CHAPTER 4

NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

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

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

4.1 SUFFIX FORMS

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

4.1.1 ACCUSATIVE AND GENITIVE SUFFIX FORMS

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

TABLE 4.1: ACCUSATIVE AND GENITIVE ALLOMORPHY

	Accusative	*Genitive*
proper nominals	-ngu	-ngu
common nominals		
following a nasal	-ku	-ku
following a lateral or rhotic	-yu	-yu
following a vowel$_i$	-V$_i$	-wu

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

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

63

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

4.1.2 THE -*wura* BELONGING SUFFIX

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

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

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

4.1.3 LOCATIVE AND EFFECTOR

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

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

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

4.1.4 ALLATIVE

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

-*arta*	following a vowel-final stem in *a*
-*irta*	following a vowel-final stem in *i*
-*urta*	following a vowel-final stem in *u*

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

4.1.5 PRIVATIVE

The privative suffix (§4.11) has two forms:

-wirriwa
-wirraa

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

4.1.6 FULL-LADEN

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

4.1.7 SUMMARY OF SUFFIX FORMS

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

TABLE 4.2: SUMMARY OF SUFFIX FORMS

Nominative Stem	Accusative	Genitive	Belonging	Locative	Effector	Direct Allative
parla	*parlaa*	*parlawu*	*parlawura*	*parlangka*	*parlangku*	*parlaarta*
kanyara	*kanyaraa*	*kanyarawu*	*kanyarawura*	*kanyarala*	*kanyaralu*	*kanyaraarta*
muyi	*muyii*	*muyiwu*	*muyiwura*	*muyingka*	*muyingku*	*muyiirta*
warrirti	*warrirtii*	*warrirtiwu*	*warrirtiwura*	*warrirtila*	*warrirtilu*	*warrirtiirta*
nhartu	*nhartuu*	*nhartuwu*	*nhartuwura*	*nhartungka*	*nhartungku*	*nhartuurta*
pawulu	*pawuluu*	*pawuluwu*	*pawuluwura*	*pawulula*	*pawululu*	*pawuluurta*
kurntal	*kurntal.yu*	*kurntal.yu*	*kurntalwura*	*kurntala*	*kurntalu*	–
mirtily	*mirtily.yu*	*mirtily.yu*	*mirtilywura*	*mirtilya*	*mirtilyu*	–
kanparr	*kanparryu*	*kanparryu*	*kanparrwura*	*kanparra*	*kanparru*	–
kalyaran	*kalyaranku*	*kalyaranku*	*kalyarankura*	*kalyaranta*	*kalyarantu*	–
kurlany	*kurlanyku*	*kurlanyku*	*kurlanykura*	*kurlanytha*	*kurlanythu*	–
jinkarn	*jinkarnku*	*jinkarnku*	*jinkarnkura*	*jinkarnta*	*jinkarntu*	–

TABLE 4.3: INVARIANT NOMINAL SUFFIXES

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

4.2 NOMINATIVE CASE

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

4.3 ACCUSATIVE

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

[A] OBJECTS OF TRANSITIVE AND DITRANSITIVE VERBS

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

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

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

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

(4.3)   *Ngunhu   kanyara ngurnu   jinkarn-ku   yungku-lha*
         that.NOM man   that.ACC digging.stick-ACC give-PAST

         ngurnula-ngu-u   mimi-i.
         that.DEF-GEN-ACC uncle-ACC
         That man gave his uncle the digging stick. (trans.)

(4.4)   *Kartu   marrari-i   kuyil-yu   mir.ta   nhuura-ma-rninyji*
         2SG.NOM   word-ACC bad-ACC not   knowing-CAUS-FUT

         pawulu-ngara-a.
         child-PL-ACC
         Don't you teach the children bad words. (trans.)

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

[B] ALTERNATIVE ARGUMENT STRUCTURES

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

(4.5)   *Nhulaa   kanyara thurlanyarrara ngaliwa-mulyarra kanarri-lha*
         near.you man   poor.fellow   1PL.INC-ALL   come-PAST

         wawayi-l.yarra   nganangu-u   juwayumarta-a.
         look.for-CTEMP someone.OBL-ACC   doctor-ACC
         That poor man came to us looking for a doctor.

(4.6)   *Ngunhu-ngara kanarri-layi nhawani-i-rru,   yinki-i   ngurra-a-rru.*
that.NOM-PL   come-FUT   thing-ACC-NOW   beach-ACC   land-ACC-NOW
Then they came right to the what's-its-name, to the beach, to the land.

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

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

(4.9)   *Ngayu   parla-a   warntitha-rralha ngurnu-ngka   muyi-ngka*
1SG.NOM   rock-ACC throw-PAST   that.ACC-LOC   dog-LOC

wanyjarri-wala.
run.away-PURPds
I threw a rock at that dog so it would run away. (trans.)

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

[C] ACCUSATIVE BENEFACTIVE ARGUMENTS

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

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

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

(4.12)   *Muyi yanga-lalha tharnta-a kanyara-thurtiwaruu-lpurtu mirntiwul*
dog   chase-PAST euro-ACC man-CONJ   still-COMP   together

muyi-ngara-a, mungka-lwaa murla-a.
dog-PL-ACC   eat-PURPds   meat-ACC
The dog, together with a man, chased a euro for the dogs, so [the dogs] could eat meat. (trans.)

(4.13)   *Nhiyu   warrirtiparli-npa-nguru   nganaju.*
     this.NOM spear   bent-INCH-PRES 1SG.ACC
     This spear is going bent on me. (trans.)

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

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

[D] COMPLEMENTS OF PREDICATE NOMINALS

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

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

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

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

(4.17)   *Wayil ngula   yaan   ngurnaa wartirra-a.*
     maybe IGNOR spouse that.ACC woman-ACC
     Maybe he is husband to that woman.

(4.18)   *Oh! Ngunhaa pala mimi ngali-i.*
     Oh   that.NOM IT   uncle 1DU.INC-ACC
     Oh! You mean that fella who is uncle to us.

