



# PANYJIMA GRAMMAR

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## 1. THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

Panyjima is a Pama-Nyungan language of the Ngayarda subgroup, originally spoken in the tablelands of the Hamersley Range in the Pilbara region of Western Australia. Today most of the speakers of the language live in the coastal town of Onslow. Others live in Roebourne and other Pilbara towns, and on a number of pastoral leases in the area.

### 1.1 LINGUISTIC TYPE

Panyjima is in most ways typical of the non-prefixing languages of Western Australia. The phoneme inventory is typically Australian with six points of articulation (both a laminal and an apical contrast), and three vowels with a limited length contrast. The pronominal system involves three numbers and an inclusive/exclusive distinction for non-singular first persons. Third person pronominal forms are limited, the larger burden of function being borne by demonstratives. Special pronoun forms exist for use with certain classes of kin. Grammatical information is most heavily coded on nominal expressions (nouns and adjectives cannot be distinguished on morphological grounds). Verbs are inflected for tense/aspect/mood and voice.

Unlike many Australian languages, Panyjima shows an especially high degree of multiple case-marking. Nominal suffixes are distributed to all constituents of a marked phrase or clause and in this way individual words may bear a sequence of suffixes indicating their role in constituents of varying syntactic level. Panyjima, and other languages of the Ngayarda

subgroup, also differ markedly from most other Australian languages in having evolved a nominative/ accusative case marking system out of an earlier ergative case marking system (see Dench 1982b). One of the effects of this change has been to reduce the syntactic importance of transitivity contrasts in the language. While verbs are subcategorized for the range of complements they may take, they do not fall into neat transitivity classes. With the exception of an innovated productive passive voice, there is no valence changing morphology for verbs.

## 1.2 DIALECTS

Speakers recognize that two named dialects of Panyjima were originally spoken on the Hamersley Range though they appear to have no received ideas as to how the two differed. The Pantikura dialect was spoken on the higher plateaus of the Hamersley Range, while the Mijaranypa dialect was spoken in lower areas. The data on which this description is based was collected from people who identify with the Pantikura dialect.

O'Grady Voegelin and Voegelin (1966) give two dialect names, Rtukurr {Tukur} and Milyaranpa. Milyaranpa is most likely the Mijaranypa dialect mentioned by my informants. It is possible that Rtukurr is in reality the word thukurr[pə] (Panyjima does not permit initial apical consonants) meaning 'straight' or 'correct' which is often applied to language and speech style.

## 1.3 TERRITORY AND NEIGHBOURS

Tindale (1974) describes the traditional territory of the Panyjima as follows:

Upper plateau of the Hamersley Range south of the Fortescue river; east to Weediwolli (sic [Weeliwolli]) creek near Marillana [Station]; south to near Rocklea [Station], on the upper branches of Turee Creek east to the Kunderong Range. In later years under pressure from the Kurama, they moved eastward to Yandicoogina and the Ophthalmia Range forcing the Niabali eastward. They also shifted south to Turee and Prairie Downs driving out the Mandara tribe, now virtually extinct. (Tindale 1974:255)

The map gives this location and the approximate location of a number of other languages mentioned in this description. Immediately to the west of Panyjima lay Yinyjiparnti and Kurrama which differ linguistically at the dialect level (though speakers recognise them as separate languages). Both are nominative/accusative and phonologically innovative. Panyjima is clearly closely related to these two, though the phonological differences are striking.

The Palyku language which lay to the north and east of Panyjima has been described as being a dialect with Panyjima (following O'Grady

1966). On the other hand, von Brandenstein (1967a) places Palyku in the Wati (Western Desert) subgroup. Although the two have a very high percentage cognate density (79% by O'Grady) they are structurally very dissimilar. While Panyjima is totally nominative/accusative in its case marking system, Palyku is split ergative; pronouns follow a nominative/accusative pattern, other nominals follow an ergative/absolutive marking pattern. Palyku has a full set of cross referencing pronominal clitics to the verb while Panyjima has only two with limited function and frequency. The Panyjima clearly do not recognise a linguistic affiliation between the two but instead suggest that Palyku is related closely to Niyaparli and other languages of the Western Desert.

To the south, separating Panyjima from languages of the Mantharta and Kanyara groups, the immediate neighbours were Yinhawangka and Jurruru. Von Brandenstein (1967a) groups these two languages, together with Panyjima, Nyamal and (incorrectly, it turns out) Warriyangka (Mantharta group) as an inland Ngayarda group. Unfortunately, von Brandenstein's paper does not include data for any of these languages and thus it is difficult to assess his arguments. However, the classification of Jurruru and Yinhawangka as members of the Ngayarda group is borne out by the little Jurruru material collected (Austin 1978, Dench 1983a) before it became extinct and Yinhawangka material collected by Florey (1982). Austin (1988) provides a detailed analysis of the genetic relationships among the southern languages (excepting Yinhawangka).

#### 1.4 SOCIOLINGUISTIC INFORMATION

Certain aspects of traditional Panyjima social behaviour are clearly reflected in the language structure and in its use. The norms of social interaction depend heavily on kin relationship and this is reflected in the lexicon and grammatical systems of the language; most notably the pronominal system and uses of the collective derivational suffix (§4.5[f]). Full descriptions of these systems cannot be given here but the interested reader is referred to Dench (1982a) and (1987a) for extensive discussion.

Like many Australian languages, Panyjima has an auxiliary speech style (called Paathupathu) used mainly in speaking to certain kinsmen (and now only remembered in any detail by a few older people). The differences between Paathupathu and everyday Panyjima lie mainly in the lexicon (see §5). Common verbs of the everyday language have alternative Paathupathu forms. Paathupathu verbs are generic and used to replace a number of everyday verbs. The nominals of the Paathupathu style do not exhibit the same generic properties. The vast majority of Paathupathu nominals are analysable as the everyday word augmented by some suffix (§5.2). The two styles are grammatically equivalent although Paathupathu is characterized by circumlocution and a general lack of specificity.

Traditionally a man did not talk to his mother-in-law but rather talked through an intermediary and using the Paathupathu avoidance style. Paathupathu was also used when talking to, or within earshot, of one's father-in-law and sometimes with one's brothers-in-law. A certain degree of respectful behaviour was observed with all kinsmen classified as father's sister and mother's brother since all could potentially be one's in-laws.

In addition to avoidance relationships based on marriage, a man must follow strict codes of behaviour with certain of the men involved in his initiation. In particular a man must avoid speaking to his mangkalyi, 'doctor', or to members of the mangkalyi's close family. A man's siblings similarly avoid his mangkalyi. One cannot talk to one's mangkalyi except through an intermediary (ideally using Paathupathu) though the mangkalyi may talk to his wuntaja, 'patient', directly (and without using Paathupathu). Paathupathu is also used extensively during initiation business (§5.1). While knowledge of the avoidance style is waning, the patterns of language use remain. The Panyjima, and other Pilbara communities, continue to maintain traditional initiation practices and the relationships so established are very important in the life of the community.

## 1.5 PRESENT SITUATION

The Panyjima community lives mainly in the coastal town of Onslow together with people whose main affiliations are with Yinyjiparnti, on the one hand, and Thalanyji and other southern languages, on the other. Although I have not conducted a complete survey, my impression is that there are no more than fifty fluent speakers. Younger members of the community have English as their first language and use Panyjima only sparingly. Most make no clear distinction in their usage between Panyjima and Yinyjiparnti, which has a larger community of speakers mainly residing in Roebourne.

## 1.6 Past Investigations

The earliest collection of Panyjima language material appears to have been a comparative list of words compiled by D.S. Davidson (1932). The lists include 260 Panyjima items.

O'Grady recorded Panyjima words and sentences in 1957-58, and later in 1967. The unpublished fieldnotes and tape-recordings are held by The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) in Canberra (O'Grady 1958a&b, 1967). A selection of Panyjima words appears in O'Grady's (1959) thesis. O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966) includes a short sketch of Panyjima phonology and morphology based on O'Grady's data. This gives a list of pronouns, nominal and verbal suffixes and a number of sentence examples. With very few exceptions, the sketch is consistent with the present description. O'Grady makes use of Panyjima data in other publications, most notably O'Grady (1966) which discusses subgrouping of the Ngayarda languages and reconstructs the phonology of the proto-Ngayarda.

Von Brandenstein carried out fieldwork in the Pilbara region in the mid to late 1960s and some Panyjima data is included in a set of interim

reports to AIATSIS (1965-1968). Unpublished material, including von Brandenstein's diaries (1969), comparative listings of vocabulary and grammatical material (1975, 1982a), and tape recordings are also held by AIATSIS. A number of published papers (1967a, 1970, 1972, 1982b) make reference to Panyjima material, however these do not make extensive use of language examples. The most important of these is perhaps von Brandenstein's (1967a) classification of Pilbara languages. Using mainly grammatical criteria, he distinguishes three types of language: those having an 'Active Verbal Concept' (AVC) (read 'accusative case-marking pattern'), those having a 'Passive Verbal Concept' PVC (read 'ergative case system'), and an intermediate type having a combination of both AVC and PVC features. Panyjima is placed in the latter group, but unfortunately the paper includes almost no actual language data and provides nothing but very general statements about the purported differences among the various languages. It is thus impossible to evaluate the arguments for classification or the AVC/PVC distinction.

Von Brandenstein's (1982b) paper on avoidance styles in the Pilbara provides a wealth of data on alternative vocabulary items and makes the important observation that much of the avoidance vocabulary is shared across a number of languages. The paper also points out a number of recurrent phonological alternations apparently used to distinguish avoidance style items from everyday items. The paper deserves detailed evaluation and the further testing of these hypotheses with additional data from speakers of Pilbara languages.

The most extensive, though incomplete, previous description of Panyjima is a masters subthesis by the present author (Dench 1981), upon which the first three chapters of this description are based. The principal informants were the late Percy Tucker and the late Herbert Parker. Although I have collected supplementary material through intermittent contact with other Panyjima speakers since that time, the bulk of the data was collected over an eight month period in 1980. Copies of fieldnotes and tape-recordings are held by AIATSIS. A number of published papers (Dench 1982a, 1982b, 1987a, Dench & Evans 1988) include analytical treatments of certain Panyjima data. Unpublished comparative studies of Panyjima pronouns and demonstratives (Dench 1983b, 1985) are held by AIATSIS. A Panyjima wordlist (essentially the same as that appearing here) forms part of a comparative dictionary database of Pilbara and Ashburton languages maintained by Peter Austin at La Trobe University, Melbourne (Austin 1986). The Pilbara Aboriginal Language Centre (1990) has recently published a selection of Panyjima stories based on Dench (1982c). For a more extensive bibliography of works which refer to Pilbara languages see Thieberger (1990).

There have been no anthropological studies devoted to the Panyjima people. However, a number of ethnographies of other groups in the Pilbara, in particular Tonkinson (1978) and Palmer (1981), provide an insight into Panyjima cultural practices. O'Grady's (1959) thesis uses linguistic evidence to support the drawing of major cultural boundaries between desert and coastal initiation practices. Descriptions of the Panyjima kinship system and linguistic reflections of this system are contained in Dench (1982a, 1987a).

## 2. PHONOLOGY

### 2.1 PHONEMES AND THEIR REALIZATION

The Panyjima phoneme inventory is typical of languages of Western Australia. There are six points of articulation for stops and nasals with both a laminal and an apical contrast. A lateral corresponds to each non-peripheral stop. Panyjima has three short vowels and three corresponding long vowels of rare occurrence.

2.1.1 CONSONANTS. Table 2.1 gives the Panyjima consonant inventory. The following minimal pairs illustrate the apical contrast:

yata	many	yarta	shield
kanta	Leave it!	karnta	tears
kulu	head louse	kurlu	hot
kuta	short	kurta	brother
panti-Ø	sit	parnti-Ø	be smelling
mintalypa	carefully	mirntalypa	unreal thing

The following minimal pairs, and near minimal pairs, illustrate the laminal contrast:

thampa	What about you?	jampa	moment
thananyungu	3pl	jananyungu	pigweed
thurtu	sister	jurtu	nipple
ngatha	1sgNOM	ngaja	mouse
nhupalu	2dl	nyupa	wife

The following sets of minimal pairs illustrate the stop/rhotic contrasts, *t/rr* and *rt/r*:

kati-Ø	take, carry	karri	stand
jitijiti	willy wagtail	jirri	thorn
putirta	bush type	purri-rta	pull-FUT
marta	blood	mara	hand
marti	marks	mari	younger sister
yirtiyirti	hanging	yiri	spear point

Stops are generally voiceless and unaspirated with a tendency toward voicing in medial position. The velar consonants are articulated further back in the mouth than is usual for an Australian language and for some speakers */k/* and */ng/* approach the uvular {*q*} and {*±*}. There is also a tendency for velar consonants to be rounded between rounded vowels, or

initially preceding the rounded vowel.

TABLE 2.1 - *Consonant Phonemes*

	bilabial	apico- alveolar	apico-post- alveolar	lamino- dental	lamino- palatal	dorso- velar
stop	p	t	rt	th	j	k
nasal	m	n	rn	nh	ny	ng
lateral		l	rl	lh	ly	
rhotic		rr	r			
glide	w				y	

As a general characteristic of languages in this part of Western Australia, the apical contrast is not obvious in free speech and there is a degree of variation. There is a strong tendency for postalveolars to be fronted to alveolar articulation following the high front vowel /i/ and, to a lesser extent, preceding this vowel. Further, there is a tendency for the alveolar stops and nasals to be backed to postalveolar articulation following or preceding the back vowel /u/, especially when this vowel is itself in the environment of a preceding or following velar consonant. The fact that velars are often very backed suggests some tongue-pull is affecting the articulation of the consonants. It is clear that the allophonic variation of apicals has led to the rephonemicization of certain consonants. For example (Wordick 1982:313):

	Yinyjiparnti	Panyjima
*murru-rni back-HENCE	murrini behind	murrini behind

Most of the cases involve the rephonemicization of postalveolars to alveolars in the environment of /i/. A rule changing postalveolar stops and nasals to alveolar stops and nasals appears to have some morphophonemic status in Yinyjiparnti where it relates the N- and L- verb conjugations (Wordick 1982:81). The same (optional) rule affects both L-conjugation and Ø-conjugation suffixes in Panyjima. For example (the less preferred variants are enclosed in parentheses):

panti-rta sit -FUT	{pandidU}	({pandi∂U})
parnti-rta be smelling-FUT	({pa=∂idU})	{pa=∂i∂U}

The alveolar stop /t/ is quite tensely articulated in relation to the other stops. Unlike the other Ngayarda languages (Dench 1987b:531), or the

languages of the Mantharta and Kanyara groups, intervocalic /t/ is not uncommon in Panyjima. Cognates suggest some historical fortition of the alveolar /rr/ though this has not yet been investigated in detail. By contrast, the postalveolar stop /rt/ typically occurs intervocalically as a retroflex flap; it is not at all common for the apico-alveolar stop to be realized as a tap. There is some word-initial variation between laminal stops. For example:

jartuntarra            thartuntarra            brothers-in-law

Usually, however, speakers are unaware of the variation and have a clear idea of which of the two is appropriate for a particular word.

The postalveolar lateral, when following the back vowel /u/ and preceding a velar consonant, is almost indistinguishable from the rhotic /r/, though the two clearly contrast as the following minimal pairs show:

kuru	hook on spearthrower	kurlu	hot
mara	hand	marla	yam

Sequences of lateral plus the bilabial stop /p/ are characterized by a glottal closure preceding, or coextensive with the bilabial stop. This can be compared with the allophonic prestopping of syllable final laterals in Martuthunira, and the fortition of laterals in Kurrama and Yinyjiparnti (Dench 1987b:519ff).

The alveolar rhotic /rr/ is realized as a trill preceding a consonant. It does not occur in final position. In intervocalic position it is often realized as a single tap but perhaps more commonly occurs as an alveolar rhotic continuant. The post-alveolar rhotic continuant is retroflex and unrounded (except where adjacent to a rounded vowel).

The glides /y/ and /w/ are very often not articulated in word initial position when followed by the vowels /i/ and /u/ respectively. The deletion of the initial glide does not appear to be affected by the medial consonant. Two examples are:

yinya-rta give -FUT	{yÈ <sup>^</sup> aɔU}	or	{È <sup>^</sup> aɔU}
wuntu river	{wøndø}	or	{øndø}

2.1.2 VOWELS. Panyjima has a simple system of three short vowels (high front unrounded /i/, low /a/ and high back rounded /u/), complicated by three corresponding long vowels of rare occurrence. The most common instance of a long vowel is in the Passive Perfect verb inflection -jangaanu/-rnaanu (§3.4.3[g]). Only twenty words with long vowels occur in the data, of which only three do not have the long vowel in the initial syllable. Of the twenty, five are borrowings from English, another ten appear to involve a monosyllabic root at some stage in their derivation, and other forms appear to be borrowings from Yinyjiparnti or Kurrama.

I have found no instances in which the short/long difference



distinguishes two words. However, since it is not possible to predict the occurrence of long vowels, and since they are important to rules of stress placement and morphophonemic alternation, they are best treated as phonemes separate from their short vowel counterparts. All three short vowels have a range of pronunciations depending on their consonantal environment. Before laminal consonants, vowels are characterized by a short high front vowel off-glide. There is some tendency towards nasalization of vowels in the environment of nasals, and some tendency towards retroflex colouring of vowels in the environment of postalveolar consonants. Notice that this is counter to the tendency, described above, for postalveolars to be fronted in the environment of the vowel /i/. It appears that there are two contrary tendencies; the first for retroflexion to march through a word colouring everything in its path, and the second for retroflexion to be largely conditioned by immediate vowel environment. Individual speakers appear to favour one or other tendency and this might be indicative of some dialectal difference. It is still the case, however, that both tendencies can be observed in the speech of any individual.

Rounding also has effects outside of its immediate environment and a rounded syllable may effect some rounding of all the syllables in the word. The rounded vowel /u/ is often fronted before (and sometimes after) laminal consonants, particularly /y/, with no loss of rounding. For example:

panu-yu	{panu<yu>}
true-ACC	

## 2.2 PHONOTACTICS

The phonotactics of Panyjima follow a pattern common among Australian languages. With the exception of a few English borrowings with initial /a/, no words can have initial vowels. Nor can words close with a consonant. The only consonants permitted in initial position are the non-apical stops and nasals, and the glides (p, k, th, j, m, ng, nh, ny, w, y). The consonants permitted in root final position are the apical nasals and laterals, the palatal nasal and lateral, and the alveolar rhotic (n, m, ny, l, rl, ly, rr).

Intervocally, all consonants occur. Permitted clusters consist of an apical or palatal nasal or lateral, or the rhotic trill /rr/, followed by a bilabial or velar stop or nasal, the palatal stop /j/, or /w/. The actually occurring clusters are listed in Table 2.2. In addition, there is a full set of homorganic nasal-stop clusters (mp, nt, rnt, nth, nyj, ngk). Note that the only permitted homorganic lateral-stop cluster is lyj, which occurs as a consequence of the general principles defining the grid in Table 2.2. The range of possible intermorphemic clusters is similarly constrained, though those actually occurring in the data are a smaller subset of the list in Table 2.2.

Panyjima shares a general constraint against word-final consonants with a number of languages of Western Australia (including Western Desert dialects, and languages of the Kardu group: Yingkarta and Wajarri). A syllable /pa/ is suffixed to stems which would otherwise close with a consonant. In Panyjima, this constraint has generalised such that nominal suffixes and clitics may not be attached to consonant-final stems; the /pa/

syllable is employed to produce vowel final stems. The result is a greatly simplified array of suffix allomorphs (in comparison with other languages of

TABLE 2.2 - *Consonant Clusters*

	p	k	j	m	ng	w
n	np	nk		nm	nng	
rn	rnp	rnk	rnj	rnrm	rnng	
ny	nyp	nyk		nym		
l	lp	lk	lj			lw
rl	rlp	rlk				
ly	lyp	lyk	lyj			
rr	rrp	rrk	rrj			rrw

the area (for example Martuthunira, and languages of the Kanyara and Mantharta groups).

The original more permissive pattern of suffixation, and thus more complex pattern of allomorphy, is partially preserved in the range of anaphoric demonstrative forms (§3.3.7), and complex kinterms (§3.2.2[c]). The few intermorphemic clusters that occur outside of these domains involve the addition of verbal derivational suffixes to nominal stems.

### 2.3 STRESS

Stress placement operates according to a few simple rules: (i) Morphemes of more than two syllables are assigned a stress mark on the first syllable, and then on alternating syllables from left to right (excepting the rightmost syllable which does not receive a stress mark). (ii) At the word level, a stress mark is assigned to the second of any sequence of unstressed syllables resulting from the concatenation of the stress marked morphemes. Examples are given in 1a-c (stress syllables are underlined):

(1a) kampa-jangu-la

(1b) (i) yurlu-warntura-ku  
(ii) yurluwarnturaku

(1c) (i) karnalili-pi-rnu-la-layi  
(ii) karnalili-pi-rnu-la-layi

There are two classes of exceptions to this pattern. The first involves the Causative verbalization suffix -ma-L which is best treated as bearing a lexical stress-mark. The result of building a word with the -ma-L suffix and a following disyllabic morpheme will be a sequence of two stress-marked syllables. This conflict is resolved in one of two ways. Most

often, the second of the two stressed syllables loses its stress mark (2a). However, if this would result in a sequence of three unstressed syllables at the end of the word, the stress mark is erased from the -ma-L causative (2b):

- (2a)     mirnu-ma-larta  
          mirnumalarta
- (2b)     mirnu-ma-nnguli-nha  
          mirnumanngulinha

The second class of exceptions concerns the placement of stress in words involving the long vowel present in the Passive Perfect verbal inflection (§3.4.3[g]). The long vowel in this suffix receives a stress mark which is not affected by an (apparently) adjacent stress on a preceding causative suffix. Both stress marks survive:

- (3)     mirnu-ma-rnaan  
          mirnumaraan

Primary word stress falls on the leftmost stress-marked syllable, secondary stress on the rightmost stress-marked syllable. There is some tendency for this pattern to be altered where a non-initial long vowel is present: primary stress is attracted to the long vowel, the word-initial syllable then bears secondary stress.

## 2.4 MORPHOPHONEMICS

As noted above, Panyjima has very few morphophonemic rules resulting from the juxtaposition of consonants across morpheme boundaries. Consonant assimilation rules are limited to firstly, the nasal assimilation of the L-conjugation marker in nasal initial inflections (§3.4.3) and the anaphoric marker -l- in anaphoric demonstrative forms (§3.3.7), and secondly, the assimilation of the dental in the proper nominal classifier -nha- (§3.2.2[a]) and the placement verbalizer -thu- (§3.2.3[e]) to a preceding apical.

Syllable-sensitive alternations in suffix forms affect the accusative, locative, and agentive nominal suffixes (§3.2.1), the inchoative verbalizer (§3.2.3[b]), and the dual forms of kinterms (§3.2.2[c]). In each case, disyllabic stems select allomorphs distinct from stems of three or more syllables. In fact the rules are sensitive to mora count rather than to simple syllable count. This is demonstrated by the suffix forms appearing on disyllabic stems involving a long vowel; that is disyllabic trimoric stems. These pattern as if they were trisyllabic: for example, dimoric disyllabic *maya-ngka*, 'house-LOC', but trimoric disyllabic *maatha-la*, 'boss-LOC', and trimoric trisyllabic *matharri-la*, 'fog-LOC'. However, there are very few trimoric disyllabic stems in Panyjima and the rules are described as if they were sensitive to syllable count throughout this description.

A rule of nasal dissimilation affects the disyllabic allomorphs of the locative and agentive suffixes: -ngka and -ngku become -ka and -ku respectively when they follow another nasal/stop cluster. The clitics -mpa

and -nta do not dissimilate in this environment (though in Yinyjiparnti the clitic -mpa also dissimilates (Wordick 1982:33)).

### 3. MORPHOLOGY

#### 3.1 PARTS OF SPEECH

[a] *Nominals*: nouns and adjectives cannot be distinguished on other than semantic grounds. Nominals are inflected for number and case. Subclasses include proper nominals, which select a special accusative case allomorph, a class of kin terms which select special plural inflection, and a class of inherent locative terms (semantically adverbs of place and time) and compass point terms.

[b] *Pronouns*: a closed class of items distinguishing singular, dual, and plural number, and three persons. An inclusive/exclusive distinction operates for non-singular first person and special first and second person non-singular pronouns are used to code the existence of certain kin relationships among the speech act participants.

[c] *Demonstratives*: a closed class of items which indicate the position of a referent with respect to the speaker and the addressee.

[d] *Verbs*: these fall into two conjugations and inflect for tense, aspect, mood and voice.

[e] *Particles*: a set of uninflected items including propositional modifiers and temporal markers which operate at the discourse level. Bound enclitics perform similar functions and are grouped into this class.

[f] *Interjections*. a small set of items which may function as single word utterances. The class includes kanta, 'Leave it!', thampa, 'What about you?', thanarru, 'Hey, Hello, Alright'. The negative particle, mirta, is used as both the negative interjection 'No!' and as the confirmatory, 'Yes, I hear you!'. Panyjima has no interjection directly corresponding to an affirmative 'Yes!'.

#### 3.2 NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

Nominal suffixes may have functions at one or more syntactic levels: serving to relate nominals within a NP, relating arguments to predicates, linking secondary predicates to their arguments, and indicating relations between clauses (see Dench and Evans (1988) for a typology of such functions).

Nominal suffixes are distributed to all words within a marked constituent in accordance with two general constraints on suffix sequences. First, a sequence of identical suffixes is blocked. This prevents a locative complementizer from appearing on locative adjuncts within a subordinate clause (224). Also, the accusative suffix may not follow the accusative form of the Proper Nominal classifier, -ngu (62), nor the Ø-conjugation Relative clause inflection, -jangu (54, 56).

Second, the accusative and agentive suffixes may not be followed by another nominal suffix. This similarly prevents accusative objects and

agentive adjuncts in subordinate clauses from bearing complementizing nominal suffixes (222, 223).

In that all constituents of a marked phrase or clause bear an appropriate nominal suffix, Panyjima evinces a high degree of multiple case-marking, making it difficult to draw a neat distinction between 'final inflections' and stem forming suffixes. §3.2.1 lists those suffixes which have a flexible range of functions and which may thus complete grammatical word forms. These correspond to what are normally described in the Handbook as case-marking 'inflections'. However, most of these also have stem forming functions. §3.2.2 lists those suffixes which only have the restricted adnominal function. That is, they serve to relate nominals within a NP or are inherent inflections on nominal stems. These correspond to what are typically called 'derivational' or 'stem-forming' suffixes in the Handbook. The range of syntactic levels of operation for each suffix is presented together with a statement of its morphology and semantics. Suffixes which attach to nominal stems to derive verbal stems are listed in §3.2.3.

3.2.1 CASE-MARKING NOMINAL SUFFIXES. Case marking in Panyjima is entirely nominative/accusative. In all instances, as a result of the morpho-phonotactic constraints discussed in §2.2 above, the stems to which the case inflections are added are vowel final.

[a] *Nominative*. The uninflected form of the stem is used to indicate: (i) the agent or experiencer of active verbs (23), (27), (29); (ii) the subjects of non-verbal predications (11), (12); (iii) the goal/recipient or patient of passive verbs (32), (40); (iv) the goal/recipient or patient of verbs in imperative or hortative mood (7), (93), (94); (v) nominal expressions which agree in case with a nominative expression, for example adverbial second predications (§4.1.2).

[b] *Accusative*. The accusative case has a range of functions. Most importantly, it marks the non-subject core arguments of transitive (4), ambitransitive (5) (and see §4.1.1) and ditransitive verbs (6). Thus, the two objects of ditransitive verbs are not distinguished by case-marking.

The allomorphs of the accusative are as follows (The use of the -ngu suffix is described in §3.2.2[a]):

(-ngu	on proper nominals)
-yu	following disyllabic stems
-ku	elsewhere

- (4) ngatha mirta mana-nha kapi-yu.  
1sgNOM not get-PAST fish-ACC  
I didn't get any fish.

- (5) ngunha marlpa-ngarli-ku paja-yi-nha-rla  
that man-PL-ACC angry-INCHO-PAST-FOC  
That one is angry with the men.

- (6) nyinta nyiya-yu jilya-yu mirlimirli-ku

2sgNOM this-ACC child-ACC paper-ACC  
 mirnu-ma-larta.  
 know-CAUS-FUT  
 You show this child the paper.

Accusative case also introduces additional arguments to verbs. Many transitive verbs may be used with a second accusative argument denoting a beneficiary:

- (7) wirnta-nma mantu jilyantharri-ku  
 cut-IMP meat children-ACC  
 Cut some meat for the children.
- (8) panha papa-ngka mana-ma ngartapirri mantu  
 that water-LOC get-IMP tortoise meat  
 ngaliya-ku.  
 1dlexc-ACC  
 That thing in the water, tortoise meat, get [it] for us.

Accusative case is used to mark the complements of nominal predications. First, the complements of the nominal predicates mirnu, 'know', and puripi, 'want', are marked accusative (§4.2.2):

- (9) ngatha mirta mirnu yukurru-ku ngarna-lha-ku  
 1sgNOM not know dog-ACC eat-PERF-ACC  
 nyinkutharntu-ku mantu-yu.  
 2sgGEN-ACC meat-ACC  
 I didn't know a dog had eaten your meat.
- (10) nyinta puripi ngananha-ku, nyila-yu-nta  
 2sgNOM want what-ACC drink-ACC-INT  
 papa-yu-nta?  
 water-ACC-INT  
 You want something? Tea or water?

Second, the accusative marks complements in ascriptive predications expressing some necessary relation holding between entities:

- (11) nyiyangunha-yu marlpa-yu nyupa.  
 this that-ACC man-ACC spouse  
 This one is spouse to that man.
- (12) maatha ngatha nhupalukuru-ku.  
 boss 1sgNOM 2pl-ACC  
 I'm the boss for you lot.

Finally, the accusative marks adjuncts expressing temporal extent.

- (13) manartu-rla maruwa karla kampa-kaji  
 good-FOC snakewood firewoodburn-RFUT  
 warruwanarra-ku.  
 all night-ACC  
 Snakewood is good firewood which will burn all night.
- (14) niyakunu-mpa-rla ngarri-wuru karrpu-yu-kanu  
 this also-YK-FOC lie-HABIT noon-ACC-ONLY  
 This one also used to lie in until noon.

For discussion of the use of the accusative as a complementizer in subordinate clauses see §4.8.

It is clear that the Ngayarda accusative covers many of the functions of the dative in other Australian languages. This is no accident; the modern accusative is historically the dative (Dench 1982b). Given the range of functions it might be argued that the suffix is better labelled dative than accusative. However, because the main function of the modern suffix is to mark transitive objects and because something of the semantics of direct-objecthood adheres to all uses of the morpheme, I prefer to label it 'accusative'. (Note that Wordick uses the label 'objective' in a description of Yinyjiparnti.) For similar examples in Martuthunira, and more detailed discussion of the semantics of the accusative, see Dench (1987b:142-152).

[c] *Agentive*.

-ku	after a disyllabic stem where there is a medial nasal/stop cluster
-ngku	after other disyllabic stems
-lu	after stems of more than two syllables

The suffix is the old ergative/instrumental case-marker. In the modern language it marks the agent/instrument of a verb marked as passive and those nominal expressions which agree in case with the passive agent NP. In imperative clauses with a missing subject, the agentive marks inalienably possessed instruments and adverbs of manner. For examples and discussion of the case-marking patterns of imperative clauses see §4.10. Examples (15) and (16) illustrate the use of the agentive suffix in passive clauses.

- (15) ngatha wirnta-nnguli-nha marnta-ku.  
 1sgNOM cut-PASS-PAST stone-AGT  
 I got cut by a stone.
- (16) ngatha wirnta-nnguli-nha marnta-ngarni-lu (jilya-ngku).  
 1sgNOM cut-PASS-PAST stone-COM-AGT (child-AGT)  
 I got cut with a stone (by a child).

In (16) the NP is marked with both the comitative suffix, the usual marker of instruments in active clauses (§3.2.2[g]), and the agentive inflection thus indicating that the stone was wielded by some agent. By contrast, the stone in (15) bears only the agentive inflection. Because the

stone is not animate and is not marked as an instrument, the usual implication would be that the speaker cut his or her foot on the stone by accident, perhaps by stepping on it.

[d] *Locative*.

-ka	after a disyllabic stem where there is a medial nasal/stop cluster
-ngka	after other disyllabic stems
-la	after stems of more than two syllables

The main function of the locative is to mark location in space or time. In examples (17) and (18), the spatial locative NP functions as an adjunct, in (19) as a complement. As (20) shows, the locative may be interpreted as comitative.

- (17) ngunha-jirriyana-ku murruka-la yurlu-wali.  
 that-PL go-ACC car-LOC camp-ALL  
 They are going to camp in a car.
- (18) ngali panti-rta kampa-lku malu-ngka kunpurlu-la.  
 1dline sit-FUT cook-PRES shade-LOC shade tree-LOC  
 We'll sit and cook in the shade of that shade tree.
- (19) nyinkutharntu-ku wangka-yu ngatha mirlimirli-la  
 2sgGEN-ACC language-ACC 1sgNOMPaper-LOC  
 wantha-larta.  
 put-FUT  
 I'll put your language down on paper.
- (20) ngaliyakurupanti-wuru nyarru-wayi-ku  
 1plexc sit-HABIT dance-INCHO-PRES  
 juju-ngarli-la.  
 old man-PL-LOC  
 We used to dance with the old people.

In (21), the spatial location is described in a clause; all constituents of the clause bear the locative suffix (see §4.8). In (22) the locative has an adnominal function; the locative expression acts as a modifier within a NP. Example (23) illustrates a locative marked nominal serving as the stem for a verbalization.

- (21) ngunyjinyinta kumpa-rta, warnku-wayi-jangu-la  
 thereNV2sgNOM wait-FUT bend-INCHO-REL-LOC  
 wuntu-ka.  
 river-LOC  
 You wait there, where the river bends.



