV-rnV</i>
hit-NFUT-1SG.SUB | <i>wirla-rna-rna</i> |

¹⁸ For some speakers this form can also occur as: *paji-rna-rna* 'I bit it'.

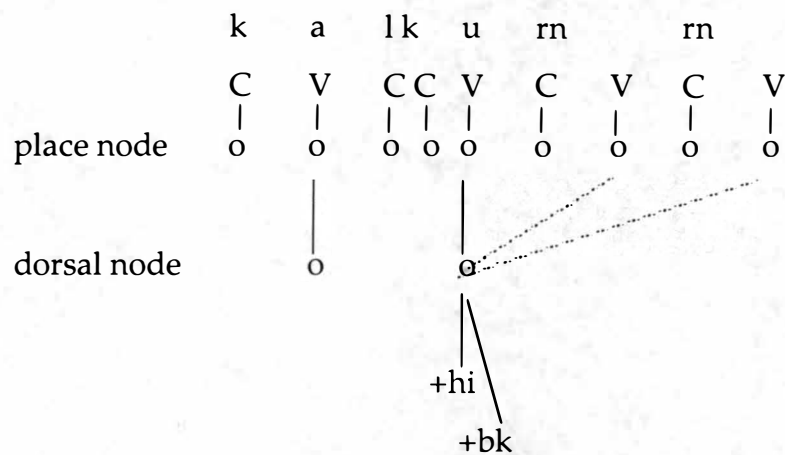


Figure 2.4: Progressive assimilation: *kalku-rnu-rnu*¹⁹ 'I kept it.'

- | | | |
|----|--|------------------------------------|
| e. | <i>kalku-rnV-ntV</i>
keep-NFUT-2SG.OBJ | <i>kalku-rnu-ntu</i> ²⁰ |
| f. | <i>yirri-rnV-ntV</i>
see-NFUT-2SG.OBJ | <i>yirri-rni-nti</i> |
| g. | <i>wirla-rnV-ntV</i>
hit-NFUT-2SG.OBJ | <i>wirla-rna-nta</i> ²¹ |
| h. | <i>kalku-lku-rnV</i>
keep-POT-1SG.SUB | <i>kalku-lku-rnu</i> |
| i. | <i>yirri-rnV-rnV-ntV</i>
see-NFUT-1SG.SUB-2SG.OBJ | <i>yirri-rni-rni-nti</i> |
- (2.37) Verbal morphology: imperative
- | | Underlying forms | Surface forms |
|----|---|------------------|
| a. | <i>Yirri-IV</i>
see-IMP
'See it!' | <i>Yirri-li!</i> |

¹⁹ For some speakers this form can also occur as: *kalku-rna-rna* 'I kept it'.

²⁰ For some speakers this form can also occur as: *kalku-rna-nta*. In this instance the speaker(s) vowel assimilation is not as productive as the speech of other Nyangumarta speakers.

²¹ For some speakers this form can also occur as: *wirla-rni-nti* (It is possible that the 2SG.OBJ bound pronoun *-ntV* can also have the underlying form of *-nti* where the /i/ vowel causes regressive assimilation.)

- | | | |
|----|---|-------------------|
| b. | <i>Kalku-IV</i>
keep-IMP
'Keep it!' | <i>Kalku-lu!</i> |
| c. | <i>Wirila-IV</i>
hit-IMP
'Hit it!' | <i>Wirila-la!</i> |

(2.38) Verbal morphology: remote past

- | | | |
|----|---|-------------------------|
| | Underlying forms | Surface forms |
| a. | <i>Paji-rnVlpV-rnV</i>
bite-REMPST-1SG.SUB
'I bit it a long time ago.' | <i>Paji-rnilpi-rni.</i> |
| b. | <i>Paji-rnVlpV-yV</i>
bite-REMPST-3PL.SUB
'They bit it a long time ago.' | <i>Paji-rnilpi-yi.</i> |
| c. | <i>Paji-rnVlpV-nyV</i>
bite-REMPST-1PL.INC.SUB
'We bit it a long time ago.' | <i>Paji-rnilpi-nyi.</i> |

Assimilation triggered by particular morphemes

Not all vowels in verbal suffixes are unspecified and for some morphemes where the vowel is specified it triggers assimilation in the following unspecified vowels. One such morpheme is the potential mood given in (2.39). In these examples the surface form of the 1SG.SUB *-rnV* consistently occurs as *-rnu* because the assimilation is triggered by the POTential mood suffix not by the final vowel of the verb stem, that is, the vowel of the potential mood morpheme is specified as /u/.

- | | | |
|--------|--|------------------------|
| (2.39) | Alternations triggered by potential mood: <i>-lku</i> | |
| a. | <i>Yirri-lku-rnV</i>
see-POT-1SG.SUB
'I might see it.' | <i>Yirri-lku-rnu.</i> |
| b. | <i>Kalku-lku-rnV</i>
keep-POT-1SG.SUB
'I might keep it.' | <i>Kalku-lku-rnu.</i> |
| c. | <i>Wirila-lku-rnV</i>
hit-POT-1SG.SUB
'I might hit it.' | <i>Wirila-lku-rnu.</i> |

*Buffer vowel effects*²²

Although many suffixes in Nyangumarta have alternating vowels, there are some bound morphemes which have non-alternating vowels. The first person dual inclusive suffix *-li* (2.40), the first person dual exclusive suffix and the second person singular indirect object suffix *-ngu* (2.41) are three such suffixes. The following data show that vowels which normally alternate, do not alternate and surface as /a/ when they immediately precede a non-alternating vowel with the feature [+high] (again this can be subject to speaker variation). This has been termed the ‘buffer vowel effect’ by Hoard and O’Grady (1976:65).

(2.40)	Underlying forms	Surface forms
a.	<i>Yirri-rnV-li</i> see-NFUT-1DU.INC.SUB ‘We two saw it.’	<i>Yirri-rna-li.</i> (cf.*yirri-rni-li)
b.	<i>Kalku-rnV-li</i> keep-NFUT-1DU.INC.SUB ‘We two kept it.’	<i>Kalku-rna-li.</i> (cf.*kalku-rnu-li)
(2.41) a.	<i>Yirri-rnV-ngu</i> see-NFUT-2SG.DAT ‘S/he two saw it for you.’	<i>Yirri-rna-ngu.</i> (cf.*yirri-rni-ngu)
b.	<i>Kalku-rnV-ngu</i> keep-NFUT-2SG.DAT ‘S/he kept it for you.’	<i>Kalku-rna-ngu.</i> (cf.*kalku-rnu-ngu)
c.	<i>Wirla-rnV-ngu</i> hit-NFUT-2SG.DAT ‘S/he hit it for you.’	<i>Wirla-rna-ngu.</i> (cf.*wirla-rni-ngu)

Buffer vowel effects are explained here by adopting earlier suggestions (Archangeli 1986 and Sharp 1986) which invoke the Obligatory Contour Principle. The OCP prohibits representations in which there are identical phonemic matrices adjacent on the same melodic level. In this analysis the OCP is invoked when a rule would result in two adjacent dorsal nodes with the same specification for height (even though a word stem can consist of two vowels underlyingly specified for [+high]). Consider Figure 2.5: *yirri-rna-li* ‘see-NFUT-1DU.INC.SUB’ and Figure 2.6 *yirri-rna-ngu* ‘see-NFUT-2SG.DAT’.

²² See Appendix 2 for an overview of verb paradigms which illustrate the buffer vowel effect.

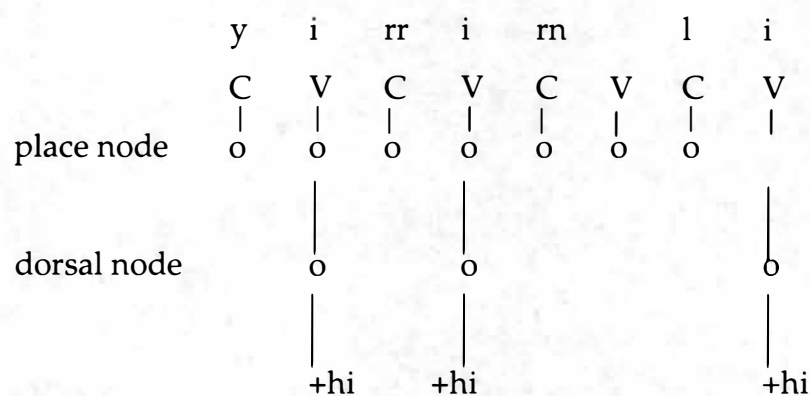


Figure 2.5: OCP constraints *yirri-rna-li* 'see-NFUT-1DU.INC.SUB'

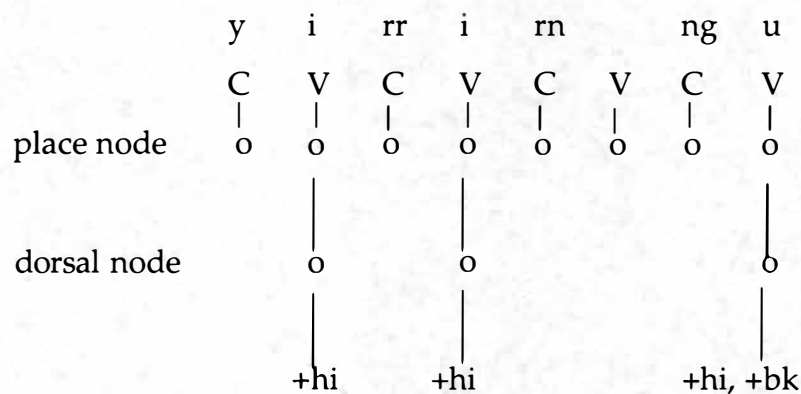


Figure 2.6: OCP constraints *yirri-rna-ngu* 'see-NFUT-2SG.DAT'

The progressive assimilation rule does not apply because to do so would cause an OCP violation i.e. if the [+high] feature was to spread to the suffix vowel *-rnV* then two adjacent dorsal nodes would have identical specifications of the feature [+high]. Because the rule has not applied, the V slot is filled with the default vowel features: [+back, +low, -high].

Default vowel /a/

Since /a/ is the vowel which results whenever assimilation does not occur, this has been taken to be evidence for leaving all values for /a/ unspecified underlyingly (Archangeli 1986 and Sharp 1986). This account does not treat /a/ as unspecified for features as there are forms which always surface with the /a/ vowel.

The fact that there are instances of idiosyncratic lack of assimilation in morphemes that generally undergo assimilation with /a/ appearing in surface forms illustrated in (2.42) is also further evidence for /a/ as the default vowel. In areas where there is an overwhelming trend away from vowel assimilation, many morphemes are surfacing with /a/ vowels. This trend is also evidence for /a/ as the default vowel. For example, in the southern dialect, vowel assimilation in the nominal morphology is

not as widespread as it was ten years ago. Younger speakers are increasingly leaving vowel assimilation out of their speech and it is quite common to hear younger speakers say: *pirti-nga* 'hole-LOC' instead of the expected *pirti-ngi*, for example. There tends to be a general trend for the assimilation in the locative suffix to be breaking down. Reasons for this may be rooted in contact with other languages as well; for example the locative suffix in Manyjilyjarra is *-ngka* with an invariant /a/ vowel. The forms in (2.42) show various pronunciations of the verb *kalku-RN* 'keep, hold, possess, take care of' in the southern dialect.

(2.42)	Underlying forms	Surface forms
	a. <i>Kalku-rnV-rnV</i> keep-NFUT-1SG.SUB 'I kept it.'	<i>Kalku-rnu-rnu.</i>
	b. <i>Kalku-rnV-rnV</i> keep-NFUT-1SG.SUB 'I kept it.'	<i>Kalku-rna-rna.</i>
	c. <i>Kalku-rnVmV</i> keep-PSTCFL 'I should have kept it.'	<i>Kalku-rna-ma.</i> (cf <i>kalku-rnu-mu</i> ²³)

Assimilation triggered by vowels within morphemes

Although vowel alternations tend to be triggered by the final vowel of a word stem, there are instances of vowel alternations occurring within stems and within suffixes. Example (2.43) gives instances of vowel alternations occurring within stems and (2.44) gives forms where the final vowel of the genitive and privative suffixes alternate between /i/ and /a/. This alternation between a high vowel and the default vowel /a/ indicates that assimilation can take place when there is no violation of the OCP as mentioned above.

(2.43)	Alternations in stems	
	Underlying forms	Surface forms
	a. <i>ngunilV</i> that.same.one <i>ngunilV-lu</i> that.same.one-ERG	<i>ngunili</i> <i>ngunilalu</i>
	b. <i>kujungurrV</i> 'sea' <i>kujungurrV-lu</i> sea-ERG	<i>kujungurru</i> <i>kujungurra-lu</i>

²³ This form is the one found in the northern dialect.

- c. *walypilV* *walypili*
 'whitefellow'
walypilV-lu *walypilalu*
 whitefellow-ERG
- (2.44) Alternations in nominal suffixes
- | | Underlying forms | Surface forms |
|----|---|--|
| a. | <i>ngaju-milV</i>
1SG-GEN
<i>ngaju-milV-lu</i>
1SG-GEN-ERG | <i>ngaju-mili</i>

<i>ngaju-milalu</i> |
| b. | <i>paju-majirrV</i>
sorrow-PRIV
<i>paju-majirrV-lu</i>
sorrow-PRIV-ERG | <i>paju-majirri</i>

<i>paju-majirralu</i> |

Consonant induced assimilation

Consonants ([+distributed +high]) induce vowel assimilation to the right. Example (2.45) illustrates the possible surface forms of pronominal affixes. In (2.45a-b) the surface form of the vowel is attributed to progressive assimilation triggered by the palatal consonants /ny/, /y/ and /j/. In instances where the vowel surfaces as /a/, a buffer vowel effect has occurred caused by the OCP.

- (2.45) Pronominal affixes
- | | Underlying forms | Surface forms |
|----|--|---|
| a. | <i>Kampa-rnV-nyV</i>
cook-NFUT-1PL.INC.SUB
'We (pl. inc.) cooked it.' | <i>Kampa-rna-nyji</i>
(cf. <i>-nya</i> ; * <i>-nyu</i>) |
| | <i>Kampa-rnV-nyV-lu</i>
cook-NFUT-1PL.INC.SUB-3SG.DAT
'We (pl. inc.) cooked it for him/her.' | <i>Kampa-rna-nya-lu</i> |
| b. | <i>Kampa-rnV-yV-</i>
cook-NFUT-3PL.SUB
'They cooked it.' | <i>Kamparnayi</i>
(cf. <i>-ya</i> , * <i>-yu</i>) |
| | <i>Kampa-rnV-yV-lu</i>
cook-NFUT-3PL.SUB-3SG.DAT
'They cooked it for him/her.' | <i>Kampa-rna-ya-lu</i> |

The allomorph of the locative suffix *-ngV*, *-jV* also occurs with a vowel alternating between /i/ and /a/ (2.46). The *partany-ji* form is a feature of the northern dialect

whereas the *partany-ja* form is found in the southern dialect. There does seem to be free variation between the two forms in the southern dialect. Younger speakers tend to use *partany-ja* consistently.

(2.46)	Nominal morphology	
	Underlying forms	Surface forms
	<i>partany-jV</i>	<i>partany-ji ~ partany-ja</i> ²⁴
	child-LOC	

2.3.9.2 Regressive assimilation

A local rule of regressive assimilation²⁵ occurs in Nyangumarta where a palatal consonant causes the vowel to its left to surface as /i/(2.47).

(2.47)	Underlying forms	Surface forms
a.	<i>Wirla-rnV-nyV</i> hit-NFUT-1PL.INC.SUB 'We (pl.inc.) hit it.'	<i>Wirla-rni-nyi.</i>
	<i>Wirla-rnV-yVrnV</i> hit-NFUT-1PL.INC.SUB 'We (pl.exc.) hit it.'	<i>Wirla-rni-yirni.</i>
b.	<i>Kalku-rnV-nyV</i> keep-NFUT-1PL.INC.SUB 'We (pl.inc.) kept it.'	<i>Kalku-rni-nyi.</i>
c.	<i>Wirla-rnVmV-nyV</i> hit-PSTCFL-1PL.INC.SUB 'We (pl.inc.) hit it.'	<i>Wirla-rnami-nyi.</i>
d.	<i>Wirla-rnVmVlpV-nyV</i> hit-REMCFL-1PL.INC.SUB 'We (pl.inc.) could have hit it a long time ago.'	<i>Wirla-rnamalpi-nyi.</i>

Regressive assimilation rule

The regressive assimilation rule is similar to the progressive vowel assimilation rule in that the feature [+high] spreads onto featureless vowel slots. However the rule is local, only affecting one vowel slot; it spreads features leftward and it occurs

²⁴ In the Port Hedland areas some speakers consistently used and still use the *-ji* form of this morpheme.

²⁵ See Appendix 2 for an overview of this rule in the context of relevant verb paradigms.

late in the phonology. The other distinguishing factor is that it is not affected by the Obligatory Contour Principle as is the progressive assimilation rule.

The rule also differs from the progressive assimilation rule in another important respect: the spread does not involve the dorsal node, instead the feature [+high] spreads. The forms in (2.47) show that the non-future morpheme *-rnV*, the past contrafactual *-rnVmV*, and the remote past *-rnVlpV* morphemes²⁶ have all undergone regressive assimilation: all surface with the vowel /i/ when they are followed by a palatal consonant. The palatal consonant spreads the [+high] feature leftward one position.

Rule 9 Regressive assimilation rule (local)

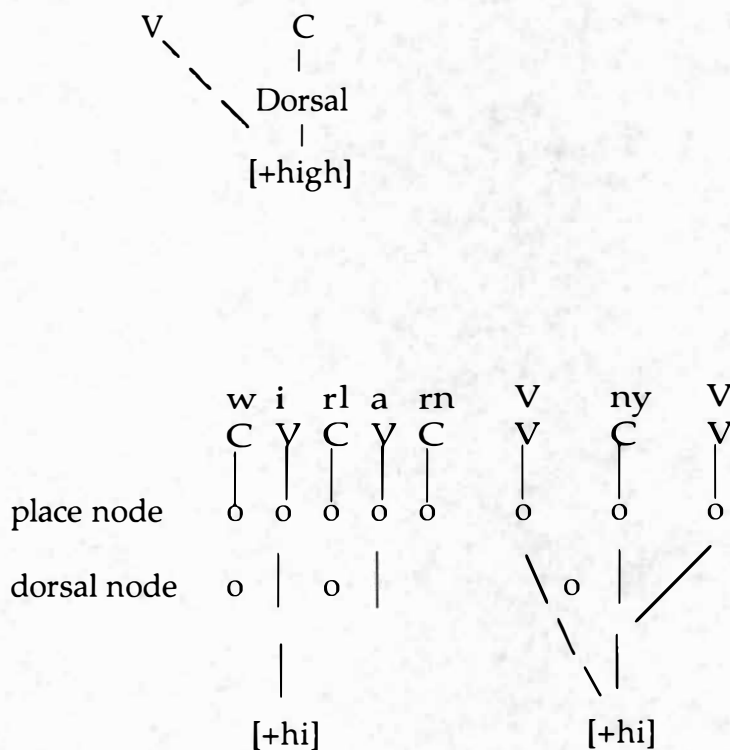


Figure 2.7: Regressive assimilation: *wirla-rni-nyi* 'We hit it.'

²⁶ Note that the forms given here for the past contrafactual and the remote morpheme are only one of the possible allomorphs of these morphemes. See §5.3.5 and §5.3.6 for the other allomorphs in the other conjugations (not all allomorphs are affected).

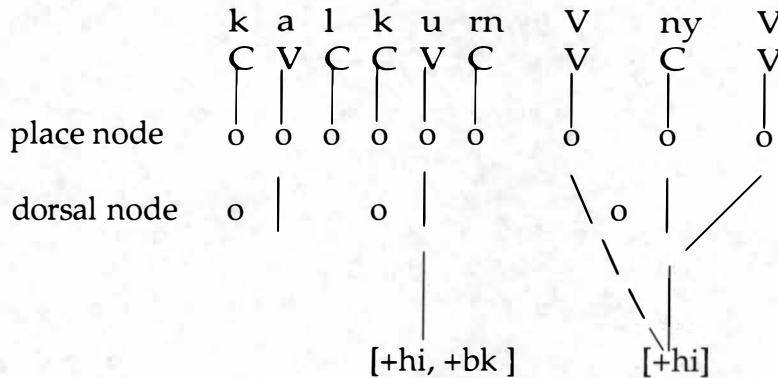


Figure 2.8: Regressive assimilation: *kalku-rni-nyi* 'We (plural inclusive) kept it.'

Data given in (2.48) illustrates that the regressive assimilation rule does not affect vowels which are already specified for features. These forms show that regressive assimilation has not applied.

- | (2.48) | Underlying forms | Surface forms |
|--------|---|--|
| a. | <i>Wirla-lku-nyV</i>
hit-POT-1PL.INC.SUB
'We (pl.inc.) might hit it.' | <i>Wirla-lku-nyi.</i>
(cf. * <i>wirla-lki-nyi</i>) |
| b. | <i>Kalku-lku-nyV</i>
keep-POT-1PL.INC.SUB
'We (pl.inc.) might keep it.' | <i>Kalku-lku-nyi.</i>
(cf. * <i>kalku-lki-nyi</i>) |

See Archangeli and Pulleyblank (1986) for a similar regressive assimilation rule which spreads the feature [+hi] but not the entire Secondary Place node (equivalent to the dorsal node in this description). In that description, only palatal consonants are triggers, although in southern Nyangumarta, the anticipatory morpheme *-li* triggers regressive assimilation in cases like *wirla-la-rni-li* 'hit-ANT-1SG.SUB-ANT'.

The other issue to consider regarding the regressive assimilation rule is that of other consonants with the features [+high]: what is to prevent [k] and [ŋ] both with [+high] specifications after full specification from triggering regressive assimilation? There are instances of [k] being a possible trigger in the imperfective morpheme *-kVnyV* in cases like *wirla-rnikinyi* 'hit-IMPV'; but whether this morpheme behaves in the same way as the anticipatory morpheme in which the /i/ vowel triggers regressive assimilation is not clear.

The regressive assimilation rule is not sensitive to OCP violations because after full specification, feature values are filled in on consonants which consequently 'hides' [+high] values of vowels which would otherwise cause OCP effects. This also accounts for why the rule is only a local rule; value features are filled in on surrounding consonants and hence the rule is restricted to local V slots.

2.3.9.3 Vowel lowering

An unusual rule of a vowel losing its value for [+high] occurs in a morpheme with an underlying vowel specified for the feature [+high] when it precedes a [+high] segment such as the 3SG.DAT morpheme *-lu* (*-li* → *-la* / ___ *-lu*). Examples are given below.

- (2.49) *Ngali-lu* *kampa-rna-la-lu*
 1DU.INC-ERG cook-NFUT-1DU.INC.SUB-3SG.DAT

pirrirri-ku *nga-ninya-ku.*
 man-DAT eat-NM-DAT
 'We (du) cooked (the food) for the man to eat.'

- (2.50) *Ngali-lu* *kampa-lapa-la-lu* *pirrirri-ku*
 1DU.INC-ERG cook-FUT-1DU.INC.SUB-3SG.DAT man-DAT

nga-ninya-ku.
 eat-NM-DAT
 'We (du) will cook (the food) for the man to eat.'

- (2.51) *Ngali-lu* *kampa-lku-la-lu* *pirrirri-ku*
 1DU.INC-ERG cook-POT-1DU.INC.SUB-3SG.DAT man-DAT

nga-ninya-ku.
 eat-NM-DAT
 'We (du) might cook (the food) for the man to eat.'

Rule 10 Vowel lowering

[+high] → [-high] / ___ [+high]

The rule differs from those phonological processes which are affected by the OCP because it applies to vowels which are underlyingly specified for features (in this case [+front, +high]. The OCP prevents rules from applying which would create two values of [+high] occurring on adjacent vowel positions. Of interest here is that the vowel lowering rule also accounts for the surface form of the verbal pronoun, *-layi* '1DU.EXC.SUB'. This pronoun is analysed as being underlyingly *-liyV* which surfaces as *-layi* because the initial vowel has been lowered after vowel assimilation processes have occurred.

- | | | |
|--------|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (2.52) | Underlying forms | Surface forms |
| a. | <i>Yirri-rnV-liyV-ntV</i> | <i>Yirri-rna-layi-nti.</i> |
| | see-NFUT-1DU.EXC.SUB-2SG.OBJ | (cf.*yirri-rni-layi-nti) |
| | 'We two (exc) saw you.' | |

- b. *Kalku-rnV-liyV-ntV* *Kalku-rna-layi-nti.*
 keep-NFUT-1DU.EXC.SUB-2SG.OBJ (cf.**kalku-rnu-layi-nti*)
 'We two (exc) kept you.'
- c. *Wirla-rnV-liyV-ntV* *Wirla-rna-layi-nti.*
 hit-NFUT-1DU.EXC.SUB-2SG.OBJ
 'We two (exc) hit you.'

The surface form given in (2.52a) can be accounted for by the following rule ordering:

- | | | |
|--------|--|---|
| (2.53) | <i>yirri-rnV-liyV-ntV</i>
<i>yirri-rnV-liyi-nti</i>
<i>yirri-rna-liyi-nti</i>
<i>yirri-rna-layi-nti</i> | Underlying form
Vowel assimilation
OCP effect
Vowel lowering |
|--------|--|---|

The surface form given in (2.54a) below also indicates that in the northern dialect the rule of regressive assimilation also precedes the vowel lowering rule (see the derivation in (2.55), although in (2.54b) in the southern dialect the rule of vowel lowering must precede the regressive assimilation rule.

- | | | |
|--------|--|---------------------------------------|
| (2.54) | Underlying forms | Surface forms |
| a. | <i>Wirla-rnV-liyV-ntV</i>
hit-NFUT-1DU.EXC-2SG.OBJ
'We two (exc) hit you.' | <i>Wirla-rni-layi-nti.</i> (northern) |
| b. | <i>Wirla-rnV-liyV-ntV</i>
hit-NFUT-1DU.EXC-2SG.OBJ
'We two (exc) hit you.' | <i>Wirla-rna-layi-nti.</i> (southern) |
-
- | | | |
|--------|---|--|
| (2.55) | <i>yirri-rnV-liyV-ntV</i>
<i>yirri-rnV-liyi-nti</i>
<i>yirri-rna-liyi-nti</i>
<i>yirri-rni-liyi-nti</i>
<i>yirri-rni-layi-nti</i> | Underlying form
Vowel assimilation
OCP effect
Regressive assimilation
Vowel lowering |
|--------|---|--|

Anticipatory mood

The anticipatory mood²⁷ operates inconsistently within the system of vowel assimilation.²⁸ The anticipatory mood is a discontinuous morpheme; the first part (identical with the usual imperative forms) occurs immediately following the verb

²⁷ See Appendix 2 which gives a full verb paradigm for the anticipatory mood.

²⁸ Some speakers, however do not have the *-li* form as the second part of the morpheme; instead it occurs as *-lV*.

stem; following which are the verbal pronouns (including the pronouns which are affixes and those which are phonological words); and finally the second element of the anticipatory morpheme. When the intervening morphemes have not undergone spreading from the left, the second part of the anticipatory morpheme appears as *-li* and the [+high] value spreads leftward if there is a target vowel position to fill:

(2.56)	<i>ngalp-a-rni-li</i>	enter-ANT-1SG.SUB-ANT
	<i>ngalp-a-npi-li</i>	enter-ANT-2SG.SUB-ANT
	<i>wirla-la-rni-li</i>	hit-ANT-1SG.SUB-ANT
	<i>ma-rra-li</i>	get-ANT-ANT
	<i>wirla-li-li</i>	hit-ANT-ANT

The second part of the anticipatory morpheme also surfaces as *-li* when a high vowel occurs to the left as given in (2.57). The regressive assimilation is seen as a local rule only moving one place to the left as is given in (2.58).

(2.57)	<i>wirla-la-li-li</i>	hit-ANT-1DU.INC.SUB-ANT
(2.58)	<i>yarnta-la-nti-li</i>	spear-ANT-2SG.SUB-ANT

However when the anticipatory occurs with a high, back vowel to the left it surfaces as *-lu*:

(2.59)	<i>ngalp-a nyumpulu-lu</i>	enter-ANT 2DU.SUB-ANT
	<i>ngalp-a pulu-lu</i>	enter-ANT 3DU.SUB-ANT

It is difficult to decide on the best analysis for the second part of the anticipatory morpheme. If it was postulated that the underlying V was specified for the features of /i/ (which would account for the surface forms given in (2.56) (2.57) and (2.58), then the appearance of /u/ in (2.59) which is apparently the result of the progressive assimilation rule would be in conflict with the usual operation of the progressive assimilation rule which only spreads onto featureless vowel slots. However, as the anticipatory morpheme is an unusual morpheme given that it is discontinuous and given that the second part occurs following the word pronouns, it will be analysed as underlying *-li* with spreading of the /u/ when pronouns such as *pulu*, *nyurru* and *nyumpulu* precede it.

Brian Geytenbeek (pers. comm.) cites an example where *-lu* surfaces without a high, back vowel to the left (see (2.60)).

(2.60)	<i>Ngalpi-yi-pula-la-lu</i>	<i>wirla-na-ku</i>	<i>yukurru-ku</i>
	enter-ANT-3DU.SUB-3SG.DAT.ANT	hit-NM-DAT	dog-DAT

wariny-ku.
other-DAT

'Those two dogs might go in order to attack the other dog.'

This can be accounted for by the vowel lowering rule mentioned above where the high vowel /u/ is lowered to /a/ when it precedes another high vowel. In this case though the triggering vowel actually obtains its [+high] feature from the morpheme with the underlying [+high] vowel *-lu* '3SG.DAT'.

The surface forms of the final segment of the discontinuous anticipatory morpheme indicate that there is a spread of the feature [+back] or [+round] when it is preceded by /u/.

2.4 Reduplication

The process of reduplication in the nominal class is clear: there is complete reduplication of nominal roots. The structure for reduplication in Nyangumarta verbs is a disyllabic stem. Evidence for this is the reduplication of monosyllabic verb roots (2.61) and polysyllabic verb roots (2.62).

(2.61) a. *Nga-nikinyi.*
eat-IMPF
'S/he ate it.'

b. *Ngani-nga-nikinyi.*
eat-RED-IMPF
'S/he was/is grazing around.'

(2.62) a. *Wapaka-rna.*
hop-NFUT
It's jumping/hopping.'

b. *Paliny wapa-wapaka-rna-kata.*
3SG RED-hop-NM-CHAR
'S/he's prone to jumping/hopping.'

The derivation for (2.61b) is as follows:

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{ng a n i k i n y i} \quad \Rightarrow \text{ng a n i k i n y i ng a n i k i n y i} \Rightarrow \\
 \text{CVCV} + \text{CV CVCVCV} \quad \quad \quad \text{C V C V} \quad + \quad \text{C V C V C V C V} \\
 \\
 \begin{array}{cccccccccccc}
 \text{ng} & \text{a} & \text{n} & \text{i} & \text{ng} & \text{a} & \text{n} & \text{i} & \text{k} & \text{i} & \text{ny} & \text{i} \\
 | & | & | & | & | & | & | & | & | & | & | & | \\
 \text{C} & \text{V} & \text{C} & \text{V} & \text{C} & \text{V} & \text{C} & \text{V} & \text{C} & \text{V} & \text{C} & \text{V}
 \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

Likewise the derivation for *wapawapakarnakata* as given in (2.62b) would be similar in that the reduplication process would choose the first two syllables: *wapa* and add this to the verbal word.

This is some evidence to suggest that the reduplicating template of CVCV could also include an optional final C if the consonant is [+sonorant]. This is shown in (2.63) below where a final /rn/ is included in the reduplicated word. There is some evidence of this in the NY conjugation as well (with a final /ny/) although only for some speakers (2.64).

- (2.63) *wirla-rna* 'S/he hit it.'
wirlarn-wirla-rnikinyi 'S/he patted it, he tapped it.'
- (2.64) a. *hurri-ny* 'It moved, it swayed.'
hurri-ny-hurri-ny 'S/he fidgetted, s/he kept moving.'
- b. *pungka-nya* 'It fell.'
pungkany-pungka-nya 'S/he arrived.'
- c. *karli-ny* 'S/he dug it.'
karli-ny-karli-ny 'S/he scratched it.'

2.5 Phonological phrase

It has been useful to define the phonological phrase for Nyangumarta. A phonological phrase can consist of more than one phonological word with one intonation contour. The first phonological word in the phrase is marked for primary stress and any following phonological word is marked for secondary stress. The phonological phrase is useful in the discussion of Nyangumarta complex verb constructions which involve the pronominal elements; the verbal pronouns. The word type verbal pronouns have phonological word status yet are syntactically bound within the phonological phrase. In addition, complex verbal constructions involving preverbal elements including bound nominals and derivational suffixes and

compound verbal constructions can also be analysed as constituting part of a phonological phrase. Primary stress occurs on the first phonological word and secondary stress on each of the following phonological words. In (2.65) below both clauses are phonological phrases. Primary stress occurs on the first phonological word (underlined) and secondary stress on the second phonological word in each example.

- (2.65) a. [Wirla-rna pulu.]
hit-NFUT 3DU.SUB
'Those two hit it.'
- b. [Wirtu jarri-nyi.]
big INCH-NFUT
'S/he is getting/becoming big.'

2.6 Stress placement

In Nyangumarta the following generalisations can be made about stress placement:

- (2.66) a. Primary stress occurs on the initial syllable of a word and there is stress on alternating syllables.
b. Stress occurs on the first syllable of reduplicated roots.
c. Stress occurs on the initial syllable of bisyllabic and polysyllabic nominal suffixes.
d. The final syllable of a word does not bear stress.
e. Monosyllabic verb roots are stressed.
f. Verbalisers of one or two syllables bear stress on the first syllable.
g. Primary stress occurs on the first word of a phonological phrase and secondary stress occurs on the second word of a phonological phrase and each successive phonological word in the phrase (see below).

The patterns of Nyangumarta stress can be seen in (2.67)–(2.73) below (stress is indicated by underlining).

- (2.67) Words:
- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------|
| <u>marrka</u> | younger.brother, sister |
| <u>purlpi</u> | long.ago |
| <u>nyiti</u> | chest, thorax |
| <u>lalypa</u> | flat |
| <u>kangkuji</u> | older.sister |

- (2.68) Reduplicated roots:
- | | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| <i>mirta+mirta</i> | white - off grey | <i>pirra+pirra</i> | pearl.shells |
| <i>kurr+kurr</i> | Boobook.Owl | <i>piny+piny</i> | shin.bone |
| <i>kirr+kirr</i> | Black.Shouldered.Kite | <i>pirn+pirn</i> | bird (Yellow-Throated) |
| <i>jaly+jaly</i> | weakly, faintly | <i>pul+pul</i> | bird (Pheasant.Coucal) |
| <i>jily+jily</i> | goosebumps | <i>tarn+tarn</i> | firm, solid, tough |
| <i>tirn+tirn</i> | part.of.sheep's.viscera | <i>pal+pal</i> | bush |
| <i>nyirr+nyirr</i> | tapping.or.clicking.noise | <i>wirl+wirl</i> | pulsing, throbbing |
| <i>paly+paly</i> | dazzling, shining | <i>parn+parn</i> | parrot (Mulga) |
| <i>parl+parl</i> | noise.of.repeated.hitting | <i>pin+pin</i> | grass |
| <i>miji+miji</i> | reddish colour, gold | <i>ngurr+ngurr</i> | pig |
| <i>warrul+warrul</i> | twilight, sunrise | <i>lirl+lirl</i> | a.yelp |
| <i>pirrpa+pirrpa</i> | dawn, time just before sunrise | | |
- (2.69) Bisyllabic suffixes
- | | |
|---------------------|-----------|
| <i>ngurra-karti</i> | house-ALL |
| <i>tikirl-karti</i> | dry-ALL |
| <i>pupuka-jirri</i> | frog-DU |
| <i>ngaju-mili</i> | 1SG-GEN |
- (2.70) Imperfective aspect
- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|
| a. <i>wirla-rna</i> | hit-NFUT |
| b. <i>wirla-rna-rna</i> | hit-NFUT-1SG.SUB |
| c. <i>wirla-rnikinyi</i> | hit-IMPF |
| d. <i>wirla-rnikinyi-rni</i> | hit-IMPF-1SG.SUB |
| e. <i>wirla-rnikinyi-yirni</i> | hit-IMPF-1PL.EXC.SUB |
| f. <i>wirla-rnikinyi pulu</i> | hit-IMPF 2DU.SUB |
| g. <i>wirla-rnikinyi pulinyi</i> | hit-IMPF 2DU.OBJ |
- (2.71) Contrafactual mood
- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| a. <i>wirla-rnama</i> | hit-PSTCFL |
| b. <i>wirla-rnama-rna</i> | hit-PSTCFL-1SG.SUB |
| c. <i>wirla-rnama pulu</i> | hit-PSTCFL 2DU.SUB |
| d. <i>wirla-rnama pulinyi</i> | hit-PSTCFL 2DU.OBJ |
- (2.72) Future tense
- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------|
| a. <i>wirla-lama-rna</i> | hit-FUT-1SG.SUB |
| b. <i>wirla-lapi-ji</i> | hit-FUT-1SG.DAT |
| c. <i>wirla-lami-nyi</i> | hit-FUT-1SG.OBJ |
- (2.73) Derivational bound roots
- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------------|
| a. <i>jina-ma-rna</i> | track-CAUS-NFUT |
| b. <i>kurlu-pi-rni</i> | bad-VB-NFUT (made.a.mistake) |

3 *Morphology: an overview*

This chapter deals with a number of issues related to the status of word that arise in the description of Nyangumarta morphology. Section 3.1 sets out the structure of the lexicon (parts of speech) assumed in this description. Section 3.2 describes the structure of the phonological and morphological word in Nyangumarta and presents definitions of word, suffix and clitic. The consequences of assuming word/affix classifications is explored in the description of the recent historical 'suffixation' of free pronouns to verbs, the establishment of 'cranberry' morphs as 'bound nominals' and the clarification of the status of derivational verbal forms as suffixes and independent words. The consequences of the highly agglutinative structure of Nyangumarta words is explored in the description of the function of nominal suffixes outlined in §3.3. Word formation processes are described in §3.4 with detailed descriptions of reduplication and compounding processes.

3.1 The lexicon

Word class distinction in Australian languages has not always proven to be as straightforward as Dixon (1980:271) has suggested:

Australian languages generally show around nine or ten distinct 'parts of speech' (or 'word classes')... Each word class has its own set of inflections; it is generally an easy matter to check which class a given root belongs to, simply by examining the endings it can take.

Grammarians of Australian languages approach the classification of word classes in various ways and are concerned with various functional and semantic aspects of words as distinct from strictly adhering to formal definitions.

For example, it is common in the descriptions of Australian languages for nouns and adjectives to be grouped together in the class of nominals.

As Dench (1995:51) notes in his grammar of Martuthunira:

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.

Morphologically nouns and adjectives appear very similar in that they have identical case marking and derivational inflections. Dixon (1980:275) says:

Semantic criteria can be brought in to distinguish adjective from noun in languages where there are no sure grammatical tests. A noun will refer to a class of objects that have a certain defining characteristic, whereas an adjective describes a particular quality that can occur in a wide range of objects but is seldom a necessary quality...

Goddard (1983) describes five syntactic frames within which what he calls nouns, stative adjectives and active adjectives can be compared in Yankunytjatjara. Nouns can operate as the head of a noun phrase, stative adjectives occur in apposition to another nominal (head) in a NP and occur in apposition to another nominal in a simple ascriptive clause; and active adjectives function as a second predication on a noun phrase in a verbal clause and can occur with a copula in a simple ascriptive (verbless) clause. From this classification it follows that the basic distinction between nouns and adjectives is that nouns can be the heads of NPs and adjectives cannot. Like many languages with optional nominals, it is often the case that an adjective is the only explicit element of a NP.

Dench (1995) classifies Martuthunira nominals into similar groups to Goddard's:

Nominals as

1. Heads of NPs - typically
2. Modifiers of NP heads - typically

Nominals that

3. Cannot be apposed to another nominal in a simple ascriptive clause and which function as second predications of manner.
4. Can appear in all five frames of the Goddard description.

Dench's (1987:114) comparison of Martuthunira nominals with Yankunytjatjara leads him to the conclusion that

there is little value in establishing nominal subclasses such as adjective and noun for Martuthunira. The particular uses of any nominal lexeme are a function of its individual meaning rather than depending on membership of some lexical category... nouns and adjectives cannot be distinguished by the ability of one class to function as the head of a NP, and as a result the classification is again thrown back to notional/statistical criteria....

Generally, lexicons of Australian languages are divided into two major open classes: nominals and verbs with various minor (closed) classes consisting of particles and clitics, exclamations and adverbs.

Dench (1987) proposes the classes of nominals, verbs, adverbs and exclamations for Martuthunira (a Ngayarda language of the Pilbara in Western Australia) arguing against a class of particles (in preference to adverbs) although Dench (1995) changes the labels for Martuthunira to include nominals, verbs, particles and clitics, and interjections.

In this description of Nyangumarta, the lexicon has been divided into two major open word classes: nominals and verbs. There are also a number of minor word classes consisting of particles and clitics and exclamations. The distinction between the two major lexical categories is determined morphologically: the members of the class of nominals take various nominal inflections which includes number, whereas the members of the class of verbs inflect for tense, aspect and mood with the addition of the pronominal agreement markers.

Like Goddard's (1983) analysis of Yankunytjatjara nominals, it will be proposed that it is useful to propose subclasses of nominals for Nyangumarta based on both semantic and grammatical criteria.

The set of independent pronouns and demonstratives in Nyangumarta also take the same inflectional and, in limited cases, derivational suffixes as other nominals.

The following parts of speech are defined for Nyangumarta.

Nominals

This open class consists of words which are inflected for number and case. The nominal category encompasses the following closed subclasses including pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, common nouns, proper nouns and adjectives (see Sharp 2002 for a detailed discussion of word classes in Nyangumarta).

Verbs

The verb class consists of monomorphemic verb roots and complex verbs. Verbs are inflected for tense, aspect and mood and are generally active as opposed to stative. Inflected verbs are also suffixed with pronouns indicating person and number.

Particles and clitics

A closed class of uninflected words and clitics.

Exclamations

A closed class of uninflected words which can function as complete utterances.

3.1.1 Nominal subclasses

Nominals, as mentioned above, are subject to nominal suffixes and the expression of number. Semantically, the class of nominals in Nyangumarta has a wide range of meanings from being specifically referential like pronouns and locatives to those which denote particular events or things as well as properties.

The class of nominals in Nyangumarta can also be divided into five areas as given below. The notional range of Nyangumarta nominals extends from nominals which are fully referential (pronouns, demonstratives, common nouns) and definite to ones which are used predicatively in Nyangumarta expressions (such as adjectives consisting of descriptive modifiers, locatives and directionals).

1. Pronouns

<i>ngaju</i>	1SG
<i>nyuntu</i>	2SG
<i>nganarna</i>	1PL.EXC
<i>nganurtu</i>	who

2. Demonstratives

<i>nyungu</i>	'this'
<i>pala</i>	'that'
<i>ngurnungu</i>	'that over there'

3. Names: includes personal names, kinship section names, placenames and European names

<i>Minyjun</i>	personal name
<i>Wanywany</i>	personal name
<i>Milangka</i>	kinship section name
<i>Purungu</i>	kinship section name
<i>Karntimarta</i>	placename ('Warralong')
<i>Ngaru</i>	placename ('Port Hedland')
<i>Noeli</i>	European personal name ('Noel')

4. Common nouns/nominals

<i>mirtawa</i>	'woman'
<i>pirirri</i>	'man'
<i>karlaya</i>	'emu'
<i>partany</i>	'child'
<i>yukurru</i>	'dog'
<i>mayi</i>	'vegetable food'
<i>warnku</i>	'rock, hill'
<i>mungka</i>	'tree, stick'
<i>kuyi</i>	'meat, animal'

5. Adjectives: descriptive modifiers

[a] Attributives

<i>janparr</i>	'hungry'
<i>jarrnga</i>	'very big'
<i>jarrurru</i>	'weak, dizzy'
<i>kararr</i>	'hard, tough, solid, firm'
<i>kurlu</i>	'bad'

<i>lalypa</i>	'flat'
<i>lanta</i>	'dirty, stained, sticky'
<i>marrapa</i>	'homesick, lonely'
<i>marrpalya</i>	'brave, fearless'
<i>pirrpa</i>	'bright, shiny'
<i>ranyji</i>	'old (of animate creature)'
<i>rapa</i>	'light (weight)'
<i>rangkarr</i>	'blurry, hazy'
<i>winu</i>	'thirsty'
<i>miranu</i>	'knowing'
[b] Manner	
<i>janyjin</i>	'quick, quickly'
<i>karta</i>	'asleep'
<i>karruruwa</i>	'briskly, actively'
<i>kupalya</i>	'asleep'
<i>marrja</i>	'very (strong, fast - intensifier)'
<i>nyampa</i>	'quick, quickly'
<i>tuku</i>	'careful, carefully'
<i>wapira/wapiri</i>	'hunting with dogs'
<i>yirrku</i>	'still, continually, definitely'
[c] Action	
<i>mirti</i>	'run'
<i>marnti</i>	'walk'
<i>karta</i>	'asleep'
<i>yaku</i>	'dance'
<i>warrkamu</i>	'work'
[d] Locatives and directionals	
<i>kaniny</i>	'below'
<i>kaninykarti</i>	'inside' ¹
<i>kanka</i>	'above'
<i>kara</i>	'west'
<i>partijirri</i>	'middle, half way, in the middle'
<i>rirrirri</i>	'on the edge'
<i>ruka</i>	'afternoon'
<i>wangka</i>	'close'
<i>yakarr</i>	'below the surface'
<i>yakujarni</i>	'this side'
<i>yalinyja</i>	'north'

¹ The locational nominal *kaninykarti* is a complex morpheme consisting of *kaniny* 'down' and the allative suffix *-karti*. In many instances this morpheme is analysed as a complex morpheme meaning 'inside'.

Nominals in areas (1)–(4) are typically found as the head of NPs and can occupy argument positions. Nominals in areas (5) are typically used as secondary predications of attribute or manner (see Bittner & Hale 1993:3) who divide the Warlpiri class of nominals into six similar areas ‘arrayed along an approximate scale according to the typical syntactic function’ of the subclass of nominal).

3.1.2 Verbs

Nyangumarta verbs are an open class which is distinguished from the class of nominals by the types of affixes the members are inflected with: tense, aspect and mood. Nyangumarta verbs are also inflected for person and number (see Chapter 5). Semantically, verbs in Nyangumarta depict such things as activities, processes, moods, feelings and events.

Generally, verbs can be classified as transitive, intransitive, semitransitive, ditransitive and extended-intransitive (see Chapter 5 and Chapter 10 for more discussion of Nyangumarta verbal predicates). A transitive verb has two arguments, one in A function, the other in O function; an intransitive verb has one argument in S function; a semitransitive verb has two arguments, one in A function and one in IO function; and an extended-intransitive verb has two arguments, one in S function and one in IO function. The occurrence of additional dative and/or locative arguments is a marked feature of Nyangumarta verbal morphology (see §10.3.12).

Nyangumarta has approximately 200 mono-morphemic verbs. Complex verbs are numerous and the inchoative and causative derivational morphemes/suffixes (in particular) are very productive.

3.1.3 Minor parts of speech

The minor parts of speech, particles and clitics and exclamations, which are closed classes, are morphologically inert words. Particles and clitics in Nyangumarta provide information about a complete clause; specifically of the logical or modal type. These are often the only types of words which cannot take any sort of inflection (Dixon 1980:284). Nyangumarta minor parts of speech appear below:

Particles

<i>jakun/jakurl</i>	‘only, as far as’
<i>jiti</i>	‘continually’
<i>kaku/kakuputu</i>	‘hidden’
<i>kala</i>	‘emphatic’
<i>kartiny</i>	‘doubt (it will happen)’
<i>katu/katurr</i>	‘nearly, almost’
<i>kurra</i>	‘while’
<i>munu²</i>	‘negative’
<i>ngarra</i>	‘specific’
<i>ngarrakuny</i>	‘completely, continually’

² This particle has a form which functions as a nominal with the same meaning.

<i>ngarrany</i>	'still, very, really, plenty, truly'
<i>ngurnipali/pali</i>	'maybe, perhaps'
<i>partal</i>	'unsuccessfully'
<i>pirrayi</i>	'unreal'
<i>pukun/pukurl</i>	'also, including'
<i>puntaju</i>	'in response'
<i>puru</i>	'merely, only, just'
<i>raa</i>	'intensely'
<i>wayi</i>	'question'
<i>yakun/yakurl/yakuyil</i>	'like this, that way, thus'
<i>yiji</i>	'intensifier/truly'

Exclamations

<i>japurtu</i>	'Poor thing!'
<i>jipi</i> ³	'finish, complete'
<i>kayi</i>	'Hey? (what was that—I didn't hear it)'
<i>kula</i>	'Wait! Hang on!'
<i>nyaa/nyii</i>	'Here you are!'
<i>nyimangu</i>	'Hey'
<i>paa</i>	'Oops, sorry'
<i>pupu</i>	'Warning call'
<i>wartawu</i>	'Ouch, expression of pain, tiredness'
<i>wayarti</i>	'Hey'
<i>yarranija</i>	'Great! (showing pleasure)'
<i>yuu</i>	'Yes!'
<i>munu</i>	'No!'

Clitics

The class of clitics includes morphemes which can occur encliticised to any part of speech. For some clitics there is a tendency for them to prefer nominals as their site of cliticisation and in many ways they behave like other nominal suffixes (see Chapter 8).

<i>-pa</i>	'perhaps'
<i>-rla/-pirla</i>	focus
<i>-rli</i>	emphatic
<i>-rti/-pirti</i>	emphatic
<i>-yi</i>	question marker

3.2 Word structure

Phonological word status in Nyangumarta depends on five factors:

1. Words conform to the general constraints on permissible phonological word forms including phonotactic and minimal word constraints (for example

³ This exclamation has an homophonous form which functions as a nominal and can take nominal suffixes with the same meaning, 'finished, completed'.

words consist of at least two moras: CVC, CVV, CVCV).

2. First syllable receives main stress.
3. A speaker may pause before and after independent phonological forms.
4. Words and their inflections are the domain of phonological and morphophonemic processes.
5. A word can begin a sentence.

Nyangumarta is a suffixing language with clearly identifiable component morphemes in words. If a form does not fulfil the above criteria allowing it to assume word status, then it is considered either a suffix or a clitic. The major difference between suffixes and clitics is their syntactic distribution. Nominal suffixes can be distributed to all items in a NP and verbal inflections specifically occur attached to verb stems. Clitics occur attached to any word within the clause and often have scope over the entire clause. There are no instances of clitic clusters occurring.

Clitics occur word-finally whereas nominal and verbal suffixes occur in particular positions, some designated to word final-position following other suffixes and some to the first inflected position of the word.

Clitics differ from particles in their phonological status; a clitic is not a separate word in as much as it cannot bear major stress and must be attached to the end of an inflected word. This holds for Nyangumarta also where clitics can have scope over an entire clause in contrast to suffixes which usually only have scope over the preceding word or phrase to which they are suffixed (see §3.3 which describes the syntactic functions of nominal suffixes).

Many of the verbal pronouns are classified as suffixes because they do not fulfil the criteria necessary for independent word status, yet they are not considered clitics because they combine phonologically with the verb and its inflections. Other verbal pronouns do fulfil the criteria necessary for the establishment of word status and are classified as 'word-type verbal pronouns' or more simply just word verbal pronouns, although they are syntactically bound in the phonological verbal phrase (see §3.2.1 below).

An unusual suffix is the nominal dual suffix *-jirri*. Ergative suffixation can follow the dual suffix (3.1) although this is rare. In the data collected 85% of the occurrences of ergative plus dual is with the dual suffix following the ergative suffix (3.2) and (3.3).

- (3.1) *Pala-ja nga-nikinyi pulu juri-kata mayi*
 that-ABL eat-IMPF 3DU.SUB sweet-CHAR vegetable.food

pala-jirri-lu kurrkurr-jirri-lu kangkungu-lu.
 that-DU-ERG owl-DU-ERG sisters-ERG

'And after that the two sisters would eat the sweet food (seeds).'

- (3.2) *Muwarr-majirri-lu,* *karlaya-lu-jirri* *kuru-ma-rna*
 word-PRIV-ERG emu-ERG-DU (muster)-AFF-NFUT

pulu *janinyi* *pulany-mili* *partany-karrangu.*
 3DU.SUB 3PL.OBJ 3DU-GEN child-PL

'Without speaking, the two emus mustered together their chicks.'

- (3.3) *Rankurrji-lu-jirri* *panypa-nya* *pula-rningu* *pulany-ju.*
 bustard-ERG-DU ignore-NFUT 3DU.SUB-RECIP 3DU-ERG
 'The two bush turkeys ignored each other.'

Because of its distribution, *-jirri* could be analysed either as a nominal suffix or else a clitic. However as is illustrated in (3.1), the dual spreads across nominals in the same noun phrase which is an important characteristic of nominal suffixes. In this description then, *-jirri* will be analysed as a nominal suffix.

3.2.1 Pronouns

Nyangumarta independent pronouns (a subclass of the class of nominals) show a three-way person distinction (first, second and third) and a three-way number distinction (singular, dual and plural). In first person non-singular forms there is also an inclusive/exclusive contrast.

In addition to the set of independent pronouns, there is a set of 'verbal pronouns'. These are divided into subject, object and dative forms and like the independent pronouns show a three-way person and number distinction and an inclusive/exclusive contrast in non-singular forms.

Morphologically and phonologically the set of verbal pronouns can be divided into two complementary groups. One group are unquestionably bound pronominal suffixes which are mono-syllabic, bear no stress, are syntactically bound to the inflected verb and undergo phonological rules which elsewhere in the language affect stems and suffixes. On the other hand there is a set of word-type pronouns which are analysed as phonological words although they occur within the phonological verbal phrase. They usually occur after the bound pronominal suffixes and do not undergo the same phonological processes as the suffix pronouns (see §3.2.1.1 below).

Table 3.1 below gives a summary of the different types of pronouns in Nyangumarta.

Table 3.1: Nyangumarta pronouns

Person	Independent	Affix and word verbal pronouns		
		Subject	Object	Dative/Locative
1SG	<i>ngaju</i>	<i>-rnV</i>	<i>-nyV</i>	<i>-jV ~ -ja</i>
2SG	<i>nyuntu</i>	<i>-n/-npV</i>	<i>-ntV</i>	<i>-ngu ~ -nga</i>
3SG	<i>paliny</i>	<i>-Ø/-rrV^A</i>	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>-lV/-lu</i>
1DU.INC	<i>ngali</i>	<i>-li</i>	<i>ngalinyi</i>	<i>ngaliku</i>
1DU.EXC	<i>ngalayi</i>	<i>-liyV</i>	<i>ngalayinyi</i>	<i>ngalayaku</i>
1PL.INC	<i>nganyjurru</i>	<i>-nyV</i>	<i>nganyjurrinyi</i>	<i>nganyjurraku</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>nganarna</i>	<i>-yirnV</i>	<i>nganinyi</i>	<i>nganaku</i>
3PL	<i>jana</i>	<i>-yV</i>	<i>janinyi</i>	<i>janaku</i>
3DU	<i>pulany</i>	<i>pulu</i>	<i>pulinyi</i>	<i>pulaku</i>
2DU	<i>nyumpala</i>	<i>nyumpulu</i>	<i>nyumpulinyi</i>	<i>nyumpulaku</i>
2PL	<i>nyurra</i>	<i>nyurru</i>	<i>nyurrinyi</i>	<i>nyurraku</i>

3.2.1.1 Verbal pronouns: affix and word

The following discussion argues for the existence of two distinct types of verbal pronouns: a set of affix pronouns and a set of word pronouns. For more detailed accounts of the phonological phenomena involved see Chapter 2.

Stress and minimal word constraint

Based on evidence of the existence of a minimal word in Nyangumarta and stress placement, it can be shown that the verbal pronouns consist of morphemes which would constitute phonological word status and those which would not (see Table 3.2).

Secondary stress occurs on the first syllable of the word forms (although it also can occur on the suffixes: *-yirni* 1PL.EXC.SUB and *-layi* 1DU.EXC.SUB).

⁴ The *-rrV* only occurs in the northern dialect of Nyangumarta and only when no other verbal pronouns follow it.

Table 3.2: Nyangumarta verbal pronouns

	Affix		Word
1SG.SUB	-rnV	1DU.INC.OBJ	<i>ngalinyi</i>
1SG.OBJ	-nyV	1DU.INC.DAT	<i>ngaliku</i>
1SG.DAT	-jV	1DU.EXC.OBJ	<i>ngalayinyi</i>
2SG.SUB	-n/npV	1DU.EXC.DAT	<i>ngalayaku</i>
2SG.OBJ	-ntV	1PL.INC.OBJ	<i>nganyjurrinyi</i>
2SG.DAT	-ngu ~-nga	1PL.INC.DAT	<i>nganyjurraku</i>
3SG.SUB	-Ø/-rrV	1PL.EXC.OBJ	<i>nganinyi</i>
3SG.OBJ	-Ø	1PL.EXC.DAT	<i>nganaku</i>
3SG.DAT	-lV/lu	3PL.OBJ	<i>janinyi</i>
1DU.INC.SUB	-li	3PL.DAT	<i>janaku</i>
1DU.EXC.SUB	-liyV	3DU.SUB	<i>pulu</i>
1PL.INC.OBJ	-nyV	3DU.OBJ	<i>pulinyi</i>
1PL.EXC.SUB	-yirnV	3DU.DAT	<i>pulaku</i>
3PL.SUB	-yV	2DU.SUB	<i>nyumpulu</i>
		2DU.OBJ	<i>nyumpulinyi</i>
		2DU.DAT	<i>nyumpulaku</i>
		2PL.SUB	<i>nyurru</i>
		2PL.OBJ	<i>nyurrinyi</i>
		2PL.DAT	<i>nyurraku</i>

Epenthetic -pV

The second singular subject pronoun *-n* has an alternate form: *-npV* when it precedes other affix-type pronouns but not when it precedes word-type pronouns. The following examples illustrate these differences. Example (3.4a) gives the form of *-npi* for the second singular subject pronoun when it occurs before the anticipatory suffix *-li*. Examples (3.4b) and (3.4c) give the form of *-n* for the second singular subject pronoun when it occurs finally in the verbal word and before the pronoun *nganinyi* '1PL.EXC.OBJ'. In (3.4d-f) the data show that the epenthetic rule occurs whenever the remote past morpheme *-nyil*, *-rnVl*, or *-nVl* precedes affix pronouns but not when the morpheme occurs word-finally nor when it precedes the word pronouns. This rule is not simply a device used to avoid non-permissible consonant clusters, it clearly distinguishes between a suffix and a word boundary.

- (3.4) Second person singular subject *-n*
- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| | Underlying forms | Surface forms |
| a. | <i>Wirla-lV-n-lV</i>
hit-ANT-2SG.SUB-ANT | <i>Wirla-la-npi-li</i> .
'You might hit him.' |

- | | | | |
|----|---|--------------------------------|---|
| b. | <i>Wirla-rnV-n</i>
hit-NFUT-2SG.SUB | | <i>Wirla-rna-n.</i>
'You hit it.' |
| c. | <i>Wirla-rnv-n</i>
hit-NFUT-2SG.SUB | <i>nganVnyV</i>
1PL.EXC.OBJ | <i>Wirla-rna-n nganinyi.</i>
'You hit us.' |
| d. | <i>Wirla-rnVI-ngu</i>
hit-REMPST-2SG.DAT | | <i>Wirla-rnalpa-ngu.</i>
'He hit it for you (a long time ago).' |
| e. | <i>Wirla-rnVI</i>
hit-REMPST-2SG.SUB | | <i>Wirla-rnal.</i>
'He hit it (a long time ago).' |
| f. | <i>Wirla-rnVI</i>
hit-REMPST | <i>nganaku</i>
1PL.EXC.DAT | <i>Wirla-rnal nganaku.</i>
'He hit it for us (a long time ago).' |

Example (3.5) gives the forms of the remote past with person markers for the verbs *paji-RN* 'bite' and *karnti-NY* 'climb'. The forms given here show clearly that the epenthetic *-pV* rule only applies to the affix pronouns and not to the word pronouns.

(3.5)	Person	RN class	NY class
	1SG	<i>paji-rnilpi-rni</i>	<i>karnti-nyalpa-rna</i>
	1DU.INC	<i>paji-rnilpa-li</i>	<i>karnti-nyalpa-li</i>
	1DU.EXC	<i>paji-rnilpa-layi</i>	<i>karnti-nyalpa-layi</i>
	1PL.INC	<i>paji-rnilpi-ny</i>	<i>karnti-nyalpi-ny</i>
	1PL.EXC	<i>paji-rnilpi-yirni</i>	<i>karnti-nyalpi-yirni</i>
	2SG	<i>paji-rnilpa-n</i>	<i>karnti-nyalpa-n</i>
	2DU	<i>paji-rnil nyumpulu</i>	<i>karnti-nyal nyumpulu</i>
	2PL	<i>paji-rnil nyurru</i>	<i>karnti-nyal nyurru</i>
	3SG	<i>paji-rnil</i>	<i>karnti-nyal</i>
	3DU	<i>paji-rnil pulu</i>	<i>karnti-nyal pulu</i>
	3PL	<i>paji-rnilpi-yi</i>	<i>karnti-nyalpi-yi</i>

Vowel alternations

The two rules of vowel assimilation show a distinction between two types of pronouns in the verbal phrase: those that cause buffer vowel effects versus those that do not, and pronouns that trigger regressive assimilation versus those that do not. The affix pronouns block the progressive assimilation rule causing a buffer vowel effect, whereas the word pronouns do not; the affix pronouns also trigger regressive assimilation, the word pronouns do not.

Example (3.6) gives forms comparing instances where the affix pronouns block progressive assimilation and cause buffer vowel effects and the word pronouns do not. Example (3.7) shows contrasting examples of regressive assimilation being triggered by the palatal consonant /ny/ when it occurs morpheme-initially in an affix pronoun but not in a word pronoun.

(3.6)	Buffer vowel effects		
	Underlying forms		Surface forms
a.	<i>yirri-rnV-li</i> see-NFUT-1DU.INC.SUB		<i>yirri-rna-li</i> (cf.* <i>yirri-rni-li</i>)
b.	<i>yirri-rnV pulV</i> see-NFUT 3DU.SUB		<i>yirri-rni pulu</i> (cf.* <i>yirri-rna pulu</i>)
c.	<i>yirri-rnV-ngu</i> see-NFUT-2SG.DAT		<i>yirri-rna-ngu</i> (cf.* <i>yirri-rni-ngu</i>)
d.	<i>yirri-rni nyumpulV</i> see-NFUT 2DU.SUB		<i>yirri-rni nyumpulu</i> (cf.* <i>yirri-rna nyumpulu</i>)
(3.7)	Regressive assimilation		
	Underlying forms		Surface forms
a.	<i>wirla-rnV-nyV</i> hit-NFUT-1PL.INC.SUB		<i>wirla-rni-nyi</i>
b.	<i>wirla-rnV nyurrV</i> hit-NFUT 2PL.SUB		<i>wirla-rna nyurru</i>
c.	<i>kalku-rnV-nyV</i> keep-NFUT-1PL.INC.SUB		<i>kalku-rni-nyi</i>
d.	<i>kalku-rnV nyurrV</i> keep-NFUT 2PL.SUB		<i>kalku-rnu nyurru</i> ⁵
e.	<i>wirla-rnVmV-nyV</i> hit-PSTCFL-1PL.INC.SUB		<i>wirla-rnami-nyi</i>
f.	<i>wirla-rnVmV nyurrV</i> hit-PSTCFL 2PL.SUB		<i>wirla-rnama nyurru</i>

Palatal cluster deletion

The rule of palatal cluster deletion affects forms of the future tense. The stem of the future tense differs markedly between those forms occurring with affix pronouns following them and those forms with word pronouns. The form which is consistently found for instances where word pronouns follow is the same as that for third person singular which has no pronouns following it. Thus the future tense has several allomorphs which can be divided into two distinct groups as can be seen in Table 3.3 below. The rule of palatal cluster deletion only occurs when a word pronoun follows a final palatal consonant.

⁵ For some speakers of Nyangumarta *kalku-rnu nyurru* can occur as *kalku-rna nyurru*.

The forms which have affix pronouns suffixed to them generally have the form: *-IV* which is realised as *-IVpV* when it precedes a sonorant consonant (with the rule of nasal assimilation determining the occurrence of *-IVmV*). The basic allomorphy associated with the word pronouns consists of: potential mood + *-IVny*; (hence *-lkuliny* for the verbs in the RN class) which is realised as potential mood + *-IV* (hence *-lkulu* or *-lkuli*) before palatal consonants.

Table 3.3: Future tense: allomorphs
RN Conjugation *paji-RN* 'bite'

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1INC		<i>paji-lapa-li</i>	<i>paji-limi-ny</i>
1EXC	<i>paji-lama-rna</i>	<i>paji-lapa-layi</i>	<i>paji-lipi-yirni</i>
2	<i>paji-lama-n</i>	<i>paji-lkulu nyumpulu</i>	<i>paji-lkulu nyurru</i>
3	<i>paji-lkuliny</i>	<i>paji-lkuliny pulu</i>	<i>paji-lipi-yi</i>

The palatal cluster deletion rule does not operate as conclusively elsewhere within the verbal phonological phrase (see §2.5). Although as shown below the rule can occur to word-type pronouns in the imperfective aspect.

- (3.8) a. *Wirla-rnVkVnyV-nyV* *Wirla-rnakinyi-ny*.
hit-IMPF-1PL.INC.SUB 'We all were hitting it.'
- b. *Wirla-rnVkVnyV nyumpulV* *Wirla-rnaki nyumpulu*.
hit-IMPF 2DU.SUB 'You two were hitting it.'

Summary

Phonological rules, stress placement and phonotactic word structure constraints all provide evidence for the segmentation of the verbal pronouns into two distinct groups: word pronouns and affix pronouns. In this work then affix verbal pronouns will be represented with the [-] like other suffixes and the word pronouns will be represented as independent phonological words.

3.2.2 Verbalisers: suffixes or words?

A set of morphemes (3.9) in Nyangumarta have recently been the focus of discussion (B. Geytenbeek 1997) regarding their status as either derivational suffixes or free verb forms. In past analyses (O'Grady 1964, Sharp 1985, 1986) they have been described as suffixes. B. Geytenbeek (1997) has considered the notion that these five morphemes (3.9) in Nyangumarta are in fact separate forms with independent word status. In this description the inchoative verb and the stative verb are analysed as independent words, the other morphemes, listed in (3.9), are analysed as derivational suffixes.

(3.9)	<i>jarri-NY</i> <i>karri-NY</i> <i>-ji-RN</i> <i>-ma-RN</i> <i>-pi-RN</i>	inchoative—becoming a particular state stative—in a particular state affective causative—making something happen ⁶ verbaliser—no particular meaning
-------	---	--

The following criteria are used to establish the status of the inchoative verb and the stative verb as free morphemes rather than as suffixes: stress placement, pause word, scope, phonological processes and morphological operations such as reduplication.

Stress placement and minimal word

All of the morphemes listed in (3.9) receive lexical stress and after affixation of verbal inflections all satisfy the minimal word condition which is the same for other verbs including the verbs with monosyllabic roots (*nga-N* 'eat', *ka-NG* 'take', *ma-N* 'get', *ya-N* 'go' and *yi-NG* 'give'). This, however, is not a distinguishing feature as it can be used as an argument for saying that all of the verbalisers are in fact independent morphemes (see B. Geytenbeek 1997). Other criteria as discussed below will be necessary to establish the independent word status for the inchoative and the stative verbs.

Scope

The inchoative morpheme does not only have scope over the preceding word to which it is attached. It can have scope over the preceding phrase as is shown below in (3.10).

(3.10)	<i>Wirrurru</i>	<i>jarri-nyi</i>	<i>wirrurru</i>	<i>yiji</i>	<i>jarri-nyi.</i>
	fast	INCH-NFUT	fast	really	INCH-NFUT
	'It went quickly, it went really quickly.'				

In this construction the particle *yiji* interposes between the two parts of the complex verb: *wirrurru jarrinyi*. The particle *yiji* has scope over the word it follows. The form in (3.10) illustrates the productiveness of the inchoative verbaliser producing either the complex verb 'became fast' or 'became very fast' (see §6.2.2.3 for examples of the stative morpheme having scope over the preceding nominal plus particle). None of the affix type morphemes (3.9) can have scope over anything greater than the word to which they are attached.

Other evidence that the inchoative verbal construction can have scope over the preceding phrase is given below where the verbal construction *muwarr-ku jarrinyarna* 'I was getting ready to speak' is interposed by the nominal *jampa* 'briefly'. The nominal *jampa* can follow *muwarr-ku* or it can precede it (3.11).

⁶ The representation for this morpheme is *-mVRN* in the northern dialect.

(3.11) a. *Muwarr-ku jampa jarri-nya-rna.*
word-DAT briefly INCH-NFUT-1SG.SUB
'I was just getting ready to speak.'

b. *Jampa muwarr-ku jarri-nya-rna.*
briefly word-DAT INCH-NFUT-1SG.SUB
'I was just getting ready to speak.'

In the following example the inchoative has scope over 'different' as well as 'face' to give the meaning of the complex verb as 'changing expression'.

(3.12) *Kuli jarri-nyi ngurnipali wariny ngumpa jarri-nyi.*
fight INCH-NFUT maybe different face INCH-NFUT
'S/he is getting angry maybe, her/his expression is changing.'

In (3.13) the inchoative has scope over the complex phrase 'make it go the other way' giving it the derived meaning 'getting ready to make it go the other way'.

(3.13) *Wariny-kurnu-ku ji-na-ku jarri-nyi.*
different-ALL-DAT make-NM-DAT INCH-NFUT
'S/he's getting ready to make it go the other way.'

(3.14) *Ya-nanya kawa-rnikinyi-yi tingki-ngi, ngurnarri-karti*
go-NM repeat-IMP-3PL.SUB dinghy-LOC over.there-ALL

ngapa-nga jarri-nyi-yi.
water-LOC INCH-NFUT-3PL.SUB

'They kept on going in the dinghy, and arrived at the far side of the lake.'

The stative verb *karri-NY* is also recorded occurring within a complex verbal construction in which a particle intervenes between the nominal and the verbaliser (3.15).

(3.15) *Mayi yurranga jakun karri-nya-yi murla*
vegetable.food hot.season only STAT-NFUT-3PL.SUB ripe

jarri-nya-yi; wani-nya-yi jampa
INCH-NFUT-3PL.SUB stay-NFUT-3PL.SUB briefly

pungka-nya-yi jungka-nga.
fall-NFUT-3PL.SUB ground-LOC

'The fruit of the *parntarlu* plant only grow in the hot season, they stay there and ripen and then soon drop to the ground.'

Nyangumarta words (either simple or complex) carry main stress on the first syllable and phonological phrases also have a single main stress on the first syllable although alternating syllables are marked for secondary stress. In the constructions above, the complex verb construction is a phonological phrase and as such main stress occurs on the initial syllable. The inchoative has scope over the entire phrase not just the word it follows/is attached to. In these types of inchoative expressions, the inchoative morpheme always occurs last. The affix-type verbalisers have scope only over the word they are attached to.

Phonological processes

The causative verbaliser shows evidence of vowel assimilation as seen below (although the verbalisers do not) which is consistent with the domain of vowel assimilation occurring over a phonological word. The examples given below are from the northern dialect. The southern form of the causative verbaliser has an initial vowel with features for 'a' specified (-*maRN*).

- (3.16) *Japirr-mi-rni nganinyi, 'Ngani-ja wurnmi-nyi nganaku?'*
lips-CAUS-NFUT 1PL.EXC.OBJ who-ABL break-NFUT 1PL.EXC.DAT
'He asked, "Why had we broken down?"'
- (3.17) *Witi puru witi-mi-rni-yirni.*
play merely play-CAUS-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB
'We are only playing for fun.'
- (3.18) *Katuwurru-mu-nu pulu partany wika-ja.*
rescue-CAUS-NFUT 3DU.SUB child fire-ABL
'Those two rescued the child from the fire.'
- (3.19) *Mitu-mu-rnu-nyi-n-pa!*
lie-CAUS-NFUT-1SG-OBJ-2SG.SUB-PURP
'You tricked me!'
- (3.20) *Wartarrku-lu nyinga-ma-na-rna-nta.*
accident-ERG (touch)-CAUS-NFUT-1SG.SUB-2SG.OBJ
'I touched you accidentally.'
- (3.21) *Wangal-ju ruwi-nyi-rri wurru walkarra-ma-rna-rra.*
wind-ERG hit-NFUT-3SG.SUB clothes (flap)-CAUS-NFUT-3SG.SUB
'The wind makes the clothes flap in the breeze.'

Morphological operations: reduplication

Morphological operations such as reduplication target verb stems. There are examples in the data which illustrate it in the inchoative—see below. There is no evidence that other verbalisers can be reduplicated.

- (3.22) *Jampa marraka punjarn-punjarn jarri⁷-jarri-uliny.*
 briefly newly.hatched.bird dark.colour-RED INCH-RED-FUT
 ‘Soon (the plumage) of the baby bird will become darker.’
 (B. Geytenbeek 1991)

Conclusion

As seen above, the most revealing evidence to indicate that the inchoative and stative verbs are not functioning as suffixes, is the data which indicates that the inchoative and the stative can have scope over a phrase rather than just a word they might immediately follow. The other verbalisers have scope only over the stem to which they are attached, not to a phrase. Thus verbalisers in this description will be treated as derivational suffixes rather than free forms; and the inchoative and the stative will be treated as free morphemes which have the syntactic function of having scope over either the preceding word or phrase. The summary of features is given in Table 3.4 below. Notice the addition of semantic transparency, which can be used to argue for the division between free word and derivational morpheme status. See Chapter 6 for a full discussion on complex verb morphology which discusses the compositional meanings of complex verbs.

Table 3.4: Summary table: criteria for phonological word

Morpheme	Stress	Scope	Assimilation	Reduplication	Semantic transparency
<i>jarri</i>	√	phrase	X	√	√
<i>karri</i>	√	phrase	X	X	√
<i>-ma</i>	√	word	√	X	not always
<i>-pi</i>	√	word	X	X	not always
<i>-ji</i>	√	word	X	X	not always

3.2.3 The complex verb

A complex verb, which includes derived verbal complexes and compound verbs, has the following structure:

[pre-verb [verb-inflection]_V]_{VP}

Figure 3.1: The Nyangumarta complex verb

⁷ The surface form for this construction is: *jarrujarruliny*. The fact that this reduplicated form includes part of the future tense inflection shows that the reduplication process occurs after affixation which is discussed in §2.4.

The verb-inflection unit can be either a verb (such as *-jarri-NY* 'inchoative' (3.23)) or a verbaliser as seen in (3.24). The pre-verb slot is generally filled by a nominal (3.25) but can also be a bare verb stem (3.26).

The inchoative verb *jarri-NY*, the stative verb *karri-NY*, and the causative verbaliser *-ma-RN*, combine productively with nominals to form a complex verb (see (3.23) below). This group also includes the verbaliser *-pi-RN* which has no apparent independent meaning, although does provide a general 'affecting action'. Thus the verb slot can be filled by either a free verb stem or a derivational verbaliser.

- (3.23) a. *Wirtu jarri-nyi.*
big INCH-NFUT
'It's becoming big.'
- b. *Janparr karri-nyi.*
hungry STAT-NFUT
'S/he is hungry.'
- (3.24) a. *Jina-ma-rna.*
track-CAUS-NFUT
'S/he tracked it.'
- b. *Kuta-pi-rni.*
chunk-VB-NFUT
'S/he shortened it.'

The following examples illustrate the verb slot being filled by a free verb stem which follows a nominal (3.25) or nominalised verb (3.26) occupying the preverb slot.

- (3.25) a. *Kurtirra wani-nyi.*
in.one.place stay-NFUT
'It remains idle, unused.'
- b. *Miyul kalku-rnu.*
likeness keep-NFUT
'S/he remembers it.'
- c. *Mirti wapaka-rna.*
run hop-NFUT
'S/he made a running jump.'
- (3.26) a. *Yaka-rna wirri-rni.*
leave-NM put-NFUT
'S/he just left it there and abandoned it.'
- b. *Parnpi-rna wirri-rni.*
throw-NM put-NFUT
'S/he abandoned it.'
- c. *Ya-nanya kulpa-nya.*
go-NM return-NFUT
'Having gone, s/he returned.'

3.2.4 Bound nominals

A morpheme is described as a bound nominal when it occurs in complex verbs but carries no independent semantic content (much like a cranberry morph). Many such morphemes can occur in more than one type of verbal complex as well as undergo morphological processes such as reduplication (see §3.4.2.2 below). In the structure of the complex verb given in Figure 3.1 above, the unit, **pre-verb**, includes the class of bound nominals. The following examples illustrate this (3.27).

- (3.27) a. *warlarni jarri-nyi*
 ? INCH-NFUT
 'returning'
- b. *wurang karri-nyi*
 ? STAT-NFUT
 'duck out of sight'
- c. *jaka-ma-rna*
 ?-CAUS-NFUT
 'make a damper'
- d. *warlarni-ji-rni*
 ?-AFF-NFUT
 'make it return'

As is seen in (3.27) the inchoative and the affective verbalisers combine with the same cranberry morph allowing a guess at the meaning of *warlarni* as: 'return'. In other constructions involving the affective verbaliser and *-pi-RN*, the cranberry morph *kurr* appears to have the meaning 'settle' (3.28):⁸

- (3.28) a. *kurr-pi-rni*
 ?-VB-NFUT
 'collapse/settle down'
- b. *kurr-ji-rni*
 ?-AFF-NFUT
 'made it collapse/settle down'

These types of morphemes are very common in texts involving the verbalisers: *-ma-RN*, *-ji-RN* and *-pi-RN*. In fact over 50% of complex verbs formed with the *-pi-RN* verbaliser involve cranberry morphs.

Another example showing the relatedness of cranberry morphs to word status comes from the form *yarni-ma-RN* 'repair, make'. The form *yarni* is not found with independent semantic content in Nyangumarta although the reduplicated form *yarniyarni* 'expert' occurs. What to do with these forms is a difficult question although the status of cranberry morphs is a more widespread problem:

A morpheme such as the *cran* of *cranberry* has neither meaning nor grammatical function, yet it is used to differentiate one word from another. In other words, it is an example of a form which lacks a meaning of its own, an ultimate example of a deviation from the one-one correspondence between form and function. One conclusion that can be drawn from this is that the notion of 'morpheme' should be defined in terms of the constituents of words and relationships between word forms, and not in

⁸ Brian Geytenbeek has commented that at least two of these bound nominals can occur as free nominals (*warlarni* 'return' and *kurr* 'settle') although I have not been able to elicit examples where this is the case.

terms of meanings... Morphemes such as *cran* are not actually a rarity (Spencer 1991:40).

As the occurrence of these types of 'morphemes' is very common in Nyangumarta, it is proposed to recognise them as having 'bound nominal' status and to represent them in complex verbal constructions in the same way as other nominals. Glossing will occur within parenthesis.

Thus, fillers of the preverb slot are nominals where they can be identified and where they cannot be identified they are called bound nominals (that is, the cranberry morphs are bound nominals).

3.3 Multiple case marking

3.3.1 Nominal suffix functions

Nominal suffixes in Australian languages show general uniformity of functions. In her discussion of Warlpiri case markers, Simpson (1988:211) makes the following observation about the types of functions that occur regarding Warlpiri case (which also applies to Nyangumarta).

A case-suffix may directly mark the element it is attached to as an argument of the main clause (as ERGATIVE and DATIVE do), or it may simply show concord indicating that the element it attaches to is an attribute of some other element in the sentence. It may also create an independent predicate which relates the nominal which it is attached to, either to some argument of the main sentence, or to the whole event expressed by the sentence.

Nominal suffixes in Nyangumarta can have one or more of the following functions (see Dench & Evans 1988 who present a discussion of multiple case marking in several languages):

1. Relational: representation of the core argument of the verb.
2. Adnominal: suffixes which specify relationships between nominals in a particular NP.
3. Referential: shows the linking of nominals where a suffix on a particular nominal indicates that that nominal is a modifier of another similarly marked nominal in the clause (called a concord marker by Simpson 1988).
4. Complementiser: nominal suffixes are attached to nominalised verbs (thereby creating nominals denoting actions or events) and this suffix then indicates the relationship between the subject of the (dependent) nominalised clause and some argument of the main clause (C-Complementisers) or else the nominal suffix indicates a special temporal, logical or spatial relationship between the nominalised clause and the main clause (T-Complementisers).

Table 3.5 gives an overview of the functions of some of the nominal suffixes in Nyangumarta.

Table 3.5: Functions of nominal suffixes

	Adnominal	Relational	Referential	Complementiser	
				C-Comp	T-COMP
Ergative		*	*	*	
Dative		*	*	*	
Locative	*	*	*	*	
Ablative	*	*	*	*	*
Allative	*	*			
Genitive	*				
Privative	*				
Comitative	*				

At the level of the noun phrase all constituents of the noun phrase are marked with the same suffix which indicates the role of the noun phrase in higher structures—thus exhibiting complete concord.⁹ For example the ergative suffix is distributed across the NP in the following constructions:

(3.29) *Pala-lu japartu-lu parrja-rna pulinyi.*
 that-ERG father-ERG look-NFUT 3DU.OBJ
 'That father looked at those two (children).'

(3.30) *Pirti karli-nya pipi-lu ngaju-mila-lu.*
 hole dig-NFUT mother-ERG 1SG-GEN-ERG
 'My mother dug the hole.'

In (3.29) both constituents of the noun phrase 'that father' are marked with the relational ergative suffix. In (3.30) '1SG' is inflected for adnominal genitive function which links 'I' with 'mother' giving 'my mother'. Both constituents are then marked with the relational ergative suffix.

In the following example (3.31), the ablative nominal suffix functions as an adnominal suffix linking 'tree' and 'net': 'the net (made) from the tree'.

(3.31) *Nyampa-lu ji-rni pulaku-a wirlarra-lu*
 quick-ERG make-NFUT 3DU.DAT-PURP moon-ERG

⁹ In some texts nominal suffixes are not distributed across all members of the NP constituent although when these texts are checked with consultants the suffixation across the NP does occur. Some speakers refer to lack of complete concord as 'lazy' or 'quick' speech.

parruparru mungka-ja.
net tree-ABL

'The moon quickly made a net for those two out of the tree.'

In (3.31) the nominal 'quick' is marked with the referential ergative suffix linking it to the subject argument of 'moon'.

In (3.32) the adnominal suffix *-jartiny* 'COM' relates fishing line with people. The noun phrase 'people with fishing lines' is unmarked absolutive (relational). The clause can also have the interpretation: 'The people went with fishing lines.'

(3.32) *Marrngu-rrangu wirliwirli-jartiny ya-na-yi.*
person-PL fishing.line-COM go-NFUT-3PL.SUB
'The people with fishing lines went.'

In (3.33) both the ergative suffix and the locative suffix have a relational function and mark core arguments. In this construction the verb is subcategorised for an ERG-LOC array. Both the subject and the indirect objects are cross-referenced by the verbal pronouns.

(3.33) *Kaku-rnu pulu-lu pala-lu-jirri partany-ju-jirri*
forget-NFUT 3DU.SUB-3SG.LOC that-ERG-DU child-ERG-DU

japartu-ngu.
father-LOC

'The two children forgot about the father/weren't aware of their father.'

In (3.34) the relational dative suffix *-ku* marks a core argument function on 'both', and a C-complementiser function on 'dive' (which relates the relative subordinate verb to the dative argument of the main clause). The ablative suffix on the subordinate verb marks a T-complementiser function indicating the temporal relationship between the main clause and the subordinate clause.

(3.34) *Wirlarra-lu mima-nikinyi pulaku kujarrany-ku*
moon-ERG wait.for-IMPF 3DU.DAT both-DAT

nyimurl jarri-nya-ja-ku.
(dive) INCH-NM-ABL-DAT

'The moon waited for those two who were diving (under the water).'

In (3.35) dative and ergative suffixes illustrate the function of marking core arguments of the clause (relational function). In (3.36) the ablative suffix *-ja* is shown as having a T-complementiser function on the subordinate verb and a referential function on 'grass'.

- (3.35) *Pala-ja pulany-ju mirtawa-lu-jirri*
 that-ABL 3DU-ERG woman-ERG-DU

kanyji-rni pulu pulaku partany-ku-jirri.
 look.for-NFUT 3DU.SUB 3DU.DAT child-DAT-DU
 'The two women were looking for the two children.'

