

Verb functions and Argument Structure in
MalakMalak
a Northern Daly Language of the Daly River
Region, Northern Territory

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Abbreviations and Conventions

		Ng	Ngan'gityemerri language
adv	Adverb	NP	Noun Phrase
Au	Augmented	O	Object
clf	Classifier	past	Past tense
dat	Dative	pl	Plural
dem	Demonstrative	PN	Pronoun
DO	DO auxiliary	poss	Possessive
dpf	Depictive	PRD	Partial Reduplication
emph PN	Emphatic pronoun	pres	Present tense
encl	Enclitic	punct	Punctual aspect
excl	Exclusive	purp	Purposive
f	Feminine	qf	Quantifier
foc	Focative	RD	Reduplication
fut	Future tense	S	Subject
GO	GO auxiliary	sfm	Sentence Final Marker
GO*	GO* auxiliary	sg	singular
hab	Habitual	SIT	SIT auxiliary
i	Inanimate	STAND	STAND auxiliary
impf	Imperfective	TAM	Tense/Aspect/Mood
incl	Inclusive	v	Vegetable gender
int	Intensive	w	Wood gender
LIE	LIE auxiliary		
loc	Locative		
m	Masculine		
M	Minimal		
MM	MalakMalak language		
Mthl	Marrithiyel language		
neg	Negative marker		
nf	Non-future		

Notes on examples

‘*’ indicates that a sentence or phrase with ‘*’ is ungrammatical

BL refers to my MalakMalak language teacher Bidy Lindsay

JT refers to Ian Green’s language teacher

Examples will be presented in the following format. The first line of text (italicised) is the language. Parsed morphemes are presented. The second line of text presents a gloss for each presented morpheme. The free English gloss generally presents translations provided in notes generally taken during elicitation sessions. The reference for each example is generally presented on the right of the free gloss.

Examples taken from published works are referenced in the following way:

[Author reference, Example number, Publication year:Page number]

For example,

[Birk, ex.171, 1976:62]

Examples taken from Ian Green’s field notes are generally referenced in the following way:

[Speaker, Linguist, Date, Page number (where applicable)]

For example,

[JT, Green 26/11/90]

Finally, examples taken from my own field notes are referenced in the following way:

[Speaker, Session number.Page number (where applicable), Date]

For example,

[BL, S5.2, 28/7/06]

Introduction

This thesis describes the composite verb structure in the non-Pama-Nyungan Australian language MalakMalak. Its conception is a response to two independent issues. The first is the highly endangered status of MalakMalak, an issue that demands the urgent collection and analysis of primary source linguistic data. The second is ultimately motivated by the academic debate concerning a re-evaluation of the part-of-speech category 'verb'. Such an issue prompts the consideration of how speakers categorise the world in terms of linguistic categories such as event and state. Whilst much research has focused on object categorisation, it is only relatively recently that the focus has shifted to event classification in language acquisition and development.

A number of Top End languages employ a 'two-part' verb structure e.g. Jaminjung, Wagiman, Ngan'gityemerri and Marrithiyel. There are a number of different terms used to refer to the two verbal constituents (see §2.1). I will use the terms 'auxiliary' and 'coverb' to refer to the inflecting and uninflecting verbal elements respectively. The first example (1) shows the independent, semantically functional use of an auxiliary. This type of verbal structure will be referred to as simple verb construction (SVC). Its counterpart, complex verb construction (CVC) is exemplified by example (2). CVCs consist of coverb - auxiliary combinations. The first constituent *lak* 'eat (meat)' is the uninflecting coverb and the second verbal constituent is the inflecting auxiliary that has the semantic function 'in a sitting position'.

(1) *e-noe*

1EM-SIT.pres

I am in a sitting position.

[BL, S13,

10/8/06]

(2) *lak -ma eni-nginy*

eat (meat) -impf 1EM-SIT.impf

I am sitting down (stative) eating.

[BL, S2.3,

23/4/06]

Regardless of the terms used, verbal classification and the semantic and syntactic functions of each verbal constituent also vary cross-linguistically. The two aims for this research include:

- the identification of the various functions of the six MalakMalak auxiliaries, some of which occur in simple as well as complex predicates
- an exploration of argument structure of the composite verb, and how it is composed in MalakMalak.

This is not the first descriptive account of the MalakMalak language. Previous work has included a sketch grammar by Tryon (1974) and David Birk's (1976) descriptive grammar of MalakMalak 'The MalakMalak Language, Daly River (Western Arnhem Land)' hereafter referred to as 'Birk'. This thesis supplements previous work from my own fieldwork (2006) and Ian Green's unglossed fieldwork notes (1989-1992), hereafter referred to as 'Green'. Whilst Birk presents a large amount of data, discussion of the specific functions of each auxiliary is minimal. Whilst my thesis is also descriptive, I will discuss auxiliary functions in greater detail and in terms of argument structure, an issue that is discussed minimally by Birk. I also provide a possible motivation for particular coverb – auxiliary combinations based on situation types (Aktionsart) and viewpoint aspect. However, a detailed discussion of this proposal is beyond the scope of this thesis and requires highly specific research into the encoding of aspect in MalakMalak.

The data collection this year (2006) is part of a cross-linguistic study focusing on coverbs in some African and Australian languages. Amongst other languages, the principal investigators, Mengistu Amberber, Brett Baker and Mark Harvey, are investigating the Australian languages Wagiman, Jaminjung, Marra and MalakMalak as well as the Afro-asiatic languages Amharic, Oromo and Tigrinya in terms of composite verb functions. The ultimate question of the study is whether the part-of-speech category 'verb' should be re-assessed to account for the category 'coverb'. Among the questions branching from this is how coverb and auxiliary categorisation affects a speaker's event classification. My role in the project was to work with MalakMalak speakers to collect modern MalakMalak examples from the field in 2006.

The previously mentioned collated data (Birk, Green and my own) includes original work collected on two separate field trips in 2006. Before these field trips, Ian Green generously provided me with 20 recordings and accompanying field-notes. These resources have made an invaluable contribution to my work on MalakMalak. The majority of the notes are unglossed but well formatted and consequently, easily accessible. They provided me with a high quality template for note taking in the field and the absence of glosses quickly pushed me to establish my own sense of the language. Furthermore the tapes, the majority of which I was able to digitise, provided me with an insight into the linguistic and meta-linguistic formalities and informalities associated with conducting useful elicitation sessions.

An ethics application through the University of Melbourne was granted before the field trips, the first of which was ten days to the Nauiyu Nambiyu community in April. The second field trip was again to Nauiyu and lasted for four weeks in July-August. Biddy, hereafter referred to as BL, was my only language teacher for both field trips.

My field-notes are based on data collection from 7 sessions in April, and another 18 sessions in July-August. Each session ran for approximately 1 to 1½ hours and was recorded on a digital Marantz recorder at 44.1 kHz in .wav format using an external microphone. Most sessions followed formal elicitation patterns focusing on auxiliary paradigms, auxiliary semantics and general aspect and Aktionsart. Although BL recorded some narratives including 'Yam collecting', she did not consider herself to be the storyteller of the family and would have preferred to have her sisters present for many of the sessions. The sisters did not wish to have their voices recorded for personal reasons, so BL is the only speaker consulted for this thesis. We worked either at BL's house or my cabin at the leadership centre in Nauiyu.

Some sessions were transcribed whilst in Nauiyu however many were transcribed upon my return to Melbourne. In addition to his field-notes, Ian Green had provided me with an electronic word-list and auxiliary paradigms that, as I will show, differ in places from Birk.

The various foci of the ensuing description of MalakMalak will be driven and defined by the following research questions:

- What is the semantic and syntactic function of each auxiliary?
- How does the language distinguish between intransitive and transitive constructions given it does not have separate pronominal paradigms for each?
- What determines argument structure in SV and CV constructions i.e. can coverbs and/or auxiliaries be classified as monovalent, bivalent, trivalent in different environments?
- How, if at all, does MalakMalak distinguish between aspect and Aktionsart?

Chapter 1 identifies some preliminary information about the place, the language and the speakers, as well as a brief typological overview that is based on Birk's grammar.

Chapter 2 introduces a variety of approaches to 'two-part' verb structures. The various analyses of different languages can in fact relate to one of two hypotheses. The first is that the uninflecting constituent is the only predicate of a verb phrase, whereas the second suggests that the 'two-part' verb (complex verb construction) is a combination of two verbal predicates resulting in a complex predicate.

The aim of Chapter 3 is two-fold. The first section describes Birk's account of the MalakMalak auxiliary system with the purpose of distinguishing his analysis from my own developments. With the aid of examples taken from the entire corpus of data, i.e. Birk's, Green's, and my own fieldwork, the second section builds on Birk's relatively brief descriptions of the functions of the three posture auxiliaries SIT, LIE and STAND with a particular focus on argument structure, aspect and Aktionsart.

Chapter 4 continues these detailed examinations by considering the functions of the two motion auxiliaries GO and GO* as well as the DO auxiliary. The DO auxiliary is of particular interest in relation to argument structure as Birk describes it as a 'transitivity index'.

Chapter 5 provides functional schemas for each auxiliary as well as introducing coverb compounding and serialisation as areas of interest for future research and considers other concepts that require further investigation.

Various proposals are made throughout this thesis that is a descriptive account of MalakMalak. These proposals await a formal syntactic analysis that would help to clarify certain observations.

Chapter 1

1. THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

1.1. The Language Situation

The MalakMalak language is traditionally spoken by the MalakMalak people (sometimes known as the Telikan people) of the Daly River region in the Northern

Territory, southwest of Darwin. It is an agglutinating non-Pama Nyungan language and is a member of the 'Northern Daly' language family (Green and Marrfurra in Lindsay et al. 2001; Evans 2003). This family includes languages based around the lower reaches of the Daly River. MalakMalak land includes the Nauiyu community, Wooliana, Din'girriyet (Browns Creek), the main Daly River Crossing and further, to about Hayward Creek. The northwest stretches to Mount Litchfield and Mount Searcy south of the Daly. In addition, there is an arm of MalakMalak country that borders Matngala country and extends to include the Dilke Range (Lindsay, et al. 2001). The term MalakMalak is used to refer to the people, the language, the land, songs, stories and knowledge associated with the area just described. There are two theories regarding the origin and meaning of the term MalakMalak. The more probable is that it relates to the word *nguluk* meaning 'language'. This theory is bolstered by the fact that reduplication is a common linguistic process in the language. The less likely theory is that it relates to the English word mullock - a reference to the mullock heaps by which the MalakMalak people lived during white-settlement of the area (Berndt in Birk, 1976).

1.1.1. Speakers

In 1976, Birk reported that there were twenty speakers of MalakMalak. He identified nine speakers as having MalakMalak as their "mother-tongue" (Birk 1976). In August 2006 there were nine living fluent speakers of MalakMalak. Six of these nine fluent speakers make up the surviving offspring of the one family whose father was MalakMalak and mother was Matngala. This family lives on traditional lands at Wooliana and Nauiyu however whilst two of the siblings adopted children and grandchildren into their families, none had their own offspring. Therefore, the current nine aforementioned speakers are all from the oldest generation. To my knowledge, some (if not all) members of the younger generation can understand and speak varying degrees of MalakMalak. Some members of the youngest generation apparently understand some MalakMalak but generally use Kriol and English. It is apparent, therefore, that the MalakMalak language is highly endangered. However, there are positive and practical efforts being made by some of the speakers to ensure the knowledge and some language is transferred to younger generations of relations of the MalakMalak people. Examples of these applications are included in section §1.3

1.1.2. Language Names

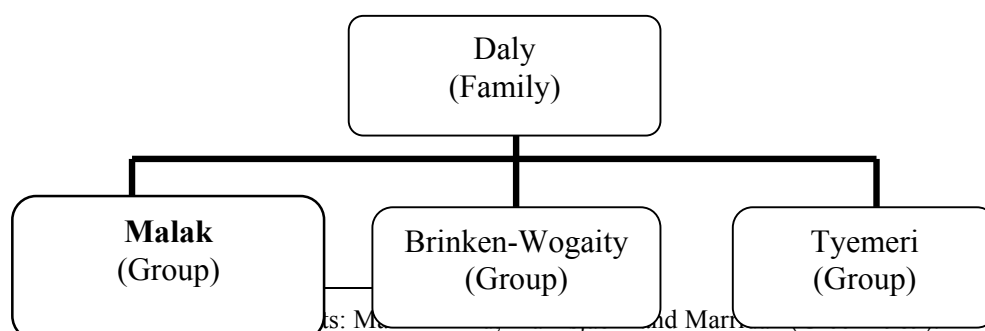
The Ethnologue website (Gordon 2005) lists the language as *Mullukmulluk* (taken from (Tryon 1974). It provides the following alternate names/spellings: *Malak-Malak*, *Malagmalag*, *Ngolak-Wonga* and *Nguluwongga*.

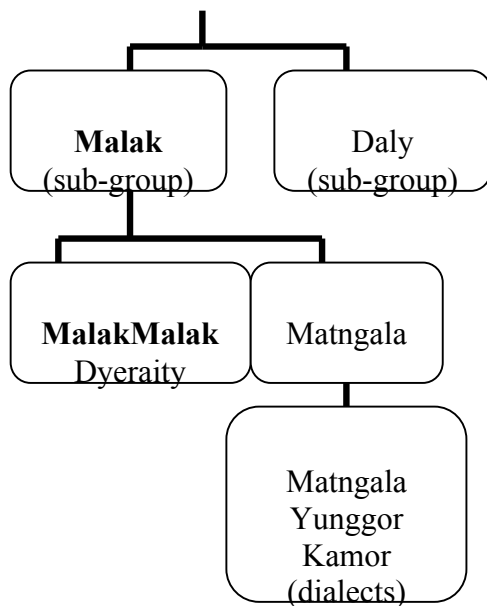
The listed spelling is anglicised and the last two names refer to the name that speakers use to mean 'clean/clear language'. A more accurate representation of the second appellation however would be *Nguluk wangkarr* (personal fieldnotes, 2006, and Green's fieldnotes, 25/11/90). *Nguluk* means 'language' or 'word' and *wangkarr* can be translated as 'plains'. The final /rr/ should be realised in an orthography because -*wongga* or -*wonga* could be misinterpreted as meaning 'crow'. I would propose that the original meaning of *wanggarr* would be 'language of the plains' since similar language descriptions in neighbouring languages are evident e.g. Marrithiyel can be divided to include the three 'paperbark-tree', 'coolibah-tree' and 'plains' languages.¹

I will use the *MalakMalak* spelling to refer to the language throughout this thesis. This decision is motivated by the fact that it is the preferred spelling of the community and it also replicates the spelling used in the ethno-botany and -biology book produced in 2001 (see §1.5).

1.1.3. Dialects and Surrounding Languages

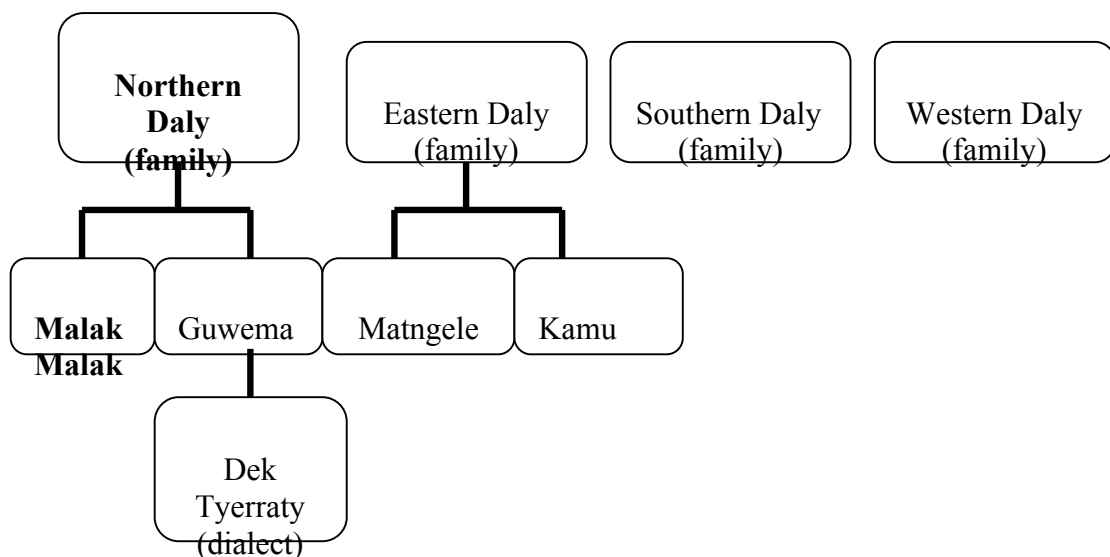
The following chart is a reproduction of the relevant section of the language genealogy in Birk (1976:3). This is based on Tryon's (1974:xiii) survey of the Daly languages. He groups these dialects, languages, sub-groups and groups as the Daly Family. According to Reid (2003), groups were based on lexico-statistical methods. The spelling in this reproduction is based on Birk's (1976) adaptations to Tryon's (1974) chart.





Contemporary linguists (e.g. Harvey 2003) prefer to place MalakMalak in a language family called the 'Northern Daly' that also includes *Guwema* and *Dek Tyerraty* (*Djeraity* in Tryon, 1974). *Guwema* is no longer spoken but according to anecdotal evidence, *Guwema* was like *MalakMalak* but 'a bit different' and *Dek Tyerraty* was the 'same' as *Guwema* (Green 25/11/90). One could therefore cautiously infer that *Dek Tyerraty* was a dialect of *Guwema*.

The following original chart is based on Harvey's (2003) description of the Eastern and Northern Daly language families and a collaboration of anecdotal evidence from my own fieldwork as well as Ian Green's field work.



The map provided [following page] however is taken from Tryon (1974). It presents the languages he has presented as the Daly Family. Mark Harvey is currently constructing an updated language map (Mark Harvey, pers. comm.). The map shows neighbouring and surrounding languages of MalakMalak. Various inter-group marriages between Matngala and MalakMalak people over at least the past three generations (Stanner 1979) and movement towards the Nauiyu community have contributed to the merging of the two speech communities (Lindsay, et al., 2001). However it should be noted that the two languages are distinct from each other and come from different language families (Matngala is an 'Eastern Daly' language).

Currently MalakMalak, Ngan'gikurunggurr, Ngan'giwumirri, Matngala, a form of Kriol, and English, are spoken in Nauiyu.

1.2. History

The history of the land, the Daly River and its people is, of course, too rich and extensive to adequately discuss in the limited confines of an honours thesis. That said, it is important to have some contextual understanding of the MalakMalak land and people. To this extent, I have provided a brief modern history of the area.

The MalakMalak land and people experience seven seasons in the annual cycle. Each season is multi-layered as the days and weeks within the season bring different patterns (Lindsay, et al. 2001). The plains and river-system means the area is subject to seasonal floods and consequently there is a rich and diverse abundance of flora and fauna. This diversity is also reflected in the languages of the area. The number of different languages in the one area is unlike any other area in Australia (Nicholas Evans ALI conference session 2006). This fact contributes to the theory that this western part of the Top End is the nucleus of language diffusion in Australia (Nicholas Evans ALI conference session 2006).

Abel Tasman traversed the coastline that includes the mouth of the Daly River in 1664 however white explorers did not scout the land of the headwaters until John McDouall Stuart in 1862. Col. B.T. Finnis and Fred Litchfield in 1865 and McKinley in 1866 who explored other parts of the Daly River area followed Stuart's lead. The fertile land around Wooliana was cleared in 1881 to establish the first sugar plantation in the area, and the following year the Daly River cattle station was founded. Copper was discovered in the same year near Mount Hayward attracting European and Chinese miners and settlers to the area in 1883. In 1884 four white miners were killed and a series of revenge killings of Aboriginal people followed. Today, some graves stand as a physical reminder of this period of Daly River history.

On the opposite side of the river the family graveyard of the long-term owners of the Mango Farm marks the first land settled by the Jesuit missionaries who chose the Daly River as one of their few missions in Australia in 1886. Sections of the first building remain on the site. According to the meticulous logs kept by the Fathers, the MalakMalak helped the Jesuits when the foreign seasons brought humidity, insects and floods. The site of the mission changed three times in the thirteen years that the Jesuits learnt from and taught the MalakMalak and other Aboriginal people. They were the first to introduce organised Christianity to the MalakMalak people. Another contemporary reminder of the Jesuits is the St Francis Xavier primary school at Nauiyu Nambiyu.

Peanut and tobacco farming started in the early 1900s and eventually the Catholic Church established a mission in the 1950s. The last of the nuns only left in 2005. The Convent and mission site now provide accommodation for visitors to the Nauiyu Nambiyu community.

The Daly River Community Development Association was established in the 1970s and in that time the current structure of the community began to emerge. In 1981, three years after Northern Territory self-government, the first MalakMalak land claim was lodged.

1.3. Previous work

Amidst the Jesuit archives in Melbourne one can find the unnamed and undated grammar by Rev. Adolph Kristen S.J.. There is no doubt that the language is MalakMalak. Linguists can be found throughout missionary histories and whilst Kristen obviously had some theoretical linguistic knowledge and a sufficient understanding of the language, his analyses become theologically driven including an attempt to relate MalakMalak to Hebrew. No doubt this connection stemmed from the Hebrew word *malakmalak* meaning 'angel'. Kristen delivered a paper at the First Australian Catholic Congress, Sydney, in September 1900 (Birk 1976). He included a short text that appears to be MalakMalak (the language is referred to as an 'aboriginal language').

Another undated notebook that may have belonged to Rev. Donald MacKillop, S.J. lists some verbal paradigms. Birk (1976) refers to some authors who have included MalakMalak examples in their works (Schmidt 1902:104 in Birk 1976) and others who have compiled brief wordlists (Ray 1909; Capell and Elkin 1937 in Birk 1976). Among his extensive linguistic work in the Top End Capell focuses on the pronominal system in MalakMalak and later (1940) discusses a word list of nineteen items, focusing on noun classes. A longer word-list of 98 items appears in Tryon's 1968 survey of the Daly Family. This work was expanded in three other works over the next six years culminating in a brief sketch of MalakMalak (1970) that was expanded in his anthology of Daly Family languages.

The principal reference for this honours thesis is Birk's published PhD thesis that is based on original data collected on his fieldwork trips between 1971 and 1973. In the introduction to this 179 page grammar Birk forecasts a descriptive, as opposed to formal, approach. He does not provide a theoretically driven analysis, leaving that for subsequent research. He acknowledges Solomon as his original language consultant but does not specify the other people with whom he worked. Three texts appear at the end of the grammar and it appears as though most of the examples used in the grammar are extracted from these texts rather than formal elicitation sessions.

The grammar is divided into four chapters: *The Phonology of MalakMalak*; *Word Classes in MalakMalak*; *Morphology*; and *Syntax*. Birk develops Tryon's (1974) auxiliary paradigms.

The next linguist to work on MalakMalak was Ian Green who has an enduring interest in the Daly languages. His PhD thesis focused on Marrithiyel a Daly family language typologically similar to MalakMalak (Green 1989). Green worked with at least four MalakMalak speakers from 1989-1992 when he was staying in Nauiyu Nambiyu and Wooliana completing other PhD fieldwork. He has four fieldwork notebooks with accompanying audio-cassette recordings, all of which he generously made available for this project. Green's fieldwork enabled an adaptation of auxiliary paradigms provided by Birk. Spelling, orthography and some morpho-syntactical differences can be seen when comparing the original (Birk) and re-developed paradigms (Appendix A (Birk) and Appendix B (Green) allow such comparisons).

