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

Lysbeth Julie Ford

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
of the
Australian National University

April 1998

Unless otherwise acknowledged in the text,
this thesis is my own work

Lysbeth Julie Ford

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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¹ In Emmi, *manggan* means 'mate' to women, 'wife' to men. The cognate in *Marrimunu* and *Marrisjwin* 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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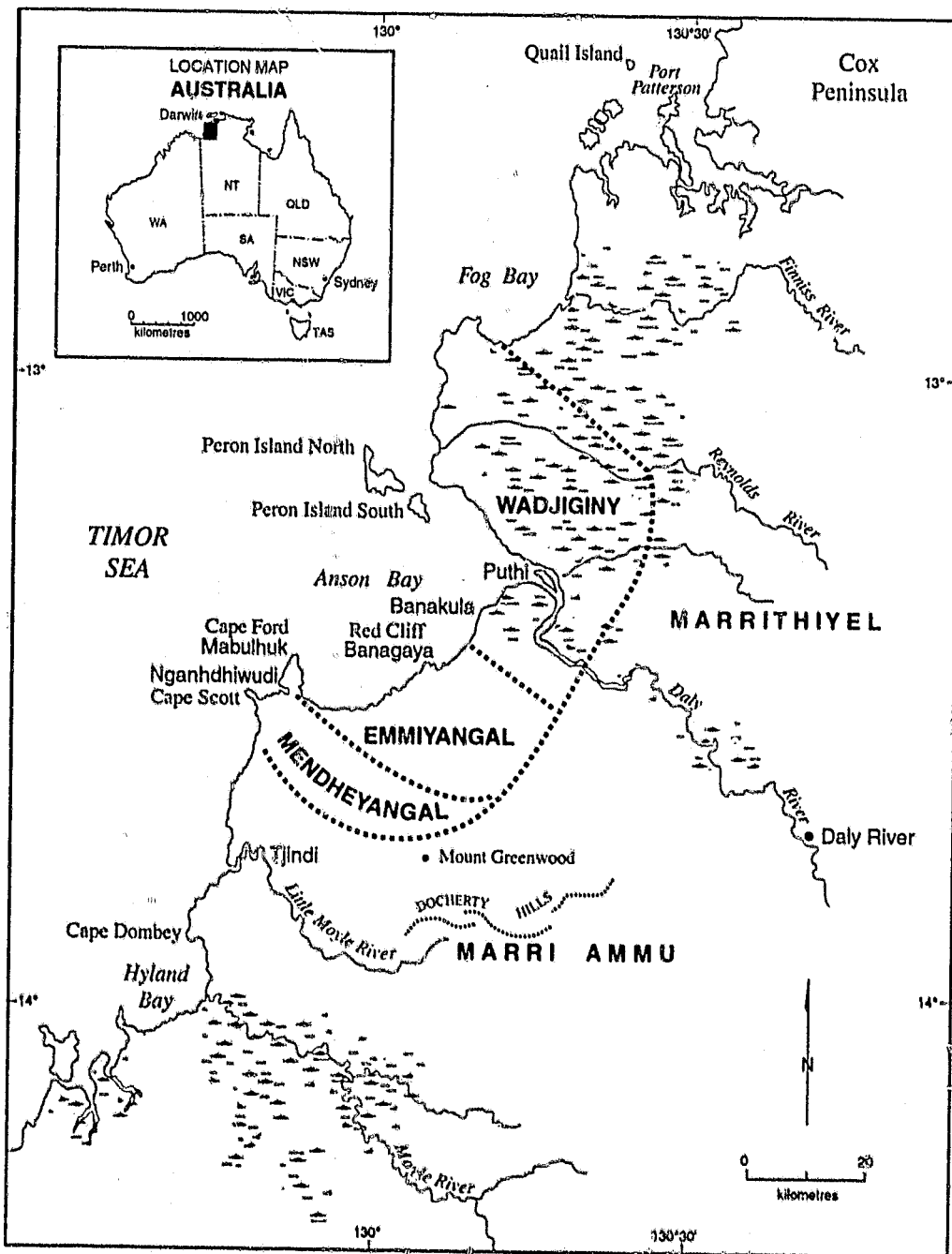
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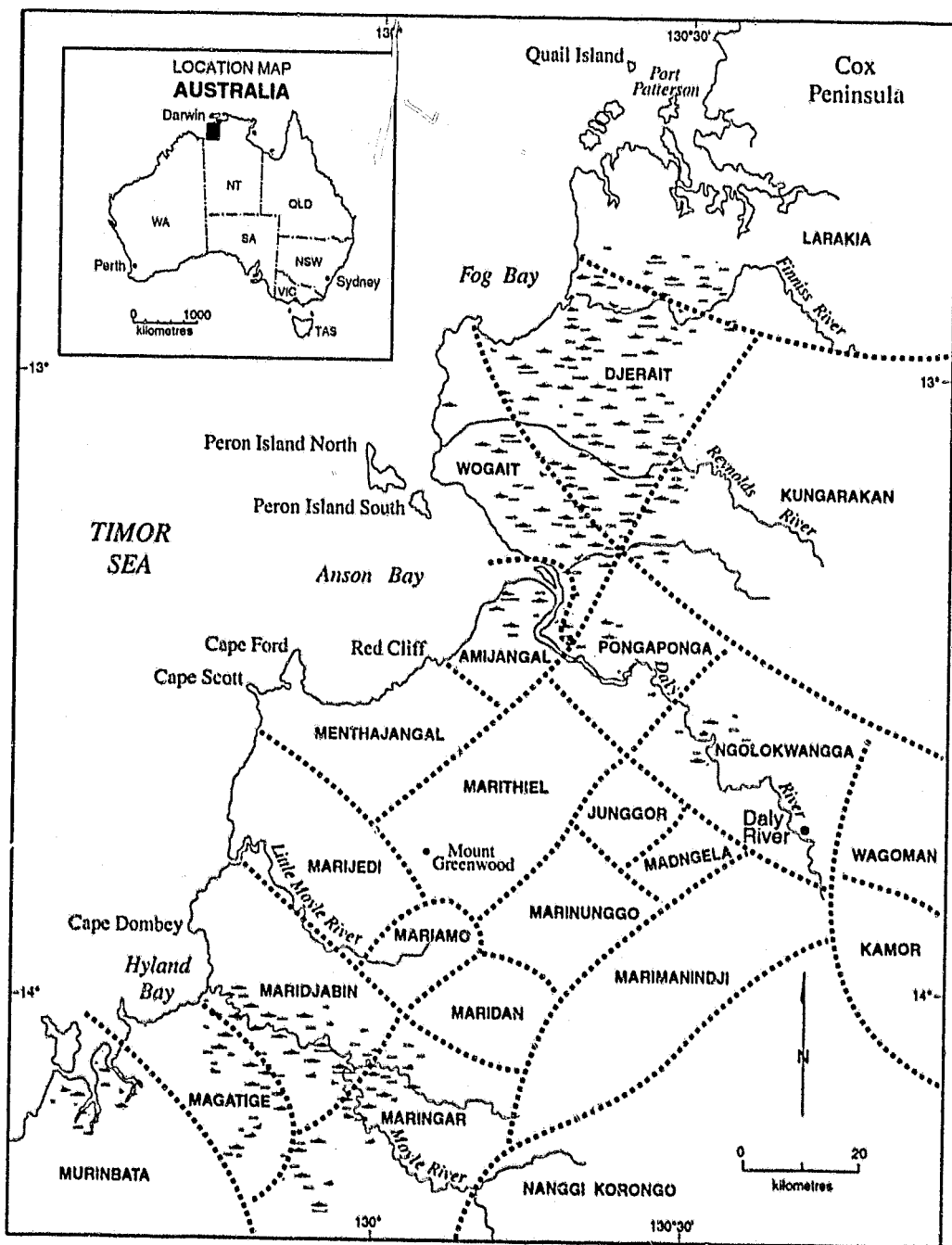
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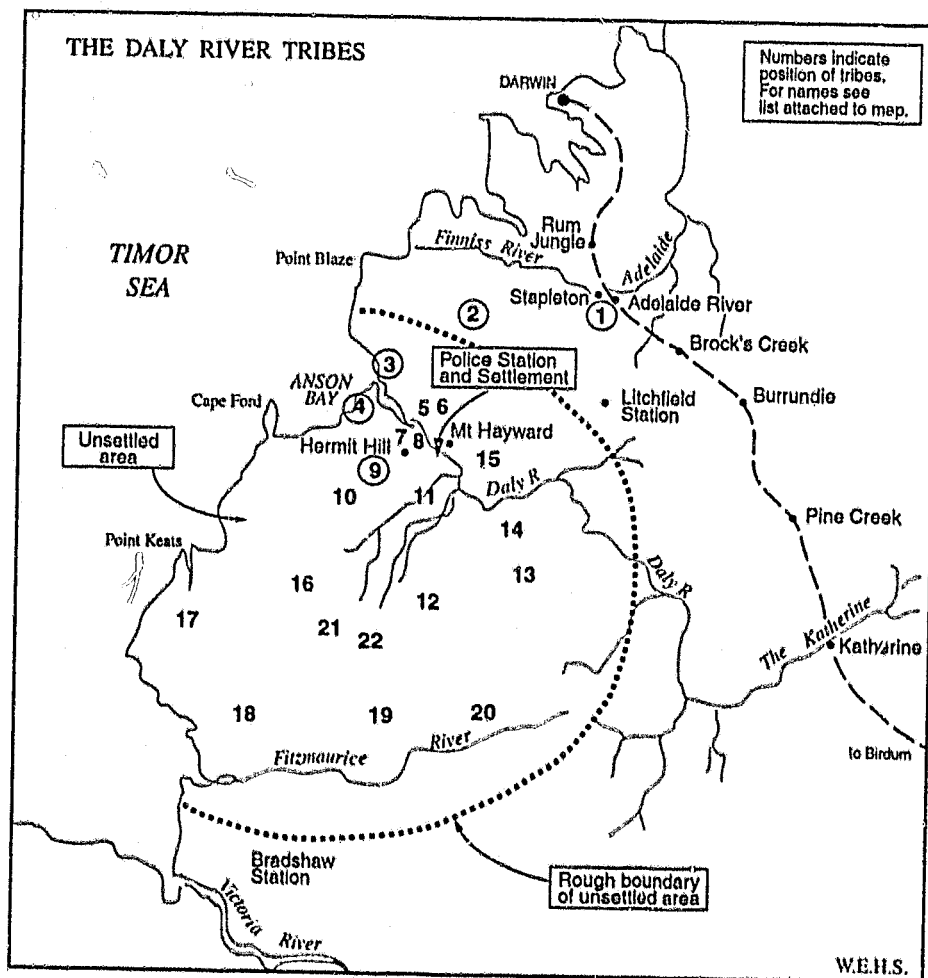
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Map 1: Emmiyangal and Menhdheyangal traditional territory.



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: Warrai 1, Kungarakana 2, Djerait 3, Wogait 4, Ponga Ponga 5, Mulluk Mulluk 6, Madngella 7, Yunggor 8, Maranunggo 9, Marithiel 10, Marimanindji 11, Nangiomeri 12, Wagaman 13, Nangimeri 14, Kamor 15, Moilil 16, Nangor 17, Nordaniman 18, Kadjerawang 19, Jaminjang 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, ['em.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 Mabulhuk (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 Thangguralh¹ affines. There was a Menhdheyangal camp on Pinindjela (Mica Beach) on Tale 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 Bilbil, 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 Marrisjefin.'

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** ['ŋɛmi]

1MIN.S.R come out

'I come out.'

1-2 **ngemmimi** ['ŋɛm.ɪmi]

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. ^{like other languages of the Daly River region,} 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 **gadhama-nga+pirr+wuda=enhdheni=no=ya**

3MIN.S.IR.stand-3MIN.F.REFL+throw

down+water=now=PURP=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 encliticise 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).

Like other Daly languages, Emmi is not an ergative language, but morphologically and syntactically has a nominative/accusative system.

Like other Daly languages, 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.

Unusually, 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, ^{but not} in the nearest related language, Marranunggu, ^{and} 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+tyin* (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 ^{act} 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.

The unusual feature here is the close-mid central rounded vowel, which also occurs in Menhdhe and Marranunggu. Tryon (1974) reported a centralised vowel for 'Ami', 'Manda', 'Maranunggu', 'Mullukmulluk', 'Matngala', 'Marityabin', 'Wadyiginy' 'Kamor', and possibly for 'Marithiel'. This was refuted for Marrihiyel by ^{Green} (1989:64), and described as a 'mid close retracted front unrounded vocoid' in MalakMalak by Birk (1976:12).

Some of these languages (Menhdhe, Marranunggu, Marrihiyel) 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 (Redcliff), 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 ^{'unsettled area'} ~~'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 ~~Port Darwin~~ 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 Burrburr 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 Emmiyangal 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 Patjtjamalh, 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 Patitjamalh, and Patitjarnalh-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 Emmiyangal 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 Patitjamalh, 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 Lippo 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 Emmiyangal 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 Emmiyangal, 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, Marrisjefin and Marrithiyel. She is a fluent speaker of Patjtjamalh, and Aboriginal English. Her eight surviving children are all fluent speakers of Emmi, Patjtjamalh 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, (1903:62) 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 Emmiyangal/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 *onnagaba* '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 bark 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' *gwiye* 'paperbark hut' cannot be Emmi, because Emmi does not allow the sequence /gw/. It looks more like Larakiya, which does allow this consonant cluster, cf. Larakiya *gvaialwa* '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 of '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', *tchier* '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 unglossed 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. *agadin 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. *biŋgal 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. *yaŋamiridani*, which speakers corrected to (1-8).

- 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*', **menkühe** '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 **minhdharra** '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 /d/. 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'.

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 intervocalically, 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, (1968:21-46) 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' (Patjtjamalh) 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 'Ame' 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

Tryon	Emmi-speakers	Gloss
ngaldirre	ngalhdirri	'tongue'
tidirr	thidirr	'navel'
mener	menherr	'sand'
pute	puthi	'mosquito'
ngandi	nganhdhi	'one'
tawarr	thawarr	'tree; thing'
piriri	pirriri	'axe'
yerungoya	yerranguya	'next day'
ngurje	ngurrdji	'emu'
wejir	wedjirr	'bad'

(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 Ammu 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 **therwe**, '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 ^{when reintroduced after an interval}. 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 dawa** '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
 'There's no tuc' (1.13:40).

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 Emme 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 Emme (and Patitjamalh) 'a contrastive set of plant, animal and water categories based on inedibility' (1990:57). Her Figure 5 'Classification of Emmiyenggal animal kingdom according to food criteria' is reproduced here as my Figure 1.

Povinelli 1990: Figure 5
Classification of Emiyenggal animal kingdom according to food criteria.

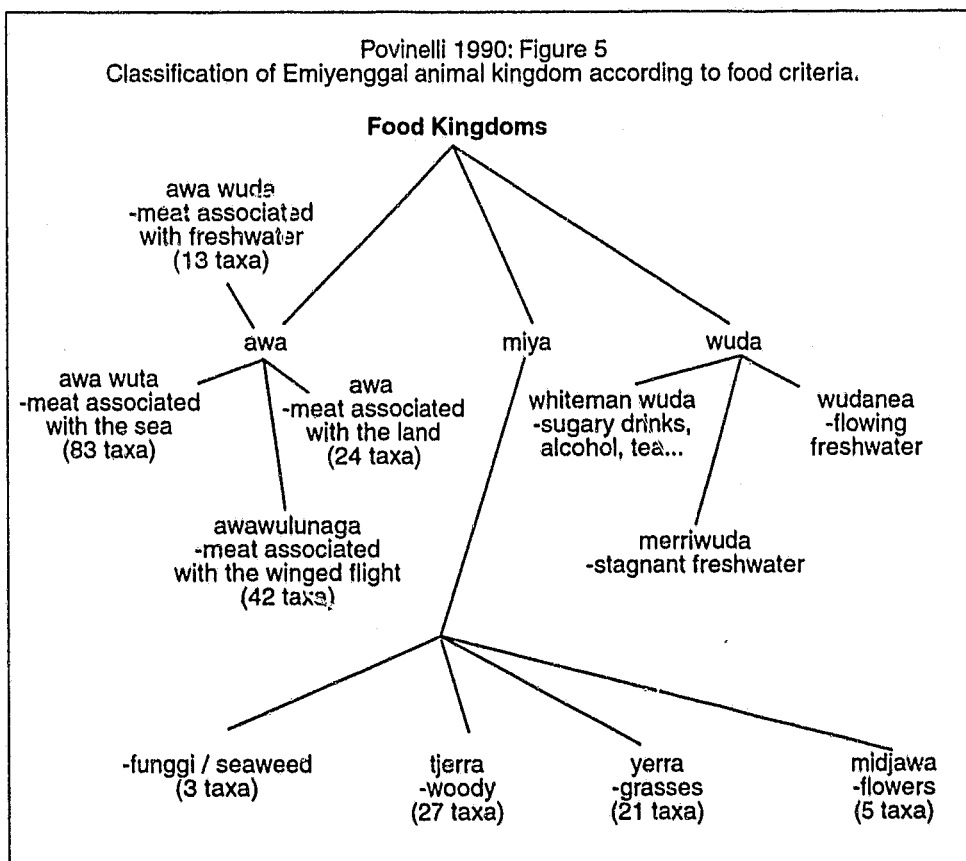


Figure 1.

Povinelli's Figure 5 classifies as **awa**

'awa wuda - meat associated with freshwater;

awa wutharr - 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

yerra-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 wutaR* 'sea mammals', *awa wulunaga* 'birds' or *awa wuda* 'fresh water creatures'. The generic noun **awa** 'meat' never co-occurs with **wutharr** '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 Patjtjarnalh 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 Patjtjarnalh, and should read **yindeti**.

Other terms are inappropriately used, e.g. *deRebring* (E) *yerringmeidje* (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 Patjtjarnalh.

(ix) Povinelli 1993: Labor's Lot. This 331 page book describes the way of life and *raison d'être* 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 'Berringin', 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* ['pələ] '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); *murrumurru* 'long yam' as *merrumerru* (p161), *mulirritj* 'aggressive' as *małarritj* (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. *therravin* '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 Patjtjamalh. 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 *memoradjarmul* for **memerenydjarmul** '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.*

edja narra meru kainyi(E) sister bliinmi 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 Patjtjamalh, 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 Patjtjamalh, and mistranslates the sentence, even though the speaker translates the Patjtjamalh into English for her.

Povinelli consistently fails to distinguish between Emmi and Patjtjamalh, e.g. (p113):

ngapa kanan yena kumanye ngalgin(E).

we carried them [bananas] standing back there for Ngalgin [personal name]

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

1-11 **ngapa+ganenya-na**

carry on shoulders+3AUG.S.R.walk-2MIN.O

gumenya ngalgin

3AUG.R.pick up sea

'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 *yena yin yenayi manthayena kanayi* 'it came from his nose, from his neck' (p156). They corrected it to (1-12).

1-12 **yene yin yene yli**

LOC nose LOC 3MIN.NearDEIC

manhdha yene gana=yi

throat LOC 3MIN.S.R.walk=PERF

'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 *rimi*, Menhdhe *rimu* 'forehead'; Emmi *derivirin*, Menhdhe *derivun* 'skin'; Emmi *mejidja*, Menhdhe *meyida* 'two', but most items in this list are not related.

Table 2: Lexical variants in Emmi and Menhdhe

<i>Emmi</i>	<i>Menhdhe</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
ngala	ngula	IMIN.A.R.chop
rimi	rimu	'forehead'
derivirin	derivun	'skin'
nirr	ninirr	'vein'
man.garra	kuluguluk	'catarrh'
munymutj	luk	'edible grub'
kaderrem	pingurrutuk	'freshwater catfish'
rungurungurr	rorror	'mudcrab'
tjinytji	wilhyirri	'tree sp.'
tjirrkinin	kunarra	'witchetty grub tree'
wutharr	porrme	'sea'
wurram	wudut	'wet season'
yerrangoya	emorru	'yesterday'
kudjala	yangu	'today'
mejidja	meyida	'two'
werrdje	perridje	'heavy' 'narrow'
mirinnga	amanga	'raw'
mele	mana	'older brother'
wunggula	naka	'older sister'

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 ngawani+kal=eno warwa
 1MIN.S.IR.walk+climb=PURP on top
 'I will climb on top.'

Menhdhe intransitive verbs

- 1-14 ngani+kal=eno warwa
 1MIN.S.IRwalk+climb=PURP on top
 'I will climb up.'

Emmi transitive verbs

- 1-15 ngawanya+gurr=eno
 1MIN.A.IR make+hit=PURP
 'I will hit her/him.'

Menhdhe transitive verbs

- 1-16 nganya+gurr=eno
 1MIN.A.IRmake+hit=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, alveo-palatal 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 phonemic 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 prestoppped lateral phoneme which is absent in the cognate Emmi lexemes, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Marranunggu and Emmi cognates compared

Marranunggu	Emmi	Gloss
-nedla	-nela	'3 MIN.M.Benefactive affix'
medle	mele	'ironwood'
pedle	pele	'white clay'

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' Emmiyangal, 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 **gangingen**. 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 /e/

open /a /

Table 4: Vowel phonemes

	-ro	+ro
close	i	u
close-mid		o [ə]
open-mid	e	
open	a	

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

di [di] 'get hot';

du [do] 'touch';

do [dɐ] 'try';

de [dɛ] '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;

pirr 'throw down';

purr 'dance' (of man); clap';

perr 'change shape; tell lie';

parr 'hit Augmented O'.

/i/ contrasts with /a/ in the sub-minimal pair **piriny** 'body'; **parany** '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/ [u, ʊ]

/e/ [ɛ]

/o/ [ə]

/a/ [a, ɐ, a', ɒ]

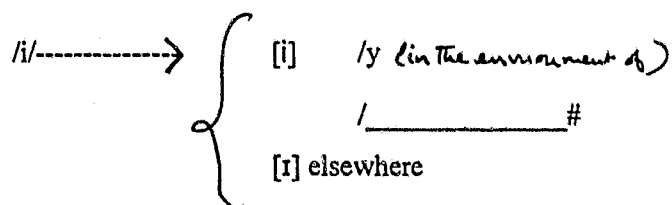
The rest of this section explains and exemplifies the allophonic distribution of the five vowel phonemes.

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.



e.g.

yive ['jiʒɛ] 'sore';

viye ['ʋijɛ] 'head';

tjidakma ['ciɖakma] 'drizzle';

thilvik ['tɪlʒɪk] 'newborn baby';

derridhunggu ['derɪɖungo] 'buttocks';

mimbi ['mimbi] 'nit';

perrg'gir ['pɛɾɣiɾi] '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

Ø -----> [h] / i ____ i

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

[ʊ] lowered and slightly centralised close back rounded vowel

[o] open mid back rounded vowel

/u/ -----> { [o] / ____ #
[ʊ] / elsewhere

e.g.

uman ['uman] 'We poke it!' (1AUG.A.R.poke);

murru ['muro] 'egg, testicles';

kuri ['kuɾi] 'mangrove sp. and spear made from it';

wunhdhuwu ['wunɲduwo] 'ant-hill'.

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

/e/ has one allophone [ɛ] near open front unrounded vowel

/e/ -----> [ɛ] everywhere

e.g.

elewerre ['ɛlɛwɛɾɛ] 'shady tree';

anberen ['anbɛɹɛn] 'bush potato sp.;

peteny ['pɛtɛɹɪ] 'manta ray sp.'

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

/o/ -----> [ə] /everywhere

e.g.

poko ['pɛkə] 'housefly';

ronhtho ['ɹɛntə] 'short';

moro ['mɛɹə] 'buttocks';

tjon ['cɛn] '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', **mongolh** '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 /tjot/, /tjor/, and /lhol/, 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 ^{central} 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.