- (3.36) *Paliny-ju yirri-rni pupuka wapaka-na-ja warrapa-ja.*
 3SG-ERG see-NFUT frog hop-NM-ABL grass-ABL
 'He saw a frog after/because it had hopped out of the grass.'

3.3.2 Combinations of nominal marking suffixes

Nominal suffixes can occur in various combinations. Usually the ergative and dative suffix follow all others. For some speakers there is leftward scoping when suffixes are combined as illustrated in (3.37) and (3.38).

- (3.37) a. *karrparta-jirri-jartiny* b. *karrparta-jartiny-jirri*
 spear-DU-COM spear-COM-DU
 'having two spears' 'two having spears'
- (3.38) a. *karrparta-rrangu-jartiny* b. *karrparta-jartiny-arrangu*
 spear-PL-COM spear-COM-PL
 'having many spears' 'many having spears'

However for some speakers there is no evidence for leftward scoping and the above combinations produce no difference in meanings, instead the interpretation of the (a) forms is the accepted one.

In the following examples, (3.39) and (3.40) below, the various combinations of the dual and comitative suffix make no difference to the meaning of the NP indicating no leftward scoping of the dual or comitative suffix (although as mentioned earlier the dual suffix is a special morpheme which has only marginal status as a suffix as distinct from a clitic—see §3.2 above). The interpretation for both combinations of comitative and dual suffixes is: 'having two'.

- (3.39) *Partany-jartiny-jirri kulpa-nya parnpi-rni pulinyi*
 child-COM-DU return-NFUT throw-NFUT 3DU.OBJ

janpa-nga.
 pool.of.water-LOC
 'He came back with the two children and threw them in the water.'

(3.40) *Yirri-rni pulinyi kurra marntungu wariny-ja*
 see-NFUT 3DU while morning different-LOC

rankurrji-jirri milpa-nyikinyi pulu parlkarra-nga
 bustard-DU come-IMPF 3DU.SUB flat-LOC

waki-ja kujarra-jartiny partany-jirri-jartiny.
 cut.across-ABL two-COM child-DU-COM

'He saw the two bush turkeys one morning cutting across the flat with their two children.'

Suffixes with a relational function follow suffixes with an adnominal function. The sentence examples below illustrate the more common nominal suffix combinations found in Nyangumarta texts. In (3.41)–(3.42) ergative follows locative.

(3.41) *Pala-nga pulyu-pulyu-ma-rna karrpu-nga-lu*
 that-LOC (put.together)-RED-CAUS-NFUT day-LOC-ERG

kujarra-nga-lu.
 two-LOC-ERG

'And there he put it together in two days.'

(3.42) *Pulany-ju pala-nga-lu jungka nga-nikinyi pulu.*
 3DU-ERG that-LOC-ERG ground eat-IMPF 3DU.SUB
 'While there, those two were eating the sand.'

Ergative, functioning as a C-complementiser, also follows ablative functioning as a T-complementiser (in a relative clause) (3.43) or ablative case functioning as adnominal (3.44).

(3.43) *Jilaman kanka jarri-kinyi kaniny jarri-kinyi*
 gun up INCH-IMPF down INCH-IMPF

nganyju-na-ja-lu.
 breathing-NM-ABL-ERG

'The gun went up and down because of his breathing.'

(3.44) *Pala-ja-lu nga-na pulu janiny janparr-ja-lu*
 that-ABL-ERG eat-NFUT 3DU.SUB 3PL.OBJ hungry-ABL-ERG

nyampa-lu.
 quick-ERG

'As a result of that those two ate them very quickly because they were hungry.'

Dative follows ablative and allative suffixes (3.45). In (3.46) the dative suffix is optional for some speakers following the allative suffix on *kujungurru* 'sea'.

- (3.45) *Pala-jirri ngaka-rni-yirni pulinyi kurila*
 that-DU send-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB 3DU.OBJ south

nyirrirni-ja-ku marrngu-ku.
 behind-ABL-DAT person-DAT
 'We sent those two south because of (for the benefit of) the people
 (coming) behind.'

- (3.46) *Nganarna muwarr-pi-rni-yirni ya-nanyaku*
 1PL.EXC word-VB-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB go-PurpADV

kujungurru-karti-(ku) kuyi-karti-ku.
 sea-ALL-DAT meat-ALL-DAT
 'We said we should go to the sea for meat.'

The following example shows that the external locative argument 'from the hands of the two women' is the source of the action of the main verb 'pull'. This is marked initially for ablative and then locative. It is the locative suffix spread to both elements in the NP which is cross-referenced by the verbal pronoun *puluku*.

- (3.47) *Mirrilyi kamal-ju purri-rni puluku parirr-ja-nga-jirri*
 rope camel-ERG pull-NFUT 3DU.DAT hand-ABL-LOC-DU

mirtawa-jirri-ja-nga.
 woman-DU-ABL-LOC
 'The camel pulled the rope from the hands of the two women.'

3.4 Word formation

3.4.1 Derived nominals

Many of the nominal suffixes which function as adnominal suffixes are involved in the derivation of words. Most of them are semantically transparent. Some are given below.

mirlka-jartiny
 head-COM
 'intelligent'

kurlu-jartiny
 bad-COM
 'dangerous'

<i>ngurru-majirri</i> taste-PRIV 'tasteless'	<i>wangkarru-mili</i> spider-GEN 'spider's web'
<i>wirrurru-kata</i> fast-CHAR 'fast one'	<i>kuli-kata</i> fight-CHAR 'cheeky, fighter'
<i>kaja-na-pinti</i> sit-NM-for 'chair, stool'	<i>piya-na-pinti</i> grind-NM-for 'grinding stone'
<i>kumpu-pinti</i> urine-for 'bladder'	<i>pani-pinti</i> eye-for 'glasses'

3.4.2 Reduplication

The phonology of reduplication is described in §2.4. Nominal reduplication consists of full reduplication for the majority of cases and reduplication within verbs consists of reduplicating the first CVCV and for some speakers CVCV(C) where the final optional consonant is 'ny' (the NY conjugation). The semantics of reduplication is predominantly one of attenuation where the newly formed reduplicated word functions as a weakened version of the unreduplicated root. However reduplication can have other semantic functions as will be seen below.

3.4.2.1 Reduplication of nominal roots

Nominal root reduplication is a very productive morphological process in Nyangumarta. In describing the reduplication process, there are two factors to consider. The first is whether or not the reduplicated root is able to stand alone as an independent word with semantic content and the second is whether or not the reduplicated form is semantically related to the non-reduplicated root.

There are numerous examples of nominals which appear to be the result of complete or partial reduplications of phonological forms and which (in the case of complete reduplication) are marked for stress on each reduplicand. However the 'apparent' stem roots of these forms cannot stand alone as independent words: *pirra-pirra* 'pearl shells', *parra-parra* 'ache, sore', *kurr-kurr* 'owl', *kartany-kartany* 'Little Pied Cormorant', *lamparr-lamparr* 'bush (species)', *marrji-marrji* 'lightning', *marrka-marrka* 'mirage' etc.

The other factor to consider is whether or not the reduplicated form has a meaning which is clearly related to the reduplicated root. In the examples which follow (3.48)–(3.50), it can be seen that the reduplicated forms have meanings which are clearly not related to the meaning of the 'apparent' non-reduplicated root, which is an independent word in the language. Thus 'grandmother/grandchild' and 'weevil

beetle'; 'younger brother/sister' and 'mirage' and so on are clearly semantically different.

- (3.48) a. *kamiji* 'type of grandmother, grandchild'
 b. *kamiji-kamiji* 'weevil beetle (species)'
- (3.49) a. *palal* 'like this'
 b. *palal-palal* 'one who is waiting for something or someone'
- (3.50) a. *marrka* 'younger brother/sister'
 b. *marrka-marrka* 'mirage'

In many instances of reduplicated words, the semantic connection between the root word and the newly formed word is transparent. Reduplication of nominals can have the semantic effect of: continuative, descriptive, collective or attenuative.

When nominals which are adjectives are reduplicated, the semantic effect is predominantly 'attenuative', that is, it weakens the meaning of the root. This effect can be seen in the following pairs of words.

- (3.51) a. *kuta* 'short piece, a broken bit, a chunk'
 b. *kuta-kuta* 'bits and pieces'
- (3.52) a. *makanu* 'long'
 b. *makanu-makanu* 'longish'
- (3.53) a. *wupartu* 'small'
 b. *wupartu-wupartu* 'rather small'
- (3.54) a. *kinti* 'slow'
 b. *kinti-kinti* 'rather slow'
- (3.55) a. *yawurr* 'unsteady, shaky, trembling'
 b. *yawurr-yawurr* 'rather shaky, trembling'
- (3.56) a. *warru* 'dark colour'
 b. *warru-warru* 'darkish'
- (3.57) a. *mirta* 'grey'
 b. *mirta-mirta* 'white, off grey'

- (3.58) a. *nyarru* 'laugh'
 b. *nyarru-nyarru* 'smile'

The following reduplicated examples illustrate the semantic effect of attenuation as well as the extension into descriptive content, highlighting aspects of the natural world such as dawn and colours.

- (3.59) a. *pirrpa* 'bright, shiny'
 b. *pirrpa-pirrpa* 'dawn, time just before sunrise'
- (3.60) a. *warruly* 'green growth'
 b. *warruly-warruly* 'green (colour)'
- (3.61) a. *miji* 'blood'
 b. *miji-miji* 'reddish colour, gold'

When common nominal roots, which typically describe entities, are reduplicated, the semantic effect of reduplication is to describe something as being similar to the referent of the root or else as characterising the referent of the root, that is 'descriptive'. For example a 'blister' is similar to skin in that it is raised skin; and a collar bone is joined at the lower ends of it to the breast bone.

- (3.62) a. *lakan* 'skin, outer casing'
 b. *lakan-lakan* 'blister'
- (3.63) a. *mirrpi* 'breast-bone'
 b. *mirrpi-mirrpi* 'collar-bone'
- (3.64) a. *kurtan* 'bag'
 b. *kurtan-kurtan* 'baggy, a bit oversized'
- (3.65) a. *pinka* 'shell'
 b. *pinka-pinka* 'skull'
- (3.66) a. *wirli* 'feather'
 b. *wirli-wirli* 'fishing line'

In the following reduplicated forms the effect of reduplication is collectivity:

- (3.67) a. *mampu* 'hair, wool, fur'
 b. *mampuly-mampuly* 'hairy'

- (3.68) a. *kurtuka* 'big rock'
 b. *kurtuka-kurtuka* 'lots of big rocks'
- (3.69) a. *mirtanya* 'old man'
 b. *mirtanya-mirtanya* 'a group of old men'

Some forms of reduplication take an inflected word as the reduplicated source and there is complete reduplication (3.70); other forms occur where a nominal suffix is attached to the reduplicated form (3.71) to produce a new word.

- (3.70) a. *wuru* 'heap'
 b. *wuru-rrangu* (heap-PL) 'heaps'
 c. *wururrangu-wururrangu* 'lots of heaps'
- (3.71) a. *kuwarri* 'today, now'
 b. *kuwarri-marta*
 today-ATTEN 'soon'
 c. *kuwarri-kuwarri-marta*
 today-RED-ATTEN 'recently'

There are some instances of apparent partial reduplication where the reduplicated form is semantically related to the root indicating an entity which 'houses' the non-reduplicated form. These forms appear to be isolated and hence no general rule can be formulated, although the instances of partial reduplication involve forms which occur with the reduplicated part suffixed rather than prefixed.

- (3.72) a. *wangkarru* 'spider'
 b. *wangkarrungkarru* 'spider web'
- (3.73) a. *kumpu* 'urine'
 b. *kumpurumpuru* 'bladder'

3.4.2.2 Reduplication in verbs

The semantics of verb reduplication is similar to nominal reduplication. Reduplication is very productive in verbs. The following examples illustrate reduplication of forms of the RN class with the semantic content of attenuation or repetition (3.74) and plurality (3.75).

- (3.74) a. *Wartu-rnu.* 'S/he stretched it, he straightened it.'
Warturn-wartu-rnu. 'S/he stretched it/herself/himself.'
- b. *Wirla-rna.* 'S/he hit it.'
Wirlarn-wirla-rna. 'S/he patted it, he tapped it.'
- c. *Parnti-rni.* 'S/he smelt it.'
Parntirn-parnti-rni. 'S/he sniffed it.'
- d. *Wungka-rna.* 'S/he peeped, peered at it.'
Wungkarn-wungka-rna. 'S/he changed positions to look at it.'
- e. *Parrja-rna.* 'S/he looked at it.'
Parrjarn-parrja-rna. 'S/he looked all around for it.'
- f. *Warrki-rni.* 'S/he crawled.'
Warrkirn-warrki-rni. 'S/he is crawling around.'
- g. *Yarnta-rna.* 'S/he speared it.'
Yarntarn-yarnta-rna. 'S/he prodded it.'
- h. *Jirnka-rna.* 'S/he whittled it.'
Jirnkarn-jirnka-rna. 'S/he whittled away at it.'
- i. *Yirri-rni.* 'S/he saw it.'
Yirrirn-yirri-rni. 'S/he saw it finished.'
- j. *Kulu-rnu.* 'S/he met him/her.'
Kulurn-kulu-rnu-yi. 'They joined together, met together.'
- (3.75) a. *Palju-rnu.* 'S/he made a camp.'
Paljurn-palju-rnu. 'S/he made lots of camps.'
- b. *Ngarta-rna.* 'S/he broke it, tore it.'
Ngartarn-ngarta-rna. 'S/he broke it lots of times.'
- c. *Malya-rna.* 'S/he chopped it.'
Malyarn-malya-rna. 'S/he chopped it several times.'
- d. *Kama-rna.* 'S/he called.'
Kamarn-kama-rna. 'S/he called several times.'
- e. *Yaja-rna.* 'S/he followed it.'
Yajarn-yaja-rna. 'S/he followed it everywhere.'

- (3.76) *Yija partany-kapali yirri-rni warrkirn-warrki-ninyi.*
 truly child-like see-NFUT crawl-RED-NFUT-PRS
 'Truly, he saw him crawling around like a child.'

Reduplication also occurs in the NY class. Again the semantic content of reduplicated forms tends to be 'attenuative'.

- (3.77) a. *Rurri-ny.* 'It moved, it swayed.'
Rurri-rurri-ny. 'S/he fidgetted.'
- b. *Pungka-nya.* 'It fell.'
Pungka-pungka-nya. 'S/he arrived.'
- c. *Wani-ny.* 'S/he stayed.'
Wani-wani-ny. 'S/he stayed put.'
- d. *Karli-ny.* 'S/he dug it.'
Karli-karli-ny. 'S/he scratched it.'
- e. *Wurnma-ny.* 'It broke.'
Wurnma-wurnma-ny. 'It broke off/wore down.'

When the verbs in the N conjugation are reduplicated the reduplicating stem consists of two syllables, and the resulting semantic effect is repetitive:

- (3.78) *Ruka jarri-nyikinyi turlpa-nyikinyi-a ya-nikinyi*
 afternoon INCH-IMPF rise.up-IMPF-PURP go-IMPF
- warrapa ngani-nga-ninyikinyi.*
 grass eat-RED-IMPF
 'In the afternoon it (the kangaroo) would get up and go and graze on the grass.'

Verbalisers

Complex verbs can also be reduplicated. In these forms the structure is as follows:

[pre-verb[verbaliser-inflection]_v]_v---->[pre-verb-pre-verb[verbaliser inflection]_v]_v

Notice that the preverbal element is subject to total reduplication regardless of the number of syllables. Examples follow:

- (3.79) *Pala-nga, muwarr-muwarr-pi-rni pungka-nya kutu. Pala*
 that word-RED-VB-NFUT fall-NFUT dead that

mungka wani-kinyi-li nyiti-ngi ngarrany kuta.
 tree stay-IMPF-3SG.LOC chest-LOC still dead
 'And there, still talking he fell dead. That tree stuck into his chest, dead.'

- (3.80) *Larr-larr-pi-nikinyi-yi yilipi-lu, nyirni-nikinyi-yi*
 crack-RED-VB-IMPF-3PL.SUB axe-ERG scoop-IMPF-3PL.SUB

kurtan-ja winya.
 bag-LOC full
 'They cracked it (the tree) open with the axe and scooped (the honey) into the bag until it was full.'

- (3.81) *Palajun paliny mirti ji-rni mungka-karti mungka*
 like.that 3SG run make-NFUT tree-ALL tree

malya-rna marti-lu kuta-kuta-pi-rni
 chop-NFUT stone.axe-ERG short-RED-VB-NFUT

yilyiny-pi-rni mungka.
 scrape-VB-NFUT tree
 'He ran to the tree in this way and chopped it with the stone axe making it really short and then scraped/shaved the tree (with the axe).'

Other forms involving verbalisers illustrate a reduplicated root without a corresponding non-reduplicated form:

- (3.82) *Pani-pani-ma-rna.*
 eye-RED-CAUS-NFUT
 'It dazzled it.'

Bound nominals and verbal complexes

Reduplication of 'bound nominals' occurs in the verbal complex. Again the semantic effect is predominantly one of attenuation. In some cases the non-reduplicated forms occur in the language (3.83) and (3.84) but in other cases there does not appear to be a non-reduplicated form elsewhere in the language (3.85) and (3.86).

- (3.83) *Milpa-nya-la yija kuyi-jartiny, mamaji-lu*
 come-NFUT-3SG.LOC truly meat-COM older.brother-ERG

parmpi-rni-li murla parrkarl-parrkarl-pi-rni mungka-lu
 throw-NFUT-3SG.LOC cooked (cut)-RED-VB-NFUT tree-ERG

*wirr*karn-*wirr*ka-rna, *part*any-*marn*iny-ju *yarn*nga-*yarn*nga-*ma*-rna.
 cut-REDF-NFUT child-own-ERG sort-RED-CAUS-NFUT
 'The older brother came back to him with meat, he threw the cooked
 meat to him and he cut it into pieces with a stick. His own brother sorted
 (for eating).'

- (3.84) a. *Ngampa-pi-rni.* 'S/he prevented him/her.'
 b. *Ngampa-ngampa-pi-rni.* 'S/he blocked someone's way
 repeatedly.'
- (3.85) a. *Palyparr-palyparr jarri-ny.* 'S/he threw a boomerang straight not
 to return.'
 b. *Warrurlwarrurl jarri-ny.* 'It is getting late.'
 c. *Marntarn-marntarn jarri-ny.* 'S/he became weak.'
 d. *Malynga-malynga jarri-ny.* 'It went flat (of a tyre).'
 e. *Kurluny-kurluny jarri-ny.* 'S/he got worse, it go worn out.'
 f. *Wampawampa karri-ny.* 'S/he talked in sleep.'
- (3.86) a. *Partupartu-ma-rna.* 'S/he charged at it.'
 b. *Waliwali-pi-rni.* 'It hovered, s/he danced a leg-
 quivering dance.'
 c. *Warr-warr-pi-rni.* 'S/he scratched, mauled it.'
 d. *Tirrirn-tirri-pi-rni.* 'S/he is battling along.'
 e. *Lirrupa-lirrupa-pi-rni.* 'S/he stunned it.'
 f. *Wil-wil-pi-rni.* 'S/he shook her/his head.'
 g. *Wurn-wurn-karrama-rna.* 'S/he nodded.'
 h. *Kuny-kuny-karrama-rna.* 'S/he grunted, groaned.'

3.4.3 Compounding

The word formation process of compounding in Nyangumarta is characterised as a grammatical device by which complex words are formed from the combinations of independent words. In a compound construction both components can receive equal stress.

The following examples illustrate nominal compounding. The resultant compound nominal can consist of two uninflected nominals or two nominals one of which can be suffixed with an adnominal suffix (3.87a), (3.87i) and (3.87l).

- (3.87) a. *parnti-juri-kata* smoke-sweet-CHAR
 'perfume'
 b. *yirra-kunyja* tooth-bone
 'jawbone'

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>c. <i>wika-minti</i>
fire-charcoal
'hot coals'</p> <p>e. <i>mitu-jawa</i>
lie-mouth
'false teeth'</p> <p>g. <i>walangkarr-puluku</i>
ahead-person (bloke)
'leader'</p> <p>i. <i>jalkurl-ka-nganya-kata</i>
message-take-NM-CHAR
'a messenger, a reporter'</p> <p>k. <i>kurlka-kurlu</i>
ear-bad
'bad person'</p> <p>m. <i>pipi-japartu</i>
mother-father
'parents'</p> | <p>d. <i>pirrpa-ngarrany</i>
bright-still
'evening twilight'</p> <p>f. <i>wirtirr-ngumpa</i>¹⁰
severe-face
'policeman'</p> <p>h. <i>kaluru-jawa</i>
black-mouth
'carpet snake'</p> <p>j. <i>kawu-wirtu</i>
body-big
'fat, plump'</p> <p>l. <i>kurlka-wariny-kurnu</i>
ear-different-ALL
'hard hearted, callous'</p> <p>n. <i>jina-puka</i>
foot-rotten
'boots'</p> |
|---|---|

¹⁰ The word for policeman is very descriptive in Nyangumarta (as it is in many other languages). Other variations are: *marnta-rna-kata* glue-NM-CHAR 'policeman', *marnta mara-ngka* (possibly Nyamal, also Banyjima) stone/metal.hand-LOC 'policeman' (Literally: stone/metal hand-on which refers to hand-cuffs), *kunyma-rna-kata* tie.up-NM-CHAR 'policeman—one who ties up (people)'.

4 *Nominal morphology*

This chapter on nominal morphology describes the productive nominal suffixes which exist in both southern and northern Nyangumarta. For each suffix there is a description of syntactic function. Functions are defined by the typology as presented in §3.3.1 with functions distinguished according to the role the suffix has within the NP, the clause or the complex clause. An overview of suffix forms is presented in §4.1. Functions of nominal suffixes are described in §4.2.

4.1 **Suffix forms**

This section presents an overview of the morphophonemic alternations of the nominal suffixes.

The ergative, locative and causal suffixes vary according to whether they follow vowels or consonants.

4.1.1 *Ergative*

The ergative suffix has two allomorphs: *-lu* following vowels and *-ju* following consonants.

<i>ngaju-lu</i>	1SG-ERG	<i>mirtawa-lu</i>	woman-ERG
<i>pirirri-lu</i>	man-ERG	<i>Yinyjana-lu</i>	name-ERG
<i>partany-ju</i>	child-ERG	<i>jalyjaly-ju</i>	weakly-ERG
<i>parirr-ju</i>	hand-ERG	<i>tarntarn-ju</i>	firm-ERG
<i>wangal-ju</i>	wind-ERG	<i>Minyjun-ju</i>	name-ERG

4.1.2 *Locative*

The locative suffix has two major allomorphs again determined by the final segment of the stem: *-ngV* following vowels and *-jV* following consonants. Each allomorph is phonologically conditioned and the surface form of *-ngV* is subject to vowel assimilation (§2.3.9) as is *-jV*. When the locative suffix follows a nominal ending in a vowel it occurs as *-ngV* with the vowel assimilating to the final vowel of the nominal stem, thus it can be *-nga*, *-ngi*, or *-ngu*.¹ When it occurs following a consonant it appears as *-ji* although this form is more consistently *-ja* in the southern dialect.

<i>tili-ngi</i>	flame-LOC	
<i>mirtawa-nga</i>	woman-LOC	
<i>karru-ngu</i>	creek-LOC	
<i>parirr-ja</i>	hand-LOC	(southern dialect)
<i>parirr-ji</i>	hand-LOC	(northern dialect)

4.1.3 *Causal*

The causal suffix appears to have the form: locative suffix plus *-marra*. This form is common for other languages such as Manyjilyjarra, Pintupi, Ngaanyatjarra, Warnman and Walmajarri (although with different locative morphemes). There appears to be no independent meaning that can be assigned to the morpheme *-marra*.

<i>tili-ngimarra</i>	flame-CAUSAL ²	
<i>mirtawa-ngamarra</i>	woman-CAUSAL	
<i>karru-ngumarra</i>	creek-CAUSAL	
<i>manguny-jimarra</i>	dreaming-CAUSAL	(northern dialect)
<i>manguny-jamarra</i>	dreaming-CAUSAL	(southern dialect)

4.1.4 *Summary of suffix forms*

Generally there is very little conditioned allomorphy in the nominal suffixes. The following table summarises the allomorphy which exists for the ergative, locative and causal suffixes.

¹ The *-ngV* is increasingly heard as *-nga* among younger speakers in both the major dialects.

² Notice that the morpheme *-marra* shows no evidence of vowel harmony. This morpheme is analysed as having an /a/ vowel in underlying representation.

Table 4. 1: Ergative, locative and causal allomorphy

	Ergative	Locative	Causal
following a vowel	<i>-lu</i>	<i>-ngV</i>	<i>-ngVmarra</i>
following a consonant	<i>-ju</i>	<i>-ja/-ji</i>	<i>-jVmarra/-jamarra</i>

The remaining suffixes are either invariable or else they have variants which are not conditioned by the shape of the stem to which they are attached (such as *-kapan* and *-kapali*). These variants are not regarded as allomorphy because their forms are not predictable by the shape of the stem; their use appears to be speaker preference only. Forms are presented in Table 4. 2 below (suffixes presented in alphabetical order):

Table 4. 2: Other nominal suffixes

Ablative	<i>-ja</i>
Comitative	<i>-jartiny</i>
Dual	<i>-jirri</i>
Event	<i>-kala</i>
Like	<i>-kapan, -kapali, kapanu</i>
Activity	<i>-karra</i>
Belonging to	<i>-karringu</i>
Allatives	<i>-karti, -kurnu</i>
Characteriser	<i>-kata</i>
Dative	<i>-ku</i>
Privative	<i>-majirri</i>
Frequentive	<i>-mal</i>
As	<i>-maninyju/-marninyju</i>
Place of	<i>-marramarra</i>
One's own	<i>-marniny/-murniny/-kuriny</i>
Comparative	<i>-marta</i>
Near	<i>-martaji</i>
Genitive	<i>-mili</i>
Free from	<i>-munyil</i>
On target	<i>-nyuku</i>
Conjunction	<i>-pa³</i>
Associative	<i>-pinti</i>
Obsured	<i>-purni</i>
Expert	<i>-warrangu</i>
Negative	<i>-wayi</i>

³ This suffix has an homophonous form which functions as a clitic meaning 'perhaps' (see §3.1.3).

4.2 Suffix functions

4.2.1 *Absolutive*

The unmarked forms of nominals occur as intransitive subjects and transitive objects; these are treated as absolutive.

4.2.2 *Ergative*

The ergative suffix encodes several functions in Nyangumarta. The principal function of the ergative suffix is the relational function of marking the subject of a transitive or semitransitive verb. The ergative suffix also has a referential function which serves to identify second predications on transitive subjects such as instrument, manner adverbials and other NPs with adverbial functions. The ergative suffix can also occur suffixed to a subordinate clause verb. In this function it agrees with a nominal functioning as the subject of the main clause, that is, as a C-complementiser. Examples are given below.

Subjects of transitive verbs

The examples below illustrate the use of the ergative suffix to mark the subjects of simple transitive verbs.

(4.1) *Yukurru-lu pala-lu paji-rna kuyi-rrangu kurrngal.*
 dog-ERG that-ERG bite-NFUT meat-PL many
 'The dog killed lots of meat.'

(4.2) *Ngaju-lu kampa-rna-rna mayi.*
 1SG-ERG cook-NFUT-1SG.SUB vegetable.food
 'I cooked the food.'

Instrument

When ergative marking is used referentially to link nominal adjuncts to arguments of the main clause, these can have an instrumental function. In these types of NPs, ergative marking is often preceded by the adnominal suffixes: comitative *-jartiny* or privative *-majirri* but it need not be (and there appears to be no difference in meaning).

In Walmajarri, ergative and instrumental case marking have also been described in the syntax as one case. Where an instrumental function is associated with inalienable possession, ERG is suffixed directly to the nominal but where instrumental function is associated with alienable possession the comitative suffix is used (Hudson 1978:19–20). This is not so for Nyangumarta, however.

The following sentences illustrate an instrumental function of ERG where the nominal is marked for ERG case without first being marked for the COMitative suffix.

- (4.3) *Kuyi wirrka-rna wirrka-rna-pinti-lu paliny-ju.*
 meat cut-NFUT cut-NM-ASS-ERG 3SG-ERG
 'S/he cut the meat with a knife.'
- (4.4) *Wirru-lu nyuntu-mila-lu kampa-la mayi-pa kuyi.*
 wing-ERG 2SG-GEN-ERG cook-IMP vegetable.food-CONJ meat
 'Cook the food with your wings.'
- (4.5) *Ngaju-lu yarnta-rna-rna janinyi mulya-lu*
 1SG-ERG spear-NFUT-1SG.SUB 3PL.OBJ nose-ERG
yiri-kata-lu.
 sharp-CHAR-ERG
 'I will spear (sting) them with my sharp nose.'

In the following examples, the COMitative suffix precedes the ergative suffix in (4.6) and (4.7).

- (4.6) *Mima-nikinya-lu yarnta-na-ku pala pirtirra*
 wait.for-IMPF-3SG.DAT spear-NM-DAT that corella
karrparta-jartiny-ju.
 spear-COM-ERG
 'He waited to spear that corella with the spear.'
- (4.7) *Pirirri-lu jinta-lu yirrkili-jartiny-ju*
 man-ERG other-ERG boomerang-COM-ERG
timpirl-pi-na-yi.
 make.music-VB-NFUT-3PL.SUB
 'Other men made music with their boomerangs (clapping them together).'

Manner adverbs

The following examples illustrate the function of the ergative suffix to identifying nominals which are second predications on transitive subjects. 'Adverbial secondary predicates typically describe the manner in which the action of the main predication is performed' (Dench & Evans 1988:14). So in (4.8) the painting was done 'carefully', in (4.9) it was pulled 'hard' or with force, and in (4.10) the eel was following them 'constantly' and 'quickly'.

- (4.8) *Ngaju-lu marni-pi-rni-rni-nti tuku-lu.*
 1SG-ERG paint-VB-NFUT-1SG.SUB-2SG.OBJ careful-ERG
 'I painted you carefully.'

(4.9) *Marrja-lu* *purri-rni.*
 very-ERG pull-NFUT
 'S/he pulled it very hard.'

(4.10) *Yaka-rna* *pula* *kunarri-lu* *yirrkul-lu.*
 leave-NFUT 3DU.SUB eel-ERG still-ERG

yaja-nikinyi *pulinyi* *janyin-ju.*
 follow-IMPF 3DU.OBJ quick-ERG
 'Those two left it and the eel quickly followed them a long way.'

The adverbial sense illustrated in the second predication in the following example is one of emotive attitude, showing that the father was very angry with the two (boys). Notice in this example the comitative suffix *-jartiny* precedes the ergative suffix.

(4.11) *Pala-lu* *japartu-lu* *parrja-rna* *pulinyi* *kuli-jartiny-ju.*
 that-ERG father-ERG look-NFUT 3DU.OBJ angry-COM-ERG
 'The father was looking angrily at them.'

Example (4.12) illustrates the referential ergative suffix suffixed to the compound nominal 'here and there' which is a second predication on the subject of the sentence 'the eel', adding the meaning that the eel was searching everywhere for the two brothers.

(4.12) *Pala-nga* *paliny-ju* *wirtu-lu* *kunarri-lu*
 that-LOC 3SG-ERG big-ERG eel-ERG

kanyji-nikinyi *pulaku* *nyarra-karti* *nyarra-karti-lu.*
 look.for-IMPF 3DU.DAT that.AN-ALL that.AN-ALL-ERG
 'The giant eel was going around and around (here and there—everywhere) looking for them (the two brothers).'

Temporal adjuncts

The ergative suffix also marks a temporal adjunct noun phrase. The ergative noun phrase specifies a period of time when something happened (4.13) or when the action of the verb will occur (4.14).

(4.13) *Kara-lu* *pinakarri-nyilpi-yirni* *Ngarnkawaru.*
 west-ERG hear-REMPST-1PL.SUB Don.McLeod
 'When we were out west we heard Don McLeod.'

- (4.14) *Warrukarti-lu kampa-lami-nyi-a wika-nga.*
 night-ERG cook-FUT-1SG.OBJ-PURP fire-LOC
 'S/he will cook (the grasshoppers) for me on the fire tonight.'

In (4.15) the ergative suffix appearing on *piju-karti* 'creek-ALL' gives it the meaning that the action of the main predicate happened before they arrived at the creek. In constructions which only refer to directional features, the ergative suffix is not used. However in this construction, its purpose is to indicate that the allative expression is a second predication on the subject of the clause giving the subject a temporal location. Likewise in (4.16) the ergative suffix on *ngurra-karti* 'camp-ALL' indicates that the subject would take the sugar bag all the way to camp to give it to everyone. In (4.17) the ergative suffix on *ngurra-karti* 'camp-ALL' indicates that the meat was killed on the way to camp.

- (4.15) *Ya-na-yirni yalinyja piju-karti, wirtu-karti,*
 go-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB north creek-ALL big-ALL

Jalkujalkunya-karti, piju-karti-lu wapi-rni-yirni
 Jalkujalkunya-ALL creek-ALL-ERG catch-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB

pulinyi kujarra kangkuru-jirri.
 3DU.OBJ two kangaroo-DU
 'We went north to the big river, Jalkujalkunya and while, on the way to the river, we caught two kangaroos.'
- (4.16) *Ka-nganyikinyi-yi ngurra-karti-lu, yi-nganyikinyi-yi janinyi*
 take-IMP-3PL.SUB camp-ALL-ERG give-IMP-3PL.SUB 3PL.OBJ

jinta marrngu ngurra-nga palajun.
 other person camp-LOC like.that
 'They would take it (the sugar bag) all the way to camp and give it to all the other mob in camp.'
- (4.17) *Karrpu-ngu wirra-rna kawa-nikinyi pulu janinyi*
 day-LOC hit-NM repeat-IMP 3DU.SUB 3PL.OBJ

ngurra-karti-lu kurrngal kuyi-rrangu.
 camp-ALL-ERG many meat-PL
 'During the day those two (grandfather and grandson) kept killing lots of meat on the way to camp.'

Complementiser

In (4.18) the ergative suffix has a complementiser function in the subordinate clause. In this example the ergative suffix functions as a C-complementiser and

follows an ablative suffix which is functioning as a T-complementiser.

- (4.18) *Yakun-ju yawarta ngarta-rnalumi-nyi nganyjurru-lu*
 like.that-ERG horse break-FUT-1PL.INC.SUB 1PL.INC-ERG
wirtu jarri-nya-ja-lu.
 big INCH-NM-ABL-ERG
 'We'll break in horses like that when we grow up.'

4.2.3 Dative

The dative suffix has several different functions. Its primary function is to mark the subcategorised arguments of certain verbal and nominal predicates. The dative suffix can mark complements of verbs as well as adjuncts of verbs. Dative adjuncts usually function as purposive goals or beneficiaries. The dative suffix also functions as a complementiser on subordinate constructions.

Purposive goal in main clauses

In simple constructions the nominal marked for dative functions as a purposive goal denoting the product or an entity viewed by the speaker as a need or a want. Dative commonly occurs with verbs of motion in this sense as seen in (4.19) and (4.20).

- (4.19) *Mirtawa ya-na mayi-ku.*
 woman go-NFUT vegetable.food-DAT
 'The woman went for vegetable food.'
- (4.20) *Nyungu-jirri ya-nima pulu munu kuyi-ku.*
 this-DU go-PSTCFL 3DU.SUB NEG meat-DAT
 'Those two didn't go for meat.'

Dative complementisers

In more complex purposive constructions, the dative suffix occurs on a nominalised verb to indicate specific purpose and functions as a complementiser suffix. In (4.21), the clause *mayi-ku-pa kuyi-ku kampa-na-ku*, 'to cook meat and vegetables', is a purposive subordinate clause and the dative suffix is spread to the direct objects of the subordinate verb. The subject of the subordinate purposive clause can be (but need not be, see discussion in §11.1) cross-referenced by a dative third person singular pronoun *-lu*—see (4.22).

- (4.21) *Pirirri-lu-jirri wika ma-na pulu mayi-ku-pa*
 man-ERG-DU fire get-NFUT 3DU.SUB vegetable.food-DAT-CONJ

kuyi-ku kampa-na-ku.
 meat-DAT cook-NM-DAT
 'Two men got firewood to cook meat and vegetables.'

- (4.22) *Karlaya ya-na-lu kulu-na-ku rankurrji-ku.*
 emu go-NFUT-3SG.DAT meet-NM-DAT bustard-DAT
 'Emu went to meet bush turkey.'

Dative complements

Two verbs necessarily select a dative complement: the verb *karri-NY* 'like' and *mima-RN* 'wait for'. The dative complement in these instances refers to the thing wanted or the person or thing waited for (see §10.3.10 for more discussion on such semitransitive constructions).

- (4.23) *Kurrngal mayi-ku ngaju karri-nya-rna-a.*
 many vegetable.food 1SG like-NFUT-1SG.SUB-PURP
 'I like lots of food.'

- (4.24) *Murrjirn wani-kinyi kupulyupulyu karri-yinyi-a*
 thin stay-IMPF tadpole like-PRS-PURP

janpa-ku-pa witi-ku.
 pool.of.water-DAT-CONJ play-DAT
 'The skinny tadpoles like the water to play (in).'

In constructions involving semitransitive verbs the dative suffix can cross-reference the indirect object argument if the argument is animate. In (4.25) below, the dative NP, *maruntu-ku*, 'goanna-DAT', is cross-referenced by the third person singular dative verbal pronoun *-lu* (see also (4.26)).

- (4.25) *Mima-rna-ya-lu pirirri-rrangu-lu maruntu-ku.*
 wait.for-NFUT-3PL.SUB-3SG.DAT man-PL-ERG goanna-DAT
 'The men waited for the goanna.'

The verb, *wungka-RN*, 'peep at', also takes a dative complement in certain constructions. The ablative suffix, *-ja* which precedes the dative suffix marks a temporal function of ablative 'while' (see §4.2.5 below).

- (4.26) *Pulany-ju wungka-nikinyi pula-lu karta-ja-ku*
 3DU-ERG peep.at-IMPF 3DU.SUB-3SG.DAT asleep-ABL-DAT

purlika-ku.
 bullock-DAT
 'Those two peeped over at the bullock while it was asleep.'

Verbs of communication can take dative complements which are cross-referenced by the verbal pronouns.

- (4.27) *Rankurrji-lu kama-rna pulaku paliny-mila-ku-jirri*
 bustard-ERG call.out-NFUT 3DU.DAT 3SG-GEN-DAT-DU

kujarra-ku partany-ku.
 two-DAT child-DAT
 'The bush turkey called out to her two chicks.'

Example (4.28) illustrates a malefactive function of the dative suffix (which is cross-referenced by the dative pronominal agreement markers). The two (brothers) were going too quickly for the eel, that is, the eel could not catch up with them.

- (4.28) *Nyampa ya-na pula-lu pulany paliny-ku kunarri-ku.*
 quick go-NFUT 3DU.SUB-3SG.DAT 3DU 3SG-DAT eel-DAT
 'Those two were going too quickly for the eel.'

Dative adjuncts

The dative suffix can also mark adjuncts of many Nyangumarta verbs. Dative adjuncts are very common in Nyangumarta. However, the dative NP can also be construed as an additional argument of a predicate which denotes some beneficiary of the action of the verb. This is similar to one of the functions of accusative case in Marthuthunira (Dench 1995:66) where Dench states that 'although accusative beneficiaries have some of the properties of core arguments, predicates are not subcategorized for these arguments' (see also §10.3.12 for a more detailed discussion for Nyangumarta and for comments on similar phenomena in Warlpiri). The dative adjunct functions as beneficiary or goal.

The following example illustrates a dative adjunct in Nyangumarta. The dog is the beneficiary of the action and is inflected with the dative suffix. The recipient of the action verb 'give' is 'child' which is suffixed with the locative suffix.

- (4.29) *Pirirri-lu yi-nganya-la mayi partany-ja yukurru-ku.*
 man-ERG give-PRS-3SG.LOC vegetable.food child-LOC dog-DAT
 'The man is giving food to the child for the dog.'

Unfulfilled purpose

The dative suffix can be used to indicate unfulfilled purpose. The semantics of the clause relies heavily on the obligatory use of the nominal *walyi* 'almost'⁴ which acts

⁴ In the northern dialect the equivalent word is *yawirr* as in the following construction:

Yawirr ruwi-nya-rna-lu yukurru-ku.
 miss hit.with.missile.1SG.SUB.3SG.DAT dog-DAT

'I threw it and missed it, the dog.'

This is much the same construction as the Warlpiri 'conative' or 'Dative of unachieved intention' (David Nash pers. comm.).

productively as a preverb in a verbal complex. In a normal transitive construction, the verbs 'hit' and 'get' take an unmarked complement. However when the action is not fulfilled, that is the preverb is included, the verb takes a dative complement. In all these examples, the dative NP is cross-referenced in the verb by a dative verbal pronoun.

- (4.30) *Ngaju-lu walyi wirla-rna-rna-lu rankurrji-ku.*
 1SG-ERG almost hit-NFUT-1SG.SUB-3SG.DAT bustard-DAT
 'I almost hit the bush turkey.'
- (4.31) *Mungka-jartiny-ju walyi wirla-rna-lu yukurru-ku.*
 tree-COM-ERG almost hit-NFUT-3SG.DAT dog-DAT
 'He nearly hit the dog with the stick/He missed the dog with the stick.'
- (4.32) *Walyi ma-na-rna-lu janpamalu-ku.*
 almost get-NFUT-1SG.SUB-3SG.DAT fish-DAT
 'I almost grabbed the fish/I missed the fish.'

The verb *kanyji*-RN 'look for' takes a dative complement and it is found in Nyangumarta that the negative form of 'look for' can mean 'didn't find' or again the expressing of an unfulfilled purpose. Thus in the following example, the two went out looking for meat but couldn't find any. In this case the verb takes a dative marked complement.

- (4.33) *Pala-nga ya-na pulu kara munu kanyji-rni*
 that-LOC go-NFUT 3DU.SUB west NEG look.for-NFUT

pulu-a kuyi-ku.
 3DU.SUB-PURP meat-DAT
 'Those two went west and they couldn't find any food.'

Complements of predicate nominals

The complement of the psych-predicate nominal *miranu* 'knowing' selects the dative suffix (4.34).

- (4.34) *Nyuntu miranu muwarr-ku.*
 2SG know word-DAT
 'You know the language/word/message.'

Nominalised verbs can also select dative complements as seen in (4.35) below:

- (4.35) *Karlaya nga-ninya-kata wajapi-ku.*
 emu eat-NM-CHAR grasshopper-DAT
 'The emu eats grasshoppers/The emu is an eater of grasshoppers.'

In certain instances, the dative suffix is used to mark the function of kinship relationship (see also Panyjima (Dench 1991), Martuthunira (Dench 1987), and Manyjilyjarra (Marsh 1976)).

(4.36) *Ngani nyuntu-ku palama?*
 what 2SG-DAT that
 'What (relationship) is that person to you?'

(4.37) *Paliny marruku nyuntu-ku.*
 3SG mother-in-law 2SG-DAT
 'She's avoidance/mother-in-law for you.'

4.2.4 *Locative*

The locative suffix has adnominal and relational functions as well as a referential function which marks attributive second predicates on locative complements. The locative suffix retains its basic meaning as a marker of spatial and temporal location in all of these functions.

The following example illustrates the adnominal function of the locative suffix.

(4.38) *Narnngula wani-nya-yi yakarr karnu-ngu*
 bush.honey stay-NFUT-3PL.SUB just.below.surface bark-LOC

jalkupurta-nga mungka-nga.
 Cadjeput.tree-LOC tree-LOC
 'Bush honey, on the Cadjeput tree is just under the bark.'

In the above example, the expression *yakarr* 'below the surface, shallow' is inherently locative and does not occur with locative case marking (see §7.8).

Locative complements and adjuncts

A number of verbs are subcategorised for a locative complement. The ditransitive verb *yi-NG* 'give' takes a locative marked complement as indirect object: the locative nominal phrase is the recipient of the absolute theme. The locative NP is cross-referenced by the pronominal agreement markers (see §7.2).

(4.39) *Ngaju-lu yi-nya-rna-la kuyi partany-ja.*
 1SG-ERG give-NFUT-1SG.SUB-3SG.LOC meat child-LOC
 'I gave meat to the child.'

(4.40) *Ngaju-lu partany-ja yi-nya-rna-la kuyi*
 1SG-ERG child-LOC give-NFUT-1SG.SUB-3SG.LOC meat

wirtu-ngu.
big-LOC
'I gave meat to the big child.'

In (4.40), the referential locative suffix on 'big' marks it as an attributive second predicate of the locative argument 'child'.

The ditransitive verbs *wurra-RN* 'tell' and *juritji-ji-RN* 'show', also take locative complements.

(4.41) *Palama-pali narnngula julju-lu nganarna-nga*
that-maybe bush.honey long.time-ERG 1PL.EXC-LOC

partany-ja palajun wurra-nikinyi-yi nganaku.
child-LOC like.that tell-IMP-3PL.SUB 1PL.EXC.LOC
'A long time ago they (our grandparents) told us kids...'

(4.42) *Ngurra purlpi-ja juritji-ji-rni pulu nganaku,*
camp long.time-ABL show-AFF-NFUT 3DU.SUB 1PL.EXC.LOC

nganarna-nga munumpa-nga-rla.
1PL.EXC-LOC ignorant-LOC-FOC
'They showed us the camp from long ago, which we didn't know about.'

Many verbs can select a locative marked goal complement which is additional to its case frame (just as dative marked beneficiaries can occur as additional arguments). When the additional locative NP is animate, it is cross-referenced by the pronominal agreement markers. Compare the (a) and (b) forms of the following sentences: the (a) forms illustrate predicates which are subcategorised for subject and object (4.43) or just subject (4.44). The additional locative NPs are functioning as adjuncts; the (b) forms illustrate the same predicates which take an additional locative argument and this is cross-referenced in the verbal morphology. The animacy hierarchy features here. When the locative NP is animate, the NP is cross-referenced by the pronominal agreement markers. When the locative NP is inanimate there is no cross-referencing of the NP. When a locative NP is cross-referenced by the pronominal agreement markers, it is described as a complement and when it is not cross-referenced it is described as an adjunct. (See Chapter 10 for more detailed discussion of Nyangumarta main clause types). The locative NPs in the following examples are adjuncts in the (a) forms and complements in the (b) forms.

(4.43) a. *Yirri-rni-rni rankurrji ngaju-lu kata-nga.*
see-NFUT-1SG.SUB bustard 1SG-ERG scrub-LOC
'I saw the bush turkey in the scrub.'

- b. *Yirri-rni-li rankurrji-ngi wirru-ngu-pa kawu-ngu.*
 see-NFUT-3SG.LOC bustard-LOC wing-LOC-CONJ body-LOC
 'He saw it (the grey white) on the bustard's wings and body.'
- (4.44) a. *Pirirri ngurra-nga kaja-rna.*
 man camp-ALL sit-NFUT
 'The man sat in camp.'
- b. *Pinga kurlka-nga kaja-rna-la.*
 ant ear-LOC sit-NFUT-3SG.LOC
 'The ant sat on its ear.'

Spatial setting

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

- (4.45) *Partany-ju mungka warli-ninyi jawa-nga.*
 child-ERG tree hold-PRS mouth-LOC
 'The child is holding a stick in his mouth.'
- (4.46) *Pilyaku-lu ngampu-ji-ninyi pangkurl-ja.*
 galah-ERG egg-AFF-PRS hollow-LOC
 'The galah is laying its eggs in the hollow (of the tree).'
- (4.47) *Nganarna-lu yirri-rni-yirni maruntu warnku-ngu.*
 1PL.EXC-ERG see-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB goanna rock-LOC
 'We saw the goanna in the hills.'

Temporal setting

Locative nominal phrases can also be used to indicate temporal adverbial phrases which specify the time at which the event described in the clause occurs. These differ from the constructions involving the ergative suffix, discussed above, because the locative suffix here attaches to a temporal word and occurs as the temporal emphasis of the clause; whereas in the ergative examples the temporal expression is not dependent on the temporal nominal, nor is the ergative construction the focus of the clause.

- (4.48) *Kuwarri-ngi yukurru jama wani-nya-yi*
 now-LOC dog silent stay-NFUT-3PL.SUB
- nganarna marrngu muwarr-pi-na-yirni.*
 1.PL.EXCperson word-VB-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB
 'Now (today) dogs can't talk but we people can.'

- (4.49) *Karrpu-ngu kuwarri-ngi ya-nkulumi-nyi*
 day-LOC now-LOC go-FUT-1PL.INC.SUB

wirla-lami-nyi janinyi wajapi-rrangu jinta-pa kuyi.
 kill-FUT-1PL.INC.SUB 3PL.OBJ grasshopper-PL other-CONJ meat
 'Today we will go and kill grasshoppers and other meat.'

The locative expression in the following example encodes temporal and locational separation from an entity.

- (4.50) *Ngalypa wani-nyi-n nyirrirni ngaju-ngu?*
 good stay-NFUT-2SG.SUB behind 1SG-LOC
 'Were you all right when I was away?'

Comparative

In verbless clauses the locative suffix can indicate a type of comparison. For example in (4.51) there is a comparison made between the emu and the bustard's legs and in (4.52) two people are trying to decide which one can run the fastest. The locative suffix functions here to mark the standard of comparison between two entities.

- (4.51) *Nyuntu pirlpu makanu kararr ngaju-ngu-pa!*
 2SG thigh long strong 1SG-LOC-EMPH
 'Your legs are longer and stronger than mine!'

- (4.52) *Nganurtu mirti-warrangu ngali-ngi?*
 who run-expert 1DU.INC-LOC
 'Who of us two is the better runner?'

4.2.5 Ablative suffixes *-ja* and *-ngulu*

There are two ablative suffixes in Nyangumarta *-ja* and *-ngulu*.⁵ The ablative suffixes mark source or point of origin, temporal locations and causative relationships. The ablative suffixes also function as complementiser suffixes in subordinate clauses. Thus the ablative has adnominal, relational and complementising functions.

For some speakers the *-ngulu* suffix appears to have a more restricted usage and is generally used to mark just point of origin, however there are instances of it occurring with causal and complementiser functions.

For some speakers only, the contrast between the use and function of the two ablative suffixes is given below in (4.53). In these examples, *-ja* operates as a causative suffix in contrast to *-ngulu* which operates as a locational suffix. However many speakers appear to use the two suffixes interchangeably.

⁵ This form of the ablative has an alternative form, *-ngurlu*, more commonly used in the northern dialect.

- (4.53) a. *Ngani-ja?*
what-ABL
'What's the cause/reason?'
- b. *Ngani-ngulu?*
what-ABL
'From where did it happen?'
- c. *Ngani-ja wirla-rna-n?*
what-ABL hit-NFUT-2SG.SUB
'Why did you hit her?'
- Nyupa-ja.*
spouse-ABL
'Because (she's my) wife.'
- d. *Ngani-ngulu wirla-rna-n?*
what-ABL hit-NFUT-2SG.SUB
'From where did you hit her?'
- Maya-ngulu*
house-ABL
'from the house.'

The following examples illustrate the use of the two ablative suffixes to indicate source or origin of motion. Examples (4.54)–(4.57) illustrate *-ja*, (4.58)–(4.59) *-ngulu*. Example (4.60) illustrates the use of both ablative suffixes in the same clause.

- (4.54) *Ngaju kulpa-nya-rna Ngaru-ja.*
1SG return-NFUT-1SG.SUB Port.Hedland-ABL
'I just came back from Port Hedland.'
- (4.55) *Paliny-ju puntaparlparrl-pi-na-ningu mirtamirta*
3SG-ERG shake.off-VB-NFUT-REFLX white
- karlji wirru-ja-pa kawu-ja.*
white.ochre wing-ABL-CONJ body-ABL
'She shook herself and all the ashes fell down from her body and wings.'
- (4.56) *Nyungu-ja ngurra-ja ngalaya ya-na-li ruka*
this-ABL camp-ABL 1DU.EXC go-NFUT-1DU.INC.SUB afternoon
- murtuka-nga.*
car-LOC
'In the afternoon we two went from camp in the car.'
- (4.57) *Maruntu pirti-ja turlpa-yinya.*
goanna hole-ABL rise.up-PRS
'The goanna is coming out of its hole.'
- (4.58) *Tama-rna-rna maya-ngulu.*
come.out-NFUT-1SG.SUB house-ABL
'I come out of the house.'

- (4.59) *Pilykunkura-ngulu turlpa-nyi-yirna*
 Pilykunkura-ABL rise.up-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB
- ya-na-yirni partijirri murtuka kurlu jarri-nyi*
 go-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB middle car bad INCH-NFUT
- nganaku-a.*
 1PL.EXC.DAT-PURP
 'We left from Pilykunkura and halfway back the car broke down on us.'
- (4.60) *Marntungu turlpa-nya pula yalinyja kuyi-karti*
 morning rise.up-NFUT 3DU.SUB north meat-ALL
- ya-na pulu yarrkal pala-ngulu ngurra-ja.*
 go-NFUT 3DU.SUB hunting that-ABL camp-ABL
 'In the morning, those two got up and went north from the camp,
 hunting for meat.'

Ablative expressions with an adnominal function describe the specific location of the entity denoted by the head of the NP. The action involving the ablative suffix in (4.61) implies that not only was the echidna being pulled from the cave it was specifically being pulled by its foot (being careful of the spurs) and the same type of ablative expression is seen in (4.62) (both ablative suffixes can be used in these constructions).

- (4.61) *Parirr jirra-rna purri-rni manganya jina-ngulu.*
 hand reach.out-NFUT pull-NFUT echidna foot-ABL
 'He reached (into the cave) and pulled the echidna out by its foot.'
- (4.62) *Kurta-la, kurta-la maruntu-ku partal*
 come.over-IMP come.over-IMP goanna-DAT unsuccessfully
- purri-rni-rni wipu-ja.*
 pull-NFUT-1SG.SUB tail-ABL
 'Come over here, come over here for the goanna, I can't pull it out by its tail.'

The ablative suffix is commonly attached to *purlpi* 'a long time ago' giving the clause a temporal location. The less common ablative suffix *-ngulu* cannot occur in this context for some speakers in the southern dialect.

- (4.63) *Wariny muwarr purlpi-ja kurlumapu-ja.*
 different word long.time-ABL ancestors-ABL
 'This is another story, from a long time ago from the old people.'

The following examples show the temporal use of ablative when it is suffixed to a nominal which is not a temporal nominal such as *purlpi*. The ablative suffix on *mirti* 'run' can be translated as 'while running' and so the subordinate clause *parrjanaku mirtijaku* has the interpretation 'watch the race'.

- (4.64) *Marntungu jina yirri-rni manganya warrukarti-ja.*
 morning foot see-NFUT echidna night-ABL
 'In the morning he saw the track of an echidna that had gone by in the night.'

- (4.65) *Jinta kuyi-rrangu milpa-nyu-yi parrja-na-ku*
 other meat-PL come-NFUT-3PL.SUB look-NM-DAT
mirti-ja-ku.
 run-ABL-DAT
 'The other animals came to watch the race.'

Ablative states

The nominal *muwarr* 'word, language, story' when suffixed with the ablative suffix describes a state of activity: 'talking' (see Dench 1995:76 for a similar use of the locative suffix in Martuthunira). The ablative suffix in (4.66) is further suffixed with dative which agrees with 'man' and represents an argument of the verb.

- (4.66) *Partany-ju nyarru-pi-rni-lu pirirri-ku muwarr-ja-ku.*
 child-ERG laugh-VB-NFUT-3SG.DAT man-DAT word-ABL-DAT
 'The child is laughing at the man talking.'

The following examples illustrate uses of the ablative suffix to describe a state. In (4.67)–(4.68), the ablative suffix marks 'temporal state' (*karta-ja* 'while/after asleep'). In (4.69), the ablative suffix expresses the notion that the locative state has persisted for some time, that is the people had been waiting behind for some time for the others to come and get them (like the situation of sending initiates).

- (4.67) *Jarraku karta-ja parrily jarri-nyu.*
 frog sleep-ABL alert INCH-NFUT
 'The frog started to wake up after sleeping.'
- (4.68) *Ngani-ja-lu wirra-rni-nyu-n karta-ja?*
 what-ABL-ERG hit-NFUT-1SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB sleep-ABL
 'Why did you hit me while I was asleep?'
- (4.69) *Ngaka-rni-yirni pulinyi kurila nyirrirni-ja-ku*
 send-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB 3DU.OBJ south behind-ABL-DAT

marrngu-ku.
person-DAT

'We sent those two south for the people (waiting) behind.'

Both *-ja* and *-ngulu* can be suffixed to the demonstrative *pala* 'that' to conjoin two main clauses where the action in the second clause follows the action in the first clause. In (4.70) the ergative suffix following the ablative suffix indicates that both clauses have the same subject. The form *-ngulu* does not occur with the ergative suffix following it in the same type of construction, as shown in (4.71).

(4.70) *Paliny-ju ma-na juju nga-na; pala-ja-lu*
3SG-ERG get-NFUT head eat-NFUT that-ABL-ERG

jarlin nga-na.
tongue eat-NFUT

'He ate the head; and then he ate the tongue.'

(4.71) *Pala-nga kampa-rna pulu janinyi kuyi-rrangu pala-ngulu*
that-LOC cook-NFUT 3DU.SUB 3PL.OBJ meat-PL that-ABL

ngarra nga-nikinyi pulu-pa.
deictic eat-IMPV 3DU.SUB-EMPH

'Those two cooked the meat there and then ate it.'

Ablative expressions can indicate a causal relationship between two clauses. In examples (4.72) and (4.73), only *-ja* can occur and the cause is attributed to some direct action, whereas in (4.74) only *-ngulu* can occur where the cause is attributed to some indirect action.

(4.72) *Pala-nga kampa-na-ku nga-na pulu mayi-pa*
that-LOC cook-NM-DAT eat-NFUT 3DU.SUB vegetable.food-CONJ

kuyi pala-ja karta karri-kinyi pulu manyula warrkamu-ja.
meat that-ABL asleep STAT-IMPV 3DU.SUB weak work-ABL

'Those two cooked and ate their food and after that they went to sleep because they were tired from work.'

(4.73) *Marnti-wanta-ja ngaju wakala karri-nya-rni.*
walk-excess-ABL 1SG tired STAT-NFUT-1SG.SUB

'I'm tired because of too much walking.'

(4.74) *Nyungu-jirri kuliparti-rni pulu mirtawa-ngulu nyungu-ngulu.*
this-DU fight-NFUT 3DU.SUB woman-ABL this-ABL

'Two men were fighting over this woman.'

Relative clause: 'while, after, because'

The ablative suffix, *-ja*, is used in perfective relative subordinate clauses often conveying the meaning of 'while', 'after' or 'because'. The relative subordinate clause indicates that an event in the subordinate clause happens at the same time as the event in the main clause or else the event in the subordinate clause happened just prior to the event in the main clause. It can also mean that the event in the main clause happened as a result of the event in the subordinate clause.

The following examples show an ablative nominal phrase in a subordinate clause construction. They are grouped into three different sections: temporal succession, where the event in the subordinate clause precedes the event in the main clause (4.75); temporal coincidence, where the event in the subordinate clause occurs simultaneously with the event in the main clause (4.76); and causal, where the event in the subordinate clause causes the state of the entity described in the main clause (see §11.2.2).

- (4.75) *Pala jungka jajarr-pi-na-ja, tiyin-jartiny wuru*
 that sand winnow-VB-NM-ABL tin-COM heap

ji-ninyi-yirni.

make-PRS-1PL.EXC.SUB

'After winnowing the sand we made a heap with the tin.'

- (4.76) *Marrngu-lu yaja-rna kawa-rna-yi, jina kulpa-nya-ja*
 person-ERG follow-NM repeat-NFUT-3PL.SUB foot return-NM-ABL

ngurra-karti ya-nanya-yi.

camp-ALL go-PRS-3PL.SUB

'The people kept on following the tracks while they were returning to camp.'

In the following example there is evidence that the ablative suffix *-ngulu* is being used in subordinate relative clauses. However this occurrence is extremely rare in the southern dialect although it is more common in the northern dialect.

- (4.77) *Parirr-jirri-pa warrukurlu wani-nyi kampa-nya-ja*
 hand-DU-CONJ black stay-NFUT burn-NM-ABL

murlku-ji-na-ngulu.

short-AFF-NM-ABL

'The two hands (of the kangaroo) are black from being burnt, which also caused them to be short.'

4.2.6 Allative suffixes: *-karti*, *-kurnu*

Nyangumarta has two allative suffixes. The *-karti* suffix is the general suffix and typically encodes the locational goal towards which an action is directed—this goal can be a person or place. For cardinal directions and other spatial markers such as ‘up’, ‘down’, ‘underneath’, the allative suffix is *-kurnu*⁶ (see §7.8).

Locational goal

The following sentences illustrate the use of the general allative suffix *-karti* to encode the entity towards which specific actions are directed.

- (4.78) *Partany-karrangu ya-na-yi ngurra-karti.*
 child-PL go-NFUT-3PL.SUB camp-All
 ‘The children went to camp.’

- (4.79) *Pulany nyampa mirti jarri-nyi pula-lu*
 3DU quick run INCH-NFUT 3DU.SUB-3SG.DAT

warnku-karti jakun.
 rock-ALL only
 ‘Those two ran quickly only as far as the rocks.’

Purposive

Allative can be used to mark a purposive goal which involves going out to hunt or gather food. In these examples the dative suffix can be used instead of the allative with no change in meaning if the purpose is a simple NP (see §4.2.3).

- (4.80) *Ya-na-yirni nganarna kanyjamarra-karti.*
 go-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB 1PL.EXC bush.potato-ALL
 ‘We went for bush potatoes.’
- (4.81) *Ka-nganya-rni janinyi nyungu-rrangu*
 take-PRS-1SG.SUB 3PL.OBJ this-PL

ngaju-mili-rrangu partany-karrangu kuyi-karti.
 1SG-GEN-PL child-PL meat-ALL
 ‘I’m taking my children for meat.’

⁶ For some speakers there is also a distinct use of the allative suffix, *-kurti*, restricted to this closed class of nominals meaning movement happening on a particular directional side rather than towards a particular direction. In this construction, movement is seen as occurring over in that direction. According to many people this usage is not widely known or employed nowadays.

kakarra-kurnu kakarra-kurti
 ‘going towards the east’ ‘movement on the eastern side’

Resultant state

The allative suffix can also mark a resultant state as is seen in (4.82) where the meat was cooked until it was dry.

- (4.82) *Kuyi kampa-rna tikirl-karti.*
 meat cook-NFUT dry-ALL
 'He cooked the meat until it was dry.'

The allative suffix can be part of a reduplicated construction meaning 'everywhere' or 'in different directions' showing that the goal of motion is not fixed.

- (4.83) *Wirujuru-lu jurnti-ngi wariny-karti wariny-karti-lu*
 lightning-ERG cave-LOC different-ALL different-ALL-ERG

ruwa-nya pulaka-lu jurnti.
 hit.with.something-NFUT 3DU.DAT-PURP cave
 'The lightning was striking everywhere around the cave at those two.'

The allative suffix in the following construction indicates a specific goal of motion which is distant. When it is suffixed to the demonstrative *ngurnarri* 'there' the resulting meaning is: 'towards the other side' (4.84). In (4.85) the allative suffix is part of a stem which is used for the derivation of an inchoative verb.

- (4.84) *Nganyjurru ya-nkulumi-nyi kata-nga ngurnarri-karti.*
 1PL.INC go-FUT-1PL.INC.SUB scrub-LOC there-ALL
 'We will go on the other side of the scrub.'

- (4.85) *Paliny mirti jarri-nya murrurlu-ngu*
 3SG run INCH-NM ridge-LOC

ngurnarri-karti jarri-nyi piju-ngu ngarra.
 there-ALL INCH-NFUT river-LOC SPEC
 'S/he ran onto the ridge and went over to the river there.'

The less common allative suffix, *-kurnu*, although not commonly suffixed to the general class of nominals, can be by some speakers. Usually it is suffixed to the closed class of locational nominals which include compass points. It maintains the general use of the common allative suffix in that it encodes a direction towards which some action is conducted. Examples follow:

- (4.86) *Malya-rna kawa-nikinyi-yi kanka-kurnu-lu pala-karti jakun,*
 chop-NM repeat-IMP-3PL.SUB high-ALL-ERG that-ALL only

wanyjarni-ngi pala narnggula wani-kinyi.
 where-LOC that bush.honey stay-IMPF
 'They chopped (foot holes) up only as far as where the bush honey was.'

(4.87) *Pala-ja ya-na-yirni kara-kurnu yija-lu marrngu*
 that-ABL go-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB west-ALL truly-ERG person

yirri-rni-yirni janinyi jinta.
 see-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB 3PL.OBJ other
 'After that we went west and we truly saw the rest of the mob.'

In examples (4.15), (4.16) and (4.17) the adnominal function of the allative suffix is seen. However in these examples the allative expression is a secondary predication.

4.2.7 Minor locational suffixes

4.2.7.1 'Near, close by' -martaji

This suffix is a locational suffix meaning 'near' or 'by'. Unlike the locative which has several distinct functions, this suffix is only used to indicate the closeness of some thing to a particular entity. Examples follow:

(4.88) *Kaja-ninyi pupuka ngapa-martaji.*
 sit-PRS frog water-near
 'The frog is sitting near the water.'

(4.89) *Ngaju-martaji japun-ju nga-ni-nga-nikinyi.*
 1SG-near joey-ERG eat-NFUT-RED-IMPF
 '(My) joey was eating close by me.'

4.2.7.2 'On target' -nyuku

This suffix is only suffixed to body parts and carries a specific locative sense of 'dead centre' or 'right on target'. The occurrence of this suffix is restricted to objects of transitive verbs and requires that some action is targetting some part of the body.

(4.90) *Pirlpu-nyuku wirla-rni-yirni.*
 shin-on.target hit-NFUT-1PL.INC.SUB
 'We hit him right on the shin.'

(4.91) *Ngaju-lu partupartu-ma-rna-rna*
 1SG-ERG confront-CAUS-NFUT-1SG.SUB

ruwa-nya-rna *pitakaju-nyuku,* *pungka-nya*
hit.with.something-NFUT-1SG.SUB temple-on.target fall-NFUT

marlkarri.

dead

'I charged at it (the kangaroo) and speared it right on the temple, and it fell down dead.'

4.2.8 Privative

The privative suffix, *-majirraV*,⁷ indicates the lack of something such as a body part, possession, kin or some attribute or psychological state.

(4.92) *mampu-majirri*
hair-PRIV
'bald'

(4.93) *Mirtawa* *mayi-majirri.*
woman vegetable.food-PRIV
'The woman is without food.'

(4.94) *Mungka-majirri* *karru-majirri-pa* *paru-majirri* *jungka* *jakun.*
tree-PRIV creek-PRIV-CONJ spinifex-PRIV ground only
'There were no trees, creeks or spinifex, only the ground (in that country).'

(4.95) *Wayarti* *yirrku* *mirti-ji-nikinyi* *wakala-majirri,*
tortoise still run-CAUS-IMPF tired-PRIV

karta-majirri, *jirmirl* *jarri-kinyi* *mirti* *ngarrany.*
asleep-PRIV sweat INCH-IMPF run still

'The tortoise kept running without being tired or sleepy; he was sweating as he kept running.'

When the privative suffix precedes ergative or the dative suffix its form is *-majirra* (see §2.3.9 which describes the buffer vowel effect in Nyangumarta phonology).

(4.96) *Ngarta-naku* *parirr-ju,* *yilipi-majirra-lu.*
break.off-PurpADV hand-ERG axe-PRIV-ERG
'You break it off with your hand, without an axe.'

⁷ Another privative suffix which is used in the northern dialect is *-kurlu*.

- (4.97) *Warrarn-ku-pa* *mira-rna* *nganinya*
 country-DAT-EMPH take.away-NFUT 1PL.EXC.OBJ
- kuli-lu-nyin,* *yirri-rna* *nganinyi* *paju-majirra-lu.*
 angry-ERG-EMPH see-NFUT 1PL.EXC.OBJ sorrow-PRIV-ERG
 'It (the government) took away our country from us cheekily, and took
 no notice of us (looked at us without pity).'

4.2.9 *Comitative*

The comitative suffix *-jartiny*⁸ has several semantic functions. It may denote a physical or emotional attribute, it can mark objects which are possessed, it can describe an accompanying entity or it can mark instruments.

Possession of object

One function of the comitative is to mark objects which are in the possession of someone or something. For example in (4.99) the man went 'with a gun', in (4.98), those two returned 'with damper' and in (4.100) the man is sitting 'with a head band on'.

- (4.98) *Ruka-ruka* *kulpa-nyikinyi* *pulu* *martumpirri-jartiny.*
 afternoon-RED return-IMPF 3DU.SUB damper-COM
 'Those two returned late afternoon with damper.'
- (4.99) *Pirirri* *ya-na* *kuyi-karti* *jilaman-jartiny* *warnku-ngu*
 man go-NFUT meat-ALL gun-COM rock-LOC
- yirri-rni* *ngalyipulyku.*
 see-NFUT goanna
 'The man went for meat with a gun and saw a goanna on a rock/hill.'
- (4.100) *Pirirri* *kaja-rna* *yakirri-jartiny.*
 man sit-NFUT head.band-COM
 'The man is sitting with his head band on.'

Defining characteristic

The comitative can also mark a characteristic of an entity which allows it to be classified as a specific thing. For example in (4.101) the 'big rock with water (lit.)' is translated as a 'rockhole'.

⁸ A comitative suffix *-murntu* is rarely used in Nyangumarta (particularly the southern dialect) but has been cited in the following contexts: *mampu-murntu* 'with hair', *yukurru-murntu* 'with dogs' and even *kurlka-murntu* 'deaf'. Due to the rare occurrence of *-murntu* it can probably be said that it has become lexicalised in the Nyangumarta language. There are identical forms of this suffix in both Banyjima and Yindjibarndi although with different meanings.

- (4.101) *Kuwarri-pa warnku wirtu ngapa-jartiny.*
 now-EMPH rock big water-COM
 'Now that big rock has water./Now it's a rockhole.'

The comitative expressions in the following examples are second predications on the subject of the clause and define the emotional or physical characteristics of the subject.

- (4.102) *Pala-nga paliny warrkirn-warrki-rni wirnti-jartiny.*
 that-LOC 3SG crawl-RED-NFUT fear-COM
 'And there he/she crawled along afraid.'
- (4.103) *Pungka-nya janpa-nga karrarta-jartiny.*
 fall-NFUT pool.of.water-LOC fear-COM
 'S/he fell into the water with fear.'
- (4.104) *Pupuka-lu wungka-ninya-lu parrka-ngulu, janparr-jartiny-ju.*
 frog-ERG peep.at-PRS-3SG.DAT leaf-ABL hungry-COM-ERG
 'The frog looked at it from the leaf, hungrily.'
- (4.105) *Ngalaya jama kaja-nikinya-layi wakala-jartiny.*
 1DU.EXC quiet sit-IMPF-1DU.EXC.SUBJ tired-COM
 'We were sitting there quietly because we were tired.'

Accompaniment: human/non-human

The comitative expressions in the following examples illustrate the function of marking the accompaniment of animate entities with another animate entity.

- (4.106) *Rankurrji kanka turlpa-nya pulaku paliny-mili-jartiny*
 bustard above rise.up-NFUT 3DU.DAT 3SG-GEN-COM

partany-jartiny.

child-COM

'The bustard flew high with her two chicks.'

- (4.107) *Ngurra-nga wani-kinyi pulu yukurru-jartiny partany pala.*
 camp-LOC stay-IMPF 3DU.SUB dog-COM child that
 'Those two stayed in camp, the child with the dog./That child stayed in camp with the dog.'

Instrument

A comitative second predication in transitive and intransitive clauses is usually understood as an instrument used by the subject of the verb. When the verb is transitive, the comitative expression must be marked with the referential ergative

suffix in agreement with the subject.

- (4.108) *Purlpi wani-kinyi karlaya kanka ya-nikinyi wirru-jartiny.*
 long.time stay-IMPF emu above go-IMPF wing-COM
 'A long time ago emus flew with wings (go high with their wings).'
- (4.109) *Pala-ja kuruma-nikinyi-yirni japurl-jartiny-ju.*
 that-ABL collect-IMPF-1PL.EXC.SUB shovel-COM-ERG
 'After that we collected it all with shovels (to put it into a pile).'

4.2.10 Genitive

The genitive suffix, *-milV*, marks possession; usually of some object but it can be an abstract thing such as someone's 'word', meaning their philosophy, promise or predictions. It also has the function of marking the propositus of a kin relation. Alienable possession is implied in the use of the genitive suffix as inalienable possession is coded by simple adpositioning of two nominals, one the possessor and the other the possessed (§9.3.3).

The following sentences (4.110) and (4.111) illustrate the use of the genitive suffix.

- (4.110) *Paliny-mili yukurru ya-na.*
 3SG-GEN dog go-NFUT
 'His dog has gone.'
- (4.111) *Ngaju parnpi-rni-nyji japartu-lu ngaju-mila-lu*
 1SG throw-NFUT-1SG.OBJ father-ERG 1SG-GEN-ERG
ngapa-nga piju-ngu.
 water-LOC creek-LOC
 'My father threw me into the river.'

The following examples illustrating the genitive suffix, show it attached to nominals.

- (4.112) *Yarnkarra-mili piya-na-pinti warnku jawa-nga ji-rna-rningu*
 brolga-GEN grind-NM-ASS stone mouth-LOC do-NFUT-REFLX
kurna-nya.
 swallow-NFUT
 'She put the brolga's grinding stone in her mouth and swallowed it.'
- (4.113) *Pala-nga kamal karta karri-kinyi pirirri-mili-ngi kaliki-ngi.*
 that-LOC camel sleep STAT-IMPF man-GEN-LOC tent-LOC
 'And then the camel went to sleep in the man's tent.'

- (4.114) *Pala-nga ngaju-lu martumpirri ji-rni-rni, milpa-nya*
 that-LOC 1SG-ERG damper make-NFUT-1SG.SUB come-NFUT
maruntu-jartiny Luwita-mili japartu.
 goanna-COM (name)-GEN father
 'And then I made damper and Luwita's father came back with goanna.'

4.2.11 Causal -ngVmarra

The causal suffix has two allomorphs: *-ngVmarra* and *-jVmarra* conditioned by the final phoneme of the morpheme to which they are attached: *-ngVmarra* follows final vowels and *-jVmarra* follows final consonants (the initial segment of this morpheme is identical to the two allomorphs of the locative suffix but the final segment *-marra* has no known meaning). The causal suffix can function semantically like an aversive suffix where it marks some NP whose referent should be avoided (like the bullock in (4.115)). However it also functions semantically as a causal suffix where it marks an NP which denotes the reason for the state or event in the clause, as illustrated in (4.116), (4.117) and (4.118) below.

- (4.115) *Purlika-ngamarra, karta-wayi!*
 bullock-CAUSAL asleep-NEG
 'Don't sleep, because of the bullock (there's a bullock here)!'

 (4.116) *Yinkulayi-lu warli-nikinyi ngalyi pijirri-ngimarra.*
 Yinkulayi hold-IMPF neck blood-CAUSAL
 'Yinkulayi held onto the neck (of the emu) because of the blood (so it wouldn't drip onto the other man).'
- (4.117) *Marlkarri-ngimarra wirla-rna-ya-rninyi junturtu.*
 dead-CAUSAL hit-NFUT-3PL.SUB-REFLX head
 'They are hitting their heads because of the one that has died (in grief).'
- (4.118) *Julju wirla-rni-yi janinyi marrngu warrarn-jamarra.*
 long.time hit-NFUT-3PL.SUB 3PL.OBJ person land-CAUSAL
 'A long time ago they killed Aboriginal people because of the land.'

The causal suffix can be attached to nominalised verbs as shown in (4.119) and (4.120).

- (4.119) *Karrpu-rrangu karrpu pani waraja-karti-lu parrja-nikinyi*
 day-PL day eye one-ALL-ERG look-IMPF

mirtawa karta-majirra-lu yaka-rna-ngamarra.
 woman asleep-PRIV-ERG leave-NM-CAUSAL
 'Day after day he (the crocodile) would lie looking at the woman with one eye opened in case she left.'

- (4.120) *Pirirri-lu kalku-nikinyi partany punga-nya-ngamarra.*
 man-ERG keep-IMPF child fall-NM-CAUSAL
 'The man kept holding the child in case s/he fell.'

4.2.12 'Like, similar to': -kapali, -kapan, -kapana, -kapun, -kapanu

These suffixes are used to mark similarities between objects and characteristics or attributes of people. They are not used for abstract comparisons. There are several variations in forms and there appears to be no conditioning factors. For many speakers stress occurs on the second syllable of the suffix.

- (4.121) *Yija partany-kapali yirri-rni warrkirn-warrki-ninyi ya-na.*
 truly child-like see-NFUT crawl-RED-NFUT-PRS go-NFUT
 'Truly, he saw him crawling around like a child.'

- (4.122) *Warnku wunta-kapali wani-nyi kuwarri-ja-kapan*
 rock burnt.country-like stay-NFUT now-ABL-like

kaja-ngulu kala yirri-naku.
 long.way-ABL EMPH see-PurpADV
 'Now you see the rocks/hills that look like burnt country from a long way off.'

- (4.123) *Pala-nga paliny ya-na ngani-kapan, yakurr-ma-rna.*
 that-LOC 3SG go-NFUT what-like copy-CAUS-NFUT
 'And then he went walking around like someone (the emu), copying him.'

- (4.124) *Palajun ya-ninya-n kurrparnji-kapan-pa karnka-kapan*
 like.that go-PRS-2SG.SUB butcher.bird-like-CONJ crow-like

murlku pirlpu, palajun kurlu.
 short leg like.that bad
 'Like the butcher bird and the crow with short legs, like that it's bad (undesirable).'

- (4.125) *Marrngu-lu mirrurru-kapan-ju wirra-nami-nyi.*
 person-ERG devil-like-ERG hit-PSTCFL-1SG.OBJ
 'That devil-like man might have killed me.'

4.2.13 Associative -pinti

The associative suffix marks the purpose or function of a particular item relative to another item. In (4.126) the ‘bark’ is used functionally to carry ‘damper and meat’ and in (4.127) the ‘coolaman’ is used to carry ‘water’.

- (4.126) *Paliny-ju* *junturtu-ngu* *karlaya-lu* *ka-nganyikinyi* *kurtiny*
 him-ERG head-LOC emu-ERG take-IMPF bark

martumpirri-pinti-pa *kuyi-pinti.*
 damper-ASS-CONJ meat-ASS

‘The emu took the coolaman on her head for damper and meat.’

- (4.127) *Pujiman* *nyarra* *ka-nganyikinyi-yi* *wirtu* *piti* *ngapa-pinti.*
 bush that.AN take-IMPF-3PL.SUB big coolaman water-ASS
 ‘In the desert they took the big coolaman for water.’

A number of lexical items involve the associative suffix.

pani-pinti spectacles (*pani* ‘eye’)
ngarnka-pinti razor (*ngarnka* ‘beard’)

In (4.128) *kurlka-pinti* is used to refer to the rabbit-eared bandicoot on which the most distinctive feature of the animal—the ears—are used as a point of reference. Not all uses of *kurlkapinti* would select the bandicoot as the referent, hence the lexical item is not fixed.

- (4.128) *Ngaju-lu* *kanyji-rna-rna* *pala-nga* *kurlka-pinti,*
 1SG-ERG look.for-NFUT-1SG.SUB that-LOC ear-ASS

kaku-rnu-rnu-lu *purlpi-lu* *pala-ja.*
 forget-NFUT-3SG.DAT long.time-ERG that-ABL

‘I searched there for the rabbit-eared bandicoot that had disappeared long ago.’

Many of the new words formed with the associative suffix are derived from the nominalised form of verbs:

<i>kaja-na-pinti</i>	a stool, or chair (<i>kaja</i> -RN ‘sit’)
<i>piya-na-pinti</i>	grinding stone (<i>piya</i> -RN ‘grinding’)
<i>wirrika-na-pinti</i>	a knife (<i>wirrika</i> -RN ‘cut’)
<i>yarnta-na-pinti</i>	needle (<i>yarnta</i> -RN ‘spear’)
<i>kampa-na-pinti</i>	cooking place (<i>kamp</i> -RN ‘cook’)
<i>yangka-na-pinti</i>	anything which is spreadable: paint, ointment (<i>yangka</i> -RN ‘paint, smear’)

4.2.14 *Characteriser -kata*

The characteriser suffix, *-kata*, typically occurs suffixed to 'descriptive' nominals, those which modify other nominals (see §3.1.1), although it is a very productive suffix and can be suffixed to any nominal including nominalised verbs. This suffix makes an entity referring nominal out of a property referring nominal. It functions in the NP as an adnominal suffix relating the nominal to which it is suffixed to some other nominal. In the northern dialect this suffix is subject to vowel assimilation and can be found as: *-kata*, *-kiti* or *-kutu* and therefore its underlying representation is *-kVtV* as distinct from the southern dialect (see §2.3.9)

- (4.129) *Wirr-pi-rna-lu* *ji-rna-lu* *pangkawirtan*,
scrape-VB-NFUT-3SG.DAT make-NFUT-3SG.DAT long.spear
- munu warlparra makanu-kata, makanu ji-rna-lu.*
NEG woomera long-CHAR long make-NFUT-3SG.DAT
'He scraped it out to make a really long spear not the woomera type—a long one.'

- (4.130) *Kuli-kata* *kurna-nya* *yirlukuji-lu,* *kuwarri-ngi*
cheeky-CHAR swallow-NFUT rainbow.serpent-ERG now-LOC
- munu wirra-na-kata-pa kuli-kata.*
NEG hit-NM-CHAR-EMPH fight-CHAR
'The rainbow serpent swallowed the cheeky (man) and now he is not a cheeky fellow (one who hits and fights).'

In the following examples the characterising expressions are further marked for either locative or dative indicating that they are adnominal constituents of the object NPs.

- (4.131) *Wirnti karri-nyi-a* *jurru-ngu* *paji-rni-kiti-ngi.*
scared STAT-NFUT-PURP snake-LOC bite-NM-CHAR-LOC
'S/he is frightened of cheeky snakes/snakes that bite.'
- (4.132) *Pinakarri-nyi-ya-lu* *muwarr-kata-ku* *wurru-ku.*
listen-NFUT-3PL.SUB-3SG.DAT word-CHAR-DAT thing-DAT
'They are listening to the talking thing (radio).'

4.2.15 'As' *-maninyju, -marninyju*

The 'as' suffix (which can occur as *-maniny* or *-marniny* with no obvious conditioning factors present) is a temporal suffix encoding a function of temporal succession when suffixed to nominalised verbs (4.135) and a function of temporal coincidence when

suffixed to nominals (4.133) and (4.134). It has not been analysed as two separate morphemes *-maniny* ‘as’ plus *-ju*, ‘ERG’ because evidence for this is inconclusive, although, the nominalised verb does operate as a second predication on the transitive subject of the verb, the suffix can also occur attached to nominals in intransitive constructions. The other puzzling aspect concerning this suffix is that it is homophonous with the ‘one’s own’ suffix described in §4.2.16 below although it does not appear to have any semantic association with it.

- (4.133) *Pirirri-lu partany-jirri wulka-maninyju*
 man-ERG child-DU happy-as

yirri-rni pulinyi kurra marrka-jirri.
 see-NFUT 3DU.OBJ while younger.sibling-DU
 ‘The man was happy as he saw the two children.’

- (4.134) *Marnti-maninyju parnpi-rna wika-nga.*
 walk-as throw-NFUT fire-LOC
 ‘As he was walking away he threw it on the fire.’

- (4.135) *Kulpa-nya-maninyju rankurrji jutumu-ji-ni-yirni.*
 return-NM-as bustard shoot-AFF-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB
 ‘Before coming back, we shot a bustard.’

4.2.16 ‘One’s own’ -marniny, -murniny

The suffix *-marniny* with the variant *-murniny* is used when reference is being made to an individual who is a relative to some other entity in the clause. At times though it can also be used as a deictic referring to a particular entity discussed. It is often used in story texts suffixed to relationship terms. This suffix cannot be used by a speaker to refer to a relative of their own such as ‘my mother’ but it can be used for second person ‘your mother’.

- (4.136) *Paliny-mili marrka-marniny mirtawa warrkirn-warrki-nikinyi.*
 3SG-GEN younger.sibling-own woman crawl-RED-IMPF
 ‘His younger sister was still crawling around.’
- (4.137) *Pala-nga pirirri-jirri ya-na pula-lu maja-murniny-ku.*
 that-LOC man-DU go-NFUT 3DU.SUB-3SG.DAT boss-own-DAT
 ‘And then the two men went for their boss.’

