

# Ngarinyman Resultatives

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## 1 Overview

- Two strategies to express change of state in Ngarinyman (Pama-Nyungan, Australian):

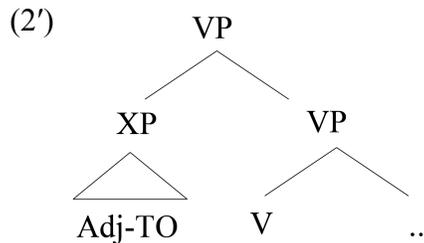
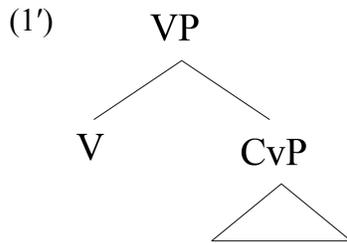
(1) Resultative coverb construction, with change of state coverb

Coverb + Inflecting verb

(2) Affixal resultative

Adjective-TO

- Question: do these instantiate the same underlying syntax?
- I argue for distinct syntactic structures:
  - Coverb is complement in functional projection of the verb;
  - Adjective-TO is a phrasal adjunct to a verbal projection.



- Supports distinction made in Svenonius (2016) between complementation and adjunction complex predicates.

## 2 Resultative coverb construction

- Change of state predicate typically expressed through coverb construction, a type of complex predicate
- coverb** (CV) + inflecting verb (IV)

(3) *Mangarri-ma=n nyila-ma gid~gid man-i;*  
 damper-TOP=2SG.SBJ that-TOP break~PL get-PST  
 ‘you broke the damper;’ (Jones 1995: 50) [NH: CJ: Mangarri 1995: line 24]

- Reading: process (IV: *man-*) leading to change of state (CV: *gid*). Only process reading with other coverbs e.g. manner:

(4) IV: *man-* ‘do/get’ (physical manipulation)  
*durd manan* ‘hold, touch, grab’  
*marrangib manan* ‘stroke, rub’  
*wamib manan* ‘roll something’

### 3 Affixal resultative

- Resultative expressions can also be formed with the suffix *-g* on adjectives, glossed here as ‘TO’ (glossed as factitive in related language Bilinarra (Meakins & Nordlinger 2014)).
- Can occur in various constructions, including manner coverb construction (5); with simple IV predicate (6)

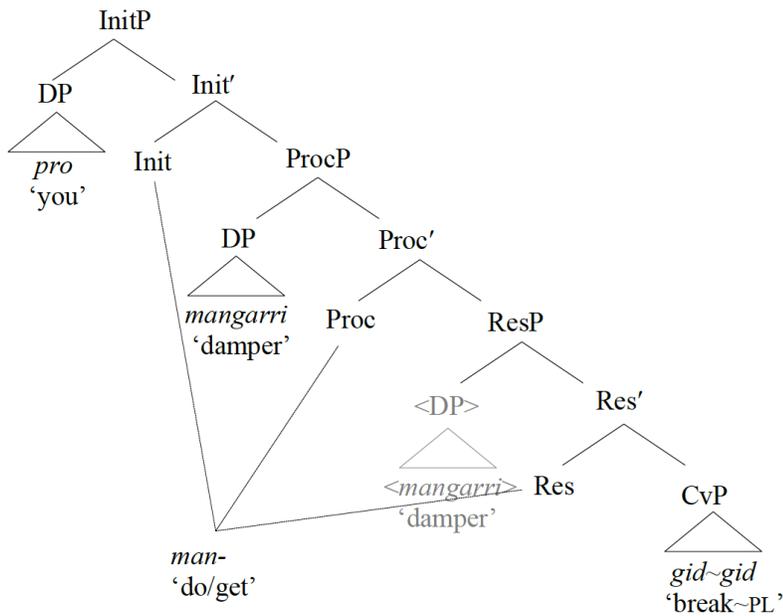
(5) *Wamib man-an gardbi janggarni-g.*  
 roll get-PRS hair big-TO  
 ‘She’s rolling the hair, making it big.’ [JC:JM1-010 2016 book 1, p98]

(6) *Jawi-nggurra. Yuwa-ni— jiwirri-g.*  
 fire-ALL put-PST cooked-TO  
 ‘(She put the dampers) into the fire. She turned them, till they were cooked.’  
 (Jones 1995: 48) [NH: CJ: Mangarri 1995: line 6]

### 4 Resultative coverb construction analysis

- Articulated verbal functional sequence (Ramchand 2008), complementation structure (Svenonius 2008, 2016)

(3’) ‘You broke the damper.’



