SIMPLE CLAUSES

This chapter describes simple non-verbal and verbal clauses. The first two sections describe two types of non-verbal clause: simple ascriptive predications (§9.1), and clauses in which a nominal predicate takes both a subject and an accusative complement (§9.2). Section 9.3 describes the use of basic intransitive state verbs, and the motion verb *puni-Ø* 'go', as copulas, comparing copula clauses with the non-verbal clause types. Section 9.4 presents an overview of the syntax of verbal clauses, and then §9.5 describes the range of types of active clause, organised by verb class. Passive clauses are described in §9.6 and the issue of grammatical relations in double-object clauses is discussed in §9.7. The special case frames of imperative clauses are described in §9.8. Section 9.9 describes the use of referential case marking in encoding second predications and part-whole constructions, §9.10 briefly describes the structure of interrogative sentences, and finally §9.11 discusses the order of constituents within the clause.

9.1 ASCRIPTIVE NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

The simplest type of non-verbal clause consists of two nominal expressions, one of which functions as a predicate, the other as subject. The following examples consist of a definite subject noun phrase, and a simple nominal predicate.

(9.1)   *Kartungu-ngara pawulu-ngara / murtiwarla paju.*
          2SG.GEN-PL   child-PL   fast   REAL
           Your children are very fast (runners).

(9.2)   *Kalika / nyartu.   Kalika, kaya-wuyu,   / mayarta.*
          one   left.handed one   elder.brother-SIDE   right.handed
          One is left-handed. One, the older brother, is right-handed.

(9.3)   *Nhiyu / kanparr-wura   jalyuru.*
          this   spider-BELONG hole
           This is a spider's hole. (trans.)

(9.4)   *Nhiyu yartapalyu-rru   / Maral.ya-ngara.*
          this   other(PL)-NOW   *Maral.ya*-PL
           This other mob, now, are the *Maral.ya*.

Clauses in which the predicate noun phrase bears some adnominal case suffix are also classed as ascriptives. The most common examples involve the proprietive or privative suffixes.

(9.5)   *Ngunhu-ngara / juwayu-la-marta   parla-marta.*
          that-PL   hand-LOC-PROP rock-PROP
          They have rocks in their hands. (from example (4.103))

(9.6)   *Ngunhaa kanyara / mir.ta kuliya-marta.*
          that   man   not   ear-PROP
          That man has no ears (won't listen).

In possessive ascriptive clauses, the predicate is a nominal expression marked with either the genitive suffix or one of the minor possessive suffixes (§4.12, §4.13). Some examples are:

(9.7)   *Nhiyu muyi / nganaju.*
          this   dog   1SG.GEN
          This dog is mine.

(9.8)   *Nganangu yirru / ngunhu?*
          who.GEN HES   that
          Whose is that one?

          Nganaju-wura   yirru / ngunhaa yirru.
          1SG.OBL-BELONG HES   that   HES
          One of my mob, he is.

Often, possessive relationships are expressed by clauses in which the predicate (and sometimes the subject) is an endocentric genitive noun phrase.

(9.9)   *Ngayala-tharra ngurnula-ngu   / ngurnula-ngu-wura*
          nephew-DU   that.DEF-GEN   that.DEF-GEN-BELONG

          mari-wura   pawulu-tharra.
          younger.sister-BELONG child-DU
          Those two nephews of his are his younger sister's children.

(9.10)   *Warruwa-ngara-wura / Walter. Kanyara-wura   / Karlinpangu.*
          European-PL-BELONG Walter Aboriginal-BELONG   *Karlinpangu*
          His European [name] is Walter. His Aboriginal one is *Karlinpangu.*

In locational ascriptive clauses the predicate describes a place at which the entity denoted by the subject noun phrase is located. The predicate may be an inherently locative nominal, such as an adverbial demonstrative or compass term, or may be a more complex noun phrase bearing a locative suffix.

(9.11)   *Ngunhu-rru / Minturru-la-rru,   karalu-rru.*
          that-NOW   *Minturru*-LOC-NOW south-NOW

          Minturru-la   / ngunhaa-rru Pintharr.
          Minturru-LOC   that-NOW   *Pintharr*
          That is in Minturru country, south. In Minturru country that Pintharr country is.

(9.12)   *Ngulangu-lwa / ngunhaa!*
          there-ID   that
          There it is!

The following example illustrates an ablative predicate indicating the original location of the subject of the clause. There is no sense in which the clause implies a particular motion away from this point.

(9.13) *Ngunhaa / ngula-nguru parlu-ngka-nguru Jarrungkajarrungka-la-nguru.*
that there-ABL top-LOC-ABL Rocklea.Station-LOC-ABL
They are from up there on top of Rocklea Station (in the high country).

As example (9.14) shows, non-verbal clauses allow second predications. The ablative expression gives a point of orientation for the compass term predicate of the locational clause.

(9.14) *Yurlungarrarnu-nguru, ngunhu / ngularla yawurru.*
Yurlungarrarnu-ABL that there.NS west
From *Yurlungarrarnu* Pool, that place is somewhere there to the west.

The usual subject-predicate order in an ascriptive clause may be reversed where some additional emphasis is placed on the particular predicate; typically it introduces new information. Often, although this is not obligatory, there is a slight pause between the fronted predicate and the following subject.

(9.15) *Mirtali-nu, / ngunhaa Karnuny.*
big-QUOT that *Karnuny*
Apparently he was big, that fellow *Karnuny*.

(9.16) *Jalya-ngara-rru, / kalyaran yilangu.*
rubbish-PL-NOW wood here
A load of rubbish, the wood here.

(9.17) *Purntul-wa-rru / ngunhaa yini.*
Purntul-Ø-NOW that name
Purntul, that's its name.

As examples (9.18) and (9.19) show, the subject of a non-verbal clause may be ellipsed.

(9.18) *Ngunhu wanthala karri-nguru kuwarri, Pantuwarnangka.*
that somewhere stand-PRES now Pannawonica

_____ / *mir.ta-l yini-marta Pantuwarnangka-marta.*
not-THEN name-PROP Pannawonica-PROP
That one is somewhere there now, Pannawonica Hill. [It] didn't have the name Pannawonica then (once upon a time).

(9.19) *Yawurru waruu, Kawuyu-wini / pularna-lwa.*
west still *Kawuyu*-NEAR they-ID

____ / *wanthala Jinpingayinu-wini.*
somewhere *Jinpingayinu*-NEAR
They are in the west, near *Kawuyu* Hill. (They're) somewhere near *Jinpingayinu* Pool.

9.2 Non-verbal clauses with accusative complements

There are three types of non-verbal clause in which the nominal predicate takes an accusative complement as well as a subject. These three are described in the following sections.

9.2.1 Complements of kin/human relationship terms

In most examples of this class a nominal denoting a particular kin relationship functions as the predicate; the propositus of the term is the subject, the possessor is the accusative complement. The construction is preferred over a simple possessive ascriptive clause when the speaker wishes to establish the relationship between two participants and assumes that the addressee may have no knowledge of the relationship. In the following examples the kin term predicate is underlined.

(9.20) *Ngunhu   ngurnula-ngu   muyi, ngunhu-lwa <u>pawu</u>   ngurnu-ngara-a*
        that   that.DEF-GEN   dog   that-ID   father   that.OBL-PL-ACC

    kupiyaji-i.
    little(PL)-ACC
    That dog of his, that's the one who is the father of those little ones (puppies).

(9.21) *Mirntiwul-yu,   ngunhaa <u>ngangka</u> ngurnu-ngara-a.*
        all-ACC   that   mother   that.OBL-PL-ACC
        That one is mother of all of them.

(9.22) *Nhiyu   puliyanyja ngaliwa-a   <u>mimi</u>.*
        this   old.man   1PL.INC-ACC MoBro
        This old man is mother's brother to us.

In example (9.23) the nominal *winthi* 'enemy', is not a kin term but in a similar way describes a social relationship between subject and accusative complement.

(9.23) *Ngunhu-ngara <u>winthi</u> ngurnu-ngara-a-lwa.*
        that.NOM-PL   enemy   that.OBL-PL-ACC-ID
        They are enemies to these fellows.

9.2.2 Complements of psych-predicates

Martuthunira has a small set of predicate nominals denoting psychological states and which may take an accusative complement: *nhuura* 'knowing', *wiru* 'wanting, liking', and *waya* 'fear'.

(9.24) *Ngayu   nhuura   ngurnu   kanyara-a.*
        1SG.NOM knowing that.ACC man-ACC
        I know that man. (trans.)

(9.25) *Wuraa-lpurtu   nganarna, mir.ta wiru   wantamartu-ngara-a.*
        all.right-COMP 1PL.EXC not   liking crazy-PL-ACC
        All right, on the other hand there's us, we don't like crazy people.

(9.26) *Ngunhu waya marntanumarta-a.*
        that   fear   policeman-ACC
        That fellow is frightened of policemen. (trans.)

Although examples in which the accusative complement is a simple nominal expression, such as the above, do occur in the data, more often these predicate nominals take clausal complements controlled by either the subject or a raised accusative argument (§10.4).

9.2.3 COMPLEMENTS OF (COMMON) NOMINALS

A range of common nominals may take an accusative complement. The nominal predicate ascribes some property to the subject of the clause but this characterisation of the subject is mediated by the accusative complement. That is, the property of the subject is ascribed relative to the particular traits, circumstances, or point of view (if animate) of the referent of the complement. Most examples of this type of complement involve nominal predicates of the prototypical value adjective type.

(9.27)   *Ngunhaa jami   panyu ngurntura-a.*
         that.NOM medicine good   cold-ACC
         That medicine is good for colds.

(9.28)   *Nhiyu ngurnta kuyil paju   warnu   nganaju.   Wuraal wiyaa panyu*
         this   style   bad   REAL ASSERT 1SG.ACC all.right maybe good

         wirta-ngara-a.
         youth-PL-ACC
         The lie (lit. style) [of this hill] is really difficult for me [to climb]. All right, maybe it's fine for young people.

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

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

In many cases, the predicate governs a clausal complement describing a set of intended actions which are somehow influenced by the existence of the property ascribed to the subject of the matrix clause.

(9.30)   *Nhiyu marlaramulurru paju   ngurnu-ngara-a   puni-waa   yilangu*
         this   road   straight REAL that.OBL-PL-ACC go-PURPs=o here

         marlara-la.
         road-LOC
         This road is too straight for those fellows [who've been drinking] to walk here on it.

9.3 COPULA CONSTRUCTIONS

The non-verbal clauses described in the preceding sections are effectively tenseless; the ascriptive clauses imply the existence of a permanent characteristic or relationship of identity. The nominal predicates of kin relationship and of psychological state also imply permanent states. However, the use of a verbal copula allows the setting of temporal bounds on the existence of such states, and/or the coding of various modalities.

Martuthunira makes use of three intransitive stance verbs as copulas: *nyina-Ø* 'sit, stay, be', *karri-Ø* 'stand', and *wanti-Ø* 'lie'. Of these, only *nyina-Ø* can be said to function like a true dummy copula; both *karri-Ø* and *wanti-Ø* retain something of their core meaning in any copula construction. Sections §9.3.1 and §9.3.2 describe the various uses of the unmarked *nyina-Ø* copula and discuss the bases for the choice of one or other marked copula. In addition, the simple motion verb *puni-Ø* 'go' may function as a copula and implies the maintenance of a state throughout the performance of additional activities. This is described in §9.3.3. Finally, §9.3.4 describes briefly the role of the copulas as markers of continuing activity.