4.2.17 ‘Dweller’ -karringu

The suffix *-karringu* ‘dweller’ is used to describe a place of dwelling of a person or animal. The nominal, *janpa-karringu*, ‘water dweller’, is a common word for ‘fish’

although its meaning can also include any animal which lives in, near or frequents waters such as wading and swimming birds. Another common usage of this suffix is the name for Euro, a hills kangaroo: *warnku-karringu* 'rock-dweller'. This morpheme has become lexicalised. Other examples of its use are given below (4.138) and (4.139).

- (4.138) *Mirti katuka-rna pulu jurnti-ja wirla-rna pulu*
run descend-NFUT 3DU.SUB cave-ABL hit-NFUT 3DU.SUB

janinyi wiyirr pala-nga jurlurr-karra-ja pala-lu-jirri
3PL.OBJ whole.lot that-LOC ceremony-ACT-ABL that-ERG-DU

jurnti-karringu-lu-jirri marrngu-lu-jirri.
cave-dweller-ERG-DU person-ERG-DU

'They (dual) descended from the cave and killed all the people involved in that Law ceremony—those two cave dwellers.'

- (4.139) *Parlkarra-karringu wani-nyi mirrarn-ja.*
plain-dweller stay-NFUT shade-LOC
'The plains kangaroo was in the shade.'

4.2.18 'In view' -pal

The 'in view' suffix marks some object or substance which can be seen by some entity.⁹

- (4.140) *Paliny-ju wungka-rna pala pirti yirri-rni wangka wipu-pal*
3SG-ERG peep.at-NFUT that hole see-NFUT close tail-in.view

wani-kinyi.
stay-IMPF

'He looked into the hole and saw a tail was there.'

- (4.141) *Pupuka-lu jinta-lu kalku-rna-yi mulya-nga kanka*
frog-ERG other-ERG keep-NFUT-3PL.SUB nose-LOC above

pani yirtinykarra kurlka-karti jakun. Warrukurla
eye in.a.line ear-ALL only night

pala-lu ngarra yama-rna janinyi pani, yirri-li-yi-li
that-ERG SPEC cover-NFUT 3PL.SUB eye see-ANT-3PL.SUB-ANT

⁹ /-pal/ is reminiscent of the Warlpiri nominal /palka/ 'present, visible' (David Nash pers. comm.).

pani-pal-ja *wani-nya-ja.*
 eye-in.view-ABL stay-NM-ABL
 'Some frogs stay in the water with only their nose above the waterline.
 In the night, if his eyes are in view (opens his eyes), his enemies might
 see him.'

The 'in view' derived nominal expression can be used as a stem for a derived verb:

(4.142) *Janyja milya-pal jarri-nyi.*
 sun nose-in.view INCH-NFUT
 'The sun began to rise/appear (over the horizon).'

4.2.19 Dual-jirri

The dual suffix *-jirri* usually follows suffixes such as ergative (4.144) and (4.145) and dative (4.144) as well as locative and genitive (4.146), although see §3.3.2 for discussion of the problems the ordering of this suffix.

(4.143) *Kujarra pupuka-jirri ya-na pulu-a.*
 two frogs-DU go-NFUT 3DU.SUB-PURP
 'The two frogs went (for a reason).'

(4.144) *Pala-ja pulany-ju mirtawa-lu-jirri kanyji-rni pulu*
 that-ABL 3DU-ERG woman-ERG-DU look.for-NFUT 3DU.SUB

pulaku partany-ku-jirri.
 3DU.DAT child-DAT-DU
 'And those two girls looked for the two children.'

(4.145) *Pala-lu-jirri kangkungu-lu ma-na pulu maruntu*
 that-ERG-DU sisters-ERG get-NFUT 3DU.SUB goanna

pulany-mili-karti ngurra-karti.
 3DU-GEN-ALL camp-ALL
 'Those sisters took the goanna to their camp.'

(4.146) *Pala-nga partany-ja-jirri paliny-mili-ngi-jirri parruparru*
 that-LOC child-LOC-DU 3SG-GEN-LOC-DU net

parmpi-rni pulaku kujarrany-ja.
 throw-NFUT 3DU.DAT both-LOC
 'He threw the net over both of his children.'

In specific constructions *-jirri* can be interpreted as a plural. In certain contexts, when suffixed to the closed class of locational nominals and other nominals such as 'country' and 'cold' *-jirri* marks plurality or intensity (in Panyjima *-jirri* is a plural in the demonstrative class only (Dench 1991) and in Nyiyaparli, a neighbouring language to Nyangumarta, *-jirri* is the general plural (Kohn pers. comm.)).

<i>warrarn-jirri</i>	everywhere (<i>warrarn</i> 'country')
<i>ngurnarri-jirri</i>	everywhere (<i>ngurnarri</i> 'there/over there/on the far side')
<i>jalanga-jirri</i>	wide (<i>jalanga</i> 'outside')
<i>kajakul-jirri</i>	a long way apart (<i>kaja</i> 'a long way')
<i>kanka-jirri</i>	very high (<i>kanka</i> 'above')
<i>warri-jirri</i>	very cold (<i>warri</i> 'cold')

4.2.20 Plural *-rrangu*

The possible forms of Nyangumarta plurals are given below. By far the most common is the *-rrangu* form which can occur on most nominals. The form *-karrangu* is related to the common form of the plural and idiosyncratically occurs following *partany* 'child'. This is not conditioned by the final consonant as other nominals with word-final consonants are suffixed with the common plural form *-rrangu*.

Other idiosyncratic plural markers are *-nyjarri* and *-marta* which are used for *mirtawa* 'woman' and *pirirri* 'man' respectively. The suffix *-kurru* occurs in northern Nyangumarta on 'woman' and in southern Nyangumarta on 'person'.

<i>-rrangu</i>	common plural
<i>-karrangu</i>	plural used after <i>partany</i> 'child'
<i>-warrangu</i>	plural used after action nominals
<i>-nyjarri</i>	plural used after <i>mirtawa</i> 'woman'
<i>-marta, -mirti</i> ¹⁰	plural used after <i>pirirri</i> 'man'
<i>-karra, -kurru</i>	plural used after <i>ngalyun</i> 'woman' and <i>marrngu</i> 'person'

Notice in (4.148) the plural can change from the common plural suffix *-rrangu* to the idiocratic suffix *-karra*.

(4.147) *Jana marrngu-rrangu ya-na-yi kanka warnku-karti.*
 3PL person-PL go-NFUT-3PL.SUB above rock-ALL
 'The people went to high ground (to escape the rains).'

(4.148) *Marrngu-karra wani-lpiyi-yirni nyarrala-nga*
 person-PL stay-REMPST-1PL.EXC.SUB around.here-LOC

¹⁰ The form in the southern dialect is *-marta* while in the northern dialect it is *-mirti* following the vowel harmony rules of copying the final vowel of the stem.

warrarn-ja.
country-LOC
'All the people used to stay around here in this country.'

The idiosyncratic plural suffix, *-warrangu*, functions semantically as indicating the best or the expert entity at performing some action. Monty Hale has indicated that this suffix can be used on nominals such as *marnti-warrangu* (walk-expert) 'a good walker/a fast walker'. Its use appears to be limited to action nominals. Monty has also indicated the corresponding form of 'the slowest' is *jinu-kata-rrangu* 'slow-CHAR-PL', *mangan-kata-rrangu* 'active-CHAR-PL' (fastest walker), *kinti-kata-rrangu* 'slow-CHAR-PL' (slowest), *murlku-kata-rrangu* 'short-CHAR-PL' (shortest), *makanu-kata-rrangu* 'long-CHAR-PL' (tallest), *purlu-kata-rrangu* 'stay.in.one.place-CHAR-PL', *wakala-kata-rrangu* 'tired-CHAR-PL' (tiredest) showing that this suffix is an alternative form of the characteriser suffix plus the general plural suffix.

(4.149) *Ngali* *mirti-jarri-ulupa-li* *nganurtu* *mirti-warrangu*
1DU.INC run-INCH-FUT-1DU.INC.SUB who run-PL

ngali-ngi.
1DU.INC-LOC
'We two will race and we'll see who is the fastest.'

(4.150) *Paliny-ju* *marnti-warrangu-lu* *ka-nya* *mayi.*
3SG-ERG walk-PL-ERG take-NFUT vegetable.food
'The fastest walker took the vegetable food.'

Instances of plural morphology not employed

There are many instances of the plural number not being marked in the morphology but the context indicates plural number. This is illustrated in the sentences below in which the nominals *marrngu* 'person' and *yukurru* 'dog' are not marked for plural number (4.151). Notice however the verbal morphology still employs the third person plural, subject pronoun *-yi*. In the non-verbal sentence in (4.152) neither the nominal, *jimpu* 'egg', nor the demonstrative, *pala* 'that', are marked for number.

(4.151) *Marrngu* *wani-kinyi-yi* *purlpi* *manguny* *jama*
person stay-IMP-3PL.SUB long.time dreaming silent

muwarr-majirri. *Yukurru* *jakun* *muwarr-pi-nikinyi-yi.*
word-PRIV dog only word-VB-IMP-3PL.SUB
'In the Dreaming, a long time ago, people did not speak, (they were) silent. Only dogs spoke.'

- (4.152) *Jimpu pala nga-ninya-pinti-wayi, munu.*
 egg that eat-NM-ASS-NEG NEG
 'Those eggs are not for eating, no.'

4.2.21 'Place of' -marramarra

The 'place of' suffix *-marramarra* is used to refer to a place which is renowned for having lots of a particular thing, such as *paru-marramarra-nga* 'in the place with lots of spinifex' (*paru* 'spinifex'). This suffix functions as an adnominal suffix and can occur with other nominal suffixes following it such as locative (4.153) and (4.154).

- (4.153) *Yalinyja-kurti jarturtu-marramarra-nga jinta walangkarra*
 north-ALL Cabbage.gum.tree-place.of-LOC other ahead

ya-nikinyi-yi, mirtanya-mirtanya-lu,
 go-IMPF-3PL.SUB old.man-RED-ERG

kuta-kuta-pi-nikinyi-yi janinyi yilipi-jartiny-ju.
 chop-RED-VB-IMPF-3PL.SUB 3PL.OBJ axe-COM-ERG

'The others went ahead to the north to the place where there are lots of Cabbage gum trees and the old men chopped them down with an axe.'

- (4.154) *Pala-nga yaja-nikinyi yarlpurru-murniny milpa-nyikinyi-li*
 that-LOC follow-IMPF mate-own come-IMPF-3SG.LOC

ngurnarri-ngi kuyi-marramarra-nga wariny-karti-ngi.
 there-LOC meat-place.of-LOC different-ALL-LOC

'And then he followed his friend to the place where all the animal food was.'

4.2.22 Frequentive -mal

The 'frequentive' suffix is restricted to nominals with number reference such as *waraja* 'one', *kujarra* 'two' and *marlu* 'many' as well as other nominals such as *wariny* 'different' and *wunyjurru* 'how'. The suffix encodes the idea of frequency to the nominal and is used in the following expressions:

kujarra-mal 'twice'
 two-FREQ

waraja-mal 'once'
 one-FREQ

marlu-mal 'many times over'
many-FREQ

wunyjurru-mal 'how many times?'
how-FREQ

4.2.23 Attenuative -marta

The 'attenuative' suffix, *-marta*, lessens the value of the nominal to which it is attached. This is seen in expressions like *wirtu-marta* 'fairly big' (*wirtu* 'big') and *wariny-marta* 'a bit different' (*wariny* 'different, another, other').

(4.155) *Larr-pi-na-ngulu* *pulany* *kurlamanu-jirri* *kurtarra*
crack-VB-NM-ABL 3DU frilled.lizard-DU brothers

kuku *jarri-nyi* *pulu* *kaninykarti* *yiji*
hide INCH-NFUT 3DU.SUB inside really

ngaparr-marta *jurnti-ngi.*
out.of.reach-ATTEN cave-LOC

'(The lightning) split open (the rocks) and those two frilled-neck lizards were hiding inside the cave—the lightning was not quite reaching them—they were far enough back in the cave.'

(4.156) *Paliny-ju* *yija-lu* *wirla-rna* *jakarta-marta-lu.*
him-ERG truly-ERG hit-NFUT slow-ATTEN-ERG
'Truly, he was hitting him gently/easier.'

Comparative nominal expressions can be the stems for derived verbs:

(4.157) *Wangka-marta* *jarri-nyi-yi,* *pala-nga* *wangka* *yiji.*
close-ATTEN INCH-NFUT-3PL.SUB that-LOC close really
'They were getting closer and then (they became) really close.'

4.2.24 Activity -karra

The nominal suffix, *-karra*,¹¹ is primarily used to indicate the subject's involvement in some activity (4.158).

¹¹ There is evidence to suggest that current lexicalisations are derived from this suffix although the form of the suffix is *-lkarra*. There is not much other evidence however to substantiate this claim.

<i>Jipa-lkarra</i>	<i>kampa-lkarra</i>
drive-ACT	cook-ACT
'a driver'	'a cook'

- (4.158) a. *mijimiji-karra*
gold-ACT
'involved in the mining of gold'
- b. *maparn-karra*
magic-ACT
'involved with healing or working magic'
- c. *kangkuru-karra*
kangaroo-ACT
'involved with hunting kangaroos'
- d. *pirrapirra-karra*
shells-ACT
'involved with collecting shells'

In (4.159) the adnominal expression involving *-karra* is followed by the ablative suffix. However there is no evidence to suggest the *-karra* can be followed by any other nominal suffix.

- (4.159) *Wirla-rna pulu janinyi wiyirr pala-nga*
hit-NFUT 3DU.SUB 3PL.OBJ whole.lot that-LOC
- jurlurr-karra-ja.*
ceremony-ACT-ABL
'Those two killed everyone involved in that ceremony.'

4.2.25 Obscured *-purni*

The obscured suffix marks some object which obscures the modified nominal from view. This suffix can also function as an adnominal suffix and can be followed by locative or ablative suffixes.

- (4.160) *Miral jarri-nyi-yi janpamalu-rrangu ngapa-purni-ja.*
visible INCH-NFUT-3PL.SUB fish-PL water-OBS-ABL
'The fish became visible after being obscured by the water.'
- (4.161) *Munu yirri-rna-ma-rna pala warnku-purni.*
NEG see-NFUT-CF-1SG.SUB that rock-OBS
'I can't see it (the eagle), it is obscured by the rock.'
- (4.162) *Kaja-nikinyi mungka-purni.*
sit-IMPF tree-OBS
'S/he was sitting behind the tree/obscured by the tree.'

4.2.26 Conjunction *-pa*

The *-pa* suffix functions as a noun phrase conjunction and can be attached to each nominal in the expression (4.163), or to the first nominal only (4.164)–(4.167). It can be used on personal names as well as nominals inflected with other suffixes.

(4.163) *Kuwarri kurrngal ngalyun-pa pirirri-pa partany-karrangu-pa.*
 now many woman-CONJ man-CONJ child-PL-CONJ
 'Now there is a big mob of women, men and children.'

(4.164) *Nga-la-nyyi ngunyja mirliki-pa ralyu.*
 eat-IMP-1SG.OBJ snack liver-CONJ lungs
 'Eat me, have the liver and lungs for a snack.'

(4.165) *Wanikinyi pulu ngurra-nga, yarrkal ya-nikinyi pulu*
 stay-IMPF 3DU.SUB camp-LOC hunting go-IMPF 3DU.SUB
yukurru-pa pala partany kuyi-karti-pa mayi-karti.
 dog-CONJ that child meat-ALL-CONJ vegetable.food-ALL
 'Those two stayed at that camp and went hunting; the dog and the child
 for meat and grain.'

(4.166) *kalku-nikinyi janinyi partany-karrangu ka-nganyikinyi*
 keep-IMPF 3PL.OBJ child-PL take-IMPF
janinyi paliny-ju pirra-nga-pa kata-nga.
 3PL.OBJ 3SG-ERG desert-LOC-CONJ scrub-LOC
 'He was looking after his children and took them to the desert and
 scrub areas.'

(4.167) *Partany-karrangu-lu-pa walypila-lu parrja-nikinyi-yi*
 child-PL-ERG-CONJ white.fellow-ERG look-IMPF-3PL.SUB
wararr-ju.
 standing-ERG
 'The children and the white fellows were standing looking for it (the
 bush honey).'

There are occasions when the conjunction suffix is attached to a compound nominal expression to indicate a collective group as in 'mother and father' to indicate 'parents' where it only is attached to the final morpheme in the compound.

- (4.168) *Paliny-mili-rrangu-lu pipi-japartu-lu-pa*
 3SG-GEN-PL-ERG mother-father-ERG-CONJ

kama-rna-ya-lu.
 call-NFUT-3PL.SUB-3SG.DAT
 'Her parents called out to her.'

4.2.27 'Free from' -munyil, -minyil, -minyili

There are several variations of this nominal suffix: *-munyil*, *-minyil* and *-minyili* which appear not to be morphologically or phonologically conditioned. There are few attested occurrences of it in texts. Speakers of the northern dialect tend to prefer the *-minyil* form of this suffix.

- (4.169) *Mirrarn-ji kaja-na-rra janyja-minyil.*
 shade-LOC sit-NFUT-3SG.SUB sun-FREE.FROM
 'He is sitting in the shade out of the sun.' (McKelson 1989:151)

- (4.170) *Partany ka-wa wika-munyil, kamp-a-li!*
 child take-IMP fire-FREE.FROM burn-ANT-ANT
 'Take the child away from the fire, it might get burnt!'

4.2.28 Negative -wayi

The negative suffix *-wayi* can attach to nominals or nominalised verbs. It has the function of adding a privative connotation to the nominal. In examples (4.171) and (4.172) it functions as a second predication on the subject. In (4.173) and (4.174) it functions as a predication in a non-verbal clause.

- (4.171) *Kurntany-wayi-lu ka-wa-lu.*
 shy-NEG-ERG take-IMP-3SG.DAT
 'Take it for him without being shy.'

- (4.172) *Wangka-marta ya-ninya-rra kaja-wayi*
 close-ATTEN go-PRS-3SG.SUB long.way-NEG

ngani-ngi jarri-a-npi-li-pa!
 what-LOC INCH-ANT-2SG.SUB-ANT-EMPH
 'Don't go too far (stay close)!'

- (4.173) *Jurnti pipi pulany-mili marrngu-wayi.*
 cave mother 3DU-GEN person-NEG
 'Their cave mother is not a person.'

The negative suffix can occur attached to nominalised verbs and following other nominal suffixes. In the following example the negative suffix negates a nominal used as a predicate.

- (4.174) *Ya-na pala mirtawa ngalypa-kata, nga-ninya-kata-wayi nyungu.*
 go-NFUT that woman good-CHAR eat-NM-CHAR-NEG this
 'That good woman went, this one who is not a cannibal.'

4.2.29 Kin term suffixes

The following brief discussion overviews some of the possible morphology which exists for Nyangumarta kin terms. The reader, however, is directed to O'Grady and Mooney (1973) for a more detailed discussion of Nyangumarta kinship terminology. The following discussion highlights some of the more common occurrences of kin term morphology although there is still a lot of work needed to complete the full picture.

Possession *-ji*

Many singular kin terms end with *-ji*. Some items can occur without *-ji* with no change in meaning and others always occur in present Nyangumarta with *-ji* as part of the root. It is possible that this earlier suffix indicated possession *nyupaji* 'my husband/wife'. However, in modern Nyangumarta *-ji* is unanalysable as being separate from the stem. O'Grady and Mooney (1973:7) say the following about the *-ji* element: it 'was probably once a suffix indicating first person possessor'.

<i>nyupaji ~ nyupa</i>	spouse
<i>kakaji ~ kaka</i>	uncle (mother's brother; father's sister's husband)
<i>mamaji</i>	older brother
<i>karluji</i>	grandmother
<i>kamiji</i>	grandmother
<i>kangkujji</i>	older sister
<i>nyakaji</i>	a wrong spouse

Dyadic *-rra/-karra*

The suffixes *-rra* and *-karra* are dual or plural number suffixes on some kinship terms. O'Grady and Mooney (1973:9) note the following:

Nyangumarta has dual terms for pairs of kin and plural terms for sets of three or more kin. Although in some Australian languages the entire dual kinship terminology is morphologically unrelated to the singular terminology, in Nyangumarta the majority of dual and plural terms are formed by adding one or a combination of a number of semantically conditioned dual or plural suffixes to certain singular kinship terms of Nyangumarta or of other Western or Central Australian languages;

Nyangumarta has some dual-plural terms whose stems do not appear as singular terms in Nyangumarta.

Examples are given below:

<i>yakan</i>	a term of reference for person of marriageable skin by people who are two generations apart
<i>yakan-karra</i>	two <i>yakan</i>
<i>kurntal</i>	daughter
<i>kurntal-karra</i>	two or more women in mother-daughter relationship. This term can be used in a plural context and also said for a group of several mothers and daughters.
<i>pinaji</i>	shared reference term for brother or brother's wife also: a term of reference for person of marriageable skin by people who are of the same generation
<i>pina-rra</i>	two <i>pinaji</i>
<i>nyupa</i>	spouse
<i>nyupa-rra</i>	husband and wife
<i>yinini</i>	reference term for mother's brother or mother-in-law
<i>yinini-rra</i>	reference term for mother's brother and mother-in-law

Plural *-malingu*

Some reference terms have plural forms. The *-malingu* suffix is used in the northern Nyangumarta dialect.

<i>yakan</i>	a term of reference for person of marriageable skin by people who are two generations apart
<i>yakan-malingu</i>	for many pairs
<i>yinini</i>	reference term for mother's brother or mother-in-law
<i>yinini-malingu</i>	reference term for mother's brother and mother-in-law: plural
<i>pinaji</i>	shared reference term for brother or brother's wife also: a term of reference for person of marriageable skin by people who are of the same generation
<i>pina-malingu</i>	for my brother and his wife: plural.

5 *Verb morphology*

This chapter describes the inflectional suffixes of the Nyangumarta verb. Section 5.1 gives an overview of the various types of verbs which can occur in terms of their transitivity and §5.2 describes the various verb conjugations. Section 5.3 gives a description of the morphological markings of the various inflectional allomorphs in the two major and minor conjugations and §5.4 gives a description of the major functions of the various verbal inflections.

5.1 Transitivity

Dixon (1980:378) states that: 'Every verb in an Australian language is strictly transitive - occurring just with a subject (A) and object (O) core NPs - or strictly intransitive - occurring just with a subject (S) core NP. It is usually a simple matter to determine transitivity.' Nyangumarta, however does not fit exactly into this pattern. Nyangumarta requires an additional category for verbal arguments—the indirect object of a transitive or intransitive verb: (IO). This is to account for semitransitive and extended-intransitive verbs which take an IO as a complement. The various grammatical relations of verbs are set out below in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Nyangumarta verbal predicate types

transitive	A	O	
intransitive	S		
ditransitive	A	O	IO
semitransitive	A		IO
extended-intransitive	S		IO

Ergative marking is used to indicate NPs in A function in transitive, ditransitive or semitransitive clauses; NPs in S function in intransitive and extended-intransitive clauses will occur with absolutive case; O NPs in clauses with transitive and ditransitive verbs will appear with absolutive case marking and IO NPs in ditransitive, extended-intransitive or semitransitive verbs will appear with dative or locative case marking.

Table 5.2 gives the numbers of transitive, intransitive, ditransitive, semitransitive and extended-intransitive verbs for the four conjugation classes, recognised in this description, based on a sample of 197 monomorphemic verb roots.

Table 5.2: Conjugation membership and transitivity

	NY	RN	NG	N	Total
transitive	4	102	1	1	108
intransitive	36	37	1	0	74
ditransitive	0	7	0	1	8
semitransitive	1	4	0	0	5
extended-intransitive	1	1	0	0	2
Total	42	151	2	2	197

Table 5.3 illustrates the different predicate types which exist in Nyangumarta.

Table 5.3: Verbs and transitivity

Transitive			A	O	
<i>wirla-RN</i>	'hit/kill'		ERG	ABS	
<i>kampa-RN</i>	'cook'		ERG	ABS	
Intransitive			S		
<i>kaja-RN</i>	'sit/arrive'		ABS		
<i>karnti-NY</i>	'climb'		ABS		
Ditransitive			A	O	IO
<i>jami-RN</i>	'withhold'		ERG	DAT	ABS
<i>mira-RN</i>	'remove'		ERG	DAT	ABS
<i>yi-NG/yu-NG</i>	'give'		ERG	ABS	ABS
	'give (3SG)'		ERG	ABS	LOC
<i>nyarri-RN</i>	'conceal from'		ERG	ABS	LOC

<i>jija-RN</i>	'teach, show'	ERG	ABS	LOC
<i>wurra-RN</i>	'tell'	ERG	ABS	LOC
<i>kalku-RN</i>	'train on'	ERG	ABS	LOC
Semitransitive		A		IO
<i>mima-RN</i>	'wait for'	ERG		DAT
<i>kanyji-RN</i>	'look for'	ERG		DAT
<i>karrji-RN</i>	'head for, charge'	ERG		DAT
<i>mirrju-RN</i>	'obey, trust'	ERG		LOC
<i>panypa-NY</i>	'disobey'	ERG		LOC
Extended-intransitive		S		IO
<i>parta-RN</i>	'dislike'	ABS		DAT
<i>karri-NY</i>	'like, want'	ABS		DAT

For a full discussion of how these verbs appear within sentences see §10.3 on Nyangumarta clause types.

5.2 Inflectional classes

There are four conjugation classes in Nyangumarta. Within the RN class there is phonological alternation in non-future tense forms. The nasal consonant alternates between alveolar point of articulation and post-alveolar point of articulation (this alternation is the bases for two separate conjugation classes in O'Grady's 1964 analysis of Nyangumarta verb classes).

5.2.1 Major classes

There are two major monomorphemic verb classes consisting of 193 verb roots plus derived forms. Verb class membership determines the set of inflectional allomorphs a particular verbal stem appears with. The NY class is predominantly intransitive and the RN class is predominantly transitive.

NY-class:

- (i) 42 basic, underived verb stems, the majority of which are dimoric and intransitive, e.g. intransitive: *jari* 'flow', *jupa* 'abate', *kampa* 'cook', *karnti* 'climb', *karli* 'dig', *kurta* 'fly out', *milpa* 'come', *ngalpa* 'enter', *parlka* 'wake suddenly', *purrrpa* 'blow', *rurri* 'move', *yalya* 'set off'; transitive: *nguka* 'abduct', *nyirni* 'scoop', *ruwa* 'hit with something', *yura* 'hit with missile'; semitransitive: *panyja* 'ignore'; extended-intransitive: *karri* 'want'.
- (ii) Compound verbs formed from nominals, nominal expressions and bound nominals¹ and the inchoative verb *jarri-NY* yielding intransitive verbs.

- (iii) Compound stative verbs formed from nominals, nominal expressions and bound nominals and the stative verb *karri-NY* yielding intransitive verbs.
- (iv) Compound verbs formed with *ngalpa-NY* 'enter' (transitive verbs) and *pungka-NY* 'fall' (intransitive verbs).

RN-class:

- (i) 151 underived verb stems the majority of which are dimoric and transitive e.g. transitive: *jaka* 'make a fire', *jala* 'told', *jani* 'cover with ash', *jarnti* 'clear the area', *jirnka* 'whittle', *jumpi* 'seize', *kaku* 'forget', *kalku* 'take care of', *kampa* 'cook', *kuliri* 'sharpen', *kura* 'grind', *kurni* 'choke', *kurnta* 'sing', *malya* 'chop', *martu* 'build', *mingka* 'separate', *minnga* 'bump', *minyji* 'set light', *murni* 'collect', *ngarta* 'break', *nyita* 'weigh down', *parnti* 'smell', *pirta* 'break', *purri* 'pull', *wirla* 'hit', *yirri* 'see'; intransitive: *jirra* 'stretch', *kaja* 'sit, arrive', *kama* 'call', *minpi* 'drink', *nganyja* 'breathe', *parta* 'dislike', *piju* 'swell', *tarlpa* 'burst', *wala* 'return', *wapaka* 'hop', *wupi* 'crouch'.
- (ii) Causative verbs formed with the *-ma-RN* verbaliser producing transitive verbs.
- (iii) Intransitive verbs of sound emission formed from nominals and the complex verb *karrama-RN* 'say like this' (see §6.2.3).
- (iv) Over 150 transitive and intransitive verbs formed with the *-pi-RN* verbaliser.
- (v) Over 90 complex verbs formed with the affective verbaliser, *-ji-RN*, producing predominantly transitive complex verbs.

A small number of verb roots occur in both the NY class and the RN class indicating an intransitive/transitive distinction.

<i>jupa-NY</i>	'diminish'	<i>jupa-RN</i>	'extinguish'
<i>jurti-NY</i>	'leak, spill'	<i>jurti-RN</i>	'pour, spill'
<i>kampa-NY</i>	'burn'	<i>kampa-RN</i>	'cook, burn, sting'
<i>nguka-NY</i>	'abduct'	<i>nguka-RN</i>	'take and stuff in'
<i>parnti-NY</i>	'stink'	<i>parnti-RN</i>	'smell'
<i>punpa-NY</i>	'feel heat'	<i>punpa-RN</i>	'feel heat'
<i>wurnma-NY</i>	'break'	<i>wurnma-RN</i>	'break it'

5.2.2 Minor classes

There are two minor verb conjugations in Nyangumarta, an N class and an NG class. There are only two verbs in each class and all of the verbs are monosyllabic. Unlike the two major verb classes (where present tense is only marked for third person singular), the minor verb classes distinguish a non-future and present tense in all persons and numbers.

¹ See §3.2.4 for a detailed discussion of this.

Class NG:

- (i) Two verbs with monosyllabic stems: *ka-NY* 'carry, take' (transitive verb) and *yi-NG/yu-NG* 'give' (ditransitive verb).
- (ii) Twenty compound verbs derived from a nominal adjunct and *ka-NY* to yield intransitive verbs.
- (iii) Two compound verbs derived from a 'bound nominal' and *yi-NG/yu-NG* 'give'.

Class N:

- (i) Two verbs with monosyllabic stems: *ma-N* 'get' (transitive) and *ya-N* 'go' intransitive.
- (ii) Five compound verbs derived from a 'bound nominal' and *ma-N* 'get' yielding transitive verbs.
- (iii) Eight compound verbs derived from a 'bound nominal' and *ya-N* 'go' yielding intransitive verbs.

5.2.3 *Inflectional suffix forms*

Verbs in Nyangumarta are inflected with suffixes marking tense, mood, and aspect as well as person and number. Conjugational classes have been labelled according to the regular suffixes following the verb stems in non-future forms.

There is a clear division of inflectional forms as seen in the paradigm given in Table 5.4. Many inflectional forms involve an element which resembles the form of the non-future morpheme for each conjugation. However the imperative, anticipatory, potential and future have no such element in their respective constructions. In those inflectional forms which do contain the non-future element there has been no synchronic analysis indicated in the table because the semantics is unclear, that is, although it is conceivable to analyse the non-future morpheme as constituting part of an imperfective aspect, the same does not hold for its involvement in the remote future's semantics. The NG conjugation differs from the other three in this respect—having a *-nga* morpheme in other verbal inflections and not the non-future morpheme for that conjugation: *-nya*.

It is difficult to give a detailed synchronic analysis of the relationship of the non-future morpheme to other inflectional forms because of the inconsistency in the NG conjugational class and also the appearance of the non-future morpheme in the remote future forms indicating a conflict in the semantics as noted above.

Table 5.4: Summary of inflections

	NY	RN	N	NG
Main clause				
Imperative	-a/-i	-IV	-rra	-wa
Anticipatory ²	-a/-i ____-IV	-IV____-IV	-rra____-IV	-wa____-IV
Potential	-u	-lku	-nku	-ngku
Future	-uliny	-lkuliny	-nkuliny	-ngkuliny
	-ulV	-IV	-nkulV	-ngkulV
Non-future	-nyV	-rnV	-na	-nya
Present tense	-yinyV	-rninyV	-ninyV	-nganyV
Present CF ³	-nyika	-rnaka	-nanyaka	-nganyaka
Past CF	-ma	-rnama	-nama	-ngama
Remote past	-nyVl(pV)	-rnVl(pV)	-nal(pV)	-ngal(pV)
				-nyal(pV)
Remote CF	-(nyV)mal	-rnamal	-namal	-ngamal
Imperfective	-nyVkinyV	-rnVkinyV	-nV(nyV)kinyV	-nganyVkinyV
Remote future	-nyangkuliny	-rnangkuliny	-nanyangkuliny	-nganyangkuliny
PurpAdvisory	-nyaku	-naku	-ninyaku	-nganyaku
Subordinate clause				
Purpose	-nya-ku	-na-ku	-ninya-ku	-nganya-ku
Relative	-nya-ja	-na-ja	-nganya-ja	-ninya-ja

In the Table 5.4, the V notation is used to denote a featureless vowel slot in underlying representation. The features for the V slot are filled in by phonological assimilation rules or by redundancy rules. Thus the imperative for the RN class can surface as either *-li*, *-lu*, or *-la* (see §2.3.9.3 for detailed discussion).

Historically Nyangumarta verbs were likely to have had consonant-final stems: the RN class: /l/ or /rn/ and the NY class: /y/ (see Dixon 1980). Dixon (1980:413) states: 'It is clear that Nyangumarda verbs have undergone a regular historical change: -ay- > -i-'. Verbs in the NY class either end in /a/ or /i/ not /u/ and there is a

² The anticipatory mood is a discontinuous morpheme. At first glance it appears to consist of the imperative form of the verb followed by any verbal pronoun(s) and then by the element *-li*. However the semantics of the anticipatory expression is clearly not related to those of the imperative except in cases where a warning is given and the expression can be interpreted as an indirect command telling someone not to do something.

³ CF here represents contrafactual.

difference between the two dialects in the final vowels of NY class verbs as shown here:

Southern Nyangumarta	Northern Nyangumarta	
<i>pungka-NY</i>	<i>pungki-NY</i>	'fall'
<i>ngalpa-NY</i>	<i>ngalpi-NY</i>	'enter'
<i>kampa-NY</i>	<i>kampi-NY</i>	'burn'
<i>milpa-NY</i>	<i>milpi-NY</i>	'come'
<i>purrrpa-NY</i>	<i>purrrpi-NY</i>	'blow'
<i>jupa-NY</i>	<i>jupi-NY</i>	'diminish'

5.2.4 Irregular verbs

There are two irregular verbs in Nyangumarta: *wani-* 'stay' and *nga-* 'eat'. The irregular verb, *wani*, inflects exactly like other verbs in the NY conjugation except for the imperative and future forms where it has a different stem (see in Table 5.5 below).

It is common to find the verb 'eat' as an irregular verb in Australian languages. In Nyangumarta *nga* 'eat', inflects like the RN class in the imperative, anticipatory, potential and future forms but like the N class for all other inflections.

Table 5.5: Nyangumarta inflections: for two irregular verbs

	<i>wani-</i> 'stay'	<i>nga-</i> 'eat'
Main clause		
Imperative	<i>wanta</i>	<i>ngala</i>
Anticipatory	<i>wanta</i> _____ -IV	<i>ngala</i> _____ -IV
Potential	<i>wantu</i>	<i>ngalku</i>
Future	<i>wantuliny</i>	<i>ngalkuliny</i>
Non-future	<i>waninyi</i>	<i>ngana</i>
Present	_____	<i>ngananya/ nganinyi</i>
Present CF	<i>waninyaka</i>	<i>nganinyaka</i>
Past CF	<i>waninyama</i>	<i>nganama</i>
Remote past	<i>waninyinyal</i>	<i>nganal</i>
Remote CF	<i>waninyamal</i>	<i>nganamal</i>
Imperfective	<i>waninkinyi</i>	<i>nganinyikinyi</i>
Remote future	<i>waninyangkuliny</i>	<i>nganinyalkuliny</i>
Purposive advisory	<i>waninyaku</i>	<i>ngananyaku</i>
Subordinate clause		
Purposive	<i>-nya-ku</i>	<i>-nanya-ku</i>
Relative	<i>-nya-ja</i>	<i>-nganya-ja</i>

5.3 Verbal inflections: forms

In the following discussion a summary will be given of the various inflectional forms of Nyangumarta verbs; only complex constructions will be dealt with in detail as Table 5.4 gives forms for the less complex inflections.

5.3.1 Present and non-future tense inflections

Verbs occurring in the major conjugations do not distinguish non-future tense from present tense for all persons. They are distinguished only in third person singular forms.

However, in younger people's Nyangumarta, present tense is occasionally distinguished from non-future in first person singular forms. The distinction is being made by keeping the vowel of the inflectional morpheme different to that of the bound pronoun which follows it. The a. forms in the examples which follow indicate first person singular forms of the present tense which is found in younger speaker's speech. Note that the b. and c. examples are alternate forms of the same word and that the b. examples indicate vowel assimilation spreading to both the inflectional morpheme and the bound pronoun; the c. forms are the forms which surface for speakers without the productiveness of vowel assimilation (typically the younger speakers in the southern dialect).

The following examples illustrate this difference:

- | | | | |
|-------|----|---|--------------------|
| (5.1) | a. | <i>Paji-rna-rni.</i>
bite-PRS-1SG.SUB | 'I'm biting it.' |
| | b. | <i>Paji-rni-rni.</i>
bite-NFUT-1SG.SUB | 'I bit it.' |
| | c. | <i>Paji-rna-rna.</i>
bite-NFUT-1SG.SUB | 'I bit it.' |
| | d. | <i>Paji-ninyi.</i>
bite-PRS | 'He is biting it.' |
| | e. | <i>Paji-rni.</i>
bite-NFUT | 'He bit it.' |
| (5.2) | a. | <i>Janpa-nya-rni.</i>
bathe-PRS-1SG.SUB | 'I'm bathing.' |
| | b. | <i>Janpa-nyi-rni.</i>
bathe-NFUT-1SG.SUB | 'I bathed.' |

- c. *Janpa-nya-rna.* 'I bathed.'
bathe-NFUT-1SG.SUB
- d. *Janpa-yinyi.* 'He is bathing.'
bathe-PRS
- e. *Janpa-nya.* 'He bathed.'
bathe-NFUT
- (5.3) a. *Kampa-nya-rni.* 'I'm cooking it.'
cook-PRS-1SG.SUB
- b. *Kampa-nyi-rni.* 'I cooked it.'
cook-NFUT-1SG.SUB
- c. *Kampa-nya-rni.* 'I cooked it.'
cook-NFUT-1SG.SUB
- d. *Kampa-yinyi.* 'S/he is cooking it.'
cook-PRS
- e. *Kampa-nya.* 'S/he cooked/burned it.'
cook-NFUT

In the N and NG conjugations, present and non-future is distinguished in all persons.

- (5.4) N class
ya - 'go' *-nanya* - 'present' *-na* - 'non-future'

- (5.5) NG class
ka - 'carry' *-nganya* - 'present' *-nya* - 'non-future'

Non-future tense forms

In the minor conjugations there is a formal distinction (for all persons) for non-future and present tense. As mentioned above, however, in the major conjugational classes, non-future tense forms are distinguished from present tense forms only in 3SG forms. Non-future is the inflection which surfaces in forms in which no distinction is made between non-future and present tense. Table 5.6 gives a summary of these forms.

Table 5.6: Non-future tense/present tense forms

	NY	RN	N	NG
Non-future	<i>-nyi</i>	<i>-rni/rna/rnu</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-nya</i>
Present	<i>-yinyi</i>	<i>-rninyi</i>	<i>-ninyi</i>	<i>-nganyi</i>

The non-future tense morpheme in the RN class is subject to a rule of vowel assimilation which spreads the feature of the final vowel of the verb stem to all V slots (see §2.3.9).

5.3.2 *Past imperfective aspect*

The imperfective aspect morpheme can be analysed as consisting of two parts (like most of the other verbal inflections). In the major verb conjugation classes it occurs as: non-future plus *-kinyV* and in the two minor verb conjugation classes it occurs as present tense plus *-kinyV*.

In the N class (minor verb conjugation) the form of the morpheme preceding *-kinyV* is often shortened from *-ninyV* to *-ni*.

- (5.6) *ya-ninyikinyi-rni* ~ *ya-nikinya-rni*
go-IMPF-1SG.SUB

In the NY class (major verb conjugation) the past imperfective morpheme is often truncated as shown below.

- (5.7) *pinakarri-nyikinyi* ~ *pinakarri-kinyi*
hear-IMPF

5.3.3 *Potential mood inflections*

The forms of the potential mood inflections do not occur with the non-future morpheme (see §2.3.9 for details of vowel assimilation triggered by the final /u/ segment of the potential mood morpheme). The potential mood has the following forms:

- (5.8) verb stem+u+pronouns Class NY
verb stem+lku+pronouns Class RN
verb stem+nku+pronouns Class N
verb stem+ngku+pronouns Class NG

5.3.4 Future tense inflections

The future tense has several allomorphs. The future tense morpheme is a complex morpheme in most of the conjugations and can be analysed as consisting of the potential morpheme followed by *-liny* or *-IVpV*. The basic form of the increment to the potential mood morpheme depends on the type of pronoun which follows it. As has been mentioned in earlier discussion (§3.2.1.1) the verbal pronouns can be broken into two distinct groups: affix pronouns and word pronouns.

This leaves two basic forms of the future tense morpheme:

- (5.9) Future forms
- a. potential mood+ IVny
 - b. (potential mood)⁴ + IVpV

The form in (5.9b) above can also be simplified to just (potential mood) + IV. The surface form *-IVpV* can be accounted for by an epenthetic *-pV* rule given in §2.3.4. The featureless V slots in these morphemes means that phonological assimilation rules influence the surface vowel's value.

Speaker differences

The future tense morpheme has been found to show some speaker variation. For some speakers, there exists a form which does not include the potential morpheme in the NY and RN conjunctions; instead the form consists of the non-future tense morpheme *-nya* or *-rna* preceding *-luma*. This is not common but has been cited in the following texts (the author of these texts does not consistently use these forms and can replace them with the more general form of the future in subsequent texts):

- (5.10) *Pala-ja wurra-rna-la, "Nyuntu kuwarri-lu*
 that-ABL tell-NFUT-3SG.LOC 2SG now-ERG

turlpa-nyaluma-n, ya-ninyaluma-n kara ngalpa-nyaluma-n."
 rise.up-FUT-2SG.SUB go-FUT-2SG.SUB west enter-FUT-2SG.SUB
 'After that she said to him, "Now you will rise up and go over and set in the west.'"

Thus the form of the future in the example above is: *-nyaluma* when it would normally occur as: *-uluma*.

- (5.11) "Walangkarr-pi-li-ji! Jina-rla yama-lama-rna-nta
 ahead-VB-IMP-1SG.DAT foot-FOC cover-FUT-1SG.SUB-2SG.OBJ

⁴ The bracket notation here refers to the fact that in some classes (RN and N) the potential mood morpheme does not occur with this form.

nyirrirni-lu, yama-rna kawa-rnaluma-rna-nta."
 behind-ERG cover-NM repeat-FUT-1SG.SUB-2SG.OBJ
 "You go in front of me, I will come behind and keep covering your tracks."

In (5.11) there are two instances of future tense forms on RN conjugation verbs. One of the forms, *yama-lama-rna-nta*, is the regular or common form where the future tense morpheme is not preceded by the potential morpheme; the other, *kawa-rnaluma-rna-nta*, is an uncommon form which consists of the future tense morpheme being preceded by the non-future tense morpheme (similar to the situation seen in the irregular form of the future tense in the NY conjugation seen in (5.10) above).

My language informant attributes these forms to speakers of *Ngurlipartu* Nyangumarta (part of the southern dialect) as spoken by Billy Dunn. The *Pijikala* Nyangumarta (also part of the southern dialect) spoken by my main informants prefer the other form of the future. During the discussion the following comparison was made between two different forms of the future tense morpheme for the verb *ya-N* 'go'.

Ngurlipartu
Ya-ninyama-rna.
 go-FUT-1SG.SUB
 'I will go.'

Pijikala
Ya-nkuluma-rna.
 go-FUT-1SG.SUB
 'I will go.'

The *Ngurlipartu* form does not include the addition of the potential mood morpheme; it has the form of the present tense preceding *-ma*. This form also leaves out the *-IV* segment.

Again in these constructions, it can be seen that the non-future tense morpheme or the present tense morpheme can be used. Whether this indicates that the non-future inflection is being generalised across the verbal paradigm or is being lost from it, is however unclear.

Remote future tense

The remote future has the following forms for the major and minor verb classes.

- (5.12) Remote future tense forms NY and RN classes
 Non-future + *ngku* + FUT
- (5.13) Remote future tense forms NG and N classes
 Present tense + *ngku* + FUT

The future tense morpheme occurs under the same conditions in the remote future as it does in the future.

Vowel assimilation does not proceed rightward from the final vowel of the verb stem because the /u/ vowel of the remote future morpheme blocks it. This is seen in (5.14) below:

- (5.14) a. *Paji-rnangkulupa-li.*
 bite-REMFUT-1DU.INC.SUB
 'We two (inclusive) will bite it.'
- b. *Paji-rnangkulumi-nyi.*
 bite-REMFUT-1PL.INC.SUB
 'We (plural inclusive) will bite it.'

Example (5.15) gives forms for the NG class verbs which have a present tense form preceding the remote future morpheme.

- (5.15) a. *Ka-nganyangkulupa-li.*
 take-REMFUT-1DU.INC.SUB
 'We two (inclusive) will take it.'
- b. *Ka-nganyangkulumi-nyi.*
 take-REMFUT-1PL.INC.SUB
 'We (plural inclusive) will take it.'

5.3.5 Remote past tense

The remote past morpheme in Nyangumarta follows a non-future tense morpheme.

The remote past morpheme occurs as *-lpa*, or *-lpi* when pronouns are suffixed to the verb. When there is a word boundary following the remote past, it appears as *-l*. Its various forms are seen in (5.16):

- | | | |
|--------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| (5.16) | Remote past forms | |
| | Non-future + <i>-l</i> | 3SG, 3DU, 2DU, 2PL |
| | Non-future + <i>-lpi</i> | 1PL.INC, 1PL.EXC, 3PL |
| | Non-future + <i>-lpa</i> | others |

There are instances of the remote past in the NG conjugation alternating with *-ngalpi* as shown below (this difference is attributed to speaker variation):

<i>yi-ngalpi-yi</i>	~	<i>yi-nyalpi-yi</i>
give-REM-3PL.SUB		give-REM-3PL.SUB

5.3.6 Contrafactual mood

The contrafactual mood has two forms: a past form and a present form.

Past contrafactual mood

Past contrafactual forms vary from one conjugation to another. The form for the RN conjugation class is as follows: the non-future (*-rnV*) plus *-mV*. This is given in

(5.17) along with forms for the other conjugations. In the NY class the non-future morpheme is optional and generally the past contrafactual morpheme is simply: *-mV*.

(5.17)	Past contrafactual forms		
	RN class		
	non-future +mV	--->	<i>-rnVmV</i>
	NY class		
	(non-future) +mV	--->	<i>-rnVmV</i>
	NG class		
	<i>nga</i> + mV	--->	<i>-ngamV</i>
	N class		
	non-future + mV	--->	<i>-namV</i>

The forms of the remote past contrafactual are a combination of the past contrafactual and the remote past morphemes.

(5.18)	Remote contrafactual forms
	PSTCFL + REM

Present contrafactual mood

Present contrafactual forms also vary from one conjugation to another. The form for the RN and NY conjugation classes consists of the non-future morpheme (*-rnV* and *-nyV*) plus *-kV*. Forms are given (5.19) below which include forms for the minor conjugation classes.

(5.19)	Present contrafactual forms		
	RN class		
	non-future + kV	--->	<i>-rnVkV</i>
	NY class		
	non-future + kV	--->	<i>-nyVkV</i>
	NG class		
	present tense + -kV	--->	<i>-nganyakV</i>
	N class		
	present tense + -kV	--->	<i>-nanyakV</i>

5.3.7 *Purposive advisory mood*

The purposive advisory mood inflection is identical to the nominaliser plus dative nominal inflection which occurs in subordinate purposive clauses. Forms are given below:

(5.20)	NY	RN	N	NG
	-nyaku	-naku	-nanyaku	-nganyaku

5.4 **Verbal inflections: meanings/functions**5.4.1 *Present and non-future tenses*

Present tense depicts events as 'on-going' which in effect implies imperfectivity due to the fact that on-going events are not generally viewed as a totality because they have not been completed. Comrie (1976:66) describes the present tense as 'essentially imperfective' owing to the fact that 'the present tense is used to describe rather than to narrate...'

The non-future tense, in situations where it contrasts with the present tense, also takes on an unmarked aspectual reading—that of perfective. The following pairs of sentences illustrate the aspectual and tense contrasts of the present and non-future tenses.

- (5.21) a. *Kurri-lu mayi kampa-ninyi.*
 woman-ERG vegetable.food cook-PRS
 'The young woman is cooking the food.'
- b. *Ngaju-lu kampa-rna-rna mayi.*
 1SG-ERG cook-NFUT-1SG.SUB vegetable.food
 'I cooked the food.'
- (5.22) a. *Janpa-yinyi mirtawa.*
 bathe-PRS woman
 'The woman is bathing.'
- b. *Janpa-nya mirtawa.*
 bathe-NFUT woman
 'The woman bathed.'
- (5.23) a. *Maruntu turlpa-yinyi pirti-ja.*
 goanna rise.up-PRS hole-ABL
 'The goanna is getting out from the hole.'

- b. *Maruntu turlpa-nya pirti-ja.*
 goanna rise.up-NFUT hole-ABL
 'The goanna got out from the hole.'

The following pair of sentences illustrate the distinction between present and non-future tense in the minor conjugations. In both sentences both aspectual types can be interpreted.

- (5.24) a. *Maruntu ya-ninyi pirti-karti.*
 goanna go-PRS hole-ALL
 'The goanna is going to its hole.'
- b. *Maruntu ya-na pirti-karti.*
 goanna go-NFUT hole-ALL
 'The goanna went to its hole.'

In the following example (5.25) the verbs *ma-N* 'get' and *ka-NG* 'take' have perfective aspectual readings and the stative verb *karri-NY* can have either a perfective or imperfective interpretation.

- (5.25) *Ma-na yirrkili, ka-nya ya-na wararr karri-nyi*
 get-NFUT boomerang take-NFUT go-NFUT standing STAT-NFUT
palama-nga.
 that-LOC
 'He got the boomerang, took it and went and was standing/stood there.'

In (5.26) the non-future functions in an imperfective setting illustrating the simultaneous action of coming back while at the same time bringing something. The verb inflected with present tense also has an imperfective reading. This is the same for (5.27) below.

- (5.26) *Palama milpa-nyi karlaya, ka-nganya pulinyi kujarra*
 that come-NFUT emu take-PRS 3DU.OBJ two
wupartu-jirri paliny-ju.
 small-DU 3SG-ERG
 'The emu was coming back, bringing her two small chicks.'

- (5.27) *Ngurnungu wani-nyi nga-nanyi partany-ju.*
 over.there stay-NFUT eat-PRS child-ERG
 'The child is staying over there eating.'

The present tense in the following example indicates an habitual aspectual function, describing the actions of the honey bee.

- (5.28) *Warrayi pala ya-ninyi ma-ninya janinyi kulupurn-ja, nyarra*
 honey.bee that go-PRS get-PRS 3PL.OBJ flower-ABL that.AN
yang-a-ninyi ka-nganyi mungka-karti.
 collect-PRS carry-PRS tree-ALL
 'The honey bee goes and collects (nectar) from flowers and takes it to the tree.'

In narrative texts where the focus is often on events rather than locations, it is more common for the non-future tense to be used. For example in (5.29) the two sisters are referred to as having taken the goanna back to the camp; in (5.30) the two (brothers) ate duck and in (5.31) the moon pulled and tied the net. In these texts, the non-future perfective forms present a total event and do not refer to its internal temporal constituency. Comrie (1976:3) describes the difference between perfective and imperfective forms as: in the perfective expression, 'the whole of the situation is presented as a single unanalysable whole, with beginning, middle and end rolled into one', contrasting with the imperfective expression which makes reference to the internal structure or temporal constituency of the activity. In the following examples the non-future tense marked on verbs, gives the clause a perfective aspectual interpretation.

- (5.29) *Pala-lu-jirri kangkungu-lu ma-na pulu maruntu*
 that-ERG-DU sisters-ERG get-NFUT 3DU.SUB goanna
pulany-mili-karti ngurra-karti.
 3DU-GEN-ALL camp-ALL
 'Those two sisters got (took) the goanna to their camp.'

- (5.30) *Pala-ja partany-ju-jirri nga-na pulu kuyi*
 that-LOC child-ERG-DU eat-NFUT 3DU.SUB meat
wiyirr karntantarri.
 whole.lot duck
 'And after that, those two ate all the duck.'

- (5.31) *Pala-ja wirllarra-lu purri-rni pala parruparru,*
 that-ABL moon-ERG pull-NFUT that net
kunyma-rna kararr.
 tie.up-NFUT hard
 'And after that, the moon pulled the net and tied it firmly.'

In contrast, in the following example, the present tense expression draws attention to the temporal constituency of the event 'taking the children' indicating an event which is presently ongoing, that is, an imperfective aspectual reading.

- (5.32) *Ka-nganya-rni* *janinyi* *nyungu-rrangu* *ngaju-mili-rrangu*
 take-PRS-1SG.SUB 3PL.OBJ this-PL 1SG-GEN-PL
- partany-karrangu* *kuyi-karti.*
 child-PL meat-ALL
 'I'm taking my children out for meat.'

5.4.2 Past imperfective aspect

Past imperfective aspect contrasts with present (imperfective) and non-future (perfective) tenses. Past imperfective is largely used where an event or part of the event is thought of as progressing or continuing (5.33) and (5.34). It is also used to indicate a past habitual activity: (5.35) and (5.36) where the event is thought of as happening over and over again.

- (5.33) *Pulany* *wani-kinyi* *pulu,* *partany-ju-jirri*
 3DU stay-IMPF 3DU.SUB child-ERG-DU

ngulya-nikinyi *pula-rninyi.*
 splash-IMPF 3DU.SUB-RECIP
 'Those two were still there (in the water), splashing each other.'

- (5.34) *Pala-nga* *partijirri* *warnku-ngu* *wakala* *kaja-nikinyi-yirni.*
 that-LOC middle rock-LOC tired sit-IMPF-1PL.EXC.SUB

Pala-nga *Wanatarn-ju* *jurnti* *wupartu* *yirti-ji-nikinyi* *yirti-lu*
 that-LOC Name-ERG cave small stick-AFF-IMPF stick-ERG

punja-lu.
 long.time-ERG
 'And there in the middle we were tired so we were sitting on a rock. And there Wonadon was poking a small cave with a stick for a long time.'

- (5.35) *Ruka* *jarri-nyikinyi* *paliny* *ya-nanyikinyi* *janaku*
 afternoon INCH-IMPF 3SG go-IMPF 3PL.DAT

parrja-nikinyi *janaku.*
 look-IMPF 3PL.DAT
 'Every afternoon she would go to them (the brolgas) and watch them.'

- (5.36) *Marntungu-rrangu marntungu ya-nikinyi pulu pingka,*
 morning-PL morning go-IMPF 3DU.SUB hunting
ka-nganyikinyi pulu janinyi partany-karrangu.
 take-IMPF 3DU.SUB 3PL.OBJ child-PL
 'Day after day those two would go hunting, taking their children with them.'

In the following Nyangumarta examples we see the imperfective aspect used to present a background frame inside which subsequent events depicted by the perfective non-future occur.⁵ This is consistent with Comrie's definition of imperfectivity as his definition entails the idea that the whole event depicted is not viewed as complete in itself.

- (5.37) *Ya-na walangkarr, ka-nganyikinyi partany wupartu jartu-ngu.*
 go-NFUT ahead take-IMPF child small dish-LOC
 'S/he went in front, carrying the small child in the carrying dish.'
- (5.38) *Yirri-rni rankurrji ya-ninyikinyi kanka.*
 see-NFUT bustard go-IMPF above
 'S/he saw the bush turkey (who was) flying.'
- (5.39) *Yirri-rni-yirni ngapi, rankurrji rutu-ngu wani-nyikinyi.*
 see-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB thingy bustard road-LOC stay-IMPF
 'We saw a what's it, a bush turkey that was standing in the middle of the road.'
- (5.40) *Kunarri yaku jarri-kinyi marrja kunyma-rna-rninyi kawu.*
 eel dance INCH-IMPF very tie.up-NFUT-REFLX body
 'The eel was dancing so hard that it tied its body (in a knot).'

Past imperfective aspect can be contrasted with present imperfective aspect as the following pairs of texts illustrate.

- (5.41) a. *Ngalyun-kurru jurrka-pi-nakinyi-yi.*
 woman-PL stomp-VB-IMPF-3PL.SUB
 'The women were dancing.'
- b. *Ngalyun-kurru jurrka-pi-ninyi-yi.*
 woman-PL stomp-VB-PRS-3PL.SUB
 'The women are dancing.'

⁵ See Goddard (1985) for examples of texts in Yankunytjatjara which illustrate perfective events being depicted in an imperfective (past) background.

- (5.42) a. *Jungka nga-nikinyi-yi janparr-ja-lu.*
 ground eat-IMPF-3PL.SUB hunger-ABL-ERG
 'They (the dogs or pigs) used to eat the ground from hunger.'
- b. *Jungka nga-ninyi-yi janparr-ja-lu.*
 ground eat-PRS-3PL.SUB hunger-ABL-ERG
 'They (the dogs or pigs) are eating the ground from hunger.'

5.4.3 Potential mood

The potential mood has the meaning: X wishes Y would happen and X expects that Y will happen; or when there is a first person non-singular subject form: 'Let's do X'. Examples (5.43)–(5.46) illustrate the use of the potential mood. They all indicate the idea of possibility or necessity about the future.

- (5.43) *Ya-nku nyurru janaku.*
 go-POT 2PL.SUB 3PL.DAT
 'You all should go there to (see) them.'
- (5.44) *Yirri-lku pulu janinyi.*
 see-POT 3DU.SUB 3PL.OBJ
 'Those two want to see them.'
- (5.45) *Kampa-lku-li nyungu-ngu!*
 cook-POT-1DU.INC.SUB this-LOC
 'Let's (us two) cook it here!'
- (5.46) *"Yakurrma-lku-rna ngaju-lu-pa", karrama-rna karlaya.*
 copy-POT-1SG.SUB 1SG-ERG-EMPH say-NFUT emu
 "'I will try to copy", the emu said.'

5.4.4 Future tense

There are two future tenses: a future tense and a remote future tense. It is more common to find the future occurring in Nyangumarta texts than the potential mood or remote future. The future carries the meaning that X knows that Y will happen in the immediate future. It can have a type of potential mood function: X desires that Y will happen although with not as much expectation implied as would be expected with the potential mood. The remote future has the meaning: X knows that Y will happen some time hence but not immediately or X intends that Y will happen some time hence.

In the following examples, a desired or planned expectation is expressed by the future tense.

- (5.47) *Ngaju-mili-rrangu partany-karrangu walju-lupi-yi*
 1SG-GEN-PL child-PL grow.up-FUT-3PL.SUB

wirtu jinjimama.
 big fat
 'My children will grow up big and fat.'

- (5.48) *Ngaju-lu wirlarra ji-lama-rna-nta.*
 1SG-ERG moon make-FUT-1SG.SUB-2SG.OBJ
 'I will make you the moon.'

- (5.49) *Karrpu-ngu kuwarri-ngi ya-nkulumi-nyi*
 day-LOC now-LOC go-FUT-1PL.EXC.SUB

wirla-lami-nyi janinyi wajapi-rrangu jinta-pa kuyi.
 hit-FUT-1PL.EXC.SUB 3PL.OBJ grasshopper-PL other-CONJ meat
 'Today we will go and kill grasshoppers and some other meat.'

- (5.50) *Nyungu-ngu kurl-ja wa-ntulupi-yi Jirrpayinya-nga.*
 this-LOC school-LOC stay-FUT-3PL.SUB place.name-LOC

Ngurnipali kurllkapili jarri-ulupi-yi, wuta wa-ntulupi-yi
 maybe understand INCH-FUT-3PL.SUB still stay-FUT-3PL.SUB

mujarri-majirri palajun.
 run.away-PRIV like.that
 'Perhaps they will stay in this school at Jirrpayinya and learn without running away like (they do).'

The future tense is often used as a mild command.

- (5.51) *Wirla-lama-n pulinyi marrngu-jirri!*
 hit-FUT-2SG.SUB 3DU.OBJ person-DU
 'You will kill those two men!'

The remote future expresses an intention to do something in the remote future and does not have an imperative function due to the remoteness of the intended action.

- (5.52) *Ya-nanyangkuliny pulu.*
 go-REMF 3DU.SUB
 'Those two intend to go (a long time hence).'

- (5.53) a. *Nga-lkulupi-yi marlu-lu.*
 eat-FUT-3PL.SUB many-ERG
 'Many will eat.'
- b. *Nga-nanyangkulupi-yi marlu-lu.*
 eat-REM.FUT-3PL.SUB many-ERG
 'Many will eat in the future.'

5.4.5 *Contrafactual mood*

The contrafactual mood is used to express actions which could have or should have happened but did not, as well as actions which should, but are not, being taken concerning a particular thing. It can also be used in situations in which the person concerned was not especially wanting a particular outcome but because of circumstances could have or should have expected it to happen. The contrafactual mood expresses more than just the desire of the speaker for something to happen. Contrafactual mood has the meaning 'It was about to (but did not) or it should have (but did not)'. It can also operate as a conditional: if you do X, then Y.

The present contrafactual mood contrasts with the past contrafactual in terms of tense. In the past contrafactual, the emphasis is on the individual's responsibility over the action whereas in the present contrafactual the emphasis is on the individual's desire to carry out the action rather than accepting direct responsibility for it. The present contrafactual mood is used by a speaker expressing their concern about an action which should be done but for some reason it is not being done; which contrasts with the past contrafactual mood in that a speaker will speak of something that s/he thinks could or perhaps should have happened, but did not. Both the present and the past contrafactual mood morphemes are used with the negative particle *munu* for negation (see §10.6).

Past contrafactual

The following examples illustrate the meanings of the contrafactual morphemes.

- (5.54) *Mayi ngalypa nga-nama-rna.*
 vegetable.food good eat-PSTCFL-1SG.SUB
 'I should have eaten good food (but I didn't).'
- (5.55) *Purlpi yaka-nama-n-pa nyuntu-lu.*
 long.time leave-PSTCFL-2SG.SUB-PURP 2SG-ERG
 'You should have left it before.'
- (5.56) *Yirri-rni wika nyampa mirti jarri-ma ngalypa.*
 see-NFUT fire quick run INCH-PSTCFL good
 'He should have run quickly from that fire when he saw it (but he didn't and now he's burnt).'

- (5.57) *Mirti-ja warli-nama kulpa-nya ji-nama pala mirtawa.*
 run-ABL hold-PSTCFL return-NM make-PSTCFL that woman
 'He should have held that woman and made her stop running away (but he didn't).'

The past contrafactual can also be used in a conditional sense in the frame: If X had happened (but did not), then Y. The following texts illustrate this:

- (5.58) *Tuku ji-nama-yi, pikaly jarri-ma-yi.*
 careful make-PSTCFL-3PL.SUB happy INCH-PSTCFL-3PL.SUB
 'If they had done it carefully, they would be happy.'

- (5.59) *Ya-nama pala-nga, yarnta-rnama marrngu-lu.*
 go-PSTCFL that-LOC spear-PSTCFL bull-ERG
 'If he had gone there, the man would have speared him.'

In the following example the speaker refers to an action that was about to happen and given the circumstances could have, but did not.

- (5.60) *Janparr-ju katu nga-nama kurlu mayi yukurru-mili.*
 hungry-ERG nearly eat-PSTCFL bad vegetable.food dog-GEN
 'Because of his hunger he almost ate the dog's food.'

Present contrafactual

The present contrafactual mood is used to express wishes which are unlikely to be fulfillable, at least in the immediate future. It can be expressed in the following way: X would like to do Y (but can not, but is not). The following sentences illustrate its use.

- (5.61) *Nga-nanyaka-yi jana-lu mayi.*
 eat-PRSCFL-3PL.SUB 3PL-ERG vegetable.food
 'They would like to eat the food (so they don't get sick).'
- (5.62) *Wirla-naka nyurru paliny.*
 hit-PRSCFL 2PL.SUB 3SG
 'You would like to/should hit him.'
- (5.63) *Ma-nanyaka-n-pa mayi-pa kuyi.*
 get-PRSCFL-2SG.SUB-PURP vegetable.food-CONJ meat
 'You would like to/should get food (for yourself—and don't take mine).'
- (5.64) *Wunyjurru nyuntu-lu wirla-naka-n janinyi*
 how 2SG-ERG hit-PRSCFL-2SG.SUB 3PL.OBJ

nyuntu-mili-rrangu *wiyirr* *partany-karringu,*
2SG-GEN-PL whole.lot child-PL

warli-lama-n *pulinyi* *kujarra.*
hold-FUT-2SG.SUB 3DU.OBJ two

'How would you like to kill all but two of your children?/You should kill all but two of your children.'

The following examples illustrate the difference in tense between the present contrafactual and past contrafactual moods.

(5.65) a. *Ya-naka-yi* *punarra-nga.*
go-PRSCFL-3PL.SUB dry-LOC
'They should go in the dry (but aren't/might not be able to).'

b. *Ya-nama-yi* *punarra-nga.*
go-PSTCFL-3PL.SUB dry-LOC
'They should have gone in the dry (but didn't).'

(5.66) a. *Ya-nanyaka* *pala* *yarnta-rnaka.*
go-PRSCFL that spear-PRSCFL
'If he goes there, he'll get speared.'

b. *Ya-nanyama* *pala* *yarnta-rnama.*
go-PSTCFL that spear-PSTCFL
'If he went there, he would have got speared.'

5.4.6 Remote past tense

The remote past tense is used to express events that happened in the distant past as well as in dreamtime happenings; the latter being used for an event in the remote past which the speaker has not experienced. The remote past can also be used to describe events within an individual's lifetime. The use of the remote past is not as frequent in texts as the non-future tense. In the following example, the story is a *manguny* 'dreaming' story about how the dog ordered man to eat him so that man could talk.

(5.67) *Pala-nga* *karta* *karri-nyi* *pulu,* *marntungu* *yarrarna*
that-LOC asleep STAT-NFUT 3DU.SUB morning again

wurra-rnal yukurru-lu, "Ya-nkulupa-li yarrkarl kuyi-karti!"
 tell-REM dog-ERG go-FUT-1DU.INC.SUB hunting meat-ALL
 '(In the beginning) they slept there and in the morning the dog once
 again said, "Let's go hunting for meat!"'

Likewise in the following two examples, the remote past functions as allowing reference to be made to something that actually happened a long time ago.

(5.68) *Pala marrngu ya-nal paliny-mili-rrangu-ngu marrngu-ngu*
 that person go-REM 3SG-GEN-PL-LOC person-LOC

milpa-nyal janaku.
 come-REM 3PL.DAT

'A long time ago that man came back to his own people.'

(5.69) *Nyungu palajun wariny-ju jirnka-nikinyi ji-rnalpa jantu*
 this like.that different-ERG whittle-IMPF make-REM weapons

palajun ngapaliny.
 like.that flat.bladed.spear

'This is how it was, a long time ago he was whittling/carving weapons
 like the flat-bladed spear.'

In many of the uses of the remote past, it functions as a usitative aspect although this contrasts with a similar function of the past imperfective because of the depth of time which is referred to by the context. In the following examples the speaker is describing how people used to collect and process seeds and other bush food (a long time ago).

(5.70) *Yirti-lu wirra-nilpi-yi kaparra-lu.*
 stick-ERG hit-REM-3PL.SUB dish-ERG
 'A long time ago, they would hit it with a stick and dish.'

The following use of the remote past is stative, illustrating the habits of people in the remote past but the cultural content allows one to understand that this is not common practice in recent times.

(5.71) *Purlpi nga-ninyi-kiti marrngu wa-nilpi-yi.*
 long.time eat-NM-CHAR person stay-REMPST-3PL.SUB
 'A long time ago people used to be cannibals.'

The following texts illustrate the differences between the present tense, the past imperfective, the non-future tense and the remote past. This complete set of contrasts can only be made in 3SG forms. Only verbs from the minor conjugations have

complete paradigm contrasts for present and non-future tenses although all verbs can take full sets of imperfective aspect and remote past inflections.

- (5.72) a. *Jungka-ja ma-ninyi-yi kitirr.*
 ground-ABL get-PRS-3PL.SUB seeds
 'They are picking up *kitirr* from the ground.'
- b. *Jungka-ja ma-nikinyi-yi kitirr.*
 ground-ABL get-IMPF-3PL.SUB seeds
 'They were picking up *kitirr* from the ground.'
- c. *Jungka-ja ma-na-yi kitirr.*
 ground-ABL get-NFUT-3PL.SUB seeds
 'They picked up *kitirr* from the ground.'
- d. *Jungka-ja ma-nilpi-yi kitirr.*
 ground-ABL get-REM-3PL.SUB seeds
 'They used to pick up *kitirr* from the ground (implies event happened in the distant past).'

5.4.7 Imperative

The imperative mood is used to give direct commands to people or animals. Imperative marked verbs only occur in positive clauses. To issue negative commands a negative particle is used in conjunction with the anticipatory or the purposive advisory mood. Third person subject agreement markers are used with the imperative, although the reference is always second person. The imperative mood is a very direct way of speaking and often a more respectful way of issuing a command is to use the future tense as is shown in §5.4.4. The imperative is commonly used in narratives in reported speech.

- (5.73) *Partany, wika-ku ya-rra murnu-la!*
 child fire-DAT go-IMP collect-IMP
 'Child, go and collect firewood!'

- (5.74) *Pirti karli-a wirtu!*
 hole dig-IMP big
 'Dig a big hole!'

Children also use the imperative mood to give directives to adults or other things in the environment. In (5.75) below a small girl is calling out to a flock of broilgas and telling them to wait for her.

- (5.75) *Mirtawa karrama-rna janaku, "Mima-li-ji-yi*
 woman say-NFUT 3PL.DAT wait.for-IMP-1SG.DAT-2PL.SUB

ngaju-ku!"

1SG-DAT

'The girl called out to them, "Wait for me!"'

Narratives can consist of a series of imperative marked verbs in reported speech. In the following example, the dog is commanding the child to collect hot stones, break up the sticks to make a fire, brush away the coals from the dog and put hot stones in his stomach. Each verb describes the next stage of the sequence of instructions and each verb is a direct command.

- (5.76) *Pala-ja yapan ma-rra, yirti ngarta-la*
 that-ABL hot.stones get-IMP stick break-IMP

makanu, wika tili-ji-li.

long fire flame-AFF-IMP

'And after that (he told him) to get the hot stones, a cooking stick and to break up the firewood to make a fire.'

Wurruly ma-rra wirlarn-wirla-li-ny!

bushes get-IMP hit-RED-IMP-1SG.OBJ

'Get the bushes and brush away the (coals and ashes) off me!'

Yapan wirri-li-ji ngarlu-ngu, yama-li-ji

hot.stones put-IMP-1SG.DAT stomach cover-IMP-1SG.DAT

yawu-lu!

hot.ashes-ERG

'Put hot stones in my stomach and cover me over with hot ashes!'

5.4.8 Anticipatory mood

The anticipatory mood is used when the speaker wants to indicate that something might happen or that something is expected to happen. It can also carry the sense of not wanting something to happen, that is the action has undesirable consequences and in this way the anticipatory mood is often used as an expression of warning.

- (5.77) *Partany punga-a-li.*
 child fall-ANT-ANT
 'The child might fall down.'

- (5.78) *Ngalpa-a-rni-li* *maya-nga.*
 enter-ANT-1SG.SUB-ANT house-LOC
 'I might get into the house.'
- (5.79) *Ma-rra-li* *wariny* *yirri-li-li,* *wirla-li-li* *pala-nga*
 get-ANT-ANT different see-ANT-ANT hit-ANT-ANT that-LOC
- ngarra,* *nyungu* *wirla-li-li* *warrarn* *walja-lu* *marrngu-lu*
 SPEC this hit-ANT-ANT country own-ERG person-ERG
- palajun* *wani-nyi.*
 like.that stay-PRS
 '(In the Dreaming) if he sees someone take something from the country,
 the owner of the country might kill that person.'
- (5.80) *Yija-lu* *kampa-a-li* *mirtawa.*
 truly-ERG burn-ANT-ANT girl
 'That girl might get really burnt.'
- (5.81) *Ngaju* *yirrku* *kurta-la-rni-li.*
 1SG still come.along-ANT-1SG.SUB-ANT
 'I might be able to fly still.'
- (5.82) *Wangka-ji-lkuliny* *nganyjurrinyi* *kaja-rla* *ya-nanyi*
 close-AFF-FUT 1PL.INC.OBJ long.way-FOC go-PRS
- wakala* *karri-a-nyi-li* *marnti-ja;* *warrukarti*
 tired STAT-ANT-1PL.INC-ANT walk-ABL night
- kaja-la-nyi-li.*
 arrive-ANT-1PL.INC-ANT
 'We will get close after going a long way and we might get tired from
 walking; we should arrive there at night.'

5.4.9 *Purposive advisory mood*

The purposive advisory mood morpheme can be analysed as a nominaliser suffix plus the dative suffix. The fact that a verbal inflection can be similar to a nominal inflection is noted by Dixon (1980:381) when he states that generally verbal inflections are quite different in form and function to nominal inflections, although:

A notable exception is verbal purposive, which occurs in very many languages and almost always has the form *-gu*, identical to the recurrent nominal purposive. Verbal purposive is also unusual in that it can generally

occur on a verb in a main clause OR on a verb in a subordinate clause (in some languages it is the only verbal inflection that can function in this way). A purposive subordinate clause describes some activity for the which the event referred to by the main clause was a necessary preliminary, done SO THAT it should be possible, e.g. 'I am going OUT TO SPEAR WALLABIES'...

Dixon (1980) further expands his description of the verbal purposive by stressing that when it is employed in a main clause construction, it indicates something the actor wants to, tries to, has to, or should do.

In Nyangumarta such constructions are analysed as purposive advisory mood constructions (in main clauses) and to keep this distinct from purpose subordinate clauses.⁶ The reason for this is based on the wide range of functions the purposive advisory mood inflection has which are quite distinct from the similar form found in subordinate purposive clauses (see §11.1).

The purposive advisory mood has several forms depending on the class of verbs to which it is inflected. The purposive advisory inflection is unlike the other verbal inflections in that it does not have any cross-referencing pronouns.

The purposive advisory mood inflection occurs in main clauses. In main clauses its function is to indicate a desired or sensible course of action to take, or else a sense of duty or obligation. The purposive advisory mood construction is used in main clauses in discourse as a form of commentary—commenting on events that are happening or about to happen and it is often used when describing how one should do something regarding the collection or production of particular things. The purposive advisory mood inflection does not take any verbal pronouns but it does occur with first, second and third person independent pronouns when reference is needed.

In the following extract of a story told about how to collect bush honey, the purposive advisory mood is used to give advice about the use of tools such as an axe when collecting bush honey from different types of trees.

- (5.83) *Kararr-ja wani-nya-yi pirntiny*
 hard-LOC stay-NFUT-3PL.SUB tough
- wurra-rna-yirn-a partal malya-naku*
 tell-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB-PURP unsuccessfully chop-PurpADV
- yilipi-lu-pa. Jinta kapulya-marta nyarra*
 axe-ERG-EMPH other soft-ATTEN that.AN
- mungka ngalya malya-naku pangkurl wurnma-nya-kata*
 tree good chop-PurpADV hollow break-NM-CHAR

⁶ H. Geytenbeek (1997:11–12) has labelled this construction HORTative.

puru-pa *ngarta-naku* *parirr-ju* *yilipi-majirra-lu* *palajun*.
 merely-EMPH break-PurpADV hand-ERG axe-PRIV-ERG like.that
 'They told us that (when you have) the hard trees you need to chop them with an axe. The others, the ones which are fairly soft, they are good to chop but you can break it off with your hand without needing an axe.'

The following pair of clauses illustrate the use of the purposive advisory mood to give good advice on eating habits.

- (5.84) *Nganyjurru-lu* *munu* *nga-nganyaku* *wirtu-jartiny* *pajali-jartiny* *kuyi*.
 1PL.INC-ERG NEG eat-PurpADV big-COM fat-COM meat
 'We should not eat meat with a lot of fat.' (Geytenbeek 1997:13)⁷

Pala-ja-lu *kuyi* *ma-nanyaku* *wupartu-marta-jartiny* *jinji-jartiny*.
 that-ABL-ERG meat get-PurpADV small-ATTEN-COM fat-COM
 'Therefore we should get meat with (only) a small amount of fat.'
 (Geytenbeek 1997:13)

The following example illustrates the use of purposive advisory mood to comment on the desirable form of locomotion by birds (such as emus). It is used in a context which suggests that it is by far a better thing that birds walk rather than fly.

- (5.85) *Yija* *yintajarra* *ya-ninyaku* *jinangu*.
 truly birds go-PurpADV on.foot
 'Surely, birds should go on foot/walk.'

Purposive advisory mood is often used in texts where people are using programmatic writing (how to do something). The following two examples illustrate this. The following text is prescribing the collection and preparation of bush food.

⁷ This example and the one following has been taken from Helen Geytenbeek's (1997) manuscript 'Moods and their Functions in Nyangumarta'. The glossing of language texts differs in the following ways.

1. Purposive Advisory Mood is glossed as PurpADV whereas Geytenbeek has termed the same construction Hortative and thus glossed it as HORT.
2. The morpheme *-marta* 'fairly', is glossed as QUAL (qualifier) by Geytenbeek.
3. ABSolutive case remains unmarked in this document whereas Geytenbeek uses \emptyset and glosses it ACCusative.
4. The term for animal meat is spelled *kuyi* in these examples whereas Geytenbeek spells it *kuwiyi*.
5. *palajalu* is glossed as 'therefore' by Geytenbeek.

(5.86) *Pala mayi piya-na-pinti piya-na-kanu nga-nyaku.*
 that vegetable.food grind-NM-ASS grind-NM-after eat-PurpADV
 'That plant is for grinding—you should eat that plant after you grind it.'

(5.87) *Pala mayi wirri-naku ngapa-nga-kurra kapulya*
 that vegetable.food put-PurpADV water-LOC-while soft

ji-naku, pala-ja piya-naku.
 make-PurpADV that-ABL grind-PurpADV
 'You should put that plant in the rain to make it soft and then you should grind it.'

Purposive advisory mood may also occur in questions, particularly those seeking advice on how to go about achieving an end.

(5.88) *Wunyjurru ji-naku puntaju karlaya-ku?*
 how make-PurpADV response emu-DAT
 'How (will I) to get revenge on the emu?'

Purposive advisory mood constructions can also have a purposive function:

(5.89) *Karlaya-ku munyi-naku ngapa-nga. Kuku*
 emu-DAT wait.for-PurpADV water-LOC hide

jarri-nya-lu wirra-naku jilaman-jartiny-ju.
 INCH-NFUT-3SG.DAT hit-PurpADV gun-COM-ERG
 'You should wait in the water for the emu. Hide there in order to shoot it with a gun.'

The following example shows a main clause with the purposive advisory and a purpose subordinate clause. In the second clause an NP marked for the dative suffix is the object of the subordinate verb. The function of the purposive advisory mood inflection is again one of advice or at least telling someone their responsibility.

(5.90) *Ya-ninyaku kanyji-na-ku narngula-ku.*
 go-PurpADV look.for-NM-DAT bush.honey-DAT
 'You should go to look around for bush honey.'

Purposive advisory mood can also occur as complements of the main verb. In the following sentence the purposive advisory clause is the complement of the verb *jaku-RN* 'persuade'.

(5.91) *Karta karri-nyi-yi ngarrany!*
 asleep STAT-NFUT-3PL.SUB still

Jaku-li *janinyi-a* *tama-naku!*
 persuade-IMP 3PL.OBJ-PURP rise.up-PurpADV
 'They are still asleep! Make them get up!'

Often verbs inflected with purposive advisory are found as complements of verbs of communication such as *wurra-RN* 'tell' and *japirr-ma-RN* 'ask (lips-CAUS)' (5.92). Notice in this example the verb marked with the purposive advisory mood has an ergative marked subject argument.

(5.92) *Wurra-rna-yi* *nganaku,* "*Malya-naku* *yilipi-lu.*"
 tell-NFUT-1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC.DAT chop-PurpADV axe-ERG
 'They told us, "You should use an axe."'

6 *Complex verbs*

Although Nyangumarta has only a relatively small number of lexically simple verbs, it makes extensive use of derivational and compounding processes to produce numerous complex verbs. Section 6.1 describes the use of three derivational suffixes including the causative (§6.1.1), the verbaliser *-pi -RN* (a derivational suffix with no individual meaning outside of the verbal complex) (§6.1.2), and the affective (§6.1.3). The types of stems which precede these verbalisers is given considerable discussion and the use of forms with dubious word status described as ‘bound nominals’ is included. In §6.2, compounding of verbs is discussed. Compound verbs are produced when an independent verb occurs in combination with either a nominalised verb, a nominal or a bound nominal. The second verb in compound verbal constructions is found as either a monomorphemic verb in Nyangumarta clauses or as a complex verb.

6.1 Derivational suffixes

There are three derivational suffixes occurring in Nyangumarta (6.1) which derive verbs in particular conjugational classes. The verbalisers are found suffixed to nouns, adjectives, noun phrases, demonstratives, verbs and spatial qualifiers. There are also stems that do not occur elsewhere in the language and these have been described as bound nominals (see §3.2.4 for more discussion). The verbalisers are as follows:

- | | | |
|-------|---------------|------------------------------------|
| (6.1) | <i>-ma-RN</i> | causative: making something happen |
| | <i>-pi-RN</i> | verbaliser: no particular meaning |
| | <i>-ji-RN</i> | affective |

The majority of words or polymorphemic expressions which precede verbalisers also occur in isolation or as uninflected monomorphemic verbs belonging to particular classes. It is not uncommon to find instances of the same phrase preceding several different verbalisers with quite distinct but related meanings often indicating a transitivity difference.

6.1.1 Causative *-ma-RN*

The causative suffix *-ma-RN* typically attaches to a nominal stem and derives a transitive verb. This process creates mainly transitive verbs of confrontation, communication or environmental manipulations.

6.1.1.1 Common nominal causatives

Causative verbal complexes formed with an identified nominal expression are found but often the derived verbs are not entirely semantically transparent. The following examples illustrate this type of verbal construction where a common nominal is followed by the causative verbaliser to produce causative verbs (6.2).

- (6.2) a. *Wirni-ma-rna.*
a.leash-CAUS-NFUT
'S/he led him.'
- b. *Yini-ma-rna.*
name-CAUS-NFUT
'S/he named him/her/it.'
- c. *Lirri-ma-rna.*
soak-CAUS-NFUT
'S/he made a soak.'
- d. *Pani-pani-ma-rna.*
eye-RED-CAUS-NFUT
'It dazzled his eyes.'
- e. *Jina-ma-rna.*
foot-CAUS-NFUT
'S/he tracked it.'

An example of how one such construction is used in context is given below with the nominal *yini* 'name'.

- (6.3) *Nyungu muwarr-pi-nikinyi pinakarri-nyikinyi-a*
this word-VB-IMPF listen-IMPF-PURP

yini-ma-nikinyi janinyi wurru-karra.
name-CAUS-IMPF 3PL.OBJ things-event
'This story is for them to listen to about the naming of things (weapons).'

The following example illustrates two causative verbal phrases based on the same common nominal *yampu* 'a hug'. The first phrase that is derived is causative suffixed attached to the nominal: 'a hug' giving the derived meaning: 'embrace'; whereas in the second phrase the nominal is inflected with the locative suffix *-ngu* and the resulting phrase extends the meaning of the nominal to: 'carry on side of body'.

- (6.4) a. *Yampu-ma-rna*.
a.hug-CAUS-NFUT
'S/he embraced him/her, hugged him.'
- b. *Yampu-ngu-ma-rna*.
a.hug-LOC-CAUS-NFUT
'S/he carried it on the side of his/her body.'

A very common verbal phrase of communication is formed with the combination of a common body-part stem *japirr* 'lips' and the causative verbaliser. With the addition of the body-part stem *ngarlu* 'stomach' the phrasal verb of communication 'begged, pleaded' is derived.

- (6.5) a. *Japirr-ma-rna*.
lips-CAUS-NFUT
'S/he asked him.'
- b. *Ngarlu japirr-ma-rna*.
stomach lips-CAUS-NFUT
'S/he begged him, he pleaded with him.'

