

CHAPTER 7

PARTICLES AND CLITICS

This chapter describes a collection of post-inflectional clitics and a set of uninflected particles. Since the clitics are often semantically and syntactically comparable with certain particles and differ only in that they are phonologically dependent on a preceding word, they will be discussed together with independent forms in the sections that follow.

Section 7.1 describes the relative order of clitics. Section 7.2 describes those clitics and particles which function as propositional modifiers. Their syntax is described in §7.3. Sections 7.4 to 7.10 describe a range of particles and clitics with a range of different functions. Finally, §7.11 describes interjections.

7.1 ORDER OF CLITICS

Clitics may occur on any part of speech, with the exception of interjections, and follow any nominal or verbal suffixes attached to a word. A number of clitics may follow the one word and these typically occur in a fixed order. The ‘clitic cluster’ is a flat structure, unlike the collection of suffixes following a nominal. That is, there is no concentric scoping whereby one clitic is included within the scope of a following clitic and the meaning is a result of an ordered combination of the two. Instead, a number of clitics may have scope over the same syntactic unit. Although complex clitic structures are not particularly common it is possible to work out a preferred sequence from orders betrayed in simpler structures. Table 7.1 shows the relative ordering of the clitics.

TABLE 7.1: ORDER OF CLITICS

<i>-lpurtu</i>	<i>-rru</i>	<i>-l</i>	<i>-lwa</i>	<i>-nu</i>
		<i>-yi</i> <i>-wa</i>		

The addition of clitics to consonant-final words and the possibility of clitic sequences results in a number of non-permissible consonant clusters. Devices for breaking these clusters are discussed in §2.3.3.

The relative positions of the clitics do not appear to correlate with natural groupings of clitic functions. The clitics *-lpurtu* ‘complementary’ (§7.2.9), and *-nu* ‘quotative’ (§7.2.2), are functionally equivalent to the propositional modifying particles described in §7.2. The clitics *-rru* ‘now’, *-lwa* ‘identification’ and *-wa* ‘you know’ have important text-cohesive functions (§7.8). By contrast, *-l* ‘then’ (§7.7), has very similar temporal functions to locational nominal suffixes. Finally, the ‘vocative’ clitic *-wa*, is grouped with interjections (§7.11).

The position of the clitics with respect to other clausal constituents is variable. Although there is some tendency for clitics to occur in second position in noun phrases (attached to the first word) this is by no means a strict rule. As discussed in §7.3, the position of clitics and particles with respect to constituents at a number of syntactic levels is quite meaningful.

7.2 PROPOSITIONAL MODIFIERS

A number of particles function to modify a proposition by giving some pragmatic information such as a speaker's state of mind concerning what is said, his or her intentions in presenting the information, or the status of the information (the interlinear morpheme glosses are indicated in capitals):

<i>wurla</i>	MISTakenly thought
<i>warnu</i>	ASSERTedly
<i>wurtu</i>	HYPoTHetically
<i>ngula</i>	IGNORantly
<i>kana</i>	RHETorically
<i>paju</i>	REALly
<i>warra</i>	CONTrastively

The group also includes the clitics *-nu* ‘quotative’, and *-lpurtu* ‘complement’.

7.2.1 ‘ASSERTEDLY’ *warnu*

Warnu is used to assert the speaker's belief in the truth of what is being said. *Warnu* also indicates a speaker's belief that s/he might not be expected to say what s/he is saying or to present his/her personal viewpoint in such a way. The particle is often used in complaints or admonitions, as in example (7.1) below and (4.100): by making blunt assertions of personal belief the speaker invites contradiction. In other circumstances, *warnu* is used in praising someone (7.2), (7.3).

- (7.1) *Nhuwana panyu-ma-rninyji minthal-wa-rru. Kanyara-lpurtu warnu!*
 2PL good-CAUS-FUT alone-Ø-NOW man-COMP ASSERT
 You fix it on your own now. [You're] men (correct me if I'm wrong)!
- (7.2) *Ngawu! Panyu waruul-wa-rru yimpala, punyjarti warnu kartu.*
 Yes good still-Ø-NOW like.that generous ASSERT 2SG.NOM
 Yes! [You're] still good like that, you're generous (I say).
- (7.3) *Nhulaa tharntaparna warnu pariingku-yangu kartungku.*
 near.you euro head ASSERT shoot-PASSP 2SG.EFF
 That euro has been shot right in the head by you (you're a good shot!). (trans.)

Warnu is often used in giving explanations of situations. In this case it is typically followed by *pala* (§7.9), which functions as a dummy demonstrative (hence glossed as dummy ‘it’) making extended reference to the state of affairs purportedly explained by the *warnu*-marked assertion. The explanations are presented as the speaker's personal inferences and are open to contradiction.

- (7.4) *Nganaju ngunhu muyi yanga-l.yarra puni-lha, pawulu-ngara-lu*
 1SG.ACC that.NOM dog follow-CTEMP go-PAST child-PL-EFF
mir.ta warnu pala jarraa-rnu.
 not ASSERT IT tie.up-PASSP
 That dog followed after me, (I'd say) it wasn't tied up by the children. (trans.)

- (7.5) *Ngayu nhuura-ma-lalha nganaju-u mura-a wantharni*
 1SG.NOM know-CAUS-PAST 1SG.GEN-ACC son-ACC how
wantha-rrwaa warangarti-i muyi-marnu-u, manku-layi mujira-a.
 set-PURPs=o trap-ACC dog-ASSOC-ACC get-FUT dingo-ACC
Parla-marta-a warnu pala, panyu waruul-wa-rru.
 money-PROP-ACC ASSERT IT good still-Ø-NOW
 I showed my son how to set dog traps, to get dingoes. Well they're worth money, and that's good.

7.2.2 ‘QUOTATIVE’ -nu

Like many Australian languages, Martuthunira has a clitic which indicates that the speaker has no direct evidence for the truth of a statement and that instead knowledge of the situation arises from hearsay (Wilkins 1986:585, Laughren 1982:137, Austin 1981a:173).

- (7.6) *Mir.ta-nu jarruru kanarra patha-rralha. Ngunhaa-nu, ngunhaa*
 not-QUOT slowly wind blow-PAST that.NOM-QUOT that.NOM
puulywa-lalha kanarra-la thawu-lalha yilhi-i.
 puff-PAST wind-LOC send-PAST chip-ACC
 The wind didn't blow slowly (so they say). Apparently that fellow puffed and sent the chips away on the wind.
- (7.7) *Jina-nu ngurnaa pal.yarra-ma-lalha, yanga-l.yarra ngurnu-lwa*
 foot-QUOT that.ACC plain-CAUS-PAST chase-CTEMP that.ACC-ID
kayarra-a wirra-tharra-a. jina-wura-nu ngunhaa
 two-ACC boomerang-DU-ACC foot-BELONG-QUOT that.NOM
pal.yarra wanti-nguru.
 plain lie-PRES
 (It is said) their feet made the plain like that, chasing those two boomerangs.
 That plain is a result of their feet (so it's said).

The use of the clitic in reporting events for which the speaker has no direct evidence is most common in mythological texts. The clitic may also be used in direct orders, suggestions, and in making statements about oneself, to distance oneself from the assertions:

- (7.8) *Nhiyu-nu wirra ngathu yinka-rnu. Nhuwana-nu*
 this.NOM-QUOT boomerang 1SG.EFF chisel-PASSP 2PL-QUOT

kanarri-layinganaju-mulyarra nhawu-lu-nu wirra-tharra-a.
 come-FUT 1SG.ACC-ALL see-PURPss-QUOT boomerang-DU-ACC
 (It is said) this boomerang was made by me. Perhaps you can come to me and see
 these two boomerangs

- (7.9) *Nhiyu-nu yarta-lpurtu-nu parla-nu panyu paju.*
 this.NOM-QUOT other-COMP-QUOTHill-QUOT good REAL
 (It is said) this hill is different, it's very good apparently.