The last published work featuring MalakMalak was the valuable ethno-botany and -biology book *MalakMalak and Matngala Plants and Animals* (Lindsay, et al. 2001). Produced with the help of the Merrpen Arts Aboriginal Corporation, the Nauiyu Community Government Council and the Northern Territory Parks and Wildlife Commission the book was prepared by the older MalakMalak and Matngala people living at Wooliana and Nauiyu with the biological assistance of Glenn Wightman and linguistic assistance of Patricia Marrfurra and Ian Green. The book includes the traditional MalakMalak and Matngala names for plants, animals, implements and seasons of the area. The introduction includes a section on MalakMalak and Matngala spelling and pronunciation. For the purposes of the book, the one spelling system was adapted for both languages and therefore some spelling will differ from what is used in this thesis.

1.4. Typological overview

1.4.1. Phonemes and their realisations

The phonemes for MalakMalak are given in Table 1.1 below. The IPA symbol for each phoneme is followed by the orthographic symbol in parentheses if the two vary.

Table 1.1 **Consonant phoneme inventory***Place of Articulation*

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Stop	b	d		ʃ (dy)	g (k)
Nasal	m	n		ɲ (ny)	ŋ (ng)
Tap		r (rr)			
Lateral		l		ʎ (ly)	
Approximant	w		ɭ (r)	j (y)	

MalakMalak has a five-way vowel contrast.

Table 1.2 **Vowel phoneme inventory**

	Front	Central	Back
High (close)	i		u
	ø (œ)		
	ɛ (e)		
Low (open)		a	

All of the stops can be devoiced. Furthermore, the devoiced bilabial stop can be realised as an approximated devoiced labiodental fricative /f/. This does not tend to happen word initially because the bilabial stop in word initial position is usually voiced; however it seems to occur intervocalically e.g. *apap* 'sick'/'tired' can be realised as /afap/. Aside from this feature some vowels are often rounded and there seems to be a large range of vocalic realisations that can challenge the complexities of transcription.

Vowels are not usually lengthened however when they do occur I propose that this is usually sentence-finally and possibly context and speaker dependent rather than an underlying feature of the phonetics of the language.

For a more comprehensive account of MalakMalak phonology, refer to Birk (1976).

1.4.2. Morphosyntax

Birk identifies the following word classes for MalakMalak:

- Noun
- Pronoun
- Demonstrative
- Interrogative
- Adverb
- Quantifier
- Adjective
- Auxiliary
- Coverb
- Particle
- Interjection

It is not necessary to discuss all of these word classes within this thesis. The relevant sections of Birk can be referred to for descriptions of functions. I will however briefly provide information on gender, case marking and the verb phrase. The ‘auxiliary’ and ‘coverb’ word classes are the topic of the remaining chapters.

There are four genders used to classify nominals: wood; non-meat food; meat food; and two unmarked classes for residual nouns (e.g. body parts) and animates. There are three free form classifiers for the first three genders. They are:

<i>tyung</i>	used to classify trees, it also has the nominal meaning 'fire' and is used as a generic free noun for some trees
e.g. <i>tyung marrir</i>	'paper-bark tree'

<i>de</i>	used to classify food animals that are hunted for food and also has the generic nominal form meaning 'meat'
<i>de wu</i>	'barramundi'
<i>mi</i>	used to classify plants and vegetable food and also has the generic nominal form meaning 'vegetable food' i.e. tucker
<i>mi yilik</i>	'lily-root'
Ø	animates
Ø	residual

According to Birk there is a set of four adjective pairs (except for 'short') that mark for gender. The following shows the 3rd person masculine Minimal (3mM) form for each of these adjectives:

<i>yunpayin</i>	-	<i>yinat</i>	'good' - 'bad'
<i>yinali</i>	-	<i>yikpi</i>	'big' - 'little'
<i>yinanki</i>	-	<i>yoenoeroen</i>	'young' - 'old'
<i>yintjerrik</i>			'short'

The initial consonant changes according to the gender of the noun to which it refers. Feminine forms of the above adjectives are marked by /n/, vegetable forms are marked by /m/ and wood forms are marked by /w/. Adjectives used to describe meat and residual nouns use feminine or masculine marking by default.

The core functions of MalakMalak are not marked for case however bound pronouns enable the distinction between nominative and accusative NPs. According to Birk MalakMalak has benefactive, proprietive, instrumental, comitative dubitative, relative, and locative cases (1976:26).

Briefly, MalakMalak features bound and free subject pronouns as well as bound object pronouns. Bound subject pronouns differentiate person, singular/dual/plural,

inclusive/exclusive and third person singular masculine/feminine/wood, lifeless objects/non-meat food and some body parts (Tryon 1974). Pronouns will be discussed further in §1.5.2.

Detailed descriptions of the verbal elements can be found in the following chapters.

1.5. MalakMalak

1.5.1. Word Order

Word order in Malak Malak is generally free with the exception of the verbal phrase. The two main verbal constituents are the aforementioned coverb and auxiliary, in that fixed order. Other Daly languages such as Ngan'gityemerri and Marrithiyel also feature fixed verbal constituent order (McGregor 2002), indeed, fixed order (or restricted variation) is typical of Australian languages with coverb constructions. When present, the MalakMalak coverb precedes the auxiliary (3), unless it is acting as a complement (4) when it directly follows the auxiliary.

- | | | COVERB | AUX | |
|-----|---|------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| (3) | <i>yingyi</i> | <i>ngirrk</i> | <i>yiminj</i> | |
| | salt-watercrocodile | die | 1EM-DO.punct | |
| | The crocodile died yesterday. | | | [BL, S14, |
| | | | | 11/8/06] |
| (4) | <i>alawar tyewoer-yen nunta</i> | | [tyurrrp -ma -wa] | |
| | woman ear-comit | 3fM-GO.pres/past | [cut -impf ?] | |
| | =hear | | | |
| | The woman knows/knew how to cut (wood for a canoe). | | | [Birk, ex.452, |
| | | | | 1976:128] |

Aside from the durative marker *-ma* which suffixes to the coverb, no other morpheme or lexical item can separate the two however the two constituents are phonologically and morphologically separate words.

- (5) **lamlam* –*ma* *kina* *ayoe*
 talk –impf loc (here) 1EM-LIE.pres

Similar to Marrithiyel (Green 1989) and Ngan'gityemerri (Reid 1990), the MalakMalak auxiliaries are synthetically tetramorphemic and carry the core arguments of the verb phrase. The four morphemes are essentially synthetic and from initial to final, they are: person marker, number marker, the 'auxiliary root' marker (including tense) and optional bound object pronominal. As (6*a* and *b*) and (7*a* and *b*) show, Birk's segmentation of an intransitive auxiliary identifies the two morphemes as 'person-marker' and 'tense-marker'.

- (6*a*) *e* –*noe*
 1EM -SIT.pres
 I am sitting.

- (6*b*) *noeny* –*dyoe*
 2M/3fM -STAND.pres
 You are/She is standing.

A trimorphemic analysis of these morphemes would give:

- (7*a*) *e* – \emptyset –*noe*
 1E -M -SIT.pres

and

- (7*b*) *n* –*oeny* –*dyoe*
 2/3f -M –STAND.pres

Throughout this thesis the minimal form of the auxiliary will be represented as one word as opposed to two or three hyphenated morphemes whereas suffixation of object pronouns will be represented by hyphens. Auxiliaries will however be glossed according to the method shown in (6*a* and *b*) One reason for this disparity is that I have not completed my own phonological and morphological analysis of all the auxiliaries and therefore am not certain as to whether some auxiliaries are formed by

synthetic as opposed to agglutinative processes, as is evident in Marrithiyel (Green 1989) and Ngan'gityemerri (Reid 1990). We do however know that the MalakMalak auxiliary indicates the person and person number categories for the core argument 'subject' as well as the auxiliary root and TAM inflection. The final two potential morphemes are in fact unsegmentable, thus the point '.' signifies the portmanteau of these two auxiliary elements.

1.5.2. Pronouns

1.5.2.1. Subject pronouns

MalakMalak employs both free and bound forms of subject pronouns. The free form is syntactically optional, whereas the latter are obligatory and always appear as the first morpheme of the auxiliary.

The bound subject pronouns inflect for person, number and gender in 3 person singular (Birk)/Minimal (Green).

As Appendix A shows, Birk indicates that bound subject pronouns distinguish between:

- 1 person singular, dual, inclusive and exclusive;
- 2 person singular and plural;
- 3 person singular masculine, feminine, vegetative and silvan/elemental and plural (gender neutral).

Green alternatively employs a Minimal/Augmented system of delineation. In this approach, the bound subject pronoun delineations include:

- 1 person Minimal inclusive and Minimal exclusive
- 2 person Minimal
- 3 person Minimal feminine; masculine; m-initial and w-initial²

² These bound pronouns cannot be classed as referencing one and another gender type, therefore, Green has used the initial phoneme for the word forms in each auxiliary paradigm to gloss this inflection.

- 1 person Augmented inclusive and Augmented exclusive
- 2 person Augmented
- 3 person Augmented

I will use the Minimal/Augmented delineation for all pronominals throughout this thesis.

Free subject pronouns appear and function syntactically as other nominals in MalakMalak. However unlike adjectival gender marking for nominals, free subject pronouns only mark for masculine and feminine genders in the third person singular. It is therefore assumed that inanimate subjects have zero pronominal marking, or alternatively, either the masculine or feminine pronouns might be able to be used. The following is Green's division of the free subject pronouns based on his own fieldwork.

	Minimal	Augmented
1inc	<i>yenggi</i> ₁	<i>yerrgit</i> ₂
1ex	<i>nga</i>	<i>yewoet</i> ₃
2inc	<i>wangarri</i>	<i>nugut</i> ₄
3f	<i>noendoen</i>	<i>woerroendoen</i> ₅
3m	<i>yoendoen</i>	<i>woerroendoen</i> ₅

Table 2.1 Free subject pronouns in MalakMalak

1. also as /*yenggi werrena*/ (*werrena* 'two')
2. also : /*yenggi-war*/ (*Wurra*) TBV
3. *tbv yewæt* vs. *yewut*
4. *tbv* - final *t* vs. final *d*
5. *tbv*

When present, the free subject pronoun agrees with the bound subject pronoun person marker.

(8) *nga yeli larr aya*
 1EM paper-bark tear 1EM-DO.punct

I tear paper bark [BL, S3.1,
 22/4/06]

As seen in the above example, the free subject pronoun can introduce the subject. They can also be used to emphasise a subject's role in an event or disambiguate the bound subject pronoun as some 2M and 3fM word forms are homophonous. Free subject pronouns will often occur sentence initially thus, forecasting the subject for the clause which is useful for hearers in relatively long utterances which may involve multiple coverbal serialisation (see Chapter 5).

Free pronouns also have a possessive function. Birk indicates (1976:30) that preposing the subject pronoun to the possessed noun signifies inalienable possession and that post-posing the subject to the possessed noun indicates alienable possession. My own field-work however showed that this distinction is not always evident. For example I found that body part NPs can be followed by the pronominal possessor.

Due to the nominal and optional nature of free subject pronouns, we can infer that they are not integral to MalakMalak verbal morphology. In contrast, bound subject pronouns are vital and obligatory to a complete verb phrase.

1.5.2.2. Object pronouns

The object (O) of transitive verbs in MalakMalak is marked by object pronouns that are bound to the TAM marker of the auxiliary. As with the free subject pronouns, Green has divided the object pronouns into Minimal and Augmented sets (Table 2.2).

	Minimal	Augmented
1inc	<i>-nunggu</i>	<i>-arrpurru</i>
1ex	<i>-arriny</i>	<i>-yoerroe</i>
2inc	<i>-noenoe</i>	<i>-nunggurru</i>
3f	<i>-ngayi</i>	<i>-woerroe</i>
3m	<i>-noe</i>	<i>-woerroe</i>

Table 2.2 Bound object pronouns in MalakMalak

(9) ngun lamlam -m'³ ede -woerroe, ngun wuttu
 dem(overthere) talk(RDP) -impf 1EM-GO.pres -3AuO dem(overthere) 3Au-SIT.past
 I talk to **them** all the time, that big group sitting over there. [BL, S12, 9/8/06]

(10) shows that an unmarked NP can specify the nature of the object.

(10) *taty yiminy -noe, muyiny nende... pana taty yiminy -noe*
 hit 3M-DO.punct -3mMO **dog thing** again hit 3mM-DO.punct -3mMO
 He hit the dog once... he hit him again [BL, S7,
 1/8/06]

As there is no case marking, or fixed word order, the juxtaposition of free subject and object noun phrases could potentially confuse argument structure if the bound pronominal form was not present to specify objects. As (11) shows, the object pronoun can function to disambiguate the roles of the external NPs.

(11) *yinya alawar lam -ma nunta -noe*
 man woman talk -impf 3fM-GO.past -3mMO
 The woman is/was talking to the man [Birk, ex.446,
 1976:127]

Finally, MalakMalak does not feature a separate, formally marked Indirect Object. As seen in the following examples, the same set of object markers listed in Table 2.2 is used for dative and benefactive constructions.

(12) *mi ang aya -noe*
 food (non-meat) give 1EM-DO.punct -3mM
 I gave the tucker to him [BL, S4.3,
 27/7/06]

(13) *tey -m' ada -nunu -wa*
 wait -impf 1EM-GO.past -2MO ?
 I was waiting for you [BL, S5.1,
 28/7/06]

³The apostrophe indicates vowel ellipsis of /a/.

Examples such as (12) and (13) will be discussed further in Chapters 4 and 5.

Chapter 2

2. VERB-COVERB CONSTRUCTIONS

This chapter discusses some of the current theoretical issues involving complex predicate constructions in languages that feature coverbs. Some contrasting formal approaches to argument structure in such languages are briefly discussed. The final two sections of the chapter examine the MalakMalak verb phrase and pronouns before highlighting the research questions to be explored in this thesis.

2.1. Nomenclature

A number of authors have considered languages with verb-coverb type complex verb constructions (CVC). The variety of approaches to verb classification and analysis has resulted in several reference terms for the two constituents in a CVC. This thesis uses the terms ‘auxiliary’ and ‘coverb’ to refer to the inflecting and uninflecting verbal constituents respectively. Example (14) presents the use of the SIT auxiliary in an SV construction.

(14) *enoe*

1EM-SIT.pres

I am in a sitting position.

[BL, S13,

10/8/06]

This example clearly shows that as the sole verbal element, the auxiliary provides semantic and grammatical information, behaving as an independent, simple predicate (SV). It is thus considered verb-like as opposed to behaving as a prototypical auxiliary that is semantically empty but carries grammatical information. In this thesis, I will distinguish ‘auxiliaries’, semantically loaded, inflecting verbal constituents, from ‘prototypical auxiliaries’, non-lexical grammatical structures.

Example (15) shows that the SIT auxiliary has a semantic function in CVCs in MalakMalak. Nonetheless, it seems that the semantic function of MalakMalak

auxiliaries can also be bleached in CVCs as seen in the use of the GO auxiliary in (16) that has the semantic function of ‘movement’ (III).

- (15) *lak* *-ma eninginy*
eat (meat) -dur 1EM-SIT.impf
I am sitting down (stative) eating. [BL, S2.3,
23/4/06]

- (16) *kanyak –ma ada nana*
 cough –dur 1EA-GO.past adv
 I was coughing all the time. [BL, S5.7,
 28/7/06]

Non-literal functions of MalakMalak auxiliaries, as presented in (16), will be discussed in turn in Chapters 3 and 4.

In the literature, terms that have been used to describe the inflecting constituent include 'simple verb' (Dixon 2002), 'finite verb', 'light verb' (Butt 2003), 'grammatical verb', 'generic verb' (Schultze-Berndt 2000), 'classifier' or 'inflecting verb' (McGregor 2002) and 'auxiliary' (Birk 1976; Green 1989). The verbal phrase becomes complex (complex predicate) when another element of the verbal phrase (usually uninflecting) collocates with an inflectional verbal constituent. This uninflecting constituent has been referred to as 'coverb' (Wilson 1999; Schultze-Berndt 2000; Dixon 2002), 'preverb' (Nicolas 2000), 'prestem', 'verb root' (Birk 1976), 'inflecting verb' (McGregor 2002), 'non-finite verb', 'lexical verb', 'main verb' (stem), 'complex verb stem' (Tryon 1976), '(verbal) particles', 'participles' and even 'verbal nouns'. According to Tryon the Daly languages are particularly interesting due to their “almost universal use of a double verb within most verb phrases” (1976:689). The *double verb* that Tryon refers to is the combination of the ‘primary verb stem’ (‘coverb’ in this thesis) and a ‘secondary’ or ‘auxiliary verb’ (‘auxiliary’ in this thesis).

2.2. The uninflecting constituent

Cross-linguistically, coverbs are usually uninflecting. Derivational morphology is sometimes present yet this does not usually result in the attribution of nominal or adverbial functions to the coverb i.e. it is a ‘category-neutral’ derivation.

The MalakMalak coverb is a phonologically independent word that precedes the inflecting constituent. The only marking that appears on a coverb is the durative *-ma* affix.

(17) *kaykay -ma wutta*

scream -impf 3Au-GO.past

[coverb] [aux]

They were screaming

[BL, S4.8,

27/7/06]

Birk does not discuss the argument structure of MalakMalak verbal constructions at length. He provides a list of coverbs from his sample in which he identifies a handful as either transitive or intransitive forms. Whether this classification is based on the contribution that a coverb makes to a complex predicate, or its limitation of only occurring in transitive or intransitive constructions is unclear.

The coverb in MalakMalak contributes most of the lexical information in CVCs and can occur independently of CVCs in imperative constructions. Coverb functions in different CVCs are considered throughout the discussion of each auxiliary in Chapters 3 and 4.

2.3. The inflecting constituent

While many languages have auxiliary-coverb type constructions, the function and structure of each verbal constituent in the construction varies cross-linguistically. Each constituent's function can also vary within a language. For example, one auxiliary in one language might a) function independently b) function as a semantically weighted predicate of a complex predicate and c) function as a copula,

depending on its surrounding syntactic and/or semantic environment. Its meaning can be transparent, apparently minimal, irrelevant, or even idiosyncratic (Dixon 2002), depending on the collocated coverb in the utterance (if present at all). It is therefore not surprising that authors have used the term ‘auxiliary’ to refer to the inflecting verb in CV constructions (Birk 1976). Such analyses stipulate that the coverb is the predicate of the clause which is classified by the inflecting verb (McGregor 2002).

An alternative analysis which has been used to describe Jaminjung (Schultze-Berndt 2000) and Wagiman (Wilson 1999) proposes that in fact the inflecting verb does contribute to the overall predicate in combination with the coverb. In the second analysis, the various semantic contributions made by the inflecting verb distinguish it from being a modal element with bound pronominal enclitics – the conventional role of an auxiliary (Dixon 2002). Usually each auxiliary has a broad, generic meaning (Dixon 2002). The members of a small number of auxiliaries are each likely to have broader meanings than those languages featuring more extensive numbers of auxiliaries/inflecting verbs since they need to be able to collocate with a larger range of coverbs i.e. they need to be more productive. With only six auxiliaries, MalakMalak is one of these languages.

The ratio of SV to CV constructions also varies cross-linguistically. We might speculate that as the number of auxiliaries increases, the prevalence of SV constructions in a language increases. Therefore, those languages featuring only a handful of auxiliaries are dominated by CVCs. This is not surprising for the following two reasons: a) a coverb is dependent on an auxiliary for grammatical information at least, and b) the auxiliaries must be highly productive and semantically malleable and/or ‘bleachable’ to enable the collocation with many members of the non-finite class of coverbs.

McGregor (2002:150) provides a list of SVC/CVC Australian languages that differ according to degree of grammaticalisation. This is established according to *status* (word/phrase/word and phrase CVC), *order* (fixed/variable/both), *other compound types*, *number of categories*, *number of inflecting verbs*, *frequency of use*, and finally

category overlap. MalakMalak is one of three⁴ listed languages that employ just 6-12 auxiliaries (inflecting verbs in McGregor, 2002). Other non-Pama-Nyungan languages in the Daly region have larger numbers. Marrithiyel (Green 1989) and Ngan'gityemerri (Reid 2000) both feature over 20 auxiliaries (12 of which are 'simple auxiliaries' that can occur on their own) and there are approximately 35 in Murrinh-Patha (Walsh 1976, cited in (Reid 2003)). In contrast, according to Harvey (2003), the two Eastern Daly languages Matngele and Kamu, feature six and 15 auxiliaries respectively. Each of the six MalakMalak auxiliaries has semantic auxiliary correlates in Kamu, Marrithiyel and Nagn'gityemerri and thus references to these three languages will often appear in this thesis.

A frequent phenomenon in languages with coverb-auxiliary complex predicate constructions is the speaker's obligatory selection of an auxiliary from the language to create a finite clause. It may however for some languages, be the case that for some languages, there is no choice involved. Every coverb takes just one auxiliary (Brett Backer, pers. comm.). How a speaker chooses an auxiliary in both SV and CV constructions can provide insight into how speakers conceptually classify events (Schultze-Berndt 2000). The selection of coverbs with particular inflecting verbs can alter the meaning of an utterance.

<i>tyurrk</i>	+	<i>DO</i>	<i>tyurrk</i>	+	<i>GO</i>	
coverb		auxiliary	coverb		auxiliary	
'bury'			'enter'			(Birk 1976)

McGregor (2002) refers to these restricted and permissible combinations as 'collocational potentials' of auxiliaries. By identifying auxiliaries as driving particular combinations, McGregor defines them as being 'verbal classifiers'. There are however, few such restrictions in MalakMalak that are not accounted for on a semantic basis. For example, the CV combination 'dance' + SIT auxiliary is semantically implausible whereas 'dance' + GO auxiliary (that encodes 'motion') is intuitively, and actually, acceptable.

⁴ The other two languages listed as having 6-12 auxiliaries/inflecting verbs are Gooniyandi and Bunuba (Bunuban languages).

The class of auxiliaries from which MalakMalak speakers select includes the three postural auxiliaries 'sit', 'stand' and 'lie'; 2 motion auxiliaries 'go' and 'go*'⁵; and the 'do' auxiliary. These auxiliaries feature in the historically depleted group of Matngele auxiliaries ('sit', 'stand', 'lie', 'go', 'do' and 'burn' (Harvey 2003)).

Most MalakMalak coverbs can combine with more than one inflecting verb. The specifics of the MalakMalak classification system depend a range of on contextual, semantic, syntactic and possibly aspectual functions. The previous examples of two semantically related, but different meanings of the coverb *tyurrk* show how the meaning of a complex predicate can vary according to the influence of the auxiliary. The first encodes a transitive event, whereas the second specifies a motion event.

A specific description and analysis of the various auxiliary functions in MalakMalak will follow in the discussions of each auxiliary in Chapters 3 and 4.

2.4. Argument structure

One criterion that seems to be consistently used to define a complex predicate is the notion that it is a multi-headed predicate that encodes a single event. Schultze-Berndt explains that Jaminjung speakers regard this single event as "...a coherent chunk of information." (2000:38). The word 'predicate' is used to refer to the two or more verbal elements in this single unit. Thus, the aforementioned CVCs are regarded as complex predicates.

Schultze-Berndt uses the term 'Canonical complex verbs' to refer to a particular type of complex predicate that she defines as a combination of a verb and an *unmarked* coverb which "constitute a close-knit unit both formally and semantically, even though their components are clearly distinct phonological words" (2000:119). Additionally there is a tendency for preferred word order of verbal elements (coverb

⁵ This auxiliary has a different paradigm and differs semantically from the other motion auxiliary, however this difference remains obscure, as it does not commonly feature in the corpus. Green (1989) also identified the two motion auxiliaries in Marrithiyel. The semantic difference between the two is that the 'go' auxiliary can encode general motion whereas 'go*' can encode directed/purposeful motion.

followed by auxiliary in MalakMalak). The two verbal elements can only be separated by aspectual enclitics on the coverb. This is also the case for the MalakMalak CVC. Furthermore, the constituents appear in one intonation unit. Wilson's (1999) description of CVCs in Wagiman similarly employs this approach in his LFG-based analysis of Wagiman. However, this is just one type of analysis for coverb-auxiliary constructions.