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

(4.19)   *Ngunhu   paya-nnguntharri ngawurr-martamir.ta panyu paju*
     that.NOM drink-HABITNOM foam-PROP   not   good   REAL

     nganaju-u   kurntal-yu.
     1SG.GEN-ACC   daughter-ACC
     That beer (lit. thing having foam that is drunk) isn't good for my daughter.

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

(4.21)   *Karlarra paju   ngaliwa-a   puni-waa.*
     hot   REAL 1PL.INC-ACC go-PURPs=o
     It's too hot for us to go.

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

(4.22)   *Ngurnu   pilakurta-a,   yartapalyu kanyara-ngara jalya-ngara-rru*
               that.ACC   carpenter-ACC others   man-PL   useless-PL-NOW

               nyina-layi.
               be-FUT
               Compared to this carpenter, the other men will be useless.

[E]   ACCUSATIVE OF TEMPORAL EXTENT

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

(4.23)   *Yakarrangu-u wanarra-awanti-layi   waruu-lpurtu.*
               day-ACC   long-ACC lie-FUT   still-COMP
               All day long he'll still be lying like that.

(4.24)   *Yaan   nyina-nguru malyarra-npa-rra   puni-lha-nguru jurrwalyi-i*
               spouse be-PRES   sick-INCH-CTEMP go-PAST-ABL   summer-ACC

               panyi-l.yarra yakarrangu-u karlarra-a.
               walk-CTEMP day-ACC   hot-ACC
               [My] wife is sick from having gone walking through the hot summer's day.

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

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

(4.26)   *Ngunhu   tharnta wanti-nguru yakarrangu-la.*
               that.NOM euro   lie-PRES   day-LOC
               That euro sleeps in the daytime.

(4.27)   *Ngulangu karalu parnta-rnurumuthu-ngka yirla.*
               there   south   rain-PRES   winter-LOC only
               There in the south it only rains in the winter.

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

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

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

[F] DISCUSSION

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

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

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

4.4 EFFECTOR

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

(4.28)   *Nhiyu   muyi mir.ta jarruru-lu   thani-rnu   nganaju-wu-lu*
         this.NOM dog   not   slowly-EFF hit-PASSP 1SG.OBL-GEN-EFF

         yaan-tu.
         spouse-EFF
         This dog was thrashed by my wife (lit. hit not slowly).

(4.29) *Nhiyu   nyamina manku-yangu pinyjura-marta-lu.*
this.NOM dugong grab-PASSP rope-PROP-EFF
This dugong was caught with a rope. (trans.)

(4.30) *Ngunhu   pawulu kunanyja-nngu-layi   kulirr-u,   kuyil-u.*
that.NOM child   defecate.on-PASS-FUT galah-EFF bad-EFF
That kid will get defecated on by a galah, the bad thing. (trans.)

(4.31) *Kartu   jamanu wurnta-nnguli-yirri parla-ngku jurirri-lu.*
2SG.NOM foot   cut-PASS-LEST   stone-EFF sharp-EFF
Your foot might get cut by a sharp stone.

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

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

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

(4.33) *Palyangu-ma-rninyji-rru   ngurnaa ngarri-ngkukarlarra-lu.*
closed-CAUS-FUT-NOW that.ACC ashes-EFF   hot-EFF
Now cover it over with hot ashes.

(4.34) *Puntharri-lha-rru, yartapalyu malwunpa-wala-rru, kayulu-lu-rru*
bleed-PAST-NOW others   help-PURPds-NOW water-EFF-NOW

puntha-lwala.
wash-PURPds
[They're] bleeding now, so others rush to help, to wash them with water.

(4.35) *Ngayu-rru   mulhaa-lalha, puuthuni-marta-ma-lalha warrirti-i,*
1SG.NOM-NOW sharpen-PAST point-PROP-CAUS-PAST spear-ACC

karntara-thurti-lu manta-lalha, panyu-ma-l.yarra.
sinew-CONJ-EFF bind-PAST   good-CAUS-CTEMP
Now I sharpened it, fixed a point on the spear, bound it up with sinew and stuff, making it good.

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

(4.36) *Wilyiwilyi-ma-rnu-ngara-a   wantha-rninyji. Yakarrangu-lu*
clean-CAUS-PASSP-PL-ACC put-FUT   sun-EFF

kampa-rra   pinkarranyu-npa-rra
burn-CTEMP dry-INCH-CTEMP
[I'll] put out these cleaned clothes. They'll be heating up from the sun, getting dry.

(4.37)   *Nhiyu pawulu wangka-yangu puni-layi karla-ngku kampa-wirri*,
         this   child   tell-PASSP   go-FUT   fire-EFF   burn-LEST

         mir.ta waruul puni-nguru.
         not   still   go-PRES
         This child has been told to go lest he gets burnt by the fire, but he still hasn't
         gone.

(4.38)   *Nganarna punkurri-npa-wayara   maruwarla-lu punkurrimarnu-lu,*
         1PL.EXC   covered-INCH-HABIT   many-EFF   blanket-EFF

         wanti-layi punkurri wiruwanti-i   yirla.
         lie-FUT   covered   morning-ACC until
         We used to get covered up with a lot of blankets and lie in until morning.

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

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

(4.39)   *Kuwayi! Nhawu-lu   kunti jampa. Nhawu-Ø nhuwana-lu!*
         Look.here look-PURPss stop   moment look-IMP 2PL-EFF
         Hey look here! [Come and] look here for a moment. Look you fellows!

(4.40)   *Yilarla   kartungku thani-l.yu!*
         this.NS   2SG.EFF   hit-IMP
         You hit this (if you can)!

4.5 LOCATIVE

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

(4.41)   *Ngawu. puni-layi-rru   ngali   panyu-ngka-a   warra*
         yes   go-FUT-NOW 1DU.INC good-LOC-ACC CONT

         kalyaran-ta-a thuur.ta-a   manku-layi.
         tree-LOC-ACC sweet-ACC get-FUT
         Yes. We'll go and get some honey (sweet stuff) that's in a better tree.