- (7.10) *Kartu-nu, manyka, puni-layi-rru thanuwa-a-rru mungka-ru.*
 2SG.NOM-QUOT son go-FUT-NOW food-ACC-NOW eat-PURPss
 Son, you're supposed to go and eat some food.

7.2.3 'MISTAKENLY THOUGHT' *wurla*

Wurla indicates the speaker's belief that s/he has made a mistake in judgement and feels s/he should have known better.

- (7.11) *Ngayu thani-marni wurla ngurnaa mui-i wiruwanti.*
 1SG.NOM hit-CONTR MIST that.ACC dog-ACC morning
 (I know) I should have hit that dog this morning.

- (7.12) *Ngayu nhawu-lha ngurnu wirta-a nyanyji-i.*
 1SG.NOM see-PAST that.ACC boy-ACC pre.initiate-ACC

Purrrkuruwurla wurtu manarri-nguli-marni,
 true MIST HYPH capture-PASS-CONTR

purrrkuruwurla wurtu pirtuwangu-ma-nnguli-marni?
 true MIST HYPH prisoner-CAUS-PASS-CONTR
 I saw that boy who is due for initiation. Shouldn't he have been caught,
 should have been made prisoner, or am I mistaken?

The mistake in judgement is usually, but not always, attributed to the speaker. In example (7.13), a third person is described as mistakenly believing in his ability to repair an engine.

- (7.13) *Ngunhaa kuliyanpa-lha panyu-ma-rninyji wurla. Ngulangu-rru*
 that.NOM think-PAST good-CAUS-FUT MIST there-NOW
karri-lha nhawu-rra murtiwarla-a yinyjin-ku. Panyu-ma-rninji
 stand-PAST see-CTEMP car-ACC engine-ACC good-CAUS-FUT
wurla. Jalya-mpa-lha-rru thurlajinkarri.
 MIST useless-INCH-PAST-NOW poor.fellow
 He (mistakenly) thought he could fix it. He was standing there looking at that
 car's engine. [He] thought he could fix it. [No] he's useless, that poor fellow.

7.2.4 'HYPOTHETICALLY' *wurtu*

Wurtu indicates that what is being said is the speaker's humble opinion or hypothesis and that s/he wants the addressee to either agree or disagree. *Wurtu* is very similar in many of its uses to the English tag-question construction. However, unlike the tag-question it does not

presume a positive or negative response. In (7.14) and (7.15) the particle indicates a simple polar interrogative:

- (7.14) *Nhuwana puni-layi wurtu thawun-mulyarra?*
 2PL go-FUT HYPH town-ALL
 Are you going to town?
- (7.15) *Ngawu! Ngayu ngarti-rru wurtu wangka-layi kartungu marrari-i?*
 yes 1SG.NOM next-NOW HYPH say-FUT 2SG.ACC word-ACC
 Yes! I'll say something next, give you my side of it, shall I?

In the following complaints *wurtu* invokes a challenge to the addressee to confirm or deny an allegation.

- (7.16) *Nhartu! Kartu kuliyanpa-nguru nganaju ngalawangka-nyila-a*
 what 2SG.NOM think-PRES 1SG.ACC tell.lie-PrREL-ACC
wurtu?
 HYPH
 What! You think I'm lying do you?
- (7.17) *Kartu mir.ta wurtu nhuura-nga-nguru kalika-a-lwa?*
 2SG.NOM not HYPH know-INCH-PRES one-ACC-ID
 Aren't you waking up to what this one is?

Finally, *wurtu* occurs in mild exclamations that invite the addressee to think about what is being said.

- (7.18) *Mir.ta wanta-rralhayawarnu-u. Piyuwa wurtu!*
 not put-PAST windbreak-ACC not.at.all HYPH
yimpala-rru-wa kanarra-lu parnpiingku-yangu.
 like.that-NOW-YK wind-EFF throw.down-PASSP
 [She] didn't put up a windbreak. Not at all! That's how she came to be
 thrown down by the wind.
- (7.19) *Ngunhu kanyara kuliyanpa-nguru nhuura paju-rru thurlanyarrara.*
 that.NOM man think-PRES knowing REAL-NOW poor.fellow
ngaa wurtu pala, jalya wurtu, mir.ta nhuura.
 yes HYPH IT useless HYPH not knowing
 That man thinks he really knows how to do it, the poor thing. Yes that's it isn't it,
 he's useless isn't he, he doesn't know.

7.2.5 'IGNORANTLY' *ngula*

Ngula occurs in a restricted number of environments. Most often, it follows an interrogative of some kind and affirms that the speaker does not know the answer to the question being asked.

- (7.20) *Ngayu wirra-a yinka-lalha wuruma-l.yarra nganaju-u*
 1SG.NOM boomerang-ACC chisel-PAST do.for-CTEMP 1SG.GEN-ACC
mimi-i. nhartu-u-lwa ngula kuliyanpa-waa ngathu
 uncle-ACC what-ACC-ID IGNOR think-PURPs=o 1SG.EFF

yinka-rnu-u? *Wantharni-i ngula* *wangka-layi?*
 chisel-PASSP-ACC how-ACC IGNOR say-FUT
 I chiselled a boomerang for my uncle. I wonder what he's going to think of that thing chiselled by me. How is he going to say it is?

- (7.21) *Kalika muyi kangku-lha warryayilwayara-a jamurla, wanthala ngula*
 one dog take-PAST kangaroo.tail-ACC mouth where.NS IGNOR
mungka-ru.
 eat-PURPss
 One dog took a kangaroo tail in its mouth to eat somewhere (I don't know where).

In addition, *ngula* may follow the modal particle *wayil*, or a word bearing the *-nu* 'quotative' clitic. Following *wayil* it reinforces the notion that the statement is truly uncertain (example (7.22)). Following the quotative, *ngula* reaffirms the speaker's lack of direct personal knowledge about the thing being asserted (7.23).

- (7.22) *Ngunhu-tharra kanyara-tharra patharri-nguru wartirra-ngalyarnta.*
 that.NOM-DU man-DU fight-PRES woman-CAUSAL
kalika wiyaa, wantanha-wuyu wii, wayil ngula yaan
 one maybe which-SIDE maybe maybe IGNOR spouse
ngurnaa wartirra-a.
 that.ACC woman-ACC
 Those two men are fighting over the woman. Maybe one of them, but which of the two, maybe one is the spouse of that woman (I don't know). (trans.)

- (7.23) *Ngayu panyu-ma-lalha warrirti-i ngurnula-ngu-u*
 1SG.NOM good-CAUS-PAST spear-ACC that.DEF-GEN-ACC
kanyara-wu-u wuruma-l.yarra puni-waa murla-a-rru
 man-GEN-ACC do.for-CTEMP go-PURPs=o meat-ACC-NOW
wawayi-l.yarra tharnta-a nhuwa-rninyji-nu ngula.
 look.for-CTEMP euro-ACC spear-FUT-QUOT IGNOR
 I fixed a spear that belonged to that man so he could go looking for meat.
 He'll spear a euro apparently, I don't know.

7.2.6 'RHETORICALLY' *kana*

Like *ngula*, *kana* typically follows indefinites functioning as interrogatives. Unlike *ngula* it indicates that the speaker assumes there to be no answer to the question being posed. In this sense the question is purely rhetorical.

