

CHAPTER 5

PRONOUNS AND DEMONSTRATIVES

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

5.1 PRONOUN PARADIGMS

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

TABLE 5.1: NOMINATIVE PRONOUN FORMS

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

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 The proto Ngayarda second person singular pronoun **nyinta* has been replaced by a form *kartu* cognate with the Yingkarta and Wajarri word *kartu* ‘man, person’ (Dench 1979).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

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

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

TABLE 5.2: INFLECTED PRONOUN FORMS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2 KIN POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (5.12) *Ngayu puni-lha ngurnu nhawu-lu, ngunhu-lwa*
 1SG.NOM go-PAST that.ACC see-PURPss that.NOM-ID
ngurnula-waya mayiili-ngu-waya.
 that.DEF-OWNER SoSo+1POSS-PNM-OWNER
 I went to see that fellow, that one who is the father of that grandchild of mine.

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

- (5.13) *Nganarna-wura-wula wurtu pawulu. Piyuwa wurtu*
 1PL.EXC-BELONG-MATRI HYPTH child nothing HYPTH
yarta-npa-lha paju kampalha paju. Pirriyarta-wula wurtu
 other-INCH-PAST REAL kinsman REAL own-MATRI HYPTH
kartu pawulu nganarna-wura-wula wurtu.
 2SG.NOM child 1PL.EXC-BELONG-MATRI HYPTH
 You're supposedly one of our close kin, one of our 'children' (mother's mob to one of our family), but it seems not, you've gone the other way child.
 You're supposed to be one of our mob.

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

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

TABLE 5.4: POSSESSED KIN TERMS

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

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

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

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

5.3 INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

5.3.1 'WHO/SOMEONE' *ngana*

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

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

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

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

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

5.3.2 'ANYONE' *nganamarnu*

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

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

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

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

5.3.3 'WHAT/SOMETHING' *nhartu*

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

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

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

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

5.4 DEMONSTRATIVE FORMS

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

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

TABLE 5.5: DEMONSTRATIVE STEMS

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

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

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

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

TABLE 5.6: INFLECTED PLAIN DEMONSTRATIVE FORMS

PROXIMAL FORMS

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

DISTAL FORMS

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

Firstly, Table 5.6 lists the dual and plural counterparts of the demonstratives presented in Table 5.5. With the exception of the nominative, these involve the addition of the productive number suffixes to the singular oblique stem, followed by the appropriate case suffix. The nominative non-singular forms are based on the singular nominative stem. In the proximal paradigm there has been some historical adjustment of the stem and number suffix combination:

<i>*nhiyu-tharra</i>	>	<i>nhiiyarra</i>
<i>*nhiyu-ngara</i>	>	<i>nhiingara</i>

Secondly, Table 5.6 includes inflected demonstratives for which there is not a unique stem form. With the exception of the ablative, all involve the addition of regular nominal suffixes to the singular oblique stem. The ablative, as expected, is based on the locative stem (but see §5.5.5). Once again, dual and plural extensions in all case forms are built on the oblique stem.

Locative and ablative noun phrases (unlike nominative, accusative and effector noun phrases) can occur as adnominal modifiers in more complex noun phrases and may take further relational case suffixes. Thus the singular locative and ablative demonstrative forms listed in Table 5.6 can be further inflected. However, adnominal locative and ablative demonstratives are in fact not at all common. Martuthunira employs the locational adverbial demonstratives in preference to noun phrases including a locative demonstrative (§5.6.1).

Topic-tracking demonstratives, described in §5.5.2, occur for only the singular forms of nominative and accusative demonstratives. Diachronically, these most likely involve the fusion of a topicalising clitic (**-pa* ~ **-ka*) of some kind to the plain demonstrative stems. As argued in §7.8, these forms are not synchronically analysable as a stem+clitic combination.

TABLE 5.7: TOPIC-TRACKING DEMONSTRATIVE FORMS

	Proximal	Distal
NOM	<i>nhiyaa</i>	<i>ngunhaa</i>
ACC	<i>yirnaa</i>	<i>ngurnaa</i>

The definite demonstratives *yirnala* and *ngurnula* are formed by the addition of a *-la* formative to the proximal and distal oblique stems. Inflected forms of the definite demonstratives involve the addition of regular nominal suffixes to these stems. However, the genitive form of the definite distal obligatorily selects the *-ngu* genitive allomorph and has

developed a degree of grammatical specificity suggesting that the form *ngurnulangu* be treated as a special form outside of the general paradigm (§5.5.3).

The adverbial demonstrative forms all involve suffixed additions to the locative adnominal demonstrative stem (Table 5.8):

TABLE 5.8: ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

	proximal	distal
locational	<i>yilangu</i>	<i>ngulangu</i>
non-specific	<i>yilarla</i>	<i>ngularla</i>
non-visible	<i>yilarni</i>	<i>ngularni</i>

Three different demonstrative systems show evidence of a *-la* stem formative: the ‘definite’ adnominal demonstratives (e.g. *ngurnula*), the ‘non-specific’ adverbial demonstratives (e.g. *ngularla*), and the indefinite locational *wanthala* (§5.10.1). The identification of the *-la* suffix in the ‘non-specific’ forms depends on the variable allophonic rule whereby the second of a pair of apical sonorants (separated by a vowel) is realised as a retroflex (§2.5.7). For all of these forms the suffix indicates the speaker's belief that a particular entity or place filling a certain description exists and can be found. The rather different interpretations of demonstratives in the three classes depends on the referential functions of the stems to which *-la* is attached.

5.5 ADNOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

This section discusses the semantics of the adnominal demonstratives, concentrating on the differences among plain, topic-tracking and definite forms. The primary function of the demonstratives is to refer to an entity in terms of its relative proximity to the speaker. However in addition to this, the demonstratives play a crucial role in maintaining text cohesion. Martuthunira has no distinct set of third person pronouns (either as free forms or as bound clitics) and thus much of the burden of ‘pronominal’ reference is carried by the demonstrative system. It is important to distinguish this ‘endophoric’ (text-internal) function from the primary ‘exophoric’ (text-external) function. The meanings which must be attributed to the demonstratives in each case are quite different.

The use of particular demonstrative forms in any text typically involves an interplay of exophoric and endophoric reference. For example, once an object is referred to in terms of its spatial proximity to the speaker it becomes a text item. The subsequent use of a demonstrative to refer to this item will depend partly on the referent's continuing relative proximity to the speaker and partly on standard patterns of cohesive text organisation. However, texts involving very little exophoric reference do occur. In particular, stories describing historical events or the actions of legendary culture heroes are often narrated in a situation that does not allow successful exophoric reference to characters or places. In these texts the patterns of endophoric demonstrative usage are most clearly defined and allow independent definition of endophoric meanings. The following sections describe both exophoric and endophoric functions of the various demonstrative forms.

5.5.1 PLAIN DEMONSTRATIVES

The exophoric functions of the unmarked demonstratives are quite straightforward. The proximal has a basic exophoric function as a presentative ‘this’, and is very often accompanied by some gesture indicating the referent.

- (5.33) *Nhiyu warnan parnta-rnuru-rru warnu ngaliwa-a.*
 this.NOM rain rain-PRES-NOW ASSERT 1PL.INC-ACC
 This rain is really coming down on us now.
- (5.34) *Nhawungarra ngaliwa, nhiyu murtimurti-mpa-nyila pirntura.*
 look.out 1PL.INC this.NOM fast-INCH-PrREL wave
 We'd better look out, this wave is coming in quickly.

The proximal is generally used to pick out referents which are relatively close to the speaker while distal forms are used for referents located at some distance. Typically the proximal will cover things that are also close to the addressee; however, the separate ‘near you’ demonstrative, *nhula*, allows more specific reference to objects within the addressee's sphere of influence:

- (5.35) *Nhula manyarrka wanta-rryu nganaju-wu-la parrka-ngka*
 near.you sugar put-IMP 1SG.OBL-GEN-LOC leaf-LOC
kayarra mirntiri winya.
 two spoon full
 Put that sugar in my tea, two spoonfuls.
- (5.36) *Nhula-tharra pintirri-ma-l.yu, nhula patharri-nguru.*
 near.you-DU separate-CAUS-IMP near.you fight-PRES
 Split those two up, they're fighting.
- (5.37) *Ya! nhula kanyaramanthawarla paju warnu mungka-rnuru*
 Hey near.you man greedy REAL ASSERT eat-PRES
thanuwa-thurtti-i, jinyji-warla-mpa-layi paju-rru.
 food-CONJ-ACC fat-FULL-INCH-FUT REAL-NOW
 Hey! That man's very greedy eating the food and everything, he'll be getting very fat.