6.1.1.2 Adjectival nominal causatives

The incidence of adjectival nominal causatives is not as numerous as for the other verbalisers. The following two types occur in texts: nominals depicting physical properties and mental attitudes and states. Examples of derived causative verbs based on these types of nominals are given below.

- (6.6) a. *Jakurn-ma-rna*.
around-CAUS-NFUT
'S/he went right around it, he circumnavigated it.'
- b. *Yawurr-ma-rna*.
unsteady-CAUS-NFUT
'S/he shook it.'

- (6.7) a. *Wankanyu-ma-rna.*
 alive-CAUS-NFUT
 'S/he cured him, he rescued him.'
- b. *Kartuwarra-ma-rna.*
 one.acting.on.behalf.of.another-CAUS-NFUT
 'S/he took his place, he stood in for him.'

The following examples of causative verbal expressions relate to some types of communicative relationships between people: 'deceiving', 'growling', 'warning', 'responding' etc.

- (6.8) a. *Mitu-ma-rna.*
 lie-CAUS-NFUT
 'S/he deceived him, he lied to him.'
- b. *Ngurr-ma-rna.*
 a.growl-CAUS-NFUT
 'Tell someone that another person is bludging.'
- c. *Puntaju-ma-rna.*
 response-CAUS-NFUT
 'S/he responded.'
- d. *Raa-ma-rna.*
 intensely-CAUS-NFUT
 'S/he called, warned him/her.'

6.1.1.3 Action nominals

The action nominals *wura* 'a hunt/hunting' and *pingka* 'a hunt' can be the stem for derived causative verbs. For the action nominal *wura* the resulting expression can also mean that someone is hunting someone down with magic to make them sick.

- (6.9) a. *Wura-ma-rna.*
 hunt-CAUS-NFUT
 'S/he hunted it, s/he made him/her sick.'
- b. *Pingka-ma-rna.*
 hunt-CAUS-NFUT
 'S/he hunted it.'

6.1.1.4 Bound nominals

There are numerous examples of causative verbs formed with bound nominals as the stems. The resulting verbs have a variety of meanings. The following examples illustrate several derived causative verbs with bound nominal stems.

- (6.10) a. *Jaka-ma-rna.*
(damper, food)-CAUS-NFUT
'S/he made a damper.'
- b. *Jikany-ma-rna.*
(high)-CAUS-NFUT
'S/he lifted it up.'
- c. *Karti-ma-rna.*
(headlock)-CAUS-NFUT
'S/he put a headlock on someone.'
- (6.11) a. *Kaly-ma-rna.*
(leave)-CAUS-NFUT
'S/he left it.'
- b. *Marru-ma-rna.*
(like)-CAUS-NFUT
'S/he liked it.'
- c. *Mungkutarri-ma-rna.*
(knead)-CAUS-NFUT
'S/he kneaded dough.'
- (6.12) *Pala-jirri kujarra kurrkurr-jirri kangkungu*
that-DU two owl-DU sisters
- kuru-ma-nikinyi pulu pala mayi wirlarra-nga*
(collect)-CAUS-IMPF 3DU.SUB that vegetable.food moon-LOC
- waraja-nga wirlarra wariny-karti.*
one-LOC moon different-ALL
'Those two sister owls collected the seeds (from the tree) night after night.'

- (6.13) *Paliny yarni-ma-rna-rninyi.*
 3SG (build)-CAUS-NFUT-REFL
 'He has a son like himself (lit. he made himself).'
- (6.14) *Paliny ngaju-ngu-yi yakal-ma-rna-ji-n*
 3SG 1SG-LOC-QUES (leave)-CAUS-NFUT-1SG.DAT-2SG.SUB
nyuntu-lu?
 2SG-ERG
 'Did you leave it (the bullock) for me?'
- (6.15) *Pala purlika wararr-ja mirti wapaka-rna wirrurru*
 that bullock stand-ABL run hop-NFUT fast
partupartu-ma-rna pala marrngu.
 (charge)-CAUS-NFUT that person
 'That bullock from standing, ran and charged at that man.'

The following causative derived expressions all have to do with some type of communication process.

- (6.16) a. *Juka-ma-rna.*
 (laugh)-CAUS-NFUT
 'S/he laughed at him.'
- b. *Kayi-ma-rna.*
 (call)-CAUS-NFUT
 'S/he called him, he invited him.'
- c. *Kurlkarri-ma-rna.*
 (think)-CAUS-NFUT
 'S/he thought, he remembered.'

6.1.2 Verbaliser -pi-RN

There are about 140 verbs (that have been found in the corpus) formed by the verbaliser *-pi-RN*. Of these verbs 84 are transitive and 56 intransitive. The semantics of the verbaliser *-pi-RN* in Nyangumarta is not clear although many of the transitive constructions do depict instances of forceful or deliberate action. Like the other verbalisers, although the suffix is typically attached to a nominal, the preceding stem is not always found elsewhere in the language as an independent word.

6.1.2.1 Transitive *-pi-RN* constructions

In transitive *-pi-RN* constructions, the verbaliser can follow both common nominals and adjectival nominals. There is also an instance of it following the indefinite pronoun *jinta* 'other, some'.

6.1.2.2 Common nominals

In the examples given below (6.17) of complex verbs involving the *-pi-RN* verbaliser attached to common nominal stems, a direct semantic link between the nominal stem and the resulting derived verbal phrase can be seen.

(6.17) a. *Jarlin-pi-rni.*
tongue-VB-NFUT
'S/he poked out her/his tongue.'

b. *Karnu-pi-rni.*
skin-VB-NFUT
'S/he skinned it, he peeled it.'

c. *Lakan-pi-rni.*
skin-VB-NFUT
'S/he peeled it.'

(6.18) *Pala-nga ngaju-lu larr-pi-rni-rni pala mungka*
that-LOC 1SG-ERG crack-VB-NFUT-1SG.SUB that tree

narngnula-jartiny.
bush.honey-COM
'And there I cracked open that tree that had the honey.'

6.1.2.3 Adjectival nominals

With adjectival nominals, the meaning of the resulting verbal phrase is directly related to the meaning of the stem which occurs first in the construction. In (6.19) the adjectival nominal *jirrja* 'scattered' is shown operating first as an adjectival nominal and then as a nominal functioning as part of the complex verb. Thus in (6.19a) where *jirrja* functions as an adjectival nominal modifying the verb, the resulting expression concerns people running in all directions. In (6.19b) where the adjectival nominal becomes part of the verbal word, the resulting meaning is that of X making Y scatter.

- (6.19) a. *Mirti jarri-nyi-yi jirrja warnku-karti-rrangu.*
 run INCH-NFUT-1PL.SUB scattered rock-ALL-PL
 'They scattered (ran, scattered) to the rocks (to get away from it).'
- b. *Jirrja-pi-rni janinyi wangal-ju.*
 scattered-VB-NFUT 3PL.OBJ wind-ERG
 'The wind scattered them (the pieces of paper).'

With other derived verbs involving adjectival nominals, the resulting verb is semantically linked to the adjectival nominal but additional meaning is added. In the following example, the meaning of the adjectival nominal *kuta* 'short' is included in the meaning of the derived verb but there is also the additional meaning of 'chopping'. In (6.20) the derived verb: *kuta pi-rni* is part of a complex sentence in which the meaning of 'chopping away at a tree' is achieved by the use of the verbs *malya-RN* 'chop' and *kuta-pi-RN* 'chop into pieces'.

- (6.20) *Jinta-lu marrngu-lu wararr-ju pala mungka*
 other-ERG person-ERG stand-ERG that tree
- malya-nikinyi-yi kuta-pi-nikinyi-yi, pala mungka*
 chop-IMP-3PL.SUB short-VB-IMP-3PL.SUB that tree
- malya-nikinyi-yi kuta-pi-nikinyi-yi, pala mungka*
 chop-IMP-3PL.SUB short-VB-IMP-3PL.SUB that tree
- pungka-nyikinyi jungka-nga.*
 fall-IMP ground-LOC
 'Other people keep chopping away at that tree, and chopping away at that tree until it falls to the ground.'

The adjectival nominal in the following derived verb is used idiomatically to mean X will get Y finished at once.

- (6.21) *Jampa tily-pi-lama-rna.*
 briefly cracking.noise-VB-FUT-1SG.SUB
 'I will finish it soon.'

The indefinite pronoun *jinta*, 'some', can also occur in derived verbs involving the verbaliser *-pi-RN*. The resulting expression can be interpreted as 'factive'.

- (6.22) *Jinta-pi-rni.*
 some-VB-NFUT
 'S/he broke them into groups/made others.'

6.1.2.4 Bound nominals

There are numerous examples of derived verbs involving the *pi-RN* verbaliser in which the verbaliser is attached to a bound nominal. In (6.23) however, the bound nominal *wily* '(whip)' is apparently related to the common nominal *wilypurn* 'whip', sharing a common initial syllable with related semantics.

- (6.23) *Wily-pi-rni* *wilypurn-jartiny-ju.*
 (whip)-VB-NFUT whip-COM-ERG
 'S/he whipped him/her with a whip.'

The following examples give some of the forms found in the data where bound nominals occur in *-pi-RN* verbal expressions.

- (6.24) a. *Jajarr-pi-rni.*
 (winnow)-VB-NFUT
 'S/he winnowed it.'
- b. *Jinarnjinarn-pi-rni.*
 (stun)-VB-NFUT
 'S/he stunned it with a stick.'
- c. *Jitany-pi-rni.*
 (leave)-VB-NFUT
 'S/he left it in place.'

The *-pi-RN* verbaliser can occur following reduplicated forms as shown in (6.25).

- (6.25) a. *Ngampa-pi-rni.*
 (prevent)-VB-NFUT
 'S/he prevented him/her, from crossing back.'
- b. *Ngampa-ngampa-pi-rni.*
 (prevent)-RED-VB-NFUT
 'S/he blocked the way.'

6.1.2.5 Intransitive *-pi-RN* constructions

Intransitive *pi-RN* constructions are not as numerous as transitive constructions. The following discussion gives examples of derived *-pi-RN* constructions that occur involving common nominals, adjectival nominals and bound nominals.

Common nominals

Many of the intransitive verbs derived with the *-pi-RN* verbaliser attached to common nominals indicate some sort of sound or physical emission with the mouth or body as source, as seen below.

- (6.26) a. *Janga-pi-rni.*
spit-VB-NFUT
'S/he spat.'
- b. *Kuntul-pi-rni.*
a.cough-VB-NFUT
'S/he coughed.'
- c. *Larnnga-pi-rni.*
bark-VB-NFUT
'It (the dog) barked.'
- d. *Muwarr-pi-rni.*
word-VB-NFUT
'S/he spoke, told a story.'
- e. *Ngarla-pi-rni.*
yawn-VB-NFUT
'S/he yawned.'
- f. *Nyirtan-pi-rni.*
a.hiccough-VB-NFUT
'S/he hiccupped.'
- g. *Nyarru-pi-rni.*
a.laugh-VB-NFUT
'S/he laughed.'
- h. *Winyjarr-pi-rni.*
a.sneeze-VB-NFUT
'S/he sneezed.'
- (6.27) "Kurr!" *muwarr-pi-nikinyi yirrku.*
kurr word-VB-IMPF still
'"Kurr", he kept saying.'

Others are expressions which show definite semantic connections to the common nominal: (6.28).

- (6.28) a. *Jukurti-pi-rni.*
path-VB-NFUT
'S/he travelled back and forth.'
- b. *Warruly-pi-rni.*
green.growth-VB-NFUT
'Feed around (for example, kangaroos).'

Adjectives

When the verbaliser is attached to adjectival nominals such as those concerned with physical properties of entities (6.29), mental attitudes and states of people (6.30), action nominals (6.31), the derived intransitive verb describes the expression of that entity.

(6.29) a. *Jannganka-pi-rni*.
shaky, trembling-VB-NFUT
'S/he trembled, was shaking from cold.'

b. *Waliwali-pi-rni*.
leg.shaking.corroboree-VB-NFUT
'S/he danced a leg quivering dance.'

(6.30) a. *Kurlu-pi-rni*.
bad-VB-NFUT
'S/he made a mistake.'

b. *Pirnti-pi-rni*.
knowledge-VB-NFUT (NyNth)
'S/he is learning, knowing.'

(6.31) a. *Mayampa-pi-rni*.
swimming-VB-NFUT
'S/he swam.'

b. *Rurri-pi-rni*.
movement-VB-NFUT
'S/he/it moved.'

Bound nominals

Derived intransitive verbs formed with bound nominals as the stem also occur. Some examples follow. Those given in (6.32) have to do with bodily emissions such as vomiting, hiccoughing, snoring and belching; those in (6.33) deal with inanimate emissions such as bursting, blooming, collapsing etc; and those given in (6.34) are based on action types of bound nominals involving riding, dancing, performing music and winnowing.

(6.32) a. *Karu-pi-rni*.
(vomit)-VB-NFUT
'S/he vomited.'

b. *Ngitarn-pi-rni*.
(hiccough)-VB-NFUT
'S/he hiccoughed, burped.'

c. *Ngularra-pi-rni*.
(snore)-VB-NFUT
'S/he snored.'

d. *Tarrnga-pi-rni*.
(belch)-VB-NFUT
'S/he belched.'

(6.33) a. *Jiki-pi-rni*.
(burst)-VB-NFUT
'It burst.'

b. *Jirntalyarra-pi-rni*.
(sparks)-VB-NFUT
'It emitted sparks. (*jirnta*
'sparks')

- c. *Kiki-pi-rni.*
(bloom)-VB-NFUT
'It burst, bloomed (flower).'
- d. *Jalura-pi-rni.*
(scud)-VB-NFUT
'It scudded, travelled fast
and low (of clouds).'
- (6.34) a. *Jali-pi-rni.*
(ride)-VB-NFUT
'S/he rode.'
- b. *Jurrka-pi-rni.*
(stomp)-VB-NFUT
'S/he danced/stomped.'
- c. *Parna-pi-rni.*
(shade.eyes)-VB-NFUT
'S/he shaded his eyes.'
- d. *Timpirl-pi-rni.*
(perform)-VB-NFUT
'S/he is making music with
boomerangs.'

6.1.3 Affective -ji-RN

The affective verbaliser *-ji-RN* creates transitive verbal phrases (of the 90 dictionary entries, 85 are transitive). As for the other verbalisers, the affective verbaliser always occurs following the nominal or verb stem it is verbalising.

There is an homophonous form *ji-RN* 'do, make' which appears to operate with similar semantics to the affective verbaliser *-ji-RN* in Nyangumarta clauses. The transitive verb, *ji-RN*, however has features which are used to distinguish it from the affective verbaliser: it can occur word-initially (6.35a), and it can occur in a transitive construction following a nominal inflected with the ergative suffix indicating the transitive subject of the sentence (6.35b), or it can occur where it has scope over the preceding NP as in (6.35c). The affective verbaliser does not have these features and is set in a verbal phrase following some pre-verb element.

- (6.35) a. *Ji-lkuliny ruka.*
do-FUT afternoon
'S/he will do it in the afternoon.'
- b. *Mirlimirli jirrja wangal-ju ji-rni.*
paper scattered wind-ERG do-NFUT
'The wind scattered the paper (all over the place).'
- c. *Mirrijin-ju marrjapanu nganimarta ji-nikinyi janinyi.*
medicine-ERG strong really do-IMPF 3PL.OBJ
'That medicine used to make them extremely strong.'

The affective verbaliser can also occur attached to stems of other verbs which the free form does not appear to be able to do. Example (6.36) illustrates a monomorphemic verb *ngalpa* 'enter' and a transitive verb phrase derived from the affective verbaliser *-ji-RN*.

- (6.36) a. *Ngalpa-nyi.*
 enter-NFUT
 'S/he entered it.'
- b. *Ngalpa-ji-rni.*
 enter-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he put it into something, he caused him to enter.'

The type of verb phrase derived by the affective verb can be described in the following way: X affects Y or X produces an effect in Y, that is the affective verb phrase depicts events in which an agent produces an effect (change, damage or injury) upon a patient.

The following discussion focuses on the types of words which precede the affective verbaliser and the semantic effect produced.

6.1.3.1 Common nominal affectives

Nominals are not very common in affective verbal complexes. The following expressions are analysed here as complex verb constructions involving the affective verbaliser which must follow the nominal and cannot precede it, as is expected in a construction involving a monomorphemic verb plus nominal combination.

- (6.37) *Wika murni-rni pipi-lu tili-ji-rni.*
 fire collect-NFUT mother-ERG flame-AFF-NFUT
 'Mother collected the firewood and made the fire.'
- (6.38) *Jina-ji-rni.*
 foot-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he made tracks.'
- (6.39) *Wartu-ji-rni.*
 a.cover-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he covered it.'
- (6.40) *Yirti-ji-rni.*
 stick-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he pointed it, he pointed towards it.'
- (6.41) *Paka-ji-li-ji.*
 cliff-AFF-IMP-1SG.DAT
 'Get it down for me.'

6.1.3.2 *Adjectival affectives*

In this section, adjectival nominals which are suffixed with the affective verbaliser forming adjectival verbal expressions will be described. The different semantic types such as dimension and shape, physical properties (of people or things), posture/locations, speed, colour, numerals and mental attitudes or state are included.

Dimension and shape

Affective verbal constructions involving nominals such as ‘big’, ‘long’, ‘flat’ and ‘round’ are found in texts. In the following example the expression *wirtu-ji-rni* refers to both the physical manipulation of inanimate things and also the nurturing or rearing of animate things (6.42). Other examples of affective verbal expressions involving adjectival nominals regarding dimension and shape are given in (6.43).

- (6.42) a. *Wirtu-ji-rni.*
big-AFF-NFUT
‘S/he reared him from his youth (of living things, e.g. child, tree, animal).’
- b. *Wirtu-ji-rni.*
big-AFF-NFUT
‘S/he made it big (of inanimates).’
- (6.43) a. *Lalypa-ji-rni.*
flat-AFF-NFUT
‘S/he flattened it.’
- b. *Mamurarri-ji-rni.*
rounded-AFF-NFUT
‘S/he made it round or smooth—e.g. take off rough bark.’

Physical property

The adjectival nominals which deal with physical properties of animate or inanimate objects are used frequently in derived affective verbs. The resulting verbal phrase is directly related to the physical property of the adjectival nominal: ‘make dry, comfortable, alive, sick, split, the same as’ and ‘like this’. These types of expressions are given below. Some are not entirely transparent such as (6.45b) and (6.45c).

- (6.44) *Ngurra-nga yarlka-ji-rnikinyi-yirni kaliki-ngi wirtu-ngu.*
camp-LOC dry-AFF-IMP-1PL.EXC.SUB calico-LOC big-LOC
‘In the camp we were drying it on the big calico.’

- (6.45) a. *Ngamala-ji-rni.*
 comfortable-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he made it comfortable.'
- b. *Wanka-ji-rni.*
 alive-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he healed him/her, rescued him/her.'
- c. *Warri-ji-rni.*
 cold-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he made him/her sick.'

Positions/locations/speed

The following examples of affective verbal expressions involve the use of the adjectival nominals in the semantic categories of positions/locations and speed. Again some of the resulting verbal complexes are not transparent.

- (6.46) a. *Kaniny-ji-rni.*
 down-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he weighed it down.'
- b. *Kanka-ji-rni.*
 above-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he lifted it (make something high).'
- (6.47) *Kinti-ji-rni.*
 slow-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he did it slowly /quietly /gently /carefully.'

Quantifiers

There are very few examples of numeral quantifiers being used in complex verbal expressions. The following illustrates the use of the quantifier *wakany* 'whole lot, all' in an affective verbal phrase.

- (6.48) *Wakany-ji-rni.*
 whole.lot-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he completed, finished everything.'

Mental attitudes and states

The forms given below all relate to some form of physical or emotional affect someone or something has on another person.

- (6.49) *Paliny-mila-lu kakaji-lu miranu-ji-rni janinyi yawarta-ku.*
 3SG-GEN-ERG uncle-ERG know-AFF-NFUT 3PL.OBJ horse-DAT
 'His uncle taught them about horses.'
- (6.50) a. *Jukuru-ji-rni.*
 annoy-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he annoyed him/her.'
- b. *Kana-ji-rni.*
 wake-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he woke him/her.'
- c. *Parrily-ji-rni.*
 alert-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he woke him/her.'
- d. *Kunta-ji-rni.*
 fail-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he prevented him/her.'
- e. *Kurlu-ji-rni.*
 bad-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he harmed it, did it badly.'
- f. *Kurntany-ji-rni.*
 shy-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he made him/her
 ashamed.'

6.1.3.3 Adnominal expressions

There are some instances where the stem of a derived affective verb involves an adnominal expression such as locative or allative. Examples are given below.

- (6.51) *Pirti-ngi-ji-rni.*
 hole-LOC-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he buried it.'
- (6.52) *Wariny-karti-ji-rni.*
 different-ALL-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he turned it the other way.'

6.1.3.4 Nominals based on English words

Derived English verbal expressions occur in affective verbal phrases. The following list is not exhaustive but it does illustrate the types of introduced activities important to Nyangumarta people in the north-west of Western Australia.

- (6.53) a. *Jalamu-ji-rni.*
 sell-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he sold it.'
- b. *Payamu-ji-rni.*
 buy-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he bought it.'
- c. *Warrkam(u)-ji-rni.*
 work-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he did some work.'
- d. *Wirnpi-ji-rni.*
 whip-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he cracked the whip.'

- | | |
|--|---|
| e. <i>Jiyirramu-ji-rni.</i>
shear-AFF-NFUT
'S/he shore (the sheep).' | f. <i>Jutummu-ji-rni.</i>
shot-AFF-NFUT
'S/he shot it.' |
| g. <i>Majuramu-ji-rni.</i>
muster-AFF-NFUT
'S/he mustered it.' | |

6.1.3.5 Bound nominals

The types of morphemes which occur as bound nominals in affective verbal phrases pattern like action nominals (see §3.1.1). The following examples illustrate the majority of these verbal expressions as found in texts.

In (6.54) the derived affective verb is focussing on the establishment of camps.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (6.54) a. <i>Ngartayi-ji-rni.</i>
(get.camp.ready)-AFF-NFUT
'S/he got the camp ready.' | b. <i>Yarta-ji-rni.</i>
(make.camp)-AFF-NFUT
'S/he made a camp.' |
|--|--|

The forms given in (6.55) illustrate different ways of expressing instructional types of behaviour.

- | | |
|---|--|
| (6.55) a. <i>Jijal-ji-rni.</i>
(show)-AFF-NFUT
'S/he showed him.' | b. <i>Jurtu-ji-rni.</i>
(show)-AFF-NFUT
'S/he pointed at it, he showed him.' |
|---|--|

The following examples are various expressions based on active verbal expressions related to interactions between people.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (6.56) a. <i>Wurtu-ji-rni.</i>
(ask)-AFF-NFUT
'S/he asked him/her.' | |
| b. <i>Nyunypaly-ji-rni.</i>
(combine)-AFF-NFUT
'S/he confused it, stirred it, mixed the ingredients together.' | |

Other examples of affective verbal expressions involving bound nominals are given below.

- (6.57) a. *Karna-ji-rni.*
(pass)-AFF-NFUT
'S/he passed it.'
- b. *Malya-ji-rni.*
(dip)-AFF-NFUT
'S/he dipped it, he dunked it,
he soaked it.'
- c. *Lumamu-ji-rni.*
(pan)-AFF-NFUT
'S/he panned it.'
- d. *Malparr-ji-rni.*
(bump.against)-AFF-NFUT
'S/he caused it to bump
(against something else).'
- e. *Wiyi-ji-rni.*
(transport)-AFF-NFUT
'S/he transported him.'
- f. *Jarlingi-ji-rni.*
(ride.on)-AFF-NFUT
'S/he rode/ is riding.'

6.1.3.6 Intransitive affectives

There are some instances of intransitive verbs being formed with the affective verbaliser. Examples are given below.

- (6.58) a. *Ngangkurr-ji-rni.*
cry-AFF-NFUT
'S/he cried.'
- b. *Parl-ji-rni.*
thump-AFF-NFUT
'S/he thumped.'
- (6.59) *Kampa-rna pulu, yija yukurru milpa-nya puluku,*
cook-NFUT 3DU.SUB true dog come-NFUT 3DU.DAT
- pala-nga yukurru runga-ji-rni.*
that-LOC dog howl-AFF-NFUT
'Those two cooked (the meat) and truly a dog came for them and
howled (at them).'
- (6.60) *Warrpu-ji-rni.*
(walk)-AFF-NFUT
'S/he started out (on foot for another campsite).'

There are instances in which the affective *-ji-RN* can occur in *-pi-RN* constructions¹; the resulting verb is a transitive verb (6.61)–(6.64). In three of these examples, the nominal can occur as the stem of a derived verb with the *-pi-RN* verbaliser attached to it. In (6.64), the nominal normally occurs in derived intransitive verbal constructions with the stative or inchoative verbs. Stress occurs consistently on *-pi-RN* and not on the affective verbaliser.

¹ B. Geytenbeek (1977) has also collected the form *-ju* following final /u/ vowels.

- (6.61) a. *Nyarru-pi-rni.*
laugh-VB-NFUT
'S/he laughed.'
- b. *Nyarru-ji-pi-rni.*
laugh-AFF-VB-NFUT
'S/he made him/her laugh.'
- (6.62) a. *Witi-pi-rni.*
play-VB-NFUT
'S/he played.'
- b. *Witi-ji-pi-rni.*
play-AFF-VB-NFUT
'S/he played with him/her.'
- (6.63) a. *Rurri-pi-rni.*
movement-VB-NFUT
'S/he/it moved.'
- b. *Rurri-ji-pi-rni.*
movement-AFF-VB-NFUT
'S/he moved it.'
- (6.64) a. *Wirnti karri-nyi.*
fear STAT-NFUT
'S/he was frightened.'
- b. *Wirnti-ji-pi-rni.*
fear-AFF-VB-NFUT
'S/he frightened it.'

The following examples of the nominal *ngangkurl* 'cry' illustrate the transitivity differences that occur when the affective verbaliser *-ji-RN*, occurs preceding *-pi-RN*. Examples (6.66) and (6.67) illustrate this difference in texts.

- (6.65) a. *Ngangkurl-ji-rni.*
cry-VB-NFUT
'S/he was crying.'
- b. *Ngangkurl-ji-pi-rni.*
cry-AFF-VB-NFUT
'S/he made him/her cry.'

- (6.66) *Ngangkurl-ji-rna-yi partany-karrangu warru-karti-pa*
cry-VB-NFUT-3PL.SUB child-PL black-ALL-CONJ

karrpu-ngu.
day-LOC
'The children cried day and night.'

- (6.67) *Mirtawa-lu pala-nga ngangkurl-ji-pi-nikinyi janaku,*
woman-ERG that-LOC cry-AFF-VB-IMP 3PL.DAT

paliny-mili-rrangu japurtu-rrangu kutu-rrangu partany-karrangu.
3SG-GEN-PL poor.thing-PL dead-PL child-PL
'The woman cried for all of her poor, dead children.'

In less clear examples, other stems (bound nominals) (6.68) also appear to incorporate the affective verbaliser followed by the *-pi-RN* verbaliser; but because of the unclear semantic content of the stems and without clear contrastive examples, the analysis is far from conclusive.

- (6.68) a. *Marn-ji-pi-rni.*
(hunt)-TRN-VB-NFUT
'S/he hunted it out.'
- b. *Mirni-ji-pi-rni.*
(tease)-TRN-VB-NFUT
'S/he teased him/her.'
- c. *Murkurr-ji-pi-rni.*
(touch)-TRN-VB-NFUT
'S/he touched it.'
- d. *Tipiny-ji-pi-rni.*
(twig)-TRN-VB-NFUT
'S/he sewed it up e.g.
stomach of kangaroo.'²
- e. *Kuny-ji-pi-rni.*
(tie)-TRN-VB-NFUT
'S/he tied it up.'
- f. *Narnpirr-ji-pi-rni.*
(trip)-TRN-VB-NFUT
'S/he tripped him/her up.'

6.2 Compound constructions

Compounding of verbs (see §3.4.3 for a general discussion of compounding in Nyangumarta) involves the formation of complex verbs from the combination of independent (or near independent) words, some involving nominals plus verbs, some verbs plus verbs and some bound nominals plus verbs. Compound verbs are described as complex constructions but complex verbs are not always described as compounds. Compound constructions involve two or more phonological words whereas other derived complex verbal constructions involve a pre-verbal element and some verbalising suffix.

6.2.1 Inchoative verb jarri-NY

The complex/compound verbs formed with the inchoative verbaliser *jarri-NY* are all intransitive verbs of the NY conjugation. The resulting verbal complexes all depict changes of various kinds. In some instances the change represents a complete physiological change from one form to another, in other instances the change can be some degree of physiological change, and there are numerous adjectival verbal phrases indicating changes of states such as getting bigger, older, slower, faster.

The types of words and phrases with which the inchoative is combined in verbal phrases are varied. Some consist simply of single words belonging to the large class of nominals; others consist of nominals marked for case—usually locative, allative or comitative and another set consists of bound nominals not found elsewhere in the language (although they can occur within other complex verbal constructions).

The changes the inchoative depicts are those dealing with emotions, changes of state involving interactions with the environment, physiological changes, time changes and behaviour changes (see Goddard 1985 for similar categories for the use of the inchoative in Yankunytjatjara).

² There is a similar form in Yankunytjatjara *tipiny-tju-n* 'put a twig in place to seal animal after gutting'. *tipiny* in Yankunytjatjara means 'twig'. In Nyangumarta *tipiny* does not occur in isolation.

The following discussion illustrates the range of words and phrases that can occur in inchoative verbal compounds.

6.2.1.1 Common nominal inchoatives

Common nominals can occur in inchoative verbal complexes. When these types of nominals are used, the expression means someone (or something) is changing into that entity such as 'changing into a dog' (6.69) or a 'mouse' and 'snake' (6.70); two people change into 'rocks' (6.71) and 'tadpoles' become 'frogs' (6.72). That is, the use of common nominals in inchoative expressions signifies a complete change from one physiological state to another.

- (6.69) *Ya-na yukurru jarri-nyi-a, ya-na wangka. Pala-ji*
 go-NFUT dog INCH-NFUT-PURP go-NFUT close that-ABL

milpa-nya janaku.
 come-NFUT 3PL.DAT

'He went and became a dog, and got close to them.'

- (6.70) *Paliny munyarri jarri-nyi, pala-ja jurru jarri-nyi.*
 him mouse INCH-NFUT that-ABL snake INCH-NFUT
 'He (the *maparn*) changed into a mouse and after that he changed into a snake.'

- (6.71) *Pala-nga marrngu-jirri warnku jarri-nyi pulu.*
 that-LOC person-DU rock INCH-NFUT 3DU.SUB
 'And there the two people turned into rocks.'

- (6.72) *Ngampu-ja kupulyupulyu jarri-nya-kanu, pupuka*
 egg-ABL tadpole INCH-NM-after frog

jarri-nya-yi.
 INCH-NFUT-3PL.SUB

'From the eggs, after becoming tadpoles, they become frogs.'

6.2.1.2 Adjectival inchoatives

By far the most common and productive examples of the inchoative are those in which an adjectival nominal is found in the verb compound (see §3.1.1). Many adjectival nominal inchoatives depict a particular change in state. In the sense that it is used in many utterances, a change in state can mean: where X is the adjectival nominal, something or someone becomes X, that is, you can describe someone or something as X. If X is big then X inchoative means that someone/something becomes big.

Adjectival or modifying nominals predominantly function as modifiers in a NP—see §9.2 for more discussion on modifiers). Dixon (1980) describes these types of words as ‘prototypical adjectives’ and groups them by various semantic contents such as value, age, dimension, posture, speed, physical properties (of people or things), colour, and mental state. The following discussion examines the various uses of nominals in this adjectival nominal class when they appear in inchoative verbal complexes.

Dimension and shape

It is very common to find the nominal *wirtu* ‘big’ or *wupartu* ‘little’ in inchoative verbal complexes. Generally the meaning has to do with the actual size of the referent entity; in (6.73) the mountain devil ‘became big (in size)’, in (6.74) the frog ‘became small’.

However, in some constructions the inchoative verbal complex *wirtu jarri-nyi* (big INCH-NFUT) can mean ‘growing up’ in age as well as size (6.75). In (6.76) the sense of ‘bigness’ is related to the development stage of a tadpole—when the tadpole is big (or at a particular stage of development) it becomes a frog. The derived nominal expression *jina-jartiny* in (6.76) actually signifies the partial completion of the process of tadpoles growing into frogs.

- (6.73) *Pala-nga wirtirri-lu nga-na janinyi pinga-rrangu,*
that-LOC mountain.devil-ERG eat-NFUT 3PL.OBJ ant-PL

paliny wirtu jarri-nyi.
3SG big INCH-NFUT

‘And there the mountain devil ate the ants and he became big.’

- (6.74) *Jarraku kulpa-nya wupartu jarri-nyi, munu*
waterholding.frog return-NFUT small INCH-NFUT NEG

minpi-nama yarrarna wirnti-jartiny wani-nyi kinti.
drink-PSTCFL again fear-COM stay-NFUT slow

‘The waterholding frog returned becoming small, he didn’t drink (the water) again, he stayed quiet, scared.’

- (6.75) *Partany-jirri wirtu jarri-nyi pulu jurnti-ngi.*
child-DU big INCH-NFUT 3DU.SUB cave-LOC
‘The two children grew up in the cave.’

- (6.76) *Yarti wirtu-marta jarri-nya-yi kupulyupulyu*
later big-ATTEN INCH-NFUT-3PL.SUB tadpole

jina-jartiny jarri-nya-yi.
foot-COM INCH-NFUT-3PL.SUB

‘Later when the tadpole becomes really big they grow legs.’

Physical property

Often the inchoative verbal phrase depicts the physical change of state of something as becoming 'cold' (6.77), 'warm' (6.78) or 'fat' (6.79).

- (6.77) *Pala yirrkili wartunaja-nga warrijirri jarri-nyi, yarrarna*
that boomerang dish-LOC cold INCH-NFUT again

tarrpa-ninyi wika-nga.
scorch-PRS fire-LOC

'(When) the boomerang on the dish becomes cold all over, he throws it on the fire again.'

- (6.78) *Turlparra-nga, parrpa jarri-nyi kakuputu ya-nanya-yi.*
spring-LOC warm INCH-NFUT really go-PRS-3PL.SUB
'In the spring, when the weather really warms up, they are on the move.'

- (6.79) *Palajun ngarra karlaya jinjimama jarri-nyi.*
like.that SPEC emu fat INCH-NFUT
'The emu became really fat.'

Some constructions depicting physical change of state relate to the change from sleep to alertness as seen in (6.80) and (6.81).

- (6.80) *Paliny-ju parrily jarri-nya-kanu, wirla-rna ngumpa*
3SG-ERG alert INCH-NM-after hit-NFUT face

pala marrngu wariny.
that person different

'(When the other man) started to wake up, he hit the other man in the face.'

- (6.81) a. *Kana jarri-nyi.* b. *Kupalya jarri-nyi.*
wake INCH-NFUT sleep INCH-NFUT
'S/he woke up.' 'S/he slept, had a rest.'

Other physical changes of state have to do with 'death', 'dying', 'being revived' or 'becoming old'. The following examples illustrate this type of inchoative verbal complex.

- (6.82) *Marrngu paliny kutu jarri-nikinyi, pungka-nyikinyi.*
person 3SG dead INCH-IMPF fall-IMPF
'The man, dying, was falling down.'

- (6.83) *Paliny turlpa-nyikinyi-a pirti-ja, wanka jarri-kinyi*
 3SG rise.up-IMPf-PURP hole-ABL alive INCH-IMPf
ya-nikinyi marnti, yirri-rnikinyi-yi pala pirirri.
 go-IMPf walk see-IMPf-3PL.SUB that man
 'He got up from the hole and came back to life and they saw that man walking along.'
- (6.84) a. *Marlkarri jarri-nyi.* b. *Mirta jarri-nyi.*
 dead INCH-NFUT old INCH-NFUT
 'S/he died.' 'S/he became old.'
- (6.85) *Marrngu ngayarta jarri-nyi-rri.*
 person visible INCH-NFUT-3SG.SUB
 'The man appeared.' (McKelson 1989:81)

Physical changes of state can also be described by inchoative constructions where physical conditions of people or animals (or things) are depicted such as 'decaying', 'getting a headache' or 'becoming nauseated'.

- (6.86) a. *Puka jarri-nyi.*
 smell INCH-NFUT
 'S/he/it was beginning to decay.'
- b. *Jarrati jarri-nyi.*
 headache INCH-NFUT
 'His/her head ached/began to ache.'
- c. *Karukaru jarri-nyi.*
 nausea INCH-NFUT
 'S/he became nauseated.'
- (6.87) *Pirru jarri-nyi-rri wika-ja.*
 blister INCH-NFUT-1SG.SUB fire-ABL
 'The fire has given me blisters.' (McKelson 1989:106)

Positions/location

Some adjectival nominal inchoatives are used to illustrate the position or location of referent entities such as 'standing', 'hiding', 'scattering', 'curling up' and 'swinging in a suspended position'.

- (6.88) *Wararr jarri-nyi.*
 stand INCH-NFUT
 'S/he (got) into a standing position.'

(6.89) *Janpamalu-rrangu kuku jarri-nya-yi pawurlka-ngamarra.*
 fish-PL hide INCH-NFUT-3PL.SUB brolga-CAUSAL
 'The fish all hid because of the brolga.'

(6.90) *Jiirrja jarri-nya-ya-lu walyi*
 scatter INCH-NFUT-3PL.SUB-3SG.DAT almost

mirli-ma-rna-lu.

(spear)-CAUS-NFUT-3SG.DAT

'They scattered and he almost speared it.'

(6.91) *Pala-ja manganya turrurn jarri-nyi.*
 that-ABL echidna round INCH-NFUT
 'And then the echidna curled up (to sleep).'

(6.92) *Wilirtiny jarri-nyi.*
 suspended INCH-NFUT
 'It swung back and forth.'

Action nominals

Action nominals such as *mirti* 'run', *marnti* 'walk', *witi* 'play', *warrkamu* 'work' and *yaku* 'dance' can all occur in inchoative constructions to create intransitive action verbs.

(6.93) *Karlaya mirti jarri-kinyi wirrurru.*
 emu run INCH-IMPF fast
 'The emu was running fast.'

(6.94) *Marnti jarri-nyi marrngu wariny, pala paji-rni*
 walk INCH-NFUT person different that bite-NFUT

kurlka-nyuku.

ear-right.on

'(And then) he walked over to the other man and bit him right on the ear.'

(6.95) *Yirrkku witi karri-kinyi pulu pikaly-jirri.*
 still play STAT-IMPF 3DU.SUB happy-DU
 'Those two were still playing (in the water) happily.'

Other inchoative constructions in which action or movement in particular directions is depicted is seen in (6.96) below.

- (6.96) a. *Jakurn jarri-nyi.*
circle INCH-NFUT
'S/he circled around.'
- b. *Kaninypiriti jarri-nyi.*
ready INCH-NFUT
'S/he got there first.'

Colour

The nominals which identify entities according to colour can become derived verbs which indicate the changing of an entity into a particular colour. This is seen below.

- (6.97) *Pala-ja kurrparnji pungka-nya wika-nga pala-nga*
that-ABL magpie fall-NFUT fire-LOC that-LOC
- warrukurla jarri-nyi.*
black INCH-NFUT
'And after that the magpie fell in the fire and became black (all over).'

Mental attitudes and states

It is very common for the inchoative to occur with adjectival nominals which involve an emotional state such as happy, sad, angry or frightened: (6.98) show an emotional inchoative produced by the combination of a nominal depicting an emotion —'happy' with the inchoative verbaliser; (6.99) illustrates the use of an idiomatic nominal phrase *ngarlu ngalya* 'lit. stomach-good, happy' in combination with the inchoative verbaliser to produce an emotional inchoative verbal complex and (6.100)–(6.101) show some of the other forms that emotional inchoative verbal complexes depicting happiness or anger can appear in.

- (6.98) *Mirtanya pala maruntu wulka jarri-nyi pulaku kurrkurr-jirri.*
old that goanna happy INCH-NFUT 3DU.DAT owl-DU
'That old goanna became pleased with the two owls.'
- (6.99) *Pala-nga marrngu jintu ngarlu ngalya jarri-nyi-yi.*
that-LOC person other stomach good INCH-NFUT-3PL.SUB
'And the other group were very happy (about the news).'
- (6.100) *Yija ngalya jarri-nyi.*
truly good INCH-NFUT
'Truly, it was/became good/happy.'
- (6.101) *Pirirri wirrilya jarri-nyi janaku.*
man angry INCH-NFUT 3PL.DAT
'The man was getting angry, furious with them.'

Other verbs of mental/emotional states which occur within inchoative verbal complexes are given below. Some of the following examples involve physiological states as well (6.104).

- (6.102) a. *Wirnti jarri-nyi.*
fear INCH-NFUT
'S/he became frightened.'
- b. *Puntaju jarri-nyi.*
response INCH-NFUT
'S/he responded (hit back)/S/he chased in anger.'
- c. *Wangany jarri-nyi.*
proud INCH-NFUT
'S/he's showing off/S/he's becoming too proud.'
- (6.103) *Kuyi-rrangu kunmu jarri-nyi-yi waraja-nga muwarr-ku.*
meat-PL united INCH-NFUT-3PL.SUB one-LOC word-DAT
'The animals became united for one word.'
- (6.104) *Pala-ja pala-nga manyula jarri-kinyi pulu, partal*
that-ABL that-LOC weak INCH-IMP 3DU.SUB unsuccessfully
rurri-rurri-nyi pulu-li pala-nga.
move-RED-NFUT 3DU.SUB-3SG.DAT that-LOC
'And after that they became very tired (from fighting each other) and they were hardly moving around there.'

6.2.1.3 Compass terms and locational nominal inchoatives

Directional and locational verbal phrases can be derived from compass terms or locational nominals combined with the inchoative verb. It seems probable (although not all occur in texts) that all locational nominals and compass terms can be combined with the inchoative verb (see §7.8 for more details on the types of words which occur in this category in Nyangumarta).

- (6.105) *Pala-ja ngaju kakarra jarri-nyi-rni piju-karti.*
that-ABL 1SG east INCH-NFUT-1SG.SUB creek-ALL
'And then I went east to the river.'
- (6.106) *Yija-lu jirnka-rni-yi wurru warrarnjirri-lu.*
truly-ERG whittle-NFUT-3PL.SUB things everywhere-ERG

Jirnka-rni-yi *palajun* *pala* *ngarra* *yirtinykarra*
whittle-NFUT-3PL.SUB like.that that SPEC all.over

jarri-nyyi.

INCH-NFUT

'Truly they trimmed/whittled (those) weapons all over the land. They made them like that and they began to spread (all over).'

- (6.107) *Wangka-marta* *jarri-nyyi-yi,* *pala-nga* *wangka* *yiji.*
close-ATTEN INCH-NFUT-3PL.SUB that-LOC close really
'They were getting closer and then (they became) really close.'

- (6.108) *Yakujani* *jarri-a.*
this.side INCH-IMP
'Come here/Come this side.'

The following two examples illustrate the locational nominal *kanka* 'above' used in an inchoative complex. In (6.109) the turkey is calling out to the emu with its head held high giving the impression that the turkey is expressing something proudly. In (6.110) however, the inchoative *kanka jarri-nyyi* 'above INCH-NFUT' has the meaning of 'flying'. This is a common usage of this expression and can be used of birds and the like which fly.

- (6.109) *Rankurrji* *karrama-rna* *junturtu* *kanka* *jarri-nyyi.*
bustard say-NFUT head above INCH-NFUT
'The bush turkey called out holding his head high.'

- (6.110) *Tangki* *kanka* *jarri-nyyi* *ka-nya,* *pala* *murtuka*
donkey above INCH-NFUT take-NFUT that car

wirri-rni *rutu-ngu.*
put-NFUT road-LOC

'The donkey flew and took that car and put it on the road.'

6.2.1.4 Temporal inchoatives

The inchoative verb commonly occurs suffixed to temporal nominals, particularly those concerned with times of the day. In narratives it is very common to find a temporal expression (indicating particular time events) where the inchoative verb is used in preference to the adnominal locative suffix.

- (6.111) *Marntungu* *jarri-kinyi* *wupun* *jarri-kinyi* *pala* *jurnti.*
morning INCH-IMPF open INCH-IMPF that cave
'As it became morning/light that cave would open up.'

- (6.112) a. *Ruka jarri-nyi.*
 afternoon INCH-NFUT
 'It's becoming afternoon.'
- b. *Warrulwarrul jarri-nyi.*
 twilight INCH-NFUT
 'It's getting late.'

Seasonal verbal expressions can be derived by seasonal words such as *partunu* 'winter' followed by the inchoative verb.

- (6.113) *Partunu-jarrinyi kunu wani-nya-yi, yurranga*
 winter-INCH hole stay-NFUT-3PL.SUB hot.season
- yana-ya-nanya-yi marnti, warrukarti ya-nanyaka-yi*
 go-go-PRS-3PL.SUB walk night go-PRSCFL-3PL.SUB
- wani-nya-yi pirti-ngi kaninykarti.*
 stay-NFUT-3PL.SUB hole-LOC inside
 'In the cold season they (goannas) stay in their holes, but in the hot season they walk around everywhere, although at night they should stay inside their holes.'

Days of the week (derived from English) can also be used in inchoative verbal complexes.

- (6.114) *Pala-ja jarrirti jarri-nyi karrpu.*
 that-ABL Saturday INCH-NFUT day
 'And then it became Saturday.'

6.2.1.5 Inflected nominals: inchoatives

Many inchoative expressions are formed involving inflected nominals. The nominal suffix is commonly locative, comitative or privative.

- (6.115) *Karrpu wariny-ja parla-nga jarri-nyikinyi-yirni.*
 day different-LOC clay-LOC INCH-IMP-1PL.EXC.SUB
 'The next day we made it (the sand) into clay.'
- (6.116) *Yija kupulyupulyu jarri-nya-yi, wipu-jartiny*
 truly tadpole INCH-NFUT-3PL.SUB tail-COM
- jarri-nya-yi makanu, janpa-nga*
 INCH-NFUT-3PL.SUB long pool.of.water-LOC

yani-ya-ninya-yi.
 go-RED-PRS-3PL.SUB
 'Truly, they become tadpoles with long tails so they can swim in the water.'

- (6.117) *Ngapa-majirri jarri-nyi.*
 water-PRIV INCH-NFUT
 'The water dried up.'

The following example consists of a complex clause involving two inchoative verb complexes both of which are formed with inflected nominals.

- (6.118) *Wurru-ngu jarri-nyi-rrri ngayarta-kurlu*
 scrub-LOC INCH-NFUT-3SG.SUB visible-PRIV

jarri-nyi-rrri.
 INCH-NFUT-3SG.SUB
 'The man disappeared into the scrub/He became in the scrub, he became not visible.' (McKelson 1989:81)

In the following sentences, the inchoative verb derives idiomatic compound expressions from inflected nominals.

- (6.119) *Ngurra-nga jarri-nyi.*
 camp-LOC INCH-NFUT
 'S/he is making a new camp in a strange place.'

- (6.120) *Ngarlu-ngu jarri-nyi.*
 stomach-LOC INCH-NFUT
 'She became pregnant.'

- (6.121) *Milya-nga jarri-nyi.*
 nose-LOC INCH-NFUT
 'S/he is starting something in front of someone.'

Many specific postural positions as illustrated in (6.122) are described by inchoative verbal complexes. The following two postures are derived by body-part nominals combined with the locative nominal *kaniny* 'down' in an inchoative construction.

- (6.122) a. *Pirntil kaniny jarri-nyi.*
 back down INCH-NFUT
 'S/he bent over, he bent down.'

- b. *Milya kaniny jarri-nyi.*
 nose down INCH-NFUT
 'S/he bent down.'

The following expression meaning 'turn around' is derived by the inchoative following a nominal suffixed with the allative suffix *-kurnu*.

- (6.123) *Wariny-kurnu jarri-nyi.*
 different-ALL INCH-NFUT
 'S/he turned around.'

6.2.1.6 Negative inchoatives

The nominal *munu* 'NEG' occurs in inchoative constructions as given in the following example describing the mining of tin. The inchoative expression depicts the running out of tin which is being mined from a particular site (hole).

- (6.124) *Pala pirti munu jarri-nyikinyi, pirti wariny*
 that hole NEG INCH-IMPF hole different

karli-nyikinyi-yirni.
 dig-IMPF-1PL.EXC.SUB
 'That hole (the tin ran out) became nothing, we dug another hole.'

6.2.1.7 Bound nominal inchoatives

There are numerous instances of inchoative constructions in which the verb *jarri-NY* follows bound nominals (see §3.2.2). Some examples follow:

- (6.125) a. *Yijalyijal jarri-nyi.*
 (cheeky) INCH-NFUT
 'S/he was getting cheeky, stirred up.'
- b. *Mukuly jarri-nyi.*
 (smile) INCH-NFUT
 'S/he smiled.'
- c. *Raparrku jarri-nyi.*
 (swell) INCH-NFUT
 'It swelled up.'

The following inchoative construction, involving a bound nominal, is very common.

- (6.126) *Nyimurl jarri-kinyi pulu kaninykarti janpa-nga.*
 (dive) INCH-IMPF 3DU.SUB inside pool.of.water-LOC
 'Those two were diving under the water.'

6.2.1.8 Interrogative, pronominal inchoatives

The inchoative is used with interrogative pronouns to ask about the condition or state of people or things.

- (6.127) "Wunyjurru jarri-nyu pulu? Munu
 how INCH-NFUT 3DU.SUB NEG

kanyji-rni-rni pulaku."
 look.for-NFUT-1SG.SUB 3DU.DAT
 "'What's become of those two? I can't find them.'"

- (6.128) *Mamaji-murniny-ju wurra-rna-la,*
 older.brother-own-ERG tell-NFUT-3SG.LOC

"Wangka-marta! Ya-ninya-rra kaja-wayi!
 close-ATTEN go-PRS-3SG.SUB long.way-NEG

Ngani-ngi jarri-a-npi-li-pa."
 what-LOC INCH-ANT-2SG.SUB-ANT-EMPH
 'His older brother said to him, "Stay close, don't go a long way, something might happen to you.'"

The inchoative can follow demonstratives such as *palajun* 'like that' to indicate an habitual tendency.

- (6.129) *Jampa janyja kanka jarri-nyu, ka-nganyikinyi pulinyi*
 briefly sun above INCH-NFUT take-IMPF 3DU.OBJ

kanka yararri-karti, palajun jarri-kinyi pulu.
 above ledge-ALL like.that INCH-IMPF 3DU.SUB
 'As soon as the sun rose he would take those two up to the ledge and those two would be like that (high on the ledge).'

6.2.1.9 Scope

The inchoative verb can have scope over several preceding words regardless of the order in which they occur. Although these types of constructions are not common in texts, they do indicate that the components which precede the inchoative verb can

consist of either nominals, inflected nominals or NPs consisting of nominals marked for the dative suffix.

In (6.130a) the constituent *muwarr-ku jampa* 'word-DAT briefly' precedes the inchoative verb to give the meaning 'ready for talk'. However as we see in (6.130b) the order of the components within the NP can be altered allowing for the same interpretation. This also holds in (6.131) where the NP preceding the verb can occur with alternative orders for each of its components.

- (6.130) a. [*Muwarr-ku jampa*] *jarri-nyi*.
word-DAT briefly INCH-NFUT
'S/he is getting ready to talk.'
- b. [*Jampa muwarr-ku*] *jarri-nyi*.
briefly word-DAT INCH-NFUT
'S/he is getting ready to talk.'
- (6.131) a. [*Yinma-ku kurnta-na-ku*] *jarri-nyi*.
song-DAT sing-NM-DAT INCH-NFUT
'S/he is going to sing a song.'
- b. [*Kurnta-na-ku yinma-ku*] *jarri-nyi*.
sing-NM-DAT song-DAT INCH-NFUT
'S/he is going to sing a song.'

The verb, *jarri-NY* has scope over preceding NPs which consist of more than one element. In the following example the whole NP, *wariny ngumpa* (lit. different face) 'changing facial expression' is included in the meaning of the resulting inchoative construction.

- (6.132) *Kuli jarri-nyi, ngurnipali wariny ngumpa jarri-nyi.*
fight INCH-NFUT maybe different face INCH-NFUT
'S/he is getting angry maybe, her/his expression is changing.'

The inchoative verb can have scope over NPs involving action nominals such as 'run fast', 'run slow'. In the following two examples the inchoative has scope over *mirti* 'run', *marrja* 'very' and *kinti* 'slow'.

- (6.133) *Kangkuru pala-ja muwarr-ja mirti marrja jarri-nyi.*
kangaroo that-ABL word-ABL run very INCH-NFUT
'The kangaroo, after speaking was running really fast.'
- (6.134) *Manganya mirti kinti jarri-nyi.*
echidna run slow INCH-NFUT
'The echidna ran slowly.'

6.2.2 *Stative karri-NY*

The compound verbs formed with the stative verb *karri-NY* are all intransitive belonging to the NY conjugation. Nyangumarta has an homophonous verb form *karri-NY* 'want, like' which is an extended-intransitive verb. The stative verb, *karri-NY*, cannot occur word-initially in a clause although the homophonous form: *karri-NY* 'want, like', does occur in texts word-initially.

The stative verb *karri-NY* is not as productive as the inchoative verb *jarri-NY*. The majority of stative compound verbs depict a physiological condition (or state) of a person, animal or plant. The nominal preceding the stative verb commonly consists of a single word from the major nominal word class; there are however instances in which the preceding nominal is a bound nominal. By far the most common word type preceding the stative verb is the adjectival nominal (see §3.2.4 for information on nominal types). Common nominals consisting of words for people, body parts, elements and animals do not usually occur in this type of construction, although in the description of plants, the stative construction is very common (6.136).

In (6.135a) the body-part nominal *jawa* 'mouth' is used idiomatically to describe the teething process of children and in (6.135b) the common (element) nominal *karli* 'moon' is used in a stative verbal construction to indicate a natural phenomena.

- (6.135) a. *Jawa karri-nyi.*
 mouth STAT-NFUT
 'S/he is teething. (lit. S/he is a mouth.)'
- b. *Karli karri-nyi.*
 moon STAT-NFUT
 'A new moon/It's a moon.'

In the description of bush food (tucker), the stative follows the names of plants to indicate their 'state of growth'. Examples of this are given below:

- (6.136) *Pilirta karri-nya-yi jungka-nga kurlu-ngu-pa*
 bush.tomato STAT-NFUT-3PL.SUB ground-LOC bad-LOC-CONJ
- ngalya-nga.*
 good-LOC
 'The *pilirta* (plant) grows in the ground, some good (ground) and some bad.'

In northern Nyangumarta there are instances of the stative being used as the independent verb, 'grow', which can occur clause-initially (see below).

- (6.137) *Karri-ulupi-yi* *mayi.*
 grow-FUT-3PL.SUB vegetable.food
 'The vines will grow.'

6.2.2.1 Adjectival nominal statives

Physical property

The following examples show the stative verbal complex depicting physical conditions of people or animals.

- (6.138) *Yawurr* *karri-nyi-rni* *muntu-ja.*
 unsteady STAT-NFUT-1SG.SUB spear-ABL
 'I feel giddy from being speared.'

- (6.139) *Yaka-la-nya* *manyula* *karri-nyi-rni.*
 leave-IMP-1SG.OBJ weak STAT-NFUT-1SG.SUB
 'Please leave me now (as) I am tired.'

- (6.140) *Mayi* *jakama-la-ja!* *Ngaju* *janparr*
 vegetable.food cook-IMP-1SG.DAT 1SG hungry

karri-nyi-rni.
 STAT-NFUT-1SG.SUB
 'Get some damper ready! I'm hungry.'

- (6.141) *Wartirti* *karri-nyi-rni* *janyja-ja.*
 headache STAT-NFUT-1SG.SUB sun-ABL
 'I've got a touch of the sun/I've got a headache from the sun.'
 (McKelson 1989:78)

- (6.142) *Ngaju* *warri* *karri-nyi-rni,* *waruku*
 1SG cold STAT-NFUT-1SG.SUB (warm.self.at.fire)

karri-ulumu-rnu.
 STAT-FUT-1SG.SUB
 'I'm cold, I will warm myself at the fire.' (McKelson 1989:32)

- (6.143) *Mingarri* *karri-nyi-rrri* *palurl-ja.*
 itching STAT-NFUT-3SG.SUB lice-ABL
 'S/he is itchy/scratching because of the lice.' (McKelson 1989:78)

A commonly occurring derived stative verbal complex is given in (6.144): 'sleeping'.

- (6.144) *Partany-jirri warrki-nikinyi pulu jalakarti, jurnti-ja,*
 child-DU crawl-IMPF 3DU.SUB outside cave-ABL
- karta karri-kinyi pulu jalakarti janyja-nga.*
 asleep STAT-IMPF 3DU.SUB outside sun-LOC
 'The two children crawled outside from the cave and were sleeping in the sun.'

Other examples of stative verbal constructions depicting physical conditions are given below.

- (6.145) a. *Jannganka karri-nyi.*
 shaky STAT-NFUT
 'S/he was shaking, s/he was trembling.'
- b. *Jirmirl karri-nyi.*
 perspiration STAT-NFUT
 'S/he perspired/is perspiring.'
- c. *Mitu karri-nyi.*
 lie STAT-NFUT
 'S/he was telling lies.'

Positions/location

The stative verbal compound *wararr karri-NY* 'in a standing position' can be used to describe the state of both animate and inanimate objects. The following examples illustrate this. In (6.146) the verbal phrase is referring to the standing position of a vehicle and in (6.147) it is referring to people standing and (6.148) refers to animals in a standing position.

- (6.146) *Nganarna ruka ya-na-yirni kuyi-karti*
 we (PL,EXC) afternoon go-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB meat-ALL
- murtuka-nga, partijirri wararr karri-nyi-yirni.*
 car-LOC middle stand STAT-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB
 'We went hunting in the late afternoon in the car and we stopped half way.'
- (6.147) *Kurtarra wararr karri-nyi pulu.*
 brothers stand STAT-NFUT 3DU.SUB
 'The two brothers were standing.'

- (6.148) *Pala-ja rankurrji turlpa-nya wararr karri-nyi.*
 that-ABL bustard rise.up-NFUT stand STAT-NFUT
 'And then the bush turkey got up into a standing position.'

Mental attitudes and state

It is very common for the stative verb to derive emotive types of verbs. In this case it is suffixed to adjectival nominals which involve an emotional state such as happy, angry, frightened and worried. Examples of these can be seen below.

- (6.149) *Pala-nga jinta marrngu wirnti karri-kinyi-yi-a*
 that-LOC some person fear STAT-IMPF-3PL.SUB-PURP

kunarri-ngimarra.

eel-CAUSAL

'Some people were scared because of the eel.'

- (6.150) *Paliny-ju nga-na janinyi pala-rrangu, puru*
 3SG-ERG eat-NFUT 3PL.OBJ that-PL merely

yilyu-pu-rni-lu paju karri-kinya-lu
 cry-VB-NFUT-3SG.DAT sorrow STAT-IMPF-3SG.DAT

paliny-mila-ku yukurru-ku.
 3SG-GEN-DAT dog-DAT

'S/he ate all them (his dog's offal) and was feeling very sad for his dog.'

- (6.151) *Muwarr-ja kalku-ninyi ralypurr karri-nyi-rni.*
 word-ABL keep-PRS worried STAT-NFUT-1SG.SUB
 'He keeps me talking so much I'm getting nervous.' (McKelson 1989:67)

Action nominals

Generally, action nominals such as *mirti* 'run', *marnti* 'walk', *warrkamu* 'work' and *yaku* 'dance' which occur in inchoative verbal constructions to create intransitive action verbs do not occur in stative verbal constructions. However the action nominal *witi* 'play' does. Example (6.152) illustrates the occurrence of this construction.

- (6.152) *Witi karri-kinyi pulu munu janparr karri-ma pulu,*
 play STAT-IMPF 3DU.SUB NEG hungry STAT-PSTCFL 3DU.SUB

witi karri-kinyi pulu ruka-karti jakun, jurrulypirti-ngi
 play STAT-IMPF 3DU.SUB afternoon-ALL-only twilight-LOC

kulpa-nyikinyi pulu ngurra-karti jurnti-karti witi-ja.
 return-IMPF 3DU.SUB camp-ALL cave-ALL play-ABL
 'Those two would play all day and right up to dark without feeling
 hungry and then they would return to their camp—the cave after they
 finished playing.'

6.2.2.2 Bound nominals

There are several stative verbal complexes in which the first word of the complex is a bound nominal. The semantics of the bound nominal has to do with similar properties of stems which function as adjectival nominals elsewhere in the language.

(6.153) *Mangarr karri-nyi-rri kalparti.*
 (cramp) STAT-NFUT-1SG.SUB thigh
 'I have a cramp in my thigh.'

(6.154) *Jangkajangka karri-nyi-rri marnti-ku.*
 (urge) STAT-NFUT-3SG.SUB walk-DAT
 'He has the urge to go.'

(6.155) *Wirlwirl karri-nyi-rri marrngu*
 (shaking.head.from.side.to.side) STAT-NFUT-3SG.SUB person

ngani-ja?
 why-ABL
 'Why is that man shaking his head from side to side?'

(6.156) *Wiripilpil karri-nyi-rri karapiti-ja.*
 (prickling.feeling) STAT-NFUT-1SG.SUB sharp.stick-ABL
 'I take away the prickling of pins and needles by using the little sharp
 stick.' (McKelson 1989:106)

(6.157) *Jawa ripi karri-nyi.*
 mouth (hang.slack) STAT-NFUT
 'Her/his mouth dropped open.'

6.2.2.3 Scope in stative phrases

The constituent which precedes the stative verb can consist of more than one nominal and, as for the inchoative verbal compound, the stative verb can follow NPs and have scope over the entire preceding phrase. In (6.158) a stative verbal complex which includes the adjectival nominal *mukuntu* 'cripple' is combined with the action nominal *marnti* 'walk' to give the meaning of 'limping'. In (6.159) the stative verb

follows the nominal phrase ‘only in the hot season’ to give the combined meaning of ‘only grow in the hot season’.

- (6.158) *Mukuntu marnti karri-nyi.*
cripple walk STAT-NFUT
‘S/he is limping/S/he is walking in a crippled way.’
- (6.159) *Mayi yurranga jakun karri-nya-yi,*
vegetable.food hot.season only STAT-NFUT-3PL.SUB
- murla jarri-nya-yi wani-nya-yi, jampa*
ripe INCH-NFUT-3PL.SUB stay-NFUT-3PL.SUB briefly
- pungka-nya-yi jungka-nga.*
fall-NFUT-3PL.SUB ground-LOC
‘The fruit (of the *parntarlu* plant) only grow in the hot season, they stay there and ripen and then soon drop to the ground.’

The following constructions combines a nominal *kajakulu/kajakurljirri* with the nominal *wararr* ‘standing’ to describe the state of standing in a particular manner.

- (6.160) *Kajakulu wararr karri-nyi.*
separate stand STAT-NFUT
‘S/he stood with her/his legs apart.’
- (6.161) *Ya-rra pulu kajakurljirri.*
go-IMP 2DU.SUB separate
‘You two go on your separate ways.’
- (6.162) *Jina kajakurljirri wararr karri-nyi.*
foot separate stand STAT-NFUT
‘S/he is standing with legs apart/straddled.’

6.2.3 ‘Say’ karrama-RN

The complex verb *karrama-RN*, ‘say’, is formed with the free form nominal: *karra* ‘like that, this way’ and the causative verbaliser *-ma-RN*. It functions as a transitive complex verb of communication (6.163). It can however be used as a semitransitive verb with the argument structure, ERG-DAT (6.164).

- (6.163) “*Ngalypa ngaju milpa-nya-rni-ngu nyuntu-ngu,*”
good 1SG come-NFUT-1SG.SUB-2SG.DAT 2SG-LOC

karrama-rna maruntu-lu.
 say-NFUT goanna-ERG
 “‘Good, I will come with you”, said the goanna.’

- (6.164) “*Munu-rli nyungu kalku-lama-rna ngaju-lu.*”
 NEG-EMPH this keep-FUT-1SG.SUB 1SG-ERG

karrama-rna-lu jurru-lu paliny-ku.
 say-NFUT-3SG.DAT snake-ERG 3SG-DAT
 “‘No, I’m going to keep this”, said the snake to him.’

In most instances concerning verbal complexes formed with *karrama-RN*, the verbal complex is intransitive and depicts sound emission (and if not sound emission, a distinctive movement). This is seen below in (6.165) and (6.166). In (6.165), the first component in the compound is an independent nominal whereas in (6.166) the first elements are bound nominals with approximate glosses given.

- (6.165) a. *Puntaju karrama-rna.* b. *Yirily karrama-rna.*
 response say-NFUT rustling.noise say-NFUT
 ‘S/he answered, responded.’ ‘It rustled.’
- c. *Raa karrama-rna.*
 intensely say-NFUT
 ‘It increased, it intensified, it buzzed.’
- (6.166) a. *Jarl karrama-rna.* b. *Jirl karrama-rna.*
 (shock) say-NFUT (drip) say-NFUT
 ‘S/he was shocked by the ‘It made a dripping noise.’
 closeness of someone or
 something coming.’
- c. *Jirrjirr karrama-rna.* d. *Kinykiny karrama-rna.*
 (gurgle) say-NFUT (squeal) say-NFUT
 ‘It gurgled.’ ‘It squealed like a pig.’
- e. *Kuu karrama-rna.* f. *Kunykuny karrama-rna.*
 (thunder) say-NFUT (grunt) say-NFUT
 ‘It thundered.’ ‘It grunted, groaned.’

6.2.4 ‘Repeat’ *kawa-RN*

The verb *kawa-RN* ‘repeat’ is used in complex verbal phrases to indicate that the event of the main verb happens over time, often in different places. It can also

include the idea of travelling. The verb *kawa-RN* always follows a nominalised verb and takes all normal verbal suffixing. Examples follow:

- (6.167) *Wirla-na kawa-rna pula-rninyi.*
hit-NM repeat-NFUT 3DU.SUB-RECIP
'Those two are moving along fighting each other.'
- (6.168) *Yirri-rni kawa-rna.*
see-NM repeat-NFUT
'S/he's travelling along looking.'
- (6.169) *Yukurru-lu-pa jurru-lu wipu-jirri purrja-pi-rna*
dog-ERG-CONJ snake-ERG tail-DU (chase)-VB-NM

kawa-rna pula-rninyi-a.
repeat-NFUT 3PL.SUB-RECIP-PURP
'The dog and the snake kept on chasing each other's tails.'
- (6.170) *Pala-nga nga-ninya kawa-nikinyi pulu kuyi.*
that-LOC eat-NM repeat-IMPF 3DU.SUB meat
'And there those two went along eating meat.'

This verb is described as a verbal intensifier in certain contexts by Geytenbeek (1991:60). In (6.171) the preceding verb is inflected for potential mood as is *kawa-RN*. This is not common though and it is difficult to get speakers to accept the form shown in (6.171) below.

- (6.171) *Marrja mirti jarri-u-li kawa-lku-li.*
very run INCH-POT-1DU.INC.SUB repeat-POT-1DU.INC.SUB
'Let's run fast, let's really go fast.'

Geytenbeek (1991:60–61) includes the following examples of this verb.

- (6.172) a. *Purri-rni kawa-rnaluma-n.*
pull-NM repeat-FUT-2sgS
'Keep on pulling it firmly.'
- b. *Ngapa jupa-nya kawa-ninyi.*
water dry-NM repeat-PRS
'The water is drying up—completely.'
- c. *Raa karnti-nyi kawa-ninyi.*
INTNS climb-NM repeat-PRS
'It is swelling up enormously.'

- d. *Kaarnka wuu punga-nya kawa-ninyi.*
 crow (swoop) fall-NM repeat-PRS
 'The crow swooped all the way down to the ground level.'

6.2.5 Monosyllabic verbs

The three monosyllabic verbs *get*, *go* and *take* are found in compound verb constructions following nominals. This is like the preverb/coverb plus inflecting verb combinations found in languages such as Nyigina (to the north) and Walmajarri, Jaru, Gurindji, Warlpiri and Western Desert (to the east, north-east).

6.2.5.1 'Get' ma-N

A couple of compound verbs are formed with the transitive monomorphemic verb *ma-N*, 'get' combined with nominals. This is distinguished from the causative verbaliser *ma-RN* by the types of inflections it takes. The major distinction between the two forms is found in the imperative forms (compare *ma-rra* 'get-IMP', *ma-la* 'CAUS-IMP'). Other contrasts have to do with the alveolar nasal as opposed to the post-alveolar nasal in verbal inflections: *ma-na* 'get-NFUT' and *-ma-rna* 'CAUS-NFUT'.

- (6.173) a. *Kanka ma-rra.*
 above get-IMP
 'Raise it/lift it.'
- b. *Kanka ma-na.*
 above get-NFUT
 'S/he raised it, he lifted it.'
- c. *Paliny-ju kanka ma-na-rninyi ya-na janaku.*
 3SG-ERG above get-NFUT-REFLX go-NFUT 3PL.DAT
 'He (the donkey) lifted himself (flew) to go for them (in the car).'
- (6.174) a. *Ngulyu ma-rra!*
 belonging.to.someone.else get-IMP
 'Take it/steal it.'
- b. *Ngulyu ma-na.*
 belonging.to.someone.else get-NFUT
 'S/he stole it.'
- c. *Ngulyu ma-nanya-kata jana.*
 belonging.to.someone.else get-NM-CHAR 3PL
 'They are thieves.' (Geytenbeek 1991:127)

6.2.5.2 'Go' ya-N

The verb, *ya-N* 'go' is found in compound verbal constructions. The resulting compound constructions are intransitive. In the following examples, the first segment in the compound can be either a nominal (6.175) or a bound nominal (6.176).

- (6.175) a. *Kanka ya-na.*
above go-NFUT
'S/he/it went overhead,
(of bird) it flew.'
- b. *Kayarri ya-na.*
swim go-NFUT
'S/he swam.'
- c. *Wata ya-na.*
accident go-NFUT
'S/he went the wrong way, got lost.'
- d. *Yakarr ya-na.*
just.below.surface go-NFUT
'S/he trod softly, leaving no
footprints.'
- (6.176) a. *Ngantirr ya-na.*
(bounce) go-NFUT
'It bounced.'
- b. *Parra ya-na.*
(around) go-NFUT
'S/he wandered around.'³
- c. *Wawirri ya-na.*
(rotate) go-NFUT
'S/he dodged, twisted, zig-zagged, s/he travelled an unpredictable
course (e.g. of a whirlwind).'

6.2.5.3 'Take' ka-NG

The monomorphemic verb *ka-NG* 'take, carry' is found in compound structures. The resulting compound is intransitive. When *ka-NG* is used outside of a compound expression, the verbal phrase is always transitive. Example (6.177) below shows *ka-NG* 'take, carry' following identifiable nominals, and (6.178) with bound nominals.

³ *parra* has no isolated meaning in Nyangumarta, although in neighbouring Manyjilyjarra it has the meaning 'around'.

⁴ No isolated meaning for *wawirri*, but it is used in another compound construction with the verb *yarnta-rna* 'he speared it' in the following example: *wawirri yarnta-rna-rninyi* 'it rotated, it went round and round'. In this example the reflexive bound pronoun is used.

- (6.177) a. *Jinta ka-nya-yi.*
 some take-NFUT-3PL.SUB
 'They separated, they split
 off from a group.'
- b. *Kapuraly ka-nya.*
 smooth take-NFUT
 'S/he slipped, it slid.'
- c. *Karirr ka-nya.*
 smooth take-NFUT
 'S/he slipped, it slid.'
- d. *Larr ka-nya.*
 crack take-NFUT
 'It cracked, it tore.'
- e. *Partany ka-nya.*
 child take-NFUT
 'She gave birth to a child.'
- f. *Purta ka-nya.*
 faeces take-NFUT
 'S/he defecated (polite term).'
- g. *Yinyji ka-nganya.*
 loose take-PRS
 'It is coming loose.'
- (6.178) a. *Karupul ka-nya.*
 (vomit) take-NFUT
 'S/he vomited.' *karu* 'vomit'
- b. *Kulal ka-nya.*
 (change.form) take-NFUT
 'S/he changed form.'
- c. *Kulykuly ka-nya.*
 (sink) take-NFUT
 'It sank down, it subsided.'
- d. *Malymaly ka-nyi.*
 (overload) take-NFUT
 'It was overloaded.'

The verb *ka-NG* 'take' can also occur in compound constructions with other verb roots as given below where the RN conjugation verb *pirta-RN* 's/he broke it' is used as the first segment in the compound. The derived compound is intransitive.

- (6.179) *Pirta ka-nyi.*
 break take-NFUT
 'It broke open.'

Idiomatic uses of *ka-NG*, involving inflected nominals, however produce the expected transitive compound verbs.

- (6.180) a. *Jarna-nga ka-nya.*
 lower.back-LOC take-NFUT
 'S/he carried her/his swag.'
- b. *Ngarlu-ngu ka-nya.*
 stomach-LOC take-NFUT
 'She carried her/him (of a child in the womb).'

- c. *Ngulyu-lu* *ka-nya.*
 belonging.to.someone.else take-NFUT
 'S/he borrowed it without asking.'

6.2.6 Other compound verbal complexes

Other compound verbal complexes are created with verb stems such as *wani-NY* 'stay', *pungka-NY* 'fall', *kurta-RN* 'emerge', *ngalpa-NY* 'enter', *wapaka-RN* 'hop, jump', *jari-NY* 'leak, flow', *kalku-RN* 'keep', *kama-RN* 'call', *japirr-ma-RN* 'ask (lips-CAUS)', *yaka-RN* 'leave' and *paji-RN* 'bite'.

The examples given in (6.181) all have nominals as the first member of the verb complex and in (6.182) the first member is a bound nominal.

- (6.181) a. *Kurlkapirli wani-nyi.* S/he understood. *kurlkapirli*
 'sensible, wise', *wani-NY* 'stay, exist'
- b. *Kurtirra wani-nyi.* It remained unused, it remained idle,
 he is not going anywhere. *kurtirra* 'in
 one place'; *kurtirrakurtirra* 'erratically'
- c. *Jarlin-jarlin kurta-rna.* S/he darted her/his tongue in and out.
jarlin 'tongue', *kurta-RN* 'emerge'
- d. *Kara ngalpa-nya.* Sundown. *kara* 'west', *ngalpa-NY* 'enter'
- e. *Mirti wapaka-rna.* S/he made a running jump. *mirti* 'run',
wapaka-RN 'hop, jump'
- f. *Winya-ja jari-nyi* It overflowed. *winya* 'full', *jari-NY*, 'it
 flowed, it leaked'
- g. *Milya paji-rni.* Rub back and forth under nose thoughtfully.
milya 'nose', *paji-RN* 'bite'
- h. *Miyul kalku-rnu.* To remember. *miyu* 'a likeness, an imitation',
kalku-RN 'keep'
- i. *Ngarlu japirr ma-rna.* S/he begged him, pleaded with him/her.
ngarlu 'stomach', *japirr* 'lips'
- j. *Jurtu ngaka-rna.* S/he expelled him/her completely. *jurtu*
 'straight', *ngaka-RN* 'send'

- (6.182) a. *Parrparr kurta-rna.* It shocked him, it startled him/her. *kurta-RN*
'emerge'
- b. *Wilirtiny wani-nyi.* It hung suspended. *wani-* 'stay, exist'
- c. *Kurra kama-rna.* S/he snored. *kama-RN* 'call out'
- d. *Wuu pungka-nyi.* S/he/it swooped, s/he/it glided down.
(Includes a hawk plummeting vertically)
pungka-NY 'fall'
- (6.183) *Parl pirta-rna.*
thumping.noise break-NFUT
'S/he slammed it against something.'
- (6.184) *Pirirri-lu warnti kaniny yaka-rna.*
man-ERG tail down leave-NFUT
'He left the job unfinished/the issue undecided.'
warnti kaniny yakarna 'left it tail down'

There are compounds involving two verbs to form verbal complexes. In these examples the argument structures of the two verbs are merged and in many cases the second verb is one of motion.

- (6.185) a. *Yaka-rna wirri-rni.*
leave-NM put-NFUT
'S/he just left it there and abandoned it.'
- b. *Parnpi-rna wirri-rni.*
throw-NM put-NFUT
'S/he abandoned it.'
- c. *Ya-nanya kulpa-nya-yirni.*
go-NM return-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB
'Going, we returned.'
- d. *Nga-nanya kulpa-nya-yirni.*
eat-NM return-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB
'Eating, we returned.'
- e. *Yaka-rna kalku-rna-yi.*
leave-NM keep-NFUT-3PL.SUB
'They left off keeping it (the Law).'

- (6.186) *Janpamalu-rrangu* *wapaka-na* *ji-lama-rna* *janinyi*
 fish-PL hop-NM make-FUT-1SG.SUB 3PL.OBJ

janpa-ja.
 pool.of.water-ABL
 'I'll make the fish jump out of the water.'

- (6.187) *Pala-nga* *paliny* *kanka* *wapaka-na*
 that-LOC 3SG above hop-NM

warrkirn-warrki-rni *wirnti-jartiny.*
 crawl-RED-NFUT fear-COM
 'He jumped up, crawling in all directions with fright.'

The following example shows a complex verb where the initial verb in the compound construction, *milpa* 'come' is uninflected.

- (6.188) *Milpa* *wangka-jarri-u* *yarnta-lapa-li* *palama.*
 come close-INCH-POT spear-FUT-1DU.INC.SUB that
 'When it comes close we'll spear it.'

7 *Pronouns and demonstratives*

This chapter describes the pronominal system of Nyangumarta. There are two distinct systems of pronouns in Nyangumarta, a set of independent (or free) pronouns and a set of syntactically bound pronouns, the verbal pronouns. Both independent and verbal pronouns show a distinction of three numbers (singular, dual and plural) and three persons (first, second and third), with an inclusive/exclusive contrast in the first person dual and plural forms.

Free pronouns inflect on an ergative/absolute pattern: pronouns in transitive subject function are marked with the ergative suffix and pronouns in intransitive subject and transitive object function are unmarked (treated as absolute). The syntactically bound pronouns on the other hand operate in a nominative/accusative pattern. I have argued in Chapter 2 (and see Sharp 1997) that the syntactically bound pronouns can phonologically be divided into two distinct types: affixes and words. The verbal pronouns occur obligatorily and cross-reference nominal arguments of the verb. The word pronouns have 'apparent' accusative and dative inflections.

Section 7.1 describes the independent personal pronouns, §7.2 describes the syntactically bound pronouns (verbal pronouns) which includes discussion of their forms and functions. It also includes a discussion on the morphological and syntactical status of the pronouns and the forms of the reflexive and imperative pronouns. The form and function of the purposive morpheme which occurs as a final morpheme in the verbal phonological phrase is also discussed in this section. The purposive morpheme is attached to the VP and indicates the presence of some beneficiary complement or adjunct of the verb. Section 7.3 describes the indefinite pronouns, §7.4 the demonstratives, §7.5 the adverbial demonstratives and §7.6 the anaphoric demonstratives. Section 7.7 describes a range of indefinite locationals and temporals and §7.8 and §7.9 describe classes of locational and temporal nominals.

7.1 Independent pronouns

Table 7.1 presents the uninflected forms of the Nyangumarta independent pronouns.

Table 7.1: Nyangumarta independent pronouns

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1INC		<i>ngali</i>	<i>nganyjurru</i>
1EXC	<i>ngaju</i>	<i>ngalaya</i>	<i>nganarna</i>
2	<i>nyuntu</i>	<i>nyumpala</i>	<i>nyurra</i>
3	<i>paliny</i>	<i>pulany</i>	<i>jana</i>

The Nyangumarta independent pronouns have been classified together with adjectival nominals in the word class nominal because their role in the grammar is similar to that of other nominals. Nominals can take a range of suffixes with a variety of functions and they can be omitted from the clause that is, they are optional. This pattern holds for the three languages of the Marrngu subgroup.

Inflected forms of pronouns are given in Table 7.2. These inflected forms are all regular and do not involve any change to stems or suffixes as a result of affixation.

The following examples illustrate the occurrence of the independent pronouns in Nyangumarta with regular suffixation occurring.

(7.1) *Ngaju-lu kampa-rna-rna mayi.*
 1SG-ERG cook-NFUT-1SG.SUB vegetable.food
 'I cooked the food.'

(7.2) *Ruka nganarna ya-na-yirni Martanya-karti jakun.*
 afternoon 1PL.EXC go-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB Martanya-ALL only
 'In the afternoon we went only as far as Martanya.'

(7.3) *Paliny-ju yirri-rni janinyi jana.*
 3SG-ERG see-NFUT 3PL.OBJ 3PL
 'S/he saw them.'

(7.4) *Partany ya-na nyuntu-karti.*
 child go-NFUT 2SG-ALL
 'The child went to you.'

Table 7.2: Independent pronouns: major case forms

	Absolutive	Ergative	Dative	Locative	Genitive
SG	1 <i>ngaju</i>	<i>ngajulu</i>	<i>ngajuku</i>	<i>ngajungu</i>	<i>ngajumili</i>
	2 <i>nyuntu</i>	<i>nyuntulu</i>	<i>nyuntuku</i>	<i>nyuntungu</i>	<i>nyuntumili</i>
	3 <i>paliny</i>	<i>palinyju</i>	<i>palinyku</i>	<i>palinyja</i>	<i>palinymili</i>
DU	IINC <i>ngali</i>	<i>ngalilu</i>	<i>ngaliku</i>	<i>ngalingi</i>	<i>ngalimili</i>
	IEXC <i>ngalayi</i>	<i>ngalayilu</i>	<i>ngalayiku</i>	<i>ngalayingi</i>	<i>ngalayimili</i>
	2 <i>nyumpala</i>	<i>nyumpalalu</i>	<i>nyumpalaku</i>	<i>nyumpalanga</i>	<i>nyumpalamili</i>
	3 <i>pulany</i>	<i>pulanyju</i>	<i>pulanyku</i>	<i>pulanyja</i>	<i>pulanymili</i>
PL	IINC <i>nganyjurru</i>	<i>nganyjurrulu</i>	<i>nganyjurruku</i>	<i>nganyjurrungu</i>	<i>nganyjurrumili</i>
	IEXC <i>nganarna</i>	<i>nganarnalu</i>	<i>nganarnaku</i>	<i>nganarnanga</i>	<i>nganarnamili</i>
	2 <i>nyurra</i>	<i>nyurralu</i>	<i>nyurraku</i>	<i>nyurranga</i>	<i>nyurramili</i>
	3 <i>jana</i>	<i>janalu</i>	<i>janaku</i>	<i>jananga</i>	<i>janamili</i>

Analysis of independent pronoun forms

The following table presents a set of reconstructed pronouns as proposed by Dixon (1980). Dixon's reconstructed forms are based on the comparison of pronoun systems in a large range of Australian languages including Nyangumarta:

Table 7.3: Proto Australian pronouns¹

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1 INC		<i>ngaLi</i>	
1 EXC	<i>ngay</i>		<i>ngaNa</i>
2	<i>ngin, nyin, nyun</i>	<i>NHu(m)paLV</i>	<i>NHurra</i>
3	<i>NHu</i>	<i>pula</i>	<i>THaNa</i>

Non-singular forms (in Nyangumarta) closely resemble the Proto Australian forms as shown in Table 7.4. The addition of the palatal nasal on the third person dual is unaccounted for, although within the Nyangumarta pronoun system third dual and singular forms are clearly related and both pronouns occur with the final palatal nasal.

¹ In languages with a laminal distinction, NH surfaces as a lamino-dental; and in languages with an apical distinction, L and N are apico-alveolar.

Table 7.4: Proto Australian and Nyangumarta pronouns

Person	Proto Australian	Nyangumarta
1SG	<i>ngay</i>	<i>ngaju</i>
2SG	<i>ngin, nyin, nyun</i>	<i>nyuntu</i>
3SG	<i>NHu</i>	<i>paliny</i>
1DU.INC	<i>ngaLi</i>	<i>ngali</i>
1DU.EXC		<i>ngalaya</i>
1PL.INC		<i>nganyjurru</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>ngaNa</i>	<i>nganarna</i>
2DU	<i>NHu(m)paLV</i>	<i>nyumpala</i>
3DU	<i>pula</i>	<i>pulany</i>
2PL	<i>NHurra</i>	<i>nyurra</i>
3PL	<i>THaNa</i>	<i>jana</i>

Pronoun forms of Mangarla and Karajarri (compared with Nyangumarta and Dixon's reconstructions) are presented in Table 7.5 below.