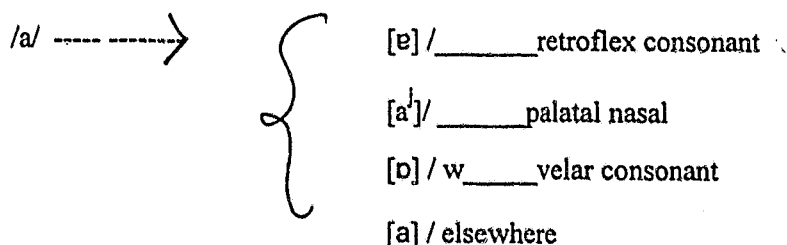
Phoneme /a/ occurs word-initially, medially and finally.

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

[e] centralised open vowel

[a^h] open vowel with off glide

[ɒ] low back open vowel



e.g.

an:ga ['anga] 'stingray sp.';

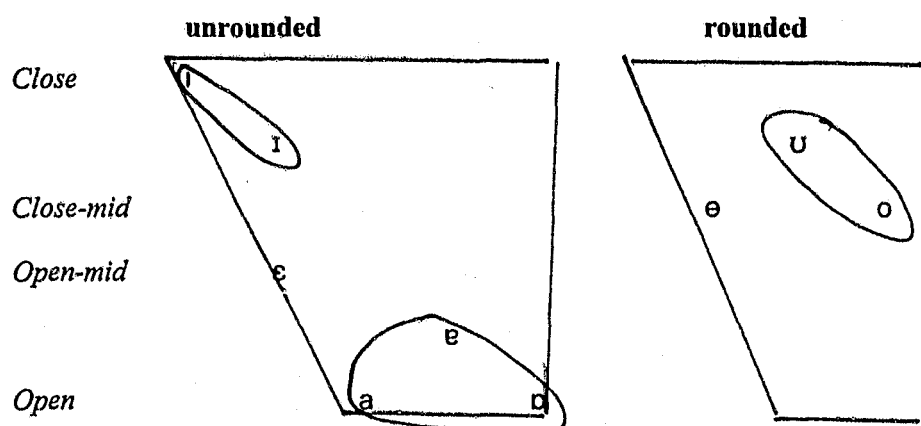
wangga ['wonga] 'dance';

ararr ['eɹ̥aɹ] 'periwinkle' (shellfish sp.);

kanymerr ['kaɹ̥ɪmɛɹ] 'sun'.

Table 5 maps the distribution of vowel allophones:

Table 5: Distribution of vowel allophones



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

	<i>Peripheral</i>		<i>Apico-</i>		<i>Lamino-</i>	
	<i>labial</i>	<i>dorso- velar</i>	<i>alveolar</i>	<i>post- alveolar</i>	<i>dental</i>	<i>alveo- palatal</i>
stop						
(vcls)	p	k	t	t̪ (rt)	t̪ (th)	c (tj)
(vcd)	b	g	d	d̪ (rd)	d̪ (dh)	ɟ (dj)
fricative	β (v)			ʒ (rz)		
nasal	m	ŋ (ng)	n	ɳ (rn)	ɳ (nh)	ɲ (ny)
liquid						
lateral			l		ɭ (lh)	ʎ (ly)
rhotic			r (rr)	ɻ (r)		
semivowel	w					j (y)

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

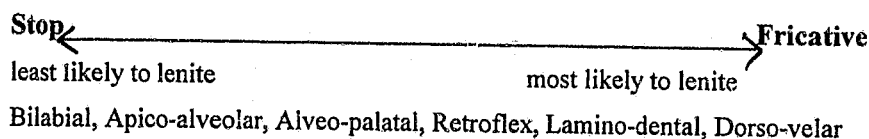
The corpus contained no instances of word-initial /t/, /rd/, /dj/, /rz/, or post-liquid /t/, /d/, /rd/, /rz/, /th/, or /dh/. There were no instances of post-nasal /rz/ or word-final /b/, /g/, /d/, /rd/, /th/, /dh/, /v/, or /rz/.

Table 7: Distribution of stop and fricative allophones

-	#-V	V-#	Stop-V	L-V	V-V	N-V
/k/	k	k	k	k	k	g
/p/	p	p	p	p	p	b
/tj/	c	c	c	c	c	ʃ
/th/	t̥	-	-	-	t̥	d̥
/t/	-	t	t	-	t	-
/rt/	t	-	-	t	ɬ	d̥
/g/	k	-	-	ɣ	ɣ	g
/b/	b	-	-	b	b	b
/dj/	-	-	-	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ
/dh/	d̥	-	-	-	ð	d̥
/d/	d	-	-	-	d	d
/rd/	-	-	-	-	d̥	d̥
/β/	φ	-	-	β	β	β
/rz/	-	-	-	-	ʒ	-

Intervocally, 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 any 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



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 ['kara] 'shoulder';

kumbu ['kumbo] 'foot';

kunyme ['kunjme] 'mangrove tree sp.';

kiniwu ['kiniwo] '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** ['pi] 'there is not (NEG COP)'. **bi** ['bi] 'white'; **viye** ['ɸije] '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 Patjtjamalh, 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'; **balhak** '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 /v/-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** ['pələβijɛ] 'grey-head, old person'.

Alveopalatal stops. Lamino-dental stops. Word-initially, only [t̪], sole allophone of the voiceless lamino-dental stop /th/ occurs, e.g. **thawarr** ['t̪awar] 'tree; thing'; **thelhol** ['t̪ɛlɔl] 'milky plum'.

Lamino-alveopalatal stops. Word-initially, only [c], sole allophone of the voiceless alveopalatal stop /tj/ occurs, e.g. **tjelmundak** ['cɛlmundak] 'garfish'; **tjungara** ['cuŋɛɹa] 'black'; **tjimmerr** ['cɪmmɛɹ] '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** ['dɪrβɛl] 'saliva'; **duk(ar-ɪji)** ['duk(anʝi)] 'big'.

Apico-postalveolar stops. ^{Word-initially,} Only [t], allophone of the voiceless apico-postalveolar stop /rt/ occurs, e.g. **rɛdi** ['ɛdi] 'back'. The following rule can be formulated to account for these data:

Rule 2:

Stop ----->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.

kuguk [ˈkuyuk] ‘Wait!’.

pitjakam ['pɪckam] 'bird sp.';

wakkay ['wak.aɟ] 'finished'

ngatkani ['ɲatkani] 'be quiet';

katkat ['katkat] 'white-chested eagle' watper ['watpɛɪ] 'light';

wirtpo ['wɪtpɔ] 'mangrove sp.';

tjurruttjurrut ['cʊɾʊtcʊɾʊt] 'miscarriage';

kitti ['kɪt.i] 'Alas!'.

Ordered rule 4 can be formulated to account for these data: Rule 3 precedes Rule 4.

Rule 4:

Stop ----->vɪ /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 ['ɲamɛŋɔɾɛji]

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

'I picked it up and put it down.'

2-2 nguman+gurr=eyi ['ɲʊmɛŋɔɾɛji]

1 MIN 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 [β], e.g. (2-5).

2-3 **nguman+putj** ['ŋumanbuc]

1 MIN.A.R. poke+look for

'I look for it.'

2-4 **nguman+butj** ['ŋumanbuc]

1 MIN.A.R. poke+understand

'I understand her/him/it.'

2-5 **nguman+vutj** ['ŋumanʒuc]

1 MIN.A.R. poke+cover

'I cover it.'

Alveopalatal stops.

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

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

1 AUG.S.R. lie+abuse

'We abused her/him.'

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

1 MIN.A.R. hang up+dry

'I hang it up to dry.'

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

2-8 **gudin+tjerr** ['kudinɕər]

3 MIN.S.R. sit+stretch

'S/he stretches.'

2-9 **ganen+dje+manhdha** ['kanɛnʝɛmàṇḁa]

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** ['ŋumandutɛji]

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** ['ŋumandʊdʊji]

1MIN.A.R.poke+track=PERF

'I tracked him/her.'

2-12 **nguman+rtidim=eyi** ['ŋumandɪdimeji]

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 ['ʋɛlkʊrɪŋ] 'stinking';

pelgude ['pɛlyʊdɛ] 'raw';

tjirrkinin ['cɪrkɪnɪŋ] 'edible vegetable sp.';

tjirrgigi' ['cɪrɣɪɣi] infatuated';

kirrkirr ['kɪrkɪr] 'small morsel';

perrgigir ['pɛrɣɪɣɪ] '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 ['dulʒu] 'satisfied';

purrburr+manhdha ['purburmə̀nda] 'tonsils';

purrfu ['purʒo] 'cold';

marbuk ['mɛɪbuk] 'sprouting';

wudarvu ['wudeɪʒo] 'cycad'.

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

2-13 guman+warrpa ['kumanw̥arpa]

3MIN.A.R.poke+tie cock-rag

'He ties his cock-rag' (T10: 101)

2-14 gurrinyi+birrbirr+nunggu+ninya ['kurɪɲɪbɪrbɪrn̩ŋgunɪɲa]

3AUG.A.R.handleREDI+strainREDUP+hand+M.AUG

'The men tug at each other's hands.' (T4: 113)

2-15 gamen+mekurr+viye ['kamɛnm̩ɛkurʒiɛ]

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 /tj/ occurs, e.g. **demi+wulytjiwulytji** ['demiwùʎciwùʎci] 'kidneys'. After a rhotic, only the voiced stop /dj/ occurs, e.g. **parrdja** ['parʎa] 'bush potato'.

Apical stops/fricative. After a lateral, only /rt/ occurs, e.g. **kul+rtedi** ['kulʔɛdi] '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 -----> + 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 [ɣ]. 12% of coverbs in the corpus (34 verbs) have stem-initial velar consonants. Of these, 10 stems begin with /k/, 12 with /g/ and 12 with /ng/.

2-16 **ngave+kurr=eno** ['ŋaβɛkʊɾɛnɐ]

1MINA.IR.pick up+put down=PURP

'I will pick it up and put it down.'

2-17 **ngawanya+gurr=eno** ['ŋawajɲaɣʊɾɛnɐ]

1MINA.IR.make+hit=PURP

'I will hit it.'

The same contrast occurs in nominals, e.g.

wakul ['wakʊl] 'scrotum'; **kagul** ['kaɣʊl] 'Father's father'

poko ['pɔkɐ] 'housefly'; **pogarra** ['pɔɣara] 'afternoon'.

Word-initial underlying /g/ on nouns is revealed only when a noun is incorporated into a VP. The noun **gumbu** 'foot' is pronounced ['kumbo] 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 [ɣumbu].

2-18 **garranya+ru+gumbu=yi** ['karaneɣuɔmbuji]

3AUGA.R.handle+take out+foot=PERF

'They took it out of his/her foot.'

Intervocalically, /k/ is realised as [k]. For instance, the noun **karra** 'shoulder' is pronounced ['kara] 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** ['karaneɣukàraji]

3AUGA.R.handle+take out+shoulder=PERF

'They took it out of his/her shoulder.'

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

2-20 **gama+parr=eno** ['kamaparene]

3MIN.A.IR.poke+hit.AUGO=PURP

'S/he will spear many people.'

2-21 **gana+barr+miri=yi** ['kanabarmìɾji]

3MINS.R.walk+scare+eye=PERF

'S/he scared him/her.'

2-22 **ngarra+varratj=eyi** ['ŋaraβ̥araceji]

1MIN.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 intervocalically. /th/ is realised as [t̪] and /dh/ lenites to the voiced lamino-dental fricative [ð], e.g. **muthunggu** ['mut̪uŋgu] 'cold'; **ngudhorwu** ['ŋuðoɽwo] 'brains', and (2-23).

2-23 **dhet+ninga+dhet** ['t̪et̪ɲiŋað̪et̪]

sit down+2MIN.S.IRsit+sit down

'You (one), sit down!'

Under-lying word-initial /th/ shows up as [t̪] intervocalically in compound nouns, e.g. **arra+thawarr** ['araɽ̪əwar̪] 'rifle' (lit. *arra* 'shin' + *thawarr* 'tree; thing') and in the VP, e.g. (2-24).

2-24 **thenbi+ninga+thenbi** ['t̪enbiɲiŋat̪enbi]

vomit+2MIN.S.IR.sit+vomit

'You (one) vomit!'

Alveopalatal stops. /tj/ and /dj/ contrast intervocalically on nouns, e.g.

kutje ['kuɕe] 'wet';

kudjala ['kuɟala] 'today'

atja ['aca] 'ego's sibling;

wadja ['waʃa] 'You, (one) walk!'

The same contrast also shows up in the VP, e.g. (2-25) - (2-26).

2-25 wudi+tjerr ['wudɪɕɛr]

2MIN.A.IR.elbow+stretch

'Stretch!'

2-26 ningaa+dje+manhdha ['nɪŋaʃɛmɔ̃ɖa]

3AUG.SR.walk+wear+neck

'Wear it round your neck!'

Apical stops. Apico-alveolar stops, /t/ and /d/ contrast, e.g.

ngata ['ɲata] 'house';

ngada ['ɲada] 'Two of us (1.AUG.PRO);

mitiwurr ['mitiwʊr] 'axe';

midirr ['mɪdɪr] 'eyebrow'.

This contrast also shows up in the VP, e.g. (2-27) - (2-28).

2-27 gama+tin

dorr ['kamatin'dɛr]

3MIN.S.R.stand+be still place

'The place is always still.'

2-28 gudinya+din ['kudɪɲadɪn]

3AUG.A.R.elbow+elbow

'They stand with elbows pointing out.'

Apico-postalveolar stop. /r/ and /rd/ contrast intervocalically. In this environment, /r/ is realised as the voiceless apical fricative [s], e.g.

yorro+rtedi ['jɔrɔʂɛɗi] 'long grass';

mala+rtedi ['malaʂɛɗi] 'far';

marduman ['mɛɖuman] 'backwards';

mardi ['mɛɖi] 'barramundi';

mardingel ['mɛɖɪŋɡɛl] 'backstroke'.

/rd/ and /r/ also contrast intervocalically, e.g.

mardi ['mɛɖi] 'barramundi'; matimati ['matɪmati] 'grasshopper'

/rt/ and /d/ contrast in (2-29) – (2-32).

2-29 uma+rtidim+miri ['umaʂɪɖɪm.ɪ.ɪi]

2MIN.A.IR.poke+tie up+eye

'Shut the window!' (lit. 'Tie up the eye of the house').

2-30 uma+dim+miri ['umadɪm.ɪ.ɪi]

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 ['ŋiʂɪtuteji]

1MIN.S.R.lie+float=PERF

'I floated'.

Retroflex fricative. The voiced apico-postalveolar fricative /rʒ/ occurs in the coverb *werzame* ['wɛʒame] 'shriek', providing evidence for an intervocalic contrast between /rt/, /rd/ and /rʒ/. A more extensive corpus would probably contain more examples of the voiced apical fricative.

wersame 'shriek' is probably cognate with Ngan.gikurungkurr *wursirrmuy* 'be frightened' (Hoddinott and Kofod, 1986:333).

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

Rule 7

Voiced velar stop $\rightarrow$ +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 underlyingly 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 underlyingly voiceless. For instance, the morpheme-final dorso-velar stop of *duk*, [ʔduk], the contracted form of the adjective *dukandji* [ʔdukanʃi] 'big' stays voiceless when intervocalic in the non-contracted form of the adjective; it is underlyingly voiceless.

2-33 gala+gat=enhdheni ['kalagatɛndɛni]

3MIN.A.R.chop+cut=now

'S/he's cutting it now.'

2-34 gala-ngany+djuk=eyi ['kalanɔŋjɔkɛji]

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.gityemerri. 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 global timing 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:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 8 shows the ^{intensity} distribution patterns of nasals. Hom means Homorganic;

Het means Heterorganic; St means Stop.

Infer:
Reid's observations about stop length are phonetic observations, not offered as evidence for the basis of a phonological contrast.

Intransphenic

Table 8: Distribution patterns of nasals

	#	V-HomSt	V-HetSt	St-V	HomN-V	HetN-V	L-V	V-V	-#
/rɡ/	ŋ	ŋ	-	-	ŋ	ŋ	-	ŋ	ŋ
/m/	m	m	-	m	m	m	m	m	m
/ny/	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ	-	ɲ	-	-	ɲ	ɲ
/nh/	-	ɳ	-	-	-	-	-	ɳ	-
/n/	n	n	n	ɳ	n	n	-	n	n
/rn/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	ɳ	-

#-

/ng/, /m/, /ny/, n/ occur word-initially, e.g.

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

menen ['mɛnɛn] 'death-adder';

nyiminy ['ɲimɪɲ] 'flame';

ninin ['ɲɪɲɪɲ] 'crowbar'.

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

ngalh ['ŋaɭ] 'mouth'; **malh** ['maɭ] 'story; language'.

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

V-HomStop

/ng/, /m/, /ny/, /nh/, /n/ occur before a homorganic stop, e.g.

wangga ['wɔŋɡa] 'corroboree';

wumbu ['wʊmbʊ] 'Black Saltwater Catfish';

peninydjive ['pɛɲɪɲɪʒɛ] 'star';

manhdha ['maŋda] 'throat, neck';

kandu ['kando] 'man'.

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

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 ['ŋuŋbɪɹ] 'black water snake';

kanbi ['kanbi] 'didjeridu'.

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

Stop-V

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

tjidakma ['ɕɪdakma] 'drizzle';

batjbatna ['bacpatna] marsupial mouse'.

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

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

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

'I found four or more women.'

2-37 **ngala+dut+ninya=yi** ['ŋaladùtnìɲaji]

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

'I found four or more men.'

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

— HomNasal—

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

ngammama ['ŋam.ama] 'deaf'; **munnu** ['mun.ʊk] 'toadfish'.

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

2-38 **ngadhama+bang+nganya=no** ['ŋaðamabàŋ.àɲanə]

1MIN.S.IR.stand+fuck+F.AUG=PURP

'Standing, I'll fuck four or more women'

2-39 **ngawaden+ninya=no** ['ŋawadən.ìɲanə]

1MIN.A.IR.look+M.AUG=PURP

'I'm going to look at the men.'

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

V-HetNasal

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

marrngmarrng ['marŋmarŋ] 'carefee';

wunyme ['wʊɲmɛ] 'cooked';

wunmerr ['wʊnmɛr] '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 **ngadhama+bang+ninya=no** ['ŋaðamabàŋnìpanə]

IMIN.S.IR.stand+fuck+M.AUG=PURP

'Standing, I'll fuck four or more men.'

2-41 **mitjirrim marnim=nene game**

['micirim'maŋimnəne]

dog -good=NEW INF 3MIN.A.R.say

'He speaks about the good dog.'

2-42 **guman+rtidim-nganga** ['kumandìdimŋaŋa]

3MIN.A.R.poke-tie up-3MIN.F.ADVERS

'He ties her up against her will.'

2-43 **tjirrvur gidjinye+lenme+mede** ['kɪɹɹɛlənɛmɛdɛ]

Finnis River 3AUGS.R.crawl+swim+UAUG

'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 homophonous forms:

ginmenya 'they rise' (3AUG.S.R.rise)

ginmenya 'they smell something' (3AUG.A.R.smell sthg.)

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' ['kɪɹɹambul]

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

Rule 9

/n/ -----> Ø / _____ mb

We know that coverb 'run' is **mbul** because it shows up after a vowel-final auxiliary, e.g. *girrinya+mbul* ['kɪrɪnambʊl] 3AUG.S.R.uzə-legs +run.

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

L-ℓ

Only /m/ occurs in this environment, e.g. *elhm̩bi* ['ɛl̩mbi] 'floating log'.

V-V

All six nasals occur intervocally, e.g.

anginy ['aŋɪŋ] 'mulga scrub';

meminy ['mɛmɪŋ] 'index finger';

manyalmanyal ['maɪnalm̩aɪnalm̩] 'rabbit';

menherr ['mɛnɛr] 'sand';

menen ['mɛnɛn] 'death adder';

marnim ['mɛnɪm] 'OK';

barning ['bɛnɪŋ] 'earthquake'.

/ng/ and /m/ contrast intervocally in the minimal pair:

-nganga [ŋaŋa] 'in spite of her (3MIN.F.ADVERS)'.

ngama ['ŋama] 'I stand (1MIN.S.R.stand)'.

/ng/, /ny/, /n/ contrast intervocally in the sub-minimal triple

ninga ['niŋa] 'You (one) sit! (2MIN.S.IR.sit)';

-ninya -[niŋa] 'four or more males (M.AUG)';

nine ['niŋe] 'You, (2 MIN.PRO)'.

-#

/m/, /ng/, /ny/ and /n/ occur word-finally, e.g.

dirring ['dɪrɪŋ] 'stingray sp.';

rirrim ['ɹɪrɪm] 'Tomtom' (hawk sp.);

kulmininy ['kʊlmɪnɪŋ] 'avoidance kin- term';

ngarran ['ŋaɾan] 'goanna'.

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

minyminy ['mɪnɪmɪŋ] 'shell sp.'; 'wobble';

minmin ['mɪnmɪn] '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:

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

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

/ly/ lamino-alveopalatal lateral approximant, one allophone [ɭ]

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

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

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 9: Allophonic distribution of liquids compared with apical obstruents.

-	#-	-Obst	L-V	N-V	L-SV	V-V	-#
/l/	l	l	-	l	-	l	l
/lh/	l̪	l̪	-	l̪	l̪	l̪	l̪
/ly/	ɭ	ɭ	-	ɭ	ɭ	ɭ	ɭ
/r/	r	r	-	r	-	r	r

/r/	ɹ	ɹ	-	ɹ	-	ɹ	ɹ
/rt/	t	-	t	t	-	s	-
/rd/	-	-	-	d	-	d	-

#-

/l/, /lh/ and /r/ occur in this environment and contrast with /rt/, e.g.

lerri ['lɛɹi] 'happy'; **lhumbu** ['lʰumbo] 'thigh';

ramarratj ['ɹamarac] 'convolvulus'; **rtdimen** ['tɛdimɛn] 'rainbow'.

The corpus contains no instances of word-initial /ly/, or /rr/.

V-Obst

All liquids occur in this environment, e.g.

ngalkurr ['ŋalkur] 'white yam sp.';

wulgumen ['wulɣumɛn] 'old woman';

pultjan ['pulcan] 'eagle sp.';

ngalhdhirri ['ŋaldɬiri] 'tongue';

wurrganga ['wurɣaŋa] 'mullet sp.';

ngurrdji ['ŋurɟi] 'emu;

wulytjirri ['wulɬiri] 'stingray sp.';

vavalvaval ['ʰaβaβaβaβa] 'empty-handed';

ngulvek ['ŋulβɛk] 'fullgrown (of penis)';

tjelhvek ['tɛlβɛk] 'dew';

perrvil ['pɛɾβil] 'bat sp.';

perverdja ['pɛɾβɛɹja] 'intestines'.

L-V

Rhotic clusters are impermissible in Emmi. This constraint affects the inherently reduplicated lexeme **rungurungurr** ['ɲʊɲʊɲʊɹ] '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

Rhotic-----> Ø / 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';

verruu '2AUG.S.IR. go somewhere';

purruru '3AUG.S.IR go somewhere'.

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

Rule11

rr -----> r/rrV_____

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** ['kɪjɪnɪnɛmɛji]

1AUG.S.R.crawl-swim=PERF

'They swam.'

2-45 **tjinda men+lhat** ['menl̥at]

spear 1AUG.S.R.pick up+aim=PURP

'We aim our spear.'

2-46 **yerran+ru+gumbu** ['jeranɽùɽùmbo]

1AUG.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 ['menr̥ɨŋana]

1AUG.A.R.say+tell story=RECPAST

'Yesterday afternoon we told a story.'

V-SV

/l/, /r̥/ and /r/ occur in this environment, e.g.

ngalwat ['ŋalwat] 'manta ray';

yilyil ['jiljil] 'true';

therrwen ['terwen] 'Rainbow Serpent'.

mulwan ['mulwan] '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';

vere ['φele] 'arm';

delyak ['de/ak] 'married woman'.

In this environment, /l/ contrasts with /r/ and /rr/, e.g.

derrere ['dεreε] 'hot'; **derela** ['delela] 'slow(ly)'.

nela ['nele] 'good'; **nera** ['nele] 'daughter's son'.

#-

/l/, /lh/, /r/ and /rr/ occur word-finally, e.g.

therrmil ['termil] 'short person';

therrfelh ['terβe] 'stone';

ngurir ['ɲurɪ] 'cold ashes';

perelhirr ['peleɪr] '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 [w].