In non-situated text (§1.7) the proximal demonstrative serves the important function of *introducing* a participant to the action described in the narrative. This function is clearly related to the exophoric function of the demonstrative as a basic presentative. Where a participant is introduced for the first time it is generally assumed that the addressee will be quite able to uniquely identify the person or object referred to – either through familiarity with the story (or at least the events and characters taking part), or through familiarity with the participants and their common roles in stock situations. Very often the speaker provides some additional identifying information following the demonstrative introduction:

- (5.38) *Nhiyu martawulyu, palyarringu-nyungu, ngunhaa panyu jami.*
 this.NOM sap bloodwood-DWELL that.NOM good medicine
 This sap, from a bloodwood tree, that's good medicine. (trans.)

The proximal is also used to reintroduce a participant who for some time has taken a ‘back seat’ in the progression of events in the narrative. Typically, this reintroduction heralds a

switch in ‘discourse-topic’: the new character becomes the central participant – the person who, in the narrator's opinion, provides the key to the unfolding of the events in the story.

In comparison with the important presentative function of the proximal, the distal demonstrative as used in non-situated text has very little deictic meaning. Its role in maintaining cohesive narrative is more a function of the contrast between plain and topic-tracking forms than the result of any inherent meaning in the distal stem. In many ways the singular plain distal demonstrative is similar to the English definite article ‘the’. It indicates that a referent satisfying a description (if the demonstrative is part of a noun phrase) or satisfying the grammatical role of subject or object or whatever (if the demonstrative is the head of a noun phrase) exists and can be found by the addressee. The identity of the referent is assumed to be retrievable from linguistic context, not by strict syntactic rule but by inference. Of course, the plain demonstrative stem may bear suffixes (such as number markers) which add to the referential content of the demonstrative word as a whole, and so narrow the range of possible antecedents. Also, the demonstrative may occur in a syntactic position which, given certain rules of grammar, leaves no question as to the referential antecedent.

5.5.2 TOPIC-TRACKING DEMONSTRATIVES

The topic-tracking forms of the distal demonstrative play an extremely important role in maintaining text cohesion. Essentially, topic-tracking demonstratives track those participants which form the speaker's current focus of interest. In any portion of narrative typically one of a number of participants will be singled out for special treatment. This may be because that participant's actions are of most interest to the narrator, or are assumed by the narrator to be of most interest to the addressee, or because the actions of the particular participant have the greatest bearing on the unfolding of events in the narrative. Participants singled out in this way may be tracked using topic-tracking demonstrative forms. By contrast, other participants appear with plain forms.

Where the focus of interest moves to a new participant, the change will be reflected in the switching of topic-tracking forms from one participant to another. As mentioned already, such a change may be introduced by a proximal demonstrative though the straightforward switching of topic-tracking demonstrative reference from one participant to another may serve the same function. Table 5.9 provides a summary of the demonstrative forms used in a section of narrative text (Appendix 1, Text 7:165-237), with lines indicating the tracking and switching of topic.

TABLE 5.9: ANAPHORIC DEMONSTRATIVE TRACKING IN TEXT

Man	Devil	Returning boomerangs	New boomerangs
<i>nhiyu</i>	<i>ngunhaa</i> <i>nhiyu</i>		
<i>ngunhaa</i> <i>ngunhaa</i>	<i>ngurnaa</i>		
		<i>ngurnutharra</i>	
	<i>ngurnu</i> <i>ngurnu</i> <i>nhiyu</i>		
		<i>ngurnutharra</i>	
<i>yilu</i>	<i>ngunhaa</i>	<i>ngurnutharra</i>	
	<i>ngunhaa</i>	<i>ngurnutharra</i> <i>ngurnu</i> <i>ngurnaa</i> <i>ngurnutharra</i> <i>ngurnutharra</i>	
		<i>ngunhaa</i>	<i>ngurnungara</i>
	<i>ngunhaa</i> <i>ngunhaa</i>		<i>ngurnu</i> <i>ngurnu</i> <i>ngurnu</i>
<i>ngunhu</i>	<i>ngurnaa</i>	<i>ngunhu</i> <i>ngunhaa</i>	
<i>nhiyaa</i>		<i>ngunhaa</i>	
<i>ngunhaa</i> <i>ngunhaa</i>	<i>ngunhu</i> <i>ngurnu</i>	<i>yirnaa</i> <i>ngunhaa</i>	
	<i>ngunhu</i>	<i>ngunhaa</i>	
<i>ngunhaa</i> <i>ngunhaa</i> <i>ngunhu</i>		<i>ngurnula</i> <i>ngurnu</i>	<i>ngurnu</i>
<i>yirna</i>	<i>ngurnaa</i> <i>ngunhaa</i> <i>ngunhaa</i> <i>ngunhaa</i> <i>ngunhaa</i>		

There are essentially four separate participants in the selected part of the narrative, and these form two opposing pairs. On the one hand, the man who made the first returning boomerangs is complemented by the ‘devil’ who is attempting to trick him into giving them up. On the other hand, the first two returning boomerangs contrast with the new boomerangs that the man is currently producing and which he repeatedly offers the devil in response to the latter's requests.

The narrative proceeds with descriptive statements by the narrator (non-situated text) interspersed with sections of reported speech (situated text) by the man and the devil. Most proximal demonstrative forms occurring in the reported speech make exophoric reference and so are irrelevant to questions of endophoric demonstrative tracking (and are ignored here). The relevant endophoric demonstrative forms are underlined in the text. Table 5.9 lists these and shows the patterns of topic switching effected by shifts in topic-tracking demonstrative reference. Topic-tracking demonstrative forms switch between the man and the devil as one after the other becomes the major instigator of action in the narrative. At the same time, the pair of returning boomerangs is also tracked by topic-tracking forms in contrast to the unmarked set of newly made boomerangs.

Topic-tracking proximal forms are rare in text (but note *nhiyaa* in the sixth entry in the ‘man’ column, Table 5.9) and occur almost exclusively in situated discourse. In such situations the demonstrative combines exophoric reference to an object or person located nearby with the endophoric reference implicit in the topic-tracking form. That is, the participant located near the speaker is considered to be the focus of interest in the discussion. In example (5.39) the speakers, a group of devils, conspire to steal Pannawonica Hill from a rival group:

- (5.39) *Nhiyu parla panyu paju. nganarna wiru kangku-layi yirnaa.*
 this.NOM hill good very 1PL.EXC wanting take-FUT this.ACC
 This hill is very nice. We want to take this one away.

Table 5.10 allows a comparison of the frequency of particular demonstrative forms in samples of non-situated narrative and situated reported speech. Only plain forms contrasting with topic-tracking forms were counted (i.e. singular nominative or accusative case forms). The sample also excluded all instances of text reference (§5.5.4) and demonstratives making temporal reference (§5.5.5).

TABLE 5.10: FREQUENCY OF DEMONSTRATIVE FORMS

	Non-situated text	Situated text
PROXIMAL		
plain	87	79
topic-tracking	4	16
subtotal	91	95
DISTAL		
plain	206	32
topic-tracking	251	24
subtotal	457	56
TOTAL	548	151

The special presentative function of proximal demonstratives is reflected by a much smaller proportion of proximal to distal forms in the non-situated text sample (91 to 457). Conversely, the proximal forms outnumber the distal forms in situated text, where they have a clear exophoric function (95 to 56).

Topic-tracking forms account for more than half of the distal forms in the non-situated sample, thus demonstrating the important function these forms play in maintaining a cohesive text. In the situated text sample, topic-tracking demonstratives do not form as large a portion of either distal or proximal forms.

As might be expected, the foregrounding function of the topic-tracking forms results in a higher proportion of subject to object forms for these demonstratives as compared with the plain demonstratives. Figures for the distal demonstratives are shown in Table 5.11.