Complementation structure

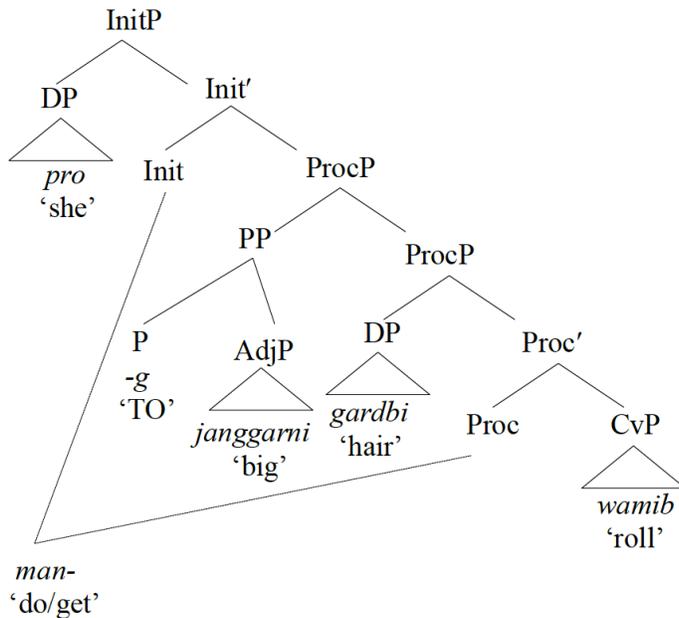
### 5 Affixal resultative analysis

- Could Adjective-TO instantiate the same structure as in (5’), i.e. phrasal complement to verbal projection; perhaps *-g* spells out Result head? But, both strategies can occur in the same clause (7); coverb fills complement position according to (3’).

- (7) *Mangarri-ma gid~gid man-an yabayaba-g.*  
 bread-TOP break~PL get-PRS small-TO  
 ‘She broke the bread into small pieces.’ [ES:JM1-012 2016 book 2, p10]

- Adj-TO forms have more freedom than CVs, e.g. can occur in verbless clauses (12) → adjunction analysis.

(5) ‘She’s rolling the hair, making it big’ (~until it’s big)



Adjunction structure

## 6 Semantics

- Simplified semantics up to ProcP, based on Ramchand (2008)

[[3'']] =  $\lambda e. \exists e_1, e_2 [\text{break}(e_2) \ \& \ \text{State}(e_2) \ \& \ \text{Resultee}(\text{damper}, e_2) \ \& \ \text{get}(e_1) \ \& \ \text{Process}(e_1) \ \& \ e=(e_1 \rightarrow e_2) \ \& \ \text{Undergoer}(\text{damper}, e_1)]$

[[5'']] =  $\lambda e. [\text{roll}(e) \ \& \ \text{get}(e) \ \& \ \text{Process}(e) \ \& \ \text{Undergoer}(\text{damper}, e) \ \& \ \text{TO}(\text{big}, e)]$

## 7 Benefit of analysis

- PP adjunct analysis of affixal resultative -g can be unified with appearance of -g on directional terms as an allative marker:

- (8) *Wirlminy wan-da gayi-rra-g!* (9) *Wardan gan.gula-g yuwa-rra!*  
 turn fall-IMP north-LOC-ALL hand up-ALL put-IMP  
 ‘Turn (and face) to the north!’ ‘Put your hand up (in the air)!’  
 [JC: CJ: 2005] [JC: CJ: 2005]

- In both cases it indicates the extent of an event: in resultatives until a state is reached, with directionals until a location is reached.

## 8 Supplementary data

- When unreduplicated, CV *gid* ‘break’ denotes one breaking event (10)

(10) ...*gid-ba=rna*      *man-a*    *mangarri-ma...*  
break-EP=1SG.SBJ    get-PRS    damper-TOP  
‘I broke it (damper) in half’ [KJ:JM1-019 2016 book 2, p48]

- *gid* is dynamic (change of state) not stative (e.g. ‘broken’)
  - does not occur with stative IV *garr-* ‘be’
  - stative reading is derived with *-bari*, forming an adjective (11)

(11) *Ngayiny wurlu gid-bari.*  
1SG.DAT leg      break-ADJ  
‘My leg is broken.’ [JC:JM1-019 2016]

- Adjective-TO in a verbless clause:

(12) *Jiwirri-g, garu-ba=lu=rla rurr wan-inya.*  
cooked-TO kid-EP=3PL.SBJ=3OBL sit fall-PST  
‘When it was cooked, the kids sat around.’  
[NH: CJ: Gambariyawung-gu ngarin (Olden time meat) 1998-07-14, line 28]

## References

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## Abbreviations

ADJ adjective, ALL allative, DAT dative EP epenthetic syllable, IMP imperative, LOC locative, OBL oblique, PL plural, PRS present, PST past, SBJ subject, SG singular, TOP topic

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