- (7.24) *Ngayu-lwa wiyaa wuruma-rninyji thurlajinkarri-i,*
 1SG.NOM-ID maybe do.for-FUT poor.fellow-ACC
yirra-wirriwa-a warnu pala. Wantharni kana kalya-lwaa
 tooth-PRIV-ACC IGNOR IT how RHET bite-PURPs=o
warrirti-ma-rninyji, mulhaa-rninyji?
 spear-CAUS-FUT point-FUT
 Maybe I'm the one who'll do it for the poor fellow, because he's got no teeth. How can he bite [sinew] and make a spear, put a point on a spear?

- (7.25) *Ngayu jirli mir.ta panyu, kuntirri-layi, thana-rru tharnta-ngara-a,*
 1SG.NOM arm not good give.up-FUT let-NOW euro-PL-ACC
wantharta kana nhurnti-ma-rninyji?
 when RHET dead-CAUS-FUT
 My arm is no good, I'll give up (trying to spear them), let those euros be, when am
 I going to kill them? (Never!)

Although *kana* does not follow an indefinite in the following two examples, the construction still has the rhetorical force of a question with no answer.

- (7.26) *Nganarna waruul-wa-rru piya-rnuru nhuwana-la*
 1PL.EXC still-Ø-NOW sing-PRES 2PL-LOC
nhuura-npa-nyila-la-wa kana. Jalya waruul-wa-rru.
 know-CAUS-PrREL-LOC-YK RHET useless ill-Ø-NOW
 We're still singing while you are learning. (Are you? Not at all.) [You're]
 still useless.
- (7.27) *Jarruru-wa kana kampa-rnuru nhiyu yakarrangu?Kuyil paju*
 slowly-YK RHET burn-PRES this.NOM sun bad REAL
nhiyu ngaliwa-a kampa-rnuru yakarrangu.
 this.NOM 1PL.INC-ACC burn-PRES sun
 Is this sun burning [us] slowly? (Of course not!) It's bad, this sun is cooking us.

7.2.7 'REALLY' *paju*

Paju has a range of interpretations depending on the constituent over which it has scope. First, *paju* may have scope over an entire clause. In such examples it serves to assert the speakers belief in the truth of what is being stated (examples (7.28) and (7.29)).

- (7.28) *Wayil wanti-nyila-a paju yilarla jalyuru-la.*
 maybe lie-PrREL-ACC REAL here.NS hole-LOC
 Maybe there really is something lying somewhere there in the hole.
- (7.29) *Nhuwana nganaju mir.ta paju kuliyanpa-layi.*
 2PL 1SG.ACC not REAL think-FUT
 You really don't think about me.

Following an indefinite functioning as an interrogative, *paju* contrasts with the particles *ngula* and *kana*. Like *kana*, *paju* has much the force of a rhetorical question. However, it does not imply that there is no answer to the question being posed (7.30), (7.31) and (4.115).

- (7.30) *Ngunhaa puni-wayara jinarri-rra mungka-l.yarra. Wantharta paju*
 that.NOM go-HABIT ask-CTEMP eat-CTEMP when REAL
winya-npa-layi?
 full-INCH-FUT
 That fellow is always asking for a feed. When, really, is he going to get full?
- (7.31) *Ngayu wiru-warntura-rringuru wanthanha-a paju kangku-layi.*
 1SG.NOM like-DISTRIB-INV-PRES which-ACC REAL take-FUT
 I can't decide really which one to take.

Paju most often follows a predicate describing a state or characteristic of some entity. Typically, the predicate is a nominal attributing some property to its argument (examples (7.32), (7.33) and (7.34)). In (7.35) and (7.36), *paju* follows verbal predicates.

- (7.32) *Ngayu manku-layi nganaju-u mimi-i wuruma-l.yarra*
 1SG.NOM get-FUT 1SG.GEN-ACC uncle-ACC do.for-CTEMP
karntarra-a kupuyu-u, mir.ta maruwarla-a paju. Nganaju
 sinew-ACC little-ACC not much-ACC REAL 1SG.GEN
kampalalha thurlajinkarriyirra mir.ta panyu paju.
 uncle poor.fellow tooth not good REAL
 I'll get a little bit of sinew for my uncle, not too much. My poor old uncle's
 teeth really aren't good.
- (7.33) *Wantha ngunhu pawu paju ngurnu-ngara-a?*
 where that.NOM father REAL that.OBL-PL-ACC
 Where's the one who is really father to that lot?
- (7.34) *Mir.ta warruwa paju ngunhaa, ngunhaa kanyara-mpa-rra-rru.*
 not devil REAL that.NOM that.NOM human-INCH-CTEMP-NOW
 They weren't true devils, they were moving towards being human now.
- (7.35) *Karlarra-mpa-lha-la paju-rru, puwara-mpa-lha-la paju-rru,*
 hot-INCH-PAST-LOC REAL-NOW coal-INCH-PAST-LOC REAL-NOW
ngarri-ngkakampa-rninyji-rru panyu-ma-rninyji-rru ngurnaa.
 ashes-LOC cook-FUT-NOW good-CAUS-FUT-NOW that.ACC
 Once [the fire] has become really hot, when it's really burned down to coals, cook
 that one in the ashes then, make it good.
- (7.36) *Ngali wartawirrinpa-layiyakarrangu-u kankarni-mpa-waa paju.*
 1DU wait.for-FUT sun-ACC above-INCH-PURPs=o REAL
 We'll wait for the sun to get really right above us.

The derived verbs in examples (7.35) and (7.36) describe progression towards an eventual state of affairs in which the property denoted by the nominal stem of the verb is attributable to the argument of the verb. Here *paju* has semantic scope over the eventual state of affairs described by the nominal stem.

In examples (7.37) and (7.38), *paju* modifies a nominal in a part-whole construction. In (7.37) it has scope over the whole of which the (assumed) argument of the verb is a part. Here the particle emphasises that the argument of the verb is a true part of the whole. In (7.38), on the other hand, *paju* has scope over a part. In this case it emphasises that it is truly the particular part of the whole that is affected by the action of the verb.

- (7.37) *Nhuwala puni-layi manku-lu Kurlanypungkunhu-u-wa paju.*
 2DU go-FUT get-PURPs Kurlanypungkunhu-ACC-YK REAL
 You two go and get [a knife] that is really [from] Kurlanypungkunhu [quarry].
- (7.38) *Kanarri-layi kartara-a paju ngurnu parla-a.*
 come-FUT corner-ACC REAL that.ACC hill-ACC
 They come right to the corner of that hill.

Finally, *paju* is commonly found in constructions depicting an excess of some state prohibiting some action.

- (7.39) *Ngunhaa murla karlarra paju nganaju mungka-waa.*
 that.NOM meat hot REAL 1SG.ACC eat-PURPs=o
 That meat is too hot for me to eat. (trans.)
- (7.40) *Ngayu kartatha-lalhangurnu mirru-u*
 1SG.NOM chop-PAST that.ACC spearthrower-ACC
kuta-ma-lalha paju.
 short-CAUS-PAST REAL
 I cut that [wood] for a spearthrower too short. (trans.)

In such cases, the understanding that there is an excess of some characteristic (heat or shortness) which has an ‘unwanted’ effect, usually on the speaker, is best treated as an implicature dependent on a particular situation.

7.2.8 ‘CONTRASTIVE’ *warra*

Typically, *warra* follows a predicate describing an action (or state) on the part of some participant (usually the addressee) which the speaker wants to have happen. *Warra* contrasts the situation involving the action denoted by the predicate over which it has scope with another, prior or present, situation in which that action did not or is not taking place.

