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A Description of the Emmi language
of the
Northern Territory of Australia

Lysbeth Julie Ford

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Doctor of Philosophy
of the
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Unless otherwise acknowledged in the text,

this thesis is my own work

LYSBETH JULIE FORD
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Abstract

This thesis provides the first detailed description of Emmi, a dying language spoken by about two dozen adults who are based at Belyuen on the Cox Peninsula west of Darwin.

Chapter One first explains the geographical, historical and social context of the language and its speakers. It describes my fieldwork methodology, and provides an overview of the Emmi language and its typological singularities. It provides a critique of earlier work on the language and summarises what is known about the relationship of Emmi to neighbouring languages.

Chapter Two describes the segmental phonology of the language. It provides evidence for the existence of a voicing contrast between stops and the existence of two phonemic fricatives. It shows how the stress patterns of complex morphemes which have been subsumed into the verb reveal that they were once independent words.

Chapter Three describes the nominal morphology of the language, with particular reference to the role of adnominal enclitics as NP relators. It explains the function of the generic nouns awa 'meat' and miya 'edible plant, the five ways used to express the possessive relation, and the overlap between adjectives and nouns on the one hand, and adjectives and verbs on the other.

Chapter Four explains verb structure, and analyses the morphology of the obligatory components: auxiliary verb, coverbs ,bound pronominals, bound number words.

Chapter Five examines the possible combinations of auxiliary and coverb and works out the semantic and syntactic motivations for co-occurrence.
Chapter Six describes nominal incorporation, distinguishing between lexical and syntactic incorporation and showing how lexically incorporated bodyparts function as metaphors and classifiers for entities with the same shape as the bodypart.

Chapter Seven describes the functions of the fourteen propositional enclitics.

Chapter Eight describes the syntax of simple and complex clauses with particular focus on serial constructions. It shows how the major intransitive auxiliary verbs have been polygrammaticised to provide aspectual information.

Appendix A comprises Basedow's word-lists of the language, dating from 1906. Appendix B gives Capell's raw Ami data, dating from the 1950s. Appendix C sets out the auxiliary verb paradigms. Appendix D consists of six texts.
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\* In Emmi, manggan means 'mate' to women, 'wife' to men. The coquettish in Marri Amnu and Marrijeen is manggin.
Abbreviations and Conventions

Phonological conventions

[] phonetic representation
// phonemic representation
C consonant
V vowel
N nasal
L liquid
SV semivowel
St stop
Het heterorganic
Hom homorganic
( ) optional element
---- is realised as
/ in the environment of
# word boundary
$ syllable boundary
' primary stress
' secondary stress

Morphological and Syntactic Conventions

S subject of intransitive
A subject of transitive
O object of transitive
N noun
NP noun phrase
V verb
VP verb phrase
AUX auxiliary
() optional
* ungrammatical
+ boundary of stress-bearing bound component (coverb,
  incorporated nominal, bound number word)
= boundary of enclitic

Interlinear Gloss Abbreviations

1 first person
2 second person
3 third person
M male
F female
M.other other male
F.other other female
MIN minimal
UAUG unit augmented
AUG augmented
R realis
IR irrealis
REFL reflexive
RECI reciprocal
Manip Manipulative
DAT dative
BEN benefactive
ADV adversative
POSS possessive
PRO free cardinal pronoun
RECPAST    recent past
DEIC        deictic
Anaph      anaphoric
PURP        purposive
COMIT       comitative
SIM         similar
REDUP       reduplicated
REPET       repetitive
LIK         likely
NEW INF     new information
DIR         direct
HAP         happens to be
HAB         habitual
PERF        perfective
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Map 1: Emmiyangal and Menhdheyangal traditional territory.
Map 2: Emmiyangal and Menhdheyangal traditional territory from Tindale's 1974 map.
A rough sketch map showing the settled and unsettled areas surrounding the Daly River. Numbers indicate approximate original positions of the following tribes:

- Warral 1, Kungarakka 2, Djennit 3, Wogai 4, Ponga Ponga 5, Mulluk Mulluk 6,
- Madngella 7, Yunggor 8, Munununggo 9, Marithiel 10, Marimuridi 11, Nagiomeri 12,
- Wegaman 13, Nangimeri 14, Kamor 15, Moil 16, Naigor 17, Nordaniman 18,
- Kadjerawang 19, Jaminjung 20.

Map 3: Map of tribal locations from Stanner 1933a.
Chapter One
Emmi and the Emmiyangal: geographical and historical context

1.1 Name of language

Emmi, [ʼɛm.i], is an Australian language with about two dozen speakers who are based at Belyuen, a Government settlement on the Cox Peninsula, 120 kilometres west of Darwin, NT. One family of Emmi speakers lives at Balgal, an outstation on the coast of Anson Bay, some 200 kilometres south west of Darwin; another family lives at Wadeye, previously known as Port Keats, on the coast approximately 500 kilometres south of Darwin. Emmi is the language of the Emmiyangal, a saltwater people. According to the Emmiyangal elders Ruby Yarrowin and Agnes Lippo, Emmiyangal traditional territory lay between Banagaya and Mabulhiuk (Cape Ford). The Emmiyangal shared country with the Wadjiginy, their neighbours to the north, from Banagaya to puthi 'mosquito dreaming' in the mouth of the Daly River. To the south, Emmiyangal country was bordered by that of the Menhdheyangal, their closest linguistic relatives. Menhdheyangal territory stretched from Cape Ford to Cape Scott. Inland to the east of both tribes lay the territory of the Marrithiyel; south of the Menhdheyangal was Marri Ammu country.

The Emmiyangal and Menhdheyangal regularly hunted up and down the coast between Port Keats and Darwin accompanied by Thangguralh affines. There was a Menhdheyangal camp on Pinindjela (Mica Beach) on Talc Head, near Mandorah, and the Aboriginal burial ground on Darwin’s Mindil Beach, directly opposite Pinindjela, contains Emmiyangal and Menhdheyangal graves.

Today, most Emmi speakers spend most of their time at Belyuen. They go hunting on the beaches of the Cox Peninsula, and spend ‘time out’ in the

1The term Thangguralh was first cited by Stanner 1933. My source is Marjorie Bibili, a mother-tongue speaker of Marri Ammu. Marjorie glossed Thangguralh as ‘saltwater people who are speakers of’ the dialects of Marrithiyel known as Marri Ammu and Marisjefin.'
Darwin town camps of Bagot, Minmarama, One Mile Dam, and Knuckey's Lagoon.

Fluent speakers of Emmi call their malh ('language') emmi after the Emmi interrogative 'what'? Earlier writers refer to the language as 'Ami' but the word contains a geminate bilabial nasal. Single and geminate bilabial nasals contrast throughout the Emmi language, for instance, in the subminimal pairs shown in (1-1) - (1-2), and (1-3) - (1-5).

1-1    ngemi [ŋemɪ]

1MIN.S.R come out
'I come out.'

1-2    ngemmimi [ŋemmi

1/2MIN.S. come out
either 'You and I (speaker and hearer) come out.'
or 'Let's come out!'

1-3    ngama [ŋama]
either 1MIN.A.IR.poke
'Let me poke it!
or 1MIN.S.R.stand
'I stand.'

1-4    ngammama 'deaf' [ŋam.ama].

1-5    ngammama [ŋam.ama]

1/2MIN.S.stand'
either 'You and I (speaker and hearer) stand.'
or 'Let's both stand!'
1.2. Linguistic type and typological singularities

Emmi is an Australian language of the prefixing, predominantly head-marking type. It is primarily an agglutinating language, in that a grammatical word may comprise several morphemes, each of which occupies an ordered slot. Emmi verbs frequently consist of eight ordered morphemes, e.g. (1-6) (and see Chapter 2, section 2.3). Emmi has many unsegmentable fused morphemes, e.g. the obligatory pronominal prefix, which inflects for person, number, gender and modality of S/A, and the reflexive affix, which inflects for person, number and gender. Both are shown in (1-6).

\[1-6 \quad \text{gadhaman-nga+pirr+wuda=enhdheni=no=ya} \]

\[3\text{MIN.S.IR.} \text{stand-3MIN.F.REFL-throw}\]

\[\text{down+water=} \text{now=} \text{PURP=} \text{away from speaker}\]

‘She was about to throw herself into the water now over there away from me.’ (T1:38)

A word may host up to four enclitics. Permissible combinations of temporal, modal, aspectual, directional and illocutionary enclitics are specified in Chapter Seven. Enclitics are ordered in relation to each other. They may occur as part of the verb complex, or enclitise to the final element of a clause-initial constituent, or the final member of each clause constituent-phrase.

In Emmi, body-part nouns may be lexically or syntactically incorporated into a verb. If a noun is lexically incorporated, it always occurs in a fixed slot immediately before or after the co-verb. If syntactically incorporated, the same noun optionally occurs in one of the VP-slots reserved for incorporated nominals, or surfaces elsewhere in the clause. The incorporated nominal bears secondary stress.

Long words, fused morphemes and body-part incorporation occur in neighbouring languages, e.g. Marrithiyel (Green 1989: nominal incorporation 224) and Ngan.gityemerri (Reid, 1990: long words 69;
nominal incorporation 189-213).

Emmi is not an ergative language, but morphologically and syntactically has a nominative/accusative system. In addition to the obligatory pronominal prefixes and suffixes to the verb which index core grammatical relations within the clause, inner peripheral arguments such as Dative, and outer peripheral arguments including Benefactive and Adversative, are also coded on the verb in ordered slots.

Emmi has a number system unparalleled in specifying the gender of members of a small group. This system occurs in the closely related dialect Menhdhe, but is not found in the closely related language, Marranunggu, or in any other Daly or Australian language. It is obligatory for any non-minimal core argument to be specified as unit-augmented or augmented on the Emmi verb by bound words marking gender and number. What is, as far as I know, unique to Emmi and Menhdhe is the occurrence of bound words specifying the gender of the 'odd man out' in a group. Bound number words are also obligatory components of free cardinal pronouns and deictics when inflected for augmented number.

Coverbs, incorporated nominals, and bound number words are all stress-bearing components of the Emmi verb complex. This implies that, at some earlier stage of the language, they were separate words which have since lost their phonological independence and been subsumed into the VP.

Emmi also has suppletive coverbs which specify an augmented O, an enclitic which specifies a nominal referent as 'one of a pair' or 'one of a group', or an event as done 'as a pair' or 'as a group', and numeral lexemes from one to twenty which are external to the VP. Ways of expressing number in Emmi are described in Chapters Three and Four.

Emmi is primarily a head-marking language, using the term coined by Nichols (1989), but it also shows dependent marking on nominals. In Emmi, dependent marking is restricted to peripheral case-relations.
Adnominal enclitics indicate dative, instrumental, possessive, or locational relations, but core arguments are unmarked. There are in Emmi several ways to mark the possessive relation.

Unlike other Daly languages, Emmi has no ergative case-marker. In discourse, a new argument in Direct or Locative case hosts the New Information enclitic -nene, which is homophonous with the Instrumental enclitic.

Emmi has an elaborate pronoun system. Its bound pronominals obligatorily mark core (S/A and O) and inner peripheral (Dative, Reflexive, Benefactive, Adversative) arguments on the verb. Its free pronouns consist of cardinal pronouns and possessive pronouns, which inflect for person, number and gender. Possessive pronouns occur in Emmi and Menhdhe, and in the nearest related language, Marranunggu, in any other Daly region language, where possession can only be expressed by the juxtaposition of possessor noun/pronoun and possessed noun. In Emmi and Menhdhe, there are several other ways to mark the possessive relation.

Although adjectives form a sub-class of the nominal word-class, they also display verbal qualities, for instance, that a subset of adjectives may function as coverbs. Nominal morphology is described in Chapter Three.

Emmi verbs are either simple or complex. Each of 30 inflected verbs act as an obligatory auxiliary verb to one or more of the 280 coverbs so far discovered. Chapter Four describes Emmi verb morphology. Chapter Five discusses reasons why particular auxiliaries co-occur with some but not all coverbs.

Transitivity cuts across the semantic basis for co-occurrence of auxiliary verb and coverb. For instance, the collocation of a transitive auxiliary verb with an intransitive coverb has a causative effect, increasing the valency of the resulting coverb. Intransitive simple verbs indicate imperfective aspect when they function as auxiliary verbs and are grammaticised to provide further aspectual information when functioning as
the final verb in a serial construction. The ways transitivity operates in Emmi are described in Chapter Five.

Verbs may incorporate a subset of body-part nouns which classify arguments in non-reflexive O function. Lexical incorporation derives a new coverb. Syntactic incorporation allows the substitution of other body-part nouns or the shifting of the body-part noun outside the VP. When lexically incorporated, fifteen commonly occurring body part nouns may function as metaphors for emotions such as anger, anxiety, laughter or embarrassment. The same body-part nouns when lexically incorporated function as classifiers for nouns which denote specific entities of the same shape as the body part, e.g. viye+yin (head+nose) 'clitoris'. The specific noun is optionally realised as an overt NP elsewhere in the clause. Nominal incorporation is described in Chapter Six.

Emmi has a set of fourteen enclitics which function as adnominal enclitics, relating an NP to the rest of the clause. Most adnominal enclitics also function as propositional enclitics, with scope over the whole clause. Propositional enclitics may attach to a member of any word-class. They carry a high functional load and are used to express modal, aspectual, directional, and illocutionary information. While not all enclitics have multiple functions, all enclitics are ordered with respect to each other. A sub-set of enclitics may co-occur, some forming clitic clusters; other enclitics are mutually exclusive. The way enclitics operate in Emmi is described in Chapter Seven.

Constituent order is free, but the preferred order of overt NPs in a transitive clause OVA or AOV. New information is presented clause-initially by an overt noun phrase. Serial verb constructions contain two verbs treated as a single clause. The syntax of Emmi simple and complex clauses is analysed in Chapter Eight. Independent modal, temporal and aspectual lexemes are appended as Appendix C.

Emmi phonology is interesting on several counts. Firstly, Emmi is unusual amongst Australian languages in having five vowels. In addition to the usual close front unrounded vowel, close back rounded vowel, and open
vowel, it has a close-mid front unrounded vowel and close-mid central rounded vowel.


Some of these languages (Menhdhe, Marranunggu, Marrithiyel) are genetically related to Emmi, others are not; what is interesting is the fact that the traditional territory of all these languages forms a contiguous chain, stretching from Emmiyangal territory on the coast, fifty kilometres south of the Daly River, through Marranunggu territory, to the inland languages, Malak Malak, Matngele and Kamu territory on either bank of the Daly River, and the coastal language, Patjtjamalh, (Tryon's Wadyiginy) which is spoken on the coast on either side of the Daly River mouth. Ford (1990) established what Tryon reported as a centralised vowel in Patjtjamalh, as a half-close front rounded vowel.

Patjtjamalh and Emmi have little in common besides being Australian languages, but Patjtjamalh is the language of the Wadjiginy, whose traditional territory bordered on that of the Emmiyangal. The Emmiyangal and Wadjiginy are traditional allies and marriage partners. These ties have survived post-contact dispersion. Both tribes have lived at Belyuen for the last fifty years. The Wadjiginy and Emmiyangal still intermarry and adults are fluent in each other's language.

The area in which a front rounded or centralised rounded vowel is reported appears to have stretched as far north as Darwin. The Wadjiginy, whose language Patjtjamalh is, had long-standing marriage ties with their northern neighbours, the Larrakiya, whose territory radiated from Darwin. Capell's grammar of 'Laragiya' distinguishes six vowel phonemes (1968:56) including the phoneme /o/ which represents 'a group of centralised vowels.
which take their colouring to a large extent from the neighbouring consonants'. Laragiya is not related to Patjtjamalh, Emmi, or any of the languages of the Daly. The occurrence of a close-mid central rounded vowel, or close-mid front rounded vowel, in these unrelated but geographically contiguous languages must surely be an areal feature. Emmi has 27 consonant phonemes. Its stops and nasals contrast at six places of articulation. It is unusual amongst Australian languages in that each laminal series consists of stop, nasal, and lateral. Equally unusual is the voicing contrast which shows up for all stops in intervocalic and post-liquid environments, and the presence of two phonemic fricatives, bilabial and apical. There are two rhotics (apico-alveolar trill and apico-postalveolar approximant), three laterals (apico-alveolar, lamino-dental and lamino-alveopalatal, and two semi-vowels (palatal and labio-velar). Emmi phonology is described in Chapter Two.

1.3 Emmiyangal traditional territory.
Emmi is the language of the Emmiyangal. Most written records ignore the geminate bilabial nasal in these names and refer to both tribe and language as 'Ami(e)' or 'Amie(e)yangal' (Capell 1963; Tryon 1968, 1974:168; Horton et al. 1994: 1330). The precedent for this is the first published reference to the Emmiyangal which appears in the NT Government Resident's Annual Report for 1906. In it, Government Resident Herbert describes his expedition along the coast south of the Daly River as far as Cape Ford. Herbert was in search of a landing-place with fresh water, and he chose as guides 'Charlie and Cocky, two Wargite blacks from east of the Daly, who said they knew a marked tree of Mr Dashwood's near a well in the Amie country'(Herbert, 1907:10).

Ruby Yarrowin and Agnes Lippo, both Emmiyangal elders, stated that Emmiyangal traditional country was the coastal strip from Banagaya (Redcliffe), as far south as Mabulhuk (Cape Ford). These places are marked on my Map 1, which is based on Tindale 1974. The same Emmiyangal elders stated that the coastal strip from the puthi 'mosquito' dreaming site in
the mouth of the Daly River south to Banagaya was shared by the Emmiyangal and Wadjiginy. Where Emmiyangal territory ended to the south, Menhdheyangal territory began. The Menhdheyangal owned the coast from Mabulhuk to Nanhdhiwudi (Cape Scott). The Menhdheyangal had country inland from Nanhdhiwudi to Mount Greenwood. They describe this inland country as warwa 'on top', referring to the escarpment which bounds the coastal plains. Inland of the Emmiyangal and Menhdheyangal were the Marrithiyel; to the south lay Tjindi, in the country of the Marri Ammu.

Interestingly, Stanner makes no mention of the Emmiyangal or Menhdheyangal in his 1933 map of the Daly tribes. On this map, the area which we now know as their country is a blank space labelled 'in dispute'. Stanner's map is reproduced as Map 2.

The first Emmi language data to be published appears under the title berringin'. Basedow, the first Protector of NT Aborigines refers to the Emmiyangal and Menhdheyangal as 'Berringin' in his 1906 'Comparative vocabularies of the Larrekiya, Wogait, Sherait, and Berringin tribes' (Basedow, 1906:60). Basedow refers to the berringin as a saltwater tribe (1906:3,31,35ff), with land between Cape Ford and Hyland Bay (1906:15). These landmarks delimit the combined traditional territory of the Emmiyangal and Menhdheyangal, but neither tribe apply the term berringin to themselves or each other. Like the MalakMalak, from whose language the term originates, the Emmiyangal and Menhdheyangal refer to the Marrithiyel and their language as berringin. The Marrithiyel do not call themselves by this name (Green, 1994, pers.com).

According to Emmiyangal and Menhdheyangal elders, the Marrithiyel are a 'freshwater' people whose country stretched inland from Emmiyangal territory (Ruby Yarrowin, Nureen Timber, pers.com. 1991). That Basedow's berringin are not Marrithiyel, but Emmiyangal and Menhdheyangal is clear from the coastal territory Basedow assigns them and from his extensive linguistic data which are analysed in 1.7.
Although Emmi-speakers can understand the Warrgat dialect of Marranunggu, morphological divergence between the two languages indicates a considerable physical separation. Despite this, some writers have lumped the Emmiyangal and Menhdheyangal in with the Marranunggu.

For instance, Davis's 1993 map of what he terms 'extant and imputed traditional Aboriginal Boundaries' and list of tribes was, he claims 'constructed by fieldwork with each group shown over a period of fifteen years between 1978 and 1993' (Davis, 1993). In view of this claim it is surprising that Davis makes no mention of the Emmiyangal or Menhdheyangal, and assigns the coastal strip that was their traditional territory to the Marranunggu. Davis provides no justification for this assignment of territory which is especially puzzling in view of the fact that the Marranunggu insist that they themselves are freshwater people. It also ignores the evidence of the Marranunggu language, which contains few names for saltwater flora and fauna, but a specialised lexicon of terms for freshwater food resources.

The same mistake persists in the 1994 Encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australia. Despite the explicit guiding principle of its editor 'that every group would at the very least have their name mentioned and that they would be situated on the land, even if nothing else was known about them,' (AIATSIS 1994:XXI), the Menhdheyangal do not appear anywhere in the Encyclopaedia, and their traditional neighbours, marriage partners and closest linguistic relatives, the Emmiyangal are listed only in the index as Ami (sic) and Amijangal (sic), cross-referenced to Maranungu (sic) but not mentioned in the entry for Maranunggu (p658). This index listing implies that the Emmiyangal and their language are to be subsumed under the 'Maranunggu' In doing so, it is grossly inaccurate and misleading.

1.4 Post-contact history.

Emmi-speakers say that, in the past, the Emmiyangal and the Wadjiginy fought each other over women, but that, for as far back as anyone can remember, both tribes have intermarried. There is evidence that some
Wadjiginy moved north from the shores of Anson Bay over a century ago to settle around the lighthouse at Point Charles built on the western tip of Darwin Harbour in 1883 (Ford, 1997). The Wadjiginy continued to exchange wives with the Emmiyangal. There is linguistic evidence of a connection between the Emmiyangal and Darwin dating from the early part of this century, in the Emmi word for Port Darwin: pudan. Port Darwin was officially renamed Darwin in 1911, but the name had dropped out of use by the Second World War (Alan Powell, pers. com. 1993).

On February 19, 1942, the Japanese bombed Darwin, inflicting many casualties. As a result, Australian soldiers occupied the Cox Peninsula and Emmiyangal women and children were evacuated to Adelaide River, 115 kilometres south of Darwin. They were then transported to what the Berndts describe as a 'control camp' at Katherine, 150 kilometres further south (Berndt, 1987).

Individual Emmiyangal are recorded as receiving rations at the Army camps in Adelaide River and Katherine (Army Ration Book 1942). They were kept at Katherine until 1946, when Aborigines from the Darwin region were trucked back to Adelaide River. The Emmiyangal, Menhdheyangal, Wadjiginy and Thangguralh were deposited at Delissaville, a Government settlement on Cox Peninsula, 14 kilometres inland from Darwin Harbour. Before the war, Delissaville had been a peanut plantation where Ruby Gurruk, an Emmiyangal elder now deceased remembered labouring long hours for no pay (See Povinelli, 1993:84-100, for a detailed history of Delissaville/ Belyuen).

In 1979, Delissaville was renamed Belyuen, the Larrakiya name of its sacred freshwater spring. Emmiyangal households belonging to the Yarrowin and Burrurr families live at Belyuen, but enjoy no security of tenure. With other residents of Belyuen, the Emmiyangal are claimants to the Cox Peninsula under the Kenbi Land Claim, but this case has been before the courts since 1976 and is still to be decided.
1.5. Speakers.

I have located two dozen fluent speakers, born between 1920 and 1972. Most fluent speakers aged under fifty belong to the Emmiyanagal families resident in Belyuen. Each fluent speaker has children, grandchildren or siblings with passive competence in Emmi, but no-one under twenty speaks Emmi as their mother-tongue. Instrumental in this was Doug Allom, Superintendent of Belyuen from 1948-51 and Headmaster of Belyuen school from 1952-54 (Ford, 1990). Allom, acting on instruction from the Dept of Education, forbade the use of Aboriginal languages in school hours, even in the playground (Letter from Department of Education, NT Archives, 1952).

My experience of Belyuen from 1988 to 1998 indicates that the languages spoken there are less dead than they appeared to researchers like Capell who completed quick comparative linguistic surveys. Today, fluent speakers of Emmi reserve their malh 'language' for use at home, or at ceremonies, or out hunting, with family members, and peers who speak or understand it. Older speakers are considered to have responsibility for teaching the languages to non-speakers. Younger speakers wait until their elders are dead before assuming this responsibility.

Emmi and Menhdhe are closely related dialects, and have as their closest linguistic relative the Warrgat dialect of Marranunggu, known to Emmi-speakers as anhdhama, which is the Marranunggu interrogative 'where?'. Emmi and Warrgat are different languages sharing 48% cognates on Capell and Dixon's 400-item word-list and on Green's 1100-item word-list, but differing morphologically and syntactically. Emmi, Menhdhe and Marranunggu are genetically related to Marrithiyel, and Marri Ammu and Marrisjefin, its closely related dialects. All these languages have been classified by Green as belonging to the Western Daly subgroup (Green, 1993, ms.). They are not mutually intelligible, but speakers of one language find the others easy to learn.

The same is not true of Patjtjamah, the language of the Wadjiginy, which appears to have no close linguistic relative in the Daly region,
contrary to Tryon's 1968 and 1974 claims (Ford, in press). In the past, Emmi-speakers learnt Patjtjamalh, and Patjtjamalh-speakers learnt Emmi and the Western Daly languages related to it.

Contact with Darwin meant contact with other Aborigines whose mother-tongues were not mutually intelligible with Emmi, and with non-Aborigines. This resulted in the Emmiyanagal learning more than one variety of English. Today, an acrolect of Aboriginal English, known in Belyuen as 'Light Kriol' is used to communicate with other Aborigines from outside the Darwin-Daly region. 'Light Kriol' is a non-standard variety of English with Kriol syntax and a substrate of vocabulary from Patjtjamalh, Emmi, Menhdhe, Marri Ammu and Marrisjefin. It is the language of daily communication for everyone in Belyuen and the first language of all children under twenty.

My analysis represents the speech of six senior women, and six senior men. My women teachers were Ruby Yarrowin, Alice Djarug, Marjorie Bilbil, Gracie Pinbin, Betty Moreen, who died in 1997, and my ngangareny 'close female friend', Agnes Lippa who died in August 1994. My male teachers were Tasmin Yarrowin, Roger Yarrowin, Henry Djarug, Kenny Barandjuk, Thomas and Robert Gordon and Lenny Burrburr. The phonological analysis was checked against the Emmi of other speakers but is based primarily on the Emmi of Ruby Yarrowin, who was recommended by other fluent Emmi speakers as the most knowledgeable speaker of Emmi.

Ruby Yarrowin (Alanga) was born in 1925, of an Emmiyanagal father and Menhdheyangal mother, at Banakula, a beach 50 kilometres south of the mouth of the Daly River. There Ruby spent the first seventeen years of her life until 1942, when she was evacuated first to Tipperary Station, 60 kilometres south east of Banakula, then to an army camp at Adelaide River, 100 kilometres north, where she joined other Aborigines from the Emmiyanagal, Wadjiginy and Laragiya tribes. Later in 1942, they were all sent to the 'control camp' at Katherine, 150 kilometres further south. Ruby and her family ran away from the 'control camp' because it was
infested with fleas (See Text 15). They walked back to the Daly River via Tipperary Station and in 1946 were trucked back to Delissaville via Adelaide River.

In the nineteen fifties, Ruby lived at Two Fella Creek on Darwin Harbour with her husband, Roy Yarrowin, who was an Emmiyangal elder and *dawarra-borak* (stomach-small) ‘sorcerer’, and their children. Pressured by the administrator of Delissaville to move to the settlement in the early nineteen-fifties, Ruby has lived at Delissaville/Belyuen ever since.

Ruby is typical of adult Belyuen Aborigines in being multi-lingual. She is fluent in Emmi, has a good knowledge of Menhdhe and Warrgat Marranunggu, and can understand Marri Ammu, Marrijsiejin and Marrithiyel. She is a fluent speaker of Patjtjamah, and Aboriginal English. Her eight surviving children are all fluent speakers of Emmi, Patjtjamah and Aboriginal English.

1.6 Methodology of this work.

This thesis is the first detailed study of Emmi. Because the language is used as an in-group code by family members and their contemporaries, the methodology of my study is based on the collection and analysis of spontaneous texts, and on elicitation. Without elicited forms, suppletive paradigms of auxiliary verb forms and pronominal affixes would never have been completed. Elicitation drew out valuable speaker insights about the operation of the number system which is unique to Emmi, the rich pronoun system, the semantics of auxiliary verb and complex verb stem pairings, and of body-part nominal incorporation into the verb, as well as the relationship of Emmi to Menhdhe, Marranunggu and other Western Daly languages. However, all elicitations were checked by including them in conversation, and illustrative sentences are taken only from texts or spontaneous utterances overheard during fieldwork.
1.7. Previous work on the language.

Very little has been published on Emmi. What follows is a critique of all published and unpublished material on the language.

(i) Basedow, (1906:62) is the earliest published word-list of Emmi. It represents our only source of information on items of material culture which are no longer in use. Entitled 'Comparative vocabularies of the Larrekiya, Wogait, Sherait, and Berringin tribes', Basedow’s published word-list consists of twenty-eight items of common vocabulary from the 'Larrekiya', 'Wogait' and 'Sherait' tribes, and twenty-seven items from the 'Berringin' tribe. The 'Berringin', 'Larrekiya' and 'Sherait' lists have no forms in common.

The 'Berringin' items were of particular interest to Emmi-speakers, who recognised twenty-five of Basedow's twenty-seven 'Berringin' lexemes as Emmi / Menhdhe forms. The 'Wogait' forms were also of interest, because they identified three 'Berringin' lexemes as Patjtjamalh forms (Ford's Patjtjamalh is Basedow's 'Wogait'). 'Berringin' and 'Wogait' items from Basedow's word-list and phonemic correspondents in Emmi are appended as Appendix A (i).

Basedow uses the term ‘Berringin’ to refer to those Aborigines whom he found living on the coast, south of the Daly River, as far as Hyland Bay, in Emmiyanal/Menhdheyangal territory. Today, the term ‘Berringin is used by outsiders to refer to the Marrithiyel (Green, 1994 p.c.). Although Emmi/Menhdhe and Marrithiyel are related languages, there are reasonable grounds for assuming that Basedow's 'Berringin' is synonymous with Emmi/Menhdhe rather than Marrithiyel, in that Emmi-speakers recognised twenty-five of Basedow's twenty-seven 'Berringin' lexemes, (approximately 93%), as Emmi/Menhdhe lexemes, but only fifteen (55%), as Marrithiyel lexemes.

Basedow's list contains some mistakes in elicitation. For instance, he glosses allungarinya incorrectly as 'emu'. Emmi-speakers did not recognise as Emmi forms Basedow's onngaba 'tongue', and minma 'shoulder' and these forms do not occur in my Emmi corpus. They may have been Emmi
lexemes which were used in Basedow's day, but proscribed after the death of individuals with identical or similar names. It is usual in Aboriginal society for such lexemes to be replaced by other lexemes and brought back into use after a decent interval (Dixon 1980:28). The items in Basedow's list were never re-introduced; Emmi-speakers provided the current Emmi equivalents which are listed in bold type in Appendix A.

Basedow extracted his published word-list from a longer unpublished draft of thirty-eight lexemes, which was written on the back of other unpublished papers of his, too fragile to photocopy, in the Mitchell Library's Special Collection. In all, Basedow's books and papers contain sixty-seven more 'Berringin' items, most of them glossed in English or Latin; most with their 'Larrekiya', 'Wogait' and 'Sherait' equivalents. The 'Berringin', 'Sherait and' 'Larrekiya' forms have nothing in common.

Patjtjamalh-speakers recognised eight of these sixty-seven lexemes as Patjtjamalh forms. Basedow's 'Berringin' gwixe 'paperbark hut' cannot be Emmi, because Emmi does not allow the sequence /gw/. It looks more like Larrakiya, which does allow this consonant cluster, cf. Larrakiya gwaihwa 'paperbark' Capell (1968:98).

Emmi-speakers recognised forty of the sixty-seven 'Berringin' lexemes as Emmi forms. Of the twenty seven anomalous forms, some are probably errors due to mishearing, e.g. kingal 'moon', for Emmi pinggal. Other erroneous forms result from faulty elicitation, e.g. Basedow's gloss 'Berringin' wun as 'cloud'. The corresponding Emmi form wuny means 'shit'. Basedow has been misled by the 'Wogait' form gork (Patjtjamalh kuk), which means 'shit', and 'cloud'. The Emmi for 'cloud' is porre.

Emmi-speakers did not recognise Basedow's galgare 'wild duck'. The Emmi for this is mayan. Nor did they recognise Basedow's gelak 'flying fox'. The Emmi for this is yilabuk.

Emmi-speakers corrected Basedow's marrepan 'dilly bag' to merrepen 'cabbage-palm', the material of which the warrgadi 'dilly-bag' was made. They did not recognise Basedow's wonberra 'stone circumcision
knife' or modurin 'stone tomahawk'. The respective Emmi terms are kinbitj and gagunmang.

Basedow distinguishes two kinds of spear tjinda, and karebi 'emu spear'. Emmi speakers recognised tjinda as the general Emmi term for spear but added the specific types arra, kunyme, tjon, derrdjanangalh. They did not recognise Basedow's jaldukk 'bent stick for wild honey'; dillo 'decorated call-stick for girls', gik 'chestband', ichier 'possum-fur headband'; kalta 'necklace'; or ngodeji 'hat'.

Emmi-speakers recognised ganin in Basedow's ganin baubwi 'lightning is flashing' as Emmi ganen 's/he sits'. They did not recognise the lexeme baubwi. The Emmi term for 'lightning' is kunbilin.

Basedow's orthography attempts to represent Emmi's close midfront unrounded vowel, but does not distinguish Emmi's lamino-dental nasal, stop, or lateral, nor does it distinguish between Emmi's retroflex approximant and apico-alveolar trill.

(ii) Capell, 1963 says 'Ami' is in need of urgent attention, and 'apart from one brief text recorded on tape by A.C., nothing is known'. Amongst Capell's unpublished papers is a typed 'Ami' word list, consisting of 299 lexemes, glossed in English and reproduced as Appendix B. These papers also contain 50 unglossed, handwritten 'Ami' sentences and a recording of a short 'Ami' text, but no text transcription. I have transcribed the text (my Text 13) and translated all the glossed data.

Capell's data are more valuable than Basedow's because they provide morphological and syntactic information about Emmi.

About 50% of Capell's 299 word list consists of verb forms, including simple verbs, e.g. arpadin jiljil (Emmi angaden+yilyil) 'I know' (lit. I see true); wangga ngana-purr dance' (Emmi wangga ngana+purr) 'I dance a corroboree'; and serial constructions, e.g. birgal gami ganandi 'the moon shines', which speakers corrected to (1-7).
1-7 pinggal gemi gana=nhdhi
moon 3MIN.S.R.come out 3MIN.S.R.walk=TOWARDS
'The moon keeps coming out towards me.'

Capell's data contain complex NPs, e.g. (1-8), and adjectives occurring attributively, e.g. wuda nala which speakers corrected to (1-9) and compound noun as head of an NP, e.g. yarjamiridani, which speakers corrected to (1-9).

1-8 yangumiri=nhdheni
pubescent girl(new+eye)=now
'She's pubescent now.'

1-9 wuda nela
water good
'fresh water'

Almost 30% of Capell's data contain errors in transcription. It is clear that Capell could not hear Emmi's dental stop/nasal/lateral series. He transcribes the lamino-dental nasal-stop sequence in manhdha 'throat', as 'manda', menhdhe 'the Menhdhe language', as 'mende', and minhdhelerr 'centipede' as 'mindeler'. He does not distinguish between demina 'poisonous snake' and thaman 'bandicoot', between tjinda 'spear' and minhhdharra 'firestick', or between kal 'climb' and ngalh 'mouth'. Nor does he differentiate between apico-alveolar stops and apico-postalveolar stops. As a result, stops in the lexemes dirr 'tooth', thidirr 'navel; whirlwind' and rtedi 'back' are all rendered as /di/.

Capell does not recognise a phonemic voicing contrast between alveopalatal stops, transcribing as /dj/ the voiced alveopalatal stop in widjangur 'scorpion' and the voiceless alveopalatal stop in mitjirrim 'dog', pultjan 'eaglehawk' and patjam 'axe-handle'.

18
Capell does not recognise a voicing contrast between peripheral stops, transcribing the the initial bilabial stop in the lexemes bi 'white' and pilem 'mud' as /b/. He does recognise a phonemic bilabial fricative, but only as occurring intervocally, e.g. 'iβa' for yibe 'sore'.

He does not recognise the word-initial palatal glide in this lexeme and doesn't always hear nasals, writing thunggurr-manhdha 'heel' as 'dugura manda'.

Capell’s analysis of vowel length is confused. In Emmi, the initial syllable of any word carries primary stress. On closed monosyllables, Capell regularly hears a stressed vowel as a long vowel, e.g. 'di:rr' for dirr 'tooth', 'ji:n' for yin 'nose', 'me:rr' for merr 'hair'. According to my analysis, vowel length is not phonemic in Emmi, and Capell’s long vowels are more elegantly analysed as a single stressed syllable or as two open syllables with identical or similar vowels. Capell also hears two short syllables with identical or similar vowels as one long vowel, writing derela, 'slowly', as 'de:la', dawarra-borak, 'clever man', as 'do:rawurag'; meyidja 'two', as 'mi:dja', and kitjalhak. 'small', as 'gidja:g'.

Finally, Capell sometimes confuses /e/ and /a/, writing ela, 'mother', as 'ala', and elewerre, 'shady tree', as 'alara'.

(iii) Tryon (1968:21-4) is a preliminary classification of languages of the Daly River region. He classifies 'Ame' and 'Manda' as dialects of the 'Manda' language, basing this on their percentage of shared cognates in a 150 word list. According to this, 'Ame' and 'Manda' share 80% cognates. Tryon claims that the 'Manda', 'Maranunggu' and 'Pungupungu' languages form the 'Wogaity' genetic 'subgroup of Southern Daly'. 'Pungupungu' consists of 'Pungupungu' and 'Wadjiginy'. To link 'Wadjiginy' (Patitjamalh) and Emmi-Menhdhe on lexical grounds is surprising in view of their extremely low percentage of shared cognates (11% on 400 items, 12% on 90 items).
Tryon’s analysis of ‘Ami’ does not distinguish the lamino-dental or lamino-alveopalatal series of stop, nasal and lateral. He also confuses the rhotics, transcribing several lexemes with a retroflex approximant for an alveolar trill. Emmi-speakers corrected his transcriptions for the lexemes shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Emmi-speakers’ transcriptions of Emmi lexemes compared with Tryon’s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tryon</th>
<th>Emmi-speakers</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngaldirre</td>
<td>ngalhdirri</td>
<td>‘tongue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tidirr</td>
<td>thidirr</td>
<td>‘navel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mener</td>
<td>menherr</td>
<td>‘sand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pute</td>
<td>puthi</td>
<td>‘mosquito’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngandi</td>
<td>nganhdhi</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawarr</td>
<td>thawarr</td>
<td>‘tree; thing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piriri</td>
<td>pirriri</td>
<td>‘axe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yerungoya</td>
<td>yerranguya</td>
<td>‘next day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngurje</td>
<td>ngurrdji</td>
<td>‘emu’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wejir</td>
<td>wedjirr</td>
<td>‘bad’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iv) Tryon, 1974:159-173 is a sketch grammar of ‘Ami’ which cites the percentage of cognates shared by ‘Ami’ and ‘Manda’ as 86%.

Tryon lists five vowel phonemes, including the mid close central rounded vowel, and thirteen consonant phonemes, consisting of stops and nasals corresponding to four places of articulation, an apico-alveolar lateral, two rhotics (an apico-alveolar trill and a retroflex approximant) and two glides/semivowels. (palatal and labial). He does not recognise that there are two laminal series of stops, nasals and laterals, two apical stops, two phonemic fricatives, and a voicing contrast between all stops and fricatives intervocalically.
The rest of Tryon's sketch deals with the morphology of 'Ami'. It is based on limited data and presents an over-simplified picture of the language. He makes only cursory mention of the rich system of pronominal, aspectual and modal marking on the verb, and no mention at all of Emmi's unique number system.

Tryon lists *way* 'not' as Emmi's only polarity marker (171). In fact, the language has several polarity markers, including the free particles *way* 'not', which negates declarative clauses, the prohibitor *gayi* 'Don't do it!'; and the negative copula *piya* 'there is not.' There is also the propositional enclitic -nene 'Stop (what you are doing!)', which co-occurs only with verbs inflected for Realis modality.

Tryon is unaware that Emmi enclitics have adnominal and propositional functions. His list of nominal 'postpositions' (161) cites -nene in its adnominal Instrumental sense, but not as signalling New Information. He makes no mention of the Comitative case-enclitic, or the adpositional word *yene*, which functions as a Locative case-marker. Nor does he mention -gamena 'one of a pair/group' enclitic, or -gamena, the 'Similar' enclitic. His treatment of aspectual and modal enclitics (164) is equally sketchy. He cites the perfective enclitic -eyi, but not the recent past enclitic -ngana, and ignores Emmi's directional and illocutionary propositional enclitics.

(v). Walsh, 1973 (AIATSIS 14339-14342), is a series of 8 tapes of 'Ami' accompanied by a handwritten list of 200 'Ami' lexemes and 30 short sentences. This is a useful addition to the Emmi lexicon, because the old men who supplied these data knew flora and fauna names my teachers were unable to supply. Grammatically, their spontaneous and elicited sentences confirm my data on the co-existence of different possessive constructions and the existence of restrictions on the co-occurrence of auxiliary and co-verbs.

Walsh's main informant, Paddy Jonathan, had a Sinhalese father and Emmiyangal mother. He was equally fluent in Emmi, Marranunggu and
Kamu, and provided Walsh with a word-list of 432 items from all three languages, without specifying which was which. Walsh transcribed 200 of these lexemes. My consultants, all fluent speakers of Emmi, identified only 240 items in Walsh's list as Emmi. They confirmed that the list also contained 138 Anhdhama (Marranunggu) lexemes, 43 Kamor lexemes, 8 Patjtjamalh lexemes, 2 Marri Amnu lexemes and one lexeme, larrwa, 'a wooden pipe, made at Port Keats', which turns out to be a Macassan loan into Murrinh-patha.

Walsh's transcribed data also include 200 transcribed lexemes and 30 'Ami' sentences. It is clear from the tapes that, here, Paddy explicitly contrasted Emmi and Marranunggu sentences. For the most part, Walsh's transcription of Emmi lexemes is accurate, but he does not always hear lamino-dental stops, nasals or laterals, or word-final voiceless stops, and sometimes confuses one rhotic with the other. For instance, he transcribes thenve, 'death adder', as theruwi, menherr, 'sand', as mener and wutharr, 'sea,' as wutar.

(vi) Bilbil and Yarrowin 1987. 'Ami stories' consists of two short Emmi texts, one by Marjorie Bilbil, the other by Linda Yarrowin.

(vii) Bilbil, Bilbil and Yarrowin 1987. 'Ami Picture Stories' consists of eight very short texts written by Marjorie Bilbil, Veronica Bilbil and Linda Yarrowin. Both (vi) and (vii) were produced by Emmi-speakers during a week's course held at SAL, Batchelor in 1987.

(viii). Povinelli, 1990:53-57 is a taxonomy of plants and animals in 'Emmiyangal' and Batjemal' (53). It is written from an anthropological perspective, and for a linguist there are some problems with her approach.

First, Povinelli claims that in both languages, there are noun classes denoting edible flesh and edible plants, and that any member of each noun class is preceded by the appropriate classifier. But my research has shown that neither Emmi nor Patjtjamalh contain noun classes or classifiers in the
grammatical sense. In each language, generic nouns are used as discourse strategies, marking the introductory mention of a noun or nouns denoting edible flesh or edible vegetables. Thereafter, a species noun is only preceded by a generic noun. Alternatively, the generic nouns may occur independently of a species noun, functioning as head of an NP; they may be qualified by a quantifier, e.g. awa dawal 'all the meat', or be governed by the negative copula piya ‘there is no’, e.g. (1-10).

1-10  pi       miya
       NEG COP    edible plant

Povinelli (1990:54-59) goes too far in claiming that nouns are semantically compatible with awa ‘meat’ if they contain fat. In my corpus, the noun ngurrwin, ‘stone’ and, by extension, ‘money’ may be preceded by the generic noun awa, ‘meat’, yet neither stones nor money contain fat. Povinelli also claims that pele, ‘white clay’ co-occurs with awa, concluding that ‘This food is said to be fat because it is like the thin layer of white fat found on animals’ bodies’. (Povinelli, 1990:57) In fact, the lexemes pelhe ‘oyster’ and pele ‘white clay’ form a minimal pair. It seems that Povinelli heard awa pelhe as awa pele, not recognising the lamino-dental lateral which distinguishes pelhe ‘oyster’ from pele ‘white clay’. I consulted the same Emmi speakers as had Povinelli, and found they unanimously rejected the collocation of awa with pele, and corrected it to awa pelhe ‘oyster’.

Povinelli posits for Emmi (and Patjitjamalh) ‘a contrastive set of plant, animal and water categories based on inedibility’ (1990:57). Her Figure 5 ‘Classification of Emmienggal animal kingdom according to food criteria’ is reproduced here as my Figure 1.
Classification of Emiyenggal animal kingdom according to food criteria.

Food Kingdoms

- awa wuda: meat associated with freshwater (13 taxa)
- awa wuta: meat associated with the sea (83 taxa)
- awa wutumuna: meat associated with the winged flight (42 taxa)
- funggi / seaweed (3 taxa)
- tjerra: woody (27 taxa)
- yerra: grasses (21 taxa)
- midjawa: flowers (5 taxa)
- miya: meat associated with the land (24 taxa)
- wuda: wudanea - flowing freshwater
- merriwuda - stagnant freshwater
Povinelli's Figure 5 classifies as awa

'awa wuda - meat associated with freshwater;
awa wutarr - meat associated with the sea;
awa - meat associated with the land
awa wulunaga - meat associated with the winged flight' (57)

The same Figure 5 classifies as miya

'funggi - seaweed
tjerra - woody
eyerra-grasses
midjawa - flowers' (57).

Povinelli claims to find morphological support in Emmi for her semantic categories. I can find little in the Emmi corpus to back this claim. According to my data, all sources of edible flesh may be introduced into discourse by the generic noun awa, and all species of edible plant may be similarly introduced by the generic noun miya. But the corpus contains no evidence of morphologically marked sub-taxa such as 'seaweed/ woody/ flowers', nor of 'freshwater/ saltwater/ land animals'. No Emmi speaker would accept Povinelli's superordinate terms awa wutarr 'sea mammals', awa wulunaga 'birds' or awa wuda 'fresh water creatures'. The generic noun awa 'meat' never co-occurs with wutbarr 'sea', wuluna 'birds' or wuda 'fresh water' in my extensive corpus.

Povinelli justifies her third category wuda 'water' by claiming that wudawai (E, not water) has as a contrast wutarr (E, saltwater, the sea) and adds 'These two categories are mediated by a third, nylndati (E,B 'little bit salty, half and half')' (56).

Povinelli's wudawai (my wuda way) is an equational sentence 'There is no water'. This does not contrast with either the noun wutharr 'sea' or the adjective yindeti 'half sweet, half sour'.

wuda 'fresh water' does contrast with wutharr 'sea', but has a quite different distribution pattern from the generic nouns awa and miya. wuda never occurs in the corpus as a generic noun.
Povinelli posits as sub-taxa of *wuda* 'whiteman *wuda*-sugary drinks, alcohol, tea'; *merriwuda* - stagnant freshwater'; and *wudanela* - flowing freshwater' (57).

However, the lexeme *wuda* is not a prefix as Povinelli claims, (56), but an independent word, which may host adnominal or propositional enclitics, but can never co-occur with nouns in the same way as *awa* and *miya* do. For instance, speakers consider Povinelli's *wuda berregut* 'whiteman water; grog' to be an unacceptable NP, while accepting *awa ngarran* 'Plains goanna' or *miya murrumurru* 'long yam'.

Povinelli claims that *wudanela* and *merriwuda* are comparable (Povinelli, 1990, Fig 5. 56.). But *wuda nela* 'sweet water' is an NP consisting of N+Adj., and *miriwuda* 'billabong (lit. eye-water) is a fossilised compound noun.

Emmi-speakers insisted that *midjawa* 'flowers' were not edible and could not be classed as *miya*. They did not recognise the term *tjerra* 'woody' or *funggi* 'seaweed'. The Emmi for seaweed is *merrwerr*, but it is not eaten, nor are *yorro* (Povinelli's *yerra*) 'grasses'.

In conclusion, very many of the Emmi and Patjtjamalh lexemes cited by Povinelli are mistranscribed, e.g. *nylndati* (E,B 'little bit salty, half and half') (57) This gives a sequence of consonants impossible in Emmi or Patjtjamalh, and should read *yindeti*.

Other terms are inappropriately used, e.g. *deRebring* (E) *yerringmeldje* (B) 'slippery or scaley' (57). Emmi speakers corrected these forms to *dereviriny* 'skin' and *yerenymetje* 'bark'. My consultants insisted that the correct term for 'slippery, as of a snake, smooth-skinned' is *vuritjvuritj* in Emmi and *putjputjmalang* in Patjtjamalh.

(ix) Povinelli 1993: Labor's Lot. This 331 page book describes the way of life and raison d'etre of the people of Belyuen, including the Emmiyangal and Menhdheyangal.

Povinelli is confusing and inconsistent in her use of terminology. On page 72 she describes all the people of Belyuen as 'Berringgin', but two
pages later, on page 74, the same people are all termed 'Southern Wagaitj', presumably to emphasise the political links of both groups with the Wadjiginy, who were referred to in early official records as the Wogait, from the Patjtjamalh word *wakatj* 'beach' (Ford, 1990).

Povinelli bases her arguments partly on history, partly on excerpts from the court transcripts of the Kenbi Land Claim, but mainly on texts she herself gathered during extended visits to Belyuen from 1984-1990. Most of Povinelli’s own texts are snippets of conversation between Emmiyangal, Wadjiginy and Marri Ammu women, which she tape-recorded and, I suspect, transcribed without the benefit of native-speakers on hand to check her transcriptions and glosses. These texts are mostly in ‘Light Kriol’, but they do contain Emmi words and the occasional Emmi sentence. Povinelli’s Emmi data contain many mistakes in transcription, partly due to her orthography, (p253) which contains eighteen vowels or diphthongs and is woefully inadequate to represent three different sound systems (‘light Kriol’, Emmi and Patjtjamalh).

Firstly, Povinelli’s orthography cannot represent the mid-close central rounded vowel which is phonemic in Emmi and Patjtjamalh, but not in Aboriginal English. The nearest Povinelli gets to this is ‘er as in herd’ (p253), e.g *berlu* for polo [‘pelə] ‘grey hair’ (p164).

In general, Povinelli mistranscribes the vowel sounds of Emmi, e.g. she transcribes *monggolh* ‘wild Aborigine’ as *munggul* ‘sorcerer’ (p233); *purrk* ‘Brown Falcon’ as *perrk* (p162); *moro* ‘buttock’ as *meru* (p226); *murrumurrur* ‘long yam’ as *merrumerru* (p161), *mulirritj* ‘aggressive’ as *malarrrij* (p158), *ngarran* ‘Plains goanna’ as *ngarron* (p108) and *yingi* ‘breast’ as *yeingi* (p108).

Povinelli’s orthography is inadequate to represent the consonants of Emmi. She uses a colon to represent ‘labinal (sic) l, n’ (p253), but ‘th’ for the lamino-dental stop, e.g. *therrawin* ‘rainbow serpent’ for *therrwen* (pp 37, 42, 44). More importantly, she consistently fails to hear the lamino-
dental lateral in malh ‘speech’, and pelhe ‘oyster’, writing them as mal (pp33, 53, 114, 147, 152), and pele.

Povinelli’s transcriptions do not distinguish between the two rhotics which are phonemic in Emmi and Patjtimalh. She writes kurraguk for kuraguk ‘dove’ (p161) and parrabiya for paraviya ‘carpet snake’, which she glosses incorrectly as ‘rock python snake’ (p257). She consistently hears a trill as a voiced apico-alveolar stop, e.g. bedagut for perregut ‘whiteman’ (p190, 237), medawok for merrewuk ‘dry-season wind’ (p233), and elewede (p254) for elewerre ‘shady tree’.

She hears a palatal nasal as an alveolar nasal, writing nuku for nyuku ‘prevaricate’ (p192) She hears a velar nasal as alveo-palatal, writing ‘nyoitj’ for ngutj ‘spirit’ (pp 162-163, 237), or fails to hear it at all, writing memoradjarrmul for memerenydjarrmul ‘dugong’ (p161).

Mishearing what is said leads to confused translations, e.g. the ‘Light Kriol’ text on pp107-8, where Povinelli writes as meru the Emmi lexemes moro ‘buttocks’ and morr ‘to cover’. Bizarre glosses result. Take, for instance, the following sentence on p108: The formatting is Povinelli’s.

dija narra menu kainyi(E) sister billinmi yutubela laik
another of my sister’s backsides was lying outside, our sister, you two were like
dat na meru (E) aniting
that now backside was outside with no covering.

According to Ruby Yarrowin, the underlined utterance should be translated as: ‘You two sisters of mine were like that, no cover anything.’

In this utterance, speakers code-switch between Patjtimalh, Emmi and ‘Light Kriol’. Povinelli doesn’t realise the extent of the code-switching. She translates what she believes is Emmi, although it is really Patjtimalh, and mistranslates the sentence, even though the speaker translates the Patjtimalh into English for her.
Povinelli consistently fails to distinguish between Emmi and Patjijamalh, e.g. (p113):

\textit{ngapa kanan yena kumanye ngalgin(E).}

\textit{we carried them [bananas] standing back there for Ngalgin [personal name]}

The utterance is in Emmi except for \textit{ngalgin}, the Patjijamalh noun meaning 'sea' which is also used as a personal name. Emmi-speakers produced the alternative acceptable utterance shown in (1-11).

1-11 \textit{ngapa+ganenya-na}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{carry on shoulders+3AUG.S.R.walk-2MIN.O}
  \item \textit{gumenya ngalgin}
  \item \textit{3AUG.R.pick up sea}
\end{itemize}

'They pick you up and carry you on their shoulders to Ngalgin.'

Povinelli also mistranslated Emmi sentences. For example, Emmi-speakers refused to accept Povinelli's \textit{yena yin yenayl manthayena kanayl} 'it came from his nose, from his neck' (p156). They corrected it to (1-12).

1-12 \textit{yene yin yene yil}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{LOC nose LOC 3MIN.NearDEIC}
  \item \textit{manhdha yene gana=yi}
  \item \textit{throat LOC 3MIN.S.R.walk=PERF}
\end{itemize}

'It went into his nose here, inside his throat.'

In short, Povinelli bases her anthropological analysis of the lives of Belyuen women on their discourse. Her treatment of this discourse is seriously hampered by mistakes in transcription and translation, and is of marginal importance linguistically.
1.8 Relationship with neighbouring languages.

Genetically, Emmi belongs to the Western Daly group of Australian languages (Green, 1993 ms.). Within that grouping, Emmi is linguistically closest to Menhdhe. Lexically, Emmi and Menhdhe share 93% cognates from the Comparative Australian 90 word-list used by Dixon and 96% cognates from Dixon’s Comparative Australian 400 word-list. The lexical variants which exist in basic vocabulary are listed in Table 2. Amongst the variants, there are several possible cognates, e.g. Emmi rini, Menhdhe rimu ‘forehead’; Emmi derivirin, Menhdhe derivun ‘skin’; Emmi meyidja, Menhdhe meyida ‘two’, but most items in this list are not related.

Table 2: Lexical variants in Emmi and Menhdhe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emmi</th>
<th>Menhdhe</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngala</td>
<td>ngula</td>
<td>1MIN.A.R.chop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rimi</td>
<td>rimu</td>
<td>‘forehead’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>derivirin</td>
<td>derivun</td>
<td>‘skin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nirr</td>
<td>ninirr</td>
<td>‘vein’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man-garra</td>
<td>kuluguluk</td>
<td>‘catarrh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munymutj</td>
<td>luk</td>
<td>‘edible grub’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaderrem</td>
<td>pingurrutuk</td>
<td>‘fresh-water catfish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rungurungurr</td>
<td>rorror</td>
<td>‘mudcrab’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjinytji</td>
<td>wilhyirri</td>
<td>‘tree sp.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjirrkinin</td>
<td>kunarra</td>
<td>‘witchetty grub tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wutharr</td>
<td>porrme</td>
<td>‘sea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wurrum</td>
<td>wutut</td>
<td>‘wet season’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yerrangoya</td>
<td>emorru</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kudjala</td>
<td>yangu</td>
<td>‘today’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meyidja</td>
<td>meyida</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weerrdje</td>
<td>perridje</td>
<td>‘narrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miringga</td>
<td>amanga</td>
<td>‘raw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mele</td>
<td>mana</td>
<td>‘older brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wunggula</td>
<td>naka</td>
<td>‘older sister’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Morphologically, Menhdhe differs from Emmi in its pronominal prefix forms. In both dialects, auxiliary verbs inflect to show person, number, gender, and modality. For both languages, many verbal inflectional forms are cognate, but, for some verbs, the Menhdhe forms have lost a syllable preserved in the Emmi cognates, e.g. (1-13) - (1-14), which contrast Irrealis inflections on intransitive verbs, and (1-15) - (1-16), which contrast Irrealis inflections on transitive verbs:

Emmi intransitive verbs
1-13 $\text{ngawani} + \text{kal}=\text{eno} \quad \text{warwa}$
   $1\text{MIN.S.IR.w.} \text{climb}=\text{PURP on top}$
   'I will climb on top.'

Menhdhe intransitive verbs
1-14 $\text{ngani} + \text{kal}=\text{eno} \quad \text{warwa}$
   $1\text{MIN.S.IR.walk+climb}=\text{PURP on top}$
   'I will climb up.'

Emmi transitive verbs
1-15 $\text{ngawanya} + \text{gurr}=\text{eno}$
   $1\text{MIN.A.IR.make+hit}=\text{PURP}$
   'I will hit her/him.'

Menhdhe transitive verbs
1-16 $\text{nganya} + \text{gurr}=\text{eno}$
   $1\text{MIN.A.IR.make+hit}=\text{PURP}$
   'I will hit her/him.'

A thorough investigation of Menhdhe is outside the scope of this thesis, but the evidence presented above shows that such differences as exist between Emmi and Menhdhe do not impede mutual intelligibility. Emmi and Menhdhe appear to be closely related dialects of the same language.
Emmi's next closest relative is Marranunggu, which Emmi-speakers know as anhdhama ‘Where?’ and the Marranunggu themselves call warrgat, or marra(ny) warrgat. Tryon's 110 page grammar is the only published source for Marranunggu. It is pioneering work, which fairly represents the essential morphology, but under-differentiates phonemically in a number of respects.

According to Tryon, Marranunggu has five vowels including a central vowel. It has stops and nasals in four positions, (bilabial, apical, alveopalatal and velar), an apical lateral, two rhotics and two approximants. There is no voicing contrast in stops.

On this evidence, Emmi appears to have retained several phonetic distinctions now lost in Marranunggu. More recently, Green has prepared a revised sketch grammar of Warrgat, building on Tryon's work, but was unable to discover whether there were two laminal series.

There is, in Walsh's data, however, evidence that Marranunggu had a prestopped lateral phoneme which is absent in the cognate Emmi lexemes, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Marranunggu and Emmi cognates compared

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marranunggu</th>
<th>Emmi</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-nedla</td>
<td>-nela</td>
<td>‘3 MIN.M.Benefactive affix’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medle</td>
<td>mele</td>
<td>‘ironwood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pedle</td>
<td>pele</td>
<td>‘white clay’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lexically, Emmi and Marranunggu share 48% cognates from Green's 1100 item Comparative Daly word-list. The lexical differences are in names of flora and fauna species, names for ceremony and artefacts, reflecting the ecological and cultural divide between the 'salt-water' Emmiyanagal, and the 'fresh-water' Marranunggu.

Emmi and Marranunggu are morphologically and syntactically divergent. Emmi uses the two generic nouns awa 'meat' and miya 'edible plant' to mark the introduction in a discourse of nouns denoting edible...
species of meat and plants. This use of a generic noun is very different from that reported for Marranunggu. According to Tryon (1970), Marranunggu has three noun class markers (generic classifiers) which obligatorily precede members of the three noun classes denoting edible flesh, edible plants and wooden implements. Green has found more class markers.

Verb structure appears to be similar in both Emmi and Marranunggu. Morphologically, however, Emmi verb forms differ considerably from those reported for Marranunggu by Tryon (1970). For instance, although both languages have auxiliary verbs, the Emmi corpus contains 30 auxiliary verbs; Tryon reports 20 for Marranunggu and Green has found more (Green, p.c.).

Although there is nothing in Marranunggu verb paradigms to compare with Emmi's verbal number system, every auxiliary verb paradigm in Marranunggu has some forms cognate with Emmi. For instance, the Emmi form anginen 1MIN.R.sit: 'I sit' may descend from the equivalent Marranunggu form ganginen. All Marranunggu auxiliary verbs have word-initial ga- in First Minimal Realis. While Marranunggu may have innovated and gained initial /g/, it is more likely that all Emmi auxiliaries have lost an initial /g/ but retain an initial /a/. In fast speech, this initial open vowel is dropped, so that 1Minimal Realis 'I sit' becomes nginen.

More distantly, but clearly genetically related to Emmi are Marrithiyel, Marri Ammu, Marrisjefin, and Marringarr. All belong to the Western Daly subgroup proposed by Green (1993 ms.). Comparison with these languages is outside the scope of this thesis and has yet to be investigated.

Emmi and Patjtjamalh (see Ford, 1990) do not appear to be in any way related, except as Australian languages. This contradicts Tryon (1970), but nobody has proved that the two languages are related by reconstructing the immediate proto-language of which they are the supposed daughters. There are grammatical and conceptual similarities between the two languages, which may well be the result of long-term contact, but close examination reveals important differences in phonology, morphology,
syntax and semantics. Lexically, Emmi and Patjtjamalh have little in common, sharing only 12% cognates in Dixon's Comparative Australian 90 word list and 11% in the Comparative Australian 400 word list. For a detailed account of phonological, morphological and syntactic differences between Emmi and Patjtjamalh, see Ford, in press.
Chapter Two
Phonology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the phonology of Emmi. It first analyses the phonemic segments of the language. The data contain many examples of overlapping allophones, violating Classical Phonology’s principle of bi-uniqueness. My analysis relies on Classical Generative Phonology to the extent that it invokes underlying forms and processes that derive surface forms that may or may not contrast. I then analyse Emmi phonotactics, differentiating between the phonological and grammatical word, then describing word stress. I set up canonical word templates, analyse syllable types and constraints on consonant clusters and finally compare this phonotactic analysis with generalisations made by Dixon (1980) and Hamilton (1996) for all Australian languages.

2.2 Segmental phoneme inventory

2.2.1 Vowel phonemes

Emmi has five contrastive vowels, displayed in Table 4. The five phonemic vowels are:

- close front unrounded /i/
- close back rounded /u/
- close-mid central rounded /o/
- open mid front unrounded /ɛ/
- open /a/
Table 4: Vowel phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-ro</th>
<th>+ro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>close-mid</td>
<td></td>
<td>o [Ə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open-mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All five vowels contrast in the following minimal set of coverbs:

- di [di] 'get hot';
- du [do] 'touch';
- do [de] 'try';
- de [de] 'plump up';
- da [da] 'pierce'.

The vowel /o/ has a more restricted distribution than the other vowels. There are many more minimal pairs contrasting the vowels /i/, /u/, /e/ and /a/, e.g.:

- mi 'come out';
- mu 'bone';
- me 'say, do, tell';
- ma 'stand';
- piri 'throw down';
- puri 'dance' (of man); clap';
- perr 'change shape; tell lie';
- parr 'hit Augmented O'.

/i/ contrasts with /a/ in the sub-minimal pair piriny 'body'; pariny 'possum'.
/i/ contrasts with /e/ and /o/ in the minimal triple

dirr 'tooth'; derr 'native bee, policeman'; dorr 'place'.
/e/ contrasts with /a/ in the sub-minimal pair vere 'arm'; vara 'march-fly'.
/e/ contrasts with /o/ and /u/ in the sub-minimal triple

lela 'smash'; lolo 'rub'; lulu 'patella'.
/u/ contrasts with /o/ in the minimal pairs
thurr 'stand up'; thorr 'abuse';
vulhut 'beeswax'; volhut 'lose';
putput 'step on; pregnant'; potpot 'be ripe' (of green plums).

2.2.2 Vowel allophony.

Vowel phonemes and their allophones are listed as follows:

/i/ [i, ɪ]
/u/ [ʊ, ɔ]
/e/ [ɛ]
/o/ [ɤ]
/a/ [a, ɐ, a', ɒ]

The rest of this section explains and exemplifies the allophonic distribution of the five vowel phonemes.

Phoneme /i/ occurs word-medially and word-finally, but not word-initially.

/i/ has two allophones:

[i] close front unrounded vowel

[ɪ] slightly lowered and slightly centralised close front unrounded vowel.

\[
/i/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} 
[i] \quad /y/ \in \text{the environment } a_c \\
/ \quad # \\
[ɪ] \text{ elsewhere} 
\end{cases}
\]

E.g.

yive ['jiʒe] 'sore';

viye ['fiʒe] 'head';

tjidakma ['tʃɪdakma] 'drizzle';

thilvik ['tiβɪk] 'newborn baby';

derridhunngu ['dɛrɪdʊŋɡʊ] 'buttocks';
**mimbi** ['mimbi] 'nit';

**perrg'gir** ['pergyir] 'sharp'.

The language does not allow a sequence of like vowels. But this is what occurs in the Near Deictic stem /yii/. Speakers insert a voiceless glottal fricative between the like vowels. The following rule can be formulated to account for these data

**Rule 1**

$$\emptyset \rightarrow [h] /i\_i$$

Phoneme /u/ occurs word-initially, medially and finally. /u/ has two allophones:

- [u] lowered and slightly centralised close back rounded vowel
- [o] open mid back rounded vowel

$$/u/ \rightarrow \begin{cases} [o] /\_\_\_\# \\ [u] /\text{elsewhere} \end{cases}$$

e.g.

- **uman** ['uman] 'We poke it!' (1AUG.A.R.poke);
- **murru** ['muru] 'egg, testicles';
- **kuri** ['kurji] 'mangrove sp. and spear made from it';
- **wunhdhuwu** ['wunhduwu] 'ant-hill'.

Phoneme /e/ occurs word-initially, word-medially and word-finally. /e/ has one allophone [e] near open front unrounded vowel

$$/e/ \rightarrow [e] /\text{everywhere}$$

e.g.

- **elewerre** ['elewere] 'shady tree';
anberen ['anbɛɾɛn] 'bush potato sp.;
peteny ['pɛtɛɲ] 'manta ray sp.'

Phoneme /o/ has one allophone [ə] close-mid central rounded vowel.

/o/ --------> [ə] /everywhere

e.g.
poko ['pəkə] 'housefly';
ronhtho ['ɾəŋθə] 'short';
moro ['məɾə] 'buttocks';
tjon ['tɪɾə] 'short spear'.

The corpus contains no instances of word-initial /o/ or /i/, but word-medial and final /o/ and /i/ do occur. /o/ has a more restricted distribution in syllables than other vowels. Because /o/ is never word-initial, it does not occur in syllable types V₁ or V(C₁)(C₂), which are restricted to word-initial position. /o/ does however, occur in CVC syllables, e.g. dorr 'ground', mongoh 'wild Aboriginal', and the coverb morr 'cover'. All vowels are reported as occurring in the V₁ slot of CV₁ syllables, but the corpus contains no examples of /tjo, djo, nho, nyo, lho, go/. These may be accidental gaps, in view of the fact that /tʃoj/, /tʃo/, and /lho/, do occur as tokens of syllable type CVC.

It is rare to find an Australian language which distinguishes a close-mid central vowel. This vowel occurs with lip rounding in Emmi, and its closely related dialect Menhdhe. The same vowel is reported for the related language Marranunggu (Tryon, 1974:139), and the unrelated neighbouring Daly River languages Matngele (Tryon, 1974:43), Kamu (Tryon, 1974:63), and MalakMalak (Tryon, 1974:2). In a later, detailed study of MalakMalak, Birk, (1976:12) described this vowel as a 'Mid open central unrounded vocoid'.


Capell (1968:68) reported a centralised vowel in Laragiya, the language of Darwin (Capell, 1968:68). Laragiya is unrelated to Emmi but borders on the territory of the Wadjiginy, who were neighbours and traditional marriage-partners of the Emmiyangal. Ford (1990) reported a close mid front rounded vowel occurs in Patjtjamalh, the language of the Wadjiginy, and its closely-related dialect Malh Gandjerra (Tryon’s Pungupungu).

The occurrence of a central close-mid vowel with or without lip-rounding and a mid-front rounded vowel in these unrelated but geographically contiguous languages is probably an areal feature. For a fuller discussion of this, see 1.2 and 1.8.

Phoneme /a/ occurs word-initially, medially and finally.

/a/ has four allophones: [a] open vowel

\[\begin{align*}
\text{[e]} & : \text{centralised open vowel} \\
\text{[a]} & : \text{open vowel with off glide} \\
\text{[o]} & : \text{low back open vowel} \\
\text{[e]} & : \text{retroflex consonant} \\
\text{[a]} & : \text{palatal nasal} \\
\text{[o]} & : \text{velar consonant} \\
\text{[a]} & : \text{elsewhere}
\end{align*}\]

e.g.

*anːga* [ˈanga] ‘stingray sp.’;

*wangga* [ˈwʊŋɡa] ‘dance’;

*ararr* [ˈɛɹɭɭ] ‘periwinkle’(shellfish sp.);

*kanymerr* [ˈkaɭnymɛɭ] ‘sun’.

Table 5 maps the distribution of vowel allophones:
Table 5: Distribution of vowel allophones

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urounded</th>
<th>Rrounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close-mid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open-mid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.3 Consonant phonemes.

Table 6 shows Emmi consonant phonemes. Each phoneme is shown in IPA symbols with practical orthography in brackets where it differs.

Table 6: Consonant phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Peripheral</th>
<th>Apico-</th>
<th>Lamino-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>labial</td>
<td>dorso-velar</td>
<td>alveolar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vels)</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ved)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>β (v)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ñ (ng)</td>
<td>ñ (nm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhetic</td>
<td>r (tr)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semivowel</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Emmi has twenty-seven consonant phonemes. Stops and nasals occur at six places of articulation. There are two peripheral nasal/stop series (velar and bilabial), two laminal nasal/stop series (lamino-dental and lamino-alveopalatal), and two apical nasal/stop series (apico-alveolar and apico-postalveolar). Each laminal series consists of stop, nasal, and lateral. There is a voicing contrast between stops at each place of articulation. There are two phonemic fricatives (bilabial and retroflex). There are three laterals (apico-alveolar, lamino-dental and alveo-palatal); two rhotics (an apico-alveolar trill and a postalveolar retroflex approximant) and two semi-vowels (lamino-alveopalatal and labio-velar).

2.2.4 Consonant allophony

Emmi is unusual amongst Australian languages, but typical of languages of the Daly region, in maintaining an intervocalic voicing contrast between all stops and fricatives and a phonemic contrast between stops and fricatives in bilabial and apico-postalveolar positions. Stop/fricative allophony in Emmi is tabulated in Table 7.

2.2.4.1 Stop/fricative allophony

Table 6 shows the distribution of stop and fricative allophones. The following abbreviations are used, where N is a nasal and L is a liquid:
- #_ start of phonological word
- _# end of phonological word.
- _S end of syllable
- Stop- V between a stop and vowel
- N- V between a nasal and vowel
- L- V between a liquid and vowel
- V- V between vowels

The corpus contained no instances of word-initial /l/, /rd/, /dj/, /rz/, or post-liquid /l/, /ld/, /rdl/, /rz/, /th/, or /dh/. There were no instances of post-nasal /rz/ or word-final /b/, /g/, /ld/, /rd/, /th/, /dh/, /w/, or /rz/.

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Table 7: Distribution of stop and fricative allophones

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>#-V</th>
<th>V-#</th>
<th>Stop-V</th>
<th>L-V</th>
<th>V-V</th>
<th>N-V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/th/</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>t</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/thl/</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tl/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rl/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Intercovocally, Emmi’s voicing contrast applies to all stops and fricatives. Word-initially, voiced and voiceless bilabial stops contrast, but for other stops, there is no voicing contrast in this position, nor is there word-finally for an unvoiced stop. After a lateral or rhotic, bilabial, dorso-velar and alveo-palatal stops contrast. From Table 7 it is possible to formulate the following hierarchies for Emmi stops and fricatives:

Voiceless stop → Voiced stop
least likely to voice                most likely to voice
Dorso-velar    Alveopalatal Laminodental Apico-alveolar Retroflex
Bilabial
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stop</th>
<th>Fricative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>least likely to lenite</td>
<td>most likely to lenite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial, Apico-alveolar, Alveo-palatal, Retroflex, Lamino-dental, Dorso-velar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These hierarchies show
(a) that peripheral voiceless stops are most likely to stay voiceless whatever their position in the word, and retroflex stops are least likely to, and
(b) that bilabial and apico-alveolar stops are least likely to lenite to a fricative, and dorso-velar stops are most likely to.

### 2.2.4.2 Relevant environments

**Dorso-velar stops.** Word-initially, only [k], sole allophone of /k/, the voiceless dorso-velar stop, occurs, e.g.
- karra [ˈkara] ‘shoulder’;
- kumbu [ˈkumbo] ‘foot’;
- kunyme [ˈkunme] ‘mangrove tree sp.’;
- kininwo [ˈkiniwo] ‘sea-going canoe’ (loan from English).

**Bilabial stops/fricative.** Word-initially [p], sole allophone of /p/, the voiceless bilabial stop, contrasts with [b], sole allophone of /b/, the voiced bilabial stop, and [ɸ], one of the two allophones of /f/, the voiced bilabial fricative, e.g. pi [ˈpi] ‘there is not (NEG COP)’. bi [ˈbi] ‘white’; viye [ˈfiye] ‘head’.