Table 7.5: Marrngu pronouns

Person	Proto Australian	Nyangumarta	Mangarla	Karajarri
1SG	<i>ngay</i>	<i>ngaju</i>	<i>ngayu</i>	<i>ngaju(ngayiju)</i>
2SG	<i>ngin, nyin, nyun</i>	<i>nyuntu</i>	<i>nyuntu</i>	<i>nyuntu</i>
3SG	<i>NHu</i>	<i>paliny</i>	<i>pani</i>	<i>kinyangka</i>
1DU.INC	<i>ngaLi</i>	<i>ngali</i>	<i>ngaliyarra</i>	<i>ngali</i>
1DU.EXC		<i>ngalaya</i>	<i>ngalyarra</i>	<i>ngalina</i>
1PL.INC		<i>nganyjurru</i>	<i>nganyjurru</i>	<i>nganyjurru</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>ngaNa</i>	<i>nganarna</i>	<i>nganarni</i>	<i>nganina</i>
2DU	<i>NHu(m)paLV</i>	<i>nyumpala</i>	<i>nyumpala</i>	<i>nyumpala</i>
3DU	<i>pula</i>	<i>pulany</i>	<i>paniyarra</i>	<i>kinyangkajarra</i>
2PL	<i>NHurra</i>	<i>nyurra</i>	<i>nyurra</i>	<i>nyurra</i>
3PL	<i>THaNa</i>	<i>jana</i>	<i>paniyarti</i>	<i>kinyangkarrangu</i>

It appears likely that in Proto Marrngu, *ngali represents the form of first person dual which is identical with the Proto Australian form. The occurrence of the modern Mangarla form: *ngaliyarra* is accounted for by recognising the addition of the dual suffix *-yarra* (or *-rra*, *arra* depending on the number of syllables in a word and the final segment). The innovation of the exclusive form involves the addition of an exclusive suffix: *-ya*, giving an earlier form as: *ngaliyi (with vowel assimilation

influencing the final vowel). The modern Nyangumarta form is accounted by an alternation $i > a$. The modern Mangarla exclusive form *ngalyarra* can be explained in terms of the addition of the dual suffix *-arra*. This assumes a vowel elision rule and a rule: $*liy > ¥$.

$*ngaliyi + arra > ngalyarra$

The Karajarri form: *ngalina* is not as easily accounted for. It can be segmented into *ngali + -na*. The *-na* suffix is however found on the first person plural exclusive pronoun: *nganina* indicating that it is possible that it may have been used as an exclusive marker. Further evidence for this comes from the bound pronouns where *-ni/rni* occurs on exclusive forms. However this does not appear to be the case in neighbouring language groups. This could be explained by the hypothetically recent innovation of the inclusive/exclusive distinction in these languages. Then Dench's reconstruction of 1PL.INC $*nganarna$ could be based on the root $*ngana$ and an exclusive formative *-rna* (although data from the Pilbara indicate that the *-rna* segment could be related to 'plural' (see Dench 1994a:167).

The first person plural exclusive form *nganyjurru* is identical with the reconstructed forms of pronouns proposed by Dench (1994a) (see Table 7.6) which presents a reconstruction of the unmarked pronouns based on extensive data from Pilbara languages.)

Table 7.6: Non-singular pronouns: (Dench 1994a)

Person	Dual	Plural
1INC	$*ngaLi$	$*ngaNTHurra$
1EXC	$*ngaliya$	$*nganarna$
2	$*NHumpaLu$	$*NHurra$
3	$*pula$	$*THaNa$

Dixon (1980) has suggested the accretion of an ergative suffix to base forms (Dixon's Proto Australian: $*nyun-DH\{a,u\}$ in which case $*-DH\{a,u\}$ is an allomorph of ergative case) as being the explanation of modern-day forms of *ngaju* and *nyuntu* and variations of these in many Australian languages. In Mangarla, ergative case marking is *-tu* following alveolar consonants which would account for the present form of *nyuntu* in Mangarla.

First person singular forms can have a similar origin. For first person singular forms, the protoform: $*ngay$ is suffixed with *-ju* (as is the case following consonants in these languages) and then the palatal glide is deleted in modern Nyangumarta (*ngayju > ngaju*), the palatal stop is deleted in Mangarla (*ngayju > ngayu*) and in Karajarri in some dialects an epenthetic vowel is inserted (*ngayju > ngayiju*) and in others the palatal glide is deleted as is the case for Nyangumarta (*ngayju > ngaju*). This analysis assumes a word final /y/ segment in Proto Marrngu. As previously discussed in the verbal morphology of Nyangumarta, Nyangumarta historically had verbs with final /y/ (§5.2.3).

This leaves second person dual and plural which are clearly reflexes of Dixon's Proto Australian forms *NHu(m)paLV and *NHurra. Third person pronouns are unaccounted for. In Nyangumarta dual and plural forms are easily identified as reflexes of the Proto Australian forms but in Mangarla and Karajarri there are no distinct pronoun forms for third person.

7.2 Verbal pronouns

7.2.1 Forms

Nyangumarta has three sets of verbal pronouns: those used for subject agreement, those used for object agreement and a third set which is used to encode dative or locative agreement (see Table 7.7 below).

As mentioned above, verbal pronouns which are part of the phonological verb phrase (Vp), can be divided into two distinct types. One set which are phonologically affixes and another set which have word status, as discussed in Chapter 2.

Table 7.7: Nyangumarta verbal pronouns²

a. Subject pronouns				
Person	Singular	Dual	Plural	
1INC	–	<i>-li</i>	<i>-nyV</i>	
1EXC	<i>-rnV</i>	<i>-liyV</i>	<i>-yirni</i>	
2	<i>-n /-npV</i>	<i>nyumpulu</i>	<i>nyurru</i>	
3	<i>-ø/-rrV³</i>	<i>pulu</i>	<i>-yV</i>	
b. Object pronouns				
Person	Singular	Dual	Plural	
INC	–	<i>ngalinyi</i>	<i>nganyjurrinyi</i>	
1EXC	<i>-nyV</i>	<i>ngalayi</i>	<i>nganinyi</i>	
2	<i>-ntV</i>	<i>nyumpulinyi</i>	<i>nyurrinyi</i>	
3	<i>-ø</i>	<i>pulinyi</i>	<i>janinyi</i>	
c. Indirect object pronouns				
Person	Singular	Dual	Plural	
1INC	–	<i>ngaliku</i>	<i>nganyjurraku</i>	
1EXC	<i>-ji</i>	<i>ngalayiku</i>	<i>nganaku</i>	
2	<i>-ngu</i>	<i>nyumpulaku</i>	<i>nyurraku</i>	
3	<i>-lV/-lu</i>	<i>pulaku</i>	<i>janaku</i>	

² All pronouns can occur with a final 'a' vowel which indicates purposive (see §7.2.3) or benefactive. When it occurs on the indirect object pronouns, it indicates possession.

³ The *-rrV* only occurs in the northern dialect of Nyangumarta and only when no other verbal pronouns follow it.

Goal versus beneficiary

Within the set of indirect object verbal pronouns, there are distinct forms of singular third person dative and locative (shown in the table above: *-lV* 'LOC' and *-lu* 'DAT'). One pronoun carries the semantic notion of goal and the other beneficiary. Both forms can be used to register dative or locative arguments in Nyangumarta clauses.⁴ In Nyangumarta the case marking of the nominal is predictable according to which form of the dative is being used—the 'goal' or locative form is used to cross-reference nominals marked with the locative suffix and the 'beneficiary' or dative form is used to cross-reference nominals inflected with the dative suffix. Table 7.8 below shows this same phenomena in other Australian languages.

Table 7.8: Goals versus beneficiary

	Locative – Goal	Dative – Beneficiary
Manyjilyjarra	<i>-lu</i> 'to, at him/her/it'	<i>-ra</i> 'for him/her/it'
Warnman	<i>-la</i> 'to, at him/her/it'	<i>-ra</i> 'for him/her/it'
Jaru	<i>-nyanda</i> 'to, at him/her/it'	<i>-la</i> 'for him/her/it'
Nyangumarta	<i>-lV</i> 'to, at him/her/it'	<i>-lu</i> 'for him/her/it'

It should be noted that the distinction in Nyangumarta between a goal locative and a beneficiary dative is only clear when the reference is third person singular. The set of indirect object pronouns can be used in situations where there is a 'goal' or 'beneficiary' involved.

7.2.2 Relative order of verbal pronouns

The verbal pronouns occur in a fixed order. Ordering of the verbal pronouns is as follows: first person precedes all other persons and second person singular precedes third person dual. Otherwise the order is: subject, object, dative and reflexive/reciprocal (ordering of pronominals is affected by their suffix/word distinction as seen below).

First person precedes all others:

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (7.5) | <i>Wirla-rna-rna-nta.</i>
hit-NFUT-1SG.SUB-2SG.OBJ
'I hit you.' | <i>Wirla-rna-nyi-n.</i>
hit-NFUT-1SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB
'You hit me.' |
| (7.6) | <i>Wirla-rna-rna</i> <i>janinyi.</i>
hit-NFUT-1SG.SUB 3PL.OBJ
'I hit them.' | <i>Wirla-rna-nyi-yi.</i>
hit-NFUT-1SG.OBJ-3PL.SUB
'They hit me.' |

⁴ The beneficiary form is used to cross-reference additional nominal arguments and not the usual arguments of verbs in languages like Manyjilyjarra and Warnman; the 'goal' form is used to cross-reference locative adjuncts in Jaru when the NP is animate.

Second singular precedes third dual:

- | | | | | |
|-------|---|---------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| (7.7) | <i>Wirla-rna-nta</i>
hit-NFUT-2SG.OBJ
'Those two hit you.' | <i>pulu.</i>
3DU.SUB | <i>Wirla-rna-ngu</i>
hit-NFUT-2SG.DAT
'Those two hit it for you.' | <i>pulu.</i>
3DU.SUB |
| (7.8) | <i>Wirla-rna-n</i>
hit-NFUT-2SG.SUB
'You hit it for those two.' | <i>pulaku.</i>
3DU.DAT | <i>Wirla-rna-n</i>
hit-NFUT-2SG.SUB
'You hit those two.' | <i>pulinyi.</i>
3DU.OBJ |

Subject precedes everything else:

- | | | | |
|--------|---|---|---|
| (7.9) | <i>Wirla-rna-n</i>
hit-NFUT-2SG.SUB
'You hit them.' | <i>janinyi.</i>
3PL.OBJ | <i>Wirla-rna-ya-nta.</i>
hit-NFUT-3PL.SUB-2SG.OBJ
'They hit you.' |
| (7.10) | <i>Wirla-rna-layi</i>
hit-NFUT-1DU.EXC.SUB
'We two hit them.' | <i>janinyi.</i>
3PL.OBJ | <i>Wirla-rna-yirni</i>
hit-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB

<i>pulinyi.</i>
3DU.OBJ
'We hit them (dual).' |
| (7.11) | <i>Wirla-rna</i>
hit-NFUT
'He hit them for those two.' | <i>janinyi pulaku.</i>
3PL.OBJ 3DU.DAT | <i>Wirla-rna pulinyi nyurraku.</i>
hit-NFUT 3DU.OBJ 2PL.DAT
'He hit those two for you (all).' |

For languages (like Nyangumarta) which have full sets of bound pronouns there is a distinct position in the sentence in which they occur. In Australian languages, bound pronouns generally can occur in one of three positions:

- 1) attached to the verb (which can occur in any position of the word) following verbal inflections for tense, mood and aspect.
- 2) attached to the first constituent (no matter what its syntactic class) of the sentence (Manyjilyjarra, Warnman, Kartujarra).
- 3) attached to an Aux element which usually occurs in second position. (Warlpiri, Walmajarri).

As mentioned earlier, the verbal (affix-type and word-type) pronouns in Nyangumarta occur in the first of these positions: attached to or following the verb after verbal inflections such as tense, mode and aspect. Affix-type verbal pronouns always precede word-type verbal pronouns.

7.2.3 Purposive

The purposive morpheme *-a* occurs word-finally in the verbal phrase. The general function of this morpheme is to indicate that an action was performed for a particular purpose although when it attaches to the indirect object verbal pronouns it indicates benefactive or possessive. The occurrence of this morpheme accounts for the alternate forms of many of the verbal pronouns: *-yirni -->yirna*, *pulu -->pula*, *nyurru -->nyurra*.

Some verbs such as *purrja-pi-RN* 'chase', *karri-NY* 'want' and *kanyji-RN* 'look for' obligatorily select the PURP suffix.

An example of the use of the purposive suffix is given as follows.

- (7.12) *Katuka-rna-yirni* *turaka-ja* *mungka-rrangu*,
descend-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB truck-ABL tree-PL
- parrja-rni* *yirni-a* *narnngula-ku*.
look-NFUT 1PL.EXC.SUB-PURP bush.honey-DAT
'We went east only to that place and we stopped the truck and climbed
down to look for bush honey in the trees.'

The use of the purposive suffix is seen clearly in the alternating form for the second singular subject bound pronoun: *-n*. When the purposive suffix is added the form changes to *-npa* with an epenthetic *-pV*.

- (7.13) *Kuyi* *palama* *paji-lipi-ji-n-pa* *kuyi!*
meat that bite-FUT-1SG.DAT-2SG.SUB-PURP meat
'You chew that meat for me/You chew my meat!'
- (7.14) *Yu-ngkulumi-nyi-n-pa* *nyuntu-mili kampa-na-pinti mungka?*
give-FUT-1SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB-PURP 2SG-GEN cook-NM-ASS tree
'Will you give me your cooking stick?'

When the suffix is attached to the indirect pronouns (*ngaliku -->ngalika*, *janaku -->janaka*, *pulaku -->pulaka*), it marks an understood beneficiary/possessor. Notice the effect it has on forms given in (7.15) below.

- (7.15) a. *Pungka-nya-ji*.
fall-NM-1SG.DAT
'It fell on me.'
- b. *Pungka-nya-ji-a*.
fall-NM-1SG.DAT-PURP
'Mine fell.'

- c. *Pungka-nya-ngu.*
fall-NM-2SG.DAT
'It fell on you.'
- d. *Pungka-nya-ngu-a.*
fall-NM-2SG.DAT-PURP
'Yours fell.'
- (7.16) *Nganarna ya-na-yirni ngurra-karti-rrangu*
1PL.EXC go-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB camp-ALL-PL
- nganarna-mili-karti, kuyi ka-nya-yirni janaku-a*
1PL.EXC-GEN-ALL meat take-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB 3DAT-PURP
- pipi-ku-pa japartu-ku.*
mother-DAT-CONJ father-DAT
'We went to our own camps and we took meat for our parents.'
- (7.17) *Pala-ja paliny-ju pala-nga kangkuru kuta-kuta-pi-rni,*
that-ABL 3SG-ERG that-LOC kangaroo chunk-RED-VB-NFUT
- wirri-rni pulaku-a kuyi warlapa-nga kankarni*
put-NFUT 3DU.DAT-PURP meat flat.rock-LOC on.top.of
- majangu-rrangu partany-ku-jirri nga-ninya-ku.*
flesh-PL child-DAT-DU eat-NM-DAT
'And then he cut up the kangaroo into pieces there and put the flesh high on the flat rock for the two children to eat.'
- (7.18) *Murtuka ngaju-mili kurlu jarri-nya-ji-a.*
car 1SG-GEN bad INCH-NFUT-1SG.DAT-PURP
'My car went wrong for me/My car broke down.'

In the following constructions the dative/locative verbal pronouns all take purposive suffixes. When a purposive ending is used in a complex clause, it indicates that the action of the main clause is done for a reason, that indicated in the subordinate clause. Thus in (7.19a) the kangaroo was killed for them to eat and in (7.19b) I went to kill meat for you all. In contrast in (7.20) the event of the subordinate verb is the goal of the main verb.

- (7.19) a. *Ngaju-lu wirla-rna-rna janaku-a kangkuru*
1SG-ERG hit-NFUT-1SG.SUB 3PL.DAT-PURP kangaroo

nga-ninya-ku.

eat-NM-DAT

'I killed the kangaroo for them to eat/I killed their kangaroo for them to eat.'

- b. *Ngaju ya-na-rna nyurraku-a wirla-na-ku kuyi-ku.*
 1SG go-NFUT-1SG.SUB 2PL.DAT-PURP hit-NM-DAT meat-DAT
 'I went to kill meat for you all/I went to kill your meat to eat.'

- (7.20) a. *Ngaju ya-na-rna nyurraku kulu-na-ku.*
 1SG go-NFUT-1SG.SUB 2PL.DAT meet-NM-DAT
 'I went to meet you all.'

- b. *Ngaju ya-na-rna janaku yirri-na-ku.*
 1SG go-NFUT-1SG.SUB 3PL.DAT see-NM-DAT
 'I went to see them.'

7.2.4 Comparison of independent and verbal pronouns

For Nyangumarta the distinction between free and bound pronouns is not as straightforward as Dixon (1980:362) suggests:

Free form pronouns are distinct words; like other words, they may be quite freely permuted within a sentence and a speaker may pause before and after them. Forms such as *-rna*, *-nta*, *-rni* and *-n* are bound rather than free; they cannot be pronounced independently, but must be attached to some word and are phonologically part of it.

Within the verbal pronoun paradigm there exists a distinct difference between two sets of pronouns: affix pronouns and word pronouns. This is discussed in §3.2.1.1.

Dixon (1980:363) also suggests that 'It is clear that bound-form pronouns have developed from free forms relatively recently, and that this process of evolution must have taken place independently in different regions'. In Nyangumarta this appears to be consistent for non-singular forms (see Table 7.9). The non-singular verbal and free pronouns show strong phonological similarities.

Table 7.9: Nyangumarta pronouns: non-singular forms

Person	Independent	Bound and free pronouns		
		Subject	Object	Dative/Locative
1DU.INC	<i>ngali</i>	<i>-li</i>	<i>ngalinyi</i>	<i>ngaliku</i>
1DU.EXC	<i>ngalaya</i>	<i>-liyV</i>	<i>ngalayinyi</i>	<i>ngalayaku</i>
1PL.INC	<i>nganyjurru</i>	<i>-nyV</i>	<i>nganyjurrinyi</i>	<i>nganyjurraku</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>nganarna</i>	<i>-yirnV</i>	<i>nganinyi</i>	<i>nganaku</i>
3PL	<i>jana</i>	<i>-yV</i>	<i>janinyi</i>	<i>janaku</i>
3DU	<i>pulany</i>	<i>pulu</i>	<i>pulinyi</i>	<i>pulaku</i>
2DU	<i>nyumpala</i>	<i>nyumpulu</i>	<i>nyumpulinyi</i>	<i>nyumpulaku</i>
2PL	<i>nyurra</i>	<i>nyurru</i>	<i>nyurrinyi</i>	<i>nyurraku</i>

Singular forms of the verbal pronouns bear little resemblance to the free forms:

Table 7.10: Nyangumarta verbal pronouns: singular forms

Person	Independent	Subject	Object	Dative/Locative
1SG	<i>ngaju</i>	<i>-rnV</i>	<i>-nyV</i>	<i>-jV</i>
2SG	<i>nyuntu</i>	<i>-n/npV</i>	<i>-ntV</i>	<i>-ngu</i>
3SG	<i>paliny</i>	<i>-ø/-rrV</i>	<i>-ø</i>	<i>-lV/lu</i>

Some of the other bound subject forms also have a less than clear resemblance to the free forms. The first person plural inclusive *-nyV*, exclusive *-yirnV* and the third person plural *-yV* are not clearly related. Other subject forms such as the first person dual inclusive and exclusive forms are apparently based on the free forms with the loss of an initial syllable: *-li* derived from *ngali* and *-liyV* derived from *ngalayi*. The object and locative/dative forms are based on the free forms with the historical addition of an accusative suffix *-nyi* and dative suffix *-ku* (there is no accusative suffix in modern Nyangumarta representing this historical morpheme but it does occur in other languages of the area; the dative suffix does however occur in this form as a nominal suffix in modern Nyangumarta.) In all phonological respects these pronouns behave like independent words except that they are syntactically bound within the verb phrase and are obligatory.

The evidence that the verbal pronouns have developed from the free pronouns is highlighted by the fact that some object and dative forms can lose their initial consonant and thus become attached to the verb: *nyumpulu* is found as *-umpulu* and *nyurru* becomes *-urru* for some Nyangumarta speakers (see §2.3.7 for the sandhi rule of palatal cluster deletion).

In Karajarri data collected in the 1930s, the ergative/absolute case marking on free pronouns was not always as consistent as it is for other nominals in the language. In some instances ergative case marking is used on intransitive subjects (where it would not be expected) and not used on corresponding transitive subjects (where it is expected) suggesting that this system of affixation on free pronouns could be a recent innovation, especially considering the fact that in modern Karajarri and its neighbouring languages ergative case marking is clearly used to mark transitive subjects.

Comparing Mangarla and Karajarri free versus bound pronouns, a similar situation to that of Nyangumarta exists. Some bound pronouns are clearly related to the independent forms and others are quite different from the independent forms. In Mangarla, second person dual bound forms have lost their initial *nyu-* syllable with the resulting *-mpala*, *-mpalany* and *-mpalangka*. Object and dative forms have quite distinct endings indicating an original suffix for object and dative marking.

Table 7.11: Mangarla pronouns

	Free pronoun	Verbal pronouns		
		Subject	Object	Dative
1SG	<i>ngayu</i>	<i>-rna</i>	<i>-nya</i>	<i>-ja</i>
2SG	<i>nyuntu</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-ngka</i>
3SG	<i>pani</i>	<i>-na</i>	–	<i>-la</i>
1DU.INC	<i>ngaliyarra</i>	<i>-la</i>	<i>-ngaliny</i>	<i>-ngalingka</i>
1DU.EXC	<i>ngalyarra</i>	<i>-yarra</i>	<i>-yarrany</i>	<i>-yarrangka</i>
1PL.INC	<i>nganyjurru</i>	<i>-la</i>	<i>-nganyjurruny</i>	<i>-nganyjurrunka</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>nganarni</i>	<i>-ngani(ya)</i>	<i>-nganiny</i>	<i>-nganingka</i>
2DU	<i>nyumpala</i>	<i>-mpala</i>	<i>-mpalany</i>	<i>-mpalangka</i>
3DU	<i>paniyarra</i>	<i>-pala</i>	<i>-palany</i>	<i>-palangka</i>
2PL	<i>nyurra</i>	<i>-nyurra</i>	<i>-nyurruny</i>	<i>-nyurrangka</i>
3PL	<i>paniyarti</i>	<i>-niyi</i>	<i>-in</i>	<i>-inya</i>

Table 7.12: Karajarri pronouns

	Free pronoun	Verbal pronouns		
		Subject	Object	Dative
1SG	<i>ngaju</i>	<i>-rna</i>	<i>-nya</i>	<i>-ja</i>
2SG	<i>nyuntu</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-nta</i>	<i>-ngku</i>
3SG	<i>kinyangka</i>	<i>-∅</i>	<i>-∅</i>	<i>-la</i>
1DU.INC	<i>ngali</i>	<i>-li</i>	<i>-ngalinnya</i>	<i>-ngaliku</i>
1DU.EXC	<i>ngalina</i>	<i>-lina</i>	<i>-ngalininya</i>	<i>-ngalinaku</i>
1PL.INC	<i>nganyjurru</i>	<i>-nya</i>	<i>-nganyjurrinya</i>	<i>-nganyjurruku</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>nganina</i>	<i>-yarna</i>	<i>-nganininya</i>	<i>-nganinaku</i>
2DU	<i>nyumpala</i>	<i>-nyumpala</i>	<i>-nyimpilinya</i>	<i>-nyumpalaku</i>
3DU	<i>kinyangkajarra</i>	<i>-pula</i>	<i>-pilinya</i>	<i>-pulaku</i>
2PL	<i>nyurra</i>	<i>-nyurra</i>	<i>-nyirrinya</i>	<i>-nyurraku</i>
3PL	<i>kinyangkarrangu</i>	<i>-ya</i>	<i>-jinya</i>	<i>-janaku</i>

Thus it is assumed that in an earlier stage the Nyangumarta independent pronoun system operated on a nominative/accusative system as compared to the ergative/absolutive system of the class of nominals in the language; and the pronouns gradually became fixed in position in the verb phrase and as a result some have become phonologically bound to the verb. At present, only some of the verbal pronouns are phonologically dependent on the verb. The origin of the singular forms and some of the subject forms mentioned above (*-nyi* and *-yirni*) remains unclear.

7.2.5 Reflexive/Reciprocals

There are two forms of the reflexive/reciprocal morpheme in Nyangumarta:

<i>-rninyi/-rninyi-a</i>	direct object
<i>-rnangu/-rnangu-a</i>	indirect object

The two morphemes appear to be combinations of the first and second singular forms of the verbal pronouns:

<i>-rninyi/-rninya</i>	>	<i>-rni+nyi</i>	1SG.SUB + 1SG.OBJ
<i>-rnangu/-rnanga</i>	>	<i>-rna+ngu</i>	1SG.SUB + 2SG.DAT

Despite the person-marking found in these morphemes the reflexive/reciprocal morpheme does not code person. Person is marked by the verbal pronouns to which they are attached.

The difference in meaning between the use of these two morphemes is shown in (7.21) and (7.22). Note in (7.22a) below, the meaning, with an alternative morphological parse, could be 'I shot it for you'.

- (7.21) a. *Wirla-rna-rninyi.*
hit-NFUT-REFLX
'He shot himself.'
- b. *Wirla-rna-rna-rninyi.*
hit-NFUT-1SGSUB-REFLX
'I shot myself.'
- (7.22) a. *Wirla-rna-rningu-a.*
hit-NFUT-RECIP-PURP
'He shot his own. He shot it for himself.'
- b. *Wirla-rna-rna-rningu-a.*
hit-NFUT-1SG.SUB-RECIP-PURP
'I shot my own. I shot it for myself.'

The reflexive/reciprocal construction is found in all sentence types: intransitive, semitransitive, transitive and extended-intransitive sentences. The subject pronoun precedes the reflexive/reciprocal suffix. The following examples illustrate the occurrence of the reflexive/reciprocal morpheme: third person plural subject (7.23)–(7.25), third person dual subject, (7.26) and (7.27), third person singular subject (7.28)–(7.32), and first person plural inclusive (7.33)–(7.35). The subjects of transitive and semitransitive verbs are marked with the ergative suffix⁵ (7.24), (7.27), (7.29), (7.31), (7.32) and (7.33). When the indirect object form of the reciprocal occurs it usually takes a dative or locative complement (7.30), (7.31), (7.33) and (7.34).

Third person plural subject

- (7.23) *Marlkarri-ngimarra wirla-rna-ya-rninyi junturtu.*
dead-CAUSAL hit-NFUT-3PL.SUB-REFLX head
'They are hitting their heads because of the one that has died (in grief).'
- (7.24) *Pala-ja marni-pi-rni-ya-rninyi-a pala-rrangu-lu.*
that-ABL paint-VB-NFUT-3PL.SUB-RECIP-PURP that-PL-ERG
'And then they all painted each other.'

⁵ This differs from Hale (1981:55n32) who says 'in Nyangumarta (cf. O'Grady 1964)... it is ABSOLUTE, not the ergative, which may be overt in a reflexive sentence' (see also Nash 1980:205). On examination of O'Grady (1964) the author cannot find where it is stated that transitive subjects are represented by absolute, not ergative in reflexive sentences.

- (7.25) *Kulu-rna-yi-rninyi.*
mourn-NFUT-3PL.SUB-RECIP
'They cried with/for each other.'

Third person dual

- (7.26) *Pala-nga yiya wirla-rna pula-rninyi.*
that-LOC truly hit-NFUT 3DU.SUB-RECIP
'And truly those two were fighting each other.'

- (7.27) *Kurlamanu-lu-jirri kartararra-lu nyurrama-nikinyi*
frilled.neck.lizard-ERG-DU brothers-ERG capable-IMPF

pula-rninyi.
3DU.SUB-RECIP
'The two frilled-necked lizard brothers were self-sufficient —could do everything.'

Third person singular

- (7.28) *Warti-rna-rninyi.*
stretch-NFUT-REFLX
'He stretched himself.'

- (7.29) *Paliny-ju nyiti ji-nikinyi wirtu-ji-ninya-rninyi-a.*
3SG-ERG chest make-IMPF big-AFF-PRS-REFLX-PURP
'He is puffing his chest out.'

- (7.30) *Parraparra-jartiny parlarla karri-kinya-rningu*
ache-COM (feel.sorry) STAT-IMPF-REFLX

wirru-ku paliny-ku.
wing-DAT 3SG-DAT
'(The emu) was feeling sorry for her aching wings.'

- (7.31) *Pala-nga yalikirta-lu mirtawa ji-rni-rningu-a*
that-LOC crocodile-ERG woman make-NFUT-REFLX-PURP

paliny-ku; pala miku-kata karrpu-rrangu karrpu.
3SG-DAT that jealous-CHAR day-PL day
'And there the crocodile was getting jealous for his woman day after day.'

- (7.32) *Mirtawa-lu nyarri-rna-rninyi, mitu-ma-rna,*
 woman-ERG conceal-NFUT-REFLX lie-CAUS-NFUT
- wurra-rni-li, "Pala-ku munumpa-rla ngaju."*
 tell-NFUT-3SG.LOC that-DAT ignorant-FOC 1SG
- 'The woman kept it to herself, she deceived him, she told him, "I am completely ignorant about that.'"

First person plural inclusive

- (7.33) *Nganyjurru-lu minnga-lama-nya-rninyi,*
 1PL.INC-ERG meet.with-FUT-1PL.INC.SUB-RECIP
- marruku-ngu.*
 mother-in-law-LOC
 'We might accidentally meet up with each other; our avoidance relationships.'
- (7.34) *Jampa-ku mima-lami-nyi-rningu.*
 briefly-DAT wait.for-FUT-1PL.INC.SUB-RECIP
 'We will rest ourselves for a little while.'
- (7.35) *Ngaju-mili mirtawa-pa ngaju-lu kuta-pi-rna-laya-rninyi*
 1SG woman-CONJ 1SG-ERG cut-VB-NFUT-1DU.EXC-RECIP
- wirru warrukarti-lu, kuwarri-ngi ngalaya*
 wing night-ERG now-LOC 1DU.EXC
- jinangu ya-ninya-layi.*
 on.foot go-PRS-1DU.EXC.SUB
 'My wife and I cut our wings (each other's) last night and now we walk around (instead of flying).'

The following verbs only occur in the reflexive/reciprocal:

- a) *Kulu-rna-ya-rninyi.* 'They joined with each other (for mourning).'
- b) *Kurrparna-rninyi.* 'S/he laid herself/himself (or family) open to payback.'
- c) *Pangarl-pi-na-rninyi.* 'S/he changed her/his form, s/he transformed himself into...'
- d) *Wawirri yarnta-rna-rninyi.* 'It rotated (wheel etc).'

7.2.6 Bound pronouns in imperatives

In commands, third person pronouns are used to mark understood second person subjects. For example:

- (7.36) *Ya-rra!* *Ya-rra pulu!* *Ya-rra-yi!*
 go-IMP go-IMP DU.SUB go-IMP-PL.SUB
 'You (sg) go!' 'You (du) go!' 'You (pl) go!'

Imperatives can also occur with object and indirect object verbal pronouns as well as reflexive pronouns:

- (7.37) *Ya-rra-la!*
 go-IMP-3SG.DAT
 'You (sg) go to him/her.'
- (7.38) *Mima-li-ji-yi!*
 wait.for-IMP-1SG.DAT-3PL.SUB
 'Wait for me!'
- (7.39) *Kalku-lu janinyi!*
 keep-IMP 3PL.OBJ
 'Take care of them!'
- (7.40) *Kalku-lu janaku!*
 keep-IMP 3PL.DAT
 'Take care of it for them!'
- (7.41) *Wirla-la-rrinyi!*
 hit-IMP-REFLEX
 'Hit yourself!'

7.3 Indefinite pronouns

7.3.1 'Who, someone' *nganurtu*

The indefinite *nganurtu* 'who, someone, whoever' is used for animate reference. The inflectional forms of the pronoun are listed in the following paradigm. The indefinite pronoun inflects like regular nominals.

Absolutive	<i>nganurtu</i>	Locative	<i>nganurtungu</i>
Ergative	<i>nganurtulu</i>	Dative	<i>nganurtuku</i>
Genitive	<i>nganurtumili</i>		

The indefinite pronoun is illustrated in the following sentences:

- (7.42) *Nganurtu-lu-kartiny wirla-la ngalayinyi-li-pa,*
 who-ERG-doubt hit-ANT 1DU.EXC.OBJ-ANT-EMPH

yarnta-la ngalayinyi-li munu.
 spear-ANT 1DU.EXC.OBJ-ANT NEG
 'Nobody can hit us, nobody can spear us.'

- (7.43) *Ya-nkuluma-n parrja-lama-mpa-lu. nganurtu-lu ma-ninyi*
 go-FUT-2SG.SUB look-FUT-2SG.SUB-3SG.DAT who-ERG take-PRS

ngulyu-lu ngalaya-mili mayi.
 thief-ERG 1DU.EXC-GEN vegetable.food
 'You will go and look for whoever is taking/stealing our food.'

7.3.2 'What, something' ngani

The indefinite and interrogative uses of *ngani* take the regular nominal suffixes with the following interpretations (the dative and ablative forms have slightly different meanings as seen below):

Absolute	<i>ngani</i>	'what'
Ergative	<i>nganilu</i>	'what-ERG'
Locative	<i>nganingi</i>	'what-LOC'
Dative	<i>nganiku</i>	'what for, why'
Ablative	<i>nganija</i>	'what happened, why'

The following examples illustrate its use.

- (7.44) *Ngani-ja karlaya maja yintajarra-ku?*
 what-ABL emu boss bird-DAT
 'Why is the emu the boss of the birds?'

- (7.45) *Ngani-ja nyuntu wirru?*
 what-ABL 2SG wing
 'What happened to your wing?'

- (7.46) *Pala-nga paliny ya-na ya-na ngani-kapan*
 that-LOC 3SG go-NFUT go-NFUT what-like

yakurr-ma-rna.
 copy-CAUS-NFUT
 'And there he (the emu) went around copying him like something (the turkey).'

An indefinite/interrogative compound verb is formed with *ngani* as the first morpheme in the compound construction: *ngani-ngi jarri-NY* 'something might happen there'.

- (7.47) *Wangka-marta ya-ninya-rra kaja-wayi,*
close-ATTEN go-PRS-3SG.SUB long.way-NEG

ngani-ngi jarri-a-npi-li-pa!
what-LOC INCH-ANT-2SG.SUB-ANT-EMPH
'Stay close, don't go a long way, something might happen to you!'

7.3.3 'Other, some' *jinta*

The nominal quantifier *jinta* most frequently refers to some group other than the referents of the previous discussion, but it can also be used as an indefinite pronoun expressing the meaning 'some'. It can be inflected with nominal suffixes, as can the independent personal pronouns. See §9.2 for the use of *jinta* as a modifier in Nyangumarta NPs.

- (7.48) *Jinta-lu pupuka-lu kalku-rna-yi kalparti-ngi marni.*
other-ERG frog-ERG keep-NFUT-3PL.SUB thigh-LOC paint
'Some frogs have patterns on their legs.'

- (7.49) *Jinta-nga nyarra mungka-nga wani-nya-yi narnngula*
some-LOC that.AN tree-LOC stay-NFUT-3PL.SUB bush.honey

kaninykarti pangkurl-ja jinta pangkurl-ja.
inside hollow.of.tree-LOC some hollow.of.tree-LOC
'Some (types of) bush honey is in the hollow of the tree.'

- (7.50) *Mungka wupartu mayi-rrangu kurrngal jinta*
tree small vegetable.food-PL many some

juri jinta kari.
sweet some bitter
'The small tree/bush has lots of fruit (*pilirta*), some are sweet and some are sour.'

7.3.4 'Thingy' *ngapi*

Ngapi, meaning 'thing-a-majig', 'thingy' or 'what's-a-m' call-it' is used when the speaker stumbles over a word. The intended word is always a nominal and is usually uttered after *ngapi*. This indefinite pronoun also inflects like regular nominals. Illustrative examples follow.

- (7.51) *Pala-ja marntungu turlpa-nyi-yirna ngapi-karti,*
that-ABL morning rise.up-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB thingy-ALL

warnku-karti *Yarlalu-karti*.
 rock-ALL hill.name-ALL

'In the morning we set off to the thingy, to the hill called "Yarlalu".'

- (7.52) *Ngampa-ngampa-pi-rni* *nganinyi* *ngapi-ngi*, *Wirriparnan-ja*
 (prevent)-RED-VB-NFUT 1PL.EXC.OBJ thingy-LOC Barramyne-LOC

kakarni.

from.the.east

'We were cut off by sand dunes in 'thingy'; Barramyne, in the east.'

7.4 Demonstratives

Although Nyangumarta has a set of distinct third person pronouns, many Australian languages do not. Instead there is a system of demonstrative pronouns which often involve obligatory specification of whether the person referred to is near to or distant from the speaker; sometimes, whether they are visible or not. Dixon (1980:277) claims that these items

combine a deictic semantic role i.e. referring to 'this' or 'that' in the environment of the utterance with some of the syntactic properties of third person pronouns; they can typically make up an NP by themselves (as an alternative to a head nominal) or else they can occur modifying a nominal in a NP.

Dench (1994a:156) notes that:

Not all languages of the Pilbara region have a set of third person pronouns distinct from the demonstrative system. Nor do languages which have third person pronouns have a complete set. It is fair to say that for most of the languages in the area, the third person category is marginal. On the other hand, most of the languages have well developed and quite complex systems of demonstratives.

In Nyangumarta, there are distinct forms for third person pronouns, that is there are both third person pronouns as well as demonstrative forms. Demonstratives take regular nominal suffixes.

Other languages in the Pilbara which have distinctive third person pronoun forms are Manyjilyjarra, Nyamal, Ngarla, and Panyjima. In contrast Karajarri and Mangarla, the other two languages of the Marrngu subgroup, use demonstrative forms for third person pronominal reference with dual and plural number marking added (see Table 7.13).

Table 7.13: Marrngu third person pronouns/demonstratives

	Pronouns	Demonstratives	
Person	Nyangumarta	Karajarri	Mangarla
3SG	<i>paliny</i>	<i>kinyangka</i>	<i>pani</i>
3DU	<i>pulany</i>	<i>kinyangkajarra</i>	<i>paniyarra</i>
3PL	<i>jana</i>	<i>kinyangkarrangu</i>	<i>paniyarti</i>

The dual marker in Karajarri is *-jarra*; the plural marker *-rrangu*. In Mangarla the dual marker is *-yarra* and the plural marker *-yarti*. The stems: *kinyangka* and *pani* for Karajarri and Mangarla respectively are more of a mystery and their investigation goes beyond the scope of this current description.

The deictic system in Nyangumarta has a set of definite determiners with obligatory specification of distance. The system is a three-term system which is distinct from the third person singular pronouns.

The demonstrative class in Nyangumarta is divided into three sets, a set of adnominal demonstratives which are used to make reference to entities according to the distance they are from the speech act participants; adverbial demonstratives which are used to provide a locational orientation of the speech act; and anaphoric demonstratives which are used to provide reference to entities previously referred to in the speech act or which are used as reference points for current discussion.

Table 7.14: Nyangumarta demonstratives

	Proximal: Near	Proximal: Mid	Distal
Adnominal	<i>nyungu</i>	<i>pala/palama</i> ⁶	<i>ngurnungu</i>
Adverbial	<i>nyarni</i>	<i>palarri</i>	<i>ngurnarri</i>
Anaphoric	<i>nyarra</i>	<i>palajun/yakujun</i>	<i>ngurnila</i>

7.4.1 'This, here' *nyungu*

The function of the proximal demonstrative is that of presentative 'this' or 'here' and its utterance can be accompanied by a hand or mouth gesture indicating the person or the place—thus it is used to refer to something which is close to the site of the speaker or some other implied point (7.53) and (7.54). The referent does not have to refer to a concrete object or a person, it can refer to a story or event (7.55). The referent is not always physically near and when used in texts the referent can be someone previously mentioned in the narration, the use of *nyungu* in this regard is to hold the speaker's focus of attention (7.56).

⁶ These two forms appear to be able to be used interchangeably, although *pala* is the most common and *palama* is not used with the locative and ablative suffixes.

- (7.53) *Nyungu-ngu-rla yirri-rni-rni pulinyi ngaju-lu!*
 this-LOC-FOC see-NFUT-1SG.SUB 3DU.OBJ 1SG-ERG
 'I saw those two (children) right here!'
- (7.54) *Nyungu-jirri kulipati-rni pulu mirtawa-ngulu nyungu-ngulu.*
 this-DU fight-NFUT 3DU.SUB woman-ABL this-ABL
 'These two were fighting over this woman.'
- (7.55) *Nyungu muwarr wurra-rna Minyjun-ju.*
 this word tell-NFUT Minyjun-ERG
 'This story was told by Minyjun.'
- (7.56) *Ya-na pala mirtawa ngalypa-kata, nga-ninya-kata-wayi, nyungu.*
 go-NFUT that woman good-CHAR eat-NM-CHAR-NEG this
 'The good woman went, not a cannibal, this one.'

7.4.2 'That (mid)' pala

Like *nyungu* 'this', *pala* 'that/there' is usually used to refer to things which are relatively close to the site of the speech act or some other implied reference point. It differs from *nyungu* in that the reference point is closer to the hearer than it is to the speaker when position is the focus (7.57), or it refers to the thing that is further away than another thing mentioned. A far more general function of *pala* is its use in narratives where it is used far more frequently than *nyungu* to refer to referents (7.58)–(7.59) which are mentioned or understood in the context of the narrative. A possible contrast in use is that in texts, *nyungu* is used to introduce an entity or topic and the elaboration of this topic is carried out by *pala*. However, this is not entirely clear at present—more research is needed to substantiate that claim.

- (7.57) *Nyungu mirtawa partany pala pirirri partany.*
 this woman child that man child
 'This one here is a girl, and that one there is a boy.'
- (7.58) *Kujarra partany pala-jirri pingka-kata-jirri.*
 two child that-DU hunting-CHAR-DU
 'Those two children were hunters.'
- (7.59) *Pala-ja kuli jarri-nya-lu pala-ku partany-ku.*
 that-ABL angry INCH-NFUT-3SG.DAT that-DAT child-DAT
 'And then s/he became angry at that child.'

7.4.2.1 Temporal reference

The demonstrative *pala*, 'that', is frequently suffixed with either the ablative or locative suffix to form a conjunction indicating that the current event is occurring after the event indicated by the demonstrative or that it is occurring at the same time as the event indicated by the demonstrative. Thus *pala-ja* 'that-ABL' can have the meaning 'as a result of that' or 'therefore' but in connected text it is often used to mean 'after that', 'next' or 'then'; and *pala-nga* 'that-LOC' is used to refer to something which is near or next to something 'there' but can also mean 'then' or 'at that time'.

The following sentences illustrate the use of these conjunctions as clausal conjunctions in which one clause is related to the other.

- (7.60) *Ngaju-lu ya-na-rna kuyi-karti, pala-nga*
1SG-ERG go-NFUT-1SG.SUB meat-ALL that-LOC

yirri-rni-rni kangkuru.
see-NFUT-1SG.SUB kangaroo
'I went hunting and there/then I saw a kangaroo.'

- (7.61) *Nganarna ya-na-yirni kuyi-karti, pala-ja*
1PL.EXC go-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB meat-ALL that-ABL

yirri-rni-rni kangkuru.
see-NFUT-1SG.SUB kangaroo
'We went hunting and then I saw a kangaroo.'

- (7.62) *Ngaju-lu wirla-rna-rna kangkuru, pala-nga*
1SG-ERG hit-NFUT-1SG.SUB kangaroo that-LOC

kampa-rna-rna kangkuru.
cook-NFUT-1SG.SUB kangaroo
'I killed the kangaroo and there/then I cooked it.'

The demonstrative suffix with ablative and locative does not always occur as a temporal conjunction as the following sentence illustrates. Here the demonstrative occurs clause-finally and does not have a temporal interpretation. Temporal uses of this demonstrative (with the locative or ablative suffixes) occur when they are clause-initial as seen in the examples above.

- (7.63) *Paliny wani-nyikinyi pala-nga.*
3SG stay-IMPV that-LOC
'S/he stayed there.'

The demonstrative *pala* can occur with the particle *ngarra* ‘specifier’ with the following interpretations:

pala *ngarra* ‘that’s the one’
that SPEC

pala-nga *ngarra* ‘right there and then, at that very place, at once,
that-LOC SPEC right at that very time.’

- (7.64) “*Ngani* *parrja-rna-rna?* *Pala* *ngarra* *mirtamirta*, *pirtirra-lu*
what look-NFUT-1SG.SUB that SPEC white corella-ERG

nga-na *janinyi* *mayi-rrangu*” *karrama-rna* *maruntu*.
eat-NFUT 3PL.OBJ vegetable.food-PL say-NFUT goanna
“‘What did I see? That one (we’re discussing)—that white corella eating
all of the seeds”, the goanna said.’

- (7.65) *Pala-nga* *ngarra* *jinta* *marrngu* *ya-na-yi*
that-LOC SPEC some person go-NFUT-3PL.SUB

yirri-rni-yi *wurru* *pilarnpilarn* *wani-kinyi-yi*.
see-NFUT-3PL.SUB weapons everywhere stay-IMP-3PL.SUB
‘Right there some people went and saw the weapons (they’d carved)
everywhere.’

7.4.3 ‘That: distant, over there’ *ngurnungu*

The demonstrative *ngurnungu* always refers to something which is physically distant. In the following examples, referents are not near the speaker and in some cases are not visible. In (7.66) the man is worrying about the children he has seen some distance away, in (7.67) the referents are situated in another camp; in (7.68) the two children referred to are some distance away in the river, and in (7.69) the relatives referred to are sitting on the other side of the camp.

- (7.66) *Ngurinji* *karri-nya-lu* *partany* *ngurnungu* *marlka-rla*
worry STAT-NFUT-3SG.SUB child over.there sated-FOC

jitany-pi-ninyi *kuyi*. “*Ngurnungupali* *yaja-lama-rna*
leave.in.place-VB-PRS meat maybe follow-FUT-1SG.SUB

marntunga-lu."

morning-ERG

'He began to worry about that child over there being full and leaving the meat, "Maybe I will follow him in the morning.'"

- (7.67) *"Kurila wuju-karti" wurra-rni-yirni pulaku*
south gap-ALL tell-NFUT-1PL.SUB 3DU.DAT

"Kulu-lku nyumpulu janinyi ngurnungu-rrangu
meet-POT 2DU.SUB 3PL.OBJ over.there-PL

jinta marrngu."

other person

"South to the gorge"! we told those two. "You two should meet up with that other mob (over there)!"

- (7.68) *Paliny-ju wurra-rna pulaku, "Partany-jirri ngurnungu-rla*
3SG-ERG tell-RN 3DU.DAT child-DU over.there-FOC

janpa-nya pulu piju-ngu."
bathe-NFUT 3DU.SUB river-LOC

'He said to those two, "Those children are swimming in the river.'"

- (7.69) *Karnku ngurnungu purlpi wani-kinyi-yi*
relations over.there long.time stay-IMPF-3PL.SUB

kaja-rnikinyi-yi.

sit-IMPF-3PL.SUB

'Those relations over there used to stay here.'

7.5 Adverbial demonstratives

There are three adverbial demonstratives; a proximal, a mid distance and distal: *nyarni* 'right here, this way', *palarrri* 'that way' and *ngurnarri* 'there, beyond'. The proximal form is used when a speaker wishes to describe a particular location at which the event is taking place or was taking place. It can be inflected with locative and allative suffixes to allow the speaker to be more specific about the location of a particular activity or entity.

- (7.70) *Jina marnti ya-na nyarni kanka.*
foot walk go-NFUT here above
'The tracks went high along here.'

- (7.71) *Pala-nga* *Ngarnkawaru-lu-pa* *Pinypiny-ju*
 that-LOC McLeod-ERG-CONJ Pinypiny-ERG
- warntama-rna* *pula-rninya,* *pala-nga* *kujarra*
 argue-NFUT 3DU.SUB-RECIP that-LOC two
- ya-na* *pulu* *nyarni-kurnu.*
 go-NFUT 3DU.SUB here-ALL
 'And there McLeod and Pinypiny were arguing with each other and
 then those two went this way.'

- (7.72) "Wulukanya-ku *nyuntu miranu?"* *wurra-rna-yi-a*
 Wulukanya-DAT 2SG know tell-NFUT-3PL.SUB-PURP
- nyarni-ngi-rla* *wani-nyi!*
 here-LOC-FOC stay-NFUT
 "'Do you know the waterhole Wulukanya?'," they say it's around here!"

The mid-distal adverbial demonstrative, meaning 'that way, 'that route' or 'that one' includes the notion of a common actor or common place and in terms of space is classified as a mid-distal adverbial demonstrative. It is not used of an entity which is near to the speaker or one in which the speaker emphasises a specific distant location, instead, it is used to refer to an entity which is out of sight but not necessarily at a specific distant location. This demonstrative is not widely found in texts.

- (7.73) *Munu ya-nku-li* *palarri* *jungka-jungka.*
 NEG go-POT-1DU.INC that.way sand-RED
 'Let's not go that way, it's sandy.'

The distal locational demonstrative is used to indicate that a participant or reference point is located some distance from the speech act. The specific location or direction is indicated by additional suffixation of locative, allative or ablative.

- (7.74) *Ngurnarri-lu* *partany-ju* *minyji-rni* *yirri-rni* *pulinyi*
 there-ERG child-ERG set.light.to-NFUT see-NFUT 3DU.OBJ
- rankurrji-jirri* *jinangu.*
 bustard-DU on.foot
 'That child over there set light to it and saw two bustards walking
 along.'

- (7.75) *Pirirri ya-na* *pirirri* *wariny-ju* *ngurnarri-ngi*
 man go-NFUT man different-ERG there-LOC

jina-ma-rna pala pirirri wariny jina-ma-rna.
 foot-CAUS-NFUT that man different foot-CAUS-NFUT
 'The man (Jirnpi) went and a different man there on the other side
 tracked/followed (him) that man.'

- (7.76) *Wapaka-rna kawa-rna, wangka yiji wika-ngulu kanka*
 hop-NM repeat-NFUT close really fire-ABL above

wapaka-rna ngurnarri-karti.
 hop-NFUT there-ALL
 'He (the kangaroo) was hopping along and when he hopped really close
 to the fire he hopped high right over it there, to the other side.'

- (7.77) *Wariny kuwarri milpa-nyikinya-lu ngurnarri-ja*
 different now come-IMPF-3SG.DAT there-ABL

milpa-nya-la.
 come-NFUT-3SG.LOC
 'The other one came for her, there, from another place she came to her.'

7.6 Anaphoric demonstratives

The main function of the anaphoric demonstrative *nyarra*, is to direct the listener's attention to something with which s/he is familiar with but which is not present. It can also be glossed as 'you know the one' or 'this way'. In (7.78) the speaker is discussing the production of bush honey by the bush honey bees and uses *nyarra* to refer to the nectar that bees collect from flowers. In (7.79) the production of the bush honey is complete and the speaker is directing the listener's attention to the actual honey produced by the bee and the honey people eat.

- (7.78) *Warrayi pala ya-ninyi ma-ninya janinyi kulupurn-ja*
 honey.bee that go-PRS get-PRS 3PL.OBJ flower-ABL

nyarra yanga-ninyi ka-nganyi mungka-karti.
 that.AN collect-PRS carry-PRS tree-ALL
 'The honey bee goes and collects (nectar) from flowers and takes it to the
 tree.'

- (7.79) *Pala pukun wirri-rna-yi kuyi-ja, pala-rrangu ngarra*
 that also put-NFUT-3PL.SUB meat-ABL that-PL SPEC

wirri-rna-yi ji-ninyi nyarra juri-kata-pa,
 put-NFUT-3PL.SUB do-PRS that.AN sweet-CHAR-EMPH

nga-ninya-nyi *narnngula* *pala,* *wirri-rna-yi*
eat-PRS-1PL.INC.SUB bush.honey that put-NFUT-3PL.SUB

pirniny-ja.
rotten-LOC

'After the bees also make the smelling stuff (like rotten meat), they put it and it becomes really tasty bush honey and we all eat it, they make it from the smelling stuff.'

In texts, *Nyarra* does not necessarily presuppose an explicit mention of an entity in a previous discourse, it is simply used to alert the listener or addressee to a specific, intended referent. *Nyarra* can be used as hesitation particle and can occur clause-initial to introduce a proposition that a speaker assumes the addressee will readily accept.

(7.80) *Nyarra.* *yirri-na-nyi* *kuwarri-pa* *kangkuru*
that.AN see-NFUT-1PL.INC.SUB now-EMPH kangaroo

mirti *jarri-nyi* *wariny-kurnu.*
run INCH-NFUT different-ALL

'You know, that kangaroo is the one we see today, running (hopping) differently.'

(7.81) *Nyarra.* *yirri-na-nyi* *kanka* *wani-nyi* *wirlarra*
that.AN see-NFUT-1PL.INC.SUB above stay-NFUT moon

pala-nga.
that-LOC

'You know, we see that (person) moon high (in the sky) there.'

(7.82) *Nyarra.* *munu* *yi-nganyaku-pa* *kuyi.*
that.AN NEG give-PurpADV-EMPH meat
'You know, they didn't give him meat.'

This demonstrative can also mean 'like this' in much the same way as the nominal *karra* 'like this'.

(7.83) a. *Nyarra* *ji-ni.*
like.this do-NFUT
'S/he did it this way.'

b. *Karra* *ji-ni.*
like.this do-NFUT
'S/he did it this way.'

The anaphoric demonstrative *nyarra* can take some nominal suffixes but is generally uninflected. The allative *-karti* is often suffixed to *nyarra* with the interpretation that the referent is some distance from the speaker.

(7.84) *Pala-ja mikurr-ja murtuka wararr-ji-rni-yirni.*
that-ABL jealous-LOC car standing-AFF-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB

Pala-nga Minyjun ya-na kuyi-karti jilaman-jartiny,
that-LOC Monty go-NFUT meat-ALL rifle-COM

warnku-ngu nyarra-karti wirra-rna kangkuru.
rock-LOC that.AN-ALL hit-NFUT kangaroo

'And we stopped the car near the jealousy hill and there Monty went for meat with his rifle and over there he shot the kangaroo.'

The anaphoric demonstrative, *palajun*, 'like that' (which appears to be based on *pala* 'that'), is used to refer to some attribute, effect or process that is made explicit in the utterance. Thus in (7.85) it is referring to the undesirable features (short legs) of the butcher bird and the crow; in (7.86) it is used to refer to the process of naming; in (7.87) the shortage of meat became common-place all over the land and in (7.88) it is used to refer to the process of collecting bush honey.

(7.85) *Palajun ya-ninya-n kurrparnji-kapan-pa karnka-kapan*
like.that go-PRS-2SG.SUB butcher.bird-like-CONJ crow-like

murlku pirlpu, palajun kurlu.
short leg like.that bad

'If you walk around like the butcher bird and the crow who have short legs, then that's bad.'

(7.86) *Palajun wirri-rni Palungkurr manguny*
like.that put-NFUT Palungkurr dreaming

yini-ma-rna-rninya Palungkurr.
name-CAUS-NFUT-REFL Palungkurr

'He put or made it like that, Palungkurr gave himself the name Palungkurr.'

(7.87) *Palajun wani-nyi kuyi-karti-pa ya-ninya-ku kaja*
like.that stay-NFUT meat-ALL-EMPH go-NM-DAT long.way

palajun pala ngarra yirtinykarra jarri-nyi.
 like.that that SPEC all.over INCH-NFUT
 ‘He stayed like that and you had to go a long way for meat and it became like that all over the country.’

(7.88) *Yija nyungu wani-nyi narnngula pala-nga*
 truly this stay-NFUT bush.honey that-LOC

malya-nikinyi-yi-a yilipi-lu palajun nyurra munumpa
 chop-IMPF-3PL.SUB-PURP axe-ERG like.that 2PL ignorant

nyungu-ku.
 this-DAT
 ‘Truly this is how it was—they would chop the (tree for) bush honey with an axe like that—you all don’t know how to do this.’

A variation of *palajun* is *palayin* which has the same function as given in the following example.

(7.89) *Yarlpurru-lu kuyi-rla nyarri-rna-ji ngurnipali*
 friend-ERG meat-FOC conceal-NFUT-1SG.DAT maybe

munu-rla palayin jarri-ma purlpi-pa kuwarri
 NEG-FOC like.that INCH-PSTCFL long.time-EMPH now

jakun palayin jarri-nyi.
 only like.that INCH-NFUT
 ‘My friend is keeping meat from me, he’s never done this before, only now he’s doing it.’

A further variation with the same meaning and function is *yakun/yakurl/yakujun* which means ‘like that, thus’.

(7.90) *Yirri-rni-yirni yarlalu warnku yakun-marta ngarra.*
 see-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB name rock like.that-ATTEN SPEC
 ‘We saw the Mijjimaya rock—like that.’

(7.91) *Nyungu jirnka-nikinyi pulu ma-na-yi. “Yakun*
 this whittle-IMPF 3DU.SUB get-NFUT-3PL.SUB like.that

yakun jirnka-lami-nyi karu-pa yakun
 like.that whittle-FUT-1PL.INC.SUB spear-EMPH like.that

ji-rnal-nyi *jirnka-lami-nyi* *karrparta jinta.*"
do-REM-1PL.INC.SUB whittle-FUT-1PL.INC.SUB spear other
'Those two saw him make it, they got it (and said), "Let's make a short
spear like that and other spears.'"

(7.92) *Ngurnjul-ja* *yakun* *ya-nalpi-yirni.* *Nyungu*
puzzle-LOC like.that go-REMPST-1PL.INC.SUB this

walypila-mila-lu *yija-marta* *ji-rni* *nganinyi.*
whitefellow-GEN-ERG truly-ATTEN do-NFUT 1PL.EXC.OBJ
'We were wondering about this and we went (a long time ago), the
white fellow's made this really big one for us.'

The anaphoric demonstrative *ngurnila* 'you know that one' or 'that same one' is used to describe referents of whom the speaker is referring back to. The hearer is made aware of the referent and is drawn to some feature to allow them to recall the person being referred to. It can also refer to elemental/environmental features.

(7.93) *Ngurnila-lu* *ka-nya* *partany.*
that.same.one-ERG take-NFUT child
'That same one took the child (the one that took it before).'

(7.94) *Yirri-rni* *ngapi* *jakun* *rungul* *jakun*
see-NFUT thingy only indentation.where.something.lay only

ngurnila *pali* *nyarni* *wapaka-rna* *ya-na.*
that.same.one maybe here hop-NFUT go-NFUT
'He saw that thingy, that place where it had layed, and maybe it was the
same one that hopped this way.'

(7.95) *Manguny* *pala* *ya-na* *kara* *yulupirti* *ngurnila* *warrarn.*
dreaming that go-NFUT west forever that.same.one country
'That Dreaming (man) went west for good to that same country.'

7.7 Locative and temporal indefinites, interrogatives

7.7.1 Indefinite predicate demonstrative

The indefinite predicate demonstrative *wunyjurru* 'how' functions as an indefinite predicate of manner.

(7.96) *Pala-ja* *kuyi-rrangu-lu* *yimpi-rna-yi-a* *muwarr.*
that-ABL meat-PL-ERG explain-NFUT-3PL.SUB-PURP word
'And the animals were talking amongst themselves.'

Wunyjurru *ji-limi-nyi* *palama* *pali?*
 how do-FUT-1PL.INC.SUB that maybe

Nganurtu *turrpa-kata?"*
 who brave-CHAR
 "How will we do it, who will be brave?"

- (7.97) *Karnka-lu* *yirri-rni* *ya-ninya-kanu* *pulyupulyuma-rna,* *"Japurtu!*
 crow-ERG see-NFUT go-PRS-after put.together-NFUT poor.thing

Wunyjurru *jarri-nyi* *wunyjurru* *jarri-nyi-n?"*
 how INCH-NFUT how INCH-NFUT-2SG.SUB
 'After he went the crow saw it—the crippled one, "Poor fellow, what's happened to you?"'

- (7.98) *Palajun* *ji-na-yi-a* *jana-lu* *warrarn*
 like.that do-NFUT-3PL.SUB-PURP 3PL-ERG country

wariny-ja, *nganyjurru-lu-pa* *wunyjurru-lu*
 different-LOC 1PL.INC-ERG-EMPH how-ERG

kanyji-rna-nyi-a *pupuka-ku.*
 look.for-NFUT-1PL.INC.SUB-PURP frog-DAT
 'They did it like that in the different country and we showed (them) how we looked for frogs.'

- (7.99) *Wunyjurru-rti* *yintajarra* *ya-ninyaku?*
 how-EMPH bird go-PurpADV
 'How should birds travel?'

- (7.100) *Wunyjurru* *wupartu* *partany-karrangu* *kuku* *jarri-nya-yi,*
 how small child-PL hide INCH-NFUT-3PL.SUB

nganarna-lu *ngarni-pi-ni-yirni* *kurra* *paru*
 1PL.EXC-ERG collect-VB-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB while spinifex

maya-ku.
 house-DAT
 'How the little children hid when we collected spinifex for the shelter.'

7.7.2 'Where' wanyjarni, wanyjarra

The locative indefinite/interrogative *wanyjarni*, *wanyjarra* 'where' is inflected for regular nominal inflections such as locative, ablative, dative and allative. The forms appear to be based on a stem form *wanyja* 'where' and suffixes *-rni* and *-rra*. Other languages in the Pilbara, such as Manyjilyjarra, have an interrogative *wanyja* 'where'. There is no known meaning difference between the two Nyangumarta forms. *Wanyjarni* and *wanyjarra* can refer to generalised notions of unknown locations (7.101), (7.102) and (7.103) but they can also refer to a particular location which is unknown to the speaker although the speaker assumes some entity can be found (7.104) and (7.105).

- (7.101) *Wanyjarni-ngi kampa-lama-rna kangkuru?*
 where-LOC cook-FUT-1SG.SUB kangaroo
 'Where will I cook the kangaroo?'

- (7.102) *Kanyji-rna-lu kangkuji-murniny-ju,*
 look.for-NFUT-3SG.DAT older.sister-own-ERG

kanyji-rna-lu wanyjarni ya-na partany.
 look.for-NFUT-3SG.DAT where go-NFUT child
 'His older sister was looking for him, looking for where that child had gone.'

- (7.103) *Mirti-lu kurtararra ngurnju-rna pala mirti-ku wanyjarni-kurnu*
 run-ERG brothers puzzle-NFUT that run-DAT where-ALL

mirti-ji-naku pulany wapaka-rna pulu. Mirti-ji-rni
 run-AFF-PurpADV 3DU hop-NFUT 3DU.SUB run-AFF-NFUT

pulu jurrkurl warnku-karti.
 3DU.SUB straight rock-ALL
 'He (the eel) didn't know which way those two brothers were going to run—they ran straight to the hill.'

- (7.104) *Ngapi pala miranu jarri-nya wanyjarra-ja pala*
 thingy that know INCH-NFUT where-ABL that

karta karri-kinyi mungka-nga kanka.
 asleep STAT-IMPF tree-LOC above
 'He knew where he (that white cockatoo) was sleeping high in the tree.'

- (7.105) *Kingki ji-nikinyi-yi-a karnti-nya-ku malya-rna*
 footholes do-IMPF-3PL.SUB-PURP climb-NM-DAT chop-NM

kawa-nikinyi-yi *kanka-kurnu-lu,* *pala-karti* *jakun*
 repeat-IMPF-3PL.SUB above-ALL-ERG that-ALL only

wanyjarni-ngi *pala* *narnngula* *wani-kinyi.*
 where-LOC that bush.honey stay-IMPF

'They keep chopping footholes to climb up (the tree) only as far as where that bush honey is.'

7.7.3 'When' *nyanga*

The indefinite/interrogative *nyanga*, 'when' functions as a temporal indefinite referring to a time which is unknown to the speaker.

(7.106) *Nyanga* *pala* *partany* *milpa-uliny?*
 when that child come-FUT
 'When will that child come?'

(7.107) *Pulany* *ngalpa-nya* *pulu* *ngurra-nga* *karrpu-ngu* *nyanga?*
 3DU enter-NFUT 3DU.SUB camp-LOC day-LOC when
 'When did those two come into camp? / At what time of day was it?'

7.8 Compass terms and locational nominals

Nyangumarta compass terms form a closed subclass of the class of nominals. The main distinguishing factor for the determination of this subclass is the forms of the ablative and allative. Table 7.15 lists the forms of the compass point nominals. These nominals are not inflected for allative and ablative case in the same way as other nominals. A special allative suffix *-kurti* is used to indicate movement in a particular direction. The *-kurnu* suffix is used to indicate direction towards a particular point or entity. This suffix is only used on compass terms and the nominals *kanka* 'above' and *kaniny* 'down'.⁷ The ablative forms are distinct; the usual ablative suffix *-ja/-ji* is not found. Instead a form *-ngumarra/-rnimarra* is used which alters the shape of the stem, hence *kurila* --> *kurningumarra*. The form of the ablative suffix in these constructions is similar to the causative suffix which appears to be based on the locative suffix + *-marra*. However, although an historical analysis might be possible, it is beyond the scope of this work to speculate further on its origins.

⁷ The nominals 'above' and 'down' have been cited as *kanka-kurti/kanka-karti* and *kaniny-karti* and *kaniny-kurti* for some speakers. See §3.1.1 for more information about *kaninykarti* as a fixed lexeme.

Table 7.15: Compass terms

	Location	Allative	Ablative
north	<i>yalinyja</i>	<i>yalinyja-kurnu/-kurti</i>	<i>yalinyangu(marra)</i>
south	<i>kurila</i>	<i>kurila-kurnu/-kurti</i>	<i>kurningu(marra)</i>
east	<i>kakarra</i>	<i>kakarra-kurnu/-kurti</i>	<i>kakarni(marra)</i>
west	<i>kara</i>	<i>kara-kurnu/-kurti</i>	<i>karangu(marra)</i>

The ablative forms can occur without the segment *marra* as seen below, but this variation does not appear to be conditioned by any meaning difference and at this stage appears to be just a feature of speaker variation.

- (7.108) *Pirirri milpa-nya yalinyangu, "Ngani ngurnarri ma-nanyi?"*
 man come-NFUT north.ABL what there get-PRS
 'A man came from the north, (and asked) "What's that he's getting?"'

The following examples illustrate the difference in meaning of the directional allative suffix *-kurti*. In the following examples, the directional allative suffix is attached to compass points and the resulting meaning has to do with movement occurring over in that direction as distinct from movement towards a particular direction.

- (7.109) *Pala-ngulu ya-na-yirni Warlarla-karti, pirirri-marta*
 that-ABL go-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB Warlarla-ALL man-PL

kurrngal ya-na-yi Yarunkarra-nga yalinyja-kurti.
 many go-NFUT-3PL.SUB Yarunkarra-LOC south-ALL
 'And then we went to Warlarla, and all the men on the southern side went to Yarunkarra.'

- (7.110) *Nyarra-nga kata-nga kara-kurti mungka-marramarra-nga jinta*
 that.AN-LOC scrub-LOC west-ALL tree-place.of-LOC other

walangkarra ya-nikinyi-yi.
 ahead go-NFUT-IMPF-3PL.SUB
 'The others went ahead on that western side in that scrub and tree country.'

In addition to the compass terms, there are adjectival nominals which function as spatial modifiers in that they define a specific place or direction a referent can be located. These are inherently locative, functioning as locational 'adverbs' which describe a direction, motion or orientation relative to the speaker but many can be

further inflected with other suffixes such as ergative, allative and ablative. Generally these nominals function as adnominal modifiers in a NP.

The set of directionals/positionals (locationals) includes the following:

<i>jala/jalajala</i>	'somewhere else'
<i>jampukarti</i>	'left hand, left-hand side'
<i>kaja, yawarra</i>	'a long way'
<i>kaniny</i>	'down, below'
<i>kaninykarti</i>	'inside'
<i>kanka</i>	'above, high, up, on top'
<i>kankarni</i>	'on top of'
<i>kirrpirti</i>	'across'
<i>lakurn</i>	'round about there, thereabout'
<i>marrjanyukarti</i>	'right hand, right-hand side'
<i>mawurr</i>	'direction you are facing'
<i>nyarralanga</i> ⁸	'around here, in this area'
<i>nyirrirni</i>	'behind'
<i>partijirri</i>	'middle, half way, in the middle'
<i>pilarnpilarn</i>	'everywhere'
<i>purlu</i>	'half way back from somewhere'
<i>walangkarra</i>	'ahead, in front of, first in a series'
<i>wangka</i>	'close by'
<i>yakarr</i>	'just below surface, shallow'
<i>yakujarni/yakujani</i> ⁹	'this way, over here'
<i>yirtinykarra</i>	'all over, everywhere'

Examples of some of the locational nominals are given below:

- (7.111) *Karta karri-nyi-rrri wika-nga wangka.*
 sleep STAT-NFUT-3SG.SUB fire-LOC close
 'S/he slept/is sleeping close to the fire.'
- (7.112) *Yata-ja ma-ninyi jungka-ja kanka kalku-rnu.*
 shield-ABL get-PRS ground-ABL above keep-NFUT
 'After picking the shield up from the ground, he held it high.'
- (7.113) *Ya-ninyi-yi nyirrirni-pa walangkarra.*
 go-PRS-3PL.SUB behind-CONJ ahead
 'They go along in a line—one behind the other (one behind and one in front).'

⁸ This spatial modifier is very similar in form to the anaphoric demonstrative *nyarra* and is possibly connected in meaning and function historically.

⁹ This spatial modifier is very similar in form to the demonstrative *yakujun* and is possibly connected in meaning and function historically.

- (7.114) *Kunarri warliwarli ka-nya yakujarni ngurnarri-kurnu*
 eel hover take-NFUT this.side there-ALL

wurrku-jartiny karrparta-ja.
 sick-COM spear-ABL

'The eel was rolling over and over there because it was injured by the spear.'

Location nominals like *jala* 'somewhere else' can be used with other relational suffixes to form new words such as *jala-karti* (somewhere.else-ALL) 'outside, somewhere not in this area'.

- (7.115) *Pala pirirri jala-karti-ja.*
 that man somewhere.else-ALL-ABL
 'That man is from another place.'

7.9 Temporal nominals

Temporal nominals are inherently locative. However, the nominal *kuwarri*, 'now', can be further inflected with the locative suffix giving it the meaning: 'right now'. The list includes:

<i>jampa</i>	'briefly, a short time, as soon as'
<i>kuwarri</i>	'now, today'
<i>marntungu</i>	'in the morning, tomorrow'
<i>purlpi</i>	'long time ago'
<i>purlpirla</i>	'nearly time'
<i>walangkarrangu</i>	'in the beginning, long ago, in the early days'
<i>yajarri</i>	'at the same time'
<i>yarrarna</i>	'again'
<i>yulupirti</i>	'always, forever'

Examples follow:

- (7.116) *Pala-ja ya-na pala kuli-kata japartu. Jampa ya-na*
 that-ABL go-NFUT that cheeky-CHAR father briefly go-NFUT

pala-nga piju-karti, yirlukuji-lu kurna-nya.
 that-LOC creek-ALL rainbow.serpent-ERG swallow-NFUT
 'And then the cheeky father went and as soon as he went to the river the rainbow serpent swallowed him up there.'

- (7.117) *Pupuka-lu wurra-rna, "Kula, karta karra-uluma-rna*
 frog-ERG tell-NFUT hang.on asleep STAT-FUT-1SG.SUB

wayarti jinu."
 tortoise slow
 'The frog said, "Hang on, I'll have a sleep—the tortoise is slow.'"

- (7.118) *Ngali warrkamu jarra-ulupa-li marntungu-ja*
 1DU.INC work INCH-FUT-1DU.INC.SUB morning-ABL

warrukarti-karti jakun ngarri yu-ngkulupa-li janinyi-a.
 night-ALL only meat give-FUT-1DU.INC.SUB 3PL.OBJ-PURP
 'We (two) will work from morning right through until night to give them food.'

- (7.119) *Wapaka-rna nyarni-ngi yarrarna wapaka-rna*
 hop-NFUT here-LOC again hop-NFUT

mirlima-rna kangkuru warnkumalu.
 spear.incentre-NFUT kangaroo rock.kangaroo
 'It hopped and when it hopped here again he speared the rock kangaroo (dead centre).'

- (7.120) *Wurra-rna-rna muwarr walangkarrangu-ja.*
 tell-NFUT-1SG.SUB word long.ago-ABL

nganarna-nga-pa wurra-nikinyi-yi nganaku.
 1PL.EXC-LOC-EMPH tell-IMP-3PL.SUB 1PL.EXC.DAT
 'I will tell you the story from long ago, the one they (the old people) used to tell us.'

8 *Particles and clitics*

In this chapter, I describe the usage of two minor parts of speech: particles and post-inflectional clitics. Particles and clitics are semantically and syntactically comparable to each other except that clitics are phonologically dependent on a preceding word whereas particles maintain independent word status. Particles can only host clitics and therefore contrast with nominals, for example, which can be inflected with a whole range of nominal suffixes. Particles and clitics add to or modify some predicate or proposition.

The organisation of this chapter is as follows: §8.1 describes Nyangumarta particles including those particles which function as propositional modifiers. Section 8.2 describes the set of clitics and §8.3 describes exclamations.

8.1 Particles

In descriptions of Australian Aboriginal languages, often the class of words which are morphologically inert are described as particles or adverbs. For example, Goddard (1983:36) recognises that in Yankunytjatjara there is also a class of 'adverbs' and 'particles' which are only distinguished on semantic grounds since neither of these classes operate morphologically as nominals, that is, they do not take nominal suffixes.

Dench (1987) in his grammatical description of Martuthunira decides on a class of 'adverbs' to describe a large portion of uninflected words. Dench¹ decides on the class of 'adverbs' following Zwicky (1985) who disagrees with the establishment of a class of particles as a syntactic category 'which is distinguished negatively: particles are the words left over when all the others have been assigned to syntactic categories' (Zwicky 1985:292).

Wilkins (1989:300) notes two factors which emerge as a result of discussion concerning the establishment of 'adverb' versus 'particle' classes:

¹ Dench (1995) instead describes this class as 'particles' for Martuthunira.

firstly, that in some Australian languages adverbs, unlike nominals or verbs, are established solely on semantic grounds, and secondly, that there is a close affinity between certain adverbial notions and certain notions that typically fall into the particle class within Australian languages.

The closed class of particles in Nyangumarta can be divided into propositional modifiers, aspectual modifiers, modals and others:

Propositional modifiers

<i>jakun, jakurl</i>	'only, as far as'
<i>katu, katurr</i>	'nearly, almost'
<i>kurra</i>	'while'
<i>pukun, pukurl</i>	'also, including'
<i>puru</i>	'merely, only, just'
<i>wata, warta</i>	'mistake'
<i>yakun/yakurl/yakuyil</i>	'like this, that way, thus'
<i>yiji</i>	'really, truly'

Modals

<i>kartiny</i>	'doubt'
<i>ngurnipali, pali</i>	'maybe, perhaps'

Aspectual modifiers

<i>jiti</i>	'continually'
<i>ngarrakuny</i>	'always'
<i>ngarrany</i>	'still, really, very, plenty, truly'
<i>raa</i>	'intensely, continually'

Others

<i>jipi</i>	'finish'
<i>kala</i>	'emphatic'
<i>kaku, kakuputu</i>	'really, completely'
<i>munu</i>	'negative'
<i>ngarra</i>	'specifier'
<i>partal</i>	'unsuccessfully'
<i>pirrayi</i>	'unreal'
<i>puntaju</i>	'in response, revenge'
<i>wayi</i>	'question'

8.1.1 *Propositional modifiers*

There are a number of particles which function as propositional modifiers in that they provide some extra information about the speaker's state of mind about the speech act. This has to do with the status of the information as well as the speaker's intention in the communication of the information.

8.1.1.1 'Only' jakun

The particle *jakun*, with the variant *jakurl* conveys the meaning: 'just' or 'only'. It also means 'as far as' and 'all the way to'. It usually follows the noun phrase it has scope over although it can occur in the middle of a noun phrase as is given in (8.3) below where it occurs after *pala-karti* 'that-ALL' but before *warnku-karti* 'rock-ALL'. The following sentences illustrate its use (8.1)–(8.4).

- (8.1) *Nyungu-jirri jakun kalku-rna-layi pulinyi kujarra.*
 this-DU only keep-NFUT-1DU.INC.SUB 3DU.OBJ two
 'We will take care of these two only.'

- (8.2) *Marrngu wani-kinyi-yi purlpi manguny muwarr-majirri*
 person stay-IMP-3PL.SUB long.time dreaming word-PRIV

jama, yukurru jakun muwarr-pi-nikinyi-yi.
 silent dog only word-VB-IMP-3PL.SUB

'A long time ago in the Dreaming, people couldn't speak, only dogs could speak.'

- (8.3) *Pala-nga ya-na-yi pala-karti jakun warnku-karti.*
 that-LOC go-NFUT-3PL.SUB that-ALL only rock-ALL
 'They only went as far as that rock.'

- (8.4) *Janpa-nga janpa-nyi-rni ruka-karti jakun.*
 pool.of.water-LOC swim-NFUT-1SG.SUB afternoon-ALL only
 'I swam right through till late afternoon.'

8.1.1.2 'Nearly, almost' katu, katurr

The particle *katu* or *katurr* can be used in non-verbal sentences (8.5) or in verbal main clauses (8.6) and (8.7). When it occurs with a verb, the verb is inflected with the past contrafactual mood. When the particle *katu* is used, it emphasises the possibility of something happening. In northern Nyangumarta, this particle has been recorded as *kartungurru* (see (8.7)).

- (8.5) *Pala katurr ngapa winya.*
 that nearly water full
 'That (bucket) is almost full of water.'

- (8.6) *Janparr-ju katu nga-nama kurlu mayi ngurrngurr-mili.*
 hungry-ERG nearly eat-PSTCFL bad vegetable.food pig-GEN
 'Because of his hunger he almost ate the pig's bad food.'

- (8.7) Kartungurru *pungki-mi-rri.*
 nearly fall-PSTCFL-3SG.SUB
 'He almost fell down.'

8.1.1.3 'Also, including, too, even' *pukun, pukurl*

This particle is widely used in texts and typically follows nominals. It has scope over the preceding nominal and indicates that that nominal is included in some event or activity. At times it can function as a conjunction ((8.8) and (8.9)).

- (8.8) *Yawu kanka-rni ji-rni pulinyi kaninykarti paliny*
 hot.sand high-hither do-NFUT 3DU.OBJ inside 3SG

pukun *ngarra wani-kinyi, pala-nga kaninykarti paru-ngu.*
 also SPEC stay-IMPF that-LOC inside spinifex-LOC
 'He put the hot ash on top of those two (turkeys) and he also stayed inside that spinifex (area).'

- (8.9) *Nganarna-lu wirri-rni-yirni kuyi-pa yukurru*
 1PL.EXC-ERG put-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB meat-CONJ dog

murtuka-nga, nganarna pukun karnti-nyi-yirni.
 car-LOC 1PL.EXC also climb-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB
 'We put the meat and the dog in the car and we also climbed in.'

- (8.10) *Pala-ja rankurrji yangka-rna-ninyi wirru-jirri kawu pukun*
 that-ABL bustard paint-NFUT-REFLX wing-DU body also

mirtamirta-lu karlji-lu.
 white-ERG ochre-ERG
 'And then the turkey smeared its wings, as well as its body with white clay.'

- (8.11) *Pala jurru yirri-rni-yirni nganarna pukun*
 that snake see-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB 1PL.EXC also

mirti jarri-nyi-yirni jirrja.
 run INCH-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB scatter
 'We saw that snake and we all (as well as him) ran scattering.'

8.1.1.4 'Merely, only, just' *puru*

The particle *puru* occurs quite frequently in Nyangumarta and carries the meaning 'merely, only, just'. It can also be used to indicate lack of concern about some activity or event and is often interpreted as 'let it be' or 'never mind' as illustrated below. It can host clitics (8.13).

(8.12) *Puru* *muwarr-ku* *milpa-nya-n?*
merely word-DAT come-NFUT-2SG.SUB
'Did you just come for a talk/yarn?'

(8.13) *Puru-rti,* *kaja-lku-rru.*
merely-EMPH sit-POT-3SG.SUB
'Never mind, let him sit down.'

(8.14) *Puru* *ya-na-rra* *ngulya-rna* *kurlu.*
merely go-NFUT-3SG.SUB wash-NFUT bad
'S/he just goes about washed badly (unwashed).'

8.1.1.5 'Mistake, error, accident' *wata*

The particle *wata* conveys the idea that the action of the main verb was a mistake or happened accidentally. The nominal *watarrku* can be used in the same way except that it is marked for nominal case as is seen below (8.18).

(8.15) *Ji-li* *pulu-lu* *wata* *marrngu.*
make-ANT 3DU.SUB-ANT mistake person
'Those two were mistaken about that person.'

(8.16) *Wata* *yarnta-la-rni-li* *muwarr.*
mistake spear-ANT-1SG.SUB-ANT word
'I might write the wrong message.'

(8.17) *Ka-nya-rna* *mayi* *ngaju-lu* *wata.*
take-NFUT-1SG.SUB vegetable.food 1SG-ERG mistake
'I took the damper accidentally.'

(8.18) *Watarrku-lu-pa* *ji-li-rni-li* *nyungu* *muwarr.*
mistake-ERG-EMPH do-ANT-1SG.SUB-ANT this word

Japirr-ma-rna-rni-nta *nyuntu* *muwarr-ku*
lips-CAUS-NFUT-1SG.SUB-2SG.OBJ 2SG word-DAT

wirri-na-ku yinku.
 put-NM-Purp correct
 'I might have the word wrong, I might write it wrong. I ask you for this word to put down correctly.'

8.1.1.6 'Really' *yiji*

The particle *yiji* is very similar in form and meaning to the nominal *yija* 'truly' (with the alternant *yiji* by some speakers) and is obviously related to the nominal. Unlike *yija* however, which specifies a true statement with scope over the entire clause, the particle *yiji* is not inflected for case and only has scope over the preceding word. In fact when it follows some nominals it can also indicate a superlative form of an entity: *wupartu-marta* 'smaller'; *wupartu yiji* 'smallest'. Examples of its use are given below.

(8.19) *Yija, yarlpurru-murniny kulpa-nyikinyi ruka yiji kuyi-majirri.*
 truly friend-own return-IMPF afternoon really meat-PRIV
 'Truly, his friend was returning really late in the afternoon without meat.'

(8.20) *Pala-nga ya-nal jina-ma-rna marrngu-marniny*
 that-LOC go-REMPST foot-CAUS-NFUT person-own

nyirrirni-lu pala-ja yirri-rni kaku yiji mirti
 behind-ERG that-ABL see-NFUT completely really run

jarri-nyi.
 INCH-NFUT
 'And then he went looking for his friend and saw that he had disappeared completely.'

(8.21) *Pulany wirtu jarra-uliny pulu, wirtu yiji*
 3DU big INCH-FUT 3DU.SUB big really

karlaya-nga-pa partany-ja.
 emu-LOC-EMPH child-LOC
 'Those two will grow really big, those two emu chicks.'

8.1.2 Aspectual modifiers

8.1.2.1 'Continually' *jiti*

The particle *jiti* is used in conjunction with verbs to express the idea of something happening over and over. In (8.22) the hills were being lit such that over a period of

time everything was burnt. In (8.23) *jiti* is used in conjunction with the verb ‘hit’ *wirla-RN* and so gives the meaning that they kept on hitting (someone). This particle generally occurs as a means of conveying the aspectual idea of repetition, although the repetition conveyed is often not desired by the participants.

(8.22) *Jiti minyji-nikinyi janinyi warnku-rrangu warnku.*
 continually light.fire-IMPF 3PL.OBJ hill-PL hill
 ‘He kept on continuously burning the hills.’

(8.23) *Jinta-lu-rrangu jiti wirla-rni-yi janinyi.*
 other-ERG-PL continually hit-NFUT-3PL.SUB 3PL.OBJ
 ‘The others kept on hitting them.’

(8.24) *Yukurru-lu jiti mayi nga-nikinyi.*
 dog-ERG continually vegetable.food eat-IMPF
 ‘The dog kept on eating the food.’

(8.25) *Jiti ngaju-ku kuli jarri-nya-ji;*
 continually 1SG-DAT fight INCH-NFUT-1SGDAT

ngani-ja-marta pala marrngu?
 who-ABL-ATTEN that person
 ‘Why does that person always want to fight me?’

8.1.2.2 ‘Always’ ngarrakuny

The particle *ngarrakuny* ‘always, completely, continually’ often follows a predicate which describes a state or characteristic of some entity and as such it typically attributes some property to the predicate’s argument. For example in (8.26), *ngarrakuny* attributes the property of strength to the argument ‘my legs’ and in (8.27) it attributes the property of always being in a particular place referring to the moon.