- (7.41) *Yakayi! Jarruru-ma-l.yu. nganaju malyarra-ma-rnurupaju.*
 ouch slowly-CAUS-IMP 1SG.ACC pain-CAUS-PRES REAL
Jarruru-ma-l.yu warra thamiini.
 slowly-CAUS-IMP CONT MoFa+1POSS
 Ouch! Do it slowly. You're really hurting me. Do it slowly for a change Grandad.
- (7.42) *Purnumpuru warra nyina-Ø.*
 quiet CONT sit-IMP
 Sit quietly for a change.
- (7.43) *Kartu pamararri-Ø karluwirraa warra ngurnu-ngara-a*
 2SG.NOM call.out-IMP hard CONT that.ACC-PL-ACC
pawulu-ngara-a.
 child-PL-ACC
 You call out to those kids a bit harder.

7.2.9 ‘COMPLEMENTARY’ *-lpurtu*

This clitic has two related functions. First, it indicates that the thing to which it is attached is involved in a situation which is seen (by the speaker) as a natural and expected complement of another situation.

- (7.44) *Ngayu wawayi-lalha jartunmarra-a,yarta ngunhu*
 1SG.NOM look.for-PAST wallaby-ACC other that.NOM

wawayi-rnura-la tharnta-a-lpurtu.
look.for-PrREL-LOC euro-ACC-COMP

I looked for rock wallabies while that other fellow looked for euros.

- (7.45) *Ngayu wuruma-lalha-lpurtu murla-a, nganaju-wu-lu*
1SG.NOM do.for-PAST-COMP meat-ACC 1SG.ACC-GEN-EFF

mimi-ngku-lpurtu mungka-nnguli-waa.
uncle-EFF-COMP eat-PASS-PURPs=o

I did the meat for him, on the one hand, so it could be eaten by my uncle (not me) on the other hand. (trans.)

- (7.46) *Kanyara-tharrakarri-layi kanyja-rryarra, yarta kuwilyawuyu-la,*
man-DU stand-FUT hold-CTEMP other this.side-LOC

yarta ngulawuyu-la-lpurtu.
other that.side-LOC-COMP

Two men hold [the net], one on this side, one on the other side.

Second, the clitic indicates that what is being said about the thing to which it is attached stands in contrast to what has been said before, and (the speaker assumes) is contrary to (the addressee's) expectation:

- (7.47) *Mirntiwul ngunhu-ngaramarrari-i Martuthunira. Nhiyu*
all that.NOM-PL language-ACC Martuthunira this.NOM

ngayalyu-ngara yirru-marta-lpurtu marrari-marta.
devil-PL yirru-PROP-COMPword-PROP

They all spoke the Martuthunira language. But these devils had [a word] *yirru* (unlike the others).

- (7.48) *Mir.ta nhuura tharnta-a nhuwa-rninyji warrirti-marta.*
not knowing euro-ACC spear-FUT spear-PROP

Jirruna-npa-wayara tharnta-a yungku-ngka-a,
sneak-INCH-HABIT euro-ACC soak-LOC-ACC

manku-lu-lpurtu-rru, juwayu-lu-rru jal.yu-u-rru
grab-PURPss-COMP-NOW hand-EFF-NOW neck-ACC-NOW

thani-rninyji murla-a.
hit-FUT meat-ACC

[You] don't know how to spear a euro with a spear. You sneak up on a euro in a soak and grab it instead (not the way anyone would expect someone to catch it), hitting that meat in the neck, with your hand.

- (7.49) *Nganangu wii paya-npa-layi, mir.ta-lpurtu thathu-rninyji.*
who-ACC maybe wild-INCH-FUT not-COMP let.go-FUT

Jirli-i manku-layi, jal.yu-u thani-l.yarrawaara.
arm-ACC grab-FUT neck-ACC hit-SEQ

If they get wild with anyone, we won't let them go (as might be expected). We'll grab their arms and hit them in the neck.

7.3 THE SYNTAX OF PROPOSITIONAL MODIFIERS

Particles and clitics functioning as propositional modifiers usually have scope over an immediately preceding sub-clausal constituent. Thus, consider example (7.50) in which the *-nu* ‘quotative’ is attached to a body part as subject of the main clause:

- (7.50) *Jina-nu ngurnaa pal.yarra-ma-lalha yanga-l.yarra.*
 foot-QUOT that.ACC plain-CAUS-PAST chase-CTEMP
 [Their] feet made that a plain as [they] chased [it] (they say).

Here the speaker indicates, by using the quotative clitic, that it is not his *own* contention that “Their feet made it a plain,” but rather something he has been told. However, *jina* ‘foot’ is in the immediate scope of the clitic. The neatest explanation would be to argue that the constituent within the immediate scope of the clitic is essentially the thing which the speaker wishes to distance himself from, while the rest of the clause presents an entailed proposition. That is, in uttering (7.50), the speaker makes no attempt to distance himself from the assertion that something created the plain:

Something made it a plain, they say it was feet.

In this way, (7.50) might be seen as containing two (minimal) propositions only one of which is qualified by the particle. However, there remain some problems in determining the precise identity of the constituent over which a particle or clitic has scope. There are some general patterns, as discussed below.

First, a particle may follow a verb and have scope over either the verb word or the clause of which the verb is the head, resulting in some ambiguity, as in the following example.

- (7.51) *Ngayu ngurnaa warrirti-i panyu-ma-rninyji paju.*
 1SG.NOM that.ACC spear-ACC good-CAUS-FUT REAL
 a. Really fix it is what I'll do to that spear.
 b. It's really the case that I'll fix that spear.

Propositional modifying particles may also follow the negative which itself has scope over an entire clause. The negative and the clause within its scope are then included within the scope of the particle. In example (7.52), *paju* has scope over the negated clause while in (7.53), in which the particle follows the predicate, *paju* falls within the scope of the negative:

- (7.52) *Ngayu mir.ta paju nhuura ngurnu kanyara-a.*
 1SG.NOM not REAL knowing that.ACC man-ACC
 I really don't know that man. (constr.)
 (It's really the case that I don't know that man.)
- (7.53) *Ngayu mir.ta nhuura paju ngurnu kanyara-a.*
 1SG.NOM not know REAL that.ACC man-ACC
 I don't really know that man. (constr.)
 (It's not the case that I really know that man.)

Second, a particle may have scope over a preceding noun phrase. Given that multiple embedding of noun phrases is common, this also leads to possible ambiguities. Example (7.54) gives two instances of the particle *warra* ‘contrasting’ having scope over a preceding noun phrase.

- (7.54) *Tharnta-a jinyjiwarla-a warra nhuwa-rninyji, panyu-u warra*
 euro-ACC fat-ACC CONT spear-FUT good-ACC CONT

murla-a.

meat-ACC

[I'll] spear a fat euro for a change, some good meat for a change.

In the first case, the reading is ambiguous depending on whether *warra* has scope over *jinyjiwarla* 'fat', or over the whole noun phrase *tharnta jinyjiwarla* 'fat euro'. The two different readings are:

- a. I'll spear a euro that is, for a change, fat.
- b. The thing that I'll spear will be, for a change, a fat euro.

In the second case there is no ambiguity. In this noun phrase the modifying nominal precedes the head and functions as a Classifier (§8.1.3). The particle has scope over just the Classifier. It might be argued that the speaker has chosen the Classifier construction partly as a means of avoiding potential ambiguity. The same pattern occurs in the following example.