The corpus contains 48 nominal stems with initial bilabial stops. 7 out of the 48 have initial /b/. Some nominal stems with an initial /b/ are loanwords. Of these, some can be shown to have been borrowed from Patjījamalh, where all word-initial bilabial stops are voiced, e.g. bi ‘white’; ba ‘Come!’, which is pronounced with a word-initial voiced bilabial implosive [ɓ]; bakwutj ‘all’; ballak ‘bony bream’. Other loan-words have
been borrowed from other Daly languages, e.g. buringgin ‘Brinkin’. At least one lexeme, bulng ‘bottle’, is borrowed from English.

When a /vi/-initial noun is the second member of a nominal compound, and the environment changes to post-sonorant /v/ is realised as [β], the voiced allophone of /v/, e.g. polo-viye [ˈpʊloβiye] ‘grey-head, old person’.

**Alveopalatal stops.** Lamino-dental stops. Word-initially, only [ʃ], sole allophone of the voiceless lamino-dental stop /th/ occurs, e.g. thawarr [ˈθəwər] ‘tree; thing’; thelhol [ˈθəlhol] ‘milky plum’.

Lamino-alveopalatal stops. Word-initially, only [c], sole allophone of the voiceless alveopalatal stop /tʃ/ occurs, e.g. tjelmundak [ˈtʃelmundak] ‘garfish’; tjungara [ˈtʃʊŋɡəɾa] ‘black’; tjimmerr [ˈtʃɪmmer] ‘longbum shellfish sp.’

**Apical stops.**

Apico-alveolar stops. Word-initially, only [d], sole allophone of the voiced apico-alveolar stop /d/, occurs, e.g. dirrvel [ˈdɪɾɾVEL] ‘saliva’; duk(an)ji [ˈduk(ən)ji] ‘big’.

Apico-postalveolar stops. Only [t], allophone of the voiceless apico-postalveolar stop /tʃ/ occurs, e.g. rtedi [ˈtʃedi] ‘back’. The following rule can be formulated to account for these data:

**Rule 2:**

Stop \( \rightarrow \) [v] /\#_____ (but not bilabial or apico-alveolar).

-\# stops behave identically syllable-finally and word-finally.

**Dorso-velar stops.** In both environments, only [k] occurs, e.g.
tjidakma ['crdakma] 'drizzle';
tjelerrktjelerrk ['celerkcelerk] 'scale fish';
manarrk ['manark] 'red kangaroo';
thiilik ['tilzrk] 'new-born child';
kuguk ['kuyuk] 'Wait!'.

Bilabial stops. There are no instances of syllable final $b$. Word-finally, only [p] occurs, e.g. velp ['velp] 'without stopping'.

Lamino-alveopalatal stops. Only [c] occurs, e.g. ngutj ['uuc] 'spirit';
mulirritj ['mulric] 'aggressive'; welhetj ['welc] 'paperbark tree'.
The corpus contains no instances of lamino-dental stops in either syllable-final or word-final environment.

Apico-alveolar stops. Syllable-finally and word-finally, only [t] occurs, e.g. ngatkani ['jatkan] 'be quiet; mutme ['mutme] 'edible grub';
vulhut ['vulut] 'beeswax'; valbat ['valat] 'naked; outside'.
The corpus contains no instances of apico-postalveolar stops in either environment. The following rule can be formulated to account for these data:

Rule 3
Stop $\rightarrow$ Vless / $\overline{S}$

Stop-V
All stop clusters are voiceless. Only /k/, /p/, /t/ and /l/ occur as second stop in a stop cluster, e.g.
pitjakam ['prickam] 'bird sp.';
 ordered rule 4 can be formulated to account for these data: Rule 3 precedes Rule 3.

**Rule 4:**

Stop $\rightarrow$ vl/Stop

**N-V**

**Dorso-velar stops.** In this environment, only [g] occurs, e.g. (2-1) – (2-2).

(Within the phonological word, components which bear secondary stress, e.g. the coverb, incorporated nouns, and bound number words, are preceded by +).

2-1  ngamen+kurr=eyi ['narnem'guεji]

1MINA.R.pick up+put down=PERF

'I picked it up and put it down.'

2-2  nguman+gurr=eyi ['nandum'guεji]

1MIN A.R.poke+hit=PERF

'I speared him.'

**Bilabial stops/fricative.** After a nasal, there is no contrast between /p/ and /b/ e.g. (2-3) –(2-4), where both are realised as [b ]. In the same environment, /v/ is realised as [ʃ ], e.g. (2-5).
2-3 **nguman+putj ['ŋumanbuc]**

*IMIN.A.R.poke+look for*

'I look for it.'

2-4 **nguman+buj [ŋumanbuc]**

*IMIN.A.R.poke+understand*

'I understand her/him/it.'

2-5 **nguman+vutj ['ŋumanbuc]**

*IMIN.A.R.poke+cover*

'I cover it.'

### Alveopalatal stops.

Lamino-dental stops. Only the voiced stop occurs after a nasal, e.g. (2-6) – (2-7).

2-6 **yungan+thorr=eyi ['junangeredji]**

*IAUG.S.R.lie+abuse*

'We abused her/him.'

2-7 **ngundan+dharrwut ['ŋundandarwut]**

*IMIN.A.R.hang up+dry*

'I hang it up to dry.'

Lamino-palatal stops. Only [h] occurs in this environment, e.g. (2-8) - (2-9).

2-8 **gudin+tjerr ['kudncer]**

*3MIN.S.R.sit+stretch*

'S/he stretches.'
2-9  ganen+dje+manhdha ['kanənəmanə̃də]  
3MIN.SR.sit+wear+throat  
'S/he is wearing (X) round her/his throat.'

Apical stops.  
Apico-alveolar stops. After a nasal, only [d] occurs, e.g. (2-10).

2-10  nguman+dut=eyi ['ŋumanduteji]  
1MIN.A.R.poke+find=PERF  
'I woke him/her up.'

Apico-postalveolar stops. Only [d] occurs after a nasal, e.g. (2-11) –(2-12).

2-11  nguman+rtudu=yi ['ŋumanduduji]  
1MIN.A.R.poke+track=PERF  
'I tracked him/her.'

2-12  nguman+rtidim=eyi ['ŋumandidimə̃jɪ]  
1MIN.A.R.poke+tie up=PERF  
'I tied him/her/it up.'

The following rule can be formulated to account for these data:

Rule 5
Obstruent -----→ +voice / Nvd_____

L-V
Dorso-velar stops.
After a liquid, /k/ and /g/ contrast. In this environment, /g/ lenites to [ɣ], e.g.
velhkurriny ['velhkurŋiŋ] 'stinking';
pelgude ['pelyude] 'raw';
tjirrkinin ['tjirrkinin] 'edible vegetable sp.';
tjirrgigi ['tjirrgi] infatuated;
kirrkirr ['kirrkirr] 'small morsel';
perrgigir ['perrgigir] 'sharp'.

Bilabial stops/fricative. After a liquid, there is a contrast between /p/ /b/ and /v/, e.g.
pulpul ['pulpul] 'wild passion fruit';
kalbun ['kalbun] 'yellow dust';
dulvu ['dulvu] 'satisfied';
purrburr+manhdha ['purrburr+manhdha] 'tonsils';
purrfu ['purrfu] 'cold';
marbuk ['marbuk] 'sprouting';
wudarvu ['wudarvu] 'cycad'.

This contrast also shows up in the VP, e.g. (2-13) –(2-15).

2-13  guman+warrpa ['guman+warrpa]
3MIN.A.R.poke+tie cock-rag
‘He ties his cock-rag’ (T10: 101)

2-14  gurrinyi+birrbirr+nunggu+ninya ['gurrinyi+birrbirr+nunggu+ninya]
3AUG.A.R.handleRECI+strainREDUP+hand+MAUG
‘The men tug at each other’s hands.’ (T4: 113)

2-15  gamen+mekurr+viye ['gamen+mekurr+viye]
3MIN.A.R.pick up+put down+head
‘S/he puts it down on his/her head’. 
Alveopalatal stops. The corpus contains no instances of /th/ or /dh/ in this environment. After a lateral, only /tʃ/ occurs, e.g. *demi+wulytjiwulytji* ['demɪwʊ̃ciwʊ̃ci] ‘kidneys’. After a rhotic, only the voiced stop /dʒ/ occurs, e.g. *parrdja* ['pərdʒa] ‘bush potato’.

Apical stops/fricative. After a lateral, only /rt/ occurs, e.g. *kul+rtedi* ['kʊltɛdi] ‘hunch back (lit. bent-back)’. The corpus contains no instances of apico-alveolar stops or apical fricative in this environment.

The following rule can be formulated to account for these data:

**Rule 6**
Voiced velar stop $\rightarrow$ + fricative / L

V-V

Dorso-velar stops. In this environment, /k/ and /g/ contrast, e.g. (2-16) – (2-17), where /k/ is realised as [k] and /g/ lenites to [ŋ]. 12% of coverbs in the corpus (34 verbs) have stem-initial, voiced consonants. Of these, 10 stems begin with /k/, 12 with /g/ and 12 with /ŋ/.

2-16 ngave+kurr=eno ['ŋaβekʊrɛقه]

*IMINA.IR.pick up+put down=PURP*

‘I will pick it up and put it down.’

2-17 ngawanya+gurr=eno ['ŋawaŋayʊrɛقه]

*IMINA.IR.make+hit=PURP*

‘I will hit it.’

The same contrast occurs in nominals, e.g.

wakul ['wakul] ‘scrotum’; kagul ['kayul] ‘Father’s father’
Word-initial underlying /g/ on nouns is revealed only when a noun is incorporated into a VP. The noun gumbu ‘foot’ is pronounced [ˈkumbo] when it occurs independently, but when incorporated into a VP, as in (2-18), an intervocalic environment is created; underlying /g/ is realised as [ɣ], e.g. (2-18), where /gumbu/ is realised as [ˈyumbu].

2-18  garranya+ru+gumbu=yi [ˈkaraŋəjyumbuji]
      3AUGA.R.handle+take out+foot=PERF ‘They took it out of his/her foot.’

Intervocally, /k/ is realised as [k]. For instance, the noun karra ‘shoulder’ is pronounced [ˈkara] when it occurs independently. Its pronunciation remains the same when it is incorporated into a verb complex in an intervocalic environment, as in (2-19).

2-19  garranya+ru+karra=yi [ˈkaraŋəjukarəji]
      3AUGA.R.handle+take out+shoulder=PERF ‘They took it out of his/her shoulder.’

Bilabial stops and fricative. /p/, /b/ and /f/ contrast, e.g. (2-20) – (2-22).

2-20  gama+parr=eno [ˈkaməparəne]
      3MIN.A.IR.poke+hit.AUGO=PURP ‘S/he will spear many people.’

2-21  gana+barr+miri=yi [ˈkanəbarrmiri]ji
      3MINS.R.walk+scare+eye=PERF ‘S/he scared him/her.’
2-22 ngarra+varratj=eyi [ŋarəɾamburgerə]  
IMIN.A.R. handle+follow=PERF  
‘I followed him/her.’

Almost half of the coverbs in the corpus (44%, or 120 out of 270) contain initial bilabial consonants. 17 of these stems have /p/ as initial consonant, 23 have initial /b/ and 27 have initial /v/. 31 have initial /w/ and 22 have initial /m/.

Alveopalatal stops.  
Lamino-dental stops. /th/ and /dh/ contrast intervocically. /th/ is realised as [t] and /dh/ lenites to the voiced lamino-dental fricative [ʃ], e.g. muthunggu [muŋŋungo] ‘cold’; ngudhorwu [ŋudəjwo] ‘brains’, and (2-23).

2-23 dhet+ninga+dhet [tetnt̪ən̩əd̪e]  
sit down+2MIN.S.1Rsit+sit down  
‘You (one), sit down!’

Under-lying word-initial /th/ shows up as [t] intervocically in compound nouns, e.g. arra+thawarr [arət̪awar] ‘rifle’ (lit. arra ‘shin’ + thawarr ‘tree; thing’) and in the VP, e.g. (2-24).

2-24 thenbi+ninga+thenbi [tən̪n̩ət̪en̩bi]  
vomit+2MIN.S.1Rsit+vomit  
‘You (one) vomit!’

Alveopalatal stops. /tʃ/ and /dʃ/ contrast intervocically on nouns, e.g. kutje [kuʃe] ‘wet’; kudjala [kuʃala] ‘today’
atja ['aːca] 'ego’s sibling;
wadja ['wadjə] ‘You, (one) walk!’
The same contrast also shows up in the VP, e.g. (2-25) - (2-26).

2-25  wudi+tjerr ['wuditørər]
2MIN.A.IR.elbow+stretch
‘Stretch!’

2-26  ningaa+dje+manhdha ['nɪŋaːdʒə'mænda]
3AUG.SR.walk+wear+neck
‘Wear it round your neck!’

Apical stops. Apico-alveolar stops. /v/ and /d/ contrast, e.g.
ngata ['ŋata] 'house';
ngada ['ŋada] 'Two of us (1.AUG.PRO);
mitiwurr ['mɪtiwɜː] ‘axe’;
midirr ['mɪdiːr] ‘eyebrow’.
This contrast also shows up in the VP, e.g. (2-27) - (2-28).

2-27  gama+tin         dorr ['kamatɔn'dɔr]
3MIN.S.R.stand+be still place
‘The place is always still.’

2-28  gudinya+din ['kudɪnjadɪn]
3AUG.A.R.elbow+elbow
They stand with elbows pointing out.’

Apico-postalveolar stop. /ɾt/ and /ɾd/ contrast intervocally. In this environment, /ɾt/ is realised as the voiceless apical fricative [ʂ], e.g.
yorro+rtedi ['jerəshedij] 'long grass';
mala+rtedi ['maləshedij] 'far';
marduman ['mecedumən] 'backwards';
mardi ['mecfi] 'barramundi';
mardingel ['mecfiŋgel] 'backstroke'.

/rd/ and /d/ also contrast intervocalically, e.g.
mardi ['mecfi] 'barramundi'; matimati ['matimati] 'grasshopper'

2-29 uma+rtidim+miri ['ūməšidīm.əli]
   2MIN.A.IR.poke+ile up+eye
   'Shut the window!' (lit. Tie up the eye of the house).

2-30 uma+dim+miri ['ūmadim.əli]
   2MIN.A.IR.poke+sink-eye
   'Shut the door!' (lit. Poke the eye of the house!)

2-31 ngala+dut=eyi ['ŋaladuteji]
   1MIN.A.R.chop+find=PERF
   'I found it.'

2-32 ngiye+rtutut=eyi ['ŋijeʃututeji]
   1MIN.S.R.ile+float=PERF
   'I floated'.

Retroflex fricative. The voiced apico-postalveolar fricative /rz/ occurs in the
coverb werzame ['wezamə] 'shriek', providing evidence for an
intervocalic contrast between /rt/, /rd/ and /rz/. A more extensive corpus
would probably contain more examples of the voiced apical fricative.
wersame 'shriek' is probably cognate with Ngan.gikurungkurru wurirmuy 'be frightened' (Hodinott and Kofod, 1986:333).

The following rule can be formulated to account for these data:

**Rule 7**
Voiced velar stop +Fricative / V V

### 2.2.4.2 Competing analyses discussed

With limited data at his disposal, Tryon analysed Emmi as having a single stop series, and no fricatives. I was able to gather extensive data, and have provided enough examples of contrastive stop/stop, stop/fricative allophones to justify my claims, first, that a voicing contrast exists between all stops, and, second, that the voiced bilabial fricative and apical fricative are phonemic. I have also formulated a hierarchy to explain the allophony of stops and fricatives in Emmi. Three comments arise out of my analysis:

(i) Neutralisation of phonemes. Word-initially, all stops are realised as voiceless, with the exception of bilabial stops, which maintain the contrast in this position, and apico-alveolar stops, which are always voiced in this position. Word-finally, and in stop-stop clusters, all stops are realised as voiceless. Word-initial dorso-velar stops which are underlingly voiced are revealed as such in the intervocalic environment which is created when a noun is incorporated into a VP.

(ii) There is limited distribution of voiced stops and fricatives. With the exception of bilabial and apico-alveolar stops, voiced stops and fricatives are restricted to post sonorant positions. Only voiceless stops or sonorants may end syllables or words. Morpheme-final voiceless stops are not voiced when followed by a vowel-initial enclitic, e.g. (2-33) - (2-34). This is proof that they are underlingly voiceless. For instance, the morpheme-final dorso-velar stop of duk, [duk], the contracted form of the adjective dukanji ['dukanji] 'big' stays voiceless when intervocalic in the non-contracted form of the adjective; it is underlingly voiceless.
2-33  gala+gat=enhdheni ['kalaga\textgreek{t}e\textgreek{d}eni]

3MIN.A.R.chop+cut=now
'S/he's cutting it now.'

2-34  gala-ngany+duk=eyi  ['kala\textgreek{g}any\textgreek{\textvowels}keji]

3MIN.A.R.chop+1MIN.O+burn=PERF
'I'm burnt.'

(iv) In an unpublished paper, Evans (1987) claimed that Emmi has short voiced stops and long voiceless stops. A similar claim was made by Green (1989:17) for Marrithiyel, and Reid (1990:39) for Ngan.gityemeri. There is, however, no evidence in my corpus for a long/short stop contrast in Emmi, and extensive phonetic evidence collected by Butcher (1996.ms) shows that the distinction between stops in Daly languages is based on voicing, not length. Butcher finds that 'length alone is generally a good basis for phonological contrast.'

2.2.5 Nasal allophony:

There is a nasal for each of six places of articulation. Each nasal has one allophone:

/ng/ dorsovelar nasal, one allophone, [ŋ];

/n/ bilabial nasal, one allophone [n];

/ny/ lamino-alveopalatal nasal, one allophone [n];

/nh/ lamino-dental nasal, one allophone [ŋ];

/n/ apico-alveolar nasal, one allophone [n];

/m/ apico-postalveolar nasal, one allophone [n].

Table 8 shows the distribution patterns of nasals. Hom means Homorganic; Het means Heterorganic; St means Stop.

Reid's observations about stop length are phonetic observations, not offered as evidence for the basis of a phonological contrast.
Table 8: Distribution patterns of nasals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>#-</th>
<th>V-HomSt</th>
<th>V-HetSt</th>
<th>St-V</th>
<th>HomN-V</th>
<th>HetN-V</th>
<th>L-V</th>
<th>V-V</th>
<th>-#</th>
</tr>
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<td>ɾ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#-

/ŋg/, /ml/, /ny/, n/ occur word-initially, e.g.

nginen ['ŋinen] 'I sit' (1MIN.S.R.sit);

menee ['menee] 'death-adder';

nyiminy ['niminy] 'flame';

niin ['niin] 'crowbar'.

/ŋ/ and /m/ contrast minimally word-initially, e.g.

ngalh ['ŋalh] 'mouth'; malh ['mawl] 'story; language'.

The corpus contains no instances of word-initial /nh/ or /m/.

V-HomStop

/ŋg/, /ml/, /ny/, /nh/, /n/ occur before a homorganic stop, e.g.

wangga ['wangga] 'corroboree';

wuimbu ['wumbai] 'Black Saltwater Catfish';

peninydjive ['peninydjive] 'star';

58
manhdha ['man.da] 'throat, neck';

kandu ['kando] 'man'.

2-35 awa gamen+winydjerre=yi ['kamenwiŋjereji]

meat 3MIN.A.R.pick up+steal=PERF

'He stole the meat.'

The corpus contains no instances of /m/ occurring before a homorganic stop.

V-HetStop

/ny/ and /n/ occur before a heterorganic stop, e.g.
wanygal ['waŋgal] 'itchy grub';
wan.ga ['wanga] 'shark sp.'.

/ny/ and /n/ contrast before a heterorganic stop, e.g.
ngunybir ['ŋuŋbiri] 'black water snake';
kanbi ['kanbi] 'didjeridu'.

The corpus contains no instances of /ng/, /m/, /nh/ or /m/ occurring before a heterorganic stop.

Stop-V

/m/, n/ occur in this environment in nouns, e.g.
tjidakma ['tijdakma] 'drizzle';
batjbatna ['bacpatna] 'marsupial mouse'.

/ng/ or /n/ occur in this environment in the VP, e.g. (2-36) - (2-37).

2-36 ngala+dut+nganya=yi ['ŋaladutŋaŋaji]

1MIN.A.R.chop+find+F.AUG=PERF

'I found four or more women.'
2-37 ngala+dut+ninya=yi [ŋaladʌtəŋají]  
‘IMIN.A.R.chop+find+MAUG=PERF  
‘I found four or more men.’

The corpus contains no instances of /ny/, /nh/, or /rh/ occurring after a stop.

- HomNasal

/n/ and /m/ occur in this environment in nouns, e.g.


/ŋ/ and /n/ occur in this environment in verbs, e.g. (2-38) –(2-41).

2-38 ngadhama+bang+nganya=no [ŋadarnabəŋəɲane]  
‘IMIN.S.IR.stand+fuck+FAUG=PURP  
‘Standing, I’ll fuck four or more women’

2-39 ngawaden+ninya=no [ŋawadənɨɲane]  
‘IMIN.A.IR.look+MAUG=PURP  
‘I'm going to look at the men.’

The corpus contains no instances of /ny/, /nh/, or /m/ occurring before a homorganic nasal.

V-HetNasal

/ng/, /ny/ and /n/ occur in this environment in nouns, e.g.

marrngmarrag [mæɾŋmarrag] ‘carefee’;

wunyme [wʊnyme] ‘cooked’;

wumerr [wʊmerr] ‘Hibiscus Tiliacea’.

wunngarr [wʊŋgar] ‘Torres Strait pigeon; lover’.
/ng/, /m/ and /n/ occur in this environment in verbs, e.g. (2-40) - (2-43).

2-40  ngadhma+bang+ninya=no ['ŋaŋamabəŋənənə]
IMIN.S.IR.stand+fuck+MAUG=PURP
'Standing, I'll fuck four or more men.'

2-41  mitjirim  marnim=nene  game
['m̥iŋiriŋˌmaŋiŋˌnənə]
dog  -good=NEW INF  3MIN.A.R.say
'He speaks about the good dog.'

2-42  guman+rtidim-nganga ['kumanɖidimŋaŋa]
3MIN.A.R.poke-tie up-3MIN.F.ADMR
'He ties her up against her will.'

2-43  tjirrvur  gidjinye+Ienme+mede ['kɪrɪ̱ŋɜ̱ŋˌenmeˌmɛdɛ]
Finnis River  3AUG.S.R.crawl+swim+U AUG
'They both swim to the Finnis River.' (T10:25)

/n/ cannot occur before /ny/. This affects the 3Augmented Realis
form of verbs whose coverb ends in /n/, e.g. den 'look'; nmen 'smell
something' and nme 'rise', and results in the following homophones forms:
ginmenya 'they rise' (3AUG.S.R.rise)
ginmenya 'they smell something' (3AUG.A.R.smell sth).
The following rule can be formulated to account for these data:

Rule 8
/n/ -------------> Ø /____ny

n also goes to zero before a following homorganic nasal-stop cluster, e.g.
girran+mbul 3MINS.R.use legs+run ['kɪɾɪ̱ŋəmbuŋ]
The following rule can be formulated to account for these data:
Rule 9

\[ /n/ \rightarrow \emptyset / m_b \]

We know that coverb ‘run’ is \( m_b \) because it shows up after a vowel-final auxiliary, e.g. girrinya+mbul ['ktr1\(\text{a}\text{mbul}\)]AUG.S.R.use-legs +run.

The corpus contains no instances of /nh/ or /mn/ occurring before a heterorganic nasal.

L- \( \ell \)

Only /m/ occurs in this environment, e.g. elhmbi ['\(\ell\)mbi] ‘floating log’.

V-V

All six nasals occur intervocally, e.g.

anginy ['\(a\)nj] ‘mulga scrub’;
meminy ['\(m\)mij] ‘index finger’;
manyalmanyal ['\(m\)\(\j\)\(m\)n\(\j\)\(al\)] ‘rabbit’;
menherr ['\(m\)\(n\)e\(r\)] ‘sand’;
menen ['\(m\)\(e\)\(n\)en] ‘death adder’;
marnim ['\(m\)\(e\)\(n\)im] ‘OK’;
barning ['\(b\)\(e\)\(r\)\(n\)] ‘earthquake’.

\[ /n_\{g\}/ \text{ and } /m/ \text{ contrast intervocally in the minimal pair:} \]
-\(n\)ganga ['\(n\)\(a\)\(n\)] ‘in spite of her (3MIN.F.ADVERS)’.
ngama ['\(n\)\(a\)\(m\)] ‘I stand (1MIN.S.R.stan\(c\))’.

\[ /\text{n}/, /\nu/, /n/ \text{ contrast intervocally in the sub-minimal triple} \]
ninka ['\(n\)\(n\)\(a\)] ‘You (one) sit! (2MIN.S.IR.sit)’;
ninya -[\(n\)\(i\)\(n\)] ‘four or more males (M.AUG)’;
nine ['\(n\)\(n\)\(e\)] ‘You, (2 MIN.PRO)’.
/m/, /ng/, /ny/ and /n/ occur word-finally, e.g.

**dirring** ['dir insurgents'] 'stingray sp.';

**rirrim** ['ri rims'] 'Tomtom' (hawk sp.);

**kulmininy** ['kul min iny] 'avoidance kin-term';

**ngarran** ['n garan] 'goanna'.

/ny/ and /n/ contrast in the subminimal pair:

**minyminy** ['mi ny miny] 'shell sp.'; 'wobble';

**minmin** ['mi min min'] 'ground up tobacco'.

The corpus contains no instances of /nh/ or /rn/ in this environment.

### 2.2.6 Liquid allophony.

The liquids consist of three laterals and two rhotics:

/ɪ/ apico-alveolar lateral approximant, one allophone [ɪ]

/lh/ lamino-dental lateral approximant, one allophone [l]

/lj/ lamino-alveopalatal lateral approximant, one allophone [l]

/rr/ apico-alveolar trill, one allophone [r]

/r/ apico-postalveolar (retroflex) approximant, one allophone [r]

The distribution of liquid allophones is compared with that of retroflex stop and fricative allophones in Table 9, where Obst means Obstruent (stops and fricatives); L means Liquid; SV means Semivowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>#-</th>
<th>#-Obst</th>
<th>L-V</th>
<th>N-V</th>
<th>L-SV</th>
<th>V-V</th>
<th>#-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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</tr>
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</table>
| /rr/ | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 63
/rt/  |  r | r | - | r | - | r | -
---- | --|--|--|--|--|--|--
/rt/  |  t | - | t | t | - | s | -
/rd/  |  - | - | - | d | - | d | -

#/-

/l/, /lh/ and /r/ occur in this environment and contrast with /rt/, e.g.
lerri ['lerri] ‘happy’; lhumbu ['lumbu] ‘thigh’;
The corpus contains no instances of word-initial /ly/, or /rr/.

V-Obst

All liquids occur in this environment, e.g.
ngalkurr ['ŋəlkur] ‘white yam sp.’;
wulgumen ['wuluŋmen] ‘old woman’;
pultjan ['pulcan] ‘eagle sp.’;
ngalhdhirri ['ŋa[ðiri] ‘tongue’;
wurrganga ['wurŋaŋa] ‘mullet sp.’;
ngurrdji ['ŋurji] ‘emu’;
wulytjirri ['wulytjirri] ‘stingray sp.’;
vavalvaval ['fəbəl] ‘empty-handed’;
ngulvek ['ŋulək] ‘fullgrown (of penis’;
tjelhvek ['cələk] ‘dew’;
perrvil ['pər vil] ‘bat sp.’;

perverdja ['pərədja] ‘intestines’.
L-V

Rhotic clusters are impermissible in Emmi. This constraint affects the inherently reduplicated lexeme rungurungurr ['runju runjur] 'mud-crab' and means that the trill which is preserved word-finally must be deleted word-medially.

The following rule may be formulated to account for these data:

**Rule 10**

\[
\text{Rhotic} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{Rhotic}
\]

The language does not allow a sequence of trills, even if there is an intervening vowel. By a dissimilation process, the second trill becomes a retroflex approximant, e.g.

- **pirriri** axe;
- **derrere** 'hot';
- **tjirrir** 'sand-piper';
- **yerrere** '2AUG.A.IR. handle something';
- **veruru** '2AUG.S.IR. go somewhere';
- **purruru** '3AUG.S.IR go somewhere'.

The following rule can be formulated to account for these data:

**Rule 11**

\[
\text{rr} \rightarrow \text{r} / \text{rV}
\]

N-V

/\l/, /\lh/, /\r/ /\rr/ and /\rt/, /\rd/ occur after a nasal, e.g. (2-44) – (2-47).

The corpus contains no instances of /ly/ in this environment.

\[2-44\]

**gidjin-lenme=yi** ['kjiŋnleŋnmeji]

\[1AUG.S.R.\text{crawl-swim}=\text{PERF}\]

‘They swam.’
2-45  tjinda men+lhat [menlät]
spear  I AUG.S.R. pick up+aim=PURP
‘We aim our spear.’

2-46  yerran+ru+gumbu [jeranʌɣʌmbɔ]
I AUG.A.R. use hands+take out+foot
‘We take it out of [his/her] foot.’

2-47  nenangu=ngana  malh=ngana
yesterday=RECPAST story=RECPAST
men+rri=ngana [menrɪŋana]
I AUG.A.R. say+tell story=RECPAST
‘Yesterday afternoon we told a story.’

V-SV

/l/, /r/ and /r/ occur in this environment, e.g.
ngalwat [ŋalwat] ‘manta ray’;
yilyil [jiljil] ‘true’;
therrwen [tɛrwen] ‘Rainbow Serpent’.
munun [mʊŋuŋuŋuŋuŋ] ‘be jealous’
V-V
All liquids contrast minimally word-medially between vowels, e.g.
pele ['pele] 'white clay';
pele ['pele] 'oyster sp.',
perre ['perre] 'marsupial mouse';
verre ['verre] 'arm';
delyak ['dejak] 'married woman'.

In this environment /l/ contrasts with /r/ and /rr/, e.g.
derrere ['dererre] 'hot'; derela ['derela] 'slow(ly)'.
nerela ['nerela] 'good'; nera ['nera] 'daughter's son'.

#/ /l/, /ll/, /rr/ and /r/ occur word-finally, e.g.
therrmil ['terrml] 'short person';
therrfelh ['terrefel] 'stone';
ngurir ['ngurir] 'cold ashes';
perelhirr ['perelhirr] 'Great Egret'.

2.2.7 Semi-vowel allophony
Emmi distinguishes two semivowels:
/y/ lamino-palatal approximant, one allophone [j]
/w/ labial-velar approximant, one allophone [v].

#/ Both semi-vowels contrast word-initially, e.g.
yaw ['jaw] 'Yes!';
way [ˈwaj] 'not' (clause negator).

By a late phonetic rule, an epenthetic semivowel is inserted between word-final vowels and word-initial vowels, i.e.:

Rule 13

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{wr} & \text{u} \\
\text{yr} & \text{i, e, a, } \\
\end{array}
\]

c.g. (2-48) – (2-50).

2-48  emmi=yi unggula  ['em.iˈiˈuŋɡula]
      'what=PERF older sister'
      'What's wrong, older sister?'

2-49  ngadi  atho=no  ['ŋadijˈaːtene]
      1MIN.S.IR.sit soon=PURP
      'I'll sit later.'

2-50  ngadi+erwe=no  ['ŋadijˈɛwene]
      1MIN.S.IR.sit+laugh=PURP
      'I'll laugh.'

L-V

Both /w/ and /y/ occur in this environment, e.g.

therrwea 'Rainbow Serpent';
therwe 'death adder';
ngalwat 'Manta Ray';
larrwa 'Macassan pipe';
warwa 'on top';
kelhwi 'Adam's apple;
yilyil ‘true’.
The sequence /l/ /y/ in yilyil [’jiljil] ‘true’ contrasts with the phoneme /ly/ in
delyak [’deʌak] ‘married woman’.

V-V

Both semi-vowels contrast intervocically, e.g
yoya [’joja] ‘camp’;
yuwa [’juwa] ‘there in the distance (3MIN.FarDEIC)’;
mayan [’majan] ‘black duck’;
awa [’awa] ‘meat’.

-#

Both semi-vowels contrast word-finally, e.g.
yaw [’jaw] ‘Yes!’;
way [’waj] ‘not (clause negator).

2.3 Phonotactics

2.3.1 The phonological word.

‘In some languages, word boundaries are marked by phonological
phenomena such as ...the position of stress’ (Spencer (1991:42). In Emmi, each
phonological word contains one major stress, on the first syllable. Word-stress is
discussed in 2.3.2. Each phonological word must also conform to the constraints
of Emmi syllable structure. This is analysed in 2.3.2. 2.3.4 discusses constraints on word and
syllable constituents.

Finally, in 2.3.5, Emmi phonotactics is compared with what has been
proposed for Australian languages by Dixon (1980) and Hamilton (1996), and in 2.4
obstruent hierarchies proposed by Hamilton are compared with what happens in
Emmi.
2.3.2 Word-stress

Each phonological word has a distinctive stress pattern in that its initial syllable is raised in pitch and is thereby prominent. The initial syllable bears primary stress, shown by ['], e.g.

- ngutj ['ŋuq] 'spirit';
- punya ['pʊŋæ] 'salmon';
- ngupeli ['ŋupei] 'night-time'.

Every third (odd-numbered) syllable thereafter carries secondary stress, shown by ['], e.g.

- padjarraŋba ['paŋəraŋba] 'parrotfish';
- demiwulytjiwulytji ['demwʊljuwʊlju] 'kidneys'.

The final syllable of a polysyllabic word is unstressed, e.g.

- ngammama ['ŋam.ama] 'deaf';
- pitjawakaŋ [ˈpiŋawakaŋ] 'girl at puberty', 'girl's puberty ceremony';
- menbiyaŋrtedi ['mænbiyaŋ.ætædi] 'heron'.

Enclitic particles never bear stress, whether they occur word-finally, e.g. (2-48) - (2-50), or precede other enclitics, e.g. (2-51)

\[\text{(2-51) gemi-na awa ngutj=nene=ga [ŋucnecnycə]}\]

\[3\text{MIN.S.R.come out-3MIN.DAT meat spirit=NEW INF+FOC} \]

\[\text{It's the spirit who comes out for him.} (T5:119)\]

Phonological words have psychological reality to Emmi speakers, and may coincide with grammatical words. In many instances, however, grammatical and phonological word do not coincide, because a phonological word may
consist of more than one grammatical word (defined in 3.0). This is the converse of what is reported for Yidiny (Dixon 1977:90-93).

The subsuming of grammatical words into a longer phonological word is pervasive in the language. Compound nouns, free pronouns, deictics, verb complexes, and serial constructions all subsume grammatical word which then lose phonological independence; but remain stress-bearing.

For instance, a compound noun in Emmi is a single grammatical word which is formed from two lexemes, e.g. yinyeri (yin ['jin] 'nose' + yeri ['jɛi] 'hole'). The resulting compound noun, yinyeri ['jinjɛi] bears one primary stress. It is a phonological word, like the English compound noun blackberry.

Each verb complex is a single phonological word containing a coverb, which bears secondary stress on its initial syllable, whether or not this falls on an odd-numbered syllable; e.g. (2-50), and (2-52) - (2-53).

2-52 gudinya+gurr=eyi ['kudɪɲ̥aŋʊɛi]  
3 AUG.A.R.elbow+hit=PERF  
'They hit him/her/it.'

2-53 ganya-na+gulit=eyi ['kɑ̃nɑ̃ɲ̥uɭtɛi]  
3 MIN.A.R.make-3MIN.M.REFL+be angry=PERF  
'He got wild.' (T3:24)

The fact that coverbs bear secondary stress suggests that at some prior stage in the language they were independent phonological words, bearing primary stress, but have subsequently surrendered their phonological independence and been subsumed into the verb complex. In support of this claim, there are the following anomalies in the pattern of distribution of coverbs:
(a) Some coverbs only occur VP initially, e.g.

retja 'want'
tap 'pull out'.

2-54 tap game+n+erre

pull out 3MIN.A.R. pick up + shift position that way

'He picks it up and pulls it out.' (T3:63)

(b) Other coverbs may occur VP-initially and/or after the auxiliary, e.g.

thenbi 'vomit';
dhet 'sit down';
tjilk 'ache'.

(c) Some coverbs occur as independent words, These include

vuvuy 'keep going', e.g. (2-55);
vutj 'go straight'; e.g. (2-55);
do 'try';, e.g. (2-56);
nie 'do'; e.g. (2-57).
velp 'do without stopping'.

2-55 ganenya+mede vuvuy vutj

3AUG.S.R. walk + UAUG keep going go straight

They're both walking, keeping straight on.' (T4:22)

2-56 endji do

how try

'Try!'
Inside the verb complex, coverbs also take secondary stress in the Daly region language Ngangityemerri. Reid (1990:100-101) produced data from an earlier stage of the language to show that in 1931 the coverb was a separate phonological word.

The 1931 Ngangimerri data suggests that the precursor to the contemporary Ngangityemerri verb structure was a phrasal verb, consisting of a 'finite verb' and a freeform 'participle'. These two major elements of the phrasal verb appear to have formed separate phonological words. They could be ordered variably with respect to one another, and verbal enclitics could be copied onto both elements of the phrasal verb. If we accept that the 'finite verb' and 'participle' of the phrasal verb were separate phonological words, we can further presume that each of these two words would have borne primary stress on its initial syllable. In the contemporary Ngangityemerri verb, where these two 'halves' have been collapsed into a single phonological word, this pattern is essentially retained with primary and secondary stresses falling on the initial syllables of the auxiliary and CVS [the Emmi coverb] respectively.

Without data from an earlier stage of Emmi, one can only hypothesise, but the phonological evidence suggests that the Emmi verb complex has undergone similar changes to those shown by Reid for Ngangityemerri. Today, the Emmi coverb has adapted so completely to a word-medial environment that a coverb-initial /g/ lenites to [y] after a preceding vowel, and /cr/, which never occurs word-initially, occurs as a coverb initial consonant, e.g. rri 'tell story'.

Body-part nominals incorporated into the VP also give up their phonological independence. This is shown in two ways.

First, each incorporated word loses its primary stress. Instead, it carries secondary stress on the initial syllables, e.g. the body-part nominals incorporated into the verb complex in (2-9), (2-15), (2-19), (2-26), (2-29) –(2-30). This
happens even on an even-numbered syllable, which in a simple phonological
word would be unstressed, e.g. (2-58).

2-58  \textit{gamen+derr-viye=nhdheni} ['kamenderbje\textsuperscript{nd}eni]

$3MINA.R$. \textit{pick up-bash-head=now'}

'S/he's bashing his/her head now'(lit' S/he's head-lashing him/her now."

Second, if an incorporated nominal begins with a voiced dorso-velar stop,
as in (2-19), or a bilabial fricative, as in (2-58), and the coverb ends in a vowel,
creating an intervocalic environment, /g/ lenites to [\textgamma], and the /\textnu/ is realised as
[\textbeta], as if intervocalic within a single phonological word.

(2-58) also shows that, when a coverb is followed by another
incorporated word, here a body-part nominal, two consecutive syllables within
the verb complex bear secondary stress.

The verb complex also obligatorily subsumes stress-bearing number
words, all of which bear secondary stress on the initial syllable,. These are:

(i) \textit{mede}, which specifies S/A or O as unit augmented, e.g. (2-59).

2-59  \textit{gumenya+lhat+mede} ['kane\textsuperscript{na}l\textacuten\textemerede]

$3AUG.A.R$. \textit{pick up+aim+UAUG}

They're both aiming [their spears] (T5:168)

(ii) \textit{nganya }'F.AUG' and -\textit{ninya }'M.AUG', which specify the gender and number
of augmented S/A or O, e.g. e.g (2-36) -(2-40) and (2-60).
(iii) the gender-marked words ngamen 'Female other' and nemen 'Male other' obligatorily specify the gender of the 'odd man out' in a group, e.g. (2-61) - (2-64).

2-61  guninen+nemen+mede ['kuninen.𝐞𝐦𝐞𝐧𝐦𝐞𝐝𝐞]  
3AUG.S.R.sitRECI+F.other+UAUG  
'Two women live with one man.' (EB:40)

2-62  guninen+ngamen+mede ['kuninenŋ̪àmenm̪ède]  
3AUG.S.R.sitRECI+F.other+UAUG  
'Two men live with one woman.' (EB:41)

2-63  ngammulan+parr+nemen+nganya=nhdha=no  
['ŋammulanpàrnemenŋàndane]  
1/2MIN.A.punch+hit many+-otherM+F.AUG=really=PURP  
‘You and I will really hit that mob of females plus one male.’

2-64  ngammulan-parr-ngamen-ninya=nhdha=no  
['ŋammulanpàrŋamen.ŋàndane]  
1/2MIN.A.punch-hit manyO-otherM-F.AUG=really=PURP  
‘You and I will really hit that mob of males plus one female.’
These number markers are complex morphemes and bear stress. This suggests that, at an earlier stage of the language, they may also have been independent words, but have since lost their phonological independence, as obligatory components of the verb complex.

The same complex morphemes also mark augmented number on nouns, Cardinal pronouns and Deictics, where they also bear secondary stress, e.g. 

ngada+mede ['jadjamede] 'two of us'.

nganggu+nganya ['nangangujı]a] 'we four or more women, including addressee';

wida+ninya ['widanına] 'They, consisting of four or more men'.

yuwanya+ngamen+mede ['juwajanamemademe] those two men and one woman in the distance;

yawanya+nemen+nganya ['jawanamem enjı]a] those four or more women plus one man that I mentioned'.

2-65 meyidja gundinyi tjipelh+mede

'two 3AUG.A.R.elbowRECI young girl+UAUG

'The two young girls elbow each other.' (T2:11)

In Emmi, each serial construction comprises two or more separate grammatical words. Two of these words must be inflected verbs, the second of which loses its phonological independence, and becomes part of the preceding phonological word, which is often, but not necessarily, the main verb, (cf (2-68), sharing a single primary stress. The second inflected verb loses its primary stress. For instance, in the serial construction shown in (2-66), the inflected verb wadja '2MIN.S.IR.walk!' occurs twice. The first wadja bears primary stress; the second wadja carries secondary stress, behaving like a compound noun, as part of a single phonological word.
If the first verb in a serial construction ends in a vowel, and the second
verb begins with a voiced dorso-velar stop, this stop lenites as it would in any
word-internal intervocalic environment. For example, /g/ lenites to /γ/ in the
serial constructions shown in (2-67) and (2-68).

2-67 yeda gundinyi+mede ganenya
[ˈjeda ˈkundîɲiɲeɻeɻeɨnə]
2MIN.A.IR. look 3AUG.A.R.RECI.elbow+UAUG 3AUG.S.R.walk
‘Look! The two of them keep nudging each other.’ (T14:70).

2-68 gundinyi+birrbirr-nunggu guninen
[ˈkündîɲiɲbịrɛrˈnʊŋɡuyʊɲɪɲən]
3AUG.A.R.elbowRECI+strainREDUP-hand 3AUG.S.R.sit.RECI
‘They are engaging in a tug of war (lit. they sit tugging at each other’s
hands).’

2.3.3 Syllable and word-structure

In Emmi, as in Marri (Green, 1989:28) and Ngan.gityemerrri (Reid,
1990:68), most words are built on a recurring CV (C) ( C) structure, which can
be stated canonically as:

$$C_1V((C_2) C_3) (C_4V ((C_2') C_3'))^*.$$  

The optional second syllable, $C_4V((C_2) C_3)$, is marked iterative with an
asterisk. It differs from the first $C_1V((C_2) C_3)$ sequence in that more consonants
are eligible to fill the C₄ slot than the C₁ slot. For instance, /rr/ never begins a
word, but may occur syllable-initially, intervocally, syllable-finally and
word-finally.

Seventy words in my corpus are V-initial. Initial V (V₁) can only be /ɛ/,
/a/ or /u/. If we take account of V-initial words, we must restate Emmi canonical
word-structure as:

(C₁) V₁ ((C₂) C₃) (C₄V₂((C₂) C₃))*. 

Reid (1990:69-70) proposed a similar word-template to account for the
'several hundred' V-initial words in Ngan.gityemerri. In Emmi, but not
Ngan.gityemerri, V-initial V₁ is restricted to /a/ or /u/. Most instances of V-
initial words are due to the a-initial citation form of the 1Minimal Realis
pronominal prefix, obligatory on twenty-eight of the twenty-nine inflected verbs,
e.g.
anginen 'I sit';
angiyé 'I lie down';
anganhdha 'I perch';
anginmen 'I smell something';
angadenbdhi 'I fall down';
anguman 'I poke something';
angila 'I consume something';
angemi 'I come out'.

This vowel-initial form derives from an earlier consonant-initial form
which is still the norm in Marranunggu, where the 1Minimal Realis pronominal
prefix form for all inflected verbs is kangV-., e.g. kanginen 'I sit'. In Emmi, the
process of reduction is still continuing. In fast speech, all Emmi speakers drop
the initial vowel of 1Minimal Realis on all inflected verbs, and younger speakers
use only the consonant-initial form of the pronominal prefix, e.g. nginen for 'I
sit', ngiye for 'I lie', etc. Other vowel-initial lexemes cannot be derived from
consonant-initial forms.
Monosyllabic words in Emmi are formed from one of the following syllable types: CV, CVC or CVCC.

The only VV sequences in the corpus are restricted to the near deictic paradigm yii, which inflects for person, number and gender (See 2.2.2. and 3:6). Emmi speakers separate these like vowels by a voiceless glottal fricative [h], e.g.

yii ['jihi] 'here (3MIN.Near Deictic);

yiinga ['jihtja] 'this female here (3MIN.F.Near Deictic);

yiina ['jihtna] 'this male here (3MIN.M.Near Deictic);

yiinya ['jihtpu] 'These people here (3AUG.Near Deictic).

The following rule was formulated to account for these data.

**Rule 1**

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow [h] / i \]

Elsewhere, Emmi phonotactics do not permit VV sequences. If a vowel-initial enclitic attaches to a vowel-final host word, the enclitic-initial vowel elides. For instance, in (2-11), the initial vowel of the Perfective enclitic -(e)y is elided after a vowel-final host, but in (2-12), the full form of the enclitic follows a consonant-final host. In (2-36) and (2-38), the initial vowel of the Purposive enclitic -(e)n is elided after a vowel, but (2-56) shows the full form of the enclitic after a consonant-final host. (2-58) and (2-69) show the elided form of the temporal enclitic -(e)nhdenti 'now.

2-69 gana+pil+miri gadenhdhi=nhdenti

['kanapilmin'kadenhdenti]

3MIN.S.R.walk-push-eye 3MIN.S.R.fall=now

'She feels faint; she falls down now.' (T14:42)
Monosyllabic verb-roots make up almost half the verb roots in the corpus, (127 out of 280), but monosyllabic words (41 out of 2000) are few enough to be listed. (Green, (1989:28) noted 40 monosyllables in Marrithiyel, Reid (1990:68) noted 35 in Ngan.gityemerri). Of the forty-two Emmi monosyllables I collected, twelve words have the form $C_1V_2$ where $V_2$ may be $/i/$, $/u/$, $/e/$, or $/a/$. They are:

- bi 'white';
- di 'tea' (loanword from English);
- do 'try';
- mu 'bone';
- me 'Pick it up! (2MIN.A.IR. pick up);
- me 'do';
- wu 'fight';
- yu 'Yes!';
- ya 'I don't know';
- nga 'she (3MIN.F.PRO);
- ba 'Come!';
- na 'he (3MIN.M.PRO).

Twenty-five words in my corpus take the form $C_1V_2C_3$:

- pilh 'Gull-billed tern';
- pin 'bush carrot sp.';
- bik 'gaol';
- mit 'dot';
- mirr 'conception dreaming; shadow; photograph';
- yin 'nose';
- dirr 'tooth';
- nirr 'vein';
- ngutj 'spirit';
- ngulh 'reef fish (generic);
- ngur 'penis; bat sp.;
- wuny 'shit;
duk 'big';
rup 'rope' (loanword from English);
tjon 'small spear';
velh 'pus';
merr 'hair';
tjerr 'bream';
den 'bloodwood tree';
derr 'wasp; policeman';
ngany 'I/me'(1MIN.PRO);
ngalh 'mouth';
way 'not';
wak 'crow';
yaw 'Eh?'.

Five words take the form C1V2C2C3:
karrk 'Pig-nosed Turtle';
purrrk 'Black Falcon';
buling 'bottle (loanword from English);
velop 'do without stopping';
werrk 'cockatoo'.

Polysyllabic words are made up of any or all of the above mentioned
syllable types:

V1C4V2:
uma 'You (one), poke it!' (2MIN.A.IR poke);
ela 'mother';
arr 'shin';
awa 'meat'.

V1C4V2C3:
uman 'we (excluding addressee) poke it' (1MIN.A.R.poke);
erreny 'army ant';
ararr 'white gum tree'.

V1C3C4V2:
emmi 'what?';
endji 'how?';
enme 'path';
amma 'black-soil plain';
an.ga 'snake sp.'.

V1C2C3C4V2:
elhmbi 'floating log'.

V1C2C3C4V2C3:
an.grin 'leech'.

V1C4V2C4V2:
abeba 'mute';
adjawa 'urinate';
alawa 'beach';
arramu 'shin-bone'.

V1C4V2C4V2C3:
arrathawarr 'rifle';
cladherren 'before'.

V1C4V2C4V2C4V2:
clewerre 'shady tree'.

V1C3C4V2C4V2:
errgi-nga 'her mother'.

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V1C2C4V2C3C4V2:
an.gamba 'waist'.

V1C3C4V2C4V2C3:
enberen 'bush potato sp.'.

V1C4V2C3C4V2C4V3:
elimberre 'long ago'.

C1V2C4V2:
ma nu ‘Kori Bustard;
moro ‘buttocks’;
wuda ‘water’;
tjengi ‘ear’;
yive ‘sore’.

C1V2C4V2C3:
pinin ‘stone-fish’;
valhat ‘outside, naked’;
welhetj ‘paperbark tree’.

C1V2C3C4V2:
kanbi ‘didjeridu’;
wrirpo ‘mangrove sp.’;
tjinda ‘spear’;
tjewu ‘freshwater dugout canoe’;
thinme ‘Little Corella’;
ronhtho ‘short’.
The corpus contained no disyllabic words of the form $C_1V_2C_3C_4V_2$, (noted for Marrthiével by Green (1989:68), or the form $C_1V_2C_3C_4V_2C_3$, where $S$ is a morpheme boundary.

Most words in the corpus are polysyllabic. Pronouns marked for augmented number may be six syllables long; verbs which specify the number of A or O are commonly ten syllables long, e.g. (2-63) - (2-64). Verbs which incorporate nouns, and host enclitics can be eleven syllables long, e.g. (2-70). Both types are outnumbered in the corpus by VPs nine syllables long, e.g. (2-71).
2.70  gadhama-nga+pirr+wuda=nhdheni=no=yi
[ˈkaθamaŋapirvwudandɛnɛni]  
3MIN. S.IR. stand-3MGN. F. REFLEX + throw down
+ water=now=PURP=PERF  
‘She was about to throw herself into the water, (but she didn’t).’  
(T1:39)

2.71  nganya+garrwatgarrwat+moro=yi [ŋaŋaraŋwatkarwatnɛni]  
1MINA.R. make+ slapREDUP+ buttock=PERF  
‘I slapped his/her buttocks.’ (RY.25)

2.3.4 Restrictions on word- and syllable-constituents.

V₁ can only be /e/, /a/ or /u/, e.g.
uman ‘we poke it’ (1AUG.A.R.poke);
elewerre ‘shady tree’;
adjawa ‘urinate’.

V₂ may be any vowel.

Word-initial consonant C₁ may be any consonant except /dj/, /t/, /rd/ or /nd/. Intervocalic consonant C₄ may be any consonant.

Word-final C may be any consonant except a fricative or voiced stop, the voiceless lamino-dental stop, the voiceless apico-postalveolar stop, the lamino-dental nasal or apico-postalveolar nasal.

Syllable final C₃ of syllable type C₁V₂C₃ or C₄V₂C₃ may be any consonant except a voiced stop, voiceless apical stop, or a fricative.

Intramorphemic consonant clusters which are also intra-syllabic take either the form C₁V₁C₂C₃, or the form V₂C₂C₃. In both types of cluster, C₁ may consist only of a liquid and C₃ is restricted to a peripheral nasal or a voiceless peripheral stop, i.e.
elhambi ‘floating log’;
kitilkkitilk ‘white frog’;
karrk ‘Pig-nosed Turtle’;
purrk ‘Black Falcon’;
panyburrk ‘mouldy’;
bilk ‘slap’;
burrngarrng ‘bubble’;
berkberk ‘bark (of dog)’;
marrngmarrng ‘happy-go-lucky’;
velp ‘do without stopping’;
wirrkwirrk ‘shark sp.’;
tjilk ‘ache’;
tjelerrktjelerrk ‘scale fish’;
tjengiperk ‘shellfish sp.’.

Of the intramorphemic consonant clusters which straddle syllable boundaries, the most common is a homorganic nasal + stop cluster, and amongst these, the most common clusters, in order of frequency are:

/nh/dh/;
/ngg/;
/nd/;
/mb/.

/nydj/ is the least frequent homorganic nasal+stop cluster.

A sequence of like consonants across a syllable boundary is realised phonetically as a long consonant, but more elegantly analysed as a geminate cluster. This is the analysis favoured for word-medial stop clusters in Australian languages which are unrelated to Emmi and spoken 250 km to the north east. The advantages of a geminate analysis in this environment are discussed for Rembarrnga by McKay, (1975: 17-21) and 1980), for Nakkara by Ether (1990:25-27), and for Gurr-gonj by Green (1997:11).
The only geminate consonant-sequences occurring in the Emmi corpus are the geminate stop sequences -kk-, -tt-, and the geminate nasals -ngng- -mm-, and -nn-. Each occurs intramorphemically, e.g.

wakkay 'finished';
kitti 'alas!';
emmi 'what?';
ngammama 'deaf',
munnuk 'toadfish'.

The same geminate clusters also occur inter-morphemically, for instance, when a coverb-final stop is followed by a pronominal-initial stop, e.g. (2-57), or when a coverb-final nasal is followed by a nasal-initial incorporated nominal, e.g. (2-29) - (2-30), or by an augmented number affix, e.g. (2-36), (2-38), (2-72). Because the augmented number affix can refer to either A or O, (2-72) is ambiguous. Context decides which of the two possible readings is appropriate.

2-72 vinben-ninya=yi ['vinben.iniya]

IAUG.A.R.take something off something-MAUG=PERF

either 'We four or more men (excluding addressee) took it off X.'
or 'We took it off four or more men'.

Less frequent than homorganic clusters are heterorganic nasal-stop, nasal-nasal clusters. In these clusters, the most common consonants are an apico-alveolar nasal followed by a peripheral stop or nasal, e.g.

enme 'path';
an.grin 'leech';
pingarr 'lorikeet sp.';
menpok 'woomera';
menganbirr 'louse'.

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These examples are all intramorphemic, but intermorphemic examples also occur, e.g. (2-73) - (2-74).

2-73 \textit{yedan}+\textit{mu}=\textit{yi}

\textit{1AUG.A.IR.\textit{look}+\textit{do}=PERF}

'We looked around!'

2-74 \textit{ngarrgaden}+\textit{nganya}=\textit{yi}

\textit{1/2AUG.A.R.\textit{lookF.AUG}=PERF}

'We four or more women (including addressee) looked at him/her/it.'

The corpus contains consonant clusters formed from a laminal nasal followed by peripheral stop or nasal, e.g.

\textit{menymi} 'Morinda citrifolia';
\textit{wunybo} 'paperbark sp.';
\textit{wanygal} 'itchy grub'.

Homorganic lateral + stop clusters are rare. The corpus contains no examples of /lt, ld/ within a morpheme or across a morpheme boundary, but there is one example of inter-morphemic /lhd/, i.e. \textit{ngalhdirri} 'tongue' which can be divided into \textit{ngalh} 'mouth' and the cran morpheme -\textit{dirri}. The corpus also contains three examples of /ly/ followed by /tj/, e.g. \textit{wilytjirri} 'stingray sp.'.

More frequent are intramorphemic clusters consisting of lateral + stop, lateral + nasal, lateral + fricative and lateral + semi-vowel. Of these, the most common clusters consist of lateral + peripheral stop or nasal, e.g.

\textit{ngalkurr} 'salty white yam sp.';
\textit{pulpul} 'swell up';
\textit{pelgude} 'edible lily bulb';
\textit{tjelmundak} 'garfish';
\textit{tjelngarri} 'earthworm'.

Less common are clusters consisting of lateral + bilabial fricative, e.g.
thilvik 'newborn baby';
wulhvilh 'freshwater catfish';
or lateral + semivowel clusters, e.g.
yilyil 'true';
kelhwi 'Adam's apple'.
ngalwat 'manta-ray'.

The most common heterorganic intramorphemic rhotic + stop / nasal/
fricative clusters were those where the second segment was peripheral, e.g.
perrmonggolh 'mangrove worm sp.';
burrburr 'be hoarse';
tjirrkinin 'peanut tree';
tirrerwe 'shellfish sp.'.
ngurrwin 'stone; money';
mulerrvi 'shellfish sp.';
wurwu 'mangrove tree sp.'.
wurrngin 'Green plum';
warrgu 'mangrove worm sp.'

The least common heterorganic rhotic-stop clusters were those where the
stop was alveopalatal, e.g. garrdjelangany 'flea'. Table 10 shows the distribution
of disegmental intersyllabic intramorphemic clusters.
Table 10: Distribution of intramorphemic intersyllabic consonant clusters

|   | k | p | c | t | t | t | g | b | j | d | d | d | β | n | n | n | l | j | ι | ι | r | j | w | j |
| k | + |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| c | + | + |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| t |   | + |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| t |   |   | + |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| η |   |   |   | + |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| m |   |   |   |   | + |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| n |   |   |   |   |   | + |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| n |   |   |   |   |   |   | + |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| η |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | + |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| l |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| l |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | + |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| ι |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| ι |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| r |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| r |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| l |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
The only intersyllabic disegmental clusters are those at the morpheme boundary between auxiliary and coverb, when the auxiliary form is 3MIN Realis, e.g. (2-73), 1AUG Realis, e.g. (2-72), or 1/2AUG, e.g. (2-74).

2-75  yerran+tjak=eyi

1AUG.R. handle+make fire=PERF

'We made a fire.'

The first member of such clusters is always /n/; the second member of such clusters may be any phoneme.

The corpus contains very few tri-segmental clusters, whether intramorphemic, i.e. elhmbi 'floating log', or intermorphemic, e.g. tjelerrktjelerrk 'to scale fish'. Trisegmental clusters e.g. marrngmarrng 'happy-go-lucky'; burringburring 'bubble' are never reduced in Emmi, unlike Ngan.gityemerri (Reid 1990:80) where marrngmarrng becomes marrmarrng.

2.3.5. Emmi phonotactics in the context of Australian languages

Finally, I compare Emmi phonotactics with that proposed for Australian languages by Dixon, (1980:159ff) and by Hamilton (1966).

Emmi consonant clusters are typical of Australian languages. They fit neatly with the generalisations made by Dixon (1980:166):

All languages show homorganic nasal-plus-stop sequences for all places of articulation; homorganic lateral-plus-stop sequences occur in a minority of languages, while homorganic lateral-plus nasal sequences are extremely rare. Heterorganic clusters usually begin with an apical nasal or lateral, or rr, and end with a peripheral stop or nasal, or perhaps a laminal stop (or, sometimes, nasal).

2.3.5.1 Word-edge phonotactics.

According to Dixon (1980:165)

Words begin with peripheral and laminal stops, nasals and semi-vowels, occasionally with some apical stops and nasals, and occasionally with r and/or rl. Words end with apical nasals and laterals, with the trill rr, sometimes with laminal nasals and laterals, and, in an eastern block, with y.
Emmi conforms to this pattern in that the most frequent initial consonant is bilabial. In a 560-word sample, there were 191 word-initial bilabial consonants compared with 103 dorso-velar consonants, 81 laminal consonants and 51 apical consonants. Peripheral consonants were three and a half times more likely to occur than laminal consonants, six times more likely to occur than apical consonants and three times more likely to occur than vowels. Voicing, but not manner of articulation is neutralised for all but bilabial stops at the start of Emmi words.

A large proportion of Emmi words end with a vowel. In a 600 word dictionary sample, 240 words ended with a vowel, 80 with a, 65 with i, 42 with e, 40 with u and only 11 with o. 184 words ended with an apical consonant, including the trill rr. 56 words ended with a laminal consonant, 57 with a dorso-velar consonant, and 23 with a bilabial. According to these figures, vowels are almost as likely as consonants to end an Emmi word, and apical consonants are three times more likely to end a word than laminal or dorso-velar consonants are, and nine times more likely to end a word than are bilabial consonants. Given the size of the samples, Emmi word-edge phonotactics fit neatly with that proposed by Dixon (1980) for all Australian languages.

Dixon’s proposals were recently restated by Hamilton (1996). Hamilton sets up the following markedness hierarchies for word-edge consonants:

(i) place of articulation

(Hamilton)

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{LAB} & \text{DORS} & \text{LAM} & \text{APIC} \\
\text{Less marked in } C_{\text{init}} & & \text{Less marked in } C_{\text{fin}}
\end{array}
\]

Emmi word-edge consonants fit this hierarchy, if we substitute the term ‘most favoured’ for Hamilton’s ‘less marked’:
(ii) manner of articulation

(Hamilton)

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{OBSTR} & \text{GLIDE} & \text{NAS} & \text{LAT} & \text{VIB} \\
\end{array}
\]

Most favoured in \(C_{\text{init}}\)

(Emmi)

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{OBSTR} & \text{GLIDE} & \text{NAS} & \text{LAT} & \text{VIB} \\
\end{array}
\]

Most favoured in \(C_{\text{fin}}\)

The most favoured word-final consonants in Emmi are Hamilton’s least marked, but word-initial consonants do not fit his predictions. Emmi’s most favoured word-initial consonants are nasals, not obstruents, and vibrants are less frequent in this position than laterals, reversing the order Hamilton predicts.

(Emmi)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{NAS} & \text{OBSTR} & \text{GLIDE} & \text{VIB} & \text{LAT} \\
\end{array}
\]

Most favoured in \(C_{\text{init}}\)

Most favoured in \(C_{\text{fin}}\)

2.3.5.2 Word-medial phonotactics.

Hamilton’s most favoured consonant cluster is [SON] [OBSTR]. of the form [+COR] [-COR]. Emmi’s most favoured cluster is also [SON] [OBSTR], but is homorganic, of the form [+LAB] [+LAB]. Emmi’s most favoured heterorganic cluster is [+APIC] [+LAB/DORS].

Hamilton’s second most favoured cluster is [APIC] [LAM]. This cluster is also common in Emmi, e.g. windjerre ‘steal’. Hamilton’s least favoured clusters are [SON] [SON], and amongst these he sets up the hierarchy

(Hamilton)

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{NAS} \leftrightarrow \text{NAS} & \text{LIQ} \leftrightarrow \text{NAS} & \text{LIQ} \leftrightarrow \text{GLIDE} & \text{ENAS} \leftrightarrow \text{GLIDE} \\
\end{array}
\]

Less Marked

More marked
The same clusters, in the same order of frequency, are the least favoured consonant clusters in the Emmi corpus.

2.4 Obstruent Hierarchies.

1. **Voiceless stop**
   - Dorso-velar
   - Alveopalatal
   - Laminodental
   - Apico-alveolar
   - Retroflex
   - Bilabial

2. **Stop**
   - **Fricative**
   - Bilabial
   - Apico-alveolar
   - Alveo-palatal
   - Retroflex
   - Lamino-dental
   - Dorso-velar

2.4 Rules.

**Rule 1**
\[ \emptyset \rightarrow [h] /i____i \]

**Rule 2:**
Stop \[ \rightarrow /vl/#____ \] (but not bilabial or apico-alveolar).

**Rule 3**
Stop \[ \rightarrow /Vless/____# \]

**Rule 4:**
Stop \[ \rightarrow /vl/Stop____ \]

**Rule 5**
Stop \[ \rightarrow +voice /N_____ \]

**Rule 6**
*Voiced velar stop* \[ \rightarrow +fricative /L_____ \]

**Rule 7**
*Voiced velar stop* \[ \rightarrow +Fricative /V_____V \]
Rule 8
/n/ ----- → ∅ / ny_____  

Rule 9
m ----- → ∅ / mb______  

Rule 10
L ----- → ∅ / L_______  

Rule 11
/rr/ ----- → /r/ / rrV____  

Rule 12
∅ ----- w /V#____# u____ 
y /V#____# i, e, a,____
Chapter Three
Nominal Morphology

3.0 The grammatical word

In Emmi, a grammatical word consists of a lexical stem plus affixes and/or enclitics. Each grammatical word also qualifies as a phonological word, in that it can occur independently and bear primary stress.

Enclitics may be considered to be words syntactically but not phonologically, (Klavans (1982). Affixes and enclitics are unstressed; both lack phonological independence.

Morpho-syntactically, affixes attach only to the class of stem they specify, but enclitics may be copied onto any or every clause constituent. For instance, propositional enclitics, which have scope over the whole clause, are often attracted to the final constituent of a clause-initial or clause-final phrase, whatever its word-class.

3.1 Word classes

Four word classes can be distinguished in Emmi. They are:
nominals (nouns; adjectives; numeral quantifiers; pronouns; deictics, interrogatives)
verbs (simple verbs, complex verbs)
adverbs
free particles (polarity particles; interjections)

Each word class can be justified on syntactic and morphological grounds. There is also, in general, a semantic basis for each word-class.

3.1.1 Syntactic grounds

Syntactically, Emmi is both head-marking (core arguments are indexed on the verb) and dependent marking (nouns host adnominal enclitics which
function as clause relators. Some mark peripheral cases; others are discourse particles.)

**Nominals.** Syntactically, nominals can fill the position of core argument within a clause and may also occur in peripheral roles. In Emmi, unlike Marrithiyel, all nominals may function as head of an NP. Adjectives, numeral quantifiers and deictics can modify the head of an NP. This means that an NP may consist solely of a noun, pronoun, adjective, deictic, numeral quantifier, or interrogative, or some combination of these clause constituents, e.g. noun + noun, noun + adjective and or deictic/ numeral quantifier, pronoun and adjective and or deictic and or numeral quantifier.

The corpus contains 1231 clauses without overt NPs and 537 with up to three overt NPs. Of these, clauses containing one overt NP are eighteen times more numerous than clauses containing two NPs, and one hundred and twenty six times more numerous than clauses containing three NPs.

Although word order is free, NPs in S/A function are likely to precede one in O function. The corpus contains nine examples of AVO, eight examples of AOV, one example of AVOA, six examples of OVA, four examples of OAV, two examples of OAVA, and one example of OAVO. Table 35 analyses NPs in core argument function. Given the small size of the sample, two overt arguments in a clause are rare.

Emmi differs from other Daly languages in having no noun classes. Two nouns, awa ‘meat’ and miya ‘edible plant’, act as generic nouns to mark the introduction into discourse of a noun denoting a species of edible flesh or edible plant. Subsequent mentions of the species noun are not accompanied by the generic noun, and the generic noun may appear without a species noun to signify ‘meat’ or ‘edible plant’. Numeral quantifiers specify the number of the nominal they qualify.

**Verbs.** The person number, and gender of all core arguments are indexed on the verb: S/A by an obligatory pronominal prefix, O by a pronominal suffix. A: 57
Indirect O = Dative (to X) takes precedence over a Direct O to fill this slot. Arguments which constitute the inner periphery of the clause (Benefactive, Adversative) are also coded on the verb as suffixes which occupy ordered post-O slots. Thus, an argument in O role always precedes one in Benefactive or Adversative role. In a complex VP, the O suffix is ordered after the auxiliary verb-stem. Benefactive is ordered after the coverb stem, preceding Adversative which occupies the ante-penultimate VP slot.

As happens in other languages of the Western Daly subgroup, and in the unrelated prefixing languages, Patjtjamalh, (Ford, 1990), and Mayali, (Evans, 1994), a subset of nouns, most denoting body-parts, may be syntactically or lexically incorporated into the VP. A subset of lexically incorporated body-part nouns classifies entities shaped like themselves.

**Adverbs.** Adverbs have scope over the clause. They occur in clause-initial or clause-final position and specify the time, place or manner of the event, process or state expressed by the clause.

**Particle.** Particles have scope over the clause or phrase. Free particles generally occur in clause-initial or clause-final position. Some free particles are interjections; others specify the tense, status, polarity or modality of the clause or topicalise an argument. Adnominal enclitic particles modify their NP host. Propositional enclitic particles have scope over the clause and specify tense, status, modality, direction, polarity or evidentiality. These may attach to a member of any word class, and are attracted to a clause-initial host. All enclitics may be copied onto every clause constituent. Enclitics are ordered. Adnominal enclitics precede propositional enclitics.

3.1.2 **Morphological grounds**

**Nouns.** Nominals do not inflect to show core functions (S, A or O), but host adnominal enclitics some of which show functions in the periphery of the clause.
i.e. dative, ablative/causative, instrumental, comitative, locative, and possessive case relations. Other enclitics act as discourse particles or specify the referent as one of a pair or group.

Nouns and adjectives may compound to form predicative compounds, or bahuvrihi compounds. Other nominal compounds are formed when a body part noun combines with another body part noun to indicate whole-part relations, e.g. nunngu-rtedi (hand-back) ‘back of the hand’ or part-whole relations, e.g. marigumbu (belly-foot) ‘sole of foot’.

Nouns reduplicate to show plurality. Adjectives reduplicate to add a grade, e.g. duk(andji) ‘big’, but dukduk ‘very big’.

**Verbs.** Verbs obligatorily inflect for person, number, gender and modality. Some nominal and verbal affixes are formally distinct, but most enclitics have multiple functions. For instance, the enclitic particle -(e)no functions adnominally as a Dative case-marker and propositionally as a Purposive enclitic, which generally attaches to a verb-host, but may attach to any or all clause constituents.

A coverb may derive a new complex verb stem by lexically incorporating one of a subset of body-part nominals.

Coverbs reduplicate to show the intensity or repetitive nature of an action, e.g.

vuritj ‘make’, vuritjvuritj ‘rub’;
gurr ‘hit’; gurrgurr ‘beat up’

For a few commonly occurring verbs, suppletive coverb stems are used to mark more than one O, e.g.

wut ‘give one O’, wurut ‘give many O’;
gurr ‘hit one O’; parr ‘hit many O.’

**Adverbs.** Adverbs are invariable, but may host semantically compatible enclitic particles.
Particles. Free particles are invariable. Vowel-initial enclitic particles lose the initial vowel when attached to a vowel-final host.

3.1.3 Semantic grounds

Nominals. Semantically, nouns denote entities, and adjectives denote attributes. Pronouns are shifters, referring to previously mentioned third person arguments or to speaker and hearer. Deictics are another kind of shifter which specify the physical location of an argument in relation to the speaker or addressee, or have anaphoric reference.

Verbs. Verbs denote states, or actions which are either events or processes.

Adverbs. Adverbs specify the time, place or manner of the clausal event.

Particles. Some free particles mark polarity, e.g. way ‘No!, not’, and yaw ‘Yes!’. Other free particles are interjections, expressing exasperation, e.g. kitti ‘Curse it!’, incredulity, e.g. yaw ‘eh?’, or encouragement, e.g. kuy ‘Come on!’ .Enclitic particles add temporal, modal, directional or illocutionary information to the clause or specify its polarity.

3.2 Nouns

Nouns form a large open sub-class of nominals. Nouns most frequently occur as head of an NP, but compounds of two noun stems also occur in whole-part relation, e.g. mu+manhdha (bone-neck) ‘neck-bone’, as in Gurr-goni (Green, 1995:34). Two nouns, awa ‘meat’ and miya ‘edible plant’ function as generic nouns, occurring in complex NPs with or without nouns denoting edible animal or plant species.

3.2.1 Generic nouns

When first introduced into discourse, e.g. the short texts that comprise (3-1) - (3-4), a noun denoting edible flesh or an edible plant is always preceded by a
generic noun. Subsequently, the generic noun may be omitted, e.g. (3-3). Equally frequent after initial introduction is the omission of the species noun but the retention of the generic noun, e.g. (3-4).

3-1 awa dukandji mardi ngamen
meat big barramundi 1MIN.A.R. pick up
ngaden awa wan.ga garra+varratj
1MIN.A.R. look meat shark 3MIN.A.R. handle+chase
awa mundjirr ngamen tjinda
meat turtle 1MIN.A.R. pick up spear
wakkay nguman+gurr
finished 1MIN.A.R. poke+hit

'I pick up a big barramundi. I see a shark chase a turtle. I pick up a spear and spear the shark dead.' (T20:1-4)

3-2 awa yirrgala yirrgala yirrgala yene peledji
meat tree-snake tree-snake tree-snake LOC Cocky Apple
ganhdha=mangga gaya=nhdha
3MIN.A.R. perch=LIK 3MIN.S.R lic=really

'The tree-snake, the tree-snake, the tree-snake is very likely lying perched in the Cocky Apple tree.' (T6:5-6)

3-3 awa yederra+betj
meat 2AUG.A.IR. look+grab

'Grab that tree-snake, you mob!' (T6:7)
A man went for magpie geese in the swamp where they shoot many [magpie geese].’ (T21:7)

The generic nouns *awa* 'meat' and *miya* 'edible plant' are not to be confused with noun class markers, although described as such by Tryon (1974:160). If *awa* and *miya* were noun class markers, one would expect them to obligatorily accompany nouns in their class, but the corpus contains many examples of nouns denoting meat and edible plants which occur without them and equally frequent instances of the generic nouns occurring without a species noun, e.g. (3-3) - (3-4). According to Dixon's (1982:217-8) typological definition:

Noun class is shown by morphological processes which can apply to the noun itself and must apply to some other constituent...The morphological process most often involves adding an affix or a clitic to constituents of a number of specified grammatical types.