(8.26) *Ngaju pirlpu kararr ngarrakuny.*
 1SG leg hard always
 ‘My legs are always strong.’

(8.27) *Wirlarra wani-nyi ngarrakuny.*
 moon stay-NFUT always
 ‘The moon stays there always.’

The particle *ngarrakuny* also adds the idea of continuity—in (8.28), the wind was not just blowing during the night, it blew all night. In (8.29) *ngarrakuny* conveys the idea that the person not only fell down but that he actually died—so adding a completive idea to the clause.

(8.28) *Kakarra-kurti wangal warrukarti ngarrakuny.*
 east-ALL wind night always
 'The wind (blew) towards the east all night long.'

(8.29) *Yarti-karra pani pungka-nya ngarrakuny.*
 later-event eye fall-NFUT always
 'At last, he fell down dead.'

Other examples of the use of *ngarrakuny* are given in (8.30) and (8.31). Again the particle indicates that the action of the verb is something which happens continually: 'always milks', 'always asks'.

(8.30) *Ngarrakuny tuly-pi-ni-rri ngama partany-karrangu-ku.*
 always (squeeze)-VB-NFUT-3SG.SUB milk child-PL-DAT
 'She always milks (the goats) for the children.'

(8.31) *Ngani-ku japirr karri-nyi-nyi-mpa? Malyparr*
 what-DAT lips STAT-NFUT-1SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB dislike

ngaju japirr-ku ngarrakuny.
 1SG lips-DAT always
 'Why do you keep on asking me? I don't like being asked all the time/continually.'

8.1.2.3 'Still' ngarrany

The particle *ngarrany* has scope over the clause. It serves to assert the aspectual idea that an action is or was ongoing. It typically occurs following nominals.

(8.32) *Pala-jirri kujarra kurtarra mirti jarri-kinyi pulu*
 that-DU two brothers run INCH-IMPF 3DU.SUB

walangkarr ngarrany.
 ahead still
 'The two brothers still ran ahead (of him).'

(8.33) *Ya-na pala-karti ngurra-ji-nama munu,*
 go-NFUT that-ALL camp-AFF-PSTCFL NEG

pinakarri-kinyi janinyi yintajarra ngarrany.
 listen-IMPF 3PL.OBJ bird still
 'He went to that place, he didn't make a camp, he was still listening to the birds.'

(8.34) *Yalinyja ngarrany ya-nikinyi pulu.*
 north still go-IMPF 3DU.SUB
 ‘Those two kept going north.’

(8.35) *Wankanyu ngarrany nganyju-rnu-rru.*
 alive still breathe-NFUT-3SG.SUB
 ‘He is alive, he is still breathing.’

8.1.3 ‘Intensely’ *raa*

The particle *raa* ‘intensely’ often acts before a verb or nominal and conveys the idea that something is intensifying or increasing in volume or size. It has scope over the element it precedes.

(8.36) *Wangal-ja warrayi kaninykarti wani-nya-yi munu*
 wind-LOC flies inside stay-NFUT-3PL.SUB NEG

yani-ya-ninyaka-yi nyungu raa karra
 go-RED-PRSCFL-3PL.SUB this intensely like.this

pinakarri-nyaku.

hear-PurpADV

‘If it’s windy the bees will stay inside—they won’t fly around but you should be able to hear them buzzing.’

(8.37) *Raa karnti-nya kawa-ninyi.*
 intensely climb-NM repeat-PRS
 ‘It is swelling up enormously.’

Modal particles

8.1.4 ‘Doubt’ *kartiny*

The particle *kartiny* is used to indicate or emphasise an element of doubt about a person or a situation and has scope over the entire clause. The verb in the clause is inflected for anticipatory mood which conveys the idea that something might or is expected to happen. The effect of using this particle with the anticipatory mood changes the positive expectation of the anticipatory mood to a negative one.

(8.38) *Nyuntu-lu yija kartiny maruntu wirla-la-npi-li munu.*
 2SG-ERG truly doubt goanna hit-ANT-2SG.SUB-ANT NEG
 ‘You’re not really going to kill the goanna (are you)?’

- (8.39) *Yija* *kartiny* *kaja* *ya-rra-la* *pala* *mutuka*.
 truly doubt far go-ANT-ANT that car
 'That car can't go far, surely.'

8.1.5 'Maybe, perhaps' *ngurnipali*, *pali*

The particle *ngurnipali* or *pali* is used in utterances in which the speaker is unsure of the truth in what is being uttered. It is also used as a hedge or for politeness for situations where the speaker is actually not 'unsure of the truth'. In many of the instances in which it is used it speculates on something which is undesirable; something the speaker does not want to be true, but fears is. In (8.40) the speaker is issuing a warning to people about cannibals and in (8.41) the two girls have come to the conclusion that their own father has killed the two boys. In (8.42) the speaker has become suspicious of his friend's secretiveness and is speculating on the possibility or probability of his friend keeping someone hidden from him.

- (8.40) *Munu* *ya-ninyaku* *ngurnarri-kurnu*, *ngurnipali-pa* *kurrngal*
 NEG go-PurpADV there-ALL maybe-EMPH many

wani-nya-yi.

stay-NFUT-3PL.SUB

'You shouldn't go over there, maybe there is a big mob (of cannibals) living there.'

- (8.41) *Ngurnipali* *pirirri-lu* *ngali-mila-lu* *wirla-rna* *pulinyi*
 maybe man-ERG 1DU.INC-GEN-ERG hit-NFUT 3DU.OBJ

partany-jirri.

child-DU

'Maybe our father killed those two children.'

- (8.42) "Ngani-ja-lu *yarlpurru-lu* *nyarrirn-nyarri-rna-ji?*
 what-ABL-ERG friend-ERG conceal-RED-NFUT-1SG.DAT

Ngurnipali-pa *marrngu* *kalku-rninyi* *puru* *wurra-rnami-ji!*"
 maybe-perhaps person keep-PRS merely tell-PSTCFL-1SG.DAT
 "'Why is my friend being so secretive to me? Maybe he's keeping someone without telling me.'"

In the following examples the particle is used with positive expectation: in (8.43) the emu is speculating that he could become leader of the birds and this is desirable. In (8.44) the emu comments that what the turkey is saying is more than likely correct.

- (8.43) *Ngurnipali-pa* *ngaju* *maja* *jarri-uluma-rna*
 maybe-perhaps 1SG boss INCH-FUT-1SG.SUB

janaku-a *yintajarra-ku.*
 3PL.DAT-PURP bird-DAT
 ‘Maybe, I’ll become leader of the birds.’

- (8.44) “*Ngurnipali* *nyuntu-lu* *wurra-rna-nga* *ngalya,*” *karlaya-lu*
 maybe 2SG-ERG tell-NFUT-2SG.SUB good emu-ERG

wurra-rna-la.
 tell-NFUT-3SG.LOC
 ‘“Maybe, what you are saying is good,” said the emu to him.’

The particle *ngurnipali* is usually found clause-initial. It can however, occur following temporal nominals such as *yarti* ‘later’ (8.45) and *marntungu* ‘in the morning’.

- (8.45) *Yarti ngurnipali ngapa kaja-lkuliny.*
 later maybe water arrive-FUT
 ‘Perhaps rain will come later.’

The shorter version, *pali*, typically occurs following the Nyangumarta demonstratives *nyungu* ‘this’, *pala* ‘that’ and *ngurnungu* ‘that—distant/over there’. This shortened version of *ngurnipali* and its distribution (occurring following demonstratives) suggests that the segment *ngurni* was historically a demonstrative, which is feasible because of other demonstrative forms like *nyarni* ‘this way’, *ngurnungu* ‘there’, *ngurnarri* ‘over there’ and *ngurnila* ‘that same one’. All of these forms appear to be based on the root: *ngurnV*.

The particle *pali* has modal scope over the whole clause.

- (8.46) *Purlpi wani-kinyi-yirni partany-karrangu.*
 long.time stay-IMPF-1PL.EXC.SUB child-PL

Partany-karrangu pali wirtu ngarnngarn-majirri.
 child-PL maybe big beard-PRIV
 ‘A long time ago we were children. Maybe we were big children we were without beards.’

8.1.6 ‘Finished, completed’ *jipi*

Many conversations and stories are concluded with the particle phrase *jipi*. It is very common to hear utterances such as (8.47) which repeat a verb several times then conclude with *jipi*. Other examples of the use of this particle are given below.

- (8.47) *Murni-rni, murni-rni murni-rni, murni-rni*
 collect-NFUT collect-NFUT collect-NFUT collect-NFUT

murni-rni, jipi!
 collect-NFUT finish
 'He collected (firewood); collected it, collected it, collected it, collected it, finish!'
- (8.48) *jipi-rla, ngali purrpurn wirru-majirri.*
 finish-FOC 1DU.INC healthy wing-PRIV
 'That's it (the finish), we are healthy/all right without wings.'
- (8.49) *jipi ya-nkuluma-rna ngurra-karti.*
 finish go-FUT-1SG.SUB camp-ALL
 'That's that, I'm going to camp.'

Although not a common use of this particle, *jipi* can precede the verb to indicate the specific ending of a particular activity such as 'finished cooking' in (8.50) below.

- (8.50) *Rankurrji-lu jipi kampa-rna janinyi kuyi-pa martumpirri*
 bustard-ERG finish cook-NFUT 3PL.SUB meat-CONJ damper

paliny-mila-ku partany-karrangu-ku.
 3SG-GEN-DAT child-PL-DAT
 'The bush turkey finished cooking meat and damper for her children.'

8.1.7 'Emphatic' *kala*

The particle *kala* has scope over the word which immediately precedes it and has the function of emphasising a specific time, person, place or event. It can have scope over both nominals and verbs. Its function is identical to the clitic *-rla* and is probably historically related to it.

- (8.51) *Yarti kala, pala mirtamirta pirtirra milpa-nya*
 later EMPH that white corella come-NFUT

pala-karti mungka-karti.
 that-ALL tree-ALL
 'At last (later), the white corella came back to that tree.'
- (8.52) *Yirri-rni kala.*
 see-NFUT EMPH
 'He saw something.'

- (8.53) *Karra-lu kala yirri-rni-rni maruntu.*
 like.this-ERG EMPH see-NFUT-1SG.SUB goanna
 ‘Suddenly I saw a goanna, like this.’

The emphatic particle also marks a conditional nominal expression, the event of which must precede a future action. It usually follows the locative suffix or the ablative suffix. Examples are given below:

- (8.54) *Mutuka-nga kala milpa-uluma-rna.*
 car-LOC EMPH come-FUT-1SG.SUB
 ‘If I get a car, I will come (in the car).’
- (8.55) *Mangkurtu-ngu kala wanta-uluma-rna.*
 flood-LOC EMPH stay-FUT-1SG.SUB
 ‘Because it’s flooded I’ll have to stay.’
- (8.56) *Mungka-nga kala pinakarri-kinyi-yi raa karra.*
 tree-LOC EMPH hear-IMP-3PL.SUB intensely like.that
 ‘They have to climb the tree to hear the buzzing.’

8.1.7.1 ‘Completely, continually’ *kaku*, *kakuputu*

The particle *kaku* or *kakuputu* (which appear to be able to be used interchangeably) occurs regularly in texts. It has the meaning of something happening continually or permanently. In (8.57) and (8.58) the particle is used to indicate a state of permanence.

- (8.57) *Pala-nga pirti-ngi-ji-rni, pala-nga yaka-rna ya-na*
 that-LOC hole-LOC-AFF-NFUT that-LOC leave-NFUT go-NFUT

kaku.

completely

‘By there he buried him and then left and never returned.’

- (8.58) *Nyangumarta ya-na yalinyja-kurnu kakuputu.*
 Nyangumarta go-NFUT north-ALL completely
 ‘Nyangumarta went northwards “for keeps”.’

8.1.8 ‘While’ *kurra*

The particle *kurra*, ‘while’, is a temporal particle. It is used to indicate that some event happened or is happening at the same time as something else. It can occur following nominals or verbs. Examples (8.59) and (8.60) illustrate the function of this morpheme which has scope over a clause not just the stem it follows. In (8.59) it

follows the nominal *mirrarn-ja* 'shade-LOC' and in (8.60) it follows the verb *wani-kinyi pulu* 'stay-IMPF 3DU.SUB'. Both texts have identical interpretations. (See also Warlpiri (Simpson 1988:205) where this same form operates as a complementiser suffix and a nominal suffix with temporal reference).

- (8.59) *Ngaju-lu wirla-rna-rna pulinyi rankurrji-jirri*
 1SG-ERG shoot-NFUT-1SG.SUB 3DU.OBJ bustard-DU

mirrarn-ja kurra wani-kinyi pulu.
 shade-LOC while stay-IMP 3DU.SUB
 'I shot the two bustards while they were in the shade.'

- (8.60) *Ngaju-lu wirla-rna-rna pulinyi rankurrji-jirri*
 1SG-ERG shoot-NFUT-1SG.SUB 3DU.OBJ bustard-DU

mirrarn-ja wani-kinyi pulu kurra.
 shade-LOC stay-IMPF 3DU.SUB while
 'I shot the two bustards while they were in the shade.'

8.1.9 'Negative, nothing' *munu*

The particle *munu*, can also operate as a nominal taking nominal suffixes such as *-kata* 'characteriser', however it most commonly behaves like a particle. It can host the emphatic clitic *-rti* and the focus clitic *-rla*. To indicate negative statements, the negative particle is used in combination with verbs (see §10.6 for a full discussion of this). Illustrative examples are given below.

- (8.61) *Wirrpi-rna-lu ji-rna-lu pangkawirtan,*
 scrape-NFUT-3SG.DAT make-NFUT-3SG.DAT spear(long.type)

munu warlparra makanu-kata makanu ji-rna-lu.
 NEG woomera long-CHAR long make-NFUT-3SG.DAT
 'He scraped it and made a spear, a long type, not a woomera he made a long one for him.'

- (8.62) *Ngaju-lu munu-rla nyungu marrja nganyju-rnikinyi*
 1SG-ERG NEG-FOC this very breathe-IMPF

paliny, jipi-rti.
 3SG finish-EMPH
 'I missed (the bush turkey) because he was breathing so hard, finish.'

8.1.10 'Specifier' *ngarra*

The particle *ngarra* is used to specify or emphasise a particular person, time, place or inanimate object which is the focus of the clause. It always occurs following the word it has scope over.

- (8.63) *Yija, malya-rna waraja jirnka-rna-lu,*
truly chop-NFUT one whittle-NFUT-3SG.DAT

wirрпи-rna-lu, jamuji-murniny ngarra
scrape-NFUT-3SG.DAT grandfather-own SPEC

wirрпи-rna-lu, yi-nya karrparta.
scrape-NFUT-3SG.DAT give-NFUT spear

'Truly, it was his own grandfather who chopped, whittled, scraped, and gave him the spear.'

- (8.64) *Purlpi kaniny pirti wani-kinyi, pala yi-nganyikinyi-a,*
long.time down hole stay-IMPF that give-IMPF-PURP

nyampa-lu kampa-nikinya-lu ngurnarri-ngi ngarra.
quick-ERG cook-IMPF-3SG.DAT there-LOC SPEC

'A long time ago that man hid the other fellow in the hole and went hunting and cooked the food right over there (in the bush).'

8.1.11 'Unsuccessfully' *partal*

The particle *partal* is used to indicate that an action was done in vain or unsuccessfully. Even though there was every effort made to effect some result, the action failed. It precedes a verbal complex in the following examples and indicates that the action of the verb went unfulfilled.

- (8.65) *Yirtil-ma-rna pula pirirri pulany-mili.*
(chase)-CAUS-NFUT 3DU.SUB man 3DU-GEN

Munu-rti nyungu kalya-ma-rna pulinyi-a,
NEG-EMPH this (leave)-CAUS-NFUT 3DU.OBJ-PURP

partal yirtil-ma-rna pulu-a.
unsuccessfully (chase)-CAUS-NFUT 3DU.SUB-PURP

'Those two chased their father, but they couldn't catch him.'

- (8.66) *Partany-jartiny-jirri kulpa-nya parnpi-rni pulinyi janpa-nga,*
 child-COM-DU return-NFUT throw-NFUT 3DU.OBJ water-LOC

partal wirrmal-wirrmal-pi-rni pulu.
 unsuccessfully (struggle)-(struggle)-VB-NFUT 3DU.SUB
 'He returned and threw the two children into the water and they still
 struggled unsuccessfully (to get out of the net).'

8.1.12 'Unreal' *pirrayi*

This particle has a range of meanings. It most commonly refers to some derogatory quality of something such as *mayi pirrayi* 'poor quality food'. It can also be used by a speaker as a way of making fun of something or someone or pretending to be someone or something. This is seen in examples like: *karlaya pirrayi* 'pretending to be an emu' but it can be used in situations where its meaning is not so clear, such as *kuyi pirrayi* 'meat unreal' when referring to meat such as duck (probably because duck is considered a poor quality or pretend meat).

In the examples that follow, the particle *pirrayi* conveys the idea of an entity or activity which is not quite like the real thing; it has scope over the immediately preceding word in the clause. In (8.67) for example the door of the honey bees' hive is not really a door but it functions as one, in (8.68) the child's father is pretending to be an emu and in (8.69) the girl only pretended to return. In (8.70) the meat caught by the dog must have been some small animal which is not regarded as the important or real meat.

- (8.67) *Ngapa-ngamarra yama-rna-yi-li mirlirr-ju*
 water-CAUSAL cover-NFUT-3PL.SUB-3SG.LOC wax-ERG

jawapirti-ngi pirrayi jana-mili-ngi.
 door-LOC unreal 3PL-GEN-LOC
 'In case it rains, they (the bees) cover their door—like over with bees
 wax.'

- (8.68) *Nyungu karlaya pirrayi japartu.*
 this emu unreal father
 'This father is pretending to be an emu.'

- (8.69) *Mirtawa-lu munu yaja-rna-ma janinyi kulpa-ma pirrayi*
 girl-ERG NEG follow-PSTCFL 3PL.OBJ return-PSTCFL unreal

munu.
 NEG
 'The girl didn't follow them (the brologas) and pretended to return.'

- (8.70) *Wapi-nikinya-lu* *kuyi pangukurl-ja parrja-nikinya-lu*
 catch.meat-IMPF-3SG.DAT meat hollow-LOC look-IMPF-3SG.DAT

kuyi pirrayi. Kampa-nikinyi pulu.
 meat unreal cook-IMPF 3DU.SUB

'He caught the small meat for the child and put it in the hollow of the tree and looked after it for him. They both cooked it.'

8.1.13 'Response' *puntaju*

The particle, *puntaju*, indicates that the speaker would like to respond to some action which has recently affected him/her. In (8.71) the bush turkey is concerned about revenge because the emu caused something bad to happen; in (8.72) *puntaju* is used to indicate that someone is responding in a particular way, that is, to return a greeting and in (8.73) the more aggressive response of 'killing'.

- (8.71) *Wunyjurru ji-naku puntaju pirirri-ku pala-ku?*
 how make-PurpADV response man-DAT that-DAT
 'How can I get even with that man?'

- (8.72) *Rankurrji puntaju wurra-rna, "Marrka!"*
 bustard response tell-NFUT younger.brother/sister
 'He said back to the turkey, "Younger brother!"'

- (8.73) *Nyuntu-lu wirla-rna-n? Puntaju yu-wa-ninyi puntaju*
 2SG-ERG hit-NFUT-2SG.SUB response give-IMP-RECIP response

wirla-lama-nta!
 kill-FUT-2SG.OBJ

'Did you hit him? He will pay you back (take revenge on you)!'

8.1.14 'Question particle' *wayi*

The question particle *wayi* has scope over the entire clause and can occur either clause-initially or clause-finally. Examples are given below.

- (8.74)~ *'Wayi-rti? Ngalypa? Kurlu?'*
 QUES-EMPH good bad
 'How was it? Good? Bad?'

- (8.75) *Japirr-ma-rna janinyi wariny-ju, "Wayi-rti*
 lips-CAUS-FUT 3PL.SUB different-ERG QUES-EMPH

pinakarri-nyi nyurru janinyi wayi?"
 listen-NFUT 2PL.SUB 3PL.OBJ QUES
 'The other one asked them, "Didn't you all hear them?"'

(8.76) *Wayi kuyi-pa marrngu yirri-rni-n janinyi munu?*
 QUES meat-QUES person see-NFUT-2SG.SUB 3PL.OBJ NEG
 'Didn't you see any people meat?'

8.2 Clitics

Clitics can be distinguished from suffixes or particles phonologically (where they are generally single syllables) and they can occur on more than one host category. Nyangumarta has the following set of clitics

-pa	perhaps
-rla, -pirla	focus
-rli	emphatic
-rti, -pirti	emphatic
-yi	question marker

8.2.1 'Perhaps' -pa

The clitic *-pa* (which is homophonous with the conjunction *-pa*) is used quite frequently in Nyangumarta. It is used to establish doubt about the truth of the clausal proposition (8.77). This is particularly the case when it occurs encliticised to verbs. It functions like the modal particles *ngurnipali*, *pali* and *kartinyi*.

(8.77) *"Nyuntu-pa ya-rra! Yakurr-ma-lku-rna ngaju-lu-pa,"*
 2SG-perhaps go-IMP copy-CAUS-POT-1SG.SUB 1SG-ERG-perhaps

karrama-rna karlaya.
 say-NFUT emu
 "'You go! Maybe I'll be able to copy you," said the emu.'

(8.78) *Pala-ja kanka karnti-nyi mungka-nga pirtirra-pa*
 that-ABL above climb-NFUT tree-LOC corella-perhaps

karta karri-kinyi.
 asleep STAT-IMPF
 'And after that he/she climbed high into the tree—perhaps the corella was asleep (there).'

- (8.79) *Yarnta-lapa-rninyi-pa* *wirla-lapa-rninyi.*
 spear-FUT-RECIP-perhaps hit-FUT-RECIP
 'We could spear and kill each other.'
- (8.80) *Yu-ngkulumi-ny-i-n-pa* *nyuntu-mili* *kampa-na-pinti*
 give-FUT-1PL.INC.OBJ-1SG.SUB-perhaps 2SG-GEN cook-NM-ASS

mungka.
 tree
 'Perhaps you will give me your cooking stick?'

8.2.2 'Focus' -rla, -pirla

The clitic *-rla* (*-pirla*) is used extensively in texts for focus. The form depends on the final segment of the word; if it ends in a vowel *-rla* is used and if it ends in a consonant *-pirla* is used. It occurs word-finally and can occur on any part of speech, including particles. It has scope over the word to which it attaches and makes that word the focal point of the clause or complex clause.

- (8.81) *Ngaju-mili-rla* *mirli-ma-rna-ji-npa!*
 1SG-GEN-FOC (spear)-CAUS-NFUT-1SG.DAT-2SG.SUB
 'You will spear it for me!'
- (8.82) *Mirti jarri-a* *marrja-marrja-marta!* *Wangka jarri-nya*
 run INCH-IMP very-RED-ATTEN close INCH-NM

kawa-rni-ny-i-rla!
 repeat-NFUT-1SG.OBJ-FOC
 'Run fast! He's getting close to me!'
- (8.83) *Manguny-pirila* *paliny* *pirirri* *nganimarta* *wirtu-ji-na-kata*
 dreaming-FOC 3SG man very.big big-AFF-NM-CHAR

yirri-rni.
 see-NFUT
 'In the Dreaming he saw a very big man.'

8.2.3 'Emphatic' -rti, -pirti

The emphatic ditic *-rti* with the variant *-pirti* (after word-final consonants) is typically suffixed to words which either verifies that something is true *yija* 'truly, very' or that something is false, *munu* 'NEG'. It can also occur attached to particles

such as *puru* which has a whole range of meanings: 'merely, just, casually, aimlessly' or *jipi* 'finish'.

- (8.84) *Pala-nga yukurru-lu wurra-rna-la, "Ma-rra wika*
 that-LOC dog-ERG tell-NFUT-3SG.LOC get-IMP fire
murni-la wirtu." *Yija-rti ya-na wika-ku.*
 collect-IMP big truly-EMPH go-NFUT fire-DAT
 'And there the dog said to him, "Collect lots of firewood." And truly he
 went for wood.'

- (8.85) *Wunyjurru-rti yintajarra ya-ninyaku?*
 how-EMPH bird go-PurpADV
 'In what way/how should birds travel?'

- (8.86) *Jana waljamarri-rti pala-rrangu!*
 3PL family-EMPH that-PL
 'They're really family, that lot!'

8.2.4 'Question'-yi

The use of the *-yi* clitic (which is related to the particle *wayi* 'QUES') indicating that the clause is an interrogative is not very common. There are very few examples of the use of this clitic in texts although where it is used it is clearly with an interrogative function as seen in the following examples.

- (8.87) *Pirirri-lu-yi minyji-rni-n wika?*
 man-ERG-QUES light.fire-NFUT-2SG.SUB fire
 'The man might light a fire?'
- (8.88) *Nyuntu-lu-yi ma-na-n?*
 2SG-ERG-QUES get-NFUT-2SG.SUB
 'You got it?'
- (8.89) *Munu-yi paji-rni-nyi-n kurlka?*
 NEG-QUES bite-NFUT-1SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB ear
karrama-rna-lu pala-lu marrngu-lu.
 say-NFUT-3SG.DAT that-ERG person-ERG
 "'Didn't you bite my ear?" said the man.'

8.3 Exclamations

Exclamations in Nyangumarta are non-inflecting words. The feature which distinguishes this set of words from other particles is that they do not take clitics and they can be used as one-word utterances. The following is a list of the exclamations found in Nyangumarta:

<i>japurtu</i>	'Poor thing!'
<i>jipi</i>	'finish, complete'
<i>kayi</i>	'Hey, what was that—I didn't hear it!' (8.91) and (8.92)
<i>kula</i>	'Wait! Hang on!' (8.98)
<i>nyaa, nyii</i>	'Here you are.' (8.93)
<i>nyimangu</i>	'Hey!' (8.95)
<i>paa</i>	'Oops, sorry.' (8.97)
<i>pupu</i>	warning call
<i>wartawu</i>	'Ouch' (expression of pain, tiredness) (8.94)
<i>yarranija</i>	'great'—showing pleasure
<i>yuu</i>	'yes' (8.96)
<i>munu</i>	'no'
<i>wurtu</i>	question word, pro word

(8.90) *Paliny wurru-kurlu paji-kurlu, japurtu!*
 3SG things-PRIV fire-PRIV poor.thing
 'He has nothing, no gear, not even a fire, poor fellow!' (McKelson 1989:61)

(8.91) *Pipi kayi! Nyampa-rti ya-nku-li!*
 mother hey quick-EMPH go-POT-1DU.INC.SUB
 'Hey mother, let's go quickly!'

(8.92) *Nyuntu maja wayarti kayi! Nyirrini-ja*
 2SG boss tortoise hey one.behind-ABL

mirti jarri-nyi-n ngatu-pinti-karti jakun.
 run INCH-NFUT-2SG.SUB stationary-ASS-ALL only
 'Hey, you are the boss/best tortoise—you ran from behind all the way to the finishing line.'

(8.93) *Nyaa! Nyungu mayi!*
 here.you.are this vegetable.food
 'Here you are! Here's food!'

- (8.94) *Japartu-marniny karrama-rna, "Wartawu partal*
 father-own say-NFUT ouch unsuccessfully
turlpa-nya-rni ngaju marlka-ji-rninya!"
 rise.up-NFUT-1SG.SUB 1SG sated-AFF-REFLX
 'Their own father said this, "Oh I can't get up, I've stuffed myself with food!"'

- (8.95) *"Nyimangu! Parrja-li-nyi janpamalu." karrama-rna-lu*
 hey 2SG look-IMP-1SG.OBJ fish say-NFUT-3SG.DAT
kuyi-lu wupartu-lu.
 meat-ERG small-ERG
 "'Hey you, look at me fish," said the small animal.'

- (8.96) *"Marrngu, nyuntu maparn ngarra?" "Yuu, wupartu maparn."*
 person 2SG magic SPEC yes small magic
 "'Man, do you (know magic)/ are you a magic man?" "Yes, (I know) a little magic.'"

- (8.97) *"Paa, karlaya, rankurrji-lu!" karrama-rna-lu kurntany-kurntany-ju*
 oops emu bustard-ERG say-NFUT-3SG.DAT shy-shy-ERG
 "'Oh, emu!" bush turkey said to him shyly.'

The exclamation *kula* is commonly used as an expression or command for someone to wait 'hang on' and is often used with *mima-la* 'wait-IMP'.

- (8.98) *Kula, mima-la pulaku mirtawa-ku-jirri.*
 hang.on wait-IMP 3DU.DAT woman-DAT-DU
 'Hang on, wait for those two women.'

- (8.99) *Wanyjarni ngapi ngani-kapan-pirti ngapi pirrapirra wani-nyi?*
 where thingy what-like-EMPH thingy shell stay-NFUT
 "'Where's the what's it, what's it like, the shell?'"

Kula! Parrja-la pala kanyji-nikanyi-rna.
 hang.on look-IMP that look.for-IMPF-1SG.SUB
 'Hang on look, I'll look for it.'

9 *Noun phrases*

The syntax of the noun phrase is described in this chapter. Section 9.1 discusses the arguments for the identification of a NP constituent in Nyangumarta and outlines features of the Nyangumarta NP and then Section 9.2 describes the Nyangumarta NP in terms of a set of modifier slots that are filled by nominals (and in some cases by embedded NPs). Section 9.3 investigates several different types of specific NP constructions and how these are dealt with within the modifier slot formula. Section 9.4 describes the complex NP structure which involves the embedding of phrases within the various modifier slots. Section 9.5 provides an explanation for missing NP heads and finally §9.6 describes NPs which have adjoined status rather than operating as complex NPs.

9.1 NP Constituency

The syntactic status of NP constituents is not always clear in Australian languages. Hale (1983) and Simpson (1983) argue that it is not necessary to set up NP constituents in Warlpiri due to the fact that Warlpiri has a high incidence of discontinuous nominal expressions. Nominals are linked functionally or semantically to each other by rules of case concord or case copying. Blake (1979) also argues against the existence of NP constituents in Kalkatungu and makes the claim that nominals are in apposition (or in parallel) in constructions where there is more than one word in a clause that represents an argument. Evans (1985) points out that in Kayardild, nominals cannot be described as appositional due to ordering restrictions and because an appositional analysis would incorrectly treat phrasal inflections and lexical derivations as the same thing. Dench (1987:362) argues for a NP constituent in Martuthunira on the basis of Evans's arguments adding that

the apposition analysis would have great difficulty in coping with the appearance (in Martuthunira) of more than one accusative marked argument in a clause. Extra rules would need to be introduced to ensure the correct integration of a collection of accusative marked nominals.

Nyangumarta does have instances of discontinuous nominal expressions and hence within this evidence, the syntactic status of NP constituents could be argued against. However there is enough evidence to suggest that a NP constituent does exist, such as ordering preferences among sequences of nominals. Discontinuous nominal expressions are treated as secondary predications. When nominals bearing the same final inflection are separated by some elements (and hence appear as apparent discontinuous nominal expressions) they are described as separate noun phrases where one is a secondary predication and the other is the argument of the verb.

In this description noun phrases are classified in terms of arrangement of constituents with associated functions (see §9.2).

Constituent order

Words in the Nyangumarta NP are those of the nominal class with the ordering of words not rigidly fixed in the sense that demonstratives, numerals and adjectival nominals can either precede or follow (open class) nominals (see McGregor 1990 for similar findings in Gooniyandi).

When demonstratives and numerals are used as modifiers they tend to precede the NP head but they can occur in the reverse order. It is difficult to decide on the word order between nominals and adjectival nominals within a NP; speakers can choose any order.

Although there are many instances of the possessive preceding nominal stems, on closer examination of texts, it was found that possessives tend to occur following the referent nominal and often the positioning of the possessive does change the focus of the NP (see §9.2 and §9.3.3).

Tsunoda (1988:95) gives the following word-order features for the Jaru NP:

- (a) an interrogative word occurs initially,
- (b) a demonstrative occurs initially unless the NP contains an interrogative word,
- (c) a pronoun precedes noun(s),
- (d) a generic noun immediately precedes a specific noun,
- (e) 'adjective-like' nouns precede, approximately as frequently as they follow 'noun-like' nouns.

Although the ordering restrictions are not strict in all possible arrangements or combinations of words, the data does indicate some preferences.

1. Demonstratives usually precede other nominals.
2. Adjectival nominals usually follow nominal heads.
3. Pronouns marked for the genitive suffix tend to follow possessed nominal heads.
4. Numerals tend to precede the head nominal in a NP.

As for many Australian languages, arguments in texts are highly elliptical and it is common to find examples where an argument is null. NPs with more than two or

three words are extremely rare and it is possible to find NPs with any nominal as the sole member.

Number of modifiers

Noun phrases do not usually consist of more than two modifiers (9.1) although there are instances of three (9.2).

- (9.1) *Ka-nganyikinyi-yi* [*wirtu piti ngapa-pinti*].
take-IMPF-3PL.SUB big dish water-for
'They took the big water dish.'

- (9.2) [*Pulany wirtu marrjapanu partany-jirri*] *ya-na pulu*.
3DU big very.strong child-DU go-NFUT 3DU.SUB
'Those two big, very strong children went.'

Concord

A noun phrase is defined as a sequence of nominals such that some nominal suffix is marked on all members of the constituent which indicates its syntactic role in the clause. Thus in (9.3) the modifier *wirtu* 'big' is marked with the ergative suffix as is the nominal *wangal* 'wind'. In (9.4) there are two NPs and in the first, the constituents of the NP are all unmarked indicating absolutive (*ngapa wirtu warnayiti*) and in the other NP, all the constituents are marked with the locative suffix (*wirtungu warntarringi*). In (9.5) the dative suffix is marked on the two members of the NP *warnku-ku piyanapinti-ku*.

- (9.3) [*Wangal-ju wirtu-lu*] *yirrikulu kalku-ninyi mungka*.
wind-ERG big-ERG side/sideways keep-PRS tree
'A big/strong wind is holding/bending the tree sideways.'

- (9.4) [*Wirtu-ngu warntarri-ngi*] [*ngapa wirtu warnayiti*]
big-LOC sand.dune-LOC water big water/rain

milpa-nya pulaku.
come-NFUT 3DU.DAT
'A big rain came/rained on those two in the big sand dune.'

- (9.5) *Munu parrja-rna* [*warnku-ku piya-na-pinti-ku*].
NEG look-NFUT rock-DAT grind-NM-ASS-DAT
'S/he couldn't find the grinding stone.'

Other examples of suffixation being distributed across nominals in noun phrases is given below; (9.6) shows the allative suffix, (9.7) dual number and (9.8) plural number.

- (9.6) *Jurru-lu yaja-rna [wika-karti pala-karti].*
 snake-ERG follow-NFUT fire-ALL that-ALL
 'The snake followed it to that fire.'
- (9.7) *[Pala-jirri ngurlan-jirri] ya-na pulu.*
 that-DU eagle-DU go-NFUT 3DU.SUB
 'Those two eagles went.'
- (9.8) *[Pala-rrangu kuyi-rrangu] wirla-rnilpi-yi.*
 that-PL meat-PL hit-REMPST-3PL.SUB
 'They killed that meat (a long time ago).'

Locational noun phrases

It is common for NPs to consist of complex locative predications with either the locative suffix being distributed across all of its members or for nominals which are inherently locative *kankarni* 'on top of', *wangka* 'near', *yakujarni* 'this side', *kaninykarti* 'inside' being employed (see §7.8).

- (9.9) *Parnpi-rni pulaku parruparru [kankarni pulany-ja].*
 throw-NFUT 3DU.DAT net on.top.of 3DU-LOC
 'He threw the net over those two.'
- (9.10) *Wani-nyyi [niyamarrri-nyi kankarni pirti-nyi].*
 stay-NFUT sandhill-LOC on.top.of hole-LOC
 'S/he stayed on top of the sandhill in the hole/in the hole on top of the sandhill.'
- (9.11) *Narnngula wani-nyyi [kaninykarti pangkurl-ja].*
 bush.honey stay-NFUT inside hollow-LOC
 'Bush honey is inside the hollow (of the tree).'
- (9.12) *Ka-nya warnayiti-karti-lu [warnayiti-nyi wangka] wirri-rni.*
 take-NFUT waterhole-ALL-ERG waterhole-LOC close put-NFUT
 'He took it as far as the waterhole and put it near the waterhole (in the damp area).'

The allative suffix also occurs in complex locational NPs:

- (9.13) *Pala kangkuru mirti jarri-nyyi martarra [yakujarni
 that kangaroo run INCH-NFUT injured this.side
 nganarna-karti].*
 1PL.EXC-ALL
 'That kangaroo ran, injured towards us.'

Discontinuous NPs/second predications

In a situation where a NP appears to be discontinuous it is described as two separate NPs where one is either an attributive (9.14) or manner secondary predication (9.15).

- (9.14) Partany-jirri-lu *wirla-rna* *pulu* wirtu-lu-jirri.
 child-DU-ERG hit-NFUT 3DU.SUB big-ERG-DU
 'The two children hit it and they were big.'

- (9.15) Partany-jirri-lu *wirla-rna* *pulu* kararr-ju.
 child-DU-ERG hit-NFUT 3DU.SUB hard-ERG
 'The two children hit it hard.'

Notice in (9.14) above the analysis of the two nominal expressions as two separate noun phrases forces what has been described by Simpson (1983) as the unmerged interpretation as distinct from the merged interpretation: 'The two big children hit it'. In the following examples the unmerged interpretation indicates the analysis of two separate noun phrases.

- (9.16) [*Marlu*] *wirla-rna-n* [*karlaya*?]
 many hit-NFUT-2SG.SUB emu
 'Did you kill emus, many (emus)?'

- (9.17) [*Kanka*] *karnti-kinyi-yi-a* [*mungka-nga*].
 above climb-IMPF-3PL.SUB-PURP tree-LOC
 'They climbed high, up the tree.'

9.2 Noun phrase structure

Noun phrases in Nyangumarta can be described in terms of a sequence or arrangement of modifier slots with 'associated functions'. The possible modifier slots are as follows:

(Modifier) ^ (Modifier) ^ (Modifier) ^ (Entity) ^ (Modifier) ^ (Modifier)

In this arrangement ordering is not fixed and the semantic head of the NP is the filler of the entity slot which is a nominal referring to some person or object.

Nyangumarta modifiers can have several different functions which will be discussed below (see a similar system used by McGregor (1990) for Gooniyandi).

Determiner Narrows the reference of the phrase by placing it into context and hence facilitating the identification of the referent of the entity nominal.

Quantifier Quantifies the referent of the entity nominal.

Classifier	Specifies the referent according to some type of classification that is, that it belongs to some particular subset of the referent items which is denoted by the entity nominal.
Entity	The referent—the thing or set of things being referred to in the text.
Qualifier	Narrows the potential set of referents of the entity nominal according to a property or quality that can be attributed to it.

Determiners

The nominal which functions as a determiner in a Nyangumarta NP can be either a demonstrative (§7.4) or a possessive pronoun. Possessive pronouns are formed by suffixation of the adnominal GENitive suffix to independent pronouns (§7.1):

<i>ngaju</i>	1SG	<i>ngaju-mili</i>	'mine'
<i>nyuntu</i>	2SG	<i>nyuntu-mili</i>	'yours'
<i>paliny</i>	3SG	<i>paliny-mili</i>	'his/hers'

However, possessive pronouns more commonly function as qualifiers in the NP (see example (9.41)) although they can also function as Classifiers (see example (9.27)).

As is the situation for Martuthunira, in Nyangumarta a nominal with a determiner function serves 'to narrow the reference of the phrase by contextual identification of the referent' (Dench 1987). In the examples below *nyungu* 'this' is used to indicate specific locations such as 'this fire' (9.18) and 'this camp' (9.19), *pala* 'that' is used to refer to a particular vehicle (9.20) and particular children (9.21). In (9.22) we see an example of a possessive pronoun functioning as a determiner.

- (9.18) *Karta- karri-a nyungu-ngu wika-nga!*
 asleep STAT-IMP this-LOC fire-LOC
 'Sleep by this fire!'

- (9.19) *Nyungu-ja ngurra-ja ngalaya ya-na-layi ruka*
 this-ABL camp-ABL 1DU.EXC go-NFUT-1DU.EXC.SUB afternoon

murtuka-nga, kakarra wika-karti.
 car-LOC east fire-ALL

'Us two (not you) went east from this camp, in the car, in the afternoon for firewood.'

- (9.20) *Pala murtuka rutu-ja wiriki jarri-nyi mirti-ji-rni.*
 that car road-ABL crooked INCH-NFUT run-AFF-NFUT

Jalanga yaka-rna rutu pala-lu murtuka-lu.
 outside leave-NFUT road that-ERG car-ERG
 'That car was going from side to side on the road. It then went off the road, that motorcar.'

(9.21) *Pala-jirri partany-jirri kulykuly-ka-nya pulu janpa-nga*
 that-DU child-DU (sink)-take-NFUT 3DU.SUB water-LOC

kaniny yinta-nga.
 down waterhole-LOC
 'Those two children sank down into water.'

(9.22) *Ngaju-mili japun wapaka-rna-ji jara-nga.*
 1SG-GEN joey hop-NFUT-1SG.DAT pouch-LOC
 'My joey hopped into my pouch.'

Quantifiers

A nominal functioning as a Quantifier can be any of the adjectival nominals *waraja* 'one', *kujarra* 'two', *warajapa kujarra* 'three', *kujarrapa kujarra* 'four', *marlu* 'many', *kurrngal* 'many' or *wiyirr* (*wakany*) 'whole lot'. These nominals serve to quantify the referent of the phrase. The nominals *marlu*, *kurrngal* and *wiyirr* function as Quantifiers for all numbers greater than *kujarra* in many situations.

In texts, numerals are not used extensively, with *kujarra* 'two' being the most common. When *kujarra* is used, the corresponding dual nominal suffix always occurs on nominals.

(9.23) *[Kujarra partany-jirri wupartu-jirri] ya-na pulu.*
 two child-DU small-DU go-NFUT 3DU.SUB
 'Two small children went.'

(9.24) *[Waraja karruwarlkan] kaja-nikinyi kanka wurru-ngu.*
 one kingfisher sit-IMPF above bush-LOC
 'One blue-winged kookaburra was sitting high on a tree.'

(9.25) *Pala-ja ya-na pulu [kurrngal-karti marrngu-karti].*
 that-ABL go-NFUT 3DU.SUB many-ALL person-ALL
 'And after that those two went to the other mob of people.'

(9.26) *Pala-lu jurru-lu [wiyirr nganarna]*
 that-ERG snake-ERG whole.lot 1PL.EXC

purra-pi-nikinyi nganinyi-a nyirrirni-lu.
 chase-VB-IMPF 1PL.EXC.OBJ-PURP behind-ERG
 'That snake chased all of us from behind.'

- (9.27) *Nyuntu-lu* *wirla-rna-n* *janinyi* [*wakany* *nyuntu-mili*
 2SG-ERG hit-NFUT-2SG.SUB 3PL.OBJ whole.lot 2SG-GEN

partany-karrangu]?
 child-PL

'You killed all of your children?'

Classifier

A nominal in classifier function picks out a subset of the set of items referred to by the nominal in entity function. Part-whole constructions are analysed as instances of classifier-entity constructions. As for other NP constructions, if suffixes occur they are attached to both members of the constituent.

- (9.28) *parirr* *mungka* 'branch of a tree'
 hand/arm tree
- nyinyiri* *parnan* 'zebra finch's nest'
 zebra.finch nest
- (9.29) *nyuntu-mili* *kampa-na-pinti* *mungka*
 2SG-GEN cook-NM-ASS tree
 'your cooking stick'

The following example illustrates a possessive pronoun functioning as a classifier. In this NP the demonstrative *nyungu*, functions as a determiner and the possessive pronoun *ngajumili*, clearly picks out a subset of the entity nominal 'children' and hence functions as a classifier.

- (9.30) *...nyungu-rrangu* *ngaju-mili-rrangu* *partany-karrangu*
 ...this-PL 1SG-GEN-PL child-PL
 '...these, my children'

Entity

The nominal which fills the entity slot is the one which makes the main reference to some person or object. Generally a nominal filling the entity slot is a common noun (see §3.1.1), although this is not always the case. The entity slot can be filled by any of the following:

1. Nominals including pronouns, demonstratives, common nouns, nominals derived from verbs, nominals with adnominal suffixes, adjectives;
2. Embedded NPs;
3. Embedded conjoined NPs.

Qualifier

A nominal functioning as a qualifier is proto-typically an adjectival nominal (§3.1.1) with the function of attributing some characteristic to the referent of the NP. Although it is more common for adjectival nominals such as those given (as a sample) in (9.31) below to follow open class nominals in Nyangumarta phrases, they can occur preceding an entity noun (see (9.32) and (9.33) below).

(9.31)	<i>janparr</i>	'hungry'
	<i>japurtu</i>	'poor thing'
	<i>kararr</i>	'hard, tough, solid, firm'
	<i>marrpalya</i>	'brave, fearless'
	<i>winu</i>	'thirsty'
	<i>wirtu</i>	'big'
	<i>wupartu</i>	'small'
	<i>wurrku</i>	'sick'

(9.32)	<u><i>Japurtu</i></u>	<i>janpamalu</i>	<i>wani-nyi</i>	<i>jungka-nga;</i>	<i>munu</i>	<i>ngapa-majirri.</i>
	poor.thing	fish	stay-NFUT	ground-LOC	NEG	water-PRIV
	'The poor fish were (stranded) on the ground; there was no water.'					

(9.33)	<u><i>Winu</i></u>	<i>jarraku-lu</i>	<i>minpi-rni</i>	<i>ngapa</i>	<i>wiyirr.</i>
	thirsty	frog.species-ERG	drink-NFUT	water	whole.lot
	'The thirsty frog drank all the water.'				

In the following examples the nominal functioning as the qualifier, also functions as attributing some further characteristic or attribute to the referent of the NP.

(9.34)	<i>Partany,</i>	<i>wupartu</i>	<i>witi</i>	<i>karri-nyi.</i>
	child	small	play	STAT-NFUT
	'The child, the small one, was playing.'			

(9.35)	<i>Mirtawa,</i>	<i>murrjirn</i>	<i>nyarru-pi-ninyi.</i>
	woman	thin	smile-VB-PRS
	'The woman, the thin one laughed.'		

(9.36)	<i>Pala</i>	<i>pali</i>	<i>mirtawa,</i>	<i>yawunya</i>	<i>janparr</i>	<i>karri-kinyi</i>	<i>kuyi-ku.</i>
	that	maybe	woman	old	hungry	STAT-IMPF	meat-DAT
	'Maybe that woman, the old one, is hungry for meat.'						

Rarely there exists two nominals in qualifier function following the entity nominal as seen in (9.37) below.

- (9.37) *pirlpu makanu kararr*
 leg long strong
 'long, strong leg'

In (9.38), the nominal *ruka* 'afternoon', is an inherent locative occurring with no locative suffix as would be expected in the locational phrase. The nominal *wariny* 'different', (9.38) and (9.39), precedes the head noun and the indefinite pronoun *jinta* (§7.3.3) also precedes the head noun (9.40).

- (9.38) *Wariny-ja ruka karlaya partany-karrangu*
 different-LOC afternoon emu child-PL

kulpa-nyiyi karrpu-ngu wirtu-ngu.
 return-NFUT-3PL.SUB day-LOC big-LOC

'One afternoon (on a different afternoon) the emu and the chicks returned home in the middle of the afternoon (when the sun was big).'

- (9.39) *Nyungu wariny ngampu wani-nyi kaninykarti.*
 this different egg stay-NFUT inside
 'This different egg stays inside.'

- (9.40) *Pala-nga jinta marrngu wirnti karri-kinyi-yi-a*
 that-LOC other person fear STAT-IMPF-3PL.SUB-PURP

kunarri-ngimarra.

eel-CAUSAL

'And there the other people were very scared because of that eel.'

Possessive pronouns and demonstratives can also realise the qualifier function.

- (9.41) *Ya-na [japartu ngaju-mili] karrparta-lu yarnta-rna*
 go-NFUT father 1SG-GEN spear-ERG spear-NFUT

warnku-ngu kangkuru.
 rock-LOC kangaroo

'Father, my (father) went, and speared the kangaroo on the rock with a spear.'

- (9.42) *[Yukurru-lu pala-lu] paji-rna-lu kuyi-rrangu kurrngal.*
 dog-ERG that-ERG bite-NFUT-3SG.DAT meat-PL many
 'The dog bit (killed) lots of meat for him.'

The nominal *jinta* 'other' functions as a qualifier as illustrated below.

- (9.43) *Kara ya-nal pulu ya-nal pulu ngurnarri-ngi*
 west go-REMPST 3DU.SUB go-REMPST 3DU.SUB there-LOC
- yarnta-rnilpi pulinyi, [marrngu-lu jinta-lu].*
 spear-REMPST 3DU.OBJ person-ERG other-ERG
 'Those two went west, they went, and over there he speared those two,
 the other man.'

Proper names can also function as qualifiers.

- (9.44) *Pala-ja marntungu turlpa-nyi-yirni-a*
 that-ABL morning rise.up-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB-PURP
- [warnku-karti yarlalu-karti].*
 hill-ALL place.name-ALL
 'And after that, in the morning we got up for (to go) the Callawa hill.'

Table 9.1 gives an overview of the match up of nominal subclass with its syntactic function in the NP in Nyangumarta.

Table 9.1: Correlations between nominal subclass and functions in NPs

Nominal subclass	NP roles/functions
Demonstratives	Determiner, Qualifier, Head
Possessive pronouns	Determiner, Qualifier
Proper nouns/kin-terms	Head
Pronouns	Head
Common nominals	Entity, Classifier, Qualifier,
Adjectives	Qualifier, Quantifier, Head

9.3 Specific types of NP constructions

9.3.1 Generic-specific

Generic-specific nominal constructions are not widespread in Nyangumarta. Generic nouns which are also common nouns, do not exist as a defined morphosyntactic class but they can be used in generic-specific noun phrase constructions where they are used for emphasis. Three main semantic types of generic nouns can be described for Nyangumarta (see Dixon 1977 and Goddard 1985:48).

1. Social status generics including *mirtawa* 'woman', *pirirri* 'man', and *partany* 'child', *mirurru* 'evil spirit';
2. use/function generics such as *kuyi* 'edible meat', *mayi* 'edible vegetable food',

kari 'consumable bitter substance which includes beers and wines' and *ngapa* 'water';

3. inherent nature generics such as *mungka* 'tree, stick, wood', *warnku* 'rock, hill, money', *yintajarra* 'bird of flight', *wika* 'fire, firewood' *pupuka* 'frog', *jurru* 'snake', *janpamalu* 'fish', *jarti* 'bat', *jatu* 'eagle', *pinga* 'ant', *munyarri* 'mouse', *kartantarri* 'duck', *parrka* 'leaf', *paru* 'spinifex' and *wajapi* 'grasshopper'.

We see in (9.45) the first of the three generic types occurs in a generic-specific noun construction. Either ordering, generic-specific or specific-generic is possible although generic-specific is most common.

- | | | | |
|--------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| (9.45) | <i>Mirtawa</i>
woman | <i>kurri</i>
teen-age.girl | 'young girl' |
| | <i>partany</i>
child | <i>pirirri/mirtawa</i>
man/woman | 'boy/girl' |

The following text examples of generic-specific constructions illustrate that they are not composite noun constructions (see §9.3.2), being complex fillers of the entity slot. Instead they are best described as instances of entity-qualifier constructions. In the first example both nominals are inflected with DATive marking.

- (9.46) *Mima-nikinyi-a* *yi-nganya-ku* *kuyi-ku* *kartantarri-ku*
wait.for-IMPF-PURP give-NM-DAT meat-DAT duck-DAT
'He (the father) waited for (them) to give him duck meat.'
- (9.47) *Wayi* *kuyi-pa* *marrngu* *yirri-rni-n* *janinyi*.
hey meat-EMPH person see-NFUT-2SG.SUB 3PL.OBJ
'Hey, have you seen meat—people meat?'

Notice in (9.48) the order is reversed, specific-generic, with no significant difference of meaning.

- (9.48) *Narnngula* *wani-nya-yi* *yakarr* *karnu-ngu*
bush.honey stay-NFUT-3PL.SUB just.below.surface bark-LOC
- jalkupurta-nga* *mungka-nga*
Cadjeput.tree-LOC tree-LOC
'Bush honey is (found) just below the surface in the bark of the Cadjeput tree.'

In the generic-specific construction as illustrated below, *jurnti pipi* 'cave mother' and *pipi jurnti* 'mother cave', order can be generic-specific or specific generic (9.49).

- (9.49) *jurnti pipi pulany-mili, marrngu-wayi munu*
cave mother 3DU-GEN person-NEG NEG

marrngu-ku-pa. Nganyjurru pipi-lu marrngu-lu.
person-DAT-CONJ 1PL.INC mother-ERG person-ERG

ka-nya-yi nganyjurrinyi. Pulany pipi-lu jurnti-lu
take-NFUT-3PL.SUB 1PL.INC.OBJ 3DU mother-ERG cave-ERG

ka-nya pulinyi warnku-lu.
takeNFUT 3DU.OBJ rock-ERG

'Their mother, the cave is not a person. Our mothers are people. The mother cave that looks after those two is a rock.'

9.3.2 Compounds

Compounds are composed of two nominals. Unlike generic-specific, or part-whole constructions, compound nominals are analysed as complex fillers of the entity slot. When case marking occurs it is only attached to the final word of the construction.

- (9.50) *Pipi-japartu-lu partany kalku-rnikinyi pulu.*
mother-father-ERG child keep-IMPF 3DU.SUB
'The mother and father (the parents) looked after the child.'

9.3.3 Possessive noun phrases

There are two types of possessive noun phrases in Nyangumarta: those in which a noun or personal pronoun is marked for the genitive suffix (*-mili/-mila*) and those in which two nominals are in apposition and in which a part-whole relationship holds between the two nominals. The genitive suffix is used in situations where the thing possessed is alienable such as child, car, dog etc. (9.51) and (9.52). In situations in which the thing possessed is inalienable such as body parts there is no marking of genitive.

- (9.51) *mirtawa-mili yukurru*
girl-GEN dog
'the girl's dog'

- (9.52) *japartu jana-mili*
father 3PL-GEN
'their father'

The following constructions are also possessive NPs in which the thing possessed is inalienable. In this case there is no genitive marking used.

- (9.53) *maruntu jina* 'goanna track'
 goanna foot
- ngaju parirr* 'my hand'
 1SG hand

9.4 Complex NPs

The simple Nyangumarta NP consists of a selection of the functions of modifiers (determiner, quantifier, classifier, entity, qualifier) which are filled by nominals. The complex NP functions either as a qualifier or determiner with more complex structures such as embedded NPs and/or conjoined NPs.

9.4.1 Embedded NPs

The simplest form of the embedded NP is that of the simple nominal inflected with an adnominal suffix such as ablative seen in (9.54) with other embedded NPs consisting of several nominals which conform to the general NP structure ((9.55)–(9.57)). In (9.54) the NP 'hill kangaroo' is embedded in the NP 'that hill kangaroo meat'.

- (9.54) *Yarnta-rna* *pala* *kuyi* *kangkuru* *warnku-ja.*
 spear-NFUT that meat kangaroo rock-ABL
 Determiner Entity Entity Qualifier
 'He speared that hill kangaroo meat.'

Example (9.55) illustrates an embedded NP (consisting of a classifier and entity) filling the qualifier slot. This is similar to that shown in (9.56).

- (9.55) *Warnu-pa* *karli-nya-pinti* *kaninykarti* *wirru-ngu.*
 staff-EMPH dig-NM-ASS inside wing-LOC
 Classifier Entity Qualifier Entity
 'The digging stick inside the wing.'

- (9.56)
- | | | |
|--------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Kuyi
meat | ngaju-mili
1SG-GEN
Qualifier | mamaji-mili.
brother-GEN
Entity |
| Entity | Qualifier | |
- ‘Meat belonging to my older brother.’

In (9.57) we see an embedded NP (consisting of a modifier functioning as a determiner and a head noun) functioning as a determiner of the complex NP.

- (9.57)
- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| Paliny-mili
3SG-GEN
Determiner | kangkuji-mili
older.sister-GEN
Entity | maya.
house
Entity |
| Determiner | | |
- ‘His/her older sister’s house.’

9.4.2 Embedded conjoined NPs

Coordinate noun phrase constructions are quite common in Nyangumarta. Noun phrases can be strung together freely. This can be done using the conjunction suffix *-pa* although this is optional and does not always occur. When it is used, the conjunction marker can appear on every nominal in the coordinate construction as shown in (9.58).

- (9.58)
- | | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Kuyi-pa
meat-CONJ | mayi-pa
vegetable.food-CONJ | kampa-rna
cook-NFUT | pulu-a.
3DU.SUB-PURP |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
- ‘Those two cooked meat and damper.’

More often though the conjunction suffix is attached only to the first nominal in the string (see §4.26 for more information regarding the use of this suffix).

As we see in (9.59) and (9.60) the conjunctive morpheme *-pa* is missing and the conjoined NPs are still interpreted as being conjoined:

- (9.59)
- | | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|---|---|
| Pala-nga
that-LOC | ngatu
stationary | jarri-nya-pinti-ngi,
INCH-NM-ASS-LOC | mima-nikinyi-yi
wait.for-IMP-3PL.SUB |
|----------------------|---------------------|---|---|

puluku, [kujarra kangkuru-jirri waraja yalapara].
 3DU.DAT two kangaroo-DU one goanna
 'And there, on the finishing line, the two kangaroos and one goanna
 waited for those two.'

- (9.60) *Yarnta-rna [nyiti-ngi pirntil-ja].*
 spear-NFUT chest-LOC back-LOC
 'He speared it in the chest and on the back.'

Inflected nominals can be conjoined as in (9.61) *kuyikartipa mayikarti*.

- (9.61) *Wani-kinyi pulu ngurra-nga, yarrkal ya-nikinyi pulu*
 stay-IMPF 3DU.SUB camp-LOC hunting go-IMPF 3DU.SUB

yukurru-pa pala partany [kuyi-karti-pa mayi-karti].
 dog-CONJ that child meat-ALL-CONJ vegetable.food-ALL
 'Those two stayed in camp and then the dog and that child went hunting
 for meat and vegetable food.'

9.5 Missing heads

There are significant numbers of NPs in Nyangumata texts which appear to lack an entity nominal. McGregor (1990:254) claims 'that all such examples may be accounted for as elliptic NPs. Examination of the context in which such NPs ... occur reveals that there is usually explicit mention of the entity nominal in the preceding text...' This is also the case for Nyangumarta where missing arguments have previously been referred to in the conversation or text.

Often when the nominal in the entity slot is missing, other nominals which normally function as determiners or qualifiers are the only word in the phrase. In (9.62), (9.63) and (9.64) this ellipsis of the head NP is illustrated where reference is not ambiguous (see though in other languages like Martuthunira (Dench 1987) where instances of apparently missing heads can be explained by allowing the entity slot to be at least filled by one lexeme in the phrase without regard for that particular lexeme's usual function in the NP. Dench (1995:189) suggests that if one adopts a 'very liberal approach to defining what may be a head avoids the problems introduced by assuming widespread ellipsis' and hence in every NP there is an expression fulfilling the entity function and therefore becomes the head of the phrase. Thus in the following examples (9.62)–(9.64), there is no missing head: the nominal *wirtu* 'big' in (9.62) fulfills the entity function and instead of functioning as a qualifier functions as the referent of the clause; likewise in (9.63) the nominal *wupartu* 'small' assumes the referent function of a head nominal and in (9.64) the demonstrative *nyungu* 'this' also assumes this role.

- (9.62) *Wirtu wurra-rna janinyi.*
big tell-NFUT 3PL.OBJ
'The important (man), (the boss) told them.'
- (9.63) *Pala-lu wupartu-lu muwarr-pi-rnikinyi janaku.*
that-ERG small-ERG word-VB-IMPF 3PL.DAT
'The small (child) would talk (call out) for them.'
- (9.64) *Nyungu kurntany jarri-nyi.*
this shy INCH-NFUT
'This (child) is shy, being shy.'

9.6 Adjoined NP structures

In languages such as Martuthunira, adjoined NP structures as distinct from complex NPs 'can be considered special cases of a general pattern in which similarly case-marked NPs are construed at some higher level of semantic interpretation' (Dench 1995:201). In Nyangumarta there exists NPs which are semantically related to each other but are not part of a complex NP. In this situation we find that one NP tends to be the one which is the focus and the other adjoined NPs either list items of membership or else they contribute some additional attributive information about the main NP.

The first type of adjoined NP is one in which a general category or group is specified for membership. In (9.65) the category *ngunyja* 'internal organs' is further described by the listing of items which make up the organs such as 'liver' and 'lungs'. In (9.66) the set of the 'two good hunters' is further specified as 'uncle and nephew' and further by 'Purungu and Panaka'. Similarly in (9.67) the two bustards are further specified as the male and the female.

- (9.65) *Nga-la-nyi! Ngunyja, mirliki-pa ralyu.*
eat-IMP-1SG.OBJ internal.organs liver-CONJ lungs
'Eat me! (my) internal organs, liver and lungs.'
- (9.66) *Kuyi-marta-jirri ngani-marta-jirri rampanu, panaka-pa*
meat-ATTEN-DU who-ATTEN-DU dual.kin kin.term-CONJ

purungu ya-nikinyi pulu.
kin.term go-IMPF 3DU.SUB
'Two good hunters, uncle and nephew, Panaka and Purungu went.'
- (9.67) *Rankurrji-lu-jirri, mirtawa-lu-pa pirirri-lu*
bustard-ERG-DU woman-ERG-CONJ man-ERG

kalku-nikinyi pulu janinyi kurrngal partany-karrangu.
 keep-IMPF 3DU.SUB 3PL.OBJ many child-PL
 'The two bush turkeys, the man and the woman look after lots of chicks.'

Another type of adjoined NP expression involves the listing of several NPs which add further attributive information about the referent in one of the NPs. For example in (9.68) the NP *kampurta* 'orphan' is further described by the NPs *pipi-majirri-pa japartu-majirri* 'no mother and no father' and *paliny jakun* '3SG only' (Note the third NP includes the particle *jakun*). In (9.69) the NP *jungkanga* 'in the ground' is further described by the NPs *kurlungupa ngalypanga* 'good and bad'.

(9.68) *Japartu paliny kampurta, pipi-majirri-pa japartu-majirri,*
 poor.thing 3SG orphan mother-PRIV-CONJ father-PRIV

paliny jakun.
 3SG only
 'The poor thing (was) an orphan, no mother and no father, only him.'

(9.69) *Mayi karri-nya-yi jungka-nga,*
 vegetable.food STAT-NFUT-3PL.SUB ground-LOC

kurlu-ngu-pa ngalypa-nga.
 bad-LOC-CONJ good-LOC
 'The vegetable food (specific) grows in the ground, some good ground and some bad.'

10 *Main clauses*

This chapter discusses the Nyangumarta main clause types and how they function in the grammar. Nyangumarta main clauses can be categorised into three distinct clause types: nominal main clauses with no verbal inflections; verbal main clauses with verbs inflected for tense, mood and aspect; and main clauses with verbs inflected for purposive advisory verbal inflection but no additional affixation of verbal pronouns. §10.2 gives an overview of the non-verbal clauses in Nyangumarta—those with nominal predicates—and illustrates a basic difference between ascriptive and equative clauses; §10.3 discusses the range of verbal clauses which exist and which is organised by types of verbs. These are classed into one of the five transitivity types: transitive, intransitive, semitransitive, extended-intransitive and ditransitive. §10.3.12 explores the conditions under which additional arguments occur in Nyangumarta main clauses and the animacy conditions which exists for the registration of additional arguments. Section 10.4 discusses the purposive advisory main clause which occurs with optional overt NP arguments but with no verbal pronouns. This clause type is an example of ‘insubordination’; a process describing the use of subordinate verbs in main clauses (see Dench 1994b and Evans 1985). Section 10.5 describes the types of question constructions possible in Nyangumarta and §10.6 outlines the system of negation in Nyangumarta clauses.

10.1 **Properties of Nyangumarta clauses**

There are several properties of Nyangumarta simple sentences which are important to the description of the predicate argument relation. They include the following:¹

- [1] The primary division among Nyangumarta predicators corresponds to the major two-way division in the Nyangumarta parts of speech system: nominals and verbs. Verbal predicators are predominantly active, appearing with the full range of tense-mood-aspect marking and they occur in two main conjugation types and three minor ones. Nominal predicators are stative and do not occur with markings for tense, mood or aspect.

¹ Simpson (1983:88) includes similar properties in the analysis of the predicate argument relation in Warlpiri.

- [2] Grammatical function is determined by an ERGATIVE-ABSOLUTIVE case-marking system, not by the order of constituents.
- [3] Pronominal elements in the verbal complex and marking SUBJECT, OBJECT and INDIRECT OBJECT represent subcategorised grammatical functions of verbal clauses by cross-referencing NP arguments in the clause.

The types of nominal suffixes which occur in a Nyangumarta clause depends on the predicate type. Table 10.1 below shows the seven broad classes of argument taking predicates in Nyangumarta.

Table 10.1: Nyangumarta case assigners

	Subject	Object	Indirect Object	
intransitive nominal	S			<i>wirtu</i> 'big'
intransitive verb	S			<i>wani-NY</i> 'stay'
extended nominal	S		DAT	<i>miranu</i> 'know'
extended-intransitive verb	S		DAT	<i>karri-NY</i> 'want'
	S		LOC	<i>pungka-NY</i> 'fall on'
transitive verb	A	O		<i>wirla-RN</i> 'hit'
semitransitive verb	A		DAT	<i>mima-RN</i> 'wait for'
	A		LOC	<i>panypa-NY</i> 'disobey'
ditransitive verb	A	O	LOC	<i>yi-NG</i> 'give (3SG)'
	A	O	O	<i>yi-NG</i> 'give'
	A	DAT	O	<i>mira-RN</i> 'take away'
	A	O	LOC	<i>jiija-RN</i> 'show'

Following Hale (1973) and Simpson (1983, 1991) who have worked extensively on Warlpiri, I claim that the Nyangumarta verbal pronouns represent SUBJECT, OBJECT and INDIRECT OBJECT, rather than NOMINATIVE and ACCUSATIVE and DATIVE case. That is, the use of the verbal pronouns for cross-referencing purposes is not mediated by the case system, instead they encode grammatical relations such as agent, intransitive subject, object and indirect object.

The situation for Warlpiri is that the pronominal clitics represent SUBJECT, OBJECT and Adjunct DATIVE. In Warlpiri there are only two complete sets: subject and object sets with the addition of the morpheme *-rla* included for third person singular DATIVE but no other INDIRECT OBJECT pronouns occur. In Nyangumarta there is a complete set of indirect object pronouns.

10.2 Non-verbal clauses

There are two basic non-verbal clause types in Nyangumarta: one type consisting of two nominal expressions in which one functions as the subject of the clause and the other functions as the predicate. The second type consists of a non-verbal clause with a nominal predicate taking a nominal subject and a dative/locative or ablative case-marked complement. The first type, the simple ascriptive and equative clauses, is discussed in §10.2.1 below and the second type, the nominal predicate taking a dative/locative complement is discussed in §10.2.2.

10.2.1 *Ascriptive/equative clauses*

In Nyangumarta we find both ascriptive clauses in which a predicate nominal ascribes some attribute to a nominal functioning as subject; and equative clauses in which a subject nominal is equated with a predicate nominal.

Ascriptive clauses

The typical ascriptive clauses are given below. Generally the ascriptive nominal expression consists of single adjectival nominals as seen in (10.1)–(10.5) *munumpa* ‘ignorant’, *wakala* ‘tired’, *wurrku* ‘sick’, *warrukurla* ‘black’, *wupartu* ‘small’.

(10.1) *Nyuntu munumpa.*
2SG ignorant
‘You are ignorant/you don’t know.’

(10.2) *Ngaju wakala.*
1SG tired
‘I’m tired.’

(10.3) *Mirtawa wurrku.*
woman sick
‘The woman is sick.’

(10.4) *Yukurru nyungu warrukurla.*
dog this black
‘This dog is black.’

(10.5) *Nyungu kaliki wupartu.*
this tent small
‘This tent is small.’

In non-verbal clauses, nominal predicates can also be derived nominal expressions involving adnominal suffixes such as the comitative, characteriser or privative, as

given below (see §3.1.1 for more discussion of this). Ascriptive clauses can also involve nominalised verbs as shown in (10.9) below.

- (10.6) *Mirlka-jartiny paliny.*
 head-COM 3SG
 'S/he's an intelligent person.'
- (10.7) *Paliny wirrurru-kata.*
 3SG fast-CHAR
 'S/he's fast/fast one.'
- (10.8) *Pala martumpirri ngurru-majirri.*
 that damper taste-PRIV
 'That damper is tasteless.'
- (10.9) *Nyungu kaja-na-pinti.*
 this sit-NM-ASS
 'This is a chair.'

Ascriptive clauses can consist of two NPs with nominals filling functional roles such as determiner, quantifier, classifier, entity or qualifier. In this case a predicate NP ascribes some attribute to a NP functioning as subject. Notice in (10.13) below, the expression, which is ambiguous, could read as 'That man's eyes are big.'

- (10.10) *[Pala] [ngapa winya].*
 that water full
 'That (bucket) is full of water.'
- (10.11) *[Pala-jirri marrngu-jirri] [ngalparra].*
 that-DU person-DU lying.abreast
 'Those two were (lying) side by side.'
- (10.12) *[Pala jungka] [kararr marrja].*
 that ground hard very
 'That ground is very hard.'
- (10.13) *[Pala marrngu] [pani wirtu].*
 that person eye big
 'That man has big eyes.'

Ascriptive possessive clauses can also occur in Nyangumarta (10.14)–(10.17). In possessive ascriptive clauses, the predicate nominal expression is marked with the genitive suffix if the entity possessed is alienable: (10.14), (10.15) and (10.16). If the

entity possessed is inalienable such as a body part, then the nominal expression is not marked with the genitive suffix: (10.17).

- (10.14) *Nyungu yukurru ngaju-mili.*
 this dog 1SG.GEN
 'This dog is mine.'
- (10.15) *Nganurtu-mili pala?*
 who-GEN that
 'Whose it that?'
- (10.16) *[Yamparra-mili pirirri-mili ngurra] ngurnungu.*
 single.person.camp-GEN man-GEN camp over.there
 'The single men's camp is over there.'
- (10.17) *[Ngumpa kiwilykiwily] [paliny].*
 face wrinkled 3SG
 'S/he has a wrinkled face.'

In the following clause, a possessed NP is the subject of an ascriptive clause.

- (10.18) *[Ngaju pani] [rangkarr].*
 1SG eye blurry
 'My eyes are blurry.'

The ascriptive clause can include an additional sentential temporal nominal such as *kuwarri* 'now' which indicates the current state of a given entity.

- (10.19) *Kuwarri-pa [warnku wirtu] [ngapa-jartiny].*
 now-EMPH rock big water-COM
 'Now the big rock has lots of water.'

Although it is most common for the subject nominal or NP to precede the nominal predicate or NP there are instances where the subject nominal follows the predicate nominal (10.6) and (10.17) above and in the idiomatic expression in (10.20) (and see also (10.21) below).

- (10.20) *Ngarlu marrapa-marta ngarra nganyjurru.*
 stomach nostalgic-ATTEN SPEC 1PL.INC
 'We're a bit sad (because we are losing our language).'

Ascriptive clauses can incorporate the negative nominal as in (10.21) and (10.22) below. Sentence (10.21) is an example of the negative *munu* negating the nominal

wupartu 'small' whereas in (10.22) the NP *munu wupartu* 'NEG small' acts as an embedded predication to further emphasise the predicate NP *wakala* 'tired'.

(10.21) [Munu wupartu] [nyuntu].
NEG small 2SG
'You're not small.'

(10.22) [Nyuntu] [[wakala] [munu wupartu]].
2SG tired NEG small
'You're very tired.' (lit. 'You're tired, not a little.')

Non-verbal ascriptive clauses can be used as interrogative sentences as seen below. Notice in these clauses questions can either be formed using an interrogative nominal, *wanyjarni* 'where' (10.23) or else with intonation only as in (10.24).

(10.23) Wanyjarni-ja nyuntu?
where-ABL 2SG
'Where are you from?'

(10.24) Kurlka nyuntu?
ear 2SG
'Have you heard (the news)?'

Many non-verbal clauses can occur with an understood subject as shown in (10.25).

(10.25) Nyupa-jartiny? Munu, murrukurru ngarrayiny.
spouse-COM NEG boy still
'Has (he) a wife? No, he's only a boy really.' (Geytenbeek 1991:122)

Ascriptive clauses can occur with other NPs adjoined as sentential adverbs as given in (10.26) where the nominal, *minyirr* 'serious' acts as a sentential adverb.

(10.26) [Palama] [yija], [minyirr].
that truly serious
'That's really true, seriously.'

For weather expressions, non-verbal clauses can occur without an apparent subject such as in (10.27) below. The expression *mujungu ngarrany* 'it's cloudy' is an ascriptive expression describing the state of the day. The inclusion of an overt subject such as *karrpu* 'day' is not required although it is possible.

(10.27) Mujungu ngarrany.
cloud still
'It's very cloudy.'

Equative clauses

Equative clauses also occur in Nyangumarta. They differ from ascriptive clauses in that the predicate is a nominal expression which makes definite reference to a particular entity with which the referent of the subject noun phrase is identified (see Lyons 1977:472).

The following examples illustrate simple equative clauses in Nyangumarta.

- (10.28) *Paliny turrkuwanti.*
 3SG (name)
 'He is Turrkuwanti.'

- (10.29) [*Nyungu warrarn marrngu-ja yini*] [*Yirtingunya*].
 this country person-ABL name (name)
 'This place's Aboriginal name is Yirtingunya.'

Locational clauses

In locational clauses the predicate describes a place or location at which the entity referred to by the subject NP is situated. The locational predicate can be either a nominal which is inherently locative (such as *wangka* 'near' (10.30), and *kaninykarti* 'inside' (10.32)), an adverbial demonstrative, a compass term, or more commonly it may be a NP which bears a locative suffix.

- (10.30) *Pirirri piju-ngu wangka.*
 man river-LOC near
 'The man is near the river.'
- (10.31) *Wirtu-ngu warntarri-ngi ngapa.*
 big-LOC sand.dune-LOC water
 'There is a soak in the big sand dune.'
- (10.32) *Palama ngapa-nga kaninykarti.*
 that water-LOC inside
 'It's in the water.'
- (10.33) [*Warrarn-ja ngajarri-ngi ngaju.*]
 country-LOC strange-LOC 1SG
 'I'm in a strange place.'

10.2.2 Characterised nominalised clauses

Ascriptive clauses are also formed by the nominalisation of a verb. In main clause nominalisations we find two types: one type a typical intransitive clause with a nominal in S function and a second type, a normalised transitive clause, in which O is coded as dative rather than absolutive (see below).² Nyangumarta has an agentive or habitual nominalisation which is used to refer to the habitual agent of an action (see Austin 1981a for a discussion of this clause type in southern Pilbara languages). The following examples illustrate intransitive nominative clauses: *ngurr karrama-na-kata* 'growler', *ngawu jarri-nya-kata* 'one who became deaf/crazy', *ya-nanya-kata* 'one who goes' are derived from verbs (10.34), (10.35) and (10.36) (a nominalised verb is suffixed with the characteriser suffix).

(10.34) *Ngurr karrama-na-kata yukurru.*
growl say-NM-CHAR dog
'A dog that growls a lot.'

(10.35) *Ngaju kurlka ngawu jarri-nya-kata.*
1SG ear ignorant INCH-NM-CHAR
'My ears are deaf/I'm deaf.'

(10.36) *Nyungu tangki kanka-kata ya-ninya-kata, jungka-nga*
this donkey above-CHAR go-NM-CHAR ground-LOC

ya-ninya-kata.
go-NM-CHAR
'This donkey is a flyer and a walker (one who can go high and one who can go on the ground).'

Other nominalisations include the addition of the associative suffix *-pinti* 'pertaining to/for': (10.37).

(10.37) *Ngampu pala nga-ninya-pinti-wayi, munu.*
egg that eat-NM-ASS-NEG NEG
'That egg is not for eating, no.'

Normalised transitive nominalisations

Nominalisations of verbs can take a dative complement in which the nominal predicate ascribes some property to the clausal subject which is further characterised

² These types of clauses have been labelled 'normalised' based on Silverstein (1976, 1981) who introduced the term 'normal' for clauses which take ABS-DAT case arrays under certain grammatical conditions. The term 'plain' is used to refer to conventional case marking for example, ERG-ABS for transitive sentences. In this description they have not been given this label although the similarity to such clauses as described by Silverstein is acknowledged.

by the dative complement such that in (10.38); 'the emu' (subject) is 'an eater' (predicate) 'of grasshoppers' (dative complement). Notice in (10.40) a locative temporal adjunct occurs also: *manguny-ja* 'dreaming-LOC'.

(10.38) *Wajapi-ku nga-nanya-kata karlaya.*
 grasshopper-DAT eat-NM-CHAR emu
 'The emu eats grasshoppers/The emu is an eater of grasshoppers.'

(10.39) *Ngaju nga-ninya-kata pupuka-ku.*
 1SG eat-NM-CHAR frog-DAT
 'I eat frogs.'

(10.40) *Ngurlan manguny-ja marrngu, nga-nanya-kata, marrngu.*
 eagle dreaming-LOC person eat-NM-CHAR person

Nga-nanya-kata partany-ku, pirirri-ku nga-nanya-kata.
 eat-NM-CHAR child-DAT man-DAT eat-NM-CHAR
 'The eagle, person, was a cannibal (eater) in the Dreaming. The man was an eater of children and men.'

10.2.3 Extended nominals

Non-verbal clauses can take various types of complements in Nyangumarta. Dative complements are by far the most common. There are three types of non-verbal clauses in which the nominal predicate takes a dative complement (as well as a subject): simple predicate nominals, kin terms and common nominals. These are described in the following sections. Locative and ablative complements also occur although they are not as common as dative complements

Complements of predicate nominals

Nyangumarta has a small number of predicate (or extended) nominals which take dative complements such as *miranu* 'know', *munumpa* 'ignorant', *janparr* 'hungry', *malyparr* 'dislike', *marrapa* 'homesick'.

(10.41) *Nyuntu munumpa muwarr-ku.*
 2SG ignorant word-DAT
 'You don't know the language.'

(10.42) *Ngaju janparr-parla kuyi-ku.*
 1SG hungry-EMPH meat-DAT
 'I'm hungry for meat.'

(10.43) *Ngani-ja maly Parr nyuntu ngaju-ku?*
 what-ABL dislike 2SG 1SG-DAT
 'Why do you dislike me?'

(10.44) *Ngalayi miranu karrparta-ku.*
 1DU.EXC know spear-DAT
 'We know about spears.'

The predicate nominal *miranu* 'know' can also take a purposive subordinate clause as a complement. In (10.45), the predicate nominal *miranu* 'know' is marked for dual number:

(10.45) *Pala-jirri yija-jirri miranu-jirri wurru-ku jirnka-na-ku.*
 that-DU truly-DU know-DU stick-DAT whittle-NM-DAT
 'Those two really know how to trim a stick (for making weapons).'

(10.46) *Jana nyungu miranu-rla marnti-ku ya-nanya-ku kaja-ku.*
 3PL this know-FOC walk-DAT go-NM-DAT long.way-DAT
 'They know how to walk a long way.'

Complements of kin terms

Nominals which denote a particular kin relationship can function as the predicate, with the subject as the propositus and the dative complement being the possessor. This type of construction is used when people are trying to clarify kin relationships between individuals.

(10.47) *Ngani nyuntu-ku palama?*
 who 2SG-DAT that
 'What relationship is that person to you?'

Paliny marruku ngaju-ku.
 3SG mother-in-law 1SG-DAT
 'She's avoidance/mother-in-law for me.'

(10.48) *Nyuntu japartu walyja partany-ku?*
 2SG father own child-DAT
 'Are you the real father to that child?' (McKelson 1989:61)

Complements of common nominals

Common nominals may take a dative complement in which the nominal predicate ascribes some property to the clausal subject which is further mediated by the dative complement.

- (10.49) [Paliny] yarniyarni [muwarr-ku/yurta-ku].
 3SG expert word-DAT/fishing-DAT
 'S/he's an expert at words (debater)/fishing (a really good fisherman).'
- (10.50) [Jangu-ku munu-kata] [ngaju].
 tobacco-DAT NEG-CHAR 1SG
 'I'm a non smoker.'

The dative complement can be a purposive subordinate clause as seen in (10.51) below:

- (10.51) Warri ngurra [ngaju-ku karta karri-nya-ku].
 cold camp 1SG-DAT asleep STAT-NM-DAT
 'The camp is too cold for me to lie down.'

Locative and ablative complements

Nominal predicates can take locative and ablative complements as seen below. The locative complement is found in a comparative context in which the subject nominal is ascribed some set of characteristics by the nominal predicate and then the locative complement marks the standard for comparison as shown in (10.52). Ablative complements occur as causal relationships with the subject and predicate.

- (10.52) Ngaju wirtu, marrjapanu, yija wirrurru-kata nyuntu-ngu.
 1SG big strong truly fast-CHAR 2SG-LOC
 'I am truly, bigger, stronger and faster than you.'
- (10.53) Ngaju wakala warrkamu-ja.
 1SG tired work-ABL
 'I'm tired from working.'
- (10.54) Parraparra kampa-rna-ja nyungu.
 sore/ache burn-NM-ABL this
 'This is a sore resulting from a burn.'

Nominal expressions as commands

There are certain instances where non-verbal clauses operate as commands, for example (10.55). These occur when nominals or nominalisations are marked with the negative suffix *-wayi* (see §8.1.14). When non-verbal clauses occur in these constructions they do so with no overt subject. They can also occur with a complement usually marked with the causal suffix, for example *purlika-ngamarra* 'bullock-CAUSAL' (10.56).

- (10.55) *Kurntany-wayi!*
shy-NEG
'Don't be shy!'
- (10.56) *Purlika-ngamarra karta karri-nya-wayi!*
bullock-CAUSAL asleep STAT-NM-NEG
'Don't sleep—a bullock's (here)!'

10.3 Verbal clauses

10.3.1 Principal verbal classes

In Nyangumarta verbal clauses, NPs, representing the syntactic arguments of verbs, are inflected with suffixes to encode their syntactic role in the utterance. Primary grammatical relations are: ERGative, ABSolutive, DATive and LOCative.

Nominals in A function in a transitive, ditransitive or semitransitive clause will be marked with the ergative suffix; nominals in S function in intransitive and extended-intransitive clauses will be unmarked; nominals with S function in transitive and ditransitive clauses will be unmarked and nominals in IO function in ditransitive, semitransitive or extended-intransitive verbs will appear with dative or locative suffixes. NPs representing clausal arguments are cross-referenced by pronominal agreement markers.

The absolutive (ABS) in Nyangumarta (typical of Pama–Nyungan languages) is phonologically unmarked. The following sentences show the ERG-ABS pattern in clauses where there is ergative suffixation of transitive subjects and no suffixation of subjects of intransitive clauses.

- (10.57) *Maruntu mirti jarri-nyi.*
goanna run INCH-NFUT
'The goanna is running.'
- (10.58) *Tirntarpirri kuku jarri-nyi pirti-ngi.*
Gilbert's.dragon hide INCH-NFUT hole-LOC
'The Gilbert's dragon was hiding in the hole.'
- (10.59) *Yirri-rni tirntarpirri-lu maruntu.*
see-NFUT Gilbert's.dragon-ERG goanna
'The Gilbert's dragon saw the goanna.'
- (10.60) *Maruntu-lu ji-nikinyi marni-pi-nikinyi tirntarpirri.*
goanna-ERG do-IMPF paint-VB-IMPF Gilbert's.dragon
'The goanna painted the Gilbert's dragon.'

The above sentences illustrate that the subjects of (10.57) and (10.58) and the objects of (10.59) and (10.60) are treated the same with respect to suffixation, that is, they are unmarked. The subjects of (10.59) and (10.60) on the other hand are marked with the ergative (ERG) suffix (-*lu*).

10.3.2 Missing NPs

In Nyangumarta verbal clauses, NPs are optional. In fact it is not very common for Nyangumarta clauses to contain several NPs (see Hudson 1978 for similar findings for Walmajarri). To illustrate this, we can take the fully represented sentence seen below in (10.61) and illustrate alternative representations; (10.62) where the nominal object is missing, (10.63) where the nominal subject is missing, or (10.64) where both subjects and objects are missing.

(10.61) *Yukurru partany-ju wirla-rna.*
 dog child-ERG hit-NFUT
 'The child hit the dog.'