The other common analysis of CVC complex predicates is Baker's (Baker 2003) suggestion that the coverb is in fact the predicate of the phrase and the auxiliary in fact behaves as a prototypical auxiliary. As mentioned, the term 'prototypical auxiliary' is used to refer to a constituent that may encode TAM and person number but has no semantic or predication function. It is hypothesised that a formal analysis of MalakMalak verb constructions will fall somewhere in between these two analyses. This thesis however, does not include a formal analysis of MalakMalak verbal functions but rather describes the difference functions and proposes motivations for particular coverb-auxiliary combinations. Nonetheless, descriptions of verbal functions naturally consider how a language encodes argument structure.

Schultze-Berndt (2000) uses the Construction Grammar approach to analyse argument structure in Jaminjung. This approach allows 'argument fusion' or 'argument sharing'. Using this method of formal analysis, argument sharing "...can be represented by mapping two or more participants directly onto a single constructional argument role." (2000:29) in complex constructions. It also distinguishes syntactic transitivity (transitivity of the clause) from 'transitive' and 'intransitive' properties of auxiliaries (generic verbs in Schultze-Berndt 2000). The 'transitive'/'intransitive' dichotomy is overtly evident since unlike MalakMalak, Jaminjung has two pronominal paradigms for its bound subjects. Furthermore, 'valency' is used to refer to the number of central participants of an auxiliary or coverb (i.e. monovalent, bivalent or trivalent).

This analysis of Jaminjung accounts for the phrase level structure when a speaker combines monovalent, bivalent or trivalent coverbs with either monovalent, bivalent or trivalent auxiliaries.

(18) *ngayin=malang bul gani -ma bunyag*
 meat.animal=GIVEN emerge 3sg:3sg -HIT.PST 3du.OBL
 The animal came out to/for the two. [Schultze-Berndt, Fig. 4.11,
 2000:181]

Example (19) shows argument sharing of a trivalent coverb with a bivalent verb:

(19) *mulurru -ni gagawuli YURRG gan -karr -ny Gilwi -ni*
 woman -ERG long.yam SHOW **3sg:1sg -put -PST** <place.name> -LOC
 'the woman showed me yam in Gilwi'. [Schultze-Berndt, ex. 4.9,
 2000:163]

This example is described as involving a trivalent coverb (capitalised text) and a bivalent auxiliary (bold text) and indicates a few things about the argument structure of Jaminjung. The first is that the auxiliary type constituent ('verb') is verb-like because it inflects for tense and person number. Furthermore, this element contributes its own argument structure to the complex predicate (in the above example, PUT is bivalent with the underlying structure of 'x puts y'). Schultze-Berndt (2000) explains that an auxiliary's valency is conditioned according to the lexical argument as well as the bound pronominal(s). The second thing is that the coverb also encodes an argument structure (in the above example, the underlying structure of 'show' is 'x shows y the z'). Thus, the coverb has introduced a third participant to the CVC. These two independent facts combine to show that coverbs and verbs with different independent argument structures can happily combine to form a complex predicate. The participant introduced by the coverb (the theme) is considered to be central. Therefore, if it is expressed lexically (i.e. by a noun phrase), it must be expressed as a core argument (Schultze-Berndt 2000). A process of argument sharing/fusion is analysed where the ergatively marked noun phrase is the 'shower' and the 'putter'. The recipient is marked by the bound pronominal and the entity that is 'shown' and 'put' is the absolutive NP *gagawuli* 'long yam'.

Reid (2000) explains that unsurprisingly, complex verb structure is not cross-linguistically homogenous. He notes that as in Jaminjung, in Ngan'gityemerri "...both

finite verbs⁶ and coverbs can be independently assigned transitivity/valency values" (2000:1). The collocational potential of particular coverbs and finite verb combinations is likened to the valency shifts seen in other languages as a result of derivational strategies.

The prefix of the Ngan'gityemerri auxiliary ('finite verb' in Reid 2000) cross-references agent/subject (A/S) bound pronominal and its suffix cross-references its object (O). The set of 31 auxiliaries can be divided into 'intransitive, simple', 'transitive, simple', 'transitive, complex' and 'reflexive detransitive, complex'. The 'simple' and 'complex' distinction refers to whether the auxiliary can occur independently of a coverb. The transitivity value of a simple auxiliary is generally uncomplicated. If the auxiliary cross-references an object pronoun, the auxiliary is transitive. If it does not crossreference an O, it is intransitive. One complication is the Ø cross-referencing of 3sg object and the absence of pronominal classification of inanimates.

For complex verbs (coverb + auxiliary construction) each element has its own associated transitive/valency value. In Ngan'gityemerri, it is likely that the transitivity of the complex verb is consistent with the transitivity of the auxiliary. However there are of course restrictions and exceptions to this general rule. To account for such deviations, Reid suggests that there are degrees of coverb transitivity i.e 'low' versus 'high'⁷. Coverbs can therefore be classified as being monovalent, bivalent low transitive or bivalent high transitive. This continuum of transitivity is employed to account for the degree of object focus in the complex predicate. An example of a low transitive bivalent coverb is 'rub'. When appearing with the intransitive auxiliary 'sit' (20a), the focus is on the posture/activity of the subject whereas when occurring with the transitive auxiliary 'poke' (20b), the focus shifts to how the object is operated:

⁶ Reid uses 'finite verb' to refer to the inflecting verbal constituent

⁷ This analysis is also used by Ian Green in his analysis of Marrithiyel (1989) and is based on Hopper and Thompson (1980).

(20a) *ngi -rim (-Ø) -pup (palayin)*
 1sgS/A -sit (-3sgO) -rub (firesticks)

I'm rubbing firesticks [Intransitive aux: focus on subject posture/activity]

[Reid,

ex.23a, 2000]

(20b) *nga -rim -Ø -pup (palayin)*
 1sgA -poke -3sgO -rub (firesticks)

I'm rubbing firesticks [Transitive aux: focus on how object is manipulated]

[Reid,

ex.23b, 2000]

Compare the previous two accounts that allow for predication powers of both the auxiliary and the coverb with Baker's account that there is no room for argument fusion/sharing since the coverb is the sole predicate and an auxiliary's only function is to be a vehicle for pronouns and TAM affixes.

2.5. Auxiliaries

Jaminjung and Ngan'gityemerri both feature groups of inflecting verbal constituents that either can or cannot cross-reference a second argument. That is, these two languages feature intransitive and transitive inflecting verb constituents that can occur in SV or CVCs. They additionally, like MalakMalak feature uninflecting verbal constituents such as coverbs. According to McGregor, however, MalakMalak is a highly grammaticised version of Ngan'gityemerri (2002). Similarly to Kamu (Harvey 2003), it appears that as Chapter 3 and 4 show, although some of the MalakMalak auxiliaries can both assume a semantic function on their own and contribute semantic information to a complex predicate, the composite verb construction in MalakMalak often relies on the coverb for predication information and most of the 'lexical' verbal information. This is especially evident in either the non-literal (semantically bleached) functions of an auxiliary in which an auxiliary might behave more like a prototypical auxiliary, and the cooccurrence of some auxiliaries with coverbs that would potentially encode redundant information if the auxiliary were fully semantically and/or syntactically viable. For example, the LIE auxiliary is more likely

to occur with an aspectually supportive coverb than occur on its own, even though it can viably function on its own.

In his proposed continuum that presents the grammaticalisation path of auxiliaries, Anderson (2006) proposes that an auxiliary is able to have varied functions because auxiliaries are constantly evolving. They are dynamic by nature and it is subsequently my interpretation that in different functions, an auxiliary could fall onto different sections of a language-specific path similar to the generic one provided by Anderson.

L[exical] V[erb]>> A[uxiliary] V >> AF[fi]X

(Anderson 2006:7)

Anderson refers to this path as a “lexical verb-functional affix continuum” (2006:4). This fluidity of function is permissible in Anderson’s analysis since auxiliaries “...may constitute a closed class from a strict synchronic perspective but not when viewed diachronically in any sense” (2006:8).

I propose that the MalakMalak auxiliaries fall at different stages of the continuum depending on their contextual function. For example, the SIT auxiliary can a) occur by itself in SVCs, b) add grammatical and postural information to a CVC, and finally c) assume non-literal functions in CVCs.

As previously stipulated, the term 'auxiliary' is used in this thesis to refer to the semantically functional inflecting constituent. Whilst Birk also uses 'auxiliary' to describe this constituent, he never alludes to the possible predication strength or argument structure that the auxiliary might encode.

Wambaya is a non-Pama-Nyungan language that uses auxiliaries more reminiscent of a prototypical auxiliary (Nordlinger 1998).

yarru **ng-uba**

go(FUT) 1SG.S-NP.AWY

I will go.
1998:138]

[Nordlinger, ex.5.5,

The Wambaya auxiliary is non-verbal on a synchronic level but it has been suggested that it is in fact verbal on a diachronic level. The auxiliary can carry subject, object, TAM and directional suffixes however it is not attributed with encoding any further semantics or argument structure. I will refer to auxiliaries such as these as ‘prototypical auxiliaries’.

In an historical account of ‘Proto-Mindi’, Green (1995) shows that coverbs and verbal auxiliaries were once a part of Wambaya verbal construction. This would support the recent historically-based explanation that auxiliary verb constructions such as presented above emerges from complex predicate constructions (Anderson 2006).

Given the range of possible verb phrase structures, Chapters 3 and 4 will investigate the grammaticalisation and function of the MalakMalak auxiliaries in SVCs with the intent of identifying the predication strength of the MalakMalak auxiliary (or each auxiliary) in different constructions. This will naturally include a discussion of the predication strength of the MalakMalak coverb and argument structure of particular complex predicates. As mentioned, Anderson (2006) proposes that auxiliation is a dynamic process. Based on this premise, I propose that auxiliaries that encode different functions in different environments could possibly lie on different parts of the aforementioned auxiliation continuum. For example, in an SVC, an auxiliary could have its own semantic function whereas in particular CVCs, this semantic function could be belated, resulting in an auxiliary function more similar to that of a prototypical auxiliary.

Auxiliation will be explored throughout the following chapters, commencing with the semantically functional postural auxiliaries. First however, I will review Birk’s system of auxiliary classification.

Chapter 3

3. STANCE AUXILIARY FUNCTIONS: SITTING, LYING AND STANDING

The aim of this chapter is to establish the functions of the three postural auxiliaries in MalakMalak. Birk's discussion of auxiliary function will be reassessed in light of more recent fieldwork. After reviewing Birk's system of auxiliary classification, the

semantic and syntactic functions of the SIT, LIE and STAND auxiliaries will be considered in detail. The argument structure and semantic contributions made by the auxiliaries will be investigated.

By establishing whether the MalakMalak auxiliaries contribute to the argument structure of SV and CV constructions, we can infer whether or not the coverb contributes to argument structure in CVCs. For example, an auxiliary that can occur independently of a coverb in SVCs but cannot cross-reference a Direct Object is considered to be intransitive. Thus, when the same auxiliary occurs in a CVC that does feature a Direct Object it is inferred that the second argument is contributed by the coverb and the two verbal constituents share the first argument. Establishing the aspectual functions of both auxiliaries and coverbs will help to determine the motivation for particular auxiliary-coverb combinations.

3.1. Birk's Conjugation system

Birk identifies two types of verbal constituents in MalakMalak: the 'verb root' (coverb) and the 'auxiliary' and refers to each auxiliary paradigm as one of six 'Conjugations'. Each of the Conjugations 2-6 has a different semantic function whereas Birk refers to Conjugation 1 as a 'transitivity index' and observes that it does not entail a semantic meaning. As we shall see however, Birk's classification system is flawed.

The term 'Conjugation' is somewhat misleading or possibly ambiguous. McGregor (2002) notes that Birk's analysis is not wrong but deficient since the MalakMalak verbal system "...consistently show[s] more features of a category than a class [conjugation] system" (McGregor, 2002:129). Thus, as previously mentioned I will employ Green's re-analysis of the auxiliary paradigms that refers to Conjugations 1-6 as the DO, GO, GO*, SIT, LIE and STAND auxiliaries respectively. This re-analysis runs parallel to the systems proposed by Green (1989), Reid (1990) and Harvey (2003) in their respective analyses of the neighbouring languages Marrithiyel, Ngan'gityemerri and Kamu.

Birk's classification of auxiliaries into Conjugation types on a semantic basis is not to be confused with the term 'Conjugation class' as it is used in reference to true class systems that are evident in the verbal systems of many Australian languages. Such use generally suggests that coverbs would be associated with just one particular Conjugation type. We will see that coverbs can in fact select for more than one auxiliary. However this does not disqualify Birk's additional observation that the semantically weighted auxiliaries can be divided into two '(true) conjugation types'. This distinction is made on the basis of a morphophonemic feature. Group membership into the 'rr'- or 't'-type groups depends on the phonological shape of the 1EAu, 2Au and 3Au bound person-markers in the present, past and imperfective paradigms. Table 3.1 shows inflections of examples of the imperfective paradigms.

Table 3-1 The Conjugation groups based on the imperfective paradigm

	<u>'rr'-type (GO, GO# & LIE⁸)</u>	<u>'t'-type (SIT & STAND⁹)</u>
1EAu	arru-/arroe-	at-
2Au	nungkurru-/noengkoerroe-	nikit-
3Au	woerroe-	wit-

The DO auxiliary (Conjugation 1) does not belong in either group since this paradigm does not inflect for the aforementioned tenses¹⁰.

Birk also describes each Conjugation type as encoding one of two deictic functions. The 't' -type and 'rr' -type auxiliaries respectively encode the 'in the vicinity of the speaker' and 'yonder' deictic functions. This additional semantic function will be discussed for each auxiliary in the relevant sections.

Clearly, as the table shows, there are morphophonemic links, and examples show semantic differences between the auxiliary paradigms, however I reject this class analysis and reiterate my preference for the categorisations provided by Green.

⁸ Birk's Conjugations 2, 3 and 5.

⁹ Birk's Conjugations 4 and 6.

¹⁰ According to Birk, the DO auxiliary inflects for 'Punctiliar', 'Sequential', 'Purposive', 'Future' and 'Subjunctive'.

An area of interest when looking at languages with such categorisations is the question of how argument structure is determined. Primarily, does the auxiliary or the coverb independently establish the argument structure of the combination, or is it a result of a combination of the syntactic and semantic functions of the two verbal constituents? Birk essentially proposes that the coverb determines argument structure implying that auxiliaries do not have an argument structure independent of the combination with the coverb. Transitivity will be a principal focus of chapter 4 that discusses the DO auxiliary (referred to as the ‘transitivity index’ in Birk). Nonetheless, the transitivity of both SV and CV constructions will also be considered in the discussion of each auxiliary.

Before describing the various functions of each of the postural auxiliaries I will briefly reiterate and introduce some significant argument structure and aspectual features of MalakMalak already identified by Birk.

3.2. Some observations of transitivity in MalakMalak

Birk’s discussion of transitivity is minimal therefore the ensuing examination of the various functions of the auxiliaries aims to clarify how transitivity is determined in MalakMalak with the help of the recently collated data. As mentioned, the primary questions relevant to this investigation of argument structure include whether an auxiliary can encode its own inherent transitivity¹¹ or if Birk’s conclusion that only coverbs are inherently transitive or intransitive is supported. Birk’s conclusion supports Baker’s aforementioned proposal that the coverb is the sole predicate in CVCs.

As previously mentioned in §1.5.2, unlike many other Australian languages MalakMalak does not have separate subject pronominal paradigms for intransitive and transitive constructions. MalakMalak has just one pronominal paradigm for free subject pronouns and another for bound object pronouns. External, unmarked noun

¹¹ ‘inherent transitivity’ is used to refer to the argument structure of an auxiliary or coverb in its most basic form i.e. without the semantic and syntactic influences of other verbal complements, compound coverbs, or serialised coverbs. For example, if an auxiliary can occur independently of a coverb, its most simple form would be [AUX]. The simplest form of a coverb would be [COVERB + default AUX].

Whilst Birk presents examples of these auxiliaries occurring independently, and mentions that “Conjugation 2-6 are able to stand as independent verbs” (1976:47), he does not investigate the argument structure of auxiliaries. Instead, he identifies the DO auxiliary as ‘transitivity index’ for MalakMalak coverbs that do encode argument structure. The rationale that is provided for attributing this indexical function is based on Birk’s observation that 96% of the transitive coverbs in his corpus are able to select for DO (however he recognises that transitive coverbs are combinatorially productive i.e. they are able to select other auxiliaries).

- I will return to discussion of the DO auxiliary in Chapter 4. The remainder of this chapter focuses on the postural auxiliaries however the ensuing descriptions and observations of each of the six auxiliaries necessitates the theoretical exploration of aspect and *Aktionsart* that are of particular interest to the motivation for particular coverb-auxiliary combinations.

The following discussion is based on my proposal that in SV constructions, the auxiliary encodes Aktionsart. This situation aspect classification however, is

overridden by the Aktionsart encoded by coverbs in CV constructions enabling the auxiliary to potentially encode the range of aspectual functions applicable to its TAM inflections.

Although there are various general theories concerning the difference (if any) between aspect and Aktionsart, it is agreed that aspectuality generally concerns boundaries of events. That is, aspectuality helps to define possible beginning and end points for events, or conveys whether an event is persistent (ongoing) or unique (Sasse 2002). Some linguists choose to use a unidimensional model of aspect marking, while others prefer a bidimensional account, distinguishing between aspect and Aktionsart. Specifically, *aspect* in a perspective/viewpoint account is morphologically indicated by the perfective/imperfective dichotomy. Aktionsart provides the temporal dimension incorporating “...any type of intrinsic temporal characteristic of situations, such as dynamicity, stativity, durativity, punctuality, telicity, etc.” (Sasse 2002). Whilst I propose that the distinction between aspect and Aktionsart can be made in MalakMalak, I recognise that the way in which aspect and Aktionsart is represented in a language requires extensive investigation before drawing any sound conclusions. This is beyond the scope of this thesis, but I do suggest that this issue is relevant to the motivations for particular coverb-auxiliary combinations.

According to Birk aspectuality is expressed with the use of the progressive (imperfective) and punctiliar paradigms, *-ma* suffixation to coverbs and *-ma* suffixation to other word classes. Birk additionally notes but does not discuss an iterative function of the GO* auxiliary. Another significant marker of aspect in MalakMalak is reduplication of coverbs, which also normally represents iteration (e.g. *tyurrrp* ‘cut’ and *tyurrrptyurrrp* ‘cut lots of times’).

The two motion and three postural auxiliaries all inflect for imperfective aspect (‘progressive’ in Birk). Unlike these auxiliaries, the DO auxiliary does not inflect for imperfective aspect but is the only auxiliary to inflect for the tense inflections ‘punctiliar’ and ‘sequential’. Birk states that the underlying motivation for a coverb to select the DO auxiliary is to encode single events i.e. punctual events. From this we can infer that the DO auxiliary is inherently perfective. Additionally, the durative

suffix *-ma* does not appear when coverbs select for the DO auxiliary. This supports the proposal that the DO auxiliary is perfective since a coverb that is suffixally marked as durative entails the continuation of an event thus selection of an auxiliary that encodes punctual events would be illogical.

-ma suffixation is of particular interest to this discussion because according to Birk, this suffix, which he glosses as ‘continuous marker’ *enables* a coverb to be accessible to the GO auxiliary which potentially inflects for imperfective aspect. Birk calls this effect ‘*-ma* conversion’ which is exemplified by comparing the following two examples:

- (23) *mi ang aya -noe*
 food (non-meat) give 1EM-DO.punct -3mMO
 I gave him food. [Birk, ex.275, 1976:90]

- (24) *mi ang -ma ata -noe*
 food (non-meat) give -dur 1EM-GO.pres/past -3mMO
 I am giving/gave him food.¹² [Birk, ex.276, 1976:90]

Thus, if an event encoded by the coverb is punctual, it will select the inherently perfective DO auxiliary. While Birk’s proposal that *-ma* suffixation allows the coverb to combine with the GO auxiliary may in fact be correct, the reason(s) for this are not addressed. I propose that the *-ma* suffix marks coverbs for imperfective aspect. This proposal is supported by the observation that coverbs marked by this suffix do not occur with the DO auxiliary. Interestingly, Harvey (2003) notes that the *-ma* coverbal suffix in Kamu elicits imperfective interpretations of coverbs.

¹² I would propose that the ‘past’ interpretation of this utterance is more likely to be ‘I was giving him food’.

wer-ma=wun=eny-e-ngke
tease-IMPF=3augDO=2minS-go-PI

You were teasing them.

[Harvey, ex.3,

2003:161]

Harvey (2003) further indicates that coverbs marked for imperfectivity tend to occur with the ‘go’ and postural auxiliaries.

Vendler (1967) distinguishes between achievements and states, and actions and accomplishments. The latter two Aktionsart categories can have progressive expression e.g. the use of continuous tenses, and can be used with a durative. In contrast, achievements and states do not appear in progressive expressions but rather single moments in time (achievements) or shorter or longer periods (states) (Vendler 1967). Smith (Smith 1991) adds semelfactives to this catalogue of situation types in order to distinguish instantaneous atelic events from instantaneous changes of states with an outcome of a new state (achievement).

The aforementioned classical Aktionsart categories are in fact heterogenous. According to context, they select for ‘punctuality’ ‘durativity’, ‘boundedness’ (atelic/telic) and ‘dynamicity’ (Sasse 2002). Whilst ‘boundedness’ is not applicable to states, since these are considered to be inherently ongoing (Sasse 2002), activities are usually unbound processes, accomplishments are bound processes and achievements are bound events (Smith 1991). It is necessary, however to note that this analysis is inherently Anglocentric.

According to this theory, we can assume that states and achievements would not occur with the imperfective suffix *-ma* and that achievements would better cooccur with the DO auxiliary. From this we could then assume that activities and accomplishments would be able to occur with *-ma* suffixation and thus occur with the motion and postural auxiliaries.

Consider the following examples:

(25) *kanyak aya*
 cough 1EM-DO.punct
 I coughed.

(26) *kanyak –ma ada puwar*
 cough –impf 1EM-**GO**.past night
 I coughed all night.

[JT, Green,

?]

Together, (25) and (26) exhibit the productivity of the coverb *kanyak* ‘cough’. Example (26) shows that the addition of the imperfective suffix and an alternative auxiliary results in a different Aktionsart categorisation i.e. in (25) *kanyak* is an achievement, whereas (26) exemplifies the use of the same coverb in an ongoing, iterative, event construction.

Iteration is an element of durativity rather than punctuality since the description of the event is ongoing as opposed to instantaneous. Furthermore, *kanyak* ‘cough’ in (26) is not an achievement because there is no change of state and ‘cough’ is a dynamic rather than static coverb. The process of coughing ‘all night’ is not one continuous action. Rather, it is considered to be a series of sub-events on multiple occasions viewed as one encompassing action. It is an example of the intermittent repetition of coughing.

The following discussions of the three postural auxiliaries SIT, LIE and STAND provide descriptive accounts of the various functions of these auxiliaries in both SV and CV constructions. The semantically literal and non-literal functions of each auxiliary are considered in the terms of aspect, Aktionsart, and argument structure.

3.4. Sitting, lying and standing

The linguistics of postural verbs in languages has interested a number of authors (see Newman 2002). Of particular interest is how, if at all, a speaker encodes the difference between the dynamic process of assuming a postural stance and the stative ‘at-rest’ postures. Another interesting consideration is the possible difference between

the literal use of postural verbal constituents, and their semantically or syntactically extended functions. For example, the verbal constituent of a language that entails ‘sit’ commonly has the polysemous entries ‘stay’ or ‘live’ (Newman 2002). Indeed, such semantic extensions can be ascribed to ‘sit’ in MalakMalak.