- (22) nyiya-jirri wirriyi paka-lku yirrka-ku  
 this-PL youth come-PRES dance-PRES  
 yinti-ka-ngarni jalirri-ngarni wara-ngarni.  
 forehead-LOC-COM white-COM cloth-COM  
 These youths are coming dancing, with white cloth on their  
 foreheads.
- (23) ngunha marlpawarrpala-la-ma-lku  
 that man spearthrower-LOC-CAUS-PRES  
 pirrithuni-ku.  
 spear-ACC  
 That man is placing a spear on a spearthrower.
- The use of the locative to mark temporal adjuncts is illustrated in the following examples (the -layi Tense Axis Shift clitic in (24) is described in §4.11[m]). In (25) the locative expression is a reduced clause.
- (24) ngunha-ngka-layi kutiya-la wilarra-la, ngajupantharri  
 that-LOC-TAS other-LOC month-LOC 1pl(special)  
 panhapanhayi-rta wangka-yu.  
 present-FUT word-ACC  
 Next [that other] month, we'll present [our] views.
- (25) jinta-yi-lha-la-layi, kampa-nma martumirri.  
 coal-INCHO-PERF-LOC-TAS cook-IMP damper  
 Once [the fire] has become coals, cook the damper.
- Finally, the locative suffix is used to mark expressions which describe a general state of activity associated with the nominal to which the suffix is added. The most common examples involve words for word/language/story used to describe a state of verbal activity.
- (26) ngaliyayana-nha wiya-larta ngunha-kutha-ku  
 1dlexc go-PAST see-FUT that-DU-ACC  
 marlpa-kutha-ku wangka-ka-ku.  
 man-DU-ACC word-LOC-ACC  
 We went to see those two men talking.
- (27) ngunha warlipi karri-ku karntanmarra-la.  
 that boy stand-PRES tears-LOC  
 That boy is in tears.

[e] *Ablative*. The primary function of the ablative, -nguru, is to mark movement away from some point in space or time. The spatial ablative is suffixed to a locative stem, as illustrated in the following examples. In (29), the ablative is suffixed to an inherent locative nominal (§3.3.11) and so is not preceded by the locative suffix.

- (28) panha-ngka-nguru karnti-ka-nguru nyinta warni-rta!  
 that-LOC-ABL tree-LOC-ABL 2sgNOM fall-FUT  
 You'll fall out of that tree!
- (29) panha papa yinti-ku kankala-nguru,  
 that water go down-PRES above-ABL  
 jalarrkarta-ku.  
 bubbling-PRES  
 That water is coming down from above, bubbling.

In the following examples the ablative is suffixed to an inherent temporal nominal:

- (30) jilyantharri panti-lha mirlimirli-ku karta-lku  
 children sit-PERF paper-ACC poke-PRES  
 warrungkamu-nguru-mu.  
 morning-ABL-THEN  
 The kids have been writing [lit. poking paper] since this morning.
- (31) ngatha yana-nhangunha-jirri-ku wiya-larta  
 1sgNOM go-PAST that-PL-ACC see-FUT  
 marlpa-ngarli-ku. parrura-nguru mirta wiya-lalha.  
 man-PL-ACC long time-ABL not see-PERF  
 I went to see those men. Hadn't seen [them] for a long time.

The temporal ablative is also attached to future/purposive verb stems in forming contrafactual verb forms (§3.4.3[k]). Finally, the ablative is used to denote the material source of manufactured artefacts. Here, the suffix is attached to a bare nominal stem.

- (32) nyiyakurrjartawarama-rnaanu wintamarra-nguru  
 this spear make-PPERF mulga-ABL  
 This spear is made out of mulga wood.

[f] *Allative*. There are two suffixes in Panyjima which can be described as allatives. The direct allative, -karta (which is attached to the root of common nouns but to the accusative stems of pronouns, and proper names), marks motion to some point, the inference being that the point is eventually reached. In rare instances it may be used to mark the direction in which someone or something is facing (see Text 6.3: (31)). The indirect allative, -wali, marks motion towards some point.

In everyday speech the -wali allative is the most often used, especially in questions such as in (33), where use of the direct allative would be considered very prying. The indirect allative often replaces the adjunct locative in the Paathupathu avoidance style, and appears frozen in the forms of a number of Paathupathu demonstratives (§5.2[b]).

- (33) tharni-wali nyinta yana-ku-rru?  
 where-ALL 2sgNOM go-PRES-NOW  
 Where are you going?

- (34) ngajupantharri yana-rta ngunha-karta malu-karta  
 1pl(special) go-FUT that-ALL shade-ALL  
 kunpurlu-karta.  
 shade tree-ALL  
 We'll go to that shady tree.

Both -wali and -karta are used to mark purposive NPs. The -karta allative marks purposive goals whose referents, it is assumed, can be uniquely identified, (35) and (36). The more common generic purposive goals bear the -wali allative (37).

- (35) ngananha-karta nyinta paka-rna, jilya?  
 what-ALL 2sgNOM come-PAST child  
 What did you come for, kid?
- (36) wangka-nha karlinypayi-rta-ku ngamari-karta-ku.  
 say-PAST return-FUT-ACC tobacco-ALL-ACC  
 [I] told [you] to go back for the tobacco.
- (37) ngali, mayali, yana-rta jantaru-wali.  
 1dlinc grandson go-FUT honey-ALL  
 We'll go for honey, grandson.

As (38) shows, the allative suffix may be used with an adnominal function.

- (38) ngunha-ngka-layi, yirtiya-la wantha-larta yukarrpa-ku  
 that-LOC-TAS road-LOC leave-FUT mark-ACC  
 papa-wali-ku.  
 water-ALL-ACC  
 Once [you] are at that place, leave a mark to (where) water (is) on the road.

[g] *Obscured*. The obscured suffix, -puru (-OBSCRD), marks a NP behind the referent of which something is shielded from perception. The suffix is probably cognate with a suffix -puru occurring in Pintupi which Hansen and Hansen (1975) call 'obscured by'. Although the main sense of the suffix is locational, as in (39) and (40), example (41) reveals a metaphorical extension, and (42) is primarily temporal (see Text 6.1: (5), (7)):

- (39) ngunha marlpakarri-ku mungku-puru.  
 that man stand-PRES ant hill-OBSCRD  
 That man is standing behind an ant hill.
- (40) ngunha yitipi-nnguli-nha ngunha-ngku marnta-puru-lu.  
 that stare-PASS-PAST that-AGT rock-OBSCRD-AGT  
 He was being stared at by that one behind the rock.
- (41) ngaliyamirta kuliya-lku ngarlarla-puru.  
 1dlinc not hear-PRES noise-OBSCRD

We can't hear behind the noise.

- (42) parikanu-puru-layi, yarta-ngarni-mu mantu-ngarni.  
clouds-OBSCRD-TAS much-COM-THEN meat-COM  
Through the rain (lit. behind the clouds), we'll have plenty of meat.

[h] *Genitive*. The genitive, -tharntu, has three related functions. First it is the normal marker of alienable possession, (43) and see §4.7. Second, an accusative marked genitive NP may be added to a clause to denote the person(s) for whose benefit an action is performed (44), (45). Third, the genitive marks a range of associative predications between two nominal expressions, many of which are not explicable in terms of a restricted notion of possession.

- (43) nyinta yana-ma mana-rta jartunta-tharntu-ku  
2sgNOM go-IMP get-FUT brother-in-law-GEN-ACC  
yawarta-ku.  
horse-ACC  
You go and get [your] brother-in-law's horse.

- (44) karla-yu mana-rta.mani-yu-rla kati-rta  
firewood-ACC get-FUT some-ACC-FOC take-FUT  
ngayi-larta kurlkamaya-la jiira-tharntu-ku.  
drop-FUT woolshed-LOC shearer-GEN-ACC  
Get firewood. Take some and drop it at the woolshed for the shearers.

- (45) nyinta jitumpulu-ma-larta ngatharntu-ku  
2sgNOM sausage-CAUS-FUT 1sgGEN-ACC  
You make sausages for me.

The following examples illustrate the range of associative relations marked by the genitive. In Martuthunira and languages of the Mantharta and Kanyara groups, the suffix encoding a similar range of meanings is distinct from the genitive (Dench 1987b:173).

- (46) ngatha puripi-yayi-ku kurrjarta-ku  
1sgNOM want-INCHO-PRESspear-ACC  
mantu-tharntu-ku.  
meat-GEN-ACC  
I want a spear [to use] for meat.

- (47) jikanpangarra-nmajina-tharntu.  
step chop-IMP foot-GEN  
Chop a step [in the tree] for [your] foot.

- (48) ngatha purruru-ku warama-lku marlpa-tharntu-ku.  
1sgNOM belt-ACC make-PRES man-GEN-ACC  
I'm making a belt for a man [i.e. a man's belt].
- (49) mana-ma nyinta ngunha-jirri karlaturru, ngayi-nma  
get-IMP 2sgNOM that-PL firewood throw-IMP  
ngarriwarty-tharntu-la purnta-ngka. marnta panha  
earth oven-GEN-LOC hole-LOC rock that  
mana-ma yapanpa-tharntu.  
get-IMP hot stone-GEN  
You get that firewood, throw it in the hole which is for ashes, get  
those [rocks] for hot cooking stones.
- (50) ngananha-ku nyinta ngarna-rta-rla  
what-ACC 2sgNOM eat-FUT-FOC  
thina-tharntu-ku-rla?  
dinner-GEN-ACC-FOC  
What are you going to eat for dinner?
- [i] *Causal*. The causal, -mari, marks the typically inanimate cause of some event, or physical or emotional state.
- (51) nyiyaparlkurpa kurjarta-mari.  
this scar spear-CAU  
This scar is from a spear.
- (52) wilinpi-rna-pula kartukarra paja-mari.  
shake-PAST-REFL head anger-CAU  
[He's] shaking his head from anger.
- (53) nharnu-pati-rla pirlinkarra parnma-kaji karla-mari.  
sand-PRIV-FOC flat rock explode-RFUT fire-CAU  
If there's no sand, the rock will explode from the fire.
- (54) ngatha nyinku wiya-rna pilanypa-ku murti-jangu  
1sgNOM 2sgACC see-PAST frightened-ACC run-REL  
ngunha-jirri-mari-ku jilyantharri-mari-ku.  
that-PL-CAU-ACC children-CAU-ACC  
I saw you running frightened because of those children.

Where the causal expression is animate, as in (54), it is assumed that the referent plays no conscious or controlling role. In this way the causal is sometimes used in addition to, or in place of, the agentive to mark the agent NP in a passive clause (§4.5).

[j] *Indirect Cause*. This suffix, -ngarala (-INCAUS), marks a NP as the indirect cause or reason for the actions described in the clause.

- (55) pantharra-kutha pinyarri-ku palya-ngarala.  
jealous-DU fight-PRES woman-INCAUS  
Those two jealous men are fighting over the woman.
- (56) ngananha-ngarala-mpa-rra paja-yi-ku  
something-INCAUS-YK-DUB wild-INCHO-PRES  
ngalikuru-ku nhangu-yu panti-jangu yurlu-ngka-ku.  
Iplinc-ACC here-ACC sit-REL camp-LOC-ACC  
What is it he is wild with us here in camp over?

3.2.2 ADNOMINAL SUFFIXES. The suffixes listed in this section are restricted to stem-forming function. They do not serve to relate units above the level of a simple NP.

[a] *Specific Referent Marker*: -nha/-ngu. The -nha (-SPEC) suffix has cognates in many of the languages of Western Australia. It has a range of meanings most of which can be related to the notion of increasing the referential status of the marked nominal. In Panyjima it appears on all proper names, preceding other nominal suffixes or clitics, unless the morphosyntactic frame demands an accusative form. The suffix optionally marks kinterms and nominal expressions where these are used to refer uniquely to specific individuals. Essentially, the use of the suffix elevates such items to the status of proper names.

- (57) ngatha yana-ku Brian-nha-la  
1sgNOM go-PRES name-SPEC-LOC  
I'm going with Brian.
- (58) ngaliya, Percy-nha, yana-ku-rru.  
1dlexc name-SPEC go-PRES-NOW  
We two, [me and] Percy, are going now.
- (59) tharni-wali Pirtumalu-nha?  
where-ALL Peedamullah-SPEC  
Where's Peedamullah [the Peedamullah Station manager] going?
- (60) ngananha-yi-nha janta-yi-rta? katama-lkuli-nha  
what-INCHO-PAST lame-INCHO-FUT hit-PASS-PAST  
nganalu?  
whoAGT  
What happened to make you limp? Who hit you?
- mimi-nha-lu.  
uncle-SPEC-AGT  
Uncle did.

The -ngu accusative complements the -nha suffix. That is, where a form which would normally select the -nha suffix appears in a syntactic frame requiring accusative case, the -ngu accusative is typically chosen instead (but see (63)). Proper names bearing the -ngu suffix are used as the basis for genitive and direct allative forms (just as the accusative forms of

pronouns provide the stems for these inflections (§3.3.1)), and appear where the NP would normally take accusative case-marking as the argument of some predicate:

- (61)    ngunha    mantu Alan-ngu-tharntu-rla  
           that    meat    name-ACC-GEN-FOC  
           That meat is Alan's.
- (62)    nyinta    yana-ma wiya-larta wangka-rta mimi-ngu  
           2sgNOM go-IMP    see-FUT    say-FUT    uncle-ACC  
           yana-rta-ku    ngunha-karta-ku pinpirri-karta-ku.  
           go-FUT-ACC that-ALL-ACC    clearing-ALL-ACC  
           You go to see [him] and tell uncle to go to that clearing.

In (63) the subject of the relative clause bears the -nha suffix in addition to a final accusative complementizing suffix (dictated by the subordinate status of the clause in which it lies).

- (63)    ngunha-kutha    nyawaru-kuthapanti-ku    kuliya-lku  
           that-DU    namesake-DU    sit-PRES hear-PRES  
           wangka-nyayi-jangu mimi-nha-pula-ku.  
           say-COLL-REL    uncle-SPEC-BOTH-ACC  
           Those two with the same name are listening to the two uncles  
           talking together.

Finally, the -nha and -ngu suffixes have a limited derivational function. There are a number of examples implicating the -ngu suffix, in particular, in lexical derivations:

kunyanngu	sleepy fella	kunyanpa	asleep
jinangu	on foot, walking	jina	foot
walharnungu	tree type	walharnpa	leafy bough

Two more interesting examples of lexical derivation involve the apparent shifting of two nominals into the *class* of proper names (though the derived nominals are clearly common nouns). The new forms show the nominative/accusative alternation typical of proper names, in contrast to their respective roots.

ngarlunha/ngu	flagon	ngarlu/yu	guts
kupijanha/ngu	beer bottle	kupija/ku	little

[b] *Dual*. The -kutha dual suffix appears on both common nominals and demonstratives. Examples of dual marked nominals appear above in (26), (55) and (63). The following example (Text 6.4: (7)) shows a rare pattern in which the dual is suffixed to an inflected verb. The marked verb, as the head of a clause, stands in for the missing dual subject of that clause.

- (64)    karri-ku-kutha    mirlimirli-ngarni    mara-ngka-ngarni.  
           stand-PRES-DU    paper-COM    hand-LOC-COM

The two standing there have papers in their hands.

[c] *Kinship Dyads*. Panyjima, like many Australian languages, has a set of special dual kinterms (for details see Dench (1982a)) which are based on singular kinterms. The meanings of the dyadic terms cannot reliably be predicted from the meaning of the singular term:

kurntal	daughter	kurntalkarra	matrimoiety pair
marntili	father's brother	marntiyarra	patrimoiety pair
nyupa	spouse	nyuparra	married couple
thurtu	sister	thurtuwarra	sisters
kantharri	mother's mother	kantharrarra	mother's mother daughter's child
kaparli	father's mother	kaparlarra	father's mother/ son's child
jartunta	father's cousin	jartuntarra	cousins

(matrimoiety and patrimoiety pairs refer to two people linked through female or male descent respectively)

The dual kinterm formative can be reconstructed as \*-karra with the reflexes:

-karra	following a consonant
-yarra	following a disyllabic stem in /i/
-warra	following a disyllabic stem in /u/
-rra	following a disyllabic stem in /a/
-arra	following a vowel final trisyllabic stem (the final vowel is replaced by /a/)

However, there are a number of forms which do not fit the pattern given here (e.g. kumpaliyarra, 'brothers-in-law'). The -karra suffix has cognates in a large number of Australian languages. In Nyangumarda, the suffix (with allomorphs -karra, -yirri, -rra and -rarra) appears in dyadic kinterms with, most often, triangular reference (O'Grady and Mooney 1973). Kinship terms in Western Desert dialects involve a 'coupler' suffix (with allomorphs -karra/C\_\_, -rarra/V\_\_). Glass reports (pers. comm.) that for Ngaanyatjarra, the suffix can be used in a way very similar to the Panyjima unifying suffix (§3.2.2[j]) to mark a unity of a person with some object. A -karra suffix also occurs in Dyirbal (Dixon 1972) with the meaning 'one of a pair'.

Plural forms of kinship dyads involve the addition of the suffix -ngara (§3.2.2[e3]) to the dyadic stem.

[d] *Both*. Examples of the use of the -pula (-BOTH) suffix are (63) and (65). In each case the regular dual suffix, -kutha, could have been used instead, though without the degree of emphasis on a shared property implied by the -pula suffix.

- (65)    palya-kutha    paka-lku    thurtu-pula.  
         woman-DU    come-PRES    sister-BOTH



Those two women coming are both sisters.

[e] *Plural*. There are a number of different plural suffixes represented in the data. The most productive of these is -ngarli. Again, there are numerous examples, including (20), (31), (83), (111). The other suffixes are restricted to small classes of nominals, or individual words. In the sections which follow, the different suffixes are organised according to a similarity of form:

[1] -jirri/-ntharri/-rtarri/-rri. The -jirri suffix is the productive plural suffix for demonstratives (3.3.6).

The -ntharri plural occurs on the two words:

palya	palyantharri	woman/women
jilya	jilyantharri	child/children

Percy Tucker once rejected the plural \*palya-ngarli (formed with the productive plural suffix) on the grounds that it was impolite (but see (66) below). Similarly, jilya does not take the regular -ngarli plural.

The -rtarri plural occurs on just two words, the -rri plural appears on four words:

warnma	warnmartarri	puppy/puppies
wurta	wurtartarri	emu chick(s)
kupija	kupijarri	little one(s)
kurtulhu	kurtulharri	boulder(s)
warrapa	warraparri	grass/grassy expanse
wirntamarra	wirntamarrarri	mulga/stand of mulga

With the exception of kupija, all the above forms may take the regular -ngarli plural. The apparent distinction here is between a countable group of things (if marked with -ngarli), versus a conventionally recognised grouping of things which are not normally counted; a litter of puppies, a clutch of chicks, a stand of trees.

While it is not possible to provide a synchronic analysis of the pattern here, there are hints of a historical conditioning. Each of the words bearing the -rri plural has a trisyllabic root, while the related disyllabic plurals (-jirri, -ntharri, -rtarri) occur on disyllabic roots. In addition, the laminal/apical alternation in the initial consonant (cluster) of the disyllabic suffix agrees with the point of articulation of the medial consonant of the disyllabic root.

[2] -kuru/-kurru/-rra/-ra. The alternation among these four forms is again conditioned in part by the length of the root to which the suffix is attached, and partly by an apparent rule of rhotic dissimilation. The -ra/-rra suffix forms suggest an assimilation of the /u/ vowel to the /a/ vowel of the stem. Again, these forms may take the -ngarli plural where reference is being made to a countable number of trees, or whatever. The following examples illustrate the patterns, a number of additional items occur in the data:

-kuru:	jirri	jirrikuru	prickle/expanse of prickles
-kurru:	paru	parukurru	spinifex/expanse of spinifex
-ra:	pirarrpa	pirarrara	(stand of) blackheart
	punara	punarrara	(stand of) bloodwood
-rra:	punarangu	punararra	(stand of) Kingsmill's mallee
	piyara	piyararra	(stand of) unidentified tree

The -kuru plural form also occurs in all plural pronoun forms where it is affixed to the dual form (§3.3.1).

[3] -ngara. This plural suffix is attached to dyadic kinterms (3.2.2[c]) and is cognate with the Martuthunira productive plural suffix. It is tempting to suggest a relationship between the -ngara suffix and the -kuru plural forms though this investigation is likely to depend on comparative reconstruction of the Ngayarda lexicon.

Finally, there is one example in the data of double plural marking:

- (66)    ngunha    marlpapanti-ku    witi-pi-lku  
           that    man    sit-PRESplay-PROC-PRES  
           palya-ntharri-ngarli-ku    yarnta-warntura-la.  
           woman-PL-PL-ACC    day-DISTRIB-LOC  
           That man is flirting with [groups of] women each day.

[f] *Distributed Plural*. The -warntura (-DISTRIB) suffix describes a group of objects taken together as a group but considered individually. Additional examples are (66), Text 6.3: (9), (25), (27).

- (67)    yukurru-ngarliparruntu-lku    yurlu-warntura-la  
           dog-PL    bark-PRES    camp-DISTRIB-LOC  
           The dogs are barking in each camp.
- (68)    nhupalu    yana-rta    wiya-larta    winmil-warntura-ku.  
           2dINOM    go-FUT    check-FUT    windmill-DISTRIB-ACC  
           You two go and check each of the windmills.

[g] *Comitative*. The -ngarni suffix marks alienably possessed instruments (69) and the common Australian comitative/propriative or 'having' function (Dixon 1976).

- (69)    panha-kutha    karnti-ngarnikatama-lku    wanyja-yu  
           that-DU    stick-COM    hit-PRES    dog-ACC  
           Those two are hitting the dog with a stick.
- (70)    kutharra-kanu    paja-ngarni    panu-rla  
           two-ONLY    wildness-COM    very-FOC  
           Only two [of them] are really wild.

- (71) murrulu panha parukurru-ngarni.  
 rise that spinifexPL-COM  
 That rise has a lot of spinifex.

The use of the comitative with a bodypart indicates a pain in, or lack of function of that bodypart:

- (72) wiyalkarra-nma-pula nhupalukuru ngathala kangku-ngarni-la  
 look after-IMP-REFL2pl 1sgLOCKknee-COM-LOC  
 You look after yourselves while I've got a [bad] knee.

[h] *Privative*. The -pati suffix marks an absence of object or state:

- (73) ngatha mantu-pati.  
 1sgNOM meat-PRIV  
 I've got no meat.
- (74) ngalikuru karlpa-rta ngunha-ngka malu-ngka pants-rta  
 1plinc go up-FUTthat-LOC shade-LOC sit-FUT  
 ngarlarla-pati-la-mu.  
 noise-PRIV-LOC-THEN  
 We'll get up and sit in that shade, there will be no noise then.

The suffix also occurs on verb roots where it indicates a state characterized by the non-occurrence of the activity denoted by the verb root. In many examples, the privative is followed by the stative locative. Although the data is inconclusive, example (76) suggests that the verb takes its usual range of complements. See (3.4.3[i]) for discussion of this pattern in relation to negative imperatives.

- (75) panha jilya pants-ku ngaji-ku-kanu-warlaru,  
 that child sit-PRES cry-PRES-ONLY-EMPH  
 mirta-warlaru pants-ku ngaji-pati-la.  
 not-EMPH sit-PRES cry-PRIV-LOC  
 That child only cries, never stops crying (lit. sits without crying).
- (76) wangka-pati nyinta pants-ma ngaju.  
 say-PRIV 2sgNOM sit-IMP 1sgACC  
 You sit without talking to me. (Don't talk to me!)

[i] *Provenience*. The -nyungu (-PROV) suffix marks the place with which a person, animal or thing is generally associated.

- (77) ngatha pants-wuru pinturu-la Karijini-la,  
 1sgNOM sit-HABIT high country-LOC Hamersley Rg-LOC  
 ngatha-rla nhangu pants-ku  
 1sgNOM-FOC here sit-PRES  
 warrimari-nyungu-nhanu.

low country-PROV-CONT  
 I used to be in the high country on the Hamersley Range, now I belong to the low country.

[j] *Unifying*. The -karra (-UNI) suffix has an adnominal function. The construction [X Y-karra] can perhaps best be paraphrased as 'X is together with Y as a unit'.

- (78) ngajupantharri malu-karra-rru wiya-nmayi-rta  
 1plNOM shade-UNI-NOW see-COLL-FUT  
 pirri-ngka-rrumuthumuthu-la-rru.  
 cool-LOC-NOW afternoon-LOC-NOW  
 Together in the shade, we'll see each other in the cool of the afternoon.

- (79) ngunha jarta-nha kulu-karra panti-ku.  
 that old woman-SPEC louse-UNI sit-PRES  
 The old woman has got lice.

- (80) ngatha panti-nhangunha-jirri-lu karnku-nnguli-ku  
 1sgNOM sit-PAST that-PL-AGT keep-PASS-PRES  
 manartu parkapi-karra witi-ngka karnku-nnguli-lha.  
 good coroborree-UNI play-LOC keep-PASS-PERF  
 I was being kept well by those people, while playing all the coroborree songs.

Although the -karra suffix is etymologically involved in the forms of the dyadic kinship nominals (§3.2.2[c]), the two are not synchronically related.

[k] *Conjunction*. The -muntu (-CONJ) suffix functions as a simple NP conjunction. Typically, two nominals are conjoined using this suffix and the conjunction may appear on either or both conjuncts. Where three nominals are conjoined, the last two bear the suffix.

- (81) nyiya-kutha, pulku-muntu karntarra-muntu,  
 this-DU wax-CONJ sinew-CONJ  
 yumpu-tharntu, wanta-nmamilyula.  
 point-GEN place-IMP hidden  
 These two things, wax and sinew, which are for spear points, hide them away.
- (82) ngunha marlpangatharntu-ku karnku-lku kurrjarta-ku  
 that man 1sgGEN-ACC keep-PRES spear-ACC  
 warrkunti-muntu-ku.  
 boomerang-CONJ-ACC  
 That man is keeping my spear, and boomerang.

[1] *And All*. The -minyarnu (-ANDALL) conjunction, unlike the -muntu conjunction, can only be attached to one of the, typically two, nominals occurring in the conjoined structure. The -minyarnu marked nominal is understood as taking secondary place to the unmarked conjunct and is usually interpreted as referring to one of a group of unspecified kinds of things which accompany the primary conjunct.

- (83) wangkapi-nmayi-ku marlpa-ngarli palya-muntu  
 argue-COLL-PRES man-PL woman-CONJ  
 jilya-minyjarnu.  
 child-ANDALL  
 They are all arguing together, the men and women, kids and all.
- (84) ngatha wiya-rna Mangkurtu-nyungu-ku  
 1sgNOM see-PAST Fortescue-PROV-ACC  
 pathara-minyjarnu-ku yinyjurrpa-ku.  
 wild plum-ANDALL-ACC cork bark fruit-ACC  
 I saw all the Fortescue fruits; wild plums and all, and cork bark tree fruit.

In the following example, there is no primary conjunct. The -minyarnu marked nominal expression describes a group of things of the same kind, gathered vegetable foods.

- (85) palya-kutha kati-ku kartukurru-la-ku  
 woman-DU take-PRES head-LOC-ACC  
 mata-minyjarnu-ku.  
 yam-ANDALL-ACC  
 The two women are carrying yams and things on their heads.

[m] -NMARRA. The main function of the -nmarra suffix is to derive nominals of the Paathupathu avoidance language and as such it is extremely productive (§5.2[a]). However, the suffix also appears in the stem of the 3pl pronoun (§3.3.1) and on a number of lexical items of the everyday language. Two examples in which the root occurs independently are:

puka	rotten	pukanmarra	rotten throughout
kata	scrub	katanmarra	very dense scrub

3.2.3 VERBALISING SUFFIXES. These are attached to nominal stems deriving verb stems and include the productive causative/factitive -ma-L and inchoative -(ya)yi-Ø. In addition, there are a handful of less productive verbalizing suffixes. These are listed below and discussed in more detail in (§4.5)

[a] *Causative/Factitive*. The -ma-L causative/factitive is combined with nominal stems (which may bear nominal inflection) to form verb stems of the L-conjugation. Some examples are (and see §4.5[c]):

murrartu-ma-L to bruise

bruise-CAUS	
ngurriny-ma-L swag-CAUS	to roll a swag
nyurru-ma-L mucus-CAUS	to blow nose
pirnturr-ma-L jealous-CAUS	to make jealous
yini-ma-L name-CAUS	to name
kurtanpa-la-ma-L bag-LOC-CAUS	to put in a bag

The suffix has no allomorphy and does not affect the form of the stem to which it is attached. However, it does effect a reduction in the form of a following collective derivational suffix (§3.4.4[a]).

[b] *Inchoative*. The inchoative attaches to nominal stems to form verb stems of the Ø-conjugation (§4.5[a]). The inchoative has the following allomorphy:

-yayi-	on disyllabic stems in final /i/
-wayi-	on disyllabic stems in final /u/
-wi-	on stems of more than two syllables with final /u/
-yi-	elsewhere

For example:

pirri-yayi-Ø afternoon-INCHO	be(come) afternoon
warnku-wayi-Ø bend-INCHO	become a bend (as a river moves into a bend)
kamungu-wi-Ø hungry-INCHO	be(come) hungry
yarrpala-yi-Ø sweat-INCHO	be sweating
warrpa-yi-Ø far-INCHO	move a distance away

[c] *Psych-Inchoative*. The -nguli-Ø (-PSYCH) suffix derives verbs from nominals referring to body parts or psychological states (§4.5[b]). An identical suffix (in both form and function) occurs in Martuthunira,

Yinyjiparnti and Jiwarli. Although the suffix is identical in form to the passive (§3.4.4[c]), the two cannot be related synchronically and there is no obvious diachronic link.

thurla-nguli-Ø	have eye trouble
eye-PSYCH	

punha-nguli-Ø	become sexually aroused
arousal-PSYCH	

[d] *Processive*. The -pi-L (-PROC) suffix attaches to both nominal and verbal stems to form verb stems of the L-conjugation (§4.5[d]). There are no examples in the data of the suffix attached to inflected nominal stems, and at present it is not clear how productive the derivational suffix is. Some examples are:

pukany-pi-L	go hunting
hunting-PROC	

kulu-pi-L	delouse
louse-PROC	

A number of verb forms which appear to be derived with the Processive suffix involve the apparent addition of a suffix -ny/-ly or -rr to the stem. However, it is not possible on present evidence to discover separable morphemes here. Some examples are:

ngana+ny-pi-L	see who it is, identify
who+?-PROC	

nyampa+rr-pi-L	hurry up
quickly+?-PROC	

[e] *Placement*. The -thu-L (-PLACE) suffix is attached to both nominal and verbal stems and derives transitive verb stems of the L-conjugation (§4.5[e]). The initial laminal stop assimilates to an apical stop when the suffix is attached to a nominal with a final apical nasal. Panyjima -thu-L is cognate with the common Australian monosyllabic verb *thu-* 'place, put', which in languages to the east of Panyjima (Western Desert) is very productive in compounding with verbal and nominal stems to form new verb stems.

mangka-thu-L straw-PLACE-	put a drinking straw into
yapan-tu-L hot stone-PLACE-	put hot cooking stones into

[f] *Zero Derivation*. A number of verbs appear to be bare nominal stems bearing verbal inflections. For example:

karlkatharra-Ø fork, junction	become a fork or junction (tree or river)
milyula-L hidden	steal
murna-karti-Ø near-side	come near
yurri-ngka-L armpit-LOC	aim a spear at
witha-ngka-L saliva-LOC	spit on

### 3.3 PRONOUNS AND DEMONSTRATIVES

Free form pronouns in Panyjima distinguish singular, dual and plural number, and three persons. In addition, an inclusive/exclusive distinction operates in the non-singular first person paradigm and special kinship determined pronoun forms exist for first and second persons. There are two rare pronominal clitics which attach to verbs (§3.3.4).

3.3.1 PRONOUN PARADIGMS. With the exception of the first person singular, first person dual inclusive, and the second person singular, the case forms of the various pronouns are formed by the addition of productive nominal suffixes to the nominative stem. Table 3.1 lists the nominative forms of the pronouns.

The morphological structure of the Panyjima pronoun paradigm is quite transparent. The first person exclusive forms involve the addition of a -ya formative to the corresponding inclusive stems. The first and second person plural forms are built on the corresponding dual forms by the addition of a -kuru plural formative (§3.2.2[e]). The non-singular third person forms are based on the third person singular thana (historically a 3pl form: (Dixon 1980)). The dual involves the regular dual suffix -kutha, while the two separate plurals involve the nominal suffixes -nyungu (§3.2.2[i]) and -nmarra (§3.2.2[m]). The irregular paradigms of 1sg, 1dlinc and 2sg are shown in Table 3.2.

The broad pattern can be stated as follows: First, the locative and agentive forms of these pronouns involve the -la/-lu allomorphs of the



TABLE 3.1 - *Nominative Pronoun Forms*

	singular	dual	plural
1inc		ngali	ngalikuru
1exc	ngatha	ngaliya	ngaliyakuru
1(special)		ngajuparta	ngajupantharri
2	nyinta	nhupalu	nhupalukuru
2(special)		nyinkuwi	
		nyinkungarni	
3	thana	thanakutha	thananmarra thananyungu

TABLE 3.2 - *Irregular Pronoun Case Forms*

	1sg	1dlinc	2sg
Nominative	ngatha	ngali	nyinta
Accusative	ngaju	ngalimpaku	nyinku
Agentive	ngathalu	ngalilu	nyintalu
Locative	ngathala	ngalila	nyintala
Genitive	ngatharntu	ngalimpatharntu	nyinkutharntu
Allative	ngajukarta	ngalimpakarta	nyinkukarta

locative and agentive suffixes rather than the expected -ngka/-ngku suffixes appearing on disyllabic stems. Second, the pronouns have separate accusative stems which form the basis of the genitive and allative forms.