#-

Both semi-vowels contrast word-initially, e.g.

yaw ['jaw] 'Yes!';

way ['waj] '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

Ø-----	w	/V#___#u___
	y	/V#___#i, e, a,___

e.g. (2-48) – (2-50).

2-48 emmi=yi unggula ['em.iji'wungula]

what=PERF older sister

'What's wrong, older sister?'

2-49 ngadi atho=no ['ŋadij'atənə]

1MIN.S.IR.sit soon=PURP

'I'll sit later.'

2-50 ngadi+erwe=no ['ŋadij'ɛɹwənə]

1MIN.S.IR.sit+laugh=PURP

'I'll laugh.'

L-V

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

therrwen '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 ['dɛʌak] 'married woman'.

V-V

Both semi-vowels contrast intervocalically, e.g.

yoya ['jəja] '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 ['waɪ] '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 2.3.1. Each phonological word must also conform to the constraints of Emmi syllable structure. This is analysed in 2.3.2. 2.3.4 describes 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 ['ŋuc] 'spirit';

punya ['puŋæ] 'salmon';

ngupelh ['ŋupe] 'night-time'.

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

padjarranba ['paɟaɾanba] 'parrotfish';

demiwulytjiwulytji ['dɛmɪwʊɫɪwʊɫɪ] 'kidneys'.

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

ngammama ['ŋam.ama] 'deaf';

pitjawakatj ['pɪcawakac] 'girl at puberty', 'girl's puberty ceremony';

menbiya+rtedi ['mɛnbɪjaʂɛdi] '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)

2-51 gemi-na awa ngutj=nene=ga ['ŋucnɛnɛɣa]

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

'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* ['jeji] 'hole'). The resulting compound noun, *yinyeri* ['jinjeji] 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* ['kudɪnəyʊɾɛj]

3AUG.A.R.elbow+hit=PERF

'They hit him/her/it.'

2-53 *ganya-na+gulit=eyi* ['kəɲənəyʊlɪtɛji]

3MIN.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** **gamen+nerre**

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);

me '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!'

2-57 **awa** **vula+djuk+kala** **me**
meat 2MIN.A.IRchop+burn+1/2BEN *do*
 'Roast the meat for us all. Do it!' (T11:67)

Inside the verb complex, coverbs also take secondary stress in the Daly region language Ngan.gityemerri. 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 Ngan.gimerri data suggests that the precursor to the contemporary Ngan.gityemerri 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 Ngan.gityemerri 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.

(Material in square brackets is by Lys Ford)

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 Ngan.gityemerri. Today, the Emmi coverb has adapted so completely to a word-medial environment that a coverb-initial /g/ lenites to [ɣ] after a preceding vowel, and /r/ , 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 **gamen+derr-viye=nhdheni** ['kamendərβijɛŋɔɛni]

3MINA.R.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 [ɣ], and the /v/ is realised as [β], 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) **mede**, which specifies S/A or O as unit augmented, e.g. (2-59).

2-59 **gumenya+lhat+mede** ['kanɛɲalətmède]

3AUG.A.R.pick up+aim+UAUG

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

(ii) **nganya** 'F.AUG' and **-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).

- 2-60 **gadi-ne+vil+ninya** **ganen**
 ['kadineβilnɪnɪnɔnɛn]
3MIN.A.R.heat-3AUGO+warm+M.AUG 3MIN.S.R.sit
 'He's warming up the men.' (T3:29)

(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** ['kunɪnɛn.ɛmɛnɪmɛdɛ]
3AUG.S.R.sitRECI+M.other+UAUG
 'Two women live with one man.' (EB:40)

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

- 2-63 **ngammulan+parr+nemen+nganya=nhdha=no**
 ['ɲammulanpàrnɛmɛnɲànɔdane]
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**
 ['ɲammulanpàrnɔnɛn.ɪnɔnɔdane]
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 ['ɲadamɛdɛ] 'two of us'.

ngangu+nganya ['ɲaŋŋuŋɲa] 'we four or more women, including addressee';

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

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

yawanya+nemen+nganya ['jawɔɲanɛmɛnɲa] '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.

- 2-66 wuting=nene wadja+kalkal wad'ia
 ['wutɪŋnɛnɛ 'wajəkalkalwaja]
vine=INSTR 2MINS.IR.walk+climb 2MIN.S.IR.walk
 'Keep climbing by means of the vine!' (T14:27)

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 [ɣ] in the serial constructions shown in (2-67) and (2-68).

- 2-67 yeda gundinyi+mede ganenya
 ['jɛda 'kundɪŋɪmɛdɛɣanɛɲa]
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+birr'birr-nunggu guninen
 ['kundɪŋɪbɪr'bir'nungguɣɪnɪnɛn]
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 Marrithiyel (Green, 1989:28) and Ngan.gityemerri (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, intervocalically, syllable-finally and word-finally.

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

$$(C_1) V_1 ((C_2) C_3). (C_4 V_2 ((C_2) C_3))^*.$$

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';

angiye 'I lie down';

anganhdha 'I perch';

anginmen 'I smell something';

angadenhdhi '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 ['jihɪŋa] 'this female here (3MIN.F.Near Deictic)';

yiina ['jihɪna] 'this male here (3MIN.M.NearDei: ic)';

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

The following rule was formulated to account for these data.

Rule 1

Ø-----> [[h] / i _____ 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)yi* 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)no* 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)nhdheni* 'now.

2-69 *gana+pil+miri* *gadenhdhi=nhdheni*
 ['kanapɪlmɪrɪ'kadɛŋdɪŋdɛni]

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 $C_1V_2C_2C_3$:

karrk 'Pig-nosed Turtle';
purrrk 'Black Falcon';
bulng 'bottle' (loanword from English);
velp 'do without stopping';
werrrk 'cockatoo'.

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

$V_1C_4V_2$:

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

$V_1C_4V_2C_3$:

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';

arra+mu 'shin-bone'.

V₁C₄V₂C₄V₂C₃:

arra+thawarr 'rifle';

eladherren 'before'.

V₁C₄V₂C₄V₂C₄V₂:

elewerre 'shady tree'.

V₁C₃C₄V₂C₄V₂:

errgi-nga 'her mother'.

V₁C₂C₄V₂C₃C₄V₂ :

an.gamba 'waist'.

V₁C₃C₄V₂C₄V₂C₃:

enberen 'bush potato sp.'.

V₁C₄V₂C₃C₄V₂C₄V₃:

elimberre 'long ago'.

C₁V₂C₄V₂:

mamu 'Kori Bustard;

moro 'buttocks';

wuda 'water';

tjengi 'ear';

yive 'sore'.

C₁V₂C₄V₂C₃:

pinin 'stone-fish';

valhat 'outside, naked';

welhetj 'paperbark tree'.

C₁V₂C₃C₄V₂:

kanbi 'didjeridu';

wirtpo 'mangrove sp.';

tjinda 'spear';

tjelwu 'freshwater dugout canoe';

thinme 'Little Corella';

ronhtho 'short'.

$C_1V_2C_3C_4V_2C_3$:

pinngarr 'lorikeet';

pondo 'elbow';

therrmil 'dwarf';

wenhdherr 'armpit';

tjulforr 'Magpie-goose'.

$C_1V_2C_4V_2C_2C_3$:

manarrk 'red kangaroo;

widjork 'Black-faced Cuckoo-shrike'.

$C_1V_2C_2C_3C_4V_2C_2C_3$:

marrrngmarrng 'happy-go-lucky';

wirrkwirrk 'White-spotted Shovelnose Ray'.

$C_1V_2C_2C_4V_2C_2C_3$:

panyburrk 'mouldy'.

The corpus contained no disyllabic words of the form $C_1V_2C_2C_3 \$C_4V_2$, (noted for Marrithiyel by Green (1989:68)) or the form $C_1V_2C_2C_3 \$C_4V_2C_3$, where \$ 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 VP's nine syllables long, e.g. (2-71).

2-70 gadhama-nga+pirr+wuda=nhdheni=no=yi

['kaðamaŋapirwùdaŋðenineji]

3MIN.S.IR.stand-3MIN.F.REFL+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 ['ŋaŋaɣarwatkarwatmò:əji]

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 /rr/. 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.

elhmbi 'floating log';

kitilkkitilk 'white frog';
karrk 'Pig-nosed Turtle';
purrk 'Black Falcon';
panyburrk 'mouldy';
bilk 'slap';
burrngburrng '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 Eather (1990:25-27), and for Gurr-goni 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',

munnuuk '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** [^hɸɪnbɛn.iɲaji]

1AUG.A.R.take something off something-M.AUG=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';

minganbirr 'louse'.

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

2-73 **yedan+mu=yi**

1AUG.A.IR.look+do=PERF

'We looked around!'

2-74 **ngarrgaden.nganya=yi**

1/2AUG.A.R.look-F.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.

menymi 'Morinda citrifolia';

wunybo 'paperbark sp.';

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. **ngalhdirri** 'tongue' which can be divided into **ngalh** 'mouth' and the cran morpheme **-dirri**. The corpus also contains three examples of /ly/ followed by /tj/, e.g. **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.

ngalkurr 'salty white yam sp.';

pulpul 'swell up';

pelgude 'edible lily bulb';

tjelmundak 'garfish';

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	ɟ	d	d	ɖ	β	ŋ	m	ɱ	n	ɳ	l	ɭ	ʎ	r	ɻ	w	j
k	+														+										
c	+	+			+																				
t					+										+		+								
t		+																							
ŋ							+																		
m		+						+							+										
ɱ							+	+	+						+										
n			+							+															
ɳ							+	+	+		+				+		+								
ɳ																									
l	+		+				+		+				+		+										+
ɭ								+							+										+
ʎ			+																						
r	+	+							+	+			+		+										+
ɻ	+								+	+			+												+

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'; **burrngburrng** '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*.

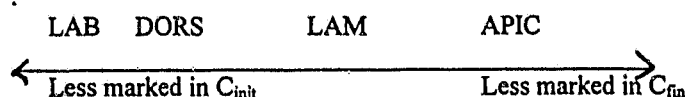
Emmi conforms to this pattern in that the most frequent initial consonant is bilabial. In a 560-word sample, there were 191 word-initial bilabial consonants compared with 103 dorso-velar consonants, 81 laminal consonants and 51 apical consonants. Peripheral consonants were three and a half times more 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

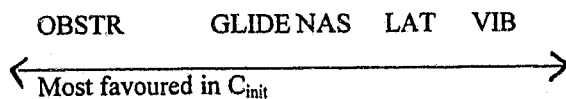
(Hamilton)



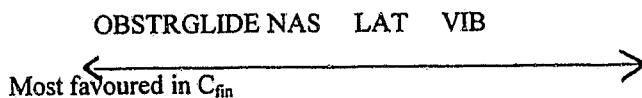
Emmi word-edge consonants fit this hierarchy, if we substitute the term 'most favoured' for Hamilton's 'less marked' :

(ii) manner of articulation

(Hamilton)

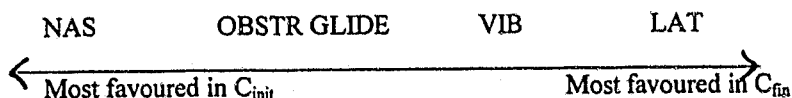


(Emmi)



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)



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)

NAS+NAS LIQ+NAS LIQ+GLID ENAS+GLIDE

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** $\xleftarrow{\hspace{10em}}$ **Voiced stop** $\xrightarrow{\hspace{10em}}$

Dorso-velar Alveopalatal Laminodental Apico-alveolar Retroflex

Bilabial

2.

Stop $\xleftarrow{\hspace{10em}}$ **Fricative** $\xrightarrow{\hspace{10em}}$

Bilabial Apico-alveolar Alveo-palatal Retroflex Lamino-dental Dorso-velar

2.4 Rules.

Rule 1

$\emptyset \xrightarrow{\hspace{2em}}$ [[h] / i _____ i

Rule 2:

Stop $\xrightarrow{\hspace{1em}}$ vl / # _____ (but not bilabial or apico-alveolar).

Rule 3

Stop $\xrightarrow{\hspace{1em}}$ Vless / _____ #

Rule 4:

Stop $\xrightarrow{\hspace{1em}}$ vl / Stop _____

Rule 5

Stop $\xrightarrow{\hspace{1em}}$ +voice / N _____

Rule 6

Voiced velar stop $\xrightarrow{\hspace{1em}}$ + fricative / L _____

Rule 7

Voiced velar stop $\xrightarrow{\hspace{1em}}$ +Fricative /V _____ V

Rule 8

/n/ -----> Ø / ny _____

Rule 9

m -----> Ø / mb _____

Rule 10

L -----> Ø / L _____

Rule 11

/rr/ -----> /r/ / rrV _____

Rule 12

Ø -----> w /V# ____ # u ____
 y /V# ____ # l, 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:

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, Patitjamalh, (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.^A 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,

¹ More work remains to be done on establishing the circumstances/constraints on enclitic copying.

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. **nunggu-rtedi** (hand-back) 'back of the hand' or part-whole relations, e.g. **mari-gumbu** (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'; **gurr-gurr** '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 lie=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)

3-4 **kandu** **gana=yi** **awa** **tjolvorr**
man *3MIN.S.R.walk=PERF* *meat* *maggie goose*
yene miriwuda **awa** **dawal gulanya+than**
LOC swamp *meat* *many* *3AUG.A.R.chop+shoot*
 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 Ngan'gityemerri (Reid, 1990:289, 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 numeral 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, ^{although they} do. "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)	-Ø
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 -Ø.

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 target=PURP

'I'm going to hit at you and miss.' (T3:34)

3-6 **mudika=nene,**

ganhdhinya-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 3MIN.A.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 downbullock=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.AnaphDEIC woman=DIR
 nguman-nye+thunggudi=yi
 1MIN.A.R.poke-3AUG.DAT+send=PERF
 'I sent them those girls I talked about.'

Ernmi 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 Ngar'gityemerri, 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
 3MINFarDEIC=PURP 1MIN.A.IR.poke+mouth 1MIN.S.IR.sit
 nidirr=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=nene**
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 yilhi=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=ing ngappe tjidja-do
away=1PURP 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 3MIN.A.R.say 3MIN.F.FarDEIC
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).

- 3-22 **nera** **mimbi=no** **ngaden-na+viye**
Grandson *nit=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-empties me') (RY:3).

On place-names, e.g. **pudan** 'Port Darwin' in (3-24), the Allative case-marker **-(e)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.' (KY: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 **-(e)no** and the propositional Purposive enclitic **-(e)no** occur on different words in the same sentence. It is, however, possible, without any alteration in meaning, to construe both instances of **-(e)no** in (3-26) as the Purposive enclitic.

Used as a propositional enclitic, **-(e)no** functions as a purposive marker. Adnominal and propositional enclitic **-(e)no** frequently occur on different words in the same sentence, e.g. (3-25) and (3-26).

3-26 awa=no ngammani=no
 meat=DAT 1/2MIN.S.walk=PURP
 'Let's both go for meat!' (RY:2)

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, ^{AS an} ^{Case marker} **-ngana** means 'from', and co-occurs with nouns denoting locations e.g. (3-27).

3-27 rirrim=Ø from pudan pudan=ngana=yi=ga
bird sp.=DIR from Port Darwin Port Darwin=ABL=PERF=FOC
 tap+gamen+nerre dharray
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 wuda=ngana=vi tjilk+game=nhdha
grog=CAUS=PERF *ache+3MIN.Sfeel=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-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 (3-35) 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+dhett+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** **yene ngurrwin+ngurrwin**
 3MIN.A.R.walk+climb LOC rock+rock
yii **yene ngurrwin=enhda** **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** **ngata yene**
 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** **yene kandu dawal muku**
 3AUG.S.R.come out+UAUG LOC man all woman
vere marbuk
 child sprout
 'They both come out beside all the men, women and half-grown children'
 (T4:24)

- 3-40 **gunin+mede** **yene nga demi**
 3AUG.S.Rsit+UAUG LOC 3MIN.F.PRO side
yene errgi-nga=nhda
 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 **wan.ga=nene** gala+garrrgat.

shark=TOP 3MIN.A.R.chop+bite

awa wan.ga gala+garrrgat

meat shark 3MIN.A.R.chop+-bite

'It's a shark that bites her. A shark bites her.' (T10:139-140)

3-44 **gaya+ngalh+miri+therre**

awa ngutj=nene.

3MIN.S.R.lie+mouth+eye+answer meat spirit=NEW INF

"OOOOOO!"

game

awa ngutj=gu

"OOOOOO!" *3MIN.S.R.say*

meat spirit=FOC

'It's the spirit who answers him. It's the spirit who says "OOOOOO."'

(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 nimbugurrinv=nene.
man 2MIN.POSS=NEW INF
vere nimbugurriny=nene.
child 2MINPOSS=NEW INF
vere yawanga delyak
child 3MIN.F.AnaphDEIC young woman
yawanga=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)

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).

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

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3-50 **game** **yere yuwanga=nene**
 3MIN.A.R.say *child 3MIN.F.FarDEIC=NEW INF*
 nga **ngany=ga** **gadhama**
 3MIN.F.PRO 1MIN.PRO=FOC 3MIN.S.IR.stand
 'He says about that girl over there. "She belongs to me. She'll stand.'
 (T7:56)

3-51 **game** **mitjirrim=nene**
 3MIN.A.R.say *dog=NEW INF*
 'He says it about the dog.' (T7:56)

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

3-52 **-yene ngany=nene** **yene nginen=eyi**
 LOC 1MIN.PRO=NEW INF *LOC 1MIN.S.R.sit=PERF*
 yawana=nene=nhdha **garru**
 3MIN.M.AnaphDEIC=NEW INF=really 3MIN.S.R.go somewhere
 yiverre=nhdhi
 there=TOWARDS

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 ^{agentive} 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).

3-54 **emmi malh=enhdeni malh=gu**
what story=now story=FOC
 'What story [do you want] now? Is it a story?' (T10:1)

3-55 **ava gama yuwa elewerre=ga**
who 3MIN.S.R.stand 3MIN.FarDEIC shady tree=FOC
 'Who's standing over there by that shady tree?' (T4:94)

3-56 **gawani+nyulhuk=eno yii=nhdha=ga**
3MIN.S.IR.walk+enter=PURP 3MIN.NearDEIC=really=FOC
 '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 verbless clause in (3-54) and (3-59) - (3-60).

3-57 **mani ginbe-nga+lorr+nunggu**
money 3MIN.A.R.take off-3MIN.F.DAT+strip of+hand
wuda=no yuwana=ga kandu
grog=DAT 3MIN.M.FarDEIC=FOC man
 'That man over there takes her money out of her hands for grog.' (T9:277)

3-58 **manhdha guman+gurr awa pederre=ga**
throat 3MIN.A.R.poke+hit meat monster=FOC
 '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 *manggan* 'one of many' in Dyirbal (Dixon, 1972: 51-2; 230-231, 260 - 261). Dixon describes *gara* and *manggan* 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 Brinken=one of a group spear
guminyi+mede
3AUG.A.R.pokeRECI+UAUG
 'Yes, The Brinken 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
 yere marbuk=gamena
 child sprout=one of a group
 garranya+ver ganenya
 3AUG.A.R.handle+cool 3AUG.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 yaw
 1/2AUG.A.pokeRECI-UAUG=one of a pair eh?
 tjinda=nhdha=vi nganggu=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
	2MIN.PRO=SIM	3MIN.M.AnaphDEIC	stranger
	gamen+thunggu		
	3MIN.A.R-pick up+copy		
	'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 Rembarnga (McKay 1975:142-144), Nakkara, (Eather 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 other.

3.3.1 Cardinal pronouns

Table 11: Cardinal pronouns

	1 / 2	1	2	3F	3M
MIN	nganggu	ngany	nine	nga	na
UAUG	nganggu+mede	ngada+mede	nida+mede	wida+mede	
AUGF	nganggu+nganya	ngada+nganya	nida+nganya	wida+nganya	
AUGM	nganggu+ninya	ngada+ninya	nida+ninya	wida+ninya	
F. Other	+ngamen+				
M.Other	+nemen+				

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 ^{three} 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 **nganggu+ngamen+mede** **ngamminen+ngamen+mede**
 1/2PRO+F.other+UAUG 1/2S.sit+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+ninya=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 ngada+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 **ngangu+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

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 tjinda ngany ngana+vatjvatj+tjerr=eyi
 spear 1MIN.PRO 1MIN.S.R.walk+throwREDUP+stretch=PERF
 'So I kept throwing my spear.' (T13: 59)

3-73 nganggu=nhdhi yörrorredi

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=Ø=nhdha ngany=Ø=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=Ø ngany=Ø

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 nga=widia

ngammama

3MIN.F.PRON=COMIT 1/2.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, ^{but not} 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 5.5.2.3 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.

Table 12: Possessive pronouns

	1 / 2	1	2	3F	3M
MIN	nganggu-gurriny	ngani-gurriny	nimbu-gurriny	nga-gurriny	na=gurriny
UAUG	nganggu-gurriny+mede	ngarrinye-gurriny-mede	ninya-gurriny-mec	winya-gurriny-mede	
AUGF	nganggu-gurriny+nganya	ngarrinye-gurriny+nganya	ninya-gurriny+nganya	winya-gurriny+nganya	
AUGM	nganggu-gurriny+ninya	ngarrinye-gurriny+ninya	ninya-gurriny+ninya	winya-gurriny+ninya	

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** ['ŋangɣʊɾɪŋmède]

car *1/2.POSS+UAUG*

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

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

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

car *1AUG.POSS+F.AUG*

'The car belonging to a mob of us women.'

3-82 **mudika** **winya-gurriny+ninya** ['wɪnəyʊrɪnnɪnə]

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) has a different structure 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 **lhumbu** **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

Emmi	Patjtjamalh	Gloss
dawal	pakwutj	'many'
wutmul	ngulma	'heavy'; 'terminally sick'
mutjing	kalerrang	'slim-waisted'
pulitj	mutama	'crippled/lame'

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'; **ronhtho** 'short';

kirr(kirr) 'slender'; **kirriviriny** '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';
yindetj 'brackish'; **tjanga** 'sour';
kulhok 'blind'; **ngammama** 'deaf';
perrgigir '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'; **wolha** 'dark red';
kalbun 'golden'; **mitmit** 'dotted';

Value:

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

Qualification:

yilyil 'true'; yarrng 'correct'; yerdjiyerdji '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, ^{as shown in Table 15} The semantic overlap between nouns and adjectives is shown in Table 14.

Table 14: Semantic overlap between adjectives and nouns

Noun	Gloss	Adjective	Gloss
velh	'pus'	velhkurriny	'stinking'
pogarra	'cool time of afternon'	purrvu	'cool (of ground)'

Table 15: Semantic overlap between adjectives and verbs

Verb	Gloss	Adjective	Gloss
kul	'bend'	kul	'bent'
		widiwidi	'crooked'
vuritj	'make'	vuritjvuritj	'smooth'
di	'heat'	derrere	'hot'
welwel	'shiver'	muthunggu	'be cold (of person)'
vu-dorr	'cool down the ground'	purrvu	'cool (of ground)'
retja	'want'	retja	'desirable'
wedjirr	'spoil'	wedjirr	'bad'
murwan	'inform on'	murwan	'jealous'
tjilk	'ache'	tjilk	'aching'
nguriya	'roast in earth'	wunyme	'roasted, cooked'

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 **dukandji=nene wadjarra+nganya=ya=ga**

big=INSTR

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. **rte¹di-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 nelerre '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 ~~initially~~ post-auxiliary, e.g. (3-94), which is a paraphrase of (3-93).

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

- 3-94 **garra+furitj+wedjirr=eyi** ['kərəʒùɪcwɛʒɪceji]
 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 p153 (Ch 4:1). The verb-word may contain lexemes which occur elsewhere^{38a} as independent words, but are here compounded with the verb.

¹
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, ms).