But the Emmi corpus contains no evidence of the noun class concord which occurs in Daly languages with noun classes, e.g. Marrithiyel (Green, 1989:390-391) and Ngangityemerri (Reid, 1999:289, 292). *awa* and *miya* behave more like classifiers, as defined by Dixon, (1982:218):

- Each classifier is either a free form or a root, to which a numerical affix or clitic may be added. Not every noun may take a classifier... Classifiers, but not noun classes, may be used in different ways in different speech styles, within a language.
awa and miya are free forms, but atypically comprise the entire closed
set of generic nouns. yilhi 'digging stick' does not function as a generic noun in
my corpus, although it did in Tryon's (1974:160).

awa and miya may be modified by numeral quantifiers, e.g. (3-4), and,
within an NP, other NP constituents may separate a generic noun from its species
noun, e.g. (3-1). Like Reid's "Group3 classifiers" in Ngan'gityemerri, awa and
miya optionally precede specific semantically compatible nouns (Reid,1990:
290), but, unlike the Ngan'gityemerri classifiers, awa and miya may not occur
with modifiers, "anaphorically represent contextually established
specific nouns" (Reid,1990:291, cf.314).

awa and miya function rather as a stylistic device, marking the
introduction into discourse of a semantically compatible specific noun, or
functioning on their own as generic nouns which are modified by numeral
quantifiers, e.g. (3-4).

3.2.2 NP-relators and their extended uses.

Emmi nominals are zero-marked for core cases (nominative/accusative),
but peripheral cases are marked on the final constituent of an NP (underlined in
this section). Case-markers are adnominal enclitics, except for the Locative
marker yene, which is an adposition, preceding or following the noun it
modifies. yene may host an enclitic particle and thereby qualifies as
an independent grammatical word. Nominal case-markers are:
Direct case (Nominative/Accusative) -\( \emptyset \)

Instrumental case -nene

Dative/Allative case -(e)no

Ablative/Causal case -ngana

Comitative case -widja

Locative case yene

Four other adnominal enclitics relate the NP to the clause in other ways. They are:

- **nene** 'New Information' (NEW INF) functions as a discourse particle.
- ga and its allomorph -gu 'Foc' are Focus markers.
- gamena 'One of a group' functions as a number specifier.
- gamena 'Similar' relates one NP to another.

Some enclitics have multiple functions. As adnominal enclitics, they have scope over their NP host. As propositional enclitics, they have scope over the whole clause, generally attach to a VP host, but may be attracted to a clause-initial host, or attach to every clause constituent. If both are attached to the same host, adnominal enclitics precede propositional enclitics, e.g. (3-7), (3-11), (3-30), (3-43). Where propositional and adnominal enclitics contrast, this is noted, but propositional enclitics are properly the focus of Chapter Seven.

### 3.2.2.1 Direct case -\( \emptyset \)

I use the term 'Direct case' used by Green (1995:82) to cover identical case-marking for Nominative/Accusative. Green cites previous usage of the term by Greenberg, Blake and Dayley. Greenberg (1966) used the term to cover identical marking for nominative, accusative and vocative cases; Blake (1994) uses it to cover identical A, S, and O marking; and Dayley (1985) uses the term to refer to a similar case in a Mayan language which is, like Gurr-goni and Emmi, predominantly head-marking.
Of the 2502 clauses in the Emmi corpus, 81% contain verbs. The majority of verb-sentences, (76%) lack overt nouns in core functions. In these sentences, core functions are marked solely on the verb, e.g. (3-5) - (3-6).

3-5  ngavula-na+buk=eno  
\(1MINA.IR.chop-2MIN.O+miss \text{ target}=PURP\)  
'I'm going to hit at you and miss.' (T3:34)

3-6  mudika=nene.  ganbdhinya-ngarrinya+dharrwut+mari  
car=INSTR 3AUG.A.R.hold-1AUG.O+hang up+belly  
'They pack us inside the car.' (T15:4)

When overt nominals in core-functions are present, they represent new information and are zero-marked for Direct case. For instance, in (3-7), the overt nominal is in S function, and is obligatorily cross-referenced by a syntactically intransitive verb, i.e. one which indexes a core syntactic argument in S function. In (3-8) - (3-12), an overt nominal in A or O function is obligatorily cross-referenced by a syntactically transitive verb, i.e. one which indexes A and O.

3-7  gawani+purr-ngala=no  vere=Ø=ga  
\(3MIN.S.IR.walk+dance-3MIN.F.BEN=PURP\) child=DIR=FOC  
'He's the boy who will dance for her.' (AW:12).  
(The verb *purr* 'dance' is used only of male dancing).

3-8  atho=no  kandu=Ø  gawanya+gurr=eno  
\(later=PURP\) man=DIR 3MINA.IR.make+hit=PURP  
'The man is going to hit him/her later.' (AL:2)

Only humans, as in (3-1), (3-3) - (3-8), (3-12) - (3-13), or entities featuring as humans, spirits, or higher animates in myths, as in (3-2) and
(3-9) - (3-11) qualify for coding on the verb as an S/A or O. This is not as restrictive as it sounds, for anything in the Emmi universe can turn into a spirit and become animate.

3-9 wangga gana-purr gaya puliki=Ø

dance 3MIN.S.R.walk+dance 3MIN.S.R.bend down bullock=DIR

‘Bullock is bending down dancing.’ (T16:6)

3-10 ganya-na+vinggar+tit

3MIN.A.R.make-3MIN.M.REFL-knee+cross gaya yii=nhdha wurri=Ø

3MIN.S.R.lie 3MIN.NearDEIC=really blue-tongue lizard=DIR

‘Blue-tongue lizard is really lying here, his knees crossed.’ (T3:1)

3-11 awa rungurungurr=Ø=ve kanbi=Ø gu

meat mudcrab=DIR=HAP didjeridu=FOC
guman

3MIN.A.R.poke

‘It’s a didjeridu that mudcrab happens to be playing’. (T3:20)

Overt nominals in O function are zero-marked for Direct case. Such nominals are overtly expressed when the O slot is filled by a Dative pronominal affix. . . Dative takes precedence over O, e.g. (3-12) - (3-13).

3-12 awa dawal=Ø ngiye-nye+wut=eyi

meat many=DIR 1MIN.S.R.lie-3AUG.DAT+give=PERF

‘I gave them lots of meat.’
3-13 yawanya muku=Ø
3AUG.F.Anaph.DEIC woman=DIR
nguman-nya+thunggudi=yi
1MIN.A.R.poke-3AUG.DAT+send=PERF
'I sent them those girls I talked about.'

Emmi operates on a subject versus object system for nominals, verbs and bound pronouns. A, S and O are zero-marked on nominals but obligatorily coded on verbs. This is a more consistently nominative/accusative system than that of the typologically similar Daly languages Marrithiyel, and Ngarnyemerri, which have ergative case-marking on nouns functioning as 'transitive subjects which are semantically or pragmatically marked.' (Green. 1989:49; Reid (1990:326).

3.2.2.2 Instrumental case -nene.

Tryon (1974:161) lists -nene only as an instrumental case-marker. In its instrumental sense, -nene suffixes a noun denoting the tool used to effect something, e.g. (3-14) - (3-19), the materials out of which something is made, e.g. (3-20), or the language one chooses to talk in, e.g. (3-21).

3-14 bulng=nene yerra+gar mari
bottle=INSTR 2MIN.A.IR.handle+cut belly
'Use a bottle to cut her belly!' (T1:91)

3-15 yuwa=no ngama+ngalh ngadi
3MINFar.DEIC=PURP 1MIN.A.IR.poke+mouth 1MIN.S.IR.sit
nidir=nene fishing line=INSTR
'I'm going to sit over there and fish with my fishing line.' (T6:49)
3-16  ngawarra+valh=eno  vinggar=nene
1MIN.A.IR.handle-break=PURP  knee=INSTR
'I'll use my knee to break it.'

An NP which hosts enclitic -nene 'Instrumental' may co-occur with an NP hosting the enclitic -nene 'New Information'. The former is never cross-referenced on the verb; the latter always is, e.g. (3-17).

3-17  kandu=nene=nhdhi  ganya+gurr=enhdhi
man=NEW INF=TOWARDS 3MIN.A.R.make+hit=TOWARDS
magulvi=nene
club=INSTR
'The man is hitting her/him/it towards her with a stick.' (RY: 1)

Instrumental -nene occurs in transitive clauses, e.g. (3-16) - (3-17), or in intransitive clauses, e.g. (3-18) - (3-19).

3-18  guman-nga=nhdhi  gana
3MIN.A.R.poke-3MIN.REFL.F=TOWARDS 3MIN.S.R.walk
 tjura=nene
stick=INSTR
She keeps thrusting herself towards me with the end of her stick.' (RY:6)

3-19  yerranguya=no  ngavurru  gumbu=uene
next day=PURP  1MIN.S.IR.go somewhere  foot=INSTR
'Tomorrow I'll travel on foot.' (AW:4).
Instrumental -nene is used of the material one makes something out of, e.g. (3-20).

3-20 nyiminy=evi ngarru+tjak        vilbi=nene
fire=PERF 1MIN.S.R.go somewhere+make fire stick=INSTR
'I made a fire out of sticks.' (RY:16)

Language is regarded as a tool, and the language one chooses to speak in is marked Instrumental, e.g. (3-21).

3-21 kak=ung ngappe    tjidja-do
away=PURP 1MIN.S.IR-go somewhere 3MIN.M.NearDEIC-try
game=ahdhi               yuwanga
3MIN.A.R.say=TOWARDS 3MIN.F.FarDEIC
Patitjamalh=nene      game       yuwanga
Batjamalh=INSTR       yuwanga
Wadjiginy nganhdhi
Wadjiginy one
"I'll go away and try" that girl over there says towards me. That one Wadjiginy girl over there says it in Batjamalh." (T14:42 - 43)

3.2.2.3 Dative/Allative - (e)no.

The enclitic -(e)no has the allomorph -eno after a host-final consonant. Used as an adnominal enclitic, -(e)no has two senses. It functions as a case-marker meaning 'Dative', when it marks a noun, adjective or deictic as the "passive" goal or target of an action, in the past, present or future, e.g. (3-22) - (3-23) and (3-26).

In its Allative sense, -(e)no co-occurs with nouns denoting location, marking the place to which one is going, as in (3-24) - (3-25).

109
3-22 nera mimbi=no ngaden-na+viye
Grandson n1t=DAT 1MIN.A.R. look-2MIN.O+head
'Grandson, I want to look at your head for nits.' (T1:1).

In (3-23), the noun case-marked DAT is the focus of the speaker's anxiety.

3-23 agani=no guman-ngany+da-mari
motherEgokin=DAT 3MIN.A.R. poke-1MIN.O+empty-belly
I'm worried about my mother (lit. 'it belly-empty's me') (R.Y:3).

On place-names, e.g. pudan 'Port Darwin' in (3-24), the Allative case-marker -(c)no is optional; with common nouns it is generally retained.

3-24 pudan(-eno) ngana=ngana
Port Darwin(-ALL) 1MIN.S.R.walk=RECPAST
'I went to Darwin recently.' (K.Y:2)

3-25 ngata=no ngavurru=no
house=ALL 1MIN.S.IR.go somewhere=PURP
'I want to go home.' (B B:1).

In (3-24), the Allative adnominal enclitic -(c)no and the propositional Purposive enclitic -(c)no occur on different words in the same sentence. It is, however, possible, without any alteration in meaning, to construe both instances of -(c)no in (3-26) as the Purposive enclitic.

Used as a propositional enclitic, -(c)no functions as a purposive marker. Adnominal and propositional enclitic -(c)no frequently occur on different words in the same sentence, e.g. (3-25) and (3-26).
In (3-25) and (3-26), it is possible to construe both instances of -(e)no as the Purposive enclitic, because propositional enclitics may attach to all clause-constituents, whereas adnominal enclitics attach only to the phrase they modify. With either construal, the meaning of (3-25) and (3-26) remains the same.

3.2.2.4 Ablative/Causal -ngana.

Used adnominally, enclitic -ngana functions as a case-marker with two senses. Ablative -ngana means 'from', and co-occurs with nouns denoting locations e.g. (3-27).

3-27  

bird sp. = DIR from Port Darwin  Port Darwin =ABL=PERF=FOC

pull out + 3MIN.A.R. pick up + shift position  that way

'The bird from Darwin picked it up and pulled it out that way.' (T3:63).

In its causal sense, adnominal -ngana means 'as a result of', as in (3-28). Used as a propositional enclitic, -ngana means 'Recent Past', e.g. (3-24). See Chapter Seven for a detailed description.

3-28  

grog = CAUS=PERF  ache + 3MIN.S feel = really

'He was really sick from grog.' (BB:11)
3.2.2.5 Comitative *-widja* 'accompanied by'.

An NP hosting the adnominal enclitic *-widja* denotes an accompanying peripheral argument in S or O function, e.g. (3-29) - (3-31). The children in (3-29) and fish and chips in (3-30) are desired accompaniments; the catarrh in (3-31) is not.

3-29  *yere marbuk=widja=vi ngana*

*child sprout=COMIT=PERF 1MIN.S.R.walk*

'I walked with the half grown kids.'

3-30  *awa wakarr me-nganila=nhdhi*

*meat fish 2MIN.A.IR-pick up-I 1MIN.BEN=TOWARDS*

'You (one), bring fish with chips here for me!' (AL:4).

3-31  *manggarra=widja nginen*

*catarrh=COMIT 1MIN.S.R.sit*

'I’ve got a cold.' (RY:1)

*-widja* is also used in a proprietive sense to mark the alienably possessed entity in possessive constructions, e.g. (3-32) and in a causal sense in (3-33).

3-32  *mudika=widja nginen+dje+nunggu*

*car=COMIT 1MIN.SR.sit+wear+hand*

'I’ve got a car.' (TB:1)

3-33  *wuda=widja=yi drung+game*

*grog=COMIT=PERF drunk+3MIN.A.R.be*

He was drunk from the grog.' (T9:113)
3.2.2.6 Locative yene.

Unlike Emmi's other case-markers, yene 'in, on, inside, into, beside, instead of' is an adposition occurring before or after the word or phrase it modifies, as in (3-34), where it means 'in'. There are no adpositions in Warrgat Marranunggu or in other Daly languages genetically related to Emmi.

3-34 awa rungurrungur=Ø ganen gaya
meat mudcrab=DIR 3MIN.S.R.sit 3MIN.S.R.lie
yene veri (or yeri yene)
LOC hole
'The crab stays in the hole.' (AW:1).

In (2-15) and (3-36), yene means 'inside'.

3-35 malha=Ø dulngu yene (or yene dulngu)
lizard=DIR hollow log LOC
ganen
3MIN.S.R.sit
'The lizard is inside the hollow log.' (RY:8).

3-36 yene mari ninga+dhet+mari=ya
LOC belly 2MIN.S.IR.sit+sit down+belly=AWAY
'Sit inside the car, away from me!' (T6:25)

yene may also mean 'on', e.g. (3-37).
3-37 gana+kal
vene ngurrwin+ngurrwin
3MIN.A.R.walk+climb LOC rock+rock

yee
vene ngurrwin=enbdha warwa
3MIN.NearDEIC LOC rock=really on top
'She’s climbing on the rocks, the rocks here, on the rocks really, on top.'
(T2:61)

In (3-38), yene means ‘into’.

3-38 ngala+nyulhuk=eyi
vene ngata
1MIN.A.R.chop+enter=PERF house LOC
'I went into the house.' (AL:3).

In (3-39) - (3-40), yene means 'beside'. In both utterances, yene modifies a complex NP. In (3-39), this NP is a list of juxtaposed referents:

3-39 geminya-mede
vene kandu dawal muku
3AUG.S.R.come out+UAUG LOC man all woman
vene marbuk
child sprout
'They both come out beside all the men, women and half-grown children'
(T4:24)

3-40 gunin+mede
vene nga demi
3AUG.S.Rsitt+UAUG LOC 3MIN.F.PRO side
vene errgi-nga=nhdha
LOC mother-3MIN.DAT.F=really
'They are both sitting there by her mother's side, really beside her mother.'
(T2:12)
In (3-40), yene modifies the complex NP nga demi 'her side'. The cardinal pronoun nga 'she' and body-part noun demi 'side' are juxtaposed in the construction usual to express inalienable possession, here of a body-part. The alternative word orders demi nga yene and yene demi nga were equally acceptable to speakers and made no difference in meaning. The first nga in the utterance is a free pronoun, but the second is a bound pronominal 'to/for her' affixed to errgi 'mother' in another possessive construction. Like other nouns denoting blood-kin, errgi 'mother' inflects for person, e.g. errgi-nbe (mother-to you) 'your mother', errgi-na (mother-to him) 'his mother'.

In (3-41), yene means 'instead of'.

3-41  **yene purungu=nhdheni**  yuwa  ganen

   **LOC wallaby=now 3MIN.FarDEIC 3MIN.S.R.sit**

'S/he sits over there now instead of wallaby.' (T14:82)

As a **propositional enclitic**, Locative marker yene has scope over headless relative clauses, e.g. (3-42). These are discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight.

3-42  **yuwa=ya gaden+mu**

   **3MIN.FarDEIC=AWAY 3MIN.A.R.look+do**

   **gana yuwa=ya 3MIN.S.R.walk 3MIN.FarDEIC=AWAY**

   **yene gundinyi guninen yene kat**

   **LOC 3AUG.R.elbowRECI 3AUGS.R.sitRECI LOC cards**

'He keeps looking back away [to] where they're elbowing each other in a card-game.' (T9:43)

3.2.2.7 **-nene 'New Information'.**

As an adnominal enclitic, -nene 'New Information' is used to introduce or re-introduce animate referents into discourse. Most of these referents are cross-
referenced on the verb as being in S/A or O function, e.g. (3-17), (3-43) - (3-51), but some are in Locative case, e.g. (3-52).

-nene 'New Information' most commonly signals the introduction into narrative of a new agent of a transitive verb, e.g. (3-17), (3-43). Provided the S/A remains the same in subsequent sentences, there is no need for an overt NP in S/A role, because S/A is obligatorily indexed on the verb, but when such a nominal does recur, it is not marked with -nene, e.g. (3-43), and (3-44), each of which contain two consecutive sentences from their respective texts.

3-43  
\[
\text{wan.ga=nene gala+garrgat.} \\
\text{shark=TOP 3MIN.A.R.chop+bite} \\
\text{awa wan.ga gala+garrgat} \\
\text{meat shark 3MIN.A.R.chop+-bite} \\
\text{‘It’s a shark that bites her. A shark bites her.’ (T10:139-140)}
\]

3-44  
\[
\text{gaya+ngalh+miri+therre} \quad \text{awa ngutj=nene.} \\
\text{3MIN.S.R.lie+mouth+eye+answer meat spirit=NEW INF} \\
\text{“OOOOOO!” game} \quad \text{awa ngutj=gu} \\
\text{“OOOOOO!” 3MIN.S.R.say meat spirit=FOC} \\
\text{‘It’s the spirit who answers him. It’s the spirit who says “OOOOOO.”’} \\
\text{(T4:29-30)}
\]

The verb of the clause may be high transitive, e.g. 'hit' in (3-17) or 'bite' in (3-43), but it is equally likely to be low transitive, e.g. 'answer' in (3-44), 'look', in (3-45), or 'smell' in (3-46).
3-45  **kandu**  **nganhdhi=nene**  **gaden**  
**man**  **one=NEW INF**  **3MIN.A.R. look**  
'One man looks at her.' (T10:90)

3-46  **badjawalang=nene=vi**  **ginmen=eyi**  
**Badjawalang=NEW INF=PERF**  **3MIN.A.R.smell=PERF**  
'It was Badjawalang who smelled it.'

-nene also occurs on subjects of intransitive sentences, e.g. (3-47) - (3-48), and (3-53), when these subjects are introduced into discourse.

3-47  **atho=nhdha**  **gayimi-nbe**  
**soon=really**  **3MIN.S.IR.come out-2MINDAT**  
**gavurru=nhdhi**  
**3MIN.S.IR.go somewhere=TOWARDS**  
**kandu**  **nimbugurriny=nene.**  
**man**  **2MIN.POSS=NEW INF**  
**vere**  **nimbugurriny=nene.**  
**child**  **2MINPOSS=NEW INF**  
**vere**  **vawanga**  **delvak**  
**child**  **3MIN.F.AnaphDEIC young woman**  
**vawanga=nhdhi=nhdha**  
**3MIN.F.AnaphDEIC=TOWARDS=really**  
**garru**  
**3MIN.S.R.go somewhere**  
'Your man will set about coming out here for you soon. Your child [will come out]. That female child I mentioned, that young woman I mentioned really is coming towards us.' (T11:100 - 102)
(3-47) consists of three sentences. In the first two, human referents are introduced into the discourse for the first time by the enclitic -nene. In the first sentence, the NP kandu nimbugurriny=nene ‘your man’ is the new subject of the intransitive verb mi-come out’. The subject of the second, verb-less, sentence, yere nimbugirriny ‘your child’ is also marked as new by enclitic -nene. The subject of the third intransitive sentence yere yawanga delyak yawanga ‘that female child I mentioned, that young woman I mentioned’ is not marked with -nene because it refers to yere nimbugurriny, the subject of the previous sentence.

When a subject is re-introduced into discourse after several intervening sentences, it is again marked as new information by -nene, e.g. (3-48).

3-48 yawana=nene=nhdha garru
garru
3MIN.M.AnaphDEIC=NEW INF=really 3MIN.S.R.go somewhere
yiverre=nhdhi
there=TOWARDS
‘That man I mentioned came there towards them.’(T6:27)

The corpus also contains instances where-nene topicalises an animate nominal in O role, e.g. (3-49) - (3-51).

3-49 yere nagurriny wadan-na nagurriny=nene
gala+dut+tjengi+mede
‘The child rouses the attention (lit. finds the ears) of his two brothers.’ (T5: 165)
'He says about that girl over there. "She belongs to me. She'll stand.' (T7:56)

'He says it about the dog.' (T7:56)

-nene also marks new arguments in Locative case, e.g. (3-52).

That man I mentioned really came there towards me, to the place where I was sitting.' (T6:26-27)

In the Daly language Ngan'gityemerri, the enclitic ninggi is restricted to environments where it is attached to NP's whose identity in an agentive role may be unpredictable because they are either new participants in a text, or are previously introduced participants whose thematic status is judged by the speaker to have waned to the extent that the listener will need explicit re-statement of their identity. Reid (1991:327).
Reid (1990:326) argues that -ninggi modifies 'marked' agents of transitive verbs and subjects of 'those low transitive verbs that have a non-subject core argument' (Reid, 1990:326). He defines 'low transitive' verbs as 'verbs that are formally transitive, but are characterised by a low degree of patient affectivity' (Reid, 1990:223).

But in Emmi, -nene, 'New Information' cannot accurately be described as a transitivity marker. As a signal of new information, -nene is attached to new agents of 'high' transitive verbs, or 'low' transitive verbs, also to subjects of intransitive verbs, whether these are two argument intransitive verbs, e.g. 'come out [for] in (3-47) or one argument intransitive verbs, e.g. 'go somewhere' in (3-48). -nene also marks new animate referents in O function, e.g. (3-49) - (3-51), or in Locative case, e.g. (3-52).

On this evidence, it looks as though, in Emmi, -nene 'New Information' may have originated as an Ergative marker, was then extended to introduce new subjects of intransitive verbs, and now covers other new animate arguments.

3.2.2.8 -gu Focus marker

Focus marker gu has an allomorph -ga which occurs after a host-final i, e or a; otherwise, -gu occurs, e.g. (3-44), (3-55).

-nene 'New Information' and -gu 'Focus marker' may both attach to the same NP host, e.g. (3-54), but -gu is always preceded by -nene (for the relative ordering of enclitics, Chapter Seven).

3-53 gemi-ne  

awa nguti=nene=ga

3MIN.S.R. come out-3MIN.M.DAT meat spirit=NEW INF=FOC

'It's the spirit that comes out for him.' (T17:119, 137)

As an adnominal enclitic, -gu differs from -nene in bringing into focus inanimate entities, not possessed by spirits, e.g. malh 'language' in (3-54), elewerre 'shady tree' in (3-55), and the Near Deictic yii in (3-56).
'What story [do you want] now? Is it a story?' (T10:1)

'Who's standing over there by that shady tree?' (T4:94)

It's really here he's going to go inside.' (T2:97)

In other respects, -gu and -nene are very similar. Like -nene, -gu may attach to a nominal as the subject of an intransitive verb in (3-53), the agent of a high transitive verb in (3-57), of a low transitive verb in (3-44), as the object of a high transitive verb in (3-58), or the predicate of a verb-less clause in (3-54) and (3-59) - (3-60).

'That man over there takes her money out of her hands for grog.' (T9:277)

'It was the monster he speared in the throat.' (T5:189)
3-59 yere=ga nganggugurriny
child=FOC 1/2MIN.POSS
'As for the children, yours and mine?' (T1:40)

3-60 mama=nhdha ngany=gu
mother=really 1MIN.PRO=FOC
'My mother really, that was.' (T10:164)

As a propositional enclitic -gu brings the entire clause into focus. It may attach to any clause constituent, but is attracted to clause-initial or final constituents. See Chapter Seven for details.

3.2.2.9. -gamena 'one of a pair or group'

Enclitic -gamena 'one of a pair or group' functions in much the same way as do -gara 'one of a pair' and malgan 'one of many' in Dyirbal (Dixon, 1972: 51-2; 230-231, 260 - 261). Dixon describes gara and malgan as primarily noun suffixes. But the Dyirbal terms inflect to show Dative and Genitive case, unlike Emmi -gamena, which is invariable.

The earliest recorded Emmi text, dated 1950, contains enclitic -gamena attached to a single noun to mean 'one of a pair', e.g. (3-61).

3-61 yu gana buringgin=gamena tjinda
yes 3MIN.S.R.walk Brinker=one of a group spear

guminyi+mede
3AUG.A.R.pokeRECI+UAUG
'Yes, The Brinker man comes as one of a pair, they both fight with spears.' (T13:36)
If a clause contains more than one NP, -gamena occurs on the final constituent of each, e.g. (3-62).

3-62  

| Wanybirri=gamena | naki=gamena |
| Wanybirri=one of a group | Knuckey=one of a group |
| kuwakwu=gamena | pinbin=gamena |
| Kwakwo=one of a group | Pinbin=one of a group |
| vere marbuk=gamena |
| child | sprout=one of a group |

Garranya+ver  ganenya  
3A UG.A.R.handle+cool  3A UG.S.R.walk  

Wanybirri, Knuckey, Kwakwo, Binbin and the halfgrown kids are cooling off together as a group.’ (MB:9)

As a propositional enclitic, -gamena generally encliticises the verb, and marks the action of the clause as a group action, e.g. (3-63) - (3-64).

3-63  

| Ngammuni-mede=gamena |
| 1/2AUG.A.pokeREC1-UAUG=one of a pair | eh? |
| Tjinda=nhdha=vI nganngu=gamena=wany |
| spear=really=PERF 1/2MIN.PRO=one of a pair=REPET |

‘We both fought each other with spears as a group, eh? The two of us as a pair again.’ (T13:37)

3-64  

| Wadjarra+nganya=gamena |
| 2AUG.S.IR.walk+F.AUG=one of a group |

‘Go in a group, you women!’ (T14:108)
3.2.2.10 -gamena 'Similar'

The adnominal enclitic -gamena 'similar' marks a noun, pronoun or deictic as equivalent in appearance to another noun, pronoun, or deictic, e.g. (3-65). This use of the Emmi enclitic -gamena is very like Ngiyambaa -gula:y 'LIKE' (Donaldson, 1980:249).

(3-65) nine=gamena yawana wagan
gamen+thunggu

'That male stranger I mentioned looks like you.'

-gamena also functions as a propositional enclitic, when it marks an event as being 'like' another, just as Ngiyambaa gula:y can (Donaldson 1980:250 -251). Propositional enclitics are described in detail in Chapter Seven.

3.3 Pronouns

Emmi has a rich pronoun system. Its bound pronouns cross-referencing Core case O and the inner peripheral arguments reflexive, dative, benefactive, and adversative are obligatorily coded on the verb, but may also attach to NPs. Emmi's bound pronouns are fused morphemes, inflecting for person, number and gender. Their morphology and range of usage is described in detail in Chapter Four and their syntactic behaviour is analysed in Chapter Eight.

Emmi's free pronouns form a small closed sub-class of nominal which may be subdivided into cardinal pronouns and possessive pronouns. They both inflect for person, number and gender, but differ in the extent to which each specifies augmented number and gender.

Free pronouns are like nouns and deictics in that they may function as head of an NP and like nouns, adjectives and deictics, in that they may be case-marked or host discourse enclitics.
Like verbs and deictics, but unlike nouns and adjectives, free pronouns and deictics are obligatorily marked for augmented number and gender. Like verbs, but unlike deictics, which are inflected only for third person, free pronouns inflect for all persons. Like verbs, cardinal pronouns operate on a minimal/augmented system. The Arnhem Land prefixing languages Rembarrnga (McKay 1975:142-144), Nakkara, Editha 1990:96-105), and Gurr-goni (Green 1995:168-70) also operate on a minimal /augmented system for verbs and pronouns. Dixon (1980: 224, 351-6, 471, 494) discusses minimal/augmented systems in prefixing Australian languages.

In Table 11, Emmi cardinal pronouns are analysed as having minimal and augmented stems. The augmented stem also incorporates a gender-marked, stress-bearing bound word which specifies the group as containing a different sex.

3.3.1 Cardinal pronouns

Table 11: Cardinal pronouns

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>2</th>
<th>3F</th>
<th>3M</th>
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<td>ngany</td>
<td>nine</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>na</td>
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<tr>
<td>uaug</td>
<td>nganggu+mede</td>
<td>ngada+mede</td>
<td>nida+mede</td>
<td>wida+mede</td>
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<td>nganggu+nganya</td>
<td>ngada+nganya</td>
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<td>nganggu+ninya</td>
<td>ngada+ninya</td>
<td>nida+ninya</td>
<td>wida+ninya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Other</td>
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<td></td>
<td>+nemen+</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

On a minimal unit, a cardinal pronoun is inflected for minimal number. This includes all persons traditionally categorised as singular. It also includes speaker and hearer, traditionally categorised as first person dual inclusive and categorised here as 1/2 Minimal. On cardinal pronouns, possessive pronouns
and verbal pronominal prefixes, the 1/2 Minimal stem nganggu is neutralised for number. It may bear any of the augmenting number suffixes, but the stem is invariable. For all other persons, distinct stems are used for minimal and non-minimal numbers, so that an augmented stem hosts augmenting suffixes. The augmenting suffixes are:

+mede 'Unit Augmented'. Tryon (1974:162) called +mede a dual marker, but this does not account for the fact that when nganggu 'you and me', which he analysed as 1 dual inclusive, combines with +mede, as in nganggu+mede, it means 'You and me and one other', i.e. three persons, not two.

+nganya means 'Four or more females', e.g. nida+nganya 'you or more females'. +nganya is a stress-bearing bound word comprising a gender marker -nga- 'female' plus the third person augmented marker -nya.

+ninya means 'Four or more males', e.g. nida+ninya 'you four or more males'. +ninya is a bound word consisting of a gender marker -ni- 'male' plus the third person augmented marker -nya. Cognate forms ninhtha and nginhtha occur in Murrinh-patha, but are analysed there as dual forms (Street, 1987:101).

+ngamen 'Other female', e.g. (3-66) - (3-67). +ngamen is a bound word consisting of the gender marker -nga- 'female' plus a bound morpheme -men.

3-66 nganggan+ngamen+mede ngamminen+ngamen+mede
  1/2PRO+F OTHER+UAUG 1/2S.slt+F OTHER+UAUG
  'We three males live with one woman.' (EB.43)
3-67 nida+ngamen+ninya=nene=nhdheni=no
2AUG-F.other-M.AUGPRO=NEW INF=PURP
wadjarra+nyulhuk+ngamen+n.ya=nhdheni=no
2AUG.S.IR.walk+go inside+F.other+M.AUG=PURP
'You four men and one woman are about to go inside now.'

+nemen- ‘other male’, e.g. (3-68) - (3-69). +nemen is a bound word consisting of the gender marker -ne- ‘male’ plus a bound morpheme -men.

3-68 nenangu=ngana nzda+nemen+mede=ngana
yesterday=RECPAST 1AUG.PRO+M.other+UAUG=RECPAST
wuman+rtudu+nemen+mede=ngana
1AUG.A.R.poke+track+M.other+UAUG=RECPAST
'Yesterday, we three, consisting of two women and one man tracked them.'

3-69 nganggu+nemen+nganya ngamminen+nemen+nganya
1/2PRO+M.other+F.AUG. 1/2S.S.sit-M other+F.AUG
'All four of us women live with one man.' (EB.42)

Forms cognate with +ngamen and +nemen have been analysed as trials in Marrithiyel (Green, 1989.75) and Ngan.gityemerri (Reid, 1990:384), and as paucals in Murrinh-patha (Street, 1987:49), but +ngamen and +nemen are neither inherently trial nor paucal. The category of peripheral different gender participant is also coded on the verb in Patjtjamalh (Ford, 1990:103), but the Patjtjamalh forms are not cognate with Emmi, Marrithiyel or Murrinhpatha.

Cardinal pronouns occur in marked possessive constructions, e.g. (3-70) - (3-74); in exclusive assertions, e.g. (3-75) - (3-76), to disambiguate gender and number of S/A and O, or where a new argument in agent function is

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introduced into the discourse, e.g. (3-76). A cardinal pronoun may substitute for a noun referent and is zero-marked for core roles, e.g. Direct case in (3-74) - (3-75); it may host adnominal enclitics, e.g. Ablative in (3-77), Comitative in (3-78) and Similar in (3-79). The corpus contains no instances of cardinal pronouns marked with the Dative/Allative case-enclitic, or co-occurring with the Locative adposition, but these may be accidental gaps.

Marked possessive construction

Emphatic possessive constructions are those where alienable or inalienable possession of an entity is claimed for one person to the exclusion of all others. In these constructions, a cardinal pronoun denotes the possessor. This is juxtaposed with a possessed noun, e.g (3-70) - (3-74). Most examples of this construction in the corpus have ngany 1MIN. PRO 'I/me' as possessor.

3-70 ngany=ve=vi thawarr wuda_ngany
1MIN.PRO=HAP=PERF tree water 1MIN.PRO
‘That thing happened to be mine, the water was mine.’ (T11:167)

3-71 na nunggu guman-ngany+gurr=eyi
3MIN.M.PRO hand 3MIN.A.R.poke-1MIN.O+hit=PERF
‘He hit me deliberately (lit. with his fist).’

3-72 tiinda_ngany ngana+vatjatj+tjerr=eyi
spear 1MIN.PRO 1MIN.S.R.walk+throwREDUP+stretch=PERF
‘So I kept throwing my spear.’ (T13: 59)
3-73  nganggu=nhdhi  vrrorredi
   1/2MIN.PRO=TOWARDS  long grass
   gaya=nhdhi
   3MIN.S.R. lie=TOWARDS
   'Our country, yours and mine lies towards us.' (T15:123)

(3-74) spells out the relationship of the protagonist, Kunmuwul, to the speaker:

3-74  kunmuwul  garra+volhut=eyi
       Kunmuwul  3MIN.A.R. handle+lose=PERF
       mama=0=nhdha  ngany=0=gu
       Mama=really=DIR  1MIN.PRO=DIR=FOC
       'Kunmuwul lost her, she was my mother really.' (T10:159-160)

Exclusive assertions
These are assertions, the truth of which excludes other possibilities, e.g. (3-75) - (3-76).

3-75   emmiyangal=0  ngany=0
       Emmiyangal=DIR  1MIN.PRO=DIR
       'I'm an Emmiyangal (not an X).' (T13:75)

3-76   nine=nene=vi
       ganinya+gurr=eyi
       2MIN.PRON=NEW INF=PERF  2MINA.R-make+hit =PERF
       'It was you that hit him!' (AL:2)
3-77 **wida-ngana-nhdhi**

3AUG.PRON=ABL=towards speaker

ngarru-ngatj=enhdhi

1MIN.S.R.go somewhere+run away=towards speaker

‘It’s them (no-one else) I’m running away from towards us.’ (TY:1)

3-78 **ngamama**

112.S.R.stand

‘You and I are going to stand with her (as opposed to anyone else).’

(TY:4)

3-79 **ngany-gamena**

1MIN.PRON=SIM

‘Like me (not like anyone else).’ (BL:1)

3.3.2 Possessive pronouns.

Possessive pronouns occur in Emmi and Menhdhe, and in the nearest related language, Marranunggu, in any other Daly region language, where possession can only be expressed by the juxtaposition of possessor noun/pronoun and possessed noun. In Emmi and Menhdhe, juxtaposition is only one of several ways to express the possessive relation. Marking the possessor by means of a possessive pronoun is the usual way in Emmi to express possession of alienably possessed entities, e.g. material objects such as cars, e.g. (3-80) - (3-84), or food, e.g. (3-85). See also S.5.2.3 p.201.

In Emmi, possessive pronouns are fused morphemes consisting of a possessor morpheme which inflects for person, number and gender, plus a possessive morpheme -gurriny. Minimal and augmented stems are distinct except for 1/2. Possessive pronoun stems are shown in Table 12.
As Table 12 shows, possessive pronouns are gender-marked in minimal and augmented forms, but not in unit augmented forms. Unit-augmented forms combine the augmented stem of the cardinal pronoun with the possessive morpheme -gurriny, which does not bear stress, and the stress-bearing bound word +mede 'Unit Augmented', e.g. (3-80).

3-80 *mudika nganggu-gurriny+mede ['ŋaŋguyurinmede]*

*car* 1/2.POSS+UAUG

'The car belonging to all of us (including addressee).'

Augmented forms combine the augmented stem of the cardinal pronoun and the gender-marked bound words +nganya 'or more females', e.g. (3-81), or +ninya 'or more males', e.g. (3-82).

3-81 *mudika ngarrinye-gurriny+nganya ['ŋarinyeyurinjénaja]*

*car* IAUG.POSS+F.AUG

The car belonging to a mob of us women.'

Table 12: Possessive pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1/2</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3F</th>
<th>3M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MIN</td>
<td>nganggu-gurriny</td>
<td>ngani-gurriny</td>
<td>nimbu-gurriny</td>
<td>nga-gurriny</td>
<td>na=gurriny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAUG</td>
<td>nganggu- gurriny+mede</td>
<td>ngarrinye-gurriny+mede</td>
<td>ninya-gurriny-mec</td>
<td>winya-gurriny-mede</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUGF</td>
<td>nganggu- gurriny+nganya</td>
<td>ngarrinye- gurriny+nganya</td>
<td>ninya- gurriny+nganya</td>
<td>winya-gurriny+nganya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUGM</td>
<td>nganggu- gurriny+ninya</td>
<td>ngarrinye- gurriny+ninya</td>
<td>ninya- gurriny+ninya</td>
<td>winya-gurriny+ninya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3-82  *mudika  winya-gurriny+ninya [winya+yuririnjina]
car   3.AUG.POSS+M.AUG
'The car belonging to four or more men'.

It is not permissible to combine the bound number words +ngamen 'Female other' and +ngemen 'Male other' with possessive pronoun forms, and speakers refused to accept (3-83) or (3-84).

3-83  *mudika  ngarrinyegurriny+nemen+mede
car   1AUG.POSS+M.other+UAUG
'The car belonging to two of us women and one male.'

3-84  *mudika  ngarrinyegurriny+nemen+nganya
car   1AUG.POSS-+M.other+F.AUG
'The car belonging to two or more of us women plus one man.'

Embedded possessive construction

3-85  ([awa  purungu  perrele]  agani  ngagurriny)
meat  wallaby  liver  motherEgokin  3MIN.F.POSS
'The wallaby liver belonging to her, my own mother.'

The left-most constituents of the complex NP in (3-85) are possessor and possessed nouns, i.e. awa purungu perrele 'the wallaby's liver', which are juxtaposed in a whole part relationship. This possessive phrase is embedded in a more complex possessive phrase where it functions as the possessed NP and is juxtaposed with a possessor noun denoting a kin referent which is specified as to its relation with the speaker by its stem (aga 'ego's mother'), which only occurs bearing the kin suffix (-ni 'kin belonging to ego'). In apposition to the human possessor of the wallaby liver and governing the entire complex
possessive phrase is its final constituent, a possessive pronoun (ngagurriny ‘belonging to her’) which is co-referentially marked for the person, number and gender of the human possessor.

The possessive pronoun may also be used to express possession of inalienably possessed entities, such as body parts, e.g. (3-86) - (3-87).

3-86 ([purungu perrele] nagurriny) dukandji
wallaby liver 3MIN.M.POSS big

‘The wallaby’s liver is swollen.’

(3-86) differs from (3-87). Both contain possessed and possessor nouns in a whole-part relationship, marked also by a possessive pronoun marked for person, number and gender of the possessor. But in (3-86), the speaker views the wallaby’s liver as a living part of the live animal, just as the thigh referred to in (3-87) is a living part of the speaker.

3-87 lbumbu nganigurriny
thigh 1MIN.POSS

‘my thigh’

A possessive pronoun may also be used to mark possession of kin, e.g. in the verbless sentences (3-60) and (3-88) - (3-89).

3-88 nirrgina yuwanga ngagurriny
father 3MIN.F.FarDEIC 3MIN.F.POSS

‘Father to that female over there, belonging to her.’
3-89 pebel pinbin ngagurriny wunggu-nga  
*Pebel* Pinbin 3MIN.F.POSS older sister-3.MIN.F.DAT  
'Pinbin was Pebel’s older sister.’ (T10:154)

3.4 Adjectives

Emmi has a large open class of at least 70 adjectives, containing four doublets which Emmi speakers suggested were loans from Patjtjamalh. These doublets are listed in Table 13.

Table 13: Adjective loans from Patjtjamalh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emmi</th>
<th>Patjtjamalh</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dawal</td>
<td>pakwutj</td>
<td>'many'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wutmul</td>
<td>ngulma</td>
<td>heavy; ‘terminally sick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutjing</td>
<td>kalerrang</td>
<td>'slim-waisted'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pulitj</td>
<td>mutama</td>
<td>'crippled/lame'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Six of Dixon’s seven universal semantic types (1982:13-16) are associated with adjectives, but, the seventh, speed, is, in Emmi, associated with adverbs. These semantic types and their Emmi equivalents are listed as follows:

**Dimension:**
- *duk(andji)* 'big'; *kitjalhak* 'small';
- *mala(gita)* 'long'; *ronhtto* 'short';
- *kIRR(kIRR)* 'slender'; *kIRRviriny* 'skinny';
- *kIRRwulitj* 'tiny'; *werrerdje* 'narrow';
- *mutjing* 'slim-waisted'; *mudandji* 'bony';
- *ngulvek* 'fullgrown (of penis)'; *marbuk* 'sprouting';
- *vitit* 'enduring'; *wuliya* 'newborn'.

**Physical property:**
- *kutje* 'wet'; *kutjekutje* 'soaking wet'; *daravu* 'dry';
- *mirinnga* 'raw, unripe'; *wunyme* 'roasted, cooked, ripe';
danggun 'hard, tough'; pepek 'weak'; kukup 'soft';
timbalkin 'erect' (of penis); welh 'flaccid (of penis)';
petjirr 'clean'; munyumunyu 'dirty';
panyburrk 'mouldy'; derremel 'rotten' (of wood); kup 'soft' (of rotten meat);
murrinyminh 'sweet-smelling'; velhkurriny 'stinking';
derrere 'hot'; muthunggu 'cold'; purrvu 'cold (of ground)';
vepiya 'full'; wine 'empty';
wutmul 'heavy, terminally sick; watper 'light';
pimmiya 'alive';
yindeti 'brackish'; tjanga 'sour';
kulhok 'blind'; ngammama 'deaf';
perrrigir 'sharp'; thut 'blunt';
yarrng 'straight'; kul 'bent'; widiwidi 'crooked';
vuritjvuritj 'smooth'; burrburr 'hairy'
pulitj 'crippled/lame'; mutama 'crippled/lame'.

Age:
yangu 'new'; wurunggurrk 'old';

Colour:
tjungara 'black'; vayvay 'white';
wuriwuri 'red; wolba 'dark red';
kalbun 'golden'; mitmit 'dotted';

Value:
nela 'good, sweet'; wedjirr 'bad';
nelerre 'handsome'; marnim 'fine; OK';

Qualification:
yilyil ‘true’; yarrng ‘correct’; yerdiyerdi ‘haphazard’;

Human propensity:
dulvu ‘sated’;
marrngmarrng ‘happy-go-lucky’; mulirritj ‘aggressive’;
wuritj ‘provocative’;
kayay ‘infatuated’;
balhbalh ‘confused’;
ngukurruka ‘show-off’.

If we consider adjectives as semantic types, it is clear that while there is some semantic overlap between adjectives and nouns, there is more overlap between adjectives and verbs. The semantic overlap between nouns and adjectives is shown in Table 14.

Table 14: Semantic overlap between adjectives and nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>velh</td>
<td>‘pus’</td>
<td>velhkurriny</td>
<td>‘stinking’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pogarra</td>
<td>‘cool time of afternoon’</td>
<td>purrvu</td>
<td>‘cool (of ground)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Finally, there is a small overlap between adjectives and adverbs, in that kirrkirr 'slender' may be used adverbially to mean 'bit by bit'. Adverbs, however, are subject to greater restrictions than adjectives. Adverbs are invariable, they only occur clause-initially or finally and they cannot be incorporated into the verb complex. They do not specify attributes, but demarcate the speed, location, time or manner of a notion expressed by a verb.

In Emmi, unlike Marrithiyel, (Green 1989:44), an adjective can function as head of a clause, e.g. (3-90) and (3-91)

3-90 petjirr
   clean
   'It's clean.' (T1:55)

3-91 dukandii=nene wadjarra+nganya=ya=ga
   big=INST 2AUG.S.IRwalk+F.AUG=away from speaker=FOC
   'Get away from here by the big one [ferryboat], you women!' (T14:106).
Noun and adjective may combine to form a compound noun with primary stress on the initial syllable, meaning ‘something with an attribute’, e.g. rtedi-kul 'back-bent) 'hunchback'. (See 3.5.1 for a discussion of bahuvrihi compounds.)

Adjectives occur attributively and predicatively. When they occur attributively, they always follow their referent noun, e.g.

wuda nela ‘sweet water’;
awa velhkurriny ‘stinking meat’;
kandu nelerrre ‘handsome man’.

When adjectives occur predicatively, they precede their referent noun, e.g. (3-92).

3-92 munyumunyu dorr
dirty ground
'The ground is dirty!' (T 24:12).

The adjective wedjirr 'bad' may be incorporated into the VP as part of a complex coverb. It can occur VP initially, e.g (3-93) or post-auxiliary, e.g. (3-94), which is a paraphrase of (3-93).

3-93 wedjirr + garra+furitj=eyi ['wej1ryaraβuβiċεji]
bad 3MIN.A.R. handle+make=PERF
'He made it go bad, i.e. he spoilt it.'

3-94 garra+furitj+wedjirr=eyi ['karαβuβiċowẽjεji]
3MIN.A.R.handle+make+spoil=PERF
'He spoilt it.'

1 I define the VP as a single verb-word which conforms to the canonical verb structure described on p 153 (Ch.4:1). The verb-word may contain elements which occur elsewhere as independent words, but are here compounded with the verb.
**wedjirr** 'bad', **retja** 'desirable', **murwan** 'jealous', **tjilk** 'aching' are the only Emmi adjectives I have so far found to function as coverbs. In Marrithiyel, adjectives occurring with intransitive auxiliaries in attributive copula-type constructions show a “distinctive class property of free variation between occupying the regular verb medial position (following the auxiliary) and the verb-initial (i.e. auxiliary prior) position.” (Green, 1994, n.s.).

In Emmi, adjectives behave like verbs, nouns, in the way they are negated. Adjectives can be negated only by the clause negator way, e.g. (3-95).

3-95 *way vitit*

  NEG  enduring

  ‘It doesn’t last long.’ (T13: 52)

Nouns may also be negated by clause negator way, e.g. (3-96)-(3-97).

3-96 *dirr way*

  *tooth*  NEG

  ‘I’ve no teeth.’

3-97 *way dadj-ngany nigani=ga pappa=kak*

  NEG  daddy 1MIN.PRO  fatherEgokin=FOC  father=FOC

  ‘My daddy, my own father, my father wasn’t there.’ (T15:34)

Nouns, pronouns and deictics, but not adjectives can be negated by the negative copula *piya* ‘there is not’. This is why (3-98) and (3-99) are acceptable to speakers, but (3-100) is unacceptable.

1 As an independent nominal **retja** means ‘countryman’.
3-98 piya awa ['pijawa]
NEGCOP meat
'I've got no meat!' (JB:1)

3-99 way ngaden. piya nga
NEG 1MIN.A.R.look. NEGCOP 3MIN.F.PRO
'I can’t see her. She’s not there.' (TY:6)

3-100 *piya wedjirr
NEGCOP bad
'It’s not bad.'

Reduplication is another area where adjectives behave more like verbs than they do nouns. Adjectives reduplicate to indicate intensity, e.g. dukandji ‘big’, dukduk ‘very big’. Verbs also reduplicate to indicate intensity, e.g. gurr ‘hit’, gurrgurr ‘give X a hiding’; vitji ‘roll X, e.g. a blanket’, vitjivitji ‘toss and turn’.

Nouns, however, reduplicate to indicate plural, e.g. perre ‘grub’, perreperre ‘grubs’; ngurrrwin ‘rocks; money’, ngurrrwin+ngurrrwin ‘lots of rocks; lots of money’; merangarr ‘jungle’, merangarr+merangarr ‘jungles’.

These data show that Emmi adjectives behave like verbs and not like nouns in at least four respects:
ability to function as a co-verb,
semantic overlap,
reduplication,
negation.

Dixon (1994:32) has claimed

a grammatical association of adjectives with verb class tends to be found in languages that do not have dependent marking: those with ‘head-marking’ -where syntactic function
is shown by pronominal affixes on the predicate which 'cross-reference subject, object etc'.

But Emmi, while primarily a head-marking language is also dependent-marking. According to Dixon (1994:32),

adjectives tend to be treated in a similar way to nouns, in languages where there is a predominant 'dependent marking' pattern with syntactic function being marked on the arguments of a predicate.

The behaviour of Emmi adjectives provides evidence to suggest that Emmi was originally a dependent-marking language which has since adopted head-marking, and adjectives are following suit. Overall, however, adjectives behave more like nouns than they do like verbs. I have shown how Emmi adjectives are NP constituents, and take nominal case-marking. In addition, only adjectives occur as the graded element in quasi-comparative antonymous predicates, e.g. (3-101).

3-101 ngany mala yuwanga kitjalhak
1MIN.PRO tall 3MIN.F.FarDEIC small
'I'm old(er), she's young(er)'. (AL1:3)

3.5 Nominal Compounding
In Emmi, nominal compounds are either bahuvrihi compounds or whole-part compounds.

3.5.1 Bahuvrihi compounds
Spencer (1991:311) defines bahuvrihi compounds as 'exocentric', 'lacking a head'. Emmi bahuvrihi compounds have the same form as that reported for the Arnhen Land language Mayali, namely '(N+Adj --- > N)'
(Evans, 1993:11). Evans glosses this type as meaning "having an N which is Adj".

Constituents of bahuvrihi compounds in Emmi are ordered like adjectival phrases, meaning that an attributive adjective follows its referent, e.g. rtedi kul (back bent) 'hunchback; viye wedjirr (head bad) 'trouble-maker'; rtedi-burrburr (back hairy) 'Hairy backed crocodile sp.'

Where an adjective has a reduced form, the reduced form is used in bahuvrihi compounds, e.g. duk(andji) 'big', but miri duk (eye big) 'lascivious person'; viye-duk (head big) 'Bighead'; tjengi-duk (ear big) 'Big ears' (Medicinal tree with large leaf).

Spencer (1991:311) noted that the few bahuvrihi compounds which exist in English are predominantly pejorative. This appears to be true of Emmi bahuvrihi compounds too.

3.5.2 Whole-part compounds

Whole-part compounds are commonly used to express body parts and in Emmi take the same form (N + N) as in Mayali (Evans, 199, 11). Major body-parts function as classifiers of entities with the same shape as the bodypart. For instance, rtedi 'back' is used as a classifier for the top of any entity, e.g. the sky. yin 'nose' is used for the projecting part of any entity, e.g. the nose of a car, or the clitoris.

In Emmi, a part-whole expression may be rendered in the form whole-part (Nw + Np), e.g.

nunggu+rtedi (hand-back) 'back (top surface) of the hand';
vingga+lulu (knee-pan) 'knee-cap';
vere+mu (arm-bone) forearm bone'.

A whole-part compound may function as the part component of an embedded whole-part compound with the form (N + (N+N)), e.g.

viye+yin (head-nose) 'big toe; clitoris';
nunggu+nivre+yin (hand-head-nose) 'middle finger of left hand'.

Part-whole compounds of the form (Np+Nw) also occur in Emmi, e.g.
rtedi+viriny+ngalh (back-skin-mouth) 'lips';
rtedi+miri (back-eye) 'eyelid';
thunggurr+manhdha (heel-neck) 'nape of neck'
yirri+manhdha (tail-neck) 'neck of the tail'.
mari+purrwur (belly-blood) 'having the same mother'.

3.6 Deictics.

There are three sets of third person deictics, two of which are determined by their distance from the addressee; the third specifies Anaphoric reference. The minimal stem of each set is gender-marked for humans and higher animates. There is also a base minimal form, unmarked for gender, which is used as a locational adverb. Like free pronouns, augmented deictics consist of the augmented stem plus the bound word +nganya 'Female AUG' or +ninya 'Male AUG'. Like cardinal pronouns, but not possessive pronouns, deictics also combine with the bound words +ngamen 'Female other' or +nemen 'Male other' to specify the gender of the 'odd man out' in a group of more than four. Table 16 gives the forms for the Near Deictic. Table 17 gives the forms for the Far Deictic. Table 18 gives the forms for the Anaphoric Deictic.

Table 16: Near Deictic paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3F</th>
<th>3M</th>
<th>3INAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MIN</td>
<td></td>
<td>yii-nga</td>
<td>yii-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ÙAUG</td>
<td></td>
<td>yii-nya+mede</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUG</td>
<td></td>
<td>yii-nya+nganya</td>
<td>yii-nya+ninya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOthe</td>
<td></td>
<td>+ngamen</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOth</td>
<td></td>
<td>+nemen</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 17: Far Deictic paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3F</th>
<th>3M</th>
<th>3INAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MIN</td>
<td>yuwa-nga</td>
<td>yuwa-na</td>
<td>yuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAUG</td>
<td>yuwa-nya+mede</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUG</td>
<td>yuwa-nya+nganya</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F0the</td>
<td></td>
<td>+ngamen</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M0th</td>
<td></td>
<td>+nemen</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18: Anaphoric Deictic paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3F</th>
<th>3M</th>
<th>3INAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MIN</td>
<td>yawa-nga</td>
<td>yawa-na</td>
<td>yawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAUG</td>
<td>yawa-nya+mede</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUG</td>
<td>yawa-nya+nganya</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F0the</td>
<td></td>
<td>+ngamen</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M0th</td>
<td></td>
<td>+nemen</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Deictics are like all other nominals in that they may be case-marked and may act as head of an NP, generally in a verb-less clause, e.g. (3-102)-(3-103), but also in a verb clause, e.g. (3-104). More often, deictics qualify a preceding nominal, e.g. (3-105)-(3-107).

3-102 nelerre yuwanga=ga

\textit{good-looking 3MIN.F.FarDEIC=FOC}

‘Good-looking, that girl over there.’(T9:124)
mulirritj=ve yawana
aggressive=HAP 3MIN.M.Anaph.DEIC

'That male I mentioned happens to be aggressive.' (JB:5)

yiinya+nemen+mede=nene=yi:
3AUG.Near.DEIC.+M.other+UAUG=NEW INF=PERF
garranya-ngani+murwan+nemen+mede=yi
3AUG.A.R.handle-1MIN.DAT+inform on+M.other+UAUG=PERF

'It was these two women and one man here who dobbed me in.' (TY:39)

ganya-ngala-tjengi=nhdheni
3MIN.A.R.make-3MIN.F.BEN-ear=now
yere ngany=enhdha yuwanga
child 1MIN.PRO=really 3MIN.F.Far.DEIC

'That girl over there, my child really, forgot her (lit.makes ear for her).'
(T7:15)

youngest one yere yiinga=ga
youngest one child 3MIN.F.Near.DEIC=FOC

'This female child here is the youngest one.' (JB:6)
3-107 **kandu yawana** gidji=nhdhi

*man 3MIN.M.AnaphDEIC 3MIN.S.R.crawl=TOWARDS
garrame*  
*3MIN.S.R.crawl*

*garra+betj  yawanga  muku*

*guman+rtidim  3MIN.A.R.handle+grab  3MIN.F.AnaphDEIC woman*

‘That man I mentioned crawls stealthily towards her. He grabs that woman I mentioned and ties her up.’ (T10:110-112)

The minimal stem of ‘near’ and ‘far’ Deictics, when unmarked for gender, is used as a directional modifier, e.g. (3-108) - (3-109).

3-108 **borak-pene** yii=nhdhi

*small Peron Island 3MIN.NearDEIC=TOWARDSr*

*badjalarr  yuwa=ya*

*Big Peron Island 3MIN.FarDEIC=AWAY*

‘Small Peron Island is here, close to us; Big Peron Island is over there, away from us.’

3-109 **yii=nhdha** ngammiya

*3MIN.Near.DEIC=really 1/2S.lie*

‘Here’s where we should really lie down.’ (T10:33)

The minimal stem of the ‘Anaphoric’ deictic when unmarked for gender is used as an anaphoric locational modifier, e.g. (3-110).
3-110  yawa=nhdha        murr=nhdha
      3MIN.AnaphDEIC=really  egg=really

‘That place I mentioned, that’s where there really are eggs.’ (T11:37)

3-7 Numeral quantifiers

Numeral quantifiers form a small closed sub-class of nominal. They are:

nganhdhi ‘one’;
meiyidja ‘two’;
meiyidja nganhdhi (lit. two-one) ‘three’;
nganhdhi+parrkin (lit. one alone) ‘five’;
eler ‘a few’;
dawal ‘many’;
dawala ‘all’;
dukala+miri (lit. bigPL+eye) ‘many’;
nganhdhina+warri ‘mass of’.

Numeral quantifiers may host semantically compatible enclitics, e.g. nganhdhi=wany (one=REPET) ‘yet another one’.

Multiples of five are expressed using the arms, hands and feet. For instance, in the elliptical expression nganhdhi+parrkin (one-by itself) ‘five’, the numeral nganhdhi ‘one’, stands for vere nganhdhi ‘one hand’. Arms, hands and feet are considered as collectives of five digits. For instance, vere=gamena’ten’ is a reduplication of the noun vere ‘arm, and the adnominal enclitic -gamena, which specifies its nominal host as ‘one of a pair’. The compound numeral vere=gamena vere=gamena nganhdhi+parrkin ‘fifteen’ consists of ‘ten’ plus ‘five’. Similarly, the compound numeral gumbu-gamena nunggu-gamena ‘twenty’ consists of the juxtaposed nouns gumbu ‘foot’ and nunggu ‘hand’, each bearing the adnominal enclitic -gamena ‘one of a pair’.
Numeral quantifiers generally follow the noun or deictic they modify, e.g. (3-111).

3-111 kandu Marrisyemerri Marriwumerri Marrisjefin
   man Marrisyemerri Marriwumerri Marrisjefin
   Marri Ammu ngandhina+warri guninen
   Marri Ammu one+mass 3AUG.S.R.sitRECI
   'A mass of Marrisyemerri, Marriwumerri, Marrisjefin, and Marri Ammu men stay there together.' (T15: 99).

3-112 game yuwanga Wadjiginy nganhdhi
   3MINA.R.say 3MIN.F.FarDEIC Wadjiginy one
   That one Wadjiginy girl over there says it' (T14: 43)

3-113 muku meyidja dakarrin=ya
   woman two man with away from speaker
   ganen daddy
   3MIN.S.R.sit daddy
   'Daddy had two wives over there.' (T15: 45).

When a numeral quantifier is part of a compound quantifier, the numeral precedes its nominal, e.g. (3-114).

3-114 dawala miri kandu
   all eye men
   'All the men were there.' (T15: 101)

3.8 Interrogatives

Emmi has six interrogatives:
ava ‘who?’;
emmi ‘what?; ’what sort of?’;
enydji ‘how?’;
enydji+viye ‘how many?’ (lit. how many heads?);
theme ‘where?’;
mondo ‘when?’.

Interrogative utterances are marked paralinguistically by rising intonation at the end of the utterance, and the lengthening of the utterance-final syllable, as shown on (3-115)

---

3-115 theme=yi ganani:

where=PERF 2MIN.S.R.walk
‘Where’ve you been?’

Interrogative words always occur clause-initially, e.g. (116), and may host enclitics, e.g. (3-117) - (3-119).

3-116 enydji ganeme

how 2MIN.A.R.feel
‘How are you feeling?’

3-117 emmi=yi ganeme=yi

what=PERF 2MIN.A.R.say=PERF
‘What did you say?’

3-118 theme=no=ndhene=ndhene

where=PURP=now=really
Where [are you going] to now really?’
3-119 mondo=no verru (or mondo verru=no)
when=PURP 2MIN.S.IR.go somewhere
When are you going?

All interrogatives except enydji 'how' and enydji+viye 'how many' take nominal case-marking, hosting Instrumental or Ablative case-enclitics, e.g. (3-120) -(3-122). All interrogatives, except enydji and enydji+viye can be said to belong to the class of nominals.

3-120 emmi=no
what=PURP
‘What for?’

3-121 emmi=nene
what=INSTR
‘What with?’

3-122 theme=ngana
where=ABL
‘Where from?’

All interrogatives may modify an N within a complex NP, e.g. (3-122) -(3-124).

3-122 emmi thawarr=eno retja-ganarra
what thing (lit. tree)=PURP want+2MIN.A.R.handle
‘What do you want?’
3-123 ava nagurriny
   who 3M.MIN.Poss
   ‘Who’s is it?’

3-124 enydji viye kandu galanya+gurr=eyi
   how head man 3AUG.A.R.punch+hlt=PERF
   ‘How many men punched him/her?’

Each interrogative constitutes an elliptical clause, e.g. (3-125) - (3-126).

3-125 ava
   who
   ‘Who is it?’

3-126 enydji
   how
   ‘How?’

Interrogatives cannot be reduplicated and are otherwise invariable, with
the exception of emmi ‘what’ which has the allomorph ammu before the
generic noun awa ‘meat’ in the idiomatic expression emmi awa [’ammuwa]
‘What sort of meat?’, e.g. (3-127).

3-127 emmi awa [’ammuwa] peding
   · what meat hermit crab sp.
   ‘What sort of meat is hermit crab sp.?’ (T14:54 - 56).

In the elliptical sentence (3-128), [’ammuwa] may be reduced to [’ammu].
3-128  emmi  awa ['ammu]

what  meat

'What sort (of meat is it)?'

Finally, enydi 'how' alone of interrogatives, combines with the coverb
do 'try' in the idiomatic expression enydi do 'Give it a try'.
Chapter Four
Verb Morphology

4.1. Verb structure

An Emmi verb is a lexical stem which obligatorily inflects for person, number, tense and status. The corpus contains 29 inflected verbs which function as auxiliary verbs to one or more of 280 monomorphemic coverbs. 13 of the auxiliary verbs also occur with a zero coverb. Table 19 shows canonical verb structure. Bracketed items are mutually exclusive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Pronominal prefix, inflected for person, number and status of S/A;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Auxiliary verb stem inflected for status;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Oblique pronominal slot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Coverb;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Benefactive (BEN) pronominal suffix slot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>±6</td>
<td>Incorporated nominal(s), e.g. (4-10) - (4-13);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Adversative (ADV) pronominal suffix slot, e.g. (4-10);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bound number word, e.g. (4-4) - (4-5);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Propositional enclitics.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(4-1) - (4-20) exemplify the components of the Emmi verb. A minimal VP consists of an obligatory pronominal prefix inflected for person and number of S/A plus an auxiliary verb stem inflected for status, e.g. (4-1) - (4-2).

4-1  dhama  
1+2
 2MIN.S.IR.stand
You (one), stand!

4-2  awa yirrgala yene peıldıji ganhdlm  
1+2
meat tree-snake LOC Cockyapple tree 3MIN.S.R.perch
The snake is perched in the cocky apple tree.' (T6:6)

A minimal complex verb consists of a subject prefix, auxiliary verb stem and coverb, e.g. the imperative in (4-3) and statement in (4-4):

4-3  dhama+ pırr  
1+2+ 4
2MIN.S.IR.stand+throw down
You (one), throw it down!' (AW:1).

4-4  dhaman+pirr  
1+2+ 4
1AUG.S.R.stand+throw down
We (excluding addressee) throw it down.'

Augmented S/A or O is obligatorily gender-marked by the number word in the penultimate VP slot, e.g. (4-5), where the VP-final slot is occupied by the 'Perfective' aspectual enclitic = (e)y1. Enclitics are ordered. A combination of one or more may occur of semantically compatible TAM, directional and illocutionary enclitics.
The mob of men lay snoring.'

(4-6) declares the intention of the speaker to commit an action. This is marked twice; first, by the Irrealis inflection on the auxiliary verb, la 'chop', second by the Purposive enclitic -(e)no. The post auxiliary Oblique pronominal slot is filled by 2 Minimal O suffix -na-.

4-6 ngavula- na+ gurr= eno
1+2- 3- 4 9
1MIN.A.IR.chop-2MIN.O+ hit=PURP
I'm going to shoot you!' (T: 3:3).

In (4-7), where O and IO are expressed, the Dative pronominal suffix has precedence over Direct O, and occupies the Oblique pronominal slot. Direct O is expressed VP-externally by an overt NP.

4-7 awa saya+ na+ wut= eyi
1+2- 3+ 4- 9
meat 3MIN.S.R.lie 3MIN.M.DAT+give= PERF
'He gave him meat.'

(4-8) - (4-9) show the Benefactive pronominal slot in a simple VP and a complex VP, and provide strong evidence for a Benefactive slot which is distinct from the Oblique slot and ordered after it.

4-8 yeda- ne- nganila
1+2- 3- 5
2MIN.A.IR.look-3AUG.O-1MIN.BEN
Watch them for me!'
Benefactive and Adversative occupy different ordered pronominal slots, e.g. (4-10).

Benefactive and Adversative are separated by a slot reserved for incorporated nominals, e.g. (4-10) - (4-13). An incorporated nominal most commonly denotes a body-part which is not co-referential with the subject of the verb, e.g. (4-11).

To make an incorporated nominal coreferential usually requires the occurrence of a co-referential pronominal suffix in the post-auxiliary Oblique slot as in (4-12).
Most incorporated nominals denote body-parts, but a few general nouns are also incorporated into the VP, e.g. (4-13)

(4-13) is a counterfactual statement. Its auxiliary verb is inflected for Irrealis modality but bears Purposive and Perfective enclitics. The Oblique slot is filled by a gender-marked Reflexive suffix which is co-referential with the A of the pronominal prefix. The incorporated nominal is the noun, wuda ‘fresh water’. It is lexically incorporated into the verb, deriving a new verb stem -pirr+wuda ‘throw (self) down into water’. Although wuda literally means ‘fresh water’, its meaning is extended here to refer to salt water as well.

In a verb complex, syntactically or lexically incorporated nominals generally occur after the coverb, but up to two lexically incorporated nominals may occur before the coverb, e.g (4-14).
Each complex VP contains at least one coverb. Most coverbs occur VP-medially, but some, e.g. retja 'want', tjilk 'ache', djabat 'bathe; walbin 'dodge missile' may occur VP-initially, e.g. (4-15). Coverbs cognate with retja 'want' and tjilk 'ache' behave similarly in Marrithiyel (Green, 1989: 68, 316) and in Patjtjamalh (Ford, 1990:148 -150).

4-15 ava retja-garrarra
4 1+2
who want- 2AUG.A.R.handle
'Who do you mob want?'

The same coverb may occur twice in a complex VP, e.g. dhet 'sit down' in (4-16), and thenbi 'vomit' in (4-17), VP-initially, and in the regular VP-medial slot. VP-initially, a coverb does not host TAM enclitics.

4-16 dhet-ninga-dhet
4 1+2
sit down 2MIN.IRsit sit down
'You (one), sit down!'

4-17 thenbi+ngana+thenbi=wany
4- 1+2+ 4= 9
vomit-1MIN.S.R.walk+vomit=REPET
'I keep vomiting.'

Some coverbs, e.g. me 'do'; vutj 'go straight'; velp 'do without stopping'; tjerr 'stretch'; wero 'whinge' may also occur VP externally as independent words, bearing primary stress, e.g. (4-18) - (4-20). When coverbs occur as independent words, they occur clause-initially or clause-finally in the adverbial slot, with scope over the preceding VP. They do not host enclitics, nor are they inflected for status. See Chapter 2.3 for discussion of coverbs as independent words).
4-18 manhdha dhama-na+malha

\[1+2-3+4\]

throat \(2\text{MIN.S.R.stand}+3\text{MIN.M.DAT}+\text{speak}\)

'do

'Stand up and speak to him, do!' (T2:72)

4-19 ginme+nerre= yi tjerr

\[1+2494\]

\(3\text{MIN.S.R.rise}+\text{shift position=}\text{PERFstretch}\)

'S/he got up and stretched.' (T15:98)

4-20 yerre- nbe+ betj=enhdheni woro

\[1+2-3+4=94\]

\(2\text{MIN.IR.handle-}2\text{MIN.REFL+grab=}\text{nowwhinge}\)

'Stop yourself whingeing now!' (KY:9)

109 of the 280 monomorphemic coverbs are monosyllabic; 115 are disyllabic and 22 are tri- or quadri-syllabic. 34 coverbs are reduplicate. Of these, 13 are inherent reduplications and 21 also appear in unreduplicated form.

4.2 Tense and Status

In Emmi, tense is defined by the moment of speech (Chung and Timberlake (1985:203). An event as yet to happen is marked potential by the Purposive modal enclitic, or Irrealis modal inflection on the auxiliary verb, or by a combination of both. Events that are ongoing at the moment of speech are correlated with imperfective aspect. This is signalled by the choice of auxiliary, by Realis modal inflection, and by the contemporaneous enclitic particle -(e)nhdheni 'now'. Events that are no longer happening at the moment of speech are marked by Realis modal inflection and the Perfective enclitic -(e)yi. Counterfactual statements are expressed by a combination of Irrealis modal inflection and the ordered combination of Purposive and Perfective clitics.
In short, Emmi's temporal distinctions correlate with differences in modality and aspect and are expressed by 'morpho-syntactic categories that have wider modal or aspectual functions' (Chung and Timberlake 1985:206). Tense is also expressed VP-externally by temporal lexemes, which occur at the perimeter of the clause.

Emmi verbs obligatorily inflect to mark the status of reality of the utterance. In this I am following Foley and Van Valin's definition of status as "the variable of actuality of the event, whether it has been realised or not... whether the action is necessary, or likely, or merely possible." Foley and Van Valin (1984: 213)

The distinction between realis and irrealis status is marked on the verb by the form of the S/A pronominal prefix and on the stems of eight commonly occurring auxiliary verbs which also function independently as simple verbs. Verb-stem alternation is shown in Table 20. Auxiliary verb paradigms are listed in Table 21, and given in full in Appendix C.

Pronominal prefix morphology is shown in Table 21 and analysed in 4.4.

Table 20: Status inflection on Emmi auxiliary verb stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>yi</td>
<td>lie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nen</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rran</td>
<td>rra</td>
<td>use legs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>poke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>din</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>elbow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>pick up</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This morphological marking distinguishes primarily between Realis and Irrealis status, that is, it distinguishes between declarative statements, and wishes, commands, or exhortations to future action. It also signals the tense of an utterance as non-future or future, as Tryon noted (1974:164).
This said, it should be noted that
Emu, like other Daly languages, has
more than one system of TAM coding,
spread across a range of overlapping
systems, including Aux inflections,
Verb item reduplication, propositional
entities and serialised Aux.
Future work by the author will include
full treatment of these overlapping systems.
Non-future is the unmarked tense in Emmi narrative. Discourse analysis showed that, in sixteen narrative texts from three Emmi speakers, out of a total of 2502 clauses, 77% of verbs were inflected for realis status, hosted no aspectual /modal clitics and were translated by speakers as non-future.

As in Marrithiyel, (Green I.1989:150), Ngan'gityemerri (Reid, 1990:161), and Gurr goni, (Green.R,1995:187-188), a statement whose verb is inflected for realis status may express a general truth, e.g. (4-21).

4-21  memrendjarrmul=eno ganenya
dugong=DAT 3AUG.S.Rwalk
way=eve muku kandu djukadja
NEG=HAP woman man only
'Women don’t dare to go after dugong, only men [do].’ (T23:1)

A verb inflected for irrealis status hosting no modal clitic is an imperative, as in (4-1); (4-3); (4-8); (4-12); (4-16); (4-18); (4-20), or a potential, as in (4-6), (4-22). (4-22) contains two verbs inflected for irrealis status. It comprises a simple verb imperative embedded within an exhortation to future action.