The accusative stem of 1dlinc involves the addition of a suffix -mpa to the nominative root. Although this formative does not appear anywhere else in Panyjima, it surfaces as a dative pronoun formative in the Mantharta and Kanyara language groups to the south. The accusative case form of the 1dlinc pronoun thus involves the accusative stem in -mpa followed by the regular accusative suffix -ku. The 1dlinc genitive involves the addition of the regular -tharntu genitive to the -mpa stem.

The genitive form of 1sg, ngatharntu, suggests a haplology of a repeated /tha/ syllable which would arise from the addition of the -tharntu genitive suffix to the ngatha nominative stem. However, there is an isolated example in the corpus of a ngajutharntu 1sg genitive form, conforming to the expected accusative stem formation. This single occurrence is most likely an error.

3.3.2 SPECIAL PRONOUN FORMS. The first person special pronoun forms (see Table 3.1) are used in contrast to the regular forms where the referents of the non-singular pronoun are in separate alternate generation sets (grandparents and grandchildren are in the same set as ego, parents and children are in the other set, see Dench (1982a)). The special second person forms, *nyinkuwi* and *nyinkungarni*, have a more restricted range of uses. First, restricting the discussion to male kin alone, the *nyinkuwi* form may be used where the pair are in the same patrimoiety as the speaker but are in separate alternate generation sets. It may also be used where both addressees are in opposite patrimoieties and are both in the opposite alternate generation set from the speaker. The common element here is the presence of a kinsman in the same patrimoiety as the speaker but in the opposite generation set; i.e. someone whom the speaker would call either father or son. By contrast, the *nyinkungarni* form is used where the two addressees are in different patrimoieties and different alternate generation sets. One of the referents will be in the same patrimoiety as the speaker.

Where both addressees are in the opposite patrimoiety to the speaker, the use of a pronoun is proscribed altogether in polite speech. Similarly, where any member of a larger addressee group is in the opposite patrimoiety from the speaker, the use of the general 2ndPL pronoun *nhupalukuru* is proscribed in polite speech and a non-singular kinterm may be used instead, e.g. (280).

3.3.3 THIRD PERSON PRONOUNS. These are very restricted, usually occurring only where the referent has been identified in the immediately preceding linguistic context. Unlike demonstratives (§3.3.6) they refer (with the one principled exception noted below) only to humans.

- (86)    *ngunha wangka-nha, juju-nha, warlparra-ku*  
           that    say-PAST    old man-SPEC    spearthrower-ACC  
           *purlpi-yayi-ku. yana-rta thana pukanypa*  
           want-INCHO-PRES go-FUT    3sg    hunting  
           *mana-rta miyinma-larta-pula minarli-ku mantu-yu.*  
           get-FUT    provide-FUT-REFL own-ACC    meat-ACC  
           That one, the old man, said he wants a spearthrower. He (wants to)  
           go hunting to get his own meat, to provide for himself.

- (87)    *Nyingkaranha-mpa walyi-ma-rna nyiya-kutha-ku*  
           name-YK                    bad-CAUS-PAST this-DU-ACC  
           *minkala-kutha-ku.thanakutha wangka-nyayi-nha,*  
           god-DU-ACC    3dl                    say-COLL-PAST  
           *ngananha-ma-larta nyiya-yu?*  
           what-CAUS-FUT this-ACC  
           Nyingkaranha made things difficult for these two gods. They said  
           to one another, "What's to be done with this fellow..."

The *thananyungu* plural form is used instead of the more general 3pl, *thananmarra*, when the group referred to can be identified as being in,

and belonging to, a particular place distinct from the place of utterance.

- (88) ngatha mirta-rru karlinypayi-rta ngunha-wali  
 1sgNOM not-NOW return-FUT that-ALL  
 juju-ngarli-kuwiya-larta. purrpa-rru, ngatha  
 old man-PL-ACC see-FUT later-NOW 1sgNOM  
 karlinypayi-rta wiya-larta thananyungu-ku.  
 return-FUT see-FUT 3pl-ACC  
 I'm not going back now to that place to see the old men. Later, I'll  
 go back to see them.

The third person pronouns most often occur in genitive constructions like the following:

- (89) ngunha yana-ku winya-ma-larta murruka-ku  
 that go-PRES full-CAUS-FUT car-ACC  
 thana-tharntu-ku pirtulpa-ku.  
 3sg-GEN-ACC petrol-ACC  
 He's going to fill his car with petrol.

Third person pronouns may be used without an antecedent where the referents of the pronoun are related to one or other of the speaker and addressee as father's father to son's child, or are related to one another in this way. In the following example, the relationship is made explicit:

- (90) thananmarra jurlu-warlaru yana-ku?  
 3pl all-EMPH go-PRES  
 Are they all going?  
  
 jurlu-warlaru mayali-ngarli yana-ku ngaju  
 all-EMPH grandfather-PL go-PRES 1sgACC  
 wanta-lku.  
 leave-PRES  
 [Yes] All the grandfather's are going, leaving me.

As noted above, there is one exception to the rule that the third person plural forms can only have human referents. Where the pronoun *thana* is being used very much like the English pronoun 'which' (in the sense of a choice among items), the referents need not be human (91) (see Text 6.4: (3), (11)).

- (91) thana-yu puripi-yayi-ku-rla warrkunti-ku?  
 3sg-ACC want-INCHO-ACC-FOC boomerang-ACC  
 Which boomerang do you want?

3.3.4 BOUND PRONOUNS. Panyjima has just two bound pronoun forms. These appear quite rarely and are enclitic to the verb, most often an imperative form. The free pronoun cannot co-occur with a corresponding bound pronoun. The first person singular object pronominal clitic, *-rni*,

marks the speaker as patient, goal or recipient:

- (92)    *thaa-nma-rni-rru yana-rta muthumuthu-la-mu.*  
          send-IMP-1sgO-NOW go-FUT    cool-LOC-THEN  
          Let me go now, while it's cool.

- (93)    *mantu yinya-ma-rni*  
          meat    give-IMP-1sgO  
          Give me meat!

The first person singular benefactive, -ju, indicates that the verb action is to be performed for the benefit of the speaker. In (95) the benefactive controls an accusative marked purpose clause (§4.8.2).

- (94)    *panha mana-ma-ju            jitumpulu, ngatha    ngarna-kaji.*  
          that    get-IMP-1sgBEN sausage    1sgNOM eat-RFUT  
             *ngarri-ngka tharrpa-nma-ju    kampa-rta.*  
             ashes-LOC    put in-IMP-1sgBEN cook-FUT  
          Get that sausage for me, so I can eat. Put it in the ashes for me, to cook.

- (95)    *jikanpangarra-nma-ju            karlpa-rta-ku    ngunha-yu*  
          step    chop-IMP-1sgBEN go up-FUT-ACC that-ACC  
             *jantaru-ku ngarra-larta-ku.*  
             honey-ACC chop-FUT-ACC  
          Chop a step for me to go up and chop that honey.

Both bound pronouns have clear cognates in nearby languages. For example, the Western Desert dialect Mantjiltjara (Marsh 1976) has a full set of pronominal clitics. In this language, -rni is the first person singular 'direct object' and -ju (-tju) is the first person singular 'indirect object' glossed as 'to me' or 'mine'. The Panyjima -rni pronoun has widened its range of functions to include what in Mantjiltjara are indirect objects (of the verb 'give' for example).

3.3.5 REFLEXIVE. The reflexive is coded by the verbal enclitic -pula. The clitic is identical in form to the nominal suffix -BOTH (§3.2.2[d]) and is cognate with a third person dual pronoun enclitic in other Western Australian languages. Some examples of the use of the reflexive clitic given below (see also (52), (72), (86), (169), (170), (237) and Text 6.3: (39)):

- (96)    *ngatha wirnta-rna-pula jina.*  
          1sgNOM cut-PAST-REFL    foot  
          I cut myself in the foot.
- (97)    *wangka-ma-pula    ngana nyinta    yini.*  
          say-IMP-REFL    who 2sgNOM    name  
          Say your name! (lit. Tell yourself who your name is.)

3.3.6 DEMONSTRATIVE FORMS. Table 3.3 lists the Panyjima

demonstrative forms. I was unable to elicit a 'not-visible near you' form though I cannot say if this is an accident of the data or represents a gap in the

TABLE 3.3 - *Demonstrative Forms*

	near me	near you	far
pronominal	nyiya	panha	ngunha
adverbial locative	nhangu	palangu	ngula
allative	nharniwali	palarni	ngulawali
ablative	nhangunguru	palanguru	ngulanguru
not-visible	nyinyji	?	ngunyji

paradigm. The demonstratives obligatorily mark the position of the referent with respect to the speaker and the addressee. The table distinguishes 'pronominal' from 'adverbial' demonstratives. The former take regular nominal suffixes (recall the special demonstrative plural suffix, -jirri (§3.2.2[e])), while the latter function as uninflecting locational adverbs. The pronominal demonstratives identify a referent by determining its location with respect to the speaker and addressee. The adverbial demonstratives identify a place by its location with respect to the position of the speaker and addressee.

The non-visible demonstratives operate both pronominally and adverbially. They are used to mark a place or referent as not visible to the speaker (though it may be audible, remembered or may be visible to the addressee). The other demonstratives need not have visible referents.

The two demonstrative classes 'near me' and 'near you' have a primary deictic function as presentatives; 'this/here (near me)' versus 'that/there (near you)'. The 'far' demonstratives pick out a definite entity or place which contrasts with one or other presentative, or which lies at some distance from either the speaker or addressee. The presentative function of the 'near me' demonstrative is extended to the introduction of new discourse topics. Thus, in (98) and (99) 'the sun' and 'Mt. Brockman,' respectively, are not close to the speaker but are marked as new topics.

- (98)    nyiyakarrpu-rla warni-ku-rru!  
          this    sun-FOC    fall-PRES-NOW  
          This sun is going down now!

- (99)    ngatha    panti-wuru nhangu, Pirnayinmurru-la.  
          1sgNOM sit-HABIT here    Mt. Brockman-LOC

I used to live there, at Mt. Brockman.

The allative adverbial forms are used when the referent is oriented towards the speaker or addressee, or is in motion towards the speaker or addressee.

- (100) kuliya-nma! ngananha palarni paka-lku  
listen-IMP something thereALL come-PRES  
waruwaru-la.  
dark-LOC  
Listen! Something is coming there to you in the dark.
- (101) palarni-mpa kangkuru jiinyjiiny-ma-lku.  
thereALL-YK kangaroo clicking-CAUS-PRES  
There towards you; a kangaroo making a clicking noise.
- (102) nyinta paka-nma nharniwali panti-rta wangka-ka  
2sgNOM come-IMP hereALL sit-FUT say-LOC  
ngaliyakuru-la  
1plexc-LOC  
You come here to me and sit talking with us.

The adverbial demonstratives, in particular, form compounds with the nominals *kuju* and *karti* which are both glossed as 'side' (how the two differ in meaning is not clear from the data).

- (103) nhupalu ngunyji-karti nyiya-ngka karnti-ngka.  
2dl thereNV-side this-LOC tree-LOC  
You two are on that (not visible) side of this tree.
- (104) mirta-rla kumpa-rta ngunyji-kuju, karlkatharra-la.  
not-FOC wait-FUT thereNV-side junction-LOC  
Don't wait on that side, at the junction.

Examples of other demonstrative forms can be found throughout the description and in the accompanying texts. The demonstrative forms used in the Paathupathu avoidance style are described in §5.2[b].

**3.3.7 ANAPHORIC DEMONSTRATIVE FORMS.** Anaphoric demonstratives indicate that the identified referent is identical to a referent previously identified in the discourse. Examples occur in Text 6.3, lines (5), (7), (15), (16), (18) and examples (113), (155), (259), (269). Similar systems of anaphoric demonstratives occur in the other Ngayarda languages (e.g. Yinyjiparnti and Martuthunira) and are described for Yolngu (Morphy 1983).

The diachronic relationship between the anaphoric forms and corresponding 'plain' demonstrative forms is quite transparent. Most forms involve the addition of a -l suffix to the demonstrative root (the -l suffix assimilates to a following nasal). The new stem then bears regular case-inflection:

ngunha-l-ku		that-An-ACC
panha-l-kutha-ku	that-An-DU-ACC	
ngula-n-nguru		there-An-ABL

Anaphoric forms of nominative demonstratives bear a suffix *-ka* following the *-l* formative and so conform to the modern Panyjima phonotactic constraint banning word-final consonants:

ngunha-l-ka	that-An(NOM)
ngunyja-l-ka	thatNV-An(NOM)

Notice also that the stem of the anaphoric non-visible demonstrative, *ngunyja-* preserves the original final /a/ vowel which has assimilated to the palatal cluster in the plain forms (e.g. *ngunji*). The only recorded anaphoric locative form is *ngunhata*, 'that-An-LOC'. This form suggests the reduction of an original form involving an assimilated locative suffix attached to the *-l* formative.

\* *ngunhanta/ngunhalta* > *ngunhata*

Although such locative allomorphs do not occur in Modern Panyjima, the form corresponds to locative allomorphs occurring in related languages (for example Martuthunira (Dench 1987b:95)) which do permit consonant-final nominal stems.

Possible cognates for the *-l* anaphoric formative, and the *-ka* closing suffix on nominative forms, exist in the Martuthunira post-inflectional clitics *-l* (-THEN) and *-lwa* (IDENTIFICATION) (Dench 1987b:350-35). The same formatives are historically involved in the Martuthunira and Yinyjiparnti anaphoric demonstrative forms (Dench 1987b:508, fn2).

The anaphoric forms represent a period of history in which Panyjima phonotactic constraints were less rigid. As described in §2.2 the constraint preventing word final consonants has generalised so that nominal stems cannot close in a consonant. Possible violations of the constraint are prevented by the addition of the *-pa* closing suffix. The anaphoric forms reflect a period in which the allomorphs of particular nominal inflections were more varied and they were apparently not reanalyzed with the change in the morpho-phonotactic constraints of the language.

3.3.8 PREDICATE DEMONSTRATIVE. The predicate demonstrative, *junta*, 'like that', has a set of anaphoric forms patterning exactly like the nominal demonstratives described above. In (106) the anaphoric predicate demonstrative forms a compound with *kuju*, 'side', and functions as a modifier in a NP.

- (105)    *papa-yu-layi*        *thaathu-larta*    *pulawa-la*,  
           water-ACC-TAS pour-FUT        flour-LOC  
           *thurnta-rnuma-lku* *junta-yu*        *ngarri-rta-ku*  
           roll-CONSEQ-PRESlike that-ACC lie-FUT-ACC  
           *warama-maanu-ku*.  
           make-PPERF-ACC  
           Now [you] pour water into the flour, and then roll [it] to lie just  
           like  
           [the one that has already] been made.



- (106) ngatha mirta wiya-lwuru juntal-kuju-ku  
 1sgNOM not see-HABIT like thatAn-side-ACC  
 kurrumanthu-ku.  
 goanna-ACC  
 I didn't use to see goannas of that sort.

3.3.9 INTERROGATIVE/INDEFINITE PRONOUNS. The case forms of the indefinite/interrogative ngana, 'who/someone', are listed in the following paradigm.

Nominative	ngana
Accusative	nganangu
Agentive	nganalulu
Locative	nganalala
Genitive	nganangutharntu

The indefinite/interrogative has a specific form nganapukul(pa), 'whoever', which takes regular nominal inflections. For example (and see Text 6.1: (39)):

- (107) nganapukulpa nhupalukuru nyarru-wayi-ku-rla?  
 whoever 2pl dance-INCHO-PRES-FOC  
 Who are (each of) you lot dancing?
- (108) mirta-mu yukurru thula-lartanganapukulpa-ku  
 not-THEN dog bark-FUT whoever-ACC  
 paka-rnu-ku.  
 come-REL-ACC  
 The dog won't bark at anyone who comes along then.

The non-specific indefinite ngananha, 'what/something', and the specific indefinite ngapinha, 'what thing', also take regular nominal inflections. The following examples illustrate the difference between the two forms:

- (109) ngatha ngananha-lu nhantha-nnguli-nha.  
 1sgNOM something-AGT bite-PASS-PAST  
 I was bitten by something.
- nhantha-nnguli-nha nyinta ngapinha-lu-nta,  
 bite-PASS-PAST 2sgNOM thing-AGT-INT  
 manyji-ku-nta parnka-ku-nta?  
 deathadder-AGT-INT lizard-AGT-INT  
 What was the thing you got bitten by, a death adder or a lizard?
- (110) ngananha parnti-ku ngula. ngapinha?  
 somethingsmell-PRES there what thing  
 Something smells down there. What is it?

There is one example in the corpus of the form *ngananha* taking plural inflection:

- (111) *nyinta yana-ma purlura wiya-lku ngananha-ngarli-ku*  
 2sgNOM go-IMP ahead see-PRES something-PL-ACC  
*ngarri-jangu-nta warri-ngka-ku.*  
 lie-REL-INT ground-LOC-ACC  
 You go ahead and see if there is anything [any somethings] on the ground.

The non-human indefinites often take verb deriving morphology (60, 87):

- (112) *ngatha yana-rta wiya-larta palya-yu ngatharntu-ku*  
 1sgNOM go-FUT see-FUT woman-ACC 1sgGEN-ACC  
*ngananha-yi-lha-ku.*  
 something-INCHO-PERF-ACC  
 I'll go and see what happened to my woman.
- (113) *ngananha-ma-rna nyinta ngunhalku!?*  
 what-CAUS-PAST 2sgNOM thatAnACC  
 What have you done to that one?
- (114) *mirtanyinta yana-rta puntha-rta-rla,*  
 not 2sgNOM go-FUT swim-FUT-FOC  
*ngapinha-yi-jara, mankarpa-yi-jara ngarlu.*  
 thing-INCHO-MIGHT hard-INCHO-MIGHT guts  
 Don't you go swimming, that thing might happen, your guts might cramp up.

Verb forms which appear to be based on the specific indefinite *ngapinha*, 'what thing', are often used in the avoidance language to avoid making fully explicit the particular action denoted by the verb (§5.2[c]). For example:

- (115) *ngatha ngapinyja-nnguli-nha wanyjatara-lu.*  
 1sgNOM do thing-PASS-PAST dog-AGT  
 I was thinged (bitten) by a dog.

### 3.3.10 LOCATIVE AND TEMPORAL INDEFINITE/INTERROGATIVES

The locative indefinite/interrogative *tharni*, 'where', takes regular nominal inflections (with the obvious exception of the locative) and a form, *tharninha*, involving the specific reference affix *-nha* (§3.2.2[a]), used in reference to an unknown but specific location. Thus (117) in contrast to (116) (a common greeting). As (118) and (119) show, interrogative verbs can be formed on either *tharni* or *tharninha* (and see Text 6.3: (23)).

- (116) *tharni-wali yana-ku-rru?*  
 where-ALL go-PRES-NOW

- (117) Where are you going?  
 tharni-nha-wali yapal-purlu-nta?  
 where-SPEC-ALL downriver-face-INT  
 Where exactly are you going, downriver?
- (118) marlpapalangu karri-lha tharni-yayi-nha-rru?  
 man there stand-PERF where-INCHO-PAST-NOW  
 What's become of the man who was standing there near you?
- (119) nhupalukuru wiya-rna ngatharntu-ku yawarta-ku?  
 2pl see-PAST 1sgGEN-ACC horse-ACC  
 tharni-nha-yi-nha ngunyjikata-ngkangunha-ngka.  
 where-SPEC-INCH-PAST thereNV scrub-LOC that-LOC  
 Have you seen my horse? He's gone somewhere down there in that scrub?

The temporal indefinite/interrogative is *thanarta*, 'when', (120) below, (191), (243), (286a&b). Example (121) illustrates the use of the indefinite/interrogative *nganimalu*, 'how many':

- (120) *thanarta ngali wiya-nmayi-rta ngarntamu?*  
 when 1dINOMsee-COLL-FUT again  
 When are we going to see one another again?
- (121) *nyinta nganimalu-ku jilya-yu karnku-rna-rla?*  
 2sgNOM how many-ACC child-ACC hold-PAST-FOC  
 How many children do you have (lit. have you held)?

3.3.11 LOCATIONAL AND TEMPORAL NOMINALS. The locational nominals comprise a set including directionals and positional items as well as a subclass of compass point nominals. All may function as locative NPs in the same way as the adverbial demonstratives, and share certain inflectional patterns.

The set of directionals/positionals includes the following items:

jinkalpa/jinkarni	upriver
yapulpa	downriver
murnalpa	close by
kankarni	down on top
kankala	up on top, above
purlura	ahead, in front,
	before, first

The *jinkarni* directional is used to indicate motion towards the speaker from the upriver direction. Similar forms in *-rni* have not been discovered for the other items in this set.

The *kankala* form is used in describing the location of an object

situated above the speaker's eye level, (29). The kankarni form is used when

TABLE 3.4 - *Compass Terms*

	location	allative	towards speaker
north	wartalpa	wartankura	wartantarni
south	kurila	kurilarra	kurilarni
east	kakarra	kakarrara	kakarrarni
west	wuluju	wulujurru	wulujurni

the object is on top of, or above, some other object but below the speaker's eye level (Text 6.1: (27), (31), (37)).

The directionals take the regular ablative nominal suffix -nguru, but the allative forms involve compounds with the nominal purlu, 'face, point', as in:

jinkal-purlu	face/go upriver
kankala-purlu	face/go up on top

Table 3.4 lists the forms of the compass point nominals which differ from the other locationals in having special allative forms. The compass point nominals also form compounds with purlu, 'face, point', and (like the demonstratives) the nominals kuju and karti, 'side'.

Temporal nominals are also inherent locatives. That is, they have an inherent locative sense and operate as if they bear locative inflection (taking the -nguru ablative suffix without the usual locative suffix, for example). The list includes:

kuwarri	now, today	warrungkamu	tomorrow
ngarntamu	again	parrura	long time
purpa	later	jampa	moment
palamu	already		

### 3.4 VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

3.4.1 TRANSITIVITY. Unlike most Australian languages, Panyjima cannot be said to make a clear distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs (§4.1). However, for the purposes of comparison the following figures can be given: of the 112 monomorphemic verb roots, 35% can be classified as intransitive, 53% are transitive in that they usually occur with one accusative object, and 2% are ditransitive, occurring with two accusative objects. The remaining 10% cannot easily be classed as either transitive or intransitive. These 'ambitransitive' verbs, have an optional accusative object and include 'cry (for)', 'wait (for)' and 'laugh (at)'.

In addition, some verbs have alternative case frames: 'intransitive' motion verbs may be subcategorised for a locational complement, typically a goal of motion. This complement may appear either marked with some local

TABLE 3.5 - *Conjugation Membership and Transitivity*

	-L	-Ø
ditransitive	1	1
transitive	51	9
intransitive	10	29
ambitransitive	2	9
Total	64	48

case (allative or locative), or as an accusative object of the verb. Details of alternative case frames are presented in §4.1.1.

Derived verbs share a similar range of transitivity types. Verbs formed with the inchoative suffix may be intransitive (*karrara-yi-Ø* 'get/be sick') or ambitransitive (*paja-yi-Ø*, 'be angry (with)'), while verbs formed with the causative/factitive may be intransitive (*kanyjirr-ma-L* 'sneeze'), transitive (*winya-ma-L* 'fill') or ditransitive (*mirnu-ma-L* 'teach, show').

3.4.2 CONJUGATION. Verbs in Panyjima fall into one of two conjugations. Table 3.5 gives the conjugation membership of the monomorphemic verbs with respect to transitivity.

A small number of verb roots appear in both the Ø-conjugation and the L-conjugation. Essentially, these are intransitive/transitive pairs. The verbs are treated as homophonous forms and have been counted twice in the figures given above (§3.4.1) and in Table 3.5:

<i>kampa-Ø</i> be cooking	<i>kampa-L</i> cook, burn
<i>tharra-Ø</i> enter	<i>tharra-L</i> put in
<i>parnti-Ø</i> be smelling	<i>parnti-L</i> smell
<i>puntha-Ø</i> swim, bathe	<i>puntha-L</i> wash
<i>purranya-Ø</i> smile (at)	<i>purranya-L</i> like

Although many languages of Western Australia have between four and six conjugations, the languages of the Ngayarda group have a reduced number, partly through the historical reanalysis of monosyllabic verb roots. O'Grady (1966) reconstructs five conjugations for proto-Ngayarda and suggests that inflected forms of the monosyllabic verbs were reanalysed as stems in one of the more productive conjugations. In this way verbs such as \**ya-N*, 'go', and \**ma-N*, 'take', fused with their past tense inflections to give the modern Panyjima roots *yana-Ø* and *mana-Ø*. As a result, the original N- and NG-conjugations were lost. An original R-conjugation survives in Yinyjiparnti and Martuthunira but with few members and with clear evidence, in Martuthunira, that the R-conjugation inflections are gradually being replaced by L-conjugation forms.

TABLE 3.6 -Verb Inflections

	-Ø-	-L-
PRESent	-ku	-lku
RELative	-jangu	-rnu
FUTURE/Purposive	-rta	-larta
Realis FUTURE -kaji		-lkaji
PAST	-nha	-rna
PERFect -lha		-lalha
Passive PERFect	-jangaanu	-rnaanu
HABITual	-wuru	-lwuru
IMPerative	-ma	-nma
HORTative	-kara	-lkara
(active) MIGHT	-jara	-ljara
(Passive) MIGHT	-puru	-lpuru
CONTRAfactual	-rtanguru	-lartanguru
CONSEQuential	-ngumalku	-rnumalku

3.4.3 VERBAL INFLECTIONS. Verbal inflections encode a composite of tense, mood and aspect distinctions. Table 3.6 presents the verbal inflections for the two conjugations. As the table shows, there is a great deal of similarity between the Ø-conjugation and L-conjugation suffixes. With the exception of the past tense inflection and the relative clause and passive perfect, the L-conjugation suffixes are prefixed by a -l- conjugation marker while the Ø-conjugation forms bear no such marker.

Where the addition of the -l- conjugation marker would otherwise result in a lateral/nasal cluster, the conjugation marker becomes -n-, as in the imperative. Where a sequence not permitted by the phonotactic constraints of the language would result, an epenthetic vowel /a/ is inserted between the conjugation marker and the inflection, as in the future, perfect and contrafactual. The consequential inflection is based, historically, on a suffix \*-ngu/-rnu which is also implicated in the forms of the relative and passive perfect inflections.

[a] *Present*. The present marks events continuing at the time of utterance. The unmarked aspect is imperfective: punctual actions are interpreted as iterated, processes as continuing, and telic actions as not yet accomplished. Contemporaneous relative clauses on unmarked NPs (typically subjects but including objects of imperatives) bear the present inflection (§4.8.1)(and see Text 6.2). In this respect Panyjima differs from its neighbours, Yinyjiparnti and Kurrama, which have a separate inflection for this function.

- (122) ngatha nyurru-yumana-ku, kuwarri kuwarri  
 1sgNOM mucus-ACC get-PRES now now  
 kanyjirr-ma-lku.  
 sneeze-CAUS-PRES  
 I'm getting (stuffed up with) mucus, sneezing again and again.
- (123) ngunha-jirriyana-ku murraka-la yurlu-wali.  
 that-PL go-PRES car-LOC camp-ALL  
 nyiya-jirri karlinpayi-ku ngarntamu, yawu-ngarli  
 this-PL return-PRES again same-PL  
 pariyurlu-ngka-nguru.  
 still camp-LOC-ABL  
 Those (people) are going to camp in a car. These (people) are coming back again, still the same ones, from the camp.
- (124) ngatha yana-ku panti-rta kumpa-ku kangkuru-ku  
 1sgNOM go-PRES sit-FUT wait-PRES kangaroo-ACC  
 paka-rnu-ku murrka-karta-ku.  
 come-REL-ACC soak-ALL-ACC  
 I am going to sit waiting for a kangaroo to come to the soak.

[b] *Relative*. The relative inflection is restricted to certain clausal complements, and contemporaneous relative clauses for which the head NP is other than the subject of the matrix clause (or the unmarked object of an imperative or hortative clause).

In accusative marked relative clauses, the -jangu inflection does not take accusative marking though it can take other case inflections in other relatives. For examples and discussion see (§4.8.1).

[c] *Future/Purposive*. The future marks that some event is an expected, and often intended, outcome of the current events or state of affairs. Thus the future is used to mark purposive subordinate clauses (126), (127) (§4.8.2). Where the subject of the future marked verb includes the addressee, the future is read as a mild imperative/hortative. Note the informant's translation of (128):

- (125) ngatha nyinku wiya-larta purrpa-rru.  
 1sgNOM 2sgACC see-FUT later-NOW  
 I'll see you later.
- (126) nyiya-yu pulka-yu karla-ngka wantha-larta  
 this-ACC wax-ACC fire-LOC put-FUT  
 nyuyulwirri-rta-ku.  
 soft-FUT-ACC  
 Put this wax in the fire to get soft.



- (127) ngali yana-rta ngarntamu mantu-wali pajarri-ku  
 1dINOM go-FUT again meat-ALL euro-ACC  
 mirlima-larta.  
 spear-FUT  
 Let's (we two) go for meat again, to spear euros.
- (128) nyinta kurlkayi-rta nyiya-jirri-kujuju-ngarli-ku!  
 2sgNOM think-FUT this-PL-ACC old person-PL-ACC  
 You must think about these old people!

[d] *Realis Future*. While the *-(la)rta* future inflection denotes intended outcomes, the *-(l)kaji* realis future indicates the speaker's strong belief that the event denoted by the inflected verb is a necessary outcome of a particular state of affairs or an entity's inherent properties. Like the future, the realis future can be used in subordinate clauses.

- (129) manartu-ku-rla mana-rta partirri-ku karla-yu  
 good-ACC-FOC get-FUT kanyji-ACC firewood-ACC  
 kampa-kaji-ku warruwanarra-ku.  
 burn-RFUT-ACC all night-ACC  
 Get that good kanyji-bush firewood which will burn all night.
- (130) nharnu-pati-la pirlinkarraparnma-kaji karla-mari.  
 sand-PRIV-LOC flat rock explode-RFUT fire-CAU  
 Without sand that flat rock will explode from the fire.

The speaker is removed from direct responsibility for the future events, which may account for the fact that the realis future is used more often in the Paathupathu avoidance speech style (131) than in the everyday style (§5.2[c]). It also accounts for the common use of the realis future in explanations for the speaker's inability to perform certain actions (132).

- (131) ngatha pirringarla-la yinuwa-lkaji.  
 1sgNOM afternoon-LOC see-RFUT  
 I'll see (you) in the afternoon.
- (132) ngatha parrkara paka-nha, mirta-rru ngatha  
 1sgNOM shoulder break-PAST not-NOW 1sgNOM  
 puntha-kaji.  
 swim-RFUT  
 I broke my shoulder so I can't swim now.

The following examples illustrate the use of the realis future in strong warnings and imperatives. The implication is that the warning or command issues not from the speaker, but from the recognition of strict codes of behaviour.

- (133) ngatha maatha panti-rta nhupalukuru-ku. nhupalukuru  
 1sgNOM boss sit-FUT 2pl-ACC 2pl  
 mirta-rru wangka-kaji ngaju.  
 not-NOW say-RFUT 1sgACC  
 I'll be the boss for you all. So you won't (be able to) talk to me.
- (134) nyinta yana-rta ngarntamu-rla, ngaliyakuru  
 2sgNOM go-FUT again-FOC 1plexc  
 patha-larta warrkunti-ngarni, nyinku  
 blow-FUT boomerang-COM 2sgNOM  
 mirnu-ma-lkaji.  
 know-CAUS-RFUT  
 If you go again, we'll blow [hit] (you) with boomerangs, (we'll) teach you!

[e] *Past Tense*. The appearance of this verb inflection indicates that the event denoted by the verb happened, or was happening, before the time of utterance. Typically, the time is interpreted as recent past and the event is seen as having some relevance to present events.

- (135) punyupunyu-wi-nha-rru, jampa-rla purrpa-layi  
 calm-INCHO-PAST-NOW moment-FOClater-TAS  
 wiyurpa kampa-nmayi-rta ngarntamu purrpa-layi.  
 feelings heat-COLL-FUT again later-TAS  
 They've calmed down now, a moment later and they'll be heating each other's feelings again.
- (136) panu-warlaru! kurkatharta-ku ngatha mirta  
 true-EMPH deaf-ACC 1sgNOM not  
 wangka-nha nyinku.  
 say-PAST 2sgACC  
 True! I didn't tell you that (he's) deaf.

[f] *Perfect*. The perfect indicates an event which occurred at a past time and which resulted in a state of affairs which persists at the point of temporal reference.

- (137) nyiya-jirri wirrilyi paka-lku yirrka-ku  
 this-PL youth come-PRES dance-PRES  
 kurrjarta-ku malhu-yu mana-lha.  
 spear-ACC middle-ACC get-PERF  
 These youths are coming dancing having grabbed (holding) spears in the middle.
- (138) palamu ngunha kangkuru puthalka-kanu tharrpa-lha  
 already that kangaroo head-ONLY go in-PERF  
 murrka-ngka.  
 soak-LOC  
 Only that kangaroo's head has already gone into the soak.
- (139) nyiya-rla wulu panti-ku ngayi-lalha kutiya-la

this-FOC leg sit-PRES throw-PERF other-LOC  
 wulu-ngka.  
 leg-LOC  
 This one is sitting with one leg thrown over the other leg.

While verbs marked with the perfect inflection can occur as the main verb in a sentence, they are most often found in relative clauses (§4.8.1). Verbs marked with the perfect serve an important function in the chaining of events in discourse: the perfect is used to indicate that the event following occurs immediately upon the completion of the event denoted by the perfect form. Commonly, the verb bearing the perfect inflection is augmented by the 'tense axis shift' clitic *-layi* (§4.11[m]). In this way the narrative moves through a succession of temporal reference points, each one defined as a stage reached by the completion of previous actions. A simple example is (140), see also (171), (249) and especially (278).