(4.42)   *Warryumuntu, wangka-nguli-nguru tharnta parla-nyungu kupuyu-marta*
              mother.euro   call-PASS-PRES   euro   hill-DWELL little-PROP

              thara-ngka-marta.
              pouch-LOC-PROP
              Warryumuntu, that's what that euro that lives in the hills is called when it has a little one in its pouch.

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

[A] LOCATIVE COMPLEMENTS AND ADJUNCTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4.43) *Nganangu-rru   kuliyanpa-layi pilakurta-a   jalya-ngara-la*
        who.ACC-NOW   think-FUT   carpenter-ACC useless-PL-LOC

        kanyara-ngara-la   yartapalyu-la?
        man-PL-LOC   other.group-LOC
        Now who can we think of that is a carpenter out of that other mob of
        useless men?

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

(4.44) *Ngayu   kuliyanpa-lha ngawayu-la kulyama-lalha*
        1SG.NOM   think-PAST   turn-LOC   pay.back-PAST

        kartatha-lwayara-a-lpurtu ngawayu-la jumpirirri-la.
        chop-HABIT-ACC-COMP turn-LOC   sharp-LOC
        I thought about my turn, paid him back with a tomahawk in turn for the
        sharp [knife] (he had given me).

[B] SPATIAL SETTING

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

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

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

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

[C] COMITATIVE

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

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

(4.49) *Ngayu   puni-lha nhawu-lu   ngurnu   kanyara-a ngaliwa-la*
        1SG.NOM   go-PAST see-PURPss that.ACC man-ACC 1PL.INC-LOC

        puni-layi-i   wiruwanti.
        go-FUT-ACC morning
        I went to see that man who'll be going with us in the morning. (trans.)

[D] LOCATIVE STATES

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

(4.50) *Kartu   kanarri-lha nganaju-mulyarra, kartu   kanarri-lha*
   2SG.NOM come-PAST   1SG.OBL-ALL   2SG.NOM come-PAST

   nganajumarta   marrari-la nyina-lu.
   1DU.DISHARM word-LOC be-PURPss
   You came to me, you came so we could talk.

(4.51) *Parlura-npa-lha-rru   waruu, nyina-marri-layi marrari-la-rru.*
   full-INCH-PAST-NOW still   sit-COLL-FUT   word-LOC-NOW
   Once [we're] full (of food), [we'll] talk together.

[D] TEMPORAL SETTING

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

(4.52) *Thana pinkarranyu-npa-rrakayarra-lawii yakarrangu-la.*
   let   dry-INCH-CTEMP   two-LOC or   day-LOC
   Let it dry for two days or so.

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

(4.54) *Kartu   karnkanpa-lha ngaliya-a   nganarna-wu-la*
   2SG.NOM get.smart-PAST 1DU.EXC-ACC 1PL.EXC-GEN-LOC

   puliyanyja-ngara-la piyuwa-la   yirla.
   old.person-PL-LOC finished-LOC only
   You're getting smart with us two only now that our old people are finished.

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

(4.55) *Ngayu   wartawirrinpa-rra   parrani-nyila-a-rru*
   1SG.NOM wait.for-CTEMP   return-PrREL-ACC-NOW

   wanthanha-lawii yakarrangu-la.
   which-LOC   or   day-LOC
   I'm waiting for [him] to return now, which day will it be.

(4.56) *Ngunhaa thurla-npa-layi yakarrangu-la yawurru-rru.*
   that.NOM eye-INCH-FUT sun-LOC   west-NOW
   He wakes up once the sun is in the west.

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

(4.57) *Ngayu   wangka-lha nhuwana-a kayarra-la-rru!*
1SG.NOM tell-PAST   2PL-ACC   two-LOC-NOW
I've told you twice now!

(4.58) *Nhiyu muyi thani-rnu kanyara-lu, yarta-ngka-l   nhiyaa thani-lalha*
this   dog hit-PASSP man-EFF   other-LOC-THEN this   hit-PAST

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

[E] LOCATIVE COMPLEMENTISERS

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

4.6 ABLATIVE *-nguru*

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

(4.59) *Ngayu   manku-lha parla-a-rru   pariingku-layi ngurnaa*
1SG.NOM get-PAST rock-ACC-NOW hit-FUT   that.ACC

mirntirimarta-aparna-a,   pungka-waa-rru   kalyaran-ta-nguru.
goanna-ACC   head-ACC   fall-PURPs=o-NOW tree-LOC-ABL
I grabbed a rock and hit that goanna in the head so it would fall from the tree.

(4.60) *Nhiyu kalyaran-ngarawanti-nguru ngulawuyu-la parla-ngka-nguru*
this   stick-PL   lie-PRES   that.side-LOC hill-LOC-ABL

ngathu   kangku-yangu yilangu.
1SG.EFF   carry-PASSP   here
These sticks lying on that side were brought here from the hills by me.

(4.61) *Ngayu   nhawu-lha ngurnu   paniya-a nyina-nyila-a   karnta*
1SG.NOM see-PAST   that.ACC eye-ACC be-PrREL-ACC tear

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

kuyilwa-nngu-rra.
spoil-PASS-CTEMP
I saw that one's eyes, tears falling from [his] eyes because of the cold wind.

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

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

ngarri-ngka-nguru-u?
ashes-LOC-ABL-ACC
Weren't we sent that euro meat that was cooked in (lit. came out of) the ashes?

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

puni-layi   yurra-l.yarra.
go-FUT   scratch-CTEMP
If he has caught that itch that comes from a whale, he'll be going along scratching.