TABLE 5.11: SUBJECT TO OBJECT RATIOS FOR DISTAL DEMONSTRATIVES

	Subject	Object	S:O ratio
plain	142	64	2.2
topic-tracking	218	39	5.6

Despite their important function, topic-tracking forms contrast with singular plain demonstratives only in nominative and accusative cases. There are no topic-tracking complements to plain demonstratives in other case forms, or to dual and plural demonstrative forms based on the plain stem. This is not at all surprising. First, topic-tracking forms might not be expected to occur in syntactic slots other than the core argument positions of predicates. Second, demonstratives inflected for number are of greater referential content than the simple singular stem (the appearance of a singular demonstrative does not guarantee a singular referent). Dual demonstratives in particular are highly referential and need no topic-tracking counterpart to facilitate their successful tracking in discourse. Thus although it is true to say that typically one participant is tracked by topic-tracking demonstrative forms, other participants, by virtue of their dual or plural marking, may be equally visible in a text.

The non-situated narrative text sample included 53 proximal non-singular demonstrative forms and 137 distal non-singular demonstratives. The situated speech sample included only 4 proximal and 5 distal non-singular forms. These figures can be compared with those presented for singular demonstrative forms in Table 5.10.

5.5.3 DEFINITE DEMONSTRATIVES

The definite demonstrative is used to refer to a particular entity which the speaker assumes the addressee is able to identify. As described in the last two sections, the plain demonstrative form indicates that a referent fulfilling a description, or the syntactic role of the noun phrase in which the form occurs, may be found by the addressee. The topic-tracking form adds the extra information that this referent is ‘the thing that the speaker is talking about’. The definite demonstrative, in indicating the existence of a ‘particular’ referent, reduces the set of possible demonstrative antecedents still further and so assumes almost full referential independence. Of all Martuthunira demonstratives, the definite forms are the closest to cardinal anaphoric third person pronouns.

Simple forms of the definite demonstratives occur relatively infrequently (only five instances in the sample of narrative text and reported speech forming the basis for the sampling for Table 5.10) and most often have an exophoric function, as in example (5.40) and (5.41). In (5.42) and (5.43) the definite demonstrative and its antecedent are underlined.

- (5.40) *Kartu kangku-Ø yirnala-a warrirti-i jankurna-marnu!*
 2SG.NOM take-IMP this.DEF-ACC spear-ACC emu-ASSOC
 You take this particular spear [offering it] for an emu!
- (5.41) *Nhiyu yirru yilhi yirru, mir.ta nhiyu. ngurnula-a kartu*
 this.NOM HES chip HES not this.NOM that.DEF-ACC 2SG.NOM
kanyja-rnuru wanthala.
 keep-PRES somewhere
 This chip (pointing), not this one (pointing). The one you are keeping hidden somewhere.
- (5.42) *Ngunhaa mir.ta jarrkurtiwankama-lalha. Thurlajinkarri-ngara waya*
 that.NOM not few save-PAST poor.fellow-PL fear
puni-wayara yartapalyu, yanga-nngu-rra yarta-ngara-lu,
 go-HABIT others chase-PASS-CTEMP other-PL-EFF
karta-nngu-layi waya, ngurnula-a wirta-lu, nyina-layi
 stab-PASS-FUT fear that.DEF-ACC climb-PURPss sit-FUT
parlu-ngka.
 top-LOC
That [hill] saved not just a few people. Some poor fellows used to go frightened, one mob, being chased by some others, frightened of getting stabbed, and climb it, and sit on top.
- (5.43) *Thurlajinkarri-tharra nganajumarta-la mir.ta waruul kuliya-l.yarra*
 poor.fellow-DU 1DU.DISHARM-LOC not still hear-CTEMP
nganajumarta-a wangkarnu-marri-nyila-a yilangu. Nhartu-u-lwa
 1DU.DISHARM-ACC talk-COLL-PrREL-ACC here what-ACC-ID
kuliyampa-nguru wiyaa, muyiwiya-nngu-rra. mir.ta wurtu
 think-PRES maybe abuse-PASS-CTEMP not HYPH
nganajumarta mir.ta muyiwiya-rnuru yirnala-tharra-a.
 1DU.DISHARM not abuse-PRES this.DEF-DU-ACC
These two poor fellows with us still aren't listening to us talking here. What are they thinking about as they're being abused [by us]. We won't insult them.

By contrast, the genitive form of the distal definite demonstrative, *ngurnula-ngu*, is very common and serves as an anaphoric third person possessive pronoun. In its range of antecedents it is in some ways similar to the Latin indirect reflexive possessive *suus*. Modifying genitive expressions within noun phrases are usually single possessive nominals – either the genitive form of a first or second person pronoun, or the genitive definite demonstrative. In the latter case the noun phrase specifying the possessor appears in the immediate linguistic context.

- (5.44) *Ngunhu kanyara wartawirrinpa-rra ngurnula-ngu-ngara-a*
 that.NOM man wait.for-CTEMP that.DEF-GEN-PL-ACC
wara-ngara-a pinkarranyu-mpa-nyila-a.
 clothes-PL-ACC dry-INCH-PrREL-ACC
 That man is waiting for his clothes to dry.
- (5.45) *Ngunhaa nyina-lha jampa, wiruwarri-lha-rru, kuliyanpa-lha*
 that.NOM stay-PAST while feel.homesick-PAST-NOW think-PAST
parrani-layi-rru ngurnula-ngu-mulyarra warra ngurra-mulyarra.
 return-FUT-NOW that.DEF-GEN-ALL CONT camp-ALL
 He stayed for a while, became homesick, then thought about returning to his camp.
- (5.46) *Jurti mirtayi mir.ta-rru mungka-lalha murla-a, parlura paju.*
 1SG.POSS big not-NOW eat-PAST meat-ACC full REAL
Ngayu-rru mungka-lalha ngurnula-ngu-u murla-a.
 1SG.NOM-NOW eat-PAST that.DEF-GEN-ACC meat-ACC
 My big brother didn't eat any meat, too full. So I ate his meat. (trans.)
- (5.47) *Ngayu nyina-lha ngulangu murna-ngka, tharryitharra ngaliya*
 1SG.NOM be-PAST there close-LOC side.by.side 1DU.EXC
nyina-lha, ngurnula-ngu-lwa pawulu-ngara nyina-lha
 sit-PAST that.DEF-GEN-ID child-PL be-PAST
pamaru-marra nguyirri-wirraa-ma-l.yarra nganarna-a.
 shout-COLL+CTEMP sleep-PRIV-CAUS-CTEMP 1PL.EXC-ACC
 I was there close, the two of us sat side by side, his children were shouting, keeping all of us awake.
- (5.48) *Ngayu yanga-lalha ngurnu tharnta-a, ngurnula-ngu kupuyu*
 1SG.NOM chase-PAST that.ACC euro-ACC that.DEF-GEN little
nhuwa-rnu-la yarta-ngku kanyara-lu.
 spear-PASSP-LOC other-EFF man-EFF
 I chased that euro, and its little one was speared by the other man. (trans.)
- (5.49) *Ngunhu-ngara mir.ta nhuura nyina-nyila-a wirta-ngara-a*
 that.NOM-PL not knowing be-PrREL-ACC youth-PL-ACC
ngurnula-ngu-marta-ngara-a nhurnti-ma-rninyji ngurnu-ngara-a.
 that.DEF-GEN-PROP-PL-ACC dead-CAUS-FUT that.OBL-PL-ACC
 They_i didn't know that those_j young men keeping those things of theirs_j were going to kill them.

These examples illustrate the most common patterns of syntactic relationship between the demonstrative and its antecedent. In examples (5.44) and (5.45) the genitive demonstrative is part of a non-subject noun phrase and the antecedent is the subject of the same clause. In (5.46) however, the first person singular subject of the clause is not a possible antecedent of the third person genitive and here the antecedent is the subject of the preceding clause. In (5.47) the genitive is part of the subject noun phrase and the antecedent is the third person included within the reference set of the first person exclusive pronoun subject of the preceding clause, *ngaliya*. In (5.48), the first person singular subject of the preceding clause is

not a possible antecedent and instead the object of that clause controls the genitive demonstrative. Finally, in (5.49) the genitive definite demonstrative is an endophoric expression embedded within an adnominal proprietive modifier in a complex noun phrase and the antecedent is the head of that noun phrase.