- (140) karla kampa-nma palangu nganyja-ka. jinta-yi-lha-layi,  
 fire burn-IMP there sand-LOC coal-INCH-PERF-TAS  
 kampa-nma martumirri.  
 cook-IMP damper  
 Light a fire there in the sand. When it's (burnt down to) coals, cook the damper.

[g] *Passive Perfect*. Verbs bearing the passive perfect inflection occur in both main and subordinate clauses. Like the (active) perfect clause, the passive implies a persistent state of affairs consequent on the earlier event. Typically, the verb action is seen to have effected a change (in state, status, of mind or in action) in the subject of the passive verb, a change often viewed as irreversible. The agent of the passive is often not overtly specified and in many cases (142), (143) no identifiable agent can be understood.

- (141) panha yalha ngayi-rnaanu wirrpi-ngku.  
 that shelter throw-PPERF wind-AGT  
 That shelter has been wrecked by the wind.
- (142) nyiyakurrjartawarama-rnaanu mirli-nguru.  
 this spear make-PPERF cadjeput-ABL  
 This spear is (has been) made out of cadjeput wood.
- (143) ngatha puripi-yayi-ku mantu-yu kampa-rnaanu-ku  
 1sgNOM want-INCHO-PRESmeat-ACC cook-PPERF-ACC  
 I like cooked meat.

[h] *Habitual*. The habitual inflection is usually understood to have a distant past time reference and is typically translated with the English 'used to V' construction. However as (145) and (146) show, the habitual can be understood as having present time reference.

- (144) ngatha mirnu warama-lwuru jakilpa-ku  
 1sgNOM know make-HABIT headpad-ACC  
 kupija-mu-rla.  
 little-THEN-FOC  
 I used to know how to make (spinifex) headpads when I was little.
- (145) ngatha karlpa-wuruyarnta-ngka karlpa-jangu-la.  
 1sgNOM get up-HABIT sun-LOC get up-REL-LOC  
 ngatha karlpa-wuru kumpa-yumirta-mu  
 1sgNOM get up-HABIT face-ACC not-THEN  
 mani-yuwiya-lalhangatha kunyanngu-rru,  
 others-ACC see-PERF 1sgNOM sleepy-NOW  
 mirta karlpa-wuru arlipala.  
 not get up-HABIT early  
 I used to get up as the sun was getting up. I used to get up and then  
 hadn't seen the other's faces (i.e. before anyone else). I'm a sleepy  
 fellow now, never get up early.
- (146) panha yukurru janka-nma, pajarrangu panu  
 that dog tie up-IMP vicious very  
 nhantha-lwuru.  
 bite-HABIT  
 Tie up that dog. He's very vicious, always biting.

[i] *Imperative and Hortative*. Imperatives allow only second person subjects which may or may not be overtly present, while the subjects of hortatives always include both the speaker and the addressee. Arguments of two place imperative and hortative verbs are both unmarked, while with a three place verb the goal or recipient is unmarked and the patient/theme takes accusative case marking (§4.10).

Imperative marked verbs are always positive. The force of a negative imperative is typically coded by a negative future. However, the use of an (positive) imperative copula with a subordinate verb bearing the privative nominal suffix may convey much the same force as a negative imperative. The following example illustrates both patterns.

- (147) minyma panti-ma,mirta yungurli-rta, yungurli-pati  
 still sit-IMP not wriggle-FUT wriggle-PRIV  
 panti-ma. minyma panti-ma yungurli-pati.  
 sit-IMP still sit-IMP wriggle-PRIV  
 Sit still, don't wriggle, sit without wriggling! Sit still without  
 wriggling!

The imperative is common and examples can be found throughout the description (7), (8), (25), (43), (49), (140). The following examples illustrate the rarer hortative.

- (148) panti-kara nhangu malu-ngka thitha-rri-ku

sit-HORT here shade-LOC wait-COLL2-PRES  
 mantu-ngarni-ku paka-larta-ku.  
 meat-COM-ACC come-FUT-ACC  
 Let's sit here in the shade and wait for the one with meat to come.

- (149) ngali ngarna-kara-rru mantu-muntu martumirri.  
 1dinc eat-HORT-NOW meat-CONJ damper  
 Let's eat meat and damper.

[j] *Might*. The active and passive might inflections indicate a predicted and unwanted consequence of a particular state of affairs and typically occur in lest clauses (§4.8.3). Example (150) illustrates the use of the active might inflection, (151) illustrates the use of the passive might inflection.

- (150) jilyantharri kampa-jara karla-ngka, karri-ma  
 children burn-MIGHT fire-LOC stand-IMP  
 warpa-kumpa!  
 far-LIKE  
 You kids might get burnt in the fire, stand away (from it)!

- (151) ngatha pilanyja-yi-ku katama-lpuru  
 1sgNOM frightened-INCHO-PRES hit-PMIGHT  
 ngunha-jirri-lu jilyantharri-lu.  
 that-PL-AGT children-AGT  
 I'm frightened I might get hit by those children.

[k] *Contrafactual*. Contrafactual clauses are generally understood as having past time reference but this may be overruled by the appearance of temporal clitics or a time reference interpretation drawn from context. The contrafactual appears in the data only with first person singular subjects and has a self admonishing tone. The marked verb denotes an activity which the speaker believes he or she had the opportunity to perform at some time. Where the time reference is past, the opportunity is assumed to have been lost. Where the time reference is present or future, the contrafactual presents an intention which the speaker expects not to realize because of some conspiracy of events.

The following three examples illustrate the use of the inflection in three different time frames: past, present and future. The time frames are indicated by temporal nominal expressions and temporal clitics.

- (152) ngatha kampa-lartanguru pirri-ngka-mu  
 1sgNOM cook-CONTRA afternoon-LOC-THEN  
 mantu-yu, nyiya kuwarri-rla puka-yi-nha-rru  
 meat-ACC this now-FOC rotten-INCHO-PAST-NOW  
 mantu. ngatha wiya-lartanguru  
 meat 1sgNOM see-CONTR  
 puka-yi-jara-ku mantu-yu ngunhan-mu-rla.  
 rotten-INCH-MIGHT-ACC meat-ACC thatAn-THEN-FOC  
 I should have cooked this meat in the (yesterday) afternoon. This  
 meat has gone rotten now. I should have seen that it might become

rotten at that time.

- (153) ngatha jilyantharri-ku kuwarri-rru mirra-rtanguru.  
1sgNOM children-ACC now-NOW call out-CONTRA  
I should call out to the kids now.

- (154) ngatha yana-rtanguru wiya-larta ngunha-yu  
1sgNOM go-CONTRAsee-FUT that-ACC  
warrungkamu-rla-layi.  
tomorrow-FOC-TAS  
I should go and see him tomorrow.

The contrafactual inflection transparently involves the ablative suffix (§3.2.1[e]) appended to the future/purposive inflection, -(la)rtā. This formation is also semantically transparent: the temporal ablative indicates a prior time while the future indicates intended or expected outcome. Thus the speaker has, metaphorically, moved away from a time at which certain outcomes were possible.

[1] *Consequential*. The consequential indicates that the event described in the clause follows as a direct consequence of the event described in the preceding clause. The time reference of the consequential verb is completely dependent on the frame established by the previous verb and in almost all cases the subject of the consequential verb is identical with that of the preceding verb. Where this is the case, the subject is never repeated in the consequential clause (§4.8.6).

- (155) ngatha yana-rta wiya-larta ngunha-yu,  
1sgNOM go-FUT see-FUT that-ACC  
karlinypa-yi-ngumalku ngunhata.  
return-INCHO-CONSEQ thatAnLOC  
I'll go and see that one and come back with him.

Yinyjiparnti shares the consequential inflection (described by Wordick (1982) as 'Progressive') with forms -ngumarnu/-numarnu. The comparison reveals that the consequential is a composite morpheme involving, at some level, a formative -nguma-L/rnuma-L augmented by the inflection used to mark relative clauses on nominative NPs. In Yinyjiparnti this is the imperfective -rnu, in Panyjima it is the present inflection -lku.

3.4.4 VERBAL DERIVATIONS. In comparison with other Australian languages, verbal derivational morphology in the Ngayarda language group is quite simple. Although a large proportion of verb forms found in Panyjima text are derived, the complexity comes from the variety of nominal expressions which may serve as the basis for verbal derivation rather than from an array of derivational suffixes attached to verbal stems. The adverbial meanings usually encoded by verbal derivational suffixes in other Australian languages are marked by adverbial nominal expressions or multiclausal constructions in the Ngayarda languages. At the same time,

flexible transitivity reduces the need for a variety of syntactic derivational devices.

The morphology of the semiproductive suffixes -pi-L, PROCessive, and -thu-L, PLACEment, which can be attached to both nominal and verbal stems, are described in §3.2.3 (see also §4.5). The only productive verbal derivational suffixes are the collective and the passive, the latter being the only true relation changing derivational process.

[a] *Collective*. The collective suffix has two allomorphs conditioned by the conjugation class of the verb stem to which the suffix is attached:

Ø-nyayi-Ø  
L-nmayi-Ø

In addition a shortened form of the suffix, -yi-Ø, occurs following a verb stem whose last syllable is /ma/ (often transparently the causative/factitive verbaliser -ma-L). Verbs taking the -yi-Ø allomorph are members of the L-conjugation and so might otherwise be expected to take the -nmayi-L form. Thus the -yi-Ø allomorph is best described as a morphologically conditioned haplology. A comparable rule operates in Martuthunira (Dench 1987b:94). The functions of the collective suffix are described in §4.5[f].

[b] *Collective2*. The -rri-Ø collective morpheme is found suffixed to a very few verb stems. For examples and discussion see §4.5[g].

[c] *Passive*. The passive affix occurs on verbs which may have one or more accusative marked NP objects, and derives verbs of the Ø-conjugation. The usual allomorphs of the passive are Ø-nguli-Ø and L-nnguli-Ø, though some speakers make sporadic use of a form -lkuli-Ø on L-conjugation stems (see Text 6.3: (23), (24), (37)). Here the normal anticipatory assimilation of the -l- conjugation marker (l-nguli>n-nguli) appears to have been superseded by a perserverative assimilation of the velar nasal to the preceding non-nasal sonorant (l-nguli>l-kuli).

As noted in §3.2.3[c], the passive is identical in form to the psych-inchoative, though no historical connection between the two, on either semantic or syntactic grounds, has yet been demonstrated. The functions of the passive are described in §4.6.

## 4. SYNTAX

### 4.1 VERBAL CLAUSES

In Panyjima, as in all the accusative languages of the Ngayarda subgroup, it is not possible to make a gross distinction between transitive and intransitive clauses. This is due to two factors: first, both A and S functions are unmarked nominative so there is not the obvious contrast in

subject marking that is found in ergative Australian languages; second, the accusative suffix has a range of uses covering both core and peripheral case functions (§3.2.1[b]) and so the presence of an accusative NP is not a clear indicator of clause transitivity. Instead, recognising the transitivity of a clause depends upon recognising the subcategorisation frame of the verb and the presence of its complements.

The basic verbal clause, then, consists of a verb with one or more NP complements and the possibility of a number of optional NP adjuncts. Although the subject argument and non-subject complements are implied by the verb, they need not appear in the clause. There are only one or two examples in the corpus of sentences in which the verb is missing, and it is safe to assume that, as a rule, the verb is obligatory.

The following examples illustrate simple active clauses. Example (156) shows a verb with a single subject argument and a locative adjunct, (157) a verb with subject and object arguments and a locative temporal adjunct, (158) a ditransitive verb with two accusative objects. The usual orders of constituents within the clause are described in §4.1.3.

- (156)    ngunha   pajarri ngarri-ku pili-ngka.  
           that    euro    lie-PRES cave-LOC  
           That euro is lying in the cave.
- (157)    ngatha   wiya-larta nyinku   pirri-ngka.  
           1sgNOM see-FUT   2sgACC afternoon-LOC  
           I'll see you this afternoon.
- (158)    nyiyapalya mantu-yu-rla    yinya-rta thana-tharntu-ku  
           this   woman meat-ACC-FOC   give-FUT   3sg-GEN-ACC  
               jilya-yu.  
               child-ACC  
           This woman will give meat to her child.

4.1.1 ALTERNATIVE CASE FRAMES. As noted in §3.4.1, a number of verbs have alternative case frames. Intransitive motion verbs may be subcategorised for a locational complement, typically encoding a goal of motion, which may appear either in a local case, or as an accusative object. Examples (159) and (160) illustrate this for *tharrpa-Ø*, 'go in'. The choice of accusative marking emphasises the successful achievement of the goal. As (161) shows, *tharrpa-Ø* may occur without its locative complement, where this is conventionally recognised.

- (159)    ngunha-rla jarri-ngka tharrpa-rta, pili-ngka.  
           that-FOC   cave-LOC   go in-FUT    hole-LOC  
           He'll go into the cave, the hole.
- (160)    ngunha   marlpangayilkara-lku panu   tharrpa-rta  
           that   man   rush-PRES   very go in-FUT  
               thurnu-yu   maya-yu.  
               inside-ACC house-ACC  
           That man is really rushing to go inside the house.



- (161) yarnta tharrpa-nha, ngatha-rla jinangu-rla parliparli.  
 sun go in-PAST 1sgNOM-FOC on foot-FOC still  
 The sun went in, and I'm still on foot (walking).

Examples (162) and (163) illustrate the verb *paka-L*, 'come', with an accusative goal (see also Text 6.3: (29), (33)). Examples in which the goal is allative include (100), (102), (124), Text 6.3: (8). *paka-L* occurs without an overt goal in examples (65), (108), (166).

- (162) nyinta paka-rna ngaju mingkapuru nhangu-yu  
 2sgNOM come-PAST 1sgACC behind here-ACC  
 panti-jangu.  
 sit-REL  
 You came upon me sitting here (from) behind.

- (163) ngananha-nyu mirta-warlaru ngaju paka-rna  
 what-TRUTH not-EMPH 1sgACC come-PAST  
 warrukarta-rla. ngatha ngarri-nha kunyanpa manartu,  
 night-FOC 1sgNOM lie-PAST asleep good  
 mirta paka-nnguli-nha ngananha-lu.  
 not come-PASS-PAST something-AGT  
 Truly nothing came upon me in the night. I slept well, wasn't come upon by anything.

Example (163) also shows that the goal argument can be the subject of the passive form of *paka-L*, 'come'. The accusative goals of motion verbs are very often animates and it is assumed that they are in some way affected by the arrival of the subject of the verb. This is quite clearly the case in (162-163).

There is no positive evidence that the locational complements of 'transitive' verbs of induced motion may appear as independent accusative objects. A pattern in which the location is marked both with the locative and then with the accusative, in agreement with the patient/theme, is described in §4.1.2 below. Example (164) illustrates contrasting patterns for *wantha-L*, 'leave, place, put'. In the first clause 'this spear', marked accusative, is the eventual location of the 'point'. This contrasts with the third clause in which the location, 'fire' is marked locative. However, it may be that the (eventual) part-whole relationship between patient/theme and location may be influencing the accusative marking of the location in the first clause (§4.7).

- (164) nyiya-yu kurrjarta-ku wantha-larta yumpu-yu. mana-rta  
 this-ACC spear-ACC put-FUT point-ACC get-FUT  
 pulka-yu karntarra-ku yumpu-tharntu. nyiya-yu  
 wax-ACC sinew-ACC point-GEN this-ACC  
 pulka-yu karla-ngka wantha-larta nyuyulwirri-rta-ku  
 wax-ACC fire-LOC put-FUT soft-FUT-ACC  
 Put a point on this spear. Get wax and sinew for the point.  
 Put the wax near the fire to get soft.

4.1.2 CASE AGREEMENT. Nominal expressions may agree in case-marking without forming a constituent. Usually, one of the expressions will be an argument of a predicate and the second will modify the relation between argument and predicate in some way. One of the most commonly cited patterns of this kind is the use of a comitative expression, linked to the subject of a transitive verb, to express the instrumental. In Panyjima, such patterns of agreement show up most clearly in passive clauses (16).

The nominals *pilanypa*, 'frightened', and *karlinypa*, 'returning', in (165) and (166) respectively, function as adverbs of manner linked to the subjects of the clauses in which they occur. In (167), the ablative expression agreeing with the unmarked subject has a similar adverbial function.

- (165) *ngatha nyinku wiya-rna pilanypa-ku murti-jangu.*  
 1sgNOM 2sgACC see-PAST frightened-ACC run-REL  
 I saw you running frightened.
- (166) *ngatha yurlu-ngka kumpa-rta nyinku karlinypa-ku*  
 1sgNOM camp-LOCwait-FUT 2sgACC return-ACC  
*paka-rnu-ku*  
 come-REL-ACC  
 I'll wait in camp for you to come back.
- (167) *ngatha wiya-lku marlpa-yunyiya-ngka-nguru*  
 1sgNOM see-PRES man-ACC this-LOC-ABL  
*pili-ngka-nguru.*  
 hole-LOC-ABL  
 I can see the man from [through] this hole.

Adverbial expressions of this kind can generally be analysed as 'second predications' on the argument with which they agree (Dench & Evans 1988:14). That is, in addition to the primary predication made by the verb on the subject NP, 'you run' in (165) for example, there is a second predication made by the agreeing 'adverbial' nominal, 'you (be) frightened'. Very often, the second predicate provides a time frame (the time at which the secondary predication holds true) within which the primary predication is held to be true. In (168) this is indicated in part by the temporal clitic *-mu* (§4.11[d]).

- (168) *ngaliyakurumirnu-wayi-nha kupija warlipi-mu*  
 1plexc know-INCHO-PAST little boy-THEN  
 I learnt when I was a little boy.

Part-whole possession is generally marked by apposition; the two elements bear identical case-marking (§4.7). Where the part and whole form separate constituents they may agree in case-marking. Examples (169) and (170) show alternative patterns. In (169) the part agrees with the subject, in (170) the part is a separate object of the verb (which nevertheless bears the reflexive clitic (§3.3.5)).

- (169) ngatha kampa-larta-pula ngarnngarnpa  
1sgNOM shave-FUT-REFLchin  
I'll shave my chin. (\* My chin shaved itself.)
- (170) yukurru nhantha-lku-pulawarnti-yu.  
dog bite-PRES-REFL tail-ACC  
The dog is biting itself in the tail.

In (171) and (172) the object of the verb governs agreement on a locative expression specifying the location or source, respectively, of the entity denoted by the object. Alternative constructions in which the location is not linked to the object are more common (see (19) and (126) in contrast to (171)). For related patterns involving indefinite locative expressions governed by the subjects of subordinate clauses see §4.8.5.

- (171) yapanpa-ku wantha-lalha-layi ngarlu-ngka-ku,  
hot stone-ACCput-PERF-TAS guts-LOC-ACC  
wantha-larta ngarriwartu-la.  
put-FUT earth oven-LOC  
Having put hot stones in its guts, put it in the earth oven.
- (172) kurri nyiya panti-ku papa-yu mana-ku  
girl this sit-PRES water-ACCget-PRES  
jartungu-la-nguru-ku.  
rock hole-LOC-ABL-ACC  
This girl is getting water from the rockhole.

4.1.3 CONSTITUENT ORDER. Of a sample of 1000 clauses gleaned from texts, 60% of declarative main clauses have an overt subject and in 90% of these the subject precedes the verb. Only 20% of the imperative/hortative clauses have an overt subject.

The sample includes approximately 500 transitive clauses. Table 4.1 displays the varying percentages of verb-object orders (where O is understood to be the accusative complement of a transitive or ambitransitive verb) for declarative main clauses, imperative/hortative clauses and declarative subordinate clauses.

The basic order is (S)VO, as the predominance of this order in main clauses demonstrates. The variation in orders is the result of two factors: object focusing and subordinate clause chaining.

In main clauses, the object NP may be fronted to a position of focus preceding the verb. Often the preposing applies to just the first constituent of the object NP, typically a demonstrative:

- (173) panha-yumirta mana-rta karla-yu,  
that-ACC not get-FUT firewood-ACC  
pukalypukalypa-ku-rla.  
rotten-ACC-FOC  
Don't get *that* firewood, it's rotten.

TABLE 4.1 -*VO constituent order*

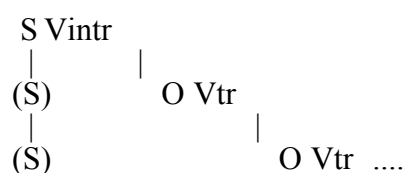
	(S)VO	(S)OV	% of sample
main clause	71	29	59
subordinate	30	70	26
imperative	60	40	15
overall	58	42	

- (174)    ngunha   yukurru   ngatharntu-ku   ngarna-nha   mantu-yu.  
           that    dog        1sgGEN-ACC   eat-PAST       meat-ACC  
           That dog ate *my* meat.

The general pattern of object preposing is extended to the subjects of clausal complements of predicates such as 'tell', 'see' etc. (31) (54), and to the locative complements of motion or induced motion verbs (159), (164), (218).

Object preposing also accounts for the stronger tendency to (S)OV order in imperative clauses. Transitive imperatives typically focus on the object, which is to undergo the effects of the action, and thus the object is placed in the more prominent preverbal, often clause-initial position (see (278), Text 6.1: (25), Text 6.3: (38)). Approximately half of the imperative clauses recorded in Table 4.1 as (S)VO involve preposing of the first element of the object NP. If these are counted as instances of OV order, only 32% of the imperative clauses are fully (S)VO.

However, object focussing alone does not account for the predominant (S)OV order in subordinate clauses. The high percentage of OV order in subordinate clauses is partly due to a pattern of clause chaining in which the subject of an intransitive matrix clause controls a sequence of transitive subordinate clauses. The object of the first subordinate verb is preposed into a position separating the matrix and subordinate verbs, and this pattern is continued throughout the chain (Text 6.2: (4-5)).



Optional adjuncts typically occur at the clause margins. Temporal adjuncts may precede the subject while locational and other adjuncts usually follow the predicate and its core arguments (Text 6.1: (1-3))

- (175)    kanarakanara-la-layi, yukurru-ngarli   parruntu-lku

daybreak-LOC-TAS    dog-PL            bark-PRES  
 yurlu-warntura-la.  
 camp-DISTRIB-LOC  
 At daybreak, the dogs are barking in each camp.

## 4.2 NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

Panyjima has two types of non-verbal clause. The first type, described here as Ascriptive clauses, consists of two nominal expressions, one functioning as the subject/topic and the other as the predicate/comment. The second type involves a nominal predicate which takes a NP as subject and a NP as an accusative-marked complement.

4.2.1 ASCRIPTIVE CLAUSES. The following sentences illustrate the general pattern. In (176) and (177), the predicate is a simple unmarked nominal, in (179) and (180) the predicate NP is marked with a nominal suffix specifying the relationship between the marked expression and the subject of the sentence. The most commonly occurring suffixes are the comitative (71), (178), privative (73), locative (103), (180) and genitive (61), (179).

- (176)    ngunha-rla marnta /    kurtulharri.  
           that-FOC    hill                    boulderPL  
           That hill is strewn with boulders.
- (177)    karnu-ngka-rla jilya-ngka,    ngunha    nharnu /  
           body-LOC-FOC    child-LOC that            dirt  
                               mankarrpa-rru  
                               hard-NOW  
           The dirt on the child's body is hard now.
- (178)    ngalikuru,    parlkanu-puru-layi, /    yarta-ngarni-mu  
           1plinc    cloud-OBSCRD-TAS    much-COM-THEN  
                               mantu-ngarni.  
                               meat-COM  
           Through the cloudy period, we'll have lots of meat then.
- (179)    nyiya-rla wirntamarra /    makuntu-tharntu  
           this-FOC    mulga                                punishment spear-GEN  
           This mulga wood is for a spearthrower.
- (180)    jurlu palya /    kapi-ngka.  
           all    woman    fish-LOC  
           All the women are fishing.

As example (178) shows, non-verbal clauses may take adjuncts which, together with the temporal clitics, allow a degree of temporal reference.

4.2.2 NON-VERBAL PREDICATES WITH ACCUSATIVE COMPLEMENTS. Clauses in which some nominal predicate takes an accusative complement are of three broad types. First, the nominal predicate may be a kinterm or other human relationship term, in which case the propositus of the term is the subject of the clause and the possessor is the accusative complement (11), (12), (181).

- (181) manyka, ngatha nyinku mama.  
 son 1sgNOM 2sgACC father  
 Son, I'm father to you.

Second, the predicate may be a nominal denoting some property which is ascribed to the subject of the clause but relative to the particular traits, circumstances or point-of-view of the accusative complement:

- (182) ngunha jilya ngungkumarta panu ngaju.  
 that child heavy very 1sgACC  
 That child is very heavy for me (to lift).

Third, the nominal predicates *mirnu*, 'know', and *puripi*, 'want, like', take an accusative complement (9), (10):

- (183) ngatha mirta mirnu tharni-nguru-kupaka-rnu-ku.  
 1sgNOM not know where-ABL-ACC come-REL-ACC  
 I don't know where (they) are coming from.
- (184) ngatha puripi nyinku katama-larta-ku ngunha-yu  
 1sgNOM want 2sgACC hit-FUT-ACC that-ACC  
 yukurru-ku.  
 dog-ACC  
 I want you to hit that dog.

#### 4.3 COPULA CLAUSES

The intransitive stance verbs *panti-Ø*, 'sit, stay', *karri-Ø*, 'stand' and *ngarri-Ø*, 'lie', may function as tense bearing copulas in essentially ascriptive predications (185-188). The unmarked copula is *panti-Ø*, 'sit, stay', while the choice of *ngarri-Ø*, 'lie', or *karri-Ø*, 'stand' depends partly on the physical dimensions of the object. Things seen as having a primarily horizontal extent may select the *ngarri-Ø* copula. Things with a primarily vertical orientation select the *karri-Ø* copula. *karri-Ø* also implies a notion of temporarily arrested motion or general instability (see (27), (241), (248)), and is the unmarked copula in the Paathupathu avoidance style (§5.2[c]).

- (185) ngunyjingalyka thurnu-ngka jina-ngka panti-ku.  
 thereNVsplinter inside-LOC foot-LOC sit-PRES  
 There's a splinter there (not visible) in [my] foot.
- (186) panti-wuru marlpa ngunha pilakurta.

sit-HABIT man that carpenter  
That man used to be a carpenter.

- (187) ngunha-kutha-rla jilya-kuthayinyjara-kutha panu  
that-DU-FOC child-DU alike-DU very  
karri-ku.  
stand-PRES  
Those two children are very alike.
- (188) jina ngunyjalka ngarri-ku marnta-kapirlinkarra-la.  
footprint thatNVAn lie-PRES hill-LOC flat rock-LOC  
That footprint is on a flat rock.

This usage is extended to a pattern in which the stance verb effectively operates as an imperfective aspectual with scope over an associated clause. The use of *panti-Ø*, 'sit, stay' in the following examples indicates that a state of affairs is being maintained which is characterised by the event(s) described in the accompanying clause (see Text 6.2: (7), (10)). The Paathupathu style makes extensive use of this device as a way of 'softening' reference to particular events (§5.2[c], (283-286)).

- (189) mimi-nha panti-ku paja-yi-ku.  
uncle-SPEC sit-PRES wild-INCHO-PRES  
Uncle is (sitting) getting wild.
- (190) ngunha yukurru thula-lku panti-ku ngalila  
that dog bark-PRES sit-PRES 2dlineLOC  
wangka-nyayi-jangu-la  
say-COLL-REL-LOC  
That dog is barking while we are talking.
- (191) ngatha kumpa-ku panti-nha nyinku thanarta-ku  
1sgNOM wait-PRES sit-PAST 2sgACC when-ACC  
paka-larta-ku.  
come-FUT-ACC  
I was waiting for when you were to come.
- (192) nyiyamama karri-ku jilya-yu thana-tharntu-ku  
this father stand-PRES child-ACC 3sg-GEN-ACC  
palhama-lku  
paint-PRES  
This father is painting his child.

#### 4.4 NOUN PHRASE CONSTITUENCY

Simple noun phrases in Panyjima consist of a number of nominals, typically in juxtaposition, and all bearing the case suffix appropriate to the syntactic function of the NP in the clause. For example, accusative case is distributed to all constituents of the object NP in (193).

- (193) nyinta panha-yupapa-yu partarra-la-ku kati-rta.  
 2sgNOM that-ACC water-ACC dish-LOC-ACC bring-FUT  
 You bring (me) that water in the dish.

The typical order of constituents within the NP is relatively fixed. Preceding the head nominal, demonstratives normally occur in NP initial position, followed optionally by one of a number of quantifying nominals (numerals and *kutiya*, 'other one/another', *mani* 'some (others)'). Other modifying expressions, including nominals with a primarily adjectival reading, genitives (9), (43), and embedded NPs (197), may occur either preceding or following the head. When they precede the head they typically help to restrict the reference of the NP, following the head they provide additional, qualifying, information about the identified referent. However, this pattern is affected by the tendency for 'heavy' modifying constituents to follow the head.

- (194) ngunha kutiya-rla yukurru mirta yanga-lwuru  
 that other-FOC dog not chase-HABIT  
 murruka-ku.  
 car-ACC  
 That other dog doesn't chase cars.
- (195) ngatha jina kampa-lku kurlu-ngka nharnu-ngka.  
 1sgNOM foot burn-PRES hot-LOC ground-LOC  
 My foot is burning on the hot ground, the sand.
- (196) ngatha watharri-ku manartu-ku marruwa-ku  
 1sgNOM look for-PRES good-ACC snakewood-ACC  
 warrkunti-ku.  
 boomerang-ACC  
 I'm looking for the good snakewood boomerang.

The following example illustrates an embedded NP modifier (*ngunha patiki*, 'that paddock'):

- (197) kukunyarri-ku mana-rta ngunha-ngka-ku  
 sheep-ACC get-FUT that-LOC-ACC  
 patiki-la-ku kurlkura-ngarni-ku.  
 paddock-LOC-ACC wool-COM-ACC  
 Get the sheep, the woolly ones in that paddock.

As exemplified in (173) and (174), the first word of an object NP, typically a demonstrative, may be preposed. However, I prefer to treat this pattern of object focussing as an exception to a general prohibition against NP discontinuity in Panyjima. Given that the accusative case has a range of functions which allow the possibility of more than one accusative NP in a clause, some constraints on NP discontinuity are crucial (see Dench



(1987b:361ff) for arguments for a similar position with regard to Martuthunira, and Dench & Evans (1988) for general discussion).

NPs may also consist of a number of conjuncts as illustrated in the following examples (§3.2.2 [k,l]):

- (198) ngatha miyinma-rna mantu-yu jarta-minyjarnu-ku  
 1sgNOM provide-PAST meat-ACC old woman-ANDALL-ACC  
 juju-ngarli-muntu-ku.  
 old man-PL-CONJ-ACC  
 I provided meat for the old women and all the old men.
- (199) nyiya-kuthamarlpa-kutha palya-muntupanti-ku  
 this-DU man-DU woman-CONJ sit-PRES  
 jilyantharri-ku kuma-rla karnku-lku.  
 children-ACC together-FOC keep-PRES  
 These two men and a woman are keeping the children together.

The following example illustrates a pattern in which the reference set of the NP head, typically a pronoun, is partially or fully specified by additional nominal reference:

- (200) ngunha wangka-nha ngaliya-ku-mpa, kaja-ngu.  
 that speak-PAST 1dlexc-ACC-YK brother-ACC  
 He spoke to the two of us, my brother (and I).

#### 4.5 WORD LEVEL DERIVATIONS

There are few productive verbalisers in Panyjima (§3.2.3): the inchoative, -(ya)yi-Ø, the psych-inchoative, -nguli-Ø, and the causative/factitive, -ma-L. Two other derivational suffixes, the processive, -pi-L, and the placement suffix, -thu-L, are more restricted.

[a] *Inchoative*. As the following examples show, the inchoative derives verbs which denote the development of a state; where that state may be a time, a spatial location, a stage of life, a state of mind, or a physical property (5), (21), (25), (237), (277).

warru-yayi-Ø dark-INCHO	become dark/night
nhangu-wayi-Ø here-INCHO	move here/this way
juju-wayi-Ø old man-INCHO	become old/an old man
thurla-yi-Ø eye/awake-INCHO	wake up, be born
wanta-yi-Ø	become crazy

crazy-INCHO

muthumuthu-wi-Ø become cool  
cool-INCHO

A number of verbs derived with the inchoative are ambitransitive; that is, they occur in both intransitive clauses and transitive clauses (46), (239). Some examples are:

tharlingka-yi-Ø ride on horseback (a horse)  
on horseback-INCHO

nyarru-wayi-Ø dance (a dance)  
dance-INCHO

kurlka-yi-Ø think (about)  
ear-INCHO

mirnu-wayi-Ø learn (something)  
know-INCHO

purlpi-yayi-Ø like/want (something)  
want-INCHO

paja-yi-Ø be(come) angry (with)  
anger-INCHO

[b] *Psych-Inchoative*. The psych-inchoative derives verbs from nominals referring to body parts or psychological states. An example of the latter is:

nhaka-nguli-Ø become cold, feel cold  
cold feeling-PSYCH

When the suffix attaches to body part nominals an intransitive verb is derived carrying the sense that the (human) subject of the verb is troubled by a pain in, or a lack of function of, that body part. For example:

- (201) ngatha putha-nguli-ku.  
1sgNOM head-PASS-PRES  
I've got a headache.

- (202) ngunha marlpamanpurr-nguli-ku, marajunu panu.  
that man knee-PSYCH-PRES poor very  
That man's got knee trouble, poor thing.

