1 Overview

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

  1. Resultative coverb construction, with change of state coverb
     \[\text{Coverb + Inflecting verb}\]

  2. Affixal resultative
     \[\text{Adjective-TO}\]

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

\[\text{(1')} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{CvP} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{(2')} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{Adj-TO} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{...}\]

- 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
- \[\text{coverb (CV) + inflecting verb (IV)}\]

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

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

(4) \[\text{IV: man- ‘do/get’ (physical manipulation)}\]
\[\text{durd manan \quad ‘hold, touch, grab’}\]
\[\text{marrangib manan \quad ‘stroke, rub’}\]
\[\text{wamib manan \quad ‘roll something’}\]
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.’

4 Resultative coverb construction analysis

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

(3’) *‘You broke the damper.’*

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:JMI-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)
  \[
  \begin{align*}
  \langle(3'')\rangle &= \lambda e.\exists e_1, e_2[\text{break}(e_2) & \& \text{State}(e_2) & \& \text{Resultee}(\text{damper}, e_2) & \& \text{get}(e_1) & \& \text{Process}(e_1) & \& \\
  e &= (e_1 \rightarrow e_2) \& \text{Undergoer}(\text{damper}, e_1)] \\
  \langle(5''\rangle &= \lambda e.[\text{roll}(e) & \& \text{get}(e) & \& \text{Process}(e) & \& \text{Undergoer}(\text{damper}, e) & \& \text{TO}(\text{big}, e)]
  \end{align*}
  \]

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) Wirminy wan-da gayi-rra-g!
    turn fall- IMP north-LOC-ALL
    ‘Turn (and face) to the north!’
[JC: CJ: 2005]

(9) Wardan gan.gula g yuwa-rra!
    hand up-ALL put-IMP
    ‘Put your hand up (in the air)!’
[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

- 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: Gambarriyawung-gu ngarin (Olden time meat) 1998-07-14, line 28]

References

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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