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

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

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

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

Nhartu-ngku?   What by?
what-EFF

Parralhara-lu.   By a centipede.
centipede-EFF

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

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

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

(4.67)　*Nhartu-u*　　　　*wii warnan-ku yirla kuliya-rninyji parnta-rnura-a.*
　　　　something-ACC　or　rain-ACC　only　hear-FUT　　　rain-PrREL-ACC

　　　　Ngurnu-nguru-wa　karlwa-lha.
　　　　that.OBL-ABL-YK　get.up-PAST
　　　　All I heard was the rain or whatever falling. After that I got up.

(4.68)　*Ngayu*　　　*nguyirri-warlapaju,　wiruwanti-nguru-l　wanti-layi*
　　　　1SG.NOM　asleep-FULL　REAL　morning-ABL-THEN　lie-FUT

　　　　yakarrangu-u yirla tharrwa-waa.
　　　　sun-ACC　　　until　go.in-PURPs=o
　　　　I'm a real sleepy head, from morning I lie in until the sun goes down.

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

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

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

(4.69)　*Jal.yu-u-rru*　　　　*thani-rninyji puni-rrawaarangurra-arta-rru*
　　　　occiput-ACC-NOW hit-FUT　　　go-SEQcamp-DIRALL-NOW

　　　　kampa-ru-rru.
　　　　cook-PURPss-NOW
　　　　Now hit this one in the back of the head and then go home and cook it.

(4.70)　*Kangku-lha ngurnu-ngara-a*　　　*wuyu-urta-rru,*　　　*kalyaran-ta*
　　　　take-PAST　that.OBL-PL-ACC　river-DIRALL-NOW tree-LOC

　　　　warntitha-rninyji pinyjura-a mil.yi-ngka　parlu-ngka.
　　　　throw-FUT　　　　rope-ACC　fork-LOC　　top-LOC
　　　　[They] took these men to the river, and threw a rope up into the fork of a tree.

(4.71)　*Ngunhu*　　*puni-nguru pawu-urta-rru,*　　　*ngulangu-rru nyina-layi*
　　　　that.NOM　go-PRES　　father-DIRALL-NOW there-NOW　　stop-FUT

> *pawu-u-rru*   *wangka-rra,*   *"Pawu-yi!..."*
> father-ACC-NOW   say-CTEMP   Dad-VOC
> He goes to his father, and stops there and says to his father, "Dad!..."

(4.72)   *Kulhawulha waruu ngaliwa   puni-layi nharnu-mulyarra,mirntiwul-wa-rru*
        bunched.up   still   1PL.INC   go-FUT   grave-ALL   together-Ø-NOW

        wuraal-wa-rru   kulhi-ru-rru   thungkara-a.
        still-Ø-NOW   bury-PURPss-NOW   earth-ACC
        All in a bunch we move to the grave, and now, still all together, we bury [him]
        in the earth.

(4.73)   *Ngayu   wayula-rru manhamanha-npa-nguru, kangku-ngu-layi wiru*
        1SG.NOM   legs-NOW   awkward-INCH-PRES   take-PASS-FUT   wanting

        nganaju-wu-mulyarra ngurra-mulyarra.
        1SG.OBL-GEN-ALL   camp-ALL
        My legs are unsteady, I want to be helped (lit. taken) home.

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

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

(4.74)   *Wuraal, kartu   nhawungarra-ma-rninyjinganaju-u   muyi-i?*
        all.right   2SG.NOM   look.after-CAUS-FUT   1SG.GEN-ACC   dog-ACC

        Ngayu   puni-nyila kulhampa-arta.
        1SG.NOM   go-PrREL   fish-DIRALL
        Can you look after my dog? I'm going for fish. (trans.)

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

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

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

4.8 MINOR LOCATIONAL SUFFIXES

4.8.1 DIRECTIONAL SUFFIX *-wurrini*

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

(4.77)   *Ngunhaa   ngarnngarn-kukariya-l.yarra nyina-nguru nganaju-wurrini.*
          that.NOM chin-ACC   point-CTEMP sit-PRES   1SG.OBL-DIRECT
          That fellow is pointing his chin towards me.

(4.78)   *Ngayu   pamararri-lha ngurra-wurrini.*
          1SG.NOM   call.out-PAST   camp-DIRECT
          I called out towards the camp. (trans.)

4.8.2 DIRECTION FACING *-thartu*

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

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

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

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

4.8.3 NEAR *-wini*

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

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

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

4.8.4 DWELLER *-nyungu*

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

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

(4.83)   *Yartapalyu kanyja-rryarra,ngunhu-nyungu-lpurtu*
          others   keep-CTEMP   that.NOM-DWELL-COMP

          Kurlanypungkunhu-nyungu, Pantuwarnangka-a.
          Kurlanypungkunhu-DWELL Pannawonica.Hill-ACC
          The others were keeping *Pantuwarnangka* (Pannawonica Hill), the people who lived at that place, *Kurlanypungkunha* Island.

(4.84) *Nhiyu martawulyu, palyarri-nyungu, ngunhaa panyu jami.*
this gum.type plant (sp.)-DWELL that.NOM good medicine
This *martawulyu* gum, which comes from the *palyarri* tree, it is good medicine.

(4.85) *Ngunhu-ngara yinka-lwayara Kawuyu-nyungu-ngara-a yinka-lwayara*
that.NOM-PL carve-HABIT *Kawuyu*-DWELL-PL-ACC carve-HABIT

thawu-rninyji Wirrawanti-mulyarra.
send-FUT *Wirrawanti*-ALL
They used to carve the ones that came from *Kawuyu* and send them to *Wirrawanti*.