In Emmi, adjectives behave like verbs, ^{more than they do} .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 dad 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 NEG COP 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', *gurr-gurr* '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'; *ngurrwin* 'rock; money', *ngurrwin+ngurrwin* '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 *That*

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 Arnhem 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. **rteḍi kul** (back bent) 'hunchback'; **viye weḍjirr** '(head bad) 'trouble-maker'; **rteḍi-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(andeji)** '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, 1996:11). Major body-parts function as classifiers of entities with the same shape as the bodypart. For instance, **rteḍi** '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+rteḍi (hand-back) 'back (top surface) of the hand';

vinggar+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+viye+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+purrrwur (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

	3F	3M	3INAN
MIN	yii-nga	yii-na	yii
UAUG	yii-nya+mede		-
AUG	yii-nya+nganya	yii-nya+ninya	-
FOthe	+ngamen		-
MOth	+nemen		-

Table 17: Far Deictic paradigm

	3F	3M	3INAN
MIN	yuwa-nga	yuwa-na	yuwa
UAUG	yuwa-nya+mede		-
AUG	yuwa-nya+nganya	yuwa-nya+ninya	-
FOthe	+ngamen		-
MOth	+nemen		-

Table 18: Anaphoric Deictic paradigm

	3F	3M	3INAN
MIN	yawa-nga	yawa-na	yawa
UAUG	yawa-nya+mede		-
AUG	yawa-nya+nganya	yawa-nya+ninya	-
FOthe	+ngamen		-
MOth	+nemen		-

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 **nellerre** **yuwanga=ga**
good-looking 3MIN.F.FarDEIC=FOC
 'Good-looking, that girl over there.' (T9:124)

3-103 **mulirritj=ve yawana**

aggressive=HAP 3MIN.M.AnaphDEIC

'That male I mentioned happens to be aggressive.' (JB:5)

3-104 **yiinya+nemen+mede=nene=yi**

3AUG.NearDEIC.+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)

3-105 **ganya-ngala-tjengi=nhdheni**

3MIN.A.R.make-3MIN.F.BEN-ear=now

yere ngany=enhdha yuwanga

child 1MIN.PRO=really 3MIN.F.FarDEIC

'That girl over there, my child really, forgot her (lit.makes ear for her).'

(T7:15)

3-106 **youngest one yere yiinga=ga**

youngest one child 3MIN.F.NearDEIC=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.creep

garra+betj

yawanga

muku

3MIN.A.R.handle+grab

3MIN.F.AnaphDEIC woman

guman+rtidim

3MIN.A.R.poke+tie up

'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**

murru=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';

meyidja 'two';

meyidja 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 Marrisjemerri Marriwumerri Marrisjefin**
 man *Marrityemerri Marriwumerri Marrisjefin*
Marri Ammu ngandhina+warri guninen
Marri Ammu one+mass 3AUG.S.R.sitRECI
 'A mass of Marrityemerri, 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 meydja dakarrin=ya**
woman two man with two wives=away from speaker
ganen dadi
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=nhdheni=nhdha**
 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=enno**

what thing (lit. tree)=PURP

'What do you want?'

retja-ganarra

want+2MIN.A.R.handle

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+hit=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, **enydji** 'how' alone of interrogatives, combines with the coverb **do** 'try' in the idiomatic expression **enydji 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 19: Canonical verb structure

±4
1+2
3
(±6)
4
5
(±6)
7
8
9

- 1 Pronominal prefix, inflected for person, number and status of S/A;
- 2 Auxiliary verb stem inflected for status;
- 3 Oblique pronominal slot;
- 4. Coverb;
- 5 Benefactive (BEN) pronominal suffix slot;
- ±6 Incorporated nominal(s), e.g. (4-10) - (4-13);
- 7 Adversative (ADV) pronominal suffix slot, e.g. (4-10);
- 8 Bound number word, e.g. (4-4) - (4-5);
- 9. Propositional enclitics.

(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 peledji ganhdha

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+ pirr

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)yi. Enclitics are ordered. A combination of one or more may occur of semantically compatible TAM, directional and illocutionary enclitics.

4-5 **gunya+** **ngurrngurr+ninya= yi**
 1+2- 4 8- 9
 3AUG.S.R.lie- snore- M.AUG=PERF
 '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** **gaya+** **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!'

4-9 **garra-** **ne+ war- ngala=** **yi**
 1+2- **3 4- 5=** **9**
 3MINA.R.handle- 3AUGO+lift- 3MIN.F.BEN=PERF
 'S/he lifted them for her.'

Benefactive and Adversative occupy different ordered pronominal slots, e.g. (4-10).

4-10 **gunin-** **nyela+** **tjengi- nanga+** **mede**
 1+2- **5-** **6- 7** **8**
 3AUG.S.R.sit 3AUG.BEN+ ear- 3MIN.M.ADVERS+ UAUG
 yawana yere
 3MIN.M.AnaphDEIC child
 'They are both deaf to that boy I mentioned (lit. the ears sit for the
 two of them).' (T4:25)

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).

4-11 **gamen+** **derr+** **viye= yi**
 1+2+ **4** **6- 9**
 3MIN.A.R.pick up+bash+ head= PERF
 'S/he bashed his/her head.'

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).

- 4-12 **yerre-** **nbe+** **lhumbu**
 1+2 **4** **6**
 2MIN.A.IR.handle- 2MIN.DAT+ thigh
 ‘Rub it on your thigh!’ (T11:11)

Most incorporated nominals denote body-parts, but a few general nouns are also incorporated into the VP, e.g. (4-13)

- 4-13 **gadhama-** **nga+** **pirr+** **wuda=no=** **yi**
 1+2- **3-** **4** **6** **9** **9**
 3MIN.S.IR.stand-3MIN.F.REFL+throw down+water=PURP=PERF
 ‘She would have thrown herself down into the water by now [but she was so distended, she couldn’t].’ (T1:39).

(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).

- 4-14 **gaya+** **ngalh+miri+** **therre awa** **ngutj=nene**
 1+2+ **6+** **6+** **4**
 3MIN.S.R.lie mouth+ eye+ answer meat spirit=NEW INF
 ‘It was the spirit who answered him.’ (T4:29)

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 4

sit down 2MIN.IR*sit* *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'; **woro** '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		me
	1+2-	3+	4	4
	<i>throat</i>	<i>2MIN.S.R.stand+3MIN.M.DAT+speak</i>		<i>do</i>
	'Stand up and speak to him, do!' (T2:72)			
4-19	ginme+nerre=	yi	tjerr	
	1+2	4	9	4
	<i>3MIN.S.R.rise+shift position=PERF</i>		<i>stretch</i>	
	'S/he got up and stretched.' (T15:98)			
4-20	yerre-	nbe+	betj=enhdheni	woro
	1+2-	3+	4= 9	4
	<i>2MIN.IR.handle-2MIN.REFL+grab=now</i>			<i>whinge</i>
	'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 unreduced 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

Realis	Irrealis	English gloss
ya	yi	lie
nen	di	sit
na	ni	walk
rran	rra	use legs
man	ma	poke
din	di	elbow
men	me	pick up

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
Emmii, like other Daly languages, has
more than one system of TAM coding,
spread across a range of overlapping
systems, including AUX inflections,
verb stem reduplication, propositional
enclitics 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 Marrihiyel, (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 **memərendjarrmul=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*
 nama=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

Verb (<i>Intransitive</i>)	Gloss	Verb (<i>Transitive</i>)	Gloss
ya	lie	rra	handle
nen	sit	nya	make
ma	stand	man	poke
rru	go somewhere	la	chop
na	walk	lan	punch
denhdhi	fall	din	elbow
mi	come out	men	pick up
nhdha	perch	me	say/do/feel
nme	rise	ndan	hang up
dji	crawl	nhdhan	bury
rra	use legs	nhdhi	get
rrame	creep	den	look
		la	consume
		nmen	smell
		nbe	take off
		gi	fill
		nbaga	smoke
		di	heat

4.4 Pronominal verb prefixes analysed

For Emmi, like Marrithiyel and Ngan.gityemerri, 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 ¹

Person/number	Realis	Irrealis
1 MIN	nga-/ngi-/ngu-/stem 1	nga+stem 2
2 MIN	gan-(V)-stem 1	2MIN.IR (= stem 2)
3 MIN	ga-/gi-/gu-stem 1	ga+stem 2
1AUG	stem 2+n	ngarr-(V)-stem 1
2AUG	garr-(V)-stem 1	stem 2+rrV
3AUG	ga-stem 1-nya	pVrr-(V)-stem 1
1/2	ngamm-/ngarrg-(V)-stem	

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.

¹ These prefix forms are recognisable recurrent forms, not easily synchronically segmentable.

Table 23: 1AUG Realis derived from 2MIN Irrealis

Verbstem	Gloss	2MIN Irrealis	1AUG Realis
ya	lie	yunga	yun *yungan
nen	sit	ninga	nin *ningan
ma	stand	dhama	dhaman
rru	go somewhere	verru	verrun
na	walk	wadja	wadjan
denhdhi	fall	yedenhdhi	yedenhdhin
mi	come out	yemi	yemin
nhdha	perch	yenhdhe	yenhdhen
nme	rise	vinme	vinmen
dji	crawl	widji	widjin
rran	use legs	dhirra	dhirran
rra	handle	yerra	yerran
rrame	creep	warre	warren
nya	make	yenye	yenyen
man	poke	wuma	wuman
la	chop	vula	vulan
lan	punch	dhela	dhelan
din	elbow	wudi	wudin
men	pick up	me	men
me	say/do/feel	manga	men *mangan
ndan	hang up	yenda	yendan
nhthan	bury	wunhtha	wunhthan
nhdhi	hold	yenhdhi	yenhdhin
den	look	yede	yeden
la	consume	yila	yilan
hmen	smell something	vinme	vinmen
nbe	strip of	vinbe	vinben
gi	fill	yegi	yegin
nbaga	smoke	vunbaga	vunbagan

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 1 Minimal 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 all} 51% of inflected verbs (15 out of 29), e.g. ngalan 'I punch X', ngama 'I stand'.

ngi- occurs on ^{28 all} 28% of inflected verbs (8 out of 29), e.g. nginmen 'I smell something', ngidji 'I crawl'.

ngu- occurs on ^{17 all} 17% of inflected verbs (5 out of 29), e.g. ngudin 'I elbow someone'.

nge- occurs on ^{3.5 all} 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 1/2 Minimal 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 1/2Augmented stems on Irrealis simple verbs in Marranunggu (Tryon, 1970:18 - 37).

It is also possible that *ngammV* is the original 1/2Realis 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. *ngammarra* and *ngarrgarra* '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=eve 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.gityemerri 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

Person/Number	O	DAT	REFL	RECI
1 MIN	-ngany		-ngani	
1 /2			-ngga	
2 MIN	-na		-nbe	
3MIN.F.	Ø		-nga	
3MIN.M.	Ø		-na	
1 AUG	-n		-ngarrinye	
2 AUG	-nga		-ninya	
3 AUG	-ne	-(wi)nye		-inyi

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 Emmei utterance cited here.

4-25 **ngiye-nye+wut+mede=yi**
 1MIN.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 **yerran-ne+pit+nganya=yi**

1AUG.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**

yerran-ne+pit+nganya

1AUG.PRO+F.AUG=PERF 1AUG.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 1 Minimal 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=enhdheni**

3AUG.A.R.handle-1MIN.O+wash=now

'They are washing me now.'

4-30 **garranya-ngany+pit=enhdheni**

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).

- 4-31 **beyik=enhdhi yunga-ngani+wut**
bag=towards speaker 2MIN.S.IR.lie-1MIN.DAT+give
 'Give me the bag here!'

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 **rtdi** 'back' in preference to **wanhdhi** 'behind', e.g. (4-33) - (4-36).

- 4-32 **gama-ngani+wanhdhi=nhdhi**
3MIN.S.R.stand-1MIN.DAT+be behind=TOWARDS
 He's standing here, behind me.'

- 4-33 **gama-nbe+rtdi**
3MIN.S.R.stand-2MIN.DAT+back
 He's standing behind you.'

- 4-34 **gama-nga+rtdi**
3MIN.S.R.stand-3MIN.F.DAT+back
 He's standing behind her.'

- 4-35 **gama-ngga+rtdi**
3MIN.S.R.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**
child=PERF behind 1MIN.DAT 3MIN.F.AnaphDEIC
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.FarDEIC mama 3MIN.FarDEIC
manggalhi yuwa ganen
MoMo 3MIN.FarDEIC 3MIN.S.R.sit
guninen+nganya yuwa
3AUGS.R.sitRECI+F.AUG 3MIN.FarDEIC
 '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 purrwur**
3MIN.A.R.look -3MIN.F.REFL+back=PERF blood
 '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 vowel 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.'

or (b) 'They punched each other.'

or (c) 'They hit themselves with axes.'

or (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

Person	Minimal	Augmented
1	-nganila	-ngarrinyela
1/2	-kinyala-	
2	-(n)pele	-ninyala-
3M	-nela	-nyela-
3F	-ngala	

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-gpele=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+.Fother+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-kinyala**

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-nyela+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

	1 / 2	1	2	3F	3M
MIN	-	nganinggu	ninbe	-nganga	-nanga
UAUG	-	ngarrinye+ mede	-	+mede	
AUGF	-	+nganya	+nganya		
AUGM	-	+ninya	+ninya		
F. Other		+ngamen+			
M. Other		+nemen+			

Unlike Marriithiyel (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 off 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-winye+ninya

3MIN.FarDEIC=PURP

1MIN.S.IR.walk-3AUG.DAT+M.AUG

ganenya+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

Gloss	Minimal O	Augmented O
give	wut	wurut
hit	gurr	parr

4-55 **gayi-nye+wut+nemen+mde=no**

3MIN.S.IR.lie-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+mde=no**

3MIN.S.IR.lie-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=en=wany**

3MIN.A.IR.chop-1MIN.O+hit=PURP=REPET

'S/he's going to hit me again.'

4-58 **gavula-ngangu+parr+mde=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+hitAUGO+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';

uhdha 'perch';

umen 'smell something',

and ^{so are} the coverbs which co-occur with these same simple verbs which function as stative auxiliaries

ngurrngurr 'sleep';

ngurrngurr 'snore';

wiriya 'cry';

woro 'whinge';

erwe 'laugh';

tjilk 'ache';

thungthung '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-npela**

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. **wul** 'come back' in (5-3).

5-3 **atho=no** **ngadhama-nbe+wul=enhdhi**

later=PURP 1MIN.S.IR.stand-2MIN.DAT+come back=TOWARDS

'I'll come back this way for you later.' (T9:29).

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';

burrngburrng 'bubble';

purr 'dance (of man)';

munyumunyu 'gather';

war 'lift up';

kurr 'put down';

tjitjingili 'tickle';

gurrurr '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 28 shows the five major, commonly occurring intransitive auxiliary verbs. Table 29 shows minor intransitive auxiliary verbs. Table 30 shows the eight major, commonly occurring transitive auxiliary verbs. Table 31 shows the ten minor, less commonly occurring transitive auxiliary verbs.

Table 28: Major intransitive auxiliary verbs (cited in no particular order)

AUX	English Gloss
na	walk
rru	go somewhere
nen	sit
ya	lie
ma	stand

Table 29: Minor intransitive auxiliary verbs (cited in order of frequency)

AUX	English Gloss
dji	crawl
rrame	creep
rran	use legs
nhdha	perch
nme	rise
mi	come out
denhdhi	fall down

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** **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** **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

Major AUX	Gloss
rra	handle
nya	make
man	poke
(u)la	chop
lan	punch
din	elbow
men	pick up
den	look

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

Minor AUX	Gloss
nhdhi	<i>get</i>
me	say, do, feel
(i)la	consume
gi	fill
nhthan	bury something
ndan	hang up
nmen	smell something
nbe	strip of
nbaga	smoke something
di	heat

Some minor auxiliaries co-occur with only one coverb. This is semantically conditioned, e.g. **nbe** 'strip of' which co-occurs only with **lorr** '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.' (T9:233)

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)

5-9 **emmi emmi game=nhdhi**

what what 3MIN.A.R.say=towards speaker

madjuri game-ngani=nhdhi

Marjorie 3MIN.A.R.say-1MIN.DAT=towards speaker

'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).

5-10 **ngunbaga**

nginen

1MIN.A.R.smoke tobacco

1MIN.S.R.sit

'I'm smoking tobacco.'

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), Marrihiyel, (Green, 1989) and Ngan.gityemerri (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-ngurrurr**

3MIN.S.R-sit+sleep

'She's sleeping.(temporarily).'

5-12 **gaya+minmin=eya**

gumbu

3MINS.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

1MIN.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

1MIN.A.R.poke+hit 1MIN.S.R.walk=PERF

'I kept spearing him/her.'

5-21 ngala+gurr ngarru=yi

1MIN.A.R.chop+hit 1MIN.S.R.go somewhere=PERF

'I deliberately shot him/her.'

5-22 ngalan+gurr nginen=eyi

1MIN.A.R.punch+hit 1MIN.S.R.sit=PERF

'I sat and punched him/her.'

5-23 nganya+ gurr ngiye=yi

1MIN.A.R.make+hit 1MIN.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** **gunymurru+kal+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+1MIN.S.Rwalk+vomit=PERF
 'I vomited [involuntarily].'

The choice of intransitive AUX affects the meaning of the VP. For example, in (5-28), AUX **rru** 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 *ganan+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-1/2.RECI+scratch=PERF
 'We scratched each other (or ourselves).'

AUX *la* 'chop' co-occurs with coverb *garrrgat* '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+garrrgat*
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 mismatches 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+yingi=mangga** **yirrgala=nene**
 3MIN.S.R.lie-1/2MIN.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+pirr+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 2MIN.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+rrer=enhdheni**
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+ngurrgurr=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=nhdha**
man 3MIN.M.FarDEIC=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)

5-48 **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** **ngan/ɳ=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+wedjirr=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 (5-53) and (5-54), it would mean that the agent effected the action by poking the O vertically with the pointed end of a long instrument.

5-5-1-1-2
 'AUX **rru** 'go somewhere'
 Without a coverb, AUX **rru** means 'go somewhere', e.g. (5-55).

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 'deliberately', 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)

5.5.1.1.3

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+dhēt**

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)

Auxnen 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 proprietive 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.'

§5.1.1.4

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+rtdi**
 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** **rte di 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+nhthan** **beyik**
1AUG.S.R.lie+put inside bag
 'We put it in the bag.'

- 5-75 **ganiya-ngani+bep=eyi**
2MIN.S.R.lie-1MIN.DAT+startle=PERF
 'You startled me.'

- 5-76 **ngammiya-ngga+djung+ngalh=eyi**
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+dirr=eyi**
 3MIN.S.R.*stand*-1MIN.O+*hole+tooth*=PERF
 'A gap stood out in my teeth.' (RY: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+wiggle
 'They (snakes) are wriggling.'

5.5.1.2.2 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.creep
 '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**

wulhu duk

3MIN.S.R.use legs+run=away from speaker

bird big

'The big bird runs away from us.' (T14:21)

5-89 **ava=nene**

girran+war

who=NEW INF

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 yene peledji**

ganhdha=mangga

tree-snake

LOC

Cocky apple tree

3MIN.S.R.perch=LIK

gaya=ga

3MIN.S.R.lie=FOC

'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 yene yeri**

lizard 3MIN.S.R.perch+do+tail=AWAY LOC hole

'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.'

5.5.1.25 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.IR.rise+shift position-1MIN.BEN

'Mother, get up for me!' (T11:123)

5.5.1.26 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. **AUX denhdhi 'fall down'**

Without a coverb, AUX **denhdhi** 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 **gadenhdhi** **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 **ngadenhdhi=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** **wanhdhi-ngani** **yawanga** **gadenhdhi**
child *behind-1MIN.DAT* *3MIN.AnaphDEIC* *3MIN.S.R.fall*
down
 'That girl I mentioned was born after me.' (T10:161)

With a coverb **denhdhi** 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.

5.5.1.3.1 **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 ^{and} 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 *gurrinyi+mari+thethap+mede=yi*

3AUG.A.R.handleRECI+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 *ngammarrre-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 **yerrere+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+tjelhat=eyi** (nunggu=nene=yi)
meat 1MIN.A.R handle+break off=PERF (hand=INSTR=PERF)
 'I broke off some meat with my hands.'

rra '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 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**

yuwana

want+1MIN.A.R.handle

3MIN.M.FarDEIC

'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

1MIN.A.IR.make

1MIN.S.IR.sit

'I'm going to sit and make a dillybag.'

5-120 **yenya-ngany+viye**

ninga

2MIN.A.IR.make 1MIN.PRO+head 2MIN.S.IR.sit

'Massage my head! (lit. 'warmimup my head')' (T11:91)

It is impossible to extract viye from the verb for external paraphrase, in (5-120).

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+purrr+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.'

5.5.1.3.3

AUX man 'poke'

The semantic invariant inherent in **man 'poke'** is that of a probing action done with the pointed end of a long thin tool. Without a coverb, **AUX man** means 'poke', e.g. (5-126), where the patient's skin is pierced to make a cicatrice or 'sorry cut', and (5-127), where the subject pokes grass through the gaps in her teeth to clean them.

5-126 **uma**

rtedi wunbi=nene

2MIN.A.IR.poke back cicatrice=INSTR

'Pierce his/her back with a sorry cut.'

5-127 **nguman-ngani+dirr**

tjellerre=nene

1MIN.A.R.poke-1MIN.REFL+teeth grass=INSTR

'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=INSTR

'He stabbed him in the hand with a knife.'

5-129 **gumanya+kul**

mundjirr

3AUG.A.R.poke+bend/long-necked turtle

ninin=nene=yi

crowbar=INSTR=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+lean 3MIN.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 /l/ (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 /l/.

- 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**

1AUG.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.IR.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 transitive 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)'

- 5-156 ngammadin-ngga+dheretit ngamminen
1 /2.A.elbow-1 /2REFL+lean *1 /2S.R.sit*
 'You and I are both stretched out leaning against it.'

- 5-157 wudi-nbe+yulakarra tjelerre
2MIN.A.IR.elbow-2MIN.REFL+put round wrist *grass*
 'Stretch the grass bangle around your wrist!'

- 5-158 gundinyi+birrbirr+nunggu ganenya
3AUG.A.R.elbow.RECI+strain+hand *3AUG.S.R.walk*
yere yawa=gu
child 3MINAnaphDEIC=FOC
 'They keep having a tug of war over the child in that place I mentioned.'

AUX ^{can} *din* 'elbow' acts as a causative where no force is implied, e.g. the idiom in (5-159).

- 5-159 ngudin+gat=eyi
1MIN.A.R.elbow+cut=PERF
 '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).

- 5-160 theme *tjivaka?* *gudin+yulhuk* *pakit yene*
where tobacco *1MIN.A.R.elbow+enter* *packet LOC*
minmin
groundup
 'Where's the tobacco? I thrust it ground up in my pocket.'

5-5.1.3.7 - ... 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.A.IR.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**

1AUG.PRO+UAUG steal+1AUG.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	ngaden=eyi.	piya	nga
	<i>1MIN.A.R.look=PERF</i>	<i>NEGCOP</i>	<i>3MIN.F.PRO</i>
	'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**
creek 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 **gadenya+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)

5.5.1.4 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', **nmen** '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

'get'

^{get}

'Get' is a more accurate definition and differentiates **nhdhi** from the major transitive AUX **rra** 'handle; use hands'; **phdhi** contains no reference to hands, i.e. there is no restriction on how one 'gets' something. The emphasis is on getting possession of something.

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.^{get} 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 ^{get}, e.g. (5-47) and (5-176).

5-176 **tji** **yenhdhi+vitvit**
rope 2MIN.A.IR.^{get} +drag
 'Get the rope and drag it!'

5.5.1.4.2 AUX **me** 'say, do, feel'

Without a coverb, **me** means 'say', e.g. (5-177), or 'feel', e.g. (5-178).

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.'

Covers 'nyuku 'die' always occurs VP-initially.

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.'

~~5-5-143~~ **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)

- 5-185 **wuda yila** **wadja**
grog 2MIN.A.IR.consume 2MIN.S.IR.walk
 'Keep drinking grog!' (T9:17)

5.5.1.44 AUX **gi** 'fill'

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.