4-22  ela manganbe=no kak+verru
mother 2MIN.A.IR.say=PURP away=2MIN.S.IR.go somewhere
mama=gamena
mama=one of pair
'You should tell your mother to go with my mother as a pair.’(T11:125)

4:3. Auxiliary verb paradigms

Thirty auxiliary verbs occur in my corpus, ten more than Tryon (1974:163) noted for Emmi. They are listed in Table 21.
Table 21: Auxiliary verb stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb (Intransitive)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Verb (Transitive)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>lie</td>
<td>rra</td>
<td>handle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nen</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>nya</td>
<td>make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>stand</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>poke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rru</td>
<td>go somewhere</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>chop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>walk</td>
<td>lan</td>
<td>punch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>denhdhi</td>
<td>fall</td>
<td>din</td>
<td>elbow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi</td>
<td>come out</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>pick up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhdha</td>
<td>perch</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>say/do/feel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nme</td>
<td>rise</td>
<td>ndan</td>
<td>hang up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di</td>
<td>crawl</td>
<td>nhdhan</td>
<td>bury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rra</td>
<td>use legs</td>
<td>nhdhi</td>
<td>gel-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rrame</td>
<td>creep</td>
<td>den</td>
<td>look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>la</td>
<td>consume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nmen</td>
<td>smell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nbe</td>
<td>take off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gi</td>
<td>fill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nbaga</td>
<td>smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>di</td>
<td>heat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4 Pronominal verb prefixes analysed

For Emmi, like Marrithyel and Ngan.gityemmerri, each auxiliary verb paradigm contains forms which cannot be predicted and must be learnt. Some analysis of the Emmi pronominal prefix + verb stem allomorphs if we consider each auxiliary verb as being composed of two stems: Stem 1 (Realis), and Stem 2 (2MIN Irrealis). Table 22 analyses prefixes to the Emmi auxiliary verb. (V) is added after a prefix-final consonant before a consonant-initial stem.
Table 22: Pronominal prefixes analysed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/number</th>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 MIN</td>
<td>nga-/ngi-/ngu-/stem 1</td>
<td>nga+stem 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 MIN</td>
<td>gan-(V)-stem 1</td>
<td>2MIN.IR (= stem 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 MIN</td>
<td>ga-/gi-/gu-stem 1</td>
<td>ga+stem 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1AUG</td>
<td>stem 2+n</td>
<td>ngarr-(V)-stem 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2AUG</td>
<td>garr-(V)-stem 1</td>
<td>stem 2+rrV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3AUG</td>
<td>ga-stem 1-nya</td>
<td>pVrr-(V)-stem 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>ngamm-/ngarrg-(V)-stem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In general, prefix (V) can be ascribed to the verb stem.

4.4.1 1AUG Realis derived from 2MIN Irrealis

Of these stems, Irrealis is prior, because we can show certain Realis forms to be derived from Irrealis forms. For instance, in the 29 inflected verbs for which whole paradigms are attested, the 1Augmented Realis form is derived from the 2 Minimal Irrealis form by adding -n. Table 23 shows how for all auxiliaries, 1AUG Realis is derived from 2MIN Irrealis.
Table 23: 1AUG Realis derived from 2MIN Irrealis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbstem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>2MIN Irrealis</th>
<th>1AUG Realis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>lie</td>
<td>yunga</td>
<td>yunga *yungan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nen</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>ninga</td>
<td>ninga *ningan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>stand</td>
<td>dhama</td>
<td>dhama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rru</td>
<td>go somewhere</td>
<td>verru</td>
<td>verru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>walk</td>
<td>wadja</td>
<td>wadja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>denhdhi</td>
<td>fall</td>
<td>yedenhdhi</td>
<td>yedenhdhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi</td>
<td>come out</td>
<td>yemi</td>
<td>yemi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhdha</td>
<td>perch</td>
<td>yenhdhe</td>
<td>yenhdhen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nme</td>
<td>rise</td>
<td>vinme</td>
<td>vinmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dji</td>
<td>crawl</td>
<td>widji</td>
<td>widjinn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rran</td>
<td>use legs</td>
<td>dhirra</td>
<td>dhirran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rra</td>
<td>handle</td>
<td>yerra</td>
<td>yerran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rrame</td>
<td>creep</td>
<td>warre</td>
<td>warren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nya</td>
<td>make</td>
<td>yenye</td>
<td>yenyen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>poke</td>
<td>wuma</td>
<td>wuman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>chop</td>
<td>vula</td>
<td>vulan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lan</td>
<td>punch</td>
<td>dhela</td>
<td>dhelan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>din</td>
<td>elbow</td>
<td>wudi</td>
<td>wudin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
<td>pick up</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>say/do/feel</td>
<td>manga</td>
<td>mangen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndan</td>
<td>hang up</td>
<td>yenda</td>
<td>yendan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhtthan</td>
<td>bury</td>
<td>wunhtha</td>
<td>wunhthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhdhi</td>
<td>hold</td>
<td>yenhdhi</td>
<td>yenhdhin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>den</td>
<td>look</td>
<td>yede</td>
<td>yeden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>consume</td>
<td>yila</td>
<td>yilan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nmen</td>
<td>smell something</td>
<td>vinme</td>
<td>vinmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nbe</td>
<td>strip of</td>
<td>vinbe</td>
<td>vinben</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi</td>
<td>fill</td>
<td>yegi</td>
<td>yegin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nbaga</td>
<td>smoke</td>
<td>vunbaga</td>
<td>vunbagan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.4.2 Two forms for 1 MIN Realis

For all inflected verbs, there are two forms of 1 MINIMAL Realis.

The older form retains prefix-initial *a*, e.g.

- anginen 'I sit';
- angiya 'I lie';
- angani 'I walk';
- anganya 'I make something';
- angarra 'I handle something'.

Historically, this derives from a form preserved in Marranugggu, whose 1 Minimal Realis subject prefix is segmentable as *kangV*, e.g. Marranugggu *kanginen* 'I sit'; *kangiya* 'I lie'; *kanganya* 'I make something'; *kangarra* 'I handle something' (Tryon 1970:18-29).

More commonly heard in Emmi is a shorter form of the 1Minimal subject prefix, which drops initial *a*, e.g.

- nginen 'I sit';
- ngiye 'I lie';
- ngana 'I walk';
- nganya 'I make something';
- ngarra 'I handle something'.

*nga* - is the synchronic underlying form, occurring on 51% of inflected verbs (15 out of 29), e.g. *ngalan* 'I punch *X*', *ngama* 'I stand'.

*ngi-* occurs on 28% of inflected verbs (8 out of 29), e.g. *nginnen* 'I smell something', *ngidji* 'I crawl'.

*ngu-* occurs on 14% of inflected verbs (5 out of 29), e.g. *ngudin* 'I elbow someone'.

*ngem* occurs on 3.5% of inflected verbs (1 out of 29), i.e. *ngemi* 'I come out'.

4.4.3 Two forms for 1/2 AUG

Pronominal prefixes to the verb show one innovation not noted previously for Emmi. On all verbs, whether inflected for Realis or Irrealis modality, the 1/2Minimal form is *ngammV*-, but 1/2 Augmented has two
forms, ngammV- and the Augmented stem ngarrgV-. These two forms are interchangeable on all verbs, whatever their mood. Twenty years ago, Tryon recorded only ngarrgV- for what he termed 1 Dual inclusive, on Emmi simple verbs, (Tryon, 1974:163-168), ngVrrgV- was the only form found for 1/2 Augmented stems on Irrealis simple verbs in Marranunggu (Tryon, 1970:18 - 37).

It is also possible that ngammV is the original 1/2 Realis form in Emmi and the fact that this stem is now neutralised for mood may represent further regularisation of the paradigm, in line with the cardinal pronoun and possessive pronoun, where this same stem is neutralised for number, (see 4.2.1). No such neutralisation occurs in Marranunggu, for which Tryon (1970:16) reports his ‘1 dual inclusive cardinal pronoun’ stem as ngangku, and his ‘1 plural inclusive cardinal pronoun’ stem as kitya.

At present, the two forms co-exist in Emmi with no difference in meaning. ngamma- and ngarrga- are the underlying allomorphs, each occurring on 40% of inflected verbs (13 out of 29), e.g. ngammara and ngarrgara ‘We all handle something’.

ngammi- or ngarrgi- and ngammu and ngarrgu- each occur on 23% of inflected verbs (7 out of 29), e.g. ngammidji and ngarrgidji ‘We all crawl’. ngamme- and ngarrge- each occur on 7% of inflected verbs (2 out of 29), e.g. ngammeme-and ngarrgeme ‘We all say something’.

4.4.4 3AUG.Irrealis

On all verbs, 3AUG.Irrealis is realised as pVrrV+verb stem. The underlying allomorph is parra-, occurring on 39% of inflected verbs (11 out of 29). pirri- occurs on 28% of inflected verbs (8 out of 29). purru- occurs on 17% of verbs (5 out of 29); porro- on 7% of verbs (2 out of 29). purra- and purri- each occur on 3.5% of verbs (1 out of 29).

4.5 Bound pronominal suffixes

The person, number and gender
of all core arguments are obligatorily indexed on the verb, S/A by an
pronominal prefix, Oblique by O, Dative, Reflexive, or Reciprocal
pronominal suffixes occurring immediately after the pronominal prefix and
inflected verb-stem. This slot may be filled by one of the following oblique
suffix forms:
a goal or target (DAT);
Direct O (O);
Reflexive;
Reciprocal (only in in Augmented forms).

Dative has precedence over other arguments to occupy the
slot. When Direct O and Dative arguments are expressed in the
same sentence, speakers index Dative on the verb and express O verb-
externally by an overt nominal, e.g. (4-23).

4-23 way=ewe yun-ne-wut=eyi
NEG=HAP 1AUG.S.R.lie-2AUG.DAT+give=PERF
muku ngarrinyegurriny
woman 1AUG.POSS
'We didn’t dare give you our women!'

In addition to core arguments, peripheral arguments are indexed on
the Emmi verb by means of ordered bound pronominal suffixes which occur
after the coverb. Like other Daly languages, Emmi indexes Adversative on
the verb. Green (1989: 126-127) calls the Marrithiyel equivalent the '/anga/
pronominal; Reid (1990:135 -139) calls the Ngan.gityemerrri equivalent
‘implicated arguments’, and Tryon (1970:67) calls the Marranunggu
equivalent 'Licitive'.

Alone of Daly languages, Emmi also marks Benefactive on the verb.
Dative and Reciprocal pronominal suffixes also occur VP-externally, when
they attach only to their nominal. The fact that they are bound to stems of a
certain class distinguishes pronominal suffixes from enclitics.
4.5.1 Oblique pronominal suffixes

Table 24 contrasts paradigms of Oblique pronominal suffix forms.

Table 24: Oblique pronominal suffixes contrasted

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/Number</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>DAT</th>
<th>REFL</th>
<th>RECI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 MIN</td>
<td>-ngany</td>
<td>-ngani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ngga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 MIN</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-nbe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MIN.F.</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>-nga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MIN.M.</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 AUG</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-ngarrinye</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 AUG</td>
<td>-nga</td>
<td>-ninya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 AUG</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>-(wi)nye</td>
<td>-inyi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 24 shows that Dative, Reflexive and Reciprocal forms are the same, except for 3AUG, where the distinction between Reflexive and Reciprocal is neutralised and Dative differs.

O forms are in general distinct from other Oblique forms, except that 2MIN.O is identical with 3MIN.M.DAT, and 3MIN.M REFL. This gives rise to potential ambiguity, e.g. the three readings possible for (4-23).

4-23a yiina wagan gaden-na=yi

3MIN.M.NearDEIC stranger 3MIN.A.R.look-2MINO=PERF

'This stranger here looked at you.'

4-23b yiina wagan gaden-na=yi

3MIN.M.NearDEIC stranger 3MIN.A.R.look-3MINDAT=PERF

This stranger here looked for him.'

4-23c yiina wagan gaden-na=yi

3MIN.M.NearDEIC 3MIN.A.R.look-3MIN.M.REFL=PERF

'This stranger here looked at himself.'
Ambiguity is impossible in 3AUG, where the forms of O, Dative, and Reflexive/Reciprocal are distinct, e.g. (4-24a - c).

4-24a yiinya  wagan  gadenya-ne=yi
3AUG.NearDEIC  stranger  3AUG.A.R.look-3AUGO=PERF
'These strangers here looked at them.'

4-24b yiinya  wagan  gadenya-(wi)nye=yi
3AUG.NearDEIC  stranger  3AUG.A.R.look-3AUGDAT=PERF
'These strangers here looked for them.'

4-24c yiinya  wagan  gadinyi=yi
3AUG.NearDEIC  stranger  3AUG.A.R.look-3AUGO=PERF
'These strangers here looked at them.'

When the A is minimal, but the Oblique pronominal suffix is not, number suffixes refer to the bound pronominal suffix, e.g. (4-25) cf. Dixon (1980:370-71), where Hudson's Walmatjarri example showing how a Dative NP is indexed on the verb is an exact parallel to the Emmi utterance cited here.

4-25 ngiye-nye+wut+mede=yi
JMIN.S.R.lie AUG.DAT+give+UAUG=PERF
'I gave it to those two men.' (BL:3)

Ambiguity arises when both A and Oblique are augmented, e.g. (4-26) - (4-78). In such instances, the number affix refers to the Oblique suffix, and A is expressed verb-externally by an overt NP, e.g. (4-27).
4-26  yerren-nte+pit+nganya=yi
IAUG.A.R.handle-3O+wash+F.AUG=PERF
'Some of us washed those females'.
* 'Some of us females washed them'.

4-27  ngada+nganya=yi yerren-nte+pit+nganya
IAUG.PRO+F.AUG=PERF  I AUG.A.R.handle-3O+wash+F.AUG
'Some of us women washed those women.

4.5.2 The O suffix

The full form of 1Minimal O -ngany is homophonous with the 1Minimal free pronoun ngany. The pronominal suffix has an alternate short form -ny, under different stress conditions, whereas the free pronoun can never be shortened. Only in a weak third syllable is 1Minimal O suffix -ngany realised as -ny e.g. (4-28). Speakers rejected the contracted form in (4-29), accepting it only when rephrased as (4-30).

4-28  garra-ny+pil+miri=nhdha
3MIN.A.R.handle-1MIN.O+push+eye=really
'I'm feeling really dizzy.'

4-29  *garranya-ny+pit=enhdeni
3AUG.A.R.handle-1MIN.O+wash=now
'They are washing me now.'

4-30  garranya-ngany+pit=enhdeni
3AUG.A.R.handle-1MIN.O+wash=now'
'They are washing me now.'

4.5.3 Dative pronominal suffix

The Dative pronominal suffix indexes on the verb a human or quasi-human 'goal' or 'target' expressed by the notion 'to', e.g. (4-31).
Marrithiyel has an entire paradigm of pronominal enclitics governed by the verb *wanthi* 'follow' (Green, 1989:124-5). In Emmi, the cognate coverb *wanhdhi* 'be behind' may be preceded by a 1 Minimal Dative suffix, e.g. (4-32). In other persons, speakers use the incorporated nominal *rtedi* 'back' in preference to *wanhdhi* 'behind', e.g. (4-33)-(4-36).

4-32  \[ \text{gama-ngani+wanhdhi=nhdhi} \]
\[ 3MIN.S.R.\text{stand-1MIN.DAT+be behind=TOWARDS} \]
He's standing here, behind me.'

4-33  \[ \text{gama-nbe+rtedi} \]
\[ 3MIN.S.R.\text{stand-2MIN.DAT+back} \]
'He's standing behind you.'

4-34  \[ \text{gama-nga+rtedi} \]
\[ 3MIN.S.R.\text{stand-3MIN.F.DAT+back} \]
'He's standing behind her.'

4-35  \[ \text{gama-ngga+rtedi} \]
\[ 3MIN.S.R.\text{stand-1/2.DAT+back} \]
'He's standing behind you and me.'

Coverb *wanhdhi* may occur external to the VP as an independent word, with the Dative pronominal suffix, e.g. (4-36).
4-36 yere-yi wanhdhi-ngani yawanga
cost=PERF behind 1MIN.DAT 3MIN.F.Anaph.DEIC
gadenhdhi
3MIN.S.R.fall
‘That girl I mentioned was born after me (lit. fell behind me)’
(T:10:157)

The Dative pronominal suffix also occurs VP-externally in the complex NP errgi-nga ‘her mother’, errgi-nbe ‘your mother’, e.g. (4-37).

4-37 errgi-nbe yuwa mama yuwa
mother-2MIN.DAT 3MIN.Far.DEIC mama 3MIN.Far.DEIC
manggalhi yuwa ganen
MoMo 3MIN.Far.DEIC 3MIN.S.R.sit
guninen+nganya yuwa
3AUG.S.R.sitREC+3F.AUG 3MIN.Far.DEIC
‘Your mother is over there, your mama is over there, your mother’s mother is over there. The women are sitting together over there.’
(T10:114-115)

4.5.4 Reflexive pronominal suffix
The Oblique slot is also available for Reflexive pronominal suffixes. Because the distinction between Dative and Reflexive is neutralised for all forms except 3.M.MIN. and 3AUG there is potential for ambiguity, e.g. (4-38), where -nga could be co-referential or not. Context resolved this ambiguity.

4-38 gaden-nga+rtedi=yi
3MIN.A.R.look-3MIN.F.REFL+back=PERF purrwur
‘She saw her back was bloody.’(T10:145)

4.5.5 Reciprocal pronominal suffix forms
Reciprocal suffix forms are restricted to Augmented forms. These are identical to Reflexive pronominal suffix forms, and are potentially ambiguous, e.g. in 3 AUG which changes the subject prefix vov~l to i, and the final VCV of the 3 Augmented Realis inflection -nya, to -inyi-, e.g. (4-39) - (4-43). In 3Augmented Realis Reflexive/Reciprocal, the distinction between auxiliary verbs la ‘chop’ and lan ‘punch’ is neutralised, e.g. (4-39) which is capable of four readings.

4-39 gulinyi+gurr+mede=yi

either 3AUG.A.R.chopRECI/REFL+hit+UAUG =PERF
or 3AUG.A.R.punchREFL/RECI+hit+UAUG=PERF

which means
(a) 'They both hit each other with axes.'
(b) 'They punched each other.'
(c) 'They hit themselves with axes.'
(d) 'They punched themselves.'

Ambiguity is avoided by choosing a coverb which fits one AUX better than the other, e.g. (4-40).

4-40 gulinyi+than+mede=yi

3AUG.A.R.chopREFL/RECI+shoot+UAUG=PERF

'They shot each other.'

Some actions are inherently reciprocal, like embracing, in (4-41) and arguing, in (4-42). nen ‘sit’ has an irregular 3Augmented Realis Reciprocal form, guninen, e.g. (4-42)

4-41 gurringurrin+guninyi+nganya=yi

embrace+3AUG.S.R.RECI,lie+F.AUG=PERF

'The mob of women embraced each other.'
4-42 guminyi+wu+mede=nhdheni

3AUG.A.R.pokeRECI+argue+UAUG=now

guninen

3AUG.S.R.sitRECI

'The two of them are arguing with each other now.'(T11:57)

With the exception of 3AUG, which is restricted to verbs, any Reflexive/Reciprocal suffix may also occur outside the VP, attached to its nominal, e.g. (4-43). Context resolves the resulting ambiguity.

4-43 nganggu-ngga ngammalan+gurr=eyi

1/2.PRO-1/2REFL/RECI 1/2.A.R.punch+hit=PERF

'You and I punched ourselves/each other.'

4.5.6 Benefactive pronominal suffixes.

Table 25: Benefactive pronominal suffix paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Minimal</th>
<th>Augmented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-nganila</td>
<td>-ngarrinyela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>-kinyala-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-(n)pele</td>
<td>-ninyala-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td>-nela</td>
<td>-nyela-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td>-ngala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Benefactive is a single portmanteau morpheme with a recurrent submorphemic element la. Benefactive forms are derived from Dative forms, except for 3 MIN.BEN, which has -e- as its medial vowel, while 3 Minimal Dative has final vowel -a. After a preceding vowel, e.g. (4-44), the underlying initial nasal of 2 MIN.BEN is revealed. This nasal disappears after a preceding stop, e.g. (4-45).
4-44 pudan-ngana=yi ngarru-pele=yi
   town=RECPAST=PERF 1MIN.S.R.go somewhere-
   2MIN.BEN=PERF
   'I went to town for you recently.'

4-45 yerran+pit-pele+ngamen+mede=yi
   1AUG.A.R.handle+wash-2MIN.BEN+.Father+UAUG=PERF
   'Three of us including one woman washed (it) for you.'

The Benefactive suffix marks arguments beneficially affected by the action of the verb. Within the VP, pronominal suffixes are ordered with respect to each other. The Benefactive suffix is ordered after the Oblique slot and before incorporated nominals, the Adversative suffix, bound number words and aspectual enclitics, e.g. (4-8) - (4-10). Ambiguity does not arise when assigning augmented number suffixes to S/A or BEN, when one is minimal and the other augmented, e.g. (4-46).

4-46 me-kinvala
   2MIN.A.IR.pick up-1/2.BEN
   'You (one) bring it for us all.' (AD:1)

Ambiguity does, however, arise in transitive sentences, when A, Oblique and Benefactive are augmented, e.g. (4-47a-c). The context is a mortuary ceremony involving ritual washing of people associated with the deceased. Speakers preferred gloss (b).

4-47a' garranya-ne+fit-nvela+mede=yi
   2AUG.A.R.handle-3AUG.O+wash-3AUG.BEN+UAUG=PERF
   (a) 'You mob washed those two for them.'
   or (b) 'You mob washed them for those two.'
   or (c) 'You two washed them for those others.'
4.5.7 Adversative pronominal suffixes.

Table 26: Adversative pronominal suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1/2</th>
<th>MIN</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3F</th>
<th>3M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MIN</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>nganinggu</td>
<td>ninbe</td>
<td>-nganga</td>
<td>-nanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAUG</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ngarrinye+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+mede</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUGF</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+nganya</td>
<td>+nganya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUGM</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+ninya</td>
<td>+ninya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ngamen+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+nemen+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike Marrithiyel (Green, 1989:124-132), and Ngan.gityemerri (Reid, 1990:134-139), which retain a complete paradigm of Adversative suffix forms, the only Emmi forms in use are shown in Table 26. The Adversative suffix is the obverse of Benefactive, because it denotes arguments which are adversely affected by the action/event/state expressed by the verb, e.g. (4-48) - (4-52).

4-48 garru+ngatj-nanga
3MIN.S.R.go somewhere+run away-3MIN.ADV
'She runs away from him (T9:1)

4-49 gayila-ninbe=no
3MIN.A.IRconsume-2MIN.ADV=PERF
'He's going to eat you (fuck you).'

4-50 guman+dim+miri-nganinggu
3MIN.A.R.poke+sink+eye-1MIN.ADV
'S/he shut the door on me.'

4-51 gunymu:ru+velet-nganga
viye
4.6. Number-marking on the VP

Number of S/A or O is marked in the VP several times, first, by bound pronominal prefixes, which occupy the VP-initial slot. 3AUG REALIS is shown by the discontinuous pronominal affix, (ga-Verb stem-nya), italicised in (4-52).

4-52  *garranya*+*manhdha*+wiriya

3AUG.A.R.handle+throat+cry

‘They’re crying.’ (T10:120)

The number of all arguments marked on the verb, whether S/A, Oblique, or Peripheral, is further specified by the same Augmented bound number words which are obligatory markers of augmented free cardinal pronouns and deictics, explained in Chapter 3.2.1. On verbs, these bound words occupy the penultimate VP slot, and may be followed only by propositional enclitics, e.g. (4-53). There is no ambiguity, as long as the S/A is specified for minimal number, and the O or IO for augmented number, e.g. (4-53)-(4-54).

4-53  *gayi*+nye+wut+ngamen+*mede=no

3MIN.S.IR.lie-3AUG.DAT-give+otherM+UAUG=PURP

‘He’s going to give it to the three of them, the two males and one female.’

4-54  *yuwa=no*  

ngawani-wanye+ninya

3MIN.FarDEIC=PURP 1MIN.S.IR.walk-3AUG.DAT+M.AUG

ganeyya+ninya  

yuwa

3AUG.S.R.walk+M.AUG 3MIN.FarDEIC

‘I want to go over there to that mob of men who are going over there.’ (T9:7)
Ambiguity arises when all pronominal suffixes are marked augmented, e.g. (4-27).

4.6.1 Number shown by Suppletive coverb

Two commonly occurring verbs, (gurr ‘hit’, and wut ‘give’) mark an augmented O by a suppletive coverb, as shown in Table 27, and illustrated in (4-55) - (4-59).

Table 27: Number of O shown by suppletive coverb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Minimal O</th>
<th>Augmented O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>give</td>
<td>wut</td>
<td>wurut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hit</td>
<td>gurr</td>
<td>parr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4-55 gayi-nye+wut+nemen+mede=no
3MIN.S.IR.Ile-3AUG.DAT+give+Mother+UAUG=PURP
‘He’s going to give it to the three of them, one man and two women.’

4-56 gayi-nye+wurut+nemen+mede=no
3MIN.S.IR.Ile-3AUG.DAT+giveAUG.O+Mother+UAUG=PURP
‘He’s going to give them to the three of them, one man and two women.’

4-57 gavula-ngany+gurr=eno=wany
3MIN.A.IR.chop-1MIN.O+hit=PURP=REPET
‘S/he’s going to hit me again.’

4-58 gavula-nganggu+parr+mede=no=wany
3MIN.A.IR.chop-1/2.O+hitAUGO+UAUG=PURP=REPET
‘S/he’s going to hit the three of us again.’
4-59 galan-na+parr+nunggu

3MIN.A.R.punch-3MIN.M.DAT+hitUGO+hand

'S/he puts them in his hands.'
Chapter Five
Auxiliary (AUX) and coverb

5.0 Introduction

In Emmi, the basic predicate is a complex VP containing an auxiliary verb inflected for person, number, gender and modality, followed by a coverb which hosts peripheral pronominal affixes, bound number words and TAM enclitics. The corpus contains tokens of 434 complex VPs. In 184 of these, a coverb may co-occur with only one of 30 auxiliary verbs. The remaining 250 complex VPs represent the combination of 88 other coverbs with more than one auxiliary verb.

Green (1989:320) called auxiliaries 'formally distinct sets of obligatory verbal inflection' and noted that 'Marrithiyel, like the other languages of the Daly region (cf. Birk (1976), Tryon (1974), Reid (1990), is among the minority of Australian languages in which the attachment of verbs of these inflectional sets has some semantic basis (cf Dixon, 1980:ch.12).’ I define an Emmi auxiliary as an inflected verb that occurs potentially with a coverb.

Emmi is also unusual in that its auxiliary verbs and its coverbs each possess transitivity. The corpus contains many utterances where the transitivity of auxiliary and coverb does not match. This chapter first explains why the co-occurrence of auxiliary and coverbs cross-cuts transitivity, then why some coverbs co-occur with only one auxiliary, while other coverbs may co-occur with up to seven major auxiliary verbs. Evidence is provided to show semantic motivations for many auxiliary and coverb co-occurrences, and syntactic motivations for most of the rest. There remain a minority of combinations of auxiliary and coverb which are semantic mismatches. This is inevitable, given a verb system which entails the co-occurrence of only 30 auxiliaries with 250 coverbs.
5.1 Emmi verb categories

All Emmi verbs can be categorised as stative or dynamic, punctual or durative. Stative verbs are inherently durative, e.g. the simple verbs

nen 'sit';
ya 'lie down';
ma 'stand';
ubdha 'perch';
umen 'smell something',

and the coverbs which co-occur with these same simple verbs which function as stative auxiliaries

ngurrgurr 'sleep';
ngurngurr 'snore';
wiriya 'cry';
woro 'whine';
erwe 'laugh';
tjilk 'ache';
thunghung 'throb'.

nen 'sit' is the unmarked durative, as in Marrithiyel (Green, 1989:180); it may be used with verbs that do not necessitate a sitting position, e.g. (5-1) - (5-2).

5-1 ningarra+birr+miri+nganya=ya
2AUG.S.IR.sit+strain+e/e+F.AUG=AWAY
'Keep a look out for people over there, you women!' (T6:4)

5-2 nginen-na+manhdha-ntela
1MIN.S.R.sit+walk+neck-2MIN.BEN
'I'm waiting for you.' (T21:7).

ma 'stand' specifies the orientation of the subject as vertical. Because of this, ma co-occurs with dynamic intransitive coverbs, e.g. wur 'come back' in (5-3).
Dynamic verbs may be either durative or punctual. Durative
dynamic verbs include the simple verbs

- nhthan 'bury';
- di 'heat';
- ndan 'hang up';
- rru 'go somewhere';
- na 'walk';
- nme 'rise';
- dji 'crawl';
- rran 'use legs';
- mi 'come out';

all of which may function as auxiliary verbs to a coverb.

Because they can co-occur with intransitive, inherently imperfective
auxiliary verbs, I have classed as durative and dynamic the coverbs

- lenme 'swim';
- mbul 'run';
- wunye 'shit';
- kal 'climb';
- burragburrng 'bubble';
- purr 'dance (of man)';
- munyumunyu 'gather';
- war 'lift up';
- kurr 'put down';
- tjitjingili 'tickle';
- gurrgurr 'hit repeatedly';
- gudjuk 'swallow';
- varratj 'follow';
- ngatj 'hide';
bang 'fuck'.

Punctual dynamic verbs include the auxiliaries

lan 'punch';
(u)la 'chop';
din 'elbow';
man 'poke'.

Because they cannot co-occur with intransitive auxiliaries, I classed as punctual the coverbs

gurr 'hit';
volhut 'lose';
betj 'grab';
dut 'find';
pil 'push';
pit 'wash';
vatj 'throw';
thung 'stab';
valh 'break'.

When an auxiliary co-occurs with a coverb, it must comply with certain co-occurrence restrictions. These restrictions take account of the transitivity of auxiliary and coverb, and whether the auxiliary and/or coverb is stative or dynamic, durative or punctual. On top of all this is the dimension of imperfectivity or intentionality which intransitive auxiliaries lend to the coverb, and the dimension of causativity which transitive auxiliaries add to an intransitive coverb.

5.2. Transitivity of AUX

Of the thirty auxiliary verbs in the corpus, thirteen are intransitive; the remaining seventeen are transitive. Table 2φ shows the five major, commonly occurring intransitive auxiliary verbs. Table 2q shows minor intransitive auxiliary verbs. Table 3φ shows the eight major, commonly occurring transitive auxiliary verbs. Table 3q shows the ten minor, less commonly occurring transitive auxiliary verbs.
Table 28: Major intransitive auxiliary verbs (cited in no particular order)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AUX</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rru</td>
<td>go somewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nen</td>
<td>sit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>lie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>stand</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 29: Minor intransitive auxiliary verbs (cited in order of frequency)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AUX</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dji</td>
<td>crawl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rrame</td>
<td>creep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rran</td>
<td>use legs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhdha</td>
<td>perch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nme</td>
<td>rise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi</td>
<td>come out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>denhdhi</td>
<td>fall down</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All intransitive auxiliaries except nme ‘rise’ may occur without a coverb, but occur more frequently with coverbs. When they occur without a coverb, auxiliaries retain their literal sense, e.g. (5-4) - (5-7).

5-4  

\[
yuwa=no=ya \quad ngammani\ gaw
\]

3MINFarDEIC=PURP=AWAY 1/2.IR.walk come!

‘Let’s both walk away over there, come!’ (T6:52)

5-5  

\[
yii=nhdha=ya \quad mari
\]

3MIN.NearDEIC=really=AWAY belly
garru
3MIN.S.R.go somewhere

‘It [tree-snake] is going somewhere here away inside [the car].’
(T6:21)
5-6 nela ganiya

good 2MIN.S.R.lie

‘Mate, are you OK?’ (T6:103)

Major intransitive auxiliary verbs each occur with ten to fifty coverbs. Minor intransitive auxiliary verbs each occur with less than seven coverbs. The remaining eighteen auxiliary verbs are transitive. Table 30 shows those transitive auxiliaries which occur with more than ten coverbs. These are classed as major transitive auxiliaries. The eight major transitive auxiliary verbs, 'handle', 'make', 'poke', 'chop', 'punch', 'elbow', 'pick up', 'look', and the five major intransitive auxiliaries 'sit', 'lie', 'stand', 'walk', 'go somewhere' each co-occur with between ten and fifty coverbs.

Table 30: Major transitive auxiliary verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major AUX</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rra</td>
<td>handle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nya</td>
<td>ma.e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>poke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(u)la</td>
<td>chop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lan</td>
<td>punch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>din</td>
<td>elbow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
<td>pick up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>den</td>
<td>look</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The minor transitive auxiliaries shown in Table 31 co-occur with ten coverbs or fewer, but these may be very common auxiliaries, e.g. 'consume', 'hold', 'say'.
Table 31: Minor transitive auxiliary verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minor AUX</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nhdhi</td>
<td>🍂 —</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>say, do, feel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i)la</td>
<td>consume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi</td>
<td>fill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhthan</td>
<td>bury something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndan</td>
<td>hang up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nmen</td>
<td>smell something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nbe</td>
<td>strip of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nbaga</td>
<td>smoke something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di</td>
<td>heat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some minor auxiliaries co-occur with only one coverb. This is semantically conditioned, e.g. nbe ‘strip of’ which co-occurs only with lor ‘strip someone of something’, e.g. (5-7).

5-7  ginbe-nga+lorr+nunggu

3MIN.A.R.strip of-3.MINF.DAT+strip someone of something+hand

‘He strips her of everything.’ (T6:233)

All transitive auxiliaries except rra ‘handle’ and la ‘chop’ may occur without a coverb, e.g. (5-8) - (5-9).

5-8  endji ngammeme manggan

what 1/2A.do mate

‘What shall we do, mate?’ (T6:9)
"What’s up? What’s up?" she says in my direction, Marjorie says to me here. (T6:25-27)

nbaga ‘smoke something’ only occurs without a coverb, e.g. (5-10).

5.3 Transitivity of coverbs

The corpus contains 280 coverbs. 144 of these are semantically transitive; the remaining 136 are semantically intransitive. Coverbs possess transitivity independently of the auxiliary in other Daly languages, e.g. MalakMalak (Dixon, 1980:428), Marrithiyel, (Green, 1989) and Ngan.gityemmerri (Reid, 1990:220-221).

In Emmi, coverbs fall into two categories. Except for punctual, transitive coverbs, any coverb may co-occur with an intransitive auxiliary to specify the action/state of the VP as imperfective, e.g. (5-11) - (5-12).

5-11 ganen-ngurrgurr

3MIN.S.R-sit+sleep

‘She’s sleeping.(temporarily).’

5-12 gaya+minmin=eya gumbu

3MIN.S.R.lie down+shake=AWAY foot

‘She’s lying down away over there, shaking from head to toe.’

(T1:78)
The punctual transitive coverb gurr 'hit' co-occurs with the six major transitive auxiliaries 'handle, make, poke, chop, elbow, pick up', but cannot co-occur with intransitive auxiliaries, so that (5-13) - (5-19) are unacceptable to any Emmi speaker. The same constraint holds for valh 'break', vuritj 'make'; pit 'wash'.

5-13 *ngana+ gurr=eyi
1MIN.S.R.walk+hit=PERF
'I was kicking him/her.'

5-14 *ngarru+ gurr=eyi
1MIN.S.R.go somewhere+hit=PERF
'I deliberately hit him/her.'

5-15 *nginen+ gurr=eyi
1MIN.SR.sit+ hit=PERF
'I sat and hit him/her.'

5-16 *ngiye+ gurr=eyi
1MIN.S.R.lie+hit=PERF
'I lay and hit him/her.'

5-17 *ngama+ gurr=eyi
1MIN.S.R.stand+hit=PERF
'I stood and hit him/her.'

5-18 *ngidji+ gurr=eyi
1MIN.S.R.crawl+hit=PERF
'I crawled and hit him/her.'
5-19 *ngarrame+ gurr=eyi
   IMIN.S.R.creep+hit=PERF
   'I crept up and hit him/her.'

To be accepted by Emmi-speakers, (5-13) - (5-19) must be expressed as (5-20) - (5-26), where the intransitive auxiliary in (5-13) - (5-19) is replaced by a transitive auxiliary, and the intransitive auxiliary is shifted right-wards to become the final verb in a serial construction. The corpus contains a high proportion of serial constructions, in which most complex verbs may be followed by one of a subset of intransitive auxiliaries co-referential with the S'A of the complex verb, and matching its TAM marking. These serial-final auxiliaries do not affect the transitivity of the serial construction, but signal the bodily orientation of the co-referential subject and provide extra aspectual information about the coverb. Serial constructions are discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

5-20 nguman-+gurr ngana=yi
   IMIN.A.R.poke+hit  IMIN.S.R.walk=PERF
   'I kept spearing him/her.'

5-21 ngala+gurr ngarru=yi
   IMIN.A.R.chop+hit  IMIN.S.R.go somewhere=PERF
   'I deliberately shot him/her.'

5-22 ngalan+gurr nginen=eyi
   IMIN.A.R.punch+hit  IMIN.S.R.sit=PERF
   'I sat and punched him/her.'

5-23 nganya+ gurr ngiye=yi
   IMIN.A.R.make+hit  IMIN.S.R.lie=PERF
   'I bent over and hit him/her with my fingers.'
5-24 nguman+gurr ngama=yi
1MIN.A.R.poke+hit 1MIN.S.R.stand=PERF
‘I stood and speared him/her.’

5-25 ngalan+gurr ngidji=yi
1MIN.A.R.punch+hit 1MIN.S.R.crawl=PERF
‘I crawled up and punched him/her.’

5-26 ngarra+ gurr+manhdha ngarrame=yi
1MIN.A.R.handle+hit+throat 1MIN.S.R.creep=PERF
‘I throttled him/her stealthily with my hands.’

Although intransitive auxiliaries cannot co-occur with punctual transitive coverbs, dynamic intransitive auxiliaries can occur with transitive coverbs which are seen as ongoing actions extended in time, as in (5-27).

5-27 ngara, all the granddaughters gana+gudjuk
granddaughter, 3MIN.S.R.walk+swallow
‘Granddaughters, all the granddaughters she’s swallowing.’ (T1:11)

5.4 How transitivity affects the co-occurrence of AUX + coverb

Transitivity is a property of clauses, such that an activity is ‘carried-over’ or ‘transferred from an agent to a patient.’ Hopper and Thompson (1980). Hopper and Thompson see transitivity as a continuum, and identify morpho-syntactic and semantic parameters for measuring the degree of transitivity of a given clause. They say that prototypically transitive clauses are characterised by the presence of two participants - an (A), and an individuated, referential (O) who is the ‘receiver’ of the action, and a verb expressing an action which is punctual and telic, that is, sudden or without internal duration, and completed at the time of speaking. In many
languages, they claim, clauses will contain obligatory morpho-syntactic marking for the core arguments A and O.

Causative clauses are highly transitive constructions: 'they must involve at least two participants, one of which is an initiator, the other of which is totally affected and highly individuated.' (Hopper and Thompson, 1980:264).

Intransitive clauses are the obverse of this. There is obligatory marking for only one participant, (S). If an O is present, it is not individuated and only marginally affected by the verb, which may express a state or an atelic action with internal duration.

Deciding the transitivity of an Emmi verb is complicated by the fact that the basic verb structure involves an auxiliary verb and a coverb, whose transitivity may not match. 17 of the auxiliary verbs in the corpus are transitive, 13 are intransitive. 144 of the 266 coverbs are transitive. The remaining 122 are intransitive. For most of the complex verbs in the corpus, the transitivity of auxiliary and coverb match. Generally, intransitive auxiliaries pair with intransitive coverbs to produce intransitive complex verbs, e.g. (5-28) - (5-29).

5-28 wutinggi=nene gunymurrucal+mede
canoe=INSTR 3AUG.S.R.go somewhere+climb+UAUG
'The two of them make for the shore (lit. climb) by canoe.' (T10:8)

5-29 thenbi+ngana+thenbi=yi
vomit+IMIN.S.Rwalk+vomit=PERF
'I vomited [involuntarily].'

The choice of intransitive AUX affects the meaning of the VP. For example, in (5-28), AUX rr is used to convey the purposefulness of the journey. In (5-29), AUX na is used to convey the involuntary nature of the vomiting. In (5-30) - (5-32), AUX nen expresses the temporary state of the
notion expressed by the coverb. AUX na would be substituted for nen, if the speaker wished to emphasise the dynamic nature of the action.

5-30  ganen+djurang  yingi
   3MIN.S.R.sit+drip  breast
   ‘My breast leaks temporarily.’

5-31  nginen+ngunuk
   1MIN.S.R.sit+pant
   ‘I’m sitting panting for the moment.’

5-32  gunin+erwe=nhdhi
   3AUG.S.R.sit+laugh=towards speaker
   ‘They’re sitting laughing in our direction for the moment.’

In general, the semantic connection between transitive AUX and transitive coverbs is transparent, e.g. (5-33) - (5-35). AUX rra ‘handle’ co-occurs with coverb yirr ‘scratch’ in (5-33), because the act of scratching involves the hands.

5-33  ngammarra-ngga+yirr=eyi
   1/2/MIN.A.R.handle-l/2.RECI+scratch=PERF
   ‘We scratched each other (or ourselves).’

AUX la 'chop' co-occurs with coverb garrgat ‘bite’ in (5-34), because it refers to cutting with a broad edge, here the teeth of the shark.

5-34  awa  wan.ga=nene=yi  gala+garrgat
   meat  shark-=NEW INF=PERF  3MIN.A.R.chop+bite
   ‘It’s a shark that bit her.’ (T10: 145)
AUX man 'poke' in (5-35a) refers to the vertical probing of the shark's long pointed body. If AUX nya 'make' were substituted for AUX man, as it is in (5-35b), which comes from the same text, it functions as a causative.

5-35a guman+vuritj dorr
3MIN.A.R.poke+clean place
'It [shark] cleans the place up.' (T10:57)

5-35b ganya+vuritj dorr
3MIN.A.R.make+clean place
'It [shark] gets the place cleaned up.' (T10:72)

In addition to this general pattern of semantic congruence, a significant number of syntactically motivated mismatchings occur. For instance, all major intransitive auxiliaries may co-occur with non-punctual transitive coverbs, e.g. (5-36), and transitive auxiliaries may co-occur with intransitive coverbs, e.g. (5-37) - (5-38).

5-36 gaya-ngga+dep+yangiyi=mangga yirrgala=nene
3MIN.S.R.lie-L/2MIN.O+stick to+breast=LIK snake=NEW INF
'It's a snake that is likely to stay stuck to our breasts.' (T6: 131)

In (5-36), the stative intransitive auxiliary ya 'lie' is used in its permanent state sense, adding aspectual information about the internal complexity of the action expressed by the transitive coverb. It specifies the continuing duration of this action as potentially everlasting.

In (5-37) and (5-38), the dynamic intransitive auxiliaries na 'walk' and rru 'go somewhere' provide aspectual information about the transitive notion expressed by the coverbs pirr 'throw down' in (5-37) and tjak 'make a fire' in (5-38). In (5-37), AUX na is used to convey the thoughtlessness of the action expressed by the coverb.
5-37 yere yawana ganenya+prr+mede
child 3MIN.M.AnaphDEIC 3AUGS.R.walk+throw down+UAUG
Those two leave the child I mentioned behind by accident.' (T4:11)

In (5-38), AUX rru is used to convey the deliberate nature of the action expressed by the coverb.

5-38 emmi=mangga ganurru+tjak
what=LIK 3MIN.S.R go somewhere+make fire
‘What likelihood is there of you making a fire?’ (T11:56)

Particular combinations of auxiliary and coverb affect the transitivity of the resulting complex verb, with the result that the transitivity of each complex verb is not predictable. When an intransitive auxiliary is paired with a transitive coverb which is not punctual or completed, the auxiliary provides aspectual information about the internal complexity of the action expressed by the coverb. This does not preclude the AUX from contributing semantically to convey a particular shade of meaning, but where there is semantic incongruity between the auxiliary and the coverb, the syntactic function of the auxiliary overrides the literal meaning, e.g. (5-39)-(5-40).

5-39 ganen+rerr=enhdeni
3MIN.S.R.sit+wander around=now
‘He is wandering around now.’

5-40 yuwa=no=ya ngadhama+wul
3MIN.FarDEIC=PUR?-AWAY 1MIN.S.IR.stand+come back
‘I’m going to go back away over there.’(T6:48)
When a transitive AUX is matched with an intransitive coverb, e.g. (5-41) - (5-42), the AUX has a causative effect, overriding the intransitivity of the coverb.

5-41  ganya+ngurr-gurr=eyi
  3MIN.A.R.make+sleep=PERF
  'S/he made him/her sleep.'

5-42  ganya-na+tjilk=eno
  3MIN.A.R.make-2MIN.O+.ache=PURP
  'He's going to make you ache.' (T9:22)

This is consistent with the causative function of each of the major transitive auxiliaries when matched with a transitive coverb, e.g. (5-43).

5-43  gayi  ganila  wirri
  PROH  2MIN.A.R.consume  cockle
  gala-na+vak+panba=mangga
  3MIN.A.R.chop-2MIN.O+swell+crotch=LIK
  'Don't eat cockle. It is likely to cause your crotch to swell up.'

Compare (5-41) - (5-43) with (5-44) - (5-45), where an intransitive auxiliary has a causative effect when suffixed with the Manipulative affix -mi before an intransitive coverb.

5-44  kandu  yuwana=nene=nbdha
  man  3MIN.M.Far.DEIC=NEW.INF=really
  gana-mi+tjilk  gana=yi
  3MIN.S.R.walk-MAN+ache  3MIN.S.walk=PERF
  'That man over there kept making her ache.' (T9: 123)
5-45  garru-mi+thungthung  viye
     3MIN.S.R.go somewhere-MAN+throb  head
     'He deliberately makes her head throb.'

The major transitive auxiliaries have a causative effect in transitive utterances where the subject is seen as undergoing an experience over which s/he has no control. e.g. (5-46) - (5-50). This is the Emmi Impersonal Causative version of Hopper and Thompson's low transitive agentless Passive construction.

Hopper and Thompson's agentless passives 'typically have, or must have, only one argument, and this argument generally exercises no control over the event denoted by the verb.' (Hopper and Thompson, 1980:293). In Emmi's impersonal causatives, A and O are coded on the verb; O has no control over the event denoted by the verb. It is worth noting that O is not coded or: the verb as an Adversative argument. If it were, the event denoted by the verb would be marked as having an adverse effect on the experiencer.

As in Ngan.gityemerri, A is non-referential and restricted to 3 Minimal, and the construction always contains a lexically incorporated body part specifying the 'locus of sensation' in the undergoer O's body (Reid, 1997:16). The utterance is transitive, but monovalent.

5-46  garra-ngany+piriny
     3MIN.A.R.handle-1MIN.O+body
     'I'm tired (lit. it handles my body).'

5-47  ganhdhi-ngany+lhuhung
     3MIN.AR.hold-1MIN.O+headache
     'I've got a head-ache (lit. it holds me in a headache).'
5-48  **garra+pil+miri**  
*3MIN.A.R.handle+push+eye*  
'S/he feels dizzy (lit. it pushes her/his eye with its hands).'

5-49  **gala-ny+gat+mari**  
*3MIN.A.R.chop-1MIN.O+cut+belly*  
'I'm short of breath (lit. it cuts my belly).'

5-50  **guman-ngany+da+mari**  
*3MIN.A.R.poke-1MIN.O+empty+belly*  
'I'm sad (it empties my belly).'

From the evidence presented in this section, the transitivity of Emmi complex verbs appears to depend primarily on the transitivity of the coverb. Generally, the transitivity of the AUX matches that of the coverb. When there is a mismatch in transitivity, there are co-occurrence restrictions on AUX and coverb. An intransitive AUX may only co-occur with a non-punctual, non-completed transitive coverb and functions to specify the transitive coverb as + duration, + imperfective aspect.

However, the transitivity of a coverb may be altered by the causative effect of a transitive AUX on an intransitive coverb. An intransitive auxiliary followed by the Manipulative suffix -mi- also has a causative effect on an intransitive coverb, as shown in (5-44) - (5-45). This is not predictable, and means that entering an Emmi verb in the lexicon entails

a) entering the transitivity of each AUX and coverb as head word;

b) specifying which AUX a coverb may co-occur with, and the effect of each;

c) for each intransitive coverb, specifying whether the manipulative suffix may co-occur with it;

d) specifying all non-predictable combinations of AUX + coverb.

Finally, there are markers of transitivity outside the verb but inside the clause. When an animate subject is introduced or re-introduced into
discourse, the last word in the subject NP hosts adnominal enclitic *nene*
which signals new information. This happens regardless of tense or
modality.

5.5 Semantic restrictions on co-occurrence of AUX + coverb

5.5.1 Literal and classificatory functions of AUX

The corpus contains many combinations of AUX and coverb where
the AUX retains its literal meaning. Major intransitive and transitive
auxiliaries have, in addition, developed a classificatory function based on
this literal meaning.

5.5.1.1 Major intransitive auxiliaries

5.5.1.1.1 AUX na ‘walk’

When AUX na occurs without a coverb, it means ‘walk’, e.g. (5-51).

5-51 pudan ngana-ngana

Port Darwin 1MIN.S.R.walk=RECPAST
‘I walked to Darwin recently.’ (RY:3)

When AUX na occurs with a coverb, it may retain its literal
meaning, e.g. (5-52), but is equally likely to occur with the classificatory
meaning of using the feet to effect the action expressed by the coverb, e.g.
(5-53) - (5-54)
5-52 ganenya+wedjir=eyi

3AUG.S.R.walk+bad=PERF

'They walked in the wrong direction.'

5-53 ngana+rtudu=yi

1MIN.S.R.walk+wake=PERF

'I kicked him/her awake.'

5-54 ngana+duk=eyi

1MIN.S.R.walk+put out fire=PERF

'I put the fire out with my foot.'

Other AUX could be substituted for na, with a concomitant change of meaning. For instance, if AUX man 'poke' were substituted for na in (5-52), it would mean that the agent effected the action by poking the O vertically with the pointed end of a long instrument.

5-55 yu gak=enhdha verrun+nganya

Yes away=really 1AUG.S.R.go somewhere+F.AUG

'Yes, we women really went away.' (T7:12)

With a coverb, AUX rru may retain its original meaning, e.g. (5-56).

5-56 ngavurru+velhet yene ganen

1MIN.S.IR.go somewhere+pass by LOC 3MIN.S.R.sit

'I'll go past [the place] where she stays.' (T8:21)

Equally often, AUX rru has the classificatory meaning of acting 'Jeliberately', e.g. (5-45) and. (5-57) - (5-59).
5-57  mama garru+dju+moro=ya
       mama 3MIN.S.R.go somewhere+shit+buttock=AWAY
    'Mama, he's deliberately shitting his pants away over there.' (T8:92)

5-58  garru+ngatj-nanga
       3MIN.S.R.go somewhere+run away-3M.MIN.ADVERS
    'She's deliberately running away on him.' (T9:1)

5-59  garru+vava+nunggu       yii       beyik
       3MIN.S.R.go somewhere+slip+hand 3MIN.NearDEIC       bag
    'He deliberately slips it from her hand. This here is the bag.'
    (T9:226)

5·5·1·3  AUX nen 'sit'
Without a coverb, AUX nen means 'sit', e.g. (5-60)-(5-61). It may
also mean 'sit habitually, stay, live', e.g. (5-56), or act as a copula (See
Chapter Eight).

5-60  yuwa=nhdha               ngamminen
       3MIN.FarDEIC=really       1/2S.sit
    'Let's both sit over there!' (T5:35)

5-61  awa rungurungurr       yii=nhdha=ya
       meat     mudcrab           3MIN.NearDEIC=really=AWAY
       ganen
       3MIN.S.R.sit
    'Mudcrab sits here, away from them.' (T3:2)

With a coverb, AUX nen may retain the literal meaning 'sit', e.g. (5-62) -
(5-64).
5-62 ngadi+dhet
1MIN.S.IR.sit+sit down
'I'll sit down.'

5-63 gunin+patj=enhdheni
3AUG.S.R.sit+sit on heels=now
'They're sitting on their heels now.'

5-64 wuny gadi+wunye=no
shit 3MIN.S.IR.sit+shit=PURP
'He's going to sit and have a shit.' (T7:98)

Aux nen occurs in marked possessive clauses as follows:
If the possessed noun is alienable, AUX nen co-occurs with the
coverb dje 'have', and the incorporated body-part noun nunggu 'hand'.
The possessed noun optionally hosts the adnominal comitative enclitic
-widja in a proprietary sense, e.g. (5-65) - (5-66).

5-65 mudika=widja nginen+dje+nunggu
car=COMIT 1MIN.S.R.sit+have+hand
'I've got a car.'

5-66 ganen+dje+nunggu rungurungurr
3MIN.S.R.sit+have+hand mudcrab
'S/he's got a mudcrab.'

5-67 AUX ya 'lie'
Without a coverb, AUX ya means 'lie down', e.g. (5-67).
5-67  pelele    yuwa=ya
     Black Falcon  3MIN.FarDEIC=AWAY

     gunya+mede  purrk     yuwa=ya
     3AUG.S.R.lie+UAUG Brown Falcon  3MIN.FarDEIC=AWAY

     gunya+mede
     3AUG.S.R.lie+UAUG

     'Black Falcon and Brown Falcon are both lying over there, away from them.' (T3: 4-5)

AUX ya has the classificatory meaning 'be' when used of horizontal features of the landscape, e.g. the black-soil plain in (5-68), the long grass plains in (5-69) and Badjalarr and Borakpene, the low-lying Peron Islands, in (5-70).

5-68  amma       yuwa        gaya
     black-soil plain  3MIN.FarDEIC  3MIN.S.R.lie

     'The black-soil plain is over there.' (T11:34)

5-69  nganggu=nhdhi yorro+rtedi
     1/2MIN.PRO=TOWARDS  long grass

     gaya=nhdhi
     3MIN.S.R.lie=TOWARDS

     'Our long grass is towards us.' (T15:123)

5-70  borakpene  yii=nhdhi
     Borakpene  3MIN.NearDEIC=TOWARDS

     badjalarr  yiverre       gaya
     Badjalarr  there         3MIN.S.R.lie

     'Borakpene lies here, towards us; Badjalarr is there.' (T10:20)

With a coverb, AUX ya provides a simultaneous state, e.g. (5-71).
5-71 gaya+du+moro=nhdheni rtedi ngalh+ngalh
3MIN.S.R.lie down+touch+buttock=now back blue water
‘She’s lying down touching the surface of the deep water.’(T1:36)

AUX ya also acts as a default AUX, co-occurring with a coverb with no apparent semantic connection, e.g. (5-72) - (5-77). Default AUX are to be expected in a language whose basic verb structure consists of an AUX plus a coverb but whose coverbs outnumber auxiliaries by ten to one.

5-72 Belyuen yun+ngatj+nganya wadjan
Belyuen 1AUG.S.R.lie+run away+F.AUG 1AUG.S.R.walk
‘We women keep running away to Belyuen.’ (T15:12)

5-73 awa yunga-ngarrinya+wut
meat 2MIN.S.IR.lie-1AUG.O+give
‘Give us the meat!’

5-74 yun+nhtan beyik
1AUG.S.R.lie+put inside bag
‘We put it in the bag.’

5-75 ganiya-ngani+bep=eyJ
2MIN.S.R.lie-1MIN.DAT+startle=PERF
‘You startled me.’

5-76 ngammiya-ngga+djung+ngalh=eyJ
1 /2.S.lie-1 /2RECI+join+mouth=PERF
‘We kissed each other.’

5-77 gaya+djudjung=enhdheni
3MIN.S.R.lie+lick=now
‘S/he’s licking it now.’
Without a coverb, AUX ma means 'stand'. It is used, figuratively, of any entity that projects vertically from the earth, like the honey in (5-78) and the yams in (5-79).

(5-78) gama vulhut gama

3MIN.S.R.stand beeswax 3MIN.S.R.stand

'The beeswax is standing up.' (T5:8)

(5-79) yuwa gama mimi

3MIN.FarDEIC 3MIN.S.R.stand cheeky yam

'Over there grow (lit. stand) cheeky yams.' (T14:10)

ma also classifies the orientation of an entity as sticking out, e.g. (5-80).

(5-80) gama-ngany+yeri+drr=eyi

3MIN.S.R.stand-1MIN.O+hole+tooth=PERF

'A gap stood out in my teeth.' (R.Y:13)

With a coverb, AUX ma classifies the orientation of an entity as sticking out, e.g. (5-81) - (5-82).

(5-80) gama+dun ngur

3MIN.S.R.stand-be erect penis

'His penis is erect.'

The ground 'sticks out' in (5-81).

(5-81) gama+tin dorr

3MIN.S.R.stand+be still ground

'The place is still.'
5.5.1.2  

**Minor intransitive auxiliaries**

Minor intransitive auxiliaries retain their literal meaning with a coverb, and lack the classificatory function exhibited by major intransitive auxiliaries.

5.5.1.2.1  

**AUX dji ‘crawl’**

Without a coverb, AUX dji means ‘crawl’, e.g. (5-82). With a coverb, it retains its literal meaning, e.g. (5-83) - (5-85).

5-82  

**wuliya**  

**gidji=nhdheni**  

*small 3MIN.S.R.crawl=now*

‘The baby is crawling now.’

5-83  

**nga**  

**gidji+kal+wuda=yi**  

*3MIN.F.PRO 3MIN.S.R.crawl+climb+water=PERF*

‘As for her, she crawled up to the shore.’ (T10:75)

5-84  

**vere  wuda  gidji+lenme**  

*creek  water  3MIN.S.R.crawl+swim*

‘She swims across the creek.’ (T10:5)

5-85  

**gidjinye+wulginme**  

*3AUG.S.R.crawl+wriggle*

‘They (snakes) are wriggling.’

5.5.1.2  

**AUX rrame ‘creep’**

Without a coverb, AUX rrame means ‘creep stealthily’, e.g. (5-86). The corpus contains no instances of AUX rrame with a coverb.

5-86  

**valhat gidji**  

**garrame**  

*naked 3MIN.S.R.crawl 3MIN.S.R.crep*

‘She crawls stealthily naked.’ (T10:82)
5.5.1.2.3

- AUX *rran* ‘use legs’
  
  Without a coverb, AUX *rran* means ‘use legs’, e.g. (5-87). It retains this literal meaning with a coverb, e.g. (5-88) - (5-89).

5-87  *dhirra=nhdhi*

  2MIN.S.IR. use legs=TOWARDS
  
  ‘Run towards me!’

5-88  *girran+mbul=eya*  

  3MIN.S.R. use legs+run=away from speaker  
  
  ‘The big bird runs away from us.’ (T14:21)

5-89  *ava=nene*  

  3MIN.S.R. use legs+lift
  
  ‘Who is the one who lifts him up?’ (T8:83)

5.5.1.2.4

- AUX *nhdha* ‘perch’
  
  Without a coverb AUX *nhdha* means ‘perch’, e.g. (5-90). It retains its literal meaning with a coverb, e.g. (5-91) - (5-92).

5-90  *yirrgala*  

  tree-snake  
  
  3MIN.S.R. perch=LIK
  
  ‘It’s a tree-snake that is likely to be lying perched in the Cocky apple tree.’ (T6:5-7)

5-91  *malha ganhdha+mu+yirri=ya*  

  lizard  3MIN.S.R. perch+do+tail=AWAY  
  
  ‘The lizard is perched in the hole with its tail poking away from us.’
5-92  
\[
ganhdhanya + rrutut  
\]
3AUG.S.R. perch+ float  
'They're perched [on the water], floating.'

5.5.1.2f  
AUX nme 'rise'  
Without a coverb, e.g. (5-93) or with a coverb, e.g. (5-94), AUX nme means 'rise'.

5-93  
\[
ginme + rtedi  
\]
\[
gana  
\]
\[
yuwa  
\]
3MIN.S.R. rise+ back 3MIN.S.R. walk 3MIN.FarDEIC  
'Goose keeps flying up in the sky over there.' (T11:35)

The lexically incorporated body-part noun rtedi 'back' has the classificatory meaning of 'top surface', and here 'sky'.

5-94  
\[
ela  
\]
\[
vinme + nerre- nganila  
\]
mother.ADR 2MIN.S.R. rise+ shift position-1MIN.BEN  
'Mother, get up for me!' (T11:123)

5.5.1.4f  
AUX mi 'come out'  
Without a coverb AUX mi means 'come out', e.g. (5-95). It retains its literal meaning with a coverb, e.g. (5-96).

5-95  
\[
gemi + mari  
\]
\[
yunungu = nhdheni  
\]
3MIN.S.R. come out + belly nearby= now  
'He comes out from inside, close by now.' (T4:38)

5-96  
\[
gemi + nerre + mari  
\]
3MIN.S.R. come out + shift position + belly  
'He comes out from inside.' (T4:39)
5.5.1.2.1. AUX denbdhi ‘fall down’

Without a coverb, AUX denbdhi means ‘fall down’, e.g. (5-97) and (5-98). In both sentences it implies that the action was involuntary, as it does when used figuratively to mean 'be born', e.g. (5-99).

5-97 gadenbdhi gumbu warwa gama
3MIN.S.R.fall down foot above 3MIN.S.R.stand
‘[The bird] falls feet up (lit. on top); it stands up.’(T14:24)

5-98 ngadenbdhi=yi ngunu angiye=nhdheni=yi
1MIN.S.R.fall down=PERF then 1MIN.S.R.lie=now=PERF
‘I fell down and then I lay down.’ (T9:158)

5-99 yere wanhbdhi-ngani yawanga gadenbdhi
child behind-1MIN.DAT 3MIN.AnaphDEIC 3MIN.S.R.fall
down
‘That girl I mentioned was born after me.’ (T10:161)

With a coverb denbdhi means fall down voluntarily, e.g. (5-100)

5-100 merrgude=nhdhi yedendhi+nerre+nhdhi
quick=TOWARDS 2MIN.S.IR.fall down=TOWARDS
‘Fall down quick towards us!’ (T4:90)

5.5.1.3. Major transitive auxiliaries

Like major intransitive auxiliaries, major transitive auxiliaries may be used literally, or function as classifiers of the action expressed by the coverb.

5.5.1.5.1. AUX rra ‘handle’ (lit. use hands)

AUX rra occurs without a coverb, e.g. (5-10), and co-occurs with at least fifty coverbs. It classifies an action as involving the use of the hands, e.g. rubbing in (5-101), pushing away in (5-102), scratching in (5-
103), washing in (5-104), putting out the fire in (5-105), shaking awake in (5-106), digging in (5-107), face-painting in (5-108) and prising out a foreign object in (5-109).

Emmi AUX rra 'handle' is cognate with Marrithiyel AUX /rr/ (Green, 1989:323, 329, 330). Both classify actions involving the use of the hands, Emmi rra 'handle' co-occurs with coverbs cognate with the Marrithiyel examples provided by Green (1989:350-351). The following Emmi examples are not, however, cognate with Green's examples, nor are they claimed to be.

5-101 yerre-nbe+lhumbu
2MIN.A.IR.handle-2MIN.REFL+thigh
'Rub it on your thigh' (T11:11)

5-102 gurriyi+mari+thethap+mede=yi
3AUG.A.R.handle.RECI+belly+push away++UAUG=PERF
'They both push each other away with the flat of their hands.'

The lexically incorporated body-part mari is used in a classificatory sense to refer to the under surface of an entity, here the palm of the hand.

5-103 ngammarrr-ngga+yirr=eyi
1/2MIN.A..handle-1/2.RECI+scratch=PERF
'You and I scratched each other.'

5-104 ngawarra+pit+pele=no
1MIN.A.IR.handle+wash-2MIN.BEN=PURP
'I'll wash it for you by hand.'

5-105 garra+duk=eyi
3MIN.A.R.handle+put out fire=PERF
'He put out the fire with his hands.'
5-106  garranya-ne+dut=enhdheni
3AUG.A.R handle-3AUG.O+find=now
'They shake them awake.'

5-107  yerre+du+yeri=nhdha
2AUG.A.IR.handle+touch+hole=really
'Really dig with your hands, you mob!'

5-108  garra+gat+miri
3MIN.A.R.handle+cut+eye
'S/he paints someone-else’s face.'

5-109  yerre-nbe+ru+gumbu
2MIN.A.IR.handle-2MIN.REFL+prise out+foot
'Prise it out of your foot with your hands.'

AUX rra ‘handle’ is, by extension, used of actions requiring the use of the arms rather than the hands, e.g. (5-110).

5-110  ngarra-ngani+thap+mari=yi
1MIN.A.R.handle-1MIN.REFL+fold+belly=PERF
'I crossed my arms.'

Because AUX rra 'handle' is used with the coverb tjukul 'fold' to mean ‘fold something up’, it is also used of folding the knees, an action which does not require the use of the hands, e.g. (5-111).

5-111  yerre-nbe+tjukul+vinggar
2MIN.A.IR.handle-2MIN.REFL+fold+knee
'Put your knees together.'
AUX rra 'handle' is used of tearing something open with the hands, e.g. (5-112).

5-112 awa ngarra+tjelbat=eyi (nunggu=nene=yi)
meat 1MIN.A.R handle+break off=PERF (hand=INSTR=PERF)
'I broke off some meat with my hands.

rrha 'handle' is used when cutting something open with an instrument regarded as an extension of the hands, e.g. the bulng 'bottle' or more precisely, the piece of glass referred to in (5-113). If the action of cutting open involves vertical piercing with a sharp point, AUX man 'poke' is used with coverb gat, e.g. (5-114).

5-113 naif=nene gayi=ve
knife=INSTR PROH=HAP
bulng=nene yerre+gar+mari
bottle=INSTR 2MIN.A.IR.handle+cut+belly
'Don’t you dare use a knife! Use a bottle to cut her belly.' (T1:90-91)

5-114 awa wan.ga gala+garrgat guman+gat
meat shark 3MIN.A.R.chop+bite 3MIN.A.R.poke+cut
an.gambe
waist
'The shark bites her; it severs her at the waist.' (T10:140)

Not every combination of AUX rra and coverb is semantically transparent, e.g. (5-115).

5-115 garra+biny yiverre=nhdheni
3MIN.A.R.handle+go down there=now
'The tide is starting to go out there now.' (AD:4)
Semantic mismatching happens because an AUX is obligatory in every VP, and there are only 30 AUX in the language. The result is that frequently occurring AUX may co-occur with semantically anomalous coverbs. There is sometimes a syntactic justification for a semantically anomalous co-occurrence. For instance, like other major transitive AUX, AUX rra has a causative effect on adjectival coverbs, e.g. wedjirr 'bad' in (5-116), murwan 'jealous' in (5-117), and retja 'desirable' in (5-118).

5-116 awa  garra-nga+wedjirr=enhdheni
\[ meat \quad 3MIN.A.R \ handle-3.MIN.F.REFL+bad=now \]
yuwa
\[ 3MIN.FarDEIC \]
'Now the animal is making herself disappear (lit. makes herself bad) over there.' (T14:79).

5-117 garranya+murwan=eyi
\[ 3AUG.A.R \ handle+jealous=PERF \]
'They dobbed him/her in.'

5-118 retja+ngarra
\[ want+1MIN.A.R.handle \quad 3MIN.M.FarDEIC \]
'yuwana
'I want that man over there.'

5.5.1.32
AUX nya 'make'
Without a coverb, AUX nya means 'make', e.g. (5-119), and, in certain contexts, 'cook'.

5-119 warrgadi=no  ngawanya  ngadi
\[ dillybag=PURP \quad 1MIN.A.IR.make \quad 1MIN.S.IR.sit \]
'I'm going to sit and make a dillybag.'
AUX nya co-occurs with at least 50 coverbs. Emmi speakers describe AUX nya as classifying actions carried out using the fingers, e.g. (5-121), and actions done with a stick, or gun, each of which is thought of as an extension of the fingers, e.g. (5-122), (5-123). It is cognate with Marrithiyel AUX /nj/ (Green, 1989:323, 329, 330, 343-345). Both classify what Green calls ‘a single line or length making contact with the undergoer’ (Green 1989:343).

5-121  garrinya+purr+nunggu     wawany     gunin
       3AUG.A.R.make+dance+hand    upper thigh  3AUG.S.R.sit
  ‘They’re making their hands dance on their thighs.’

5-122  ganya+duk=eyi
       3MIN.A.R.make+put out fire=PERF
  ‘S/he put out the fire using a stick.’
Compare (5-105), where the AUX used is rra ‘handle’.

5-123  ganya+gurr=eyi
       3MIN.A.R.make+hit=PERF
  ‘S/he shot him/her.’

AUX nya is commonly used as a Causative, e.g. (5-36), (5-41)-(5-42) and (5-124)-(5-125).

5-124  ganinya+gat=eyi
       2MIN.A.R.make+cut=PERF
  ‘You got it cut.’
5-125 nganya+vil=eyi

1MIN.A.R.make+warm up=PERF

'I made her/him/it warm.'

5-126 uma rtedi wunbi=nene

2MIN.A.IR.poke back cicatrice=INST

'Pierce his/her back with a sorry cut.'

5-127 nguman-ngani+dirr tjelerre=nene

1MIN.A.R.poke-1MIN.REFL+teeth grass=INST

'I poke the holes between my teeth with a blade of grass.'

With a coverb, AUX man describes actions made by poking something vertically with the pointed end of a long, thin instrument e.g. the knife in (5-128), the crowbar in (5-129), or the stick in (5-130).

5-128 guman+dethak+nunggu=yi marrimarri=uene

3MIN.A.R.poke+stab+hand=PERF knife=INST

'He stabbed him in the hand with a knife.'

5-129 gumanya+kul mundjirr

3AUG.A.R.poke+benfong=long-necked turtle

'crownbar=INST=PERF

'They probed for long-necked turtles with a crowbar.'
5-130  yilhi=nene  uman+thung+miri=yi
   stick=INSTR  1AUG.A.R.poke+pierce+eye=PERF
   ‘We broke the window (lit. eye) with the point of a stick.’

AUX man is also used to describe the action of propping oneself up on the long pointed limb that is one’s elbow, e.g. (5-131).

5-131  guman-na+dherr+pederr         gaya
       3MIN.A.R.poke-3MIN.M.REFL+cheek+lean3MIN.S.R.lie
       yawa=nhdha
       3MIN.AnaphDEIC=really
   ‘He lies propping his cheek [on his elbow] in that place we mentioned.’ (TG, Song 8:2)

AUX man classifies any actions as involving poking something with a pointed instrument, e.g. sewing in (5-132), fishing in (5-133), smashing something in (5-134), and, by extension, painting in (5-134).

5-132  pedji  pedji.  uma+ngalh+pedji=nhdheni
       handle  handle  2MIN.A.IR.poke+mouth+handle=now
   ‘The handle, handle. Sew the handle now!’ (T11:24)

5-133  yuwana         ngama+ngalh         ngadi
       3MIN.FarDEIC  1MIN.A.IR.poke+mouth  1MIN.S.IR.sit
       nidirr=nene  ngurrwin+ngurrwin  game
       line=INSTR  rocksREDUP  3MIN.A.R.say
       yuwa
       3MIN.FarDEIC
   ‘I’m going to fish with a fishing line over there on the rocks’, that man over there says.’ (T6:49)
5-134 kugun=eno ngama+tjetjak
sugarbag=PURP 1MIN.A.IR.poke+suck
'I'm going to suck sugarbag.'

5-135 ngarrguman-nganga+mit=eno
1AUG.A.I.R.poke-3MIN.F.ADV+paint=PURP
'We’ll paint her despite her wishes.'

AUX man 'poke' + coverb warrak 'open something out' means
'open it up with the end of a stick', whereas AUX rra 'handle' + warrak
means 'open out something using the hands'.

AUX man 'poke' + coverb dut 'wake' means to prod someone
awake; whereas AUX rra 'handle + dut means 'shake someone awake' and
AUX na 'walk' + dut means 'kick someone awake'.

AUX man 'poke' + coverb wedjirr 'spoil' means 'probe with a point
clumsily', as opposed to AUX (u)la 'chop' + wedjirr, which means 'chop
clumsily', and AUX din 'elbow' + wedjirr, which means 'elbow someone
clumsily'.

AUX man acts as a causative with coverb bet 'open', e.g.
(5-136) - (5-138).

5-136 uma+bet+miri
2MIN.A.IR.poke+open+eye
'Poke open the door (lit. eye)!'

5-137 uma-nbe+bet+miri
2MIN.A.IR.poke-2MIN.REFL+open+eye
'Poke your eyes open!'

5-138 guman-ngga+bet+tjengi=rre
3MIN.A.R.poke-1/2MIN.O+open+ear=first
'We're beginning to remember (lit open our ears).'
AUX man acts as a causative with coverb rtidim 'tie up', literally, e.g. (5-139), and in the idiom 'close the window', e.g. (5-140).

5-139 guman+rtidim
   3MIN.A.R.poke+tie up
   'He ties her up.' (T10:103)

5-140 uma+rtidim+miri
   2MIN.A.IR.poke+tie up+eye
   'Close the windows!'

AUX man acts as a dummy AUX with the following semantically anomalous transitive coverbs:
mutharr 'pack up';
kulirr+manhdha 'wring someone's neck';
velhet 'pass by someone';
dul 'shake something';
gatherr 'light something'.

All these examples involve a transitive coverb. When AUX man co-occurs with an intransitive coverb, it invariably functions as a causative, e.g. (5-141) - (5-142) where the coverbs are dim 'sink'; be 'hiccough'.

5-141 uma+dim+miri
   2MINA.IR.poke+sink+eye
   'Close the door (lit eye)!'

5-142 guman-ngany+be
   3MIN.A.R.poke-1MIN.O+hiccough
   'I've got hiccoughs.'
AUX (u) la ‘chop’

AUX la ‘chop’ is used of cutting with a broad cutting edge, e.g. the blade of an axe in (5-143), the teeth of a shark in (5-123), or the teeth of a leech in (5-144). The corpus contains no instances of AUX (u)la ‘chop’ without a coverb, but this AUX co-occurs with up to 50 coverbs. The corpus contains another AUX (i)la ‘consume’, but the two auxiliaries are never confused, because, when inflected, the stem la ‘chop’ is generally preceded by the vowel u, whereas, when inflected, the stem la ‘consume’ is always preceded by the vowel i.