The small number of auxiliaries in MalakMalak means that their respective functions can differ. This is not surprising given Anderson's (2006) aforementioned (§2.5) recognition that auxiliaries are constantly evolving and thus their functions can vary within a language. A speaker's semantic and syntactic intention potentially alters the contribution that an auxiliary makes to the argument structure and semantics of both SV and CV constructions.

The primary aim of the remainder of this chapter is to consider the semantic and syntactic functions of each of the postural auxiliaries individually (SIT, LIE and STAND respectively) as well as a selection of relevant postural coverbs that are commonly used to convey postural events in CVCs. It is generally suggested that particular accepted and restricted coverb-auxiliary combinations can be motivated by aspect and Aktionsart classifications. The contribution that a coverb makes to the overall aspect of a phrase can vary according to whether a coverb (i) appears in its unmarked form thus, contributing its ‘inherent’ Aktionsart to CVCs; (ii) features the imperfective suffix *-ma*; and/or (iii) is partially or fully reduplicated resulting in an iterative coverbal function.

3.4.1.1. The auxiliary paradigms

Green has provided me with his own paradigms for each auxiliary. Whilst Birk's auxiliary paradigms can be found in Appendix A, I have used Green's recent revisions of these paradigms in this thesis. Aside from the orthography, most of Birk's word-forms are unchanged. However there are some obvious differences.

- Green's exclusion of the *-wa*, *-ka* and *-tya* suffixes from some past, future and subjunctive tense inflections
- the division of Birk's GO auxiliary ‘present/past’ inflection into two separate inflections (‘past’ and ‘present’)

- the re-naming of the ‘Progressive’ inflection to ‘Imperfective’
- the redefinition of person number distinctions from single and plural to Minimal and Augmented sets.

Additionally, I have made minor orthographical revisions to the paradigms originally provided by Green. This was done in order to remain consistent with the orthography used throughout this thesis.

Each postural auxiliary inflects for past, present, progressive (henceforth ‘imperfective’), future, purposive and subjunctive TAM.

3.4.2. The SIT auxiliary

Table 3.2 is Green’s revised paradigm for the SIT auxiliary.

Table 3.2 The SIT auxiliary paradigm.

	<i>Past</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Imperfective</i>	<i>Purposive</i>	<i>Future</i>	<i>Subjunctive</i>
1IM	anggunu	enggoenoe	engginginy	enggidini	enggini	enggininy
1EM	anu	enoe	eninginy	edini	eni	ewininy
2M	nunu	noenoe	nininginy	nindini	nini	niwininy
3fM	nunu	noenoe	nininginy	nini	nini	woewininy
3mM	yunu	yoenoe	yininginy	yini	yini	woewininy
3MM	munu	moenoe	mininginy	mini	mini	moewininy ~(miwininy)
3wM	wunu	woenoe	wininginy	wini	wini	woewininy

1IAu	arrdu	errdoe	errdinginy	errdini	errgini	errgininy
1EAu	atu	etoe	etinginy	etini	errini	errininy
2Au	nugutu	nugutoe	nigitinginy	nigitini	ninggirrini	ninggirrininy
3Au	wutu	woetoe	witinginy	witini	wirrini	wirrininy

In order to distinguish my own analysis from that of Birk, the following is an abbreviated list of the functions that Birk assigns to the SIT auxiliary (1976:60-64).

1. The semantic function of 'sitting'
2. The coverb *pak* 'sit' is the semantic cognate of the SIT auxiliary
3. The deictic function of 'in the vicinity of the speaker'
4. "in its semantically marked function the Auxiliary is foregrounded"¹³ (Birk, 1976:61)

In addition to investigating the validity of the listed functions, this section considers the aspectual functions of the SIT auxiliary, some literal and extended uses, its inherent argument structure in SVCs, and its contribution to the argument structure of CVCs..

3.4.2.1. Aspect

According to Birk the coverb *pak* 'sit' is the semantic cognate coverb of the SIT auxiliary. Birk does not however explain that the difference between the semantics of the auxiliary and the coverb seems to be aspectual. As mentioned, the aspectual difference is theoretically highlighted by the distinction between aspect and Aktionsart. As (27) shows, the auxiliary's meaning 'sit' is imperfective and stative in simple verb constructions.

- (27) *mutyurr -wuna wuttoe*
 many -qfN 3Au-SIT.past
 Big mob they (are) always sitting (around). [BL, S7,
 1/8/06]

In contrast, (28) shows that *pak* is required to indicate a change of state.

¹³ While Birk does not explain what the term 'marked' means here, it is assumed to indicate the complementary relationship between the meaning of the coverb and the auxiliary in question. For example the meaning of the SIT auxiliary is foregrounded when selected by a coverb encoding an event usually carried out in a sitting position e.g. *lak* eat (meat).

(28) *walk* *peyik* *-an* *wurruṃiny* *pak* *nininginy*
 money (notes) bag -loc 3Au-DO-punct sit down 3fM-SIT.impf
 The woman puts her money in her bag and sits down. [BL, S7,
 1/8/06]

Pak therefore has a dynamic function as is illustrated by its use in imperative constructions with and without the auxiliary in (29a) and (b) respectively.

(29a) *pak nintini!*
 sit 2M-SIT.purp
 Sit down! [Birk, ex.180,
 1976:63]

(b) *diny -pak*
 try -sit
 Sit down!¹⁴ [BL, S2, 23/4/06]

(c) **diny noenoe*
 try 2M-SIT.pres

Example (28) shows an aspectual inconsistency between the use of a dynamic coverb and an imperfective auxiliary. This inconsistency can be explained by the proposal that in this example, the SIT auxiliary is assuming its semantically marked function ‘be in a sitting position’ to indicate the posture in which the animate subject assumes at the end of the dynamic event. This is supported by the selection of the SIT auxiliary by the dynamic coverb *parrat* ‘get up’ to mean ‘wake up’. Example (29c) shows that the SIT auxiliary does not assume a dynamic function. Whilst (c) is ungrammatical, the SIT auxiliary can be uttered independently of any coverb in non-imperative utterances as (30) below, shows.

3.4.2.2. Combinatorics

Where typically the SIT auxiliary will occur with a coverb forming a CVS, it can also function as a simple verb clearly demonstrating its semantic function ‘in a sitting position’. For example, when given the hypothetical context of talking to someone on

¹⁴ My fieldwork observations indicated that this was the preferred form of the imperative for speakers.

the telephone whilst sitting down, and the caller asks, “Are you sitting down or are you standing up?” the receiver could acceptably reply:

(30) *anoē*

1EM-SIT.pres

I am sitting.

[BL, S13,

10/8/06]

As well as exemplifying the SIT auxiliary's independent semantic function, this utterance further highlights the stative nature of the SIT auxiliary that is also evident in other Daly languages such as Ngan'gityemerri (Reid 1990). Reid (1990) refers to this type of auxiliary that can occur by itself as a 'simple auxiliary'.

Ng.

(31) *ngini -tye*

1sgSit -Past

SU Pimp

I was sitting.

[*Ngan'gityemerri*, Reid, ex.4.2a,

1990]

As mentioned in Chapter 2, different coverbs have different collocation potentials. The meaning of two separate complex predicates can differ according to which auxiliary is selected by the one coverb. It is therefore unsurprising that the semantic function of the SIT auxiliary can vary, depending on the coverb used. In some cases, the SIT auxiliary adds associated postural information to the situation entailed by a coverb by ultimately contributing postural information to the clausal meaning thus, the coverb is 'done in a sitting position'. Birk explains this as the 'foregrounding' of the semantically marked function of the auxiliary. Such constructions featuring this literal use of the auxiliary are called 'associated posture constructions' i.e. 'do the action entailed by the coverb in the posture entailed by the auxiliary' (Enfield 2002).

(32) *kanyak -m' enuwa*
 cough -impf 1EM-SIT.past
 I coughed (whilst in a sitting position). [BL, S2.4,
 23/4/06]

and

(33) *mi tyurrptyurp -m' anuwa*
 food (non-meat) cut (lots of times)(RDP) -impf 1EM-SIT.past
 I was sitting down cutting up the tucker. [BL, S5,
 27/7/06]

The literal semantic role of the auxiliary in the above examples is reinforced by the following recent investigation into the use of the SIT auxiliary with the coverb *murrma* 'dance (of men)'. According to Birk, (34) exemplifies the deictic function of the SIT auxiliary as 'in the vicinity of the speaker'.

(34) *yinya murrma woettoe*
 man (initiated) dance 3Au-SIT.pres
 The men are dancing **here**. [Birk, ex.166,
 1976:60]

In my own corpus however the *murrma* 'dance' + SIT auxiliary combination was repeatedly rejected, thus contradicting Birk's claim:

(35a) **murrma enoe*
 dance 1EM-SIT.pres

(30b) **mutjurr murrma wutu*
 mob dance 3Au-SIT.past

(30c) **pendyi mutyurr murrma witinginy*
 yesterday mob dance 3Au-SIT.imp

BL preferentially used the GO auxiliary with the *murrma* coverb.

(36) *murrma woeta*
 dance 3Au-GO.past

They danced.

[BL, S4,

27/7/06]

Further evidence against a deictic function of the SIT auxiliary is evident in speakers' use of demonstrative adjectives to indicate the location of the subject, even with the SIT auxiliary.

(37) *ki -na nindini*
 dem -loc 2M-SIT.fut

You will be sitting here.

[BL, S13,

10/9/06]

While (32) and (33) show the literal semantic function of the SIT auxiliary in CVCs, this interpretation of the SIT auxiliary is not always obvious. For example, according to Green's field notes (38) means "I am waiting for you". However, when offered to BL, she supplemented this translation with the specification of "I'm waiting for you **at home**".

(38) *teyma nunu¹⁵ eni -wa*
 wait 2MO 1EM-SIT.fut ?

I'm waiting for you.

[JT,

Green]

(39) *teyma eni -nunu -wa¹⁶*
 wait 1EM-SIT.fut -2MO ?

I'm waiting for you (at home).

[BL, S5.2,

28/7/06]

¹⁵ I have kept this utterance in its original form however BL rejected the position of the normally bound object pronoun. (39) shows the accepted utterance.

¹⁶ Birk lists *aniwa* as the future inflection of the first person singular for the SIT auxiliary. He suggests that *-wa* and *-ka* (the final syllable of the future tense for inflections of the two motion auxiliaries) occur auxiliary-finally even when a bound object is cross-referenced. Green however rejects this analysis identifying the suffixes as separate morphemes. However, the exact function of these suffixes is yet to be explained.

In conjunction with BL's specification that 'wait' + STAND auxiliary means 'waiting in the bus-stop', this example suggests that auxiliary selection is motivated by the assumed posture in which the waiting is carried out i.e. the normal posture assumed for the entailed location.

The fact that postural information can be contributed by both the SIT and the STAND auxiliaries indicates that the SIT auxiliary is not in fact the default auxiliary for *teyma*. The following example shows that when no extra semantic information is required, the GO auxiliary is selected.

(40) *teym' aeda* *-nunu -wa*
 wait 1EM-GO.past -2MO ?

I was waiting for you.

[BL, S5.1,

28/7/06]

The use of the GO auxiliary as a default auxiliary complements Birk's observation that *teyma*¹⁷ is one of the eight transitive coverbs in his corpus that cannot select the DO auxiliary. Examples similar to (40) will be considered in §4.?(GO). Before discussing argument structure further, I will briefly present two other semantic extensions of the SIT auxiliary.

Examples from the recently collected corpus suggest that this auxiliary can encode the extension of a situation encoded by the coverb through time. Specifically, the following examples represent the use of the SIT auxiliary to encode the continuous meaning 'stay'. This semantic extension is common in Australian languages (Noonan and Grunow-Harsta 2002). Consider (41) and (42).

(41) *awarra ka* *ninungka* or *niniwa?*
 cry come 2M-GO.fut or **2M-SIT.fut**

You say "Are you coming or you staying?"

[BL, August

2006]

¹⁷ In the collective corpus (Birk, Green and my own) the coverb encoding 'wait' always occurs with the durative morpheme *-ma*. I therefore propose that *tey* + *-ma* has been lexicalised.

(42) *aedini*

1EM-SIT.purp

I'm stopping (staying) here.

[JT,

Green]

The coverb *Pak* 'sit down' can also have an extended meaning. *Pak* + *-ma* + GO auxiliary results in the meaning 'live (in a location)' (Birk 1976:90). Counter-intuitively, *pak-ma* does not select the SIT auxiliary. However, I propose that the imperfective suffix over-rides the dynamicity of the coverb and that selection of the SIT auxiliary would inappropriately encode 'in a sitting position'.

Finally, there are examples of the SIT auxiliary altering "the meaning of a verb root (coverb)" (Birk 1976:62). Consider the following examples:

(43) *tik anuwa*

back 1EM-SIT.past

?I grew up.¹⁸

[Birk, ex.170,

1976:62]

(44) *tik yita*

back 3mM-GO.past

He came back.

[Birk, ex.171,

1976:62]

Tik 'back' commonly selects the GO auxiliary. The GO auxiliary functions literally to encode motion in this construction. Furthermore, in my own data collection I noticed that *tik* was usually distributed in compound motion coverb constructions which also usually select the GO auxiliary. Thus, (44) is a predictable combination. Example (43) however presents a combination and translation that is not intuitively predictable. I account for this combination in aspectual terms. I propose that *tik* is in fact polysemous and that in this environment (43), the event as a whole can be classified as a telic accomplishment. This is most likely a default coverb-auxiliary combination

¹⁸ Birk has not provided a gloss for this example.

since its collocation with a motion auxiliary would unnecessarily encode a motion event, and it is not a punctual process and since the DO auxiliary frequently encodes punctual or single events, it would not be selected. Since the semantics of this auxiliary are bleached, I would propose that it functions as a prototypical auxiliary, providing grammatical information to the clause.

3.4.2.3. Argument structure

We now turn to the syntactic function of the auxiliary that is not discussed by Birk. As explained in §3.2, a monovalent clause and the inability for an auxiliary to cross-reference an object in SVC indicates intransitivity.

(45) *anoe*
 1EM-SIT.pres
 I am sitting. [BL, S13,
 10/8/06]

(46) **anoe* -*ngayi*
 1EM-SIT.pres -3fMO

The grammaticality of (45) and the rejection of (46) indicate that as a simple verb, the SIT auxiliary has an intransitive argument structure. The absence of an external subject NP highlights the role that the subject person number marker plays in argument structure as the first verbal argument.

As mentioned, Birk identifies *teyma* as an inherently transitive coverb. According to the discussion of transitivity identification in MalakMalak (§3.2), an object (free NP or bound object pronoun) must be cross-referenced to indicate a transitive clause. Example (39) used a Direct Object without dative marking¹⁹ and since the SIT auxiliary is inherently intransitive, the second argument would need to have been introduced by the coverb. What then, is the function of the auxiliary in a transitive clause?

¹⁹ Birk's translation of *teyma* as 'wait (for)' suggests that dative marking is not required.

The following example shows the use of the SIT auxiliary in a clearly transitive example

- (47) *lamlam –ma errdini woerroe*
 talk (RDP) –impf 1IAu-SIT.purp 3AuO
 Us mob will talk to them. [JT, Green, 26/11/90]

The use of the SIT auxiliary is most likely semantically motivated since it could be assumed that talking would be done in a sitting position e.g. the implication of the combination is that the groups will sit around talking.

In terms of argument structure, the subject marker that is carried by the auxiliary supports the argument structure of the coverbal predicate. This analysis is based on Schultze-Berndt's (2000) argument fusion/sharing. That is, the intransitive auxiliary shares its one argument with the transitive coverb's first (subject) of two (subject and object). The fact that the SIT auxiliary cannot cross-reference a second argument independently of a coverb provides substantial evidence for the inherent transitivity of the coverb, since this is the only source for the object argument.

3.4.2.4. Conclusions

To summarise, the data presented in this section shows that the SIT auxiliary is not a semantically empty verbal unit (prototypical auxiliary). It can occur independently of a coverb as a simple verb yet it is unable to cross-reference more than one argument in these SV constructions. The SIT auxiliary is therefore, intransitive. However, it can also occur in complex verb constructions including those with transitive coverbs. In such constructions, it is proposed that the subject argument of both the auxiliary and the coverb fuse. The semantic weight of the auxiliary in CVCs varies according to context i.e. the focus on postural information differs. It appears as though the SIT auxiliary's primary roles are to provide postural and, or only, grammatical information to a clause.

3.4.3. LIE auxiliary

Before considering the LIE auxiliary, it is necessary to note that some of the Minimal past and present auxiliary inflections featured in this paradigm are homophonous with the analagous word forms for the STAND auxiliary. Thus, when the context or English does not provide sufficient information to distinguish the two, the auxiliary meaning will be glossed as LIE/STAND. Examples such as (43) however would not require annotation due to the corresponding meaning of the coverb and the intended auxiliary.

- (48) *arapuma tigelm' ayu* –wa
 smoke lie 1EM-LIE.past ?
 I'm lying smoking. [BL, S7a,
 26/4/06]

Table 3.2 shows Green's table of LIE auxiliary inflections.

Table 3.2 The LIE auxiliary paradigm.

	Past	Present	Imperfective	Purposive	Future	Subjunctive
1IM	angguyu	enggoeyoe	enggoeyoenguny	enggoedoeyung	enggoenoeyung	engginy
1EM	ayu	eyoe	eyoenuny	edoeyung	enoeyung	ewiny
2M	nunyu	noenyoe	noenyoenguny	noendoeyung	noenoeyung	niwiny
3fM	nunyu	noenyoe	noenyoenguny	noenyung	noenoeyung	woewiny
3mM	yuyu	yoeyoe	yoeyoenuny	yoenyung	yoenoeyung	woewiny
3MM	muyu	moeyoe	moeyoenguny	moenyung	moenoeyung	miwiny
3wM	wuyu	woeyoe	woeyoenguny	woenyung	woenoeyung	woewiny

1IAu	arrdyu	errdyoe	errdyoenguny	errdoeyung	errgoenoeyung	errginy
1EAu	arru	erroe	erroenguny	etoeyung	erroenoeyung	erriny
2Au	nunggurru	nunggoerroe	nunggoerroenguny	nugoetoeyung	nunggoerroenoeyung	ninggirriny
3Au	wurru	woerroe	woerroenuny	woetoeyung	woerroenoeyung	wirriny

Birk describes the following functions of the LIE auxiliary (Conjugation 5):

1. This auxiliary is “semantically a conjugation of ‘lying’” (Birk, 1976:64)
2. The semantically cognate coverb of the LIE auxiliary is *yur* ‘lie down’.
3. The auxiliary has the deictic function ‘yonder (far away from the speaker)’
4. the meaning of the auxiliary can be foregrounded in its “semantically marked function” (1976:64).

3.4.3.1. Aspect

Similar to the coverb *pak* ‘sit’, *yur* ‘lie down’ appears to have a dynamic function:

(49) *yoendoen yur yuyu -wa*
3mM lie down 3mM-LIE.past ?
He lay down.

(50) *awat yur!*
neg imperative lie down
Don't lie down. (M) [BL, S4a,
24/4/06]

In order to establish whether the LIE auxiliary could function as a simple auxiliary, the telephone conversation scenario detailed earlier in (30) was used. It was hypothesised that as with the SIT auxiliary, the LIE auxiliary would occur on its own in a stative function. Contrary to this prediction BL used a coverb-auxiliary combination (51).

(51) *tigelma ayoe*
lie 1EM-LIE.pres
I'm lying down (stative). [BL, S13,
10/8/06]

Any attempt to use *yur* ‘lie down’ in a stative function was rejected by BL who referred me once again to *tigelma* ‘lie’ + LIE auxiliary (51) as opposed to (52).

(52) *yur ayoe*
 lie down 1EM-LIE.pres
 I am (in the process of) lying down. [BL, S6,
 29/7/06]

These examples would suggest that unlike the SIT auxiliary, the LIE auxiliary cannot occur independently of a semantically similar coverb. Anecdotally, this appeared to be the case however, Green's fieldnotes suggest the contrary.

(53a) *ayoe*
 1EM-LIE.pres
 I'm lying down (stative). [JT, Green,
 24/11/90]

and

(b) *noenyoe*
 3fM-LIE.pres
 She's lying down.²⁰ [JT, Green,
 24/11/90]

Examples (51-53) support the aforementioned proposal that while in SVCs the auxiliary encodes its own Aktionsart, this role is overridden by different Aktionsart categories encoded by different coverbs in CVCs.

The use of the stative coverb *tigelma* 'lie' with the LIE auxiliary could be motivated by one of two considerations. The first predicts that *tigelma* 'lie' is used to overcome the STAND/LIE auxiliary homophony-based ambiguity. This explains BL's tendency to use this combination when context does not explicitly indicate the subject being 'in a lying position' as opposed to 'standing'. One could speculate that in the following

²⁰This example confirms this function of the LIE auxiliary since the 3fM minimal inflection is one of the LIE auxiliary inflections that is not homophonous with the corresponding STAND auxiliary minimal inflection.

example (54), JT uses the stative coverb after the auxiliary in order to clarify that the subject is lying, not standing.

- (54) *tyoeng ngun woeyoe tigelma*
 tree dem 3wM-LIE.pres lie
 The tree's lying down now. [JT, Green,
 22/11/90]

As §3.3.3 will show, a similar analysis can be applied to the STAND auxiliary. The second consideration proposes that the LIE auxiliary is further along Anderson's proposed path towards assuming a prototypical auxiliary function than the SIT auxiliary, which was found to readily occur independently of a semantically cognate coverb.

3.4.3.2. Combinatorics

Birk (1976:135-144) lists some acceptable and unacceptable coverb-LIE auxiliary combinations some of which can only occur in the plural²¹. It appears as though similarly to the function of the SIT auxiliary in CVCs, the LIE auxiliary is primarily selected to add postural information to a predicate. As mentioned in §3.3.1, constructions in which the auxiliary adds postural information to the situation entailed by the coverb are called 'associated posture constructions' (Enfield 2002) i.e. 'do the action entailed by the coverb in the posture entailed by the auxiliary'.

In agreement with the simple auxiliary function exemplified by (53a) and (b), Birk uses the following example to show the LIE auxiliary's semantic contribution to a CVC.

- (55) *alawar kanyak -ma noenyoe*
 woman cough -impf 3fM-LIE.pres
 She is coughing lying down. [Birk, ex.188,
 1976:64]

²¹ The reason(s) for this restriction has not yet been investigated.

Note that Birk's example features the auxiliary inflection (3fM) that distinguishes the STAND and LIE auxiliaries. Recent elicitations of similar constructions to (55) show that the auxiliary is used in conjunction with the stative 'lie' coverb *tigelma* to convey the postural information of being 'in a lying position':

- (56) *tigelma lamlam -m' ayu -wa*
 lie talk(RDP) -dur 1EM-LIE.past ?
 I was lying down talking. [BL, S7a,
 1/8/06]

- (57) *arapuma tigelm' ayu -wa*
 smoke lie 1EM-LIE.past ?
 I'm lying smoking. [BL, S7a,
 1/8/06]

The following example shows that at least some statives prefer to collocate with the DO auxiliary. cannot occur with statives in associated posture constructions.

- (58) *dumurrkarrk aya ki -we eyoe tigelma eyoe*
 cold 1EM-DO.punct dem ? 1EM-LIE.pres lie 1EM-LIE.pres
 "I'm lying down and I'm cold." [BL, S7a,
 1/8/06]

It also shows that as with (54), the speaker first uses the LIE auxiliary independently of a stative 'lie' coverb but then clarifies her meaning by using *tigelma* in conjunction with the LIE auxiliary.

While this does not confirm that the LIE auxiliary can occur independently of a coverb in an SVC, I repeat the following example to show that the LIE auxiliary does assume an intransitive classification in SVCs.