- 5-186 **awa tjulvorrr=eno yegi wadja**
meat magpie-goose=DAT 2MIN.A.IR.fill 2MIN.S.IR.walk
 'You should keep filling it up with magpie goose eggs.' (T11:31)

5.5.1.45 AUX **nhthan** 'bury something.'

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).

- 5-187 **wunhtha yene beyik**
2MIN.A.IR.bury LOC bag
 Bury it in the bag!' (LY:6)

- 5-188 **wunhtha+mu+mari yene kamul**
2MINA.IR.bury+do+belly LOC billy-can
 Bury it in the billy-can!' (T5:9)

- 5-189 **ngunhthan+nguriya yene ngurir**
1MIN.A.R.bury+roast LOC ashes
 'I roast it in the ashes.'

5.5.1.4.6 AUX **ndan** 'hang up'

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].'

5.5.1.47. 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.'

5.5.1.48. AUX **nbe** 'strip of'

AUX **nbe** only occurs with coverb **lorr** 'strip someone of something', e.g. (5-7).

5.5.1.49. AUX **nbaga** 'smoke something'

AUX **nbaga** 'smoke something' occurs only without a coverb, e.g. (5-10).

5.5.1.49. 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 did¹ 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 ^{and in a classificatory sense}. Lexically incorporated nominals are ^{generally} 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 B.3.2.p 263).*

Table 32: Incorporated nouns by type of incorporation

inc nom	literal	syntactic	lexical	metaphorical	classifying
mari	belly	+	+	+	+
rtedi	back	+	+	+	+
viye	head	+	+	+	+
tjengi	ear	+	+	+	+
miri	eye	+	+	+	+
yin	nose	+	+	+	+
dherr	cheek	+			
ngalh	mouth	+	+	+	+
dirr	tooth	+	+	+	+
manhdha	neck	+	+	+	+
vere	arm	+	+	+	+
nunggu	hand	+	+		
gumbu	foot	+	+	+	+
demi	side	+	+	+	+
lhumbu	thigh	+	+	+	
mu	bone	+	+	+	
moro	buttocks	+	+	+	
karra	shoulder	+			
piriny	body	+	+		
yingi	breast	+			
wakul	scrotum	+			
ngur	penis	+			
panba	crotch	+			
vinggar	knee	+			
therr	calf	+			
wawany	shin	+			
rimi	forehead	+			
yirr	tail	+			
adjawa	urine	+			
murrundharran	sweat	+			
yeri	hole	+			
pedji	handle	+			
katpilak	bucket	+			
dorr	ground	+			
lektja	lecture	+			
wuda	water	+	+		

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-p^ātha (Walsh 1996:337-340).

Walsh (1996:340) also cites several suppletive incorporated forms. ^{In Murrinh-p^ātha} 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

<i>Free</i>	<i>Suppletive</i>	<i>Syntactic</i>	<i>Lexical</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
Ø	kurru		+	out of the corner of the eye
Ø	therrmu		+	in half

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 *yinggumbu* '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=nhdheni** **an.gamba**

3MIN.A.R.*chop*+^{cut}*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.gityemerri. 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 **yeri** '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+mede*
 3AUG.A.R.handle+cut+^{belly+}UAUG
 '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 *garra+wurr+mari=enh dheni*
 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 uma+ngalh--pedji=nh dheni*
 handle 2MIN.A.IR.poke+mouth+hand'e=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).

- 6-8 vere+mu=yi ganya+valh+vere=yi
 arm+bone=PERF 3MIN.A.R.make+break+arm=PERF
 'S/he broke his/her fore-arm.'

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), with the verb root *nisja* 'eat'.

- 6-9 tjulvorr ngila+vere=yi
 magpie goose 1MINA.R.consume+arm=PERF
 '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 gamen+wat+gumbu=yi
 3MIN.A.R.pick up+foot=PERF
 'He tripped.' (19:126)
- 6-11 garranya+ru+gumbu=yi
 3AUG.A.R.handle+prise out+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+tiengi+mede=nhdhi**

3AUG.S.R.go somewhere+strain+ear+UAUG=TOWARDS

malh

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 1975).

- 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+lhunbu+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 Marrihiyel, 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 Ngar¹ 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 Ngar¹ 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 Ngar¹ gityemerri usage. The semantic range of Emmi *mari* 'belly' subsumes the semantic range of Ngar¹ gityemerri's two terms *madi* 'chest' and *ge* 'belly'. Emmi lexically incorporates the terms for 'ear', 'thigh', 'side', and 'body'; Ngar¹ gityemerri does not. Ngangi¹ tyemerri 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* *yene* *wutharr*
 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+dhēt+mari=yi**

3MIN.S.R.sit-sit down+belly=PERF

'She sat down inside [the boat].' (T9:58).

6-24 **gilatj uma+rtidim+miri**

glass 2MIN.A.IR.poke+tie up+eye

'Close the window!'

6.1.2.1 Metaphorical extension versus classifying function

Table 34 compares the metaphorical functions of *sixteen* major body-part nouns, and the classificatory uses of *twelve* of them.

Table 34: Metaphorical and classifying functions of lexically incorporated body-part nouns

IncNom	literal	metaphor	classifier
mari	belly/	seat of anxiety;	concave interior of
	stomach/	front of body;	a container
	chest	direction one faces	
rtedi	back	seat of laughter;	top surface
		back of body ; sky	
viye	head	seat of	raised rounded
		embarrassment	shape
tjengi	ear	seat of	ear- shaped entity
		understanding,	
		memory	
miri	eye	face; fire	round orifice
yin	nose	hate	projecting part
ngalh	mouth	speech	mouth like orifice
dirr	tooth	mouth	elongated edge
manhdha	neck	actions performed	narrow part
		in the throat; neck	
		of land	
vere	arm	arm; creek; branch	branch, <i>limb-like entities</i>
gumbu	foot	foot of tree, hill	base
demi	side	flank	side
lhumbu	thigh	leg	
kurru		out of the corner of	
		the eye	
mu	bone	action	
moro	buttocks	person	

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-pervedja** '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!'

6-29 ngammula-ngga+mari+vava+mede=yi

1/2.A.R.chop-1/2RECI+belly+spill+UAUG=PERF

'You and I bumped into each other.'

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+gumbu** '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

3MIN.S.R.lie+lick+belly=PERF

'It was the dog that was licking the dish.'

mitjirrim=nene

dog=NEW INF

6-31 ngarra+viyeviye

1MIN.A.R.handle+headREDUP

ngarra+parr+mari

1MIN.A.R.handle+hitAUG.O+belly bucket LOC

'I gathered black plums off the ground. I put them in a bucket.'

pome

black plum

katpilak yene

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**

1AUG.S.R.come out+belly+F.AUG

verrun=eya

1AUG.S.R.go somewhere=away from speaker

‘Some of us women set about coming out from inside (the house).’

6-35 **yenden+dharrwut=mari+nganya**

1AUG.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+hitAUG.O+belly=PERF

There are no tea leaves. He scoffed the lot.’

6.1.2.1.2 **rtdi** ‘back’

Emmi speakers associate **rtdi** with laughter, hence the metaphor expressed in (6-37). Walsh (1996:360) noted a similar association in Murrinh Patha.

6-37 **gaya+garra+garrat+rtdi** **gana**

3MIN.S.R.lie+bite+back 3MIN.S.R.walk

‘She keeps falling about laughing (lit. biting her back)’ (T7:120).

rtdi ‘back’ is used metaphorically to mean ‘top surface’, e.g. the nominal part-whole compounds **rtdi+gumbu** (back+foot) ‘top of the foot’, **rtdi+nunggu** (back+hand) ‘back of the hand’, **rtdi+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, /ɾɾ/ is realised as /ɾ/ after /ɾɾ/. (See 2.2)

6-43 **garra+ɾri+viye=nhdha** ['garaiβiʃiɲɛɲda]

3MIN.A.R.handle+tell story+head=really

'S/he's really shy.'

syntactically

The semantic range of **viye** / 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.'

What syntactically? 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.O+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. Marrithiyel miri 'eye' may compound with *sjanjsji* '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.lie+blowREDUP

'First, she lights the fire, then she's blowing hard on it.'

6-49 yorro garra+miri

gamen

grass 3MIN.A.R.handle+eye

3MIN.S.R.sit

'He's setting fire to the grass!' (T5:72)

This is not an impersonal construction,

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=INSTR
 'I painted her face with white clay.'

6-52 yene nyiminy 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*
 that open and close
 e.g. the door in (6-56) and the window in (6-24).

6-56 uma+dim+miri=wany
 2MIN.A.IRpoke+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+yin** **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+yin=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. (6-59), 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, 1990:211) notes comparable data from Ngarl gityemerri.

- 6-59 **gaya+ngalh+miri+therre** **awa** **ngutj=gu**
3MIN.S.R.lie+mouth+eye+answer meat sirit=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+galhgalh** (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 **ngiaen+manhdha=yi**
1MIN.S.R.sit+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.gitjemerri *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 (6-71), where the 3MIN.M.DAT pronominal affix is unstressed.

6-70 **nginen+na+manhdha=yi**

1MIN.S R.sit+walk+throat=PERF

'I waited for her/him.'

6-71 **nginen+na+manhdha=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 nganhdhi** '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 Marrithiyel 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 Marrithiyel (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 Murrinh-patha. 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**
1/2A.R.chop-1/2REFL+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 murru 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.IRstand+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;

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 ergative, 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 *pirriri 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).

6-88 ngarra-ngani+pit+miri=no

1MIN.A.R.handle-1MIN.REFL+wash+eye=PURP

'I'm going to wash my face.'

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. Emuni behaves like Ngan'gityemerri 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=nhdheni

3MIN.A.R.handle-1MIN.O+close+eye=now

'I'm sleepy' (lit. It closes my eyes)

6-92 gana+pil+miri=nhdheni

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) - (6-33), (6-35) - (6-36).

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, 1989:263).

6-98a kamul yuwa=ya gama-nga+viye
belly-can 3MIN.Fa.BEIC=AWAY 3MIN.S.R.stand-3MIN.F.DAT+head
'The bellycan 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 locative, but not O role can be incorporated when there is a Dative, e.g. (6-98a) on facing page. and cf. (6-94-95).*

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+ngatj-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+shut+eye-3MIN.F.ADV=PURP

'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 t'e 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=eyi**

1MIN.A.R.handle+clean+ground=PERF

'I cleaned the place.'

6-102 **gana+purr+nunggu+katpilak=enhdheni ganen**

3MIN.S.R.walk+dance+hand+bucket=now 3MIN.S.R.sit

'She's sitting beating time (lit. dancing hand) on a bucket now.'

(T32:10)

6-103 ngarrabala yawana=nene=nhdha=ya

1AUG.PRO 3MIN.M.AnaphDEIC=NEW INF=really=AWAY

game+lektja=nhdha=ya gana perregut

3MIN.A.R.^{+lecture}say=really=AWAY 3MIN.S.R.walk white man

'That white man I mentioned really keeps lecturing all of us.'

(T15:7)

6.3.2.2 General nouns in locative function

and lexically

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

Enclitic	Gloss	Tense	Aspect	Modal	Direction	Illoc
-(e)nhdheni	now	+				
-ngana	RECPAST	+		+		
-(e)no	PURP	+		+		
-(e)yi	PERF		+	+		
-wiye	HAB		+			
-wany	REPET'		+			
-(e)rre	first		+			
-mangga	LIK			+		
-(e)ve	HAP					+
-(e)nhdha	really					+
-nene	Stop!					+
-ga	Focus					+
-(e)nhdhi	TOWARDS				+	
-(e)ya	AWAY				+	

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 **gunymurru-ne+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=nhdheni** **yuwanya**
NEG.COP-3AUG.O+UAUG=now 3AUG.FarDEIC
gunin+mede=ya **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=yi** **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=ya**
1/2AUG.PRO 3MIN.M.AnaphDEIC=NEW INF=really=AWAY
game+lektja=nhdha=ya
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)

- 7-5 **yawa=nhdha** **murru=nhdha**
 3MIN.AnaphDEIC=really *egg=really*
 yawa=nene=nhdha
 3MIN.AnaphDEIC=NEW INF=really
 ‘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).

- 7-6 **nyiminy=enhdheni** **yene** **gadi** **gama**
 fire=now *LOC* *3MIN.A.R.heat* *3MIN.S.R.stand*
 ‘He stands and sets him alight in the fire now.’ (T4:116)
- 7-7 **wuda=yi** **ngila** **ngana**
 water=PERF *1MIN.A.R.consume* *1MIN.S.R.walk*
 yuwa=yi **ngana**
 water=PERF *1MIN.S.R.walk*
 ‘I kept on drinking beer. Over there I went.’ (T11:53-54)
- 7-8 **nga-ngga=yi** **garru+tjak**
 3MIN.F.PRO-1/2DAT=PERF *3MIN.S.R.go somewhere+make fire*
 ‘She made a fire for you and me.’ (T6:149)
- 7-9 **wutiyirr=ve** **nyiminy**
 cypress=HAP *fire*
 ‘The firewood happens to be cypress.’ (T6:172)

- 7-10 **ganhdhi=wany** **gama**
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**
1/2S.R.sit=RECPAST=PERF 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

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
-nhdha	-nhdheni	-(e)no	-(e)ndh	-rre	-(e)yi	-ve	-(e)ya	-ga
	-ngana			-wany		-mangga		
				-wiye				

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=nhdheni ngammuru**
1/2S.stand+go back=really=now 1/2S.go somewhere
 'We are on our way coming back now.' (T8:144)

- 7-17 **yenhddhi+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.A.R.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 **dukduk awa warramben yawa=nhdha=yi**
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 nganhdhi=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=rre
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=eyi**
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=eno=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)

7-30 **wida+mede=ga**

3AUG.PRO+UAUG=FOC

yii=nhdha=ya

3MIN.NearDEIC=really=AWAY

garranya+wur+mede

3AUG.A.R.handle+pull+UAUG

'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

<i>Realis</i>	<i>Irrealis</i>	<i>Enclitic</i>	<i>Free Particle</i>
Present	Imperative/hortative		
Past	Past Conditional	-(e)yi	
Recent Past		-ngana(yi)	
Immediate Future	Future Intention	-(e)no	
	intended to but didn't	(e)no yi	
Likely Misfortune		-mangga	
Negative Declarative			way
Unlikely to		-mangga	way-
Doesn't dare to		-ve	way-
Prohibition A		-nene Stop!	
Prohibition B			gayi Don't do it!

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**
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+fly* *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 **garra+ngatj-nanga**
3MIN.S.R.go somewhere+run away-3MIN.M.ADV
 'She's running away from him.' (T9:1)

- 7-33 **garra+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+UAUG *1AUG.S.IR go somewhere*
 'Let us two (excluding addressee) set about coming back!' (T7:64)

- 7-36 **kandu dawarraborak** **purruru**
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), and (7-37) - (7-38).

- 7-37 **ngađen-na=yi** **ganeni+betj=eyi**
1MINA.R.look-2MIN.O=PERF 2MIN.S.R.walk=kick=PERF
kudjala=yi
today=PERF
 'I saw you kick him earlier today.' 1

- 7-38 **ngupel=eyi**
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).

1 I have been unable to find out why there is enclitic copying on all constituents of this utterance. More work remains to be done on this.

- 7-39 **wuda=no ngarru=ngana(=yi)**
grog=DAT 1MIN.S.R.go somewhereRECPAST(=PERF)
 '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=yi
2MIN.S.IR.go somewhere-3MIN.M.DAT=PERF
gavurru-na+betjbetj gadi=yi
3MIN.S.IR.go somewhere-2MIN.O+hold 3MIN.S.IR.sit=PERF
gama-na+gurr=eyi 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)

7.26 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.A.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.IRwalk+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.gityemerri. In both Emmi and Ngan.gityemerri, 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=yi** **ngawani**
 3MIN.FarDEIC=PURP=PERF 1MIN.S.IR.walk
 'I intended to walk over there.' (T14: 41)
- 7-48 **awa yuwa=****no=yi** **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=enhdheni=ya
almost 3MIN.A.R.hold+sink=now=AWAY
 'He almost drowns it now away fromthem.' (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.handa-1/2.O+enter+belly=LIK
gaya-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 Marrihiyel, (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.AnaphDEIC 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
 'It 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 **way=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=eve gala+duk
 NEG=HAP 3MINA.R.chop+put out fire
 He doesn't dare put the fire out.' (T3:91)

7-63 way=evi=ve gunya-ngani+wut awa
 NEG=PERF=HAP 3AUG.S.R.lie-1MIN.DAT+give meat
 'They didn't dare give me any meat.' (T25:6)

7.2.14 Prohibition: gayi 'Don't do it!'

Emmi has two ways to express prohibitions. The first, more commonly used, is **gayi** (let it lie). 'Don't!' **gayi** is the grammaticised 3 MIN Irrealis form of the inflected simple verb **ya** 'lie'. **gayi** 'Don't!' constitutes a clause in its own right, e.g. (7-66), or with a Subject pronoun, e.g. (7-65). It co-occurs with a verb inflected for Realis status, e.g. (7-64) or neutralised for status, e.g. (7-67).

7-64 manggan gayi ganinya
 mate PROH 2MIN.A.R.make
 'Mate! Don't! You're cooking it.' (T6:171)

7-65 gayi=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 gayi=ve
 knife=INSTR Don't do it=HAP
 'Cut her belly slowly. Don't dare use a knife!' (T1: 89-90)

- 7-67 *gayi* *ngarrgila+nganya* *awa*
 PROH *1/2A.consume+F.AUG* *meat*
 Don't let us women be eating the meat!

7.2.15 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=ye* *ganya=nene*
 PROH=HAP 3MIN.A.R.cook=Stop
 nyiminy *wedjirr* *wutiyirr=ye* *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 Patjtjamalh, 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 is 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=enhdheni* *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+kalh=eyi**
today=now=PERF 1MIN.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 1MIN.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 **ngurrgurr=enhdheni**
sleep=now
 'She's sleeping now.'

-(e)nhdheni '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 **-wiye** '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.IRwalk
 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 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 **-nhdhi** '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=nhdhi=no**

meat-towards speaker=PURP

gadin+thunggudi-ngarrinyela+nganya

3MIN.A.IR.elbow+send-1AUG.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)nhdheni** 'now', e.g. (7-19), (7-46) and the directional enclitic **-(e)nhdhi** '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**

wadja

where=PURP=away from speaker 2MIN.S.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 -wiye 'habitually'

-wiye '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). **-wiye** 'habitually' occurs in 1% of textual clauses.

7-81 **yuwana** **ganya+balhk=wiye**

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=wiye** **ngame+ngamen**

language bad=HAB 1MIN.S.R say+Fother

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=wiye=vi elimberre=wiye=vi
1AUG.A.Rpick 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=eyi ganen
old woman=PERF 3MIN.S.R.sit
ngata yuya yene ganen=wiye. 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=REPET
ganen pelhe
3MIN.S.R.sit oyster
 'She's sitting smashing oysters again.' (T6: 57)

7-87 wadja=nhdhe=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=eyi garru=rre
Port Darwin=PERF *3MIN.S.R.go somewhere=first*
pudan=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 **enhddheni** 'now' and **-(e)nhdhi** 'TOWARDS', e.g. (7-90).

7-90 **way=enhddheni=ndhi=mangga**

NEG=now=TOWARDS=LIK

gama+wul=enhddhi

3MIN.S.R.stand+come back=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 **rerive** **yawa** **awa mambuwalh**
fat-HAP *3MINAnaphDEIC* *meat mudskipper*

That mudskipper I mentioned happened to be fat. (T14:52)

7-92 **memerendjarrmul=eno** **ganenya**
dugong=DAT *3AUG.S.Rwalk*
way=eve **muku** **kandu djukadja**
NEG=HAP *woman* *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 **-(e)rre**, 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=TOWARDSr=FOC
 'It was my mate who spoke in my direction.' (T6:68)

7-95 **kenbi uma-ngani=nhdhi=no**
didjeridu 2MIN.A.IR.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.SR.come out-3MIN.M.DAT=RECPAST
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**
 rain=TOWARDS 3MIN.S.R.go somewhere=TOWARDS
 dukandji ngame-nga=ya=ga
 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**
 3MIN.A.R.handle+wash+buttock=FOC
 'She's washing his bum.' (T7:99)
- 7-100 **gana-ngga+varratj=mangga=ga**
 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)yi**.

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-referenced 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* yiverre=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)nhdhi** '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** **yene** **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**
 NEGCOP *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=nhdha**
 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

8-5 **pulan+parr+mari+nganya** **wakkay yaw**
 1AUG.A.R.punch+hitAUG.O+belly+F.AUG finished Eh?
 'Some of us women put everything inside [the car]. Finished.! Eh?
 (T7:3- 5).

8-7 **ava** **yiina=nhdhi** **kandu retja**
who *3MIN.M.NearDEIC=TOWARDS* *man countryman*
və **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)

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 **yenya-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**

tjinda=nene

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+varratj=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) - (8-27). For instance, when an O is co-referential with the A of the verb, the O slot is filled by the Reflexive peripheral pronominal affix, e.g. (8-26).

8-25 **ganya-Ø+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=nhdha=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**
3MINFarDEIC=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

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)

O

- 8-39 atho=no dugulhi ngavula-na+gurr=eno
later=PURP brother-in-law 1MIN.A.IR.chop-2MIN.O+hit=PURP
 'I'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 wuri
3MIN.A.R.make-3MIN.M.REFL+knee+cross 3MIN.S.R.lie bluetongue lizard
 'Bluetongue 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 Gurr-goni (Green, 1995, *op.cit.*). 4.46% of simple transitive clauses in my corpus had an A NP, compared with 7.76% for Gurr-goni (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

<i>texts</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>total</i>
<i>VI only</i>	16	17	19	29	65	44	78	106	52	16	16	73	58	3	592
<i>VT only</i>	37	8	26	29	73	50	61	106	40	85	37	46	40	1	639
<i>Total</i>	53	25	45	58	138	94	139	212	92	101	43	119	98	4	1231
<i>V only</i>															
<i>SV</i>	5	7	15	6	4	24	8	22	8	3	2	15	13	5	137
<i>OV</i>	8	7	1	5	14	11	9	8	6	12	32	5	12	0	130
<i>AV</i>	0	5	0	2	6	9	4	10	9	0	0	10	4	1	60
<i>Total</i>	13	19	16	13	24	44	21	40	23	15	34	30	29	6	327
<i>NP V</i>															
<i>VS</i>	3	5	3	10	7	4	4	3	6	0	4	3	4	2	58
<i>VO</i>	8	13	2	17	14	5	7	4	4	9	1	11	7	0	102
<i>VA</i>	0	2	1	0	3	1	3	2	0	0	2	2	2	0	18
<i>Total</i>	11	20	6	27	24	10	14	9	10	9	7	16	13	2	178
<i>V NP</i>															
<i>AVO</i>	0	0	2	1	1	0	3	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	9
<i>OVA</i>	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	6
<i>AOV</i>	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	1	1	0	8
<i>OAV</i>	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	4
<i>VAO</i>			1			1				1					1
<i>Total</i>	0	0	6	1	3	3	4	1	2	4	0	2	1	1	28
<i>2NPs</i>															
<i>AVOA</i>													1		1
<i>OAVA</i>													1		1
<i>OAVO</i>						1									1
<i>Total</i>						1							2		3
<i>3NPs</i>															
<i>Total</i>	77	64	73	98	186	149	175	262	125	126	84	166	141	12	1767
<i>clauses</i>															

8-48 O A V
 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 meydja 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
wishil=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 ^{contains} 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 ^{unreduced, fully finite} and cross-referencing and not formally marked in any way. ~~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} ~~affected by pauses, and have independent clause contours.~~

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 VPs, and the single intonation contour points to their constituting a single clause.*

8-54 **gama** + **vulhut** + **gama** ['kamaɸu|utkàma]

3MIN.S.R.stand + *beeswax* + *3MIN.S.R.stand*

'The beeswax is standing up.' (T5:8)

8-55 **guman-pitji** + **gaya** ['kumanpìcràja]

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 Gurrgoni. *The Emmei corpus contains one example of a causative dual construction (8-51-2) 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*
 '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+vorrr+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)

8-63 **demin+mari+nganya** + **verrun-na=ya**

1AUG.S.R.come out+belly+F.AUG+1AUG.S.R.go somewhere-

3MIN.M.DAT=AWAY

'We women got out from inside deliberately for him over there.' (T7:42)

Peripheral arguments can only be coded on the first verb, e.g. the Benefactive suffix in (8-64).