9.3.1 THE UNMARKED COPULA *nyina-Ø* 'sit, stay, be'

The copula construction allows the ascription of a property to the subject of the clause relative to some time frame – either the present of utterance or some narrative present – or in relation to some other category normally encoded on the verb, such as modality (example (9.31)) or collective activity/existence (9.32).

(9.31)   *Ngaliwa   mirntiwul nyina-marni nhuura!*
          1PL.INC   all   be-CONTR   knowing
          We should all know [that]!

(9.32)   *Pukarti-ngara   nyina-marri-nguru jalya-rru.*
          snakewood-PL   be-COLL-PRES   rubbish-NOW
          The snakewood trees are all rubbish now (they weren't always).

(9.33)   *Ngunhu-ngara nyina-lha mir.ta-rru panyu... Wuraal-wa-rru   ngunhaa.*
          that.NOM-PL   be-PAST   not-NOW   good   all.right-Ø-NOW   that.NOM

          Nyina-layi   pularna mir.ta-rru   panyu.
          be-FUT   they   not-NOW   good
          They weren't good...All right that's how it is now. They aren't going to be good.

(9.34)   *Nhiiyarra-lwa, ngunhaa   papungali-tharra paju-rru   nyina-layi.*
          this.DU-ID   that.NOM deity-DU   REAL-NOW be-FUT
          These two would end up being our two gods.

(9.35)   *Nguu nhiyu warnu   nganaju   kaya   nyina-nguru nguu!*
          face   this   ASSERT 1SG.GEN brother be-PRES   face
          This face is my brother's face (sudden realisation)!

There are no non-verbal clauses with an existential function in Martuthunira; all such predications require a copula. For example:

(9.36)   *Warruwa-ngara nyina-lha jarrkurti ngunhu-ngara pintirrijila.*
          devil-PL be-PAST   three   that.NOM-PL scattered
          There were three groups of devils scattered about.

(9.37)   *Ngunhaa   nyina-nguru kuwarri.*
          that.NOM   be-PRES   now
          That one exists today.

Finally, the small set of manner nominals (§3.1.1) may not function as primary predicates but require a mediating verbal predicate. In the simplest cases these may select a copula, for example:

(9.38) *Nhartu-npa-lha-lwa? Nhulaa jurlurlu nyina-nguru,*
what-INCH-PAST-ID near.you crouched be-PRES

mir.ta puyii nhawu-rra.
not   far.ACC see-CTEMP
What's happened? That one near you is crouching down and won't see
very far.

9.3.2 *karri-Ø* 'stand' AND *wanti-Ø* 'lie' AS COPULAS

Unlike the unmarked copula *nyina-Ø*, *karri-Ø* 'stand', and *wanti-Ø* 'lie', retain something of their core meaning when functioning as copulas. The choice of copula is dependent on a number of factors. Firstly, many subjects choose a particular copula because of a characteristic stance. Thus trees generally 'stand', plains 'lie'. However, although there is a clear tendency for particular entities to choose one or other of the three copulas, this does not mean that the copulas place selectional restrictions on what their subjects may be.

Karri-Ø 'stand' is chosen when the subject of the clause is perceived as having an essentially vertical aspect. However, the verb strongly implies temporarily arrested motion; thus eagles may 'stand' in the sky before they swoop, and water (which generally 'lies') may 'stand' still and clear before it is muddied (example (9.42)). Perhaps related to this, *karri-Ø* replaces *nyina-Ø* as the unmarked copula in the avoidance style.

(9.39) *Ngunhu-ngara karri-nguru panganypa-rru.*
that.NOM-PL   stand-PRES ready-NOW
They are standing ready now.

(9.40) *Karri-nguru kuwarri, Pantuwarnangka.*
stand-PRES now   Pannawonica
It stands there today, Pannawonica Hill.

(9.41) *Nhartu ngularla karri-nguru purruru-la-nu?*
what   there.NS stand-PRES belt-LOC-QUOT
What's that hanging there somewhere on his belt?

(9.42) *Wantharni nhiyu   kayulu, panyu? Mir.ta nhartu-marta   wii,*
how   this.NOM water   good   not   something-PROP maybe

panyu karri-lha.
good   stand-PAST
How is this water, good? Maybe it hasn't got anything [in it], has been standing
good (clear and untainted).

Wanti-Ø is chosen as a copula when the subject of the clause is perceived as having a marked horizontal orientation, either linear or planar. This applies to single entities which lie flat on the ground, and the ground itself, but secondarily to any collection of entities which can be perceived as distributed in (horizontal) space.

(9.43)   *Thal.ya ngunhu wanti-nguru kana-ngka-l,   kuwarri wii.*
         track   that   lie-PRES   clear-LOC-THEN now   maybe
         That track is clear to see, even today.

(9.44)   *Ngurra-rru   yirla wanti-nguru ngulangu.*
         ground-NOW only   lie-PRES   there
         Only the ground is there (nothing else can be seen).

(9.45)   *Nhiyu pal.yarrawanti-wala   kalyaran-wirriwa-rru.*
         this   plain   lie-PURPds tree-PRIV-NOW
         This plain was to be without trees.

In example (9.46), a swarm of flies 'lie' scattered upon a bed of leaves although flies normally 'sit'. Similarly in (9.47), a large group of people are scattered across a plain although the adverbial nominal *jurlurlu* 'crouching' normally selects the *nyina-Ø* copula (as in (9.38)).

(9.46)   *Nhiyu warrariyirla wanti-nguru wurrulywa-la.*
         this   fly   only lie-PRES   leaves-LOC
         There are only these flies on the leaves (the meat is all gone).

(9.47)   *Nhiingara wanti-nguru yarrwa-ngka jurlurlu.*
         this.PL   lie-PRES   behind-LOC crouching
         These people were spread out behind it, crouching down.

Just as the ground, or 'country' lies, so customs, laws and stories are 'laid out' or distributed throughout a tract of country or to a widely scattered group of people. Example (9.48) illustrates this use of *wanti-Ø*, in contrast to the unmarked *nyina-Ø* copula.

(9.48)   *Nhiyu wanti-nguru marrari-ngara, maral.ya-wura, wantha-rnu*
         this   lie-PRES   story-PL   devil-BELONG place-PASSP

         jinangku-yangu, wantharni wanti-lha-la   palalyi-l,
         track-PASSP   how   lie-PAST-LOC before-THEN

         nyina-lha-la   pukarrpukarr-ngara.
         be-PAST-LOC ancients-PL
         These are the stories of the devils, laid down and followed, of how things were before, when the ancient people were about.

9.3.3 *puni-Ø* 'go' AS A COPULA

The simple motion verb *puni-Ø* 'go' has a restricted function as a copula. This is illustrated in the following examples.

(9.49)   *Yimpala-rru-wa,   kanyara-wuyu puni-layi jalya-rru,*
         like.that-NOW-YK man-SIDE   go-FUT   rubbish-NOW

         yaan-wirriwa-rru.
         spouse-PRIV-NOW
         Like that, the husband will be rubbish now, without a wife.

(9.50)   *Panyu-l   puni-layi ngathu   kul.yakarta-ma-rnu.*
         good-THEN go-FUT 1SG.EFF educated-CAUS-PASSP
         Then you'll be good, having been educated by me.

While it is clear that the ascriptive predicates in these two examples, *jalya* 'rubbish' and *panyu* 'good' respectively, are second predicates on the subject of *puni-Ø*, the use of the verb does not imply any motion on the part of the subject. The use of the *puni-Ø* copula (rather than *nyina-Ø* for example) indicates that the ascribed state will be maintained while other actions are performed. Thus the husband in example (9.49) will be as good as rubbish and without a wife in all the actions he now performs, wherever he goes. Similarly, the child who has been educated properly in (9.50), will behave in a correct manner whatever the task.

9.3.4 COPULAS AS MARKERS OF CONTINUING ACTIVITY

In the same way that the copulas *nyina-Ø* and *puni-Ø* describe the persistence of a state, they can be used to indicate the persistence of actions through a period of time. Typically, the verbs appear together with other verbs marked with the contemporaneous relative subordinate clause inflection (§10.1.4). For example:

(9.51) *Ngayu   jirli mir.ta wii panyu, puni-rra   yawarrunyja-l.yarra*
         1SG.NOM arm not   if   good   go-CTEMP miss-CTEMP

murla-ngara-a, tharnta-ngara-a, jalya-npa-rra
meat-PL-ACC   euro-PL-ACC   useless-INCH-CTEMP

puni-rra   nhuwa-l.yarra waruul-wa-l.yarra.
go-CTEMP   spear-CTEMP   still-CAUS-CTEMP
If my arm is no good, I'll keep on missing meat, euros, I'll continue to be useless, keep on [trying to] spear them.

(9.52) *Wayil ngula   yarnta-warnturawiyaa parrani-rrawaara*
         maybe IGNOR day-DISTRIB   maybe return-SEQ

ngurnu-mulyarra-lwa, nyina-layi patha-rryarra.
that.OBL-ALL-ID   sit-FUT   throw-CTEMP
Maybe each day, I don't know, they came back to that place and stayed there throwing [boomerangs].

9.4 THE SYNTAX OF VERBAL CLAUSES

Martuthunira shares with its Ngayarda relatives the legacy of a historical reorganisation of basic case-marking patterns from ergative-absolutive to nominative-accusative. The modern accusative system emerged through a reanalysis of an intransitive nominative-dative pattern, once available for the arguments of transitive verbs under certain semantic conditions, which then became the standard case frame for all transitive verbs (Dench 1982). Simple transitive clauses in the modern Ngayarda languages thus descend from intransitive clauses and the accusative case suffix descends from a dative case.

It is clear that the Martuthunira accusative has retained a number of functions of the old dative and this has resulted in some confusion of the patterns of transitivity in the language. Blake (1977:35) notes that an important function of the dative in many Australian languages is to mark the complements of any predicate that is not a transitive verb. Thus the dative typically marks the complements of intransitive or middle verbs such as 'cry for' or 'wait for', and complements of nominal predicates such as 'knowing', 'wanting' or 'fear'. In

addition, the dative often marks the recipient argument of verbs of giving, and may introduce noun phrase adjuncts with benefactive or purposive functions.

In Martuthunira, the accusative case covers many of these functions as well as marking the objects of prototypical primary transitive verbs like *thani*-L 'hit' or *wurnta*-L 'cut'. At the same time, the semantics of the cardinal transitive relationship is now inherent in the accusative case marker and has spread to many of the originally dative 'intransitive' uses (§4.3). As a result, there are many types of clause in Martuthunira in which more than one accusative argument occurs, and where more than one accusative argument has associated with it something of the semantics of 'direct objecthood'. In this description these clauses are treated as true double-object constructions.

This situation presents some immediate difficulties for analysis, some of which have been touched on briefly in earlier sections. The categorisation of verbs into transitivity classes is complicated by two factors; firstly, the freedom with which objects of apparently transitive verbs may be omitted, and secondly, the freedom with which many verbs may take additional accusative arguments resembling, semantically at least, direct objects. While there are clearly limits to the selection of additional accusative arguments, these often depend to a great extent on the particular meaning and context of use of the verbs in question. Similarly, the linking of different accusative noun phrases to the semantic roles assumed by the verb depends on the referents of these noun phrases and on their expected roles in particular contexts. However, it is assumed here (and see §6.1.3) that verbs may be successfully subcategorised for their core arguments and that the different case frames of certain verbs may be accounted for by establishing separate lexical entries (presumably linked by regular operations on lexical forms).

The analysis of the passive presents similar difficulties. The subject of a passive clause may correspond to one of a range of possible accusative arguments in the corresponding active clause. Thus the passive does not provide any evidence for the organisation of grammatical relations within active clauses and cannot, itself, be fully described in terms of such underlying grammatical relations. The passive is described in §9.6, and the problem of assigning grammatical relations in Martuthunira is briefly discussed in §9.7.