[c] *Causative/Factitive*. The causative is attached to nominal stems to derive verbs of the L-conjugation. The resulting stems may be intransitive,

transitive or ditransitive, depending on the nominal stem. The following verbs typically occur with an accusative complement:

parli-ma-L bent-CAUS	to bend
murrartu-ma-L bruise-CAUS	to bruise
thurrku-ma-L straight-CAUS	straighten
warrpala-la-ma-L spearthrower-LOC-CAUS	load (spear) onto spearthrower

Where the nominal stem denotes an entity, the verb describes the controlled creation of that entity by the (typically agentful) subject. Ususally, these verbs appear in intransitive clauses though some may take accusative complements denoting the materials out of which the entity is created.

ngurriny-ma-L swag-CAUS	roll a swag
karla-ma-L fire-CAUS	light a fire
jitumpulu-ma-L sausage-CAUS	make sausages

Intransitive verbs describing the production of noises emanating from the body are formed with the causative/factive:

kanyjirr-ma-L sneeze-CAUS	to sneeze
ngayiny-ma-L breath-CAUS	breathe
jiinyjiiny-ma-L noise-CAUS	make 'jiiny' noise

The ditransitive verb *mirnu-ma-L*, 'teach, show', involves the addition of the causative/factive to the transitive nominal predicate *mirnu*, 'know'. No other derived ditransitives have been recorded.

[d] *Processive*. This suffix attaches to both nominal and verbal stems to form verb stems of the L-conjugation. The resulting verbs describe an event which is either a continuous process, or which consists of a series of repeated punctual actions. The transitivity of each of the following verbs is indicated in brackets:

Iterative:	kulu-pi-L	delouse, remove head lice (tr)
	louse-PROC	
	kulha-pi-L	squash, crush by repeated
	squashed-PROC	action (tr)
Processive:	murnaji-pi-L	take turns at doing (int)
	turn-PROC	
	paka-pi-L	break into pieces (tr)
	break(tr)-PROC	
	witi-pi-L	play, flirt with (tr)
	play-PROC	
	kanalili-pi-L	become daylight (int)
	day light-PROC	
	pukany-pi-L	go hunting on behalf of
	hunting-PROC	someone (tr)
	wilka-pi-L	move through gap in hill (int)
	gap-PROC	

[e] *Placement*. This suffix is attached to both nominal and verbal stems and derives transitive verb stems of the L-conjugation. When added to a nominal stem the suffix forms a verb the sense of which is to place the entity denoted by the nominal in some position.

mangka-thu-L	put a drinking straw into (tr)
straw-PLACE	
yapan-tu-L	put hot cooking stones into (tr)
hot stone-PLACE	

On verbal stems the suffix modifies the sense of the root such that the verb action generally has a specific locational endpoint and is clearly controlled. On intransitive verb stems the suffix operates as a causative. On transitive verb stems there is not the same increase in valency. The examples found so far are listed below.

panti-thu-L	set, sit down (tr)
sit(intr)-PLACE	
karlpa-thu-L	lift up (tr)
go up(intr)-PLACE	
yinti-thu-L	lower (tr)
go down(intr)-PLACE	
thaa-thu-L	pour (into) (tr)

send(tr)-PLACE

ngarna-thu-L  
eat(tr)-PLACE

bite into (tr)

[f] *Collective.* The collective derivational suffix, -nyayi-Ø/(nma)-yi-Ø, attaches to verbs to form verb stems of the Ø-conjugation. The suffix attaches to both transitive and intransitive verb stems and has a number of interpretations depending on the meaning of the verb and the context of usage.

On intransitive verb stems, the collective indicates that the event is performed collectively by the group denoted by the non-singular subject of the verb (203-204). On transitive verb stems it typically indicates reciprocal action (205-206). In some instances the collective on a transitive stem will indicate collective rather than reciprocal action though this is quite rare.

- (203) ngunha-kutha marlpa-kutha karri-nyayi-ku.  
that-DU man-DU stand-COLL-PRES  
Those two men are standing together.
- (204) ngatha wiya-rna nhupalukuru-ku panti-nyayi-jangu.  
1sgNOM see-PAST 2pl-ACC sit-COLL-REL  
I saw you all sitting together.
- (205) ngatha wiya-rna ngunha-kutha-ku jilya-kutha-ku  
1sgNOM see-PAST that-DU-ACC child-DU-ACC  
thali-nmayi-jangu.  
kick-COLL-REL  
I saw those two kids kicking each other.
- (206) nyiya-kuthawarlipi-kutha pinyarri-ku katama-yi-ku.  
this-DU boy-DU fight-PRES hit-COLL-PRES  
These two boys are fighting, hitting each other.

In the following examples, the collective suffix is used to indicate the existence of a particular kin relationship among the participants: that they are in the same alternating generation set. Under this interpretation the collective verb need not have a non-singular subject and can appear with a regular accusative object. Example (209) shows that a collective verb may take the passive derivational suffix, thus indicating that the collective suffix does not alter the argument structure of the transitive verb.

- (207) nyiya-yu kati-nyayi-rta jartunta-ku,  
this-ACC take-COLL-FUT brother-in-law-ACC  
jartuntarra yana-rta mantu-wali.  
brother-in-lawDYAD go-FUT meat-ALL  
Take this brother-in-law (of yours), the two of you, my son and son-in-law, go for meat!
- (208) nyinta mirta panti-nyayi-rta murnakarti-la ngunha-ngka  
2sgNOM not sit-COLL-FUT near side-LOC that-LOC

ngajinu-la!  
sister-LOC  
Don't you sit alongside that sister!

- (209) yikamarta-mpa karnku-nmayi-nguli-ku purungu-ngarli-lu.  
one-YK keep-COLL-PASS-PRES group name-PL-AGT  
This one is being kept by the Purungu group.

The range of uses of the collective suffix in the Ngayarda languages generally, and the relationship between the collective reading and the special kin relationship reading is discussed in detail in Dench (1987a).

[g] *Collective2*. This morpheme, -rri-Ø, is found suffixed to a very few verb stems producing a verb stem of the Ø-conjugation. The suffix indicates collective activity performed by the non-singular subject but unlike the more general collective suffix described above, -rri-Ø does not allow a reciprocal interpretation. It appears that it is used to avoid an ambiguity in collective/reciprocal interpretation. Some examples of -rri-derived verbs are:

thitha-rri-Ø                      wait together for  
wait for-COLL2

yinya-rri-Ø                      give together  
give(ditr)-COLL2

thurni-rri-Ø                      laugh together at  
laugh-COLL2

Example (210) illustrates the collective suffix and the collective2 suffix on thurni-Ø, 'laugh'. I have not investigated the possibility of both collective and collective2 suffixes appearing on a single verb stem.

- (210) ngunha-jirri marlpa-ngarli thurni-nyayi-ku.  
that-PL man-PL laugh-COLL-PRES  
ngunha-jirri marlpa-ngarli thurni-rri-lha  
that-PL man-PL laugh-COLL2-PERF  
panti-kuwangka-nyayi-ku.  
sit-PRES say-COLL-PRES  
Those men are laughing. Those men who were laughing together  
are  
talking to each other.

#### 4.6 GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS AND THE PASSIVE

The passive is the only true relation-changing derivational process in Panyjima. It is fully productive on verbs which ordinarily have one or more accusative arguments and its main function is to realign the arguments of such verbs to feed the general constraint that only subjects can function as the subordinate clause pivot (i.e. the NP in the subordinate clause which is

omitted under coreference with a controlling NP in the matrix clause). This section describes the structure of passive clauses: those arising through the addition of the passive derivational suffix to active verb stems are identical to those involving verbs bearing one of the passive verbal inflections (§3.4.3[g],[j]).

Passive clauses are reasonably rare. Of a sample of approximately 1000 clauses gleaned from text, just 4% are passive. Of these, 60% occur in subordinate clauses. Agentless passives account for 57% of the total. Where the agent NP does appear it precedes the verb (though never an overt subject) in about 60% of cases.

The following pairs of examples illustrate the relationship between active and passive clauses; first, a transitive verb with a patient/theme object, and then an ambitransitive verb with a goal/recipient object:

- (211a) *ngunha parnkangarna-rta mantu-yu*  
 that lizard eat-FUT meat-ACC  
 That lizard will eat the meat.
- (b) *mantu ngarna-nguli-rta ngunha-ngku parnka-ku.*  
 meat eat-PASS-FUT that-AGT lizard-AGT  
 The meat will get eaten by that lizard.
- (212a) *ngunha marlpamirra-nha ngaju.*  
 that man call out-PAST 1sgACC  
 That man called out to me.
- (b) *ngatha ngunha-ngku marlpa-ngkumirra-nguli-nha.*  
 1sgNOM that-AGT man-AGT call out-PASS-PAST  
 I was called out to by that man.
- In each case, the accusative object of the active clause (a) corresponds to the nominative subject of the passive clause (b). The nominative subject of the active clause appears in the passive clause marked with the agentive suffix. However, only one of the two normally accusative objects of an active ditransitive verb can appear as the nominative NP subject of a passive clause. The second object remains as an accusative NP in the passive:
- (213a) *ngatha yukurru-ku mantu-yu yinya-nha.*  
 1sgNOM dog-ACC meat-ACC give-PAST  
 I gave the dog meat.
- (213b) *yukurru yinya-nguli-nha mantu-yu ngathalu.*  
 dog give-PASS-PAST meat-ACC 1sgAGT  
 The dog was given meat by me.
- (213c) *\*mantu yinya-nguli-nha yukurru-ku ngathalu.*  
 meat give-PASS-PAST dog-ACC 1sgAGT  
 The meat was given to the dog by me.

- (214a) ngaliyawarlipi-kutha-ku mirnu-ma-rna      parnka-yu.  
 1dlexc boy-DU-ACC know-CAUS-PAST lizard-ACC  
 We two showed the two boys the lizard.
- (214b) ngaliya-lu      parnka-yu      warlipi-kutha  
 1dlexc-AGTlizard-ACC boy-DU  
                  mirnu-ma-nnguli-nha.  
                  know-CAUS-PASS-PAST  
 The two boys were shown the lizard by us two.
- (214c) \*parnka mirnu-ma-nnguli-nha      warlipi-kutha-ku  
 lizard      know-CAUS-PASS-PAST boy-DU-ACC  
                  ngaliya-lu.  
                  1dlexc-AGT  
 The lizard was shown to the two boys by us two.

As these examples show, the recipient/goal argument of verbs such as 'give' or 'teach, show' can appear as the nominative subject of the passive clause. The patient/theme argument of such verbs can never be the subject of a passive ditransitive verb. These patterns make it possible to differentiate between the two accusative objects of ditransitives. Interestingly, it is the recipient/goal argument rather than the patient/theme which is to be identified with the 'direct object' of simple transitive verbs. The optional accusative arguments of ambitransitive and motion verbs (§4.1.1) may also appear as subjects in passive clauses (163). However, accusative benefactive and temporal adjuncts may not appear as subjects of the passive.

ngarna-L eat(tr)	<OBJ1>   <patient/theme>
mirra-Ø call out(atr)	<OBJ1>   <recipient/goal>
yinya-Ø give(dtr)	<OBJ1                  OBJ2>                                      <recipient/goal patient/theme>

A pattern in which a traditional 'indirect object' appears to be the true 'direct object' of a ditransitive verb is found in a wide range of languages. Within the Ngayarda group, Yinyjiparnti shares the Panyjima constraints on the subjects of passive ditransitives but Martuthunira, allows both recipient/goal and patient/theme subjects (Dench 1987b:435, 1988:128).

The agent of the passive may appear marked with the causal nominal suffix (§3.2.1[i]) preceding, or instead of the normal agentive. The use of the causal reaffirms the agent as a force of nature, or strips control from an animate agent (compare (216) with (217)).

- (215) ngaliyakurungula      parnta-rnaanula karnapuka-mari-lu



1plexc            there rain-PPERF-LOC    storm-CAU-AGT  
 papa-ngka    panti-rta, yarta-ngka.  
 water-LOC sit-FUT    much-LOC  
 We'll stop there when there is much water, rained down by a storm.

- (216) ngatha    ngunha-mari yawarta-mari    thala-nnguli-lha.  
 1sgNOM that-CAU            horse-CAU    kick-PASS-PERF  
 I got a kick from a horse.

- (217) ngatha    ngunha-ngku yawarta-lu    thala-nnguli-nha.  
 1sgNOM that-AGT            horse-AGT kick-PASS-PAST  
 I got kicked by a horse.

#### 4.7 POSSESSION

As in many Australian languages, there are two main patterns of possession marking. The first, conventionally described as alienable possession, employs the genitive suffix to mark the possessor (§3.2.1[h]). The second, often labelled inalienable possession and having as its archetypical exponent the marking of part-whole relationships, involves the simple juxtaposition of possessor and possessed. As is well recognized, the kinds of relationship which may hold between the possessor and possessed for each of these patterns is varied and is not reducible to the alienable/inalienable dimension.

As well as marking the possession of items (see (9), (43) above), the genitive marks possession of language, information or knowledge (218) and relationships of kin possession (219). Example (218) shows that the genitive, like most other nominal suffixes in Panyjima, can be followed by other nominal suffixes.

- (218) nhupalukuru-tharntu-ku wangka-yu    ngatha  
 2pl-GEN-ACC                            word-ACC 1sgNOM  
 mirlimirli-la    wanta-larta.  
 paper-LOC            put-FUT  
 I'll put your language on paper.

- (219) nyinta    kuliya-nma nyinkutharntu    mama.  
 2sgNOM hear-IMP    2sgGEN            father  
 You listen to your father!

Predications of kin relationship may also be made in non-verbal clauses in which a kin term functions as predicate and the 'possessor' is marked as an accusative complement of the term (§4.2.2). The following example is complex, involving both genitive expressions and the accusative complement pattern:

- (220) thana-tharntu mama, ngatharntu-ku    mama-yu, kurta.  
 3sg-GEN            father    1sgGEN-ACC    father-ACC brother  
 His father is elder brother to my father.

The only example of double possessive marking I was able to elicit

is given in (221). The example also illustrates a common idiom of kinship reference for cross-cousins, 'we were named and "warmed" together' (a metaphorical reference to a 'baptism' involving massage of the child with heated corkbark, usually performed by the child's father's sister):

- (221) ngatharntu-tharntu mimi-tharntu nyiyajilya. ngaliya  
 1sgGEN-GEN uncle-GEN this child 1dlexc  
 panti-kuyini-ma-rnaanu kampa-rnaanu.  
 sit-PRES name-CAUS-PPERF warm-PPERF  
 This child is my uncle's. We two are cross-cousins.

In (221), the direct marking of the possessor of a possessor is only possible because the innermost genitive is a pronominal form. The general ban on any sequence of two identical nominal suffixes makes double genitive marking impossible (§3.2). In addition to marking possession, the genitive suffix may be used to mark the beneficiary of some action, or to indicate a range of associative relationships between two entities. Discussion and examples can be found in (§3.2.1[h]).

The following examples illustrate the usual pattern of apposition of part and whole (and see (132), (138), (238)). In (223), the first speaker uses the appositional construction while the second speaker uses a genitive construction to emphasise the possessive relationship.

- (222) ngunha karri-ku yapulpa purlu-ngka marnta-ka.  
 that stand-PRES downriver point-LOC hill-LOC  
 He's downriver at the point of the hill.

- (223) jina ngatha karrara parilha.  
 foot 1sgNOM sore still  
 My foot is sore still.

ngatharntu-rla jina karrara-mpa, nyinkutharntu-kumpa.  
 1sgGEN-FOC foot sore-YK 2sgGEN-LIKE  
 Well my foot is sore too, like yours.

#### 4.8 SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

Subordinate clauses can be divided into three groups: relative clauses (finite and non-finite) provide information about an NP in the main clause (Hale's (1976a) NP-relative function), or specify a temporal frame in which the main clause event occurs (T-relative function); purpose clauses

describe intended outcomes of the main clause event; lest clauses describe the anticipated but typically unfavourable outcomes of the main clause event. In addition, a number of verbs are subcategorized for clausal complements. Such complements are identical in form to other subordinate clauses but their interpretation is determined by the complement-taking predicate. The general syntactic features of subordinate clauses can be summarized as follows:

1. Subordinate clauses are not reduced. They take the same range of arguments and, with the exception of the non-finite relative clauses, present the same range of tense/aspect/mood information as similarly inflected main clauses.
2. The pivot argument is the subject (A or S) of the subordinate clause. Where the two clauses share an NP argument this is typically omitted from one or other of main and subordinate clause.
3. Subordinate clauses are linked to main clauses by the addition of a complementizing nominal suffix (most commonly accusative or locative). As with other constituents which bear nominal marking, the complementizer is distributed to all constituents of the subordinate clause. However, the complementizer is blocked on some constituents according to two general principles (§3.2):
  - a. The accusative and agentive suffixes cannot be followed by another nominal suffix.
  - b. A sequence of two identical morphemes is blocked.

In addition, the Ø-conjugation allomorph of the non-finite relative clause inflection, *-jangu*, cannot be followed by the accusative complementizer.

Examples (224) and (225) illustrate blocking of a locative complementizer on accusative and agentive NPs respectively, example (226) shows the blocking of a locative complementizer on a locative NP (compare with (239) in which the accusative complementizer follows a locative).

- (224) yana-wuru nhangu-nyungu-la mujira-la paja-ngarni-la  
 go-HABIT here-PROV-LOC dingo-LOC wild-COM-LOC  
 karnu-yu(\*-la) nhantha-lwuru-la.  
 body-ACC(\*-LOC) bite-HABIT-LOC  
 (We) used to go when the wild dingoes that belong here used to be biting people.

- (225) nyiyajina nyujuwirri-laparnta-rnaanula  
 this foot mud-LOC rain-PPERF-LOC  
 karnapuka-mari-lu(\*-la).  
 storm-CAU-AGT(\*-LOC)  
 This footprint is in the mud that is from the storm having rained.

- (226) ngatha yana-rta papa-ngka ngarri-jangu-la  
 1sgNOM go-FUT water-LOC lie-REL-LOC  
 yirtiya-la(\*-la) papa-ngka yarta-ngka-mu.  
 road-LOC(\*-LOC) water-LOC much-LOC-THEN  
 I'll go when there is a lot of water lying in the road.

4.8.1 RELATIVE CLAUSES. Relative clauses are either finite or non-finite. Finite relative clauses involve the addition of regular tense/aspect/mood inflections to the subordinate verb. Examples (224) and (225) above illustrate relative clauses involving the habitual and passive perfective inflections respectively (see also Text 6.3: (26)). Example (227) illustrates a perfect relative clause on an object NP (see also Text 6.2: (12)):

- (227) ngatha warni-lha-ku jilya-yu papa-ngka-ku  
 1sgNOM fall-PERF-ACC child-ACC water-LOC-ACC  
 purri-rna.  
 pull-PAST  
 I pulled out the child who had fallen in the water.

Relative clauses typically bear either the accusative complementizer, in which case they function as NP-relatives on accusative arguments of the matrix clause (227), or the locative complementizer, in which case they function either as NP-relatives on a matrix locative NP (225) or as T-relatives (224), (226).

Other complementizers occur very rarely but are more common with the perfect verbal inflection than with other inflections. The resultant state interpretation of the perfect with accomplishment verbs makes such clauses semantically very like nominalizations:

- (228) ngunha palya mirra-ku-rru ngalikuru-ku  
 that woman call out-PRES-NOW 1plinc-ACC  
 kampa-lha-ngarni mantu-ngarni.  
 cook-PERF-COM meat-COM  
 That woman, with the cooked meat, is calling out to us now.

Non-finite relative clauses involve the special relative verb inflection -jangu/-rnu (§3.4.3[b]), and are interpreted as being contemporaneous with the matrix clause event. Once again, the usual complementizers are the accusative (108), (124), (166), (183), Text 6.4: (11), or the locative (21), (190), Text 6.1: (1), (22). Unlike Yinyjiparnti, Kurrama and Martuthunira, Panyjima has no non-finite relative clause construction for subject NPs and relies on a finite relative involving the regular present tense inflection; e.g. 'poking the paper' in (229).

- (229) jilyantharri panti-lha mirlimirli-ku karta-lku  
 children sit-PERF paper-ACC poke-PRES  
 warrungkamu-nguru-mu.  
 morning-ABL-THEN  
 The children have been sitting poking the paper (writing) since this morning.

4.8.2 PURPOSE CLAUSES. Purpose clauses involve the future/purposive inflection on the subordinate clause verb. They indicate future events which are anticipated or intended outcomes of the main clause event. In the data to hand, purpose clauses bear either an accusative complementizer in agreement with an accusative object of the matrix clause (36), (62), (126), (230), (231), or are unmarked in agreement with the subject of the matrix clause (60), (62), (89) or the unmarked object of an imperative clause (43). Example (231) illustrates the use of the passive derivational suffix in subordinate clauses.

- (230) ngatha nyinku mirnu-ma-larta kampa-larta-ku  
 1sgNOM 2sgACC know-CAUS-FUT cook-FUT-ACC  
 ngarri-ngka-ku.  
 ashes-LOC-ACC  
 I'll show you how to cook in ashes.
- (231) ngunha ngatharntu-ku yukurru-ku  
 that 1sgGEN-ACC dog-ACC  
 kutu-ma-nnguli-rta-ku kati-nha.  
 dead-CAUS-PASS-FUT-ACC take-PAST  
 He took away my dog to be killed.

Although the data is sparse, it appears that the rare bound pronominal clitics to verbs (§3.3.4) can control purpose clauses. Two examples are:

- (232) thaa-nma-rni-rru yana-rta muthumuthu-la-mu  
 let go-IMP-1sgO-NOW go-FUT cool-LOC-THEN  
 Let me go when it's cool.
- (233) jikanpangarra-nma-ju karlpa-rta-ku ngunha-yu  
 step chop-IMP-1sgBEN go up-FUT-ACC that-ACC  
 jantaru-ku ngarra-larta-ku.  
 honey-ACC chop-FUT-ACC  
 Chop a step for me to climb up and chop that honey.

In (232), the purpose clause is unmarked and so conforms to the expected pattern in which the object of the imperative controls an unmarked clause. In (233), the unmarked object of the imperative appears and the benefactive pronoun controls an accusative purpose clause.

4.8.3 LEST CLAUSES. Lest clauses involve the use of the active or passive 'might' inflections on the subordinate clause verb. Like purpose clauses, they are typically controlled by an accusative NP or by the subject of the matrix clause. The subordinate clause describes an event which could be expected to occur as a result of the main clause event but which is considered by the speaker to be an unpleasant and unwanted consequence

(see Text 6.1: (19), (25), (29)).

- (234) nyiya-yu kurrjarta-ku karnku-larta, mara-ngka  
 this-ACC spear-ACC keep-FUT hand-LOC  
 karnku-larta, wiyalkarra-larta, paka-jara-ku  
 keep-FUT look after-FUT break-MIGHT-ACC  
 mani-ngku mana-puru-ku.  
 others-AGT get-PMIGHT-ACC  
 Keep this spear, keep it in your hand, look after it lest it break or get  
 taken by the others.
- (235) yinti-ma warni-jara!  
 get down-IMP fall-MIGHT  
 Get down or you'll fall!

4.8.4 CLAUSAL COMPLEMENTS. A number of verbs of cognition, perception and information transfer, and the nominal predicates *mirnu*, 'know', and *purlpi*, 'want', may take a clausal complement. Complement clauses are regular relative, purpose and *lest* clauses in form, though their interpretation is partly governed by the matrix predicate.

The perception verbs *wiya-L*, 'see', and *kuliya-L*, 'hear', typically take relative clause complements, which code either past or contemporaneous events. In (237), the verb controlling a complement on the subject bears the reflexive clitic. The use of the reflexive with subject complements of perception verbs is well established in Martuthunira (see Dench 1987b:488).

- (236) nyinta panti-ma panha-ngka karnti-ka wiya-lku  
 2sgNOM sit-IMP that-LOC log-LOC see-PRES  
 ngaju ngarriwartu-la-ku kampa-rnu-ku.  
 1sgACC ashes-LOC-ACC cook-REL-PRES  
 You sit on that log and watch me cooking (it) in the ashes.
- (237) ngatha wiyurpa-rla kuliya-lku-pula karrara-yi-ku  
 1sgNOM feelings-FOC hear-PRES-REFL sick-INCHO-PRES  
 I feel sick at heart (lit. I hear myself sick in feelings).

The cognition predicates *purlpi*/*purlpi-yayi-Ø*, 'want', and *pilanyjayi-Ø*, 'fear', typically take complements implying future time reference (formally purpose or *lest* clauses). Example (238) illustrates a clausal complement on the subject NP, (239) illustrates a clausal complement on an object NP (and see (151) and (184)):

- (238) ngatha wirta karrara, mirta purlpi puntha-rta.  
 1sgNOM leg sick not want swim-FUT  
 My leg is sore, I don't want to swim.
- (239) ngatha purlpi-yayi-ku papa-yu ngarri-rta-ku  
 1sgNOM want-INCHO-PRES water-ACC lie-FUT-ACC  
 yarta-yuyirtiya-la-ku.  
 much-ACC road-LOC-ACC

I want there to be lots of water lying along the road.

Kurkayi-Ø, 'think', mirnu, 'know', and mirnu-wayi-Ø, 'learn', take both relative clause type complements describing situations of established fact, (144), (183), and purpose complements expressing expectations or intentions (240), (241):

- (240) kuwarri-rla marlpa-ngarli panti-ku kurkayi-ku  
 now-FOC person-PL sit-PRES think-PRES  
 ngananha-yi-rta warrungkamu-layi.  
 what-INCHO-FUT tomorrow-TAS  
 Now the people are thinking about what they'll do tomorrow.

- (241) panha-rla punyu-nhanu ngarri-ku, mirta mirnu  
 that-FOC quiet-CONT lie-PRES not know  
 thula-larta.  
 bark-FUT  
 That [dog] is quiet, on the other hand, doesn't know how to bark.

While the information transfer verbs wangka-Ø, 'speak, tell', and mirnu-ma-L, 'show, teach', might be expected to take complement clauses in both subject and object positions, I was unable to collect a complete set of examples. The following show that wangka-Ø can take both relative clause (242) and purpose type complements (243) on subject position. While purpose type complements on the subject have a simple future tense interpretation, purpose clauses on the object of wangka-Ø carry the notion of directed intent found in regular purpose clauses (36), (62).

- (242) nyiyalka kuwarri-rla wangka-nha ngaju mirta-rru  
 hereAN now-FOC say-PAST 1sgACC not-NOW  
 kari-yu-rla ngarna-ku.  
 grog-ACC-FOC drink-ACC  
 This one told me just now that he isn't drinking grog.

- (243) nyiya-jirri karri-ku wangka-nyayi-ku thanarta  
 this-PL stand-PRES say-COLL-PRES when  
 pinyarri-rta.  
 fight-FUT  
 They are talking about when they are going to fight.

Non-verbal predications may control purpose complements. Example (244) illustrates an accusative marked purposive clause describing an intended action which is thwarted by the properties ascribed to the subject of the matrix clause by the nominal predicate (182)(§4.2.2).

- (244) nyiyamartumirri mankarrrpa panu ngaju  
 this damper hard very 1sgACC  
 ngarna-rta-ku-rla.  
 eat-FUT-ACC-FOC  
 This damper is too hard for me to eat.

4.8.5 INDEFINITE LOCATIVE ADJUNCTS AS RELATIVE CLAUSE HEADS. Although indefinite locative expressions usually appear as locative adjunct NPs, like definite locative expressions, e.g. (171), they may be linked to particular NP arguments by case agreement (§4.1.2). In such examples, the locative specifies the location in which the NP argument is to be found, much as a regular adnominal locative would:

- (245) nyinta wiya-nmayi-nha marrkara-ngarli-ku-rla.  
 2sgNOM see-COLL-PAST young brother-PL-ACC-FOC  
 tharni-yu kurta-ngarli-ku-rla wiya-nmayi-nha?  
 where-ACCbrother-PL-ACC-FOC see-COLL-PAST  
 You saw your younger brothers. Where did you see your brothers  
 (where were they)?

In (245), the indefinite functioning as the interrogative 'topic' of the clause is clearly linked to the accusative object by case agreement. The same linkage is apparent in (246) but here the reading, given the verb - watharri-Ø, 'look for' - suggests that the 'head' of the object NP is the indefinite locative. (247) presents another example, and see Text 6.2: (11), (14).

- (246) nyiya-kuthawalypala-kutha watharri-ku maya-yu  
 this-DU whiteman-DU look for-PRES house-ACC  
 warama-larta tharni-yu.  
 make-FUT where-ACC  
 These two whitemen are looking for where to build the house.
- (247) wiya-larta ngajupantharri tharni-nha-wali-ku  
 see-FUT 1pl(special) where-SPEC-ALL-ACC  
 yana-jangu munma-ngka-ngarni-ku kati-jangu.  
 go-REL armpit-LOC-COM-ACC take-REL  
 We'll see where he is going to, carrying it under his arm.

4.8.6 CONSEQUENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS. The consequential verbal inflection (§3.4.3[1]) indicates that the event described in the clause in which it occurs follows as a direct consequence of the event described in a (usually immediately) preceding clause. Typically the two clauses share the same subject and the passive may be used in one or other clause in order to meet this constraint. In (249) the subject of the second clause includes the subject of the first clause.

- (248) nhangu jampa-rla karri-rta wangka-nyayi-ku  
 here moment-FOC stand-FUT say-COLL-PRES  
 wantha-nmayi-ngumalku yana-ngumalku kukalara.  
 leave-COLL-CONSEQ go-CONSEQ separately  
 [They'll] talk together for a moment here, then leave each other and  
 go their separate ways.



- (249) winya-ma-lalha-layi, minaja-larta ngaju-rru, ngaliya  
 full-CAUS-PERF-TAS collect-FUT 1sgACC-NOW 1dlexc  
 yana-ngumalku Carnarvonpa-wali.  
 go-CONSEQ place name-ALL  
 Once (he's) filled up, (he'll) collect me and we'll go to Carnarvon.
- (250) ngatha katama-larta jilya-yu nyiya-yu, thana  
 1sgNOM hit-FUT child-ACC this-ACC 3sg  
 paka-rnumalku ngathala marnu.  
 come-CONSEQ 1sgLOC good  
 I'll hit this child and then he'll come with me properly.

In (250) the subject of the consequential verb is different from that of the preceding verb. Here, though, the subject does occur as a non-subject argument in the preceding clause and is reintroduced with the strongly anaphoric third person pronoun. Other examples involving the consequential are (105), (155), (278), Text 6.2: (7), (9), (16).

#### 4.9 QUESTIONS.

The use of indefinite/interrogative pronouns and locationals in forming information questions is described in (§3.3.9) and (§3.3.10). Polar questions do not involve any special morphological or syntactic marking, though the interrogative clitic particle *-nta* often occurs (§4.11[g]). Otherwise, questions are indicated by a simple rising intonation. The following examples show that such clauses are identical in form to declaratives:

- (251) thanarru, nyinta kuliya-lku-nta parlpa-yu?  
 Hey 2sgNOM hear-PRES-INT thump-ACC  
 Hey, do you hear a thump?
- (252) ngali, kumpali, yana-rta warrukarta-rru?  
 1dlincNOM brother-in-law go-FUT night-NOW  
 Are you and I, brother-in-law, going tonight?
- (253) panha jilya winya-rru?  
 that child full-NOW  
 Is that child full now?

#### 4.10 IMPERATIVE CLAUSES.

The imperative verbal inflection is used to encode positive imperatives. Negative imperatives are coded by the use of a negative future. A construction involving a (positive) imperative copula with a subordinate verb bearing the privative nominal suffix (§3.2.2[h]) carries much the same force as a negative imperative. Example (147), repeated here as (254), illustrates both patterns.

- (254) minyma panti-ma,mirta yungurli-rta, yungurli-pati  
 still sit-IMP not wriggle-FUT wriggle-PRIV  
 panti-ma. minyma panti-ma yungurli-pati.  
 sit-IMP still sit-IMP wriggle-PRIV  
 Sit still, don't wriggle, sit without wriggling! Sit still without wriggling!

The special characteristics of imperative and hortative clauses have been mentioned in a number of sections above (§3.2.1[b], §3.4.3[i]). Most importantly, the object of an imperative marked transitive verb is unmarked and controls subordinate clauses bearing no complementizer. With three place verbs, the recipient/goal argument is unmarked while the patient/theme bears accusative inflection (i.e. the unmarked object of the imperative corresponds to the argument which can appear as the subject of the corresponding passive clause). However, those pronouns which have distinct nominative and accusative forms appear in their accusative form in the otherwise unmarked object position.

The special status of objects in imperative clauses is matched by the special treatment of subject adjuncts. Typically, body part instruments and manner adverbials agree in case-marking with the subject of the clause (§4.1.2). However, in imperatives they bear the agentive suffix, as in the following examples (and see Text 6.3: (17)):

- (255) thala-nma jina-ngku jampurrka-lu.  
 kick-IMP foot-AGT left one-AGT  
 Kick it with your left foot.
- (256) panha ngurrinypa yinti-thu-nma nyarni-ngku.  
 that swag go down-PLACE-IMPslow-AGT  
 Lower that swag slowly.

These patterns clearly reflect the original ergative case-marking pattern of the Ngayarda languages and similar ergative survivals occur in both Yinyjiparnti and Martuthunira. In the earlier period, nominals in O function would have been unmarked absolutive, with the possible exception of pronouns which, if the proto-language exhibited a common split-ergative pattern, would have appeared in an accusative form. Pronoun subjects (A and S functions) may also have appeared in their nominative/absolutive form but may have controlled ergative marked second predications in transitive clauses, as a reflection of their A function.

While this scenario provides a general overview of the history of the Ngayarda imperative clauses it remains incomplete: first, the accusative pronoun forms in modern O function are old datives; second, the patterns of absolutive and dative marking in the protolanguage should be reflected in a pattern for ditransitive clauses in which the patient/theme is unmarked and the recipient/goal is marked accusative (\*dative).

TABLE 4.2 - *Order of Clitic Particles*

-kanu	-rru	-kumpa	-rra	-nyu	-rla	-layi
-nhanu	-mu	-mpa				
		-warlaru				
		-warni <sup>1</sup>				
		-nta				

---

<sup>1</sup> -warni and -nta are not followed by other clitics in the available data.

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#### 4.11 PARTICLES.

These may be free forms or enclitic. Particles do not inflect although the free particles may host complementizing nominal suffixes when they occur in subordinate clauses. Sequences of enclitic particles may occur on words of any class (including particles). Unlike sequences of nominal suffixes in which the order of morphemes reflects their scope, clitic clusters are flat structures; the order of clitics within the cluster is not meaningful. Although there are very few instances of more than two clitics appearing in combination, it is possible to plot some relative positions. In Table 4.2, clitics in the same row occur in the same relative position with respect to other clitics in a cluster.