- (59) *noenyoe*
 3fM-LIE.pres
 She's lying down. [JT, Green,
 24/11/90]

So far I have shown the auxiliary occurring in intransitive CVCs. The following however, is one of the few examples from the combined data in which the LIE auxiliary occurs in a transitive construction. Birk's analysis proposes that the auxiliary's function in this example is to contribute deictic as opposed to postural semantic information.

(60) *noendoen antuk lurrung –ma noenyoe*
 3fM house clean –dur 3fM-LIE.pres
 She is cleaning the house **over yonder**. [Birk, ex.204,
 1976:70]

However, JT emphatically rejected this sentence offering the alternative, implausible translation “She’s lying down sweeping the house” (JT, Green, 22/11/90 p.7)²² that implies that ‘associated posture constructions’ are salient for MalakMalak speakers.

Example (61) suggests that in combination with a transitive coverb, the LIE auxiliary can cross-reference a Direct Object in complex constructions. However, this is not conclusive since the implied function of the auxiliary (i.e. to specify a lying or standing position) in (61) is neither clarified by grammar or context.

(61) *lamlam ayuwa ngayi -wa*
 talk 1EM-LIE/STAND.past 3fMO ?
 I spoke to her. [BL, S5.1,
 28/7/06]

²² Birk also uses the following to show the deictic function of the LIE auxiliary ‘over yonder’.

yinya murrma woerroe
 man (initiated) dance 3Au-LIE.pres
 The men are dancing over yonder. [Birk, ex.186,
 1976:64]

However, BL rejects the use of the LIE auxiliary with *murrma* ‘dance’. Even when explicitly asked if *murrma* + LIE auxiliary combinations could indicate that the dancing would happen 'over there', BL rejected the collocations, preferring the use of the STAND and GO auxiliaries. BL would appear puzzled by examples such as above since after all; one cannot dance and be in a lying position simultaneously. This shows that the postural semantics of the auxiliary is salient for speakers.

From this section we can conclude that whilst the LIE auxiliary has been found to occur in SVCs, highlighting its intransitive function, it is at least recently, more likely to cooccur with semantically cognate coverbs. The reason for this is not obvious, however it may suggest that either the coverb is employed to disambiguate the LIE auxiliary from homophonous STAND auxiliary word forms, or because the LIE auxiliary has become semantically bleached, and is therefore behaving more similarly to a prototypical auxiliary.

3.4.3.3. Transitivity

The following negative evidence however, provides further support for the intransitive classification of the LIE auxiliary. The LIE auxiliary is not used in transitive constructions of ‘lie’ i.e. lie something down. The dynamic coverb *yur* alternatively selects the DO auxiliary for such constructions.

(62)	<i>nga</i>	<i>w'</i>	<i>aya</i>	<i>tyet</i>	<i>aya</i>	–Ø	<i>way</i>	<i>yur</i>	<i>aya</i>	–Ø
	1EM	pick	1EM-	plant/stand	1EM-	–3iMO	pick	lie	1EM-	–
		up	DO.punct		DO.punct		up(?)	down	DO.punct	3iMO
	I put it down. ²³						[JT, Green, 16/11/90			

p.2]

Whilst this example clearly shows that the LIE auxiliary is not involved in the transitive constructions of ‘lie down’, it does not necessarily provide negative or positive evidence for a transitive function of the coverb *yur* ‘lie down’ since the Direct Object could be introduced by the initial coverb in the clause, *wa* ‘pick up’. Further investigation is required into examples similar to (62) particularly since it is difficult to assess whether this is a serialised construction or an example of a compound coverb. This distinction is necessary to ascertain whether each coverb

²³ This was the translation provided by Green. I assume that this is only a partial translation of the third clause (bold text). I have parsed and glossed this example and propose that a full translation could be: “I picked it up, I stood it up, and I lay it down.” Also note that I have added zero marking for the object. The original form of this example is:

nga waya tjedaya wa’y yur aya

I have assumed that the vowel in the coverb *wa* ‘pick up’ has merged with the vowel and semivowel of the auxiliary in the first clause and then the initial semivowel of *yur* in the final clause. Finally the translation of the final clause is not ‘I picked it up and lay it down’ since the preceding example in the field notes “*wa’y yur* ‘put it down [lay it down]’” (Green, 16/11/90 p.2) shows that the two coverbs combine to give the presented meaning.

should be regarded as bringing its own internal argument structures and aspectual information (coverb serialisation), or if there is a separate ‘compound coverb’ that may have been lexicalised. If so, *wayur* would have its own internal argument structure and aspectual information. Whilst this requires further investigation, we can see from existing examples that *yur* appears as the final coverb in a number of compound coverbs.

<i>tyalk.yur</i>	fall down.lie down	‘bend over’
<i>kal.yur</i>	carry.lie down	‘carry (on shoulder)’
<i>karr.nil.yur</i>	prod in ground.skin.lie down	‘break skin (against an object)’
<i>ngarrk.yur</i>	twist?.lie down	‘twist (a limb)’
<i>tapali.katy.yur</i>	grab-hab/ptcpl?=have something for a long time.leave.lie down	‘buck (horse)’/ ‘pitch (canoe)’
<i>tarrp.yur</i>	on top(?).lie down	‘lie on top (of something) (predicated of an inanimate object)’

Note that all of these compound coverbs include a coverb that is inherently transitive i.e. they encode or require the cross-referencing of a Direct Object, or at least potentially have a transitive form. According to Birk, all of them can occur with DO, not all with GO and not all with LIE. None of them can occur with the SIT or STAND auxiliaries. Interestingly, *tarp.yur* ‘lie on top (of something)’ can only select the DO and LIE auxiliaries suggesting that a) it can be used in both transitive and intransitive constructions b) it can be used in imperfective and perfective constructions or c) an ‘associated posture construction’ is made when combined with the LIE auxiliary. I reiterate that further investigation into the function of *yur* is required.

3.4.3.4. Conclusions

This section has shown that the LIE auxiliary can have a semantic function in both SV and CV constructions. However we have seen that most likely due to its homophonous inflections creating ambiguity between STAND and LIE distinctions,

the LIE auxiliary tends to occur with either the stative coverb *tigelma* or the dynamic coverb *yur*. Whilst more examples of LIE auxiliary collocation with inherently transitive coverbs is required, we can perceive from the examples provided that this auxiliary is most likely intransitive, and assumes a stative function in SVCs.

We now turn to the function of the third postural auxiliary STAND.

3.4.4. STAND auxiliary

The STAND auxiliary seems to have similar, but semantically different functions to the LIE auxiliary. Table 3.3 shows the STAND auxiliary word-forms described by Green.

Table 3.3 The STAND auxiliary paradigm.

	<i>Past</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Imperfective</i>	<i>Purposive</i>	<i>Future</i>	<i>Subjunctive</i>
1IM	angguyu	enggoeyoe	enggiyenginy	enggidiyang	engginiyang	engginy
1EM	ayu	eyoe	ayenginy	ediyang	eniyang	ewiny
2M	nunydyu	noenydyoe	nunydyenginy	nindiyang	niniyang	niwiny
3fM	nunydyu	noenydyoe	nunydyenginy	nunydyan	niniyang	woewiny
3mM	yuyu	yoeyoe	yyienginy	yinydyan	yiniyang	woewiny
3MM	muyu	moeyoe	miyenginy	munydyan	miniyang	miwiny
3wM	wuyu	woeyoe	wiyenginy	wunydyan	winiyang	woewiny

1IAu	arrdyu	errdyu	errdyenginy	errdiyang	errginiyang	errginy
1EAu	adyu	edyu	edyenginy	etiyang	erriniyang	erriny
2Au	nugudyu	nugudyoe	nugudyenginy	nigitiyang	ninggiriniyang	ninggiriny
3Au	wudyu	woetyoe	wudyenginy	witiyang	wirrininyang	wirrininy

Birk attributes the following functions to the STAND auxiliary (Conjugation 6):

1. This auxiliary is “semantically a conjugation of ‘standing’” (Birk, 1976:70)

2. The semantically cognate coverb of the STAND auxiliary is *tyet* ‘stand’²⁴.
3. The auxiliary has the deictic function ‘in the speaker’s vicinity’
4. The meaning of the auxiliary can be foregrounded in its “semantically marked function” (1976:72).

These observations will be addressed and revised where necessary in the following discussion of the STAND auxiliary.

3.4.4.1. Aspect

Before considering the functions of the auxiliary, it is necessary to look at the coverbs semantically related to ‘standing’ posture. The STAND auxiliary often appears with the coverb *wurruma*²⁵ in stative constructions. The stative nature of *wurruma* is confirmed by the ungrammatical use of this stance coverb in imperative constructions.

(63) **awat wurruma*
neg imperative stand

[BL, S4a.1,
24/4/06]

Nonetheless, this contradicts Birk’s implication that *wurruma* is in fact an inherently dynamic coverb in his example regarding the past tense inflection of the STAND auxiliary (64).

(64) *nga wurruma ayu -wa*
1EM stand up 1EM-STAND.past ?

I stood up. [Birk, ex.206,
1976:73]

From my observations, current use of *wurruma* implies that it is in fact an inherently stative coverb. Nonetheless this is not to say that (64) is ungrammatical, but recent

²⁴ *tyerrat* is used for plural subjects.

²⁵ A contemporary phonological analysis is required to determine whether this coverb is *wurruma* or *wurrma*. It will be written as *wurruma* in this thesis.

Based on the fact that the semantically cognate coverbs for the SIT (*pak*) and LIE (*yur*) auxiliaries that Birk mentions each function as dynamic coverbs, one could predict that the same function could be attributed to *tyet*²⁶ ‘stand’. However the following acceptable imperative constructions show that the use of a third coverb *parrat* ‘get up’ is preferred for dynamic constructions.

- Parrat* 'get up' undergoes partial reduplication for plural subject constructions:

- Parrat/parrarat* ‘stand up’ can cooccur with *tyet* (67)²⁷.

²⁷ *parrat* + SIT auxiliary = ‘wake up’

(67) *awat parrat tyet*
 neg imperative get up stand/plant/born/stop
 Don't get up. [BL, S4a.1,
 24/4/06]

I propose that the stative coverb *tyet* cooccurs with *parrat* in order to indicate the posture of the subject at the end of the dynamic event. From these examples I have identified that *wurruma* 'stand' is also an inherently continuous coverb and *parrat* is dynamic and punctual. I now turn to the aspectual function of the STAND auxiliary itself.

The STAND auxiliary can occur with all of the recently discussed coverbs *parrat* (*tyet*), *tyet* and *wurruma*.

(68) *parrat yoeyoe -wa*
 get up 3mM-STAND.pres ?
 He stood up/got up. [JT, Green, 26/11/90
 p.7]

(69) *tyangar tyet moeyoe*
 spear stand 3vM-STAND.pres
 The spear stands up. [Birk, ex.211,
 1976:73]

(70) *wurruma ayanginy*
 stand 1EM-STAND.impf
 I was standing up (i.e. when you came). [JT,
 Green]

Based on the discussion of the frequent use of *tigelma* 'lie' with the LIE auxiliary in §3.4.3 one could predict that if the STAND auxiliary commonly occurs with the stative coverb *wurruma*, as well as functioning independently as a simple auxiliary, it will be inherently stative. Evidently this is the case. When explicitly asked to produce MalakMalak translations of English utterances such as 'I am standing here' *wurruma* will accompany the STAND auxiliary. However, when asked the meaning of (71), BL

offered ‘He’s standing up’. Obviously I am aware that such evidence is problematic since a speaker of the language has not produced the utterance itself, nonetheless, it does indicate that as a simple auxiliary, speakers can interpret the STAND auxiliary as encoding semantic and grammatical information. That is to say that the independent auxiliary is meaningful.

(71) *yoeyoe*
3mM-STAND.pres

The common use of *wurrama* ‘stand’+ STAND auxiliary is likely to be motivated by the aforementioned ambiguous nature of some of the STAND and LIE auxiliary inflections. (70) shows that *wurrama* is still used when the auxiliary is not homophonous with a LIE auxiliary inflection this word form is not homophonous with 1EM-LIE.impf.

Having said this, the ability of the STAND auxiliary to add semantic information to a clause independently of *wurrama* is evident in its independent literal use in (72).

(72) *lamlam -m’ ayu -wa*
talk (RDP) -impf 1EM-STAND.past ?
I was standing up talking. [BL, S12,
9/8/06]

3.4.4.2. Combinatorics

The examples in §3.4.4.1 show that the STAND auxiliary is intransitive. This section considers the role of the auxiliary in transitive clauses as well as the transitive form of ‘stand’ e.g. ‘He stood the book up’.

As with the LIE auxiliary, Birk presents an example of the STAND auxiliary in a transitive construction but interprets the auxiliary as a provider of deictic as opposed to postural information.

(73) *noendoen antuk lurrung -ma noentyoe*
 3fM house clean -impf 3fM-STAND.pres

She is cleaning the house **here/nearby**. [Birk, ex.203, 1976:70]

Once again, this semantic function was not observed in recent fieldwork and JT did not indicate a deictic function in his alternative translation: ‘She’s cleaning the house’ (Green). Nonetheless, JT’s acceptance of the utterance indicates that the STAND auxiliary can be selected by transitive coverbs.

(74) *kurru -m’ aniyangka weni -we*
 remove -impf 1EM-STAND.fut grass -?

I am removing grass. [BL, S8, 2/8/06]

The motivation for the STAND auxiliary in this CVC is most likely semantically based since this is a job done in a standing position. It shows that the Direct Object ‘grass’ is introduced by the bivalent coverb *kurru* ‘remove’.

Similarly to the transitive form of *yur* ‘lie down’, the STAND auxiliary is not used in transitive constructions such as

(75) *turrptyet aya -Ø*
 plant 1EM-DO.punct -3iM

I stood something up e.g. in ground. [JT, Green, p.5]

It is assumed that the motivation for collocation with the DO auxiliary is that the coverb *turrptyet* ‘plant something’ is a punctual event thus, the inherently perfective DO auxiliary is selected in preference to the STAND auxiliary.

The following examples show the use of the STAND auxiliary in range of stative constructions. It seems that while the SIT and LIE auxiliaries can occur in stative constructions, the STAND auxiliary occurred more frequently. This may however

simply be a data-biased phenomenon. I will offer very brief motivations for each combination.

- (76) *mada tyarrkaty -ma yiniyang -ka*
 rain rain heavily –impf 3mM-STAND.fut ?
 It will be raining [BL, S6,
 25/4/06]

This combination could be motivated by the vertical nature of rain.

The STAND auxiliary can also be used in a copula-like function as shown in the following example.

- (77) *bur ayenginy*
 warm up 1EM-STAND.impf
 I'm hot. [JT, Green,
 p.48]

- (78) *ngunytyet ayenginy*
 sweat 1EM-STAND.impf
 I'm sweating [JT, Green,
 p.20]

This combination is related to Birk's note that colour- or light-descriptive terms as inchoatives tend to occur with *tyet* or *tut.tyet* ('cause.stand') + STAND (1976:134).

- (79) *nguparak tyet wiyanginy*
 dark stand 3wM-STAND.impf
 It's getting dark. [Birk, ex.498,
 1976:134]

It is therefore proposed that the STAND auxiliary has an inchoative function 'become' that as (78) shows applies to more than just colour- or light- descriptive

terms. The following example additionally shows that the *tyet* coverb is not necessarily required to form a similar inchoative construction.

- (80) *numurru nga –wa lerpma pirppma ayenginy*
 eye 1EMposs ? hot red 1EM-STAND.impf
 My eye is becoming red (hot?). [BL, S5.3,
 24/4/06]

3.4.4.3. Conclusions

This section has shown a variety of functions for the STAND auxiliary. While it can function independently in SVCs assuming its own Aktionsart classification ‘stative’, like the LIE auxiliary, it is more likely to occur with a semantically cognate coverb. In non-literal functions, the STAND auxiliary can occur in stative and inchoative constructions.

We now shift focus from the postural auxiliary functions to the motions and DO auxiliaries in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4

4. THE MOTION AND DO AUXILIARIES

This chapter considers the functions of the two motion auxiliaries and the DO auxiliary. As with Chapter 3, it presents Birk’s evaluations of each auxiliary before presenting my own analysis.

4.1. GO auxiliary

The present corpus shows that there are a number of literal and non-literal functions that can be attributed to the GO auxiliary. Thus, it can occur in both motion and non-motion constructions. As this discussion shows, my observations of the GO auxiliary often, but not always, run parallel to Birk’s descriptions. As with Birk’s examination of other auxiliaries, his presentation of the GO auxiliary is data heavy and his discussions and explanations for particular observations are minimal. Therefore,

whilst considering new data, I will expand on Birk's observations, incorporating detailed suggestions and revising previous observations where necessary.

Before presenting my own observations on the functions of the GO auxiliary, the following describes Birk's findings.

1. According to Birk, the GO auxiliary (Conjugation 2) is the most frequently used auxiliary and is semantically a "conjugation of 'movement'" (1976:53).
2. It can cooccur with coverbs of 'movement' (81) or by itself (82), assuming a meaning of 'movement' in both CVCs and SVCs.

(81) *kupuk yida waliwali –yinnga*
 dive 3mM-GO.pres/past river –loc
 He dives/dived into the river. [Birk, ex.128,
 1976:53]

(82) *de –noe ada*
 meat –dat 1EM-GO.pres/past
 I'm going/I went for meat. [Birk, ex.129,
 1976:53]

3. Birk notes that the GO auxiliary can also occur independently of a coverb in a **copulative** function (83)

(83) *nga lerrp anguny*
 1EM hot 1EM-GO.impf
 I am hot. [Birk, ex.133,
 1976:54]

4. Finally, as with the other semantically weighted auxiliaries, Birk states that the GO auxiliary can assume the **deictic** (84) function 'yonder (far away from speaker)'.

(84) *nilng tar –ma wuta*
 nail press –dur 3Au-GO.pres/past

They are/were hammering nails (**over yonder**). [Birk, ex.130, 1976:53]

My own discussion of the GO auxiliary considers Birk’s listed functions, as well as the additional functions identified from the combined data. First I consider the constructions that encode ‘movement’, introducing, in particular, the use of this auxiliary in associated motion constructions. Following this, §4.1.3 considers independent uses of the auxiliary, first in the role of encoding ‘motion’ and then in its copula-like role in ‘ascriptive’ constructions.

Section §4.1.4 considers the occurrence of the auxiliary in both intransitive and transitive CVCs involving non-motion coverbs. While Birk provides examples of each of these construction types, an explicit discussion of the semantic and syntactic functions of the GO auxiliary in such constructions is not provided.

Observations concerning aspect and Aktionsart are made throughout the pending discussions.

4.1.1. GO auxiliary with motion activity coverbs

The GO auxiliary is selected by a number of movement activity coverbs in both intransitive (85) and transitive (86, 87) constructions:

(85) *tyakat ada*
 run 1EM-GO.past

I ran away.²⁸ [JT, Green, p.48]

²⁸ A more accurate translation could be ‘I ran’ since as the next example shows, the coverb *tyakatywaya* means ‘run away’ (from an individual).

(86) *tyakat.yi.waya ada nunu -wa*
 run.leave.away 1EM-GO.past 2MO ?

I ran away from you. [JT, Green,
 p.48]

(87) *mi kurr.wa.pi nunda*
 food pull.pick up.go 3fM-GO.past
 =drag (away)

She dragged the food away. [BL, S16,
 15/8/06]

By comparing the preceding example with (88) we can see that the GO auxiliary can occur with constructions indicating either direction away from (86, 87) or towards (88) a focal point.

(88) *de yinngi k' an'gi yida lak yiminy -ngayi de wu*
 (clf) salt water **come** towards **3mM-** eat 3mM-DO.punct -3fMO clf barramund
 meat crocodile speaker **GO.past** (meat) (meat)

The crocodile came and ate her barramundi. [BL, S1.5,
 24/7/06]

The GO auxiliary also cooccurs with the coverb *pi* 'go'.

(89) *aman p' enungka*
 now go 1EM-GO.fut

Now I will go. [BL, S2.1,
 25/7/06]

(90) *nga -we pi ada yi.pa wuta tik.ka*
 1EM -foc go 1EM-GO.past leave 3Au-GO.past back.come

I went, they left and came back. [BL, S6,
 2006]

(91) *yerra pi woerroenguny -a*
 now go 3Au-GO.impf –sfm?
 They’ve already gone. [JT, Green,
 p.51]

Other dynamic motion coverbs such as *tyelk* ‘fall down’ that cannot select the inherently perfective DO auxiliary commonly select the GO auxiliary.

(92) *tyelk anguny*
 fall down 1EM-GO.impf
 I fell over. [JT, S3, Green,
 1990]

(93) *tyelk nunguny mirri*
 fall down 3fM-GO.impf sun
 The sun went down. [JT, S3, Green
 1990]

(94) *tyung tyelk wuda*
 tree fall down 3wM-GO.past
 Tree fell over. [JT, Green, 16/11/90,
 p.3]

The following use of fall + GO auxiliary combination shows that the GO auxiliary could be inherently atelic, encoding dynamic situations, since it focuses on a certain part of the event of falling.

(95) *tyelk ade*
 fall 1EM-GO.pres
 I’m falling! [BL, S16,
 15/8/06]

Table 4.1. shows Green’s modified paradigm of inflections for the GO auxiliary. Note that as Appendix A shows, Birk does not distinguish between Past and Present tenses but alternatively has a single paradigm for ‘Non-future’. My thesis supports Green’s

re-analysis in which he recognises the subtle vocalic differences between the GO inflections for ‘past’ and ‘present’ tenses²⁹.

Table 4.1 The GO auxiliary paradigm

	<i>Past</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Imperfective</i>	<i>Purposive</i>	<i>Future</i>	<i>Irrealis</i>
1IM	anggada	enggede	engguny	enggudung	enggunung	engginy
1EM	ada	ede	enguny	edung	enung	ewiny
2M	nunda	noende	nunguny	noendung	noenung	niwiny
3fM	nunda	noende	nunguny	noenbung	noenung	woewiny
3mM	yida	yide	yunguny	yoenbung	yoenung	woewiny
3MM	muda	moede	mungguny	moenbung	moenung	miwiny
3wM	wuda	woede	wunguny	woenbung	woenung	woewiny

1IAu	arrda	errde	errguny	errdung	errgunung	errginy
1EAu	ata	ete	errguny	etung	ermung	erriny
2Au	nuguta	nugute	nunggurrungy	nugutungg	nunggurrung	ninggiriny
3Au	wuta	woete	woerroenguny	woetung	woerroenung	wiriny

4.1.2. Associated motion

The GO auxiliary can cooccur with non-motion coverbs in progressive constructions whilst retaining its semantic function of ‘movement’. The following examples show constructions involving associated motion (contemporaneity) as opposed to sequentiality of events. Example (96) is presented in order to show that the independent use of the GO auxiliary as a simple auxiliary can have the meaning ‘going along’.

²⁹ This difference between Birk’s and Green’s paradigms creates a disparity between the glossing of examples taken from Birk and more recent examples. I have decided to gloss Birk’s examples as he presents them since there is no way of finding out which tense inflection (‘past’ or ‘present’) actually applied at the time of utterance.

(96) [werrena **wuta** wundut -ta alulk] [tat aya -wurru/a (woendut)]
 two **3Au-GO.past** dual -? girl see 1EM-DO.punct -3AuO (dual marker)
 “I saw the two girls going along.” [BL, S15,

14/8/06]

[The two girls were **going along**] [I saw them (two)]

Examples (97)-(100) are complex predicate constructions involving progressive activities in the form of associated motion.

(97) kanyak -m' ade
 cough -impf 1EM-GO.pres
 I'm coughing as I walk. [BL, S2.4,

23/4/06]

Here, the speaker explicitly indicated that the auxiliary word form means ‘walking’.