(10.62) *Partany-ju wirla-rna.*
 child-ERG hit-NFUT
 'The child hit it (the dog).'

(10.63) *Yukurru wirla-rna.*
 dog hit-NFUT
 'S/he (the child) hit the dog.'

(10.64) *Wirla-rna.*
 hit-NFUT
 'S/he (the child) hit it (the dog).'

Examples (10.65) and (10.66) illustrate the phenomena of missing subjects in intransitive clauses. Notice that in the verbal pronominal system, third person singular subject and object have no overt forms.

(10.65) *Maruntu mirti jarri-ny.*
 goanna run INCH-NFUT
 'The goanna is running.'

(10.66) *Mirti jarri-ny.*
 run INCH-NFUT
 'S/he/it (the goanna) is running.'

However, when third person subjects and/or objects are dual or plural, the verbal phrase encodes person and number. Again the following sentences are grammatical

even though the overt nominals marking subject and/or object are missing. The information needed to complete the sentence is registered by the verbal pronouns.

- (10.67) *Wirla-rna pulu.*
hit-NFUT 3DU.SUB
'Those two hit it (the dog).'
- (10.68) *Wirla-rna pulinyi.*
hit-NFUT 3DU.OBJ
'He/she hit those two (the dogs).'

10.3.3 Constituent order

Constituent order does not determine grammatical functions in Nyangumarta. The ergative/absolutive system, which will be discussed in the following sections, requires the subject of the clause to be either ergative or absolutive depending on the class of the verb. The following sentence maintains its meaning regardless of the order of its constituents. The ergative suffix marks the subject of the verb 'spear' and the object occurs with no suffixation.

- (10.69) a. *Paliny yarnta-rna-yi pirirri-marta-lu.*
3SG spear-NFUT-3PL.SUB man-PL-ERG
'The men speared him.'
- b. *Pirirri-marta-lu paliny yarnta-rna-yi.*
- c. *Yarnta-rna-yi pirirri-marta-lu paliny.*
- d. *Pirirri-marta-lu yarnta-rna-yi paliny.*
- e. *Paliny pirirri-marta-lu yarnta-rna-yi.*
- f. *Yarnta-rna-yi paliny pirirri-marta-lu.*

10.3.4 Agreement

The verbal pronouns in Nyangumarta are described as agreement markers which cross-reference the nominal arguments of verbs. That is, if the argument structure of the verbal predicate is ERG-ABS then the NPs marked with these suffixes are cross-referenced by the syntactically bound pronouns (or verbal pronouns).³

³ An alternative view is that of Jelinek (1984, 1985a, 1985b, 1986, 1987a, 1987b, 1987c, 1992) who claims that NPs in languages which have full sets of obligatory bound pronouns (like Warlpiri and Walmajarri) are 'adargumental' and optional and it is the bound pronouns which take up argument positions. Much of the debate surrounding Jelinek's view which focuses on Warlpiri can be applied to the Nyangumarta data but will not be discussed in the context of this descriptive grammar of Nyangumarta.

The correlation between case marking on NPs and pronominal agreement markers (verbal pronouns) in Nyangumarta clauses is given below in Table 10.2:

Table 10.2: Correspondence between NPs and verbal pronouns

NP	Verbal pronouns
Ergative: transitive subject	Subject
Absolutive: intransitive subject	Subject
Absolutive: direct object	Object
Dative	Dative
Locative	Locative (3SG) Dative (Others)
Allative	Locative/Dative
Ablative	Locative

The following examples illustrate the cross-referencing function of Nyangumarta pronominal agreement markers. In (10.70) there are two nominals, one in SUBJECT function marked with the ergative relational suffix and the other in OBJECT function, unmarked. In (10.71), on the other hand, there is only one nominal, that is in subject function and which is unmarked.

(10.70) *Mirtawa-jirri puliny-ju kalku-rnu pulu pulinyi.*
 woman-DU 3DU-ERG keep-NFUT 3DU.SUB 3DU.OBJ
 'Those two took care of the two women.'

(10.71) *Puliny mirti jarri-nyi pulu.*
 3DU run INCH-NFUT 3DU.SUB
 'Those two ran.'

It is the agreement markers in the verbal phrase that show that the ABSOLUTE nominal in intransitive sentences has the same grammatical function as the ERGATIVE nominal in transitive sentences.

In (10.70) above the ERGATIVE marked nominal, *puliny-ju* agrees with the verbal pronoun *pulu* whereas in (10.71) the unmarked pronoun *puliny* agrees with the verbal pronoun *pulu*.

The subcategorisation frames of intransitive and transitive verbs is given in Table 10.3. The mapping of these grammatical relations onto nominal case marking is also given and the mapping of these onto pronominal agreement patterns is shown.

Table 10.3: Nyangumarta verbal predicates: agreement

Verb	G-Function	Nominal marking	Agreement
Intransitive	S ₁	ABS ₁	SUB ₁
Transitive	A ₁ O ₂	ERG ₁ -ABS ₂	SUB ₁ -OBJ ₂

Animacy

Agreement in Nyangumarta, however, is very complex and animacy of arguments is significant. When transitive or intransitive verbs take additional arguments such as locative or dative ones, cross-referencing (agreement shown by the verbal pronouns) only occurs if the additional argument is animate.

Other languages rely on animacy to determine cross-referencing. For example, in Jaru (a Ngumpin language of north-west Australia and a neighbour of Walmajarri and Warlpiri) nominals with human or animate reference are 'cross-referenced' by pronominal clitics in the Aux; but those with inanimate reference are not (see Tsunoda 1981).

In Nyangumarta, the monomorphemic verb *karnti*-NY 'climb' only cross-references the nominal marked with the locative suffix if the person or thing doing the climbing, climbs onto an animate object.⁴ Thus in (10.72a) we see no cross-referencing of the locative NP adjunct in the verbal morphology, whereas in (10.72b), the locative marked nominal (*yawarta* 'horse') is cross-referenced by the 3SG.LOC bound pronoun *-li*. The same contrast is illustrated in (10.73).

(10.72) a. *Partany karnti-nyi mungka-nga.*
 child climb-NFUT tree-LOC
 'The child climbed the tree.'

b. *Karnti-nyi-li yawarta-nga.*
 climb-NFUT-3SG.LOC horse-LOC
 'He climbed onto the horse.'

(10.73) a. *Marrapa karri-nya-rna warrarn-ku.*
 sad STAT-NFUT-1SG.SUB country-DAT
 'I am homesick for (my) country.'

b. *Marrapa karri-nya-rna-lu ngaju-mila-ku*
 sad STAT-NFUT-1SG.SUB-3SSG.DAT 1SG-GEN-DAT

⁴ This verb can also carry the meaning of 'go with' as is shown in the following example:

Partany karnti-nyi janaku
 child climb-NFUT 3PL.DAT
 'The child has gone with that lot.'

partany-ku.
 child-DAT
 'I am missing my child.'

As shown above, verbs which occur with an argument structure ABS can also occur with an argument structure ABS-LOC when the locative expression is animate. This animacy condition prevails over all the other types of argument structures that exist in Nyangumarta.

Table 10.4 summarises the agreement constraints in Nyangumarta. These factors are discussed further in what follows throughout this chapter.

Table 10.4: Agreement constraints in Nyangumarta

-
- (a) Human/animate nominals (including pronouns) marked for ergative and absolutive function are cross-referenced. Locative and dative nominals are cross-referenced if they are arguments of the verb but are not cross-referenced if they are adjuncts.
- (b) Inanimate subjects (both transitive and intransitive (A and S)) are cross-referenced if they are not third person singular.
- (c) Inanimate Os can be cross-referenced (although they are not always).
- (d) Inanimate IOs cannot be cross-referenced.
- (e) Inanimate nominals marked with the locative suffix cannot be cross-referenced.
- (f) Inanimate ablatives are never cross-referenced.
-

10.3.5 *Ambitransitive verbs*

In some instances a particular verb is not always clearly transitive or intransitive. For example the nominal *karruruwa* 'briskly, actively', (10.74), can also function as an intransitive verb *karruruwa-NY* 'blow briskly', or a transitive verb 'blow it along briskly', (10.75) and the intransitive verb *karli-NY* 'dig' can also function as a transitive verb 'dig up/pick up' (10.76).

- (10.74) *Kurningumarra* *karruruwa-nyi* *wangal.*
 from.south blow.briskly-NFUT wind
 'The wind blew briskly from the south.'

- (10.75) *Mirlimirli karruruwa-nyi wangal-ju.*
 paper blow.briskly-NFUT wind-ERG
 'The wind blew the paper along briskly./The paper was blown along
 briskly by the wind.' (Geytenbeek 1991:58)
- (10.76) *Kurlurlu karli-nyi wangal-ju.*
 dust dig-NFUT wind-ERG
 'The wind is picking up the dust.'

Another problem regarding the transitivity status of verbs concerns two clearly defined verbs: *kampa-RN* 'cook/burn' and *kampa-NY* 'cook/burn', the first of which is transitive (10.77) and the second is intransitive, (10.78).

- (10.77) *Mirtawa-lu kuyi kampa-rna.*
 woman-ERG meat cook-NFUT
 'The woman cooked the meat.'
- (10.78) *Kampa-nyi jalyjaly.*
 cook-NFUT slow
 'It burned/cooked slowly.'

However the intransitive verb (recognised by the NY conjugation class) can also occur in a transitive clause as (10.79) illustrates.

- (10.79) *Wika-lu kampa-nya partany.*
 fire-ERG burn-NFUT child
 'The child was burnt by the fire/The fire burnt the child.'
- (10.80) *Wika-lu kampa-rna partany.*
 fire-ERG cook-NFUT child
 'S/he burnt the child with the fire.'

In (10.79) the sense of burning implies that the child was messing around with the fire and burnt itself on a stick; in (10.80) on the other hand the child was burnt by the fire but someone else was involved and burnt the child with the firestick (probably intentionally). Example (10.81) again uses the intransitive verb to indicate burning by the fire which was not the direct result of someone else.

- (10.81) *Kupalya-ja wika-lu kampa-nya.*
 sleep-ABL fire-ERG burn-NFUT
 'S/he was burnt by the fire while s/he was asleep.'

The two transitive uses of normally intransitive verbs as given above are likely to be related to the semantics of each of the verbs. Fire is the elemental source of

'burning' and wind is the elemental source of 'things being blown along'. Both of these inanimate elemental forces can be the subject of an intransitive verb. When each of these two verbs take an ERG-ABS argument structure, it seems that the elemental source again is the subject. For example in (10.82), an animate agent cannot occur. The constructions in (10.79) and (10.81) are grammatical because they each have the agent = source, that is, the fire. Likewise in (10.75) the agent of the verb 'blow briskly' has as its source, the wind.

- *(10.82) *Wika-lu kampa-nya partany pirirri-lu.*
 fire-ERG burn-NFUT child man-ERG
 'The man burnt the child with the fire.'

Thus the two possible argument structures for the verbs 'blow briskly' and 'burn' can be expressed as follows:

<i>karruruwa-ny i</i>	'blow briskly'	ABS		'It blew/It blows.'
<i>karruruwa-nyi</i> ⁵	'blow it briskly'	ERG-ABS	(ERG=source)	'The wind blew/blows it.'
<i>kampa-NY</i>	'burn'	ABS		'It burned/burns.'
<i>kampa-NY</i>	'burn it'	ERG-ABS	(ERG=source)	'The fire burns him/her/it.'

In addition to the verbs discussed above, there is also another Nyangumarta verb which can have two transitivity readings. The verb *kulu-RN* has two related meanings: 'join' and 'meet', the first of which is transitive, (10.83) and the second intransitive, (10.84).

- (10.83) *Kulu-rnu pulinyi milirr-ju pirirri-lu.*
 join-NFUT 3DU.OBJ wax-ERG man-ERG
 'The man joined those two together with glue.'

- (10.84) *Pala-nga karlaya kulu-rnu-a rankurrji.*
 that-LOC emu meet-NFUT-PURP bustard
 'And there the emu met up with the bush turkey.'

When this verb is used with the reciprocal, *-rninyi*, it is usually understood to mean for the purpose of mourning or wailing together. Although, as (10.85) shows the usual intransitive meaning of meeting up with someone as seen in (10.84) above is still possible in texts, even though the reciprocal suffix is attached in the verbal phrase.

⁵ There are at least three different verbs meaning 'blow' in Nyangumarta. Two of them have the wind as their subject: *karruruwa-ny* and *purrrpa-ny*. The verb *puyu-pi-rn* has an animate agent. I have not recorded any additional case arrays for *purrrpa-ny*.

- (10.85) *Purlpi kulu-rnu pulu-rninyi, wayarti-pa pupuka.*
 long.time meet-NFUT 3DU.SUB-RECIP turtle-CONJ frog
 'A long time ago those two met up with each other, the turtle and the frog.'

It is possible that there are two different lexical verbs involved in these constructions with a common lexical origin. Thus the two lexical entries would be as follows:

<i>kulu-rnu</i>	'meet'	ABS	'(They) met.'	S
<i>kulu-rnu</i>	'join'	ERG-ABS	'S/he joined it.'	A-O

10.3.6 Subjectless clauses

Although it has been shown that Nyangumarta sentences can occur without overt nominal expressions representing subjects (and objects), there are some instances of complex verbs formed with the inchoative verb (*jarri-NY*) which cannot occur with an overt NP subject. These verbs have essentially to do with elemental types of events such as dawn, sunset⁶ and as such no overt subject is possible.

- (10.86) *Marntungu jarri-kinyi, wupun jarri-kinyi pala jurnti.*
 morning INCH-IMPF open INCH-IMPF that cave
 'As it became morning, the cave would open up.'

- (10.87) *Warrukarti jarri-nyyi, paliny kupalya jarri-nyikinyi paru-ngu.*
 night INCH-NFUT 3SG sleep INCH-IMPF spinifex-LOC
 'When it became night, she would sleep in the spinifex.'

Other temporal elemental conditions can also be expressed with either an ellipsed subject (10.88) or else an overt subject (10.89):

- (10.88) *Kara ngalpa-nya.*
 west enter-NFUT
 'Sunset (lit. (it) entered the west.)'

- (10.89) *Karrpu kakarni karnti-nyyi.*
 day/sun from.east climb-NFUT
 'Sunrise: the sun rises in the east.'

By contrast, non-temporal elemental phenomena are generally expressed with nominal weather expressions accompanied by a verb.

⁶ See similar situation for Warlpiri:
Rangkarr-ka-nyyi ka
 predawn-verb-NPST-PRES
 'It is becoming predawn.'

- (10.90) *Ngapa punga-nyi.*
water fall-NFUT
'It's raining.'
- (10.91) *Ngapa-kurlu jarri-nyi-rri.*
water-PRIV INCH-NFUT-3SG.SUN
'The rain has finished.' (McKelson 1989:45)
- (10.92) *Wangal purrpa-yinyi.*
wind blow-PRS
'The wind is blowing.'

10.3.7 Intransitive clauses

The following (10.93) are monomorphemic process verbs which are intransitive verbs with only intransitive subjects occurring.

- | | | | |
|---------|------------------|---------------------------|-----|
| (10.93) | <i>jari-NY</i> | 'flow, leak, trickle' | ABS |
| | <i>jumpa-RN</i> | 'sense, feel something' | ABS |
| | <i>jupa-NY</i> | 'abate, diminish' | ABS |
| | <i>kunta-NY</i> | 'fail' | ABS |
| | <i>kurta-RN</i> | 'emerge' | ABS |
| | <i>parnti-NY</i> | 'emit a bad smell, stink' | ABS |
| | <i>pirrpa-RN</i> | 'glow, shine' | ABS |
| | <i>purrpa-NY</i> | 'blow (wind)' | ABS |
| | <i>walju-RN</i> | 'grow' | ABS |

Nominals combining with the inchoative *jarri-NY* (10.94) and stative *karri-NY* (10.95) verbs in Nyangumarta form NY conjugation compound verbs of process or change of state. These verbs are intransitive and occur with single arguments.

- | | | | | |
|---------|-------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----|
| (10.94) | <i>wirtu jarri-NY</i> | (big.INCH) | 'become big, grow' | ABS |
| | <i>kutu jarri-NY</i> | (dead.INCH) | 'die' | ABS |
| | <i>kurlu jarri-NY</i> | (bad.INCH) | 'worsen' | ABS |
| | <i>kuku jarri-NY</i> | (hide.INCH) | 'hide' | ABS |
| | <i>wirnti jarri-NY</i> | (fear.INCH) | 'become frightened' | ABS |
| | <i>pija jarri-NY</i> | (deflate.INCH) | 'subside, deflate' | ABS |
| (10.95) | <i>jawa karri-NY</i> | (mouth.STAT) | 'teething' | ABS |
| | <i>wararr karri-NY</i> | (standing.STAT) | 'standing' | ABS |
| | <i>wartu karri-NY</i> | (die.STAT) | 'dying' | ABS |
| | <i>yirti karri-NY</i> | (skinny.STAT) | 'being skinny' | ABS |
| | <i>jirmirl karri-NY</i> | (perspire.STAT) | 'perspiring' | ABS |

Example (10.96) illustrates similar meanings expressed by the stative verb *karri-NY* ‘stative’ and *-pi-RN* ‘verbaliser’ when combined in a complex verb construction with the same nominal *jannganka* ‘shaky’.

- (10.96) a. *Jannganka karri-nyi.*
shaky STAT-NFUT
‘He is trembling.’
- b. *Jannganka-pi-ninyi.*
shaky-VB-NFUT
‘He is trembling.’

Other intransitive complex verbal constructions, shown in (10.97), consist of monomorphemic verbs combined with verbs only found in compound constructions, such as *kawa-RN* ‘repeat’ (§6.2.4) (10.97a), or the particle, *raa* ‘intensely’, a main verb *karnti-NY* ‘climb’ and the verb *kawa-RN* shown in (10.97b):

- (10.97) a. *Ngapa jupa-nya kawa-ninyi.*
water dry-NM repeat-PRS
‘The water is drying up—completely.’
- b. *Raa karnti-nya kawa-ninyi.*
intensely climb-NM repeat-PRS
‘It is swelling up enormously.’

Intransitive verbs of sound production

Other intransitive complex verbs classified as verbs of ‘sound production’ are given in (10.98). These are formed by the verb, the intransitive complex verb *karrama-RN* ‘say like this’ following a bound nominal (see §3.2.4). The bound nominal in these examples is onomatopoeic. All of the resulting verbs are intransitive (see §6.2.3).

- (10.98) a. *Jarl karrama-rna.*
(shock) say-NFUT
‘S/he was shocked (by the closeness of someone or something coming).’
- b. *Jirl karrama-rna.*
(dripping) say-NFUT
‘It makes a dripping noise.’
- c. *Jirr-jirr karrama-rna.*
scatter say-NFUT
‘It gurgles.’

The verbs given in (10.99) are also all intransitive verbs formed with either a nominal or a bound nominal (§3.2.4 and the monomorphemic transitive verb *ka-NY* 'take'.

- (10.99) a. *Kapuraly ka-nya.*
smooth take-NFUT
'S/he slipped.'
- b. *Karirr ka-nya.*
smooth take-NFUT
'S/he slipped.'
- c. *Karupul ka-nya.*
(vomit) take-NFUT
'S/he vomited.' (*karu* 'vomit')

Intransitive verbs of motion

The complex verbs in (10.100) can be classified as verbs of motion and are all formed by the combination of a nominal or a bound nominal and the monomorphemic intransitive verb *ya-N* 'go' (see §6.2.6).

- (10.100) a. *Kanka ya-na.*
above go-NFUT
'It went overhead (of bird) fly.'
- b. *Kayarri ya-na.*
swim go-NFUT
'S/he swam.'

10.3.8 Transitive clauses

As noted earlier two argument verbs fall into three categories depending on the argument structures which they select: ERG-ABS, ERG-DAT, or ABS-DAT. In this section, transitive verbs selecting ERG-ABS argument structures will be discussed. The semantic distinction between intransitive processes and transitive processes in Nyangumarta will also be examined here. We have seen that the inchoative and stative verbs *jarri-NY* and *karri-NY* derive intransitive process or change of state compound verbs from nominals or bound nominals. To create transitive verbs from nominals, the causative verbalisers *-ma-RN* and *-ji-RN* can be added. In the following examples, the causative counterparts to the process or change of state intransitive compound verbs, is given in the (b) forms.

- (10.101) a. *Marlkarri jarri-nyi.*
 dead INCH-NFUT
 'S/he died'. ABS
- b. *Marlkarri-ji-rni.*
 dead-AFF-NFUT
 'S/he killed him/her/it'. ERG-ABS
- (10.102) a. *Mitan-pi-rni.*
 pressure-VB-NFUT
 'It packed down.' ABS
- b. *Mitan-ji-rni.*
 pressure-AFF-NFUT
 'It squashed it.' ERG-ABS
- (10.103) a. *Mitu karri-nyi.*
 lie STAT-NFUT
 'S/he tells lies.' ABS
- b. *Mitu-ma-rna.*
 lie-CAUS-NFUT
 'S/he deceived him/her.' ERG-ABS

10.3.9 Ditransitive verbs

Nyangumarta has a small class of ditransitive verbs. Semantically they consist of verbs of physical transfer or restriction: *yi-NG/yu-NG* 'give', *mira-RN* 'take away', *jami-RN* 'withhold', verbs of transfer or concealment of information *jurti-ji-RN* 'show', *nyarri-RN* 'conceal from' and *wurra-RN* 'tell' and a verb of physical concentration: *kalku-RN* 'train on'.

yi-NG/yu-NG 'give'

The irregular verb *yi-NG/yu-NG* 'give' is a ditransitive verb. It has the general argument structure of: ERG-ABS-ABS (X-ERG gives Y-ABS to Z-ABS) for all persons (except third person singular). There are three participants: the subject is the giver and the recipient and the gift (item given) are the two object NPs.

When the recipient is third person singular, however, the NP is marked with the locative suffix and is cross-referenced in the verbal morphology by the third person singular locative pronoun: *-IV*⁷. The gift, or the item given, is not overtly cross-referenced. It therefore has the argument structure of: ERG-ABS-LOC (X-ERG gives Y-ABS to Z-LOC).

⁷ Which can be *-li*, *-la*, *-lu* depending on the final vowel of the preceding morpheme (see §2.3.9).

In the following example, there is no overt subject of the verb ('give'), the overt recipient is the 'other people' and the gift is the 'honey bag'. The recipient is cross-referenced in the verbal morphology by *janinyi* '3PL.OBJ'.

- (10.104) *Ka-nganyikinyi-yi* *ngurra-karti-lu* *yi-nganyikinyi-yi*
 take-IMPF-3PL camp-ALL-ERG give-IMPF-3PL.SUB
- janinyi-a* *narnngula* *jinta* *marrngu* *ngurra-nga* *palajun.*
 3PL.OBJ-PURP honey.bag other person camp-LOC like.that
 'They would take it (the honey) all the way to camp and they would give it to them—all the other people in camp—like that always.'

Likewise the following example shows an overt subject of the verb ('give') *ngaju* 'I' which is suffixed with the ergative suffix, an overt recipient is *pulany* '3DU' which is unmarked and the gift, *kuyi* 'meat', again unmarked. The recipient is cross-referenced in the verbal morphology by *pulinyi* '3DU.OBJ'.

- (10.105) *Kuyi* *yu-ngkuluma-rna* *pulinyi-a* *ngaju-lu* *pulany.*
 meat give-FUT-1SG.SUB 3DU.OBJ-PURP 1SG-ERG 3DU
 'I will give those two some meat.'

These examples are contrasted by the following where the recipient is third person singular. The free form nominal (recipient) is marked with the locative suffix and is cross-referenced by the third person singular locative verbal pronoun *-li/-la*. This phenomena (of cross-referencing third person singular objects and indirect objects) tends to be fairly consistent for Nyangumarta ditransitive verbs—the locative argument (which is recipient) is cross-referenced by the pronominal agreement markers.

- (10.106) *Ngaju-lu* *yi-nya-rna-la* *kuyi* *partany-ja.*
 1SG-ERG give-NFUT-1SG-3SG.LOC meat child-LOC
 'I gave the meat to the child.'
- (10.107) *Ngaju-lu* *yi-nya-rna-lu* *kuyi* *partany-ja.*
 1SG-ERG give-NFUT-1SG-3SG.POSS meat child-LOC
 'I gave the child's meat to him.'
- (10.108) *Ngaju-lu* *yi-nya-rna-la* *kuyi* *partany-ku* *pirirri-ngi.*
 1SG-ERG give-NFUT-1SG.SUB-3SG.LOC meat child-DAT man-LOC
 'I gave the meat to the man for the child.'

mira-RN 'take away'

The ditransitive verb *mira-RN* 'take away' has an argument structure: X-ERG relieves Y-DAT from Z-ABS. The NP marked with the ergative suffix is cross-referenced in the verbal morphology and the unmarked NP, treated as absolutive, is cross-

referenced in the verbal morphology, but the NP marked with the dative suffix is not cross-referenced, that is, only subject and object pronominal agreement markers occur in the verbal complex.⁸ The verb always occurs with the PURP morpheme, *-a* giving the sense that there is a reason for the removal or the withholding of the item(s) (other verbs which occur with the PURP morpheme are: *jami-RN* 'withhold', *purra pi-RN* 'chase' and *kanyji-RN* 'look for, seek'). Illustrative examples are given below.

- (10.109) *Kunyma-na-kata-lu* *mira-rna-yi*
tie.up-NM-CHAR-ERG take.away-NFUT-3PL.SUB

nganinyi-a *yukurru-rrangu-ku* *nganarna.*
1PL.EXC.OBJ-PURP dog-PL-DAT 1PL.EXC
'The policemen took our dogs from us.'

- (10.110) *Nganurtu-lu* *mira-rna-a* *ranyji* *kuyi-ku.*
who-ERG take.away-NFUT-PURP old.man meat-DAT
'Who took the meat from the old man?'

- (10.111) *Jurru-lu* *wurra-rna* *janaku,*
snake-ERG tell-NFUT 3PL.DAT

"ngaju-lu *mira-lama-rna-a* *jurtujurtu-ku."*
1SG-ERG take.away-FUT-1SG.SUB-PURP secret.bag-DAT
'The snake said to them, "I will take the secret bag (from him)."'

- (10.112) *Wayilpila-lu* *mira-rni-yi* *nganinyi-a*
white.fellow-ERG relieve-NFUT-3PL.SUB 1PL.EXC.OBJ-PURP

warrarn-ku.
country-DAT
'The white man has taken the land from us.'

jami-RN 'withhold'

The verb *jami-RN* 'withhold' operates syntactically like *mira-RN* 'take away' in that it has the argument structure: X-ERG withholds Y-DAT from Z-ABS. Only the

⁸ In Warlpiri, the verb 'remove' or 'take away' operates slightly differently.

Ngarrka-ngku kapi-rla *kurdu* *punta-rni* *karnta-ku.*
man-ERG FUT-DAT child-ABS take.away-NPST woman-DAT
'The man will take the child away from the woman.'

In this construction the *taker* has ERG case, the *Thing Taken* has ABS case, and the *Person Taken from* has DAT case. Unlike Nyangumarta, the Warlpiri DAT argument is registered in the AUX and the ABS argument is not registered (Simpson 1983:169).

ERG and ABS NPs are cross-referenced, the DAT NP is not. Again the purposive morpheme appears to be mandatory. Examples follow:

(10.113) *Jilaman-ku jami-rnikinyi nganinyi-a mirtawa-lu.*
 gun-DAT withhold-IMPF 1PL.OBJ-PURP white.person-ERG
 'The women deprived us of guns/ The women withheld the guns from us.'

(10.114) *Jami-lama-rna janinyi-a marrngu-rrangu*
 withhold-FUT-1SG.SUB 3PL.OBJ-PURP person-PL

ngajarri-rrangu kuyi-ku.
 stranger-PL meat-DAT
 'I deprived the strangers of meat/I didn't give any meat to the strangers.'

In situations where there is an unregistered DAT or ABS NP ('give', 'take away' and 'withhold') the purposive morpheme, *-a*, occurs. This does not happen for verbs like 'show' and 'tell' with unregistered object arguments (see below). These three verbs differ from the other ditransitive verbs in that the recipient is cross-referenced as direct object. I propose that Nyangumarta has two types of 'objects'—a primary object and a direct object (see Dryer 1986). The three verbs discussed above are the primary object types which treat the indirect object as if it were the object of a transitive clause. The other type, the direct object types will be discussed below.

<i>jami-RN</i>	ERG ₁	DAT ₂ ABS ₃	SUB ₁ OBJ ₃ + PURP
	X withholds	Y from Z	
<i>mira-RN</i>	ERG ₁	DAT ₂ ABS ₃	SUB ₁ OBJ ₃ + PURP
	X takes	Y off Z	
<i>yi-NG</i>	ERG ₁	ABS ₂ ABS ₃	SUB ₁ OBJ ₃ + PURP
	X gives	Y to Z	

juritji-ji-RN 'show to, point to, teach'

The complex verb *juritji-ji-RN* 'show to, point to, teach' has the argument structure: ERG-ABS-LOC. Its structure is: X shows Y to Z where X=ERG, Y=ABS and Z=LOC. The NP marked with the ergative suffix and the NP marked with the locative suffix are cross-referenced by the subject and indirect object agreement markers while the unmarked NP is not cross-referenced.

(10.115) *Ngaju-lu juritji-ji-ni-rni-li wurru-rrangu warruly.*
 1SG-ERG show-AFF-NFUT-1SG.SUB-3SG.LOC thing-PL green
 'I showed all the green things to him.'

- (10.116) *Minyjun-ju jurti-ji-na janaku partany-karrangu-ngu*
 Minyjun-ERG show-AFF-NFUT 3PL.DAT child-PL-LOC

wunyjurru-lu jartu-jartiny-ju yapi-naku.
 who-ERG dish-COM-ERG yandy-PurpADV
 'Minyjun showed the children how to use the dish to yandy.'

The verb *jija-RN* 'show to' operates identically to the verb *jurit-ji-RN*.

- (10.117) *Juyikarrayirti-lu jija-rna janaku kurl-ja*
 (name)-ERG show-NFUT 3PL.DAT school-LOC

partany-karrangu-ngu Yantiyarra-nga.
 child-PL-LOC (name)-LOC
 'Juyikarrayirti taught them (showed it for them) the children in the Yandeyarra school.'

wurra-RN 'tell to, relate to'

The verb *wurra-RN* 'tell' is a ditransitive verb with an argument structure of X-ERG (Agent) tells Y-ABS (theme) to Z-LOC (experiencer). The speaker is marked with the ergative suffix and the addressee is marked with the locative suffix. Only the ergative NP and the locative NP are cross-referenced.

- (10.118) *Partany-ja mirtawa-rrangu-lu wurra-rni-yi-li*
 child-LOC woman-PL-ERG tell-NFUT-3PL.SUB-3SG.LOC

nyungu-rrangu muwarr-rrangu.
 this-PL word-PL
 'The women told the child these stories /The women told these stories to the child.'

When the addressee is not third person singular, the locative marked NP is also cross-referenced by the locative/dative pronouns.

- (10.119) *Pala-ja warrukarti jarri-nyi, pala-lu maruntu-lu*
 after-ABL night INCH-NFUT that-ERG goanna-ERG

wurra-rna pulaku kurrkurr-ja-jirri: "Ngani parrja-rna-rna?"
 tell-NFUT 3DU.DAT owl-LOC-DU what look-NFUT-1SG.SUB
 'And then, in the night, the goanna told those two owls: "What did I see?"'

If the focus of the verb is for X to tell Y about Z, then the verb has an argument structure of ERG-LOC-ABS. In this construction, the argument structure is: X (the Agent)= ERG, Y (the Experiencer) = LOC and Z (the theme) = ABS. The clear way of approaching this construction is to make reference once again to animacy. When both the experiencer and the theme are animate, then the experiencer is cross-referenced. The theme in this construction is not cross-referenced. In both uses of this verb then, it is only the agent and the experiencer which are cross-referenced. Themes are not cross-referenced.

- (10.120) *Marrngu-rrangu-lu wurra-rni-yi-li mirtawa-nga partany.*
 person-PL-ERG tell-NFUT-3PL.SUB-3SG.LOC woman-LOC child
 'The people told the woman about the child.'

The verb *wurra-RN* 'tell' can take a clausal complement which denotes the thing taught or presented (10.121):

- (10.121) *Wurra-nikinyi-yi nganaku partany-karrangu-ngu*
 tell-IMPf-3PL.SUB 1PL.EXC.DAT child-PL-LOC

wunyjurru-lu malya-naku mungka narngula-ku.
 how-ERG chop-PurpADV tree bush.honey-DAT
 'They (the old people) would tell (the story) to us children about how they would chop the tree for bush honey.'

nyarri-RN 'conceal, keep secret from'

The ditransitive verb 'conceal' is subcategorised for ERG subject (agent), ABS object (theme) and LOC (experiencer). The unmarked NP, treated as absolutive is not cross-referenced. Both the agent and the experiencer are both cross-referenced (by subject and locative pronouns).

- (10.122) *Mirtawa-lu nyarri-rna-la pirirri-ngi.*
 woman-ERG conceal-NFUT-3SG.LOC man-LOC
 'The woman kept it (the secret) from the man.'
- (10.123) *Pirirri-lu partany-karrangu nyarri-nikinyi janaku*
 man-ERG child-PL conceal-IMPf 3PL.DAT

mirtawa-rrangu-ngu.
 woman-PL-LOC
 'The man is keeping the children hidden from the women.'

kalku-RN 'train on'

Some transitive verbs can also have ditransitive argument structures. For example the verb *kalku-RN* 'keep, hold, possess, take care of' with the argument structure

ERG-ABS can have the meaning of 'trained on' with an argument structure of ERG-ABS-LOC as seen below (Agent (ERG) trains the Theme (ABS) on the Experiencer (LOC)):

- (10.124) *Karlaya-nga pirirri-lu jilaman kalku-nikinyi-li.*
 emu-LOC man-ERG gun train.on-IMPF-3SG.LOC
 'The man had the gun trained on the emu.'

This alternative argument structure is very common in Nyangumarta and pervades the verbal morphology.

To summarise: the six ditransitive verbs in Nyangumarta have the argument structures given in (10.125) below.

- (10.125) *yi-/yu-* 'give'
- | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|-------|-------|---|-----|----|---|------------|
| give: | X ERG | gives | Y | ABS | to | Z | ABS + Purp |
| give (3SG): | X ERG | gives | Y | ABS | to | Z | LOC |
| lend: | X ERG | lends | Y | ABS | to | Z | LOC |
- mira-* 'take away'
- | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------|-----------|---|-----|------|---|------------|
| take away: | X ERG | take away | Y | DAT | from | Z | ABS + Purp |
|------------|-------|-----------|---|-----|------|---|------------|
- jami-* 'withholds'
- | | | | | | | | |
|------------|-------|-----------|---|-----|----|---|------------|
| withholds: | X ERG | withholds | Y | DAT | of | Z | ABS + Purp |
|------------|-------|-----------|---|-----|----|---|------------|
- juritji-* 'show'
- | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|---|-----|----|---|-----|
| show: | X ERG | shows | Y | ABS | to | Z | LOC |
|-------|-------|-------|---|-----|----|---|-----|
- wurra-* 'tell'
- | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|---|-----|----|---|-----|
| tell: | X ERG | tells | Y | ABS | to | Z | LOC |
|-------|-------|-------|---|-----|----|---|-----|
- nyarri-* 'conceal'
- | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-------|----------|---|-----|------|---|-----|
| conceal: | X ERG | conceals | Y | ABS | from | Z | LOC |
|----------|-------|----------|---|-----|------|---|-----|

The following table shows the agreement between NP arguments and the pronominal agreement markers. The verbs 'show', 'tell', 'conceal from' and 'train on' all take the locative pronouns to cross-reference the experiencer. These verbs are different from 'give', 'take away' and 'withhold' in that although it is the experiencer attracting the agreement, these type of verbs are exhibiting primary objectivity as distinct from object objectivity which the other ditransitive verbs are. That is, the primary object verbs treat the indirect object as a direct object whereas the other type treat the indirect object as an indirect object and use the locative/dative pronominal agreement forms.

Table 10.5: Nyangumarta ditransitive predicates: agreement

'give'	A ₁	O ₂	IO ₃	ERG ₁ - ABS ₂ - ABS ₃	SUB ₁ - OBJ ₃
'take away'	A ₁	O ₂	IO ₃	ERG ₁ - DAT ₂ - ABS ₃	SUB ₁ - OBJ ₃
'withhold'	A ₁	O ₂	IO ₃	ERG ₁ - DAT ₂ - ABS ₃	SUB ₁ - OBJ ₃
'tell about'	A ₁	O ₂	IO ₃	ERG ₁ - LOC ₂ - ABS ₃	SUB ₁ - LOC ₂
'give 3SG'	A ₁	O ₂	IO ₃	ERG ₁ - ABS ₂ - LOC ₃	SUB ₁ - LOC ₃
'show'	A ₁	O ₂	IO ₃	ERG ₁ - ABS ₂ - LOC ₃	SUB ₁ - LOC ₃
'tell to'	A ₁	O ₂	IO ₃	ERG ₁ - ABS ₂ - LOC ₃	SUB ₁ - LOC ₃
'conceal from'	A ₁	O ₂	IO ₃	ERG ₁ - ABS ₂ - LOC ₃	SUB ₁ - LOC ₃
'train on'	A ₁	O ₂	IO ₃	ERG ₁ - ABS ₂ - LOC ₃	SUB ₁ - LOC ₃

On examination of Table 10.5 it can be seen that in Nyangumarta ditransitive clauses, only those NPs with the role of agent or experiencer/recipient are cross-referenced, patients/themes are not. For the verb 'give' the receiver of the gift is cross-referenced by object pronouns or by the locative pronoun if the recipient is third person singular.

10.3.10 Semi-transitive verbs

There are verbs in Nyangumarta with the argument structure: ERG-DAT and ERG-LOC. In these constructions, when a verb takes a NP argument marked with the dative or locative suffix, it is cross-referenced by the locative/dative pronouns. There is a distinction in the agreement morpheme of the pronominal agreement markers between nominals which are marked dative and nominals which are marked locative, only when the referent is third person singular. The agreement morpheme is *-IV* (*-la*, *-li*, *-lu*) when locative nominals are cross-referenced; but *-lu* when dative nominals are cross-referenced (see §7.2.1).

Ergative-dative

There are two types of verbs with ERG-DAT argument structures, those monomorphemic verbs and complex verbs that always occur with ERG-DAT argument structures (when NP-DAT is animate) and those verbs which can also have ERG-DAT argument structures (that is, verbs which primarily occur with either ERG-ABS or ABS argument structures).

The three monomorphemic verbs with an ERG-DAT argument structure are *kanyji-RN* 'look for, seek', *mima-RN*⁹ 'wait for' and *karrji-RN* 'head for, charge, prepare to

⁹ In northern Nyangumarta this verb is *munyi-RN*. Some speakers have an ABS-DAT case array for this verb. However, in my corpus the ERG-DAT case array is widely used.

fight' as seen below in (10.126)–(10.128). NPs marked with the dative suffix are cross-referenced by the locative/dative pronominal agreement markers.

- (10.126) *Pipi-lu kanyji-rna-lu partany-ku.*
 mother-ERG look.for-NFUT-3SG.DAT child-DAT
 'The mother looked for her child.'
- (10.127) *Mima-rna-rna janaku marrngu-rrangu-ku ngaju-lu.*
 wait.for-NFUT-1SG.SUB 3PL.DAT person-PL-DAT 1SG-ERG
 'I waited for the people.'
- (10.128) *Karlaya-lu karrji-ninya-lu pirirri-ku.*
 emu-ERG head.for-PRS-DAT man-DAT
 'The emu was coming at (in a threatening way) the man.'

Cross-referencing of dative NPs by pronominal agreement markers is also affected by animacy for the two verbs 'look for' and 'wait for'. If the dative NP is animate, cross-referencing occurs, if it is inanimate it does not (10.129) and (10.130).

- (10.129) *Kanyji-nikinyi-yi-a jana-lu narnngula-ku.*
 look.for-IMPF-3PL.SUB-PURP 3PL-ERG bush.honey-DAT
 'They all looked for honey.'
- (10.130) *Kulpa-nya pulu mima-rna pulu-a wirlarra-ku.*
 return-NFUT 3DU.SUB wait.for-NFUT 3DU.SUB-PURP moon-DAT
 'Those two returned and waited for the moon (to come up).'

Complex verbal constructions also occur with ERG-DAT argument structures. Examples are *jakarn karnti-NY* 'stalk' and *jakarn ya-N* 'stalk' which combine a nominal (*jakarn* 'cautious') with the intransitive verbs *karnti-NY* 'climb' and *ya-N* 'go' respectively.

- (10.131) *Kangkuru-ku jakarn karnti-kinya-lu marrngu-lu.*
 kangaroo-DAT cautious climb-IMPF-3SG.DAT person-ERG
 'The man was carefully stalking the kangaroo.'

Finally there are verbs which can optionally have ERG-DAT argument structures. These fall into two groups. One group is comprised of verbs which normally function as transitive verbs with the argument structure: ERG-ABS, while the other group is comprised of verbs which normally function as intransitive verbs with ABS subject. The verb *jurrka-RN* which usually means 'stomp/dance' (10.132) can also mean 'kick at' (10.133). The transitive verb *wungka-RN* (10.134) which means 'peep at' can also mean 'peep over at' (10.135). If the recipient is animate then the argument structure is ERG-DAT for both of these verbs.

- (10.132) *Purlpi wani-nyikinyi kangkuru marnti ya-ninyikinyi.*
 long.time stay-IMPF kangaroo walk go-IMPF
- Parirr-ju-pa jina-lu jungka jurrka-nikinyi-a.*
 hand-ERG-CONJ foot-ERG ground stomp-IMPF-PURP
 'A long time ago kangaroos used to walk around (on their hands and feet). Their hands and feet used to stomp the ground.'
- (10.133) *Yawarta-lu jurrka-rna-lu paliny-ku.*
 horse-ERG stomp-NFUT-3SG.DAT 3SG-DAT
 'The horse kicked at him.'
- (10.134) *Partany-ju wungka-rna-rra pangkurl.*
 1SG-ERG peep.at-NFUT-3SG.SUB hollow
 'The child is looking, peeping in the hollow (perhaps there's a goanna inside).'
- (10.135) *Pulany-ju wungka-nikinya pula-lu rankurrji-ku.*
 3DU-ERG peep.at-IMPF 3DU.SUB-3SG.DAT bustard-DAT
 'Those two peeped over at the turkey.'

The second group of verbs consist of verbs of communication which are predominantly in ansitive. The new argument structure is ERG-DAT. The speaker is the agent who says something, calls out something or laughs at some addressee/recipient.

The complex verb *karrama-RN* 'say like this, say' which usually functions as an intransitive verb with an ABS subject can also function as a semitransitive verb with the argument structure: ERG-DAT.¹⁰ In these constructions, the NP marked for the dative suffix is cross-referenced by the pronominal agreement markers: *-lu* if third person singular, or one of the set of indirect object pronouns. Example (10.136) illustrates the intransitive use of the verb *karrama-RN* and (10.137) and (10.138) illustrate its use as a semitransitive verb.

- (10.136) *"Nganurtu-pa kalku-li-nyi-li?" karrama-rna wupartu pupuka.*
 who-EMPH keep-ANT-1SG.OBJ.ANT say-NFUT small frog
 "'Who will look after me?" said the small frog.'

¹⁰ It has been proposed by Evans (1989:11) that generally: 'For a given lexeme, all alternate case frames must assign the same case to the subject.' This principle will allow for verbal lexemes to occur with alternative case frames, which is the situation in Nyangumarta. However, the principle assumes that in the instance that a verb lexeme can take an alternate case frame the case assigned to the subject would be the same. This is not consistent with the Nyangumarta data. Semitransitive verbs are often the alternate case frames for verbal lexemes which normally occur with intransitive case frames.

- (10.137) “*Munu-yi paji-rni-nyi-n kurlka?*”
 NEG-QUES bite-NFUT-1SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB ear

karrama-rna-lu pala-lu marrngu-lu paliny-ku.
 say-NFUT-3SG.DAT that-ERG person-ERG 3SG-DAT
 ‘‘You didn’t bite my ear (did you)?’’ said that man to him.’

- (10.138) *Yukurru-lu paliny-ku karrama-rna-lu, “Nyuntu muwarr-pi-li!”*
 dog-ERG 3SG-DAT say-NFUT-3SG.DAT 2SG word-VB-IMP
 ‘The dog said to him, “You speak!”’

The complex verb *muwarr-pi-RN* ‘speak’ can occur as an intransitive verb meaning ‘speak’ with an ABS subject, or else it can operate as a semitransitive verb with an argument structure of ERG-DAT; the NP which represents the speaker is marked with ERG case while the NP representing the hearer is marked for DAT case. Compare (10.139) and (10.140) below.

- (10.139) *Marrngu jama wani-kinyi-yi, yukurru jakun*
 person silent stay-IMPF-3PL.SUB dog only

muwarr-pi-nikinyi-yi.
 word-VB-IMPF-3PL.SUB
 ‘People stayed silent, only dogs were speaking.’

- (10.140) *Pala-lu wupartu-lu muwarr-pi-rnikinyi janaku pirirri-marta-ku.*
 that-ERG small-ERG word-VB-IMPF 3PL.DAT man-PL-DAT
 ‘That little (girl) spoke to the men.’

Other intransitive verbs of communication can also have the argument structures of ERG-ABS, such as, *kama-RN* ‘call out’, and *nyarru pi-RN* ‘laugh’.¹¹ The primary function of these verbs is to operate as intransitive verbs with the ABS subjects as seen in (10.141) and (10.143). However when the speaker (or laugher) is calling out or laughing at someone the verbs become semitransitive with an ERG-DAT argument structure (10.142), (10.144) and (10.145).

- (10.141) “*Ngaju-lu nga-lkuluma-rna wupartu kartantarri,*” *kama-rna*
 1SG-ERG eat-FUT-1SG.SUB small duck call.out-NFUT

¹¹ The verb *nyarru-pi-RN* ‘laugh’ is classified as a verb of communication because it can be used in constructions in which a speaker can laugh a reply at someone. It is widely used in this way in children’s story texts.

marrja jurru.
 very snake
 ‘‘I eat small ducks,’’ called out the snake loudly.’

- (10.142) *Rankurrji-lu kama-rna pulaku paliny-mila-ku-jirri*
 bustard-ERG call.out-NFUT 3DU.DAT 3SG-GEN-DAT-DU

kujarra-ku partany-ku.
 two-DAT child-DAT
 ‘The bush turkey called out to her two chicks.’

- (10.143) *Pirirri nyarru-pi-rna.*
 man smile-VB-NFUT
 ‘The man laughed.’

- (10.144) *Pirirri-lu nyarru-pi-rna-lu paliny-ku.*
 man-ERG smile-VB-NFUT-3SG.DAT 3SG-DAT
 ‘The man laughed at him/her.’

- (10.145) *Ngani-ja-lu nyuntu-lu nyarru-pi-na-ji-n?*
 who-ABL-ERG 2SG-ERG smile-VB-NFUT-1SG.DAT-2SG.SUB
 ‘Why did you laugh at me?’

The nominal, *walyi* ‘almost’, which combines with verbs can form a complex verbal expression which controls an ERG-DAT argument structure. This particle can occur with any transitive verb, but particularly with verbs such as *wirla-RN* ‘hit’ and the two shown below in (10.146) and (10.147).

- (10.146) *Walyi ma-na-rna-lu maruntu-ku.*
 almost get-NFUT-1SG.SUB-3SG.DAT goanna-DAT
 ‘I almost grabbed the goanna/I missed the goanna.’

- (10.147) *Yalikirta-lu walyi paji-rni pulaku.*
 crocodile-ERG almost bite-NFUT 3DU.DAT
 ‘The crocodile almost bit those two.’

In northern Nyangumarta the nominal *yawirr* ‘astray’ operates in the same way.

- (10.148) *Yawirr ruwi-nya-lu.*
 astray hit.with.missile-NFUT-1SG.SUB-3SG.DAT
 ‘I threw it and missed it (the target).’ (McKelson 1989:126).

Ergative-locative

Some semitransitive verbs are subcategorised for ERG-LOC argument structures; for example, the monomorphemic verbs, *panypa-NY* 'disobey, ignore' and *mirrju-RN* 'obey, trust, believe'. The nominal marked with the locative suffix is cross-referenced by the indirect object pronouns. The third person singular indirect object locative pronoun (-IV: *-la*, *-li* or *-lu*) is used in contrast to the dative pronoun (*-lu*) which is used as the agreement marker for the cross-referencing of dative arguments.

(10.149) *Nyuntu-lu purlpi panypa-nya-kinyi-npi-li marrngu-ngu.*
 2SG-ERG long.time disobey-IMPF-2SG.SUB-3SG.LOC person-LOC
 'You used to ignore the people (the Law).'

(10.150) *Nyuntu-lu mirrju-rna-n ngalayiku!*
 2SG-ERG obey-NFUT-2SG.SUB 1DU.EXC.DAT
 'You believed us!'

The complex verb *yijalmarta-ji-RN* 'trust, obey' has an argument structure of ERG-LOC:

(10.151) *Yijalmarta ji-rni-li pirirri-lu nyampali-ngi.*
 truly do-NFUT-3SG.LOC man-ERG boss-LOC
 'The man trusted the boss.'

As for the semitransitive verbs which take ERG-DAT argument structures, and which include verbs with alternative argument structures, some transitive verbs can also have ERG-LOC argument structures. For example, the transitive verb, *yama-RN* 'cover' (10.152), can also mean 'cover over' (10.153).

(10.152) *Pala-ja wirtu jarri-nyu ngapa-lu yama-rna pala warrarn.*
 that-ABL big INCH-NFUT water-ERG cover-NFUT that country
 'And so a big rain covered that country.'

(10.153) *Paliny-ju yama-rna janaku paliny-mili-rrangu-ngu*
 3SG-ERG cover-NFUT 3PL.DAT 3SG-GEN-PL-LOC

kutu-rrangu-ngu paru-lu-pa parrka-lu.
 dead-PL-LOC spinifex-ERG-CONJ leaf-ERG
 'S/he covered her dead (children) with spinifex and leaves.'

In the following example, the NP 'their door' which is marked with the locative suffix is cross-referenced by the third person singular locative agreement marker: *-li*. Although 'door' is not animate, it may be that because the locative NP is an animate possessive phrase, it allows for the additional cross-referenced argument.

- (10.154) *Ngapa-ngamarra yama-rna-yi-li mirlirr-ju*
 water-CAUSAL cover-NFUT-3PL.SUB-3SG.LOC wax-ERG

tuwa-nga pirrayi jana-mili-ngi.
 door-LOC unreal 3PL-GEN-LOC

'In case it rained they (the honey bees) covered their door with bees wax.'

10.3.11 Extended-intransitive

Extended-intransitive verbs are verbs with two arguments: ABS-DAT or ABS-LOC. Two such extended-intransitive verbs are the monomorphemic verbs *parta-RN* 'dislike' and *karri-NY* 'like, want' which take dative NPs as arguments. Cross-referencing is determined by animacy. In (10.155) where the dative argument is inanimate, there is no cross-referencing which contrasts with (10.156) where the dative argument is animate and so cross-referencing occurs. Also in (10.157) where the dative argument is inanimate there is no cross-referencing although in (10.158) the animate dative argument is cross-referenced.

- (10.155) *Kuli-ku parta-rna-a marrngu.*
 fight-DAT dislike-NFUT-3SG.DAT person
 'The man doesn't want a fight.'

- (10.156) *Pirirri parta-rna-lu mirtawa-ku.*
 man dislike-NFUT-3SG.DAT woman-DAT
 'The man doesn't like the woman.'

- (10.157) *Pupuka karri-nyi-a kuyi-ku.*
 frog like-NFUT-PURP meat-DAT
 'The frog likes meat.'

- (10.158) *Pirirri karri-nya-lu mirtawa-ku.*
 man like-NFUT-3SG.DAT woman-DAT
 'The man likes his woman.'

The following two examples illustrate that the complement of the verb *karri-NY* 'like, want', can also be a purposive subordinate clause. This is not cross-referenced by pronominal agreement markers (10.159) and (10.160) although the purposive morpheme obligatorily occurs.

- (10.159) *Ngarnkawaru-lu karri-nyi-a ngalya ji-na-ku*
 Don.McLeod-ERG want-NFUT-PURP good do-NM-DAT

marrngu-ku warrarnjirri-ku.
 person-DAT everywhere-DAT
 'Don McLeod wanted to make it good for people everywhere.'

- (10.160) *Yurranga karri-nyi-yi-a marlurlu-ku ngaka-rna-ku.*
 hot.time like-NFUT-3PL.SUB-PURP initiate-DAT send.for-NM-DAT
 'They like to send the initiation candidate in summer (for Law business).'

However, when an oblique NP is added as a benefactive adjunct, which usually denotes a person or persons affected by the actions of the subject of the verb in a beneficial way, the NP can be cross-referenced by the pronominal agreement markers (10.161). These datives correspond to 'ethical datives' as described for languages such as Warlpiri (Hale 1982:254, Simpson 1991:379). When an 'ethical dative' in (10.161) is added to *karri-NY*, the nominal normally marked with the dative suffix, for example, *mayi* 'food', is unmarked leaving the nominal adjunct NP *ngaju-mila-ku partany-karrangu-ku* 'for my children' marked with the dative suffix instead. This is cross-referenced by the pronominal agreement marker, *janaku* '3PL.DAT' because it is animate. In this example, the NP marked with the dative suffix and cross-referenced by the dative pronominal agreement markers, has in effect, assumed the subcategorised role of dative and has been raised to argument status. The interpretation could then be: 'I like/want my children (to have) lots of food'. In this interpretation the usual nominal acting as the dative argument of the verb *kurrngal mayi* 'lots of food' is only an adjunct and is not cross-referenced.

- (10.161) *Kurrngal mayi ngaju karri-nya-rni janaku*
 many food 1SG like-NFUT-1SG.SUB 3PL.DAT
- ngaju-mila-ku partany-karrangu-ku, yija.*
 1SG-GEN-DAT child-PL-DAT truly
 'I want lots of food for my children, truly.'

Complex verbs

The following examples ((10.162)–(10.166)) include the complex verbs: *panyju karri-NY* 'dislike', *malyparr karri-NY* 'dislike', *minyinyi-pi-RN* 'warn', *paju karri-NY* 'feel sorry for' and *ngarlu wurnma-NY* 'yearning, pining for' which are complex extended-intransitive verbs with the argument structure of ABS-DAT.

- (10.162) *Panyju karri-nya-ya-lu Ngarnkawaru-mila-ku*
 dislike STAT-NFUT-3PL.SUB-3SG.DAT Don.McLeod-GEN-DAT
- muwarr-ku.*
 word-DAT
 'They didn't like Don McLeod's word (about the mining).'

- (10.163) *Pirirri-rrangu maly Parr karri-nya-ya-lu nyampali-ku.*
 man-PL dislike STAT-NFUT-3PL.SUB-3SG.DAT boss-DAT
 'The men didn't like the boss.'
- (10.164) *Minyinyi-pi-nikinyi-rni-lu paliny-ku.*
 (warn)-VB-IMP-1SG.EXC.SUB-3SG.DAT 3SG-DAT
 'I kept on warning him (to behave himself).'
- (10.165) *Pirirri pala-ku mirtawa-ku ngarlu wurnma-nya-lu.*
 man that-DAT woman-DAT stomach break-NFUT-3SG.DAT
 'The man is broken-hearted or lovesick over that woman.'
- (10.166) *Paju karri-kinya-lu paliny-mila-ku yukurru-ku.*
 sorrow STAT-IMP-3SG.DAT 3SG-GEN-DAT dog-DAT
 'He was feeling sad for his dog.'

Simple motion verbs

Simple, intransitive, verbs of motion can have an alternative argument frame. The verbs usually have an additional locational NP which has animate reference. The following verbs have ABS-LOC argument structures with the locative NP marking the end point of the motion.

- (10.167) *Kangkuru rankurri-nyi milpa-nya-la.*
 kangaroo bustard-LOC come-NFUT-3SG.LOC
 'The kangaroo came up to the turkey.'
- (10.168) *Wupartu pupuka wapaka-rna-la jawa-nga jurtarra-nga.*
 small frog hop-NFUT-3SG.LOC mouth-LOC pelican-LOC
 'The small frog hopped into the mouth of the pelican.'
- (10.169) *Pala-ja jimpu punga-nyi-li kalparti-nyi.*
 that-ABL egg fall-NFUT-3SG.LOC thigh-LOC
 'And then an egg fell on (the kangaroo's) thigh.'
- (10.170) *Pala-nga walangkarr-pi-rni-li marrngu-ngu.*
 that-LOC ahead-VB-NFUT-3SG.LOC person-LOC
 'And so he went ahead of the (other) man.'
- (10.171) *Ngawu karnti-nyi-rni-li ngurra-nga mirtawa-nga.*
 ignorant climb-NFUT-1SG.SUB-3SG.LOC camp-LOC woman-LOC
 'I met the woman unexpectedly, in the camp.'

The verb *kulpa-NY* 'return' may occur with a locative marked NP 'ethical locative' with the meaning, 'returned on'; that is 'I returned on you and therefore didn't go with you (for meat)' (10.172); and in (10.173) 'we returned on the kids and therefore didn't go with them.'

(10.172) *Ngaju kulpa-nya-rna-ngu kuyi-ku nyuntu-ngu.*
 1SG return-NFUT-1SG.SUB-2SG.LOC meat-DAT 2SG-LOC
 'I didn't come back to you for (to get) some meat.'

(10.173) *Kulpa-nyi-yirni janaku partany-karrangu-ngu.*
 return-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB 3PL.LOC child-PL-LOC
 'We didn't go with the children/ We returned on them.'

Notice in (10.172) the verbal pronoun *-ngu* 2SG.LOC cross-references the locative NP *nyuntu-ngu* 'you-LOC' and in (10.173) the locative NP is again cross-referenced by the pronominal agreement marker, *janaku* '3PL.LOC'.

Table 10.6 gives an overview of the possible verbal predicates in Nyangumarta with the following features:

1. All NPs in subject function are cross-referenced by the subject pronominal agreement markers.
2. Subject NPs in transitive and semitransitive sentences are marked with ergative and are left unmarked in intransitive and extended-intransitive constructions.
3. Dative or locative marked NPs are cross-referenced by the locative/dative pronominal agreement markers in two types of ditransitive verb constructions and in semitransitive and extended-intransitive constructions.
4. Animacy of recipients, goals and benefactors is significant in semitransitive and extended-intransitive constructions. Locative/dative agreement markers only cross-reference animates, inanimates are not cross-referenced.

Table 10.6: Nyangumarta verbal predicates

Verb	G-Function	Argument Structure	Agreement
Intransitive	S ₁	ABS ₁	SUB ₁
Transitive	A ₁ O ₂	ERG ₁ - ABS ₂	SUB ₁ - OBJ ₂
Ditransitive 1	A ₁ O ₂ IO ₃	ERG ₁ - ABS ₂ - ABS ₃	SUB ₁ - OBJ ₃
Ditransitive 2	A ₁ O ₂ IO ₃	ERG ₁ - ABS ₂ - LOC ₃	SUB ₁ - LOC ₃
Ditransitive 3	A ₁ O ₂ IO ₃	ERG ₁ - DAT ₂ - ABS ₃	SUB ₁ - OBJ ₃
Semitransitive 1	A ₁ IO ₂ animate	ERG ₁ - DAT ₂	SUB ₁ - DAT ₂
Semitransitive 2	A ₁ IO ₂ animate	ERG ₁ - LOC ₂	SUB ₁ - LOC ₂
Extended intransitive 1	S ₁ IO ₂ animate	ABS ₁ - DAT ₂	SUB ₁ - DAT ₂
Extended intransitive 2	S ₁ IO ₂ animate	ABS ₁ - LOC ₂	SUB ₁ - LOC ₂

10.3.12 External arguments

This section discusses the syntactic status of NPs marked with either the dative or locative suffix which occur in Nyangumarta clauses as additional arguments. Some NPs marked with the dative and locative suffix are adjuncts occurring as additional information to the utterance as a whole, while others appear to operate as complements of verbs and add information to the semantics of the verb itself. The NPs marked for dative or locative case which assume the role of complement to the verb are cross-referenced by the oblique bound pronominal agreement markers if the NP is animate.

As Hale (1982:254) points out for Warlpiri, there are datives which could be regarded as 'additional' to a particular verb's argument structure:

From the syntactic point of view, the adjunct dative in Warlpiri clearly belongs to the category of 'grammatical cases.' Thus, for example, it is construed with an object person marker in the auxiliary and, if third person singular, it is registered there just as an inherent dative would be. The adjunct dative figures prominently in Warlpiri by virtue of its involvement in certain grammatical processes which introduce elaborations upon the propositional content of more 'basic' predications ... (the adjunct dative) morphologically and in gross syntactic terms, ... is essentially identical to the dative which is inherent to the case arrays selected by certain Warlpiri verbs.

Simpson (1983, 1991) presents evidence 'for saying that a given argument is an OBJECT, rather than an OBLIQUE' in semitransitive and extended-intransitive verbal predicates (1983:144). The test in Warlpiri, which determines the grammatical status of a dative argument is its ability to control a non-finite clause which is marked with the complementiser suffix *-kurra*: 'The simplest statement about the controller of a *kurra* clause appears to be that it is an OBJECT' (1983:145).

The facts for Nyangumarta, although similar, are not the same as those for Warlpiri. Nyangumarta does not have the same type of subordinate clause morphology (see Chapter 11) and so a similar test is not possible,¹² although Nyangumarta subordinate clause morphology does allow us to propose that additional dative and locative arguments are part of a verb's subcategorisation rather than adjuncts (see §11.3.3 which illustrates that additional dative arguments control subjects of non-finite clauses in temporal coincidence relative clauses).

Nyangumarta, unlike Warlpiri, also has locative arguments which mark goals or sources, as does Jaru (Tsunoda 1981) and Walmajarri (Richards pers. comm., Hudson 1978) and accordingly has a complete set of verbal pronouns which register these arguments.

Simpson (1991:379) states that:

Almost any transitive or intransitive sentence in Warlpiri can contain a Dative-marked element, which acts semantically as an ethical Dative. It indicates that the action or state denoted by the verb has some relation to another participant external to it. This participant is affected, or is intended to be affected, by the event, or is affected by the event because something which he/she/it possesses (or which is part of them) is affected by that event. In other words Datives cover relations sometimes described as 'intentional benefactive' or 'adversative'; 'unintentional benefactive, adversative', or 'possessor ascension'.

¹² Nyangumarta does have a construction which is similar to the Warlpiri situation. The particle *kurra* 'when' can appear in semantic subordinate clauses where object control (almost always) operates, although the use of this particle is not widespread among speakers of the language so is not a reliable morpheme to use for evidence as it is in Warlpiri (see §8.1.8 for the function of *kurra* in Nyangumarta).

Also see Dench (1987:431) who discusses the syntactic status of ethical datives in Martuthunira. The Martuthunira process involves two object functions and these are determined by an animacy hierarchy of linking:

For Martuthunira it is possible to establish two Object relations which are nevertheless distinct: Object₁ and Object₂. These relations can then be linked to thematic roles by fiat: the Object₁ relation is assigned to an accusative recipient, goal, path, experiencer or benefactive, if one is present, otherwise to a patient or theme. If the Object₁ relation has already been assigned, the patient or theme is assigned the Object₂ relation. The mapping from GRs to accusative NPs in a clause is then quite straightforward: that NP which is higher on the 'animacy' hierarchy is mapped onto the Object₁ relation, the lower is mapped onto the Object₂ relation.

Nyangumarta has dative adjuncts and locative adjuncts which feature similarly to Warlpiri in that they operate as additional or external arguments of the verb. We have seen earlier that some verbs take dative or locative NPs as part of their inherent argument structures. However in the examples we will see below, the dative and locative expressions are additional to the normal argument structure of the verbs. The indicator of argumental status in these constructions is that the adjunct is cross-referenced by pronominal agreement markers; either the object pronouns or the inherent dative/locative pronouns. As discussed previously (§10.3.4), the additional argument (being dative or locative) is only cross-referenced if the NP is animate.

Additional dative arguments

The most common kind of complement dative is the benefactive, which involves adding a dative NP argument to the argument structure selected by the predicate. This is shown in (10.174)–(10.178) below. The additional dative argument is understood as a beneficiary or maleficiary.

(10.174) *Partany-ku kampa-rna-lu mayi mirtawa-lu.*
 child-DAT cook-NFUT-3SG.DAT vegetable.food woman-ERG
 ‘The woman cooked the food for the child.’
 (cf. *mirtawalu kamparna mayi* ‘The woman cooked the food.’)

(10.175) *Japartu wani-kinya-lu partany-ku.*
 father stay-IMPF-3SG.DAT child-DAT
 ‘Father waited (or stayed) for his child.’

(10.176) *Munu wani-nya-lu muwarr-ku marrngu-mila-ku.*
 NEG stay-NFUT-3SG.DAT word-DAT person-GEN-DAT
 ‘There will be no more Aboriginal people’s language.’

(10.177) *Pirirri kunyji, ya-nikinya-lu karlaya-ku.*
 man stooped go-IMPF-3SG.DAT emu-DAT
 ‘The man, stooped, was going for the emu.’

(10.178) *Ngaju kuli jarri-nya-rna-lu partany-ku.*
 1SG angry INCH-NFUT-1SG.SUB-3SG.DAT child-DAT
 ‘I became angry with the child.’

In all of the instances of additional dative arguments seen above, the dative NP is cross-referenced by the third person singular dative verbal pronoun. However the following example shows a NP marked with the dative suffix which is not cross-referenced (even though the NP is animate)—the difference is one of semantics—the NP marked for the dative suffix indicates directionality rather than beneficiary and could be marked for allative case to achieve much the same directional interpretation.

The dative NP in the following example is therefore an 'adjunct' not a complement; it is not construed as a 'grammatical' case or as an external argument.

- (10.179) *Kangkuru-ku ngamparl-ngamparl warrki-ninyi.*
 kangaroo-DAT face.downwards-RED crawl-PRS
 'He is crawling towards the kangaroo with his face down.'
 (c.f. *kangkuru-karti ngamparl ngamparl warrkininyi*)

In certain verbal constructions the dative/locative pronominal agreement markers can cross-reference a NP inflected for allative case as seen in the examples below. This purposive use of the allative suffix is by no means its main function (§4.2.6). It predominantly functions as a directional suffix.

- (10.180) *Mirtawa-karti ya-na-lu.*
 woman-ALL go-NFUT-3SG.DAT
 'S/he went to/for the woman.'

In the following examples, a motion verb *ya-N* 'go' can take an argument marked with the locative or the dative suffix as seen in the pronominal agreement markers: *-la* and *-lu*. However when the bound pronoun is locative, the NP is marked for allative case and when it is dative, the NP is marked for the dative suffix. This only occurs with singular oblique objects.

- (10.181) *Pala-ja ya-na-la pipi-karti pala partany wupartu.*
 that-ABL go-NFUT-3SG.LOC mother-ALL that child small
 'And then the small child went to its mother.'

- (10.182) *Pala-ja ya-na-lu pipi-ku pala partany wupartu.*
 that-ABL go-NFUT-3SG.DAT mother-DAT that child small
 'And then the small child went for its mother.'

Purposive subordinate clauses

When a purposive subordinate clause is the complement of an extended-intransitive verb, it is not cross-referenced by pronominal agreement markers on the main verb (unless the clause has an animate object (10.184) as stated above).

- (10.183) *Partany-karrangu panyju karri-nyi-yi-a*
 child-PL dislike STAT-NFUT-3PL.SUB-PURP

kurl-karti-ku ya-ninya-ku.
 school-ALL-DAT go-NM-DAT
 'The children do not like to go to school.'

- (10.184) *Partany-karrangu* *panyju* *karri-nyi-ya-lu*
 child-PL dislike STAT-NFUT-3PL.SUB-3SG.DAT

japartu-karti-ku *ya-ninya-ku.*
 father-ALL-DAT go-NM-DAT
 'The children do not like to go to father.'

Additional locative arguments

Additional locative arguments function as goals, for example fall/fall on to, put/put into, see/see on to, throw/throw over, cook/sting on. When additional locative arguments occur, the locative nominal argument NP, where animate, is cross-referenced by the locative pronominal agreement markers.

- (10.185) *Yirri-rni-li* *rankurrji-ngi* *wirru-ngu-pa* *kawu-ngu.*
 see-NFUT-3SG.LOC bustard-LOC wing-LOC-CONJ body-LOC
 'He saw it (the grey white ash) on the turkey's wings and body.'

- (10.186) *Warntara-nga* *ji-rni-yirni-li* *kangkuru.*
 shoulder.blade-LOC do-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB-3SG.LOC kangaroo
 'We made him carry the kangaroo around his neck.'

- (10.187) *Pala-nga* *karlaya-lu* *yirri-rni,* *pijirri* *jari-kinyi-li*
 that-LOC emu-ERG see-NFUT blood flow-IMPF-3SG.LOC

kujarranykarti-ngi *juju-ngu* *yarnkarra-nga.*
 all.over-LOC head-LOC broлга-LOC
 'And there the emu saw the blood flow all over the head of the broлга.'

- (10.188) *Kampa-rna-la* *munurrunurru-lu* *yurlku-ngu.*
 cook-NFUT-3SG.LOC wasp-ERG elbow-LOC
 'A wasp stung him (burnt him) on the elbow.'

The following sentences illustrate the types of complements a transitive verb such as *wirri-RN* 'put' can have. In (10.189) the verb is shown as a normal transitive verb with an ergative subject, 'donkey' and an absolutive object, that car. The clause also has an adjunct marked with the locative suffix, 'on the road'. In (10.190) *wirri-RN* takes a locative adjunct which is cross-referenced by the third person singular locative verbal pronoun *-li* indicating that the verb is taking an additional locative argument. To contrast this, (10.191) shows *wirri-RN* occurring with a dative external argument (for him/her) which is cross-referenced by the pronominal agreement markers. Notice in this example (10.191), the locative NP is an adjunct and is thus not cross-referenced by the pronominal agreement markers.

- (10.189) *Kanka jarri-nyi ka-nya pala murtuka wirri-rni*
 above INCH-NFUT take-NFUT that car put-NFUT

rutu-ngu tangki-lu.
 road-LOC donkey-ERG

'He (the donkey) took the car up high (into the sky). He put it onto the road.'

- (10.190) *Mungka-lu yapan wirri-rni-li ngarlu-ngu ngaju-lu.*
 tree-ERG hot.stone put-NFUT-3SG.LOC stomach-LOC 1SG-ERG
 'I put the stones into the stomach with the stick.'

- (10.191) *Mungka-lu yapan wirri-rna-lu ngarlu-ngu ngaju-lu*
 tree-ERG hot.stone put-NFUT-3SG.DAT stomach-LOC 1SG-ERG

paliny-ku.
 3SG-DAT

'I put the stones into the stomach with the stick for him/her.'

In (10.191) the dative NP is analysed as an example of an ethical dative which is registered by the dative pronoun (3SG). However this is not considered an argument, it is considered an external argument. In these types of constructions the benefactive is given priority over the goal for cross-referencing.

Notice in the following example, (10.192) the nominal 'lightning' is cross-referenced by the 3SG.DAT bound pronoun even though 'lightning' is normally considered inanimate. However, in the context of the story in which this text occurs, 'lightning' is considered an entity which is acting in an animate fashion. The 'lightning' is an entity which can speak and which can help someone effect an action such as killing two villains. In this context then, it is cross-referenced.

- (10.192) *Ya-na-lu wirrujuru-ku kunarri.*
 go-NFUT-3SG.DAT lightning-DAT eel
 'The eel went for the lightning.'

A NP marked for ablative case can also be cross-referenced by the locative pronominal agreement markers as the following two examples illustrate.

- (10.193) *Pirirri-lu ka-nya-la kuyi mirtawa-ja.*
 man-ERG take-NFUT-3SG.LOC meat woman-ABL
 'A man carried/took meat from the woman.'

- (10.194) *Pirirri-lu ka-nya-ji kuyi ngaju-ja.*
 man-ERG take-NFUT-1SG.LOC meat 1SG-ABL
 'A man carried/took meat from me.'

Benefactive/malefactive -lu

A benefactive morpheme, *-lu* can also occur following all indirect object pronouns and the reflexive/reciprocal morpheme. This also appears to be the case in Karajarri and Mangarla (Agnew pers. comm.). Its function in this instance is not always clear but often the interpretation can be that of benefactive or malefactive as seen below. In some instances it is possessive. In (10.195) we get a contrast between a goal indirect object *janaku* '3PL.DAT' and a beneficiary indirect object *janaka-lu* '3PL.DAT-PURP'. All of the examples given below are taken from story texts and the example illustrates a specific purpose, usually a malefactive purpose, for the action of the main verb, for example, in (10.195) the pelican is very angry with the people because they would not give their daughter for his wife so consequently he is singing the rain to try and drown them. Likewise in (10.196), the example is taken from a story about a bustard and an emu. The context for this example is a situation where the two emus lead their chicks out of their hiding place so that the bustard would know that he was tricked into killing his own chicks and therefore the emus get their revenge (because they had previously been tricked into cutting their wings).

- (10.195) *Paliny kuli jarrinyi janaku paliny-ju kurnta-rna*
3SG angry INCH 3PL.DAT 3SG-ERG sing-NFUT

janaka-lu ngapa.
3PL.DAT-BEN water

'He (the pelican) became angry at them and sang the rain for them.'

- (10.196) *Pala-ja ngurrama-rna pulu janaka-lu parlkarra-nga.*
that-ABL lead-NFUT 3DU.SUB 3PL.DAT-BEN plain-LOC
'And then they led them (their chicks) to the flat (to show that they were all still alive).'

- (10.197) *Pala-ja paliny-ju nyampa-lu ji-ni pulaka-lu*
that-ABL 3SG-ERG quick-ERG do-NFUT 3DU.DAT-BEN

wirlarra-lu parruparru mungka-ja.
moon-ERG net tree-ABL

'And then the moon quickly made a net from the tree for (to catch) those two (because they had refused to give him food).'

When *-lu* follows the dative/locative pronouns in imperative constructions, it changes a benefactive into a malefactive. Compare (10.198) with (10.199).

- (10.198) *Ma-rra janaka mayi!*
get-IMP 3PL.DAT vegetable.food
'Get the food for them! (benefactive)'

- (10.199) *Ma-rra janaka-lu mayi!*
 get-IMP 3PL.DAT-PURP vegetable.food
 'Get the food for yourself, (get some of their food for yourself). Take their food away from them! (malefactive)'

10.4 Purposive advisory main clauses

Nyangumarta has main clauses which contain a verb with purposive advisory mood inflection which take first, second or third person subjects, select the regular ergative/absolutive patterns but lack the cross-referencing function of the pronominal agreement markers (see §5.4.9 for a more detailed account of this construction). The argument structure can be ERG-DAT for semitransitive verbs such as *kanyji-RN* 'look for'.

Purposive advisory clauses are possibly a recent innovation in the Nyangumarta grammar arising from subordinate clauses in a process called 'insubordination'. The T-complementisers which originally occurred on subordinate clauses indicating tense relations between main and subordinate clauses have become markers which code mood relations in Nyangumarta (see Dench 1994b and Evans 1985 who discuss the process of insubordination in other Australian languages).

Dench (1994b), Evans (1985) and McConvell (1981) discuss the breakdown of formal contrasts between main clauses and subordinate clauses. If the breakdown involved 'insubordination' then it is to be assumed that the Purposive Advisory main clause construction in Nyangumarta came about because purposive subordinate clauses adopted a function as a main clause while at the same time maintaining its role as a purposive subordinate verb. The semantics of the new main clause function, however, has changed to one of advisory rather than purpose in the Nyangumarta context.

Purposive advisory constructions are generally used to give advice about something, often dealing with procedures for achieving tasks. When there is no overt subject NP, second person is assumed. Negative commands can also be delivered using negative advisory constructions (see §10.6).

- (10.200) *Karta karri-nyi-yi ngarrany jakurli-rni*
 asleep STAT-NFUT-3PL.SUB still persuade-NFUT

janinyi-a tama-rnaku!
 3PL.OBJ-PURP rise-Purp
 'They are still asleep. Make them get up!'

- (10.201) *Jana wirtu wapaka-naku-pa marnti-ku ya-ninyaku*
 3PL big hop-PurpADV-CONJ walk-DAT go-PurpADV

turnpi-naku jungka-nga-pa karnti-nyaku mungka-nga.
 hide-PurpADV ground-LOC-CONJ climb-PurpADV tree-LOC
 'The big (frogs) should go along hopping, hide in the sand and climb trees.'

- (10.202) *Pala mayi wirri-naku ngapa-nga kurra kapulya*
 that vegetable.food put-PurpADV water-LOC while soft

ji-naku pala-ja piya-naku.
 make-PurpADV that-ABL grind-PurpADV
 'You should put the seeds in water to make them soft and then grind them.'

10.5 Questions

Polar questions are more commonly formed by rising intonation patterns using the same construction as normal declarative sentences. In addition the clitic *-yi* is also utilised for this function.

- (10.203) *Nyuntu mayampa-kata?*
 2SG swimming-CHAR
 'Are you a good swimmer?'

- (10.204) *Ngurraputu-ku ya-ninyaku kuyi-karti-lu.*
 camping.out-DAT go-PurpADV meat-ALL-ERG
 'Are (you) going camping out for meat?'

The set of indefinite/interrogative word forms are used for information questions (see §7.7). In these constructions the interrogative word occurs in clause-initial position.

- (10.205) "Wunyjurru-ji-limi-nyi palama?"
 how-AFF-FUT-1PL.SUB that
 "How will we do it?"

- (10.206) "Ngani-ja nyuntu ngawu jarri-nya-n?"
 what-ABL 2SG ignorant INCH-NFUT-2SG.SUB
 "Why are you so silly?"

- (10.207) "Ngani ji-rni-nga?" "Puru wani-nyi-rni!"
 what make-NFUT-2SG.OBJ merely stay-NFUT-1SG.SUB
 "What are you doing?" "Nothing in particular! (I'm merely staying here)."

- (10.208) *Wanyjarni paliny?*
 where 3SG
 'Where is s/he?'
- (10.209) "Nganurtu-lu palajun ji-naku wurra-rni-li
 who-ERG like.that do-PurpADV tell-NFUT-3SG.LOC

mirtawa-nga pala-nga?"
 woman-LOC that-LOC
 "Who told that woman to do it like that?"

The clitic *-yi* is used as a marker of questions in polar constructions (see also §8.2.4).

- (10.210) *Paliny ngaju-ngu-yi yakal-ma-rna-ji-n nyuntu-lu?*
 3SG 1SG-LOC-QUES (leave)-CAUS-1SG.DAT-2SG.SUB 2SG-ERG
 'Will you leave it (the bullock) for me?'

The particle *wayi* is also used clause-initially to ask polar questions (see §8.1.14).

- (10.211) *Wayi-rti? kuyi yirri-rni-n?*
 QUES-EMPH meat see-NFUT-2SG.SUB
 'Did you see any meat?'

10.6 Negation

To negate a statement in verbal clauses, the negative particle *munu* is obligatory. The negative particle, *munu*, can occur with verbs inflected for future tense, present contrafactual and past contrafactual moods, anticipatory mood and purposive advisory mood. It does not occur with the imperfective aspect, imperative mood, non-future or present tense. The following discussion describes negation in Nyangumarta clauses.

Past and present tense distinctions

Although Nyangumarta does not always make clear distinctions between past and present tense in the major conjugation classes, it does for negative constructions. For example, the present contrafactual mood is used to negate an action which is immediate and the past contrafactual mood is used to indicate that something did not occur in the past. The basic distinction between the two forms of the contrafactual mood is given below.

- (10.212) *Munu yirri-rnama.*
 NEG see-PSTCFL
 'S/he didn't see it.'

- (10.213) *Munu yirri-rnaka.*
 NEG see-PRSCFL
 'S/he isn't seeing/cannot see it.'

The two statements above are statements of fact. This contrasts with the semantics of the contrafactual mood when the negative particle is not used (10.214) and (10.215). The examples indicate an unrealised potential. That is, a speaker can express an idea about an action which s/he thinks could have or should have happened, but did not or actions which should be taken but are not.

- (10.214) *Yirri-rnama paliny-ju.*
 see-PSTCFL 3SG-ERG
 'S/he should have seen it.'

- (10.215) *Yirri-rnaka paliny-ju.*
 see-PRSCFL 3SG-ERG
 'S/he should see it.'

The nominal *munu* is found in clauses in which there is a verb marked for non-future tense where it is not operating as a negative particle. In this construction it is operating as a nominal and it is not being used to negate the indicative statement; instead it is being used as one of the verb's arguments such as the object. Note in this example the nominal *munu* occurs post-verbally.

- (10.216) *Ya-na pala marrngu yirri-rni munu.*
 go-NFUT that person see-NFUT NEG
 'That person went and saw nothing.'

Thus, negative indicative statements are derived by the use of the negative particle and either a past or present tense form of the contrafactual mood. In positive indicative statements there are not forms for past and present tense distinctions (for all persons see §5.4.1). However there is always a distinction between events or actions that did not happen in the past and an event or action which is not happening in the present. However the semantics is not altogether clear. In a situation such as the present contrafactual where the positive statement is interpreted as:

X should be doing Y, but can't/or isn't
 the negative is simply a statement of fact:
 X isn't doing Y

The situation for the past contrafactual is as follows. The positive statement is interpreted as:

X should do Y, but can't
 the actual negative statement is interpreted as:

X didn't do Y

Examples follow:

- (10.217) *Pirtirra-lu munu parnti-nama.*
 corella-ERG NEG smell-PSTCFL
 'The corella couldn't smell him (the goanna with mud all over him).'

- (10.218) *Wirujuru-lu munu wangka ma-nama pulinyi*
 lightning-ERG NEG close get-PSTCFL 3DU.OBJ

pulany pala-jirri palajun.
 3DU that-DU like.that
 'The lightning couldn't get close to those two/didn't strike them.'

- (10.219) *Yija, munu milpa-nyaka-yi wirru-jartiny partany*
 truly NEG come-PRSCFL-3PL.SUB wing-COM child

milpa-nya-yi ngampu-ja partany-karrangu.
 come-NFUT-3PL.SUB egg-ABL child-PL
 'Yes, now our children will not hatch from the egg with wings.'

- (10.220) *Marrngu-majirri munu yirri-nama-rna janinyi.*
 person-PRIV NEG see-PSTCFL-1SG.SUB 3PL.OBJ
 'I didn't see any people.'

- (10.221) *Partany-jirri munu yirri-nama pulu pala*
 child-DU NEG see-PSTCFL 3DU.SUB that

japartu-murniny.
 father-own
 'Those two children couldn't/didn't see their father.'

Anticipatory

The anticipatory mood in negative statements can operate like a negative command but can also function as a warning or advice about not completing some action. The imperative inflection is not used with the negative particle *munu*. The positive statement in anticipatory mood is:

X might do Y,

and the corresponding negative is interpreted as:

Don't do Y or Better not do Y

Examples are given below:

- (10.222) *Munu wirla-la-yirni-li pala yukurru.*
 NEG hit-IMP-1PL.EXC.SUB-ANT that dog
 'We better not hit that dog/ We don't want to hit the dog.'
- (10.223) *Munu yunturi jarri-a-npi-li.*
 NEG sulky INCH-ANT-2SG.SUB-ANT
 'Don't be sulky/Don't sulk.'
- (10.224) *Munu marlkarri wirla-li nyurru-lu pirirri pala.*
 NEG dead hit-ANT 2PL.SUB-ANT man that
 'Don't kill that man.'
- (10.225) *Munu kamp-a-li mirtawa.*
 NEG burn-ANT-ANT girl
 'That girl had better not get burnt.'

Advisory

The purposive advisory inflection when used in negative contexts also has a negative imperative function: 'Don't do Y' or 'X shouldn't do Y'. In negative purposive advisory contexts the negative purposive advisory mood is to be interpreted as sound advice about something.

- (10.226) *Munu ya-ninyaku ngurnarri-kurnu ngurnipali-pa kurrngal*
 NEG go-PurpADV there-ALL maybe-perhaps many
wani-nya-yi.
 stay-NFUT-3PL.SUB
 'Don't go over there/you shouldn't go over there, maybe there's a big mob (of cannibals) that live there.'
- (10.227) *Munu ma-ninyaku-pa warnku pala munu nyarra*
 NEG get-PurpADV-CONJ rock that NEG that.AN
yi-nganyaku-pa kuyi.
 give-PurpADV-CONJ meat
 'Don't/you shouldn't get that money and don't/you shouldn't give that meat.'
- (10.228) *Munu ya-ninyaku Ngaru-karti-ku.*
 NEG go-PurpADV Port.Hedland-ALL-DAT
 'They shouldn't go to Port Hedland/Don't go to Port Hedland.'