Emmi AUX (u)la ‘chop’ is cognate with Marrithiyel AUX /I/ (Green, 1989: 323, 329, 330, 345-347). Both AUX classify cutting actions made with a broad surface, e.g. an axe or the teeth, but Emmi AUX la ‘chop’ also functions as a dummy AUX. Green did not note this function for Marrithiyel /I/.

5-144 gala+gurr=eyi  
pirriri=nene
3MIN.A.R.chop-1MIN.O+hit=PERF  
axe=INSTR
‘S/he chopped him/her/it up with an axe.’

5-144 gavula-na+tur  
gawani
3MIN.A.IR.chop-2MINO+nibble  
3MIN.S.IR.walk
‘It [leech] will keep nibbling you.’ (T11:41)

AUX (u)la ‘chop’ classifies any action that uses a broad cutting surface, including sharpening, in (5-145) or scaling fish, in (5-146).

5-145 yilhi ngala+therrmi=yi
stick  1MIN.A.R.chop+sharpen=PERF
‘I sharpened it.’
5-146 vulan+tjelerrk+tjelerrk

IAUG.A.R.chop+scale fish

'We scale the fish.'

AUX (u)la 'chop' acts as a dummy AUX with many semantically anomalous transitive coverbs, e.g.
morr 'cover';
turr 'show';
dut 'find';
duk 'put fire out';
djuk 'burn';
wurri+yin 'insert in nose-hole';
vava 'bump into';
wurr+mari 'make oneself comfortable';
butj 'alarm'.

AUX (u)la 'chop' also acts as dummy to many semantically anomalous intransitive coverbs, e.g.
pulil+miri 'be fussy';
utjputj 'fly away';
dol 'be empty';
demi 'be beside';
rtedi 'be back to back';
gatheler 'be bogged';
gat+mari 'be out of breath';
rerr 'wander about';
ngararr 'go round and round in a circle';
tjek 'erupt in sores';
vu 'get cool (of earth)';
tji 'be tired of'.

AUX (u)la 'chop' functions as a causative with the transitive coverb vak 'swell', e.g. (5-43) and the intransitive coverb tjilk 'ache', e.g. (5-147).
Compare this with (5-42), where transitive AUX nya ‘make’ acts as a causative with tjilk ‘ache’, and (5-44), where intransitive AUX na ‘walk’ co-occurs with the manipulative infix -mi- to function as a causative with tjilk ‘ache’.

5-147 gavula-na+tjilk=nhdha
   3MIN.A.R.chop-2MINO+ache=really
   ‘He’ll really make you ache.’

5.5.1.3.5. AUX lan ‘punch’
The corpus contains no examples of AUX lan without a coverb, but many examples where it co-occurs with coverbs.
AUX lan ‘punch’ classifies actions made with the clenched fist, e.g. (5-148), or, horizontally, with the elbow, e.g. (5-149). Emmi AUX lan has no cognate in Marrithiyel, where its classifying function is carried out by the major transive AUX ‘paint’ (Green, 1989:330).

5-148 galan+gurr=eyi nunggu=nene=yi
   3MIN.A.R.punch+hit=PERF hand=INSTR=PERF
   ‘He punched him/her with his fist’

5-149 pondor=nene=yi ngalan+gurr=eyi
   elbow=INSTR=PERF 1MIN.A.R.punch+hit=PERF
   ‘I punched him with my elbow.’

5.5.1.3.6. AUX din ‘elbow someone’
The corpus contains examples of AUX din ‘elbow someone’ without a coverb, e.g. (5-150). There are many more co-occurrences of this AUX with up to 50 coverbs, including din used as a coverb, e.g. (5-151). AUX din means ‘elbow someone’ and classifies actions made with the elbow extended horizontally, e.g. standing with elbows extended, in (5-151), filing something to a sharp point in (5-150), nudging someone away,
in (5-152). It is used of extending the elbow to throw someone in wrestling, e.g. (5-153) and by extension, sending something away, e.g. (5-154).

5-150 *wudi+dIRR=eno*

\[ 2MIN.A.IR.elbow+tooth=PURP \]

‘You should sharpen it!’

5-151 *ngudin-ngani+dIN ngama=yi*

\[ 1MIN.A.R.elbow-1MIN.DAT+elbow 1MIN.S.Rstand=PERF \]

‘I stood with elbows extended.’

5-152 *gudin-ngany+thunggu=yi*

\[ 3MIN.A.R.elbow-1MIN.O+push=PERF \]

‘S/he nudged me away.’

5-153 *ngudin+kurritj=eyi*

\[ 1MIN.A.R.elbow+sling=PERF \]

‘I threw him as in wrestling.’

5-154 *weLerre=no gadin-ngala+thunggudi*

\[ spear=PURP 3MIN.A.IR.elbow-3MIN.F.BEN+send \]

‘S/he’s going to send the parcel for her.’

AUX din also classifies actions made with other limbs extended, e.g. the legs extended in (5-155), the back in (5-156), the forearm in (5-157), the hand in (5-158). By extension, it co-occurs with coverb lawut+miri ‘turn one’s back on someone’.

5-155 *wudi+tjerr ninga*

\[ 2MIN.A.IR.elbow+stretch 2MIN.S.IRsit \]

‘Sit with your legs straight! (lit. stretch extended limbs)’
‘You and I are both stretched out leaning against it.’

‘Stretch the grass bangle around your wrist!’

‘They keep having a tug of war over the child in that place I mentioned.’

AUX din ‘elbow’ acts as a causative where no force is implied, e.g. the idiom in (5-159).

‘I let him/her go.’

AUX din also acts as a dummy AUX to some semantically anomalous coverbs, e.g. nyulhuk ‘enter’, e.g. (5-160).

‘Where’s the tobacco? I thrust it ground up in my pocket.’
AUX men ‘pick up’

Without a coverb, AUX men means ‘pick something up’, e.g.

(5-161) - (5-162).

5-161 awa me-nganila
meat 2MIN.AIR.pick up-1MIN.BEN
‘Pick up meat for me!’ (BM:1)

5-162 ngarran gamen na nunggu
goanna 3MIN.A.R.pick up 3MIN.MPRO hand
‘He picks the goanna up himself.’

With a coverb, AUX men retains its literal meaning, e.g.

(5-163) - (5-164).

5-163 ngada+mede windjerre+men-ne+mede=yi
IAUG.PRO+UAUG steal+IAUG.A.R.pick up+UAUG=PERF
tjulvorr
magpie-goose
‘Two of us stole magpie-geese off two people.’

5-164 gamen+nerredherre+nunggu
3MIN.A.R.pick up+grab+hand
‘He grabs it out of his hand.’

AUX men ‘pick up’ classifies actions involving a change of place,
e.g. (5-165) - (5-167). In (5-167), these actions are sequential.

5-165 gamen-ngany+lap=eyi
3MIN.A.R.pick up-1MIN.O+jump=PERF
‘He jumped over me.’
5-166 ganemen-ngany+wat+gumbu=yi
 2MIN.A.R.pick up-1MIN.O+trip+foot=PERF
‘You tripped me up.’

5-167 gumenya+kurr+mari+mede=yi
 3AUG.A.R.pick up+put down+belly+UAUG=PERF
‘Two men picked her up and put her in the car.’ (BM:3)

With intransitive coverbs, AUX men 'pick up' acts as a causative, e.g. (5-168).

5-168 ngamen+vak=eyi
 1MIN.A.R.pick up+swell=PERF
‘I made it swell up.’

5.5.1.3.8
AUX den ‘look’
Without a coverb, AUX den means ‘look’, e.g. (5-169).

5-169 ngadcn:neyi.
 1MIN.A.R.look=PERF
 3MIN.F.PRO
piya NEG COP
‘I looked but she wasn’t there.’

With a coverb, AUX den generally retains its literal meaning, e.g. (5-170) - (5-172).

5-170 ngammaden-ngga+bet+miri=yi
 1/2MIN.look-1/2MIN.REFL+open+eye=PERF
‘You and I looked each other in the eye.’

5-171 vere ngawaden+mu ngawani=no
 1MIN.A.R.look+do 1MIN.S.IRwalk=PURP
‘I’ll keep looking around for the creek.’
5-172 walbin+ganaden
dodge+2MIN.A.R.look
‘You saw it and dodged.’ (T13:33)

In Emmi, to see is to know, e.g. (5-173).

5-173 ga_denya+yilyil
3AUG.A.R.look+true
‘They know the truth.’

AUX den 'look' acts as a causative with intransitive coverbs, e.g. ngatj 'run away' in (5-174).

5-174 garraden+ngatj+nganya=yi
2AUG.A.R.look+run away+F.AUG=PERF
‘You women made her run away.’ (T9:49)

§ 5.1.4 Minor transitive auxiliaries

Auxiliaries are classed as minor if they are relatively unproductive, and have no classificatory function. Of the minor transitive auxiliaries, six (nhdhi -get, me 'say, feel, do', i)la 'consume something'; nhthan 'bury something', ndan 'hang something up' and di 'heat') each co-occur with ten or fewer coverbs. nbe 'strip of something' co-occurs with only one coverb. Three minor transitive auxiliaries (gi 'fill', nnen 'smell something', nbaga 'smoke tobacco') only occur without a coverb.

Minor auxiliaries have no classificatory function, but at least one, di 'heat' may function as a causative, e.g. (5-201).

5-5.1.4.1 AUX nhdhi

Without a coverb, nhdhi means e.g. (5-175).
5-175 awa therrwen yuwa kak yene
meat Rainbow Serpent 3MIN.FarDEIC away LOC
wutharr ganhdhi gana nyiminy
salt-water 3MIN.A.R. 3MIN.S.R.walk fire
‘Rainbow Serpent keeps the fire in the salt-water away over there.’ (T3:54)

With a coverb, AUX nhdhi retains its literal meaning, e.g. (5-47) and (5-176).

5-176 tji yenbdhi+vitvit
rope 2MIN.A.IR. +drag
‘Get the rope and drag it!’

5-177 Emmi nela ngame-nbe

Emmi good 1MIN.A.R.say-2MIN.DAT
‘I’m saying good Emmi to you.’ (T9:196)

5-178 nela ganeme
good 2MIN.A.R.feel
‘Feeling good?’

With a coverb, AUX me generally means ‘say’ as in (5-179) - (5-180).

5-179 malh=eyi ngame+rri=wany
story=PERF 1MIN.A.R.say+tell story=REPET
‘I told a story again.’
5-180 nyuku+garreme-ngani+mede=yi

lie-2AUG.A.R.say-1MIN.DAT+UAUG=PERF

'The two of you lied to me.'

Context decides whether AUX me may alternatively mean 'do', as in (5-181)-(5-182), or feel', as in (5-183).

5-181 game-na+palh+manhdha ganen

3MIN.A.R.do-3MIN.M.REFL+droop+neck 3MIN.S.R.sit

'His head is drooping.'

5-182 game+vita ngur

3MIN.A.R.do+engorge penis

'His penis is engorged.'

5-183 tjilk+ngame

aching+1MIN.A.R.feel

'I ache.'

5.5·14 AUX (i)la 'consume'

Without a coverb, AUX la means 'consume something'. If a liquid is overtly specified, (i)la specifically means 'drink', e.g. (5-184)-(5-185). Otherwise, it means 'consume a solid'. There are no examples in the corpus of AUX la 'consume' occurring with a coverb.

5-184 yuwa=nhdheni=rre gila=nhdheni

3MIN.S.R.sit=now=first 3MIN.A.R.consume=now

ganen=enhdha=rre

3MIN.FarDEIC=now=first

'Over there now, she first sits and really eats.' (T9:77)
Keep drinking grog!' (T9:17)

Without a coverb, AUX gi means ‘fill’, e.g. (5-186). There are no examples in the corpus of AUX gi co-occurring with a coverb.

‘You should keep filling it up with magpie goose eggs.’ (T11:31)

AUX nhthan means ‘bury something’, whether it occurs without a coverb, e.g. (5-187), or with the coverbs mu ‘do’ in (5-188), or nguriya ‘roast, in (5-189).

Bury it in the bag!’ (LY:6)

Bury it in the billy-can!’ (T5:9)

‘I roast it in the ashes.’

This AUX occurs only with coverb dharrwut ‘dry’, e.g. (5-190). The corpus contains no instances of it occurring without a coverb.
5-190 yenden+dharrwut+mari+nganya
   1AUG.A.R.hang up+dry+belly+F.AUG
   'We women hang it up to dry inside [the house].'

5-191 AUX nmen 'smell something'
   AUX nmen 'smell something' occurs only without a coverb, e.g. (5-191).

5-197 ginmen.   gaya+pitedi
   3MIN.A.R.smell   3MIN.S.R.lie+stink
   'S/he smells something. It stinks.'

5-198 AUX nbe 'strip of'
   AUX nbe only occurs with coverb lorr 'strip someone of something', e.g. (5-7).

5-199 AUX nbaga 'smoke something'
   AUX nbaga 'smoke something' occurs only without a coverb, e.g. (5-10).

5-200 AUX di 'heat'
   AUX di 'heat' is the only defective AUX. It is attested only in
   3MIN.Realis, and only with this literal meaning, but occurs frequently in
   the corpus, either without a coverb, e.g. (5-198), or with a coverb, e.g. (5-
   199) - (5-200).

5-198 nyiminy=enhdheni yene gadi gama
   fire=now   LOC   3MIN.S.R.heat 3MIN.S.R.stand
   He stands heating him in the fire now.' (T5:117)

5-199 gadi+burrngburrng gama
   3MIN.S.R.heat+bubble  3MIN.S.R.stand
   'It's standing up, bubbling.' (T8:184)
5-200  gadi+mu+ngalh=enhdheni
       3MIN.S.R.heat+do+mouth=now
    ‘His mouth is watering (lit. he is mouth-heating) now.’ (AD:10)

AUX di acts as a causative in (5-201).

5-201  gadi-ne+vil+ninya          ganen
       3MIN.S.R.heat-3AUGO+warm+M.AUG  3MIN.S.R.sit
    ‘He’s making the mob of men warm.’ (T3:31)
Chapter Six
Nominals incorporated into the verb complex

6.0 Introduction

Baker (1988:1) calls "incorporation" a process 'by which one semantically independent word comes to be "inside" another.' He did not however consider incorporated body-part terms in his account of noun-incorporation because 'their role in the sentence is often far from clear' (1993:15).

In this chapter, the term "incorporation" is used to refer to a particular type of compounding in which a V and an N combine to form a new V. Evans (1996:65) defines noun incorporation as 'the morphological combination of a nominal root with a predicate to make a single complex predicate word.' Incorporation is Emmi's most productive device to derive new coverbs.

In incorporation, the N bears a specific semantic relationship to its host V whether as patient, experiencer or location, using Mithun's terms (Mithun, 1984:848). The grammatical relations occupied by incorporated nouns in Emmi are discussed in the final section of this chapter.

6.1 Nominal incorporation

In Emmi, as in Marrithiyel (Green, 1989:226), incorporation is restricted to a subset of nouns (generally those denoting body-parts) and to those adjectives which denote qualities. Since noun incorporation is complex and highly productive, and adjectival incorporation is restricted and relatively unproductive, noun incorporation is described in detail.

The corpus contains two kinds of nominal incorporation. These I define as syntactic and lexical, using the terms Evans (1996:73-76) coined for incorporation in Mayali, a prefixing Australian language unrelated to Emmi, spoken two hundred kilometres to the east of Emmiyangal territory.

The two kinds of incorporation have distinct but complementary functions. Syntactic incorporation is a productive syntactic process, which
allows for the substitution of semantically compatible nominals within the NP. This type of incorporation allows an unincorporated paraphrase. Lexical incorporation, on the other hand, is a 'non-productive, non-compositional and obligatory closed system' (Evans 1996:73). It allows no external paraphrase or substitution of the incorporated nominal, and derives a new coverb whose meaning is not predictable from the sum of its parts.

In Emmi, syntactically incorporated nominals, whether denoting body-parts or inanimate entities, are used literally. Lexically incorporated nominals are used metaphorically. A subset of incorporated body-part nominals function as classifiers of entities with the same shape as the incorporated body-part. Table 32 shows which nouns are incorporated, whether they are syntactically and/or lexically incorporated, and which incorporated nouns have metaphorical and classifying functions.

Theoretically, any N can syntactically incorporate (see 6.8.2. p 263).
Table 32: Incorporated nouns by type of incorporation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>inc nom</th>
<th>literal</th>
<th>syntactic</th>
<th>lexical</th>
<th>metaphorical</th>
<th>classifying</th>
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<td>arm</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nunggu</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gumbu</td>
<td>foot</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demi</td>
<td>side</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>llumbu</td>
<td>thigh</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu</td>
<td>bone</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moro</td>
<td>buttocks</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karra</td>
<td>shoulder</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piriny</td>
<td>body</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yingi</td>
<td>breast</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wakul</td>
<td>scrotum</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngur</td>
<td>penis</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panba</td>
<td>crotch</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vinggar</td>
<td>knee</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>therr</td>
<td>calf</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wawany</td>
<td>shin</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rimi</td>
<td>forehead</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yirr</td>
<td>tail</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjawa</td>
<td>urine</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murrundharran</td>
<td>sweat</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeri</td>
<td>hole</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pedji</td>
<td>handle</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katpilak</td>
<td>bucket</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dorr</td>
<td>ground</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lektja</td>
<td>lecture</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuda</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When incorporated, all nominals are bare of affixes or enclitics. The body-parts listed in Table 32 all occur independently and as incorporated forms. For at least one term, 'the bound form is a truncated version of the free form' (Walsh 1996:337). The partially reduplicated compound noun demiwulytjiwulytji ‘ribs’, is reduced to wulhtji when incorporated, as in syntactically incorporated (6-1). Incorporated nouns are underlined in example utterances.

6-1 gana-ngany+betj+wulhtji=wany
3MIN.S.R. walk-1MIN.O+grab+ribs=REPET
‘He kicks me in the ribs again.’

There are many more truncated incorporated nominals in Murrinh-patha (Walsh 1996:337-340).

Walsh (1996:340) also cites several suppletive incorporated forms. The Emmi corpus contains two suppletive forms which only occur when incorporated. Table 33 shows which suppletive forms occur by type of incorporation.

Table 33: Suppletive forms by type of incorporation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Suppletive</th>
<th>Syntactic</th>
<th>Lexical</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>kurru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>out of the corner of the eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>therrmu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>in half</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

kurru ‘out of the corner of the eye’ occurs only in the derived co-verbs den+kurru ‘look out of the corner of the eye’, e.g. (6-2), and den+mu+kurru ‘do out of the corner of the eye’.
6-2 gaden-na+kurru

3MIN.A.R. look-3MIN.M.REFL+out of the corner of the eye

'He's looking out of the corner of his eye.' (T5: 67)

The suppletive form therrmu 'in half' only occurs when lexically incorporated, e.g. (6.3). Cognates tharrma 'in half' and yinggaumu 'waist' are syntactically incorporable in Marrithiyel (Green, 1989:226). Emmi an.gamba 'waist' occurs as an independent noun, but the corpus contains no instances of its incorporation.

6-3 gala+gat+therrmu=nbdheni an.gamba

3MIN.A.R. chop+in half=now waist

'It chops her in half at the waist.' (T20:3)

murrundharran 'sweat' and adjawa 'urine' may be incorporated in Emmi but not in Marrithiyel or Ngan.gityemmeri. Nouns denoting internal organs, blood, semen, excrement, hair or feathers are not incorporated into Emmi verbs, although blood and hair are incorporated into nominal lexical compounds, e.g. merr 'hair' in merr+miri (hair+eye) 'eyelash', purrwur 'blood' in mari+purrwur (belly+blood) 'furious'; 'full-blood cousin'.

6.1.1 Syntactic incorporation

Theoretically, any Emmi noun may be syntactically incorporated, but relatively few syntactically incorporated nouns occur in the corpus. It contains syntactically incorporated tokens of thirty-one body-part nouns and the four general nouns yerl 'hole', katpilak 'bucket', wuda 'water' and dorr 'ground'. In contrast to lexical incorporation, syntactic incorporation is 'optional' in the sense that unincorporated paraphrases exist. Evans (1996:73) explains why this is so:
As an initial characterisation, new, stressed, contrasted or conjoined nominals are external, while given or unstressed nominals are incorporated.

This is true for Emmi, e.g. the utterances from the same text in (6-4) - (6-5).

6-4 bulng=nene yerre+gar+ mari
bottle=INSTR 2MIN.A.IR.handle+cut belly
'Cut her belly with a bottle.' (T1:91)

6-5 garranya+gar+mari+međe
3AUG.A.R.handle+cut 3UAUG
'The two of them cut her belly.' (T1:93)

It is impossible to paraphrase lexically incorporated mari 'belly' in (6-6) in this way.

6-6 garr+wurr+mari=enhdheni
3MIN.A.R.handle+be comfortable+belly=now
'He makes himself comfortable now.'

In Emmi, a nominal may be incorporated, and occur VP-externally, e.g. (6-7).

6-7 pedji una+ngalh+pedji=enhdheni
handle 2MIN.A.IR.poke+mouth+handle=now
'Sew the handle now!' (T11:25)

When an overt noun occurs in the clause, it generally specifies the part of which the syntactically incorporated noun denotes the whole, e.g. (6-8).
In other examples, the overt noun represents the whole of which the syntactically incorporated noun specifies a part, e.g. (6-9). This cannot occur in Marrithiyel (Green, 1989: 258, 261),~n1sJo. 1.D..M' 1. 'I ate the leg of the magpie goose.'

Amongst other tests Evans (1996:74) cites to distinguish incorporation types, he lists

*Full productivity:* syntactically incorporated nominals can appear with any semantically compatible verb lexeme; lexically incorporated nominals cannot.

This is true of Emmi, e.g. (6-10) -(6-13).

6-10  gemen+wat+gumbu=yi

3MIN.A.R.pick up+foot=PERF

'He tripped.' (T9:126)

6-11  garranya+ru+gumbu=yi

3AUG.A.R.handle+prise ow+foot=PERF

They prised it out of his foot.'
6-12  ganya-na+gumbu+gulu=yi
    3MIN.A.R.make-3MIN.M.REFL+bend=PERF
    'He bent his feet.'

6-13  ganya-na+furitj+gumbu=yi
    3MIN.A.R.make-3MIN.M.REFL+clean+foot=PERF
    'He gets his feet cleaned up.'

    In Emmi, it is also true that any semantically compatible syntactically
    incorporated body part noun may be substituted for another, e.g. (6-14) - (6-16)
    and (6-14) - (6-16).

6-14  gunymurru+birr+tjengi+mede=nhdhi
    3AUG.S.R.go somewhere+strain+ear+U AUG=TOWARDS
    inalh
    story
    'They are both straining to catch my story.' (T14:81)

6-15  ningarra+birr+miri+nganya=ya
    2AUG.S.IR.sit+strain+eye+F.AUG=AWAY
    awa    yirrgala
    meat    tree-snake
    'Keep your eyes open over there for the tree-snake, you women!' 
    (T6: 4)
6-16  gurrinyi+birr+nunggu+ninya  ganenya
3AUG.A.R.handle+strain+hand+M.AUG  3AUG.S.R.walk
yere yawa=gu
child  3MIN.AnaphDEIC=FOC
'The men keep pulling at the child in the place I mentioned.' (T4:113)

The postures described in (6-17) -(6-19) are remarked on in Emmi, Menhdhe and Patjtjamalh songs and stories as those in which a person asleep is likely to be given songs by a ngutj (Emmi) 'spirit', maruy (Patjtjamalh) 'soul', or wunymalang (Patjtjamalh) 'spirit' (Marett and Ford 1).

6-17  ganya-na+vinggar+tit  gaya
3MIN.A.R.make-3MIN.M.REFL+knee+cross  3MIN.S.R.lie
'He's lying down, one knee crossed over the other.' (T3:1)

6-18  ganya-na+gumbu+tit  gaya
3MIN.A.R.make-3MIN.M.REFL+foot+cross  3MIN.S.R.lie
'He's lying down, one foot bent over the other.'

6-19  ganya-na+lhumbu+tit  gaya
3MIN.A.R.make-3MIN.M.REFL+thigh+cross  3MIN.S.R.lie
'He's lying down, one thigh bent over the other.'

Within the VP, the position of incorporated nominals in Emmi is restricted to the slots directly adjacent to the coverb, whether before, as in (6-17) -(6-19), or after, as in the majority of examples cited so far, whether the nominal is lexically incorporated, as in (6-2), and (6-6), or syntactically incorporated, as in the other examples. In this respect, Emmi is freer than either Marrithiyel, where a syntactically incorporated nominal can only occur post
coverb (Green, 1989:255-256) or Ngan'gityemerri, which has only one slot (pre coverb) available for lexically or syntactically incorporated nouns (Reid, 1990:192).

In Emmi, the incorporated nominal, however it is incorporated, must also precede peripheral pronominal arguments, bound number words and propositional enclitics, e.g. (6-1), (6-3), (6-5), (6-14) - (6-16).

6.1.2 Lexical incorporation

Although all lexically incorporated body part nouns except suppletive forms may also be syntactically incorporated, the reverse is not true. Lexical incorporation applies to seventeen common body-part nouns, and two general nouns. Sixteen of these are used metaphorically in nominal part-whole compounds or to describe geographical features which have the same shape as the body-part or as classifiers specifying the shape of a generally otherwise unspecified patient, experiencer or location.

Lexical incorporation derives a new verb stem whose meaning is idiomatic, that is, not inferable from the meanings of its constituent parts; it must be learnt, e.g. (6-20).

6-20  gila+wuda+yi

3MIN.A.R.consume+water=PERF

'S/he died.'

The incorporated noun wuda 'water' is fossilised inside the VP. (6-20) cannot be paraphrased by shifting wuda outside the VP, as it could, if it were syntactically incorporated. In fact, (6-21), where wuda occurs as an independent noun, external to the VP, means something quite different from (6-20).

6-21  wuda  gila=yi

water  3MIN.A.R.consume=PERF

'S/he drank water/grog.'
Lexically incorporated nouns occur frequently in the Emmi corpus, but, as in Ngan'gityemerri (Reid, 1990:198), they are limited to a subset of commonly occurring body-part terms. The corpus contains eighteen such body-part terms, thirteen fewer than may be syntactically incorporated. Sixteen of these are used metaphorically or as classifiers denoting entities of the same shape as the body-part. Five body-part terms, ('shoulder', 'buttocks', 'bone', 'thigh', 'body') do not act as classifiers. In this, Emmi patterns with Marrithiyel, in which 'knee', 'shoulder', 'body', 'anus', forehead', 'tail', are the six body parts which have no classifying role (Green, 1989:244).

There is extensive overlap between the semantic range of lexically incorporable terms in Emmi and Ngan'gityemerri (Reid, 1990:200), but the systems are not identical. The terms for 'head', 'eye', 'nose', 'mouth', 'tooth', 'neck', 'arm', 'back', 'belly', 'buttocks' and 'foot' are lexically incorporated in both languages, but the semantic range of 'belly' and 'back' in Emmi does not pattern identically with Ngan'gityemerri usage. The semantic range of Emmi mari 'belly' subsumes the semantic range of Ngan'gityemerri's two terms madi 'chest' and ge 'belly'. Emmi lexically incorporates the terms for 'ear', 'thigh', 'side', and 'body'; Ngan.gityemerri does not. Ngan.gityemerri lexically incorporates the terms for 'elbow', and 'navel' (Reid, 1990:200) while Emmi does not.

In Emmi, lexically incorporated nouns occupy ordered VP slots either immediately pre coverb, e.g. (6-22) or, in the majority of instances in the corpus (76 out of 82) immediately post coverb, e.g. (6-23) - (6-24). The position of each lexically incorporated noun is predicted by the coverb.

6-22  
awa gaya+vin+dim  
meat 3MIN.S.R.lie+nose+sink  LOC sea  
gala+garrgat=eyi  
3MIN.A.R.chop+bite=PERF

'A shark bit her as she was drowning in the salt-water.' (T10:158)
6-23  ganen+dhet+\textit{marî}=\textit{yi}  
\textit{3MIN.S.R.sit-sit down+belly}=\textit{PERF}

'She sat down inside [the boat].' (T9:58).

6-24  \textit{gilatj uma+rtidim+miri}  
glass \textit{ 2MIN.A.IR.poke+tie up+eye}

'Close the window!'

\textbf{6.1.2.1 Metaphorical extension versus classifying function}

Table 34 compares the metaphorical \textit{~x~} functions of \textit{major body-part nouns}, and the classificatory 
\textit{hoco} of \textit{twelve} of them.
Table 34: Metaphorical and classifying functions of lexically incorporated body-part nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IncNom</th>
<th>literal</th>
<th>metaphor</th>
<th>classifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mari</td>
<td>belly/</td>
<td>seat of anxiety; concave interior of</td>
<td>a container</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stomach/</td>
<td>front of body;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chest</td>
<td>direction one faces</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rtedi</td>
<td>back</td>
<td>seat of laughter; top surface</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>back of body ; sky</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viye</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>seat of embarrassment</td>
<td>raised rounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>raised rounded</td>
<td>shape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tjengi</td>
<td>ear</td>
<td>seat of understanding, memory</td>
<td>ear- shaped entity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miri</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>face; fire</td>
<td>round orifice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yin</td>
<td>nose</td>
<td>hate</td>
<td>projecting part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngalh</td>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>speech</td>
<td>mouth like orifice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dirr</td>
<td>tooth</td>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>elongated edge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manhdha</td>
<td>neck</td>
<td>actions performed in the throat; neck</td>
<td>narrow part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vere</td>
<td>arm</td>
<td>arm; creek; branch</td>
<td>branch , limb-like entities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gumbu</td>
<td>foot</td>
<td>foot of tree, hill</td>
<td>base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demi</td>
<td>side</td>
<td>flank</td>
<td>side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lhumbu</td>
<td>thigh</td>
<td>leg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurru</td>
<td></td>
<td>out of the corner of the eye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu</td>
<td>bone</td>
<td>action</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>móro</td>
<td>buttocks</td>
<td>person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.1.2.1.1. mari ‘belly’

Emmi speakers associate the belly with anxiety and anger, hence the commonly heard idioms expressed in (6.25) and (6.26).
6-25  emmi ganinya ← mari + purrwur
      what  MIN.A.R.make ← belly + furious

'Why are you making me wild?

6-26  guman + ngany + da + mari
      3MIN.A.R.poke-1MIN.O + empty + belly

'I'm anxious.' (lit. it empties my belly)

The semantic range of Emmi mari subsumes that of the cognate lexeme masri ‘belly’ in Marrithiyel (Green, 1989:239), and of the unrelated lexeme ge ‘belly’ in Ngan.gityemerri (Reid, 199:213-214). In Emmi nominal compounds, e.g. mari + ram ‘chest’, mari + moridjun ‘heart’ and when lexically incorporated into a VP, e.g. (6-27), the semantic range of mari ‘belly’ is extended metaphorically to mean the chest and the organs inside the chest, e.g. (6-27). It does not extend to the intestines, for which there is a separate compound lexeme, wuny-perverdja ‘guts’ (shit+guts). This lexeme is never incorporated.

6-27  galan + gat + mari
      3MIN.A.R.punch + cut + belly

'She’s out of breath (lit. it belly-punches her).'

As an independent noun, mari ‘belly’ can mean 'the direction the front of one's body is facing', e.g. the NP mari nganhdhi (belly one) ‘other side’, which is used to refer to the opposite side of a creek, and commonly, the other side of Darwin Harbour. When lexically incorporated into a VP, mari is also used metaphorically to mean the direction one is facing, e.g. (6-28)-(6-29).

6-28  wudi-nbe + lawut + mari = ya
      2MIN.A.IR.elbow-2MIN.REFL + pass + belly = away from speaker

'Turn your back on him!'
mari may also be used as a classifier of concave shaped entities. So, in part-whole nominal compounds, mari refers to the curved underside of an entity, e.g. mari+nunggu ‘palm of the hand’, mari+gumba ‘sole of the foot’. A dry pothole in the road is called yedorr+mari (gully+belly), but a pothole full of water is called tjabatj+mari ‘bath’ (lit. bath+belly). When lexically incorporated, mari functions as a classifier for concave interiors. In (6-30) mari refers to the inside of a dish, in (6-31), to the inside of a bucket, and, in (6-32), to the inside of an anthill. In (6-34), it refers to the inside of a car, in (6-35) to the inside of a boat, in (6-36) and (6-37) to the inside of a house, and in (6-38) to the inside of the body. In each utterance, context decides what entity mari classifies as a concave surface.

6-30  gaya+djudjung+mari=yi       mitjirrim=nene
       3MIN.S.R.lie+lick+belly=PERF       dog=NEW INF
       'It was the dog that was licking the dish.'

6-31  ngarra+viyeviye  pome
       1MIN.A.R.handle+headREDUP black plum
       ngarra+parr+mari  katpilak yene
       1MIN.A.R.handle+hitAUG,O+belly bucket LOC
       'I gathered black plums off the ground. I put them in a bucket.'

6-32  gama+adjawa+mari-nanga
       3MIN.S.R.stand+urinate+belly-3MIN.M.ADV
       'She stands up and urinates inside (the anthill) despite him.' (T5:17)
6-33 gumenya+kurr=mari+mede=yi
3AUG.A.R.pick up+put down+belly+UAUG=PERF
The two of them put her down inside (the car).’ (T7:90)

6-34 yemin+mari+nganya
IAUG.S.R.come out+belly+F.AUG
verrun=eya
IAUG.S.R.go somewhere=away from speaker
‘Some of us women set about coming out from inside (the house).’

6-35 yendem+dharrwut=mari+nganya
IAUG.A.R.hang up+dry+belly+F.AUG
‘We (excluding addressee) hung the clothes inside to dry.’

6-36 piya galgal. gala+parr=mari=yi
NEGCOP leaf 3MIN.A.R.chop+hitAVG.O+belly=PERF
There are no tea leaves. He scoffed the lot.’

6.1.2.1.2 rtedi ‘back’
Emmi speakers associate rtedi with laughter, hence the metaphor expressed in (6-37). Walsh (1996:360) noted a similar association in Murrinh Patha.

6-37 gaya+garrgat+rtedi gana
3MIN.S.R.lie+bite+back 3MIN.S.R.walk
‘She keeps falling about laughing (lit. biting her back)’ (T7:120).

rtedi ‘back’ is used metaphorically to mean ‘top surface’, e.g. the nominal part-whole compounds rtedi+gumbu (back+foot) ‘top of the foot’, rtedi+nunggu (back+hand) ‘back of the hand’, rtedi+thawuru (back+mangrove sprout) ‘top of the mangrove sprouts’.
Lexically incorporated into the VP, rtedi 'back' functions as a classifier for any top surface, e.g. the head of a porpoise in (6-38), the bank above the creek in (6-39) and the sky in (6-40).

6-38 yuwa mele gana+gat+rtedi=nhdheni
3MIN.FarDEIC porpoise 3MIN.S.R.walk+cut+back=now
'She is cutting that porpoise over there on the head.'

6-39 militja guman+gurr rungurungurr
Melissa 3MIN.A.R.poke+hit mudcrab
gana+pirr ganhdhi+war+rtedi=nhdheni
3MIN.S.R.walk+throw down 3MIN.A.R.hold+drag+back=now
'Melissa spears a mud-crab; she's throwing it down. She drags it to the top (of the bank).’ (T22:1-2)

6-40 ginme+rtedi gana yuwa
3MIN.S.R.rise+back 3MIN.S.R.walk 3MIN.FarDEIC
It (Magpie goose) keeps flying high in the sky over there.' (T11:35)

The semantic range of Emmi rtedi 'back' overlaps with that of Ngan.gityemerri madi 'chest' (Reid, 1990:201) in that both are associated with the top surface of the ground, i.e. the floor, in (6-41) - (6-42).

6-41 ngana+vuritj+rtedi=yi vuritjvuritj rtedi
1MIN.S.R.walk+clean+back=PERF slippery back
'I was cleaning the floor. The floor was slippery.'

6-42 ganen+rtedi+wunybe=mangga
3MIN.S.R.sit+back+play=LIK
yuwana ganen
3MIN M.FarDEIC 3MIN.S.R.sit
'That boy over there is likely to be playing on the ground.' (T5:49)
6.1.2.1.3 viye 'head'.
Lexically incorporated viye 'head' is a metaphor for embarrassment, e.g. (6-43), where, by a phonological rule, /rr/ is realised as /r/ after /rr/. (See 2.2)

6-43 garra+rri+viye=nhdha ['garaJir.>Ij&Qc;!a)
3MIN.A.R.handle+tell story+head=really
'S/he's really shy.'

The semantic range of lexically incorporated viye 'head' is extended to mean 'hair on the head', e.g. (6-44). Similar extension occurs in Marrithiyel (Green, 1989: 235).

6-44 ngala+gat+viye=yi
1MIN.A.R.chop+cut+head=PERF
'I cut his hair with scissors.'

Lexically incorporated, viye 'head' functions as a classifier for raised rounded shapes, what Green terms 'upper protruding or rounded parts and top surfaces of long comparatively thin things' in Marrithiyel (Green, 1989:235). There is evidence for this in Emmi's part-whole nominal compounds, e.g. viye+yin (head+nose) 'clitoris'; nunggu+viye+yin (hand+head+nose) 'middle finger of the left hand'; gumbu+viye+yin (foot-head-nose) 'big toe'.

6.1.2.1.4 tjengi 'ear'

tjengi 'ear' is a metaphor for ear-shaped entities, e.g. tjengi+duk 'big ears', a tree with ear-shaped leaf which has medicinal properties. It stands for knowledge, understanding, and memory, e.g. (6-45) - (6-46).

6-45 way=eve ngayi+tjengi=no yilyil
NEG=HAP 1MIN.S.IR.lie+ear=PURP true
'I don't happen to know the truth.'
6-46  guman-ngga+ bet+tjengi=rre
3MIN.A.R.poke-1/2.Ø+open+ear=first
'First we remember he (lit. it pokes our ears first).'

6-47  tjengi+ngun+nginen
ear+be ignorant of+1MIN.S.R.sit
'I don’t know.'

6.1.2.1.5 miri ‘eye’

miri ‘eye’ is associated with fire, perhaps as the focus or eye of the
household, e.g. (6-48) - (6-50). In this sense, it is incorporated into the
auxiliary as a coverb. Marrithiel miri ‘eye’ may compound with
sjanjji ‘fire’ to mean ‘campfire’ (Green 1989:231).

6-48  garra+miri=rre  nguna gaya+vuvu
1MIN.A.R.handle+eye=first  then  3MIN.S.R.ile+blowREDUP
'First, she lights the fire, then she's blowing hard on it.'

6-49  yorro  garra+miri  ganen
green  3MIN.A.R.handle+eye  3MIN.S.R.sit
'He’s setting fire to the grass!’ (T5:72)

6-50  wulgumen  gamen+wu+miri=nhdheni
old woman  3MIN.pick up+fight+eye=now
yene  nyiminy
LOC  fire
'He picks a fight with the old woman now in the fire.' (T5:83)

Lexically incorporated miri ‘eye’ is a common metaphor for ‘face’,
e.g. (6-51) and for ‘person’, e.g. (6-52) - (6-55).
6-51 ngarra+gat+miri=yi pele=nene
1MIN.A.R.handle+cut+eye=PERF white clay=INST
'I painted her face with white clay.'

6-52 yene nyimin y gumanya+pirr+miri
LOC fire 3AUG.A.R.poke+throw down+eye
'They throw (the spirit) down into the fire.' (T4:115)

6-53 gama-na+gulhilh+miri
3MIN.S.R.stand-3AUG.O+flirt+eye
'She flirts with men.'

6-54 ngarrgamen+wat+miri=yi
1/2A.R.pick up+turn over+eye=PERF
'We all turned him/her over.'

6-55 ganya+du+miri=nhdheni
3MIN.A.R.make+touch+eye=now
'He's in love with her now.'

Lexically incorporated miri 'eye' functions as a classifier for things.

6-56 uma+dim+miri=wany
2MIN.A.R.poke+sink+eye=REPET
'Shut the door again!'

6.1.2.1.6 yin 'nose'
Emmi yin 'nose' is associated with hate, e.g. (6-57). In Marrithiyel, the cognate lexeme yan 'nose' is also associated with anger and rejection (Green, 1989:245).
6-57  
gaden+vin  
gana
3MIN.A.R. look+nose  3MIN.SR.walk

‘He keeps on hating you (lit looks at your nose).’

Lexically incorporated yin ‘nose’ may be used literally to mean nose, e.g. (6-22), where yin+dim (nose+sink) means ‘drown’, but it also acts as a classifier for projecting parts, like the bonnet of a car, as in (6-53).

6-58  
mudika  
gemi+vin=eyi  
gama

Car  3MIN.SR.come out+nose=PERF  3MIN.SR.stand

‘The bonnet of the car stuck out.’

6.1.2.1.7 ngalh ‘mouth’

Lexically incorporated ngalh is a metaphor for speech, e.g. (6-51), where two body-part nouns are lexically incorporated. ngalh ‘mouth’ acts as a classifier for any mouth-like opening, like the mouth of a fish in (6-60), the mouth of a basket, e.g. (6-7), and the open ends of a didjeridu, e.g. (6-61). (Reid, 1990:21) notes comparable data from Ngarinyinemerri.

6-59  
gaya+ngalh+miri+therre  
awa  
gutj=gu

3MIN.S.R.lie+mouth+eye+answer  meat  strit=FOC

It’s the spirit who answers him.’ (T4:29)

6-60  
ngama+du+ngalh=eno

1MIN.A.IR.poke+touch+mouth=PURP

‘I’ll try fishing.’

6-61  
vulhut  
ngawarra+viditj+ngalh=eno  
kenbi

wax  1MIN.A.IR.handle+squeeze+mouth=PURP  didjeridu

‘I’ll squeeze wax into the mouth of the didjeridu.’
6.1.2.1.8 dirr ‘tooth’

dirr ‘tooth’ is a metaphor for elongated edges in the whole-part nominal compound lhumbu+dirr (thigh+tooth) ‘cheek-bone’, and the part-whole nominal compounds dirr+galgah (tooth+leaf) ‘cliff’, and dirr+alawa (tooth+beach) ‘the edge of the beach’. Lexically incorporated into the VP, dirr ‘tooth’ is a metaphor for the mouth, e.g. (6-62), and acts as a classifier for any elongated edge, like the crest of a wave, e.g. (6-63), a cliff, e.g. (6-64) or the blade of a knife, e.g. (6-65).

6-62 gamen+bil+dirr=enhdheni game
3MIN.A.R.pick up+open+tooth=now 3MIN.A.R.say
‘He opens his mouth and says something.’ (T6:138)

6-63 gana+vuvu+dirr
3MIN.S.R.walk+blowREDUP+tooth
‘The crest of the wave-crest blows spray.’ (T10:39)

6-64 gayi garrama-na+dirr+nganya
PROH 2AUG.SR.stand-2AUG.O+tooth+F.AUG
‘Don’t do it. You are standing on the edge of the cliff!’ (T6:98)

6-65 wudi+dirr=eno
2MIN.A.IR.elbow+tooth=PURP
‘You should sharpen it!’

6.1.2.1.9 manhdha ‘throat’

manhdha ‘throat’ is a metaphor for actions performed in the throat, e.g. (6-66) - (6-67).

6-66 ngien+manhdha=yi
1MIN.S.R.st+throat=PERF
‘I was singing.’
6-67  **garranya**+**manhdha**+**wiriya**

3AUG.A.R. handle+throat+cry

‘They’re all crying now.’ (T10:120).

**manhdha** ‘throat’ acts as a classifier for narrow parts, e.g. **yirri**+**manhdha** (tail+throat) ‘the neck of the tail’ of a wallaby, or the narrow part of the damper in (6-68) and necks of land which function as short-cuts, e.g. (6-69).

6-68  **yerre**+**manhdha**  lawa

2MIN.A.IR. handle+throat  damper

‘Get hold of the neck of the damper!’

6-69  **wadjan**+**manhdha**+gat=eyi

1AUG.S.R. walk+throat+cut=PERF

‘Some of us took a short cut.’

Emmi **manhdha** ‘throat’ and its cognate lexemes in Marrithiyel and Ngan.gityemerri function similarly. Green (1989:240) showed how Marrithiyel **manthi** ‘neck’ could “be used to refer to any pathway, track, channel, ridge, line of motion, etc which cuts across or through some larger or more diffuse body.” Reid (1990:207) noted that Ngan.gityemerri **mentyi** ‘neck’ ‘acts as a classifier for verbs of movement or activity along tracks.’ Green refers to **manthi** ‘neck’ as a classificatory “marker of waiting” in Marrithiyel (1989:245). Reid (1990:207) describes a similar use of Ngan.gityemerri **mentyi** ‘neck’ as “being in a place where you anticipate the intersection of your paths.” In Emmi, also, **manhdha** ‘throat’ is lexically incorporated with the coverb **na** ‘walk’ to mean ‘wait for’, e.g. (6-70). Only the fact that the coverb **na** ‘walk’ bears secondary stress disambiguates (6-70) from (6-74), where the 3MIN.M.DAT pronominal affix is unstressed.
6-70  nginen+na+manbdha=yi
1MIN.S R.sit+walk+throat=PERF
'I waited for her/him.'

6-71  nginen+na+manbdha=yi
1MIN.S R.sit-3MIN.M.DAT+throat=PERF
'I sang for him.'

6.1.2.10 vere 'arm'

vere is a classifier for long, limb-like entities; it frequently refers to the branch of a tree, or a creek', e.g. (6-72), and occurs as such in place-names e.g. vere nganhdi 'One-Fella Creek'.

6-72  mitjirrim=ga mundak  yuwana
dog=FOC  old  3MIN.M.FarDEIC
ganen  vere  gama
3MIN.S.R.sit  creek  3MIN.S.R.stand
'That old dog over there stays at the creek.' (T6:6)

In these respects Emmi usage parallels Marrithiyl and Ngan.gityemerri usage. But there are no instances in Emmi of vere 'arm' being lexically incorporated in verbs of direction, as it is in Marrithiyl (Green,1989:236) or similarly incorporated in verbs of bringing, marrying or nurturing, as in Ngan.gityemerri (Reid, 1990:210).

6.1.2.1.11 gumbu 'foot'

gumbu 'foot' is a metaphor for the base of a finger in the compound noun nunggu+gumbu. It means 'the base of a tree' in the compound noun gumbu+thawarr (foot+tree), and, in the appropriate context, means 'foot-hill'. When lexically incorporated in a VP, gumbu 'foot' acts as a classifier for the base of any entity, e.g. the base of a tree in (6-73), the base of a tree, but the base of the horizon in (6-74).
6-73  ganen-na+gumbu=nhdhi  awa ngutj
3MIN.S.R.sit-3MIN.DAT+foot=TOWARDSr meat  spirit
'The spirit sits for him at the base of the tree close by him.' (T4:62)

6-74  guman+gumbu=nhdhi
3MIN.A.R.poke+foot=TOWARDS
'Dawn is breaking here.'

6.1.2.1.12 demi 'side'

demi 'side' is a metaphor for the side of a house in the nominal
compound demi+ngata (side+house) 'side of the house'. Walsh (1996:375)
notes the same metaphor in Murrinhpatha. When lexically incorporated in
a VP, demi functions as a classifier for the side of any entity, e.g. 'side by
side' in (6-68). An identical cognate lexeme exists in Marrithiyel (Green,
1989: 226-227)

6-75  ngammula-ngga+demi=yi  ngamminen
I/2A.R.chop-J/2REFL+side=PERF  1/2S.sit
You and I were sitting side by side.'

6.2.1.13 lhumbu 'thigh'

Lexically incorporated lhumbu can, by extension, mean the whole
leg of which the thigh is a part, e.g. (6-76).

6-76  ngame-ngani+gulu+lhumbu=yi  nginen
1MIN.A.R.do-1MIN.REFL+bend+thigh=PERF  1MIN.S.R.sit
'I was sitting with my legs doubled up.'

6.1.2.14 kurru 'out of the corner of one's eye'

kurru 'out of the corner of one's eye' is a suppletive form which
occurs only when lexically incorporated, e.g. (6-2)
6.1.2.15 mu 'bone'

mu 'bone' is incorporated in whole-part and whole-part nominal compounds, e.g. rtedi+mu (back+bone) 'spine', vere+mu 'arm-bone', mu+manhdha 'neck-bone'. Lexically incorporated in the VP, mu is a metaphor for action, and, when used as a coverb, means 'do' e.g. (6-77) - (6-78). mu occurs in two other coverb stems: transitive mu+tharr 'pack up' and intransitive mu+ngalh 'to water' (of the mouth).

6-77 awa=nhdheni murr yeda+mu wadja
    meat=now egg 2MIN.A.IR.look+do 2MIN.S.IR.walk
    'Keep looking around for goose now!' (T11:30)

6-78 ngawani=no muku
    1MIN.S.IR.walk=PURP woman
    ngawaden+mu+ngala
    1MIN.A.R.look+do-3MIN.F.BEN
    'I want to go and look around for my woman.' (T9:154-155)

6.1.2.16 moro 'buttocks'

moro is a metaphor for person in the idiom 'catch up with' in (6-79) and 'chase' in (6-80). Walsh (1996:367) noted the same metaphor in Murrinh Patha

6-79 gaya+du+moro=nhdheni  rtedi_ngalh+ngalh
    3MIN.S.R.lie+touch+buttocks back+mouthREDUP
    'She's reaching (lit. catching up with_ the surface of the deep water now.' (T1:36)

6-88 dhama+varratj+moro=ya
    2MIN.A.IR.stand+chase+buttock=away from speaker
    'Chase her away from me!'
6.2 Adjectival incorporation

In the corpus, this is restricted to adjectives which denote human propensities, e.g. **wedjirr** 'bad'; **retja** 'desirable'; **murwan** 'jealous'; **tjilk** 'aching'; **ngun** 'ignorant'. When incorporated into the VP, some adjectives only occur VP-initially, e.g. **retja** 'want' in (6-81), **ngun** 'be ignorant of' in (6-47). **wedjirr** 'spoil', and **tjilk** 'ache' may occur VP-initially or medially, e.g. (6-82) - (6-85). **murwan** 'inform on' only occurs VP-medially.

Alternatively, adjectives may become verb stems.

6-81 **ava retja+ganarra**

who want+2MIN.A.R.handle

'Who do you want?'

6-82 **ngana+wedjirr=eyi**

1MIN.S.R.walk+bad=PERF

'I walked in the wrong direction.'

6-83 **ngarra+wedjirr+eyi**

1MIN.A.R.handle+spoil+PERF

'I handled it wrongly.'

6-84 **tjilk+ganeme**

ache+2MIN.A.R.do

'Are you in pain?'

6-85 **ganya-na+tjilk-ngala**

3MIN.A.R.make-3MIN.M.REFL+ache-3MIN.F.BEN

'He makes himself ache for her.' (T9:281)

6.3 Grammatical relations open to incorporated nominals

In the Emmi corpus, these are:

- O non-co-referential with the A of the clause;
- Undergoer O;

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O co-referential with the A of the clause; location; source.

This conforms to Mithun's (1984:875) definition of NI.

If a language incorporates nouns of only one semantic case, they will be patients of transitive verbs, whether the language is basically erg:xv, accusative, or agent-patient. If a language incorporates only two types of arguments, they will be patients of transitive and intransitive verbs. The majority of incorporating languages follow this pattern. Many languages additionally incorporate instruments and/or locations.

Baker (1988:81-83) says 'The core fact about the distribution of NI is that in ordinary transitive clauses, the direct object may be incorporated but the subject may not be.' Baker (1988:83-4) accounts for the incorporation of locatives by treating them as structural objects.

The corpus contains no incorporated nouns in instrumental role. This role is also precluded in other Daly region languages, e.g. Marrithiyel (Green, 1989:253) and Ngan’gityemerri (Reid, 1990:193).

6.3.1 Grammatical relations open to incorporated body part nouns

All incorporated body-part nouns, whether syntactically or lexically incorporated, occupy non-reflexive and reflexive O roles and function as location, source and undergoer objects.

6.3.1.1 Non-reflexive O

In general, syntactically incorporated body parts function as non-reflexive O, e.g. (6-85) - (6-87).

6-85  
piriri gamen=eyi     gala+gat+manhdha
   axe  3MIN.A.R.pick up=PERF  3MIN.A.R.chop+cut+throat

‘He picked up an axe and severed its neck.’ (T4:80-81)
6-86 awa yuwa gala+thung+moro=nhdheni
meat 3MIN.FarDEIC 3MIN.A.R.chop+stab+buttock=now
'That penis over there stabs her buttocks now.' (T2:41)

6-87 ganya-ngany+valh+demi=yi
3MIN.A.R.make-1 MIN.O+break+side=PERF
'He fractured my side.'

Most syntactically incorporated body-part nouns in non-reflexive O function are incorporated by transitive coverbs which perceptibly affect on the patient, e.g. gat 'cut', in (6-85), thung 'stab' in (6-86) and valh 'break' in (6-87), but this incorporation is also available for transitive coverbs which have no visible affect on the patient, e.g. varratj 'chase' in (6-80). In Emmi, but not Marrithiyel (Green, 1989: 258, 261), transitive verbs which affect only a part of an entity may syntactically incorporate that body part, e.g. (6-9). A generic-specific relationship may be shown by syntactically incorporated body part nouns, with the incorporated noun acting as a classifier for a specific body part which is expressed in an NP external to the verb, e.g. (6-8).

Lexically incorporated body-part nouns also, in general, function as O non co-referential with A, e.g. (6-24). gilatj 'glass' is not obligatory in (6-24) but speakers judged it perfectly acceptable. While not a duplication of the incorporated nominal, it is in apposition to it, qualifying it in a way not acceptable in Marrithiyel (Green, 1989:271).

6.3.1.2 Reflexive/Reciprocal O

For an incorporated nominal to be co-referential with the A of the incorporating verb, a reflexive/reciprocal pronominal affix is usually coded on the VP, e.g. syntactically incorporated (6-88),
6.3.1.3 Undergoer O

Amongst the most common incorporated utterances in the corpus are undergoer O constructions where the undergoer experiences something over which he/she has no control. When this construction involves an incorporated body part, what is thought of as happening to or at a part, at the 'locus of sensation' (Reid 1997:16), is thought of as happening to the whole person to which the body part belongs, e.g. (6-26)-(6-27), and (6-91) - (6-94). Most instances in the corpus involve the auxiliary verbs rra ‘handle’, or lan ‘punch’, implying that the outside agency uses force on the undergoer. Emum behaves like Ngan'gityemerrin in that the subject is always restricted to 3MIN, and the body part cannot be interpreted as A (cf. Reid, 1997:16).

6-90  ganya-ngany+djuk+vere=yi
      3MIN.A.R.make-1MIN.O+burn+arm=PERF
      'My arm is burnt.'

6-91  garra-ngany+perrbet+miri=nhdeni
      3MIN.A.R.handle-1MIN.O+close+eye=now
      'I'm sleepy' (lit. It closes my eyes)

6-92  gana+pil+miri=nhdeni
      3MIN.A.R.walk+push+eye=now
      'She's feeling dizzy.' (T14:42)

6.3.1.4 Locative

Syntactically incorporated body part nouns function as locatives, e.g. (6-93) - (6-94).
6-93 gamen+mekurr+manhdha ngapa
   3MIN.A.R.pick up+put down+throat carry round neck
   'She puts him down on his neck, to carry round his neck.'

6-94 yere ngarra-ngani+demi=yi
   child 1MIN.A.R.handle-1MIN.REFL+side=PERF
   'I carried the child on my side.'

Lexically incorporated, the body-part noun mari 'belly' classifies
the location of the O as a concave surface, usually the inside of a container,
e.g. (6-30) - (6-38) (68 5) - (6 - 3b).

6.3.15 Source

Syntactically incorporated body part nouns may indicate the source
of an action denoted by the incorporating coverb, e.g. (6-95) - (6-96). These
are the Emmi equivalent of Marrithiyel's "change of location" verbs
(Green, 1989:253).

6-95 ngarra-ngani+volhut+nunggu=yi
   1MIN.A.R.handle-1MIN.REFL+lose+hand=PERF
   'I let it slip from my hand.'

6-96 yerre-nbe+ru+gumbu=rre
   2MIN.A.IR.handle-2MIN.REFL+take out+foot=first
   'First, take it out of your foot!'

In (6-96), gumbu is co-referential with the person ordered to do
something, so it is cross-referenced with Reflexive pronominal marking.
The same obligatory cross-referencing exists in Marrithiyel (Green,
b-98a Kamul yuwa-ya gaman-nga+viye

bully-can SMIN-FABER=APPY SMIN-ER stand SMIN-PDAT+head

'The bully can stands at her head over there away from him.'
6.3.1.6 Compatibility with Dative arguments

Emmi differs from Marrithiyel in not allowing the incorporation of
general nouns in O role when Dative arguments are coded on the verb. So,
in Emmi, (6-97) is not acceptable, though its exact equivalent is possible in
Marrithiyel. (Green, 1989:256), "It is worth noting that body parts in Dative but not
O role can be incorporated when there is a Dative, e.g. (6-98) on facing page.

6-97 *gaya-ngani+wut+awa=yi
3MIN.S.R.lie-1MIN.DAT+give+meat=PERF
'He gave me the meat.'

To be acceptable in Emmi, (6-97) must be paraphrased, e.g. (6-98),
with the general noun awa external to the VP.

6-98 awa gaya-ngani+wut=eyi
meat 3MIN.S.R.lie-1MIN.DAT+give=PERF
'S/he gave me the meat.'

6.3.1.7 Compatibility with Adversative pronominal arguments

Adversative pronominal suffixes always refer to humans who are
adversely affected by the action of the verb, but cannot influence it. The
corpus contains instances of these pronominals in clauses with no
incorporated element, e.g. (6-99), and in clauses which contain lexically
incorporated body-part nouns, e.g. (6-100). Cognate forms with the same
Adversative function exist in Marrithiyel (Green, 1989:126-135).

6-99 garru+ngati-nanga
3MIN.S.R.go somewhere+run away+3MIN.M.ADV
'She runs away from him.' (T9:1)

6-100 ngama+dim+miri-nganga=no
1A.IR.poke+sink+eye-3MIN.F.ADV=PURF
'I'll shut the door on her.'
6.3.2 Incorporation of general nouns

Theoretically any general noun is eligible for incorporation, but the corpus contains tokens of only six (katpilak 'bucket'; pedji 'handle'; dorr 'ground'; lektja 'lecture'; yeri 'hole'; wuda 'water'). There are syntactically incorporated tokens of all six nouns and tokens of two (yeri 'hole' and wuda 'water') lexically incorporated.

Despite the paucity of the evidence, it is possible to show how the syntax of incorporated general nouns operates and to show that fewer syntactic options are available for general incorporated nouns than for incorporated body-part nouns. For instance, incorporation operates only on general nouns in non-reflexive O and locative functions. General incorporated nouns only occur post coverb, occupying the second post-coverb slot available to syntactically incorporated body part nouns, and only one general noun may be incorporated with any one coverb. The corpus contains no examples of incorporation of general nouns by an auxiliary without a coverb, and no general incorporated nouns in reflexive O, source or undergoer O function.

6.3.2.1 General nouns in non-reflexive O role

The corpus contains syntactically incorporated tokens of five of the incorporated general nouns in non-reflexive O role, e.g. (6-7), (6-20), (6-101) - (6-103).

6-101 ngarra+vuritj+dorr=cyi

*I cleaned the place.*

6-102 gana+purr+nunggu+katpilak=enhdheni ganen

'She's sitting beating time (lit. dancing hand) on a bucket now.'

(T32:10)
6.3.2.2 General nouns in locative function

The corpus contains tokens of syntactically incorporated general nouns in locative function, e.g. *wuda* ‘water’ in (6-104) - (6-105).

(6-104) **ganhdha+wuda=nhdheni gaya**

3MIN.S.R.perch+water=now 3MIN.S.R.lie

‘He’s anchored (i.e. perches on water) now.’

(6-105) **ngama-ngani+pirr+wuda=nhdhi=yi**

1MIN.S.R.stand-1MIN.REFL+throw down+water=TOWARDS =PERF

vere

arm

‘I swam the creek.’

The referent of the A of this reflexive transitive sentence throws herself into the water and swims the creek. Lexically incorporated *wuda* ‘water’ is in a generic relationship to the specific NP *vere* ‘creek’ which stands outside the VP.
Chapter Seven
Propositional Enclitics

7.0 Introduction

Clitics have been defined as 'elements with word-like properties from the point of view of syntax...but affix-like properties from the point of view of morphology and phonology' (Carstairs-McCarthy 1992:142). Clitics differ from derivational affixes in that they cannot create words (Klavans 1982:15).

I define Emmi enclitics as ordered unstressed bound morphemes which never occur independently, but always attach to a host word and are attracted to any semantically compatible clause-initial host. Pronominal affixes are also ordered and unstressed, but attach only to a member of the class of stems they modify. Unlike affixes, some enclitics insert an epenthetic initial vowel when encliticising a consonant final host. Unlike affixes, some clitics form clusters containing the clitic -(e)nhdha 'really' which modifies just the preceding enclitic.

Emmi contains two kinds of enclitics, adnominal and propositional. Propositional enclitics are underlined in this chapter, and all enclitics, whether propositional or adnominal are preceded by = in all lines of text and morpheme by morpheme glosses to differentiate them orthographically from affixes which are preceded by -.

Adnominal enclitics function as case-markers or discourse particles. Their scope is limited to their NP and they attach to the final constituent of that NP. The function and semantic range of adnominal enclitics is described in Chapter 3. Propositional enclitics have as their scope the clause. They function as temporal, modal, aspectual, directional, causal or illocutionary modifiers and they attach to the verb, to any semantically compatible clause-initial word, or to every clause constituent.

Some enclitics have multiple functions. For instance, enclitic -nene functions adnominally as a discourse particle, introducing new animate entities into discourse. When it functions as a propositional enclitic -nene
means ‘Stop (doing what you’re doing)!’. Again, as an adnominal enclitic, *-ngana* functions as a Causative or Ablative case marker. As a propositional enclitic, it specifies the tense of the clause as recent past.

7.1 delimits the range of propositional enclitics in the corpus. Table 35 lists Emmi’s fourteen propositional enclitics by function. Table 36 shows how these enclitics are ordered and which may co-occur. 7.2 shows how temporal, aspectual and modal enclitics combine to express tense and modality in a language which has no tense inflection or tense suffixes. Enclitics contribute to expressing negation; this is also discussed in this section. 7.3 discusses the semantic range of Emmi’s propositional enclitics. Table 37 differentiates the functions of these propositional enclitics.

7.1 Range of propositional enclitics

Table 35: Propositional enclitics by function

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enclitic</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Modal</th>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Illoc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-(e)nhdheni</td>
<td>now</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(e)no</td>
<td>RECPAST</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(e)yi</td>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(e)wiye</td>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(e)wany</td>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(e)rre</td>
<td>REPET</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(e)mangga</td>
<td>LIKE</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(e)ve</td>
<td>HAP</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(e)nhdha</td>
<td>really</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(e)nene</td>
<td>Stop!</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(e)ga</td>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(e)nhdhi</td>
<td>TOWARDS</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(e)ya</td>
<td>AWAY</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Enclitics generally attach to a VP host, where they occupy the final VP slots, and are preceded by incorporated nominals, pronominal affixes and number affixes, e.g. (7-1) - (7-2). Enclitics with an initial dental, palatal or rhotic insert an epenthetic vowel after a consonant-final host, e.g. (7-3).
7-1 gunynamu=-n+birr+tjengi=mede=nhdhi
3AUGSR.go somewhere+strain+3AUG.O+ear+UAUG=TOWARDS
malh
language
'They're both straining their ears towards me to hear language.'
(T4:60).

7-2 piya-nye+mede=nhdeni yuwanya
NEG.COP-3AUG.O+UAUG=now 3AUG.FarDEIC
gunin+mede=va vere
3AUG.S.R.sit+UAUG=AWAY arm
'The two of them aren't here now. They're both sitting away over
there, at the creek.' (T6:188 - 189)

If the clause-initial host is an NP marked for case, the adnominal
case-enclitic precedes any propositional enclitics, e.g. (7-3) - (7-6).

7-3 awa tjepeni=nene=vi gala+than
meat Japanese=NEW INF=PERF 3MIN.S.R.chop+shoot
gana=nhdhi warwa
3MIN.S.R.walk=TOWARDS above
'The Japanese [pilot] kept on shooting high towards me.' (T15:20)

7-4 ngarrabala yawana=nene=nhdha=va
1/2AUG.PRO 3MIN.M.AnaphDEIC=NEW INF=really=AWAY
game+lektja=nhdha=va
3MIN.S.R.say+lecture=really=AWAY
gana perregut
3MIN.S.R.walk white man
'That man I mentioned over there really keeps lecturing us all.'
(T15:7)
That place I mentioned really has eggs. That's the place that really does.' (T11:36-37)

New information is generally, but not always, presented clause-initially, and generally attracts propositional enclitics, e.g. (7-5) - (7-10). In subsequent clauses, however, these enclitics are attracted to the verb. If the new information is repeated, and supplementary information is presented by a clause-final constituent, each clause constituent may host enclitics, e.g. (7-11) - (7-13).

He stands and sets him alight in the fire now.' (T4:116)

'I kept on drinking beer. Over there I went.' (T11:53-54)

'She made a fire for you and me.' (T6:149)

'The firewood happens to be cypress.' (T6:172)
7-10  
 ganhdhi=wany  
 3MIN.A.R. hold=REPET  3MIN.S.R. stand  
 ‘He stands and holds it again.’ (T5:12)

7-11  
 kak=eno  
 wadjarra+mede  
 away=PURP  2AUG.S.IR. walk+UAUG  
 kak=eno  
 ngarrgani+nganya=no  
 away=PURP  1/2AUG. walk+F.AUG=PURP  
 ‘You two women should walk away! All of us women should walk away.’ (T18:8)

7-12  
 ngammeme+rri=ngana=vi  
 1/2S.R. say+tell story=RECPAST=PERF  
 ngamminen=ngana=vi  
 nenangu=ngana=vi  
 yesterday=RECPAST=PERF  
 ‘We sat and talked yesterday.’ (T23:5)

7-13  
 atho=no  
 dugulhi  
 ngavula-na+gurr=eno  
 later=PURP  1MIN.A.IR. chop-2MIN.O+hit=PURP  
 ‘I’m going to shoot you later.’ (T3:33).

Table 36 shows that propositional enclitics are ordered in relation to each other. The directional enclitics -(e)nhdhi ‘TOWARDS’ and -(e)ya ‘AWAY’ are mutually exclusive.
Table 36: Propositional enclitics by order

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-nhdha</td>
<td>-nhdheni</td>
<td>-(e)no</td>
<td>-(e)ndh</td>
<td>-re</td>
<td>-(e)yi</td>
<td>-ve</td>
<td>-(e)ya</td>
<td>-ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-ngana</td>
<td>-wany</td>
<td>-wany</td>
<td>-mangga</td>
<td>-wiye</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tokens of the fourteen enclitic types occur in 47.3% of text clauses.

The ordering set out in this table holds for all enclitics except -nhdhi
'TOWARDS' and -(e)nhdheni 'now' when each forms a clitic cluster with the evidential enclitic -(e)nhdha 'really'. The corpus contains seven tokens of cluster type -nhdhi=nhdha 'TOWARDS=really', e.g. (7-14), (7-18), but no tokens of cluster type nhdha=nhdhi 'really=TOWARDS'. It contains six tokens of cluster type -nhdha=enhdheni 'really=now', (7-15) - (7-16), and seven tokens of cluster type nhdheni=nhdhi 'now=TOWARDS', e.g. (7-17), (7-86) but no tokens of cluster type enhdheni=nhdha 'now=really'.

7-14 yere yawanga delyak
child 3MIN.F.AnaphDEIC young woman
yawanga=nhdhi=nhdha
3MIN.F.AnaphDEIC=TOWARDS=really
garru
3MIN.S.R.go somewhere
'Your child, that young woman I mentioned, is coming here really.'
(T11:103 - 105)

7-15 game+malh=enhdha+nhdheni nirrgine
3MIN.A.R.say+language+really=now father
'Their father really talks language now' (T2:13)
7-16 **ngammama+wul=enhdha=ndhenu** ngammuru

1/2S. stand+ go back= really= now 1/2S. go somewhere

We are on our way coming back now.' (T8:144)

7-17 **yenhdhi+kul=enhdheni=nhdhi**

2MIN.SA. IR. hold+ fetch= now= towards speaker

'Fetch it here now!'

In 87% of text clauses, words host a single enclitic, e.g. (7-1) - (7-11), (7-13). In the remaining 13% of text clauses, words host more than one enclitic. Up to four enclitics may attach to a single host, e.g. (7-18) - (7-21).

7-18 **yerran=nhdhi=nhdha=rre=vi**

1AUG.AR. handle= TOWARDS = really= first= PERF

'First we used our hands [to climb] towards here really.' (T15:94)

7-19 **gadhama-nga+pirr+wuda=nhdheni=no=va**

3MIN.S. IR. stand- 3MIN. F. REFL. throw down+ water= now= PURP= AWAY

'She's about to throw herself down into the water away from them now.' (T1:38)

7-20 **manggarra=no=vi**

I suppose= PURP= PERF

**gadhama-nga+pirr+wuda=nhdheni=no=vi**

3MIN.S. IR. stand- 3MIN. F. REFL. throw down- water= now= PURP= PERF

'She was about to throw herself down into the water now, I reckon.' (T1:39).
7-21  emmi=no=vi=ve  ganeya-ngany+thorr

    What=DAT=PERF=HAP  2MIN.S.R. lie-1MIN.O+berate

    ‘Why did you happen to berate me?’ (T11:81)

Chains of three or four enclitics attaching to a single host word are rare; much more common are chains of two enclitics, e.g. (7-5), (7-22) - (7-27).

7-22  theme=no=rre

    where=DAT=first

    Where to first? (T6:115)

7-23  awa yuwa=no=vi  ngawarra

    meat 3MIN.FarDEIC=PURP=PERF  1MIN.A.IR.handle

    I was about to grab that meat over there.’ (T6:166)

7-24  duduk  awa warramben yawa=nhdha=vi

    bigREDUP meat crocodile 3MIN.AnaphDEIC=really=PERF

    ‘The crocodile in that place I talked about really was huge.’ (T6:97)

7-25  emmi  malh,  manggan?  malh  nghanhdhi=no=wany

    what  story  mate  story  one=DAT=REPET

    'What story, mate? Are you after another story again?’ (T10:2-3)

7-26  wuda  ganhdhi=nhdhi=wany  gana

    water 3MIN.A.R.hold=TOWARDS=REPET 3MIN.S.R.walk

    ‘Rain keeps coming this way again.’ (T6:116)
7-27  **dhamarra+na+manhdha-ngarrinyela+mede**

   *2AUG.S.IR.stand+walk+throat-1AUG.BEN+UAUG*

   **yuwa=nhdha=rrre**

   *3MINFarDEIC=really=first*

   either  ‘Wait for us two first over there really!’
   or  ‘You two wait for us first over there really!’ (T6:174)

   Because propositional enclitics generally encliticise onto the verb, but can be attracted to any semantically compatible clause-initial word, many clauses contain two, three or four enclitics, attached to different clause constituents, e.g. (7-28) - (7-30).

7-28  **gak=enhdheni**  **gumanya+wul=evi**

   *away=now 3AUG.S.R.stand+come back=PERF*

   They’ve come back by now.’ (T7:150)

7-29  **tjelerrin**  **gana=nhdhi**

   *ferry-boat 3MIN.S.R.walk=TOWARDS*

   **mul**  **ganya+yin+dim=enoe=ve**

   *cave 3MIN.A.R.make+nose+sink=PURP=HAP*

   ‘The cave might happen to make the ferry-boat coming towards us sink.’ (T6:126)
As for those two, they're pulling the net here away from there really.' (T6:73)

### 7.2 Status and enclitics

**Table 37: Modality and enclitics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
<th>Enclitic</th>
<th>Free Particle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Imperative/hortative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>Past Conditional</td>
<td>-e+h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>Future Intention</td>
<td>-e+oo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate future</td>
<td>intended to but didn't</td>
<td>-e+n+yi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likely/Misfortune</td>
<td></td>
<td>-mango</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative declarative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrealized</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desirable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibition</td>
<td>nene-stop!</td>
<td></td>
<td>gayi Don't do it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>way</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>way-</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>way-</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Emmi has no tense suffixes. An Emmi verb inflects to show Realis modality to express declarative statements, or Irrealis modality to express intentions, wishes, commands, exhortations to future action, admonitions or prohibitions. Table 37 shows how the status of an event, action or process is indicated on the verb by combinations of Realis/Irrealis inflections and specific propositional enclitics. More precise temporal, aspectual or modal...
specification may be provided elsewhere in the clause by modal and aspectual lexemes, described in Chapter 8.

Table 37 shows that in Emmi, Realis/Irrealis inflections combine with up to six propositional enclitics to produce eight Realis and five Irrealis categories. In this respect, Emmi is even more complex than Marrithiyel, which has ‘five verb-final tense-mood suffixes and seven available auxiliary-suffix combinations." (Green 1989:147). Emmi and Marrithiyel distinguish many of the same categories, but what Green terms the tense-suffixes of Marrithiyel are, in Emmi, more accurately termed aspectual/modal enclitics.

Emmi’s Realis categories are:
- Present Declarative
- Past Declarative
- Yesterday Declarative
- Immediate Future
- Likely Misfortune Declarative
- ‘Unlikely to’ Declarative
- ‘Doesn’t dare to’ Declarative
- Negative Declarative
- Prohibition A (Don’t do what you’re doing!)
- Prohibition B (‘Stop doing what you’re doing!’)