For a number of the particles in Table 4.2, their status as bound or free forms cannot be decided on the data at hand. With the exception of -layi, each of the disyllabic forms conforms to the phonotactic constraints on independent phonological words and bears stress. However, the inability of the particles to bear complementizing suffixes normally distributed to every word within a clause regardless of category, suggests they be treated as bound forms. Without further data the question cannot be decided and I have chosen to treat all as enclitic.

There is typically just one instance of any clitic within a phrasal constituent. For example, clitics usually appear on just the first word of a complex NP (most often a demonstrative, *kutiya*, 'other one', or *mani*, 'some (others)').

Free particles include the intensifier *panu*, 'very, really,' which has scope over an immediately preceding word but which can also appear in clause initial position, and the negative, *mirta*, which usually immediately precedes the predicate which it negates. Examples of each of these can be found throughout the description and the texts. The clitic particles are described below in the order in which they appear in Table 4.2 (by column).

[a] -kanu *ONLY*. This clitic has a reading very like the English logical operator 'only'. When attached to a nominal it indicates that the entity denoted by the nominal is the only one of a class of things about which

some thing is sayable (257). Following a predicate, it indicates that the predicate describes the only thing sayable about the subject of that predicate (258).

- (257) ngatha wiya-rna yurlu-yu-kanu, yirntitila-mu  
 1sgNOM see-PAST camp-ACC-ONLY already-THEN  
 yana-lha.  
 go-PERF  
 I saw only the camp, he'd already gone.

- (258) panha marlpa thurni-ku, thurni-ku-kanu.  
 that man laugh-PRES laugh-PRES-ONLY  
 That man's laughing all the time, only laughing.

[b] -nhanu *CONTrastive*. The contrastive clitic indicates that the word to which it is attached is being contrasted with something referred to in an earlier part of the discourse. The English expression 'on the other hand' is a close approximation to the sense of this clitic. The clitic is shown on a nominal in (259) and on a verb in (260).

- (259) nyiyajilya yanga-nnguli-nha parnka-ku. kurrumanthu-rla  
 this child chase-PASS-PAST lizard-AGT goanna-FOC  
 ngunha-yu-nhanu marlpa-yu yanga-rna.  
 that-ACC-CONT man-ACC chase-PAST  
 This kid was chased by a lizard. It was a goanna, the one that  
 chased that man, on the other hand.

- (260) warrkunti-ku katama-lku marlpa, palya-rla  
 boomerang-ACC hit-PRES man woman-FOC  
 wapunpi-lku-nhanu.  
 clapthigh-PRES-CONT  
 The men hit boomerangs while the women clap their thighs.

[c] -rru *NOW*. This clitic serves to establish a narrative present; in effect it marks that the NOW of the last time reference is considered past, and that a new NOW has been established. Thus the use of the clitic constantly grounds the events of the discourse in the procession of real (or imagined) time. Although the clitic occurs on all parts of speech, it is most common on predicates. A disproportionate number of these are nominal secondary predication (§4.1.2) and in part the clitic helps to identify these. The clitic is very common, examples include (33), (58), (78), (88), (177), (228).

[d] -mu *THEN*. This clitic also has a temporal function and partly complements the -rru clitic. It is used to indicate that the event or state associated with the term to which it is attached (most often a temporal nominal or NP) happens outside of the main sequence of narrative events. It also has an important function in marking secondary predication which provide a time frame within which the primary predication holds true (144), (168), Text 6.1: (6), (26). Not surprisingly, the clitic almost never occurs on verbs. Examples of the clitic include (108), (145), Text 6.1: (20) (on the

negative), (30) and (42), (74), (92) on temporal expressions.

[e] -warlaru *EMPHasis*. This clitic adds emphasis to some qualifying operator. It most commonly follows the intensifying particle panu, 'very, truly', the clitic -kanu, 'only' (75), the nominal jurlu, 'all' (90), or the negative (75), (163), (272):

[f] -warni *RECOgnition*. The few examples of this clitic occurring in the data do not make its meaning clear. The examples suggest that it is used to convey the speaker's sudden recognition of the true identity of some person or thing:

- (261) mantu-yu-warni! ngunyjalku katima-lku panti-nha  
meat-ACC-RECO thatAnACC turn-PRESsit-PAST  
palya ngunhalka.  
womanthatAnNOM  
Oh! so it's meat there that that woman who just sat down is turning over.

- (262) niyalka-warni marlpa katama-lalha nyinku-rla!  
thisAnNOM-RECO man hit-PERF 2sgACC-FOC  
So this is the man who hit you!

[g] -nta *INterrogative*. This clitic occurs in polar interrogative sentences as in (263) and (265). More commonly it occurs as a mark of disjunction, where the addressee is being asked to choose from among a set of options (264).

- (263) thanarru! ngunyji-rla kapi-yu mana-nha-nta?  
hello thereNV-FOC fish-ACC get-PAST-INT  
Hello! Has the group over there got any fish yet (or not)?
- (264) nyinta yana-ku wuntumarra-la yirtiya-la-nta  
2sgNOM go-PRES river-LOC road-LOC-INT  
Are you going by the river or by the road?
- (265) panu-nta? nyinta karlpa-rta arlipala-mu-rla?  
true-INT 2sgNOM go up-FUT early-THEN-FOC  
Is that true (or not)? You'll get up early?

[h] -kumpa *LIKE*. The semblative indicates a recognised similarity between entities or events. It is identical in form, though not distribution, to the nominal kumpa, 'face'. On imperative verbs, the semblative adds a sarcastic tone to the command, 'do something like X why don't you!' (268).

- (266) ngatharntu-rla jina karrara-mpa, nyinkutharntu-kumpa.  
1sgGEN-FOC foot sick-YK 2sgGEN-LIKE  
My foot's sore too, like yours.
- (267) mirtangurntaka-ma-larta purlura-mu-kumpa.  
not gallop-CAUS-FUT before-THEN-LIKE

Don't make (the horse) gallop like before.

- (268) mirtawangka-rtanyirti-yu                      nyinkutharntu-ku!  
 not      say-FUT      mother-in-law-ACC 2sgGEN-ACC  
             kurlkayi-ma-kumpa!  
             think-IMP-LIKE  
 Don't speak to your mother-in-law! Think!

[i] -mpa *YouKnow*. This clitic is used to reintroduce something which the speaker assumes the addressee already has in mind, either because it has already been identified in the discourse, or because it can be inferred from the discourse. The clitic is most often found on demonstratives. Where a verb bears the clitic, the event denoted by the verb is predicated of some new participant. It is assumed that this event has previously been identified with some other participant.

- (269) ngatha    wiya-rna tharralyji-ku.  
 1sgNOM see-PAST bellbird-ACC  
 I saw a bellbird.

ngatha    wiya-rna-mpa panpa-jangu,    ngatha    mirta  
 1sgNOM see-PAST-YK    fly-REL                      1sgNOM not  
             mirnu ngunhalku    ngananha-ku-rla.  
             knowthatAnACC something-ACC-FOC  
 I saw something flying too. I don't know what it was.

nyinta    ngananha-ku    parnparnpa-ku    wiya-rna  
 2sgNOM something-ACC    twenty eight-ACC see-PAST  
             panpa-jangu,    wiya-rna    wirntiwirnti-ku-nta?  
             fly-REL                      see-PAST    skyhawk-ACC-INT  
 Was what you saw a twenty eight parrot, or a skyhawk?

ngunhalku-mpa! ngatha    wiya-rna  
 thatAnACC-YK    1sgNOM see-PAST  
             wirntiwirnti-ku-mpa.  
             skyhawk-ACC-YK  
 That was it! I saw a skyhawk.

[j] -rra *DUBitative*. This clitic codes a comment by the speaker that s/he does not know, or is unsure of, the exact identity or value of the referent of the word to which the clitic is attached. In all the examples in which -rra appears either the clitic -nyu or the clitic -mpa also appears. The sequence -rra-nyu has the reading, 'I really don't know and I'm trying to make you believe I don't know'. The sequence -mpa-rra occurs on indefinite expressions and has the reading, 'I don't know what the answer is but believe you may know'.

- (270) ngatha-rla              mirta    mirnu-rra-nyu    puntha-rta    puriya-la  
 1sgNOM-FOCnot    know-DUB-TRU    swim-FUT    salt-LOC

papa-ngka.  
water-LOC  
I really don't know how to swim in salt water.

- (271) nganangutharntu-mpa-rra yukurru ngarna-nha mantu-yu  
someoneGEN-YK-DUB dog eat-PAST meat-ACC  
ngatharntu-ku.  
1sgGEN-ACC  
Someone's dog (I don't know whose) ate my meat.

- (272) mirta-warlaru warathu-rna mani-yu-rla, yana-nha  
not-EMPH farewell-PAST others-ACC-FOC go-PAST  
wangka-pati-warlaru. mirta wangka-nha-nyu  
word-PRIV-EMPH not talk-PAST-TRU  
ngalikuru-ku, paja-yi-jara ngalikuru-ku  
1dinc-ACC wild-INCHO-MIGHT 1plinc-ACC  
ngananha-ngarala-mpa-rra.  
something-INCAUS-YK-DUB  
He didn't say goodbye to the others, went without a word.  
Definitely didn't talk to us. He might be wild with us over  
something (I don't know what).

[k] -nyu *TRUth*. This clitic indicates the speaker's strong assertion of his/her belief in the truth of what s/he is saying. In some cases (as in (265)) it can be used as a challenge to the addressee to dispute the truth of the statement. Examples include (273), (270), and (272).

- (273) ngunha-kutha kutu-ma-yi-nha, nhupalukuru panti-ku  
that-DU dead-CAUS-COLL-PAST 2pl sit-PRES  
wiya-lku, mirta wantama-rna-nyu!  
see-PRES not split up-PAST-TRU  
Those two killed one another and you sat there, didn't split them up  
(did you)!

[l] -rla *FOCUS*. This clitic is very common, occurring in nearly every utterance. Almost all new participants are marked with this clitic when they first appear or are reintroduced (274) and novel, perhaps unexpected, predications (either verbal or nominal) may also be marked. The range of uses suggests that the clitic functions very like emphatic stress in English (note italics in the English glosses below). In a number of cases, the appearance of the clitic in one of a pair of linked clauses yields a conditional reading between the two (277), and see also (53), (134) and Text 6.1: (30)

- (274) nyiya-rla karri-ku yartipirri-la marnta-ka,  
this-FOC stand-PRES side-LOC hill-LOC  
ngunha-rla karri-ku yapulpa marnta-ka.  
that-FOC stand-PRES downriver hill-LOC  
*This one* is standing on the side of the hill, *that one* is standing  
downriver of the hill.

- (275) ngananha-yi-lha nyinta ngarri-ku-rla, nyinta  
 what-INCHO-PERF 2sgNOM lie-PRES-FOC2sgNOM  
 mirta-rru nyarru-wayi-ku-rla?  
 not-NOW dance-INCHO-PRES-FOC  
 Why are you *lying down*, you're not *dancing*?
- (276) mirtajurlu panu-rla pajarrangu, kutharra-kanu  
 not all very-FOC savage two-ONLY  
 paja-ngarni panu-rla  
 wild-COM very-FOC.  
 Not *all* are savage, only two are *really* wild.
- (277) warrapa-la-rla yana-rta, ngunha yukurru  
 grass-LOC-FOC go-FUT that dog  
 pilanypa-yi-ku nyurna-yu. ngunha yana-rta  
 fright-INCHO-ACC snake-ACC that go-FUT  
 pinpirri-la-rla, manartu, mirta pilanypa-yi-ku.  
 clear-LOC-FOC good not fright-INCHO-PRES  
 If he goes through *grass*, that dog is frightened of snakes. If he goes  
 through *clear ground*, he's good, he isn't afraid.

[m] -layi *Tense Axis Shift*. This clitic serves to establish a point of narrative present from which the time reference of subsequent verbs is reckoned. It thus serves an important function in the structuring of discourse. Each occurrence of the clitic advances the tense reference point further along in the sequence of events described in a narrative. It typically occurs on verbs bearing the perfect inflection or on locative NPs. The narrative then advances from the resultant state of affairs or location depicted by the expression bearing the clitic. The clearest examples occur in programmatic texts. In (278), for example, the speaker is giving a general sequence of instructions for cooking echidnas. Once a step has been described, it is restated in a clause in which the verb bears the perfect inflection and a following 'tense axis shift' clitic. This statement of the successful completion of a step provides the point of departure for the next step in the sequence. In programmatic narratives of this sort, the following step is usually encoded with a verb bearing the future/purposive inflection. Other examples of the 'tense axis shift' clitic include (24), (42), (105), (154), (171), Text 6.1: (5), (19), (34), Text 6.2: (2), (8), (10), (13).

- (278) manganya-kukutu-ma-lalha-layi, wirnta-larta  
 echidna-ACC dead-CAUS-PERF-TAS cut-FUT  
 pula-kutha-ku. wirnta-lalha-layi, ngayi-larta  
 lump-DU-ACC cut-PERF-TAS throw-FUT  
 jinka-rnumalku.jinka-lalha-layi, ngarlu-yu  
 carve-CONSEQ carve-PERF-TAS guts-ACC  
 purri-larta.ngarlu-yu purri-lalha-layi,  
 pull-FUT guts-ACC pull-PERF-TAS  
 yapan-tu-larta. yapanpa-ku wantha-lalha-layi  
 hot stone-PLACE-FUT hot stone-ACC put-PERF-TAS  
 ngarlu-ngka-ku, wantha-larta ngarriwartu-la.  
 guts-LOC-ACC put-FUT earth oven-LOC



wantha-lalha-layi, ngarri-ngka-layi, mirta  
 put-PERF-TAS      ashes-LOC-TAS      not  
 papa-yu      ngarna-rta.  
 water-ACC drink-FUT

Once the echidna has been killed, cut out the two lumps (in its throat). Having cut (them out), throw (it) down and then carve (it open). Having carved it open, pull out the guts. Having pulled out the guts, put hot stones in. Having put hot stones in the guts, put it in the earth oven. Having put it there, now that it's in the ashes, don't drink any water (or the flesh will be ruined).

## 5. THE PAATHUPATHU RESPECT STYLE

There are numerous descriptions of Australian 'mother-in-law' avoidance styles in the literature, the most accessible (to the general reader) being Haviland's (1979a) description of a Guugu Yimidhirr avoidance style (and see Haviland 1979b). Avoidance styles typically make use of the same morphological and syntactic resources as the corresponding everyday style but incorporate a special, rather restricted vocabulary which replaces words of the everyday style. Very often there is a semantically interesting one-to-many relationship between words of the avoidance style and words of the everyday style; as in Dyirbal (Dixon 1972, 1982a). The use of a reduced vocabulary reflects patterns of behaviour appropriate between kin who must avoid one another; the lack of specificity in the code makes it less likely that the speaker will inadvertently say something which might be construed as a request for information or a demand for action. The Panyjima Paathupathu style differs from prototypical 'mother-in-law' styles both in its primary contexts of use and, partly as a result of this, in its patterns of organisation.

### 5.1 CONTEXTS OF USE

As noted in §1.4, Paathupathu is used in a number of social contexts. In the most general cases, the style may be used as a mark of respect for the feelings of others and indicates an unwillingness to interfere in their affairs. A certain degree of reserve is appropriate to a number of kin relationships; between a brother and sister, between a son or daughter and their father, between son and mother. Words of the Paathupathu style may be used to emphasise the affectionate respect due to such 'dear' kin, a usage occasionally described as speaking *kurmta-ka* ('shame-LOC').

While the more elaborated, full Paathupathu, is used between in-laws, the more important situation of use involves interaction between persons related through the processes of male initiation: an initiated man (and his siblings) must observe a pattern of respectful avoidance with the man deemed to have performed his circumcision (his *mangkalyi*) and with that man's siblings (Dixon 1982a:69 notes the use of the Dyirbal *Jalnguy* style during male initiation).

In addition, Paathupathu is widely used in the context of the 'meeting camp' at which novice initiates reach the final stages of their initiation (Dench 1987a). Within the camp, relatives of an initiate are

divided into two groups. The *karnku* 'mob', or 'bosses', include the parents of the initiate and members of the initiate's parent's alternate generation set (his aunts, uncles, great-grandparents and children). The *jinyjanungu* 'mob', or 'workers', includes the initiate's classificatory cousins, grandparents and grandchildren. The *karnku* oversee the business of initiation while maintaining a sedentary state of ritual mourning (for the impending loss of their sons into manhood). By contrast, the *jinyjanungu* see to the everyday running of the camp, look after the initiates, who are kept in seclusion, and stage-manage the important ceremonies. While the *jinyjanungu* typically engage in a degree of verbal horseplay, frequently at the expense of the initiates, the *karnku* are very reserved. They may use *Paathupathu* amongst themselves and are most likely to use it in giving orders to the *jinyjanungu*. The *jinyjanungu* are expected to use *Paathupathu* within earshot of members of the *karnku* mob. The style is used out of respect for the feelings of the *karnku* mob, often as a way of avoiding specific reference to the central activities of the initiation camp. Nevertheless, much of the important ritual business of the initiation camp is discussed in *Paathupathu*.

Clearly, *Panyjima Paathupathu* cannot be characterised as a 'mother-in-law' style. Although it *is* used with affines, its more common function is as an 'initiation style'. In that quite specific topics must at times be discussed in *Paathupathu*, there is not the same tendency towards a reduced vocabulary as shown in, say, the *Dyirbal* 'mother-in-law' style. Also, there are clearly defined contexts in which the style is used not because of a wish to avoid a particular individual, but as a way of avoiding reference to specific activities.

## 5.2 THE STRUCTURE OF PAATHUPATHU

[a] *Nominal Reference*. *Paathupathu* style does not show the degree of lexical replacement of nominals common in some other avoidance styles. Most nominals in *Paathupathu* are transparently related to words of the everyday style by the regular addition of suffixes reserved for this purpose. The following list shows three suffixes: *-nmarra* (discussed in §3.2.2[m]) is the most productive, *-ngarla* and *-tara* are rare and carry no obvious independent meaning. Why certain forms should select one suffix rather than another remains a mystery. There is no transparent semantic relationship among the forms selecting the same suffix.

Paathupathu	Everyday Panyjima	
jujunmarra	juju	old man
jirlinmarra	jirli	arm
karntanmarra	karnta	tear drop
karntinmarra	karnti	tree, stick
malunmarra	malu	shade
pirringarla	pirri	afternoon
warrungarla	warrukarta	night
maningarla	mani	some, others
kumpangarla	kumpa	face
wanyjatara	wanyja	tame dog

walypatara

walypala white person

A small number of nominals have suppletive replacement forms in Paathupathu, some of which are quite clearly related to the business of initiation. Those collected to date are:

yamarrpa	marlpa	man, person
jamanta	mangkalyi	circumcisor
partarri	wangka	word, message
nyirntiji	pururu	hair belt
martiya	yirtiya	dance area, road
mukanypa	kunyanpa	asleep
pilukunti	warrkunti	boomerang

Some Paathupathu replacements are derived from everyday words other than those they replace. For example,

jajanmarra

mantu

meat

where the Paathupathu form appears to involve the -nmarra suffix attached to the everyday word *jaja*, 'rubbish, bereaved'. The bereaved often refrain from eating the flesh of adult marsupials for a time and concerned relatives may use Paathupathu vocabulary out of respect for their feelings.

Cases of many-to-one relationships between nominals of the everyday style and Paathupathu are rare. In the first example below, a word of the everyday style is used in Paathupathu to replace other words of the everyday style:

warlipi	warlipi jilya	young boy child
mayaru	paja pilanyu yika	wild, angry frightened finished
pirrunmarra	pajiwanarra pajarri	plains kangaroo hill kangaroo

As (279a) shows, it is always possible to provide a specific reference to a nominal covered by such a generic ((279b) gives the corresponding everyday Panyjima sentence):

- (279a) partarri-rta warinyarra-ku, ngatha nguyawali  
 tell-FUT in-laws-ACC 1sgNOM there  
 jajanmarra-ku kungama-rta, parkarra-nyungu-ku  
 meat-ACC get-FUT plain-DWELL-ACC  
 kungama-rta, pirrunmarra-ku.  
 get-FUT kangaroo-ACC  
 Tell my parents-in-law (your parents) I'm going to get meat, to get

plains-dwelling kangaroo.

- (279b) wangka-rta warinyarra-ku, ngatha ngunha-wali  
 tell-FUT in-laws-ACC 1sgNOM that-ALL  
 mantu-ku mana-rta, pajiwanarra-ku mana-rta.  
 meat-ACC get-FUT plains 'roo-ACC get-FUT

[b] *Pronominal and Demonstrative Reference*. While there is little difference in the patterns of nominal reference between everyday Panyjima and the Paathupathu style, there are some differences in the patterns of deictic reference. In general, specific reference to the persons being addressed and to those who are protagonists in the events being described is avoided.

There is a tendency to avoid the use of pronouns and demonstratives altogether. In some circumstances, non-singular kinterms (§3.2.2[c]) are used in place of second person pronouns (Dench 1982a). But a more particular feature of Paathupathu is the use of special word karrangu 'group' which most often follows the main verb in a clause and indicates that the action is performed by an often unspecified, generally non-singular (but see (285a)) subject. Both the avoidance of second person pronouns and the use of karrangu are illustrated in the following example, in which a jinjanungu is providing a member of the karnku mob with directions to the meeting camp (and see Text 6.1: (43), (46)).

- (280) nyingkura-ku martiya-ku, mirta ngarrathaa-larta.  
 this-ACC road-ACC not let go-FUT  
 martiya-la parliparli martiya-lapinikayi-rta karrangu  
 road-LOC still road-LOC go-FUT group  
 jartuntarra-ngara. martiya-lanyingkura-la  
 brothers-in-law-KINPL road-LOC this-LOC  
 pinikayi-rta karrangu. martiya-ku kunyjilkanha-ku  
 go-FUT group road-ACC other-ACC  
 ngarrathaa-larta.  
 let go-FUT  
 Don't let this road go. (You(pl)) continue on this road, my uncles.  
 (You (pl)) go on this road. Let the other road go.

Although there are no pronoun forms particular to the Paathupathu style, the contexts in which the style is used typically dictate the use of the special pronoun forms described in §3.3.2. In that these forms collapse the inclusive/exclusive distinction for first persons, they are less specific than the unmarked pronoun forms. Paathupathu style does incorporate a special set of demonstrative forms. As the paradigm given in Table 5.1 shows, there is a similar reduction in categories (I was unable to elicit a complete paradigm).

TABLE 5.1 - *Paathupathu Demonstrative Forms*

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near me	near you	far
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pronominal		nyingkura(nha)	paangunha	
adverbial	LOC/ALL	nyingkurala	panhawali	nguyawali
	ABL	nyingkuralanguru	?	nguyawalinguru
not-visible		?	?	ngunyjiwali

The 'near me' demonstrative has a rare alternative form, *nyiyawali*, which like *nguyawali*, has both pronominal and adverbial uses. The adverbial forms, which collapse the locative/allative distinction (see Table 3.3), involve the addition of the indirect allative *-wali* (§3.2.1[f]) to a demonstrative stem. More generally, the indirect allative may replace the adjunct locative on common nominals. The *-wali* suffix is also involved in the general Paathupathu indefinite/interrogative form:

thathuwali	tharni	(some)where
thathuwalinha	ngana	who, someone

Here the *-nha*, 'SPECific referent marker' nominal suffix (§3.2.2[a]) derives the pronominal indefinite/interrogative from the locative/allative form. The pronominal form of the 'near me' demonstrative also takes the *-nha* suffix on occasions. The suffix also appears in the Paathupathu numerals:

kunyjilkanha	yikamarta	one
	kutiya	other one
nguyarranha	kutharra	two

[c] *Verbal Reference*. A number of factors conspire to avoid explicit reference to actions and events. Firstly, the verbal lexicon of the Paathupathu style is reduced. The most common verbs have distinct forms, some are replaced in a many-to-one fashion by special Paathupathu forms:

pinikayi-Ø	yana-Ø	go
ynuwa-L	wiya-L	see
mangunpi-L	ngarna-Ø	eat, drink
kurlpa-Ø	kumpa-Ø	wait for
minkayi-Ø	karlpa-Ø	arise, get up
kungama-Ø	mana-Ø	grab, pick up
	kati-Ø	take, carry
mungkuwa-L	paka-L	come
	karlinjayi-Ø	return

Other verbs, especially verbs of effect and causative/factitives rarely occur in Paathupathu. Instead, a small set of verbs with very general senses such as 'do something to', 'make bad', 'be badly affected', cover this range of meanings. The following lists are based on direct elicitation of Paathupathu utterances using everyday Panyjima. Notice that the same everyday verb may be replaced with different Paathupathu verbs on different occasions. The verb *ngapinyja-L* appears to be based on the indefinite *ngapinha*, 'what thing'.

<i>ngapinyja-L</i> 'do (bad) thing'	<i>jajama-L</i> stop doing (tr)
	<i>jinka-L</i> chisel
	<i>jayinma-L</i> ask
	<i>katama-L</i> hit
	<i>ngantha-L</i> bite
	<i>warama-L</i> make (badly)
 <i>manurnuma-L</i> 'make good'	 <i>kariya-L</i> straighten
	<i>warama-L</i> make (well)
	<i>marnuma-L</i> fix, mend
 <i>warntalykarta-L</i> 'make bad'	 <i>katama-L</i> hit
	<i>kutuma-L</i> kill
	<i>wurnta-L</i> cut, break
 <i>warntalykarri-Ø</i> 'become bad'	 <i>paka-Ø</i> break (intr)

The following pairs give the Paathupathu 'translations' (a) provided for sentences in the everyday style (b):

- (281a) *ngatha nguyawali pinikayi-rta, ngapinyja-lpuru,*  
1sgNOM there go-FUT do thing-PMIGHT  
*warntalykarta-lpuru.*  
make bad-PMIGHT  
If I go there, something bad might be done to me, I might be badly affected.
- (281b) *ngatha ngula yana-rta, katama-lpuru.*  
1sgNOM there go-FUT hit-PMIGHT  
If I go there, I might get hit.
- (282a) *karri-ma ngapinyja-lku thathuwali-ku pinikayi-rta-ku.*  
be-IMP do thing-PRES where-ACC go-FUT-ACC  
lit. Be doing thing about where (he's) going.
- (282b) *jayinma-nma tharni-ngka yana-rta.*  
ask-IMP where-LOC go-FUT  
Ask where (he's) going.

Secondly, Paathupathu makes extensive use of copula constructions

(§4.3), (187-190), which allow the avoidance of a verb altogether (283), (284), or present the event as an imperfective, effectively stative, situation (285), (286). The contrasts among the three basic stance verbs are collapsed in Paathupathu, the verb *karri-Ø*, 'stand', functioning as the unmarked copula 'be'.

<i>karri-Ø</i>	<i>karri-Ø</i>	stand
	<i>panti-Ø</i>	sit, stay
	<i>ngarri-Ø</i>	lie

- (283a) *warlipi-kutha pinikayi-rta karri-rta witinmarra-la.*  
 child-DU go-FUT be-FUT play-LOC  
 The two children are going to be at play.

- (283b) *jilya-kutha yana-rta witi-yayi-rta.*  
 child-DU go-FUT play-INCHO-FUT  
 The two children are going to play.

- (284a) *nguyawali karrangu pirla-ngkakarri-ku. nyinta,*  
 there group fight-LOC be-PRES 2sgNOM  
*punhayi, karri-ma, punhayi-rla, nguyawali-ku*  
 son be-IMP son-FOC there-ACC  
*pirla-ngka-ku.*  
*fight-LOC-ACC*  
 A group is at a fight there. Son, you be there at the fight.

- (284b) *ngunha-jirri patharri-ku. nyinta, manyka, yana-rta*  
 that-PL fight-PRES 2sgNOM son go-FUT  
*ngunha-wali wiya-larta ngunha-jirri-ku*  
 that-ALL watch-FUT that-PL-ACC  
*patharri-jangu.*  
*fight-REL*  
 They are fighting. Son, you go there to watch them fighting.

- (285a) *nguyawali karrangu karri-rta ngaju karri-rta mayaru*  
 there group be-FUT 1sgACC be-FUT afraid  
*karri-rta warntalykarta-lku.*  
 be-FUT make bad-PRES  
 He [the group] there is afraid to be doing a bad thing to me.

- (285b) *ngunha pilanyjayi-ku ngaju katama-larta.*  
 that frightened-ACC 1sgACC hit-ACC  
 He is frightened to hit me.

- (286a) ngantala karri-rta pinikayi-ku nguyawali  
 when be-FUT go-PRES there  
 mayanmarra-wali.  
 house-ALL  
 When will (you) be going there to the house?
- (286b) thanarta yana-rta maya-wali?  
 when go-FUT house-ALL  
 When will you go to the house?

Finally, as noted in §3.4.3[d], the realis future is used more often in the Paathupathu avoidance speech style than in the everyday style. The realis future, unlike the more common future inflection, implies that the events are likely to occur irregardless of the wishes or intentions of the speech act participants. Examples include (131) above and Text 6.1: (45).

## 6. TEXTS

The following four (extempore) texts illustrate a good range of the patterns described in the grammar. I have chosen not to provide detailed grammatical annotations for these texts. There is extensive cross-referencing to these texts in the grammar and I trust that the reader will find this adequate.

### 6.1 PREPARATION FOR CYCLONE (PERCY TUCKER)

Traditionally, the people of the Hamersley Ranges camped in the river valleys near permanent water, but when a storm approached family groups moved to cave shelters in the hills. This text describes the preparations for moving and establishing a camp in the hills, emphasising the importance of looking after older members of the group. Lines (40-44) illustrate the use of the Paathupathu avoidance style (§5). In this instance, one of the speakers in the text recognises that an approaching group of people includes his in-laws.

1. tharlura-pi-rnu-la-rru parikanu-la, ngalikuru  
 storm-PROC-REL-LOC-NOW cloud-LOC 1plinc
2. yana-rta-rru ngunha-wali marnta-wali, panti-rta  
 go-FUT-NOW that-ALL hill-ALL sit-FUT
3. marnta-ka.  
 hill-LOC  
 When the clouds are building into a storm, now we'll go to  
 the hills, to stay in the hills.
4. pili-ngka-rru kurlkayi-rta mantu-yu-rlaminaja-larta  
 cave-LOC-NOW think-FUT meat-ACC-FOC collect-FUT
5. ngalikuru-tharntu-ku. ngalikuru, parikanu-puru-layi,  
 1plinc-GEN-ACC 1plinc cloud-OBSCRD-TAS



6. yarta-ngarni-mu mantu-ngarni.  
much-COM-THEN meat-COM  
Now that (we're) in the cave, (we) think about getting  
meat for ourselves. Through the storm [behind the clouds]  
we'll have lots of meat then.
7. nhupalu-rlayana-ma mirlima-larta parikanu-puru-ku  
2dl-FOC go-IMP spear-FUT cloud-OBSCRD-ACC
8. panti-jangu kangkuru-kungamilari-la-ku  
sit-REL kangaroo-ACC cliff hole-LOC-ACC
9. kulhakulha-la-ku.  
boulder-LOC-ACC  
You two go to spear kangaroos sitting through the storm  
in crevices in the cliffs or amongst the boulders.
10. mirlima-larta kangkuru-kumiyinma-larta nhupalu  
spear-FUT kangaroo-ACC provide-FUT 2dl
11. nyiya-jirri-ku kamungu-kujuju-ngarli-ku  
this-PL-ACC hungry-ACC old man-PL-ACC
12. panti-jangu nhangu-yu pili-ngka-ku.  
sit-REL here-ACC cave-LOC-ACC  
You two spear kangaroos to provide for these hungry old  
people here in the cave.
13. thanarru, nhupalukuru juju-ngarli, ngalikuru  
okay 2pl old man-PL 1plinc
14. karlinypayi-rta-rru panti-rta ngarntamu wuntu-ka  
return-FUT-NOW sit-FUT again river-LOC
15. juju-ngarli-kukarnku-lku.  
old man-PL-ACC keep-PRES  
Okay, you old people, now we'll go back to stop at the  
river again, to stop and look after the old people.
16. ngaliyakurukati-ku nyiya-jirri-ku juju-ngarli-ku  
1plexc take-PRES this-PL-ACC old man-PL-ACC
17. purlura. nhupalukuru mani-rla karlaturru-ku  
ahead 2pl others-FOC firewood-ACC
18. mana-rta wantha-larta nyiya-ngka pili-ngka.  
get-FUT put-FUT this-LOC cave-LOC
19. paka-ljara-la kutiya-la-layi parikanu-la,  
come-MIGHT-LOC other-LOC-TAS cloud-LOC
20. ngalikuru mirta-mu mana-rta karlaturru-ku.  
1plinc not-THEN get-FUT firewood-ACC  
We'll take these old people on ahead. You others get  
firewood to put in this cave. Should another storm come,  
we won't be able to get firewood then.
21. ngalikuru kati-rtajuju-ngarli-ku pili-wali  
1plinc take-FUT old man-PL-ACC cave-ALL

22. marnta-wali nyiya-ngka muthura-la paka-rnu-la.  
hill-ALL this-LOC winter rain-LOC come-REL-LOC
23. ngalikuru kati-rta purlura-mpa marnta-wali  
1plinc take-FUT before-YK hill-ALL
24. yawu-ngka-mpa pili-ngka tharrpa-rta.  
same-LOC-YK cave-LOC go in-FUT  
We'll take the old people to the caves in the hills when  
these winter rains come. We'll take them to the hills first,  
to go into the same cave.
25. karla wantha-nma jintu-yi-rta, muthu-wayi-jara  
fire put-IMP coal-INCHO-FUT cold-INCHO-MIGHT
26. juju-ngarli. panti-rta kurlu-mu juju-ngarli.  
old man-PL sit-FUT warm-THEN old man-PL  
Build a fire for coals, lest the old people get cold. The old  
people will be warm then.
27. ngunha-yu nharnu-yu nhanguwantha-larta kankarni  
that-ACC earth-ACC here put-FUT on top
28. nyiya-ngka pirlinkarra-la.  
this-LOC flat rock-LOC  
Put that sand here on top of this flat rock.
29. ngatha pilanyjayi-ku puntha-jara parkanu-la.  
1sgNOM frightened-PRES get wet-MIGHT rain-LOC  
I'm frightened I'll get wet in the rain.
30. mirta-rla mana-rta nharnu-yunyiya-ngka wantha-larta  
not-FOC get-FUT earth-ACC this-LOC put-FUT
31. kankarni pirlinkarra-la, nharnu-pati-la pirlinkarra  
on top flat rock-LOC earth-PRIV-LOC flat rock
32. parnma-kaji karla-mari.  
explode-RFUT fire-CAUSAL  
If (you) don't get earth to put on top of the flat rock,  
without earth the rock will explode from the fire.
33. ngunyi-rla wuntu-ka-rla panti-ku. nyinta  
thereNV-FOC river-LOC-FOC sit-PRES2sgNOM
34. karlinypa-layipaka-lku, nyinta kati-rta  
return-TAS come-PRES 2sgNOM bring-FUT
35. nganyja-yu. ngalikuru kampa-larta martumirri-ku  
sand-ACC 1plinc cook-FUT damper-ACC
36. nganyja-ka. nyinta ngayi-larta martumirri-ku  
sand-LOC 2sgNOM throw-FUT damper-ACC
37. kankarni jintu-ka.  
on top coal-LOC  
There's (some earth) at the river. When you come back,  
bring some sand. We'll cook damper in the sand. You  
throw the damper on the coals.
38. ngana ngunha-jirri karri-ku yurlu-ngka-rla?