(98) erapu -ma nunda tat aya ngayi
 smoke -impf 2M/3fM-GO.past see 1EM-DO.punct 3fMO
 I saw her coming over smoking. [BL, S6.3,

25/4/06]

[She came over smoking] [I saw her]

(99) rubbit bin taty -ma wuta
 rubbish bin hit -impf 3Au-GO.past
 They were hitting the rubbish bin. [BL, S6,

29/7/06]

The transitive coverb *taty* ‘hit’ commonly cooccurs with the DO auxiliary. It appears as though, while selection of the DO auxiliary results in perfective, single event constructions, selection of the GO auxiliary in conjunction with the imperfective suffix *-ma* occurs when encoding a non-perfective construction. The context of this utterance suggests that the GO auxiliary could be selected in order to encode motion since the speaker was referring to a group of people walking along the street hitting rubbish bins. Nonetheless, this is not a conclusive interpretation since the motivation for the *taty-ma* + *GO* auxiliary combination could be purely aspectual i.e. the

Green however, presents two clear examples of associated motion. Notice the contrast in auxiliary selection. The first uses the GO auxiliary whereas the second uses the alternative motion auxiliary GO*. The semantic difference however, remains unclear since recent attempts to elicit the GO* auxiliary were resulted in only a handful of examples (see §4.2).

(101) *lak* *-m'* *awoerre*
eat (meat) –impf 1EM-GO*.pres
I go along eating. [JT, Green,
p.46]

As shown in examples (82) and (83), unlike his discussion of the other auxiliaries, Birk recognises that the GO auxiliary can function independently of a coverb. He considers that this auxiliary can either encode movement or assume a copulative function. Initially I will consider the semantic function of ‘movement’ and then provide my own analysis of the GO auxiliary’s other independent function.

³⁰ Note that the original form of the auxiliary in Green's fieldnotes was *angung* which is not a word-form present in any of the paradigms for any of the auxiliaries. From the translation provided, I have substituted the possibly erroneous velar nasal /ng/ with the palatal nasal /ny/. As shown, this substitution results in the plausible use of the IEM imperfective form of the GO auxiliary.

irrelevant to the situation. This confirms the meaning of the GO auxiliary as ‘motion’ as opposed to ‘go’ or ‘come’. This notion of ‘motion’ has already been presented in the previous example (96) that is shown again below.

- (96) [werrena **wuta** wundut -ta alulk] [tat aya -wurru/a (woendut)]
 two **3Au-GO.past** dual -? girl see 1EM-DO.punct -3AuO (dual marker)
 “I saw the two girls going along.”
 [The two girls were **going along**] [I saw them (two)] [BL, S15,
 14/8/06]

The independent GO auxiliary can also be used to indicate the movement of inanimate subjects:

- (102) mada woeneli woede
 rain big(w) 3wM-GO.pres
 Big rain came.³¹ [JT, Green,
 p.53]

This example suggests that at least in SVCs, the GO auxiliary is intransitive since it is the only verbal element present to carry an argument structure.

The following examples also show the independent use of the GO auxiliary but without the encoded meaning ‘motion’. Birk refers to such constructions as examples of the GO auxiliary’s copulative function.

- (103) yinya yinydyarrik yide
 man short(m) 3mM-GO.pres
 He’s a short fella. [JT Green,
 28/11/90]

³¹ Rain can also be classified as masculine:
 mada yineli yide
 rain big(m) 3mM-GO.pres
 Big rain came [JT, Green, p.53]

(104) *tyimityimity wunbayin woede*
 boomerang good(w) 3wM-GO.pres
 This is a good boomerang. [JT, Green,
 p.54]

(105) *nunet nunde*
 bad(f) 3fM-GO.pres
 She's not good [JT, Green,
 p.56]

(106) *yinya akana noende // nunydye minydyidek*
 man neg 3fM-GO.pres // 3fM-STAND/DO.pres/punct? emphP
 She's not married // She's by herself [BL, S7,
 2006]

The GO auxiliary also occurs with comitative (107) and existential constructions (108).

(107) *alalk -nga wak -yen yide*
 child -1EMposs water -comit 3mM-GO.pres
 My kid got wet. [JT, Green
 p.4]

(108) *yerra nga minydyidak aede*
 now 1EM emphP 1EM-GO.pres
 Just me myself alive now. [JT, Green,
 p.17]

Birk's discussion of the copula-function of the GO auxiliary is minimal. From the provided examples however I propose that the copular auxiliary's function in such constructions is 'ascriptive'. This role of the GO auxiliary is to ascribe attributes to animate subjects. Examples (103)-(105) show the ascription of adjectives to the subject whereas (106) represents that ascription of a NP to the subject.

An ascriptive function is also seen in the SVC use of the ‘sit’, ‘stand’, ‘lie’, ‘go’ and ‘go*’ auxiliaries in Ngan’gityemerri. Reid (1990) also shows that adjectives or attributive NPs can be ascribed to subjects. Reid further specifies that this can occur with either stative or dynamic simple auxiliaries (Reid 1990). The selection of a stative auxiliary such as ‘sit’ results in a *transitory* reading whereas use of a dynamic auxiliary such as ‘go’ encodes a *permanent* perspective. Compare the following two Ngan’gityemerri examples:

Ng.:

(109) *lamurity dim*

happy 3sg**SIT**
SU Pres

She’s happy (at the moment).

[Ngan’gityemerri, Reid 1990:ex.4-

67a]

(110) *lamurity yenim*

happy 3sg**GO**
SU Pres

She’s happy (by nature).

[Ngan’gityemerri, Reid 1990:ex.4-

67b]

Unfortunately, my own data does not feature examples that confirm or deny this difference.

We have so far seen that the GO auxiliary can function in both SV and CVCs encoding movement. We have also seen that the GO auxiliary can assume an ascriptive function as a semantically bleached auxiliary. We will now consider the role of the GO auxiliary in CVCs involving non-motion coverbs.

4.1.4. GO auxiliary with non-motion coverbs

Section §4.1.4. considers the role of the intransitive GO auxiliary in intransitive, non-motion CVCs before investigating the auxiliary’s role in transitive non-motion complex predicates. In both types of complex predicate (intransitive/transitive) the auxiliary is semantically bleached. The data suggests that in both intransitive and

transitive CVCs, the GO auxiliary is either selected by default, or specifically selected for atelic situations. Throughout the subsequent discussions, observations concerning additional GO auxiliary functions are elaborated.

4.1.4.1. Intransitive CV constructions

The following examples use coverbs identified by Birk as exceptional intransitive coverbs that unlike most intransitive coverbs, can cooccur with the DO auxiliary. This point is elaborated in the discussion of cognate objects in §4.3.2. Both (111) and (112) examples involving atelic activities that do not require the additional semantic information offered by the postural auxiliaries. Furthermore, the temporal adverb in the first example prevents the selection of the perfective DO auxiliary. Finally, as §4.2 shows, selection of the GO* auxiliary could encode ‘motion’.

(111) *kanyak –ma ada nana*
 cough –impf 1EA-GO.past adv
 I was coughing all the time. [BL, S5.7,
 28/7/06]

(112) *kaye –ma yide*
 scream –impf 3mM-GO.pres
 He (crow) keeps crying. [BL, S7,
 1/8/06]

Another use of the GO auxiliary with an intransitive coverb has been previously mentioned in this thesis §3.4.2. To reiterate, when the GO auxiliary cooccurs with the combination of the possibly polysemous coverb *pak* ‘sit down’ and the imperfective suffix, the resulting meaning is ‘live (in a location)’. This possibly confirms the preference for selection of the GO auxiliary for atelic, ongoing, imperfective, situations.

Green (1989) and Reid (1990) respectively show the use of the intransitive GO auxiliary in both Marrithiyel and Ngan'gitjemerri with the normally transitive coverb ‘break’.

Mthyl.

(113) *fundi thawurr gani -git -a*
arm tree 3sS.R'go' -cut.sever -past

The branch of the tree broke off (spontaneously, as a result of internal forces).

[Marrihiyel, Green

1989:370]

Ng.

(114) *yerr-ba yenim-pal*
tr-arm 3sgGo-break
cl SU Pres

The branch is broken off.

[Ngan'gityemerri, Reid 1990:ex.4-

39b]

Ng.

(115) *ye -nim -pal*
3sgS -GO -break

It is broken.

[Ngan'gityemerri, Green and

Reid

conference hand out #14b]

According to Reid (1990), 'break' usually occurs with transitive auxiliaries such as 'hands' in Ngan'gityemerri. This collocation results in causative constructions. In contrast, the above examples have a resultant anticausative reading when 'break' and the GO auxiliary combine. In the anticausative constructions, the undergoer is realised as the subject. The same reading can be found in MalakMalak where the gender and number of the auxiliary agree with the NP.

MM.

(116) *wurur -nen tapak wuda*
arm -encl? break 3wM-GO.past

The branch (of the tree) broke.

[BL, S13, 10/8/06]

and

(117) *ngun tapak wude* –*narra*
 dem break 3wM-GO.pres ?
 It's broken.

[BL, S15, 14/8/06]

In the above example, the demonstrative refers to a stick that was broken. Example (118) shows that the DO auxiliary is used to describe the punctual event that results in a broken stick i.e. the causative action.

(118) *tapak niminy* – \emptyset
 break 3fM-DO.punct –3iMO
 She broke it (the stick).

[BL, S15, 14/8/06]

MalakMalak does not cross-reference inanimate objects thus zero marking is attributed to the otherwise unspecified argument. The causative function of DO will be returned to in §4.3. The analysis offered however, in (118) is supported by the use of the NP to refer to the object in the following example:

(119) *nanyilk pit* –*nga* *tapak aya*
 hand nail –1EMposs break 1EM-DO.punct
 I broke my finger-nail.

[BL, S15, 14/8/06]

I therefore propose that the GO auxiliary acts to detransitivise the transitive coverb *tapak* 'break something'. In returning to the anticausative reading of the GO auxiliary, it is evident that in contrast to the NP used in (119) the sentence-initial NP in the following examples specifies the possessed NP that has been broken.

(120) *pimeli* –*nga* *tapak wuda* –(*arriny* –*dya*)
 elbow –1EMposs break 3wM-GO.past –(1EMO -?)
 My elbow has broken.

[BL, S15,
 14/8/06]

(121) *tyangar tapak mut'* -*arriny*
 spear break 3eM-GO.past -1EMO
 My spear has broken.³²

[Birk, ex.449

1976:127]

The agreement between the auxiliary prefix and the (possessed) NP as opposed to agreement with the possessor indicates that these constructions are not causative. However, a normal intransitive construction would not call for the cross-referencing of the Direct Object that is presented above. The parentheses around the bound Direct Object pronoun in (120) show that the speaker proposed that -*arriny* is in fact optional i.e. an oblique pronoun. The following is an example of the anticausative without the object pronoun:

(122) *wilit -nga tapak yida*
 shin -1EMposs break 3mM-GO.past
 My lower leg (shin) has broken.

[BL, S13,

10/8/06]

Note the absence of the object pronoun. This is convincing evidence for the use of the transitive coverb in an intransitive construction. Additionally note the inconsistency between the first person exclusive singular possessive clitic with the third person masculine auxiliary prefix. I propose that this inconsistency is evidence of an anticausative interpretation since the absence of a first person exclusive word form of GO suggests that the possessor is not employed as an active participant in the situation described.

Example (116) and the following confirm that the anticausative reading can also result from references to free, i.e. not possessed, referent.

(123) *wurur -nen taparruk.tyelk woeta*
 arm -encl? break (plO) (PRD).fall down 3wM-GO.past

The branches (of the tree) broke and fell.

[BL, S13,

10/9/06]

³² Birk offers a literal interpretation of (121), “‘Spear has broken (to) me’” (Birk 1976:127) that could be applied to the interpretation of (120): ‘My elbow has broken ((to) me)’.

Whilst the proposed translation was originally “The woman fell in a hole and she broke her (upper) leg”, the gender inconsistency between the subject of the final auxiliary (masculine) and the subject of the rest of the utterance (feminine) confirms that the final clause is better interpreted as an anticausative construction resulting in the given meaning. The *alawar* ‘woman’ is adversely affected by the involuntary event ‘break’. Further note that the form of this final clause (NP coverb aux-O) is in accordance with Birk’s example provided earlier (121).

(124)	warrama	tyelk	nunda	alawar	noende	dimin	–nan	tyet	tapak	yida	–ngayi	–wa
	walk	fall	2M-	woman	3fM-	hole	–loc	leg	break	3mM-	–3fMO	–?
			GO.past		GO.pres					GO.past		
	The woman fell in a hole and her leg (upper) broke. ³³								[BL,	S13,		
	10/9/06]											

4.1.4.2. Non-motion transitive CV constructions

While I have previously shown that the GO auxiliary can occur with both transitive and intransitive motion coverbs, it also often occurs in non-motion transitive CVCs. The fact that the GO auxiliary does not cross-reference objects when it occurs by itself indicates that the relevant coverb contributes the second argument in transitive clauses.

By examining a variety of transitive CVCs, it is clear that the imperfective *–ma* suffix occurs in many CVCs employing the GO auxiliary. As previously mentioned, Birk regards this affixation as a type of process that he calls “*–ma* conversion” (Birk 1976:90) that makes the coverb “accessible” (Birk 1976:90) to the GO auxiliary.

It generally appears as though the non-motion transitive coverbs that are presented here cooccur with the GO auxiliary by default. Perfective, punctual information is the result of DO auxiliary selection and the postural auxiliaries can potentially encode

³³ As an additional note, the masculine realisation of *tyet* ‘thigh’ in (124) shows that according to the animacy hierarchy in MalakMalak, at least parts of the leg are considered to encode a higher level of animacy than other body parts such as ‘elbow’ (see (120)).

often-irrelevant postural information. Furthermore, while the postural auxiliaries are static, the GO auxiliary is dynamic yet non-perfective, unlike the DO auxiliary. Thus, the GO auxiliary is selected by default by coverbs that would be semantically incongruous with the other auxiliaries. Although exceptions occur, it is generally evident that the GO auxiliary is selected for encoding atelic forms of situations.

(125) *yaltap –m’ ada –ngayi*
 like? –impf 1EM-GO.past –3fMO
 I like her (that woman). [BL, S8,
 2/8/06]

(126) *nguluk parrkut nen talktalk ada –ngayi*
 language white fella enclitic? talk (RDP) 1EA-GO.past –3fMO
 I talk language to her (white woman). [BL, S5.8,
 28/7/06]

(127) *ngun lamlam m’ ede –woerroe ngun wutu –we*
 dem talk (RDP) –impf? 1EM-GO.pres –3AuO dem 3Au-SIT.pres ?
 I speak to them (big group) all the time. [BL, S5.1,
 28/7/06]

(128) *nikita –many taty –ma yida –nen... muyiny*
 what –dpf (for) hit –impf 3mM-GO.? –enclitic dog
 Why is he always hitting that dog? [BL, S7,
 1/8/06]

(129) *akana taty ada –ngayi –wa*
 neg hit 1EM-GO.past –3fM ?
 I never hit her. [BL, S7,
 1/8/06]

The following set of examples show that the GO auxiliary occurs in non-punctual, progressive CVCs.

(130) *kanyak m' ada pana*
 cough –impf 1EM-GO.past iter adv
 I coughed again.

[BL, S5.7,

28/7/06]

(131) *elimirrimany mi ngak -m' ada*
 before food (veg) eat (veg) –impf 1EM-GO.past
 We used to eat lots of bush tucker before.

[JT, Green,

p.47]

(132) *tarat -m' ada -ngayi -wa puwarini -many akana tat.wa*
 look/see (pIO?) –impf 1EM-GO.past –3fMO ? morning –dpf neg see.pick up
 =find

I was looking for her (dog) all morning but I didn't find (her). [BL, S16,
 2006]

4.1.5. Conclusions

The GO auxiliary can occur in intransitive and transitive motion and non-motion CVCs. It does not however, introduce second arguments to transitive CVCs. Apart from its literal and associated 'motion' functions, the GO auxiliary can encode ascriptive, atelic, and anticausative situations.

4.2. GO* auxiliary

The GO* auxiliary is the second auxiliary that encodes 'motion' in MalakMalak. Interestingly, whilst Tryon (1974) presents an (incomplete) paradigm for a verb class that is now referred to as the GO auxiliary, there is no mention of a second auxiliary encoding 'motion' referring only to five "verb classes" (1974:8). He describes the GO auxiliary as mainly occurring with "...verbs denoting actions of a type involving physical movement of the actor from one place to another" (1974:11) but does not distinguish an additional movement auxiliary. Nonetheless, it is not unusual for a Daly language to feature two auxiliaries that both encode semantically different functions of 'motion'. Ngan'gityemerri has two dynamic movement auxiliaries, 'go' and 'go*' that encode 'motion' and 'travel' respectively (McGregor 2002). According

to McGregor's (2002) cross-linguistic observations, languages featuring CVCs similar to MalakMalak will often distinguish between encoding general motion and more purposeful motion events. The following section describes the functions of the GO* auxiliary in MalakMalak.

Table 4.2 shows Green's description of the GO* auxiliary.

Table 4.2. The GO* auxiliary paradigm.

	<i>Past</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Imperfective</i>	<i>Purposive</i>	<i>Future</i>
1IM	angguwurra	enggoewoerre	enggoewoerreny	enggoedoerrang	enggoenoerrang
1EM	awurra	ewoerre	ewoerreny	edoerrang	enoerrang
2M	numburra	noemboerre	noemboerreny	noendoerrang	noenoerrang
3fM	numburra	noemboerre	noemboerreny	noendoerrang	noenoerrang
3mM	yuwurra	yoewoerre	yoewoerreny	yoenboerrang	yoenoerrang
3MM	muwurra	moewoerre	moewoerreny	moenboerrang	moenoerrang
3wM	wuwurra	woewoerre	woewoerreny	woenboerrang	woenoerrang
1IAu	arrguwurra	errgoewoerre	errgoewoerreny	errdoerrang	errgoenoerrang
1EAu	arrurra	erroerre	erroerreny	etoerrang	erroenoerrang
2Au	nunggurrurra	nunggoerroerre	nunggoerroerreny	noegutoerrang	noenggoenoerrang
3Au	wurrurra	woerroerre	woerroerreny	woetoerrang	woerroenoerrang

Birk notes that the GO* auxiliary has an iterative function in addition to its semantic function 'motion'. Similarly to the other auxiliaries described thus far, Birk also attributes a deictic function to the GO* auxiliary that he glosses as 'yonder (away from speaker)' (1976:58).

(133) *wurrk moewoerra*

big fire 3mM-GO*.pres

Bush fire goes on (burning) a long way off.

[Birk, ex.156,

1976:58]

Once again, I did not find evidence to support this deictic function however; my own data does not generally feature many examples featuring this auxiliary. On this note, currently it appears that at least anecdotally, the GO* auxiliary is rarely used. This became especially evident when BL indicated that a combination such as *poeny* ‘pregnant’ and the GO* auxiliary was “old fashioned” (2006). Nonetheless, according to BL, the GO* auxiliary can be used in associated motion constructions and “means walking” (BL, August 2006). The following example taken from Birk, simply meant that the subject was listening as he walked³⁴.

- (134) *yoentoen tyeyantak –ma yoewoerreny*
 3mM listen –impf 2M-GO*.impf
 He keeps on listening over there. [Birk, ex.161,
 1976:58]

As mentioned (§4.1.2) both Green and Birk also found associated motion constructions.

- (135) *lak –m’ awoerra*
 eat(meat) –impf 1EM-GO*.pres/past?
 I go along eating/I went along eating. [JT, Green,
 p.46]

In addition to the literal uses of the GO* auxiliary, both Green and Birk found that it can encode iterative activities. Birk glosses this function as “‘keep on/go on doing (something)’” (1976:57).

- (136) *anda, yoewoerra tyoeng yinnga*
 all right 3mM-GO*.pres fire loc
 The meat is cooking. [JT, Green,
 p.46]

³⁴ Speakers are also able to use coverbs that specifically encode this motion activity ‘walk’ *telpoenoeek* or ‘walk slowly’ *tapat*.

(137) *nana, yoenpoerrang tyoeng yinngana // nigitini teyma // anda tat -m' eda*
 adv, 3mM- fire loc // 2Au- wait // all see/watch -impf 1EM-
 GO*.purp SIT.purp right GO.past

Leave the rest(?) to go on cooking, you fellas wait, I'm watching it.

[JT, Green, p

46]

(138) *de wel -ma yoewoerra*
 meat hang(intr) -impf 3mM-GO*.pres

The meat goes on hanging there.

[Birk, ex.158,

1976:58]

Attempts to elicit an iterative function of the GO* auxiliary in my own fieldwork did not prompt the speaker to use the auxiliary. Alternatively BL used the coverb *tapali* that Birk glosses as 'have something for a long time/be married', or the GO auxiliary³⁵.

(139) *taty -ma tapali yide*
 hit -impf have something for a long time 3mM-GO.pres

He keeps on hitting that dog.

[BL, S7,

1/8/06]

(140) *kaye -ma yide*
 cry -impf 3mM-GO.pres

He (that bird) keeps crying.

[BL, S7,

1/8/06]

These two examples however do not provide evidence to suggest that speakers no longer use the GO* auxiliary in iterative constructions but in conjunction with the anecdotal evidence provided, they do suggest that more data featuring the GO* auxiliary is required to establish the current functions of the GO* auxiliary. The suggestion that the GO* auxiliary at least previously had an iterative function is

³⁵ Having said this I think that a more appropriate meaning for () would be non-iterative 'He (the bird) is crying'.

supported by Reid's (1990) observation that the two motion auxiliaries in Ngan'gityemerri are both used in iterative and habitual activities.

4.2.1. Conclusions

Whilst more investigation is required to comprehensively describe the GO* auxiliaries functions, we do know that it assumes a motion function of something akin to 'going along'. The fact that BL referred to it as 'walking' possibly suggests an inherent iterative function since the activity of walking can be broken down into a series of ongoing and repetitive actions. Additionally, any semantic differences that may exist between the GO and GO* auxiliaries in their literal functions has not been established. Both auxiliaries can cooccur with elative and allative coverbs. Perhaps, as just mentioned, the iterative function of GO* is also inherent in its literal function of movement.

4.3. DO auxiliary

I have already suggested that the DO auxiliary is inherently perfective. This is supported by the fact that a) unless lexicalised, the durative suffix *-ma* is not employed by a coverb when it collocates with the DO auxiliary and b) as Table 4.3 shows, the TAM inflections for the DO auxiliary do not encode ongoing situations i.e. when coverbs combine with the DO auxiliary, a non-continuous, punctiliar reading results. The forthcoming discussion considers a variety of coverb-DO auxiliary combinations and motivations for DO auxiliary selection. It shows that in accordance with its perfective nature, constructions are more often punctual than not. There are also some stative coverbs that can combine with the DO auxiliary. An additional previously proposed function of the DO auxiliary is its causative force. This will be considered for both static and achievement situations.

This discussion of the functions of the DO auxiliary also focuses on Birk's claim that the DO auxiliary is a "transitivity index" (Birk 1976:47) which is motivated by his observation that 96% of the transitive coverbs in his sample are *able* to cooccur with

the DO auxiliary³⁶. Recalling that the transitive coverbs are able to combine with other auxiliaries however, I investigate the possibility that the DO auxiliary itself actively contributes to argument structure as opposed to passively indexing transitive constructions.

Before considering the data associated with the above proposals, I provide Birk's observations of the function of the DO auxiliary.

Table 4.3. shows the DO auxiliary word forms provided by Green.

Table 4.3. The DO auxiliary paradigm.