This function of the genitive definite demonstrative is restricted to distal forms. While genitive forms of the proximal definite demonstrative were accepted by the informant, they do not occur in either elicited or unelicited text.

5.5.4 TEXT REFERENCE

The distal adnominal demonstratives can be used to make reference to portions of text allowing comment on the facts or situations described in the narrative. Text deixis (or discourse deixis) (Halliday & Hasan 1976:52, Levinson 1983:85) of this type is a common device in closing or opening episodes in narrative. A number of set phrases asserting the veracity of events appear often in the collected texts. The use of the phrase *palwaru ngunhaa* illustrated in example (5.50) is typical. In (5.51), which presents the closing lines of a long text, the demonstratives refer to the narrative in its entirety.

- (5.50) *Ngaya-lha-nguru-rru karlwa-layi mirntiwul, wuraal-wa-rru*
 cry-PAST-ABL-NOW get.up-FUT all all.right-Ø-NOW
ngurra-arta-npa-layi-rru. Palwaru ngunhaa.
 camp-ALL-INCH-FUT-NOW true that.NOM
Kulii-lalha-nguru-rru ngurra-arta-marri-layi-rru.
 satisfied-PAST-ABL-NOW camp-ALL-COLL-FUT-NOW
Palwaru ngunhaa.
 true that.NOM
 Having cried [they] all get up. All right, head for camp now. That's that.
 Now satisfied [they] go off to camp together. That's that.
- (5.51) *Ngunhaa ngunhaa. Piyuwa-rru ngunhaa, piyuwa-rru ngunhaa*
 that.NOM that.NOM end-NOW that.NOM end-NOW that.NOM
Pantuwarningka.
 Pannawonica.Hill
 That's that. That's the end. That's the end of [the story about] Pannawonica Hill.

The set of narratives of which the Pannawonica story is one episode contains twenty instances of textual reference involving demonstratives (example (5.51) is counted as one instance). Although most of the set phrases employed with this function involve topic-tracking demonstrative forms, plain demonstratives also occur with some frequency (24 topic-tracking to 19 plain forms in the 20 instances cited).

5.5.5 TEMPORAL REFERENCE

Distal demonstrative forms are sometimes used as temporal deictics in narrative. Firstly, the plain nominative form of the definite demonstrative is used to refer to a particular point in time at which an event occurred, thus allowing comment about other things that happened or might have happened at that same time. For example:

- (5.52) *Kartungu muyi murla-a mungka-lalha. Ngayu ngurnu muyi-i*
 2SG.GEN dog meat-ACC eat-PAST 1SG.NOM that.ACC dog-ACC
thani-nmarni ngurnula-l.
 hit-CONTR that.DEF-THEN
 Your dog ate the meat. I should have hit it at that time.

Secondly, the ablative suffix may be added to either the plain or definite demonstrative indicating that the current event is occurring after the completion of the event referred to by the demonstrative. Notice that the ablative suffix with this temporal function selects the accusative form of the plain demonstrative rather than the usual locative. This follows the general pattern of temporal ablative marking described in §4.6.

- (5.53) *Puni-layi ngunhu-ngara mirntiwul wirta-lu Kawuyu-u-rru*
 go-FUT that-PL all climb-PURPss *Kawuyu-ACC-NOW*
parla-a. Ngurnu-nguru Ngunhu kanyara yinka-lalha-nguru
 hill-ACC that-ABL that.NOM man carve-PAST-ABL
patha-rralha-rru. ngunhu-ngarakarri-nyila nhawu-rra.
 throw-PAST-NOW that-PL stand-PrREL watch-CTEMP
 They all go to climb *Kawuyu* hill. After that, the man who carved [the boomerang] threw [it]. They stood watching.
- (5.54) *Ngurra-a ngunhaa kuyilwa-lalha, ngayalyu yirru. Ngurnula-nguru,*
 country-ACC that.NOM ruin-PAST devil HES that.DEF-ABL
ngunhu-ngara nyina-lha mir.ta-rru panyu ngurnu
 that-PL be-PAST not-NOW good that.ACC
kuyilwa-lalha-a yilhi-i.
 ruin-PAST-ACC chips-ACC
 He ruined the country, that devil. From that time on they weren't happy with that one who had ruined the [boomerang] chips.

5.6 ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVE FUNCTIONS

5.6.1 LOCATIONALS *yilangu, ngulangu*

The use of either the proximal or distal locational involves an assumption by the speaker that the addressee is able to identify the particular place being referred to. The proximal form typically denotes the location in which the speech act is taking place and a general notion of 'speech act locale' is assumed by both the speaker and the addressee. Thus the proximal most often occurs without any additional identification of the place being described as 'here'. However, where the speaker is making reference to a place which is more particularly located within the speech act locale, some additional information may be given.

- (5.55) *Ngawu, ngali wangkarnu-marri-layi yilangu malarnu-la.*
 yes 1DU.INC talk-COLL-FUT here shade-LOC
 Yes, let's talk here in the shade.
- (5.56) *Kartu pil.yi-mpa-layi yilangu kalyaran-takuwilyawuyu-la.*
 2SG.NOM flat-INCH-FUT here tree-LOC this.side-LOC
 You crouch down here on this side of the tree.

- (5.57) *Nyina-Ø kartu yilangu ngathala.*
 sit-IMP 2SG.NOM here 1SG.LOC
 Sit here by me. (trans.)

Specific indications of location are often made by gesture thus obviating the need for any further identification in the text. The use of gesture with an adverbial demonstrative also performs a function in non-situated narrative. In the following example the proximal is used together with a gesture to indicate a place near the feet of the narrator.

- (5.58) *Ngunhaa karlwa-lha yilangu, thani-nngu-rra wakupurra-lu*
 that.NOM get.up-PAST here hit-PASS-CTEMP stick-EFF
ngurra yirla.
 ground only
 He came up here (pointing), and only the ground got hit by that hitting stick.

Heath (1983:330) cites similar uses of demonstratives in Nunggubuyu, using the term ‘perspective shift’ for situations in which the speaker's point of view is imposed on locations and events taking place in the narrative. As in Nunggubuyu, instances of this kind of perspective shift in Martuthunira commonly involve a location on a body part, or a location very close to the speaker's person.

The location referred to by means of the proximal may be extended beyond the usual limits of the speech-act locale to include definable areas of territory within which the speech act is taking place, or the area of country with which the interlocutors most identify. Traditional stories include proximal references to the territory in which the language of narration was traditionally spoken. Usually wider reference of this kind is accompanied by a locative phrase defining the particular area. The following examples are taken from texts recorded within Martuthunira boundaries but not within the immediate vicinity of the events recounted.

- (5.59) *Ngayu marrari-ngara-a wantha-rninyji, maral.ya-la-a*
 1SG.NOM story-PL-ACC put-FUT devil-LOC-ACC
jina-ngka-a, wantharni-marri-lha-la-a palalyi-ngara-la,
 track-LOC-ACC how-COLL-PAST-LOC-ACC before-PL-LOC
kuwarri-la-l, ngurra-ngka, yilangu, Martuthuni-la.
 beginning-LOC-THEN country-LOC here Fortescue-LOC
 I'll put down the stories, about the devil's ‘tracks’, how they were before, in the beginning, in the country, here, on the Fortescue.
- (5.60) *Nhiyu kanyara kanangkalwa-nmarni,ngunhaa yilhi wanti-marni*
 this.NOM man make.clear-CONTR that.NOM chip lie-CONTR
yilangu-rru ... jalya-ngara-rru kalyaran yilangu.
 here-NOW useless-PL-NOW woodhere
 That man should have showed [them to him], those chips should be here
 [in this country]...the wood here is useless now.

The distal locational cannot rely on a received notion of speech act locale for its interpretation. A specific location may be described or implied in the immediately preceding context (examples (5.61), (5.62)), or may be identified by gesture (5.63). More commonly,

the identification of the location is made by some additional description in a locative noun phrase (5.64), (5.65).