- (7.55) *Ngali panyu-ngka-a warra kalyaran-ta-a thuur.ta-a manku-layi.*
 1DU.INC good-LOC-ACC CONT tree-LOC-ACC sweet-ACC get-FUT
 We'll get honey in a *good* tree for a change.

This last example introduces another problem. Here the particle has scope over the nominal *panyu* 'good', which functions as a Classifier on *kalyaran* 'tree'. However, the noun phrase *panyu kalyaran* is marked with the locative suffix as an adnominal modifier of *thuur.ta* 'sweet stuff'. Under the interpretation given here the locative case-marking predicate does not fall within the scope of the particle. In (7.56) however, the proprietive marked modifier is included within the scope of the particle.

- (7.56) *Ngayu mirtily-marta-a warra tharnta-a nhuwa-rninyji.*
 1SG.NOM joey-PROP-ACC CONT euro-ACC spear-FUT
 I'll spear a euro that, for a change, has a joey.

The available data (which is quite limited on this point) suggests the following explanation: the particle in example (7.55), occurring as it does between two subconstituents of the noun phrase, is within the scope of the locative suffix distributed to words within that noun phrase, while in (7.56), on the other hand, the particle follows all subconstituents of the noun phrase and so may be read as having scope over the adnominal suffix.

The range of meanings of particles functioning as propositional modifiers suggests the possibility of particles being included within the scope of other particles. Although there are too few examples in the data to allow any concrete generalisations it is worth noting a number of preliminary observations. First, consider the following example:

- (7.57) *Panyu paju-nu nhiyu wirra, yilu kanyara-lu*
 good REAL-QUOT this.NOM boomerang this.EFF man-EFF
yinka-rnu?
 carve-PASSP
 It's really good, supposedly, this boomerang carved by this man.

Here the quotative has scope over a preceding constituent including the particle *paju* and indicates that someone other than the speaker is making the statement that the boomerang is 'really' good. This shows that some embedding of particles within the scope of other particles is possible.

However, scoping in (7.58) in which the quotative is followed by the *ngula* ‘ignorantly’, is not as straightforward:

- (7.58) *Ngunhaa wajirr-marta puni-nguru kulhampa-a-nu ngula*
 that.NOM harpoon-PROP go-PRES fish-ACC-QUOT IGNOR
kuliyampa-rra.
 think-CTEMP
 That [man] going with a harpoon is thinking about fish, perhaps, I don't
 know myself.

The discussion of *ngula* in §7.2.5 points out that the particle follows interrogatives, the quotative and the modal particle *wayil*, all of which establish contexts in which the speaker is unsure of the truth of some statement. Although the quotative feeds *ngula* it is not clear that the particle actually modifies the meaning of the quotative in any way. Rather, the two operate at a similar level in modifying the speaker's state of knowledge.

7.4 ‘ONLY’ *yirla*

Yirla has two related functions. First, it operates very like the English quantifier ‘only’. When it follows a phrase denoting an entity it indicates that that entity is the *only* one of a class of entities about which a particular thing is sayable (examples (7.59) and (7.60)). When *yirla* follows a predicate that predicate describes the *only* thing ‘sayable’ about some argument of the predicate (7.61). In (7.62), *yirla* has scope over a complex noun phrase (and see example (4.54)).

- (7.59) *Kupuyu puni-layi nhawu-ngu-rra parlu yirla mirtali.*
 little go-FUT see-PASS-CTEMP top only big
 That little fellow looks big only in the top part (his lower body is puny).
- (7.60) *Ngunhaa jami kawurru nhartu-ngara-lu wii mir.ta*
 that.NOM medicine type something-PL-EFF maybe not
mungka-nngu-layi, jankurna-lu yirla.
 eat-PASS-FUT emu-EFF only
 That *kawurru* medicine isn't eaten by hardly anything, only by emus.
- (7.61) *Mir.ta nyina-layi wuruma-nngu-rra yirla, nhuura-npa-layi minthal*
 not sit-FUT do.for-PASS-CTEMP only know-INCH-FUT alone
warra panyu-ma-rninyji warrirti-i. Pirri-marta warnu!
 CONT good-CAUS-FUT spear-ACC finger-PROP ASSERT
 Don't just sit around only having it done for you, learn on your own how to fix
 spears. You've got hands haven't you!
- (7.62) *Ngunhu-ngara juwayu-la-marta parla-marta, kayarra-marta parla-marta*
 that.NOM-PL hand-LOC-PROP rock-PROP two-PROP rock-PROP
yirla, tharryi-ngara ngunhu-ngara kanyara-ngaranyuulanpa-layi.
 only alongside-PL that.NOM-PL man-PL dive-FUT
 They have rocks in their hands, only two rocks, and then those men dive under the
 water alongside one another.

The second function of *yirla* is to mark the end point of a period of time during which some event is taking place. For example:

- (7.63) *Ngunhu-ngara nyina-marri-nguru wiruwanti-l-nguru yakarrangu-u*
 that.NOM-PL sit-COLL-PRES morning-THEN-ABL day-ACC
winparri-i tharrwa-waa yirla.
 long-ACC go.in-PURPs=o until
 They sit together from morning, through the long day, until [the sun] goes in.
- (7.64) *Ngurnaa kayulu-u jarruru manku-layi warntitha-rninyji*
 that.ACC water-ACC slowly get-FUT throw-FUT
panyu-npa-waa yirla.
 good-INCH-PURPs=o until
 Get that water out slowly and throw it away until it comes clean.

It is easy to relate this second use of *yirla* to the first. Here an activity continues as long as the condition expressed by the constituent over which *yirla* has scope continues to be not the case. Only once the condition is satisfied does the activity cease. The general pattern illustrated in examples (7.63) and (7.64) probably arose out of expressions involving *yirla* and the verb *kuntirri-Ø* ‘to cease doing’, similar to the following:

- (7.65) *Ngayu parla-marta-rru pariingku-lha,kulhany-ku yirla kuntirri-layi.*
 1SG.NOM rock-PROP-NOW hit-PAST squashed-ACC only cease-FUT
 I hit it with a rock, stopping only when it was squashed.
- (7.66) *Ngunhu muyi yanga-rnu pawulu-ngara-lu,ngurra-ngkayirla*
 that.NOM dog chase-PASSP child-PL-EFF camp-LOC only
kuntirri-ngu-layi.
 cease-PASS-FUT
 That dog was chased by the children right into the camp (lit. stopping only when it was in camp). (trans.)

7.5 ‘NOT’ *mir.ta*

Unlike the propositional modifiers, the negative is forward-scoping and usually precedes the predicate in a clause:

- (7.67) *Ngayu mir.ta nhawu-lha ngurnu muyi-i pawulu-u kalya-rnura-a.*
 1SG.NOM not see-PAST that.ACC dog-ACC child-ACC bite-PrREL-ACC
 I didn't see that dog biting the child. (trans.)
- (7.68) *Ngaliwa mir.ta wiru marrari-warlaya-ngara-a.*
 1PL.INC not liking word-FULL-PL-ACC
 We don't like talkative people.

Alternatively, the negative may occur as the first word in the clause. This order adds emphasis to the negation and is comparable to the English wording ‘It is not the case that...’. In examples (7.69) to (7.71), the negative immediately precedes the object of the verb, which itself occurs in a marked preverbal position (see §9.11). Like other particles, the negative appears to have scope over a sub-clausal constituent in these examples.