Future tense

Future tense can occur with the negative particle and is interpreted as: 'X will not do Y' or as 'X don't do Y'. The second use of the negative future is similar to the command use of the future tense. It is often the polite or less severe method of delivering a command to a person. Examples follow:

- (10.229) *Munu yarnta-lkulupi-yi.*
 NEG spear-FUT-3PL.SUB
 'They will not spear it.'
- (10.230) *Munu turlpa-uliny nyurru wa-nta-yi.*
 NEG rise.up-FUT 2PL.SUB stay-IMP-2PL
 'Don't get up, stay (down).'
- (10.231) *Munu ka-ngkulumi-nyi-n nyuntu-mili-karti ngurra-karti.*
 NEG take-FUT-1SG.OBJ-2SG.SUB 2SG-GEN-ALL camp-ALL
 'You won't take me to your camp/Don't take me to your camp.'
- (10.232) *Munu yarrarna minpi-lama-rna ngapa.*
 NEG again drink-FUT-1SG.SUB water
 'I will not have any more water to drink.'

11 *Complex sentences*

This chapter describes various types of complex sentences in Nyangumarta. Nyangumarta has two types of subordinate clause—a purpose subordinate clause and a relative subordinate clause. These two subordinate clause types differ in their temporal/logical relation to the controlling clause; purpose clauses mark a future or expected event and relative clauses mark a current or past event. Section 11.1 discusses purpose subordinate clauses which depict an expected or intended result of the event marked by the main clause. Section 11.2 describes the two types of relative clauses: a T-relative subordinate clause and a NP-relative subordinate clause. Section 11.3 discusses the types of syntactic pivots that operate in Nyangumarta complex sentences and §11.4 briefly outlines the functions of the nominalisations in Nyangumarta complex sentences.

Complex clauses consisting of an independent finite clause and a non-finite subordinate clause share the following syntactic features in Nyangumarta:

1. Non-finite, subordinate clauses are usually adjoined to the main clause, occurring adjacent to it (as described by Hale 1976 in which he states that subordinate clauses in Australian languages are typically 'adjoined' rather than embedded.) In Nyangumarta, purpose subordinate clauses typically follow the main clause, T relative clauses typically precede the main clause (with some exceptions) and NP-relative clauses typically follow the main clause. Reduced relative clauses may appear in an embedded position which is adjacent to the controlling subject NP of the main clause.
2. In a construction where a main clause and a non-finite clause share NP arguments, the NP argument(s) can be omitted from one of the clauses.
3. The verb in subordinate clauses bears a complementising nominal suffix which follows a thematic element that is analysed as a nominaliser suffix. The complementising suffix indicates the relationship between the subject of the nominalised clause and some argument of the main clause (C-complementisers) or else the nominal suffix indicates a special temporal, logical or spatial relationship between the nominalised clause and the main clause (T-complementiser).

11.1 Purpose clauses

There are two types of purpose subordinate clauses in the data. The first type is the simple purpose nominalisation which functions as a purpose adjunct of the main clause. In these constructions the subordinate clause is not registered in the main clause by any cross-referencing pronouns. The second type consists of a non-finite purpose verb with a dative marked object and the subordinate clause is construed as a clausal complement.

The purpose verb consists of the following structure: Verb + NM + DAT.

Purpose adjunct

The purpose adjunct appears following the main clause and consists of a nominalised verb inflected for the dative suffix with dative marked direct objects. The understood subject of the subordinate clause identifies with the subject of the main clause. These types of purpose clauses describe the reason or purpose for which the event of the main clause was performed and there is no overt subject NP. These types of subordinate clauses exist in neighbouring Ngayarta languages such as Nyamal and Ngarla (see Dench 1994b) and also in Kanyara and Mantharta language groups (see Austin 1982, 1993). However the Nyangumarta purpose clause is not clearly identifiable as a subordinate clause. This is because, although the 'apparent' direct object of the subordinate verb is also marked for the dative suffix, in all examples found, the dative marked object of the purpose clause could appear without the purpose verb and the remaining dative NP would be understood as a purpose/goal adjunct. Thus in a construction such as (11.1) below the subordinate clause 'to catch the meat' could occur without the subordinate verb *warli-na-ku* 'hold-NM-DAT' and the complex sentence would be interpreted as: 'They make their tongue come out quickly for (to catch) the meat'.

In purpose clauses there is spread of dative marking, (11.1)–(11.6). The purpose verb is marked with dative, the direct objects are marked with dative and any adjunct (see (11.2) and (11.3) below) is also marked with dative case. In each of the following examples the subordinate clause is a nominalised clause where the nominalised verbs bear dative complementiser case suffixes.

- (11.1) *Jarlin kurta-rna-yi nyampa kuyi-ku warli-na-ku.*
 tongue emerge-NFUT-3PL.SUB quick meat-DAT hold-NM-DAT
 'They make their tongue come out quickly to catch the meat/food.'

- (11.2) *Ya-na-yirni murtuka-nga janpamalu-ku*
 go-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB car-LOC fish-DAT

ma-ninya-ku piju-ja-ku.
 get-NM-DAT creek-ABL-DAT

'We (PL.EXC) went in the car to get some fish from the river.'

- (11.3) *Milpa-nya* *ngapa-ku* *minpi-na-ku* *ngurra-nga-ku*
 come-NFUT water-DAT drink-NM-DAT camp-LOC-DAT

Paliny winu.

3SG thirsty

'It came to drink water in the camp. It was thirsty.'

- (11.4) *Jana ya-na-yi-a* *ma-ninya-ku*
 3PL go-NFUT-3PL.SUB-PURP get-NM-DAT

mayi-ku-pa

vegetable.food-DAT-CONJ

yarnta-rna-ku

spear-NM-DAT

kuyi-ku

meat-DAT

'They all went to gather bush tucker and to spear meat.'

- (11.5) *Ngurlarn-ju maruntu kanka ka-nganyi jini-na-ku*
 eagle-ERG goanna above take-PRS drop-NM-DAT

jungka-karti-ku.

ground-ALL-DAT

'The eagle is taking the goanna up high to drop it to the ground.'

- (11.6) *Partany-ju jakulini-nya pipi-murniny wika-ku tili-ji-na-ku.*
 child-ERG persuade-NFUT mother-own fire-DAT light-NM-DAT
 'The child forced (told) his mother to light the fire.'

The dative marked direct object of a purpose subordinate clause can be interpreted as a benefactive purpose in which the NP denotes an activity performed for the benefit of someone as shown below in (11.7).

- (11.7) *Pala-ja pala-nga ruka yarnkarra kulpa-nya*
 that-ABL that-LOC afternoon broлга return-NFUT

martumpirri-jartiny

dampner-COM

piya-na-ku

grind-NM-DAT

partany-karrangu-ku.

child-PL-DAT

'And therefore, there in the afternoon the broлга returned with dampner to grind for the children.'

Purpose complements

The subject of a purpose subordinate clause can be registered in the main clause by a cross-referencing pronominal agreement marker. In these constructions the main clause verb is suffixed with a DAT/LOC pronoun which agrees with the subject of the subordinate clause. There are numerous examples of these types of constructions in the corpus. The semantics reflects the fact that the subordinate clause describes a situation which occurs after the event described in the main clause and is the purpose

or reason for which the main clause event was performed. In these types of constructions the subordinate clause functions as a complement of the main clause. The verbal pronouns employed in these constructions are only the DAT/LOC pronouns and consequently cross-reference the clausal complement in the same manner in which they mark additional locative or dative arguments of a main clause (see §10.3). Examples occur below. In some constructions there is an overt subject marked for dative (11.9).

- (11.8) *Pala-nga pirirri ya-na-lu kulu-na-ku maparn-ku.*
 that-LOC man go-NFUT-3SG.DAT meet-NM-DAT magic-DAT
 'Then the man went to meet the medicine man.'

- (11.9) *Wirlarra-lu mima-nikinyi pulaku kujarrany-ku nyimurlja*
 moon-ERG wait.for-IMP 3DU.DAT both-DAT (dive)

jarri-nya-ku paliny-mila-ku-jirri partany-ku-jirri.
 INCH-NM-DAT 3SG-GEN-DAT-DU child-DAT-DU
 'The moon waited for both of his children to dive (under the water).'

Where a verb takes a purpose clause as its O argument such as the verb *jakurli* 'persuade' (11.10), this controls the subject of the non-finite clause.

- (11.10) *Karta karri-nyi-yi ngarrany jakurli-rni*
 asleep STAT-NFUT-3PL.SUB still persuade-NFUT

janinyi-a tama-rnaku!
 3PL.OBJ-PURP rise-Purp
 'They are still asleep. Make them get up!'

In (11.11) and (11.12) the NP *mirtawa-ku* 'woman-DAT' could either be construed as part of the main clause or part of the subordinate clause. This structure is ambiguous and either interpretation is possible.

- (11.11) *Ngaju-lu wika ma-na-rna-lu mirtawa-ku*
 1SG-ERG fire get-NFUT-3SG.DAT woman-DAT

mayi-ku kampa-na-ku.
 vegetable.food-DAT cook-NM-DAT
 'I got wood for my wife to cook tucker.'

- (11.12) *Ngaju-lu kampa-rna-rna-lu kuyi mirtawa-ku*
 1SG-ERG cook-NFUT-1SG.SUB-3SG.DAT meat woman-DAT

nga-ninya-ku.

eat-NM-DAT

'I cooked meat for the woman to eat.'

In the following construction, the subordinate clause has locational adjuncts marked with the allative suffix and the locative suffix followed by the dative complementiser. The NP marked with the allative suffix is functioning as a type of purpose NP itself. It is very common for speakers to use the nominal *janpa* 'pool of water' to mean 'bathe' or 'swim', hence the gloss 'to go for a swim'.

- (11.13) *Partany-jirri kurlka jarri-nya pulu-a*
child-DU decide INCH-NFUT 3DU.SUB-PURP

ya-ninya-ku

go-NM-DAT

janpa-karti-ku

swim-ALL-DAT

walpurra-nga-ku

wide-LOC-DAT

piju-nga-ku.

river-LOC-DAT

'The two children decided to go for a swim in the wide river.'

Ablative in T-complementiser function

In some purpose constructions it is possible to have a nominal constituent suffixed with the ablative suffix which is then followed by the dative complementiser suffix (11.14).

- (11.14) *Jinta kuyi-rrangu milpa-nyi-yi parrja-na-ku*
other animal-PL come-NFUT-3PL.SUB look-NM-DAT

mirti-ja-ku.

run-ABL-DAT

'The other animals came to watch the race ((those) who were running).'

There are many examples in the data in which the nominalised purpose verb does not appear with any arguments. In (11.15), the nominalisation is the sole constituent of the subordinate clause as it is in (11.16). In these types of constructions the subject of the subordinate clause is identical with the subject of the main clause.

- (11.15) *Milpa-nya pulaku nyirrini yarrarna jawa kurta-rna*
come-NFUT 3DU.DAT behind again mouth open-NFUT

kurna-nya-ku.

swallow-NM-DAT

'Again he (the eel) came from behind for those two with his mouth open, for swallowing (those two).'

- (11.16) *Nyungu kurtan-ja kalku-ninyi mampu ruwa-nya-ku.*
 this bag-LOC keep-PRS hair hit.with.something-NM-DAT
 'He keeps wool in this bag for spinning.'

Locative complements

Nyangumarta clauses allow additional locative arguments (see §10.3.12). Likewise, verbs in subordinate constructions follow the same pattern. In some situations purpose and relative subordinate clauses can also take locative marked complements (see below).

The verb *jurti-ji-RN* 'show' is subcategorised for a locative goal and when this occurs in a subordinate purpose clause its arguments are marked for the locative nominal suffix (11.17).

- (11.17) *Marntungu nyungu-ja ka-nya-yirni janinyi*
 morning this-ABL take-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB 3PL.OBJ
- partany-karrangu turaka-nga narnngula-karti jurti-ji-na-ku*
 child-PL truck-LOC bush.honey-ALL show-AFF-NM-DAT
- munumpa-nga-rla jana-nga-pa.*
 ignorant-LOC-FOC 3PL-LOC-EMPH
 'In the morning we took the children from here on the truck for bush honey, to show them—the ignorant ones (how to find it).'

11.2 Relative clauses

This section describes the various types of subordinate relative clauses which exist in Nyangumarta. Following Hale (1976) we say that a relative clause is open to a NP-relative interpretation when the main and subordinate clause share an argument; and a relative clause is open to a T-relative interpretation when the two clauses share similar time reference. Both interpretations are possible for some clauses.

There are two types of relative clauses found in the Nyangumarta data. The first type is the temporal relative clause (T-relative). These are clauses or nominalisations which occur with unmarked arguments and which function as adverbial expressions in the (complex) sentence. The other type is the adjoined causal relative clause (NP-relative) with arguments marked with the ablative suffix. Some NP-relative clauses feature additional complementisers which mark dependencies between main and subordinate clauses.

11.2.1 T-relative clauses

There are two types of T-relative clauses. The first type consists of nominalisations with either no instantiated arguments or with unmarked object arguments. These relative clauses describe an event which happened prior to the event performed by

the main clause. These are described as **temporal succession relatives**. Another type of relative clause involves nominalisations which occur at the same time as the event of the main clause—described as **temporal coincidental** relative clauses.

The difference between successive relative clauses and contemporaneous relative clauses can be seen in the relative order of the subordinate and matrix clauses. Successive relative clauses occur with the subordinate clause occurring before the main clause, and the contemporaneous relative clause occur with the matrix clause preceding the subordinate clause. Examples of both types of relative clause are given below.

Temporal succession

In the examples that follow, the idea of temporal succession is indicated by the use of the ablative suffix on the subordinate verb which describes an activity or event which happened prior to that activity or event of the main clause.

- (11.18) *Pala jungka jajarr-pi-na-ja, tiyin-jartiny wuru*
that sand winnow-VB-NM-ABL tin-COM heap

ji-ninyi-yirni.

make-PRS-1PL.EXC.SUB

'After yandying (winnowing) the sand, we made a heap with the tin.'

- (11.19) *Yapi-na-ja tiyin, wirri-nikinyi-yirni martuwara-nga.*
yandy-NM-ABL tin put-IMP-1PL.EXC.SUB dish-LOC
'After yandying the tin, we put it into the dish.'

- (11.20) *Pala-ja wariny-ju yarrarna yarnta-rna*
that-ABL different-ERG again spear-NFUT

ngawu-ngawu karri-nya-ja pala-nga punga-nya.
ignorant-RED STAT-NM-ABL that-LOC fall-NFUT

'And then another one speared him again, and after becoming dizzy he fell down there.'

The following sentences show the alternative ablative suffix *-ngulu/-ngurlu* occurring in relative clauses with the function of temporal succession. Relative clause constructions which feature *-ngulu/-ngurlu* operate in the same way as relative clauses with the ablative suffix: *-ja* (see §4.2.5).

- (11.21) *Juntu-pi-na-ngulu kapulya jarri-nyikinyi.*
grind-VB-NM-ABL soft INCH-IMP-1PL
'After grinding it, it became soft.'

- (11.22) *Jarangki-ninya yijal-ma-na-ngulu kurlu-pi-na-ngamarra,*
 look.carefully-PRES truly-CAUS-NM-ABL bad-VB-NM-CAUSAL

paliny-ju.

3SG-ERG

'He examined it (the wool) carefully after making it in case he had made a mistake.'

- (11.23) *Jipi malya-na-kanu jinka-na-pinti-lu jinka-ninyi.*
 finish chop-NM-after whittle-NM-ASS-ERG whittle-PRES

Jinka-na-ngulu rapa-ji-ninyi wariny-karti lalya
 whittle-NM-ABL light-AFF-PRES other-ALL flat

wariny-karti murrurlu yaka-ninyi-a.
 other-ALL ridge leave-PRES-PURP

'Finish, after chopping it with the chisel he was whittling it. After whittling it he make it light one way and flat the other and left it on the ridge.'

- (11.24) *Kaja-na-ngurlu mayi nga-ninyi-yi kurrngal-ju.*
 sit-NM-ABL vegetable.food eat-PRES-3PL.SUB many-ERG
 'After sitting down they eat tucker/They are sitting down eating tucker.'

Temporal coincidence

The following complex sentences illustrate the use of relative clauses which function as 'ablative states' (see §4.2.5 for a description of the nominal ablative suffix with this function). In the following examples the activity of the subordinate clause is occurring at the same time as the event of the main clause.

- (11.25) *Pupuka-rrangu-lu pinakarri-nya-yi ngurnarrijirri*
 frog-PL-ERG hear-NFUT-3PL.SUB everywhere

muwarr-pi-na-ja.

word-VB-NM-ABL

'All the frogs everywhere could hear him talking/when he spoke.'

- (11.26) *Yija manganya-lu yirri-rni kangkuru wapaka-na-ja.*
 truly echidna-ERG see-NFUT kangaroo hop-NM-ABL
 'Truly the echidna saw the kangaroo as it/when it hopped.'

- (11.27) *Jurtarra-lu-pa* *pupuka-lu* *parrja-rna* *pulu*
 pelican-ERG-CONJ frog-ERG look-NFUT 3DU.SUB
- janpa* *rurri-nya-ja.*
 pool.of.water move-NM-ABL
 'The pelican and the frog watched the water as it moved (the ripples on the water).'
- (11.28) *Partany-ju* *yirri-rni* *kangkuru* *mirti* *jarri-nya-ja* *jurrkurl*
 child-ERG see-NFUT kangaroo run INCH-NM-ABL straight
- paliny-karti* *mirli-ma-rna* *murrukurru-lu* *pala-lu.*
 3SG-ALL (spear)-CAUS-NFUT young.lad-ERG that-ERG
 'The child saw the kangaroo as it ran straight for him and the young boy speared it.'

For some speakers, the alternate ablative suffix *-ngulu/-ngurlu* is found in relative clauses marking temporal coincidence (11.29).

- (11.29) *Partany-ju* *jina* *wirrka-rna-rninyi* *marnti* *ya-ninya-ngulu.*
 child-ERG foot cut-NFUT-REFLX walk go-NM-ABL
 'The child cut his foot while walking along.'

The following two sentences, (11.30) and (11.31), illustrate that Nyangumarta relative clauses may have adjuncts.

- (11.30) *Pala-ja* *pala-nga* *yirri-rni* *pulu* *pulinyi*
 that-ABL that-LOC see-NFUT 3DU.SUB 3DU.OBJ
- kawu* *kunyma-na-ja* *parruparru-ngu.*
 body tie.up-NM-ABL net-LOC
 'And then, at that place those two saw them tied up in a net/rope.'
- (11.31) *Paliny-ju* *junturtu-ngu* *karlaya-lu* *ka-nganyikinyi* *kurtiny,*
 3SG-ERG head-LOC emu-ERG take-IMPF sheet.of.bark
- yarni-ma-na-ja* *martumpirri-pinti-pa* *kuyi-pinti.*
 (build)-CAUS-NM-ABL damper-ASS-CONJ meat-ASS
 'The emu carried the coolaman on his head, after he had made it for damper and meat.'

11.2.2 Causal relative clauses

The causal relative clauses are very distinctive. In each such complex sentence, the event described in the subordinate clause indicates the reason or cause for the state described by the main verb. These clauses are distinct in structure from the T-relative clauses in that object arguments, where these occur, are inflected with the ablative suffix (see below (11.32) and (11.33)). In each case the complex sentence can occur without the subordinate verb and still retain its main focus of meaning.

- (11.32) *Palajun ngarra karlaya jinjimama jarri-nyu nga-ninya-ja*
 like.that SPEC emu fat INCH-NFUT eat-NM-ABL

wajapi-ja.

grasshopper-ABL

'The emu became really fat from eating grasshoppers.'

- (11.33) *Wirtu jarri-nyu ngapa-ja minpi-na-ja.*
 big INCH-NFUT water-ABL drink-NM-ABL
 'S/he became big from drinking the water.'

The following sentence illustrates much the same type of construction as the two presented above, except that the NP marked ablative is not the object of the verb. Instead the accompanying nominal expression is arguably a subject.

- (11.34) *Mirtimarlu tititi-pi-ni-rri*
 plains.kangaroo stagger-VB-NFUT-3SG.SUB

ruwi-nya-ja

hit.with.missile-NM-ABL

jilaman-ja.

gun-ABL

'The kangaroo staggered along after/because someone had shot it with a gun.'

When the subordinate verb is intransitive, its adjuncts are also marked with the ablative suffix.

- (11.35) *Kuyi nga-ninya-yi wanka marnti-ja-pa*
 meat eat-PRS-3PL.SUB alive walk-ABL-EMPH

rurri-rurri-nya-ja

move-RED-NM-ABL

mirti-ja

run-ABL

waki-ja.

across-ABL

'They eat meat (insects) alive, which (come) move in front of them.'

11.2.3 Additional C-complementisers

Relative clauses (which normally occur with the ablative complementiser) can also occur with additional C-complementiser suffixes. The three complementiser suffixes have very distinct functions in these constructions

Dative complementisers

Dative complementisers (showing complete concord) link the subject of the relative subordinate clause to a coreferential NP in the main clause. When dative complementisers occur in Nyangumarta clauses they link the subject of the subordinate clause with the indirect object of the main clause which is cross-referenced by the pronominal agreement markers (see (11.36) and (11.37)). When the subordinate verb occurs with both the ablative and the dative complementiser suffix the construction is highly marked. The ablative complementiser suffix occurs only on the nominalised verb and indicates a temporal relationship between the two clauses. The dative complementiser suffix occurs on all elements of the subordinate clause and indicates that the subject of the nominalised verb is cross-referenced by the dative pronoun of the main clause. In (11.36) it is unclear whether the phrase 'for the other children' *jinta-ku partanykarrangu-ku* is part of the subordinate clause or the main clause. Example (11.38) contains two adjoined subordinate purposive clauses with dative marking spreading across the arguments of each clause.

- (11.36) *Pala-ja karlaya-lu kama-rna janaku jinta-ku*
 that-ABL emu-ERG call.out-NFUT 3PL.DAT other-DAT
- partany-karrangu-ku kuku jarri-nya-ja-ku mirrarn-ja-ku.*
 child-PL-DAT hide INCH-NM-ABL-DAT shade-ABL-DAT
 'And then the emu called out to all the other children who were hiding in the shade.'

- (11.37) *Wika-ku kurr ka-nganya-ja-ku*
 fire-DAT (settle.down) take-NM-ABL-DAT
- mimarn-mima-rna-ngu-lu mungka-ja*
 wait.for-RED-NFUT-1SG.DAT-3SG.DAT tree-ABL
- tarlku ngarta-rna-yi.*
 hook.on.thrower break-NFUT-3PL.SUB
 'While waiting for the fire to burn down they broke the hook from a tree (to get the guts out).'

- (11.38) *Jana ya-na-yi-a ma-ninya-ku karapu-ku-pa*
 3PL go-NFUT-3PL.SUB-PURP get-NM-DAT crabs-DAT-CONJ
- yarnta-na-ku janpamalu-ku.*
 spear-NM-DAT fish-DAT
 'They all went to collect crabs and to spear fish.'

Ergative complementisers

Ergative complementisers mark a dependency relationship between the subject of the subordinate clause and the transitive subject of the main clause. This is seen below. In (11.39) the ergative complementiser marks that it is 'I' who had fallen rather than the emu, whereas in (11.40), with no overt complementiser, the interpretation is that it is the emu who had fallen.

- (11.39) *Pungka-nya-ja-lu yirri-rni-rni karlaya.*
 fall-NM-ABL-ERG see-NFUT-1SG.SUB emu
 'After I had fallen I saw the emu.'
- (11.40) *Yirri-rni-rni karlaya pungka-nya-ja.*
 see-NFUT-1SG.SUB emu fall-NM-ABL
 'I saw the emu after it had fallen.'

Notice in (11.41), the complementiser *-lu* is not distributed to the argument of the subordinate verb.

- (11.41) *Wika-pa yama-rnikinyi-yirni nganarna-lu ngurntirri*
 fire-EMPH cover-IMP-1PL.EXC.SUB 1PL.EXC-ERG rumbling
- pinakarri-nya-ja-lu.*
 hear-NM-ABL-ERG
 'We, on hearing the noise, covered the fire.'

Locative complementisers

In the following construction the ablative complementiser suffix is marking a temporal relationship between the subordinate clause and the main clause, a T-complementiser, while the locative complementiser suffix is indicating that the subordinate clause is cross-referenced by the dative pronoun of the main clause and is thus a C-complementiser.

- (11.42) *Mungka pungka-nya janaku juju-ngu kampa-na-ja-nga.*
 tree fall-NFUT 3PL.DAT head-LOC cook-NM-ABL-LOC
 'The tree fell on their heads while they were cooking.'

There are several examples in the data in which the nominalised relative verb appears as a modifier within a noun phrase. In the following examples the locative suffix functions as a relational suffix on temporal adverbial phrases (11.43) and a spatial or locational adverbial phrase (11.44). The 'relative' clause in these constructions is a modifier within complex NPs.

- (11.43) Pala-nga waraja-nga karrpu-ngu partunu jarri-nya-ja-nga
 that-LOC one-LOC day-LOC cool.season INCH-NM-ABL-LOC

paliny *karta* *karri-nyi* *pangkurl-ja.*
 3SG sleep STAT-NFUT hollow-LOC

'And then one day when it becomes the cool season, it sleeps in the hollow (of a tree).'

In (11.44) the locative complementiser suffix functions as a C-complementiser as it indicates that there is a relationship between subject of the subordinate clause and the object of the main clause. The ablative complementiser is in T-complementiser function as it indicates a spatial relationship between the subordinate clause and the main clause.

- (11.44) Martuwara-ja jurit-nikinyi-yirni parlkarra-nga
 dish-ABL pour-IMPF-1PL.EXC.SUB flat-LOC

jarnti-na-ja-nga.
 clear-NM-ABL-LOC

'We poured it from the dish onto the flat which is cleared.'

In (11.45), the subordinate clause is an example of an adjoined NP-relative clause.

- (11.45) *Yarti* *milpa-nyi-yirni* *janaku* *ngurra-nga*
 later come-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB 3PL.DAT camp-LOC

karta karri-nya-ja-nga.
 sleep STAT-NM-ABL-LOC

'Later we came to them, who were sleeping in camp.'

The following table summarises the different complementiser functions possible for five of the nominal suffixes.

Table 11. 1: Complementiser functions

	T-comp	C-comp
Ergative	*	
Absolutive	*	
Dative	*	
Locative	*	*
Ablative	*	*

11.3 Coordination and syntactic pivots

Despite its ergative morphology, Nyangumarta does not have any antipassive derivation. When two or more main clauses are conjoined in Nyangumarta the verbal pronouns indicate the identity of the participants in each clause. Usually the subject NP of the initial clause is identical to the subject of the following clause as is indicated in the following sentences.

- (11.46) *Partany-jirri warrki-nikinyi pulu jalakarti, jurnti-ja,*
 child-DU crawl-IMPF 3DU.SUB outside cave-ABL

karta karri-kinyi pulu jalakarti janyja-nga.
 asleep STAT-IMPF 3DU.SUB outside sun-LOC

'The two children crawled outside from the cave and were sleeping in the sun.'

- (11.47) *Ka-nganyikinyi-yi ngurra-karti-lu yi-nganyikinyi-yi*
 take-REM-3PL.SUB camp-ALL-ERG give-REM-3PL.SUB

janinyi-a jinta marrngu ngurra-nga palajun.
 3PL.OBJ-PURP other person camp-LOC like.that

'They took it to camp and gave it (the meat) to the rest of the people in camp like that/that's how it happened.'

- (11.48) *Ngalyun-pa pirirri munja-rna pula-rninyi*
 woman-CONJ man kiss-NFUT 3DU.SUBJ-RECIP

ngampal karri-nyi pulu-rnangu.
 embrace STAT-NFUT 3DU.SUBJ-RECIP

'The woman and man are kissing and embracing each other.'

In the following sentence the verbal pronouns indicate the participants of each event. This coordination of verbs is very common in Nyangumarta.

- (11.49) *Ngaju-lu parrja-rna-rna, yirri-rni-rni pulinyi*
 1SG-ERG look-NFUT-1SG.SUB see-NFUT-1SG.SUB 3DU.OBJ
- pirirri-jirri ya-nikinyi pulu paru-marramarra-nga.*
 man-DU go-IMPF 3DU.SUB spinifex-place.of-LOC
 'I looked at it and I saw two men going into the spinifex place.'

When two main clauses are conjoined and the first clause's main verb is subcategorised for a DAT or LOC argument, this controls (is coreferential with) the subject of the following clause given below in (11.50). This example involves a main clause which consists of a semitransitive verb such as *mima-rna* 'wait for'. The dative argument of the main clause (the corella) is coreferential with the S argument of the subordinate clause.

- (11.50) *Maruntu-lu mima-rna-lu pala-ku mirtamirta-ku*
 goanna-ERG wait.for-NFUT-3SG.DAT that-DAT white-DAT
- pirtirra-ku ya-na kurra.*
 corella-DAT go-NFUT while
 'The goanna waited for the corella who had gone.'

When two subordinate clauses are conjoined the conjunction suffix *-pa* is attached to one of the clauses. In the following example, the two non-finite clauses are the dative complement of the nominal *miranu* 'know'.

- (11.51) *Yija paliny miranu ngarta-na-ku yawarta-ku-pa*
 truly 3SG know break-NM-DAT horse-DAT-CONJ
- jarlingi-ji-na-ku.*
 (ride)-AFF-NM-DAT
 'Truly, he knew how to break horses and to make them (ready) for riding.'

In complex sentences involving a matrix clause and a subordinate clause the situation is much the same. In some situations the syntactic pivot is S/A where the subject NP is coreferential in both clauses and in some cases the syntactic pivot condition concerns the DAT or LOC argument of the main clause. The following discussion describes these situations.

11.3.1 Purpose clauses

In Nyangumarta purpose clauses where the matrix clause is transitive and the subordinate clause is intransitive there is coreferentiality of subjects in both clauses. In the following example (11.52) the purpose subordinate clause is not cross-referenced

by the verbal pronouns but is coreferential with the subject of the main clause. In (11.53) likewise the subject of the matrix clause is coreferential with the subject of the subordinate clause.

- (11.52) *Purlpi-lu ngarnarna-lu pika-lu-pa japurl-ju jungka*
 long.time-ERG 1plex.ERG pick-ERG-CONJ shovel-ERG sand
karli-nyikinyi-yirni-a tiyin-ku ma-ninya-ku.
 dig-IMPF-1PL.EXC.SUB-PURP tin-DAT get-NM-DAT
 'A long time ago we dug the sand with the pick and the shovel to get tin.'

- (11.53) *Paliny turlpa-nya marntungu kuyi-ku nga-ninya-ku.*
 3SG rise.up-NFUT morning meat-DAT eat-NM-DAT
 'S/he got up in the morning to eat meat; s/he got up in the morning (to go for) meat to eat.'

In complex sentences involving a subordinate clause, which is in effect a nominalised argument of the main clause, there is also coreferentiality of subjects in both clauses. This is given in (11.54) where the intransitive verb *ya-N* 'go' takes an additional dative argument which is marked on the main verb by the verbal pronoun *-lu* '3SG.DAT' and in (11.55) where the intransitive verb *milpa-NY* 'come' takes an additional dative argument *nyurraku* '2PL.DAT'

- (11.54) *Paliny ya-na-lu partany-ku ma-ninya-ku.*
 3SG go-NFUT-3SG.DAT child-DAT get-NM-DAT
 'S/he went to get the child.'
- (11.55) *Ngaju milpa-nya-rna nyurraku yirri-rna-ku.*
 1SG go-NFUT-1SG.SUB 2PL.DAT see-NM-DAT
 'I came to see you all.'

However when the purpose subordinate clause is marked with an ablative T-complementiser giving a temporal reference to the complex sentence, then the dative marked argument of the main clause controls the subject of the non-finite clause as seen below in (11.56).

- (11.56) *Yurnturi jarrinyi pulaku wirla-na-ja-ku.*
 sulky INCH 3DU.DAT hit-NM-ABL-DAT
 'He was angry with those two for having fought.'

Likewise, where the verb in the matrix clause is semitransitive as given below in (11.57) the nominal in A or S function of the subordinate clause is coreferential with the dative marked object of the matrix clause and is cross-referenced by the verbal

pronouns, that is the DATIVE/LOCATIVE NP of the main clause controls the subject NP of the non-finite clause.

- (11.57) *Mima-nikinya-lu* *yi-nganya-ku* *kuyi-ku* *kartantarri-ku.*
 wait.for-IMPF-3SG.DAT give-NM-DAT meat-DAT duck-DAT
 'He waited for her/him to give (him) some duck.'

When transitive verbs are marked for additional dative or locative arguments these control the subjects of non-finite clauses as given in (11.58) below.

- (11.58) *Ngaju-lu* *kampa-rna-rna* *janaku-a* *kuyi*
 1SG-ERG cook-NFUT-1SG.SUB 3PL.DAT-PURP meat

nga-ninya-ku *marrngu-rrangu-ku.*
 eat-NM-DAT person-PL-DAT
 'I cooked meat for the people to eat/I cooked their meat for them to eat.'

11.3.2 T-relative clause: temporal succession

In T-relative clauses the action of the subordinate clause happens before the activity of the main clause. Both clauses have the same subject (see (11.59) and (11.60) below).

- (11.59) *Pala* *parla* *yarlka-ji-na-ja*
 that clay (dry)-AFF-NM-ABL

yaka-nikinyi-yirni-a *karrpu* *waraja.*
 leave-IMPF-1PL.EXC.SUB-PURP day one
 'After drying the clay, we left it for one day.'
- (11.60) *Jilaman* *wirri-na-ja-lu* *paru-ngu* *karli-nya* *pala*
 gun put-NM-ABL-ERG spinifex-LOC dig-NFUT that

maruntu.
 goanna
 'After he put the gun on the spinifex, he dug (for) that goanna.'

11.3.3 T-relative clause: temporal coincidence

When the T-relative clause is marked for temporal coincidence the syntactic pivot is determined by the transitivity of the main clause. If there is a NP in DAT or LOC function then this is the pivot as given in (11.42); if there is a NP in O function then

this would function as the pivot as in (11.61); and finally if there is only a NP in S function then this is the pivot as in (11.62).

- (11.61) *Parrja-nikinyi-yirni* *ngarta-na-ja* *yawarta-ja.*
 look-IMPF-1PL.EXC.SUB break-NM-ABL horse-ABL
 'We were watching him while he is breaking the horses.'
- (11.62) *Pala-ja* *kama-rni-yi* *partany-karrangu* *nga-ninya-ja.*
 that-ABL call.out-NFUT-3PL.SUB child-PL eat-NM-ABL
 'And then, the children called out while they were eating.'

11.3.4 Causal relative clause

In causal relative clauses the non-finite clause functions as a nominalised clause and indicates reason for the state of something described in the main clause. In these sentence types we need not discuss which NP in the main clause functions as a syntactic pivot since the non-finite clause is always providing additional information to the subject of the main clause.

- (11.63) *Paliny* *wakala* *jarri-nyi* *marnti-ja* *ya-ninya-ja.*
 3SG tired INCH-NFUT walk-ABL go-NM-ABL
 'S/he became tired from walking.'
- (11.64) *Paliny* *wakala* *jarri-nyi* *wika-ja* *kutapi-na-ja.*
 3SG tired INCH-NFUT fire-ABL chop-NM-ABL
 'S/he became tired from chopping the wood.'
- (11.65) *Parirr-jirri-pa* *warrukurla* *wani-nyi* *kampa-nya-ja* *wika-ja.*
 hand-DU-CONJ black stay-NFUT burn-NM-ABL fire-ABL
 'The two hands of the kangaroo are black after being burnt by the fire.'
- (11.66) *Partany* *ngangkurl-ji-rni* *wirla-na-ja* *mirtawa-ja.*
 child cry-AFF-NFUT hit-NM-ABL woman-ABL
 'The child is crying after being hit by the woman.'

11.4 Nominalisers

11.4.1 Nominaliser -kanu/-maninyju

In the southern dialect of Nyangumarta there occurs two suffixes which have a similar function to the ablative complementiser suffix seen above, although one of them does not occur as a nominal suffix with the same functions as the ablative suffix in non-finite clauses. The *-kanu* clause or nominalisation describes a completed event which has some continuing relevance to the action described in the controlling

main clause, it shares the same subject as the main clause and usually precedes the main clause (see (11.67), (11.69) and (11.70)). The *-maninyju* clause or nominalisation describes an event which happens after the action of the main clause and is usually glossed as 'before' or 'as' (see also §4.2.15 for other functions of this suffix). This is given in (11.68). Like the *-kanu* clause it shares the same subject as the main clause.

- (11.67) *Ma-nanya-kanu, parnpi-rna-rna.*
get-NM-after throw-NFUT-1SG.SUB
'Having picked it up I threw it.'
- (11.68) *Kulpa-nya-marninyju wika ma-na-yirni-a ngurra-ku.*
arrive-NM-as fire get-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB-PURP camp-DAT
'Before getting back we got firewood for camp.'
- (11.69) *Kana-rna-kanu, ya-na-yirni marntungu.*
wake.up-NM-after go-NFUT-1PL.EXC.SUB morning
'Having woken up, we went in the morning.'
- (11.70) *Kata-nga jarri-nya-kanu ya-na-yi.*
scrub-LOC INCH-NM-after go-NFUT-3PL.SUB
'After they had come out of the bushes, they went.'
- (11.71) *Paliny munyarri jarri-nya-kanu marnti jarri-nyi marrngu*
him mouse INCH-NM-after walk INCH-NFUT person

wariny pala paji-rni kurlka-nyuku.
different that bit-NFUT ear-on.target
'After (the medicine man) turned into a mouse, he went and bit the other man right on the ear.'
- (11.72) *Kuwarri jakun yirri-rni-yi kukurnjari-pa*
now only see-NFUT-3PL.SUB sheep-EMPH

yirtil-ma-na-kanu wirla-nikinyi-yi janinyi.
(chase)-CAUS-NM-after hit-IMP-3PL.SUB 3PL.OBJ
'Only recently have they seen sheep and after chasing them they would kill them.'

In the majority of texts consisting of complex sentence constructions in which the *-kanu* nominalising suffix occurs, the NP marked with the ergative suffix occurs in the main clause rather than the subordinate clause. Sometimes the *-kanu* nominalisation can be found embedded in the clause as seen below (11.73) and (11.74):

- (11.73) *Maruntu-lu, kaja-rna-kanu, kura-rna pala panijartu.*
 goanna-ERG arrive-NM-after rub-NFUT that firestick
 'The goanna, having arrived, rubbed the firestick.'
- (11.74) *Yirri-rni narngula, karnti-nya-kanu malya-rna.*
 see-NFUT bush.honey climb-NM-after chop-NFUT
 'S/he saw the bush honey, and after s/he climbed (the tree) s/he chopped it.'

11.4.2 Nominaliser: causal

In the following example a causal nominal suffix occurs attached to a nominalised verb to show the reason or purpose of some activity of the main clause; that is the frogs camouflage their bodies to hide in case they get seen and hence eaten by some predator. Other examples of this are given in §4.2.11.

- (11.75) *Warrukurla-nga kuku wani-nya-yi, kawu*
 night-LOC hide stay-NFUT-3PL.SUB body
- kuku-ji-na-ya-rninyi wirnti-jartiny-ju nga-ninya-ngamarra.*
 hide-AFF-NFUT-3PL.SUB-RECIP fear-COM-ERG eat-NM-CAUSAL
 'In the night they stay hidden, they make their bodies hide (they camouflage themselves)—they are frightened in case they get eaten.'

11.4.3 Embedded nominalisations

The following subordinate clauses (with two complementiser suffixes) are analysed as embedded nominalisations which act as manner and attributive nominals (see §3.1.1) and they are second predications on the main clause NP marked with the ergative suffix. The ablative complementiser is a T-complementiser which indicates the temporal relationship between the subordinate and main clause, while the ergative complementiser is a C-complementiser because it indicates that the subordinate clause subject is the same as the subject of the main clause. These subordinate clauses are analysed as reduced subordinate clauses and occur adjacent to the subject NP of the main clause and hence are classified as embedded rather than adjoined clauses.

- (11.76) *Warringkura-lu wapaka-na-ja-lu, minnga-rna*
 plains.kangaroo-ERG hop-NM-ABL-ERG bump-NFUT
- warringkura wariny watarrku-lu.*
 plains.kangaroo different accident-ERG
 'The kangaroo, while hopping, bumped into the other kangaroo by accident. The hopping kangaroo accidentally bumped into the other kangaroo.'

(11.77) *Pirri-lu* *yirri-na-majirri-ja-lu.* *minnga-rna* *pirirri*
man-ERG see-NM-PRIV-ABL-ERG bump-NFUT man

wariny *watarrku-lu.*
different accident-ERG

'The man who wasn't looking bumped into another man accidentally.'

Appendix 1: Nyangumarta texts

Text 1: Partany Manganya Paparl Karrinyi

- (1) *Partany manganya paparl karri-nyi.*
child echidna lost STAT-NFUT
'The small echidna who became lost.'
- (2) *Pipi japartu-lu kalku-rnikinyi pulu partany, ngatu*
mother father-ERG keep-IMPF 3DU.SUB child stationery
- (3) *wani-nyikinyi pinga nga-nikinyi janinyi.*
stay-IMPF ant eat-IMPF 3PL.OBJ
'The mother and father (echidna) looked after their child who stayed in a particular place and ate lots of ants.'
- (4) *Milya-lu yarntarn-yarnta-nikinyi jungka, pirntirl-ja*
nose-ERG spear-RED-IMPF ground back-LOC
- (5) *yama-rna-rningu jiri-lu.*
cover.over-NFUT-REFLX spike-ERG
'He prodded the ground with his nose (to eat ants) and his back was covered with spikes.'
- (6) *Pala-ja karrpu wariny-ja ya-na kaja, yirri-rni*
that-ABL day different-ABL go-NFUT long.way see-NFUT
- (7) *pinga-mili pirti pala-nga nga-na janinyi.*
ant-GEN hole that-LOC eat-NFUT 3PL.OBJ
'One day the echidna went a long way and saw an ant's hole and started eating the ants.'
- (8) *Paliny ya-na ngurra-ngulu-pa kaja.*
3SG go-NFUT camp-ABL-EMPH long.way
'He went a long way from home.'

- (9) *Pala-nga karrpu ngalpa-nya-la paliny-ju*
that-LOC day enter-NFUT-3SG.LOC 3SG-ERG
- (10) *wurra-rna-rninya, "Ngaju*
tell-NFUT-REFLX 1SG
- (11) *paparl karri-nyi-rni, munu ngaju wirnti-ku-pa!"*
lost STAT-NFUT-1SG.SUB NEG 1SG afraid-DAT-EMPH
'And when the sun went down his said to himself, "I'm lost but I'm not afraid!"'
- (12) *"Ngaju-lu kanyji-lama-rna-ji-a kuyi-ku."*
1SG-ERG look.for-FUT-1SG.SUB-1SG.DAT-PURP meat-DAT
"I'll look for meat for myself/I'll look for my food."
- (13) *Pala-ja paliny turrurn jarri-nyi karta kaku-rna-ninyi*
that-ABL 3SG round INCH-NFUT asleep hide-NFUT-REFLX
- (14) *kalku-rnikinyi pirntirl-ja jiri.*
keep-IMPF back-LOC spike
'He curled up and went to sleep and his spikes on this back protected him.'
- (15) *Pala-ja karrpu wariny-ja turlpa-nya parrja-rna*
that-ABL day different-ABL rise.up-NFUT look-NFUT
- (16) *niyamarri-ngi kujarra-pa waraja-nga,*
sandhill-LOC two-CONJ one-LOC
- (17) *niyamarri-ngi karnti-nyikinyi katuka-rnikinyi, katuka-rnikinyi*
sandhill-LOC climb-IMPF descend-IMPF descend-IMPF
- (18) *karnti-nyikinyi.*
climb-IMPF
'And then the next day he got up and looked at three sandhills, he climbed up and down, climbed up and down.'
- (19) *Pala-ja katuka-rna yirri-rni janpa kujungurru.*
that-ABL descend-NFUT see-NFUT water sea
'And then he came down and saw the sea.'
- (20) *Milya-lu yarntarn-yarnta-rnikinyi, pala-ja kulpa-nya*
nose-ERG spear-RED-IMPF that-ABL return-NFUT

- (21) *mirti jarri-nyi.*
run INCH-NFUT
'He was poking around with his nose (in the water) and turned and ran (he was scared of the water).'
- (22) *Pala-ja kulpa-nya janpa-karti yirri-rni-rni janpamalu.*
that-ABL return-NFUT water-ALL see-NFUT-1SG.SUB fish
'And then he went back to the water and saw a fish.'
- (23) *Janpamalu-lu karrama-rna-lu, "Nyuntu mayampa-kata?*
fish-ERG say-NFUT-3SG.DAT 2SG swimming-CHAR
- (24) *Kurta-li! Witi karri-ulupa-li!"*
come-1DU.INC.SUB game STAT-FUT-1DU.INC.SUB
'The fish said to him, "Are you a swimmer? Come and we'll play!"'
- (25) *"Yuu!" ngalpa-nya janpa-nga.*
yes enter-NFUT water-LOC
'"Yes!", and he got into the water.'
- (26) *Pala-ja yinta-nga ngalpa-nya karrama-rna-lu manganya,*
that-ABL deep.waterhole-LOC enter-NFUT say-NFUT-3SG.DAT echidna
- (27) *"Ma-rra-nyi ma-rra-nyi!"*
get-IMP-1SG.OBJ get-IMP-1SG.OBJ
'And then he was in deep water and he said to the fish, "Get me, get me!"'
- (28) *Pala-ja janpamalu karrama-rna-lu, "Munu-rla! Kuwarri-lu*
that-ABL fish say-NFUT-3SG.DAT NEG-EMPH now-ERG
nga-lkuluma-rna-nta nyuntu!"
eat-FUT-1SG.SUB-2SG.OBJ 2SG
'And the fish said to him, "No, now I'm going to eat you!"'
- (29) *Yija-lu nga-na manganya pala-nga.*
truly-ERG eat-NFUT echidna that-LOC
'And truly the fish ate that echidna.'
- (30) *Purlpi wani-kinyi janpamalu kunyja-majirri*
long.time stay-IMPF fish bone-PRIV
- (31) *nyarralanga nga-na janpamalu-lu manganya,*
around.here eat-NFUT fish-ERG echidna
- (32) *Nyarra yirri-rna-nyi janpamalu*
that.AN see-NFUT-1PL.SUB fish

- (33) *jiri-jartiny wani-nya-yi.*
 spike-COM stay-NFUT-3PL.SUB
 'A long time ago fish didn't have bones, but now we see fish with bones because that fish ate the echidna.'

Text 2: Murtukapa Tangki

- (34) *Murtuka-pa tangki.*
 motorcar-CONJ donkey
 'The car and the donkey.'
- (35) *Nyungu tangki kanka-kata ya-ninya-kata, jungka-nga*
 this donkey above-CHAR go-NM-CHAR ground-LOC

ya-ninya-kata.
 go-NM-CHAR
 'This donkey could fly and walk along the ground.'
- (36) *Paliny wani-kinyi kujul jarrurl-majirri.*
 3SG stay-IMPF own companion-PRIV
 'He lived alone without a companion.'
- (37) *Pala-nga ngapa-lu ngulya-nikinyi.*
 that-LOC water-ERG wash-IMPF
 'There he was getting rained on.'
- (38) *Japurtu! Paliny kampurta pipi-majirri-pa japartu-majirri.*
 poor.fellow 3SG orphan mother-PRIV-CONJ father-PRIV
- (39) *Paliny jakun!*
 3SG only
 'Poor fellow! He had no mother or father. He was on his own!'
- (40) *Pala-ja wariny-ja karrpu-ngu ya-na karnti-nyi*
 that-ABL different-ABL day-LOC go-NFUT climb-NFUT
- (41) *warnku-ngu kanka.*
 hill-LOC above
 'And then one day he went and climbed a hill.'
- (42) *Paliny-ju milya paji-rna karrama-rna, "Ngaju-lu*
 3SG-ERG nose bite-NFUT say-NFUT-1SG.SUB 1SG-ERG

- (43) *jumpa-rna-rni* *ngani-payi*
feel.you.see.something-NFUT-1SG.SUB what-QUES
- (44) *yakun jarri-nya-rni marrngu-ngu.*"
like.this INCH-NFUT-1SG.SUB person-LOC
'And he thought to himself (rubbed his nose), "I've a funny feeling that someone might be passing through like this."'
- (45) *Pala-ja yija-lu yirri-rni murtuka mirti-jarri-kinyi rutu-ngu*
that-ABL truly-ERG see-NFUT motorcar run-INCH-IMPF road-LOC
- (46) *wirurru.*
fast
'And then he truly did see a car on the road travelling very fast.'
- (47) *Pala murtuka rutu-ja wirrki-jarri-nyi mirti-ji-rni,*
that motorcar road-ABL crooked-INCH-NFUT run-AFF-NFUT
- (48) *jalanga yaka-rna rutu pala-lu murtuka-lu.*
outside leave-NFUT road that-ERG motorcar-ERG
'That car was travelling fast around the bends and then it ran off the road.'
- (49) *Tangki-lu yirri-rni murtuka mirti-ja.*
donkey-ERG see-NFUT motorcar run-ABL
'The donkey saw the car stop (get bogged).'
- (50) *Paliny-ju kanka ma-na-rninyi ya-na janaku.*
3SG-ERG above get-NFUT-REFLX go-NFUT 3PL.DAT
'The donkey flew up high to go to them.'
- (51) *Murtuka-nga-lu yirri-rni-yi paliny kanka-ja, pala-nga*
motorcar-LOC-ERG see-NFUT-3PL.SUB 3SG above-ABL that-LOC
- (52) *mirrilyi-lu kunyma-rna pala murtuka.*
rope-ERG tie.up-NFUT that motorcar
'From the car they could see the donkey up high (flying) and then he tied the rope around the car.'
- (53) *Pala-ja paliny-ju kunyma-rna-rninyi ngarlu kanka turlpa-nya*
that-ABL 3SG-ERG tie.up-NFUT-REFLX belly above rise.up-NFUT
- (54) *murtuka pukun.*
motorcar also
'And then he tied the rope around his stomach and flew up lifting the motorcar as well.'

- (55) *Kanka jarri-ny* *ka-nya* *pala murtuka*, *wirri-rni* *rutu-ngu*.
above INCH-NFUT take-NFUT that motorcar put-NFUT road-LOC
'He flew high and took the car and put it on the road.'
- (56) *Pala-nga japirr-ma-rna* *janinyi*, "Jipi! *Nyurra ya-rra-yi*.
that-LOC ask-CAUS-NFUT 3PL.OBJ finish 2PL.SUB go-IMP-3PL.SUB
- (57) *Munu yarrarna wata mirti jarri-a* *nyurru-lu*."
NEG again mistake run INCH-ANT 2PL.INC.SUB-ANT
'And then he asked them, "That it's (take care of yourselves). You won't drive silly again will you (something might happen to you)."'
- (58) *Pala-ja paliny-ju ya-ninya-kanu mayi* *nga-nikinyi*.
that-ABL 3SG-ERG go-NM-after vegetable.food eat-IMPF
'And after he went he ate some grass.'

Text 3: Jalarnku Ruwuliny Mampu

- (59) *Jalarn-ku ruwa-uliny mampu*.
hair.belt-DAT spin-FUT hair
'How to make a hair belt out of wool or hair.'
- (60) *Juyikarrayirti-lu jija-rna janaku kurl-ja*
Juyikarrayirti-ERG show-NFUT 3PL.DAT school-LOC
- (61) *partany-karrangu-ngu Yantiyarra-nga*.
child-PL-LOC Yandeyarra-LOC
'Maori Tom taught the children in the Yandeyarra school (how to make a hair belt).'
- (62) *Nyungu yarnta-rna Minyjun-ju Turali-ngi muwarr*.
this spear-NFUT Minyjun-ERG Strelley-LOC word
'This was written by Monty Hale at Strelley.'
- (63) *Nyungu kurtan-ja kalku-ninyi mampu ruwa-nya-ku, paliny-ju*.
this bag-LOC keep-PRES hair spin-NM-DAT 3SG-ERG
'He stores this wool/hair in this bag to spin.'
- (64) *Paliny-ju pala mampu purri-rni kurtan-ja yirti-pa*
3SG-ERG that hair pull-NFUT bag-ABL cooking.stick-CONJ
- (65) *kalkarra. Ma-na pulinyi waraja-nga wirri-rni*
cross.pieces.of.wood get-NFUT 3DU.OBJ one-LOC put-NFUT

- (66) *pulinyi. Pala-nga pala mampu-lu kunymarn-kunyma-rna.*
 3DU.OBJ that-LOC that hair-ERG tie.up-RED-NFUT
 'He pulled the wool from the bag and got the stick and the spindle and put it on those two (bits of wood) and tied up the pieces of hair as he was going.'
- (67) *Pala-ja pala mampu ruwa-nyi kalparti-ngi kura-ninyi parirr-ju.*
 that-ABL that hair spin-NFUT thigh-LOC rub-PRES hand-ERG
 'And then he spun the wool and rubbed it on his leg with his hand (trying to make it straight).'
- (68) *Jarangki-ninya yijal ma-na-ngulu kurlu-pi-na-ngamarra, paliny-ju.*
 examine-PRES truly get-NM-ABL bad-VB-NM-CAUS 3SG-ERG
 'He looked carefully as he was getting it in case it might have a lump, he did.'
- (69) *Pala-ja-lu pala yirti jarnti-ji-rni jungka-nga,*
 that-ABL-ERG that cooking.stick point-AFF-NFUT ground-LOC
- (70) *purri-ninyi mampu yarrarna ruwa-uliny*
 pull-PRES hair again spin-FUT
 'And after that he finished that one and put it on the ground and pulled out more hair to start making another one.'
- (71) *Mampu purri-rninyi parirr-ju, makanu ji-ninya ruwa-nya-ku*
 hair pull-PRES hand-ERG long do-PRES spin-NM-DAT
- (72) *yarrana ji-lkuliny.*
 again do-FUT
 'He pulled with wool with his hands to make it nice and smooth and long, so that it's easy for spinning and once more he will have to spin it.'
- (73) *Parirr-ja kalku-ninyi jarangki-ninyi paliny-ju jalarn ji-lkuliny.*
 hand-LOC keep-PRES examine-PRES 3SG-ERG hair.belt make-FUT
 'He looked after it carefully in his hands and (rolled it into a ball) and was ready to make the hair belt.'

Text 4: Jurrulu Mirarna Jurtujurtuku Maruntu

- (74) *Jurru-lu mira-rna jurtujurtu-ku maruntu.*
 snake-ERG relieve-NFUT secret.bag-DAT Gould's.Goanna
 'The snake took the goanna's secret bag.'
- (75) *Nyarralanga purlpi wani-lpi-yi karlaya-pa*
 around.here long.time stay-NFUT-3PL.SUB emu-CONJ

- (76) *pupuka karlkany jurru.*
 frog hills.kangaroo snake
 'A long time ago in this country lived a frog, an emu, a kangaroo and a snake.'
- (77) *Wirnti karri-kinyi-yi-li maruntu-ngu jurtujurtu*
 afraid STAT-IMPF-3PL.SUB-3SG.LOC Gould's.Goanna-LOC secret.bag
- (78) *kalku-rnikinyi kutu-ji-na-kata.*
 keep-IMPF dead-AFF-NM-CHAR
 'They were afraid of the goanna who was powerful with the secret bag and he could kill you.'
- (79) *Jinta-lu wirnti yirri-rnikinyi-yi.*
 some-ERG afraid see-IMPF-3PL.SUB
 'Some are scared when they see him.'
- (80) *Pala-ja kuyi-rrangu-lu yimpi-rna-ya muwarr.*
 that-ABL meat-PL-ERG tell-NFUT-3PL.SUB word
- (81) *"Wunyjurru -ji-limi-nyi palama pali nganurtu turrrpa-kata*
 how-AFF-FUT-1PL.SUB that maybe who brave-CHAR
- (82) *mira-lkurliny-pa?" karrama-rna-yi jinta.*
 relieve-FUT-PURP say-NFUT-3PL.SUB other
 'And the animals asked amongst themselves, "How will we do it, who will be brave and take it?" the others said.'
- (83) *Jurru-lu wurra-rna janaku, "Ngaju-lu mira-lama-rna*
 snake-ERG tell-NFUT 3PL.DAT 1SG-ERG relieve-FUT-1SG.SUB
- (84) *jurtujurtu-ku."*
 secret.bag-DAT
 'The snake said to them, "I will take, steal the bag."'
- (85) *Pupuka-lu karrama-rna-lu, "Nyuntu karrparta-majirri munu*
 frog-ERG say-NFUT-3SG.DAT 2SG spear-PRIV NEG
- (86) *nyuntu karli-majirri munu."*
 2SG boomerang-PRIV NEG
 'The frog said to him, "You have no spear, nothing. You have no boomerang."'
- (87) *"Nyuntu-lu yija-kartiny maruntu wirra-la-rna-npi-li*
 you-ERG truly-doubt Gould's.Goanna hit-ANT-NFUT-2SG.SUB-ANT

munu."

NEG

"It is doubtful you will kill the goanna."

- (88) *Pala-ja jurru ya-na yirri-rni warnku-ngu wani-kinyi*
that-ABL snake go-NFUT see-NFUT hill-LOC stay-IMPF
- (89) *maruntu.*
Gould's.Goanna
'And then the snake went and saw the goanna on the hill.'
- (90) *Maruntu-lu yirri-rni kayima-rna "Kurta-li! Yakujarni*
Gould's.Goanna-ERG see-NFUT call-NFUT come-IMP this.way
- (91) *wika-karti!"*
fire-ALL
'The goanna saw him and called out, "Come this way to the fire!"'
- (92) *Jurru-lu yaja-rna wika-karti pala-karti.*
snake-ERG follow-NFUT fire-ALL that-ALL
- (93) *Pala-nga maruntu-lu wurra-rna-la "Karta-karri-a*
that-LOC Gould's.Goanna-ERG tell-NFUT-3SG.LOC sleep.STAT-IMP
- (94) *nyungu-ngu wika-nga."*
this-LOC fire-LOC
'The snake followed the goanna to the fire. And there the goanna told him,
"Sleep by the fire."'
- (95) *Pala-ja jurru karta karri-kinyi wika-nga.*
that-ABL snake sleep STAT-IMPF fire-LOC
'And the snake slept by the fire.'
- (96) *Marntungu maruntu ya-na mayi*
morning Gould's.Goanna go-NFUT vegetable.food
- (97) *ngarni-pi-ni-kinya-lu maruntu-lu jurru-ku.*
(collect)-VB-NFUT-IMPF-3SG.DAT Gould's.Goanna-ERG snake-DAT
'In the morning the goanna went and gathered vegetable food for the snake.'
- (98) *Pala-nga jurru-lu karrama-rna-lu, "Nyuntu*
that-LOC snake-ERG say-NFUT-3SG.DAT 2SG

ngalya-kata-pa-rla!

good-CHAR-perhaps-FOC

- (99) *Wurra-rnikinyi-yi-nta nyuntu kurlu kuli-kata.*
 tell-IMP-3PL.SUB-2SG.OBJ 2SG bad fight-CHAR
 'And then the snake said to him, "You are a good one, perhaps you are good. They call you a bad one, a cheeky one."'
- (100) *Pala-ja jurru-lu karrama-rna-lu, "Wurra-lama-rna-ngu*
 that-ABL snake-ERG say-NFUT-3SG.DAT tell-FUT-1SG.SUB-2SG.DAT
- (101) *muwarr.*
 word
 'And then the snake said to him, "I have to tell you the truth."'
- (102) *"Yimpi-rna-ya nyuntu-ku wirla-lapi-nti kuwarri-lu"*
 tell-NFUT-3PL.SUB 2SG-DAT hit-FUT-2SG.OBJ now-ERG
 "'They said to kill you now.'"
- (103) *Yija karrama-rna maruntu "Wurra-li-ji*
 truly say-NFUT Gould's.Goanna tell-IMP-1SG.DAT
wirla-la-rni-nti-li nyuntu.
 hit-ANT-1SG.SUB-2SG.OBJ-ANT 2SG
 "'And now," he said to the goanna, "Tell me the truth before I hit you.'"
- (104) *Pala-nga jurru-lu karrama-rna-lu, "Wirri-li kurra palama*
 that-LOC snake-ERG say-NFUT-3SG.DAT put-IMP polite that
- (105) *nyuntu-mili jurtujurtu jungka-nga.*
 2SG-GEN secret.bag ground-LOC
 'And there the snake said to him, "Put your secret bag on the ground (before you hurt me)."'
- (106) *Pala-ja jurru-lu ma-na pala jurtujurtu.*
 that-ABL snake-ERG get-NFUT that secret.bag
 'And then the snake took the secret bag.'
- (107) *Mirti-lu ka-nya kurtirra-kurtirra-lu.*
 run-ERG take-NFUT erratic-RED-ERG
 'He took it and ran with it round and round (weaving or zigzagging).'
- (108) *Kalyama-rna jurru-lu maruntu partal*
 leave-NFUT snake-ERG Gould's.Goanna unsuccessfully
yirtil-ma-rna.
 (chase)-CAUS-NFUT
 'The snake left and the goanna chased him but couldn't catch him.'

- (109) *Kaku mirti-jarri-nyi pala jurru.*
foget run-INCH-NFUT that snake
'The snake ran a long way, (trying to get a long way away to hide).'
- (110) *Puru ji-na-kanu maruntu kulpa-nya-la. Munu-rla!*
merely do-NM-after Gould's.Goanna return-NFUT-3SG.LOC NEG-FOC
- (111) *Nyungu mirti-jarri-nyi kaku.*
this run-INCH-NFUT completely
'The goanna couldn't find him and returned, he had run a long way.'
- (112) *Pala-ja pala-nga milpa-nya janaku karlaya-nga pupuka-nga*
that-ABL that-LOC come-NFUT 3PL.DAT emu-LOC frog-LOC
- (113) *karlkany-ja nyurrama-rna-yi "Yija-lu*
hills.kangaroo-ABL praise-NFUT-3PL.SUB truly-ERG
mira-rna-n-pa."
relieve-NFUT-2SG.SUB-PURP
'And then he returned to the others, the emu, the frog, the kangaroo who
praised him, "Truly you took it (the secret bag)!"'
- (114) *Karlaya-lu japirr-ma-rna, "Karnarti palama pali jurtujurtu.*
emu-ERG lips-CAUS-NFUT give.me that maybe secret.bag
- (115) *Yu-wa-ji."*
give-IMP-1SG.DAT
'And the emu asked him, "Will you give me the secret bag—hand me the
secret bag?"'
- (116) *"Munu-rli nyungu kalku-lama-rna ngaju-lu," karrama-rna-lu*
NEG-EMPH this keep-FUT-1SG.SUB 1SG-ERG say-NFUT-3SG.DAT
- (117) *jurru-lu.*
snake-ERG
'"No I will look after this myself said the snake."'
- (118) *Yija ngarra jurru paji-na-kata wani-nya-yi kuwarri.*
truly specifier snake bite-NM-CHAR stay-NFUT-3PL.SUB now
'Truly the snake is the one who bites today.'
- (119) *Purlpi maruntu wani-kinyi paji-na-kata.*
long.time Gould's.Goanna stay-IMPF bite-NM-CHAR
'A long time ago it was the goanna who could bite, who was the cheeky one.'

Text 5: Pirirri Yana Pingka

- (120) *Pirirri ya-na pingka.*
man go-NFUT hunt
'The man went hunting.'
- (121) *Nyungu muwarr yarnta-rna Gladys-ju.*
this word spear-NFUT Gladys-ERG
'This story was written by Gladys.'
- (122) *Pirirri ya-na kuyi-karti jilaman-jartiny warnku-ngu yirri-rni*
man go-NFUT meat-ALL gun-COM rock-LOC see-NFUT
- (123) *ngalyipulyku. Pala-ja jutumu-ji-rni yija-lu.*
goanna that-ABL shoot-AFF-NFUT truly-ERG
'The man went for meat with his gun and saw a goanna on the rock. And then he truly shot it.'
- (124) *Pala-ja kulpa-nya piju-karti pala-nga murni-rni wika,*
that-ABL return-NFUT river-ALL that-LOC collect-NFUT fire

pala-ja
that-ABL
- (125) *tarrpa-rna, pala-ja yawu-ngu kampa-rna.*
put.on.fire-NFUT that-ABL hot.ashes-LOC cook, burn-NFUT
'And then he returned to the creek and collected firewood and put the goanna on the fire. And then singed the skin off it in the ashes.'
- (126) *Pala-lu pirirri-lu nga-na pala ngalyipulyku wiyirr.*
that-ERG man-ERG eat-NFUT that goanna whole.lot
'That man ate all of the goanna.'
- (127) *Pala-ja kanyji-nikinya maruntu-ku, pala-ja yija-lu jina*
that-ABL look.for-IMPF Gould's.Goanna-DAT that-ABL truly-ERG foot
- (128) *kartapi-rni pala-lu pali yaja-rna pala jina*
track-NFUT that-ERG maybe follow-NFUT that foot
- (129) *paliny-mili-karti pirti-karti.*
3SG-GEN-ALL hole-ALL
'And then he looked for *maruntu* and truly he saw tracks and followed the tracks to the goanna's hole.'

- (130) *Pala-nga karli-nya pala pirti.*
that-LOC dig-NFUT that hole
'And there he dug that hole.'
- (131) *Yija-lu yirri-rni warnti-pal.*
truly-ERG see-NFUT tail-visible
'And truly he saw the edge of the tail.'
- (132) *Paliny-ju warnti-ngulu purri-rni pala-ja warntipi-pi-rni*
3SG-ERG tail-ABL pull-NFUT that-ABL drop.down-VB-NFUT
- (133) *jungka-nga.*
ground-LOC
'He pulled the goanna by the tail and swung it onto the ground (to kill it).'
- (134) *Pala-nga ka-nya ngurra-karti.*
that-LOC take-NFUT camp-ALL
'And by there he took it back to his camp.'

Text 6: Wirluru

- (135) *Wirluru*
Stone.Curlew
'Stone Curlew'
- (136) *Nyungu muwarr marni-pi-rni-pa yimpi-rni Kalin-ju*
this word paint-VB-NFUT-CONJ tell-NFUT Karleen-ERG
- (137) *yarnta-rna kanyjamarra-lu.*
spear-NFUT name-ERG
'This story was told and illustrated by Karlene. Kanyjamarra wrote it.'
- (138) *Karlaya yaja-rna wirluru-lu, yaja-rna yarnta-rna*
emu follow-NFUT Stone.Curlew-ERG follow-NFUT spear-NFUT
- (139) *kujungurru-ngu kulpa-nya, yirri-rni jurnti-ngi*
sea-LOC return-NFUT see-NFUT cave-LOC
- (140) *wika tujutuju karrama-nikinyi, partany yirri-rni*
fire smoke say-IMPF child see-NFUT

- (141) *malpu karta karri-kinyi jartu-ngu.*
 devil asleep STAT-IMPF winnowing.dish-LOC
 'Curlew followed the emu and speared him by the sea; he returned and saw a cloud of smoke (wafting) in the cave and he saw a child devil sleeping in a winnowing dish.'
- (142) *Paliny-ju mira-rna wika-ku pala-ku, ka-nya*
 3SG-ERG relieve-NFUT fire-DAT that-DAT take-NFUT
- (143) *kampa-rna paliny-martaji ngarra.*
 cook-NFUT 3SG-near SPEC
 'He took the fire and cooked his meat near that one.'
- (144) *Pipi-marniny milpa-nya yirri-rni partany-ju*
 mother-own come-NFUT see-NFUT child-ERG
- (145) *wurra-rna-la, "Pipi kayi wika-ku*
 tell-NFUT-3SG.LOC mother hey fire-DAT
- (146) *mira-rna-nya kuyi-ku wupartu panijartu."*
 relieve-NFUT-1SG.OBJ meat-DAT small firestick
 'The child saw his mother come and said to her, "Mother, (come) to the fire; he took my meat from the small fire.'"
- (147) *Paliny-ju kanyjin-kanyji-na-lu jina-ku, yija nyarni-lu*
 3SG-ERG look.for-RED-NFUT-3SG.DAT foot-DAT truly here-ERG
- (148) *mira-rna karta karri-kinyi wirluru karlaya*
 relieve-NFUT sleep STAT-IMPF Stone.Curlew emu
- (149) *kampa-rna wirri-rni.*
 cook-NFUT put-NFUT
 'And she looked around for the tracks and truly here the curlew was sleeping with the cooked emu (by him).'
- (150) *Paliny-ju ngalyi wirla-rna wirluru.*
 3SG-ERG neck hit-NFUT Stone.Curlew
 'She hit the neck of the curlew.'
- (151) *Paliny-ju kampa-rna pala wirluru nga-na pulinyi*
 3SG-ERG cook-NFUT that Stone.Curlew eat-NFUT 3DU.OBJ
- (152) *karlaya-pa wirluru.*
 emu-CONJ Stone.Curlew
 'She cooked the curlew and ate both the emu and the curlew.'

- (153) *Pipi-murniny ngurnarri-ngi wani-kinyi ngurlan-jirri*
 mother-own there-LOC stay-IMPF eagle-DU
- (154) *kaka-jirri pipi-murniny nyarra.*
 mother's.brother-DU mother-own that.AN
- (155) *Jintirrjintirr warrukurla paliny ngangkurl-ji-rna kawa-nikinyi*
 Willie.Wagtail black 3SG cry-AFF-NM repeat-IMPF
- (156) *kanyjamarra-karti-ja, milpa-nya pulaku*
 Native.Yam-ALL-ABL come-NFUT 3DU.DAT
- (157) *ngangkurl-ji-rni jama-jarri-nyi.*
 cry-AFF-NFUT silent-INCH-NFUT
 'The curlew's mother (Willy Wagtail) stopped over there with the two eagle
 uncles of the mother's. That black willy wagtail was going along crying
 coming back for those two from (getting) desert yams, crying and then when
 she came to the two uncles she stopped crying.'
- (158) *Kaka-murniny-jirri turlpa-nya pulu, pala-jirri ngurlan-jirri*
 mother's.brother-own-DU rise.up-NFUT 3DU.SUB that-DU eagle-DU
- (159) *ya-na pulu yirri-rni pulu nyungu*
 go-NFUT 3DU.SUB see-NFUT 3DU.SUB this
- (160) *wurruly-pa marlkarri nyungu wani-nyi.*
 bushes-EMPH dead this stay-NFUT
 'The two eagle uncles got up and went and saw it (curlew) dead in the
 bushes.'
- (161) *Pulany-ju kunyja yanga-rna pulu, nga-na pulu*
 those.two-ERG bone collect-NFUT 3DU.SUB eat-NFUT 3DU.SUB
- (162) *wani-nyi pulu jampa karu-pi-rni pulu;*
 stay-NFUT 3DU.SUB briefly vomit-VB-NFUT 3DU.SUB
- (163) *marrngu ngarrany paliny wirluru.*
 person really 3SG Stone.Curlew
 'Those two gathered his bones and ate them and soon became sick because the
 curlew was really a person.'
- (164) *Kaka-lu-jirri pala-lu-jirri ngurlan-ju-jirri*
 mother's.brother-ERG-DU that-ERG-DU eagle-ERG-DU
- (165) *yanga-rna pulu-lu, ngalya-ji-rni pulu,*
 collect-NFUT 3DU.SUB-PURPt good-AFF-NFUT 3DU.SUB

- (166) *marrngu-jarri-nyi paliny-mili ka-nya pulu*
 person-INCH-NFUT 3SG-GEN take-NFUT 3DU.SUB
- (167) *ngurra-karti pipi-murniny-karti.*
 camp-ALL mother-own-ALL
 'The two eagle uncles gathered it up for him and made him good, he became a person and they took him to his mother's camp.'
- (168) *Pulany-ju karrama-rna pula-lu "Karnti-a parrja-la*
 3DU-ERG say-NFUT 3DU.SUB-PURP climb-IMP look-IMP
- (169) *nyarni." Karra jarri-nyi pulu kajakul jarri-nyi*
 here like.this INCH-NFUT 3DU.SUB separate INCH-NFUT
- (170) *pulu.*
 3DU.SUB
 'Those two called out to him, "Climb up and look along here!" Those two became like that and began to separate.'
- (171) *Marrka-murniny-ju-jirri ngurlan-jirri-lu yirri-rni pulu*
 younger.sibling-own-ERG-DU eagle-two-ERG see-NFUT 3DU.SUB
- (172) *ngangkurl-ji-rni kawa-ni-kinyi, pipi*
 cry-AFF-NM repeat-NFUT-IMPF mother
- (173) *ngangkurl-ji-pi-rni pulinyi ngurlan-jirri.*
 cry-TRANS-VB-NFUT 3DU.OBJ eagle-two
 'The two eagle hawk brothers saw the mother going along crying, she cried for those two eagles.'
- (174) *Pala-ja-lu paliny ya-na marrka ma-ninya,*
 that-ABL-ERG 3SG go-NFUT younger.sibling get-PRES
- (175) *kulpa-nya malpu-marniny, "Partany ngali-mili-rla*
 return-NFUT devil-own child 1DU.INC-GEN-FOC
- (176) *ngani-ku nga-na-n-pa?" karrama-rna-lu.*
 what-DAT eat-NFUT-2SG.SUB-PURP say-NFUT-3SG.DAT
 'And after that she (the mother—Willy Wagtail) went and grabbed the younger brother and returned, "Why did you eat my child?" she asked.'
- (177) *Ya-na-lu warrukurla-lu paliny-ju wirra-rna wirra-rna*
 go-NFUT-3SG.DAT black-ERG 3SG-ERG hit-NFUT hit-NFUT

- (178) *puru mungka-lu, jipi!*
 aimless tree-ERG finish
 'He went for him, and the Willy Wagtail, and hit it just with a stick, that's it—
 finished him.'
- (179) *Wirla-rna puntaju-ma-rna-lu wapaka-rna-lu*
 hit-NFUT revenge-CAUS-NFUT-3SG.DAT hop-NFUT-3SG.DAT

wariny-karti
 different-ALL
- (180) *jintirrjintirr pala-lu warrukurla.*
 Willie.Wagtail that-ERG black
 'The devil tried to get revenge and hit the Willy Wagtail who jumped out of
 the way so he missed him.'
- (181) *Kulpa-nya mamaji-murniny-jirri-lu yurluku-lu-jirri*
 return-NFUT older.brother-own-DU-ERG light.club-ERG-DU
- (182) *wirla-rna pulu, pala-marniny kulpa-nya.*
 hit-NFUT 3DU.SUB that-own return-NFUT
 'The two older brothers came and hit it with clubs and returned.'
- (183) *Wima-rna pulu jana waljamarri-rti*
 drop.off-NFUT 3DU.SUB 3PL family-EMPH
- (184) *pala-rrangu jipi.*
 that-PL finish
 'The two older brothers with two clubs hit it and returned dropping him off
 (at the cave)—they're really family that lot, the finish.'

Text 7: Rampanu Ngalaya Yanalayi Wikakarti

- (185) *Nyungu-ja ngurra-ja ngalaya ya-na-layi*
 this-ABL camp-ABL 1DU.EXC go-NFUT-1DU.EXC.SUB
- (186) *ruka murtuka-nga kakarra wika-karti, Kujupurra-pa ngaju.*
 afternoon car-LOC east fire-ALL name-CONJ 1SG
 'From this camp (Strelley) we two went east in a motorcar for firewood,
 Kujupurra and I.'
- (187) *Pala-ja wika ma-na-layi kulpa-nya-layi*
 that-ABL fire get-NFUT-1DU.EXC.SUB return-NFUT-1DU.EXC.SUB

- (188) *yakujarni, ngaju-lu yirri-rni-rni rankurrji-lu*
 this.side 1SG-ERG see-NFUT-1SG bustard-ERG
- (189) *wungka-rna ngalayiku.*
 peep.at-NFUT 1DU.EXC.DAT
 'And after we got the firewood we were returning on this side and I saw a bush turkey looking at us.'
- (190) *Pala-nga wurra-rna-rna-la, "Palama rankurrji*
 that-LOC tell-NFUT-1SG.SUB-3SG.LOC that bustard
- (191) *wani-nyi ngalyi jakun, wungka-rna ngaliyiku,*
 stay-NFUT next only peep.at-NFUT 1DU.EXC.DAT
- (192) *mirtinga-la!" karrama-rna-rna-lu paliny-ku.*
 duck-IMP say-NFUT-1SG.SUB-3SG.DAT 3SG-DAT
 'And there I said to him, "That turkey is standing there looking at us with only its neck sticking out, duck down."'
- (193) *Yija mirtinga-rna.*
 truly duck-NFUT
 'And surely he ducked down.'
- (194) *Ngaju-lu kalku-rnu-rnu-lu jilaman paliny-ja*
 1SG-ERG keep-NFUT-1SG.SUB-3SG.DAT gun 3SG-LOC
- (195) *kankarni pirntil-ja rankurrji-ngi.*
 on.top.of back-LOC bustard-LOC
 'I trained that gun on the bush turkey, leaning high on his back (shoulder).'
- (196) *Nyungu Kujupurra paliny nganyju-nikinyi nyampa.*
 this (name) 3SG breathe-IMPF quick
 'Kujupurra was breathing quickly.'
- (197) *Jilaman kanka jarri-kinyi kaniny jarri-kinyi Nganyju-na-ja-lu*
 gun above INCH-IMPF down INCH-IMPF breathe-NM-ABL-ERG
- (198) *ngaju-lu rankurrji-ngi pala jilaman*
 1SG-ERG bustard-LOC that gun
- (199) *kalku-nikinyi-rni-li, walyi wirla-rna-rna-lu.*
 keep-IMPF-1SG.SUB-3SG.LOC almost hit-NFUT-1SG.SUB-3SG.DAT
- (200) *Ngaju-lu munu-rla nyungu marrja nganyju-rnikinyi*
 1SG-ERG NEG-FOC this very breathe-IMPF

(201) *paliny jipi-rti; pala-nga ngaju*
 3SG finish-EMPH that-LOC 1SG

(202) *nyarru-pi-rni-rni marrja.*
 laugh-VB-NFUT-1SG.SUB very

'The gun was going up and down. I kept the gun trained on the bush turkey but I missed it when I shot at it because of his breathing/panting. I missed it, had nothing because he was breathing so quickly. So I laughed really hard.'

'We two (Monty and Jititi's father) went east from camp to get firewood. We collected wood and as we were about to return to camp, I, Monty saw a turkey looking at them and I told Purungu that. The turkey was looking at us too with only its neck showing. I called to Kujupurra to be quick. I got him to bend over and put his gun upon his back. This man, Kujupurra, was breathing fast. The gun went up and down as he breathed. I missed the turkey—I missed it because Kujupurra was breathing so hard (puffing). And I laughed really hard.'

Appendix 2: Phonological rules and verb paradigms

This appendix sets out the phonological rules with the relevant verb paradigms. Hopefully the full paradigms will illustrate the process by which many of the verbal allomorphs are derived, especially in the future tense morpheme. For a more extensive discussion of how each rule operates, see Chapter 2.

A.1 Vowel elision

Rule A.1 Vowel elision rule

$V \longrightarrow \emptyset / \text{ ______ } V$

(1)	Underlying forms	Surface forms	
a.	<i>ngalpa-a</i>	<i>ngalpa</i>	enter-IMP
	<i>ngalpa-u</i>	<i>ngalpu</i>	enter-POT
	<i>ngalpa-nyi</i>	<i>ngalpanyi</i>	enter-NFUT
b.	<i>karnti-a</i>	<i>karnta</i>	climb-IMP
	<i>karnti-u</i>	<i>karntu</i>	climb-POT
	<i>karnti-nyi</i>	<i>karntinyi</i>	climb-NFUT
c.	<i>karli-a</i>	<i>karla</i>	dig-IMP
	<i>karli-u</i>	<i>karlu</i>	dig-POT
	<i>karli-nyi</i>	<i>karlinyi</i>	dig-NFUT

A.2 Nasal assimilation

Rule A.2 Nasal assimilation (future tense only)

$[+labial, -sonorant] \longrightarrow [+nasal] / V \text{ ______ } V [+nasal]$

In Table A.1 below the forms of the future tense affected by the nasal assimilation rule are given in bold print.

Table A.1: Future tense: allomorphs
RN Conjugation *paji-RN* 'bite'

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1INC		<i>paji-lapa-li</i>	<i>paji-limi-nyi</i>
1EXC	<i>paji-lama-rna</i>	<i>paji-lapa-layi</i>	<i>paji-lipi-yirni</i>
2	<i>paji-lama-n</i>	<i>paji-lkulu nyumpulu</i>	<i>paji-lkulu nyurru</i>
3	<i>paji-lkuliny</i>	<i>paji-lkuliny pulu</i>	<i>paji-lipi-yi</i>

A.3 Palatal cluster reduction

Rule A.3 Palatal cluster reduction

[+distributed, +nasal] \longrightarrow \emptyset / [+distributed, +nasal] (V_o)# _____

Table A.2 below shows forms of the future tense where the external sandhi rule of palatal cluster deletion derives various allomorphs of the future tense inflection.

Table A.2: Future tense: allomorphs
RN Conjugation *paji-RN* 'bite'

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1INC		<i>paji-lapa-li</i>	<i>paji-limi-nyi</i>
1EXC	<i>paji-lama-rna</i>	<i>paji-lapa-layi</i>	<i>paji-lipi-yirni</i>
2	<i>paji-lama-n</i>	<i>paji-lkulu nyumpulu</i>	<i>paji-lkulu nyurru</i>
3	<i>paji-lkuliny</i>	<i>paji-lkuliny pulu</i>	<i>paji-lipi-yi</i>

A.4 Progressive assimilation

Rule A.4 Progressive assimilation

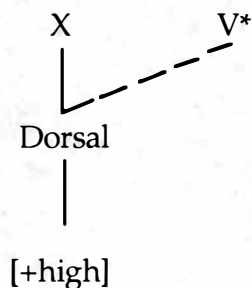


Table A.3: Non-Future tense: vowel assimilation
RN Conjugation *paji-RN* 'bite'

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1INC		<i>paji-rna-li</i>	<i>paji-rni-nyi</i>
1EXC	<i>paji-rni-rni</i>	<i>paji-rna-layi</i>	<i>paji-rni-yirni</i>
2	<i>paji-rni-n</i>	<i>paji-rni nyumpulu</i>	<i>paji-rni nyurru</i>
3	<i>paji-rni</i>	<i>paji-rni pulu</i>	<i>paji-rni-yi</i>

Buffer vowel effects

Table A.4: Non-Future tense: buffer vowel effects
RN Conjugation *paji-RN* 'bite'

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1INC		<i>paji-rna-li</i>	<i>paji-rni-nyi</i>
1EXC	<i>paji-rni-rni</i>	<i>paji-rna-layi</i>	<i>paji-rni-yirni</i>
2	<i>paji-rni-n</i>	<i>paji-rni nyumpulu</i>	<i>paji-rni nyurru</i>
3	<i>paji-rni</i>	<i>paji-rni pulu</i>	<i>paji-rni-yi</i>

A.5 Regressive assimilation

Rule A.5 Regressive assimilation rule (local)

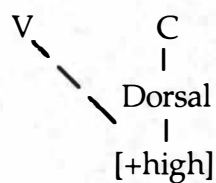


Table A.5: Non-Future tense: regressive assimilation
RN Conjugation *paji-RN* 'bite'

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1INC		<i>paji-rna-li</i>	<i>paji-rni-nyi</i>
1EXC	<i>paji-rni-rni</i>	<i>paji-rna-layi</i>	<i>paji-rni-yirni</i>
2	<i>paji-rni-n</i>	<i>paji-rni nyumpulu</i>	<i>paji-rni nyurru</i>
3	<i>paji-rni</i>	<i>paji-rni pulu</i>	<i>paji-rni-yi</i>

A.6 Anticipatory morpheme

The anticipatory mood morpheme has irregular forms. Its final segment can surface either as *-li* or *-lu*. This is seen in the following paradigm.

Table A.6: Anticipatory mood
RN Conjugation *paji-RN* 'bite'

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1INC		<i>paji-la-li-li</i>	<i>paji-li-nyi-li</i>
1EXC	<i>paji-li-rni-li</i>	<i>paji-la-layi-li</i>	<i>paji-li-yirni-li</i>
2	<i>paji-li-npi-li</i>	<i>paji-li nyumpulu-lu</i>	<i>paji-li nyurru-lu</i>
3	<i>paji-li-li</i>	<i>paji-li pulu-lu</i>	<i>paji-li-yi-li</i>

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