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

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

The suffix occurs in a number of independent lexical items:

pal.yarra-nyungu plains kangaroo
plain-DWELL

mirta-nyungu water serpent
limbo-DWELL

yarrwa-nyungu joey kangaroo at age when it follows its mother
behind-DWELL

4.8.5 PROVENIENCE -*ra*

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

martuthuni-ra the people who live on the Fortescue River
Fortescue River-PROV

wartampu-ra the people who live on the Warramboo Creek
Warramboo Creek-PROV

ngamangama-ra the people who live on the foothills of the
foothills-PROV Hamersley Range

thanarti-ra seasiders
sea-PROV

4.9 ASSOCIATIVE -*marnu*

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

(4.87) *Pawulu-yi! Nhartu-ma-lalha kartu nganaju-u*
child-VOC   what-CAUS-PAST   2SG.NOM   1SG.GEN-ACC

ngurriny-marnu-u jarra-lwayara-a?
swag-ASSOC-ACC   tie-HABIT-ACC
Child! What have you done with my swag strap (lit. thing for a swag, that ties)?

(4.88) *Ngayu nhuura-ma-lalha ngurnu wirta-a wantharni*
1SG.NOM   know-CAUS-PAST   that.ACC   youth-ACC   how

wantha-rrwaa warangarti-i muyi-marnu-u.
put-PURPs=o   trap-ACC   dog-ASSOC-ACC
I showed that youth how to set traps for dogs. (trans.)

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

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

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

(4.89) *Thalu-waya panyu-npa-wala-rru   wiru   ngurnula-ngu-lu-rru*
pet-OWNER   good-INCH-PURPds-NOW   feelings   that.DEF-GEN-EFF-NOW

murla-marnu-lu kanarri-yangu.
meat-ASSOC-EFF   come-PASSP
The owner will feel good now having his meat-getter come to him.

(4.90) *Ngathu mulhaa-rnu   ngunhaa murla-marnu warrirti.*
1SG.EFF   put.point-PASSP   that.NOM   meat-ASSOC   spear
That meat spear had a point put on it by me.

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

(4.91) *Yurntura-ma-l.yarra purra-l.yarra parla-ngka thawurra-marnu warrapa-a*
soft-CAUS-CTEMP hit-CTEMP rock-LOC net-ASSOC spinifex-ACC

manku-layi.
get-FUT
One grabs the spinifex, hitting it on a rock, making it soft for (to be made into) a net.

(4.92) *Wirpinykura, ngunhu-lwa ngunhaa marntanhu-ma-nnguli-wayara*
species.name that.NOM-ID that.NOM net-CAUS-PASS-HABIT

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

(4.93) *Ngurra-ngka-npa-lha-rru karla-marnu-rru purnta-ma-rninyji-rru.*
camp-LOC-INCH-PAST-NOW fire-ASSOC-NOW hole-CAUS-FUT-NOW
Having got to camp, make a hole for a fire.

(4.94) *Ngaliwa karla-a-rru kulhawulha-ma-rninyji karlarra-npa-waa*
1PL.INC fire-ACC-NOW heaped-CAUS-FUT hot-INCH-PURPs=o

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

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

4.10 PROPRIETIVE *-marta*

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

[A] PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES AND DEFINING CHARACTERISTICS

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

(4.96) *Nhiyu kanparr-wura parla-marta. Ngunhu-ngara-lwa kanparr-ngara*
this.NOM spider-BELONG stone-PROP that.NOM-PL-ID spider-PL

palyangu-ma-lwayara ngurnula-ngu-u jalyuru-u.
covered-CAUS-HABIT that.DEF-GEN-ACC hole-ACC
This [nest] of the spider's has a stone. Those spiders cover their holes.

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

(4.97) *Ngunhaa kanyara mir.ta kuliya-marta, jalya wantamartu.Wantha-rru*
       that.NOM man not ear-PROP useless crazy where-NOW

       ngunhu yaji?
       that.NOM mother's.brother
       That man who doesn't have ears, the useless crazy fellow. Where is that uncle?

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

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

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

(4.99) *Nganangu-rru kana kuliyanpa-layi ngaliwa mijara-marta-a*
       who.ACC-NOW RHET think.of-FUT 1PL.INC egg-PROP-ACC

       panyu-marta-a mungka-nnguntharri-marta-a?
       good-PROP-ACC eat-HABITNOM-PROP-ACC
       What else can we think of that has good edible eggs?

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

(4.100) *Mirntiwul-wa ngunhu-ngaramarrari Martuthunira, nhiyu*
       all-YK that.NOM-PL language Martuthunira this.NOM

       ngayal.yu-ngara yirru-marta-lpurtu marrari-marta.
       devil-PL *yirru*-PROP-COMPword-PROP
       They were all Martuthunira speaking, but these devils had the word *yirru*.

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

(4.101) *Nhartu ngunhaa ngaru-marta?*
       what that.NOM testicle-PROP
       What's that thing with the balls? (a ram)

(4.102) *Nhartu nhulaa marra-marta?*
       what near.you wing-PROP
       What's that winged thing? (a bird)

[B] OBJECT IN CURRENT POSSESSION

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

(4.103) *Ngunhu-ngara juwayu-la-marta   parla-marta, kayarra-marta*
that.NOM-PL hand-LOC-PROP stone-PROP two-PROP

parla-marta   yirla.
stone-PROP   only
They have stones in their hands, just two stones.

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

(4.105) *Ngayu   kanarri-lha marrari-marta nhuwana-a   wangka-lu.*
1SG.NOM come-PAST news-PROP   2PL-ACC   tell-PURPss
I came with news to tell you all.

(4.106) *Thuulwa-rninyji-rru, karlwa-rrawaara.Karlwa-layi ngurnu-marta*
pull-FUT-NOW   get.up-SEQ   get.up-FUT that.OBL-PROP

mirntirimarta-marta.
goanna-PROP
Pull it out and stand up. Get up with that goanna.

(4.107) *Nhawu-layi ngurnaa kurryarta-marta-a-rru,   yanga-rninyji-rru.*
see-FUT   that.ACC spear-PROP-ACC-NOW chase-FUT-NOW
[I'll] see that that one now has a spear in it, and [I'll] chase it.