- (7.69) *Kartu wanti-layi wuraal kartungu-la ngurra-ngka, thungkara-la.*
 2SG.NOM lie-FUT still 2SG.GEN-LOC home-LOC ground-LOC
Mir.ta-rru kartungu nhawu-layi ngartil.
 not-NOW 2SG.ACC see-FUT again
 You keep lying in your home, in the ground. We won't see *you* again.
- (7.70) *Mir.ta wiyaa ngaliwa-a wiru marrari-wirraa warnu karlwa-lha.*
 not maybe 1PL.INC-ACC liking word-PRIV ASSERT get.up-PAST
 Perhaps he doesn't like us, (that's why he's) getting up without a word.
- (7.71) *Parnta-rnuru, mir.ta-rru karnkurru-ukarlwa-waa.*
 rain-PRES not-NOW dust-ACC get.up-PURPs=o
 It's raining, so the dust won't get up.

Mir.ta is also used to negate nominal predications. In example (7.72) (and see (4.148)) it negates a second predicate of manner in a verbal clause, while (7.73) illustrates the negative in an ascriptive non-verbal clause (and see (4.97)).

- (7.72) *Ngunhaa mir.ta jarruru paya-nga-lha nganaju mungka-lalha-a.*
 that.NOM not slowly angry-INCH-PAST 1SG.ACC eat-PAST-ACC
 It wasn't slowly that she got wild with me who had eaten it.
- (7.73) *Ngayu mir.ta manthawarla.*
 1SG.NOM not greedy
 I'm not greedy.

Mir.ta may also precede nominals functioning as sentence adverbs. In these cases the sentence adverbs have scope over the negative together with the rest of the clause. The scoping here is equivalent to that involving the negative followed by particles.

- (7.74) *Mir.ta waruul kartu manthawarla.*
 not still 2SG.NOM greedy
 It's still the case that you're not a greedy fellow.

7.6 MODAL PARTICLES *wiyaa*, *wayil*, *wii*

The modal particles *wiyaa* and *wayil* differ from the propositional modifiers in two respects. First, they do not impart the same sort of speaker-oriented pragmatic information as the propositional particles listed in §7.2. Rather, they code a simple irrealis 'maybe'. Second, although they often follow a constituent over which they have some scope, this is not a strict rule and they may occur at the beginning of a clause. The following examples illustrate the more common *wiyaa* form:

- (7.75) *Tharntawiyaa panthu-lalha warangarri-i ngurnaa.*
 euro maybe touch-PAST dingo.trap-ACC that.ACC
 Maybe it was a euro that set off that dingo trap. (trans.)
- (7.76) *Mir.ta wiyaa thalku-nnguli-nguru thanuwa-a maruwarla-a paju.*
 not maybe feed-PASS-PRES food-ACC much-ACC REAL
 Maybe he isn't fed very much food.
- (7.77) *Wiyaa pawulu nhawu-lha ngurnaa mui-i.*
 maybe child see-PAST that.ACC dog-ACC
 Maybe the child saw that dog. (trans.)

The *wayil* form is similar to *wiyaa* in all respects except that it can be immediately followed by the *wii* particle. Exactly how *wayil* differs from *wiyaa* is difficult to say on the basis of the data at hand though it seems likely that the *wayil* form incorporates the *-l* temporal clitic at some level. Certainly, some examples involving *wayil* are consistent with the meaning of the temporal clitic. For example:

- (7.78) *Ngayu kartungu-ngara-a pawulu-ngara-anhuura-ma-rninyji*
 1SG.NOM 2SG.GEN-PL-ACC child-PL-ACC know-CAUS-FUT
marrari-i Martuthunira-a wangka-waa. Kuliya-nnguli-waa
 word-ACC Martuthunira-ACCspeak-PURPs=o hear-PASS-PURPs=o
wayil wii nhuura-mpa-lha, kuliya-la-ma-lalha. Ngunhu-ngara
 maybe if know-INCH-PAST ear-LOC-CAUS-PAST that.NOM-PL
kupiyaji wayil wii parna panyu.
 little(PL) maybe if head good
 I'll teach your children to speak the Martuthunira language. Maybe then they'll
 be heard, if they've learnt it, if they've got it in their ears. If they've got good heads,
 those little ones.

Wii is related to the modal particles *wiyaa* and *wayil*, though at some diachronic level, and retains something of the irrealis mode of these particles. It generally has scope over an immediately preceding constituent and occurs in three types of construction. First, it occurs in clauses which specify the conditions under which a situation described in some other clause *may* take place. In such cases it may, like *wiyaa* and *wayil*, occur in clause-initial position (example (6.26)). It is glossed 'if' in such conditional constructions.

- (7.79) *Nhula kanyara manthawarla paju warnu. Ngaliwa nhawu-layi*
 near.you man greedy REAL ASSERT 1PL.INC see-FUT
ngurnaa kanyara-a ngartil wii, punga pangkira-a paju-rru.
 that.ACC man-ACC again if guts round-ACC REAL-NOW
 That man is really greedy. If [we] see him again he'll be very round in the guts.
- (7.80) *Ngunhaa pilakurta piyuwa-mpa-lha-la wii,*
 that.NOM carpenter finish-INCH-PAST-LOC if
nhurnti-mpa-lha-la wii. Ngana-rru kana yilhi-i mir.ta
 dead-INCH-PAST-LOC if who-NOW RHET chip-ACC not
wii murnta-lalha ngurnaa pilakurta-a? Jalya-rru
 if take.from-PAST that.ACC carpenter-ACC useless-NOW
nyina-marri-layi mir.ta wii yungku-yangu yilhi-i pilakurta-lu.
 sit-COLL-FUT not if give-PASSP chip-ACC carpenter-EFF
 If once that carpenter has gone, if [he] has died, who will there be if no-one learnt
 how to carve from the carpenter (lit. took the chips from him). [They'll]
 all be useless if they weren't given the chips by the carpenter.
- (7.81) *Ngayu ngurnu muyi-i nhawu-lha wii wantala, ngayu*
 1SG.NOM that.ACC dog-ACC see-PAST if somewhere 1SG.NOM
nhuwa-rninyji nyimi-i ngurnaa muyi-i.
 spear-FUT rib-ACC that.ACC dog-ACC
 If I saw that dog anywhere, I'd spear that dog in the ribs. (trans.)

Second, *wii* is used as a conjunction indicating a progressive widening of the set of objects out of which something may be chosen. Often such a conjoined sequence of noun phrases is introduced by an indefinite.

- (7.82) *Nganaju mimi wanta-rralhajumpirri-i nganaju wurnta-lwaa*
 1SG.GEN uncle leave-PAST knife-ACC 1SG.ACC cut-PURPs=o
nhartu-ngara-a wii, mirntirimarta-a wii, tharnta-a wii,
 something-PL-ACC maybe goanna-ACC maybe euro-ACC maybe
jankurna-a wii.
 emu-ACC maybe
 My uncle left me a knife so I could cut things up; goannas maybe, or euros
 maybe, or emus maybe.
- (7.83) *Ngunhaa jami panyu ngurntura-a, thurla-a wii panyu-ma-rninyji,*
 that.NOM medicine good cold-ACC eye-ACC maybe good-CAUS-FUT
nhartu-u wii, ngarnta-ngara-a wii, wunungu-u wii
 something-ACC maybe sore-PL-ACC maybe boil-ACC maybe
panyu-ma-rninyji, parna-a wii malyarra-rnura, ngurnaa
 good-CAUS-FUT head-ACC if sick-PrREL that.ACC
nguritha-rninyji.
 smell-FUT
 That medicine is good for colds, or it'll fix eyes maybe, or anything, sores maybe,
 it'll cure boils maybe, or if you have a sick head you sniff it.

Third, *wii* follows indefinites and emphasises the existence of a large set of persons or things which might substitute for the indefinite.