	<i>Punctiliar</i>	<i>Sequential</i>	<i>Purposive</i>	<i>Future</i>	<i>Subjunctive</i>
1IM	anggayā	enggoendoen	enggoedoeme	enggunma	anggundu
1EM	aya	ewoendoen	edoeme	enma	awundu
2M	nunydyā	noewoendoen	noendoeme	noenma	nuwundu
3fM	niminy	woewoendoen	noenme	noenma	nuwundu
3mM	yiminy	woewoendoen	yinme	yinma	wuwundu
3MM	muya	moewoendoen	moenme	moenma	muwundu
3wM	wuya	woewoendoen	woenme	woenma	wuwundu

1IAu	arrguny	errgoendoen	errdoeme	errgunma	errgundu
1EAu	arruny	erroendoen	etoeme	errunma	errundu
2Au	nunggurruny	nunggoerroendoen	nugoetoeme	nunggurrunma	nunggurrundu
3Au	wirrminy	woerroendoen	woetoeme	woerroenma	wurrundu

The following list highlights some observations and functions that Birk assigns to the DO auxiliary.

1. The DO auxiliary does not have a semantic function and unlike the other auxiliaries cannot occur independently of a coverb.

³⁶ Of Birk's sample of transitive coverbs, 8 are unable to select for DO. These are *kurrrp.wa.pi* (pull.pick up.go) 'drag', *mittiyerrrat (peyli)* 'paint (ceremonially)', *tultul* 'dislike', *tey* 'wait (for)', *pitinytyet* 'dislike', *tyewoer tarkaty* 'remind', *wukuty* 'throw away', *yipi* 'leave' (Birk 1976:118).

2. As stated, Birk's reference to the DO auxiliary as a 'transitivity index' is an inference based on his observation that utterances featuring the DO auxiliary are, with some exceptions (to be discussed), transitive constructions.
3. The 'Punctiliar' paradigm of the DO auxiliary has an "aspectually perfective force... [that] describes unique events." (Birk 1976:49). In contrast, the 'Sequential' paradigm is used to "express serial actions" (Birk 1976:49).
4. MalakMalak does not feature a transitive marker but Birk briefly mentions that the DO auxiliary has an "extremely limited" (1976:52) transitivity capacity. Interestingly, this capacity is limited to the semantically cognate coverbs for the LIE and STAND auxiliaries. The intransitive coverbs *yur* 'lie down' and *tyet* 'stand' that each normally select for their relevant auxiliaries can select for DO to create a transitive (causative) construction.

(141) *tyangar yur aya pawurrk -an*
 spear lay 1EM-DO.punct floor -loc
 I lay spear on floor. [Bk, ex.123,
 1976:52]

(142) *antuk tyet erroentoen*
 house put up 1EA-DO.sequ
 We (ex) erect(ed) the house. [Birk, ex.124,
 1976:53]

The remainder of this chapter reviews and elaborates these four functions with reference to recent data.

4.3.1. The DO auxiliary as an independent verbal constituent

Similarly to Birk, I found that the DO auxiliary does not occur independently of a coverb. This is not an unanticipated limitation of the DO auxiliary as it does not contribute additional semantic meaning information to CVCs. Nonetheless, the role of the DO auxiliary in the following data is interesting to consider briefly since if it can

in fact occur independently of a coverb, the DO auxiliary itself has its own intransitive classification in SVCs.

(143)a) *aman nunma* –wa

intrg 2M-DO.fut ?

What are you doing?

(b) *aman woerroeŋma* –wa

intrg 3Au-DO.fut ?

What are they doing?

(c) *aman anggunma* –wa

intrg 1IM-DO.fut ?

What are we (you and I) doing?

(d) **aman wunma* –wa

intrg 3wM-DO.fut ?

[JT, Green,

21/11/90]

Birk (ex.116, 1976:52) also provides a similar example using the purposive and glossing *aman* ‘what?’ as an interrogative adverb. He also specifically notes that it can only occur with the DO auxiliary. Green (pers. comm.) however questions whether *aman* is a particle or a coverb that encodes its own event. This question requires further research in relation to the argument structure of the DO auxiliary.

4.3.2. The transitivity index

As mentioned, Birk observes that 96% of the coverbs that combine with the DO auxiliary form transitive constructions. Birk does not offer explanations for this and does not explicitly consider whether the auxiliary, the coverb, or both verbal elements are transitive. We can however assume that the DO auxiliary does not alone contribute the second argument to transitive constructions considering the following imperative construction in which an object pronoun is cross-referenced by the coverb. In its basic form, the coverb is bivalent.

(144) *taty tyak arriny*

hit stop 1EMO

Stop hitting me!

[BL, S7,

1/8/06]

Such examples lead to Birk's implied conclusion that the DO auxiliary indexes transitive CVCs, but does not function as a transitive auxiliary. Birk possibly regards transitive coverb-DO auxiliary combinations as occurring by default when the situation requires no additional semantic information. However, he does not allow for the possibility that DO is in fact a transitive auxiliary that does not occur independently of a coverb since it has no semantic function.

In his introduction to auxiliary verb morphology, Birk states that intransitive coverbs do not usually cooccur with the DO auxiliary. He notes 12 exceptions to this sample-based observation (1976:118):

<i>ngirrk</i>	'die'
<i>apap</i>	'sick/tired'
<i>manpurity</i>	'be satisfied'
<i>manwiyukngirrk</i>	'be starving'
<i>nit</i>	'tell a lie'
<i>tum</i>	'inhale'
<i>wungwung</i>	'feel contented'
<i>yakayakay</i>	'scream'
<i>kanyak</i>	'cough'
<i>tumpurrk</i>	'hiccough'
<i>tyirrya</i>	'sneeze'
<i>nge</i>	'breathe'

There is no further mention of these 'exceptions', yet the list alone prompts some additional observations and possible alternative motivations for the resultant exceptional combinations. After offering some interesting observations concerning these rogue coverbs I will return to exploring possible motivations for the selection of the DO auxiliary by so many transitive coverbs and so few supposedly intransitive coverbs.

One interesting semantic observation regarding these deviant ‘intransitive’³⁷ coverbs is that they can all be related to bodily functions specifically involving the lungs and stomach. This observation is supported by the appearance of *man* ‘stomach’ as the first morpheme for two of the coverbs.

As mentioned, one suggestion to consider is that the DO auxiliary is selected by default i.e. when a speaker does not require additional semantic information. Thus, being the only semantically ‘empty’ auxiliary, the DO auxiliary is selected. This is supported by the fact that the listed coverbs are able to combine with other auxiliaries to encode with different meanings. Compare the following two examples that use the DO auxiliary and the SIT auxiliary with the same coverb.

(145) *kanyak aya*
 cough 1EM-DO.punct
 I coughed

³⁷ Based on Hopper and Thompson’s (1980) continuum of transitivity, Peter Austin proposes that transitivity in some Australian languages is not as rigid as previously considered. Dixon’s steadfast statement that “Every verb in an Australian language is strictly transitive – occurring with subject (A) and object (O) core NPs-or strictly intransitive – occurring just with a subject (S) core NP.” (Dixon 1980) is challenged by Austin’s re-analysis of transitivity in a handful of Australian languages. Austin briefly examines ‘deviant’ verbs that appear in constructions with what he calls ‘cognate objects’. I will not examine the details of both types of subcategorisation evaluated by Austin.

The type of argument structure in question is illustrated by the use of certain verbs in Bandjalang, a northern New South Wales language (e.g. *ginyjaama* ‘defecate’, *jaluba* ‘urinate’, *birrma* ‘yawn’, *ngaarri* ‘dance’, *banma* ‘put on’ (clothing), *yarrbi* ‘sing’, *wulbi* ‘make’ (noise), *juuma* ‘smoke’ (cigarette)). This selection of verbs can occur with a transitive subject NP but never take a transitive object. Instead, the object is ‘understood’. In the following example, ‘some urine’ is the understood object and *jaluba* ‘urinate’ is the cognate object.

mali -yu jaajam -bu jaluba -ni
 that -erg child -erg urinate -past definite
 That child urinated (some urine). [Crowley, 1978:107 cited in Austin, 1980:38]

Austin classifies such a construction as neither wholly transitive nor intransitive. It does however fall somewhere on Hopper and Thompson’s continuum of transitivity. The absence of an object suggests an intransitive construction however the ergative case-marking suggests otherwise. This proposition can be used when considering the collocation of the aforementioned intransitive coverbs with the DO auxiliary.

Reflecting on some of these listed coverbs, we can see that the cognate object template *X an X* can be applied. For example one can ‘cough a cough’, ‘die a death’, ‘lie a lie’, ‘scream a scream’, ‘hiccough a hiccough’, ‘sneeze a sneeze’ and ‘breathe a breath’. The remaining coverbs are stative and will be examined in turn. Additional verbs treated as cognate objects in the other languages featured in Austin’s paper include ‘to speak’, ‘to lie’, ‘to wear’ (clothing), ‘to be painted’ (a pattern), ‘to dance’ (a ceremony), ‘to speak’ (a language), ‘sleep’, ‘to fear’, ‘to play’ (a game), ‘to walk’.

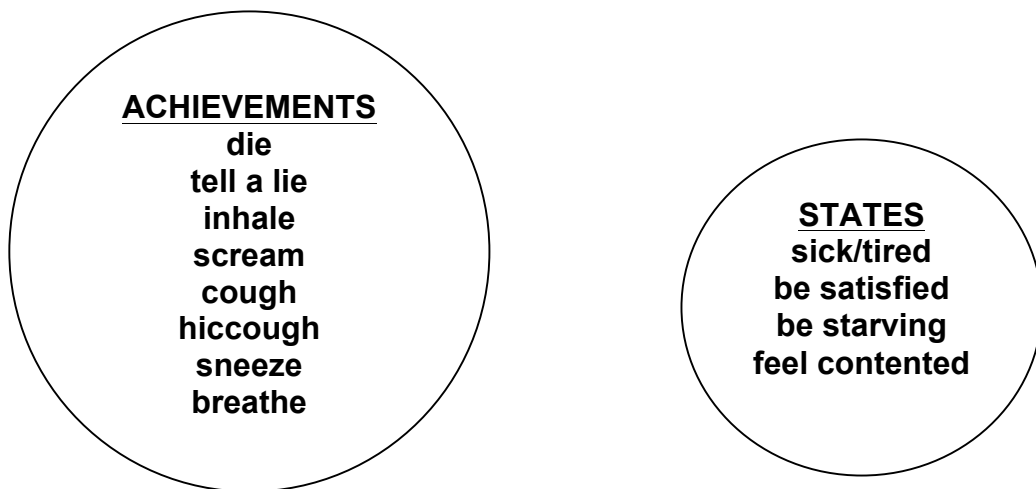
(146) kanyak –ma anoe
cough –impf 1EM-SIT.pres
I am coughing (in a sitting position)

If this hypothesis were indeed correct, however, it is necessary to discern why most inherently intransitive coverbs do not habitually select for this same auxiliary.

A second suggestion considers the underlying role of aspect and Aktionsart in not just these, but all coverb-DO auxiliary combinations.

4.3.3. Aspect and Aktionsart

Based on different Aktionsart classifications, the coverbs that can cooccur with the DO auxiliary can be divided into the following two groups.



According to Vendler (1967), achievement and state situations can be perfective whereas actions and accomplishments are progressive, allowing imperfective aspects of the situations. The following data is presented with the aim of resolving whether viewpoint and situation aspect of the situation, and/or the underlying aspect of the auxiliary and/or coverb restrict/allow particular coverb-auxiliary combinations.

The proposal that the DO auxiliary encodes achievements and states is supported by the observation that the suffix that encodes ongoing situations (*-ma*) cannot appear

with the DO auxiliary. I subsequently propose that the DO auxiliary encodes punctual achievements and states.

The remainder of this chapter presents data that features a range of coverbs collocating with the DO auxiliary. Where possible, direct comparisons to the use of the same coverb with different auxiliaries are provided. Note that in Birk's sample, there is no coverb that exclusively collocates with the DO auxiliary although he does observe a number of coverbs that cannot select the DO auxiliary. Many of these limitations are intuitively expected e.g. *pi* 'go' and *tyelk.yur* 'bend over'³⁸

Examples (147) and (148) show that the classically transitive event 'hit' commonly occurs with the DO auxiliary when encoding a single, punctual event.

(147) *nga minydyidek taty yiminy arriny*
 1EM emph PN hit 3mM-DO.punct 1EMO
 He hit me, myself. [JT, Green,
 p.49]

(148) *taty yiminy -noe pana*
 hit 3mM-DO.punct -3mMO iterative adv(again)
 He hit the dog again (once). [BL, S7,
 1/8/06]

In contrast, the following examples show that iterative and habitual events i.e. non-singular events do not use the DO auxiliary.

(149) *muyiny taty -m' ayu*
 dog hit -impf 1EM-STAND/LIE.past
 I hit the dog twice. [BL, S8,
 2/8/06]

³⁸ *tyelk* 'fall down' occurs with motion and LIE auxiliaries and *yur* 'lie down' occurs with the LIE auxiliary. According to Birk, the compound coverb *tyelk.yur* 'bend over' exclusively collocates with the LIE auxiliary.

(150) *Nikita* –many *taty* –*ma* *yida* –noen... *muyiny?*

what –for hit –impf 3mM-GO.past –thing? dog

Why is he always hitting that dog?

[BL, S8,

2/8/06]

These examples show that as I have already presented, the DO auxiliary is not the only auxiliary capable of encoding transitive events. Example (151) additionally confirms that the –*ma* suffix is necessary for the coverb to select auxiliaries other than DO.

(151) **muyiny taty ayu*

dog hit 1EM-STAND/LIE.past

As mentioned, the punctiliar encodes punctual, singular events and is an inflection exclusive to the DO auxiliary. It encodes a perfective force. The use of the coverb in its basic form (no durative suffix) with the DO auxiliary suggests that the *taty* ‘hit’ coverb is aspectually complementary to the DO auxiliary. That is to say, the coverb is inherently perfective. When the coverb is marked for durativity (–*ma* suffix) and occurs with one of the other auxiliaries, this perfectivity is over-ridden. The following selection of examples featuring different coverbs supports this analysis.

Example (152) shows the use of the unmarked form of the coverb *tat* ‘see/look’ as the predicate for a single moment in time. It encodes an achievement as opposed to the progressive activity that is represented by the use of the durative suffix and GO auxiliary in (153).

(152) *tat aya* –noe

see 1EM-DO.punct –3mMO

I saw him.

(153) *nga* –we *tarat* –*m’* *ede* *madyan muluk* –noe

1EM –foc? see/look(RDP)(plO) –impf 1EM-GO.pres shoes –int

I’m looking for (my) shoes

[BL, S17,

16/8/06]

Both examples are transitive constructions suggesting that *tat* ‘see/look’ is a bivalent coverb. This perfective/imperfective contrast is also evident in intransitive CVCs (note that *tyirrya* ‘sneeze’

(154) *tyirrya aya*
 sneeze 1EM-DO.punct
 I sneezed [JT, Green,
 p.23]

(155) *tyirrya -m’ enu -wa*
 sneeze –impf 1EM-SIT.past ?
 I was sneezing. [JT, Green,
 p.23]

The following example is especially interesting. MalakMalak allows the juxtaposition of two or more coverbs. They can appear as a) compounded coverbs where the two coverbs have been lexicalised to form one lexical entry, b) phonologically separate sequential events/actions, or c) serialised coverbs. Example (156) features the juxtaposed coverbs *kum* ‘bury’ and *tyet* ‘stand/plant’³⁹ but separates the motion and non-motion events by using two different auxiliaries.

(156) *de murut pi yida kum tyet yiminy*
 clf (meat) bone go 3mM-GO.past bury stand/plant 3mM-DO.punct
 He (the dog) buried the bone. [BL, S17,
 16/8/06]

Another feature distinguishing the two events is aspectual. The first is imperfective and the second is a perfective achievement and thus collocates with the punctiliar form of the DO auxiliary. Another interesting point is that the DO auxiliary is selected in preference to the STAND auxiliary that would be expected to cooccur with *tyet* ‘plant/stand’.

³⁹ Further inquiry is required to determine if these two coverbs actually form a compound coverb.

Another intransitive coverb listed as exceptionally occurring with the DO auxiliary is the punctual use of *ngirrk* ‘die’.

(157) *ngirrk yiminy*

die 3mM-DO.punct

He died.

[BL, S7a,

1/8/06]

and

(b) *muyiny ngirrk yiminy*

dog die 3mM-DO.punct

The dog died.

[JT, Green,

26/11/06]

When attempting to elicit the MalakMalak for the imperfective form of ‘die’ e.g. ‘He is dying’, the following was offered:

(158) *apap wirrk yiminy eyarra*

tired/sick finish 3mM-DO.punct now

He’s very sick.

[BL, S7a,

1/8/06]

Green’s field-notes show that *wirrk* ‘finish’ is a less direct option to imply ‘die’. Interestingly *apap* ‘tired/sick’ is one of the stative coverbs that can exceptionally select the DO auxiliary. The given translation was provided by BL and could possibly be interpreted as meaning ‘He was so sick that he died’ however it is also possible that both coverbs are stative. Further investigation into the imperfective form of ‘die’ is required.

The combination of stative coverbs with the DO auxiliary is a collocation that supports the analysis that the DO auxiliary encodes non-progressive i.e. perfective situations. Vendler (1967) groups achievements and states together as non-progressive situations and the basic forms of the coverbs (unmarked for

imperfectivity) that occur with the DO auxiliary generally encode achievement and stative expressions that are therefore non-progressive.

(159) *nga apap aya*
 1EM tired/sick 1EM-DO.punct
 I'm tired. [BL, S8,
 2/8/06]

160) *nigata –many apap nunydya?*
 what –dpf tired 2M-DO.punct
 Why are you tired? [BL, S16,
 15/8/06]

(161) *wak menyik ar aya*
 water ? dry 1EM-DO.punct
 I'm thirsty. [BL, S4b,
 24/4/06]

(162) *menwiyuk aya*
 hungry 1EM-DO.punct
 I'm hungry now [JT, Green,
 p.21]

More investigation into stative constructions is required to establish which coverbs occur with which auxiliaries and why.

In section §4.1.4.1 I suggested that the DO auxiliary has a causative force as opposed to the anticausative function of the GO auxiliary. Before exploring this possibility however, it is necessary to note that MalakMalak also features the coverb *tut* 'cause' which according to Birk, can cooccur with all six auxiliaries. Here are some recent examples of the *tut* coverb combining with the STAND or LIE, GO and DO auxiliaries.

tut + STAND/LIE auxiliary (most likely LIE since *tyelk* ‘fall down’ that usually occurs with GO, can occur with the LIE auxiliary):

- (163) *dembel tut.tyelk.tut.tyelk –ma wiyoe*
 leaf cause.fall down(RDP) –impf 3wM-STAND/LIE.pres
 The leaves fall (in *ariwarik* season). [BL, S16,
 15/8/06]

tut + STAND auxiliary:

- (164) *eyikeyik tut.tyet wiyanginy*
 black(RDP) cause.stand 3wM-STAND.impf
 It went black. [BL, S16,
 15/8/06]

tut + GO auxiliary:

- (165) *wak -tyaen tut woengyoen*
 water –make?/comit? cause 3wM-GO.impf
 It’s becoming wet outside. [BL, S6.2,
 25/4/06]

tut + DO auxiliary:

- (166) *mawuny lenggerrk tut aya*
 clothes clean cause 1EM-DO.punct
 I make the clothes clean. [BL, S6.1,
 25/4/06]

Additionally however, the causative forms of coverbal predicates that do not rely on the *tut* ‘cause’ coverb for a causative force tend to occur with the DO auxiliary.

(167) *tapak aya* -Ø
 break 1EM-DO.punct -3iMO
 I broke it.

[JT, Green, 26/11/90,

p.8]

(168) *alawar ngun tapak niminy* -Ø
 woman dem break 3fM-DO.punct 3iMO
 The woman broke it

[BL, S13,

10/8/06]

MalakMalak features two coverbs that encode ‘cut’ that like the previous examples result in a change of state (resultative). Both the coverbs *ngerrp* ‘cut’ and *tyurrrp* ‘cut’ can occur with the DO auxiliary (169) and (170). This combination allows the situation to be viewed as a whole (perfective).

(169) *pundumet ngerrp anma* -wa
 hair cut 1EM-DO.fut ?
 I’ll cut my hair.

[JT, Green,

p.49]

(170) *tyung -nen tyurrrp enma* -wa
 tree -dem cut 1EM-DO.fut ?
 I’ll cut that tree.

[BL, S7,

1/8/06]

The following uses of *tyurrrp/tyurrrptyurrrp* ‘cut’ however show that situations requiring imperfective interpretation requires the durative suffix and non-DO auxiliary selection (171) and (172).

(171) *muda -noe tyurrrptyurrrp -m’ eni* -wa
 afterwards -dat/3mMO cut (RDP) -impf 1EM-SIT.fut ?
 I’ll cut it up later.

[BL, S5.10,

28/7/06]

(172) *pendyi -we tyurp -m' anu -wa*
 yesterday ? cut -impf 1EM-SIT.past ?

Yesterday I was cutting up the tucker.

[BL, S5.10,

28/7/06]

(173) *tyurptyurp -m' eni -wa*
 cut (RDP) -impf 1EM-SIT.fut ?

I'll cut him a few times.

[BL, S7,

1/8/06]

4.3.3.1. Conclusions

The DO auxiliary has been shown to occur in both intransitive and transitive CVCs. Its causative force reiterates its potential to encode transitive events and the fact that it never occurs with imperfectly marked coverbs suggests that it has an inherently perfective function.

4.3.4. DO auxiliary function Conclusions

I have shown that the DO auxiliary commonly encodes perfective events and static situations. It cannot occur with coverbs that are marked for imperfectivity thus, the situations it encodes tend to be non-progressive achievements and some states. The DO auxiliary does occur with many transitive coverbs however argument structure does not seem to be the only motivation for coverbs to cooccur with this auxiliary since they can also occur with other auxiliaries. Nonetheless, the possibility that a causative force can be ascribed to the DO auxiliary, and in contrast an anticausative function to the GO auxiliary suggests that the DO auxiliary is the default auxiliary for resultative events. More investigation is required into the role of the *tut* 'cause' coverb, and other causative constructions in MalakMalak. Additionally, more investigation into enduring states is required.

Chapter 5

5. CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

5.1. Summaries of auxiliary functions

In this thesis I have provided an account of verbal functions in MalakMalak. The functions of the six semantically variable auxiliaries in both simple and complex verb constructions have been presented. After an overview of the language situation and a brief cross-linguistic account of verb-coverb constructions, Chapters 3 and 4 specifically described the way in which the different auxiliaries are used in a range of constructions in MalakMalak. Some of these functions have been pre-described by Birk (1976) and were thus discussed in light of more recent fieldwork, whereas other functions have been identified in this thesis only.

The argument structure of SV and CV constructions has been a particular focus, in particular to determine how the argument structure of the complex predicate is composed: is the second argument in transitive construction contributed by the auxiliary, the coverb, or both? Whilst the data indicates that a number of auxiliaries can occur independently of coverbs, forming intransitive constructions, in some cases it could not be conclusively determined that the coverb alone always contributes the second argument in transitive constructions.

The motivations for and limitations on certain coverb-auxiliary combinations is an extensive area of investigation. I have proposed that aspect and Aktionsart classifications can influence particular collocations, however a full examination of aspectual functions in MalakMalak remains pending. I do however suggest that whilst auxiliaries encode their own Aktionsart classification in SVCs, this is over-ridden by the Aktionsart of the relevant coverb(s) in CVCs. Thus, in CVCs, the auxiliary potentially encodes the range of aspectual functions relevant to its TAM inflections.

The following six schemas provide a summary of functions and observations for each auxiliary in MalakMalak. Following this review I will discuss topics for future research to which the presented analyses can contribute.