[C] INSTRUMENTS

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

(4.108) *Nhartu-ma-rnuru   karntarra-a? Mir.ta yirra-marta   kalya-rninyji,*
what-CAUS-PRES sinew-ACC   not   teeth-PROP   bite-FUT

wurnta-l.yu kurlany-marta!
cut-IMP   knife-PROP
What are [you] doing to that sinew? Don't bite it with your teeth,
cut it with a knife!

(4.109) *Yurra-rninyji-rru ngurnu-marta   kalyarran-marta mulha jurirri-marta.*
dig-FUT-NOW   that.OBL-PROP stick-PROP   point sharp-PROP
Then dig with that sharp-pointed stick.

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

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

[D] LEXICAL DERIVATIONS

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

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

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

kuntha-marta long.chin.beard-PROP	Chinaman

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

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

Other expressions name people by their characteristic associated possessions:

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

4.11 PRIVATIVE *-wirriwa/-wirraa*

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

[A] MISSING BODY PARTS

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

(4.112) *Ngayu-lwa   wiyaa wuruma-rninyji thurlajinkarri-i,   yirra-wirraa-a*
1SG.NOM-ID maybe do.for-FUT   poor.fellow-ACC   teeth-PRIV-ACC

warnu   pala.
ASSERT   IT
Maybe *I'll* do it for the poor fellow, he really hasn't got any teeth.

(4.113) *Yimpala-rru-wa   kanarra-lu parnpiingku-yangu   wanti-layi.*
like that-NOW-YK wind-EFF   throw.down-PASSP lie-FUT

Nyingkurlu-lpurtu warnu   pirri-wirraa wantharra.
firstly-COMP   ASSERT hand-PRIV   like
Just like that she lay, thrown to the ground by the wind. Firstly one must say it's as if she had no hands.

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

(4.114) *Kuliyanpa-yaangu kalika-a-lwa kalyaran-tanyina-wayara-a*
think.of-UNREAL one-ACC-ID tree-LOC   sit-HABIT-ACC

mulha-wirraa-npa-lha-a.
nose-PRIV-INCH-PAST-ACC
[You] ought to be able to think of it, that one that always sits in a tree (as if) having lost its nose (i.e. a frogmouth owl).

(4.115) *Wantharni paju ngaliwa-a   paniya-wirraa-ma-lalha ngaliwa-a?*
how   REAL 1PL.INC-ACC eye-PRIV-CAUS-PAST 1PL.INC-ACC

Kalya-rninyji yirla ngunhaa   kartungu, parralhara.
bite-FUT   only that.NOM 2SG.ACC centipede
How did it deceive us (lit. make us be without eyes)? It just bit you, that centipede (and we didn't know it was there).

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

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

Wirrawanti-rru   wangka-ngu-layi.
Wirrawanti-NOW   call-PASS-FUT
And now it was like that, this plain. It came to have no trees, and then it was called *Wirrawanti.*

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

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

Ngurnta-wirriwa-a warntitha-rninyji puyila-rru.
style-PRIV-ACC   throw-FUT   long.way-NOW
[I'll] try out these two boomerangs for their style. Maybe [I'll] see good style. [I'll] throw away any without style.

[B] LACK OF KIN

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

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

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

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

[C] LACK OF POSSESSED OBJECTS

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

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

(4.122) *Ngayu   nhawu-lha mirtali-ngara-a yirla, mir.ta kupuyu-marta-a,*
1SG.NOM see-PAST big-PL-ACC   only   not   little-PROP-ACC

mirtily-wirriwa-a.
neonate-PRIV-ACC
I'd seen only big ones (kangaroos), not any with little ones, only those without neonates (in their pouches). (trans.)

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

(4.123)   *Jinpi yirla-rru   wanti-waa,   murla-wirriwa-rru, ngunhaa*
         plate only-NOW lie-PURPs=o   meat-PRIV-NOW   that.NOM

         nhawu-wala jinpi-i   murla-wirriwa-a.
         see-PURPds   plate-ACC   meat-PRIV-ACC
         Only the plate will be left, without any meat now. That fellow will see a
         plate without meat (I've eaten it all).

[D] PRIVATIVE SECOND PREDICATIONS

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

(4.124)   *Marrari-wirraa-wa-nu karlwa-lha,   kuyil wiyaa. Ngaliwa-a*
         word-PRIV-ID-QUOT get.up-PAST bad   maybe   1PL.INC-ACC

         paya-npa-rra   wiyaa. Thana-rrupuni-Ø!
         angry-INCH-CTEMP maybe let-NOW   go-IMP
         [He] got up without even a word, maybe something is wrong. Maybe he's
         angry with us. Well let him go!

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

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

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

(4.127)   *Nhuwana   marrari-warlaya-ngara nguyirri-wirraa-ma-rnuru-rru*
         2PL   word-FULL-PL   asleep-PRIV-CAUS-PRES-NOW

         nganarna-a.
         1PL.EXC-ACC
         You talkative people are preventing us from sleeping.

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

(4.128)   *Nhulaa kanyara nyina-nguru puuthuni-i mulhaa-rninyji*
         that   man   be-PRES   point-ACC   affix-FUT

         warrirti-la pul.ya-ngku yirla, karntarra-wirriwa.
         spear-LOC   wax-EFF   only   sinew-PRIV
         That man is putting a point on the spear with just spinifex wax, without
         any sinew.

(4.129)   *Ngunhu   wartirra wiru   thanuwa-a   thurnta-rninyji*
         that.NOM woman   wanting damper-ACC knead-FUT

         kayulu-wirriwa-a, pinkarranyu-u.
         water-PRIV-ACC dry-ACC
         That woman wants to knead damper without water, dry. (trans.)

4.12 GENITIVE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4.133) *Ngurnu-ngura   parnparn-kura   kupiyaji ngularla   waruu*
         that.OBL-BELONG budgerigar-BELONG little(PL) there.NV   still

         jalyuru-la nyina-marri-nguru parnparn-ngara.
         hole-LOC sit-COLL-PRES   budgerigar-PL
         Those little ones belonging to that budgerigar are still all together in a hole there somewhere. (trans.)