- (5.61) *Nganaju mimi wantha-rralhapunkurrimarnu-u murtiwarla-la*
 1SG.GEN uncle put-PAST blanket-ACC car-LOC
ngayu nyina-wala ngulangu-lwa.
 1SG.NOM sit-PURPds there-ID
 My uncle put a blanket in the car for me to sit there. (trans.)
- (5.62) *Ngunhu-rru ngunhu puni-nguru pawu-urta-rru.*
 that.NOM-NOW that.NOM go-PRES father-DIRALL-NOW
Ngulangu-rru nyina-layi.
 there-NOW stay-FUT
 That one is going to his father now. He'll stay there now.
- (5.63) *Wantha-rninyji ngulangu-wa!*
 put-FUT there-YK
 Put it there (pointing)!
- (5.64) *Ngunhu pala mirntirimarta. Parlu-ngka-rru nyina-nguru.*
 that.NOM IT goanna top-LOC-NOW be-PRES
Wirta-lha ngulangu pinkarranyu-lakalyaran-ta.
 climb-PAST there dry-LOC tree-LOC
 That's the goanna. [It's] up there now. It climbed up there, up that dead tree.
- (5.65) *Ngulangu karra-ngkangayu jamanu karta-rnu kurarra-lu.*
 there scrub-LOC 1SG.NOM foot poke-PASSP thorn-EFF
 There in the the scrub my foot got poked by a *kurarra* thorn.
- The locational demonstratives may take number suffixes with the resulting demonstrative word referring to a number of places located within the usual scope of the demonstrative stem.
- (5.66) *Nhiiyarra wirta-tharranhuura thalu-ngara-a wanthala-a kurlany-ngara-a*
 this.DU youth-DU knowing site-PL-ACC where-ACC knife-PL-ACC
yilangu-ngara-a Martuthuni-i wanthala-a.
 here-PL-ACC Fortescue-ACC where-ACC
 These two youths knew the whereabouts of all the stone knife quarries around here in Fortescue country.
- (5.67) *Mayiili-marnu nyina-wayara yilangu-ngara-la wilhu-l.*
 FaFa+1POSS-GROUP sit-HABIT here-PL-LOC penis-THEN
Ngalarri-lha-rru wilhu-u, mir.ta kuliyanpa-layi nganangu
 forget-PAST-NOW penis-ACC not think-FUT who.ACC
wii nhawu-rra nyina-nyila-a.
 maybe see-CTEMP be-PrREL-ACC
 All our grandfathers used to sit all about here, [showing their] penises then. Well they forgot about [their] penises, didn't think about whoever might be looking.

5.6.2 NON-SPECIFIC *yilarla, ngularla*

The non-specific demonstrative forms are used to denote a particular place whose exact location is not known but which *is* known to lie within a wider region denoted by the proximal or distal stem. The proximal form indicates that the place is situated somewhere within the speech-act locale while the distal form, like its locational counterpart, requires some additional specification of the area within which the particular place may be found. The English glosses given for the non-specific forms are usually ‘somewhere here/there’, ‘around here/there’ or ‘hereabouts/ thereabouts’.

The referential content of these complex forms can be described as follows. Firstly, the locative demonstrative stem describes a location which is definite and specific; that is, the speaker has a particular place in mind and assumes that the addressee can identify that particular place. The demonstrative as a whole describes a particular place, within this definite location, which is not known to the speaker (non-specific) and is not necessarily known to the addressee.

- (5.68) *Yilarla wiyaa wanti-nguru marli-ngka kartawura-la.*
 here.NS maybe lie-PRES tree-LOC butt-LOC
 Maybe he's lying around here somewhere at the foot of a paperbark tree.
- (5.69) *Purrkuru-lwa thartuungku-marri-layi, yilarla-lwa. Wanthala ngula?*
 true-ID meet-COLL-FUT here.NS-ID where IGNOR
Ngularla-lwa Martuthuni-la.
 there.NS-ID Fortescue-LOC
 True enough, they met up somewhere here (in this country). Where exactly?
 Somewhere there on the Fortescue River.
- (5.70) *Yurlungarrarnu-nguru,ngunhu Kurlanypungkunha wangka-ngu-rra,*
Yurlungarrarnu-ABL that.NOM Kurlanypungkunha call-PASS-CTEMP
ngularla yawurru.
 there.NS west
 From *Yurlungarrarnu* Pool that place called *Kurlanypungkunha* is somewhere there to the west.
- (5.71) *Nhula kayulu jirtinyal thanturri-nguru kayulumarnu-la-nguru.*
 near.you water dripping go.down-PRES water.bag-LOC-ABL
Jalyuru ngularla kayulumarnu-la. Mir.ta wilawilama-rninyji.
 hole there.NS water.bag-LOC not shake-FUT
Kal.ya wantha-rryu karri-waa panyu-l.
 still put-IMP stand-PURPds good-THEN
 There's water dripping down from that water bag. There must be a hole in it somewhere there. Don't shake it around. Make it stand still, it will be okay then.

5.6.3 NON-VISIBLE *yilarni, ngularni*

These demonstrative forms are extremely rare and are poorly understood. Only one example of a non-visible demonstrative occurred in freely given text (example (5.72)), and

attempts at elicitation were generally unsuccessful. The informant provided the following glosses for the forms in isolation:

yilarni “round the corner, going to turn out here somewhere”

ngularni “coming other side and (we) can't see him, *kurryu-ngka* (‘in a hollow’)”

These glosses include a semantic component of motion as well as the general idea of lack of visibility, suggesting the possibility of some historical link to the *-rni* ‘centripetal’ forms of the compass points (§5.8) and *wantharni* ‘where’ (§5.10.2), and/or the nominal suffix *-ngurni* ‘obscured’ (§4.15).

- (5.72) *Ngulangu-lwa punkurrimarnu-la wauu-lpurtu. Nyina-lha waruu ngularla*
there-ID blanket-LOC still-COMP be-PAST still there.NS

mir.ta nhawu-ngu-rra ngaliwa-lu.
not see-PASS-CTEMP 1PL.INC-EFF

It's there in the blanket. It was somewhere there and wasn't seen by any of us.

Purrkuru warnu? Ngayu kuliyanpa-lha mir.ta-rru ngularla-wa,
true ASSERT 1SG.NOM think-PAST not-NOW there.NS-YK

parralhara nyina-lha waruu-lpurtu ngularni-wa.
centipede be-PAST still-EMPH there.NV-YK

Is that right? I thought there was nothing anywhere there but a centipede was [hidden] there all along.

- (5.73) *Ngularni-wa, ngayu mir.ta nhuura wantharni-i ngurnu kanyara-a*
there.NV-YK 1SG.NOM not knowing how-ACC that.ACC man-ACC

kanarri-lha-a. Ngayu wangka-yangu yartapalyu-lu ngurnu
come-PAST-ACC 1SG.NOM tell-PASSP others-EFF that.ACC

kanarri-lha-a. Ngularni kanarri-lha.
come-PAST-ACC there.NV come-PAST

From over there, I didn't know how that man came. I was told by the others that he came. He came from over there. (trans.)

5.6.4 ALLATIVE AND ABLATIVE FORMS

The adverbial demonstratives described in the preceding sections may take the allative and ablative suffixes. The meanings of these demonstratives are predictable from the meanings of the stem and the suffix.

- (5.74) *Ngunhu-ngara puni-lha, nhuunuwarnti. Yilangu-nguru-lwa puni-lha.*
that.NOM-PL go-PAST spouses here-ABL-ID go-PAST
They went, those husbands and wives. [They] went away from here.

- (5.75) *Ngunhaa nhawu-layi ngurnu warrirti-i kanyara-lu thawu-rnu-u*
that.NOM see-FUT that.ACC spear-ACC man-EFF send-PASSP-ACC

ngulangu-mulyarra puni-nyila-a ngarrawurlu.
there-ALL go-PrREL-ACC away

He'll see that spear sent by the man going away towards that place.

Allative and ablative forms of the non-visible locationals do not occur spontaneously in the data and the informant was reluctant to give forms in elicitation. Although an ablative form *ngularni-nguru* ‘from the other side, can't see it’ was accepted, the corresponding proximal **yilarni-nguru* was rejected as meaningless.