9.5 ARGUMENT STRUCTURES

The classification of verbs presented in this section is based partly on a semantic characterisation of predicates and partly by the types of argument they allow. Of course, these two factors are intimately related. It is assumed that verbs can be successfully subcategorised by their argument structure: an array of possible core and oblique complements. Alternative case frames are assumed to represent a realignment of these core and oblique arguments and for the purposes of this description it is assumed that this realignment is a lexical operation linking different lexical entries for the verbal predicate in question.

9.5.1 IMPERSONAL VERBS

Verbs denoting processes of the weather or emerging times of the day generally appear in text with no overt, or understood, subject argument.

(9.53) *Ngurnu-nguru-wa   thanturri-layi   yawurrari-rru,*
        that.OBL-ABL-YK   go.down-FUT   westward-NOW

        thulharra-npa-rra-rru,   *jarruru   wuraal-wa-rru*
        afternoon-INCH-CTEMP-NOW   slowly   still-Ø-NOW

        muthumuthu-npa-rra-rru.
        cool-INCH-CTEMP-NOW
        From then, [the sun] goes down in the west, it's becoming afternoon, it slowly
        continues to get cooler.

Non-verbal clauses with accusative complements (§9.2.3) in which the predicate ascribes
some property to the weather may also appear to be subjectless:

(9.54) *Muthu paju   nganaju.   Ngayu   wayangka-nguru malyarra-npa-wirri.*
        cold   REAL 1SG.ACC 1SG.NOM frightened-PRES sick-INCH-LEST
        It's too cold for me. I'm frightened of getting sick.

(9.55) *Karlarrapaju   ngaliwa-a   mungka-lwaa murla-a.*
        hot   REAL 1PL.INC-ACC eat-PURPs=o meat-ACC
        It's too hot for us to eat meat. (trans.)

However, on other occasions these clauses may occur with an overt subject noun phrase;
either a nominal referring to the day, or a time of the day, or the demonstratives *nhiyu* 'this' or
ngunhaa 'that'. The demonstrative subject is equivalent to the use of the English dummy
subject 'it'.

(9.56) *Thulharra jampa-rru   muthumuthu-npa-layi, panyi-lwala-rru.*
        afternoon moment-NOW cool-INCH-FUT   dance-PURPds-NOW
        The afternoon will be getting cool soon and we will be able to dance.

(9.57) *Nhiyu   malumalu-npa-nguru-rru, ngaliwa mir.ta-rru nhawu-layi.*
        this.NOM dark-INCH-PRES-NOW   1PL.INC not-NOW   see-FUT
        It's getting dark now, and we won't be able to see.

The verbs illustrated in the preceding section are all derived from nominals referring to
times of the day or states of the weather. The only monomorphemic weather verb occurring in
the Martuthunira data is *parnta*-L 'rain'. This verb may select a demonstrative subject but is
always understood to have the implied subject *warnan* 'rain'. More often, either *warnan*, or
one of a set of nominals referring to clouds or storms, appears as the subject. *Parnta*-L may
take an added benefactive accusative object, as illustrated in example (9.58). Notice also the
use of a dummy demonstrative subject with the passive verb *ngapala-ma-rnu* 'make muddy':

(9.58) *Nhiyu   warnan parnta-rnuru-rru warnu   ngaliwa-a.*
        this.NOM rain   rain-PRES-NOW ASSERT 1PL.INC-ACC

        Muthu-npa-layi-rru.   Nhiyu   ngapala-ma-rnu-rru
        cold-INCH-FUT-NOW this.NOM mud-CAUS-PASSP-NOW

        warnan-tu. Nhiyu   parnta-rnuru   waruu.
        rain-EFF   this.NOM rain-PRES   still
        This rain is certainly setting in on us. It's getting cold. It's muddy from the rain.
        And it's still raining.

9.5.2 INTRANSITIVE STATES/PROCESSES

A number of predicates select a single subject argument, with the possibility of one or more optional adjuncts. The class includes some monomorphemic verbs, for example:

*warrpurri-*Ø	bathe (4.160)
*malyarra-*L	be in pain, be ill (4.24), (5.106)
*nyuni-*Ø	drown (10.42)
*kampa-*Ø	be burning, be cooking (4.36), (4.37)
*parnti-*Ø	be smelling, emitting odour
*jaama-*Ø	yawn

However, simple verbs of this type are not numerous. Most expressions of the existence of a state, either in inanimate or animate entities, involve a copula construction incorporating one of the three verbs *nyina-*Ø 'sit, stay, be', *karri-*Ø 'stand' and *wanti-*Ø 'lie' (§9.3). These three verbs also occur as simple verbs of stance falling into the basic intransitive category:

(9.59) *Nhiyu   nyina-nguru wuraal kanyara,wirra-a   yinka-l.yarra*
         this.NOM sit-PRES   all.right man   boomerang-ACC chisel-CTEMP

 yartapalyu-u-rru. Thungkara-la nyina-nguru, marli-ngka-rru
 others-ACC-NOW   ground-LOC   sit-PRES   cadjeput-LOC-NOW

 kartawura-la, malarnu-la.
 butt-LOC   shade-LOC
 This fellow, the man, is sitting chiselling another lot of boomerangs. [He's] sitting
 on the ground, at the foot of a cadjeput tree, in the shade.

(9.60) *Ngunhu-tharra wulu-wirriwa kurryu-ngka martura-la, wantharra,*
         that.NOM-DU   leg-PRIV   trench-LOC middle-LOC like

 wanti-lha-la,   ngunhu-tharra nyuju-tharra tharryi-tharra.
 lie-PAST-LOC that.NOM-DU initiate-DU   alongside-DU
 It was like those two had no legs while they were lying in the trenches, those
 two initiates, side-by-side.

With few exceptions, predicates denoting processes are derived from nominals through the addition of one of a number of verbalising suffixes. Firstly, a range of verbs incorporating the derivational suffixes *-rri-*Ø (§6.3.5), *-karri-*Ø (§6.3.6) or *-nguli-*Ø (§6.3.7), describe bodily states: for example, *parrawarrarri-*Ø 'shiver', *jinkurnkarri-*Ø 'sneeze', *punganguli-*Ø 'have stomach ache'. These control a single-subject argument.

Secondly, a virtually unlimited number of process predicates can be derived by the addition of the inchoative suffix *-npa-*Ø to a nominal stem (§6.3.3). However, the argument structures of these predicates depend crucially on the nominal stem in each case – there is no set of frames common to all inchoative verbs. While many inchoative verbs take single-subject core arguments, others may freely take a range of accusative noun phrase arguments or clausal complements on the subject or accusative object. These are illustrated in the following sections.

9.5.3 TRANSITIVE ACTIVITIES

A large class contains prototypical transitive verbs of affect which take a subject argument, usually denoting the actor, and an accusative argument typically denoting a patient. Clauses

involving these verbs often include instrumental noun phrase adjuncts (marked with the proprietive suffix) and/or second predications of manner:

(9.61)   *Mir.ta jarruru ngayu   thani-lalha nganaju-u   muyi-i,*
          not   slowly 1SG.NOM hit-PAST   1SG.GEN-ACC dog-ACC

          kalyaran-marta.
          stick-PROP
          I thrashed my dog with a stick. (trans.)
          (lit. Not slowly I hit that dog with a stick.)

None of the verbs in this class have alternate case frames whereby some otherwise non-core argument appears as an accusative object. However, most of these verbs may freely take an additional benefactive accusative argument. The class includes:

thani-L	hit (4.48), (10.1)
purra-L	hit with a (thrown) stone (4.93), (9.148)
yinka-L	chisel (4.85), (4.172), (10.70)
karta-L	stab, poke, chop (6.32), (6.33), (10.74)
kampa-L	cook, burn (5.112), (8.33), (10.20)
kanpi-L	winnow
wurnta-L	cut, break (4.31), (5.29), (5.80), (9.142)
kanyja-L	hold, keep (9.137), (9.147)
manku-Ø	get, grab, pick up (4.2), (4.59), (5.1)
nhuwa-L	spear (5.5), (5.48), (7.48), (7.81)

The class also includes the majority of verbs derived by the addition of the *-ma*-L causative suffix to a nominal stem (§6.3.4).

9.5.4 VERBS OF TRANSFER

The verb *yungku*-Ø 'give' selects two accusative arguments, denoting the recipient and the theme. There are no alternate case frames for this verb and it is the best example of a true monomorphemic ditransitive predicate to be found in Martuthunira. The potential ambiguity of double-object constructions is discussed in §9.7.

(9.62)   *Ngayu   yungku-lha nganaju-u   muyi-i   murla-a   mungka-lwaa.*
          1SG.NOM give-PAST 1SG.GEN-ACC   dog-ACC meat-ACC eat-PURPs=o
          I gave my dog meat to eat. (trans.)

Murnta-L 'take from' also takes two accusative objects, denoting the theme and the source (examples (5.93) and (7.80)). However, unlike other verbs of this class it does not allow the source to appear as the subject of a passive clause (9.123) and (9.124).

Kulyama-L 'pay back, give in return' takes two accusative arguments denoting the recipient and the theme. It also takes a locative complement which denotes the object for which the theme is a pay-back gift (9.63). However, there are no examples in the data in which all arguments are represented.

(9.63)   *Ngayu   kulyama-lalha   kartatha-lwayara-a-lpurtu ngawayu-la*
          1SG.NOM pay.back-PAST chop-HABIT-ACC-COMP turn-LOC

jumpirirri-la.
knife-LOC
I paid [him] back with a chopper in turn for a knife.

The benefactive verb *wuruma*-L 'do for' is included in this class. Typically this verb appears in a subordinate clause controlled by the matrix subject, with a single accusative argument denoting the beneficiary of the action described in the main clause.

(9.64) *Ngayu   wirra-a   yinka-lalha wuruma-l.yarra nganaju-u*
      1SG.NOM boomerang-ACC carve-PAST do.for-CTEMP 1SG.GEN-ACC

      mimi-i.
      uncle-ACC
      I carved a boomerang, doing it for my uncle.

However, when *wuruma*-L appears in a main clause it may occur with a second accusative object denoting the entity upon which some ultimately beneficial action is performed (example (8.27a)). The best classification of *wuruma*-L, on the basis of the data at hand, is as a ditransitive verb selecting two accusative arguments. Then the most common examples of the verb, in which the patient/theme does not appear, might be explained as 'double-equi': the coreferential omission of both subject and patient/theme in subordinate clauses. Examples such as (9.65), in which the benefactive clause appears to be embedded within the matrix clause, can be used to support this argument.

(9.65) *Ngayu   jarraa-lalha nganaju-u   papu-u   wuruma-l.yarra*
      1SG.NOM tie.up-PAST   1SG.GEN-ACC father-ACC do.for-CTEMP

      warrirti-ngara-a...
      spear-PL-ACC
      I tied up, for my father, the spears...

Here *warrirti-ngara* 'spears', the patient noun phrase of *jarraa*-L 'tie up', occurs on the far margin of this particular complex sentence rather than immediately following the main verb. However, if *warrirti-ngara* is described as a second argument of the subordinate verb *wuruma*-L, then the formal representation of such patterns is considerably simplified: the 'double-equi' here affects the object in the main clause and the subject in the subordinate clause.

9.5.5 SIMPLE MOTION VERBS

With few exceptions, simple (intransitive) motion verbs have an alternative argument frame in which some locational role appears as an accusative marked argument. However, verbs differ as to which of a number of possible locational noun phrases may otherwise appear with accusative case-marking. The patterns represented here suggest that motion verbs are subcategorised for a locational complement which may appear either as an accusative object or as an oblique noun phrase bearing some locational case suffix.