8-64 **agavula+djuk+kala=no** + **ngadi**

1MIN.A.IR+chop+burn-1/2AUG.BEN=PURP + 1MIN.S.IR.sit

'I'll sit and roast it for all of us.' (T11:70)

Only the first verb may incorporate a nominal, whether this is lexically incorporated, e.g. (8-63), or syntactically incorporated, e.g. (8-63).

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)

O

- 8-66 **wuda yawa** **wuda=nhdha=ga**
 grog 3MIN.A.naphDEIC *grog=really=FOC*
 garra+mot+miri + **ganen**
 3MIN.A.R.handle+get drunk+eye + 3MIN.S.R.sit
 '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).

- 8-67 **malh ngave+rri=no** + **ngadi**
 story 1MIN.AIR.pick up+tell story=PURP+1MIN.S.IRsit
 yerranguya=no
 next day=PURP
 '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).

- 8-68 **way=eyi** **gaden** + **ganen**
 NEG=PERF 3MIN.A.R.look + 3MIN.S.R.sit
 'He wasn't looking.'
- 8-69 **gayi** **ganinya** + **ganena**
 Don't 2MIN.A.R.make + 2MIN.S.R.walk
 '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 ngadenhthi+nerre + ngarru=ya**
3MIN.FarDEIC 1MIN.S.R.fall+shift position + 1MIN.S.R.go
somewhere=AWAY
 'I deliberately fell down away over there.' (T15:132)

- 8-71 **yuwa=nhdheni=rre gila=nhdheni +**
3MIN.FarDEIC=now=first 3MIN.A.R.consume=now +
ganen=enhdha=rre
3MIN.S.R.sit=really=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 aspectual 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 **ginme+nerre** 'he gets up' is semantically incongruous with the stative second verb **nen** 'sit'. The incongruity is resolved because **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 **ginme+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=enhdheni** + **gaya** **yuwa**
3MIN.S.R.walk+dance=now 3MIN.S.R.lie 3MIN.FarDEIC
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

<i>Auxiliary</i>	<i>Major second verbs</i>					<i>Minor second verbs</i>		
	<i>na</i> walk	<i>rru</i> go	<i>nen</i> sit	<i>ya</i> lie	<i>ma</i> stand	<i>rran</i> run	<i>dji</i> crawl	<i>rrame</i> creep
<i>na</i> walk	+	+	+	+				
<i>rru</i> go se	+	+	+	+	+			
<i>nen</i> sit			+					
<i>ya</i> lie	+		+		+			
<i>ma</i> stand	+	+	+	+	+			
<i>rran</i> run		+						
<i>dji</i> crawl	+							+
<i>rrame</i> creep	+							
<i>denhdhi</i> fall	+	+		+				
<i>mi</i> come out	+	+	+					
<i>nhdha</i> perch				+				
<i>nme</i> rise	+		+		+			
<i>rra</i> handle	+	+	+	+	+			
<i>man</i> poke	+	+	+	+	+			
<i>nya</i> make	+	+	+	+	+			
<i>nhdhi</i> hold	+	+	+	+	+			
<i>la</i> chop	+	+	+	+		+		
<i>lan</i> punch	+			+				
<i>la</i> consume	+		+				+	
<i>di</i> heat		+	+	+	+			
<i>din</i> elbow	+			+	+			
<i>den</i> look	+		+	+				
<i>me</i> say	+		+	+	+			
<i>men</i> pick up	+				+			
<i>gi</i> fill	+			+				
<i>ndan</i> hang			+					
<i>nhdhan</i> bury	+	+	+					
<i>nbe</i> take off							+	
<i>nbaga</i> smoke			+					

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 grammaticisation 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 grammaticisation 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. As the second verb in a serial construction, 'sit' expresses 'continuing' aspect; 'lie' expresses 'permanent state'; 'walk' expresses duration, in that the coreferential S 'keeps on doing X'; 'go somewhere' expresses deliberate intention on the part of the co-referential S; 'stand' also appears to express imperfectivity, but is harder to define than the others as it also always occurs with the literal sense 'stand'.

8.2.1.1.1 The auxiliary to the first verb is identical to the second verb

- 8-74 **wuting=nene wadja+kalkal + wadja**
vine=INSTR 2MIN.S.IR.walk+climb + 2MIN.S.IR.walk
 'Use the vine and keep climbing!.' (T15:22)
- 8-75 **ngarru-ngala + ngarru=ya**
1MIN.S.R.go somewhere-3MIN.F.BEN + 1MIN.S.R.go
somewhere=AWAY
 'I deliberately go away for her.' (T7:168)
- 8-76 **wine dhama+vutj + dhama=nhdhi**
all day 2MIN.S.IR.stand+throw + 2MIN.S.IR.stand=TOWARDS
 'Stand and throw it here to me all day!' (T14:16)
- 8-77 **ganen+rtedi+wunybe=mangga yuwana**
3MIN.S.R.sit+back+play=LIK 3MIN.M.FarDEIC
ganen
3MIN.S.R.sit
 'That boy over there is likely to be sitting on the ground playing.'
 (T5:49) ↑
- 8-78 **gaya+wiriya + gaya**
3MIN.S.R.lie+cry 3MIN.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 Guni speakers. It may ~~not~~ not be a serial construction, ^{but} because it is equally well construable as 'That boy over there is sitting. He is probably playing.' and, second, because the overt NP breaks the phonological link between the two verbs.

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.Ruse 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.IR.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 ^{only} ~~one~~ ^a 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'; **dji** 'crawl' and **garra** '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.A.IR.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+garra + 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)

Nb (8-94)

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 **yuwa=ya** **gaya + ganen**
 3MIN.FarDEIC=Away *3MIN.S.R.lie + 3MIN.S.R.sit*
 'She's lying over there.'

In the case of **ya** 'lie', semantic incongruity in (8-96) makes the literal meaning 'lie' implausible.

8-96 yuwanga garra-nga+vuritj=enhdheni +
 3MIN.F.FarDEIC 3MIN.A.R.handle-3MIN.F.REFL-clean=now +
 gaya=ya=rre
 3MIN.S.R.lie=AWAY=first
 garra+vuritj+dorr=enhdheni + gaya
 3MIN.A.R.handle+clean+ground=now + 3MIN.S.R.lie
 yuwa
 3MIN.FarDEIC
 'That girl over there first bends over away from them now, cleaning
 herself. She's bending over cleaning the ground now over there.'
 (T9:30 - 31)

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 ^{In (8-97) this} relative clause in the corpus specifies a common argument. ^{λ λ} 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.fall 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

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 **ngadenhdhi=yi** **ngunu** **angiye=nhdheni=yi**
 1MIN.S.R.fall=PERF and then 1MIN.S.R.lie-now=PERF
nga=ga **ngunu** **girran+mbul=enhdhi=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** **gama-adjawa-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

wurruṁ 'last rainy season'

wurruṁ wurruṁ '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.

Berringin (Basedow)	Emmi (phonemic)	Wogait (Basedow)	English gloss
yerra	yere	bambad	boy
tchiparre	tjipelh	midalong	girl
borlo	polo	ngamuyuk	grey
dalyuk	delyak	ngabali	old woman
biya	viye	buja	head
yin	yin	wija	nose
jongi	tjengi	boborre	ear
onnagaba	ngalhdirri	ngadal	tongue
dirr	dirr	dido	teeth
yingi	yingi	wing	breast
deddi	rtedi	babbera	back
nungur	nunggu	ngallo	hand
minma	karra	delma	shoulder
morro	murru	bor	testicle
gumbo	gumbu	jut	foot
morro	moro	moung	buttocks
ouda	wuda	wiuk	water
[blank]	nyiminy	win	fire
dumor	tjumu	wingal	smoke
marrouk	merrewuk	marrouk	wind
bundenyiba	penendjiba	murre	star
mauperl	ngupelh	moradja	night
allungarinya	elangurinye	ngaurun	emu
warambenn	waramben	wilarr	crocodile
nganji	nganhdhi	nganjit	one
meidya	meyidja	barkardommalang	two
meida nganji	meyidja nganhdhi	barkarda nganjit	three
gau	gaw	gau-a	come!

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.

Berringin (Basedow)	Emmi (phonemic)	Wogait (Basedow)	Gloss
wun	wuny	gork	<i>cloud</i>
wanarre	kunbilin	gunbilin	<i>thunder</i>
ganin baubwi	kunbilin	mira waminwa	<i>lightning</i>
ouda	wuda	woung	<i>rain</i>
kingal	pinggal	gaira	<i>moon</i>
kanmerre	kanymerre	daiyuk	<i>sun</i>
birrunnga	purungu	muit	<i>kangaroo</i>
mamirrjerramullo	memerendjarmul	mamirrimderrombull	<i>dugong</i>
galgare	[blank]	marum	<i>wild duck</i>
rungorongorre	rungurrungurr	marut	<i>crab</i>
gelak	[blank]	wallibit	<i>flying fox</i>
nuro	yorro	urak	<i>grass helmet</i>
jun	tjun	dun	<i>small woomera</i>
mileri	tjura	wangurre	<i>fighting stick</i>
jinbi	tjinbi	jinbi	<i>megalatractus arvanus shellfish sp.</i>
ounga	lhunggu	ngarmang	<i>melo diadema</i>
tchellorra	tjelerre	tchellorra	<i>armlet of reeds</i>
diya	diya	dell	<i>message-stick</i>
kanbi	kanbi	kanbi	<i>bamboo trumpet</i>
marre	merr	marrobidja	<i>hair</i>
ngorre	ngur	ngura	<i>penis</i>
berra	vere	barra	<i>arm</i>
diri	thimi	widyuk	<i>lump</i>
loumba	lhumbu	belem	<i>thigh</i>
arra	arra	karoll	<i>shin</i>
jidirre	rtdi mu	biyuk beberra	<i>backbone</i>
banba	panba	midang gujuk djurat	<i>clitoris</i>
outarre	wutharr	ngalgin	<i>sea</i>
jinda	tjinda	dawarra	<i>1 1/2 ft spear</i>
karabil	tjinda	walgann	<i>emu spear</i>
wonbella	wanbela	bermalukk	<i>10ft spear with quartzite tip</i>
diya	diya	del	<i>bamboo spear</i>
meligin	konyne	mimgnam	<i>mangrove spear</i>
modurin	[blank]	gawunmang	<i>stone tomahawk</i>
manbuk	[blank]	marebit	<i>banyan axe-shaft</i>
manbuk	menbok	kalan	<i>woomera</i>
damatba	arra	jamatba	<i>coolibah club</i>
mituore	mitiwurr	mitpolla	<i>ironwood club</i>
marrepan	warrgadi	warregiddi	<i>dillybag</i>
dawa	tjawa	wockbutt	<i>basket</i>
wuri	wurri	jopperre	<i>shell to cut spear barbs</i>
wonberra	[blank]	bammerak	<i>stone circumcision knife</i>
moa	ngalh	djerroa	<i>fish hook</i>

Berringin (Basedow)	Emmi (phonemic)	Wogait (Basedow)	English gloss
gwalilit	[blank]	ngorrwin	<i>haematite</i>
mellon	mele	ganbat	<i>ironwood mallet for cycad-nuts</i>
ditel	tithilh	nanga	<i>clapsticks</i>
jaldukk	[blank]	kanoburre	<i>bent stick for wild honey</i>
(w)inderra	minhdharra	minganen	<i>firestick</i>
dillo	[blank]	mit	<i>decorated call-stick for girls</i>
ngauit	ngutj	winmallon	<i>devildevil</i>
mamurrng	mamurrng	mammurrng	<i>invitation</i>
bina	pin	mongbullut	<i>raw sugar bag</i>
merina	merreny	murin/allanga	<i>onion-like plant</i>
derrijoal	wererrdje	yuor	<i>edible bulbs</i>
korgon/kugam	kugun	nem	<i>wild honey</i>
wiarre	wiyerr	mokmok	<i>xanthomela shellfish sp</i>
gwiye	welhetj	bandala	<i>paperbark hut</i>
jerre	[blank]	uung	<i>circular hut</i>
ngodeji	[blank]	murin	<i>hat</i>
gurarirr/guraril	kurerirr	bulkang	<i>hair belt</i>
kalta	[blank]	bait	<i>necklace</i>
gik	[blank]	bik	<i>chestband</i>
berrimarangu	pirrmalanggu	berrimalangu	<i>pearl ornament</i>
dida	dirr	dida	<i>kangaroo tooth head band</i>
bijuka	bijuka	[blank]	<i>headband</i>
tchier	[blank]	nirr	<i>possum-fur head band</i>
mitchirrim	mitjirrim	medangmuiri	<i>dogtail ornament</i>

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 Patjiamalh lexeme, believing it to be Emmi. In these instances, the correct Emmi lexeme is provided, preceded by E.

Capell	Emmi	Gloss
ala	ela	mother
*alara	elewerre	bush
*alawa	alawa	bank of river; shore, sand
alawara	elewerre	country
alawur	alawur	right (right hand)
ami?	emmi	what?
anme	enme	path, road, track
ara	arra	lower leg
auwa	awa	meat, fish
aʒa ?	ava	who?
ba:bag	pepek	weak
badjam	patjam	axe handle
bagbi:a	vepiya	full, like a bucket
baibai	vayvay	fur of animal, feather of bird
-baiani rarnu	rarn+mbul	to run
bara	vere	branch of tree
barimari	marrimarri	knife
barmin	wukuk	mopoke
begu gandu	pegu; kandu	married man (wife;husband)
*belele	pelele	chickenhawk
bera	perre	bush rat
berendjuʒa	penendive	a star
bi	bi	white
bi:a	viye	head
bilam	pilem	mud
bi:mi	pimi	alive; Manda <u>bumu</u>
bi:mirigurin	pimirigurriny	greedy
*bingara	vinggar	knee
bira	porre	cloud
*biridi	mirridi	porcupine
birinj	piriny	body (of person); tree trunk
gara ɲan birinj.	garra-ngany+piriny	I am tired
*biriri	pirriri	axe
bo'bolobol	vavalvaval	empty
boran	parany	opossum
budji	puthi	mosquito
*bugara	pogarra	afternoon
buldjarg	P bultjerrk; E waruk	eaglehawk
bu'rur	purwur	blood
bugu	poko	a fly
bulu	polo	old man
darara	derrere	beard (hot) (E merrebet 'beard')
-dabur	wadja+purr	to stamp (dance!)
wanɲa ɲadabur	wangga ngana+purr	I dance

<i>Capell</i>	<i>Emmi</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
dadi	rtdi	back
dadi mo	rtdimu	spine
dagur	wunngarr	yellow
daman	thaman	bandicoot
-dama woradj	dhama+varratj	to jump (jump!)
-danamir	dhela+morr	to cover up (cover it up!)
da:r	nanggatji	clothes (set of clothes)
dara	derre	charcoal
darašada	dhelarra-papa	meet (meet!)
gudinjala d.	gulinyi+mari+vava+mede	they 2 meet
dašin	defin	dingo
dawara	thawarr	tree
dadiman	rtdimen	rainbow
de:la	derela	slow
'demina	demina	snake
denor	thenerr	frilled lizard
-di -di širia	wudi+wiriya	to cry (cry!)
di wandana	wudi+manhdha	to sing (sing!)*
didi	mari	belly
didir	thidirr	whirlwind
(ŋan) dimdjane	ngana+dim+tjengi	to forget (I forget. lit. I sink my ear)
-dini	ninga	to sit, be seated, stay (sit!)
-dinja manda 'šinjila	ninga+na+manhdha-winyela	to wait for a person (wait for them!)
dir	dirr	tooth
dirmal	dirrmel	black cockatoo
diwia	matimati	grasshopper
do:ra wurag	dawarraborak	'clever man'
dugandji	dukandji	big
dugur mada	thunggurr+manhdha	back of neck
dumuwidwudi	demi+wulytji+wulytji	kidney
djadjawadj	tjetjawutj	left side
'djagadgir	danggun	strong
-djanu	djuk	to cook on the fire
djaraman	tjarmang	single man (uninitiated man)
djeni	tjengi	temple of head
(ŋan-) djidad	malh=eno nganya-therre	I ask a question
djinda	yawa	this, that
djumu	tjumu	smoke
djuibor	tjulvorr	goose (magpie goose)
'djurjura	tjungara	black
gadgad	katkat	white eagle
gadji (ŋan) djarar	gadi-ngany=therel	I am thirsty
gaganani juŋani	gak=enhdeni=ya ngawani=no	I leave (I will go away, away from speaker and addressee)
gaganana ŋanŋuru	gak=eno ngavurru	I go away (I will go away)
galNog	P. kalanguk 'blowfly'	a bat
galgal	kalhkalh	leaf
galan	kalen	the sky (E Milky Way) (E miranhda sky)

<i>Capell</i>	<i>Emmi</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
gamabir M. ŋamabir (no -ga-)	gama+pirr; ngama+pirr	to throw away
ga'mawul	gama+wul	to go back
ga-ma-wul'dara	gama+wul dharay	to come back
gambaganbi	elangurinye	freshwater crocodile
ganbi	kenbi	bamboo
gandu	kandu	man
ganmer	kanymer	the sun
ganjaboi (bia)	polo+viye	grey (haired)
gara	karra	shoulder
-garad	gar	to bite
garawala	karrawala	a cave
gawinmenara ŋadamanu	ngavinmen+nerre ngadhama=no	I stand up, arise
giar	tjerr	spider
gidja:g	kitjalhak	small
gilag	kilhak	white cockatoo
gi'la:woda	gila+wuda	dead
ginda	tjinda	a spear
(g-)inmanara	ginme+nerre	to fly, as bird (s/he gets up)
giruwiridj	kirrwulitj	y.B.
gowaranj (ŋan)	nginen+erwe	(I) laugh (I laugh)
gudjibe	kudjive	pelican
gugun	kugun	honey
gulug	kulhok	blind
guma (ŋan) da mari	guman-ngany+da+mari	(I am) sad, sorry (I feel sad)
gumbu	kumbu	foot
gumbu dungunbiri	thunggunpirri	heel
gumendjib	guman+tjip	evening
gunbilin	kunbilin	thunder
gurarirr	kurerirr	hairbelt
gurubara	kurr+er	kookaburra
guruwu	kuruwu	native companion
igal	kunbilin	lightning
-ilana	yila	eat
dani ŋailana	ngayila+no	I eat (I will eat)
iŋa	yive	a sore
-jandi	nguman-ngani+bet+tjengi	to remember (I remember lit. I spear my ear open)
jaŋamiridani	yangumiri=nhdheni	a little girl (now)
jara	yerre	1.ghost, spirit of person 2.pandanus (pandanus tree) (E ngutj).
jela	ngurir	ashes (white ashes, for chewing)
jerrjana (ŋa-) dama	yerr+ngama	I stand (I stand up straight)
(aŋadin) jiljil	angaden yilyil	I know (I see true)
jimin	nyiminy	fire
ji:n	yin	nose
jiŋi	yingi	breast, nipple
jinobobo gola	yunga+vuvu-kala	I blow with the mouth (Blow it for us!)

<i>Capell</i>	<i>Emmi</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
jiri	yirri	tail of animal
jiru	yorro	grass
jo naniwud	yunga-ngani+wut (Give it me!)	I ask for
jiwanda narjinan	ngiye-miri+therre	I answer
lalaur miri	lawut+miri	pass
gumunji	gumunyi+lawut	they pass each other
lari	lerri	happy
lumbu	lhumbu	thigh
-madedodedi u	yena+rtedi	(knock!)
-maedo ? (dedinala)	yena+rtedi-nela	to knock (knock for him!)
madi	madi	barramundi
madimadi	matimati	butterfly
-madin	ma+tin	to be still, of the wind
maian	mayan	black duck
malagana	yere kirr gana	small boy, just walking
malagomboda: g	[blank]	noon, midday
malanu njaβana	malh=eno ngaveme	I speak (I will tell a story)
malga	marrga	a flower
maligidu	maligita	long
-mamaji	kakap	to call, summon
manalg	manarrk	large 'roo
manbug	menbok	wommera
manda	manhdha	throat, arm
maneim	manim	correct, right
-mangur	man+gurr	to spear, shoot
marj'gan	manggan	wife
maran	merreny	large lily root
marasβad	merrebet	moustache
marasβadgandani	merrebet=enhdheni	a boy after initiation
maridjugu	maridjugu	hungry
maruguda	merrguda	quick
maruwug	merrewuk	wind
mari	mari	chest
mari ram	mar+ ram	belly
mauwinj	mawuny	ironwood
mela	mele	e.B
memer	dorr	earth, ground
mi -nandi	mi-+ngany=nhdhi	to shine (emerge near speaker)
birgal gami ganandi	pinggal gami gana=nhdhi	the moon emerge near speaker)
mia	miya	veg. food
midiwur	mitiwurr	throwing stick
mi:dja	mevidja	two
mi:dja'andi	mevidja+nganhdhi	three
mi:djami:dja	mevidja+mevidja	four
modjirim	mitjirim	dog
mindalar	minhdhelerr	centipede
mindara	minhdharra	firestick, as carried
minjir	minyirr	black ant
mi'ridjun	moridjin	heart
midiri	midiri	ankle

<i>Capell</i>	<i>Emmi</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
miri	miri	eye, seed
miru	moro	buttocks
mo	mu	bone
mobir ɲana	ngana+mu+birr	I uncover it
mogo	muku	woman
mogondini	muku=nhdheni	girl at and after puberty
momo	mamu	a turkey
moruwan	murwan	jealous
moloridj	mulirritj	impertinent, cheeky
moloro	pulirritj	lame
mongol	monggolh	angry
murru	murru	egg
nala	nela	good
nandu	nendu	horse
naran	ngarran	iguana
nila	nila	father
nunɲgu	nunggu	hand
njegur	nyuku	wrong, incorrect (lie)
njagur	nya+gurr	to hit
-njaβanu	nya+valh=eno	to break
ɲada	P. ngardal; E ngalh	mouth, lip
ɲadi	ngathi	daughter
'ɲadirii	ngalhdirri	tongue
-ɲadam	ngaden	to see
-ɲadan	ngaden	to see; to send
-ɲadin (mo	ngaden+mu	to look for
ɲalai	ngayngay	light (alight.)
ɲamema	ngammama	deaf
ɲandi	nganhdhi	one
-ɲanibir	ngana+pirr	to lose (leave)
ɲaramurmuridj	therrguda	jaw, chin
-udinwar	wudin+war	(some of us lift it)
ganmer gudinwar	kanyemerr gudin+war	(the sun lifts itself)
-βa	rra+betj	to get, obtain
-βa'gurdedi	kurr+rtedi	to put, place
βana	men	to take
βana βindjira	winydjerre	
-βana-wadamu	rra+viyeviye	to collect, gather things
Bediɲadj	ngatj	to hide, conceal
βedjir	wedjirr	bad
βera	vere	arm
βerila	perrele	liver
-βerindi	verru=nhdhi	to come quickly (hurry!)
βiria	wiriya	to cry

<i>Capell</i>	<i>Emmi</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
ßira Birina	worwene	st of bird
-ßunbedur	rra+pilitj+miri	to show, display
ßundu	ronhtho	short
-wadandi	yedenhdhi	to fall
wadi danggudu	wudi+thunggudu	to push
wadi wuruwur	wudi+war	to pull (pull it!)
walagur	vula+gurr	to shoot with a gun (shoot it!)
walgug	[blank]	fruit
wandana	manhdha=no	to sing
-wandi	yenhdhi	to carry (carry!)
ñawandidina	ngawanhdhi	I bring something
wanga	wan.ga	shark
wanindi	wadja=nhdhi	to come slowly (come here!)
wani wadana	wadja=no	to walk about
-wananir	ngarra-ngani+yirr	to scratch (I scratch myself)
wannga	wangga	a corroboree, dance
waramban	waramben	salt water crocodile
wargadi	warrgadi	a bag, basket
wi	wuyi	stringybark
widjajara	widjangur	scorpion
winjbu	welhetj	paperbark
wirigal	kal	to climb
wirwadj	vatj	to throw
wiwir	wirwir	to blow, of wind
wodabedjina	ninga+bet	to watch
(ña-) woda naja	walbin+ngana	to dodge a spear
wodjanbo	mutjing	thin
wodjilanma	widji+lenme	to swim (swim!)
wogai	wakkay	done
narjara 'wogai	ngarra wakkay	I finish it
wogurug	waguruk	ground honey
wongani	wungguni	sister ,m.s.
wuda	wuda	rain, water
wuda nala	wuda nela	fresh water
wudara	wutharr	salt water
wugug	wukuk	owl
wulia	wuliya	a baby
wulu	wulu	a feather
wuluna	wuluna	a bird (gen)
wunjinginj	winyingginj	a boomerang
wungu	wunggu	stingray
wururjo	purungu	small 'roo
wururi	wuriwuri	red