- (7.84) *Mir.ta nganamarnuwii wangka-layi. Mir.ta ngurnaa ngana wii*
 not anyone maybe speak-FUT not that.ACC who maybe
wangka-layi.
 speak-FUT
 Don't anyone speak. Let's not have someone speak to him.
- (7.85) *Ngayu wanti-lha nguyirri, mir.ta nganangu wii kuliya-lalha,*
 1SG.NOM lie-PAST asleep not who.ACC maybe hear-PAST
nhartu-u wii, warnan-ku yirla kuliya-rninyji parnta-rnura-a.
 what-ACC maybe rain-ACC until hear-FUT rain-PrREL-ACC
 I lay asleep, didn't hear anyone, or anything, until [I] heard the rain falling.

7.7 TEMPORAL -l

This clitic has the important function of indicating a state of affairs that is true within a given time frame. For example, in examples (7.86) and (7.87) the clitic is attached to nominal second predicates which describe the state of a participant at the time when the action described by the main predicate is taking place.

- (7.86) *Nhulaa miyu mungka-rnuru wajupi-i wanka-a-l.*
 near.you cat eat-PRES grasshopper-ACC alive-ACC-THEN
 That cat eats grasshoppers when they're alive. (trans.)
 (i.e. When that cat eats grasshoppers they're alive.)
- (7.87) *Ngayu nhuura-rru kuwarri wantanha-ngara-a kupiyaji-i*
 1SG.NOM knowing-NOW now which-PL-ACC little(PL)-ACC
jalya-ngara-a. Wirta-ngku-l pawu-ngku jalya wanta-rnu.
 bereaved-PL-ACC youth-EFF-THEN father-EFF bereaved leave-PASSP
 I know now which bereaved little fellows you mean. [They] were left bereaved by
 their father dying when he was [still] a young man. (i.e. When their father left
 them he was a young man.)

The following examples illustrate the use of the clitic on a verb (example (7.88)) and the negative (7.89). In these cases the time frame within which the state of affairs described by the verb takes place is established by some adjacent clause.

- (7.88) *Wirrirri-ma-rninyji-rru yirna karri-nyila-a karlamarta-a,*
 flame-CAUS-FUT-NOW this.ACC stand-PrREL-ACC lamp-ACC
nhawu-rra-l nyina-layi mungka-l.yarra panyu-rru
 see-CTEMP-THEN sit-FUT eat-CTEMP good-NOW
wirrirri-la-rru.
 light-LOC-NOW
 Light this lamp standing here, then we'll see, we'll sit and eat properly in
 the light.
- (7.89) *Nganaju yaan yungku-lha muyi-i-rru murla-a, mir.ta-l*
 1SG.GEN wife give-PAST dog-ACC-NOW meat-ACC not-THEN
ngayu mungka-lwala.
 1SG.NOM eat-PURPDs
 My wife gave the dog the meat, so then I couldn't eat it. (trans.)

By its function, *-l* is most like a nominal suffix. Also, it interacts with nominal suffixes to cloud the morphological boundary between suffix and clitic (§3.2), and appears frozen in certain temporal nominals (§5.9). However, despite its affix-like function and distribution, the fact that *-l* can be attached to any part of speech argues that it continue to be described as a separate clitic in a functional class of its own.

7.8 DISCOURSE DEICTIC CLITICS *-lwa*, *-wa*, *-rru*

The three clitics *-lwa* 'IDentification', *-wa* 'You Know', and *-rru* 'NOW', contribute to the cohesion of a text by marking their hosts as prominent in some way. The clitics often occur on demonstratives which themselves play an important role in maintaining text cohesion through the tracking of participants and events.

[A] The *-lwa* clitic most often appears on demonstratives or pronouns and serves to identify the item to which it is attached as a particular thing which has been assumed but has not previously been explicitly identified.

- (7.90) *Ngana-lwa ngula thani-lalhangana-ju-u mui-i?*
 who-ID IGNOR hit-PAST 1SG.GEN-ACC dog-ACC
 Who was it that hit my dog? (trans.)
- (7.91) *Kartu-lwa ngurnaa marulwa-lalha, manku-nguli-waa*
 2SG.NOM-ID that.ACC make.trouble-PAST grab-PASS-PURPs=o
marntamarta-lu.
 police-EFF
 You're the one who caused trouble for that fellow, so that he was picked up
 by the police. (trans.)
- (7.92) *Nhiyu-lwa nhiyu parla ngaliwa-lu nhawu-yangu kayurtu*
 this.NOM-ID this.NOM hill 1PL.INC-EFF see-PASSP smoke
karlwa-rra.
 go.up-CTEMP
 This is the hill that we saw the smoke going up from.

In example (7.93), the clitic is attached to a verb. Here there is an assumption that the subject of the verb, the receiver of a favour, will reciprocate in some way. The distribution of goods is, in this instance, the anticipated response:

- (7.93) *Ngawu! Ngayu wuruma-rnu nhuwana-lu. Yungku-layi-lwa*
 yes 1SG.NOM do.for-PASSP 2PL-EFF give-FUT-ID
pintirrijila-ma-l.yarra nhuwana-a.
 scattered-CAUS-CTEMP 2PL-ACC
 Yes! I had it done for me by you. What I'll do is give them out, share amongst
 you [the things you got for me].

[B] The *-wa* clitic typically occurs on demonstratives and indicates that the speaker believes the addressee knows what is being referred to. For example:

- (7.94) *Ngayu panyu-ma-lalha ngurnu purra-lwayara-a*
 1SG.NOM good-CAUS-PAST that.ACC chop-HABIT-ACC
nganthari-ma-lalha. Ngunhaa puu-rru puni-lha wartirra
 sharp-CAUS-PAST that.NOM far-NOW go-PAST woman
ngurnu-marta-wa.
 that.ACC-PROP-YK
 I fixed up that chopper, sharpened it. That woman has gone off with that one.
 (You know the one I'm talking about.) (trans.)
- (7.95) *Wantha-rninyji jampa karri-waa muthu-npa-rra warra.*
 leave-FUT moment stand-PURPs=o cold-INCH-CTEMP CONT
Manyarrka-a-rru wanta-rninyji ngulangu-wa.
 sugar-ACC-NOW put-FUT there-YK
 Leave it to stand and get a bit cooler for a moment. Now put some sugar there,
 in it. (You know the location I'm talking about.)

- | | |
|---|---|
| e. <i>yimpala-rru-wa ngunhaa</i> | Like that now, you know; what we're talking about. |
| f. <i>nhiyu-lwa-rru ngunhaa, ngurnula-lwa-rru ngunhaa</i> | This one now, you know; the one we're talking about. That one in particular now, you know; the one we're talking about. |

The *-wa* clitic is descended from the same set of 'topic-tracking' suffixes as are involved in the formation of the topic-tracking demonstratives (see §5.5.2). However, it is not possible to analyse the topic-tracking forms as involving the demonstrative stem plus the *-wa* suffix at the synchronic level. First, forms bearing the *-wa* clitic do not track with topic-tracking forms in text, and second, topic-tracking demonstrative forms bearing the *-wa* clitic do occasionally occur (as in examples (7.97a) and (7.97d) above).

-Lwa probably involves the clitics *-l* and *-wa* at some level. However, the fact that *-l* and *-lwa* can co-occur, and the different positioning of *-lwa* and *-wa* with respect to *-rru* argues that the relationship is a historical one.