Emmi’s Irrealis categories are:
- Positive Imperative/hortative
- Future Intention
- Past Conditional
- ‘S/A intended to but didn’t’

7.2.1 Present Declarative

To express an action/event/process as happening at the moment of speaking, the verb is inflected for Realis status, e.g. (7-31) -(7-33). The optional addition of the temporal enclitic -(e)nhdheni ‘now’ means that the process is current but will soon be over, e.g. (7-33).
7-31 amma yuwa gaya
gay black-soil plain 3MIN.FarDEIC 3MIN.S.R. lie
Over there is a black-soil plain.
awa gala+vutjvutj tjulvorr yuwa
meat 3MIN.A.R.hop+fliy magpie goose 3MIN.FarDEIC
Magpie goose flies around there.
ginme+rtdi gana yuwa
3MIN.S.R. rise+back 3MIN.S.R. walk 3MINFar.DEIC
'It [magpie goose] keeps rising high in the sky over there.'
(T11:34-36)

7-32 garru+ngatj-nanga
3MIN.S.R. go somewhere+run away-3MIN.M.ADV
'She's running away from him.' (T9:1)

7-33 garr+a+biny=enhdheni
3MIN.A.R. handle+go down=now
'The tide is coming in now.'

7.2.2 Positive Imperative/hortative

To express an imperative/hortative, the verb is inflected for Irrealis modality, e.g. (7-34) - (7-35). The clause does not contain the Purposive enclitic -(e)no. (7-36), is a non-past condition. It consists of two consecutive clauses whose verbs are inflected for Irrealis modality.

7-34 verru yuwa=ya
2MIN.S.IR. go somewhere 3MIN.FarDEIC=AWAY
'Go away over there!' (T11:120)

7-35 ngarrama+wul+mede ngarruru
1AUG.S.IR. stand+come back+1AUG 1AUG.S.IR go somewhere
'Let us two (excluding addressee) set about coming back!' (T7:64)
7-36  kandu dawarraborak purru
man  sorcerer  3AUG.S.IR.go somewhere
nirr  gama-ne+gurr
tendon  3MIN.A.IR.poke-3AUG.O+hit

'If they were to go to a sorcerer he would spear their tendons.'
(RY:40)

7.2.3 Past Declarative
To express an event or action as over at the time of speaking, e.g. (7-4), (7-37), the auxiliary verb is inflected for Realis status and the clause contains the Perfective enclitic -(e)yi. This was noted by Tryon (1974:164). What he did not note was that -(e)yi has the same force in verb-less clauses, e.g. (7-38). Exact time reference is specified externally to the verb by temporal lexemes, e.g. (7-12), as: (7-37) - (7-38).

7-37  ngad-en-na=yi  ganeni+betj=evi
1MINA.R.look-2MIN.O=PERF  2MIN.S.R.walk=kick=PERF
kudjala=yi
today=PERF
'I saw you kick him earlier today.'

7-38  ngupe=evi
night=PERF
'it happened at night.'

7.2.4 Recent Past Declarative
To specify that something occurred in the recent past, the clause must contain the propositional enclitic -ngana, 'RECPAST', e.g. (7-39) - (7-40). -ngana 'RECPAST' is optionally followed by the Perfective enclitic -(e)yi, e.g. (7-12), (7-39) - (7-40).
7-39  wuda=no  ngarru=ngana(=yi)
grog=DAT  1MIN.S.R.go somewhereRECPAST(=PERF)
'T I went for grog recently.' (T9:6)

7-40  wuda=ngana(=yi)  gilinya  gunin
water=RECPAST (=PERF)  3AUG.A.R.consume  3AUG.S.R.sit
'They were drinking grog recently.' (T12:53)

7.2.5 Past Conditional
If the verb is inflected for Irrealis status and the clause contains the
Perfective enclitic -(e)yi, the clause has a past counterfactual reading, e.g.
(7-41).

7-41  kandu  dawarraborak
Aborigine  sorcerer
verru-na=vi
2MIN.S.IR.go somewhere-3MIN.M.DAT=PERF
gavurru-na+betjbetj  gadi=vi
3MIN.S.IR.go somewhere-2MIN.O+hold  3MIN.S.IR.sit=PERF
gama-na+gurr=evi  tjinda=nene
3MIN.A.IR.poke-2MIN.O+hit=PERF  spear=INSTR
'If you had gone to that Aboriginal sorcerer, he would have sat and
grabbed hold of you. He would have hit you with a spear.'
(T11:118-120)

7.2.6 Immediate Future
The verb is inflected for Realis status and hosts the Purposive
enclitic -(e)no which specifies an action as intended but not yet realised, e.g.
(7-42). The combination of Realis modality and Purposive enclitic is highly
marked and means that realisation of the intended action is imminent.
7-42 nera ngaden-na+viye=no mimbi
Grandson 1MIN.N.R. look-2MIN.O=head=PURP nit
Grandson! I'm going to look at the nits on your head directly!
(T1:7).

7.2.7 Future intention

When the verb is inflected for Irrealis status and the clause contains
the purposive enclitic -(e)no, the clause means that the event specified by
the verb will hypothetically happen in the unspecified future, e.g. (7-43) - (7-45).

7-43 ngadhama-na+pirr=eno rup
1MIN.S.IR. stand-2MIN.O+throw down=PURP rope
'I'm going to throw you down a rope.' (T2:83)

7-44 gak=eno ngammani=no
away=PURP 1/2S.IR. walk=PURP
'Let's go away!' (T13:4).

7-45 uma+gurr=eno viye
2.A.IR. poke-hit=PURP head
'You're going to spear her in the head.' (T1:70)

A verb inflected for Irrealis status hosting enclitics (e)nhdheni 'now'
and Purposive -(e)no, e.g. (7-46), adds immediacy to the intended action.

7-46 gawani+kalh=enhdheni=no manggarra
3MIN.S.IR. walk+climb=now=PURP I reckon
'He's going to climb now, I reckon.' (T2:93)
7.2.8 ‘S/A intended to but didn’t’

The verb is inflected for Irrealis modality and the clause contains the conjoined enclitics -(e)no + -(e)yi, e.g. (7-19) and (7-47) - (7-48). The clause means ‘S/A intended to, but didn’t.’ This is similar in meaning and morphology to Reid’s “just about to” clause in the Daly region language Ngan.gityemerrri. In both Emmi and Ngan.gityemerrri, the purposive case-enclitic combines with the Irrealis auxiliary inflection and perfective enclitic (Reid’s “past tense verbal suffixes”) and “encodes the deontic modal sense of the subject’s intention to realise an event.” (Reid, 1990:173).

7-47 yuwa=no=vi ngawani
3MIN.FarDEIC=PURP=PERF 1MIN.S.IR.walk
‘I intended to walk over there.’ (T14: 41)

7-48 awa yuwa=no=vi ngawarra
meat 3MIN.FarDEIC=PURP=PERF 1MIN.A.IR.handle
‘I intended to grab that fish over there.’ (T6:146).

This category is not to be confused with action which was undertaken and almost succeeded. In Emmi, this is expressed by the adverbial particle mut ‘almost’, which co-occurs only with verbs inflected for Realis status, e.g. (7-49).

7-49 mut ganhdhi+dim=enbdheni=va
almost 3MIN.A.R.hold+sink=now=AWAY
‘He almost drowns it now away from them.’ (T3:48)

7.2.9 ‘Likely misfortune’

The verb is inflected for Realis status, because the speaker is sure the misfortune is already happening as s/he is speaking. The clause must contain the modal enclitic -mangga ‘likely’, as in (7-50) - (7-53).
7-50 **yirrgala ganhdha+na+manhdha=mangga gaya**

*tree-snake 3MIN.S.R.perch+walk+throat=LIK 3MIN.S.R.lie*

'The tree snake is likely to be lying perched in wait.' (T7:128).

7-51 **garra-ngga+yulhuk+mari=mangga**

*3MIN.A.R.handle-1/2.O+enter+belly=LIK*

*gayu-ngga+dep+yingi=mangga*

*3MIN.S.R.lie-1/2O+stick to+breast=LIK*

**yingi yirrgala=nene**

*breast tree-snake=NEW INF*

'It's likely to be worming its way inside inside you and me. The tree-snake is more than likely stuck fast to our breasts.' (T8:29 -30)

In Emmi, unlike Marrithiyel, (Green, 1989: 218), the referent of undergoer O of independent 'likely misfortune' clauses, e.g. (7-52) and the verb-less clause (7-53) can host the 'Likely' enclitic.

7-52 **garra-ngary=mangga membit=mangga**

*3MIN.A.R.handle-1MIN.O=LIK cramp=LIK*

'I’m likely to be seized by cramp.' (T8:13).

7-53 **yawana miri kulhok=mangga**

*3MIN.M.Anaph.DEIC eye blind=LIK*

'That man I mentioned is likely to be blind.'

7.2.10 Negated Declarative statements

*way 'not' is a free particle which constitutes a verbless clause in its own right, e.g. (7-54).*

7-54 **way=evi**

*NEG=PERF*

'lt didn't happen.'
way 'not' functions as a clause negator of Realis Declarative statements, e.g. (7-55).

7-55 mitjirrim way yerran+betj
dog NEG 1AUG.A.R.handle+grab
'We aren’t grabbing the dog.' (T6: 27)

7.2.11 Negative future intention

way 'not' is also the negator for statements of future intention, whose verb is inflected for Irrealis status, e.g. (7-56) and (7-57).

7-56 way=eno ngavurru pudan
NEG=PURP 1MIN.S.IR.go somewhere Port Darwin
'I don't want to go to Darwin.'

7-57 war=eno ngadhama+wul=eno
NEG=PURP 1MIN.S.IR.stand+come back=PURP
'I won't come back.'

7.2.12 'Unlikely to' Declarative

The verb is inflected for Realis status because the proposition is stated as a fact. The clause contains the enclitic -mangga and is negated by free particle way. When negated, -mangga carries no connotation of misfortune. Like other enclitics, -mangga is optionally attracted to the clause-initial negator host, e.g. (7-29), (7-58) - (760).

7-58 way=mangga I talk ngame menhdhe but emmi emmi
NEG=LIK 1MIN.S.R.say menhdhe emmi emmi
'I'm unlikely to talk Menhdhe, but Emmi, Emmi [is what I talk].'
(T9:241)
7-59  wutmul  det  kalarr  wutmul
    heavy  that  throw-net  heavy
    way=mangga  ngarra+war
    NEG=LIK  1MIN.A.R.handle+lift
'That throw-net is heavy. It's too heavy. I'm unlikely to lift it.'
    (T6:77 - 79)

7-60  way=enhdheni=mangga  gemi=nhdha
    NEG=now=LIK  3MIN.S.R.come out=really
    yuwa  yingi
    3MIN.FarDEIC  breast
    wina  gaya-dep  ganen
    all dayn  3MIN.S.R.lie+stick to  3MIN.S.R.sit
    way=enhdheni=mangga  ganarra+bet+dirr
    NEG=now=LIK  2MIN.A.R.handle+open+tooth
'It's unlikely to come out from that breast now. All day it stays
stuck. You're unlikely to prise open its jaws. (T8:68-70).

7.2.13 Doesn't Dare Declarative.
The verb is inflected for realis modality, and negated by clause negator way
'not' which hosts the 'HAP' enclitic -(e)ve. The combination implies that
the subject of the verb is too scared to do the action expressed in the verb,
e.g. (7-61) — (7-63).

7-61  way=eve  gala+gat+mari
    NEG=HAP  3MIN.A.R.chop+cut+belly
    ngunu  girran+mbul  velp
    then  3MIN.S.R.use legs+run  do without stopping
'She doesn’t dare catch her breath so she runs without stopping.'
    (T9:161)
7-62  way=ewe  gala+duk
\[NEG=HAP\]  3MINA.R.chop+put out fire
He doesn’t dare put the fire out.’ (T3:91)

7-63  way=ewe  gunya-ngani+wut  awa
\[NEG=PERF=HAP\]  3AUG.S.R.lie-JMIN.DAT+give  meat
‘They didn’t dare give me any meat.’ (T25:6)

7.2.14 Prohibition: gaii ‘Don’t do it!’

Enumi has two ways to express prohibitions. The first, more
commonly used, is gaii (let it lie). ’Don’t!’ gaii is the grammaticised 3 MIN
Irrealis form of the inflected simple verb ya ‘lie’. gaii ’Don’t!’ constitutes a
clause in its own right, e.g. (7-66), or with a Subject pronoun, e.g. (7-65). It
coad-occurs with a verb inflected for Realis status, e.g. (7-64) or neutralised
for status, e.g. (7-67).

7-64  manggan  gaii  ganinya
mate  PROH  2MIN.A.R.make
‘Mate! Don’t! You’re cooking it.’ (T6:171)

7-65  gaii=ve  nine
PROH=HAP  2MIN.PRO
Don’t you dare!’(T2:17)

7-66  derela  yerre+gar  mari
slow  2AUG.IR.handle-cut  belly
nayf=nene  gaii=ve
knife=INSTR  Don’t do it=HAP
‘Cut her belly slowly. Don’t dare use a knife!’ (T1: 89-90)
7.2.1§ Prohibition -nene ‘Stop!

-nene ‘stop’ co-occurs only with verbs inflected for Realis status; it means ‘Stop (what you are doing)!’, e.g. (7-68) - (7-69).

7-68 ganila=nene miya wedjirr mundak
2MIN.A.R.consume=Stop edible plant bad stale
'Stop eating the bad tucker. It's stale.' (T14:2-3)

7-69 ganinya+gurr=nene
2MIN.A.R.make+hit=Stop
'Stop hitting her! (T17:25)

gayi and -nene may co-occur in the same utterance, though not in the same clause, as in (7-70).

7-70 gayi=ve ganya=nene
PROH=HAP 3MIN.A.R.cook=Stop
nyiminy wedjirr wutiyirr=ve nyiminy
fire bad cypress=HAP fire
gayi ganya=nene gayi game
PROH 3MIN.A.R.cook=Stop PROH 3MIN.S.R.say
'Don’t dare do it! She’s to stop cooking! The firewood is poisonous. The firewood happens to be cypress. Don’t do it! She’s to stop cooking! Don’t do it!’ she says. (T6:147-149)

No other Western Daly language has two prohibition markers, but Patjtimalh, the unrelated language in which all Emmi-speakers are fluent, also has two constructions to express prohibitions (Ford, 1990:168-9). For
prohibitions meaning 'Don't do X!', the Patjtjamalh verb is inflected for Irrealis modality, and is negated by a clause-initial free particle ngakulho, the Patjtjamalh equivalent of the Emmi clause negator way. For prohibitions meaning 'Stop Xing!', the Patjtjamalh verb is inflected for Realis modality and hosts a clitic form of the free negative particle (-kulho).

It is the second Patjtjamalh construction that is closest to Emmi -nene 'Stop!'. The fact that two unrelated but geographically contiguous languages share a syntactic construction points to borrowing, but in which direction? It looks as though Patjtjamalh is the borrower, because it employs prohibitions which are cognate, one being a contracted form of the other. Emmi -nene 'Stop!' is not cognate with Emmi gayi 'Don't do it!' and is thus harder to explain away.

7.3 Semantic range of propositional enclitics

This section analyses each propositional enclitic in terms of its semantic range.

7.3.1 -(e)nhdheni 'now'

(e)nhdheni 'now' places the verbal notion in relation to the time of utterance or time in the narrative. It means that the action/event/process is happening or imminent at the moment of speech, and will soon be over, e.g. (7-2), (7-6), (7-15) -(7-17), (7-19) -(7-20), (7-28), (7-33), (7-46), (7-49), (7-60), (7-71) -(7-76). (e)nhdheni 'now' occurs in 7.6% of text clauses.

7-71 rup guman+kup. garru+gat=enhdheni
rope 3MINA.R.poke+rotten 3MIN.S.R.go somewhere+cut=now
'The rope is rotten. It's breaking right now.' (TY:35)

7-72 nga=nhdheni garru velp
3MIN.F.PRO=now 3MIN.S.R.go somewhere do continually
'As for her, now she goes without stopping.' (T9:116).
-(e)nhdheni may co-occur with the Perfective enclitic, the Purposive enclitic, and the combination of Purposive and Perfective enclitics. Its function in these ordered co-occurrences - it always precedes these particular enclitics - is to bring the event described closer to the moment of speaking. For instance, when co-occurring with -(e)yi, the Perfective enclitic, -(e)nhdheni marks an event as having happened just before the moment of speech, as in (7-73).

7-73 kudjala=nhdheni=yi, ngarru+kah=evi
   today=now=PERF  IMIN.S.R.go somewhere+climb=PERF
'I arrived just now.'

-(e)nhdheni ‘now’ adds immediacy to positive imperatives, e.g. (7-74), or exhortations, e.g. (7-75).

7-74 uma+gat+viye=nhdheni  ninga
   2MIN.IR.poke+cut+head=now  2MIN.IR-sit
'Sit and cut the head out now!' (T11:6)

7-75 gak=enhdheni  ngadhama+wul=wany=eva
   away=now  IMIN.S.R.stand+go back=REPET=AWAY
'Let me go back again away from here now!' (T15:89).

When combined with -(e)no, the Purposive enclitic, and a verb inflected for Irrealis modality, -(e)nhdheni marks an action as about to happen, e.g. (7-46).

-(e)nhdheni ‘now’ also occurs in elliptical sentences with a coverb but no AUX, e.g. (7-76).

7-76 ngurrurr=enhdheni
   sleep=now
'She's sleeping now.'
-(e)nhdeni 'now' co-occurs with -(e)no, 'Purposive', e.g. (7-17), -(e)nhdha 'really', e.g. (7-96), with the directional enclitics -(e)ya 'away from speaker', e.g. (7-72), and with -(e)nhdhi 'towards speaker', e.g. (7-97). It co-occurs with two of the three aspectual enclitics, i.e. -(e)yi 'Perfective, e.g. (7-77), and -wany 'REPET', e.g. (7-87), but may not co-occur with -wiyé 'Habitual', with which it is semantically incompatible.

7.3.2 -(e)no 'Purposive'

The propositional enclitic -(e)no 'Purposive' specifies an action as intended but not yet realised. This enclitic occurs in 7.1% of textual clauses and although it does occur with verbs inflected for Realis status, e.g. (7-42), it generally co-occurs with a verb inflected for Irrealis status, e.g. (7-11), (7-13); (7-19), (7-20)-(7-23), (7-25), (7-43)-(7-46), (7-56)-(7-57) and (7-77), (7-78), (7-91), (7-97).

The propositional enclitic -(e)no may co-occur in the same clause as the adnominal Dative case-enclitic -(e)no, e.g. (7-77), but different distribution patterns for adnominal and propositional enclitics mean that ambiguity is avoided. The adnominal enclitic attaches only to the final member of its NP, whereas the propositional enclitic attaches to any clause initial word or to the verb, or to all clause constituents, e.g. (7-77) - (7-758).

7-77 yuwa=no wuda=no ngawani
3MIN.FarDEIC=PURP grog=DAT 1MIN.S.IR.walk
gak mendora=no ngawani
away Mandorah=PURP 1MIN.S.IR.walk
'I'm off over there for grog. I'm off away to Mandorah.' (T9:3-4)

In (7-78), the NP awa=nhdhi=no is in O role, governed by the verb thunggudi 'send'. Is -(e)no to be construed as an adnominal or or propositional enclitic in (7-78)? It certainly encliticises an NP, and therefore qualifies as an adnominal enclitic, but the NP happens to be in O role, and adnominal -(e)no marks the Dative case relation. It makes better sense to
read -(e)no as a propositional enclitic, marking the clause as Purposive, because the overt NP is clause initial, and propositional enclitics may be attracted to a clause-initial word, but adnominal enclitics cannot. Also, enclitic -ndhdi 'towards speaker', has a clause role, not an adnominal one, in (7-78); it too is attracted to the clause-initial NP.

7-78 awa=ndhdi=no
   meat-towards speaker=PURP
   gadin+thunggudi-ngarrinyela+nganya
   3MIN.AIR.elbow+send-AUG.BEN+F.AUG
   'S/he's going to send meat over here for us women.' (T:6:86)

In (7-20), -(e)no co-occurs with the Perfective enclitic -(e)yi and Realis inflection; this means that here -(e)no can only be adnominal. Purposive -(e)no may be preceded only by the temporal enclitic -(e)ndheni 'now', e.g. (7-19), (7-46) and the directional enclitic -(e)ndhdi 'towards speaker, e.g. (7-78).

-(e)no may be followed by the aspectual enclitics -wany 'REPET', e.g. (7-25), -(e)yi 'Perfective', e.g. (7-19) - (7-20), (7-47) - (7-48), or by the sequential enclitic -(e)rre 'first', e.g. (7-22), by enclitic -(e)ve 'HAP', e.g. (7-29), or by the directional enclitic -(e)ya 'away from speaker', e.g. (7-79).

7-79 theme=no=ya
   where=PURP=away from speaker
   wadja 2MIN.IR.walk
   'Where away from here will you go? (T9:5)

7.3.3 -(e)yi 'Perfective'

-(e)yi 'Perfective' means that the predicate is not happening at the moment of speaking, e.g. (7-38), (7-54). If -(e)yi co-occurs with a verb inflected for Realis modality, it implies that the predicate has happened prior to the moment of speaking, e.g. (7-3), (7-7), (7-8), (7-12), (7-18), (7-21), (7-24), (7-37), (7-39) - (7-40), (7-63), (7-73), (7-83).
If -(e)yi co-occurs with the Purposive enclitic -(e)no and a verb inflected for Irrealis modality, it implies that the predicate was about to happen prior to the moment of speaking, if other factors had not made this impossible, e.g. (7-20) (7-23), (7-47) - (7-48).

Emmi has no form meaning 'if'. Past Conditional clauses are signalled by the encliticisation of -(e)yi to a verb inflected for Irrealis modality, e.g. (7-41). Such clauses do not contain the Purposive enclitic -(e)no. Alternatively, such a clause is translatable as an admonition, e.g. (7-80).

7-80  verru+tjak-ngala=rre=yi  
2MIN.S.IR.go somewhere+make fire-3MIN.F.BEN=first=PERF
'You should first have made a fire for her!'(T11:48)

7.3.4 -wije 'habitually'
-wije 'habitually' refers to an action/state or process habitual to the agent. It may refer to a habit current at the moment of utterance, e.g. (7-81) - (7-82), or one no longer practised, e.g. (7-83), or to the place where someone used to live, but no longer does, e.g. (7-84). -wije 'habitually' occurs in 1% of textual clauses.

7-81  yuwana  ganya+balhk=wije  
3MIN.M.FarDEIC 3MIN.A.R.make+puff up=HAB
'That man over there is always puffing himself up.' (T20:1)

7-82  malh  wedjirr=wije ngame+ngamen  
language bad=HAB 1MIN.S.R say+Father
might be emmi or menhdhe
might be Emmi or Menhdhe
I usually speak rubbish language to her, probably Emmi or Menhdhe.' (T9:239 - 240)
7-83 men=wive=vi elimberre=wive=vi
1AUG.A.R pick up=HAB=PERF long ago=HAB=PERF
'Long ago we used to pick it up.' (T13:29)

7-84 ngavurru+velhet' yene ganen.
1MIN.S.IR go somewhere+pass LOC 3MIN.S.R sit
wulgumen=evi  ganen
old woman=PERF 3MIN.S.R sit
ngata yuya yene ganen=wive. yiverre=nhdha	house camp LOC 3MIN.C.R sit=HAB there=really
'I'll go past where she lives. [Where] the old woman lived. The
house where she habitually stays. There really.' (T7:72 - 74).

7.3.5 -wany 'REPET'
-wany specifies an action/event/process as happening again, e.g. (7-25), (7-75), (7-85) - (7-87). -wany 'REPET' occurs in 2% of text clauses.

7-85 vula-nbe+gat
2MIN.A.IR chop-2MIN.REFL+cut
vula+gat=wany
2MIN.A.IR chop-2MIN.REFL+cut=REPET
'Cut yourself, cut it again!'(T7:132).

7-86 awa nga guman+thak=wany
meat 3MIN.F.PRO 3MIN.A.R poke+smash=REI-ET
ganen pelhe
3MIN.S.R sit oyster
'She's sitting smashing oysters again.' (T6: 57)

7-87 wadja=nhdheni=wany
2MIN.S.IR walk=now=REPET
'Go now one more time!'(T9:18)
7.3.6 -(e)rre 'first'

The sequential enclitic -(e)rre 'first' marks an action/event as the first in a narrative sequence, e.g. (7-18), (7-27), (7-80), (7-88)-(7-89). It is often followed by a sequel clause introduced by nguna 'and then', or (e)nhdheni 'now', e.g. (7-86). -(e)rre 'first' occurs in 1.4% of text clauses.

7-88  yuwa=no=rre ngammarra ngarrginen
     3MIN.FarDEIC=PURP=first 1/2A.handle 1/2.S.sit
'We'll sit and fish over there first.' (T6:146)

7-89  pudan=evi garru=rre
     Port Darwin=PERF 3MIN.S.R.go somewhere=first
pu dan=enhdheni yuwa gana
     Port Darwin=now 3MIN.FarDEIC 3MIN.S.R.walk
'First he went to Darwin. Now he's walking over there in Darwin.'
(T3:50-51)

7.3.7 -mangga 'likely'

-mangga 'likely' occurs in 0.5% of clauses in the corpus. It only occurs in propositions stated as a fact, and so, whatever the polarity of the clause, -mangga may only co-occur with verbs inflected for Realis modality, e.g. (7-50) - (7-53), and (7-58) - (7-60).

If the clause is positive declarative, -mangga 'likely' refers to likely misfortune. In such a clause, a verb must be inflected for Realis modality because for the speaker the misfortune is likely to be happening at the time of speaking, e.g. (7-50) - (7-52). -mangga will encliticise to a verbless predicate with the same force, e.g. (7-53).

If the clause is marked for negative polarity, and contains the enclitic -mangga 'likely', and, optionally, a verb inflected for Realis modality, it means that the proposition is unlikely to be realised, e.g. (7-58). In such clauses, -mangga 'likely' carries no connotations of misfortune.
-mangga is preceded by enclitics enhdheni 'now' and -(e)nhdhi 'TOWARDS', e.g. (7-90).

7-90  
\[ \text{way=} \text{enhdheni=} \text{ndhi=} \text{mangga} \]
\[ \text{NEG=} \text{now=} \text{TOWARDS=} \text{LIK} \]
\[ \text{gama+wul=} \text{enhdhi} \]
\[ 3\text{MIN.S.R.} \text{stand+come back=} \text{TOWARDS} \]

‘He isn’t likely to come back this way.’ (T23:12).

7.3.8 -(e)ve ‘HAP’

The enclitic -(e)ve ‘happen’ occurs in 2% of clauses in the corpus. If there is a verb in the clause, it is always inflected for Declarative modality. In clauses marked for positive polarity, -(e)ve ‘HAP’ implies that the proposition contains an element of chance, e.g. (7-21), (7-28), (7-70), (7-92). In clauses marked for negative polarity -(e)ve ‘HAP’ implies that the subject does not dare do the action expressed in the verb, e.g. (7-65) - (7-66), (7-70), (7-92).

7-91  
\[ \text{rerl=} \text{ve} \]
\[ \text{yawa} \]
\[ \text{awa} \]
\[ \text{mambuwalh} \]
\[ \text{fat-} \text{HAP} \]
\[ 3\text{MIN.AnaphDEJC} \text{meat} \text{mudskipper} \]

That mudskipper I mentioned happened to be fat.\(\text{(T14:52)}\)

7-92  
\[ \text{memerendjarrmul=} \text{eno} \]
\[ \text{ganenya} \]
\[ \text{dugong=} \text{DAT} \]
\[ 3\text{AUG.S.R.walk} \]
\[ \text{way=} \text{eve} \]
\[ \text{muku} \]
\[ \text{kandu djukadja} \]
\[ \text{NEG=} \text{HAP} \]
\[ \text{woman} \]
\[ \text{man only} \]

‘Women don’t dare go after dugong, only men [do].’ (T23:1)

7.3.9 -(e)nhdha ‘really’

The evidential enclitic -(e)nhdha ‘really’ indicates that the speaker believes in the reality of what s/he is saying, e.g. (7-4), (7-5), (7-18), (7-20), (7-27).
-(e)nhdha ‘really’ occurs in 8% of clauses in my corpus. It may be preceded by the directional enclitic -(e)nhdhi, e.g. (7-14), (7-29) and followed by the directional enclitic -(e)-ya, as in (7-4), (7-27), or by the temporal enclitic -(e)nhdheni, e.g. (7-94), or the sequential enclitic -rrre, as in (7-18), (7-27), or the Repetitive enclitic -wany, as in (7-26), or the perfective enclitic -(e)yi, e.g. (7-18).

7.3.10 -(e)nhdhi ‘towards speaker’

Emmi has two directional enclitics, -(e)nhdhi ‘TOWARDS’ and -(e)ya ‘AWAY’ which together occur in 16% of all clauses in the corpus. -(e)nhdhi contrasts with -(e)ya in the commonly occurring utterances merrgude=nhdhi ‘Come to me quickly!’ and merrgude=ya ‘Go away from me quickly!!’. In narrative, both directional enclitics refer to the other of two protagonists, without reference to the narrator, e.g. (7-93). and (7-97).

7-93  Im closer la im now that  kandu
     he's closer to him now, that  man
     yunungu=nhdheni=nhdhi
     close=now=TOWARDS

     'He's close to him now.' (T4:33-34)

Although -(e)nhdhi is the converse of -(e)ya, and the two enclitics are mutually exclusive, they occupy different slots in enclitic order. (e)nhdhi may be preceded by the temporal enclitic -(e)nhdheni 'now', as in (7-17), (7-93), and may also precede the likely enclitic -mangga, e.g. (7-90), the focus enclitic -ga, e.g. (7-94), the Purposive enclitic -(e)no, as in (7-95), or the evidential enclitic -(e)nhdha, e.g. (7-14). As a propositional enclitic, -(e)nhdhi may encliticise every clause constituent e.g. (7-96).

7-94 manggan  game=nhdhi=ga
     mate  3MIN.S.R.say=TOWARDSt=FOC

     'It was my mate who spoke in my direction.' (T6:68)
7-95  *kenbi uma-ngani=nhdhi=no*

*didjeridu* 2MIN.A.R.poke-1MIN.DAT=TOWARDS=PURP

'You should bring the didjeridu here to me!' (T3:8)

7-96  *theme=ngana=nhdhi*

*where=ABL=TOWARDSr*

*garru=nhdhi*

3MIN.S.R.go somewhere=TOWARDS

'Where is he coming towards us from?' (T11:156)

7.3.11 *(e)ya 'away from speaker'*

*(e)ya* means 'AWAY', e.g. *merrgude=ya* 'Go away from me quick!'. In narrative, it refers to the other of two protagonists, without reference to the narrator, e.g. (7-97).

7-97  *gemi-na+mari=nhdheni*

3MIN.S.R.come out-3MIN.M.DAT=now

*garru=ya*

3MIN.S.R.go somewhere=AWAY

*gemi-na+mari=ngana*

3MIN.S.R.come out-3MIN.M.DAT=REC:PAST

*garra+varratj=enhdheni*

3MIN.A.R.chase=now

*gana=ya*

3MIN.S.R.walk=AWAY

'He [the spirit] comes out for him from inside [the hollow log] now. He goes away from him. He came out for him from inside. He's chasing him now. He goes away from him.' (T4:46-50)

*(e)ya* may be preceded by *(e)nhdha 'really', e.g. (7-5), by *(e)nhdheni 'now', e.g. (7-19), (7-49), by *(e)no Purposive', e.g. (7-19), -
wany 'REPET', e.g. (7-75), but may be followed only by the Focus enclitic -ga as in (7-98).

7-98 wuda=nhdhi garru=nhdhi  
\textit{rain= TOWARDS 3MIN.S.R.go somewhere= TOWARDS}

dukandji ngame-nga=ya=ga  
\textit{big 1MIN.S.R.say-3MIN.F.DAT=AWAY=FOC}

'A lot of rain is heading this way' is what I said to the woman over there.' (T6:133)

7.3.12 -ga 'Focus'

-ga has the allomorph -gu after host-final u, o, e.g. (7-99) or consonant. As a propositional enclitic, -ga is preceded by every other enclitic, e.g. -nhdhi 'TOWARDS', in (7-94); -(e)ya 'AWAY', in (7-98), -mangga 'LIK' in (7-100).

7-99 garra+pit+moro=gu
\textit{3MIN.A.R.handle+wash+buttock=FOC}

'She's washing his bum.' (T7:99)

7-100 gana-ngga+varratj=mangga=ga
\textit{3MIN.S.R.walk-1/2MIN.O+chase=LIK=FOC}

'Chase you and me is what it's likely to do.' (T6:8)

7.3.13 -ngana 'Recent Past'

As an adnominal enclitic, -ngana is a Causative or Ablative case-marker. As a propositional enclitic, -ngana is a temporal modifier, specifying an event as having taken place in the 'Recent past', e.g. (7-93). Only as a propositional enclitic may -ngana attach to any clause-initial word, e.g. the verb in (7-39), noun in (7-40), or adverb in (7-12), or be copied onto all clause constituents, as in (7-12). Propositional enclitic -ngana commonly attaches to the temporal lexeme nenangu 'yesterday
afternoon’, e.g. (7-12), or yerranguya ‘one day away from today’. In its propositional sense, enclitic -ngana ‘yesterday’ optionally co-occurs with a following Perfective enclitic -(e)yī.

7.3.14 -nene ‘Stop!’

Propositional enclitic -nene can be distinguished from adnominal -nene by semantic range, grammatical function and patterns of distribution. As a propositional enclitic, -nene means ‘Stop!’ It functions as a prohibitor, is not cross-refenced on the verb and attaches to any clause-initial word/phrase, e.g. (7-68) - (7-69).
Chapter Eight
Syntactic constructions

8.0 Introduction
This chapter analyses and illustrates the syntax of Emmi clauses. In doing so, it breaks new ground in the study of Daly languages, about which little syntactic information has been published. Emmi clauses are either simple or complex. Simple clauses may or may not contain a VP. Complex clauses always contain two VPs. The first part of this chapter discusses the structure of simple clauses. 8.1.1 deals with simple verbless clauses. 8.1.2 deals with simple verb clauses. The rest of the chapter discusses complex clauses. 8.2.1 deals with serial verb constructions. 8.2.1.2 focusses on causative serial constructions. 8.2.2 discusses headless relative clauses. 8.2.3 describes conjoined clauses. 8.2.4 lists free temporal, modal and locational lexemes.

8.1 Simple clauses
Simple clauses minimally consist of a predicate. In this they conform to the pattern Green (1995:221) noted for Gurr-goni. In Emmi, a predicate may consist of a member of any word class. When a verb forms the predicate, it carries obligatory coding for core arguments S/A and, on transitive verbs, O. 3MIN.O is realised as zero. Only humans, higher animates and entities classed as human in myths qualify as core arguments to be coded on the verb. Also coded on the Emmi verb are the peripheral arguments Dative, Benefactive and Adversative, in ordered peripheral VP slots.

Twenty two per cent of simple verb clauses in the corpus also contain NPs in core roles. In addition to NPs in core functions, 27% of simple clauses with or without a verb in Emmi also contain one or more overt NP(s) in peripheral roles, specifying the cause, time, place, and goal of the situation expressed by the verb. Gurr-goni simple clauses also contain peripheral NPs,
but Green did not calculate their distribution. In Emmi, but not, it appears, in Gurr-goni, context is further specified by modal, temporal, aspectual or directional enclitic particles and lexemes.

8.1.1 Verbless clauses

Of the 2407 clauses in the corpus, 463 (18%), are verbless. A verbless clause in Emmi includes any of the following forms:
1. (NP) + locational lexeme (locational);
2. Particle (exclamation);
3. (NP) + NP (equative-ascriptive);
4. (NP) + Poss; NP + Pro; NP + N (possessive).
All types allow interrogative words.

My list is derived from the universal sentence-schemata proposed by Lyons (1977:469), with one Emmi-specific addition (item 2). Items (1) and (2) are predicative structures, in which an NP + locational lexeme, or a particle forms the predicate. Items (3) and (4), on the other hand, consist of an NP as subject (S) and an NP as predicate. The rest of this section explains and exemplifies each type of verbless clause in my list.

8.1.1.1 Locational clauses

Lyons' list does not distinguish existential clauses from locative clauses. In his view "the locative basis of existential constructions, in many, if not all, languages, is hardly open to doubt" (Lyons, 1977:723). The same is true for Emmi. In Emmi, locational clauses minimally consist of an NP + locational lexeme, e.g. (8-1).

8-1  awa  viverre=nhdha
    meat  there=really
'There really is meat there.' (T14:27)
Locational verbless clauses must contain a locational lexeme e.g. *yiverre* 'there' in (8-1), or *yunungu* 'near', as in (7-93), and/or an an NP containing the locational adposition *yene* 'in', e.g. (8-2), or the locational enclitic particle -(e)ndhi 'TOWARDS', e.g. (7-93), or -(e)ya 'AWAY', e.g. (7-97). The most commonly occurring locational lexemes in verbless locational clauses in my corpus are the 3 Minimal Near Deictic *yii* as in (8-3), and the 3Minimal Far Deictic *yuwa*, as in (8-4). Location constituents are underlined.

8-2 *vorro+rtedi vorro+rtedi vene winy-mede*  
long grass long grass LOC 3AUG.PRO+UAUG  
'They were both in the long grass.' (T5:47)

8-3 *piya nga=ve yii*  
NEGCP 3MIN.F.PRO=:HAP 3MIN.NearDEIC  
'She doesn’t dare be here.' (T9:47)

8-4 *thanakula, therrgaldja, ngalikmana*  
Place-name Place-name Place-name  
*elewerre yuwa=ndha*  
country 3MIN.FarDEIC=really  
'Thanakula, Therrgaldja, Ngalikmana, over there is the country really. (T14:5-6)

8.1.1.2 Exclamations  
A member of any word-class except the verb class may function as a predicate in a verbless clause. My corpus contains such verbless predicates as the exclamatory particles *wakkay* 'Finished!', e.g. (8-5); *yukuy* 'Must be!', as
in (8-6); the incredulous particle yaw 'Eh?', e.g. (8-5); and the evidential particles ya 'I don't know!', e.g. (8-7).

8-5 pulan+parr+mari+nganya wakkay yaw
IAUG.A.R.punch+hitAUG.O+belly+F.AUG finished Eh?
'Some of us women put everything inside [the car]. Finished! Eh?
(T7:3-5).

8-6 yukuy wuda yiverre=nhdha
must be grog there=really
'There must be grog there, really.'

8-7 ava yiina=nhdhi kandu retja
who 3MIN.M.NearDEIC=TOWARDS man countryman
va kandu werre
I don't know man isn't it
Who's this male here who's coming towards me? Is he a
countryman? I don't know. He's an Aboriginal man, isn't he?
(T11:144-147)

8.1.1.3 Equative-ascriptive clauses

Equative clauses take the form NP (S) + NP (Predicate). Semantically, their function is one of equating one NP with another NP, or, as Lyons (1977:473) puts it, "of identifying an entity referred to by means of one expression with an entity referred to by means of another expression."

Ascriptive clauses "ascribe to the referent of the subject-expression a certain property." (Lyons, 1977:472), or, as Green, puts it for Gurr-goni, "the function of ascriptive clauses is to say something new about the referent." (Green 1995:233).
In Emmi, equative and ascriptive clauses have the same grammatical structure, and cannot be distinguished, e.g. (8-8) - (8-13). Emmi equative -ascriptive clauses characterise the NP subject as belonging to a particular species, as in (8-8), or a particular tribe, e.g. (8·9) or age-group, as in (8-10), or ascribe to it a name as in (8-11)-(8-12), or a quality, as in (8-13).

8-8 awa therrwen yawanga=ga
   meat Rainbow Serpent 3MIN.F.AnaphDEIC=FOC
   'As for that female I mentioned, she might be the Rainbow Serpent.
   (T1:105)

8-9 yu kandu emmiyangal emmiyangal ngany
   Yes man Emmiyangal Emmiyangal 1MIN.PRO
   'Yes, I'm an Emmiyangal man.' (T13:75)

8-10 yere kIRR=ve nine
   child small=HAP 2MIN.PRO
   'You happen to be a little girl.' (T2: 27)

8-11 wunhdhi yin
   Wunhdhi name
   'Wunhdhi is his name.' (T15:76)

8-12 awa an.grin kita awa=ga
   meat leech leech meat=FOC
   'Leech is kita in Batjamalh.' (T11:42)

8-13 maligita yawanga=ga muku
   long 3MIN.F.AnaphDEIC=FOC woman
8.1.1.4 Possessive clauses

Verbless possessive clauses express the relation between a possessed entity and its animate owner and take the form N + PRO or N + POSS. In both clause variants, subject NP and predicate NP are juxtaposed. These constructions are discussed in 3.3.1 and 3.3.2.

8.1.1.5 Arguments of verbless clauses

The corpus provides copious evidence indicating that nouns, adjectives, free pronouns, possessive pronouns, locational and aspectual lexemes and particles may function as predicates of these clauses. In Emmi, as in Gurrgoni, "Non-verbal predicates clearly select subjects." (Green, 1995:235). Peripheral arguments include nouns in instrumental function, as in (8-14), nouns in locative function, as in (8-15), nouns in Dative relation, as in (8-16), pronouns in possessive relation, e.g. (8-17) - (8-18), and nouns in direct case which limit the meaning of an adjective predicate, e.g. (8-19).

Instrumental

8-14 bulng=nene operation here mari
   bottle=INSTR operation here   belly
   'There's an operation here using a bottle on her belly,' (T1:92)

Dative

8-15 kandu yiina nganggu+nawarri kandu wagan
   man  3MIN.M.NearDEIC 1/2.PRO.DAT+all man stranger
   'This man here is a stranger to all of us.' (T11:151)

Direct

8-16 murru vepiya=nhdha
   eggs   full=really
   'It's really full of eggs.' (T2:7)
eggs full=really
'It's really full of eggs.' (T2:7)

8.1.2 Verbal clauses
The majority of verbal clauses in my corpus are simple clauses, containing one VP. Section 8.1.2 analyses and discusses the syntax of simple verb clauses in Emmi.

8.1.2.1 Core arguments
Emmi's core arguments are, in Dixon's 1979 terminology, S (subject of an intransitive verb), A (agent of a transitive verb), and O (object of a transitive verb). S/A and O are obligatorily coded on the Emmi verb, e.g. (8-20) - (8-28) and thus have what Foley and Van Valin (1984:98) term "indispensability". I have used "indispensability" as a diagnostic of Emmi's core arguments. (In the rest of this section, all S/A and O arguments are bolded; other arguments which may be coded on the verb are underlined.

S argument
8-20 dhama+wul
2MIN.S.IR.stand+come back
'(You (one)), come back!' (T30:1)

A + O arguments
8-21 yena-ngany+viye=no ninga
2MIN.A.IR.make-1MIN.O+head=PURP 2MIN.S.IR.sit
'You (one), sit and massage my head!' (11:91)

8-22 gama-na-gurr=eyi tinda=nce
3MIN.S.R.poke+2MIN.O+hit=PERF spear=INSTR
'He would have poked you (one) with a spear.' (T11:123)

8-23  gana-ngga+vvarratj=mangga=ga
3MIN.S.R.walk=1/2O+chase=LIK=FOC
'It's likely to chase you and me.' (T6:8)

8-24  mudika=nene ganhdhinya-ngarrinya+dharrwut+mari
car=INSTR 3AUG.A.R  hold=1AUG.O+pack+belly
'Using trucks, they hold us packed inside.' (T15:4)

An additional statement is necessary in relation to the realisation of the O argument. In 3 Minimal, O is realised as zero, e.g. (8-25), and contrasts with peripheral pronominal affixes, all of which have overt gender-marked realisations for 3 Minimal, e.g. (8-26) - (8-23). For instance, when an O is coreferential with the A of the verb, the O slot is filled by the Reflexive peripheral pronominal affix, e.g. (8-26).

8-25  ganya-O+gurr=eyi
3MIN.A.R.make=3MIN.O+hit=PERF
'S/he shot him/her.'

8-26  nya-nga+gurr=eyi
3MIN.A.R.make=3MIN.F.REFL+hit=PERF
'She shot herself.'

8-27  ganya-gurr-ngala=yi
3MIN.A.R.make+hit=3MIN.F.BEN=PERF
'S/he shot it for her.'
8.1.2.2 Peripheral arguments coded on the verb

Reflexive, Dative, Benefactive, and Adversative arguments may also be coded on the verb, e.g. the underlined arguments in (8-29) through (8-33), but none of these is indispensable in that the clause still makes sense without them, so they must be regarded as peripheral arguments.

**Reflexive**

8-29  yerre-nbe+lhumbu

2MIN.A.IR.rub-2MIN.REFL+thigh

'Rub yourself on the thigh.' (T11:11)

**Dative**

8-30  yere yene errgi-nga

child  LOC  mother-3MIN.F.DAT

gami-nga

3MIN.S.R.come out-3MIN.F.DAT

'She came out at her mother's place.' (T10:151)

A human or higher animate Dative takes precedence over a human or higher animate O, e.g. (8-31). In such utterances, the O is expressed by an overt NP and the Dative argument is coded on the verb in the O slot.

8-31  way yere gaya-nga+wut=eyi

NEG  child 3MIN.S.R.lie-3MIN.F.DAT+give=PERF

'She didn't give the child to her.' (T30:5).
Benefactive

8-32  ela  vinme+nerre-nganila

mother 2MIN.S.IR.rise+shift position-1MIN.BEN

'Mother! Get up for me!' (T11:126)

Adversative

8-33  yawanga=nhda=yi

3MIN.F.AnaphDEIC=really=PERF

garru+ngatj-ninbe

3MIN.S.R.go somewhere-run away-2MIN.ADV

' That girl we talked about really ran away from you.' (T9:51)

8.1.2.3 Ordering of arguments coded on the verb

Arguments coded on the Emmi verb occupy ordered slots. This was described in 4.1.

8.1.2.4 Arguments coded on the verb may cross-reference an overt NP

All arguments eligible for coding on the Emmi verb may cross-reference an overt NP, e.g.

S

8-34  na=ga  therrwen

3MIN.M.PRO=FOC  rainbow serpent

yuwa=ya  gaya

3MIN.FarDEIC=AWAY  3MIN.S.R.lie

'As for rainbow serpent, he's lying over there away from them.' (T3:22)
A

8-35 yiina yere kirr
3MIN.M.NearDEIC child small
gamen+nerre dharray kamul
3MIN.A.R.pick up+shift position that way billy-can
'This small child picks up the billy-can and shifts it that way.' (T5:79)

A

8-36 gaya+ngalh+miri+therre awa ngutj=nene
3MIN.S.R.lie+mouth+eye+answer meat spirit=NEW INF
'It was the spirit who answered.' (T4:29)

In the first 29 lines of narrative in Text 4, the spirit is the first A to be denoted by an overt NP, and be topicalised. This is, in fact, the only time an A is denoted by an overt NP, in a narrative text of 131 clauses (119 lines).

O

8-37 wadan-na nagurriny
older brother-3MIN.M.DAT 3MIN.M.POSS
gala-na+dut+tjengi+mede
3MINA.R.chop-3AUG.O+find+ear-UAUG
'His two older brothers hear him. (T5.165)

O

8-38 manhdha guman+gurr awa pederre=ga
throat 3MIN.A.R.poke+hit meat gorilla=FOC
'It’s that gorilla he spears in the throat.' (T5:189)
8-39 atho=no dugulhi ngavula-na+gurr=eno
later=PURP brother-in-law 1MIN.A.IR.chop-2MIN.O+hit=PURP
'T'm going to shoot you later, brother-in-law.' (T3:31)

Dative

8-41 kandu dawarraborak verru-na=yi
man sorcerer 2MIN.S.IR.go somewhere-3MIN.M.DAT=PERF
'You should have gone to that sorcerer.' (T11:121)

Benefactive

8-42 endji malh ngavula+dut-pela manggan?
how story 1MIN.A.IR.chop+find-2MIN.BEN mate
'How will I find a story for you, mate?' (T11:136)

Adversative

8-43 guman+manhdha+gat-nganga that wulgumen
3MIN.A.poke+throat+cut-3MIN.F.ADV that old woman
.gamen+wu+miri ganen
3MIN.A.take+fight+eye 3MIN.S.R.sit
'He cut off that old woman's escape despite her, he's burning her up.' (T5:77 - 78)

Reflexive

8-44 ganya-na+vinggar+tit gaya lowri
3MIN.A.R.make-3MIN.M.REFL+knee+cross 3MIN.S.R.lie Blu tongue lizard
'is lying with his knees crossed.' (T3:1)
8.1.2.5 Cross-referencing insufficient criterion for core argument status

Emmi is like Warlpiri, in that Emmi nominals are marked for syntactic and peripheral case, in Dixon's terms (Dixon: 1977:407). Unlike Warlpiri, and most Australian languages, in which verbs and nouns operate on an Ergative Absolutive system, but pronouns operate on a Nominative/Accusative system (Dixon, 1980:4), Emmi nouns and free or bound pronouns inflect on a Nominative/Accusative system which I have termed Direct.

The fact that so many arguments are coded on the Emmi verb is syntactically interesting, because it invalidates one criterion used by Foley and Van Valin to distinguish core from peripheral arguments. According to Foley and Van Valin (1984:79) "In languages with extensive nominal inflection, e.g. Warlpiri (Hale, 1973), concomitant cross-referencing in the verbal complex (in Warlpiri, on the auxiliary) distinguishes core from peripheral arguments."

All the arguments coded on the Emmi verb may cross-reference overt external NPs, so, in Foley and Van Valin's terms, they all qualify as core arguments. We can only distinguish core and peripheral arguments within the Emmi VP, using as a diagnostic Foley and Van Valin's (1984:98) other criterion of "indispensability."

8.1.2.6 NPs in core roles

Because core arguments are coded on the verb, overt NPs in core roles are generally redundant. Yet 29% of Emmi simple verb clauses contain one or more NPs in core roles and 27% of simple verb clauses contain NPs in peripheral roles. The proportions in which these overt NPs occur are similar to those calculated for other non Pama-Nyungan languages. As shown in Table 38, 70.5% of simple verb clauses in my corpus had no NPs in S, A, or O function, compared with 71% calculated on a smaller sample in Gurr-goni.
75% of intransitive clauses in my corpus contain no S NP. This compares with 82.50% for Gurr-goni (Green, 1995:237). 13% of simple transitive clauses in my corpus had O NPs, compared with 34.7% for Gurrgoni (Green, 1995, op.cit.). 4.46% of simple transitive clauses in my corpus had an A NP, compared with 7.76% for Gurrgoni (Green, 1995: op.cit.). 0.50% of simple transitive clauses in my corpus had NPs in A and O functions, compared with 2.7% for Gurr-goni, (Green, 1995:op.cit), and 2% for Ngandi (Mithun, 1992). There is no evidence here that Emmi has been heavily influenced by English.
Table 38: NPs in core argument function

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<td>84</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>12</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

clauses
Table 38 also shows that Emmi has no preferred word order. Clauses rarely contain two overt NPs, but those that do may show AVO order, as in (8-45), OVA order, as in (8-46), AOV order, as in (8-47), OAV order, or OAVA order, as in (8-49).

8-45

A
awa therrwen yuwa kak yene wutharr
meat Rainbow Serpent 3MIN.FarDEIC away LOC sea
V O
ghanhdhi gana nyiminy
3MIN.A.R.hold 3MIN.S.R.walk fire
'Rainbow Serpent keeps holding the fire away over there in the sea.'
(T3:54)

8-46

O V
wuda yuwa=nhdha gilinyi
grog 3MIN.FarDEIC=really 3AUG.A.R.consumeRECI
A
guninen muku dukala+miri nganhdhi+nawarri
3AUG.S.R.sitRECI women bigPL+eye one+swarm
'A big mob of women, all of them, are drinking grog together over there really.' (T9:186)

8-47

A O V
olmen bin awa game
old man bin meat 3MIN.A.R.say
'The old man said 'There's meat.' (T6:38)
O   A   V
8-48   awa=no   ngany   ngayila   makalhi
meat=PURP 1MIN.PRO 1MIN.A.IR.consume MoMo
‘I want to eat honey, grannie.’ (T5:15)

8-49   O   A   V   A
muku   meyidja   dakarrin=ya   ganen   dadi
woman two   man with two wives=away 3MIN.S.R.sit daddy
‘Two wives my father had there; he was a man with two wives.’
(T15:45)

8.1.2.7 Peripheral NP arguments
Peripheral arguments eligible for cross-referencing on the verb contrast with peripheral arguments which are realised as overt NPs, but not cross-referenced on the verb. I propose that peripheral arguments coded on the verb form the inner periphery of the clause, while arguments ineligible for coding on the verb form the outer periphery of the clause. By this criterion, Instrumental, Locative, Ablative/Causal, and Comitative constitute the outer periphery of the clause. Their usage is illustrated in (8-50) - (8-53).

Instrumental
8-51   mamak game-na
goodbye 3MIN.A.R.say-3MIN.DAT
wishi=nene win.ga win.ga
whistle=INSTR whistle whistle
‘Goodbye!’ he said to him, with a whistle, a whistle, a whistle.’(T7:23)
Locative
8-52 yene purungu=nhdheni yuwa ganen
   LOC wallaby=now 3MIN. FarDEIC 3MIN.S.R.sit
   'She's over there now instead of wallaby.' (T14:82)

Comitative
8-53 yere marbuk=widja=yi ngana
   child sprout=COMIT=PERF 1MIN.S.R.walk
   'I walked with the half grown kids.'

8.2 Complex clauses

Complex clauses contain more than one VP. The most common type of complex clause in Emmi is the serial construction, which two clauses sharing a common core argument. The first verb may be any verb. The second verb is drawn from a subset of intransitive verbs of stance or motion.

Serial constructions in Emmi have three functions. They add aspectual information to the clause; specify the orientation or associated motion of the subject, or function as causatives. Serial constructions are described in 8.2.1.

The corpus also contains relative clauses. These are described in 8.2.2. Finally, the conjunctions which link simple or complex clauses are described and illustrated in 8.2.3. Independent clauses have to be offset by parentheses and have independent clause content.

8.2.1 Serial constructions

In Emmi, as in other Daly River languages, two verbs may form a single complex clause known as a serial construction. In Emmi serial constructions, the first verb may be almost any simple or complex verb, but the second verb can only be one of eight intransitive verbs of motion. Five of these motion verbs occur frequently as the second verb in a serial construction and also
function as major intransitive auxiliaries to co-verbs. These are: na 'walk'; rru 'go somewhere', nen 'sit', ya 'lie', ma 'stand'. The corpus contains rare instances of three other motion verbs occurring as the second verb in a serial construction. These are: dji 'crawl', rrame 'creep', rran 'use legs'.

To qualify as a serial construction, both verbs must be phonologically linked in that they both share a single intonation contour, e.g. (8-54), (Foley and Olson, 1984:39). Phonological liaison occurs between the two verbs, e.g. (8-54), where the prefix-initial velar stop of the second verb follows a stop-final co-verb and is therefore realised as voiceless. In (8-55), after a vowel-final first VP, the prefix-initial velar stop of the second verb is treated as a word-medial intervocalic stop and fricativised, as would happen to an intervocalic suffix or enclitic. There are grounds here for proposing that each serial construction constitutes a single phonological conglomerate. There is no pause between the VP3s, and the single intonation contour points to their compoundly a single clause.

8-54 gama † vulhut † gama ['kamaφuŋutkama]
3MIN.S.R.stand † beeswax † 3MIN.S.R.stand
‘The beeswax is standing up.’ (T5:8)

8-55 guman-pitji † gaya ['kumanp'icryaja]
3MIN.A.R.poke-roll † 3MIN.S.R.lie
‘He is still making fire.’

These verbs are linked morpho-syntactically in that both share a common core argument (Foley and Olson, 1984: 24). In 300 out of 310 serial constructions contained in the corpus, the S/A of the first verb is co-referential.
with the S of the second verb. In the other 10, the O of the first verb is co-
referential with the S of the second, e.g. (8-56). Green (1995:258 - 259) noted
causative serial constructions in Gurgoni. The Emnii Corpus contains
one example of a causative serial construction (8-2:1-2) and (8-56).

8-56 **tjelwu**  yene ganya  →  ganen
  **canoe**  **LOC**  **3MIN.A.R.make**+**3MIN.S.R.sit**
  **muku**  **nagurriny**
  **woman**  **3MIN.M.POSS**

‘He makes his woman sit in the canoe ’ (T2:8)

Both verbs must be inflected for identical status, whether Realis, e.g.
(8-57), or Irrealis, e.g. (8-58).

8-57 **garru**+**tjak**  →  ganen
  **3MIN.S.R.go somewhere**+**make fire**+**3MIN.S.R.sit**
  ‘He is making a fire.’ (T3:29)

8-58 **yegi**  →  **yunga**  **yuwa**
  **2MIN.A.IR.fill**+**2MIN.S.IR.lie**  **3MIN.FarDEIC**

Bend down and fill it over there! (T2:36)

Unit Augmented marking, or gender-marked Augmented S/A or O
marking occurs only on the first verb, e.g. (8-59) - (8-60). This is evidence of
the subordinate status of the second verb.

8-59 **wangga=no=nhdheni**  **ganenya+purr+mede**
  **corroboree=DAT=now**  **3AUG.S.R.walk+dance+UAUG**
  →  **gunya**
  +  **3AUG.S.R.lie**
'The two of them are bending over dancing now for a corroboree.'

(T3:17)

8-60  
gadi-ne+vil+ninya  →  ganen  
3MIN.A.R.heat-3AUG.O+warm+M.AUG  →  3MIN.S.R.sit

'He's warming those men up.' (T3:31)

Arguments which require a transitive host are coded only on the first verb, e.g. O in (8-60). There is no such restriction on Reciprocal and it is coded on both verbs, e.g. the underlined morphemes in (8-61).

8-61  
yuwa=ya  →  gaden+mu  
3MIN.FarDEIC=AWAY  →  3MIN.A.R.look+do

† gana  →  yuwa=ya  →  yene

† 3MIN.S.R.walk  →  3MIN.FarDEIC=AWAY  →  LOC
gundinyi  →  guninen  →  kat

3AUG.S.R.elbowRECI  →  3AUG.S.R.sit.RECI cards

'The he keeps looking over there away from us where they are sitting elbowing each other at cards. (T9:43)

Dative may occur on either the first verb, e.g. (8-62), or the final verb, e.g. (8-63). It nevertheless has scope over the whole clause.

8-62  
ganya-nga+vorr+adjawa=nhdheni  →  gana  
3MIN.A.R.make-3MIN.F.DAT+void+urine=now  →  3MIN.S.R.walk

'He keeps making her void urine now.' (T9:89)
Peripheral arguments can only be coded on the first verb, e.g. the Benefactive suffix in (8-64).

Only the first verb may incorporate a nominal, whether this is lexically incorporated, e.g. (8-63), or syntactically incorporated, e.g. (8-65). If the clause contains an overt NP in S/A and or O role, it generally occurs outside the serial construction, e.g. A in (8-65), O in (8-66).

A

8-65 kandu yawana=nene=nhdha
man 3MIN.M.AnaphDEIC=NEW INF=really
gana+mi+tjilk  →  gana=yi
3MIN.S.R.walk+MANIP+ache  →  3MIN.S.R.walk=PERF
'It was that man I mentioned who really kept making her ache.'
(T9:123)
It's really that grog I mentioned that he's getting drunk on.' (T9:216)

Foley and Olson (1985:40) stipulate that there must be no intervening adverbs, complementizers or conjunctions to separate verbs in a serial construction. In Emmi, adverbial lexemes precede or follow both verbs, but have scope over both, e.g. (8-67).

'I'll tell you a story tomorrow.' (T18:22)

Negator particles precede both verbs, but have scope over both, e.g. (8-68) - (8-69).

'He wasn't looking.'  

'Don't keep cooking it!'
Propositional enclitics generally attach to the first verb, e.g. (8-68). The second verb may host also propositional enclitics, e.g. (8-70) - (8-71).

8-70  
\[ yuwa \quad ngadenhthi+nerre \quad + \quad ngarru=ya \]
\[ 3\text{MIN.\textit{FarDEIC}} \quad 1\text{MIN.\textit{S.R.fall+shift position}} \quad + \quad 1\text{MIN.\textit{S.R.go somewhere}}=\textit{AWAY} \]
'I deliberately fell down away over there.' (T15:132)

8-71  
\[ yuwa=\text{ndhenti}=\text{rre} \quad gila=\text{ndhenti} \quad + \]
\[ 3\text{MIN.\textit{FarDEIC}=now}=\textit{first} \quad 3\text{MIN.\textit{A.R.consume}=now} + \quad \text{ganen}=\text{enhdha}=\text{rre} \quad 3\text{MIN.\textit{S.R.sit}=really}=\textit{first} \]
'Over there now, she first sits and really eats.' (T9:77)

The corpus contains instances of serial constructions hosting up to three propositional enclitics, but, in general, they host no more than two. All temporal, modal, aspectual and directional enclitics discussed in Chapter Seven occur in serial constructions, and the same ordering holds for serial constructions as for the simple or complex VPs discussed in Chapter Seven. Semantically, these verbs behave as a single unit. The first slot may be filled by a verb from diverse semantic fields but the second slot is restricted to a small closed set of intransitive verbs of motion, location or posture (Foley and Olson:40-41), which provide further aspecual information about the action/state expressed by the first verb or specify the orientation or posture of the subject of the first verb. Semantic bleaching sometimes occurs in the second verb, e.g. (8-72) where the dynamic first verb \textit{ginme+nerre} 'he gets up' is semantically incongruous with the stative second verb \textit{nen} 'sit'. The incongruity is resolved because \textit{nen} 'sit' is here acting as an imperfective; it
specifies the process of getting up as unfinished and is bleached of its literal meaning.

8-72 gime+nerre=nhdheni + ganen
3MIN.S.R.rise+shift position=now 3MIN.S.R.sit
‘He’s getting up now.’ (T3:39)

In (8-73), there is semantic incongruity between the dynamic first verb gana+purr ‘he is dancing’ and the stative second verb ya ‘lie down’. The incongruity is resolved because, here, as in many serial constructions, ya means ‘bend over’.

8-73 gana+purr=nhdheni + gaya yuwa
3MIN.S.R.walk+dance=now 3MIN.S.R.lie 3MIN.Far.DEIC
wangga
corroboree
‘Over there, he’s bending over dancing a corroboree now.’ (T3:20)

Table 39 shows which auxiliaries to first co-verbs in serial constructions may occur as second verbs.
Table 39: Distribution of auxiliaries as first verbs and second verbs in serial constructions

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<tr>
<th>Auxiliary</th>
<th>Major second verbs</th>
<th>Minor second verbs</th>
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<td></td>
<td>na</td>
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<td>na walk</td>
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<tr>
<td>rru go se</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>nen sit</td>
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<tr>
<td>ya lie</td>
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<tr>
<td>ma stand</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<td>rrnan run</td>
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<td>dji crawl</td>
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<td>rrrame creep</td>
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<td>denhdhi fall</td>
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<tr>
<td>nbaga smoke</td>
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-23
8.2.1.1 Aspect in Emmi serial constructions

Table 39 shows that, in the corpus, all auxiliary verbs function as auxiliaries to first verbs, but only 8 intransitive simple verbs occur as second verbs. In allowing intransitive auxiliaries to be serialised for aspect, Emmi is very different from Marrithiyel, where Green found that

Verbs constructed with an initial auxiliary of the low transitive class cannot be serialised for aspect in the manner of the high transitive verbs. This restriction thus covers all formally intransitive verbs, that is, any verb containing an initial "lie", "sit", "stand", "go" [Emmi rru 'go somewhere'] or "go*" [Emmi 'walk'] auxiliary, as well as any verb formed with an initial (formally transitive) "be hanging" [Emmi intransitive 'perch'] or /di/ [Emmi 'fall'] auxiliary... Given that the semantic character of the intransitives as serials is consistent, though not always identical, with their character as initial auxiliaries, this restriction is not surprising; unless a greater grammaticalisation of the serial took place, an intransitive auxiliary postposed to an intransitive verb could only either repeat or contradict the classificatory and aspectual marking of the initial auxiliary (Green, 1989:183 - 184).

In Emmi, serial complexes containing the intransitive auxiliary verbs 'lie', 'stand', 'go somewhere' (Green's 'go'), 'walk' (Green's 'go*'), or 'perch' (Green's 'be hanging') occur in 107 of the 310 serial complexes in the text corpus and it appears that, in Emmi, what Green describes as 'greater grammaticalisation of the serial' has occurred. For instance, utterances (8-74) - (8-78) show identical intransitive verbs as auxiliary to first verb and as second verb in the serial complex. There is no redundancy, nor is the aspectual marking of the first verb ever contradicted. This always specifies duration, deliberate action or imperfectivity, while the second... verb specifies the notion expressed by the first verb as progressive, permanent, iterative or deliberate, and the posture of the subject of the first verb as sitting, standing, lying down, bending over, crawling on all fours, creeping stealthily or hurrying.

Emmi's use of intransitive auxiliaries to express aspect in more than one functional domain is what Craig (1991:456) called polygrammaticalisation.
8.2.1.1.1 The auxiliary to the first verb is identical to the second verb

8-74  
\[
\text{wuting=nene wadja+kalkal} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{wadja}
\]
\[
vine=INSTR \quad 2\text{MIN.S.IR.walk+climb} \quad \rightarrow \quad 2\text{MIN.S.IR.walk}
\]
'Use the vine and keep climbing!' (T15:22)

8-75  
\[
\text{ngarru-ngala} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ngarru}=ya
\]
\[
1\text{MIN.S.R.go somewhere-3MIN.F.BEN} \quad \rightarrow \quad 1\text{MIN.S.R.go somewhere=AWAY}
\]
'I deliberately go away for her.' (T7:168)

8-76  
\[
\text{wine dhama+vutj} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{dhama}=\text{nhdhi}
\]
\[
\text{all day 2MIN.S.IR.stand+throw} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{2MIN.S.IR.stand=TOWARDS}
\]
'Stand and throw it here to me all day!' (T14:16)

8-77  
\[
\text{ganen+rtedi+wunybc=mangga yuwan}a
\]
\[
3\text{MIN.S.R.sit+back+play=LIK} \quad 3\text{MIN.M.FarDEIC}
\]
\[
\text{ganen}
\]
\[
3\text{MIN.S.R.sit}
\]
'That boy over there is likely to be sitting on the ground playing.'
(T5:49) ↑

8-78  
\[
\text{gaya+wiriya} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{gaya}
\]
\[
3\text{MIN.S.R.lie+cry} \quad 3\text{MIN.S.R.lie}
\]
'S/he's crying.'

\[(8-77)\] where an overt NP intervenes between the first and second verb is not the preferred order for Gunni speakers. It may not be a serial construction for, because it is equally well construeable as 'That boy over there is sitting. He is probably playing and second, hence the overt NP breaks the phonological link between the two verbs.'

325
8.2.1.1.2 Dynamic intransitive first verb + other dynamic second verb

The serial verb complexes in my corpus contain many more instances of an intransitive auxiliary to the first verb co-occurring with a different intransitive second verb, e.g. (8-79) - (8-80). These sentences illustrate the combinations possible in Emmi of Green's 'low transitive' auxiliaries and intransitive second verbs.

8-79  verru=ya + wadja=nhdha
      2MIN.S.IR.go somewhere=AWAY + 2MIN.S.IR.walk=really
      'Really keep going somewhere away from me!' (T9:14)

8-80  girran + garru=ya
      3MIN.S.R.use legs + 3MIN.S.R.go somewhere=AWAY
      'He deliberately runs somewhere away from them.' (T4.93)

8-81  gidji-nga=nhdhi + garrame
      3MIN.S.R.crawl-3MIN.F.DAT=TOWARDS+3MIN.S.R.creep
      'He is crawling up on her stealthily towards her.' (T10:98)

8.2.1.1.3 Dynamic intransitive first verb + stative second verb

8-82  ngunbaga + nginen
      1MIN.A.R.smoke + 1MIN.S.R.sit
      'I'm a smoker.'

And see (8-72).

8.2.1.1.4 Stative intransitive first verb + dynamic second verb

8-83  gaya-ngani+tjengi+wut + gana
      3MIN.S.R.lie-1MIN.DAT+ear+give + 3MIN.S.R.walk
      'I keep forgetting there.' (T6:128)
8.2.1.1.5 Stative intransitive first verb + other stative second verb

8-84 wine gaya+dep → ganen
all day 3MIN.S.R.lie+stick to → 3MIN.S.R.sit
'It stays stuck all day.' (T7:190)

8.2.1.1.6 Dynamic transitive first verb + dynamic second verb

8-85 wuda yila → wadja
grog 2MIN.A.R.consume+2MIN.S.JR.walk
'Keep drinking grog!' (T9:17)

8-86 awa werrk gala+vutj →
meat cockatoo 3MIN.A.R.chop+fly →
girran=enhdhi
3MIN.S.R.use legs=TOWARDS
'Cockatoo flies towards them in a hurry.' (T11:138)

8-87 ginbe+lorr → gidji pome
3MIN.A.R.take off+strip of → 3MIN.S.R.crawl black plum
'She crawls up and takes the black plums off [the tree].' (T10:87)

8.2.1.1.7 Dynamic transitive first verb + stative second verb

8-88 ngawanya-na-rimi=no → ngadi
1MIN.A.IR.make-2MIN.O+forehead=PURP+1MIN.S.IR.sit
'I'll sit and massage your forehead.' (T11:100)

8-89 ganya-na+dherrtit → gama
3MIN.S.R.make-3MIN.M.REFL+lean → 3MIN.S.R.stand
'He stands, leaning against (the tree).' (4.41)
8.2.1.2 Causative serial constructions

My corpus contains many examples of causative transitive auxiliaries, but (8-91b) is not an example of causative serial construction where the transitive first verb causes the action/state described by the second verb. This type of serial construction is restricted in that the O of the first verb cannot occur between it and the second verb. Thus (8-90) and (8-91a) are acceptable to speakers, but (8-91b) is not.

8-90 yere ganya + ganen
   child  3MIN.A.R.make + 3MIN.S.R.sit
   S/he makes the child sit.

8-91a ganya + ganen yere
   3MIN.A.R.make + 3MIN.S.R.sit child
   S/he makes the child sit.

8-91b *ganya yere ganen
   3MIN.A.R.make child 3MIN.S.R.sit
   S/he makes the child sit.

8.2.1.3 Associated motion/posture

Koch (1984:23) describes how verbs in Kaytej, an Arandic language of Central Australia, may be specified for "notions having to do with the motion associated with the action denoted by the verb" Within his "category of associated motion" Koch sets up further semantic distinctions "according to the direction of the motion and the time of the motion relative to that of the main action" (Koch, 1984:23).
Unlike Kaytej, Emmi specifies the direction of motion primarily by means of the enclitic particles -(e)nhdhi and -(e)ya', but there are similarities between Emmi and Kaytej in the way both express motion simultaneous with the main activity. In Emmi, all second verbs may specify the motion or posture of a co-referential S/A or O concurrent with the main activity of that S/A or O.

The meaning and function of some second verbs is transparent, e.g. ma 'stand'; rran 'use legs'; diji 'crawl' and garrame 'crawl'. But it is more difficult to tease out the different functions of the two most commonly occurring second verbs in serial constructions: nen 'sit' and ya 'lie'. In this position, both verbs have dual functions. Nen 'sit' specifies the main activity/state as 'continuing', and a co-referential S/A or O as 'sitting'. Ya 'lie' specifies a state as 'permanent', and a co-referential S/A or O as 'lying down', or as 'bending over'. As a result of expressing aspect as associated posture/stance, ambiguity arises frequently, even when there is no semantic incongruity between the first and second verbs in the serial construction, as in (8-92) - (8-93). For instance, there are two plausible interpretations for (8-92) and (8-93).

8-92. umarra+ngalh+nganya → ningarra yene alawa

2AUG.AIR.poke+mouth+F.AUG → 2AUG.S.IR.sit LOC beach

either (a) 'Sit and fish on the beach, women!' or (b) 'Continue fishing on the beach, women.' (T7:101)

8-93. awa dawal gala+garrgat → gaya

meat many 3MIN.A.R.chop+bite → 3MIN.S.R.lie

either (a) 'Many fish lie there and bite.' or (b) 'Lots of fish are always there biting.' (T6:71)

Ambiguity is resolved only when there is semantic incongruity between first and second verbs in a serial construction. In the case of nen 'sit', semantic
incongruity between first and second verbs renders a literal interpretation of nen implausible in (8-95).

8-95  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yuwa=ya</td>
<td>'She's lying over there.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaya + ganen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3MIN. FarDEIC=AWAY  3MIN.S.R.lie + 3MIN.S.R.sit

In the case of ya 'lie', semantic incongruity in (8-96) makes the literal meaning 'lie' implausible.

8-96  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yuwa</td>
<td>'That girl over there first bends over away from them now, cleaning herself. She's bending over cleaning the ground now over there.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garra-nga+vuritj=enhdheni +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3MIN.F.FarDEIC  3MIN.A.R.handle-3MIN.F.REFL-clean=now +

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gaya=ya=rre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garra+vuritj+dorr=enhdheni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3MIN.A.R.handle+clean+ground=now + 3MIN.S.R.lie

3MIN.FarDEIC

8.2.2 Relative clauses

My corpus contains several examples of the headless relative clause. It is a verb clause identifiable as a relative clause only by position, by intonation, and by specifying the reference of an argument shared with the main clause.

What prevents each relative clauses being read as a main clause is, firstly, that there is no pause separating a relative clause from the main clause as there is
separating two paratactically linked clauses, and, secondly, that both relative clause and main clause share the same intonation contour.