The two verbs *puni*-Ø 'go' and *kurrarti*-Ø 'swim' most often occur with a nominative subject and with one or more optional locational noun phrases: locative denoting the path of the motion (9.66), (9.67), (6.15), allative marking goal (9.68), (4.71), (4.72), or ablative marking source (5.74).

(9.66)   *Parla-ngara-la-rru   puni-layi.*
           hill-PL-LOC-NOW go-FUT
           [They] travel in the hills then.

(9.67)   *Ngunhaa kurrarti-lha kayulu-la.*
           that.NOM swim-PAST water-LOC
           That fellow swam in the water.

(9.68)   *Nhiyaa   kurrarti-layi puyiirta wii,   kurrarti-layi.*
           this.NOM swim-FUT   far.ALL maybe swim-FUT
           This fellow can swim a long way.

While the ablative and allative noun phrases are adjuncts, the locative denoting path is a complement. Both verbs occur in an alternate case frame with the path of motion marked as an accusative object, as in examples (9.69), (9.70) and (4.104).

(9.69)   *Ngayu   nhawu-lha parralha-a kurrarti-nyila-a   ngurnu*
           1SG.NOM see-PAST turtle-ACC swim-PrREL-ACC that.ACC

           ngawurr-yu.
           foam-ACC
           I saw a turtle swimming through the foam. (trans.)

(9.70)   *Nhiingara puni-lha   parla-a.*
           this.PL   go-PAST hill-ACC
           These fellows went along in the hills.

The three verbs *kanarri-Ø* 'come', *parrani-Ø* 'return' and *wanyjarri-Ø* 'run' take much the same set of locational noun phrases as 'go' and 'swim', but for these verbs it is the goal of motion, otherwise marked allative, that appears as an accusative argument in the alternate case frame. Thus compare examples (5.82), (6.11) and (7.8) with (5.84), (7.38), (9.71) and (9.72), (and see (4.5) to (4.7)).

(9.71)   *Wanthala   ngunhu-ngarakanarri-lha thanarti-la-nguru ...*
           somewhere that.NOM-PL come-PAST sea-LOC-ABL

           warutharra-a-rru   kanarri-lha.
           marsh-ACC-NOW come-PAST
            Somewhere there they came out of the sea...and came to the marshes then.

(9.72)   *Parrani-layingunhaa ngurnu Kawuyu-u-lwa,   pungka-lu   karti-ngka.*
           return-FUT that.NOM that.ACC *Kawuyu*-ACC-ID fall-PURPss side-LOC
           It comes right back to that *Kawuyu* hill, and falls at his side.

Five motion verbs have alternate frames in which the accomplished end point of motion may be marked locative or accusative. Firstly, *thanturri-Ø* 'descend, go down', *tharrwa-Ø* 'enter' and *pungka-Ø* 'fall' may occur with a locative complement indicating the eventual end point of the moving body, or with this complement marked accusative.

The verb *karlwa-Ø* 'arise, go up, get up' is similar though in this case there is often a conflation of path and goal. The end point of the motion may be marked allative and the path may be marked locative as in the following example.

(9.73)   *Kartu   karlwa-layi kaya-arta-rru.   ... wanthala-nguru ngunhu*
           2SG.NOM go.up-FUT brother-DIRALL-NOW   where-ABL   that

> *karlwa-lha-rru,   parla-ngka?*
> go.up-PAST-NOW hill-LOC
> You go up to your brother now...Where did he go up? On which hill?

When the verb appears with an accusative argument, this argument generally denotes both the path taken and the eventual end point of the motion (example (9.74)). *Karlwa*-Ø in this frame describes an accomplishment. The verb *wirta*-Ø 'climb' follows the same pattern, thus compare (4.152) and (5.64) with (5.42) and (5.53). These two verbs can also be described as having the goal of motion as a complement.

(9.74)   *Ngaliwa   karlwa-layi   Kawuyu-ngu.*
            1PL.INC go.up-FUT   *Kawuyu*-ACC
            We'll go up onto Kawuyu.

There are a number of derived motion verbs in the data and these fall into two classes. First, there are those verbs derived from an inherently locative nominal (e.g. *yilangu-npa*-Ø (here-INCH-Ø) 'come here'), or from a nominal inflected with a locational case suffix (e.g. *ngurra-arta-npa*-Ø (camp-DIRALL-INCH-Ø) 'come to camp'). These verbs describe motion towards the place denoted by the stem nominal and, understandably, do not have locational complements (nor alternative argument structures). By contrast, the verb *murna-npa*-Ø 'get close to' requires an accusative argument denoting the goal of motion. This is expected since the nominal on which it is based, *murna* 'close', denotes a transitive spatial relationship. The verb *murna-ngka-npa*-Ø 'come up close', on the other hand, may take only a subject argument.

9.5.6 VERBS OF INDUCED MOTION/POSITION

Verbs of induced motion or induced position have alternate case frames in which the complement goal can appear either as an oblique locational noun phrase or as an accusative object. The theme argument is marked accusative in both frames. *Thathu*-L 'let go, send' corresponds to the simple motion verb *kanarri*-Ø 'come'. It most often occurs with an allative noun phrase denoting the goal of motion (example (9.75)), but has an alternate frame with the goal marked accusative (9.76).

(9.75)   *Ngaliwa   thathu-rninyji kulhampa-ngara-a   ngurnu-ngara-arta*
            1PL.INC send-FUT   fish-PL-ACC   that.OBL-PL-DIRALL

            kanyara-ngara-arta.
            person-PL-DIRALL
            We'll send fish to those people.

(9.76)   *Marrari-i   thathu-yarri-lha   ngurnu-ngara-a.*
            word-ACC   send-COLL-PAST that.OBL-PL-ACC
            [They] sent word to those people.

The two verbs *wantha*-R 'place, put, leave' and *warntitha*-L 'throw, drop', like the motion verbs *thanturri*-Ø 'go down, descend', and *pungka*-Ø 'fall', have an end point of motion, or induced position, which is generally marked locative but which can appear as an accusative argument. Thus compare examples (5.35) and (5.90) with (9.77). Similarly, *tharrwi*-L 'put into' corresponds to *tharrwa*-Ø 'enter'. The theme argument of such verbs is always accusative.

(9.77) *Nganarna murla-a   wantha-lwayara pawulu-ngara-a.*
        1PL.EXC meat-ACC leave-HABIT   child-PL-ACC
        We used to leave meat with/for the children. (trans.)

Just as the inchoative suffix may be added to locative nominals to derive 'inert' motion verbs, so the causative may be added to such nominals to derive 'inert' induced motion verbs. That is, verbs such as *wilyara-la-ma*-L 'put on the shoulders' do not take either an oblique noun phrase or a second accusative noun phrase denoting the goal of motion. Finally, a few induced motion verbs do not have a locational complement. For example, second accusative arguments appearing with the verbs *kangku*-Ø 'carry, bring' and *parrani-lha-ma*-L 'bring back, return' are always interpreted as benefactives.

9.5.7 PERCEPTION AND COGNITION VERBS

The perception verbs *nhawu*-Ø 'see' and *kuliya*-L 'hear' occur with a nominative subject and an accusative object. They also commonly take accusative clausal complements (examples (7.67) and (7.85)). The range of possible complement types and their syntax is discussed in §10.4. Both verbs may also take a reflexive clausal subject complement. *Nhawu*-Ø is used in this way to present a person's opinion of their own appearance (9.78), *kuliya*-L presents a personal opinion of one's state of health (9.79).

(9.78) *Ngartil tharrwi-layi jaat-ku,   puni-rrawaara   karnka-rru,*
        next   put.on-FUT shirt-ACC go-SEQ   pleased-NOW

        ngurangura-rru jankul-wa-rru   nhawu-rra.
        stylish-NOW   self-Ø-NOW   see-CTEMP
        Next [I] put on a shirt and go off pleased with myself, looking stylish.

(9.79) *Ngayu   mir.ta warnu   panyu paju   kuliya-rnuru jankul*
        1SG.NOM not   ASSERT good   REAL hear-PRES   self

        yarta-ngka-nguru-l   yakarrangu-la-nguru.
        other-LOC-ABL-THEN   day-LOC-ABL
        I haven't felt very well since the other day.
        (lit. I hear myself not well...)

Nguyi-ma-L 'dream, dream about (oneself performing an action)' follows the same pattern, taking an accusative noun phrase or clausal object and a reflexive clausal complement on the subject. Verbs of cognition select either simple nominative and accusative noun phrase arguments or clausal complements on subject and object. The most common such verb is *kuliya-npa*-Ø 'think, believe'.

(9.80) *Nhartu! Kartu   kuliyanpa-nguru nganaju   ngalawangka-nyila-a*
        what   2SG.NOM think-PRES   1SG.ACC lie-PrREL-ACC

        wurtu?
        HYPTH
        What! You think that I'm lying?

(9.81) *Mir.ta kuliyanpa-layi minthal yirla kur.ta kayulu-la*
        not   think-FUT   alone   only   clever water-LOC

murtimurti-la paju.
fast-LOC   REAL
Don't [you] think that [you're] the only one who is clever [enough] to swim in fast flowing water.

Like speech act verbs (§9.5.8), *kuliyanpa-Ø* can introduce thoughts as direct speech. However, this is quite rare and in most instances, as in example (9.82), a demonstrative fills the accusative argument slot.

(9.82)   *Kuliyanpa-layi ngurnaa, "Palwarru,wiyaa nhiyu   kampa-lha-rru".*
          think-FUT   that.ACC all.right   maybe this.NOM cook-PAST-NOW
          He thinks, "All right, maybe this is cooked now".

The cognition verbs *nhuura-npa-Ø* 'work out, learn' (examples (7.17), (7.78), (10.68)), *nhuura-rri-Ø* 'realise, understand' (9.83), *ngalarri-Ø* 'forget', and *wiru-npa-Ø* 'want' (9.84), follow the same pattern.

(9.83)   *Nhurnti-ma-rninyji ngurnaa,   yartapalyu kanyara-ngara*
          dead-CAUS-FUT   that.ACC others   person-PL

          nhuurarri-wala wantharni-i   ngurnta-a jiwarra-ngara-wu-u.
          realise-PURPds what.way-ACC style-ACC white-PL-GEN-ACC
          [We'll] kill this fellow so this mob of blackfellows will understand the way of [us] white people.

(9.84)   *Ngunhaa mir.ta wiru-npa-lha   yirna   wirta-tharra-a mungka-lwaa.*
          that.NOM not   want-INCH-PAST this.ACC youth-DU-ACC eat-PURPs=o
          He didn't want this pair of boys to eat [any of it].

The verb *wayangka-Ø* 'be frightened' may take an accusative object (example (10.23)), but may also take an accusative complement describing a situation which the subject of the verb fears may happen. Where the situation described in the complement is to be interpreted in the affirmative, the verb is negated (9.85). There are no examples in the data in which the complement is to be interpreted in the negative.

(9.85)   *Nganaju   yaan   yungku-lha ngawurr-marta-a yartapalyu-u-rru*
          1SG.GEN   spouse give-PAST foam-PROP-ACC others-ACC-NOW

          kanyara-ngara-a.Ngunhaa wayangka-lha   nganaju   mir.ta
          person-PL-ACC that.NOM frightened-PAST 1SG.ACC not

          paya-lwaa.
          drink-PURPs=o
          My wife gave the beer to the other people. She was frightened I would drink.