5.6.5 ‘THAT SIDE’ *ngulawuyu*

The *ngulawuyu* ‘that side’ demonstrative clearly involves the *-wuyu* ‘side’ suffix (§4.22) attached to the distal locative stem. However, a proximal form does not occur and instead the locational nominal *kuwilya* ‘this way’ stands in opposition to the demonstrative (5.76). *Ngulawuyu* often occurs with an added locative suffix and may have an adnominal function, as in example (4.60).

- (5.76) *Kayarra-tharrakarri-layi kanyja-rryarra,yarta kuwilya-wuyu-la,*
 two-DU stand-FUT hold-CTEMP other this.way-SIDE-LOC
yarta ngulawuyu-la-lpurtu.
 other that.side-LOC-COMP
 Two stand holding [the net], one this side, one on the other side.

5.7 PREDICATE DEMONSTRATIVE

The predicate demonstrative *yimpala* is used to refer to a known property of some participant in the text. The demonstrative may function as a second predication (example (5.77)), or as an adnominal modifier in a noun phrase (5.78).

- (5.77) *Wantharni-rru mungka-rninyji yimpala-a-wa, kampa-rnu-u*
 how-NOW eat-FUT like.that-ACC-YK cook-PASSP-ACC
kayulu-wirriwa.
 water-PRIV
 How is she going to eat it like that, cooked without water.
- (5.78) *Ngana ngunhaa wartirrathurlamanta?Ngayu mir.ta wiru*
 who that.NOM woman nosey 1SG.NOM not like
yimpala-ngara-a wartirra-ngara-a.
 like.that-PL-ACC woman-PL-ACC
 Who is that nosey woman? I don't like women who are like that. (trans.)

Yimpala is often used in narrative text to sum up the current status of a particular participant prior to further description or detailing of events. In example (5.79) a man has upset his wife by drinking against her wishes:

- (5.79) *Yimpala-rru-wa wiruwirraa-ma-lalha-rru ngurnula-ngu-u*
 like.that-NOW-YK upset-CAUS-PAST-NOW that.DEF-GEN-ACC
yaan-ku. Yimpala-rru-wa ngunhaa kanyara-wuyu puni-layi
 spouse-ACC like.that-NOW-YK that.NOM man-SIDE go-FUT

jalya-rru, yaan-wirriwa-rru.
 rubbish-NOW spouse-PRIV-NOW
 Now [he's] like that, he's upset his wife. He's like that, the man of the pair
 will be rubbish, without a wife now.

The demonstrative may make extended reference to situations in text, thus allowing the speaker to comment – to voice an opinion on events or to simply affirm the truth of what is being said. This pattern usually involves a topic-tracking form of the demonstrative, *yimpalaa*, exhibiting the characteristic lengthened final vowel.

- (5.80) *Ngayu wurnta-lalha-rru nganaju-u warrirti-i*
 1SG.NOM break-PAST-NOW 1SG.GEN-ACC spear-ACC
murla-marnu-u. Kuyil paju yimpalaa.
 meat-ASSOC-ACC bad REAL like.that
 I broke my hunting spear. That's very bad.

- (5.81) *Nhulaa thurlajinkarripuni-nguru ngalyurr thani-rnu. Nhiiyarra*
 near.you poor.fellow go-PRES nose hit-PASSP this.DU
patharri-lha walyurn-ngalyarnta. Yimpalaa pala.
 fight-PAST girl-CAUSAL like.that IT
 That one has a hit nose. These two have been fighting over a girl.
 That's how it is.

5.8 COMPASS TERMS AND LOCATIONAL NOMINALS

The Martuthunira compass terms form a closed subclass of the class of nominals. They can be defined as such by the fact that they do not take the locative or allative nominal suffixes and instead have unique locative and allative forms. In addition, the compass terms have a separate ‘centripetal’ form which indicates direction towards the speaker, away from the compass point (and so contrasts with the simple ablative which indicates direction away from the compass point but not necessarily towards the speaker). The basic paradigm is presented in Table 5.12.

TABLE 5.12 : COMPASS TERMS

	Locative	Allative	Centripetal
North	<i>wartantu</i>	<i>wartantari</i>	<i>wartantarni</i>
South	<i>karalu</i>	<i>karalari</i>	<i>karalarni</i>
East/Upriver	<i>jingkayu</i>	<i>jingkaari</i>	<i>jingkarni</i>
West/Downriver	<i>yawurru</i>	<i>yawurrari</i>	<i>yawurrarni</i>

The actual orientations of the compass terms are flexible as the east/upriver and west/downriver terms immediately suggest. Martuthunira territory is dominated by two major permanent watercourses (the Robe and Fortescue rivers) and numerous minor streams. All of these have a predominantly north-west/south-east orientation. Nevertheless, the sun rises *jingkayu* and sets *yawurru*. Similarly, the coast and the rise of the Hamersley Range, which run from west-south-west to east-north-east, provide the main orienting features for the terms *karalu* ‘south’ and *wartantu* ‘north’. Yinyjiparnti and Panyjima have compass terms for east

and west distinct from the (cognate) upriver and downriver locationals. Examples illustrating the use of compass terms include (4.27), (4.56), (4.81), (6.6), (9.53) and (10.57). Example (5.82) below illustrates the use of the centripetal form.

- (5.82) *Yawurrarni kanarri-lha, jalya kanarri-lha yawurrarni.*
 west.CENT come-PAST bereaved come-PAST west.CENT
Thaapuwa-tharramanku-yangu, kanyja-rnu pirtuwangu,
 big.man-DU grab-PASSP keep-PASSP initiate
parrani-lha-ma-rnu yawurrari.
 return-PAST-CAUS-PASSP west.ALL
 From the west they came this way, bereaved. Those two heroes were grabbed, kept as initiation prisoners, and then sent back to the west.

In addition to the forms listed in Table 5.12, the locative stem may take a number of regular locational suffixes.

<i>jingkayu-nguru</i>	away from the east
<i>jingkayu-nyungu</i>	dwelling in the the east
<i>jingkayu-ra</i>	belonging to the east
<i>jingkayu-wuyu</i>	the eastern side
<i>jingkayu-ngurni</i>	the eastern side of something obscuring view

- (5.83) *Nhiyu wartantu-nyungu waruul. Ngularla-lwa ngurra ngurnula-ngu.*
 this.NOM north.LOC-DWELL still there.NS-ID camp that.DEF-GEN
 This [man] is a northerner. His home is somewhere there.
- (5.84) *Ngana-rru kanarri-layi nhawani-i pal.yarra-a Wirawira-a,*
 who-NOW come-FUT what's-its-name-ACC plain-ACC Wirawira-ACC
yawurru-rawaruu, kartara-a paju Mitawanti-ngu
 downriver-PROV still flank-ACC REAL Mitawanti-ACC
jingkayu-wuyu-u.
 east.LOC-SIDE-ACC
 Then they came to what's-its-name plain, Wirawira, still in the 'downriver region', on the flank, the east side of Mitawanti hill.

In addition to the compass terms a small number of other nominals can be described as inherently locative. These generally function as locational 'adverbs' describing a direction of motion or orientation, or the relative position of some object with respect to the speaker. The locational nominals so far discovered are listed below:

<i>kankarni</i>	above
<i>kuwi(lya)</i>	this way
<i>ngarrawurlu</i>	other way
<i>ngunirni</i>	up to here, this way (indicating with hand)

There are no regular paradigms for these nominals although the actual forms suggest some relationship with the compass terms. *Kankarni* and *ngunirni* appear to involve the centripetal formative *-rni*. *Ngarrawurlu* involves a suffix *-wurlu* which is found in the other Ngayarda languages corresponding to the *-thartu* 'direction facing' suffix described in §4.8.2.

Kuwi(lya) occurs in the data in two forms: *kuwilya-wuyu* ‘this side’ and *kuwi-thartu* ‘facing this way’.

Ngunirni is a ‘perspective shifting’ locational (§5.6.1) used to indicate the position of an object by use of some gesture.

- (5.85) *Kanarri-layi kanyara-ngara kayulu-la-ngara, ngunirni-rru*
 come-FUT man-PL water-LOC-PL up.to.here-NOW
thala-ngka-rru kayulu-marta.
 chest-LOC-NOW water-PROP
 And then the men in the water come along, with water up to here (indicates)
 on their chests.