Each relative clause in the corpus specifies a common argument, i.e., it is in O function in the main clause and S function in the relative clause. In (8-97), the relative clause is separated from its main clause by square brackets. The head is internal. The corpus contains several instances of relative clauses, each marked only by its position in the main clause and by intonation. Each relative clause is a verb clause containing one or more inflected verbs and specifying the reference of an omitted common argument.

In (8-98), the common argument is a peripheral NP in locative function, governed by the Locative adposition yene. Although yene may precede or follow the noun it governs, each relative clause follows the Locative adposition.

8-97 awa [gaya+yin+dim yene wutharr]
meat [3MIN.S.R.lie-nose-sink LOC sea]
gala+garrgat=eyi
3MIN.A.R.chop+bite=PERF
'A shark bit the one who was drowning in the sea.' (T10:162)

8-98 pinggal yene ganen yuwa=ga
moon LOC 3MIN.S.R.sit 3MINFarDEIC=FOC
yene [gadenhdhi mardi yiverre=nhdha gaya]
LOC [3MIN.S.R.sit barramundi there=really 3MIN.S.R.lie]
'In the moonlight she sits, over there in (the place) where the barramundi always fall.' (T15:125)

8.2.3 Conjoined clauses

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Although Emmi clauses are, in general, linked paratactically, they may be conjoined by means of the conjunction ngunu 'and then', or e 'and', e.g. (8-99) and (8-100).

8-99 ngadcnhdhi=yi ngunu angiye=nhdheni=yi
1MIN.S.R.fall=PERF and then 1MIN.S.R.lie-now=PERF
nga=ga ngunu girran+mbul=enhdhli=yi
3MIN.F.PRO=FOC and then 3MIN.S.R.use legs=TOWARDS=PERF
'I fell down so I lay down. An then she ran towards me.' (T9:158 - 159)

8-10 manggalhi awa ngayila=no
Grandma meat 1MIN.A.IR.consume=PURP
gayi=ve e gamanadjawa-mari-nanga
PROH=HAP and 3MIN.S.R.stand+urinate+belly-3MIN.M.ADV
"Grandma, I want to eat the meat"
"Don't you dare!" 'And she urinates inside [the ant-bed], despite him.'
(T5:23-25)
8.2.4.1 Temporal lexemes
wurrum ‘last rainy season’
wurrum wurrum ‘more than one rainy season ago’
elimberre ‘long ago’
yerranguya ‘one day removed from today’
yerranguya=ngana (one day removed from today=ABL) ‘yesterday’
yerranguya=no (one day removed from today=PURP) ‘tomorrow’
kudjala ‘today’
eladherren ‘before’
atho ‘later’
nguduk ‘at night’
widja-miri-thel ‘early in the morning’.

8.2.4.2 Modal Lexemes
yepe ‘I wish’
manggarra ‘I reckon’.

8.2.4.3 Locational lexemes
yiverre ‘there’
yonungu ‘c’ose by’
mala(-rtedi) ‘far away’
nganhdhi+rtedi (one+back) ‘on one side’
mari+nganhdhi (belly+one) ‘on the other side’.
Appendix A (i): Berringin and Wogait entries from Basedow’s 1906 comparative word-list with phonemic Emmi correspondents supplied by present-day Emmi-speakers. English glosses are Basedow’s.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Berringin (Basedow)</th>
<th>Emmi (phonemic)</th>
<th>Wogait (Basedow)</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yerra</td>
<td>yere</td>
<td>bambad</td>
<td>boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tchiparre</td>
<td>tjipelh</td>
<td>midalong</td>
<td>girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>borlo</td>
<td>polo</td>
<td>ngamuyuk</td>
<td>grey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dalyuk</td>
<td>delyak</td>
<td>ngabali</td>
<td>old woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biya</td>
<td>viye</td>
<td>buja</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yin</td>
<td>yin</td>
<td>wija</td>
<td>nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jongi</td>
<td>tjengi</td>
<td>boborro</td>
<td>ear</td>
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<td>onnagaba</td>
<td>ngalhdhirri</td>
<td>ngadai</td>
<td>tongue</td>
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<tr>
<td>dirr</td>
<td>dirr</td>
<td>dido</td>
<td>teeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yingi</td>
<td>yingi</td>
<td>wing</td>
<td>breast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deddi</td>
<td>rtedi</td>
<td>babbera</td>
<td>back</td>
</tr>
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<td>nungar</td>
<td>nunggu</td>
<td>ngallo</td>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
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<td>karra</td>
<td>delma</td>
<td>shoulder</td>
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<td>morro</td>
<td>murrur</td>
<td>bor</td>
<td>testicle</td>
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<tr>
<td>gumbo</td>
<td>gumbu</td>
<td>jut</td>
<td>foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morro</td>
<td>moror</td>
<td>mounor</td>
<td>buttocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ouda</td>
<td>wuda</td>
<td>wiuk</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
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<td>nyiminy</td>
<td>win</td>
<td>fire</td>
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<td>dumor</td>
<td>tjuunu</td>
<td>wingal</td>
<td>smoke</td>
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<td>marrouk</td>
<td>merrewuk</td>
<td>marrouk</td>
<td>wind</td>
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<td>penendjiba</td>
<td>murre</td>
<td>star</td>
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<td>ngupelh</td>
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<td>elangurinye</td>
<td>ngaurun</td>
<td>emu</td>
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<td>warnamben</td>
<td>wilarre</td>
<td>crocodile</td>
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<td>nganhdhni</td>
<td>nganjit</td>
<td>one</td>
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<td>meyidja</td>
<td>barkardommalang</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>meida nganjii</td>
<td>meyidja nganhdhni</td>
<td>barkarda nganjit</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gau</td>
<td>gaw</td>
<td>gau-a</td>
<td>come!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix A (ii): All other Berringin and Wogait items from Basedow’s manuscripts and their phonemic Emmi correspondents, provided by present-day Emmi speakers. English glosses are Basedow’s where italicised; other glosses were provided by present day Emmi-speakers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Berringin (Basedow)</th>
<th>Emmi (phonemic)</th>
<th>Wogait (Basedow)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wun</td>
<td>wuny</td>
<td>gork</td>
<td>cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanarre</td>
<td>kunblin</td>
<td>gunblin</td>
<td>thunder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganin baubwi</td>
<td>kunblin</td>
<td>mira waminwa</td>
<td>lightning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ouda</td>
<td>wuda</td>
<td>woung</td>
<td>rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kingal</td>
<td>pinggal</td>
<td>gaira</td>
<td>moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kannerre</td>
<td>kanymerr</td>
<td>dalyuk</td>
<td>sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>purungu</td>
<td>muit</td>
<td>kangaroo</td>
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<td>memerendjarmul</td>
<td>mamirrinderrumbull</td>
<td>dugong</td>
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<tr>
<td>galgare</td>
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<td>wild duck</td>
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<td>rungorunorre</td>
<td>rungurrunurr</td>
<td>marut</td>
<td>crab</td>
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<td>flying fox</td>
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<td>yorro</td>
<td>urak</td>
<td>grass helmet</td>
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<td>tjun</td>
<td>dun</td>
<td>small womera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mileri</td>
<td>tjura</td>
<td>wanguerre</td>
<td>fighting stick</td>
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<td>jinbi</td>
<td>tjinbi</td>
<td>jinbi</td>
<td>megalatracus arvanus shellfish sp.</td>
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<td>lhunggu</td>
<td>ngarrmang</td>
<td>melo diadema</td>
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<td>tchellorra</td>
<td>tjelerre</td>
<td>tchellorra</td>
<td>armlet of reeds</td>
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<td>diya</td>
<td>diya</td>
<td>dell</td>
<td>message-stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanbi</td>
<td>kanbi</td>
<td>kanbi</td>
<td>bamboo trumpet</td>
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<td>merr</td>
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<td>rtedi ma</td>
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<td>panba</td>
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<td>wutharr</td>
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<td>sea</td>
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<td>tjinda</td>
<td>dawarra</td>
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<td>tjinda</td>
<td>walgann</td>
<td>emu spear</td>
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<td>wanbela</td>
<td>berrmalukk</td>
<td>10ft spear with quartzite tip</td>
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<td>diya</td>
<td>del</td>
<td>bamboo spear</td>
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<td>konyume</td>
<td>mingnam</td>
<td>mangrove spear</td>
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<td>coolibah club</td>
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<td>mitwurr</td>
<td>mitpolla</td>
<td>ironwood club</td>
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<td>warrgadi</td>
<td>warregiddi</td>
<td>dillybag</td>
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<td>tjawa</td>
<td>wockbutt</td>
<td>basket</td>
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<td>jopperre</td>
<td>shell to cut spear barbs</td>
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<td>stone circumcision knife</td>
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<td>djerroa</td>
<td>fish hook</td>
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<td>Berringin (Basedow)</td>
<td>Emmi (phonemic)</td>
<td>Wogait (Basedow)</td>
<td>English gloss</td>
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<td>ganbat</td>
<td>ironwood mallet for cycad-nuts</td>
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<td>tithilh</td>
<td>nanga</td>
<td>clapsticks</td>
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<td>[blank]</td>
<td>kanoburre</td>
<td>bent stick for wild honey</td>
</tr>
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<td>minhdharra</td>
<td>minganen</td>
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<td>pin</td>
<td>mongbullut</td>
<td>raw sugar bag</td>
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<td>merina</td>
<td>merreny</td>
<td>murin/allanga</td>
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<td>wererrdje</td>
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<td>welhetj</td>
<td>bandala</td>
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<td>uung</td>
<td>circular hut</td>
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<td>[blank]</td>
<td>murin</td>
<td>hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>kurerirr</td>
<td>bulkang</td>
<td>hair belt</td>
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<td>bait</td>
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<td>berrimarangu</td>
<td>pirlmalanggu</td>
<td>berrimalangu</td>
<td>pearl ornament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dida</td>
<td>dirr</td>
<td>dida</td>
<td>kangaroo tooth head band</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bijuka</td>
<td>bijuka</td>
<td>[blank]</td>
<td>headband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tehier</td>
<td>[blank]</td>
<td>nirr</td>
<td>possum-fur head band</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mitchirrim</td>
<td>mitjirrim</td>
<td>medangmulri</td>
<td>dogtail ornament</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B

Capell’s word-list with phonemic Emmi correspondents provided by present-day Emmi speakers. The glosses are Capell’s; glosses in brackets are provided where there are errors in Capell’s transcription. The letter P preceding a lexeme means that Capell has elicited a Patjajamalh lexeme, believing it to be Emmi. In these instances, the correct Emmi lexeme is provided, preceded by E.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Capell</th>
<th>Emmi</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ala</td>
<td>ela</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ala1a</td>
<td>elewerre</td>
<td>bush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘alawa</td>
<td>alawa</td>
<td>bank of river; shore, sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alawara</td>
<td>elewerre</td>
<td>country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alawur</td>
<td>alawur</td>
<td>right (right hand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am?</td>
<td>emmi</td>
<td>what?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anme</td>
<td>enme</td>
<td>path, road, track</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ara</td>
<td>arra</td>
<td>lower leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auwa</td>
<td>awa</td>
<td>meat, fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aja?</td>
<td>ava</td>
<td>who?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba?bag</td>
<td>pepek</td>
<td>weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badjam</td>
<td>patjam</td>
<td>axe handle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baghi:a</td>
<td>pepiya</td>
<td>full, like a bucket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baih</td>
<td>vayvay</td>
<td>fur of animal, feather of bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-balani ramu</td>
<td>rren+mbul</td>
<td>to run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bara</td>
<td>vere</td>
<td>branch of tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barimari</td>
<td>marri marri</td>
<td>knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barmin</td>
<td>wukuk</td>
<td>mopoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>begu gandu</td>
<td>pelele; kandu</td>
<td>married man (wife; husband)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘belele</td>
<td>pelele</td>
<td>chickenhawk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ber</td>
<td>perre</td>
<td>bush rat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berndji:j[a</td>
<td>penendedive</td>
<td>a star</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi</td>
<td>bi</td>
<td>white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bia</td>
<td>viye</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilam</td>
<td>pilen</td>
<td>mud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bri:mi</td>
<td>pimi</td>
<td>alive; Manda bumu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bri:mirgurin</td>
<td>pimirgurriny</td>
<td>greedy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘birjara</td>
<td>vinggar</td>
<td>knee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi:ra</td>
<td>porre</td>
<td>cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘birji</td>
<td>mirridi</td>
<td>porcupine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birinj</td>
<td>piriny</td>
<td>body (of person); tree trunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garra ngai birinj</td>
<td>garra-ngany+piriny</td>
<td>I am tired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘biriri</td>
<td>piriri</td>
<td>axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba’bolbol</td>
<td>vavvalval</td>
<td>empty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boran</td>
<td>parany</td>
<td>opossum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>budji</td>
<td>puthi</td>
<td>mosquito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bugara</td>
<td>porgarra</td>
<td>afternoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buldjarg</td>
<td>p buljerrk; E waruk</td>
<td>eaglehawk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu’rur</td>
<td>purwur</td>
<td>blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bugu</td>
<td>pokoi</td>
<td>a fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulu</td>
<td>polo</td>
<td>old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darara</td>
<td>dere</td>
<td>beard (hot) (E merrebet ‘beard’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dabur</td>
<td>wadja+purr</td>
<td>to stamp (dancel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wangga nadabur</td>
<td>wangga ngana+purr</td>
<td>I dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Capell</strong></td>
<td><strong>Emmi</strong></td>
<td><strong>Gloss</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dadí</td>
<td>reedi</td>
<td>back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dadí mo</td>
<td>redimu</td>
<td>spine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dagur</td>
<td>wungarr</td>
<td>yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daman</td>
<td>thaman</td>
<td>handicoot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dama worgadj</td>
<td>dhama+varraŋ</td>
<td>to jump (jump!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-danamir</td>
<td>dhela+morr</td>
<td>to cover up (cover it up!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da:r</td>
<td>nanggaṭji</td>
<td>clothes (set of clothes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dara</td>
<td>derre</td>
<td>charcoal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dari̊sada</td>
<td>dhelarra-papa</td>
<td>meet (meet!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gudinjila d.</td>
<td>gulunyj+mari+vava+mede</td>
<td>they 2 meet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dašin</td>
<td>defin</td>
<td>dingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dawara</td>
<td>thawarr</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dadiman</td>
<td>rtedimen</td>
<td>rainbow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de:la</td>
<td>derela</td>
<td>slow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘demjina</td>
<td>demina</td>
<td>snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>denor</td>
<td>thennerr</td>
<td>frilled lizard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-di-djirra</td>
<td>wudi+wiriya</td>
<td>to cry (cry!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-wardana</td>
<td>wudi+manhdha</td>
<td>to sing (sing!)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>didi</td>
<td>mari</td>
<td>belly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>didir</td>
<td>thidirr</td>
<td>whirlwind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(jjan) dimdiŋane</td>
<td>ngana+dim+tjengi</td>
<td>to forget (I forget. lit. I sink my ear)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dini</td>
<td>ninda</td>
<td>to sit, be seated, stay (sit!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dinja manca ‘Binjila</td>
<td>ninda+na+manhdha-vinyela</td>
<td>to wait for a person (wait for them!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dir</td>
<td>dirr</td>
<td>tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dirma</td>
<td>dirmel</td>
<td>black cockatoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djinya</td>
<td>matimati</td>
<td>grasshopper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do:ra wurag</td>
<td>dawarraborak</td>
<td>‘clever man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dugandji</td>
<td>dukandji</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dugur mada</td>
<td>thunggurr+manhdha</td>
<td>back of neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dumuwidiwudi</td>
<td>demi+wulyi+i+wulyi</td>
<td>kidney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djadjawadj</td>
<td>tjetjawutj</td>
<td>left side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘djagadgir</td>
<td>dangugan</td>
<td>strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-djani</td>
<td>djuk</td>
<td>to cook on the fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djaraman</td>
<td>tjarrman</td>
<td>single man (uninitiated man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diertji</td>
<td>tjengi</td>
<td>temple of head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(jjan-) djidad</td>
<td>mail=eno nganya-therre</td>
<td>I ask a question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djinda</td>
<td>yawa</td>
<td>this, that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diunu</td>
<td>tjunu</td>
<td>smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djurlor</td>
<td>tjurlorr</td>
<td>goose (magpie goose)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘djurlura</td>
<td>tjungara</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gadjad</td>
<td>katkat</td>
<td>white eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gadjji (jjan) djjarra</td>
<td>gadi-ngany=therre</td>
<td>I am thirsty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paganani jirani</td>
<td>gak=enhdeni=ya</td>
<td>I leave (I will go away, away from speaker and addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paganana ngatu</td>
<td>gak=eno ngavurruru</td>
<td>I go away (I will go away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galNog</td>
<td>P. kalanguk “bowlfly”</td>
<td>a bat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gala</td>
<td>kalhkalh</td>
<td>leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galan</td>
<td>kalen</td>
<td>the sky (E Milky Way) (E miranhdha sky)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Capell</strong></td>
<td><strong>Emni</strong></td>
<td><strong>Glass</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gamabir M. gamabir (no -ga-)</td>
<td>gama+purr; ngama+purr</td>
<td>to throw away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga'mawul</td>
<td>gama+wul</td>
<td>to go back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-ma-wul'dara</td>
<td>gama+wul dharray</td>
<td>to come back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gambat@ambi</td>
<td>elangurinye</td>
<td>freshwater crocodile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganbi</td>
<td>kenbi</td>
<td>bamboo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gandu</td>
<td>kandu</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gammer</td>
<td>kanymerr</td>
<td>the sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganjabol (bis)</td>
<td>polo+vlye</td>
<td>grey (haired)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gara</td>
<td>karra</td>
<td>shoulder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-garad</td>
<td>gar</td>
<td>to bite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garawala</td>
<td>karrawala</td>
<td>a cave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gawinnenara tjamiranu</td>
<td>ngawinnen+nerre</td>
<td>I stand up, arise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gawinnenara</td>
<td>ngawinnen+nerre</td>
<td>to fly, as bird (s/he gets up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gawinnenara</td>
<td>ngawinnen+nerre</td>
<td>to fly, as bird (s/he gets up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girad giri</td>
<td>tjerr</td>
<td>spider</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gidja:g</td>
<td>kirtjalhak</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gilag</td>
<td>kilhak</td>
<td>white cockatoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gila:woda</td>
<td>gila+wuda</td>
<td>dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginda</td>
<td>tjinta</td>
<td>a spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g-)jimmunara</td>
<td>ginni+nerre</td>
<td>to fly, as bird (s/he gets up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giruwiridji</td>
<td>kirrwuliti</td>
<td>y.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gowara (ja-)</td>
<td>nginnen+erwe</td>
<td>(I) laugh (I laugh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gudjib</td>
<td>kudjive</td>
<td>pelican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gugun</td>
<td>kugun</td>
<td>honey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gulug</td>
<td>kulhok</td>
<td>blind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guma (ja-) da mari</td>
<td>guman-ngany+da+mari</td>
<td>I am sad, sorry (I feel sad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gumba</td>
<td>kumbu</td>
<td>foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gumbu dungunbiri</td>
<td>thunggunpirri</td>
<td>heel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gumgendjib</td>
<td>guman+jtjip</td>
<td>evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunbilin</td>
<td>kunbilin</td>
<td>thunder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurarirr</td>
<td>kurerirr</td>
<td>hairbelt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurubara</td>
<td>kurr+er</td>
<td>kookaburra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guruwu</td>
<td>kurrwuwu</td>
<td>native companion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igal</td>
<td>kunbilin</td>
<td>lightning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ilana</td>
<td>yila</td>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilana</td>
<td>ngayila+no</td>
<td>I eat (I will eat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ija</td>
<td>yive</td>
<td>a sore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jandi</td>
<td>nguman-ngani+bet+tjengi</td>
<td>to remember (I remember lit. I spear my ear open)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jarjamiridani</td>
<td>yangumiri+nhdheni</td>
<td>a little girl (now)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jara</td>
<td>yerre</td>
<td>I, ghost, spirit of person 2, pandanus (pandanus tree) (E naut)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jela</td>
<td>ngurirr</td>
<td>ashes (white ashes, for chewing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jerejana (ja-) dama</td>
<td>yerr+ngama</td>
<td>I stand (I stand up straight)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a@adin) jiljil</td>
<td>angaden yilyil</td>
<td>I know (I see true)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jimin</td>
<td>nyinimny</td>
<td>fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ji:n</td>
<td>yin</td>
<td>nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jini</td>
<td>yingi</td>
<td>breast, nipple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jinobobo gola</td>
<td>yunga+vuvu-kala</td>
<td>I blow with the mouth (Blow it for us)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capell</td>
<td>Enmi</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiri</td>
<td>yirri</td>
<td>tail of animal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiru</td>
<td>yororo</td>
<td>grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jo ṇanivud</td>
<td>yunga-ngani+wut (Give it to me!)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiwanda narjina</td>
<td>ngiye-miri+therre</td>
<td>I answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laalur miri</td>
<td>lawut+miri</td>
<td>pass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurnunj</td>
<td>gurnunji+lawut</td>
<td>they pass each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lari</td>
<td>leri</td>
<td>happy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lumbu</td>
<td>lhumbu</td>
<td>thigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-madedodedi u</td>
<td>yena+redi</td>
<td>(knock)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-maedo ? (dedinala)</td>
<td>yena+redi-nela</td>
<td>to knock (knock for him!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madi</td>
<td>madi</td>
<td>barramundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madimadi</td>
<td>matimati</td>
<td>butterfly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-madin</td>
<td>ma+tin</td>
<td>to be still, of the wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maian</td>
<td>mayan</td>
<td>black duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malagana</td>
<td>yere kiri gana</td>
<td>small boy, just walking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malagomboda:</td>
<td>[blank]</td>
<td>noon, midday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malanu rja'sana</td>
<td>malih=eno ngaveme</td>
<td>I speak (I will tell a story)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malga</td>
<td>marri</td>
<td>a flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maligidu</td>
<td>malliga</td>
<td>long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mamaji</td>
<td>kakap</td>
<td>to call, summon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manalag</td>
<td>manarrk</td>
<td>large 'roo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manbug</td>
<td>menbok</td>
<td>wommera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manda</td>
<td>manhda</td>
<td>throat, arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maneum</td>
<td>manim</td>
<td>correct, right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mangur</td>
<td>man+arru</td>
<td>to spear, shoot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mar'gan</td>
<td>manggan</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maran</td>
<td>merreng</td>
<td>large lily root</td>
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<tr>
<td>marasad</td>
<td>merrebet</td>
<td>moustache</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marasagandani</td>
<td>merrebet=enhdheni</td>
<td>a boy after initiation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maridjugu</td>
<td>maridjugu</td>
<td>hungry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maruguda</td>
<td>merruda</td>
<td>quick</td>
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<tr>
<td>maruwug</td>
<td>merrewuk</td>
<td>wind</td>
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<td>mari</td>
<td>chest</td>
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<tr>
<td>mari ram</td>
<td>mar+ram</td>
<td>belly</td>
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<td>mauvinj</td>
<td>mawuny</td>
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<td>meja</td>
<td>mele</td>
<td>e.B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menner</td>
<td>dorr</td>
<td>earth, ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-nandi</td>
<td>mi+ngany=nhdhi</td>
<td>to shine (emerge near speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bingal gami ganendi</td>
<td>pingal gami gana=nhdhi</td>
<td>the moon emerge near speaker</td>
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<tr>
<td>mia</td>
<td>miya</td>
<td>veg. food</td>
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<td>midiwur</td>
<td>mitiwurr</td>
<td>throwing stick</td>
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<td>midja</td>
<td>meyidja</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
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<td>midja*nandi</td>
<td>meyidja+nganhdhi</td>
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<td>meyidja+meyidja</td>
<td>four</td>
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<td>mitirrin</td>
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<td>minhdhelerr</td>
<td>centipede</td>
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<td>minhdharra</td>
<td>firestick, as carried</td>
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<td>minjir</td>
<td>minyrr</td>
<td>black ant</td>
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<td>mi'ridjun</td>
<td>mortijun</td>
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<td>midiri</td>
<td>mitti</td>
<td>ankle</td>
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<tr>
<td>Capell</td>
<td>Enuml</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
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<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miri</td>
<td>miri</td>
<td>eye, seed</td>
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<td>miru</td>
<td>moro</td>
<td>buttocks</td>
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<tr>
<td>mu</td>
<td>mu</td>
<td>bone</td>
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<tr>
<td>nganu</td>
<td>ngana+mu+birr</td>
<td>I uncover it</td>
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<td>muku</td>
<td>muku</td>
<td>woman</td>
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<tr>
<td>muku=nhudeni</td>
<td>girl at and after puberty</td>
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<tr>
<td>manu</td>
<td>a turkey</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>murwan</td>
<td>jealoust</td>
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<tr>
<td>mulirriti</td>
<td>impertinent, cheeky</td>
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<td>pulirriti</td>
<td>lame</td>
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</tr>
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<td>monggoi</td>
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<td>nunggu</td>
<td>hand</td>
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<tr>
<td>nyuku</td>
<td>wrong, incorrect (lie)</td>
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<tr>
<td>nyr+gurr</td>
<td>to hit</td>
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<tr>
<td>nyalh+eno</td>
<td>to break</td>
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<td>ngado; Engalh</td>
<td>mouth, lip</td>
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<td>daughter</td>
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</tr>
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<td>ngalhdiri</td>
<td>tongue</td>
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<td>ngaden</td>
<td>to see</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>ngaden</td>
<td>to see; to send</td>
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<td>ngaden+mu</td>
<td>to look for</td>
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<tr>
<td>ngayngay</td>
<td>light (alight)</td>
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<td>ngana+pitt</td>
<td>to lose (leave)</td>
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<td>therrguda</td>
<td>jaw, chin</td>
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<tr>
<td>wudin+war</td>
<td>(some of us lift it)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanymerr gudin+war</td>
<td>(the sun lifts itself)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rra+betj</td>
<td>to get, obtain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurrtedi</td>
<td>to put, place</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
<td>to take</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>winydjerre</td>
<td>to collect, gather things</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngatj</td>
<td>to hide, conceal</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>bad</td>
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<tr>
<td>vere</td>
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<tr>
<td>perrele</td>
<td>liver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verru=nhdhi</td>
<td>to come quickly (hurry)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiriya</td>
<td>to cry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capell</td>
<td>Emmi</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
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<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
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<td>Bira Birina</td>
<td>worwene</td>
<td>st of bird</td>
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<td>-Bundgedur</td>
<td>rra+piliti+miri</td>
<td>to show, display</td>
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<td>ronhtho</td>
<td>short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wandandi</td>
<td>yedenhdhi</td>
<td>to fall</td>
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<td>Wadi darngudu</td>
<td>wudi+thunggudu</td>
<td>to push</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wadi wuruwur</td>
<td>wudi+warr</td>
<td>to pull (pull it!)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Walagur</td>
<td>vulu+gurr</td>
<td>to shoot with a gun (shoot it!)</td>
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<td>Walgug</td>
<td>[blank]</td>
<td>fruit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wandana</td>
<td>manhdna=no</td>
<td>to sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wandi</td>
<td>yenhdi</td>
<td>to carry (carry!)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ngawandidina</td>
<td>ngawanhdhi</td>
<td>I bring something</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wanga</td>
<td>wanga</td>
<td>shark</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wanindi</td>
<td>wadja=nhdhi</td>
<td>to come slowly (come here!)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wani wadana</td>
<td>wadja=no</td>
<td>to walk about</td>
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<tr>
<td>-waqanir</td>
<td>ngarra-ngani+yirr</td>
<td>to scratch (I scratch myself)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wanga</td>
<td>wangi</td>
<td>a corroboree, dance</td>
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<tr>
<td>Waramban</td>
<td>waramben</td>
<td>salt water crocodile</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wargadi</td>
<td>warrgadi</td>
<td>a bag, basket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wi</td>
<td>wuji</td>
<td>stringybark</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wijdanara</td>
<td>wijdangur</td>
<td>scorpion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winjbu</td>
<td>welhetj</td>
<td>paperbark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wirgai</td>
<td>kal</td>
<td>to climb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wirwadj</td>
<td>vati</td>
<td>to throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiirirr</td>
<td>wirrir</td>
<td>to blow, of wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wodabedjina</td>
<td>ninga+bet</td>
<td>to watch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nja-) Woda nara</td>
<td>walbin+ngana</td>
<td>to dodge a spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wodjanbo</td>
<td>muijlang</td>
<td>thin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wodiilamna</td>
<td>widji+lenne</td>
<td>to swim (swim!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wogai</td>
<td>wakkay</td>
<td>done</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narjara ‘Wogai</td>
<td>ngarra wakkay</td>
<td>I finish it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wogurug</td>
<td>waguruk</td>
<td>ground honey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wogogani</td>
<td>wunggani</td>
<td>sister, m.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wuda</td>
<td>wuda</td>
<td>rain, water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wuda nala</td>
<td>wuda nela</td>
<td>fresh water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wudara</td>
<td>wutharr</td>
<td>salt water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wugug</td>
<td>wukuk</td>
<td>owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wulla</td>
<td>wulinya</td>
<td>a baby</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wulu</td>
<td>wulu</td>
<td>a feather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wuluna</td>
<td>wuluna</td>
<td>a bird (gen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wuunjinginji</td>
<td>winyingginy</td>
<td>a boomerang</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wunugu</td>
<td>wunggu</td>
<td>stingray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wurujo</td>
<td>purungu</td>
<td>small ‘roo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wururi</td>
<td>wuriwuri</td>
<td>red</td>
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</table>
### Appendix C: Auxiliary verb paradigms

(i) ya 'lie'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1MIN</td>
<td>(a)ngiya</td>
<td>ngayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2MIN</td>
<td>ngammiya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2MIN</td>
<td>ganiya</td>
<td>yunga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MIN</td>
<td>gaya</td>
<td>gayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1UAUG</td>
<td>yun+mede</td>
<td>ngarriya+mede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2UAUG</td>
<td>ngammiya+mede/ngarriya+mede</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2UAUG</td>
<td>garriya+mede</td>
<td>yungarra+mede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3UAUG</td>
<td>gunya+mede</td>
<td>pirriya+mede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1AUG</td>
<td>yun-</td>
<td>ngarriya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2AUG</td>
<td>ngammiya+nganya/+ninya ngarriya</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2AUG</td>
<td>garriya</td>
<td>yungarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3AUG</td>
<td>gunya</td>
<td>pirriya</td>
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(ii) nen 'sit'

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<tr>
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<td>ganinen</td>
<td>ninga</td>
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<tr>
<td>3MIN</td>
<td>ganen</td>
<td>gadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1UAUG</td>
<td>nin+mede</td>
<td>ngarrin+mede</td>
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<tr>
<td>1/2UAUG</td>
<td>ngamminen+mede/ngarrgin+mede</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2UAUG</td>
<td>garrinen+mede</td>
<td>ningarra+mede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3UAUG</td>
<td>gunin+mede</td>
<td>pirrin+mede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1AUG</td>
<td>nin</td>
<td>ngarrin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2AUG</td>
<td>ngamminen+mede/ngarrgin+mede</td>
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<tr>
<td>2AUG</td>
<td>garrinen</td>
<td>ningarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3AUG</td>
<td>gunin</td>
<td>pirrin</td>
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(iii) ma 'stand'

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<td>ganama</td>
<td>dhama</td>
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<td>gadhma</td>
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<td>ngammama+mede/ngarrgama+mede</td>
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</tr>
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<td>garrama+mede</td>
<td>dhamarra+mede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3UAUG</td>
<td>gumanya+mede</td>
<td>purrama+mede</td>
</tr>
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<td>dhaman</td>
<td>ngarrama</td>
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<td>ngammama+mede/ngarrgama+mede</td>
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<tr>
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<td>dhamarra</td>
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<tr>
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<td>purrama</td>
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### ‘ru ‘go somewhere’

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<td>verru</td>
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<td>3MIN</td>
<td>garru</td>
<td>gavurru</td>
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<td>verrun</td>
<td>ngurruru</td>
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<tr>
<td>1/2UAUG</td>
<td>ngammurru+mede/ ngarrurru+mede</td>
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<td>garrurru+mede</td>
<td>verrura+mede</td>
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<tr>
<td>3U ÚUG</td>
<td>gunymurru+mede</td>
<td>pururru+mede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>verrun</td>
<td>ngururu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2AUG</td>
<td>ngamuru +nganya/+ninya</td>
<td>ngarrurru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>garruru</td>
<td>verrururu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3AUG</td>
<td>gunymurru</td>
<td>pururru</td>
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### ‘v’ na ‘walk’

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<td>gawani</td>
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<td>wadjarra+mede</td>
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<td>parrani+mede</td>
</tr>
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<td>ngarrini</td>
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<tr>
<td>1/2AUG</td>
<td>ngammani +nganya/+ninya</td>
<td>ngarrgani</td>
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<tr>
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<td>parrani</td>
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### (vii) mi 'come out'

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(xi) rrnan 'use legs'

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(xiv) nya 'make'  

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(xv) man 'poke'  

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### (xix) men 'pick up'

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(xx) me 'say, do; feel'

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(xx) nh than 'bury'

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(xxii) ndan 'hang up'

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(xxiii) ndhdi 'hold'

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(xxiv) den 'look'

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(xxv) la 'consume'

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(xxvi) nmen 'smell something'

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(xxvi) nbe 'take off someone'

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(xxviii) gi 'fill'

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(xxix) nbaga 'smoke cigarette'

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xxx) di 'be hot' This defective verb is attested only in 3Minimal Realis gadi.
Appendix D - Texts

Text I: Wulgumen ‘The old woman’

1. nera mimbi mimbi=no ngaden-na+viye
   grandson nit nit=DAT 1MIN.A.R.look-2MIN.O+head
   Grandson, I'm looking at your head for nits.

2. gana+gudjuk
   3MIN.S.R.walk+swallow
   She's swallowing him.

3. nera mimbi=no ngaden-na+viye
   grandson nit=DAT 1MIN.A.R.look-2MIN.O+head
   Grandson, I'm looking at your head for nits.

4. gana+gudjuk
   3MIN.S.R.walk+swallow
   She's swallowing him.

5. ngara that's ngara ngara
   grand-daughter that's grand-daughter grand-daughter
   now ngara now grand-daughter
   Grand-daughter! That's grand-daughter, grand-daughter now, grand-daughter!

6. gana+gudjuk
   3MIN.S.R.walk+swallow
   She's swallowing her.

7. nera ngaden-na+viye=no mimbi
   grandson 1MIN.A.R.look-2MIN.O+head=PURP nit
   Grandson, I'm looking at your head for nits.

8. gana+gudjuk
   3MIN.S.R.walk+swallow
   She's swallowing him.

9. ngara ngaden-na+viye=no mimbi
   grand-daughter 1MIN.A.R.look-2MIN.O+head=PURP nit
   Grand-daughter, I'm looking at your head for nits.

10. gana+gudjuk
    3MIN.S.R.walk+swallow
    She's swallowing her.
11. **ngara all the grand-daughter**
   Grand-daughter all the grand-daughter
   **gana+gudjuk manggan**
   3MIN.S.R.walk+swallow mate
   Grand-daughter, all the grand-daughters she's swallowing, mate.

12. **ngara ngaden-na+viye=no mimbi**
   Grand-daughter 1MIN.A.R.look-2MIN.+head=PURP nlt
   Grand-daughter, I'm looking at your head for nits.

13. **gana+gudjuk**
   3MIN.S.R.walk+swallow
   She's swallowing her.

14. **ngara mimbi=no ngaden-na+viye**
   Grand-daughter nlt=PURP 1MIN.A.R.look-2MIN.O+head
   Grand-daughter, I'm looking at your head for nits.

15. **gana+gudjuk**
   3MIN.S.R.walk+swallow
   She's swallowing her.

16. **nera ngaden-na+viye=no mimbi**
   Grandson 1MIN.A.R.look-2MIN.O+head=PURP nlt
   Grandson, I'm looking at your head for nits.

17. **gana+gudjuk**
   3MIN.S.R.walk+swallow
   She's swallowing him.

18. **ngara mimbi=no ngaden-na+viye**
   Grand-daughter nlt=DAT 1MIN.A.R.look-2MIN.O+head
   Grand-daughter, I'm looking at your head for nits.

19. **gana+gudjuk**
   3MIN.S.R.walk+swallow
   She's swallowing her.

20. **nera mimbi=no ngaden-na+viye**
   Grandson nlt=DAT 1MIN.A.R.look-2MIN.O+head
   Grandson, I'm looking at your head for nits.

21. **gana+gudjuk**
   3MIN.S.R.walk+swallow
   She's swallowing him.
22. **ngara** mimbi=no ngaden-na+viye
   Grand-daughter nit=DAT 1MIN.A.R. look-2MIN.O+head
   Grand-daughter, I'm looking at your head for nits.

23. **gana+gudjuk**
   3MIN.S.R. walk+swallow
   She's swallowing her.

24. **gana+gudjuk**
   3MIN.S.R. walk+swallow
   'She's swallowing him.'

25. **gana+gudjuk**
   3MIN.S.R. walk+swallow
   She's swallowing her.'

26. **gana+gudjuk**
   3MIN.S.R. walk+swallow
   She's swallowing him.

27. **gana+gudjuk**
   3MIN.S.R. walk+swallow
   'She's swallowing her.'

28. **gana-nga+pirr+wuda=nhdheni**
   3MIN.S.R. stand-3MIN.F.REFL+throw down+water=now
   **gana=ya**
   3MIN.S.R. walk=AWAY
   She keeps throwing herself down into the water now away from them.

29. **veve=nhdheni=ya**
   arm=now=AWAY
   **gana-nga+pirr+wuda=ya**
   3MIN.S.R. stand-3MIN.F.REFL+throw down-water=AWAY
   She's throwing herself down into the creek over there now away from them.

30. **gana-nga+pirr+wuda**
    **gana**
    3MIN.S.R. stand-3MIN.F.REFL+throw down+water 3MIN.S.R. walk
    She keeps throwing herself down into the water.

31. **gidji+werewere=ya**
    crawl+waddle=AWAY
    She waddles away from them.
32. **tjubuldju gama-nga+pirr+wuda**  
*Suddenly 3MIN.S.R.stand-3MIN.F.REFL+throw down+water*  
Suddenly she throws herself down into the water.

33. **garra+varratj=enhdheni=ya**  
*3MIN.A.R.handle+follow=now=AWAY  
gana=ya vere  
3MIN.S.R.walk=AWAY creek*  
She keeps following the creek away from them.

34. **vonovono gana=ya**  
*dustyREDUP 3MIN.S.R.walk=AWAY*  
She walks away covered with dust.

35. **vutj gana=ya**  
*straight 3MIN.S.R.walk=away from speaker  
gana=ya 3MIN.S.R.walk=AWAY*  
She walks straight away from them; she walks away from them.

36. **gaya+du+moro=nhdheni rtedi ngalhngalh**  
*3MIN.S.R.lie+touch+buttock=now back mouthREDUP*  
She's touching the surface of the deep water now.

37. **rtedi ngalhngalh**  
*back mouthREDUP  
gaya+du+moro=nhdheni=ya  
3MIN.S.R.lie+touch+buttock=now=AWAY*  
She's touching the surface of the deep water now away from them.

38. **gadhama-nga+pirr+wuda=nhdheni=no=ya**  
*3MIN.S.IR.stand-3MIN.F.REFL+throw down+water=now=PURP=AWAY*  
She's about to throw herself down into the water away from them.

39. **manggarra=no=yi**  
*I suppose=PURP=PERF  
gadhama-nga+pirr+wuda=nhdheni=no=yi**  
*3MIN.S.IR.stand-3MIN.F.REFL+throw down+water=now=PERF*  
She was about to throw herself down into the water now, I suppose.'

40. **yere=ga nganggugurriny**  
*child=FOC 1/2MIN.POSS*  
As for the children, yours and mine?

41. **ya gaya+wayway dorr**  
*I don't know 3MIN.S.R.lie+empty place*  
I don’t know. The place is empty.
42. yere gak ganenya=yi  
child away 3AUG.S.R.walk=PERF  
The children have gone away.

43. gana-na+gudjuk+adjuk+nganya=yi  
3MIN.S.R.walk-3AUG.O+swallowREDUP+F.AUG=PERF  
She’s been swallowing up all the females.

44. merrguda=nhdha ngammurru  
quick=really 1/2S.go somewhere  
Let’s both go somewhere really quickly.

45. tjinda=nhdhi dhama+lhat  
spear=TOWARDS 2MIN.S.IR.stand+raise  
Raise that spear towards her!

46. ngammurru=nhdha  
1/2S.go somewhere=really  
Let’s both really go somewhere!

47. ngammirra+mbul=enhdha  
1/2S.use legs+run=really  
Let’s both really run!

48. girrinya+mbul+mede  
3AUG.S.R.use legs+run+UAUG  
They both run.

49. werre yeda. vonovono gaya=ya  
try 2MIN.A.IR.look dustyREDUP 3MIN.S.R.lie=AWAY  
Try and look. It [the water] lying away from us is very dusty.

50. vonovono gaya=ya  
dustyREDUP 3MIN.S.R.lie=AWAY  
It is covered with dust away from them.

51. girrinya+mbul+mede tjat endji malh  
3AUG.S.R.use legs+run+UAUG short how language  
They both run a short (what’s the word?)

52. ganenya+manhdha+gat+mede  
3AUG.S.R.walk+throat+cut+UAUG  
They both take a short cut.

53. gana+manhdha+gat  
3MIN.S.R.walk+throat+cut  
She takes a short cut.
54. **werre yeda**
   try 2MIN.A.IR.look
   Try and look.'

55. **petjirr**
   clean
   It’s clean.

56. **yaw wanhdi=nhdha gana wanhdi=nhdhi**
   Eh? behind=really 3MIN.S.R.walk behind=TOWARDS
   Eh? She’s coming towards them from behind, really, behind.

57. **kuna=nhdhi=nhdha dhama+thurr me mangrove spear=TOWARDS=really 2MIN.S.IR.stand+stand upright do**
   Stand that mangrove spear upright towards her. Do it!

58. **dhet+dhama**
   sit down+2MIN.S.IR.stand
   Set it down!

59. **yii=nhdha ngammama+na+manhdha**
   3MIN.NearDEIC=really 1/2S.stand+walk+throat
   Let’s both wait for her here.

60. **ngammama+na+manhdha**
   1/2S.stand+walk+throat
   Let’s wait for her here.

61. **yii=nhdha werre yeda**
   3MIN.NearDEIC=really try 2MIN.A.IR.look
   Here really try and look!

62. **gana vonovono=nhdhi**
   3MIN.S.R.walk dustyREDUP=TOWARDS
   She’s walking towards them covered with dust.

63. **yiinga nga=nhdha**
   3MIN.F.NearDEIC 3MIN.F.PRO=really
   This female near us is really her.

64. **gana vonovono=nhdhi**
   3MIN.S.R.walk dustyREDUP=TOWARDS
   She’s walking towards them covered with dust.

65. **endji ngama+gurr**
   how 1MIN.A.IR.poke+hit
How am I to spear her?

66. yawanga=nhdha gana+worr+miri=nhdhi
   3MIN.F.Anaph.DEIC=really
   3MIN.S.R.walk+stare+eye=TOWARDS
   That female we talked about is really glaring at them.

67. gana+worr+miri=nhdhi
   3MIN.S.R.walk+stare+eye=TOWARDS
   She's staring in their direction.

68. endji ngama+gurr
   how 1MIN.A.IR.poke+hit
   How am I to spear her?

69. endji
   how
   How?

70. uma+gurr=eno viye
   2MIN.A.IR.poke+hit=PURP head
   You're going to spear her in the head.

71. gayi=ve
   PROH=HAP
   Don't you dare!

72. yere=ve yiverre
   child=HAP there
   Children happen to be there.

73. yii manhdha yere
    3MIN.NearDEIC throat child
    Here, in her throat, there's a child.

74. yii viye uma+gurr
    3MIN.NearDEIC head 2MIN.A.IR.poke+hit
    Spear her here, in the head!

75. viye viye uma+thung viye
    head head 2MIN.A.IR.poke+stab head
    The head, the head, stab the head!

76. yii guman+gurr viye
    3MIN.NearDEIC 3MIN.A.IR.poke+hit head
    He spears her here, in the head.
77. wakkay
finished
It's finished.

78. minyminy  gaya
shaking  3MIN.S.R. lie
She lies shaking.

79. minyminy=ya  gumbu
shaking=AWAY  foot
She's shaking from head to toe away from them.

80. yenhdhi+kal=enhdheni=nhdhi
2MIN.A.IR. hold--climb=now=TOWARDS
Bring her towards me now!

81. yenhdhi+kal
2MIN.A.IR. hold+climb
Bring her!

82. yenhdhi+vitvit wuda=nhdhi
2MIN.A.IR. hold+dragREDUP water=TOWARDS
Drag her from the water towards me!

83. gan\dhhi+vitvit gana=ya
3MIN.A.IR. hold+dragREDUP 3MIN.S.R. walk=AWAY
He keeps dragging her away from them.

84. dhet+gayi
sit down+3MIN.S.IR. lie
Let her lie down!

85. yii=nhdha  gaya
3MIN.NearDEIC=really  3MIN.S.R. lie
Here really she lies.

86. yerra+gar mari
2MIN.A.IR. handle+cut  belly
Cut her belly!

87. derela
slow
Slowly!

88. yere=ve  yiverre
child=HAP  there
Children happen to be there.
89. derela yerra+gar mari
slow 2MIN.A.IR.handle+cut belly
Cut her belly slowly!

90. nef=nene gayi=ve
knife=INSTR PROH=HAP
Don’t you dare use a knife!

91. bulng=nene yerra+gar mari
bottle=INSTR 2MIN.A.IR.handle+cut belly
Use a bottle to cut her belly!

92. bulng=nene operation iya mari
bottle=INSTR operation here belly
There’s an operation here with a bottle, on the belly.

93. garranya+gar+mari+mede
3AUG.A.R.handle-cut-belly+UAUG
They both cut her belly.

94. gemi dharray=nhdheni yere
3MIN.S.R.come out that way=now child
A child comes out that way now.

95. gar gar gar
cut cut cut
Cut! Cut! Cut!

96. girrinya+mbul everywhere now
everywhere now
everywhere now
They run everywhere now.

97. garra+barr=enhdheni gana=ya
3MIN.S.R.handle+kick=now 3MIN.S.R.walk=AWAY
wuny=eya wilkurr+wilkurr
shit=AWAY intestinal muckREDUP
He keeps kicking the shit, the intestinal muck away from them now.

98. kugarra kugarra Debra
red ochre red ochre Deborah
garranya-ne+piriny
3AUG.A.R.handle-3AUG.O+body
ganenya kugarra now
3AUG.S.R.walk red ochre now
They keep rubbing their bodies with red ochre, Deborah, red ochre now.
They both cut her belly now, mate.

They both use a bottle to cut her belly, here.

They both use a bottle to cut her belly.

They both use a bottle to cut her belly.

They both speared her in the head.

They both stabbed her in the head.

That female we talked about might be Rainbow Serpent.

Rainbow Serpent really, mate, that thing we talked about.

It's finished.

Well, that's the story!
Text 2: Incest story

1. **warrgadi warrgadi ganya ganen**
   - **dilly-bag**
   - **3MIN.A.R.make**
   - **3MIN.S.R.sit**
   He's making a dillybag.

2. **warrgadi ganya ganen**
   - **dilly-bag**
   - **3MIN.A.R.make**
   - **3MIN.S.R.sit**
   He's making a dillybag.

3. **ganya ganen ganya**
   - **3MIN.A.R.make**
   - **3MIN.S.R.sit**
   - **3MIN.A.R.make**
   He's making it, making it, making it.

4. **gama+wul=enhdha**
   - **tjulvorr=widja murrru**
   - **3MINS.R.stand+come back=really magpiegoose=COMI egg**
   He really comes back with magpie goose eggs.

5. **tjelwu kiniwu that lital wan**
   - **tjelwu lital wan**
   - **dugout canoe**
   - **that little one**
   - **canoe**
   - **little one**
   He comes back in a dugout canoe, a dugout, that little one, a dugout.

6. **guman-na+pil=enbdhi gama**
   - **3MIN.A.R.poke-3AUG.O+push=TOWARDS**
   - **3MIN.S.R.stand**
   He stands up and pushes them towards them.

7. **murrru vepiya=nhdha tjelwu yene**
   - **egg full=really dugout LOC**
   It’s really full of eggs in the dugout canoe.

8. **tjelwu yene ganya ganen**
   - **dugout canoe**
   - **LOC**
   - **3MIN.A.R.make**
   - **3MIN.S.R.sit**
   He makes his wife sit in the canoe.

9. **ganen yuwa yangumiri nagurriny**
   - **3MIN.S.R.sit**
   - **3MIN.FarDEIC pubescent girl**
   - **3MIN.M.POSS**
   His pubescent daughter sits over there.

10. **yere nagurriny yiverre=wany yangumiri**
    - **child**
    - **3MIN.M.POSS**
    - **there=REPET pubescent girl**
    His child, a pubescent girl is there again.
11. **meyidja gundinyi**  
   two 3AUG.A.R.elbowRECI  young girl+UAUG  
   The two young girls elbow each other.

12. **gunin+mede**  
   yene nga demi  
   3AUG.S.R.sit+UAUG  LOC 3MIN.F.PRO side  
   They both sit beside their mother, mother to them both.

13. **game+malh=enhda=nhdheni**  
   nirrgina  
   3MIN.A.R.say+language=really=now  father  
   Their father really speaks language now.

14. **game-nga**  
   malh=enhdhi  
   3MIN.A.R.say-3MIN.F.DAT  language=TOWARDS  
   He speaks language to her towards her.

15. **ngathi**  
   daughter  
   Daughter!

16. **nila ngany**  
   fatherADR 1MIN.PRO  
   Father!

17. **gayi=ve**  
   nine  
   PROH=HAP 2MIN.PRO  
   Don’t you dare!

8. **yawanga=nhdhi**  
   yangumiri  
   3MIN.F.AnaphDEIC=TOWARDS pubescent girl  
   gave-nginxila  
   3MIN.A.IR.pick up-1MIN.BEN  
   Let that pubescent girl I mentioned pick it up for me and bring it here!

19. **ngathi**  
   daughter  
   Daughter!

20. **nila ngany**  
   fatherADR 1MIN.PRO  
   Father!

21. **gayi=ve**  
   PROH=HAP  
   Don’t you dare!
22. yawanga yangumiri=nhdhi
   3MIN.F.Anaph DEIC pubescent girl=TOWARDS
gave-anganila
   3MIN.A.IR.pick up-I MIN.BEN
Let that pubescent girl I mentioned pick it up for me and bring it here!

23. nila ngany
   fatherADR 1MIN.PRO
   Father!

24. gayi=ve
   PROH=HAP
   Don’t you dare!

25. yawanga yangumiri
   3MIN.F.Anaph DEIC pubescent girl
   That female I mentioned is a pubescent girl.

26. gayi=ve nine
   PROH=HAP 2MIN.PRO
   Don’t you dare!

27. yere kirr=ve nine
   child small=HAP 2MIN.PRO
   You happen to be too small.

28. yawanga=nhdhi mala yilyil
   3MIN.F.Anaph DEIC=TOWARDS tall true
gave-anganila
   3MIN.A.IR.pick up-I MIN.BEN
Let that truly tall young girl I talked about pick it up for me and bring it here.

29. nine=nhdha
   2MIN.PRO=really
   You, really.

30. ngany
   1MIN.PRO
   Me?

31. yu warrgadi=nhdhi warrgadi
   yes dilly-bag=TOWARDS dilly-bag
yenhdhi-anganila=nhdhi
   2MIN.A.IR.hold=1MIN.BEN=TOWARDS
Yes. Bring the dilly-bag here, hold the dilly-bag here for me.
That man I mentioned [says] Fill this one here!

He's got the eggs, he tells her to fill it.

She bends over and fills the bag.

Over there, away from me, bend down over there away from me!

Bend down and fill it over there.

He walks away and throws it into the water.

He throws his scrotum, his penis into the water.

Lie with your buttocks in the water away from me!

It's finished.

That meat over there stabs her buttocks.

Alas! Alas! Alas! Alas! Alas! Mama! Mama! Mama!
43. ening yenydjina
is it what
What's the matter?

44. yenydjina ening
what is it
What's the matter?

45. malh malh ganderra malh
language language bush language
ening yenydjina
is it what
ening yenydjina is bush talk.

46. ening yenydjina atja gutung ening
is it what younger sister SEMBL is it
ening yenydjina is like ening, younger sister, isn't it?

47. mama kanyebe wik-pene=nde kanyebe
mama 3MIN.F.S.R.lie water-LOC=now 3MIN.F.S.R.lie
Mama, she's lying down, she's lying in the water.

48. im malh batjamalh that pinggal
he language Batjamalh that moon
Hir language is Batjamalh, that moon.

49. gandjerra malh that pinggal im talk pinggal
bush language that moon he talks moon
Moon talks Malh Gandjerra.

50. wakkay
finished
It is finished.

51. gala+therei=eyi
3MIN.A.R.chop+exhaust=PERF
He was exhausted.

52. gaya=nhdheni yene wuda
3MIN.S.R.lie LOC water
Now she's lying in the water.

53. dhirra+war=enhahi
2MIN.S.IR.use legs+pul+TOWARDS
Pull her towards me!
54. **gana+pirr la im malh**  
3MIN.S.R.walk+throw down to him language  
**errgi-nga=nhdheni gana+pirr**  
mother-3.MIN.F.DAT=now 3MIN.S.R.walk+throw down  
Her mother throws language down to him now.

55. **gak=ga ngarrgurru+mede**  
away=FOC 1/2AUG.S.IR go somewhere+UAUG  
Let us three go away somewhere!

56. **awa verru=wany**  
meat 2MIN.S.IR.go somewhere=REPET  
Go somewhere for meat again!

57. **awa=wany verru**  
meat=REPET 2MIN.S.IR go somewhere  
Go somewhere for meat again!

58. **nine wadja+kal**  
2MIN.PRO 2MIN.S.IR.walk+climb  
Climb, you!

59. **ganenya+kal+mede ganenya+kal**  
3AUG.S.R.walk+climb+UAUG 3AUG.S.R.walk+climb  
They are both climbing. They’re climbing.

60. **gana+kal**  
3MIN.S.R.walk+climb  
She’s climbing.

61. **gana+kal yene ngurrwin+ngurrwin**  
3MIN.S.R.walk+climb LOC rockREDUP  
yii yene ngurrwin=enhdha warwa  
3MIN.NearDF IC LOC stone-really on top  
She’s climbing on the rocks, really here on the rocks, on top.

62. **yii=nhdha rup**  
3MIN.NearDEIC=really rope  
garra+kal=enhdhi ganen  
3MIN.A.R.handle+climb=TOWARDS 3MIN.S.R.sit  
She’s really using her hands to climb the rope here towards her.
That old woman is using her hands to climb the rope, rope, rope towards her.

She's standing, climbing towards her.

She's going towards her long-necked turtle, manta ray, magpie-goose eggs.

Daughter!

Mother! Father! Father, I'll speak to you.

How did he speak to you?

Mother, Father is speaking.

Daughter!

Daughter!
73. **mama bapa gana+malha**
mama father 3MIN.S.R.walk+speak
Mother, Father is speaking.

74. **manhdha dhama-na+malha me**
throat 2MIN.S.IR.stand-2MIN.O+speak do
Stand up and speak to me! Do it!

75. **bapa yii nin+nganya warwa**
father 3MIN.NearDEIC 1AUG.S.R.sit+F.AUG on top
Fat\(a^2\)wa\(x\), we women are sitting here on top [of the escarpment].

76. **yii nin+nganya warwa**
3MIN.NearDEIC 1AUG.S.R.sit+F.AUG on top
We women are sitting here on top [of the escarpment].

77. **kagaw**
come
Come!

78. **yii nin+nganya warwa**
3MIN.NearDEIC 1AUG.S.R.sit+F.AUG on top
We women are sitting here on top [of the escarpment].

79. **wulgumen yii=nhdha=nhdheni ganen**
old woman 3MIN.NearDEIC=really=now 3MIN.S.R.sit
The old woman is really sitting here now.

80. **yii=nhdhi ganen**
3MIN.NearDEIC=TOWARDS 3MIN.S.R.sit
She is really sitting here now.

81. **kagaw**
come
Come!

82. **wadja+kal=enhdhi**
2MIN.S.R.walk+climb=TOWARDS
Climb towards me!

83. **ngadhama-na+pirr=eno rup**
1MIN.S.R.stand-2MIN.O+throw down=PURP rope
'T'll throw you down the rope.'

84. **gaw come up with rup**
come come up with rope
Come! Come up by the rope!
85. gala+nunggu
3MIN.A.R.chop+hand
He shoots his hand out.

86. garra+betj
garra+betj
3MIN.A.R.handle+grab 3MIN.A.R.handle+grab
He grabs it, grabs the rope.

87. wadja+kal=enhdhi
2MIN.S.IR.walk+climb=TOWARDS
Climb towards me!

88. garra+betj
garra+betj
3MIN.A.R.handle+grab 3MIN.S.R.walk=AWAY
He keeps grabbing the rope away from her.

89. garra+betj
garra+betj
gana=ya
gana=ya
3MIN.A.R.handle-grab 3MIN.S.R.walk=AWAY
3MIN.S.R.walk=AWAY
He keeps grabbing the rope away from her, straight.

90. garra+betj
garra+betj
3MIN.A.R.handle+grab 3MIN.S.R.walk=AWAY
He keeps grabbing the rope away from her.

91. garra-betj
garra-betj
manggan
3MIN.A.R.handle-grab mate
He grabs it, mate.

92. yiina
gawani
3MIN.M.NearDEIC 3MIN.S.IR.walk
This male here is going to walk.

93. gawani+kal=enhdheni=no yeda
gawani+kal=enhdheni=no yeda
3MIN.S.IR.walk-climb=now=PURP 2MIN.A.IR.look
He’s going to climb right now, you look!

94. gawani+kal=enhdheni=no
gawani+kal=enhdheni=no
3MIN.S.IR.walk-climb=now=PURP 1rekon
He’s going to climb up right now, I reckon!

95. nayf ganen+dje+nunggu that wulgumen
knife 3MIN.S.R.sit+have+hand that old woman
That old woman has a knife in her hand.

96. kulutj up now
close up now
He’s close up now.
97. **gawani+yulhuk=eno**  
   **manggan**  
   3MIN.S.IR.walk+go inside=PURP  
   **mate**  
   He's going to go inside, mate.

98. **gawani+nyulhuk=eno**  
   **yii=nhdha=ga**  
   3MIN.S.IR.walk+go inside=PURP  
   3MIN.NearL:EIC=really=FOC  
   He's really going to go inside here.

99. **kat gala+gat**  
   **cut**  
   3MIN.A.R.chop+cut  
   She cuts the rope.

100. **garra+gar**  
    **nayf=nene rup**  
    3MIN.A.R.handle-cut knife=INST knife  
    rope  
    She cuts the rope with a knife.

101. **wakkay**  
    **finished**  
    It's finished.

102. **minmin now pieces im go that kandu pinggal**  
    **pulverised now pieces he goes that man moon**  
    Pulverised now, in pieces he goes, that moon man.

103. **that moon story**  
    That's the moon story.

104. **wulgumen bin wulgumen=nene**  
    **old woman did old woman=NEW INF**  
    **garra+vuritj=eyi**  
    3MIN.A.R.handle+clean=PERF  
    The old woman did it, it was the old woman who cleaned him up.

105. **manggan that malh now that story**  
    **mate that language now that story**  
    Mate, that's language now, that story.
Text 3: How Rainbow Serpent stole fire

1. ganya-na+finggar+tit  
gaya  
3MIN.A.R.make-3MIN.M.REFL+knee+cross 3MIN.S.R.lie  
yii=nhdha=ya  
gowana  
wurri  
3MIN.NearDElC=really=AWAY  
goanna  
blue-tongue lizard  
Blue-tongue lizard is lying here, away from goanna, with one knee crossed over the other.

2. awa  
rungurungurr  
yii=nhdha=ya  
meat  
mud-crab  
3MIN.NearDEIC=really=AWAY  
ganan  
3MIN.S.R.sit  
Mudcrab sits here, away from him.

3. yii=nhdha  
ganya-na+finggar+tit  
3MIN.NearDEIC=really  
3MIN.A.R.make-  
3MIN.M.REFL+knee+cross  
gaya  
wurri  
3MIN.S.R.lie  
blue-tongue lizard  
Blue-tongue lizard is really lying here with one knee crossed over the other.

4. pelele  
zuwa=ya  
gunya+mede  
Black Falcon  
3MIN.FarDEIC=AWAY  
3AUG.S.R.lie+UAUG  
Black Falcon is over there, away from him, the two of them are lying down.

5. purrk  
zuwa=ya  
gunya-mede  
Brown Falcon  
3MIN.FarDEIC=AWAY  
3AUG.S.R.lie+UAUG  
Brown Falcon is over there, away from him. They’re both lying down.

6. gunya+mede  
3AUG.S.R.lie+UAUG  
They’re both lying down.

7. dugulhi  
kanbi  
yaw  
brother-in-law  
didjeridu  
eh?  
Brother-in-law! Didjeridu, eh?

8. uma-ngani=nhdzi=no  
kanbi=no  
2MIN.A.IR.poke-1MIN.DAT=TOWARDS=PURP  
didjeridu=PURP  
You should play the didjeridu for me, in my direction.
9. vinme+nerre-nganila
2MIN.S.IR. rise+shift position-1MIN.BEN blue-tongue lizard
Get up for me, blue-tongue!

10. yiina wurri=nhdheni
3MIN.M.NearDEIC blue-tongue lizard=now
garru=ya
3MIN.S.R.go somewhere=AWAY
This male here, blue-tongue lizard goes somewhere away from them now.

11. awa rungurungurr ganen=ya
meat mud-crab 3MIN.S.R.sit=AWAY
Mud-crab is sitting away from him.

12. ginme+nerre
3MIN.S.R.rise+shift position
He gets up.

13. kanbi=no yeppe
didjeridu=PURP I wish
uma-ngani kanbi
2MIN.A.IR.poke-1MIN.DAT didjeridu
I want you to play me the dideridu.

14. yuwa purrk pelele
3MIN.FarDEIC Brown Falcon Black Falcon
ginmenya+nerre=nhdheni
3AUG.S.R.rise+shift position=now
Over there Black Falcon and Black Falcon are getting up now.

15. wangga=no=nhdheni parrani+purr+mede
corroboree=PURP=now 3AUG.S.IR.walk+dance+UAUG
purrk pelele
Brown Falcon Black Falcon
Now Brown Falcon and Black Falcon are going to dance a corroboree.

16. wangga=no=nhdheni ganenya+purr+mede
corroboree=DAT=now 3AUG.S.R.walk+dance+UAUG
gunya
3AUG.S.R.lie
They're both bending over dancing for the corroboree now.

17. wangga=no nira nira game vanan
corroboree=DAT mate mate 3MIN.A.R.say mate
For a corroboree, mate, mate, mate! he says.
18. **wadja+purr-nganila=no**
   2MIN.S.IR.walk+dance-1MIN.BEN=PURP
   You should dance for me!

19. **guman gaya**
   3MIN.A.R.poke 3MIN.S.R.lie
   He bends over and plays it.

20. **awa rungurungurr=ve kanbi=gu guman**
    meat mud-crab=HAP didjeridu=FOC 3MIN.A.R.poke
    rungurungurr yawa kanbi mud-crab 3MIN.AnaphDEIC didjeridu
    Mud-crab happens to play the didjeridu, mudcrab, the didjeridu in
    the place I mentioned.

21. **gana+purr=enhdheni gaya yuwa**
    3MIN.S.R.walk+dance=now 3MIN.S.R.lie 3MIN.FarDEIC
    wangga
    corroboree
    He's bending over now dancing a corroboree over there.

22. **na=ga therrwen**
    3MIN.M.PRO=FOC Rainbow Serpent
    yuwa=ya gaya
    3MIN.FarDEIC=AWAY 3MIN.S.R.lie
    As for Rainbow Serpent, he's bending over, over there, away from
    them.

23. **ganen yii=nhdha=ya**
    3MIN.S.R.sit 3MIN.NearDEIC=really=AWAY
    He's really sitting here, away from them.

24. **therrwen=gu ganen**
    Rainbow Serpent=FOC 3MIN.S.R.sit
    It's Rainbow Serpent who's sitting.

25. **ganya-na+gulit=eyi**
    3MIN.A.R.make-3MIN.M.REFL+be angry=PERF
    He made himself angry.

26. **ganya-na+gulit=enhdha**
    3MIN.A.R.make-3MIN.M.REFL+be angry=really
    He makes himself really angry.
27. **nyiminy=ga yuwa=ya gadi**

fire=FOC 3MINFarDEIC=AWAY 3MIN.A.R.heat
gama
3MIN.S.R.stand
He's standing heating up the fire over there away from them.

28. **nyiminy gadi=ya gama**

fire 3MIN.A.R.heat=AWAY 3MIN.S.R.stand
yii=nhdha=ya
3MIN.NearDEIC=really=AWAY
He's really standing heating up the fire here, away from them.

29. **garru+tjak gaya**

3MIN.S.R.go somewhere+make fire 3MIN.S.R.lie
He's bending over making the fire.

30. **garru+tjak ganen**

3MIN.S.R.go somewhere+make fire 3MIN.S.R.sit
He's making the fire.

31. **gadi-ne+vil+ninya ganen**

3MIN.A.R.heat-3AUG.O+warm+MAUG 3MIN.S.R.sit
He's warming up the men.

32. **gana+purr=wany gaya**

3MIN.S.R.walk+dance=REPET 3MIN.S.R.lie
He's bending over dancing again.

33. **atho=no dugulhi ngavula-na+gurr=eno**

later=PURP brother-in-law 1MIN.A.R.chop-2MIN.0+hit=PURP
I'm going to shoot you later, brother-in-law.

34. **ngavula-na+buk+eno**

1MIN.A.R.chop-2MIN.O+miss target=PURP
I'm going to aim at you and miss.

35. **ngavula-na+buk+eno**

1MIN.A.R.chop-2MIN.O+miss target=PURP
I'm going to aim at you and miss.

36. **gala+buk**

3MIN.A.R.chop+miss target'
He misses his target.

37. **gala+buk**

3MIN.A.R.chop+miss target'
He misses his target.
It's Rainbow Serpent who's cleaning him up now over there away from them.

He's getting up now.

He looks at them out of the corner of his eye.

He stands and sets the fire alight.

Over there in the fire, let me pick up kindling, he says.

He stands and heats up the fire over there.

Rainbow Serpent walks away from them now.

He walks away from them and picks it up in the fire really.
48. gak=enhdheni=ya ganhdhi+dim
   away=now=AWAY 3MIN.A.R.hold+sink
He drowns it away from them now.

49. mut ganhdhi+dim=enhdheni=ya
   almost 3MIN.A.R.hold+sink=now=AWAY
He almost drowns it now away from them.

50. kandu yawana endji na rirrim
    man 3MIN.M.AnaphDEIC how 3MIN.M.PRO Tomtom
    pudan=eyi garru=rre
    Port Darwin=PERF 3MIN.S.R.go somewhere=first
That man I mentioned, what’s his name, Tomtom, went to Darwin first.

51. pudan=nhdheni yuwa gana
    Port Darwin=now 3MIN.FarDEIC 3MIN.S.R.walk
He’s over there walking round Darwin now.

52. ganen pudan=enhdha yuwa
    3MIN.S.R.sit Port Darwin=really 3MIN.FarDEIC
He’s really sitting over there in Darwin.

53. dhama-na+malha me
    2MIN.S.IR.stand-3MIN.M.DAT+tell story do
Tell him the story! Do it!

54. awa therrwen yuwa gak yene
    meat Rainbow Serpent 3MIN.FarDEIC away LOC
    wutharr ganhdhi gana nyiminy
    sea 3MIN.A.R.hold 3MIN.S.R.stand fire
Away over there Rainbow Serpent keeps holding fire in the sea.

55. dhama-na+malha rirrim kuy
    2MIN.S.IR.stand-3MIN.M.DAT+speak Tomtom come
Tell him the story! Tomtom, come!

56. rirrim rirrim
    Tomtom Tomtom
Tomtom! Tomtom!

57. (like jet) im bin come up that bird
He came up like a jet, that bird.

58. gamen=enhdheni gana=ya
    3MIN.A.R.pick up=now 3MIN.S.R.walk=AWAY
He keeps picking it up now away from them.
59. nyiminy=gu gamen=nhdheni gana=ya
   fire=FOC 3MIN.A.R.pick up=now 3MIN.S.R.walk=AWAY
   He keeps picking up fire now away from them.

60. kitjalhak=ga=nhdheni=ya
   small=FOC=now=AWAY
   Now it's dwindling away from them.

61. ganhdhi+dim=enhdheni=ya
   3MIN.A.R.hold+sink= now=AWAY
   He drowns it now away from them.

62. ganhdhi+dim=enhdheni gana=ya
   3MIN.A.R.hold-sink=now 3MIN.S.R.walk=AWAY
   He keeps drowning it now away from them.

63. rirrim from pudan
   Tomtom from Port Darwin
   pudan=ngana=yi=ga
   Port Darwin=ABL=PERF=FOC
tap gamen+nerre dharray
   pull out 3MIN.A.R.pick up+shift position that way
   It was Tomtom from Darwin who picked it up and pulled it out that way.

64. yuwa yene karrawala=nhdheni=ya
   3MIN.FarDEIC LOC hill=now=AWAY
   Over there now in the hills away from him.

65. karrawala karrawala
   hill hill
   theme karrawala yuwa=ya
   where hill 3MIN.FarDEIC
   The hills, hills, where are the hills over there away from him?

66. tenendjerre
   tenendjerre
   It was at Tenendjerre.

67. guman+pitji gaya
   3MIN.A.R.poke+twirl 3MIN.S.R.lie
   He bends over twirling it.

68. guman+pitji
   3MIN.A.R.poke+twirl
   He twirls it.
69. **guman+pitji**
   3MIN.A.R.poke+twirl
   He twirls it.

69. **garra+miri**
   3MIN.A.R.handle+eye
   He uses his hands to make fire.

70. **guman+miri=nhdheni**
   3MIN.A.R.poke+eye=now
   He prods the fire alight now.

71. **garra** **mala=ngana**
   3MIN.A.R.handle  long=ABL
   He handles it from afar.

72. **gadi=nhdheni** **gama** **yuwa**
   3MIN.A.R.heat=now  3MIN.S.R.stand  3MIN.FarDEIC
   He stands and heats it now over there.

73. **mala=ngana** **guman+mu+miri**
   long=ABL  3MIN.A.R.poke+do+eye
   garru=ya
   3MIN.S.R.go somewhere=AWAY
   He deliberately lights a fire from afar away from him.

74. **yuwa** **gama**
   3MIN.FarDEIC  3MIN.S.R.stand
   He stands over there.

75. **gadi+tum=enhdheni** **gama**
   3MIN.A.R.fire+make smoke=now  3MIN.S.R.stand
   He stands and makes smoke now.

76. **therrwen** **yuwa**
   Rainbow Serpent  3MIN.FarDEIC
   ganhdhi+dim=enhdheni=ya
   3MIN.A.R.hold-sink=now=AWAY
   Rainbow Serpent is drowning it now over there away from him.

77. **gamen-na+nunggu** **therrwen** **nyiminy**
   3MIN.A.R.pick up-3MIN.M.DAT+hand  Rainbow Serpent  fire
   He picks fire up out of Rainbow Serpent’s hand.

78. **gamen-na+nunggu=nhdheni**
   3MIN.A.R.pick up-3MIN.M.DAT+hand=now
   He picks it up out of his hand now.
79. guman+pitji gaya
3MIN.A.R.poke-twirl 3MIN.S.R.lie
He bends over twirling it.

80. gana+thurr
3MIN.S.R.walk+stand upright
He’s standing it upright.

81. garramiri nyiminy
3MIN.A.R.handle-eye fire
He’s making fire.

82. wakkay
finished
It’s finished.

83. guman-manhdha+gat=enhdheni
3MIN.A.R.poke-throat+cut=now
garru yuwa=ya
3MIN.S.R.go somewhere 3MIN.FarDEIC=AWAY
He deliberately cuts him [Rainbow Serpent] off now over there away
from him.

84. yiverre mala=ngana gadi gama yorro
there far=ABL 3MIN.A.R.heat 3MIN.S.R.stand grass
He stands and heats the grass there from afar.

85. yawana=nhdheni rirrim
3MIN.M.AnaphDEIC=now Tomtom
That male I mentioned is Tomtom now.

86. rirrim mala=ngana gadi garru
Tomtom far=ABL 3MIN.A.R.heat 3MIN.S.R.go somewhere
yorro grass
Tomtom deliberately burns the grass from afar.

87. vutj guman+mu+miri garru
. straight 3MIN.A.R.poke+do+eye 3MIN.S.R.go somewhere
He deliberately sets fire to it, straight.

88. gadi=nhdha gama yuwa
3MIN.A.R.heat=really 3MIN.S.R.stand 3MIN.FarDEIC
He stands and really heats it over there.

89. yuwa=nhdha gadi gama
3MIN.FarDEIC=really 3MIN.A.R.heat 3MIN.S.R.stand
Over there really he stands and heats it.
90. ngunu gadi=nhdha then 3MIN.A.R.heat=really gama 3MIN.S.R.stand
Then he stands and really heats it.

91. way=ewe gala+duk
NEG=HAP 3MIN.A.R.chop+extinguish
He doesn't dare extinguish it.

92. ngunu=nhdha gadi=nhdha then=really 3MIN.A.R.heat=really gama 3MIN.S.R.stand
Then he really stands and heats it.

93. manggan that's the story.
Mate, that’s the story.