Appendix C: Auxiliary verb paradigms

(i) ya 'lie'

	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)ngiya	ngayi
1/2MIN	ngammiya	
2MIN	ganiya	yunga
3MIN	gaya	gayi
1UAUG	yun+mede	ngarriya+mede
1/2UAUG	ngammiya+mede/ngarrgiya+mede	
2UAUG	garriya+mede	yungarra+mede
3UAUG	gunya+mede	pirriya+mede
1AUG	yun-	ngarriya
1/2AUG	ngammiya +nganya/+ninya ngarrgiya	
2AUG	garriya	yungarra
3AUG	gunya	pirriya

(ii) nen 'sit'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)nginen	ngadi
1/2MIN	ngamminen	
2MIN	ganinen	ninga
3MIN	ganen	gadi
1UAUG	nin+mede	ngarrin+mede
1/2UAUG	ngamminen+mede/ngarrgin+mede	
2UAUG	garrinen+mede	ningarra+mede
3UAUG	gunin+mede	pirrin+mede
1AUG	nin	ngarrin
1/2AUG	ngamminen +nganya/+ninya ngarrgin	
2AUG	garrinen	ningarra
3AUG	gunin	pirrin

(ii) ma 'stand'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)ngama	ngadhama
1/2MIN	ngammama	
2MIN	ganama	dhama
3MIN	gama	gadhama
1UAUG	dhaman+mede	ngarrama+mede
1/2UAUG	ngammama+mede/ ngarrgama+mede	
2UAUG	garrama+mede	dhamarra+mede
3UAUG	gumanya+mede	purrama+mede
1AUG	dhaman	ngarrama
1/2AUG	ngammama +nganya/+ninya ngarrgama	
2AUG	garrama	dhamarra
3AUG	gumanya	purrama

(iɿ) rru 'go somewhere'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a) ngarru	ngavurru
1/2MIN	ngammurru	
2MIN	ganurru	verru
3MIN	garru	gavurru
1UAUG	verrun	ngarruru
1/2UAUG	ngammurru+mede/ ngarrgurru+mede	
2UAUG	garruru+mede	verrura+mede
3UAUG	gunymurru+mede	purrruru+mede
1AUG	verrun	ngarruru
1/2AUG	ngamurru +nganya/+ninya ngarrgurru	
2AUG	garruru	verrura
3AUG	gunymurru	purrruru

(v) na 'walk'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)ngana	ngawani
1/2MIN	ngammani	
2MIN	ganani	wadja
3MIN	gana	gawani
1UAUG	wadjan+mede	ngarrani+mede
1/2UAUG	ngammani-mede/ngarrgani-mede	
2UAUG	garrini+mede	wadjarra+mede
3UAUG	ganenya+mede	parrani+mede
1AUG	wadjan	ngarrini
1/2AUG	ngammani +nganya/+ninya ngarrgani	
2AUG	garrini	wadjarra
3AUG	ganenya	parrani

(vi) denhdhi 'fall down'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)ngadenhdhi	ngawadenhdhi
1/2MIN	ngammadenhdhi	
2MIN	gadenhdhi	yedenhdhi
3MIN	gadenhdhi	gawadenhdhi
1UAUG	yedenhdhin+mede	ngarradenhdhi+mede
1/2UAUG	ngammadenhdhi+mede/ngarradenhdhi+mede	
2UAUG	garradenhdhi+mede	yedirrenhdhi+mede
3UAUG	gadenhdhenya+mede	parradenhdhi+mede
1AUG	yedenhdhin	ngarradenhdhi
1/2AUG	ngammadenhdhi +nganya/+ninya ngarradenhdhi	
2AUG	garradenhdhi	yedirrenhdhi
3AUG	gadenhdhenya	parradenhdhi

(vii) mi 'come out'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)ngemi	ngayimi
1/2MIN	ngemmimi	
2MIN	ganemi	yemi
3MIN	gemi	geyimi
1UAUG	yemin+mede	ngerrimi+mede
1/2UAUG	ngemmimi+mede/ngerrimi+mede	
2UAUG	gerrimi+mede	yerrimi+mede
3UAUG	geminya+mede	pirrimi+mede
1AUG	yemin	ngerrimi
1/2AUG	ngemmimi +nganya/+ninya ngerrimi	
2AUG	gerrimi	yerrimi
3AUG	geminya	pirrimi

(viii) nhdha 'perch'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a) nganhdha	ngawanhdha
1/2MIN	ngammanhdha	
2MIN	ganandha	yenhdhe
3MIN	ganhdha	gawanhdha
1UAUG	yenhdhen+mede	ngarrenhdhi+mede
1/2UAUG	ngammanhdha+mede/ngarrganhdha+mede	
2UAUG	garranhdha+mede	yenhdherra+mede
3UAUG	ganhdhanya+mede	parranhdha+mede
1AUG	yenhdhen	ngarrenhdhi
1/2AUG	ngammanhdha +nganya/+ninya ngarrganhdha	
2AUG	garranhdha	yenhdherra
3AUG	ganhdhanya	parranhdha

(ix) nme 'rise'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)nginme	ngavinme
1/2MIN	ngamminme	
2MIN	ganinme	vinme
3MIN	ginme	gavinme
1UAUG	vinmen+mede	ngarrinme+mede
1/2UAUG	ngamminme+mede/ngarrginme+mede	
2UAUG	garrinme+mede	vinmerra+mede
3UAUG	ginmenya+mede	pirrinme+mede
1AUG	vinmen	ngarrinme
1/2AUG	ngamminme +nganya+-ninya ngarrgiame	
2AUG	garrinme	vinmerra
3AUG	ginmenya	pirrinme

(x) dji 'crawl'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)ngidji	bgawidji
1/2MIN	ngammidji	
2MIN	ganidji	widji
3MIN	gidji	gawidji
1UAUG	widjin+mede	ngarridji+mede
1/2UAUG	ngammidji+mede/ ngarrgidji+mede	
2UAUG	ngarridji+mede	widjirri+mede
3UAUG	gidjinye+mede	pirridji+mede
1AUG	widjin	ngarridji
1/2AUG	ngammidji +nganya/ +ninya ngarrgidji	
2AUG	garridji	widjirri
3AUG	gidjinye	pirridji

(xi) rran 'use legs'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)ngirran	ngadhirra
1/2MIN	ngammirra	
2MIN	ganirra	dhirra
3MIN	girran	gadhirra
1UAUG	dhirran+mede	ngarrirra+mede
1/2UAUG	ngammirra+mede/ ngarrgirra+mede	
2UAUG	girrira+mede	dhirrira+mede
3UAUG	girrinya+mede	pirrinya+mede
1AUG	dhirran	ngarrira
1/2AUG	ngammirra +nganya/+ninya ngarrgirra	
2AUG	girrira	dhirrira
3AUG	girrinya	pirrinya

(xii) rrame 'creep'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)ngarrame	ngawarre
1/2MIN	ngammarrame	
2MIN	ganarrame	warre
3MIN	garrame	gawarre
1UAUG	warren-mede	ngarraramede
1/2UAUG	ngammarrame+mede/ngarrgarrame+mede	
2UAUG	garraramede	warrere+mede
3UAUG	garramenya+mede	parraramede
1AUG	warren	ngarrarrame
1/2AUG	ngammarrame +nganya/+ninya ngarrgarrame	
2AUG	garraramede	warrere
3AUG	garramenya	parraramede

(xiii) rra 'handle'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)ngarra	ngawarra
1/2MIN	ngammarra	
2MIN	ganarra	yerra
3MIN	garra	gawarra
1UAUG	yerran+mede	ngarrara+mede
1/2UAUG	ngammarra+mede/ngarrgarra+mede	
2UAUG	garrara+mede	yerrara+mede
3UAUG	garranya-mede	parrara+mede
1AUG	yerran	ngarrara
1/2AUG	ngammarra +nganya/+ninya ngarrgarra-	
2AUG	garrara	yerrara
3AUG	garranya	parrara

(xiv) nya 'make'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)nganya	ngawanya
1/2MIN	ngammanya	
2MIN	ganinya	yenye
3MIN	ganya	gawanya
1UAUG	yenyen+mede	ngarrinya+mede
1/2UAUG	ngammanya+mede/ngarrganya+mede	
2UAUG	garrinya+mede	yenyerri+mede
3UAUG	guninya+mede	parranya+mede
1AUG	yenyen	ngarrinya
1/2AUG	ngammanya +nganya/+ninya ngarrganya	
2AUG	garrinya	yenyerri
3AUG	guninya	parranya

(xv) man 'poke'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)nguman	ngama
1/2MIN	ngammuman	
2MIN	ganaman	uma
3MIN	guman	gaman
1UAUG	uman+mede	ngarruman+mede
1/2UAUG	ngammuman+mede/ngarrguman+mede	
2UAUG	gurruman+mede	umarra+mede
3UAUG	gumanya+mede	purruman+mede
1AUG	uman	ngarruman
1/2AUG	ngammuman +nganya/+ninya ngarrguman	
2AUG	gurruman	umarra
3AUG	gumanya	purruman

(xvi) 'la chop'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)ngala	ngavula
1/2MIN	ngammula	
2MIN	ganula	vula
3MIN	gala	gavula
1UAUG	vulan+mede	ngarrula+mede
1/2UAUG	ngammula+mede/ngarrula+mede	
2UAUG	garrula+mede	vularra+mede
3UAUG	gulanya+mede	purrula+mede
1AUG	vulan	ngarrula
1/2AUG	ngammula +nganya/+ninya ngarrula	
2AUG	garrula	vularra
3AUG	gulanya	purrula

(xvii) lan 'punch'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)ngalan	ngadhalan
1/2MIN	ngammalan	
2MIN	ganalan	dhela
3MIN	galan	gadhalan
1UAUG	dhelan+mede	ngarralan+mede
1/2UAUG	ngammalan+mede/ngarralan+mede	
2UAUG	garralan+mede	dhelarra+mede
3UAUG	galanya+mede	parralan+mede
1AUG	dhelan	ngarralan
1/2AUG	ngammalan +nganya/+ninya ngarralan	
2AUG	garralan	dhelarra
3AUG	galanya	parralan

(xviii) din 'elbow'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)ngudin	ngawadi
1/2MIN	ngammudin	
2MIN	ganidin	wudi
3MIN	gudin	gadin
1UAUG	wudin+mede	ngurridin+mede
1/2UAUG	ngammudin+mede/ngarrgidin+mede	
2UAUG	garridin+mede	wudirra+mede
3UAUG	gudinya+mede	purridin+mede
1AUG	wudin	ngurridin
1/2AUG	ngammudin +nganya/+ninya ngarrgidin	
2AUG	garridin	wudirra
3AUG	gudinya	purridin

(xix) men 'pick up'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)ngemen	ngave
1/2MIN	ngammamen	
2MIN	ganemen	me
3MIN	gamen	gave
1UAUG	men+mede	ngarramen+mede
1/2UAUG	ngammamen+mede/ ngarrgamen+mede	
2UAUG	garremen+mede	merra+mede
3UAUG	gumenya+mede	porromen+mede
1AUG	men	ngarramen
1/2AUG	ngammamen +nganya/+ninya ngarrgamen	
2AUG	garremen	merra
3AUG	gumenya	porromen

(xx) me 'say, do; feel'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)ngame	ngaveme
1/2MIN	ngammeme	
2MIN	ganeme	manganbe
3MIN	game	gaveme
1UAUG	men+mede	ngarreme+mede
1/2UAUG	ngammeme+mede/ngarrgame+mede	
2UAUG	garreme+mede	mangarra+mede
3UAUG	gamenya+mede	porromen+mede
1AUG	men	ngarreme
1/2AUG	ngammeme +nganya/+ninya ngarrgame	
2AUG	garreme	mangarra
3AUG	gamenya	porromen

(xx) nhthan 'bury'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)ngunhthan	ngawunhthan
1/2MIN	ngammunhthan	
2MIN	ganunhthan	wunhtha
3MIN	gunhthan	gawunhthan
1UAUG	wunhthan+mede	ngarrunhthan+mede
1/2UAUG	ngammunhthan+mede	
2UAUG	garrunhthan+mede	wuntharra+mede
3UAUG	gunhthanya+mede	purrunhthan+mede
1AUG	wunhthan	ngarrunhthan
1/2AUG	ngammunhthan +nganya/+ninya ngarrgunhthan	
2AUG	garrunhthan	wuntharra
3AUG	gunhthanya	purrunhthan

(xxii) ndan 'hang up'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)ngandan	ngawandan
1/2MIN	ngammandan	
2MIN	ganendan	yende
3MIN	gandan	gawandan
1UAUG	yenden+mede	ngarrandan+mede
1/2UAUG	ngammandan+mede/ngarrgandan+mede	
2UAUG	garrandan+mede	yenderra+mede
3UAUG	gandanya+mede	parrandan+mede
1AUG	yenden	ngarrandan
1/2AUG	ngammandan +nganya/+ninya ngarrgandan	
2AUG	garrandan	yenderra
3AUG	gandanya	parrandan

(xxiii) nhdhi 'hold'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a) nganhdhi	ngawanhdhi
1/2MIN	ngammanhdhi	
2MIN	ganenhdhi	yenhdhi
3MIN	ganhdhi	gawanhdhi
1UAUG	yenhdhin+mede	ngarranhdhi+mede
1/2UAUG	ngammanhdhi+mede/ngarrganhdhi-+mede	
2UAUG	garrenhdhi+mede	yenhdhirra+mede
3UAUG	ganhdhinya+mede	parranhdhi+mede
1AUG	yenhdhin	ngarranhdhi
1/2AUG	ngammanhdhi +nganya/+ninya ngarrganhdhi	
2AUG	garrenhdhi	yenhdhirra
3AUG	ganhdhinya	parranhdhi

(xxiv) den 'look'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)ngaden	ngawaden
1/2MIN	ngamma ⁴⁴¹	
2MIN	gaden	yeda
3MIN	gaden	gawaden
1UAUG	yedan+mede	ngarraden+mede
1/2UAUG	ngammaden+mede/ngarrgaden+mede	
2UAUG	garraden+mede	yederra+mede
3UAUG	gadenya+mede	parraden+mede
1AUG	yedan	ngarraden
1/2AUG	ngammaden +nganya/+ninya ngarrgaden	
2AUG	garraden	yederra
3AUG	gadenya	parraden

(xxv) la 'consume'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a) ngila	ngayila
1/2MIN	mgammila	
2MIN	ganila	yila
3MIN	gila	gayila
1UAUG	gilan+mede	ngarrila+mede
1/2UAUG	ngammila+mede/ngarrgila+mede	
2UAUG	garrila+mede	yilarra+mede
3UAUG	gilanya+mede	parranya+mede
1AUG	yilan	ngarrila
1/2AUG	ngammila- +nganya/+ninya ngarrgila	
2AUG	garrila	yilarra
3AUG	gilanya	parranya

(xxvi) nmen 'smell something'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)nginmen	ngavinmen
1/2MIN	ngamminmen	
2MIN	ganinmen	vinme
3MIN	ginmen	gavinmen
1UAUG	vinmen-+mede	ngarrinmen+mede
1/2UAUG	ngamminmen-+mede/ngarrinmen+mede	
2UAUG	garrinmen+mede	vinmerru+mede
3UAUG	ginmenya-+mede	pirrinmen+mede
1AUG	vinmen	ngarrinmen
1/2AUG	ngamminmen +nganya/+ninya ngarrinmen	
2AUG	garrinmen	vinmerru
3AUG	ginmenya	pirrinmen

(xxvii) nbe 'take off someone'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)nginbe	ngavinbe
1/2MIN	ngamminbe	
2MIN	ganinbe	vinbe
3MIN	ginbe	gavinbe
1UAUG	vinben+mede	ngarrinbe+mede
1/2UAUG	ngamminbe+mede/ngarrinbe+mede	
2UAUG	garrinbe+mede	vinberre+mede
3UAUG	ginbenya+mede	pirrinbe+mede
1AUG	vinben	ngarrinbe
1/2AUG	ngamminbe +nganya/+ninya ngarrinbe	
2AUG	garrinbe	vinberre
3AUG	ginbenya	pirrinbe

(xxviii) gi 'fill'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)ngagi	ngawagi
1/2MIN	ngammagi	
2MIN	ganagi	yegi
3MIN	gagi	gawagi
1UAUG	yegin-+mede	ngarragi-+mede
1/2UAUG	ngammagi+mede/ngarragi+mede	
2UAUG	garragi+mede	yegirra+mede
3UAUG	gaginya+mede	parragi+mede
1AUG	yegin	ngarragi
1/2AUG	ngammagi +nganya/+ninya ngarragi	
2AUG	garragi	yegirra
3AUG	gaginya	parragi

(xxix) nbaga 'smoke cigarette'

Person	Realis	Irrealis
1MIN	(a)ngunbaga	ngavunbaga
1/2MIN	ngammunbaga	
2MIN	ganunbaga	vunbaga
3MIN	gunbaga	gavunbaga
1UAUG	vunbagan+mede	ngarramunbaga+mede
1/2UAUG	ngammunbaga+mede/ngarrumunbaga+mede	
2UAUG	garrumunbaga+mede	vunbagarra+mede
3UAUG	gunbaganya+mede	purumanbaga+mede
1AUG	vunbagan	ngarramunbaga
1/2AUG	ngammunbaga +nganya/+ninya ngarrumunbaga	
2AUG	garrumunbaga	vunbagarra
3AUG	gunbaganya	purumanbaga

(

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**
granddaughter 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 nit
 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 nit=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 nit
 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 nit=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 nit=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 swallow ing 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. **gama-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. **vere=nhdheni=ya**
arm=now=AWAY
gama-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. **gama-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. **tjubuldu** **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** **rteḍi ngalhngalh**
3MIN.S.R.lie+touch+buttock=now back mouthREDUP
 She's touching the surface of the deep water now.
37. **rteḍi 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+gadjuk+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**
1/2.S.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 wanhdhi=nhdha gana wanhdhi=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. **ganhdhi+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. **noif=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. **girrinnya+mbul everywhere now**
3AUG.S.R.use legs+run 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.

99. **garranya+gar+mari+mede=nhdheni** **manggan**
3AUG.A.R.handle+cut+belly+UAUG=now mate
 They both cut her belly now, mate.
100. **garranya+gar+mari+mede** **yii**
3AUG.A.R.handle+cut+belly+UAUG 3MIN.NearDEIC
bulng=nene
bottle=INSTR
 They both use a bottle to cut her belly, here.
101. **botal bulng bulng bulng garranya+gar+mari+mede**
bottle bottle bottle bottle 3AUG.A.R.handle+cut+belly+UAUG
 Bottle! Bottle! Bottle! They both use a bottle to cut her belly.
102. **bulng=nene garranya+gar+mari+mede**
bottle=INSTR 3AUG.A.R.handle+cut+belly+UAUG
 They both use a bottle to cut her belly.
103. **viye=yi gumanya+gurr+mede**
head=PERF 3AUG.A.R.poke+hit+UAUG
 They both speared her in the head.
104. **yii guman+thung+viye=yi**
3MIN.NearDEIC 3MIN.A.R.poke+stab+head=PERF
 They both stabbed her in the head.
105. **awa therrwen yawanga=ga** **might be**
meat Rainbow Serpent 3MIN.F.AnaphDEIC=FOC might be
 That female we talked about might be Rainbow Serpent.
106. **therrwen=enhdha manggan yawa=nhdha**
Rainbow Serpent=really mate 3MIN..AnaphDEIC=really
 Rainbow Serpent really, mate, that thing we talked about.
107. **wakkay**
finished
 It's finished.
108. **Well, that's the story!**

Text 2: Incest story

1. **warrgadi warrgadi ganya ganen**
 dilly-bag 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
 ganen ganya ganen
 3MIN.S.R.sit 3MIN.A.R.make 3MIN.S.R.sit
 He's making it, making it, making it.

4. **gama+wul=enhdha tjulvorr=widja murru**
 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
 tjelv u gama+wul
 dugout 3MIN.S.R.stand+come back
 He comes back in a dugout canoe, a dugout, that little one, a dugout.

6. **guman-na+pil=enhdhi gama**
 3MIN.A.R.poke-3AUG.O+push=TOWARDS 3MIN.S.R.stand
 He stands up and pushes them towards them.

7. **murru 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
 muku nagurriny
 woman 3MIN.M.POSS
 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** **tjilpelh+mede**
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*
yene **errgi-nga=nhdha** **winy+mede**
LOC *mother-3MIN.F.DAT=really* *3AUG.PRO+UAUG*
 They both sit beside their mother, mother to them both.
13. **game+malh=enhdha=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-nganila
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.AnaphDEIC pubescent girl=TOWARDS
gave-nganila
3MIN.A.IR.pick up-1MIN.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.AnaphDEIC 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.AnaphDEIC=TOWARDS tall true
gave-nganila
3MIN.A.IR.pick up-1MIN.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-nganila=nhdhi
2MIN.A.IR.hold=1MIN.BEN=TOWARDS
 Yes. Bring the dilly-bag here, hold the dilly-bag here for me.

32. **yawana** **yagi** **yii**
3MIN.M.AnaphDEIC 2MIN.A.IR.fill 3MIN.NearDEIC
 That man I mentioned [says] Fill this one here!
33. **awa murruganhdhi** **game** **yagi**
meat egg 3MIN.A.R.hold 3MIN.S.R.say 2MIN.A.IR.fill
 He's got the eggs, he tells her to fill it.
34. **gagi** **gaya** **beyik**
3MIN.A.R.fill 3MIN.S.R.lie bag
 She bends over and fills the bag.
35. **yuwa=nhdha=ya** **mari**
3MIN.FarDEIC=really=AWAY belly
yuwa=nhdha **mari** **yunga=ya**
3MIN.FarDEIC=really belly 2MIN.S.IR.lie=AWAY
 Over there, away from me, bend down over there away from me!
36. **yagi** **yunga yuwa**
2MIN.A.IR.fill 2MIN.S.IR.lie 3MIN.FarDEIC
 Bend down and fill it over there.
37. **gana=ya** **gama+pirr+wuda**
3MIN.S.R.walk=AWAY 3MIN.S.R.stand+throw down+water
 He walks away and throws it into the water.
38. **wakul** **wuda yene** **wuda awa** **ngur=gu**
scrotum water LOC water meat penis=FOC
gama+pirr **wuda**
3MIN.S.R.stand+throw down water
 He throws his scrotum, his penis into the water.
39. **wuda=nhdha moro** **yunga=ya**
water=really buttock 2MIN.S.R.lie=AWAY
 Lie with your buttocks in the water away from me!
40. **wakkay**
finished
 It's finished.
41. **awa yuwa** **gala+thung+moro**
meat 3MIN.FarDEIC 3MIN.A.R.chop+stab buttock
 That meat over there stabs her buttocks.
42. **yagay yagay yagay yagay yagay mama mama mama**
alas! alas! alas! alas! alas! mama mama mama
 Alas! Alas! Alas! Alas! Aas! Mama! Mama! Maɣna!

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
 His 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+therel=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=enhdhi**
2MIN.S.IR.use legs+pull=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** **ngarrgurr+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.NearDEIC LOC stone-really on top
 She's climbing, on the rocks, really here on the rocks, on top.
62. **yii=enhdha** **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.