9.5.8 VERBS OF SPEECH AND INFORMATION TRANSFER

As in many Australian languages, the verb *wangka-Ø* 'speak, tell, talk about' has a number of senses. To some extent these depend on the arguments it takes and on the referents of those arguments. Firstly, *wangka-Ø* 'make a (species-characteristic) noise', takes a simple subject noun phrase typically describing an animal. There are no examples in the data of accusative arguments with the verb used in this sense. With human subjects *wangka-Ø* 'speak, tell' may take a single accusative argument denoting the addressee (example (4.105)), or two accusative arguments, one of which denotes the addressee and the other the 'speech

act', for example 'tell a story', 'speak a word, language' (9.86), 'hold a meeting' (9.87). There are no alternate case frames for these arguments.

(9.86)   *Ngunhaa marrari-i yimpala-lwa wangka-nguru ngurnu-ngara-a,*
that.NOM word-ACC like.that-ID speak-PRES that.OBL-PL-ACC

kuliya-lwaa-l wiyaa ngula.
hear-PURPs=o-THEN maybe IGNOR
He talked like that, spoke that word (*yirru*) to them, so then they would hear (understand) maybe, I don't know.

(9.87)   *Ngaliwa yilangu milyangkul-yu wangkarnu-marri-layi.*
1PL.INC here meeting.type-ACC discuss-COLL-FUT
We'll hold a Milyangkul meeting here.

Wangka-Ø 'say' introduces a passage of direct speech into a narrative. An accusative argument denoting the addressee may also occur:

(9.88)   *Ngunhaa wangka-layi yartapalyu-u, "Nhiyu-nu wirra*
that.NOM say-FUT others-ACC this.NOM-QUOT boomerang

ngathu yinka-rnu".
1SG.EFF chisel-PASSP
He says to the others, "This is a boomerang made by me".

More rarely, *wangka-Ø* 'say' introduces 'indirect speech' complements, either nominative or accusative. In either instance, an accusative noun phrase denoting the addressee is possible, although not common.

(9.89)   *Ngayu wangka-layi nhuwala-a, nganaju-wu-lu mimi-ngku*
1SG.NOM tell-FUT 2DU-ACC 1SG.OBL-GEN-EFF uncle-EFF

yarna-rnu.
disappointed-PASSP
I tell you that my uncle was disappointed in me.

(9.90)   *Yartapalyu wangka-nguru parna-ngka-rru kangku-lha-a,*
others say-PRES head-LOC-NOW carry-PAST-ACC

yartapalyu wangka-nguru warryayi-lalha-a.
others say-PRES drag-PAST-ACC
Some say they carried it on their heads, others say they dragged it.

Wangka-Ø 'call, name' takes an accusative argument controlling a complement denoting the name ascribed to the referent of the argument (example (9.91)). Very often, the named referent appears as the subject of an agentless passive clause; the name is a complement on the subject (3.2), (4.42), (4.116), (9.111).

(9.91)   *Ngunhaa, ngunhu wartirra ngayalyu, ngunhaa, ngunhu kaya-a*
that.NOM that.NOM woman devil that.NOM that.NOM brother-ACC

wangka-nguru kanyara-a, yirna nyina-nyila-a,
call-PRES man-ACC this.ACC sit-PrREL-ACC

nhartu-marta-a, nyampali-wuyu-u.
thing-PROP-ACC leader-SIDE-ACC

That one, that woman devil, that one, she calls that man *kaya* (elder brother),
this man sitting down, the one with the thing, the leader of the group.

Finally, *wangka-Ø* 'tell' is used as a manipulative predicate, in which case the accusative argument controls a purposive subordinate clause.

(9.92) *Ngayu   wangka-lha pawulu-u   manku-waa   nganaju-u*
       1SG.NOM tell-PAST   child-ACC get-PURPs=o 1SG.GEN-ACC

       ngamari-i.
       tobacco-ACC
       I told the child to get my tobacco. (trans.)

There are few other utterance predicates and none with the complete range of uses illustrated for *wangka-Ø*. *Jinarri-Ø* 'ask' occurs in only a few examples in the data but introduces direct speech and appears to take similar complements. However, it cannot be used as a manipulative predicate. *Jilampirra-Ø* 'brag' may take an accusative argument denoting the addressee and a subject complement:

(9.93) *Ngunhaa jilampa-rra   wantharni kurrarti-lha, jilampa-rra   nyina-lha*
       that.NOM brag-CTEMP how   swim-PAST brag-CTEMP be-PAST

       pipi-thurti-i-rru   pawu-thurti-i-rru.
       mother-CONJ-ACC-NOWfather-CONJ-ACC-NOW
       He bragged about how he had swum, bragged to his mother and father.

The verb *jurrura*-L 'point out' describes the act of drawing someone's attention to some physically present object and usually takes two accusative arguments denoting, respectively, the thing pointed out and the person so informed. However, there is one example in the data of *jurrura*-L used as a verb 'to blame, point out that'. Here it takes a single accusative complement.

(9.94) *Ngunhaa   wartirra nganaju-rru   jurrura-rnuru warnmalyi-i*
       that.NOM woman   1SG.ACC-NOW point.out-PRES knife-ACC

       withawitha-ma-lalha-a.
       cover.over-CAUS-PAST-ACC
       That woman is blaming me for covering over (losing) the knife./
       That woman is pointing out that I covered the knife.

The most common transfer of information predicate is *nhuura-ma*-L 'teach, show'. As the causative counterpart to *nhuura-npa-Ø* 'learn', this verb takes two accusative arguments: the experiencer and a noun phrase or clausal complement denoting the thing learnt or presented (examples (4.4), (7.5), (7.78)).

(9.95) *Julyu thurlanyarrara,   nganarna-wu,*
       puliyanyja,   nhuura-ma-lalha
       old   poor.fellow   1PL.EXC-GEN old.man   know-CAUS-PAST

       nganaju yirna   marrari-i.
       1SG.ACC this.ACC story-ACC
       The poor old fellow, of our people, an old man, taught me this story.

(9.96) *Ngunhaa   nganaju nhuura-ma-lalha   wantharni-i*
       that.NOM 1SG.ACC know-CAUS-PAST   how-ACC

ngurnu-ngara-a   warruwa-ngara-apatharri-lha-a   yilangu-wa.
that.OBL-PL-ACC devil-PL-ACC   fight-PAST-ACC here-YK
He taught me about how the devils once fought here (in this country).

The superficially similar verb *kariya*-L 'show, point or thrust out body part' describes the act of (often provocatively) placing an object or body part in the view of some person (example (4.77)). Like *nhuura-ma*-L it takes two accusative arguments but does not control clausal complements.

9.5.9 ADDED ACCUSATIVE ARGUMENTS

A number of the verb types described in the preceding sections have the ability to optionally take an accusative argument of some kind. Simple motion and induced motion verbs have alternate case frames in which some role, usually path or goal, may appear either as an oblique argument marked with some locational case or as an accusative object. For these predicates the added accusative argument can be seen as marking a role which is implicit in the situation evoked by the verb. That is, these verbs are subcategorised for a path or goal complement.

However, accusative arguments which do not instantiate implicit roles may be added quite freely to a number of predicate case frames. There are three situations in which verbs may appear with an added accusative argument. First, a small group of 'ambitransitive' verbs occur either with or without an accusative object. The following examples illustrate the alternative case-marking patterns of the verb *panyu-npa*-Ø 'be good (to)'.

(9.97)   *Ngunhaa wartawirrinpa-rra   karla-a   panyu-npa-waa,*
         that.NOM wait.for-CTEMP   fire-ACC   good-INCH-PURPs=o

         puwara-npa-waa,   karlarra-npa-waa   paju.
         coals-INCH-PURPs=o hot-INCH-PURPs=o REAL
         He waits for the fire to become good, to burn down to the coals, to get really hot.

(9.98)   *Ngayu   wiru-rru   wiyaa panyu-npa-layi paya-lalha-nguru*
         1SG.NOM feelings-NOW maybe good-INCH-FUT drink-PAST-ABL

         ngurnu   jami-i.
         that.ACC medicine-ACC
         Perhaps my feelings will become good after drinking that medicine.

(9.99)   *Ngayu   ngurnaa wiru-rru   panyu-npa-lha,   thurlanyarrara-a.*
         that.NOM that.ACC feelings-NOW good-INCH-PAST poor.fellow-ACC
         I feel good towards him, the poor fellow.

(9.100) *Kartu   panyu-npa-layi nganarna-a   ngalarri-lha-ngara-a.*
         2SG.NOM good-INCH-FUT 1PL.EXC-ACC forget-PAST-PL-ACC
         You be good to us fellows who forgot.

There is no sense in which the verb *panyu-npa*-Ø in either example (9.97) or (9.98) implies an object. However, an object is clearly implied by the use of verb in (9.99) and (9.100). This suggests that *panyu-npa*-Ø be given two separate lexical entries, one intransitive and the other transitive. The same obtains for *paya-npa*-Ø 'become angry, get angry at, "growl" at', and *ngaya*-Ø 'cry, cry for'. When *ngaya*-Ø appears with a single subject argument it generally describes an act of uncontrolled weeping. However, with an accusative

object it describes an act of weeping for some deceased relative, often in some ritualised mourning context.

Secondly, added benefactive accusative arguments denote a person who is affected by the actions of the, usually human, subject of the verb in a beneficial way (examples (3.11a), (9.101) and (9.102)). These arguments correspond to 'ethical datives' in some other Australian languages (e.g. Warlpiri, as in Hale 1982).

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

(9.102) *Muyi yanga-lalha tharnta-a muyi-ngara-a mungka-lwaa murla-a.*
         dog   chase-PAST euro-ACC dog-PL-ACC eat-PURPs=o meat-ACC
         The dog chased a euro so all the dogs could eat meat. (trans.)

In the following examples the referent of the benefactive noun phrase is seen to suffer some unpleasantness as a result of the action denoted by the verb. In most of these 'malefactive' cases the subject of the verb is inanimate.

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

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

(9.105) *Nganaju   murtiwarla ngapala-la ngarrani-lha   nganaju.*
         1SG.GEN car   mud-LOC get.stuck-PAST 1SG.ACC
         My car got stuck in the mud on me. (trans.)

Although there is little sense in subcategorising verbs such as *ngarrani-Ø* 'get stuck' or *parli-npa-Ø* 'be bent' for a benefactive argument, these accusative noun phrases do share many of the semantic features of true direct objects and can appear as the subjects of passive clauses. Thus, they are more than simple adjuncts and might best be handled by a general lexical rule which adds a benefactive object to a verb's 'basic' argument structure.

Finally, accusative marked noun phrases describing a period of extended time may be added to a clause (§4.3). Unlike all other accusative arguments appearing with verbal predicates, these temporal accusative noun phrases may not occur as subjects of passive verbs. By this criterion they can safely be described as adjuncts. While the ability to appear as a passive subject is not a sufficient condition for core argument status, it is a necessary condition.

9.6 PASSIVE CLAUSES

Passive main clauses in text can be interpreted on the basis of the two interrelated semantic/pragmatic strategies:

1. The passive presents a non-agent argument in a highly topical position.

2. The passive clause allows the description of an event without the specification of an agent.

Particular cases will often involve both of these factors as the examples below demonstrate: (9.106) illustrates the role of passive clauses in presenting non-agent arguments as topics of discourse, while in (9.107) the passive clauses also allow the speaker to avoid reference to specific agents.