- who that-PL stand-PRES camp-LOC-FOC  
 39. nganapukulpa wiya-nma-rla! ngunha-jirri  
 whoever see-IMP-FOC that-PL  
 40. nharniwali-rru paka-lku jina-ngka. mani-rla  
 hereALL-NOW come-PRES track-LOC others-FOC  
 41. yana-ma ngampapi-larta ngana-ngu.  
 go-IMP meet-FUT who-ACC  
 Who are those people in the camp? See whoever it is!  
 They are coming here now, on our tracks. (You) others go  
 to meet whoever it is.
42. ngunha-jirri-mpayarruwarra-ngara mungkuwa-lku  
 that-PL-YK bro-in-lawDL-KINPL come-PRES  
 43. karrangu, nyupamalingka.  
 group spousePL  
 They are my brothers-in-law, coming together, husbands  
 and wives.
44. jaji-nyayi-ma jartunta-rla warlpa-larta  
 tell-COLL-IMP bro-in-law-FOC come-FUT  
 45. nyingkuranha-karta. nyingkuranha-rla karri-kaji  
 here-ALL here-FOC stand-RFUT  
 46. karrangu pilinmarra-la.  
 group cave-LOC  
 Tell your brother-in-law (my son-in-law) to come here.  
 We'll be here together in this cave.

## 6.2 TRACKING (PERCY TUCKER)

This text, describing a man's journey as he follows the path of a family group, illustrates a common pattern in travel narratives in which the verb *yana-Ø*, 'go', provides the primary tense reference and is followed by a sequence of verbs bearing the present tense inflection (1-5 below). The present inflection is here interpreted as a general imperfective. Periods of motion, introduced by *yana-Ø*, may contrast with periods of rest, typically introduced by a stance verb such as *panti-Ø*, 'sit, stay' (7 below).

1. jina-ma-lalha marlpa-yungarri-ku malhu-ngka.  
 track-CAUS-PERF man-ACC lie-PRES middle-LOC
2. arlipala-layi ngarntamu yana-nha jina-ngka. yana-nha  
 early-TAS again go-PAST track-LOC go-PAST
3. karlpa-ku marnta-yu, ngunha-yu wilka-pi-lku  
 go up-PRES hill-ACC that-ACC gap-PROC-PRES
4. ngunyji-karti-ma-lku. yana-nha katanmarra-ku  
 thereNV-side-CAUS-PRES go-PAST thick scrub-ACC
5. tharrpa-ku, wuntu-yu kartanti-ku.  
 go in-PRES river-ACC cross-PRES

Having tracked the man, (I) lay down in the middle (of the day). Early (next day) went on the track again. Went along, climbing the hill, going through that gap, reaching the other side. (I) went along, going into the thick scrub, crossing the river.

6.      wiya-rna karnti-yu punangu-ku,              parntaja-rna  
see-PAST tree-ACC bloodwood-ACC find-PAST
7.      jantaru-ku. pinkali-nha panti-ngumalku ngarra-lku  
honey-ACC turn-PAST sit-CONSEQ chop-PRES
8.      jantaru-ku. partarra-la mana-lha-layi,  
honey-ACC bark dish-LOC get-PERF-TAS
9.      kati-ngumalku papa-wali.  
take-CONSEQ water-ALL  
Saw a bloodwood tree, found some honey. Turned around to stop and chop the honey. Having got (it) in a bark dish, (I) took (it) to the water.
  
10.     papa-ngka-layi panti-nha watharri-ku      jina-yu  
water-LOC-TAS sit-PAST look for-PRES track-ACC
11.     tharni-yu      marlpa-ngarli-ku, tharni-nha-wali-ku  
where-ACC man-PL-ACC              where-SPEC-ALL-ACC
12.     yana-lha-ku      waju-ma-lku.  
go-PERF-ACC straight-CAUS-PRES  
Once at the water, (I) stopped, looking for where the men's tracks were, making sure of where exactly they had gone to.
  
13.     waju-ma-lalha-layi,      ngarntamu jina-ngka. murrulu-ku  
straight-CAUS-PERF-TAS again              track-LOC rise-ACC
14.     karlpa-nha. murrulu-la karri-nha      wiya-lku tharni-yu  
go up-PAST rise-LOC      stand-PAST see-PRES where-ACC
15.     karla-yukampa-jangu yurlu-ngka-ku.  
fire-ACC cook-REL              camp-LOC-ACC  
Having made sure, (I went) on the track again. Climbed a rise. Stood on the rise looking for where (their) fire was burning, in (their) camp.
  
16.     yinti-ngumalku              murrulu-la-nguru yurlu-wali  
go down-CONSEQ rise-LOC-ABL              camp-ALL
17.     parntaja-larta.  
find-FUT  
And then went down from the rise towards the camp, to find them.

### 6.3 TWO MURDERERS (HERBERT PARKER)

The text describes a policeman arriving at a camp with the news that a man has died as the result of a spearfight, and to arrest the killers. Before being taken away to face the courts, the two men must dress in white

feathers and give themselves up to the mourning community, to face a hail of spears and boomerangs.

1. ngaliyakurungarri-ku wuntu-ka.kanarakanara-la-layi,  
1plexc lie-PRES river-LOC daybreak-LOC-TAS
2. yukurru-ngarli parruntu-lku yurlu-warntura-la.  
dog-PL bark-PRES camp-DISTRIB-LOC
3. kutiya-rla karlpa-nha wiya-larta. nyiya panu  
other-FOC get up-PAST see-FUT thisvery
4. karri-ku.  
stand-PRES  
We are camping at the river. Then at daybreak, the dogs  
are barking in each camp. One fellow got up to look. This  
(person) is standing (there).
5. marlpa mani-rla wangka-nha, wiya-nma panhalka .  
man others-FOC say-PAST see-IMP that AnNOM
6. ngana jayinma-larta yana-ma. ngatha wiya-larta  
who ask-FUT go-IMP 1sgNOM see-FUT
7. payanyji-ku. nyiyalka karri-ku.  
policeman-ACC hereAnNOM stand-PRES  
The other people said, 'See who that is, Go and ask!' I saw  
a policeman. That's who it is.
8. kana-ngka-layi, paka-larta yurlu-karta-rru.  
light-LOC-TAS come-FUT camp-ALL-NOW
9. yurlu-ngka-layi, marlpa-warntura-ku jayinma-lku  
camp-LOC-TAS man-DISTRIB-ACC ask-PRES
10. tharni-yu nyanyji-yu-rla.  
where-ACCenemy-ACC-FOC  
Then once it's light, (he) comes into the camp now. Once  
in the camp, (he's) asking each person the whereabouts of  
his 'enemies'.
11. jayinma-lkuyini-yu thanakutha-ku kutharra-ku.  
ask-PRES name-ACC 3dl-ACC two-ACC
12. wangka-nha ngaju watharri-ku kutharra-ku.  
tell-PAST 1sgACC look for-PRES two-ACC
13. yini-yu yinya-nha ngunhal-kutha-ku.  
name-ACC give-PAST that An-DU-ACC  
Asking about two names, the names of those two  
( 'enemies' ). (He) told me he was looking for two fellows.  
Gave me the names of those two.
14. ngatha-rla wangka-nha, yana-ma. wiya-lku nyinta  
1sgNOM-FOC say-PAST go-IMP see-PRES 2sgNOM
15. ngunha-yu karla-yu kampa-jangu. ngunhal-kutha  
that-ACC fire-ACC burn-REL thatAn-DU

16. ngarri-ku ngunhata karla-ngka.  
lie-PRES thatAnLOC fire-LOC  
I said, 'Go (over there). You see that fire burning. Those  
two are lying down at that fire.'
17. ngatha wangka-nha, nyarni-ngku jipa-nma, mirlima-ljara  
1sgNOM say-PAST slow-AGT startle-IMP spear-MIGHT
18. nyinku. karlpa-nha ngunhal-kutha ngalyakarra.  
2sgACC get up-PAST thatAn-DU quietly  
I said, 'Wake them up slowly lest they spear you.' The two  
of them got up quietly.
19. wangka-nha payanyji-rla, ngatha nhupalu-ku  
say-PAST policeman-FOC 1sgNOM 2dl-ACC
20. jiyinmuntu-larta. nhupalu mirnu mirlima-lalha  
chain up-FUT 2dl know spear-PERF
21. ngunha-yu kutiya-ku marlpa-yu. kutuma-rna nhupalu.  
that-ACC other-ACC man-ACC kill-PAST 2dl  
The policeman said, 'I've got to chain you two up. You  
know you speared that other man. You killed him.'
22. mirtawiyurpawalyi-yayi-rta. paka-nma ngathala  
not feelings bad-INCHO-FUT come-IMP 1sgLOC
23. tharni-nha-ma-lkuli-rta wangka-yu kuliya-larta.  
where-SPEC-CAUS-PASS-FUT word-ACC hear-FUT  
Don't let your feelings get out of control. Come with me  
to hear word of where exactly you are to be put.'
24. kuliya-lalha-layi wangka-yu, thaa-lkuli-rta  
hear-PERF-TAS word-ACC send-PASS-FUT
25. wirlarra-warntura, marlpa-ngarli yurlu-ngka-rla  
month-DISTRIB man-PL camp-LOC-FOC
26. kuliya-lalha-layi wangka-yu thaa-rnaanuku  
hear-PERF-TAS news-ACC send-PPERF-ACC
27. wirlarra-warntura-ku, yurlu-ngka-ngarli  
month-DISTRIB-ACC camp-LOC-PL
28. karnta-ka-ngarli yurlu-ngka-warntura.  
tear-LOC-PL camp-LOC-DISTRIB  
Then having heard the news, (hearing that the murderers)  
will be sent away for some months, the people in the  
camp, having heard the news that had been sent that (the  
sentence) was some months, (the people) in the camp are  
in tears, in each camp.
29. nhupalu paka-rna manuwarra-ku panti-jangu  
2dl come-PAST mob-ACC sit-REL
30. wuntu-ka-ku. wiyurpa minarli. ngatha karri-rta  
river-LOC-ACC feelings own 1sgNOM stand-FUT
31. ngunha-karta kata-karta, nhupalu-rla wantha-larta  
that-ALL scrub-ALL 2dl-FOC put-FUT
32. walakurru-ku. nhupalu manarra-kutha.

feather-ACC 2dl murderer-DU

You two came to the mob here at the river (so you must face the consequences). (Look to) your own feelings. I'll stand (facing) towards the scrub, you two put on white down feathers. You two are two murderers.

33. yata-yu yinya-rta. kurturtu paka-rna  
shield-ACC give-FUT centre come-PAST
34. manuwarra-ku, kulumarrinyu-ku manuwarra-ku.  
mob-ACC gathering-ACC mob-ACC
35. karlinypa-layi, nhupalu jirrakayi-rta pinpirri-la  
return-TAS 2dl jump-FUT clearing-LOC
36. yata-ngarni, nhaanma-larta jurlu-ngku-mu  
shield-COM give up-FUT all-AGT-THEN
37. mirlima-lkuli-rta.  
spear-PASS-FUT  
(I'll) give you (each) a shield. (You) came right into the mob grouped together (so you have yourselves to blame). Then when you come back, jump into the clearing with the shield, give yourselves up to be speared by everyone then.
38. nhupalu mankarra yata karku-nma, yikamarta  
2dl firm shield hold-IMP one
39. yikamarta wiyalkarra-nma-pula wanga-ngka  
one look after-IMP-REFL chest-LOC
40. ngayi-nnguli-rta.  
throw-PASS-FUT  
You two hold that shield firmly, for one (spear) after another. Look after yourselves, your chest which is being thrown at.

#### 6.4 POLLING DAY (HERBERT PARKER)

1. thurla-yi-rta warrungkamu, ngula-rru yana-rta  
awake-INCHO-FUT morning there-NOW go-FUT
2. wiya-nmayi-rta jurlu Nhuwala-la, wangka-nyayi-rta  
see-COLL-FUT all Noalla-LOC say-COLL-FUT
3. thana-yu mirlimirli-la-ma-larta, thana-yu.  
3sg-ACC paper-LOC-CAUS-FUT 3sg-ACC  
(We'll) wake up in the morning and go there now, to all see each other at the Noalla Centre, to talk to each other about which one to put on the (ballot) paper
4. ngulan-nguru-layi, yana-rta kuma-rru wiya-larta  
thereAn-ABL-TAS go-FUT together-NOW see-FUT
5. karri-jangu kutharra-ku marralha-kutha-la-ku,  
stand-REL two-ACC gum tree-DU-LOC-ACC

6. karri-jangu.  
stand-REL  
Then from there, (we'll) go together to see the two standing by the two gum trees.
7. karri-ku-kutha mirlimirli-ngarni mara-ngka-ngarni  
stand-PRES-DU paper-COM hand-LOC-COM
8. yinya-rta, nyungu-wayi-nyayi-ku, marlpa-yu  
give-FUT cross-INCHO-COLL-PRES man-ACC
9. ngayilkara-lku panu.  
rush-PRES really  
The two standing with paper in their hands, to give out, are getting cross with each other, they are really rushing people.
10. tharrpa-rta thurnu-yu maya-yu. thurnu-ngka-layi,  
go in-FUT inside-ACC house-ACC inside-LOC-TAS
11. wiya-larta panti-jangu wiya-rnu-ku thana-yu  
see-FUT sit-REL see-REL-ACC 3sg-ACC
12. jayinma-lkuli-rta. kutiya-rla karlpa-rta ngaju  
ask-PASS-FUT other-FOC go up-FUT 1sgACC
13. mirnu-ma-larta mirlimirli-la wantha-larta-ku.  
know-CAUS-FUT paper-LOC put-FUT-ACC  
(We) go inside the building. Once inside, (we) look to see which person is sitting watching (waiting) to be asked. One gets up to show me on the paper, where to put (the mark).
14. wantha-lalha-layi, ngatha karlinypayi-rta karri-rta  
put-PERF-TAS 1sgNOM return-FUT stand-FUT
15. ngula thitharri-ku mani-yu-mu-mpa-rra  
there wait-PRES others-ACC-THEN-YK-DUB
16. karlinypayi-rta-ku.  
return-FUT-ACC  
Then once I've put it down, I go back to stand waiting there for the others to come back (if and when they do).
17. ngajupantharri jurlu-layi, karri-rta jayinma-yi-ku,  
1pl(special) all-TAS stand-FUT ask-COLL-PRES
18. nganangu nyinta-rla wantha-rna mirlimirli-la,  
whoACC2sgNOM-FOC put-PAST paper-LOC
19. yini-yu nganangu?  
name-ACC whoACC  
Then when we're all together, we stand asking one another, 'Who did you put on the paper, whose name?'



## 7. VOCABULARY

### 7.1 VOCABULARY IN SEMANTIC FIELDS

In the following list, Paathupathu avoidance style items are indicated by the symbol '\$'. Verbs are listed in the present tense (-ku/-lku). Syntactic category information is given in the alphabetical list which follows (§7.2).

## NOMINALS

*A - Body Parts*

puthalka; head  
 kurntu; brain  
 yurrkurnpa; hair  
 yinti; forehead  
 kumpa, \$kumpangarla; face  
 thurla; eye  
 mulha; nose  
 nyurru; snot  
 kurlka; ear  
 kartara; cheek  
 ngarnngarnpa; chin  
 thara; mouth  
 warli; lip  
 jawurta; beard  
 ngankurrpa, nyamunyanu;  
     moustache  
 yirra; tooth  
 yalhuru; tongue  
 witha; saliva  
 wangkarrpa; throat, windpipe  
 nhanka; back of neck  
 wilyka; shoulders, yoke  
 wakurtu; armpit  
 jirli, \$jirlinmarra; (upper) arm  
 paji; lower arm  
 warnkurla; elbow  
 mara; hand  
 ngangkanyu; thumb  
 miju, yilka; fingernail  
 pipi; breast  
 purtu; chest  
 nyimilirri; rib  
 mila; hip  
 nyirntilpa; waist  
 wiyurpa; seat of the emotions,  
     feelings  
 ngarlul; belly (external)  
 nyirlunpa; navel  
 pularta; heart, kidney  
 puri; heart  
 yalhu; lungs  
 ngamarri, ngarkari; liver  
 murru; back  
 kurla, pilapila; buttocks  
 thumpu; anus  
 wulu; thigh, leg  
 kangku, mangunpa; knee  
 wirta; shin

karntarra; sinew, achilles tendon  
 nhukurlpa; ankle  
 jina; foot, track, footprint  
 warla; heel  
 thunamarlu; penis (impolite)  
 warnti; penis, tail  
 kalha; testicle  
 nyarnta; semen  
 nyanyi; pubic hair  
 yarli; vulva  
 kuna; faeces  
 purtanmarra; vagina  
 kumpu; urine  
 karnu, \$karnunmarra; body,  
     skin  
 kuji; bone  
 marta, miji; blood  
 jinyji; fat  
 yarpala; sweat  
 purlpura, purrukurra; boil  
 pula; lump  
 parkurrpa; scar, cicatrice

*B - Human Classification*

marlpa, \$yamarrpa; man,  
     person, human  
 palya; woman, female  
 mirtilypa; baby  
 jilya; child  
 marlurlu; captured initiate  
 nyuju, nyurnta; novice initiate  
 warlipi, wirta; young man,  
     youth, boy  
 juju, \$jujunmarra; old man,  
     old person  
 kurri; marriageable girl  
 manga, nyurtu; girl  
 jarta; old woman  
 matu; bereaved spouse, widow,  
     widower  
 marajunu; poor fellow  
 maparnkarra; doctor, magic man  
 maparn; spirit familiar  
 walypala, \$walypatara; white  
     man, white person  
 mithi, \$walypatara; white  
     woman  
 jarnkarra, marntamarangka;  
     policeman  
 mangkarnpa; spirit, ghost  
 pukurra; devil

karnku; initiation bosses  
jinyjanungu; initiation workers  
mangkalyi, \$jamanta;  
circumcisor  
wuntaja; circumcisee

### *C - Kinship*

mimi; mother's brother, father-  
in-law  
yaru; mother's older sister  
ngarti; mother  
pipi; mother, Mum  
kamayi; mother's younger sister  
mama; father, father's brother  
papu; father, Dad  
mukulpa; father's sister  
kantharri; mother's mother,  
daughter's child (woman  
speaking)  
mapuji, thami; mother's father,  
daughter's child (man speaking)  
kapanli; father's mother, son's  
child (woman speaking)  
mayali; father's father, son's  
child (man speaking)  
kaja; elder brother  
kurta; brother, friend  
marrkara; younger brother  
thurtu; (elder) sister  
mari, ngajinu; younger sister  
kurntalpa; daughter  
manyka; son, nephew  
nyupa; spouse  
jartunta; (father's/son's) brother-  
in-law or cousin  
kumpali; brother-in-law, male  
cross-cousin  
yarungana; mother-in-law  
nyirti; in-law, mother-in-law  
milangka; section name  
karimarra; section name  
panaka; section name  
purungu; section name

### *D - Mammals*

manganya, \$jinkajipuka; echidna  
ngaja; type of mouse  
yirriwaru; native cat  
warrki; possum  
jartunmarra; rock wallaby  
kangkuru, \$pirrunmarra;

kangaroo (generic)  
pajarri, \$pirrunmarra; hill  
kangaroo, euro  
pajiwanaarra, \$pirrunmarra;  
plains kangaroo  
warrku; joey kangaroo  
wayuwarra; kangaroo rat  
warnti; tail  
mujira, \$wanyjatarra; dingo  
yukurru, wanya, \$wanyjatarra;  
tame dog  
waramurrunga; flying fox  
yawarta, \$ngulutharri; horse  
puliman; bullock  
kukunyarri; sheep

### *E - Reptiles*

mirlanha; bluetongue lizard  
kurrumanthu; Gould's sand  
goanna  
pangarnu; black goanna  
nyurna; snake (generic)  
palkumarra; rock python  
thaawarru; carpet snake  
manyji; death adder  
kujikalarra; tiger snake

### *F - Birds*

kaki; bird (generic)  
jimpu, mijara; egg  
karlaya, jankurna; emu  
pinparlurlu; pelican  
wirlumarra; curlew  
parntakura, tharraki; bush  
turkey, bustard  
karlajirru; black swan  
karlita; topknot pigeon  
thuli, miwa; tawny frogmouth  
yilimpirra; mudlark  
kurrpanyja; butcher bird  
warntula; magpie  
wakurra; crow  
mayampa; cuckoo-shrike  
nhithinypa; kookaburra  
jitijiti; willy wagtail  
pilyaku; galah  
karrkari; brown hawk  
warrirta, warlartu; eaglehawk  
wirntiwirnti; skyhawk  
kartankartanpa; cormorant  
kartantarri; duck species

ngaranti; black duck  
paralyji; seagull

*G - Fishes*

kapi; fish (generic)

*H - Insects etc.*

mungku; anthill  
pinga; ant  
purripurira; hornet  
nguri; beeswax  
jantaru; honey  
yantha; scorpion  
ngalyarra; centipede  
yirlirli; maggot  
pukapukara, warrunparrun;  
blowfly  
warrari; fly  
nyurni; mosquito  
pirtipirti; butterfly  
thurlapirli; caterpillar  
miripu; bardie grub  
karrapa; spider  
jarrkarnpa; frog  
pinpilha; grasshopper  
manthu; termite  
pithanypa; tick  
kulu; louse  
wajujura, wunpayi; bee

*I - Language and Ceremony*

wangka, \$partarri; word, story,  
language, news  
jukari; name replacement for  
deceased person  
yini; name  
nyiyinirri; song  
japi, japuka; type of song  
parlkapi; coroboree song  
ngulitu; dance ground  
martarrpa, mungkangu; red  
ochre  
jirlpa; yellow ochre

*J - Artefacts etc.*

warrkunti, \$pilukunti;  
boomerang  
wanu; digging stick  
jurna; fighting stick  
kurrjarta; spear  
makuntu; punishment spear

warlparra; spear thrower  
yata; shield  
pulpu; axe  
mirrurtu, yanti; winnowing  
dish  
partarra; bark dish  
marnta; money

*K - Fire, Food, Water*

mantu, \$jajanmarra; meat  
thukurta; vegetable food  
karla; fire, firewood  
jinta; hot coals  
yingara; charcoal  
jurnpa; ashes  
jukurnpa; smoke  
pirtikarri; light  
warupurrka; flame  
papa; water  
wuntu, \$wuntunmarra; river

*L - Celestial, Weather*

karrpu; sun (in afternoon)  
yarnta; sun (in morning), day  
malu, \$malunmarra; shade,  
shadow  
wirlarra; moon, month  
pintirri; star

warrukarta, \$warrungarla;  
night  
yilkari, ngarnka; sky  
parlkanu; cloud, storm, rain  
matharri; frost, mist, fog  
wirrpi; wind  
kanaji; thunder  
pimparramparra; lightning

*M - Geography*

ngurrara; country, homeland  
yurlu; camp, home  
yalha; bough shade, shelter  
yirtiya, \$martiya; road, dance  
track  
nharnu; sand, earth, dirt  
kakinpa; white ochre  
munkurrarri; clay ground  
kunturrpa; dust  
purnta; hole in ground  
pili, \$pilinmarra; cave, hole,  
opening

parlkarra; plain  
marnta; hill, rock, stone  
ngarnja; shingle

*N - Arboreal etc.*

karnti, \$karntinmarra; tree,  
stick, wood  
parrka; leaf, tealeaf  
kata; scrub, thicket  
karlka; root  
warrapa, \$warrapanmarra;  
grass, spinifex (generic)  
kalpari; seed  
jirri; spike, splinter, prickle,  
thorn  
marruwa; snakewood  
partirri; kanyji bush  
wirntamarra; mulga  
mirli; cadjeput, paperbark  
marralha; river gum  
pirarrpa; blackheart  
punangu; bloodwood tree

*O - Adjectival Nominals*

yikamarta, \$kunyjilkanha; one  
kutiya, \$kunyjilkanha; other one  
kutharra, \$nguyarranha; two  
jarrkurti; three  
mani, \$maningarla; others, some  
manuwarra, yarta; many  
warru; black  
jalirri; white  
martamarta, mijimiji; red  
jilirra; big  
kupija; little  
wanarra; long  
kuta; short  
jinyjimama; fat person  
thukurpa; straight, correct,  
proper  
parli; crooked  
warnkuwarnku; bent  
kurlu; hot  
muthu; cold  
julpurinypa; wet  
pilyparra; dry  
mankarrpa; hard, tight, firm  
nyuyulpari; soft  
ngungkumarta; heavy, strong  
ngartarra, wangkarnpa; light (in  
weight)

yiri; sharp  
thinarnpa; blunt  
yurti; sweet  
puriya; salt  
kari; bitter  
nyarni; slow  
mirtanyarni; fast  
yijangu; new  
yirntitira; old  
marnu, manartu, \$manurnu;  
good, well  
jaja; rubbish, bereaved  
pirntipirnti; separate  
mirtuwarra; expert, clever  
walyi; bad  
pilanypa, pilanyu, \$mayaru;  
frightened  
kurnta; shame  
paja; wild  
pajarrangu; savage  
walyikarta; bad person  
warntulya; larrikin  
kutu; dead  
wanka; alive, raw, unripe  
puka; rotten, stinking  
karrara; sick, sore  
wirna; tired  
kunyanpa, \$mukanypa; asleep  
kamungu; hungry  
winya; full, sated  
kurkatharta; deaf  
thurlajarta; blind  
pirlurru, pirtinkarra; bald

VERBS

*P - Motion*

yana-ku, \$pinikayi-ku; go  
paka-lku, \$mungkuwa-lku;  
come  
tharrpa-ku; enter, go in  
karlinyjayi-ku,  
\$mungkuwa-lku; return  
pinkali-ku; turn around  
yanga-lku; follow, chase  
kupartu-wi-ku; crawl  
jirrakayi-ku; jump  
yirrka-ku; dance  
panpa-ku, warayi-ku; fly  
murti-ku; run  
witi-yayi-ku; play

warni-ku; fall down  
 karlpa-ku, \$minkayi-ku, \$swarlpa-ku;  
 go up, get up,  
 climb  
 puntha-ku; swim, wash  
 nyurli-ku; dive

*Q - Rest*

panti-ku; sit, stay, be  
 karri-ku; stand  
 ngarri-ku; lie

*R- Induced Position*

yinti-thu-lku; put down  
 mana-ku, \$kungama-ku; grab,  
 take, get  
 karnku-lku; hold, keep  
 warli-lku; hold  
 kati-ku, \$kungama-ku; carry,  
 take, bring  
 karliny-ma-lku; bring back  
 thaa-lku, \$ngarrathaa-lku;  
 send, let go  
 wantha-lku; leave, put place  
 purri-lku; pull  
 yurntu-lku; push  
 ngayi-lku; throw, drop  
 milyula-yi-ku; hide  
 jinpayima-lku; lose  
 parntaja-lku; find  
 yinya-ku; give

*S - Affect*

katama-lku; hit  
 ngarra-lku; hit (with thrown  
 rock), chop  
 patha-lku; blow, hit (with  
 thrown boomerang), spin (hair)  
 thali-lku; kick  
 kulha-pi-lku; squash, crush  
 karta-lku; poke, stab, pierce,  
 write  
 yurra-lku; dig, scratch  
 wirnta-lku; cut, hurt feelings  
 kirtirpi-lku; scrape  
 yurpi-lku; smooth  
 paka-ku; break  
 kampa-lku; cook, burn, light  
 kampa-ku; be burning, be  
 cooking  
 janka-lku; tie up

manta-lku; tie up, bind  
 palhama-lku; paint  
 palharri-ku; paint oneself  
 thartama-lku; cover  
 warama-lku; make, mend

*T - Attention*

kumpa-ku, thitha-lku,  
 \$kurlpa-ku; wait  
 wiya-lku, \$yinuwa-lku; see  
 yitipi-lku; stare at  
 watharri-ku; look for  
 kuliya-lku; hear  
 wiyalkarra-lku; look after

*U - Talking etc.*

wangka-ku, \$partarri-ku;  
 speak, talk, tell, tell to do  
 jayinma-lku; ask  
 mirra-ku; call out, sing out  
 nyiyinirri-ku; sing

*V - Corporeal*

ngarna-ku, \$mangunpi-lku; eat,  
 drink  
 ngarna-thu-lku; bite into  
 munyu-lku; swallow  
 karrkali-ku; vomit  
 kapukurri-ku; dream  
 jaama-lku; yawn  
 parnti-ku; be smelling  
 patha-lku; blow  
 milyalka-lku; lick, kiss  
 ngalha-lku; copulate  
 kutu-wayi-ku; die  
 ngaji-ku; cry  
 thurni-ku; laugh

*W - Adverbial*

yakuwa-lku; test  
 wayarrpi-lku; finish, use up  
 wayayi-ku; finish, run out

*X - LOCATION*

wartalpa; north  
 kurila; south;  
 kakarra; east  
 wuluju; west  
 jinkalpa; upriver  
 yapulpa; downriver  
 murna; close by, near

warrpa; far  
kankala; above  
kankarni; on top  
thurnu; inside

#### Y - TIME

arlipala; early  
kuwarri; now, today  
purrra; later

warrungkamu, \$manngukamu;  
tomorrow, morning  
pirri, \$pirringarla; afternoon,  
yesterday

#### Z - INTERJECTION

mirta; No!, Yes (go on talking)  
kanta; Leave it!  
thanarru; Hey, Hello, Alright

## 7.2 ALPHABETICAL VOCABULARY

The alphabetical list includes all items appearing in sentence examples and in the texts included in the grammatical description, as well as the items in the semantic fields listing (§7.1). English alphabetical order is used in the list. Word class membership is indicated by the following abbreviations:

Int	Interjection
Kin	dyadic kinterm
Loc	inherent locative nominal
N	nominal
Npl	idiosyncratic plural form of nominal
Npred	nominal predicate taking an accusative object
Part	particle
Prop	proper name of place or person
Vatr	ambitransitive verb (optionally takes an accusative object)
Vditr	ditransitive verb (takes two accusative objects)
Vint	intransitive verb (typically selects a single nominative argument)
Vtr	transitive verb (takes an accusative object)

Borrowings from English are indicated by the abbreviation (Eng:) following the gloss.