SIT aux → contributes postural information of ‘in a sitting position’ to situations
 → can occur independently of a coverb, and cannot cross-reference a Direct Object in SVCs. It is thus intransitive
 → can occur in transitive CVCs
 → assumes a stative function in SVCs that is over-ridden by the Aktionsart of coverbs in CVCs.
 → has the semantic extension (non-literal function) ‘stay’.

LIE aux → contributes postural information of ‘in a lying position’ to situations
 → can occur independently of a coverb and is then intransitive but usually occurs with a coverb that encodes either a stative ‘lie’ or dynamic ‘lie down’

function

- usually cooccurs with semantically related coverbs e.g. sleep
- can occur in transitive CVCs
- whilst it appears that the LIE auxiliary functions as a stative auxiliary in SVCs, this Aktionsart is over-ridden by the type of situation encoded by coverbs in CVCs.

- STAND aux** → contributes postural information of ‘in a standing position’ to situations
- can occur independently of a coverb in a stative function but usually cooccurs with coverbs encoding ‘stand’ or ‘stand up’.
 - as with the LIE and SIT auxiliaries, the stative Aktionsart of the auxiliary is over-ridden by the type of situation encoded by coverbs in CVCs
 - can occur in transitive CVCs
 - has non-literal function of ‘become’ when occurring in inchoative constructions.

- GO aux** → can encode motion events and associated motion events
- can assume a copula function in ascriptive clauses with animate subjects
 - frequently occurs with coverbs marked for durativity
 - is intransitive when occurring on its own but can occur in transitive constructions.

- GO* aux** → can encode motion and associated motion events
- possibly has an iterative function
 - can occur in intransitive and transitive CVCs
 - GO auxiliary possibly used in preference to the GO* auxiliary to encode motion events by current speakers.

- DO aux** → does not assume a semantic function

- does not cooccur with coverbs encoding durative events
- frequently encodes punctual events (achievements) yet can also occur in some stative constructions
- does not appear to occur on its own
- frequently occurs in transitive CVCs

An account of how speakers naturally use each of these auxiliaries e.g. in discourse, was not achievable given the time and access limitations to speakers. However, there are certain factors that would anecdotally support Anderson's (2006) premise that auxiliaries are in a constant state of evolution. Anecdotally, it is possible that the already presumably historically depleted number of auxiliaries in MalakMalak (six) will decrease. This is based on the possibly redundant semantic function of an auxiliary (e.g. GO* auxiliary and also the LIE auxiliary since they usually cooccur with a semantically equivalent coverb) and the observed syntactic (predicational) and semantic strength of coverbs. That is not to say that auxiliaries will eventually be wholly redundant but they may evolve into the prototypical auxiliaries evident in other Australian languages.

Currently however, MalakMalak undoubtedly relies on the semantic and syntactic functions of the auxiliaries. Extensive investigation into speakers' preferred coverb-auxiliary combinations is necessary. The following brief account of serial and compound coverb constructions in MalakMalak offers some specific areas of interest for future research.

5.2. Future research

5.2.1. Coverb compounding

Birk lists a range of compound coverbs (1976:97) but discusses neither the function of involved coverbs nor the relevant auxiliary in constructions involving compound coverbs.

<i>turrk.wat</i>	drink.send	‘swallow’
<i>tyurrk.wat</i>	enter.send	‘put inside’
<i>katy.wat</i>	throw.send	‘let go’
<i>ang.wat</i>	give.send	‘send over’
<i>wa.kark.wat</i>	pick up.come up.send	‘take out’
<i>wa.tik.pi</i>	pick up.back.go	‘take back’
<i>tik.ka</i>	back.come	‘come back’
<i>katy.yi.pi</i>	throw.leave.go	‘leave (tr)’
<i>kat.parar</i>	play.around	‘play around’
<i>ngalk.yur</i>	full up.lie down	‘settle down’
<i>karr.lak</i>	prod in ground.eat(meat)	‘pick out off ground (and) eat’
<i>kal.tyet</i>	carry.stand	‘carry on head’
<i>kurr.wa.pi</i>	pull.pick up.go	‘drag along’
<i>lam.tyak</i> ⁴⁰	talk.stop	‘stop’
<i>piny.wa.ka</i>	get water.pick up.come	‘get water and bring it’
<i>pulyp.yur</i>	extinguish.lie down	‘die down (of fire)’
<i>tik.tat</i>	back.look	‘look back’
<i>pat.ka.wa</i>	fly.come.pick up	‘fly in (and) pick up’

Table 5.1. Compound coverbs listed by Birk (Birk, 1976:97)

Anecdotally, it seems that current speakers use a range of compound coverbs that are additional to this list. I hesitate to conclude, however, that these additions are categorically compound as opposed to serialised coverbs (see §5.2.2). Thorough phonological and syntactic analyses are required to establish these distinctions.

A principal question concerns the collocational potentials of compound coverbs. That is, which auxiliaries can/cannot appear in compound coverb constructions and what is the motivation for acceptable combinations? For example, does a compound coverb such as *katy.yi.pi* throw.leave.go ‘leave’, which Birk specifically describes as

⁴⁰ Speaker BL did not recognise this compound coverb.

(174) *tik.ka* *yida*
back.come 3mM-GO.past
He came back

clause 1 (intransitive): coverb_{1intr}.coverb_{2intr}. + GO auxiliary
and
clause 2 (transitive): coverb_{1tr}. + DO auxiliary.

This recent example would suggest that compound coverbs do not usually combine complementary transitivity classifications. A formal analysis of possible compound coverb-auxiliary combinations would help determine (i) whether these constructions are truly morphological compounds, or whether they can be separated by other constituents (such as an NP object); (ii) whether transitive and intransitive coverbs can be compounded; and (iii) how these constructions differ syntactically from serialised coverbs (to be discussed below).

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5.2.2. Serialised coverbs

There are many examples which appear to contain serialised coverb constructions. In the current data, these constructions appear to differ from compound coverb constructions in that they are phonologically separated words. Of course, there is always the possibility that the compound coverbs are just further along the grammaticalisation path than these combinations.

As with compound coverb constructions, there are many issues to be resolved in the analysis of serialised coverb constructions. For example, analysis of examples such as the following could reveal whether an event is viewed by speakers as a single event (serialised), or two separate events.

(176) *kurruṯ ang yiminj -ngayi*
remove give 3mM-DO.punct -3fMIO

He took it (watch) off (and?) gave it to her.

[BL, S17,

16/8/06]

I would predict that the removing and giving is regarded as a whole event since only one auxiliary is used. Interestingly, even though the giver and receiver involved in this event were both sitting, the DO auxiliary was used. This implies that postural information in this event is not salient for the speaker.

The following is taken from an account of how to cook barramundi. The majority of the speech is a series of instructions and interestingly only uses one auxiliary. The presented clause breaks are suggestions (based on pause positions) but require confirmation since it is syntactically possible that the first clause break is in fact directly after the first auxiliary. Further research is needed to determine whether such clause sequences are better treated as coverb serialisation or auxiliary ellipsis.

(177) *de payiwarat yuri // yeli warat.katy yuri kararla nanyilk katy //*
meat bring out cool? // paper bark take (plO).leave cool? skin hand leave //

lengkarrk lak noendoeme // akana parrparrp // eyik akana
clean eat 2M-DO.purp // neg dirty/sandy // charcoal neg

Take the meat out and cool, take the paperbark off and peel off the skin and leave,
 you clean and eat (it). Not dirt/sand. No charcoal. [BL, S2.7,
 25/7/06]

This thesis has concentrated on the functions of the auxiliaries as opposed to coverbs in CV constructions. It seems that while second arguments are often lexicalised in coverbs, some auxiliaries can carry their own argument structure. A formal analysis of argument structure is required.

An additional observation relates to the aforementioned account that semantically cognate coverbs for the LIE and STAND auxiliaries (*yur* and *tyet* respectively) often occur in other compounded/serialised CVCs. The coverb *karr* ‘moult feathers’ is found as the initial coverb in a number of lexicalised, possibly historically compound, coverbs:

<i>karr</i>	moult feathers
<i>karrcikat</i>	poke
<i>karrka</i>	punt
<i>karrkarr</i>	prod ground (with yamstick)
<i>karrkwut</i>	sew
<i>karrlak</i>	pick something out of ground and eat it
<i>karrngoyat</i>	light (pipe, cigarette)
<i>karrnilyur</i>	break skin (against an object)
<i>karrturuk</i>	poke
<i>karryit</i>	comb (hair)
<i>karryiwuy</i>	stir

It may in fact be the case that *karr* is polysemous with a second meaning ‘poke’ considering the reduplicated form of *karr* is ‘prod ground (with yamstick)’. Interestingly, ‘poke’ or a semantically similar meaning is an auxiliary that is

commonly found in other languages featuring composite verb constructions including Ngan'gityemerri (Reid 1990) and Marrithiyel (Green 1989). This observation elicits two predictions. Firstly, since 'poke' commonly classifies events in languages with which MalakMalak speakers have close contact, the concept that events could be classified using the event classifier 'poke' could have been borrowed. Additionally, note that a number of the listed coverbs do in fact encode borrowed concepts e.g. *karrkwut* 'sew'.

The second prediction is that MalakMalak once featured an auxiliary that was in some way semantically related to 'poke'. This suggests a pattern of auxiliary loss whereby the semantically cognate coverb takes over the semantics of the auxiliary, leading to the semantic bleaching and subsequent loss of the auxiliary. Obviously, this proposal requires rigorous historical research.

Naturally, there are numerous areas for further investigation and it is necessary to consider such areas of research before the MalakMalak speech community disappears.

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Appendix A

Birk's auxiliary paradigms

DO auxiliary subject person-tense marker paradigms

Persons	Punctiliar	Sequential	Purposive	Future	Subjunctive
1sg	a-ya	a-wöntön	a-töma	a-nmawa	a-wuntuwa
2sg	nunt-ya	nö-wöntön	nön-töma	nu-nmawa	nu-wuntuwa
3sgm	yi-miny	wö-wöntön	yi-nma	yi-nmawa	wu-wuntuwa
3sgf	ni-miny	wö-wöntön	nu-nma	nu-nmawa	wu-wuntuwa
3sgv	mu-ya	mö-wöntön	mu-nma	mu-nmawa	mu-wuntuwa
3sge	wu-ya	wö-wöntön	wu-nma	wu-nmawa	wu-wuntuwa
1dl	angka-ya	angk-öntön	angkö-töma	angku-nmawa	angk-untuwa
1inc	arrk-uny	arrk-öntön	arr-töma	arrku-nmawa	arrk-untuwa
1ex	arr-uny	arr-öntön	at-töma	arru-nmawa	arr-untuwa
2pl	nunkurr-uny	nönkörr-öntön	nököt-töma	nunkurru-nmawa	nunkurr-untuwa
3pl	wirr-miny	wö-öntön	wö-töma	wö-nmawa	wurr-untuwa

(Birk 1976:50)

GO auxiliary subject person-tense marker paradigms

Persons	Pres/Past	Progressive	Purposive	Future	Subjunctive
1sg	a-ta	a-nguny	a-tung	a-nungka	a-winytya
2sg	nun-ta	nu-nguny	nun-tung	nu-nungka	ni-winytya
3sgm	yi-ta	yu-nguny	yön-tung	yö-nungka	wi-winytya
3sgf	nun-ta	nu-nguny	nun-tung	nu-nungka	wi-winytya
3sgv	mu-ta	mu-nguny	mun-tung	mö-nungka	mi-winytya
3sge	wu-ta	wu-nguny	wun-tung	wö-nungka	wi-winytya
1dl	angka-ta	angku-nguny	angka-tung	angka-nungka	angk-inytya
1inc	arr-ta	arrku-nguny	arr-tung	arrka-nungka	arrk-inytya
1ex	at-ta	aru-nguny	at-tung	ara-nungka	ar-inytya
2pl	nukut-ta	nunkurru-nguny	nukut-tung	nunkurru-nungka	ningkirr-inytya
3pl	wut-ta	wörrö-nguny	wut-tung	wörrö-nungka	wirr-inytya

(Birk 1976:54)

GO* auxiliary subject person-tense marker paradigms

Persons	Past	Present	Progressive	Purposive	Future
1sg	a-wurra	a-wörra	a-wörröny	a-törrang	a-nörrangka
2sg	num-purra	nöm-pörra	nöm-pörröny	nön-törrang	nö-nörrangka
3sgm	yu-wurra	yö-wörra	yö-wörröny	yön-pörrang	yö-nörrangka
3sgf	num-purra	nöm-pörra	nöm-pörröny	nön-pörrang	nö-nörrangka
3sgv	mu-wurra	mö-wörra	mö-wörröny	mön-pörrang	mö-nörrangka

3sge	wu-wurra	wö-wörä	wö-wörröny	wön-pörrang	wö-nörrangka
1dl	angku-wurra	angkö-wörä	angkö-wörröny	angkö-törrang	angkö-nörrangka
1inc	arrku-wurra	arrkö-wörä	arrkö-wörröny	arr-törrang	arrkö-nörrangka
1ex	arru-ra	arrö-ra	arrö-röny	at-törrang	arrö-nörrangka
2pl	nungkurru-ra	nöngkörrö-ra	nöngkörrö-röny	nukut-törrang	nöngkö-nörrangka
3pl	wurru-ra	wörrö-ra	wörrö-röny	wöt-törrang	wörrö-nörrangka

(Birk 1976:59)

SIT auxiliary subject person-tense marker paradigms

Persons	Past	Present	Progressive	Purposive	Future	Subjunctive
1sg	a-nuwa	a-nö	a-ninginy	a-tini	a-niwa	a-wininytya
2sg	nu-nuwa	nö-nö	ni-ninginy	nin-tini	ni-niwa	ni-wininytya
3sgm	yu-nuwa	yö-nö	yi-ninginy	yi-ni	yi-niwa	wi-wininytya
3sgf	nu-nuwa	nö-nö	ni-ninginy	ni-ni	ni-niwa	wi-wininytya
3sgv	mu-nuwa	mö-nö	mi-ninginy	mi-ni	mi-niwa	mi-wininytya
3sge	wu-nuwa	wö-nö	wi-ninginy	wi-ni	wi-niwa	wi-wininytya
1dl	angku-nuwa	angkö-nö	angki-ninginy	angki-tini	angki-niwa	angki-ininytya
1inc	arr-tuwa	arr-nö	arr-tinginy	arr-tini	arri-niwa	arr-ininytya
1ex	at-tuwa	at-nö	at-tinginy	at-tini	arri-niwa	arr-ininytya
2pl	nukut-tuwa	nukut-nö	nukut-tinginy	nikit-tini	ningkirri-niwa	ningkirri-ininytya
3pl	wut-tuwa	wöt-nö	wit-tinginy	wit-tini	wirri-niwa	wirri-ininytya

(Birk 1976:61)

LIE auxiliary subject person-tense marker paradigms

Persons	Past	Present	Progressive	Purposive	Future	Subjunctive
1sg	a-yuwa	a-yö	a-yönguny	a-töyung	a-nöyungka	a-winytya
2sg	nun-yuwa	nön-yö	nön-yönguny	nön-töyung	nö-nöyungka	ni-winytya
3sgm	yu-yuwa	yö-yö	yö-yönguny	yön-yung	yö-nöyungka	wi-winytya
3sgf	nun-yuwa	nön-yö	nön-yönguny	nön-yung	nö-nöyungka	wi-winytya
3sgv	mu-yuwa	mö-yö	mö-yönguny	mön-yung	mö-nöyungka	mi-winytya
3sge	wu-yuwa	wö-yö	wö-yönguny	wön-yung	wö-nöyungka	wi-winytya
1dl	angku-yuwa	angkö-yö	angkö-yönguny	angkö-töyung	angkö-nöyungka	angki-ininytya
1inc	arrt-yuwa	arrt-yö	arrt-yönguny	arr-töyung	arrkö-nöyungka	arrki-ininytya
1ex	arr-uwa	arr-ö	arr-önguny	at-töyung	arrö-nöyungka	arr-ininytya
2pl	nungkurru-uwa	nöngkörrö-ö	nöngkörrö-önguny	nukut-töyung	nöngkörrö-nöyungka	ningkirri-ininytya

3pl	wurr-uwa	wörr-ö	wörr-önguny	wöt-töyung	wörrö-nöyungka	wirr-inytya
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(Birk 1976:65)

STAND auxiliary subject person-tense marker paradigms

Persons	Past	Present	Progressive	Purposive	Future	Subjunctive
1sg	a-yuwa	a-yö	a-yaniny	a-tiyang	a-niyang	a-wintya
2sg	nunt-yuwa	nönt-yö	nint-yaniny	nin-tyang	ni-niyang	ni-wintya
3sgm	yu-yuwa	yö-yö	yi-yaniny	yin-tyang	yi-niyang	wi-wintya
3sgf	nunt-yuwa	nönt-yö	nint-yaniny	nun-tyang	ni-niyang	wi-wintya
3sgv	mu-yuwa	mö-yö	mi-yaniny	mun-tyang	mi-niyang	mi-wintya
3sge	wu-yuwa	wö-yö	wi-yaniny	wun-tyang	wi-niyang	wi-wintya
1dl	angku-yuwa	angkö-yö	angki-yaniny	angki-tiyang	angki-niyang	angk-intya
1inc	arrt-yuwa	arrt-yö	arrt-yaniny	arr-tiyang	arrki-niyang	arrk-intya
1ex	at-yuwa	at-yö	at-yaniny	at-tiyang	arri-niyang	arr-intya
2pl	nukut-yuwa	nököt-yö	nikit-yaniny	nikit-tiyang	ningkirri-niyang	ningkirr-intya
3pl	wurr-yuwa	wörr-yö	wit-yaniny	wit-tiyang	wirri-niyang	wirr-intya

(Birk 1976:71)

Appendix B

Green's auxiliary paradigms

DO auxiliary

	Punctiliar	Sequential	Purposive	Future	Subjunctive
1IM	anggay	enggoendoen	enggoedoeme	enggunma	anggundu
1EM	aya	ewoendoen	edoeme	enma	awundu
2M	nunydy	noewoendoen	noendoeme	noenma	nuwundu
3fM	niminy	woewoendoen	noenme	noenma	nuwundu
3mM	yiminy	woewoendoen	yinme	yinma	wuwundu
3MM	muya	moewoendoen	moenme	moenma	muwundu
3wM	wuya	woewoendoen	woenme	woenma	wuwundu

1IAu	arrguny	errgoendoen	errdoeme	errgunma	errgundu
1EAu	arruny	erroendoen	etoeme	errunma	errundu
2Au	nunggurruny	nunggoerroendoen	nugoetoeme	nunggurrunma	nunggurrundu
3Au	wirrminy	woerroendoen	woetoeme	woerroenma	wurrundu

GO auxiliary

	Past	Present	Imperfective	Purposive	Future	Irrealis
1IM	anggada	enggede	engguny	enggdung	enggunung	engginy
1EM	ada	ede	enguny	edung	enung	ewiny
2M	nunda	noende	nunguny	noendung	noenung	niwiny
3fM	nunda	noende	nunguny	noenbung	noenung	woewiny
3mM	yida	yide	yunguny	yoenbung	yoenung	woewiny
3MM	muda	moede	munguny	moenbung	moenung	miwiny
3wM	wuda	woede	wunguny	woenbung	woenung	woewiny

1IAu	arrda	errde	errguny	errdung	errgunung	errginy
1EAu	ata	ete	errguny	etung	errnungg	erriny
2Au	nuguta	nugute	nunggurrungy	nugutungg	nunggurrung	ninggiriny
3Au	wuta	woete	woerroengy	woetung	woerroenung	wiriny

GO* auxiliary

	Past	Present	Imperfective	Purposive	Future
1IM	angguwurra	enggoewerre	enggoewerreny	enggoedoerrang	enggoenoerrang
1EM	awurra	ewerre	ewerreny	edoerrang	enoerrang
2M	numburra	noemboerre	noemboerreny	noendoerrang	noenoerrang
3fM	numburra	noemboerre	noemboerreny	noendoerrang	noenoerrang
3mM	yuwurra	yoewerre	yoewerreny	yoenboerrang	yoenoerrang
3MM	muwurra	moewerre	moewerreny	moenboerrang	moenoerrang
3wM	wuwurra	woewerre	woewerreny	woenboerrang	woenoerrang

1IAu	arrguwurra	errgoewerre	errgoewerreny	errdoerrang	errgoenoerrang
1EAu	arrurra	erroerre	erroerreny	etoerrang	erroenoerrang
2Au	nunggurrurra	nunggoerroerre	nunggoerroerreny	noegutoerrang	noenggoenoerrang
3Au	wurrurra	woerroerre	woerroerreny	woetoerrang	woerroenoerrang

SIT auxiliary

	Past	Present	Imperfective	Purposive	Future	Subjunctive
1IM	anggunu	enggoenoe	engginginy	enggidini	enggini	enggininy
1EM	anu	enoe	eninginy	edini	eni	ewininy
2M	nunu	noenoe	nininginy	nindini	nini	niwininy
3fM	nunu	noenoe	nininginy	nini	nini	woewininy
3mM	yunu	yoenoe	yininginy	yini	yini	woewininy
3MM	munu	moenoe	mininginy	mini	mini	moewininy ~(miwininy)
3wM	wunu	woenoe	wininginy	wini	wini	woewininy

1IAu	arrdu	errdoe	errdinginy	errdini	errgini	errgininy
1EAu	atu	etoe	etinginy	etini	errini	errininy
2Au	nugutu	nugutoe	nigitinginy	nigitini	ninggirini	ninggirininy
3Au	wutu	woetoe	witinginy	witini	wirrini	wirrininy

STAND auxiliary

	Past	Present	Imperfective	Purposive	Future	Subjunctive
1IM	angguyu	enggoeyoe	enggiyenginy	enggidiyang	engginiyang	engginy
1EM	ayu	eyoe	ayenginy	ediyang	eniyang	ewiny
2M	nunydyu	noenydyoe	nunydyenginy	nindiyang	niniyang	niwiny
3fM	nunydyu	noenydyoe	nunydyenginy	nunydyan	niniyang	woewiny
3mM	yuyu	yoeyoe	yienginy	yinydyan	yiniyang	woewiny
3MM	muyu	moeyoe	mienginy	munydyan	miniyang	miwiny
3wM	wuyu	woeyoe	wiyenginy	wunydyan	winiyang	woewiny

1IAu	arrdyu	errdyu	errdyenginy	errdiyang	errginiyang	errginy
1EAu	adyu	edyu	edyenginy	etiyang	erriniyang	erriny
2Au	nugudyu	nugudyoe	nugudyenginy	nigitiyang	ninggiriniyang	ninggiriny
3Au	wudyu	woetyoe	wudyenginy	witiyang	wirriniyang	wirrininy

LIE auxiliary

	Past	Present	Imperfective	Purposive	Future	Subjunctive
1IM	angguyu	enggoeyoe	enggoeyoenguny	enggoedoeyung	enggoenoeyung	engginy
1EM	ayu	eyoe	eyoenuny	edoeyung	enoeyung	ewiny
2M	nunyu	noenyoe	noenyoenuny	noendoeyung	noenoeyung	niwiny
3fM	nunyu	noenyoe	noenyoenuny	noenyung	noenoeyung	woewiny
3mM	yuyu	yoeyoe	yoeyoenuny	yoenyung	yoenoeyung	woewiny
3MM	muyu	moeyoe	moeyoenuny	moenyung	moenoeyung	miwiny
3wM	wuyu	woeyoe	woeyoenuny	woenyung	woenoeyung	woewiny

1IAu	arrdyu	errdyoe	errdyoenguny	errdoeyung	errgoenoeyung	errginy
1EAu	arru	erroe	erroenguny	etoeyung	erroenoeyung	erriny
2Au	nunggurru	nunggoerroe	nunggoerroenguny	nugoetoeyung	nunggoerroenoeyung	ninggirriny
3Au	wurru	woerroe	woerroenuny	woetoeyung	woerroenoeyung	wirriny