(9.106) *Wirpinykura, ngunhu-lwa   ngunhaa   marntanhu-ma-nnguli-wayara*
spinifex.type   that.NOM-ID that.NOM net-CAUS-PASS-HABIT

puliyanyja-ngara-lu jantira-ngara-lu   wii   kulhampa-marnu.
old.man-PL-EFF   old.woman-PL-EFF   maybe fish-ASSOC

Ngunhaa   warrapamarntanhu-ma-nnguli-wayara.
that.NOM grass   net-CAUS-PASS-HABIT
Wirpinykura spinifex, that's the one that used to be made into nets by the old men and women or whoever, for fish. That's the [type of] grass that was made into nets.

(9.107) *Nhartu-npa-lha-lwa   ngula   thurlanyarrara kupuyu,mir.ta wiyaa*
what-INCH-PAST-ID IGNOR poor.fellow   little   not   maybe

thalka-nnguli-nguru thanuwa-a maruwarla-a   paju
feed-PASS-PRES   food-ACC much-ACC   REAL

yungku-nguli-nguru. Thurlajinkarri kupuyu yimpala-rru-wa
give-PASS-PRES   poor.fellow   little   like.that-NOW-YK

puni-layi nhawu-ngu-rra   parlu yirla mirtali.
go-FUT   see-PASS-CTEMP top   only big
What's wrong with that poor little fellow, maybe he isn't being fed, maybe he isn't being given very much [to eat]. The poor little fellow will be going along like that now, looking big only up top.

In a sample of 150 passive clauses in a long stretch of narrative text of which 57% were subordinate clauses, 58% of passive main clauses were agentless while agentless passives made up 70% of passive subordinate clauses. Sixty-five per cent of all passive clauses were agentless.

Verbs in Martuthunira can be marked for passive in one of two ways. Firstly, a verb may be inflected with a suffix which encodes passive voice as well as other categories such as tense aspect and mood. The most prevalent of these suffixes is the passive perfective *-yangu/-rnu* (§6.2.2). Secondly, the passive derivational suffix, -CM-*nguli*-Ø (§6.3.1), may be added to active verb stems deriving a passive verb of the Ø-conjugation. This verb then takes regular (active) verb inflections. On the same sample of 150 passive clauses, 45% involved the passive derivational suffix and 74% of these were agentless. By contrast, 52% of the inflectional passives occurred without an agent. Sixty-six per cent of the derivational passives occurred in subordinate clauses as opposed to 60% of inflectional passives.

Verbs formed with either the derivational passive or one of the inflectional passives have equivalent case frames. The following examples illustrate the differences between the passive and active forms of a transitive activity verb, and the differences between the clauses in which the forms of the verb may appear.

(9.108) *Pawulu-ngarapukarra-a   manku-layi/-lha.*
child-PL   firewood-ACC get-FUT/-PAST
The children will get/got firewood. (trans.)

(9.109)   *Pukarra   manku-ngu-layi pawulu-ngara-lu.*
          firewood get-PASS-FUT child-PL-EFF
          The firewood will be gathered by the children. (trans.)

(9.110)   *Pukarra   manku-yangu   pawulu-ngara-lu.*
          firewood get-PASSP   child-PL-EFF
          The firewood was gathered by the children. (trans.)

In this set of examples the different case frames of the transitive verb *manku-Ø* 'get, grab, take', are quite clear. The agent of the verb is in the unmarked nominative case in example (9.108), but in the effector case in (9.109) and (9.110). The patient/theme is in accusative case in (9.108) but in nominative case in (9.109) and (9.1l0). As a general rule, those roles of a given verbal predicate which may be marked accusative in active clauses can appear as nominative subject arguments of corresponding passive verb forms. In the simplest of cases, transitive activity verbs have passive counterparts with a patient as the subject (as in the preceding examples). For simple motion verbs the subject of the passive clause is the path or goal; that is, the subcategorised locational complement of the active verb. The passive subject thus corresponds to the optional accusative argument in an active clause frame.

(9.111)   *Parlapuniwangka-ngu-rra,   Parlapuni   parla-ngku puni-yangu,*
          Parlapuni call-PASS-CTEMP *Parlapuni* hill-EFF   go-PASSP

          ngunhu   wanti-nguru kuwarri.
          that.NOM lie-PRES   now
          "Parlapuni", it's called. *Parlapuni* is [the track] where the hill went along.
          It's still there today.

(9.112)   *Yilangu   nyina-wayara Pantuwarnangka-l   julyu-ngara patharri-lu,*
          here   sit-HABIT   *Pantuwarnangka*-LOC old.man-PL fight-PURPss

          kanarri-nguli-yirri.
          come-PASS-LEST
          Here on Pannawonica Hill the old people used to stop to fight, lest they be
          come upon by anyone.

The accusative arguments of the ambitransitive verbs *panyu-npa-Ø* 'become good (to)', and *paya-npa-Ø* 'get angry (with)' can appear as the subjects of passive forms of these verbs (9.113). And benefactive arguments can appear as the subjects of otherwise intransitive process verbs such as *ngarrani-Ø* 'get stuck' (9.114).

(9.113)   *Mir.ta panthu-rninyji, paya-npa-nguli-yirri   ngulu   kanyara-lu.*
          not   touch-FUT   angry-INCH-PASS-LEST that.EFF man-EFF
          Don't touch or the man will get angry [with you].

(9.114)   *Ngayu   thurlajinkarri,ngayu   murtiwarla-lu ngarrani-yangu.*
          1SG.NOM   poor.fellow   1SG.NOM   car-EFF   stick-PASSP
          I'm a poor fellow, I had my car get stuck on me. (trans.)

Verbs which regularly take two accusative arguments, such as *yungku-Ø* 'give', have two passive argument frames: either the recipient or the theme may appear as the subject of the passive verb form. Usually, the other non-agent role is omitted, but if it occurs it retains its status as an accusative object. In both frames the agent is marked with the effector case.

(9.115)   *Ngunhu   pawulu yungku-yangu murla-a   nganaju-wu-lu   yaan-tu.*
      that.NOM child   give-PASSP   meat-ACC 1SG.OBL-GEN-EFF wife-EFF
      That child was given meat by my wife. (trans.)

(9.116)   *Nhiyu   murla yungku-yangu yirna   kanyara-a ngulu   wartirra-lu.*
      this.NOM meat   give-PASSP   this.ACC man-ACC that.EFF woman-EFF
      This meat was given to this man by that woman. (trans.)

In the same way, those verbs which allow a second accusative argument of some kind have two possible passive argument frames. The following examples illustrate passives on the various arguments of induced motion verbs, (9.117) and (9.118), and of transitive verbs permitting an added benefactive argument, (9.119) and (9.120).

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

      ngarri-ngka-nguru-u.
      ashes-LOC-ABL-ACC
      We were sent that euro meat from the ashes.

(9.118)   *Nhiyu   murla thathu-rnu   nganarna-a   ngurnu-ngara-lu*
      this.NOM meat   send-PASSP   1PL.EXC-ACC that.OBL-PL-EFF

      kanyara-ngara-lu.
      man-PL-EFF
      This meat was sent us by those men.

(9.119)   *Nhiyu   murla kampa-rnu   nganaju-wu-lu   wartirra-lu.*
      this.NOM meat   cook-PASSP 1SG.OBL-GEN-EFF woman-EFF
      This meat was cooked by my woman. (trans.)

(9.120)   *Ngunhu   mimi murla-a   kampa-nngu-layi wartirra-lu.*
      that.NOM uncle meat-ACC cook-PASS-FUT woman-EFF
      That uncle will have meat cooked for him by the woman. (trans.)

The difference between clauses such as (9.115) and (9.116) lies simply in the choice of case-marking on the various noun phrase arguments; there is no additional change in the form of the verb. The syntax of passive clauses thus involves two interacting factors:

1. the marking of the verb as passive, either by derivational suffix or by inflection, and

2. the choice of case-marking for the arguments of the verb.

The passive verb form dictates an argument frame in which noun phrases other than the agent may appear as the subject of the clause (the agent is optionally deleted). To use derivational phraseology, the passive removes the agent from subject position, and from the core case frame, so that subject position can be filled by one of a number of other possible arguments. The choice of subject is then shown by the choice of case-marking on the remaining arguments.

Martuthunira differs from its Ngayarda relatives in allowing both objects of a ditransitive verb as possible subjects of passive clauses. In both Panyjima and Yinyjiparnti only the recipient argument of a verb like *yungku-Ø* 'give' may appear as the subject of a passive clause. In these languages it is possible to state the passive quite neatly in terms of grammatical relations. Thus in Panyjima the recipient object of a ditransitive can be assigned

the primary object relation (Dench 1991:194) and the passive refers to the noun phrase bearing this relation. This analysis is clearly not available in Martuthunira.

Instead, the Martuthunira passive might be described as a lexical rule which selects any non-subject argument in the subcategorisation frame of a verb and assigns it to the subject position of a corresponding passive verb form. However, there is just one exception to this pattern. The verb *murnta*-L 'take from' has two accusative arguments, denoting the theme and source (example (9.121)), but only the *source* may appear as the subject of a passive clause (9.122). *Murnta*-L is the only verb found so far for which this constraint applies and would need to be marked as an exception to a passive rule which presents non-subject complements as subjects.

(9.121)   *Ngayu   murnta-lalha   murla-a   ngurnu   pawulu-u.*
           1SG.NOM take.from-PAST   meat-ACC   that.ACC   child-ACC
           I took meat away from the child. (trans.)

(9.122)   *Ngunhu   pawulu thuur.ta-a   murnta-rnu.*
           that.NOM child   sweet-ACC take.from-PASSP
           That child had sweets taken away from him. (trans.)

(9.123)   **Ngunhaa   jumpirirri ngurnu   pawulu-u   murnta-rnu.*
           that.NOM   knife   that.ACC   child-ACC   take.from-PASSP
           *That knife was taken from the child. (constr.)
           ("Kid bin taken away from knife ???")

That the passive rule is not restricted simply to accusative non-subject arguments is demonstrated by the verb *jarraa*-L 'tie up' and its synonym *jankaa*-L. Both verbs take a single accusative argument denoting the patient and may optionally take a locative noun phrase describing the object to which the patient is tied (example (9.124)). The location may *not* be coded as an accusative argument of the active verb but may appear as the subject in a passive clause (9.125).

(9.124)   *Ngayu   jarraa-lalha ngulangu kalyaran-tanganaju-u   muyi-i.*
           1SG.NOM tie.up-PAST   there   tree-LOC   1SG.GEN-ACC   dog-ACC
           I tied up my dog there on the tree. (trans.)

(9.125)   *Nhiyu-lwa   kalyaran ngathu   muyi-i   jarraa-rnu.*
           this.NOM-ID tree   1SG.EFF   dog-ACC tie.up-PASSP
           This is the tree I tied the dog to. (trans.)

It is assumed here that *jarraa-L* is subcategorised for a locative complement. However, in this instance the locational complement may not be coded as an accusative object (perhaps this privilege is reserved for paths and goals) and the verb must be marked as an exception to a general lexical rule.

9.7 DOUBLE-OBJECT AMBIGUITIES

It will be clear from the preceding sections that there is some difficulty in the identification of a unique grammatical relation 'Direct Object' in Martuthunira. The problem lies in the fact that verbs may control more than one accusative argument and that there are no formal tests (such as passive, for example) which distinguish among these arguments. The problem is just

as real for those verbs which accept an optional second accusative argument as it is for true ditransitives like *yungku*-Ø 'give', which are always understood as having two objects.

But if two accusative arguments are not formally distinguished, how is the unique assignment of particular noun phrases to particular thematic roles in the argument structure of the predicate accomplished? For example in (9.126), in which the verb *thathu*-L 'send, let go' appears with two accusative arguments, which is to be linked to the theme role and which to the goal?