63. **rup rup rup garra+kal=enhdhi**
rope rope rope 3MIN.A.R.handle+climb=TOWARDS
ganen that wulgumen
3MIN.S.R.sit that old woman
 That old woman is using her hands to climb the rope, rope, rope
 towards her.
64. **gama garru+kal=enhdhi**
3MIN.S.R.stand 3MIN.S.R.go somewhere+climb=TOWARDS
 She's standing, climbing towards her.
65. **garru=nhdhi=widja mundjirr**
3MIN.S.R.go somewhere=TOWARDS=COMI long-necked turtle
ngalwat tjulvorr murru tjulvorr murru
manta ray magpie-goose egg magpie-goose egg
 She's going towards her with long-necked turtle, manta ray, magpie-
 goose egg, magpie-goose eggs.
66. **ngathi**
daughter
 Daughter!
67. **mama bapa bapa ngadhama-na+malha**
mama father father 1MIN.S.IRstand-2MIN.O+speak
 Mother! Father! Father, I'll speak to you.
68. **gayi=ve**
PROH=HAP
 Don't you dare!
69. **endji game-nbe=yi**
how 3MIN.A.R.say-2MIN.DAT=PERF
 How did he speak to you?
70. **ngathi**
daughter
 Daughter!
71. **mama bapa gana+malha**
mother father 3MIN.S.R.walk+speak
 Mother, Father is speaking.
72. **ngathi**
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
 Father, 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.IR.walk+climb=TOWARDS
 Climb towards me!
83. **ngadhama-na+pirr=enno rup**
1MIN.S.IR.stand-2MIN.O+throw down=PURP rope
 'I'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** **rup**
3MIN.A.R.handle+grab *3MIN.A.R.handle+grab* *rope*
 He grabs it, grabs the rope.
87. **wadja+kal=enhdhi**
2MIN.S.IR.walk+climb=TOWARDS
 Climb towards me!
88. **garra+betj** **gana=ya** **rup**
3MIN.A.R.handle+grab *3MIN.S.R.walk=AWAY* *rope*
 He keeps grabbing the rope away from her.
89. **garra+betj** **gana=ya** **vutj**
3MIN.A.R.handle-grab *3MIN.S.R.walk=AWAY* *straight*
 He keeps grabbing the rope away from her, straight.
90. **garra+betj** **gana=ya**
3MIN.A.R.handle+grab *3MIN.S.R.walk=AWAY*
 He keeps grabbing the rope away from her.
91. **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**
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** **manggarra**
3MIN.S.IR.walk-climb=now=PURP *I reckon*
 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.NearDEIC=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=INSTR 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.NearDEIC=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*
ganen
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** **yuwa=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** **yuwa=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=nhdhi=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** **wurri**
 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 didjeridu.
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+purrr-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+purrr=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 3MIN.FarDEIC=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+M.AUG 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.IR.chop-2MIN.O+hit=PURP
 I'm going to shoot you later, brother-in-law.
34. **ngavula-na+buk+eno**
1MIN.A.IR.chop-2MIN.O+miss target=PURP
 I'm going to aim at you and miss.
35. **ngavula-na+buk+eno**
1MIN.A.IR.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.

38. **awa** **therrwen=gu** **yuwa**
 meat Rainbow Serpent=FOC *3MIN.FarDEIC*
 garra+vuritj=enhdeni **gamen=eya**
 3MIN.A.R.handle+clean=now *3MIN.S.R.sit=AWAY*
 It's Rainbow Serpent who's cleaning him up now over there away
 from them.
39. **ginme+nerre=nhdeni** **gamen**
 3MIN.S.R.rise+shift position=now *3MIN.S.R.sit*
 He's getting up now.
40. **ginme+nerre=nhdeni** **gamen**
 3MIN.S.R.rise+shift position=now *3MIN.S.R.sit*
 He's getting up now.
41. **gaden-ne+kurru**
 3MIN.A.R.look-3.AUG.O+out of the corner of the eye
 He looks at them out of the corner of his eye.
42. **gadi+ngayngay** **gama** **nyiminy**
 3MIN.A.R.heat+set alight *3MIN.S.R.stand* *fire*
 He stands and sets the fire alight.
43. **gadi+ngayngay** **gama**
 3MIN.A.R.heat+set alight *3MIN.S.R.stand*
 He stands and sets it alight.
44. **yuwa** **nyiminy** **yene** **ngave**
 3MIN.FarDEIC *fire* *LOC* *1MIN.A.IR.pick up*
 vorr **game**
 kindling *3MIN.A.R.say*
 Over there in the fire, let me pick up kindling, he says.
45. **gadi=ya** **gama** **nyiminy**
 3MIN.A.R.heat=AWAY *3MIN.S.R.stand* *fire*
 He stands and heats up the fire over there.
46. **gana=nhdeni=ya** **therrwen**
 3MIN.S.R.walk=now=AWAY Rainbow Serpent
 Rainbow Serpent walks away from them now.
47. **gana=ya** **yene** **nyiminy=enhdeni**
 3MIN.S.R.walk=AWAY *LOC* *flame=really*
 gamen
 3MIN.A.R.pick up
 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. **garra-miri** **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** **gama**
 then *3MIN.A.R.heat=really* *3MIN.S.R.stand*
 Then he stands and really heats it.
91. **way=eve** **gala+duk**
 NEG=HAP *3MIN.A.R.chop+extinguish*
 He doesn't dare extinguish it.
92. **ngunu=nhdha** **gadi=nhdha** **gama**
 then=really *3MIN.A.R.heat=really* *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 im entit tu fela.**
 The little boy, they've got him haven't they, two men.

2. **yere nganhdhi=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 nganhdhi 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+lala+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=nhdheni=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. **gznenya+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-3M.AUG.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+ngalh+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 gayu
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 gama**
3MIN.A.R.make+3MIN.M.REFL+lean 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+varratj=enhdeni**
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. **trrrrrrr warwaganhdha**
trrrrrrr on top 3MIN.S.R.perch
 Trrrrrr he perches on top.
54. **ganhdha mala=enhdeni gaya warwa**
3MIN.S.R.perch far=now 3MIN.S.R.lie on top
 He's lying perched on top, far away now.
55. **ee yere yuwa gana+kakap**
ee child 3MIN.FarDEIC 3MIN.S.R.walk+call out
 'E!E!' the child calls out over there.

56. **theme**
where
 Where?
57. **na=nhdha werre**
3MIN.M.PRO=really isn't it?
 That's really him, isn't it?
58. **na=nhdha yawana=ga**
3MIN.M.PRO=really 3MIN.M.AnaphDEIC=FOC
 That's really him, that boy we know.
59. **yere nagurriny=nene wadan-na**
child 3MIN.M.POSS=NEW INF older brother-3MIN.M.DAT
nagurriny meyidja ganenya+lhat+mede
3MIN.M.POSS two 3AUG.S.R.walk+raise+UAUG
tjinda gunymurru+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.
60. **gunymurru+biri+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.
61. **garra mala**
3MIN.S.R.go somewhere far
 He goes far away.
62. **ganen mala warwa**
3MIN.S.R.sit far on top
 He sits far away on top.
63. **yii ganen-na gumbu**
3MIN.NearDEIC 3MIN.S.R.sit-3MIN.M.DAT foot
awa ngutj
meat spirit
 The spirit sits here for him at the foot [of the tree].
64. **yiverre=nhdhi=nhdheni ganen-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. **ganan-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=nhdhi ngatkani**
quiet=TOWARDS quiet
 Go quietly towards him! Quietly!
69. **keep going malh=ga vuy**
keep going language=FOC keep going
 Keep going! In language it's vuy.
70. **gidjinye-na+mede=nhdhi=nhdha**
3AUG.S.R.crawl-3MIN.M.DAT+UAUG=TOWARDS=really
 They both really crawl to him towards him.
71. **awa ngutj=gu ganen=enhdha 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 gorilla meat gorilla=HAP
 He happens to be a gorilla, gorilla, gorilla.
73. **derela=nhdha verruru+mede**
slow=really 2AUG.S.IR.go somewhere+UAUG
 Go really slowly, you two!
74. **mana agen mana agen**
younger brother again younger brother again
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** **yedenhdhi+nerre=nhdhi**
quick=TOWARDS 2MIN.S.IR.fall+shift position=TOWARDS
merrgude=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** **spirrim-bat**
3MIN.Near DEIC 3MIN.Near DEIC spear him-CONT
 Here, 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.Near DEIC 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 yii miri yii**
3MIN.A.R.+cut 3MIN.NearDEIC eye 3MIN.NearDEIC
 He cuts him here, head here.
87. **gala+turr vere**
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.IR.pick up+put down+neck
 He says 'Pick him up and put him down on your neck.
92. **merrgude me+kurr+manhdha**
quick 2.A.IR.pick 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+F.AUG
 The women are sitting.

97. **ngayngay+ngayngay** everywhere
alightREDUP everywhere
 It's alight, alight, everywhere.
98. **guninen-nbe**
3AUG.S.R.sitRECI-2MIN.DAT
 They're sitting together for you.
99. **muku kandu yere marbuk guninen**
woman man child sprout 3AUG.S.R.sitRECI
 Men, women, and half-grown children are sitting there together.
100. **nganhdhi-nawarri guninen**
one-mob 3AUG.S.R.sitRECI
 A big mob is sitting together.
101. **theme=yi ganeni game-ne**
where=PERF 2MIN.S.R.walk 3MIN.A.R.say-3AUG.O
 Where did you go? he says to them.
102. **way=eve wari game yiina yere**
NEG=HAP worry 3MIN.A.R.say 3MIN.M.NearDEIC child
 There's nothing to worry about! says this boy here.
103. **theme=yi ganeni**
where=PERF 2MIN.S.R.walk
 Where did you go?
104. **gaden=wany**
3MIN.A.R.look=REPET
 He looks again.
105. **ganhdhi=nhdhi=wany gana**
3MIN.A.R.hold=TOWARDS=REPET 3MIN.S.R.walk
 He keeps holding him again towards him.
106. **ngayngay miri**
alight eye
 The fire is alight.
107. **gana=nhdhi=wany**
3MIN.S.R.walk=TOWARDS=REPET
 He walks towards him again.
108. **gumanya+vutj+rtdi bulanggit=nene**
3AUG.A.R.stand+throw+back blanket=INSTR
 They throw a blanket on top of him.

109. **galae-na+mermorr** **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 gurrinyi+birr+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. **gurrinyi+birr+nunggu**
3AUG.A.R.handleRECI+strain+hand
 They engage in a tug of war.
115. **yene nyiminy gumanya+pirr+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+pirr+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 3MINS.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.Far.DEIC=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** **gumbu** **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.IR.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 (Patjtjamalh)
 I'm sitting.
40. **yunga=no**
2MIN.S.IR.lie=PURP
 You've got to lie down.
41. **yu ngayi=no**
yes 1MIN.S.IR.lie=PURP
 Yes, I'll lie down.
42. **gayi-nbe+bet+miri**
PROH-2MIN.REFL+open+eye
 Don't open your eyes!
43. **ngurgurr=en** **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. **yorro+rtedi yorro+rtedi yene winy-mede**
grass+back gras+backs LOC 3AUG.PRO+UAUG
 They're both in the long grass, the long grass.
48. **yiina=gamena ganen**
3MIN.M.NearDEIC=SEMBL 3MIN.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** **ngirr=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. **minhdharra** **gamen**
firestick 3MIN.A.R.pick up
 He picks up the firestick.
61. **minhdharra** **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=SEMBL 3MIN.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.Far.DEIC=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+ngurrurr**
3MIN.S.R.lie+sleep
 She's sleeping.
69. **yorro+rtedi** **guman+pitji=nhdheni**
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+alightREDUP 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+hrow down-3MIN.F.ADV
ngayngay+ngayngay
alightREDUP
 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**
3MINS.R.stand-3MIN.F.REFL+throw down+water billabong
 She throws herself down into the water of the billabong.

94. **miriwuda yene gama-nga+pirr+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 gunymurru+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 dharrray**
 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 gunymurru+kal+mede**
 from Banakula 3AUG.S.R.go somewhere+climb+UAUG
 They both arrive from Banakula.

8. **wutinggi=nene gunymurru+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. **malh ngame+rri**
story 1MIN.S.R.say+tell
 I'm telling the story.
11. **gunymurru+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
miya pome=no
edible plant black plum=PURP
 How can we look for black plums over there?
14. **ngammaden=enno 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=enno 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
Peron Island way near island 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.

20. **yiverre** **badjalarr** **borakpene**
there *Badjalarr* *Borakpene*
yii=nhdhi **badjalarr** **yiberre**
3MIN.NearDEIC=TOWARDS *Badjalarr* *there*
gaya=nhdhi
3MIN.S.R.lie=TOWARDS
 Badjalarr is there, Borakpene is here towards me. Badjalarr lies there, towards me.
21. **im** **ngatpuk**
he *Ngatpuk*
 He's at Ngatpuk.
22. **yii=nhdhi** **mari+nganhdhi**
3MIN.NearDEIC=TOWARDS *belly+one*
gunymurru+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.
23. **gunymurru+mede** **velp**
3AUG.S.R.go somewhere+UAUG *do without stopping*
 They both travel without stopping.
24. **gunymurru+mede** **velp**
3AUG.S.R.go somewhere+UAUG *do without stopping*
 They both travel without stopping.
25. **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.
26. **ganenya+kai+mede**
3AUG.S.R.walk+climb+UAUG
 They're both making for the shore.
27. **gunymurru+mede** **muluk**
3AUG.S.R.go somewhere+UAUG *Muluk*
 They both go to Muluk.
28. **muluk** **guninyi+pirr+mede**
Muluk *3AUG.S.R.lieREFL+throw down+UAUG*
 They throw themselves down at Mulluk.
29. **ngurrurr+gunya+mede** **yiverre=nhdha**
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 *Muluk=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.IR. go somewhere*
 Use back stroke, backstroke towards me.

41. **marduman=ve=nhdhi** **verru**
backwards=HAP=TOWARDS *2MIN.S.IR.go somewhere*
 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=enhdheni** **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=enhdheni** **ganaden**
NEG=now 2MIN.A.R.look
 You can't look at her now.
69. **way=enhdheni** **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+rtdi**
3MIN.A.R.poke+clean+back
 It cleans up the surface of the sea.
73. **nga** **gidji+kai+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. **nganggatji 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.crawl
 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**
3MIN.A.R.take off+strip of 3MIN.S.R.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**
3MIN.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. **yindian 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+yelhak**
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.creep
 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. **ninga+dhet** **yii=nhdha** **ninga**
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. **ninga** **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. **guman+warrpa** **yii=ga**
3MIN.A.R.handle+tie cock-rag *3MIN.NearDEIC=FOC*
tjot=nene
shirt=INSTR
 He tied a cock-rag here with his shirt.
118. **kawut guman+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** **ganenya**
3AUG.A.R.handle+throat+cry 3AUG.S.R.walk
yiverre=nhdha
there=really
 There really they keep crying.
121. **gunin+wiriya-ngala**
3AUG.S.R.sit+cry-3MIN.F.BEN
 They cry for her.
122. **gana+wiriya**
3MIN.S.R.walk+cry
 She's crying.
123. **elewerre** **yuwa** **kabal kabal yuwa**
shady tree 3MIN.FarDEIC Kabal Kabal 3MIN.FarDEIC
 That shady tree over there is on Kabal, Kabal over there.
124. **ngalhferrewen** **yiverre=nhdha** **guman+gurr**
ngalhferrewen there=really 3MIN.A.R.poke-hit
 At Ngalhferrewen, there really, he noticed her.
125. **garru+ngatj-nanga=nhdhi**
3MIN.S.R.go somewhere-run away-3MIN.M.ADV=TOWARDS
tjirrvur=enhdhi
Finnis River=TOWARDS
 She runs away from him this way to the Finnis River.
126. **ngatpuk** **garru+ngatj**
Ngatpuk 3MIN.S.R.go somewhere+run away
 She runs away to Ngatpuk.
127. **yere** **yuwa** **garra+volhut=eyi**
child 3MIN.FarDEIC 3MIN.A.R.handle-lose=PERF
 She lost the child over there.
128. **wuda** **ganya+ngambakambak**
water 3MIN.A.R.make+chokeREDUP
 The water chokes her.
129. **gila+wuda** **yene** **wutharr=wany**
3MIN.A.R.consume+water LOC sea=REPET
 She dies in the sea again.
130. **guman+yin+dim**
3MIN.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.IR.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+garrrgat**
shark=NEW INF 3MIN.A.R.chop+bite
 It's a shark that bites her
140. **awa wan.ga gala+garrrgat**
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+rtdi purrwur**
3MIN.A.R.look-3MIN.F.REFL+back blood
 She looks at the blood on the surface of the sea.

142. **purwur** **gaden** **yuwa** **wutharr**
blood 3MIN.A.R.look 3MIN.FarDEIC sea
 She looks at the blood in the sea.
143. **O** **manggan** **ngani-ngani=ya**
O mate 1MIN.S.R.walk-1MIN.REFL=AWAY
game
3MIN.A.R.say
 O mate, she says. I'm going away from myself.
144. **gala+garrgat=eyi**
3MIN.A.R.chop-bite=PERF
 It bit me.
145. **awa** **wan.ga=nene=yi** **gala+garrgat**
meat shark=NEW INF=PERF 3MIN.A.R.chop+bite=PERF
 A shark bit me.
146. **wakkay**
finished
 It's over.
147. **O** **warramben** **might be**
O salt-water crocodile might be
warramben **now**
salt-water crocodile now
 O it's probably a salt-water crocodile, a saltie now.
148. **wan.ga** **nganhdhi+nawarri** **yuwa**
shark one+swarm 3MIN.FarDEIC
 A school of sharks is over there.
149. **wulmarr** **wulmarr=enhdhi**
wulmarr wulmarr=TOWARDS
guninyi+pirr+wuda+mede
3AUG.S.R.walkREFL+throw down+water+UAUG
 They both swim here to Wulmarr, Wulmarr.
150. **gidjinye+lenme+mede**
3AUG.S.R.crawl+swim+UAUG
 They both swim.
151. **yere yene errgi-nga** **gami-nga**
child LOC mother-3MIN.F.DAT 3MIN.S.R.come out-3MIN.F.DAT
 At her mother's place, the child comes out to her.

152. **eltji errgi-nga ngagurriny=ga**
Elsie mother-3MIN.F.DAT 3MIN.F.POSS=FOC
 Elsie was her mother, belonging to her.
153. **mama kunmuwul garru+ngatj=eyi**
mama Kunmuwul 3MIN.S.R.go somewhere+run away=PERF
 Mama Kunmuwul [was the one who] ran away.
154. **pebel pinbin ngagurriny wunggu-nga**
Pebel, Pinbin 3MIN.F.POSS older sister-3MIN.F.DAT
 Pebel belonged to Pinbin, who was her older sister.
155. **Madjari winyagurriny+mede**
Marjorie 3AUG.POSS+UAUG
wunggu-nga winyagurriny+mede=nhdha
older sister-3MIN.F.DAT 3AUG.POSS+UAUG=really
Madjari Pinbin
Marjorie Pinbin
 Marjorie and Pinbin, she belonged to them both, they were really her older sisters.
156. **youngest one yere yawanga=ga**
youngest one child 3MIN.F.AnaphDEIC=FOC
 That girl I talked about was the youngest one.
157. **yere wanhdhi-ngani yawanga gadenhdhi**
child behind-1MIN.DAT 3MIN.F.AnaphDEIC 3MIN.S.R.fall
 That girl I talked about was born after me.
158. **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 beast bit her while she drowned in the sea.
159. **kunmuwul nga garra+volhut=eyi**
Kunmuwul 3MIN.F.PRO 3MIN.A.R.handle+lose=PERF
 As for her, Kunmuwul, she lost her.
160. **mama=nhdha ngany=gu**
Mama=really 1MIN.PRO=FOC
 My mama that was really.
161. **ngalhverrewen=eyi ganenya=yi**
Ngalhverrewen=PERF 3AUG.S.R.walk=PERF
 They were going to Ngalhverrewen.

166. **manggan** that's the story
mate that's the story
Mate, that's the story.

Text 11: 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+rethetherrk**
 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** **ninga**
 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** **yeda**
 2MIN.A.IR.handle-2MIN.REFL+thigh 2MIN.A.IR.look
 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+mouth=now *2MIN.A.IR.poke+mouth*
 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. **yenhddhi=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 murru yeda+mu** **wadja**
meat=now egg 2MIN.A.IR.look-do 2MIN.S.IR.walk
 Keep looking around for eggs now.
31. **awa** **tjulvorr=enno** **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+rtdi** **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** **murru=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 murru tjulvorr
3MIN.S.R.go somewhere=TOWARDS meat egg magpie goose
 She deliberately always throws down magpie goose eggs towards me.

46. awa guman+rteda-nanga
 meat 3MIN.A.R.poke+pile-3MIN.M.ADV
 yawanga=nhdha gana=nhdhi
 3MIN.F.AnaphDEIC=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.IR.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 ganeni+wat
 where=ABL=PERF 2MIN.S.R.walk-trip
 Where've you come from?
52. wuda ganiya-nbe+pu+miri ganeni
 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.FarDEIC=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 guminyi+wu+mede=nhdheni**
3MIN.FarDEIC 3AUG.A.R.pokeRECI+argue+UAUG=now
guninen
3AUG.S.R.sitRECI
 Those two are arguing with each other now over there.
58. **guninyi+thorr+mede=nhdheni guninen**
3AUG.S.R.lie.RECI+abuse+UAUG=now 3AUG.S.R.sit.RECI
 The two of them are abusing each other.
59. **erimi=no=ve**
what=PURP=HAP
 Why is this happening?
60. **awa=no verru+tjak-kala**
meat=DAT 2MIN.A.IR.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 murru**
meat long-necked turtle egg
 They are long-necked turtle eggs.
63. **murru=no verru+tjak-ngala**
egg=DAT 2MIN.S.IR.go somewhere+make fire-3MIN.F.BEN
 Make a fire for her for eggs.
64. **gavula+tjirr**
3MIN.A.IR.chop+boil
 Let it boil.
65. **emmi=no**
what=PURP
 What for?
66. **vula+djuk**
2MIN.A.IR.chop+burn
 Roast it!

67. **awa vula+djuk-kala** **me**
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
 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-1MIN.O+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-1MIN.BEN
 Go for that thing I mentioned, that thing, convolvulus and bring it here for me.
89. **yanya-ngany+viye** **ninga**
2MIN.A.IR.make-1MIN.O+head 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** **ninga**
2MIN.A.IR.make-1MIN.O+head=PURP 2MIN.S.IR.sit
 You should sit and massage my head.
93. **ganhdhi-ngany+lhulhung**
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** **endji+do**
2MIN.S.IR.lie how+try
 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+orehead=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**
child 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-kal=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+lhulhung+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 ospital**
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=nhdhi=yi
3MIN.S.IR.sit=PERF there=TOWARDS=PERF
 He would have been grabbing you to him there.
120. **gama-na+gurr=eyi tjinda=nene**
3MIN.A.IR.poke-2MIN.O+hit=PERF spear=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=gamena
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**
motherADR 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=nhdheni 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.FarDEIC=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.NearDEIC=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**
 3MIN.A.R.poke-3MIN.M.REFL+point elbows out 3MIN.S.R.sit
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-3MIN.M.REFL-thigh
gama
 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.IR.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.IR.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.IR.chop-1MIN.DAT+find
 Find one for me.
164. **endji manggan**
how mate
 How, mate?

165. **ngany=nene** **wari=yi** **malh**
1MIN.PRO=NEW INF *worry=PERF story*
 The story was my worry.
166. **ngany=ve** **yawa** **di**
1MIN.PRO=HAP *3MIN.AnaphDEIC* *tea*
 That tea I mentioned happens to be mine.
167. **ngany=ve=yi** **thawarr** **wuda ngany**
1MIN.PRO=HAP=PERF *tree* *water 1MIN.PRO*
 That happened to be my thing, water, mine.
168. **Pilim up now**
 Fill it up now.
169. **yepe yerre** **wuda**
I wish 2MIN.A.IR.handle *water*
 I wish you'd use water [to wash it].

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