The irregular nominal *puyi* ‘far’, has the case forms listed below. Examples include (4.117), (5.2), (7.94), (9.38), (9.68), (9.140) and (10.20).

<i>puu</i>	NOMINATIVE and sentential adverb
<i>puyii</i>	ACCUSATIVE
<i>puyila</i>	LOCATIVE
<i>puyiirta</i>	ALLATIVE

5.9 TEMPORAL NOMINALS

Martuthunira has a set of temporal nominals which can be characterised as ‘point-time’ qualifiers. These refer to times of the day or to general points in time located relative to the present of utterance or an established narrative present. They do not take the locative suffix and have the inherent locative sense ‘at time X’.

<i>kuwarri</i>	now, the beginning
<i>wiruwanti</i>	morning, tomorrow
<i>thulharra</i>	afternoon
<i>wayala</i>	night-time
<i>palalyi</i>	before, early in time
<i>mawurru</i>	later on

- (5.86) *Ngayu nguyirri-warlaya paju wiruwanti-nguru-l.*
 1SG.NOM sleep-FULL REAL morning-ABL-THEN
 I've been fast asleep since this morning. (trans.)
- (5.87) *Nhiyu kanyaranyina-nguru malarnu-la nhuwa-lalha-ngurutharnta-a*
 this.NOM man sit-PRES shade-LOC spear-PAST-ABL euro-ACC
yarta-ngka-l thulharra.
 other-LOC-THEN afternoon
 This man is sitting in the shade, the one who speared a euro the other afternoon.

By contrast, *jampa* ‘moment’ is a durative temporal qualifier. It indicates that an action or state is maintained for a relatively short period of time and generally signals an impending change from one event to another (examples (5.88), (5.89)). *Jampa* may take the locative suffix and then functions as a point-time qualifier (5.90). *Ngarti* ‘again, next’, is illustrated in (5.91), (5.92) and (5.93).

- (5.88) *Ngunhaa nyina-lha jampa, wiruwarri-lha-rru.*
 that.NOM stay-PAST moment homesick-PAST-NOW
 He stayed for a short while, and then got homesick.
- (5.89) *Nhawu-Ø kunti jampa ngurnu-wurrini marlarra-wurrini.*
 look-IMP stop moment that.ACC-DIRECT road-DIRECT
 Stop and look towards the road for a moment.
- (5.90) *Kalayamarta-awantha-rninyji karla-ngkakarri-waa*
 billy.can-ACC put-FUT fire-LOC stand-PURPs=o
karlarra-mpa-rra. Jampa-ngka-rru warnu pala.
 hot-INCH-CTEMP moment-LOC-NOWASSERT IT
 Put the billy can on the fire to get hot. [It'll be ready] in a moment.
- (5.91) *Tharrwi-layi wulu-marnu-u thawuta-a, ngarti-l*
 put.on-FUT leg-ASSOC-ACC trousers-ACC next-THEN
tharrwi-layi jaat-ku.
 put.on-FUT shirt-ACC
 Put on trousers, and next put on a shirt.
- (5.92) *Ngayu ngarti-rru wurtu wangka-layi kartungu marrari-i?!*
 1SG.NOM again-NOW HYPH tell-FUT 2SG.ACC word-ACC
 Do I have to tell you again what I said?!
- (5.93) *Ngayu murnta-lalha wirra-a ngarti-l*
 1SG.NOM take.from-PAST boomerang-ACC again-THEN
patharri-wirri-la ngurnu-ngalyarnta-lwa.
 fight-LEST-LOC that.ACC-CAUSAL-ID
 I took away that boomerang otherwise [you'd] be fighting over it again.

The nominal *waruul* 'still', indicates the persistence of a state or the continuation of a series of actions (examples (5.94), (5.95)). It also occurs as part of the apparently derived verb *waruulwa-L* 'to continue to be unable to do' (5.96).

- (5.94) *Nhiyu parnta-rnuru waruul!*
 this.NOM rain-PRES still
 It's still raining!
- (5.95) *Nhiyu jalya waruul, kartungku mir.ta parlwiya-rnu.*
 this.NOM useless still 2SG.EFF not straighten-PASSP
 This one is still useless, it hasn't been straightened by you.
- (5.96) *Jalya-mpa-rra-rru puni-rra nhuwa-l.yarra waruulwa-l.yarra.*
 useless-INCH-CTEMP-NOW go-CTEMP spear-CTEMP can't.do-CTEMP
 [I'm] useless, [I] still can't spear anything.

Various forms of *waruul* occurring in the data suggest a root *waruu-* to which the temporal clitic *-l* 'THEN' (§7.7) is often attached. However, a new *waruul* root is emerging. Table 5.13 shows the expected patterns of nominal plus clitic combination for both roots. The forms are predicted assuming the regular operation of the phonotactic 'cluster-busting' rules (§2.3.3).

TABLE 5.13: FORMS OF WARUU/WARUUL ‘STILL’

	<i>waruu</i>	<i>waruul</i>
<i>-lpurtu</i>	<i>waruu-lpurtu</i>	<i>waruul-u-lpurtu</i>
<i>-rru</i>	* <i>waruu-rru</i>	<i>waruul-wa-rru</i> (<i>waruul-u-rru</i>)
<i>-nu</i>	<i>waruu-nu</i>	<i>waruul-u-nu</i>
unmarked	<i>waruu</i>	<i>waruul</i>

Of six predicted possibilities, only *waruu-rru* does not occur in the data. However, a form *waruul-u-rru*, which is not predicted by the regular phonotactic rules, occurs just once. The roots are clearly in competition. First, although both forms of the nominal occur with the *-lpurtu* clitic, that based on *waruul* is quite rare, suggesting that the *waruu* root is winning out. By contrast, the most common form with the clitic *-rru* is *waruul-wa-rru*, suggesting (since *waruu-rru* never occurs) that the *waruul* root is winning out on this front. However, the existence of the unpredicted form *waruul-u-rru* suggests that perhaps the *waruulwaruu* form may involve clitics *-lwa* and *-rru* added to the *waruu* root (i.e. *waruu-lwa-rru*). There is no semantic reason for supposing the presence of the *-lwa* clitic in this form. Finally, both root forms are equally common with the *-nu* clitic.

5.10 INDEFINITE LOCATIONALS/TEMPORALS

The indefinite *wantha* ‘where’ forms the basis for a number of derived indefinite nominals. The functions of these forms are discussed in the following sections.

<i>wantha</i>	(any)where
<i>wanthala</i>	(some)where
<i>wantharni</i>	what way, how
<i>wantharta</i>	when
<i>wanthanha</i>	which
<i>wantharra</i>	like

5.10.1 ‘WHERE’ *wantha(la)*

Wantha(la) is described as indefinite since it refers to a location or locations which are not known to the speaker. The *wantha* ‘anywhere’ form indicates a generalised notion of unknown location while the *wanthala* ‘somewhere’ form refers to a particular yet unknown place at which the speaker assumes an entity is located. The *wanthala* form thus corresponds to the non-specific demonstratives and is similarly formed by the addition of the *-la* ‘particularising’ suffix (§5.4) to the *wantha* root. The following examples illustrate the contrast between the two forms.

- (5.97) *Ngarniyarrangumarnta-lalha* *martura-la-ma-l.yarra.*
 big.group press.down-PAST middle-LOC-CAUS-CTEMP
Ngunhu-ngara wiru *jaya-rninyji* *wantha-a* *paju.* *Piyuwa.*
 that.NOM-PL wanting escape-FUT somewhere-ACC REAL nothing
 A big group closed in on them. They wanted to escape somewhere (i.e. anywhere). No chance.