(4.134) *Ngunhaa kanparr-wura,   wantha-rnu kanparr-u, mir.ta nhawu-ngu-layi*
         that.NOM spider-BELONG put-PASSP   spider-EFF   not   see-PASS-FUT

         yantharnmarta-ngara-lu,nganyjali, kuyil.
         woman-PL-EFF   proscribed bad
         That thing of the spider's (a web), built by the spider, shouldn't be seen by women, its bad, proscribed. (trans.)

(4.135) *Ngana-ngura-tharra-a   yanga-lalha?*
         who-BELONG-DU-ACC chase-PAST
         Whose two did [it] chase?

Yirna-tharra-wura-a.
this.OBL-DU-BELONG-ACC
[It chased] the ones belonging to these two. (see example (8.24))

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

kupuyu-waya-a   ngangka-a.
little-OWNER-ACC mother-ACC.
And I chased after the mother, the owner, the mother of that little one.

(4.137) *Wangka-layi ngurnaa piwi-i,   "Ngurnula-waya-a   ngangka-a,*
say-FUT   that.ACC mother-ACC that.DEF-OWNER-ACC mother-ACC

nhamintha-rru   jurrkirta?"
how.many-NOW moon
Say to the mother, the mother of that one, "How many months [old] now?"

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4.141) *Ngaliwa patharri-lha nyina-lha, thani-yarra   parna-a.*
1PL.INC fight-PAST be-PAST   hit-COLL+CTEMP head-ACC

Nyina-lha-nguru kari-wura,   nyingkurlu-lpurtu warnu.
be-PAST-ABL   grog-BELONG firstly-COMPASSERT
We were fighting, hitting each other in the head. We were in the grip of the grog, that's the first thing that must be said.

(4.142) *Ngayu   malyarra-npa-nguru kari-i   paya-lalha-nguru.*
1SG.NOM sick-INCH-PRES   grog-ACC drink-PAST-ABL
I'm sick from drinking grog. (trans.)

4.14 CAUSAL *-ngalyarnta*

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

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

wirra-ngalyarnta-lwa.
boomerang-CAUSAL-ID
The children were fighting over that, over the boomerang.

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

murla-ngalyarnta.
meat-CAUSAL
It was like that, two kids were hitting that dog over meat.

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

4.15 OBSCURED *-ngurni*

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

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

panyu-npa-lha   jirruna karra-ngurni.
good-INCH-PAST sneak scrub-OBSCRD
I sneaked up on that one properly, sneaking up behind the scrub in good style.

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

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

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

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

(4.148)   *Panyu-u   wangka-layi, mir.ta kuyil-ngurni-i   thurlanyarrara-ngara-a.*
                  good-ACC say-FUT   not   bad-OBSCRD-ACC poor.fellow-PL-ACC
                  Speak properly, don't talk rudely (lit. in a bad way) to the poor fellows.

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

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

(4.150)   *Ngunhaa   parla-ngka-rru wirta-nguru, kanta manamana paju,*
                  that.NOM hill-LOC-NOW climb-PRES leg   quickly   REAL

                  kuyil-ngurni-la   wirta-lha,   murti-ma-rnuru   paju.
                  bad-OBSCRD-LOC climb-PAST fast-CAUS-PRES REAL
                  He's climbing that hill now, legs [moving] very quickly, he's climbed
                  up on that difficult place, [but he's still] going really fast.

4.16 FULL-LADEN *-warlaya*

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

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

(4.152)   *Ngunhu   kanyaranyina-nguru ngulangu parla-ngka*
                  that.NOM man   sit-PRES   there   hill-LOC

                  karra-warlaya-la kuyil-a.
                  scrub-FULL-LOC bad-LOC
                  That man is there on that bad (impenetrable) scrub covered hill.

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

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

                  jinyji-warla   fat, plump, obese
                  fat-FULL

                  ngungku-warla   strong
                  weight-FULL

                  murti-warla   fast runner, motorcar
                  fast-FULL

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

4.17 DUAL -tharra

(4.154) *Ngayu   thawu-lalha nganaju-wu-tharra-a   pawulu-tharra-a*
1SG.NOM send-PAST 1SG.OBL-GEN-DU-ACC child-DU-ACC

wanirarra-a, kurntal-thurti-i   mura-thurti-i,   puni-waa
Bro&Si-ACC   daughter-CONJ-ACC son-CONJ-ACC go-PURPs=o

nhawu-yarri-lu   mayili-nhanu-ngu.
see-COLL-PURPss FaFa-3POSS-ACC
I sent my two children, brother and sister, daughter and son, to go and
see their grandfather.

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

4.18 PLURAL -ngara

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

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

(4.157) *Kartu   paya-npa-layi   nganarna-a   ngalarri-lha-ngara-a*
2SG.NOM angry-INCH-FUT 1PL.EXC-ACC forget-PAST-PL-ACC

wantamartu-ngara-a.
stupid-PL-ACC
You'll get angry with us stupid fellows who forgot.

(4.158) *Ngunhaa puni-lha kunkuwarra-awawayi-l.yarra   jinkayu-rru,*
that.NOM go-PAST honey-ACC   look.for-CTEMP upriver-NOW

warnanykura-la-ngara-akunkuwarra-a.
rivergum-LOC-PL-ACC honey-ACC
That one went looking for honey up river, for honey in rivergum trees.

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

(4.159) *Ngayu   kalya-rnu ngulu   yiriny-tu,   ngayu   kalya-rnu*
1SG.NOM bite-PASSP that.EFF mosquito-EFF 1SG.NOM bite-PASSP

nyina-nguru marnta-ngara-awii,   kartarawii,   jal.yu wii
sit-PRES   arm-PL-ACC   maybe cheek maybe neck   maybe

panga-ngara-rri-nguru-rru.
itch-PL-INV-PRES-NOW
I've been bitten by a mosquito. My arms (in a number of places) perhaps,
maybe my cheek, maybe my neck et cetera, will be getting lots of itches.