7.9 PRESENTATIVE *pala*

Pala functions as a presentative dummy taking the place of a demonstrative in a range of constructions. Unlike full demonstratives, *pala* does not imply an independent identification of its referent through some other deictic system. In the following examples it occurs as the complement to a demonstrative or pronoun in a presentative construction like those illustrated in (7.97) above.

- (7.98) *Ah! Ngunhaa pala, mimi ngali-i!*
 ah that.NOM IT uncle 1DU.INC-ACC
 Ah! That's [who] it [is], [the one who is] uncle to us!
- (7.99) *Ngayu kuliyanpa-lha-rru jankul, wayangka-lha-rru warnu.*
 1SG.NOM think-PAST-NOW self frighten-PAST-NOW ASSERT
Yimpalaa paju pala, kuyil paju.
 like.that REAL IT bad REAL
 I thought about myself now, I was frightened (you see). Well that's what it's really like, very bad.
- (7.100) *Ngayu pala, purrkuru waruul, kuyilwa-lalha nganaju-u yaan-ku.*
 1SG.NOM IT true still upset-PAST 1SG.GEN-ACC wife-ACC
 I'm the one, that's true, who upset my wife.

The following examples show *pala* following nominals other than pronouns and demonstratives, (7.101) and (7.102), and a verb (7.103).

- (7.101) *Mir.ta! Piyuwa! Panyu-lwa pala! Thurlajinkarri-tharra kupuyu-tharra*
 no finish good-ID IT poor.fellow-DU little-DU
mir.ta-lwa kalya-rnu muyi-ngku.
 Not-ID bite-PASSP dog-EFF
 No! Not at all! It's all right! The two poor little fellows didn't get bitten by the dog.

- (7.102) *Thana-rru yimpala waruul-wa-rru;nguyirri pala.*
 let-NOW like.that still-Ø-NOW asleep IT
 Let him stay like that now; asleep, that is.
- (7.103) *Nhulaa kanyarawarnu ngarrawurlunyina-nguru. Nhartu-ma-l.yarra?*
 near.you man ASSERT other.way sit-PRES what-CAUS-CTEMP
Wirlayinpa-rra pala!
 on.toilet-CTEMP IT
 That man is sitting the other way. What's he doing? [He's] sitting on the toilet,
 that's what!

As illustrated in §7.2.1, *pala* commonly follows the *warnu* particle where this introduces the speaker's explanation of a state of affairs.

7.10 PERMISSIVE/HORTATIVE *thana*, *warrayi*, *kunti*

The two particles *thana* and *warrayi* have a similar function to the English permissive verb 'let'. *Thana* occurs in clause-initial position and makes the suggestion that the situation described in the clause be allowed to take place.

- (7.104) *Thana-rru wanti-Ø nguyirri, mir.ta marruwa-ma-rninyji.*
 let-NOW lie-IMP asleep not wake-CAUS-FUT.
 Let [him] sleep, don't wake [him] up.
- (7.105) *Thana wanti-waa nguyirri minthal paniya-mpa-layi.*
 let lie-PURPs=o asleep alone eye-INCH-FUT
 Leave [him] to sleep and wake up on his own.
- (7.106) *Warntitha-rninyji yakarrangu-la wanti-waa. Thana pinkarranyu-mpa-rra*
 throw-FUT sun-LOC lie-PURPs=o let dry-INCH-CTEMP
kayarra-la wii yakarrangu-la.
 two-LOC maybe day-LOC
 Throw [them] to lie in the sun. Let [them] dry for two days or so.

Thana typically occurs with imperative or purposive verb inflections. Example (7.106) is the only exception in the data and here *thana* immediately follows a purposive. The choice of verb inflection implies different actions on the part of the addressee.

<i>thana</i> NP Verb-IMP	Let 'NP Verb'
<i>thana</i> NP Verb-PURPs	Do nothing allowing that 'NP Verb'
<i>thana</i> NP Verb-PURPs=o	Do something to NP so that 'NP Verb'
<i>thana</i> NP Verb-PURPs	Do something so that 'NP Verb'

The *thana* particle only ever occurs where the subject of the sentence is third person and thus contrasts with *warrayi* which functions as a hortative, implying some action of the speaker together with the addressee:

- (7.107) *Thana kunti pukarra wanti-Ø. Mir.ta warrayi karla-ma-rninyji.*
 let stop firewood lie-IMP not let's fire-CAUS-FUT
 Let the firewood alone. Let's not make a fire.

- (7.108) *Warrayi ngali wayangku-layi-rru yirna-ngara-a*
 let's 1DU.INC frighten-FUT-NOW this.ACC-PL-ACC
marrari-warlaya-ngara-a.
 word-FULL-PL-ACC
 Let's frighten off these talkative people.

Warrayi is probably related to the particle *warra*, which indicates something which is not happening and which the speaker wants to happen (and possibly by the addition of the vocative clitic *-yi* (§7.11)). However, the different distribution of the two words argues against treating *warrayi* as a form of *warra* in the synchronic description. *Thana* is historically a third person (originally plural) pronoun which has become frozen as the marker of third person permissive clauses.

Kunti suggests an immediate cessation of an activity. Like the actions permitting the situation in a *thana* clause, the action which *kunti* brings to a halt is usually not overtly specified.

- (7.109) *Kunti ngaliwa puni-layi-rru.*
 stop 1PL.INC go-FUT-NOW
 We'll stop what we're doing and go now!
- (7.110) *Nhawu-Ø kunti jampa ngurnu-wurrini marlara-wurrini.*
 look-IMP stop moment that.OBL-DIRECT road-DIRECT
 Stop for a moment and look towards the road.
- (7.111) *Karri-Ø kunti yilangu!*
 stand-IMP stop here
 Stop here!

7.11 INTERJECTIONS

Interjections can be defined as non-inflecting words which, unlike other non-inflecting words, may not take clitics. They often occur as single word minimal utterances. The following interjections have been discovered so far:

<i>ngaa</i>	Yes!, Go on! (continue talking)
<i>ngawu</i>	Yes indeed! (affirmation)
<i>parra</i>	Go on, do it!
<i>yakayi</i>	Ouch! (pain or surprise)
<i>yakartayi</i>	Ouch! (more emphatic than <i>yakayi</i>)
<i>parru</i>	I can see it! (recognition)
<i>ya</i>	Hey!
<i>thawu</i>	Look!, Listen!
<i>kuwayi</i>	I've seen something!
<i>thuwa</i>	You should know!
<i>paparti</i>	Damn!
<i>mir.ta</i>	No!
<i>piyuwa</i>	Not at all!, Nothing!

The clitic *-yi* 'vocative', can be grouped together with the interjections and may be frozen in the forms *yakayi*, *yakartayi* and *kuwayi* (and see *warrayi* §7.10 above). It is used on

pronouns, terms of address, or greetings when calling out to someone to attract their attention. The vocative clitic has the form *-wi* following a *u* vowel.

- (7.112) *Pawulu-ngara-yi! Nganaju kangku-Ø kayulu-u!*
 child-PL-VOC 1SG.ACC bring-IMP water-ACC
 Hey children! Bring me some water!
- (7.113) *Kartu-wi nhawungarra! Mir.ta puni-layi ngulangu-wa, jamanu*
 2SG.NOM-VOC look.out not go-FUT there-YK foot
wurnta-rniyangu parla-ngku jurirri-ngara-lu.
 cut-PASS.LEST rock-EFF sharp-PL-EFF
 Hey look out! Don't go there, your feet might get cut by sharp rocks.
- (7.114) *Wantha-rru-wi! Nhuwala puni-lha-lwa wantharni wii?*
 where-NOW-VOC 2PL go-PAST-ID what.way maybe
 Hey hello! Did you two go anywhere?