(9.126)   *Ngayu   thathu-lalhangurnu   muyi-i   kartungu-u   pawulu-u.*
            1SG.NOM send-PAST that.ACC   dog-ACC   2SG.GEN-ACC   child-ACC

The assignment of roles in potentially ambiguous sentences like this depends on the semantic content of the noun phrases and on the speaker's perception of the most likely situation, both in general terms and in particular contexts. An unmarked interpretation of example (9.126) would have *muyi* 'dog' as the theme and *pawulu* 'child' as the goal. The assignment is not affected by the relative order of the accusative arguments nor their position relative to the verb. This is demonstrated by the following set of test examples.

(9.127) a. *Ngayu   ngurnu   kanyara-a thathu-lalha nganaju-u   kurntal-yu.*
          1SG.NOM that.ACC   man-ACC   send-PAST 1SG.GEN-ACC   daughter-ACC
          I sent that man my daughter. (constr.)

   b. *Ngayu   nganaju-u   kurntal-yu   ngurnu   muyi-i   thathu-lalha.*
      1SG.NOM 1SG.GEN-ACC   daughter-ACC   that.ACC   dog-ACC   send-PAST
      I sent my daughter that dog. (constr.)

   c. *Ngayu   ngurnu   muyi-i   nganaju-u   kurntal-yu   thathu-lalha.*
      1SG.NOM that.ACC   dog-ACC   1SG.GEN-ACC   daughter-ACC   send-PAST
      I sent my daughter that dog. (constr.)

   d. *Ngurnu   muyi-i,   ngayu   nganaju-u   pawulu-u   thathu-lalha.*
      that.ACC   dog-ACC   1SG.NOM 1SG.GEN-ACC   child-ACC   send-PAST
      I sent my child that dog. (constr.)

   e. *Kartungu-u   kurntal-yu,   ngayu   ngurnu   pawulu-u   thathu-lalha.*
      2SG.GEN-ACC   daughter-ACC   1SG.NOM   that.ACC   child-ACC   send-PAST
      I sent your daughter the child. (constr.)

In this set of sentences, including (9.126), the rudiments of a ranking of the type commonly referred to in the broadest possible sense as a hierarchy of 'animacy' (see Comrie 1989:197) are quite evident. In most cases this involves distinctions of the gross animate/inanimate, or human/non-human kind, but where both the referents are human more fine-grained decisions based on culture specific notions of social dominance – such as age, gender and kin relationship – become crucially important. But it must be remembered that cases of potential ambiguity requiring such delicate decisions rarely if ever occur in free discourse. In addition, the assignment of roles is often quite obvious from a given context. It is only in unnatural discourse situations, like linguistic elicitation sessions, that speakers need to rely on some 'default context'.

9.8 CASE ASSIGNMENT IN IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

For the most part, imperative clauses follow the normal patterns of case-marking for active clauses: the addressee is the nominative subject and any objects of the verb are marked accusative:

(9.128)   *Pamararri-Ø kartu   ngurnu-ngara-a   pawulu-ngara-a!*
          call.out-IMP 2SG.NOM that.OBL-PL-ACC child-PL-ACC
          You call out to those children!

(9.129)   *Pawulu-ngara-yi, nganaju   kangku-Ø kayulu-u!*
          child-PL-VOC   1SG.ACC   bring-IMP water-ACC
          Hey children, bring me some water!

However, there is an alternative case-marking pattern available for imperative clauses in which the object appears as an unmarked topic. A number of other features of such examples are noteworthy: (1) the addressee subject is usually omitted; (2) the unmarked object generally appears in the leftmost position; and (3) the object is introduced by the 'near you' demonstrative form *nhula*. For example:

(9.130)   *Nhula   kalayamarta thuulwa-l.yu!   Kartu   murti-ma-rnuru*
          near.you billy.can   pull-IMP   2SG.NOM fast-CAUS-PRES

          karlarra-npa-wirri-i.
          hot-INCH-LEST-ACC
          Pull that billy can [off the fire]! You do it quickly or it'll get too hot [to hold].

(9.131)   *Nhula   murla wantha-rryu thungkara-la, muyi-ngku mungka-nnguli-waa.*
          near.you meat put-IMP   ground-LOC   dog-EFF   eat-PASS-PURPs=o
          Put that meat on the ground so it can be eaten by the dog. (trans.)

Examples such as (9.131) show that the lack of accusative marking on the topicalised patient/theme noun phrase does not reflect any reassignment of grammatical relations in the clause. The preposed and unmarked object continues to control the -CM-*waa* 'lower subject=main clause object' purpose clause inflection (§10.3).

A more interesting deviant pattern is illustrated in example (9.132): the speaker dares the addressee to attempt to deflect a thrown spear.

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

The surprising feature of this example is the marking of the subject with the effector case, which is generally reserved for the agent noun phrase in a passive construction (§4.4). This is one of a number of similar sentences occurring quite freely (though rarely) in text but attempts to elicit imperatives conforming to the same pattern have met with limited success. One such elicited example is (9.133).

(9.133)   *Kartungku nhawu-Ø ngunhu   muyi. Nhartu-u kartu   kuliyanpa-layi?*
          2SG.EFF   see-IMP   that.NOM dog   what-ACC 2SG.NOM think-FUT
          You have a look at that dog. What are you going to think about it? (trans.)

Here the presumed object of the imperative verb is unmarked case and the whole sentence appears to conform to a standard Australian ergative case-marking pattern. Interestingly, the

rather unsuccessful attempts to test the grammaticality of constructed examples revealed only one piece of relevant information: imperative clauses of this kind are grudgingly acceptable with transitive verbs but are not at all acceptable with intransitive verbs.

While examples such as (9.133) appear on the surface to be clear relics of earlier ergative active clauses, given the case-marking patterns of modern Martuthunira, they look very like passives. Unfortunately, the data does not throw any light on this issue. There are no examples in which either the effector 'subject' or unmarked 'object' control subordinate clauses.

9.9 NOMINAL ADJUNCTS MARKED WITH REFERENTIAL CASE

Referential case-marking (Dench & Evans 1988) serves a number of different functions in Martuthunira. As noted in §3.3.1, referential case is used to link second predicates to their arguments and to link part and whole where the part functions as an instrument or is the locus of effect. These patterns are described in the following sections.

The identification of second predicates as separate constituents presents few difficulties in Martuthunira. Firstly, by the analysis presented here, nominals bearing the same final case inflection but which are separated by some phrasal constituent (that is, excepting separation by post-inflectional clitics or particles) are described as separate noun phrases. Secondly, second predicates in subordinate clauses bear suffixes consistent with referential case agreement with an absent subject, and are not raised out of such clauses (but see §10.4) or deleted under identity along with their controlling arguments. Only where a nominal functioning as a second predicate occurs adjacent to its controlling argument is there a possibility of any ambiguity between a 'merged' and 'unmerged' interpretation (Simpson 1983:346), and such constructions are usually avoided.

9.9.1 SECOND PREDICATES

The two main types of second predication in Martuthunira are firstly 'attributives', which describe the state of some referent during the time at which the main clause predication holds, and secondly 'manner' predications, which describe the manner in which the main predication is performed by an agent. The interpretation of a second predicate as either an attributive or a manner predication depends on the semantic content of the particular nominal and that of the main predicate. Consider the following example:

(9.134)   *Thurlanyarrara-ngara kupiyaji   panyu waruul   nyina-marri-layi,*
           poor.fellow-PL   little(PL) good   still   sit-COLL-FUT

           panyu-ngku wangka-yangu nhuura-ma-rnu.
           good-EFF   tell-PASSP   know-CAUS-PASSP
           Those poor little fellows will continue to be well behaved once they are told, taught properly.

This sentence includes two uses of the nominal *panyu* 'good', as a second predicate. In the first instance *panyu* describes an attribute, 'good' in the sense of 'well behaved'. In the second case *panyu* is marked with the effector suffix in agreement with an absent passive agent, and here is interpreted as a manner predication '(tell, teach) properly'. The following

examples provide further illustration. As (9.136) shows, the second predication may be negated.

(9.135) *Ngaliwa puni-layi purnumpuru. Thana ngunhaa   nhuurryarri-wala.*
1PL.INC go-FUT   quiet   let   that.NOM snore-PURPds
We'll go quietly, and let him keep snoring.

(9.136) *Ngunhu-ngara pawulu-ngara mir.ta jarruru-lu parrungkarri-yangu*
that.NOM-PL   child-PL   not   slow-EFF shout.at-PASSP

ngulu   wartirra-lu.
that.EFF woman-EFF
Those children were shouted at by that woman, not slowly.

(9.137) *Nhiyu   thuur.ta kanyja-rnu   juwayu-la kartarr-u paju,*
this.NOM fruit   hold-PASSP hand-LOC tight-EFF REAL

nyunyja-ma-rnu-rru.   Wantharni-rru mungka-rninyji
squashed-CAUS-PASSP-NOW how-NOW   eat-FUT

yimpala-a-wa,   kulhany-ku-rru?
like.that-ACC-YK squashed-ACC-NOW
This fruit has been held in the hand really tightly, it's been squashed. How are [we] to eat it like that, squashed?

Example (9.137) involves a number of second predications. Firstly, the manner nominal *kartarr* 'tightly', which is marked with the effector suffix in agreement with a passive agent, describes a simple manner predication. The indefinite/interrogative *wantharni* 'how, what way', also functions as a manner predication on the subject of the verb *mungka*-L 'eat', while the predicate demonstrative *yimpala* 'like that', and the nominal *kulhany* 'squashed', make ascriptive predications on the (absent but understood) accusative object.

Example (9.138) illustrates what might be called a 'compound second predication', in which a group of similar manner-type nominals combine to describe, in this case, a particular bodily posture. Example (9.139) is very similar. Here the compound predication describes a manner of action rather than a stance.

(9.138) *Wanti-rrawaara malarnu-la, wanti-lu   yanarra   murtiwana*
lie-SEQ   shade-LOC lie-PURPss on.back   leg.on.knee

wartawirrinpa-rra mirntirimarta-a kampa-nyila-a.
wait.for-CTEMP   goanna-ACC   cook-PrREL-ACC
Then [I] go and lie in the shade, to lie on my back with one leg propped on my knee, waiting for the goanna which is cooking.

(9.139) *Ngaliwa puni-layi jarruru jirruna paju,   marruwa-ma-lwirri*
1PL.INC go-FUT   slowly creeping REAL awake-CAUS-LEST

ngurnaa nguyirri wanti-nyila-a,   mayiili-ngu.
that.ACC asleep   lie-PrREL-ACC FaFa+1POSS-ACC
We'll go along really creeping slowly, lest we wake up that fellow lying asleep, our grandfather.

Nominals inflected with an adnominal case suffix may also function as second predicates of manner. The use of proprietive expressions as instrumental manner second predications is

illustrated in §4.10. Privative second predications are illustrated in §4.11. Locative expressions may also be used as second predications as in the following examples:

(9.140) *Kartu   pamaru panyu kuliya-nngu-layi   puyila-lu.*
         2SG.NOM loud   good   hear-PASS-FUT   far.LOC-EFF
         You are good and loud and will be heard [from] far off.

(9.141) *Ngayu   nhawu-lha ngurnu-ngara-a   kanyara-ngara-a*
         1SG.NOM see-PAST   that.ACC-PL-ACC   man-PL-ACC

         Kawuyu-la-nguru.
         Kawuyu-LOC-ABL
         I saw those people, from *Kawuyu* hill.

A large class of 'attributive' second predications bear the temporal clitic *-l* (§7.7). As with all second predications, the property ascribed by the second predicate is held to be true during the time at which the main predication holds, but in these cases the focus is shifted. These predications provide a temporal orientation for the whole clause (examples (9.142), (3.12) to (3.14), and (7.86) to (7.87)).