- (5.98) *Ngayu mir.ta nhuura ngurnu pul.ya-a wanthala-a.*
 1SG.NOM not knowing that.ACC chew-ACC where-ACC
 I don't know just where exactly that spinifex wax is.
- (5.99) *Wirra-ngara panyu-ngara wanta-nguru yirla kanarri-lha.*
 boomerang-PL good-PL where-ABL only come-PAST
 Good boomerangs only came from elsewhere (not from here).
- (5.100) *Ngana nhula kanyara?Wantha-nyungu, mir.ta warnu ngayu*
 who near.you man where-DWELL not ASSERT 1SG.NOM
nhawu-wayara yimpala-a-wa kanyara-a. Nhiyaa manyjangu
 see-HABITlike.that-ACC-YK man-ACC this stranger
paju-rru. Wantha-nguru-lwa nhiyaa kanyara?
 REAL-NOW where-ABL-ID this man
 Who is that man? He's from somewhere else, I haven't ever seen a man like that.
 This is a real stranger. Where's he from exactly?

Although morphologically unmarked and semantically more general, the *wantha* form is relatively rare and is best considered a semantically marked counterpart to *wanthala*. *Wantha* most commonly appears as a more general attention-grabbing interrogative. This is illustrated in the following examples.

- (5.101) *Wantha-rru, ngaliwa ngurra-arta-rri-layi-rru?*
 where-NOW 1PL.INC camp-ALL-INV-FUT-NOW
 Well, are we heading home?
- (5.102) *Wantha-rru-nu jurlu? Mirntiwul paju-rru-nu yilangu?*
 where-NOW-QUOT all all REAL-NOW-QUOT here
 Well is that all or not? Is everyone here now?
- (5.103) *Thana wangka-wala nyingkulu-l ngunhaa. Nhartu-u-lwa marrari-i*
 let speak-PURPs first-THEN that.NOM what-ACC-ID word-ACC
ngali kuliya-rninyji. Wantha-rru-wi!?
 1DU.INC hear-FUT where-NOW-VOC
 Let him speak first. Let's hear what [his] word is. Well!?

5.10.2 'WHAT WAY/HOW' *wantharni*

The main function of *wantharni* is as an indefinite counterpart to the predicate demonstrative *yimpala* (§5.7). That is, it refers to an indefinite predicate, usually of manner:

- (5.104) *Ngayu kangku-yangu nhuura-ma-rnu yanti-i wantharni*
 1SG.NOM take-PASSP know-CAUS-PASSP dish-ACC what.way
kanyja-rninyji juwayu-la.
 hold-FUT hand-LOC
 I was taken and shown how to hold a winnowing dish in my hands. (trans.)
- (5.105) *Wantharni-rru kartu nhurnti-ma-rninyji tharnta-a warrirti-wirraa?*
 what.way-NOW 2SG.NOM dead-CAUS-FUT euro-ACC spear-PRIV
 How are you going to kill a euro without a spear?

- (5.106) *Wantharni malyarra-mpa-nguru?*
 what.way sick-INCH-PRES
 In what way is he sick?
- Mir.ta ngalyari nyantarta-mpa-nguru.*
 not urine good-INCH-PRES
 His urine isn't right.

Interrogative verbs based on *wantharni* are very common. Examples include (6.26), (6.42) and (6.46). The second function of *wantharni* is as an allative counterpart to the locative *wanthala* as in (4.80), (7.114) and (10.69).

5.10.3 'WHEN' *wantharta*

- (5.107) *Wantharta-rru nhuwana-lu yungku-ngu-layi murla-a ngurnu?*
 when-NOW 2PL-EFF give-PASS-FUT meat-ACC that.ACC
 When am I going to be given that meat by you people?
- (5.108) *Ngaliwa warnan-ngu-layi wiyaa wantharta wii. Ngawu. Nhiyu*
 1PL.INC rain-PASS-FUT maybe when maybe yes this
manta wanti-nguru wantharta-nguru-l. Wantharta paju parnta-rninyji?
 cloud lie-PRES when-ABL-THEN when REAL rain-FUT
 We might get rained in (trapped by floodwaters) sometime. Yes, this cloud cover has been here for some time now (lit. since somewhen then). But just when is it going to rain?
- (5.109) *Kuliyarpa-rra nyina-nguru wantharta-a parrani-waa.*
 think-CTEMP be-PRES when-ACC return-PURPs=o
 [She's] wondering when [he] will come back.

5.10.4 'WHICH' *wanthanha*

Like 'which' in English, *wanthanha* implies a set of clearly defined options – objects or actions – from which a particular object or path of action may be chosen, as in example (5.110) (and see also (4.57), (6.5), (7.87)). In addition, *wanthanha* is commonly used as an exclamation of indecision, or as a rhetorical question – 'What to do next?' – in procedural narratives. A characteristic example of this occurs in (5.111). The sense of the exclamation can be paraphrased as 'There are a number of things we could do now, which shall we do?'.

- (5.110) *Wanthala-nguru ngunhu karlwa-lha-rru, parla-ngka,*
 where-ABLthat.NOM go.up-PAST-NOW hill-LOC
ngayu mir.ta nhuura wanthanha-la parla-ngka.
 1SG.NOM not knowing which-LOC hill-LOC
 From somewhere he went up [into the sky], [from] on a hill. I don't know on which hill it was.
- (5.111) *Wanthanha-rru-nu? Nganajumarta wangka-layi? Wanthanha-la-nguru*
 which-NOW-QUOT1DU.DISHARM talk-FUT which-LOC-ABL

marrari-la-nguru? Jankurna-a mungka-lalha-la-nguru?
 word-LOC-ABL emu-ACC eat-PAST-LOC-ABL
 What now then? Shall we talk? From which word [in the story shall we start]?
 From where [he's] already eaten the emu?

5.10.5 'LIKE' *wantharra*

The *wantharra* form functions as a semblative predicate. Almost without exception it occurs together with a nominal or verb referring to the object or action which some other object or action is seen to resemble. In much the same way that *wanthanha* assumes a defined set of entities from which one is chosen, *wantharra* assumes a defined entity with which some other entity is compared.

- (5.112) *Ngunhaa kampa-lalha murla-a, kuyilwa-l.yarra-rru, puwara*
 that.NOM burn-PAST meat-ACC spoil-CTEMP-NOW charcoal
wantharra-rruwanti-waa kurnangu-rru.
 like-NOW lie-PURPs=o black-NOW
 He burned the meat, spoiling it so that it was like charcoal, black now.
- (5.113) *Kulaya-lalha wiyaa ngula minthal, kunti jampa, nhartu-u*
 try.out-PAST maybe IGNOR alone stop moment what-ACC
wantharra-anhawu-layi. Panyu-u waruu-lpurtu.
 like-ACC see-FUT good-ACC still-COMP
 [He] probably tried them out by himself, for a while, to see what they were like.
 They were good all right.
- (5.114) *Kartu wantharra-nu,mura. Mir.ta-rru kurnangu, piyuwa,*
 2SG.NOM like-QUOT son not-NOW black nothing
yarta-lpurtu. Ngunhu-tharra walypala wantharra, jiwarra.
 other-COMP that.NOM-DU European like white
 Apparently [they] were like you, son. Not black, not at all, altogether different. The two of them were like Europeans, white.

In the following two examples *wantharra* follows a verb. However, it is clear (in (5.115) especially) that the whole situation, rather than just the event denoted by the verb, comprises the semblative expression.

- (5.115) *Nhuwana mir.ta nhuura kalya nyina-layi, kuyil paju,*
 2PL not knowing still sit-FUT bad REAL
karimalkarimal paju, karta-nngu-rra wantharra.
 jumpy REAL poke-PASS-CTEMP like
Yimpalaa, karta-nngu-rra wantharra milhu.
 like.that poke-PASS-CTEMP like bum
 You don't know to sit still, [you're] really bad, jumping all over the place, as if you're being poked. That's what it's like, like [you're] bum's being poked.
- (5.116) *Ngayu nhawu-nguru ngurnu kanyara-a malyarra-rnura-a wantharra-a.*
 1SG.NOM see-PRES that.ACC man-ACC sick-PrREL-ACC like-ACC
 I saw that man looking sick.

Unlike the other forms based on the *wantha* root, the semblative *wantharra* form itself has little meaning independent of the construction of which it is part. The essential meaning is ‘something resembles something else’, and it is necessary for both ‘somethings’ to be identified in some way for a semblative construction to make sense. It is for this reason that the form does not appear as an interrogative without the indefinite nominal *nhartu* standing in for the semblative expression as in (5.113) (and see also (9.157) and (10.59)).