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

           thala-ngara-rru puntha-layi.
           chest-PL-NOW wash-FUT
           I'll wash my head and all, my face (i.e. splash it a number of times) and arms, and
           then wash my chest (i.e. splash it a number of times).

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

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

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

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

           paya-l.yarra-ngara-l.
           drink-CTEMP-PL-THEN
           Leave it to stand for a moment to get a bit cooler. Now put sugar in it,
           and when it's cool sit for a while and sip it.

4.19   DISTRIBUTED PLURAL *-warntura*

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

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

           pirriyarta-la.
           own camp-LOC
           People were scattered about, waiting each in their own camp.

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

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

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

(4.164)   *Nganarna kayulu-u   puni-lha paya-l.yarra-warntura*
           1PL.EXC water-ACC   go-PAST drink-CTEMP-DISTRIB

           karlarra-la   warnu   pala.
           heat-LOC   ASSERT   IT
           We went along drinking water again and again in the heat (and it was so hot!).

(4.165)   *Ngurnu-marta-wa   karta-rninyji karta-rninyji-warntura*
           that.OBL-PROP-YK thrust-FUT   thrust-FUT-DISTRIB

           jalyuru-ma-l.yarra-rru.
           hole-CAUS-CTEMP-NOW
           Now using that one, thrust and thrust again and again making a hole.

(4.166)   *Ngunhu   pawulu nganaju   kamu-nguli-nguru-warntura.   Kuwarri-l*
           that.NOM child   1SG.GEN hungry-PSYCH-PRES-DISTRIB now-THEN

           kuwarri-l   puni-layi jinarri-lu   murla-a.
           now-THEN go-FUT   ask-PURPss meat-ACC
           That child of mine is always getting hungry. Again and again he goes asking for
           meat. (trans.)

4.20 GROUP *-marnu*

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

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

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

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

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

(4.169)   *Ngana-marnu wii pithirri-npa-rra   wii, ngurnaa   paya-rninyji*
           who-GROUP   if   chill-INCH-CTEMP if   that.ACC drink-FUT

           jami-i.
           medicine-ACC
           If anyone should get a chill, they drink that medicine.

4.21 IDIOSYNCRATIC PLURALS

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

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

4.22 SIDE -*wuyu*

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

(4.170) *Ngawu. Ngurnu pirtiyarrangu-u, ngurnaa ngayu   kangku-layi.*
yes   that.ACC kurara -ACC   that.ACC 1SG.NOM take-FUT

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

(4.171) *Ngayu   mir.ta wiru kuliya-l.yarra karri-layi   nhuwana-a,*
1SG.NOM not   want hear-CTEMP stand-FUT 2PL-ACC

ngayu   yarta-wuyu-lpurtu kanyara.
1SG.NOM other-SIDE-COMP man
I don't want to be hearing you two, I'm an in-law (lit. a man of the other side).

(4.172) *Ngunha   karimarra-wuyu puliyanyja kangku-lha ngurnu   purungu-u*
that.NOM *karimarra*-SIDE old.man   take-PAST that.ACC *purungu*-ACC

wirta-a   nhuura-ma-ru   yinka-lwaa   wirra-a.
youth-ACC know-CAUS-PURPss carve-PURPs=o boomerang-ACC
That *karimarra* section old man took that *purungu* section young man to teach him to carve boomerangs. (trans.)

(4.173) *Ngawu. Kuliyanpa-rra ngayu   nhartu-u   wiyaa   wawayi-rninyji,*
yes   think-CTEMP 1SG.NOM something-ACC maybe look.for-FUT

jalya-a-wuyu mirntirimarta-a-rru, tharlwan-ku-wuyu.
useless-ACC-SIDE goanna-ACC-NOW tame-ACC-SIDE
Yes. I'm thinking about something I might go looking for, goannas are on the easy to catch (lit. useless) side, on the tame side.

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

4.23 CONJUNCTION -*thurti*

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

(4.174) *Nganarna puliyanyja-ngara-thurti jantira-ngara-thurti   jalurra-a*
1PL.EXC old.man-PL-CONJ   old.woman-PL-CONJ dance-ACC

nhawu-layi.
watch-FUT
We old men and old women will watch the dance.

(4.175)   *Ngayu*   *kampa-lalha thanuwa-ngara-awuruma-l.yarra*
               1SG.NOM   cook-PAST   food-PL-ACC   do.for-CTEMP

               pawulu-ngara-a-thurti kanyara-ngara-a-thurti.
               child-PL-ACC-CONJ   adult-PL-ACC-CONJ
               I cooked food for the children and the adults. (trans.)

(4.176)   *Ngunhu*   *kanyara puni-layi minthal-wa-rru kampa-l.yarra*
               that.NOM man   go-FUT   alone-Ø-NOW   cook-CTEMP

               thanuwa-ngara-a   *murla-thurti-i.*
               food-PL-ACC   meat-CONJ-ACC
               That man will be cooking all the vegetables and meat by himself.

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

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

(4.178)   *Ngurnu warrirti-i yungku-lu*   *ngurnu-ngara-a*   *kanyara-ngara-a*
               that.ACC   spear-ACC   give-PURPss   that.OBL-PL-ACC   man-PL-ACC

               wurnta-lalha-nguru-u   *yungku-lu,*   *marrari-i-thurti-rru*
               break-PAST-ABL-ACC   give-PURPss   word-ACC-CONJ-NOW

               wangka-lu-rru...
               say-PURPss-NOW
               Give that spear to those fellas who broke it, and say this to them too...

(4.179)   *Juwayu-la manku-layi jinyji-i*   *thurnta-rninyji parna-a*   *jinyji-marta*
               hand-LOC   get-FUT   fat-ACC   rub-FUT   head-ACC   fat-PROP

               kuliya-thurti-i.
               ear-CONJ-ACC
               Get some fat in your hand and rub your head with fat, and your ears too.

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

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