94. finished that story
That story is finished.
Text 4: Kilakuy

1. Lital boy they got in entit tu fela. The little boy, they've got him haven't they, two men.

2. yere nganhdi=nhdha ganhdhinya+mede ganenya
   child one=really 3AUG.A.R.hold+UAUG 3AUG.S.R.walk
   It's really one child they both keep holding.

3. yere nganhdi married men ganhdhinya+mede
   child one married men 3AUG.A.R.hold+UAUG ganenya
   3AUG.S.R.walk
   The two married men both keep holding one child.

4. gadenya+mede kugun
   3AUG.A.R.look+UAUG honey
   They both look for honey.

5. yii gama
   3MIN.NearDEIC 3MIN.S.R.stand
   It's standing up here.

6. gulanya+gat+mede
   3AUG.A.R.chop+cut+UAUG
   The two of them chop it out.

7. gulanya+lela+mede
   3AUG.A.R.chop+smash+UAUG
   The two of them smash it.

8. gulanya+gat+mede
   3AUG.A.R.chop-cut+UAUG
   The two of them chop it out.

9. yawa=nhdha uma-tjetjak ninga
   3MIN.AnaphDEIC=really 2MIN.A.R.poke+suck 2MIN.S.R.sit
   Sit and suck it in that place we talked about!

10. ganenya+pIRR+mede
    3AUG.S.R.walk+throw down+UAUG
    They're both leaving him behind.

11. yere yawana ganenya+pIRR+mede
    child 3MIN.M.AnaphDEIC 3AUG.S.R.walk+throw down+UAUG
    They're both leaving behind that boy I talked about.
12. yiina=gamena ganen
3MIN.M.NearDEIC=SEMBL 3MIN.S.R.sit
Like this boy sitting here.

13. yiina=gamena ganen
3MIN.M.NearDEIC=SEMBL 3MIN.S.R.sit
Like this boy sitting here.

14. yiina=gamena=nhdha
3MIN.M.NearDEIC=SEMBL=really
Really like this boy here.

15. yiina=gamena ganen
3MIN.M.NearDEIC=SEMBL 3MIN.S.R.sit
Like this boy sitting here.

16. ganenya+pirr+mede
3AUG.S.R.walk+throw down+UAUG
They’re both leaving him behind.

17. yuwa=nhdeni=rre ganenya+mede
3MIN.FarDEIC=now=first 3AUG.S.R.walk+UAUG
First, now they both walk over there.

18. yii ganen=enhdha Matpil
3MIN.NearDEIC 3MIN.S.R.sit Matpil
'He’s sitting here really at Matpil.

19. ganenya+pirr+mede
3AUG.S.R.walk+throw down+UAUG
They’re both leaving him behind.

20. yiina yere yii=nhdha
3MIN.M.NearDEIC child 3MIN.NearDEIC=really
ganen
3MIN.S.R.sit
yiina=gamena ganenya+pirr+mede
3MIN.M.NearDEIC=SEMBL 3AUG.S.R.walk+throw down+UAUG
The two of them leave him behind like this boy really sitting here.

21. ganenya+mede laydaus
3AUG.S.R.walk+UAUG lighthouse
The two of them are walking to the lighthouse.

22. ganenya+mede vuvuy vutj
3AUG.S.R.walk+UAUG keep going straight
They’re both walking, keeping straight on.
23. geminya+mede elewerre=nhdheni
3AUG.S.R.come out+UAUG shady tree=now
The two of them come out now at the shady tree.

24. geminya+mede yene kandu dawal muku
3AUG.S.R.come out+UAUG LOC man many woman
yere marbuk
child sprout
The two of them come out into a big mob of men, women and half-
grown children.

25. gunin-nyela+tjengi-nanga+mede
3AUG.S.R.sit-3MAUG.BEN+ear-3MIN.M.ADV+UAUG
yawana yere
3MIN.M.AnaphDEIC child
They both forget that child I talked about.

26. gunin-nanga+mede=nhdheni=ya
3AUG.S.R.lie-3MIN.M.ADV+UAUG=now=AWAY
They both forget him now away from him.

27. yuwa=nhdha guman+tjetjak ganen
3MIN.FarDEIC=really 3MIN.A.R.poke+suck 3MIN.S.R.sit
He’s sitting over there digging it out and really sucking it.

28. kilakuy kilakuy
kilakuy kilakuy
Kilakuy! Kilakuy!

29. gaya+ngalb+miri+therre awa ngutj=nene
3MIN.S.R.lie+mouth+eye+answer meat spirit=NEW INF
It’s the spirit who asks him.

30. OOOO game awa ngutj=gu
OOOO 3MIN.A.R.say meat spirit=FOC
It’s the spirit who says “OOOO!”

31. kila agen kila agen kila agen kila agen kila agen
kila again kila again kila again kila again kila again
Kila again, Kila again, Kila again, Kila again, Kila again.

32. kilakuy OOOO
kilakuy OOOO
Kilakuy! OOOO!

33. Im closer la im now that kandu
he’s closer to him now that man
He’s closer to him now, that man.
34. **yunungu=nhdha=nhdheni**
   close=really=now
   He’s really close to him now.

35. **gaya+du+moro=nhdha=nhdheni**
   3MIN.S.R. lie+touch+buttock=really=now
   He’s really catching up with him now.

36. **tjembelh yene galan+yulhuk**
   hollow log LOC 3MIN.A.R.punch+go inside
   He goes inside a hollow log.

37. **way tjembelh=wany yene**
   NEG hollow log=REPET LOC
galan+yulhuk gaya
   3MIN.A.R.punch+go inside 3MIN.S.R. lie
   He doesn’t lie down inside a hollow log again.

38. **gemi+mari**
   **yunungu=nhdheni**
   3MIN.S.R. come out+belly close=now
   He comes out from inside; he’s close now.

39. **gemi+nerre+mari**
   3MIN.S.R. come out+shift position+belly
   He comes out from inside.

40. **girran+mbul**
   **marra yene**
   3MIN.S.R. use legs+run cycad LOC
   He runs inside a cycad.

41. **ganya-na+therrtit**
   3MIN.A.R. make+3MIN.M.REFL+lean gama
   3MIN.S.R. stand
   He stands, leaning against it.

42. **game+malha=wany**
   3MIN.A.R. say+ speak=REPET
   He speaks again.

43. **kilakuy**
   kilakuy
   Kilakuy!

44. **mawuny**
   ironwood tree
   It’s an ironwood tree.
45. kilakuy
   kilakuy
   Kilakuy!

46. gemi-na+mari=nhdheni
   3MIN.S.R.come out-3MIN.M.DAT+belly=now
   He comes out from inside for him now

47. garru=ya
   3MIN.S.R.go somewhere=AWAY
   He goes somewhere away from him.

48. gemi-na+mari=ngana
   3MIN.S.R.come out-3MIN.M.DAT+belly=RECPAST
   He came out from inside for him just before.

49. garra+vvarratj=enhdheni
   3MIN.A.R.handle+follow=now
   'He keeps following him now'

50. gana=ya
    3MIN.S.R.walk=AWAY
    He walks away from him.

51. waruy yuwa         thawarr   gama
    waruy 3MIN.FarDEIC tree 3MIN.S.R.stand
    A waruy tree grows over there.

52. yerre              arra now
    pandanus  ashes tree  now
    garru+kal   warwa
    3MIN.S.R.go somewhere+climb on top
    He climbs on top of a pandanus tree, an ashes tree now.

53. trrrrrrrr       warwaganhdha
    trrrrrrr on top 3MIN.S.R.perch
    Trrrrrr he perches on top.

54. ganhdha  mala=enhdheni gaya warwa
    3MIN.S.R.perch far=now 3MIN.S.R.lie on top
    He's lying perched on top, far away now.

55. e e yerre yuwa    gana+kakap
    e e child 3MIN.FarDEIC 3MIN.S.R.walk+call out
    'EIE!' the child calls out over there.
theme
where
Where?

na=nhdha werre
3MIN.M.PRO=really isn’t it?
That’s really him, isn’t it?

na=nhdha yawana=ga
3MIN.M.PRO=really 3MIN.M.Anaph.DEIC=FOC
That’s really him, that boy we know.

yere nagurriny=nene wadan-na
child 3MIN.M.POSS=NEW INF older brother-3MIN.M.DAT
nagurriny meyidja ganenya+ihat+mede
3MIN.M.POSS two 3AUG.S.R.walk+raise+UAUG
tjinda gunymurr+mede=nhdhi
spear 3AUG.S.R.go somewhere+UAUG=TOWARDS
About that child, his older brothers, the two belonging to him, set
about raising their spears in his direction.

gunymurre+birr+tjengi+mede=nhdhi
3AUG.S.R.go somewhere+strain+ear+UAUG=TOWARDS
malh
language
They both set about straining their ears towards him for language.

garru mala
3MIN.S.R.go somewhere far
He goes far away.

ganen mala warwa
3MIN.S.R.sit far on top
He sits far away on top.

yi gurun=na gumbu
3MIN.Near.DEIC 3MIN.S.R.sit-3MIN.M.DAT foot
awa ngutj
meat spirit
The spirit sits here for him at the foot [of the tree].

yiverre=nhdhi=nhdheni gugen=na gumbu
there=TOWARDS=now 3MIN.S.R.sit-3MIN.M.DAT foot
He sits there now for him at the foot of the tree near him.
65. kilakuy
   kilakuy
   Kilakuy!

66. werre yeda
   try 2MIN.A.R.look
   Try and look!

67. ganen-na  gumbu  warwayuwa
   3MIN.S.R.sit-3MIN.M.DAT  foot on top 3MIN.FarDEIC
   He sits at the foot for him on top over there.

68. ngatkani=nbhdi  ngatkani
   quiet=TOWARDS  quiet
   Go quietly towards him! Quietly!

69. keep going  mahl=ga  vuy
   keep going  language=FOC  keep going
   Keep going! In language it’s vuy.

70. gidjinye-na+mede=nhbhi=nhdha
    3AUG.S.R.crawl-3MIN.M.DAT+UAUG=TOWARDS=really
    They both really crawl to him towards him.

71. awa ngutj=gu  ganen=ehdha  pederre=gu
    meat spirit=FOC  3MIN.S.R.sit=really  gorilla=FOC
    The spirit who is sitting is really a gorilla.

72. pederre  pederre  awa  pederre=ve
    gorilla  meat  gorilla=HAP
    He happens to be a gorilla, gorilla, gorilla.

73. derela=nhdha  verruru+mede
    slow=really  2AUG.S.R.go somewhere+UAUG
    Go really slowly, you two!

74. mana  agen  mana  agen
    younger brother  again  younger brother  again
    Younger brother again! Younger brother again!
    Younger brother again! Younger brother again!
75. wadan-ni  wadan-ni  wadan-ni
   older brother-egokin older brother-egokin older brother-ego-kin
   wadan-ni  wadan-ni  wadan-ni
   older brother-egokin older brother-egokin older brother-egokin
Older brother! Older brother! Older brother! Older brother! Older brother! Older brother!

76. merrgude=nhdhi  yedenhthi+nerre=nhdhi
   quick=TOWARDS  2MIN.S.IR.fall+shift position=TOWARDS
merrgude=nhdhi  yedenhthi+nerre=nhdhi
   quick=TOWARDS
Towards me quick! Fall down here quick!

77. yedenhthi+nerre=nhdhi
   2MIN.S.IR.fall+shift position=TOWARDS
Fall down here!

78. yii  yii  yii
   3MIN.Near DEIC  3MIN.Near DEIC  3MIN.Near DEIC
   yii  yii  speirim-bat
   3MIN.Near DEIC  3MIN.Near DEIC  spear him-CONT
Here, here, here, here, here, keep spearing him.

79. guman+detak  vere
   3MIN.A.R.poke+stab arm
He stabs his arm.

80. pirriri gamen=eyi
   axe  3MIN.A.R.pick up=PERF
He picked up an axe.

81. gala+gat+manhdha  miri+manhdha
   3MIN.A.R.chop+cut+neck  eye+neck
He chops through his neck, head and all.

82. pirriri gala+gat+manhdha
   axe  3MIN.A.R.chop+cut+neck
He chops through his neck with an axe.

83. yii  gala+djerr  gala+mari
   3MIN.NearDEIC  3MIN.A.R.chop+slice 3MIN.A.R.chop+belly
He slices him here, cuts him inside.

84. gala-na+tul+mari
   3MIN.A.R.chop-3MIN.M.REFL+burst+belly
He bursts inside.
85. **garra+turr+mari**  
*3MIN.A.R.handle+tear+belly*  
He tears his belly apart.

86. **gala+gat**  
*3MIN.A.R.cut 3MIN.NearDEIC eye 3MIN.NearDEIC*  
He cuts him here, head here.

87. **gala+turr**  
*3MIN.A.R.chop+tear arm*  
He tears his arms apart.

88. **gumanya+vutj+mede=nhdha=ya**  
*3AUG.A.R.stand+throw+UAUG=really=AWAY*  
They both stand and throw him away from him.

89. **gaya vere nunggu gumbu**  
*3MIN.S.R.lie arm hand foot*  
His arms, legs, feet are lying [on the ground].

90. **merrgude=nhdhi yenhdhindi+nerre**  
*quick=TOWARDS 2MIN.S.IR.fall+shift position*  
Fall down towards us quick!

91. **game me+kurr+manhdha**  
*3MIN.A.R.say 2MIN.A.URpick up+put down+neck*  
He says 'Pick him up and put him down on your neck.

92. **merrgude me+kurr+manhdha**  
*quick 2.A.URpick up-put down+neck*  
Quick, pick him up and put him down on your neck.

93. **girran garru+ngapa**  
*3MIN.S.R.use legs 3MIN.S.R.go somewhere+carry on shoulders*  
He runs, carrying him on his shoulders.

94. **girran garru=ya**  
*3MIN.S.R.use legs 3MIN.S.R.go somewhere=AWAY*  
He deliberately runs away from the spirit.

95. **ava gama yuwa elewerre=gu**  
*who 3MIN.S.R.stand 3MIN.FarDEIC shady tree=FOC*  
Who's standing there in the shade?

96. **gunin+nganya**  
*3AUG.S.R.sit+FAUG*  
The women are sitting.
It's alight, alight, everywhere.

They're sitting together for you.

Men, women, and half-grown children are sitting there together.

A big mob is sitting together.

Where did you go? he says to them.

There's nothing to worry about! says this boy here.

Where did you go?

He looks again.

He keeps holding him again towards him.

The fire is alight.

He walks towards him again.

They throw a blanket on top of him.
109. **gala**-na+morr**morr**-y  
   *gaya*  
   3MIN.A.R.punch+3MIN.M.REFL+coverREDUP 3MIN.S.R.lie  
   He lies down and covers himself completely.

110. *wel* gaden+putj  
   *gana=ya*  
   well 3MIN.A.R.look+search 3MIN.S.R.walk=AWAY  
   Well, he keeps looking around away from him.

111. *gaya* penbedja awa ngutj=gu gaden  
   3MIN.S.R.lie underneath meat spirit=FOC 3MIN.A.R.look  
   The spirit looks at him lying underneath [the blanket].

112. penbedja gaden gaya  
   underneath 3MIN.A.R.look 3MIN.S.R.lie  
   He looks at him lying underneath

113. yiverre=nhdha gurr**rri**+b**irr**+nunggu+ninya  
   *there=really* 3AUG.A.R.handleRECI+strain+hand+M.AUG  
   ganenya yere yawa=gu  
   3AUG.S.R.walk child 3MIN.AnaphDEIC=FOC  
   The men really keep engaging in a tug of war for the child in that place I talked about.

114. gurr**rri**+b**irr**+nunggu  
   3AUG.A.R.handleRECI+strain+hand  
   They engage in a tug of war.

115. yene nyiminy gumanya+p**irr**+miri  
   LOC fire 3AUG.stand+throw down+eye  
   They throw the spirit down into the fire.

116. nyiminy=enhdheni yene gadi gama  
   fire=now LOC 3MIN.A.R.heat 3MIN.S.R.stand  
   He stands and heats him up in the fire now

117. gumanya+p**irr**+miri  
   3AUG.stand+throw down+eye  
   They throw the spirit down.

118. **Finished**
Text 5 Part I: Sugarbag (honey)

1. awa=no ngammani nera kugun=eno
   meat=DAT 1/2S.walk grandson sugarbag=DAT
   Let's both go for sugarbag, grandson!

2. kamul yenhdni=nhdhi wadja
   billy-can 2MIN.A.IR.hold=TOWARDS 2MIN.S.R.walk
   Keep holding the billycan towards me!

3. gak=eno ngammani kugun=eno
   away=DAT 1/2S.walk sugarbag=DAT
   Let's both go off for sugarbag!

4. ngammaden ngammani
   1/2.A.look 1/2.S.walk
   Let's both keep looking!

5. makalhi ganhdhi gama
   MoMo 3MIN.A.R.hold 3MIN.S.R.stand
   Grandmother! He's standing holding it.

6. guk=erre
   Wait=first
   Wait first!

7. garra+thunggudu wunhdhuwu
   3MIN.A.R.handle+push anthill
   She pushes the anthill over with her hands.

8. game fulhut gama
   3MIN.S.R.say beeswax 3MIN.S.R.stand
   She says: the beeswax is standing up.

9. wunhtha+mu+mari yene kamul
    2MIN.A.IR.bury+do+belly LOC billy-can
    Bury it in the billy-can!

10. kamul yene wunhtha+mu+mari
    billy-can LOC 2MIN.A.IR.bury+do+belly
    Bury it inside the billy-can!
11. yuwa=ya=wany  
gama=wany  
3MIN.FarDEIC=AWAY=REPET  
3MIN.S.R.stand=REPET  
He stands over there away from her again.

12. ganhdhi=wany  
gama  
3MIN.A.R.hold=REPET  
3MIN.S.R.stand  
He's standing holding it again.

13. guk=erre  
Wait=first  
Wait first!

14. gudin+du  
gumbai  
wunhdhuwu  
3MIN.A.R.elbow+touch  
foot  
anthill  
She nudges the anthill with her foot.

15. awa=no  
ngany  
ngayila  
makalhi  
meat=PURP  
1MIN.PRO  
1MIN.A.R.consume  
MoMo  
i want to eat it, grandma!

16. gayi=ve  
PROH=HAP  
Don't you dare!

17. gama+adjawa+mari-nanga  
3MIN.S.R.stand-urinate+belly-3MIN.M.ADV  
She stands and urinates inside it in spite of him.

18. gila+mangga  
3MIN.A.R.consume=LIK  
'He's likely to eat it.'

19. e  
gama+adjawa+mari  
and  
3MIN.S.R.stand+urine+belly  
And she stands and urinates inside it.

20. adjawa  
urinates  
Urinates.

21. ganenya+mede  
3AUG.S.R.walk+UAUG  
They both walk.
22. yuwa=ya=wany gala+dut
   3MIN.FarDEIC=AWAY=REPET 3MIN.A.R.chop+find
Over there away from her he finds it again.

23. manggalhi awa ngayila=no
   MoMo meat 1MIN.A.IR.consume=PURP
I'm going to eat the meat, grandma!

24. gayi=ve
   PROH=HAP
'Don't you dare'!

25. e gama+adjawa_mari+nanga
   and 3MIN.S.R.stand+urinate+belly-3MIN.M.ADV
And she stands and urinates inside it in spite of him.

26. ganenya+mede vutj
   3AUG.S.R.walk+UAUG straight
They both walk on straight.

27. ganenya+mede
   3AUG.S.R.walk+UAUG
They both walk.

28. gamen+kurrkurr gana
   3MIN.A.R.pick up+put downREDUP 3MIN.S.R.walk
He keeps picking it up and putting it down.

29. vepiya vepiya=nene kamul
   full full=NEW INF billy-can
The billy-can is full. It's full.

30. vepiya=nhdheni=ga yene kamul
   full=now=FOC LOC billy-can
It's full now inside the billy-can.

31. nera ba
   grandson come
Grandson, come!

32. yuwa=ya ngayi-ninbe yepe
   3MIN.FarDEIC=AWAY 1MIN.S.IR.lie-2MIN.ADV I wish
I wish to lie down away over there, in spite of you.
33. yuwa=ya nganhdhi+rtedi gama
3MIN.FarDEIC=AWAY one+side 3MIN.S.R.stand
He stands to one side over there away from her.

34. nganhdhi+rtedi gama yuwa
one+side 3MIN.S.R.stand 3MIN.FarDEIC'
He stands to one side over there.

35. yuwa=nhdha ngamminen
3MIN.FarDEIC=really 1/2S.sit
Let’s both sit over there!

36. gaw yunga=nhdheni dhet
come 2MIN.S.IR.lie=now sit down
Come! Lie down now! Sit down!

37. yunga-nga makalhi lie down
2MIN.S.IR.lie-3MIN.F.DAT MoMo lie down
gam: nga
3MIN.A.R.speak-3MIN.F.DAT
Lie down!’ he says to her ‘Lie down, Grandma!

38. ngani
1MIN.S.R.sit (Patjitalma)
I’m sitting.

40. yunga=no
2MIN.S.IR.lie=\#URP
You’ve got to lie down.

41. yu ngayi=\#\#es yes 1MIN.S.IR.lie=\#URP
Yes, I’ll lie down.

42. gayi-nbe+bet+miri
PROH-2MIN.REFL+open+eye
Don’t open your eye.

43. ngurrurr=eno dhet+yunga
sleep=DAT sit down+2MIN.S.IR.lie
Lie down for a sleep!
44. minhdharra yuwa gamen
firestick 3MIN.FarDEIC 3MIN.A.R.pick up
He picks up a firestick over there.

45. minhdharra
firestick
A firestick.

46. garra+vuritj ganen minhdharra
3MIN.A.R.handle+clean 3MIN.S.R.sit firestick
He's cleaning up the firestick.

47. yorre+rtedi yorre+rtedi yene winy-mede
gras+back gras+backs LOC 3AUG.PRO+UAUG
They're both in the long grass, the long grass.

48. yiina=gamena ganen
3MIN.M.NearDEIC=SEMBL3MIN.S.R.sit
yuwa=ya ganen
3MIN.FarDEIC=AWAY 3MIN.S.R.sit
Over there away from her he sits, like this boy sitting here.

49. ganen+rtedi+wunybe=mangga
3MIN.S.R.sit 3MIN.S.R.sit+back+play=LIK
yuwana ganen
3MIN.M.FarDEIC 3MIN.S.R.sit
That boy over there is sitting on the ground, likely playing.

50. nyuku+game=wany manggarra
lie+3MIN.A.R.say=REPET I reckon
He lies to her again, I reckon.

51. gaya=wany ngurrgurr
3MIN.S.R.lie=REPET sleep
She lies down again to sleep.

52. nyuku+game-nga yuwa
lie+3MIN.A.R.say-3MIN.F.DAT 3MIN.FarDEIC
nga=nhdha wulgumen
3MIN.F.DAT=really old woman
He lies to her over there, to her really, that old woman.
53. makalhi yii=no ngayi
MoMo 3MIN.NearDEIC=PURP 1MIN.S.R.lie
Grandma! I'll lie down here.

54. ya dhet-yunga
I don't know sit down+2MIN.S.IR.lie
I don't know! Lie down!

55. nga ngiri=wany ngayi nera
3MIN.F.PRO doze=REPET 1MIN.S.IR.lie grandson
As for her, [she says]'Let me lie down and doze again, grandson!

56. yii ngayi
3MIN.NearDEIC 1MIN.S.IR.lie
Let me lie here.

57. way yawa=nhdha yunga nine
NEG 3MIN.AnaphDEIC=really 2MIN.S.IR.lie 2MIN.PRO
You, lie down, but not in that place I mentioned!

58. yii=no ngayi
3MIN.NearDEIC=PURP 1MIN.S.IR.lie
I'll lie here.

59. ya dhet+yunga
I don't know sit down+2MIN.S.IR.lie
I don't know! Lie down!

60. minhdarra gamen
firestick 3MIN.A.R.pick up
He picks up the firestick.

61. minhdarra gamen guman+pitji
firestick 3MIN.A.R.pick up 3MIN.A.R.poke+roll
He picks up the firestick and rolls it [between his palms].

62. guman+pitji yiina=gamena ganen
3MIN.A.R.poke+roll 3MIN.M.NearDEIC=SEMBL3MIN.S.R.sit
He picks up the firestick and rolls it [between his palms], like this boy sitting here.

63. gana+thorr gana+thorr
3MIN.S.R.walk+twirl 3MIN.S.R.walk+twirl
He's twirling it, he's twirling it.
64. kamul yuwa=ya
  billy-can  3MIN.ForDEIC=AWAY
  gama-nga+viye
  3MIN.S.R.stand-3MIN.F.DAT+head
  The billy-can stands at her head over there away from him.

65. gama-nga+viye kamul
  3MIN.S.R.stand-3MIN.F.DAT+head billy-can
  The billy-can stands at her head.

66. kugun vepiya
  sugarbag  full
  It's full of sugarbag.

67. gaden-na+kurru
  3MIN.A.R.look-3MIN.M.REFL+out of the corner of the eye
  He looks out of the corner of his eye.

68. gaya+ngurrgurr
  3MIN.S.R.lie+sleep
  She's sleeping.

69. yorro+rtedi guman+pitji=nhdeni
  long grass  3MIN.A.R.poke+roll=now
  He rolls the long grass[between his palms] now.

70. e gana+thorr
    and  3MIN.S.R.walk+twirl
    And he's twirling it.

71. e garra+miri yorro
    and  3MIN.A.R.handle+eye grass
    And he sets fire to the grass.

72. yorro garra+miri ganen
    grass  3MIN.A.R.handle+eye  3MIN.S.R.sit
    And he sits and sets fire to the grass.

73. ngayngay ngayngay ngayngay ngayngay ngayngay
    alight  alight  alight  alight  alight
    It's alight, alight, alight, alight, alight!
74. **guman+manhdha+gat-nganga**
   3MIN.A.R.poke+throat+cut-3MIN.F.ADV
   He cuts her off in spite of her.

75. **guman+manhdha+gat-nganga**
   3MIN.A.R.poke+throat+cut-3MIN.F.ADV
   He cuts her off in spite of her.

76. **gadi+ngayngay+ngayngay**
   ganen
   3MIN.A.R.heat+alight:REDUP 3MIN.S.R.sit
   He's setting it all alight.

77. **guman+manhdha+gat-nganga**
   That wulgumen
   3MIN.A.R.poke+throat+cut-3MIN.F.ADV that old woman
   He cuts that old woman off despite her.

78. **gamen+wu+miri=nhdheni**
   3MIN.A.R.pick up+argue+eye=now
   He picks a fight with her now.

79. **yiina yere kirr**
   3MIN.M.NearDEIC child slender
   gamen+nerre dharray kamul
   3MIN.A.R.pick up+shift position that way billy-can
   This boy here, this slender child, picks up the billy-can that way.

80. **tap gamen+nerre**
   dharray
   grab 3MIN.A.R.pick up+shift position that way
   He picks it up and pulls it out that way.

81. **girran+mbul=enhdha**
   got that kamul that kugun
   3MIN.S.R.use legs+run=really got that billy-can that sugarbag
   He really runs with that billy-can, that sugarbag.

82. **yiina=gamena ganen**
   3MIN.M.NearDEIC=SEMBL3MIN.S.R.sit
   Like this boy sitting here.

83. **wulgumen gamen+wu+miri=nhdheni yene nyiminy**
   old woman 3MIN.A.R.pick up+fight+eye=now LOC fire
   He picks a fight with the old woman now in the fire.
84. **gamen+wu+miri**
   *3MIN.A.R. pick up+fight+eye*
   He picks a fight with the old woman.

85. **gadhama-nga+pirr-nganga**
   *3MIN.S.IR. stand-3MIN.F.REFL+throw down-3MIN.F.ADV*
   ngayngay+ngayngay
   *alight*REDUP
   She's going to throw herself down alight, alight in spite of herself.

86. **miriwuda yene gama-nga+pirr+wuda**
   *billabong LOC 3MIN.S.R. stand-3MIN.F.REFL+throw down+water*
   She throws herself down into the water of the billabong.

87. **wakkay**
   *finished*
   It is finished.

88. **gadi+rorop**
   *that wulgumen*
   *3MIN.A.R. heat+reduce to ashes that old woman*
   He burns her to a cinder, that old woman.

89. **fire all around**
   *manggan*
   *fire all around mate*
   There's fire all around, mate.

90. **gadi+miri**
    *wakkay*
    *3MIN.A.R. heat+eye finished*
    He burns her to death.

91. **guman+manhdha+gat=eyi**
    *3MIN.A.R. poke+throat+cut=PERF*
    He had cut her off.

92. **wakkay**
    *finished*
    It is finished.

93. **gama-nga+pirr+wuda**
    *miriwuda*
    *billabong*
    *3MIN.S.R. stand-3MIN.F.REFL+throw down+water*
    She throws herself down into the water of the billabong.
94. **miriwuda yene gama-nga+purr+wuda**  
*billabong LOC 3MIN.S.R.stand-3MIN.F.REFL+throw down+water* 
She throws herself down into water of the billabong.

95. **ganen+wuda=nhdheni**  
*3MIN.S.R.sit+water=now* 
She’s sitting in the water now.

96. **yagarra**  
* alas*  
Alas!

97. **half story that manggan**  
That’s half the story, mate.
Text 10: Pebel, the girl who drowned

1. emmi malh=enhdheni malh=gu
   what story=now story=FOC
   What story is this story now?

2. emmi malh manggan
   what story mate
   What story, mate?

3. malh nganhdhi=no=wany
   story one=DAT=REPET
   [Are you after] another story again?

4. emmi malh
   what story
   What story?

5. vere wuda gidji+lenme pegu
   creek water 3MIN.S.R.crawl+swim married woman
   nganhdhi gunymuru+mede
   one 3AUG.S.R.go somewhere+UAUG
   She swims that creek, she and one married woman, the two of them
   go somewhere.

6. yuwa=ngana=yi gama+wul dharray
   3MIN.FarDEIC=ABL=PERF3MIN.S.R.stand+come back that way
   She came back from over there that way.

   garru=nhdhi madjalaba=ngana=yi
   3MIN.S.R.go somewhere=TOWARDS Madjalaba=ABL=PERF
   She came in this direction from Madjalaba.

7. from banakula gunymuru+kal+mede
   from Banakula 3AUG.S.R.go somewhere+climb+UAUG
   They both arrive from Banakula.

8. wutinggi=nene gunymuru+kal+mede
   canoe=INSTR 3AUG.S.R.go somewhere+climb+UAUG
   They both make for the shore by canoe.

9. yuwanga yangumiri ronhtho
   3MIN.F.FarDEIC pubescent girl short
   That short pubescent girl over there.
10. **mah ngame+rri**  
   *story*  
   I'm telling the story.

11. **gunyurr+kal+mede**  
   *3AUG.S.R.go somewhere+climb+UAUG*  
   They both make for the shore.

12. **miya pome gadenya+mede**  
   *edible plant black plum 3AUG.A.R.look+UAUG*  
   They both look for black plums.

13. **endji=no ngammaden yuwa**  
   *how=PURP 1/2A.look 3MIN.FarDEIC*  
   How can we look for black plums over there?

14. **ngammaden=en o gaw manggan**  
   *1/2A.look=PURP come mate*  
   Come, mate. We'll both look!

15. **miya gama yuwa**  
   *edible plant 3MIN.S.R.stand 3MIN.FarDEIC*  
   It is growing over there.

16. **ngammaden=en o pome**  
   *1/2A.look=PURP black plum*  
   We'll go and look for black plums.

17. **kudjala=yi gamen manggan**  
   *today=PERF 3MIN.A.R.pick up mate*  
   She'd picked her up her earlier that day, mate.

18. **kudjala=yi gamen banakula=ngana=yi**  
   *today=PERF 3MIN.A.R.pick up Banakula=ABL=PERF*  
   She'd picked her up from Banakula earlier that day.

19. **gamen ngatpuk yuwa ngatpuk**  
   *3MIN.A.R.pick up Ngatpuk 3MIN.FarDEIC Ngatpuk*  
   *Peron Island way close up island borakpene way*  
   *Small Peron Island way rak=pene country=LOC*  
   She picks her up from Ngatpuk over there, Ngatpuk, by Peron Island, near the island. Small Peron Island way, in country.
yiverre  badjalarr  borakpene
there  Badjalarr  Borakpene
yii=nbdhi  badjalarr  yiberre
3MIN.NearDEIC=TOWARDS  Badjalarr  there
gaya=nbdhi
3MIN.S.R. lie=TOWARDS
Badjalarr is there, Borakpene is here towards me. Badjalarr lies there, towards me.

im  ngatpuk
he  Ngatpuk
He's at Ngatpuk.

yi=nbdhi  mari-nganhdi
3MIN.NearDEIC=TOWARDS  belly+one
gunymurr+ngatj-nanga+mede
3AUG.S.R.go somewhere+run away-3MIN.M.ADV+UAUG
They both run away from him towards here, to the other side.

gunymurr+mede  velp
3AUG.S.R.go somewhere+UAUG  do without stopping
They both travel without stopping.

gunymurr+mede  velp
3AUG.S.R.go somewhere+UAUG  do without stopping
They both travel without stopping.

tjirrvur  tjirrvur  gidjinye+lenme+mede
Finnis River  Finnis River  3AUG.S.R.crawl+swim+UAUG
They both swim to the Finnis River, the Finnis River.

ganenya+kal+mede
3AUG.S.R.walk+climb+UAUG
They're both making for the shore.

gunymurr+mede  muluk
3AUG.S.R.go somewhere+UAUG  Muluk
They both go to Muluk.

muluk  guninyi+purr+mede
Muluk  3AUG.S.R.lieREFL+throw down+UAUG
They throw themselves down at Muluk.

ngurrgurr+gunya+mede  yiverre=nbdha
sleep+3AUG.S.R.lie+UAUG  there=really
There really they both sleep.
30. gana+bet 3MIN.S.R.walk+open
Day is breaking.

31. yii=ngana=yi muluk=ngana=yi 3MIN.NearDEIC=ABL=PERF Mulluk=ABL=PERF
medjembobo=nhdha ngammiya+dhet Medjembobo=really 1 /2S.lie-sit down
From here, from Muluk we should have rested at Medjembobo.

32. yii=nhdha ngammiya 3MIN.NearDEIC=really 1 /2S.lie
Let's both lie down here.

33. yii=no ngammama+ngga+pirr+wuda 3MIN.NearDEIC=PURP 1 /2S.stand-1/2REFL+throw down+water
We'll throw ourselves into the water here.

34. guninyi+pirr+wuda+mede 3.S.R.lieREFL+throw down+water+UAUG
They both threw themselves into the water.

35. gidjinye+ienme+mede 3AUG.S.R.crawl+swim+UAUG
They both swim.

36. garru+kal=enhdheni=nhdhi wutharr
3MIN.S.R.go somewhere+climb=now=TOWARDS sea
The tide is coming in now towards them.

37. wutharr yangu sea new
It's a new tide.

38. ganya+vuvu+dirr
3MIN.A.R.make+blowREDUP+tooth
The wave crests are blowing spray.

39. merrgude=nhdhi
quick=TOWARDS Here, quick!

40. dinggi+dinggi=nhdhi verru
back-strokeREDUP=TOWARDS 2MIN.S.JR. go somewhere
Use back stroke, backstroke towards me.
41. marduman=ve=nhdhi
   backwards=HAP=TOWARDS
Come backwards towards me!

42. way
   NEG
No!

43. gana+djitjirr
   3MIN.S.R.walk+drown
She’s drowning.

44. gana+djitjirr
   3MIN.S.R.walk+drown
She’s drowning.

45. gana+djitjirr
   3MIN.S.R.walk+drown
She’s drowning.

46. nga garru velp
   3MIN.F.PRO 3MIN.S.R.go somewhere do without stopping
As for her [the other girl], she travels without stopping.

47. garru+kal+wuda ngalhverrewen
   3MIN.S.R.go somewhere+climb+water Ngalhferrewen
She makes for Ngalhverrewen.

48. gana+kal+wuda
   3MIN.S.R.walk+climb+water
She’s making for the shore.

49. garru+kal+wuda
   3MIN.S.R.go somewhere+climb+water
She deliberately makes for the shore.

50. yiinga gana+djitjirr
   3MIN.F.NearDEIC 3MIN.S.R.walk+drown
As for this girl here, she’s drowning.

51. wakkay
   finished
It’s finished.

52. wan.ga=nene=nhdheni yuwa gila
   shark=NEW INF=now 3MIN.FarDEIC 3MIN.A.R.consume
It’s a shark over there that eats her now.
53. **gana+yin+dim**  
*3MIN.S.R.walk+nose+sink*  
She’s sinking.

54. **gana+djitjirr**  
*3MIN.S.R.walk+drown*  
She’s drowning.

55. **gila+wuda**  
*3MIN.A.R.consume+water*  
She dies.

56. **wakkay**  
*finished*  
It’s over.

57. **guman+vuritj+dorr**  
*3MIN.A.R.poke+clean+place*  
It [the shark] cleans the place up.

58. **wutharr ganya+vapvapvap**  
*sea 3MIN.A.R.make+slapREDUP*  
The sea makes a slapslap slap.

59. **ganya+vuvu+dirr**  
*3MIN.A.R.make+blowREDUP+tooth*  
The wave crests are blowing spray.

60. **ganya+vuvu+dirr**  
*3MIN.A.R.make+blowREDUP+tooth*  
The wave crests are blowing spray.

61. **ganya+vuvu+dirr**  
*3MIN.A.R.make+blowREDUP+tooth*  
The wave crests are blowing spray.

62. **merrewuk OOOOO game**  
*cool breeze OOOOO 3MIN.A.R.say*  
gidji=nhdhi  
*3MIN.S.R.crawl=TOWARDSr*  
The cool breeze crawls towards them saying OOOOO!

63. **gana+djitjirr**  
*3MIN.S.R.walk+drown*  
She’s drowning.
64. **garra+volhut=enhdeni** yuwa  
   3MIN.A.R.handle+lose=now 3MIN.FarDEIC  
   She’s losing her now over there.

65. **gila+wuda** yene wutharr  
   3MIN.A.R.consume+water  LOC  sea  
   She dies in the sea.

66. **wakkay**  
   finished  
   It’s over.

67. **ganhdhi+dim**  
   3MIN.A.R.hold+sink  
   It holds her down and drowns her.

68. **way=enhdeni** ganaden  
   NEG=now  2MIN.A.R.look  
   You can’t look at her now.

69. **way=enhdeni** ngammaden  
   NEG=now  1/2A.R.look  
   You and I can’t look at her now.

70. **ganya+vuritj+dorr**  
   3MIN.A.R.make+clean+place  
   It [the shark] gets the place cleaned up.

71. **wakkay**  
   finished  
   It’s over.

72. **guman+vuritj+rtedi**  
   3MIN.A.R.poke+clean+back  
   It cleans up the surface of the sea.

73. **nga** gidji+kal+wuda=yi  
   3MIN.F.PRO 3MIN.S.R.crawl+climb+water=PERF  
   As for her, she crawled up to the shore.

74. **yii** thawarr way  
   3MIN.NearDEIC  tree  NEG  
   There is nothing here.

75. **piya** thawarr gana  
   NEGCOP  tree.  3MIN.S.R.walk  
   She’s walking with nothing.
76. valhat gana
naked 3MIN.S.R.walk
She's walking naked.

77. ngangatji way
sarong NEG
No sarong.

78. doretj way
dress NEG
No dress.

79. yii thawarr way
3MIN.NearDEIC tree NEG
There is nothing here.

80. emti yii gana
empty 3MIN.NearDEIC 3MIN.S.R.walk
She's walking here empty-handed.

81. piya thawarr
NEGCOP tree
She has nothing.

82. valhat gidji garrame
naked 3MIN.S.R.crawl 3MIN.S.R.creep
Naked, she crawls stealthily.

83. miya pome gana+moridje
edible plant black plum 3MIN.S.R.walk+scavenge
Black plums she's scavenging.

84. ginbe+lorr gidji pome
gidji 3MIN.A.R.take off+strip of 3MIN.S.K.crawl black plum
She crawls and strips the trees of black plums.

85. pome ginbe
black plum 3MIN.A.R.take off
She takes off the black plums.

86. gala-na+parr+ngalh gana
3MIN.A.R.chop-3AUGO+hitAUGO+mouth 3MIN.S.R.walk
She keeps on putting them in her mouth.
87. kandu nganhdhi=nene gaden
   man one=NEW INF 3MIN.A.R.look
   One man looks at her.

88. emmi awa yuwa
   what meat 3MIN.FarDEIC
   What meat is that over there?

89. awa purungu
   meat wallaby
   It’s a wallaby.

90. purungu=no werre=ve yuwa
   wallaby=DAT is it=HAP 3MIN.FarDEIC
   Does it happen to be a wallaby over there?

91. way
   NEG
   No.

92. yuwanga muku=ve
   3MIN.F FarDEIC woman=HAP
   That female over there happens to be a woman.

93. gila gidji
   3MIN.A.R.consume 3MIN.S.R.crawl
   She crawls and eats.

94. miya pome gila gana
   edible plant black plum 3MIN.A.R.consume 3MIN.S.R.walk
   She keeps eating black plums.

95. gidji-nga=nhdhi garrame
   3MIN.S.R.crawl-3MIN.F.DAT=TOWARDS 3MIN.S.R.creep
   He crawls up on her stealthily towards her.

96. gidji-nga=nhdhi
   3MIN.S.R.crawl-3MIN.F.DAT=TOWARDS
   He crawls up on her towards her.

97. garra+betj
   3MIN.A.R.handle+grab
   He grabs her.

98. garra+betj valhat
   3MIN.A.R.handle+grab naked
   He grabs her naked.
99. **yii gamen-na+yeri tjot**
   
   
   $5MIN.NearDEIC$ $3MIN.A.R.pick ~up$-$3MIN.M.REFL+hole ~shirt$
   
   Here he takes off his shirt.

100. **guman+rtidim**
   
   $3MIN.A.R.poke+tie ~up$
   
   He ties her up.

101. **guman+warrpa**
   
   $3MIN.A.R.poke+make ~cock-rag$
   
   He makes a cock-rag.

102. **yindi~an way=gamena tjerrendet**
   
   $Indian ~way=SEMBL ~loincloth$
   
   Like the Indian way, a loincloth.

103. **guman+warrpa+moro**
   
   $3MIN.A.R.poke+make ~cock-rag+buttock$
   
   He makes a cock-rag about her buttocks.

104. **guman+warrpa+moro**
   
   $3MIN.A.R.poke+make ~cock-rag+buttock$
   
   He makes a cock-rag about her buttocks.

105. **guman+rtidim**
   
   $3MIN.A.R.poke+tie ~up$
   
   He ties her up.

106. **yii tjot garra-na+yel~hak**
   
   $3MIN.NearDEIC ~shirt$ $3MIN.A.R.handle-3MIN.M.REFL+undress$
   
   He takes off his shirt here.

107. **kandu yawana gidji=nhdhi man**
   
   $3MIN.M.AnaphDEIC$ $3MIN.S.R.crawl=TOWARDS$
   
   garrame
   
   $3MIN.S.R.cree~p$
   
   That man I was talking about crawls stealthily towards her.

108. **garra+betj yawanga muku**
   
   $3MIN.A.R.handle+grab$ $3MIN.F.AnaphDEIC ~woman$
   
   He grabs that woman I was talking about.

109. **guman+rtidim**
   
   $3MIN.A.R.poke+tie ~up$
   
   He ties her up.
110. dhet+ninga+dhet game-nga  
sit down+2MIN.S.IR.sit+sit down  3MIN.A.R.say-3MIN.F.DAT  
Sit down! he says to her.

111. nginga+dhet    yii=nhdha   nginga  
2MIN.S.IR.sit+sit down  3MIN.NearDEIC  2MIN.S.IR.sit  
Sit down, sit here!

112. gayi-ngani=rre    ganurru+ngatj  
PROH 1MIN.DAT=first  2MIN.S.R.go somewhere+run away  
Don't do it. You are running away from me first!

113. nginga dangun  
2MIN.S.IR.sit hard  
‘Sit still!’

114. errgi-nbe       yuwa       mama yuwa  
mother-2MIN.DAT  3MIN.FarDEIC  mama  3MIN.FarDEIC  
manggalhi yuwa  ganen  
MoMo  3MIN.FarDEIC  3MIN.S.R.sit  
‘Your mother is over there, your mama is over there, your grannie is sitting over there.’

115. guninen+nganya  yuwa  
3AUG.S.R.sitRECI+F.AUG  3MIN.FarDEIC  
The women are sitting together over there.

116. gaw game  
come  3MIN.A.R.say  
yerre-betj    wadja=nhdhi  
2MIN.A.R.handle+grab  2MIN.S.R.walk=TOWARDS  
‘Come!’ he says. ‘Keep grabbing hold of it and come here.’

117. guunan+warrpa    yii=ga  
3MIN.A.R.handle+tie cock-rag  3MIN.NearDEIC=FOC  
tjot=nene  
shirt=INST  
He tied a cock-rag here with his shirt.

118. kawut guunan+warrpa+moro=yi  
coat  3MIN.A.R.poke+make cock-rag+buttock=PERF  
He made his coat into a cock-rag about her buttocks.

119. garra+betj    garru  
3MIN.A.R.handle+grab  3MIN.S.R.go somewhere  
He deliberately grabs hold of her.
120. **garranya+manhdha+wiriya**
   *3 AUG. A.R. handle+throat+cry*
   **yiverre=nhdha**
   *there=really*
   There really they keep crying.

121. **gunin+wiriya-ngala**
   *3 AUG. S.R. sit+cry-3 MIN. F. BEN*
   They cry for her.

122. **gana+wiriya**
   *3 MIN. S.R. walk+cry*
   She's crying.

123. **elewerre**  **yuwa**  **kabal kabal yuwa**
   *shady tree 3 MIN. Far DEIC  Kabal Kabal 3 MIN. Far DEIC*
   That shady tree over there is on Kabal, Kabal over there.

124. **ngalhverrewen**  **yiverre=nhdha**  **guman+gurr**
   *ngalhferrewen  there=really 3 MIN. A.R. poke-hit*
   At Ngalhferrewen, there really, he noticed her.

125. **garru+ngatj-nanga"=nhdhi**
   *3 MIN. S. R. go somewhere-run away-3 MIN. M. ADV=TOWARDS*
   **tjirrvur=enhdhi**
   *Finnis River=TOWARDS*
   She runs away from him this way to the Finnis River.

126. **ngatpuk**  **garr~'il-gatj**
   *Ngatpuk 3 MIN. S. R. go somewhere+run away*
   She runs away to Ngatpuk.

127. **yere yuwa**  **garra+volhut=eyi**
   *child 3 MIN. Far DEIC  3 MIN. A. R. handle-lose=PERF*
   She lost the child over there.

128. **wuda**  **ganya+ngambakambak**
   *water 3 MIN. A. R. make+choke REDUP*
   The water chokes her.

129. **gila+wuda**  **yene wutharr=wany**
   *3 MIN. A. R. consume+water  LOC sea=REPET*
   She dies in the sea again.

130. **guman+yin+dim**
   *3 MIN. A. R. poke+nose+sink*
   She goes under.
131. garru+kal
3MIN.S.R go somewhere+climb
She makes for the shore.

132. wakkay
finished
It's over.

133. manggan dhama-ngani+wul=enhdhi
mate 2MIN.S.Rstand-1MIN.DAT-come back=TOWARDS
Mate! Come back to me! [she says].

134. dhama-ngani+wul=enhdhi
2MIN.S.Rstand-1MIN.DAT+come back=TOWARDS
Come back to me!

135. yerre-ngany+betj
2MIN.A.R.handle-1MIN.O+grab
Grab hold of me!

136. way ganena+pirr
NEG 2MIN.S.R.walk+throw down
You’re not leaving me behind!

137. wakkay
finished
It’s over.

138. gila+wuda
3MIN.A.R.consume+water
She dies.

139. wan.ga=nene gala+garrrat
shark=NEW INF 3MIN.A.R.chop+bite
It’s a shark that bites her

140. awa wan.ga gala+garrrat
meat shark 3MIN.A.R.chop+bite
A shark bites her. guman+gat an.gambe
3MIN.A.R.poke+cut waist
A shark cuts her in half at the waist.

141. gaden-nga+rte di purrwur
3MIN.A.R.look-3MIN.F.REFL+back blood
She looks at the blood on the surface of the sea.
She looks at the blood in the sea.

O mate, she says. I'm going away from myself.

A shark bit me.

A school of sharks is over there.

At her mother’s place, the child comes out to her.
Elsie was her mother, belonging to her.

Mama Kunmuwul [was the one who] ran away.

Pebel belonged to Pinbin, who was her older sister.

Marjorie and Pinbin, she belonged to them both, they were really her older sisters.

That girl I talked about was the youngest one.

That girl I talked about was born after me.

A beast bit her while she drowned in the sea.

As for her, Kunmuwul, she lost her.

My mama that was really.

They were going to Ngalhverrewen.
manggan that's the story
mate that's the story
Mate, that's the story.
How to make baskets from merrepen

1. Bush one that merrepen
   Bush one that cabbage-palm.

2. uma+gat+viye  wadja
   2MIN.A.IR.poke-cut+head  2MIN.S.IR.walk
   Keep cutting the head off the palm.

3. uma+gat+viye
   2MIN.A.IR.poke+cut+head
   Cut the head off.

4. me+retherrk
   2MIN.A.IR.pick up+tie in bundles
   Pick it up and tie it in bundles!

5. yenhdhi+wul=enhdhi
   2MIN.A.IR.hold+come back=TOWARDS
   Take it back home!

6. uma+gat+viye=nhdheni  ninga
   2MIN.A.IR.poke+cut+head=now  2MIN.S.IR.sit
   Be cutting the head off now.

7. uma+pit
   2MIN.A.IR.poke+wash  2MIN.S.IR.sit
   Be washing it.

8. dhet+ninga
   sit down+2MIN.S.IR.sit
   Sit down!

9. pwitj pwitj+me+yeri
   peel  peel+2MIN.A.IR.pick up+hole
   Peel it, pick it up and peel the holes.

10. yerre-nbe+lhumbu
    2MIN.A.IR.handle-2MIN.REFL+thigh
    Rub it on your thigh.

11. yerre-nbe+lhumbu
    2MIN.A.IR.handle-2MIN.REFL+thigh
    Look at it, rub it on your thigh.

12. warrgadi=no  ngawanya  ngadi
    dilly-bag=DAT  1MIN.A.IR.make  1MIN.S.IR.sit
    I'm going to be making a dilly bag.
13. ngawarra+vuritj ngadi
1MIN.A.IR.make 1MIN.S.IR.sit
Let me sit and make it.

14. ngawarra+vuritj ngadi=no
1MIN.A.IR.make 1MIN.S.IR.sit=PURP
I'm going to sit and make it.

15. warrgadi=no ngawanya ngadi
dilly-bag=DAT 1MIN.A.IR.make 1MIN.S.IR.sit
I'm going to sit and make a dilly bag.

16. theme=gamena=nhdheni gaya
where=one of a pair=now 3MIN.S.R.lie
Where is the one of a pair lying now?

17. malagita=nhdheni
long=now
It's long now.

18. endji+do yerre+vey
how+touch 2MIN.A.IR.handle+open out
Try and open it out.

19. garra+vey
3MIN.A.R.handle+open out
She opens it out.

20. malagita=nhdheni
long=now
It's long now.

21. uma+ngalh=enhdheni uma+ngalh
2MIN.A.IR.poke+mout=now 2MIN.A.IR.poke+mout
Sew round the mouth! Sew round the mouth!

22. guman+ngalh guman+ngalh
3MIN.A.R.poke+mouth 3MIN.A.R.poke+mouth
She sews it, she sews it.

23. gamen+gurr
3MIN.A.R.pick up+hit
She fixes the mouth.

24. pedji pedji uma+ngalh+pedji=nhdheni
handle handle 3MIN.A.R.poke+mouth+handle=now
The handle, the handle. Sew the handle now.
25. **uma+kurr** pedji pedji 3MIN.A.R.poke+put down handle handle
Put the handledown, the handle.

26. **me-nbe+kurr** karra 2MIN.A.IR.pick up-2MIN.REFL+put down shoulder
yii 3MIN.NearDEIC
Pick it up and put it down on your shoulder here.

27. **yenhdhi=nhdheni** verru=ya 2MIN.A.IR.hold=now 2MIN.S.IR.go somewhere=AWAY
Hold it away from me now.

28. **malagita=nhdheni** warrgadi long=now dilly-bag
The dilly bag is long now.

29. **uma-ngalh=enhdheni** warrgadi=ga 2MIN.A.IR.poke+mouth=now dilly-bag=FOC
Sew the dilly bag, please.

30. **awa=nhdheni murrur yeda+mu** wadja meat=now egg 2MIN.A.IR.look-do 2MIN.S.IR.walk
Keep looking around for eggs now.

31. **awa tjulvorr=eno yegi** meat magpie-goose=DAT 2MIN.A.IR.fill
wadja tjulvorr 2MIN.S.IR.walk magpie-goose
Keep filling it up with magpie goose eggs.

32. **emmi amma yedenhdhi+nerre** what swamp 2MIN.S.IR.fall+shift position
What swamp should you go down to?

33. **amma yuwa** gaya swamp 3MIN.FarDEIC 3MIN.S.IR.lie
The swamp lies over there.

34. **awa gala+vutjvutj** tjulvorr yuwa meat 3MIN.A.R.chop+flyREDUP magpie-goose 3MIN.FarDEIC
Magpie goose flies around over there.

35. **ginme+rdeti gana** yuwa 3MIN.S.R.rise+back 3MIN.S.R.walk 3MIN.FarDEIC
It keeps flying high in the sky over there.
36. yawa=nhdha mrru=nhdha
   3MIN.AnaphDEIC=really egg=really
   That place I mentioned really has eggs.

37. yawa=nene=nhdha
   3MIN.AnaphDEIC=NEW INF=really
   That place I mentioned really does.

38. warrgadi yegi wadja
dilly-bag 2MIN.A.IR.fill 2MIN.S.IR.walk
   Keep filling the dilly bag.

39. yegi wadja
   2MIN.A.IR.fill 2MIN.S.IR.walk
   Keep filling it.

40. an.grin=gu gave=nhdha
    leech=FOC 3MIN.A.IR.pick up=really
    Let her really pick up leeches.

41. gavula+thur gawani
    3MIN.A.IR.chop+nibble 3MIN.S.IR.walk
    Let leech really keep nibbling her.

42. awa an.grin kita awa=ga
    meat leech leech meat=FOC
    Leech is kita [in Batjamalh]

43. yawa=nhdha an.grin pulut=enhdha ganen
    3MIN.AnaphDEIC=really leech full=really 3MIN.S.R.sit
    an.grin=nene
    leech=INSTR
    That place I mentioned is full of leeches, with leeches.

44. ngutpe yegi wadja=nhdhi
    Never mind 2MIN.A.IR.fill 2MIN.S.IR.walk=TOWARDS
    Never mind, keep filling it towards me.

45. gama-nga+pirr=wiye
    3MIN.S.R.stand-3MIN.F.REFL+throw down=HAB
    garru=nhdhi awa mrru tjulvorr
    3MIN.S.R.go somewhere=TOWARDS meat egg magpie goose
    She deliberately always throws down magpie goose eggs towards me.
46. **awa guman+rtda-nanga**  
*meat* 3MIN.A.R.poke+*pile-*3MIN.M.ADV  
yawanga=nhnda  
gana=nhndhi 3MIN.F.Anaph.DEIC=*really* 3MIN.S.R.walk=TOWARDS  
That girl I mentioned really keeps piling eggs towards me despite him.

47. **awa=no verru+tjak-ngala=rre=yi**  
*meat*=DAT 2MIN.S.IR *go somewhere+make fire-*  
3MIN.F.BEN=*first=PERF*  
You should have made a fire for her for meat first.

48. **gamen-ngany+tji**  
3MIN.A.R.*pick up-*1MIN.O+*be tired of*  
She's tired of me.

49. **yepe gave=nhdha ngayi**  
*I wish* 3MIN.A.R.*pick up=*really 1MIN.S.IR.lie  
I wish she would pick it up. Let me lie down!

50. **wona emmi=yi garra-na+piriny**  
*what now* what=PERF 3MIN.A.R.*handle-*2MIN.O+*body*  
What made you tired?

51. **theme=ngana=yi gane+wat**  
*where=ABL=PERF* 2MIN.S.R.walk-trip  
Where've you come from?

52. **wuda ganiya-nbe+pu+miri gane^ni**  
*grog* 2MIN.S.R.*lie-*2MIN.REF+*drink+eye* 2MIN.S.R.walk  
manganbe 2MIN.A.IR.*say*  
Say, are you keeping on drinking grog?

53. **wuda=yi ngila ngana**  
*grog*=PERF 1MIN.A.R.*consume* 1MIN.S.R.walk  
I kept drinking grog.

54. **yuwa=yi ngana**  
3MIN.Far.DEIC=PERF 1MIN.S.R.walk  
Over there I've been [drinking].

55. **wona nine**  
*What* 2MIN.PRO  
What about you?
56. *emmi-mangga* ganurru+tjak?
   *what*=LIK 2MIN.S.R.go somewhere+make fire
   What likelihood is there of you making a fire?

57. *yuwa* guminy:+wu+mede=nhdheni
   3MIN.Far.DEIC 3AUG.A.R.poke.RECI+argue+UAUG=now
guninen
   3AUG.S.R.sit.RECI
   Those two are arguing with each other now over there.

58. guninyi+thorr+mede=nhdheni
   3AUG.S.R.lie.RECI+abuse+UAUG=now
guninen
   3AUG.S.R.sit.RECI
   The two of them are abusing each other.

59. *ermi=no=ve*
   *what*=PURP=HAP
   Why is this happening?

60. awa=no verru+tjak-kala
   *meat*=DAT 2MIN.A.R.go somewhere+make fire-1/2BEN
   ngame-nbe=yi
   1MIN.A.R.say-2MIN.DAT=PERF
   I told you to make fire for us all for meat.

61. malh nela-ngani ngame-nbe
   word  good=1MIN.DAT 1MIN.A.R.say-2MIN.DAT
   I say it to you politely.

62. awa mundjirr murr
   *meat* long-necked turtle  egg
   They are long-necked turtle eggs.

63. murr=no verru+tjak-ngala
   *egg*=DAT 2MIN.S.R.go somewhere+make fire-3MIN.F.BEN
   Make a fire for her for eggs.

64. gavula+tjirr
   3MIN.A.R.chop+boil
   Let it boil.

65. *emmi=no*
   *what*=PURP
   What for?

66. vula+djuk
   2MIN.A.R.chop+burn
   Roast it!
67. **awa vula+djuk-kala**
   *meat 2MIN.A.IR.chop+burn-1/2.BEN do*
   Roast the meat for us all. Do it!

68. **vula+djuk-kala**
   *2MIN.A.IR.chop+burn-1/2.BEN*
   Roast the meat for us all!

69. **vula+djuk-kala**
   *murru 2MIN.A.IR.chop+burn-1/2.BEN egg*
   Roast the eggs for us all!

70. **ya ngavula+djuk-kala=no**
   *I don’t know 1MIN.A.IR.chop+burn-1/2.BEN=PURP ngadi 1MIN.S.IR.sit*
   I don’t know. I’ll sit and roast it for us all.

74. **garru+tjak**
   *garru+tjak 3MIN.S.R.go somewhere+make fire 3MIN.S.R.go somewhere+make fire*
   She makes the fire, she makes the fire.

75. **awa=ga yila**
   *meat=FOC 2MIN.A.IR.consume ..e*
   Eat the meat!

76. **yila ninga**
   *2MIN.A.IR.consume 2MIN.S.IR.sit*
   Sit and eat it!

77. **yawanga gave=nhdha gayi**
   *3MIN.F.Anaph.DEIC 3MIN.A.IR.pick up=really 3MIN.S.IR.lie*
   Let that female we talked about bend over and pick it up really.

78. **ganya-nga+gulit=eyi**
   *3MIN.A.R.make-3MIN.F.REFL+be angry=PERF*
   She got wild.

79. **gak=eno gumanya+wul+mede**
   *away=PURP 3AUG.A.R.stand+come back+UAUG*
   They both leave and come home now.

80. **emmi=no=yi=ve ganiya-ngany+thorr**
   *what=DAT=PERF=HAP 2MIN.S.R.lie-1MIN.O+abuse*
   Why did you happen to abuse me?
81. **emmi=no**  
**ganiya-ngany+thorr**  
_what=DAT=PERF 2MIN.S.R.lie-1MIN.O+abuse_  
Why are you abusing me?

82. **emmi=no=yi**  
_what=DAT=PERF_  
Why did you?

83. **garra-ngany+tji**  
_3MIN.A.R.handle-1MIN.O+be tired of_  
She's tired of me.

84. **garra-ngany+piriny**  
_3MIN.A.R.handle-1MIN.O+body_  
I'm tired.

85. **ganhdhi-ngany+lhulhung**  
_3MIN.A.R.hold-1MIN.O+headache_  
I've got a headache.

86. **garra-ngany+betj+piriny**  
_3MIN.A.R.handle-1MIN.O+grab+body_  
Spasms of pain seize my body.

87. **ganhdhi-ngany+lhulhung=eyi viye**  
_3MIN.A.R.hold-JMIN.0+headache=PERF head_  
I had a headache.

88. **thawarr yawa**  
_thawarr=enhdhi tree_  
_3MIN.Anaph.DEIC tree=TOWARDS_  
**ramarratj verru-nganila**  
_convolvulus 2MIN.S.IR.go somewhere-JMIN.BEN_  
Go for that thing I mentioned, that thing, convolvulus and bring it here for me.

89. **y~nya-ngany+viye**  
_2MIN.A.IR.make-1MIN.O+head_  
_ninga 2MIN.S.IR.sit_  
Sit and massage my head.

90. **ramarratj verru**  
_convolvulus 2MIN.S.IR.go somewhere_  
Go somewhere for convolvulus.

91. **alawa+dirr alawa yuwa=ya**  
_beach tooth beach 3MIN.Far.DEIC=AWAY_  
It's on the edge of the beach over there away from me.
92. yenya-ngany+viye=no
   2MIN.A.IR.make-1MIN.O+head=PURP
   You should sit and massage my head.

93. ganhdhi-ngany+thulhung
   3MIN.A.Rhold-1MIN.O+headache
   I've got a headache.

94. wel yunga+dhet
   Well 2MIN.S.IR.lie+sit down
   Well, lie down!

95. yunga
   2MIN.S.IR.lie
   Try to lie down.

96. ngawanya-na+rimi=no
   1MIN.A.IR.make-2MIN.O+forehead=PURP
   I'll massage your forehead.

97. dhet+yunga
   sit down+2MIN.S.IR.lie
   Lie down!

98. ngawanya-na+rimi=no
   ngadi
   1MIN.A.IR.make-2MIN.O+forehead=PURP 1MIN.S.IR.sit
   I'll sit and massage your forehead.

99. yunga
   2MIN.S.IR.lie
   Lie down!

100. atho=nhdha gayimi-nbe
     later=really  3MIN.S.IR.come out-2MIN.DAT
     gavurru=nhdhi
     3MIN.S.IR.go somewhere=TOWARDS
     kandu nimbugurriny=nene
     man  2MIN.POSS=NEW INF
     Later, your husband will really deliberately come out here for you.

101. yere-nimbugurriny=nene
     child  2MIN.POSS=NEW INF
     Your kids [will come out for you.]
102. yere yawanga delyak
cchild 3MIN.F.AnaphDEIC young woman
yawanga=nhdhi=nhdha garru
3MIN.F.AnaphDEIC=TOWARDS=really 3MIN.S.R.go somewhere
That child I mentioned, your eldest daughter, that girl really is
coming this way now.

103. garru=nhdhi         yawanga
3MIN.S.R.go somewhere=TOWARDS 3MIN.F.AnaphDEIC
That girl I mentioned is coming towards us.

104. yawanga=nhdha gana=nhdhi
3MIN.F.AnaphDEIC=really 3MIN.S.R.walk=TOWARDS
She is walking towards us.

105. garru-kul=enhdheni    tjelerrin=nene=yi
3MIN.S.R.go somewhere-climb=now ferryboat=INSTR=PERF
She arrived just now by ferry boat.

106. endji nga yawanga=nhdha gana
How 3MIN.F.PRO 3MIN.F.AnaphDEIC=really 3MIN.S.R.walk
How is that female I talked about really coming?

107. gaya+wiriya=nhdheni   yuwa
3MIN.S.R.lie+cry=now 3MIN.FarDEIC
She's crying now over there.

108. garra+manhdha+wiriya   gaya
3MIN.A.R.handle+throat+cry 3MIN.S.R.lie
She's bending over bawling.

109. ngadi-wiriya
1MIN.S.IR.sit+cry
I'm going to cry.

110. gana gaya+wiriya
3MIN.S.R.walk 3MIN.S.R.lie+cry
She's walking; she's bending over crying.

111. garru=nhdhi=wany nga
3MIN.S.R.go somewhere=TOWARDS+REPET 3MIN.F.PRO
She's coming this way again.

112. garra+manhdha+wiriya errgi-nga=ga
3MIN.A.R.handle+throat+cry mother-3MIN.F.DAT=FOC
Her mother is crying.
113. ela emmi=yi  
motherADR what=PERF  
Mother, what happened?

114. ganhdhi-nga+lhuhung+viye  
3MIN.A.R.hold-3MIN.F.DAT+headache+head  
She’s got a headache.

115. wedjirr ngame  
bad 1MIN.A.R.say  
It's bad, I say.

116. wona emmi=no way ganurru  
what what=DAT NEG 2MIN.S.R.go somewhere  
hospital  
Why is it that you aren’t going to hospital?

117. verru yuwa=ya  
2MIN.S.IR.go somewhere 3MIN.FarDEIC=AWAY  
You should go somewhere over there, away!

118. kandu dawarraborak  
man sorcerer  
verru-na=yi  
2MIN.S.IR.go somewhere-3MIN.M.DAT=PERF  
You should have gone to him, to that Aboriginal doctor.

119. gavurru-na+betjbetj  
3MIN.S.IR.go somewhere-2MIN.O+grabREDUP  
gadi=yi yiverre=nhdhii=yi  
3MIN.S.IR.sit=PERF there=TOWARDS=PERF  
He would have been grabbing you to him there.

120. gama-na+gurr=eyi  
3MIN.A.IR.poke-2MIN.O+hit=PERF speare=INSTR  
gama-na+gurr  
3MIN.A.IR.poke-2MIN.O+hit  
He’d have hit you with a spear, he’d have speared you.

121. nirr gama-na+gurr  
tendon 3MIN.A.IR.poke-2MIN.O+hit  
He'd have speared your tendon.

122. ela manganbe=no  
mother 2MIN.A.IR.say=PURP  
gak verru mama=gamea  
away 2MIN.S.IR.go somewhere mama=one of pair  
Tell your mother to go away somewhere with mama, as a pair.
123. ela vinme+nerre-nganila
mother ADR 2MIN.S.IR.rise+shift position 1MIN.BEN
Mother, get up for me!

124. ya nginme+nerre nginen
I don't know 1MIN.S.R.rise shift position 1MIN.S.R.sit
I don't know, I'm getting up.

125. emmi=yi nginme+nerre nginen
what=PERF 1MIN.S.R.rise+shift position 1MIN.S.R.sit
What happened? I'm getting up.

126. kandu ngagurriny nirrgina garra+volhut=eyi
man 3MIN.F.POSS father 3MIN.A.R.handle=lose=PERF
She lost her father.

127. elimberre=nhdhcni gila+wuda=yi
long ago=now 3MIN.A.R.consume+water=PERF
Long ago now he died.

128. garra+volhut=eyi
3MIN.A.R.handle=lose=PERF
She lost him.

129. errgi-nga gunin+mede parrkin
mother 3MIN.F.DAT 3AUG.S.R.sit+UAUG alone
She lives alone with her mother.

130. gunin+mede parrkin
3AUG.S.R.sit+UAUG alone
The two of them live alone.

131. winy+mede parrkin
3AUG.PRO+UAUG alone
The two of them are alone.

132. yuwa=nhdha garru+tjak
3MIN.Far.DEIC=really 3MIN.S.R. go somewhere-make fire
gaya 3MIN.S.R.lie
He's bending over making a fire, over there really.

133. gadi+vil gaya-na
3MIN.A.R.heat+warm 3MIN.S.R.lie-3MIN.M.REFL
He's bending over warming himself up.
134. **gadi+vil gaya**
   3MIN.A.R.heat+warm 3MIN.S.R.lie
   He’s bending over warming up.

135. **garru+tjak ganen**
   3MIN.S.R. go somewhere+make fire 3MIN.S.R.sit
   He’s making a fire.

136. **gama-na+birr+miri**
   3MIN.S.R. stand-3AUG.O+strain+eye
   He stands and stares at them.

137. **werrk werrk werrk werrk**
   werrk werrk werrk werrk
   awa gala+vutj=enhdhi
   meat 3MIN.A.IR.chop+fly=TOWARDS
   Werrk! Werrk! Werrk! Werrk! The bird flies towards them.

138. **awa werrk gala+vutj**
   meat cockatoo 3MIN.A.IR.chop+fly
   girran=enhdhi
   3MIN.S.R.use legs=TOWARDS
   Cockatoo flies in a hurry towards them.

139. **kandu yawa=nhdha**
   man 3MIN.M.Anaph.DEIC=really
   garru=nhdhi
   3MIN.S.R.go somewhere=TOWARDS
   That man is going towards that place I mentioned.

140. **yawana=nhdha kandu garru=nhdhi**
   3MIN.M.Anaph.DEIC=really man 3MIN.S.R.go somewhere=TOWARDS
   That man I mentioned is coming towards them.

141. **ava yiina=nhdhi**
   who 3MIN.M.Near.DEIC=TOWARDS
   Who’s this man near us coming towards us?

142. **kandu retja**
   man desirable
   Is he a countryman?

143. **ya kandu were**
   I don’t know. man isn’t it
   I don’t know. He’s a countryman, isn’t he?
144. yeda game-na
2MIN.A.IR.look 3MIN.A.R.say-3AUG.O
Take a look, he says to them.

145. yuwana=nhdha
3MIN.M.FarDEIC=really
garru=nhdhi gana
3MIN.S.R.go somewhere=TOWARDS 3MIN.S.R.walk
It's that man really who keeps going towards them.

146. yiina ava
3MIN.M.NearDEIC who
guman-na-dherrda gana
3MIN.A.R.poke-3MIN.M.REF+point elbows out 3MIN.S.R.walk
Who is this man near us who keeps pointing his elbows out?

147. guman-na+dherrda ganen
game
3MIN.A.R.say
He is pointing his elbows, she says.

148. ya gak gana-na+lhumbu
I don't know away 3MIN.S.R.walk-3.MIN.M.REFL-thigh
gamge 3MIN.S.R.stand
I don't know, he's standing with his thighs crossed.

149. way=eve yiina
NEG=HAP 3MIN.M.NearDEIC
gaden-ngga+betj=ve gama
3MIN.A.R.look-1/2MIN.O+grab=HAP 3MIN.S.R.stand
He doesn't dare stand and make a grab at us.

150. yiina kandu wagan=ve gama
3MIN.M.NearDEIC man stranger=HAP 3MIN.S.R.stand
This man standing near us happens to be a stranger.

151. kandu yiina nganggu+nawarri kandu wagan
man 3MIN.M.NearDEIC 1/2MIN.PRO-all man stranger
This man is a stranger to all of us.

152. elewerre nganhdhi
shady tree one
He's from another country.
153. theme=ngana=nhdhi garru=nhdhi
where=ABL=TOWARDS 3MIN.S.R.go somewhere=TOWARDS
Where is he coming towards us from?

154. ganya+miri+tjetja=yi
3MIN.A.R.make+eye+be lost=PERF
He got lost.

155. gala-ngga+dut
3MIN.A.R.chop-1/2MIN.O+find
He finds you and me.

156. mari way=enhdheni yuwana=yi
belly NEG=now 3MIN.M.FarDEIC=PERF
That man over there is out of breath now.

157. gala+gat-mari=nhdheni
3MIN.A.R.chop+cut+belly=now
He's out of breath now.

158. yii=ve perregut ere
3MIN.NearDEIC=HAP whitefella here
A white person happens to be here.

159. game ngave-nbc=wany
3MIN.A.R.say 1MIN.A.JR.pick up-2MIN.DAT=REPET
She says "Let her pick it up from you again.

160. endji malh ngavula+dut-pela manggan
how story 1MIN.A.R.chop+find-2MIN.BEN mate
How will I find a story for you, mate.

161. nomo malh this I said.
This isn’t a story, I said.

162. emmi=no=wany.
what=DAT=REPET
What again?

163. vula-ngani+dut
2MIN.A.R.chop-1MIN.DAT+find
Find one for me.

164. endji manggan
how mate
How, mate?
165. \textit{ngany}\textsubscript{=nene} \textit{wari}\textsubscript{=yi} \textit{malh} \\
\textit{1MIN.PRO=} \textit{NEW INF} \quad \textit{worry=} \textit{PERF} \quad \textit{story} \\
The story was my worry.

166. \textit{ngany}\textsubscript{=ve} \textit{yawa} \textit{di} \\
\textit{1MIN.PRO=} \textit{HAP} \quad \textit{3MIN.AnaphDEIC} \quad \textit{tea} \\
That tea I mentioned happens to be mine.

167. \textit{ngany}\textsubscript{=ve=yi} \textit{thawarr} \textit{wuda} \textit{ngany} \\
\textit{1MIN.PRO=} \textit{HAP=} \textit{PERF} \quad \textit{tree} \quad \textit{water} \quad \textit{1MIN.PRO} \\
That happened to be my thing, water, mine.

168. \textit{Pilim up now} \\
Fill it up now.

169. \textit{yepe yerre} \textit{wuda} \\
\textit{I wish 2MIN.A.IR.handle} \quad \textit{water} \\
I wish you’d use water [to wash it].
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