(9.142) *Mir.ta karlarra-a-l   wurnta-rninyji, juwayu kampa-wirri.*
         not   hot-ACC-THEN cut-FUT   hand   burn-LEST

         Muthumuthu-u wurnta-rninyji, panyu-u-l.
         cool-ACC   cut-FUT   good-ACC-THEN
         Don't cut it when it's hot or [you'll] burn [your] hand. Cut it cold, when it's good.

Martuthunira is quite permissive in the range of arguments it allows as controllers of secondary predicates. While manner predicates are controlled either by the subject or the passive agent, and attributives are generally controlled either by the subject or an accusative object, these temporals may be controlled by locational adjuncts (example (3.14)). Other Australian languages are more restrictive. For example, Yankunytjatjara allows second predicates only on subjects, Kayardild (Evans 1985:246) allows second predicates only on subjects and objects.

Finally, it is worth noting that Martuthunira does not make use of 'resultative' second predications (such as English 'He painted the fence white.'). Instead, resultatives typically involve a verb derived by the addition of the causative suffix to a nominal stem denoting the emerging state. The accomplishment of a result is then coded by an attributive second predication on the verb *kuntirri-Ø* 'cease doing'. For example:

(9.143) *Kartatha-lalha ngayu   ngurnu   wirra-a*
         chop-PAST   1SG.NOM   that.ACC boomerang-ACC

         nyarranyarra-ma-l.yarra. Nyarranyarra-a-rru   kuntirri-layi.
         light-CAUS-CTEMP   light-ACC-NOW   cease-FUT
         I chopped that boomerang, making it light. I'll stop when it is light.

(9.144) *Ngayu   yurrwi-rninyji ngurnaa   kurlany-marta.Mawu-lwa*
         1SG.NOM shave-FUT   that.ACC knife-PROP   later-ID

         kuntirri-layi panyu-u-rru   warlyarra-a-rru.
         cease-FUT   good-ACC-NOW   smooth-ACC-NOW
         I'll shave it with a knife. I'll stop later when it's good and smooth. (trans.)

9.9.2 PART-WHOLE CONSTRUCTIONS

Part-whole constructions in which the part functions as an instrument (example (9.145)) or is the locus of effect of some action ((9.146), and see (4.160)) follow the same syntactic patterns as second predications.

(9.145) *Karnti-i   waruul-wa-rru   manku-layi, kayarra juwayu*
         tail-ACC   all.right-Ø-NOW grab-FUT   two   hand

         thuulwa-rninyji ngurnaa.
         pull-FUT   that.ACC
         All right, then grab its tail, pull it with two hands.

(9.146) *Ngunhaa   nhawu-lha wii ngali-i   karri-lha-a,*
         that.NOM   see-PAST if   1DU.INC-ACC stand-PAST-ACC

         ngunhaa   warta-a-rru   purra-rninyji ngali-i.
         that.NOM   forehead-ACC-NOW hit-FUT   1DU.INC-ACC
         If he had seen that we were standing there, he would have hit us both in the forehead.

However, body parts filling the role of instrument also appear in the usual proprietive construction (example (6.28)), and parts may be dissociated from their wholes and treated as separate arguments (4.77). These uses are not as common as the part-whole construction illustrated here.

9.10 QUESTIONS

Polar questions are identical in form to normal declaratives but have a characteristic final rising intonation. In some cases the focus of the interrogation may be fronted to clause-initial position, as in example (9.148) below.

(9.147) *Kartu   kanyja-rnuru wirra-tharra-a?*
         2SG.NOM   keep-PRES   boomerang-DU-ACC
         You have two boomerangs?

(9.148) *Yirnaa   nhawu-lha?*
         this.ACC   see-PAST
         Was it *this* [you] saw?

(9.149) *Nhuwana puni-layi wurtu   thawun-mulyarra?*
         2PL   go-FUT HYPTH town-ALL
         Are you going to town?

Example (9.149) includes the particle *wurtu* 'hypothetically' (see §7.2.4), which most often occurs in polar interrogatives. Typically it indicates the speaker's hypothesis about a particular situation and invites confirmation or disconfirmation from the addressee. The very polite request in (9.150) is reported speech occurring in a long narrative text. The use of past tense forms of the verb is possibly intended to suggest a situation that has happened and so is out of the speaker's humble control. The form *yirru* is a semantically null hesitation marker.

(9.150) *Ngayu   yirru kartungu yirru ngayu   yirru kanarri-lha?Ngayu,*
         1SG.NOM HES 2SG.ACC HES 1SG.NOM HES come-PAST 1SG.NOM

ngayalyu yirru, kartungu kanarri-lha yirru? Ngayu   yirru
cousin   HES 2SG.ACC come-PAST HES   1SG.NOM HES

kanarri-lha yirru, ngayalyu yirru, kartungu   yirru nhawu-lu?
come-PAST HES cousin   HES   2SG.ACC HES see-PURPss
Can I come over to you? Can I come over to you, my cousin? Can I come over
there and see you?

Information questions involve one of a set of indefinite/interrogative word forms as
described in §5.3 and §5.10. In questions these forms almost always occur in clause initial
position. The illocutionary force of an information question can be modified by the presence
of certain particles, in particular, *ngula* 'ignorantly' (§7.2.5), *kana* 'rhetorical' (§7.2.6), *paju*
'really' (§7.2.7), and the 'quotative' clitic *-nu* (§7.2.2).

Questions concerning the identity of a person or thing involve *ngana* 'who' and *nhartu*
'what'. For example:

(9.151) *Nganangu-nu   ngayu   nhuwa-rnuru-wa?*
         who.ACC-QUOT 1SG.NOM spear-PRES-YK
         Who am I supposed to be spearing?

(9.152) *Nhartu-u   nhuwana nhawu-lha?*
         what-ACC 2PL   see-PAST
         What have you seen?

Nhartu 'what' also forms the basis for intransitive and transitive interrogative verbs
derived by the addition of either the inchoative *-npa-Ø* or causative/factitative *-ma-L* to the
nominal stem:

(9.153) *Nhartu-ma-rnu-lwa-rru   ngula,   kanyara-nguru warruwa-nguru?*
         what-CAUS-PASSP-ID-NOW IGNOR human-ABL   devil-ABL
         What was done to them, after the time they were human devils?

(9.154) *Nhartu-npa-lha   nhuwana pawulu-ngara, mir.ta-rru panyi-rnuru*
         what-INCH-PAST 2PL   child-PL   not-NOW step-PRES

         jalurra-a?
         dance-ACC
         What's happened to you children, [you're] not dancing?

Other questions make use of the variety of indefinite/interrogative nominal and verbal
forms based on *wantha* 'where' (§5.10):

(9.155) *Wanthala-rru   ngunhu kanyara ngulangu nyina-lha-nguru?*
         somewhere-NOW that.NOM man   there   sit-PAST-ABL
         Now where is that man who was there?

(9.156) *Wantharni-i ngula, wanka-a-l,   kampa-lalhawiyaa?*
         how-ACC   IGNOR raw-ACC-THEN cook-PAST maybe
         How was it, was it raw then, or maybe it was cooked?

(9.157) *Nhartu-u   wantharra-a nhawu-layi?*
         what-ACC like-ACC   see-FUT
         What will it look like? (lit. [We'll] see it looking like what?)

(9.158) *Wanthala-ma-lalha kartu?   Kartu   kanyja-rnuru.*
where-CAUS-PAST 2SG.NOM   2SG.NOM keep-PRES
What have you done with them? You're keeping them [hidden].

(9.159) *Wantharni-ma-rninyji ngali?*
how-CAUS-FUT   1DU.INC
How are we two going to do it?

(9.160) *Nganaju   kaya   wantharni-npa-lha-rru.   Wantharni-npa-lha?*
1SG.GEN   brother how-INCH-PAST-NOW how-INCH-PAST
My brother has changed somehow. What's happened [to him]?

9.11 CONSTITUENT ORDER

Unlike some Australian languages which are characterised by particularly free constituent order, Martuthunira has a basic SVO pattern. Table 9.1 presents a count of the frequencies of constituent orders in a lengthy Martuthunira text. The figures are extracted from tables presented in Nathan (1986).

TABLE 9.1: CONSTITUENT ORDER

	Type	Number	Percentage
Transitive	SVO	28	35.00
(N=80)	SOV	2	2.50
	OSV	5	6.25
	OVS	–	–
	VSO	1	1.25
	VOS	1	1.25
	SV	10	12.50
	VS	1	1.25
	OV	7	8.75
	VO	18	22.50
	V	7	8.75
Intransitive	SV	49	75.38
(N=65)	VS	14	21.54
	V	2	3.08
Generalised	S precedes V	94	84.70
	V precedes S	17	15.30
	S precedes O	31	83.78
	O precedes S	6	16.22
	V precedes O	48	77.42
	O precedes V	14	22.58

These figures clearly illustrate the predominance of patterns in which the subject precedes both object and verb, and to a slightly lesser extent, the regularity with which the object follows the verb. Deviations from the unmarked SVO pattern are the result of two general

factors. Firstly, in information questions the interrogative occurs in sentence-initial position regardless of whether it is the subject, object, verb or some noun phrase adjunct. Secondly, objects may be placed in an immediate preverbal position of focus. Where the subject is omitted for some reason (a common occurrence in chains of clauses in texts, or in imperatives) the object may appear in clause-initial position. Some examples of this second pattern are:

(9.161) *Ngayu   ngurnaa   karntarra-a yirla thuulwa-lalha.*
         1SG.NOM that.ACC sinew-ACC only pull-PAST
         I pulled out only the sinew (and left the rest).

(9.162) *Kartu   nganaju   mir.ta paju   kuliyanpa-layi.*
         2SG.NOM 1SG.ACC not   REAL think-FUT
         You really don't think about me!

(9.163) *Ngayu   yartapalyu-u-rru   wawayi-l.yarra, tharnta-a*
         1SG.NOM others-ACC-NOW look.for-CTEMP euro-ACC

         jinyji-warla-a   warra.
         fat-FULL-ACC CONT
         I'll go look for something else, a fat euro for a change.

Once questions are removed from consideration, clauses in which the object precedes the subject, and/or the verb precedes the subject, are extremely rare. Example (9.164), the only unambiguous example of a clause displaying OSV order in the data, is a highly marked answer to a choice question. The VSO pattern illustrated in (9.165) is clearly influenced by the subordinate clause structure. There are no clear examples of VOS or OVS ordering in the data.

(9.164) *Kartu   kuliyanpa-lha-rru wanthanha-a paju   wirra-a*
         2SG.NOM think-PAST-NOW which-ACC   REAL boomerang-ACC

         kangku-layi?
         take-FUT
         Have you decided just which boomerang to take?

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

         Nhula-a   pukarti-wuyu-u   ngayu   wantha-rnuru.
         near.you-ACC snakewood-SIDE-ACC 1SG.NOM leave-PRES
         Yes! That kurara one, that one I'll take. That snakewood one I'm leaving.

(9.165) *Ngunhaa kayarra-lwa ngulangu, kulhi-rnura-la   ngaliwa*
         that.NOM two-ID   there   bury-PrREL-LOC 1PL.INC

         puliyanyja-a   thurlajinkarri-i.
         old.man-ACC poor.fellow-ACC
         Those two stayed there while we were burying the poor old man.

With regard to constituents other than core arguments, the ordering is more flexible. Typically, locational adjuncts occur towards the end of clauses but may occur in initial topic position where they provide important background information. It is rare for such adjuncts to be interposed between core arguments and the predicate. In passive clauses the effector noun phrase, denoting the agent, typically occurs after the verb although it may occur between subject and verb.