arlipala, N: early (Eng:)  
jaama-lku, Vnt: yawn  
jaja, N: rubbish, bereaved  
jajama-lku, Vtr: stop doing  
\$jajanmarra, N: meat  
\$jaji-ku, Vtr: tell, ask  
jakilpa, N: spinifex head pad  
jalarrkarta-ku, Vint: bubbling  
jalirri, N: white  
\$jamanta, N: circumcisor  
jampa, Loc: moment  
jampurrka, N: lefthand side  
jananyungu, N: pigweed  
janka-lku, Vtr: tie up  
jankurna, N: emu

janta, N: lame  
janta-yi-ku, Vint: become lame,  
to limp  
jantaru, N: honey  
japi, N: type of song  
japuka, N: type of song  
jarnkarra, N: policeman  
jarri, N: cave  
jarrkarnpa, N: frog  
jarrkurti, N: three  
jarta, N: old woman  
jartungu, N: rock hole  
jartunmarra, N: rock wallaby  
jartunta, N: father's/son's  
brother-in-law or cousin

jartuntarra, Kin: pair of  
 cousins/brothers-in-law in other  
 generation set  
 jawurta, N: beard  
 jayinma-lku, Vtr: ask  
 jiinyjiinyima-lku, Vint: make  
 'jiiny' noise  
 jiira, N: shearer (Eng: shearer)  
 jikanpa, N: step, notch cut for  
 foot  
 jilirra, N: big  
 jilya, N: child  
 jilyantharri, Npl: children  
 jimpu, N: egg  
 jina, N: foot, track  
 jina-ma-lku, Vtr: track  
 jinangu, N: on foot, walking  
 jinka-lku, Vtr: cut open, carve,  
 chisel  
 \$jinkajipuka, N: echidna  
 jinkalpa, Loc: upriver  
 jinpayima-lku, Vtr: lose  
 jinta, N: hot coals  
 jinta-yi-ku, Vint: burn down to  
 coals  
 jinyjanungu, N: initiation  
 worker  
 jinyji, N: fat  
 jinyjimama, N: fat person,  
 obese  
 jirli, N: (upper) arm  
 \$jirlinmarra, N: arm  
 jirpa, N: yellow ochre  
 \$jirninmarra, N: circumcisor  
 jirrakayi-ku, Vint: jump  
 jirri, N: spike, prickle, thorn,  
 splinter  
 jirrikuru, Npl: expanse of  
 prickles  
 jitijiti, N: willy wagtail  
 jitumpulu, N: sausage  
 jitumpulu-ma-lku, Vint: make  
 sausages  
 jiyinmuntu-lku, Vtr: chain up  
 juju, N: old man, old people,  
 old  
 juju-wayi-ku, Vint: become  
 old/an old man  
 \$jujunmarra, N: old man  
 jukari, Prop: replacement for  
 proscribed name

jukurnpa, N: smoke  
 julpurinypa, N: wet  
 jurlu, N: all  
 jurna, N: fighting stick  
 jurnpa, N: ashes  
 jurtu, N: nipple  
 kaja, N: elder brother  
 kakarra, Loc: east  
 kaki, N: bird  
 kakinpa, N: white ochre  
 kalha, N: testicle  
 kalpari, N: seed  
 kamayi, N: mother's younger  
 sister  
 kampa-ku, Vint: be burning, be  
 cooking  
 kampa-lku, Vtr: cook, burn,  
 light, shave  
 kamungu, N: hungry  
 kamungu-wi-ku, Vint: be(come)  
 hungry  
 kana, N: clear, visible, light  
 kanaji, N: thunder  
 kanalili-pi-lku, Vint: become  
 light  
 kanarakanara, N: daybreak  
 kangku, N: knee  
 kangkuru, N: kangaroo (Eng:)  
 kankala, Loc: up on top, above  
 kankarni, Loc: on top of  
 kanta, Int: Leave it!  
 kantharrarra, Kin: mother's  
 mother/daughter's child  
 kantharri, N: mother's mother,  
 daughter's child (woman  
 speaking)  
 kanyjirr-ma-lku, Vint: sneeze  
 kaparlarra, Kin: father's  
 mother/son's child  
 kaparli, N: father's mother,  
 son's child (woman speaking)  
 kapi, N: fish  
 kapukurri-ku, Vtr: dream  
 kari, N: grog, alcohol, bitter  
 karimarra, N: section name,  
 marriage class  
 kariya-lku, Vtr: straighten  
 karla, N: fire, firewood  
 karla-ma-lku, Vtr: light (fire)  
 karlajirru, N: black swan  
 karlaturru, N: firewood



karlaya, N: emu  
 karliniyayi-ku, Vint: return  
 karlinyma-lku, Vtr: bring back  
 karlinypa, N: returning  
 karlinypayi-ku, Vint: return  
 karlita, N: topknot pigeon  
 karlka, N: root  
 karlkatharra, N: fork, junction  
 karlkatharra-ku, Vint: become  
 a fork or junction  
 karlpa-ku, Vatr: get up, arise,  
 climb  
 karlpa-thu-lku, Vtr: lift up  
 karlunyja, N: type of mouse  
 karnapuka, N: storm  
 karnku, N: initiation bosses  
 karnku-lku, Vtr: keep, hold  
 karnta, N: tear drop  
 karntanmarra, N: in floods of  
 tears  
 karntarra, N: sinew  
 karnti, N: tree, stick, log, wood  
 \$karntinmarra, N: tree  
 karnu, N: skin, body  
 \$karnunmarra, N: skin  
 \$karrangu, N: group  
 karrapa, N: spider  
 karrara, N: sick, sore  
 karrara-yi-ku, Vint: be sick  
 karri-ku, Vint: stand  
 karrkali-ku, Vint: vomit  
 karrkari, N: brown hawk  
 karrpu, N: sun (in afternoon),  
 noon  
 karta-lku, Vtr: poke, stab,  
 pierce, write  
 kartankartanpa, N: cormorant  
 kartantarri, N: duck  
 kartanti-ku, Vtr: cross (river)  
 kartara, N: cheek  
 karti, N: side  
 kartukarra, N: head  
 kata, N: scrub, thicket  
 katama-lku, Vtr: hit  
 katanmarra, N: dense scrub  
 kati-ku, Vtr: take, carry  
 kirriwi, N: echidna  
 kirtirpi-lku, Vtr: scrape  
 kuji, N: bone  
 kujikalarra, N: tiger snake  
 kukalara, N: separately

kukunyarri, N: sheep  
 kulha-pi-lku, Vtr: squash,  
 crush by repeated action  
 kulhakulha, N: holes amongst  
 boulders  
 kuliya-lku, Vtr: hear  
 kulu, N: head louse  
 kulu-pi-lku, Vtr: delouse,  
 remove head lice  
 kulumarrinyu, N: gathering  
 kuma, N: together  
 kumpa, N: face  
 kumpa-ku, Vatr: wait (for)  
 kumpali, N: brother-in-law, male  
 cross-cousin  
 kumpaliyarra, Kin: brothers-in-  
 law  
 \$kumpangarla, N: face  
 kumpu, N: urine  
 kuna, N: faeces  
 \$kungama-ku, Vtr: grab, pick  
 up, take, carry, get  
 kunpurlu, N: shade tree  
 kunturpa, N: dust  
 kunu, Part: also  
 kunyanngu, N: sleepy fellow  
 kunyanpa, N: asleep  
 \$kunyjilkanha, N: one, other  
 one  
 kupartu-wi-ku, Vint: crawl  
 kupija, N: little  
 kupijanha, N: beer bottle  
 kupijarri, Npl: little ones  
 kurila, Loc: south  
 kurla, N: buttocks  
 kurlka, N: ear  
 kurlka-yi-ku, Vatr: think  
 (about)  
 kurkamaya, N: woolshed  
 kurkatharta, N: deaf  
 kurkura, N: wool  
 \$kurlpa-ku, Vatr: wait (for)  
 kurlu, N: hot, warm  
 kurnta, N: shame  
 kurntalkarra, Kin: matrimoiety  
 pair  
 kurntalpa, N: daughter  
 kurntu, N: brain  
 kurri, N: marriageable girl  
 kurrjarta, N: spear  
 kurrpanyja, N: butcher bird

kurrumanthu, N: Gould's  
 yellow sand goanna  
 kurta, N: brother, friend  
 kurtanpa-la-ma-lku, Vtr: put in  
 a bag  
 kurtulharri, Npl: cluster of  
 boulders  
 kurtulhu, N: boulder  
 kurturtu, N: centre  
 kuru, N: hook on spearthrower  
 kuta, N: short  
 kutharra, N: two  
 kutiya, N: other one  
 kutu, N: dead  
 kutu-ma-lku, Vtr: kill  
 kutu-wayi-ku, Vint: die  
 kuwarri, Loc: now, today  
 maatha, N: boss (Eng: master)  
 makuntu, N: punishment spear  
 malhu, N: middle  
 malu, N: shade  
 \$malunmarra, N: shade  
 mama, N: father, father's brother  
 mana-ku, Vtr: get, grab, pick up  
 manarra, N: murderer  
 manartu, N: good  
 manga, N: girl  
 manganya, N: echidna  
 mangka, N: drinking straw  
 mangka-thu-lku, Vtr: put a  
 drinking straw into  
 mangkalyi, N: circumcisor  
 mangkarnpa, N: spirit, ghost  
 mangunpa, N: knee  
 \$mangunpi-lku, Vtr: eat, drink  
 mani, N: some, others  
 \$maningarla, N: some, others  
 mankarra, N: hard, firm, tight  
 \$manngukamu, Loc: tomorrow  
 manpurra, N: knee  
 manta-lku, Vtr: tie up, bind  
 manthu, N: termite  
 mantu, N: meat, game  
 \$manurnu, N: good  
 \$manurnuma-lku, Vtr: make  
 good  
 manuwarra, N: many, mob  
 manyji, N: death adder  
 manyka, N: son, nephew  
 maparn, N: spirit familiar  
 maparnkarra, N: doctor, magic

man  
 mapuji, N: mother's father,  
 daughter's child (man speaking)  
 mara, N: hand  
 marajunu, N: poor fellow  
 mari, N: younger sister  
 marla, N: yam type  
 marlpa, N: man, person, human  
 marlurlu, N: captured initiate  
 marnta, N: hill, rock, stone,  
 money  
 marntamarangka, N: policeman  
 marntili, N: father's brother  
 marntiyarra, Kin: patrimoiety  
 pair  
 marnu, N: good  
 marnu-ma-lku, Vtr: fix, mend,  
 make good  
 marralha, N: river gum  
 marrkara, N: younger brother  
 maruwa, N: snakewood  
 marta, N: blood  
 martamarta, N: red  
 martarra, N: red ochre  
 marti, N: marking  
 \$martiya, N: dance area, road  
 martumirri, N: damper  
 mata, N: yam  
 matharri, N: frost, mist, fog  
 matu, N: bereaved spouse  
 maya, N: house, building  
 mayali, N: father's father/son's  
 child (male speaking)  
 \$mayanmarra, N: house  
 mayarnpa, N: cuckoo-shrike  
 \$mayaru, N: wild, angry,  
 frightened, finished  
 mijara, N: egg  
 mijaranypa, Prop: name of  
 dialect  
 miji, N: blood  
 mijimiji, N: red  
 miju, N: fingernail  
 mila, N: hip  
 milangka, N: section name,  
 marriage class  
 milyalka-lku, Vtr: lick, kiss  
 milyula, N: hidden  
 milyula-lku, Vtr: steal  
 milyula-yi-ku, Vint: hide self  
 mimi, N: mother's brother,

father-in-law  
 minaja-lku, Vtr: collect, gather  
 minarli, N: own  
 mingkapuru, Loc: behind  
 minkala, N: god, mythical man  
 \$minkayi-ku, Vatr: arise, get  
     up, climb  
 mintalypa, N: carefully  
 minyma, N: still, quiet  
 mirlanha, N: bluetongue lizard  
 mirli, N: cadjeput, paperbark  
 mirlima-lku, Vtr: spear  
 mirlimirli, N: paper  
 mirlpu, N: bardie grub  
 mirntalypa, N: something unreal  
 mirnu, Npred: know  
 mirnu-ma-lku, Vdtr: show,  
     teach  
 mirnu-wayi-ku, Vtr: learn  
     (something)  
 mirra-ku, Vatr: call out (to),  
     sing out (to)  
 mirrurtu, N: winnowing dish  
 mirta, Part: not  
 mirtanyarni, N: fast, quickly  
 mirta, Int: No!, Yes (go on  
     talking!)  
 mirtilypa, N: baby  
 mirtuwarra, N: expert, clever  
 mithi, N: white woman (Eng:  
     missy)  
 miwa, N: tawny frogmouth  
 miyinma-lku, Vtr: provide for  
 mujira, N: dingo  
 \$mukanypa, N: asleep  
 mukulpa, N: father's sister  
 mulha, N: nose  
 mungkangu, N: red ochre  
 mungku, N: anthill  
 \$mungkuwa-lku, Vint: come,  
     return  
 munkurrarri, N: clay ground  
 munma, N: armpit  
 munyju-lku, Vtr: swallow  
 murna, N: close by, near  
 murna-karti, Loc: this side  
 murna-karti-ku, Vtr: come near  
 murnaji, N: turn  
 murnaji-pi-lku, Vint: take  
     turns  
 murnalpa, Loc: close by

murrartu-ma-lku, Vtr: bruise  
 murrini, Loc: behind  
 murrka, N: soak  
 murru, N: back  
 murruka, N: car  
 murrulu, N: rise (in ground)  
 murti-ku, Vint: run  
 muthu, N: cold  
 muthu-wayi-ku, Vint: become  
     cold  
 muthumuthu, N: cool  
 muthumuthu-wi-ku, Vint:  
     become cool  
 muthura, N: winter rains  
 ngaja, N: type of mouse  
 ngaji-ku, Vatr: cry (for)  
 ngajinu, N: younger sister  
 ngalha-lku, Vtr: copulate with  
 ngalyakarra, N: good, well  
     behaved  
 ngalyarra, N: centipede  
 ngalyka, N: splinter, spike  
 ngamari, N: tobacco  
 ngamarri, N: liver  
 ngamilari, N: overhang or  
     crevice in cliff  
 ngampapi-lku, Vtr: meet  
 nganany-pi-lku, Vtr: see who it  
     is, identify  
 ngangka, N: mother  
 ngangkanyu, N: thumb  
 ngankurrpa, N: moustache  
 ngantha-lku, Vtr: bite  
 nganyja, N: sand, earth  
 \$ngapinyja-lku, Vtr: do (bad)  
     thing  
 ngaranti, N: black duck  
 ngarlarla, N: noise  
 ngarkari, N: liver  
 ngarlu, N: guts, belly  
 ngarlunha, N: flagon  
 ngarna-ku, Vtr: eat, drink  
 ngarna-thu-lku, Vtr: bite into  
 ngarnja, N: shingle  
 ngarnka, N: sky  
 ngarnngarnpa, N: chin  
 ngarntamu, Loc: again  
 ngarra-lku, Vtr: chop, hit with  
     thrown rock  
 \$ngarrathaa-lku, Vtr: send, let  
     go

ngarri, N: ashes  
 ngarri-ku, Vint: lie  
 ngarriwartu, N: earth oven  
 ngartapirri, N: tortoise  
 ngartarra, N: light (in weight)  
 ngarti, N: mother  
 ngayi-lku, Vtr: throw, drop  
 ngayilkara-lku, Vtr: rush at  
 ngulitu, N: dance ground  
 ngulutharri, N: horse  
 ngungkumarta, N: heavy, strong  
 nguri, N: beeswax  
 ngurntaka-ma-lku, Vtr: make  
 (horse) gallop  
 ngurrara, N: country, homeland  
 ngurriny-ma-lku, Vtr: roll  
 (swag)  
 ngurrinypa, N: swag, bedroll  
 \$nguyarranha, N: two  
 nhaanma-lku, Vint: give self up  
 nhaka-nguli-ku, Vint: become  
 cold, feel cold  
 nhangu-wayi-ku, Vint: move  
 here/this way  
 nhanka, N: back of neck  
 nharnu, N: earth, dirt, sand  
 nhithinypa, N: kookaburra  
 nhukurlpa, N: ankle  
 nyampa, N: hurry  
 nyamparr-pi-lku, Vint: hurry  
 nyamunyam, N: moustache  
 nyanyi, N: pubic hair  
 nyanyji, N: enemy  
 nyarni, N: slow, slowly  
 nyarnta, N: semen  
 nyarru-wayi-ku, Vint: dance  
 nyawaru, N: namesake  
 nyila, N: drink  
 nyimilirri, N: rib  
 nyirlunpa, N: navel  
 \$nyirntiji, N: hair belt  
 nyirntilpa, N: waist  
 nyirti, N: mother-in-law,  
 in-law, affinal relative  
 nyiyinirri, N: song  
 nyiyinirri-ku, Vint: sing  
 nyuju, N: initiate  
 nyujuwirri, N: muddy, boggy  
 nyungu-wayi-ku, Vtr: get cross  
 with  
 nyupa, N: spouse

nyupamalingka, Kin: group of  
 married couples  
 nyuparra, Kin: husband and  
 wife pair  
 nyurli-ku, Vint: dive  
 nyurna, N: snake  
 nyurni, N: mosquito  
 nyurnta, N: initiate  
 nyurru, N: mucus, snot  
 nyurru-ma-lku, Vint: blow  
 nose  
 nyurtu, N: girl  
 nyuyulpari, N: soft  
 nyuyulwirri-ku, Vint: get soft  
 paja, N: wild, angry  
 paja-yi-ku, Vtr: get angry  
 (with)  
 pajarrangu, N: savage, vicious  
 pajarri, N: euro, hill kangaroo  
 paji, N: lower arm  
 pajiwanarra, N: plains kangaroo  
 paka-ku, Vint: be broken  
 paka-lku, Vint: come  
 paka-pi-lku, Vtr: break into  
 pieces  
 palamu, Loc: already  
 palhama-lku, Vtr: paint  
 palharri-ku, Vint: paint oneself  
 palkumarra, N: rock python  
 palya, N: woman  
 palyantharri, Npl: women  
 panaka, N: section name,  
 marriage class  
 pangarnu, N: black goanna  
 panhapanhayi-ku, Vint: get  
 organised  
 panpa-ku, Vint: fly  
 pantharra, N: jealous  
 panti-ku, Vint: sit, stay, stop, be  
 panti-thu-lku, Vtr: set down,  
 sit down  
 panu, N: real  
 panu, Part: very, truly  
 papa, N: water  
 papu, N: father, Dad  
 paralyji, N: seagull  
 pari, N: still, continuing  
 parilha, N: still, continuing  
 parli, N: crooked  
 parli-ma-lku, Vtr: bend  
 \$parliparli, N: still, continue,

keep on  
 parlkanu, N: cloud  
 parlkapi, N: coroboree, song  
 parlkarra, N: plain  
 parlkurrrpa, N: scar, cicatrice  
 parlpa, N: thumping noise  
 parnka, N: lizard  
 parnma-ku, Vint: explode  
 parnparnku, N: twenty-eight  
 parrot  
 parnta-lku, Vatr: rain (effects)  
 parntaja-lku, Vtr: find  
 parntakura, N: bush turkey  
 parnti-ku, Vint: be smelling  
 parrka, N: leaf  
 parrkara, N: shoulder blade  
 parruntu-lku, Vint: bark  
 parrura, Loc: long time  
 partarra, N: bark dish  
 \$partarri, N: word  
 \$partarri-ku, Vatr: speak, tell  
 partirri, N: kanyji bush  
 paru, N: species of spinifex  
 parukurru, Npl: expanse of  
 spinifex  
 patha-lku, Vtr: blow, hit with  
 thrown boomerang, spin hair  
 pathara, N: wild plum  
 patiki, N: paddock (Eng)  
 payanyji, N: policeman  
 pilakurta, N: carpenter  
 pilanyja-yi-ku, Vatr frightened  
 (of)  
 pilanypa, N: fear  
 pilanyu, N: fear, frightened  
 pilapila, N: buttocks  
 pili, N: cave, hole  
 \$pilinmarra, N: cave  
 \$pilukunti, N: boomerang  
 pilyaku, N: galah  
 pilyparra, N: dry  
 pimparramparra, N: lightning  
 pinga, N: ant  
 \$pinikayi-ku, Vint: go  
 pinkali-ku, Vint: turn, turn  
 around  
 pinparlurlu, N: pelican  
 pinpilha, N: grasshopper  
 pinpirri, N: clearing  
 pintirri, N: star  
 pinturu, N: high country

pinyarri-ku, Vint: fight  
 pipi, N: breast, mother, Mum  
 pirarrara, Npl: stand of  
 blackheart  
 pirarrpa, N: blackheart  
 \$pirla, N: fight  
 pirlinkarra, N: flat rock  
 pirlurru, N: bald  
 pirntipirnti, N: separate  
 pirnturr-ma-lku, Vtr: make  
 jealous  
 pirri, N: afternoon, yesterday  
 pirri-yayi-ku, Vint: become  
 afternoon  
 \$pirringarla, N: afternoon  
 pirrithuni, N: practice spear  
 \$pirrunmarra, N: kangaroo  
 pirtikarri, N: light  
 pirtinkarra, N: bald  
 pirtipirti, N: butterfly  
 pirtulpa, N: petrol (Eng)  
 pithanypa, N: tick  
 piyara, N: tree type  
 piyararra, Npl: stand of tree  
 type  
 puka, N: rotten, stinking  
 puka-yi-ku, Vint: go rotten  
 pukalypukalypa, N: rotten  
 pukanmarra, N: rotten  
 throughout  
 pukany-pi-lku, Vtr: go hunting  
 on behalf of someone  
 pukanypa, N: hunting  
 pukapukara, N: blowfly  
 pukurra, N: devil  
 pula, N: lump  
 pularta, N: heart, kidney  
 pulawa, N: flour (Eng)  
 puliman, N: bullock (Eng: bull)  
 pulku, N: spinifex resin, wax  
 pulpu, N: axe  
 punangu, N: bloodwood tree  
 punarangu, N: Kingsmill's  
 mallee  
 punararra, Npl: stand of  
 Kingsmill's mallee  
 punarrara, Npl: stand of  
 bloodwood  
 punha, N: sexually aroused  
 punha-nguli-ku, Vint: become  
 sexually aroused

punhayi, N: son  
 puntha-ku, Vint: bathe, swim,  
     get wet, wash  
 punyu, N: calm  
 punyupunu-wi-ku, Vint:  
     become calm, settle down  
 puri, N: heart  
 puriya, N: salt, salt water  
 purlpi, Npred: want  
 purlpi-yayi-ku, Vtr: want, like  
 purlpura, N: boil  
 purlu, N: face, point  
 purlura, Loc: ahead, before  
 purnta, N: hole in ground  
 purri-ku, Vtr: pull out  
 purripurira, N: hornet  
 purrpa, Loc: later  
 purrukurra, N: boil  
 purruru, N: hairstring belt  
 purtanmarra, N: vagina  
 purtu, N: chest  
 purungu, N: section name,  
     marriage class  
 putha, N: head  
 puthalka, N: head  
 putirta, N: bush type  
 thaa-ku, Vtr: send, let go  
 thaa-thu-ku, Vtr: pour  
 thaawarru, N: carpet snake  
 thali-ku, Vtr: kick  
 thami, N: mother's father,  
     daughter's child (man speaking)  
 thampa, Int: What about you?  
 thanarru, Int: Hey, Hello,  
     Alright  
 thara, N: mouth  
 tharlingka-yi-ku, Vtr: ride  
     (horse)  
 tharlura-pi-ku, Vint: (storm)  
     build up  
 tharraki, N: bush turkey (Eng:  
     turkey)  
 tharralyji, N: bell bird  
 tharra-ku, Vint: enter, go in  
 tharra-ku, Vtr: put in  
 thartama-ku, Vtr: cover  
 thina, N: dinner (Eng)  
 thinhampa, N: blunt  
 thitha-ku, Vatr: wait (for)  
 thukurpa, N: straight, correct,  
     proper

thukurta, N: vegetable food  
 thula-ku, Vint: bark  
 thuli, N: tawny frogmouth  
 thumpu, N: anus  
 thunamarlu, N: penis  
 thurla, N: eye  
 thurla-nguli-ku, Vint: have eye  
     trouble  
 thurla-yi-ku, Vint: wake up, be  
     born  
 thurlajarta, N: blind  
 thurlapirli, N: caterpillar  
 thurni-ku, Vatr: laugh (at)  
 thurnta-ku, Vtr: roll (damper)  
 thurnu, N: inside  
 thurtu, N: (elder) sister  
 thurtuwarra, Kin: pair of sisters  
 waju, N: straight  
 waju-ma-ku, Vtr: make sure  
     of, check  
 wajuju, N: bee  
 wakurra, N: crow  
 wakurtu, N: armpit  
 walakurru, N: white down  
     feathers  
 walhampa, N: leafy bough  
 walharnungu, N: tree type  
 walyi, N: bad  
 walyi-ma-ku, Vtr: make bad,  
     spoil  
 walyi-yayi-ku, Vint: become  
     bad  
 walyikarta, N: bad person  
 walypala, N: white man (Eng:  
     white fellow)  
 \$walypatara, N: white person  
 wanarra, N: long  
 wangka, N: language, word,  
     story, news  
 wangka-ku, Vtr: say, tell, talk  
 wangkapi-ku, Vint: argue  
 wangkampa, N: light (in weight)  
 wangkarrpa, N: throat, windpipe  
 wanka, N: alive, raw, unripe  
 wannga, N: chest target for spear  
 wanta, N: mad, insane  
 wanta-yi-ku, Vint: become  
     crazy  
 wantama-ku, Vtr: split up,  
     separate  
 wanta-ku, Vtr: put, place,

leave  
 wanu, N: digging stick  
 wanyja, N: dog  
 \$wanyjatarra, N: dog  
 wapunpi-lku, Vint: clap hands  
     on thighs  
 wara, N: cloth, clothes  
 warama-lku, Vtr: make  
 waramurrunka, N: flying fox  
 warathu-lku, Vtr: say goodbye  
 warayi-ku, Vint: fly  
 warinyarra, Kin: parents-in-law  
 warla, N: heel  
 warlartu, N: eaglehawk  
 warli, N: lip  
 warli-lku, Vtr: hold  
 warlipi, N: boy, young man,  
     youth  
 \$warlpa-lku, Vatr: go up, climb  
 warlparra, N: spear thrower  
 warni-ku, Vint: fall, fall down  
 warnku-wayi-ku, Vint: (river)  
     become a bend, become bent  
 warnku, N: bent, bend in river  
 warnkurla, N: elbow  
 warnkuwarnku, N: bent  
 warnma, N: puppy  
 warnmartarri, Npl: litter of  
     puppies  
 \$warntalykarri-ku, Vint:  
     become bad  
 \$warntalykarta-lku, Vtr: make  
     bad, spoil  
 warnti, N: tail, penis  
 warntula, N: magpie  
 warntulya, N: larrikin  
 warrapa, N: grass,  
     spinifex (gen.)  
 \$warrapanmarra, N: grass  
 warraparri, Npl: expanse of  
     grass  
 warrari, N: fly  
 warri, N: ground  
 warrimari, N: low country  
 warriarta, N: eaglehawk  
 warriki, N: possum  
 warriku, N: joey kangaroo  
 warrikunti, N: boomerang  
 warrpa, N: far  
 warrpa-yi-ku, Vint: move away  
 warrpala, N: spearthrower

warrpala-la-ma-lku, Vtr: load  
     (a spear) onto a spearthrower  
 warru, N: black  
 warru-yayi-ku, Vint: become  
     dark/night  
 warrukarta, N: night  
 \$warrungarla, N: night  
 warrungkamu, Loc: morning,  
     tomorrow  
 warrunparrunpa, N: blowfly  
 warruwanarra, N: all night  
 warruwaru, N: dark  
 wartalpa, Loc: north  
 warupurrka, N: flame  
 watharri-ku, Vtr: look for  
 wayarrpi-lku, Vtr: finish, use  
     up  
 wayayi-ku, Vint: finish  
 wayuwarra, N: kangaroo rat  
 wilinpi-lku, Vtr: shake  
 wilka-pi-lku, Vint: move  
     through a gap  
 wilyka, N: shoulder and back,  
     yoke  
 wininyji, N: blood  
 winmilpa, N: windmill (Eng)  
 winya, N: full, sated  
 winya-ma-lku, Vtr: fill  
 wirlarra, N: moon, month  
 wirlumarra, N: curlew  
 wirna, N: tired  
 wirnta-lku, Vtr: cut, hurt  
     feelings  
 wirntamarra, N: mulga  
 wirntamarrarri, Npl: stand of  
     mulga  
 wirntiwarnti, N: skyhawk  
 wirrilyi, N: youth  
 wirrpi, N: wind  
 wirta, N: shin  
 wirta, N: youth  
 witha, N: saliva  
 witha-ngka-lku, Vtr: spit on  
 witi, N: playing  
 witi-pi-lku, Vtr: play, flirt with  
 witi-yayi-ku, Vint: play  
 \$witinmarra, N: playing  
 wiya-lku, Vtr: see, look at  
 wiyalkarra-lku, Vtr: look after,  
     watch out  
 wiyurra, N: feelings

wulu, N: thigh  
 wuluju, Loc: west  
 wunpayi, N: bee  
 wuntaja, N: circumcisee  
 wuntu, N: river  
 \$wuntunmarra, N: river  
 wurrumpa, N: bee  
 wurta, N: emu chick  
 wurtartarri, Npl: clutch of emu chicks  
 yakuwa-lku, Vtr: test, try out  
 yalha, N: bough shade, shelter  
 yalhu, N: lungs  
 yalhuru, N: tongue  
 \$yamarrpa, N: man, person  
 yana-ku, Vint: go  
 yanga-lku, Vtr: chase, follow  
 yantha, N: scorpion  
 yanti, N: winnowing dish  
 yapan-tu-lku, Vtr: put hot cooking stones into  
 yapanpa, N: hot cooking stone  
 yapulpa, Loc: downriver  
 yarli, N: vulva  
 yarnta, N: day, sun (in morning)  
 yarpala, N: sweat  
 yarpala-yi-ku, Vint: be sweating  
 yarruwarra, Kin: brothers-in-law  
 yarta, N: many, much  
 yartipirri, N: alongside, side  
 yaru, N: mother's older sister  
 yarungana, N: mother-in-law  
 yata, N: shield  
 yawarta, N: horse  
 yawu, N: same one  
 yijangu, N: new  
 yika, N: finished

yikamarta, N: one  
 yilimpirra, N: mudlark  
 yilka, N: fingernail  
 yilkari, N: sky  
 yingara, N: charcoal  
 yini, N: name  
 yini-ma-lku, Vtr: name  
 yinti, N: forehead  
 yinti-ku, Vint: go down  
 yinti-thu-lku, Vtr: lower, put down  
 \$yinuwa-lku, Vtr: see, look at  
 yinya-ku, Vdtr: give  
 yinyjara, N: alike  
 yinyjurrpa, N: cork bark fruit  
 yiri, N: sharp, spear point  
 yirlirli, N: maggots  
 yirntitila, Loc: already  
 yirntitira, N: old  
 yirra, N: tooth  
 yirrayi-ku, Vint: sing  
 yirra-ku, Vint: dancing  
 yirryiwarra, N: native cat  
 yirtiya, N: road  
 yirtiirti, N: hanging  
 yitipi-lku, Vtr: stare at  
 yukarrpa, N: mark  
 yukurru, N: dog  
 yumpu, N: point of spear  
 yungurli-ku, Vint: wriggle  
 yurlu, N: camp, home  
 yurntu-lku, Vtr: push  
 yurra-lku, Vtr: dig, scratch  
 yurri, N: armpit  
 yurri-ngka-lku, Vtr: aim a spear at  
 yurrkurnpa, N: hair  
 yurpi-lku, Vtr: smooth  
 yurti, N: sweet

### 7.3 LIST OF SUFFIX ALLOMORPHS

The list includes the productive and semi-productive allomorphs of suffix morphemes. The suffixes isolated from idiosyncratic plural forms (§3.2.2[e1-3]), for example, are not included here.

-janganu, Passive Perfect verbal suffix

-jangu, Relative verbal suffix  
 -jara, Might (active) verbal



- suffix  
 -ju, 1sg Benefactive Pronoun clitic  
 -ka, Locative nominal suffix  
 -kaji, Realis Future verbal suffix  
 -kanu, 'Only' clitic particle  
 -kara, Hortative verbal suffix  
 -karra, Unifying nominal suffix  
 -karta, (direct) Allative nominal suffix  
 -ku, Accusative nominal suffix  
 -ku, Agentive nominal suffix  
 -kumpa, 'Like' clitic particle  
 -kutha, Dual nominal suffix  
 -la, Locative nominal suffix  
 -lalha, Perfect verbal suffix  
 -larta, Future/Purposive verbal suffix  
 -lartanguru, Contrafactual verbal suffix  
 -layi, Tense Axis Shift clitic particle  
 -lha, Perfect verbal suffix  
 -ljara, Might (active) verbal suffix  
 -lkaji, Realis Future verbal suffix  
 -lkara, Hortative verbal suffix  
 -lkuli-Ø, Passive verbal suffix  
 -lpuru, Might (passive) verbal suffix  
 -lu, Agentive nominal suffix  
 -lwuru, Habitual verbal suffix  
 -ma, Imperative verbal suffix  
 -ma-L, Causative/Factitive verbalising suffix  
 -mari, Causal nominal suffix  
 -minyarnu, And All nominal suffix  
 -mpa, 'YouKnow' clitic particle  
 -mu, 'Then' clitic particle  
 -muntu, Conjunction nominal suffix  
 -ngara, Plural (on kinship dyads) nominal suffix  
 -ngarli, Plural nominal suffix  
 -ngarni, Comitative nominal suffix  
 -ngka, Locative nominal suffix  
 -ngku, Agentive nominal suffix  
 -ngu, Accusative nominal suffix  
 -nguli-Ø, Passive verbal suffix  
 -nguli-Ø, Psych-Inchoative verbalising suffix  
 -ngumalku, Consequential verbal suffix  
 -nguru, Ablative nominal suffix  
 -nha, Past verbal suffix  
 -nha, Specific referent marker nominal suffix  
 -nhanu, Contrastive clitic particle  
 -nma, Imperative verbal suffix  
 -nmarra, derives nominals of Paathupathu style  
 -nmayi-Ø, Collective verbal suffix  
 -nnguli-Ø, Passive verbal suffix  
 -nta, Interrogative clitic particle  
 -nyayi-Ø, Collective verbal suffix  
 -nyu, Truth clitic particle  
 -nyungu, Provenience nominal suffix  
 -pati, Privative nominal suffix  
 -pi-L, Processive verbalising suffix  
 -pula, Both nominal suffix  
 -pula, Reflexive clitic  
 -puru, Might (passive) verbal suffix  
 -puru, Obscured nominal suffix  
 -rla, Focus clitic particle  
 -rna, Past verbal suffix  
 -rnaanu, Passive Perfect verbal suffix  
 -rni, 1sg Object Pronoun clitic  
 -rnu, Relative verbal suffix  
 -rnumalku, Consequential verbal suffix  
 -rra, Dubitative clitic particle  
 -rri-Ø, Collective2 verbal suffix  
 -rru, 'Now' clitic particle  
 -rta, Future/Purposive verbal suffix  
 -rtanguru, Contrafactual verbal suffix  
 -tharntu, Genitive nominal suffix  
 -thu-L, Placement verbalising suffix

-wali, Allative nominal suffix  
 -warlaru, Emphasis clitic  
   particle  
 -warni, Recognition clitic  
   particle  
 -wantura, Distributed Plural  
   nominal suffix  
 -wayi-Ø, Inchoative verbalising  
   suffix

-wi-Ø, Inchoative verbalising  
   suffix  
 -wuru, Habitual verbal suffix  
 -yayi-Ø, Inchoative verbalising  
   suffix  
 -yi-Ø, Inchoative verbalising  
   suffix  
 -yu, Accusative nominal suffix

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