

Pluractionality in Jaminjung-Ngaliwurru and its interaction with overt event categorisation

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Jaminjung-Ngaliwurru (W Mirndi), like many other Australian languages, has limited possibilities for DP/NP quantification, given the lack of obligatory number marking (except on pronouns) and a very limited set of numerals and NP quantifiers. Conversely, it has an intricate system of expressing pluractionality. This paper will provide an overview of pluractionality in this language, with a focus on the distinction between distributivity and iterativity, and between event-internal and event-external iterativity.

The following constructions fall under pluractionality:

- i) suppletive lexical stems of predicates distinguishing simplex and complex (i.e. multi-participants or mass) spatial configurations (e.g. *mugurn* 'lie of a single person' vs *lula* 'lie around of multiple people'; *walthub* 'be/get inside, enter' vs. *wurlurlu* 'enter of many entities'; *dud* 'hold/pick up a single entity' vs. *garrb* 'hold/pick up multiple entities or a mass; gather');
- ii) clitics in variable position, i.e. following NPs or the verbal complex (without a clear meaning distinction) in the function of marking collective and "pairwise" action;
- iii) reduplicated numerals (analysed as adverbial pluractional markers) and other adverbial quantifiers expressing participant plurality;
- iv) reduplication of predicates, encoding distributivity in space or across multiple participants;
- v) iterative marking on predicates and adverbials, encoding both event-internal and event-external event repetition.

Event-external repetition is illustrated in (1a) (with the non-iterative equivalent given in (1b)). Event-internal repetition is illustrated in (2),

- (1) a. *yurrg=mayan bun-garra-nyi=yinyag yuno, mangarra-nguji.*
show=ITER 3PL>1-put-IPFV=1DU.EXCL you.know plant.food-ASSOC.PL
'They used to show us two, you know, about food and other things.' (repeated on separate occasions)

- b. *Mulurru-ni gagawuli yurrg gan-garra-ny*
woman-ERG long.yam show 3SG>1SG-put-PST
'The woman showed me the long yam.' (once on a single occasion)

- (2) *M.-gi yurrg=mayan yirr-agba*
place.name-LOC show=ITER 1PL.EXCL-be.PST
'We were showing/teaching (them things) in M.' (repeatedly on a single occasion)

Out of all pluractional constructions, event-internal iterativity has a special status, as indicated by an overt system of event categorisation by light verbs. While all other types of pluractionality have no effect on the categorisation of the respective predicates, event-internal iterativity results in the overt categorisation of the event as atelic by means of the light verbs *gayu* 'be/stay' or *gangga* 'go' as illustrated in (2), overriding their categorisation in other contexts.